The motet anthologies of Florido de Silvestris

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Abstract

Between 1643 and 1672 there appeared in print fifteen anthologies of small-scale, sacred, Latin-texted motets by different composers, compiled by Florido de Silvestris (1596–after 1676); he was a cleric, singer, composer, and author active in Rome. The anthologies contain over two hundred and thirty pieces by many of the leading Roman composers of the day, over half of which survive in no other print or manuscript source.

Although all of Florido's anthologies were printed in or near Rome, they are dedicated to individuals and groups both in Rome and farther afield, and it is clear that through their circulation they influenced composers, performers, and printers right across Europe. The true chronological span of Florido's motet anthologies must actually be at least sixty years, covering a period during which the motet became the most popular form of sacred music.

This trend was in no small part driven by one quintessential feature of the motet — namely, its non-specificity of text. In an age of substantial liturgical upheaval in the Roman Catholic church brought about by the Protestant Reformation and the subsequent Catholic Counter-Reformation, sacred motets were subjected to numerous restrictions regarding the sources from which their texts could be drawn. However, these rulings were soon and repeatedly broken in Catholic territories all over Europe, which is highlighted by the frequency with which increasingly stringent edicts were issued concerning permitted and prohibited textual sources during the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the time-period encompassed by the motets in Florido's anthologies saw significant changes in musical notation, and we can often observe the same musical features notated in multiple ways.

This thesis considers the motet anthologies of Florido de Silvestris as a body of work and as individual publications, and also examines specific exemplars, in order to answer questions of bibliography, the circulation and influence of printed works, text-setting, and performance practice. It is supplemented by critical editions of a selection of motets.

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Prefatory material

Abbreviations and library *sigla*

c. — *circa*
ed., eds. — edited by, editor(s)
edn(s) — editions(s)
ex. — example
fo., fos. — folio, folios
fig., figs. — figure, figures
MS, MSS — manuscript, manuscripts
n., nn. — note, notes
p., pp. — page, pages
^{r} — *recto*
repr. — reprinted
trans. — translated
^{v} — *verso*
vol., vols. — volume, volumes

RISM library sigla

A	**Austria**
A-Wgm	Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Archiv
A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung
B	**Belgium**
B-Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
CH	**Switzerland**
CH-Zz	Zürich, Musikabteilung, Zentralbibliothek
D	**Germany**
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek — Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
D-Fschneider	Frankfurt, Privatsammlung Matthias Schneider
D-Mbs	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
D-MÜp	Münster, Santini-Sammlung, Diözesanbibliothek
F	**France**
F-Pc	Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire
F-Pm	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
GB	**United Kingdom**
GB-DRc	Durham, Cathedral Library
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
GB-Lwa	London, Westminster Abbey
GB-Och	Oxford, Christ Church
I	**Italy**
I-AOc	Aosta, Biblioteca capitolare del Duomo

I-Bc	Bologna, Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale)
I-Bsp	Bologna, Archivio di S. Petronio
I-BGc	Bergamo, Biblioteca civica Angelo Mai e Archivi storici comunali
I-CEc	Cesena, Biblioteca comunale Malatestiana
I-COd	Como, Archivio musicale del Duomo
I-FZac	Faenza, Archivio capitolare
I-Ls	Lucca, Biblioteca del seminario
I-Nf	Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Filippini (o Girolamini)
I-PCd	Piacenza, Archivio del Duomo
I-PIa	Pisa, Archivio di Stato
I-PS	Pistoia, Archivio capitolare
I-Rc	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense
I-Rsgf	Rome, Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini
I-Rsmt	Rome, Archivio capitolare della Basilica di Santa Maria in Trastevere
I-Sac	Siena, Biblioteca dell'Accademia musicale Chigiana
I-Vc	Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello
M	**Malta**
M-MDca	Mdina, Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral
NL	**The Netherlands**
NL-DHnmi	The Hague, Nederlands Muziek Instituut (NMI) — Bibliotheek en Archief
P	**Portugal**
P-La	Lisbon, Biblioteca do Palácio nacional da Ajuda
P	**Poland**
PL-Kj	Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
PL-WRu	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (University Library)
S	**Sweden**
S-Uu	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket
US	**United States of America**
US-Bpr	Boston, The Boston Public Library, Rare Books & Manuscripts Department
US-BEm	Berkeley, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, University of California
US-LAur	Los Angeles, University of California, University Research Library
US-NYcu	New York, Columbia University, Music Library
V	**Vatican City**
V-CVbav	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

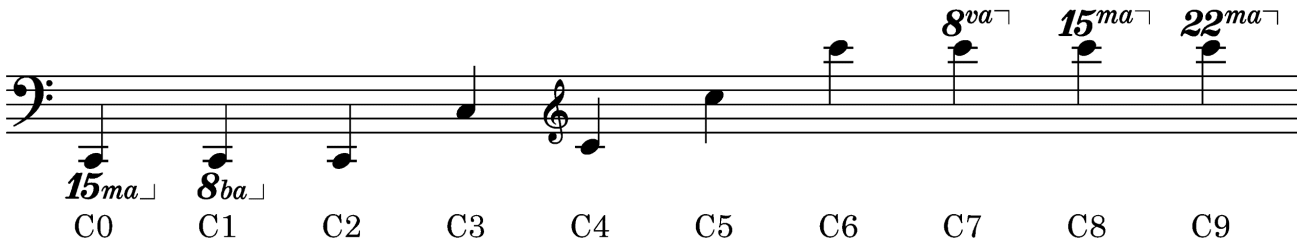
Prefatory material

Editorial notes

References made in this thesis to other literature and resources and the bibliography have been formatted according to the fourth edition (2024) of the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA) Style Guide.[1] When I began this thesis, the third edition of the MHRA Style Guide was still in force, and so I apologise for any references the format of which I have, inadvertently, failed to update accordingly.

Pitches, clefs and the stave

Pitches are given according to scientific pitch notation, whereby each note name is followed by a number indicating which octave it falls in; middle C is C4, the C one octave above is C5, and the notes in between all have the suffix '4'.



However, when discussing the position of clefs on the stave (for instance, in Chapter 5), a capital letter (indicating the type of clef — C, F, or G) and number (indicating the line of the stave, counting from the bottom — 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5) will be used. Thus, the two clefs in the above diagram would be designated F4 and G2, respectively.

Scriptural references

When referring to the Book of Psalms, quotations in Latin follow the Vulgate numbering, while those in English follow the King James Version. These differ as follows:

Vulgate numbering	King James Version numbering
1–8	1–8
9	9–10
10	11
11	12
12	13
…	…
112	113

[1] 'The MHRA Style Guide' <https://www.mhra.org.uk/style/> [accessed 20 November 2025].

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…	…
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Spellings

Personal names of musicians that appear in variant spellings in the sources are, where appropriate, spelled in this thesis as per *Grove*; in particular:

Benevoli, Orazio (rather than 'Benevolo' or 'Horatio')
Bicilli, Giovanni (rather than 'Becelli', 'Becilli', or 'Biccilli')
Bonetti, Carlo (rather than 'Bonnetti')
Bonetti, Giovanni (rather than 'Bonnetti')
Capponi, Gino Angelo (rather than 'Caponi')
da Cavi, Filippo (rather than 'Cavensis')
Cecchelli, Carlo (rather than 'Cecchilli')
Fabri, Stefano (rather than 'Fabbri')
Giansetti, Giovanni Battista (rather than 'Gensetti')
Gratiani, Bonifatio (rather than 'Graziani' or 'Bonifazio')
Massenzio, Domenico (rather than 'Massentio')
de Silvestris, Florido (rather than 'Silvestri', 'Sylvestris', or 'Floridus')
Stamegna, Nicolò (rather than 'Stamigna')
Vannarelli, Francesco Antonio (rather than 'Vanarelli')
Vannini, Bernardino (rather than 'Vanini')
Vannini, Pietro Paolo (rather than 'Vanini')

Time signatures

3 (3/2) means that the signature printed is '3', and the passage is notated with three minims per bar.

Translations

All translations of sources are my own unless otherwise stated.

Prefatory material

Acknowledgements

I have been given immeasurable support by so many throughout my research, first and foremost among whom are the members of my supervisory team, Dr Carrie Churnside (Director of Studies), Professor Shirley Thompson, and Jeffrey Skidmore. They have been unstintingly generous with their time, encouragement, and expertise, and have, collectively, shown the patience of multiple saints in the face of my seemingly ceaseless queries, stumbles, perambulations, and tardiness. I could not dream of a more eminent cohort of supervisors, nor one whose specialisms have so closely aligned with and complemented my interests and the PhD topic on which I finally settled; nevertheless, the fault for all infelicities, errors, and failings in the pages that follow lies solely with me.

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PhD topic having had to be discarded — encouraged me to believe that my nascent interest in Florido de Silvestris might prove a bountiful hunting-ground for extended research.

Any research that relies as heavily on documentary sources as mine has done can only progress with the help of those who administer, catalogue, and care for the collections in which those items reside. I have been aided by more libraries and archives staff than can reasonably be listed here; however, I extend especial thanks to the following for having gone so far beyond the call of duty during the Covid-19-precipitated lockdowns that made visits to view items in person much more difficult, if not actually impossible: †Monsignor John Azzopardi ('Dun Ġwann') (Mdina Metropolitan Chapter), Gertrud Gaukesbrink (Santini-Sammlung, Münster), Dr Kia Hedell (Uppsala University Library), and †Matthias Schneider. I first learnt of the output of Florido de Silvestris while on a research trip in 2018 to the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library of St John's University in Minnesota, USA, towards the costs of which I was awarded a Heckmann Scholarship by HMML.

I have gained much from having the opportunity to present at conferences, colloquia, and study days and thereby to receive feedback on my research. In particular, I am grateful to the convenors of the Early Modern Rome 4, Early Modern Rome 5, and the Society of Neo-Latin Studies 'Baroque Latinity' conferences for accepting my paper proposals, and also to the Royal Historical Society and Royal Musical Association for their awards of travel grants towards the costs of attending Early Modern Rome 4. Dr Jacqueline Glomski, Professor Gesine Manuwald, and Dr Andrew Taylor were the convenors of the 'Baroque Latinity' conference from which the papers were subsequently collected and published by Bloomsbury under the same title; their sage advice during the editing stage helped to transform a rudimentary, workmanlike exploration of religious themes in motet texts into the vastly improved piece that made it into the published book.

I am very grateful to Anna Pensaert, Head of Music Collections at the University Library and the Pendlebury Library of Music in Cambridge, for her flexibility with regard to my taking extra leave from work in order to complete this thesis.

My parents and brother have been keen supporters ever since I floated the idea of applying for this PhD, and have had plenty of practice at feigning enthusiasm ever since; they may well be able to guess what one of the parcels under the tree will be this coming Christmas.

Last, but far from least, my wife Cat and daughters Rosa, Eva, and Maria have had to put up with the presence of Florido de Silvestris for many years — indeed, for almost the entirety of their lives to date, in the case of my children — and have sacrificed much during my years of working on his motet anthologies. Nevertheless, they have been unwaveringly kind and patient and understanding, asking delightful questions, suggesting ideas to include in the text, decorating my print-outs and my laptop, giving me time and space to work, and finding all sorts of wonderful ways to support me and cheer me along; it is to them that I dedicate this thesis.

Introduction

The research contained in this submission has as its subject a number of mid-seventeenth-century printed musical volumes and comprises a written thesis supplemented by critical editions of a selection of works from those volumes.

Between 1643 and 1672 there appeared in print fifteen anthologies of small-scale, sacred, Latin-texted motets by different composers; the title-page of each anthology names the compiler as one Florido de Silvestris.[2] They contain over two hundred and thirty pieces by many of the leading Roman composers of the day, and as such have been called 'a precious overview of Roman [compositional] activity of the age'[3] — not least because over half of the pieces are *unica* (that is, they survive in no other print or manuscript source).

The pieces in these anthologies are most commonly described as *concertato* motets. The adjective *concertato* was originally applied to polychoral works by composers associated with St Mark's Basilica in Venice. However, in the early decades of the seventeenth century there began to appear publications proclaiming their contents to be '*concertati alla romana*'. This designation initially referred to a polychoral style in which the music was divided into discrete sections characterised by contrasting scoring.[4] However, by the middle of the seventeenth century the term *concertato* had come to denote smaller-scale vocal works with basso continuo accompaniment and without obbligato instrumental parts, which is how it is used in this thesis.

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[2] I shall henceforth refer to Florido de Silvestris (whose surname is spelled 'de Sylvestris' in some of his publications, and is occasionally rendered as 'de Silvestri' by some modern authors although he never wrote or had it printed this way himself) as simply 'Florido' — partly because he styled himself thus (usually 'D[on]. Florido') in his own anthologies, and also because I feel that its possessive form both reads and trips off the tongue more easily than 'de Silvestris's'.

[3] 'se ne trae un prezioso panorama della produzione romana del tempo'. Saverio Franchi, 'De Silvestris, Florido', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini alla metà del Settecento*, ed. by Bianca Maria Antolini (Edizioni ETS, 2018), pp. 304–06 (pp. 304–05).

[4] Graham Dixon, '*Concertato alla romana* and Polychoral Music in Rome', in *La scuola policorale romana del Sei-Settecento*, ed. by Francesco Luisi, Danilo Curti and Marco Gozzi (Servizio Beni librari e archivisti, 1997), pp. 129–34 (p. 130).

Introduction

I have chosen to call the contents of Florido's anthologies motets, even though the word does not appear in either Latin or Italian anywhere on their title-pages.[5] Twelve of them use 'sacred songs' (*sacras cantiones*); one uses 'sacred praises' (*sacras laudes*); one calls its contents 'florid words set to music' (*Florida verba*); and one of the collections is called a 'florid garden of compositions' (*Floridus modulorum hortus*). The term 'motet' was acknowledged as early as the 1520s as an unrefined alternative to 'cantio sacra',[6] but the flexibility with which composers and printers of the age viewed the matter meant that by Florido's time any 'vocal piece with Latin text of a spiritual nature' could be considered a motet, including hymns, psalms, antiphons, and canticles.[7]

Although all of Florido's anthologies were printed in or near Rome, they are dedicated to individuals and groups both in Rome and farther afield, and it is clear that through their circulation they influenced composers, performers, and printers right across Europe, from Portugal to Sweden, from the Netherlands to modern-day Slovenia, from Malta to Poland. As we shall see, the true chronological span of Florido's motet anthologies must actually be at least sixty years, covering a period during which the motet developed into the most popular (by number of print publications) form of sacred music.

This trend was in no small part driven by one quintessential feature of the motet — namely, its non-specificity of text, as opposed to settings of those parts of Roman Catholic liturgical celebrations that did not change depending on the day and date, such as the Ordinary of the Mass, the Litany, and (to a lesser extent) the set psalms for celebrations of the Divine Office. In an age of substantial liturgical upheaval in the Roman Catholic church brought

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[5] It does, however, appear in its Italian form as an infrequent running footer in several of the anthologies; see Chapter 2, below, for more on this subject.

[6] For instance, on the title page of the *Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant* … (Augsburg: Sigismund Grimm and Marcus Wyrsung, 1520).

[7] Esperanza Rodríguez-García and Daniele V. Filippi, 'The motet in the post-Tridentine world: An Introduction', in *Mapping the Motet in the post-Tridentine era*, ed. by Esperanza Rodríguez-García and Daniele V. Filippi (Routledge, 2019), pp. 1–15 (p. 3).

about by the Protestant Reformation and the subsequent Catholic Counter-Reformation, sacred motets were subjected to numerous restrictions regarding the sources from which their texts could be drawn, beginning with the decrees of the Council of Trent. However, these rulings were soon and repeatedly broken in Catholic territories all over Europe — even in Rome, the beating heart of the Church, right under the noses of the papal authorities. This is highlighted by the frequency with which increasingly stringent edicts — threatening increasingly harsh financial penalties and removal from office — were issued concerning permitted and prohibited textual sources during the seventeenth century.

Furthermore, the time-period encompassed by the motets in Florido's anthologies — nearly the first three quarters of the seventeenth century — was one that saw significant changes in musical notation, and we can often observe the same musical features notated in multiple ways.

Research questions, argument, methodologies, and thesis structure

This submission seeks to answer the following principal research question:

What does an examination of the motet anthologies of Florido de Silvestris reveal about their origins and manner of performance?

I address this by seeking to answer secondary questions in three principal areas of enquiry:

<u>Bibliography and circulation</u>

- What were the motivations for producing these volumes?
- Where were their contents sourced from?

Introduction

- Can we observe overarching guiding principles behind the structure and organisation of the anthologies?
- What do the condition and circulation of surviving and lost exemplars tell us about how Florido's anthologies may have been used?

Texts

- What sources can be identified for the texts of the motets in Florido's anthologies?
- In light of the various rulings during the seventeenth century regarding text setting, how might the presence in the anthologies of apparently 'illegal' texts be explained?
- With particular regard to settings of centonised texts — that is, those that are compiled from more than one source, and/or those that reorder or omit parts of a passage of source text —, to what extent do textual and musical structure align?
- What trends or influences may have influenced the composition of those texts for which no source can be identified?

Performance practice

- How might the motets in the anthologies of Florido de Silvestris have been performed in mid-seventeenth-century Rome?
- What challenges of interpretation does the notation used in the anthologies present?
- How are modern-day musicians to understand these notations, and what decisions should they consider when interpreting these works?

Considering the answers to these questions leads me to argue that:

- Florido's motet anthologies display a consistency of approach with regard to their contents and structure;

- they found use in numerous settings that transcended national, linguistic, and denominational boundaries;
- roughly half of the motets are settings that would have satisfied the contemporary restrictions placed on their texts;
- the other rough half could legitimately have been performed in other, non-liturgical contexts
- the variety of practice on display in Florido's anthologies suggests that multiple understandings or interpretations of certain notational aspects of the music existed simultaneously for different musicians in mid-Seicento Rome, and also that there would have existed in common, concurrent usage multiple ways of notating certain musical features;
- nevertheless, aided by study of contemporary theoretical treatises it is possible for modern-day musicians to reach plausible conclusions and informed decisions regarding the performance of the motets from Florido's anthologies.

Following a biographical profile of Florido in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 comprises descriptions and examinations of the seventy-five surviving exemplars of Florido's anthologies, made with two principal goals:

- first, to evaluate them as physical objects with their own individual histories, examining distinguishing features such as handwritten annotations and traces of the printing process that reveal information about their production and usage;
- second, to view them collectively as related manifestations of fifteen separate publications and to identify common features and points of difference.

In Chapter 3 I analyse the texts of the motets in Florido's motet anthologies, discussing statistics regarding their origin and type in comparison to the motet outputs of four contemporary Roman composers. I show that many of them are taken unaltered from Scripture, liturgical books, or the works of the Church Fathers, in accordance with

numerous rulings issued by the Church authorities during the seventeenth century; however, others either present altered versions of texts from these sources or include passages of seemingly unattributable (and therefore possibly newly-composed) texts — in direct contravention of the aforementioned regulations —, many of which use language and imagery influenced by contemporary spirituality.

Chapter 4 presents evidence for the performance of sacred *concertato* motets in a variety of settings in mid-Seicento Rome, including several that are non-liturgical and as such would have been permissible contexts for those motets with texts unacceptable to the papal authorities.

An analysis of aspects of notation in the original prints that relate to performance practice — allied to an examination of how these are treated of in contemporary theoretical treatises was used to inform the experimental application of certain performance decisions in practical sessions with modern-day musicians, These sessions made use of transcriptions of certain of the motets, chosen from my transcriptions of all two hundred and thirty-three motets into score made at an early stage of my research; all of these activities are recorded in Chapter 5.

In appendices following the bibliography I present bibliographical information about the surviving exemplars of Florido's anthologies, indices of their contents, and copies of the questionnaire and supporting documents given to participants in the practical sessions. Critical editions of selected motets from Florido's anthologies are present in Volume II as a supplement to the thesis that makes up Volume I.

Literature review

Florido's motet anthologies occupy an unusual position in the repertoire of seventeenth-century Italian sacred music; it is difficult to think of another collection comparable in size and compiled according to similarly clear guiding principles that has remained so unexplored by modern scholarship. While they are by no means absent from the scholarly literature, they have hitherto enjoyed only passing mention and remain mostly unedited (either *in toto* or any of the individual motets), being adduced primarily in discussions of individual composers and almost never evaluated as entities in their own right. As such, the principal areas of research — in the literature of which they have featured to varying extents — to which this thesis most significantly builds upon, and adds to, are:

- Florido's biography;
- Florido's anthologies and the circulation of music in seventeenth-century Europe;
- the *concertato* motet in mid-Seicento Rome;
- post-Tridentine motet texts;
- performance practice.

Prior to the twenty-first century there was very little research carried out specifically into Florido and his activities as an anthologist. The basic entries in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*,[8] *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (based almost entirely on the *New Grove* article),[9] *Biograpisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*,[10] *Il Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della Musica e dei Musicisti*,[11] *Dizionario*

[8] John Whenham, 'Silvestris, Florido de', *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25799>.
[9] 'Silvestris, Florido de', *MGG Online* (2006) <https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg12017&v=1.0&rs=mgg12017> [accessed 21 July 2019].
[10] Robert Eitner, *Biograpisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1900–04), IV (1901), pp. 4–6.
[11] 'Silvestri, Florido de', *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della Musica e dei Musicisti*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1985–88), VII (1988), p. 14.

universale dei musicisti,[12] and *Il Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*[13] — all originally published over twenty-five years ago and the oldest over a century ago — between them sketched out the barest bones of his life and published output, often with mistakes of varying seriousness. These range from minor infelicities such as incorrect titles or years of publication to more serious errors such as the misidentification of the composers of certain motets and the absence of certain of the anthologies from discussion.

These dictionary and encyclopedia articles have been all but superseded by three more recent publications. Two come from the distinguished and experienced hand of Saverio Franchi:

- an extended entry in a recent encyclopedia of Italian music publishers of the Renaissance and early Baroque.[14] This clearly establishes the correct facts about Florido's publications and the contacts he had in the world of Roman printing;
- four volumes concerning the bibliography of Roman musical publications of the seventeenth century, the final volumes of which were published only after Franchi's death.[15]

Franchi's work is complemented by an extensive biographical article by Federico Vizzaccaro, which reveals several previously unknown details regarding Florido's early life.[16] However, even taken together there still remain some omissions and inaccuracies; for

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[12] Carlo Schmidl, *Supplemento al Dizionario universale dei musicisti. Appendice aggiunte e rettifiche al primo e secondo volume* (Sonzogno, 1938), p. 389.
[13] Arnaldo Morelli, 'De Silvestris, Florido', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 39 (1991) <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/florido-de-silvestris_(Dizionario-Biografico)/> [accessed 21 July 2019].
[14] Saverio Franchi, 'De Silvestris, Florido', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini alla metà del Settecento*, ed. by Bianca Maria Antolini (Edizioni ETS, 2019), pp. 304–06.
[15] Saverio Franchi, *Annali della stampa musicale romana dei secoli XVI–XVIII*, 4 vols (IBIMUS and Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2006–22).
[16] Federico Vizzaccaro, 'Florido De Silvestris (1596-1674), promotore della cultura musicale romana', in *Miscellanea seicentesca*, ed. by Roberto Gigliucci (Bulzoni, 2011), pp. 251–86. Vizzaccaro's article is far and away the most detailed biography of Florido available, and I am indebted to him for further thoughts shared in personal communications during April 2020.

instance, Franchi misidentifies the dedicatee of one volume and cites two exemplars that I have subsequently established not to exist, while Vizzaccaro seems not to have understood the full extent to which two of Florido's middle anthologies (those of 1651 and 1652) consist of reprints of already published music, and thereby arrives at some slightly inaccurate figures. Therefore, Chapter 1 — in extending and correcting all of the aforementioned biographical pieces — presents the first extended English-language profile of Florido.

None of Florido's anthologies (either sacred or secular) exists *in toto* in a modern critical edition — likely owing to a combination of their partbook format and of the difficulties in accessing original prints (and obtaining copies thereof) — and while there exist modern transcriptions of some individual motets from the anthologies, there are very few critical editions. (See the Bibliography for details of these editions and transcriptions.) Furthermore, even the most recent and otherwise comprehensive scholarship — that of Franchi and Vizzaccaro — has overlooked some exemplars; as discussed in Chapter 2, in the course of my research I have uncovered thirteen additional exemplars that, while discoverable in library catalogues and available for consultation to researchers, have not been cited in academic discussion. Consequently, their descriptions and contributions to the editions that form part of this thesis constitute a valuable addition to the corpus of Seicento *concertato* motets; furthermore, I intend to create full critical editions of all of Florido's motet anthologies at a later date.

His prolific output as an anthologiser has meant that Florido has featured frequently in passing in research into the circulation of anthologies, most notably in works by Jerome Roche[17] and Graham Dixon[18] dating from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. More recent

[17] Jerome Roche, 'On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal: early 17th-century books that mix motets and vernacular settings', in *Seicento inesplorato. L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile: un modello di interdipendenza* (Atti di convegno: Lenno-Como, 23–25 giugno 1989) (AIMS, 1993), pp. 303–17.
'The Latin Concertato Motet in the Seventeenth Century', p. 4.
[18] Graham Dixon, 'Liturgical music in Rome (1605-45)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 1981).

authors to have included various of Florido's motet anthologies and their exemplars in their work on broader themes include John Azzopardi,[19] Lars Berglund,[20] Franco Bruni,[21] Jana Kalinayová-Bartová,[22] and Geoffrey Webber.[23] While it is certainly true that Florido's anthologies account for only a very small proportion of the Roman repertoire that enjoyed such popularity all across seventeenth-century Europe, it has become apparent that Florido's anthologies deserve to be considered on their own merits and as a coherent body of publications.

In recent years a common trait of much of the literature on motets after the Council of Trent is its decision to end its chronological scope in the early seventeenth century, and only very rarely to go even as far as 1650 except when considering specific composers active in the later part of the century. Indeed, it is striking how many authors have chosen 1650 or a slightly earlier date as the *non plus ultra* when discussing the motet; writings that explicitly

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Graham Dixon, 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century', *Acta Musicologica*, 53 (1981), pp. 105–19.

[19] John Azzopardi, 'The Music Archives at the Cathedral Church, Mdina — Malta: Their Contents, Provenance, and Study', in *Italian and Maltese Music in the Archives at the Cathedral Museum of Malta*, ed. by John Azzopardi and Matteo Sansone (Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 2001), pp. 19–92.

[20] Lars Berglund, 'Routes to the Düben Collection: the acquisition of music by Gustav Düben and his sons', *De musica disserenda*, 11.1–2 (2015), pp. 51–66; 'Printed Music in the Düben Collection' <https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Printed_Music.pdf> [accessed 16 April 2020].

[21] Franco Bruni, '17th-century music prints at Mdina Cathedral, Malta', *Early Music*, 27.3 (August 1999), pp. 467–79.

[22] Jana Kalinayová-Bartová, 'Italian Music in the Repertoire of Bratislavan Musical Institutions in the Seventeenth Century', in *Italian Music in Central-Eastern Europe: Around Mikołaj Zieleński's* Offertoria *and* Communiones *1611*, ed. by Tomasz Jeż, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska & Marina Toffetti (Fondazione Levi, 2015), pp. 349–64.

[23] Geoffrey Webber, 'Italian music at the Court of Queen Christina: Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. MS 377 and the visit of Vincenzo Albrici's Italian ensemble, 1652–54', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning (Swedish Journal of Musicology)*, 1993.2, pp. 47–54.

do so include those by Graham Dixon,[24] Arno Forchert,[25] Jerome Roche[26], and Roark Thurson Miller.[27] Most remarkable is the valuable recent collection edited by Esperanza Rodríguez-García and Daniele Filippi, in which they choose to define 'post-Tridentine' as 'roughly-comprising ca.1560–ca.1610 (but with forays up to the 1650s)'.[28] The research into Florido's anthologies discussed in this thesis, allied to the extensive bibliographical work of Franchi mentioned earlier, shows that the *concertato* motet form was very much alive in Rome until the final decades of the seventeenth century, and the work of, among others, Valeria Mannoia[29] and Marc Vanscheeuwijck,[30] demonstrates that it continued to thrive in other centres even later than that, most notably Bologna. Thus, this thesis aims to extend current knowledge through its application of the methodologies and techniques used in studies of repertoire from the first half of the seventeenth century to Florido's motet anthologies, which lie mostly in the second half of the century.

The sacred repertoire of Seicento Rome to which Florido's anthologies belonged was for much of the twentieth century viewed by musicologists as the poor relation of 'starrier' music from the Italian peninsula. 'While Venice was the center of progress in sacred music, Rome was the bulwark of traditionalism,' wrote Manfred Bukofzer at almost the midpoint

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[24] Graham Dixon, 'Liturgical music in Rome (1605-45)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 1981).
Graham Dixon, 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century', *Acta Musicologica*, 53 (1981), pp. 105–19.
[25] Arno Forchert, 'Die Motette am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Motette. Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte* (Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 5), ed. by Herbert Schneider and Heinz-Jürgen Winkler (Schott, 1992), pp. 205–15.
[26] Jerome Roche, 'On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal: early 17th-century books that mix motets and vernacular settings', in *Seicento inesplorato. L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile: un modello di interdipendenza* (Atti di convegno: Lenno-Como, 23–25 giugno 1989) (AIMS, 1993), pp. 303–17.
'The Latin Concertato Motet in the Seventeenth Century', p. 4.
[27] Roark Thurson Miller, 'The composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano and the development of Venetian monody to 1630' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1993).
[28] Rodríguez-García and Filippi, 'The motet in the post-Tridentine world: An Introduction', p. 3.
[29] Valeria Mannoia, 'Aspects of Performance Practice in Bologna in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: a Study of Archival Sources", *Ensayos. Historia y teoría del arte*, 20.30 (January–June 2016), pp. 18–54.
[30] Marc Vanscheeuwijck, 'Musical Performance at San Petronio in Bologna: a Brief History', *Performance Practice Review*, 8.1 (1995), pp. 73–82.

of the century,[31] and even fifty years later (that being as recent as 1996) some of those who had dedicated their lives to the repertoire acknowledged the disparity in scholarly attention:

> Catholic sacred music of the Baroque is, in part, still a *terra incognita*, at least from about 1630 onwards […] Roman sacred music of the middle Baroque and later is seldom taken into consideration […] and more generally, the music of the Catholic liturgy of this period is not deemed worthy of discussion on its own merits.[32]

Buzkofzer's assertion, although now over three-quarters of a century old, would appear to have contributed to the long shadow cast over the study of seventeenth-century Roman sacred music during the twentieth century: while Venetian music and composers of the early Baroque have long enjoyed the sustained enthusiastic devotion of musicologists, from as far back as Gian Francesco Malipiero's pioneering editions of Monteverdi in the 1920s, it was perhaps not until the late 1970s that Roman music of the same period found — in the pioneering work of Jean Lionnet — a persuasive advocate and investigator.

Furthermore, smaller musical forms seem historically to have suffered from comparative scholarly neglect, overshadowed and marginalised by grander works, particularly those that constituted the 'Colossal Baroque' trend so popular in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century.[33] This was in spite of the clear evidence that smaller-scale sacred works enjoyed greater currency in a wide range of religious settings:

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[31] Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era from Monteverdi to Bach* (W.W. Norton, 1947), p. 68.

[32] 'La musica sacra cattolica del barocco è, in parte, ancora una terra incognita, almeno dal 1630 circa in poi […] la musica sacra romana dal medio barocco in poi viene scarsamente presa in considerazione […] come più in generale la musica della liturgia cattolica di questo periodo non viene ritenuta degna di una trattazione a parte …' (translation by the author). Wolfgang Witzenmann, 'Marazzoli, Carissimi, Benevoli e la musica sacra romana del Seicento', in *La scuola policorale romana del Sei-Settecento*, pp. 65–80 (p. 65).

[33] e.g. Florian Bassani, 'Musiche policorali nella Chiesa del Gesù: aspetti di prassi esecutiva', in *La musique à Rome au XVIIe siècle: études et perspectives de recherche*, ed. by Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet (École française de Rome, 2012), pp. 357–77; Graham Dixon, 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque"', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 106 (1979–80), pp. 115–28.

> On the contrary, statistically much more widespread and (hence) significant is the middle- to low-range performance bracket, as represented by provincial musical establishments, as also by the choirs of minor churches in the larger cities: the restricted vocal resources of these *cappelle musicali* find succour in an essentially consumer repertory of limited technical demands and wide circulation, frequently linked to the peregrinations of a variety of religious and clerical *maestri di cappella,* expert or not.[34]

Additionally, it was noted that the *concertato* motet in particular began to come into its own in this period, developing a characteristic form:

> The concertato motet thus became effectively distanced, at least officially, from the liturgy and transferred into the realm of devotional practice, public or private. In these circumstances, even the choice of texts was separated from the breviary: along the lines of secular vocal music there sprang up a 'librettistic' Latin, from the start marked by certain forms and musical techniques, and subject to the modern post-Monteverdian compositional concept, 'la musica sia padrona delle parole'.[35]

The sacred motet underwent great and rapid development during the course of the seventeenth century. At the start of this period it was, along with the Ordinary of the Mass, the most popular sacred genre in terms of publications[36] and certainly in terms of stylistic experimentation: the increasing use of melodic instruments in secular vocal works (in both domestic and dramatic milieux) around the turn of the century spills over into the sacred realm, but as the use of instruments other than the organ in settings of the Ordinary of the

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[34] Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. by David Bryant (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 117.

[35] 'Il motetto concertato viene quindi allontanato, almeno ufficialmente, dalla liturgia e trasferito nell'ambito della pratica devozionale pubblica o privata. In queste circonstanze, anche la scelta dei testi si emancipa dal breviario: sulla falsariga della musica vocale profana sorge una librettistica Latina, fin dall'inizio improntata a determinate forme e tecniche musicali, e sottomessa alla moderna concezione compositive post-monteverdiana, "la musica sia padrona delle parole"'. (Translation by this author.) Gunther Morche, 'Il contributo di Francesco Foggia al mottetto concertato', in *Francesco Foggia: 'fenice de' musicali compositori' nel florido Seicento romano e nella storia*, ed. by Ala Botti Caselli (Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 1998), pp. 148–62 (p. 150).

[36] Jeffrey Kurtzman and Anne Schnoebelen, *A Catalogue of Motets, Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy, 1516-1770*, JSCM Instrumenta, 2 (2014) <https://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/vol-2/>, p. 1 [accessed 9 August 2019].

Mass was prohibited by the Council of Trent[37] the motet became the primary context for this new development.[38] However, as the century progressed other types of sacred composition gained in popularity, particularly settings of Vespers psalms, the Litany of Loreto, and Compline towards the middle of the century, and — more decisively — the oratorio towards the end.[39] Indeed, the *concertato* motet in the second half of the seventeenth century has often been discussed in passing or as a preliminary, as being somewhat of a 'poor cousin'[40] to the emerging genres of the dialogue motet[41] and its successor (in some ways) the oratorio.[42]

The reason why the motet rose to such prominence among sacred forms in the seventeenth century has been attributed to how adaptable a form it proved in the face of the rapidly developing musical style:

> Furthermore, the motet lent itself perfectly to the new 'fashion' of the seventeenth century: it was characterised by the use of embellishments and diminutions, while remaining a territory for experimentation with new compositional techniques and the pursuit of more refined counterpoint; the sacred text, not necessarily related to the liturgy, was quite free and flexible.[43]

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[37] Craig Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55.1 (2002), pp. 1–37 (p. 3).
[38] Stephen Bonta, 'The Use of Instruments in Sacred Music in Italy 1560–1700', *Early Music*, 18.4 (1990), pp. 519–35.
[39] Arnaldo Morelli, 'La circolazione dell'oratorio italiano nel Seicento', *Studi Musicali*, 26.1 (1997), pp. 105–86.
[40] Howard E. Smither, 'What's Oratorio in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Italy?' in *Report of the Eleventh Congress Copenhagen 1972* (Edition Wilhelm Hansen, 1974), pp. 657–63.
[41] Frits Noske, *Saints and Sinners: The Latin Musical Dialogue in the Seventeenth Century* (Clarendon, 1992), p. 6.
Helmut Hucke, 'Was ist eine Motette?', in *Die Motette. Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte* (Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 5), ed. by Herbert Schneider and Heinz-Jürgen Winkler (Schott, 1992), pp. 9–17.
John Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi* (UMI Research Press, 1982).
[42] Graham Dixon, 'Oratorio o mottetto? Alcune riflessioni sulla classificazione della musica sacra del Seicento', *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 17 (1983), pp. 203–22.
Morelli, 'La circolazione dell'oratorio italiano nel Seicento'.
Howard E. Smither, 'The Latin Dramatic Dialogue and the Nascent Oratorio', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), pp. 403–33.
[43] 'Il mottetto, inoltre, si prestava perfettamente ad assecondare la nuova "moda" del Seicento: aveva, appunto, la caratteristica di utilizzare fioriture, dimiuzioni, pur restando territorio di sperimentazione di nuove tecniche di scrittura e di ricerca anche di un più raffinato contrappunto; il testo sacro, non per forza attinente alla liturgia, era abbastanza libero e elastico.' Mafalda Baccaro, 'Aspetti della musica sacra di Giuseppe Corsi: i mottetti *Cantate Domino* (1659) ed *Exaudi Domine* (1665)', in *'E nostra guida sia la stravaganza'. Giuseppe Corsi da*

It is also necessary to consider the function of the motet in Seicento Italy; this can be divided into two broad categories — liturgical and paraliturgical — each of which can be further subdivided. Although the motet originally fulfilled no function at all within the liturgy, by the end of the sixteenth century the genre had come to occupy a fairly free role within liturgical celebrations. A motet could be substituted for a portion of the Proper of the Mass (i.e. Introit, Gradual, Alleluia or Tract, Sequence, Offertory, or Communion)[44] or for any of the Office antiphons (short sentences sung before and/or after a psalm or canticle);[45] it could be a setting of the portion of text it replaced, or of a liturgically-related text, or of a completely unrelated text. Motets were also added into certain parts of the Mass, often when the celebrant was occupied with speaking *sotto voce* as directed by the rubric of the Tridentine Mass — most notably at the elevation of the host in the middle of the Eucharistic prayer.

Through his studies of documentary evidence from the Sistine Chapel, Anthony Cummings has shown that in early seventeenth-century Roman practice, 'motets were probably not regularly performed during those parts of the liturgy to which their texts belong; on the contrary, considerable freedom governed the choice of motet to be performed and the text sometimes displayed only marginal relevance to the liturgy of the feast on which it was sung.'[46] As David Crook has further clarified, 'it was quite clearly the meaning of [a] motet's text rather than its traditional liturgical association that suggested its use' on particular occasions.[47]

Celano, musicista del Seicento, ed. by Galliano Ciliberti and Giovanni Tribuzio (Florestano, 2014), pp. 221–29 (p. 221).

[44] Noel O'Regan, 'The Church Triumphant: music in the liturgy', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. by Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 283–323 (p. 286).

[45] T. Frank Kennedy, 'Jesuit Colleges and Chapels: Motet Function in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', *Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 130 (1996), pp. 197–213 (pp. 201–02).

[46] Anthony M. Cummings, 'Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34.1 (1981), pp. 43–59 (p. 53).

[47] David Crook, 'The Exegetical Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 68.2 (2015), pp. 255–316 (p. 277).

Paraliturgical roles for the motet include scriptural exegesis in relation to the readings set for the day — i.e. settings of texts that expounded on or illuminated the meaning of the Epistle or Gospel: 'When early modern musicians treated the motet as a form of exegesis, they engaged in a centuries-old practice of constructing and adorning worship with texts that resonated with those lessons'[48] —, processions or other similar ceremonial acts, and formalised sets of devotions such as the Forty Hours (*Quarant'hore*) or the Litany of Loreto. These, and other, varied uses to which sacred motets were put, all likely played a part in the gradual morphing, by the end of the seventeenth century, of the concept of a motet into 'a sacred polyphonic composition with Latin text, which may or may not have *colla voce* or independent instrumental accompaniment'.[49]

Discussion of sacred motet texts after the Council of Trent owes, I feel, much to Andrew V. Jones's treatment of the topic in his seminal study of Carissimi's output in that genre;[50] in particular, his establishing of a typology for such texts has proved most adaptable and mappable onto Florido's and other composers' motets. Subsequent authors to have followed a similar approach, particularly with regard to centonised texts in the aftermath of

[48] Ibid., p. 282.
[49] Catherine A. Bradley and others, 'Motet', *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.013.90000369371>.
[50] Andrew V. Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, 2 vols (UMI Research Press, 1982).

Trent, include Luigi Collarile,[51] Jerome Roche,[52] and Daniele Torelli.[53] The issue of the new style of Latin text that was being set to music — 'librettistic', in Gunther Morche's terminology — is one that has been less pursued; most fruitful in this regard have been the investigations into the trend of emotionally-wrought, self-immolating, and highly sensual texts labelled 'Christocentric' by, among others, Mary Frandsen, and identified as finding popularity among both Roman Catholic and Lutheran listeners.[54] The prevalence of this kind of text among Florido's anthologies is, I have argued elsewhere, closely linked to the fact of their composers' employ at Jesuit institutions.[55]

While there are numerous invaluable modern compendia of Renaissance and Baroque notation related to performance,[56] and detailed discussions of individual notational features in specific repertoires,[57] what sets this study of Florido's motet anthologies apart from such

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[51] Luigi Collarile, '*Sacri concerti*: Studi sul mottetto a Venezia nel secondo Seicento' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Fribourg, 2010).

[52] Jerome Roche, 'I motetti di Frescobaldi e la scelta dei testi nel primo Seicento', in *Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV Centenario della nascita* (Atti di convegno internazionale di studi, Ferrara, 9–14 settembre 1983), ed. by Sergio Durante and Dinko Fabris (Leo S. Olschki, 1986), pp. 153–61.
'Liturgical Aspects of the Motets of Andrea Gabrieli Published in 1565 and 1576', in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo* (Atti di convegno internazionale, Venezia, 16–18 settembre 1985), ed. by Francesco Degrada (Leo S. Olschki, 1987), pp. 215–29.
'Alessandro Grandi: A Case Study in the Choice of Texts for Motets', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113.2 (1988), pp. 274–305.
'Cross-Currents in Milanese Church Music in the 1640s: Giorgio Rolla's Anthology Teatro musicale (1649)', in *La musica sacra in Lombardia nella prima metà del Seicento* (Atti di convegno internazionale, Como, 31 maggio – 2 giugno 1985), ed. by Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (AMIS, 1988), pp. 13–29.

[53] Daniele Torelli, '"Ecce dedi verba mea in ore tuo": fonti liturgiche e non nei testi del mottetto seicentesco', in *Musica tra storia e filologia: Studi in onore di Lino Bianchi*, ed. by Federica Nardacci (Isituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 2010), pp. 679–704.

[54] Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 128–41.

[55] Adrian Horsewood, 'Latin Motet Texts in Seventeenth-Century Rome and the *Exercitia spiritualia* of St Ignatius of Loyola', in *Baroque Latinity: Studies in the Neo-Latin Literature of the European Baroque*, ed. by Jacqueline Glomski, Gesine Manuwald, and Andrew Taylor (Bloomsbury, 2023), pp. 195–211.

[56] For instance, Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, 3rd edn (Faber: 1990) and Frederick Neumann, *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Schirmer: 1993).

[57] Of particular inspiration and utility have been: Patrizio Barbieri, '"Chiavette" and modal transposition in Italian practice (c. 1500–1837)', *Recercare*, 3 (1991), pp. 5–79; Scott Metcalfe, 'Clefs, Pitch and Transposition in Vocal Music before 1600', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 14 (2022), pp. 285–329; Graham Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation: The Italian Background and its Implications', in *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. by Shirley Thompson (Routledge, 2010), pp. 31–61; Jamie Savan, 'Venice 1629:

predecessors is its focus on performance-practice-related aspects of notation in a coherent body of music of so large a chronological span; two principal resources similar in scope are Uwe Wolf's survey of such notation in Italian prints across the turn of the seventeenth century and George Houle's wide-ranging survey of tempo-related notations (albeit in mostly later sources).[58]

Ethics statement

The workshop sessions discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis invited participants to perform extracts from motets in Florido's anthologies and then to discuss performance-related aspects of those extracts. Questionnaires for collecting this data, along with information sheets and consent forms, were designed in consultation with the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire Research Ethics Committee and issued to participants after approval had been obtained by the Committee in March 2021; copies of these documents can be found at Appendix III to Volume I.

Exposition of Research', *Research Catalogue* (2020) <https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/491645/492655/> [accessed 8 February 2021]; Shirley Thompson, 'Once More into the Void: Marc-Antoine Charpentier's "Croches Blanches" Reconsidered', *Early Music*, 30.1 (February 2002), pp. 82–92.

[58] Uwe Wolf, *Notation und Aufführungspraxis: Studien zum Wandel von Notenschrift und Notenbild in italienischen Musikdrucken der Jahre 1571–1630*, 2 vols. (Merseburger, 1992); George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800* (Indiana University Press, 1987).

Chapter 1 | Florido de Silvestris

1.1 | Biographical note

Until recently no record of Florido's birth was known, although a birth year of 1595 or 1596 was posited on the basis of a census made in Rome during the plague year of 1656; in this, we read that he was sixty years old and lived with his mother Giovanna — then allegedly aged seventy-four, which implies she would have been only fourteen or fifteen when Florido was born, so the census record may be incorrect — in a house close to the hospital and church of San Giacomo degli Incurabili (also known as San Giacomo in Augusta), where he was a chaplain at the time.[59] However, a recent study of the records of the church of Santa Maria in Barbarano Romano[60] shows that Florido was baptised there on 18 November 1596, meaning he was most likely born that day or the day before.[61]

His parents Domenico and Giovanna (née Fabreschi) are recorded as having married in Santa Maria di Barbarano on 17 January 1596. No further information is known about Domenico de Silvestris; Giovanna was the niece of Giovanni Battista Fabreschi (1561–1626), superior general of the Order of Somascan Fathers and a native of Barbarano; he was also uncle to the music-loving Cardinal Girolamo Cennini (1566–1645), and it is possible that these influential relations were of benefit to Florido in his clerical career and perhaps also subsequently.

Conversely, the date of Florido's death is unknown; the only contemporary reference is from the Roman composer, theorist, and *maestro di cappella* Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni (1657–1743), who wrote:

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[59] Didier Bodart, '«La descrizione del Rione di Campo Marzio di Roma»: Artistes à Rome durant la peste de 1656', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 38 (1967), pp. 475–531 (p. 505).
[60] Not Barbarano Vicentino near Vicenza, which was supposed for many years to be Florido's birthplace; Arnaldo Morelli was the first to establish the correct location, although the error persists in Florido's entries *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.
Arnaldo Morelli, 'De Silvestris, Florido'.
[61] Vizzaccaro, 'Florido De Silvestris', pp. 251–52.

> He died around the year 1674 and was buried in San Giacomo degli Incurabili beneath one of the organs, with the following inscription: 'To God, most good and most great, the reverend canon Florido de Silvestris of Barbarano, musician of this church in which he rests, awaits the day of resurrection with Giovanna, his mother.[62]

Florido's tomb has not survived to the modern day, following extensive rebuilding work inside San Giacomo during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

However, Florido is listed as being present in the gathering of the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia — the institution for practitioners of sacred music in Rome — on 8 July 1676, which is clearly incompatible with the date given by Pitoni for Florido's death;[63] this contradiction seems odd in light of the fact that this was the occasion of Pitoni's own admittance to the Congregazione.[64] The record of the congregation of 8 July 1676 is the last known documentary sighting of Florido.

Florido is also recorded as being present in the congregations of 7 June 1652 — the occasion of his admittance — 18 March 1664, and 14 June 1673.[65] Furthermore, it seems clear from the frequency with which he appears in the surviving records of the Congregazione that he not only attended regularly — there are also references to his presence in congregations for which the official roll of attendees is missing — but played an active part in the life and work of the institution. While he never rose to occupy the highest position in the Congregazione — that of guardian — nor was ever appointed secretary or *camerlengo* (in this case, an overseer rather than the office of the papal household whose holder

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[62] 'Morì l'anno 1674 incirca e fu sepolto in San Giacomo dell'Incurabili sotto a uno dell'organi con la seguente inscrizione: D.O.M. [Deo Optimo Maximo] R. Floridus Canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano, musicus huius ecclesiae in qua requiescit, cum Joanne, matre sua, resurrectionis diem expectat.' Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, *Notitia de' contrapuntisti e compositori di musica*, ed. by Cesarino Ruini (Olschki, 1988), pp. 310–11.
[63] 'DE SILVESTRIS, Florido', at 'Musiciens à Rome de 1570 à 1750' <https://philidor.cmbv.fr/ark:/13681/5f9scvgh9rigtvxdp0pi/not-228777/> [accessed 15 April 2020].
[64] Remo Giazotto, 'Storia dell'Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia', *Studi musicali*, 2 (1972), pp. 237–84 (p. 263).
[65] Remo Giazotto, *Quattro secoli di storia dell'Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, 2 vols (Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 1970), I, pp. 142 and 177.

administers the property and financial affairs of the Holy See) —, Florido is named as a proposer and supporter of numerous motions and petitions.

Otherwise, apart from the publications with which he was involved as author, composer, compiler or editor — discussed below — there are only sporadic contemporary references to Florido. He is listed as 'clericus' in a 1612 parish list drawn up to mark the pastoral visit to Barbarano by Cardinal Tiberio Muti, bishop of Viterbo and Tuscania, and as 'sacerdote' in a similar list a decade later. The handwritten inscription 'Floridus de Sylvestris a Barb[ara]no can[onic]us Bracc[ianen]sis' on a copy of the Alto partbook of Francesco Pasquali's 1627 collection of madrigals suggests that Florido had, by that time, become a canon of the collegiate church at nearby Bracciano.[66]

He is recorded in November 1647 as being chaplain and bass singer in the hospital church of Santo Spirito in Sassia;[67] in 1655 he moved to take up the same positions at San Giacomo degli Incurabili where, as we have seen, he remained until his death.[68] This latter employment provides the only extended example of Florido's handwriting, an account of musical items acquired by him for the choir there (see below for a fuller discussion of this document).[69]

There are several references in Florido's works to his relatives (see below for fuller bibliographical information on the publications in question). The final madrigal in Florido's 1652 anthology is attributed to 'D. Basilio Nipote di D. Florido', suggesting that Florido had

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[66] RISM A/I: P 0978; the copy in question is held at I-Bc.

[67] Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'L'archivio musicale della chiesa annessa all'ospedale di Santo Spirito', in *L'antico ospedale di Santo Spirito: dall'istituzione papale alla sanità del terzo millennio* (conference proceedings, Rome, 15–17 May 2001) (Veltro, 2001), pp. 279–343 (p. 331).

[68] Florido is named among the singers paid for the celebration of Pentecost in 1655 at Santo Spirito, its patronal festival; this fell on 16 May that year, so his move to San Giacomo must have taken place after that date. Naomi Barker, *Music, Medicine and Religion at the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Rome, 1550–1750* (Boydell, 2024), p. 97.

[69] Vizzaccaro, 'Florido De Silvestris', p. 266.

at least one brother with offspring;[70] Rosa Felice de Silvestris, a Capuchin nun, is the dedicatee of the 1664 hagiographical work *Corona di dodici sante*, which Florido signs off as 'Affettionatissimo Parente' (however, as in modern Italian, 'parente' is not equivalent to 'parent' in English but rather means merely someone from an older generation). Florido dedicated his 1666 edition of motets by Bernardino Vannini to his twin nephews Marco Antonio and Domenico, sons of his sister Elisabetta and her husband Mario Renzi (who was himself the dedicatee of Florido's 1639 play *I due Fratelli discordi*).[71]

1.2 | Florido's publications

Florido's published output falls broadly into four categories:

- twenty-one anthologies of vocal music by contemporary composers from Rome and the surrounding regions, of which fifteen contain sacred motets to Latin texts, two contain Mass settings, two contain madrigals to Italian texts, one contains Vespers psalms, and one contains *ariette* to Italian texts;
- updated editions of older musical publications (both Roman and non-Roman);
- works for the stage;
- works of a religious, hagiographic, or moral nature.

Before proceeding to discuss the motet anthologies, the remainder of Florido's output can be summarised as follows.

[70] Basilio de Silvestris was also a singer — originally a treble, and then a bass; he is recorded as a member of the choir of San Giacomo degli Incurabili at various points between 1645 and 1654. Caroline Giron-Panel, '*Si eligge Alesandro Scarlatti per nostro mastro di cappella*: informations inédites sur la chapelle musicale de San Giacomo degli Incurabili', in *La Musique à Rome au XVIIe siècle: études et perspectives de recherche*, ed. by Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet (École Française de Rome, 2012), pp. 95–120 (p. 117).
[71] Vizzaccaro, 'Florido De Silvestris', pp. 263–64.

Other sacred anthologies

Florido had a hand in the publication of three other anthologies of sacred music, two containing Mass settings and one containing psalms for use at Vespers:

Messe a quattro voci …[72] (Rome: Lodovico Grignani, 1646) (RISM B/I: 1646[1]); Florido is the signatory of the Italian dedicatory epistle to Quirino Mozzani, Protonotary Apostolic. This anthology is an expansion of previous editions with which Florido does not appear to have been involved; it was itself reprinted in 1662 without a dedicatory epistle, suggesting that Florido may not have been involved with the production of this later edition.

Has quatuor Missas …[73] (Rome: Giovanni Pietro Collini, 1651) (RISM B/I: 1651[1]); Florido is the signatory to the Latin dedicatory epistle to Felice Amadei.

Psalmos istos …[74] (Rome: Ignazio de Lazari, 1662) (RISM B/I: 1662[2]); Florido is the signatory to the Latin dedicatory epistle to Cardinal Pascual de Aragón-Córdoba-Cardona y

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[72] In full, *Messe A Quattro Voci Le Tre Prime del Palestina.* [sic] *Cioè, di Papa Marcello ridotta à 4. da Gio. Francesco Anerio, Iste Confessor, & Sine nomine; & la Quarta della Battaglia, dell'istesso Gio. Francesco Anerio. Con il Basso Continuo per l'Organo. Di nuovo corrette, con l'aggiunta di una Messa di Pietro Heredia, & un'altra per i Defonti del medesimo*. The publication contains three Masses by Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina ('Messa di Papa Marcello', 'Messa Iste Confessor', and 'Messa Sine Nomine'), one by Giovanni Anerio ('Messa della Battaglia'), and two by Pietro Heredia ('Messa Noni toni' and 'Messa per i Defonti') all with an added *basso continuo* part.

[73] In full, *R. Floridus Canonicus De Sylvestris a Barbarano Has Quatuor Missas Ab excellentissimis Musices Auctoribus suavissimis modulis Quatuor, Quinque, & Octo vocibus concinnatas Curavit in lucem edendas*. The publication contains four Masses, one each by Carlo Cecchelli ('Messa' for four voices), Bonifatio Gratiani ('Messa Breve' for four voices), Silvestro Durante ('Messa Corre la Nave mia' for five voices or nine 'si placet', with an optional second choir; this appears to be based on the madrigal 'Corre la nave mia colma di gioia' by Orazio Vecchi, printed in his *Convito Musicale* of 1597), and Orazio Benevoli ('Messa In lectulo meo' for eight voices; the parody source has not been identified).

[74] In full, *R. Floridus Canonicus de Sylvestris A Barbarano. Psalmos Istos Ab Excellentissimis Musices Auctoribus Suavissimis Modulis Tribus diversis vocibus concinnatos in lucem edendos curavit.* The publication contains thirteen psalms for use at Vespers and two settings of the Magnificat, all for three voices and *basso continuo*. The composers represented are Orazio Benevoli, Angelo Berardi, Filippo Bonechi, Giacomo Carissimi, Giovanni Antonio Carpani, Silvestro Durante, Francesco Foggia, Giuseppe Giamberti, Bonifatio Gratiani, Pompeo Natali, Giovanni Maria Pagliardi, Mario Savioni, Bartolomeo Seracci, Nicolò Stamegna, and Giovanni Vincenti.

Fernández de Córdoba (1626–77), who was the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See between 1661 and 1664 and later Archbishop of Toledo from 1666 to his death.

Secular anthologies

Three anthologies of secular vocal works compiled by Florido survive:

Ariette di musica …[75] (Bracciano: Andrea Fei, 1646) (RISM B/I: 1646[7]); Florido is the signatory of the Italian dedicatory epistle to Girolamo Boncompagno, abbot.

Concento di madrigali … pars I[76] (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1652) (RISM B/I: 1652[3]); Florido is the signatory of the Italian dedicatory epistle to Pietro Fabrizio of the Order of Santo Spirito.

Concento di madrigali … pars II[77] (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1653) (RISM B/I: 1653[4]); Florido is the signatory of the Italian dedicatory epistle to Isidoro Colazzi, Vicar General of the Order of Santo Spirito.

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[75] In full, *Ariette di musica, a una, e due voci, di Eccellentissimi Autori. Raccolte dal Canonico D. Florido de Silvestris da Barbarano*. The composers represented are Francesco Boccarini, Giacomo Carissimi, Carlo Cecchelli, Giovanni Marciani, Domenico Mazzocchi, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Luigi Rossi, Mario Savioni, and Florido himself.

[76] In full, *Florido Concento Di Madrigali in Musica à trè voci con la Parte da sonare Di Eccellentissimi Auttori. Mandato in luce Da D. Florido Canonico De Silvestris Da Barbarano. Parte Prima*. The publication contains twenty-four madrigals for alto, tenor, bass, and *basso continuo*. The composers represented are Gino Angelo Capponi, Carlo Cecchelli, Silvestro Durante, Bonifatio Gratiani, Giovanni Marciani, Francesco Margarini, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Giovanni Battista Santucci, Girolamo Santucci, Mario Savioni, Basilio de Silvestris (Florido's nephew), Giuseppe Tricarico, and Florido himself.

[77] In full, *Florido Concento Di Madrigali in Musica à trè voci con la Parte da sonare Di Eccellentissimi Auttori. Mandato in luce Da D. Florido Canonico De Silvestris Da Barbarano. Parte Seconda*.. The composers represented are Gino Angelo Capponi, Giovanni Antonio Carpani, Carlo Cecchelli, Bonifatio Gratiani, Giovanni Marciani, Francesco Margarini, Galeazzo Sabbatini, Giovanni Battista Santucci, Girolamo Santucci, Mario Savioni, Antonio Francesco Tenaglia, Giuseppe Tricarico, and Florido himself.

It is clear from the composers featured in these three publications that Florido lavished as much care on his secular music compilations as on his sacred; Margaret Mabbett singles out the 1652 and 1653 collections as 'more ambitious and of much greater quality and interest' in comparison to others of the same period.[78]

Additionally, Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni wrote that he owned a copy of 'Florido concerto [*sic*] di madrigali a 3 voci, con la parte da suonare, parte terza, stampato in Roma per Giovanni Angelo Mutij l'anno 1673'.[79] Although no editor's, compiler's or printer's name is mentioned by Pitoni, the similarity of the title to Florido's two earlier anthologies of madrigals strongly suggests that — despite the twenty-year gap — this, too, was compiled by Florido. Pitoni's words are the only known reference to a work of this title, no copies of which survive.

Other musical publications

Florido was responsible for the production of five other musical volumes in 1642 and 1643; all are reprints or revisions of sixteenth-century publications and all but one are didactic/theoretical works:

Jacques Arcadelt, *Il Primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci da D. Florido Canonico de Silvestris da Barbarano emendato* (Bracciano: Andrea Fei, 1642) (originally printed in 1539).

Giovanni Domenico Guidetti, *Directorium chori ad usum ecclesiarium cathedralium et collegiatarum … Et in hac postrema editione a Canonico Florido de Sylvestris à Barbarano emendatum* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1642) (originally printed in 1582).

[78] Margaret A. Mabbett, 'The Italian madrigal, 1620–1655' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College London, 1989), pp. 141–42.
[79] Pitoni, *Notitia*, p. 311.

Bernardino Lupachino and Ioan Maria Tasso, *Il primo libro a due voci. Con l'aggiunta di alcuni canti di diversi autori. Et in questa ultima impressione emendato dal Canonico Florido de Silvestris da Barbarano* (Bracciano: Andrea Fei, 1642) (originally printed in 1550).

Orazio Scaletta, *Scala di musica molto necessaria per principianti … in questa ultima impression da D. Florido canonico de Silvestris da Barbarano corretta* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1642) (originally printed in 1585).

Grammazio Metallo, *Ricercari a due voci per sonare et cantare … Et da D. Florido canonico de Silvestris da Barbarano emendati* (Bracciano: Andrea Fei, 1643) (originally printed in 1591).

Additionally, in 1666–67[80] Florido edited and published the *Sacras musicales cantiones octo vocibus* (Rome: Amadeo Belmonte) by Bernardino Vannini (1560–1612), a fellow native of Barbarano who was *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral at Viterbo from 1596 until his death.[81]

Non-musical works

Florido's non-musical works can be categorised as either dramatic or religious/hagiographical/moral; his stage works were all printed under the pseudonym of 'L'Accademico Disunito detto l'Incapace',[82] although he invariably put his real name to the dedicatory epistles.

[80] Five of the nine partbooks bear the date 1666 and the remaining four 1667.
[81] Antonella De Angelis, 'La cappella musicale di Viterbo nel secolo XVII', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 19.1 (January–June 1984), pp. 21–35.
[82] The true identity of this pseudonym was clear even to Florido's contemporaries: the priest and writer Angelico Aprosio (1607–81) listed Florido and several of his stage works in his *La visiera alzata* (Parma: gli Heredi del Vigna, 1689; pp. 50–51), a biographical dictionary of seventeenth-century dramatists.

Hostessa sorda. A foggia di Comedia (Orvieto: [no printer named], [no date]).

La fuga dell'hermana. Comedia (Bracciano: Andrea Fei, 1638).

I due Fratelli discordi, comedia (Bracciano: Andrea Fei, 1639).

La Signorina zingaretta. Comedia (Viterbo: [no printer named], 1646).[83]

Il capitano da questo mondo. Comedia (Macerata: [no printed named], 1647)[84] (reprinted Macerata: Francesco Massari, 1648).[85]

Est locanda. Comedia (Velletri: Carlo Bilancioni, 1648).

La combattuta vedova. Comedia (Viterbo: Mariano Diotallevi, 1653).

La Vignarola, discorso (Viterbo: Mariano Diotallevi, 1653).

Florido discorso dell'illustriss. signore il signor marchese Francesco Oldoini tesoriere della maesta catolica nel regno di Sicilia (Rome: Ignazio de Lazari, 1654).

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[83] This play is based on the story 'La gitanilla' by Miguel de Cervantes, published in 1613 as part of his *Novelas ejemplares*, and is claimed to be the earliest dramatic work to portray gypsy characters in a non-stereotypical manner, employing as it does numerous instances of possibly authentic vocabulary. Cf. Georges Hainsworth, 'Les Nouvelles exemplaires de Cervantes en Italie', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 31.2 (1929), pp. 143–47; cf. also Devey Fearon De L'Hoste Ranking, 'An Italian Gypsy Comedy', *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, series 2, vol. 7 (1913–14), pp. 59–68; cf. also Leonardo Piasere, *Il più antico testo italiano in romanes (1646): una riscoperta e una lettura etnostorica* (Libreria Universitaria, 1994).

[84] Florido, as is clear from the dedication to FdS1649, had a great love for his home of Barbarano, and chose it as the setting for this play.

[85] This reprint is mentioned in *Bibliothecæ Josephi Renati Imperialis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Diaconi Cardinalis Sancti Georgii Catalogus …* (Rome: Francesco Gonzaga, 1711) <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=n6VFAAAAcAAJ> [accessed 15 April, 2020], p. 256.

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Corona di dodici Sante Vergini straniere […] con la Vita, et Transito di felice vergine da Barbarano (Rome: Stefano Cavalli, 1664).

Certe ottave sopra il pensiero bizzarro, e piacevole … (Velletri: Francesco Moneta, 1665).

Masista, istoria tragica (Rome: the heir to Mascardi, 1667)[86] (now lost).[87]

Martirio con la morte delli gloriosi martiri S. Menigno, et S. Anastasio tintori (Viterbo: Martinelli [no first name given], 1669).

Discorso nel martirio con la morte dell'invitto martire Guglielmo Cartero stampatore de' libri nella citta di Londra (Viterbo: Martinelli, 1669).[88]

Martirio con la morte del glorioso martire S. Donnino gia cameriere di cesarea maesta (Viterbo: Martinelli, 1670).

Martirio con la morte delli sette gloriosi santi martiri medici (Ronciglione: [no printer named], 1673).

Two of these works do not fall into either of the above categories: the 1654 *Florido discorso* is a biographical work, and the 1665 *Certe ottave* is a collection of poems on a variety of topics — including music, mathematics, philosophy, astrology, medicine, law, botany, literature, history — dedicated to Paolo Foggia, a son of the composer Francesco Foggia.

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[86] Lione Allacci, *Drammaturgia […] fino all'anno MDCCLV* (Venice: Giambatista [*sic*] Pasquali, 1755), p. 514 (*recte* 257 — Allacci numbers each of the two columns on each page individually).
[87] Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana*, 2 vols (Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura: 1988–97), I, p. 400.
[88] The subject matter is unexpected: an account of the life and martyrdom of the English Roman Catholic printer William Carter (*c*.1548–1584), who was executed for treason for having printed a new edition of *A Treatise of Schisme* by Gregory Martin (*c*.1542–1582), the principal translator of the earliest Catholic rendering of the Bible into English, known today as the Douay-Rheims version.

Chapter 2 | Florido's motet anthologies

This thesis focuses on the fifteen of Florido's twenty-one musical anthologies that contain sacred motets to Latin texts:

Year	Full title	RISM B/I	Short title
1643	*Floridus Concentus Sacras continens Laudes a celeberrimis musices erudites auctoribus, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus suavissimis modulis concinnatas, quas in unum collegit R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano*	1643[1]	*Floridus concentus*
1645/ 1646[89]	*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano has alteras sacras cantiones in unum ab ipso collectas suavissimis modulis ab excellentissimis auctoribus concinnatas binis, ternis, quatenisque vocibus curavit in lucem edendas*	1645[2]	*Has alteras sacras cantiones*
1647	*Floridus modulorum hortus ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus modulatus. Quorum tertiam selectionem R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano in unum ab ipso collectam in lucem curavit edendam*	1647[2]	*Floridus modulorum hortus*
1648	*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano, Florida verba a celeberrimis musices auctoribus binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus suavissimis modulis concinnata curavit in lucem edenda*	1648[1]	*Florida verba*
1649	*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano cantiones alias sacras ab excell. auctoribus concinnatas suavissimis modulis binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus in lucem edendas curavit*	1649[2]	*Cantiones alias sacras*
1650	*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano, has alias sacras cantiones, ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus suavissimis modulis binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinnatas, in lucem edendas curavit*	1650[1]	*Has alias sacras cantiones*
1651	*Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano has sacras cantiones ab excellentissimis musicæ auctoribus, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus suavissimis modulis concinnatas in lucem denuo curavit edendas. Pars prima*	[not in RISM B/I]	*Has sacras cantiones … pars I*
1652	*Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano has sacras cantiones ab excellentissimis musicæ auctoribus, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus suavissimis modulis concinnatas in lucem denuo curavit edendas. Pars secunda*	1652[1]	*Has sacras cantiones … pars II*
1654	*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano. Has alias cantiones sacras ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus suavissimis modulis concinnatas, in lucem edendas curavit*	1654[2]	*Has alias cantiones sacras*
1655	*R. Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano alias cantiones sacras ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus concinnatas suavissimis modulis tribus vocibus paribus cum organo in lucem edendas curavit*	1655[1]	*Alias cantiones sacras*
1659	*R. Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano has alias sacras cantiones ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus suavissimis modulis unica voce contextas in lucem edendas curavit*	1659[1]	*Has alias sacras cantiones*
1663	*R. Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano has alteras sacras cantiones ab excell. musices auctoribus suavissimis modulis unica voce contextas in lucem edendas curavit. Pars secunda*	1663[1]	*Has alteras sacras cantiones ... pars II*

[89] Of the three surviving exemplars of this anthology, two are dated 1645, and one 1646; see below for a more detailed discussion.

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1664	*R. Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano istas alias sacras cantiones ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus, unica, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus suavissimis modulis concinnatas, in lucem edendas curavit*	1664[1]	*Istas alias sacras cantiones*
1668	*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano istas alias cantiones sacras ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus tribus diversis vocibus suavissimis modulis concinnatas in lucem curavit edendas*	1668[1]	*Istas alias cantiones sacras*
1672	*R. Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano sacras cantiones duabus variis vocibus ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus, suavissimis modulis concinncatas in lucem edendas curavit*	1672[1]	*Sacras cantiones*

Table 2.1 Year, Full title, RISM B/I reference, and Short title for Florido's fifteen motet anthologies.

To avoid confusion brought about by the similarity of so many of these titles (in both short and full form), this thesis will henceforth employ the shorthand of prefixing the year of publication with 'FdS' (for 'Florido de Silvestris'; that is, FdS1643, FdS1645 etc.) to refer to individual anthologies, unless reference is made to the specific wording of a title-page. When discussing individual motets their titles will generally be followed by an additional reference — in the form FdS1643.01, FdS1643.02 etc. — designating their place in the anthology according to the *tavola* of whichever partbook contains the basso continuo part as this is usually the only partbook with a part for each motet.[90]

The profiles of Florido's motet anthologies that comprise the first part of this chapter are not intended to be exhaustive bibliographical or repertorial studies; for those who wish to gain a full picture of these aspects, these profiles are best read in conjunction with Saverio Franchi's volumes on Roman musical publications of the seventeenth century discussed above.[91] My comments here variously augment and correct Franchi's (and others') reports with regard to points concerning individual anthologies; for discussion of topics that relate to multiple or all of the anthologies — such as the composers and printers associated with them — see 'Remarks', below.

[90] In FdS1659 and FdS1663, which contain only motets for solo voices, the Partitura partbook contains both voice and continuo part for every piece, laid out in score format, while the Cantus partbook contains just the voice part for every piece.
[91] Franchi, *Annali*.

2.1 | First forays: FdS1643, FdS1645, FdS1647

The first three of Florido's motet anthologies contain substantially more motets than their successors: twenty-five in each of FdS1643 and FdS1647, and twenty-seven in FdS1645. No subsequent anthology contains more than seventeen; possible reasons for this range are discussed below ('Florido's motivations, markets, and models').

The earliest of Florido's motet anthologies known to us is FdS1643. Its name directly echoes that of a 1622 volume of Latin motets by Domenico Campisi (1588–1641), the *Floridus concentus* […] *Binis, Ternis, & Quaternis vocibus Modulandus. Liber Tertius* (RISM A/I: C 674). Printed in Rome by Giovanni Battista Robletti, who would later print FdS1648 for Florido, Campisi's collection contains twenty-one motets — ten for two voices, six for three voices, and five for four voices — arranged in increasing order of the number of voices just as Florido would later structure his own anthologies. However, it is impossible to ascertain if Florido knew of this older publication and consciously took it as a model for his own, or whether the similarities mentioned are merely coincidental.[92]

The only piece of evidence that challenges the supposition that FdS1643 is Florido's first anthology is the appearance at the bottom of several of its pages of the inscription 'Seconda scelta d'autori gravissimi' ('Second selection of the most important composers'). Saverio Franchi has suggested that Florido may have been involved with the production of the 1642 anthology *Sacrarum modulationum ex variis selectis auctoribus collectarum selectio prima studio et diligentia Dominici Blanci …* (Rome: Lodovico Grigani) (RISM B/I: 1642[1]) — perhaps cutting his teeth in some way in the art of compiling and producing musical anthologies —

[92] Only one exemplar of Campisi's volume survives, in F-Pn (shelfmark RES-225); the volume into which the four partbooks are bound together has a book plate from the library of the Borghese family — the publication is dedicated to Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli-Borghese (1577–1633), who created the basis of the collection now in the Galleria Borghese in Rome — but other than stamps and annotations relating to its accessioning at F-Pn the copy bears no other signs of use or ownership.

and so may well have regarded this earlier publication as his 'Prima scelta' even though it does not bear his name.[93]

This hypothesis is strengthened by consideration of the contents of FdS1651 and FdS1652. These contain thirty-two pieces in total: twenty-five are taken from Florido's preceding motet anthologies, and five of the remaining seven are taken from the 1642 *Sacrarum modulationum* — even going so far as to duplicate errors from that earlier publication. (See below for a fuller discussion of FdS1651 and FdS1652.)

However, and whatever the reason for the above, after FdS1643 the inscriptions in Florido's anthologies revert to something resembling a 'correct' numbering through to FdS1664 — as long as we are permitted to adopt the same flexibility in this regard as I venture Florido to have taken; namely, to exclude FdS1651 and FdS1652 (on the basis of their having been mostly compiled from their predecessors) and FdS1659 and FdS1663 (as they contain only solo-voice motets, and therefore cannot be considered true successors to the anthologies of motets for multiple voices):

FdS1645: 'Seconda Scelta di Motetti à 2.3.&4. Voci di diversi Eccellentiß. Autori'
FdS1647: 'Terza scelta di D. Florido'
FdS1648: 'Quarta scelta di D. Florido'
FdS1649: 'Quinta scelta di Motetti à 2.3.&4. Voci di diversi Eccellentissimi Autori'
FdS1650: 'Scelta di Mottetti d'Eccellentissimi Autori'
FdS1651: 'Scelta di tutte le Scelte Parte 1'
FdS1652: 'Scelta di tutte le Scelte Parte 2'
FdS1654: 'Settima Scelta di Motetti de diversi Autori'
FdS1655: [no inscription]
FdS1659: 'Scelta di Motetti à una voce di diversi Autori'

[93] Franchi, *Annali*, I.1 (IBIMUS, 2006), p. 850.

FdS1663: [no inscription]

FdS1664: 'Nona scelta di D. Florido'[94]

FdS1668: [no inscription]

FdS1672: [no inscription]

A discussion follows below as to Florido's possible motivations for producing musical anthologies, but a plausible source of inspiration for his first may be the musical predilections of its dedicatee. I deliberately henceforth refer to 'dedication' and 'dedicatees' with regard to Florido's anthologies and not 'patronage' and 'patrons'; nowhere in any of his works does Florido seem to seek patronage in the traditional sense of a longer-term, mostly top-down relationship, and perhaps his familial and professional connections (see Chapter 1, above) meant that he did not require this kind of relationship.

This supposition may be lent credence by the dedicatory epistle to Florido's last motet anthology, which is the only such address not written by Florido himself; rather, it is signed by the collection's printer, Giovanni Angelo Muzio, who addresses the dedicatee as 'patrono meo colendissimo' ('my most honorable patron') — a turn of phrase not used by Florido himself in any of his other publications, either musical or non-musical.

If Florido desired not to secure any kind of financial or employment-based betterment through dedicating his works to certain individuals, what might his aim have been? Jorge Morales, in his discussion of dedications of musical publications to early modern Roman cardinals, suggests that this sort of relationship was related more 'to social distinction, the culture of gift-giving and reciprocation, the search for protection, networking, the circulation of music, and the market for publishing scores', adding that 'the dedication, the

[94] Were it not for the frequency with which it appears across all of the partbooks of FdS1664, it could be suggested that the word 'Nona' in the inscription of FdS1664 is a misprint for 'Nova', with the block of movable type for the third letter placed upside down; however, according to the reasoning presented above, it can plausibly be considered the ninth of Florido's anthologies of motets for multiple voices.

paratext accompanying the printed musical work, is a key element in the public visibility of a musician and of their musical output'.[95]

This would serve as an explanation for the fact that while the majority of the dedicatees of Florido's motet anthologies did inhabit loftier social strata than he — cardinals, noblemen, foreign ambassadors, members of the papal household and of the Vatican hierarchy — this was certainly not the case with all; what Florido stood most to gain by choosing as dedicatees middle-ranking, provincial clergymen (FdS1648, FdS1649) or nuns in cities other than Rome (FdS1650, FdS1664) was the opportunity both to see his name grace the front of yet another print, and also to pen a lengthy, florid Latin epistle.

Nevertheless, Florido certainly aimed high with the first dedication to which he put his own name. Pompeo Colonna (*c*.1614–1661) was a member of one of Rome's leading aristocratic families, and one of the sons of the prince of Gallicano in Lazio.[96] Colonna also seems to have been an amateur musician and composer over and above the dilettante manner frequent among the nobility, as well as a patron of professional musicians. The score of a 1645 opera with music (and possibly libretto) by him on the subject of the abduction of Proserpina survives in the British Library, and an oratorio setting his libretto of the story of St Agnes was performed in the Chiesa Nuova in January 1651; furthermore, Colonna directed the music of the weekly Lenten oratorios performed in the palace of

[95] 'mais qui a plutôt à voir avec la distinction sociale, la culture du don et du contre-don, avec la recherche de protection, la mise en contact, la circulation matérielle et le marché de l'édition de partitions'; 'la dédicace, paratexte qui accompagne l'imprimé musical, est un élément-clé du rayonnement public d'un musicien et d'une œuvre musicale.' Jorge Morales, 'Les cardinaux et la dédicace des livres de musique à Rome pendant la première moitié du XVIIe siècle. Esquisse d'un tableau socio-historique et culturel', in *Musica e cultura a Roma: intorno agli studi di Saverio Franchi*, ed. by Biancamaria Brumana, Galliano Ciliberti, and Orietta Sartori (Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2024), pp. 481–502 (pp. 482–83).

[96] Gallicano was bought by the Ludovisi family from the Colonnas in 1622 — that is, after Pompeo's birth — meaning that when Giovanni Marciani is described in the rubric at the head of his motet 'Amor Iesu dulcissime' in FdS1645 as 'Musico dell'Eccellentiss[imo]. Sig[nore]. Principe di Gallicano', this is a reference to Niccolò I Ludovisi (1610–64), and not to Pompeo Colonna (as stated by Franchi in his *Annali*, p. 874). Giampiero Brunelli, 'Ludovisi, Niccolò' <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-ludovisi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/> [accessed 11 November 2024].

Queen Christina of Sweden, among which was Carissimi's setting of Colonna's text of the *Historia di Daniele*, performed in Lent of 1656.[97]

Colonna is known to have sung — extremely unusually for a member of the nobility (and he was joined by Fulvio Alessandro della Corgna, duke of Castiglione del Lago in Umbria) — in the choir for a Mass celebrated in the Chiesa Nuova (Santa Maria in Vallicella) by the castrato Loreto Vittori on 25 January 1643, after the latter's admittance to the Cappella Sistina.[98] A contemporary account relates that music was written for the service by Giacomo Carissimi, Stefano Fabri, Francesco Foggia, and Virgilio Mazzocchi, and while the descriptions of the pieces composed by each of these are not exact enough to allow any clear identification, they could all be met by the works of those composers that appear in FdS1643.[99] Furthermore, most of the pieces in FdS1643 by the aforementioned composers have a Marian text, rather than one relating to the principal liturgical celebration of 25 January, the Conversion of St Paul, which could be explained by the location for the Mass being a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary; Galliano Ciliberti suggests that, 'it is probable that some of these pieces may have been chosen not so much for their original liturgical function as for the particular significance of the text adapted to that ceremony [i.e. the Mass for Loreto Vittori].'[100] Was FdS1643 created as a souvenir of this occasion?

If so, Florido makes no reference to it in his dedicatory epistle, written in the florid, allusion-laden and sycophantic language typical of dedicatory epistles of the period; as

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[97] Arnaldo Morelli, '"Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma": Patronage and Secular Context of the Oratorio in Baroque Rome', in *Patronage and secular context of the oratorio in Baroque Rome*, in *Music observed. Studies in memory of William C. Holmes*, ed. by Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi (Harmonie Park Press, 2004), p. 336.
[98] Arnaldo Morelli, 'Omaggio a un collega: una Messa a 16 voci di Orazio Benevoli in onore di Loreto Vittori', in *Tra musica e storia: saggi di varia umanità in ricordo di Saverio Franchi*, ed. by Giancarlo Rostirolla and Elena Zomparelli (IBIMUS, 2017), pp. 197–212 (pp. 200–01).
[99] Galliano Ciliberti, 'Un impresario in chiesa: Il maestro di cappella a Roma e nello Stato Pontificio nel seicento', in *Le Métier du maître de musique d'église (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles): activités, sociologie, carrières*, ed. by Bernard Dompnier and Jean Duron (Brepols, 2020), pp. 183–204 (pp. 186–87).
[100] 'È probabile che alcuni di questi componimenti fossero stati scelti non tanto per la loro funzionalità liturgica originaria, quanto per il significato peculiare del testo adatto a quella cerimonia.' Ciliberti, 'Un impresario in chiesa', pp. 186–87.

Florido's motet anthologies

Morales points out, 'these texts employ a codified, outmoded, and affected language' by means of their endless layering of allegory and mythology in praise of the dedicatee.[101]

No specific circumstances can be identified to tie Florido's next anthology, FdS1645, to its dedicatee. Vincenzo Costaguti (1612–60) was born in Rome into a noble Genoese family. In 1643 he was created Cardinal-Deacon and was eventually elevated to Cardinal-Priest in the year of his death, with San Callisto as his titular church. To him was also dedicated a 1640 anthology of *arie spirituali*, compiled by Vicenzo Bianchi (who Franchi suggests was the son of Domenico Bianchi, the compiler of the aforementioned 1642 anthology printed by Grignani).

In contrast, it is my belief that the contents of FdS1647, to a greater extent than with any other of Florido's motet anthologies, were deliberately chosen to appeal to the interests of its dedicatee — in spite of the fact that an exact identification is perhaps impossible. The dedicatory epistle is addressed to 'Lord Thomas Somerset, marquess' (and not, as Franchi and others have previously misunderstood the Latin, 'Lord Thomas, marquess of Somerset'), and the title-page bears the coat of arms of the Somerset family, the Earls (and later Marquesses) of Worcester with an added mark of cadency (a symbol that indicates the place of bearer of the arms among the sons of his father; in this case, a five-pointed star indicating him to have been the third son).

[101] 'ces textes utilisent un langage codifié, redondant et affecté'. Morales, 'Les cardinaux et la dédicace des livres de musique à Rome', p. 485.

CANTVS

FLORIDVS
MODVLORVM HORTVS
AB EXCELLENTISSIMIS
MVSICES AVCTORIBVS,
Binis, Ternis, Quaternisque Vocibus modulatus.
Quorum Tertiam Selectionem
R. FLORIDVS
CANONICVS DE SYLVESTRIS
A Barbarano, in vnum ab ipso collectam, in
lucem curauit edendam.

ROMAE, Apud Andream Phaum. MDCXLVII.
Superiorum Permissu.

ILLVSTRISS.MO & EXCELL.MO D.
DOMINO THOMAE
MARCHIONI SOMMERSETTO
S. ac F.

AD immensum tuarum Virtutum pelagus, Illustriss. ac Excellentiis. Dne, suarum hæ Syrenarum modulatrices aures, non tam cupidè aduolantes exauditi, quàm suũ in ipso sibi nancisci domicilium exoptant; In te namque cum Nouena Musarum cohors sua vnaquæque munera officiosa contulerit, & cælestes sui luminis radios, ac sapientiæ decora Phœbus perfuderit, non mirum, si quoque Phœbi doctissimi Cycni ad amænissimum tui patrocinij Cælum adspirent; Haud nimirum ignari, in te, tanquam in tutissimo, & pietatis, & humanitatis omnis portu, nullo liuoris turbine concuti, nulla vnquam temporis iniuria dirui, nullisque denique dicacium procellis agitari se posse. Tu itaque benignis, quibus assoles oculis, tot Musicę sapientum Virorum fœtus fouebis. Sic etenim tuarum etiam Virtutum insigniti fulgoribus, illustrius vna, diutiusque consistent, necnon suauius omnium auribus personabunt.

Illustrissimæ, & Excellentissimæ Dominationis tuæ

Addictissimus, & Obsequentissimus seruus

Floridus de Sylueſtris.

WESTMINSTER LIBRARY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER

Figure 2.1 The title-page and dedicatory epistle of FdS1647. (Images courtesy of GB-Lwa.)

There are two, related people with whom this 'Thomas Sommersettus' could be identified:

- Thomas, Viscount Somerset of Cashel in Ireland (1579–after 1647), a wealthy English Catholic exile resident in Rome from around 1640 who was the third son of the fourth Earl of Worcester and thus brother of Henry Somerset, the first Marquess of Worcester;
- Lord Thomas Somerset (*c*.1601–1678), also resident in exile in Rome from about 1645 and referred to as a *nobilis presbyter anglus* after his ordination as a Catholic priest in 1665,[102] who was the third son of the second Marquess of Worcester and thus brother of the third Marquess.

[102] Maurice Whitehead, 'Piety and Patronage: The English College, Rome, the earls of Worcester and links with Wales, 1578–1679', *The Venerabile*, 35.3 (2014), pp. 18–22 (p. 21).

Contemporary evidence does little to clear up the mystery; both men appear regularly in the records of those members of the English exile community who dined at the College. The diarist John Evelyn, who had also left England on account of his Royalist leanings, spent much of the 1640s travelling around Europe; on arriving in Rome for the first time in November 1644, Evelyn wrote in his diary a list of long-standing English residents of the city whom he had been advised to call on, including 'my Lord of Somerset, brother to the Marquis of Worcester', noting that from him he 'received instructions how to behave in town with directions to masters and books to take in search of the antiquities, churches, collections, etc.'[103] However, although the date of Evelyn's remarks would seem to suggest that he was referring to the elder Thomas Somerset listed above, Evelyn was notorious for writing his diary entries sometimes months or even years after the events recorded, and so it is not possible to be sure to whom he was referring.

That this Thomas Somerset had more than a passing interest in music is also suggested by his choice in December 1649, as guardian of the Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso in San Marcello, of the violinist Carlo Caproli (known as 'Carlo del Violino', and of whom more below) to lead the Lenten music in the confraternity's oratory on the first Friday of Lent in 1650.[104] More evidence to the artistic patronage of Thomas Somerset — whichever one it may have been — can be found in a engraving of the Virgin and Child also printed in Rome in 1647 and made (after an original by Annibale Carracci) by the English painter John Michael Wright (1617–94), who worked in Italy in the 1640s (including at the Venerable English College) and converted to Catholicism there (see Figure 2.2, below).

[103] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Bray (M. Walter Dunne, 1901), p. 99.
[104] Juliane Riepe, 'Die Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso und ihre Oratorienmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts' in *Musikstadt Rom. Geschichte — Forschung — Perspektiven* (Analecta musicologica 45), ed. by Markus Engelhardt (Bärenreiter, 2011), pp. 159–203 (p. 185).

Figure 2.2 Engraving of the Virgin and Child by John Michael Wright, dated 1647 and dedicated to 'Thomas, Marquess of Somerset'. (Image courtesy of the British Museum.)

I believe that the use of the title 'marchio' ('marquess') in Florido's salutation and the caption to Wright's engraving is more likely to refer to the elder of the two men named Thomas Somerset, as he held a noble title in his own right whereas the younger man did not.[105] Whoever the dedicatee of FdS1647 was, it is the fact of his connection with the

[105] I believe the reason that Florido chose to address Thomas Somerset as 'marchio' and not as 'visconte' is that this latter title has formally existed as a rank in the Italian nobility only since the Risorgimento in 1861, and from the eleventh until at least the eighteenth century was a non-noble position in the administrative or judicial organisation of a region or city; it was an appointment made by the ruler of the region or city, and was not originally a hereditary title (although this privilege was later granted in some cases). On the other hand, in Britain a viscount has been a noble rank since the fourteenth century and to this day is a title that is passed down through the male line. Thus, for Florido to have addressed Thomas Somerset as 'visconte' would — although seemingly correct from an etymological standpoint — not have carried sufficient respect or courtesy; presumably Florido, in searching for an alternative, opted to 'promote' Thomas Somerset to

Venerable English College that provides, I suggest, a clear motivation for the creation of the volume. The English College began its existence in 1362 as a hospice for English pilgrims to Rome and was re-established in 1579 as a Jesuit-run seminary for the training of priests to be sent back to England to minister to the now-minority recusant Catholic community there. This was at enormous risk to their person: forty-four former students were killed in England between 1581 and 1679. Whenever news of the martyrdom of an alumnus reached the College, a service of thanksgiving was held that culminated in all present singing the Te Deum in front of a 1583 painting by Durante Alberti that depicts the Blessed Trinity with two historic English martyrs, Thomas of Canterbury and Edmund, King of East Anglia. These displays of religious fervour were renowned even in Rome, and helped to established what has been called the Venerable English College's 'reputation as an international center for martyrdom'.[106]

From the very beginning of its life as a seminary, music played an important part in the training of students at the English College. In the bull of foundation Pope Gregory XIII declared that the students were to be instructed in ecclesiastical singing, and the quality of the liturgical music at the English College quickly reached a high level: the annual report of 1585 — just six years after its establishment — reads that 'We are so crowded at Mass and Vespers that many are kept out for want of room. They are attracted by the melodious yet grave style of our music, and by the gravity wherewith our students perform the several functions.'[107]

Where music also featured prominently was in the leisure-time activities of the seminarians, particularly with regard to the annual dramatic productions known to have

---

'marchese' (a marquess being two ranks senior to a viscount in the English peerage), which *did* exist as a noble title in Italy in the seventeenth century. 'Visconte', Treccani Online <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/visconte/> [accessed 13 January 2024].

[106] Alana Mailes, *English Madrigals on the Jesuit Stage: Musical Theatre of Martyrdom at the Venerable English College, Rome* (Cambridge Unversity Press, 2025), p. 6.

[107] *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. by Henry Foley, 7 vols (Burns and Oates, 1875–83), VI, p. 114.

been produced by the students during the final weeks of Carnival. Plays on suitably spiritual or religious topics were permitted by the Jesuit order, but had to be in Latin and without any female characters; however, it is clear that this decree must have been gradually eroded at the English College, as there are records from as early as 1619 of comedies and tragedies written in English being performed.[108] This might seem surprising, given the seriousness of purpose for which the students had enrolled: however, as Suzanne Gossett has remarked, 'While the students knew that the College oath might prove their death warrant, the College itself was not somber.'[109]

Turning to the contents of FdS1647, we can observe that the texts of eight of the twenty-five motets are on the theme of martyrdom or physical suffering for one's faith, a much higher number and proportion than in any other of Florido's anthologies. Additionally, far and away the leading contributor to the anthology is Carlo Cecchelli, with five pieces; in 1647 he was, as the rubrics and *tavola* tell us, *maestro di cappella* at the Chiesa del Gesù, the mother church of the Jesuit order, and at the Seminario Romano, which was also administered by the Jesuits. One of his contributions to FdS1647 is 'Ecce qui mortis',[110] scored for seven voices (two sopranos, two altos, two tenors, and one bass) two violins, and basso continuo, which for many reasons may well have been intended for performance at the English College — either in a service of thanksgiving for martyred alumni or perhaps as a musical interlude within a Latin-language play.

While there survive many festival lists from the English College, documenting the music performed at special liturgical services each year, those for the 1640s are, frustratingly, no longer extant. Nonetheless, we know from pay records that instrumentalists were invariably engaged to join the singers on feast days; from 1620 to 1650 these always

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[108] Suzanne Gossett, 'Drama in the English College, Rome, 1591–1660', *English Literary Renaissance*, 3.1 (Winter 1973), pp. 60–93 (p. 64).
[109] Ibid., p. 60.
[110] Critical Edition included in Volume Two; see page 395.

included at least one violin and usually two, while after 1626 no other melody instrument than the violin appears in the list of payments.[111]

The accounts relating to the annual plays also make occasional references to musicians, such as a payment recorded in 1612 to a violinist 'per auere sonato due volte in Coll[egi]o questo Carnouale' ('for having played twice in the College this Carnival'), one in 1629 for 'quello che sono il uiolino alla tregedia' ('he who played the violin for the tragedy'), and one in 1649 'per hauere seruito da 4. volte alla Tragedia' ('for having played four times for the tragedy').[112]

The text of Cecchelli's 'Ecce qui mortis' is, as far as can be determined, freely-composed and is not taken from any of the sources approved by the Catholic church for setting music; thus, it would have been deemed wholly unsuitable for mainstream liturgical use, but would have been permitted in a devotional service such as those held to commemorate English College martyrs, or within a dramatic performance. Furthermore, rather than commemorating a specific saint, the text is one of those which leaves space for the name of the martyr in question to be inserted as fits musically, meaning that it could be adapted to a particular occasion, thus making it extremely suitable for use at the College.

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[111] Graham Dixon, 'Music in the Venerable English College in the Early Baroque', in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma 4–7 giugno 1992*, ed. by Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994), pp. 469–78 (p. 477).
[112] Gossett, 'Drama in the English College, Rome', p. 69.

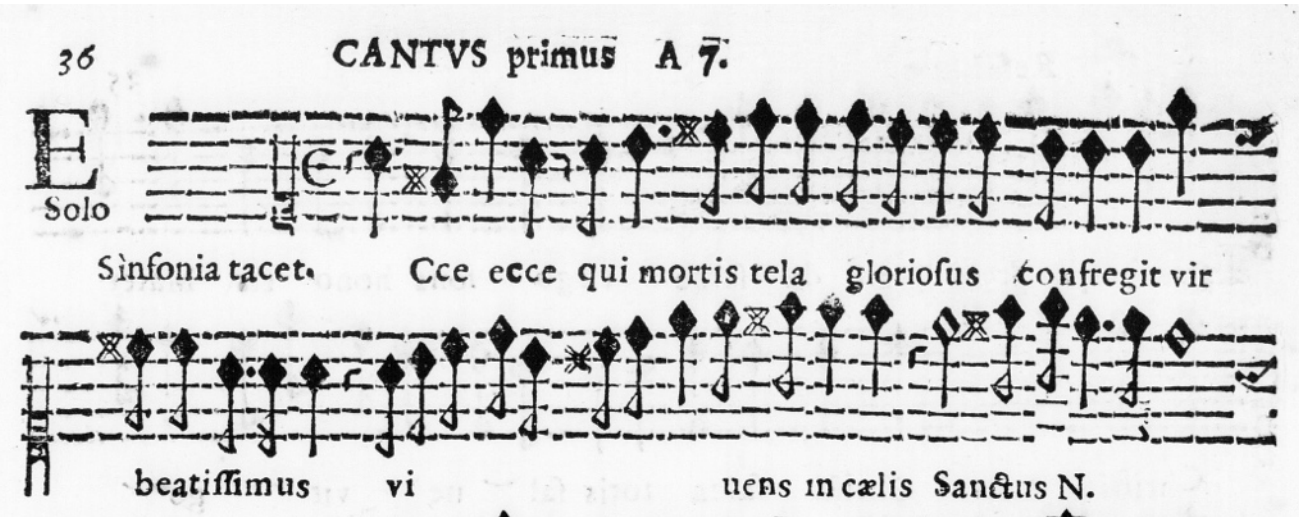


Figure 2.3 The opening of Cecchelli's 'Ecce qui mortis' (FdS1647.21), showing the space left at the end of the second system for the insertion of the name of the martyr being commemorated. (Image courtesy of GB-Lwa.)

The structure of the text further strengthens the putative link to the English College:

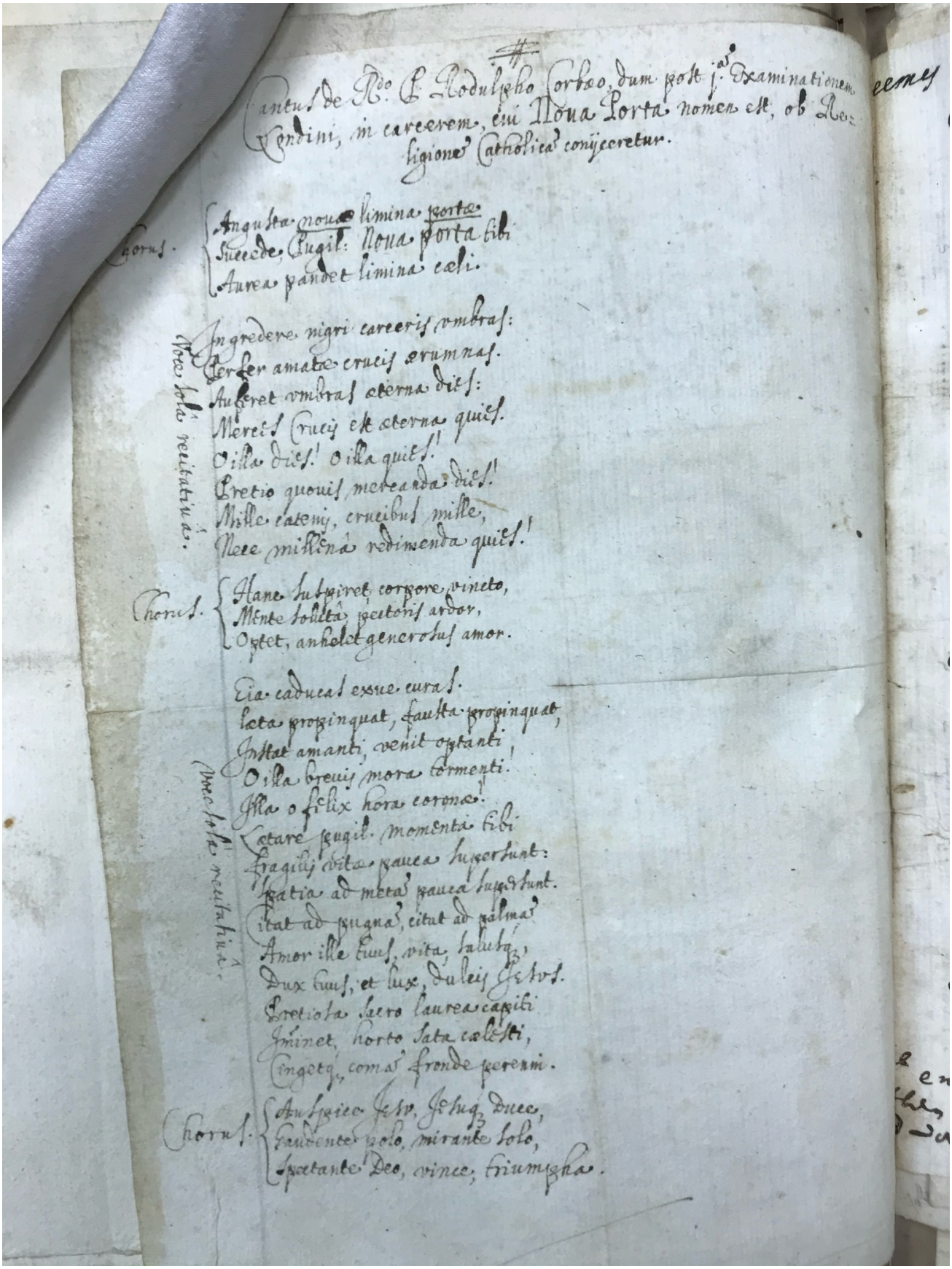
> Ecce qui mortis tela gloriosus confregit, vir beatissimus vivens in cælis, sanctus N.
>
> Mors beata quæ vincendo victa iaces,
> tibi plaudant cæli cives,
> tibi cantent mille faces,
> turba gaude dum exultat cæli vox,
> tantæ morti plaude ilustrata gaude nox.
>
> Ecce qui clarus vita gloriosus ascendit, vir beatissimus superum sedes, sanctus N.
>
> Gaude lyra turba cælitum decora,
> plaude cantu, plaude manu,
> voce plaude, ter Sonora,
> quam beato ridet alma cæli fax,
> hoc victore coronato dum refulget mundo pax.
>
> Ecce qui sprevit sæculi delicias, congaudet vir beatissimus superum chori, sanctus N.
>
> Vivat felix qui rebelles vicit hostes,
> vivat ille coronatus

super altas cæli postes,
triumphator cælis ardet nova lux,
iste cælo sit beatus regnet ibi Christi dux.

The three short sentences that start with the word 'Ecce' are sung by a solo soprano voice as recitative, and the longer verse sections are for seven-part chorus but are musically fairly simple; this might suggest that one of the paid members of the choir at the College sang the solo recitative while the assembled seminarians joined in with the chorus parts.

There is a direct parallel of this text in a document recently discovered in the English Jesuit archives in London:[113] a single side of manuscript, it is entitled 'A song of the Reverend Father Ralph Corby, who after trial in London, on account of his Catholic faith was thrown into Newgate Prison'. Ralph Corby was born in Dublin in 1598 to English Catholic parents and went on to study at the continental European Jesuit colleges at Saint-Omer in France, Seville and Valladolid. Having been ordained in 1631, he then worked covertly in the north of England for over twelve years, before being arrested in July 1644 and executed at Tyburn in London in September of that year.

[113] I am grateful to Dr Christopher Archibald of Queen Mary University London both for sharing his findings with me and for permitting their inclusion here..



Cantus de Rdo P. Rodulpho Corbeo, dum post 1.m Examinationem Cendini, in carcerem, cui Noua Porta nomen est, ob Religionem Catholicam conijceretur.

Chorus. Angusta noua limina porta.
Succede, fugit: Noua porta tibi
Aurea pandet limina cœli.

Hoc solo recitativo.
Ingredere nigri carceris umbras:
Perfer amatæ crucis erumnas.
Auferet umbras æterna dies:
Mercis Crucis est æterna quies.
O illa dies! O illa quies!
Pretio quouis mereanda dies!
Mille catenis, cruciibus mille,
Nec millena redimenda quies!

Chorus. Hanc subiret corpore vincto,
Mente solutâ, pectoris ardor,
Optet, anhelet generosus amor.

Ecce caducas exue curas.
Læta propinquat, faulta propinquat,
Instat amanti, venit optanti
O illa brevis mora tormenti!
Illa o felix hora coronæ!
Hoc solo recitativo.
Lætare fugit. Momenta tibi
Fragilis vitæ pauca supersunt:
Spatia ad metas pauca supersunt.
Ita ad pugnas, eitat ad palmas
Amor ille tuus, vita, salusq;
Dux tuus, et lux, duleis Jesus.
Pretiosa sacro laurea capiti
Imminet, horto sata cœlesti,
Cingetq, comas frondes perenni.

Chorus. Auspice Jesu, Jesuq, duce,
Fundente solo, mirante solo,
Spectante Deo, vince, triumpha.

Figure 2.4 An anonymous text commemorating the life and martyrdom of Ralph Corby, Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu, Anglia V, f. 42v. (Image courtesy of British Jesuit Archives.)

The Corby text itself features much of the same imagery as the text of Cecchelli's motet (martial heroism, entry into heaven, achieving eternal rest after physical torment) and is made up of three short prose sections broken up by two longer passages in rhyming verse — almost exactly the same structure as the text of Cecchelli's motet, which differs only in that there is one more long section to finish. Crucially, the text celebrating Ralph Corby also bears indications relating to performance, in that the short, three-line stanzas are marked 'Chorus', while the two longer sections are marked, in Italian, 'Voce sola recitativa' (admittedly, the reverse of Cecchelli's setting); while Corby is not known to have visited Italy, his relative Ambrose did so in the 1640s, and Ralph is mentioned in a dedication to one of the English College's annual plays.[114]

2.2 | Settling on a formula: FdS1648, FdS1649, FdS1650

From FdS1648 onwards Florido's motet anthologies became consistently smaller in terms of the number of pieces included; less variable, too, is the distribution of motets by number of voices, in that three-voice motets now become the most popular structure for the next eight anthologies. Is it that Florido, after dipping his toe in the anthological water and experimenting with larger volumes, decided that slimmer partbooks were more appealing to his market(s)? An additional refinement is that from this point on — with the exception of FdS1651 and FdS1652 with their glut of reprints (see below) — no composer is represented by more than two motets in any one anthology; in some ways this might be seen as potentially diminishing the commercial appeal of his collections, in that the most famous composers — Carissimi, Foggia, Gratiani — are now accorded more or less equal billing to lesser-known counterparts.

[114] Christopher Archibald, *Catholic Literary Culture and the English Revolution* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming), chapter 2.

After three dedicatees of high social standing, it comes as a surprise that Giuseppe Capasso, the dedicatee of FdS1648, was a canon of the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in Benevento in Campania (about thirty miles northeast of Naples) with whom no connection to Florido can be found. Florido praises Capasso's virtues and erudition, as well as his birth-town of Benevento — from where, Florido is at pains to point out, three early popes came; however, there is no reference to any appreciation of music such as appears in numerous others of Florido's dedications.

Geographical praise also flavours the dedication of FdS1649; this time, it allows Florido to bask in a degree of reflected glory, as the location is his own birthplace of Barbarano Romano, the dedicatees the priors of the town (who are not named individually). Florido reels off a list of 'extraordinary geniuses' ('præstantissima ingenia') associated with Barbarno, to have originated from there (his own birthplace), among the first named of whom were two of his maternal relatives, Giovanni Battista Fabreschi and Cardinal Girolamo Cennini (see Chapter 1, above). Florido names two musicians among the great and the good; Bernardino Vannini, whose collection of eight-part motets he would have printed in 1667, and Giovanni Battista Mezzalancia, 'an organist most accomplished in the skill of composing'.

The dedicatee of FdS1650, Guid'Ascania Orsi, shares with the two previous dedicatees the characteristic of being at a physical remove from Rome at the time of the publication; the only other long-distance dedication is that of FdS1664. Orsi was a nun at the convent of San Giovanni Battista in Bologna; it is possible that she was related to the siblings Ludovico Maria Orsi and Luigia Orsina Orsi — prior of San Benedetto di Ceretola and prioress of San Caterina della Fondazza, respectively — who wielded great influence in Bolognese

monastic and conventual life in the second half of the seventeenth century.[115] Writings by her contemporaries suggest that Guid'Ascania Orsi wrote copiously, yet only a single madrigal (the poetic form, rather than a musical composition) survives.[116] She corresponded with two of the leading literary figures of her time, the Venetian nun Arcangela Tarabotti[117] and the Venetian politician Giovanni Francesco Loredan;[118] through the former's published letters we learn that 'Tarabotti and Orsi maintained a consistent dialogue regarding Tarabotti's work' and that 'Orsi is presented as knowledgeable about the literary clime'.[119] As will be discussed in Chapter 4, below, the convent of San Giovanni Battista enjoyed a high contemporary reputation for its music-making, which Florido praises explicitly in his dedication.

2.3 | Greatest hits: FdS1651, FdS1652

Florido's next two motet anthologies, FdS1651 and FdS1652, represent a significant break in several ways. They mark the first occasions on which Florido collaborated with the printer Vitale Mascardi, who after Andrea Fei was the printer with whom Florido worked most frequently. (Additionally, the heirs to the Mascardi firm printed Florido's 1667 historic tragedy *Masista*.)

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[115] Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music & Defiance in 17th-Century Italy*, 2nd ed. (University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. xxi.
[116] Meredith Kennedy Ray, 'Making the Private Public: Arcangela Tarabotti's *Lettere familiari*', in *Arcangela Tarabotti: A Literary Nun in Baroque Venice*, ed. by Elissa B. Weaver (A. Longo Editore, 2006), pp. 173–90 (p. 179 n. 23).
[117] Arcangela Tarabotti, *Lettere familiari e di complimento*, ed. by Meredith K. Ray and Lynn Westwater (Rosenberg & Sellier, 2005), pp. 80–81.
[118] Francesca Medioli, 'Tarabotti fra omissioni e femminismo: il mistero della sua formazione', in *Spazi, poteri, diritti delle donne a Venezia in età moderna*, ed. by Anna Bellavitis, Nadia Maria Filippini, and Tiziana Plebani (QuiEdit, 2012), pp. 221–40 (p. 224).
[119] Ray, 'Making the Private Public', p. 179 n. 23.

However, what most notably distinguishes FdS1651 and FdS1652 from their predecessors is that most of the motets therein — twelve of the sixteen in FdS1651, and thirteen of the sixteen in FdS1652 — had previously appeared in those six preceding anthologies. Florido and Mascardi clearly did not seek to obscure this, as the inscriptions 'Scelta di tutte le Scelte Parte 1' and 'Scelta di tutte le Scelte Parte 2' appear at the bottom of various pages of the partbooks in FdS1651 and FdS1652, respectively.

Of those seven motets across FdS1651 and FdS1652 that could be considered 'new', five were taken from the aforementioned 1642 anthology compiled by Domenico Bianchi (including all four in FdS1651), one from a 1643 anthology compiled by Filippo Berretti (RISM B/I 1643[1]), and one from Francesco Foggia's 1645 collection of motets (RISM A/I 1440). These three sources for the added motets were all printed by Grignani, which suggests that Florido may have used his connection with the printer (who had just produced his previous two anthologies) to acquire the pieces.

FdS	**Composer**	**Text**	**Source (FdS unless stated)**
1651.01	Foggia, Francesco	Repleatur os meum	1643.04
1651.02	Durante, Silvestro	Cantate Domino	1648.01
1651.03	Durante, Silvestro	Benedicam Dominum	1645.02
1651.04	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Veni columba mea	1647.04
1651.05	Carissimi, Giacomo	Audite sancti	1645.08
1651.06	Foggia, Francesco	Florete flores	1643.10
1651.07	*Carissimi, Giacomo*	*Insurrexerunt in nos*	*[1642 Bianchi/Grignani anthology]*
1651.08	*Benevoli, Orazio*	*Quam bonis panis*	*[1642 Bianchi/Grignani anthology]*
1651.09	*Carissimi, Giacomo*	*Si qua est consolation*	*[1642 Bianchi/Grignani anthology]*
1651.10	Foggia, Francesco	Domine quinque talenta	1645.10
1651.11	Argentini, Stefano	Repleta est malis	1645.16
1651.12	Foggia, Francesco	Venite o gentes	1645.18
1651.13	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Hymnum novum	1645.20
1651.14	Cecchelli, Carlo	Intenderunt arcum	1645.22
1651.15	*Foggia, Francesco*	*O ignis*	*[1642 Bianchi/Grignani anthology]*
1651.16	de Silvestris, Florido	Anima nostra quare	1650.16

FdS	**Composer**	**Text**	**Source (FdS unless stated)**
1652.01	Foggia, Francesco	Ad cantus, ad plausus	1645.01
1652.02	*Foggia, Francesco*	*Iubilate, exultate*	*[1645 Foggia/Grignani collection]*
1652.03	Benevoli, Orazio	Laudem Domini	1643.03
1654.04	*Durante, Silvestro*	*O Iesu mi dulcissime*	*[1643 Berretti/Grignani anthology]*
1652.05	Cecchelli, Carlo	Adest nobis cælorum	1648.03

1652.06	Antonelli	Gaudete cum Maria	1645.12
1652.07	Carissimi, Giacomo	Militia est vita	1643.12
1652.08	Durante, Silvestro	Misericordias Domini	1643.14
1652.09	*Foggia, Francesco*	*O pretiosum*	*[1642 Bianchi/Grignani anthology]*
1652.10	Gratiani, Bonifatio	Resonate, iubilate	1648.10
1652.11	Carissimi, Giacomo	Surgamus, eamus	1649.12
1652.12	Fabri, Stefano	Si Deus pro nobis	1648.11
1652.13	Foggia, Francesco	Iesu clemens	1645.27
1652.14	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Nigra sum	1643.21
1652.15	Cecchelli, Carlo	Isti sunt	1645.21
1652.16	Durante, Silvestro	Salve mater salvatoris	1647.20

FdS1651 and FdS1652 are dedicated to two French members of the Order of the Knights of St John (also known as the Knights of Malta or the Knights Hospitaller). The former, Jacques (II) de Cordon d'Evieu (1598–after 1681), was ambassador of the Order to the Holy See from after 1644 to before 1667; he was a generous patron of the visual arts, although no association with music is known other than Florido's anthology[120] — the dedicatory epistle of FdS1651 makes reference to his love of music, and draws comparisons between a commander directing his troops in battle and a composer organising notes on paper.

Little is known of the dedicatee of FdS1652, Charles de Lornay de Menthon, who is described simply as a knight ('Æquiti') of the Order; his dedicatory letter contains several drawn-out and somewhat tenuous analogies between the degrees of the scale and the wounds of Christ, and also compares the noises of battle against the Turks to the heavenly music of the angels.

A clue as to why Florido might have chosen these dedicatees is perhaps furnished by the presence in FdS1648 of a motet by Alessandro Leardini, who in that piece's rubric is described as 'Musico dell'Illustriss. Sig. Cavalier Sforza'; Jerome Roche has suggested that this may be Francesco Maria Sforza (1612–80), who joined the Order of the Knights of St John in 1634.

[120] Theresa M. Vella, 'The paintings of the Order of St John in Malta: Hospitaller art collections and patronage from the late fifteenth century to the eighteenth century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 2012), p. 126.

Even armed with the scant biographical information available regarding the volumes' dedicatees, there seems no obvious clue in either anthology as to why Florido and Mascardi might have chosen to issue two collections consisting entirely of works that had already appeared in print within the previous decade. The texts of the works chosen display no emphasis on a particular liturgical feast or theological theme — at least, no more so than most of Florido's motet anthologies, and certainly not when compared with, for example, FdS1647 (see above). Similarly, there seems no obvious guiding principle behind the music chosen, and the number of pieces included for two, three, and four voices is identical to FdS1649 and FdS1650

It is arguable that the composers selected for inclusion in these two anthologies represent the pick of the crop of contemporary Roman musical activity (with the exception, it must be said, of Florido himself; but he seems to have been determined to include at least one of his own works in each of his anthologies, and did not make an exception for FdS1651): absent are the single contributions found in FdS1643 to FdS1650 from lesser-known composers who held employment at minor religious establishments or were not even professional musicians

For the most part the twenty-five motets reprinted in FdS1651 and FdS1652 from earlier volumes appear without any significant changes; there are even several instances of musical errors in the original sources being preserved in their reprinting — suggesting, perhaps, a level of hurriedness or lack of attention in the process.

Such minor differences as there are include:

- syllables of the sung text being placed under a different note (usually under or closer to the actual note the syllable is attached to, seemingly to improve clarity);
- the expansion of textual contractions (for example, 'nō' in the first version being printed in full as 'non'; words ending in '-ę' printed with an '-æ') and vice versa;

- the printing in full of repeated passages of text that were indicated by 'ij' in the original source;
- the correction of mistakes in the sung text, and the occasional introduction of new ones;
- changes in capitalisation of non-proper nouns in the sung text;
- stating a composer's new place of employment (or indicating his retirement) where this changed between the original anthology and the reprint;
- slurs originally above the stave being placed under the stave, and vice versa;
- placement of barlines.

There are other differences between the first and second versions of these twenty-five motets that may indicate changes in the interpretation of various aspects of notation. (See Chapter 5.2 for more information.)

2.4 | Evolving forms: FdS1654, FdS1655

Florido's practice of recycling material from his earlier anthologies came to an end after FdS1652, never to be repeated. His next motet anthology, FdS1654, seems yet further differentiated from Florido's earlier anthologies, in that it contains fourteen motets for two and three voices (seven of each number) and only one for four voices — the last in the volume, Florido's own 'Salve Virgo sacra' (FdS1654.15), for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. In terms of composer and location within the volume, 'Salve Virgo sacra' very much conforms with Florido's practice in his preceding anthologies: in each of FdS1648, FdS1649, FdS1650, and FdS1651 the final motet in the volume is one written by Florido for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass (a feature reprised for certain in FdS1664 and FdS1668, and possibly in FdS1655 and FdS1659 — see below).

However, for Florido to have followed the strikingly coherent construction of his previous four anthologies — all of which contained four motets for two voices, eight for three voices, and four for four voices — with so unbalanced an anthology seems odd (and even the anthology before those four, FdS1648, is structured two–ten–four in terms of its motets for two, three, and four voices, respectively, thus maintaining the emphasis on three-voice motets). I contend that Florido's 'Salve Virgo sacra' seems an uneasy bedfellow with the other motets in FdS1654, as if it had been added onto the end of a volume with an otherwise neat and balanced structure. Though this can only ever be conjecture, an examination of Florido's next anthology yields findings to perhaps support it.

FdS1655 is the first of Florido's anthologies made up of works for the same number of voices throughout — in this case, three. Furthermore, the first fourteen of the fifteen motets are all scored for alto, tenor, and bass (plus continuo), while the final motet — an anonymous setting of 'Quem vidistis pastores' (FdS1655.15), an account of the shepherds out in the fields on the night of Christ's birth — is for alto and two tenors.

On account of its scoring alone, 'Quem vidistis pastores' also feels like an afterthought, but an examination of the page numbers and of the printers' signature marks (the letters and numbers printed at the bottom of bifolios as an aid to gathering the correct sheets in the correct order to make up a volume) in the partbooks of FdS1655 seems fairly conclusively to show that 'Quem vidistis pastores' was not part of the original conception of the anthology. The signatures follow the same pattern in each of the partbooks, this being that of the Altus: —, a2, A, A2–8, [10 unsigned folios]

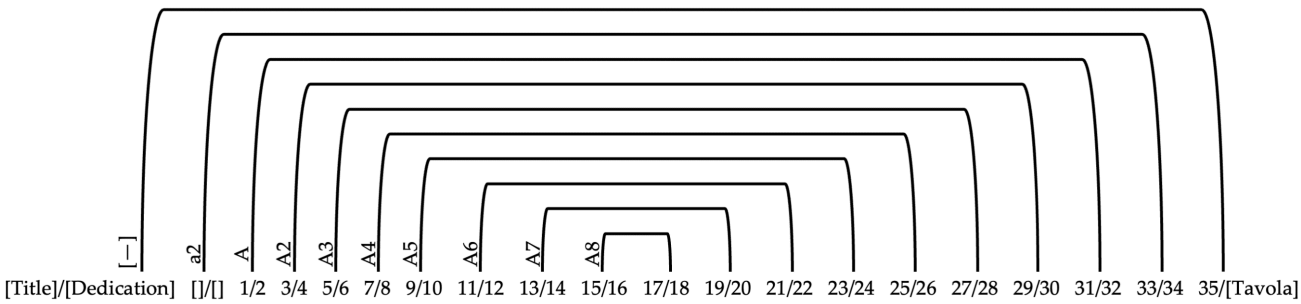

Figure 2.5 Diagram showing the signatures of the bifolios of the Altus partbook of FdS1655 (written rotated through 270°) and how they correspond to the page numbers of the partbook (printed along the bottom).

(To obtain the pattern for the Tenor, Bassus, and Organum partbooks, substitute b/B, c/C, and d/D, respectively, for a/A in the diagram above.)

Stanley Boorman has suggested that the second bifolium (with the anomalous signature a2) may have been inserted in order to create room for the *tavola* at the end of each partbook.[121] That it was inserted after the remainder of the pages had been printed is also clear from the two unnumbered pages (printed on the left-hand half of the second bifolium) that in all partbooks come between the dedication and page 1 and which contain the music for only Carissimi's 'Vidi impium'; furthermore, the 'V-' that starts the first word of Carissimi's motet is printed as a plain large capital, in contrast to the ornate, decorated letters at the head of all the other motets in the volume.

However, Boorman's suggested reason does not hold up under examination of the partbooks, where we find that the placement of the *tavola* is unaffected by the rest of the volume. Rather, another explanation emerges from looking at the final pages in the partbooks. In the Altus, Bassus, and Organum partbooks, the music for the penultimate motet (Giovanni Marciani's 'Quasi oliva pullulans') ends on page 32, and we can deduce from the small piece of text printed at the bottom-right corner of the page ('Del' — see Figure 2.6) not only that the subsequent piece was not intended to be 'Quem vidistis pastores' (as neither its text nor the rubric starts with the word 'Del') but also that the originally intended subsequent piece was to have been by a named composer (as such a piece would have had a rubric starting with 'Del').

[121] Stanley Boorman, 'Bibliographical Aspects of Italian Printed Music of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Studies in Bibliography*, 56 (2003–04), pp. 195–242 (p. 225), doi:10.1353/sib.2007.0000.

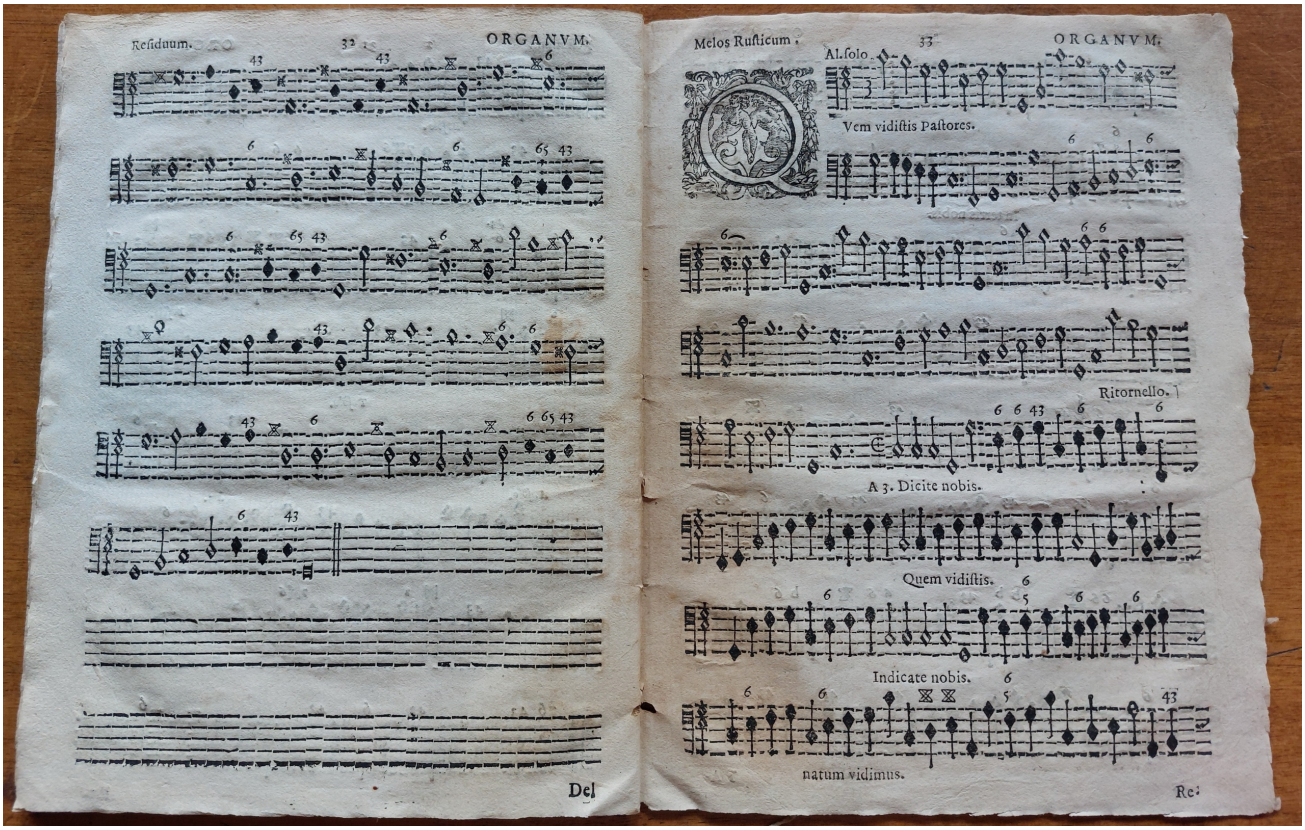

Figure 2.6 Pages 32 and 33 in the Organum partbook of FdS1655; the anticipatory text 'Del' is visible at the bottom-right corner of page 32, but the first word of page 33 is 'Melos'. (Image courtesy of I-Sac.)

I suggest that the real reason for the extra bifolium is to be found in the Tenor partbook, where the music for Marciani's 'Quasi oliva pullulans' does not end on page 32 but carries on until the first line of page 34, and so it is this that necessitated the addition of the second bifolium. Casting off — the process of working out how many pages and therefore bifolios were needed to typeset a printed book from a manuscript source — was a complicated task in the era of movable type, and was even more so with music, as the horizontal space needed to set it would vary greatly depending on the note-values; that is, a composer could write shorter notes closer together, but this could not be done with type, where each notehead took up the same amount of space regardless of the duration of the note. FdS1655 was the only musical work printed by Michele Cortellini, and it may be that he and the members of his print workshop were less experienced in typesetting music, and so underestimated the number of pages needed; Franchi suggests that, despite the proximity of Cortellini's workshop to Santo Spirito in Sassia (where Florido was a cleric in 1655), the

poor quality of Cortellini's print may have caused Florido permanently to look elsewhere for his subsequent projects.[122]

Finally, if 'Quem vidistis pastores' was not originally intended to be the last piece in FdS1655, what was? I suggest that it was the piece currently at the start of the anthology, Carissimi's 'Vidi impium', that was to have been the last piece, and that in the course of the reorganisation made necessary by the above-mentioned issue with the Tenor part it was moved from the end of the volume to the beginning. Then the space it previously occupied needed to be filled with another motet, and so 'Quem vidistis pastores' was added in.

But who wrote it? Graham Dixon has suggested that 'Quem vidistis pastores' may be by Florido, although without offering any justification;[123] and in fact, Florido adding his own piece in order to solve the pagination problem seems not implausible — although, if the work is by him, whether he decided to hide the fact of his authorship through modesty or in order to poke fun at himself by calling his work 'rustic' is unknown.[124]

The dedicatees of FdS1654 and FdS1655, Carlo Bonetti and Gabriel Gratian Miłoszewsky, are discussed in greater detail below (in 'Composers' and 'Surviving exemplars', respectively).

2.5 | Going solo: FdS1659, FdS1663

[122] 'la stampa della musica appare molto brutta nell'allineamento del rigo musicale, più del solito frammentato e oscillante' ('the printing of the music is very poor, particularly in the alignment of the musical staves, which is unusually fragmented and blurred'). Franchi, *Annali*, II.i, p. 84.
[123] Graham Dixon, 'Jan van Geertsom, a Seventeenth-Century Dutch Printer, and the Dissemination of Roman Music', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 32.1–2 (1982), pp. 116–25 (p. 119).
[124] As noted in Chapter 1, above, Florido was clearly not above self-deprecation, as his chosen pseudonym of 'L'Accademico Disunito detto l'Incapace' ('the out-of-sorts academic, known as The Incapable One') would seem to suggest.

These two anthologies contain only works for solo voice and continuo — twelve in FdS1659 (the first eleven for soprano, the last for bass) and ten in FdS1663 (all for soprano). They form part of a trend for solo motets that began in the early 1650s — the first such Roman-published collection was Gratiani's of 1652 — but which may have been accelerated by the effects of the central Italian plagues of 1656–57 (although Rome suffered less than other areas thanks to the swift actions of the authorities).[125] This might also provide an explanation for the unusual gap in Florido's publications (of all genres) between 1655 and 1659; thanks to the aforementioned plague census, we know that he did not escape Rome immediately on the outbreak of the plague, as many others did, and presumably as a chaplain of the hospital church of San Giacomo degli Incurabili in the heart of the city he had a significant pastoral workload. However, he is noted as being repeatedly absent from the choir of San Giacomo between November 1657 and April 1658, for unknown reasons.[126]

FdS1659 is dedicated to a 'Carolus Franciscus', a protonotary apostolic and a canon of San Giovanni in Laterano; Franchi identifies him as 'a prelate of the lowest rank' and member of a minor Roman noble family,[127] with no suggestion as to how he and Florido might have been connected. In contrast, the dedicatee of FdS1663, Lorenzo Salviati, was a Refendarius Apostolicus — a member of the Curia whose responsibility it was to receive all petitions made to the Pope — and a wealthy and generous art collector and patron. More relevantly to Florido, he was also a descendant of Cardinal Anton Maria Salviati, who between 1579 and 1600 supervised the refounding of the hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili (and whose name features prominently inside the church of San Giacomo degli Incurabili on the Via del Corso), where Florido was in 1663 a canon and member of the choir.

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[125] Renato Sansa, 'Strategie di prevenzione a confronto: l'igiene urbana durante la peste romana del 1656–1657', in *La peste a Roma (1656–1657)*, ed. by Irene Fosi (Roma Moderna e Contemporanea, 2007), pp. 93–109.
[126] Vizzaccaro, 'Florido de Silvestris', p. 256.
[127] Franchi, *Annali*, II.1, p. 138.

Florido's motet anthologies

The designation 'pars secunda' on the title page of FdS1663 would seem to imply the erstwhile existence of a 'pars prima', of which no copies exist and to which no reference is known. However, it is possible that it is in fact FdS1659 which should be considered the 'pars prima': their full titles are identical save for one word (*Has alias Sacras Cantiones, ab Excellentissimis … — Has alteras Sacras Cantiones, ab Excellentissimis …*) and are laid out in exactly the same way on their respective title-pages (although they were produced by two different printers). The lack of a 'pars prima' designation on the title-page of FdS1659 may indicate that Florido intended to publish only one volume of solo motets but was then moved to produce a follow-up for reasons unknown.

The final motet in FdS1659, 'Aggrediamur iter vitæ', is the second anonymous piece in Florido's anthologies;[128] it bears the short rubric 'Per D. Florido', repeated in the *tavola*, which has been taken to mean that the work was composed with Florido's voice in mind — and therefore that Florido must have been a highly accomplished singer, as it demands both an extensive range and a virtuosic display of *coloratura* from the performer. As with the anonymous 'Quem vidistis pastores' in FdS1655 several authors have suggested that 'Aggrediamur iter vitæ' is by Florido himself; certainly, to translate 'per' as simply 'for' is to impose the most common modern translation and — I suggest — thereby unnecessarily to restrict the range of possible interpretations. For example, in John Florio's two Italian–English dictionaries of 1598 and 1611, he gives numerous possible translations of 'per':

> for, by, through, to, readie to, for to, in with, by reason of, what betweene.[129]

> for, by, through. Also for to, ready to, about to. Also by reason of. Also what between, or in with. Also so in, or midst any place.[130]

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[128] Critical Edition included in Volume Two; see page 364.
[129] John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, Or, Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1598), p. 267.
[130] John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words, Or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues […] newly much augmented* (London: Melchior Bradwood, 1611), p. 367.

With this in mind, it is not impossible that Florido himself was indeed the composer of 'Aggrediamur iter vitæ' and chose to hide the fact of his authorship for reasons of (perhaps false) modesty. It is notable that there is no piece in FdS1659 attributed to Florido, an unusual occurrence among his motet anthologies; the only other to lack a piece by him is FdS1652, which as discussed above is best treated as an atypical case for its being mostly comprised of reprints from Florido's earlier anthologies.

The virtuosity on display in these two collections of solo motets supports the view that by the middle of the seventeenth century, at least in Rome there was often little difference musically between sacred and secular genres; Margaret Mabbett, in her discussion of Florido's 1652 and 1653 madrigal collections, states that 'these anthologies are a striking demonstration of the lack of clear demarcation between genres: the works are labelled "madrigal", whereas if we found them, unlabelled, in manuscript we would now automatically term them "cantatas".'[131] Such ambiguity of form is no less present in Florido's motets; Graham Dixon comments that 'the small-scale motet as it entered the 1640s was itself frequently a cantata in miniature movements with Latin words',[132] and we can in numerous of the solo-voice motets in Florido's anthologies identify features redolent of their secular counterparts — even, in some cases, near indistinguishable for their intricacy and virtuosity, the closeness of the vocal parts in their movements, the use of void notation, and in the style more generally.

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the majority of restrictions placed on the performance of sacred music in Roman church services by the papal authorities focused on the texts set to music; however, specific reference was made in Alexander VII's decree of 1657 to the ways the vocal parts should be employed:[133]

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[131] Mabbett, 'The Italian madrigal', p. 142.
[132] Dixon, '*Concertato alla romana*', p. 134.
[133] Lars Berglund, 'Angels or Sirens?' in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome*, ed. by Peter Gillgren and Mårten Snickare (Routledge, 2016), pp. 99–113 (p. 103).

Florido's motet anthologies

> That it not be permissible that all or a considerable part of a psalm, hymn or motet be sung by solo voice, high or low; but, if this is not sung by the full choir, that it be sung continually varying the manner of performance, sometimes with equal voices, sometimes with high choral voices, and sometimes with low.[134]

This makes the appearance of Florido's two solely solo-voice motet collections in the years following this decree all the more remarkable and, seemingly, a flagrant flouting of the papal regulations; that said, those regulations were directed against the directors and performers of such music, and it was they who would suffer the financial and employment-related penalties prescribed, rather than any composer, printer or editor. Besides, as we shall see, there were other contexts in which solo motets such as those in FdS1659 and FdS1663 could legitimately be performed.

2.6 | The later years: FdS1664, FdS1668, FdS1672

It is not known why Florido returned to compiling volumes of polyphonic motets after only two solo-voice anthologies; if we remain wedded to the conjecture made above that the decrease in population brought about by the Italian plagues of 1656–57 was an impetus for him to produce his solo-voice motets, we could argue that performer numbers had perhaps since returned to something approaching normal levels. In any case, FdS1664 is unusual among his anthologies for containing equal numbers of motets for each of one, two, three, and four voices; perhaps this, too, was done with a view to offering performers a range of possibilities within one volume?

The choice of dedicatee is also unusual: the nuns of the convent of Santa Croce in Turin, there being no indication how this dedicator–dedicatee relationship arose. whose great reputation for music-making Florido praises at length in his dedicatory epistle. Florido's

[134] 'che non si canti a voce sola tanto grave quanto acuta tutto o parte notabile d'un salmo, inno o motetto: ma, non cantandosi a pieno coro, si canti alternativamente variando sempre il canto ora con voci pari, ora con gravi ed ora con acute.'; translation adapted from Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 108.

sights were subsequently set higher, for Vincenzo Rospigliosi (1635–73), the dedicatee of FdS1668, was a nephew of the then pope, Clement IX (born Giulio Rospigliosi). Vincenzo was a famed naval commander (holding the position of *condottiero* of the papal galleys) and led the ultimately doomed attempt to rescue the Venetian fortress of Candia (modern-day Heraklion) from the Ottoman Turks; in his honour Florido labours through some rather tenuous analogies between a commander arranging his troops in battle and the muses organsing the sounds of the world into harmonious music.

Finally, Matteo Orlando (or Orlandi) (1610–95) was at the time of the dedication of FdS1672 the Prior General of the Carmelite order, and was appointed bishop of Cefalù in Sicily in 1674; he was himself a musician, and had previously served as organist of the church of Santa Maria in Traspontina, the Roman base for the Carmelite order, between 1642 and 1650 and again in 1656. Composers to have overseen the musical aspects of celebrations at Santa Maria of major feasts relating to the Carmelite order include Benevoli, Foggia, and Virgilio Mazzocchi; the first two are included in FdS1672.[135] Giovanni Angelo Muzio, the printer of the anthology, had his workshop in a *borgo* opposite Santa Maria in Traspontina, and in the dedicatory epistle (the only one of Florido's surviving works for which he did not write his own dedication — perhaps an indication of old age or infirmity, as he was seventy-five or seventy-six?) addresses Orlando as 'patrono meo colendissimo' ('my most honorable patron').

2.7 | Remarks

<u>Florido's motivations, markets, and models</u>

[135] Marek Bebak, 'Music at S. Maria in Traspontina in Rome in the 17th and 18th centuries: an overall survey', unpublished paper delivered at the 21st Biennial International Conference for Baroque Music (Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, July 2025).

Florido's motet anthologies

In his discussion of Venetian musical anthologies, Giulio Ongaro defines four categories of such publications: [136]

- the *florilegio*, 'an anthology compiled from previous published pieces';
- the *edizione collettiva*, 'an anthology of pieces composed conceptually as a unit, perhaps following a pre-determined plan, which might be (but most often is not) a musical one';
- the 'pseudo-anthology, that is an anthology recognized as such for bibliographic purposes, but that in practice is a single-composer print with few (often one) additions by others';
- 'the anthology compiled from pieces not previously published, but gathered without a manifest plan, perhaps only depending on the availability of the repertory or according to genre considerations'.

Florido's motet anthologies seem most naturally to fall into the last of these categories, as only a very few of the motets therein had been published before they appeared in Florido's prints (see below for a discussion of these sources); while some of Florido's anthologies might be similar to *edizioni collettive* as defined by Ongaro, the apparent absence of any musical rationale for their construction makes this category a less comfortable fit.

It is difficult to establish whether Saverio Franchi's assertion that Florido produced his first anthology, FdS1643, 'in response to the anthologies of motets by contemporary composers printed by Lodovico Grignani' is overstating the case for Florido's motivations.[137] It is certainly true that in 1641 Grignani had printed his first music anthology (having begun his

[136] Giulio M. Ongaro, 'Venetian Printed Anthologies of Music in the 1560s and the Role of the Editor', in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. by Hans Lenneberg (Gordon and Breach, 1994), pp. 43–70 (pp. 43–44).

[137] 'In risposta alle antologie di mottetti d'autori moderni stampate da Lodovico Grignani, il canonico don Florido de Silvestris, sempre collaborando con lo stampatore Fei e con il libraio Franzini, diede in luce questa antologia, prima di una lunga serie da lui curate.' Franchi, *Annali*, I.1, p. 849.

music printing career in 1638 with single-composer volumes) and also produced one in each of 1642 and 1643; apart from Grignani's the only other sacred anthologies printed in Rome and its environs in the decade before FdS1643 appeared in 1639 (a collection of motets and music for Vespers, compiled by Fabio Costantini and printed by Rinaldo Ruuli in Orvieto, which lay within the territories of the Papal States at that time) and 1640 (containing *arie spirituali* to Italian texts, compiled and printed in Rome by Vincenzo Bianchi). Therefore, if we contend that Florido was motivated by a spirit of competition, then Grignani's anthologies can be considered the prime candidate. However, as discussed above, there is a strong link between FdS1643 and a specific occasion involving its dedicatee, but whether Florido's subsequent anthologies came about as a result of the success of his first or his anthologising urge was already present and was merely waiting for the right circumstances to present themselves is impossible to say.

Florido's publications can also be considered part of a trend that began in the early seventeenth century, one for versatile, practical volumes of maximum utility to performers. Among the earliest publications in this regard were Antonio Mortaro's *Sacræ cantiones tribus vocibus concinendæ* (Milan: Simone Tini and Giovanni Francesco Besozzi, 1598) and Gabriele Fattorini's *Sacri concerti a due voci* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1600) — the title page of the latter proclaiming the contents to be 'easy and comfortable to sing to the organ with full voices [i.e. a large group], or adapted as pleases the singers'.[138]

More well-known is Lodovico Viadana's 1602 collection *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*; the composer claims in his foreword that the primary impetus behind his publication was to cater for institutions with fewer singers, decrying the habit — apparently particularly rife in Rome — of simply performing only as many parts of larger polyphonic works as there were singers available:

[138] 'Facili, & commode da cantare, & sonare con l'Organo à voci piene, & mutate à beneplacito de cantori'.

Florido's motet anthologies

> There are many reasons — dear readers — that have led me to compose this type of concerti, among which this is one of the most important: having seen from time to time various singers who wished to sing with the organ in three or two parts or only one, who — being forced by the lack of compositions appropriate to one, two or three voices — took motets in five, six, seven, and even eight voices.[139]

Viadana's sentiment was closely echoed by his contemporary, the theorist Nikolaus Stein, who lamented in his preface to the first German edition of Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* that:

> Since a motet for singing with organ is often composed with eight, seven, or six voices — but at the very least with five — and it is rare to have more than one, two, or at most three singers present, it is clear and obvious that, owing to the absence of the other voices, the music's sonorousness, melodic composition, and majesty are much diminished and undermined.[140]

While Florido nowhere makes clear any such intention on his part, he may also have been looking to fill a gap in the printed music market in the period following the northern Italian plagues of 1629–31 (during which nearly three hundred thousand people died of disease — roughly a quarter of the region's population)[141] and the ravages brought about by the Thirty Years' War (1618–48);[142] of the two major printing centres of Milan and Venice, the former

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[139] 'Molte sono state le cagioni (cortesi Lettori) che mi hanno indotto à comporre questa sorte di Concerti: fra le quali questa è stata una delle principali: il vedere cioè, che volendo alle volte qualche Cantore cantare in un'Organo ò con Tre voci, ò con Due, ò con una sola erano astretti per mancamento di compositioni à proposito loro di appigliarsi ad Una ò Due, ò tre parti, di Motetti à Cinque, à Sei, à Sette, & anche à Otto.' Lodovico Viadana, *Per Sonar nel'Organo Li Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici …* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1602), 'A Benigni Lettori'.

[140] 'dieweil eine Motette so in die Orgel gesungen wird, oftmals mit acht, sieben und sechs, aufs wenigste aber mit fünf Stimmen componirt, der Sänger aber selten über eine oder zwei, ja aufs höchst über drei nit beihanden, so ist es klar und offenbar, daß aus mangel der andern Stimmen, der Symphonie und Melodie an ihrer Composition und Majestät derselben viel entzogen und benommen wird'. Nikolaus Stein, 'Instructio', in *Centum Concertuum Ecclesiasticorum […], iam primum in Germania edita. Liber Primus, Auctore excellentissimo Musico Lodovico Viadana Italo* (Frankfurt am Main: Nikolas Stein, 1609); quoted in Arno Forchert, 'Überlegungen zum Einfluß Italiens auf die deutsche Musik um 1600: Voraussetzungen und Bedingungen', in *Aneignung durch Verwandlung: Aufsätze zur deutschen Musik und Architektur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Wolfram Steude (Laaber, 1998), pp. 135–47 (p. 147).

[141] 'Italian Plagues of 1629–31', *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence: From Ancient Times to the Present*, 3rd edn, ed. by George Childs Kohn (Facts on File, 2008), pp. 200–01.

[142] I am indebted to Graham Dixon for this suggestion, made in a personal telephone call, 15 October 2019.

lost 46% of its population and the latter 33% during the 1630s.[143] The resultant decrease in population brought about by the coincidence of these two events had a catastrophic effect on commercial activity across the Italian peninsula,[144] and the music-printing industry was no exception; while exact numbers of publications are difficult to ascertain, an analysis by Lorenzo Bianconi suggests that Venice's output of printed musical works in the period 1631–40 was roughly 70% lower than in the previous decade and that of 1641–50 a further 30% lower, while the number of musical works printed in Milan plummeted by over 80% between the 1620s and the 1630s.[145]

(As an aside, the music-printing industry in the Italian peninsula seems to have been particularly hard hit in these decades; studies have shown that numbers of 'ordinary' books in fact rebounded in the decades after the plagues.[146])

In these straitened circumstances, collections of works for small numbers of voices without any *obbligato* instrumental parts would have served two purposes; namely, affording choirs impoverished both financially and in terms of personnel a wider range of accessible repertoire, while still remaining suitable for use by larger choirs. A further indication that practicality and ease of use were a guiding concern for Florido in the organisation of his anthologies can be seen in the surely deliberate ordering seen in the majority of the collections: the pieces are first grouped according to the number of voice parts, and then within each of these groups the motets appear in more or less alphabetical ordering.[147] This

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[143] Carlo M. Cipolla, *Il pestifero e contagioso morbo: Combattere la peste nell'Italia del Seicento* (Il Mulino, 2012), p. 123.
[144] Guido Alfani, 'Plague in seventeenth-century Europe and the decline of Italy: an epidemiological hypothesis', *European Review of Economic History*, 17 (2013), pp. 408–30 (pp. 423–27).
[145] Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 76.
[146] Brendan Dooley, 'Printing and Entrepreneurialism in Seventeenth-Century Italy', *Journal of European Economic History*, 25 (1996), pp. 569–97 (pp. 572–73); Gideon Brettler, 'Revisiting the Music-Printing Market in Seventeenth-Century Italy and the Peculiar Case of Pietro Millioni's Guitar Books', *Journal of Musicology*, 39.1 (Winter 2022), pp. 1–34 (pp. 6–7).
[147] For the most part; there are a few instances where, within the groupings of motets with the same number of voices, those pieces that have the same initial letter of their text do not appear in strict alphabetical order.

is the case in each of Florido's first six motet anthologies, is absent in FdS1651 and FdS1652, but is seen in his madrigal collections of 1652 and 1653 and also resumes in FdS1654.

While Elisabeth Giselbrecht suggests that it is generally easier with anthologies than single-composer volumes to identify their intended market as 'an editor or publisher has purposefully chosen specific pieces on the grounds of various criteria (liturgical, stylistic, textual)',[148] it is doubtless true that Florido's anthologies — which do satisfy Giselbrecht's condition, their contents being selected on stylistic grounds — enjoyed an appeal far beyond mid-Seicento Rome, judging by their circulation (see below for further discussion).

Whatever his motivations, with his twenty-one such publications between 1643 and 1672 Florido was far and away the single most prolific Italian compiler and publisher of music anthologies in the seventeenth century: in that period anthologies by other editors in Rome numbered only fourteen, and those in the rest of the Italian peninsula thirty-five, thus making Florido responsible for 60% and 30%, respectively, of the total output of Roman and of Italian anthologies in that thirty-year period. Furthermore, Florido's fifteen motet anthologies account for exactly 20% of all motet collections (single-composer and anthology) known to have been printed in Rome between 1643 and 1672 (there being seventy-five in total) and far outnumber the four other Roman motet anthologies printed in that time-span.[149]

Given these figures, it would not be unreasonable or disingenuous to describe Florido as a 'professional' anthologiser (in contrast to others, such as Giovanni Battista Caifabri, who were primarily printers or booksellers but occasionally issued compilations under their

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Additionally, the final motet in several anthologies — usually by Florido himself — often does not follow the alphabetical ordering.

[148] Elisabeth Giselbrecht, 'Crossing boundaries: the printed dissemination of Italian sacred music in German-speaking areas (1580-1620)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012), p. 13.

[149] The figures in these paragraphs have been compiled from Franchi, 'De Silvestris, Florido'; Franchi, *Annali*; and RISM B/I.

own name), and thus to assume that his motivations were primarily commercial. Federico Vizzaccaro has posited that Florido's was driven primarily by self-promotion, but that he would hardly have undertaken such extensive work if there were little chance of a reasonable financial return;[150] however, since — as mentioned above — it is not known how many copies of Florido's anthologies were printed, we cannot know what financial gain there was for Florido. Pitoni's description of Florido as 'a mediocre composer who compiled collections of works by various composers and had them printed alongside some of his own pieces' seems to indicate that Florido was best known by his contemporaries for his activities as an anthologiser.[151]

While, as discussed above, it is not known for certain what Florido's motivations were for producing his anthologies, it seems clear that he was aware of the approaches and practices of contemporary printers and editors active in and around Rome, and tailored his own publications to follow prevailing trends. Evidence for this can perhaps be seen in the number of motets contained in each of his publications and their breakdown according to the number of voice parts:

Year	**Number of motets**	**1-voice**	**2-voice**	**3-voice**	**4-voice**	**5-voice**
1643	25		6	14	3	2
1645	27		7	11	4	
1647	25[152]		5	13	6	
1648	16		2	10	4	
1649	16		4	8	4	
1650	16		4	8	4	
1651	16		4	8	4	
1652	16		4	8	4	
1654	15		7	7	1	
1655	15			15		
1659	12	12				
1663	10	10				
1664	16	4	4	4	4	

[150] Vizzaccaro, 'Florido de Silvestris', pp. 266 and 267.
[151] 'mediocre compositore che faceva raccolte di diverse opere di varij autori e le dava alla stampa assieme con qualcheduna delle sue'. Pitoni, *Notitia*, p. 310.
[152] One motet in this publication, Cecchelli's 'Ecce qui mortis' (discussed above) is for seven voices; it has not been counted in this table.

1668	16			16		
1672	17		17			

Table 2.2 Florido's motet anthologies by number of voice parts.

We can observe that Florido abandons five-part motets after only one anthology, and includes more works for three voices than for other numbers in every anthology until FdS1655. Additionally, from FdS1655 to the end of his career each of Florido's anthologies — with the exception of FdS1664 — contains works for the same number of voices; the same is true for his 1662 anthology of Vespers psalms, which are all for three voices and continuo.

An analysis of contemporary motet publications reveals similar variations: for example, the motet collections of Bonifatio Gratiani, the most prolific contemporary Roman motet composer in terms of printed publications, show that he too moved away from the larger-scale motets and focused instead first on three-voice motets and then on solo ones (the table is limited to those publications that appeared during his lifetime):

Year	Number of motets	1-voice	2-voice	3-voice	4-voice	5-voice	6-voice
1650	18		4	9	2	2	1
1652	19		4	9	2	2	2
1652	11			6	2	2	1
1652	19		4	9	2	2	2
1652	12	12					
1654	14		4	7	2	1	
1654	13		3	7	2	1	
1655	12	12					
1658	11		5	5		1	
1658	10	10					

Table 2.3 Gratiani's motet anthologies by number of voice parts.

However, motet publications by Francesco Foggia do not show quite the same trend (again, limited to those publications that appeared during his lifetime); we can see that he persisted in the writing of five-voice motets until his last collection (printed the year before his death), and published no volumes containing solo motets.

Year	Number of motets	1-voice	2-voice	3-voice	4-voice	5-voice	6-voice
1645	5		2	2	1		

1645	15		5	6	4		
1645	14		5	6	2	1	
1645	14		5	6	3		
1645	20		6	11	1	2	
1650	16		5	5	3	3	
1652	17		6	8	1	2	
1661	19		10	8		1	
1665	15			15			
1673	16		6	5	3	2	

Table 2.4 Foggia's motet anthologies by number of voice parts.

Composers

Jerome Roche notes that 'the anthology is the sign of a flourishing musical activity'[153] — meaning, presumably, that there must be healthy enough a compositional melting-pot for there to exist the desire to curate a selection from the works in question, and Florido's anthologies give an unrivalled insight into the richness of the sacred *concertato* motet in mid- and late-seventeenth-century Rome, in terms of both quality and quantity. The fifteen anthologies contain two hundred and fifty-eight motets in total; however, as twenty-five pieces from the first six anthologies are reprinted in FdS1651 and FdS1652 (as detailed above), we can consider the true figure to be two hundred and thirty-three distinct motets.

These represent what would appear to be a broad cross-section of contemporary composers active in and around Rome — fifty-two in total, with two motets being anonymous. (See Table 2.5, below.)

[153] Jerome Roche, 'Anthologies and the Dissemination of Early Baroque Italian Sacred Music', *Soundings*, 4 (1974), pp. 6–12 (p. 6).

Florido's motet anthologies

	1643	1645	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1654	1655	1659	1663	1664	1668	1672	Total
Abbatini, Antonio Maria (1595–1679)	2	2			1	1										**6**
Agostini, Paolo (*c*.1583–1629)	2															**2**
Anonymous										1	1					**2**
'Antonelli' (Filitrani, Antonello) (d.1649)[154]		1	1		1			1								**4**
'Argentini' (Filippini), Stefano (*c*.1601–1690)	1	2					1									**4**
Benevoli, Orazio (1605–72)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	**17**
Bicilli, Giovanni (1623–1705)						1				1			1	1	1	**5**
Bonetti, Carlo (*c*.1614–*c*.1694)				1												**1**
Bonetti, Giovanni (*fl*.1654)									2							**2**
Capponi, Gino Angelo (1601–88)	2					1										**3**
Carissimi, Giacomo (1605–74)	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	**22**
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio (*fl*.1638–60)			1	1	1	1				1	1		1	1	1	**9**
da Cavi, Filippo (*fl*.1641–46)	1															**1**
Cecchelli, Carlo (1612–67)		3	5	2	1	1	1	2		1			1			**17**
Cesi, Pietro (*fl*.1653–60)														1	1	**2**
Corradi, Nicola (*fl*.1648)				1												**1**
Corsi, Giuseppe (1630–90)											1	1	1	1	1	**5**
Durante, Silvestro (d.1672)	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	3		1	1		1	1	1	**20**
Fabri, Stefano (*c*.1606–1657)	2	1	1	1		1		1	2	1						**10**
Foggia, Antonio (*c*.1638–*c*.1707)														1		**1**
Foggia, Francesco (1603–88)	3	6	3	1	1	1	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	**32**

[154] I follow Franchi (*Annali*, I.i, p. 847) in identifying the 'Antonelli' 'credited in Florido's motet anthologies with Antonello Filitrani rather than with Abundio/Abbondio Antonelli (d. before 1629), on the basis both of age and of Filitrani's extended employment in Roman ecclesiastical institutions — Abundio Antonelli was *maestro di cappella* of San Lorenzo in Damaso for less than two years, whereas Filitrani held the same post at San Giovanni in Laterano from 1630 to his death in 1649 — and closer chronological proximity.

	1643	1645	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1654	1655	1659	1663	1664	1668	1672	Total
Giansetti, Giovanni Battista (*fl*.1650–1704)														1		**1**
Giovannoni, Vincenzo (*fl*.1626–62)		1	1			1										**3**
de Grandis, Vincenzo (1631–1708)															1	**1**
Gratiani, Bonifatio (1604–64)				2	1	1		1	2	1	1	1	1	1		**12**
Lancia, Carlo Maria (*fl*.1645–58)		1														**1**
Leardini, Alesandro (*fl*.1643–62)				1												**1**
Mangiarotti, Federico (*fl*.1664–68)													1	1		**2**
Marciani, Giovanni (*c*.1605–*c*.1663)		1	1							1	1	1				**5**
Marcorelli, Giovanni Francesco (1610–51)					1											**1**
Margarini, Francesco (*fl*.1623–56)						1				1						**2**
Massenzio, Domenico (1586–1657)	2															**2**
Mazzocchi, Virgilio (1597–1646)	3	2	2		1		2	1			1					**12**
Mezzalancia, Filippo (*fl*.1601–02)			1													**1**
Micharelli, Giuseppe (*fl*.1666–75)															1	**1**
Natali, Pompeo (*c*.1598–*c*.1681)														1	1	**2**
Olivati, Ignatio (*fl*.1648–52)				1	1											**2**
Olivieri, Paolo (*fl*.1650–83)															1	**1**
Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria (1637–1702)												1	1			**2**
Ponteggi, Alessandro (1629–75)															1	**1**
Santucci, Girolamo (*fl*.1643–50)					1	1										**2**
Savioni, Mario (1606–85)										1	1	1	1	1	1	**6**
de Silvestris, Florido	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	**14**

Florido's motet anthologies

(1596–after 1676)																
Simonelli, Matteo (*c*.1618–1696)															1	**1**
Stamegna, Nicolò (*c*.1615–1685)													1	1	1	**3**
Tarditi, Paolo (*c*.1580–1661)					1	1										**2**
Tozzi, Vincenzo (*c*.1612–*c*.1675)					1											**1**
Tricarico, Giuseppe (1623–97)									2	1		1	1			**5**
Valentini, Giovanni Carlo (*c*.1617–1681)			1													**1**
Vannarelli, Francesco (1615–79)			1													**1**
Vannini, Bernardino (1560–1612)			1													**1**
Vannini, Pietro Paolo (*fl*.1640–63)											1					**1**
Vincenti, Giovanni (*c*.1635–1701)													1			**1**
	1643	**1645**	**1647**	**1648**	**1649**	**1650**	**1651**	**1652**	**1654**	**1655**	**1659**	**1663**	**1664**	**1668**	**1672**	**Total**

Table 2.5 Distribution of composers' works across Florido's motet anthologies

Many of the leading composers of sacred music are present, most notably Antonio Maria Abbatini, Orazio Benevoli, Giacomo Carissimi, Carlo Cecchelli, Silvestro Durante, Francesco Foggia, Bonifatio Gratiani, and Virgilio Mazzocchi. These and others represented in Florido's anthologies were clearly held in high regard among their contemporaries and the generation immediately following: a 1681 treatise by the theorist and composer Angelo Berardi (1636–94) praises Carissimi as a preeminent composer of sacred 'concertini alla moderna; cioè dialoghi, mottetti, musiche da oratorio', Foggia for his 'vaghe e pellegrine invenzioni', and Gratiani for his 'cantilene, variate con l'organo piene a più voci'.[155]

Pitoni wrote freely in his *Notitia* regarding the abilities of his contemporaries, seldom mincing any words of criticism; in contrast, he reserved particular praise for the following composers represented in Florido's motet anthologies:

- Carissimi ('He was an excellent composer of musical harmony […] He had a style most natural and serious in his compositions, one greatly acclaimed and appreciated by the listeners of his time');[156]
- Cecchelli ('he was a most esteemed composer and a talented writer of counterpoint);'[157]
- Foggia ('the memory of the sweetness of his works ever remains impressed upon the souls of the living, for he was a great master inventor of delights and of infinite thoughts, with much variety of style');[158]

[155] Angelo Berardi, *Ragionamenti musicali* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1681), pp. 133–34.
[156] 'Fu eccellente compositore di armonia musicale […] Ebbe stile assai naturale e grave nelle sue composizioni e molto applaudito e gradito agli orecchi di quell tempo'. Pitoni, *Notitia*, p. 314.
[157] 'fu compositore di buona stima e valoroso contrapuntista'. Ibid., p. 290.
[158] 'resta ancora impressa negli animi de' viventi la memoria delle dolcezze dei suoi concerti, essendo stato gran maestro inventore di vaghezze e pensieri infiniti, con tanta varietà di stile'. Ibid., p. 327.

Florido's motet anthologies

- Giovannoni ('one who composed exactly to the rules of counterpoint, he worked sparingly but excellently; I have seen various original works that show his great study and mastery of counterpoint');[159]
- Gratiani ('he inherited from nature an easy facility for working, with a most natural style and a great fertility of intellect');[160]
- Savioni ('a singular man who has printed many works that have been praised by men of good taste');[161]
- Tozzi ('a celebrated composer for both church and the chamber, with an easy and harmonious style').[162]

However, Florido's anthologies also feature many lesser-known musical names. Sixteen of the fifty-two composers appear nowhere else in print; and the anthologies occasionally provide biographical information for a composer that is not recorded elsewhere, principally regarding their place of employment (either current or recently-departed). Despite the relative modern obscurity of some of the composers represented in his anthologies, Florido must have regarded their music as of sufficient quality (at least from a commercial point of view) to appear alongside works by the more established names. This echoes the practice of earlier anthologisers; according to Giulio Ongaro, the composers represented in a series of Venetian anthologies of the 1560s can be divided into three strata according to their contemporary renown: 'established composers of international fame', 'a step below, […] composers active and recognized by contemporary purchasers of music books', and 'composers that at the time of the publication would have been known locally, but whose

[159] 'compositore di regole esatte di contrapunto operò parcamente ma eccellentemente et io ho veduto diverse opera originali, quali sono di molto studio e polizia di contrapunto'. Ibid., p. 301.
[160] 'riportò dalla natura un'indole assai facile nell'operare con stile naturalissimo e con tanta fecondità d'ingengno'. Ibid., p. 302.
[161] 'uomo singolare […] ha date alle stampe molte opera […] che sono state assai lodate dagli uomini di buon gusto'. Ibid., pp. 325–26.
[162] 'celebre compositore di chiesa e di camera di stile facile e armonioso'. Ibid., p. 315.

inclusion might not have been helpful (commercially speaking) beyond a limited geographical area'.[163] Ongaro elaborates:

> The last group is made up of composers so obscure that one has to presume their inclusion depends more on their relationship with the editor, the printer, or the person responsible for financing the print than on their musical merits … The inclusion of personal friends and favorites is hardly surprising; in fact it seems to be a constant feature of anthologies, both literary and musical, where the appearance of one's work next to those of the great authors allowed to share [*sic*] their immortality.[164]

The extent to which the composers included in Florido's anthologies appear often concords with what we know of their contemporary reputation: Benevoli, Carissimi, and Foggia appear in all fifteen anthologies; Gratiani features in ten; Cecchelli and Durante in nine; and Fabri in eight. However, that Carpani is present in nine anthologies, the earliest in 1647 and the latest in 1672, might suggest grounds of loyalty or friendship on Florido's part.

There are several composers in Florido's anthologies for whom very little or no biographical information exists. These include Pietro Cesi (one motet in each of FdS1668 and FdS1672; his other printed collections do not indicate where he might have been active) and Pietro Paolo Vannini, who is simply labelled 'da Palestrina' in the rubric to his single contribution to Florido's anthologies, in FdS1659; among the small number of manuscript compositions of his that survive are two copies of a setting of 'Il pastor fido', one of which repeats the Palestrina designation, the other of which calls him 'Romano'.

The tavola of FdS1647 identifies the composer of the motet 'Iste homo perfecit' as Filippo Mezzalancia da Barbarano Organista'; Vizzaccaro suggests that Mezzalancia was a friend of Florido's from an early age; they appear together as 'clericus' in the 1612 list, and 'sacerdote' in the 1622 list (see above).[165] In the dedication to FdS1649, Florido includes

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[163] Ongaro, 'Venetian Printed Anthologies', p. 53.
[164] Ibid., pp. 53–54.
[165] Vizzaccaro, 'Florido de Silvestris', p. 264.

among a long list of famous sons of Barbarano one 'Io. Baptista Medialancia', a Latin rendering of the name Giovanni Battista (or Giambattista/Gianbattista) Mezzalancia, who is described as 'organicæ modulationis virtute maximè præditus' ('greatly famous for his skill at performing on the organ'); it seems likely that these Mezzalancia were related.

Additionally, one might speculate that the inclusion of certain composers in Florido's anthologies may have been down not so much to their being 'friends' or 'favorites' of Florido, but — rather — his social betters. Gino Angelo Capponi (two motets in FdS1643 and one in FdS1650, the rubrics of none bearing any indication of his status) was a member of the Roman branch of a Florentine noble family, and also had poetry and stage works published during his life.[166]

Carlo Maria Lancia was a marchese (labelled 'Illustrissimo Signore' in the rubric to his two-part 'O dulcissime Domine' in FdS1645),[167] and was also the dedicatee of Antonio Cifra's 1638 *Sacræ Cantiones* (Rome: Lodovico Grignani) (RISM A/I C 2211); he is also listed as 'Caporione del Rione di Colonna' in a diary of the papal jubilee year of 1650, which details his role in organising and leading the various services and processions for the month of October.[168] Additionally, Lancia is named as the instigator of a case brought in 1646 before the Roman court that handled financial disputes, the 'Causa Romana pecuniaria'; the documents state that the legal action was 'ad istanza di Carlo Maria Lancia' — the Italian equivalent of the legal term 'ad instantiam', meaning 'at the request of'. Lancia seems to have been acting in the interests of the Collegio Salviati, which was founded in 1591 by Cardinal Anton Maria Salviati — ancestor of Lorenzo Salviati, the dedicatee of FdS1663 — as an addition to the Pia casa degli orfani di Santa Maria in Aquiro, a charitable organisation dedicated to the care of orphans in Rome, which was attached to the church of

[166] Aristide Bertuzzi, 'La nobiltà romana nel 1653', *Rivista del Collegio Araldico*, 3 (1905), pp. 200–05 (p. 201).
[167] Critical Edition included in Volume Two; see page 418.
[168] *Diario dell'Anno del SS^mo^ Giubileo MDCL, celebrato in Roma dalla Santità di N.S. Papa Innocentio X* (Rome: Francesco Moneta, 1651), pp. 221 and 322.

Santa Maria in Portico Octaviae, of which Vicenzo Costaguti was cardinal-deacon between 1643 and 1652.[169]

While many of the *maestri* represented in Florido's anthologies would have been in holy orders as a requirement for holding particular employment, there is at one composer who appears primarily to have been a cleric rather than a professional musician. Giovanni Carlo Valentini is described as 'Canonico di Rieti, e discepolo del Cecchelli' at the head of his three-part setting of the Marian antiphon 'Ave Regina cælorum' in FdS1647 — his only contribution to any of Florido's anthologies; Valentini was later bishop of Città Ducale between 1659 and his death in 1681.

It is possible that Carlo Bonetti, composer of 'Intenderunt arcum' in FdS1648 (the partbook rubrics to which give only his name), is the same Carlo Bonetti to whom FdS1654 is dedicated (*Grove* states this as fact without justification); the dedicatory epistle addresses him as being a member of the Order of St Augustine. This would identify this Bonetti with the composer of a 1662 collection of motets for between one and eleven voices (along with a twelve-part setting of the Litany) printed in Venice by Francesco Magni (not in Rome, as claimed by *Grove*), in which his membership of the Augustinian order is also mentioned as well as his employment as *maestro* at the Santa Casa in Loreto.[170]

Not all of the professional composers included in Florido's anthologies were *maestri di cappella* or organists. A number of singers are credited (usually styled 'musico' in the partbook rubrics to their motets, rather than 'maestro'), including Giovanni Bonetti (two motets in FdS1654; the rubrics state that he was a singer at the Santa Casa in Loreto, which might suggest a familial link with Carlo Bonetti), Nicola Corradi (one motet in FdS1648),

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[169] *Pia casa degli orfani di Santa Maria in Aquiro e Monastero dei Santi Quattro Coronati — Collegio Salviati: Archivio storico, Inventario 1320–1893*, ed. by Alexandra Kolega (Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro — ISMA, 2015) <https://www.lincei.it/sites/default/files/documenti/Archivio/ISMA_Isma.pdf> [accessed 19 August 2025], p. 156.

[170] *Mottecta 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 11. cum litanijs duodecim vocibus* … (RISM A/I B 3466).

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Alessandro Leardini (one motet in FdS1648), Mario Savioni (one motet in each of Florido's six last anthologies), and Florido himself.

It is important to note that although the chronological span of Florido's anthologies is thirty years (1643 to 1672), the inclusion of two composers who had died decades earlier — Paolo Agostini (*c*.1583–1629) and Bernardino Vannini (1560–1612) — necessarily more than doubles the actual span of the musical content to at least sixty years. Additionally, three other composers had works included in various of Florido's anthologies that were printed after their confirmed date of death: Antonello Filitrani (d. 1649; one motet in FdS1649, reprinted in FdS1652); Bonifatio Gratiani (1604–64; one motet in FdS1668) and Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597–1646; two motets in FdS1647, one in FdS1649, two in FdS1651, one in FdS1652, and one in FdS1659). This perhaps suggests that including works by composers with established reputations in his anthologies was less of a concern for Florido than presenting the most up-to-date motets.

That said, Florido can hardly have been short of material from which to draw in the compilation of his anthologies, given the strength of his connections. He does not anywhere hint at any selection criteria for the anthologies, merely stating on their title-pages that the works chosen are 'ab excellentissimis' or 'a celeberrimis' ('by the most excellent' or 'by the most renowned') composers; in contrast, on the title-page of his first motet anthology of 1665, Caifabri proclaimed its contents to have been 'Composti in Musica da diversi Eccellentissimi Autori Romani' ('set to music by various most excellent Roman composers'), suggesting that he felt this to be an aspect to the publication that would appeal to potential buyers and users.

One could speculate endlessly as to why specific other composers were not included, despite their contemporary reputation; Franchi lists Ercole Bernabei,[171] Francesco Berretta,[172] Domenico Borgiani,[173] Agostino Diruta,[174] Antimo Liberati,[175] and Francesco de Petris[176] as just a few notable absentees who were active in Rome.[177] To this list I would add the aforementioned Angelo Berardi,[178] Paolo Lorenzani,[179] and Alessandro Melani[180] as other established Roman-based composers of *concertato* motets; except for Borgiani, Diruta, and de Petris, all the just-listed composers appear in Caifabri's four sacred anthologies. This

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[171] Born in 1622, he served as organist and *maestro di cappella* at several major Roman churches, including San Giovanni in Laterano (in succession to Francesco Foggia), San Luigi dei Francesi, and the Cappella Giulia (in succession to Benevoli); he moved Munich in 1674 to succeed Johann Kasper Kerll as *Kapellmeister* to Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, in which post he remained until his death in 1687. Several *concertato* motets by Bernabei survive in manuscript, along with a posthumous collection of similar pieces printed in Munich in 1691.
[172] His date of birth is unknown; he was *maestro di cappella* at, among others, the cathedral in Tivoli (1657–64), Santo Spirito in Sassia (from 1675), and the Cappella Giulia, serving in this last post from 1678 until his death in 1694. Caifabri included a motet by Berretta in each of his anthologies of 1667 and 1675.
[173] Active between 1646 and 1678, his dates of birth and death are unknown; Roman-born, he served as *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral in Viterbo and had least two collections of *concertato* motets printed in Rome.
[174] Born around 1595, Diruta was a prolific composer of sacred music who began his career in the Veneto and had at least seven collections printed in Venice between 1617 and 1630, including three of *concertato* motets. From at least 1630 he was *maestro di cappella* at Sant'Agostino in Rome, and maintained his printed output in the city; he is absent from the documentary record after 1647, the year of his last known printed work.
[175] Liberati's reputation rests mostly on the accounts of his contemporaries, as little of his music survives; born in 1617 he came late to music, beginning his studies in 1650 with Gregorio Allegri and then Benevoli. He sang in the Cappella Sistina and served as its annually-elected *maestro di cappella* in 1674 and 1675; he died in 1692. Caifabri included a setting of the Laudate Dominum in his 1683 anthology of Vespers psalms.
[176] Biographical information about de Petris is scarce; he was *maestro di cappella* of San Giacomo degli Incurabili between 1659 and 1678, during which time Florido sang in the choir there.
[177] 'De Silvestris, Florido', p. 306.
[178] Although born in Emilia-Romagna, Berardi was active as *maestro di cappella* in and around Rome, holding the position at Santa Maria in Trastevere at the time of his death; only a small number of his printed works appeared in Rome (though this includes a book of *concertato* motets), the majority being printed in Bologna.
[179] Born in Rome in 1640, he rose to become *maestro di cappella* at the Gesù and the Seminario Romano in 1672, before moving in 1675 to the same position at the cathedral in Messina; he then travelled to France where between 1678 and 1694 he enjoyed a turbulent career, more popular at times than Lully but also frequently passed over for the most prestigious employment at the court of Louis XIV. He returned to Rome in 1694 to become *maestro* at the Cappella Giulia and died in 1713. A small number of motets survive manuscript and in two Roman anthologies of 1675; in 1693, during his time in Paris, he also had printed (at his own, great expense) a volume of small-scale motets.
[180] 1639–1703; having served as *maestro di cappella* in Orvieto, Ferrara, and Pistoia, Melani became *maestro* at Santa Maria Maggiore in 1667 and then San Luigi de Francesi by mid-1672, staying at the latter church until his death. Principally known for his operas and oratorios, he had at least four collections of *concertato* motets printed in Rome between 1670 and 1689.

might therefore raise doubts as to how comprehensive or truly representative we can consider Florido's anthologies to be of contemporary Roman composition.

Surviving exemplars

There are seventy-five known surviving exemplars of the anthologies (see below for discussion of exemplars the existence of which was once recorded but which cannot now be traced); these exist in thirty-six locations across the globe, as shown in Table 2.6, below.

	1643	1645	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1654	1655	1659	1663	1664	1668	1672	Total
	CATB	**CATB**	**CATB**	**CATB**	**CCTB**	**CCAB**	**CATB**	**CATB**	**CCTB**	**ATB**	**C**	**C**	**CATB**	**CCC**	**CC**	
A-Wn	Bc						compl.									2
B-Br					compl.											1
CH-Zz													C			1
D-Fschneider												Bc				1
D-MÜp			CTB										compl.	compl.		3
F-Pc						compl.			compl.							2
F-Pm										Bc						1
F-Pn	CATB			compl.				compl.								3
GB-Lbl						compl.								compl.		2
GB-Lcm			CATBc									compl.				2
GB-Lwa			compl.	compl.		compl.									compl.	4
GB-Och											compl.	Bc				2
I-AOc						BBc					C					2
I-Bc	compl.	compl.	compl.	ATBBc	compl.				compl.	compl.	compl.	compl.	compl.	C1C2Bc	compl.	12
I-Bsp			ATBBc		compl.											2
I-BGc	T															1
I-CEc	CB															1
I-COd								CATB								1
I-FZac										compl.						1
I-Ls												C				1
I-Nf					compl.				compl.							2
I-PCd					C2TBBc											1
I-PIa		compl.														1
I-PS	Bc															1
I-Rc				compl.	C2											2
I-Rsgf		B	compl.		C1TB					ATB						4
I-Sac										ATBc						1
M-MDca			compl.			compl.	compl.	compl.	compl.	compl.	C	compl.	compl.			9
NL-DHnmi								ATB								1
P-La			compl.													1
PL-Kj				ATBBc							Bc					2

Florido's motet anthologies

PL-WRu						C1C2BBc										1
S-Uu			compl.													1
US-BEm						C1Bc										1
US-LAur				C												1
US-NYcu				C												1
	6	**3**	**9**	**7**	**7**	**7**	**2**	**4**	**4**	**6**	**5**	**6**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**75**
	1643	**1645**	**1647**	**1648**	**1649**	**1650**	**1651**	**1652**	**1654**	**1655**	**1659**	**1663**	**1664**	**1668**	**1672**	**Total**
	CATB	**CATB**	**CATB**	**CATB**	**CCTB**	**CCAB**	**CATB**	**CATB**	**CCTB**	**ATB**	**C**	**C**	**CATB**	**CCC**	**CC**	

Table 2.6 Surviving exemplars of Florido's motet anthologies by holding institution.
The list of partbooks of each anthology given in the table header and footer does not include the basso continuo partbook, but it is included in the entries in the body of the table; an entry reading 'compl.' (for 'complete') indicates that all partbooks (voices and basso continuo) are held by the institution in question.

Only fifty-one of these exemplars are listed in the online RISM catalogue, which has been updated since the publication of the original print volume of RISM B/I; a further eleven have been discussed in varying levels of detail by writers including Hélène Wessely-Kropik (those in I-Rsgf), Saverio Franchi (numerous provincial Italian archives), and the editors of and contributors to the catalogue of the Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN).

In the course of my research, I have located a further thirteen exemplars that have not — to my knowledge — yet been treated of in any detail by other authors:

FdS1643: A-Wn, F-Pn
FdS1647: GB-Lcm
FdS1648: US-LAur, US-NYcu
FdS1650: PL-WRu, US-BEm
FdS1651: A-Wn
FdS1652: F-Pn
FdS1654: F-Pc
FdS1659: GB-Och
FdS1663: GB-Och
FdS1664: CH-Zz

I can claim none of these thirteen exemplars as a true 'discovery'; all have been correctly catalogued, and each is discoverable in the online catalogue of their owning institutions. The disparate nature of individual libraries' catalogues even in this age of 'everything' being available online meant that my successes were down in a large part to careful and often inventive choices of search terms in as many catalogues as I could find. A particularly valuable tool was Worldcat.org, a service that pulls in library holdings from across the world; although designed for modern collections, it proved to be just as good at identifying original Florido prints; at the non-specialist end of the spectrum, the exemplars in A-Wn and GB-Och came to light thanks to trawling as far through the results thrown up by

standard internet search engines as I could stomach. Needless to say, there likely exist further exemplars of Florido's motet anthologies yet to be (re-)discovered by others more diligent than I.

Further information about all the surviving exemplars can be found in Appendix I.

Although we can be fairly certain that the fifteen motet collections that have come down to us form almost the entirety of Florido's output in that genre, we have no record of how many copies of each anthology were produced, thus making it impossible to determine what proportion has survived. Recent studies to address this problem with regard to musical publications of the period include those by Luigi Collarile on lost collections of Viadana's music,[181] Rudolf Rasch on the topic more generally,[182] and Iain Fenlon on Spanish publications,[183] the latter as part of a collection of essays devoted to the topic of lost books in early modern Europe.

There are several instances of sixteenth-century printing contracts that specify five hundred copies; Bonnie Blackburn discusses two from Rome dated 1516 and 1526,[184] while Richard Agee cites one of 1565 in his study of Venetian music printing in the sixteenth century.[185]. However, Kate van Orden and Alfredo Vitolo deem that figure 'conservative', giving as an example the large and expensive (in terms of printing costs) 1544 edition of Cristóbal de Morales's first book of Mass settings, of which five hundred and twenty-five copies were

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[181] Luigi Collarile, 'Edizioni musicali perdute di Fra' Lodovico Viadana: una ricognizione analitica', in *Barocco Padano e musici francescani, II* (Barocco Padano 9), ed. by Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Centro Studi Antoniani, 2018), pp. 123–56.
[182] Rudolf Rasch, 'How Much Is Lost, or Do We Know What We Don't Know? Observations on the Loss of Printed Music from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Album amicorum Albert Dunning, in occasione del suo LXV compleanno*, ed. by Giacomo Fornari (Brepols, 2002), pp. 461–94.
[183] Iain Fenlon, 'Lost Books of Polyphony from Renaissance Spain', in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. by Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (Brill, 2016), pp. 73–100.
[184] Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Printing Contract for the Libro primo de musica de la salamandra (Rome, 1526)', *Journal of Musicology*, 12.3 (Summer 1994), pp. 345–56 (pp. 346–51).
[185] Richard J. Agee, 'The Venetian Privilege and Music-printing in the Sixteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 3 (1983), pp. 1–42 (p. 8).

printed, and suggesting that smaller volumes would have been produced in larger numbers;[186] this tallies with a court deposition given by the Florentine printers Filippo and Jacopo Giunti in 1563 — albeit in reference to non-music books — in which they state that 'the normal practice is to print 1000 copies'.[187]

Jumping forward roughly a century, Huub van der Linden has unearthed evidence of the amount of paper used in the printing of various of musical works in early-eighteenth-century Bologna, and calculates figures of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred fifty copies of the publications.[188] While advising caution in the positing of such figures, owing to the paucity of hard evidence, and also restricting himself to sixteenth-century Italy, Stanley Boorman concludes that print runs for music of the period could have ranged from less than one hundred 'for some editions required by very minor and inept composers' to 'well over 1,000 when a composer was well-known'; he also believes that 'minor publishers went for smaller print-runs'.[189]

Where does this leave us with Florido's anthologies? As discussed above, the composers included could not, for the most part, be characterised as 'minor and inept' — nor could most of the printers be deemed 'minor'. In the absence of firmer evidence, let us of the figures given in the above paragraphs take an average of those closest chronologically to Florido — that is, two hundred copies. We then arrive at a dishearteningly low survival rate for Florido's anthologies of between 1% (for those exemplars of which two copies survive, FdS1651 and FdS1672) and 4.5% (that for which nine, FdS1647) — and so can join van Orden and Vitolo in lamenting 'the dizzying rate at which printed music was

[186] Kate van Orden and Alfredo Vitolo, 'Padre Martini, Gaetano Gaspari and the 'Pagliarini Collection': a Renaissance music library rediscovered', *Early Music History*, 29 (2010), pp. 241–324 (p. 242).
[187] Tim Carter, 'Music-printing in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, Cristofano Marescotti and Zanobi Pignoni', *Early Music History*, 9 (1990), pp. 27–72 (p. 35).
[188] Huub van der Linden, 'Printing Music in Italy Around 1700: Workshop Practices at the Silvani Firm in Bologna', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 109.4 (December 2015), pp. 491–532 (pp. 496–502).
[189] Stanley Boorman, 'Thoughts on the Popularity of Printed Music in 16th-Century Italy', *Fontis Artis Musicae*, 48.2 (April–June 2001), pp. 129–44 (p. 139).

destroyed'; they conclude that 'compared to literary texts, the fortunes of printed music were dismal indeed […] These breathtaking records of loss illustrate just how ephemeral music was.'[190]

While none of the surviving exemplars of Florido's anthologies has a provenance that can be definitively traced all the way back to their creation, two come tantalisingly close. The Bassus ad Organum partbook of FdS1655 now in F-Pm has written on its title-page 'S. Germani a prata'; this is a reference to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris. The dedicatee of FdS1655, Gabriel Gratian Miłoszewsky (*c*.1610–1662), was a Polish cleric and poet of Latin verse; as well as occupying the position of protonotary apostolic in the papal hierarchy, he served as secretary to King John II Casimir Vasa of Poland, who after his abdication in 1668 was given exile in France, where he rejoined the Jesuit order[191] and was made abbot of Saint-German-des-Prés, where he resided until his death in 1672. Thus, it is possible that the partbook in question was given by Florido to its dedicatee, Gabriel Gratian Miłoszewsky, whence it passed into the possession of his employer, John Casimir Vasa, who then took it with him to Paris. The abbey was partially destroyed during the French Revolution, and the contents of its library were acquired by F-Pm.[192]

Another copy of FdS1655, that now in the library of the Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (I-Rsgf), has written on the title-page of each surviving partbook the name of Giovanni Marciani, *maestro di cappella* at the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini between 1644 and 1660. Although this inscription is undated, it can reasonably be assumed to be in

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[190] van Orden and Vitolo, 'Padre Martini', pp. 243 and 244.

[191] John Casimir had first joined the Jesuits in 1643 and was made a cardinal by Pope Innocent X in 1646; however, the death in 1647 of the son of the reigning king, Władysław IV Vasa — John Casimir's half-brother — meant that John Casimir became the likely successor (the Polish throne was, uniquely in Europe between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, bestowed by an election held by the parliament of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth), thus forcing him to relinquish the cardinalate and resign from the Jesuit order. Władysław died in 1648, and John Casimir was duly elected as the new king — a role, it is recorded, he accepted with great reluctance.

[192] 'History', *Bibliothèque Mazarine* <https://www.bibliotheque-mazarine.fr/en/about/history> [accessed 24 November 2025].

Marciani's hand, and therefore to date from his tenure, thus implying that the copy of FdS1655 has remained there from that time; the same is likely to be true of the copies of FdS1645, FdS1647, FdS1649, and Florido's 1646 anthology of masses, as these were also all produced during Marciani's tenure. Successive *maestri di cappella* of the confraternity in the mid-seventeenth century were Stefano Fabri (1639–44), Marciani (1644–60), and Matteo Simonelli (1660–82),[193] all of whom are represented in Florido's motet anthologies.

Setting aside these conjectures, it is possible — by means of inscriptions indicating ownership or of dateable inclusion in library catalogues or collections — to track the peregrinations of a small number of exemplars back to within a few decades of their production:

- the copy of FdS1647 now P-La was formerly in the Royal Collection of Portugal,[194] and is listed in a 1649 catalogue of the Collection,[195] thus dating its acquisition to within two years of its publication. This was during a period when, owing to the enthusiasms of King João IV (ruled 1640–56), many aspects of Roman music and culture were adopted in Portugal;[196]
- the copy of FdS1647 (as well as copies of the Vincenti reprints of FdS1648 and FdS1649 — see below for discussion of these) in S-Uu was originally collected by Gustav Düben (1628–90) and donated to the library by his son Anders von Düben;[197]

[193] Helene Wessely-Kropik, 'Mitteilungen aus dem Archiv der Arciconfraternità di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, detta Della Pietà in Rom', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 24 (1960), pp. 44–60 (pp. 46–47); Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'Presentazione', in Manuela di Donato, *Due secoli di musica a S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini: Rarità musicali nell'Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita della Pietà a Roma* (IBIMUS, 2015), pp. 9–11 (pp. 10–11).
[194] Personal correspondence, Dr Cristina Pinto Basto, 5 November 2020.
[195] *Primeira parte do Index da Livraria de Musica do muyto alto, e poderoso Rey Dom Ioão o IV. Nosso Senhor* (Lisbon: Paulo Craesbeck, 1649), p. 497.
[196] João Pedro D'Alvarenga, '"To make of Lisbon a new Rome": The Repertory of the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 8.2 (2011), pp. 179–214 (pp. 183–84).
[197] Webber, 'Italian music at the Court of Queen Christina', p. 53; Berglund, 'Routes to the Düben Collection', p. 56; 'Printed Music in the Düben Collection'.

- the copy of FdS1650 in PL-WRu (as well as one further copy there of FdS1650, now lost, and copies of the Vincenti reprints of FdS1648 and FdS1649) was originally collected by either Daniel Sartorius (1612–71) or — more likely — Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661), the latter himself a Breslau-/Wrocław-based publisher of several anthologies of Italian sacred music;[198]
- the Cantus partbook of FdS1659 now in I-AOc has, on the inside of its front cover, the inscription 'Ill.[u] ac R.[do] D. Phileberto Jacodi Cathed.[li] Augustani / Can.[co] dignissimo et Musices moderaturi iamdudum emerito / ad [illegible] Ecc.[æ] et privatum Ipsius usum dedit Jo: Fr: Perron / eiusdem Ecclesiæ Canonicus in gratitudinis et amicitiæ monamentū / 1661' — that is, in 1661 Giovanni Francesco Perron, a canon of the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in Aosta, gave this copy to Filiberto Iacodi, former *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral, as a personal gift in recognition of the latter's service.

More intriguingly, the copy of FdS1650 now held in GB-Lwa has, at the bottom of the *tavola* page of the Bassus ad Organum partbook, five names written in the same hand:

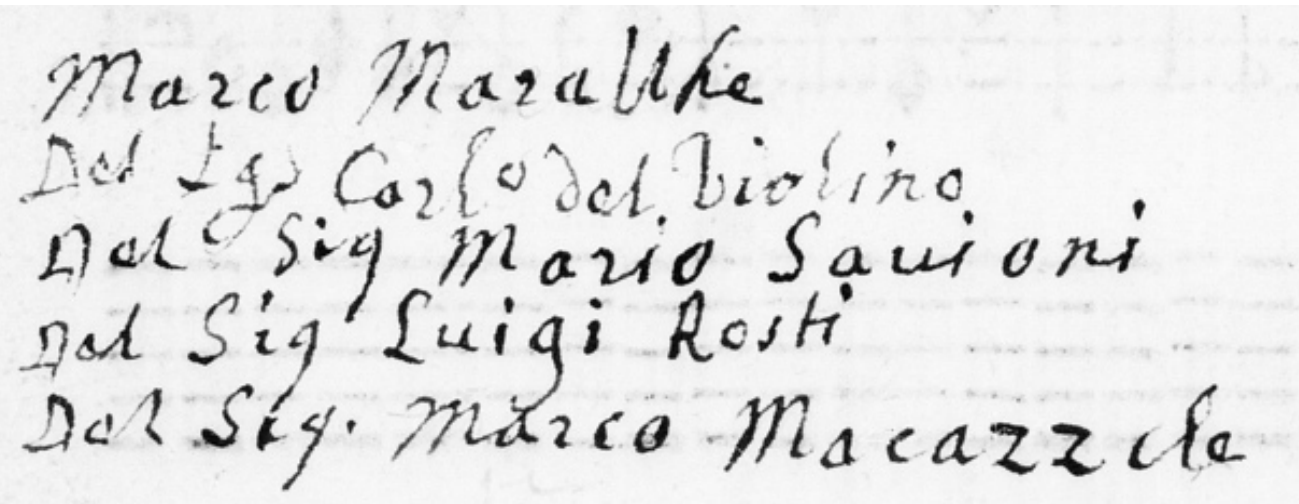

Figure 2.7 A list of names written on the tavola page of the GB-Lwa copy of FdS1650. (Image courtesy of GB-Lwa.)

[198] Tomasz Jeż, *Danielis Sartorii Musicalia Wratislaviensia* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2017), pp. 61–62, 418–19, 428–29, 566–67.

These could be deciphered as 'Marco Maralle', 'Sig. Carlo del Violino', 'Sig. Mario Savioni', 'Sig. Luigi Rosti', and 'Sig. Marco Macazzole'; however, the hand is shaky and unclear, and so I suggest the last two names be identified as Luigi Rossi and Marco Marazzoli.

Thus, apart from the first, we have named here four leading Roman musicians of the seventeenth century:

- Carlo Caprioli (*c*.1614–1668), violinist (hence the sobriquet 'del Violino'), organist, and composer;
- Mario Savioni (1608–85), singer and composer (works by whom are included in each of Florido's motet anthologies from FdS1655 onwards);
- Luigi Rossi (*c*.1597–1653), composer particularly known for his cantatas (he does not feature in any of Florido's motet anthologies, but two pieces of his are included in Florido's 1646 collection *Ariette di musica*);
- Marco Marazzoli (*c*.1602–1662), composer most known for his stage works and cantatas.

The significance of this list is unclear; the *tavola* page would seem an unusual place to make an inscription relating to ownership — and, in any case, the names are all written in the same hand, so this is probably not a list of successive owners of the volume. It is also not clear if the first word of the second, third, fourth, and fifth lines is 'Del' or 'Dal' — nor what this refers to. However, if we allow ourselves to conjecture that this list was written in the presence of all five men named, that would date it to between 1650 (the year of publication) and 1653 (the year of Rossi's death).

It is possible in a few cases to establish an early-eighteenth-century *terminus ante quem* for some of the surviving exemplars:

- all nine anthologies currently in M-MDca almost certainly appear in an inventory of 1710, implying that these made their journey there within Florido's lifetime or very shortly afterwards.[199] An explanation for this preponderance of Florido's publications in the library at Mdina might be provided by the fact that the dedicatees of FdS1651 and FdS1652 were both high-ranking, noble members of the Knights of Malta. Franchi states baldly in reference to FdS1651 (of which he believed the M-MDca exemplar to be the sole surviving copy) that 'the dedicatee evidently took it back to Malta with him after his time in Rome',[200] and although there certainly are numerous examples of dedicatees taking 'their' volumes with them on their travels, I contend that the presence of two complete copies of FdS1652 in M-MDca makes it likelier that the dedicatee of *that* anthology was responsible for bringing them back to Malta. However, I consider it likelier that the volumes travelled to Malta at a later date still, given that the latest of Florido's anthologies present in M-MDca is FdS1664); the surviving prints and manuscripts in M-MDca show a 'clear preference on the part of the Mdina *maestri di cappella* for the music of the Roman school, and[,] in addition, for smaller-scale works for one to six voices and continuo'[201] — as evidenced by the multiple documented trips to, and purchases of music books from, Rome by Mdina *maestri* during the mid-seventeenth century (which records sadly do not provide details of the individual publications).[202]
- 1710 also serves as *non plus ultra* for the GB-Och copies of FdS1659 and FdS1663, as these were part of the collection of Henry Aldrich (1648–1710),[203] Dean of Christ Church, which was bequeathed to the library there on his death and catalogued

[199] Azzopardi, 'The Music Archives at the Cathedral Church, Mdina', p. 51.
[200] 'dove evidentemente il dedicatorio lo portò con sé dopo il periodo romano'. Franchi, *Annali*, II.1, p. 6.
[201] Bruni, '17th-century music prints at Mdina Cathedral', p. 472.
[202] Franco Bruni, *Musica e musicisti alla Cattedrale di Malta nei secoli XVI–XVIII* (Malta University Press, 2001), pp. 306–15.
[203] Robert Shay, '"Naturalizing" Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and His Recompositions', *Music & Letters*, 77.3 (1996), pp. 368–400.

between 1713 and 1717.[204] On the cover of the Partitura partbook of the GB-Och exemplar of FdS1659 is written (among other things) 'Ad x Giugno 1675'; that this inscription is in Italian suggests that the print made its way to Oxford between that date and 1710.

- the copies of the Bassus and Organum partbooks that make up the I-AOc exemplar of FdS1650 each have an inscription on their title-page consisting of an illegible name followed by 'Capituli Augustæ Prætoriæ 1723' — Augusta Prætoria being the Latin name for Aosta — which strongly suggests that they found their way there within seventy-five years of their publication and have remained in situ ever since;
- the copies of FdS1647 and FdS1649 now in I-Bsp are recorded in an eighteenth-century manuscript inventory from the Basilica of San Petronio.[205]

Of the twelve exemplars in I-Bc, ten were originally collected by 'Padre' Giovanni Battista Martini (1706–84) which are now in I-Bc; he gathered his extensive collection in various different ways, including purchases from bookshops, 'gifts' of a dubious nature from religious institutions, and retrieving many from produce stores where they were being sold off by weight, and enjoyed the good fortune that the music he was most interested in was then going rapidly out of fashion.[206]

The exemplars of FdS1664 and FdS1668 in I-Bc are linked to those in D-MÜp; all four were owned by the Abate Fortunato Santini (1777–1861), who also collected rapaciously from libraries and archives of churches and monasteries in his native Rome and before his death arranged for the sale of his collection to the Catholic diocese of Münster.[207] However, he presumably had collected at least two copies of FdS1664 and FdS1668, as at some point

[204] 'The Music Collection at Christ Church: Resources for Research into the Provenance History of Individual Items' <https://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?page=Resources+for+provenance+research> [accessed 10 July 2019].
[205] Personal correspondence, Dr Alessandra Chiarelli, 10 November 2020.
[206] van Orden and Vitolo, 'Padre Martini', pp. 248–49.
[207] Private correspondence, Gertrud Gaukesbrink, 29 August 2019.

before this he gave the single copies now in I-Bc to Gaetano Gaspari (1807–81) — another avid collector of music from earlier ages who became librarian of the Liceo Musicale in Bologna (the forerunner to I-Bc) in 1855 and who saw himself as a successor to Padre Martini in the field of music-collecting — as is shown by the presence of handwritten notes to Gaspari signed by Santini pasted into the I-Bc copies.

Outside of Italy, the country where the largest number of exemplars of Florido's motet anthologies now reside is the United Kingdom, a fact in line with what is already known about how fashionable Italian music of the period was; this was especially true of Roman works, which 'rather than Venetian music typified the Italian style for the English'.[208] Carissimi's music in particular was prized by the English above all other, as attested to by the number of copies of his works that circulated in the country;[209] perhaps the most famous record of this is to be found in the entries in Samuel Pepys's diary, which attest to his fascination for the repertoire both as consumer and amateur performer:

> […] then I left them without staying the sermon and straight home by water, and there find, as I expected, Mr. Hill, and Andrews, and one slovenly and ugly fellow, Seignor Pedro, who sings Italian songs to the theorbo most neatly, and they spent the whole evening in singing the best piece of musique counted of all hands in the world, made by Seignor Charissimi [*sic*], the famous master in Rome. Fine it was, indeed, and too fine for me to judge of.[210]
>
> Baptista [Giovanni Battista Draghi (*c*.1640–1708), composer] tells me that Giacomo Charissimi is still alive at Rome, who was master to Vinnecotio [Vincenzo Albrici (1631–90/96), composer and *maestro*], who is one of the Italians that the King hath here, and the chief composer of them.[211]

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[208] Graham Dixon, 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. by Michael Burden (Faber, 1995), pp. 52–98 (p. 44).
[209] Ester Lebedinski, 'Roman Vocal Music in England, 1660–1710: Court, Connoisseurs, and the Culture of Collecting' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, 2014), pp. 22 and 282–324.
[210] Diary entry, Friday 22 July 1664. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 10 vols, ed. by Henry B. Wheatley (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893), IV, p. 195.
[211] Diary entry, Tuesday 12 February 1666/67. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, VI, pp. 172–73.

The presence of four of Florido's motet anthologies in the library of Westminster Abbey may seem surprising, given that three of them date from the period of the Commonwealth, when the Abbey choir was disbanded and the organ destroyed (the pipes being taken away and 'bartered for beer').[212] However, the presence of FdS1672 in the same library raises the possibility that the three earlier anthologies also made their way to Westminster in or after that year. Italian musicians were a common sight and sound in Restoration London, many of whom had previously been employed in or around Rome,[213] among whom are several possible candidates for the conveyance of these and other exemplars to the UK.

Vincenzo Albrici (1631–87) was born in Rome and studied under Carissimi at Sant'Apollinare. In 1652 he travelled to Stockholm to join the musical establishment of Queen Christina, between 1656 and 1662 spent much time in the employ of the Elector Johann Georg II in Dresden, in 1663 entered the service of Charles II in London, remaining there until 1668. Graham Dixon contends that Albrici 'must have brought some Italian repertoire to London during the period in question',[214] and it is certainly true that he introduced the Roman sacred repertoire to the court at Dresden with much success.[215]

Another potential opportunity for the conveyance of some or all of the GB-Lwa copies from Rome is the appointment in 1686 of Innocenzo Fede (*c*. 1660–*c*. 1732) as director of the choir of the Catholic chapel of James II of England;[216] Fede had been *maestro di cappella* at San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli in Rome before travelling to London in December 1686,[217] making him a prime candidate for having brought these copies of Florido's anthologies — and

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[212] Yorke Bannard, 'Music of the Commonwealth: A Corrected Chapter in Musical History', *Music & Letters*, 3.4 (1922), pp. 394–401 (p. 395).
[213] Margaret Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90)', *Music & Letters*, 67.3 (July 1986), pp. 237–47.
[214] Dixon, 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', p. 41.
[215] Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries,* pp. 190ff.
[216] Thierry Favier, 'Reflections on the Chronology of the Circulation of the Italian Motet in France (1661 — 1789)', in *Psalmen: Kirchenmusik zwischen Tradition, Dramatik und Experiment*, ed. by Helen Geyer and Johanna Wertenson (Böhlau, 2014), pp. 355–80 (p. 362).
[217] Jean Lionnet, 'Fede, Innocenzo', in Grove, doi:10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09400

other contemporary Roman repertoire — to London. (Indeed, all the prints of sacred music in the Westminster Abbey library from Rome date from between 1645 and 1681, further strengthening the conjecture that Fede was responsible for bringing some of them to London.)

Fede also provides a link to the popularity of this Italian repertoire in France, in that he stayed with the court of James II and his queen, Mary of Modena, after their exile to France where they set up court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye; Nicholas Field identifies this new establishment as 'an important centre for the cultivation of Italian music in France' and 'Mary of Modena […] as the primary patron of music and art at the exiled Stuart court'.[218] Despite the clear popularity of mid-Seicento Italian repertoire in France (discussed further below), there is little evidence to definitively place any copies of Florido's anthologies in the country during the same period; the only exception is the aforementioned Organum partbook of FdS1655 held at F-Pm.

Where incomplete exemplars of a particular anthology exist in various libraries, it has generally not been possible to connect them to one another. The only case I have noted concerns two exemplars of FdS1643, that in A-Wn (Bassus ad Organum part only) previously undiscussed by other authors, which can be linked to the I-CEc exemplar (Cantus and Bassus parts only) of FdS1643: in the *tavola* of all three partbooks each entry has a cross written in the left and right margins, seemingly in the same hand, strongly suggesting that they formerly belonged to the same set.

[218] Nicholas Ezra Field, 'Outlandish Authors: Innocenzo Fede and Musical Patronage at the Stuart Court in London and in Exile' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 2013), p. vi.

TAVOLA.

A due.

Beatus vir. D.Florido 3
Congratulamini. Maſſentio. 5
Laudem Domini. Beneuoli. 7
Repleatur os meum. Foggia 9
Venite exultemus. Fabri 13

A tre.

Congregati ſunt. Fabri. 15
Dilectus meus. Capponi. 18
Exultantes. Foggia. 20
Florete flores. Foggia. 25
Honorem date. Abbatini. 27
Militia eſt. Cariſſimi 29
Memor ſit Dominus. Capponi. 32
O bone Ieſu. Abbatini. 33
O Beatum Virum. Cariſſimi. 36
O quales flores. Argentini. 38
Sonent Cytharæ. Caui. 41
Florete flores. F. 44

A quattro.

Nigra ſum. Mazzocchi. 46
O Ieſu. Agoſtini. 47
Peccauimus, Medeſimo 48

A cinque.

Adſunt dies, Mazzocchi. 49
Salue Regina. Medeſimo. 51

TAVOLA.

A due

Laudem Domini. Beneuoli
Saluum me fac. Maſſentij.

A tre.

Congregati ſunt. Fabri.
Dilectus meus. Capponi.
Exultantes Foggia.
Militia eſt. Cariſsimi
Memor ſit Dominus. Capponi
Miſericordias Dñi. Durante.
O quales flores. Argentini
Qui ſequitur me Beneuoli. 22
Sonent Cytharæ Caui. 24
Florete flores. F. 26

A quattro.

Nigra ſum. Mazzocchi 30
O Ieſu Agoſtini 29
Peccauimus. Medeſimo 30

A cinque

Adſunt dies Mazzocchi 30
Salue Regina Medeſimo. 31

BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE CESENA

TAVOLA.

A Due Voci.

Due Canti.	Beatus Vir.	Di D. Florido.	
Due Canti.	Congratulamini.	Del Sig. Domenico Massentio.	3
Basso, e Canto.	Laudem Domini.	Del Sig. Horatio Beneuoli M. di Cap. in S. Luigi.	4
Due Canti.	Repleatur os meũ.	Del Sig. Franc. Foggia M. di Cap. in S. Gio. Lat.	6
Due Bassi.	Saluum me fac.	Del Sig. Domenico Massentio.	8
Due Canti.	Venite exultemus	Del Sig. Stefano Fabri.	11

A Tre Voci.

2. Can. e Basso.	Congregati sunt.	Del Medesimo Sig. Fabri.	14
2. Can. e Basso.	Dilectus meus.	Del Sig. Gino Angelo Capponi.	16
2. Can. e Basso.	Exultantes.	Del Sig. Franc. Foggia M. di Cap. in S. Gio. Lat.	17
2. Can. e Ten.	Florete flores.	Del Medesimo.	20
2. Can. e Ten.	Honorem date.	Del Sig. Ant. Mar. Abbat. M. di Cap. in s. M. M.	22
2. Can. e Basso	Militia est.	Del Sig. Iac. Carifs. M. di Cap. in S. Appollinare.	23
2. Can. e Basso.	Memor sit Dñs.	Del Sig Gino Angelo Capponi.	24
Can. Alt. Ten.	Misericordias Dñi	Del Sig. Silu. Durante, M. di Cap in s. M. in trast.	25
Tre Canti.	O bone Iesu.	Del Sig. Abbatini M. di Cap. in S. Maria Mag.	26
2. Can. e Alto.	O Beatum virum.	Del Sig. Carissimi M. di Cap. in S. Appollinare.	27
2. Can. e Basso	O quales flores.	Del P. Argentini, M. di Cap. & Org. in S. Agost.	28
Tre Tenori.	Qui sequitur me.	Del Sig. Horatio Beneuoli M. di Cap, in S. Luigi.	30
2. Can. e Basso.	Sonent cytharæ.	Del P. Filippo da Caui.	31
2. Can. e Basso.	Florete flores.	Di D. Florido.	32

A Quattro Voci.

2. Can. e 2 Bas.	Nigra sum.	Del Sig. Virg. Mazzocchi M. di Cap. in s. Pietro.	34
C. Al Ten. Bas.	O Iesu cordis mei.	Del Sig. Paolo Agostinigià M. di Cap. in s. Piet.	35
C. Al. Ten. Bas.	Peccauimus.	Del Medesimo.	36

A cinque Voci.

Aria.	Adsunt dies.	Del Sig. Virg. Mazzocchi M. di Cap. in S. Pietro.	38
	Salue Regina.	Del Medesimo.	39

Figure 2.8 The *tavole* of the exemplars of FdS1643 found in, respectively, I-CEc (first two images: Cantus and Bassus partbooks) and A-Wn (third image: Bassus ad Organum partbook) with the same markings in each.

Untraceable exemplars

There are only two references to the acquisition anywhere of Florido's musical publications during his lifetime, each of which concerns copies the current location of which is unknown. The first is a 1657 inventory of music bought by the German composer and *Kapellmeister* Samuel Capricornus (1628–65) — written in his own hand — while serving as Cantor at the Lutheran church of the Holy Trinity in Pressburg (modern-day Bratislava),[219] which lists five of Florido's motet anthologies. Jana Kalinayová-Bartová suggests that the anthologies listed are FdS1645, FdS1647, FdS1648, FdS1649, and FdS1652;[220] from a closer examination of the titles as written down by Capricornus, I believe the correct identification to be FdS1645, FdS1647, FdS1648, FdS1651, and FdS1652. In any case, no surviving exemplar bears any features that allow it to be identified with Capricornus's copies.

Kalinayová-Bartová notes that while professional instrumentalists and solo singers were occasionally engaged to perform at Holy Trinity in Pressburg,

> the principal interpretation body was composed of the students from the Latin grammar school. Their participation in musical productions at ceremonial services was a natural part of musical life organization, typical in Lutheran communities throughout the entire country. The account books of the church community regarding the payment of bonuses for music rehearsals and performances prove that students performed at services.[221]

This further reinforces the idea that Florido's anthologies were viewed as flexible, utile publications that could be put to good use in a wide range of circumstances — even if teenaged Lutheran seminarians were not Florido's intended market. Indeed, Lutheran establishments seem so far removed from what might be considered the primary consumers of this repertoire; as Elisabeth Giselbrecht has noted, 'the Lutherans did not

[219] Richard Rybarič, 'Samuel Capricornus in Bratislava/Pressburg', in *Miedzynarodowy Kongres Muzykologiczny Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis; Acta Scientifica* (Bydgoskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1972), pp. 107–26.
[220] Kalinayová-Bartová, 'Italian Music in the Repertoire of Bratislavan Musical Institutions', pp. 360 and 363.
[221] Ibid., p. 357.

share the view of Italy held by Martin Luther, who repeatedly referred to it, the country almost synonymous with Catholicism, as the personification of evil'.[222]

However, as Giselbrecht and Mary Frandsen have shown, the Italian sacred repertoire was extremely popular in German-speaking lands for stylistic and theological reasons;[223] the connections between Florido's motet anthologies and Lutheran spirituality will be further explored in Chapter 3.

The second reference to the acquisition of copies of Florido's anthologies dates from December 1655 and regards the purchase by Florido himself of two motet anthologies for the church of San Giacomo degli Incurabili.[224] The source is the only known example of Florido's handwriting, in which he lists certain books of music that he has bought for San Giacomo, where he was a canon and member of the choir from 1655 to his death (although he first appears in the records of singers there from as early as 1640).[225] At the end of the list are 'una scelta de mottetti del 1654' and 'altra scelta del 1655'; as no other motet anthologies were published in Rome in those years (according to either the RISM B/I catalogue or Saverio Franchi's index of Roman musical publications between 1600 and 1675), it can reasonably be assumed that these refer to FdS1654 and FdS1655. The purchase is confirmed by a corresponding entry in the *Libro dei Conti del Deputato della Chiesa di S. Giacomo degli Incurabili* for the years 1654 to 1674, in which no further purchases by Florido or of his music appear.

Furthermore, there exists a 1657 inventory of seventy-nine music books belonging to San Giacomo, drawn up by Pompeo Natali (works by whom appear in FdS1668 and FdS1672, as well as in Florido's 1662 psalm collection) shortly after his appointment as organist at the

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[222] Giselbrecht, 'Crossing boundaries', p. 241.
[223] Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, ch. 4.
[224] Vizzaccaro, 'Florido De Silvestris, pp. 266–67.
[225] Caroline Giron-Panel, '*Si eligge Alesandro Scarlatti*', p. 117.

church.[226] In this inventory we find five entries for publications by Florido, of which two can be positively identified — FdS1647 and the 1651 anthology of Mass settings — while two other entries read 'Scelta de Motetti del Sig.r D. Florido' and 'Due scelte di Motetti di D. Florido'; if we assume two of these three anthologies are the aforementioned copies of FdS1654 and FdS1655 bought by Florido himself, that still leaves one further unidentifiable motet anthology.[227]

One entry in the printed music section of the auction catalogue of the composer William Boyce's music collection after his death reads 'Silvestris Barbarano's Mottets, for a single Voice, with sundry imperfect Mottets and Madrigals'.[228] If this is taken to mean that the lot consisted of one volume of single-voice motets accompanied by incomplete copies of other motets and madrigals, then the complete volume must have been a copy of one of FdS1659, FdS1663 (each of which contains only solo motets) or FdS1664 (which begins with four solo motets).

The lot was bought by a 'Mr Stevenson, Attorney at Huntingdon', who had been a subscriber to Boyce's *Fifteen Anthems* of 1780, but its whereabouts are unknown. There exist only three UK exemplars of any of FdS1659, FdS1663, and FdS1664 — the three possibilities for the identification of the solo-voice volume — namely, the complete GB-Och copy of FdS1659, the complete GB-Lcm copy of FdS1663, and the incomplete GB-Och copy (Partitura only) of the same anthology. The Christ Church copies have been in the library there since the late seventeenth century; the copy in the Royal College of Music was

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[226] Arnaldo Morelli, 'Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Roma ed alcuni suoi oratori', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, n.s., II (1984), pp. 117–43 (pp. 136–39).

[227] The question remains of how the copies of FdS1647, the 1651 Mass anthology, and the unidentified motet collection came to be at San Giacomo if their purchase is not recorded. It seems unlikely that Florido would have presented them *gratis*, given that he used funds given to him by the church to buy FdS1654 and FdS1655; another possibility is that he simply brought them with him from Santo Spirito in Sassia when he moved in 1655.

[228] Robert J. Bruce and H. Diack Johnstone, '*A Catalogue of the Truly Valuable and Curious Library of Music Late in the Possession of Dr. William Boyce (1779)*: Transcription and Commentary', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), pp. 111–71 (p. 160).

acquired on the disbanding of the Sacred Harmonic Society in 1888, but how it came to be in the possession of the Society is unknown; thus, it is not possible conclusively to trace the whereabouts today of the item bought at auction by Mr Stevenson.

Traces fainter still can be discerned in later settings of motet texts otherwise found only in Florido's anthologies. These include:

- 'Congregantes filistei' by the German composer Kaspar Förster (1616–73) — who had studied with Carissimi in Rome in the early 1630s — which is modelled closely on Savioni's 'Congregantes Philisthæi' (FdS1659.01), the only other known setting of the free-composed text;
- 'Per rigidos montes' by Giuseppe Peranda (*c*.1625–1675), which survives only in a manuscript in S-Uu and the text of which is identical to Cecchelli's setting (FdS1648.08). Peranda spent time in Rome in the late 1640s, which seems the likeliest way in which he might have encountered Cecchelli's setting; he later spent the last twenty years of his life employed in Dresden, where it is possible he encountered copies of the anthologies owned by Vincenzo Albrici, whom Peranda succeeded as Kapellmeister in 1663;
- 'Iesu clemens, pie Deus' by Samuel Capricornus, published in his 1655 *Opus musicum*; its otherwise unique text is taken almost verbatim from Foggia's setting in FdS1645, a copy of which (as discussed above) Capricornus purchased for the Lutheran church of Holy Trinity in Pressburg;[229]
- a 1686 record of a setting (the music of which does not survive) by Pascal Collasse (1649–1709) of the unique, free-composed text of 'Venite et properate' exactly as found in Giovanni Bicilli's motet in FdS1668.[230]

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[229] Gunilla Eschenbach, 'Aneignungsverfahren und Funktionen lateinischer Hymnentexte im pietistischen Lied', *Die Musikforschung*, 60.4 (October–December 2007), pp. 349–61 (pp. 353–54).
[230] *Motets et élévations pour la Chapelle du Roy pour le quartier d'Avril, May, & juin 1686* (Paris: Muguet, 1686), [pp. 2–3]; quoted in Jean Duron, *André Campra: un musician provençal à Paris* (Mardaga, 2010), p. 22.

Two exemplars cited by other modern-day authors can, after further investigation, be discounted as 'phantom' copies. The copy of the Tenor partbook of FdS1647 listed in the SBN catalogue as being in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana is untraceable — it does not appear in any catalogue and my enquiries have established that it cannot be located in the library;[231] if it did exist at some point it may have been part of the copy of FdS1647 listed in a 1746 inventory of the Biblioteca Chigiana in Rome,[232] the holdings of which were donated to the Vatican in 1922. Additionally, Franchi lists in his *Annali* a copy of the Cantus partbook of FdS1659 in the Fondo Torrefranca held at I-Vc, but it does not appear in the published catalogue of that collection, and the library staff have confirmed that no such copy exists.[233]

Other editions of Florido's motet anthologies

A further indication of the wider success of Florido's anthologies is shown by their subsequent re-printing away from Rome; however, it is not possible to establish whether these were undertaken with the collaboration or permission of their creator. As Rudolf Rasch has commented,

> [B]efore the eighteenth century and the advent of authors' rights, publishers acted much in accordance with some kind of materialized copyright, in the

[231] Personal correspondence, Dr Pierre Chambert-Protat, 5 June 2025.
[232] Stefano Evodio Assemani, *Catalogo della Biblioteca Chigiana* (Rome: Francesco Bissarini Komarek, 1764), p. 200. It is likely that, as with the bulk of the Biblioteca Chigiana at this date, this copy of FdS1647 was originally in the library of pope Alexander VII (1655–67), born Fabio Chigi; given that he was responsible for the issuing, in 1657 and 1665, of two papal decrees criticising the state of church music in Rome and laying out reforms with strict penalties, it is not impossible that he formed his stance based on the contents of Florido's anthology and other similar publications.
[233] Andrea Fabiano, *Le stampe musicali antiche del fondo Torrefranca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello* (Olschki, 1992); personal correspondence, Dr Silvia Urbani, 25 August 2025.

> literal sense of the word: the one who possessed a copy of a certain piece of music (handwritten or printed) had the right to publish it.[234]

FdS1648 and FdS1649 were re-set and reprinted without any alteration of the musical content in 1649 by Alessandro Vincenti in Venice; Vincenti added the phrase 'curavit in lucem edendas' to the end of both title-pages while also retaining Florido's name in its original position, i.e. 'he [Florido] gathered and published these works'; this may be a gracious sharing of credit on the part of Vincenti, or — alternatively — an attempt to gain an unwarranted legitimacy for his publications. It seems likely that it is Vincenti's own versions of FdS1648 and FdS1649 that are listed in his 1658 inventory of items available for sale, labelled 'Quarta e Quinta Scielta de Motetti di D. Florido Romano' — not least because the spelling of 'Scielta' is that found in Vincenti's versions, whereas Florido's originals have the spelling 'Scelta'.[235]

Jerome Roche notes that these and other similar reprints '[afforded] the new Roman school some publicity in the North [of Italy] at a time when anthologies of northern music had died out'; as his reprints of Florido's anthologies were but two of the volumes of Roman music that Vincenti sold, it seems clear that Florido's anthologies were desirable more for their exemplifying and promoting the Roman compositional tradition than for their bearing Florido's name.[236]

The Rotterdam-based Roman Catholic printer and composer Jan van Geertsom drew heavily on Florido's sacred anthologies in the production of two volumes. In 1656 van Geertsom produced *Scelta di motetti*, a collection of works drawn from Florido's original anthologies but lacking any reference to his Roman forerunner; it draws its contents almost

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[234] Rudolf Rasch, 'Publisher and Publishers', in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. by Rudolf Rasch (Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), pp. 183–208 (p. 204).
[235] *Indice di tutte le opere di musica, che si trovano Nella Stampa della Pigna* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1658), fol. 7r; quoted in Oscar Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Olschki: 1984), p. 199.
[236] Roche, 'Anthologies', p. 10.

entirely from FdS1645, FdS1648, FdS1649, and FdS1654,[237] with the addition of two works by Carissimi and Foggia that had not previously appeared in print.[238] The following year van Geertsom issued a partial reprint of FdS1655 (retaining thirteen of the original fifteen works and adding one motet by each of Gratiani, Carissimi, and Giovanni Bonetti, the first two drawn from FdS1648 and the third from FdS1654),[239] this time retaining the original text of the title-page with Florido's authorship.[240]

A few years later, in 1661, FdS1648 was partially reprinted in Antwerp by the heirs of Pierre Phalèse (retaining the title *Florida verba* but omitting any reference to Florido); only thirteen of the original sixteen motets were included, and four works by the Flemish composer Anthonis Vermeeren (1618–after 1667) were added.[241] However, it seems that the Phalèse firm used the 1649 Vincenti reprint of FdS1648 as its source, rather than Florido's original publication: various similarities between the Vincenti and Phalèse editions support this supposition, most telling (for me) being the pattern of the discrepancies across the partbooks in the spelling of the surname of the composer of the motet 'Superni regis regiam'. This is given as either 'Nicola Corradi' or 'Nicola Corradini'[242]; the pattern differs between FdS1648 and the 1649 Vincenti reprint, and it is the latter that is replicated in the 1661 Phalèse publication.

Part	**Location**	**FdS1648**	**1649 Vincenti reprint of FdS1648**	**1661 Phalèse reprint**
Cantus	partbook	[no Cantus part]	[no Cantus part]	[no Cantus part]

[237] Jerome Roche, '"Aus dem berühmbsten italiänischen Autoribus": Dissemination north of the Alps of the early baroque Italian sacred repertory through published anthologies and reprints', in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen* (conference proceedings: International Monteverdi Symposium, Detmold, 1993), ed. by Silke Leopold & Joachim Steinheuer (Bärenreiter, 1998), pp. 13–28 (p. 21).
[238] Dixon, 'Jan van Geertsom', pp. 116–17.
[239] Roche, '"Aus dem berühmbsten italiänischen Autoribus"', p. 16.
[240] Edmond van der Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle*, Volume II (Brussels: G.-A. van Trigt, 1872), pp. 92–93.
[241] Maria Schildt, 'The Music Printers Madeleine and Marie Phalèse in Antwerp, 1629–1675', in *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe*, ed. by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald (Routledge, 2021), pp. 176–203 (p. 183).
[242] This was not the same person as the Nicolò Corradini (d. 1646) who was *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo of Cremona.

	tavola	Corradi	[not listed]	[not listed]
Altus	partbook	Corradi	**Corradini**	**Corradini**
	tavola	**Corradini**	Corradi	Corradi
Tenor	partbook	Corradi	Corradi	Corradi
	tavola	**Corradini**	Corradi	Corradi
Bassus	partbook	Corradi	Corradi	Corradi
	tavola	Corradi	Corradi	Corradi
Organum	partbook	Corradi	Corradi	Corradi
	tavola	Corradi	Corradi	Corradi

Table 2.7 Comparison of the appearance of the surname of the composer of the motet 'Superni regis regiam' across FdS1648 and its two reprints.

Other sources for Florido's motet anthologies

It is not known how or from where Florido obtained the musical material for his motet anthologies. However, his membership of — and clear active participation in — the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia would seem a likely avenue: other members of the Congregazione who are represented in Florido's anthologies include Abbatini, Benevoli, Bicilli, Carissimi, Carpani, Durante, Fabri, Foggia, Giansetti, and Vincenti. If this is the case, then it is probable that this material would have been provided in manuscript — a supposition that is backed up by the fact that, of the two hundred and thirty-three motets in Florido's anthologies, only eight have an earlier print source: the seven 'new' additions to FdS1651 and FdS1652 and Carissimi's 'O dulcissime Iesu' (FdS1672.04) (see above for more details).

At least one manuscript source exists for one hundred and thirteen of the two hundred and thirty-three motets; while it near impossible to establish whether the majority of these have any relationship with Florido's motet anthologies, there are a small number that contain all or nearly all of the contents of a particular anthology, suggesting that they were copied from that source:[243]

[243] The manuscript version of the complete contents of FdS1650 in GB-Lcm (MS 1076) — noted in *Grove* — is a nineteenth-century copy.

- GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1223: copied from FdS1655 (following the order given in the *tavola* of the Organum partbook); mid-eighteenth century
- GB-Ob MS. Mus. c.57, 5–64: copied from FdS1650 (following the order given in the *tavola* of the Cantus Primus partbook);
- D-MÜp Sant.Hs. 3769 (nos. 29–45): copied from FdS1672 (in a slightly altered order from the Organum partbook);
- D-MÜp Sant.Hs. 2748 (nos. 18–33): copied from FdS1668 (following the order given in the *tavola* of the Organum partbook);[244]

Similarly, GB-Lbl R.M.24.c.10 (3–7) are items number 5, 11, 7, 14, and 16 of FdS1650, which together appear in no other original source apart from GB-Ob MS. Mus. c.57 (cited above). Furthermore, the fact that they are non-consecutive in Florido's anthology (in order, numbers 3, 5, 11, 7, 14, and 16) suggests a considered selection on the part of the compiler of the manuscript, while the differences between the print original and the manuscript would seem to suggest conscious decisions to 'update' the notation. This manuscript is listed as having been in the possession of William Boyce, and in the sale of the composer's music collection after his death in 1779 was acquired by Frederick Nicolay, the keeper of Queen Charlotte's music library.[245]

A discussion of other sources for the motets in FdS1651 and FdS1652 is rendered somewhat moot by their all having appeared previously in print. Deserving of mention, however, are two manuscripts currently held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, each of which is a copy clearly derived from one of those anthologies:

- GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1222, a mid-eighteenth copy of FdS1651 that presents all sixteen motets in the order given in the *tavola* of the Organum partbook). The following item

[244] Fassbender, 'Francesco Foggia', p. 239; Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, II, p. 19; Shigihara, 'Bonifazio Graziani', p. 146; RISM catalogue <https://opac.rism.info> [accessed 21 March 2020].
[245] Bruce and Johnstone, '*A Catalogue*', pp. 127–28.

in the Tenbury collection, MS. Tenbury 1223, is a copy of FdS1655 (see above); no print copy of either survives in Oxford (or, indeed, in the United Kingdom); the only institution that currently holds a copy of each of FdS1651 and FdS1655 is M-MDca, but both copies have been present there since at least 1710; therefore, the source for these manuscripts is unknown;[246]

- GB-Ob MS. Mus. c.57, 71–131v, a copy of uncertain date that presents fifteen of the sixteen motets of FdS1652 (omitting Foggia's 'O pretiosum et admirabile sacramentum', FdS1652.09) in an order that does not match that of any *tavola* of the printed partbooks;[247] the first part of the same manuscript contains the contents of FdS1650 in the order found in its Organum partbook. However, while copies of FdS1650 exist in GB-Lbl and at GB-Lwa, there is no surviving exemplar of FdS1652 in the United Kingdom; furthermore, as with MSS Tenbury 1222 and 1223, the only institution that currently holds a copy of each of FdS1650 and FdS1652 is M-MDca.

Numerous other manuscripts include motets from more than one of Florido's anthologies, which help further to hint at the circulation of those publications. One such example is S-Uu vmhs 080, which contains seven motets taken from FdS1645, FdS1648, and FdS1649; these are distributed non-consecutively through the manuscript. While the Düben collection held at Uppsala contains copies of the Vincenti reprints of FdS1648 and FdS1649, it does not contain one of FdS1645, perhaps suggesting that one was formerly in existence in that collection.

Motets from various of Florido's anthologies are present in numerous late-seventeenth-century French manuscript compilations, including:

[246] Bodleian Archives & Manuscripts <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/150405> [accessed 17 June 2025].
[247] Bodleian Archives & Manuscripts <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/9965> [accessed 17 June 2025].

- possibly one by Foggia in the extensive collection of Italian works belonging to the Abbé Nicolas Mathieu (1642/3–1706), who by the last years of the seventeenth century had established at his church of Saint-André-des-Arts a series of weekly concerts at which 'only Latin music, composed in Italy by the great masters who flourished there from 1650 onwards, was sung … It is thanks to the priest of Saint-André that these excellent works were, for the first time, introduced to Paris'.[248] This collection was bequeathed to the composer Michel-Richard de Lalande on Mathieu's death, and was then bought by the composer Sébastien de Brossard on Lalande's death in 1726.[249] However, it is now lost, and only a partial copy of an inventory of the collection made after Mathieu's death survives;
- thirteen — by Carissimi, Cecchelli, Foggia, and Tricarico — in a 1688 collection of motets copied for use at the court of Louis XIV, entitled *Petits Motets et Élevations de Messieurs Carissimi, de Lully, Robert, Danielis Et Foggia* […] *Recüeillis Par Philidor l'Aisné, Ordinaire de la Musique du Roy*;[250]
- Carissimi's 'Domine Deus meus' and 'Sicut stella matutina' in another collection known to have been in the possession of the composer Sébastien de Brossard.[251]

Most of these instances cannot reliably be taken to mean that original copies of Florido's motet anthologies enjoyed currency in France at that time, as at least one other source (either print or manuscript) exists for nearly all of the individual motets. The only exception is Tricarico's 'Deus, quis similis' (FdS1664.10), which is included in the 1688 collection but appears in no other source.

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[248] '[…] où l'on ne chantoit que de la Musique Latine composée en Italie par les grands Maîtres qui y brilloient depuis 1650 […] C'est par le Curé de Saint-André que ces bons Ouvrages ont été pour la première fois connus à Paris'. Jean de Serré de Rieux, *Les dons des enfans de Latone: La musique et La chasse du cerf* (Paris: Pierre Prault and others, 1732), p. 112.
[249] Catherine Massip, *Michel-Richard Delalande, ou le Lully latin* (Éditions Papillon, 2005), p. 75.
[250] Favier, 'Reflections', pp. 357–59.
[251] This is F-Pn VM[1].1306, which contains Carissimi's 'Sicut stella matutina' and 'Domine Deus meus', taken from FdS1659 and FdS1663, respectively. Favier, 'Reflections', p. 358.

Florido's motet anthologies

Manuscript copies of Florido's motet anthologies or of some of the works therein that date from substantially later also provide an indication of the awareness and reception of this repertoire in these later periods. For example, the nineteenth-century English composer, musician, and editor Joseph Warren (1804–81) made a transcription in score of Carlo Cecchelli's motet 'Isti sunt qui nobiles',[252] which is found in FdS1645 and was reprinted in FdS1652. No copy of either of those print anthologies exists in any English institution; however, all but one piece from FdS1652 were transcribed in score in a manuscript held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford that has been dated to England in the middle of the eighteenth century, making it the likeliest identifiable source for Warren's manuscript of Cecchelli's motet.[253] Among Warren's numerous publications of church music were two volumes of a planned series, *Repertorium Musicæ Antiquæ*, that was to showcase early Flemish, German, and Italian choral music; the volumes were published in 1848, and so it may be that Warren intended to include Cecchelli's motet in the series at a later date.

An examination of other sources also reveals the existence of different versions of certain motets in Florido's anthologies. There exist two related sources for Cecchelli's 'Per rigidos montes' (FdS1648.08), which themselves throw up more questions regarding instrumental participation. Both in manuscript, they are held in S-Uu:

- Vok. mus. i hs. 12:11 consists of copies of Cecchelli's two violin parts and continuo part, all in the same hand (but with a different opening sinfonia from that found in FdS1648), and a keyboard entabulation of the opening sinfonia, but no vocal parts;

[252] The manuscript, which consists of this single motet and is dated 16 May 1848, is now held in the library of the University of California, Los Angeles, shelfmark SRLF 100/21 <https://search.library.ucla.edu/permalink/01UCS_LAL/trta7g/alma9980853983606533> [accessed 23 August 2025]; the staff of the UCLA libraries have been unable to provide any information regarding the provenance of this manuscript (personal communication, 2 November 2025).

[253] 'B. [*sic*] Floridus, Canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano, Has alias Sacras Cantiones... In lucem edendas Curavit, Romae 1650', and 'Pars Secunda 1652'. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Mus. c. 57, fols. 124–31^{v}. 'Collection: 32 Motets', RISM Catalog <https://opac.rism.info/id/rismid/rism800264123> [accessed 23 August 2025].

- Vok. mus. i hs. 80:21–22 consists of a keyboard entabulation of all of Cecchelli's parts as found in FdS1648 (that is, three voices with their text written underneath, two violins, and continuo) as well as two otherwise unknown viola da gamba parts.

Carissimi's 'Militia est vita hominis' (FdS1643.12/1652.07) and 'Surgamus, eamus' (FdS1649.12/1652.11) also appear in a 1666 German collection of sacred works by the composer (none of whose music was ever printed in Italy during his lifetime), wherein they also have two violin parts and a bass part to be played on viola or bassoon.[254] Each of these three instrumental parts contains opening *sinfonie* and interpolated *ritornelli* and all are indicated as being *ad libitum*; both Andrew Jones and Valeria Mannoia take the lack of attribution anywhere in the publication for the added parts to mean that they are authentically Carissimi's.[255] Only two of the twenty-two known manuscript sources for 'Militia est vita hominis' also contain the same added instrumental music as in the 1666 anthology;[256] again, two (out of thirty known manuscript sources) contain matching parts for 'Surgamus, eamus'.[257] The *ad libitum* indication is not repeated in any of these manuscript sources.

(There also exists a version of 'Militia est vita hominis' with different added violin parts in a 1665 German anthology of Roman motets, but these are the work of the volume's editor, the composer and member of the Carmelite Order, Johann Nenning (1615–85), who adopted the pseudonym Spiridion for his musical activities; he had spent a number of years

[254] *Missa a quinque et a novem, cum selectis quibusdam Cantionibus. Authore Jacobo Carissimi* (Köln: Friedrich Friesser, 1666).
[255] Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, I, pp. 237–38, and II, p. 389; Valeria Mannoia, 'La ricezione del mottetto italiano nelle antologie tedesche del Seicento' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Pavia, 2017–18), p. 255.
[256] Jones notes one of these — GB-Ob Mus. Sch. c. 12–19 and 20–23 — but not the other, F-Pc RES F-934 (C), 80–88.
[257] These are F-Pn Vm1 1267, no. 11 and GB-Ob Mus. Sch. c. 12–19 and 20–23; interestingly, 'Surgamus, eamus' is also found alongside 'Militia est vita hominis' in F-Pc RES F-934 (C), on pages 141–47, but does not there have any added instrumental parts.

in the 1640s in Rome, serving as organist at the Collegium Germanicum and thereby working with Carissimi.)[258]

The above could be interpreted in one of two ways:

- one of the two versions of these motets — with or without instruments — is somehow 'authentic', or came before the other, the adaptation of the first into the second being made by Carissimi or by someone else;
- both versions emanate from Carissimi, who had a less fixed view of his compositions, regarding neither version as the 'true' one and adapting his music readily to suit the particular circumstances of a performance.

If we choose to believe that there must be a 'first' and a 'second' version, then the weight of the number of surviving sources — strongly in favour of the non-instrumental version — cannot be considered decisive in the matter, as this could be influenced by the vagaries of manuscript transmission and circulation. Indeed, while the *ad libitum* indication in the 1666 anthology might seem to suggest that it is the non-instrumental versions that are the 'original', with the new parts being additions, an examination of the parts themselves suggests the opposite.

In the 1666 anthology the sections of 'Militia est vita hominis' are bookended by double barlines, and each part — whether vocal or instrumental — is marked 'Tacet' in the appropriate places; this would therefore make it very easy to perform the piece either with or without instruments, as each performer could see clearly when to play or sing; it is the case that the vocal parts in Florido's anthologies (that is, FdS1643.12/1652.07) are identical to those of the 1666 anthology if the 'Tacet' sections are omitted.

[258] *Musica Romana D.D. Foggiæ, Charissimi, Gratiani, aliorumque excellentissimorum Authorum* […] *per R.P. Spiridionem à Monte Carmeli* […] (Bamberg: [s.n.], 1665).

However, the layout of 'Surgamus, eamus' is less accommodating to performers' needs; with the exception of the end of the appended opening *sinfonia*, no double barlines appear in any part; rather, additional rests are simply printed in the appropriate places, making it far less clear where the instrumental and vocal sections begin and end. The instrumental parts for 'Surgamus, eamus' are clearly integral to the motet as found in the 1666 anthology, and a performance without them from its printed parts would be far more challenging — perhaps, therefore, suggesting that the parts are indeed part of the motet as originally conceived.

This does not prove that the additional parts for these two motets in the 1666 anthology (and the small number of manuscript sources) were written by Carissimi; but if we hypothesise that they were, did Florido somehow lack access to them in the preparation of his anthologies, while possessing the vocal and continuo parts? Or did he choose to omit the instrumental parts from his anthologies, in order to increase the versatility and utility of his motet collections?

Furthermore, if we maintain the hypothesis a little longer, the knowledge that there exist for certain motets in Florido's anthologies alternative versions with obbligato instrumental parts possibly by the original composer raises the possibility that this may be the case for others in the anthologies; any motet with clear breaks in the music — whether marked by double barlines or even simply by all voice parts coming to a stop at the same time — could plausibly have been formed by removing all obbligato instrumental music and closing up the gaps in the parts. A full study of manuscript sources for motets in Florido's anthologies would be required in order to begin to shed light in this regard.

Unica in Florido's anthologies

Florido's motet anthologies

Of the two hundred and thirty-three distinct motets in Florido's anthologies, a little over half are *unica* — that is, works for which no other surviving source (neither print nor manuscript) is known — with their distribution as follows:

FdS1643: items 1, 2, 5–8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17–20, 22, 23 = **16 out of 25 motets**

FdS1645: 2, 3, 5–7, 9, 13–20, 22–25 = **18/27**

FdS1647: 1, 3, 4, 7, 9–11, 13, 16, 18, 21, 25 = **12/25**

FdS1648: 2, 5, 12, 14–16 = **6/16**

FdS1649: 2–6, 8, 13–16 = **10/16**

FdS1650: **0/16**

FdS1651: **0/4**

FdS1652: **0/3**

FdS1654: 1, 3–11, 13–15 = **13/15**

FdS1655: 3–15 = **13/15**

FdS1659: 1–7, 9, 10, 12 = **10/12**

FdS1663: 1, 3, 4, 6–10 = **8/10**

FdS1664: 1–5, 8–12, 14–16 = **13/16**

FdS1668: **0/16**

FdS1672: **0/17**

Total number of *unica*: **119/233 (= 51.07%)**

In compiling the above figures, the six contemporaneous manuscript sources that are copies of the entirety of a single Florido motet anthology — detailed above — have been disregarded as being derivative.

Any comments on the presence or lack of other sources for particular motets in Florido's anthologies must come with the double caveat that it is not generally possible to know when a motet included therein was written, nor to reliably date a manuscript source. However, we can note that of the five anthologies to contain no *unica*, FdS1651 and FdS1652

have been discussed previously; that Florido's final two anthologies only contain works found in sources elsewhere might suggest that he had become less desirous (or less able) to seek out pieces not otherwise available; and perhaps that with FdS1650, dedicated to a nun in faraway Bologna, Florido was less motivated to achieve a high level of originality in this publication (although this point does not hold true for FdS1664, dedicated to the inhabitants of a convent in Turin, even farther from Rome than Bologna).

Printers and financial backers

While the printers and financial backers of Florido's motet anthologies have been detailed above, an overview lays bare a number of patterns worthy of comment. For the purpose of presenting a fuller picture, I have also included details of all other musical publications in the production of which Florido had some involvement (detailed in Chapter 1, section 2):

- the six other surviving musical anthologies;
- the five didactic/theoretical works;
- the 1666/1667 publication of motets by Bernardino Vannini;
- the lost 1673 collection of madrigals cited by Pitoni.

These additions are shown in grey in the following table.

Florido's motet anthologies

Year	Short title	Place of printing	Printer	Other named individual
1642	Arcadelt: *Primo Libro de Madrigali*	Bracciano	Andrea Fei	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1642	Guidetti: *Directorium chori*	Rome	Andrea Fei	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1642	Lupachino, Tasso: *Primo Libro*	Bracciano	Andrea Fei	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1642	Scaletta: *Scala di musica*	Rome	Andrea Fei	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1643	Metallo: *Ricercari*	Bracciano	Andrea Fei	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1643	*Floridus concentus*	Rome/Bracciano	Andrea Fei	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1645/1646	*Has alteras sacras cantiones*	Rome	Lodovico Grignani	Antonio Poggioli
1646	*Messe a quattro voci*	Rome	Lodovico Grignani	Antonio Poggioli
1646	*Ariette di musica*	Bracciano	Andrea Fei	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1647	*Floridus modulorum hortus*	Rome	Andrea Fei	[none]
1648	*Florida verba*	Rome	Giovanni Battista Robletti	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1649	*Cantiones alias sacras*	Rome	Lodovico Grignani	[none]
1650	*Has alias sacras cantiones*	Rome	Lodovico Grignani	Antonio Poggioli
1651	*Has sacras cantiones … pars prima*	Rome	Vitale Mascardi	Antonio Poggioli
1651	*Has quatuor Missas*	Rome	Giovanni Pietro Collini	Giovanni Domenico Franzini
1652	*Has sacras cantiones … pars secunda*	Rome	Vitale Mascardi	Antonio Poggioli
1652	*Concento di Madrigali … parte prima*	Rome	Vitale Mascardi	[none]
1653	*Concento di Madrigali … parte seconda*	Rome	Vitale Mascardi	[none]
1654	*Has alias cantiones sacras*	Rome	Vitale Mascardi	[none]
1655	*Alias cantiones sacras*	Rome	Michele Cortellini	Antonio Poggioli
1659	*Has alias sacras cantiones*	Rome	Francesco Moneta	Antonio Poggioli
1662	*Psalmos istos*	Rome	Ignazio de Lazari	[none]
1663	*Has alteras sacras cantiones ... pars secunda*	Rome	Ignazio de Lazari	Giovanni Battista Caifabri
1664	*Istas alias sacras cantiones*	Rome	Ignazio de Lazari	Antonio Poggioli
1666/1667	[Vannini: *Sacras musicales cantiones*]	Rome	Amadeo Belmonti	[none]
1668	*Istas alias cantiones sacras*	Rome	Giacomo Fei	Antonio Poggioli
1672	*Sacras cantiones*	Rome	Giovanni Angelo Muzio	[none]
1673	[*Concento di Madrigali … parte terza*]	Rome	Giovanni Angelo Muzio	[unknown]

Table 2.8 Information relating to the printing and financing of all musical publications with which Florido was involved.

While at first glance it may seem striking how many different printers Florido collaborated with in the production of his motet anthologies — eight different firms (counting Andrea and Giacomo Fei together) — an analysis of other seventeenth-century Roman composers' printed output suggests that this is perhaps a reflection of the development of music printing in Rome over the course of the seventeenth century. Bianca Maria Antolini has characterised music printing in Rome during the first three decades of the century as being dominated by a small number of firms in succession, whereas towards the middle of the century there was a significantly larger number of printers concurrently active in the city.[259] Similarly, Gideon Brettler suggests that the 'inherent diversity of the Roman music-printing market allowed for more printers to venture into this space', pointing out that the fifty or so music printers active in Rome in the seventeenth century produced a little over six hundred prints; this is in stark contrast to Venice, where the market 'was dominated by three main firms, two more minor firms (by Venetian standards), and fewer than twenty printers with only one or two prints under their mark', yet saw the production of nearly two thousand three hundred music prints in the same period.[260]

For example, Paolo Agostini (1583–1629) had eleven of his twelve printed works produced by Giovanni Battista Robletti, and Domenico Massenzio (1586–1657) ten of his fifteen printed works by Paolo Masotti; but later in the century, the seventeen printed works of Francesco Foggia (1604–88) are shared among six different firms (no one printer being responsible for more than four publications), and the eighteen printed volumes containing music by Bonifatio Gratiani (1604–64) that appeared during his lifetime[261] are shared among four firms.[262]

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[259] Bianca Maria Antolini, 'Aspetti dell'editoria musicale in Italia dalle origini alla metà del Settecento', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 7–45 (pp. 17–18, 19).
[260] Brettler, 'Revisiting the Music-Printing Market in Seventeenth-Century Italy', p. 22.
[261] I have here not considered the works printed after Gratiani's death; his family was granted the exclusive right by Pope Alexander VII to publish the composer's works, producing a further twenty-eight prints, shared among five different firms.
[262] All statistics in this paragraph taken from the RISM A/I catalogue.

Florido's motet anthologies

The majority of Florido's motet anthologies were produced by some of the leading Roman printers of the period. His longest partnership was with Andrea Fei (1572–1650), starting with two of Florido's stage works in 1638 and 1639, before they collaborated in five prints in 1642 and 1643; as well as FdS1643 and FdS1647 Fei also printed Florido's 1646 collection of Italian *ariette*. Fei suffered from illness from the beginning of 1647, producing no further printed editions before his death.[263] Andrea's son Giacomo (1603–82) took over the firm after his father's death, greatly expanding its output of musical works; he printed FdS1668.

Lodovico Grignani (1586–1651) was responsible for the printing of FdS1645, FdS1649, and FdS1650, as well as Florido's 1646 collection of four-part masses. Grignani too was ill in the later years of his life, although this does not seem to have affected his commercial activities to any great extent.[264] Giovanni Battista Robletti (1583–1655) was one of the most prolific and important Roman music printers of the period, producing around 170 musical editions (in addition to more than 45 non-musical), yet his only publication of any genre with Florido was FdS1648.[265]

After Andrea Fei, Vitale Mascardi (*c*.1594–1666) was the printer with whom Florido worked most; as well as FdS1651, FdS1652, and FdS1654, Mascardi also produced Florido's 1652 and 1653 volumes of Italian madrigals.[266] (Additionally, the heirs to the Mascardi firm printed Florido's 1667 historic tragedy *Masista*.) As discussed above, the contents of FdS1651 and FdS1652 are drawn almost entirely from Florido's six preceding anthologies; given that no system of authorial or editorial copyright yet existed in the Italian peninsula and that, as Rasch has noted (see above), literal possession of a piece of music was all that was needed for its publication, it is probably merely coincidence that the printers of all but

[263] Saverio Franchi, 'Fei', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 330–34 (p. 332).
[264] Saverio Franchi, 'Grignani, Lodovico', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 396–99.
[265] Saverio Franchi, 'Robletti, Giovanni Battista', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 551–55.
[266] Saverio Franchi, 'Mascardi', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 439–41.

one of these six anthologies (FdS1648, produced by Robletti) were no longer living when Mascardi produced FdS1651 and FdS1652 — rather than there having been some sort of agreement between Florido and his printers

Through his family ties — his father had worked for Bartolomeo Zannetti, his mother was the sister of Andrea Fei — Ignazio de Lazari (1620–83) was well-connected in the world of Roman printing; as well as printing FdS1663 and FdS1664 he also produced Florido's 1662 anthology of three-part Vespers psalms.[267]

Giovanni Angelo Muzio (c.1625–after 1690) was active as a printer only between 1670 and 1689, producing only musical editions;[268] as well as FdS1672 he is also credited by Pitoni (as mentioned above) as having printed a now lost 1673 collection by Florido of madrigals.

On the other hand, Florido also collaborated with lesser-known printers. Although Michele Cortellini (1625–after 1678) printed around twenty books in Rome between 1651 and 1656, FdS1655 was his only known edition of music. Cortellini had worked for Lodovico Grignani until the latter's death in 1651, before setting up in business by himself; he was based near the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, where Florido was canon and singer, which may explain their connection.[269] Francesco Moneta (1614–89) produced only a small number of musical editions, of which FdS1659 was the first, as well as his only edition of sacred music.[270] (Moneta later printed Florido's prose work 1665 *Certe ottave sopra il pensiero bizzarro e piacevole*.)

[267] Saverio Franchi, 'Lazzari, Ignazio', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 408–09.
[268] Saverio Franchi, 'Muzi, Giovanni Angelo', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 467–69.
[269] Saverio Franchi, 'Cortellini, Michele', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, 281–82.
[270] Saverio Franchi, 'Moneta', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 454–55.

Florido's motet anthologies

More fruitful is, I feel, to note the lengths of Florido's associations with those figures who were the instigators of — and therefore, one presumes, the source of the funding for — his publications, as indicated in the right-most column of the above table.

Giovanni Domenico Franzini (*c*.1594–1666) was the most illustrious member of a family of booksellers, and the first to specialise in the production of musical works. He had begun to collaborate with Andrea Fei from as early as 1619 in the production of musical books, although before Florido's anthologies these were mostly reprints of sixteenth-century volumes.[271]

Antonio Poggioli (*c*.1582–1673) began his editorial and bookselling career in collaboration with Giovanni Battista Robletti, primarily in the production of practical musical works both sacred and secular.[272]

Giovanni Battista Caifabri (*c*.1632–1700) was, comparatively, a latecomer to the Roman scene, being two generations or so younger than Franzini and Poggioli. He began his career in Rome working for the printer Carlo Ricarii, and on his employer's death in 1660 Caifabri married his widow and took over the business. Although he was involved with the production of various musical publications from 1661 (including Florido's 1662 psalm anthology), the first time Caifabri's name appears on the title-page of a print is FdS1663; he would later curate his own anthologies of Roman sacred music, three of *concertato* motets (in 1665, 1667, and 1675) and one of Vespers psalms (in 1683).[273]

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[271] Saverio Franchi, 'Franzini, in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 340–42.
[272] Saverio Franchi, 'Poggioli', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 528–30.
[273] Saverio Franchi, 'Caifabri, Giovanni Battista', in *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani dalle origini*, pp. 223–27.

The compilation and printing of Florido's motet anthologies

Unlike modern-day books, the date that appears on Florido's anthologies does not always signify when they were completed and printed, and there are various suggestions that Florido's works were sometimes completed many years in advance of their publication. In various of his stage works he refers to others of his own works as 'Sorelle' ('sisters') or 'Fratelli'/'Fratellini' ('brothers'/'little brothers'), some of which had already been printed, others of which would later be printed. In particular, the book of his play *Signorina Zingaretta* — which has a dedication dated 13 January 1646 — has the following announcement printed at the end:

> Questa Signorina hà le sue Sorelle, che sono,
> Li due Fratelli Discordi, Comedia di tre Atti.
> La Combattuta Vedova, Comedia di cinque Atti.
> La Fuga dell'Hermana, Comedia di tre Atti.
> Un Fratellino di Titolo, Pensiero Bizzarro.
> Et un'altro di Titolo, Floridus Hortulus Sacrarum Plantarum.

The first three 'sister' works listed are plays, whose first appearances in print are dated 1639 (but known to have been performed in Bracciano in 1632), 1653, and 1638 respectively; and the 'little brother' 'Pensiero Bizzarro' is a collection of poems on a variety of topics — including music, mathematics, philosophy, astrology, medicine, law, botany, literature, history — eventually printed in 1665 (it may have been akin to a commonplace book, compiled and gradually added to over a number of years). The final item, 'Floridus Hortulus Sacrarum Plantarum', is almost certainly the motet anthology *Floridus modulorum hortus* (FdS1647) — or at the very least some forerunner to that anthology; this is suggested not just by the close similarity of the titles, but also by the fact that the title is in Latin, as the only of Florido's publications with Latin titles are his anthologies of sacred music.

This explicit reference to the existence of FdS1647 a year 'early' suggests that for Florido the length of time between his beginning to compile an anthology and its print run being

completed may have been significant. There exist differences in dating among the exemplars of three other of Florido's anthologies which further strengthen this conjecture:

- of the three exemplars of FdS1645, those in Bologna (I-Bc) and Rome (I-Rsgf) are dated 1645, and as the former was the only copy known to the compilers of the RISM B/I catalogue the publication was given the RISM catalogue designation B/I 1645[2]. However, the Pisa copy is dated 1646, this being the only substantial difference between it and the other two exemplars. All exemplars have a date on only the Cantus title-page; the dedicatory epistle is undated in all partbooks of all exemplars;
- in all exemplars of FdS1664, the Cantus, Altus, and Tenor partbooks are dated 1664 on their title-pages, while the Bassus and Organum partbooks are dated 1665 on their title-pages; the dedicatory epistle in all partbooks in all exemplars is dated 'Idibus Iunij' (that is, 13 June) 1664;
- all surviving partbooks of FdS1668 bear the date 'M. DC. LXVIII' on the title-page; however, unusually for Florido's publications, three of the four partbooks (Cantus Primus, Cantus Secundus, and Organum) have a colophon following the *tavola* at the end, which, respectively, are dated 'M. DC. LXVIII', '1668', and '1667'. (The Cantus Tertius partbook has no colophon in either surviving copy.)

Additionally, as noted above, the same issue is seen with the collection of motets by Bernardino Vannini published by Florido; five of the partbooks are dated 1666, four 1667.

Rudolf Rasch points out that:

> Many editions, especially seventeenth-century ones, exist in copies that have years of publication that differ with [*sic*] one year. They [*sic*] years mentioned may indicate the beginning and end of a printing run, respectively. The various copies make up just one single edition (and issue), not two.[274]

[274] Rudolf Rasch, 'Basic Concepts', in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. by Rudolf Rasch, (Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), pp. 13–46 (p. 40).

A similar issue is seen in the exemplars of FdS1643: all surviving partbooks have Rome as their place of printing except the Altus of F-Pn and the Bassus ad Organum of I-PS, which have Bracciano. When taken into consideration alongside the five musical publications of 1642 on which Florido and Andrea Fei collaborated — three of which have Bracciano as their place of printing, and two Rome — it is clear that the Fei firm operated concurrently in both locations at this time, a conjecture which is backed up by two publications by Andrea's son Giacomo; in 1667 he printed Anton Francesco Nucci's poem 'La Stampa all'eternità' in Bracciano, while all surviving partbooks of FdS1668 were printed in Rome.

Incidentally, these Bracciano prints of Andrea and Giacomo Fei are all marked by the appearance of the epithet 'ducal': Andrea is described as 'typographus Ducalis', Giacomo's workshop as 'Ducale Stamparia'. However, the word does not appear in the Roman works mentioned, presumably because the Duchy of Bracciano was a fief of the Papal States and so neither Fei's association with it would have brought them any cachet in Rome.

Christine Jeanneret makes the point more generally that:

> various copies of the same editions present different stages of the printing and correcting processes … The matter is further complicated because a music print would have been bound only at a later stage. Thus, a single library copy surviving today might well have been composed of sheets from different stages of the fabrication process. Some sets of copies of a single print attest to this continuous rotation between printer and proofreader by showing uncorrected mistakes, handwritten corrections, and stop-press corrections all mixed together in the same book or in different copies of a single print.[275]

While in most cases the different exemplars of an anthology consulted are identical, there are instances of the misordering of leaves that likely occurred during the binding process in a manner similar to that described by Jeanneret; this occurs in the Bassus partbook in each

[275] Christine Jeanneret, 'The Score as Representation: Technologies of Music Book Production in Italy (1580s–1650s)', in *Early Music Editing: Principles, Historiography, Future Directions*, ed. by Theodor Dumitrescu, Karl Kügle, and Marnix van Berchum (Brepols, 2013), pp. 171–94 (p. 176).

of the M-MDca copies of FdS1647 and FdS1655 and also in the Cantus and Tenor partbooks in the D-MÜp exemplar of FdS1647, in which several leaves have been mixed up and bound together in the wrong order:

- Cantus partbook: title page to page 16 are correct; the remaining pages are all from the Tenor partbook, as follows — 19/20, 17/18, 23/24, 21/22, 25/26, 29/30, 27/28, 31/Tavola [32].
- Tenor partbook: title page to page 16 are correct; pages 17 to Tavola [48] are from the Cantus partbook.

There are occasional, more substantial differences between exemplars of the same partbook. Most notable is the Organum partbook of the GB-Lcm copy of FdS1647, in which a passage of ten notes has been (erroneously) omitted that is present in the other exemplars, presumably as a result of a stop-press correction. Additionally, the Organum partbook of FdS1668 held in I-Bc lacks a line of text on the title-page that is present in the other copies.

There are also numerous — too many reasonably to list here — instances of pasted-in note corrections and handwritten emendations that are present in all exemplars and (in the latter case) are clearly in the same hand and ink, and so must have been carried out between the printing and the distribution of the copies. This was not atypical for the period, and differences such as these are to be considered trivial and an almost inevitable result of the printing process, as Jeffrey Kurtzman and Anne Schnoebelen explain:

> Anyone familiar with music prints of this period is aware that not all copies of a print run are identical. Stop-press and printed paste-over corrections are common, and a number of publishing anomalies can be found in the partbooks of various copies of a print, including even different dedications or somewhat different layout of the same dedication from one partbook to another.[276]

[276] 'History and Scope of the Catalogue', *A Catalogue of Motets, Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy, 1516-1770*, JSCM Instrumenta, 2 (2014) <http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/vol-2/>, p. 4 [accessed 9 August 2019].

Additionally, there are several instances where it seems that the printed pages had been folded over before the ink had fully dried, thus leaving a negative impression on another page of the partbook. Both of these occurrences — as well as the differences mentioned above — perhaps lends further credence to the theory that Florido may have been concerned more with the quick production of his anthologies rather than their appearance, and also that it was not financially viable for him to reprint a corrected version of a partbook.

Chapter 3 | The texts of the motets in Florido's anthologies

This chapter examines the origins and sources of the texts of the motets in Florido's anthologies in the context of the restrictions repeatedly placed on such texts from the Council of Trent onwards, but particularly during the middle part of the seventeenth century, and demonstrates some of the techniques used in the creation of 'new' texts from elements drawn from different sources.

3.1 | Motet texts in the seventeenth century

The issue of motet texts in the seventeenth century needing regulation in the face of ill-ease on the part of the Catholic church authorities has its origins in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, which took place over numerous sessions between 1545 and 1563. Myths and misunderstandings relating to what was and was not debated at the Council on the topic of sacred music have proliferated in the centuries since, so much that the fact of the only pronouncement issued by the Council regarding sacred music is normally forgotten: 'Ab eclesiis vero musices eas, ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur' ('Let them keep away from the churches those compositions in which, whether in the organ or in the voice, there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure').

Thanks to the lack of exactitude in this one short phrase, its conflation either with draft versions thereof or other reforms that were ultimately not enacted, and the freedom granted to Church authorities at a local, diocesan to enforce it (or not), there quickly grew up in the last decades of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth century a great variety of practice all over Europe. While some leading Counter-Reformation figures took to cracking down on certain groups of musicians (in particular, nuns; for more, see Chapter 4), one particular musical form soon became the focus of ire — the motet.

Because even in its origin stage — sung settings of those portions of the Mass that changed according to the liturgical feast (the Propers) or of the varying antiphons at Vespers — the motet had a 'looser relationship to the liturgy',[277] this automatically gave it (and the composers who wrote them) a great deal of textual freedom owing to 'its extraterritorial nature, so to speak, or its innate adaptability'.[278] Very soon motets were used as substitutes for items from the Proper of the Mass — such as the Offertory and Gradual — and even on occasion as introductory music.[279]

This practice snowballed during the first part of the seventeenth century, leading the Church authorities to issue repeated edicts against it by seeking to place restrictions on the sources for texts that could be set to music as motets for performance as part of the liturgy. These culminated in two decrees by Pope Alexander VII, in 1657 and 1665, which sought once and for all to put an end to the practice.

The first of these, the apostolic constitution *Piæ sollicitudinis* of 23 April 1657, stated that:

1) The style of the music to be observed for masses, psalms, antiphons, motets, hymns, etc., as also in sinfonie, was to be grave, ecclesiastical and devout.
2) Only the words proscribed by the Roman Missal for the offices proper to the feasts of each day and the solemnities of the saints might be sung; and, in particular, that only the Gradual or Tract might be sung after the Epistle, that only the Offertory might follow the Creed, and that after the Sanctus the Benedictus or a motet should

[277] Anthony Cummings, 'The Motet', in *European Music, 1520–1640*, ed. by James Haar (Boydell, 2006), pp. 130–56 (p. 156).
[278] 'Per quanto riguarda il mottetto sarebbe ad esempio indicato rimarcare la sua natura per così dire extraterritoriale o la sua connaturale adattabilità.' Stefano Patuzzi, 'Madrigale e mottetto: intrecci di funzioni e di contesti', in *Barocco padano 1. Atti del IX Convegno internazionale sulla musica sacra nei secoli XVII–XVIII, Brescia, 13–15 luglio 1999*, ed. by Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 2002), pp. 95–102 (p. 99).
[279] Noske, *Saints and Sinners*, p. 6.

be sung, but only with those words laid down by the Church in the Breviary or Missal in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.

3) The same regulation was given for the Vespers service.
4) When the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, only those words laid down in the Breviary or Missal might be sung; if it was wished that words from the Holy Scripture or some Holy Father should be sung, the special approval of the Holy Congregation of Rites must first be granted.
5) It was not permissible that all or a considerable part of a motet be sung by solo voice, high or low; but if it were not sung by the full choir that it should be sung continually varying the manner of performance, alternating between high choral voices and low.
6) Within twenty days of the publication of this edict shutters or narrow grilles should be placed in the choirs, be the latter temporary or permanent, and that the said shutters should be of such height as the singers could not be seen.[280]

However, despite the strictness of these rules, and the penalties of money and excommunication which with infractors were threatened, the practice clearly continued, leading Alexander VII to issue a further decree on 30 July 1665, the *Editto sopra le musiche*, restating and extending his earlier restrictions and increasing the penalties for infringement:

1) The style of all church music should be serious and devout.
2) The only text allowed to be sung in the Mass were those contained in the Missal. After the Sanctus, the Benedictus or a motet could be sung but the only words permitted were those in the Breviary or Missal in honour of the saint.
3) The only texts allowed to be sung in Vespers or Compline were those contained in the Breviary.

[280] Berglund, 'Angels or Sirens?', p. 103.

4) When the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, only texts from the Breviary or Missal in honour of the Sacrament were allowed to be sung. Should it be wished to sing words from the Scriptures or from the writings of a Church Father, special approval must be obtained from the Congregation of Rites. Words from only *one* Church Father could be used for any one composition.
5) The whole or a large part of a composition was not to be allocated to a solo voice. If the piece were not sung by the full choir, the voice combinations should at least be varied.
6) Texts from liturgical books, the scriptures, and the Church Fathers should be set to music in their original form, without alteration.
7) In Passiontide the organ was not to be used.
8) Shutters or gratings were to be erected so that the singers could not be seen.
9) Any *maestro di cappella* or other person responsible for church music who contravened any of the above rules was to be deprived of his post, barred from performing music in the future, and fined 100 *scudi*.
10) No *maestro di cappella* was allowed to perform music in churches or oratories without having sworn to observe the rules of the present edict.[281]

However, these pronouncements had little effect on either the textual or textural front, such that by the end of the seventeenth century a motet (usually at that point referred to by the term *concerto*) was considered anything that was not a Mass, a complete psalm setting, or some other strictly liturgical entity.[282]

3.2 | Texts in Florido's motet anthologies

[281] Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, I, pp. 144–45.
[282] Jerome Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi* (Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 40.

The texts of the motets in Florido's anthologies

How then, if at all, are these changes and rulings reflected in the texts found in Florido's anthologies? The first step towards answering this is to develop a typology of these texts according to their textual origins and also to their intended use; other issues that will be explored include prevalent textual themes and the relationship between textual structure and musical structure.

Sources of texts

I have modified and extended Andrew Jones's categories of text that he used to classify Carissimi's motets in formulating the following breakdown of the texts in Florido's anthologies:[283]

Text category	Motets	Percentage
Freely-composed	67	29%
Freely-composed/known author	4	2%
Freely-composed/known author/liturgical	2	1%
Freely-composed/known author/liturgical/scriptural	1	0.5%
Freely-composed/known author/scriptural	6	2.5%
Freely-composed/liturgical	17	7.5%
Freely-composed/liturgical/scriptural	5	2%
Freely-composed/scriptural	24	10.5%
Liturgical/known author	1	0.5%
Liturgical/scriptural	8	3.5%
Scriptural/known author	1	0.5%
Known author	10	4.5%
Liturgical	40	17%
Scriptural	47	20%
Total	**233**	**100%**

Table 3.1 Breakdown of the texts in Florido's motet anthologies.

Each row denotes a combination of sources to which the texts of the motets can be assigned. Thus, the first category ('Freely-composed') denotes those texts which do not contain passages taken verbatim from any identifiable source, and so which I have considered to have been newly written by some unknown author or authors; the second

[283] Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, I, p. 146.

category ('Freely-composed/known author') denotes those texts which combine passages either of an unidentifiable origin or written by a single identifiable author; and so on.

According to a strict interpretation of the two edicts of Alexander VII, only the last three categories would have been permitted, meaning that just ninety-seven motets (or a little over 41%) across all of Florido's anthologies would have been permitted to be performed in ordinary liturgical settings. How did this compare to printed collections of motets by individuals contemporary to him?

John Bryden's analysis of Benevoli's motets and their texts gives the following, suggesting that fifty motets of seventy (or 71%) would have been permitted for performance in the liturgy:

Text category	**Motets**	**Percentage**
Freely-composed	11	29%
Freely-composed/liturgical	1	7.5%
Freely-composed/scriptural	8	10.5%
Liturgical	41	17%
Scriptural	9	20%
Total	**70**	**100%**

Table 3.2 Breakdown of the texts of Benevoli's motets by category, according to Bryden.[284]

In his study of Foggia's motets, Carl Fassbender defines three fairly broad textual categories with some sub-divisions, showing that one hundred and twenty-nine motets (or 54%) would have been permitted:

Text category (number of motets)	**Percentage**

Liturgical texts (102)
- Propers of the Mass (27)
  o Gradual (2)
  o Offertory (20)
  o Elevation (5)
- Texts from the Divine Office (75)
  o Vespers psalms (33)
  ▪ Dixit Dominus (3)
  ▪ Beatus vir (4)
	43%

[284] Bryden, 'The Motets of Orazio Benevoli', pp. 25–34.

▪ Laudate pueri (5) ▪ Laudate Dominum (3) ▪ Lætatus sum (3) ▪ Other psalms (15) o Marian antiphons (14) ▪ Salve Regina (10) ▪ Regina cæli (2) ▪ Alma Redemptoris mater (1) ▪ Ave Regina cælorum (1) o Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary (7) o Vespers antiphons (15) o Magnificat antiphons (3) o Compline antiphons (3)	
Biblical texts not from a liturgical source (27)	11%
Other, unidentified Latin texts (108)	46%
Total (237)	**100%**

Table 3.3 Breakdown of Foggia's motet texts by category, according to Fassbender.[285]

Susanne Shigihara restricts herself to only the solo motets of Gratiani, of which she counts seventy-four; given what we have previously discussed regarding the contexts in which solo motets might most likely have been performed in this period in Rome, it is no surprise that overwhelmingly most of Gratiani's solo motets have a non-liturgical or -Scriptural text and so that a much smaller proportion (11%) would have been permitted for performance in the liturgy:

Text category	**Percentage**
Liturgical texts (7) - Propers of the Mass (3) o Psalm (2) o Responsory (1) - Texts from the Divine Office (4) o Marian antiphons (4) ▪ Salve Regina (2) ▪ Regina cæli (1) ▪ Alma Redemptoris mater (1)	11%
Biblical texts not from a liturgical source (1)	1%
Various liturgical and Biblical sources (2)	3%
Other, unidentified Latin texts (64)	86%
Total (74)	**100%**

Table 3.4 Breakdown of the texts of Gratiani's solo motets by category, according to Shigihara.[286]

[285] Fassbender, 'Francesco Foggia', pp. 269–78.
[286] Shigihara, 'Bonifazio Graziani', pp. 367–74.

And looking at the figures calculated by Andrew Jones with respect to Carissimi's output, we see that the equivalent percentage figure across the whole period of Carissimi's output is significantly lower, with just 25% (twenty-six out of one hundred and five) meeting a strict interpretation of the papal regulations:

Table 6. Nature of Motet Texts with Reference to the Papal Decree of 1657

Type of text	Terminal date of composition 1628-56		Terminal date of composition 1659-72		Motets of unknown date	
Liturgical	24 %	(7)	11½%	(5)	33½%	(11)
Scriptural	3½%	(1)	2½%	(1)	3 %	(1)
Modified liturgical	0 %	(0)	2½%	(1)	6 %	(2)
Modified scriptural	31 %	(9)	7 %	(3)	9 %	(3)
Modified liturgical + modified scriptural	0 %	(0)	2½%	(1)	0 %	(0)
Liturgical + free	7 %	(2)	0 %	(0)	0 %	(0)
Scriptural + free	20½%	(6)	44 %	(19)	27½%	(9)
Free	14 %	(4)	30 %	(13)	21 %	(7)
TOTAL	100 %	(29)	100 %	(43)	100 %	(33)

Figure 3.1 Andrew Jones's breakdown of Carissimi's motet texts by category, also factoring in the date of Alexander VII's first crackdown on composers and musicians.[287]

In summary, the percentage of motets by each of the four composers named or included in Florido's anthologies that would have been permissible for performance within the mainstream liturgy is as follows:

Benevoli: 71%

Foggia: 54%

Florido: 41%

Carissimi: 25%

[287] *The Motets of Carissimi*, I, p. 146.

The texts of the motets in Florido's anthologies

Gratiani: 11%

As *maestro di cappella* at St Peter's for most of the period Benevoli could, presumably, hardly have been seen to be setting too many unsuitable texts to music; similarly, Foggia was *maestro* at the seat of the popes as bishops of Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano. At the other end of things, as Carissimi and Gratiani held posts in churches attached to seminaries, they perhaps were afforded more opportunities for prohibited texts, which may explain their low figures for 'permitted' texts. Thus, Florido falls firmly in the middle (of what is, admittedly, a small sample size), which further reinforces the impression of his anthologies as wide-ranging, middle-of-the-road, utile publications.

Turning back to Jones's figures as shown in Figure 3.1, we can see that he also makes clear to delineate the periods before and after *Piæ sollicitudinis* in 1657; doing the same for Florido's anthologies, and also looking for any discernible change after the 1665 *Editto*, gives us the following revised figures:

Text category	**Motets and percentage by FdS**					
	1643–1655		**1659–1664**		**1668, 1672**	
Freely-composed	45	28%	12	31%	10	30.5%
Freely-composed/known author	3	2%	1	2.5%	0	0%
Freely-composed/known author/liturgical	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Freely-composed/known author/liturgical/scriptural	0	0%	1	2.5%	0	0%
Freely-composed/known author/scriptural	4	2.5%	2	5%	0	0%
Freely-composed/liturgical	10	6%	6	15.5%	1	3%
Freely-composed/liturgical/scriptural	3	2%	2	5%	0	0%
Freely-composed/scriptural	13	10.5%	10	35.5%	1	3%
Liturgical/known author	1	0.5%	0	0%	0	0%
Liturgical/scriptural	7	4.5%	0	0%	1	3%
Scriptural/known author	1	0.5%	0	0%	0	0%
Known author	7	4.5%	3	8%	0	0%
Liturgical	29	18%	0	0%	11	33.5%
Scriptural	36	22.5%	2	5%	9	27.5%
Total	**161**	**100%**	**39**	**100%**	**33**	**100%**

Table 3.5 Breakdown of the texts in Florido's motet anthologies, delineated according the date of Alexander VII's edicts.

This more nuanced breakdown of the figures for Florido's anthologies allows us to see that:

- in the period before *Piæ sollicitudinis* (1657), there was a roughly even split between the three bottom categories of permitted texts (45%) and the remainder (55%);
- in the years between *Piæ sollicitudinis* and the *Editto* (1665) only 13% of texts would have been permitted, and the remainder (87%) would not — this period is when the three anthologies containing solo motets were printed;
- in the final period, after the *Editto*, nearly two thirds of the texts (61%) would have been permitted, and the remainder (39%) would not — this change in Florido's last two motet anthologies may be attributable to his heeding the 1665 *Editto* (at least a little).

Apart from the permitted books of scripture and liturgy (the Breviary, the Gradual, the Missal), a popular source of texts was the writings of medieval theologians; foremost were the works of St Augustine of Hippo, although several works attributed to him that found popularity across Europe were actually written about one thousand years after his death, in the middle of the fifteenth century, and so are now attributed to pseudo-Augustine. Other authors whose writings appear as motet texts in Florido's anthologies are (pseudo-) Bonaventure, St Bernard of Clairvaux, Ogerius, Pope John XXII, Blosius, Adam de Saint-Victor, St Thomas Aquinas, and St Ambrose.

Textual structure and musical structure

The practice of compiling a text from disparate sources is called 'centonisation' (from the Latin, *cento*, meaning 'patchwork'); the term was originally coined to describe the formation of longer pieces of plainchant from smaller cells taken from existing melodies.[288] With regard to the texts, the fragments could all come from different parts of the same original

[288] Justine Ward, *Gregorian Chant*, 2 vols (Catholic Education Press, 1949), II, p. 130.

text or from multiple sources. This was a practice often seen in motet texts set in the Seicento, as discussed by authors including Collarile and Torelli, and it is also much in evidence in Florido's anthologies:

Motet text	Identifiable sources
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas nos, neque in ira tua corripias nos,	Psalm 37:2: 'Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua corripias me'
quis novit potestatem iræ tuæ, et præ timore tuo iram tuam dinumerare.	Psalm 89:11–12: 'Quis novit potestatem iræ tuæ et præ timore tuo iram tuam dinumerare'
Convertere Domine et deprecabilis esto super servos tuos.	Psalm 89:13: 'Convertere Domine usquequo et deprecabilis esto super servos tuos'
Iniquitates nostræ sicut onus grave, gravatæ sunt super nos.	Psalm 37:5: 'Quoniam iniquitates meæ supergressæ sunt caput meum sicut onus grave gravatæ sunt super me'
Defecimus in ira tua Domine, et in furore tuo turbati sumus. Posuisti iniquitates nostras in conspectu tuo, sæculum nostrum in illuminatione vultus tui. Miserere nostri et salva nos.	Psalm 89:7–8: 'Quia defecimus in ira tua et in furore tuo turbati sumus. Posuisti iniquitates nostras in conspectu tuo sæculum nostrum in inluminatione vultus tui'
1647.08 (Stefano Fabri)	

Another common method is to take a scriptural or liturgical quotation as the starting-point for a new text:

Motet text	Identifiable sources
Intenderunt arcum insipientes peccatores terræ, paraverunt sagittas suas, ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde	Quoniam ecce peccatores intenderunt arcum; paraverunt sagittas suas in

	pharetra, ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde. *Psalm 10:3*
cantantes laudabile canticum, et decorum valde in iubilo dicentes: fugite quæ non dilexit Dominus, ne vos seducat dulcedo sæculi. Properate, festinate ad beatorum aulam, quæ decus, quæ gloria, quæ celsitudo est, quoniam pereunt qui contradicunt Domino.	
1645.22/1651.14 (Carlo Cecchelli) 1648.05 (Carlo Bonetti)	

Motet text	Identifiable sources
Quasi oliva pullulans et cypressus in altitudinem se tollens, ita beatus iste ad gloriam sanctitatis mirabiliter ascendit.	Quasi oliva pullulans et cypressus in altitudine se tollens sic vir beatus ad gloriam sanctitatis ascendit. *Matins antiphon, St Bernard of Clairvaux* Quasi oliva pullulans, et cypressus in altitudinem se extollens, in accipiendo ipsum stolam gloriae, et vestiri eum in consummationem virtutis. *Ecclesiasticus 50:11*
Magnificavit eum Dominus et dedit illi donum ineffabile, et in empyrea regna deduxit illum, et evolare fecit ad beata	

præmia et ad sanctorum et angelorum gloriam.	
1645.15 (Stefano Argentini) 1655.14 (Giovanni Marciani)	

Additionally, there are four instances where the freely-written texts of two different motets are broadly similar, leading us to suspect the later was modelled on the earlier:

1643.15 (Antonio Maria Abbatini)	1649.11 (Bonifatio Gratiani)
O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu, humani generis amator, qui te gustant esuriunt, qui bibunt adhuc sitiunt. Sitio ad te, fontem aquæ vivæ, nec satiabor donec requiescam in te, quia de amore tuo vulnerasti me.	O bone Iesu, o pissime Iesu, humani generis amator. Qui te gustant esuriunt, qui bibunt adhuc sitiunt. Sitio ad te, fontem aquæ vitæ, nec satiabor donec requiescam in te, quia de amore tuo vulnerasti me.
	O mentis delectatio, o cordis iubilatio, o amoris consummatio.
Ecce langueo pro te, amor meus, quia tunc prior dilexisti me, nec habeo quid tibi præbeam, nisi dederis mihi largitor omnium.	Ecce langueo pro te, amor meus, quia tunc prior dilexisti me, nec habeo quid tibi præbeam, nisi tu dederis mihi largitor omnium.
Omnia tua sunt et omnes gentes quasi non sint sic sunt coram te Deus meus.	
Ecce cantabo et delectabor in te, quia tu es omnia et ego nihil sum. Et tamen delectaris esse cum filiis hominum. O mentis delectatio, o cordis iubilatio, o amoris consumatio.	Ecce cantabo et delectabor in te, quia es omnia et ego nihil sum. Et tamen delectaris esse cum filiis hominum. O mentis delectatio, o cordis iubilatio, o amoris consummatio.

The text is an odd collection of sentences, some from the hymn 'Iesu dulcis memoria', often attributed to St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) ('qui te gustant … sitiunt', 'o mentis delectatio', and 'o amoris consummatio'), one from Isaiah 40:17 ('omnes gentes quasi non sint sic sunt coram eo et quasi nihilum et inane reputatæ sunt ei'), and the remainder seemingly free-composed but alluding to parts of the Song of Songs.

1645.24 (Silvestro Durante)	1655.15 (Anonymous)
Quem vidistis pastores annuntiate nobis, in terris quis apparuit?	Quem vidistis pastores annuntiate nobis, in terris quis apparuit?
	Dicite nobis, dicite pastores, annunciate nobis quis apparuit? Noè. Quem vidistis pastores dicite. Indicate nobis o pastores ubi natum vidistis salvatorem, noè.
Natum vidimus et choros angelorum collaudantes Dominum, noè.	Natum vidimus et choros angelorum collaudantes Dominum.
	In terris nobis Dominus apparuit, et reclinatus erat in præsepio, noè. Ex virgine nascentem Deum vidimus et choros angelorum nos audivimus, noè. Eamus in Betleem, et videamus hoc verbum quod pastores nunciant, et in præsepe infantem veneremur, et pedes osculemur, noè.

In this case, the shorter text (apart from the repeated interjection 'noè') appears at many offices within the Octave of Christmas; the extended text incorporates many more tropes from the story of the shepherds.

Did composers generally reflect structural aspects of such texts — such as a move between prose and verse, or the start of a different textual quotation — in their musical settings? It seems that composers were not always overly concerned to reflect the structure of a text — whether the points where it moves from one source quotation to another, or if it moves between verse and prose — in their music, although it is possible to find examples of both practice in Florido's anthologies. For instance, the text of Stefano Fabri's 'Domine ne in furore tuo' (FdS1647.08) weaves together five slightly altered verses from two psalms, yet section breaks in the music or changes of register and voicing (in polyphonic settings) only sometimes coincide with the end of one verse and the start of another.

At other times, a composer might introduce additional variety into a setting of, say, a strophic hymn with multiple verses; for example, Giovanni Marciani's 'Amor Iesu' (FdS1645.09) sets five successive verses of a hymn for Lauds and Vespers of the feast of the Transfiguration (omitting the doxology), and the music alternates between duple and triple meter from verse to verse.

It can be seen that the beginnings and/or ends of sections of 'illegal' text frequently do align with changes in scoring and/or meter, thereby seemingly highlighting the illicit nature of the 'mixed' nature of the text rather than trying to obscure them; however, as will be discussed in the following chapter, numerous contemporary plausible contexts other than mainstream liturgical celebrations exist for the performance such texts..

Jones remarks that 'there seems to have been little association in Carissimi's mind between types of text and types of musical setting',[289] the only exception being his solo-voice motets, which are generally settings of free texts: 'It is fitting that the vocal medium closest to the mid-seventeenth-century Italian secular cantata should be used in conjunction with a text, as it were, as far removed as possible from the liturgy.' We can also observe this trend in Florido's solo-voice motets as well: of the twenty-six in his anthologies (all of FdS1659 and FdS1663, plus the first four items of FdS1664) only two have a text that is not free in origin. This echoes the similarities in style and notation between Florido's solo-voice motets and the contemporary cantata repertoire that were discussed in Chapter 2.

Florido's anthologies give us no clue as to who might have compiled centonised texts; the composer is always a strong candidate for having done so, although for those texts that draw on more arcane sources it is perhaps likelier that they were prepared by others more erudite. Andrew Jones has pointed out that almost any of number of Carissimi's fellow Jesuits would have been accustomed to writing long texts in Latin; Jones points to one Odoardo Ceccarelli, who sang in the choir of Sant'Apollinare at various times between 1622 and 1645, and who was called by Andrea Adami 'an excellent writer of Latin words for setting to music'.[290] Other possible authors of these texts include Leone Santi (1584–1652), another Roman Jesuit priest known for writing Latin texts set to music,[291] and the poet Agostino Mascardi (1590–1640), who had joined the Jesuit order but was expelled in 1617.

<u>Text intentions and themes</u>

[289] Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, I, p. 148.
[290] Ibid., p. 142.
[291] Orietta Sartori, 'Santi, Leone', Treccani Online <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leone-santi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed 20 November 2024].

The texts of the motets in Florido's anthologies

Florido's anthologies are unlike other contemporary publications of sacred motets or motet-like pieces (e.g. antiphons, hymns) in that they do not specify for which particular liturgical occasion a motet is intended. Nevertheless, with many of Florido's motets it is easy to deduce a possible (indeed, probable) liturgical celebration on which the piece would be suitable, based on the text; for example, if it is drawn from (or based on) certain passages of scripture or a liturgical book (e.g. Graduale, Breviarium, Ceremoniale); or by analysing the themes explored in the text.

Text intention	Number of motets
Proper of Time	18
- *Advent: 1*	
- *Christmas: 8*	
- *Pentecost: 4*	
- *All Saints: 5*	
Proper of Saints and veneration of saints/martyrs	46
- *Named saints: 2*	
- *Saint N: 22*	
- *Unnamed saint(s): 22*	
Marian devotion	30
Eucharistic devotion	28
Christocentric devotion	27
Nomen Iesu	4
Ordinary time/general use	47
Dedication of a church	3
Penitence	30

Table 3.6 Breakdown of Florido's motet texts by their text intention.

The only two named saints — apart from the Virgin Mary — in Florido's motets were both leading Counter-Reformation figures:

- St Charles Borromeo (1538–84), cardinal and archbishop of Milan, who along with St Ignatius of Loyola and St Philip Neri was instrumental in carrying out the reforms mandated by the Council of Trent. He was canonised in 1610, and is the subject of Francesco Foggia's 'Florete flores', in FdS1643, reprinted in FdS1651;
- St Francis Borgia (1510–72), a great-grandson both of Pope Alexander VI and of Ferdinand II of Aragon, who after renouncing his noble title and its trappings joined

> the Society of Jesus and later served as its third superior general. He was canonised in 1670, and is the subject of Orazio Benevoli's 'Sit mundo lætissima', in FdS1655.

The presence of a text celebrating the sanctity of Charles Borromeo text could also be ascribed to the ever-present power and influence of the Borromeo family; three other members of the family were cardinals in the seventeenth century — Federico (1564–1631), Giberto (1615–72), and Federico (1616/7–73).

One trend that can be observed in Latin motet texts of the seventeenth century is that of a devout, fervent fixation on the body and person of Christ that leads to a sense of mystic union and spiritual ecstasy. Mary Frandsen, in her study of Italian music at the mid-seventeenth-century Dresden court chapel, labels such texts — and the devotion they signify — 'Christocentric', pointing out that there were many similarities between Roman motet texts and those popular in Dresden.[292] This is backed up by the evidence we have discussed in previous chapter of copies of Florido's motets either being purchased for use in Lutheran territories or being brought there by itinerant Italian musicians.[293]

Another popular strand of devotional literature was that influenced by Jesuit spirituality, and in particular the *Exercitia spiritualia* of St Ignatius of Loyola, the order's founder; I have discussed elsewhere the links between this key work and the motet texts set to music by composers represented in Florido's anthologies who were employed at Jesuit institutions.[294]

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[292] Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, pp. 101–12.
[293] Mary E. Frandsen, 'Matters of Taste: The Lutheran Market for Sacred Music in the Seventeenth Century', *Early Music History*, 39 (2020), pp. 149–218.
[294] Horsewood, 'Latin Motet Texts in Seventeenth-Century Rome'.

Chapter 4 | The uses of Florido's motet anthologies

Examination of Florido's motet anthologies and their surviving exemplars, followed by discussion of the texts set to music, leads on to the topic of potential contexts for the use of those publications. Copies of the anthologies existed in the libraries of several of Rome's principal choral institutions during his lifetime and were almost certainly used for performances there; it is therefore frustrating that the anthologies provide no explicit information as to any circumstances or setting in which they may have been intended for use. However, this could equally be taken as a sign of their broad appeal, borne out of their utility and flexibility.

(The inclusion of the places of current or recent employment of the composers represented in the anthologies is a feature common to the majority of early modern Italian musical publications and should be regarded as an attempt to increase the attractiveness and perceived worth of a publication to potential buyers, rather than an indication that it was actually used in any of those locations.)

Juan Ruiz Jiménez, in his study of the form in post-Tridentine Seville and Granada, identifies a number of physical spaces where motets might have been performed as well as ceremonial contexts for such occasions. The former comprise a 'domestic urban network' (this being broken down further into 'nobility', 'oligarchy', and 'other'), cathedrals, in the streets, and within a 'sacred urban network' (this last taking in churches, prayer rooms, and convents). The contexts listed include within the celebration of Mass, as part of a procession, in sacred concerts, and within special devotional 'Salve' services, a Holy Week custom local to Seville.[295]

[295] Juan Ruiz Jiménez, 'Mapping the Motet in post-Tridentine Seville and Granada: Repertoire, Meanings and Functions', in in *Mapping the Motet in the post-Tridentine Era*, pp. 250–70 (p. 252).

This chapter will discuss these settings and contexts as found in Seicento Rome, as well as suggesting other likely contexts for the performance of *concertato* motets in the city.

4.1 | Performance contexts for Florido's anthologies

Churches

The Roman ecclesiastical institutions at which the contemporary use of Florido's anthologies can be shown — San Giacomo degli Incurabili and the Arciconfraternità di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini — occupied, in the middle of the seventeenth century, fairly middling points on the spectrum of choirs in the city in terms of size.[296]

The largest and best-endowed were the Cappella Giulia and the Cappella Sistina: from its 1471 post-Avignon reconstitution in Rome the latter — known formally as the Cappella Pontificia — was set at twenty-eight active singers[297] (seven on each part, with the highest part being sung by falsettists),[298] though this was reduced to twenty-one by Sixtus V in 1585;[299] from its foundation in 1513 the Cappella Giulia numbered eighteen professional singers (usually up to six *putti soprani* — boy trebles — four altos, four tenors, four basses),[300] who were supported at major liturgical celebrations by *cappellani cantori* (between two and eight depending on the solemnity of the occasion), members of the clergy with

[296] In reference to the churches of Rome in the second half of the seventeenth century, Jean Lionnet calls choral forces of four sopranos, two altos, two tenors, and two basses a 'standard formation', divided into two groups that performed separately on alternate weekdays and together on Sundays and feast days. Jean Lionnet, 'Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the 17th Century', *Early Music*, 15.1 (February 1987), pp. 3–15 (p. 3).
[297] Ibid., p. 4.
[298] Richard Sherr, 'Rome' II. The Christian era. 2 The Renaissance (1420–1600)', *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23759>.
[299] Noel O'Regan, '*Cappella fissa — Cappella mobile*: The Organisation of Musicians for Major Feastdays at Rome's National Churches', in *Music and the Identity Process: The National Churches of Rome and their Networks in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Michela Berti and Émilie Corswarem (Brepols, 2019), pp. 35–53 (p. 37).
[300] Ibid., p. 36.

acceptable vocal training who received a modest additional stipend to sing the plainsong parts of the liturgy.[301] Despite these large numbers of singers, Lionnet notes that there is much evidence to suggest that polyphony was regularly sung with one voice per part by means of a complex (and not completely failsafe) method of changing the designated singer each time a musical section requiring less than full forces was reached.[302]

Further down the scale came San Giacomo, which until the seventeenth century had no regular choir — meaning that for the patronal feast of St James on 25 July (the most important liturgical celebration of the church's year) a *maestro di cappella* and additional musicians from other churches were routinely engaged to enhance the grandeur of the occasion.[303] From the 1620s, three or four trebles were employed to chant the offices once a month,[304] and from 1630 onwards the confraternity began to institute a fixed, regular *cappella musicale*. By the end of that decade, this took the form of eight singers — two *soprani* (by this time adult *sopranisti*), two altos, two tenors, and two basses[305] — and an organist who also directed the choir (it was not until 1659 that a separate *maestro di cappella* was appointed); this was reduced, for reasons unknown, from May 1654 to seven singers and remained so until the early 1700s, although external musicians continued to be brought in — albeit it in smaller numbers — for important liturgical occasions.[306]

Information regarding musical practice at the Arciconfraternità di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini is patchy at best. Filippo Neri, a native of Florence, moved his eponymous Congregation of the Oratory there in 1574 while rector, and as such the church hosted lavish performances of oratorios in the papal jubilee years of 1650 and 1675 for which

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[301] Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Musica e musicisti nella Basilica di San Pietro*, Appendix VIII <www.cappellagiulia.org> [accessed 10 February 2021].
[302] Lionnet, 'Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel', p. 8.
[303] Giron-Panel, '*Si eligge Alesandro Scarlatti*, pp. 98–99.
[304] Ibid., p. 101.
[305] Morelli, 'Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Roma', p. 118.
[306] Giron-Panel, '*Si eligge Alesandro Scarlatti*, pp. 106–08, 112.

leading musicians from around Rome were employed.[307] The presence of employed *maestri di cappella* (see above) does not, however, automatically suggest a regular choral establishment; on the contrary, payment records show a regular stream of singers and instrumentalists being engaged on an *ad hoc* basis for major celebrations, even through to the last decades of the seventeenth century.[308]

While there is no evidence to link any of Florido's anthologies to Santo Spirito in Sassia — the largest and wealthiest hospital church in Rome — where he was a canon and singer between 1646 and 1655 before moving to San Giacomo degli Incurabili, it seems extremely unlikely that he would not have tried to arrange for their use there, given the number of his publications which, as mentioned above, were bought for San Giacomo. The music at Santo Spirito was well-funded and attracted musicians of a high calibre: Girolamo Frescobaldi acted as organist on several occasions between 1620 and 1628; Gregorio Allegri was *maestro* from 1628 to 1630, succeeded in turn by Benevoli (1630–38) and Giovanni Antonio Carpani (1638–after 1650). By the middle of the seventeenth century the choir numbered two to three boy trebles and two adult singers on each of the other three parts, and we know from the rubric and tavola of FdS1648 that the composer Nicola Corradi was Florido's colleague in the bass section of the choir at Santo Spirito.[309]

Convents

Some of the harshest words of those charged with enforcing the rulings of the Council of Trent were reserved for conventual music-making; for example, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan between 1595 and 1631, wrote in a book entitled *A Religious Mirror for Nuns* that:

[307] Wessely-Kropik, 'Mitteilungen', p. 45; Rostirolla, 'Presentazione', pp. 9–11.
[308] Wessely-Kropik, 'Mitteilungen', pp. 47–51; Rostirolla, 'Presentazione', pp. 9–11.
[309] O'Regan, '*Cappella fissa — Cappella mobile*', p. 36.

> I have always believed that music is not suitable for any religious, and much less so for nuns. Although it produces good effects in many servants of God, since it compels them to the contemplation of the songs of Heaven, it usually causes great harm in these unhappy times of ours […] Suffice it to say that in so many years of experience with worldly matters, I have found few singers who are devout and fervent of spirit. There are no longer any Davids who sing and play as if drunk with divine love. You sisters in Christ, be assured that God does not demand of you any sweetness of voice, but purity of heart.[310]

However, Borromeo was fighting a losing battle; even in the year of his enthronement as archbishop a fellow Milanese, Paolo Morigia, wrote:

> I will also say that in our city almost all the convents practice music, both the playing of various kinds of musical instruments and singing; and in some Monasteries there are voices so rare that they seem angelic, and like sirens they entice the nobility of Milan to go to hear them.[311]

FdS1650 is dedicated to Guid'Ascania Orsi, a nun at the convent of San Giovanni Battista in Bologna; although Florido acclaims the musical merits of the community, his praise of Orsi makes no specific mention of her musical abilities, and we have no evidence that Orsi herself was musically trained. However, Craig Monson has shown that the nuns of the convent of San Giovanni Battista possessed instruments from as early as 1600; these included trombones and upper strings.[312] San Giovanni Battista was one of numerous Bolognese convents whose inhabitants were extremely proficient in performing and

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[310] 'Hò sempre stimato che non convenga à Religiosi, e molto meno alle Monache, la Musica; la quale se bene in molti servi di Dio fà buoni effetti, poiche gli rapisce alla consideratione de i canti del Cielo; per l'ordinario nondimeno opera di grandi mali in questi nostri infelici tempi […] Basta, che in tanti anni di sperienza delle cose del mondo, io hò trovato pochi cantori divoti, e ferventi di spirito. Non vi sono più i David, che come ebbri d'amor divino cantino, & sonino. Voi sorelle in Christo siate certe, che Iddio non ricerca da voi soavità di voci, ma purità di cuore.' Federico Borromeo, 'La Musica', Chapter XII, *Specchio religioso per le Monache* (Milan: Pietro Martire Locarni, 1609), pp. 123–25 (p. 123).

[311] 'Dirò ancora come in questa nostra Città quasi tutti i Monasteri delle Monache fanno professione di Musica, così del suono di più sorte d'instromenti Musicali, come di cantare, & in alcuni Monasteri ci sono voci tanto rare, che paiono angeliche, & à sembianza di sirene allettano la nobiltà di Milano d'andargli ad udire.' Paolo Morigia, *La nobiltà di Milano* (Milan: Pacifico Pontio, 1595).

[312] Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, p. 51.

composing,[313] and another of its members was the dedicatee of a mid-seventeenth-century collection of motets.

The 1660 *Fiorita corona di melodia celeste* (Milan: Giovanni Francesco e Fratelli Camagni) by Sisto Reina (d. after 1664) survives, unusually, in two versions that are identical save for their dedications: the first, dated 20 September 1660 with Piacenza as its locus, is addressed to Padre Timotteo Schiaffinati, prior of San Girolamo del Castellaccio; the second, dated 20 October 1660 from Milan, is addressed to Sor (Maria) Erminia Catterina Manzoli (*c*.1629–1708), 'Organista Dignissima nel Nobilissimo Monastero di S. Gio. Battista in Bologna', and is followed by two sonnets in praise of Manzoli's musicianship and her singing voice.

FdS1664 is dedicated to the nuns, collectively, of the (now dispersed) convent of Santa Croce in Turin, whose great reputation for music-making Florido praises at length in his dedicatory epistle. However, while the musical activities of nunneries in northern Italy during this period perhaps enjoyed more renown and as such have received proportionally more scholarly attention,[314] there was clearly no shortage of excellent musicians in the convents of Rome. Kimberlyn Montford has detailed how the reforms to conventual music brought about by the Council of Trent were effected in Rome, showing that, despite the seemingly never-ending constraints placed on them, the nuns continued to perform to dazzlingly high levels.[315] One example is worth citing here: the priest and violinist

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[313] 'Music from the Convents of Bologna', *Cappella Artemisia* <https://cappella-artemisia.com/music-from-the-convents-of-bologna/> [accessed 13 February 2025].

[314] See, for example: Christine Getz, *Mary, Music, and Meditation: Sacred Conversations in Post-Tridentine Milan* (Indiana University Press, 2013); Jonathan E. Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters? Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (Oxford University Press, 2017); Kelley Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (University of Chicago Press, 2006); Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford University Press, 1996); Laura Macy, 'Geronimo Cavaglieri, the Song of Songs and Female Spirituality in Federigo Borromeo's Milan', *Early Music*, 39.3 (2011), pp. 349–57; Craig Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy* (University of Chicago Press, 2010); Monson, *Divas in the Convent*; and Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord Within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575–1700* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

[315] Kimberlyn Montford, 'Holy Restraint: Religious Reform and Nuns' Music in Early Modern Rome', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 37.4 (Winter 2006), pp. 1007–26.

The uses of Florido's motet anthologies

Francesco Martini instructed the nuns of the Tor de' Specchi in music between 1605 and 1626, and in the dedication to his 1617 collection *Sacræ laudes de B. Maria Vergine* wrote that his music, 'adapted for the ways of nuns, with maidenly harmony will resound' — suggesting that it was composed with the particular requirements of an entirely-female ensemble in mind.[316]

That contemporary composers and publishers were not only aware of the market for their music within the walls and cloisters of Rome's nunneries but actively catered for it is suggested by many publications; Domenico Massenzio's 1631 collection of motets bears the subtitle 'da potersi cantare si da voci ordinarie come ancora da Monache' ('which can be sung by ordinary voices and also by nuns'); and the motet anthology *Scelta di Motetti de diversi eccellentissimi Autori* compiled by Antonio Poggioli and printed by Lodovico Grignani (RISM B/I 1647[1]) bears on its title-page the rubric 'Da potersi cantare in diverse Feste dell'Anno, si per Monache, come anco per voci ordinarie' ('which can be sung at different feasts of the year, by nuns and also by ordinary voices').

Monson also refers to a later document which suggests that similar musical activity took place in mid-century Rome; in 1662 the nuns of the Corpus Domini convent in Bologna had their request for a new organist turned down, and enlisted the help of one of their richest supporters in entreating the Congregation of Bishops in Rome to have the decision overturned. Sister Vittoria Pepoli wrote that 'I know that in Rome all convents sing and play and I know of no scandal arising there.'[317]

This is backed up by documents discussed by Alessia Lirosi regarding profession ceremonies in Rome during the 1650s and 1660s, which explicitly ban the use of 'trombones

[316] Quoted in translation in Kimberlyn Montford, 'Musical Marketing in the Female Monasteries of Early Modern Rome', in *Patronage, Gender and the Arts in Early Modern Italy: Essays in Honor of Carolyn Valone*, ed. by Katherine A. McIver and Cynthia Stollhans (Italica Press, 2015), pp. 153–76 (p. 166).
[317] Quoted in Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, p. 49.

or other instruments' during the procession of the novices to their convents, lest the event begin to resemble more secular celebrations — perhaps implicitly suggesting that these instruments were acceptable for use within the walls of the cloister.[318] Indeed, Kimberlyn Montford discusses a 1648 account by Cardinal Luigi Capponi of the *vestimento* of two nuns at Santa Chiara in Rome, in which he writes 'Vi è stata una bellissima musica di mottetti, e sinfonie cantati, e sonate dalle medesime monache' ('There was a most beautiful music of motets and symphonies, sung and played by the same nuns').[319]

Other settings

As discussed in Chapter 3, many of the texts set to music in Florido's motet anthologies could, if treated according to a strict interpretation of the papal edicts regarding textual suitability, not have been performed within liturgical settings. If we set aside the (admittedly not small) possibility that these works *were* in fact sung in liturgical celebrations regardless of their prohibition — either because the papal censors did not realise the true nature of the texts in the anthologies[320] or because those sent incognito to listen from the congregation might not have been able to make out all of the words being sung thanks to the reverberant acoustics of Rome's churches — then we must determine alternative contexts.

To return to Jiménez's list cited above, the domestic sphere presents itself as the likeliest of these. As the seat of the Roman Catholic church, which was still at that point in time a

[318] Alessia Lirosi, *I monasteri femminili a Roma tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Viella, 2012), pp. 199–200.
[319] Kimberlyn Montford, 'Female Presentation and Agency in Nuns' Music of Early Modern Rome', in *Early Modern Rome 1341-1667: Proceedings of a Conference held in Rome May 13-15, 2010*, ed. by Portia Prebys (Edisai, [s.d.]), pp. 194–205 (p. 197).
[320] A point made by Daniel Trocmé-Latter in relation to the publication in 1539 by Paul Schöffer der Jünger of a heavily Catholic-tinged motet anthology in staunchly Protestant (at the time) Strasbourg; he points out that in the *tavola* only a very abridged incipit for each work is printed. Daniel Trocmé-Latter, *The Strasbourg* Cantiones *of 1539: Protestant City, Catholic Music* (Boydell, 2023), pp. 54–55.

temporal power (albeit much reduced in scope and influence in that arena from the previous centuries), Rome was also home to many noble families of distinguished pedigree as well as foreign dignitaries of more or less permanent residency in the city. The former were continually jostling for pre-eminence in order to achieve their goal of placing one of their own on the throne of St Peter and spared little expense on displays of culture-centred soft power that celebrated music and the visual arts. The latter group included ambassadors from other territories and Catholic exiles from Protestant countries (most notably the English community centred around the Venerable English College), but also those wealthy drawn to Rome for reasons of faith, such as Queen Christina of Sweden; as well as patronising many of Rome's leading composers, she established weekly salons as a forum for the latest music — both sacred and secular — to be heard. Members of both categories would also have maintained private chapels with a small number of musicians at which motets — especially those with texts of proscribed origin, or that made excessive use of solo voices — would doubtless have been sung. Only a few of the surviving exemplars of Florido's motet anthologies have provable links with such contemporary, 'domestic' owners; for instance, the Biblioteca Casanatense (I-Rc), which today holds copies of FdS1648 and FdS1649, was founded to house the collection of Cardinal Girolamo Casanate.

Other occasions within the arena of the sacred that would have been far enough removed from the official liturgy so as to escape reprimand included such forms of devotion as the Litany of Loreto and the Forty Hours (Quarant'ore) service — both promoted heavily as part of the Counter-Reformation movement — and spiritual concerts organised under the aegis of various of Rome's oratories or confraternities,[321] the importance of the role of music in which groups is well documented.[322] The copies of FdS1649 and FdS1654 now residing in the library of the Filippine oratory in Naples (I-Nf) provide a clear link between such musical activities and Florido's anthologies.

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[321] Roche, *North Italian Church Music*, pp. 43–45.
[322] For a comprehensive survey, see Noel O'Regan, 'Music at Roman Confraternities to 1650. The Current State of Research', in *Musikstadt Rom*, pp. 132–58.

Although related tangentially to conventual music-making, the uses of motets made by religious orders — whether cloistered or not — provide yet another context. Even in those orders whose members were bound to silence, music was still central to their daily routine. Learning to sing polyphony was an important part of seminarians' training, which may explain the presence of a copy of FdS1663 in the seminary library in Lucca (I-Ls); furthermore, the Jesuits in Rome and elsewhere in Europe had motets performed as part of academic thesis defences, and also at the beginning of communal meals, as a means of focusing the minds of all present.[323]

4.2 | Contemporary accounts of motet performances in Rome

The gradual change in the role and decline in published popularity of the *concertato* motet over the course of the seventeenth century — discussed above — is perhaps partly the reason for the paucity of references to its performance by contemporary authors, when compared to other genres. Italian writers tend to focus on grand liturgical celebrations,[324] while accounts by travellers to Rome in this period abound with accounts of oratorios and other forms of sacred drama, as well as the aforementioned large-scale worship;[325] although rarer, detailed descriptions of everyday service music are often revealing, and can suggest avenues for modern-day, practice-led research.

[323] T. Frank Kennedy, 'Jesuit Colleges and Chapels: Motet Function in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', *Archvium Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 55.130 (July–December 1996), pp. 197–213 (pp. 209–10).
[324] Luca Della Libera and José María Domínguez, 'Nuove fonti per la vita musicale romana di fine seicento: il giornale e il diario di Roma del Fondo Bolognetti all'Archivio Segreto Vaticano', in *La musique à Rome au XVIIe siècle: études et perspectives de recherche*, ed. by Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet (École française de Rome, 2012), pp. 121–85.
[325] Noel O'Regan, 'Processions and their music in post-Tridentine Rome', *Recercare*, 4 (1992), pp. 45–80.

The uses of Florido's motet anthologies

Rome and the Italian peninsula attracted visitors from all over the world, but it is in the writings of English travellers that we find the most references to music; this almost certainly stems not from any nationalistically-heightened appreciation of that art-form, but from the fact that it was from the British Isles that the majority of participants in the Grand Tour came — particularly during the period of the Commonwealth, when young English Catholic men of means doubtless found it convenient as well as enlightening to leave England to tour the lands of their co-religionists. As John Stoye has commented, while English connoisseurs were not always uncritical of the visual arts they encountered, they wrote overwhelmingly in admiration of the music they heard.[326]

If John Evelyn's diaries have been too often adduced in historic discussion of music in the churches of Rome, it is only because they provide both more instances and more detail than nearly all other writers in English of the time. Although Evelyn regularly falls into the habit — common to many similar accounts — of simply describing the music he heard in services as 'fine' or 'sweet' or 'rare' without identifying what he heard, the occasions on which he writes at greater length provide valuable evidence of musical practices. For instance, his diary entry for 8 November 1644 reads, in part:

> This evening, I was invited to hear rare music at the Chiesa Nova … This being finished, began their *motettos*, which in a lofty cupola richly painted, were sung by eunuchs, and other rare voices, accompanied by theorbos, harpsichords, and viols, so that we were even ravished with the entertainment of the evening.[327]

This event was not a liturgical one, but rather a devotional one — Evelyn describes how the musical performance was preceded by the delivery by a boy of 'eight or nine years old' of an oration in Italian.

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[326] John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604–1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 151, 152.
[327] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, pp. 106–07.

Evelyn's compatriot Francis Mortoft, about whom little is known, travelled through France and Italy in the late 1650s — this period of absence from his homeland during the Commonwealth suggesting that he was, like Evelyn, at least sympathetic to Catholicism if not actually an adherent to that faith — reaching Rome on 27 December 1658 and spending three months in the city. His journals contain numerous references to music, and it is clear from the care he often takes to praise the music and musicians that, unlike Evelyn, his interests lay much more in that sphere than in architecture and antiquities; in his final diary entry for his time in Rome, dated 25 March 1659, he records that he heard 'heard againe the most sweete and ravishing Musicke, which without doubt is of more power to bring satisfaction to a man's soule than any other thing in the world beside, but here I was forced to give a farwel to all this more than Earthly musicke, in regard of our suddaine departure out of Rome.'[328]

Of particular relevance to this chapter is the journal entry from 2 February 1659, Candlemas. After attending Mass in the Vatican (and managing to receive a candle from the Pope and kiss his feet — 'thereupon wee all went away very well contented'),[329] Mortoft continues:

> In the Afternoone wee went to the Pollinar, where wee heard a Consort of most sweet Musicke, which was so rare and sweet, that it would have Inchanted any man's Eares that heard it. Afterwards, it beginning to be night, wee went to the Chiesa Nova, where there is most incomparable Musicke every Sunday and holy day at Night, with the Organs and 4 Voyces, and wee heard here such sweete Musicke, that man could not think his paines il spent, if he should come two thousand mile, if he were sure to be recompensed with nothing else, but to heare such most melodious voyces.'[330]

It is unsurprising that both Evelyn and Mortoft had numerous pleasurable musical experiences at the same church: Santa Maria in Vallicella, also known as the Chiesa Nuova

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[328] *Francis Mortoft: His Book, Being His Travels Through France and Italy 1658–1659*, ed. by Malcolm Letts (Hakluyt Society, 1925), p. 168.
[329] Ibid., pp. 117–18.
[330] Ibid., pp. 118–19.

(in modern Italian orthography), is the principal church of the Oratorian Fathers, the order founded by St Filippo Neri in 1561 and one of the locations for the creation of the *oratorio volgare* form (that is, with texts in Italian).

The choir at Sant'Apollinare, the church associated with the Jesuit Collegio Germanico, was at this time under the direction of Carissimi (*maestro di cappella* there from 1629 until his death in 1674); the music performed consisted almost solely of his compositions, and as such was renowned Europe-wide. Carissimi's works were so highly prized that the College exercised almost paranoic control over the manuscripts, obtaining a papal bull that prohibited their circulation or publication.

Robert Moody, who together with his master Banastre Maynard visited Sant'Apollinare on Christmas Eve 1660, wrote:

> I persuaded my Maister to go to a church called the Apolinario near the Piazza Navona where I knew there would be rare Musick, and truely I was not deceived, for I think my Maister never heard such voyces before nor after.[331]

Further praise of the music at Sant'Apollinare came from Richard Lassels ('Here the best singers of Rome meet constantly'), who travelled widely in Italy between 1640 and 1670;[332] he also complimented the singing of the 'Nunns of Campo Marzo', the convent of Santa Maria della Concezione in Rome, and in particular that of one Sister Fonseca.[333]

This preponderance of documentary evidence from writings in English should not obscure the fact that travellers from countries other than Britain also recorded their reactions to what they saw and heard.[334] The Dutch scholar and librarian Joannes Kool wrote of meeting

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[331] Quoted in Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 152.
[332] Richard Lassels, *The voyage of Italy, or, A compleat journey through Italy …* (Paris: Vincent du Moutier, 1670), 242.
[333] Ibid., p. 248.
[334] Ludwig Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Schroll, 1959), pp. 249–51.

several Roman composers and obtaining copies of their music during his stay in the city in 1698 and 1699;[335] of more chronological relevance is the account by the French viola da gamba virtuoso André Maugars, who spent time in Italy between 1637 and 1639, writing up his experiences in an often rhapsodic 'letter' to an imagined fellow-enthusiast for all things Italian. On one occasion Maugars noted during the celebration of the feast of St Dominic at Santa Maria sopra Minerva (one of the church's patronal festivals, it being a Dominican establishment) that:

> There are two large, raised organs on both sides of the main altar, where were placed two choirs. Along the nave there were eight other choirs, four on one side and four on the other, lifted up on scaffolding eight or nine feet high … Each choir had its own portative organ.[336]

Reports contained in newspapers and *avvisi* (usually handwritten newsletters) are often valuable sources for information regarding contemporary musical occurrences. However, as noted above, their authors tend — understandably — to focus on larger-scale liturgical events or public/civic worship; and so while their reports provide useful context to the current discussion, they make little mention of everyday service music.

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[335] Koen Scholten and Asker Pelgrom, 'Scholarly Identity and Memory on a Grand Tour: the Travels of Joannes Kool and his Travel Journal (1698-1699) to Italy', *Lias*, 46.1 (2019), pp. 93–136 (pp. 94, 136).

[336] 'il y a deux grands Orgues élevez des deux costez du maistre Autel, où l'on avoit mis deux chœurs de musique. Le long de la nef il y avoit huit autres chœurs, quatre d'un costé et quatre de l'autre, élevez sur des eschaffaux de huit à neuf pieds de haut … A chaque chœur il y avoit un Orgue portatif.' André Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie, éscrite à Rome le 1er octobre 1639*; edited in E. Thoinan, *Maugars célèbre joueur de viole … sa biographie suivie de sa response* (A. Claudin, 1865), p. 27.

Chapter 5 | Performance practice and notation

This chapter focuses on matters relating to performance practice in the music of Florido's motet anthologies and seventeenth-century Italian sacred music more widely, with an examination of certain aspects of the notation used in the anthologies.

5.1 | Pitch

By the time of Florido's anthologies, performing pitch in Rome was acknowledged as one of the lowest in the Italian peninsula, following a gradual lowering of Roman pitch from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards.[337] This is attested to by records of the retuning of the organs in the churches of San Luigi dei Francesi (by a semitone, to the new 'tono choristo') and San Lorenzo in Damaso in 1617 (by an unrecorded interval), the cathedral of Orte (a city in the Papal States around forty miles from Rome) in 1721 (its sixteenth-century organ being lowered by a whole tone), and the Cappella Gregoriana in St Peter's Basilica in Rome in 1751 (again a lowering of a sixteenth-century organ by a whole tone, this time in order to match the pitch of the Cappella Giulia, which was recorded in as late as 1885 as being around A=384Hz).[338] Barbieri also cites examples of eighteenth-century annotations on scores of earlier works that indicate their authors' awareness that there had been a descent of the pitch standard over time.[339]

The practical implications of this low pitch standard for modern-day performers will be discussed further in 'Voice-types and vocal ranges', below.

[337] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'* (Scarecrow Press, 2002), p. 70.
[338] Barbieri, '"Chiavette" and modal transposition', pp. 53–54.
[339] Ibid., pp. 55–56.

5.2 | Clefs and transposition

The vast majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century polyphonic vocal music published in the Italian peninsula was notated using one of two combinations of clefs: pieces that employed *chiavi naturali* ('natural clefs', which were Cantus parts in 'soprano' C1, Altus parts in 'alto' C3, Tenor parts in 'tenor' C4, and Bassus parts in 'bass' F4 clefs) were usually performed at their notated pitch, while those that used *chiavi acute* or *chiavi trasportate* ('high clefs' or 'transposed clefs', most commonly Cantus parts in 'treble' G2, Altus parts in 'mezzo-soprano' C2, Tenor parts in 'alto' C3, and Bassus parts in 'baritone' F3 or occasionally 'tenor' C4 clefs) were generally held to require downwards transposition.[340] The term *chiavette* ('little clefs') has long entered common musicological parlance as a description of any combination of such clefs; however, as it was first coined in 1718 — one hundred and seventy-five years after the earliest mention of 'high' clefs, in Chapter 22 of Silvestro Ganassi's *Lettione seconda* (Venice: [s.n.], 1543) — its use will be avoided here.

Ganassi and others of the earliest writers to discuss the use of high clefs stated that they indicated that a piece should be transposed down by a perfect fifth in all cases; in the early decades of the seventeenth century the convention that the transposition implied by high clefs was intended to be by a fourth when a B♭ is present in the key signature and by a fifth when absent was espoused by writers including Banchieri in 1601 ('It is necessary with those pieces in a G clef to note whether they are with a B♮ or with a B♭; if they are with a B♮ they must in this case be taken a fifth lower … But when the G clef appears with a B♭, at the start of the piece one must take the voices a fourth lower')[341] and Silverio Picerli in 1631

[340] The principal other combination of clefs used during this period, *in contrabasso* — Cantus in 'mezzo-soprano' C2, Altus in 'tenor' C4, Tenor in 'baritone' F3, and Bassus in 'contrabasso' F5 clefs, thus implying an upwards transposition — featured little in music of the Italian peninsula, and only rarely after the middle of the sixteenth century. Patrizio Barbieri, 'Chiavette', *Grove Music Online* (2001), doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05567.

[341] 'gli Canti per la Chiave di G sol re ut bisogna avertire se sono per b Quadro, overo per b molle, quando i detti sono per b quadro le Voci in tal caso si pigliano una Quinta bassa … Quando poi la Chiave di G sol re ut

('When the composition uses a B♮ … it is to be transposed, mentally or in writing, down a fourth or fifth … with a B♭ it is to be transposed down a fourth').[342]

Michael Praetorius, writing a few years later than Banchieri, echoed his precepts but also allowed for a smaller transposition interval in pieces notated with a natural key signature that were composed in certain modes:

> One finds, however, that several modes, such as Mixolydian, Aeolian, and Hypoionian, if they are transposed down a fifth, make a languid and drab sound on account of the lower tessitura. For this reason it is far better, and the singing will be much fresher and more delightful to hear, when these modes are transposed a fourth, *ex duro in durum* ['from sharp to sharp', i.e. from a system with B natural to one with F sharp].[343]

The question of an appropriate transposition interval formed one strand of the long-running musicological debate regarding performance practice in Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610 between Roger Bowers on the one side and Andrew Parrott and Jeffrey Kurtzman on the other, which took place in the pages of many issues of *Early Music*.[344] Essentially, Parrott

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sarà per b molle, all'hora in principio del Canto pigliorassi le voci una quarta bassa'. Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella, overo Regole utilissime a quelli che desiderano imparare il canto figurato* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1601), pp. 22–23.

[342] 'quando la compositione si canta per b quadro … la compositione si trasporta mentalmente, ò in scritto, una quarta, ò una quinta sotto … si trasporta una quarta sotto, quando si canta col b molle'. *Specchio secondo di musica* (Naples: Matteo Nucci, 1631), p. 192.

[343] 'So befindet sich doch daß in etlichen Modis, als in *Mixolydio*, *Aelio* und *Hypojonico*, wenn sie *per quintam transponiret*, eine *languidior & pigrior harmonia propter graviores sonos generiret* werde: Darumb es dann ungleich besser und wird auch der Gesang viel frischer und anmuthiger zuhören wenn diese *Modi per quartam ex duro in durum transponiret* warden.' Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici … Tomus Tertius* (Wittenberg: Johann Richter / Wolffenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), pp. 80–81; translation from *Syntagma musicum III*, trans. and ed. by Jeffery T. Kite-Powell (Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 93; parenthesis by the author.

[344] Andrew Parrott, 'Transposition in Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610: An "Aberration" Defended', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), pp. 490–516; Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'An Aberration Amplified', *Early Music*, 13 (1985), pp. 73–76; Roger Bowers, 'An Aberration Reviewed: The Reconciliation of Inconsistent Clef-Systems in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), pp. 527–38; Andrew Parrott, 'Onwards and Downwards', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), pp. 303–17; Roger Bowers, '"The High and Lowe Keys Come Both to One Pitch": Reconciling Inconsistent Clef-Systems in Monteverdi's Vocal Music for Mantua', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), pp. 531–45; Andrew Parrott, 'High Clefs and Down-to-Earth Transposition: A Brief Defence of Monteverdi', *Early Music*, 40 (2012), pp. 81–85.

suggested that the Lauda Jerusalem and Magnificat a 7 should, on account of their use of high clefs, be transposed downwards by a fourth — a claim backed up by Kurtzman; however, Bowers suggested a downwards transposition of only a tone to be more appropriate, as it brings the transposed vocal ranges of those two movements closer to those untransposed vocal ranges in other movements of the Vespers.

High clefs in seventeenth-century Rome

The treatment in Seicento Rome and its environs of high clefs is, on the whole, simpler to discern. Giambattista Doni, writing in Rome in 1640, labels the clefs employed as *chiavi naturali* as 'commune' (that is, in common use), and adds three more to extend their range: 'soprano acutissimo' with a G1 clef (which he claims is 'used effectively only by some trebles and castrati'); 'soprano acuto' with a G2 clef; and 'basso profondo' with an F5 clef.[345] Doni's is, as Parrott notes, one of the latest theoretical sources to discuss the relationship between these clefs and transpositions thereby implied, and so must necessarily have been looking back towards early-seventeenth-century practice; however, before Florido's anthologies the most substantial body of Roman repertoire with multiple instances of high clefs indicating downwards transpositions is Giovanni Felice Anerio's 1613 collection *Antiphonæ, seu sacræ cantiones*, which contains thirty-seven high-clef pieces, each of which bears a rubric specifying a transposition interval of either a fourth or a fifth.[346]

Patrizio Barbieri has noted that in Rome the interval by which pieces notated in high clefs are to be transposed downwards gradually decreases over the course of the seventeenth century: from as early as 1614 there appear pieces written in high clefs with no flat in the key signature — thereby, by Banchieri's precepts, implying a downward transposition of a

[345] Giambattista Doni, *Annotazioni sopra il compendio de' generi, e de' modi della musica* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1640), p. 154.
[346] Parrott, 'Onwards and Downwards', p. 306.

fifth — which specify instead transposition by a fourth. Furthermore, from around 1620 only transpositions *alla quarta* are found in pieces with no flat in the key signature, with indications *alla terza* also appearing from around 1660 and becoming the norm from around the beginning of the seventeenth century.[347] This gradual shrinking of the interval of transposition is most likely a direct corollary of the gradual descent of Roman pitch discussed above.

The works Barbieri cites that specify a downwards transposition of a fourth are by Felice Anerio (published between 1614 and 1626), Francesco Martini (1617), Silvestro Durante (1643), Angelo Berardi (*c*.1673), Domenico dal Pane (1675), Francesco Foggia (1681), and Alessandro Ponteggi (1683); those that are marked *alla terza* include works by Berardi (1675 and 1689 — this latter a printed transposition, a third lower, of a work originally in high clefs), as well as two seventeenth-century manuscript collections of offertories by Palestrina, in which certain added organ *basso continuo* parts are marked *alla terza*.

High clefs in Florido's motet anthologies

Thirty-seven motets in Florido's anthologies have vocal parts notated using a combination of clefs other than *chiavi naturali* (see Table 5.1).

FdS	Title	Composer	Voices	Key	Clefs
1643.05	Salvum me fac	Domenico Massenzio (1586–1657)	BB	natural	F3, F3 (voices) F3 (basso continuo)
1643.07	Congregati sunt	Stefano Fabri (*c*.1606–1657)	CCB	natural	G2, G2, F3 F3
1643.10	Florete flores	Francesco Foggia (1603–88)	CCT	natural	G2, G2, C3 C3
1643.13	Memor sit Dominus	Gino Angelo Capponi (1601–88)	CCB	natural	G2, G2, F3 F3

[347] Barbieri, '"Chiavette" and modal transposition', pp. 52–53. This would seem to tally with another of Doni's remark in 1640 that pieces notated in 'chiavi basse' (that is, low, or 'natural' clefs) are 'sung as they are [i.e. untransposed] in Rome and in Italy' ('si canta à Roma, & nel resto d'Italia, come stà'). Doni, *Annotazioni*, p. 250.

1643.22	O Iesu, cordis mei	Paolo Agostini (*c*.1583–1629)	CATB	1 flat	G2, C2, C3, C4 C4
1643.25	Salve Regina	Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597–1646)	CCATB	natural	G2, G2, C2, C3, C4 C4
1645.02	Benedicam Dominum	Silvestro Durante (d. 1672)	CB	natural	G2, C4 C4
1645.03	Congratulamini mihi	Antonio Maria Abbatini (1595–1679)	CC	natural	G2, G2 F3
1645.07	O admirabile mysterium	Antonio Maria Abbatini (1595–1679)	CC	natural	G2, G2 C4
1645.22	Intenderunt arcum	Carlo Cecchelli (1612–67)	CATB	natural	G2, C2, C3, C4 C4
1645.27	Iesu Clemens	Francesco Foggia (1603–88)	CCAT	natural	G2, G2, C2, C3 C4
1647.04	Veni columba mea	Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597–1646)	CB	natural	G2, C4 C4
1647.09	Gaudent in cælis	Carlo Cecchelli (1612–67)	CCB	natural	G2, G2, C4 C4
1647.11	Liberasti nos, Domine	Giovanni Antonio Carpani (*fl*. 1638–60)	CCB	1 flat	G2, G2, C4 C4
1647.19	Spargite flores	Vincenzo Giovannoni (*fl*. 1626–62)	CATB	natural	G2, C2, C3, C4 C4
1648.03	Adest nobis cælorum	Carlo Cecchelli (1612–67)	ATB	natural	C2, C3, C4 C4
1648.07	Prævaluerunt in nos	Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74)	ATB	natural	C2, C3, C4 C4
1649.05	Beata es, Virgo Maria	Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597–1646)	CTB	natural	G2, C3, C4 C4
1649.07	Cognoscam te	Orazio Benevoli (1605–72)	CCB	natural	G2, G2, F3 F3
1650.06	Congregatæ sunt	Silvestro Durante (d. 1672)	ATB	natural	C2, C3, C4 C4
1650.08	Deus vitam meam	Gino Angelo Capponi (1601–88)	ATB	natural	C2, C3, C4 C4
1650.09	Exultate iusti in Domino	Girolamo Santucci (*fl*. 1643–50)	ATB	natural	C2, C3, C4 C4
1650.12	Surge Aquilo	Francesco Margarini (*fl*. 1623–56)	CCB	natural	G2, G2, F3 F3
1650.13	Agite o plantas	Vincenzo Giovannoni (*fl*. 1626–62)	CATB	1 flat	G2, C2, C3, F3 F3
1650.15	Venite omnes gentes	Paolo Tarditi (*c*.1580–1661)	CATB	natural	G2, C2, C3, F3 F3
1650.16	Anima nostra quare	Florido de Silvestris (1596–after 1674)	CATB	natural	G2, C2, C3, C4 C4
1651.07	Insurrexerunt in nos	Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74)	ATB	natural	C2, C3, C4 C4
1652.09	O pretiosum et admirabile	Francesco Foggia (1603–88)	CCB	natural	G2, G2, C4 C4
1654.06	O quam felix	Giovanni Bonetti (*fl*. 1654)	CBar / AT	natural	G2, C4 C4

1655.05	Omnes sancti	Carlo Cecchelli (1612–67)	ATB	natural	C2, C3, C4 C4
1655.08	Peccavi Domine	Giovanni Antonio Carpani (*fl*. 1638–60)	ATB / CAB	natural / 1 sharp	C2, C3/C1, F3 F3
1663.02	Domine Deus meus	Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74)	C	1 flat	G2 F4
1664.11	O sacramentum pietatis	Giovanni Antonio Carpani (*fl*. 1638–60)	ATB / CAT	1 flat	C2, C3, F3/C1 F3
1668.03	Caro mea vere est	Giuseppe Corsi (1630–90)	CAT	natural	G2, C2, C3 C4
1668.11	Congregati sunt	Federico Mangiarotti (*fl*. 1664–68)	ATB	natural	C2, C3, C4 C4
1672.09	Paratur nobis mensa	Vincenzo de Grandis (1631–1708)	AA / CC	natural / 1 flat	C1/C3, C1/C3 C4/F4
1672.12	Gaudeant per orbem	Silvestro Durante (d. 1672)	CC	natural	G2, G2 F4

Table 5.1 Motets from Florido's anthologies notated in high clefs.

These represent 15.9% of the motets in Florido's anthologies; however, there is a clear overall decline in the number and proportion of works notated using *chiavette* in each individual collection over the thirty-year chronological span:

FdS1643: 6 out of 25 motets = 24%

FdS1645: 5/27 = 18.5%

FdS1647: 4/25 = 16%

FdS1648: 2/16 = 12.5%

FdS1649: 2/16 = 12.5%

FdS1650: 7/16 = 43.8%

FdS1651: 6/16[348] *= 37.5%*

FdS1652: 3/16[349] *= 18.8%*

FdS1654: 1/15 = 6.7%

FdS1655: 2/15 = 13.3%

FdS1659: 0/12

FdS1663: 1/10 = 10%

[348] Only one of the six high-clef pieces in FdS1651 did not appear in Florido's preceding anthologies.
[349] Only one of the three high-clef pieces in FdS1652 did not appear in Florido's preceding anthologies.

FdS1664: 1/16 = 6.3%

FdS1668: 2/16 = 12.5%

FdS1672: 1/17 = 5.9%

This overall decrease over time also seems likely to be a corollary of the gradual lowering of Roman pitch described above, as downwards transposition would have become increasingly unnecessary as the local pitch standard sank.

All the high-clef motets in Florido's anthologies conform to the most typical pattern of *chiavi acute* as mentioned above (Cantus in 'treble' G2, Altus in 'mezzo-soprano' C2, Tenor in 'alto' C3, and Bassus in 'baritone' F3 or occasionally 'tenor' C4 clefs) with the exception of FdS1663.02, which has the Cantus part in 'treble' G2 clef but the Organum part in 'bass' F4 clef. However, I suggest that this 'mixed-use' example, combining as it does a 'high' clef for the solo vocal part and a 'standard' clef for the Organum, should not be considered a true instance of high clefs; the range of the vocal part is C4–C6, with a preponderance of notes from F5 upwards being used — these, if notated using a 'soprano' C1 clef, would have required the use of ledger lines. In other words, it seems likely that the choice of clef has been influenced by vocal range — in this case, a range far wider than those envisaged by Vicentino and other theorists of his time — with the aim of reducing the number of ledger lines required. By means of comparison, Carissimi's cantata 'Tu m'hai preso a consumare' also 'mixes' a treble G2 clef for the voice with an ordinary bass F4 clef for the continuo line.

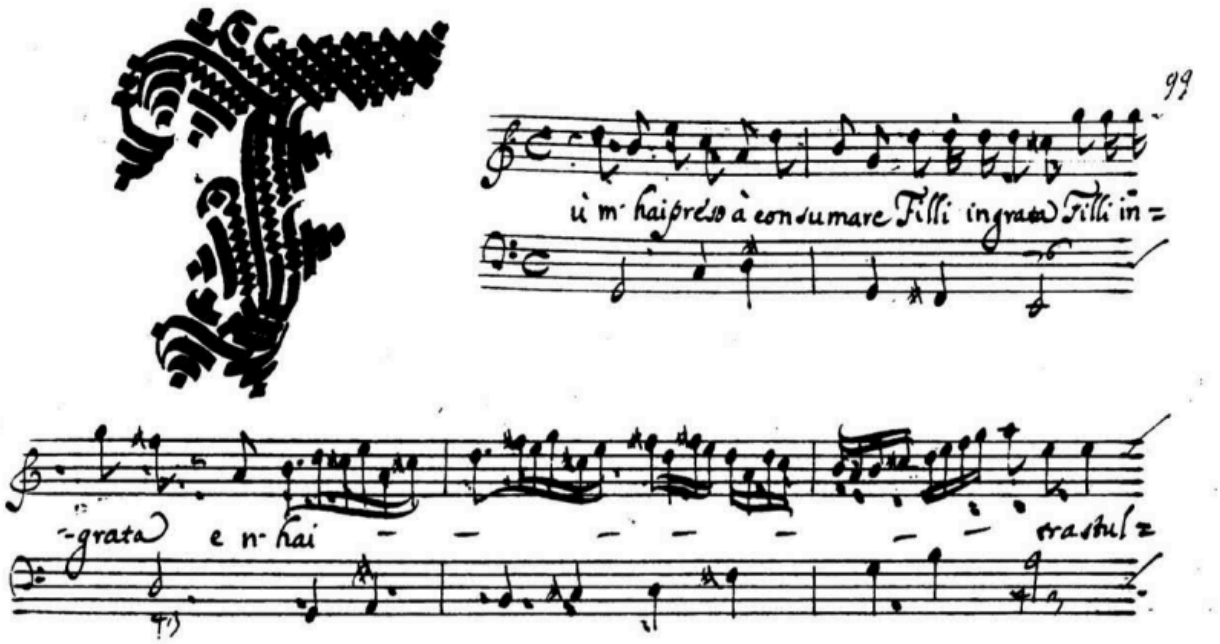


Figure 5.1 The opening of Carissimi's cantata 'Tu m'hai preso a consumare', showing the 'mixed' use of 'treble' G2 clef for the vocal part and 'bass' F4 clef for the continuo part.

(That FdS1663.02 is the only one of the twenty-six solo motets in Florido's anthologies — namely, the entirety of the 1659 and 1663 collections, and the first four items of the 1664 collection — to employ a 'non-standard' clef in any part seems very much to be an exception to a more general trend: for example, across the sixteen volumes of solo soprano motets by Gratiani printed between 1652 and 1684, all one hundred and ninety-seven pieces are notated with the vocal part in C1 and the continuo part in F4.)

Of the thirty-seven high clefs motets detailed in Table 5.1, only nine specify a transposition interval. This might suggest that contemporary performers would, in the absence of any instruction, tacitly have understood what the notation was requiring of them; on the other hand, as suggested by Barbieri, 'when the transposition was not indicated, as was most often the case, uncertainty between the choir and organ cannot have been an infrequent occurrence'.[350]

[350] Barbieri, '"Chiavette" and modal transposition', p. 56.

These nine motets can be categorised into those that specify one or more intervals of transposition and the resultant voicings, and those that specify an interval of transposition but do not suggest any new voicing that might arise as a result.

<u>Motets with a specified transposition interval and a reference to the resultant voicing</u>

Four motets in Florido's anthologies notated in high clefs bear a rubric that suggests an interval of transposition for one or more of the parts in order to achieve a 'new' voicing:

1) The Bassus ad Organum part (C4 clef) of Giovanni Bonetti's 'O quam felix est' (FdS1654.06), printed for Canto (G2 clef) and Baritono (C4 clef), is additionally marked 'Alla 4. bassa. ò come stà Ten. & Alto'.

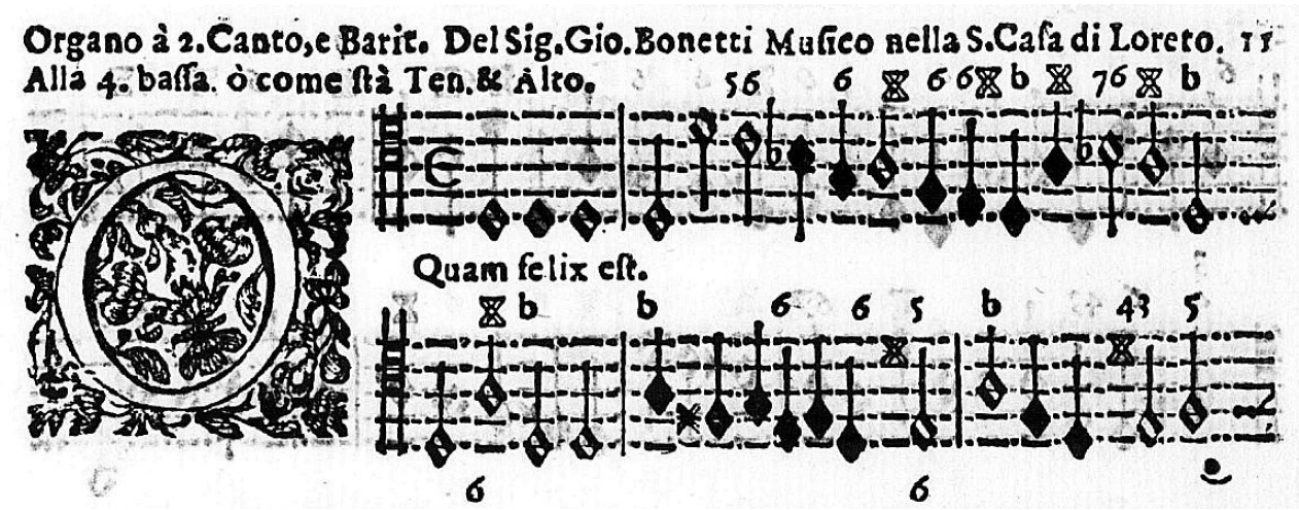
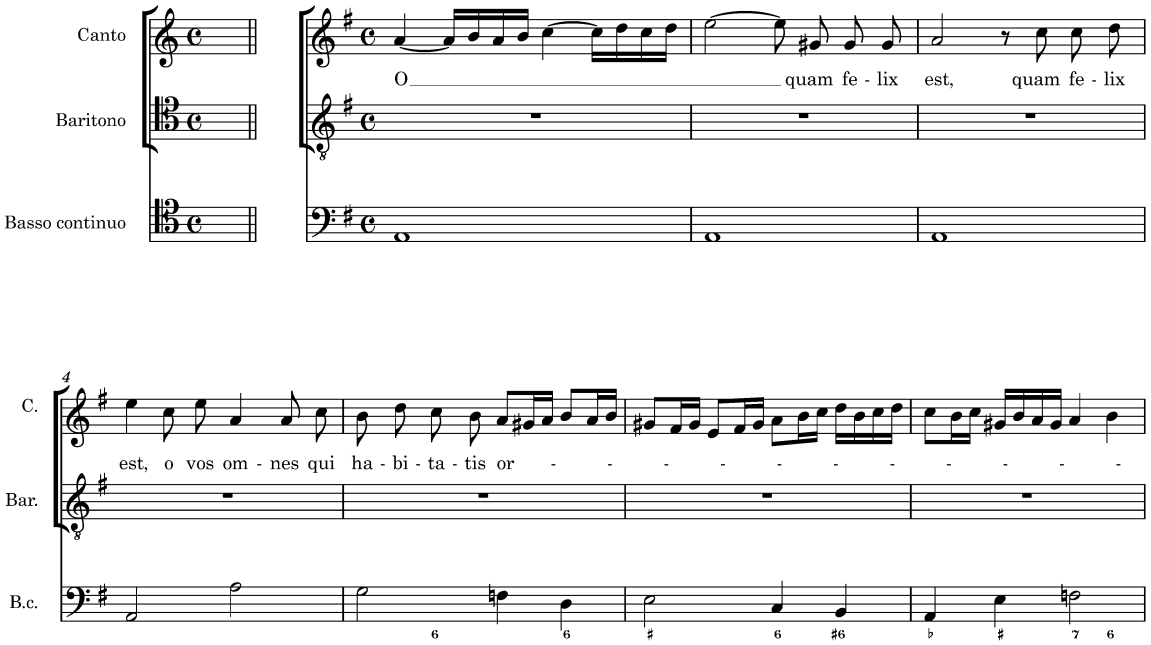
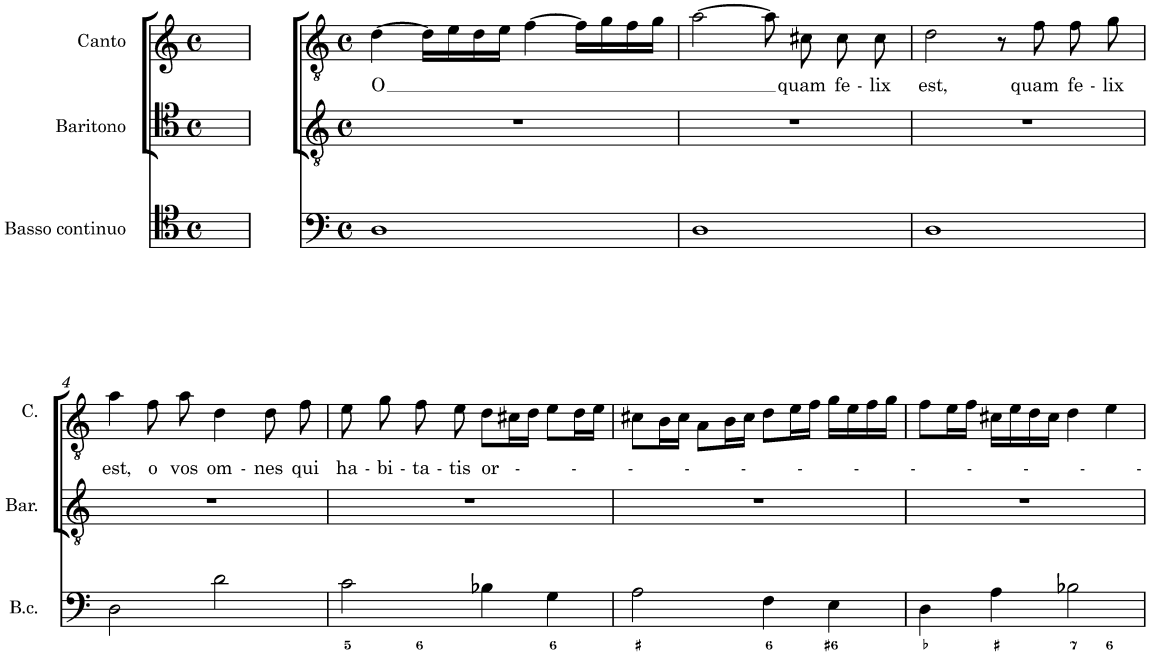


Figure 5.2 The Bassus ad Organum part of Giovanni Bonetti's motet 'O quam felix' (FdS1654.06). (Image courtesy of F-Pn.)

In other words, it can be performed by soprano and bass by transposing all parts a fourth lower:



Alternatively, it can be performed by alto and tenor without transposition (although the rubric omits to state that this combination would require the Canto part to be sung one octave lower to suit an alto voice; I have indicated this by means of a transposing treble clef on the upper stave in the following transcription):



The vocal parts do not bear any indication of the possibility of transposition, and all three parts bear only one clef.

2) In Giovanni Antonio Carpani's 'Peccavi Domine' (FdS1655.08), printed for Alto, Tenor, and Basso, the Tenor part is marked 'TENOR, vel CANTUS' ('Tenor or Cantus') and all staves of the music carry both a C3 clef (with no key signature) and, to its left, a C1 clef (with a single sharp). The Organum part bears only an F3 clef and the marking 'Alla 4'; the Altus and Bassus parts each bear only a single clef (C2 and F3, respectively) and neither has any indication of transposition.

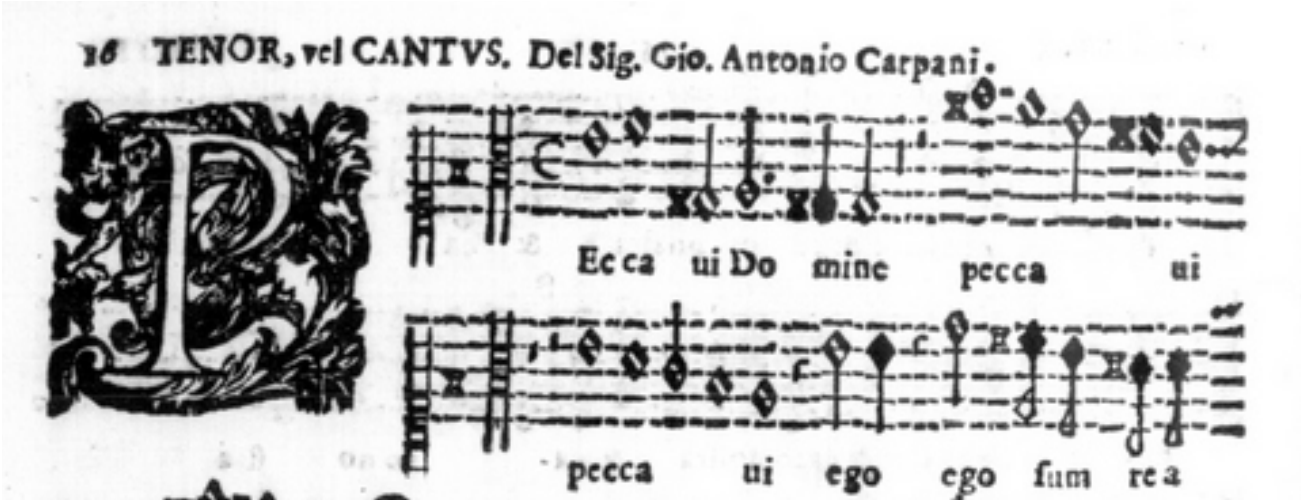
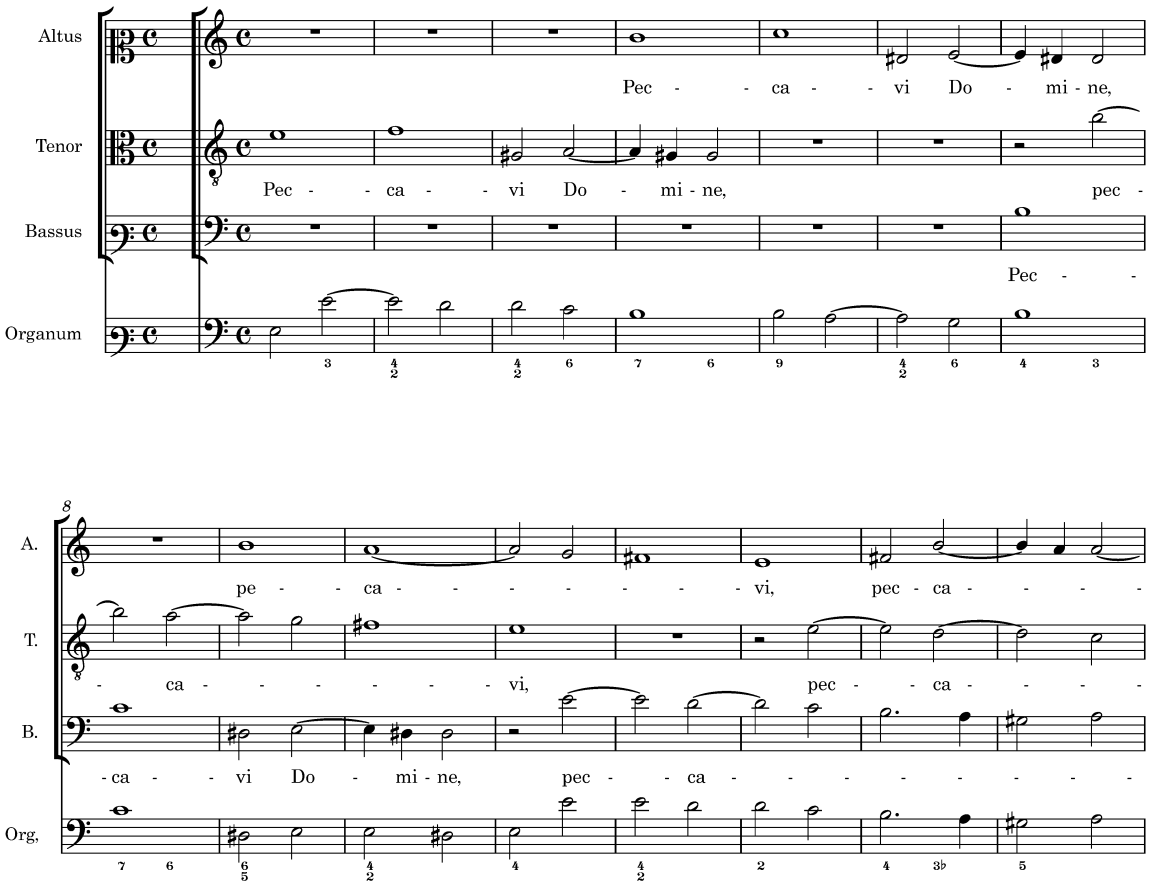
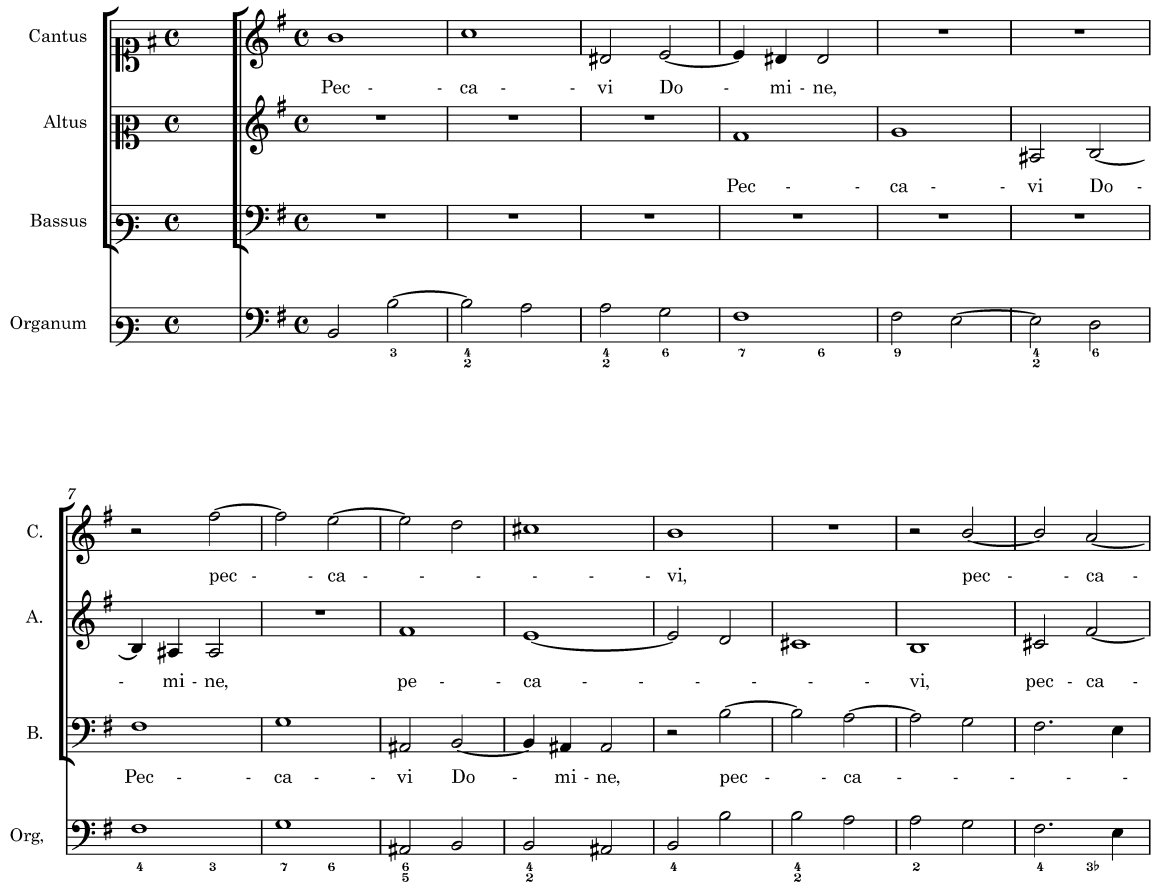


Figure 5.3 The Tenor part of Giovanni Antonio Carpani's motet 'Peccavi Domine' (FdS1655.08). (Image courtesy of I-Bc.)

Combining these observations would seem to suggest that the motet may be performed by alto, tenor, and bass as printed (with the tenor reading the Tenor part using the C3 clef):



Or it may be performed by soprano, alto, and bass, by having the soprano read the Tenor part using the C1 clef and the key signature of one sharp — that is, a fifth higher — and the alto, bass, and organist read their parts a fourth lower:



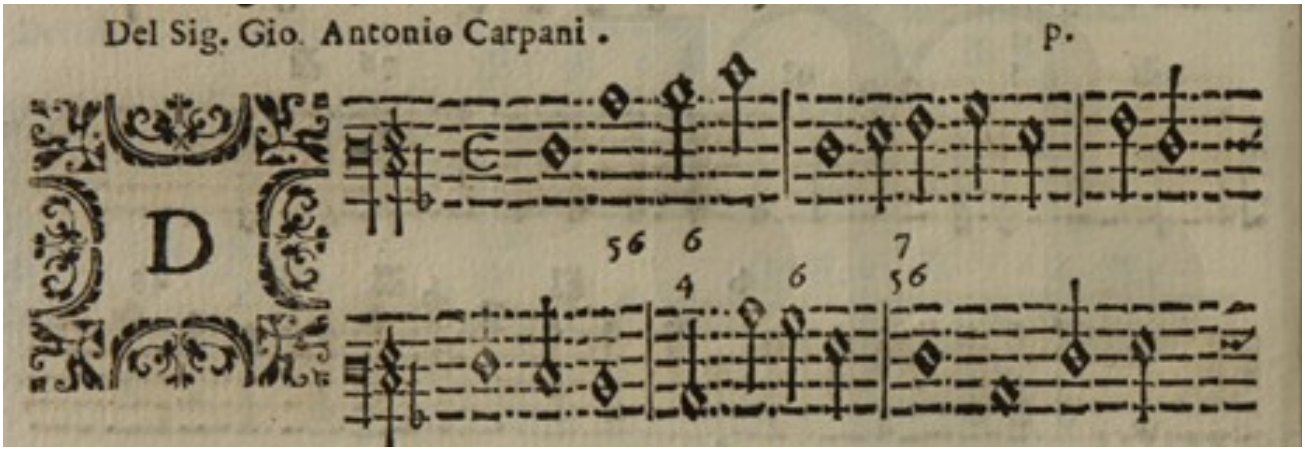
(Both versions are presented in full in Volume Two.)[351]

The presence of two clefs in the Tenor part, while the Organum part has only one, may be there as an aid to transposition; this may suggest that the singer(s) for whom Carpani was writing may have been less adroit, a conjecture that is backed up by entries in the records of Santo Spirito in Sassia — where Carpani was *maestro di cappella* from 1638 to at least 1642 — listing payments to Carpani for instructing choirboys ('cantorini') in music and singing.[352] This echoes the comment made by Francesco Turini in the preface to his 1629 collection of eighteen motets for solo voice, in which he states that he has provided versions of each motet in two different clefs because:

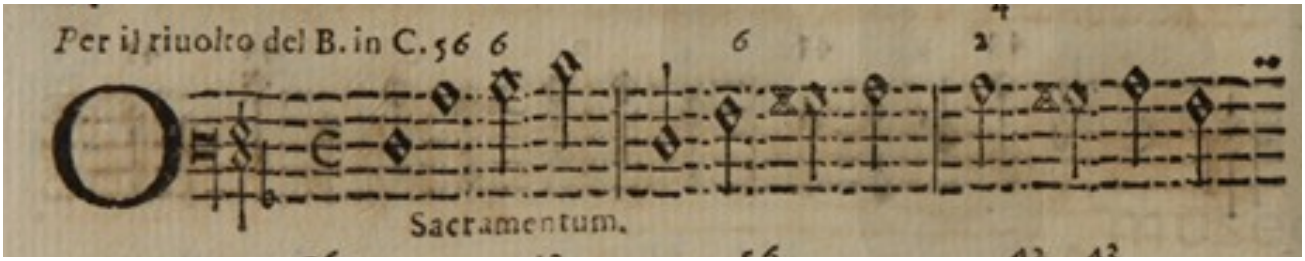
[351] Critical Editions included in Volume Two; see page 379 and 387.
[352] Antonio Allegra, 'La cappella musicale di S. Spirito in Saxia di Roma: appunti storici (1551–1737)', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, 17 (1940), pp. 26–38 (p. 33).

> children who sing do not know how to read any clef very well other than the soprano they have just learned, and the contralto as I have done [in this volume] that is not at all dissimilar from the former except in its B flat. Therefore, this method is more convenient and easier for both singers and organists than any other that I have carefully studied and examined, since it has been my main aim to present something that everyone can learn from.[353]

3) In Carpani's 'O sacramentum pietatis' (FdS1664.11), printed for Alto, Tenor, and Basso, the Organum partbook has two different parts for the motet, printed successively, both with an F3 clef (with a single flat), the second of which is additionally marked 'La medesima. Per il rivolto del B. in C. alla Duodecima' ('the same work, when the Basso part is changed into a Canto by transposing it by a twelfth'); the (single) Basso part carries both F3 clef (with a single flat) and C1 clef (with no key signature) without any accompanying remark; the Alto and Tenor parts each bear only one clef and also have no accompanying remark. (Although 'Per il rivolto del B. in C. alla Duodecima' is printed in the tavola of each of the partbooks for the anthology.)



[353] 'Seconda, perche i figliuoli, che cantano, non sanna per il più molto ben leggere altra Chiaue, che quella del Soprano de loro frescamente imparata, & quelle del Contr'Alto, che io hò fatte, non sono punto dissimili da essa fuori che quella per b, quadro solo dal mezo in giù. Sì che, e per gli Cantori, e per gli Organisti questo modo si rende, e più commodo, e più facile d'ogn'altro da me con ogni diligente studio essaminato, sendo stato il mio fin principale di far cosa, che ogn'uno se ne possa preualere.' Francesco Turini, 'L'Autore a gli Studiosi, e benigni Lettori', *Motetti a voce sola … Libro Primo* (Brescia: Giovanni Battista Bozzola, 1629).



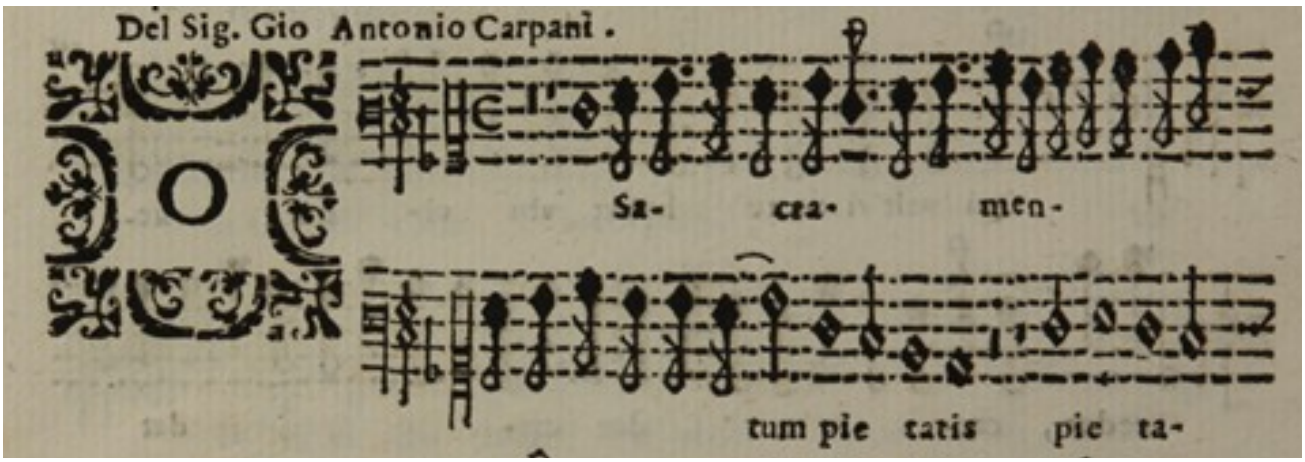
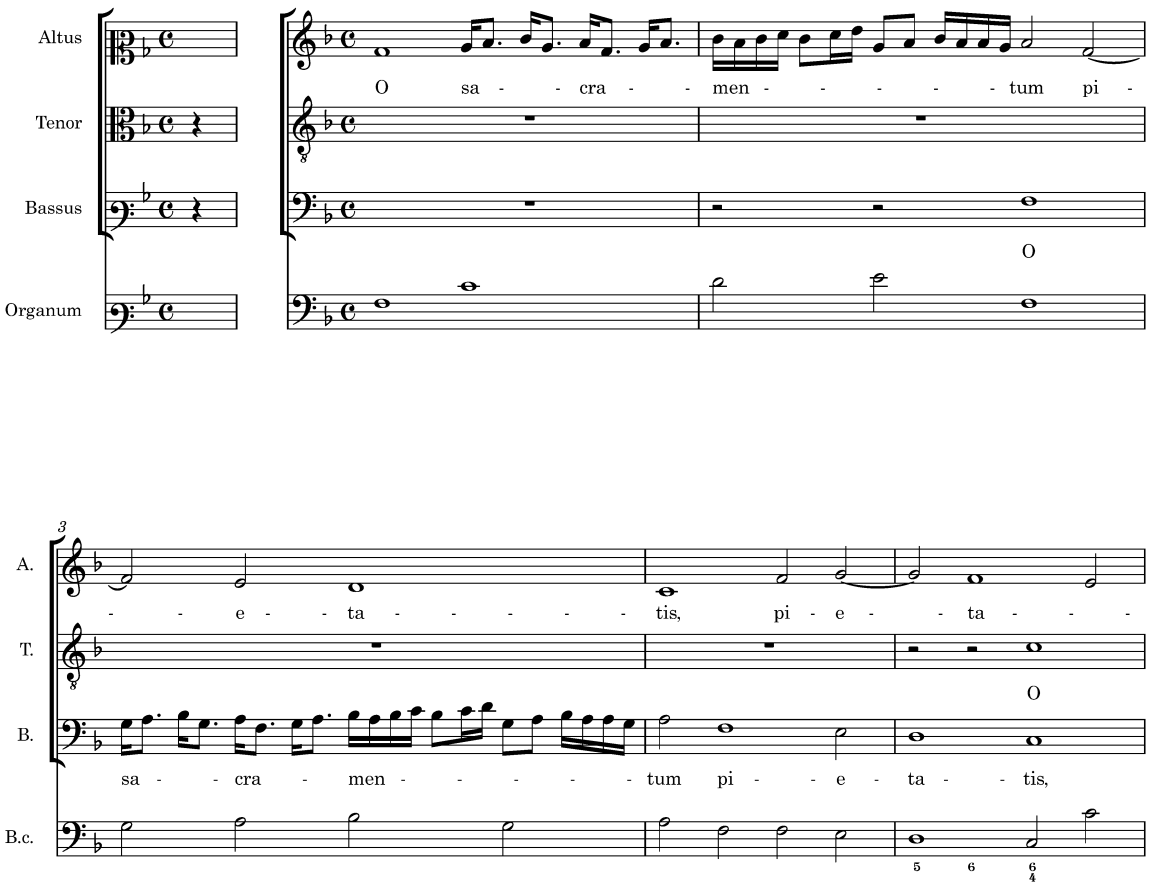
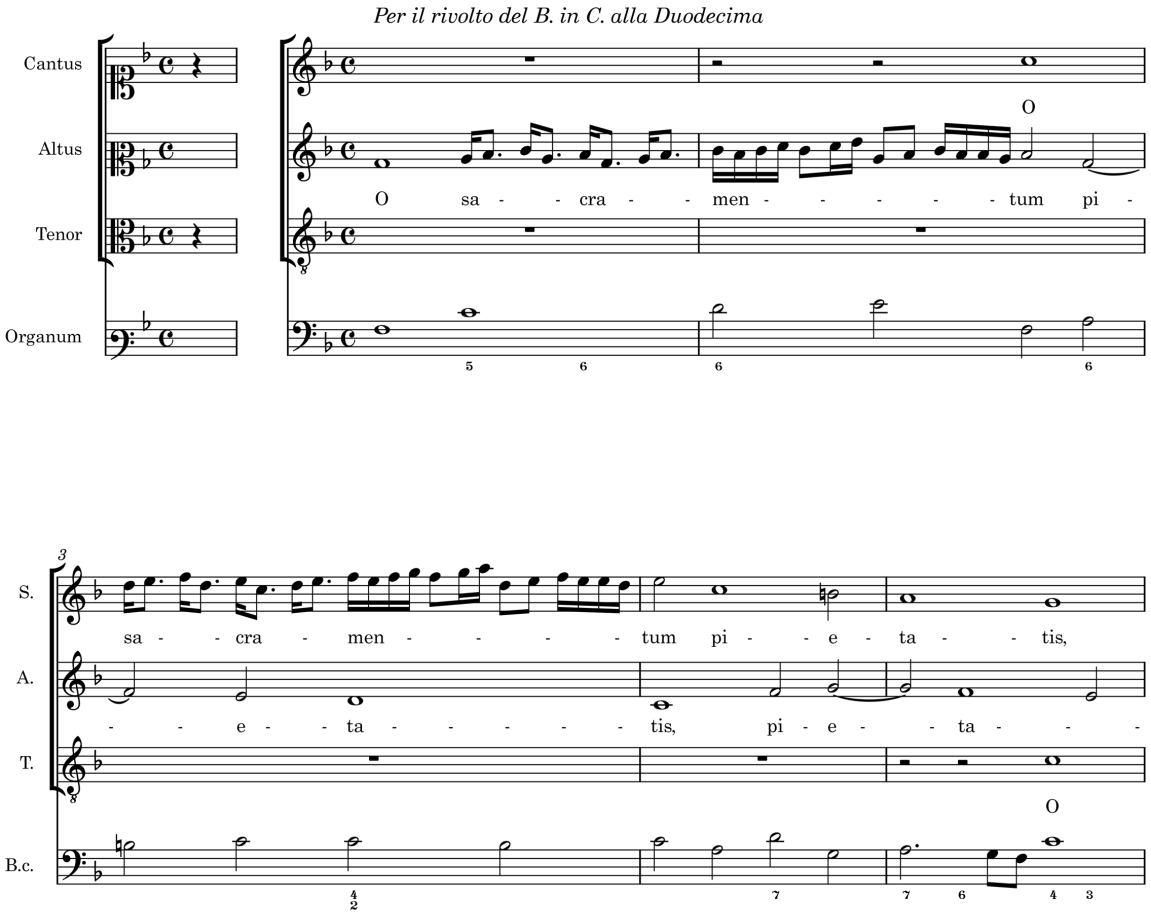


Figure 5.4 The two Organum parts and the Basso part of Giovanni Antonio Carpani's motet 'O sacramentum pietatis' (FdS1664.11). (Images courtesy of I-Bc.)
(In the first figure, the typesetter has erroneously repeated the initial 'D' from the previous motet in the Organum partbook, Giuseppe Tricarico's 'Deus, quis similis erit'.) (Images courtesy of I-Bc.)

Thus, the intention appears to be that the motet can be performed as printed, by alto, tenor, and bass with the first Organum part:



Or by soprano, alto, and tenor by having the soprano read the Basso part a twelfth higher using the C1 clef, accompanied by the second Organum part:



(The earlier remark regarding the transposition abilities of Carpani's singers vis-à-vis the presence of two clefs in the Basso part holds true here, too.)

However, the supplied additional C1 clef in the Basso part is incorrect, as it indicates an upwards transposition of only a ninth; to achieve upwards transposition by a twelfth would instead require the use of a C3 clef, which then should be sung an octave higher.

4) Each of the Alto parts in Vincenzo de Grandis's 'Paratur nobis mensa' (FdS1672.09) is printed with C1 (with no key signature) and C3 (with a single flat) clefs, while the Organo part has C4 (with no key signature) and F4 (with one flat) clefs and also bears the rubric 'Si può cantare ancora à 2. Soprani, sonando la chiave di Tenore come stà.'.

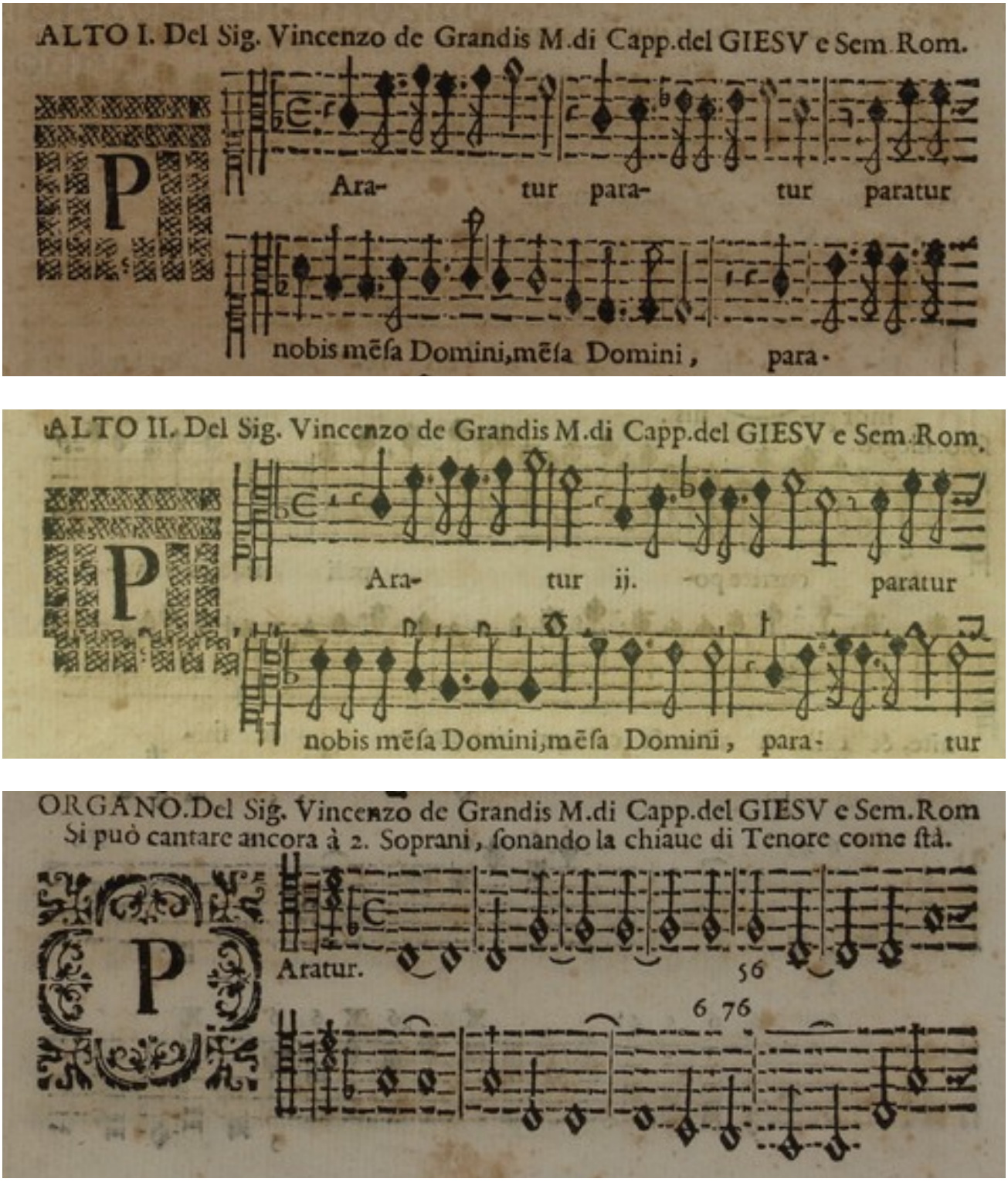
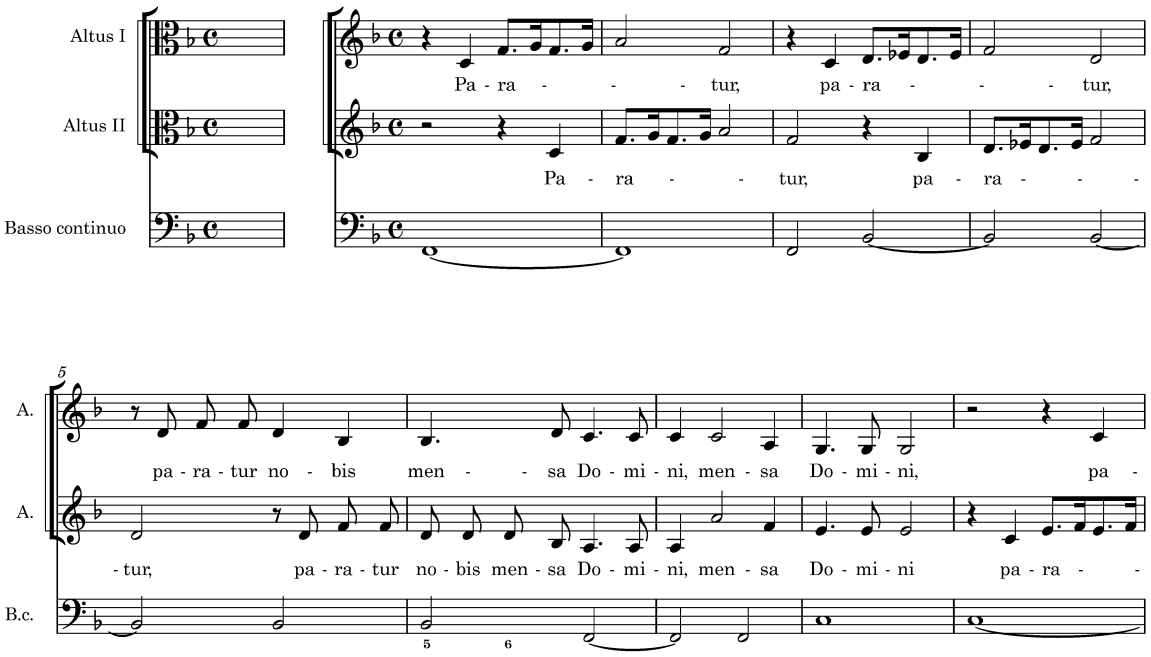
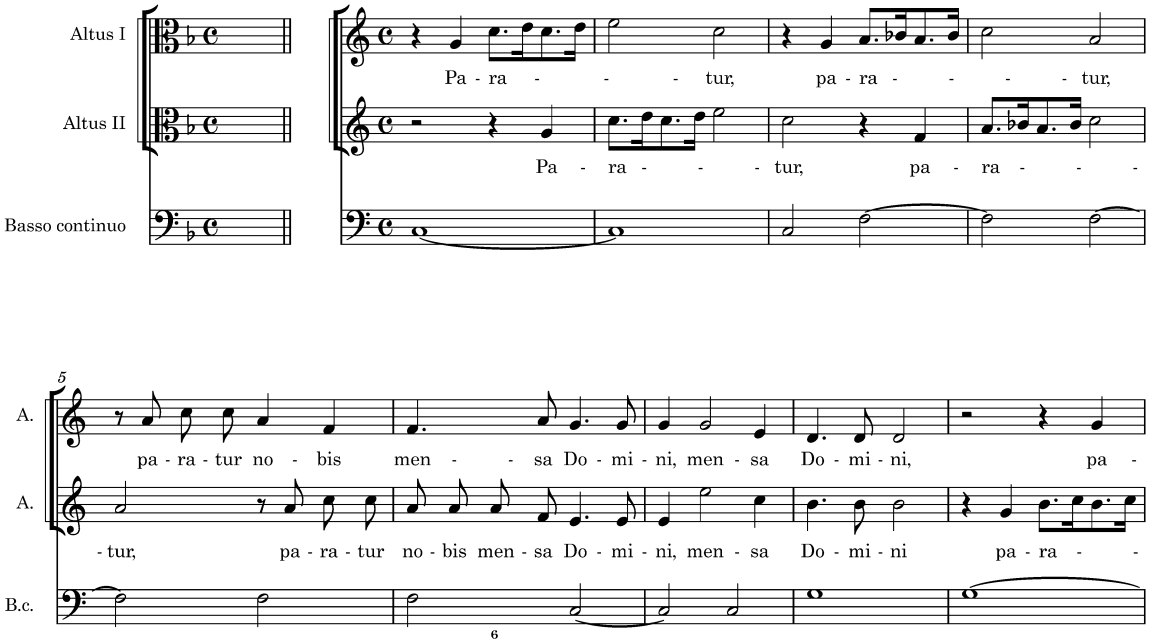


Figure 5.5 The two Altus parts and Organo part of Vincenzo de Grandis's motet 'Paratur nobis mensa' (FdS1672.09). (Images courtesy of I-Bc.)

In other words, the piece can also be performed as printed by two alto voices (reading the Organo part with the F4 clef):



Or a perfect fifth higher with by two soprano voices (reading the Organo part with the C4 clef, presumably also an octave higher to reduce the distance between the vocal and continuo parts):



One further example needs considering alongside the above four, even though its parts are notated using *chiavi naturali* rather than high clefs. The Bassus ad Organum part of

Performance practice and notation

Florido's own 'Florete flores' (FdS1643.20) bears the indication 'A 3. Basso, e due Caoti [sic]. Di D. Florido. / Alto, e due Canti cantando il Basso all 8. Alta, / Tenore, e due Alti Sonando alla 4. Alta' (see Figure 5.6, below). The vocal parts for this motet do not have any indication as to these possibilities, merely stating 'A 3. Basso, e due Canti'. All four parts of FdS1643.20 bear only one clef.

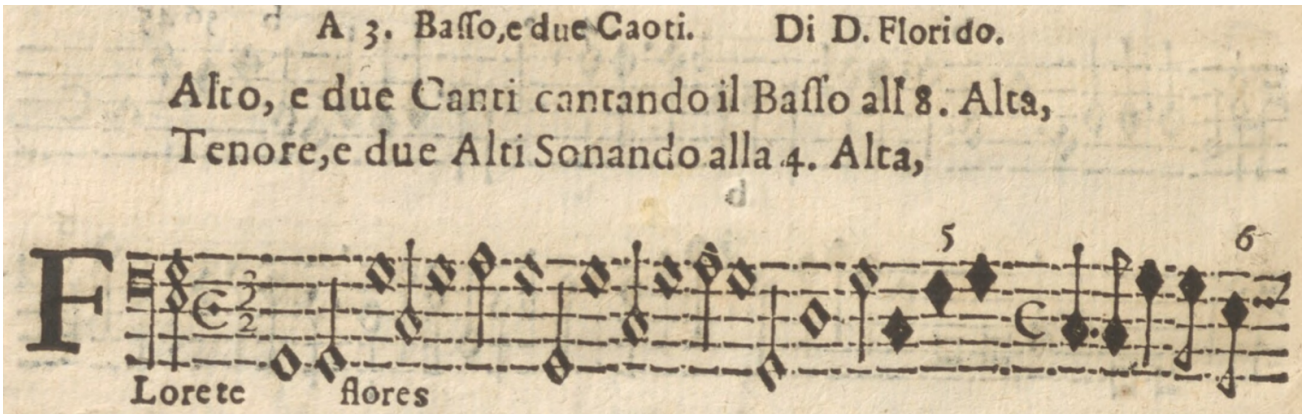
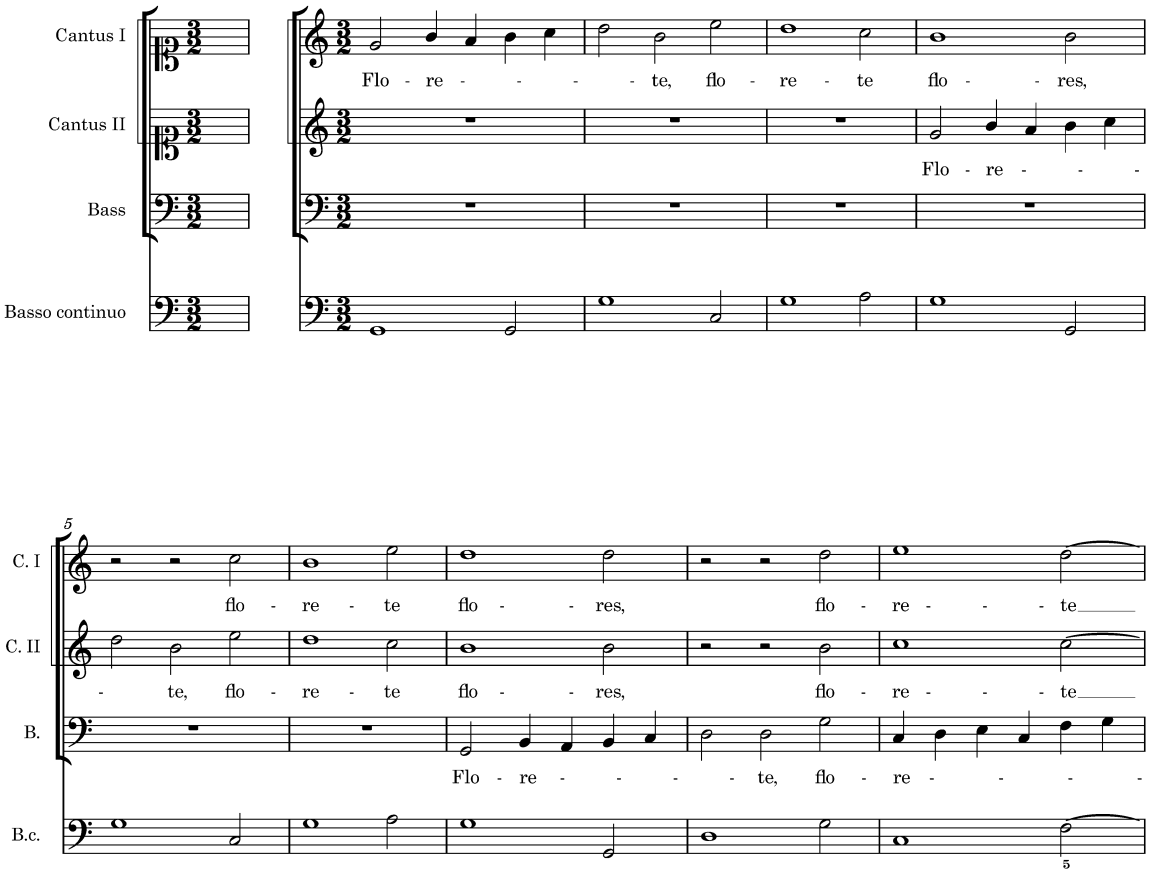


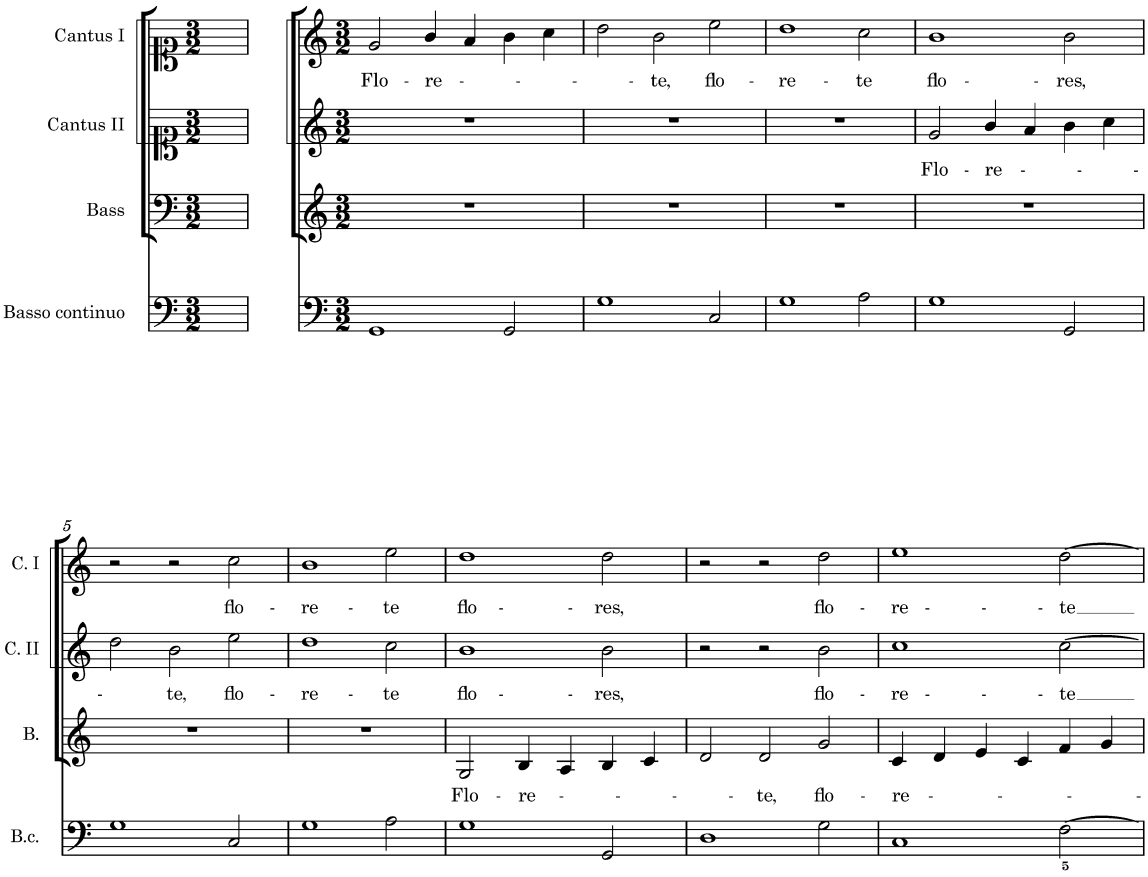
Figure 5.6 The Bassus ad Organum part of Florido's motet 'Florete flores' (FdS1643.20). (Image courtesy of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)

In other words, the motet can be performed:

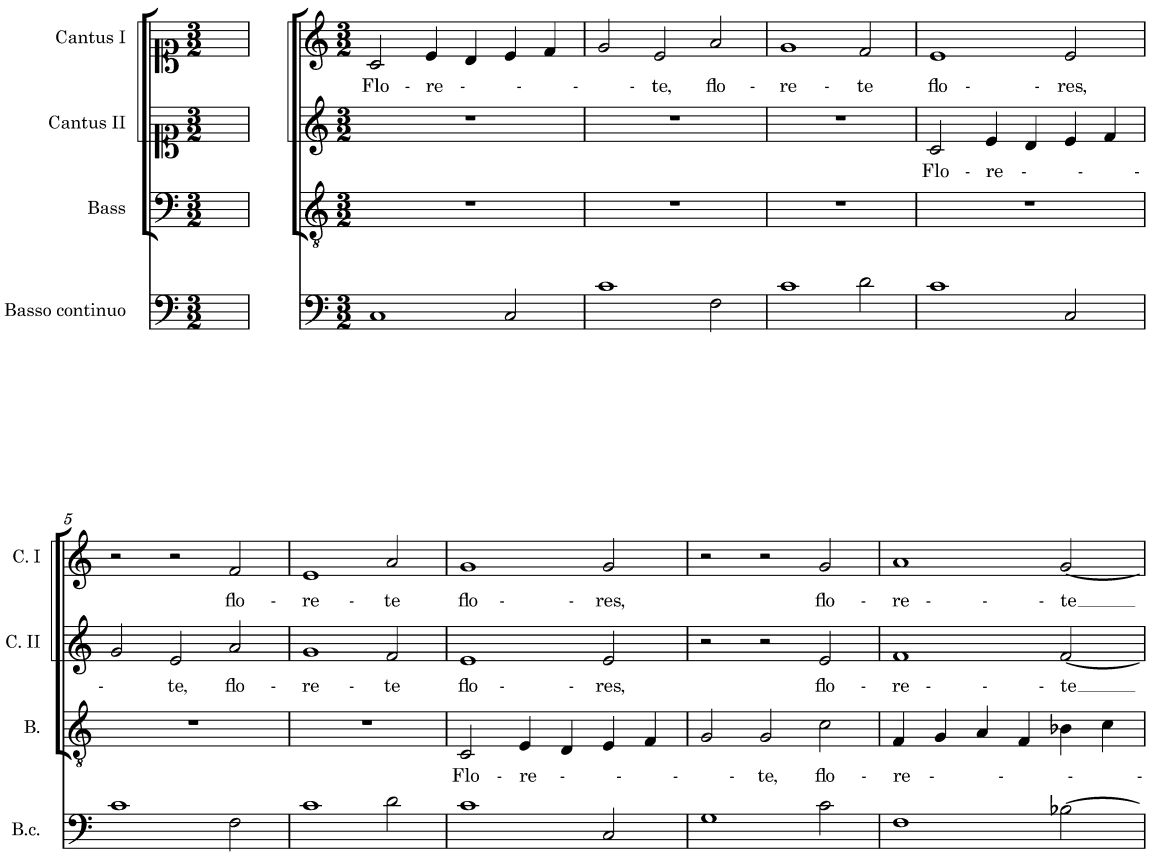
- by two sopranos and a bass with all parts as printed;



- by two sopranos and an alto by transposing the Bassus part up an octave;



- or by two altos and a tenor by transposing all parts up by a fourth (thus requiring the Cantus parts to be read as if bearing a C3 clef, read down an octave, rather than a C1 clef, and the Bassus part to be read as if bearing a C1 clef, again down an octave, rather than a F4 clef — further proof, if any were needed, as to how easy a facility for such transposition early modern musicians must have been trained to have):



One other motet from Florido's anthologies has a rubric that mentions transposition and voicing, but in a manner different from the preceding five examples. FdS1672 as a publication comprises two vocal partbooks and one basso continuo partbook, yet Carpani's 'In capite libri' (FdS1672.10) is marked as being for three voices.

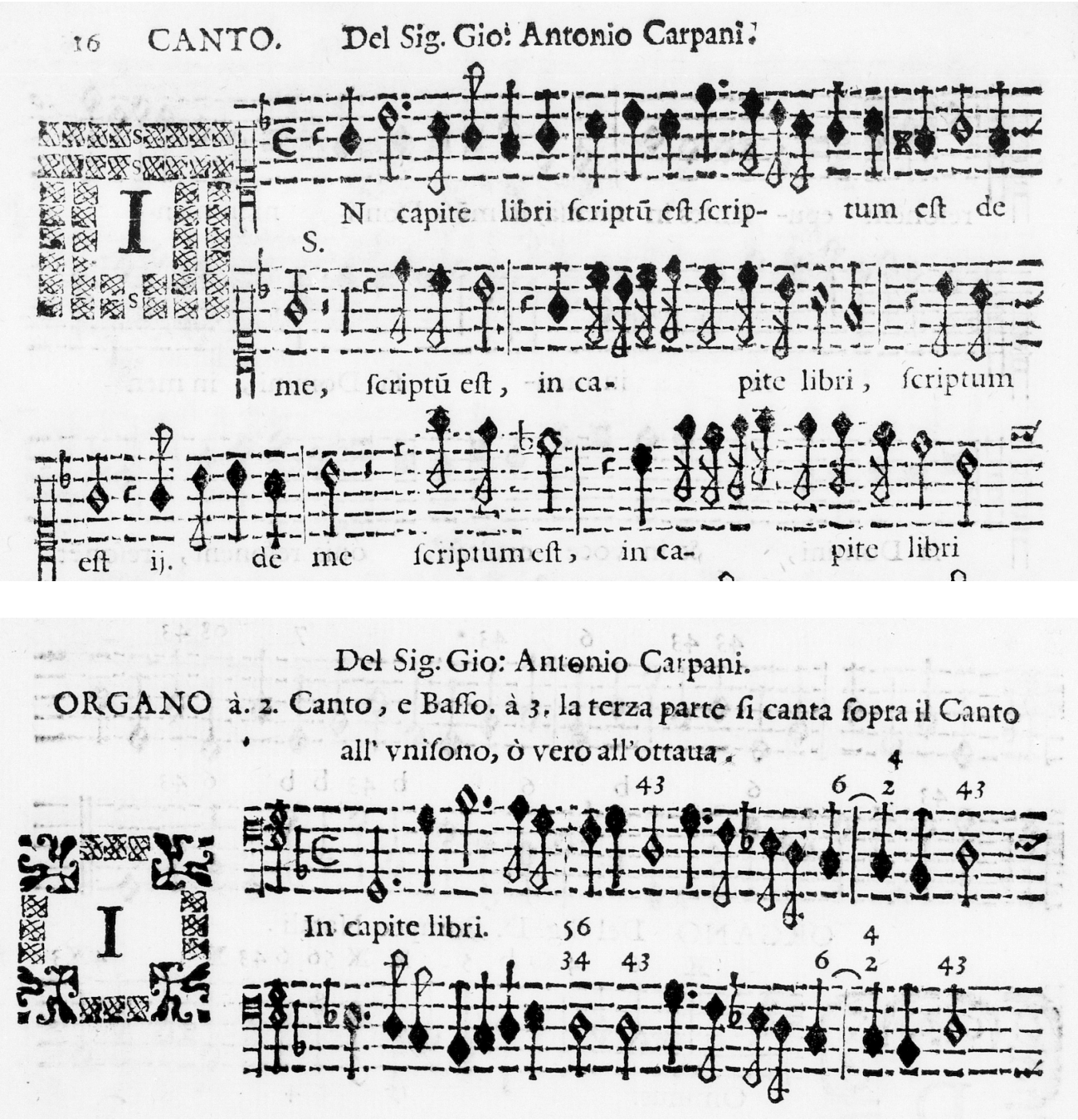


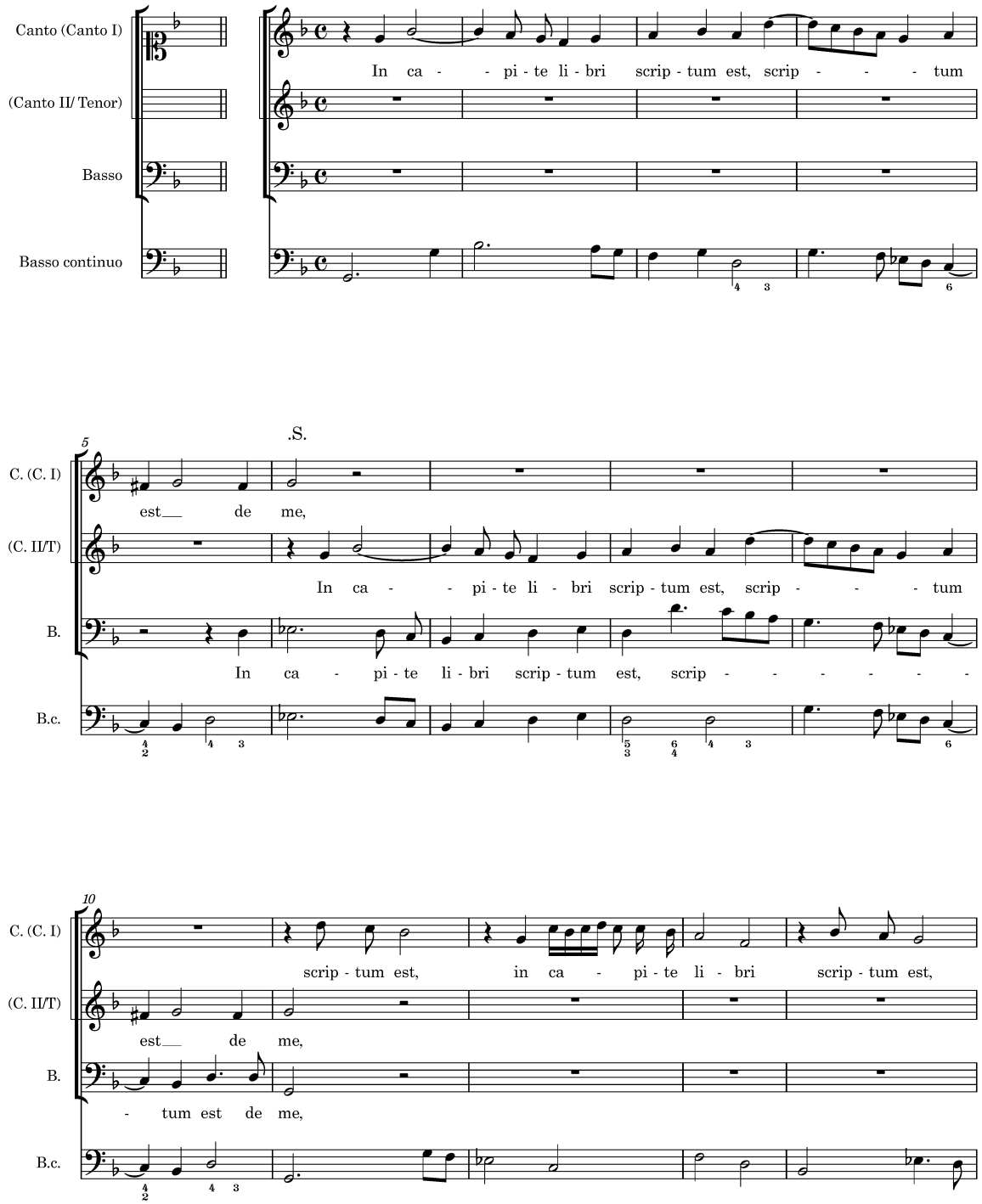
Figure 5.7 The Canto and Organo parts for Carpani's 'In capite libri' (FdS1672.10). (Images courtesy of GB-Lwa.)

(This motet is included in full in Volume Two.)[354]

The Organo part has the rubric 'à 2. Canto, e Basso. la terza parte si canta sopra il Canto all'unisono, ò vero all'ottava', and a look at the parts shows that as well as the printed Canto and Basso parts, an additional Canto part can be derived by strict canon from the

[354] Critical Edition included in Volume Two; see page 373.

first, starting at the 'S.' marked at the beginning of the second system of the part (and requiring it to stop when the first Canto reaches the end of its part). This derived part can also be sung an octave lower by a tenor.



Performance practice and notation

That each of these six examples explicitly lists at least one other possible voicing than that for which each is notated suggests that their composers (or possibly Florido-as-compiler) were intentionally making their works as versatile as possible so that they could be used by different combinations of voices, rather than trying to solve any problems brought about by a pitch standard too high for comfortable singing.

The practice of indicating alternative voicings that could be achieved by means of transposition was also commonplace from the beginning of the seventeenth century, as attested to by examples by composers including Tiburtio Massaino (1607), Arcangelo Crotti (1608), Biagio Tomasi (1611), Giovanni Battista Riccio (1612), Giovanni Nicolò Mezzogorri (1613), and Alessandro Grandi (1613, 1614, 1617, and 1618); examples of two clefs being printed in one or more parts appear in the works of Orazio Scaletta (1605), Giovanni Paolo Cima (1610), and Pompeo Natali (1662). Natali's publication contains several pieces with two clefs, a fifth apart, and also provides untransposed and transposed versions of the continuo part for those pieces notated in *chiavette*, 'for the convenience of the organist' ('per commodità dell'Organista').[355]

Turini goes one step even further: he explains in the preface to the aforementioned 1629 collection that he has provided two versions of each piece, printed one after the other—the first (notated with the vocal part in 'alto' C3 and the continuo part in 'baritone' F3 clefs) that may be sung by 'Alto al suo loco. Canto alla Quinta Alta, & Tenore alla Quarta Bassa' ('altos as printed, sopranos a fifth higher, and tenors a fourth lower'), and the second for basses (notated with vocal part and continuo either both in 'bass' F4 clef or in 'tenor' C4 clef).[356]

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[355] *Madrigali e canzoni spirituali e morali a due et a tre voci, la maggior parte delle quali sono a tre voci pari* (Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1662).

[356] Uwe Wolf, *Notation und Aufführungspraxis: Studien zum Wandel von Notenschrift und Notenbild in italienischen Musikdrucken der Jahre 1571–1630*, 2 vols. (Merseburger, 1992), I, pp. 277–78.

Motets with a specified transposition interval without reference to voicing

Francesco Foggia's 'Florete flores' (FdS1643.10), Virgilio Mazzocchi's 'Veni columba mea' (FdS1647.04), Carissimi's 'Prævaluerunt in nos' (FdS1648.04),[357] and Florido's 'Anima nostra quare' (FdS1650.16) each has a natural key signature but are marked *Alla quarta bassa*, *Alla 4.*, *alla 4.*, and *alla quarta*, respectively, in their Organum parts (see Figures 5.7–5.10). In other words, they specify a smaller downwards transposition than a strict reading of Banchieri's (albeit by then decades-old) rules would mandate, which suggests that the composers felt that this needed to be specified.

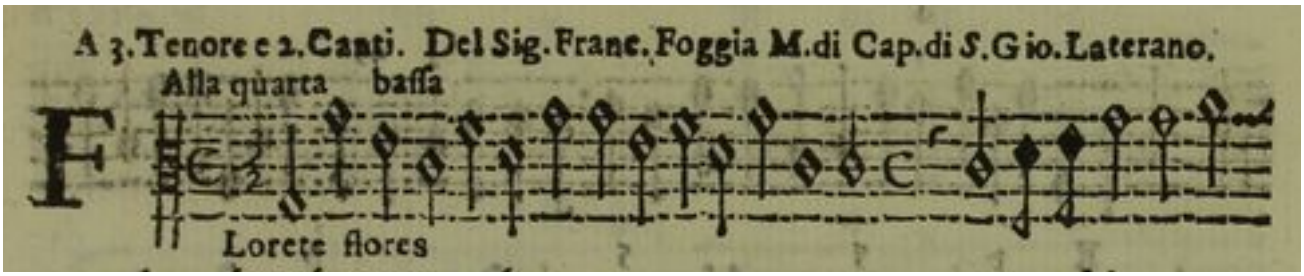

Figure 5.8 The opening of the Organum part of Francesco Foggia's 'Florete flores' (FdS1643.10). (Image courtesy of I-Bc.)

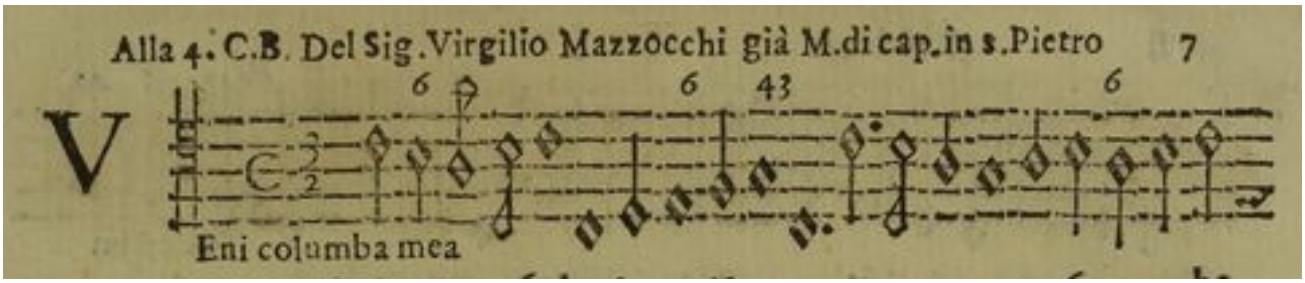

Figure 5.9 The opening of the Organum part of Virgilio Mazzocchi's 'Veni columba mea' (FdS1647.04). (Image courtesy of I-Bc.)

[357] There is the curiosity that while Carissimi's 'Prævaluerunt in nos' (FdS1648.07) and 'Insurrexerunt in nos' (FdS1651.07) differ in only their texts and — as seen in Table 5.1 — are notated in the same combination of clefs, the former is marked *alla 4.* while the latter bears no indication as to transposition.

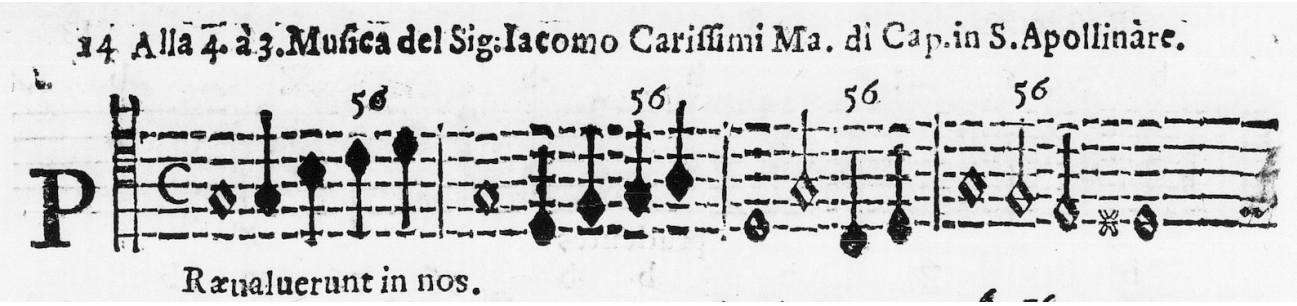

Figure 5.10 The opening of the Organum part of Giacomo Carissimi's 'Prævaluerunt in nos' (FdS1648.04). (Image courtesy of GB-Lwa.)

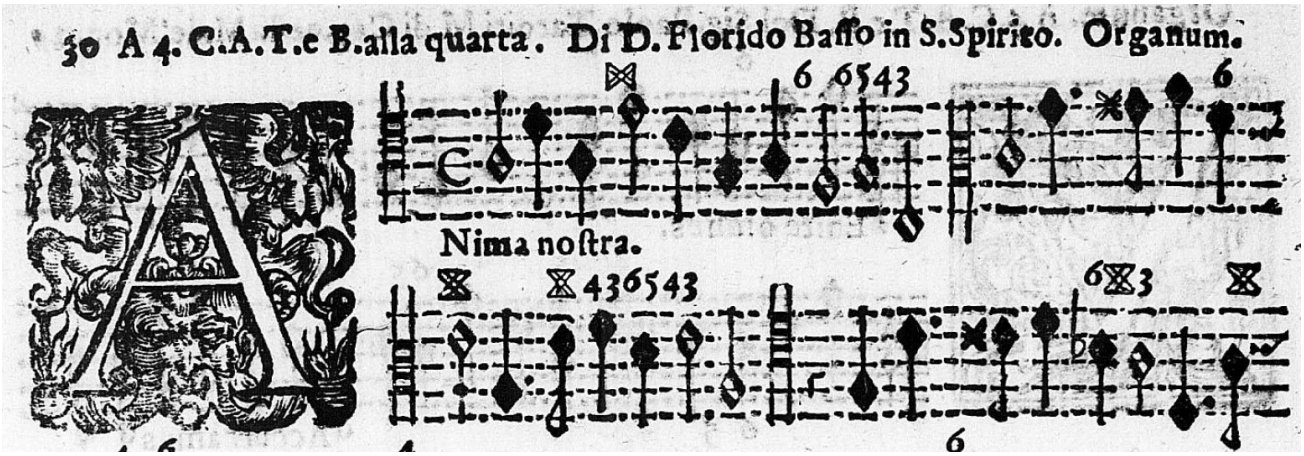

Figure 5.11 The opening of the Organum part of Florido's 'Anima nostra quare' (FdS1650.16). (Image courtesy of F-Pn.)

There is one motet in high clefs that has one flat in the key signature and yet specifies a downwards transposition interval of a fourth (*Alla 4 bassa*), as would be expected by Banchieri's rules — Paolo Agostini's 'O Iesu, cordis mei' (FdS1643.22).

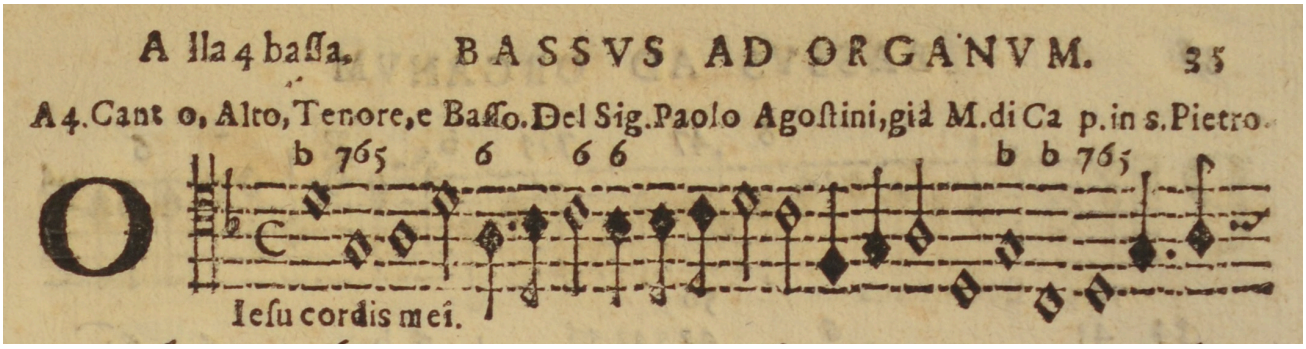

Figure 5.12 The opening of the Bassus ad Organum part of Paolo Agostini's 'O Iesu, cordis mei' (FdS1643.22). (Image courtesy of I-PS.)

The fact that this is in the same anthology as another motet just discussed (FdS1643.10) further suggests that in this transitional period not only was much changing in terms of the practical matters, but also in terms of the notation used to indicate these matters.

The interval of transposition is indicated in only the Organum part of all of these examples, which lends further credence to the oft-made assertion that transpositions of pitch were primarily an issue for organists to contend with, rather than singers:

> We may conclude, then, that some clefs look exactly alike in everything that concerns reading and the placing of the mutations; they differ solely in the letters and positions; this difference (as I said) is of no concern to the singer, who is concerned only to sound his notes correctly, observing the intervals of tones and semitones.[358]

> for wheither the Key [i.e. clef] bee high or low, it resteth in the Discretion of the *Chanter* [i.e. cantor, or director] to set the Tunes, according to the *Ambitus* or Compas of his Voices.[359]

Or, as Barbieri puts it:

> From the practical point of view, in *a cappella* compositions such transpositions presented no problems to the singers, since it was sufficient for them to start at a pitch set a 4th or a 5th lower. When the *basso continuo* was introduced, difficulties did arise, however, for the organist.[360]

One motet from the last of Florido's anthologies provides further evidence that by the latter part of the seventeenth century *alla quarta* was considered an accepted downwards transposition — or at least, that downwards transposition by a fourth could reasonably be assumed if no interval was specified. In Silvestro Durante's 'Gaudeant per orbem' (FdS1672.12)[361] the two Canto parts are printed with a G2 clef (without sharp or flat), implying a downwards transposition by some interval; however, the music of the Organo part is printed not with a C4 clef as might be expected but with an F4 clef (again without

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[358] 'Concluyremos pues que algunas Claves, puntualmente se parecen, en todo lo que toca al leer; y al hazer de las Mutanças mas diffieren solamente en las letras y posiciones; la qual differença (come dixe) no es de consideracion à cerca del Cantante; el qual no considera otra cosa mas, que entonar sus vozes rectamente, con la observacion de los intervalos de Tono y Semitono.' Pietro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, p. 494; translation from Andrew Parrott, *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Boydell, 2015), p. 149.
[359] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik* (London: John Haviland, 1636), p. 86.
[360] Barbieri, '"Chiavette" and modal transposition', p. 52.
[361] Critical Edition included in Volume Two; see page 410.

sharp or flat), and with the music a perfect fourth lower. There is no indication anywhere in the partbooks — neither in a rubric preceding the music nor in the *tavola* — that any transposition should take place; this might suggest that any uncertainty twenty to thirty years previously regarding transposition had subsequently been cleared up.

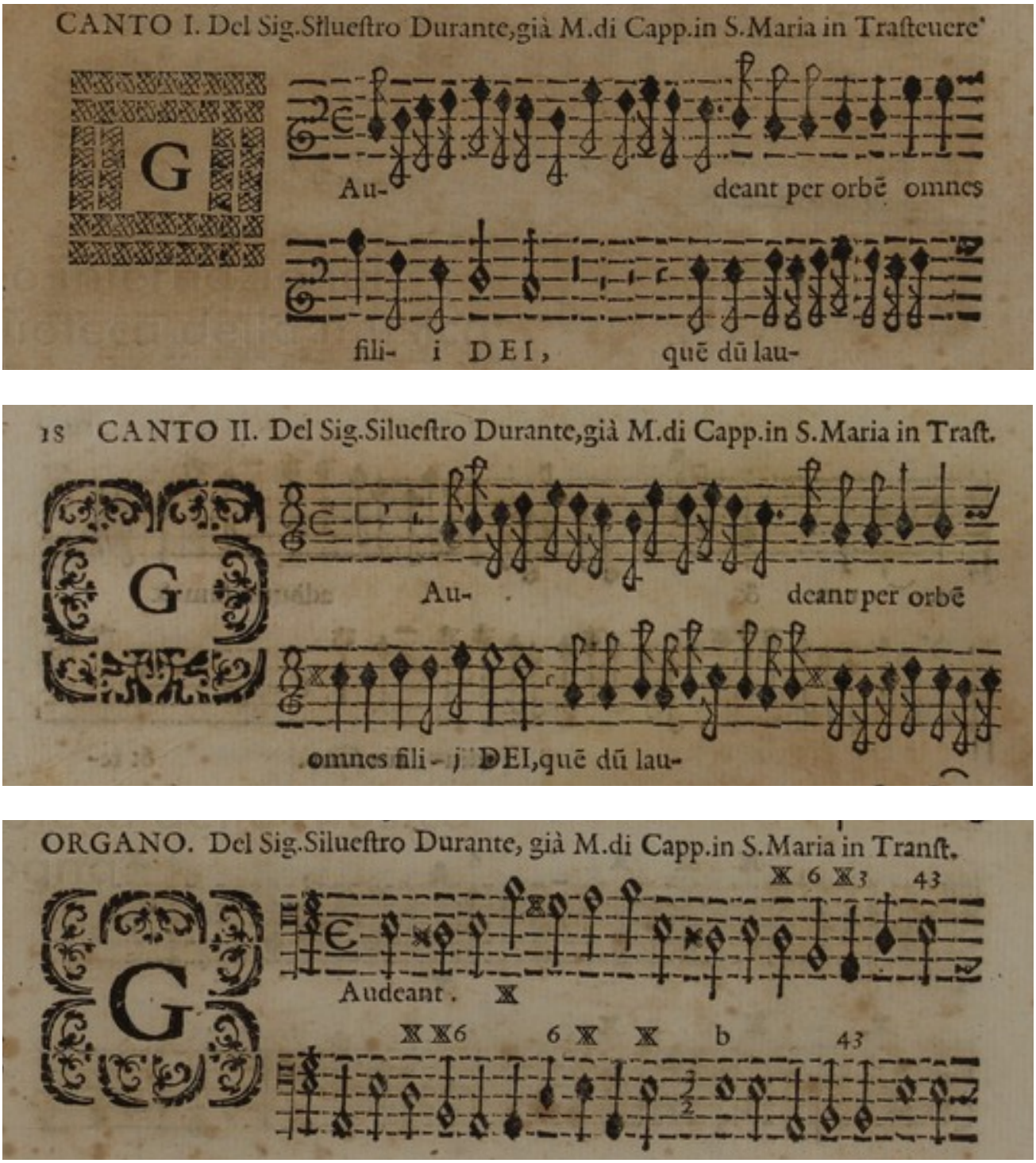

Figure 5.13 The openings of the parts of Silvestro Durante's 'Gaudeant per orbem' (FdS1672.12). (Images courtesy of I-Bc.)

One other musical publication by Florido provides an instance of a downwards transposition by a third. In 1666–67 he was responsible for the printing of a collection of eight-part motets with continuo accompaniment by Bernardino Vannini (1560–1612), a fellow native of Barbarano Romano and former *maestro di cappella* of Viterbo cathedral from at least as early as 1596 until his death whom Florido had included in a list of distinguished citizens of Barbarano in his dedication to FdS1649.[362] Of the twelve motets, seven are notated using high clefs; in the Organum partbook the fourth motet in the volume, 'Ecce sacerdos magnus', has a natural key signature and bears the rubric 'Alla terza', and can be understood as reflecting the continuing lowering of Roman pitch over the period, in that it was felt necessary to specify a smaller interval of transposition than that which might commonly have been assumed (that is, a fourth).

The practice of indicating only in the Organum part that a piece should be transposed downwards was commonplace from the beginning of the seventeenth century, as attested to by examples by composers including Banchieri (1607), Giulio Belli (1607, 1608, and 1613), Giovanni Felice Anerio (1613), Giovanni Ghizzolo (1615 and 1623), Giovanni Valentini (1621), and — as noted above — Gratiani (1652 and 1656).[363]

In his discussion of the sacred music of Giulio Belli (*c*.1560–after 1620), an itinerant *maestro di cappella* active across northern Italy (apart from an early period of education in Naples),[364] Jeffrey Kurtzman notes the composer's meticulous indications of the interval of transposition in many of his publications, regardless of whether a piece was notated in standard or in high clefs: if the former, the piece was either read as printed or one tone

[362] Antonella De Angelis, 'La cappella musicale di Viterbo nel secolo XVII', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 19.1 (January–June 1984), pp. 21–35 (pp. 23–25).
[363] Wolf, *Notation und Aufführungspraxis*, I, pp. 274–75.
[364] Othmar Wessely (rev. by Walter Kreysig), 'Belli, Giulio', *Grove Music Online* (2001), doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02599.

lower; if the latter, almost always either a fourth or a fifth lower (with the very occasional case of a third).[365]

Transposition and conventual music-making

Candace Smith has shown that early modern composers were fully aware of ways in which they could adapt their choral music for performance by nuns;[366] she and her ensemble Cappella Artemisia have been at the vanguard of valuable practice-led research in this regard in recent decades, as has the English ensemble Musica Secreta, directed by Deborah Roberts and Laurie Stras.

The simplest way for convent musicians to perform high-clef pieces was simply without transposition, as this ensured that even bass parts could be sung by women (perhaps with the occasional transposition up by an octave of low notes at cadences). Alternatively, in pieces for upper voices and a bass voice, only the bass part could be transposed up an octave; this is suggested by Ignazio Donati in his 1623 *Salmi boscarecci*[367] and also by Romano Micheli, along with other permutations of octave transpositions of voice and continuo parts:

> First, you can sing these works with a bass and two sopranos. Second, bass and two tenors (singing the sopranos an octave lower). Third, bass, soprano, and

[365] Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'Vocal Ranges, Cleffing and Transposition in the Sacred Music of Giulio Belli', in *Barocco padano e musici francescani: l'apporto dei Maestri Conventuali. Atti del 16. Convegno internazionale sul barocco padano (secoli 17.-18.), Padova, Basilica del Santo, 1-3 luglio 2013*, ed. by Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Centro Studi Antoniani, 2014), pp. 141–64 (p. 141).
[366] Candace Smith, 'Eseguire la musica della monache: un approccio pratico alle problematiche della clausura', in *Soror mea, sponsa mea: Arte e musica nei conventi femminili in Italia tra cinque e seicento*, ed. by Chiara Sirk and Candace Smith (Il Poligrafo, 2009), pp. 69–85 (pp. 82–84).
[367] 'Et volendo servirsene le Monache potranno cantare il Basso all'Ottava alto, che riuscirà un Contralto.' Ignazio Donati, 'Avvertimenti spettanti alla presente opera', *Salmi boscarecci concertati* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1623), p. [2].

> tenor (singing the first soprano an octave lower). Fourth, two sopranos and alto (singing the bass an octave higher) according to the practice of nuns.[368]

Furthermore, pieces could be transposed upwards by intervals of up to a fifth; this method is suggested by the notation used in the aforementioned publications by Cima and Natali.

In light of the above, the seemingly anomalous figure for high-clef motets in FdS1650 — which does not follow the overall downward trend but strongly goes against it — becomes less inexplicable; the unusually large number of pieces notated using high clefs may have been a deliberate move on the part of Florido, to increase the attractiveness and utility of his anthology to the community of San Giovanni Battista.

	Title	**Composer**	**Voices**	**Key**	**High clefs?**	**Clefs used**
1	Iuravit Dominus	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	CC	1 flat		C1, C1 F4
2	Linguæ ardentes	Abbatini, Antonio Maria	CC	1 flat		C1, C1 F4
3	Nigra sum	Carissimi, Giacomo	CC	1 flat		C1, C1 F4
4	Qui descendunt mare	Benevoli, Orazio	CB	natural		C1, F4 F4
5	Aperuit portas cæli	Gratiani, Bonifatio	CCT	natural		C1, C1, C4 F4
6	Congregatæ sunt gentes	Durante, Silvestro	ATB	natural	Y	C2, C3, C4 C4
7	Dicite laudem	Cecchelli, Carlo	ATB	1 flat		C3, C4, F4 F4
8	Deus vitam meam	Capponi, Gino Angelo	ATB	natural	Y	C2, C3, C4 C4
9	Exultate iusti in Domino	Santucci, Girolamo	ATB	natural	Y	C2, C3, C4 C4
10	Iste Sanctus pro lege Dei	Foggia, Francesco	CCT	1 flat		C1, C1, C4 F4
11	Quam dilecta tabernacula	Fabri, Stefano	CCB	1 flat		C1, C1, F4 F4
12	Surge Aquilo	Margarini, Francesco	CCB	natural	Y	G2, G2, F3 F3

[368] 'Primo dunque si potrà cantare Basso e due soprani. Secondo. Basso e due Tenori, cantando nelli Soprani un'Ottava più bassa. Terzo. Basso, Soprano, e Tenore, cantando sempre nel primo soprano un'Ottava bassa. Quarto. Due Soprani & Alto, cantando nel Basso un'Ottava più alta, ad uso delle Reverende Monache.' *Psalmi ad officium vesperarum musicis notis expressi, et ternis vocibus decantandi, una cum parte organica ... liber primus* (Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1610).

13	Agite o plantas	Giovannoni, Vincenzo	CATB	1 flat	Y	G2, C2, C3, F3 F3
14	O dulce nomen Iesu	Bicilli, Giovanni	CATB	natural		C1, C3, C4, F4 F4
15	Venite omnes gentes	Tarditi, Paolo	CATB	natural	Y	G2, C2, C3, F3 F3
16	Anima nostra quare	de Silvestris, Florido	CATB	natural	Y	G2, C2, C3, C4 C4

Table 5.2 The contents of FdS1650.

5.3 | Voice-types and vocal ranges

The relationship between high clefs and vocal ranges

One suggestion with regard to the origin of high clefs is that they arose from accommodating what was considered the comfortable range of singers on a stave without resorting to the use of ledger lines, an idea first codified by Nicola Vicentino in his *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* of 1555: 'No line should ever be added to the five staff lines — neither above, nor below — in any part […] Such a part would be too high or too low for the singer. Thus, the composer must stay within the limits of the spaces and lines [of the stave].'[369]

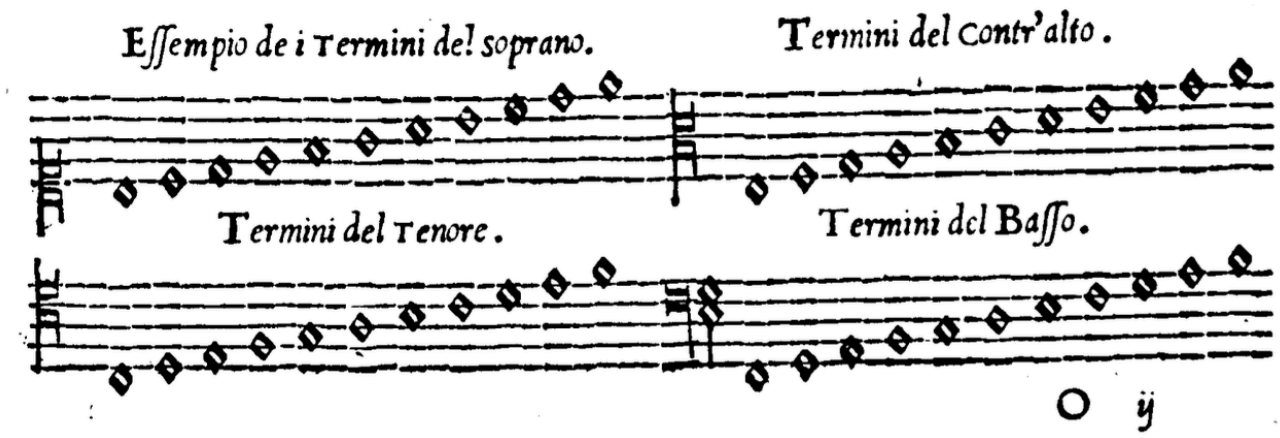

Figure 5.14 Nicola Vicentino's definition of the comfortable range of the four main voice parts, in his *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica*. (Image courtesy of D-Mbs.)

[369] 'mai si dè aggiognere righa alcuna, alle cinque righe, ne di sotto, ne di sopra, in nissuna parte […] quella parte saria troppo alta, ò troppo bassa al cantante, siche il Compositore starà ne termini de tutti i spatij, & di tutte le righe.' Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barré, 1655), p. 80

This advice is also related by Banchieri in his *Cartella musicale* nearly six decades after Vicentino, in which he contends that the range of a 'cantore perfetto' is a tenth that can be notated without the use of ledger lines — although he does allow that a 'cantore perfettissimo' might be able to extend their range by another two notes (i.e. to a twelfth), which would necessitate the use of one ledger line.[370] The evidence of writers such as Bononcini, roughly the same number of years again after Banchieri, suggests that the avoidance of ledger lines in vocal writing seems to have remained a consideration in the continued use of high clefs in Italian-speaking territories through to the end of that century.[371]

Jeffrey Kurtzman has stated that his belief that '*chiavette* and other clef combinations described here [in Palestrina's Magnificat settings] arose not out of theoretical considerations, but rather out of practical necessity […] then the practice would have been governed by practical considerations rather than a comprehensive theory';[372] Metcalfe asserts that

> the reason is simple enough. The voices of ordinary human males (who made up the ensembles for which most music was composed in this period) may be divided into just a few basic types, each with a comfortable, natural range of about 11 notes; the composite range or compass of those voice types is around 20 notes from the lowest note of an ordinary bass to the highest note of an ordinary boy or adult male falsettist—the gamut.[373]

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[370] Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella musicale nel canto figurato, fermo, & Contrapunto* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614), p. 146 [*recte* 138].
[371] Giovanni Maria Bononcini, *Musico prattico che brevemente dimostra il modo di giungere alla perfetta cognizione di tutte quelle cose, che concorrono alla composizione de i canti, e di ciò ch'all'arte del contrapunto si ricerca* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1673), pp. 137–56.
[372] Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'Tones, modes, clefs and pitch in Roman cyclic Magnificats of the 16th century', *Early Music*, 22.4 (November 1994), pp. 659–60.
[373] Metcalfe, 'Clefs, Pitch and Transposition', p. 290.

Performance practice and notation

Metcalfe quotes Thomas Morley,[374] Banchieri,[375] and Pietro Cerone[376] as examples of early modern authors who stressed this in their writing, before surveying music from *c*.1450 to 1550 and showing that the compass of the music is basically invariable no matter its written range; he concludes that

> The reason why the compass is limited to a certain number of notes is pretty mundane: so that it may be sung by an ensemble of voices with ordinary ranges. And the reason voice parts are notated in one clef or another is trivial: so that the notes will lie, as far as possible, on a five-line staff. […] It was up to the performers to pitch the piece within the singing range of the ensemble. Notated range has nothing to do with performing pitch […][377]

As part of his investigations into Belli's sacred music, Kurtzman determines the 'combined ambitus' of the various voice parts (that is, the lowest and highest notes notated for a part) and compares the results for those pieces notated in standard clefs and those in high clefs. Kurtzman contends that, as a general point,

> important factors in the *sounding* pitch at which any individual composition was performed were the tessituras in which the parts were written and the highest and lowest notes the notation required of each voice, but especially the highest note for sopranos and the lowest for basses […] the highest soprano notes on the page, and the lowest bass notes are crucial elements in considering what the high clefs and transposition rubrics mean. '[378]

before going on to conclude, regarding the vocal ranges of Belli's works, that,

> once the indicated transpositions have been effected, the ranges of the voices are more nearly in accord with those notated in standard clefs with regard to their highest pitches, but extend lower at the bottom end … In other words, high clefs are used to accommodate voices whose sounding pitches at the lower end of their registers extend below those notated in standard clefs.[379]

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[374] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), p. 7.
[375] Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, p. 28.
[376] Pietro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, Juan Bautista Gargano and Lucrecio Nucci, 1613), pp. 673, 675.
[377] Metcalfe, 'Clefs, Pitch and Transposition', p. 327.
[378] Kurtzman, 'Vocal Ranges', p. 146.
[379] Ibid., p. 148.

What is observed when the same questions are asked of Florido's motet anthologies? Examining FdS1650 as a case study gives us the following:[380]

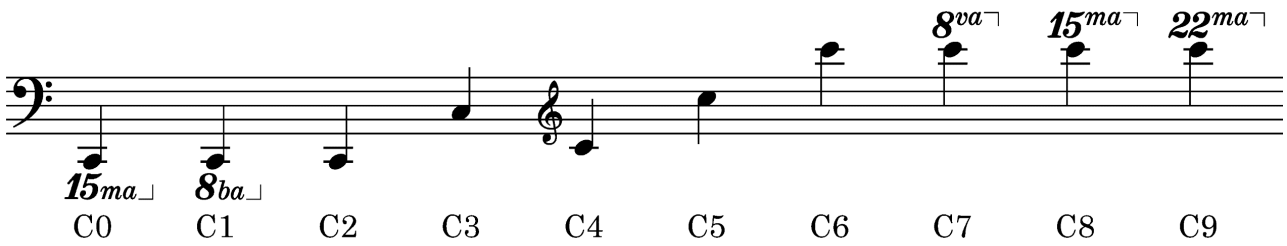
	Ranges for voices notated in *chiavi naturali*				**Ranges for voices notated in high clefs**			
	Cantus	**Altus**	**Tenor**	**Bassus**	**Cantus**	**Altus**	**Tenor**	**Bassus**
1	C4–G5							
2	C4–G5							
3	C4–G5							
4	C4–G5			D2–D4				
5	D4–G5		C3–G4					
6						D4–D5	A3–A4	A2–G4
7		A3–B♭4	E♭3–G4	E♭2–C4				
8						C4–D5	G3–A4	B2–G4
9						G3–E5	D3–B4	C3–G4
10	C4–F5		C3–G4					
11	C4–G5			F2–C4				
12					E4–A5			G2–E4
13					G4–A5	C4–C5	F3–A4	A2–E♭4
14	B3–A5	G3–A4	E3–E4	G2–C4				
15					G♯4–A5	D4–D5	A3–A4	A2–D4
16					A4–A5	D4–D5	A3–B4	C3–F4

Table 5.3 The ambitus of the vocal parts in FdS1650.

Adopting Kurtzman's idea of the 'combined ambitus' and applying it to each of Florido's motet anthologies produces the following results:

	Ranges for parts notated in *chiavi naturali*				**Ranges for parts notated in high clefs**			
FdS	**Cantus**	**Altus**	**Tenor**	**Bassus**	**Cantus**	**Altus**	**Tenor**	**Bassus**
1643	A3–A5	F3–A4	C3–G4	D2–D4	D4–B5	C4–D5	G3–B♭4	G2–F4
1645	A3–A5	F♯3–B4	B♭2–G4	E2–D4	E4–B5	B3–D5	E3–B4	A2–G4
1647	B3–A5	D3–B4	C3–G4	D2–E4	D4–B5	C4–C5	G3–A4	B2–A4
1648	C4–A5	G3–B4	B♭2–G4	E♭2–D4		C4–D5	F3–B4	A2–G4
1649	B3–A5	F3–B♭4	C3–G4	D2–D4	F4–B5		G3–B4	A2–F4

[380] Pitches demarking the vocal ranges in the following tables are given according to scientific pitch notation, whereby each note name is followed by a number indicating which octave it falls in; middle C is C4, the C one octave above is C5, and the notes in between all have the suffix '4'.



1650	B3–A5	G3–B♭4	C3–G4	D2–D4	E4–A5	G3–E5	D3–B4	G2–G4
1651	C4–G5	G3–A4	B♭2–F4	F2–D4	F♯4–B5	B3–D5	F3–B4	A2–A4
1652	C4–A5	G3–B4	C3–F4	D2–D4	G4–B5	D4–D5	E3–B4	A2–G4
1654	B♭3–A5	F♯3–B4	B♭2–G4	D2–D4	F♯4–C6			C3–A4
1655		F3–B4	A2–G4	D2–E4	D♯4–G5	G3–E5	G3–C5	A2–F4
1659	B♭3–B5			D2–F4				
1663	B♭3–C6							
1664	A3–B5 / C4–A5[381]	G3–B4	C3–G4	E♭2–D4	G4–A5	C4–D5	F3–A4	C3–D4
1668	C4–A5	F3–B4	C3–G4	E2–E4	G4–C6	A3–E5	G3–C♯5	G2–E4
1672	C4–A5	F3–C5	C3–G4	E2–E4	F♯4–B5	F3–B♭4		

Table 5.4 The combined ambitus of the vocal parts in Florido's motet anthologies.

Looking at Table 5.3 and Table 5.4, we can observe that:

- the ranges of the voice types in high-clef pieces are almost universally smaller than those in *chiavi naturali* pieces;
- the ranges of the *chiavi naturali* Altus and Tenor parts in Florido's anthologies are not too dissimilar to those given by Vicentino and echoed by Banchieri (see Figure 5.14, above), being wider by up to only a tone in all but one case; on the other hand, the ranges of the *chiavi naturali* Cantus and Bassus parts in Florido's anthologies display a much wider range than those given by Vicentino and Banchieri.

The first of these observations seems difficult to understand; if parts notated in high clefs were always intended to be transposed downwards and performed by the same musicians who would have performed those parts in natural clefs, why is there such a noticeable discrepancy in the ranges?

[381] FdS1664 contains sixteen motets, four for each of one, two, three, and four voices (all with continuo). The first combined Cantus ambitus given (A3–B5) is for the four solo motets only (all of which are in *chiavi naturali*), to allow easier comparison with FdS1659 and FdS1663, both of which contain only motets for solo voice; the second figure is for the remainder of the volume.

With regard to the issue of reconciling the ranges of the two sets of clefs, applying a downwards transposition of a fifth to the high-clef pieces in Florido's anthologies would bring both the highest note of the Cantus and the lowest note of the Bassus below their natural-clef counterparts; instead, two different downwards transpositions seem more appropriate for Florido's high-clef motets, which return us to weighing the merits of the two suggestions made in the Bowers–Parrott/Kurtzman debate:

- a downwards shift by a fourth would, on the whole, render the high-clef Bassus parts more or less equal to their *chiavi naturali* counterparts, and would also have the effect of making the low end of the Cantus parts match up; however, it would bring the highest note of the *chiavette* Cantus parts significantly lower;
- from a soprano point of view, a more suitable transposition for them might be only a tone (or, on occasion, perhaps a minor third) downwards.

Practical considerations

Of further interest is seeing whether decisions made regarding transposition intervals on the basis of the above information alone actually map comfortably onto modern-day voices, and how well-suited the voice-types most prevalent today are to the parts in Florido's anthologies. I had the opportunity, over the course of my doctoral studies, to work under the supervision of Jeffrey Skidmore with three separate 'generations' of his Royal Birmingham Conservatoire vocal ensemble students and Ex Cathedra scholars, as a result of the interruptions and delays brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic; these sessions took place in April–May 2021 (over videoconferencing calls as a result of the lockdowns in place because of Covid-19, with participants also sending me home-recorded videos of them singing specified extracts), March and May 2022, and November 2025 .

Performance practice and notation

This afforded me the luxury of being able to compare data from these three cohorts in order to address three questions regarding vocal range pertinent to modern-day performers:

1) Who sang Florido's Cantus parts, and what type of modern-day voice is most appropriate for them?
2) Who sang Florido's Altus parts, and what type of modern-day voice is most appropriate for them?
3) How does an ensemble determine the most appropriate transposition interval for them in this repertoire?

In order to attempt to answer these, participants were given a questionnaire that included a question about their vocal range and were asked to sing through extracts from motets in Florido's anthologies. A breakdown by voice-type in each of the three sets of participants is as follows:

2021: five sopranos, two altos, two tenors, two basses
2022: three sopranos, two altos, two tenors, three basses
2025: four sopranos, three altos, three tenors, three basses

(Across the groups all singers were over the age of eighteen. All altos labelled themselves either 'mezzo-soprano' or 'contralto'; no counter-tenors participated in this study.)

For this part of the study, I have chosen to disregard the high-clef motets from Florido's motets (this leaves the one hundred and ninety-six motets notated in *chiavi naturali*). Table 5.5 displays the self-reported vocal ranges of the three sets of workshop participants and the ambitus of the natural-clef motets from Florido's anthologies (transposed down by a tone to account for the prevailing pitch standard of the time, in order to compare them with the participants' vocal ranges, which were recorded with reference to the modern pitch standard).

	Ambitus for parts notated in *chiavi naturali*			
FdS	**Cantus**	**Altus**	**Tenor**	**Bassus**
1643	G3–G5	Eb3–G4	Bb2–F4	C2–C4
1645	G3–G5	E3–A4	Ab2–F4	D2–C4
1647	A3–G5	C3–A4	Bb2–F4	C2–D4
1648	Bb3–G5	F3–A4	Ab2–F4	Db2–C4
1649	A3–G5	Eb3–Ab4	Bb2–F4	C2–C4
1650	A3–G5	F3–Ab4	Bb2–F4	C2–C4
1651	Bb3–F5	F3–G4	Ab2–Eb4	Eb2–C4
1652	Bb3–G5	F3–A4	Bb2–Eb4	C2–C4
1654	Ab3–G5	E3–A4	Ab2–F4	C2–C4
1655		Eb3–A4	G2–F4	C2–D4
1659	Ab3–A5			C2–Eb4
1663	Ab3–Bb5			
1664	G3–A5 / Bb3–G5	F3–A4	Bb2–F4	Db2–C4
1668	Bb3–G5	Eb3–A4	Bb2–F4	D2–D4
1672	Bb3–G5	Eb3–Bb4	Bb2–F4	D2–D4
	Vocal ranges of workshop participants			
Year	**Soprano**	**Alto**	**Tenor**	**Bass**
2021	A3–B5	F3–G5	Bb2–A4	E2–F4
2022	Ab3–Bb5	E3–F5	C3–A4	F#2–F#4
2025	A3–B5	F3–F5	C3–Ab4	E2–F4

Table 5.5 The combined ambitus of the vocal parts in Florido's motet anthologies* compared to the combined self-reported vocal ranges from among modern-day singers in workshop sessions.
* N.B. The ambitus for the vocal parts in Florido's motet anthologies have been transposed down by a tone from Table 5.4 to account for the prevailing Roman pitch standard of the time.

With regard to the first and second questions posed above, vocal timbre and combinations of specific individual voices will necessarily be relevant for modern-day performers; this discussion restricts itself to considerations of vocal range. Giulia Galasso has summarised recent research into the topic by saying that while '*putti* – boy sopranos – were a significant presence in the performance of seventeenth-century church music […] the trend at this time

was to replace boys with falsettists and mostly castrati. However, particularly for cantus parts, the falsetto voice was considered neither as natural nor as "true" as that of the castrati, so falsettists were more commonly employed for the alto parts'.[382] In another part of his preface to his *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, Viadana explained that 'in these *Concerti* falsettists will make a better effect than the natural Sopranos, because the boys normally sing carelessly and with little grace …';[383] Simon Ravens deems Viadana's meaning to be that 'the pecking order for a choir soprano line is castrati if possible, but if not, falsettists rather than boys'.[384]

While Andrew Parrott's 2015 article in *Early Music* examining the origins of several modern-day beliefs about countertenors confined itself to discussion of sources up until the sixteenth century, he expanded on his article in the same year in a version published with additional appendices in his book *Composers' Intentions?*.[385] One of these appendices lists numerous Italian sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries regarding the use of falsetto, numerous of which echo Viadana's opinion: writing in the 1640s, Pietro Della Valle favourably compared Roman falsettists of the early Seicento with the castrati of his time — particularly praising Giovanni Luca Conforti, Orazio Griffi, and a 'Lodovico' for their vocal range and facility with *passaggi* —, making it clear that both were much to be preferred to boy trebles.[386] And just a few years later, Scipione Cerreto wrote that 'nowadays falsetto singers have a higher standing than [boy] sopranos do, not only because they are of a more

[382] Giulia Galasso, 'The Mass Collection *Octo Missae* (1663) by Francesco Foggia (1603–1688): an analytical study and critical edition' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Birmingham Conservatoire/Birmingham City University, 2017), p. 75.
[383] 'che in questo Concerti faranno miglior effetto i Falsetti, che i Soprani naturali, si perche per lo più i Putti cantano trascuramente, e con poca gratia …'. *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, p. 3.
[384] Simon Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice* (Boydell and Brewer, 2014), p. 55.
[385] Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs: The "Counter-Tenor"Cross-Examined', *Early Music*, 43.1 (2015), pp. 79–110; Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs: The "Counter-Tenor"Cross-Examined', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Boydell: 2015), pp. 46–121.
[386] Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs', in *Composers' Intentions*, p. 116.

mature age but also because such voices when they sing give greater satisfaction and bring greater sweetness to the ears of their listeners'.[387]

The suggestion that falsettists were considered inferior to castrati is backed up by Wendy Heller, who notes that 'falsettists were often regarded as singing "unnaturally" in the soprano range'.[388] Lars Berglund also states that 'if the institution had the necessary contacts and resources, castrato singers were preferred. Two reasons were usually given for this: firstly, the exquisite quality of their voices; secondly, their superior training and professionalism.'[389]

However, Ravens contends that 'whilst on their alto lines Tallis, Purcell and S. S. Wesley would not have recognised our modern counter-tenor, on their soprano lines Palestrina and Bach probably would', adding that 'falsettists were very much part of the vocal pallet [*sic*] during the Renaissance in Europe … with higher tenors more commonly available to sing their alto lines, Renaissance composers did not need the falsettist to produce filling on inner parts; rather, their need for the falsettist was to provide colour on the surface.'[390]

In terms of range, the findings shown in Table 5.5 might suggest that modern-day adult female sopranos would generally find Florido's Cantus parts accessible, with a change into chest voice from head voice perhaps necessary towards the lower end of their range. The principal modern-day alternative to sopranos for Cantus parts is child trebles (up to the age of roughly eleven or twelve). Recent research suggests that, in the twenty-first century, trained boy trebles exhibit a secure vocal range of A3–F5, although of course there will

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[387] 'al tempo d'hoggi gli Cantori di Falsetto stanno con maggior prerogative, che non stanno gli Soprani, non solo perche sono di età più matura, ma ancora perche tali voci mentre cantano danno maggior sodisfatione, e rendono maggior dolcezza all'orrechhie de gli ascoltanti'. Scipione Cerreto, *Dell'arbore musicale* (Naples: Giovanni Battista Sottile, 1608), p. 29.
[388] Wendy Heller, 'Varieties of Masculinity: Trajectories of the Castrato from the Seventeenth Century', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 28.3 (December 2005), pp. 307–21 (endnote 21, p. 320).
[389] Berglund, 'Angels or Sirens?, p. 105.
[390] Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, pp. viii, 43–44.

always be individuals with larger ranges;[391] this is smaller than the ranges reported by the sopranos in this study, which leads to the conclusions that:

- most modern-day boy trebles would not have the range to perform the Cantus parts in Florido's anthologies;
- even if we assume that the *putti* in Seicento Rome had as large a range as modern-day boy trebles, they would also not, for the most part, have been able to perform these parts.

Thus, it seems likely that the composers of the works in Florido's motets were composing with castrati in mind for their Cantus parts — whether because they had them at their disposal, or as ideal performers — as the most accomplished singers of their time.

With regard to Altus parts, we should bear in mind that falsettists in the seventeenth century would have moved much more freely between head voice and chest voice than modern-day counter-tenors might, and thus might suggest that either modern-day altos or modern-day tenors might be suited to them on account of the self-reported ranges in this study.

Where we observe the largest gap between the ranges observed in Florido's anthologies and those reported by the singers in this study is the Bassus part; music that regularly descends below the bass staff would tax most modern choral singers, let alone the young adult singers participating in this study. However, I contend that there may be a circular element to this turn of events: if the prevailing pitch standard in Rome and its surroundings was gradually lowered over the course of the seventeenth century, then those singers with naturally lower voices would be attracted to employment there (or even

[391] Elizabeth C. Willis and Dianna T. Kenny, 'Effect of Voice Change on Singing Pitch Accuracy in Young Male Singers', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Music Studies*, 2.1/2 (Spring/Fall 2008), pp. 111–19 (p. 112).

deliberately head-hunted for the purpose — in a reversal of the practice prevalent in the fifteenth century of Franco-Flemish courts poaching talented boy singers from south of the Alps)[392] — and in turn composers would be more inclined to write lower-lying parts if they knew they had the singers available to them.

All the above leads onto providing an answer to the third question posed above; Table 5.5 would seem to imply that, in regard to the first question posed above, no downwards transposition would be needed — or perhaps an *upwards* transposition of one or two tones would be advisable in order to raise pieces away from the lower end of modern-day soprano, alto, and tenor ranges; this is made possible by the greater range we can observe at the top of the basses' voices.

5.4 | Meter, proportions, and time signatures

In contrast to the earlier section on high clefs, which discussed the implications and interpretations of essentially one notation, what presents itself when moving onto the topic of meter is the large number of notations used in Florido's anthologies — over twenty different signatures and proportions, all related to triple meter. This is unsurprising in a collection of two hundred and thirty-three pieces by fifty-two composers, published over the course of three decades (but, as discussed above, evidently taking in a span of time at least double that) during a period of transition and great fluidity in many notational matters; in terms of time signatures, the middle and latter parts of the seventeenth century saw the gradual move away from the mensural system of proportions that had its roots in late medieval and Renaissance theory and towards one where note values remain the same even across changes of meter, known as 'orthochronic' notation.

[392] Klaus Pietschmann, trans. by James Steichen, 'Musical institutions in the fifteenth century and their political contexts', in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 403–26 (p. 422).

Performance practice and notation

This multiplicity of notations in Florido's anthologies must be considered in the light of the fierce debate that has long raged over the interpretation of triple meter in early Italian Baroque music, most notably over the course of many years and publications between Bowers and Kurtzman over the specific case of Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610. The former maintains that Italian composers of Monteverdi's generation continued to use the rhythmic notation of decades or even centuries earlier as their forebears had intended, as that was how those composers had been educated:

> To theorists of the time [the early seventeenth century], including Morley, Zacconi, Banchieri and Michael Praetorius, the primary system inherited from the past was still in good working order. Coloration, *sesquialtera*, *tripla* (and now *sextupla*) meant what they had always meant, and Praetorius in particular advocated a severe pruning of the symbols used in his day so as to clarify the basic simplicity underlying the system.[393]
>
> The notation of Monteverdi's publication of 1610, therefore, is essentially the medieval mensural notation of Philippe de Vitry and the Ars Nova as modified by the introduction of void note-shapes in the fifteenth century.[394]

Kurtzman, on the other hand, asserts that other features of Monteverdi's writing suggest that he may have deliberately been rejecting a strict application of the mensural system as being inadequate 'to express precisely what [he] had in mind'[395] — furthermore, that such an application gives rise to tempos that feel 'much too slow'.[396] Bowers's counter-argument, that the opinion that these tempos are 'too slow' is effectively a modern concept shaped by 'Baroque players working back from a familiarity with Handel, Purcell, and Rameau',

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[393] Rogers Bowers, 'Proportional notation', *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article22424>.
[394] Roger Bowers, 'Proportion in Monteverdi', *Music and Letters*, 73.3 (August 1992), pp. 347–98 (p. 359).
[395] Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'Notation and Proportion in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Music and Letters*, 74.3 (August 1993), pp. 487–95 (p. 488).
[396] Jeffrey Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance* (Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 433 n.2.

would seem to end the discussion by landing on a point of subjective taste, leaving individual readers to make their own decision.[397]

However, Bowers also concedes that it is not always easy, in this early-seventeenth-century repertoire, to establish the intent of composers:

> It is true that some publications of the period manifest a potentially somewhat confusing proliferation and diversity of symbols to convey proportional usage, to which their composers, untutored in the correct application of a system that had been believed obsolete at the period when they were under training, were now making totally unnecessary (and sometimes incorrect or irrational) resort.[398]

Leaving aside the rancour that coloured the Bowers–Kurtzman exchanges, what emerges from their debate is a lack of certainty that echoes that of the very writers each side adduced in support of their arguments; for example, Michael Praetorius — shortly before the section of his *Syntagma musicum* in which he performs the 'pruning' of which Bowers spoke — declares that:

> Mentioning the signatures used by earlier composers is hardly necessary since there is no particular use in their variety — but rather only confusion and bewilderment, by which not just school children but often professional vocal and instrumental chapel musicians are thrown into complete and utter consternation.[399]

Triple-meter time signatures in Florido's anthologies

Is there really 'no use' in the variety found in Florido's anthologies? The first thing to note, which will both inform and simplify matters in the examination of triple-meter passages, is

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[397] Roger Bowers, 'Review: *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance*. By Jeffrey Kurtzman', *Music and Letters*, 85.2 (May 2004), pp. 257–69 (pp. 262–63).
[398] Bowers, 'Proportional notation', *Grove Music Online*.
[399] 'Obs zwar fast unnötig *de Signis* veterum etwas allhier zu erwehnen Sintemahl deroselben *Varietet* nicht allein keinen sondern usum, sondern auch nichts anderes ist als eine verirrung und verwirrung dadurch nicht allein die Jugend in den Schulen sondern auch offtmahls geübte *Musici Vocales & Instrumentales* in *Capellen perturbirt*, *remorirt*, auch wohl gar *confundirt* werden.' Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum III*, p. 54.

that duple meter is exclusively indicated by a 'C' signature in the anthologies, and there are no instances of a 'cut C' time signature. That this should generally be the case in a body of sacred pieces would have been considered unthinkable — or, at the very least, unusual — in the late sixteenth century and perhaps even into the early seventeenth century, when the former signature (with the shorter note-values it implied) was reserved for madrigals and the latter (with its longer note-values) for motets; Michael Praetorius makes the distinction

that 'Tardioris signum est C, quo signantur Madrigalia : celerioris ¢, quo signantur Motetæ'

('the sign for slower [duple meter] is C, in which madrigals are notated; that for faster [duple meter] is cut C, in which motets are notated').[400]

However, by the time of Florido's motets this distinction was no longer maintained, as noted by Jamie Savan in his discussion of the relationships between duple and triple meter in early Seicento Venetian repertoire:

> Under the influence of late 16th century madrigal writing, the seventeenth century *concertato* motet is typically written in C, with a tactus dividing the semibreve into two minims, often featuring florid *passaggi* making frequent use of smaller note values in black notation. In triple-time sections, however, black notation is still used to indicate *hemiola*; triple time is thus typically still written in larger note values to avoid the possibility of confusion between crotchets and blackened minims. Therefore, triple-time passages often need to be understood in some kind of proportional diminution relative to the underlying *tactus*.[401]

Thus, with regard to Florido's anthologies, I consider that we too can reasonably take a semibreve tactus in duple time as our starting point for addressing triple time.

Does Savan's statement that passages in triple meter are 'typically still written in larger note values' also hold true in Florido's anthologies, the earliest of which was printed

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[400] Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum III*, p. 47.
[401] Savan, 'Venice 1629'.

fourteen years after the date (1629) he takes as his focus? Yes and no; what we observe is that while the use of longer note values does persist over the course of the fifteen anthologies, it tapers off as time goes on, while shorter note values appear gradually in the later anthologies, albeit in much smaller numbers, and not until the tenth such publication, FdS1655 (see Table 5.6, below[402]). This would seem to support what Geoffrey Chew and Richard Rastall have noted, that 'the crotchet became the main time unit for much music in the 17th century', driven in part by 'the increasing readiness of notators arbitrarily to adopt different note lengths as the main beat in different contexts' in primarily the madrigal, but also in other secular genres.[403]

	1643	**1645**	**1647**	**1648**	**1649**	**1650**	**1654**	**1655**	**1659**	**1663**	**1664**	**1668**	**1672**
O3/1	8	10	5	4	6	1	4	1	1		3	3	1
O3 (3/1)				1									
C3/1	1	1						1					
3/1		3		1	1			1					1
cut C (3/1)[404]	1												
C3/2	7	9	11	4	3	5	3	4	2		2	1	3
C3 (3/2)	1							1		1			
C (3/2)[405]						1							
3/2	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	2		6	4	5	5
3 (3/2)	1	1	3	4	4	1	6	6	4	3	3	2	
6/3 (6/4)									1				

[402] FdS1651 and FdS1652 have been omitted on account of their consisting mostly of reprints from Florido's preceding anthologies.
[403] Geoffrey Chew (revised by Richard Rastall), 'Notation. III. History of Western notation. 4. Mensural notation from 1500', *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20114>.
[404] See below for a discussion of this single instance — Agostini's 'O Iesu, cordis mei' (FdS1643.22) —and its use of coloration.
[405] See below for a discussion of this single instance — Carissimi's 'Nigra sum' (FdS1650.03) —and its use of coloration.

3 (3/4)								2	3	1	1	2	1
3/4											3		2
C3/4											1		1
6/4 (6/8)										1			
3 (6/4)									1	1			1
C (6/4)											1		
3/8 (6/8)									1				
3 (3/8)											1		
6/4 (6/8)										1			
C6/8													1
12/8									1		1		
	1643	**1645**	**1647**	**1648**	**1649**	**1650**	**1654**	**1655**	**1659**	**1663**	**1664**	**1668**	**1672**

Table 5.6 Triple-meter proportions and time signatures and the number of motets in each of Florido's anthologies which use them.
Time signatures in the left-most column are notated using the note-values implied by their denominator where one appears; where a signature does not have a denominator the bracketed time signature underneath indicates how it is notated using the note-values implied by the lower one.

That trend displayed by Table 5.6 is also observed if we list the triple-meter time signatures used by each composer in Florido's anthologies (including only those composers to whom can be ascribed instances of triple meter in at least four different anthologies); Table 5.7 arranges them in chronological order of birth year where this is known.

Composer	**FdS**	**Triple-meter signature(s) used**
Abbatini, Antonio Maria (1595–1679)	1643	O3/1
	1645	O3/1, C3/1
	1649	O3/1
	1650	O3/1
de Silvestris, Florido (1596–1674)	1643	C3/2
	1645	C3/2
	1647	3 (3/2)
	1648	3 (3/2)
	1649	O3/1
	1655	C3/2
	1663	3/2, 3 (3/2)
	1664	3/2

	1668	3/2
	1672	O3/1
Mazzocchi, Virgilio (1597–1646)	1643	O3/1
	1645	3/1, C3/2, 3/2
	1647	C3/2
	1649	O3/1
	1659	O3/1
Gratiani, Bonifatio (1604–64)	1648	C3/2, 3 (3/2)
	1649	C3/2
	1650	C3/2
	1654	3/2
	1655	3 (3/2)
	1659	3 (3/4)
	1663	3 (3/4)
	1664	3 (3/4)
	1668	3 (3/4)
Foggia, Francesco (1604–88)	1643	C3/2
	1645	O3/1, C3/2
	1647	C3/2
	1649	3 (3/2)
	1654	3 (3/2)
	1655	3 (3/2)
	1659	3 (3/2)
	1663	3/2
	1664	3 (3/2)
	1668	3/2
	1672	3/2
Benevoli, Orazio (1605–72)	1643	O3/1
	1647	O3/1
	1648	3/2
	1649	3 (3/2)
	1650	C3/2
	1654	O3/1, C3/2, 3/2, 3 (3/2)
	1655	C3 (3/2), 3 (3/2)
	1659	3 (3/2)
	1663	3/2
	1664	3 (3/2)
	1668	3 (3/2)
Carissimi, Giacomo (1605–72)	1643	O3/1
	1645	O3/1
	1647	O3/1
	1648	3/1
	1650	C (3/2)
	1654	O3/1
	1659	3 (3/4)
	1663	6/4
	1664	O3/1
Marciani, Giovanni (c.1605–c.1663)	1645	3 (3/2)
	1647	C3/2, 3/2
	1655	3 (3/2)
	1659	3 (3/2)

	1663	3/2, 3 (3/2)
Savioni, Mario (1606–85)	1655 1659 1663 1664 1668 1672	3 (3/4) 3 (6/4) 6/4 (6/8), 3 (6/4) C (6/4) 3 (3/4) 3 (6/4)
Fabri, Stefano (c.1606–57)	1643 1645 1648 1650 1654 1655	O3/1, C3/2 3/1 C3/2 3/2 O3/1, C3/2, 3/2 C3/1, C3/2
Cecchelli, Carlo (1612–67)	1645 1647 1648 1649 1650 1655 1664	O3/1, C3/2 C3/1, C3/2, 3 (3/2) O3/1, C3/2 C3/2 C3/2 C3/2 C3/2
Bicilli, Giovanni (1623–1705)	1655 1664 1668 1672	3 (3/2) 3 (3/2), 3/4 3 (3/2) 3/2, 3 (3/2), 3/4
Corsi, Giuseppe (1630–90)	1659 1663 1664 1668 1672	3 (3/4) C3 (3/2) 3/4, 12/8, 3 (3/8) O3/1 C3/2
Durante, Silvestro (d. 1672)	1643 1645 1647 1648 1649 1652 1655 1659 1664 1668 1672	C3/1 O3/1, C3/2 C3/2 O3/1, O3 (3/1), C3/2 O3/1 O3/1 3/1, 3/2 C3/2 3/2 C3/2 3/2

Table 5.7 Table showing the triple-meter time signatures used by the composers represented in Florido's motet anthologies.

It would be too much of a generalisation simply to say that, in Florido's anthologies, older composers employed time signatures with larger note-values and younger composers those with smaller: for example, Bonifatio Gratiani uses a wider range of signatures than his exact contemporary Francesco Foggia; Gratiani never once employs O3/1 but Giuseppe Corsi — his junior by twenty-six years — does; and Mario Savioni uses only signatures notated in

crotchets or quavers while Carlo Cecchelli — younger by six years — uses only signatures notated in semibreves or minims.

Instead, we can perhaps come to more nuanced — and therefore, meaningful — findings by noting that (as mentioned above) the introduction of shorter note-values in sacred music during the seventeenth century was in part influenced by their use in secular genres, and observing that many of the composers in the above list who employ triple-meter time signatures of shorter denominational value were also pre-eminent in secular genres — notably, Savioni ('a major figure in the first generation of Roman composers of Italian chamber cantatas'),[406] Corsi ('he showed himself an able and eccentric composer of the cantata, the aria, the chamber duet, in which … he showed excellent skills'),[407] and Pagliardi ('best known as a composer of operas').[408] Even Carissimi, who perhaps more than any other Roman composer of the era achieved equal renown in both secular and sacred spheres, can be seen to embrace time signatures of 3/4 and 6/4. Additionally, it is worth noting that the three anthologies that display the widest range of time signatures — FdS1659, FdS1663, and FdS1664 — are those containing solo motets, which at this point in the seventeenth century were very close in form and style to solo secular cantatas, in some cases the only real distinguishing factor being the language of the text.

An alternative means to proportion of indicating triple meter that had its roots in the medieval and Renaissance periods was the use of coloration under a duple-meter time signature; this had the effect of reducing the metrical value of the coloured notes by one

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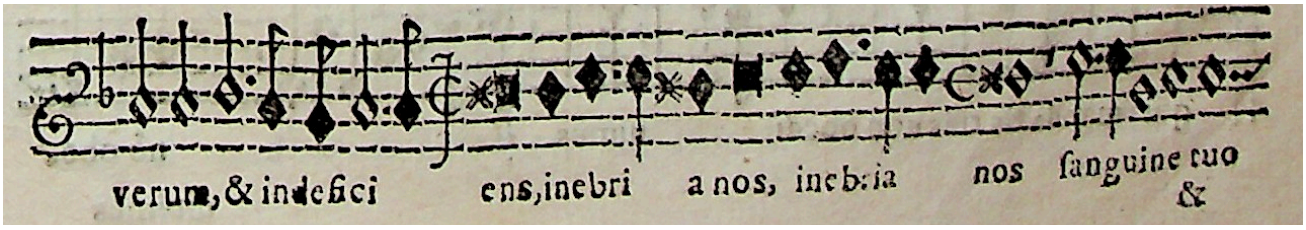
[406] Margaret Murata, 'Mario Savioni', *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24657>.

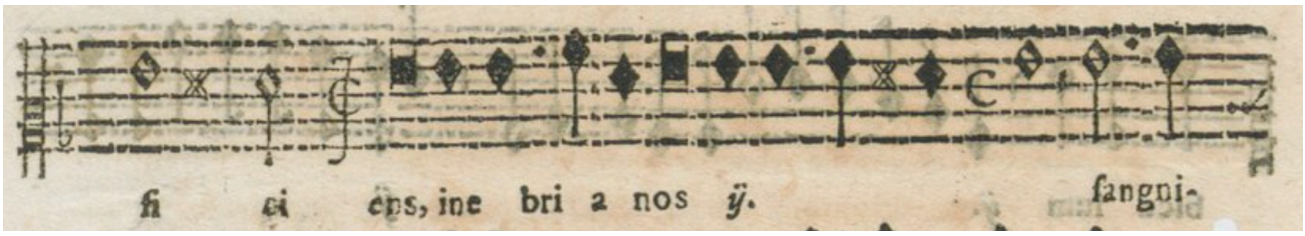
[407] 'si dimostrò compositore abile e talora stravagante della cantata, l'aria, il duetto da camera, in cui … mostrò ottime capacità' (translation by the author). Raoul Meloncelli, 'Giuseppe Corsi', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 29 (1983), available at <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-corsi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 29 January 2021].

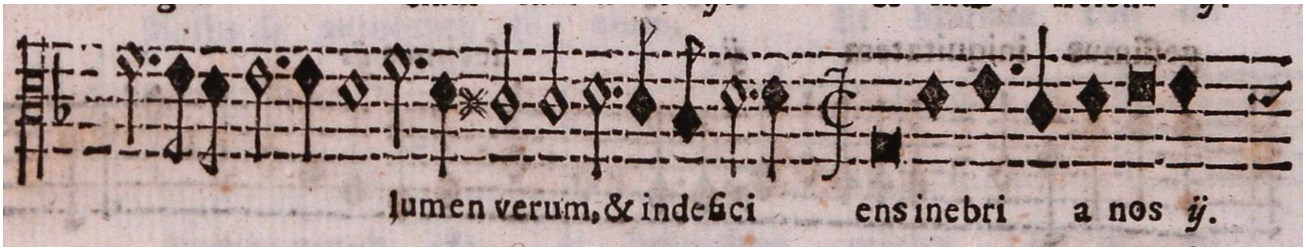
[408] John Walter Hill, 'Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria, *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20704>.

third. Although it had become rare by the middle of the seventeenth century, there are two examples of this usage in Florido's motets:

- in Paolo Agostini's 'O Iesu, cordis mei' (FdS1643.22), coloration under a cut-C signature — indicating diminution, i.e. that the tactus is now a breve — achieves a *sesquialtera maggiore imperfetta*[409] (three semibreves in the time of two) at the words 'inebria nos [sanguine tuo]' (see Figure 5.15). The short-lived change to triple meter serves the words well, a supplicant's plea to Jesus to 'intoxicate us [with your blood]';
- the opening of Carissimi's 'Nigra sum' (FdS1650.03) employs coloration under a C duple-meter time signature to achieve a *sesquialtera minore imperfetta* (three minims in the time of two; also known as *hemiolia minore*). One suspects, however, that it has primarily been employed for visual effect (see Figure 5.16), as the text is taken from the Song of Songs 1:4: 'I am black but beautiful, o daughters of Jerusalem';







[409] Bononcini, *Musico prattico*, p. 20.

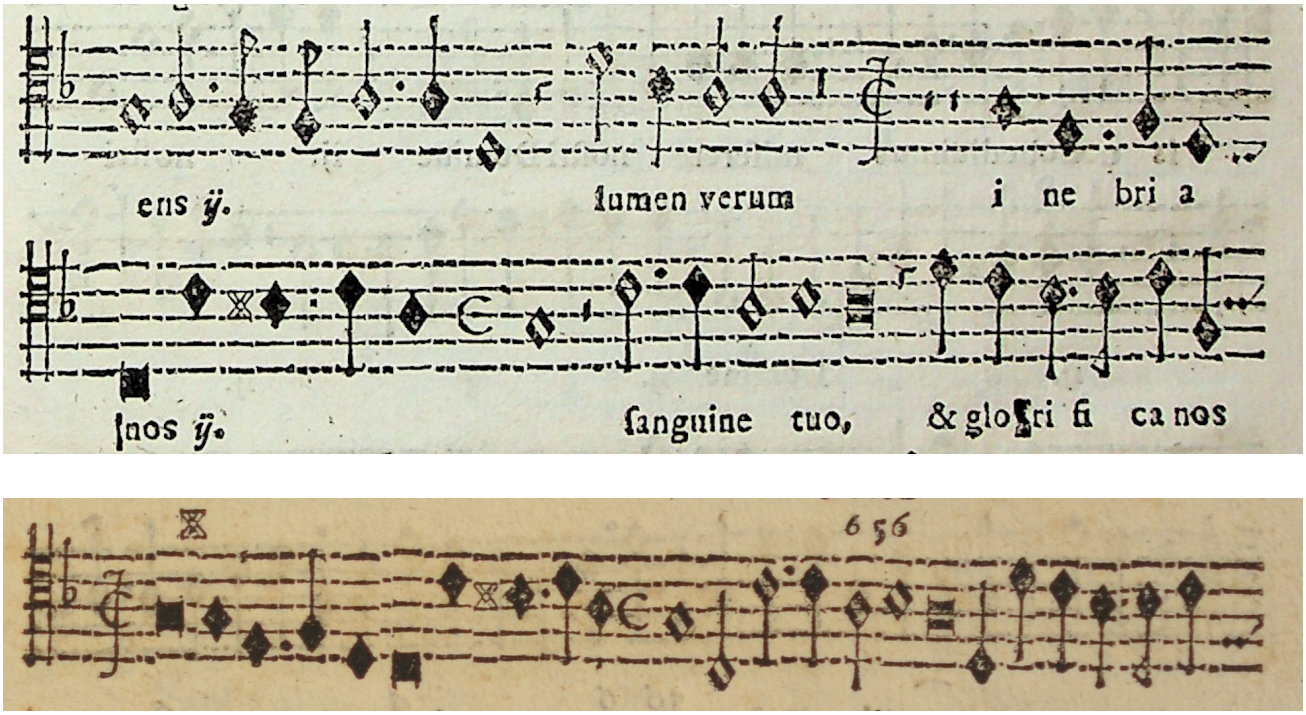
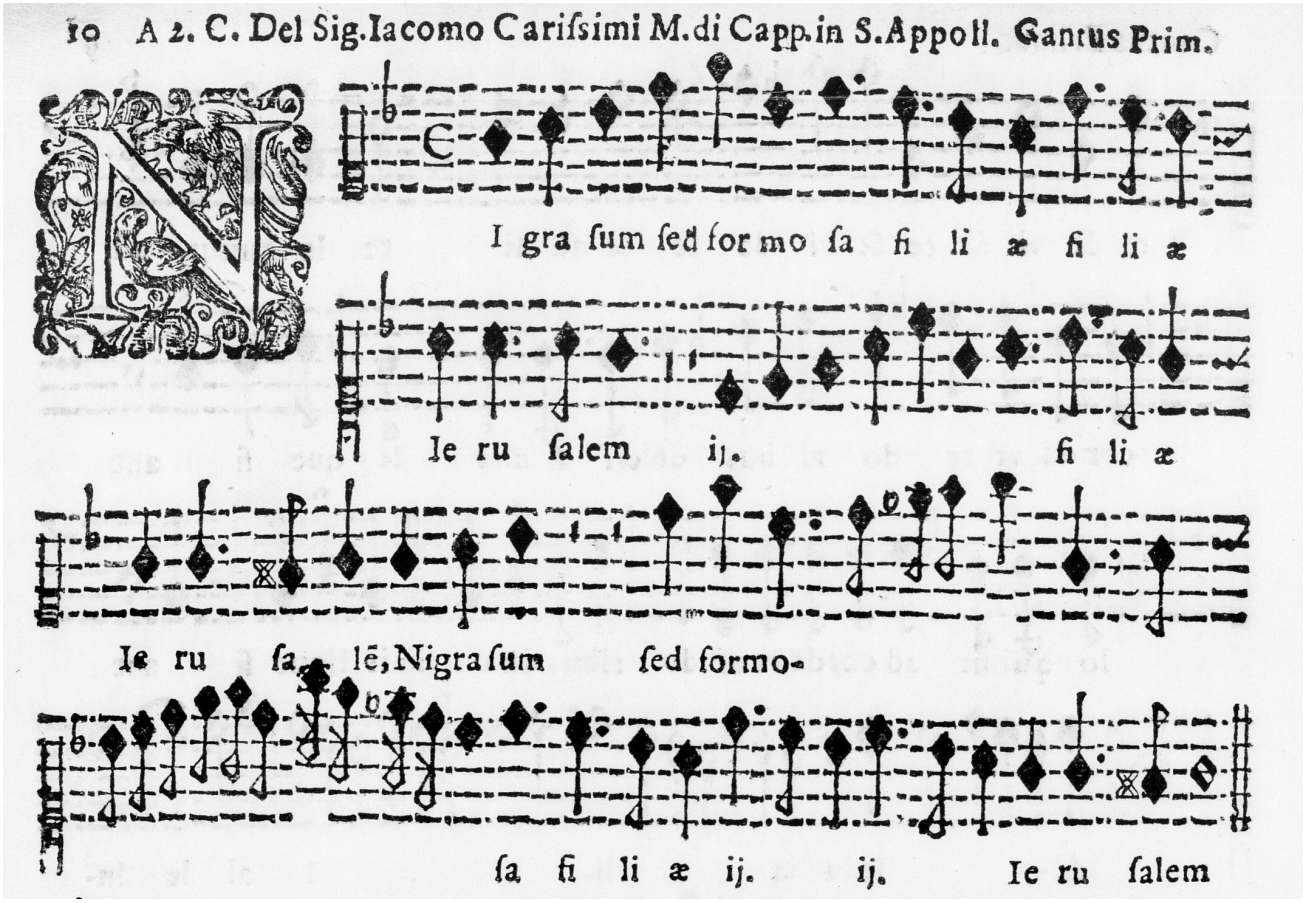


Figure 5.15 Diminution by one third indicated by coloration in the Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, and Bassus ad Organum partbooks of Paolo Agostini's 'O Iesu, cordis mei' (FdS1643.22), at the words 'inebria nos'. (Images courtesy of I-CEc (Cantus and Bassus), F-Pn (Altus), I-BGc (Tenor), and I-PS (Bassus ad Organum).)



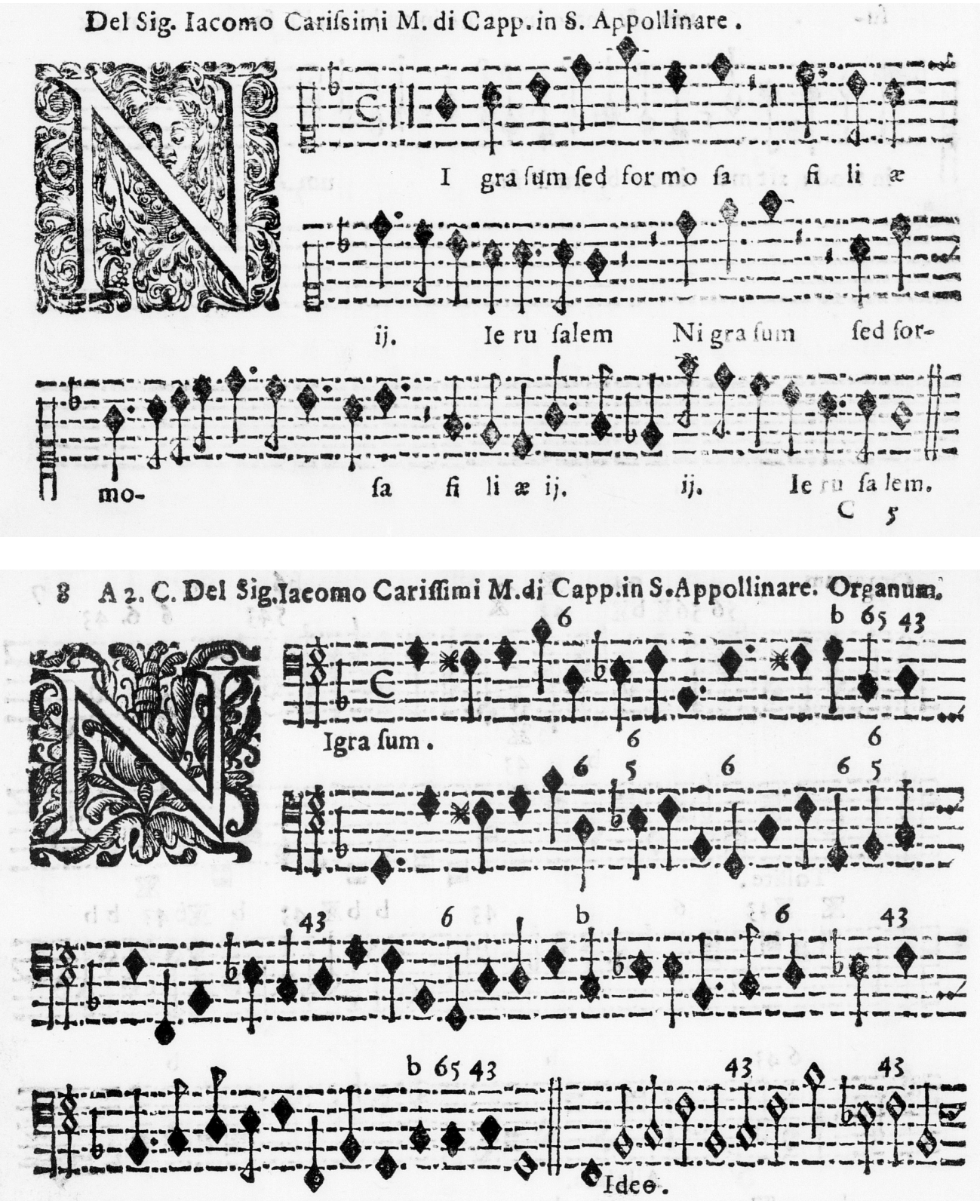


Figure 5.16 Diminution by one third indicated by coloration in the opening section of Carissimi's 'Nigra sum' (FdS1650.03); the visual effect vis-à-vis the words is surely intentional. (Images courtesy of GB-Lwa.)

The disappearing of mensuration?

Table 5.6, above, also shows that — apart from those time signatures notated in semibreves — in Florido's anthologies there is a general trend towards time signatures being written without a preceding (and thereby governing) mensuration symbol. This was the cause of disagreement among theorists contemporary to Florido. Giovanni Maria Bononcini, writing in his 1673 *Musico Prattico*, is adamant that the use of proportions without mensural signs is wrong and therefore misleading — quoting Valerio Bona, he says that 'to use proportions in music without mensural signs is […] like sending soldiers into the field of battle without a captain';[410] but some of his fellow writers are less strict in this regard: Lorenzo Penna labels the mensural signs as 'antica' and provides examples of how to re-notate music written with these older signatures.[411]

Triple and duple meter

Determining the relationship of the triple-meter time signatures used in Florido's anthologies both to duple-time and to one another is key to understanding how to incorporate the appearance of time signatures with smaller note-values into our overall picture; this latter point will prove particularly important to discussing those of Florido's motets with multiple triple-meter time signatures.

The upper parts of Table 5.6 are relatively straightforward to interpret. With a semibreve tactus in duple time:

- as O3/1, C3/1, and 3/1 are all notated using semibreves, they indicate a *tripla* proportion — that is, three semibreves in the space of one. I also choose to interpret the one instance of O3 notated as 3/1 in the same way;

[410] 'l'introdurre le proporzioni ne i Canti, senza segno del tempo è […] come mettere i Soldati in Campo senza Capitano'. Bononcini, *Musico prattico*, p. 14.
[411] Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori musicali* (Bologna: Pier-Maria Monti, r1686), pp. 31–36.

Performance practice and notation

- as C3/2, 3/2, C3 (3/2), and 3 (3/2) are all notated using minims, they indicate a *sesquialtera* proportion — that is, three minims in the space of two. These minims should sound at half the speed of the semibreves in the above *tripla*; however, some authors suggest that these proportions can be performed twice as fast — that is, at the same speed as the *tripla*! — in what could be considered a compound duple time signature (called *sextupla* by Praetorius, among others).

With the advent of time signatures with a denominator of '4' (in FdS1655) or '8' (in FdS1659), circumspection is necessary. Are they to be treated according to a strict interpretation of the rules of proportion, or are they the first shoots of orthochronicity, by which reckoning the proportional relationship between two notes is always constant? (Or can they be bound as loosely at all?)

Roger Bowers suggests that 'the very beginnings of the dissolution of the proportional system, and of its orderly evolution onward, can be traced to about the 1620s, with the inception of a progressive evaporation of the concept of the *tactus* on which it had come to depend'.[412] However, the matter is not so clear cut; Pier Francesco Valentini (writing around 1643 — conveniently, the date of Florido's first motet anthology) is clear that a *sesquialtera* (3/2) indicates that 'instead of two notes of equal quantity … three are required in the time of one *tactus*', regardless of the value of the *tactus*, and that a change of proportion indicated by a new signature does not affect the speed of the *tactus*;[413] similarly, Penna and Bononcini, writing close to the last of Florido's anthologies, both continue to call time signatures with a numerator of 3 *tripla* or *tripola*, and from their remarks also seem to imply that the tactus remains constant.

[412] Bowers, 'Proportional notation'.
[413] Pier Francesco Valentini, *Trattato del tempo, e del modo, e della prolatione*, Rome, Vatican Library MS Barb. lat. 4419, 1643; translated in George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800* (Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 20.

On the other hand, Girolamo Frescobaldi, writing in 1624, explicitly states that different proportions implied different *tactus* speeds ('In the triplas, or sesquialteras, if they are major let them be played adagio, if minor somewhat more allegro, if of three semiminims more allegro, and if one finds 6/4, move the beat allegro);[414] and Bononcini later defines several types of *sesquialtera* (as well as a wide range of different proportions), writing that 'the motion does not vary except — occasionally — in speed, now an ordinary pace, now slow, and now fast, according to the wish of the composer; for this reason the parts of a composition are given different signs [here, meaning tempo indications in words]'.[415] Furthermore, some writers from as early as the end of the sixteenth century suggest that rather than being equivalent to a *sesquialtera*, diminution indicated by *hemiolia* (as in Figure 5.16, above) should be performed slightly faster.[416]

Reconciling multiple triple-meter time signatures

Of those motets in Florido's anthologies that feature more than one triple-meter time signature, most examples have only two such signatures, O3/1 and C3/2; if these were meant to sound at the same speed in practice, what is the significance in distinguishing between them? Or should we consider C3/2 to be twice as fast as O3/1, as discussed above?

If we make this latter choice, establishing the difference between ordinary triple time (O3/1) and compound duple time (C3/2), it can be applied to other motets in Florido's anthologies that feature two triple-time signatures, the second time signature listed being performed at twice the speed of the first:

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414 Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Il primo libro di capricci* (Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1624) [p. 3]; translated in Houle, *Meter in Music*, p. 26.

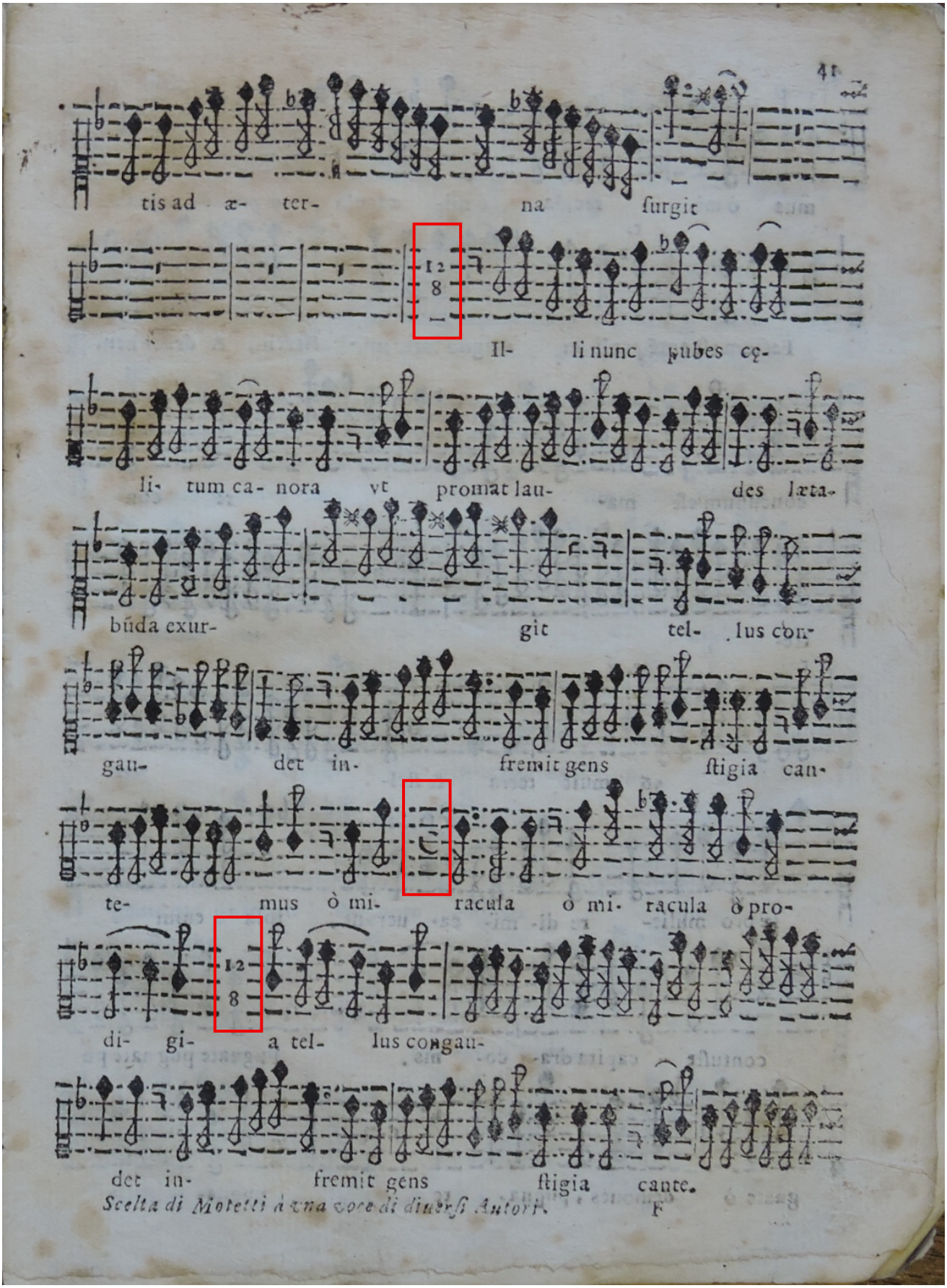
415 'la medesima battuta ineguale, non variandosi altro, che alle volte moto in questa maniera, cioè facendolo hora ordinario, hora adagio, & hora presto, secondo il voler del Compositore; perche si possono far Composizioni, nelle quali le parti fiano segnate diuersamente'. Bononcini, *Musico prattico*, p. 24

416 Ruth DeFord, 'Tempo Relationships between Duple and Triple Time in the Sixteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 14 (1995), pp. 1–51 (pp. 31–32).

- Girolamo Santucci's 'Exultate iusti' (FdS1650.09) uses C3/2 and 6/4;
- Mario Savioni's 'Canite populi' (FdS1663.01) uses 3 (notated as 6/4) and 6/4 (notated as 6/8);
- Giovanni Bicilli's 'Cantate Domino' (FdS1664.05) uses 3 (notated as 3/2) and 3/4;
- Giuseppe Micharelli's 'Charitate vulnerata' (FdS1672.14) uses 3/4 and 6/8.

Following this line of reasoning, Giuseppe Corsi's 'Indica mihi' (FdS1664.03) uses three signatures that one could connect proportionally in a similar way — 3/4, 3 (6/8), and 12/8; that is, ordinary triple time, compound duple time, and compound quadruple time.

In Pietro Paolo Vannini's solo motet 'O miracula, o prodigia' (FdS1659.07), we encounter four different time signatures, in the sequence: C — 12/8 [in the vocal part only; continuo remains in C] — C — 12/8 [in the vocal part only; continuo remains in C] — C — 3/8 — 6/3 — 3/6 — C — 3 (3/2).


41
tis ad æ- ter- na surgit
Il- li nunc nubes cę-
li- tum ca- nora vt promat lau- des læta-
bũda exur- git tel- lus con-
gau- det in- fremit gens stigia can-
te- mus ò mi- racula ò mi- racula ò pro-
di- gi- a tel- lus congau-
det in- fremit gens stigia cante.
Scelta di Motetti à vna voce di diuersi Autori.
F

42

mus ò mi- racula ò mi- racula ò prodi- gia.

Factum eſt autē prælium magnū inter mu- lierem, & draconem

concuſſum eſt ma- re con-

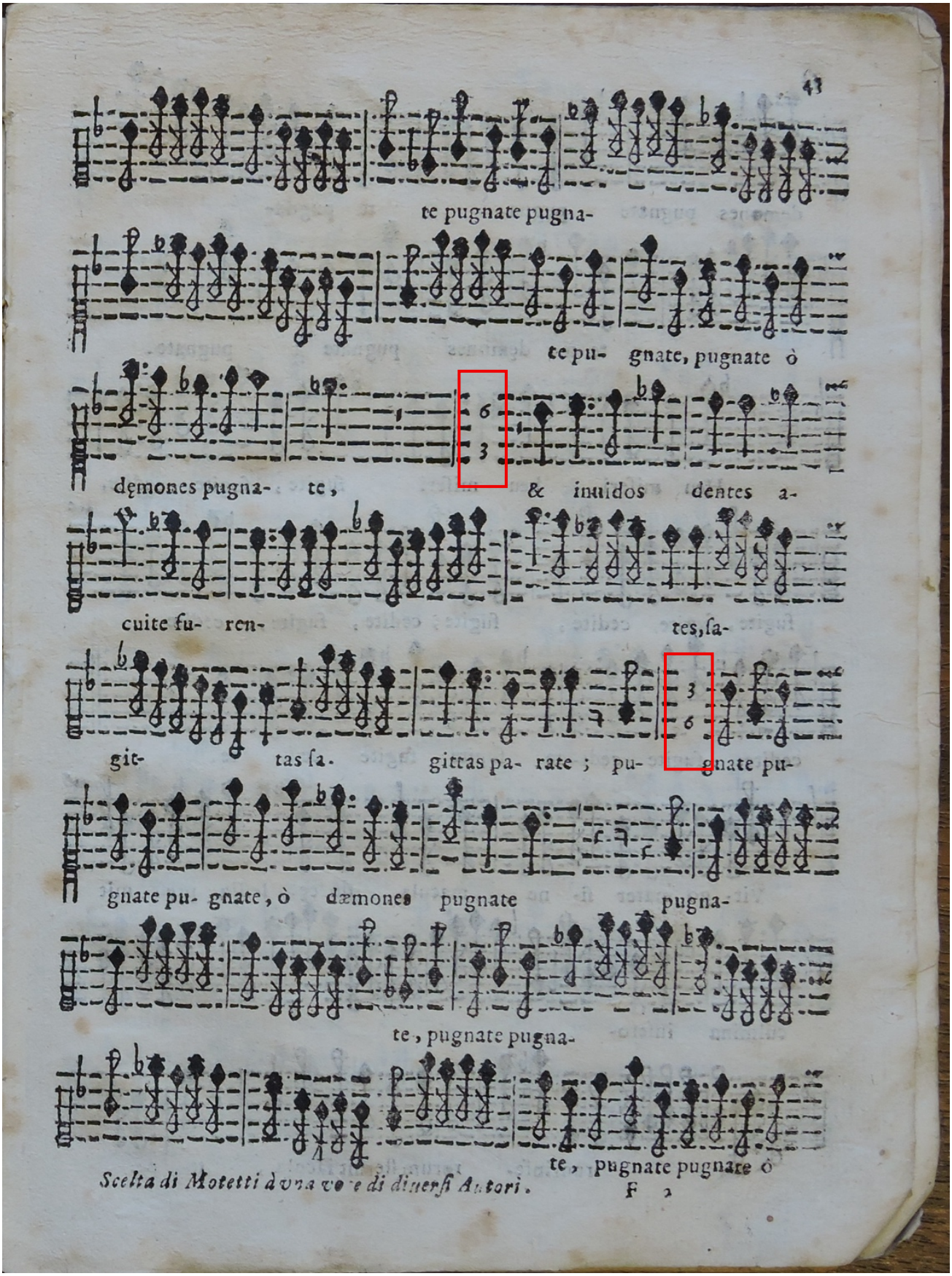
tre-

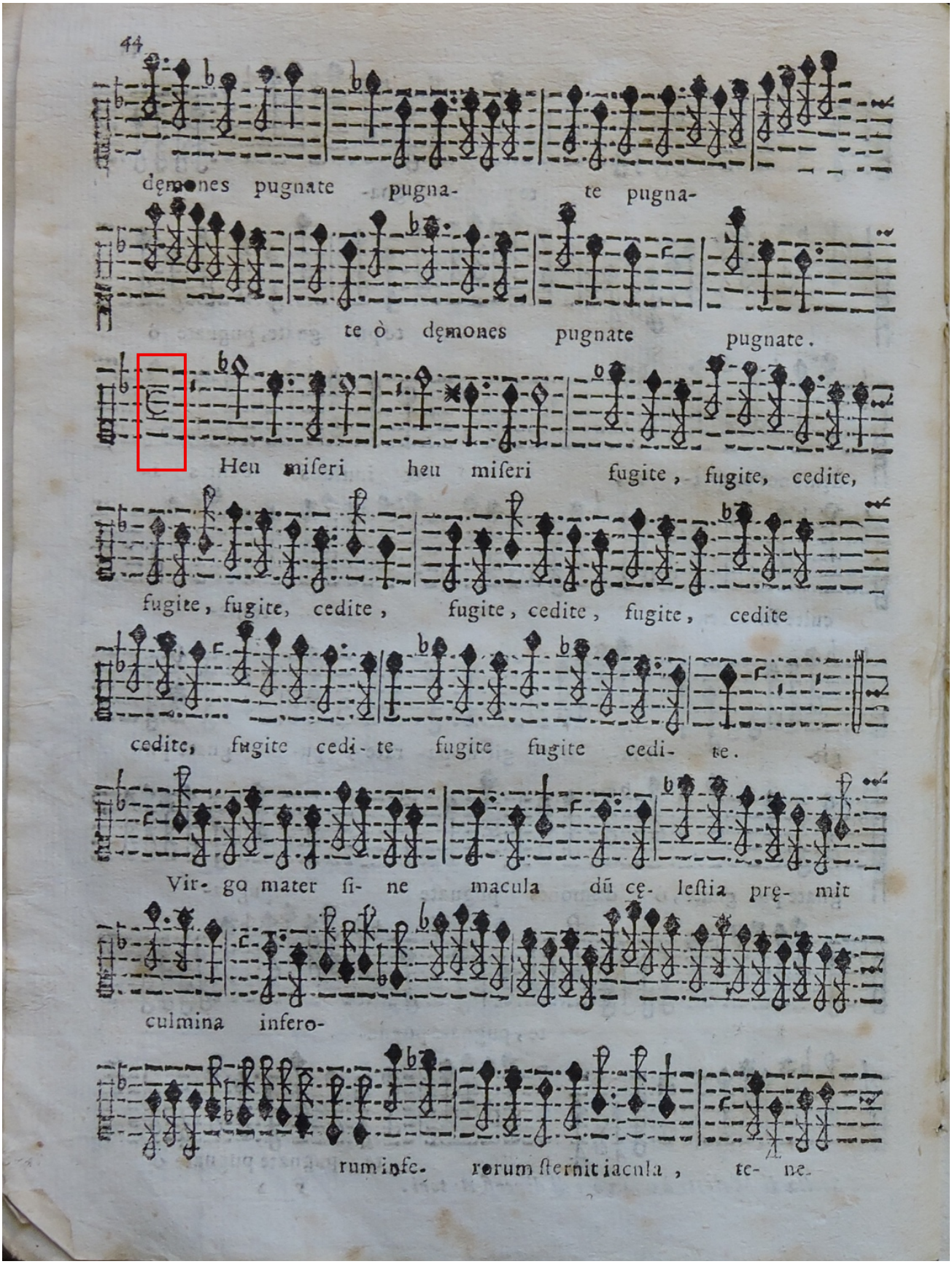
56 muit terra & ſtel-

læ pro mulie- re di- mi- ca- uerunt, ipſa enim

contuſte capita dra- co- nis, Pugnate pugnate pu

gnate ò dęmones, pugna- te pugna-


43
te pugnate pugna-
te pu- gnate, pugnate ò
dęmones pugna- te, & inuidos dentes a-
cuite fu- ren- tes, sa-
git- tas sa- gittas pa- rate ; pu- gnate pu-
gnate pu- gnate, ò dæmones pugnate pugna-
te, pugnate pugna-
te, pugnate pugnate ò
Scelta di Motetti à vna voce di diuersi Autori.
F 2


44
dęmones pugnate pugna- te pugna-
te ò dęmones pugnate pugnate.
Heu miſeri heu miſeri fugite, fugite, cedite,
fugite, fugite, cedite, fugite, cedite, fugite, cedite
cedite, fugite cedi- te fugite fugite cedi- te.
Vir- go mater ſi- ne macula dū cę- leſtia prę- mit
culmina infero-
rum infe- rorum ſternit iacula, te- ne-

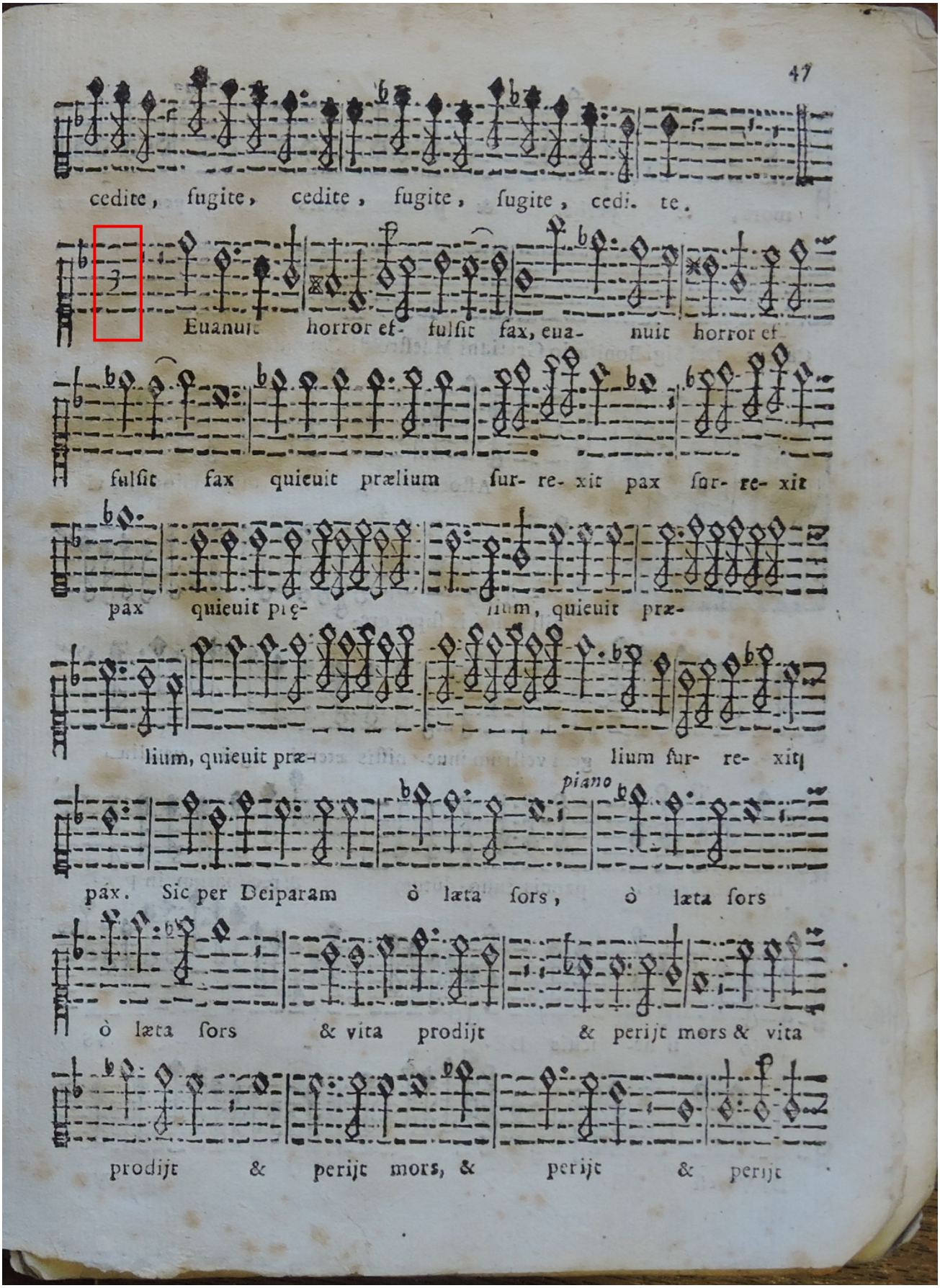
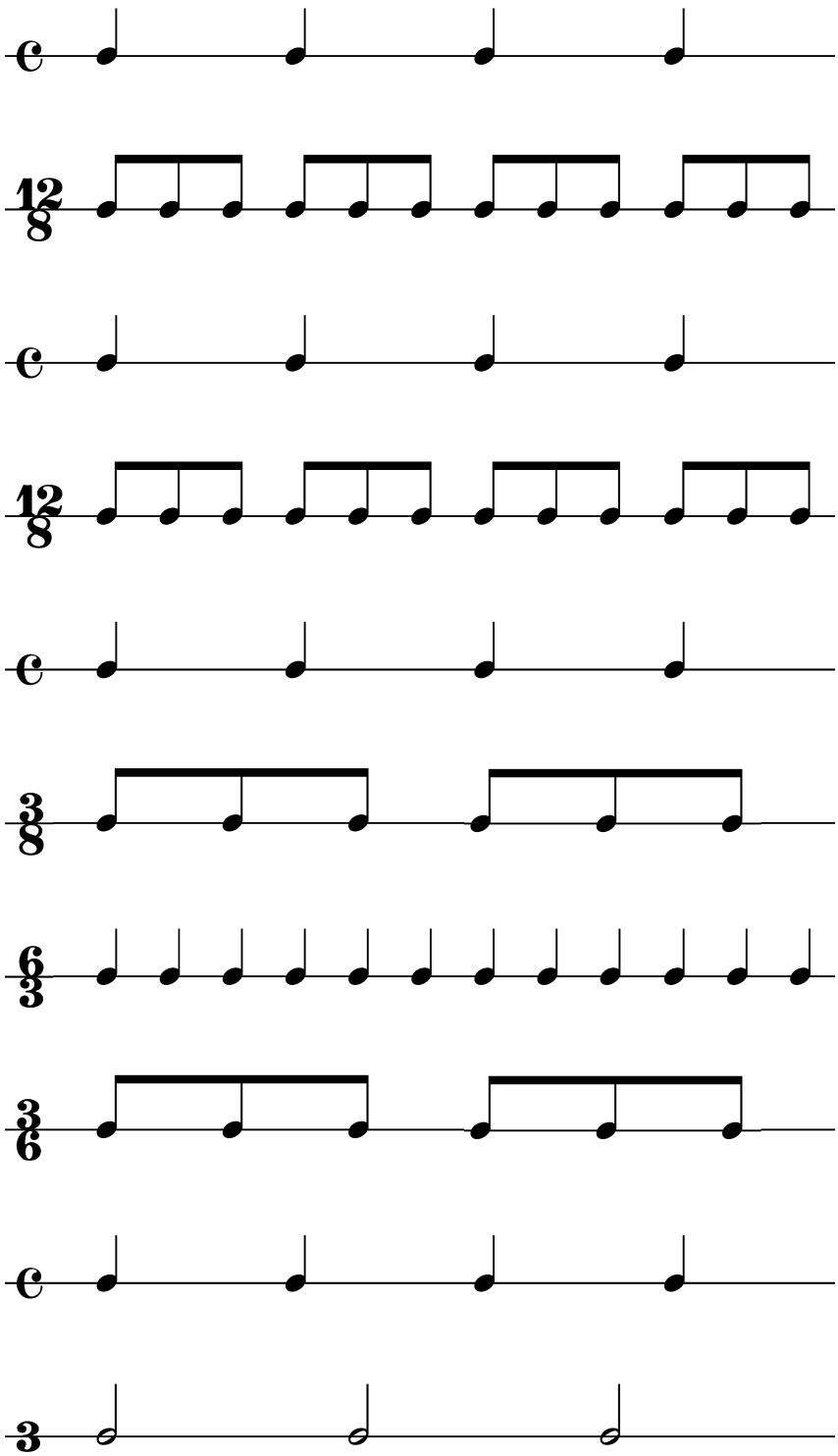

47
cedite, fugite, cedite, fugite, fugite, cedi. te.
Euanuit horror et- fulſit fax, eua- nuit horror et
fulſit fax quieuit prælium ſur- re- xit pax ſur- re- xit
pax quieuit pię- lium, quieuit præ-
lium, quieuit præ- lium ſur- re- xit
piano
pax. Sic per Deiparam ò læta ſors, ò læta ſors
ò læta ſors & vita prodijt & perijt mors & vita
prodijt & perijt mors, & perijt & perijt

Figure 5.17 Pages 41–44 and 47 from the Cantus partbook of Pietro Paolo Vannini's 'O miracula, o prodigia' (FdS1659.07), showing successive changes of time signature. (The piece begins in C duple meter; no changes of time signature occur on pages 45 and 46.) (Images courtesy of I-AOc.)

Although perhaps bewildering at first glance to modern eyes — as it was, I confess, to mine — Vannini has in fact employed extremely precise proportional notation throughout, which I interpret to mean that:

- 12/8 is understood as compound quadruple meter, its four dotted crotchets sounding synchronously with the four crotchets of the basso continuo part, which remains in C duple meter in both passages of 12/8 for the voice;
- moving into 3/8 from C is understood not strictly proportionally as three quavers in the time of eight — which would produce a slow *sesquialtera* unbefitting the words 'Pugnate, o dæmones, pugnate' ('Fight, o demons, fight') — but rather twice as fast, i.e. six quavers in the time of eight;
- 6/3 notated in crotchets is understood proportionally as six crotchets in the space of three quavers — that is, with the subsequent twelve crotchets in a bar sounding at the same speed as the quavers in the above 12/8; I suggest that the reason this proportion is notated as 6/3 in crotchets rather than 12/3 in quavers is to avoid the use of tailed notes in this section;
- 3/6 then is understood proportionally, returning us to the 3/8 (6/8) speed from earlier;
- moving into 3 (3/2) from C is understood as an ordinary triple meter; that is, three triplet minims per single bar of C.

Example 5.1, below, represents this interpretation visually.



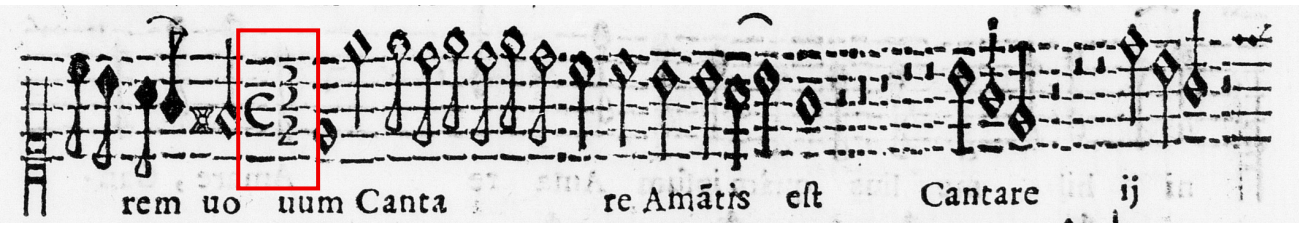
Example 5.1 Author's own diagram showing a suggested interpretation of the relationships among the time signatures used in Vannini's 'O miracula, o prodigia' (FdS1659.07).

I brought this particular motet to the groups of student singers in Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, inviting their opinions as to possible ways of performing the different time signatures (strictly proportionally? Freely? A mix of the two?) and having groups of them

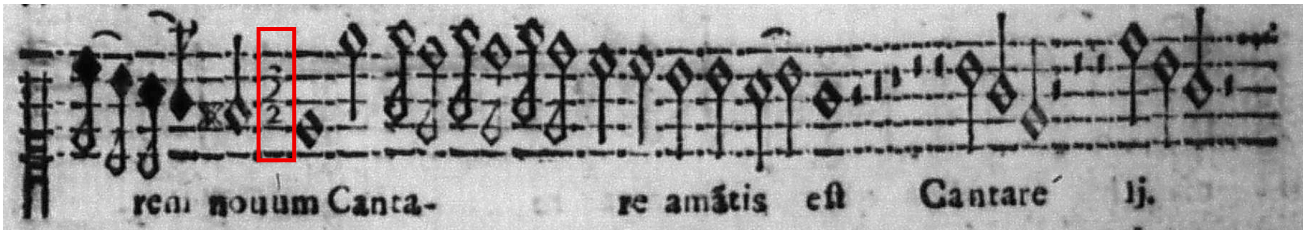
perform their 'solutions'; after this I presented my interpretation as shown in Example 5.1, above — which was not one the students had arrived at by themselves — and worked with them to execute it. The end results were mixed, in that there was a roughly even split between those in favour of a mostly free approach to the signatures and those who preferred the proportional approach; such lack of consensus is perhaps an invariably inevitable outcome of dealing with these issues primarily in theory and without devoting oneself fully to a performance of the work. (A Critical Edition of the work appears in Volume Two.)[417]

<u>Differences in triple-meter time signatures between two versions of Florido motets</u>

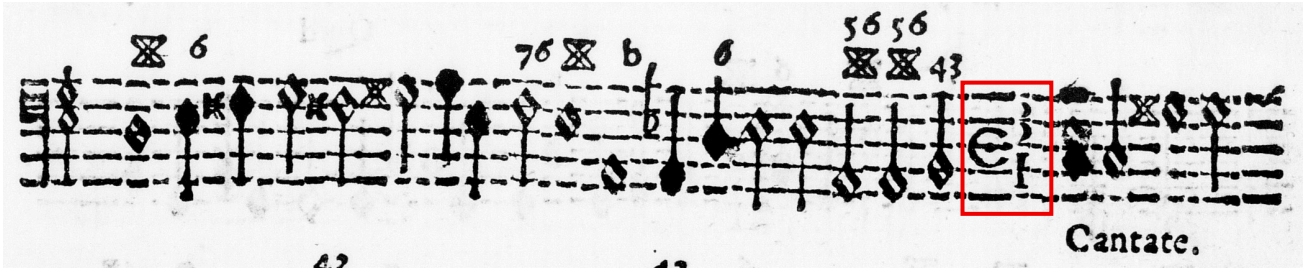
There are numerous instances of motets reprinted in FdS1651 and FdS1652 from Florido's earlier anthologies where a triple-meter time signature is different in the later version from the earlier. In most of these cases there appears to be no obvious reason for the change apart from inattention on the part of the typesetter, as the change actually introduces an inconsistency with the other partbooks; combined with other infelicities introduced into the reprinted motets in these two anthologies, this reinforces the feeling that they were produced in a rushed fashion. However, there is one motet in FdS1651, Silvestro Durante's 'Cantate Domino' (FdS1648.01, reprinted as FdS1651.02) in which changes have been made more consistently:

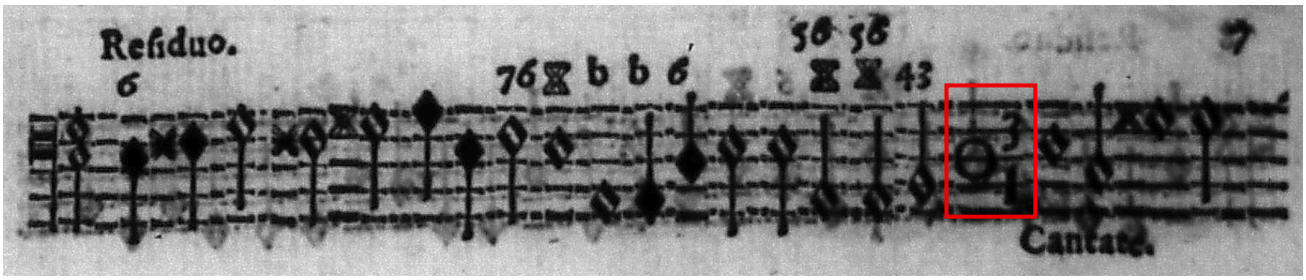


[417] Critical Edition included in Volume Two; see page 422.

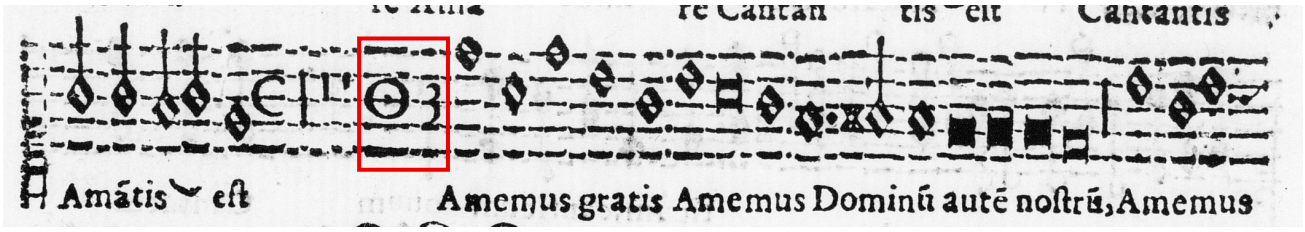


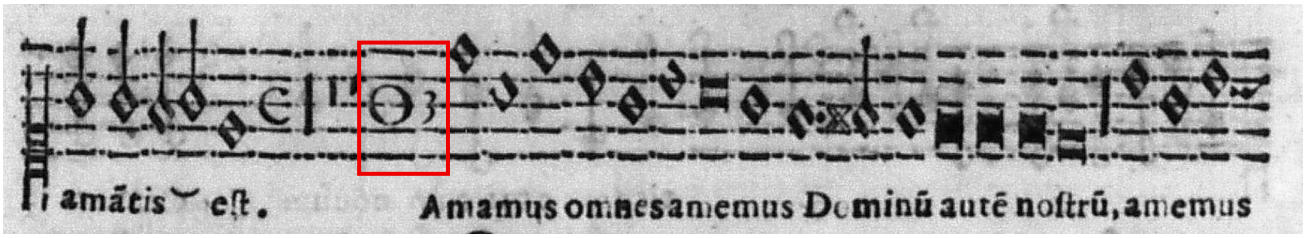
i) the C3/2 in the first example has become simply 3/2 in the second (taken from the Cantus partbooks; the same change occurs in all vocal partbooks);





ii) in the (Bassus ad) Organum partbooks, the C3/1 with a dot (!) at the same point in the music as example i), above, has become O3/1 without a dot (which has the equivalent effect in terms of the relationship between the preceding section and the new);





iii) in the Cantus partbooks again, the O3 with a dot has become O3 without a dot.

(In each of the three pairs of images above, the first is taken from the GB-Lwa exemplar and the second from that in M-MDca.)

However, these changes are always not seen in other reprinted motets — and, indeed, seeming inconsistencies in the first print are faithfully reproduced in the second. For example, in both versions of Foggia's 'Florete flores' (FdS1643.10/FdS1651.06) the first change from duple to triple meter has a time signature of C3/2 with a dot in the C (thus, incidentally, ruling out the possibility raised by example iii) above that Mascardi, who printed FdS1651 and FdS1652, did not have the dotted versions of mensural symbols in his font; however, the second time the meter changes from duple to triple, in both prints the time signature is C3/2 with an undotted C.

The question remains of whether these were deliberate changes, reflecting changes in the interpretation of mensural symbols in time signatures — as seems likely with example i) and possibly example iii) — or are perhaps attributable to either a less musically-adept typesetter (who might not have realised the significance of small notational differences) or less-than thorough proofreading — as may perhaps be the case in examples ii) and iii).

One can find differences in later manuscript sources for Florido's anthologies that seem more clearly to have been made deliberately in order to simplify the matter of triple-meter time signatures. Most common is the omission of the mensuration symbol; for example, in the S-Uu manuscript version of Cecchelli's 'Per rigidos montes' (FdS1648.08) all the instances of C3/2 in the original Florido print are written as 3/2 (see Figure 5.18 and Figure 5.19), and the same change can be observed in numerous French manuscript sources from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

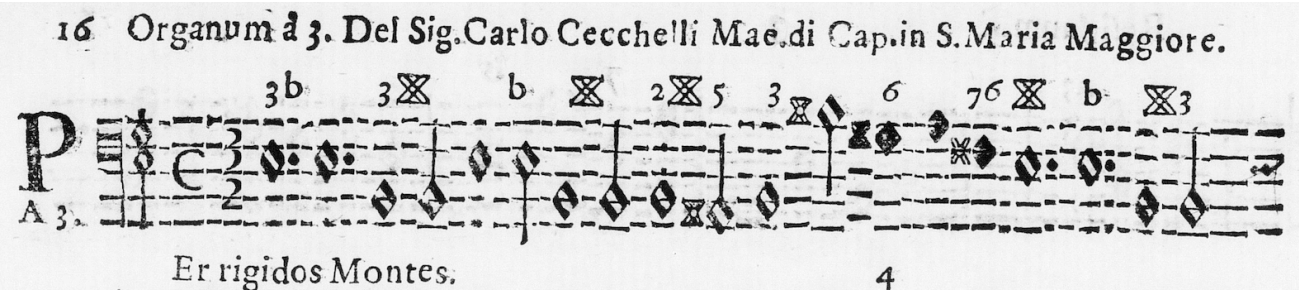


Figure 5.18 The opening of the basso continuo part of Cecchelli's 'Per rigidos montes' (FdS1648.08). (Image courtesy of GB-Lwa.)

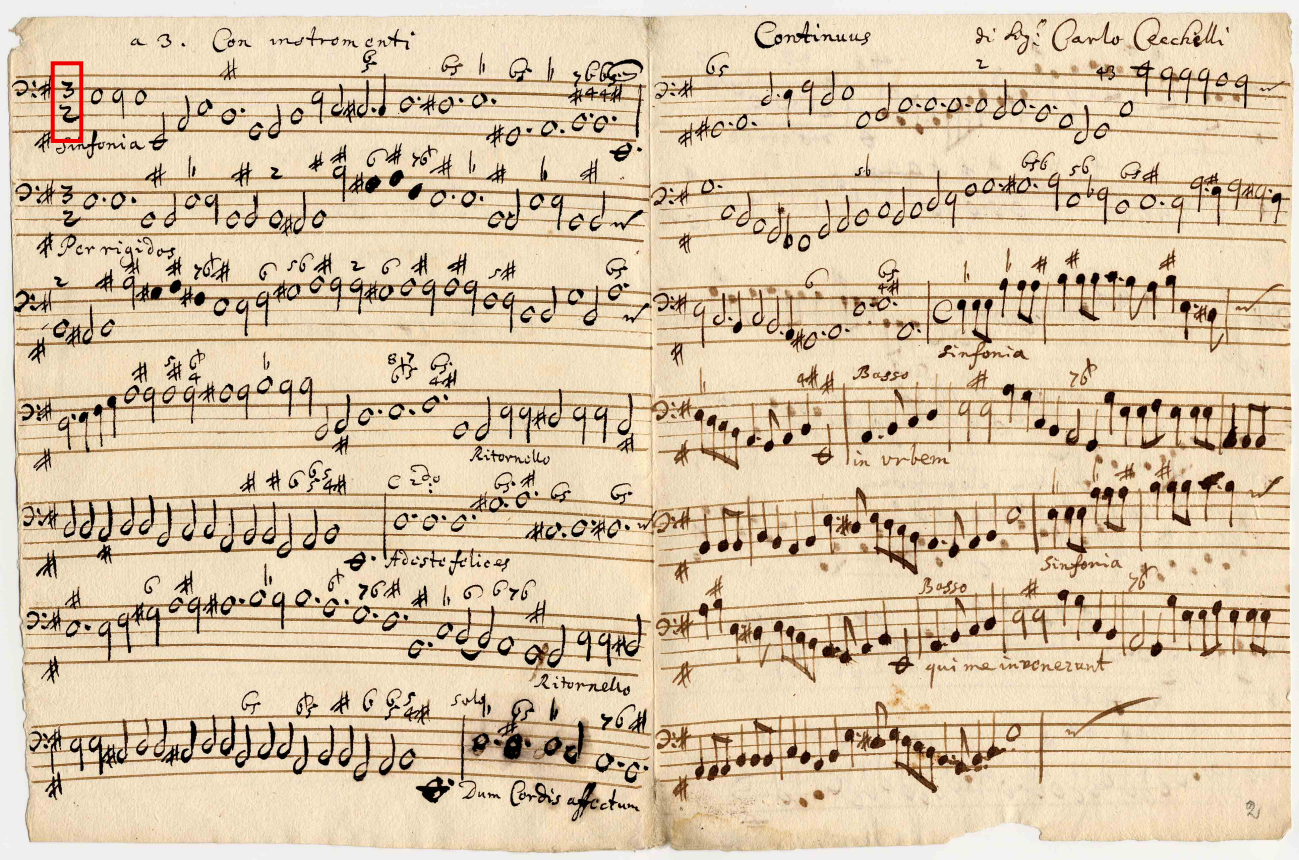


Figure 5.19 The basso continuo part of the S-Uu manuscript version of Cecchelli's 'Per rigidos montes' (vhms 12,11). (Image courtesy of S-Uu.)

5.5 | Void notation and coloration

Performance practice and notation

The purpose of this discussion is not to explore the reasons why any particular motet in Florido's anthologies may feature void notation or coloration,[418] but rather to discuss changes and inconsistencies in its usage and appearance in the anthologies.

Void notation refers to the practice of notating notes that would ordinarily have black noteheads with white noteheads instead but with additional tails on the stems. Thus, a crotchet (*semiminima* in Italian) is written as a white note with one tail (*croma bianca*, 'white quaver' — whence the Italian term for void notation, *crome bianche*), a quaver (*croma*) as a white note with two tails (*semicroma bianca*, 'white semiquaver'), and a semiquaver (*semicroma*) as a white note with three tails (*biscroma bianca*, 'white demisemiquaver');[419] this last is uncommon in Italian repertoire, and does not appear at all in Florido's motets.

In analysing Charpentier's use of void notation, Graham Sadler notes that while the majority of the composer's passages in his autographs with void notation 'use either C/3/2 or 3/2', '*crome bianche* are associated with a wider range of signatures, among them C3/1, C3/2, C.3/2, O3/2, 3/2, C. and 3'[420] — an assertion that is not reflected in Florido's anthologies, in which void notation occurs almost without exception under C3/2 (with or without a dot), 3/2, or 3; there is a single instance of void notation under C.3/1, Antonio Maria Abbatini's 'O admirabile mysterium' (FdS1645.07), but even this is notated as if in 3/2. Nor do Florido's anthologies accord with Sadler's observation that, 'not infrequently Italian sources of the period include black and void [*semiminime*] in the same passage'.[421]

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[418] For background to, and discussion of, this topic, see, for example, Thompson, 'Once More into the Void' and her subsequent correspondence on the matter with Klaus Miehling in *Early Music*, 31.1 (February 2003), pp. 156–58; and Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation'.

[419] The Italian terms were used by contemporary authors — including Banchieri (for instance, in his *La Banchierina, overo Cartella Picciola del Canto Figurato* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1623), p. 17) — unlike the related French term *croches blanches*, which did not enter common usage until the following century. Cf Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', p. 31, n. 1.

[420] Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', p. 45.

[421] Ibid., p. 42.

On the other hand, Sadler's remark that 'at the very period when Charpentier adopted it (during his studies in Rome in the 1660s), void notation was going out of fashion in Italy'[422] does tally with what is observed in Florido's anthologies: there are numerous examples of *crome bianche* in each of the first ten collections (roughly half), through to FdS1655, then it is seen in three motets out of twelve in FdS1659, only one in FdS1663, none in FdS1664 and FdS1668, then one final instance in FdS1672, Florido's final anthology. Furthermore, this juxtaposition of motets in Florido's anthologies in which some employ *crome bianche* and others do not in passages that seem indistinguishable musically and in terms of textual theme also supports Shirley Thompson's conclusion (summarised by Sadler) that, for Charpentier, 'no tempo distinction is possible' between the two types of notation — and therefore that 'both styles of notation must […] be identical "in their value and everything else" — the "everything else" including the manner in which they were performed'.[423]

In contrast to void notation, there is a primary reason for the continued appearance of coloration in mid-seventeenth-century repertoire; namely, the indication of hemiola in passages of triple-meter as an aid when reading from customarily unbarred partbooks. It is used in over half of the pieces in Florido's motet anthologies (133 out of 233 = 57%), under almost every triple-meter signature encountered, but as with void notation its appearances become seemingly more irregular and inconsistent as time goes on.

In some cases from as early as FdS1654 there appear passages where the continuo part displays coloration at certain points of hemiola, but the vocal parts do not; the following example (Figure 5.20) is taken from Stefano Fabri's 'Inquietum est' (FdS1654.03).

[422] Ibid., p. 36.
[423] Thompson, 'Once More into the Void', p. 91.

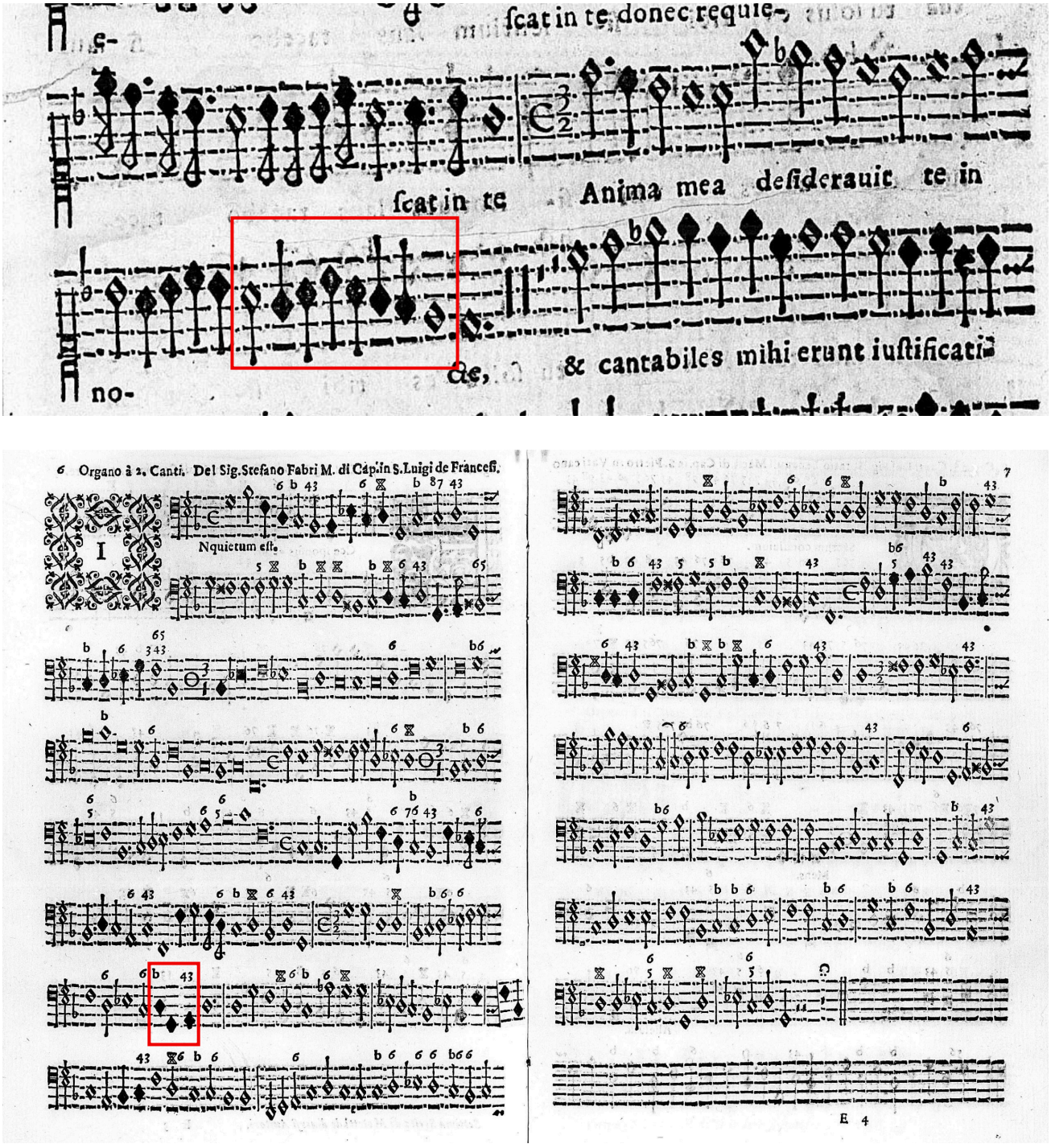


Figure 5.20 The Cantus I and Basso continuo parts of Stefano Fabri's 'Inquietum est' (FdS1654.03), showing the absence of coloration in the former but its presence in the latter at the same point in the music. (Images courtesy of F-Pc.)

We can also observe in this example more widespread inconsistency in the deployment of coloration even within a single part itself; Figure 5.21 (which shows the continuo part of the Fabri motet) highlights how the first two instances of the 'short-long' figure in a triple-metre section are notated with black notes (indicated by the red boxes), but all subsequent

instances are not (indicated by the red ovals). Were it not for the fact that the first two uncoloured instances fall under the same time signature as the second boxed instance, one might reasonably conjecture that the divergence in practice was down to a difference in interpretation of the C3/2 and 3/2 time signatures; as it is, a cogent explanation seems harder to identify.

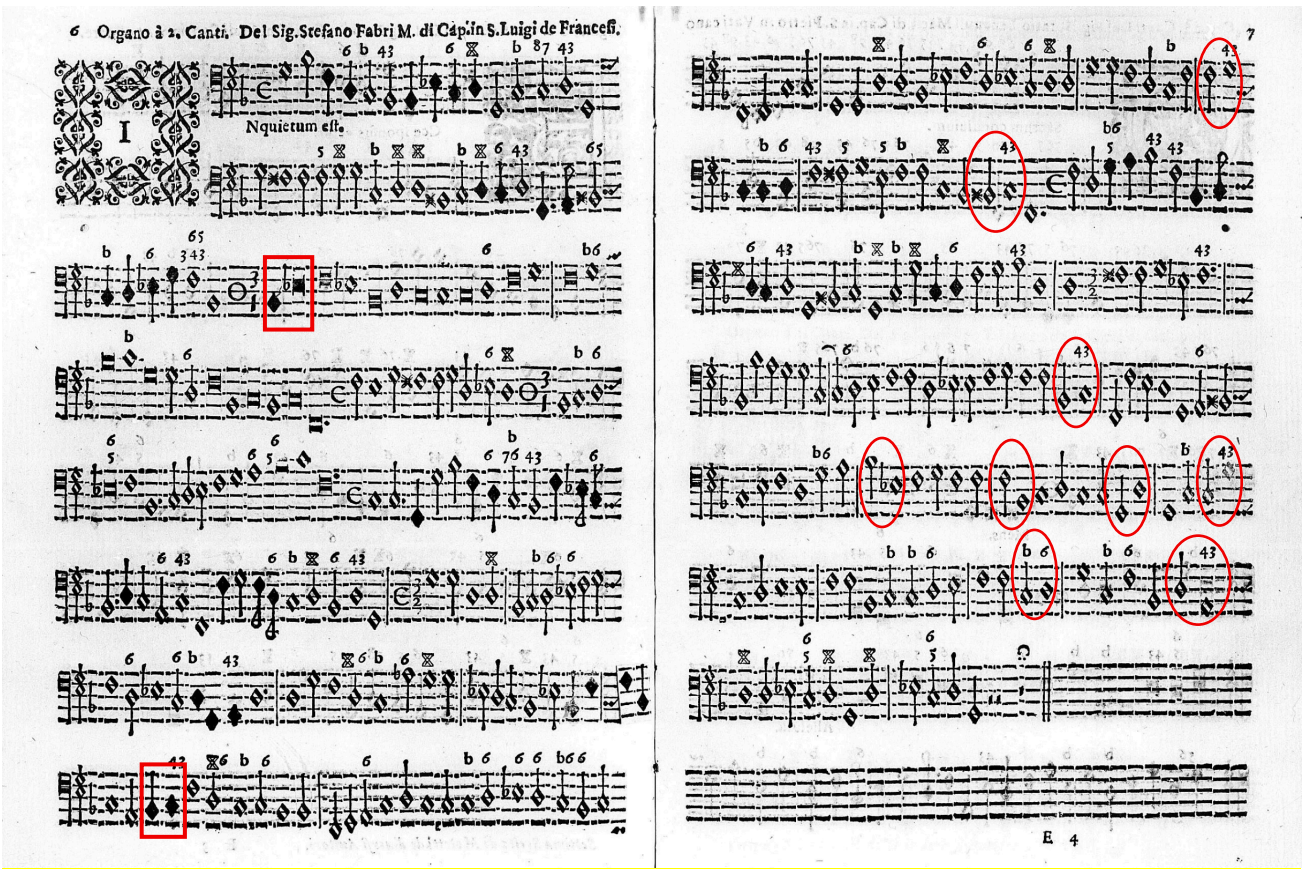
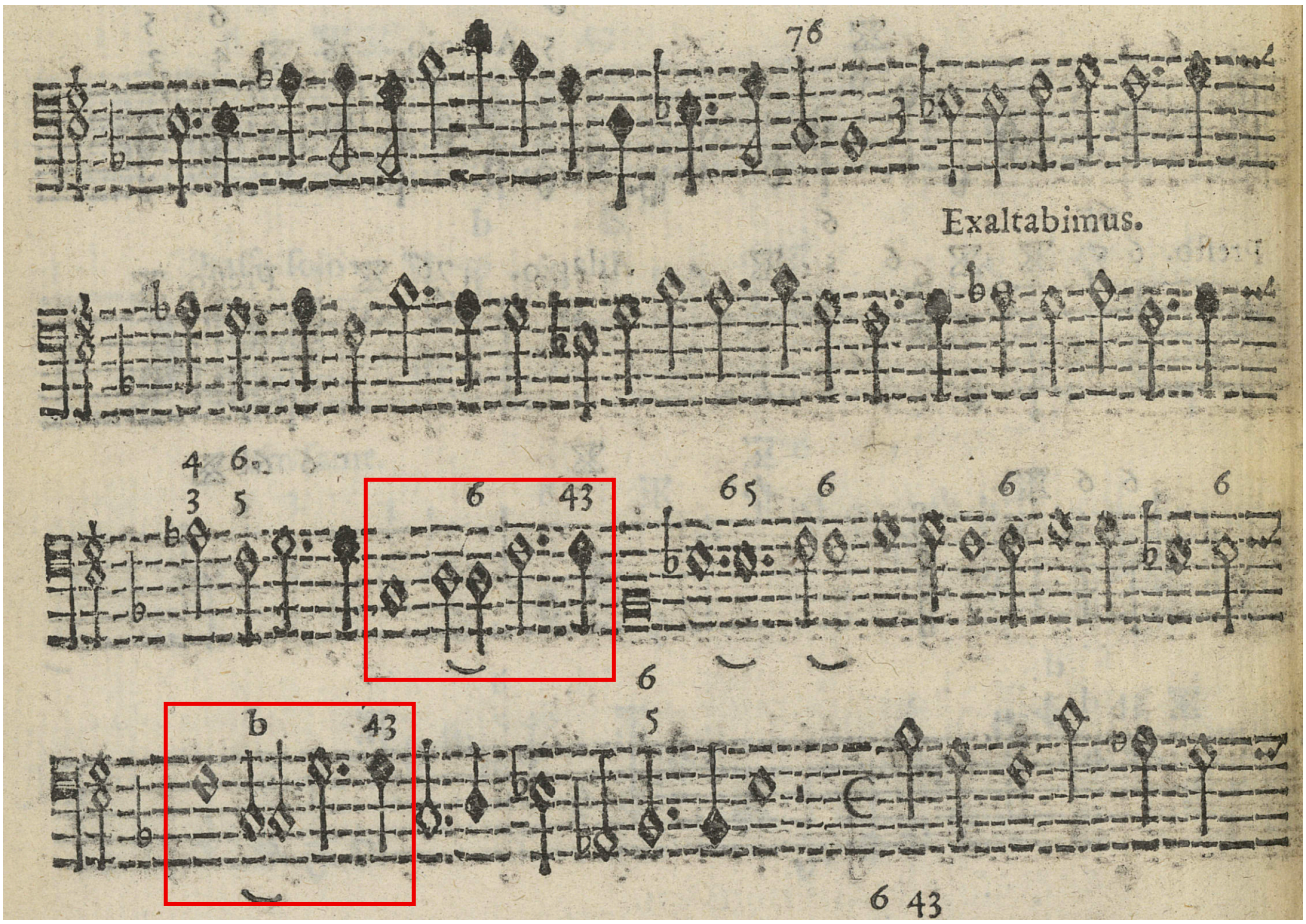


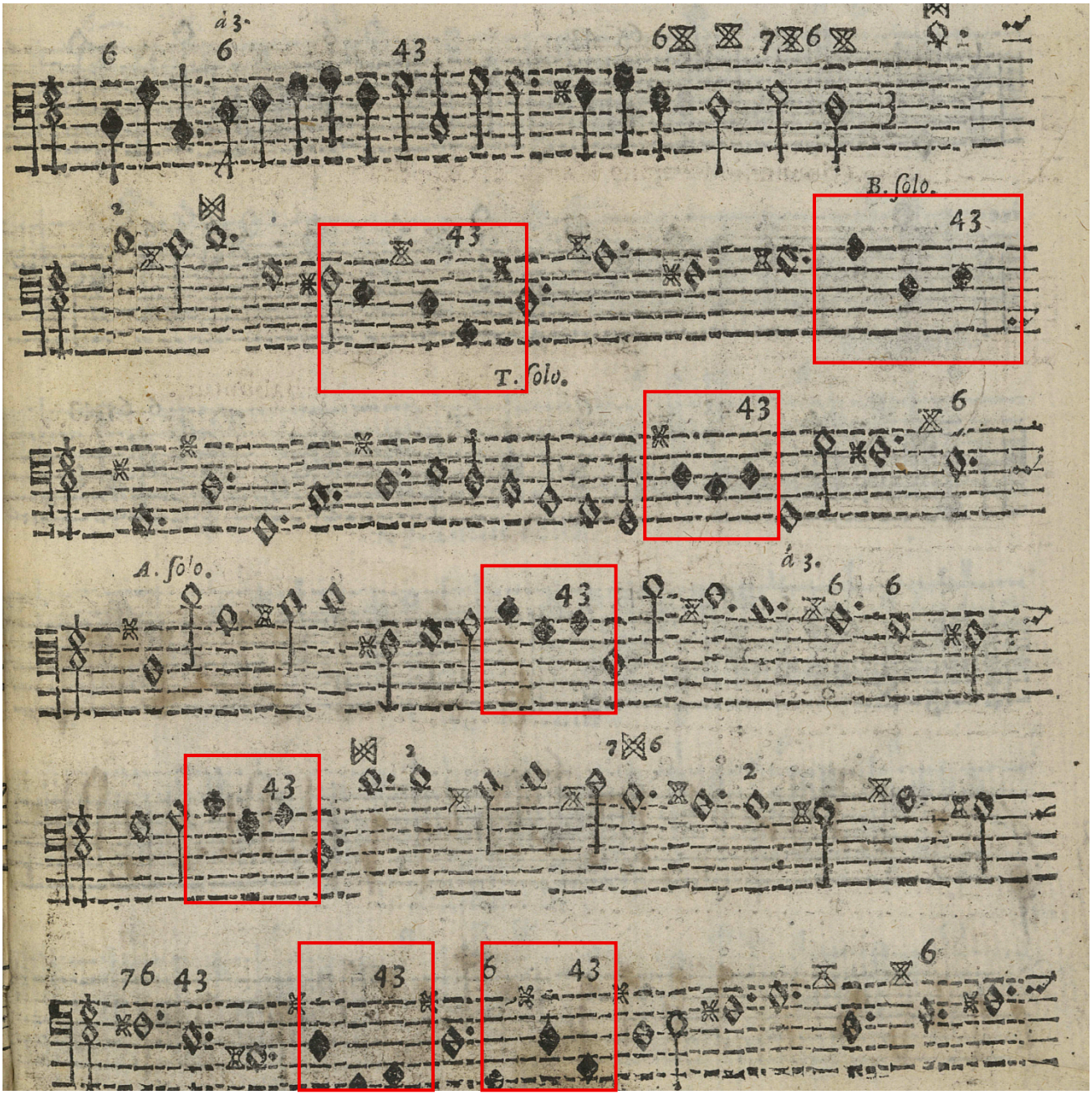
Figure 5.21 Basso continuo part of Fabri's 'Inquietum est' (FdS1654.03) (Image courtesy of F-Pc.)

(Note also the end of the penultimate line of the left-hand page in Figure 5.21 as taken from the F-Pc exemplar. This shows how the final two notes before the *custos* were originally printed incorrectly, a mistake that in all other exemplars has been corrected by means of a paste-over; however, in the F-Pc exemplar, we can see how the pasted-over section has become detached and now sits after the end of the line but upside-down.)

Performance practice and notation

It is in Florido's tenth collection in 1655 that we begin to find pieces in which coloration might be expected at a hemiola, to indicate it more clearly, but it is not used — in some of these the hemiola is instead shown by the use of tied notes — yet in other pieces in the anthology it is used; the following excerpts are taken from the final three motets in FdS1655, Foggia's 'In memoria æterna', Marciani's 'Quasi oliva pullulans', and the anonymous 'Quem vidistis pastores'.




à 3.
B. solo.
T. solo.
A. solo.
à 3.

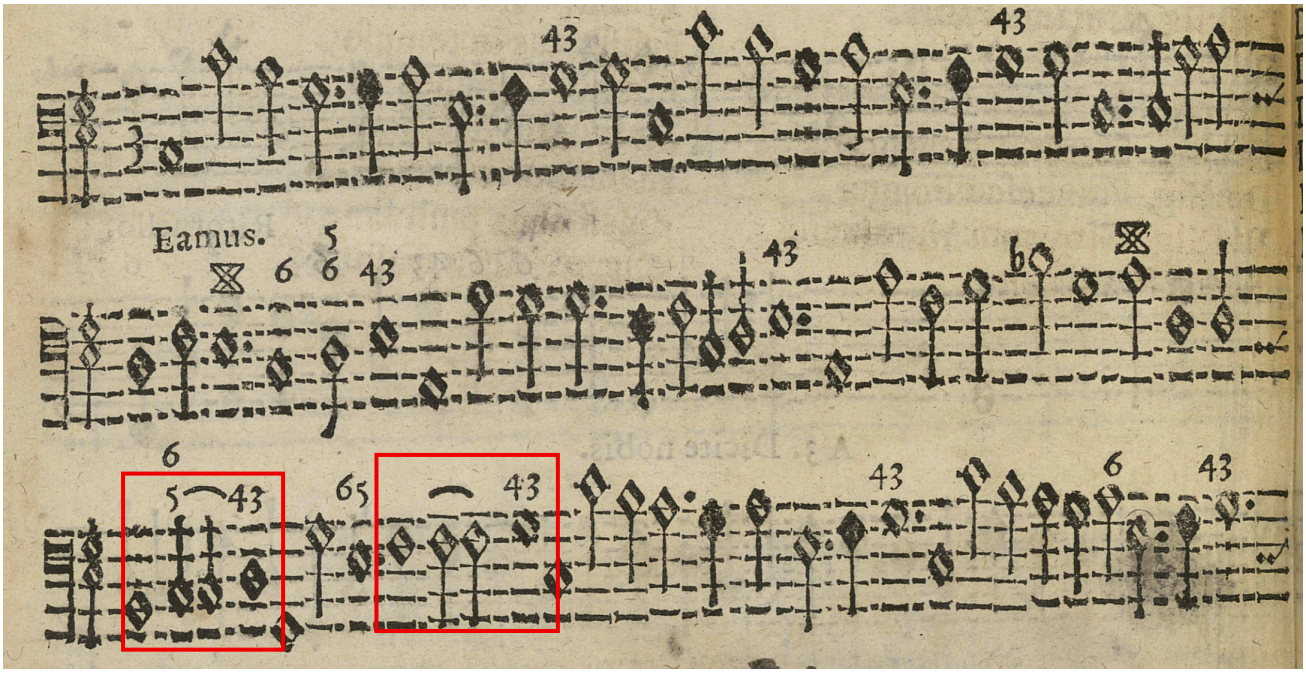


Figure 5.22 Excerpts from the Organum partbook of FdS1655, showing the indication of hemiola by tied notes, then coloration, then tied notes again in the three final motets in that anthology. (Images courtesy of F-Pm.)

The use of coloration that originated in the medieval and Renaissance periods as an alternative means to proportion of indicating diminution (in this case, the reduction in the metrical value by one third of the coloured notes) had become rare by the middle of the seventeenth century. The two examples in Florido's motet anthologies — Paolo Agostini's 'O Iesu, cordis mei' (FdS1643.22) and Carissimi's 'Nigra sum' (FdS1650.03) — are discussed in the 'Meter, proportions, and time signatures' section, above.

Finally, to round off this section, mention of an unusual notation in Savioni's 'Laudemus omnes' (FdS1668.04), which indicates a duplet '4' in the course of a triple-time section, with nothing left at risk of ambiguity by the addition of barlines.

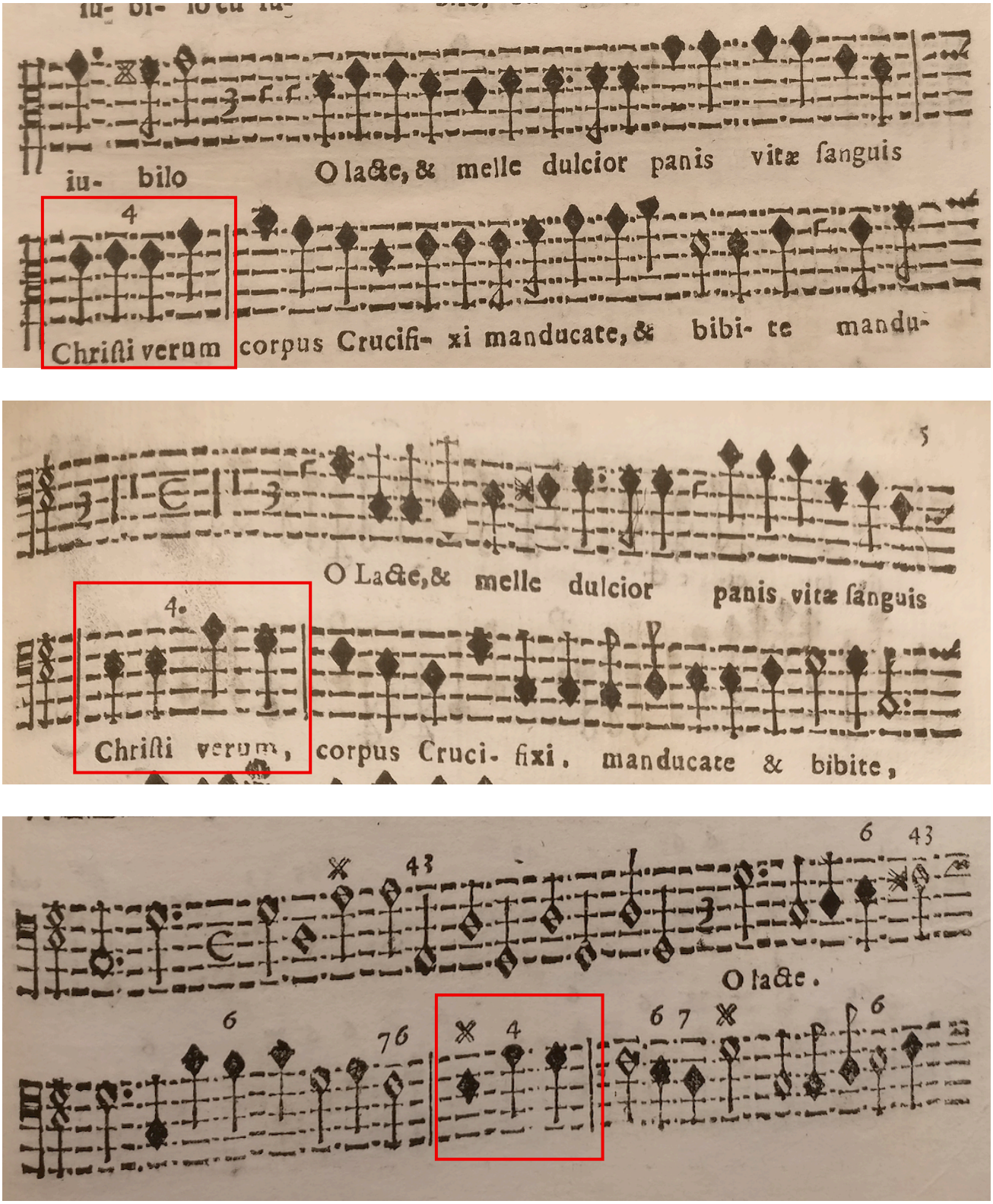
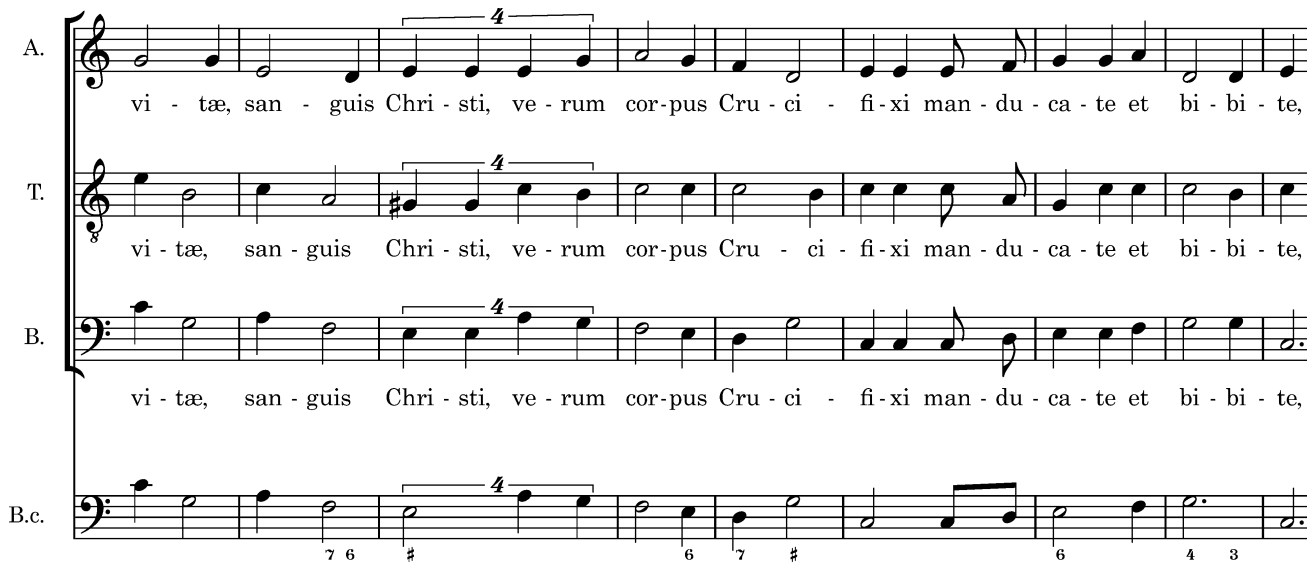


Figure 5.23 Excerpts from the partbooks of Savioni's 'Laudemus omnes' (FdS1668.04), showing the marked duple meter in a triple-meter passage. (Images courtesy of GB-Lbl.)



Example 5.2 Excerpt from Savioni's 'Laudemus omnes' (FdS1668.04) in the author's transcription.

5.6 | Ornamentation — *visibilis et invisibilis*

This section addresses the issue of ornamentation in Florido's anthologies — the choice application of small- or large-scale embellishments at certain points in the music according to various sets of rules that would have been learnt and inwardly digested by performers as part of their training. Some of these applications would be indicated in a part, while others were unnotated and deployed depending on the skill of the performer to choose and apply them *ex tempore*.

Numerous treatises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries laid out precepts for ornamentation, usually giving numerous examples of how each type of embellishment could be executed — less accomplished musicians could slavishly copy them, more talented ones could use them as the basis of their own extemporisations. These include:

Silvestro Ganassi, *Fontegara* (Venice, 1535)

Diego Ortiz, *Tratado de glosas* (Rome, 1553)

Giovanni Maffei, *Lettere* (Naples, 1562)

Girolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir* (Venice, 1584)

Giovanni Bassano, *Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie* (Venice, 1585)

Riccardo Rognoni, *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminuire* (Venice, 1592)

Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica* (Venice, 1594)

Aurelio Virgiliano, *Il Dolcimelo* (manuscript, c. 1600)

Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1601/02 and 1615)

Angelo Notari, *Prime musiche nuove* (London, 1613)

Antonio Brunelli, *Varii esercitii …* (Florence, 1614)

Francesco Rognoni Taeggio, *Selva de varii passaggi* (Milan, 1620)

Giovanni Battista Spadi, *Libro de passaggi ascendenti et descendenti* (Venice, 1624)

Additionally, composers also addressed these matters in prefaces to their works; of particular relevance to the Roman milieu are Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600) and Ottavio Durante's *Arie devote* (1608), this latter a collection of sacred monody in a style strongly influenced by Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*.

<u>Graces</u>

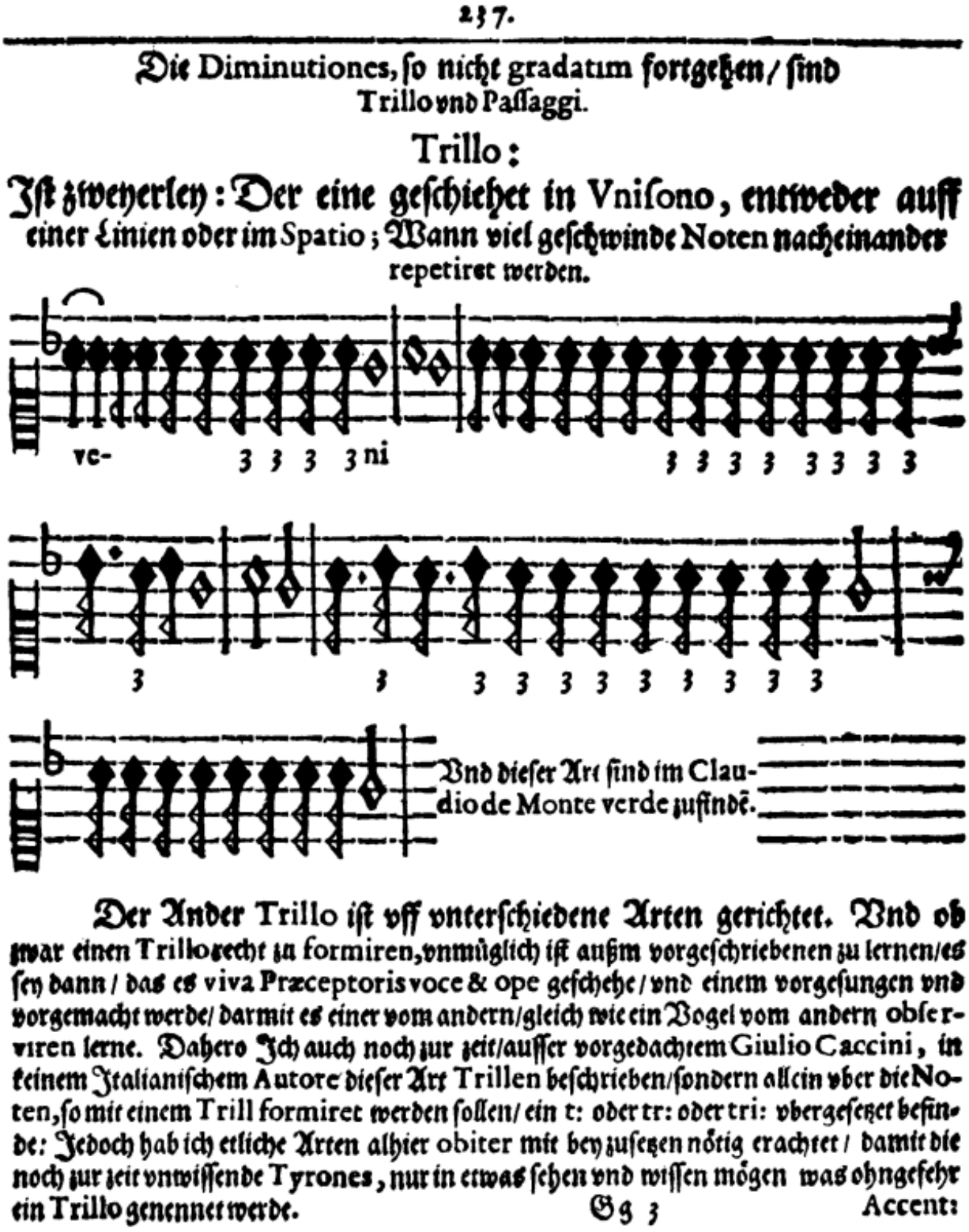
The only printed indication of ornamentation in all of Florido's motet anthologies is 't.', which appears most frequently on isolated notes in passing. This marking was most commonly understood in vocal music of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to indicate at least two different ornamental figures, each of which is referred to in different sources of the time as *trillo*. This was one of a wide range of graces (*gratie*/*grazie*; other contemporary Italian terms used include *accenti*, *affetti*, and *maniere*), small-scale ornaments applied to embellish only one note; as such, their execution often required a pause or momentary slowing of the tactus, particularly at cadential points.

Performance practice and notation

Praetorius is one of the few contemporary authors to explicitly distinguish between the different types of *trillo*, in the third volume of his wide-ranging work *Syntagmum musicum* (Figure 5.24):

- 'there are two kinds of *trillo*: one is played *unisono*, on one line or in the space (that is, many quick notes are repeated one after the other)';
- 'the other *trillo* is performed in different ways; indeed, it is impossible to learn how to form a *trillo* properly simply from what has been written about it previously — it can be learnt only by instruction from a teacher showing how it is to be sung and played, so that one takes it from another, just as one bird learns by observing another.'[424]

[424] Praetorius, *Syntagmum musicum III*, p. 237.



237.

Die Diminutiones, so nicht gradatim fortgehen / sind Trillo vnd Passaggi.

Trillo:

Ist zweyerley: Der eine geschiehet in Vnisono, entweder auff einer Linien oder im Spatio; Wann viel geschwinde Noten nacheinander repetiret werden.

Der Ander Trillo ist vff vnterschiedene Arten gerichtet. Vnd ob zwar einen Trillo recht zu formiren, vnmüglich ist außm vorgeschriebenen zu lernen/es sey dann / das es viva Præceptoris voce & ope geschehe / vnd einem vorgesungen vnd vorgemacht werde/ darmit es einer vom andern/gleich wie ein Vogel vom andern observiren lerne. Dahero Ich auch noch zur zeit/ausser vorgedachtem Giulio Caccini, in keinem Italianischem Autore dieser Art Trillen beschrieben/sondern allein vber die Noten, so mit einem Trill formiret werden sollen/ ein t: oder tr: oder tri: vbergesetzet befinde: Jedoch hab ich etliche Arten alhier obiter mit bey zusetzen nötig erachtet / damit die noch zur zeit vnwissende Tyrones, nur in etwas sehen vnd wissen mögen was ohngefehr ein Trillo genennet werde.

Gg 3 Accent:

Figure 5.24 Praetorius's discussion of the two types of *trillo*. (Image courtesy of D-Dl.)

He goes on to state that 'to this day I have not seen this type of *trillo* described by any other Italian author than the aforementioned Giulio Caccini, but only their using the letters "t", "tr", or "tri" over the notes by which a *trillo* should be executed.'[425]

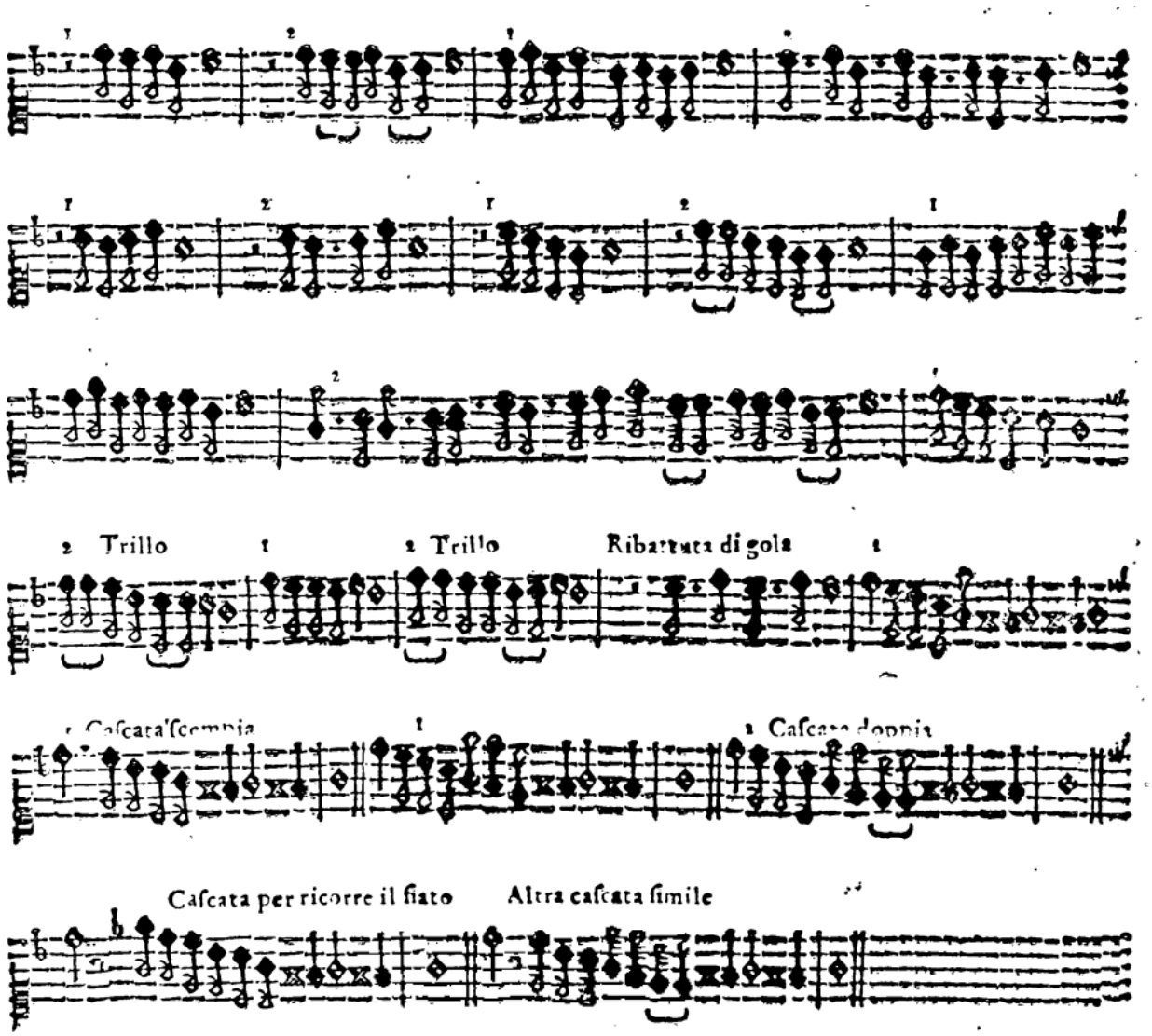


Figure 5.25 Excerpt from Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* showing a variety of graces, including *trillo* (Florence: eredi di Giorgio Marescotti, 1602). (Image courtesy of US-Bpr.)

However, as Stewart A. Carter notes, 'In considering small-scale ornaments, one must approach the terminology with a certain scepticism. One author's *trillo* is another's tremolo, and a given term is sometimes used both generically and specifically in the same treatise'; he goes on to compare seven different seventeenth-century sources, concluding that

[425] Ibid., p. 237

'articulation of the *trillo* may have ranged from the sharp repercussions of a belly laugh to a subtle vibrato'.[426]

In light of this, the manner of execution of each instance of the 't.' indication in Florido's motet anthologies is best left to the individual performer; a selection of such instances is shown below, most of which occur at cadential points. (Needless to say, there are numerous other points in Florido's anthologies when a *trillo*, or other grace, could be applied.)

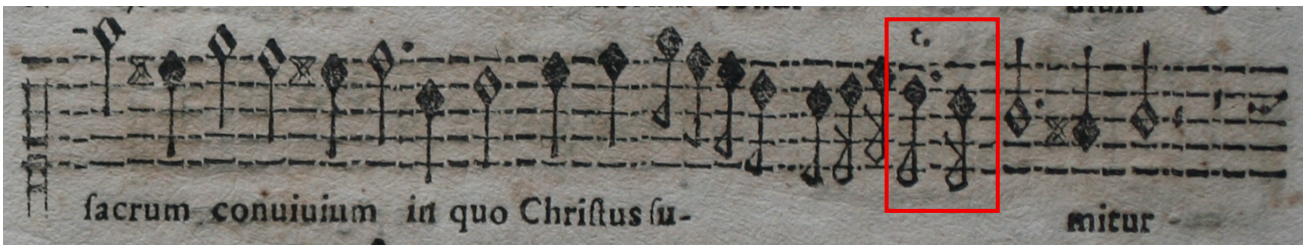


Figure 5.26 Excerpt from Fabri's 'O sacrum convivium' (FdS1645.14). (Image courtesy of I-PIa.)

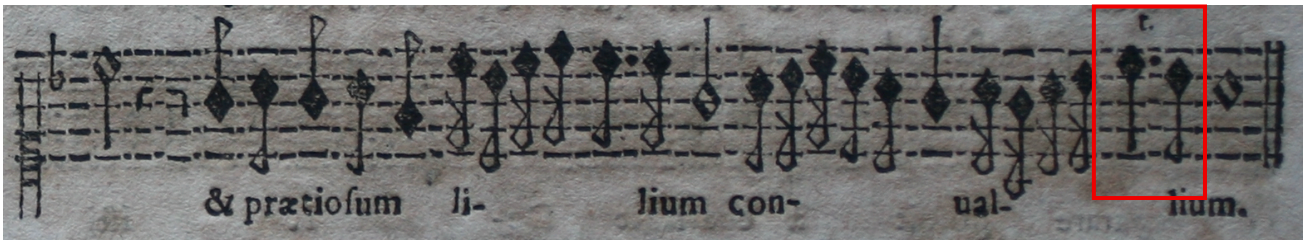


Figure 5.27 Excerpt from Mazzocchi's 'Hymnum novum' (FdS1645.20). (Image courtesy of I-PIa.)

[426] Stewart A. Carter, '4, Italy, 1600–50', in 'Ornaments', *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.49928>.

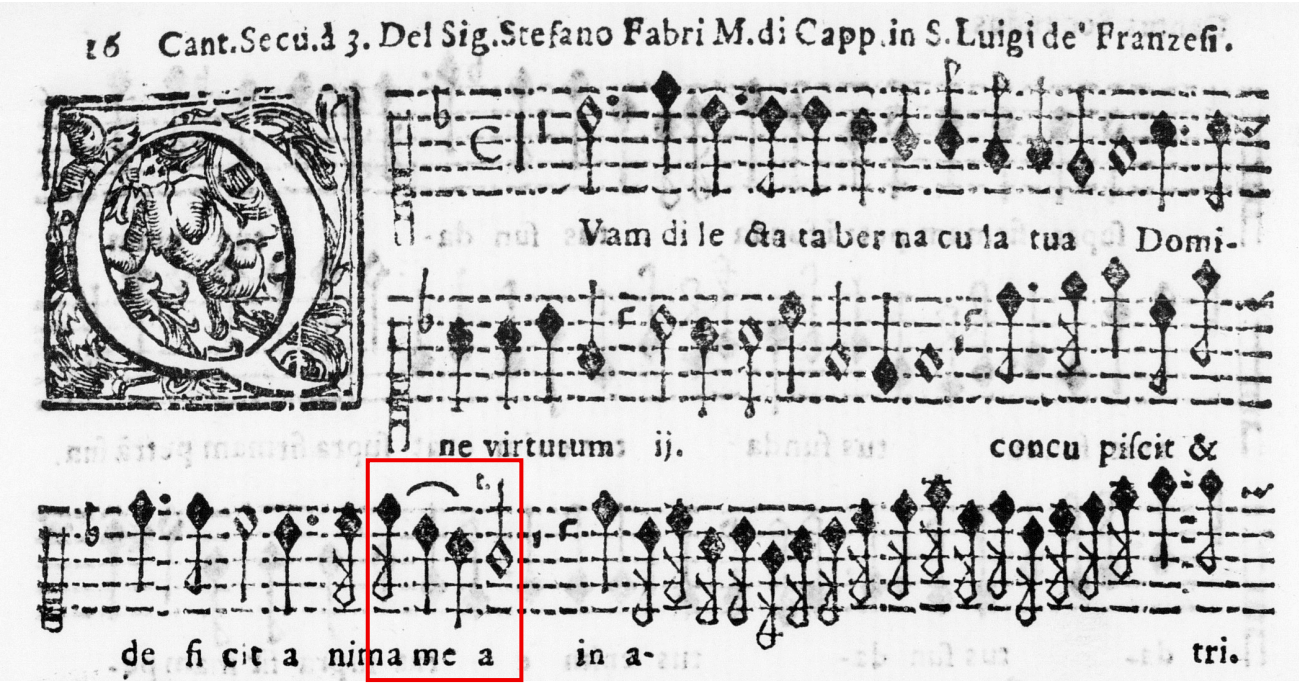


Figure 5.28 Excerpt from Fabri's 'Quam dilecta tabernacula' (FdS1650.11). (Image courtesy of GB-Lwa.)

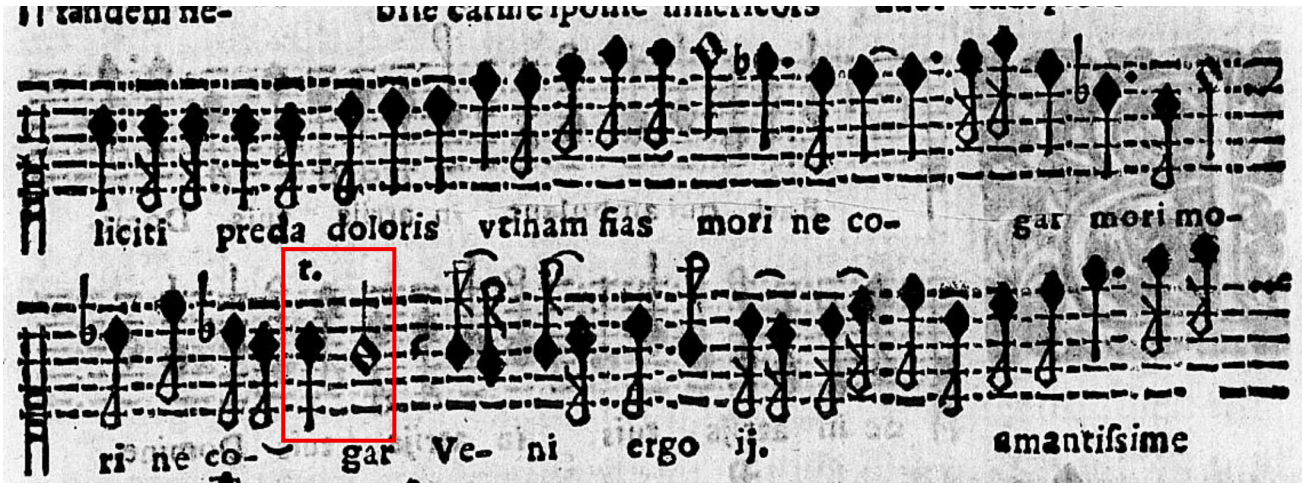


Figure 5.29 Excerpt from Gratiani's 'Quousque sponse' (FdS1654.07). (Image courtesy of M-MDca.)

As well as being deployed to decorate individual notes, the *trillo* is also used in sequential passages; these cases occur more frequently away from cadential points.

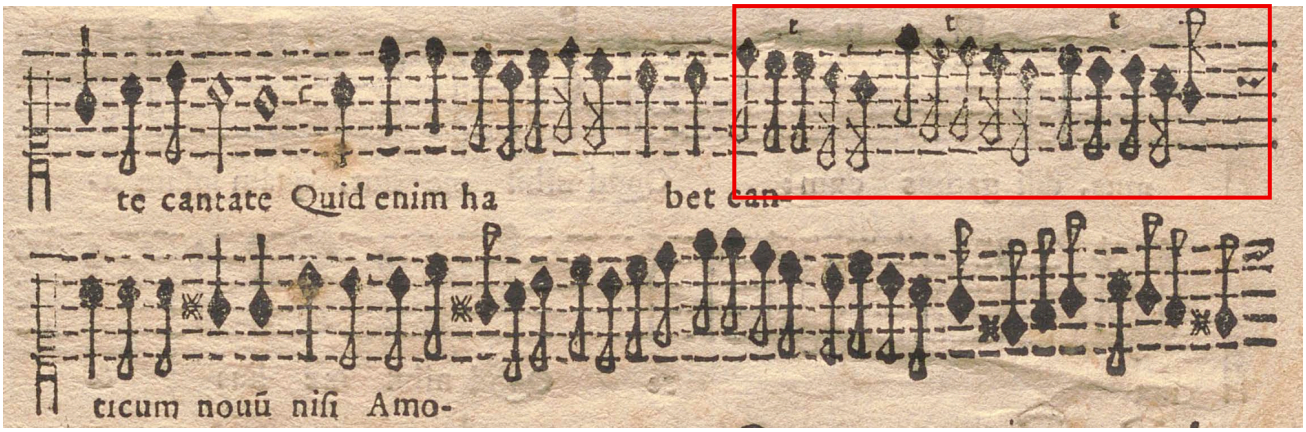


Figure 5.30 Excerpt from Durante's 'Cantate Domino' (FdS1648.01). (Image courtesy of US-LAur.)

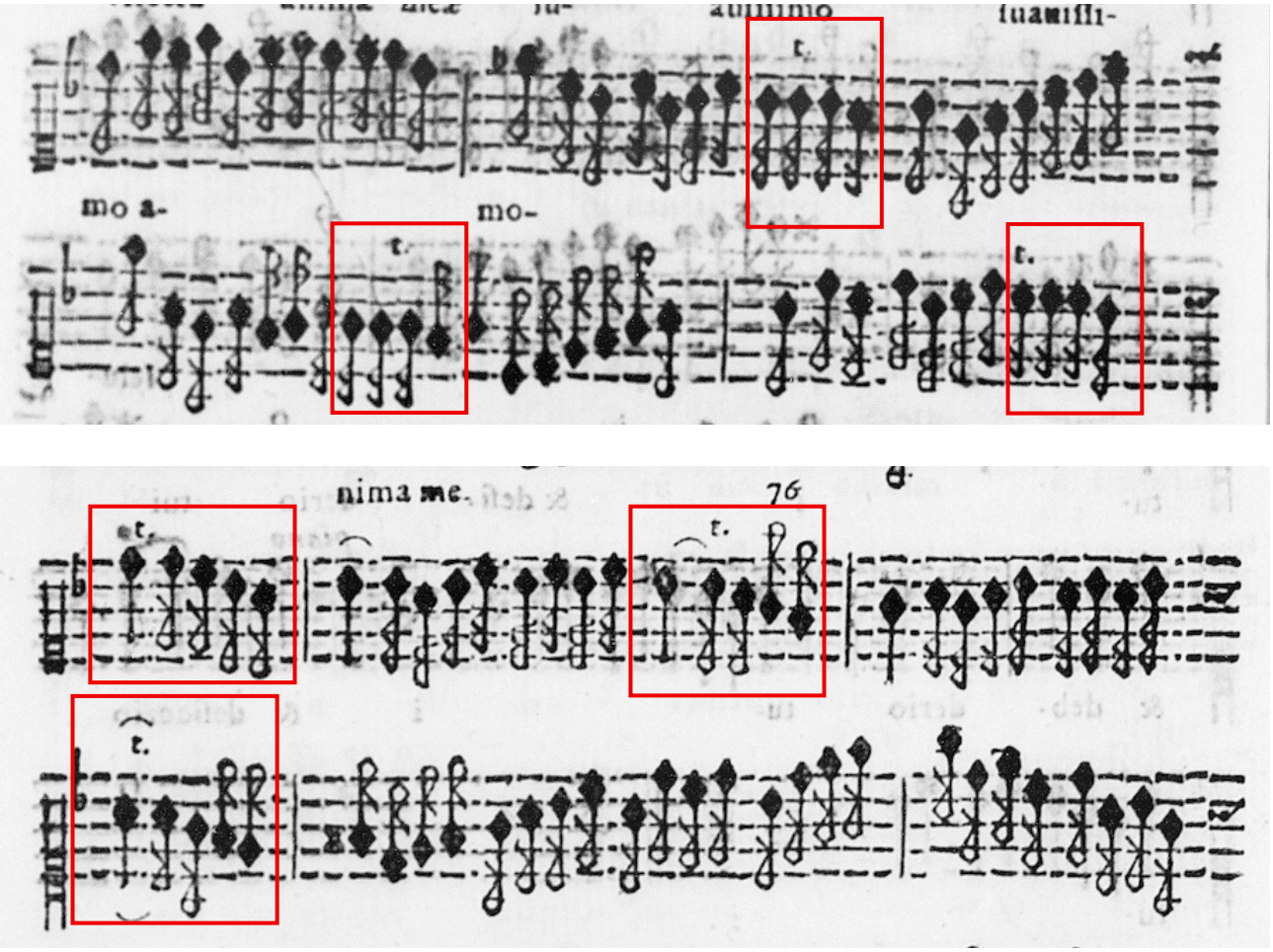


Figure 5.31 Excerpts from Carpani's 'O dulcissime Iesu' (FdS1659.06). (Image courtesy of GB-Och.)

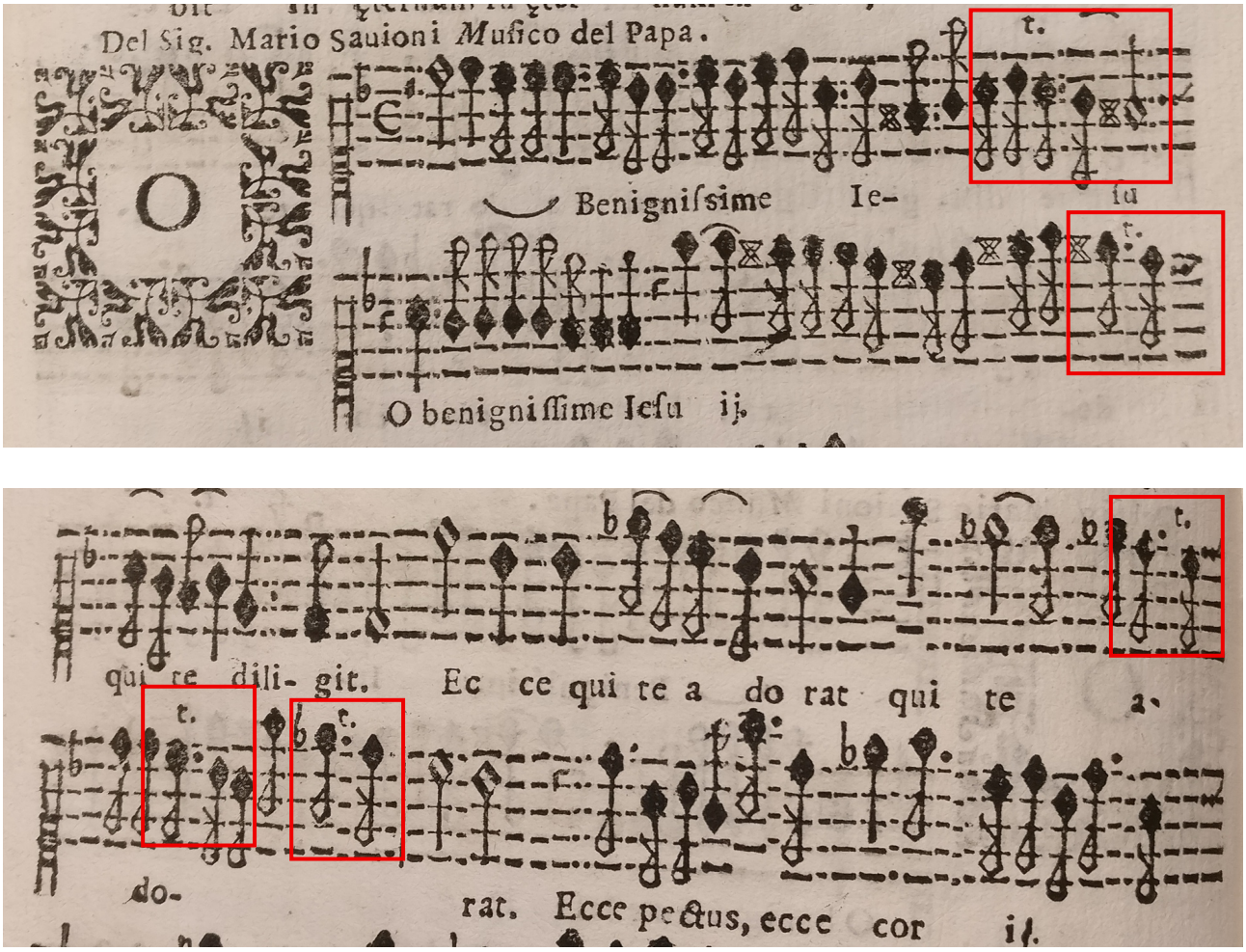
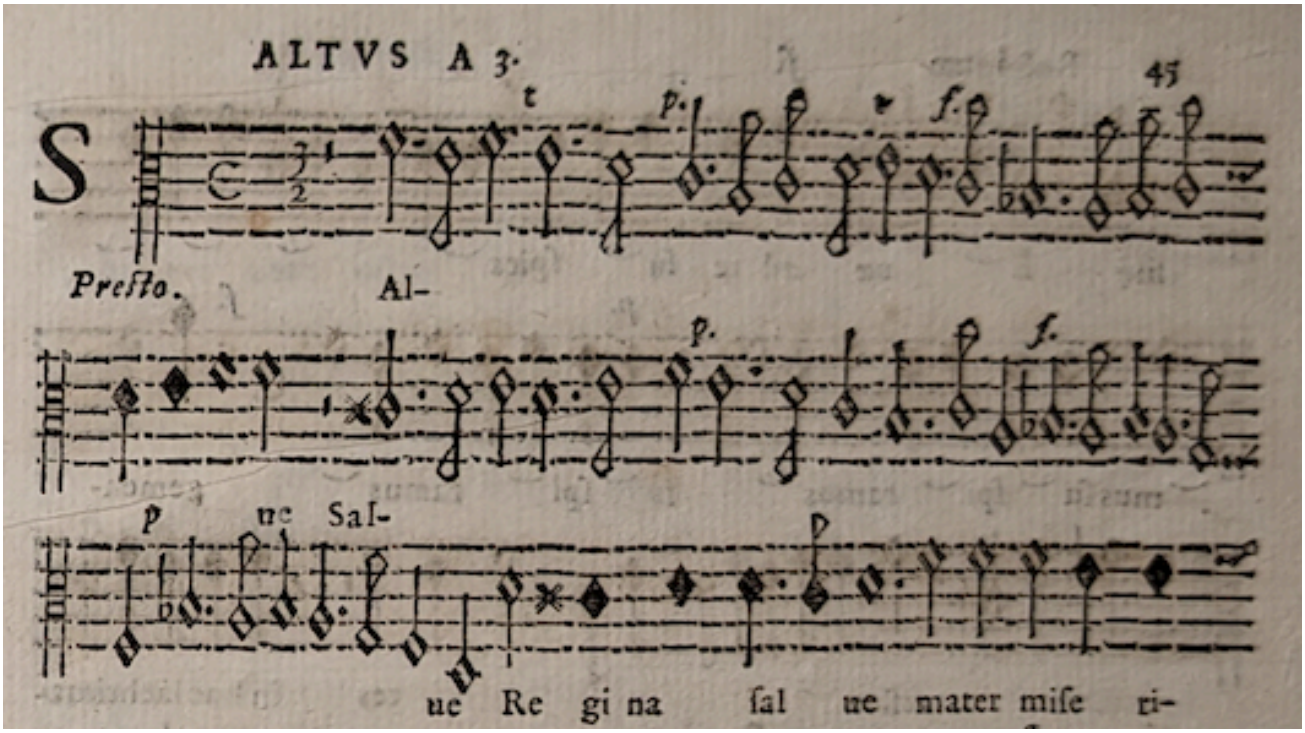


Figure 5.32 Excerpts from Savioni's 'O benignissime Iesu' (FdS1664.04). (Images courtesy of CH-Zz.)

Carlo Cecchelli's setting of the Salve Regina — one of the four Marian antiphon settings located at the end of Florido's 1647 collection — is for soprano, alto, and tenor voices and continuo; it opens with a triple-meter section marked 'Presto' (a rare occurrence in Florido's motets) with a repeated sarabande-esque figure in the lower voices and continuo, in which numerous of the dotted *crome bianche* that fall on the second beat of a bar (based on a transcription with three minims to a bar) are marked with 't.' (see Figure 5.33 and Figure 5.34, below).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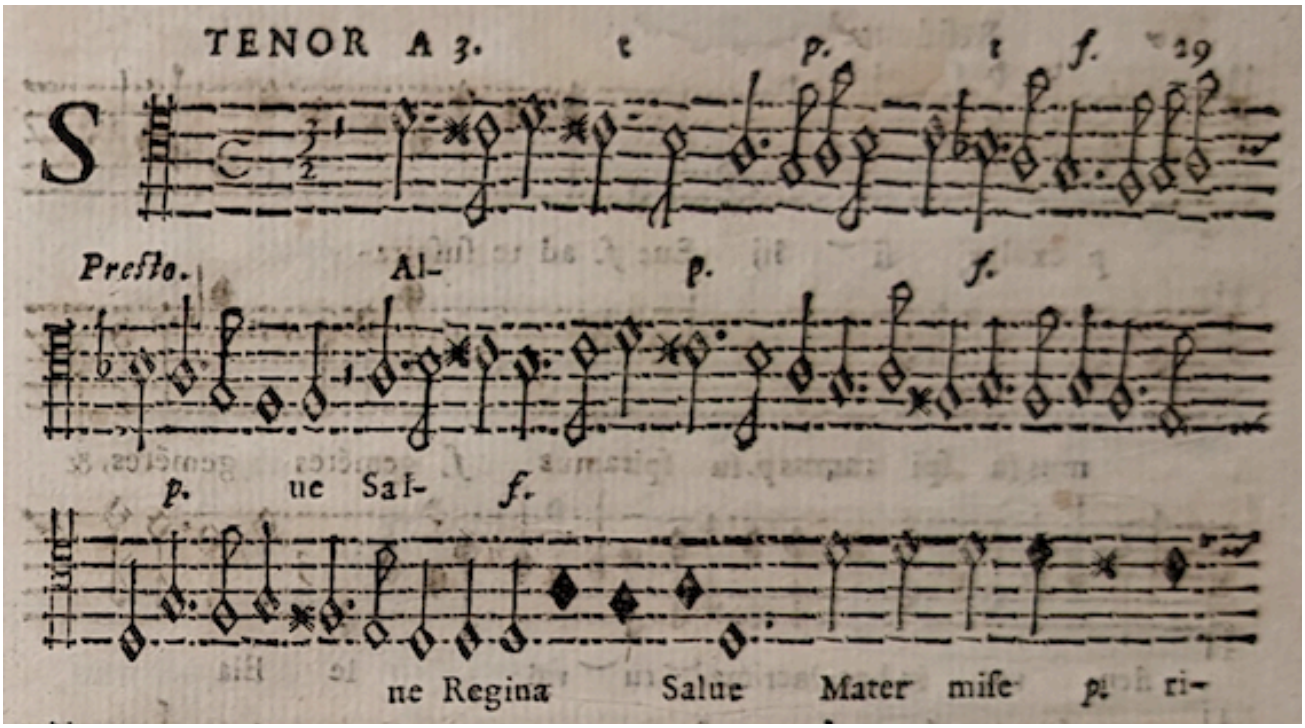
TENOR A 3.
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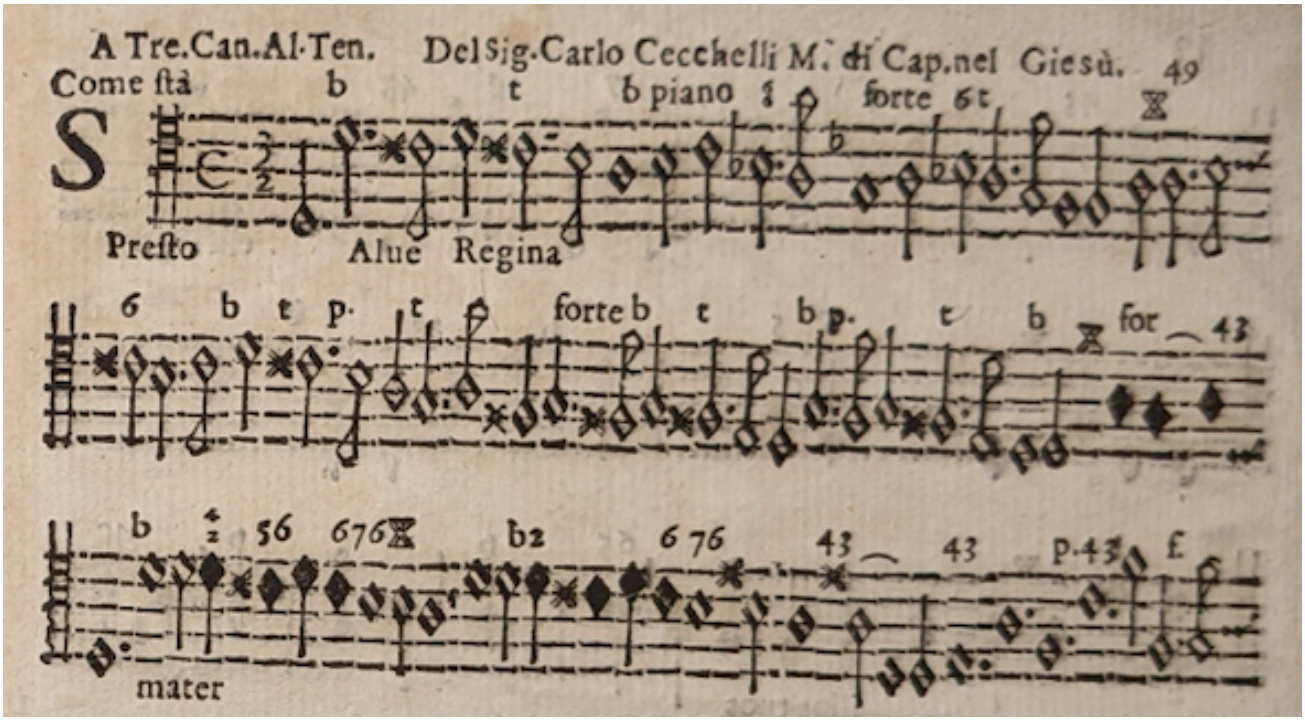

Figure 5.33 The opening of the Altus, Tenor, and Organum parts of Carlo Cecchelli's 'Salve Regina' (FdS1647.25). (Images courtesy of S-Uu.)

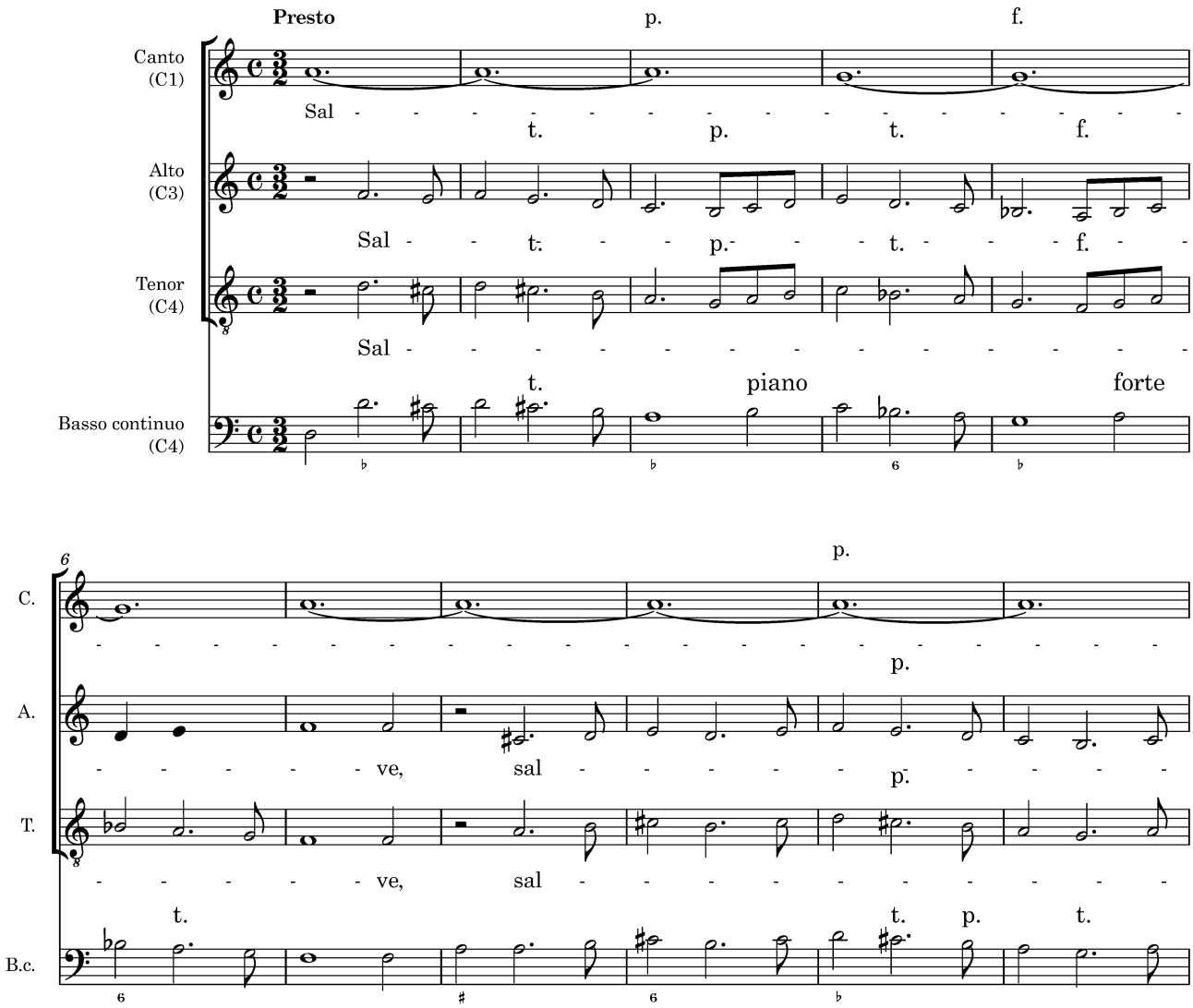

Figure 5.34 The opening of Carlo Cecchelli's 'Salve Regina' in the author's transcription.

It is clear in this unique — in Florido's motet anthologies — case of the graces in different voice parts being synchronised that some agreement between the performers involved is desirable.

The vestiges of the diminution tradition

The art of diminution — the most common modern translation of the term Italian *passaggi* — consists, in essence, of replacing a single note in a melodic passage with multiple notes of shorter value the total duration of which is that of the longer, single note; the flow and

pulse of the music are not interrupted, although when performing diminutions a slower tactus may be adopted in comparison to an 'unadorned' rendition. Discussion of diminution seems, by its very nature, akin to grasping at shadows in that the skilful and successful execution of *passaggi* was (at least in theory) *ex tempore* and thus would leave no discernible trace in a source.

The treatises listed in the previous section — which provided rules showing how to decorate the most frequently encountered intervals between two notes, followed by tables of examples — for the most part were printed in other parts of Italy, away from Rome. However, this style of ornamentation also found popularity in Rome around the same time, with the singers of the Cappella Sistina and Cappella Giulia particularly noted for their skill at improvising at sight — in polyphony as well as in solo passages.[427] Giovanni Luca Conforti (1560–1608) was a falsettist and a member of the Cappella Giulia, and in 1593 published the *Breve e facile maniera d'essercitarsi … a far passaggi* (Rome: [s.n.]), a manual on vocal embellishment; he later produced three volumes of *Salmi passaggiati sopra tutti i toni* (Rome: eredi di Nicolo Mutii, 1601–03), collections of *falsobordone* settings for solo voice.

Girolamo Kapsberger's 1612 *Libro primo di Mottetti Passeggiati à una Voce* (Rome: [s.n.]) contains twenty motets for solo voice and continuo with diminution-style ornamentation, and appeared in the same year as his collection of similarly-decorated Italian arias. Finally, Francesco Severi's 1615 *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci nella maniera che si cantano in Roma …* (Rome: Nicolò Bordoni) is a collection of written-out vocal diminutions on the principal Vespers psalms (see Figure 5.37).

Over two hundred years later, Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), a singer in the Cappella Sistina and its *camerlengo* (overseer), claimed that 'Rome prized [embellished *falsobordone* settings] most highly for around thirty years [*c*. 1590–1620]', after which 'it soon became caricatured

[427] Lionnet, 'Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel', p. 5.

in every way, passed out of fashion, and faded from memory'.[428] However, Baini's claim that this style of ornamentation was no longer fashionable after the first quarter of the seventeenth century seems difficult to reconcile with evidence that copies of Conforti's and Severi's books were still being sold in Rome as late as 1676, as shown by an inventory of the bookseller Federico Franzini.[429] Further evidence that this practice survived further into the seventeenth century in Rome is provided by the French viol player André Maugars, who wrote with admiration of how, during Mass at Santa Maria sopra Minerva on the feast of St Dominic on 4 August in either 1638 or 1639 (he does not specify the year, but his Italian sojourn started in late 1637 and his account is dated 1 October 1639), he heard as many as ten spatially-separated choirs executing 'refined variations, excellent inventions, and pleasing and varied rhythms'.[430]

Savan has noted that 'during the early decades of the seventeenth century composers began increasingly to notate more elaborate ornamentation in their music',[431] and Florido's motet anthologies contain one such example of written-out *passaggi* — albeit short-lived. Giovanni Antonio Carpani's 'O sacramentum pietatis' (FdS1664.11) opens with a melodic figure in each of the three voices that is markedly different in feel from virtuosically rapid passages found in others of Florido's motets and which seems to be an unexpected relic of the diminution style (see Figure 5.35 and Figure 5.36).

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[428] 'Roma per circa trent' anni la gustò sommamente : siccome però avviene ad ogni maniera di caricature , passò di moda, e ne peri la memoria.' Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols (Rome: Dalla Società tipografica, 1828), I, p. 260 n. 356.
[429] *Indice di libri della libreria di Federico Franzini* (Rome: per li Mascardi, 1676), fol. 357^{v} and 232, respectively; quoted in Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi*, pp. 244–63 (pp. 250 and 260, respectively).
[430] 'j'entendis de parfaitement beaux chants, des varietez très recherchés, des inventions très excellentes et de très agréables et différens mouvemens'. Maugars, *Response*, p. 28.
[431] Savan, 'Venice 1629'.

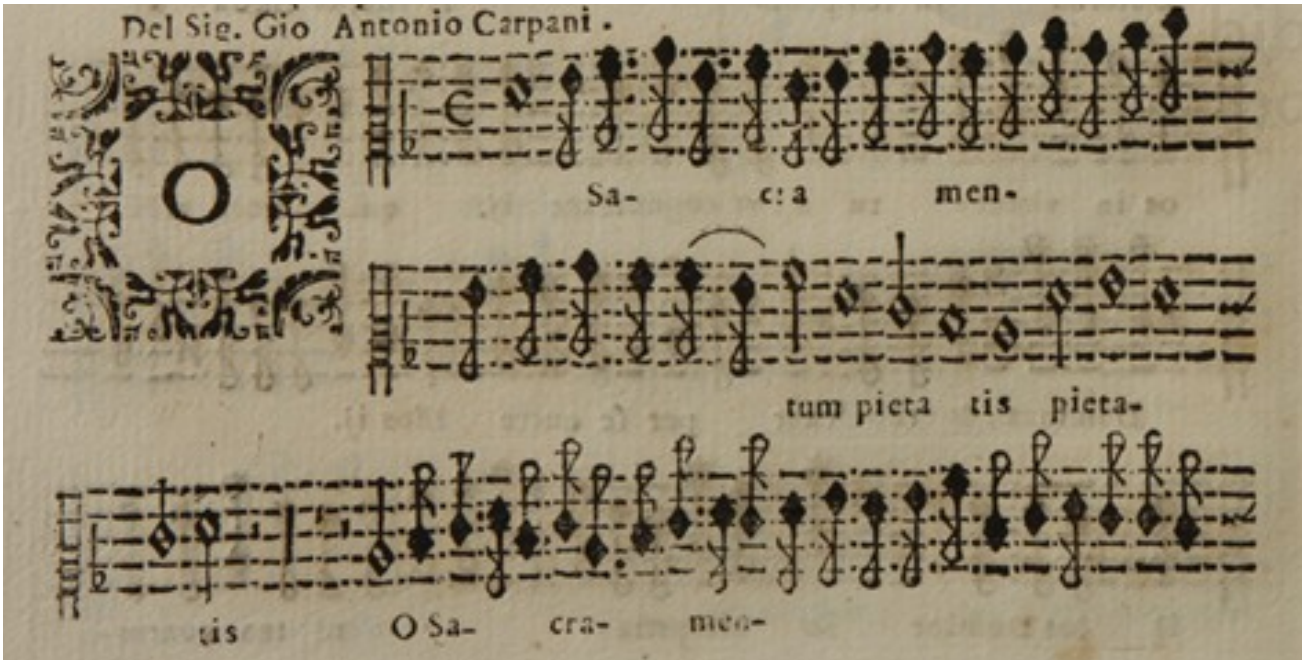

Figure 5.35 The opening of the Alto part of Giovanni Antonio Carpani's 'O sacramentum pietatis' (FdS1664.11). (Image courtesy of I-Bc.)

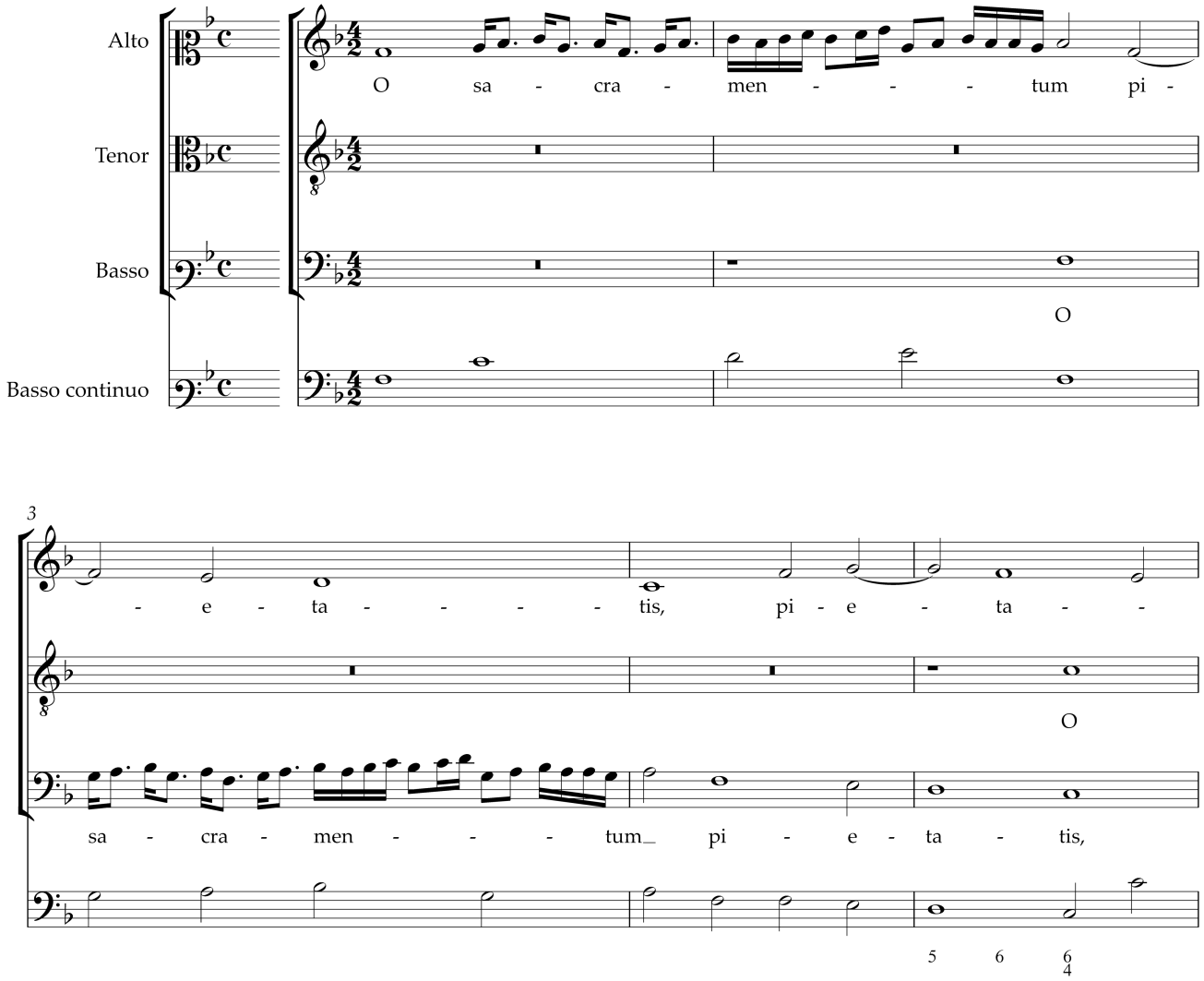

Figure 5.36 The opening of Giovanni Antonio Carpani's 'O sacramentum pietatis' (FdS1664.11) in the author's transcription.

This figure is redolent of the Roman sources for diminution mentioned above, particularly Severi's psalm collection; we can note its similarity to the middle system in Figure 5.37 in its use of a reverse-dotted, 'Scotch snap' rhythm on 'sacramentum' and 'implebit', respectively.

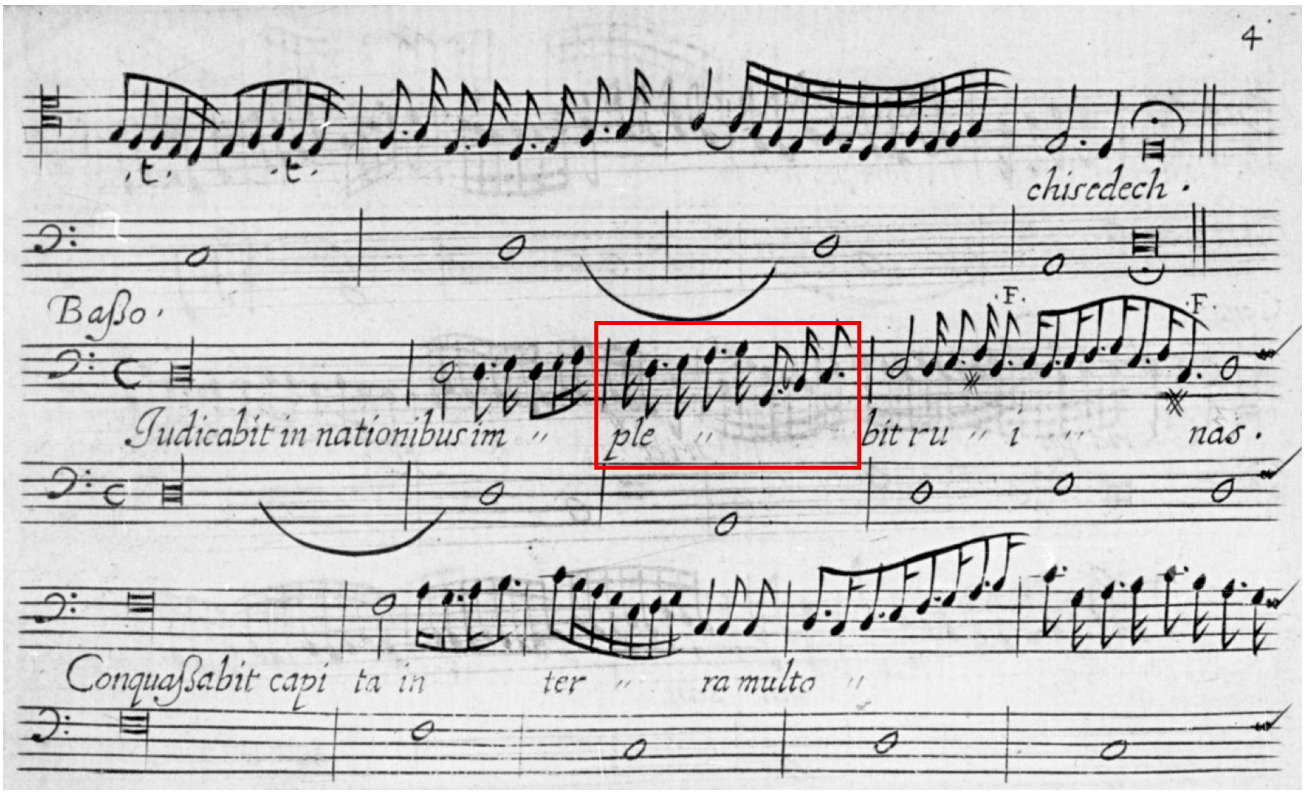

Figure 5.37 Excerpt from Francesco Severi, *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci nella maniera che si cantano in Roma* … (Rome: Nicolò Bordoni, 1615). (Image courtesy of F-Pn.)

If we assume that the opening of Carpani's 'O sacramentum pietatis' was deliberately composed in this diminution-based, we could 'reverse' the process and derive a simpler version on which those diminutions were based, one that could be described as being in the *stile antico*:

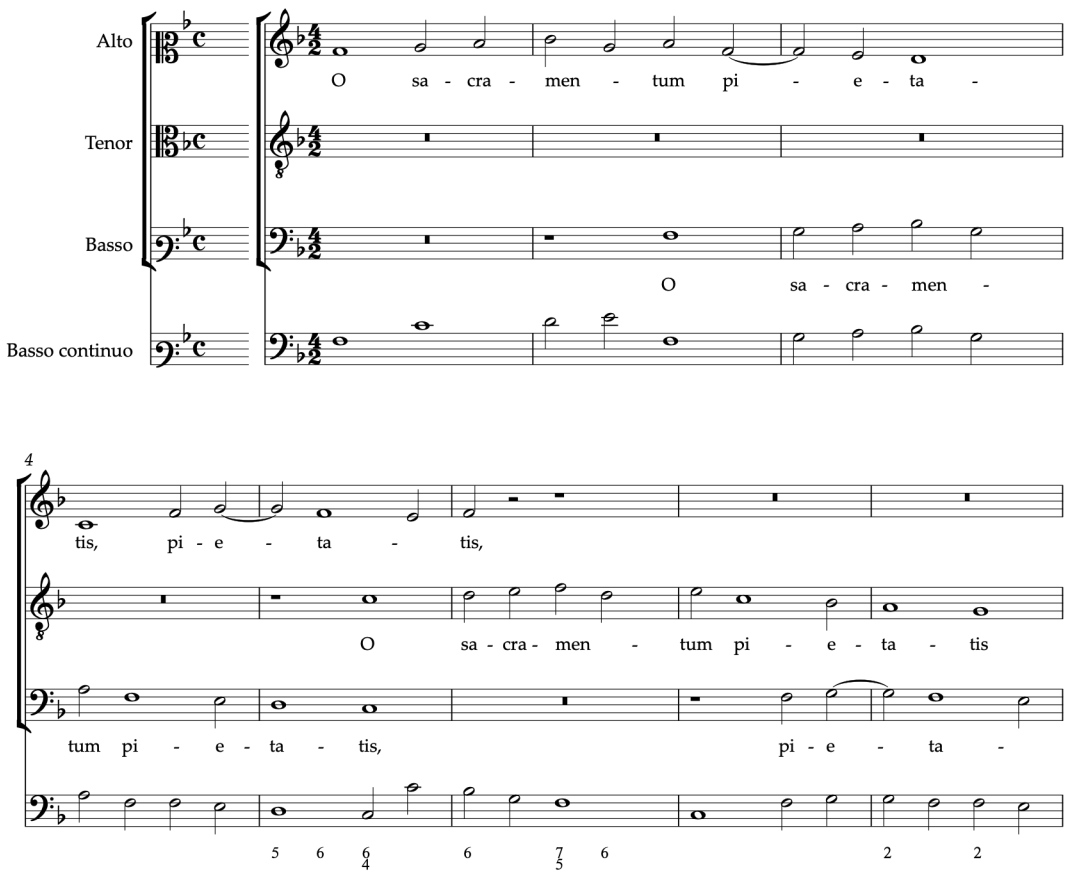

Figure 5.38 A conjectural simplification of the opening of Giovanni Antonio Carpani's 'O sacramentum pietatis', in the author's transcription.

It is not impossible that, by writing out the diminutions for only the opening passage, Carpani may have been setting a challenge to any singers: here are my ornaments on a simple piece — can you derive the original model and then do better?

There exists a precedent for this conjecture: in his *Secondo libro delli motetti*, Bartolomeo Barbarino provides two versions of each solo motet — one unornamented, the second ornamented, on facing pages (headed 'Semplice' and 'Passaggiato' respectively; see Figure 5.10) — and explains in his preface that,

> Because I have heard from many that in the first book of motets, which I have already had printed, to be sung by a single voice, there are some which are difficult to sing for those who do not have the ability to ornament. Therefore, I wanted in this second [book] to present the vocal part in two forms, simple and ornamented. The simple version is for those who have no ability at all, and also for those who have both a knowledge of counterpoint and the ability [to

> ornament], and so who by themselves will be able to execute the ornaments, and the other aspects that are required in order to sing well. Accordingly, the ornamented version is for those who have the ability [to ornament] but do not have the knowledge of counterpoint to be able to form the diminutions as the rules dictate.[432]

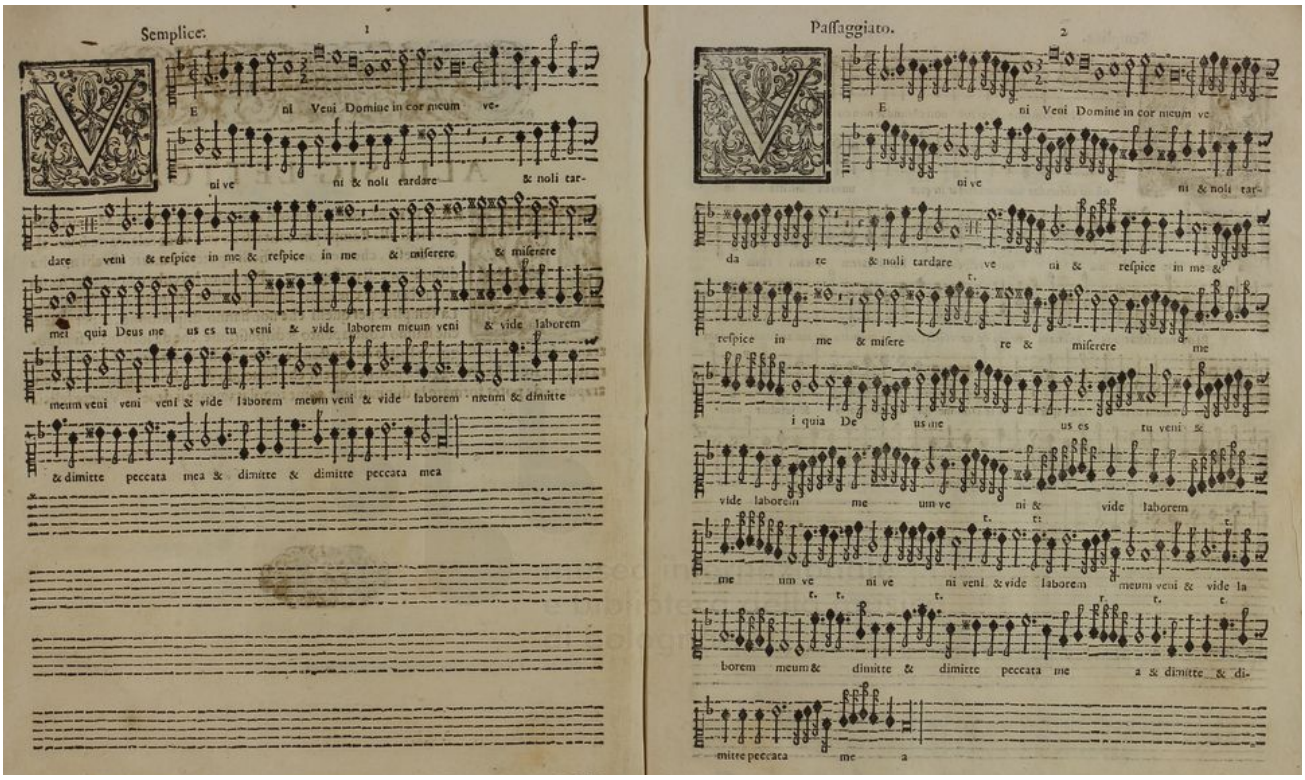

Figure 5.39 Bartolomeo Barbarino's 'Veni Domine in cor meum' (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614/15). (Image courtesy of I-Bc.)

The fact that only one work in the whole of Florido's motet anthologies features this style of written-out vocal ornamentation might be understood in two ways: it implies either that this style was already considered outmoded by the 1640s (perhaps Carpani studied one or more of Conforti's, Kapsperger's, and Severi's publications as a young man, thereby

[432] 'Perche ho inteso da molti che nel primo Libro di Motetti, che già diedi alla stampa per cantarsi da una voce sola, ve ne siano alcuni di essi, che riescono difficili à potersi cantare da chi non ha dispositione di passaggiare. Per tanto ho voluto in questo secondo [libro] far la parte che canta in due modi, e semplice e passaggiata. La semplice per quelli che non hanno dispositione, & per quella che hanno contrapunto & dispositione, che da loro medesimi potranno formare i passaggi, e l'altre circonstantie, che si richiedono per la buona maniera di cantare. La passaggiata poi, per quelli che havendo dispositione non hanno contrapunto da poter formare la diminutione come regolamente si deve.' Bartomoleo Barbarino, 'Alli Sig. Lettori', in *Il Secondo Libro delli Motetti* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614/15) [the title page of the vocal partbook has the date 'MDCXIV', that of the score ('Spartitura') 'MDCXV'; each has the same dedication, which is dated 1 December 1614]. Translation by the author.

absorbing some elements of that particular improvisatory style), or — more unlikely, given the gap of one or two generations between the above-mentioned treatises and the composers included in Florido's anthologies — that the precepts for decoration laid out by Conforti and Severi had been so thoroughly absorbed by Roman church musicians even one or two generations later that they could execute them *ex tempore* without any written-out assistance.

There are numerous other examples of florid (usually solo) passages in Florido's motets that feel a little further removed from the *passaggi* tradition but that still incorporate many of its characteristics; the opening of Giuseppe Corsi's setting of Psalm 95, 'Cantate Domino' (FdS1659.02) contains rapid figure work over a slow-moving continuo line, and while one could dissect its long melismas into figures found in diminution treatises, it feels like a well-integrated whole rather than the result of repeated application of diminution figures to an unadorned original.

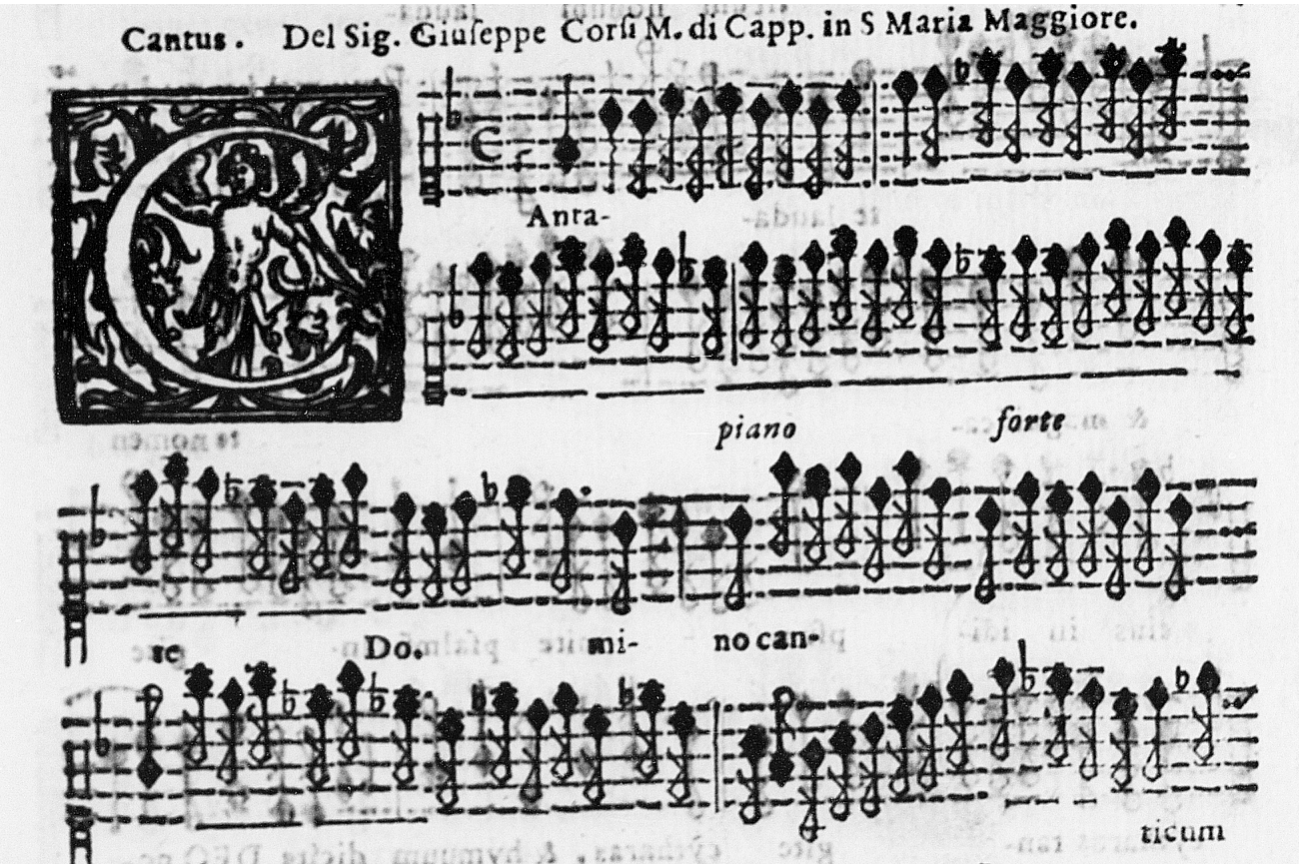

Figure 5.40 The opening of Corsi's 'Cantate Domino' (FdS1659.02) (Image courtesy of GB-Och.)

5.7 | Basso continuo

The basso continuo parts in the thirteen of Florido's fifteen motet anthologies that contain at least one polyphonic piece are found in partbooks that are all entitled either 'Organum' or 'Bassus ad Organum'. The continuo parts in these anthologies do not, for the most part, include music from any voice part, but in some pieces the name of a voice part is occasionally printed above or below the stave to indicate a vocal entry. There are occasional sections for a solo voice part where the vocal music is printed in a separate stave above that of the continuo part; these generally have the text incipit for that section printed but are thereafter untexted.

The two anthologies that contain only works for solo voice and continuo (FdS1659 and FdS1663) each consist of a partbook for the singer, entitled 'Cantus' (even though the last motet in FdS1659 is for solo bass voice), and a partbook containing the continuo parts, entitled 'Partitura'; this latter displays both vocal and continuo parts *in toto* (including sung text) in full score.

(The first four motets in FdS1664 are for solo voice and continuo, and in the Organum partbook these are displayed *in toto* in full score; the remaining motets in the anthology have only their continuo part printed in the Organum partbook — save for, as mentioned above, the occasional passage for solo voice.)

This nomenclature strongly suggests that, at least for Florido, the organ was considered the principal accompaniment for these polyphonic sacred motets. However, the choice of 'Partitura' for the continuo partbooks of FdS1659 and FdS1663 should be understood to refer merely to the full-score format, and should not be taken to mean that the organ was not to be used in the performance of solo-voice motets.

This reflects wider contemporary practice: of all Roman publications of polyphonic sacred music in partbooks between 1640 and 1675, only six have a continuo partbook that does not refer to the organ in either Latin or Italian (all six being entitled either 'Bassus continuus' or 'Basso continuo'). Similarly, of all Roman publications of solo sacred music in partbooks between 1640 and 1675, only one has a continuo partbook not entitled 'Partitura' (being instead entitled 'Basso continuo').[433]

However, the use of other instruments in the execution of basso continuo parts should not be discounted simply for their not being named in Florido's publications. According to Stephen Bonta's repertorial survey, there are at least two other Italian motet publications produced during the timespan of Florido's anthologies (1643–72) that name a particular instrument for the basso continuo line: Stefano Pasino's *Motetti a 2. 3. 4.* (Venice: heirs of Gardano, 1651) and Giovanni Battista Chinelli's *Motetti Libro Quarto* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1652), each of which specifies violone and each of which contains works similar to those found in Florido's anthologies in terms of their form. If we widen the net to include publications of other sacred forms in that timespan, the number increases to fifteen; instruments named in this expanded group include the violone, violoncello or 'bassetto', contrabasso, and fagotto.[434]

Furthermore, contemporary accounts of motet performances (see Chapter 4) provide anecdotal evidence for the participation of continuo instruments such as theorbos and viols in liturgical celebrations and in devotional contexts; additionally, personnel lists and pay records exist from numerous Roman churches that detail those involved in large-scale

[433] Information from Saverio Franchi, *Annali della stampa musicale romana dei secoli XVI–XVIII*, 4 vols (2006–22), I.1, *Edizioni di musica pratica dal 1601 al 1650* (IBIMUS, 2006); II.1, *Edizioni di musica pratica dal 1651 al 1670* (Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2021); and II.2, *Edizioni di musica pratica dal 1651 al 1670: Indici e Repertorio Annalistico 1671–1800* (Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2022).
[434] Bonta, 'The Use of Instruments', pp. 533–35.

musical events, with players of both continuo and melody instruments present among them.[435]

[435] See, for example, O'Regan, '*Cappella fissa — Cappella mobile*'.

Conclusions

I set out with the aim of revealing more about the origins and manner of performance of Florido's motet anthologies. One thing to have emerged from this thesis with clarity is the extent to which we can observe clear organising principles in the contents of Florido's anthologies; there is a real sense of coherence to the publications, as suggested by such features as the persistence of certain composers throughout the fifteen publications, the positioning of each new volume as a successor to the ones that had come before it (implied by the ordinal inscription that appears in most of the anthologies), and the ordering of pieces within each anthology (always in increasing order of number of voices, and then in alphabetical order by text incipit in most of the anthologies). Such unity and consistency of approach would seem strongly to imply that Florido — as the only constant that links the anthologies — was heavily involved with their production, rather than merely doing the bidding of the financial backers.

In her thesis on the dissemination of Italian sacred music in German-speaking lands, Elisabeth Giselbrecht singles out the anthology as a vital component of the cultural transfer she describes, with particular emphasis on the role of the editor or compiler of such publications:

> This thesis has also clearly demonstrated the importance of the editor in the publication of sacred music. … the act of collecting sources, the choice of the appropriate repertory, and style of presentation for intended buyers, as well as sometimes the adaptation of either the paratexts or the music itself, are all important tasks which were fulfilled by knowledgeable individuals in the printing house.[436]

Florido was certainly a knowledgeable individual, and a well-connected one, at that. Even if this thesis has inched only slightly further towards an understanding of what his motivations might have been, it has more definitively shown how widely they circulated

[436] Giselbrecht, 'Crossing boundaries', p. 243.

and how they were valued; in particular, by increasing the number of known exemplars from sixty-two to seventy-five, I have reinforced existing knowledge that they enjoyed currency among collectors of Italian repertoire in other parts of Europe, especially in England and in France.

The goal in discussing issues of notation and performance practice in Chapter 5 was not to present definitive solutions to the questions that arise in Florido's motet anthologies, but rather to demonstrate possible ways for performers to interpret notation that might seem unclear at first to modern-day musicians. Examining contemporary treatises and related writings that deal with these issues is a crucial part of this process, but it is not the be-all-and-end-all; music intended for performance is most easily and satisfactorily worked out through practical methods, putting various interpretations of theoretical matters into practice to achieve insights into the music that cannot be gained solely through theoretical discussions.

Karin Paulsmeier sums this up when she points out that 'while music and notation are each governed by theoretical concepts, they also readily slip free from such constraints', thus showing that 'systems are static, while music and music history are always on the move'.[437] We can take this to mean that, in a collection of works published over such a long time period, it is inevitable that we should observe the perseverance of old traditions and systems sitting side-by-side with the emergence of new ones. Therefore, just as the evolution of the concept of the key signature across the seventeenth century can be considered 'a development intrinsically linked to changing approaches to tonality and the gradual adoption of the diatonic harmonic system',[438] I suggest that we can justifiably consider both the large number of triple-meter time signatures and the impermanent,

[437] 'daß Musik und Notation zwar jeweils von theoretischen Konzepten bestimmt werden, sich aber ebenso gerne deren Festlegungen entziehen'; 'Systeme sind statisch, Musik und Musikgeschichte sind etwas Bewegtes'. 'Zur Methode', in *Notationskunde 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Schwabe, 2012), I, pp. 3–4 (p. 3).
[438] Carrie Churnside, 'Preface', in *Transitions in Mid-Baroque Music: Style, Genre and Performance*, ed. by Carrie Churnside (Boydell, 2024), pp. xxii–xxvii (p. xxv).

transitional nature of their use as reflecting the changing approaches to meter during the same time period.

Quite apart, however, from the answers and conclusions arrived at above, I believe that the essence of Florido's motet anthologies lies somewhere else. When I began my research into Florido's motet anthologies back in 2019, I think I saw myself going on to learn all that there was to know about these publications and in doing so arriving at ground-breaking revelations and reaching paradigm-shifting conclusions about them and the *concertato* motet in mid-Seicento Rome more generally. Now that I have come to the point of drawing a line under my research — a dotted line signifying not a completion, but rather the potential, I hope, for further investigations — I realise that while I am no less fascinated by the anthologies than when I first laid eyes on one, it is not for the reasons I imagined at the beginning.

Rather, I believe that why Florido's motet anthologies have been long overdue scholarly assessment — despite spanning as they do a crucial period of transition in Italy for the composition, performance, and notation of music — is intrinsically tied up with how closely they follow trends and patterns seen in other contemporary motet publications, whether that be in terms of size, voicings, text types, number of pieces contained, notation, or any of several other aspects. Put simply, it is *because* Florido's anthologies are so 'middle-of-the-road' representative of the mid-Seicento Roman *concertato* motet style that they proved popular in so many different contexts.

The anthologies individually certainly contain points of interest — as I hope I have demonstrated — but taken all together as a body of music they are in many ways unremarkable in a totally non-pejorative sense of the word; and I suggest that it is precisely from this ordinariness — or, perhaps, absence of out-of-the-ordinariness — that Florido's anthologies derived their breadth of appeal. For his Roman contemporaries they contained handy selections of unfussy, flexible, technically feasible repertoire in a familiar style that

could be called upon in a multiplicity of situations — liturgical or devotional, choirs large or small, Catholic or Lutheran, feast day or feria, ecclesiastical or conventual — and for musicians further afield, their appeal was further increased by their *romanità*, featuring as they did selections of distinguished composers who epitomised 'Romanness' in mid-Seicento sacred music.

This thesis will, I hope, raise the profile of these publications and of their curator, and in making this information more readily available to an English-reading audience go at least a little way towards redressing the imbalance surrounding the mid-Seicento Roman *concertato* motet that were outlined at the beginning; I suspect Florido would be delighted.

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Benevoli:

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- Additionally, the following motets are transcribed by John Rennie Bryden in 'The Motets of Orazio Benevoli':

  Adeste angeli cælestis
  Agite dies lætitiæ
  Cognoscam te
  Ego autem pro te
  Fortitudo mea
  Iubilate filiæ
  Laudem Domini
  O sacrum convivium
  Quam bonus panis
  Qui descendunt mare
  Qui sequitur me
  Sit mundo lætissima
  Surge propera amica
  Veni electa mea
  Venite et videte

Carissimi:

- Dominus Deus meus, transcribed by Jörg Jacobi, in *Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674): Sämtliche Motetten für eine Solostimme, Band IV: Arion Romanus* (Edition Baroque, 2013)
- Nigra sum, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-

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- O dulcissime Iesu, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/quics/quics.html> [accessed 11 March 2020]

Cecchelli:
- Ecce Deus noster, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/quics/quics.html> [accessed 11 March 2020]

Corsi:
- O quam suavis est Domine, transcribed by Galliano Ciliberti, 'Il mottetto *O quam suavis est Domine* (TriCo 22) di Giuseppe Corsi da Celano', in *Gli «Amorosi respiri»: Musica, arte e storia nella Marsica e in Abruzzo tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Atti della Giornata di studio Celano, Auditorium "Enrico Fermi", 3 febbraio 2018), ed. by Galliano Ciliberti and Giovanni Tribuzio (Morlacchi, 2020), pp. 41–50

Durante:
- Anima Christi, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/quics/quics.html> [accessed 11 March 2020]
- Salve mater, in Jörg Jacobi, ed., *Vespero della Beata Vergine alla Romana* (Edition Baroque, 2018)

Foggia:
- De valle lacrimarum, transcribed by Rudolf Ewerhart, *Cantio Sacra*, 28 (Bieler, 1960)
- Additionally, the following motets are transcribed by Gunther Morche in *Francesco Foggia: Mottetti*:

  Ad cantus, ad plausus
  Adiuva me, Domine
  Deduxit illum
  Iesu clemens
  In memoria æterna
  Lætantes canite
  O ignis, qui semper
  O pretiosum et admirabile sacramentum
  Terribili sonitu

Giansetti:

Bibliography

- O quam suavis, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/quics/quics.html> [accessed 11 March 2020]

Gratiani:
- Pastores dum custoditis, transcribed by Rudolf Ewerhart, *Cantio Sacra*, 41 (Bieler, 1961)

Margarini:
- Omnes in iubilo lætantes, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/quics/quics.html> [accessed 11 March 2020]

Mazzocchi:
- Adsunt dies, in Jörg Jacobi, ed., *Vespero della Beata Vergine alla Romana* (Edition Baroque, 2018)
- Clark, Brian, ed., *Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597–1646): Nigra sum, sed formosa* (Prima La Musica!, n.d.)
- Veni columba mea, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/quics/quics.html> [accessed 11 March 2020]

Olivati:
- O salutaris hostia, ed. by Wim Looyestijn, 'Choral Public Domain Library' <https://cpdl.org/wiki/index.php/O_salutaris_hostia_(Ignatio_Olivati)> [accessed 10 January 2025]

Florido:
- Ave dulcis, ave pia, in Jörg Jacobi, ed., *Vespero della Beata Vergine alla Romana* (Edition Baroque, 2018)
- Salve Virgo sacra, in Jörg Jacobi, ed., *Vespero della Beata Vergine alla Romana* (Edition Baroque, 2018)
- Surge propera amica mea, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/quics/quics.html> [accessed 11 March 2020]

Stamegna:
- O quam suavis, transcribed by Gunther Morche, 'Quellen italienischer Concerti des Seicento' <https://www.uni-

heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/quics/quics.html> [accessed 11 March 2020]

Critical editions of other works

Berglund, Lars (ed.), *Bonifazio Graziani: Motets for Two to Six Voices, Opus 1* (A-R Editions, 2011)

Berglund, Lars (ed.), *Kaspar Förster Jun. Sacrae Cantiones 1, 2, & 3 Vocuum* (Fontes Musicae in Polonia, 2021)

Berglund, Lars (ed.), *Kaspar Förster Jun. Sacrae Cantiones 3, 4, & 5 Vocuum* (Fontes Musicae in Polonia, 2021)

Drennan, Jonathan R.J. (ed.), *Natate Monferrato: Complete Masses* (A-R Editions, 2014)

Miller, Stephen R. (ed.), *Francesco Foggia: Masses* (A-R Editions, 2017)

Rismondo, Paolo A. (ed.), *Sacra Corona (Venice, 1656)* (A-R Editions, 2015)

Facsimile reprints of music

Schnoebelen, Anne, ed., *Solo Motets from the Seventeenth Century*, vol. 8 (Garland Publishing, 1988)

Recordings of motets from Florido's anthologies

List correct at time of thesis submission (January 2026). It should be noted that, in the case of those motets with other sources than Florido's anthologies, it has not been possible to determine which sources or editions were used for a particular recording.

Carissimi: Ardens est cor nostrum (FdS1664.13)
- *Giacomo Carissimi (1605 - 1674): Mottetti e Sacri Concerti*, Ensemble Il Cantar Novo, Pietro Ceccarelli (Tactus TC 602801, 2006) (track 9)
- *Giacomo Carissimi: Cantata e Messa "Sciolto havean dall'alte sponde"*, Le Istituzioni Harmoniche, Marco Longhini (Stradivarius STR11008, 2006) (track 13) (also re-issued on other Stradivarius compilation CDs, not listed here)
- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 3, track 5) (with text 'Ardens est cor meum')

Bibliography

Carissimi: Audite sancti (FdS1645.08/1651.05)
- *Carissimi: Complete Oratorios*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94491, 2013) (CD 3, track 1)
- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 3, track 1) (re-release of previous version)

Carissimi: Benedictus Deus et Pater (FdS1668.01)
- *Piangete: Cantatas & motets by Giacomo Carissimi*, Concerto delle Donne (Signum SIGCD040, 2003) (track 2)

Carissimi: Domine Deus meus (FdS1663.02)
- *Carissimi: Motets*, Ensemble Solamente (Hungaroton HCD32033, 2002) (track 9)
- *Giacomo Carissimi: Virtuoso Soprano Motets*, Robert Crowe, Michael Eberth (Profil Edition Günter Hänssler, 2009) (track 4)
- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 1, track 4)

Carissimi: Ecce sponsus venit (FdS1654.02)
- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 2, track 2)

Carissimi: Hymnum iucunditatis (FdS1645.04)
- *Carissimi: Motets*, Ensemble Solamente (Hungaroton HCD32033, 2002) (track 4)
- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 2, track 3)

Carissimi: Militia est vita hominis (FdS1643.12/1652.07)
- *Giacomo Carissimi (1605 - 1674): Mottetti e Sacri Concerti*, Ensemble Il Cantar Novo, Pietro Ceccarelli (Tactus TC 602801, 2006) (track 7)

Carissimi: O beatum virum (FdS1643.16)
- *Giacomo Carissimi (1605 - 1674): Mottetti e Sacri Concerti*, Ensemble Il Cantar Novo, Pietro Ceccarelli (Tactus TC 602801, 2006) (track 6)
- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 2, track 10)

Carissimi: O dulcissime Iesu (FdS1672.04)
- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 1, track 8)

Carissimi: Sicut stella matutina (FdS1659.11)
- *Giacomo Carissimi: Virtuoso Soprano Motets*, Robert Crowe, Michael Eberth (Profil Edition Günter Hänssler, 2009) (track 3)

- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 1, track 2)

Carissimi: Surgamus, eamus (FdS1649.12/1652.11)
- *Giacomo Carissimi: Ten Motets*, Consortium Carissimi, Vittorio Zanon (Naxos 8.555076, 2001) (track 1)

Carissimi: Viderunt te Domine (FdS1647.05)
- *Carissimi: Complete Motets of Arion Romanus*, Ensemble Seicentonovecento, Flavio Colusso (Brilliant Classics 94808, 2014) (CD 2, track 4)

Carissimi: Vidi impium superexaltatum (FdS1655.01)
- *Giacomo Carissimi: Mass for Three Voices, Six Motets*, Consortium Carissimi, Vittorio Zanon (Naxos 8.555075, 2001) (track 11)

Foggia, Francesco: De valle lacrimarum (FdS1663.09)
- *Francesco Foggia (1604–1688): Psalmodia Vespertina*, CappellAntiqua (Divox Antiqua CDX 70207, 2003) (track 15)

Marciani: Quanta fecisti Domine (FdS1659.09)
- *In festo angelorum: A journey through Spanish, Portuguese and Italian Baroque sacred music*, Monica Piccinini, Manuel Vilas (Brilliant Classics 94428, 2012) (track 11)

Pagliardi: Ad arma, ad bella! (FdS1664.01)
- *In festo angelorum: A journey through Spanish, Portuguese and Italian Baroque sacred music*, Monica Piccinini, Manuel Vilas (Brilliant Classics 94428, 2012) (track 1)

Appendices to Volume I

Appendix I: The surviving exemplars of Florido's motet anthologies

Appendix II: Indices of the contents of Florido's motet anthologies, arranged according to:
- Anthology
- Text incipit
- Composer

Appendix III: Copies of the questionnaire, information sheet, and consent form given to workshop participants

Appendix I: The surviving exemplars of Florido's motet anthologies

FdS1643

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
52 (Cantus) / 28 (Altus) / 48 (Tenor) / 32 (Bassus) / 40 (Bassus ad Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna, Austria (A-Wn)
Shelfmark: MS20925-8° MUS MAG
Bassus ad Organum partbook only.
2) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France (F-Pn)
Shelfmark: RES VMC-160
Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus (missing pages 3–6) partbooks only.
3) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.153
4) Biblioteca civica Angelo Mai et Archivi storici communali, Bergamo, Italy (I-BGc)
Shelfmark: Mayr 829
Tenor partbook only.
5) Biblioteca civica Malatestiana, Cesena, Italy (I-CEc)
Shelfmark: MAG 2668
Cantus and Bassus partbooks only.
6) Archivio capitolare, Pistoia, Italy (I-PS)
Shelfmark: B. 4. 5.
Bassus ad Organum partbook only.

FdS1645

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
56 (Cantus) / 32 (Altus) / 60 (Tenor) / 44 (Bassus) / 48 (Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.154
2) Archivio di Stato, Pisa, Italy (I-PIa)
Shelfmark: Ordine di S.Stefano nn.7879–7883

3) Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, Italy (I-Rsgf)
Shelfmark: 580.25
Bassus partbook only.

FdS1647

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
48 (Cantus) / 48 (Altus) / 32 (Tenor) / 48 (Bassus) / 52 (Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Santini-Sammlung, Diözesanbibliothek, Münster, Germany (D-MÜp)
Shelfmark: Sant. Dr. 275
Cantus, Tenor, and Bassus partbooks only (all badly damaged); the printed RISM B/I catalogue and RISM's online resources state that the Altus partbook is also held, but this is incorrect.
2) Royal College of Music, London, United Kingdom (GB-Lcm)
Shelfmark: B172/1-4
Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Organum partbooks only.
3) Westminster Abbey, London, United Kingdom (GB-Lwa)
Shelfmark: Mus. 9/CG 2
4) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.157
5) Archivio di S. Petronio, Bologna, Italy (I-Bsp)
Shelfmark: Fondo Antico Stampe 18
Altus, Tenor, Bassus, and Organum partbooks only.
6) Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, Italy (I-Rsgf)
Shelfmark: 579.4–8
7) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 59
8) Biblioteca do Palácio nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, Portugal (P-La)
Shelfmark: 54-IV-22, n.º 5 (Cantus), 54-IV-23, n.º 5 (Altus), 54-IV-24, n.º 5 (Tenor), 54-IV-25, n.º 5 (Bassus), 54-IV-27, n.º 3 (Organum)
9) Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, Sweden (S-Uu)
Shelfmark: Uvmtr 553 (Cantus), 554 (Tenor), 555 (Altus), 556 (Bassus), 557 (Organum)

FdS1648

Format

5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
28 (Cantus) / 20 (Altus) / 36 (Tenor) / 28 (Bassus) / 32 (Basus [*sic* in all exemplars] ad Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France (F-Pn)
Shelfmark: RES VMC-159
2) Westminster Abbey, London, United Kingdom (GB-Lwa)
Shelfmark: Mus. 10/CG 3
3) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.160
Altus, Tenor, Bassus, and Basus ad Organum partbooks only.
4) Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Italy (I-Rc)
Shelfmark: Mus. 150/6–10
5) Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Krakow, Poland (PL-Kj)
Shelfmark: Mus.ant.pract. S 1175
Altus, Tenor, Bassus, and Basus ad Organum partbooks only.
6) Special Collections Department, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, United States of America (US-LAur)
Shelfmark: M1490.F844f 1648
Cantus partbook only.
7) Music Library, Columbia University, New York, United States of America (US-NYcu)
Shelfmark: M2062 .F56 1648g Folio
Cantus partbook only (first six leaves slightly mutilated).

<u>FdS1649</u>

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
32 (Cantus I) / 36 (Cantus II) / 20 (Tenor) / 32 (Bassus) / 32 (Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium (B-Br)
Shelfmark: Fétis 1.701 A (RP)
2) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.162
3) Archivio di S. Petronio, Bologna, Italy (I-Bsp)
Shelfmark: Fondo Antico Stampe 19

4) Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Filippini (o Girolamini), Naples, Italy (I-Nf)
Shelfmark: AMCO ST 29.2
5) Archivio del Duomo, Piacenza, Italy (I-PCd)
Shelfmark: Stampati n. 48. Fascia 9, fila 7, cassetta 2 (or cassetta 4?)
Cantus II, Tenor, Bassus, and Organum partbooks only.
6) Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Italy (I-Rc)
Shelfmark: Mus. 150/11
Cantus II partbook only.
7) Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, Italy (I-Rsgf)
Shelfmark: 579.9–11
Cantus I, Tenor, and Bassus partbooks only.

FdS1650

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
32 (Cantus Primus) / 42 (Cantus Secundus) / 24 (Altus) / 32 (Bassus) / 32 (Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Paris, France (F-Pc)
Shelfmark: RES-422
2) British Library, London, United Kingdom (GB-Lbl)
Shelfmark: Music Collections D.74
3) Westminster Abbey, London, United Kingdom (GB-Lwa)
Shelfmark: Mus. 11/CG 4
4) Biblioteca capitolare del Duomo, Aosta, Italy (I-AOc)
Shelfmark: Mus. 31
Bassus and Organum partbooks only.
5) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 49
6) Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław, Poland (PL-WRu)
Shelfmark: 50230 Muz.
Cantus Primus, Cantus Secundus, Bassus, and Organum partbooks only.
7) Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, University of California, Berkeley, United States of America (US-BEm)
Shelfmark: M2072.4.S56.C2P
Cantus Primus and Organum partbooks only.

FdS1651

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
36 (Cantus) / 20 (Altus) / 36 (Tenor) / 32 (Bassus) / 32 (Bassus ad Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna, Austria (A-Wn)
Shelfmark: SH.SW.114 MUS MAG
Bassus partbook lacks final leaf.
2) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 50

FdS1652

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
32 (Cantus) / 20 (Altus) / 36 (Tenor) / 30 (Bassus) / 32 (Bassus ad Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France (F-Pn)
Shelfmark: RES VMC-161
2) Duomo, Como, Italy (I-COd)
Shelfmark: S/873
Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus partbooks only.
3) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 51 and 52 (two complete sets of partbooks)
4) Nederlands Muziek Institut, The Hague, The Netherlands (NL-DHnmi)
Shelfmark: NMI 4 K 35
Altus, Tenor, and Bassus partbooks only.

FdS1654

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages

40 (Cantus Primus) / 40 (Cantus Secundus) / 16 (Tenor) / 16 (Bassus) / 32 (Bassus ad Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Paris, France (F-Pc)
Shelfmark: RES-423
2) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.169
3) Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Filippini (o Girolamini), Naples, Italy (I-Nf)
Shelfmark: AMCO ST 30.1
4) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 56

FdS1655

Format
4 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
40 (Altus) / 40 (Tenor) / 40 (Bassus) / 40 (Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, France (F-Pm)
Shelfmark: 4° A 11405-2
Organum partbook only.
2) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.170
3) Archivio capitolare, Faenza, Italy (I-FZac)
Shelfmark: unknown
4) Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, Italy (I-Rsgf)
Shelfmark: 580.26–28
Altus, Tenor, and Bassus partbooks only.
5) Biblioteca dell'Accademia musicale Chigiana, Siena, Italy (I-Sac)
Shelfmark: FAM-SIL-CA 121/1–3
Altus, Tenor, and Organum partbooks only.
6) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 55

FdS1659

Format

2 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
76 (Cantus) / 148 (Partitura)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Christ Church, Oxford, United Kingdom (GB-Och)
Shelfmark: Mus 171 (Partitura partbook) and 172 (Cantus partbook)
2) Biblioteca capitolare del Duomo, Aosta, Italy (I-AOc)
Shelfmark: Mus. 33
Cantus partbook only (final leaf missing).
3) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.171
4) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 53
Cantus partbook only.
5) Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Krakow, Poland (PL-Kj)
Shelfmark: Mus.ant.pract. S 1183
Partitura partbook only.

FdS1663

Format
2 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
64 (Cantus) / 120 (Partitura)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Private collection of Matthias Schneider, Frankfurt, Germany (D-Fschneider)
Shelfmark: Mus 298
Partitura partbook only. The printed RISM B/I catalogue and RISM's online resources state, erroneously, that this exemplar is complete.[439]
2) Royal College of Music, London, United Kingdom (GB-Lcm)
Shelfmark: C62/1–2
3) Christ Church, Oxford, United Kingdom (GB-Och)
Shelfmark: Mus 173
Partitura partbook only.
4) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.172

[439] Personal correspondence, Matthias Schneider, 9 November 2020.

5) Biblioteca del seminario, Lucca, Italy (I-Ls)
Shelfmark: A.230
Cantus partbook only.
6) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 54

FdS1664

Format
5 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
54 (Cantus) / 28 (Altus) / 42 (Tenor) / 24 (Bassus) / 80 (Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Musikabteilung, Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Switzerland (CH-Zz)
Shelfmark: Mus. Jac. D. 83
Cantus partbook only; the first two leaves are missing (title-page/imprimatur, dedicatory epistle).
2) Santini-Sammlung, Diözesanbibliothek, Münster, Germany (D-MÜp)
Shelfmark: Sant. Dr. 274
Cantus partbook lacks its title page.
In poor condition. Several places where portions of a page have become stuck to the facing one.
3) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.173
4) Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Mdina, Malta (M-MDca)
Shelfmark: Mus. Pr. 57

FdS1668

Format
4 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
44 (Cantus Primus) / 44 (Cantus Secundus) / 40 (Cantus Tertius) / 40 (Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Santini-Sammlung, Diözesanbibliothek, Münster, Germany (D-MÜp)
Shelfmark: Sant. Dr. 654
2) British Library, London, United Kingdom (GB-Lbl)

Shelfmark: Music Collections D.74.a
3) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.177
Cantus Primus, Cantus Secundus (incomplete), and Organum partbooks only.

FdS1672

Format
3 volumes, quarto

Number of pages
44 (Cantus I) / 40 (Cantus II) / 40 (Organum)

Locations of surviving exemplars (complete unless otherwise stated)
1) Westminster Abbey, London, Germany (GB-Lwa)
Shelfmark: Mus. 11 / CG 5
2) Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, Italy (I-Bc)
Shelfmark: V.182

Appendix II: Indices of the contents of Florido's motet anthologies

By anthology

FdS	Text incipit	Composer
1643.01	Beatus vir	Silvestris, Florido de
1643.02	Congratulamini mihi	Massenzio, Domenico
1643.03	Laudem Domini	Benevoli, Orazio
1643.04	Repleatur os meum	Foggia, Francesco
1643.05	Salvum me fac Deus	Massenzio, Domenico
1643.06	Venite exultemus Dominæ nostræ	Fabri, Stefano
1643.07	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Fabri, Stefano
1643.08	Dilectus meus impinguatus est	Capponi, Gino Angelo
1643.09	Exultantes et lætantes	Foggia, Francesco
1643.10	Florete flores	Foggia, Francesco
1643.11	Honorem date Deo	Abbatini, Antonio Maria
1643.12	Militia est vita hominis	Carissimi, Giacomo
1643.13	Memor sit Dominus sacrificii nostri	Capponi, Gino Angelo
1643.14	Misericordias Domini	Durante, Silvestro
1643.15	O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu	Abbatini, Antonio Maria
1643.16	O beatum virum	Carissimi, Giacomo
1643.17	O quales flores	Argentini, Stefano
1643.18	Qui sequitur me	Benevoli, Orazio
1643.19	Sonent cytharæ	Cavi, Filippo da
1643.20	Florete flores	Silvestris, Florido de
1643.21	Nigra sum sed formosa	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1643.22	O Iesu, cordis mei thesaurus	Agostini, Paolo
1643.23	Peccavimus, impie gessimus	Agostini, Paolo
1643.24	Adsunt dies triumphalis	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1643.25	Salve Regina	Mazzocchi, Virgilio

1645.01	Ad cantus, ad plausus	Foggia, Francesco
1645.02	Benedicam Dominum	Durante, Silvestro
1645.03	Congratulamini mihi	Abbatini, Antonio Maria
1645.04	Hymnum iucunditatis	Carissimi, Giacomo
1645.05	Iudica Domine	Silvestris, Florido de
1645.06	O dulcissime Domine	Lancia, Carlo Maria
1645.07	O admirabile mysterium	Abbatini, Antonio Maria
1645.08	Audite sancti	Carissimi, Giacomo
1645.09	Amor Iesu dulcissime	Marciani, Giovanni
1645.10	Domine quinque talenta	Foggia, Francesco

1645.11	Deduxit illum Dominus	Foggia, Francesco
1645.12	Gaudete cum Maria	Antonelli
1645.13	Mirabile nomen	Durante, Silvestro
1645.14	O sacrum convivium	Fabri, Stefano
1645.15	Quasi oliva pullulans	Argentini, Stefano
1645.16	Repleta est malis	Argentini, Stefano
1645.17	Salvum me fac Deus	Foggia, Francesco
1645.18	Venite o gentes	Foggia, Francesco
1645.19	Filiæ Ierusalem	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1645.20	Hymnum novum	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1645.21	Isti sunt qui nobiles	Cecchelli, Carlo
1645.22	Intenderunt arcum	Cecchelli, Carlo
1645.23	Peccaverunt habitatores terræ	Cecchelli, Carlo
1645.24	Quem vidistis pastores	Durante, Silvestro
1645.25	Qualis abundant	Giovannoni, Vincenzo
1645.26	Surge propera amica mea	Benevoli, Orazio
1645.27	Iesu clemens, pie Deus,	Foggia, Francesco

1647.01	Agite dies lætitiæ	Cecchelli, Carlo
1647.02	Eripe me de inimicis meis	Silvestris, Florido de
1647.03	Iste homo perfecit omnia	Mezzalancia, Filippo
1647.04	Veni columba mea	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1647.05	Viderunt te Domine	Carissimi, Giacomo
1647.06	Anima Christi sanctifica me	Durante, Silvestro
1647.07	Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1647.08	Domine ne in furore tuo	Fabri, Stefano
1647.09	Gaudent in cælis animæ sanctorum	Cecchelli, Carlo
1647.10	Iubilate filiæ Hierusalem	Benevoli, Orazio
1647.11	Liberasti nos Domine	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1647.12	O pretiosum et admirandum convivium	Vannarelli, Francesco
1647.13	Quasi stella matutina	Marciani, Giovanni
1647.14	Vidi angelum Dei	Foggia, Francesco
1647.15	Amor Iesu dulcissime	Antonelli
1647.16	Mons Dei, mons pinguis	Vannini, Bernardino
1647.17	O admirabile commercium	Cecchelli, Carlo
1647.18	Virginis Deiparæ	Foggia, Francesco
1647.19	Spargite flores, pangite carmina	Giovannoni, Vincenzo
1647.20	Salve mater salvatoris	Durante, Silvestro
1647.21	Ecce qui mortis	Cecchelli, Carlo
1647.22	Alma Redemptoris Mater	Carissimi, Giacomo
1647.23	Ave, Regina cælorum	Valentini, Giovanni Carlo

1647.24	Regina cæli lætare	Foggia, Francesco
1647.25	Salve Regina	Cecchelli, Carlo

1648.01	Cantate Domino canticum novum	Durante, Silvestro
1648.02	Terribili sonitu sonuerunt	Foggia, Francesco
1648.03	Adest nobis cælorum	Cecchelli, Carlo
1648.04	Fortitudo mea et laus mea	Benevoli, Orazio
1648.05	Intenderunt arcum	Bonetti, Carlo
1648.06	Media nocte clamor magnus	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1648.07	Prævaluerunt in nos inimici nostri	Carissimi, Giacomo
1648.08	Per rigidos montes	Cecchelli, Carlo
1648.09	Quæ est ista quæ progreditur	Durante, Silvestro
1648.10	Resonate, iubilate	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1648.11	Si Deus pro nobis	Fabri, Stefano
1648.12	Superni Regis regiam	Corradi, Nicola
1648.13	Miserator Dominus	Leardini, Alessandro
1648.14	O salutaris hostia	Olivati, Ignatio
1648.15	Venite ecclesiarum principes	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1648.16	Plaudant laudibus mortales	Silvestris, Florido de

1649.01	Dilatatæ sunt tribulationes	Abbatini, Antonio Maria
1649.02	Iubilate gentes, exultate populi	Marcorelli, Giovanni Francesco
1649.03	O dulcissime Iesu	Tozzi, Vincenzo
1649.04	Sustinuimus pacem	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1649.05	Beata es Virgo Maria	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1649.06	Bellica defixos gloria tenebat	Durante, Silvestro
1649.07	Cognoscam te Domine	Benevoli, Orazio
1649.08	Ecce Deus noster	Cecchelli, Carlo
1649.09	Hodie apparuerunt voluptates paradisi	Foggia, Francesco
1649.10	Laudabo nomen tuum Domine	Tarditi, Paolo
1649.11	O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1649.12	Surgamus, eamus	Carissimi, Giacomo
1649.13	Incliti martyris N.	Olivati, Ignatio
1649.14	Laudibus excelsis iubilemus omnes	Santucci, Girolamo
1649.15	O sacrum convivium	Antonelli
1649.16	Ave dulcis, salve pia	Silvestris, Florido de

1650.01	Iuravit Dominus	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1650.02	Linguæ ardentes apparuerunt	Abbatini, Antonio Maria
1650.03	Nigra sum sed formosa	Carissimi, Giacomo
1650.04	Qui descendunt mare in navibus	Benevoli, Orazio

1650.05	Aperuit portas cæli Deus noster	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1650.06	Congregatæ sunt gentes	Durante, Silvestro
1650.07	Dicite laudem, dicite gloriam beato N	Cecchelli, Carlo
1650.08	Deus vitam meam nuntiavi tibi	Capponi, Gino Angelo
1650.09	Exultate iusti in Domino	Santucci, Girolamo
1650.10	Iste sanctus pro lege Dei sui	Foggia, Francesco
1650.11	Quam dilecta tabernacula tua	Fabri, Stefano
1650.12	Surge Aquilo et veni Auster	Margarini, Francesco
1650.13	Agite o plantas	Giovannoni, Vincenzo
1650.14	O dulce nomen Iesu	Bicilli, Giovanni
1650.15	Venite omnes gentes	Tarditi, Paolo
1650.16	Anima nostra quare amas bonum mutabile?	Silvestris, Florido de

1651.01	Repleatur os meum laude tua	Foggia, Francesco
1651.02	Cantate Domino canticum novum	Durante, Silvestro
1651.03	Benedicam Dominum	Durante, Silvestro
1651.04	Veni columba mea	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1651.05	Audite sancti, audite iusti	Carissimi, Giacomo
1651.06	Florete flores	Foggia, Francesco
1651.07	Insurrexerunt in nos inimici nostri	Carissimi, Giacomo
1651.08	Quam bonus panis	Benevoli, Orazio
1651.09	Si qua est consolatio in Christo Iesu	Carissimi, Giacomo
1651.10	Domine quinque talenta	Foggia, Francesco
1651.11	Repleta est malis anima nostra Domine	Argentini, Stefano
1651.12	Venite o gentes	Foggia, Francesco
1651.13	Hymnum novum	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1651.14	Intenderunt arcum	Cecchelli, Carlo
1651.15	O ignis qui semper ardes	Foggia, Francesco
1651.16	Anima nostra quare amas bonum mutabile?	Silvestris, Florido de

1652.01	Ad cantus, ad plausus	Foggia, Francesco
1652.02	Iubilate, exultate et gaudete cum Maria	Foggia, Francesco
1652.03	Laudem Domini loquetur os meum	Benevoli, Orazio
1652.04	O Iesu mi dulcissme, o Iesu mi piissime	Durante, Silvestro
1652.05	Adest nobis cælorum	Cecchelli, Carlo
1652.06	Gaudete cum Maria	Antonelli
1652.07	Militia est vita hominis	Carissimi, Giacomo
1652.08	Misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo	Durante, Silvestro
1652.09	O pretiosum et admirabile sacramentum	Foggia, Francesco
1652.10	Resonate, iubilate	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1652.11	Surgamus, eamus,	Carissimi, Giacomo

1652.12	Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos?	Fabri, Stefano
1652.13	Iesu clemens, pie Deus	Foggia, Francesco
1652.14	Nigra sum sed formosa	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1652.15	Isti sunt qui nobiles	Cecchelli, Carlo
1652.16	Salve mater salvatoris	Durante, Silvestro

1654.01	Adiuva me Domine	Foggia, Francesco
1654.02	Ecce sponsus venit	Carissimi, Giacomo
1654.03	Inquietum est cor nostrum	Fabri, Stefano
1654.04	O sacrum convivium	Benevoli, Orazio
1654.05	O admirabile nomen Iesu	Tricarico, Giuseppe
1654.06	O quam felix est	Bonetti, Giovanni
1654.07	Quousque sponse dulcissime	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1654.08	Beati qui ambulant in atriis tuis Domine	Foggia, Francesco
1654.09	Dilectus Deo et hominibus beatus N.	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1654.10	Domine contra fidem tuam	Bonetti, Giovanni
1654.11	O quam metuendus est locus iste	Fabri, Stefano
1654.12	Quomodo facti sunt impii in desolatione!	Carissimi, Giacomo
1654.13	Repleatur os meum laude tua	Tricarico, Giuseppe
1654.14	Venite et videte opera Domini	Benevoli, Orazio
1654.15	Salve Virgo sacra parens	Silvestris, Florido de

1655.01	Vidi impium superexaltatum	Carissimi, Giacomo
1655.02	Dixerunt impii	Savioni, Mario
1655.03	Adest solemnitas inclita	Durante, Silvestro
1655.04	Iubilemus, exultemus	Bicilli, Giovanni
1655.05	Omnes sancti, quanta passi sunt tormenta	Cecchelli, Carlo
1655.06	O admirabile nomen Iesu	Tricarico, Giuseppe
1655.07	Omnes in iubilo lætantes	Margarini, Francesco
1655.08	Peccavi Domine	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1655.09	Triumphum laudabilem beati martyris N.	Fabri, Stefano
1655.10	Iubilemus in templo Dei	Silvestris, Florido de
1655.11	Exaudi Domine vocem	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1655.12	Sit mundo lætissima	Benevoli, Orazio
1655.13	In memoria æterna erit iustus	Foggia, Francesco
1655.14	Quasi oliva pullulans	Marciani, Giovanni
1655.15	Quem vidistis pastores	Anonymous

1659.01	Congregantes Philisthæi	Savioni, Mario
1659.02	Cantate Domino canticum novum	Corsi, Giuseppe
1659.03	Ecce progreditur hodie	Foggia, Francesco

1659.04	Lætentur cæli, exultet terra	Durante, Silvestro
1659.05	Oculos meos	Benevoli, Orazio
1659.06	O dulcissime Iesu	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1659.07	O miracula, o prodigia	Vannini, Pietro Paolo
1659.08	Pastores dum custodistis	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1659.09	Quanta fecisti Domine animæ meæ	Marciani, Giovanni
1659.10	Surgite, currite, properate, venite	Mazzocchi, Virgilio
1659.11	Sicut stella matutina in medio nebulæ	Carissimi, Giacomo
1659.12	Aggrediamur iter vitæ	Anonymous

1663.01	Canite populi, canite classicum	Savioni, Mario
1663.02	Domine Deus meus	Carissimi, Giacomo
1663.03	Dulcedo cordis intima	Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria
1663.04	Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbæ	Tricarico, Giuseppe
1663.05	Quid agis cor meum, cur Iesum non amas?	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1663.06	O quam suavis est Domine	Corsi, Giuseppe
1663.07	Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas	Marciani, Giovanni
1663.08	Non superabit, non	Silvestris, Florido de
1663.09	De valle lacrimarum	Foggia, Francesco
1663.10	Ego autem pro te Domine	Benevoli, Orazio

1664.01	Ad arma, ad bella!	Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria
1664.02	Et cur non amo te, o benedicte Iesu?	Stamegna, Nicolò
1664.03	Indica mihi dilecte mi ubi pascas	Corsi, Giuseppe
1664.04	O benignissime Iesu	Savioni, Mario
1664.05	Cantate Domino canticum novum	Bicilli, Giovanni
1664.06	Domine Deus meus, pulchritudo tam amata	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1664.07	O dies iucundissima	Foggia, Francesco
1664.08	O si quis mihi daret	Cecchelli, Carlo
1664.09	Agite dies lætitiæ	Benevoli, Orazio
1664.10	Deus, quis similis erit tibi?	Tricarico, Giuseppe
1664.11	O sacramentum pietatis	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1664.12	O mortalis, nimis fralis	Durante, Silvestro
1664.13	Ardens est cor nostrum	Carissimi, Giacomo
1664.14	Iubilemus in templo Dei nostri	Vincenti, Giovanni
1664.15	Angeli sancti cantate laudes	Mangiarotti, Federico
1664.16	Insurrexerunt in nos inimici nostri	Silvestris, Florido de

1668.01	Benedictus Deus et Pater	Carissimi, Giacomo
1668.02	Adeste angeli cælestis vitæ	Benevoli, Orazio
1668.03	Caro mea vere est cibus	Corsi, Giuseppe

1668.04	Laudemus omnes Dominum	Savioni, Mario
1668.05	Osculetur me osculo oris sui	Stamegna, Nicolò
1668.06	O quam suavis est Domine spiritus tuus	Gensetti, Giovanni Battista
1668.07	Sacerdotes Domini	Foggia, Francesco
1668.08	Venite et properate	Bicilli, Giovanni
1668.09	Iustus Dominus in omnibus viis suis	Natali, Pompeo
1668.10	Stola iucunditatis induit eum Dominus	Cesi, Pietro
1668.11	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Mangiarotti, Federico
1668.12	Attendite popule meus legem meam	Gratiani, Bonifatio
1668.13	Paratur nobis mensa Domini	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1668.14	Ridet cor, exultat animus, triumphat anima	Durante, Silvestro
1668.15	Misit me vivens pater	Foggia, Antonio
1668.16	Intuemini quantus sit iste	Silvestris, Florido de

1672.01	Veni electa mea	Benevoli, Orazio
1672.02	Consurgite qui habitatis tenebras	Savioni, Mario
1672.03	Lætantes canite diem lætitiæ	Foggia, Francesco
1672.04	O dulcissime Iesu, o suavissime Iesu	Carissimi, Giacomo
1672.05	O quam suavis est Domine Spiritus tuus	Stamegna, Nicolò
1672.06	Dum medium silentium tenerent omnia	Corsi, Giuseppe
1672.07	Quam magnus triumphat in cælo Deus	Bicilli, Giovanni
1672.08	O dulcissime, o suavissime Iesu	Cesi, Pietro
1672.09	Paratur nobis mensa Domini	Grandis, Vincenzo de
1672.10	In capite libri scriptum est de me	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio
1672.11	Dominus adiutor meus et protector meus	Natali, Pompeo
1672.12	Gaudeant per orbem omnes filii Dei	Durante, Silvestro
1672.13	Hodie martyrio gloriosissimo	Ponteggi, Alessandro
1672.14	Charitate vulnerata quæsivi dilectum	Micharelli, Giuseppe
1672.15	Lætamini in Domino	Olivieri, Paolo
1672.16	Surge propera amica mea	Silvestris, Florido de
1672.17	Hæc est, quæ nescivit thorum in delicto	Simonelli, Matteo

By text incipit

Italics are used to indicate the later appearance of those motets reprinted in FdS1651 and FdS1652 from Florido's earlier anthologies.

Text incipit	**Composer**	**FdS**
Ad arma, ad bella!	Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria	1664.01
Ad cantus, ad plausus	Foggia, Francesco	1645.01
Ad cantus, ad plausus	*Foggia, Francesco*	*1652.01*
Adest nobis cælorum	Cecchelli, Carlo	1648.03
Adest nobis cælorum	*Cecchelli, Carlo*	*1652.05*
Adest solemnitas inclita	Durante, Silvestro	1655.03
Adeste angeli cælestis vitæ	Benevoli, Orazio	1668.02
Adiuva me Domine	Foggia, Francesco	1654.01
Adsunt dies triumphalis	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1643.24
Aggrediamur iter vitæ	Anonymous	1659.12
Agite dies lætitiæ	Benevoli, Orazio	1664.09
Agite dies lætitiæ	Cecchelli, Carlo	1647.01
Agite o plantas	Giovannoni, Vincenzo	1650.13
Alma Redemptoris Mater	Carissimi, Giacomo	1647.22
Amor Iesu dulcissime	Antonelli	1647.15
Amor Iesu dulcissime	Marciani, Giovanni	1645.09
Angeli sancti cantate laudes	Mangiarotti, Federico	1664.15
Anima Christi sanctifica me	Durante, Silvestro	1647.06
Anima nostra quare amas bonum mutabile?	Silvestris, Florido de	1650.16
Anima nostra quare amas bonum mutabile?	*Silvestris, Florido de*	*1651.16*
Aperuit portas cæli Deus noster	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1650.05
Ardens est cor nostrum	Carissimi, Giacomo	1664.13
Attendite popule meus legem meam	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1668.12
Audite sancti	Carissimi, Giacomo	1645.08
Audite sancti	*Carissimi, Giacomo*	*1651.05*
Ave dulcis, salve pia	Silvestris, Florido de	1649.16
Ave, Regina cælorum	Valentini, Giovanni Carlo	1647.23
Beata es Virgo Maria	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1649.05
Beati qui ambulant in atriis tuis Domine	Foggia, Francesco	1654.08
Beatus vir	Silvestris, Florido de	1643.01
Bellica defixos gloria tenebat	Durante, Silvestro	1649.06
Benedicam Dominum	Durante, Silvestro	1645.02
Benedicam Dominum	*Durante, Silvestro*	*1651.03*
Benedictus Deus et Pater	Carissimi, Giacomo	1668.01

Canite populi, canite classicum	Savioni, Mario	1663.01
Cantate Domino canticum novum	Bicilli, Giovanni	1664.05
Cantate Domino canticum novum	Corsi, Giuseppe	1659.02
Cantate Domino canticum novum	Durante, Silvestro	1648.01
Cantate Domino canticum novum	*Durante, Silvestro*	*1651.02*
Caro mea vere est cibus	Corsi, Giuseppe	1668.03
Charitate vulnerata quæsivi dilectum	Micharelli, Giuseppe	1672.14
Cognoscam te Domine	Benevoli, Orazio	1649.07
Congratulamini mihi	Abbatini, Antonio Maria	1645.03
Congratulamini mihi	Massenzio, Domenico	1643.02
Congregantes Philisthæi	Savioni, Mario	1659.01
Congregatæ sunt gentes	Durante, Silvestro	1650.06
Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Fabri, Stefano	1643.07
Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Mangiarotti, Federico	1668.11
Consurgite qui habitatis tenebras	Savioni, Mario	1672.02

De valle lacrimarum	Foggia, Francesco	1663.09
Deduxit illum Dominus	Foggia, Francesco	1645.11
Deus vitam meam nuntiavi tibi	Capponi, Gino Angelo	1650.08
Deus, quis similis erit tibi?	Tricarico, Giuseppe	1664.10
Dicite laudem, dicite gloriam beato N	Cecchelli, Carlo	1650.07
Dilatatæ sunt tribulationes	Abbatini, Antonio Maria	1649.01
Dilectus Deo et hominibus beatus N.	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1654.09
Dilectus meus impinguatus est	Capponi, Gino Angelo	1643.08
Dixerunt impii	Savioni, Mario	1655.02
Domine contra fidem tuam	Bonetti, Giovanni	1654.10
Domine Deus meus	Carissimi, Giacomo	1663.02
Domine Deus meus, pulchritudo tam amata	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1664.06
Domine ne in furore tuo	Fabri, Stefano	1647.08
Domine quinque talenta	Foggia, Francesco	1645.10
Domine quinque talenta	*Foggia, Francesco*	*1651.10*
Dominus adiutor meus et protector meus	Natali, Pompeo	1672.11
Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1647.07
Dulcedo cordis intima	Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria	1663.03
Dum medium silentium tenerent omnia	Corsi, Giuseppe	1672.06

Ecce Deus noster	Cecchelli, Carlo	1649.08
Ecce progreditur hodie	Foggia, Francesco	1659.03
Ecce qui mortis	Cecchelli, Carlo	1647.21
Ecce sponsus venit	Carissimi, Giacomo	1654.02

Ego autem pro te Domine	Benevoli, Orazio	1663.10
Eripe me de inimicis meis	Silvestris, Florido de	1647.02
Et cur non amo te, o benedicte Iesu?	Stamegna, Nicolò	1664.02
Exaudi Domine vocem	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1655.11
Exultantes et lætantes	Foggia, Francesco	1643.09
Exultate iusti in Domino	Santucci, Girolamo	1650.09

Filiæ Ierusalem	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1645.19
Florete flores	Foggia, Francesco	1643.10
Florete flores	*Foggia, Francesco*	*1651.06*
Florete flores	Silvestris, Florido de	1643.20
Fortitudo mea et laus mea	Benevoli, Orazio	1648.04

Gaudeant per orbem omnes filii Dei	Durante, Silvestro	1672.12
Gaudent in cælis animæ sanctorum	Cecchelli, Carlo	1647.09
Gaudete cum Maria	Antonelli	1645.12
Gaudete cum Maria	*Antonelli*	*1652.06*

Hæc est, quæ nescivit thorum in delicto	Simonelli, Matteo	1672.17
Hodie apparuerunt voluptates paradisi	Foggia, Francesco	1649.09
Hodie martyrio gloriosissimo	Ponteggi, Alessandro	1672.13
Honorem date Deo	Abbatini, Antonio Maria	1643.11
Hymnum iucunditatis	Carissimi, Giacomo	1645.04
Hymnum novum	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1645.20
Hymnum novum	*Mazzocchi, Virgilio*	*1651.13*

Iesu clemens, pie Deus	Foggia, Francesco	1645.27
Iesu clemens, pie Deus	*Foggia, Francesco*	*1652.13*
In capite libri scriptum est de me	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1672.10
In memoria æterna erit iustus	Foggia, Francesco	1655.13
Incliti martyris N.	Olivati, Ignatio	1649.13
Indica mihi dilecte mi ubi pascas	Corsi, Giuseppe	1664.03
Inquietum est cor nostrum	Fabri, Stefano	1654.03
Insurrexerunt in nos inimici nostri	Carissimi, Giacomo	1651.07
Insurrexerunt in nos inimici nostri	Silvestris, Florido de	1664.16
Intenderunt arcum	Bonetti, Carlo	1648.05
Intenderunt arcum	Cecchelli, Carlo	1645.22
Intenderunt arcum	*Cecchelli, Carlo*	*1651.14*
Intuemini quantus sit iste	Silvestris, Florido de	1668.16
Iste homo perfecit omnia	Mezzalancia, Filippo	1647.03
Iste sanctus pro lege Dei sui	Foggia, Francesco	1650.10

Isti sunt qui nobiles	Cecchelli, Carlo	1645.21
Isti sunt qui nobiles	*Cecchelli, Carlo*	*1652.15*
Iubilate filiæ Hierusalem	Benevoli, Orazio	1647.10
Iubilate gentes, exultate populi	Marcorelli, Giovanni Francesco	1649.02
Iubilate, exultate et gaudete cum Maria	Foggia, Francesco	1652.02
Iubilemus in templo Dei	Silvestris, Florido de	1655.10
Iubilemus in templo Dei	Vincenti, Giovanni	1664.14
Iubilemus, exultemus	Bicilli, Giovanni	1655.04
Iudica Domine	Silvestris, Florido de	1645.05
Iuravit Dominus	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1650.01
Iustus Dominus in omnibus viis suis	Natali, Pompeo	1668.09

Lætamini in Domino	Olivieri, Paolo	1672.15
Lætantes canite diem lætitiæ	Foggia, Francesco	1672.03
Lætentur cæli, exultet terra	Durante, Silvestro	1659.04
Laudabo nomen tuum Domine	Tarditi, Paolo	1649.10
Laudem Domini	Benevoli, Orazio	1643.03
Laudem Domini	*Benevoli, Orazio*	*1652.03*
Laudemus omnes Dominum	Savioni, Mario	1668.04
Laudibus excelsis iubilemus omnes	Santucci, Girolamo	1649.14
Liberasti nos Domine	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1647.11
Linguæ ardentes apparuerunt	Abbatini, Antonio Maria	1650.02

Media nocte clamor magnus	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1648.06
Memor sit Dominus sacrificii nostri	Capponi, Gino Angelo	1643.13
Militia est vita hominis	Carissimi, Giacomo	1643.12
Militia est vita hominis	*Carissimi, Giacomo*	*1652.07*
Mirabile nomen	Durante, Silvestro	1645.13
Miserator Dominus	Leardini, Alessandro	1648.13
Misericordias Domini	Durante, Silvestro	1643.14
Misericordias Domini	*Durante, Silvestro*	*1652.08*
Misit me vivens pater	Foggia, Antonio	1668.15
Mons Dei, mons pinguis	Vannini, Bernardino	1647.16

Nigra sum sed formosa	Carissimi, Giacomo	1650.03
Nigra sum sed formosa	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1643.21
Nigra sum sed formosa	*Mazzocchi, Virgilio*	*1652.14*
Non superabit, non	Silvestris, Florido de	1663.08

O admirabile commercium	Cecchelli, Carlo	1647.17
O admirabile mysterium	Abbatini, Antonio Maria	1645.07

O admirabile nomen Iesu	Tricarico, Giuseppe	1654.05
O admirabile nomen Iesu	Tricarico, Giuseppe	1655.06
O beatum virum	Carissimi, Giacomo	1643.16
O benignissime Iesu	Savioni, Mario	1664.04
O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu	Abbatini, Antonio Maria	1643.15
O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1649.11
O dies iucundissima	Foggia, Francesco	1664.07
O dulce nomen Iesu	Bicilli, Giovanni	1650.14
O dulcissime Domine	Lancia, Carlo Maria	1645.06
O dulcissime Iesu	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1659.06
O dulcissime Iesu	Tozzi, Vincenzo	1649.03
O dulcissime Iesu, o suavissime Iesu	Carissimi, Giacomo	1672.04
O dulcissime, o suavissime Iesu	Cesi, Pietro	1672.08
O Iesu mi dulcissme, o Iesu mi piissime	Durante, Silvestro	1652.04
O Iesu, cordis mei thesaurus	Agostini, Paolo	1643.22
O ignis qui semper ardes	Foggia, Francesco	1651.15
O miracula, o prodigia	Vannini, Pietro Paolo	1659.07
O mortalis, nimis fralis	Durante, Silvestro	1664.12
O pretiosum et admirabile sacramentum	Foggia, Francesco	1652.09
O pretiosum et admirandum convivium	Vannarelli, Francesco	1647.12
O quales flores	Argentini, Stefano	1643.17
O quam felix est	Bonetti, Giovanni	1654.06
O quam metuendus est locus iste	Fabri, Stefano	1654.11
O quam suavis est Domine	Corsi, Giuseppe	1663.06
O quam suavis est Domine spiritus tuus	Gensetti, Giovanni Battista	1668.06
O quam suavis est Domine Spiritus tuus	Stamegna, Nicolò	1672.05
O sacramentum pietatis	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1664.11
O sacrum convivium	Antonelli	1649.15
O sacrum convivium	Benevoli, Orazio	1654.04
O sacrum convivium	Fabri, Stefano	1645.14
O salutaris hostia	Olivati, Ignatio	1648.14
O si quis mihi daret	Cecchelli, Carlo	1664.08
Oculos meos	Benevoli, Orazio	1659.05
Omnes in iubilo lætantes	Margarini, Francesco	1655.07
Omnes sancti, quanta passi sunt tormenta	Cecchelli, Carlo	1655.05
Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas	Marciani, Giovanni	1663.07
Osculetur me osculo oris sui	Stamegna, Nicolò	1668.05

Paratur nobis mensa Domini	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1668.13
Paratur nobis mensa Domini	Grandis, Vincenzo de	1672.09
Pastores dum custodistis	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1659.08

Peccaverunt habitatores terræ	Cecchelli, Carlo	1645.23
Peccavi Domine	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1655.08
Peccavimus, impie gessimus	Agostini, Paolo	1643.23
Per rigidos montes	Cecchelli, Carlo	1648.08
Plaudant laudibus mortales	Silvestris, Florido de	1648.16
Prævaluerunt in nos inimici nostri	Carissimi, Giacomo	1648.07

Quæ est ista quæ progreditur	Durante, Silvestro	1648.09
Qualis abundant	Giovannoni, Vincenzo	1645.25
Quam bonus panis	Benevoli, Orazio	1651.08
Quam dilecta tabernacula tua	Fabri, Stefano	1650.11
Quam magnus triumphat in cælo Deus	Bicilli, Giovanni	1672.07
Quanta fecisti Domine animæ meæ	Marciani, Giovanni	1659.09
Quasi oliva pullulans	Argentini, Stefano	1645.15
Quasi oliva pullulans	Marciani, Giovanni	1655.14
Quasi stella matutina	Marciani, Giovanni	1647.13
Quem vidistis pastores	Anonymous	1655.15
Quem vidistis pastores	Durante, Silvestro	1645.24
Qui descendunt mare in navibus	Benevoli, Orazio	1650.04
Qui sequitur me	Benevoli, Orazio	1643.18
Quid agis cor meum, cur Iesum non amas?	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1663.05
Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbæ	Tricarico, Giuseppe	1663.04
Quomodo facti sunt impii in desolatione!	Carissimi, Giacomo	1654.12
Quousque sponse dulcissime	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1654.07

Regina cæli lætare	Foggia, Francesco	1647.24
Repleatur os meum	Foggia, Francesco	1643.04
Repleatur os meum	*Foggia, Francesco*	*1651.01*
Repleatur os meum laude tua	Tricarico, Giuseppe	1654.13
Repleta est malis	Argentini, Stefano	1645.16
Repleta est malis	*Argentini, Stefano*	*1651.11*
Resonate, iubilate	Gratiani, Bonifatio	1648.10
Resonate, iubilate	*Gratiani, Bonifatio*	*1652.10*
Ridet cor, exultat animus, triumphat anima	Durante, Silvestro	1668.14
Sacerdotes Domini	Foggia, Francesco	1668.07

Salve mater salvatoris	Durante, Silvestro	1647.20
Salve mater salvatoris	*Durante, Silvestro*	*1652.16*
Salve Regina	Cecchelli, Carlo	1647.25
Salve Regina	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1643.25
Salve Virgo sacra parens	Silvestris, Florido de	1654.15

Salvum me fac Deus	Foggia, Francesco	1645.17
Salvum me fac Deus	Massenzio, Domenico	1643.05
Si Deus pro nobis	Fabri, Stefano	1648.11
Si Deus pro nobis	*Fabri, Stefano*	*1652.12*
Si qua est consolatio in Christo Iesu	Carissimi, Giacomo	1651.09
Sicut stella matutina in medio nebulæ	Carissimi, Giacomo	1659.11
Sit mundo lætissima	Benevoli, Orazio	1655.12
Sonent cytharæ	Cavi, Filippo da	1643.19
Spargite flores, pangite carmina	Giovannoni, Vincenzo	1647.19
Stola iucunditatis induit eum Dominus	Cesi, Pietro	1668.10
Superni Regis regiam	Corradi, Nicola	1648.12
Surgamus, eamus	Carissimi, Giacomo	1649.12
Surgamus, eamus	*Carissimi, Giacomo*	*1652.11*
Surge Aquilo et veni Auster	Margarini, Francesco	1650.12
Surge propera amica mea	Benevoli, Orazio	1645.26
Surge propera amica mea	Silvestris, Florido de	1672.16
Surgite, currite, properate, venite	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1659.10
Sustinuimus pacem	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1649.04

Terribili sonitu sonuerunt	Foggia, Francesco	1648.02
Triumphum laudabilem beati martyris N.	Fabri, Stefano	1655.09

Veni columba mea	Mazzocchi, Virgilio	1647.04
Veni columba mea	*Mazzocchi, Virgilio*	*1651.04*
Veni electa mea	Benevoli, Orazio	1672.01
Venite ecclesiarum principes	Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	1648.15
Venite et properate	Bicilli, Giovanni	1668.08
Venite et videte opera Domini	Benevoli, Orazio	1654.14
Venite exultemus Dominæ nostræ	Fabri, Stefano	1643.06
Venite o gentes	Foggia, Francesco	1645.18
Venite o gentes	*Foggia, Francesco*	*1651.12*
Venite omnes gentes	Tarditi, Paolo	1650.15
Viderunt te Domine	Carissimi, Giacomo	1647.05
Vidi angelum Dei	Foggia, Francesco	1647.14
Vidi impium superexaltatum	Carissimi, Giacomo	1655.01
Virginis Deiparæ	Foggia, Francesco	1647.18

Appendices to Volume I

By composer

Italics are used to indicate the later appearance of those motets reprinted in FdS1651 and FdS1652 from Florido's earlier anthologies.

Composer	**Text incipit**	**FdS**
Abbatini, Antonio Maria	Congratulamini mihi	1645.03
Abbatini, Antonio Maria	Dilatatæ sunt tribulationes	1649.01
Abbatini, Antonio Maria	Honorem date Deo	1643.11
Abbatini, Antonio Maria	Linguæ ardentes apparuerunt	1650.02
Abbatini, Antonio Maria	O admirabile mysterium	1645.07
Abbatini, Antonio Maria	O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu	1643.15
Agostini, Paolo	O Iesu, cordis mei thesaurus	1643.22
Agostini, Paolo	Peccavimus, impie gessimus	1643.23
Anonymous	Aggrediamur iter vitæ	1659.12
Anonymous	Quem vidistis pastores	1655.15
Antonelli	Amor Iesu dulcissime	1647.15
Antonelli	Gaudete cum Maria	1645.12
Antonelli	*Gaudete cum Maria*	*1652.06*
Antonelli	O sacrum convivium	1649.15
Argentini, Stefano	O quales flores	1643.17
Argentini, Stefano	Quasi oliva pullulans	1645.15
Argentini, Stefano	Repleta est malis	1645.16
Argentini, Stefano	*Repleta est malis*	*1651.11*
Benevoli, Orazio	Adeste angeli cælestis vitæ	1668.02
Benevoli, Orazio	Agite dies lætitiæ	1664.09
Benevoli, Orazio	Cognoscam te Domine	1649.07
Benevoli, Orazio	Ego autem pro te Domine	1663.10
Benevoli, Orazio	Fortitudo mea et laus mea	1648.04
Benevoli, Orazio	Iubilate filiæ Hierusalem	1647.10
Benevoli, Orazio	Laudem Domini	1643.03
Benevoli, Orazio	*Laudem Domini*	*1652.03*
Benevoli, Orazio	O sacrum convivium	1654.04
Benevoli, Orazio	Oculos meos	1659.05
Benevoli, Orazio	Quam bonus panis	1651.08
Benevoli, Orazio	Qui descendunt mare in navibus	1650.04
Benevoli, Orazio	Qui sequitur me	1643.18
Benevoli, Orazio	Sit mundo lætissima	1655.12
Benevoli, Orazio	Surge propera amica mea	1645.26
Benevoli, Orazio	Veni electa mea	1672.01

Benevoli, Orazio	Venite et videte opera Domini	1654.14
Bicilli, Giovanni	Cantate Domino canticum novum	1664.05
Bicilli, Giovanni	Iubilemus, exultemus	1655.04
Bicilli, Giovanni	O dulce nomen Iesu	1650.14
Bicilli, Giovanni	Quam magnus triumphat in cælo Deus	1672.07
Bicilli, Giovanni	Venite et properate	1668.08
Bonetti, Carlo	Intenderunt arcum	1648.05
Bonetti, Giovanni	Domine contra fidem tuam	1654.10
Bonetti, Giovanni	O quam felix est	1654.06

Capponi, Gino Angelo	Deus vitam meam nuntiavi tibi	1650.08
Capponi, Gino Angelo	Dilectus meus impinguatus est	1643.08
Capponi, Gino Angelo	Memor sit Dominus sacrificii nostri	1643.13
Carissimi, Giacomo	Alma Redemptoris Mater	1647.22
Carissimi, Giacomo	Ardens est cor nostrum	1664.13
Carissimi, Giacomo	Audite sancti	1645.08
Carissimi, Giacomo	*Audite sancti*	*1651.05*
Carissimi, Giacomo	Benedictus Deus et Pater	1668.01
Carissimi, Giacomo	Domine Deus meus	1663.02
Carissimi, Giacomo	Ecce sponsus venit	1654.02
Carissimi, Giacomo	Hymnum iucunditatis	1645.04
Carissimi, Giacomo	Insurrexerunt in nos inimici nostri	1651.07
Carissimi, Giacomo	Militia est vita hominis	1643.12
Carissimi, Giacomo	*Militia est vita hominis*	*1652.07*
Carissimi, Giacomo	Nigra sum sed formosa	1650.03
Carissimi, Giacomo	O beatum virum	1643.16
Carissimi, Giacomo	O dulcissime Iesu, o suavissime Iesu	1672.04
Carissimi, Giacomo	Prævaluerunt in nos inimici nostri	1648.07
Carissimi, Giacomo	Quomodo facti sunt impii in desolatione!	1654.12
Carissimi, Giacomo	Si qua est consolatio in Christo Iesu	1651.09
Carissimi, Giacomo	Sicut stella matutina in medio nebulæ	1659.11
Carissimi, Giacomo	Surgamus, eamus	1649.12
Carissimi, Giacomo	*Surgamus, eamus*	*1652.11*
Carissimi, Giacomo	Viderunt te Domine	1647.05
Carissimi, Giacomo	Vidi impium superexaltatum	1655.01
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	In capite libri scriptum est de me	1672.10
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	Iuravit Dominus	1650.01
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	Liberasti nos Domine	1647.11
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	O dulcissime Iesu	1659.06
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	O sacramentum pietatis	1664.11
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	Paratur nobis mensa Domini	1668.13

Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	Peccavi Domine	1655.08
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	Sustinuimus pacem	1649.04
Carpani, Giovanni Antonio	Venite ecclesiarum principes	1648.15
Cavi, Filippo da	Sonent cytharæ	1643.19
Cecchelli, Carlo	Adest nobis cælorum	1648.03
Cecchelli, Carlo	*Adest nobis cælorum*	*1652.05*
Cecchelli, Carlo	Agite dies lætitiæ	1647.01
Cecchelli, Carlo	Dicite laudem, dicite gloriam beato N	1650.07
Cecchelli, Carlo	Ecce Deus noster	1649.08
Cecchelli, Carlo	Ecce qui mortis	1647.21
Cecchelli, Carlo	Gaudent in cælis animæ sanctorum	1647.09
Cecchelli, Carlo	Intenderunt arcum	1645.22
Cecchelli, Carlo	*Intenderunt arcum*	*1651.14*
Cecchelli, Carlo	Isti sunt qui nobiles	1645.21
Cecchelli, Carlo	*Isti sunt qui nobiles*	*1652.15*
Cecchelli, Carlo	O admirabile commercium	1647.17
Cecchelli, Carlo	O si quis mihi daret	1664.08
Cecchelli, Carlo	Omnes sancti, quanta passi sunt tormenta	1655.05
Cecchelli, Carlo	Peccaverunt habitatores terræ	1645.23
Cecchelli, Carlo	Per rigidos montes	1648.08
Cecchelli, Carlo	Salve Regina	1647.25
Cesi, Pietro	O dulcissime, o suavissime Iesu	1672.08
Cesi, Pietro	Stola iucunditatis induit eum Dominus	1668.10
Corradi, Nicola	Superni Regis regiam	1648.12
Corsi, Giuseppe	Cantate Domino canticum novum	1659.02
Corsi, Giuseppe	Caro mea vere est cibus	1668.03
Corsi, Giuseppe	Dum medium silentium tenerent omnia	1672.06
Corsi, Giuseppe	Indica mihi dilecte mi ubi pascas	1664.03
Corsi, Giuseppe	O quam suavis est Domine	1663.06

Durante, Silvestro	Adest solemnitas inclita	1655.03
Durante, Silvestro	Anima Christi sanctifica me	1647.06
Durante, Silvestro	Bellica defixos gloria tenebat	1649.06
Durante, Silvestro	Benedicam Dominum	1645.02
Durante, Silvestro	*Benedicam Dominum*	*1651.03*
Durante, Silvestro	Cantate Domino canticum novum	1648.01
Durante, Silvestro	*Cantate Domino canticum novum*	*1651.02*
Durante, Silvestro	Congregatæ sunt gentes	1650.06
Durante, Silvestro	Gaudeant per orbem omnes filii Dei	1672.12
Durante, Silvestro	Lætentur cæli, exultet terra	1659.04
Durante, Silvestro	Mirabile nomen	1645.13

Durante, Silvestro	Misericordias Domini	1643.14
Durante, Silvestro	*Misericordias Domini*	*1652.08*
Durante, Silvestro	O Iesu mi dulcissme, o Iesu mi piissime	1652.04
Durante, Silvestro	O mortalis, nimis fralis	1664.12
Durante, Silvestro	Quæ est ista quæ progreditur	1648.09
Durante, Silvestro	Quem vidistis pastores	1645.24
Durante, Silvestro	Ridet cor, exultat animus, triumphat anima	1668.14
Durante, Silvestro	Salve mater salvatoris	1647.20
Durante, Silvestro	*Salve mater salvatoris*	*1652.16*

Fabri, Stefano	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	1643.07
Fabri, Stefano	Domine ne in furore tuo	1647.08
Fabri, Stefano	Inquietum est cor nostrum	1654.03
Fabri, Stefano	O quam metuendus est locus iste	1654.11
Fabri, Stefano	O sacrum convivium	1645.14
Fabri, Stefano	Quam dilecta tabernacula tua	1650.11
Fabri, Stefano	Si Deus pro nobis	1648.11
Fabri, Stefano	*Si Deus pro nobis*	*1652.12*
Fabri, Stefano	Triumphum laudabilem beati martyris N.	1655.09
Fabri, Stefano	Venite exultemus Dominæ nostræ	1643.06
Foggia, Antonio	Misit me vivens pater	1668.15
Foggia, Francesco	Ad cantus, ad plausus	1645.01
Foggia, Francesco	*Ad cantus, ad plausus*	*1652.01*
Foggia, Francesco	Adiuva me Domine	1654.01
Foggia, Francesco	Beati qui ambulant in atriis tuis Domine	1654.08
Foggia, Francesco	De valle lacrimarum	1663.09
Foggia, Francesco	Deduxit illum Dominus	1645.11
Foggia, Francesco	Domine quinque talenta	1645.10
Foggia, Francesco	*Domine quinque talenta*	*1651.10*
Foggia, Francesco	Ecce progreditur hodie	1659.03
Foggia, Francesco	Exultantes et lætantes	1643.09
Foggia, Francesco	Florete flores	1643.10
Foggia, Francesco	*Florete flores*	*1651.06*
Foggia, Francesco	Hodie apparuerunt voluptates paradisi	1649.09
Foggia, Francesco	Iesu clemens, pie Deus	1645.27
Foggia, Francesco	*Iesu clemens, pie Deus*	*1652.13*
Foggia, Francesco	In memoria æterna erit iustus	1655.13
Foggia, Francesco	Iste sanctus pro lege Dei sui	1650.10
Foggia, Francesco	Iubilate, exultate et gaudete cum Maria	1652.02
Foggia, Francesco	Lætantes canite diem lætitiæ	1672.03
Foggia, Francesco	O dies iucundissima	1664.07

Foggia, Francesco	O ignis qui semper ardes	1651.15
Foggia, Francesco	O pretiosum et admirabile sacramentum	1652.09
Foggia, Francesco	Regina cæli lætare	1647.24
Foggia, Francesco	Repleatur os meum	1643.04
Foggia, Francesco	*Repleatur os meum*	*1651.01*
Foggia, Francesco	Sacerdotes Domini	1668.07
Foggia, Francesco	Salvum me fac Deus	1645.17
Foggia, Francesco	Terribili sonitu sonuerunt	1648.02
Foggia, Francesco	Venite o gentes	1645.18
Foggia, Francesco	*Venite o gentes*	*1651.12*
Foggia, Francesco	Vidi angelum Dei	1647.14
Foggia, Francesco	Virginis Deiparæ	1647.18

Giansetti, Giovanni Battista	O quam suavis est Domine spiritus tuus	1668.06
Giovannoni, Vincenzo	Agite o plantas	1650.13
Giovannoni, Vincenzo	Qualis abundant	1645.25
Giovannoni, Vincenzo	Spargite flores, pangite carmina	1647.19
Grandis, Vincenzo de	Paratur nobis mensa Domini	1672.09
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Aperuit portas cæli Deus noster	1650.05
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Attendite popule meus legem meam	1668.12
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Dilectus Deo et hominibus beatus N.	1654.09
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Domine Deus meus, pulchritudo tam amata	1664.06
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Exaudi Domine vocem	1655.11
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Media nocte clamor magnus	1648.06
Gratiani, Bonifatio	O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu	1649.11
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Pastores dum custodistis	1659.08
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Quid agis cor meum, cur Iesum non amas?	1663.05
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Quousque sponse dulcissime	1654.07
Gratiani, Bonifatio	Resonate, iubilate	1648.10
Gratiani, Bonifatio	*Resonate, iubilate*	*1652.10*

Lancia, Carlo Maria	O dulcissime Domine	1645.06
Leardini, Alessandro	Miserator Dominus	1648.13

Mangiarotti, Federico	Angeli sancti cantate laudes	1664.15
Mangiarotti, Federico	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	1668.11
Marciani, Giovanni	Amor Iesu dulcissime	1645.09
Marciani, Giovanni	Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas	1663.07
Marciani, Giovanni	Quanta fecisti Domine animæ meæ	1659.09
Marciani, Giovanni	Quasi oliva pullulans	1655.14
Marciani, Giovanni	Quasi stella matutina	1647.13

Marcorelli, Giovanni Francesco	Iubilate gentes, exultate populi	1649.02
Margarini, Francesco	Omnes in iubilo lætantes	1655.07
Margarini, Francesco	Surge Aquilo et veni Auster	1650.12
Massenzio, Domenico	Congratulamini mihi	1643.02
Massenzio, Domenico	Salvum me fac Deus	1643.05
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Adsunt dies triumphalis	1643.24
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Beata es Virgo Maria	1649.05
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur	1647.07
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Filiæ Ierusalem	1645.19
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Hymnum novum	1645.20
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	*Hymnum novum*	*1651.13*
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Nigra sum sed formosa	1643.21
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	*Nigra sum sed formosa*	*1652.14*
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Salve Regina	1643.25
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Surgite, currite, properate, venite	1659.10
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	Veni columba mea	1647.04
Mazzocchi, Virgilio	*Veni columba mea*	*1651.04*
Mezzalancia, Filippo	Iste homo perfecit omnia	1647.03
Micharelli, Giuseppe	Charitate vulnerata quæsivi dilectum	1672.14

Natali, Pompeo	Dominus adiutor meus et protector meus	1672.11
Natali, Pompeo	Iustus Dominus in omnibus viis suis	1668.09

Olivati, Ignatio	Incliti martyris N.	1649.13
Olivati, Ignatio	O salutaris hostia	1648.14
Olivieri, Paolo	Lætamini in Domino	1672.15

Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria	Ad arma, ad bella!	1664.01
Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria	Dulcedo cordis intima	1663.03
Ponteggi, Alessandro	Hodie martyrio gloriosissimo	1672.13

Santucci, Girolamo	Exultate iusti in Domino	1650.09
Santucci, Girolamo	Laudibus excelsis iubilemus omnes	1649.14
Savioni, Mario	Canite populi, canite classicum	1663.01
Savioni, Mario	Congregantes Philisthæi	1659.01
Savioni, Mario	Consurgite qui habitatis tenebras	1672.02
Savioni, Mario	Dixerunt impii	1655.02
Savioni, Mario	Laudemus omnes Dominum	1668.04
Savioni, Mario	O benignissime Iesu	1664.04
Silvestris, Florido de	Anima nostra quare amas bonum mutabile?	1650.16
Silvestris, Florido de	*Anima nostra quare amas bonum mutabile?*	*1651.16*

Silvestris, Florido de	Ave dulcis, salve pia	1649.16
Silvestris, Florido de	Beatus vir	1643.01
Silvestris, Florido de	Eripe me de inimicis meis	1647.02
Silvestris, Florido de	Florete flores	1643.20
Silvestris, Florido de	Insurrexerunt in nos inimici nostri	1664.16
Silvestris, Florido de	Intuemini quantus sit iste	1668.16
Silvestris, Florido de	Iubilemus in templo Dei	1655.10
Silvestris, Florido de	Iudica Domine	1645.05
Silvestris, Florido de	Non superabit, non	1663.08
Silvestris, Florido de	Plaudant laudibus mortales	1648.16
Silvestris, Florido de	Salve Virgo sacra parens	1654.15
Silvestris, Florido de	Surge propera amica mea	1672.16
Simonelli, Matteo	Hæc est, quæ nescivit thorum in delicto	1672.17
Stamegna, Nicolò	Et cur non amo te, o benedicte Iesu?	1664.02
Stamegna, Nicolò	O quam suavis est Domine Spiritus tuus	1672.05
Stamegna, Nicolò	Osculetur me osculo oris sui	1668.05

Tarditi, Paolo	Laudabo nomen tuum Domine	1649.10
Tarditi, Paolo	Venite omnes gentes	1650.15
Tozzi, Vincenzo	O dulcissime Iesu	1649.03
Tricarico, Giuseppe	Deus, quis similis erit tibi?	1664.10
Tricarico, Giuseppe	O admirabile nomen Iesu	1654.05
Tricarico, Giuseppe	O admirabile nomen Iesu	1655.06
Tricarico, Giuseppe	Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbæ	1663.04
Tricarico, Giuseppe	Repleatur os meum laude tua	1654.13

Valentini, Giovanni Carlo	Ave, Regina cælorum	1647.23
Vannarelli, Francesco	O pretiosum et admirandum convivium	1647.12
Vannini, Bernardino	Mons Dei, mons pinguis	1647.16
Vannini, Pietro Paolo	O miracula, o prodigia	1659.07
Vincenti, Giovanni	Iubilemus in templo Dei nostri	1664.14

Appendix III: Copies of the questionnaire, information sheet, and consent form given to workshop participants

Adrian Horsewood
Royal Birmingham Conservatoire
(part of Birmingham City University)
200 Jennens Road, Birmingham B4 7XR
Adrian.Horsewood@mail.bcu.ac.uk

Participant Questionnaire (Version 1)

Title of Project: **Comparing modern and seventeenth-century vocal ranges**
Name of Researcher: **Adrian Horsewood**
Locality: **Royal Birmingham Conservatoire**

Please ensure that you have read the Participant Information Sheet and completed and returned the Consent Form (both dated 24 October 2025) before answering this Questionnaire. The collection of data by means of this questionnaire is anonymous and will be used only for research purposes.

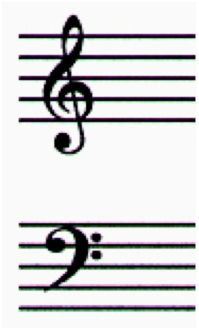
The purposes of this session are:

a) for Adrian to give a brief introduction to some of the challenges modern-day musicians might encounter when performing music written in different places and in earlier periods, using his own PhD research into Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century as a case study;
b) for participants to perform extracts from Adrian's research in different ways in accordance with his direction, and to give their feedback.

Voice-type/instrument (circle as appropriate; you may choose more than one):

Singer (Soprano/Mezzo-soprano/Contralto/Counter-tenor/Tenor/Baritone/Bass) / **Organist / Conductor**

What is your comfortable vocal range? Please indicate this on the staves below:



Do you have 'absolute'/'perfect' pitch (i.e. the ability to identify a note you hear without resorting to an external point of reference)?

What is your month and year of birth?

What age were you when you received your first one-to-one singing lesson (i.e. not including group sessions at school or another setting), or what was the month and year when you received your first one-to-one singing lesson?

Pietro Paolo Vannini: 'O miracula, o prodigia' (1659)
Mario Savioni: 'Canite populi' (1663)

These two motets were discussed together to explore how multiple triple-metre time signatures within a single piece might have been interpreted.

Did you perform the Vannini, or observe it?	
Did you find it convincing to maintain strictly proportional relationships between the different triple-metre time signatures throughout? Or do you think a freer approach would be more satisfactory?	
Do you have any suggestions as to how to reconcile these four different triple-metre time signatures?	

Did you perform the Savioni, or observe it?	
Did you find it convincing to maintain strictly proportional relationships between the different triple-metre time signatures throughout? Or do you think a freer approach would be more satisfactory?	
What do you think the presence **in this piece only** of words such as 'Recit.' and 'Aria' indicates?	
What do you think the presence **in this piece only** of words such as 'Adagio' and 'Presto' indicates?	

Adrian Horsewood
Royal Birmingham Conservatoire
(part of Birmingham City University)
200 Jennens Road, Birmingham B4 7XR
Adrian.Horsewood@mail.bcu.ac.uk

Participant Information Sheet (Version 1)

Title of Project: **Comparing modern and seventeenth-century vocal ranges**
Name of Researcher: **Adrian Horsewood**
Locality: **Royal Birmingham Conservatoire**

You are invited by the Researcher to take part in a study on performance practice in seventeenth-century Roman sacred music. **Whether or not you take part is your choice.** If you do not wish to take part, you do not have to give a reason. For students at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire (RBC), this will not affect your status there nor your studies or final degree classification; for non-student members of the Ex Cathedra Scholar scheme, this will not affect your status within that scheme. If you choose to take part now but change your mind later, you may pull out of the study at any time and do not have to give a reason, merely inform the Researcher that you wish to withdraw.

This Participant Information Sheet may help you decide if you would like to take part. It sets out why the study is being undertaken, what your participation would involve, what the benefits and risks to you might be, and what would happen after the study ends. You do not have to decide straight away whether or not you will participate in this study and you are welcome to contact the Researcher if you have any questions. Before you decide you may also want to talk about the study with other people, such as fellow students; please feel free to do this.

This document is three pages long, and there is a separate, two-page Consent Form. Please make sure you have read and understood all the pages before completing the Consent Form. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign the Consent Form (an electronic signature will be accepted) and return it to the Researcher by e-mail. You will then be advised to retain a copy of the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form for your records.

What is the aim of the study?
Through this project the Researcher aims to establish what considerations relating to voice-type and vocal range modern-day singers have to take into account when performing music from an earlier era (in this case, mid-seventeenth-century Rome).

Research question

How do the vocal ranges of modern-day singers compare with the vocal ranges observed in a collection of seventeenth-century polyphonic music?

What will my participation in the study involve?
You have been invited to participate in this study because you are an Ex Cathedra Graduate or Student Scholar or a student at RBC who is working with Jeffrey Skidmore.

As part of this study, you will be asked to:

a) complete a short questionnaire at the end of the survey. This will ask about your voice-type and singing experience, as well as your reactions to elements of the workshop session described in (b) below; you will not be required to give your name on the questionnaire. It is hoped that the questionnaire will take no more than 30 minutes to complete. Your responses will be stored securely and confidentially on an encrypted, password-protected hard drive to which the Researcher has sole access, and will be retained until one year after the Researcher has submitted the final version of his thesis, after which they will be deleted;

b) participate in a workshop session directed by the Researcher under the supervision of Jeffrey Skidmore; these will involve rehearsing and performing selected pieces transcribed by the Researcher as part of his PhD research.

What are the possible benefits and risks of this survey?
Your participation in the research study is completely independent from your studies and any professional activity; neither participating nor choosing not to participate in this survey will affect your studies or status at RBC. Participating in this survey will pose no risk to your person.

Your questionnaire responses will be used solely as primary data for this study and your identity will not be revealed at any point during the research process. You will not be named in the Researcher's thesis unless you have expressly consented to this on the Consent Form. Any audio recordings used in the Researcher's thesis will be anonymised. All data will be stored securely and confidentially on an encrypted, password-protected hard drive to which the Researcher has sole access and will be retained until one year after the Researcher has submitted the final version of his thesis, after which they will be deleted. If the Researcher wishes to retain any of these for a longer period (e.g. for use in further research) he will contact you again to ask your permission. However, if you give consent to being contacted again for the purposes of clarification or of future research your contact details will be kept on file by the Researcher.

In all cases, you will be able to indicate your preferences on the Consent Form and you may update these preferences at any time by contacting the Researcher directly at the e-mail address above.

Who pays for the study?
This study forms part of the Researcher's PhD study at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, which is entirely funded by Birmingham City University.

What are my rights?
Your participation is voluntary: you are free to decline to participate, or to withdraw from the research at any time up to the point of data analysis without experiencing any disadvantage.

You have the right to access information about you collected as part of the study and may request a copy of the final version of the Researcher's thesis.

Your privacy and confidentiality are a primary concern of the Researcher. All necessary steps and precautions will be taken to ensure your contribution is anonymised at the collection stage, in order to avoid accidental dissemination. All questionnaire data will be collected and stored in digital format, in a password-protected hard-drive storage system to which the Researcher has sole access and will be retained until one year after the Researcher has submitted the final version of his thesis, after which they will be deleted. If the Researcher wishes to retain any of these for a longer period (e.g. for use in future research) he will contact you again to ask your permission.

What happens after the study?
All raw data collected in any format will be destroyed one year after the submission of the final version of the Researcher's thesis. Findings of this study will be used to inform the Researcher's thesis and may be disseminated where opportunities arise (e.g. written reports, presentations). On submission of the final version of the Researcher's thesis (expected by March 2027), all participants will be entitled to receive an electronic copy; please indicate your preference on the Consent Form.

Whom do I contact for more information or if I have concerns?
If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the study at any stage, you can contact the Researcher or:

Dr Carrie Churnside (Researcher's Principal Supervisor/Director of Studies)
Royal Birmingham Conservatoire
Birmingham City University
+44 (0) 121 331 5923
Carrie.Churnside@bcu.ac.uk

Adrian Horsewood
Royal Birmingham Conservatoire
(part of Birmingham City University)
200 Jennens Road, Birmingham B4 7XR
Adrian.Horsewood@mail.bcu.ac.uk

Participant Consent Form (Version 1)

Title of Project: **Comparing modern and seventeenth-century vocal ranges**
Name of Researcher: **Adrian Horsewood**
Locality: **Royal Birmingham Conservatoire**

Please respond to each point below by entering 'Y' for Yes or 'N' for No in the relevant box, then fill in the details at the bottom of the form.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Participant Information Sheet dated 24 October 2025 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and (where applicable) have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time by contacting the Researcher without having to give any reason, and without there being any consequences in relation to any aspect of my connection with Birmingham City University/Royal Birmingham Conservatoire. ☐

3. I understand that data collected during the study may be used beyond the scope of the current study, for example in publications or spoken presentations, and that my identity will never be revealed, unless I have expressly consented below to being identified. ☐

4. I agree to take part in the above study, as described in the Participant Information Sheet. ☐

5. I understand that my responses to the questionnaires will be anonymised before being used in any published form and consent to their being used in this manner. ☐

6. I agree to being contacted again in connection with the current project, for example, should the Researcher require clarification regarding any of my responses. ☐

Date of issue: **24 October 2025 (version 1)**

7. I agree to being contacted again by the Researcher in connection with future research projects, without there being any obligation to participate in any future research project. ☐

8. I wish to receive an electronic copy of the final version of the Researcher's thesis. ☐

Please delete as appropriate:

- I am happy to be identified by name, in any publication or spoken presentation arising from this research, as having participated in this study;

or

- I prefer to remain completely anonymous.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

VOLUME II

Critical apparatus

Editorial method

Sources and original materials

All exemplars of Florido's motet anthologies that were made available to me have been examined in the preparation of these editions, and differences between them noted in the Critical Commentary; where other sources have been considered for a particular motet, this has been noted in the Critical Commentary.

I was unable to examine in person, or obtain images of, only six of the surviving seventy-five exemplars:

- despite multiple requests, I was refused access to I-Rsgf — wherein are copies, in varying completeness, of FdS1645, FdS1647, FdS1649, and FdS1655 — and so wish to put on record my gratitude to Dr Manuela Di Donato, author of a recent study of the collection,[440] for answering some of my questions;
- despite multiple requests, I was able neither to gain access to I-FZac, which holds a complete copy of FdS1655, nor even to obtain basic bibliographic information about this exemplar beyond noting Franchi's description of it as 'in a poor state of preservation'[441];
- I had to postpone a planned visit to view the Partitura partbook of FdS1663 in D-Fschneider owing to the death of the collection's owner, Matthias Schneider, and was unable to obtain permission from his widow to make another visit before the submission of this thesis.

[440] Di Donato, *Due secoli di musica a S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini*, pp. 132–33.
[441] 'in cattive condizioni di conservazione'. *Annali*, II.i, p. 83.

All sources are in partbook format. In the continuo partbook for all solo motets (namely, the entire contents of FdS1659 and FdS1663, as well as the first four motets of FdS1664), the vocal part is printed above the continuo line (sometimes texted, sometimes untexted); this is also true of the occasional clearly delimited, solo passage in polyphonic motets. As these added vocal parts have been rendered superfluous by these editions presenting the pieces in score format, their presence has not been noted in the Critical Commentary, although any variants in the vocal parts have been noted in the Critical Commentary.

Titles, names, and numbering

The titles of pieces are derived from the beginning of the musical text, rather than from the — usually curtailed and sometimes inaccurate — incipits given in the *tavola* at the end of each partbook. Some composers' names appear in different spellings across different publications (and occasionally across different partbooks within the same publication). These have been homogenised for the purposes of these editions; see the Editorial notes to Volume One ('Spellings', p. xvii) for a list of the chosen spellings and any alternatives found.

Numbering is based on the basso continuo partbook of each publication as this is usually the only partbook to contain music for every motet in a volume. The vocal partbooks frequently contain the motets in a different order from the basso continuo.

Parts

Some of the anthologies use Latin terms for the vocal parts ('Cantus', 'Altus', 'Tenor', 'Bassus'; 'Primus', 'Secundus', 'Tertius') while others use Italian terms ('Canto', 'Alto',

Critical apparatus

'Tenore', 'Basso'; 'Primo', 'Secondo', 'Terzo'); these have been homogenised to the latter (abbreviated to C., A., T., B.; I, II, III) in these editions and the accompanying Critical Commentary, and the original designations noted in the Commentary.

Similarly, the basso continuo part is labelled, variously, 'Organum', 'Bassus ad Organum', 'Organo', and 'Partitura'; these have been homogenised to 'Basso continuo' (abbreviated to B.c.), to reflect the evidence provided by contemporary accounts of the performance of this part by other instruments, and the original designations noted in the Critical Commentary.

In the editions of Cecchelli's 'Ecce qui mortis' (FdS1647.21) the violin parts are labelled 'Violino I' and 'Violino II' (abbreviated to Vl. I and Vl. II); in the original partbooks each stave is labelled 'Violino'. In the composer's 'Per rigidos montes' (FdS1648.08) the parts are unlabelled where they appear in the Organum partbook of FdS1648, nor is any instrument specified in the rubric or in any *tavola*; on the basis of the precedent set by 'Ecce qui mortis' and of the range of the parts I have decided to designate them as violin parts.

On occasion, a vocal part is to be found other than in the partbook of the same name, and the Critical Commentary for each piece indicates those instances. For example, it is common in the case of a motet for two Cantus parts for the first to appear in the Cantus partbook and the second in the Tenor (not the Altus) partbook.

The order of the parts in the scores has been determined by modern convention, namely (descending vertically on the page): Violino, Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso, Basso continuo.

The original rubrics from the partbooks, which give the name of the composer and (almost always) their place of employment, are reproduced in the Critical Commentary.

Clefs

The original clef for each part has been shown in prefatory staves at the start of each motet. Following modern convention, Canto and Alto parts have been transcribed in 'treble' (G2) clef, Tenore parts in 'octave-transposing treble' clef (G2 with a subscript '8', indicating downwards transposition by an octave), and Basso and Basso continuo parts in 'bass' (F4) clef (with the occasional foray into treble (G2) clef for continuo passages which would otherwise have necessitated the extended use of multiple ledger lines).

In some of Florido's motets that allow for the transposition of one or more voice parts to create a version with altered voicing, those parts appear with two clefs as an aid to transposition. In these editions, I have chosen to present two, separate versions of these motets, rather than seek to combine them somehow.

The choice of treble clef for Alto parts has been made primarily on the basis of modern convention and should not be taken as an indication or suggestion as to the voice-type to be employed in performance.

Key signatures

Except in the case of FdS1672.12 (of which, see more below), original key signatures have been retained from the sources, albeit in their modernised forms — i.e. with their component accidentals in the modern order, and with redundant, 'doubled' accidentals in different octaves removed.

'High' clefs and transposition

Critical apparatus

With the exception of those motets — mentioned above — that contain parts with two clefs, all pieces appear untransposed, including those printed with 'high' clefs. The edition of FdS1672.12 reconciles the untransposed vocal parts and the transposed continuo part by transposing the former downwards.

Time signatures

Original mensuration symbols in time signatures have not been retained from the sources but are shown in the incipits or above points of time signature change.

Where there are inconsistencies in time signature across the partbooks of a single motet, one signature has been imposed on all parts at those points (generally the one that appears in the majority of parts) and any changes noted in the Critical Commentary. No attempt has been made to provide note-value equivalencies at meter changes; as has been discussed in Chapter 4, any sort of precise mathematical relationship between successive passages in duple and triple meter should not be assumed.

Barlines

Barring appears infrequently in the partbooks in the case of polyphonic motets, but more frequently in both vocal and continuo partbooks of the solo motets. However, in neither case are they always placed as to produce bars of regular length, and so regular barring has been introduced for all motets, both polyphonic and solo. Where this would lead to an incomplete bar at the end of a section (e.g. a 'left-over' dotted minim in a passage notated in 6/4), a lengthened final bar has been created by adding what would have been the incomplete bar to the previous one, and a note made in the Critical Commentary. Double barlines are almost always used only to mark the end of a section in the original partbooks,

and not any change of meter; they are used in a similar fashion in these editions.

Barlines in passages in C time have been placed to create editorial bars that are two minims in length, rather than four. It seems clear, on the basis of seemingly contemporary markings in the original sources and also of manuscript sources for numerous motets, that there was no uniformity in this regard during the mid-seventeenth century; some place barlines every two minims, some every four.

Note and rest durations

Original note and rest durations have been retained throughout, but are subject to the following conventions of modern notation:

i) notes that extend past a barline in the edition are divided according to modern convention and connected with a tie;
ii) multiple bars' rest have been divided into the requisite number of whole-bar rests;
iii) tied notes in the original that fall within a single bar of the edition have been tacitly combined into a single longer note where permitted by modern convention (e.g. changing a minim tied to a crotchet into a dotted minim, or a quaver tied to a semiquaver into a dotted quaver);
iv) when, in the original partbook, the final note of a section has been notated as a *lunga*, this has been tacitly changed to a note the duration of a whole bar in the prevailing time signature. The occasional use of a fermata on the final note of a part of section is not consistent in the sources — not even always across all the partbooks for the same motet — and so the few instances have not been replicated, but are noted in the Critical Commentary.
v) on the few occasions when all original parts have a *lunga* to finish yet one or more voices continue(s) to move after the others have reached their final notes, the final

notes of the latter have been extended as necessary until all voices have come to a stop and a note made in the Critical Commentary;

vi) when, in passages of triple time, an undotted minim, semibreve, or breve has been used in accordance with earlier rules of perfection (meaning that it should be read as occupying three beats rather than two) where modern convention would require the use of a dotted version, an augmentation dot has been tacitly added.

Void notation, coloration, and ligatures

Void notation is replicated in these editions.

Coloration (which in Florido's anthologies uses no other colour than black) is primarily used in triple-meter passages to indicate hemiola and iambic rhythms (i.e. a one-beat note followed by a two-beat note within a unit of the tactus), although it often appears inconsistently across the partbooks of a single piece in Florido's motets. Coloration is also used to indicate diminution (see the discussion in Chapter 5, above). Both usages are replicated in these editions, although occasionally requires some alteration to conform to modern notation conventions; for example, when a coloured semibreve would fall on a barline it is replaced by two tied coloured minims.

Ligatures have been indicated by a continuous square bracket above the notes in question.

Beaming

As the moveable musical type of the 17th century all but precluded the beaming of notes, in these editions beams have been applied according to modern convention. In the vocal parts, the beaming follows the syllables of the text (i.e. two adjacent notes that are each

sung to a different syllable are not beamed together, even if modern convention dictates that they should be).

Slurs

Slurs are used only very occasionally in Florido's prints, primarily to indicate the endpoint of vocal melismata. They have been reproduced in these editions, despite their infrequent, inconsistent, and sometimes incorrect application in the original sources.

Accidentals

The early modern practice of using accidentals to indicate the required change to the note, keeping the key signature in mind – i.e. ♯ indicates raising the printed note by a semitone, ♭ indicates lowering the printed note by a semitone – has been disregarded in favour of modern convention, replacing ♯ and ♭ by ♮ as appropriate. (This also applies to accidentals in the figured bass; see below.)

The prevailing principle on display in Florido's anthologies (as with numerous other publications of the period) is that an accidental applied to a note remains valid for immediate repetitions of that note — including, in contrast to modern convention, octave transpositions thereof. However, it also seems clear that it was common for an accidental to continue to apply for a little while after its initial appearance, although it is not possible to codify exactly for how long. Donington suggests that:

> When a note shown with an accidental is repeated, but the accidental is not repeated, we can (according to the sense of the music) either regard that accidental as cancelled or regard it as influencing the repetition or repetitions of

> the note (*including repetitions which are not quite immediate, i.e. where one or two other notes of brief duration intervene*).[442]

In this regard (as in many others), it seems clear that early modern musicians had a more instinctive approach to accidentals and chromatic alteration — or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that their training and comprehension of such core underlying harmonic principles such as hexachords and their mutation meant that they understood at a fundamental level how to apply accidentals in situations that might seem unclear or ambiguous to modern-day musicians. (See below for Stephen R. Miller's comment on the matter with regard to figured bass notation.)

Accordingly, the application of accidentals in these editions is according to the following conventions (these should be read *in toto* sequentially, and individual points should be interpreted/applied in the light of all preceding points):

i) accidentals in the original source that would appear in the same guise according to modern conventions are replicated thus;
ii) accidentals in the original source that would be considered redundant by modern conventions (e.g. a subsequent occurrence of the same note within one bar of the edition) have been tacitly removed;
iii) accidentals in the original source that appear in the wrong location have been corrected in the edition and noted in the Critical Commentary. An exception to this is when an accidental is placed between two notes of the same pitch in the original source; in such cases, I have chosen to understand this as applying to both notes and not only to the latter, and so have moved the accidental to before the first note, noting this in the Critical Commentary;
iv) where an uninflected note in one or more parts appears to be erroneously lacking an accidental — its absence being suggested either by the inflected version of the

[442] Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, 3rd ed. (Faber, 1990), p. 133 (emphasis added).

note being sounded in another part or being indicated by the figured bass of the Basso Continuo part — it appears in square brackets;

v) where an accidental does not appear in the original source but would be required according to modern conventions (e.g. a repeated inflected note that is separated from the first in the sequence by one or more barlines in the edition; an occurrence of an inflected note in a different octave later within the same bar of the edition; or an uninflected version of a note that occurs later within the same bar of the edition as an inflected version of that note, thereby apparently 'cancelling' the earlier accidental) it appears in square brackets;

vi) where one or more notes in the original source are uninflected but can reasonably be taken to be under the effect of a closely preceding occurrence of an accidental (e.g. they fall within the same melisma as the preceding statement of that accidental or are separated by no more than one unit of the *tactus*), they appear uninflected in the edition unless point v) above applies;

vii) where an accidental does not appear in the original source but is implied by the rules of *musica ficta* (e.g. to prevent the interval between two successive notes at a cadential point from being an augmented fourth or diminished fifth; or an uninflected F in a passage where G♯ is printed), it is placed in a small version above the note to which it applies;

viii) in cases where an editorial accidental (as generated by one of points iv), v), vi), and vii) above) precedes an original accidental in the same bar, the latter is nevertheless retained;

ix) cautionary accidentals (i.e. editorial additions that remind the musician to disregard an accidental in a previous bar) have not been employed in these editions.

Critical apparatus

Figured bass

No figures have been added in these editions to those in the original sources. That the sparseness of figures in the basso continuo parts of Florido's anthologies is not atypical for publications of the period can be surmised from contemporary comments; for instance, Giovanni Brunetti wrote in the preface to his 1625 collection of Vespers psalms that:

> I did not wish to give you figures for the accompaniments, as I assume that the organist — having paid attention to the preceding and succeeding notes, and also listening to the singing parts — can easily come to understand from their relationship the accompaniments that should be supplied for them.[443]

Twenty-five years later, Heinrich Schütz — who had studied in Italy as a young man and who assimilated much Italian influence into his music — commented:

> Regarding the bass for the organ, I have had the figures recorded with all possible diligence. The Italians, for the most part, do not nowadays use numbers for this purpose, arguing that experienced organists do not need them and, without them, would know how to play along according to the counterpoint anyway; but the inexperienced would still not find the musical concordance or tuning, even if the numbers were placed above them.[444]

The figures in the original partbooks of Florido's anthologies generally appear above the staves, and usually in close horizontal proximity to the note(s) to which they apply; when a note has two figures one of them is occasionally printed below the stave. In these editions figures have been moved to appear below the stave the easier to allow the application of editorial accidentals to the continuo part.

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[443] 'Non hò voluto mettervi abachi per gli accompagnamenti, prosuponendo che l'Organista havendo risguardo alle note antecedenti e sussequenti, con dare anco orecchia alle parti che cantano; possi facilmente venire in cognitione dalle loro relationi gli accompagnamenti che se li deuono'. 'Ai Lettori', *Salmi intieri concertati a cinque, e sei voci* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1625).

[444] 'Über den Bass für die Orgel habe ich die Signaturen mögliches Fleisses verzeichnen lassen. Die Italianer zum guten Theil pflegen heutiges Tages keine Numern sich dabey zu gebrauchen vorwendende daß erfahrne Organisten es nicht von nöthen hätten und ohne das dem Contrapunct gemäß wol mit einzuschlagen wüsten die Unerfahrnen aber die musicalische Concordantz oder Einstimmung doch nicht finden würden ob man ihnen gleich die Ziffern darüber stellete.' 'Sönstiger lieber Leser', *Symphoniarum sacrarum, Tertia pars* (Dresden: Christian und Melchior Berg, 1650).

Where the original figures appear above the wrong note or in an ambiguous position, they have been adjusted and all changes noted in the Critical Commentary. (See below for more detail regarding suspensions.)

As with accidentals (see above), there is great variance in figured bass notation between different composers. For example, when using an accidental as well as a number in a figure, some composers place the accidental before the number, others after; in these editions the accidental always follows the number, and any cases in which there is a lack of clarity in this regard have been noted in the Critical Commentary.

The original partbooks indicate a major 3rd only by ♯ and a minor 3rd only by ♭; as per the related point, above ('Accidentals)', these have been replaced by ♮ where appropriate.

In 4–3 and 7–6 cadential passages no distinction is made in the original figuring between raised and non-raised 3rds or 6ths; an experienced player will know which is required in any given instance. As Stephen R. Miller puts it in his edition of six mass settings by Francesco Foggia:

> This figured bass is conceived not so much with the organ keyboard in mind but rather as a suggestion, or reminder, of the counterpoint above the bass. Hence, figures without accidental symbols are the main feature of Foggia's figures. […] Economy of inflection guides Foggia's organ parts, just as it does the vocal parts with their hexachordal assumptions. It was expected that continuo players would add chromatic inflections based on the harmonic or contrapuntal context without needing to be explicitly prompted.[445]

As noted in the body of this thesis, seventeenth-century Italian composers seem customarily to have used figures sparingly compared to those in other parts of Europe.

[445] 'Critical Report', in *Francesco Foggia: Masses*, ed. by Stephen R. Miller (A-R Editions, 2017), pp. 347–52 (pp. 348–49).

Critical apparatus

The issue of how best, in a modern edition, to typeset those suspensions as indicated by figures (e.g. 4–3, 5–6, 6–5, 7–6, 9–8) can be a vexed one; in the original partbooks the two figures are placed close together (occasionally immediately adjacent) above the bass note, leaving it up to the player in question to determine the appropriate moment to change chord according to the remainder of the music. In these editions, the second number of the suspension figure has been placed so as to align vertically with the corresponding moving note in the vocal parts above.

No realisation of the continuo part has been provided.

Text and orthography

Punctuation and spelling of a motet text is rarely consistent across all the relevant partbooks, even in those instances where there is an identifiable source (e.g. Scripture, liturgical books, known authors) for a motet text. In such cases, this has been noted in the Critical Commentary and reference made to that source in terms of punctuation and capitalisation. In the case of texts for which no source or author has been identified, I have endeavoured to identify quotations and allusions to known sources and have listed these in the Critical Commentary. All translations of motet texts are my own.

All printed sung texts have been handled with the aim of aiding the reading both of literary scholars and of performers, while bearing in mind current thinking on such editorial matters.[446] This includes such tacit emendations as:

[446] e.g. Tom Deneire, 'Editing Neo-Latin Texts: Editorial Principles; Spelling and Punctuation', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, ed. by Craig Kallendorf <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004271296_enlo_B9789004271029_0020>.

i) the imposition of hyphenation on polysyllabic words that appear unhyphenated in the original;

ii) the introduction of capital letters at the beginning of sentences;

iii) the introduction of punctuation;

iv) the alteration of 'v' to 'u' and 'j/J' to 'i/I' where appropriate (e.g. 'ubi' for 'vbi', 'iudicii' for 'iudicij', 'Iesus' for 'Jesus');

v) the homogenisation to Classical Latin spellings (e.g. 'lacrymarum' for 'lacrimarum', 'pæna' for 'pena', but 'infelix' for 'infælix');

vi) the rendering with normal capitalisation of the name of God (i.e. 'Deus' for 'DEUS');

vii) the expansion of contractions and abbreviations (e.g. 'contemplatione' for 'cōtemplatione', 'cum' for 'cū', 'et' for '&');

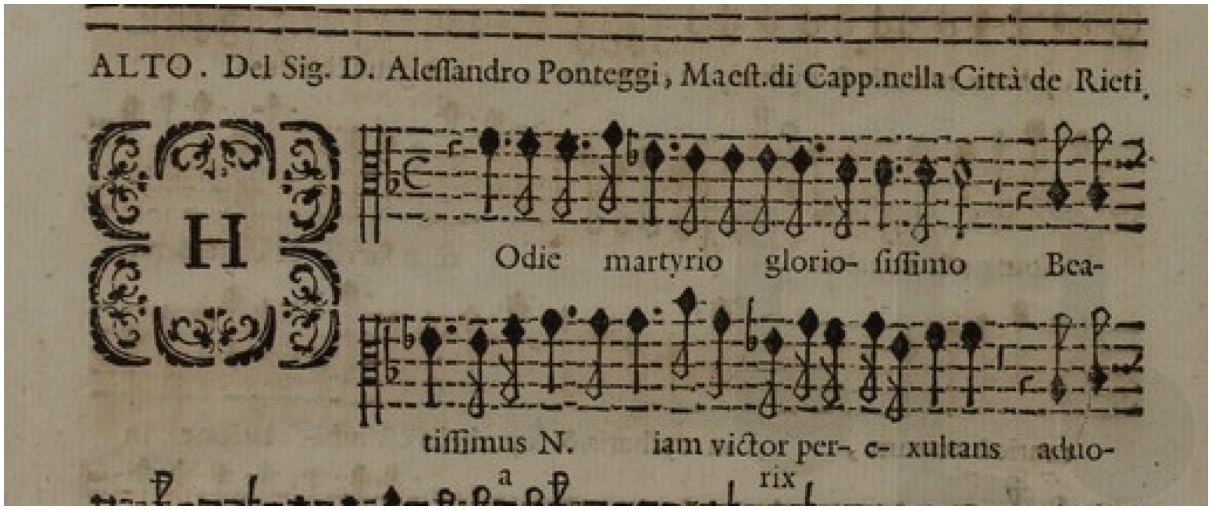
viii) the replacement of the 'long' or medial 's' by the standard lower-case version of the letter.

Text repetitions denoted in the original partbooks by an idem sign ('*ij*') have been printed in full and in italics. The occasional initial capitalisation of non-proper nouns has generally been tacitly ignored.

Occasionally, in works intended for the feast-day of a non-specific saint or martyr, the place in the text for the subject's name has been indicated by 'N.' and a number of notes left untexted in the vocal parts. Performers should use their better judgement with regard to the underlay when inserting a name, and should remember that this may need to appear in a grammatical case other than the nominative.

There are a handful of instances of 'N.' motets in which other words appear with both masculine and feminine grammatical endings, e.g. 'beatissimus'/'beatissima' and 'victor'/'victrix' in Alessandro Ponteggi's 'Hodie martyrio gloriosissimo'; it was and is down to the performer to choose appropriately.

Critical apparatus



Editorially amended text appears in square brackets and all instances of editorial intervention with regard to underlay have been noted in the Critical Commentary.

In those places in the sources where the text underlay is ambiguous, printed slurs are occasionally used to indicate where to place certain syllables (e.g. bringing a syllable one note earlier at a cadential point); these are replicated in these editions.

Generally, consistency between parallel passages or figures with regard to accidentals, figures, or text underlay has not been sought in these editions.

<u>Structural indications</u>

There are occasional appearances of structural indications such as 'Aria', 'Arioso' and 'Recitativo' (or abbreviations thereof); these have been retained in this edition, and are placed once above the highest vocal stave and once above the continuo stave, following modern convention. Similarly, in Cecchelli's 'Ecce qui mortis' and 'Per rigidos montes' the 'Sinfonia' indication found in the original has been retained.

Tempo markings

Where tempo markings occur in the partbooks, these have been taken to apply globally, i.e. to all parts at the same time (rather than, say, indicating a temporary, part-specific rubato); as such, they have been placed above the stave at a point deemed appropriate, and the instances in each partbook noted in the Critical Commentary.

Dynamics

The text of any dynamic markings has been replicated in these editions where they occur in the original partbooks, even though this leads to occasional inconsistencies; where one or more parts lacks a dynamic marking at a point when other parts have one, it has been added in square brackets.

Ornamentation

There are occasional indications in the vocal parts of ornamentation, primarily the appearance of 't.'; these have been placed above the note in question, and the emendation of any ambiguous original placing is noted in the Critical Commentary.

Critical apparatus

Editorial principles

Bar numbers are used thus:

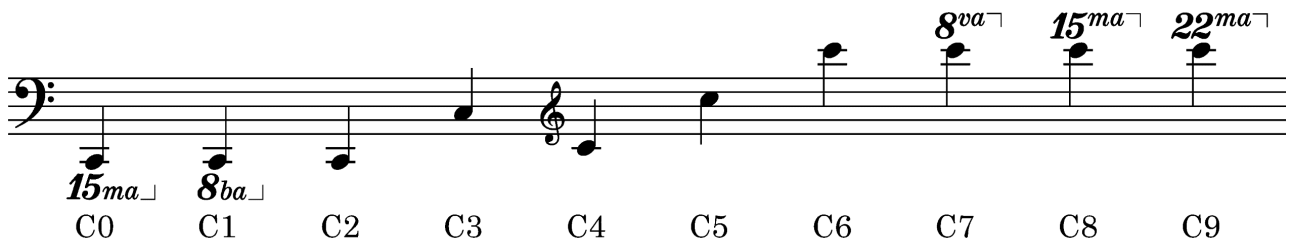
b. 15: refers to bar 15 of the piece

bb. 15–20: refers to bars 15 to 20 inclusive

bb. 15.3–20.2: refers to the passage commencing at the beginning of the third beat of bar 15 and finishing at the end of the second beat of bar 20

For the purposes of this Commentary, bars in [C] or [12/8] are considered to have four beats, those in [3/1], [3/2], [3/4], [3/8] or [3] are considered to have three beats, and those in [6/4] or [6/8] are considered to have two beats; this applies regardless of whether or not a numerical time signature is preceded by a mensural symbol.

Pitches are given according to scientific pitch notation, whereby each note name is followed by a number indicating which octave it falls in; middle C is C4, the C one octave above is C5, and the notes in between all have the suffix '4'.



Critical commentary

Anonymous, Aggrediamur iter vitæ (FdS1659.12)

In this commentary 'B.' indicates the voice part as found in the Cantus partbook, while 'B.+' indicates the voice part printed in the Partitura partbook.

Bar	Part	Note
14	B., B.+	The first note is printed as a white semibreve.
51	B., B.+	The last note is printed as c'.
55	B.+	The first syllable is printed as '-rem'.
65	B., B.+	The second note is printed as a coloured minim.
75	B., B.+	The notehead of the last note is missing in I-Bc.
88	B.+	The antepenultimate notehead is badly printed.
114	B., B.+	'eius' is printed for 'Dei'.
117–18	B., B.+	'eius' is printed for 'Dei'.

Aggrediamur iter vitæ, revertamur omnes ad civitatem cælestem, in qua scripti sumus non sicut hospites et advenæ, sed cives sanctorum et domestici Dei.

Let us approach the journey of life, let us all return to the heavenly city, in which we are written down not as guests and strangers, but citizens of the holy places and servants of God.

O quam summa est et perpetua felicitas angelorum consociari, et arcangelorum cætibus, intueri agmina sanctorum, splendidius sideribus micantia, martirum purpureis victoriæ coronis lucentia, et virginum inspicere choros, gestantes serta cadentia.

O how lofty and eternal a happiness it is to be united with the angels and the hosts of archangels, to gaze at the ranks of the saints, shimmering more brilliant than the stars, shining with the martyrs' purple crowns of victory, and to witness the choruses of virgins, bearing up and binding those who fall.

Aggrediamur iter vitæ, revertamur omnes ad civitatem cælestem, in qua scripti sumus non sicut hospites et advenæ, sed cives sanctorum et domestici Dei.

Let us approach the journey of life, let us all return to the heavenly city, in which we are written down not as guests and strangers, but citizens of the holy places and servants of God.

Antonelli, O sacrum convivium (FdS1649.15)

Bar	Part	Note

Critical apparatus

67	C.	The penultimate note is printed as a dotted quaver.

O sacrum convivium, in quo Christus sumitur, recolitur memoria passionis eius, mens impletur gratia, et futuræ gloriæ, nobis pignus datur, alleluia.

O sacred banquet, in which Christ is consumed, the memory of his Passion is recalled, the mind is filled with grace, and a pledge of future glory is given to us. Alleluia.

Giovanni Antonio Carpani, In capite libri (FdS1672.10)

In the tavola, this work is described as being for 'C. e Basso, ò à 3.'

At the head of the Organo part is written: 'ORGANO à. 2. Canto, e Basso. à 3. la terza parte si canta sopra il Canto all'unisono, ò vero all'ottava.'

The Canto part can be sung in two-part canon over the Basso and Basso continuo (thus creating the three-voice version) parts at the unison or at the octave below, the second voice entering where marked (as in the original partbook) by an 'S.', at bar 6, and finishing where marked (as in the original partbook) by an '.S.', at bar 74. This requires the final note to be held until the end of the piece (thus amended in the edition); there are no other changes required.

In the following notes, 'C. I' refers to the original Canto part, and 'C. II' to the canonically-derived Canto II/Tenor part; though derived strictly canonically from those in the original Canto part, for ease of reference notes are repeated for the 'new' Canto II/Tenor part.

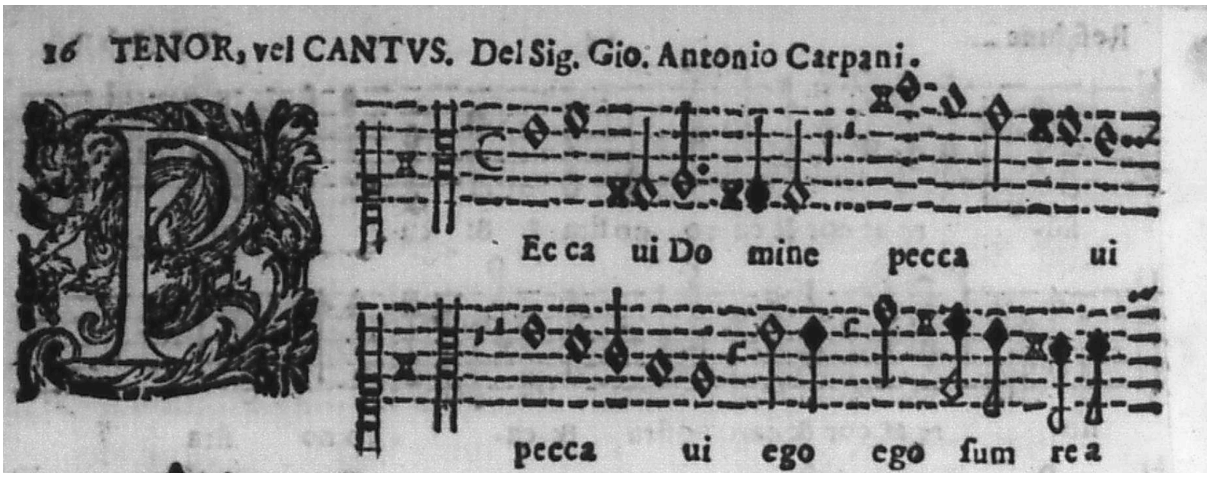
Bar	**Part**	**Note**
21	B.	The last note is printed as a crotchet.
27	C. I	The first syllable is printed as '-re'.
32	C. II	The first syllable is printed as '-re'.
45–46	C. I	'tui' is printed instead of 'mei'
50–51	C. II	'tui' is printed instead of 'mei'
74	B.c,	The first figure is printed as an accidental.

In capite libri scriptum est de me, ut facerem voluntatem tuam. Deus meus, volui, et legem tuam in medio cordis mei.

At the head of the book it is written of me, that I should do your will. My God, this have I wished for, and for your law to be in the midst of my heart.

Giovanni Antonio Carpani, Peccavi Domine (FdS1655.08)

As discussed in Chapter 5, this motet in the Tenor partbook is marked 'TENOR, vel CANTUS' ('Tenor or Cantus'), and each line of music bears both C1 (with a single-sharp key signature) and C3 (with natural key signature) clefs. The Organum part bears the rubric 'Alla 4.' And has an F3 clef with a natural key signature, while the Altus and Bassus parts have no rubric relating to transposition and each bear a single clef (C2 and F3, respectively) with a natural key signature.



As mentioned in Chapter 5, I believe that Carpani has provided two clefs in order to make transposition easier for inexperienced boy choristers, meaning that the motet may be performed by either a) alto, tenor, and bass (edition marked 'version A'), or b) soprano, alto, and bass (edition marked 'version B').

In practical terms, both readings involve transposing the piece a fourth downwards from the printed pitch, as stated in the Organum part: version A is achieved by reading all four parts a fourth lower, with the Tenor applying the C3 clef; while version B is achieved by reading the Altus, Bassus, and Organum parts a fourth lower, with the soprano reading the Tenor part and applying the C1 clef (that is, not actually performing an on-the-spot transposition).

Unless version A or version B is specified after the bar number, entries in the following Critical Commentary apply to both readings.

Bar	Part	Note
7–8	T./C.	This tied note (a single notehead in the original) carries a ♯ accidental beforehand in the source. The accidental (and its further appearances in bb. 39–40 and 80–81) is, strictly, rendered unnecessary by the key signature in both versions; I contend that it has been added as an *aide memoire* when reading the part with the C1 clef.

Critical apparatus

33	B.c.	The second figure is printed as '65'.
34	B.c.	The first figure is printed as '42'.
35	B.c.	The first figure is printed as '42'.
39–40	T./C.	This tied note (a single notehead in the original) is missing, although its preceding ♯ (cf note to bb. 7–8) is present. The edition follows the I-Bc exemplar, in which the notehead has been added in by hand.
56 (A)	B.c.	The G2 clef is editorial; the source has a C3 clef at this point.
56 (B)	B.c.	The source has a C3 clef after the first note.
57 (A)	B.c.	The F4 clef is editorial; the source has an F3 clef at this point.
57 (B)	B.c.	The source has an F3 clef after the fifth note.
64	T./C.	The first three notes are, erroneously, each printed one step higher in the I-Sac and M-MDca exemplars— that is, as D4–C4–D4 if the part is read with the C3 clef. The edition follows the I-Bc exemplar, in which the printed notes have been erased and the correct notes written in by hand.
80–81	T./C.	This tied note (a single notehead in the original) carries a ♯ accidental beforehand in the source.

Peccavi Domine, ego sum rea, commissa mea pavesco, et ante te erubesco, ego inter gentes nocentes manus lavi, peccavi Domine.

Ne damnes me, in te speravi, peccavi Domine, ne damnes me, in te speravi, peccavi Domine.

Lord, I have sinned, I am guilty, I fear my offences and I am ashamed before you. I washed my hands among evil folk: Lord, I have sinned.

Do not condemn me, for I have hoped in you: Lord, I have sinned. Do not condemn me, for I have hoped in you: Lord, I have sinned.

Carlo Cecchelli, Ecce qui mortis (FdS1647.21)

Bar	Part	Note
1	B.c.	'come stà' printed; I-Bc has this crossed out in pen, with 'si suona in basso' written in.
6	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 at the start of the bar.
26	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C3 at the start of the bar.
32	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 at the start of the bar.
38	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C4 at the start of the bar.
47	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 at the start of the bar.
58	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C3 after the second note of the bar.

59	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 before the last note of the bar.
64	B.	The source has 'vox' printed for 'nox'.
92	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C3 at the start of the bar.
98	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 at the start of the bar.
104	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C4 at the start of the bar.
113	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 at the start of the bar.
124	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C3 after the second note of the bar.
124	C. I, A. I, A. II, T. II, B.	The source has 'beato' printed for 'beata'.
125	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 before the last note of the bar.
158	B.c.	The source has an erroneous clef change to C1 at the start of the bar; in I-Bc this has been corrected by hand to C3.
164	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 at the start of the bar.
170	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C4 at the start of the bar.
179	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 at the start of the bar.
189	B.c.	The source has an erroneous extra d minim printed after the first note.
190	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C3 after the second note of the bar.
193	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 before the last note of the bar.

The Sinfonia appears only in the Bassus ad Organum partbook, and is printed only at the beginning of the music, with the two subsequent repetitions (bb. 67–82 and 133–48) indicated by 'Sinfonia' and 'Sinf. come sop.', respectively.

Ecce qui mortis tela gloriosus confregit, vir beatissimus vivens in cælis, sanctus N.	Behold, the glorious one who has shattered the weapons of death, a most blessed man dwelling in the heavens, Saint N.
Mors beata quæ vincendo victa iaces, tibi plaudant cæli cives, tibi cantent mille faces, turba gaude dum exultat cæli vox, tantæ morti plaude illustrata gaude nox.	O blessed death, you who lie vanquished yet victorious, to you the citizens of heaven give praise, for you a thousand flames sing; rejoice, o crowds, while the heavenly voice exults, praise so worthy a death, rejoice o illuminated night.
Ecce qui clarus vita gloriosus ascendit, vir beatissimus superum sedes, sanctus N.	Behold, a most blessed man, whose life was serene ascends with glory to the habitations

	of the highest places, Saint N.
Gaude lyra turba cælitum decora, plaude cantu, plaude manu, voce plaude, ter Sonora, quam beato ridet alma cæli fax, hoc victore coronato dum refulget mundo pax.	Rejoice with the lyre, o worthy throng of heavenly ones, praise in song, applaud, laud with your voices, a three-fold noise, one with which the gentle light shines on the blessed one, this man, adorned with the victor's crown, while peace reigns on the earth.
Ecce qui sprevit sæculi delicias, congaudet vir beatissimus superum chori, sanctus N.	Behold, a most blessed man who spurned the delights of the world: let the choirs of on high together praise Saint N.
Vivat felix qui rebelles vicit hostes, vivat ille coronatus super altas cæli postes, triumphator cælis ardet nova lux, iste cælo sit beatus regnet ibi Christi dux.	May he live happy, who defeats the hostile crowds, may he live crowned above the highest portals of heaven, may this triumphant one shine as a new light in heaven, and may he be blessed in that very heaven where Christ reigns as leader.

Silvestro Durante, Gaudeant per orbem (FdS1672.12)

Bar	Part	Note
6	B.c.	The second figure is given as only '6' in the source (cf b. 9).
69	C. I	The first two notes are printed as dotted crotchet, quaver (i.e. of double duration) in the source.
69	C. I	The last note of this bar in the edition appears as two quavers in the source (i.e. identical to bar 67). However, the restatement of the text 'resonent et citharæ' immediately following means that it would be erroneous to repeat the syllable 'cum', and so I have changed the two quavers into a single crotchet (cf b. 68, C. II).
70	C. I	The fifth and sixth notes in the edition appear as a single crotchet in the source (cf b. 69, C. II).
70	C. I	The third syllable is printed as '-ant' in the source.
81	B.c.	The second figure is printed below the note.
84	C. I	The sixth note is printed as a quaver in the source.
95	B.c.	The first figure is given as '5' in the source.

105	C. I	The second, quaver rest is printed as a crotchet rest in the source.
108	C. I	The last three notes of this bar are printed as quaver, semiquaver, semiquaver (i.e. of double duration) in the source.
108	C. II	The antepenultimate note is printed as a quaver in the source.
110	B.c.	The last figure is given as only '6' in the source.

Gaudeant per orbem omnes filii Dei, quem dum laudant astra matutina, iubilent lætantes chori in psalmis, in ymnis et canticis, in gratia cantantes, in cordibus lætantes, et dum irradiat clariore luce sacra dies quam colimus, resonent et citharæ cum exultatione, et dum irradiat clariore luce sacra dies quam colimus, resonent et citharæ cum exultatione, et nos gaudentes vocibus nostris, exaltemus sacris, et cantabitur canticum novum in citharis et cymbalis cum iubilatione.

Let all the children of God rejoice throughout the globe, he whom the morning stars praise, let the joyful choirs rejoice in psalms, hymns, and songs, singing in grace, rejoicing in their hearts; and let the holy day which we celebrate glow with a brighter light, and let the lyres resound with joy, and let the holy day which we celebrate glow with a brighter light, and let the lyres resound with joy. and as we rejoice with our voices, let us raise up sacred songs, and let a new song be sung on the lyre and cymbals with joy.

Magnus Dominus et laudabilis valde, deposuit potentes sanctos persequentes, et exaltavit humiles Christum confitentes.

Great is the Lord and worthy to be praised, he has put down the mighty who persecuted the saints, and has exalted the humble who confessed Christ.

Carlo Maria Lancia, O dulcissime Domine (FdS1645.06)

Bar	**Part**	**Note**
4	B.c.	# figure is printed over second note
32	C. I	second syllable is '-præ-'
37	B.c.	# figure on last note printed as # accidental
42	B.c.	first figure printed as 6/#
49	B.c.	note missing augmentation dot

An unknown hand has added barlines to the B.c. part of the I-PIa copy that coincide with those at the beginnings of bars 52, 56, 58, 60, and 62 in the edition. (The beginning of bar 54 comes at a line break in the original partbook.)

O dulcissime Domine, fac ut langueam pro te et liquefiat anima mea.

O sweetest Lord, make me to languish for you and my soul to melt.

Critical apparatus

O amantissime Iesu, transfige cor meum ut amore amoris tui moriar.	O most beloved Jesu, transfix my heart that I may die of love for your love.
Exaudi Domine deprecationem meam, o salus, o vita, o refrigerium.	Hear, o Lord, my prayer, o salvation, o life, o refuge.
Exaudi Domine et benedicam tibi in æternum.	Hear, o Lord, and I will bless you forever.

Pietro Paolo Vannini, O miracula (FdS1659.07)

In this commentary 'C.' indicates the voice part as found in the Cantus partbook, while 'C.+' indicates the voice part printed in the Partitura partbook.

Bar	Part	Note
3	B.c.	This note is printed as two separate minims in the source.
12	B.c.	This note is printed as two separate minims in the source.
36	C.	The trill on the eighth note is missing from the Cantus partbook, but appears in the Partitura.
44	B.c.	The first note is printed as an untied minim and crotchet in the source.
47	C.+	The source has erroneous extra a' demisemiquaver between thirteenth and fourteenth notes in the Partitura partbook.
53	C.	The second and third syllables printed one note to the left in the Cantus partbook.
62	C., C.+	The source has the sixth and seventh notes of this bar printed half-duration.
70	C.+	Trill is missing from the Partitura partbook.
76	C.+	Trill is missing from the Partitura partbook.
77	C.+	Trill is missing from the Partitura partbook.
84	C., C.+	The source has the first word of this bar printed as 'concusit'.
94	C.+	The fifth note of this bar is missing in the Partitura partbook.
99	C., C.+	This underlay is original, with what should properly be a four-syllable word in Latin ('acuite') given only three syllables (as if pronounced in Italian); this editor suggests amending the fourth note to a dotted crotchet and quaver (both on f'') and dividing the syllables accordingly.
119	C.+	The source has the first word printed as 'Hen' in Partitura partbook.
142	C.+	Trill is missing from the Partitura partbook.
147	B.c.	The source has the second note printed as a crotchet followed by a quaver, untied.

170	B.c.	Tie is missing in the source; it has been added to match b. 144.
190	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C4 at the start of the bar.
193	B.c.	This clef change is editorial and has been added for reasons of legibility (see note for b. 196).
196	B.c.	The source has a clef change to F4 at the start of the bar; this has been superseded by the editorial clef change added in b. 193 (see note above).
200	B.c.	The source has a clef change to C4 at the start of the bar.

O miracula, o prodigia, apparuit signum magnum in cælo, mulier amicta sole cuius perfulget in capite corona stellarum duodecim, et luna sub pedibus eius.

Such miracles, such wonders: a great sign has appeared in the sky, a woman dressed as the sun, on whose head a crown of twelve stars shines out, and the moon lies beneath her feet.

Viderunt eam filiæ Sion ornatam monilibus, laudaverunt et beatissimam prædicaverunt dicentes.

The daughters of Sion have seen her adorned with jewels, they have praised and extolled the most blessed one, saying:

Non tam gemmatis rutilans aurora ab axe cæli radiis consurgit, quam suis virgo virginum decora stellarum sertis ad æterna surgit.

She has arisen, shining with the rays of dawn, from the pole of heaven, not as if bedecked with gems but as a virgin worthy above all virgins, rising to eternity garlanded around with stars.

Illi nunc pubes cælitum canora ut promat laudes lætabunda exurgit, tellus congaudet, infremit gens stigia cantemus, o miracula, o prodigia.

Now sing, you youths of heaven, that rejoicing your praise may rise up, the world may rejoice, and the hellish tribes rage: let us sing of such miracles, such wonders.

Factum est autem prælium magnum inter mulierem et draconem, concussum est mare, contremuit terra, et stellæ pro muliere dimicaverunt, ipsa enim concussit capita draconis.

Moreover, there was a great contest between the woman and the dragon, the sea was struck, the earth shook, and the stars fought on behalf of the woman, and so she struck the heads of the dragon.

Pugnate o dæmones, et invidos dentes acuite furentes, sagittas parate.

Fight, o demons, sharpen your furious, hideous teeth, prepare your arrows.

Heu miseri fugite, cedite.

O flee, you wretched ones, give in!

Critical apparatus

Virgo mater sine macula, dum cælestia premit culmina inferorum sternit iacula tenebrarum quatit fulmina.	Behold a virgin, a mother, without sin, and the celestial heights pressed on and scattered the assaults of the shadowy depths, brandishing lightnings.
Ergo impii recedite.	Therefore, o evil ones, retreat!
Virginei pudoris lilium siderei amoris rosa iam meruit virgo formosa Deum et hominem habere filium.	A lily of maidenly modesty, a rose of glittering love, now the beautiful virgin has become worthy to have a son, both God and man.
Ergo impii recedite. Heu miseri fugite, cedite.	Therefore, o evil ones, retreat! O flee, you wretched ones, give in!
Evanuit horror, effulsit fax, quievit prælium, surrexit pax.	The horror fades away, the light gleams, the battle is stilled, and peace is restored.
Sic per Deiparam o læta sors et vita prodiit et periit mors.	Thus, o happy fate, through the Theotokos life has come forth, and death is no more!

Critical editions

Anonymous, Aggrediamur iter vitæ (FdS1659.12) 364
Antonelli, O sacrum convivium (FdS1649.15) 368
Giovanni Antonio Carpani, In capite libri (FdS1672.10) 373
Giovanni Antonio Carpani, Peccavi Domine (FdS1655.08)
- version A, untransposed 379
- version B, transposed 387

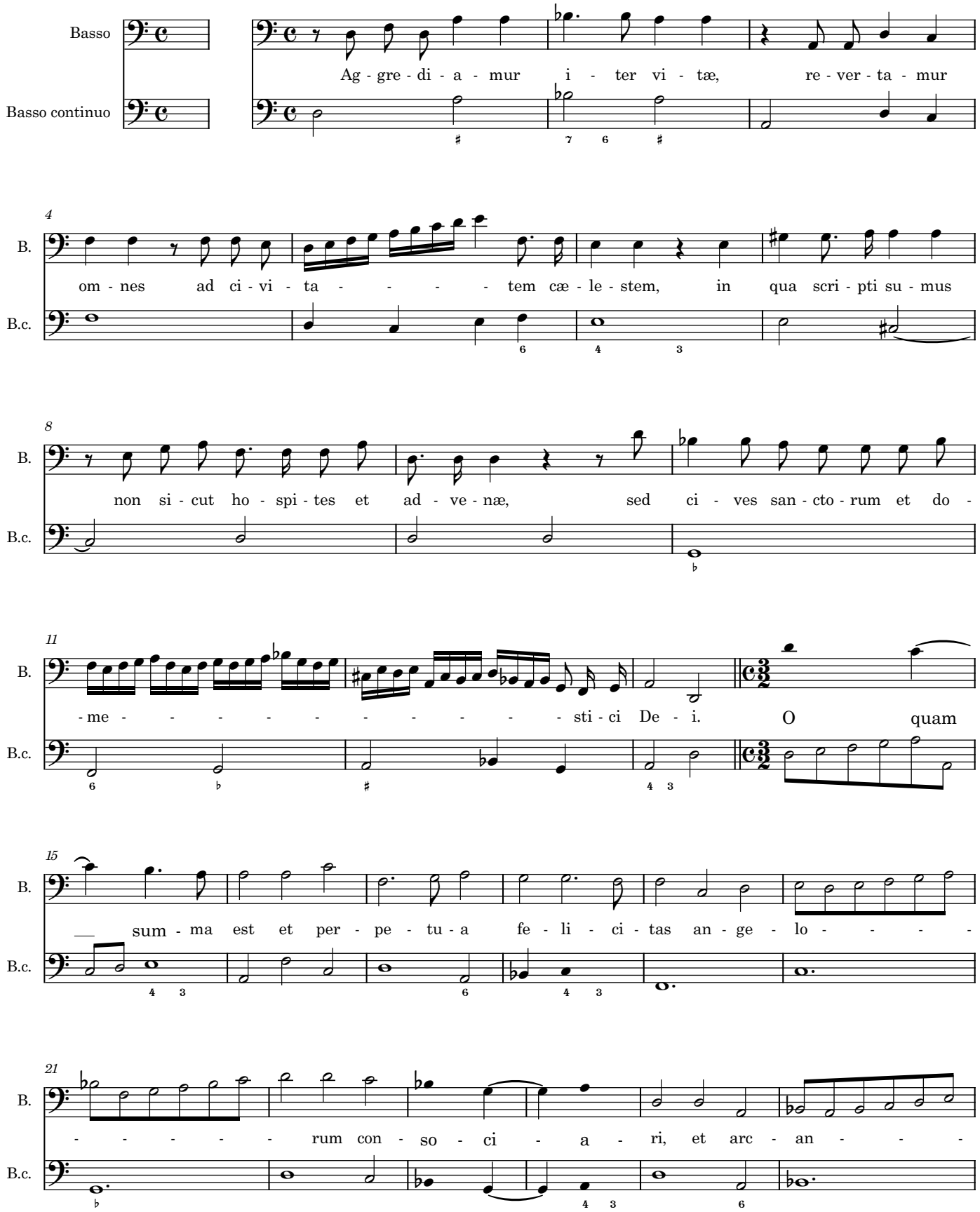
Carlo Cecchelli, Ecce qui mortis (FdS1647.21) 395
Silvestro Durante, Gaudeant per orbem (FdS1672.12) 410
Carlo Maria Lancia, O dulcissime Domine (FdS1645.06) 418
Pietro Paolo Vannini, O miracula (FdS1659.07) 422

As discussed in the body of the thesis, the breadth of the contents of Florido's motet anthologies is such that — in some ways — the only way to give a flavour of this body of music would be to include the majority, if not all, of the pieces therein. Nevertheless, this selection of edited motets presents a spectrum of voicings (pieces for one, two, three, four, and seven voices) and styles (from the older, sparser counterpoint of the Antonelli to the virtuosity of the Vannini and the anonymous contribution, via examples that demonstrate livelier polyphony and others that remain mostly homophonic). The composers represented still do not enjoy the same recognition as others of their contemporaries; in particular, the motet by Lancia is his only known composition. Various of these also serve to demonstrate the complexities regarding transposition and altered voicings discussed in Volume One of this thesis — not least the two works by Carpani, which give a flavour of the playful inventiveness which with he seems to have approached his composition. In sum, these form a microcosm of the richness of the mid-Seicento Roman sacred motet, in anticipation of future editions.

Aggrediamur iter vitæ

FdS1659.12

Anoymous (‘Per D. Florido’)



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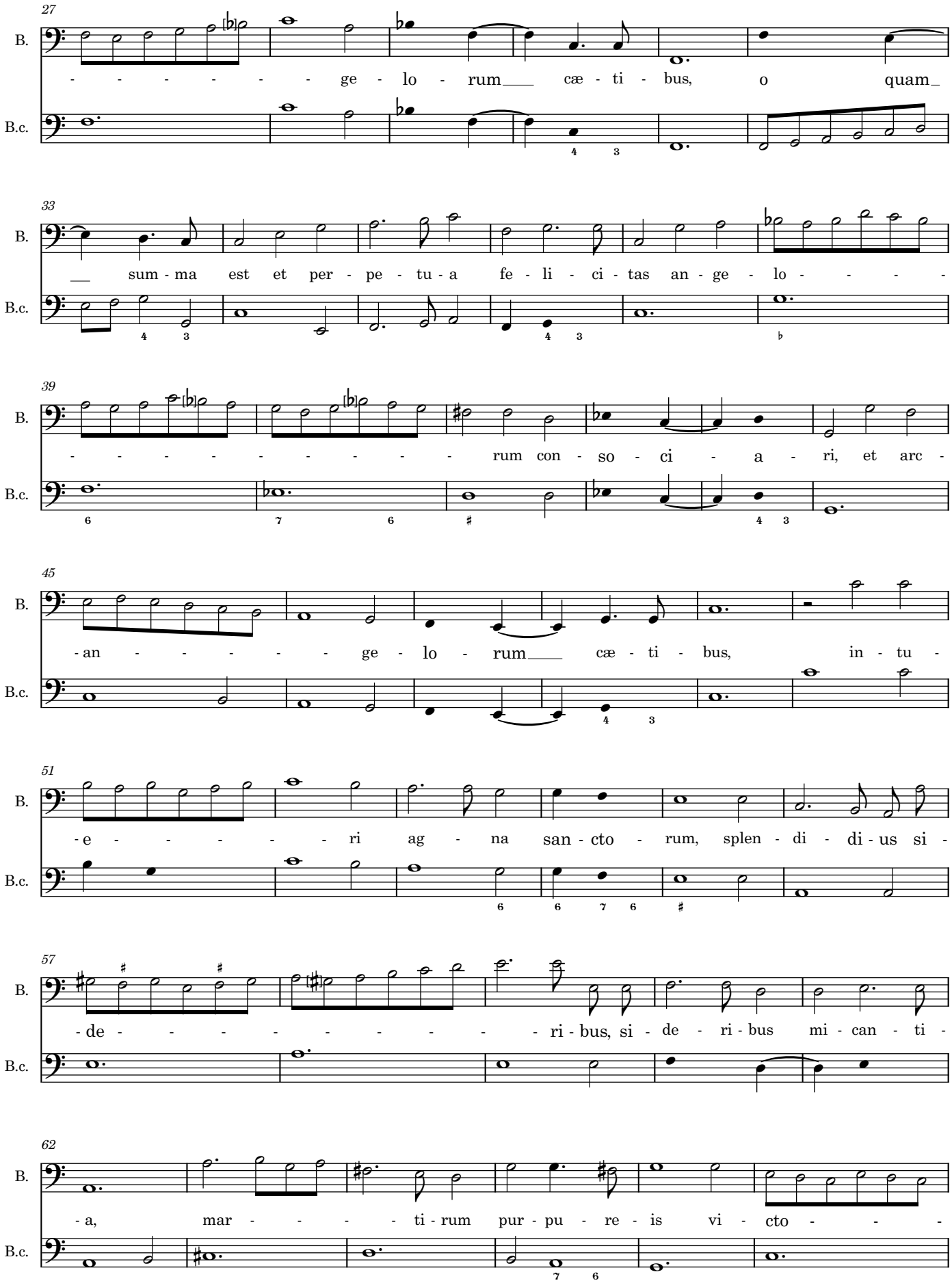
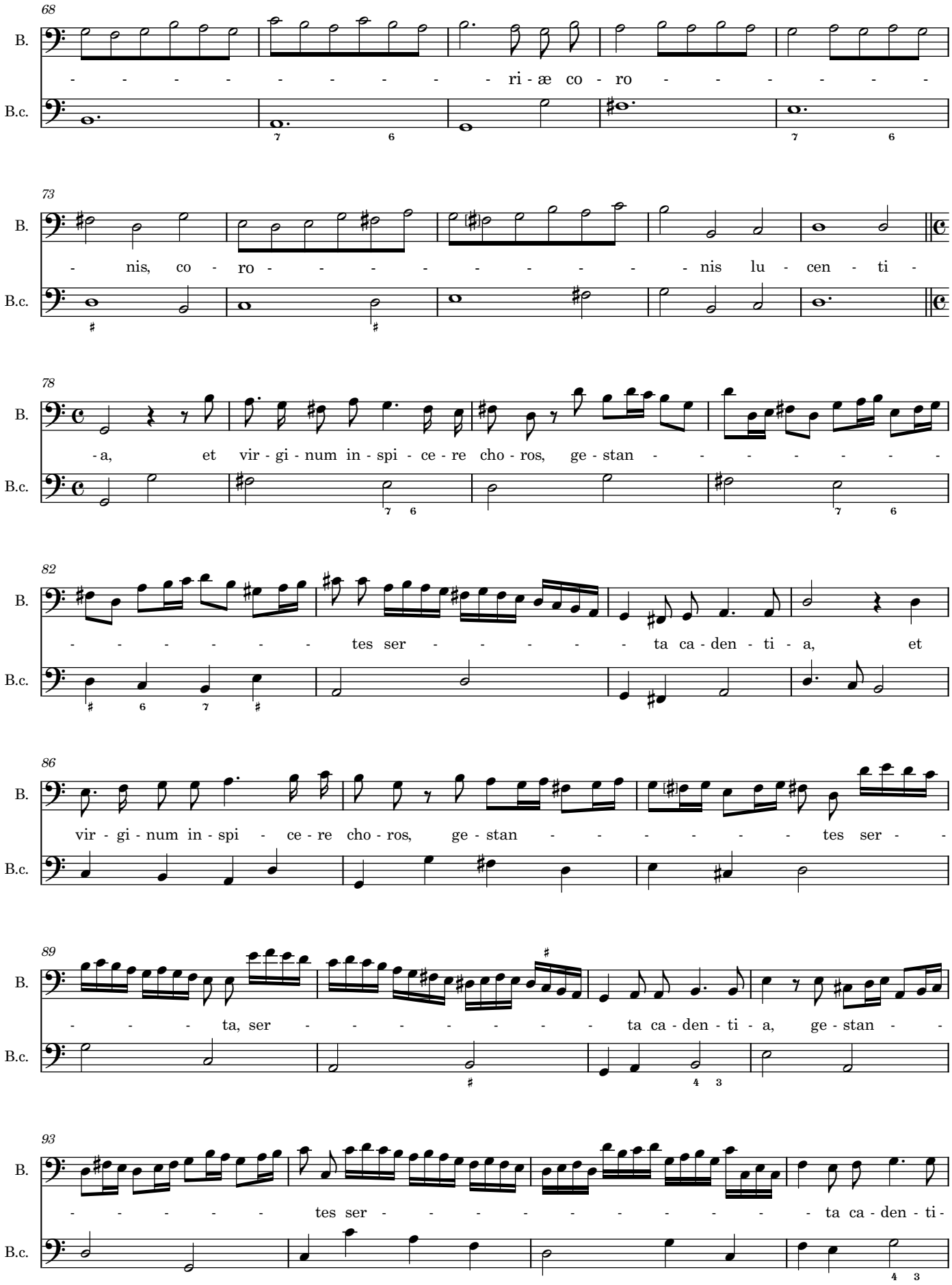
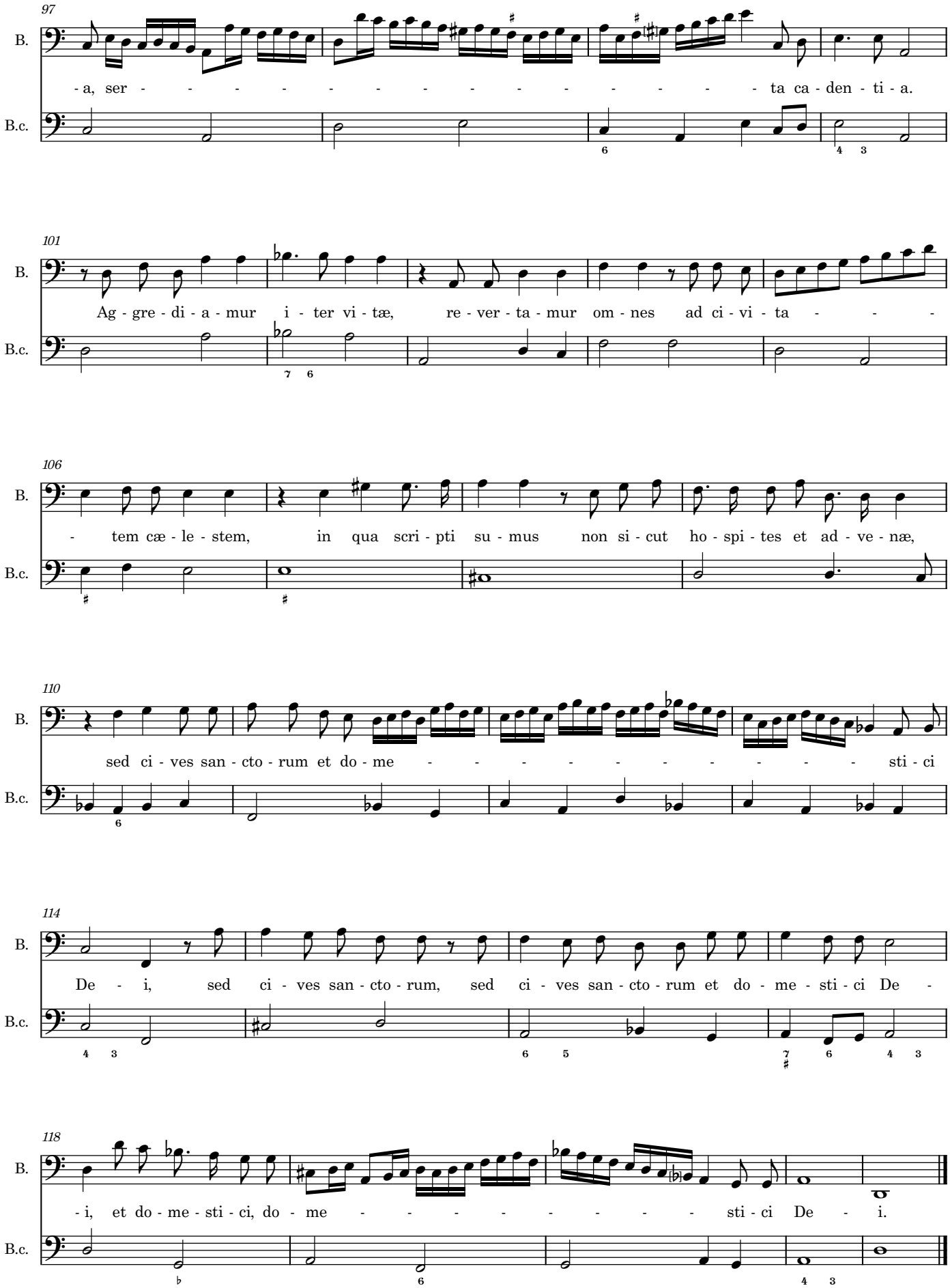

27
B.
B.c.
- - - - - - ge - lo - rum___ cæ - ti - bus, o quam_
33
___ sum - ma est et per - pe - tu - a fe - li - ci - tas an - ge - lo - - - -
39
- - - - - - - - - - rum con - so - ci - a - ri, et arc -
45
- an - - - - - ge - lo - rum___ cæ - ti - bus, in - tu -
51
- e - - - - - ri ag - na san - cto - rum, splen - di - di - us si -
57
- de - - - - - - - - - ri - bus, si - de - ri - bus mi - can - ti -
62
- a, mar - - - - ti - rum pur - pu - re - is vi - cto - - -

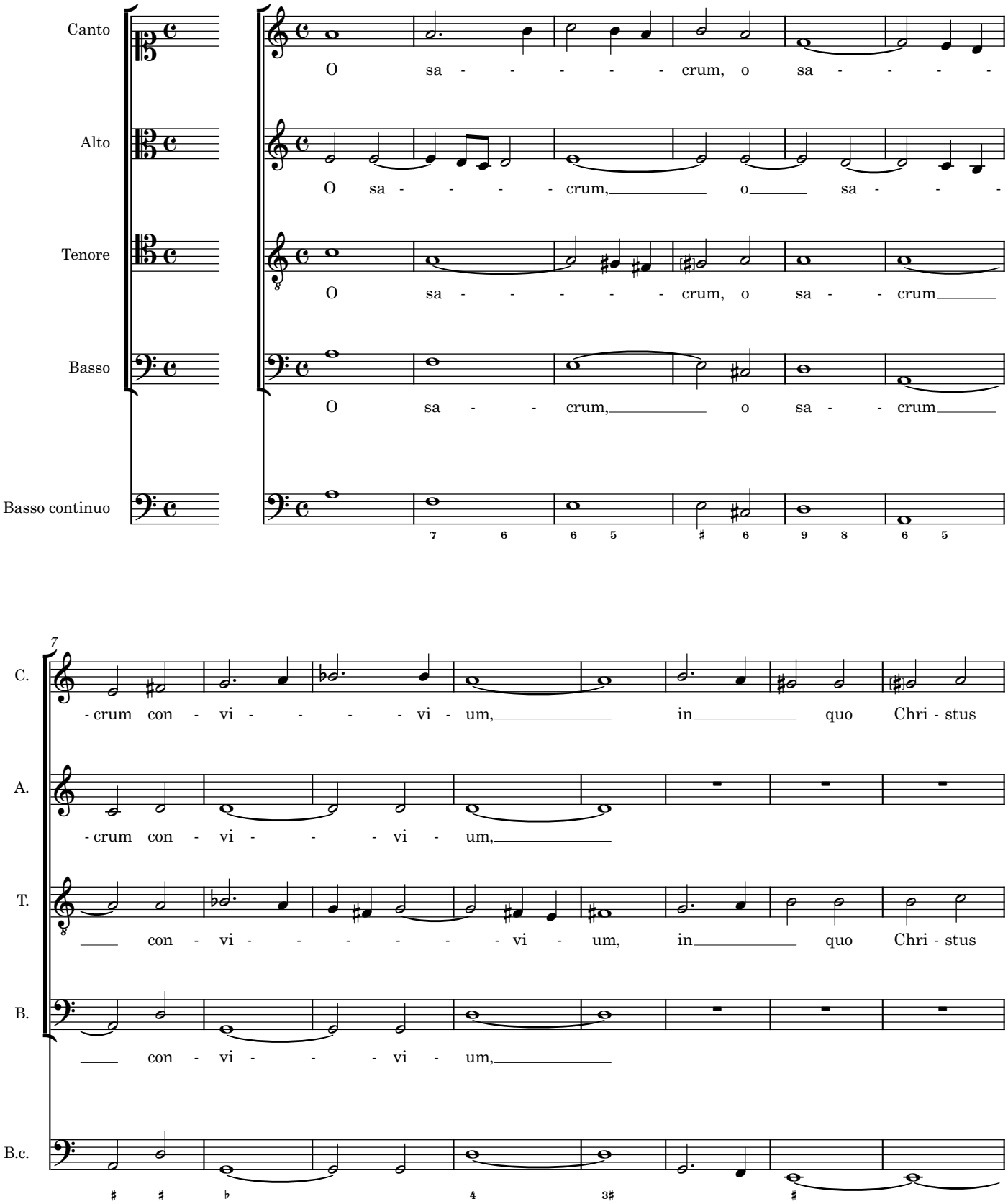

68
B.
B.c.
- - - - - - - - - - ri - æ co - ro - - - - - - -
73
- nis, co - ro - - - - - - - - - nis lu - cen - ti -
78
- a, et vir - gi - num in - spi - ce - re cho - ros, ge - stan - - - - - - -
82
- - - - - - tes ser - - - - - ta ca - den - ti - a, et
86
vir - gi - num in - spi - ce - re cho - ros, ge - stan - - - - - - tes ser - -
89
- - - ta, ser - - - - - - - ta ca - den - ti - a, ge - stan - -
93
- - - - - tes ser - - - - - - - - - ta ca - den - ti -


97
B.
-a, ser - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ta ca - den - ti - a.
B.c.
101
B.
Ag - gre - di - a - mur i - ter vi - tæ, re - ver - ta - mur om - nes ad ci - vi - ta - - -
B.c.
106
B.
- tem cæ - le - stem, in qua scri - pti su - mus non si - cut ho - spi - tes et ad - ve - næ,
B.c.
110
B.
sed ci - ves san - cto - rum et do - me - - - - - - - - - sti - ci
B.c.
114
B.
De - i, sed ci - ves san - cto - rum, sed ci - ves san - cto - rum et do - me - sti - ci De -
B.c.
118
B.
- i, et do - me - sti - ci, do - me - - - - - - - sti - ci De - i.
B.c.

O sacrum convivium

FdS1649.15

Antonelli



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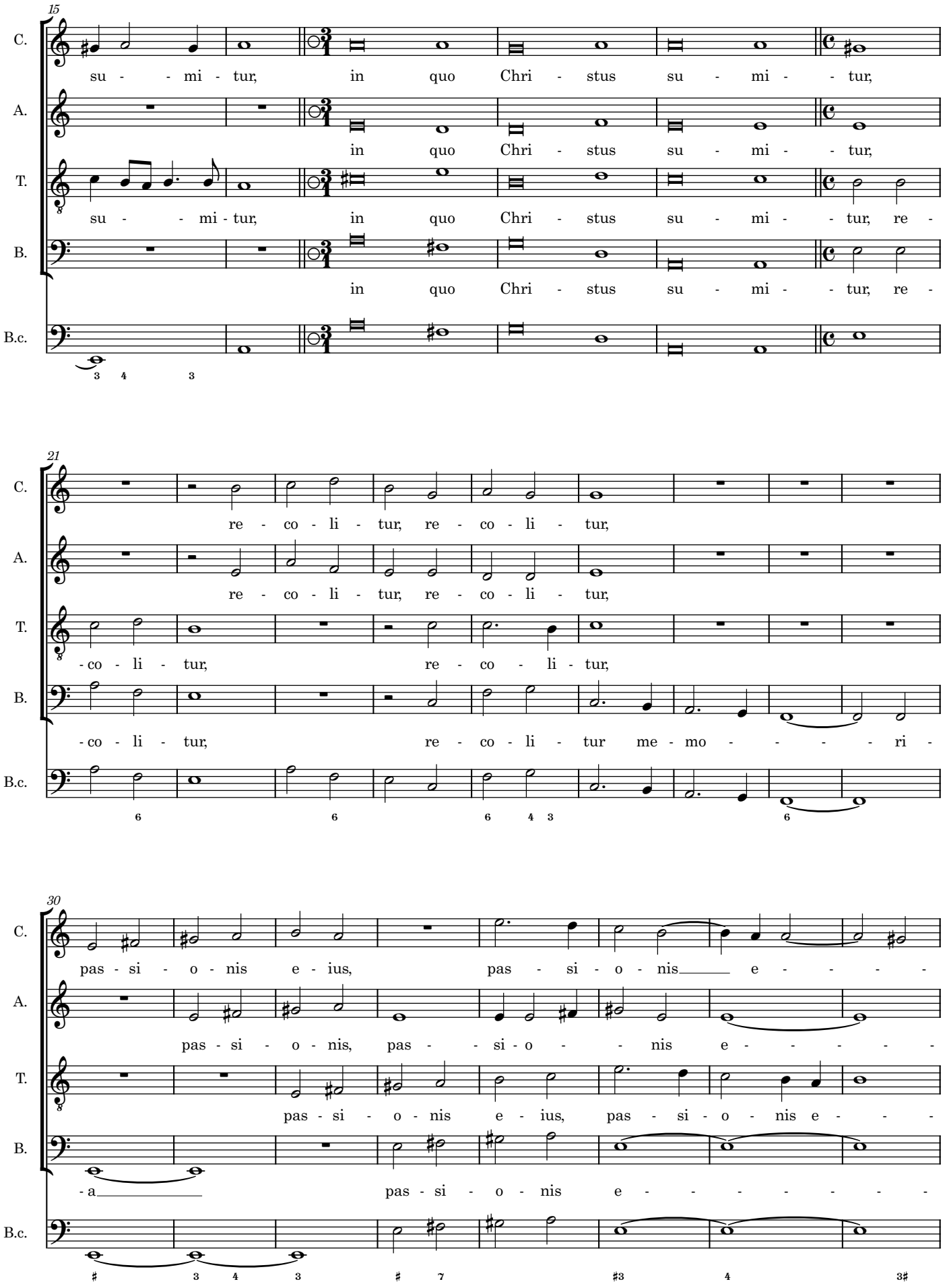
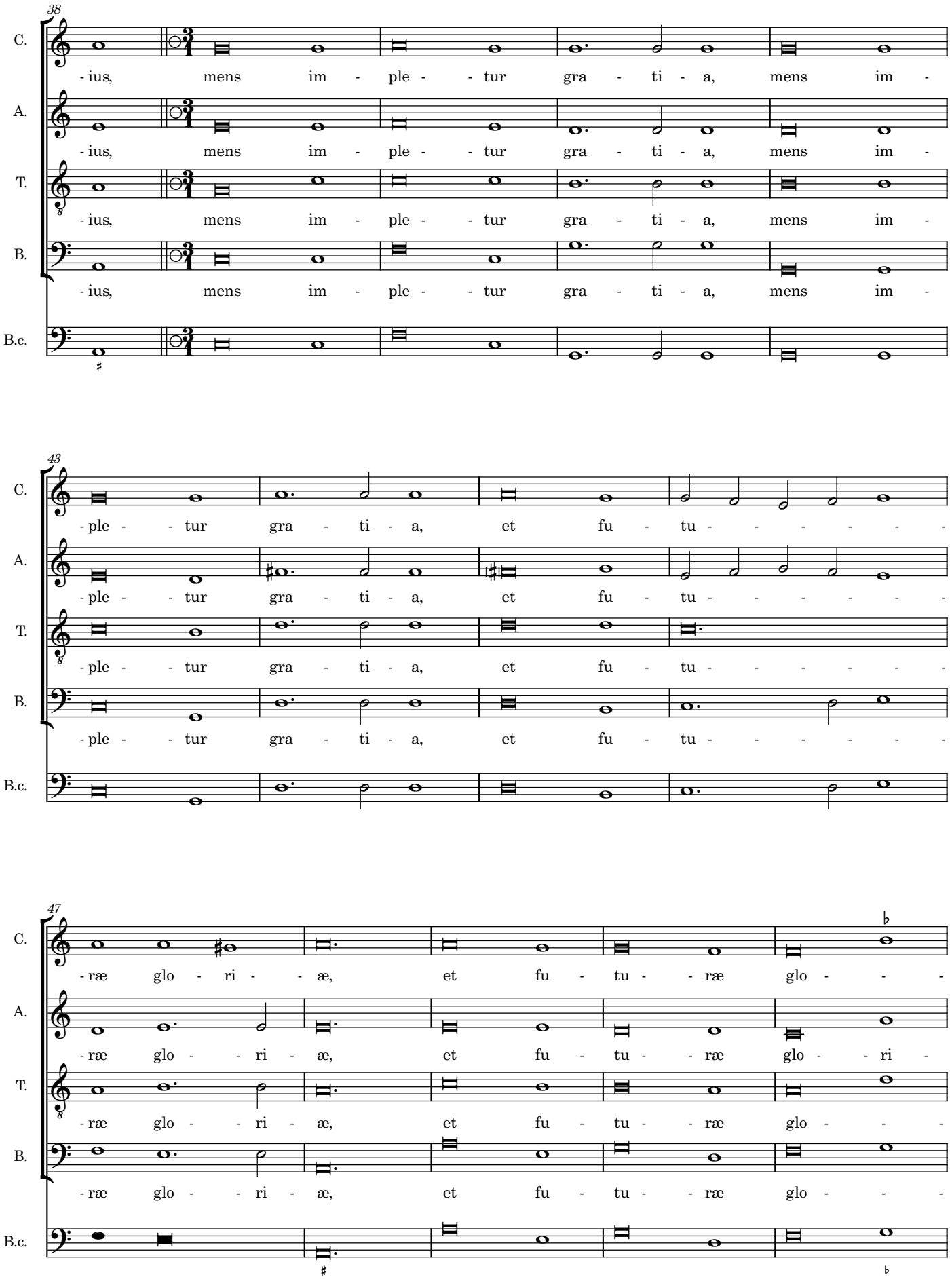

15
C.
su - - mi - tur, in quo Chri - stus su - mi - - tur,
A.
in quo Chri - stus su - mi - - tur,
T.
su - - mi - tur, in quo Chri - stus su - mi - - tur, re -
B.
in quo Chri - stus su - mi - - tur, re -
B.c.
21
C.
re - co - li - tur, re - co - li - tur,
A.
re - co - li - tur, re - co - li - tur,
T.
- co - li - tur, re - co - li - tur,
B.
- co - li - tur, re - co - li - tur me - mo - - - - - ri -
B.c.
30
C.
pas - si - o - nis e - ius, pas - si - o - nis e - - - - -
A.
pas - si - o - nis, pas - - si - o - - nis e - - - - - -
T.
pas - si - o - nis e - ius, pas - si - o - nis e - - -
B.
- a pas - si - o - nis e - - - - - - - -
B.c.


38
C.
A.
T.
B.
B.c.
-ius, mens im - ple - - tur gra - ti - a, mens im -
43
-ple - - tur gra - ti - a, et fu - tu - - - - - -
47
-ræ glo - ri - - æ, et fu - tu - - ræ glo - - -
-ræ glo - - ri - æ, et fu - tu - - ræ glo - - ri -

52

C. - - ri - - æ no - bis pi - gnus da - - - - - tur,

A. - æ no - bis pi - - gnus da - - - - - tur,

T. - - ri - - æ no - bis

B. - - ri - - æ no - bis pi - gnus

B.c. 4 3 6 4 3

58

C. no - bis pi - gnus da - - -

A. no - bis pi - - gnus

T. pi - gnus da - - - - - - - - - - tur,

B. da - - - - - - - - - - - tur, no - bis

B.c. 6 4 3 5 6

63

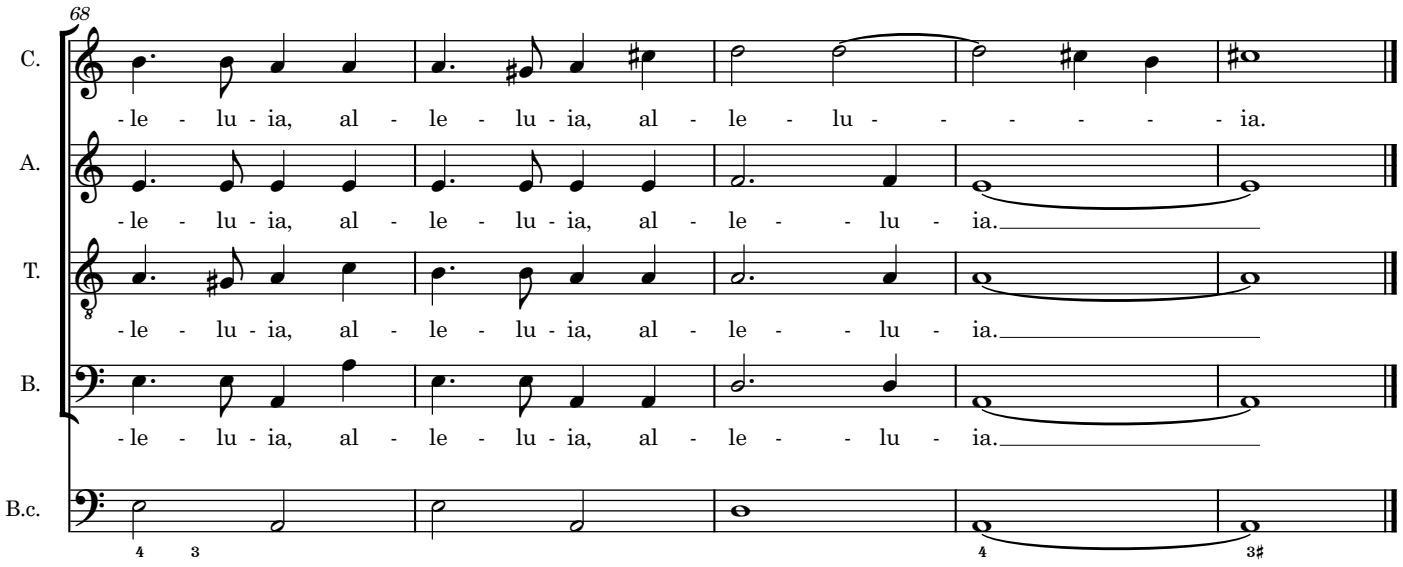
C. - - - - - - - - tur, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al -

A. da - - - - - - tur, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al -

T. no - bis pi - gnus da - - - tur, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al -

B. pi - gnus da - - - - - tur, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al -

B.c. 6 6 6 3 4 3 6 6 6


68
C.
-le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - - - - - - ia.
A.
-le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - - lu - ia.
T.
-le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - - lu - ia.
B.
-le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - - lu - ia.
B.c.
4 3
4
3♯

In capite libri

FdS1672.10

Giovanni Antonio Carpani

Canto (Canto I)

(Canto II/ Tenor)

Basso

Basso continuo

In ca - - pi - te li - bri scrip - tum est, scrip - - - tum

5

.S.

C. (C. I)

est__ de me,

(C. II/T)

In ca - - pi - te li - bri scrip - tum est, scrip - - - tum

B.

In ca - pi - te li - bri scrip - tum est, scrip - - - - - -

B.c.

10

C. (C. I)

scrip - tum est, in ca - pi - te li - bri scrip - tum est,

(C. II/T)

est__ de me,

B.

- tum est de me,

B.c.

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15

C. (C. I): scrip - tum est de me, scrip - tum est,

(C. II/T): scrip - tum est, in ca - - pi - te

B.: scrip - tum est, scrip - tum est, in

B.c.: 4 3

18

C. (C. I): in ca - - pi - te li - - bri scrip - tum est de

(C. II/T): li - - - bri scrip - tum est, scrip - tum est de

B.: cap - - pi - te li - - - bri scrip - tum est, scrip - tum est de

B.c.: 4 3

21

C. (C. I): me,

(C. II/T): me, scrip - tum est, in ca - - pi - te li - - bri

B.: me, ut fa - ce - rem vo - lun - ta - - - - - - - - -

B.c.:

25

C. (C. I)

ut fa - ce - rem vo - lun - ta - - - - -

(C. II/T)

scrip - tum est de me,

B.

- - tem tu - - am,

B.c.

29

C. (C. I)

- - - - - - tem tu - am.

(C. II/T)

ut fa - ce - rem vo - lun - ta - - -

B.

De - - us me - us,

B.c.

34

C. (C. I)

De - us me - us,

(C. II/T)

- - - - - - - tem tu - - am.

B.

De - - us me - us, vo - - lu - i, et le - gem tu - am in

B.c.

39

C. (C. I): De - us me - us, vo - lu - i, et le - gem tu - am, in me - di - o cor -

(C. II/T): De - us me - us, De - us

B.: me - di - o cor - - dis me - i, et le - gem tu - am in me - di - o

B.c.: 6/2 6 7 6 ♯

45

C. (C. I): - - dis me - i,

(C. II/T): me - us, vo - lu - i, et le - gem tu - am, in me - di - o cor - - dis me -

B.: cor - dis me - - - i, De - us me - us, De - us me - us, vo - lu -

B.c.: ♯6 4 3 6 5 6 ♯ 7/♯ 4 3

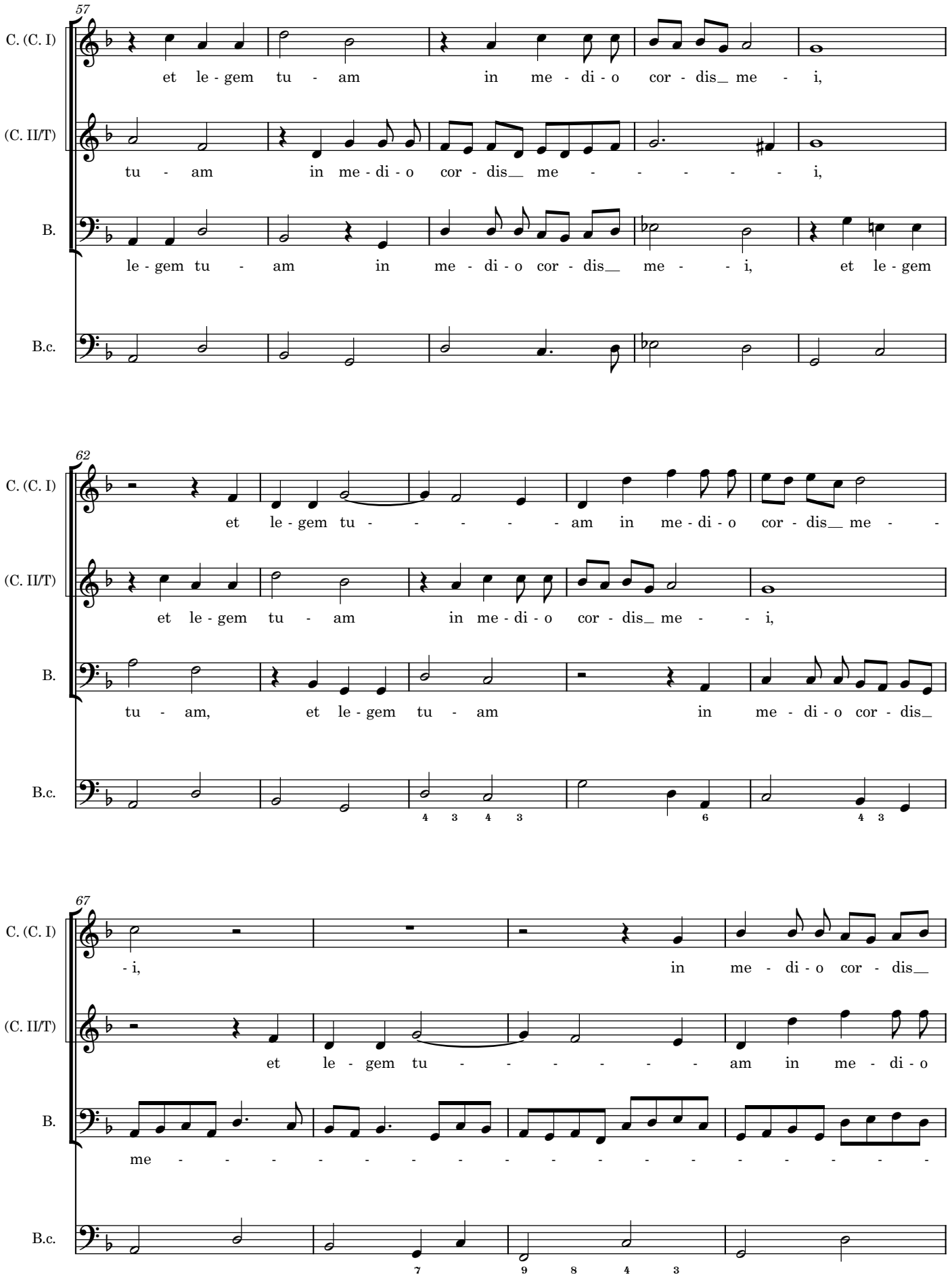
51

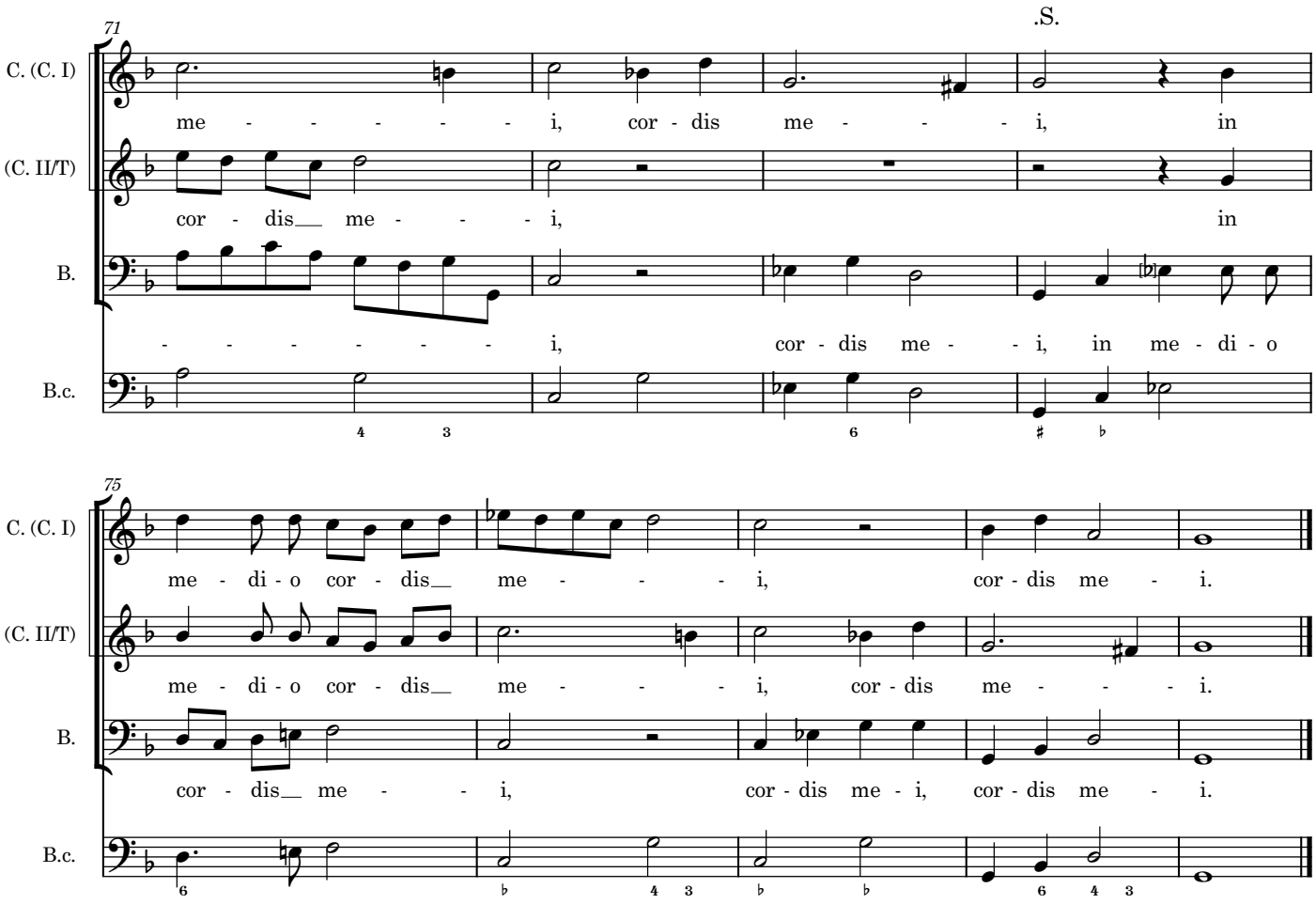
C. (C. I): et le - gem tu - am in me - di - o cor - dis_ me - - - - - i,

(C. II/T): - i, et le - gem

B.: - i, et

B.c.: ♯

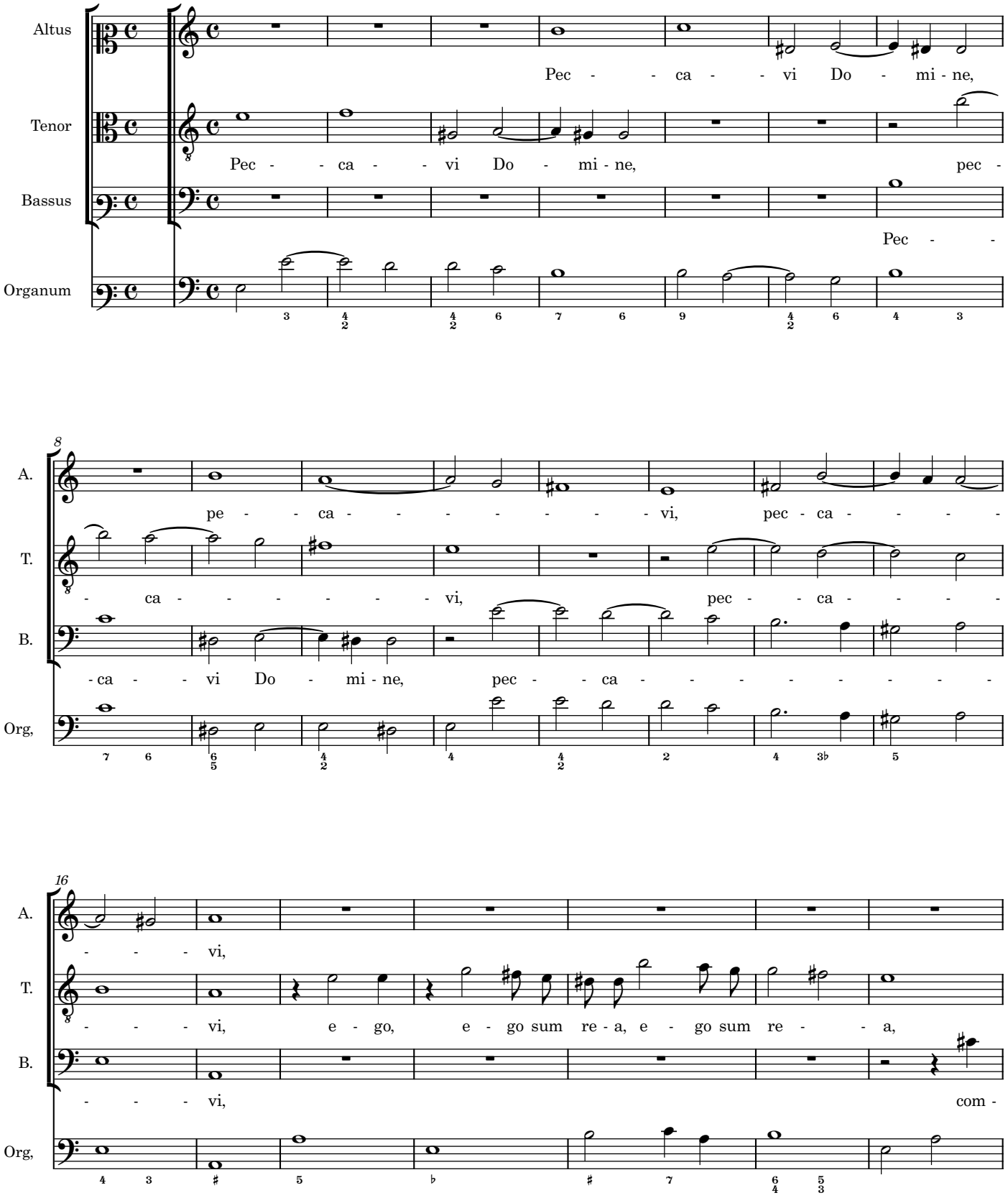

57
C. (C. I)
et le - gem tu - am in me - di - o cor - dis_ me - i,
(C. II/T)
tu - am in me - di - o cor - dis_ me - - - - - - i,
B.
le - gem tu - am in me - di - o cor - dis_ me - - i, et le - gem
B.c.
62
C. (C. I)
et le - gem tu - - - - - am in me - di - o cor - dis_ me - -
(C. II/T)
et le - gem tu - am in me - di - o cor - dis_ me - - i,
B.
tu - am, et le - gem tu - am in me - di - o cor - dis_
B.c.
4 3 4 3
6
4 3
67
C. (C. I)
- i, in me - di - o cor - dis_
(C. II/T)
et le - gem tu - - - - - - am in me - di - o
B.
me - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
B.c.
7
9 8
4 3

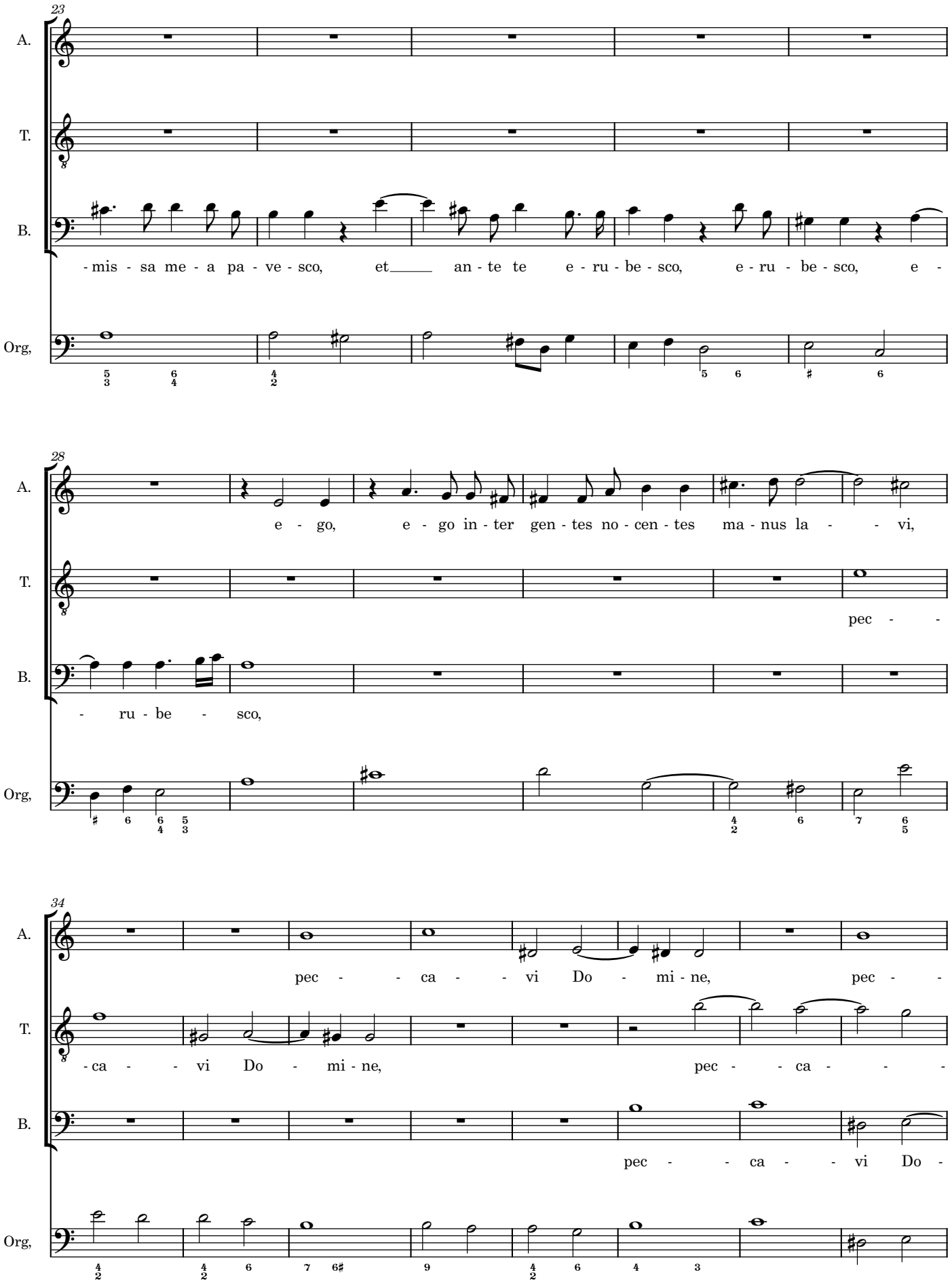

.S.
71
C. (C. I)
me - - - - - - i, cor - dis me - - - i, in
(C. II/T)
cor - dis__ me - - - i, in
B.
- - - - - - - i, cor - dis me - - i, in me - di - o
B.c.
75
C. (C. I)
me - di - o cor - dis__ me - - - i, cor - dis me - i.
(C. II/T)
me - di - o cor - dis__ me - - - i, cor - dis me - - - i.
B.
cor - dis__ me - - i, cor - dis me - i, cor - dis me - i.
B.c.

Peccavi Domine

(version A, untransposed)

Giovanni Antonio Carpani




23
A.
T.
B.
Org,
-mis - sa me - a pa - ve - sco, et an - te te e - ru - be - sco, e - ru - be - sco, e -
28
e - go, e - go in - ter gen - tes no - cen - tes ma - nus la - - vi,
pec - -
- ru - be - sco,
34
pec - - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - -
-ca - - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - - ca - - -
pec - - ca - - vi Do -

42

A. - ca - - - - - - - vi, pec - ca - - - - - - - vi.

T. - - - vi, pec - - ca - - - - - - - vi.

B. - mi - ne, pec - - ca - - - - - - - - - - - vi.

Org,

50

A. Ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - -

T. Ne dam - nes me,

B.

Org,

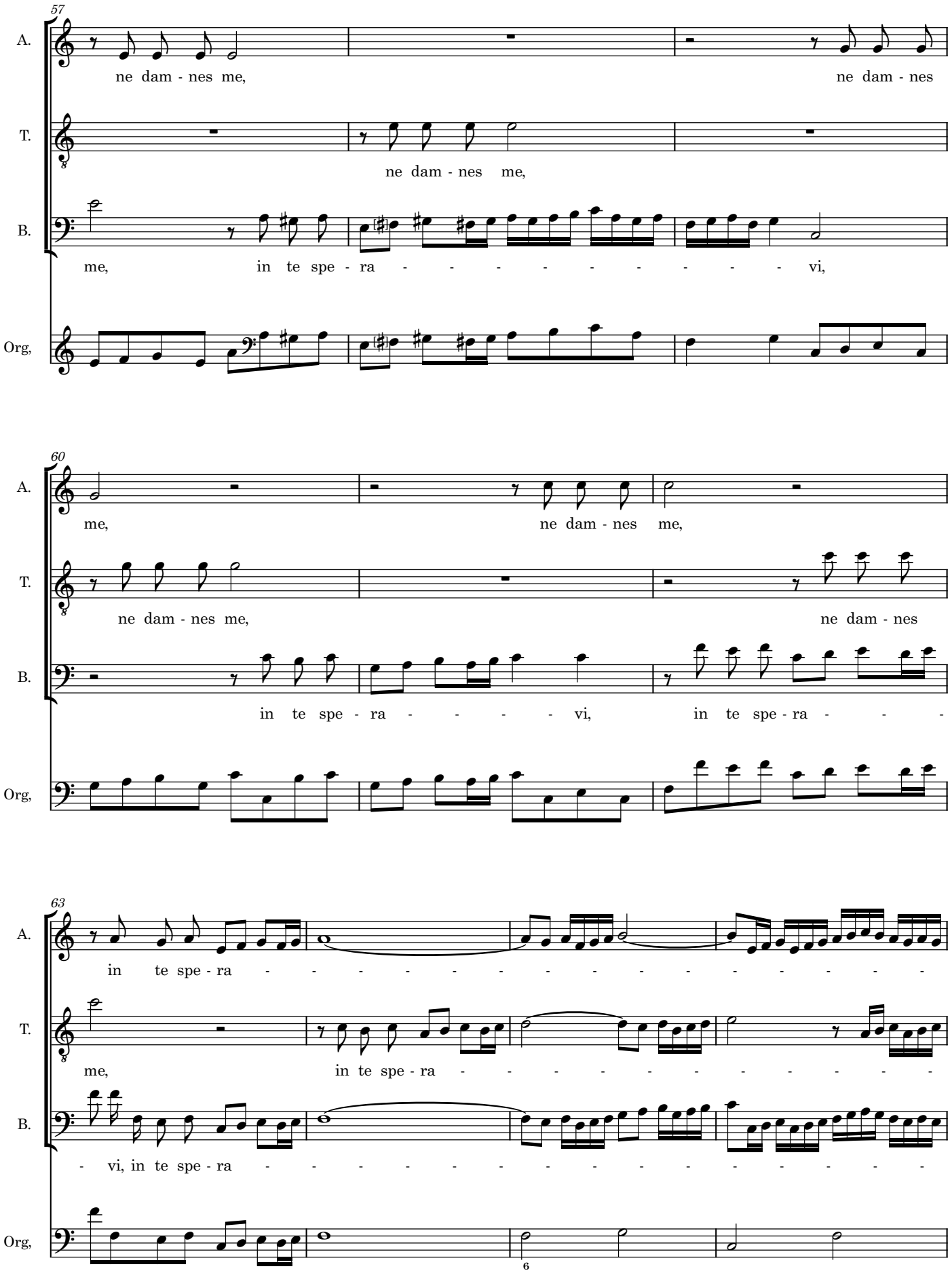
53

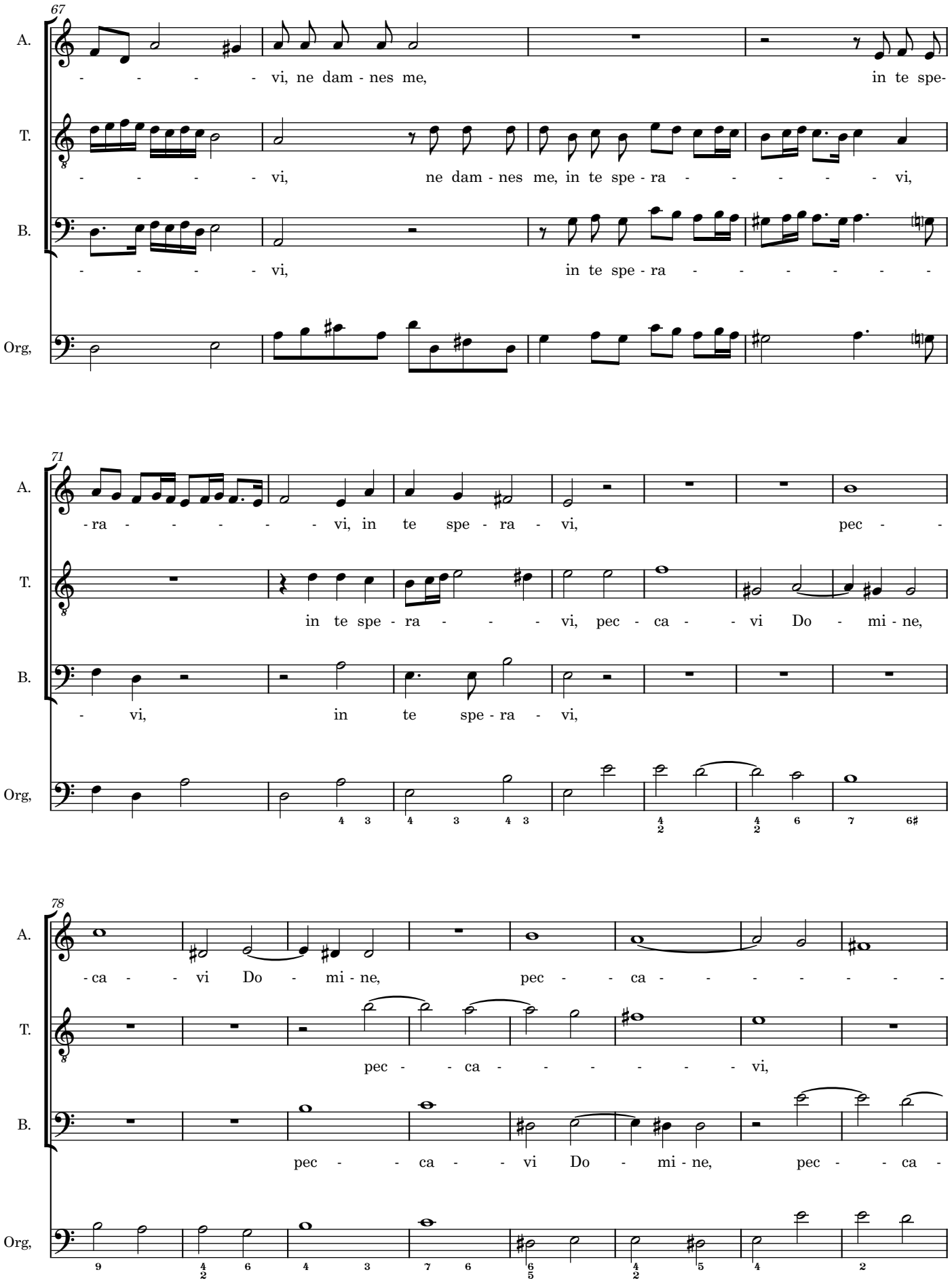
A. - vi, ne dam - nes me,

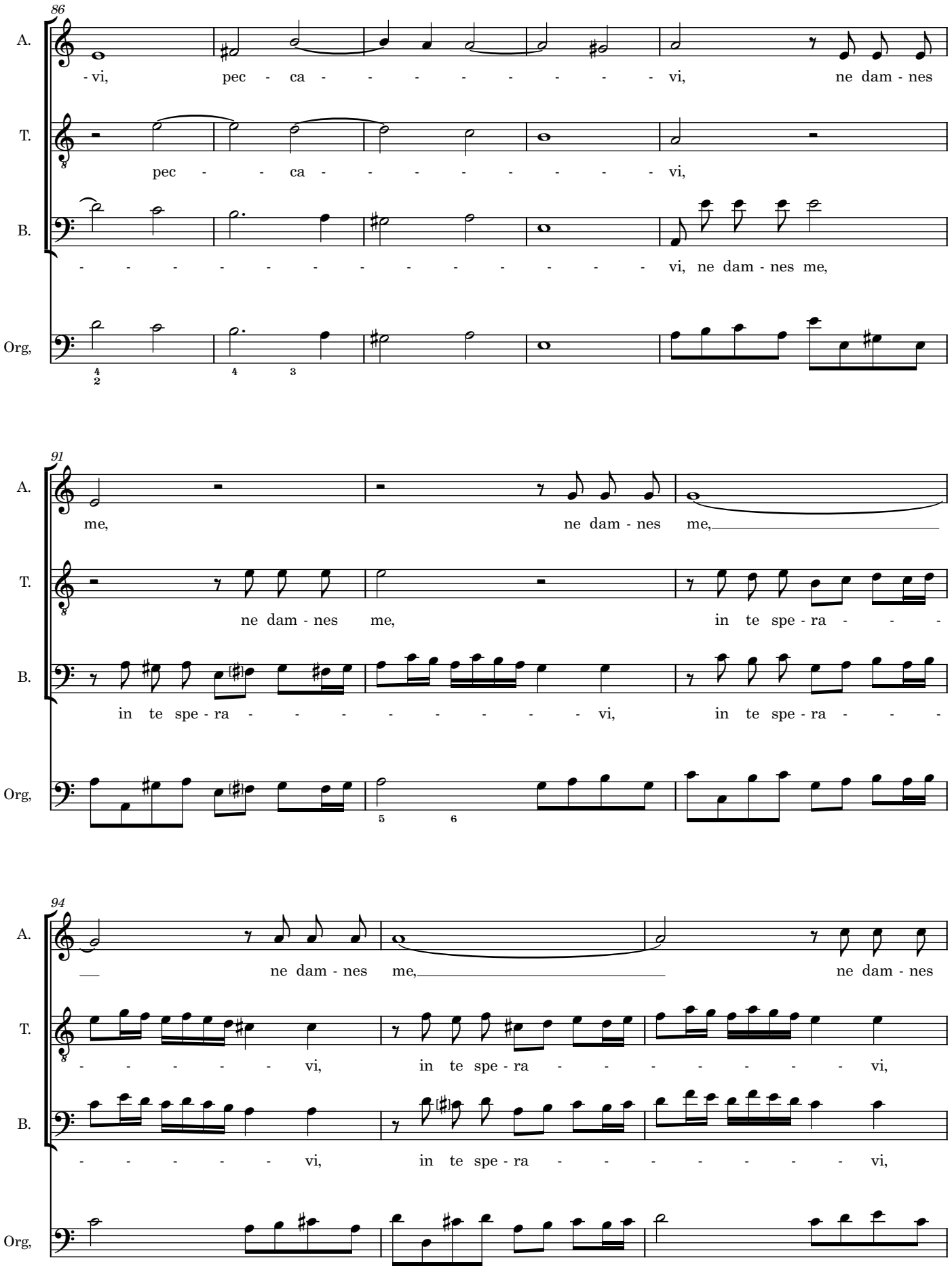
T. ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - vi,

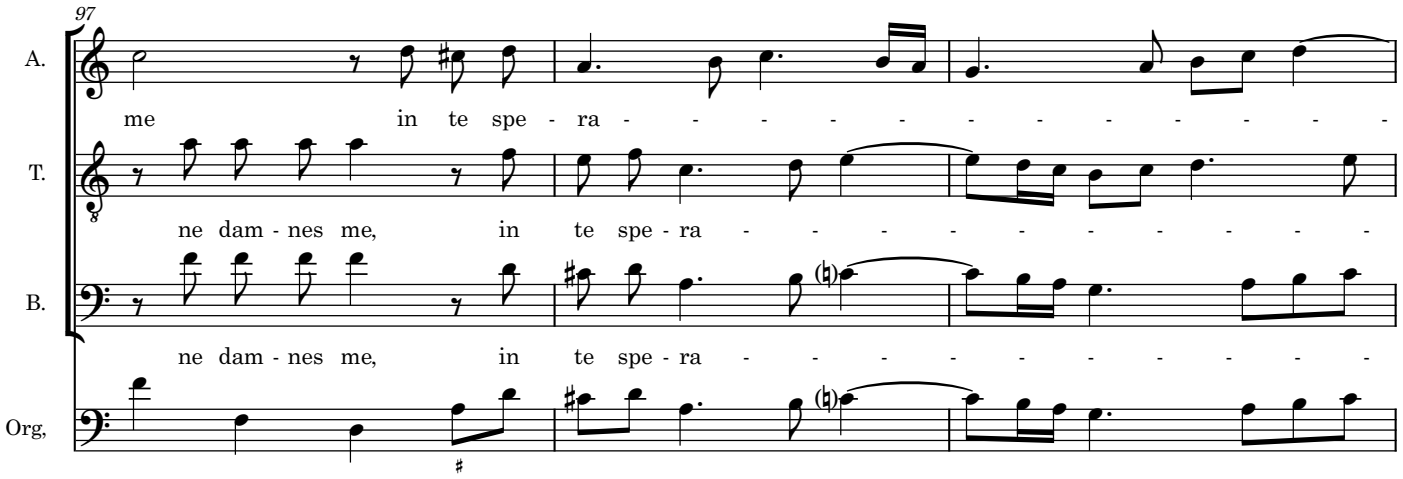
B. Ne dam - nes

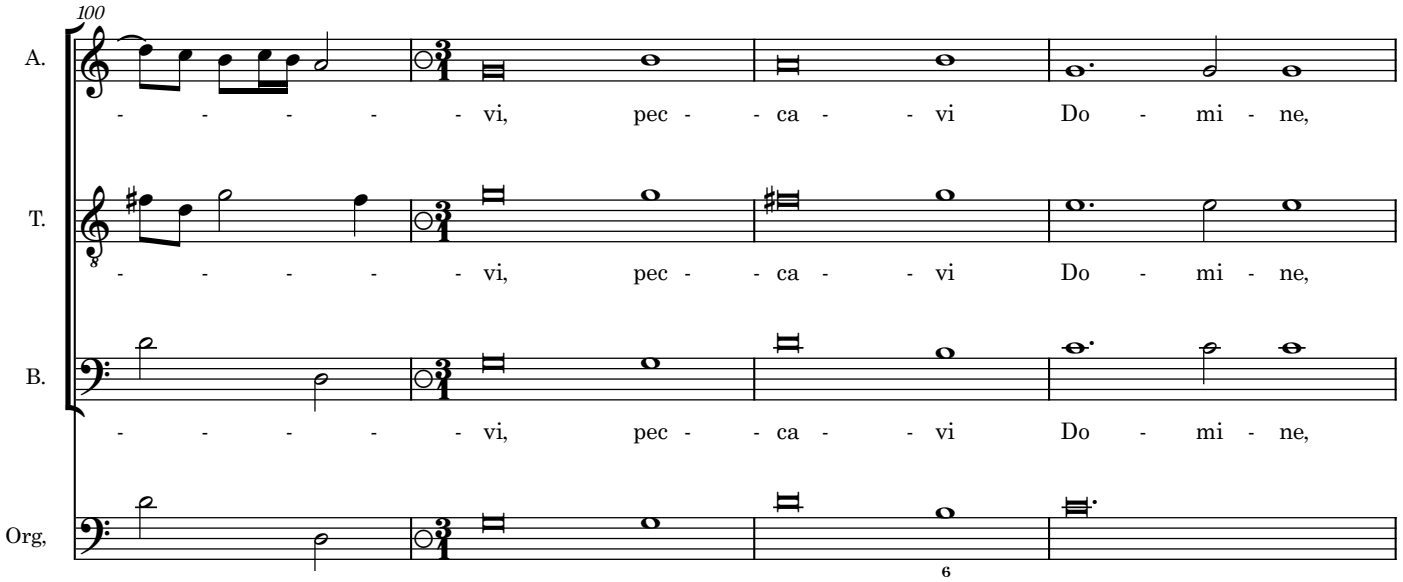
Org,

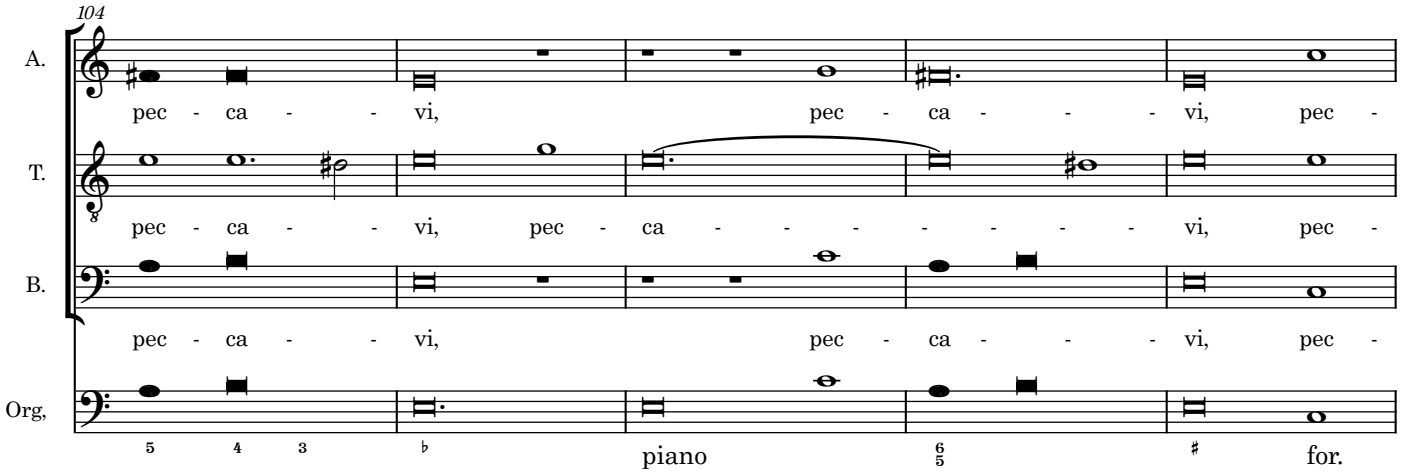

57
A.
ne dam - nes me,
ne dam - nes
T.
ne dam - nes me,
B.
me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - vi,
Org,
60
A.
me,
ne dam - nes me,
T.
ne dam - nes me,
ne dam - nes
B.
in te spe - ra - - - - vi,
in te spe - ra - - -
Org,
63
A.
in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
T.
me,
in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - - -
B.
- vi, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Org,
6

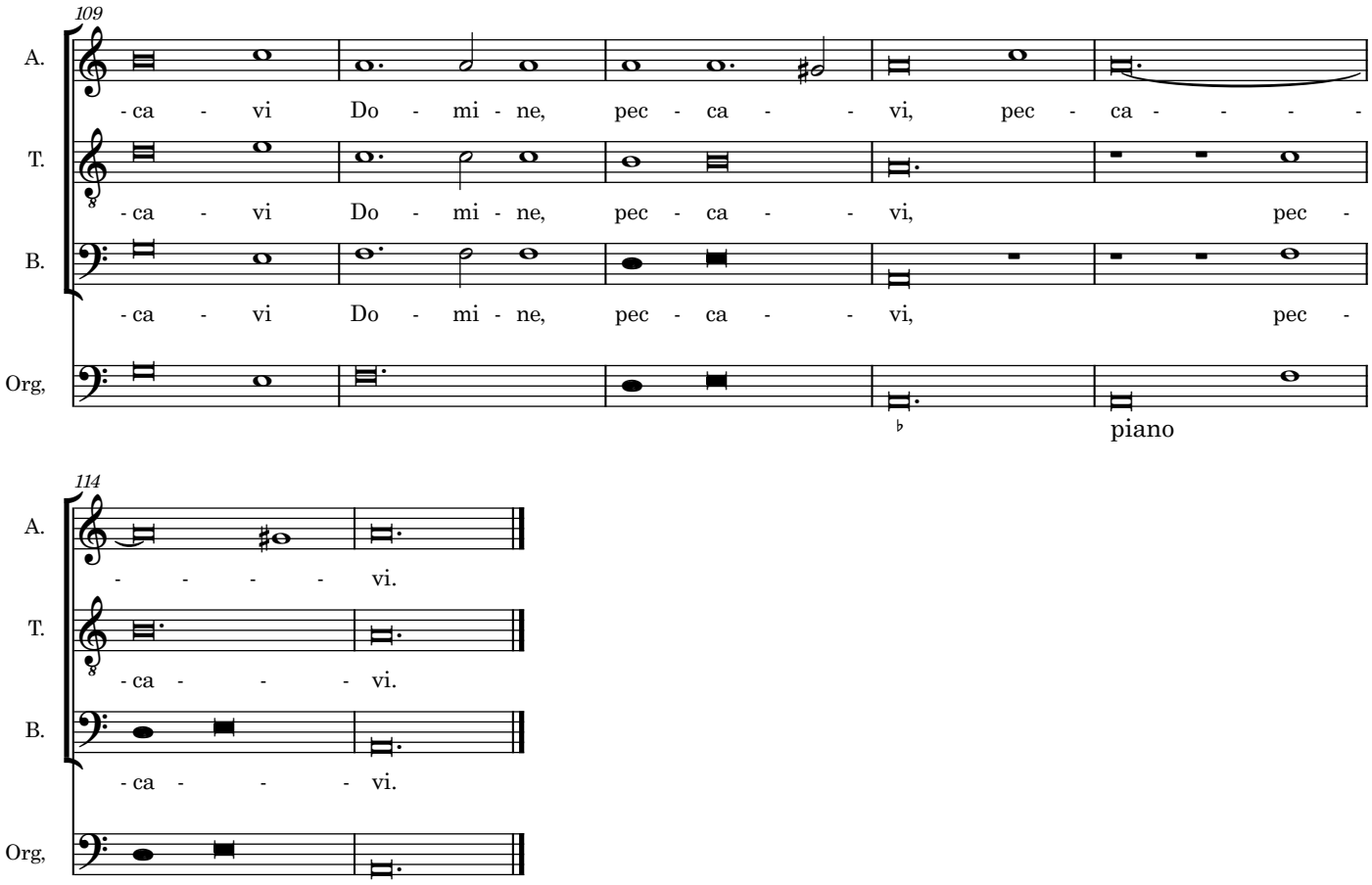

67
A.
- - - - - vi, ne dam - nes me, in te spe-
T.
- - - - - vi, ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - vi,
B.
- - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - - - - - - -
Org,
71
A.
- ra - - - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - vi, pec - -
T.
in te spe - ra - - - vi, pec - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne,
B.
- vi, in te spe - ra - vi,
Org,
78
A.
- ca - - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - - ca - - - - - - -
T.
pec - - ca - - - - - - - vi,
B.
pec - - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - - ca -
Org,


86
A.
-vi, pec - ca - - - - - - - - vi, ne dam - nes
T.
pec - - ca - - - - - - - - vi,
B.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - vi, ne dam - nes me,
Org,
91
A.
me, ne dam - nes me,
T.
ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - -
B.
in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - - -
Org,
94
A.
ne dam - nes me, ne dam - nes
T.
- - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - vi,
B.
- - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - vi,
Org,


97
A.
me in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - - -
T.
ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - -
B.
ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - -
Org,


100
A.
- - - - - vi, pec - - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne,
T.
- - - - - vi, pec - - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne,
B.
- - - - - vi, pec - - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne,
Org,
6

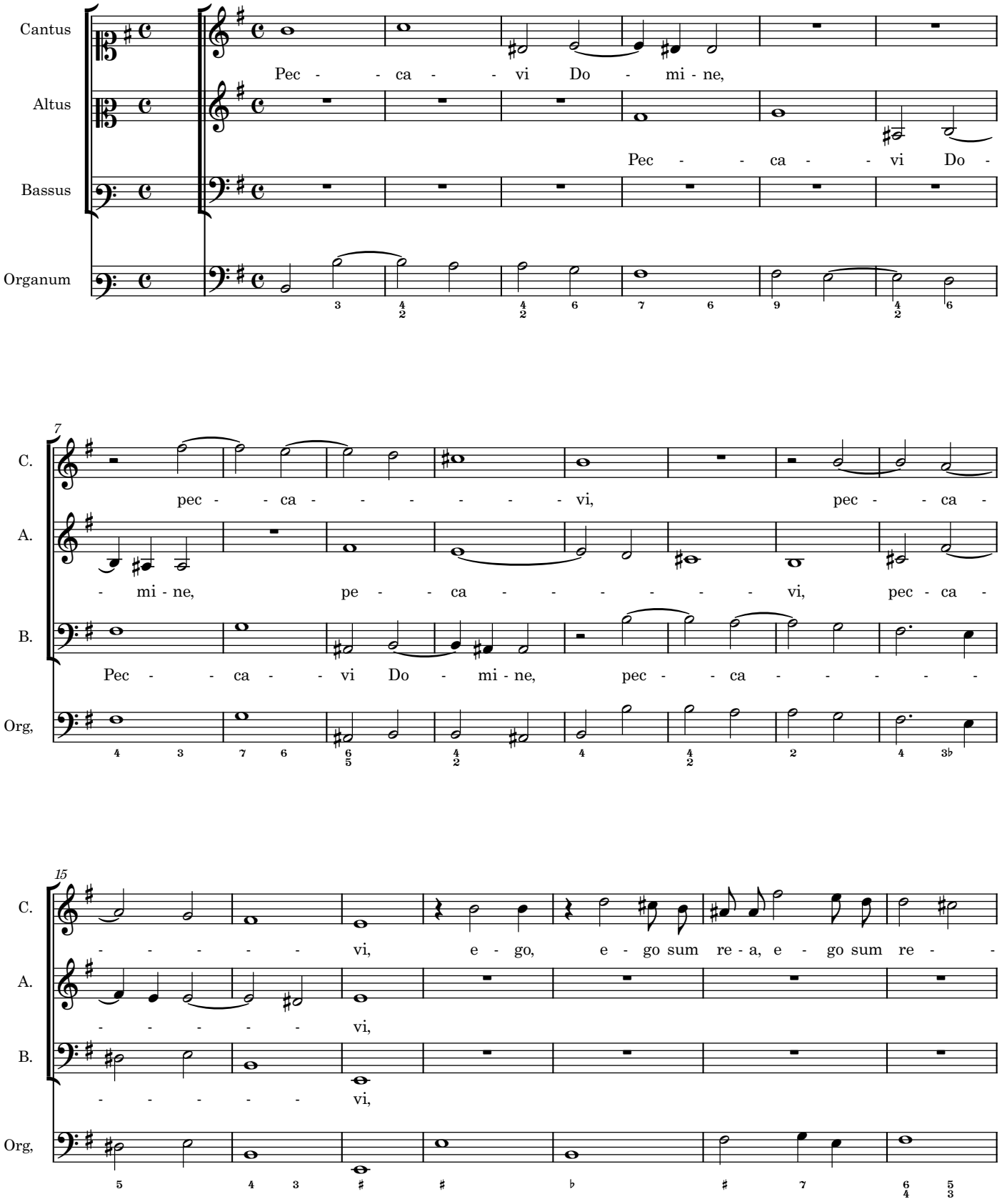

104
A.
pec - ca - - vi, pec - ca - - - vi, pec -
T.
pec - ca - - vi, pec - ca - - - - - - vi, pec -
B.
pec - ca - - vi, pec - ca - - - vi, pec -
Org,
5 4 3 ♭ 6/5 ♯
piano
for.


109
A.
- ca - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - ca - - vi, pec - ca - - - -
T.
- ca - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - ca - - vi, pec -
B.
- ca - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - ca - - vi, pec -
Org,
piano
114
A.
- - - - vi.
T.
- ca - - - vi.
B.
- ca - - - vi.
Org,

Peccavi Domine

(version B, with transposed Cantus part)

Giovanni Antonio Carpani



22

C. - a,

A.

B. com - mis - sa me - a pa - ve - sco, et an - te te e - ru - be - sco, e - ru -

Org,

27

C.

A. e - go, e - go in - ter gen - tes no - cen - tes

B. - be - sco, e - ru - be - sco,

Org,

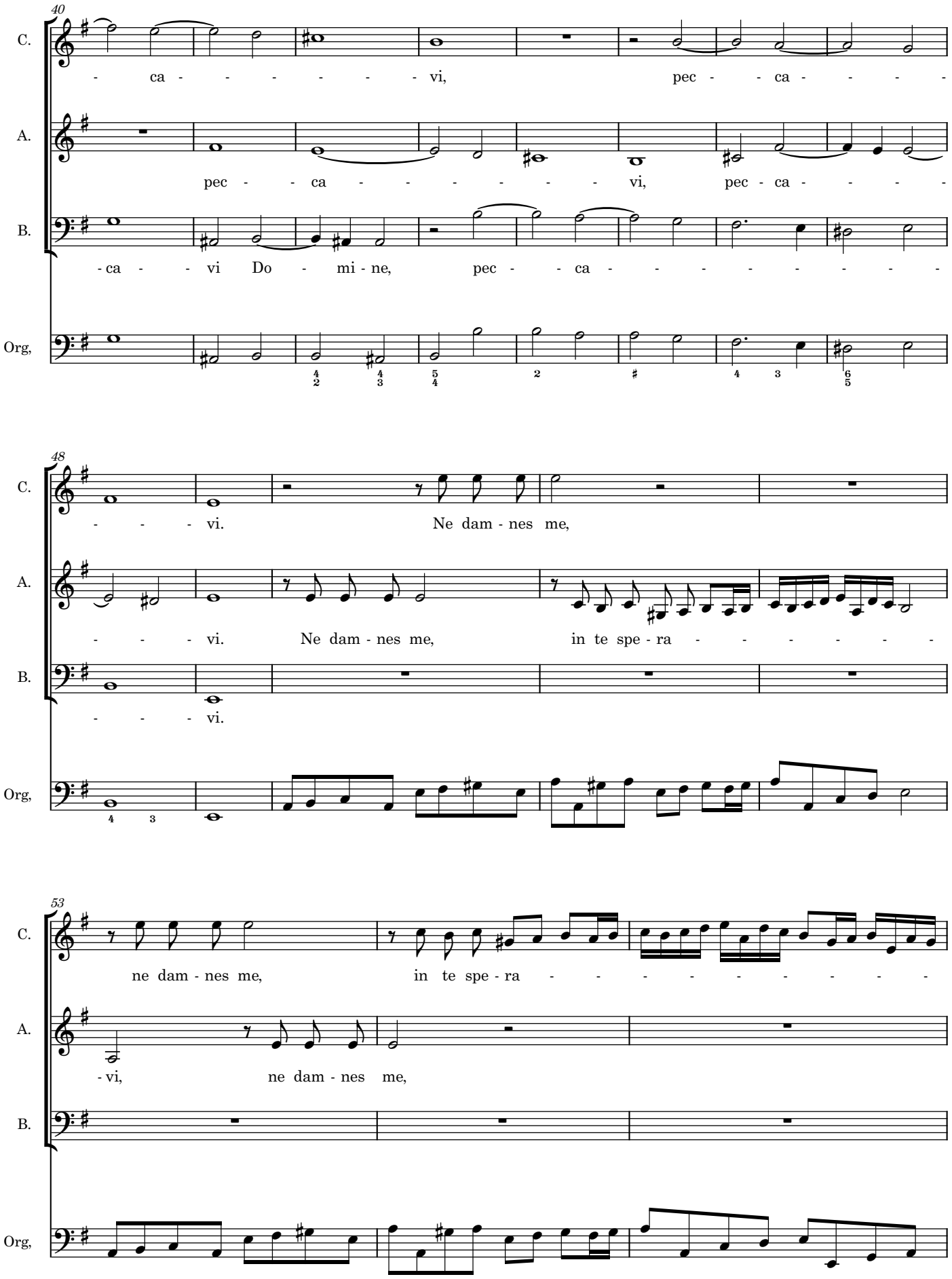
32

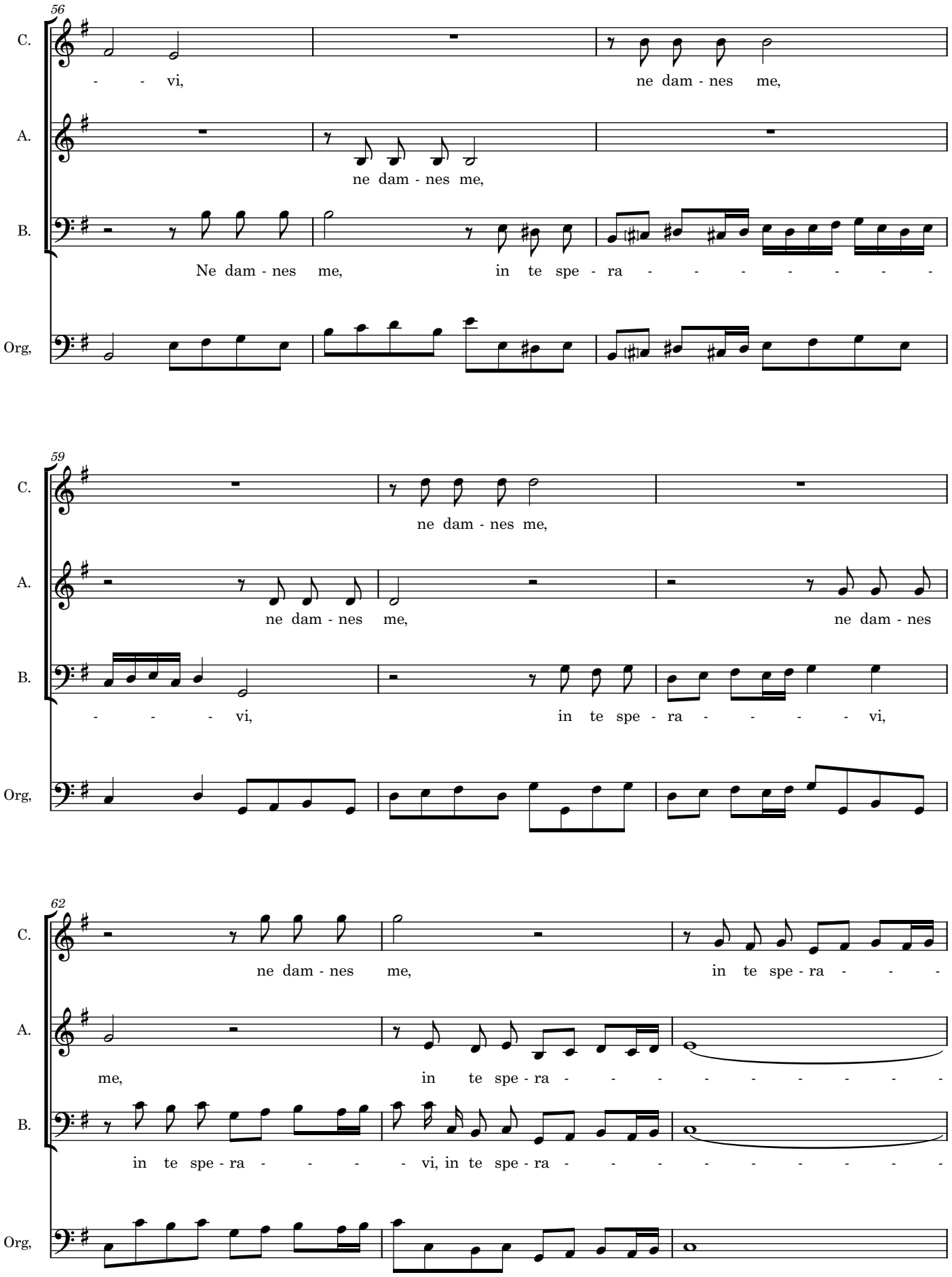
C. pec - ca - vi Do - mi - ne, pec -

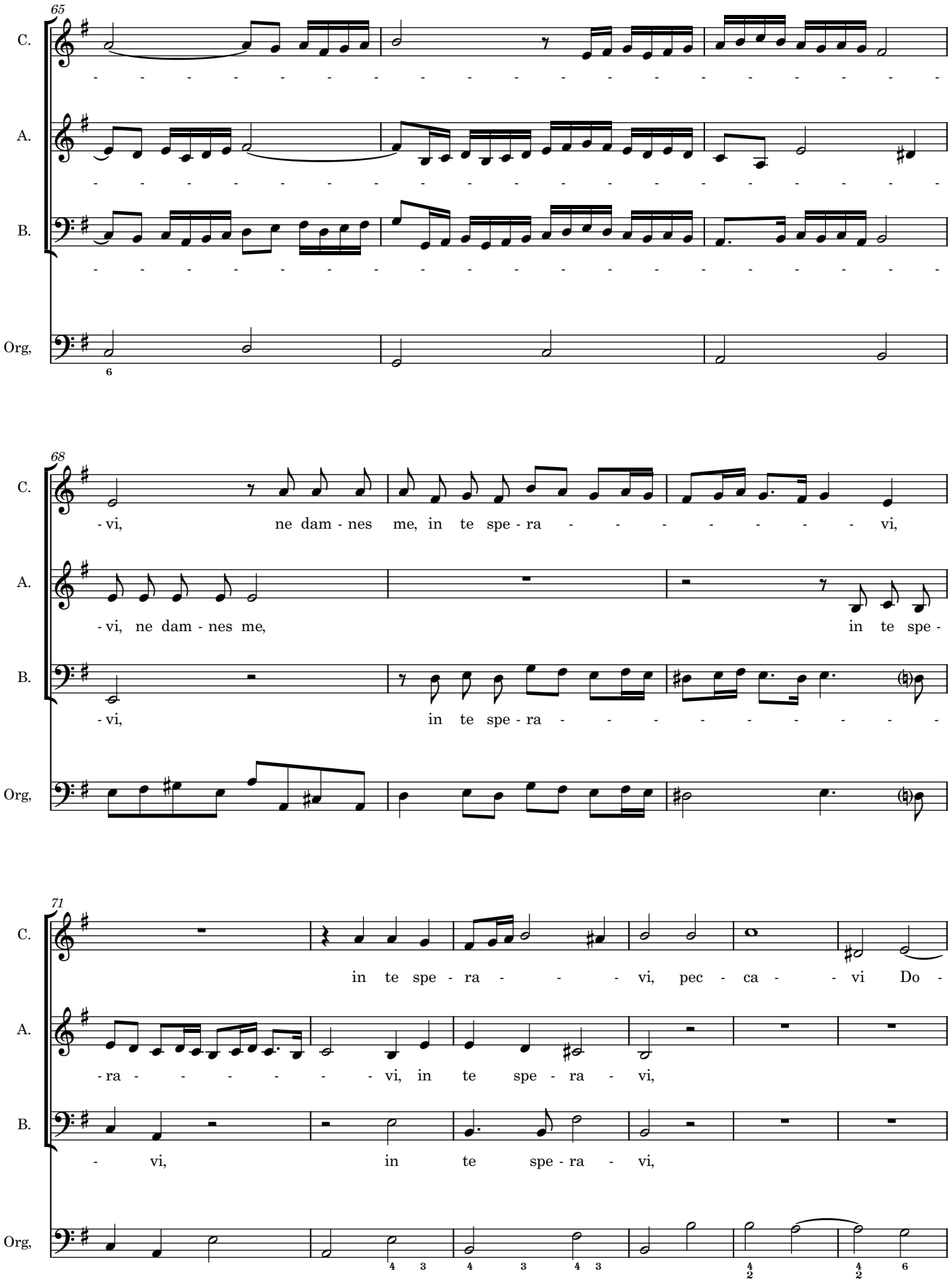
A. ma - nus la - vi, pec - ca - vi Do - mi - ne,

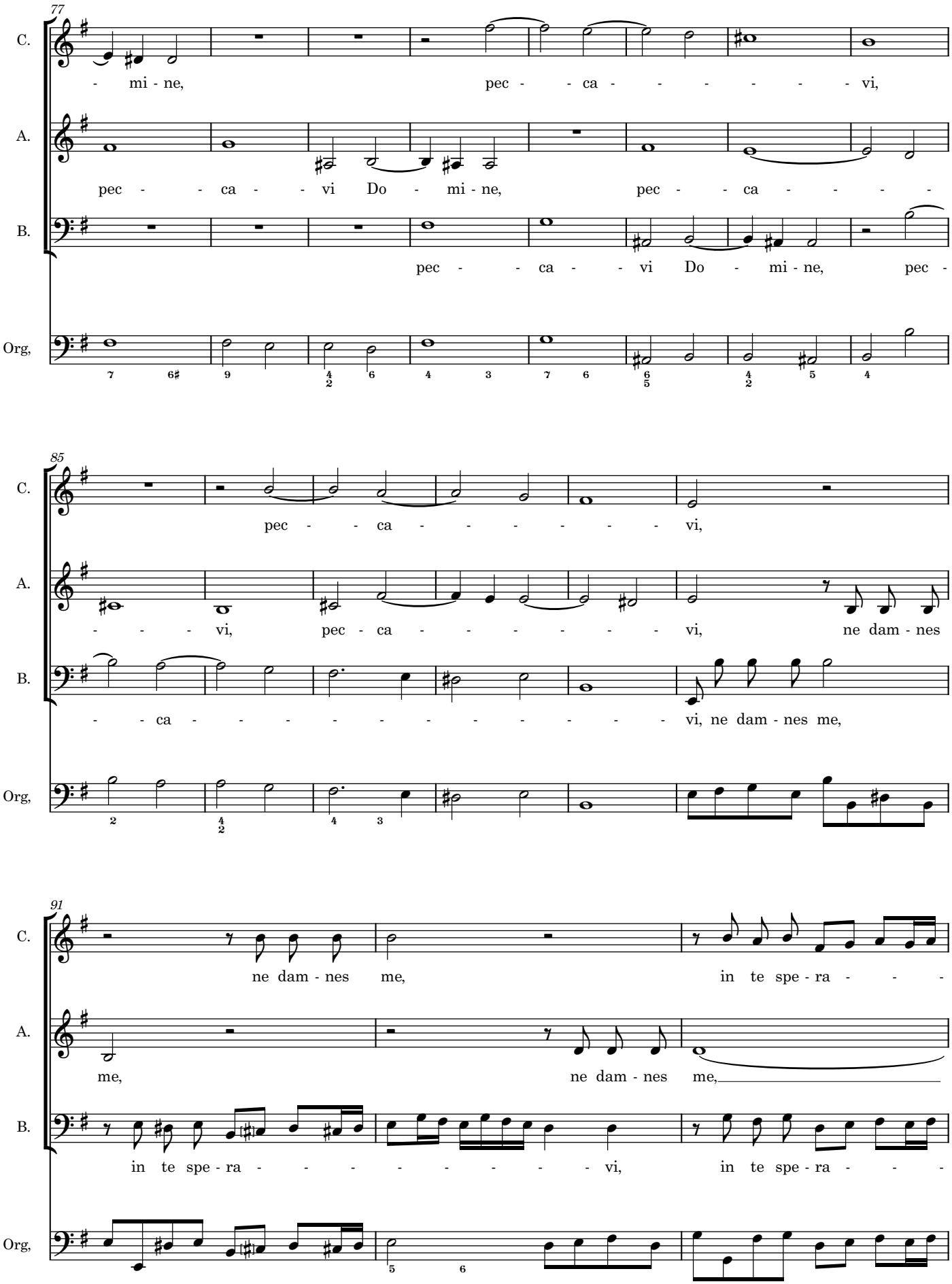
B. pec -

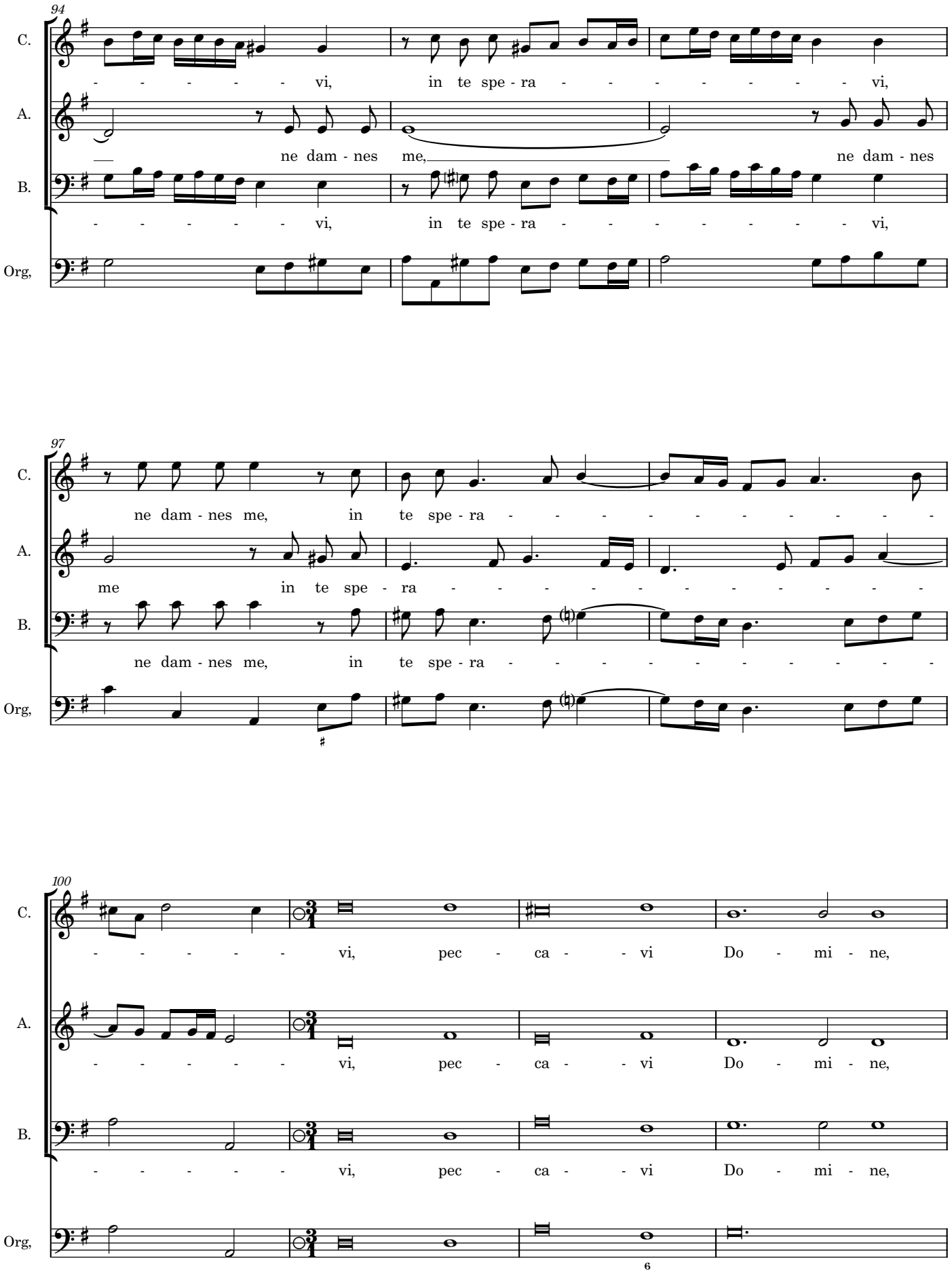
Org,

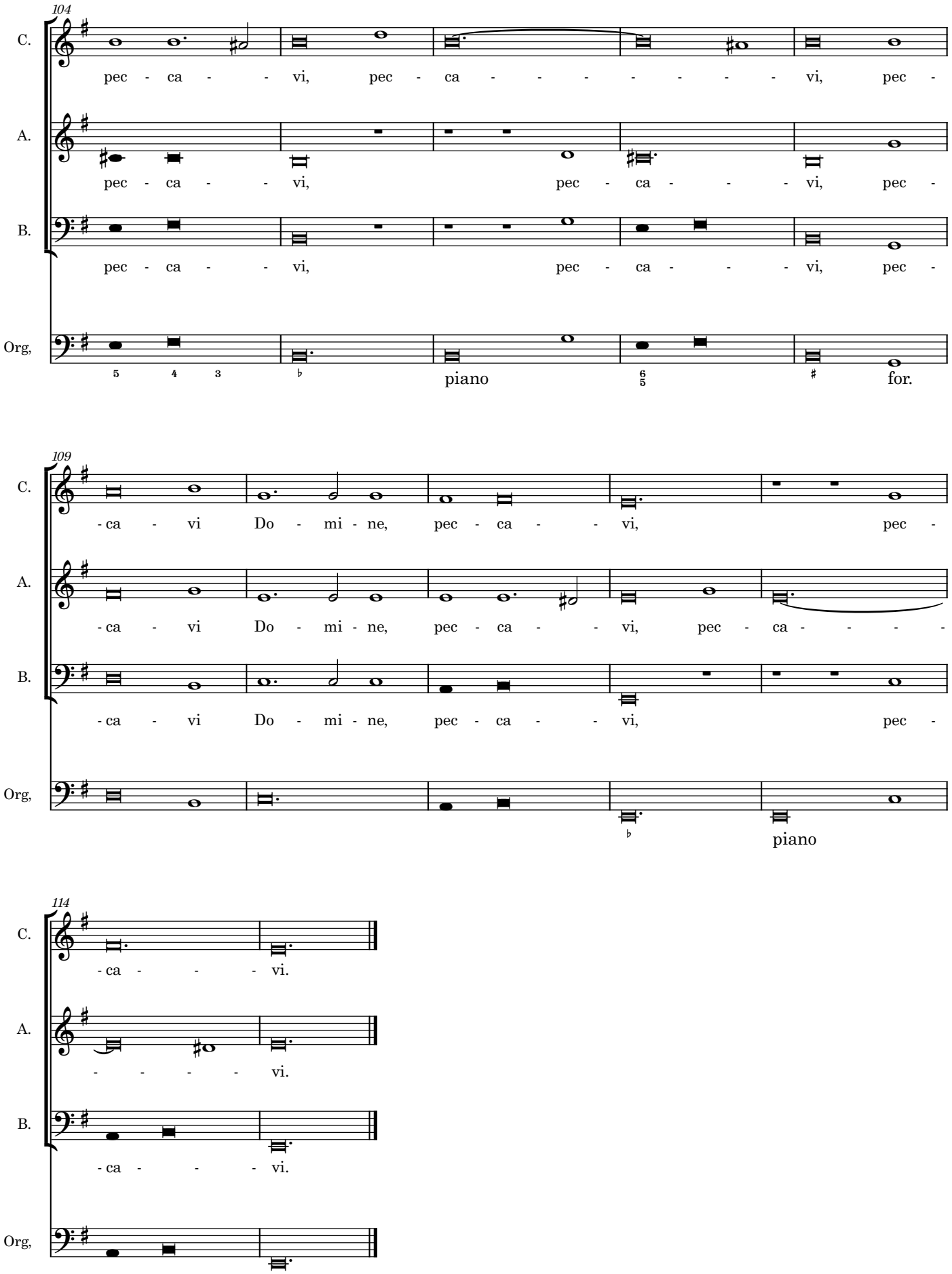

40
C.
- ca - - - - - - vi, pec - - ca - - - -
A.
pec - - ca - - - - - - vi, pec - ca - - - -
B.
- ca - - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - - ca - - - - - - - -
Org,
48
C.
- - - vi. Ne dam - nes me,
A.
- - - vi. Ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - -
B.
- - - vi.
Org,
53
C.
ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - -
A.
- vi, ne dam - nes me,
B.
Org,


56
C.
- - vi,
ne dam - nes me,
A.
ne dam - nes me,
B.
Ne dam - nes me,
in te spe - ra - - - - - - -
Org,
59
C.
ne dam - nes me,
A.
ne dam - nes me,
ne dam - nes
B.
- - - vi,
in te spe - ra - - - - vi,
Org,
62
C.
ne dam - nes me,
in te spe - ra - - -
A.
me,
in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - -
B.
in te spe - ra - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - -
Org,


65
C.
A.
B.
Org,
68
-vi, ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - vi,
-vi, ne dam - nes me, in te spe -
-vi, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - -
71
in te spe - ra - - - vi, pec - ca - - vi Do -
-ra - - - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - vi,
- vi, in te spe - ra - vi,


77
C.
- mi - ne, pec - - ca - - - - - - - vi,
A.
pec - - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - - ca - - - -
B.
pec - - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne, pec -
Org,
85
C.
pec - - ca - - - - - - - vi,
A.
- - - vi, pec - ca - - - - - - - vi, ne dam - nes
B.
- - ca - - - - - - - - - - - - - vi, ne dam - nes me,
Org,
91
C.
ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - -
A.
me, ne dam - nes me,
B.
in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - - -
Org,


94
C.
- - - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - vi,
A.
ne dam - nes me, ne dam - nes
B.
- - - - - - vi, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - vi,
Org,
97
C.
ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - -
A.
me in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - - -
B.
ne dam - nes me, in te spe - ra - - - - - - - - - -
Org,
100
C.
- - - - - - vi, pec - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne,
A.
- - - - - - vi, pec - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne,
B.
- - - - - - vi, pec - ca - - vi Do - mi - ne,
Org,


104
C.
pec - ca - - vi, pec - ca - - - - - - - vi, pec -
A.
pec - ca - - vi, pec - ca - - - vi, pec -
B.
pec - ca - - vi, pec - ca - - - vi, pec -
Org,
5 4 3
piano
6 5
for.
109
C.
- ca - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - ca - - vi, pec -
A.
- ca - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - ca - - vi, pec - ca - - - -
B.
- ca - vi Do - mi - ne, pec - ca - - vi, pec -
Org,
piano
114
C.
- ca - - - vi.
A.
- - - - vi.
B.
- ca - - - vi.
Org,

Ecce qui mortis

FdS1647.21

Carlo Cecchelli

Sinfonia

Violin I
Violin II
Cantus I
Cantus II
Altus I
Altus II
Tenor I
Tenor II
Bassus
Basso continuo

5

Vln. I
Vln. II
B.c.

11

Vln. I
Vln. II
B.c.

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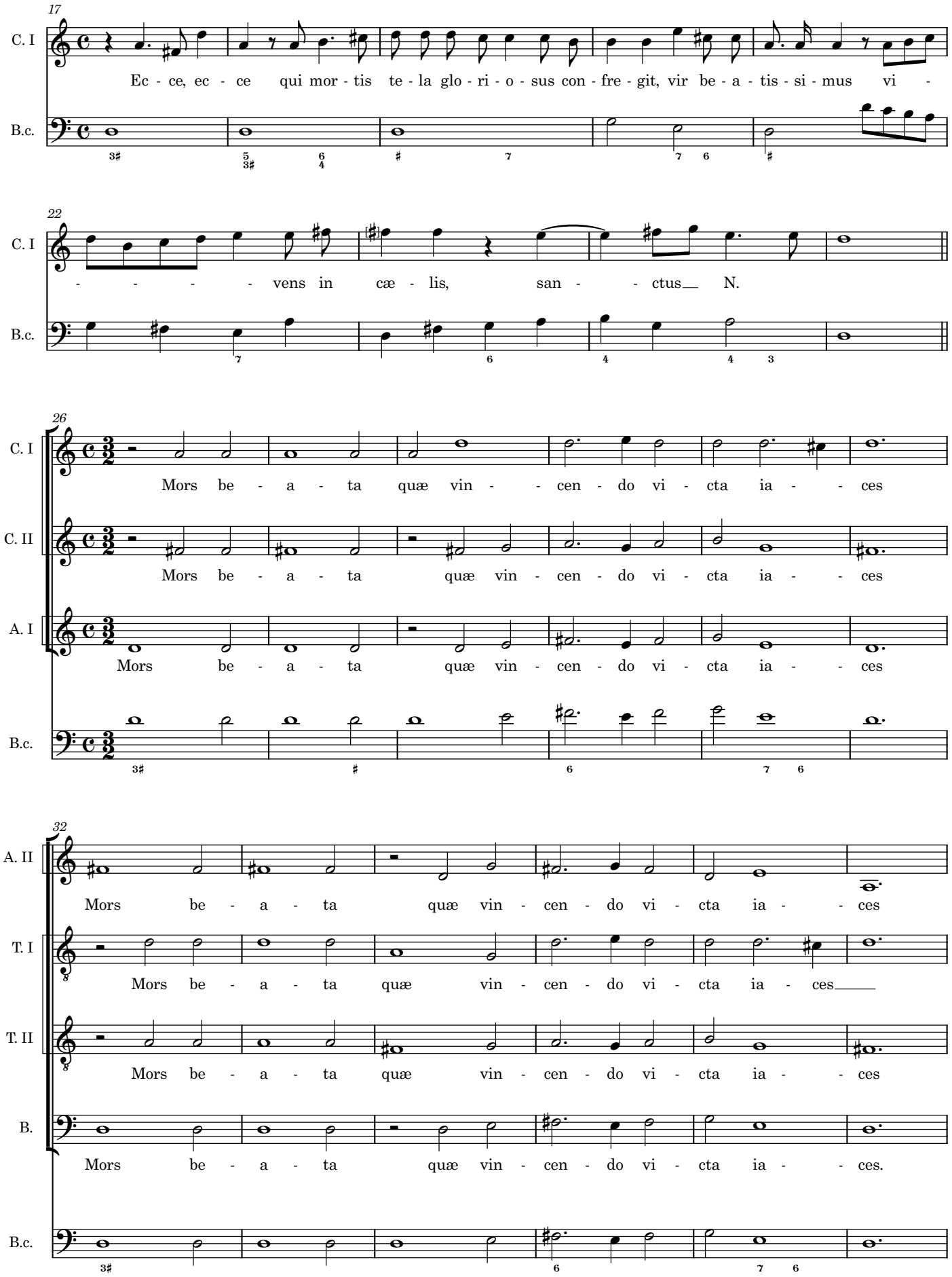
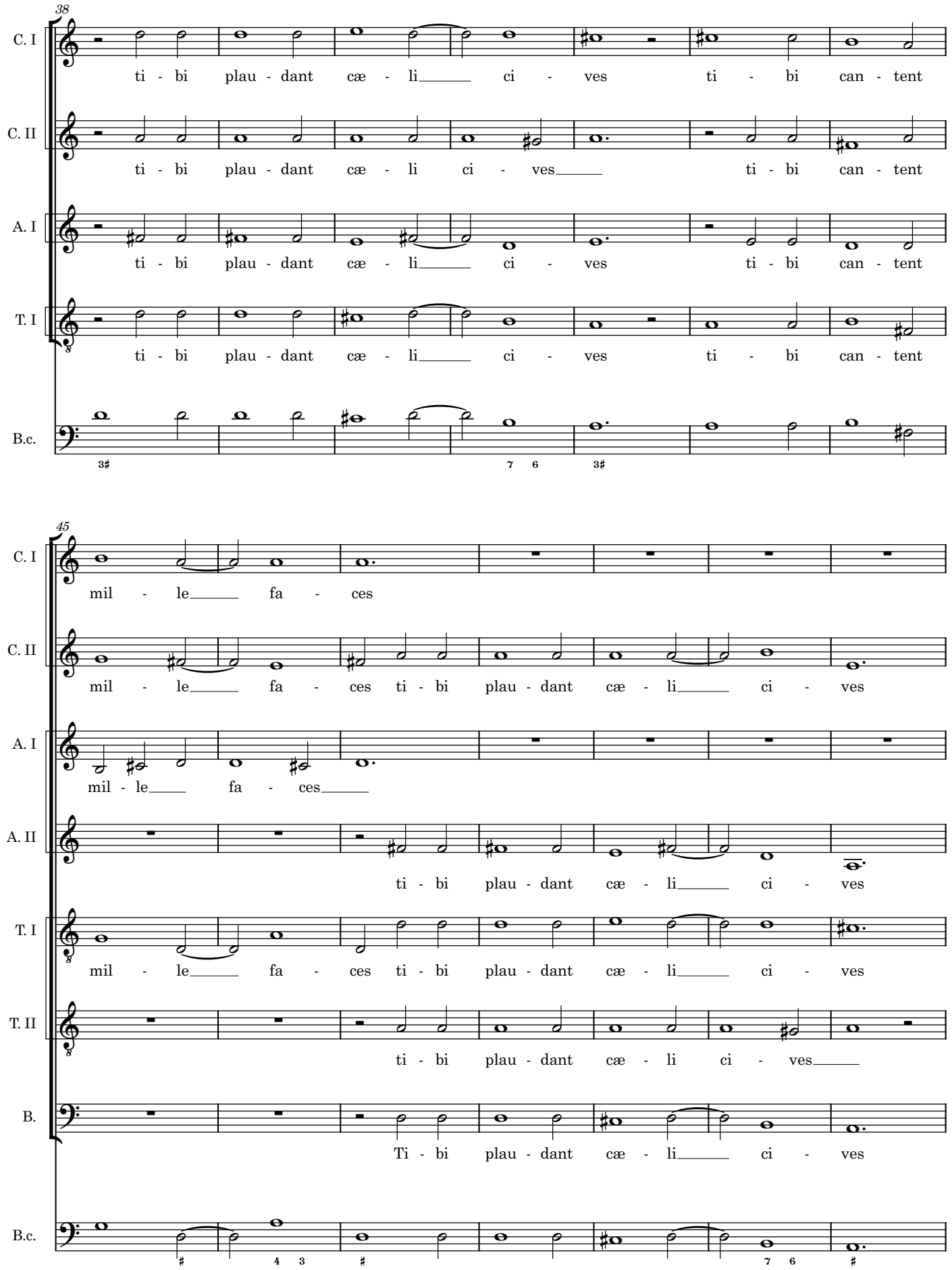

17
C. I
Ec - ce, ec - ce qui mor - tis te - la glo - ri - o - sus con - fre - git, vir be - a - tis - si - mus vi -
B.c.
22
C. I
- - - - vens in cæ - lis, san - - ctus N.
B.c.
26
C. I
Mors be - a - ta quæ vin - - cen - do vi - cta ia - - ces
C. II
Mors be - a - ta quæ vin - cen - do vi - cta ia - - ces
A. I
Mors be - a - ta quæ vin - cen - do vi - cta ia - - ces
B.c.
32
A. II
Mors be - a - ta quæ vin - cen - do vi - cta ia - - ces
T. I
Mors be - a - ta quæ vin - cen - do vi - cta ia - ces
T. II
Mors be - a - ta quæ vin - cen - do vi - cta ia - - ces
B.
Mors be - a - ta quæ vin - cen - do vi - cta ia - - ces.
B.c.


38
C. I
ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves ti - bi can - tent
C. II
ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves ti - bi can - tent
A. I
ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves ti - bi can - tent
T. I
ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves ti - bi can - tent
B.c.
45
C. I
mil - le fa - ces
C. II
mil - le fa - ces ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves
A. I
mil - le fa - ces
A. II
ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves
T. I
mil - le fa - ces ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves
T. II
ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves
B.
Ti - bi plau - dant cæ - li ci - ves
B.c.

52

C. II: ti - bi can - tent mil - - le fa - - - ces

A. II: ti - bi can - tent mil - le fa - - - ces

T. I: ti - bi can - tent mil - - le fa - - ces.

T. II: ti - - bi can - tent mil - - le fa - - ces

B.: ti - - bi can - tent mil - - le fa - - ces

B.c.: 6 ♯ 4 3

57

C. I: tur - ba gau - de gau - - de dum ex - ul - tat cæ - li vox tan - tæ

C. II: tur - ba gau - de dum ex - ul - tant cæ - li vox

A. I: tur - - ba gau - de dum ex - ul - tat cæ - li vox, tan - tæ

A. II: tur - ba gau - de

T. I: tur - ba gau - - de gau - de tan - tæ

T. II: tur - ba gau - de

B.: tur - - ba gau - de

B.c.: ♯ ♯ 6 5

60

C. I: mor - ti plau - de plau - de il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox

C. II: dum ex - ul - tat cæ - li vox

A. I: mor - ti plau - de, plau - de il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox tan - tæ

A. II: dum ex - ul - tat cæ - li vox tan - tæ

T. I: mor - ti plau - de plau - de il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox.

T. II: dum ex - ul - tat cæ - li vox tan - tæ

B.: dum ex - ul - tat cæ - li vox

B.c.: 6 5 #6 5 # 6 5 # 6 5 #

63

C. I: il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox.

C. II: il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox.

A. I: mor - ti plau - de, plau - de il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox.

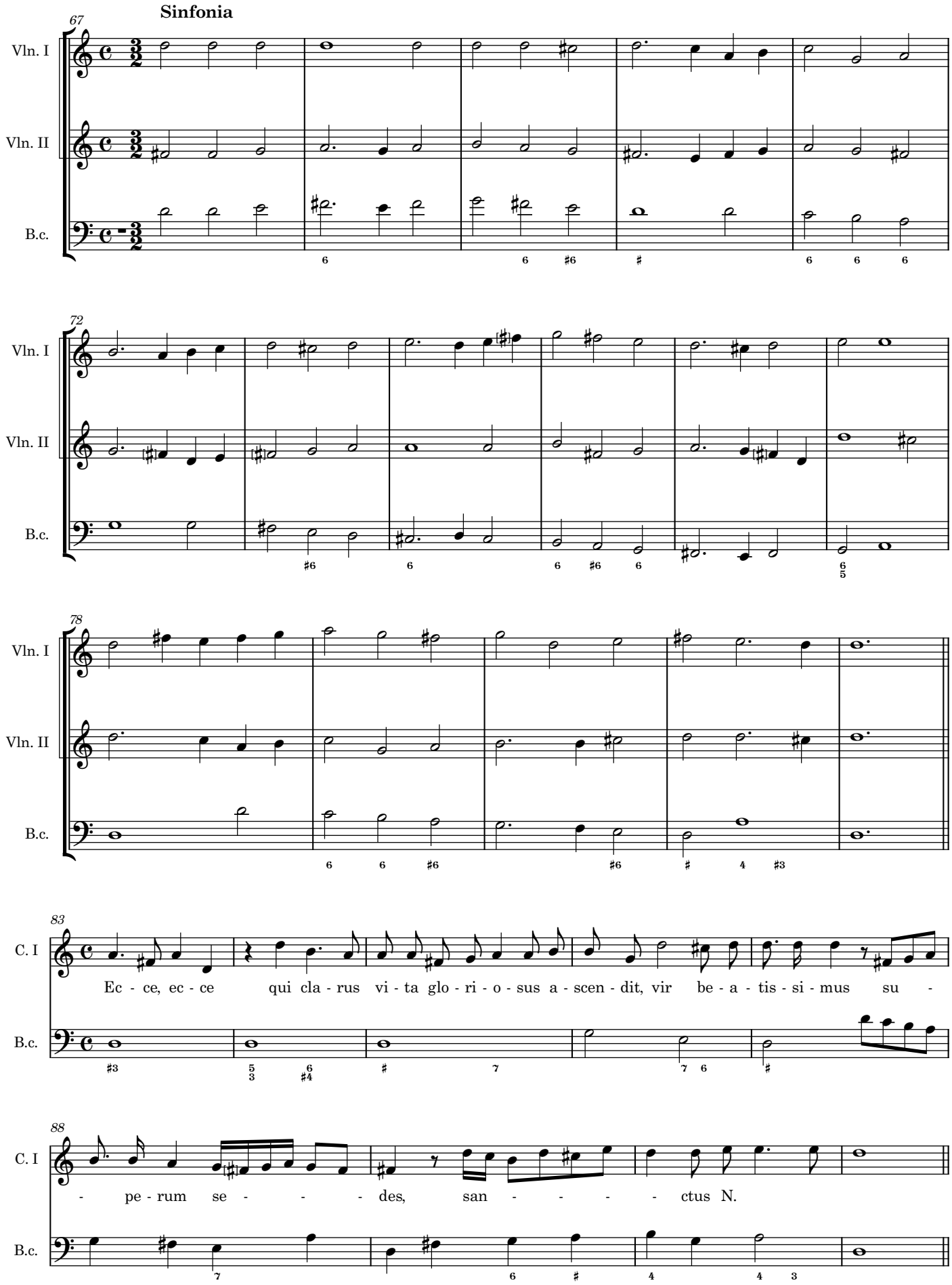
A. II: mor - ti plau - de plau - de il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox.

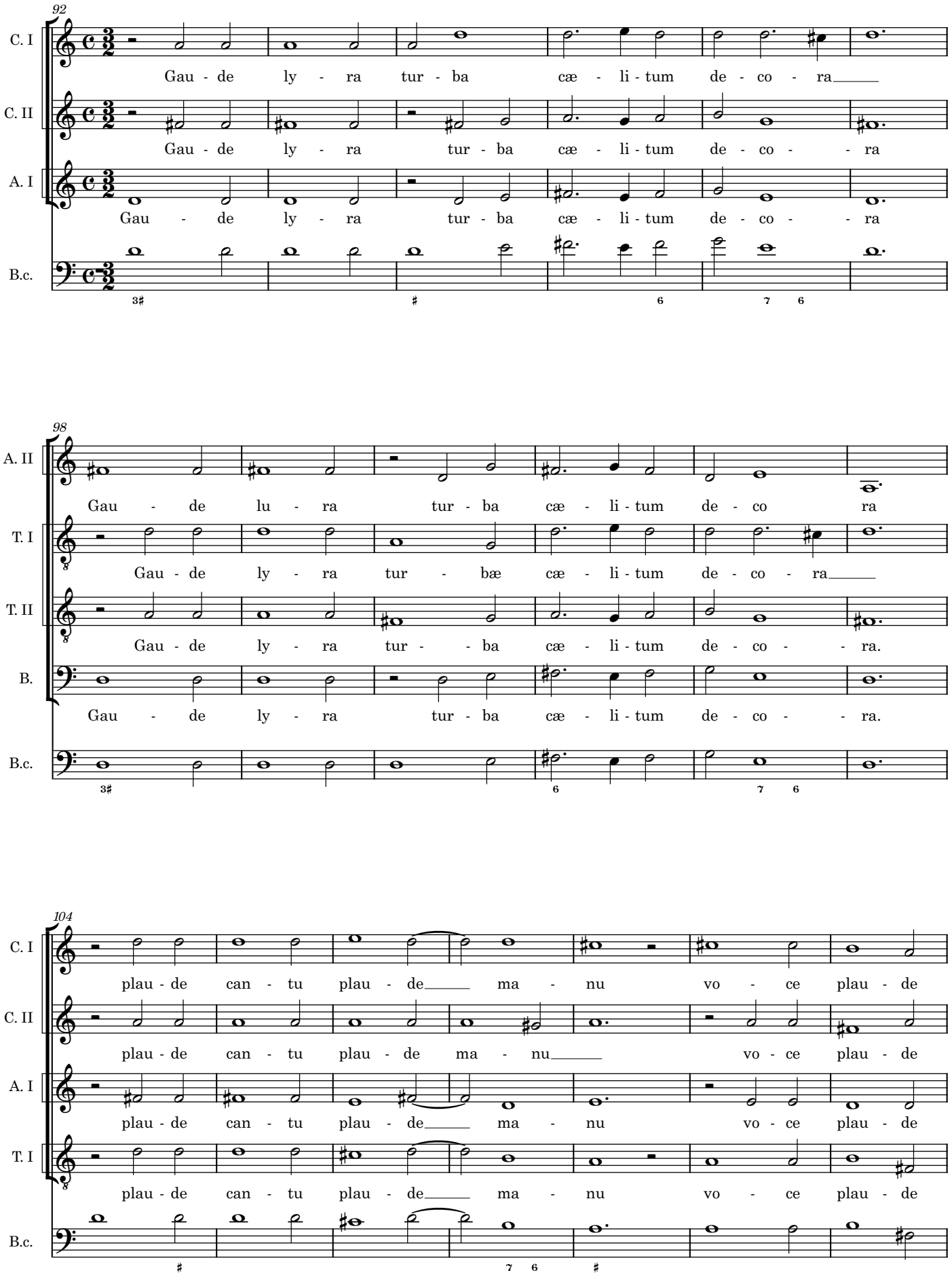
T. I: il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox.

T. II: mor - ti plau - de plau - de il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox.

B.: il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox il - lu - stra - ta gau - de nox.

B.c.: 6 5 # 4 4 3 4 3


Sinfonia
67
Vln. I
Vln. II
B.c.
72
78
C. I
Ec - ce, ec - ce qui cla - rus vi - ta glo - ri - o - sus a - scen - dit, vir be - a - tis - si - mus su -
83
- pe - rum se - - - des, san - - - - ctus N.
88


92
C. I
Gau - de ly - ra tur - ba cæ - li - tum de - co - ra
C. II
Gau - de ly - ra tur - ba cæ - li - tum de - co - ra
A. I
Gau - de ly - ra tur - ba cæ - li - tum de - co - ra
B.c.
98
A. II
Gau - de lu - ra tur - ba cæ - li - tum de - co ra
T. I
Gau - de ly - ra tur - bæ cæ - li - tum de - co - ra
T. II
Gau - de ly - ra tur - ba cæ - li - tum de - co - ra.
B.
Gau - de ly - ra tur - ba cæ - li - tum de - co - ra.
B.c.
104
C. I
plau - de can - tu plau - de ma - nu vo - ce plau - de
C. II
plau - de can - tu plau - de ma - nu vo - ce plau - de
A. I
plau - de can - tu plau - de ma - nu vo - ce plau - de
T. I
plau - de can - tu plau - de ma - nu vo - ce plau - de
B.c.

111

C. I: ter so - - no - ra

C. II: ter so - - no - ra plau - de can - tu plau - de ma - nu

A. I: ter so - - no - - ra

A. II: plau - de can - tu plau - de ma - nu

T. I: ter so - - no - ra plau - de can - tu plau - de ma - nu

T. II: plau - de can - tu plau - de ma - nu

B.: Plau - de can - tu Plau - de ma - nu

B.c.: 4 3 7 6

118

C. I: quam be - a - -

C. II: vo - ce plau - de ter so - no - - ra quam be - a - ta

A. I: quam be -

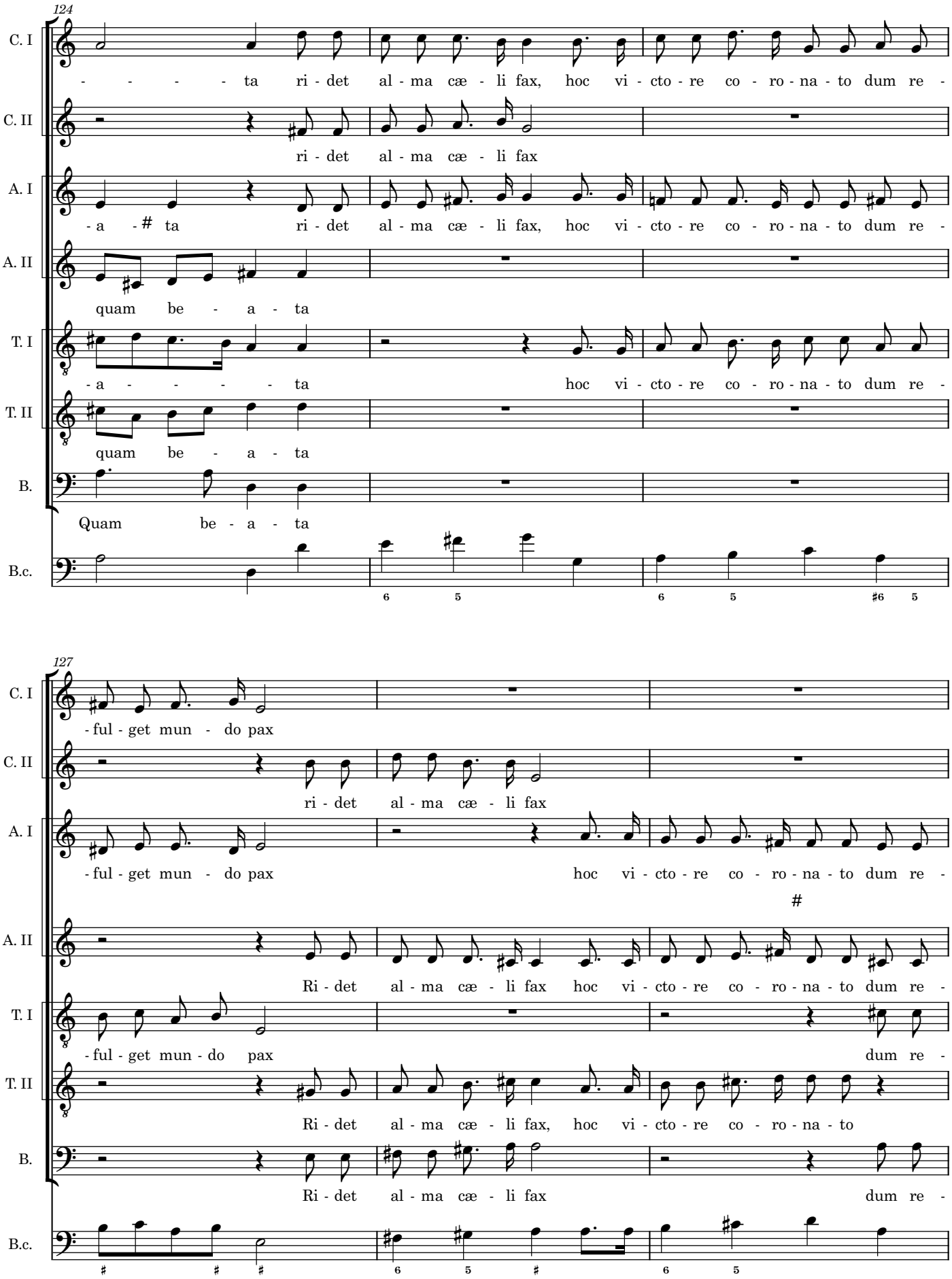
A. II: vo - ce plau - de ter so - - no - - ra

T. I: vo - ce plau - de ter so - - no - - ra quam be -

T. II: vo - ce plau - de ter so - - no - ra

B.: vo - ce plau - de ter so - - no - - ra

B.c.: 6 4 3


124
C. I
- - - - - ta ri - det al - ma cæ - li fax, hoc vi - cto - re co - ro - na - to dum re -
C. II
ri - det al - ma cæ - li fax
A. I
- a - # ta ri - det al - ma cæ - li fax, hoc vi - cto - re co - ro - na - to dum re -
A. II
quam be - a - ta
T. I
- a - - - - - ta hoc vi - cto - re co - ro - na - to dum re -
T. II
quam be - a - ta
B.
Quam be - a - ta
B.c.
127
C. I
- ful - get mun - do pax
C. II
ri - det al - ma cæ - li fax
A. I
- ful - get mun - do pax hoc vi - cto - re co - ro - na - to dum re -
A. II
Ri - det al - ma cæ - li fax hoc vi - cto - re co - ro - na - to dum re -
T. I
- ful - get mun - do pax dum re -
T. II
Ri - det al - ma cæ - li fax, hoc vi - cto - re co - ro - na - to
B.
Ri - det al - ma cæ - li fax dum re -
B.c.

130

C. I: dum re - ful - get mun - do pax.

C. II: dum re - ful - get mun - do pax.

A. I: - ful - get mun - do pax, dum re - ful - - get mun - do pax.

A. II: - ful - get mun - do pax, dum re - ful - get mun - do pax.

T. I: - ful - get mun - do pax, dum re - ful - get mun - do pax.

T. II: dum re - ful - get mun - do pax.

B.: - ful - get mun - do pax dum re - ful - get mun - do pax.

B.c.: 4 4 5 4 3

Sinfonia

133

Vln. I

Vln. II

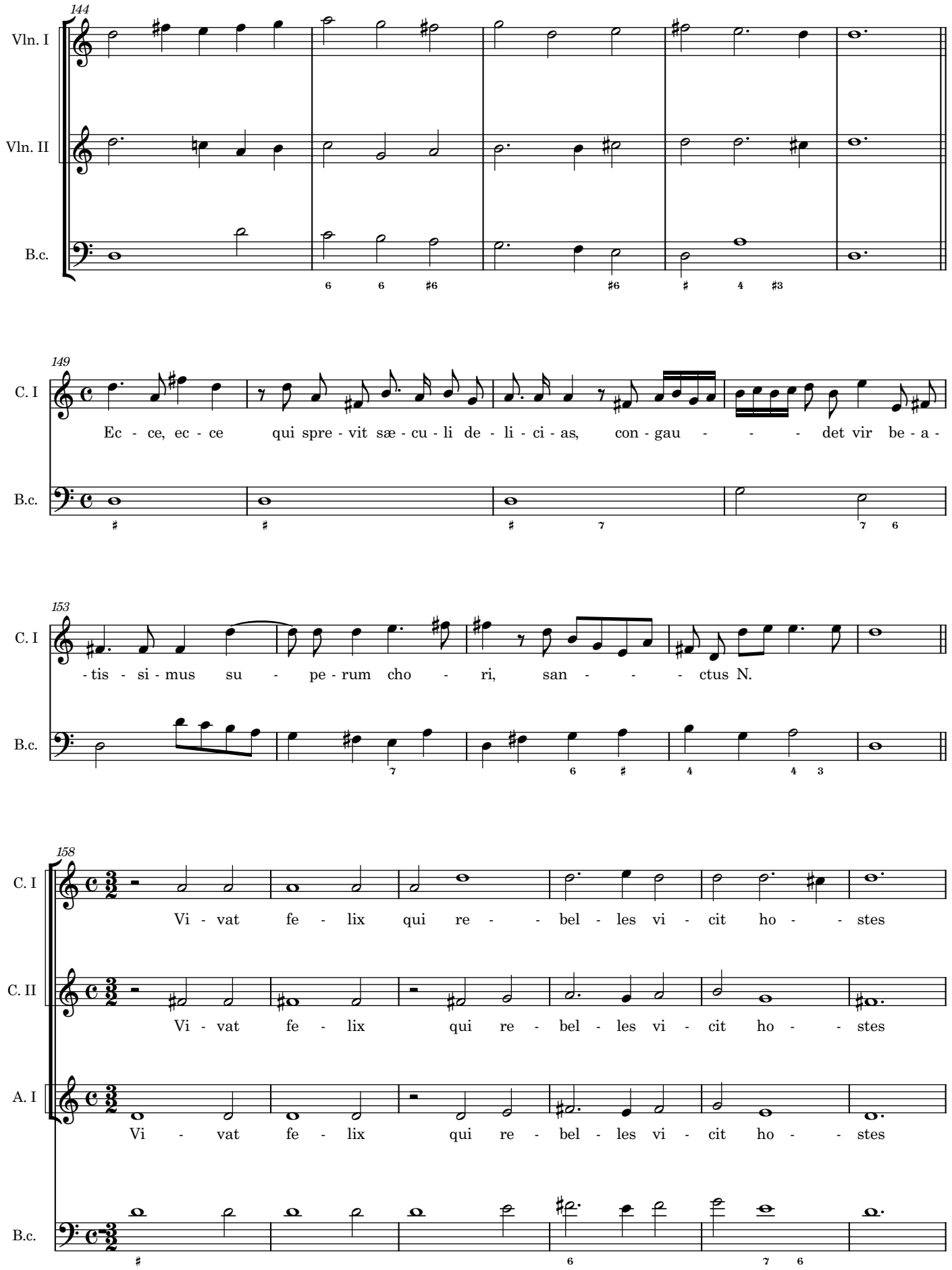
B.c.: 6 6 #6 # 6 6 6

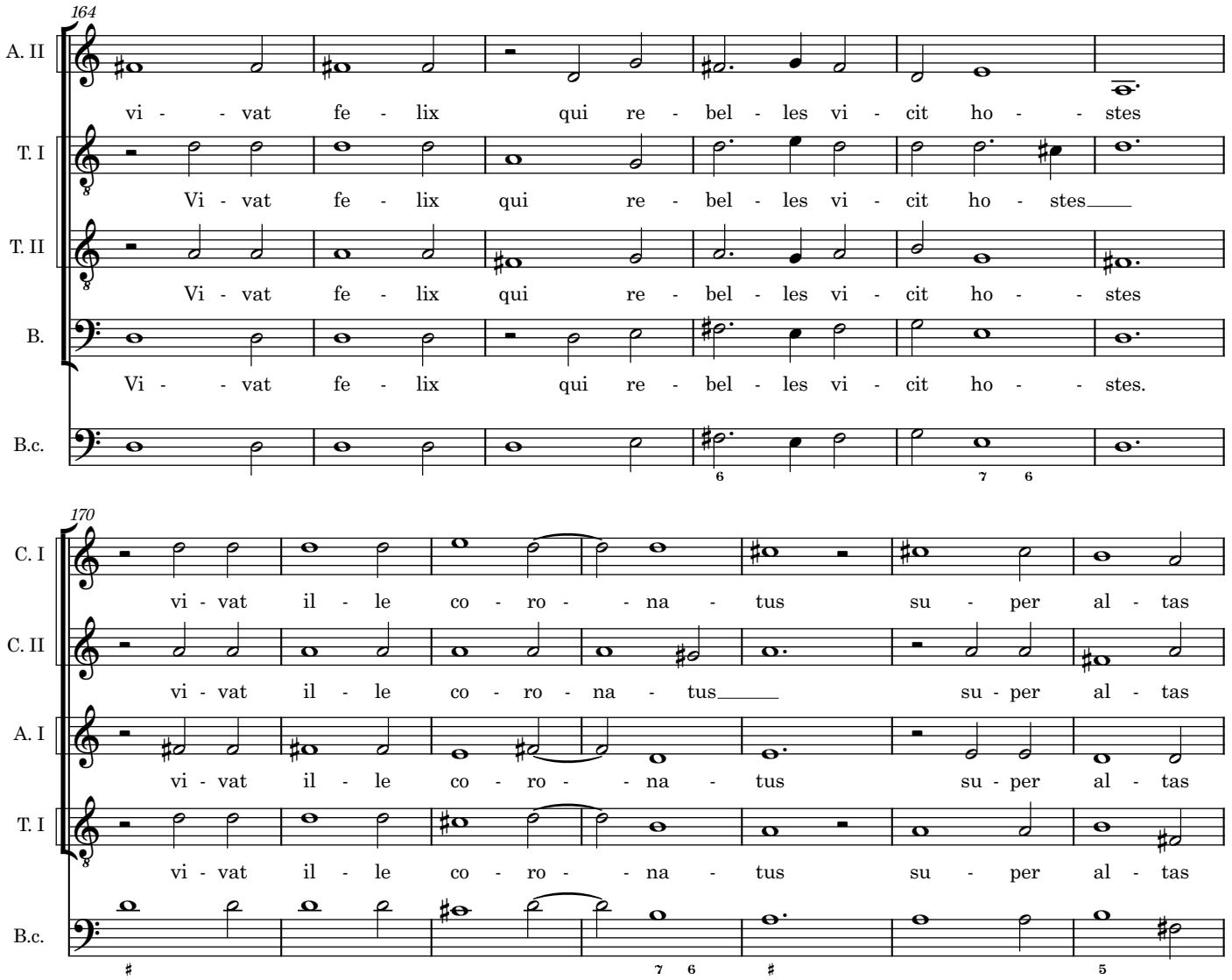
138

Vln. I

Vln. II

B.c.: #6 6 6 #6 6 6 5


144
Vln. I
Vln. II
B.c.
149
C. I
Ec - ce, ec - ce qui spre - vit sæ - cu - li de - li - ci - as, con - gau - - - det vir be - a -
B.c.
153
C. I
- tis - si - mus su - pe - rum cho - ri, san - - - ctus N.
B.c.
158
C. I
Vi - vat fe - lix qui re - - bel - les vi - cit ho - - stes
C. II
Vi - vat fe - lix qui re - bel - les vi - cit ho - - stes
A. I
Vi - vat fe - lix qui re - bel - les vi - cit ho - - stes
B.c.


164
A. II
vi - - vat fe - lix qui re - bel - les vi - cit ho - - stes
T. I
Vi - vat fe - lix qui re - bel - les vi - cit ho - stes
T. II
Vi - vat fe - lix qui re - bel - les vi - cit ho - - stes
B.
Vi - - vat fe - lix qui re - bel - les vi - cit ho - - stes.
B.c.
170
C. I
vi - vat il - le co - ro - - na - tus su - per al - tas
C. II
vi - vat il - le co - ro - na - tus su - per al - tas
A. I
vi - vat il - le co - ro - - na - tus su - per al - tas
T. I
vi - vat il - le co - ro - - na - tus su - per al - tas
B.c.

177

C. I: cæ - li po - stes

C. II: cæ - li po - stes vi - vat il - le co - ro - na - tus

A. I: cæ - li po - stes

A. II: vi - vat il - le co - ro - na - tus

T. I: cæ - li po - stes, vi - vat il - le co - ro - na - tus

T. II: vi - vat il - le co - ro na - tus

B.: Vi - vat il - le co - ro - na - tus

B.c.: 4 3 7 6

184

C. II: su - per al - tas cæ - li po - stes

A. II: su - per al - tas cæ - li po - stes

T. I: su - per al - tas cæ - li po - stes

T. II: su - per al - tas cæ - li po - stes

B.: su - per al - tas cæ - li po - stes

B.c.: 6

189

C. I: tri - um - pha - - - - - - tor cæ - lis ar - det no - va lux, is - te

C. II: tri - um - pha - tor cæ - lis ar - det no - va lux,

A. I: tri - - um - pha - tor cæ - lis ar - det no - va lux is - te

A. II: tri - um - pha - tor

T. I: tri - um - - pha - - - tor is - te

T. II: tri - um - pha - tor

B.: tri - - um - pha - tor

B.c.

192

C. I: cæ - lo sit be - a - tus re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti dux

C. II: cæ - lis ar - det no - va lux

A. I: cæ - lo sit be - a - tus re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti dux is - te

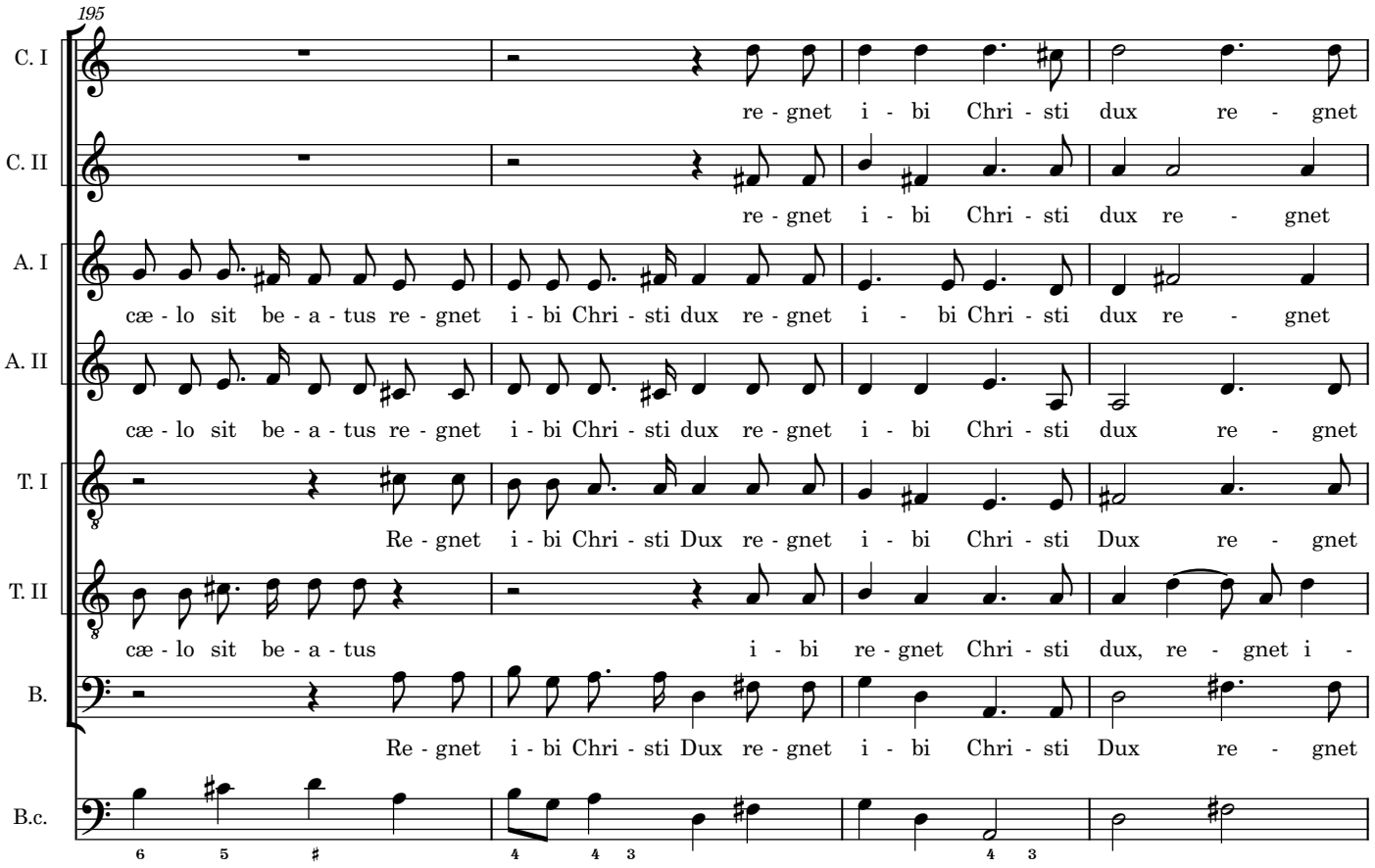
A. II: cæ - lis ar - det no - va lux Is - te

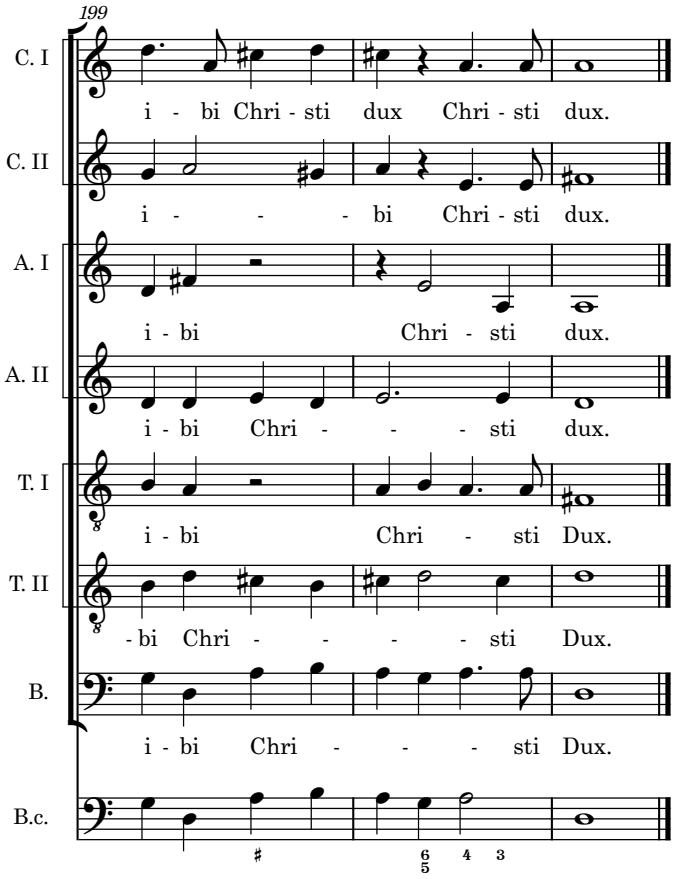
T. I: cæ - lo sit be - a - tus re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti Dux

T. II: cæ - li ar - det no - va lux, Is - te

B.: cæ - lis ar - det no - va lux

B.c.

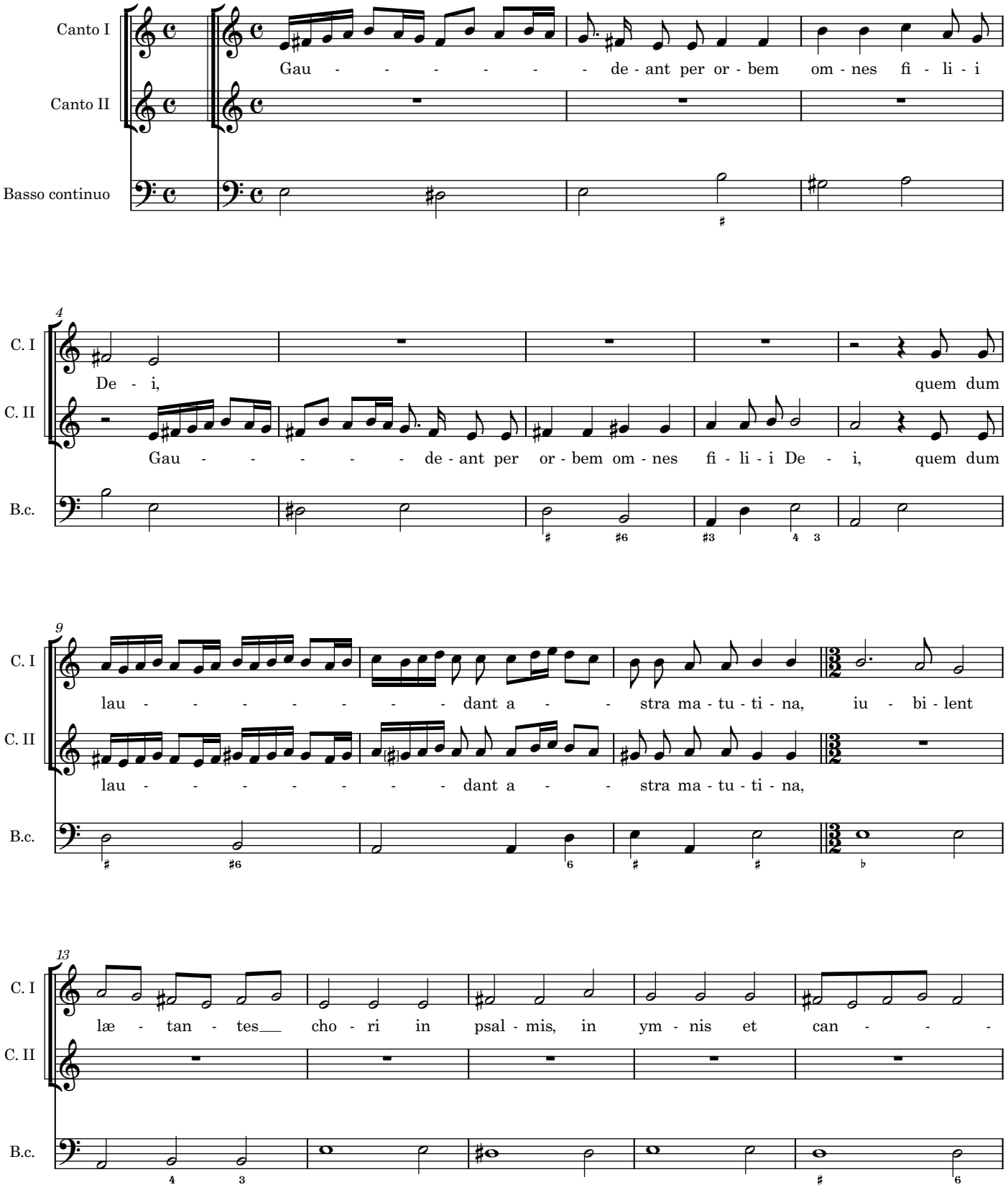

195
C. I
re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti dux re - gnet
C. II
re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti dux re - gnet
A. I
cæ - lo sit be - a - tus re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti dux re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti dux re - gnet
A. II
cæ - lo sit be - a - tus re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti dux re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti dux re - gnet
T. I
Re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti Dux re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti Dux re - gnet
T. II
cæ - lo sit be - a - tus i - bi re - gnet Chri - sti dux, re - gnet i -
B.
Re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti Dux re - gnet i - bi Chri - sti Dux re - gnet
B.c.


199
C. I
i - bi Chri - sti dux Chri - sti dux.
C. II
i - - - bi Chri - sti dux.
A. I
i - bi Chri - sti dux.
A. II
i - bi Chri - - - sti dux.
T. I
i - bi Chri - sti Dux.
T. II
- bi Chri - - - - sti Dux.
B.
i - bi Chri - - - sti Dux.
B.c.

Gaudeant per orbem

FdS1672.12

Silvestro Durante



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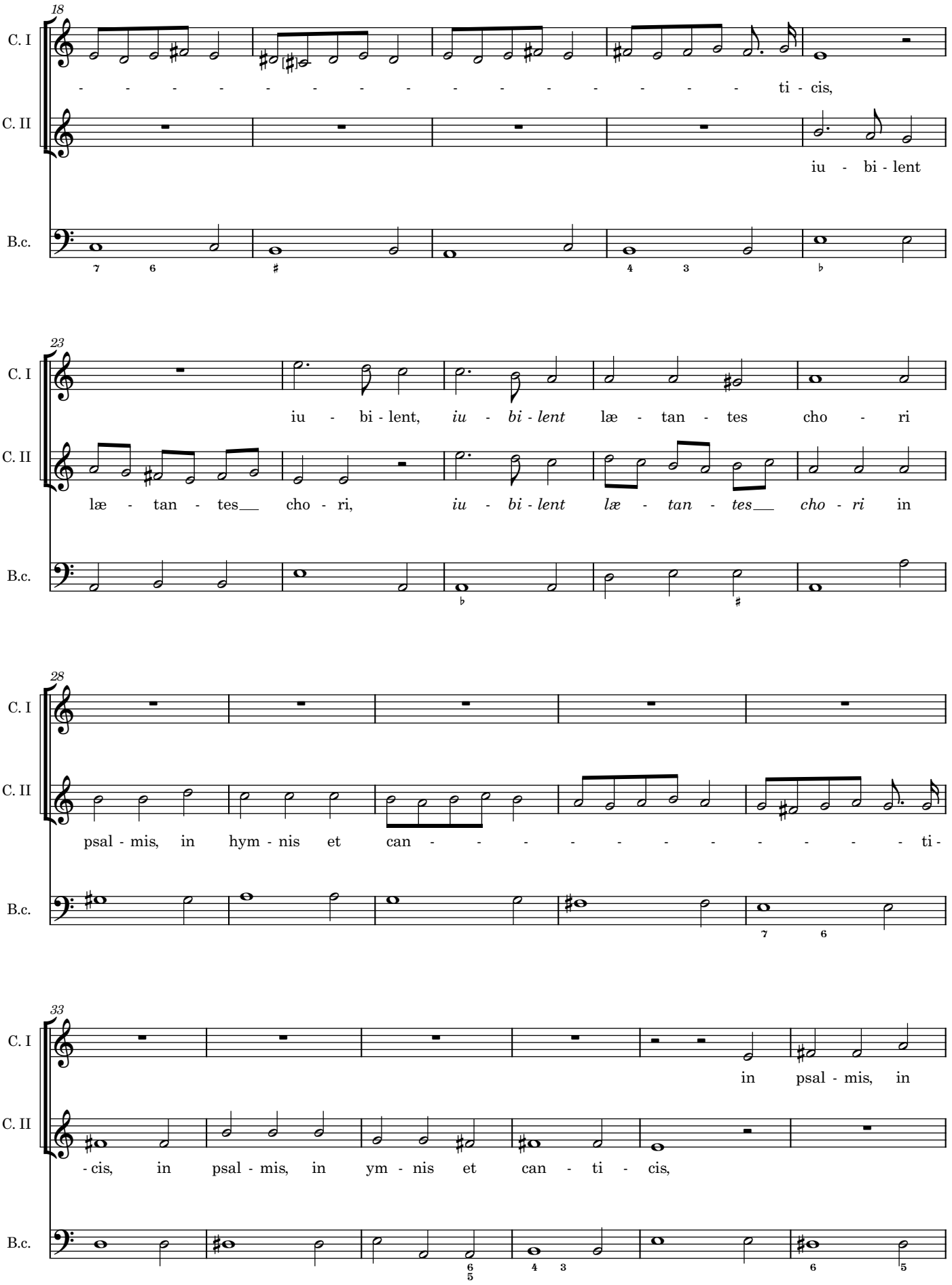

18
C. I
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ti - cis,
C. II
iu - bi - lent
B.c.
23
C. I
iu - bi - lent, *iu - bi - lent* læ - tan - tes cho - ri
C. II
læ - tan - tes cho - ri, *iu - bi - lent læ - tan - tes cho - ri* in
B.c.
28
C. I
C. II
psal - mis, in hym - nis et can - - - - - - - - - - - ti -
B.c.
33
C. I
in psal - mis, in
C. II
- cis, in psal - mis, in ym - nis et can - ti - cis,
B.c.

39

C. I: hym - nis, *in psal - mis, in hym - nis* et can - - - - - - - -

C. II: in psal - mis, in hym - nis et can - - - - - - - -

B.c.

44

C. I: - - - - - - - - ti - cis, in psal - mis, in hym - nis et

C. II: - - - - - - - - ti - cis, in psal - mis, in hym - nis et

B.c.

49

C. I: can - ti - - cis, in gra - ti - a can - tan - tes, in cor - di - bus læ - tan - tes,

C. II: can - ti - - cis, in gra - ti - a can -

B.c.

53

C. I: in gra - ti - a can - tan - tes, in cor - di - bus læ -

C. II: - tan - tes, in cor - di - bus læ - tan - tes, in gra - ti - a can - tan - tes, in cor - di - bus læ -

B.c.

56

C. I

-tan - tes, læ - tan - - - - - - - - - - - - - - tes,

C. II

-tan - tes, læ - tan - - - - - - - - - - - - - - tes,

B.c.

60

C. I

et dum ir - ra - di - at cla - ri - o - re lu - ce sa - cra di - es quam co - - - - - -

C. II

B.c.

64

C. I

- - li - mus, re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne,

C. II

re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum

B.c.

67

C. I

re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne, re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ,

C. II

ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne, *re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ,* re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum

B.c.

70

C. I re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne,

C. II ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne, cum ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne, et dum ir - ra - di - at

B.c.

73

C. I *re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum*

C. II cla - ri - o - re lu - ce sa - cra di - es, quam co - li - mus,

B.c.

76

C. I *ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne,* re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne,

C. II re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne, *re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum*

B.c.

79

C. I re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ, re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne,

C. II *ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne,* re - so - nent et ci - tha - ræ cum ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne,

B.c.

82

C. I: et nos gau - den - tes vo - - - ci - bus no - stris, ex - al - te - - - - - mus

C. II

B.c.

86

C. I: sa - cris, et can - ta - bi - mur can - ti - cum no - vum

C. II: et can - ta - bi - tur can - ti - cum no - vum in

B.c.

89

C. I: in ci - tha - ris et cym - ba - lis cum

C. II: ci - tha - ris et cym - ba - lis cum iu - bi - la - ti - o - ne,

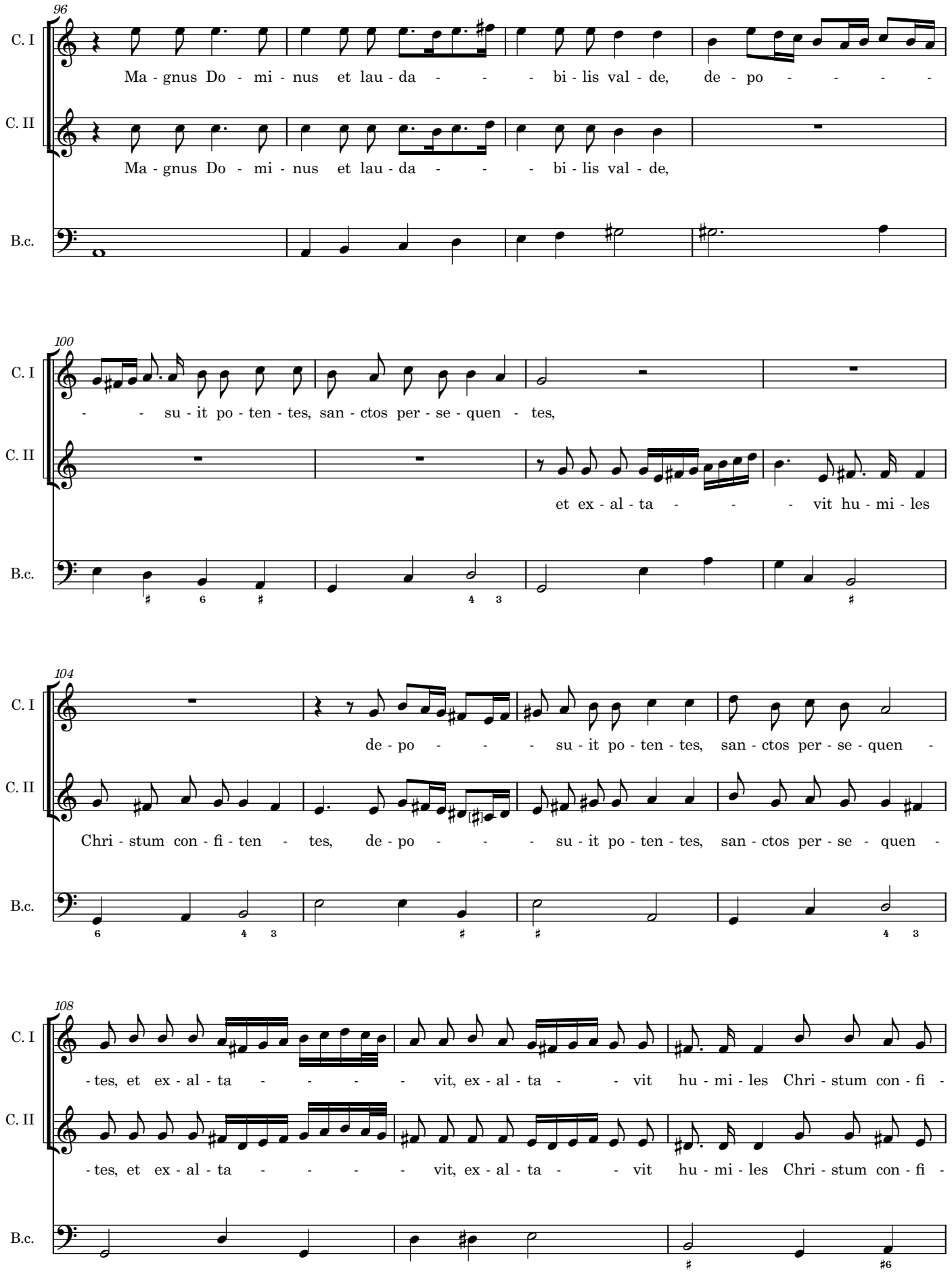
B.c.

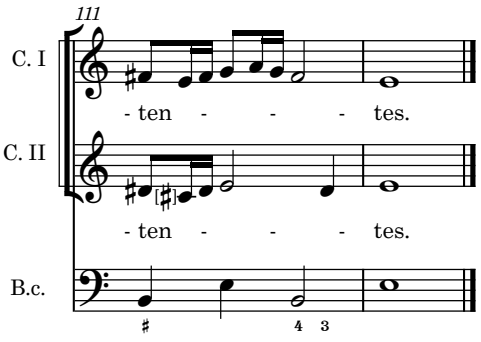
92

C. I: iu - bi - la - ti - o - ne, in ci - tha - ris et cym - ba - lis cum iu - bi - la - ti - o - ne.

C. II: *in ci - tha - ris et cym - ba - lis* cum iu - bi - la - ti - o - ne.

B.c.

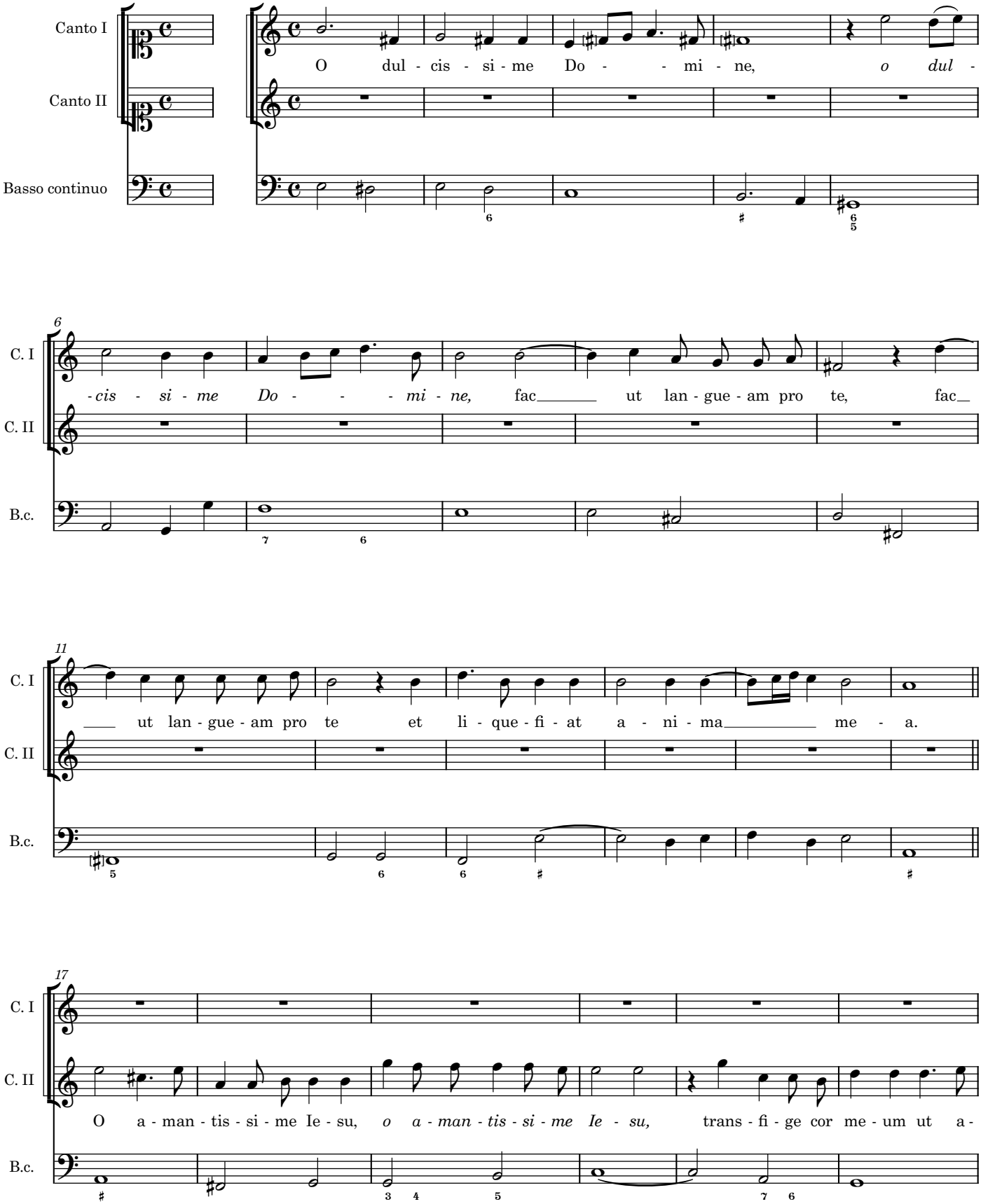

96
C. I
Ma - gnus Do - mi - nus et lau - da - - - bi - lis val - de, de - po - - - - -
C. II
Ma - gnus Do - mi - nus et lau - da - - - bi - lis val - de,
B.c.
100
C. I
- - su - it po - ten - tes, san - ctos per - se - quen - tes,
C. II
et ex - al - ta - - - vit hu - mi - les
B.c.
104
C. I
de - po - - - su - it po - ten - tes, san - ctos per - se - quen -
C. II
Chri - stum con - fi - ten - tes, de - po - - - su - it po - ten - tes, san - ctos per - se - quen -
B.c.
108
C. I
- tes, et ex - al - ta - - - - vit, ex - al - ta - - vit hu - mi - les Chri - stum con - fi -
C. II
- tes, et ex - al - ta - - - - vit, ex - al - ta - - vit hu - mi - les Chri - stum con - fi -
B.c.


111
C. I
- ten - - - tes.
C. II
- ten - - - tes.
B.c.
4 3

O dulcissime Domine

FdS1645.06

Carlo Maria Lancia



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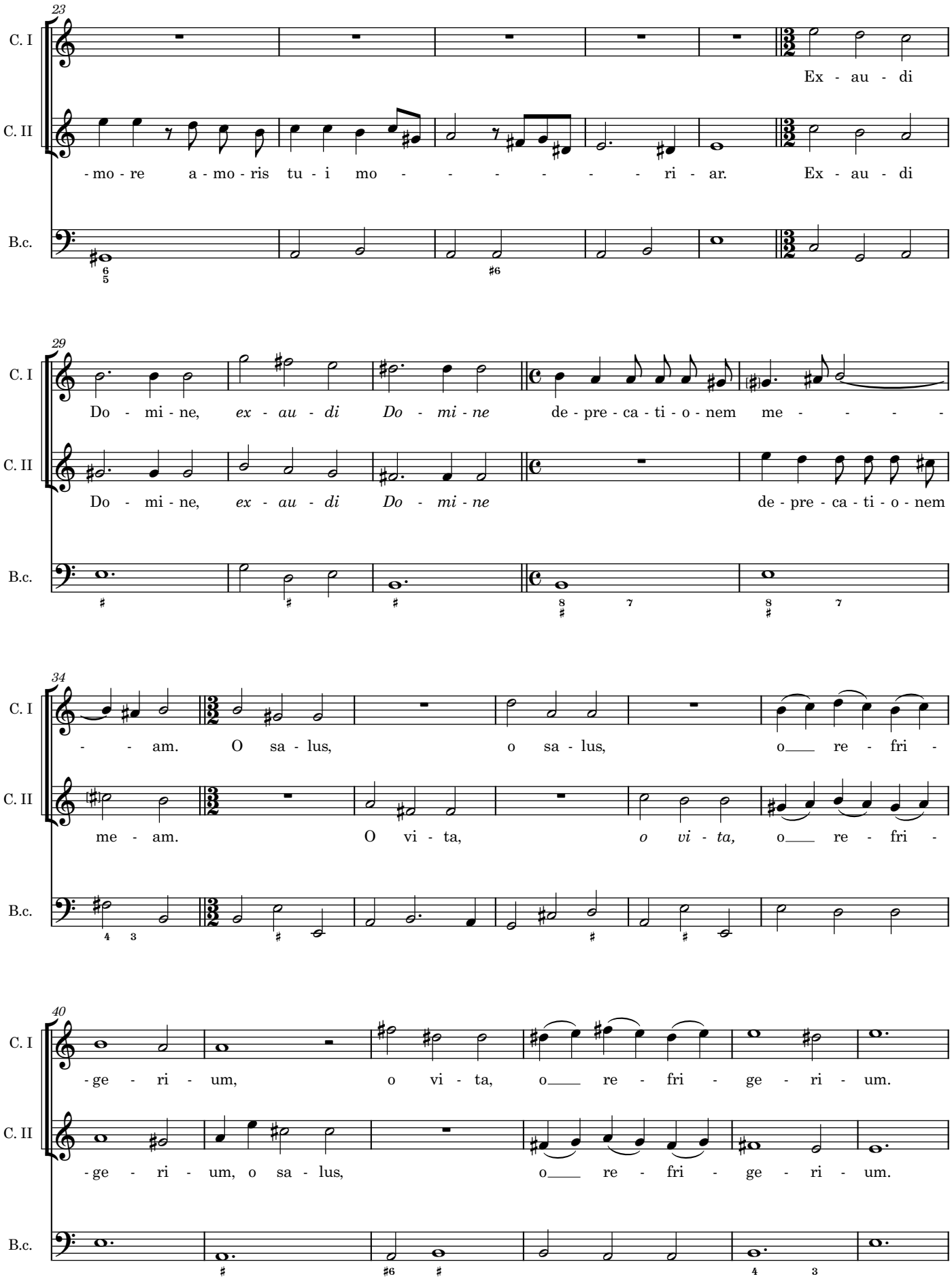
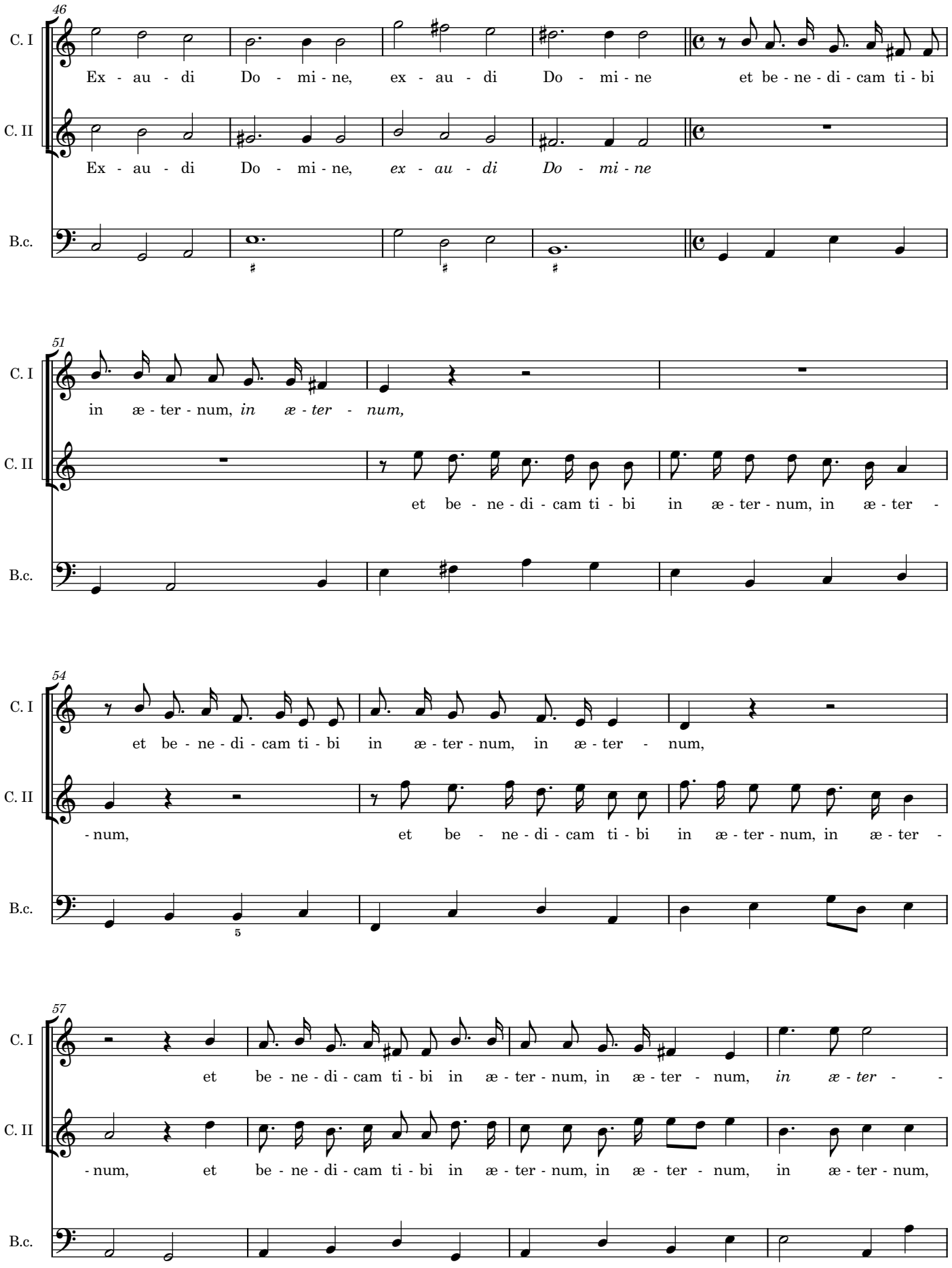
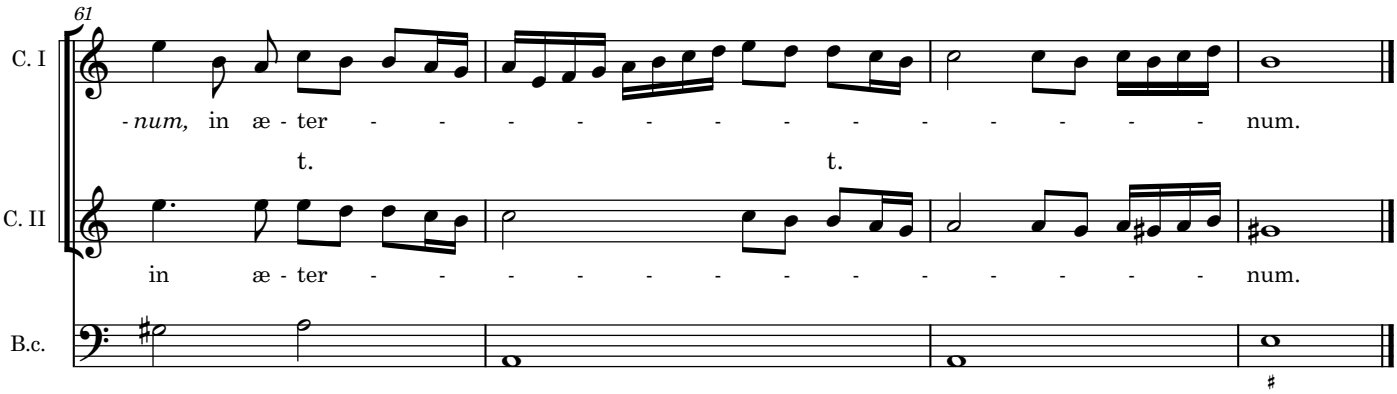

23
C. I
Ex - au - di
C. II
-mo - re a - mo - ris tu - i mo - - - - - - ri - ar. Ex - au - di
B.c.
29
C. I
Do - mi - ne, ex - au - di Do - mi - ne de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem me - - - - -
C. II
Do - mi - ne, ex - au - di Do - mi - ne de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem
B.c.
34
C. I
- - am. O sa - lus, o sa - lus, o re - fri -
C. II
me - am. O vi - ta, o vi - ta, o re - fri -
B.c.
40
C. I
-ge - ri - um, o vi - ta, o re - fri - ge - ri - um.
C. II
-ge - ri - um, o sa - lus, o re - fri - ge - ri - um.
B.c.


46
C. I
Ex - au - di Do - mi - ne, ex - au - di Do - mi - ne et be - ne - di - cam ti - bi
C. II
Ex - au - di Do - mi - ne, ex - au - di Do - mi - ne
B.c.
51
C. I
in æ - ter - num, in æ - ter - num,
C. II
et be - ne - di - cam ti - bi in æ - ter - num, in æ - ter -
B.c.
54
C. I
et be - ne - di - cam ti - bi in æ - ter - num, in æ - ter - num,
C. II
- num, et be - ne - di - cam ti - bi in æ - ter - num, in æ - ter -
B.c.
57
C. I
et be - ne - di - cam ti - bi in æ - ter - num, in æ - ter - num, in æ - ter - -
C. II
- num, et be - ne - di - cam ti - bi in æ - ter - num, in æ - ter - num, in æ - ter - num,
B.c.


61
C. I
-num, in æ - ter - - - - - - - - - - - - num.
t. t.
C. II
in æ - ter - - - - - - - - - - - - num.
B.c.

O miracula

FdS1659.07

Pietro Paolo Vannini

Cantus

Basso continuo

O mi - ra - cu - la, o pro - di - gi - a,

4

C.

B.c.

o mi - ra - cu - la, o pro - di - gi - a, ap - pa - ru - it si - gnum ma - gnum in

9

C.

B.c.

cæ - lo, mu - li - er a - mi - cta so - le cu - ius per - ful - get in ca - pi - te co-

13

C.

B.c.

-ro - na stel - la - - - - - rum du - o - de - cim, et lu - na sub pe - di - bus

17

C.

B.c.

e - - ius. Vi - de - runt e - am fi - li - æ Si - on or - na - tam mo - ni - li - bus

21

C.

B.c.

lau - da - ve - runt, lau - da - ve - runt et be - a - tis - si - mam præ - di - ca - ve - runt, *et be - a -*

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25
C. -*tis - si - mam præ - di - ca - ve - runt* di - cen - tes, et be - a - tis - si - mam præ - di - ca - ve - runt di -
B.c.

28
C. -cen - tes, di - cen - tes. Non tam gem-
B.c.

31
C. -ma - - - - - - - - tis ru - - ti - lans au - ro - ra ab ax - e
B.c.

34
t.
C. cæ - li, ab ax - e cæ - li ra - - di - is, ra - - di - is con - sur - - - git, quam
B.c.

37
C. su - is vir - go vir - gi - num de - co - ra, quam su - is vir - go vir - gi - num de - co - ra
B.c.

40
C. stel - la - rum ser - - - tis ad_ æ - ter - na_____ sur - git,_ quam
B.c.

44
t.
C. su - is vir - go vir - gi - num de - co - - ra__ stel - la - rum ser - - - -
B.c.

47
C. - tis ad æ - ter - na sur - git.
B.c.

52
C. Il - li nunc pu - bes cæ - li - tum ca - no - ra ut
B.c.

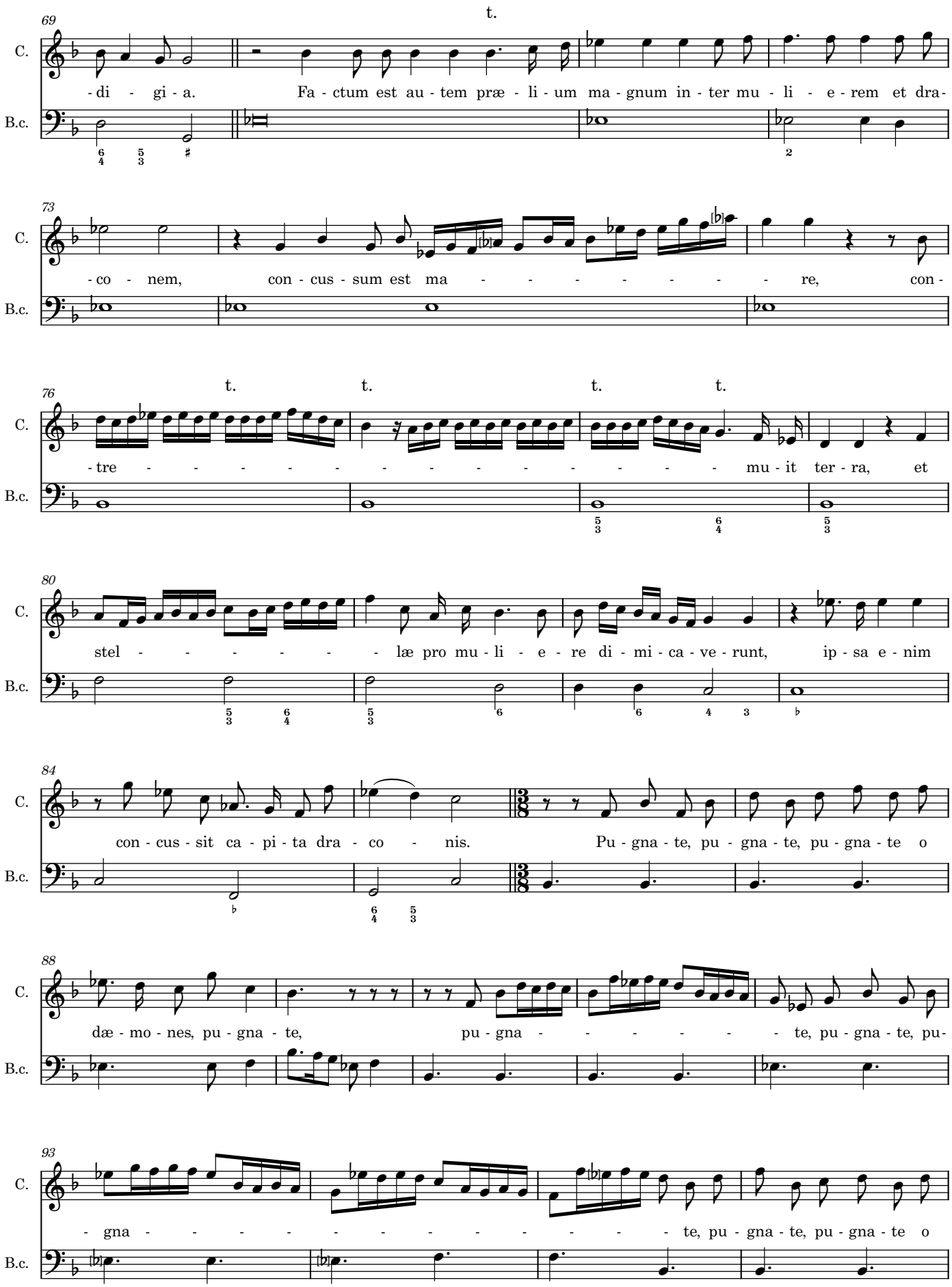
55
C. pro - mat lau - des læ - ta - bun - da ex - ur - git,
B.c.

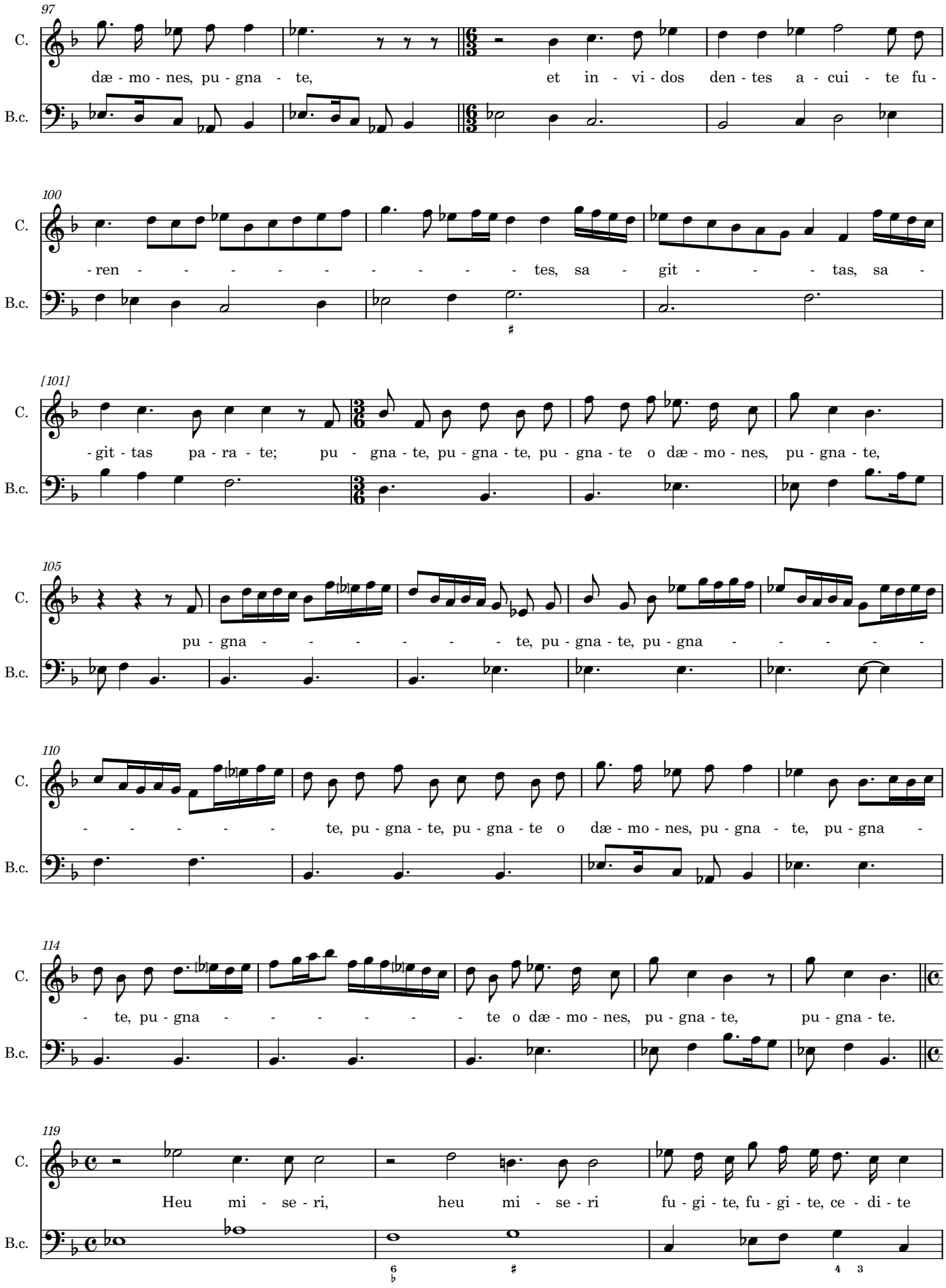
58
C. tel - lus con - gau - det, in - fre - mit gens sti - gi - a can -
B.c.

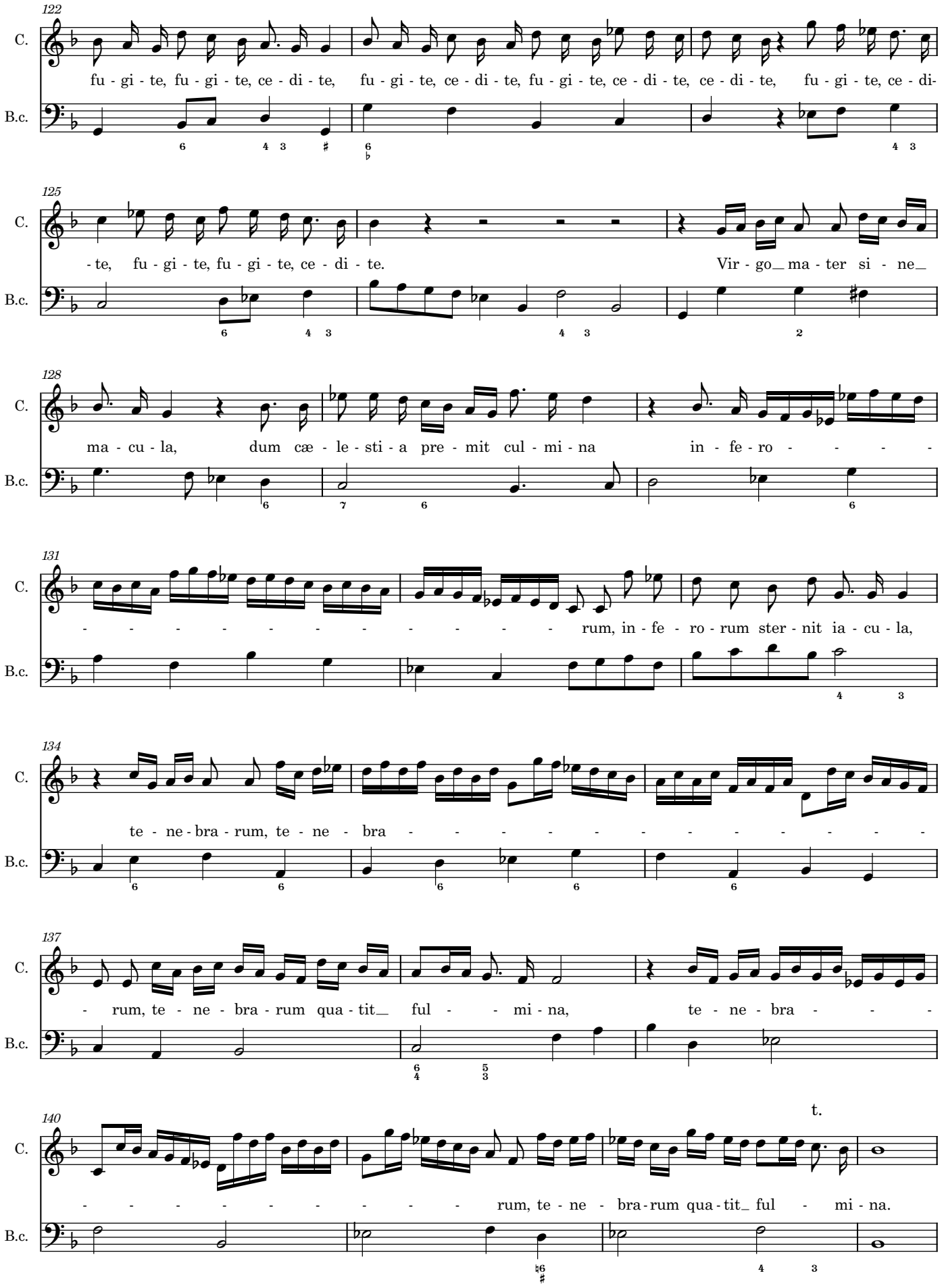
61
C. - te - mus, o mi - ra - cu - la, o mi - ra - cu - la, o pro - di - gi - a tel - lus con-
B.c.

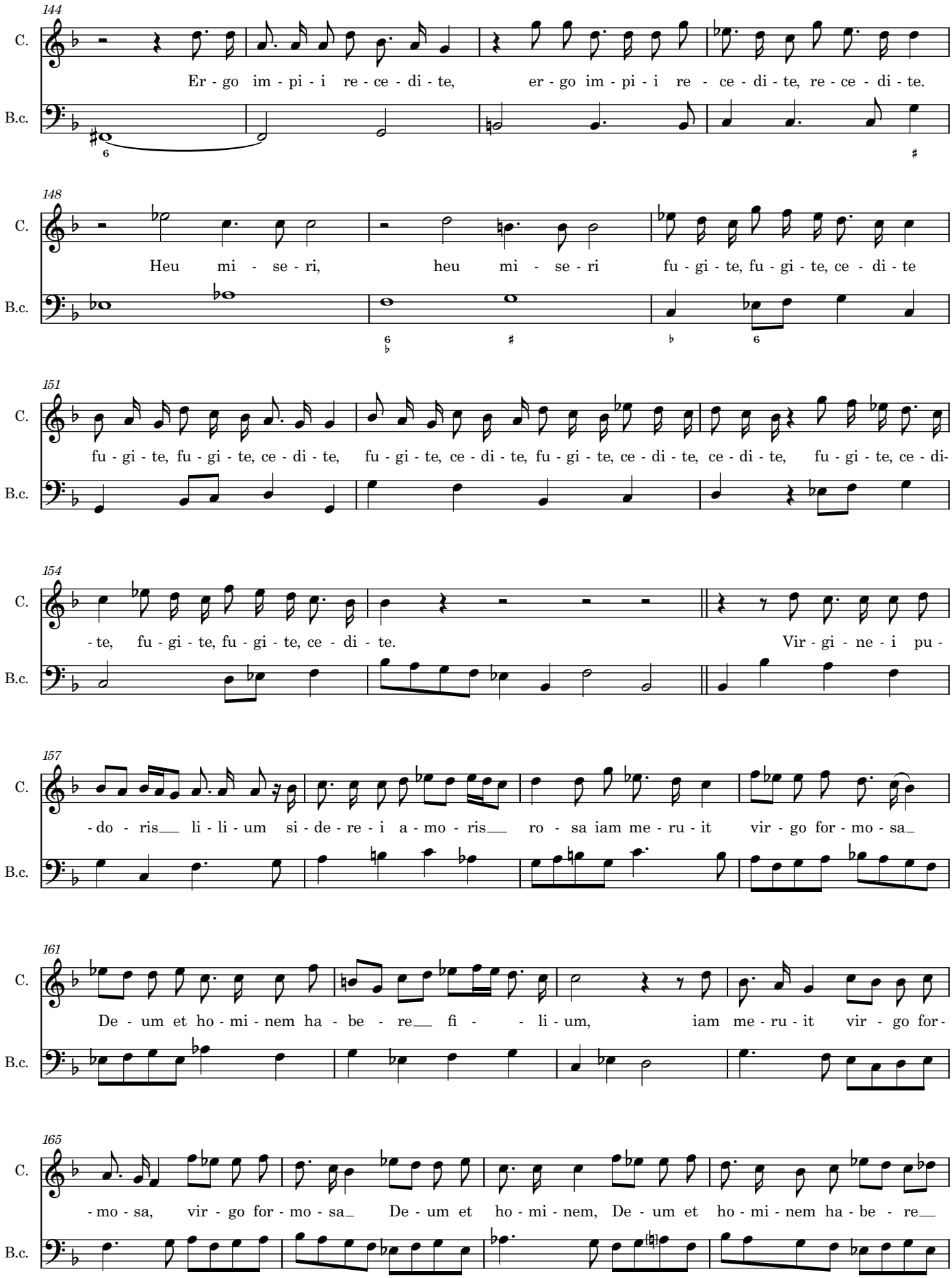
64
C. - gau - det in - fre - mit
B.c.

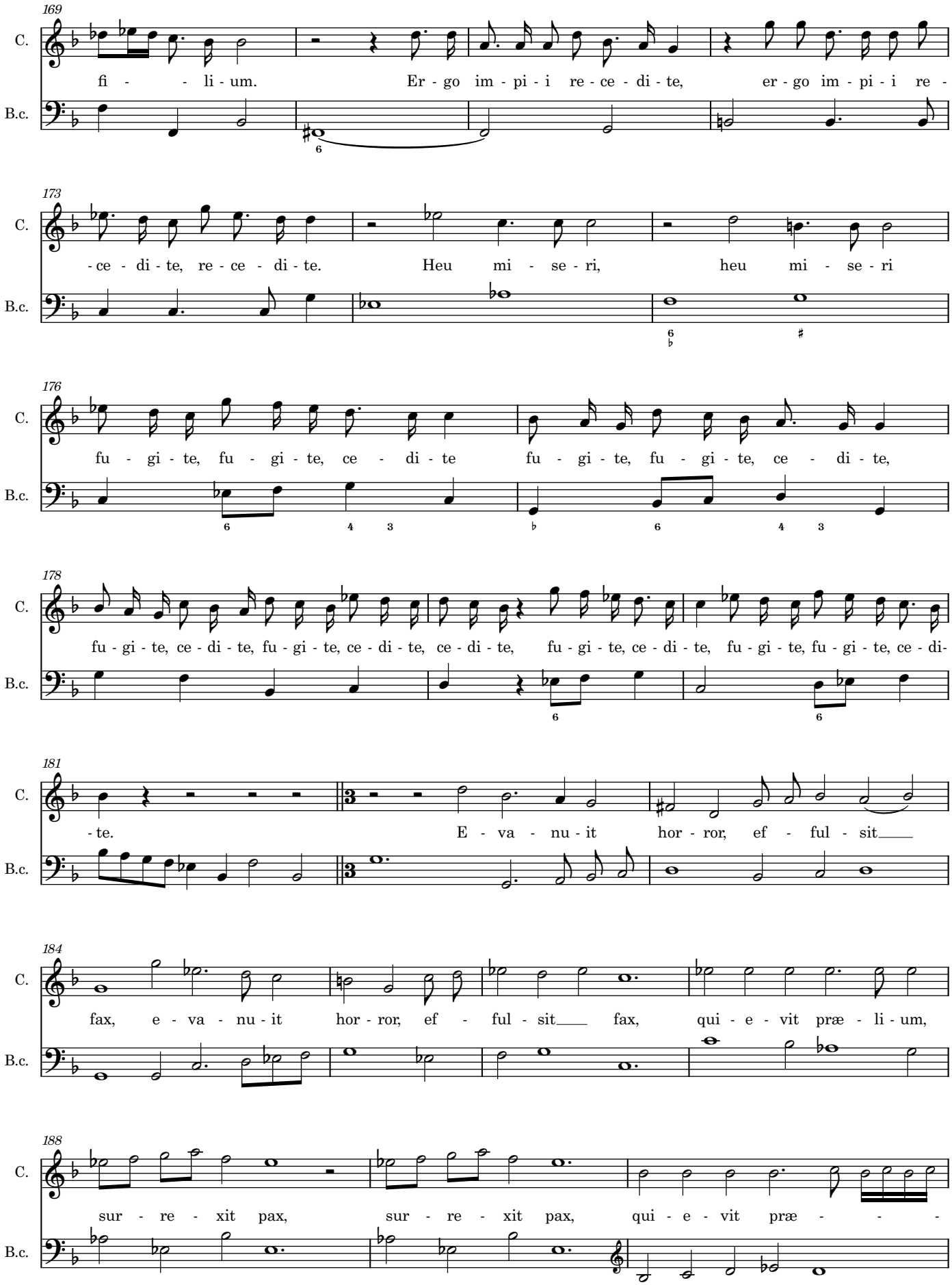
66
C. gens sti - gi - a can - te - mus, o mi - ra - cu - la, o mi - ra - cu - la, o pro
B.c.

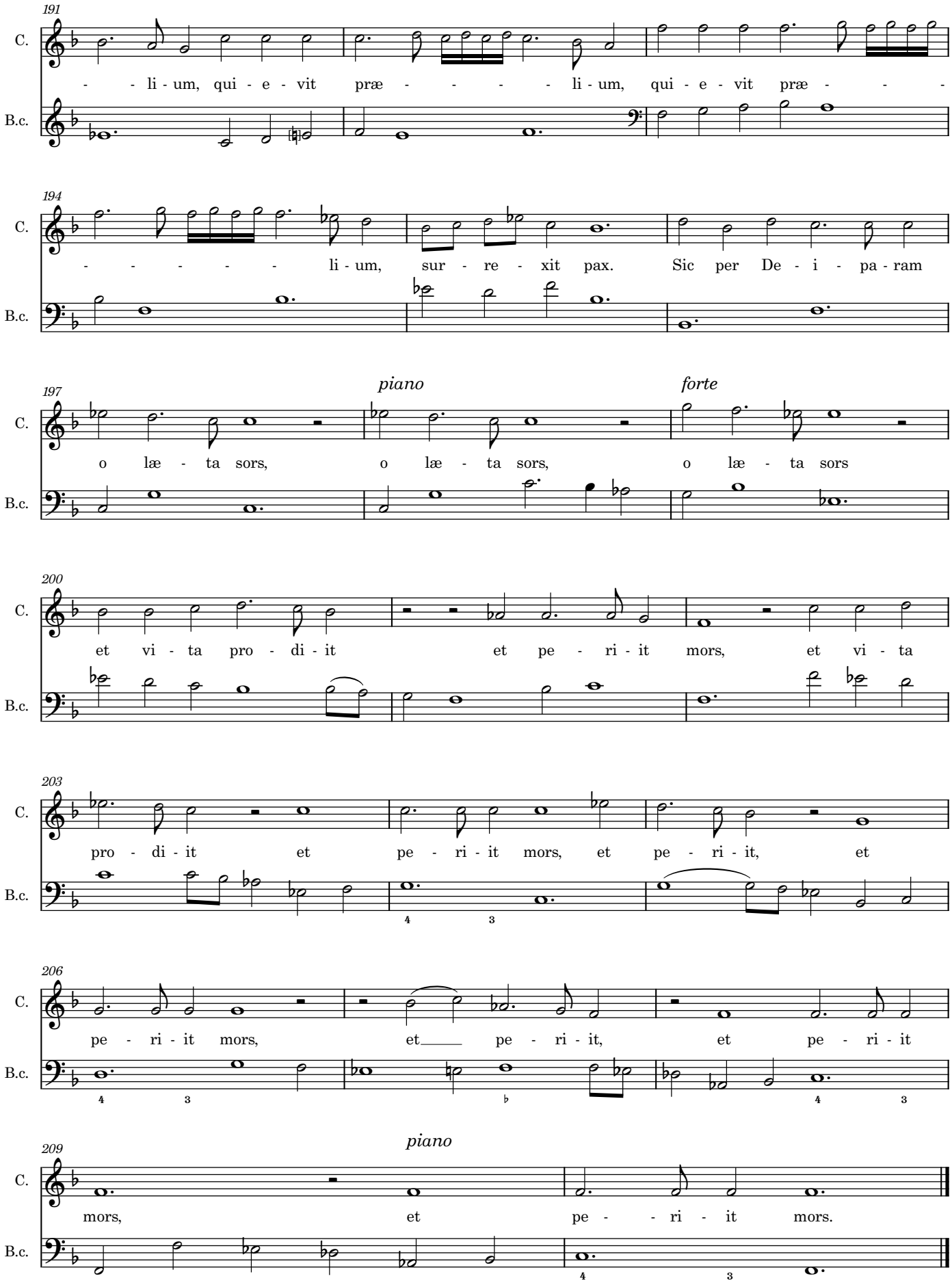

69
t.
C.
-di - gi - a. Fa - ctum est au - tem præ - li - um ma - gnum in - ter mu - li - e - rem et dra-
B.c.
73
C.
-co - nem, con - cus - sum est ma - - - - - - - re, con -
B.c.
76
t. t. t. t.
C.
-tre - - - - - - - - - - - - - mu - it ter - ra, et
B.c.
80
C.
stel - - - - - - læ pro mu - li - e - re di - mi - ca - ve - runt, ip - sa e - nim
B.c.
84
C.
con - cus - sit ca - pi - ta dra - co - nis. Pu - gna - te, pu - gna - te, pu - gna - te o
B.c.
88
C.
dæ - mo - nes, pu - gna - te, pu - gna - - - - - - te, pu - gna - te, pu-
B.c.
93
C.
- gna - - - - - - - - - - - - te, pu - gna - te, pu - gna - te o
B.c.


97
C.
dæ - mo - nes, pu - gna - te, et in - vi - dos den - tes a - cui - te fu -
B.c.
100
C.
- ren - - - - - - - - - tes, sa - git - - - tas, sa -
B.c.
[101]
C.
- git - tas pa - ra - te; pu - gna - te, pu - gna - te, pu - gna - te o dæ - mo - nes, pu - gna - te,
B.c.
105
C.
pu - gna - - - - - - te, pu - gna - te, pu - gna - - - - - -
B.c.
110
C.
- - - - - - te, pu - gna - te, pu - gna - te o dæ - mo - nes, pu - gna - te, pu - gna -
B.c.
114
C.
- te, pu - gna - - - - - - te o dæ - mo - nes, pu - gna - te, pu - gna - te.
B.c.
119
C.
Heu mi - se - ri, heu mi - se - ri fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te
B.c.


122
C.
fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di-
B.c.
125
C.
- te, fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te. Vir - go_ ma - ter si - ne_
B.c.
128
C.
ma - cu - la, dum cæ - le - sti - a pre - mit cul - mi - na in - fe - ro - - - - -
B.c.
131
C.
- - - - - - - - - - - - rum, in - fe - ro - rum ster - nit ia - cu - la,
B.c.
134
C.
te - ne - bra - rum, te - ne - bra - - - - - - - - - - - -
B.c.
137
C.
- rum, te - ne - bra - rum qua - tit_ ful - - mi - na, te - ne - bra - - -
B.c.
140
C.
t.
- - - - - - - - - - rum, te - ne - bra - rum qua - tit_ ful - mi - na.
B.c.


144
C.
B.c.
Er - go im - pi - i re - ce - di - te, er - go im - pi - i re - ce - di - te, re - ce - di - te.
148
Heu mi - se - ri, heu mi - se - ri fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te
151
fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di-
154
- te, fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te. Vir - gi - ne - i pu -
157
- do - ris li - li - um si - de - re - i a - mo - ris ro - sa iam me - ru - it vir - go for - mo - sa
161
De - um et ho - mi - nem ha - be - re fi - - li - um, iam me - ru - it vir - go for -
165
- mo - sa, vir - go for - mo - sa De - um et ho - mi - nem, De - um et ho - mi - nem ha - be - re


169
C.
B.c.
fi - - li - um. Er - go im - pi - i re - ce - di - te, er - go im - pi - i re -
173
-ce - di - te, re - ce - di - te. Heu mi - se - ri, heu mi - se - ri
176
fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te,
178
fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di - te, fu - gi - te, fu - gi - te, ce - di-
181
-te. E - va - nu - it hor - ror, ef - ful - sit
184
fax, e - va - nu - it hor - ror, ef - ful - sit fax, qui - e - vit præ - li - um,
188
sur - re - xit pax, sur - re - xit pax, qui - e - vit præ - - -


191
C.
- - li - um, qui - e - vit præ - - - - li - um, qui - e - vit præ - - -
B.c.
194
C.
- - - - - li - um, sur - re - xit pax. Sic per De - i - pa - ram
B.c.
197
piano
forte
C.
o læ - ta sors, o læ - ta sors, o læ - ta sors
B.c.
200
C.
et vi - ta pro - di - it et pe - ri - it mors, et vi - ta
B.c.
203
C.
pro - di - it et pe - ri - it mors, et pe - ri - it, et
B.c.
206
C.
pe - ri - it mors, et pe - ri - it, et pe - ri - it
B.c.
209
piano
C.
mors, et pe - - ri - it mors.
B.c.