

The Italian Organ Mass

Bridging the Gap between Faenza Codex (c.1430) and Fiori musicali (1635)

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a comprehensive study of Italian liturgical organ works from the 15th to 17th centuries. This music was composed for the Catholic Mass, and it demonstrates the development of Italian keyboard style and the incorporation of new genres into the organ Mass, such as a Toccata before the Mass, music for the Offertory, and the Elevation Toccata. This often neglected corpus of music deserves greater scholarly attention.

The Italian organ Mass begins with the *Faenza Codex* of c.1430, which contains the earliest surviving liturgical music for organ. Over a century would pass before Girolamo Cavazzoni published his three organ Masses in 1543: Mass IV (for feasts of apostles), Mass IX (for Marian feasts) and Mass XI (for typical Sundays of the year). The prevalence of publishing in Venice and the flourishing liturgical culture at San Marco led two notable organists, Andrea Gabrieli and Claudio Merulo, to publish their own Masses in 1563 and 1568. Both composers cultivated imitation and figurative lines which were often replete with ornamentation.

Frescobaldi's *Fiori musicali*, published in Venice in 1635, represents the pinnacle of the Italian organ Mass. Reflecting the type of music he performed liturgically at San Pietro in Rome, this publication includes several new genres: canzonas after the reading of the Epistle and after Communion; ricercars after the Credo; and toccatas to be played during the Elevation of the Host. Frescobaldi's music shows unparalleled mastery of counterpoint and invention of figuration. His liturgical music casts a long shadow over

the three composers who published organ Masses in the decade following *Fiori musicali*: Giovanni Salvatore, Fra Antonio Croci and Giovanni Battista Fasolo.

This comprehensive look at Italian organ Masses from the 15th-17th centuries reveals the musical creativity inspired by the Catholic liturgy. Perhaps because of their practical use, these organ works are often neglected, mentioned merely as addenda to the other accomplishments of these composers. Hopefully insight into the contents of each organ Mass, along with the information about their style and aspects of performance practice, will make these musical gems more accessible to contemporary organists.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since its invention in the 3rd century BCE, the organ has been an institutional instrument. The earliest organs (called *hydraulis* because their wind was stabilized by water pressure) were used outdoors, where their powerful sounds could rouse a crowd, such as during a gladiator match. In the 8th century, an organ was sent from the Byzantine Emperor to King Pippin's Frankish court, where it became an object of fascination. By the 13th century, Aegidius of Zamora, Head of the Franciscan Order, wrote that the Church used only the organ for its various chants, sequences, and hymns. From this time until the present day, much of the music composed for organ is intended for use in or around church services.

The earliest surviving liturgical music is contained in the *Faenza Codex* of c. 1430. Written on two staves, the texture is that associated with late-medieval keyboard music, where the bottom line played by the left hand carries the plainsong in long notes underneath a florid freely composed line for the right hand. Only one Mass, *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, is used by the anonymous composer of the *Faenza Codex*, and only the Kyrie and Gloria are set as verses to be used in alternation with the sung chant, known as the *alternatim* practice.

The Italian organ Mass would develop enormously over the next two centuries to encompass three different Mass settings, with alternatim verses for the five parts of the Mass Ordinary, and to include pieces in different styles and textures which provided

music for many of the liturgical actions of the Mass. By 1635, when Girolamo Frescobaldi published his collection of liturgical music, *Fiori musicali*, the Italian organ Mass contained alternatim verses freed from the constraints of plainsong, introductory and Elevation toccatas, ricercars and canzonas.

This project explores the evolution of the Italian organ Mass from its beginnings in the *Faenza Codex*, through the works of Venetian Renaissance composers, culminating in the liturgical masterpieces of Frescobaldi which reflect his accompaniment of the Mass at the Vatican in the 1620s and 1630s. Table A1 lists all of the known Italian organ Masses between the 15th and 17th centuries, and it is interesting to note how many of them were published in Venice.

As an important commercial and cultural center, Venice's affluence during the 16th century made possible the printing of many musical sources. Thanks to the publication of organ music, we can glean information about the type of music that adorned Venetian services, tracing stylistic developments as musicians experimented with new compositional techniques. Improvements in organ design and the cultivation of dissonance pushed the limits of what was considered appropriate for music within the liturgical context.

The musical Mass is a sacred composition which contains portions of the liturgy set to music. Since they are based on liturgical texts, they are most commonly composed for voices; however, Renaissance and Baroque composers sometimes wrote instrumental settings which could be used in alternatim. The focus of this project are collections of

organ music which were used in this way; short instrumental verses which could substitute for every other verse of the Mass Ordinary texts. Over time composers added incidental music as well to accompany liturgical actions, such as the Elevation of the Host, or to punctuate sections of the Mass: after the reading of the Epistle, for example.

The Mass contains two distinct sets of texts, known as the Ordinary and the Proper. The Ordinary contains the parts of the text which are used for every Mass celebration, and the Proper includes texts which differ depending on the occasion. The Ordinary is comprised of the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Benedictus, and Agnus Dei. Two parts of the Proper which were often also included in the organ Masses were the Offertory and Communion.

The definition for an organ Mass as provided by Oxford Music Online is “a collection of versets for the organ replacing parts of the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass and played in alternation (*alternatim*) with the sung portions.” The Kyrie is the first part of the Mass ordinary and the section most commonly set with organ verses by Italian composers. The nine lines of text are organized in ABA form: a threefold Kyrie eleison leads to a threefold Christe eleison and then returns to the opening Kyrie. Italian composers had different ways of arranging the organ verses for *alternatim*, but the earliest scheme is regular alternation: Kyrie (organ), Kyrie (plainsong sung by cantor or singers in unison), Kyrie (organ), Christe (plainsong), Christe (organ), Christe (plainsong), Kyrie (organ), Kyrie (plainsong), and Kyrie (organ). This arrangement is already present in the 15th-century *Faenza* settings. By the time the Council of Trent

(1545-1563) convened to standardize the Mass, the style was fully integrated and had become an accepted part of the Mass Ordinary.

Similarly, the other parts of the Mass Ordinary—the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei—could be performed liturgically as an alternation between organ and sung plainsong. Italian composers vary in the sections they include and in the ways in which they structure the alternation. But they are remarkably uniform in choosing to set the plainsong of three Masses from the *Kyriale Romanum*: Mass IV (*Cunctipotens genitor Deus*), Mass IX (*Cum júbilo*) and Mass XI (*Orbis factor*). The functions for each of these Masses led to Italian “nicknames” for them. Thus, Mass IV, for feasts of the Apostles, became *Missa degli Apostoli*; Mass IX, for Marian feasts, became *Missa della Madonna*; and Mass XI, for typical Sundays, became *Missa della Domenica*.

In this project, I will codify extant Italian organ Masses from the 15th through the 17th centuries, bridging the gap from the *Faenza Codex* to *Fiori musicali* and beyond. As well as illuminating the ways in which the contents of the organ collections changed over time, this study will reveal the progression of compositional styles which led from the basic cantus firmus settings in *Faenza* to the highly stylized movements of *Fiori musicali*, as well as the collections inspired by Frescobaldi in the years following.

CHAPTER 2

THE FAENZA CODEX (BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE MS 117)

The *Faenza Codex* c.1430 (Faenza, Biblioteca comunale MS 117) contains the earliest source of liturgical music for the organ as well as the earliest music for alternatim practice. This source was lost to modern scholarship until its rediscovery in the Public Library of Faenza in 1939. Previously, the oldest known examples of organ Mass movements were from the 15th-century *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, which contains three Kyrie settings based on Mass IX. The rediscovery of the *Faenza Codex* demonstrated that composers in southern Europe were also cultivating organ music for the Mass.

In the *Faenza* Mass settings, the long tenor notes carry the plainsong from Mass IV, *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*. Over this foundation, the anonymous composer of the *Faenza Codex* has created an intricate treble line containing repeated notes, interpolation of notes and rests, diminution, and other devices. This diversity of figuration, along with the rhythmic play against the regular cantus firmus in the tenor, infuses the top part with a truly instrumental character. (Plamenac 1952, 315) Figure 1 is an example from the first Kyrie in *Faenza* and shows the florid treble passages over the slow tenor plainsong.

The texture for the *Faenza* settings is very different from the German Kyries. The *Faenza* verses are in two parts only, whereas the German pieces are in three and even four parts, creating a much fuller sound. The Italian music has a much more linear feel, with long notes in the tenor supporting a highly figurative treble voice.



Figure 1: *Faenza Codex* - Kyrie 1 *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, mm. 1-4

When compared with the *Faenza* excerpt, the German Kyries seem much more homophonic, and this more chordal approach is conducive to the use of pedal, which is indicated at several points in the manuscript score. The textural differences between these sources is evident when compared with this third Kyrie from *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, shown in Figure 2.

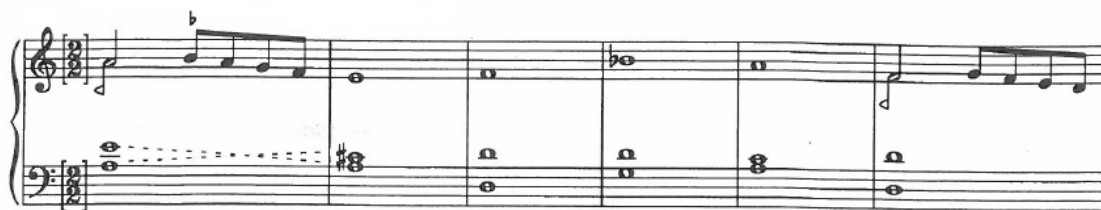


Figure 2: *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* - Kyrie 4 *Kyrieleyson de S. Maria v.*, mm. 1-6

Unlike the secular music contained in the *Faenza Codex*, the liturgical pieces are not arrangements of vocal or instrumental music. The only pre-existing model for the movements is the plainsong of Mass IV. As Table A2 shows, *Faenza* contains two sets of liturgical movements, with the second set considerably more complete than the first.

“Both groups are based on the plainsong of Mass IV, *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, and are meant to alternate with singers by providing the chant for every other phrase of the text. The long tenor notes carry the plainsong, which is embellished by a treble voice of unusual sophistication and rhythmic complexity.” (Marshall 2000, 18)

In the first set, only one Kyrie is provided for each statement of the text. Some researchers believe that in performance the voices would have begun the Kyrie, with the organ providing the second of the three statements of Kyrie eleison. Another option, and the more likely one based on how later composers treated the organ Mass, is the organ simply repeated the same piece for the first and third statements of Kyrie eleison, with the choir providing the second verse. This scheme is the same as the second set, which contains two verses for the Kyrie. In this case, the organ undoubtedly began the *alternatim*.

The *Faenza Codex* also contains a clearly marked independent Kyrie which is not part of a set. It is difficult to understand why there would be only one setting, but since it is based on the same plainsong (Mass IV), it is possible this movement could have been substituted for a Kyrie in one of the other Mass settings. (Apel 1972, 28) The *Codex* contains two treatments of *Benedicamus Domino*, used in place of the *Ite missa est* to conclude Masses during seasons such as Lent. The other Mass movements in *Faenza Codex* are from Mass IV which includes a *Gloria*, so the *Benedicamus Domino* verses would not have been used during the same service as the other Mass movements found in *Faenza*. Interestingly, the two Mass sets open the two basic sections of the *Faenza*

Codex, while a *Benedicamus Domino* closes each set. (Plamenac 1972, VIII) Perhaps this was the compiler's way of showing that even though it contained arrangements of secular music, the manuscript transcended the earthly realm, framed by the opening and closing music of the Mass.

The music in *Faenza Codex* is notated on two staves which are metrically organized by barlines. This suggests performance by one player on an intabulating instrument such as an organ, lute or harp. Given the organ's standing as the only instrument allowed by the Church, it has long been assumed by scholars that the music was composed for an organist to play. Another reason for this designation is the texture of the writing, with a slow-moving tenor line accompanied by a florid upper voice. A similar approach was taken by the anonymous intabulator of the two motet intabulations in the *Robertsbridge Codex*, the earliest surviving music for organ. (Apel 1972, 24) The unknown arranger of the music does not indicate, however, which instrument(s) is/are to be used. Timothy McGee (1986) argues the music was intended for lute duo, which explores some interesting sources, but scholars have generally refuted his speculation because of the "score" notation and the liturgical music. Rather than entirely rejecting either the organ or other instruments, it seems more plausible that perhaps the music could have been played by a variety of instruments depending on the performance context. "The organ was the acknowledged 'instrument of the Church' by the thirteenth century, so the presence of polyphonic arrangements for liturgical use in the manuscript suggests that the *Faenza* pieces were composed for the organ." (Marshall 2000, 18)

The organ type for which the *Faenza Codex* was intended is not specified, nor are there any guidelines regarding registration. There is little information about Italian instruments in the early 15th century generally, although specifications abound in the 16th century. These records indicate large Italian organs contained a divided principal chorus based on a Principale 8' or 16', with an additional rank or two of flute pipes. This specification from the famous 15th-century instrument in Bologna, based on what Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini suggests could be the original form, demonstrates the contours which were to govern the construction of Renaissance instruments in Italy. (Marshall 2000, 12)

San Petronio Church, Bologna

Lorenzo di Giacomo da Prato Organ, 1474

AA-c3, 50 notes without BB-flat or b-flat2

Principale 16' (20' AA)

Ottava (2 ranks in treble) (10' AA)

Decimaquinta 4'

Flauto in decimaquinta 4'

Decimanona 2 2/3'

Vigesimaseconda 2'

Vigesimasesta 1 1/3'

Vigesimanona 1'

another rank of ripieno

It is not known exactly when Italian organ builders started to divide the principal chorus into discrete parts, but there is evidence for the separation of low principals from high mixtures in Dutch organ contracts from the middle of the 15th century. On this basis, Kimberly Marshall (2000) suggests “the verses of the Kyrie might alternate between the 8' or 4' Principal chorus and the low Principals without Mixtures.” When performing

these pieces it is important to be aware of the great capabilities of early Italian instruments, using the full resources of a large plenum, if available.

CHAPTER 3

ITALIAN ORGAN MASSES 1500-1600

The 16th century was a particularly prolific time for composition in Italy, and the advent of publishing helped to preserve many early musical works. Some of the notable composers during this period were Domenico Ferrabosco, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Carlo Gesualdo, Giovanni Gabrieli and Claudio Giovanni Antonio Monteverdi. Composition for the organ also flourished and was largely centered around the city of Venice and its illustrious Cathedral Basilica San Marco. Despite this time of burgeoning composition, the only known published organ Masses are those of Girolamo Cavazzoni, Andrea Gabrieli and Claudio Merulo. There is another known collection of unpublished Masses from the same period which were found in the *Castell d'Arquato Manuscript*, and have been attributed to the composer Jacques Brumel.

The most likely reason for the lack of extant organ Masses is the degree to which liturgical music was improvised by highly skilled organists. The existing settings may have been notated and published as models for how to accompany Mass at the organ, so less skilled musicians could learn from the leading organists of their time. Whatever the reason for their scarcity, these pieces provide insight into how Italian organists of this period led worship from the organ.

Castell d'Arquato Manuscript

Discovered in the 1940s, the unpublished manuscript found in the main church in Castell' Arquato contains three Mass settings likely written between 1530 and 1550:

Missa in Solemnitatibus Beatae Mariae, Messa de le Dominica and Messa dell' apostoli.

Knud Jeppesen (1960) attributes these pieces to the organist Jacques Brumel, who worked from 1533 to 1564 in the court of Ferrara. This assumption is made based upon the name Jaques which appears at the end of the *Kyrie ultimus*. These organ Masses, like the *Faenza Codex* of the previous century and those of contemporary Masses, were composed to be used in alternation with choir. Also included in the collection are two Credos, one written at the end of *Messa de la Dominica* and the other, separate from a specific setting, is based on Credo IV (*Credo cardinalis*). (Apel 1972, 112) For the complete listing of the verses, see Table A3.

The verses contained in this collection are basically written in four parts; however, the composer did not adhere to strict counterpoint as there are regular occurrences of up to seven notes sounding simultaneously and then abruptly shifting to as few as three voices. This technique of adding and taking away voices is similar to that used by Marco Antonio Cavazzoni in his *Ricercars*, published in 1523. The *cantus firmus* can be found moving between the voices and does not always strictly follow the Gregorian melody, though it is fairly easily recognized. (Apel 1972, 112) The four-part texture of the Brumel organ verses demonstrates the great development of polyphonic treatment at the organ in the century following the composition of the *Faenza* pieces, and can be seen in the excerpt from the Gloria in Figure 3.



Figure 3: *Castell d'Arquato Manuscript* - Primo Verso della Gloria - *Missa dell' Apostoli*, mm. 1-6

Girolamo Cavazzoni

The first composer to publish Masses in the 16th century was Girolamo Cavazzoni. Like many organists of his time, he followed in the footsteps of his father, Marco Antonio Cavazzoni, a respected organist and published composer. Girolamo was probably born around 1525, judging from his note in the preface to his 1543 publication which says he was about 17 years old. He was considered to be one of the best musicians of the period.

G. Cavazzoni's Masses are from 1543 and are part of a collection entitled *Intabulatura d'organo, cioe misse, himni, magnificat... libro secondo*. (His first organ book was devoted to ricercars and canzonas.) As Table A4 shows, the collection contains the three Masses most commonly set by Italian organ composers: Mass IV, Mass IX and Mass XI. Girolamo Cavazzoni is the first composer for which we have published music based on this missal triptych. (The *Castell d'Arquato* organ Mass verses, probably by Brumel, are also based on these three Masses, as indicated by the nicknames used for them in the manuscript.)

Girolamo's settings of Masses IV and XI contain all five parts of the Mass Ordinary. The third setting, based on Mass IX of the Graduale, *Cum júbilo*, includes the Marian tropes at the end of the Gloria, customary before their elimination by the Council of Trent: *Mariam sanctificans, Mariam gubernans and Mariam coranans Jesu Christe*. This setting does not include a credo, although there is a note suggesting the credo from Mass IV may be used if desired.

All three Masses composed by G. Cavazzoni contain a Kyrie - Christe - Kyrie sequence of only one piece each, with the directions "Iterum repetitur" for the Kyries, meaning both Kyries should be repeated to create the necessary aaa bbb ccc form. This was not the case in the *Faenza Codex* a century prior, where two of the Masses have complete Kyries, with 5 organ verses. (Interestingly, there are only three Kyrie versets in the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, so the first and last verses may have been intended to be repeated, as in G. Cavazzoni.)

The *Faenza* settings were written in two parts with a free ornamented line over the long plainsong notes, while Girolamo composes in a fuller texture of 3-4 voices, including homophonic and imitative textures. He used points of imitation so skillfully that, to modern ears, they sound fugal for several bars. While he does not use the titles *ricercare* or *canzona* for any of the movements of his Masses, they follow the same structure as his pieces in these genres from his first organ book. Significantly, Girolamo regularly writes out ornamentation, giving us insight into how his music should be embellished. The notation of florid ornamentation, such as is seen in Figure 4, was to

become a hallmark of the Italian baroque style.



Figure 4: Cavazzoni - Kyrie primus (*Missa Apostolorum*), mm. 21-24

In addition to being an organist, composer and teacher, G. Cavazzoni also served as a consultant on new instruments. One of these was the organ of the church of Santa Barbara, Mantua (about 160km from Venice), where he regularly played Mass. (It was constructed by the father of one of his students, Constanzo Antegnati.) Although constructed about 20 years later than the publication of Girolamo's organ Masses, the Antegnati organ in Mantua gives a clear idea of which stops and registrations are suitable for his music.

Built in 1565 by Graziadio Antegnati, the organ at Santa Barbara contains nine ripieno stops, two flutes and a *fiffaro*. It was based on the 16' pitch, resulting in a very rich sound. The *fiffaro* on this instrument, also sometimes called a *voce umana*, is a uniquely Italian stop from the second half of the 16th century. The register contains principal-scaled pipes which are mistuned with the Principale, so that when the two are used together there results an undulating effect similar to a modern celeste stop. On most instruments this would be an 8' stop, but given the size of the Antegnati instrument in Mantua, it is at 16' pitch to match the Principale. The pedal is permanently coupled to the

manuals and has no stops of its own. The organ has a short octave like most instruments of its time. It also has split keys for D#/Eb and G#/Ab, which allowed the organist to create two more pure major thirds (B-D# and Ab-C) than is possible with quarter-comma meantone temperament. The following specification is taken from the website dedicated to this instrument, www.antegnatisantabarbara.it/en/organ-antegnati-stops.asp.

Santa Barbara Church, Mantua
Graziadio Antegnati Organ, 1565
Compass: C2 - F6
Principale 16'
Fiffaro 16'
Ottava 8'
Decima Quinta 4'
Decima Nona 2 2/3'
Vigesima Seconda 2'
Vegesima Sesta 1 1/3'
Vegesima Nona 1'
Trigesima Terza 2/3'
Trigesima Sesta 1/2'
Flauto in XIX 2 2/3'
Flauto in VIII 8'

Andrea Gabrieli

The Italian composer and organist Andrea Gabrieli was most likely born in Venice around 1532/3. Venice was a center of considerable wealth, power and influence, and many musicians worked there, often under the patronage of the Church. (While still Catholic, the Republic of Venice was independent from Rome and therefore free to experiment with music in the context of worship.) San Marco was the center of sacred music in Venice, and in 1557 A. Gabrieli was one of ten applicants vying for the post of

organist left vacant by Girolamo Parabosco, ultimately won by Claudio Merulo. Less than ten years later, however, after Annibale Padovano failed to return from leave to his post as organist, Andrea began permanent work at San Marco, where he remained until his death in 1585.

Andrea was a highly respected teacher, and taught students from Northern Europe such as Hans Leo Hassler and Gregor Aichinger, as well as Venetian students including his nephew, Giovanni Gabrieli. He was a prolific composer, publishing music in most of the popular genres of the day, both sacred and secular. In his keyboard music, he adopted the standard forms of toccata, ricercar, canzona and *intonazione*, the influence of which can be seen in his Mass settings. It is interesting to note that Giovanni, who was a highly skilled organist and composer in Venice like his uncle, did not publish any Masses of which we are aware.

Contained within Andrea Gabrieli's *Libro quarto delle sue Tabuladure (1563)* are the same three Masses used by G.Cavazzoni: *Messa Domenichal (Orbis factor)*, *Messa della Beata Virgine (Cum júbilo)* and *Messa Apostolorum (Cunctipotens genitor Deus)*. All the individual verses are listed in Table A5. Andrea's publication is the first time we find a toccata included as part of the Mass setting, though it is untitled. Of his three Masses, only the first, *Messa Domenichal*, begins with a piece of this type. The toccata, shown in Figure 5, is lengthy in comparison to the later opening toccatas of Frescobaldi. It begins homophonically and then develops into very florid passages alternating between the left and right hands.



Figure 5: Gabrieli - Toccata (*Messa Domenichal*), mm. 5-8

It is possible this toccata was used as an intonation, to set the tone for the choir to sing the Kyrie. Andrea supplies only one Kyrie verse at the beginning of each of the three Masses for the first Kyrie. In both the *Messa Domenichal* and *Messa della Beata Virgine* he includes two Kyrie verses for the second statement of the Kyrie eleison, but only one for the *Messa Apostolorum*. The text incipit is printed at the beginning of each verse, although the music is not based on the corresponding chant for the Mass Ordinary (unlike the *Faenza Codex* which uses the plainsong as the foundation for the music).

In Italian organ Masses, the Credo is sometimes omitted from organ settings, probably because of the importance of the text as the statement of Christian belief. In 1600 the Roman Catholic Church codified the manner of performing services in the *Cerimoniale Episcoporum*, or “Ceremonial of Bishops,” and this important document for liturgical music ordered the Creed to no longer be done in alternation between the organ and voices, but that the people must sing all the words. (Gabrieli 1958, ii) There may have been a practice of singing/reciting the full text of the Credo even before this, which would explain the lack of a Credo in some of the early organ Masses.

There were times, however, when it was necessary for the organ to play parts of the Credo. The Italian composer and organist Adriano Banchieri (1609) explained that sometimes the words of the Credo were said aloud while the organist played. He wrote in his ninth “conclusion” for playing the organ that “in the Mass, the Creed should be sung entirely by the chorus for the greater devotion of the believers. It alternates, however, with the organ whenever there may be a small number of faithful in the choir, and the organ responds with musical notes. But while the organ sounds, a cleric with a clear voice reads the verset.” The following example from the *Patrem* verse of the Credo in Andrea’s *Messa Domenichal* is based on long, slow moving voices; it also includes an excellent display of written out ornamentation. This *Patrem* verse would have been played in response to the first phrase of the Credo being chanted, and, though not followed exactly, the tune would have been recognized by someone familiar with the plainsong.



Figure 6: Gabrieli - Credo [*Patrem*] (*Messa Domenichal*), mm. 1-5

Two of the three Masses in Andrea’s *Libro quarto delle sue Tabuladure* include the Credo verses, but *Messa della Beata Vergine* does not. However, like G. Cavazzoni notated in his score, perhaps Andrea intended for one of the other Credos to be used. All three contain settings for the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus. In an otherwise very complete collection, the final part of the Ordinary, the Agnus Dei, is missing from Andrea’s *Messa*

Apostolorum. Sandra Dalla Libera (1958) speculates it is probable this was not an intentional omission on the part of Andrea, but rather it was erroneously excluded when the collection was published.

A. Gabrieli does not leave any information about how to register his music on the organ. Nevertheless, the instrument over which he presided at San Marco was similar to other Italian organs for which we have some information, so it may be possible to extrapolate ideas for the performance of his music. The specification of the late fifteenth-century organ in San Marco has many similarities to the later instrument at Santa Barbara, Mantua for which G.Cavazzoni was consultant. It contains seven ripieno stops, beginning on the F a fifth lower than 16-foot C. It has only one flute (an octave higher than the Principale) and no fiffaro, as this was a later innovation. Similarly, there were no independent stops for the pedal.

San Marco Church, Venice
Fra Urbino Organ, c. 1490
Sub-Principal-Bas 24'
Principal 16'
Octava 8'
Quintadecima 4'
Decimanona 2 2/3'
Vicesima secunda 2'
Vicemasima sesta 1 1/3'
Vicesima nona 1'
Flauto 8'
Pulldown pedal

This specification is listed as given in Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Hamburg, 1739 (Jeppesen 1943, 27)

Claudio Merulo

Born in 1533, Claudio Merulo was one of the most influential musicians in Europe by the end of the 16th century. He transformed keyboard genres from simple pieces based on vocal forms, which had been the standard of his predecessors, into virtuosic works incorporating intricate figuration in both hands. He published organ compositions in both sacred and secular genres, and his style came to characterize the Venetian school. Merulo valued quality instruments and was highly involved with organ builders and craftsmen. Records show him having instruments modified and repaired, and he even personally built a small chamber organ which is still playable today.

Merulo became the principal organist of San Marco, Venice, when he was thirty-five, though he had already been the assistant organist there for almost a decade. When he was promoted, his elder colleague, Andrea Gabrieli, took on the role of assistant. Like his predecessor, Merulo composed his three organ Masses, which were published in 1568, while he was organist of San Marco; these probably reflect the type of music he played for the liturgy on a regular basis during his tenure there.

Merulo included the five Kyrie and Christe verses required to perform the first part of the Mass ordinary without repeating a verse, like the complete setting in the *Faenza Codex*. All three of his Masses include five versets to be used in alternatim with the choir: Kyrie, Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie, Kyrie. As in the *Kyriale Romanum*, Merulo presents his organ Masses without the Credo in the place where it would be used during a service. However, he does add the Credo verses at the end, and they correspond with

Credos I, III and IV of the *Graduale Romanum*. Unlike G.Cavazzoni and A.Gabrieli, who did not include a Credo with their Mass IX (*Cum júbilo*), Merulo included Credo verses for all three of his Masses. (See Table A6 for the complete listing of the verses.)

In the Masses of G.Cavazzoni and A.Gabrieli there was no strict relationship between the plainsong and the organ versets. While Merulo also did not use Gregorian plainsong systematically in his organ Masses, it is more present than in the music of his predecessors. “It [plainsong] can be the basis of a cantus firmus treatment (with or without anticipatory imitation) and be rhythmically varied, the source of a soggetto for imitative treatment, or can appear in a (varied) ostinato in the soprano.” (Merulo 1992, i)

His verses are much longer and more developed than the previously published Masses. He also consistently writes in four-part texture, a testament to his abilities as an accomplished composer of polyphony. Figure 7, from *Missa in dominicis diebus* shows his ability to develop a theme consistently using four parts.



Figure 7: Merulo - Gloria [Qui tollis] (*Missa in dominicis diebus*), mm. 14-21

Along with his duties as organist, composing, consulting on instruments and having three wives over the course of his life, Merulo also managed to teach both composition and keyboard. Students came from throughout Italy, and as far as Germany and Poland, to learn from him. One of his students, Girolamo Diruta, published a two-part book entitled *Il transilvano* in Venice, 1593 and 1609, in which he left insight into Merulo's technique.

According to Diruta, when playing the music of Merulo (and presumably other pieces from the same era) it is best to save the use of thumb and little finger to the ends of scales, and to capitalize on the strength of the various fingers to control tone and accent. Diruta's treatise takes the form of a dialogue between himself and a curious Transylvanian student of the organ. Diruta explains to the Transylvanian the types of diminutions found in organ music, and shares important insight for performers regarding adding additional ornamentation:

By looking at the different examples which I am about to give you and also the tablatures by various skilled men, especially those of Claudio Merulo, the intabulation of diminutions will become easier for you. He more than any other outdid himself in this fine art of intabulating diminutions, as one sees in his various published works - Masses, ricercari, *Canzone all Francese*, and toccatas. (Diruta 1984, 19)

There are four main types of ornamentation found in Italian keyboard pieces. *Groppi* and *tremoli* are trill variants, the *accenti* are escaped tones and the *clamationi* are the filling-in of an upward leap of a third. By identifying these ornaments in the music,

today's performer can play written out ornamentation as an embellishment of the music, in a freer and more spontaneous way.

Diruta, who was strongly influenced by Merulo, felt the role of the liturgical organist was significant enough to have its own section in the book. He describes the performance of organ music in the Church, where the organist must respond to the choir and select appropriate registrations for the various parts of the Mass. "At the beginning and also at the end of the Divine Offices, the organist ought to play all of the ripieno of the organ, taking care not to draw ranks other than the usual ones. Do not draw flute stops and other unusual instruments with the organ ripieno because this does not make a good blend." (Diruta 1984, 153)

Diruta gives suggestions for registration based upon the tone, or mode, of a piece (and refers to another of his books where he has discussed at length the musical effects of each). Stops should imitate the mood of the mode. For example, if the piece is melancholy in tone, a registration of Principale alone with tremolo is a good option. But a joyful and bright tone calls for a fuller registration which includes the higher pitches of the Octave and Fifteenth. Diruta's complete guidelines for registration are given in Table B1.

CHAPTER 4

GIROLAMO FRESCOBALDI AND FIORI MUSICALI

After the relatively short period of time during which Cavazzoni, Gabrieli and Merulo published Masses, there was little evidence of activity in composing organ Masses. Almost seventy years after Merulo's *Messe d'Intavolatura d'Organo*, Girolamo Frescobaldi published his collection of liturgical organ music in 1635 with the eloquent title *Fiori musicali* (Musical Flowers). Though Frescobaldi was residing in Rome, where he would remain off and on until his death, his Masses were published in Venice.

Frescobaldi was born in Ferrara, a little over 100 km from Venice. During the Renaissance Ferrara was a thriving city, and throughout his life Frescobaldi continued to be proud of his upbringing there. He was baptized in 1583 and was considered one of the greatest keyboard composers of the seventeenth century, respected for both his vocal and instrumental works. Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara was a devoted patron of the arts, and he maintained a large collection of instruments, bringing in musicians from across Europe to play them. There is a likely connection between the court of Ferrara and Frescobaldi, because in the dedication of his 1624 *Capricci* he claimed to be a student of Luzzasco Luzzaschi, who was the ducal organist. (Three of Luzzaschi's keyboard works are included in Diruta's *Il transilvano*.) If Frescobaldi did indeed learn from Luzzaschi, then it is reasonable to assume that from an early age he was exposed to such great musicians as Dowland, Lasso, Merulo, Monteverdi and Gesualdo. Throughout his life he spent time in Flanders, Mantua and Florence, but it was to Rome he would always return.

Although Frescobaldi's life and compositions are well documented, not a single instrument which he may have played remains in its unaltered state. We are fortunate, however, to have resources which give insight into the types of organs to which he would have had access throughout his career. While Frescobaldi was employed at San Pietro in Rome there were "two large fixed organs and a smaller portable one; of these, nothing remains except one façade." (Hammond 1983, 97) Nothing is known of the portative organ other than Frescobaldi inherited it in 1608 when he was appointed there.

The oldest of the two large organs was built in 1496 and "had a principal in the façade, a divided octave register allowing solo and accompaniment on the single keyboard, nine registers for the *pieno*, two ranks of flutes, and one rank of trombones." (Hammond 1983, 98) The later instrument, of which the façade remains, is from 1580 and probably was based on a 16' Principale. "An estimate prepared in 1751 for the repair of the instrument enumerated sixteen registers: three principals, two octave registers, a "fifth register" (perhaps a 2 2/3'), a 2', a 1 1/3', and another six registers for the *ripieno*, and *ottava bassa* and quint flutes." (Hammond 1983, 98) Some Italian organs from this period had the capability of pulling on all the stops of the *ripieno* with one lever, called the *tiratutti*.

Giving a music collection a title such as *Fiori musicali* was in vogue during the seventeenth century, but the name is especially fitting for these pieces. As the "last complete collection he issued, [*Fiori musicali*] does in fact represent a final flowering in its summary of the genres Girolamo had cultivated throughout his career - the *toccata*,

canzona, capriccio, ricercar, and organ-verset - and in its integration of the two contrasting strains in his work, Renaissance counterpoint and Baroque keyboard virtuosity.” (Hammond 1983, 203)

As is shown in Table A7, at the beginning of each Mass in *Fiori musicali* Frescobaldi expands on what A. Gabrieli did in his *Messa Domenical*. He includes a prefatory toccata, entitled *Toccata avanti la Messa*, to introduce the service as a sort of prelude. Frescobaldi was a master craftsman and his other published toccatas are lengthy, challenging pieces. The toccatas which preface his Masses are brief compared with his non-liturgical toccatas, but they still show his mastery of the keyboard form. In Figure 8, from the *Messa della Domenica*, Frescobaldi uses full chords, florid passages, and even a tempo shift, marked *Adasio*, to set the tone for the Mass. *Adasio* here refers to a freedom of style in performance to create the sense of improvisatory practice.



Figure 8: Frescobaldi - Toccata avanti la Messa della Domenica - mm. 1-2, 5-6

In Frescobaldi's collection several parts of the Mass are included as organ solos for the first time. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century organ Masses, only the five parts of the Mass Ordinary were set by composers, and often even the Ordinary parts were incomplete. In dramatic contrast, *Fiori musicali* contains not only more verses than necessary for the Kyrie, but the Kyrie is the only part of the Ordinary included in his Masses. Each setting starts out traditionally, with the necessary two statements of the Kyrie eleison assigned to the organ provided in all three Masses. However, for the Christe eleison, which is begun by the choir (meaning the organ only plays one statement), Frescobaldi provides four versets in *Messa della Domenica* and two versets in each of the other two Masses. The concluding Kyrie in *Messa della Domenica* contains the most extensive set of verses, with five titled *Kyrie alio modo* and one *Kyrie ultimo*. *Messi delli Apostoli* offers three versets, and *Messa della Madonna* only the necessary two. Undoubtedly the reason Frescobaldi provided so many options for his first Mass is because there are many more regular Sundays than there are feast Sundays. It is important when viewing this collection to realize it was intended as a resource for the organist to gain ideas for improvisation and to have options from which to choose to avoid playing the same verse every week.

In the Kyrie/Christe versets Frescobaldi treats the chant in three ways: "as a *cantus firmus* - often in long note-values - in any one voice; as a clear melodic shape in two or three voices against other material; and as a source of motives for points of imitation." (Hammond 1983, 205) He uses both duple and triple meters, complex

rhythmic patterns, syncopations and suspensions to create a contrast in character between the verses. As Frescobaldi points out, “among the Kyries some can be played with a fast tempo, and others with a slow one.” (Hammond 1983, 206) It is important to be sensitive to the style of each individual piece when playing this music. In Figures 9-11 from *Messa della Domenica*, Frescobaldi uses suspensions, accidentals and triple meter to create variety between the verses.



Figure 9: Frescobaldi - Christe 2 (*Messa della Domenica*), mm. 1-3

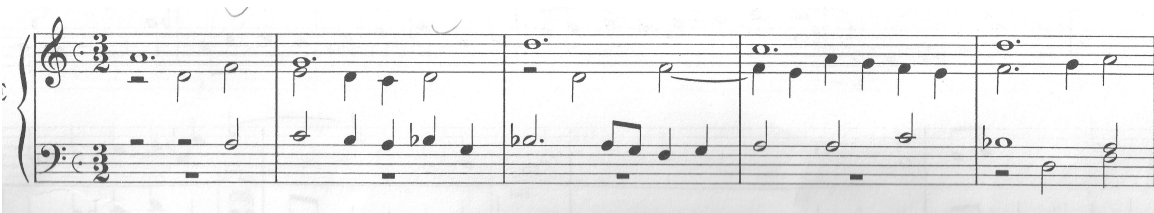


Figure 10: Frescobaldi - Christe 3 (*Messa della Domenica*), mm. 1-5



Figure 11: Frescobaldi - Christe 4 (*Messa della Domenica*), mm. 1-4

Unlike previous collections of Mass movements, after the Kyrie Frescobaldi does not include any other parts of the Mass Ordinary. Instead he includes pieces intended to

be played before or after the spoken word or during other parts of the Mass, such as *Canzon dopo la Pistola*, *Toccata avanti il Recercar*, *Ricercar dopo il Credo*, and *Canzon post il Comune*. His *Canzona dopo l'Epistola* from *Messa della Domenica* is unlike anything previously included in an organ Mass, both in the style and length of the piece. As can be seen in Figure 12, it is comprised of four contrasting sections. The first section is in common time, with the subject entering solo for a full bar before the second subject enters. The second section is more dance-like, in 3/2 time. Marked *adasio*, the third is slower, more homophonic and free, giving a nice contrast before the final allegro section.



Figure 12: Frescobaldi - *Canzona dopo l'Epistola* (*Messa della Domenica*), mm.1-5, 17-22, 35-58, 39-43

The addition of canzonas employed the organ to help with the liturgical flow of the Mass. Frescobaldi used the genre after the reading of the Epistle and after Communion, two points in the service where the clergy are moving from one location to another. Having the lively music of canzonas served to accompany the ambulatory actions.

Frescobaldi did not compose organ music for the Credo, as *Fiori musicali* was published after the *Cerimoniale Episcoporum* (1600), which required the words of the Creed be sung. This meant the Credo was no longer performed in alternatim between organ and choir. Instead of Credo versets, Frescobaldi included the *Recercar dopo il Credo* (entitled *Recercar Cromaticho post il Credo* in his Mass IV). The learned counterpoint in these ricercars might be seen as a musical counterpart to the foundational text of the Creed, where one motive - the concept of one God in the Creed; the subject of the ricercar - serves as the basis for the entire text or piece.

In Catholic worship the Elevation of the Host is, “both liturgically and musically, the center of gravity of the Mass.” (Hammond 1983, 209) The mystery surrounding this moment inspired a special type of composition which Frescobaldi entitled *Toccata per l'Elevatione*. These pieces are not the usual loud, virtuosic toccatas, but are expressive, emotional musical renderings of Christ’s passion. Frescobaldi employed chromaticism and dissonance to create an atmosphere of tension which released upon resolution of the suspended harmonies. He was undoubtedly influenced in these pieces by the seventeenth-century Neapolitan composers Giovanni Maria Trabaci, Ascanio Mayone and Giovanni

de Maque. They reveled in experiments with dissonance, creating a style known in Italian as *durezze e ligature* (which can be loosely translated as “hard sounds and tied notes,” referring to the suspended harmonies.) A parallel trend occurred in Spain where composers like Sebastian Aguilera de Heredia and Juan Bautista Cabanilles experimented with dissonance in pieces they called *tiento de falsas*, although it is unlikely Frescobaldi knew of these works.

Frescobaldi’s Elevation toccatas are especially poignant when played on the organ’s *voce umana* or *fiffaro* stop, which produces an ethereal vibrato effect. The use of chromaticism and suspensions can be seen in Figure 13, from his *Messa della Domenica*.



Figure 13: Frescobaldi - Toccata chromatica per l’Elevatione - (*Messa della Domenica*), mm. 1-6

Included at the conclusion of *Fiori musicali* are two capriccios which technically, according to the Council of Trent, should not have been used in a liturgical context since both are based on secular tunes, the *Bergamasca* and the *Girolmeta*. Composers before Frescobaldi had set both songs, but Frescobaldi was the first to write a keyboard version of each. We are not sure whether he intended these to be used as part of Mass, but he did write, “Chi questa Bergamasca sonara, non pocho Imparera” (translated from Old Italian,

“Who will play this Bergamasca, will learn not a little”). (Hammond 1983, 210) These two capriccios are almost like sets of small variations where Frescobaldi shows off his compositional skills through the use of contrasting meter, texture and figuration. It is no wonder the great Johann Sebastian Bach was able to learn from his study of *Fiori musicali*.

CHAPTER 5

ITALIAN ORGAN MASSES POST FRESCOBALDI

The organ Masses found in Italy following Frescobaldi's famous *Fiori musicali* are not as well known nor as extensive in their treatment of the Mass movements. However, they are important within the context of organ Masses from the 17th century. With the exception of one, they were all published in Venice, just as the earlier sources. They all were written within less than twenty years after *Fiori musicali* (within a decade for the published sources). The composers Salvatore, Croci and Fasolo are not as well documented as their predecessors perhaps because they were not serving at such prestigious churches as San Marco, Venice or San Pietro, Rome. However, their contributions give us insight into what was happening in liturgical music throughout Italy in the 17th century.

Giovanni Salvatore

Very few details are known about Giovanni Salvatore. He was born during the early seventeenth century in Castelvenere, about 70 km from Naples. He likely studied at the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini in Naples before becoming a priest. Records show he held several posts in churches in Naples; he also taught at the conservatory there. (Apel 1972, 489)

The Italian theorist Antimo Liberati felt Salvatore was a better composer than even Frescobaldi because Salvatore's vocal works were more idiomatic than Frescobaldi's, which resembled keyboard compositions. As might be expected from his

Neapolitan provenance, Salvatore's organ works are in a style similar to that of Mayone and Trabaci, though he was more conservative in his approach to *durezza e ligature*.

Salvatore's organ Masses from 1641 are based on the usual three set by Italian baroque composers: *Orbis factor*, *Cunctipotens genitor Deus* and *Cum júbilo*. His treatment of the plainsong is very clear, with transparency in the contrapuntal lines. His verses are well executed and pleasant to hear and play, although they lack the creativity of Frescobaldi's. Unlike Frescobaldi, Salvatore included no incidental music in his organ Masses.

Salvatore was extremely methodical in his approach to composition: for the first time in the history of the organ Mass we see exactly the same verses for each of the three Masses: five for the Kyrie (the exact number required for an alternatim use), nine for the Gloria, two for the Sanctus and one for the Agnus Dei. This uniformity in Salvatore's Masses is shown clearly in Table A8. Salvatore's approach to four-part florid writing in his alternatim verses for organ is illustrated in Figure 14.



Figure 14: Salvatore - Verso Primo [Sanctus] (*Messa Domeniche dell' Anno*), mm. 3-6

Fra Antonio Croci

Few records document the composer and theorist Fra Antonio Croci. He was born in Modena in the late 16th century, and to our knowledge never spent any time outside the region of Bologna and Modena, though his works were published in Venice. In 1642 he published *Frutti musicali di messe tre ecclesiastiche, op.4*, which contained organ pieces of “very modest requirements and of rather mediocre quality,” according to historian Willi Apel (1972). However, were they not compared with the compositional ability of Frescobaldi in his *Fiori musicali* less than a decade prior, they might be more highly considered.

As can be seen in Table A9, the first Mass includes a *Toccata per l'Introito*, eight versets for the Kyrie (four of which are marked *alio modo*), a toccata and eight pieces for the Gloria, toccata and *Pleni* for the Sanctus, and one verset for the Agnus Dei. The *Toccata per la Gloria* in the first Mass, Figure 15, is very short - only 5 bars, and

undoubtedly was there simply to establish the tonality for the Gloria.

10. Toccata per la Gloria.

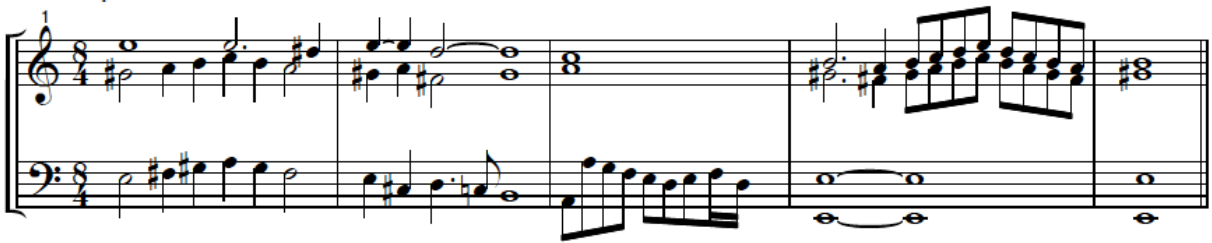


Figure 15: Croci - Toccata per la Gloria (*Cunctipotens genitor Deus?*)

Following the first Mass setting are five Canzonas and a chromatic ricercare. Perhaps Croci was familiar with *Fiori musicali* and wanted to imitate Frescobaldi in the inclusion of secular pieces at the end of the collection. The second Mass, *Missae della Dominica*, is the shortest, with only four versets for the Kyrie, no Credo, and no incidental pieces at the end. The third and final Mass is titled *Messa Doppia*, which in this context simply means “another Mass,” and which setting it is based on is not indicated in the score. It is the only one of the three Masses by Croci to include a Credo. The collection concludes with three Ricercars Cromatico; Primo, Secondo and Terzo.

Giovanni Battista Fasolo

Giovanni Battista Fasolo was a Franciscan monk born near the end of the 16th century. Throughout his life he spent time in Rome, Naples and Sicily, where he held a post near Palermo. His published collection of keyboard pieces from 1645, titled *Annuale*, was intended to provide enough music to last a parish organist for a year. This publication was widely circulated, with copies found in libraries as far away as Austria and Germany. Included in this collection are three Masses with verses from both the

Ordinary and parts of the Proper. As seen in Table A10, his choice of which parts of the Mass to set for organ is very similar to Frescobaldi's *Fiori musicali*. Unlike the other 17th century sources, Fasolo included verses to be played after the Epistle, during the Offerertory and Elevation, and after the Agnus Dei. His treatment of the music during the Elevation of the Host employs slow chordal movement in the *durezza e ligature* style.

Fasolo indicated how he felt these movements should be played when he wrote:

“Ellevatio. Si suonera assai largo acciò si godano meglio li ligature’ (this must be played very slowly so that the suspensions may be better enjoyed).” (Apel 1972, 495)

At the end of each of his three Masses Fasolo includes a *Brevis modulatio post Agnus [Dei]*. Though not given the title of canzona, they are written in a canzona style. The final *Brevis modulatio post Agnus [Dei]* is the most extensive of the collection, and includes *More Gallico*, a popular song of the day, in the title. The piece begins and ends in common time, but includes a middle section in 6/4 meter. While not as complex as the Bergamasca at the end of *Fiori musicali*, Fasolo's final piece is well written and could have been used as a sort of postlude at the close of Mass.



Figure 16: Fasolo - Brevis modulatio post Agnus [Dei] More Gallico (*Missa Beatae Mariae Virginis*), mm. 1-3, 17-22

As seen in Figure 16, Fasolo's final piece is strictly written in four-parts, with some florid passages, though not to the extent of Frescobaldi virtuosic displays. The transition to 6/4 for the middle section was typical of the the style. At the conclusion of each of his *Brevis modulatio post Agnus [Dei]* Fasolo writes, "Deo gratis ut in primo Kyrie. Laus Deo" (Thanks be to God, as stated in the Kyrie. Praise God). Composers often included a similar ending to their pieces, such as Johann Sebastian Bach who signed *Soli Deo Gloria* to many of his works, both sacred and secular.

Chigi Manuscripts of the Vatican Library

The Library of the Vatican contains many manuscripts, of which three deserve minor mention in the context of Italian organ Masses. They are thought to be from the middle of the 17th century, possibly c.1652. Table A11 shows Chigi Q IV 24 has a single verset of the Kyrie as well as a single verset for the Christe, both from *Kyrie Dell Apostoli*. Chigi Q IV 27, titled *Messa del Doppio cioe Solenne*, is the most substantial of the three, and includes an Introito, four verses of the Kyrie, nine verses for the Gloria, and ten verses for the Credo. The third manuscript, Chigi Q VII 206, contains fewer

verses than Chigi Q IV 27 and is less clear about to which part of the Mass the verses belong. Titled *Gloria de Santi Doppo*, it contains six untitled verses followed by six verses of the Kyrie. The Introito, in Figure 17, from *Messa del doppio cioè solon se ben li versette contengono poche battute* is a short piece intended to set the pitch for singers.



Figure 17: Chigi Manuscripts - Introito (*Messa del doppio*)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This overview of the Italian organ Mass began with the earliest surviving liturgical music found in the *Faenza Codex* c.1430. The organ, as the recognized instrument of the Catholic Church, has been used continuously through the centuries as an intrinsic part of the liturgy, making the study of liturgical pieces a priority in understanding its role as a sacred instrument.

Following the composition of liturgical pieces in the *Faenza Codex*, over a century passed before Girolamo Cavazzoni developed what would become the standard of composing three distinct organ Masses as a collection, a practice which continued throughout the 17th-century. The three Masses most often set were *Messa Domenichal* (Mass XI - *Orbis factor*), *Messa della Beata Virgine* (Mass IX - *Cum júbilo*) and *Messa Apostolorum* (Mass IV - *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*). Different treatments by Italian composers of the various parts of the Ordinary and Proper evolved over the next century.

The next stage in the cultivation of the Italian organ Mass occurred in Venice, where notable organists from San Marco, Andrea Gabrieli and Claudio Merulo, incorporated imitative polyphony and elaborate figuration into their liturgical music for organ. Also published in Venice, though he was employed in Rome, was Frescobaldi's *Fiori musicali* (1635). Unlike his predecessors, Frescobaldi included many different styles and genres in his organ Masses. He added to the liturgical repertoire of his predecessors by composing canzonas, ricercars and most notably, toccatas for the

Elevation of the Host. His organ Masses represent the zenith of this genre of composition and a fitting culmination to Frescobaldi's career.

In the ten years following *Fiori musicali*, three other composers published organ Masses. There is also an unpublished manuscript from a bit later. While these are important contributions to the repertoire, they do not reach the same level of style and virtuosity as Frescobaldi. Giovanni Salvatore and Fra Antonio Croci set the Ordinary straightforwardly, with no extraneous pieces; each Mass contained the exact same number of verses. Giovanni Battista Fasolo undoubtedly was influenced by *Fiori musicali* because his *Annuale* of 1645 contains pieces which were used heretofore only by Frescobaldi. He wrote music to follow the reading of the Epistle, and to be played during the Offertory and Communion. Perhaps his most important addition to the organ Mass was his inclusion of pieces specifically designated to follow the Agnus Dei.

A comprehensive look at these sources of the Italian organ Mass reveals the musical creativity which was inspired by the Catholic liturgy. The necessity of composing music to accompany the Mass was surely the mother of invention for these Italian composers! Perhaps because of their practical use, these organ works are often neglected, mentioned merely as addenda to the other accomplishments of these composers. Hopefully insight into the contents of each organ Mass, along with the information about their style and aspects of performance practice, will make these musical gems more accessible to contemporary organists.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES OF 15TH-17TH CENTURY ITALIAN ORGAN MASSES

Table A1

15th-17th Century Italian Organ Masses

Date	Composer	Collection	Mass Setting(s)
c. 1430 Ferrara (unpublished)	unknown	<i>Faenza Codex</i>	Mass IV
c. 1530-1550 Ferrara? (unpublished)	Jacques Brumel ?	<i>Castell d'Arquato</i>	Mass IV, Mass IX, Mass XI
1543 Venice?	Girolamo Cavazzoni	<i>Intabulatura d'organo, cioe misse, himni, magnificat... libro secondo</i>	Mass IV, Mass XI, Mass IX
1563 Venice	Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Libro quarto delle sue Tabuladure</i>	Mass XI, Mass IX, Mass IV
1568 Venice	Claudio Merulo	<i>Messe d'Intavolatura d'organo</i>	Mass IV, Mass XI, Mass IX
1635 Venice	Girolamo Frescobaldi	<i>Fiori musicali</i>	Mass XI, Mass IV, Mass IX
1641 Naples	Giovanni Salvatore	<i>Ricercari/ a quattro voci/ canzoni, francesi, toccate,/et versi/ Per rispondere nelle Messe con l'Organo al Choro</i>	Mass XI, Mass IV, Mass IX
1642 Venice	Fra Antonio Croci	<i>Frutti musicali</i>	Mass XI
1645 Venice	Giovanni Battista Fasolo	<i>Annuale</i>	Mass XI, Mass IV, Mass IX
c. 1652 (unpublished)	unknown	<i>Chigi Manuscripts of the Vatican Library</i>	Mass IV?

Table A2

Faenza Codex, Biblioteca comunale MS 117 (c.1430)

<i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>	<i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>	<i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
		Kyrie
Christe		Christe
Kyrie		Kyrie
		Kyrie
Gloria - Et in terra pax		Gloria - Et in terra pax
Benedicimus te		Benedicimus te
Glorificamus te		Glorificamus te
Domine Deus, Rex		Domine Deus, Rex
Domine Deus, Agnus Dei		Domine Deus, Agnus Dei
Qui tollis peccata, suscipe		Qui tollis peccata, suscipe
		Quoniam tu solus sanctus
		Tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe
		in gloria Dei Patris
		Amen

Table A3

Castell d'Arquato Manuscript, Castell' Arquato Church (c.1530-1550)

<i>Messa dell' Apostoli (Mass IV - Cunctipotens genitor Deus)</i>	<i>Missa de Beata Virgine? (Mass IX - Cum júbilo)</i>	<i>Missa in Solemnitatibus Beatae Mariae (Mass IX - Cum júbilo)</i>	<i>Messa de la Dominica (Mass XI - Orbis factor)</i>
Kirie p(rim)o		Kyrie primus	Chirrie primum
(Kyrie) 2.º			Kirie 2
(Kyrie) 3.º	(Christe fragment)	Christe	C(h)riste
(Kyrie) 4.º		Kyrie	Kirie 3
		Kyrie ultimus	Kirie ultimum
Primo Verso della Gloria		Et in terra pax	Et in terra pax
Secondo		Benedicimus te	Benedicimus te
Terzo		Glorificamus te	Glorificamus te
Quarto		Domine Deus Rex caelestis	Domine deus rex celesti
		Spiritus et alme	
Quinto			Domine deu
		Primogenitus	
Sextus		Qui tollis	Qui tollis
		Qui sedes	
		Mariam sanctificans	
		Mariam gubernans	
		Mariam coronans Jesu Christe	

Septimo			Quoniam tu solus sanctus
Octavo			Tu solus altissimus
Amen			Amen
			Sanctus primus
			secundus
		Agnus Dei	Agnus dej
	Recercare		
	Primo ver(s)etto del Credo	(Credo Cardinalis)	Patrem omnipotentem
	secundus versus	Et ex patre	Et ex patre natum
	versus tertius	Genitum non factum	Genitum non factum
	quartus versus	Crucifixus	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis
		Et ascendit	Et as(c)endit in c(o)elum
		Et in spiritum	Et in spiritum sanctum dominum
		Et unam	
		Et expecto	
		Amen	

Table A4

Girolamo Cavazzoni - *Intabulatura d'organo, libro secondo* (1543)

Missae Apostolorum (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>)	Missae Dominicalis (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Missae de Beata Virgine (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)
Kyrie primus - Iterum repetitur	Kyrie primus - Iterum repetitur	Kyrie primus - Iterum repetitur
Christe eleison	Christe eleison	Christe eleison
Kyrie tertius - Iterum repetitur	Kyrie eleison	Kyrie eleison
Gloria - Et in terra pax hominibus	Gloria - Et in terra pax	Gloria - Et in terra pax
Benedicimus te	Benedicimus te	Benedicimus te
Glorificamus te	Glorificamus te	Glorificamus te
Domine Deus, Rex coelestis	Domine Deus, Rex coelestis	Domine Deus, Rex coelestis
Domine Deus, Agnus Dei	Domine Deus, Agnus Dei	
		Spiritus et alme
		Primogenitus
Qui tollis peccata mundi	Qui tollis peccata mundi, a tre voci	Qui tollis peccata mundi, a tre voci
		Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris
Quoniam tu solus sanctus	Quoniam tu solus sanctus	
Tu solus altissimus, a tre voci	Tu solus altissimus	
Amen	Amen	
		Mariam sanctificans
		Mariam gubernans

Missae Apostolorum (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>)	Missae Dominicalis (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Missae de Beata Virgine (Mass IX - <i>Cum iubilo</i>)
		Mariam coranans
Credo Cardinalis - Patrem (Credo IV)	Credo Dominicalis - Patrem (Credo I)	<i>The Credo Cardinalis from the first mass may be used as this mass does not contain one.</i>
Et ex Patre natum	Et ex Patre natum	
Genitum non factum	Genitum non factum	
Crucifixus, a tre voci	Crucifixus	
Et ascendit in coelum	Et ascendit in coelum	
Et in Spiritum Sanctum	Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum	
Et unam sanctam catholicam	Et unam sanctam catholicam	
Et exspecto	Et exspecto	
Amen	Amen	Amen
Sanctus primus	Sanctus primus	Sanctus primus
Sanctus secundus	Sanctus secundus, a tre voci	Sanctus secundus, a tre voci
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei

Table A5

Andrea Gabrieli - *Libro quarto delle sue Tabuladure (1563)*

Messa Domenichal (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Messa della Beata Virgine (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)	Messa Apostolorum (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>)
Toccata		
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Christe	Christe	Christe
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Kyrie	Kyrie	
Gloria - Et in terra	Gloria- Et in terra	Gloria - et in terra pax
Benedicimus Te	Benedicimus Te	Benedicimus Te
Glorificamus Te	Glorificamus Te	Glorificamus Te
Domine Deus Rex coelestis	Domine Deus Rex coelestis	Domine Deus Rex coelestis
Domine Deus Agnus Dei	Domine Deus Agnus Dei	Domine Deus Agnus Dei
Qui tollis	Qui tollis	Qui tollis
Quoniam tu solus	Quoniam	Quoniam
Tu solus altissimus	Tu solus altissimus	Tu solus altissimus
In gloria Dei	In gloria	
Amen		Amen
Credo - Patrem (<i>Credo II</i>)		Credo - Patrem Apostolorum
Et ex Patre		Et ex Patre Natum
Genitum non factum		Genitum no factum
Cruxifixus		Cruxifixus
Et ascendit		Et ascendit in Coelum
Et in Spiritum		Et in Spiritum

Messa Domenichal (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Messa della Beata Virgine (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)	Messa Apostolorum (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>)
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Et unam Sanctam		Et unam Sanctam
Et expecto		Et expecto
Amen		Amen
Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus
Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei	
Amen	Amen	

Table A6

Claudio Merulo - *Messe d'Intavolatura d'organo (1568)*

Missae Apostolorum (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens...</i>)	Missae in Dominicis diebus (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Missae Virginis Mariae (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Christe	Christe	Christe
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Gloria - Et in terra pax	Gloria - Et in terra pax	Gloria - Et in terra pax
Benedicimus te	Benedicimus te	Benedicimus te
Glorificamus te	Glorificamus te	Glorificamus te
Domine deus rex celestis	Domine deus rex celestis	Domine deus rex celestis
Domine deus agnus dei	Domine deus agnus dei	
		Spiritus et alme
		Primo genitus
Qui tollis	Qui tollis	Qui tollis
		Qui sedes
Quoniam tu solus sanctus	Quoniam tu solus sanctus	
Tu solus altissimus	Tu solus altissimus	
Amen	Amen	
		Mariam sanctificans
		Mariam gubernans
		Mariam coronans
		In gloria
Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus

Missae Apostolorum (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens...</i>)	Missae in Dominicis diebus (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Missae Virginis Mariae (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)
Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus
Agnus dei	Agnus dei	Agnus Dei
Credo - In dominicis diebus (<i>Credo I</i>) - Patrem	Credo - Angelorum (<i>Credo III</i>) - Patrem	Credo - Cardinalium (<i>Credo IV</i>) - Patrem
Et ex patre	Et ex patre	Et ex patre
Genitum non factum	Genitum non factum	Genitum non factum
Cruxifixus	Cruxifixus	Cruxifixus
Et ascendit	Et ascendit	Et ascendit
Et in spiritum	Et in spiritum	Et in spiritum
Et unam sanctam	Et unam sanctam	Et unam sanctam
Et expecto	Et expecto	Et expecto
Amen	Amen	Amen

Table A7

Girolamo Frescobaldi - *Fiori musicali* (1635)

Messa della Domenica (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Messa delli Apostoli (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>)	Messa della Madonna (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)
Toccata avanti la Messa	Toccata avanti la Messa	Toccata avanti la Messa
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Christe	Christe	Christe
Christe alio modo	Christe	Christe
Christe alio modo		
Christe alio modo		
Kyrie alio modo	Kyrie	Kyrie
Kyrie alio modo	Kyrie	Kyrie
Kyrie alio modo	Kyrie	
Kyrie ultimo		
Kyrie alio modo		
Kyrie alio modo		
Canzon dopo l'Epistola	Canzon dopo l'Epistola	Canzon dopo l'Epistola
	Toccata Avanti il Recercar	
Recercar dopo il Credo	Recercar Cromaticho post il credo	Recercar dopo il Credo
		Toccata Avanti il Recercar
	Altro Recercar	Recercar con obbligo di cantare la quinta parte
Toccata Cromaticha per l'Elevatione	Toccata per l'Elevatione	Toccata per l'Elevatione

Messa della Domenica (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Messa delli Apostoli (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>)	Messa della Madonna (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)
	Recercar con obbligo del Basso come appare	
Canzon post il Comune	Canzon Quarti Toni dopo il Post Comune	
		<i>Bergamasca</i>
		<i>Capriccio sopra la Girolmeta</i>

Table A8

Giovanni Salvatore - *Messe con l'Organo al Choro (1641)*

Messa della Domenica (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	Messa dell' Apostoli, e Feste Doppie (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>)	Messa della Madonna (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)
<i>Versi sopra il Kyrie - Verso primo</i>	<i>Versi per il Kyrie - Verso Primo</i>	<i>Versi per il Kyrie - Verso Primo</i>
Verso Secondo	Verso Secondo	Verso Secondo
Verso Terzo	Verso Terzo	Verso Terzo
Verso Quarto	Verso Quarto	Verso Quarto
Verso Quinto, ed ultimo	Verso Quinto, ed ultimo	Verso Quinto, ed ultimo
<i>Versi per la Gloria, trasportata una quarta alta - Verso Primo</i>	<i>Versi per la Gloria - Verso Primo</i>	<i>Versi per la Gloria trasportata una Quinta bassa - Verso Primo</i>
Verso Secondo	Verso Secondo	Verso Secondo
Verso Terzo	Verso Terzo	Verso Terzo
Verso Quarto	Verso Quarto	Verso Quarto
Verso Quinto	Verso Quinto	Verso Quinto
Verso Sesto	Verso Sesto	Verso Sesto
Verso Settimo	Verso Settimo	Verso Settimo
Verso Ottavo	Verso Ottavo	Verso Ottavo
Verso Nono, ed ultimo	Verso Nono, ed ultimo	Verso Nono, ed ultimo
<i>Versi per il Sanctus - Verso Primo</i>	<i>Verso per il Sanctus - Verso Primo</i>	<i>Versi per il Sanctus trasportata una Terza bassa - Verso Primo</i>
Verso Secondo	Verso Secondo	Verso Secondo
Verso per l' Agnus Dei	Verso per l' Agnus Dei	Verso per l' Agnus Dei

Table A9

Fra Antonio Croci - *Frutti musicali* (1642)

(Untitled)	<i>Missae della Dominica</i> (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	<i>Messa Doppia</i>
Toccata del Primo Tuono per l' Introito	Introito Missae Dominicae	Introito per la Messa Doppia
Kyrie	Kyrie della Domenica	Kyrie
Christe	Christe	Christe
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie
Kyrie ultimo	Kyrie ultimo	Kyrie
Kyrie alio modo		
Christe alio modo		
Kyrie alio modo		
Kyrie ultimo alio modo		
Toccata per la Gloria		Toccata del quarto Tuono [per la Gloria Doppia]
	[Gloria Dominicale] Et in terra pax	
[Gloria Festivo del Quarto Tuono] Laudemus te		Laudamus te
	Benedicamus te	
Adoramus te		Adoramus te
	Glorificamus te	
Gratias		[Gratias]
	Domine Deus Rex celestis	
Domine fili unigenite		Domine Fili unigenite
	Domine Deus Agnus Dei	

Qui tollis peccata mundi	Qui tollis [peccata mundi]	Qui tollis peccata mundi
Qui sedes ad dexteram		Qui sedes ad dexteram
	Quoniam tu solus	
To solus Dominus		Tu solus Dominus
Cum Sancto Spiritu Amen	Amen	Cum Sancto Spiritu Amen
		Toccata del Quarto Tuono per il Credo
		Et ex Patre natum
		Genitum non Factum
		Crucifixus
		Et ascendit in Celum
		Et in Spiritum
		Et unam Sanctam Catholicam
		Et expecto
		Amen
Toccata per il Sanctus [Festivo]	Sanctus Dominicale non vi e il Credo perche non s' ufa sonare alternatamente	Sanctus
[Benedictus] Pleni	[Benedictus] Pleni	[Benedictus] Pleni
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei
La Galantina Canzone per quelli che non arivono all' ottava		Ricercar Cromatico. Primo
La Lilina Canzone per quelli che non arivono all' ottava per il sudetti		Ricercar Cromatico. Secondo
La Vilanella Canzone		Ricercar Cromatico. Terzo
La Gata Melata Canzone		

La Simona Canzone		
Ricercar Cromatico per quelli che non arivono all' ottava		

Table A10

Giovanni Battista Fasolo - *Annuale (1645)*

<i>Missae in Dominicis diebus</i> (Mass XI - <i>Orbis factor</i>)	<i>Missae in duplicibus diebus</i> (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus</i>)	<i>Missae Beatae Mariae Virginis</i> (Mass IX - <i>Cum júbilo</i>)
Primum Kyrie	Primum Kyrie	Primum Kyrie
	Aliud Kyrie	Aliud Kyrie
Christe	Christe	Christe
Aliud Kyrie		
Kyrie Ultimum	Ultimum Kyrie	Ultimum Kyrie
	Aliud Kyrie ad libitum	Kyrie ad libitum
Gloria [Et in terra pax]	Gloria in excelsis [Deo], Et in terra [pax]	Gloria, Et in terra pax
	Alter facilius primo: Et in terra pax	
Benedicimus te	Secundus: Benedicimus te	Benedicimus te
Glorificamus te	Tertius: Glorificamus te	Glorificamus te
Domine Deus rex cęlestis	Quartus: Domine Deus rex cęlestis	Domine Deus rex cęlestis
Domine Deus agnus Dei	Quintus: Domine Deus agnus Dei	Domine Deus agnus Dei
Qui tollis	Sextus: [Qui tollis]	Qui tollis
Quoniam tu solus sanctus	Septimus: Quoniam tu solus sanctus	Quoniam tu solus sanctus
Tu solus altissimus	Octavus: Tu solus altissimus	Tu solus altissimus
Cum Sancto Spiritu	Cum Sancto Spiritu	Cum Sancto [Spiritu]
Brevis modulatio post Epistolam	Modulatio post Epistolam divisa in [tres] partes	Brevis modulatio post Epistolam, [divisa] in duas partes

Gravis modulatio pro Offertorio	Gravis modulatio pro Offertorio, in tres partes divisa, Mixti Toni, scilicet Tertii et Decimi	Gravis modulatio pro Offertorio
Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus
Sanctus Dominus Deus	Sanctus Dominus Deus	Sanctus Dominus Deus
Benedictus et elevatio simul	Elevatio	Benedictus et elevatio
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei
Brevis modulatio post Agnus [Dei]	Brevis modulatio post Agnus Dei	Brevis modulatio post Agnus [Dei] More Gallico

Table A11

Chigi Manuscripts of the Vatican Library (c. 1652?)

Dell Apostoli (Q IV 24) (Mass IV - <i>Cunctipotens genitor Deus?</i>)	Messa del Doppio cioe Solenne (Q IV 27)	Gloria de Santi Doppi (Q VIII 206)
Kyrie	Introito	Verso primo
Christe	Kyrie primo	Verso secondo
	Kyrie secondo	Verso terzo
	Kyrie terzo	Verso quarto
	Kyrie quarto et ultimo	Verso quinto
	<i>Gloria in excelsis</i> - Verso primo	Verso sesto
	Verso secondo	Kyrie - primo
	Verso terzo	Secondo
	Verso quarto	Terzo
	Verso quinto	Quarto
	Verso sesto	Quinto
	Verso settimo	Kyrie
	Verso ottavo	
	Verso nona	
	<i>Credo</i> - Verso primo	
	Verso secondo	
	Verso terzo	
	Verso quarto	
	Verso quinto	
	Verso sesto	
	Verso settimo	

Dell Apostoli (Q IV 24)
(Mass IV - *Cunctipotens
genitor Deus?*)

Messa del Doppio cioe
Solenne (Q IV 27)

Gloria de Santi Doppi (Q
VIII 206)

	Verso ottavo	
	Verso nona	
	Verso decimo	

APPENDIX B

TABLE OF DIRUTA REGISTRATION

Table B1

Girolamo Diruta - *Il Transilvano* (1609)

Combining the Ranks of the Organ

Tone	Effect	Stops
[Beginning and End of Divine Offices]		ripieno, not combined with flutes
first tone	serious and pleasant	Principal with Octave; Flute Octave or Fifteenth
second tone	melancholy	solo Principal with tremolo
third tone	moves one to tears	Principal and Octave Flute; similar registers
fourth tone	mournful, sad and sorrowful	Principal with tremolo; some flute stops
fifth tone	joyful, simple and delightful	Octave, Fifteenth and Flute
sixth tone	devout and serious	Principal, Octave and Flute
seventh tone	gay [happy] and delicate	Octave, Fifteenth and Twenty-second
eighth tone	charming and delightful	Flute alone; Flute and Octave; Flute and Fifteenth
ninth tone	gay [happy], sweet and resonant	Principal, Fifteenth and Twenty-second
tenth tone	somewhat melancholy	Principal with Octave or Flute
eleventh tone	lively and sweet	solo Flute; Flute and Fifteenth; Flute, Fifteenth and Twenty-ninth; Octave, Fifteenth and Twenty-second
twelfth tone	sweet and lively	Flute, Octave and Fifteenth; solo Flute

The registration guidelines are given here to aid the organist in performing the music contained in these Italian organ Masses in the most effective way possible. It is not necessary to play this music only on Italian instruments, nor to strictly follow the registration suggestions, but it is necessary to always use good taste when registering the pieces, as Diruta summarizes in *Il Transilvano*.

One cannot give a fixed rule for these registrations because organs are not all the same. Some have a few stops and others have many of them. It is enough for you to know the musical effect each tone needs and with your judgment practice finding it. It is not suitable to play a sad piece with bright stops, nor even less a cheerful piece in dark stops where there are organs with abundant stops. (Diruta 1984:154)