RICE UNIVERSITY

Trabaci's Cento Versi (1615): Liturgical Changes and The Church Tones in Post-Tridentine Organ Music

by

Margaret Alice Taylor Flowers

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

Doctor of Musical Arts in Organ Performance

APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Gregory R. Barnett, Chair, Assistant Professor of Musicology

Clyde Holloway

Clyde Holloway, Herbert S. Autrey Professor

Kristine G. Wallace, Lecturer, Classical Studies

Pierre Talbert, Associate Professor of Composition and Theory

Walter B. Bailey, Associate Professor of Musicology

HOUSTON, TEXAS

April, 2004
ABSTRACT

In 1615 Giovanni Maria Trabaci (c. 1675-1647) published the Cento Versi - one hundred non-cantus firmus keyboard versets for use in both Mass and Divine Office - as a book within Il Secondo Libro de Ricercate. Trabaci’s music utilized recent developments in liturgical practices, composition, organ building and voicing to reflect the liturgical and musical practices of the early seventeenth century in Naples. The composer created a new kind of organ music free of chant cantus firmi and composed in the eight church tones newly derived from the psalm tones. The versets exhibit forward thinking in liturgical performance while they also continue the long-standing use of the organ in alternatim psalmody.

The Cento Versi provided a seventeenth-century keyboard tonary for use in church services. By including these versets with other liturgically appropriate pieces in his book, Trabaci provided a complete resource for the organist that was easy and efficient to use. He also wrote commentaries on the Cento Versi about the theoretical bases for the versets, although he remained silent about their lack of chant quotations and specific liturgical uses. Moreover, Trabaci contrasted the tonal system of the Cento Versi to the modally ordered ricercars of his two keyboard books, but he did not address their differing liturgical applications. The case is made here that both the Cento Versi and the ricercars served liturgical purposes, which is evidenced by their respective collations in cyclic order.

The liturgical changes associated with the Tridentine reforms affected the composition of the Cento Versi. The differences between medieval liturgies and changes promulgated by the Council of Trent are the result of precise codifications of liturgical
practices (a new development made possible by printing), pruning of the Divine Office; and specific designations of interpolated organ music in the liturgies. In this context, the *Cento Versi* stand as evidence of leaner liturgies that required flexible, independent musical resources that were easy to use.
Dedication

To David, whose dry humor keeps me honest and whose patience and enduring love made this possible, I dedicate this volume with love and appreciation beyond measure.

To Jennifer, Rebecca, Elizabeth, Lyman, Michael, Caroline and Alexander whose unfailing love and support despite plans and expectations thwarted by a preoccupied mother, mother-in-law, and grandmother have been treasures that make me wealthy indeed, I give my undying affection and thanks.

For Kay, Karen and Denny my gratitude is unmeasured for keeping their father in good humor and preventing his divorcing me while this project consumed all my attention.

To my siblings, Fran, Bill, and Walker, and their families, it’s not so bad being a TRG.

I especially want to thank Clyde Holloway, organ professor without equal, who has given me the greatest gift a musician could desire: the inspiration and means to grow as an artist and a person.

With thanks for advice and guidance of the highest order, respect and honor go to my advisor, Gregory Barnett, whose patient support made the completion of this project possible. To the musicology faculty at the Shepherd School, especially Drs. Anne Schnoebelen and Walter Bailey, I am grateful for sharing with me your knowledge and wisdom. The standard of excellence, professionalism, and humanity represented by the faculty and my committee have sustained me throughout rewarding and challenging endeavors at the Shepherd School of Music. I will always be grateful to the Shepherd School and to Rice University for a wealth of opportunities afforded an undeserving, yet grateful, student.

In loving memory of my parents,
Frances Alene Collier Taylor (1934) and William Josiah Taylor, Jr., (1928, M.A., 1930),
whose passion for music was exceeded only by their love for one another, their children, and family.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ii
Dedication iv
Table of Contents v
List of Musical Examples vii
List of Tables ix
Preface x

### Chapter I Issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Liturgies and Performance Practices</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>The Organ and Chanted Repertories</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Free Compositions and a New Type of Tone</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Modes and Tones</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Eight Psalm Tones</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Eight Church Modes</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>Twelve Modes</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9</td>
<td><em>Otto Tuoni Ecclesiastici</em></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>Contrapuntal Style</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Trabaci’s <em>Tuoni Ecclesiastici</em></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Trabaci’s Commentaries</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter II Polyphonic Styles in Liturgical Organ Music

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Liturgical Styles</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Pushing the Boundaries</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Sonority</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>The <em>Tuoni Ecclesiastici</em> and the <em>Cento Versi</em></td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Musical Examples
Page numbers refer to the discussion in the body of the paper.
Bracketed numbers refer to page numbers in the Section of Musical Examples.

1. Psalm Tone 7 in “Psalm,” *New Grove* 2001 p. 21 [p.146]
8. Cento Versi VIII, 3 p. 51 [p.149]
9. Cento Versi VIII, 9 p. 51 [p.149]
10. Cento Versi VIII, 4 p. 51 [p.149]
11. Cento Versi VIII, 5 p. 51 [p.149]
13. Cento Versi VII, 4 p. 52 [p.150]
14. Cento Versi III, 10 p. 52 [p.150]
15. Cento Versi I, 8 p. 52 [p.150]
16. Cento Versi III, 4 p. 52 [p.151]
17. Cento Versi VIII, 12 p. 52 [p.151]
18. Cento Versi V, 10 p. 53 [p.151]
19. Falsobordone, In exitu, M. Bradshaw p. 53 [p.151]
20. Cento Versi VII, 1 p. 55 [p.152]
21. Cento Versi II, 12 p. 55, 64 [p.152]
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. Cento Versi</td>
<td>II, 6</td>
<td>p. 56</td>
<td>[p.153]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Cento Versi</td>
<td>VIII, 8</td>
<td>p. 56</td>
<td>[p.153]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Cento Versi</td>
<td>VIII, 1</td>
<td>p. 56</td>
<td>[p.153]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Cento Versi</td>
<td>V, 3</td>
<td>p. 56</td>
<td>[p.154]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Cento Versi</td>
<td>IV, 1</td>
<td>p. 58</td>
<td>[p.154]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Cento Versi</td>
<td>IV, 2</td>
<td>p. 58</td>
<td>[p.154]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Cento Versi</td>
<td>VII, 3</td>
<td>p. 59</td>
<td>[p.155]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Cento Versi</td>
<td>I, 3</td>
<td>p. 59</td>
<td>[p.155]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Cento Versi</td>
<td>II, 4</td>
<td>p. 59</td>
<td>[p.155]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Cento Versi</td>
<td>II, 3</td>
<td>p. 60</td>
<td>[p.155]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Cento Versi</td>
<td>VII, 7</td>
<td>p. 60</td>
<td>[p.156]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Cento Versi</td>
<td>V, 6</td>
<td>p. 60</td>
<td>[p.156]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Cento Versi</td>
<td>III, 11</td>
<td>p. 60</td>
<td>[p.156]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Cento Versi</td>
<td>III, 9</td>
<td>p. 61</td>
<td>[p.156]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Cento Versi</td>
<td>VII, 6</td>
<td>p. 62</td>
<td>[p.157]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Cento Versi</td>
<td>IV, 3</td>
<td>p. 63</td>
<td>[p.157]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Cento Versi</td>
<td>I, 12</td>
<td>p. 64</td>
<td>[p.158]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Cento Versi</td>
<td>V, 12</td>
<td>p. 64</td>
<td>[p.158]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Cento Versi</td>
<td>I, 9</td>
<td>p. 64</td>
<td>[p.158]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Cento Versi</td>
<td>VI, 6</td>
<td>p. 65</td>
<td>[p.159]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
45. Cento Versi  III, 3  p. 65, 66  [p.159]
46. Cento Versi  IV, 3  p. 66  [p.159]
47. Cento Versi  III, 5  p. 66  [p.160]
49. Cento Versi  I, 1  p. 73  [p.162]
50. Cento Versi  I, 2  p. 80  [p.162]
51. Cento Versi  I, 3  p. 81  [p.162]
52. Cento Versi  I, 4  p. 84  [p.163]
53. Cento Versi  I, 6  p. 82  [p.163]
54. Kyrie from Mass IX  p. 84  [p.163]

**List of Tables**

| Table One  | Organ Stop List, S. Maria delle Grazie, Montepulciano | 12 |
| Table Two  | Eight Church Modes | 25 |
| Table Three | Twelve Modes | 28 |
| Table Four | Trabaci’s *Otto Tuoni Ecclesiastici* | 39 |
| Table Five | Modes & Psalm Tones in Pontio’s *Ragionamento* | 97 |
| Table Six  | *Tuoni Ecclesiastici* in Trabaci’s *Cento Versi* | 97 |
Preface

Giovanni Maria Trabaci was born sometime around 1570 in Monte Peluso, now known as Irsina, in southern Italy. First notice of him occurred in 1594 when he became a tenor in the choir at SS. Annunziata, one of the premier churches in the city of Naples.\(^1\) In 1597 he was invited to test a new organ for the Oratorio of St. Philip Neri in Naples, thus beginning an association that was to endure most of his life. In 1601 he became first organist under his teacher, Giovanni de Macque, at the Cappella Reale in Naples. In 1603 his first keyboard print appeared, an opera omnia collection of music containing nearly all genres and styles of sacred and secular keyboard music of the period. Following the death of de Macque, he became Maestro di Cappella in 1614, a position he held until his own death in 1647. In 1615 his second book of organ music, another opera omnia collection containing the Cento Versi, was published. The famous Masaniellian revolt in September 1647 resulted in looting and vandalism of the Royal Palace where the Cappella Reale was located.\(^2\) Trabaci fled to a Spanish monastery in Naples where he died in December of 1647.

Trabaci served under a number of Spanish Viceroyes, whose terms of office were generally rather short.\(^3\) As the first native Italian to hold this post, Trabaci succeeded a

---


long line of Spanish and Flemish chapelmasters that included Diego Ortiz and Bartolomeo Roy.⁴

Trabaci’s keyboard music anticipates stylistic features associated also with Frescobaldi: chromaticism, thematic transformation and sectionality. Roland Jackson averred that his toccatas may be among the earliest keyboard works to exhibit features considered “baroque.”⁵ The ricercars, canzonas and partitas demonstrate forward thinking in compositions utilizing characteristics of their period. He wrote two works for the chromatic harpsichord that modulate to the remote keys of C# and G#.

Trabaci wrote a large amount of sacred and secular vocal music in many different styles and genres. His early motets (1602) anticipate the chromaticism and unusual modulations associated with Gesualdo, yet his sacred motets for two choirs are conservative. Among his most interesting vocal music are four Passion settings published in 1635 with contrasting music for soloists, narrator’s part of three voices, and choruses in falsobordone style.⁶

Although locally famous and prosperous during his lifetime, Trabaci’s reputation diminished during the centuries after he died. Several factors probably contributed to his fall from public notice. Failed Spanish policies leading up to the year of Trabaci’s death exacerbated economic, political, and social difficulties in Naples. These resulted in the previously-mentioned revolt in 1647, that was followed by more than a year of relative


⁵ Roland Jackson, “Giovanni Maria Trabaci.” NG (1980), 106

⁶ Ibid., 106.
instability. Furthermore, an outbreak of the plague in 1656 decimated the city with estimates that fifty per cent of the population of 450,000 may have died. Loss of artistic and cultural connections to the past register this disaster as a watershed event that essentially divided the history and culture of the city between two distinct halves of the century. During the recovery period the musical focus changed from church to theater, because opera achieved prominence as Naples’ new specialty, enthralling the Neapolitan public and tourists and receiving support from the Spanish viceregent. The success and fame of Alessandro Scarlatti, his colleagues, and successors during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries probably served to further remove the previous accomplishments of Trabaci and his colleagues in Naples from public memory.

In recent years a growing interest in early seventeenth-century Neapolitan composers and performers has increased the number of materials available for study and performance of Trabaci’s music, yet for much of the twentieth century scores were relatively inaccessible to the modern student. In 1998, the Cento Versi, edited by Rudolf Walter, was published in modern edition by Doblinger. Facsimile editions of both

---


keyboard prints of 1603 and 1615 were published by S.P.E.S. of Florence in 1984.\textsuperscript{11} Roland Jackson’s substantive dissertation on Trabaci from 1964 remains the most comprehensive and reliable source of music and information about this little-known composer and his interesting milieu,\textsuperscript{12} although a number of articles and references in other studies exist.\textsuperscript{13} Conferences on early seventeenth-century music and performance included presentations on, or related to, Trabaci and his Neapolitan milieu.\textsuperscript{14}

Several questions emerged during studies of Trabaci’s \textit{Cento Versi}. Why would he form a book for liturgical worship that lacked quotations or paraphrases from the chant repertory that was supposedly integral to its very existence? What were the \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici}? What role did they play in the \textit{Cento Versi} and other liturgical

\begin{enumerate}
\item Complete bibliographic information appears in the body of this document on page 1, n 3, and page 3, n. 26.
\item Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa, eds., \textit{Musica e cultura a napoli dal XV al XIX secolo} (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1983); Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro and Agostino Zino, eds., \textit{La Musica a Napoli durante il Seicento: Atti Convegno Internazionale di Studi Napoli, 11-14 Aprile 1985} (Rome: Edizione Torre d'Orfeo, 1987).
\end{enumerate}
compositions? Did the Council of Trent promulgate liturgical changes that influenced the composition of organ music? How did church officials view liturgical music that was independent of the chant repertory? Was this a practice they encouraged or merely tolerated? Did this type of composition interest other composers, did it yield to transformation of some kind, or did it disappear? Did it have antecedents and successors that were similar to it? Did Trabaci introduce something new to liturgical organ repertories?

Inquiries such as these led to Trabaci’s Neapolitan milieu and a search for influences that might have affected this kind of venture in new liturgical music for the organ and harpsichord. During the past sixty-five years scholars have argued on both sides of a purported Neapolitan school of keyboard music and its possible significance. In the interests of brevity, I leave these issues to those who are better qualified than I for such discussion. If a recent trend continues, however, scholars and keyboard specialists will continue research that others have initiated into the music and performance of early seventeenth-century works from Naples and southern Italy during the regno (reign of Spanish monarchs and administration by their vice-regents).
Trabaci’s *Cento Versi* (1615): the Church Tones and Liturgical Changes in Post-Tridentine Organ Music

Chapter I Issues

1.1 Introduction

The *Cento Versi*, 1615, a book of one hundred short keyboard pieces in a variety of musical styles by Giovanni Maria Trabaci (c.1575-1647), constitutes a specialized liturgical repertory for the organ.\(^1\) Organized in sets according to *otto finali ecclesiastici* (eight ecclesiastical finals) or *tuoni ecclesiastici* (church tones), these one hundred pieces lack chant melodies in either quoted or paraphrased forms.\(^2\) The freely-composed versets exhibit compositional procedures that reinforce the stylistic character of each without regard for melodic formulas of various kinds of chants, such as medial cadences associated with psalmody. Printed identification of the versets’ specific uses in services is absent, although their general liturgical purposes appear in the subtitle of the publication containing them: *Con Cento versi sopra gli otto Toni Ecclesiastici, per rispondere in tutti i Divini Officii, & in ogni altra sorte d’occasione (With One Hundred Versets on the Eight Church Tones for Responses in all the Divine Offices and Every Other Sort of Occasion).*\(^3\)

The composer provided two commentaries on the *Cento Versi* in which he

\(^1\) Full bibliographic information appears in n. 18. For a modern edition of the *Cento Versi* (1615), see Rudolf Walter, ed., *Giovanni Maria Trabaci: Hundert Versetten über die acht Kirchentonarten* (Vienna: Doblinger, 1998).

\(^2\) Ibid., “Preface,” n.pn.

describes their genesis, organization and placement within *Il Secondo Libro*. The texts and discussion relating to them appear in Section I.11 of this paper. Trabaci's remarks furnish insights into his purposes, yet his statements contained both explicit and implicit assumptions about organ performance styles in various liturgies. Trabaci's expressed assumptions help us to understand his music, yet some of his tacit assumptions relate to knowledge shared by others in his culture that is lost to us. Music prints such as Trabaci's provide little or no information regarding specific liturgical functions of their contents. It is likely that, similar to the instrumental repertory (both for organ and instrumental ensembles) that Stephen Bonta studied, no mention of how the works were to be used in services indicates that such uses were already well established at the time, and no explanation was considered to be necessary. The community that performed liturgical music contributed to its history existentially, often without commentary.

I.2 Liturgies and Performance Practices

Defining categories of what we know and what we do not know about sixteenth- and seventeenth-century liturgical performance conventions achieves importance when assessing the purposes of the *Cento Versi* and other organ music. Generally speaking, a

---

4 Ibid., 41, 70.


collection of pieces ordered according to the categories of eight modes or according to
categories of eight tones signified liturgical purposes to the maestro di cappella or to an
organist of the day, some of which remain hidden from the modern reader. An example
of our incomplete knowledge surrounds the roles of ricercars in church services and
whether their liturgical functions were integral to their publication in modal cycles. This
might not affect our ability to enjoy the music in terms of compositional skills and
satisfying sounds, but it may affect how we classify its origins and assess its publishing
history. Ricercars had didactic purposes, such as those appearing in Girolamo Diruta’s
manual for organists. They could be intended for specific Mass sections, such as
Giovanni Battista Fasolo’s examples in a book of liturgical organ music. Other
ricercars seem to be less specifically oriented to liturgical uses, yet both Trabaci and
Fasolo published them in modally ordered collections in books that also contained music
for services. If this signified liturgical usage to the seventeenth-century reader, such
information may fail to reach the modern student.

Even more problematic is the genre of keyboard music based on Magnificat and
psalm tones. Early examples of organ settings for these two closely-related types indicate

---

8 Tomás de Santa Maria, *Arte de taner Fantasia 1565, Teil I Fol. 67*, ed. Ernst
Kaller (Mainz: Schott, 1961), 44-51.

9 Girolamo Diruta, *The Transylvanian (Il Transilvano) II* (1609), eds. M. R.

10 Giovanni Battistia Fasolo, *Annuale I, Che contiene tutto quello, che dove far un
Organista, per risponder al Choro tutto l’Anno (Venice: 1645)*, ed. Rudolf Walter
(Heidelberg: Willy Müller, 1977), 50, 63, 74.

11 Fasolo, *Annuale II*, 28-51; Giovanni Maria Trabaci, *Ricercate, Canzone
Franzese, Capricci, Opere tutte da sonare, a Quattro voci, Libro Primo* (Naples: Vitale,
instrumental antiphony with choral chants or polyphony during Vesper recitations. The publishing histories of modally ordered cycles, and of cycles including psalm tone categories and *tuoni ecclesiastici* overlap. Modally ordered cycles appeared early in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{12} However, psalm tone cycles that first appeared late in the sixteenth century persisted well into the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{13} Magnificat settings and free compositions in cyclic organization followed this trend.\textsuperscript{14}

In fact, as late as 1645, Giovanni Battista Fasolo’s *Annuale* contained both types, modal and psalm-tone cycles, distributed in liturgical order throughout a two-volume set of books.\textsuperscript{15} Fasolo’s collection contains modal settings for the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass in liturgical order while psalm-tone settings of the Magnificat for Vespers occur in similar fashion. Short ricercars, free organ pieces in eight modes, appear within these services, and longer ones appear at the end of the collection to provide alternate selections for liturgical actions requiring more time.\textsuperscript{16} Canzonas also appear within the services and at the end of the collection. Rudolf Walter adds performance notes in his

\textsuperscript{12} Frans Wiering, *The Language of the Modes; Studies in the History of Polyphonic Music* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 111-12.


1977 edition of *Annuaire* about the use of non-cantus firmus pieces.

A ricercar or canzona can be played to the Gradual or Offertory of the Mass should the regularly prescribed selection be too short. Likewise, a fugue or a canzona in the appropriate mode may be selected if the Magnificat antiphonal (or the Brevis modulatio loco antiphonae) should be brief.\(^\text{17}\)

Fasolo’s prints furnish performance practice information that fails to surface in many other publications and manuscripts of liturgical music. As Walter also points out in his Foreword, the comprehensiveness of Fasolo’s collection constitutes an important contribution to knowledge of liturgical practices.

Knowing which liturgical practices prevailed at any given point in time can be a challenge to the modern student, because practices have changed significantly over time, and reconstruction of former liturgies cannot be complete.\(^\text{18}\) To clarify the nature of the *Cento Versi*, liturgical changes resulting from the Council of Trent will require inspection later in this paper to find specific information about how and when the church sanctioned use of the organ in antiphony with the choir during the early seventeenth century.

Classification of music that lacks specific identifiers, such as Trabaci’s *Cento Versi*, depends to a large extent on modern perceptions of prevailing liturgical practices in the composer’s milieu. Other factors contribute to knowledge about organ repertory from this period. Discovering how and at what point in a service organ music was played will not only aid our discovery of the nature of the *Cento Versi*, but it may contribute also

\(^{17}\) Ibid., npn: “Gespielt kann eine Ricercata oder Canzona zu Graduale und Offertorium der Messe werden, wenn das dafür gebotene Stück zu kurz sein sollte. Ebenso kann eine Fuge oder eine Ricercata des betreffenden Tones gewählt werden, wenn die Magnificat-Antiphon (oder die Brevis modulatio loco antiphonae) kurz sein sollte.” Translation by R. Walter.

\(^{18}\) Harper, 1-3.
to reconsidering a possible functional classification for another genre long regarded as abstract music, the ricercar.

Another issue facing the modern student concerns the texts of the services and their relationship to music that took their place. While customary instrumental interpolations into services disrupted appointed texts, our understanding of what Church officials did about that and when they did it affects current perceptions of vocal and instrumental participation in various liturgies.\(^\text{19}\) Thus, probing the liturgical and textual contexts of the *Cento Versi* and Trabaci's other liturgical organ music may direct attention to other developments during the seventeenth century.

Tridentine changes in two Mass Ordinary sections affected the organ's role and its music. Liturgical studies regarding the Credo and the Gloria furnished reasons for musical changes in organ settings of these sections. For instance, changes in regulations regarding the chanting of the Credo caused a gradual decline in organ settings of its verses after 1600.\(^\text{20}\) Another example regards troped Glorias in which extra verses and music were interspersed among verses of the original Gloria. A setting of a Mass for the Virgin Mary by Claudio Merula was one of the last in which a troped Gloria occurred. As a result of the Council of Trent, troped stanzas and music were removed from Glorias, causing later organ settings of this Mass Ordinary section to adhere solely to the original


text.21

In order to uncover Trabaci’s tacit assumptions, we need to know as much as possible about the liturgical environment of the organist and composer. The results of research about liturgical music can bring knowledge about specific uses of the organ to a reading of the Cento Versi and apply it to this and other examples of Trabaci’s organ music.22 Recent research has added valuable information and insights to the body of knowledge about liturgies and music during the early seventeenth century, yet a number of questions remain unanswered.23

At least four types of compositions in Trabaci’s keyboard prints, ricercars, canzonas, toccatas, and variation sets, maintain silence about possible liturgical applications. This fact, however, fails to inform us that this music had no place in worship services and indicates that further research is needed. The only type that Trabaci identified as liturgical music, the Cento Versi, received such general terms that several questions arise. The Cento Versi appear undifferentiated regarding the varied kinds of chant sections: Kyrie, Gloria, Alleluia, Magnificat, antiphon, to name a few.

For example, a problem regarding Magnificat and psalm tone settings arises from


consideration of the links between musical structures and the textual forms upon which they were based. Chant formulas for these recitations reflected the layout of their texts, yet in some choral Magnificat and psalm settings, such as those by Willaert and Jachet in the sixteenth century, the parallel structure of the recitation formulas were masked by melodic and cadential motions in imitative polyphony with overlapping voices. The parallel structure of psalm recitation formulas was no longer apparent. Whether this created a substantive change in the musical form is a question that should be considered later, because Trabaci's *Cento Versi* similarly fail to demonstrate parallel structures. This feature, or lack thereof, could perfectly suit a Kyrie or Gloria verse that lacks a medial cadence, but ill suit a Magnificat verse that requires one.

This brings us to a question that underlies many others. Since different formal schemes inhere among the many chant types, it is a curiosity that a generic type of music could be suitable for such a varied array. One feature seems clear: the absence of quotations from specific chants generalizes the organ music, thereby increasing its functionality with respect to melodic and harmonic contents. This characteristic, however, runs the risk of sounding out of character (not to mention irrelevant to, mediocre, or too rich) in relation to the abundant variety and unique qualities of many excellent melodies in the plainsong repertory. A potential advantage nevertheless lies in the hands of a good composer who frames the chanted materials with contrasting melodic, harmonic, and motivic developments in such a way as to accentuate their unique qualities and highlight them in a telling manner, much as a portrait enhances a subject by the painter's technical skill and artistic decisions and by the frame in which it resides. It seems that the modern task is to uncover a portrait that has faded with time or which
some other painter has appropriated for its canvas and applied another layer over the original. Liturgical accretions have blurred our ability to see the original practices, so the relationship between the music and its subject, the chanted milieu, is hard to apprehend.

Liturgical worship is replete with actions and values that reside within a ritual culture.\textsuperscript{24} We know that most Masses and Vespers services had ordered plans that included when and what the organ may or should play, but early liturgies require some probing to discover how organ music related to the actions and values of its ritual context.\textsuperscript{25} Tridentine reforms provided official approval of late medieval liturgical practices with some modifications.\textsuperscript{26} Although conciliar actions produced only general reformative statements in favor of textual clarity and inspiration of the faithful, and against the use of music with lascivious (secular or theatrical) associations, another document with specific descriptions of approved liturgical practices appeared many years after the Council of Trent.\textsuperscript{27} The \textit{Caeremoniale Episcoporum} (1600) provides details about the organ in liturgies that will later aid in accessing some of Trabaci’s tacit assumptions.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{24} Harper, 2-3, 6-7.
\textsuperscript{25} Apel, 109-10; Harper, 15.
\textsuperscript{26} Harper, 11-12.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 29, 48.
\end{flushleft}
I.3 The Organ and Chanted Repertories

Performed without instruments from its inception, plainsong had provided the church organ with its first music both in content and style. The early organ, being crude and rough by modern standards, tagged along as best it could until its development extended its range of pitches, unified its timbres, and made its keys accessible to performance by fingers, rather than fists.\(^\text{29}\) Scholars estimate this happened some time around the fourteenth century, for that is the period of the music in Codex Faenza 117, the earliest liturgical organ music, that emerged in Italy.\(^\text{30}\) Although rediscovered in 1939 and containing musical styles of the Italian trecento and the Ars Nova in France, Dragan Plamenac placed the approximate of its original copy no later than 1420.\(^\text{31}\) The organ received refinements during this period, one that promulgated increasing numbers of fifteenth-century examples of a performance style referred to as *alternatim*, in which choral antiphony occurred between alternating performing forces, organ and choir, or choir and choir.\(^\text{32}\) The presence of the original plainsong chanted by the choir (cantus firmus) was nearly ubiquitous in organ settings of this period.\(^\text{33}\)

In the sixteenth century advances in organ building and keyboard technology resulted in increasingly rapid passage work in Spanish keyboard music whose most


\(^{30}\) Apel, 30-32; Dragan Plamenac, 310-12; Williams and Owen, 67-71.

\(^{31}\) Plamenac, “New Light,” 313.


renowned exemplars were Antonio de Cabezón and Luys Venegas de Henestrosa.\textsuperscript{34} Similar styles appeared in Italy, both in the Codex Faenza already mentioned and among later organ intonations and toccatas by such north Italian composers as Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli and Claudio Merulo in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{35} The early seventeenth century found Trabaci introducing a new practice with the Cento Versi, in order to perform \textit{alternatim} organ versets in free compositions that utilized the organ’s capacities for extended pitch ranges, increased dynamic ranges, and expanded varieties of timbres among organ stops.\textsuperscript{36} Seventeenth-century composers and organists increasingly moved away from using original plainsong cantus firmi in alternatim music, replacing them with original ideas that utilized their formal structures.\textsuperscript{37} Thus, Trabaci may represent the forward edge of organ music developments of his day.

During the sixteenth century organ builders had dealt with the rough edges of older organ voicings, smoothing them to a more singing and sweet quality.\textsuperscript{38} Italian organists of the seventeenth century relied on subtle changes in organ registration without


\textsuperscript{36} Williams and Owen, \textit{New Grove Organ}, 209-10.


\textsuperscript{38} Williams and Owen, 211.
dramatic contrasts.\textsuperscript{39} A typical Italian organ of the period was relatively small, compared to northern European instruments, and the sounds were light. An organ stop list of the early seventeenth century by an anonymous organ builder provides an example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Manuale</strong></th>
<th><strong>Pedal</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principale</td>
<td>Permanently coupled to Manual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flauto in Ottava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flauto in duodecima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 2/3’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flauto in decimaquinta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintadecima and Decimanona</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2’ and 1 1/3’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigesimaseconda and Vigesimanona</td>
<td>1’ and 1/2’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Accessory Stops**
- Tremulant
- Grillo (Cricket)

*Anonymous Organ Builder*
Early Seventeenth Century

Coloring the warm, moderately soft Principale 8’ with stops of higher pitches and carefully using accessory stops with it, the organist furnished nuanced combinations of sounds without the use of solo registers. Contrasted with human voices, the organ served as another choir of differing voices, high and low, loud and soft, full-throated, and undulating.

Harnessing this vocal and instrumental power was the doctrine of affects that


\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 53.
assigned specific types of sounds to each mode. Since human voices had a narrower range than the keyboard by the early seventeenth century, composers needed expanded tonal concepts to accommodate both performing forces, including one of that extended beyond the limits of the vocal gamut within which the monophonic chants of the church modes resided.  

1.4 Free Compositions and a New Type of Tone

Trabaci’s organ versets open a window on compositional styles for organ in which free instrumental compositions coordinated with chants to create a novel practical system of tonalities in seventeenth-century church music. In order to balance voices and instrument in plainsong-related performances, the practical bases in both modality and the psalm tones had to be modified to accommodate both performing forces. Trabaci’s Cento Versi followed a growing interest among post conciliar keyboardists in a new type of ecclesiastical tone (tuoni ecclesiastici) that was related to the ancient church modes and to the psalm tones. Adriano Banchieri presented the new ecclesiastical tones as suitable for antiphony between the choir and organ or other instruments, because their finals were located at pitches that singers used. Suppression of a number of multiple endings (differentiae) for the psalm tones provided the nexus between modal music and psalm tones with a smooth interface. His explications provided these transposed tones a

41 Ibid., 56-57.


43 Dodds, 113-14, 293.
new category of their own, while they imbued instrumental music with specific tonal qualities.\textsuperscript{44}

In contrast to the \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici} the psalm tones delivered texts that appeared in melodic recitation formations, in contrast to the delivery of antiphon texts via the melodic church modes. Both the ancient church modes and psalm tones resided in monophonic vocal music, yet polyphonic music utilized imitative procedures within a hierarchy of intervals, such as the fifth, fourth and octave, that was borrowed from a different system, thus creating an uneasy marriage when the two were joined together. No necessary connection existed between the modes or modal theory and polyphonic composition.\textsuperscript{45} Wrestling the hierarchies of imitative procedures into modal conformity consumed a great deal of mental energy and ink, and the results never satisfied.

The demands of polyphonic liturgical performances created needs for resources beyond the melodic and monophonic elements of chants. In the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, organists’ requirements for increased transpositions to accommodate singers had provided the impetus for many polyphonic experiments in organ and choral antiphony from Juan Bermudo to Girolamo Diruta and Adriano Banchieri.\textsuperscript{46} With the new \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici} organist-composers could add improvisatory embellishments in the forms of scalar passage-work, instrumental diminution patterns, and imitative arrays to music for antiphony with the choir. The \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici}, possessing features that


\textsuperscript{45} Harold Powers, “Mode,” \textit{NG} (2001), 797.

\textsuperscript{46} Wiering, 73.
made them suitable for freely-composed instrumental music used in choral antiphony coordinated with church modes and psalm tones by way of frequent transpositions that accommodated singers.

Trabaci’s unique application of the *Cento Versi* resides in their suitability for many kinds of service sections. His reference to Masses and all the services of the Divine Office, including Vespers, seems to indicate that he regarded the versets as suitable for the Ordinary of the Mass as well as the Magnificat during Vespers. The variable length of the *Cento Versi* might indicate the varying lengths associated with many different kinds of chants. Changing liturgical practices support this supposition.

Statements from *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* reveal that the Vesper psalms were chanted in antiphony by the choir and that the organ played in place of the antiphon following each psalm or group of psalms. An assumption long held, that the organ and choir alternated during the verses of the Vesper psalms, does not receive support by the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* and other sources during the early seventeenth century. This practice may have existed in monastic houses during an earlier period. The only verse by verse alternatim performance between organ and choir occurred during the hymns, such as *Lucis creator optime*, and the canticles of the Divine Office, such as the Magnificat during Vespers and the Te Deum during Matins. The *Cento Versi* might possess features that qualified them for such alternatim performances, but Trabaci proposed they accomplish more.

---

47 This document, Sections IV.1, IV.6, IV.7.

48 This document, Section IV.6.

49 Schaefer, 232-33.
In spite of the absence of specific title indicators for their uses, the composer's commentary opened a wide field of performance for the _Cento Versi_. The Ordinary sections of Mass and Vespers services presented opportunities, but some Propers, such as Alleluia verses or repetitions, Introit antiphons, psalm antiphons for Vespers, and verses of the Magnificat also served. The lack of liturgical specificity of the _Cento Versi_ were combined with their identities as _tuoni ecclesiastici_ to provide a flexible repertory for varied uses and occasions. To discover which uses and occasions remains a task to address. The _tuoni ecclesiastici_ seem to have opened a new world to the organist, an America, a new-found land ready for exploration.

The language of the title page in _Il Secondo Libro_ indicated Trabaci's target audience: not only people who planned and played for services of the Divine Office, but those who also performed in "every other sort" of worshipful occasion. Amplification of this information appeared in the body of the book at the beginning of the _Cento Versi_. Here the author's commentary reveals at least two main topics, each of which may be subdivided. One topic touches on the worship occasions he intended for these versets. Another topic concerns his views about the tonal scheme of the versets and their similarities to, and variances from, the church modes, the pseudoclassical modes, and contemporary seventeenth-century practices. We can distill these topics under two headings: _tuoni ecclesiastici_ and worship occasions.

Discussions about the _tuoni ecclesiastici_ and worship occasions bring us to topics that were familiar to a readership made up of a musically sophisticated nobility, professional musicians, and music students. However, since the contexts of these subjects are puzzling to modern readers, several categories of subtexts emerge as we try
to read between the lines of texts and music in order to understand more about the
background of this music and about Trabaci’s somewhat cryptic remarks concerning the
Cento Versi.

1.5 Modes and Tones

While definitions of terms varied according to the composer, theorist or
performer, Trabaci used two sets of terms to refer to the new tones.\(^5^0\) On the title page of
Il Secondo Libro de Ricercate he used the words finali ecclesiastici, but on the first page
of the Cento Versi, inside the book, he referred to them as otto Toni Ecclesiastici.\(^5^1\) By
changing the language to otto Toni Ecclesiastici inside the book, Trabaci seems to have
referred not simply to a set of church finals, one type of definition with long standing, but
to a set of tones, which implied a different, yet widely known, manner of definition.
These two types of definition had essentially merged into one over the centuries.\(^5^2\)

Terminology for the modes and tones has been riddled with ambiguities, and two
types of definitions were used interchangeably.\(^5^3\) In the ninth century when the
anonymous treatise, Musica enchiriadis, appeared, tonus had a variety of meanings, a
whole step (an interval), a single note, or a psalm tone. After first using tonus to signify
modus, the unknown author decided to assign tonus to the whole tone interval, which

\(^{50}\) Dodds, 30-31; Wiering, 74-79.

\(^{51}\) Trabaci, Il Secondo Libro, Title page, 41.

\(^{52}\) “Mode.” The New Harvard Dictionary of Music, ed. D. Randel (Cambridge:

\(^{53}\) Hiley, 454.
meant the only term remaining for chant classification was *modus.*\textsuperscript{54} The terminological ambiguity signaled a tradition, and other writers failed to agree on a unified definition. Since later authors reverted to differing definitions for *tonus* and *modus,* terminology alone is not a reliable aid in identifying an author's distinctions between *tonus* and *modus.*\textsuperscript{55}

Carolingian scholars assigned eight church modes to a preexistent repertory of chant during the eighth and ninth centuries.\textsuperscript{56} Efforts to understand how characteristic features contributed to the constitution of the modes commenced around the same time. The anonymous Italian author presenting this definition around the eleventh century in *Dialogus de Musica* asserted, “A tone or mode is a rule which distinguishes every chant in its final [scale degree].”\textsuperscript{57} The eleventh century also produced a definition of mode that focused on its internal qualities. In *Epistola de ignoto cantu,* Guido said, “The first degree A and the fourth, D, are alike and are designated ‘of a single mode’ because both have a tone beneath and [have] a tone-semitone-tone-tone above. And this is the first ‘similarity in the scale degrees’, that is, the first mode.”\textsuperscript{58}

Classification of modes and tones to music that already existed was an *a posteriori* decision. Polyphony, however, brought the application of modal theory as an *a priori* event that involved a pre-compositional decision by the composer. These

\textsuperscript{54} Hiley, 460.

\textsuperscript{55} Wiering, 69-101.

\textsuperscript{56} Hiley, 454.


\textsuperscript{58} Powers, 776.
differences help to account for the variations in specifications found among the definitions. In the 1318 *Lucidarium* by Marchetto of Padua a more layered approach to mode appeared. The species of fourths and fifths within modal structures, classifications of their ranges and melodies into perfect, imperfect, mixed and pluperfect categories, and the functional ordering of pitches within the mode, such as principal, terminal, proper, and common, constituted the properties of modes in Marchetto’s treatise.\(^59\) Classifying chant melodies by their internal attributes, such as interval patterns, meant that these concepts of church modes were complicated, yet more accessible to polyphonic treatments. Despite the considerable analysis and synthesis provided by neo-classical scholars, they never quite escaped from their melodic beginnings in a monophonic chant repertory.\(^60\)

Broadly speaking, several types of modal and tonal materials provided the basic building blocks for musical compositions during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Since nearly all music derived from vocal origins and the church music most frequently experienced by people on all social and economic levels was chanted, the importance of monophonic plainsong music can hardly be overstated even as instrumental forms and styles fascinated composers and performers during this period.

An overview of the psalm tone and modal systems reveals their origins and their utility for sacred composition and for performance by church organists. Psalm-tones believed to arise from the Roman and Byzantine period furnished the melodic formulas used for reciting psalms, canticles, prayers, and biblical narratives. Eight church modes

\(^{59}\) Ibid, 791-92.

\(^{60}\) Hiley, 454.
constituted the classification system assigned to a pre-existing chant repertory during the Carolingian period.\textsuperscript{61} Twelve (pseudoclassical) modes furnished an expanded modal series of sixteenth-century origin resulting from a humanist revival of classical scholarship. The church tones or \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici} appeared during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Derived from the psalm tones, this new classification scheme varied with the composer or treatise author promoting or reflecting on them, but the increasingly widespread and implicit use of the \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici} provides evidence of their utility. Basically the genesis of this system came from two practices, suppression of many psalm tone endings (differentiae) so that one ending prevailed for each psalm tone and the transposition of modal and psalm tone music to provide more comfortable ranges for singers.

\textbf{1.6 Eight Psalm Tones}

The eight psalm tones constitute a limited repertory for the recitation of psalms and canticles.\textsuperscript{62} The psalm tones constitute real melodic entities and convey psalms and canticles of worship services as well as chanted narratives and prayers.\textsuperscript{63} When these formulaic melodies serve for recitations of psalm texts and canticles, they normally do not stand alone, because an antiphon precedes and follows each psalm or canticle

\textsuperscript{61} Hiley, 454-55, 521-22.

\textsuperscript{62} Hiley, 60-61.

\textsuperscript{63} Hiley, 46-47.
recitation.\textsuperscript{64} Antiphons based on modes and recitations based on psalm tones together present an ad hoc musical unity, because the assigned numbers of modes and tones must match one another in performance. A mode one antiphon requires psalm tone one.\textsuperscript{65}

Since the psalm tones are meant for recitation of passages of variable lengths, their formation is simple. A reciting tone for each psalm tone carries most of the syllables of the recited text. A beginning (intonation), middle (medial cadence), and ending (differentia) assigned to each tone enables singers to commence the chant and move from it gracefully, while pausing in the middle as a reflection of the parallel structure of texts for psalms and canticles. Musical Example 1 illustrates typical types of psalm tones, although other more elaborate forms exist for solemn or especially festive occasions.

Although linked in performance to modal antiphons, the psalm tones were not modal in themselves and were not classified according to modal finals. Musical Example 1 (page 146) illustrates their formulaic nature and standardized form, yet ninth- and tenth-century psalm tones possessed a great variety of pitch endings, called differentiae, in order to provide seamless connections to the beginnings of numerous and varied antiphons.\textsuperscript{66}

Musical Example 2 from a Neapolitan teaching manual of 1609 reveals a typical pictorial representation of antiphon modes and psalm tones. Visual identification of standardized intervals between the finals D.E.F.G. of the church modes and the onset of

\textsuperscript{64} Thomas H. Connolly, “Psalms, II. Latin Monophonic Psalmody,” \textit{NG} (1980), 324.

\textsuperscript{65} Hiley, 455.

\textsuperscript{66} Terence Bailey, “Psalms II,” \textit{NG}, 457.
psalm tone endings furnished the information needed to perform antiphons and psalms in sets of matched pairs.\textsuperscript{67} The “EUOUAE seculorum” pitches identify the endings of the Lesser Doxology (Gloria Patri) that follow each psalm. This shorthand for the vowels of the final two words of the Latin phrase, “in secula seculorum. Amen,” provided information singers needed to select appropriate intonations, already memorized, for use.\textsuperscript{68}

Musical Example 3 illustrates antiphon endings and psalm tone chants in a schematic version drawn from Adriano Banchieri’s \textit{Cartella Musicale} (1614). This illustration is a conflation of two tables in Banchieri’s book. The antiphon endings appear on page 68 of \textit{Cartella Musicale} (1614) and the psalm tones appear on the following page. Combining them illustrates for the modern reader who may be unfamiliar with the system a typical chant procedure whereby the end of the antiphon is succeeded immediately by the intonation and recitation of a psalm verse. When the psalm recitation is completed, the antiphon is then repeated. Not shown here is an antiphon beginning (also called an intonation). In many psalm performances, only the first verse receives the intonation; the remaining verses skip the intonation and begin directly on the reciting tone. On festive occasions every verse begins with the intonation. This version differs from Banchieri’s also by using the untransposed positions of the antiphon endings and the psalm tones and by tacitly correcting an error in Banchieri’s Tone 3 antiphon ending.


\textsuperscript{68} Connolly, 327.
Another example illustrates a typical antiphon-seculorum pair. Musical Example 4 is drawn from Banchieri’s *Cartella Musicale* (1613).\(^{69}\) Here typical modal endings for the antiphons (the last notes express the modal final) appear adjacent to typical psalm tone endings, (whose last notes do not express a final, even if it appears otherwise).

When a modal final and a psalm tone ending arrive on the same pitch, the occurrence is coincidental rather than intentional since the psalm tone ending cannot be a final. This illustration reveals that performance practices during the early seventeenth-century had reduced the number of psalm tone *differentiae* to a fairly standardized assortment of pitches.\(^{70}\) A reduction in the number of *differentiae* was one of the significant liturgical developments to affect instrumental music during the early seventeenth century. This suppression arose from liturgical changes accruing from many centuries of practices that varied by region and community. It was partly the result of pragmatic necessity, yet connected to a shift toward simplification in music for, and observances of, the Divine Office that occurred during the sixteenth century. Streamlined services exhibited conciliar influences.

\(^{69}\) I am grateful to my advisor, Dr. Gregory Barnett, for providing me with this music.

I. 7  Eight Church Modes

The eight church modes, abstract in nature, contrast with the simple melodic formulas of the eight psalm tones. Whereas psalm tone classifications apply to simple formulaic melodic types with a limited number of variants, modal classifications apply to chants that contain significant melodic variations. The method of classification brought many types of melodic varieties into relatively few (eight) collations. Applied to the disorganized and varied types of melodies comprising the antiphons, responsories, and propers, the modes were fixed to provide a means of coupling psalm tone recitations with respective antiphons.71 A vast collection of melodic and textual elements from the antiphon repertory was coordinated with a considerably smaller body of recitation chants. Relating the psalm tones to the modes by number meant that some measure of aural congruity existed between them.

Eight church modes arise from four finals on D.E.F.G. Two ranges of notes, one high and one low, express each final. Table One shows basic features of the early system of church modes and brings together information from two approaches, the numbers and Greek names (Protus, Deuterus, Tritus, Tetractus) adopted by the Carolingian scholars and the pseudoclassical names they acquired during the sixteenth century. Both names derive from periods of interest in classical cultures that occurred at different times. The first set of names is preferred, but the second set is often encountered in the literature.72

---


72 Hiley, 522
Both are found in Hiley’s book on plainchant.\textsuperscript{73}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Table One}
\end{center}

\textit{The Eight Church Modes}

\textit{ Registers: Authentic = High; Plagal = Low}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Greek Name &amp; Register</th>
<th>Pseudoclassical Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Protus Authentic</td>
<td>Dorian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Protus Plagal</td>
<td>Hypodorian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Deuterus Authentic</td>
<td>Phrygian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Deuterus Plagal</td>
<td>Hypophrygian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>Tritus Authentic</td>
<td>Lydian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>Tritus Plagal</td>
<td>Hypolydian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Tetrardus Authentic</td>
<td>Mixolydian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Tetrardus Plagal</td>
<td>Hypomixolydian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Early in the Christian era different forms of chants appeared in diverse areas, the Mediterranean basin, the Eastern and Western branches of the Roman Empire, and Christian outposts in northern Europe.\textsuperscript{74} This enormously varied and huge repertory went through many stages of classification and modification. During the eighth and ninth centuries Carolingian scholars developed and applied modal classification to this music for both practical and intellectual reasons.\textsuperscript{75} The modes elude easy description, because their melodic contents display many individual features drawn from the huge repertory of chants that pre-dated their classification.\textsuperscript{76} A graphic representation indicates the melodic

\textsuperscript{73} Hiley, 459, 461.


\textsuperscript{75} Hiley, 521-22.

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid, 454, 461.
basis of modal finals and the ranges of the melodies associated with them, yet such a
graph cannot define a mode. In Musical Example 5 the final note, designated by a white
note, and the next one above it, the reciting note, together form a primary intervallic
relationship contributing to the mode’s identity. Contrasting high and low ranges
constitute the authentic and plagal versions of each of the four finals. The interval
between the two lowest notes of each was often considered one of the essential features
of a mode.\footnote{Bernhard Meier, \textit{Alte Tonarten, dargestellt an der Instrumentalmusik des 16.
und 17. Jahrhunderts} (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), 15.} Because of varied and melodic content, music assigned to the modes yield
few specific markers for identification. Different notes partake of hierarchical
relationships within a mode; prominent ones appear frequently or at significant breaks,
usually signified by musical cadences. Several different families of similar melodic types
may exist in a single mode.\footnote{Hiley, 461.} Yet none of these provide a precise or succinct description.
The mode exists as an abstraction of a quality and represents it. Pieces of modal music
partake of the modes, while they are not the modes themselves.\footnote{Harold Powers, “From Psalmody to Tonality,” in \textit{Tonal Structures in Early Music}, ed. C. C. Judd. (New York: Garland, 1998), 281. The concept of “representing” a mode without “being” is Powers’.}

I.8 Twelve Modes

Trabaci revealed his interest in the twelve pseudoclassical modes by discussing
his ricercars and their relationship to the \textit{Cento Versi}. He associated the twelve modes
with the composition of music that had no connection to plainchant. As a result of the
second wave of classical renewal in Europe, these modes became the objects of intense interest by theorists and composers during the sixteenth century. Heinrich Glarean in Germany and Adriano Zarlino in Italy each presented a dodechordal system in which twelve modes were visualized in scalar projections of octave species. The importance of this new means of visualizing the modes was the beginning of a new system to replace the old, although the two modal series, the eight church modes and the twelve pseudoclassical modes, continued to exist side by side. The eleventh century model of the Guidonian hand to describe the gamut of musical pitches represented the vocal gamut of twenty pitches. The shift from the image of the hand to scalar representation revealing a new way of conceptualizing musical pitches coincided with the rise of the twelve modes.

Trabaci, concerned to present twelve pseudoclassical modes as the basis for two series of keyboard ricercars in his two prints of 1603 and 1615, demonstrated skill in one of the most prevalent forms of keyboard composition of his day, ricercars that illustrated the twelve modes with one piece for each mode. In this way he associated the twelve modes with the composition of music that had no connection to plainchant. Adriano Banchieri included information about the twelve modes in Cartella Musicale (1614).\textsuperscript{80} Basing his presentation on that of the prestigious theorist, Gioseffo Zarlino, Banchieri quoted Zarlino on the modes, describing them as “manners of composing” and cited the original text, Le Istitutioni harmoniche (1558), Part Four, beginning with Chapters 11 and 12 (pages 311-335). Banchieri explained that the modes were formed on the Guidonian hand on the notes, D.E.F.G.A.C. Two modes, authentic and plagal, on each note

\textsuperscript{80} Banchieri, 84 [215-18].
furnished a total of twelve modes. Banchieri pointed out that the first six with finals on D.E.F. were low in their normal positions, and the second six on G.A.C. were high. Either set lent itself to transposition by using B flat in the new key signature, which caused the low set to move a fourth higher, and the high set, a fifth lower. Octave divisions at the fifth and fourth achieved new significance as the principal pitches of the modes for use in imitative polyphony.

Table Two reveals the finals and names of the twelve modes proposed by Zarlino. The finals that conform to the conventional modes reflect his early work before the revised edition of *Le Istituzioni harmoniche* appeared in 1573. Not all theorists and composers adopted his revised version in which the modes were re-ordered so the final of Mode One was on C, rather than D. Banchieri’s discourse on the modes treated the system presented here.

**Table Two**

**Twelve Modes**

*Twelve modes from six finals*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Dorian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Mixolydian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Hypodorian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Hypomixolydian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Phrygian</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Aeolian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Hypophrygian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Hypoaeolian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>Lydian</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>Ionian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>Hypolydian</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>Hypoionian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A significant difference distinguishes Glarean and Zarlino, the two music theorists responsible for the introduction and widespread dissemination of the twelve

---

mode system. First, Heinrich Glarean who amplified the eight mode system by adding four more, probably based on his knowledge of eleventh-century theoretical works, retained a monophonic orientation based on the octave species.⁸² Second, Zarlino adapting Glarean’s scheme, went further and added polyphonic considerations.⁸³ This was an important step that signified an important difference from the eight church modes and from Glarean’s twelve modes. Whereas the eight church modes represented melodic formations derived from plainsong, the twelve modes represented scalar conceptions that were independent of plainsong melodies.

Significant intervals in the twelve modes did not emerge from melodic processes, as in the eight church modes, but from arithmetic divisions of a sounding string on a monochord, a teaching aid that also served to assist research in music theory. To the fifth and fourth divisions of the octave, Zarlino added the third divisions of the fifth, thereby creating additional cadential hierarchies to those proposed by earlier theorists.⁸⁴ The result was that Zarlino permitted cadential motions on the final, its octave, fifth, and fourth as well as the third above the final that delineated the division of its fifth. The latter refinement was the first time in music theory that recognition of the difference between major and minor thirds within the species of fifths occurred.

I.9  *Otto Tuoni Ecclesiastici*

By forming his music from *otto tuoni ecclesiastici* instead of the eight church

---

⁸² Ibid, 807-812.


⁸⁴ Ibid, 813.
modes from late antiquity or the twelve pseudoclassical modes of the sixteenth century, Trabaci illustrated his interest in a new practice of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.\textsuperscript{85} This newer practice, however, does bear some relationship with modal theory.

According to Adriano Banchieri the psalm tones formed a bridge between the \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici} and the church modes, but he made an important distinction regarding the type of music associated with each.\textsuperscript{86} He connected the \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici} to instrumental music usually performed in antiphony with choral plainchant and with vocal performances during masses, psalms, hymns, canticles, and other pieces. He gave concerti, canzone franzese, toccatas, madrigals and songs known as cantilena as examples of this category.\textsuperscript{87} In their instrumental aptitude, the \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici} presented a tonal basis for music intended for concerted purposes between mixed performing forces, with at least one being an instrumental category.

The \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici} had come into existence as a separate category during the late sixteenth century. They arose from transpositions of the eight psalm tones that, while not standardized, conformed to fairly regular patterns. Originally conceived as a means of moving chants into ranges that were comfortable for singers, organists and composers began to regard the most frequently used transpositions as normative.\textsuperscript{88} Banchieri described them first in \textit{L'Organo Suonarino} as adaptations of psalm tone formulas

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{85} Dodds, 118-20; Wiering, 77-79.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Dodds, 53-54.
\item \textsuperscript{87} Banchieri, 84 [215-218]; Dodds, 113.
\item \textsuperscript{88} Dodds, 53.
\end{itemize}
associated with the church modes. Later, in *Cartella Musicale*, Banchieri identified them as a separate category, each possessing its own set of internal characteristics. Banchieri devoted significant portions of *Cartella Musicale* to explicating the origin of this category and its relationship with systems then in use.

Banchieri distinguished the *tuoni ecclesiastici* from the twelve modes, but he also described how they were related in transpositional terms. Nevertheless we will find Trabaci denying this very relationship.

Essential differences between the *tuoni ecclesiastici* and the twelve modes resulted in different compositional applications. In *Cartella Musicale* (1614), Banchieri said, "The eight ecclesiastical tones have been transposed from plainchant to figural singing, with the result that they are at the proper pitch range for voices, for the alternation with plainchant and organ." Using the *tuoni ecclesiastici* a composer could produce many kinds of church music: masses, psalms, hymns, canticles, and concerted music. He added a note that the tones could be transposed at will, and many composers did this. However, he said that he preferred music at the original positions and for that reason composed exemplary duos in the untransposed ecclesiastical tones. Although he

---

89 Dodds, 53.
90 Dodds, 113.
91 Banchieri, 136-37 [297-301; Dodds, 103-13].
92 Dodds, 114-16; This paper, I.11, page 49.
93 Banchieri, tr. Cranna, 84 [215-16].
94 Banchieri, 84 [215-18].
95 Ibid, 84 [215-17], 72-80 [194-211].
acknowledged that many composers, including himself, transposed music meant for “compositions [for alternation] with plainchant or the organ,” he decried the practice, because it contributed to confusion among singers and organists who were not highly skilled.\textsuperscript{96}

It appears few forward-thinking composers agreed with Banchieri’s preference for untransposed church tones. Many authors of vocal manuals and a few writers of organ manuals, who were admittedly performance-oriented, advocated transpositions to a number of different pitch levels. Early manuals by Banchieri, others by Girolamo Diruta, Silverio Picerli, Giossepp Maria Stella, Giulio Cesare Marinelli, and Giossepp Frezza dalle Grotte are cited by Dodds as favoring a number of transpositions.\textsuperscript{97} Marinelli’s transpositions favored a vocal “sweet spot” for singers which organ transpositions accommodated.\textsuperscript{98} As described by Bernadette Nelson, Spanish choirs preferred to maintain a uniform pitch level for reciting tones throughout successive chants in a series.\textsuperscript{99} This practice required a number of transpositions that might not accord with the fifth and fourth recommended by Trabaci.\textsuperscript{100} Banchieri described a practice at St. Mark’s in Venice in which transpositional adjustments were made in individual modes and tones

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid, 84 [215-16].

\textsuperscript{97} Dodds, 52-96.

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid, 90.


that ensured universal D endings. Some of these experiments resulted in cacophony to seventeenth century ears, and likely would the more so for a modern audience, considering the organ tuning and temperaments of the day. Seeking more mellifluous results in the face of a shortage of suitable pitch levels among the prescribed antiphons and psalms, a maestro di cappella or composer might well select antiphon substitutes such as organ pieces, motets, solo songs, or instrumental ensemble music to facilitate this result.\footnote{Dodds, 94. Dodds also refers to Robert Bates, From Mode to Key: A Study of Seventeenth-Century French Liturgical Organ Music and Music Theory (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1986), 209.}

That some composers afforded the tuoni ecclesiastici status as modes in their own right was an important development. The order of the contents in Il Secondo Libro containing two numerically ordered cycles in apposition, ricercars in the twelve modes and the Cento Versi in the eight tuoni ecclesiastici, takes on more significance when we consider the development of ideas about these categories that Banchieri discussed.\footnote{Trabaci, Il Second Libro, 41. This paper, I.10 and I.11.} In Trabaci’s Cento Versi, the tuoni ecclesiastici nearly acquire the status of a separate category in their own right.
I.10 Contrapuntal Style

Appealing to the demands of their audiences and caring little for the refinements of musica theorica, instrumentalists and secular court vocalists had begun to experiment with improvised and written embellishments in a style of solo and contrapuntal music that Imogene Horsley has termed "luxuriant counterpoint." More and more dissonances and chromatic alterations crept into virtuosic displays that embellished a contrapuntal substratum, as instrumentalists and vocalists improvised embellishments on written music.

Banchieri and Trabaci also participated in this new movement as they took up a practical manner of observation and experimentation, following the examples of composers such as Giaches de Wert and Luzzasco Luzzaschi who created florid diminutions for three famous female singers in Ferrara, and Carlo Gesualdo who applied exotic musical effects in his madrigals. Meanwhile, the experiments in diminutions (melodic embellishments) by instrumentalists and vocalists found publication in performance manuals and music. A famous one for the viol emanated from the pen of Diego Ortiz, Trabaci’s famous predecessor at the Cappella Reale.

Two styles of counterpoint based on similar methods of imitation arose from different approaches by composers and performers. But these two styles were not parallel. Strict counterpoint that was written out and free counterpoint that was

---


104 Ibid., 131-37.

improvised each operated according to different sets of parameters regarding the use of
dissonance and the subdivisions of beats that permitted dissonance. Instrumental
practices permitted greater freedom than vocal music in treatment of dissonances in rapid
diminutions.106 Girolamo Diruta and Adriano Banchieri each described these styles.107
Citing the skill of his own teacher, Claudio Merulo, in published Masses, ricercars,
canzonas, and toccatas, Diruta recommended students attempt to emulate these
examples.108 He also advised maintenance of consonances in the underlying music when
creating diminutions on it.109 His earlier discourse on diminutions permitted free
treatments of dissonances in rapid passagework, because the ear could not register their
occurrence, a view not in compliance with the rules of strict counterpoint.110 Strict
countrapuntal style limited dissonance to the off beat, yet halfway between strict and free
was mixed, a countrapuntal style that permitted stepwise dissonance and consonance to
alternate in note values smaller than the half-note.111 Banchieri included contrapunto alla
mente, improvised counterpoint in which the organist or singer improvised diminutions

106 Horsley, 127-29.
107 Girolamo Diruta, Il Transilvano II, 14, ed. Bradshaw and Soehnlein (Ottawa:
Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), 55; Banchieri, Cartella Musicale (1614), 165-215
[347-412].
110 Horsley, 128, n. 18, 128, referring to Diruta, Il Transilvano I, 62. Diruta Il
Transilvano II, 11, ed. Bradshaw & Soehnlein, 20-21, demonstrates rapid diminutions
that commence with consonances.
111 Horsley, 127, n.13; Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei's Counterpoint Treatise," The
“in the mind.” Many styles coalesced to form a new kind of alternatim music for the organ. The styles in themselves were not new, but the application in this context was. This approach expanded the musical vocabulary of alternatim music in Masses and the Divine Office to include not only a vocally conceived medium such as chants, but an instrumentally conceived one that was ready to take flight from its chanted base.

I.11 Trabaci’s Tuoni Ecclesiastici

Trabaci’s approach to the tuoni ecclesiastici reveals the composer’s interest in trying new techniques of composition in service to the flight of melodic, tonal, and modal elements whose origins resided in the chant repertory. While a number of different definitions and theoretical systems developed around the new tones, Banchieri’s approach is the one presented here as the closest to Trabaci’s. To show how Banchieri derived the tuoni ecclesiastici from psalm tones, Musical Example 3 illustrates antiphon endings and their related psalm tone intonations (opening melodic figures) with reciting tones, and typical endings in an adaptation from Banchieri’s book. According to Banchieri these provide the basis for the tuoni ecclesiastici adapted for instrumental use in alternation with chanted music. Musical Example 6 shows Banchieri’s depiction of the

---

112 Banchieri, 230-231 [426-428]; Horsley, n. 20, 129, cites other authors on la mente counterpoint, namely Vicente Lusitano, Introduzione facillissima et novissima (Venice, 1561), and manuscript treatises by Giovanni Maria and Giovanni Bernardino Nanino. Facsimiles of the latter appear in Ernest T. Ferand, “Improvised Vocal Counterpoint in the Late Renaissance and Early Baroque,” Annales Musicologiques 4 (1956): 144-45, 161-63.

113 Dodds, 69-79.

114 Banchieri, 70-71 [191-93].
church modes that governed chants. The finals appear as black notes; the others are the principal pitches of the mode which may be used for cadences. The colors of the notes roughly illustrates their cadential ranking. In this case Banchieri was following Zarlino’s recommendation that the final ranked highest in importance for ending a cadence, while the octave, fifth, and third above the final were next in rank.

Musical Example 7 illustrates the cadential notes for Banchieri’s transposed tones for instrumental use with vocal chants. Transposed psalm tones on page of *Cartella Musicale* (1614) provided the basis for these cadential notes. The chart shows that Toni 1, 3, 4, 6, and 8 actually were not transposed for use in polyphonic music, but that 2, 5, and 7 were. The *Secondo Tono* was transposed up a fourth with B-flat. The *Quinto Tono* was transposed down a fourth without a change in key signature, and the *Settimo Tono* moved down a fifth with the use of B-flat. The results of these transpositions were a collapsing of the pitch ranges of the entire set. That singers were more likely to find a comfortable tessitura for chanting in these altered ranges forms the basis for Banchieri’s alliance between chanted music and the tones for polyphonic instrumental music. Organ music for choral antiphony that was derived from transposed psalm tones and church modes could partake of a wide variety of pitch levels, while maintaining the same finals, using many of the component intervals that singers used in the chants and creating composite forms of them in polyphonic adaptations. Such music could explore the instrument’s entire range of pitches, including those that extended beyond the ranges of

---

115 Ibid, 68 [187-88].

116 Ibid, 71 [193].

most singers, while engaging in liturgical music that by necessity must be associated with the eight church modes or the *tuoni ecclesiastici* in their transposed positions.\(^{118}\)

Terms relevant to transpositions of all music during this period and to the *tuoni ecclesiastici* belonged to a system of hexachords dating from the Middle Ages.\(^{119}\) Although the system was beginning to die out, it still had utility during the seventeenth century. Three hexachords shared the same intervallic pattern. There was *cantus durus*, named for the high and bright ("hard") sound of B natural: G.A.B.C.D.E. Another was *cantus mollis*, named for the low and soft sound of B flat: F.G.A.B-flat.C.D. The other one was *cantus naturale*: C.D.E.F.G.A. If a clef indicator contained B-flat, the system was *cantus mollis*. In the absence of B-flat, *cantus durus* applied. The terminology frequently was shortened to *mollis* and *durus*.

On page 41 of *Il Secondo Libro*, Trabaci commented briefly on the liturgical goals of the *Cento Versi*, then discussed their use of the *otto tuoni ecclesiastici* at more length. Before addressing the composer’s commentary, a chart shows essential features of the new tones for instrumental composition, his *otto finali ecclesiastici*. The system for each key signature has been included to represent a seventeenth century viewpoint.

---


Table Three
Trabaci’s *Otto Tuoni Ecclesiastici*

*Note: Nat. = B Natural; Flat = B Flat; Durus = Hard Hexachord (G); Mollis = Soft Hexachord (F)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>System</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>durus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>durus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>mollis</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>mollis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>durus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>durus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>durus</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>durus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The transpositions in Trabaci’s *tuoni ecclesiastici* resemble Banchieri’s, yet they differ in some respects also. We recall Banchieri’s comment that composers were free to make their own transpositions, and they often did. Table Three showing Trabaci’s *Otto Tuoni Ecclesiastici* presents an opportunity for comparison with Musical Example 5, illustrating Banchieri’s transposed tones. In Trabaci’s version the original modal finals appear in Tones 1, 4, 5, 6, and 8. Tone 2 exhibits a final transposed up a fourth. The difference lies in Trabaci’s Tone 5 with a final on F that lacked B-flat in the key signature, an unusual *cantus durus* application. Compositions in this tone often reveal a number of alterations adding B-flat, but considering that chant melodies in this mode partake of both forms of B and that the original tone on F possessed B-natural, a raised fourth degree, poses questions regarding the composer’s intentions. Trabaci’s choice indicates a choice to maintain a certain propriety according to musical theory and the church. However, most composers and performers at this time flatted the B in this tone.

The disagreement between Trabaci and Banchieri in Tone 7, however, was not
unusual. Some composers selected Banchieri’s transposition for Tone 7, taking it down a fourth instead of a fifth, and in the later seventeenth century adding a sharp.

I.11 Trabaci’s Commentaries

In the following quotations Trabaci’s statements from page 41 of Il Secondo Libro (1615) apply to an understanding that the tuoni ecclesiastici were something new in the manner that Zarlino and Banchieri referred to them: as a new way of composing for instruments. Contrasting the types of compositions that were oriented to voices and instruments, Trabaci acknowledged the existence of two different sets of compositional conventions in his first paragraph. A set of ricercars on the twelve modes contrasted with the Cento Versi on the eight ecclesiastical tones for performance during masses, vespers, all services of the Divine Office, and other occasions. Although he noted that both sets were laid out in the same way, i.e., in numerical order. Thus he pointed out some basic differences between the two musical genres.

Trabaci then addressed the twelve modes and the eight church modes with a brief description of them and reminded the reader that these systems contained range limitations based on the human voice. Twenty notes constitute the gamut of the Guidonian hand that conforms to vocal capacities for ascent and descent. His next point

---

120 Banchieri, 131 [291-92]; Dodds, Figure 4.3, 135. In these instances Banchieri allows for instrumental transpositions of Tone 7 with finals on C, but both use the mollis system.

121 Banchieri, 131 [291-92]; Dodds, Figure 4.3, 135. This variant appears in the same sources as the one on C, already mentioned.

122 Dodds, 44-45, 51, 113.
was that the increased ranges of instruments require greater freedom (licence) than the twelve modes or eight modes allow. He avers that as many as fifty notes may be necessary for instrumental composition.

To the Readers

Having been urged by my friends to put this second book of ricercars and other varied compositions of my humble invention into print, it seemed well to me, in order to please the world and whoever is an organist by profession, to accompany these ricercars with a hundred versets on the eight ecclesiastical tones for performance during Masses, Vespers, all Divine Offices, and on every other type of occasion. And I have written them in the same order as they are in my first printed ricercars.\textsuperscript{123}

It is necessary for me, gentle reader, to declare a doubt concerning these hundred versets and of the entire work (excluding, however, the twelve natural modes of this present volume). There in the world today many of the [musical] profession who I believe are not well informed, or, to put it better, do not remember (except for those who are good) that in speaking of the twelve natural modes and, more precisely, of the eight ecclesiastical finals, [that] our ancients put them into use and [that] they were served by them in the same way that we today are served by them. We know no less than that these twelve tones are based upon these six notes: D.E.F.G.A.C. And this dividing of a note to make the first and second [mode], and the placing of limits on the said tones, so that in polyphonic music they may not exceed twenty or twenty-two notes, at the most, is done for no other purpose than the convenience of how far the human voice is able to climb or descend.\textsuperscript{124} But when we are dealing with

\textsuperscript{123} Trabaci, \textit{Il Secondo Libro}, 41. “Alli Lettori. Essendo stato importunato da’ miei amici, ch’io mandassi nelle stampe queso secondo libro di Ricercate, ed altri vari capricci del mio rozzo ingegno, m’è parso bene, per giovare al mondo, ed à chi fa professione d’Organista, accompagnare a queste ricercate Cento versi sopra gli otto Toni Ecclesiastici, per risponder’ alle Messe, Vesperi, tutti Divini Officii; ed in ogni altra sorte d’occasione, e l’ho scritte in quell’ordine, si come stanno le mie prime Ricercate stampate.”

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid, 41. “M’occorre (benigno Lettore) dichiarare un dubio sopra questi Cento versi, e di tutta quest’Opera. (esclusi però i Dodici modi naturali di ques[to] presente mio libro) vi sono hoggi al mondo molti della professione, quail credo non siano bene informati, ò per dir meglio, non si ricordino (salvo però I buoni) che parlando delle Dodici modi naturali, e prescissamente dell’otto finali Ecclesiastici, li nostri antichi gli serviti di quella medesima maniera che hoggidi noi stessi ce ne serviamo, [n]ulladimeno
instrumental music, we enjoy many licenses which go beyond those of vocal music. For example: if I compose a piece for harpsichord, or a concerto for violins or other instruments which require a music of remote consonances for their effect on the ear, I will employ not only twenty notes, but fifty, if I find it necessary.

In this section the composer referred to transpositions of the tones as necessary for instrumental composition and rejected range as a modal criterion. The composer’s stated interest in permitting instrumentally-oriented music freedom to range as high or as low as the instrument would allow prevailed over previous rules that the authentic tones should ascend and the plagal ones descend, or that certain tones or modes could only ascend or descend through specifically limited ranges. In throwing out these rules, Trabaci continued to distinguish between ricercars that he regarded as based on the Guidonian gamut and the Cento Versi that he held were based on the new tuoni ecclesiastici that had derived from psalm tone transpositions.

The use of cleffing patterns to indicate modes arises in Trabaci’s discussion, because transpositions involving ranges beyond the vocal gamut took the notes outside the accepted conventions for cleffing. That clefs could indicate mode he admitted for music of the “first school,” by which he possibly meant the Guidonian diatonic system. But he disavowed these standards for instrumental pieces based on the tuoni ecclesiastici. He further cautioned that the clefs revealed only what the composer intended for performance of the music and that his choice of clefs lacked connections to modal theories.

____________________________________

noi sappiamo, che questi Dodici Toni son fondiate sopra queste set Corde. D.E.F.G.A.C. e queste divisione sopra una Corda far Primo, e Secondo, e dare il termine a detti Toni, che nel Canto figurato non passimo venti, o ventidue voci al più non è fatto per altro, se non solo per comodità di quanto può salire, e scendere la voce humana[;].”
Should I transpose [the music], and write it in those clefs that seem to me most comfortable, it should not be considered that I depart from the tone, and that in climbing too high the eighth becomes the seventh and the third becomes the ninth, and that the first must be written with this or that set of clefs. These are the rules of the first school, and this counsel and subtlety should be observed in a motet, in a madrigal, and particularly in a written ricercar, as may be seen in these twelve ricercars of my present book. Thus in their composition as well as in their ordering it is observed clearly and distinctly. But in the case of versets or fioretti (as we should like to call them), or in a canzona francese, galliards, diverse partitas, or in a toccata, it is not necessary to observe whether it ascends or descends more than ordinary. It suffices that I do not depart from the tone and that I leave you in the tone. But inasmuch as Nature [is] the fashioner of all things human as well as the inventress and mistress of those who with wonderful order have discovered an instrument of such worth as the harpsichord, composed of so many keys, it would not have been produced and invented had it not been opportune. Therefore I desired and was able to avail myself of it upon this occasion, as I have already done. Farewell.125

125 Ibid, 41, “[M]a se noi trattiamo in cose di sonare, godemos molte licenze piu larghe, che non habbiamo in cose di cantare. Per esempio; Io faro una Cantilena per un Cimbal, ò concerto di Violini, ò d’altri instrumenti i quali ricercano una Musica di Consonanza lontane per lo effetto dell’orecchio questa Cantilena la faro non solamente ventidue voci, ma Cinquanta, se mi sara necessario, e secondo l’occasione che mi trasporta, e la scrivero con quelle chiavi si come più comodo mi torna, non per questo s’hà da notare, e dire ch’eschi fuor di Tono, e che L’ottavo in caminar tanto in alto diventato settimo, e che il Terzo diventato nono, e che il Primo bisognava scriverlo con queste, e con quell’altre chiavi, questa è regola di prima scuola, e questo avvertimento, e sottigliezza si dee [sic] tenere in un Motetto, un un Madrigale, e particolarmente in una Ricercata scritta, come potrete verder’in questi Dodici modi del presente mio libro, o ne così nella Composizione, come anco nell’ordine vi s’è riguardato moltao chiaro, e distintamente; ma in questa material di Versetti, ò Fioretti (come dimandargli vogliamo) ò in una Canzona Francese, Gagliarde, Partite diverse, ò in una Toccata non si dee [sic] riguardar che scenda, ò che saglia piu del ordinario, mi basta ch’io non eschi fuor di Tono, e vi lasci in Tono; ma già li Natura artefice di tutte le cose humane non che inventrice, e maesta di quella con si bell’ordine ha trovato un istromento di tanto valore, com’è il Cimbal composio di tanti tast, se non fosse stato al proposito non l’avrebbe prodoto, ed inventato, ond io dovea, e poteva in questa sorte d’occasione avalermene, come già ho fatto. a Dio.” This translation is based that of Michael R. Dodds, The Baroque Tones in Theory and Practice (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester Eastman School of Music, 1998), 114-16. Dodds’ translation in turn is based on that of Roland Jackson, The Keyboard Music of Giovanni Maria Trabaci (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1964), 349-51.
When Trabaci discussed the twelve modes that were based on the six pitches: D.E.F.G.A.C., he applied these twelve modes from prima practica genres for the composition of ricercars. The *tuoni ecclesiastici*, however, provided the basis for instrumental music in which wider ranges, fewer contrapuntal rules, and a greater number of dissonances were permitted.\(^{126}\) The genres of music he cited were canzonas, toccatas, galliards, and partitas in addition to the masses, vespers and other service music he had already mentioned.

He spoke of violins, harpsichord and other instruments that "require a music of remote consonances for their effect on the ear." Since he did not define what a "remote consonance" was, the modern student may guess that he referred to pitches outside those that were considered principal and secondary pitches in a tone, that he referred to the use of small ornaments used to highlight melodic points of interest,\(^{127}\) that he referred to rhythmic contrasts with dissonances on the beat,\(^{128}\) or to striking dissonances in a florid yet harmonic context that added an exotic element to the music.\(^{129}\) These procedures exist in Trabaci’s versets, but he did not cite references to other composers’ works or his own.

Trabaci described the differences between the twelve modes and the *tuoni ecclesiastici* from a practical viewpoint. He mentioned the number of finals of the modes and the tones. His discussion did not argue for specific cadences, ranges, or intervallic

\(^{126}\) Horsley, 152-53.

\(^{127}\) Ibid, 160.

\(^{128}\) Ibid, 134.

\(^{129}\) Ibid, 135.
contents. If he held such points of view about this music, he did not describe them. He laid out his understanding of the internal qualities of the tones and modes and their manners of composing in his compositions, not in his commentaries. Evidence of his theoretical approach, if he had one beyond the statements he made, reveals itself in the music he wrote.

Trabaci’s *otto tuoni ecclesiastici* reveal differences from the original church modes both in their finals and the fact that they require key signatures for the transpositions they represent. Eight tones result from six final pitches. Two pitches form the finals for two separate tones, but the duplicated finals represent different modes: g *durus* and g *mollis*, f *durus* and f *mollis*. The f *durus* (*Quinto Tono*), as already mentioned, is an interesting choice by Trabaci, because without a B-flat in the signature it possessed a raised fourth degree that was typical of both the plainsong repertory and the pseudoclassical Lydian mode.

A problem unaddressed by Trabaci was *Terzo Tono* with its final on A. Conventional modal transpositions by other composers included this final also. The chant repertory often used this mode with its regular final on E, although it could be transposed. If an upward transposition occurred, it would have B-flat in the key signature, but Trabaci did not do this. In this regard his practice agreed with that of many other composers. Trabaci included it, possibly for this reason, yet he was interested in a greater number of finals for the sake of variety. And it seems he was not the first.

As already mentioned, the modes were based first on the pitches D.E.F.G., the original notes of the eight church modes. The twelve modes of Glarean and early Zarlino added the finals A and C to those four. The notes C and A found their way into modal
theory first as modal affinities and then as proper finals. The addition of Modes 9 and 10 with a common final on A and Modes 11 and 12 on C suggests that Glarean and Zarlino considered these integral for a new modal array.¹³⁰

Trabaci stated that his inclusion of the final on C furnished more variety to the system of the *tuoni ecclesiastici*. In terms of modal theory, the formation of the C final had two possible modal origins: F or G pairs. Although psalm tone endings occurred on A and C, no antiphon finals occurred on either pitch.

Changes in liturgical practices around 1600 might have encouraged a break between these pairs. If the organ’s participation in antiphony during the psalms ceased, leaving only antiphon substitutes for its contribution to psalmody of the Divine Office, these two pitches in organ literature for alternatim practice could be released from their original pairings and operate independently in conjunction with other chant finals. More frequent transpositions other than those at the fourth or fifth were beginning to diminish traditional modal qualities, anyway.¹³¹ However, to avoid clashing modal qualities between elements containing the same finals, such as *g molle* and *g durus* between antiphon and psalm, the organist had to consider intervallic content when effecting transpostions. Careful attention to the proper octave species would prevent glaring incongruities, but glossing internal characteristic intervals of some modes and tones was inevitable, especially given the limitations in tuning and temperament systems on organs of the day.¹³²

¹³⁰ See Note 113.

¹³¹ Bates, 82-89; Dodds, 96; Nelson, 255.
A question arises regarding the impact of liturgical changes on tonal development. Endings on A and C occurred, but they were not used as antiphon finals. These endings had other uses, possibly for transposed antiphons or as contrasting cadences within other types of long chants. The Te Deum, Credo, Gloria and some sequences lent themselves to cadences on these contrasting finals. If instrumental music for psalmody were limited to antiphon substitutes, these two finals had less reason to be regarded as subsidiaries of modal or psalm tone finals on E, F or G. Cadences on A were suitable for the Credo Cardinale, and cadences on C suited the Gloria of the Mass of the Madonna.\(^{133}\) These Credo and Gloria cadences contrast with endings on other pitches, respectively removed by a fifth and a fourth. The Credo moves to A within Mode One on D, the Gloria contrasting its C within Mode Eight on G. The proscription of alternatim performance during the Credo might separate A finals from organ performance in that instance, but other opportunities existed, as evidenced by the twelve mode system for non-chant music. While traditional modal and tonal connections between the organ and the choir correlated with liturgical practices, instrumental substitutions contributed an expanded tonal array and provided more flexibility in the use of transpositions that were comfortable for voices.\(^{134}\) Liturgical practices seem to have been correlated with the presence or lack of traditional modal connections between the organ and the choir.

Having considered Trabaci’s use of variety in the finals for his *tuoni ecclesiastici*, we add another bit of evidence for the slow disintegration of the church mode and psalm

\(^{133}\) Bottazzi, *Choro et Organo* (1614), 63-71; Trabaci, *Il Secondo Libro*, 70.

\(^{134}\) Nelson, 255.
tone systems leading to another system of tonality.\textsuperscript{135} Further consideration reveals another hexachord arrangement is possible for the finals of the Cento Versi, one exhibiting a natural hexachord beginning on C: C.D.E.F.G.A. This arrangement would have pointed to the reordered twelve mode (pseudoclassical) system of Zarlino, however, and away from chanted music. Trabaci preferred their representation in the more traditional manner of the twelve mode system represented by a series on D: D.E.F.G.A.C. That Trabaci pointed out this latter set was favored by the ancients (his term) is interesting. No doubt he knew that his finali ecclesiastici achieved the same result, but he denied that his purpose was to associate these finals with the twelve mode system. His denial used some of the same language as that in theoretical writings explicating this topic, such as Banchieri’s when he explained how the twelve modes and the eight tones were interdependent.\textsuperscript{136} But Trabaci, in opposition to some theorists of the day, said that the eight tones did not derive from the twelve modes or vice versa. As mentioned already, he stated that variety was his main reason for appointing the finals of the versets as he did. And indeed this purpose connected his tones to the ancients as well as to Zarlino’s 1573 edition of Le Istitutioni harmoniche and the Versi Spirituale (1580) by the Neapolitan organist and composer, Antonio Valente. In both of those works, the finals of the modes formed a hexachord that began on C, a fact that was probably not lost on Trabaci.

While Trabaci’s discussion is pertinent to this study, it is curious that he mentions little about the liturgical circumstances for the two types of music, vocally-based

\textsuperscript{135} Bates, 82-89; Dodds, 96; Nelson, 255; Powers, “Mode,” NG (2001), 815-19.
\textsuperscript{136} Banchieri, 111-37 [271-301].
ricercars and instrumentally based Cento Versi. The presumption can only be that, as in the case of Stephen Bonta’s studies on the sonata da chiesa, the author’s lack of specificity presumed on the reader’s knowledge and experience, and that precluded a need for explanation.\textsuperscript{137}

Trabaci’s continuing comments on the Settimo Tono are printed here to complete his pertinent texts. Here he addressed the reasons he chose to place Tone 7 on a C final without B-flat in the key signature.

To the Readers
I have not chosen to use the eight ecclesiastical finals in this seventh tone, benign reader. I would have written it in G conforming to the seventh tone, which is in these my present ricercars, but since the eighth tone in these versets follows with the same final on G and the second tone as well is found to be on the same tone it seemed well to me to write this seventh tone in another way in order to vary the tone. I should point out, benign reader, that its final could have been made on D by means of a flat to vary the mode; this is the true final in the eight ecclesiastical tones and Claudio da Corregio, along with other former composers, wrote it in this way in certain of his intabulated versets. But I have chosen to use neither the one nor the other, because, had I made its final on D (sol, re) it would have been the same as the first tone. In this seventh tone, however, I have chosen to make the final on C (sol, fa, ut) where the true final of the seventh tone in the twelve transposed tones occurs. If, indeed, that one is written with a flat I have written it with a natural where the seventh natural tone still occurs, but a fifth lower, and I have written it in this way because I composed these versets for performance at Mass and Vespers and at all the Divine Offices, and particularly does this seventh tone serve in the Gloria of the Mass of the Madonna. But to conclude our discourse, be aware that all tones can be transposed to where their diapente and diatesseron is found; this has been described by Oratio Tigrini in Book III, chapter 30, and in chapter V of the same book Marco Padoano gives us an example of it. Farewell.\textsuperscript{138}


\textsuperscript{138} Trabaci, 70, “A’ Lettori. In questo Settimo Tono (benigno Lettore) non hò voluto servirmi delli Otto finali Ecclesiastici, l’havrei scritti in G. conforme il Settimo Tono, che stà in queste presenti miei Ricercate. Ma già che in questi Versi seguiva l’Ottavo Tono con l’istesso finale di G. & nell’istessa corda se ritrova ancora il Secondo Tono, mi hà parso bene per variar corda, scrivere questo Settimo Tono in un’altra, maniera: mi potrai dir, benigno Lettore, che per variar corda si poteva fare il suo finale in
The composer averred again that one of his primary goals was to provide a variety of pitches, “in order to vary the mode,” for use at “Mass, Vespers and all the Divine Offices, but especially for the Gloria of the Mass of the Madonna.” Bernardino Bottazzi, Giovanni Battista Fasolo, and Claudio Merulo each wrote settings of this Mass section. While the opening, and many internal verses of the Gloria end on G, many of the interior verses and the final one close on C. Merulo and Bottazzi each use B-flat in the key signature, but B-natural appears so frequently in this music as to raise a question about the necessity of using B-flat in the key signature. Perusal of Vespers hymns reveals that several are given to C music. So, apparently not only was a third final on G repetitious, but musical necessity for C emerged during other church services.

In referring to the “true” final on C, Trabaci seems to have referred to the twelve mode system, mentioned earlier, with finals on D.E.F.G.A.C. and seemed to contradict his earlier denial of the derivation of the eight tones from the twelve modes, after all.

---

D. per B. molle & quello è vero finale della Otto Toni Ecclesiastici, & così lo scrive in certi suoi versi intavolate Claudio da Corregio, & altri Autori antichi: Ma non mi hò voluto io servire ne dell’uno, ne dell’altro, perche havendo fatto il suo finale in D, sol, re, faria stato l’istessa corda del Primo Tono: ma in questo Settimo Tono hò voluto fare il suo fine in C, sol, fa, ut, dove è vero finale del Settimo Tono, delli Dodici mode finiti, si bene quello si scrive co’l mezzo del b. io l’hò scritto co’l mezzo del [natural sign] dove è ancora Settimo Tono Naturale; ma una quinta più bassa, e l’hò scritto di questa maniera per causa, che mentre questi Versi io l’hò fatti per rispondere à Messe à Vespere, & in tutti i Divini Officii, & imparticolare questo Settimo Tono serve nella Gloria della Messa della Madonna: Ma per concludere il nostro raggionamento, sappia, che tutti i Toni si possono trasportare in tutti quei luochi dove si ritrova la loro specie della Dia Pente, & Dia Tessaron, & questo lo scrive Oratio Tigrini lib. 3. Cap. 30. & nell’stesso libro a Cap. 5. ne fa invenzione Marco Padoana. Stati sano.” Translation by Jackson, 351-2.

---

139 Bottazzi, Choro et Organo, (1615), 51-59; Fasolo, Annuale I (1645), 69-71; Merulo, ed. Judd, Messe d’Intavolatura (1568), 41-55.

140 Bottazzi, 94, 128-29, 130-31.
Trabaci’s acknowledgment of different transpositions accorded the Tono Settimo by other composers showed that he was cognizant of various conventions. He also invoked several authorities, Claudio Merulo, a distinguished composer, and Marco Padoana, one unknown to me. The remaining authority was Oratio Tigrini (c1535-1591), author of an important theory text.\(^{141}\) Trabaci’s caveat echoed the advice of Banchieri and many others, that transpositions were the prerogative of the composer and performer as long as they were accomplished properly by using the fifth or the fourth of the tone.

Trabaci’s avoidance of connections to the twelve mode system seemed to indicate a superficial practicality that nevertheless belied his knowledge and expert handling of the modes and tones in compositions. His rejection of ambitus or range as indicators of tone causes us to wonder how he expected the reader to know what indicators he thought valid. But the music itself provided some answers to this question: he used cadences and clefs that were mostly typical of the tones he used. These will be mentioned later.

When Trabaci said it was necessary to “raise doubts” about the eight tones, he implied that controversy attended consideration of them as an independent category. This cryptic remark seems to indicate that doubts about the church tones already existed among musicians. Thus the composer expected that publication of this music would elicit skepticism among his peers. He anticipated their criticisms with a discourse on the modes and the tones, vocal music and instrumental music, and by adducing some of their differences to those of the first school and the second school. In this regard he alluded to compositional practices that distinguished between vocal and instrumental types, possibly to differences between stile antico and stile moderno, and more likely to differences

between da cappella and da concerto music, all within the context of sacred music for performance in the church in the years surrounding 1600.

Trabaci was sensitive to the issues of his day, intelligent about setting forth examples of a new use, and straightforward in his manner of verbal expression. He was clever in allusions to current controversies without entanglement in confusing language. He also seemed to send a signal that his Catholicism was beyond reproach. This was an important signal coming from an employee of the Spanish crown. The Church had rejected the twelve modes, and composing music in the eight church modes signaled adherence to the tenets of the Catholic Church.\footnote{Wiering, 120-121} Perhaps Trabaci’s covert message was that he intended to abide by the letter as well as the spirit of ecclesiastical law.

Trabaci’s remarks seem to address a seventeenth century chat room. We are permitted to eavesdrop on Trabaci’s part in an ongoing conversation about compositional styles for liturgical organ music. Important issues remain unaddressed, but the information he provided is more than many other composers furnished.\footnote{Dodds, 120.}
Chapter II  Polyphonic Styles in Liturgical Organ Music

II.1  Liturgical Styles

We will investigate the musical features of the Cento Versi in the context of their functions in the Mass and Divine Office. Since chanted music was integral to the services, organ music as a chant substitute or in alternatim with chant ought to share some musical features with the chants. A substantially different performing medium such as the organ can only approximate a vocal original. The composer, having stated that his intention was to present a new instrumental form, did not imitate the progenitor chant style in this keyboard music. Instead he addressed difficulties in projecting modality in polyphonic organ music. Consideration of the ways that Trabaci approached this challenge ought to reveal means by which these organ versets balanced chanted music in the services.

Elements of larger compositional styles may be found in the Cento Versi. Wide variation among the versi reflects a broad cross-section of musical styles included among a host of organ and other instrumental pieces of the period. Influential compositional types appeared in sacred music for organ, vihuela, and harpsichord. These include two contrapuntal styles, three kinds of free styles, six types with vocal models, and mixed types that reflect instrumental and vocal diminution practices. Duration influenced the composition of the versi also, as Trabaci, like other composers, conformed to Tridentine guidelines for the proximate length of interpolated service music.

---

Two contrapuntal organ styles were ricercar and canzona;\textsuperscript{145} three free organ
genres were intonation, toccata, \textit{durezze e ligature};\textsuperscript{146} vocal models were lauda,\textsuperscript{147}
motet,\textsuperscript{148} canzona francese,\textsuperscript{149} \textit{falsobordone},\textsuperscript{150} villanelle,\textsuperscript{151} dance songs,\textsuperscript{152} and monodic
songs.\textsuperscript{153} Instrumental and vocal diminutions represented the work of vocal and viol
performers, including Diego Ortiz, one of Trabaci's predecessors at the \textit{Cappella Reale}.
\textsuperscript{154} Some improvised styles incorporated in the \textit{Cento Versi} cannot be certified, but
descriptions of tests for job applicants in churches provide glimpses of improvisational
requirements.\textsuperscript{155} Diruta placed music in \textit{falsobordone} style before a pupil while

\textsuperscript{145} Tim Carter, \textit{Music in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy} (London: B.
T. Batsford, 1992), 167-73.

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid, 173-74, 176-77

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid, 233-35. Murray C. Bradshaw, \textit{The Falsobordone; A Study in Renaissance

\textsuperscript{148} R. Judd, "Italy," in \textit{Keyboard Music Before 1700}, ed. A. Silbiger (New York:
Schirmer, 1995), 254.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid, 253.

\textsuperscript{150} Bradshaw, 118-22.

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid, 91-92.

\textsuperscript{152} Carter, 197.

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid, 222, 225-27.

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid, 177-79.

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid, 167-68.
instructing him in improvised note-against-note style from organ tablature, possibly in preparation for such a test.\textsuperscript{156}

As previously stated, the Cento Versi presents one hundred short organ versets in eight sets according to the tuoni ecclesiastici or church tones. In the first seven sets the total number is twelve, while the final set contains sixteen. Both Tuoni and Versi appear in numerical order. There are no headings to indicate selections according to the Mass or Divine Office or according to sections of services, such as Kyrie, Gloria, Antiphon, Magnificat. The music holds its counsel in modest simplicity. In order to unlock its secrets the seventeenth-century performer had to supply information and his own experience. Today's reader must add information from past liturgical and musical cultures in order to gain insightful access to the contents of this book. Limitations in modern understanding of those cultures will of necessity produce an incomplete, but perhaps not disappointing, comprehension of its contributions to its day and ours.

\section*{II.2 Pushing the Boundaries}

An important question regarding liturgical instrumental music arises regarding the roles of the modes and tones. While modes and psalm tones imbued the entire chant repertory with their characteristics, their expression in polyphonic music presented problems to theorists and composers,\textsuperscript{157} especially as the range of the Guidonian hand

\textsuperscript{156} Diruta, Il Transilvano I (1603) fol. 7v. The Transylvanian I, ed. Bradshaw & Soehnlein, 60-61.

\textsuperscript{157} Orazio Tigrini, Il Compendio della Musica, Secondo Libro, Chapters XII, XIII, (Venice: 1588), Facs. ed. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), 35-37. Tigrini emphasized the necessity to maintain modal and psalm-tone adherence in liturgical music and to use the kinds of subjects, tempi, and affects that arouse devotion and piety in
was extended both beyond its outer pitch extremities and to new chromatic alterations within its boundaries as well. The outward boundaries extended the range of pitches below and above the twenty notes of the original diatonic to include fifty diatonic pitches on the keyboard.\(^{158}\)

The inward boundaries were extended by adding chromatic alterations, pitches that did not exist on the hand (although they had been discovered centuries earlier as theoretical possibilities).\(^{159}\) In instrumental music, problems of modal adherence attended the frequent adoption of chromatically altered and non-harmonic tones, especially with the extension of keyboard ranges beyond the liturgically entrenched Guidonian diatonic. As the keyboard model replaced the hand as an image for extended gamuts, definitions of authentic and plagal modes based on the properties of range (ambitus) and type of motion (ascending and descending) were replaced by cadential properties and scalar concepts

\(^{158}\) Powers, “From Psalmody to Tonality”, 275-76, 277; Diruta, The Transylvanian I, (1598), ed. Bradshaw, 44, n. 15. Vocal music had already achieved considerable inward extensions of the Guidonian diatonic, if we consider the different sizes of enharmonic and chromatic steps expressible by the voice, but not by the keyboard (unless considerable time and energy were devoted to performance on the very complicated chromatic harpsichord or retuning for each performance that was prevented by practical necessity). Stringed instruments and voices were also pushing the outward boundaries of the diatonic range.

based on the octave instead of the heptachord (D.E.F.G.A.B.C.).\textsuperscript{160} Imposing wide-ranging melodic designs on the music extended pitch boundaries beyond the narrow vocal ranges based on the Guidonian hand. Among the \textit{Cento Versi} many examples of octaval projections based on a keyboard model exist. The lowest and highest notes of the entire book both occur in \textit{Ottavo Tono}. Low C occurs in \textit{Verso Terzo}, while high c’’’ occurs in \textit{Verso Nono}. These two c’s are four octaves apart. One of the longest running passages in the book appears in \textit{Verso Nono}. Nearly three and one half octaves occur in one phrase. Examples of these versi appear in Musical Examples 8 and 9.

Other features of polyphonic music were pushing the boundaries of modal and psalm-tone music as well. The intrusion of increasingly bold dissonances, the profusion of free liturgical compositions, and the expansion of expressive styles, such as spiritual madrigals and monody, threatened to unwind modal strictures on liturgical music.\textsuperscript{161} The \textit{Cento Versi} partake of nearly all these styles. The \textit{Ottavo Tono}, \textit{Verso Quarto}, Musical Example 10, contains striking discords without the use of chromatic alterations. The \textit{Verso Quinto}, of the same tone, Musical Example 11, contains harsh contrasts in its last line. The expressive chordal style that sounds as if it were inspired by a madrigal appears in \textit{Settimo Tono}, \textit{Verso Undecimo}, Musical Example 12. In the \textit{Settimo Tono}, \textit{Verso

\textsuperscript{160} Powers, “From Psalmody to Tonality,” 275-77.

\textsuperscript{161} See notes 14 and 15 above. Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century examples represent music that either added increasing numbers of non-harmonic tones, threatening to take the music out of the mode or tone, or loosened the links between chanted church music and instrumental music interpolated into the services. The difficulties of maintaining adherence to the narrow confines of mode in an expanding universe of musical styles and harmonic and melodic procedures meant that boundaries between mode, tone, and the new concepts of key were blurring. The shift from the Guidonian hand to the keyboard as the model for the gamut of notes and their relationships with each other probably contributed to this move away from the ancient modes even in interpolated liturgical music.
Quarto, Musical Example 13, a gentle style with imitation and sequences among harmonizations in thirds suggests monodic singing style. A scalar passage containing many altered notes seems to take the piece completely out of its tone in the Terzo Tono, Verso Decimo, Musical Example 14, while issuing strident dissonances.

The extension of ranges with ensuing sonorous gains set musical sights on new goals. Floridity and bold dissonance did not serve these purposes as much as careful spacing and voicing of chords did. The Primo Tono, Verso Ottavo, Musical Example 15, reveals purposeful placement of voicing to achieve maximum resonance with an economy of means. Harmonizations of motivic elements in thirds and sixths contrast with long held notes that lie more than an octave from the extremities. As cadential processes developed along sonorous lines, dramatic musical expressions without texts such as those in Trabaci’s music, increased.\footnote{Carter, Late Renaissance and Early Baroque, 120-21.} Terzo Tono, Verso Quarto, Musical Example 16, exhibits one type of dramatic ending. We have already seen this type in Ottavo Tono, Verso Nono (Example 9). Perhaps taking a cue from the techniques used in sonorous homophonic music for multiple choirs, Trabaci incorporated developmental and cadential procedures along with widely spaced chords.\footnote{Ibid, 109-11.} The Ottavo Tono, Verso Duodecimo, Musical Example 17, exhibits subject entries at varying pitches, followed by a small development section in which an inversion of the theme moves in contrary motion to an altered version of its original form. This ends with a sonorous cadence of widely spaced intervals. Trabaci used the dramatic potential of chordal treatments in relatively slow harmonic rates to contrast with more swiftly moving polyphony, a
technique also used by Claudio Monteverdi in his Fourth Book of Madrigals (1603).\textsuperscript{164} The *Quinto Tono, Verso Decimo*, Musical Example 18, combines a rapid diminution figure as subject in a texture with a slow rate of harmonic change. The homophonic touches in the middle of the piece move more rapidly, and the different rates of motion are tossed back and forth during the music. Final cadential passages that exploit these effects are distributed widely through the *Cento Versi*.

Midsections of some pieces also exploit homophonic sonorities, but these are fewer in number. A sort of mini-development section that varies a melodic or chordal progression in near homophony appears in a few *versi*. Examples of these types will be detailed later.

*Falsobordone*, a style of liturgical music with wide currency during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, helps to probe the *Cento Versi* for the influences of other liturgical music. *Falsobordone* settings applied harmonizations to psalm tones, emphasizing the differences between recitations on a chanting note and cadential procedures at the midpoint and end of each psalm verse. Andres Torrentes’ setting of *In exitu*, Musical Example 17, included chord changes during a recitation section that ordinarily would be limited to cadential sections in *falsobordone* style.\textsuperscript{165} This blurring of otherwise distinctive sections within *falsobordone* settings may have contributed to its suitability for other styles of music. Trabaci composed a number of

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid, 141-42.

\textsuperscript{165} Bradshaw, *Falsobordone*, 89-90.
Vesper psalm settings for four voices in falsobordone style. One, “Dixit Domini,” appeared in a 1608 publication, Psalms vespertini.\(^{166}\)

Characteristic part-writing, triadic formations, use of suspensions, and cadential placement provide similarities between this vocally-based style for polyphonic chanting of psalms and the organ versets lacking both texts and psalm forms.\(^{167}\) Falsobordone settings intended for psalms were printed in the eight tones without texts.\(^{168}\) During the late sixteenth century some falsobordone pieces abandoned the psalm-tone cantus firmus, retaining the internal parallel construction of psalm verses, but expanded the chordal vocabulary for the recitations and cadences.\(^{169}\) Separation of text and music had occurred in two types of falsobordone applications, music printed without texts and, as mentioned above, music without cantus firmus, as well. This could mean the distance was not great between this conventional style of liturgical music and untexted free music, unbound from cantus firmi.

The adaptability of falsobordone to new styles seems to have made it a sort of stem-cell form for liturgical music, capable of differentiation in a number of disparate kinds of music. Florid vocal and instrumental embellishments in the music of Tomás de Santa Maria and Bovicelli and other composers added accompaniments that were

\(^{166}\) Jackson, Keyboard Music II, 37-38.

\(^{167}\) Bradshaw, Falsobordone, 25.


\(^{169}\) Ibid, 60-61.
couched in harmonic, rhythmic, and formal features associated with falsobordone style. Rapid passagework accompanied by a simple chordal style possesses a type of bass motion typical of falsobordone. Two pieces, Settimo Tono, Verso Primo, Musical Example 20, and Settimo Tono, Verso Settimo, Musical Example 34, exhibit this style. Lodovico Viadana’s Cento concerti ecclesiastici (1602) included elaborate solo passages with basso continuo that exhibited traits of the Renaissance falsobordone style. Claudio Monteverdi combined instruments and voices to project adaptations of this style into a large concerted medium in the Vespers of 1610. The Secondo Tono, Verso Duodecimo, Musical Example 21, and Musical Example 42. Quinto Tono, Verso Duodecimo, furnish modifications of this style. Figurations explode from the page in chordal array rather than intricate polyphony. Perhaps solo instrumentation and falsobordone together helped to create a new type of organ verset as well.

II.3 Sonority

Interest in chordal writing emerged around the turn of the century. About the same time virtuoso performers became the idols of the day. Luxuriant embellishments associated with performances by instrumentalists and vocalists resulted in fancy melodic

---

170 Ibid, 85-86.

171 Ibid, 87, 106.


173 Carter, 116-17.
lines with chordal accompaniments. The *Secondo Tono, Verso Sexto*, Musical Example 22, provides solo lines with simple chords above. Decorative treatment supported by slowly changing chords receive sonorous contrast by the distance between the solo line and its chordal accompaniment. This style was easily transferred to the organ, as we can see in the *Ottavo Tono, Verso Ottavo*, Musical Example 23. In fact, rapid passages for intonations and toccatas had been used by the Gabrielis and Merulo for several decades before 1600. An intonation style combining both features appears in the *Ottavo Tono, Verso Primo*, Musical Example 24. This development depended in part on the sonorities supporting the solo lines, a feature that is visible in the *Quinto Tono, Verso Terzo*, Musical Example 25.

Another fashionable trend during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries centered around two places, Venice and Rome. In Venice double choir music that exploited chordal sonorities had been popular for the decades of the aforementioned organ toccatas. In Rome the popularity of Viadana’s sacred concertos brought homophonic music, chordally oriented, for vocal solo and duet accompaniments and for multiple choirs, to a number of musicians and worshippers throughout Italy. Inspired to write their own sonorous music, a number of composers followed suit. Trabaci’s similar efforts may be found in the *Quinto Tono, Verso Quinto*, Musical Example 26.

---

174 Ibid, 177-78.


176 Carter, 101-04.
A style known as *durezze e ligature*, Italian terms for suspension dissonances, popular for the Elevation of the Host during the Mass, may have been a particularly Neapolitan and Ferrarese development among such composers as Ercole Pasquini of Ferrara, Giovanni de Macque, Trabaci’s teacher and mentor in Naples, Ascanio Mayone, his colleague at the *Cappella Reale*, Carlo Gesualdo, the nobleman composer whose father Macque had served upon arriving in Naples, and Trabaci. Chordally oriented, this style became very popular during the early seventeenth century for its expressivity and piety. Trabaci composed other music in this style, but none specifically appeared in the *Cento Versi*, although some of the compositional techniques are included.

Sonorities discovered in chordal writing for multiple choirs and in accompaniments for florid solo lines for both instruments and voices might have influenced Trabaci’s instrumental support for chants with his new ventures in liturgical organ music. The *tuoni ecclesiastici* seemed to offer an avenue for combining instrumental music with the chants. Using transpositions that were familiar to choirs and comfortable for their voices, the composer used modal parameters to create music for church services that by definition took place entirely within modal idioms. The antiphons and Mass Ordinary and Proper settings were in the modes. Psalms and Magnificats were in psalm-tones. These were so closely related that the *tuoni ecclesiastici* could serve for both types.

---

177 Ibid, 176-77.

Among the advantages provided by new developments in vocal and instrumental music were greatly increased ranges. The Quarto Tono, Verso Primo, Musical Example 25, and Verso Secondo, Musical Example 28, both provide examples of borrowed chant elements in melodically oriented organ music. Small melodic progressions similar to psalm and canticle intonations provide core materials. This had consequences for projecting authentic and plagal modes and psalm tones. With many extra pitches available above, below, and inside the old vocal gamut, the composer had more and greater opportunities for ascent and descent. The plethora of possibilities essentially negated the meaning of limited modal motions associated with the concept of ambitus. Melodic progressions could be imitated at many different pitch levels and in sequenced repetition of motives and subjects without confirming or destroying modal qualities. The instrumental tones that worked well with voices yielded to cadential markers of tonal and modal compliance in place of the old conventions of ambitus.

The extra working space (range) afforded the composer brought greater emphasis on sonorous effects by wide spacing of chords that resulted in increasing the value of cadences as modal signals. Authentic and plagal modes or tones, both psalm and ecclesiastical, could be expressed not by outward boundaries, but by cadences and motivic units based on characteristic melodic elements. The latter two means were not new, but as composers abandoned ascents and descents as modal criteria, spacings, cadences, and motivic elements, including subjects, received greater importance.

Construction of the organ makes it capable of sustaining notes and chords as long as necessary. Lacking acoustical decay and a necessity to breathe while the keys are depressed, the instrument in the hands of a competent performer could delineate linear
and homophonic passages as an acoustical sculptor. The only limitations were the reach of the hands, and these were partially offset by added pedals for the feet to play. The so-called short octave could be attached as a pedal extension, or it could appear in the manual alone on smaller instruments. In the latter case this device enabled players to maintain larger low note spacing on the manual keyboards than those attainable on most modern organs. One reason for extensions at the low end of the keyboard was a preference for the acoustical advantages these notes provided for cadences. In measure eight of the Settimo Tono, Verso Terzo, Musical Example 29, the left hand likely would need the short octave on the keyboard to reach all the notes as written.

Thus, final cadential passages expanded vertically to exploit the sonorous potential of the instrument. Wide intervals between the bass and tenor furnished a foundation for smaller intervals among the upper voices. The Primo Tono, Verso Terzo, Musical Example 30, and Verso Undecimo, Musical Example 31, both exhibit this type of spacing. Frequent employment of chordal spacing to maximize sonority in the Cento Versi and other music of the period indicates that this quality gave value to the music.

In order to balance the importance of expanded final cadences a closing section connected the main body of the music to its conclusion. Not all pieces contained a significant closing section, but many did. In the presence of such a section additional opportunities existed to furnish modal signals. The modal properties so indicated included cadences that could be evaded, imperfect, or perfect. Principal notes of the mode served most frequently. The Secondo Tono, Verso Quarto, Musical Example 32, contains such a closing section. After a perfect cadence on the final in measure four marks the end of the exposition of the subject, the closing section commences on D, the
fifth above the final. In this case principal notes mark the main intersection between exposition and the closing section. Curiously, an added non-harmonic note, E-flat, appears in this section. The Neapolitan touch of the flatted sixth degree contrasts sharply with the raised leading tone a third above the fifth degree on D to which the E-flat resolves. The composer’s indication to a slower tempo (“Allarga la Battuta”) for the final two measures makes the ending all the more enjoyable when this dissonance resolves.

The Cento Versi often present a secondary principal note to forecast a closing section, saving the primary principal notes for the final cadence. The Secondo Tono, Verso Terzo, Musical Example 33, reveals an evaded cadence on D with B-flat and F-sharp to signal a section change. The final appears on a weak beat only moments before the closing section begins. If a closing section before the conclusion leads inexorably to the last cadence, we could say that cadential passages tended to expand horizontally as well as vertically. These passages could also exploit a sonorous potential by the increasing the depth or height of pitches leading to the final cadence. The Settimo Tono, Verso Settimo, Musical Example 34, reveals both increased depth and suddenly contrasted height.

A chordal display marks some endings; scalar representations represent the tone in others with opportunities for octave leaps and sudden cessation of motion to focus attention dramatically on the essential notes of the final suspension dissonance(s). The Quinto Tono, Verso Terzo demonstrates a high ending. Poised at the brink of resolution after a rapidly moving passage, the notes of the tone then step slowly and deliberately to their final place. Quinto Tono, Verso Sesto, Musical Example 35, furnishes an example of a dramatic conclusion, as does Tono Terzo, Verso Undecimo, Musical Example 36.
Alterations to the primary motivic units of the piece occur in tiny development sections that indicate the presence of a miniature sonata form. Some development sections exploit sonorous potential; others explore melodic or rhythmic capacities for contrast and variation. These versi contain another type of sonorous projection in the main body of the music. In imitative polyphony, a subject that initially appeared singly and in succession, receives a different method of treatment in the middle of the piece. Harmonizing the subject, or a motive derived from it, occurs in thirds, sixths, or compound versions of these intervals. When this occurs, secondary principal notes, or even hierarchically lower notes, share melodic events with principal ones. Occasionally they move farther afield. In a few instances, a middle section with alterations of the subject or another important motive occur in succession, in melodic or harmonic sequences. In these cases the pieces achieve a form that appears to be a tiny sonata with exposition, transition, development, transition or closing section, and final cadential passage. The Terzo Tono, Verso Nono, Musical Example 37, presents an imitative exposition of its subject in measures one through three. A small transition in measure four leads to sequential treatment of the subject while it is harmonized at the tenth in measures five and six. This harmonized presentation in homophonic form contrasts with the polyphony in the exposition. But it also sequences to higher pitch levels until the top voice reaches a new height in the piece. This peak in the melodic arch of the entire piece is sustained for half a measure, contrasting with the forward motion throughout the remainder of the piece. The ensuing closing section of rapid passage work leads to a dramatic conclusion. The final cadence is clearly delineated by motion to a climactic point that soon devolves in rapid motion to the end of the piece.
Admittedly, the small scale of this music makes it difficult to see these procedures as similar to later sonata form works. One has to get inside the notes and the music, as it were, to apprehend what is happening. They are a little like the piano music of Arnold Schoenberg or the works of Anton Webern in the twentieth century. The brevity of those works belied their importance as a new genre.

It seems evident that Trabaci was thinking chordally in many instances. In fact, most of the versi, even those in imitative polyphony, approach governance by harmonic, rather than melodic, procedures. Chords underlie most of the versi. Examples among the Cento Versi are plentiful, but two to note are Tono Settimo, Verso Sesto, Musical Example 38, and Tono Settimo, Verso Ottavo, Musical Example 39. In these cases imitative polyphony of a subject that is triadically conceived blurs the distinctions between chords presented in scalar outline or broken chords and the exposition of the subject in imitative counterpoint. The harmonic conception of the music reveals itself in small development sections that constitute the closing sections of the pieces. The elements of the subject come together to create a harmonic context that is unmistakable to the modern reader.

Voice-leading according to the rules of modal counterpoint (in which two voices govern the music, particularly during cadences) appears to be nearly universal in this music. However, additional notes add chordal weight to create new dimensions in cadential procedures. The added dimensions are ones that are familiar to modern musicians, but they were not in the lexicon of procedures for composers of this period. The results are unusual formations (to us) that contribute to several possible interpretations of one passage.
The presence of a chordal underlay to music that was contrapuntally conceived in a modal context was noted by Imogene Horsley in connection with diminution practices during the early seventeenth century. Assessing the relative importance of cadential events in contrapuntal harmonic interpretations contributes to interesting exercises in problem-solving. Frequent additions of principal notes of the tone, when not included in the two-voice cadences, especially at subject entries, give importance to tonal considerations by furnishing chordal weight. An example may be seen in *Tono Quarto, Verso Terzo* in measures 4 and 5, Musical Example 40. Here the voice-leading suggests the progression of a third between a and c" resolving to b and b' on the third beat of measure 5. This yields a cadence on a principal note of the tone, the fifth above the final. However, this interpretation runs counter to the harmonic weight provided by the additional chord tones of e and g' on beat 3 of measure 5, that suggest the cadence here may rest on the e chord, the final of this tone. Yet, a third possibility arises when we look at the raised leading tone progression, f'-sharp to g', that leads to this point. This furnishes yet another interpretation in which the cadence lies in the alto line between f'-sharp and a' resolving to g'. This result also yields a cadence that lies among the principal notes of the tone according to Zarlino’s and Pontio’s definitions, the third above the final. This much is known: among three possibilities a cadential event occurs. It could be on b, on e, or on g. Interesting examples of this type of ambiguity exist throughout the *Cento Versi*. Horsley’s assessment of early seventeenth century dualities of thinking, contrapuntal and harmonic, seems to apply to Trabaci’s *versi*.

---

179 Horsley, 137.

Evidence of chordal thinking is particularly striking in the few pieces in which conventional voice leading is nearly lacking. These are toccata-like pieces in a new instrumental style. Diminution figures provide the substance of the motives. Repetition of the same figure in different chords to achieve sonorous effects in spatial arrangements focuses attention on the importance of the figure and its chord progressions. This seems to represent gesture as musical motive, an experiment that in itself could not long sustain interest, but it is one that later contributed to thematic treatments and the catalogue of dramatic musical effects. J. S. Bach’s *Toccata and Fugue in d minor*, BWV 565, contains passages of repeated rolling thirds in cascades of sound. These might be the descendants of Trabaci’s *Versi Duodecimo* in *Quinto Tono*, Musical Example 42, and *Primo Tono*, Musical Example 41. The melodically oriented dotted note rhythms of *Verso Duodecimo* in *Secondo Tono*, Musical Example 21, found new life in the French Overture style, exhibited in later organ music by F. Couperin (*Offertoire* from *Messe de Paroisses*), and in numerous instances among instrumental ensemble music.

Homophony plays an important part in presenting evidence for Trabaci’s harmonic orientation. An example of hocket style, *Tono Primo, Verso Nono*, Musical Example 43, generates chordal progressions that suggest much later harmonic functionality. Solo lines with chordal accompaniments constitute thinly disguised homophony. Similar to toccata and intonation pieces of northern Italian origin by Merulo and Andrea Gabrieli, Trabaci’s short toccata and intonation style pieces distribute florid diminutions over harmonic progressions that delineate the *tuoni ecclesiastici*. The economical use of luxuriant embellishments derives from the shaping forces of modal
chord progressions that move through cadential procedures based on principal notes of the tones.

Dance-like treatments, usually in triple meter, occur in a number of versi. Similar to arias among devotional songs by other composers, these pieces contain strong beats, hemiolas, and a definite sense of harmonic genesis. Among the many examples of dance music, Sesto Tono, Verso Sesto, Musical Example 44, provides interesting effects when cadential hemiolas provide contrast with the regular metrical effects at the beginning of the piece.

Quite a few versi present a chordal style that seems reminiscent of falsobordone music. This style may be seen in the Terzo Tono, Verso Terzo, Musical Example 45. Root movements that move by fifths, fourths and thirds reveal the influence of this style.

Other evidence of chordal thinking appears in imitative polyphony that gives way to homophony. Melodic subjects that are subservient to the harmonies express a fundamental purpose that, while not entirely novel, seems to entail new thinking. Such music may be found in the Terzo Tono, Verso Terzo, Example 45. This type of subject may be so brief that its countersubject rules the music. Countersubjects are prominent in a number of versi also. The Quarto Tono, Verso Terzo, Musical Example 45, will provide an example. The music may contain harmonic notes that make it indistinguishable from chordal perceptibility. Or it could be absorbed into a chordal context. Surprisingly perhaps, the addition of non-harmonic tones can add to the harmonic comprehension of a subject as opposed to its melodic apprehension. Some versi give the impression of having been composed in a more recent era of functional harmony. Several examples of
this have already appeared in other illustrations. Among them is the Terzo Tono, Verso Quinto, Musical Example 47.

Additional examples of homophony, strangely enough, are the chromatic subjects that fascinated composers of this period. Since chromaticism erases harmonic and melodic hierarchies within a line of successive half-steps, the primary criteria for assessing the relative values of notes contained therein are where they begin and end. Thus the first and last notes of a motive or subject, defining its outside boundaries, determine its role within the tone or mode. A number of pieces with chromatic subjects may be found in this book. Musical Example 48 from Secondo Tono, Verso Settimo reveals exhibits a descending chromatic line from both the final and the fifth of the tuono that outlines a fourth. In Trabaci’s examples, the subjects carve out clear connections to the tones. The overlapping interplay of voices and the presence of countersubjects add interest to a style that contains seeds of blurred distinctions within its startling effect. Trabaci uses them to project the tones effectively.

The projection of tones through cadences based on their primary and secondary pitches occurs by using scalar, chordal, and instrumental figures in equal proportion to melodic means and adherence to the finals. Certainly the finals remain important, and melodic elements of various chants, such as intonation patterns, stepwise patterns, and typical melodic motions involving the half-step, continue to exert important influence on tonal comprehension. The composer’s working vocabulary, along with his auditory working space, has been expanded. Since the music remains tonally based, the basic shift to cadential procedures as a primary means of tonal adherence is easily hidden.
A curious comprehension arises in this context, however. It appears that much later tonality (the so-called common practice period) utilizes many of the same means of signaling devices as sixteenth and seventeenth century composers used for tonal or modal adherence. The expository use of principal pitches in triadic formations, such as subject entries for imitative polyphony, and the combination of secondary pitches and primary ones in other musical units such as development, transition, and closing sections appear to shape two musically parallel universes, the early seventeenth century and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The emergence of a sonata style in modal music seems to be an anachronism. Certainly the composer did not conceive of his music in such a term, but the question is posed for us in Trabaci’s music. Answers remain for the future to provide.

Many of the Cento Versi partake of outright homophony, but many also partake of imitative polyphony. Some polyphonic pieces tilt noticeably toward their harmonic underpinnings, and some wobble from polyphonic to homophonic, or vice versa. Some utilize imitation in sequential fashion for modal projection and for interest and excitement. Most all versi possess voices that are constantly moving in order to exchange phrases and motivic units. In many versi the voices appear to be in conversation with one another.

II.4 The Tuoni Ecclesiastici and the Cento Versi

Tracings of monophonic cadential formations appear in the Cento Versi despite suggestions of later harmonic features. Most of the cadential features in the Cento Versi
resemble those of Pietro Pontio. The finals developed for the *tuoni ecclesiastici* and the organization of their principal pitches differ from their modal counterparts, as the composer mentioned, by the greater variety afforded them.

The variety within the chants may account for some of the varieties found among the *Cento Versi*. Some individual traits of the tones and modes receive attention here. One is the frequent, but inconsistent appearance, of b-flat in *Primo Tono*. This feature reflects the chants in this mode. Psalm tones utilize a b-flat during the medial cadence in modern books, but its occurrence in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chant books still is unclear. The antiphons contain b-naturals and b-flats, not always in the same piece.

*Terzo Tono* presents anomalies that have been a problem for composers, editors, and scholars for centuries. The chants vary considerably from the ancient descriptions for authentic modes. Trabaci, like many other composers uses an ending on A, a variance with most antiphons. The frequency of A as a secondary cadential note in many chants, however, indicates it was encountered quite often. Although beginning to disappear from alternatim practice, the long history of Credo Cardinale with numerous A ending verses may also partially account for the pressure to include A among a set of finals, at least for instrumental use. If a verset were to serve as an antiphon substitute or as a verse substitute in a Vespers Magnificat, an ending on A would dovetail quite well with the psalm intonation as well as for antiphons in this tone. Perhaps the compromise on A was considered just that, giving singers the most help in securing their next pitch in a chant.

---

\(^{181}\) Murray, 185-89.

\(^{182}\) Powers, *NG* (2001), 805, 809, 811-812

\(^{183}\) Bottazzi, 63-71.
Trabaci’s versets divide the *Terzo Tono* between those divided at the fifth, E-B-E, and those divided at the fourth, E-A-E. Four *versi* use the fifth division, the remaining depend on the fourth division. This is consistent with a reluctance to use B polyphonically, because it lacks a fifth above it. Since Trabaci had access to F-sharp, he was not quite so reluctant to use B. Some of the E-B-E *versi* appear to be in E up to the last minute. In their final cadential procedures, A emerges as the clear winner in these four *versi*, but only after conceding most of the music to an orientation in E. This may provide additional evidence for Trabaci’s shift toward more modern tonality, but this is merely conjecture right now. The presence of G-sharp as a leading tone to A adds to the tonally modern impression, but its usage during Trabaci’s period was certainly not unexpected or unusual. It was part of a signal, along with raised third degrees in the final triads of all *tuoni*, that Trabaci’s tonality was looking to the future.

The *Quarto Tono* represents E clearly, but it too has a few fourth divisions mixed in with the fifth ones. The two E modes were difficult to distinguish in the music, a reflection also of the chants for *deuterus* modes. A cursory glance at chant examples from a sixteenth-century Spanish source reveals they share exactly the same range with few apparent differences.\(^{184}\)

The *Quinto Tono* and *Sesto Tono* retain their F finality, but contrast with one another in an interesting way. The *Quinto Tono* retains *cantus durus* as the system of choice. Some b-flats appear as non-harmonic tones added to the score from time to time. The composer seems to toy with differences between the natural and the raised positions

---

\(^{184}\) *Antiphonarium de Tempore* (Zaragoza: 1598), Mode 3, “Si quis diligent me,” 381; Mode 4, “Si quis sitit,” 222.
of the fourth degree in this Tritus modality. Many composers of the period either provided this mode with *cantus mollis* or transposed it to C. As far as the chants go, either would serve. The reason for Trabaci’s adherence to the original final with b-natural is unclear. Perhaps a bit of humor existed here as he tweaked the noses of classical humanist purists. The *Sesto Tono* contains the expected b-flat in *cantus mollis*.

The *Settimo Tuono* was mentioned in Chapter I of this paper. In his comments, the composer stated his goal of securing variety among the tones.\(^{185}\) The Gloria of the Mass for the Madonna provided opportunities for C finals among verse endings. Although this transposition for the *Settimo Tuono* was an unusual choice for the period and later disappeared, Banchieri allowed it, and so did Pontio. Banchieri and Trabaci rightly pointed out that composers were free to do as they wished regarding transpositions, so this one remained consistent with practices of the day.

The *Ottavo Tono* with a G final and *cantus durus* was another widely accepted version for use in conjunction with Tetrardus modes. Its variance from the *Secondo Tono* on G with *cantus mollis* was recommended by Trabaci as a way of providing more opportunities for musical expression, especially in light of transpositions in use by many choirs and composers. Some composers were beginning to use F-sharp in the key signature, but Trabaci avoids it and preserves the older practice, perhaps again signaling his desire to remain as much as possible within the framework of the ancient church modes.

\(^{185}\) Trabaci, *Il Secondo Libro*, 71.
Chapter III  The Music of the *Cento Versi*

III.1  The Printed Page

The brevity of the first verset, lying at the bottom of a page nearly filled with Trabaci’s commentary seems miniscule next to all the words that precede it. Indeed, it is only nine measures in length, as seen in Musical Example 49. The brevity of the versets causes us to wonder if they could possibly contain anything of value and, if so, whether opportunities to express their full potential might have been unable to achieve fruition.

The liturgical performer remonstrates that only half of the music is on these pages. The remaining scores are, if written, in other books, and, if improvised, in other heads and hands. Since the remainder of its music does not exist in this book, other sources will have to fill in the blank spaces. Then we may obtain a better idea of what this music really was supposed to be. Perhaps these short works added value to their contextual materials. After looking at the contents of the *Cento Versi*, we will address this question.

The plain facts on the first page present features regarding the score, printed signs, the musical form and its contents, that will characterize the majority of the pieces in the book. The open-score layout, known as *partitura*, was favored by Italian keyboard composers. Clef signs indicate the location of middle c (c') and bass f. An indicator of the hexachord system occurs by an act of omission; a missing b-flat indicates *cantus durus*, but we know, as already mentioned, that *cantus mollis* is likely to appear in other versets with its b-flat sign on the staff.

Other signs indicate the beginnings of modern types in music printing. The time signature of C is one the modern reader recognizes as common time. The diamond
shapes of the notes and uneven staff lines contain note values that are familiar also. Recognizable accidental signs including two sharps and two flats seem a generous number for a piece that consists of only nine measures. While disorienting to the modern reader, clef signs typical of the period and inconsistent alignments between the notes did not constitute hindrances to the well-schooled early seventeenth-century musician.

III.2 A Detailed Analysis

The Verso Primo, Primo Tono, Musical Example 50, introduces Trabaci’s verset music to the reader. Since it foreshadows a number of compositional procedures in this book, examination of its components help to pinpoint features of this composer’s style. Many of these features appear fairly consistently in other pieces, while their stylistic applications vary a great deal.

The style of the piece reveals that Trabaci was a man of his age, using one of the most important compositional procedures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Imitative counterpoint sets out a subject that proceeds in a fairly standard exposition with a subject, or fuga, stated first by the soprano voice beginning on a’, the fifth above the final on d’. Following a short delay the alto voice presents the subject in imitation of the first, beginning on d’, the final. Although the soprano and alto voices entered first, one close behind the other, their dual appearances did not constitute a matched pair according to a contrapuntal convention. A compositional convention, à voce piena, places the soprano and tenor voices in the position of leading the imitation, stating the subject
first. In this piece the convention is revealed by the pairing of the soprano and tenor voices presenting the \textit{fuga}, or leading pair, on a' and a, and the alto and bass following on d' and d, the \textit{imitatione}. The subject itself has two closely-related forms, the guide and the imitation, that are clearly revealed in the first and second entries by soprano and alto. The soprano version ascends by steps through the fourth from a' to d''. Following a delay of two half rests, the alto version ascends first by skip, then by step, through the fifth from d' to a'. These two voices outline the principal notes of \textit{Primo Tono} in a manner consistent with the rules of imitative counterpoint utilizing the \textit{fuga}, a subject for imitation.

Glancing ahead in the music we see that the voices are paired in typical fashion in their subject entries, soprano and tenor, alto and bass. After the first two expositions of the subject, a longer delay than the first precedes the third and fourth entries which in turn may be separated from each other by long delay. Four half notes after the alto entry, the tenor third voice enters on a, ascending stepwise to d'. Instead of entering after two half rests behind the tenor, however, the bass entry is delayed by five half rests before its appearance on d, skipping to f, then stepping up again to a. Then the bass takes


a surprising turn, leaping down to a lower octave to imitate the soprano/tenor pair with a restatement of the initial subject entry, this time in slightly altered rhythm. Not finished yet, the bass then leaps down a sixth to ascend in quick dotted rhythm from F to A.

Almost after the fact we recognize that the bass has elided the end of the first subject statement on d with the beginning of a new entry of its second statement, but dramatized and disguised its nature by displacing its appearance into a lower octave plane and changing its rhythmic character. A melodic unit has served as subject, as imitation,\textsuperscript{188} then as closing section and final cadential material. Multiple applications of a motivic cell is a feature that Trabaci utilizes frequently throughout the book. Motivic development could be said to exist here if the material may be considered substantial enough to be awarded the appellation of motive.

Another feature evidenced by Trabaci in this verset will emerge throughout these versets. A drive to the final cadence alters the context of the subject’s final entry by using it to support the closing section. Exposition and closing section become one in a context structured to exercise this dual role. Thus the subject is conscripted to serve a double role in exposition and conclusion.

In order to signal the beginning of the last section, the final entry of the subject in this case is delayed by five half rests. During this time an expected cadence in measure

\textsuperscript{188} Haar, 228-29, n. 9 quoting Zarlino, \textit{Le Istitutione harmoniche} (1573), III, Cap. 54, 257. “Dipoi Imitatione nominaremo quella Replica, o Reditta, la quale hò già dichiarato nella Fuga; quella però, che non procede per gli istessi Intervalli; ma per quelli, che sono in tutto differenti dalli primi; essendo solamente li movimenti che fanno le parti cantando & le giture ancora simili. [Next, we shall call Imitation that copy or repetition which is like what I have already described for the Fugue, except that it does not proceed by the same but by quite different intervals, the rhythmic and melodic figures of the two parts being nonetheless similar.]” Translation by Haar.
five fails to materialize before the final entry of the subject. A suspension dissonance appears to have been prepared in measure four, but the dissonant seventh fails to materialize when the soprano voice moves with the alto in parallel sixths in measure five. Here a mock entrance of the subject draws the listener’s attention away from the upper voices while they take advantage of this feint to increase the level of dissonance. An evaded cadence occurs in measure five along with the mock entrance of the subject by the tenor. A tied d” from the last beat of the previous measure indicated the preparation of a suspension that in fact fails to materialize in measure five. The composer evaded the dissonant seventh interval by placing an f instead of an e in the alto voice. The c’-sharp in the soprano voice that would have been a resolution, stepping down to resolve the dissonant 7-6 suspension, instead introduces two new dissonances. When the soprano moves down a half-step to c’-sharp, a diminished fifth with the alto f’ ensues and an augmented ninth with the tenor b-flat. The nonharmonic c-sharp interjected by the soprano has effected some tom-foolery outside the anticipated motions of a cadence. But Miss Soprano decides to redeem herself.

Then the soprano follows the tenor’s b-flat in measure five, strikes a b’-flat in the final tactus of measure five, then descends by half-step to a’ on the first beat of measure six. After this hint of a Phrygian cadence, the new bass entry appears in its closing section guise in measure six. The flat sixth degree often associated with Primo Tono has appeared at a structurally important point, deflecting our attention from an anticipated medial cadence that never occurred, while propelling the motion forward to the next contrapuntal event.
The final bass voice entry marks the beginning of the small closing section, already mentioned, in which rhythmic activity increases while the subject, now varied and in diminution, moves in disguised forms throughout all voice parts. The voices spread out into a flying wing formation (<), and motion slows suddenly in the penultimate measure for the final cadence. The third of the final triad is raised with a sharp sign. The last cadence is an irregular one. The soprano and alto voices move in the standard pattern of a 7-6 suspension, but the resolution is unusual. The alto voice moves up a step in parallel motion with the soprano, creating successive sixths. The accompanying tenor and bass voices, move from an octave on A-a to the final fifth on d-a. The raised third degree of the chord lies in the alto voice, while the final resounds in the soprano voice two octaves above the bass. This irregular procedure in fact has become by the early seventeenth century a standard one, although it yet lies outside the future domain of functional harmony and standard practice.

Economical use of musical resources in this piece signals a trademark of Trabaci in the rest of the Cento Versi. Hardly an opportunity for exploitation of subjects and materials at hand is overlooked in promotion of forward motion, melodic invention, arresting harmonic details, and shaping each verset with an overall plan of accumulating tension and final resolution. The application of these skills in miniature works makes them no less valuable, reminding us that Anton Webern made a contribution to musical culture in reverse proportion to the diminutive size of his œuvre.
From a performer’s standpoint the music is quite accessible to the hands. The parts lie well within reach, even in the flying wing as it spreads apart toward the end. Here the short octave in the bass line assists the left hand to play a tenth.\footnote{Diruta, \textit{Transylvanian} I (1598), ed. Bradshaw and Soehnlein, 43-44, n. 14. The bottom octave of organ keyboards at this time did not contain a whole set of chromatic pitches. Called a short octave, several versions were used. Drawings of two types appear on p. 44 in this edition of Diruta’s first book. Since Trabaci used a low CC in the \textit{Cento Versi}, we must assume the first drawing is the one most nearly like keyboards at the \textit{Cappella Reale} in Naples.}

Trabaci’s use of compositional conventions indicates he was schooled in the musical traditions of his day, evidenced by the manner of exposition in \textit{Verso Primo}.\footnote{Sachs, 840.} Presentation of the subject occurs in pairs, soprano and tenor, alto and bass, considered the leading and following pairs. The subject submits to alteration and development that occurs unexpectedly and in disguise. The bass entry/closing section beginning in measure six is comprised totally of the subject in imitation of soprano and alto entries. The subject appears in different octave planes successively and in altered forms. By placing them adjacent to one another in time, but in different octaves in space, Trabaci achieves a unified drive to cadence at the end.

Accidentals in this piece reveal another feature of Trabaci’s compositions. While Zarlino’s advice to composers included adherence to the mode or tone, he also admonished them to include dissonances among the consonances of their works.\footnote{Murray, \textit{The Voice of the Composer} 309, n. 8, referring to Gioseffo Zarlino, \textit{Le Istituzioni harmoniche} (Venice, 1558), 171-72.} Trabaci’s use of non-harmonic tones and dissonance provides a distinctive flair for style, a characteristic considered highly desirable by Pietro Pontio, a sixteenth century
theorist. Trabaci raises the c leading to its upper neighbor and lowers it when it descends. A non-harmonic interjection of the subject during its initial appearance in the first measure indicates the composer has an original approach to maintaining the tone's unity. Customarily raised lower neighbor notes reflect a continuing cadential tradition, but one of them creates a vertical dissonance (diminished fifth) between alto and soprano voices in measure five. The use of b-flats in two places, especially in dissonant conjunction with the neighbor tone c-sharp, seems to utilize a traditional variance within Primo Tono. Although no b-flat appears in the clef, signaling a durus system, performers and composers often interpolated this altered degree. No stranger to the first mode, b-flat often showed up in its chants. The dissonant clash between b-flat and c'-sharp in measure five succeeds a harsh diminished fifth between f and c'-sharp in the same measure. Trabaci demonstrates a leaning toward multiple dissonances prior to an event of structural importance in a piece.

Variety of rhythmic motion invests the versets with internal contrasts that highlight individual voice parts. The voices speak to one another, tossing motives back and forth, combining to voice them in duet and playing them against other motions by the remaining voices. Something new happens with every new entry. The Verso Primo rhythmic motion is slow at the beginning, yet it moves more quickly with the approach of the third voice entry, slowing down to expose the evaded cadence before the fourth entry of the subject in the bass line. Then all voices move together approaching the end.

In Verso Secondo, Musical Example 48, the alto, tenor and bass voices comprise a leading trio, contrasted by the singular imitation by the soprano voice. It's as if the boys'
voices of the topmost part exist on a different plane from the changed voices in the lower parts. The alto begins in its high register on d’’ and descends to a’, then soprano begins on a’’ and descends to d’’ in the second measure. Following a considerable delay, in which a cadence on alto f’ and soprano f’’ takes place in measure three, the tenor voice enters on d’ and descends to a. After seven more half rests have elapsed the bass finally makes its appearance at the end of measure six on d and descends a fourth to A. The bass line immediately restates the subject, imitating the soprano’s descending fifth, beginning on d instead of a, and leaping down to G. This final imitation is altered to include a B-flat before the final cadence.

The tenor and soprano participated in a mid-level cadence on a just before the bass entry. This cadence involves a raised seventh degree to soprano a, an alteration that creates a diminished fourth with the alto voice at the moment when the resolution of a dissonance is to take place. The same dissonance recurs in the next measure at another attempt at the resolution of a 7-6 suspension. Trabaci’s penchant for increasing dissonance at the moment of resolution appears now for the second time in as many versets. Although resolving to the octave a-a’ between tenor and soprano voices, the interior position of this cadence in the piece, and the continuing motion without pause weakens its effect. Yet it marks the structural importance of the bass entry that follows.

This verset is adorned with non-harmonic tones which appear first in isolation, then gradually with increased density. The first is the mild and sweet b-flat. The second and third are both g-sharps affiliated with cadences on a. In measures six and seven another g-sharp consorts with a and d’ to create a sharpened dissonance at the moment of a 7-6 resolution. In measure eight soprano c’’ and alto f’-sharp forming a diminished
fifth move immediately to a diminished fourth between alto f'-sharp and soprano b'-flat. When the bass echoes the B-flat in the preparation for the final cadence the effect is softened by the consonant d' and g' sounding with it. The final cadence involves a suspension dissonance and resolution, a c'-sharp leads to the final on tenor d', and the last chord contains the raised third of Primo Tono, f'-sharp.

Some versets in the Cento Versi lack a cadence to introduce the closing section, but other means call attention to this important junction. Verso Terzo reveals changing textures and harmonies and contrasting motions among the voices to effect structurally important events.

The subject of Verso Terzo, Musical Example 52, is a rapidly descending scale passage that begins in the alto voice on d'' and sweeps down an octave to d'. The soprano voice appears immediately, commencing on a'' and descending to a'. After a measure's delay the tenor and bass voices imitate the alto and soprano entries on d' and a. All four voices having presented the subject, a mock entry of the alto line is taken up by the soprano, descending from d'' to e', then reversing direction. Meanwhile, the bass line takes up the figure with an entry on the fourth above the final, a descending scale pattern from g to G. This deviation from the pattern Trabaci has set up in this short piece is surprising, yet it provides additional interest and emphasizes the harmonic motion toward the final. It highlights the beginning of the closing section in the following measure, an event initiated with a triad on g with b'-flat. The consonances change markedly, shifting from a major third to minor third in a steady motion of eighth notes. With the closing section the sixteenth notes evaporate, and all motion begins to brake, first with eighth notes, then quarters, then halves, and then the final resting whole notes. The second half
of the antepenultimate measure passes the b’-flat from the soprano to the bass that then proceeds to a diminished fifth on E. The bass finally ascends in contrary motion to the soprano and alto voices’ descent to the penultimate measure and the final cadence.

Trabaci’s music sometimes sounds and looks on the page as if functional harmony is emerging. The last three measures of this verso give the appearance of something that could have been written in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries with a melodic tritone in the bass, strong beat dissonances and the dominant seventh progression at the end. The sense of a shift to g minor during the closing section also conveys a modern quality to the harmonies of this verset. Knowing that Trabaci did not conceive of the harmonies that way, we might conjecture that, if he had known about modern harmony, he surely would have taken advantage of the opportunity to use it, something he effectively did in Verso Terzo before Jean-Phillipe Rameau or Hugo Riemann, important formulators of functional harmony, were born. (This is a little like the argument that had J. S. Bach heard and played a modern organ, he would have written compositions with lots of new timbres and registration changes in them.)

Verso Sesto, Musical Example 54, reveals a combination of elements already mentioned, but its claim on our attention right now is the motivic development that occurs at the beginning of the closing section. The subject of this triple meter verset is simple, the octave final divided by a fifth, d’-a’-d’’, followed by the fifth octave divided by its fourth, a-d’-a’. Soprano and alto entries in the first two measures are accompanied by a little countersubject in flowing stepwise motion. The contrast between the two subjects makes them stand out. After a two-measure delay, the tenor and bass voices complete the exposition of the subject and countersubject in measures five and six. In
measure seven a shift in texture occurs from flowing polyphony to homophonic
accompaniment and disjunct melody. The lower voices stop abruptly while the soprano
voice changes the subject by a small but telling amount. Entering on d', two leaps of a
fifth follow (as opposed to a fifth and a fourth), outlining a ninth. This highly unusual
melodic progression continues to ascend by another half-step that is followed by a sudden
drop of a ninth. The melody in measures seven and eight thus presents this novel
progression, d'-a'-e''-f''-e'-f', etc. At the end of measure eight a Phrygian cadence
assists in a suspension with no added dissonance at the point of resolution. This is Trabaci
at his best, using simple materials in a unique fashion to create melodic and harmonic
progressions that seem perfectly right. It is thematic transformation that sounds lovely,
natural, and unaffected despite its baroque appearance and violation of the rules for
melodic progression.

III.3 The Primo Tono and a Mode One Kyrie

Testing the Cento Versi against actual chant excerpts reveals a proximate
modality-tonality between the chants and tuoni ecclesiastici. Among hundreds of
examples, only a few can be presented here. The following discussion regarding versi of
Primo Tono may be relevant to the music of a famous chant example, the Mode One
Kyrie from the Mass of the Madonna, found in modern chant books as “Cum jubilo,”
Mass IX, Musical Example 55.193 The shape of the first Kyrie melody is approximated
by the alto and bass voices of Verso Primo, Musical Example 50. If one wanted to
parallel the form of this Kyrie, Primo Verso could be repeated in the first Kyrie set. The

193 Graduale Romanum (Solesmes: 1993), 741-42.
Christe requiring only one organ setting, finds suitably descending music in Verso Secondo, Musical Example 51. The last Kyrie set has different music from the first set. Verso Quarto, Musical Example 50, serves for the fourth Kyrie (the beginning of the last set of Kyries) with its descent from d’ to a’, and subsequent voicing of b-flat, a similar figure to one in the chant, a descending leap from d to a and motion to b-flat shortly thereafter. The b-flat makes an interesting appearance in this chant. It is an apparent nonharmonic tone that emerges first in the Christe section and is repeated in the final Kyries. By this time it has been repeated enough as to be accepted as integral to the chant. The final Kyrie is an elaborate descending passage with many melismas. The music of Verso Terzo, Musical Example 52, presents a keyboard approximation of the overall shape of the last portion of the chant. Thus the chant in Mode One and several keyboard pieces from Primo Tono well suit each other for alternatim performance of this section of the Mass Ordinary. Would that time and space permitted more explorations of this fascinating aspect of Trabaci’s music.

III.4 Clef Signs

Cleffing conventions arose during the sixteenth century in relationship to vocal music. Final, system (duris or mollis), and vocal ranges of particular voice parts were often associated with each other to the extent that reading the system, clef sign, and final could indicate to a reader the mode of a piece. Harold Powers identified these associations as a posteriori classifications made by theorists, editors, and readers. Composers did not choose them a priori, to determine mode in their works. Since clefs were associated with vocal music lying within the Guidonian gamut, it seems unlikely
cleffing conventions would be relevant to the *tuoni ecclesiastici*.\(^{194}\) Clef signs that provided links to a modal system soon to disintegrate and designed to express the limited ranges of an ancient vocal system would have been inadequate to the needs of instruments that moved well beyond those limitations. The vocal range of the Guidonian hand was twenty-two notes (G-\(e''\)), yet organs of Trabaci’s day probably had thirty to forty diatonic notes.\(^{195}\)

His use of clefs reveals that Trabaci used cleffing patterns to express the tones, but that keyboard ranges required alteration of many clefs to accommodate more notes than could be put on the staff with standard clefs for vocal music. Trabaci mentioned the clefs in his remarks to the reader at the beginning of the *Cento Versi* when he said that if writing for fifty notes required him to transpose the music and use clefs that seemed appropriate to him, it should not be said that he had left the tone.\(^{196}\) Trabaci’s music covers a four-octave span from C to c’’, a total of thirty-two diatonic notes. If we add the black notes, including the short octave, eighteen more were available, bringing the total number of notes to fifty. Although adding the black notes does not increase the total span of the keyboard, it does add to the total number of notes that are available. Thus when Trabaci spoke in his “Letter to the Reader” of using fifty notes, if necessary, to express the special effects necessary for remote harmonies, he knew well the instrument at hand.\(^{197}\)

\(^{194}\) Powers, *NG*, 801.

\(^{195}\) Diruta, I, ed. Bradshaw, 44, n. 15.

\(^{196}\) Trabaci, *Il Secondo Libro*, 41.

\(^{197}\) Ibid, 41.
III.5 Tonal Adherence

Since Trabaci disavowed range and clefs as criteria for remaining in the tones, this study moves to consideration of the means he used to ensure integrity of tone in the Cento Versi. One of the tests ultimately resides in the ears of the listeners. If chants and versi used together in the performance styles of services sound well together, Trabaci’s methods will have been proved.

Another test resides in a more objective means that measures intervals, cadences, and procedures in the versi and compares them to the intervals, cadences, and procedures set out by theorists of the sixteenth century. For this purpose I have selected Pietro Pontio’s guidelines for modal conformity among which we find the final and fifth, as principal pitches, and the fourth, third, and reciting note as pitches suitable for secondary cadences. In addition we find a separate category for the psalm tones, in which the reciting note and differentia are listed. Comparing Trabaci’s cadential pitches and those used at points of imitation in the versi with Pontio’s sets of cadences furnishes information about modal properties in the Cento Versi. This comparison also enables us to see whether the versi exhibit features of the psalm tones. If their cadential expressions are highly differentiated (not in the sense of a psalm tone ending) and in accord with Pontio’s Rules on the Modes, this may indicate that Trabaci treated the tuoni ecclesiastici as modal categories in their own right.

The manner and number of imitations, evaded cadences, and regular cadences occurring in music of this period, including the Cento Versi, open a window to the

---

198 Murray, Voice, 189.
internal properties of contrapuntal music. In imitative pieces a cadential procedure preceded, or coincided with each subject entry after the initial one. Sometimes the end of one entry and the beginning of a new one were separated by a delay; sometimes these occasions overlapped one another. Evaded cadences or regular ones sometimes occurred within the phrases between entries or sections of a piece. Closing sections began with a cadential signal or some other sort of procedure that indicated their arrival.

Analysis of modal counterpoint is different from eighteenth century (harmonic) counterpoint in a lack of triadic considerations.\(^{199}\) Triads existed in music of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but their presence was largely sonorous and coloristic. Functionality of triads and chords peeps through the motions of ending cadences, but this hint of future developments lacked theoretical foundations during this time, providing a good example of practice preceding theory. Imogene Horsley commented on the lag between practice and theory during the early seventeenth century. Although to our ears much of this music sounds harmonically based, the theorists of the day failed to note the harmonic underpinnings of the basso continuo and continued to stress the contrapuntal basis of composition as they emphasized the performance of diminutions within a pragmatic context.\(^{200}\)

Locating simple structures helps to isolate cadences in the busy textures of the Cento Versi. Two voices are essential to cadences in this music. In a four-part texture the two (extra) ones contribute color and interest. Cadences are formed by motions of a major sixth to an octave or a minor third to a unison. In both cases a half-step rises to the


\(^{200}\) Horsley, 137.
final while the whole step descends to its unison or octave. Phrygian cadences provide an exception to these principles; one voice descends by half-step to the final, and the other rises a whole step. This occurs diatonically between f and e, between b and c. In Primo Tono a Phrygian cadence may arise from an altered note, b-flat, descending the half step to a, the fifth above the final. Another frequent alteration creates a half-step descent between e-flat and d, as well.

In addition to the intervallc formations just mentioned, strong cadences usually contain dissonances in the form of suspensions. Preparation and resolution of suspension dissonances occur over at least three durational units. The value of a half note constitutes a unit in much of this music. However, frequent use of the quarter note as a unit of value results in a note inflation. Accommodation of smaller note values at relatively slow tempos permitted the music to coordinate with the recitation speed that characterized most chanted music of this period. One effect of this was suspension and cadential motions in the values of quarter notes as well as halves. Suspension resolutions provide useful information regarding dissonance treatment and the degree of freedom from strict contrapuntal style. A rough comparison with Palestrina’s liturgical compositions reveals that Trabaci’s Cento Versi represent a more progressive treatment. In the absence of text and in the presence of improvisational traditions, instrumental music was granted more freedom than was vocal polyphony.\(^{201}\)

Nearly all subject entries in the Cento Versi are bracketed by some sort of cadential motion, be it stepwise progress toward a principal note of the tone, or a pause in

\(^{201}\) Imogene Horsley, 128. n. 16, n. 18, referring to Diruta, Secunda parte del transilvano, (Venice, 1622; 1st ed. 1609), 1-21; Il transilvano, dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi (Venice, 1625; 1st ed. 1597), 62.
one or more parts coincident with the completion of one such motion and a new entry of
the subject. Different kinds of cadences occur. Perfect ones conform to the basic form
already mentioned. Imperfect cadences contain modified intervallic structures. Evaded
cadences fail to resolve as described. When subject entries combine with evaded
cadences in expositions, entries with added principal notes of the tone lend weight to an
interpretation that discounts the importance of an apparent evaded cadence. Thus if an
entry on d coincides with a passage ending on b-flat, if the d is repeated or is the result of
clear voice leading that emphasizes its importance, the b-flat is ignored, and d provides
the note name for that entry. If only one d appears in that beat with two b-flats, the
voice-leading being equal, the designation will be b-flat instead of d. This is a purely
hypothetical situation to demonstrate the reasoning followed in achieving the following
list of pitches for cadences.

Each section of a piece demonstrates its relationship to the tone by molding the
principal pitches in contrast with secondary and altered ones into aural shapes that point
up the importance of the final. The drive to cadence seen in this music reinforces that
goal.
III.6 Cadences: Pontio and Trabaci

Pietro Pontio’s *Ragionamento di Musica* (1588) gives three types of counterpoint: *fugato*, *legato*, and *diminuito*. The author treats the first two types as imitative, a repetition of figures at different pitch levels. The third type, *diminuito*, possesses mixed note values in a constantly changing rhythmic texture with varying note values, syncopations, and seldom resting. Pontio regards this style as evidence of a composer at work, not a student doing exercises.\(^{202}\)

In discussing modes Pontio further distinguishes between modes and psalm tones in compositions. His distinction provides tools that are applicable in studying Trabaci’s *Cento Versi*. According to Pontio the primary method for modal cognizance lies in the cadences. He treats melody, range and clefs as secondary categories.\(^{203}\) By considering the modes and psalm tones as separate, he provides a hierarchy of cadences for the two categories. Refusing nevertheless to place a barrier between the two forms, Pontio also regards modes and psalm tones as interconnected and interdependent. In this connection he allows for an expanded number of cadentially appropriate notes. He mentions, for instance, the role of F in the first mode and psalm tone; it is the first note of the psalm intonation as well as the mediant of the modal fifth on D. As such he gives it nearly as much weight for a principal and terminating cadence as the final itself. His classifications divide cadential properties into “principal” and “terminating” or “non-

\(^{202}\) Murray, 181-82.

\(^{203}\) Ibid, 185, n. 33.
principal” and “non-terminating.” Although Pontio applies a major portion of his classifications to texted music, these tools for analysis apply to instrumental music as well. Interestingly, Pontio allows for Mode VII to be transposed to C, a similarity to Trabaci, shared by few others.

Comparison of Tables Four and Five on the next page reveals that Trabaci’s cadence notes for the tuoni ecclesiastici are very similar to those recommended by Pontio for modes. Although the psalm-tone cadential pitches are for the most part similar to the modal ones in Pontio’s categories, their differences highlight his criteria for modes and psalm-tones. Normally the psalm tone cadence notes appear among those for principal and secondary cadences in the modes. Since there is considerable overlap between these categories, a difference might be obtained by considering that a piece intended for psalm-tone alternatim use would contain only those pitches that Pontio has assigned for the psalm tones. If an organ piece limited its cadential notes to the psalm-tone notes, its basis could be regarded as based on a psalm-tone and as not-modal. An organ piece displaying a wide variety of cadential notes reveals its basis in a separate category with internal properties of its own, what may be termed, for want of a better term, a modal (tonal) category in its own right.

\[204\] Ibid, 185-87.
### Table Four

Modes and Psalm Tones in Pontio’s *Ragionamento*<sup>205</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode:</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal Cadences</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Cadences</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposition</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm Cadences</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Psalm Cadences</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table Five

*Tuoni Ecclesiastici* in Trabaci’s *Cento Versi* (1615)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode:</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal Cadences</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Cadences</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposition</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*CV Other</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>C, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm Cadences</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Psalm Cadences</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Additional category from music in the Cento Versi

---

<sup>205</sup> Ibid, 189.
Since Trabaci’s versets exhibit a wide number of principal and secondary cadence notes to distinguish principal and secondary events in the music, separate status as a modal (tonal) set of categories in its own right may be assigned to the tuoni ecclesiastici. The internal properties of the tuoni ecclesiastici as Trabaci used them reveal a differentiated cadential hierarchy. The potential to shape music in a variety of ways gives force to their property as an independent ontological category.

Giovanni Battista Fasolo composed two books of organ pieces for the liturgical year. Annuale (1645) in two volumes presents a body of liturgical works that are labeled according to the titles and sections. Their contents are arranged according to the liturgical year. The layout furnishes a wealth of information for comparison with a collection without titles, such as Trabaci wrote. The versets for the Magnificat appear in all eight tones in transpositions that differ slightly from Trabaci’s. The alternatim versets quote the chant original in the first verse or two, then become more free in providing imitations on melodic cells drawn from the chants. Intonation patterns are particularly prominent. After the first few versets, the pieces in each set become more free. Underlying all of them, however, is the basic bipartite structure of the psalms. Even the most free versets maintain suggestions of this double construction. Their cadential pitches are far more restricted than Trabaci’s are, although they are not limited to one or two pitches alone.\footnote{Giovanni Battista Fasolo, Annuale II (Venice, 1645), 1-25.} Some of the figurations actually seem quite reminiscent of Trabaci’s writing, making one wonder if he were widely imitated, or if Fasolo and Trabaci had a common ancestor. Another possibility is that Fasolo borrowed some of Trabaci’s music – some of the versi
in the Primo and Secondo Tuoni are too much alike! If so, Fasolo seems to have modified them to partake of parallel psalm structure.

The anonymous Intavolatura d'organo facilissimi of 1598 exhibit a conservative type of composition in comparison to the two examples already mentioned. They reveal parallel psalmodic structures using imitative polyphony in transpositions by now familiar to us. Their ranges are well within the Guidonian diatonic system.\footnote{Anonymous, Intavolatura d'organo facilissimi (Venice, 1598).}
Chapter IV  Liturgical Contexts and Reforms

IV.1  Forms

The liturgical umbrella of the title page of Il Second Libro, ogni altra sorte d’occasione later ballooned on the first page of the Cento Versi into two of the most prominent services of the period, Mass and Vespers. In contrast to the title page that signified the use of versets for the Divine Office and every other type of service, the composer’s remarks on the first page of the Cento Versi include the following phrase: Cento versi sopra gli otto Toni Ecclesiastici, per risponder’ alle Messe, Vesperi, tutti Divini Officii; ed in ogni altra sorte d’occasione . . . (one hundred versets on the eight church tones for responses in Masses, Vespers, all services of the Divine Office, and for every other sort of occasion. . .).208

Including Masses, Vespers, and all services of the Divine Office linked the Cento Versi to the regular duties of most organists. “Every other sort of occasion” probably provided a wide spectrum of possibilities to Trabaci’s contemporaries, rather than the nearly blank slate which stares back at the modern reader from the page. Based on modern experience with categories of church services, pastoral offices such as ordination, marriage and burial could be included among the ‘every other sort of’ category. But the seventeenth century afforded the composer-organist other devotional opportunities to share his inspirational music.209 Confraternities and Oratories afforded para-liturgical and liturgical opportunities for Italian musicians during the late sixteenth and early

---

208 Trabaci, Il Secondo Libro, 41.

seventeenth centuries. Before opera made its appearance, sacred dialogues, vocal solo
and ensemble music, instrumental music with flutes, harpsichords and viols, laudi singing
and spiritual madrigals surrounded devotional occasions in oratories. Special Vespers
and Compline services, and even Masses, sometimes occurred in such places as well as in
the private chapels and apartments of secular and ecclesiastical princes. It is likely that
Trabaci performed and composed in these venues. In addition to his duties as maestro di
cappella for the Cappella Reale, he was active with the Oratory of St. Philip Neri in
Naples throughout his career.

IV.2 The Oratorio of St. Philip Neri

Since Trabaci was actively involved with the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri in
Naples during most, if not all, of his career, he was involved in services involving
 plainsong in Masses and Vespers as well as the use of more free compositions involving
 keyboard music and other instruments in the devotional services. That lauda continued as
 part of the Oratorian tradition is evident in Trabaci’s lauda composition early in his
career. Trabaci’s first encounter with the Neapolitan Oratorians when he was invited to
test new organ they had installed in 1597 indicates that at least one organ was in use

\(^{210}\) Alexander Silbiger, “The Roman Frescobaldi Tradition”, *The Journal of the

\(^{211}\) Howard E. Smither, “Oratorio,” *New Grove Dictionary of Music and
Musicians*, second ed., ed. S. Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 504-05; Noel O’Regan,
*Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome; Music at Santissima Trinità dei

\(^{212}\) Jackson, 15.

\(^{213}\) Jackson, 327.
there. We may also assume, since an organ represented a significant economic investment, that this instrument was played frequently, serving a significant repertory in the Oratory. How the harpsichord came to be affiliated with verset music is not known, but evidence of its use in other confraternities and oratories indicates that a variety of instruments might have been available for services, devotions and spiritual exercises in the Oratory of St. Philip Neri in Naples.\textsuperscript{214} Proscription of organ use during Advent and Lent may have encouraged use of the harpsichord (and lute) as a substitute during those liturgical seasons. General descriptions of Oratorian spiritual exercises exist, and a few descriptions of occasions associated with the Roman Oratorians indicate that prominent composers and performers were enlisted to provide music.\textsuperscript{215} Descriptions of music in some confraternities hint at a variety of possibilities, but no firm evidence as to what the Neapolitan Oratorians expected of musicians in Naples has emerged to date.\textsuperscript{216}

**IV.3 The Seventeenth Century**

Two main types of church services, Mass and the Divine Office, projecting events in the liturgical year, provided the core of Catholic worship from the eighth and ninth centuries. The Mass, a symbolic reenactment of Christ’s last supper with his disciples, focused on the events central to the Church’s beliefs in an ordered service with both unchanging and changing elements. The unchanging musical elements were the Ordinary of the Mass, comprised of five sections, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei.


\textsuperscript{215} O’Regan, 27-34, 79-82; Silbiger, 47-51.

\textsuperscript{216} Hill, 108-36; Smither, 503-06.
The changing elements were the Proper of the Mass, comprised of Introit, Gradual, Sequence, Tract, Alleluia, Offertory, and Communion. The Proper of the Mass changed because it contained changing texts that connected with events in the liturgical year.

Commemoration of events in the life of Christ provided the frame for the liturgical seasons. The liturgical year began with Advent, four weeks preceding the celebration of the Nativity on December 25. The Feast of the Epiphany on January 6 was the second fixed date of the liturgical calendar. Subsequent celebrations occurred on non-fixed dates that were based on a lunar calendar, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and one commemorating the feast of Pentecost when the Holy Spirit empowered the Apostles with their new mission to establish the Church. Other important events in the liturgical year commemorated the saints whose death dates were superimposed on the seasonal calendar. Names of the two calendric cycles were the Temporale, the fixed and unchanging cycle of the liturgical seasons (Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Holy Week, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost), and the Sanctorale (the saints, including Christ). Two sets of books for the Mass and the Divine Office contained both Temporale and Sanctorale. Post-Tridentine service books were altered to reflect four seasons (Fall, Winter, Spring, Summer) instead of the previous two (Winter, Summer).\(^{217}\) A new edition of the Roman Missal was published in 1570, and a revised Breviary, in 1568.\(^{218}\)

The Divine Office, based on a monastic model of psalm-based services, originally constituted a series of eight services of varying lengths that were distributed in a twenty-

\(^{217}\) Harper, 65.

\(^{218}\) Harper, 22.
four hour cycle. Repeated every day throughout the entire year, early monks sought to engage in unceasing prayer by observing the Hours of the Divine Office. The Hours were known as Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. By the seventeenth century this model had eroded considerably in most non-monastic churches and chapels. Almost all that remained were Vespers and Matins, yet observances of Terce before Mass were added on particularly solemn occasions.

Vespers could be a simple or magnificent service with solemn chanted music or elaborate instrumental and vocal music. Vespers was an observance for the close of day and often assumed concert-like proportions with specially composed music commissioned by wealthy prelates and princes. Confraternities and oratories also added to Vespers repertories because the service was popular with the laity. The Marian Vespers of 1610 was a famous example of Claudio Monteverdi’s creative approach to this repertory.

Vespers services included an opening versicle, five psalms with antiphons, a short lesson, a responsory to the lesson, hymn, versicle, Magnificat, prayers and blessing.

---


220 Schaefer, 52.


222 Harper, 22-23; Black, 272-73.


Sometimes a short devotional service and hymn to Mary, known as a Marian antiphon, were appended at the end of the service. \(^{225}\) Vesper psalms included refrains, known as antiphons, before and after them. Vesper services usually grouped five psalms in an unbroken chain separated by their antiphons. \(^{226}\) Sometimes one antiphon served the entire group. The selection of antiphons, psalms, lesson and scripture readings arose from specific rounds of the seasons and saints as well as calendric requirements that were gathered into a lectionary. \(^{227}\)

Each of the services, Mass and Vespers, had prescribed musical forms. Organ participation in these musical forms was controlled by traditions that could be altered by such variables as the number of skilled choir members that were available and whether the maestro decided they would perform specially composed polyphonic music in the Mass settings, the antiphons, canticles, or psalms of the Divine Office. Festival and solemn occasions required antiphony between the organ and choir during specific sections of services.

Herein lie some of the changes that distinguished the early seventeenth-century from its predecessors. Edward Schaefer’s dissertation on organ music in the Roman rites of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provides a complete view of ceremonials, commentaries, councils, decrees, instruction manuals, organ masses, and vespers music during the post-Tridentine period. Pertinent to this study is his conclusion that, while the sixteenth-century sources refer to antiphony during the psalms, no seventeenth-century

\(^{225}\) Ibid, 131-33.

\(^{226}\) Ibid, 101.

\(^{227}\) Ibid, 45-57, 311.
ceremonials describe or prescribe alternatim for the office psalms, including Vespers. Only a few music collections he surveyed, the *Intavolatura d’organo facilissima* (1598) and Banchieri’s *L’Organo Suonarino* (1605-1638), contained any psalm verset pieces. By the late seventeenth-century they had disappeared altogether. Schaefer concluded that “the practice of alternating the verses of psalms between organ and choir was discontinued toward the end of this period.”

During the Mass the organ participated in nearly all portions of the Ordinary and Proper. The organ played in antiphony with the choir during sections of the Ordinary, that is, the Kyrie, Gloria, (Credo), Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. Elements of the Proper given to the organ were the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, and Communion. Antiphonal performance of Proper sections occurred during the Sequence and the Alleluia. The Tract was always sung. The organ also added music during the Elevation of the Host and after a concluding versicle. Organ music accompanied processions, especially on festival occasions, into the church. The organist, responsible for providing pitches to the choir and clergy, might play a short piece called an intonation that often possessed homophonic or toccata-like features.

During Vespers the organ provided pitches and played before and after the service, but its first appearance within the service, other than providing pitches, was to

---


229 Schaefer, 141-42.

230 Ibid, 91,111.
substitute for the repetition of antiphons after each psalm. The organ played in *alternatim* during the Magnificat, but not during the psalms or group of psalms. The use of psalm tones in choral antiphony probably arose from earlier monastic practices, but at this time, the organ was restricted to antiphony during the Magnificat. An organ piece often played following the lesson, and it could play in antiphony with the choir during the responsory. During the hymn the organ participated in the same fashion, as it did for the concluding versicle.

The types of pieces the organ played during interpolations into the services consisted of several types that appear to have been mostly dictated by convention. The music before the service was usually serious, such as a ricercar, a stately piece in imitative polyphony. The piece after the Epistle was a *canzona francese*, or one of its variants (*capriccio, fantasia*). The Offertory piece was another ricercar. The Elevation of the Host required a slow, quiet, and serious toccata. After the post-communion prayer, a canzona type was used. After the final versicle a joyful toccata or reprise of the first Kyrie could occur. In Vespers, the interpolated music was normally a joyful *canzona francese* or one of its relatives (i.e., *capriccio*) after the lesson. Music following the service was also joyful. Processional music for particularly important occasions included toccatas or ricercars. Multi-sectional pieces probably served when the duration of liturgical action was indeterminant in length. As with the Elevation toccatas, multi-

---

231 Ibid., 87, 109.

232 Ibid., 87, 109.

233 Ibid., 141-42. Schaefer furnishes tables that show Banchieri’s recommendations for Mass and Vespers.
sectional pieces provided several opportunities to shorten the music when the ceremonial action concluded.\textsuperscript{234}

The number of organ ricercars that were written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was testimony to their prevailing use in worship services. Their designation by tone or mode afforded the organist a quick opportunity to align them with surrounding musical materials. Rather than being abstract music (which they are in a way), their delivery in church services placed them in a category that corresponded to most other liturgical music of the seventeenth century. They had a context that was specific and widely known. One reason they might have been categorized as abstract, ideal music existing solely for the sake of sound, was that their liturgical roles have remained hidden in the common knowledge of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These were tacit assumptions in their day, but their silence contributed to modern confusion. Their uses were probably so well known that it was assumed that any reader would know automatically to classify the music according to its liturgical function. Tacit assumptions are normal for any age, because the contemporary author cannot know what the reader of the future will or will not know. The intersection of what we know and what we do not know with what they knew and what they did not know can be the site of cognitive collisions or of ships passing in the night.

\textbf{IV.4 The Cento Versi}

New vocal music of the age deriving from the twins of secular and churchly

concerns for clear word expression and emotionally affective music\textsuperscript{235} may have indirectly influenced Trabaci’s verset music for organ. While liturgical reformers often focused on vocal music, organists received related instructions and criticisms.\textsuperscript{236} Organists demonstrated liturgical insensitivity when they played too long.\textsuperscript{237} Organ music was to be limited, especially in antiphony with chanted service music.\textsuperscript{238} The brevity of Trabaci’s versets balanced the relative durations of instrumental and chanted music.\textsuperscript{239} In Trabaci’s versets a variety of styles exhibited new trends mixed with old ones. The absence of chant melodies and specific liturgical assignments for his pieces resulted from the reformers’ latitude, permitting the composer to be led by his own judgment.\textsuperscript{240} This particular window of opportunity would later close.\textsuperscript{241} Trabaci’s contributions to organ verset music participated in the development of a tonally ordered alternatim keyboard repertory with liturgical applications that would eventually dissipate.\textsuperscript{242} Tonal dispositions and transpositions such as those in the \textit{Cento Versi} would

\textsuperscript{235} Fellerer, “Council,” 588, 593.

\textsuperscript{236} Ibid., 578-79.

\textsuperscript{237} Ibid., 578-79.

\textsuperscript{238} Ibid., 590-91, n. 62, 590.

\textsuperscript{239} Walter, “Preface,” npn.

\textsuperscript{240} Fellerer, “Council,” 576-77.


\textsuperscript{242} Wiering, 202-03.
assume increasing significance in a later progression of keyboard styles. \textsuperscript{243}

IV.5 Liturgical Organ Music

Italy produced one of the earliest organ manuscripts extant, \textit{Codex Faenza} 117, first reported by Dragan Plemanac. \textsuperscript{244} Dated no later than c. 1420 it contains a number of liturgical pieces among selections of secular music from the Italian \textit{trecento} and Parisian Ars Nova. The liturgical pieces reveal that a strong organ tradition was well under way, presenting settings from two Masses that were often used right into the seventeenth century.

The first organ music adapted forms and styles from vocal music, and vocal chants and polyphony still influenced musical styles for the instrument during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. \textsuperscript{245} Even as musical styles for the organ became more independent of vocal models, a coexistent necessity existed in organ music that was composed for use with chants in church services. The mode of the chant determined the mode or tone of the organ music that alternated with it. Music for the instrument might contrast with chanted styles, but it also sought to imitate or elaborate on them, usually utilizing the chants in organ music. \textsuperscript{246}

Students of organ literature, plainchant, liturgies, and polyphonic vocal music from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries have provided evidence of at least

\textsuperscript{243} Dodds, 318-21.

\textsuperscript{244} Plamenac, “New Light”, 310.

\textsuperscript{245} Judd, 247-48, 257, 259-61.

\textsuperscript{246} Apel, \textit{History}, 127-28
two well-established traditions, *alternatim* (organ in antiphony with the choir) and substitution, replacing sung sections with organ pieces. Many studies have contributed to a considerable body of knowledge about liturgical organ music.\(^{247}\)

**IV.6 Alternatim Organ Music**

Biagio Rossetti commented during the 1520s that the purpose of the organ in church was to permit the singers to rest during alternations with the organ. By not having to sing continuously, they were "stimulated to sing together more alertly."\(^{248}\) This


\(^{248}\) Iain Fenlon, “Patronage, Music, and Liturgy in Renaissance Mantua,” *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, 226.
practice was described in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (1600). 249 Many of Banchieri’s and Diruta’s instructions concern methods of composing and playing in alternation with choirs.

While the history of alternatim organ practice begins with the same fifteenth-century document already mentioned, *Codex Faenza* 117, skilled treatment of the musical style indicates the anonymous composer was not addressing an experimental effort. The Kyrie and Gloria pairs from single Masses present clearly stated cantus firmi, making identification of the sources clear. Single verses of Mass and Office sections in this document from around 1420 indicate the organ and choir alternated verses throughout the performance of sections of services, such as the Kyrie, Gloria and Benedicamus domino. Fourteenth and fifteenth century references describe the organ taking the parts ordinarily assigned to soloists during alternatim performance of the Gradual and Alleluia on festival occasions. 250 Surviving evidence indicates other portions of services were given to the organ quite early. Twelfth-, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century references describe the organ playing during a type of early hymn called a sequence. 251 While processional music played on the organ before Mass occurred in some places, the Introit of the Mass given to alternatim performance with organ and choir occurred to signal the entrance of the ministers of the service. 252 While scattered manuscripts from the fifteenth century yield evidence of a widespread tradition throughout Europe, a profusion of surviving

249 Pages 108-114 of this document.

250 Lynn, *Continental Sources*, 6-7.

251 Ibid, 2-3.

music from the sixteenth and later centuries reveals that it also flourished.\footnote{Schaefer, 30.} In Italy the organ was used regularly for alternatim performance, whereas in northern Europe it was more often restricted to festival occasions.

Despite the appearance of a number of similarities among surviving music and textual descriptions, a lack of uniformity marked performances of organ music that was intended for alternatim and interpolative uses.\footnote{Ibid, 48–49.} Complaints about, and reports of, inappropriate liturgical music emerged during the better than two hundred years that preceded the Council of Trent (1545-63). A significant result of conciliar deliberations, its associated committee reports, and provisions for enforcement was the requirement for increased uniformity throughout the Church to the reforms prescribed by its authorities.

A liturgical book mandated for use throughout the Church, the \textit{Caeremoniale Episcoporum} (1600), included descriptions of many liturgical practices, many of which had bearing on organ performances. In this document descriptions of requirements for organists open a window on alternatim and other performance practices of the early seventeenth century. Later commentaries and instruction manuals add more details to this picture.\footnote{Ibid, 48–49.}
Excerpts from *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* 1600

**Book One, Chapter 28**

3. Whenever the bishop, about to celebrate solemnly, enters the church, or, when having finished the divine service he processes out of the church, it is fitting that the organ be played.

4. The same thing holds for the entrance of an apostolic legate, cardinal, archbishop or [any] other bishop whom the diocesan bishop wishes to honor, up until the time the above mentioned have prayed and the divine rites are to begin.

5. In Matins, which is celebrated solemnly on major feasts, the organs may be played, from the hymn “Te Deum laudamus, etc.”, just as in Vespers; and in the Matins of the night of the Nativity of the Lord, even from the beginning of the Nocturns.

6. It is normal either in Vespers, Matins, or in Mass that the first verse of the canticles and hymns, and equally [at those] verses of the hymns in which one shall kneel, such as the verse “Te ergo quaec sumus, etc.” [and the verse “Tantum ergo Sacramentum, etc.”] when the Sacrament itself is on the altar, and similar [others], be sung in an intelligible manner by the choir, not played by the organ. Thus, besides the verse “Gloria Patri, etc.”, even though the verse immediately preceding may also have been sung by the choir, the same is observed on the last verse of the hymns.

7. However, in the other canonical Hours, which are recited in choir, it is not customary for the organ to interpolate. But if in some locations it were customary that the organ be played during the canonical hours, or some of them, such as Terce, especially when it is sung while the bishop is vested to celebrate [Mass] solemnly, such a custom may be observed. But it shall have to be attended to, that, whenever something to be sung or answered in alternatim is figured by the organ, such as occurs in hymns or canticles, this be pronounced in an intelligible voice by someone from the choir. Also, it would be praiseworthy to have a cantor sing in a clear voice the same thing together with the organ.

8. In solemn Vespers the organ is usually played at the end of every psalm, and in alternatim in the hymn verses and the canticle “Magnificat, etc.”, the rules given above, however, having been observed.

9. In solemn Mass it is played in alternatim, when the “Kyrie eleison” is said; and the “Gloria in excelsis, etc.” in the beginning of the Mass; likewise when the Epistle is finished; during the offertory; at the “Sanctus, etc” in alternatim; likewise when the most holy Sacrament is elevated, in more dignified and sweeter sound; likewise during the :Agnus Dei, etc.” in
alternatim; during the verse before the Post-Communion prayer; and at the end of Mass.

10. However, when the Creed is said in Mass, the organ is not played in alternatim, but this [text] is brought forth by the choir singing intelligibly.

13. In Masses and offices of the Dead, we use neither the organ nor music which they call “figured”, but “cantus firmus” (plainsong) music which is also suitable to be employed on the ferial days of Advent and Lent.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ “... 3. Quotiescumque Episcopus solemniter celebraturus Ecclesiam ingreditur, aut, re divina peracta, discedit, convenit pulsari organum.


6. Regulare est, sive in Vesperis, sive in Matutinis, sive in Missa, ut primus versus Canticorum, & Hymnorum, & pariter versus Hymnorum, in quibus genuflectendum est, quales est Versiculus [Te ergo quae sumus &c] quando ipsum Sacramentum est super altare, & similes, cantentur a choro in tono intelligibili, non autem ab organo: sic etiam Versiculus [Gloria Patri &c] etiam si Versiculus immediate praecedens fuerit a choro pariter decantatus; idem servatur in ultimis versibus Hymnorum.

7. In alijs autem horis Canonicis, quae in choro recitantur, non est consuetum interponere organum. Sed si in aliquibus locis consuetum esset organa pulsari inter horas Canonicas, aut aliquas earum, ut est hora Tertia; praesertim quando cantatur, dum Episcopus solemniter celebraturus capit sacra paramenta, poterit talis consuetudo servari: sed advertendum erit, ut quandocumque per organum figuratur aliquid contari, seu respondei alternatim versiculis Hymnorum, aut Canticorum, ab aliquo de choro intelligibili voce pronuntiatur id, quod ab organo respondendum est. Et laudabile esset, ut aliquis cantor coniunctum cum organo voce clara idem cantaret.


9. In Missa solemni pulsatur alternatim, cum dicitur [Kyrie eleison] & Gloria in excelsis &c.] in principio Missae; item finita Epistola; item ad offertorium; item ad [Sanctus &c.] alternatim; item dum elevatur sanctissimum Sacramentum graviori, & dulci ori sono; item ad [Agnus Dei &c.] alternatim; & in versiculo ante orationem post Communionem; ac in fine Missae.

10. Sed cum dicitur Symbolum in Missa, non est intermiscendum organum, sed ea per chorum cantu intelligibili proferuntur.

13. In Missis, & officijs defunctorum, nec organo, nec musica, quam figuratat vocant, utinam, sed cantu firme, quem etiam in tempore Adventus, & Quadragesimae in ferialibus diebus adhiberi convenit.”

Schaefer, Relationship, 50-54. Translation from Hayburn, Papal Legislation. Hayburn states he drew translations from a number of sources, XII.
IV.7 Interpolative Organ Music

Verset music for antiphony with the choir was not the only type of organ music with prescribed places in the liturgy.\(^{257}\) Organ music that substituted for sections during the services or that performed during ceremonial actions might be called interpolative, for want of a better term. Freely-composed interpolations by the organ (and later by other instruments) seem to have increased in frequency and acceptance during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\(^{258}\) Trabaci’s *Cento Versi*, when taken as part of his entire liturgical music for organ, may be one sign that liturgical requirements for organists had indeed shifted with the publication of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* in 1600.

The *Caeremoniale* and other documents of the period described by Schaefer in his dissertation reveal specific placements of interpolative as well as alternatim organ music.\(^{259}\) Authorities refrained from codifying the styles for these pieces, but performance practices associated certain types of styles with specific placements during the services.\(^{260}\) Although often referred to by other names, two genres prevailed among substitution pieces, the *ricercar* and the *canzona francese*. Both genres partook of imitative counterpoint, but they normally contrasted with one another in pace and affect, the first being slow and serious,\(^{261}\) the second, quick and joyful.\(^{262}\) Another type of piece

\(^{257}\) Robert Judd, “Italy”, *Keyboard Music*, 246-47.

\(^{258}\) Harper, 162-63; This document, 115.


used during the Mass was a special kind of slow and soft toccata played during the Elevation of the consecrated Host.\textsuperscript{263}

Substitute music appeared in sections of the \textit{Caeremoniale Episcoporum} 1600. According to paragraph 8 of Book One, Chapter XXVIII, the organ played in alternatim style during the Magnificat, but it did not participate in alternatim performance during Vesper psalms. After each psalm, however, the organ played.\textsuperscript{264} Since ancient liturgical practice required the antiphon for each psalm to be repeated after its completion,\textsuperscript{265} we may deduce that the organ substituted for the antiphon repetition following each psalm.\textsuperscript{266} Such antiphon substitutions became the substance of extended pieces in instrumental or vocal polyphony.\textsuperscript{267} Two places during the Mass involving ceremonial actions presented unique opportunities for the organist. No Proper text was appointed for the Elevation of the Host. At this time the organ played serious and soft music to focus the attention of the faithful.\textsuperscript{268} The doctrine of the Transubstantiation had been approved by the Lateran

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{262} Apel, 196-97.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{263} Judd, 246.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{265} Hiley, 26-27; Taft, 160-163.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{266} Schaefer, 129, quoting Banchieri, \textit{L'Organo Suonarino} (1605), trans. by Donald Marcase: “After each psalm, [when] the \textit{Sicut erat} has ended, play briefly or long, according to the need.” Donald Marcase, Adriano Banchieri’s \textit{L’Organo Suonarino: Translation} , (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1970), 236-37.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{267} Harper, 160.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
Council of 1215, long after formulation of the Propers of the Mass. The consecrated Host appeared to the people every time Mass was celebrated so they could commune spiritually with their Lord while not partaking of the communion.\footnote{Harper, 162-63.}

The Offertory presented special cases. The Roman edition of \textit{Caeremoniale Episcoporum} (1600) consulted by Edward Schaefer in his study of Roman liturgies and organ music indicated that the bishop recited the Offertory verse before performing a short ceremonial action while the organ played. The ceremony consisted of placing the book on the altar and ritually washing his hands. Schaefer states that two other sources confirm this use of the organ during ceremonial actions following the celebrant’s recitation of the Offertory verse.\footnote{Schaefer, 52-53, n 48.}
Chapter V  Music and Word in the Post-Tridentine Church

V.1  Theological Issues

The Divine Office

A paradigm shift regarding the role of liturgies among the clergy and people took place near the time of the Council of Trent. An emphasis on private spiritual meditation as a substitute for public participation in worship accompanied attentiveness by many church authorities, clergy, and friars to administrative, educational, and social tasks.\textsuperscript{271} Taft sums up the decreasing importance of public participation in the Divine Office and increasing private recitations by clergy and monastics with these words concerning the devotional norms of the Tridentine period, “We have entered the age of the ‘devout life’ in reaction to the excessive externalism of medieval religious practices, and devout souls favor a more ‘interior’ life in place of the ‘distractions’ of common, choral prayer.”\textsuperscript{272}

Preceding this development, obligations to celebrate the Divine Office in common had broken down, resulting in absenteeism from choral performances of the Divine Office. In the fifteenth century chapter members of cathedral and other foundations often relinquished these responsibilities in a \textit{de facto} manner to attend to other business. Since the Divine Office was conceived as common (community) prayer that was sung, spoken observances by the community did not exist. Under Pepin and Charlemagne a monastic model had been imposed upon all clergy in which they lived in a community and prayed


\textsuperscript{272} Taft, 301.
(chaunted or sung) the hours of the Divine Office together. Those who could not be present for common prayers were given permission to recite them privately, but this exception was not to be considered normative. Nevertheless brevioraries that compiled necessary components from many sources into one portable book arose to accommodate this practice. By the fifteenth century professional clerical or beneficiaries had replaced those primarily charged with official duties to observe the Divine Office, although no synodal decrees existed to authorize this practice. Thus the trend toward privatization of worship was expedited by adding professional musicians to the choral observances required by the constitutions of worship foundations.

A great sea change resulting from the Council of Trent permitted spoken observances of the Divine Office for the first time. Limited to particular orders, such as the Jesuits, and for special purposes, such as missionary efficiency, this new allowance was a signal that music in worship services was on shifting ground. Tridentine reforms helped to promulgate private prayers in reaction to “medieval externalism and ritualistic sacramentalism.” Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits who spearheaded education and reform movements during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, helped to further this trend with policies to limit observances of the Divine Office within the

273 J. D. Crichton, “The Office in the West: The Early Middle Ages,” The Study of Liturgy, 375.


275 Taft, 300.

276 Taft, 299-300.

277 Taft, 302.
Order. Not unlike Protestant reforms, Catholic “prayer was not something, like the office, accomplished in set forms and at set times.”

This view toward the Divine Office may have contributed to the practice of replacing the appointed antiphons following the psalms and the Magnificat with music for devotional purposes.

Several practices contributed to increasing tendencies to displace appointed texts with instrumental or choral music. During the Office antiphon substitutes performed by instruments or by choirs (motets) were permissible as long as the celebrant spoke the words of the correct antiphon. Using an antiphon substitute, the composer escaped the necessity to correlate the tone of the psalm or Magnificat with the mode of its antiphon. Suppression of appointed antiphons increased the number of tonal choices for psalm or Magnificat music. Several sources attest to these practices. The Caeremoniale of 1600, Banchieri’s L’Organo Suonarino, and Fasolos’ Annuale (1645). Pope Alexander’s proscription of the use of non-liturgical texts in 1657 indicates the wide-spread nature of this practice, or abuse. Whether an organ or instrumental antiphon-substitute constituted an abuse is not clear, because the correct antiphon might still be recited audibly and understandably, thus fulfilling the letter of the Tridentine law. Continuing appearances of tonally-organized organ music during the next century may be testimony to the acceptability of this practice.

---

278 Taft, 303-304.


280 Roche, 38.
The Mass

During the Mass the substitution of choral or instrumental devotional music for the propers also occurred with frequency during the seventeenth century. Organ music, instrumental music and motets with suitable texts, such as “O sacrum convivum,” and “O salutaris hostia” appeared frequently.\footnote{Harper, 162-63.} During this period Trabaci’s music was published, but further changes might soon render some of his music irrelevant to the services for which it was composed.\footnote{Hayburn, 76-77, 78.} Frescobaldi, close to the papacy in Rome, might have been aware of disapprobation toward the popular use of interpolations into services. A small footnote to his comments from the \textit{Fiori Musicali} (1635) suggests these pieces might serve in other capacities as well.\footnote{Phillippe Lescat, ed., \textit{Girolamo Frescobaldi, Fiori Musicali} 1635, Facs. ed. (Courlay, France: Éditions J. m. Fuzeau, 1994), n.pn.} Proscription of musical interpolations that replaced texts would emerge around 1650, when adherence to the exact words of the services would be reasserted.\footnote{Hayburn 76-77. Roche, 38.}

Pope Alexander VII decreed in \textit{Piae sollicitudinis} of 1657 that all churches and chapels had to use the words of the Breviary and Missal during services. An oath of conformity to this rule was demanded of choirmasters. Violations would be punished by fines, by loss of the right to work in churches or, in extreme cases, by corporal
Lack of compliance continued, however, and the same pope soon issued another document through the Congregation of the Apostolic Visitations stating the case more strongly.

It is enjoined that nothing be sung at Mass but the words prescribed by the Roman Missal, not only in the offices of the day, but also on the solemnities of the saints. After the Epistle, the Gradual, or Tract will be sung, then the Credo, the Offertory, and finally the Sanctus followed by the Benedictus or a motet the words of which are taken from the Breviary or Missal.

For Vespers and Compline, the prescriptions of the Breviary are to be observed; the antiphon will be sung after the psalms and the hymn.

While the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, it is forbidden to sing words other than those of the Breviary or Missal, prescribed in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. If, however, anyone should wish to sing verses of the Sacred Scripture or texts from the Fathers of the Church, a special authorization of the Congregation of Sacred Rites must be obtained ahead of time, as prescribed the Constitution of the Sovereign Pontiff. As for patristic texts, the words chanted must be those of one Father, not of many “put together.”

This emphasis on the importance of appointed texts in services effectively elevated the use of plainsong while it forbade interpolated texts by the choir and demoted music performed by the organ or other instruments. The problem of the word had been, and would continue to be, one of the primary issues affecting the roles and types of music in Catholic services. Although not consistently or effectively addressed in every age, the problem of the original words and their clear presentation, was paramount not only during the Tridentine period, but before and since, as well.

One of the expressions of concern for the primacy of appointed texts resulted in a flexible policy regarding instrumental music during services. As long as the correct texts

---

285 Hayburn, 76-77.

286 Hayburn, 78.
were recited by the celebrant or officiant, choral or instrumental music was more or less free to follow its own course.\textsuperscript{287} During the seventeenth century, a two-tier liturgy inherited from the Middle Ages existed. Most people attended Mass only to observe and not to partake of communion, so the ceremonial was limited to the celebrant who whispered or quietly recited most of his words.\textsuperscript{288} The choir and organist furnished music in coordination with the celebrant and acolytes. The progress of the service required choir and clergy to be aware of each other’s actions, because music and rituals occurred at two different rates of speed. Everyone focused on the same thing only once during the Mass. The ringing of a bell indicated it was time for the Elevation of the consecrated Host. Admonitions to organists to pay attention to the clergy and acolytes during services reminded them of a nod by the celebrant here and the ringing of a bell there in order to maintain synchrony of liturgical actions and music.

An important issue lay behind the duality of Catholic worship: the ‘real’ service was the one spoken by the celebrant.\textsuperscript{289} Vocal polyphony, chants (unless sung by the priest) and organ music did not partake of the progress of a liturgical service.\textsuperscript{290} Thus, choral or organ elaborations of extra-liturgical texts or service music added to the duration of services without adding to their substance. Furthermore, from a theological point of view, elaborate and lengthy music called attention to itself, not to worship of God, because music in and of itself could not be an act of worship. It was upon this basis

\textsuperscript{287} Roche, 34-35.

\textsuperscript{288} Harper, 162-63.

\textsuperscript{289} Bonta, “Liturgical Problems,” 102-03.

that pre-Tridentine and Jesuit reformers lobbied for reduced musical expressions in worship services.\textsuperscript{291} For this reason also the Council of Trent vaccinated the Catholic Church against future infections by tropes, extra textual additions to ancient preexistent portions of the services, and sequences, a category of hymn-types that had grown to number in the thousands. All tropes vanished; four sequences remained (\textit{Victimae paschali, Veni Sancte Spiritus, Lauda Sion, Dies irae}).\textsuperscript{292}

The relative duration of music and texts became an issue as a result of Tridentine reforms. Durational correspondence between the length of text and its music assumed more importance with the advent of the seventeenth century and continued thereafter. Projection of texts through the vehicle of music began to affect styles of music that replaced texts. If a short text were to be replaced, the music may have required reduction to effect a corresponding time lapse. Not surprisingly, the clergy failed to be intrigued with long pieces of music that left them standing at the altar with nothing to do long after a ritual had been completed.

\textbf{V.2 Text and Subtext}

In worship services of the Catholic Church prayers, scripture readings, and songs formed textual and chanted elements of liturgical forms of worship. Regarded as treasures from the Apostolic Church, careful transmission of liturgical texts resulted in a growing literature as new items were added to old ones.\textsuperscript{293} The musical repertory,

\textsuperscript{291} Taft, 300-304.

\textsuperscript{292} Fellerer, \textit{History}, 40.

\textsuperscript{293} Hiley, 289-91.
regarded as a treasure reformed by Gregory in the seventh century, also received careful
treatment, second only to that of formal texts. The subtext of the services was a body of
ritual ceremonies that underscored the chanted projection of the texts. The subtext
constituted the largely understood and agreed upon practices of the community. The
subtexts that described the actions of the services appeared in a type of book called ordo,
ceremonial or sacramentary.\textsuperscript{204} Containing directions for the conduct of services, usually
directed to the presiding clergy, these manuscripts and books both described and
prescribed the procedures of ritual actions and ceremonies.

Much like an order, ceremonial, or sacramental for the clergy, some of
Banchieri’s instructions for beginning organists contribute directions about when to play,
because Banchieri knew that changing social conditions during the sixteenth and
seventeenth centuries resulted in aspiring Church musicians who lacked common
knowledge about Church ceremonials previously shared by many. Printers continued to
rely on professional knowledge, however. The subtexts of worship services often failed
to appear in printed or manuscript music, because their inclusion would have been
regarded as intrusions upon the printing rights of the Church, if not unnecessarily costly
to print. Titles or headings provided identifiers for some types of music, while styles and
methods of transcription furnished indicators of other types. When they existed in the
musical scores, texts could also furnish evidence of liturgical placement.\textsuperscript{295}

The organ student had to know the liturgical context of music at hand to discover

\textsuperscript{204} Harper, 60-61; Hiley, 324-25.

\textsuperscript{295} Girolamo Cavazzoni, \textit{Orgelwerke I, II, Libro Primo} (1543), \textit{Secondo Libro}
how it related to other pieces in the repertory. Its purposes may even have conveyed information about its theoretical foundations. A set of organ ricercars in twelve modes had liturgical potentials that differed from those of a set of short versi on one of the eight tones. Experienced church musicians of the seventeenth century would have known a lot about those differences, even though musical and liturgical changes were afoot.

V.3 Alternatim and Substitution Music

Two established types of liturgical organ music appearing in the earliest surviving organ scores found an important place in Trabaci's music. The first type received the term, alternatim, indicating performance in antiphony, specifically between the choir and organ for this paper, although technically it could (and still can) exist between two choirs, soloist(s) and choir, or between other contrasting sources of sounds. A substitution piece describes organ music that played in substitution for a section of the service. Both of these liturgical practices seem odd to the modern student, but both existed from the late Middle Ages through the middle of the seventeenth century and began a slow decline thereafter. They had disappeared in most places by the time Pope Pius X officially banned them in 1903.

A difficulty of increasing magnitude from the late Middle Ages until the Council of Trent was inherent to both of these types of liturgical practice: the absence of appointed texts during instrumental performances. Since both types of organ music replaced vocal chants, they supplanted words that were usually conveyed in the chants. In the early history of this practice the entire worshipping community knew the words of most texts from memory. It was an oral culture that repeated many of the same words
from scripture repeatedly during the round of daily, weekly, and seasonal rituals. When the organ played for singers to rest their voices, everyone present silently repeated the words in prayerful reflection. Verse by verse alternation between organ and choir meant that approximately half of the service was sung, while half was mentally recited with organ accompaniment. Being human, memories could slip, however, and attention wandered. Moreover, accrued changes in rites and calendars made the community more dependent on aural and visual reception of texts. A stipulation added to services caused texts supplanted by organ music to be read “distinctly” or “clearly” by a priest, acolyte, or chorister with an audible voice. This practice of speaking an omitted text loudly so all could hear it occurred in contrast to the inaudible prayers by the celebrant constituting the real, yet hidden, form of worship. Some ironies remain inexplicable.

V.4 Humanism and the Council of Trent

Liturgical changes swept through the Catholic Church following the Council of Trent. Documents associated with the musical and liturgical reforms of the Council provide details on a scale previously unaddressed. Three types of sources furnish information about the conduct of services and the role of music during the seventeenth century. First, official church documents and commentaries reveal details about the kinds of musical reforms that were recommended. Second, practical manuals on organ playing furnish evidence of ways organists reacted to a changing liturgical ethos and its requirements. Third, music prints and manuscripts provide evidence of music that resulted from the passage of conciliar edicts.

---

296 Schaefer, vi-xi.
Changes in concepts of liturgy and music resulting partly from influences of humanism in the church helped to formulate perceived liturgical abuses and principles for correcting them. The conciliar committee charged with consideration of liturgical abuses stipulated that church music was to “uplift the faithful,” to insure words be intelligible, and to avoid secular expressions.\textsuperscript{297}

A curious mixture of liturgical musical styles resulted from these axioms, but some of these results were to be temporary. We find Trabaci’s \textit{Cento Versi} during a transitional period in which at least two practices for church music coexisted. Various terms for these practices indicated differences between old style emanating from Palestrina and new style, exemplified by Viadana and Claudio Monteverdi.\textsuperscript{298} Markers for \textit{stile antico} included \textit{alle breve} notation and clef combinations in chiavette (G2 C2 C3 F3). \textit{Stile moderno} mixed 4/4, \textit{alle breve}, triple meters, and clefs found in concertato music (C1 C3 C4 F4). Masses utilizing a cantus firmus or subject from a pre-existing work distinguished old style works. Masses in the new style utilized single mottos (head-motives) borrowed from pre-existing works or developed new original themes. Differences between the two styles concentrated on consonant flowing polyphony in the old style and, in the new, a prevalent homophony with distinctive interplay of short motivic units, occasional added embellishments, and syllabic motion in quarter notes.\textsuperscript{299}

In the first generation following the Monteverdi brothers’ contrasts between old and new

\textsuperscript{297} Fellerer, “Church Music,” 576-77.


\textsuperscript{299} Roche, 106.
styles (prima prattica and seconda prattica) distinctions between da capella (choral works without soloists) and da concerto (works for soloists with instruments) works occurred.\textsuperscript{300} However, recent research indicates composers of the early seventeenth century probably did not emphasize a historically self-conscious preference for one type or another as much as scholars of the late twentieth century thought. Mixed styles, \textit{stile misto}, combined new and old elements in a large number of liturgical and choral pieces.\textsuperscript{301} The presence of old and new styles in one print may have indicated that both were entirely acceptable. Monteverdi’s \textit{Vespers} of 1610 was the first to align the two practices in one extended work.\textsuperscript{302}

Contrasting liturgical styles in Monteverdi’s \textit{Vespers} sheds new light on Trabaci’s 1615 keyboard print. Trabaci’s ricercars written in the old style, and the \textit{Cento Versi}, written in a new manner of composing and including new styles, lie in apposition to one another. Upon close inspection, the stylistic apposition proves to be more artificial than real, because occasionally he appears to strike out beyond the reserved contrapuntal style usually associated with this idiom. Striking dissonances, homophonic passages, sudden marked changes in tessituras and the occasional ornament appear in Trabaci’s ricercars, while flowing polyphony and conservative consonances appear among the \textit{Cento Versi}. The most significant difference between the two categories of compositions goes back to the composer’s remarks: it lies in their contrasting bases in the twelve modes and the \textit{tuoni ecclesiastici}. By establishing the differences between modal and tonal

\textsuperscript{300} Miller, “Stile antico,” \textit{NG} (2001), 390.

\textsuperscript{301} Ibid., 390.

\textsuperscript{302} Roche, \textit{North Italian}, 106.
compositions to delineate old and new styles, Trabaci’s compositions illustrate how mixed styles apply in each context. The ranges and idiomatic keyboard figurations differ, as do the rates of harmonic change, their comparative pacings and lengths.

The Cecilian movement, a nineteenth-century phenomenon based in Germany, had adherents in Italy and claimed the Council of Trent, the encyclical Annuus qui of Pope Benedict XIV in 1749 and a Roman council of 1725 as its authorities. This conservative movement recommended Gregorian chant as the only acceptable music for liturgical worship, followed by unaccompanied polyphony, organ music and community hymns. Orchestral and choral music for Masses and Vespers opposed the Cecilian emphasis on music that expressed quietly dignified piety. The organ stood alone as the only liturgically appropriate instrument for worship. Other instruments were admissible to accompany singers in a modest fashion and to support small choirs. The reassertion of plainsong and revival of stile antico as preferred models for liturgical music became the basis of extensive reforms in the encyclical, Motus proprio, of Pope Pius X in 1903.\textsuperscript{303} Divisions between historically inclined and promulgators of new music continued, nevertheless, to reflect the situation that existed ever since the early seventeenth century. It was not until the twentieth century that new artistic forms became acceptable.\textsuperscript{304}

The transitional period resulted from the intersection of humanistic ideals with a primary liturgical prescription expressed by the committee on liturgical abuses: textual intelligibility. Concern for primacy of texts arose from humanistic studies of ancient

\textsuperscript{303} Siegfried Gmeinwieser, “Cecilian Movement.” NG, (2001), 333. Roche, 105-06.

\textsuperscript{304} Ibid., 334.
Greek texts. The word itself became a primary standard of liturgical propriety, and this included source material. Liturgical texts were to be inviolate, but consideration of original sources also affected judgments about what was liturgically correct. Thus a mass setting utilizing liturgical texts that also drew on music from a secular song was relegated to the scrap heap of liturgically abusive music; likewise, a motet or mass that utilized a paraphrased melody from such a source also was considered unfit for worship.

Another humanistic standard by which liturgical music could be judged resided in its affective character. The importance of affective expression during antiquity gave this feature a high priority to humanist churchmen. Bishop Cirillo Franco wrote about the necessity of reviving classical ideals in church music in 1549, when he wrote, “In substance I would wish that whenever it is necessary to sing in church, the music would conform itself to the sense of the words and the harmonies be accommodated to moving the heart towards religion, piety, and devotion.” While Franco admired the technical achievements in the music of his day, he found it wanting in its ability to “uplift the faithful.” Since he was not a musician, his dependence on humanistic ideals in judging church music spoke of his desire for increasing the power of music to express a spiritual character and to provide variety of expressions.

The formulations of the Council of Trent emphasizing textual intelligibility led to

305 Fellerer, 582.
307 Ibid, 582.
308 Ibid, 26, 583.
309 Ibid, 582-83.
a theological development in the second half of the sixteenth century that was analogous to secular developments during the first half.\textsuperscript{310} Church music retained old forms, demonstrated by Palestrina’s polyphony and the use of cantus firmus in his masses, but Fellerer has pointed out that this refined music was unable to meet the requirements for affective expression that defined an imperative of late sixteenth century music. Since the Council declined to deal with stylistic and technical matters in music, the verbal tenor of the age became a prominent theme for variations that favored homophony instead of polyphony. Emphasis on the melody gave validity of expression to the topmost part. Modal ethos resurrected from antiquity lent church music new characteristics, melody and bass accompaniment, that were consonant with appropriately affective worship.\textsuperscript{311} The cargo of secular humanists was delivered to new ecclesiastical expressions in music. Declamatory styles gravitated toward homophonic musical styles. Polyphonic and ornate music fell from favor because it defeated textual clarity for the churchman bent on connecting a reawakened spirituality to the people during worship.\textsuperscript{312}

Laudi and spiritual madrigals, partaking of these new styles, were accepted in para-liturgical circumstances by Oratorians and other confraternities during the late sixteenth century and into the seventeenth. These musical styles developed new artistic expressions in response to the demand by the Council of Trent that “the whole man be seized and penetrated by the religious thought-content.”\textsuperscript{313}

\textsuperscript{310} Ibid, 587.

\textsuperscript{311} Ibid, 587.

\textsuperscript{312} Ibid, 582-83.

\textsuperscript{313} Ibid, 588.
Tridentine reformers ultimately retained modified versions of imitative polyphony in worship services (Palestrina style), but another element simultaneously regarded the same type of music from the vantage point of ecclesiastical humanism. Censure of existing forms of church music, such as that of Palestrina, arose from a corner that regarded clear delivery of text as paramount among humanist imperatives. A humanistic treatise on music was included with the decrees of the Synod of Besancon in 1571. The doctrine of affects and modes applied to church music in the judgment of this church authority that cited its mandate by the Council of Trent. The fruit from Florentine humanist trees yielded new types of church music that developed from cross fertilization with the styles of monody and opera. Stile moderno could lay claim to the authority of the Council of Trent.

Monody and affective styles were also conscripted for their expressive potential. The preface of Ottavio Durante’s Arie devote (1608) emphasized the primary role of the word and its precise vocal delivery. Le Nuove musiche, (Florence, 1601) by Giulio Caccini received an ecclesiastical sanction from its censor that reflects a forward-looking feature of Tridentine judgments.

[Though composed with material of mundane love, I find nothing repugnant to the Catholic faith, nor against the prelates of the Holy

\[314\] Ibid, 593.

\[315\] Ibid, 592.

\[316\] Ibid, 593.

\[317\] Ibid, 593.

Church, nor the republics or princes.\textsuperscript{319}

In fact a new generation saw expressive modern music in the church as satisfying the requirements of the Council of Trent. Giovanni Battista Doni was highly critical of Palestrina’s moderated style that was to embody the spirit and the letter of a new age during the late sixteenth century.

[T]here is perceptible indeed a consummate art in harmonizing and in managing harmonies which please the ear marvellously, but the elocution is extremely barbarous and inconsistent. They do not so much as dream of stirring the emotions.\textsuperscript{320}

Another critic was Pietro dalle Valle who regarded the new music of the seventeenth century as superior to the styles he termed antiquated.

I am still surprised at the famous music of Palestrina which so pleased the reverend gentlemen and which brought it about that the Council of Trent did not banish music from the Church; for if this music is still valued, it is not for use but to be preserved and cared for in some museum, like a fine antique.\textsuperscript{321}

One of the drawbacks of new affective styles, however, was a sensuous and worldly character that could easily corrupt the suitability of this music for the church.\textsuperscript{322}

The prescriptive authority of Trent inveighed against secular intrusions into the liturgies in the new age, just as the church had found such things objectionable during the fifteenth

\textsuperscript{319} Ibid, n. 56, 588.

\textsuperscript{320} Ibid, n. 57, 589, quoted from Giovanni Battistia Doni, \textit{Opera omnia}, (Florence, 1773), 101.

\textsuperscript{321} Ibid, n. 58, 589. Fellerer refers to G. B. Doni, \textit{Opera omnia}, II,(Florence, 1773), 249.

\textsuperscript{322} Ibid, 587-88.

Without offense to you let me say, ye musicians, that now a new species of singing is dominant in the temples, but it is showy, curtained, dance-like, very little religious, indeed, but more suitable for theater or dances than for the temple. We seek artifice, and lose the pristine desire for prayer and chant . . . What is this novel and tripping scheme of singing except a comedy, in which the singers are as it were actors, with now one, now two, coming forward, and now the whole company, and conversing with modulated voices? . . . Is everything novel really so beautiful and honorable that it must rightly please everyone and everywhere? There were outstanding musicians in an earlier age, but truly, as even you will yourselves testify, those men sang differently and (if I may say so) more religiously. . . . I beg you, let at least something of the old religiosity of sacred music be revived . . . Let the music of the temples be of the kind which does not confuse prayer but arouses and kindles it.324

The moral tone of the new age was to be ramped up liturgically as well as ethically.

The Council of Trent also generated the age of Palestrina style polyphony, known as the *stile antico*. Palestrina’s preface to his second book of Masses (1567) spoke of a *novum genus* of church music. Its purpose was to rescue music from the permanent exile from worship recommended by its critics and to inspire fresh artistic endeavors that expressed features of the new age. Newer styles of clarified polyphony and *concertante* style attributed their appearance to the same authority that gave rise to *stile moderno* in church services. Composers such as Costanzo Porta, Matteo Asola, and Vincenzo Ruffo laid claim to the selfsame authority in prefaces to music collections in which homophony prevailed in its mixture with polyphony.325

323 Ibid, 586.

324 Ibid, n. 60, 589. Fellerer refers to *Rethorica caelestis* (Antwerp, 1636), Bk. I, Ch. 5, Sect. 4, p. 66.

325 Ibid, 590.
Gregorian chant acquired the effects of humanism to maintain the spirit of the Council of Trent. The tenet that plainchant remained the ideal model of church music was confirmed in conciliar actions, but dismay at its accretion of scribal errors and lack of conformity to the forms of its origins resulted in a movement to purify this repertory.\textsuperscript{326} Reform of chant became one of the standards of the late sixteenth century, and it found expression in the Medicean Edition of 1614-15, a book that had little lasting effect. Despite fairly radical changes effected in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ultimate reform of chant occurred in the twentieth century instead.\textsuperscript{327} Meanwhile, chant and stile antico became increasingly important as the musical standard-bearers for church services.\textsuperscript{328}

Measures to reform services were less draconian than conservatives wanted and less avant garde than progressives thought desirable. While advocates of liturgical reforms were heard, decisions of the council effected compromises between ascetic conservatives and humanist progressives. The Council refused to deal with stylistic matters. This decision would be countermanded by later opinions and directives.\textsuperscript{329}

\textsuperscript{326} Ibid, 593.

\textsuperscript{327} Hiley, 622, 628-29.

\textsuperscript{328} Fellner, 593.

\textsuperscript{329} Hayburn, 92-108, 195-238.
V.5  Tridentine Reforms and Liturgical Music

The need for conformity to uniform rites of worship forced opponents to join in Rome’s common cause. Recommendations for liturgical changes appeared in preconciliar reports that described liturgical abuses. These primarily consisted of disruption of appointed liturgical texts by use of vernacular songs and of texts from extra-liturgical sources, music with unintelligible liturgical texts, music lacking in sacred character, and worldly-sounding and prolix organ pieces.\textsuperscript{330}

Some of these writings took the form of observations by liturgical specialists; others were papal edicts or bulls; others were decisions handed down by the Congregation of Sacred Rites, a special office created to handle problems on an ad hoc basis. Synodal councils participated in liturgical oversight, because the Council vested authority for enforcement with local bishops and their councils.

The \textit{Caeremoniale Episcoporum} 1600, a seminal document with significant influence on Catholic worship, arrived in the form of a ceremonial for bishops in Rome. All Catholic churches were mandated to follow the model of this ceremonial, so its descriptions had prescriptive force. Although some local customs took precedence over this book, its rubrics were generally followed in spirit, if not always to the letter. Since the \textit{Caeremoniale Episcoporum} 1600 contained a number of directives regarding music and the organ, it furnishes important information about early seventeenth century organ

\textsuperscript{330} Ibid, 576-77.
music during Catholic services.

Integration of varied resources yields a picture of worship in churches and chapels that informs our understanding of solemn music in its liturgical milieu. The rubrics, composers, performers, liturgists, and teachers together furnish windows on liturgical practices whose receptions ranged from approbation through censure.

During the middle of the seventeenth century the church began to restore the ancient chant repertory with the eight church modes and the eight psalm tones to precedence over music that might be interpolated in place of the Ordinary and the Proper of Mass and Divine Office. In an odd way this represented an elevation of the ancient Pythagorean system and the music theories of the Middle Ages and the Carolingian period. Modern advances in new ways of composing were put on house arrest, if they were not banished, much as Galileo and his theories were put on official Catholic hold for centuries. The ecclesiastical humanist movement had apparently unleashed such ardent musical piety, as in the songs of Monteverdi, Grandi, and Doni, that a new devil appeared

---

331 Lescat, Girolamo Frescobaldi Fiori Musicali (163), 10-16; Andrea Macinanti and F. Tasini, Girolamo Frescobaldi Fiori Musicali (Venezia 1635) per Organo. (Bologna, 2001), III- XIII.

332 Hayburn, 92-108. Hayburn describes Annum qui (1749), the encyclical issued by Pope Benedict XIV in which a reformulation of church music was commended. A lengthy discourse included summaries of previous papal legislations and opinions. Benedict weighed against the use of theatrical music and the kind of dramatized expression that Drexel described. Clarity of word and purity of chant received reinforcement. It is interesting to contrast this with Scacchi’s advocacy of ‘modern music’ mixed with ‘stile antico’ or the first school in church music. Palisca, “Marco Scacchi’s Defence of Modern Music (1649)” in Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 91; Fellerer, History 113-14.
at the gates of the heavenly city, seeking whom he might devour. Musical extravagance, although tolerated for special occasions and popular in princely courts, was again frowned upon as unseemly and out of proportion to the stately majesty and reserved tones of Gregorian chants. It was not until 1903 that Pope Pius X was able to launch a worldwide Catholic movement that effectively required the universal church to adhere to the chanted word as its sole sung expression in the appointed texts of the services. But before the century was over, the Second Vatican Council had removed this necessity, while paying lip service to the ancient musical treasures, and welcomed the devil of modern music indoors.

Chant sources for this study include the *Antiphonale Monasticum* and *Graduale Romanum*, twentieth century books containing restored versions of ancient chants. Two facsimile prints of a late sixteenth century Spanish set for the Divine Office provided chant sources more proximate to the Spanish court at Naples.

---


334 Hayburn, 195-231. The *Motu proprio* of 1903 was partly the result of many deliberations under Leo XIII, the predecessor of Pius X. Hayburn describes these at length.


Chapter VI  Conclusion

In conclusion, the music that Trabaci composed for all kinds of church services did not constitute all the kinds of music he composed for church services. The music and the composer’s remarks together shed new light on liturgical practices of the period and on a theoretical basis for composition for freely-composed liturgical music as well as a new category of liturgical organ music. The *Cento Versi* constitute a tonary for organ, and it stands shoulder to shoulder with his modally-ordered ricercars in *Il Secondo Libro* (1615). This apposition is a development that reveals implicit assumptions about the role of the ricercar and the *tuoni ecclesiastici* in church services.

Liturgical changes in the early seventeenth century coincided with the rise of the new *tuoni ecclesiastici*. The development of a new way of composing for instruments that eschewed chant *cantus firmi* emerged in new repertories in reflection of the streamlined and fixed liturgies of the post-Tridentine period. The disappearance of alternatim psalm performance and resulting limitation of the organ’s role in Vespers psalms as an antiphon substitute had an effect on the tonal requirements for music in these sections. Psalm tone endings that for centuries were bound to the finals of modal antiphons, now could stand alone as a new set of finals. With added pitches the set of instrumental finals occurred on D.E.F.G.A.C., perhaps coincidentally, the same pitches of the twelve mode finals.

This development partook in the gradual loosening of the modal system and changes within the tones themselves as they became more separated from the psalms, antiphons, and canticles that had been their constant companions from their inception. In this way, the *Cento Versi* participate in a slow shift to the nascent major and minor keys,
two modes with twenty-four finals, replacing eight or twelve modes with four or six finals.

The *tuoni ecclesiastici* provided a conceptual springboard for Trabaci’s creation of a new type of idiomatic organ composition that was free from dependence on, or specific musical reference to, plainsong cantus firmi. The lack of specific chant melodies and specific liturgical uses makes the *Cento Versi* unique among sixteenth and seventeenth century music for church services. Trabaci placed the ricercars based on the twelve modes next to the *Cento Versi*. In so doing his remarks indicated the two genres of liturgical organ music existed on equal but separate planes in their suitability for interpolative uses in services.

This was a new development in the liturgical applications of printed organ music. It probably signalled a long-standing tradition regarding the liturgical uses of the ricercar heretofore unnoticed in published collections of organ music. The lack of specific identifiers in the music probably indicated that the purposes of the ricercar in services were universally understood during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Therefore, while being a unique body of work, the *Cento Versi* brings to light the liturgical uses of this other well-established genre of keyboard music. Trabaci’s commentaries bring this unique dual partnership to light for the first time.

The other types of liturgical music provided by this composer exist in his Ricercars, Canzonas, Toccatas, and Durezze e Ligature pieces in his two organ prints of 1603 and 1615. The ricercars were played at least for the Offertory during the Mass and probably in other sections also. Documents of the period demonstrate widespread use of organ canzonas in the Mass and Divine Office as well. Toccatas and durezze e ligature
pieces added to the organist’s liturgical repertory for the Elevation of the Host during the Mass. That Trabaci mentioned these genres in his remarks yields further evidence that most liturgical organ music of the post-Tridentine period held standardized functions in services.

Changes in liturgical practices around 1600 help us to understand the role of the *Cento Versi* and the purposes of the *tuoni ecclesiastici*. Since alternatim performance of psalms had mostly disappeared by the early seventeenth-century, the lack of parallel structures in the *Cento Versi* add to a belief that they were intended for all kinds of uses, most outside the domain of psalmody. Alternatim performance of the Magnificat verses remained the sole representative of this type of performance. The practice of substituting organ and other instrumental or vocal music for antiphons following psalmody, however, furnished the *Cento Versi* ample opportunities for participation in this part of Vespers services also.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Catholic Church became increasingly focused on hearing all the words of the services chanted to the Gregorian chants. This signaled long and gradual changes that effectively dampened enthusiasm for alternatim organ music, except in private chapels and some monasteries. The chant movement gradually recovered most of the texted portions of the services. Alternatim as a practice was officially banned in 1903 by Pope Pius X. The tradition of the *Cento Versi* and the *tuoni ecclesiastici* continued for some time after Trabaci, but it took new directions in the development of later modern tonalities and keyboard music. These developments have been, and still are being, enumerated by scholars.
Trabaci provided a complete package of service music in his organ prints. The absence of chant melodies in quoted or paraphrased forms and the tonal organization of the Cento Versi joined together to furnished the organist with an easily accessible resource for providing music during services. It made efficient use of the musician's time. An organist could quickly locate appropriate versets and other pieces, such as ricercars, canzonas, and toccatas, since they were catalogued according to the twelve modes and tuoni ecclesiastici.

Trabaci's music reflects Tridentine reforms and new compositional trends during the early seventeenth century. Later, some of these trends would be no longer acceptable for use in the church. But the basic tonal orientation, the organization of the pieces, several of which provide miniature sonata forms, and the imaginative and creative use of materials place this music in a category of its own. These organ and harpsichord pieces serve well in performance and for study, while they reside at an important juncture in keyboard music, theoretical developments, and liturgical changes.
MUSICAL EXAMPLES
1. Psalm Tone 7 from "Psalm," *New Grove 2001*  

**Tone 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation</th>
<th>Reciting note</th>
<th>Meditation</th>
<th>2nd Intonation</th>
<th>Reciting note</th>
<th>Ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Office Psalm**

- **Canticles**

- **Introits**

2. Antiphon Endings & Psalm Tones, *Cartella Musicale 1614*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antiphon Ending</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
<th>6.</th>
<th>7.</th>
<th>8.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Antiphon Ending**

- **Introduction**

- **Mediant**

- **Termination**
3. P. Cerone, Regole... Canto Fermi 1609

**Modo per conoscere l'Antifona di che Tuono**
sia. Cap. 29.

A la nota finale, e da lo principio del Lunare o Seculorum,
vi conosce il Tuono dell'Antifona; e di che modo s'habbia
d'intonare il Salmo tuo. Et a questo fine ti potrai servire di questa
di facile, e breve regola.

*Prima, re la; Secunda, re fa; Tertia, mi fa;*
*Quarta, mi la; Quinta, fa fa; Sexta, fa la a;*
*Septima, re sol; Ottava, re fa.*

Egempio.

\[ \text{Finale.} \quad \text{Ennus o Seculorum Amam.} \]

\[ \text{D} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Re la la}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Re fa la}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Re fa la}
\end{array} \]

4. Antiphon & Psalm Endings, Cartella Musicale 1613

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Antifona} \quad \text{Ennus} \quad \text{Ennus} \quad \text{Ennus}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Antifona} \quad \text{Antifona} \quad \text{Antifona}
\end{array} \]
5. Eight Church Modes, B. Meier, Alte Tonarten 1992  

6. Eight Church Modes, Banchieri, Cartella Musicale 1614  

7. Psalm Tones Transposed for Instruments, Banchieri 1614
20. Cento Versi  VII, 1  p. 55

21. Cento Versi  II, 12  p. 55, 64
25. Cento Versi V, 3 p. 56

26. Cento Versi V, 5 p. 56

27. Cento Versi IV, 1 p. 58

28. Cento Versi IV, 2 p. 58
SSENDO stato importunato da miei amici, ch’io mandassi nelle stampe questo secondo libro di Ricerche, ed altri vari capricci del mio rozzo ingegno, m’è parso bene, per giouare al mondo, ed a chi fa professione d’Organista, accompagnare a queste ricerche ricerche Cento verbi sopra gli otto Toni Ecclesiastici, per risponderete alle Mele, Vesperi, tutti i Dinti Officii, ed in ogni altra sorte di occasione, e l’ho scritto in quell’ordine, si come fanno le mie prime Ricerchestampate.

M’occorre (benigno Lettore) dichiarare un dubbio sopra questi Cento verbi, e di tanta quell’Opera, (echiuti però i Dodici modi naturali di quante potenze mio libro vi fono hoggli al mondo molti della professione, quali credo non siano ben informati,

à per dir meglio, no si ricordino falsamente qui in delle modi a me in vi, e se ne hanno teruti di quella medesima maniera che hoggidi noi stessi cene fariam entrate adimento noi appappiamo, che questi Dodici Toni siano dati sopra queste sei Corde D.E.F.G.A.C. e questa dicitura foppa vna Corda fist Prima, Seconda, e dare il termine a detti Toniuchi nel tutto fiocuto non passino varii voci e più, e passino per altro di non solo per modit di quanto passo falire, e secerere la voce hum anima te nui trastiam avia e vie di fatto, goderemo molte licenze più larghe, che non abbiamo in cose di ciascuno. Per esempio, lo fa vna Cantilenas per vn Cimbalo, è un concerto di Violini, o d’altri intrumenti i quali ricercano vna Musica di Confonate Larmate per l’esercito dell’occhio; quella Cantilenas la furo non solamente versi due voci, Cinquanta, se mi fara necessario, e secondo l’occazione che mi trarretta, e la ritraverò con quelle chiasse sti come più comodo si torna, non per piacere h’ha da notare, e dire ch’echi suor Tono, e che L’ottavo in canmar tito in altro diueno settimo, e che il Terzo diueno non se ci l’ogio fiasca ritravero con queste, se con quell’altria chiasse, quella è regola di prima scuola, e quiala autentico, e sorria, ezea, ezea vna in morettino, in vna Madrigale e particolarmente in vna Ricerca scritta, come potrete vedere in questi Dodici modi del presente mio libro, e se così nella Confonata, come anche nell’ordine vi se ria giudicato molto chiaro, e diligentemente in questa materia di Verfetti, o Fioretti (come dimandargli vogliamo) in vna Canzone Francesca, Gagliarde, Partite diverso in vna Toccata non si deee riuarcar ch’è detta che sega più del ordinario, mi batte per non echanchi suor Tono, e vi la se in Tono, ma già che la Natura arsce di tute le cose humane non che inuentiere, e maestra di quelle cofi in nell’ordine ha tratto in ritmo di tanto valore, com’è il Cimbalo composto di tanti tatti, se non fosse stato al proposito non l’aureetbe prodotto, ed inuentato, onde lo doua, e poteste in questa forte di ococcione auuermente come già lo fatto, a Dio.

PER non scrivero il Trillo sempre difetto doue si ritrovarà quella littera. Ti farà il Trillo, & la Riditta.

Et tutti quelli verbi che stanno con lo Cercol tagliato si toneranno in Battuta stettra, gia che doue bissogni ritrarre l’aulifo.

Verso Primo Primo Tono.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bibliography

Primary Sources


Music in Modern Editions


Anonymous. *Altitalienische Versetten in allen Kirchentonarten für Orgel oder andere Tasteninstrumente. [Intavolatura d’organu Facilissima, Accomodata in versetti sopra gli Otto Tuoni Ecclesiastici, Con la quale si può giustamente risponder à Messe, à Salmi, ed à tutto quello che è necessario al Choro.* Venice: Giacomo
Vincenti, 1598. Edited and Foreword by M. S. Kastner. Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, n.d..


Davison, Archibald, ed. *Historical Anthology of Music* II.


**Secondary Sources**

**Articles**


Monographs


