Organ Improvisation in 17th-Century Office Liturgy
Contexts, Styles, and Sources

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§ Nel suo ruolo generale di abbellimento del culto, la musica organistica ha svolto diverse funzioni pratiche nella liturgia cattolica romana dal tardo quindicesimo sino alla fine del diciottesimo secolo. Ha accompagnato le azioni fisiche del clero; dato l'intonazione per il canto corale, incluso il canto piano; è anche servita come un coro a sé stante, sostituendo o alternandosi con la *cappella*; ha supportato la musica vocale con il *basso seguente* e il *basso continuo*. Queste incombenze liturgiche hanno fornito i parametri musicali per la musica improvvisata: innanzi tutto quale *cantus firmus* dovesse essere usato; in quale tipo di forma musicale dovesse risultare; il modo o la tonalità, comprese le diverse trasposizioni possibili; la durata, appropriata al tipo di servizio e alla solennità della festa; l'affetto. Questo articolo presenta una bibliografia annotata dei manuali di canto piano italiani che contengono istruzioni per l'organista improvvisatore.

§ Within its overall role of adorning worship, organ music served several practical functions in Roman Catholic liturgy from the late 16th through the late 18th centuries. It accompanied the physical actions of clergy; set pitch levels for choral singing, including plainchant; served as a choir in its own right by substituting for and alternating with the *cappella*; and supported vocal music through *basso seguente* and *basso continuo*. These liturgical tasks provided the musical parameters for improvised music, including whether a cantus firmus was to be used; the type of texture to be employed; the mode or key, including transposition level; the duration, as appropriate to the type of service and solemnity of the feast; and the affect. This article includes an annotated bibliography of Italian plainchant manuals containing instructions for the improvising organist.

Contexts, styles, sources: an introduction

Within its overall role of adorning worship, organ music served several practical functions in Roman Catholic liturgy in the era following the Council of Trent. It accompanied the physical actions of clergy; set pitch levels for choral singing, including plainchant; served as a choir in its own right by substituting for and alternating with the choir proper; and supported vocal music through *basso seguente* and *basso continuo.*

Each of these functions could be, and typically was, fulfilled through various types of improvisation. While Banchieri, Trabaci, Frescobaldi, Fasolo, and other composers furnish examples fulfilling these functions within the Offices, the relative dearth of surviving music contrasts starkly with the ubiquity of these liturgical practices. This, combined with what we know of audition requirements for 17th-century organists and the skills taught in treatises on plainchant, counterpoint, basso continuo, and mode, makes clear that much if not most 17th-century liturgical organ music was improvised. If the singing of the Divine Office constitutes sung prayer, then improvised organ music in fulfillment of these functions, especially when the organ substitutes for the choir, may be regarded as a form of *ex tempore* prayer.

Models for improvising such genres, which include intonations, versets (for psalms, canticles, and hymns), antiphon substitutes, ricercars, and *canzone francese,* may be found in a variety of sources. Besides the few large published collections of *Seicento* liturgical organ music (those by Antegnati, Trabaci, Frescobaldi and Fasolo stand out), organ treatises including those by Banchieri, Diruta and Bottazzi present sample works. Counterpoint, continuo, and composition treatises offer specific instruction applicable to the improvising organist, ranging in approach from the magisterial *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558) of Zarlino to the ecclectic *Nova Instructio pro pulsandis organis…* (1670–1674) of Spiridionis a Monte Carmelo.

For the improvising organist, the specific liturgical context provided the musical parameters that shaped their service music. These parameters included whether a cantus firmus was to be used; the type of texture; the mode or key, including transposition level; the duration, as appropriate to the type of service and solemnity of the feast; and the affect. Accordingly, any attempt to recover late Renaissance and Baroque improvisational practices requires consideration not only of model works and counterpoint instruction but also of the specific liturgical contexts that shaped improvisation.

This article examines an important, but often overlooked, type of source on the role of the organ in Baroque liturgy: plainchant treatises. An annotated bibliography of selected Italian Baroque organ and plainchant treatises addressing the role of the organ in liturgy is included below in the Appendix. Table 1 provides a summary of some of the specific topics pertaining to organists covered in these treatises (I limit myself here mainly to Italian sources, but of course there are also many Spanish, Portuguese, French, and German sources; these reflect practices often the same and sometimes

different from those in Italian sources). I limit my discussion here to the Office, but many of these sources also address the Mass, should the reader wish to know more.

Aspect	Asola (1596), *Canto fermo sopra messe*	Banchieri (1605), *L'Organo suonarino*	Banchieri (1609), *Conclusioni*	Diruta (1593/1609), *Transilvano*	Banchieri (1614), *Cartella musicale*	Bottazzi (1614), *Choro et organo*	Rossi (1618), *Organo de' cantori*	Picerli (1630/1631), *Specchio primo/secondo*	Salvatore (1641), *Breve regola per rispondere*	Sabbatini (1650), *Toni ecclesiastici*	D'Avella (1657), *Regole di musica*	Stella (1665), *Breve instruttione*	Dionigi (1667), *Primi tuoni*	Marinelli (1671), *Via retta della voce corale*	Coferati (1682), *Il cantore addottrinato*	Zapata (1682), *Ristretto over breve discorso*	Di Modona (1690), *Canto fermo harmonico*	Bertalotti (1698), *Regole facilissime*	Frezza dalle Grotte (1698), *Il cantore ecclesiastico*	Scorpione (1702), *Istruzioni corali*	Santoro (1715), *Scola di canto fermo*	Porta Ferrari (1732), *Il canto fermo ecclesiastico*
Other improvisation guidelines		***	***	***	***	***	**	*				*		**	*							*
Rhythm and/or *canto fratto*								*?					**	***		***	*	***		*		
Regional or gender transposition levels										**		***		***	**				***		*	
Transposition w/ organ		***	***	***	***	*	*	**	***	**		***	**	***	***	*	*	**	***	**	**	**
Voce corale w/o organ							**			**		***	**				**	*	**			*
Application of sharps to plainchant		*					*		**	***	*		**	***	*	*		**	***		**	**
Sample organ pieces		***	**	***	**	***	*			***				***	*							
Harmonized or paraphrased *cantus firmi*		***		***		***				***												
Model *cantus firmi*	***	***	**	**	**	***	**		**	***	*	**	*	**	**	*	**				*	**
Starting and ending notes for Mass and/or Office							**	*	***			***	*	***	***	*	***	*	***	**	***	***
General comments on duties of organist to choir		**	**	**		*			*			***		***	**		***	*	**	**	***	***
What to play when in liturgy	*	***	***	**	*	**		*				***		***	***		**		***	***	***	***

Note: This listing excludes composition and counterpoint treatises, such as those by Penna, Zacconi, Cerone, Angleria, Penna, Bononcini, and Tevo, that also address conventions for polyphonic psalm and canticle settings.

Table 1
Aspects of Organ Performance Practice Addressed
in Italian Baroque Organ and Plainchant Treatises

The *Cæremoniale episcoporum* and Banchieri on the role of the organ in the Offices, especially Vespers

The most important document governing the use of the organ in liturgy is the *Cæremoniale episcoporum* promulgated by Pope Clement VIII in 1600. These official guidelines provide a context for interpreting the more practically oriented instructions for liturgical organists provided in the treatises of Banchieri and his successors in the 17th and 18th centuries. Broadly speaking, beneath the organ's overarching purpose of adorning the liturgy in accord with the church year, the *Cæremoniale episcoporum* addresses three specific (sometimes overlapping) tasks: (1) accompanying the physical actions of clergy, (2) alternating with the choir (functioning, essentially as a choir in itself), and (3) substituting for items that otherwise would be sung. For all these liturgical tasks, it appears that the music was often improvised. In performing these liturgical tasks, the organ also fulfilled some specifically musical roles: setting the tone for the choir, whether in plainchant or polyphony and supporting vocalists through *basso seguente* and *basso continuo* support of vocal polyphony, monody, and even plainchant.

Of the practical treatises that implement the *Cæremoniale,* I begin with Adriano Banchieri's writings on the liturgical organ. These are widely available in modern reprints and have been much commented upon by modern scholars. After Banchieri, I will address some lesser known authors whose teachings build upon Banchieri's, focusing especially on Giulio Cesare Marinelli.

Banchieri's instructions, directed as they are at the practical organist, surpass the *Cæremoniale episcoporum* considerably in level of musical detail.[1] Banchieri repeatedly affirms the authority of the *Cæremoniale*, even while interpreting its rules in ways not always obvious to modern readers. He states, for example, that the *Cæremoniale*'s prohibition of organ music during Advent and Lent applies only to the Mass, and that for certain Vespers during those seasons it was therefore customary to use the organ at the cathedrals of Siena, Florence, Pistoia, Pisa, and Lucca. He notes, however, that it was customary not to use the organ for Vespers of the two Sundays before Easter (Passion and Palm Sundays, respectively), or for first Vespers of Easter, i.e., on Holy Saturday.[2] Banchieri's statement about Vespers of Passion and Palm Sundays is corroborated by among others Amici, who records the same

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[1] For in-depth investigations of Banchieri's individual writings, see *inter alia* (CRANNA 1981, MARCASE 1970), and (MISCHIATI 1972). For an exploration of the role of cantus firmus in organ playing that places Banchieri's writings within a broader organistic context, see (BELLOTTI 1992).

[2] For detailed listings of the specific feasts for which the organ was used in Vespers, see the various editions of Banchieri's *L'Organo suonarino,* which are discussed and compared in English translation in (MARCASE 1970). It is important to bear in mind that the liturgical observation of specific feasts, particularly those of the *Sanctorale* (including not only official changes of a feast's ranking but also the vagaries of local use)*,* was in a continual state of development, reflected by the changes between Banchieri's own listings.

practice in 1615 at St. Peter's in Rome.³ In general, however, Banchieri upholds the *Cæremoniale*'s use of the organ to reflect the solemnity of the day, with the organ playing more music on solemn days.

The following summary integrates Banchieri's instructions on when the organ plays for Vespers, as contained in *L'Organo suonarino* and *Conclusioni*.

1. If the Vespers is to be performed with ceremony (*apparato*), the organist should play *in ripieno* (with full registration and texture), from the time the priest leaves the sacristy and during the censing of the altar until he is ready to intone the opening versicle, *Deus in adiutorium*. In *L'Organo suonarino* Banchieri includes an *Ingresso d'un ripieno* characterized by pedal points animated by runs in the upper parts — a toccata-like piece that would be very easy to improvise because of its simple texture and harmonic stasis. Frescobaldi includes a similarly entitled piece at the beginning of *Fiori musicali*. The length of such pieces would depend upon various factors, including the number of persons processing, their speed, and the length of the route taken, all of which would be tied to the solemnity of the occasion and would vary from church to church. In many churches the route from sacristy to high altar may be covered in a few paces, while in others, such as Saint Peter's in Rome, the distance can be vast.⁴ It should be kept in mind that in most large churches, services with organ could be celebrated at a number of different altars, not only the high altar.

2. After each psalm on solemn feasts, the organist should play in place of the antiphon, «brief or long, according to the occasion».⁵ The organist should begin the antiphon substitute when «the choir has finished singing the verse *Sicut erat*». However, on or-

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³ «[5 April 1615 (Passion Sunday)] la messa in musica ma senz'organo. Il vespero si è cantato dopo pranzo...nel quale non s'è sonato organo, ma il primo et ultimo salmo si sono cantati alternatim in falsobordone, e l'inno et Magnificat una parte in musica e l'altra in canto fermo, l'antifone si sono tutte dette in contrapunto...». «[12 April 1615 (Palm Sunday)] il vespero s'è cantato in coro senz'organo, e con la musica solo all'inno et Magnificat...» Amici, *Diario,* 237 and 242, as quoted in (O'REGAN 1999, p. 144).

⁴ (O'REGAN 1999, p. 121), observes that «the high altar of the basilica was reserved for papal masses.... Even on major feast days, therefore, other altars around the basilica were used for mass; the choice of altar depended on the feast, dictated often by the presence of particular relics. The basilica, both before and after its rebuilding, was rarely used as a single liturgical space in the way we think of it nowadays; it was, rather, a series of interlinked chapels and spaces used as appropriate to the season or feast». The most important altars with which organ music was used at St. Peter's in the early 17ᵗʰ century were, in addition to the high altar, the Cappella del Coro in the north transept and the Cappella Gregoriana in the aisle behind the southwest pilaster of the crossing.

⁵ «Doppo ciascun Salmo finito il Sicut erat suonasi, breve, ò lungo, secondo l'occorenze». BANCHIERI, *L'Organo suonarino*, 1611, p. 45.

dinary Sundays and non-solemn feasts the organist should play only «at the chapter», i.e., after the last psalm, before the reading of the scripture lesson.[6] This parallels plainchant practice, since on such days the psalms were sung under a single antiphon. Banchieri does not say what style or tonalities to use for the antiphon substitutes, or how or whether to relate the transposition level of the organ piece to the preceding and following psalms; for these we will draw upon later authors.

3. At the hymn one plays in alternation with the choir. Banchieri reiterates the requirement of the *Cæremoniale* that the choir sing the first verse and doxology, as well as any verses requiring genuflection. If the number of hymn verses plus the doxology added up to an even number, the choir would sing the final two verses in succession, i.e., all the odd-numbered verses plus the final even-numbered doxological verse. Banchieri does not prescribe an intonation or prelude for the hymn, though presumably one would have been necessary. While Banchieri does not specify whether the choir would sing in plainchant or polyphony, there is certainly evidence that alternation between choral polyphony and the organ occurred, even if not customary. For example, an observer at the church of Sant'Apollinare in Rome recorded on Christmas Day 1587 that «tonight, contrary to the ancient custom, the organ played at the hymn *Christe redemptor omnium,* and was answered by polyphony [*musica*]; likewise at the *Te Deum laudamus,* and the choir of Gregorian chant answered nothing».[7]

4. At the *Magnificat* one plays in alternation with the plainchant, and following the canticle one plays a *francese* (i.e., *canzona*) or *mottetto*. (Musical style in *Magnificat* versets is a vast subject about which I will not here comment, beyond observing that in Renaissance and Baroque organ literature one finds versets of almost every imaginable style, texture, and even length. A small number of composers treat the canticle tones as cantus firmi, many quote them through melodic or imitative paraphrase, and a great many ignore them altogether). Banchieri does not make

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[6] «Dopò gli Salmi suonasi secondo parerà all'Organista, allhora, che finito sarà il versetto *Sicut era,* etc.... In tutte le Domeniche dell'anno (eccetto le sollenni; Trinità overo in quelle dove si faccia il vespro di qualche Santo) suonasi al Capitolo, nelle eccettuate suonasi dopò il *Dixit* con gl'altri salmi appresso. In tutte le altre festività dell'anno si suona dopò il *Dixit,* come di sopra». BANCHIERI, *Conclusioni,* p. 20.

[7] «Nativitas Domini...hac nocte praeter morem antiquum pulsatum organum ad hymnum Christe redemptor omnium et musica respondebat, item sub Te deum laudamus et chorus Gregorianus nihil respondit.... Non placuit tamen, melius est...ut chorus Gregorianus respondeat». (CULLEY 1970, pp. 85, 302).

clear whether the *francese* or *motetto* following the *Magnificat* substitutes for, or follows, the antiphon *replica;* the former seems most likely. The term *mottetto* admits at least two possibilities: it could refer to an instrumental *ricercar* or to an actual vocal motet, whether for few or many voices. Such motets are found in annual cycles of *Magnificat* antiphon motets by Porta, Anerio, Lambardi, and other composers around this time.[8] In *L'Organo suonarino,* Banchieri simply says that «after the *Magnificat* one plays a *franzese musicale,* or something else if one pleases». (BANCHIERI 1611, p. 45) Banchieri indicates that one may alternate with either the first or second verse according to local custom, but that the *Cæremoniale* requires that the first verse and the *Gloria Patri* be sung. This would accordingly leave the even-numbered verses to the organ, unless (as Banchieri specifies) a singer was singing from the organ loft on the «organ» verses. In that case it would not matter whether the choir or organ-with-singer started.[9]

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[8] Including the anonymous cycles of *Magnificat* and psalm-antiphon motets for few voices preserved in I-Rn mss musicali 1-3, 4-6, and 91-92 but originating from the Chiesa Nuova in Rome, associated with the order of San Filippo Neri. The *cantus primus* part book belonging with I-Rn mss. mus. 91-92 (*cantus secundus* and basso continuo) is preserved in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova with the call number H.II.9a. (MORELLI 1989, p. 21), speculates that these cycles, which resemble Anerio's in certain respects, may have been penned by Francesco Martini. For a searching discussion of the role of antiphon motets in Vespers, see (KURTZMAN, 1999, pp. 56-78). For an investigation of an individual cycle, see (ARMSTRONG 1974, pp. 89-150).

[9] Banchieri's directive in *Conclusioni nell suono dell'organo* that «Del Magnificat tocca il primo, e ultimo verso al choro ogni volta però, che nell'Organo non s'alternasse con voci in Musica» is perplexingly ambiguous. At first blush one might understand this to mean that «of the *Magnificat* the first and last verses are sung by the choir every time, except that in the organ one does not alternate with voices in polyphony». This would appear to indicate that the organ could alternate with plainchant but not vocal polyphony—an unlikely rule, since there is no question of text being omitted and we know from other sources, including Diruta's *Il Transilvano* and the records of San Marco in Venice, of alternation between the organ and polyphonic vocal *Magnificat.* Alternation between organ and polyphonic *Magnificat* versets at San Marco is addressed in (MOORE 1987, pp. 351-383). (Diruta announces in *Il Transilvano,* book IV, p. 10, that «I wish to intabulate for you the *Magnificat* on the eight tones with the fugues of their respective intonations, which you will need for responding to the plainchant and polyphony with their transpositions for the comfort of the choir»). Consideration of Banchieri's parallel statement in the 1611 edition of *L'Organo suonarino* seems to clarify his intention. There he writes that «Al Magnificat s'alterna primo ò secondo verso secondo la consuetudine, vero è che il primo verso dovria cantarsi in Choro, acciò il Gloria Patri sia udito, così ordina il Cerimoniale cap. 28 se però nell'Organo non si cantasse versi in musica». This may be rendered in English as «At the *Magnificat* one alternates, playing the first or second verse according to custom, but in truth the first verse should be sung by the choir so that the *Gloria Patri* will be heard, as required by the *Cæremoniale episcoporum,* chapter 28 — that is, unless verses *in musica* are sung in the organ». In sum, if the alternation is between plainchant and the organ, then the choir should begin so that the first verse and doxology will be heard, in keeping with the *Cæremoniale episcoporum.* If, however, the alternation is between the plainchant choir and a voice or voices singing figural music from the organ loft, it does not matter which party begins, since all of the text will be sung either way. This latter understanding comports well with the large number of vocal *Magnificat* sets (including some for solo voices) that include both odd- or even-numbered settings, such as the widely performed and emulated *Magnificat* of Morales. (MORELLI 1998, pp. 183–208), has proposed that the terms *cantare sull'organo* and *cantare in sull'organo,*

(Banchieri is likely not referring here to the practice, prescribed in the *Cæremoniale,* of having one or two singers intone the organ's verses from the choir while the organ played). Apparently the choir was to sing both verses of the doxology — *Gloria Patri* and *Sicut erat* — since Banchieri indicates that one should not begin the antiphon substitute until the choir had finished the *Sicut erat.* Some later authors, however, imply that the organ was to play the *Sicut erat.*[10]

5. Following the *Benedicamus Domino,* the response to which is *Deo gratias*, the organ plays a short «filler» (*riempitura*) as the officiant departs. Banchieri specifies that, as with the piece concluding the Mass, it should be «short and full» (*breve, et pieno*). The two *ripieni per il Deo gratias* Banchieri provides in *L'Organo suonarino* feature full, relatively static chordal textures ornamented by scalar figures in the right hand. (BANCHIERI 1605, pp. 110–111) It is not entirely clear from Banchieri's instructions whether the organ is in fact to play *in place of* or *after* the nominally congregational response, *Deo gratias;* the latter seems most likely, but ceremonials from San Marco in Venice and an eye-witness account of Vespers at the Jesuit church of Sant'Apollinare in Rome suggest the former. (MOORE 1987, pp. 351-383; CULLY 1970, I, p. 299) Specifically, Padre Lauretano, rector of the German college in Rome, noted in his liturgical diary entry for 9 June 1583 that «In place of the *Deo gratias* after the *Benedicamus Domino,* a short motet for two voices was sung on the organ».[11] Lauretano does not indicate the text of the motet, but his wording implies that the singers sang from the organ loft.[12] Andrea Amici, priest at San Pietro in Vaticano, notes in his liturgical diary that at the conclusion of

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frequently encountered in late *Cinquecento* and *Seicento* sources, may sometimes refer to the practice of having a solo vocalist, usually a boy soprano, sing from the organ loft during liturgy.

[10] Among them (MURSCHHAUSER 1721, pp. 108-109). In discussing whether organ versets in tone 5 should employ the *differentia* (A) or modal final (F), Murschhauser states his preference for the *differentia*, but concludes by writing that «nevertheless, with respect to the last verse, *Sicut erat, etc.*, one can leave off with whichever final one pleases, whether A (as I first referred to) or F, for both are right». («Jedoch, was den letzten Vers. *Sicut erat &c.* anbelanget, kan man nach selbigen mit der Orgel pro Finali nach Belieben entweder in dem A (wie ich erst angemercket,) oder in dem F auslassen, dann es sind beyde recht».)

[11] «In loco del *Deo gratias*, doppo il *Benedicamus Domino,* si canto nel organo un motetto breve à due voci».

[12] The often opaque meaning of the prepositions «on», «in», «by», and «from» in relation to the organ has been explored by (MORELLI 1998, pp. 183-185). For something to be performed «from» the organ, for example, can mean different things in different contexts, including played *by* the organ itself, or sung *from* the organ loft by singers accompanied by organ.

Vespers for the feast of Sant'Andrea in 1618 the *Benedicamus Domino* was said and the organ responded with *Deo gratias*.[13]

Aspects of practice Banchieri does not address

While Banchieri's instructions for organists in the Offices are among the most complete in the *Seicento*, he does not address certain important details. He does not specify, for example, whether the organ is to provide an intonation before each psalm, and what the relationship of that intonation, if any, should be to the immediately preceding antiphon substitute. He provides few details about the musical style to be employed in the presumably improvised antiphon substitutes, including whether they need quote the cantus firmus or even reflect its mode. Quite possibly, as specified by later authors such as Marinelli and Nivers, the antiphon substitute itself could serve as the intonation for the next psalm, but Banchieri does not mention this practice, which may have arisen after his day, and provides no specific guidelines. Nor does he indicate whether the organ should play an intonation for the hymn or *Magnificat* (since the *Cæremoniale* requires the choir to sing the first verse), nor the possible combinations of performance forces and styles in Vespers: organ, plainchant, improvised vocal counterpoint, vocal polyphony including *falso bordone* and *canto figurato*, and monodies such as the *salmi passeggiati* by Viadana, Conforti and Severi. Other sources corroborate and sometimes diverge from certain of Banchieri's norms. For example, while Banchieri and other seventeenth-century sources limit the organ's role in plainchant psalms to playing the antiphon substitute (as opposed to the canticles, in which the organ would alternate), evidence from San Marco in Venice suggests that alternation with the plainchant psalms was indeed sometimes practiced there for psalms in both *canto fermo* and *canto figurato* (MOORE 1987, pp. 351-383).

Guidance from other *Seicento* authors

Of the five main places the organ contributes to Vespers — *ingresso,* psalm antiphon, hymn, *Magnificat*, and *Deo gratias* — the *ingresso* and *Deo gratias* pose the fewest challenges for improvisers because of their relatively homophonic textures. Hymn versets pose somewhat more challenges for the improviser if they employ imitative textures (as in Bottazzi's *Choro et organo* of 1614). *Seicento* application of *musica ficta* to common hymn tunes pose special problems for the improviser of imitative hymn versets, as I have addressed elsewhere, but in general, hymns present fewer transposition issues than did psalms and canticles. (DODDS 2003) While hymns were often transposed for the comfort of the choir, these transpositions did not need to be related to what came before and after the hymn, as is the case with psalmody. Accordingly, I will focus now on the challenges inherent in psalm-

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[13] «Finito il vespero detto *Benedicamus domino* e risposta dall'organo *Deo gratias*». Amici, *Diario,* 459, as quoted in (O'REGAN 1999, pp. 142-143).

ody, which also relate in some measure to the canticles, drawing on later *Seicento* authors.

One of the best plainchant treatises of the *Seicento,* in terms of the detail it provides for organists, is Giulio Cesare Marinelli's *Via Retta della voce corale* of 1671. Although Marinelli's instructions—like those in almost all plainchant treatises — focus intensively on transposition levels of the respective tones, his treatise provides a detailed picture of the organist's activities. One of Marinelli's central concerns — present in Banchieri and Diruta but addressed in more depth by Picerli, d'Avella, Stella, Coferati, di Modona, and Frezza — concerns moderating the singing range of the choir (Table 2 collating transpositions for psalms and *Magnificat* in several *Seicento* plainchant and organ treatises). Untransposed, the tenors of the psalm tones range a major sixth — from *f* for tone 2 to *d'* for tone 7, requiring adjustment in order to avoid tiring the singers. This is shown in the top line of Table 2. In unaccompanied psalmody, the cantor could adjust these as he or she pleased, but in psalmody with organ, responsibility for transposition rested with the organist. (see Table 2a and 2b)

Three different approaches are evident in the sources, each relating to a different modal parameter (final, ambitus, and reciting tone). One could transpose all the finals to *D*, as Banchieri reports Giovanni Gabrieli and Paolo Giusto to have done at San Marco. One could also equalize the theoretical modal ambitus within the authentic-plagal modal pairs, as is more or less the case in the *tuoni ecclesiastici* widely used for *canto figurato* and that acquired a life of their outside psalmody. The method preferred by most of these authors, however, involved placing the tenors of the psalm tones all on the same one or two notes, usually *A* and *B*-flat, approximately an octave above the lowest note of the typical male voice. This 'sweet spot' these authors refer to as the *voce corale*.

Table 2a
Transpositions for psalms and *Magnificat* in *Seicento* plainchant and organ treatises.
(*Breves* indicate reciting tone; *semibreves* indicate psalm-tone *differentiæ*
to be used as verset finals).

Table 2b
Transpositions for psalms and *Magnificat* in *Seicento* plainchant and organ treatises.

Marinelli seems to be the earliest author explicitly to apply the *voce corale* to psalmody with organ, although it is also described by Picerli, d'Avella, and Stella, who apply the *voce corale* to *a cappella* psalmody.) Marinelli introduces the subject with a review of the organ's contributions in Vespers, echoing the prescripts of the *Cæremoniale episcoporum*, Banchieri, and other authorities:

> *Second observation. The ways the organ is integrated with plainchant, or in which the moderation of organs is demonstrated*
>
> To be very clear we should here point out that in the plainchant of Vespers (and the same applies to the other canonical hours) the organ should play before the choir sings in order to provide the starting pitch; and every time that the whole choir would repeat the antiphon chant, the organ should play instead, during which two singers or clerics should read the antiphon on the tone of the *voce corale* (if they have young voices) or a fourth or fifth lower (if they have mature voices), or on another tone that will make a good consonance with the sound of the organ.
>
> After the chapter of Vespers, one should interpose the organ especially in the hymn and the *Magnificat*, in place of the other part of the choir. One should do this in such a manner that the first *Quaternario* or *Senario* of the hymn is sung by the whole choir and the other *Quaternario* is read while the organ plays, in the same manner as the antiphons, and thus reciprocally until the end, one *Quarternario* is sung by the choir and the other is read while the organ plays. Similarly in singing the *Magnificat* one should sing the first verse with the whole choir and play the next verse on the organ, reading throughout that verse in the same manner as the antiphons, and thus alternate until the end with one verse in the choir and the other in the organ; and this applies also in other similar occasions.
>
> One can see clearly that the organ plays in one manner during the repeat of the antiphons between the end of each psalm and the intonation of the next antiphon, and in another manner while responding to the hymn and the *Magnificat*; but each of these two different manners requires a different approach. [14]

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[14] «*Osservatione Seconda. In quante maniere s'interponga l'Organo nel Canto Fermo, ove si accennà la modernatione de gli Organi*

Per maggior cautela dovemo quì avvertire, che l'Organo nel Canto fermo del Vespro (e l'istesso si può intendere nell'altre Hore Canoniche) si suol suonare avanti, che si dia principio al Canto: & ogni volta, che da tutto il Coro si hà da replicare il Canto dell'Antifona, in luogo del quale si suona l'Organo, & in quel mentre l'Antifona si replica da due Cantori, ò Chierici, leggendosi in Tuono della Voce Corale, se hanno voce puerile, ò una Quarta, ò Quinta sotto, se hanno voce virile, ò in altro Tuono, che facci buona consonanza col suono dell'Organo.

Dopo il Capitolo del Vespro si suole interporre l'Organo specialmente nel Canto dell'Hinno, e del Magnificat in vece dell'altra parte del Coro, in maniera, che il primo Quaternario, ò Senario dell'Hinno si canti da tutto il Coro, e l'altro Quarternario si legga nel mentre che suona l'Organo nel modo dell'Antifone, e così vicendevolmente fino al fine un Quaternario si canta dal Coro, e l'altro si legge mentre suona l'Organo. Similmente nel cantare il Magnificat si suole cantare il primo Verso da tutto il Coro, & il seguente si suona con l'Organo, leggendosi frà tanto il detto Verso nel modo, che si è detto dell'Antifone; e così alternatamente fino al fine un Verso il Coro, e l'altro l'Organo, e l'istesso s'intenda in altre somiglianti occasioni.

Marinelli soon clarifies what he means by the *due differenti modi* required for responding to the choir and playing the antiphon substitutes. In a section of *Via retta* entitled «On accommodating the sound of the organ to the *voce corale* for the intonations of the antiphons and psalms», Marinelli describes the manner his teacher, Padre Cornelio Grandi, organist of the Servite church of San Giorgio in Bologna, had of setting pitch levels for the choir:

> *Third Observation. On accommodating the sound of the organ to the voce corale for the intonations of the antiphons and psalms.*
>
> Though desirable, it would be too difficult to prescribe here in detail the manner of rightly responding with the organ to the *voce corale* of the antiphons and psalms; for now it will suffice merely to point out in general the style which P. Cornelio of the Servite Order had in his time.
>
> In the sonata he would play before the beginning of Vespers, he would end so well in the *tuono corista* that it would clearly point out to the designated cantor the tone for the *Deus in adjutorium* at a level comfortable for the choir, and would thus be at the same level for intoning the first antiphon with its psalm.
>
> He would then play the replica of the antiphons with gracious and admirable artifice, which in the beginning of the *suonata* corresponded precisely with the same *voce del coro* which was just sung in that tone, and then gently (almost without anyone realizing it) make a transition from the modulation of the preceding tone to the tone of the following antiphon, and in the ending of the *suonata*, leave off the organ exactly in that pitch, in which should be intoned the first note of the afore-mentioned following antiphon, in such a way that the tenor would so strike the *voce corale* that the first note of the antiphon following it should be put into the mouth (so to speak) of him who was to intone it; and as a consequence of having taken and sung correctly the antiphon, would then give the intonation of the psalm in conformity with the rules *primus ad tertiam, secundus ad secundam infra*, along with the others given above; and thus with his playing of the organ he guided and held the choir always at the same pitch level.[15]
>
> This was a way of true artifice and beauty that was greatly commended by the most perfected organists of his time, and should also be imitated by all of those who have the office of playing the organ with plainchant; but it is necessary for those who wish to put this into practice, to have first seen, of what tone it is, and where each antiphon to be sung has its beginning; and for this our combinations [given earlier in the treatise] could be very useful, from which the organist shall

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Si che si vede chiaramente, che l'Organo in un modo s'interpone nel suonare la Replica dell'Antifone trà il fine di ciaschedun Salmo, e l'Intuonatione dell' Antifona seguente: & in un'altro modo nel rispondere al Canto dell'Hinno, e del Magnificat: e però secondo questi due differenti modi devesi fare differente studio per l'uno, e differente per l'altro».

[15] *Primus ad tertiam, secundus ad secundam infra,* refer to an ancient mnemonic for finding the first note of each psalm tone intonation from the final of the preceding antiphon. The first psalm tone begins a third above its corresponding modal final, the second psalm tone begins a second below its corresponding modal final, etc.

have sufficient light to know how to find the right place to end the *suonata* to give the note to those who will intone the subsequent antiphon. [16]

Considered in light of Banchieri's guidelines, we see that Padre Cornelio's prelude before Vespers provided the *voce corale* for the opening versicle, *Deus in adiutorium,* and that the pitch so given also served as the reciting tone for the first psalm. Marinelli says little about the style of the antiphon substitute—whether, for example, it should include quotation or paraphrase of the cantus firmus. He does say, however, that the organ's antiphon substitute after each psalm served as the keyboard intonation for the next antiphon. This very often required a modulation (in the modern sense) between the two different tones—a feat requiring intimate knowledge of the plainchants in question and a secure knowledge of the technique of the *voce corale*. («Modulation» as Marinelli employs it in his text does not carry its modern meaning of a change in tonal center, but rather, as in almost all music theory of the seventeenth and earlier centuries, denotes characteristic melodic motion or, in this instance, characteristic scale formation.) Besides accurately reflecting the scales of the successive tones, the organist needed to end on the first pitch of the next antiphon (a pitch not necessarily the same as the chant's final).

Marinelli's comments are striking for several reasons. For liturgical practice, they reveal the intimate knowledge of plainchant required of organists, as well as the complexity of the organist's task. For music theory, they may represent one of the earliest explicit descriptions of common-tone modulation

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[16] «*Osservatione Terza. Dell'accomodar il suono dell' Organo alla Voce Corale per l'Intuonationi dell' Antifone, e de' Salmi*

Troppo difficultoso sarebbe il voler quì prescrivere in particolare il Modo di rispondere giustamente con l'Organo alla voce Corale dell' Antifone, e de Salmi: onde sia per hora bastevola accennare solamente in generale lo stile, che teneva à suoi tempi il sudetto P. Cornelio Servita.

Questo nella Suonata, che faceva avanti al principio del Vespro, lasciava l'Organo così bene in tuono corista, che accennava chiaramente all'Hebdomadario la voce da pigliare nel *Deus in adiutorium,* commoda al Coro, acciò a proportione di quell'istessa altezza di Voce s'intuonasse la prima Antifona col suo Salmo.

Di poi suonava la Replica dell'Antifone con un'artifitio così gratioso, e mirabile, che nel principio della Suonata corrispondeva puntualmente nell'istessa Voce del Coro alla modulatione di quel Tuono, che si era già cantato, e poi gentilmente (quasi senza che veruna se n'accorgesse) faceva passaggio dalla Modulatione del tuono antecedente à quella dell'Antifona seguente, e nel terminar la Suonata, lasciava l'Organo giusto in quella voce, nella quale si doveva intuonare la prima nota della detta Antifona seguente, in guisa, che andasse à battere col Tenore nella Voce Corale: di maniera tale, che imboccava (per così dire) la prima voce dell'Antifona seguente a quello, che la doveva intuonare: e per consequenza essendosi pigliata, e cantata giustamente l'Antifona, veniva a dar la voce anco per l'Intuonatione del Salmo in conformita di quelle Regole *Primus ad tertiam, secundus ad secundam infra,* con l'altre spiegate di sopra; e così col suo Suono dell'Organo guidava, e teneva il Coro sempre in una medesima altezza di voce.

Modo in vero tanto artifiioso, e bello, che era grandemente comendato dalli più perfetti Organisti del suo tempo; e dovrebbe anco essere imitato da tutti quelli, che hanno per Offitio di suonar l'Organo nel Canto Fermo: mà però è necessario a chi lo vorrà mettere in prattica, d'haver prima veduto, di che Tuono sia, e dove habbia principio ciascuna Antifona da cantarsi: & à questo potrebbono giovare assai le nostre Combinationi, dalle quali l'Organista havrà lume sufficiente per saper trovare il Luogo giusto da terminar la Suonata per dar la voce à chi stà per intuonare l'Antifona seguente».

— a technique adumbrated in Renaissance vocal polyphony (including the Venetian polychoral school), but which here takes a major step forward in its development. In most Renaissance polyphony, areas within a given work governed by different tonal centers usually draw upon nearly the same scale or collection. In this type of psalmody with organ, however, the scales or collections of successive psalms may at times share only a few notes in common, and the *voce corale* provides the pivot or common point of reference. (I might add that the technique had its critics, among them Nivers, who considered the clash of juxtaposed scales with only a few notes in common to be a source of all sorts of problems in the choir.)

Marinelli's modulating antiphon substitutes may also cast certain keyboard genres and their liturgical use in a new light. In his preface to the reader in his 1615 book of toccatas, Frescobaldi advises that the toccatas need not be performed in their entirety, but that the performer may begin and end wherever suitable and that individual sections may even be performed separately:

> In the toccatas I have taken care not only that they should be full of diverse passages and affects, but also that each of those passages be able to be played separately from one another, so that the player, without obligation to finish all of them, may end them wherever is most pleasing.[17]

These are curious instructions, given that about half of all the sections end in a different key than they begin. In a stand-alone context, to start and end a toccata in different keys would contradict deeply established conventions of modal unity. However, Marinelli's account of Padre Cornelio's antiphon-substitutes-*cum*-intonation provides a clear instance when to begin and end in different keys would be not only acceptable, but necessary. This would be the case whether the church tones themselves or other transpositions were used. Table 3 summarizes the tonal outlines of six of the toccatas in Frescobaldi's first book. It should be emphasized that not all toccatas lend themselves to sectional performance because of unique harmonic or textural considerations; Frescobaldi's performance-practice advice does not include permission to abandon good musical judgment.

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[17] «Nelle toccate ho havuta consideratione non solo che siano copiose di passi diversi et di affetti, ma che anche si possa ciascuno di essi passi sonar separato l'uno dall'altro onde il sonatore senza obligo di finirle tutte potrà terminarle ovunque più li sarà gusto».

	Final: signature	Starting chord and subsequent cadential degrees
Toccata prima	g:♭	g-D-[c]-D-G-g
Toccata seconda	g:♭	g-G-d/D-g/G-g
Toccata terza	g:♭	g-d-D-d-d-g/G-g-D-g-g
Toccata quinta	e:♮	e-e-A/a-d-G-e
Toccata sesta	e:♮	e-A-A-C-(C)-C-(C)-C-C-e
Toccata settima	d:♭	D-g-D-d-F-d

Table 3
Cadences and sections of Frescobaldi, *Toccate,* Book 1 (1615).

The first three toccatas, for instance, all of which are in *g:♭*, feature sections with beginnings on *G* and endings on *D* as well as *vice versa*.[18] Such sections could be variously configured as antiphon-substitute-*cum*-intonation for transitions between tones 1 (*d:♮*), 2 (*g:♭*), 3 (*g:♭*), 5 (*D:♯*), 7 (*d:♭*) and 8 (*g:♮*), depending on which transpositions were used and whether the intonation ended on the modal final, the starting note, or the psalm-tone difference. Example 1 reproduces in facsimile the opening of Frescobaldi's *Toccata prima* from Book 1. If employed as an antiphon-substitute-*cum*-intonation, the first segment of this toccata, which concludes on a D-major sonority in the third system, second measure, could serve as a transition between a psalm in tones 2 or 3 (*g:♭*) and tones 1 (*d:♮*), 5 (*D:♯*), and 7 (*d:♮* or *D:♯*).

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[18] In the following discussion, tonalities are designated by final and key signature. Lower-case finals indicate minor-third tonalities, while upper-case finals indicate major-third tonalities. Thus *g:♭* denotes a tonality with final on *G* and key signature of one flat, while *D:♯* denotes a tonality with final on *D* and key signature of one sharp.

Example 1

Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccata prima,* Book 1 (1615), opening

Similar transitions, with varying degrees of musical suitability, are possible using segments of the other toccatas of Book 1. The *toccata quinta* in *e:♮*, for example, would allow for transitions between tones 3 or 4 (*e:♮*), 3 (*a:♮*), 1 (*d:♮*), 5 (*D:♯*), 7 (*d:♮* or *D:♯*), and 8 (*g:♮*). The *toccata sesta* in tone 4 (*e:♮*) could be used to transition between tones 3 (*a:♮*), 4 (*e:♮*), and 5 (*C:♮*). The *toccata settima* in tone 7 (*d:♭*) would allow for transitions between tones 1 (*d:♮*), 5 (*D:♯*), 6 (*F:♭*), 7 (*d:♮* or *D:♯*), and 8 (*F:♭*). Of course, this does not work equally well for every toccata or for every interior section. In Book 2, for example, toccatas 3 and 4 are specified for the Elevation, and toccatas 6 and 7 do not lend themselves to partitioning for textural reasons. (*Toccata settima* features long sections with strong forward drive and harmonic tension that seem antithetical to performing only a part rather than the whole). I do not mean to suggest that Frescobaldi specifically intended his toccatas to be used in this way, but rather to propose one plausible explanation for his seeming indifference to the modal unity of shortened toccatas. The extent to which the intonations of Andrea Gabrieli and other Frescobaldi contemporaries and

successors allow for this sort of segmentation remains a topic worthy of further investigation.[19] In the end, it must be remembered that organists' contributions to plainchant liturgy were primarily improvised. Given the very large number of possible tone combinations for plainchant psalmody, it would have been much easier for skilled organists to improvise their own transitions than to find a Procrustean solution in existing organ works.

Conclusion

The writings of Marinelli and other authors addressing the organ's role in the Offices make clear that liturgical organists needed to possess intimate familiarity with plainchant, and that their improvisations were shaped by the organ's role in leading the choir and celebrants. Organ improvisation was undertaken not merely as an adornment to worship, but fulfilled a variety of functions in facilitating and regulating singing. The persons most directly served by improvisation were the priestly celebrants (who were not necessarily very musical) and the choir, comprising singers of varying musical training and ability. For modern organists recovering lost improvisational practices, plainchant manuals can provide valuable insights into the constraints that shaped the music of their Renaissance and Baroque forebearers.

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[19] The elusive relationship between the plainchant psalm tones, *falso bordone,* and the instrumental toccata is explored in (BRADSHAW 1978, pp. 73-81).

Appendix

Instructions for Organists in Italian Baroque Plainchant Manuals. A Selective Bibliography of Printed Sources, Ordered by Year of First Publication

Not included in this bibliography are the numerous counterpoint, composition, and comprehensive treatises that address relevant aspects of psalmody and keyboard improvisation, but with an emphasis on vocal polyphony, by authors such as Zarlino, Pontio, Zacconi, Angleria, Penna, Bononcini, and Tevo.

Organ Treatises Addressing Aspects of Plainchant Performance

ASOLA, G.M. (1592, 1596, 1603, 1607, 1615, 1616, 1621, 1625, 1635), Canto fermo sopra Messe, hinni, et altre cose ecclesiastiche appartenenti à' sonatori d'organo, per giustamente rispondere al choro, Giacomo Vincenti, Venice.

Asola's oft-reprinted and widely circulated publication contains virtually no commentary, instead providing authoritative exemplars of the most important chants to which organists must respond.

DIRUTA, G. (vol. I: 1593; vol. II: 1609, 1622), *Il Transilvano: dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, e i istromenti da penna*, Giacomo Vincenti, Venice. In facsimile: Bologna, Forni, 1969.

BANCHIERI, A. (1605), *L'Organo suonarino*, op. 13, Venice: Amadino, 1605; 2nd ed., op. 25, Venice: Amadino, 1611; 3rd ed., op. 43, Venice: Vincenti, 1622; reprint of 1622 edition, Venice: Vincenti, 1627; 4th ed., Venice: Vincenti, 1638. In facsimile (based mainly on the 1605 edition but containing unique portions of the others): Bologna: Forni, 1978.

_____ (1609), *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, heirs of Gio. Rossi, Bologna. In facsimile: Bologna: Forni, 1968.

_____ (1614), *Cartella musicale*, Giacomo Vincenti, Venice.

The only one of Banchieri's five *Cartella* publications to bear the exact name *Cartella musicale* contains a great deal more material than the other four editions: *Cartella overo regole utilissime* (Venice: Vincenti, 1601); *La Cartella del R.P.D. Adriano Banchieri* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1610); *La Cartellina musicale* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1615); and *La Banchierina overo cartella picciola* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1623). In facsimile: Bologna: Forni, 1968.

BOTTAZZI, B. (1614), *Choro et Organo: Primo Libro in cui con facil modo s'apprende in poco tempo un sicuro methodo di sonar sù'l Organo Messe, Antifone, & Hinni sopra ogni maniera di canto fermo, et si trattano con ottimo ordine alcune regole di Intavolatura, & si dano alcuni necessarii avvertimenti, & essempi pertinenti al vero, & perfetto organista, novamente trovato, e posto in luce à beneficio di chi professa*

l'arte dell'Organiste reale, Giacomo Vincenti, Venice. In facsimile: Bologna: Forni, 1980.

Includes several pages of instructions on counterpoint (especially counterpoint against a *cantus firmus*) before providing many sample Mass and hymn versets in Italian keyboard tablature. For each verset and for the eight canticle tones (for which no versets are included), Bottazzi also supplies the *cantus firmus* in plainchant notation for use as a model.

ROSSI, G.B. (1618), *Organo de' cantori per intendere da se stesso ogni passo difficile che si trova nella musica, et anco per imparare Contrapunto*, Gardano, Venice. In facsimile: Bologna: Forni, 1984.

The title is slightly misleading, for this book is not so much an organ treatise as a composition manual. It presents the psalm tone *cantus firmi* along with listings in keyboard notation of the corresponding interior and final cadential degrees at the most common transposition levels, as well as *falsi bordoni* in *partitura*.

SABBATINI, P.P. (1650), *Toni ecclesiastici colle sue intonationi, all'uso Romano. Modo per sonare il Basso continuo, chiavi corrispondenti all'altre chiavi generali, & ordinarie, per beneficio de' principianti*, Lodovico Grignani, Rome.

In this slim volume the author presents model versets in the form of two- and four-part *falsi bordoni* in *partitura* format for the organ, with the texted psalm-tone *cantus firmi* in the top voice. His use of both black and white notation imply that parts of his settings are intended for choral performance, or at least for organ performance in a non-mensural fashion. Similar notational conventions are to be seen in certain manuscript sources in Bologna's Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, such as I-Bc DD. 53; P. 134, no. 12; and P. 138, no. 9.

Plainchant Manuals Addressing Role of Organ

GUIDETTI, G. (1582), *Directorium chori ad usum omnium ecclesiarum cathedralium, & collegiatarum*, Robertum Granjon Parisien, Rome.

> Most important redaction of Office chants during the Counter-Reformation era, reprinted often through the early 17ᵗʰ century. Though not officially promulgated by the papacy, its explanations of liturgical practice closely reflect official policy as expressed in the *Cæremoniale episcoporum* and other church pronouncements on liturgical matters. For organists, it is important mostly as an authoritative source of Office chants. Unlike the Medicean reforms of Mass chants, Guidetti's editorial hand is visible not so much in changed pitch content as in the rhythmic implications of its noteshapes.

PICERLI, S. (1630), *Specchio primo di musica, nel quale si vede chiaro non sol'il vero, facile, e breve modo d'imparar di cantare di canto figurato, e fermo; ma vi si vedon' anco dichiarate con bellissime ordine tutte le principali materie, che ivi si trattano, sciolte le maggiori difficoltà, che all'incipienti, proficienti, e perfetti in essa occorrono, e scoperti nuovi segreti nella medesima circa il cantare, comporre, e sonar di tasti, nascosti. Necessario d'haversi sempre da'predetti non sol'in camera per conservarlo; ma appresso di se per rimirarlo, intenderlo, e pratticarlo*, Ottavio Beltrano, Naples.

Really a composition treatise rather than a plainchant treatise, but pp. 73-81 address special problems encountered in plainchant. Among other things, Picerli describes a method for maintaining the reciting tones of successive psalms on the same pitch. Specchio secondo, 1631, addresses the place of the psalm tones in polyphonic composition, transposition, and the composition of new chants.

CROCI, A. (1642), *Geminato compendio, overo Duplicata guida altretanto curiosa, quanto necessaria per giungere facilmente alla perfettione del Canto Piano, over Fermo, e d'imparare il modo di ben ordinare l'Uffitio prescritto nelle rubriche del Breviario Romano, tradotte in lingua volgare con quelle de Santi Min. Conv. di San Francesco, a benefitio universale de' religiosi, massimamente, novizzi, professi, e monache claustrali*, il Ginami, Venice.

Primarily liturgical rather than musical in focus, Croci's book summarizes the requirements of the Roman breviary for the Offices, addressing such matters as when antiphons must be repeated and the precedence of conflicting feasts. Provides a listing very similar to Banchieri's in *L'Organo suonarino* of the modes for the *Magnificat* antiphons for first and second vespers throughout the year. This book is a useful reference for liturgical reconstructions, but provides few specific instructions for organists.

D'AVELLA, G. (1657), *Regole di musica, divise in cinque trattati, con le quali s'insegna il canto fermo, e figurato, per vere, e facili regole Il modo di fare il contrapunto. Di comporre l'uno, e l'altro canto. Di cantare alcuni canti difficili, e molte cose nuoue, e curiose*, Francesco Moneta, Rome.

Relatively little to say on role of organ, but included here because he was an important influence on other theorists who do, including Marinelli and Coferati. D'Avella devotes considerable space to the role of sharps in plainchant, implicitly reflecting the influence of polyphonic modality and the role of the organ. He also addresses the problem of adjusting pitch levels between successive psalms. His teachings on plainchant reflect a mystical bent; he is one of the few Seicento plainchant theorists to address modal affect, and he also relates the modes to the planets, referring to modal mixture as eclipse.

STELLA, G.M. (1665), *Breve instruttione alli giovanni per imparare con ogni facilità il canto fermo...con una regola al chorista per ben regger'il choro, ed un'altra all'organista per lasciar in tono con l'organo i canti, ch'occorrono in tutto l'anno*, Giacomo Fei, Rome.

One of the most oft-cited and highly regarded plainchant manuals of the Seicento. Extensive instructions for organists, including a chapter entitled *Dell'Officio dell'organista nel lasciar in tono con l'organo tutti li canti, che occorrono in tutto l'anno*, pp. 125-27. Instructions for maintaining reciting tone at consistent level in psalmody and on the role of the organ in Mass and Offices. Addresses pitch levels of «Roman» vs. «Lombard» organs.

DIONIGI, M. (1648, 1667), *Primi tuoni overo introduzione del canto fermo con l'aggiunta d'altri tuoni*, Mario Vigna, Parma.

Only the 1667 edition includes instructions for organ, derived primarily from Stella. Relatively simple compared to Stella, on which much of it is based.

Reflects practices of Parma cathedral, of which Dionigi was guardacoro. Includes *Magnificat* transpositions.

MARINELLI, G.C. (1671), *Via retta della voce corale, overo osservationi intorno al Retto esercitio del canto fermo divise in cinque parti, ove si dà un' esattissima, e facilissima instruttione di quest' Arte, con un nuovo modo di reggere, e mantenere il coro sempre in una medesima voce, si per la parte del corista, come anco dell'organista*, Giacomo Monti, Bologna.

One of the most important Seicento plainchant manuals in both content and influence. Very rich detail on role of organ in Mass and Office. Includes extensive discussion of maintaining the reciting tones of successive psalms at the same level (the *voce corale*) in both a cappella and organ-alternatim performance. Like Stella, addresses pitch levels of «Roman» vs. «Lombard» organs.

COFERATI, M (1682), *Il cantore addottrinato, ovvero regole del canto corale, ove con breve, e facil metodo s'insegna la pratica de' precetti piu necessari del Canto Fermo; Il modo di mantenere il Coro sempre all medesima altezza di voce; di ripigliare dove resta l'Organo di intonare molte cose, che fra l'anno si cantano, e inparticolare tutti gli inni*, Vincenzo Vangelisti, Florence. Reissued by various other printers 1691, 1708, 1710. Elementary sections on fundamentals excerpted and published as *Il scolare addottrinato* by various printers, Florence, 1714, 1726, 1733, 1737, 1746, 1765, 1775, 1778, 1785, 1792, 1795, 1797, 1803, 1826, and 1843.

Very important for the detail it provides about performance practices at Florence's cathedral, particularly the extensive discussion of the application of unwritten sharps in plainchant. Coferati's most important sources are Aiguino, d'Avella, and Marinelli. See M. DODDS (2003).

ZAPATA, M. (1682), *Ristretto over breve discorso sopra le regole di canto fermo*, Giuseppe dall'Oglio and Ippolito Rosati, Parma.

Discusses sharps in plainchant as well as transposition. Accepts twelve-mode system.

DI MODENA, A. (1690), *Canto fermo harmonico in cinque parti diviso, col quale sì può arrivare alla perfetta cognitione del canto fermo*, heirs of Cassiani, Modena.

Chapter on the office of the organist, pp. 217-19. Extensive discussion of psalm tones, sharps in plainchant, and especially canto fratto, to which di Modena (alternatively spelled di Modona) devotes a substantial portion of his book.

SCORPIONE, D. (1702), *Istruzioni corali non meno utili, che necessarie à chiunque desidera essere vero professore del canto piano*, Stamperia arcivescovile, Benevento.

Provides detailed listing of keys, transposition levels, and starting and ending pitches for many Mass and Office chants.

[BERTALOTTI, A.M.] (1698), *Regole facilissime per apprendere con facilita e prestezza li canti fermo e figurato dati alle stampe per comodo delli*

putti delle scuole pie di Bologna, Marino Silvani, Bologna. Originally printed without attributioin; subsequently reprinted with attribution to Bertalotti, minus section on canto figurato and with expanded discussion of canto fermo, as *Regole utilissime per apprendere con fondamento, e facilità il canto fermo*, Bologna, 1706, 1713, 1716, 1720, 1744, 1756, 1778, 1820.

Cast in dialogue form, with considerable discussion of problems involved in pitch level and transposition. Noteworthy for adoption of both twelve-mode theory (with respect to plainchant) and its implicitly major-minor conceptualization of mode for the organist; in spite of this, cautions against excessive use of sharps in plainchant. Transposition instructions reflect consciousness of temperament limitations of contemporaneous organs.

FREZZA DALLE GROTTE, G. (1698, 1715, 1733), *Il cantore ecclesiastico. Breve, facile, ed essatta notizia del canto fermo per istruzzione de' religiosi minori conventuali, e beneficio commune di tutti gl'ecclesiastici*, Giovanni Manetti, Padua.

Addresses maintaining the same ideal reciting tone for successive psalms. Provides multiple transposition alternatives for Office and Mass chants, for «Roman», «Lombard», and «higher than Lombard» organs. Important discussion of sharps in plainchant and of canto fratto.

SANTORO, F.S. (1715), *Scola di canto fermo in cui s'insegnano facilissime, e chiare regole per ben cantare, e componere, non meno utile, che necessaria ad ogni ecclesiastico*, Novello de Bonis, Naples.

Extensive discussion of role of organist, cantor, and even page-turner. Cites Scorpione and Banchieri often. Also includes listing of psalm tones with sharps.

PORTA FERRARI, C.A. (1732), *Il canto fermo ecclesiastico*, Bartolomeo Soliani, Modena.

Extensive discussion of psalm tones and psalmody with organ, including transposition conventions. Accepts twelve-mode system for chant. Reacts against the excessive use of sharps in plainchant by some musicians, arguing that it alters the mode of chants.

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