

## THE LIFE OF GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO

In 1545, the Council of Trent began its work. Paul III was pope in Rome, and the Society of Jesus was just beginning its efforts to stem the tide of the Protestant Reformation. It was the beginning of the activity known as the Catholic Reformation or the Counter-Reformation, a phenomenon that would continue for nearly a hundred years until the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) would bring an end to much of the religious struggle that dominated the sixteenth century.

In Rome, the Basilica of Saint Peter was rising under Michelangelo's direction, and the rebuilding of the city after the sack of 1527 was underway. The Middle Ages had come to an end in Rome, and the period of the Italian Renaissance was over. In Tivoli, at the edge of the Sabine hills overlooking the Roman Campagna, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este was about to begin the construction of his great villa (1549). Pope Paul III was reconstructing Tivoli's fortifications and castle in case another invasion should occur. A short distance from Tivoli in the hill city of Palestrina, young Giovanni Pierluigi was shortly to leave his position in the cathedral of his native town to move to Rome under the patronage of his friend, Pope Julius III (1551).

It was into this world of the Catholic Reformation that Giovanni Maria Nanino was born in 1545.<sup>1</sup> Giuseppe Radiciotti says he was born in 1544, because the record of his death states that he was sixty-three years old when he died in 1607.<sup>2</sup> However, the words *vel circa* (or thereabouts) do not indicate any precision even in the mind of the chronicler. Franz X. Haberl states that Nanino was not born before 1545.<sup>3</sup>

Tivoli was the birthplace of Nanino.<sup>4</sup> Many writers have argued in favor of the little town of Vallerano near Viterbo, but they all seem to have taken their information from Andrea Adami who wrote in 1711.<sup>5</sup> The Vallerano theory is based on several manuscripts found in the Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale in Bologna which refer to Nanino as being from Vallerano.<sup>6</sup> However, the weight of the evidence is in favor of Tivoli. The records of the Sistine Chapel often refer to him as a native of Tivoli,<sup>7</sup> even though he is also listed there as *clericus Romanus*, which is not intended as an indication of his birthplace.<sup>8</sup> Raffaele Casimiri cites an entry in the *Atti Capitolari* of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore which mentions Nanino as being from Tivoli.<sup>9</sup> Franz X. Haberl goes to great length to prove that Tivoli is the city of Nanino's birth by citing

the dedication of Paolo Agostini's *Fourth Book of Masses* (1627), where the inscription presents the work to the people of Vallerano, his birthplace. Agostini, who was choirmaster at Saint Peter's in Rome, mentions that his father-in-law and teacher, Giovanni Bernadino Nanino, was also born in Vallerano, and that his famous brother, Giovanni Maria, often rehearsed with the choir in the cathedral there.<sup>10</sup> Haberl argues that if Giovanni Maria had been born in Vallerano Agostini, who was seeking every means to praise his town, would surely have mentioned that fact too.<sup>11</sup> Probably the Nanino family came originally from Viterbo. They moved to Tivoli for some reason and then returned to the region of Viterbo, settling in Vallerano where Giovanni Bernadino was born and where Giovanni Maria sang as a *putto cantore* in the cathedral there.<sup>12</sup>

Haberl has a thesis, which he is at considerable pains to prove, that Giovanni Bernadino was a nephew of Giovanni Maria, and not his younger brother.<sup>13</sup> He bases his discussion on a manuscript in Bologna,<sup>14</sup> and on his own idea that two sons in the same family would not be called by the same name, Giovanni.<sup>15</sup> Other manuscripts in the Bologna collection, however, call Giovanni Bernadino the younger brother of Giovanni Maria,<sup>16</sup> and as Radiciotti points out, Haberl apparently did not know the first book of madrigals published by Giovanni Bernadino, printed by Gardano at Venice in 1586, where the title page carries the name of the composer who is identified as "fratello et discepolo di Giovanni Maria Nanino."<sup>17</sup> Actually the problem of nephew or younger brother was old long before Haberl took it up. Dr. Burney refers to it a hundred years before, when he says: "Giov. Bernadino Nanino, a younger brother of Maria, according to Walther, but called by P. Martini, his nephew."<sup>18</sup> The oldest source on Nanino, a letter written by Antimo Liberati to Ovidio Porsapegi in 1685,<sup>19</sup> refers to Giovanni Bernadino as the "fratello minore" of Giovanni Maria.<sup>20</sup> Very likely it was Padre Martini with whom the problem arose.<sup>21</sup>

Nothing is known of the boyhood of Nanino, other than that he lived in Vallerano and sang in the Cathedral choir. It can be presumed that he received the usual education of the period with all the influences that the Renaissance interest in learning brought to bear on it. He must have learned the rudiments of music in the choir, and a study of Latin was undoubtedly a part of his curriculum. Both disciplines were to be of vital importance to him in his life's work.

Somewhere in his teens Nanino seems to have become a student of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, who was choirmaster at the

Lateran basilica from 1555 until 1558, at Santa Maria Maggiore from 1561 until 1567, and at the Vatican basilica from 1571 until his death.<sup>22</sup> That Nanino was a student of Palestrina seems evident from his style and his contrapuntal technique,<sup>23</sup> but the issue is complicated by the use of the term *condiscipolo* in Antimo Liberati's letter when he describes the relationship between Palestrina and Nanino.<sup>24</sup> He implies that the two were fellow students at a school of music in Rome said to have been operated by a Flemish master named Gaudio Mell. The same idea in almost the same words is found in the manuscript history of the Sistine choir written by Matteo Fornari,<sup>25</sup> and Dr. Burney presents a similar discussion.<sup>26</sup> That Gaudio Mell was Palestrina's teacher depends solely on Antimo Liberati, and Giuseppa Bainsi says that Liberati erred in writing Gaudio Mell when it should have been Claudio Goudimel.<sup>27</sup> According to another theory Liberati's description of Mell as a Flemish musician of great talent and a graceful and polished style, points rather to Arcadelt, who was a member of the Sistine choir from 1540 to 1549. The substitution of the name Gaudio Mell for Arcadelt can be accounted for by the fact that Claudio Goudimel, although never in Rome, had edited a volume of compositions by Arcadelt. Liberati may have confused the two. The transfer from Goudimel to Gaudio Mell is easily explained.<sup>28</sup> Still another theory is advanced by Casimiri, who feels that the long tradition of a master whose name ended with the syllable "el" should contain some truth. He therefore suggests that Palestrina's teacher was Firmin Le Bel, who was at Santa Maria Maggiore as choirmaster beginning in 1541.<sup>29</sup> This same opinion is given by Zoe Kendrick Pyne in his life of Palestrina.<sup>30</sup>

That Palestrina studied with a master named Gaudio Mell from 1540 to 1545 is thus not well established to say the least. That Nanino was a fellow student of Palestrina is similarly unlikely, if only from the fact that their ages were separated by twenty years. Further, the term *condiscipolo*, while it can mean a fellow student in the sense that two persons studied together under a single teacher, might also have the meaning that two persons, separated by time or distance, might both be interested in the same subject and thus be fellow students. Nanino and Palestrina were both students of the same style of contrapuntal composition; in this sense they were *condiscipoli*. It might also be possible to consider this term to mean a colleague, since Nanino and Palestrina were associated as music teachers in Rome. Bainsi wrote that Nanino was a *confidente* of Palestrina and a friend of Vittoria,<sup>31</sup> but Casimiri points out that the documents, unfortunately show this to be untrue.<sup>32</sup>

In 1567, Palestrina left the position of *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore, and in 1571 he became choirmaster at the Cappella Giulia in Saint Peter's.<sup>33</sup> He was succeeded in the Cappella Liberiana at Santa Maria Maggiore by Nanino, whom he may have recommended for the position. Whether he took over as soon as Palestrina left is not clear from the records of the basilica, but Casimiri suggests that it was probably in 1567.<sup>34</sup> Bainsi, on the other hand, says that Nanino began at Santa Maria Maggiore in April of 1571.<sup>35</sup> Haberl agrees with him and says that this is confirmed by the archives of the basilica.<sup>36</sup> However, I found no records in the archives of Santa Maria Maggiore for the years from 1563 until 1572, an observation that Casimiri also makes.<sup>37</sup> Whether it was 1567 or 1571, Nanino was still a very young man to attain the honored position of choirmaster at one of the four major basilicas of Rome.<sup>38</sup> The archives of the Cappella Liberiana have records of payments made to Nanino as *maestro di cappella* for the years 1572 and 1573.<sup>39</sup> His salary was sixteen *scudi*. During his tenure at Santa Maria Maggiore, Nanino published his first book of madrigals for five voices. The title page identifies him as a *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.<sup>40</sup>

The Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore as Nanino knew it when he was choirmaster there was considerably different from the church of today with all the renovations and additions of the Baroque period. The large side chapels erected by Pope Sixtus V and Paul V were not yet built, and the two palaces on either side of the facade were not there. Fuga's double portico (1743) had not as yet obscured the beautiful 13th century mosaics, and the ancient patriarchal palace still adjoined the basilica.<sup>41</sup>

Nanino remained at Santa Maria Maggiore from 1571 until 1577,<sup>42</sup> when he became a member of the papal choir, which precluded his holding any other musical post.<sup>43</sup> However, his position at Santa Maria Maggiore did not seem to prohibit his accepting further employment, although Haberl implies that he left the Cappella Liberiana to accept the position of *maestro di cappella* at San Luigi dei Francesi, the French national church in Rome.<sup>44</sup> More likely, he held both posts at once.

Among records for payments for oil and sacristy equipment, bills from the tailor, letters and other accounts, there are several entries in the archives of the Church of San Luigi, many in very difficult handwriting, indicating that Nanino worked there.<sup>45</sup> The first item is his signature on June 20, 1575, acknowledging receipt of his pay as *maestro di cappella*. On August 27, 1575, he received four *dinarii*, but by February 29, 1576, he had been raised to "V, 6."

An interesting item is dated June 8, 1576: it is a receipt signed by Nanino for the payment of two *scudi* to his mother who apparently had rendered a service to the church. She must have done sewing, since another bill, signed by Pandulphus Rapa, the sacristan, lists various repairs done on blouses, surplices and copes for the church.<sup>46</sup> Payments to the *putti* were accepted and signed for by the choir-master, each boy receiving the maximum of "V, 4, 42," although in most instances the sums were somewhat smaller, probably because of fines leveled for absences or other infractions. A receipt for the *putti* dated April 6, 1576, and two others, dated July 14, 1576, and September 25, 1576, are signed by Nanino. A bill for the Corpus Christi procession, dated June 24, 1576, includes payments to the singers as well as "priests, ecclesiastics, hospitallers, and clerks."<sup>47</sup> An interesting receipt for July 13, 1576, indicates the continued use of instruments in the musical program at San Luigi,<sup>48</sup> and again in February, 1577, another receipt for four *scudi* for the use of the trombone is to be found.<sup>49</sup> The archives show that on August 27, 1576, Nanino received three *scudi* to pay a trombone player for his work on Sundays and three feast days. Nanino acknowledged receipt of the money by signing: Io Gio. Maria Nanino Mo di Capp. di Sto Luigi ho ricevuto dal Sor Thesauriero p. dar a Ms Mauritio Trombone scudi tre di moneta q<sup>o</sup> di 13 de 7<sup>bre</sup> 1576.<sup>50</sup>

Some further receipts, lists of choir expenses and expenses for the *putti* are found in the archives of San Luigi,<sup>51</sup> but by the Fall of 1577 Nanino's name no longer appears there. The men who followed him at the French church did not seem to remain at the post for long, since subsequent entries list several different musicians, including Giovanni Pellis and Francesco Suriano, both in 1578. In 1591, Giovanni Bernadino Nanino became *maestro* at San Luigi and remained in the position until 1603.<sup>52</sup> The "Liber Introitorum et Expositorum" of the church and hospice of San Luigi, which gives lists of those who came and left the establishment, makes no mention of Giovanni Maria Nanino in any of three different years that were most significant in his life: 1575, when he came to San Luigi; 1577, when he left here; and 1607, when he was buried in the church of San Luigi.<sup>53</sup>

As *maestro di cappella* at San Luigi, Nanino was provided with a house. The *putti*, usually two to four in number, lived with him and received their board, room and clothing from him. The boys, who were between eight and eleven years of age, were under contract to sing in the services of the church until their voices changed. The choir-master received payment for their care, and one can see Nanino's name signed in the register frequently, acknowledging receipt

of the money. The boys were instructed in Italian and Latin grammar by a special teacher, but the *maestro* taught them music. Very likely this is what constituted Nanino's famous school of music in Rome.<sup>54</sup>

The last item concerning Nanino in the archives of San Luigi is a receipt dated February, 1577. On September 9, 1577, a payment was made to an organist, Domenico Veniresson (?). Nanino was not installed in the papal chapel until October 27, 1577. Thus he may have left San Luigi before he received an appointment to the Sistine choir. Possibly connected with this move was the change of rectors of the church that occurred in 1576, when Francisus Benedetti, who had been rector since 1560, was replaced.<sup>55</sup>

The Church of San Luigi was one of importance in Rome in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Since it served the French community resident in Rome, it represented the power and influence of the French nation. The musical tradition of San Luigi was justly famous, and the list of *maestri di cappella* includes many great names: Zoilo, Giovanelli, Ugolino, Benevoli, Abbatini, Bernabei and Cifra.<sup>56</sup> The church building itself was one of the glories of Rome of that time, with many famous architects and artists represented in its construction and decoration.

On October 27, 1577, Nanino was admitted as a tenor to membership in the papal choir after the usual examination.<sup>57</sup> He was the only new member received in that year.<sup>58</sup> His beginning salary was indicated to be four *scudi*, but Haberl says the "Mandata Gregorii XIII (1579-1586)" contains a list dated December 19, 1579, in which Nanino is entered as the twenty-sixth of twenty-eight singers, some of whom had a monthly stipend of nine *scudi*.<sup>59</sup> The "Diario" of the Sistine Chapel is missing for the years 1580, 1581 and 1582, but by 1585 Nanino had advanced to sixteenth place among twenty-four singers and his salary had risen to VII, 3 *scudi* per month.<sup>60</sup>

Nanino observed the regulations of the cappella with strictness. His name is rarely listed among the absentees in the "Diario," and when it is, it is with permission that he is not present. On October 9, 1583, for example, he was granted leave for a week to carry on a business affair.<sup>61</sup> In 1584, for a period of four months, from February until June Nanino is not mentioned in the "Diario;" his salary is not paid and he is indicated as excused together with Paulus de Magrstris and Peromatus.<sup>62</sup> Possibly he was sent on a mission for the *cappella*, similar to the journey he undertook to Mantua and the north in 1586.

According to the revision of the constitution of the Sistine choir, as promulgated by Pope Sixtus V on September 1, 1586, the *maestro di cappella* became an elected position and the choice for the office was to be made by the singers themselves from among their own number.<sup>63</sup> The first *maestro* who was not a prelate but a singer, elected by his own associates, was Joannes Antonius Merulo in 1587. His successor was the Spanish priest, Francesco Sota, who had three assistants: Rev. D. Joannes Antonius Merulo, Rev. D. Mathias Albus, and D. Joannes Maria Naninus.<sup>64</sup> Nanino was the junior assistant.<sup>65</sup> Haberl cites this as another proof that Nanino and Palestrina could not have been fellow students.

Another of the provisions of Pope Sixtus' bull was to endow the college with three abbeys so that the revenues from these lands could provide a regular and certain income for the singers. The abbeys were S. Maria in Crespiano in the diocese of Taranto, S. Salvatore in the diocese of Perugia, and S. Maria in Fellonica in the diocese of Mantua.<sup>66</sup> In order to take formal possession of the last of these lands, and to thank Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, Nanino was sent to Mantua as agent of the college. Six letters that he wrote while on this journey are preserved in the archives of the Sistine choir, together with one more on the same subject, written several years later.<sup>67</sup> They give a vivid description of this journey to the north. Nanino had difficulties arranging the proper meetings with the local officials in order to present his credentials, but he was a most conscientious and observant agent. He travelled to Mantua by way of Florence and Bologna, and returned to Rome by way of Ravenna and Ancona, with a stop at the famous shrine of the Blessed Virgin at Loreto, for which he seems to have had a special attraction since he visited there in April, 1596, also. The return trip was in December and the weather caused him considerable inconvenience. Unfortunately, his letters are almost exclusively on the subject of the abbey; he fails to say anything about the music of Mantua, Florence, Bologna or any other stop; and he tells us practically nothing of himself. However, it is very likely that he met the musicians who were attached to the court in Mantua. Among those musicians associated with the Gonzaga family in those years were: Francesco Bovigo who was organist at Santa Barbara, the ducal chapel, from 1571 until 1591; Giovanni Contino who was the choirmaster; Giulio Brusco who served as choirmaster at the church of S. Francesco; Jaches Wert who acted as choirmaster at S. Barbara from 1565 to 1596; Agostino Bonvicini, a singer at S. Barbara from 1650 to c1570; Guglielmo Testore, a member of the ducal chapel about 1570; and Gian Giacomo Gastoldi who was leader of the court chapel from 1582 to c 1615.<sup>68</sup>

In 1588, Nanino is listed in the "Diario" as *coadjutore e segretario* (assistant and secretary).<sup>69</sup> Haberl adds that he was elected to this position as assistant to the chapel chamberlain, Hippolitus Gambocius, and that it was confirmed for the following year, 1589.<sup>70</sup> How long he held the post is not known, since the "Diario" is missing for 1589, 1590 and 1591.<sup>71</sup>

The year 1593 saw the arrival in Rome of the Spaniard, Sebastiano Raval.<sup>72</sup> He caused rivalries to flare up because of his boasting about his prowess as a composer. He was challenged to a competition with Nanino and Francesco Suriano, and as a result he was thoroughly shamed by his ineptitude in the face of the skills of Nanino and Suriano.<sup>73</sup> The compositions Nanino wrote for this contest were a series of canons and contrapuntal pieces for two to eleven voices on a cantus taken from Costanza Festa. The manuscript is in the Biblioteca del Liceo musicale at Bologna in several copies.<sup>74</sup>

In 1594, Palestrina died, and Nanino had advanced to ninth place among the singers in the papal chapel.<sup>75</sup> On January third, the annual elections took place with the choirmaster, Christian Ameyden, in charge. After Mass, celebrated by Francesco Soto, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, Ameyden asked that his shortcomings of the preceding year be overlooked. He then nominated for the position of *maestro di cappella* Augusto Martini and Giovanni Maria Nanino. Several singers insisted that Ameyden's name be added. The result of the election gave Ameyden another term with fifteen votes for him and nine against. Martini received ten votes for and fifteen against, while Nanino received eight for and sixteen against.<sup>76</sup>

The "Diario" for 1594, written by Hippolito Gambocci, also records an interesting anecdote that involved Nanino. The reigning pontiff was Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605). According to custom, the choir sang a special motet for the pope while he was dining on the anniversary of his coronation, which for Clement was February ninth. The fitting *In diademate capitis* by Nanino was performed, and it attracted the special notice of the pope and possibly his displeasure. He asked whose composition it was, and when told that Nanino was the composer he somewhat softened his attitude and attempted to shift his criticism, since Nanino was a recognized master. The pope then declared that he did not like the words of the piece, but the *maestro di cappella* pointed out that they were taken from the Bible.<sup>77</sup> The "Diario" does not add any further comment. None was necessary.



The "Diario" for the year 1596 was kept by Nanino, who was punctator for the year.<sup>78</sup> It is written in a clear good hand and is exceptionally orderly.<sup>79</sup> This day by day account of the activities of the papal choir for 1596 shows much of the character and disposition of Nanino. He appears from it to have been a man with a great respect for law and authority; he begins his volume with an exposition of the customs of the chapel so all would know in what way they were bound to their obligations. The detail of the accounts of several events is so vivid and minute that one can conclude that he was a man of great precision and possessed of a fondness for accuracy and detail. It would appear that he expected much the same kind of attitude in others, which may have made him somewhat unpopular with the singers. His careful recording of absences and tardiness on the part of the members of the college with the consequent deductions in salary may have added to this feeling, and this attitude may explain his defeat in the election for the office of *maestro di cappella* in 1594. The handwriting and general composition of the volume bespeak a man of neatness and orderly life.

Nanino in his "Diario" furnishes us with a complete picture of the year's activity of a papal singer. He lists the feasts on which in addition to all Sundays no singer could be excused from his obligation. Thus he has left us a record of the feast days celebrated by the papal household with special solemnity at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>80</sup>

One of the things one searches for in vain in the "Diario" of the Sistine chapel is a listing of the music performed at these special occasions. Nanino, for all his care for detail, does not give one title or composer. He does, however, indicate to some extent the kind of music employed depending on the liturgical rank of the day being celebrated. For example, he specifies that on ferial days (week days without a special feast) the office of Matins and all the hours are only read. The introit of the Mass is sung in plain chant (*canto fermo*), and the gradual and the tract are sung by the choir of canons (*a choro*). The Kyrie is to be sung by the treble voices (*voce alta*) and the offertory is performed in counterpoint. He directs that the *Sanctus* be done in parts (*in musica*) and the communion antiphon in chant, alternating with the treble voices (*meditante in voce alta*). Vespers are done in chant except for the antiphon to the *Magnificat* which is sung in counterpoint.<sup>81</sup>

A more elaborate arrangement is indicated for feast days. Then Matins are merely read but the other hours are to be sung and Mass is to be sung solemnly in part-music (*in musica*). At first Vespers all the antiphons, the hymns, and the *Magnificat* are performed in

counterpoint; at second Vespers all is the same, except that the antiphons when repeated after the psalms are sung in chant.<sup>82</sup>

An analysis of the feast celebrated and the type of music usually required by custom for the occasion gives a good indication of the titles one can expect to find in lists of compositions of composers who wrote for the Sistine Choir, as well as the lack of settings for certain texts that either were sung in chant or were taken from feast days that were not observed in the papal chapel.<sup>83</sup>

Nanino takes considerable pains to establish his system of keeping the records of disciplinary infractions, since that was his obligation as punctator. He seems to say that he is giving fair warning to all of how he will proceed. It almost points to the existence of complaints against his attitude, rather than just a forestalling of future arguments over his system. First, he takes up the question of absences, noting that each singer could miss two days in a year's time, provided those days were not Sundays, feasts of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles or Evangelists, or any day listed in the calendar at the beginning of his "Diario." Neither could anyone miss a public consistory held in the Sala Ducale of the Vatican palace. He solves the problem of the distinction between absences and tardiness by declaring that a singer who is not in his place by the end of the Epistle will be marked absent. Fines vary according to the rank of the day on which the tardiness or absence occurred, and if any bonus (*regaglia*) should come to the singers because of an appearance of the choir at a function outside the Sistine chapel, the culprit would forfeit his share. At papal Masses, the regulations against tardiness were more stringent than at Masses celebrated by cardinals or bishops. Nanino records that any singer who is not in his place and in his vestments by the end of the repetition of the introit will be fined eight *vinti*. At papal Vespers the singer who is not present at the *Gloria Patri* of the first psalm pays a fine of fifty *balocchi*.<sup>84</sup>

All of this shows that Nanino was indeed a taskmaster and probably quite a change from the more relaxed administration that preceded him. Reform was the spirit of the times, and Rome in those days was very conscious of it. But in addition to setting down the laws, Nanino has left us a great deal of detail about the activity of the choir. We learn, for example, that on January twenty-eighth, the relics of Saint Damascus, the pope, were solemnly carried into Saint Peter's basilica while the choir sang *Ecce Sacerdos* in counterpoint. Whose counterpoint it was, he does not say.<sup>85</sup> On February seventeenth, we learn that Nanino received permission from Cardinal del Monte to go to Velletri on business for the pope and Cardinal

Gesualdo.<sup>86</sup> In a kind of self-justification he records that since he was *fuori di Roma* (out of town) for ten days during April, according to the constitutions, he was not paid during his present absence. He had also gone to Loreto in April.<sup>87</sup>

He records that the choir sang several Masses at the Church of San Marcello, and while the vestments were being carried there, the choir enjoyed a short *vacanza* from the usual routine.<sup>88</sup> On August eighteenth, the feast of Saint Louis, Nanino asked permission for several singers to be absent. His brother, Giovanni Bernadino, was choirmaster at San Luigi dei Francesi at the time.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps he needed extra singers for the patronal feast of the church, whom Giovanni Maria was happy to secure for him.<sup>90</sup>

A notice for November tenth, carries a criticism, but at the same time charitably omits the name of the offender. It simply states that a new bishop was consecrated in the chapel, and he did not make the usual offering to the singers.<sup>91</sup> In mid-December the chapel was filled with painters who were decorating it, so the choir had a three day vacation.<sup>92</sup> He does not say if this was the cause of his entry for December twenty-fourth, when he records that the singers missed a response of *Amen* which they were supposed to make after the pope said the Gospel at Matins. But the careful and farsighted Nanino records that the books were marked so that the same thing would not happen the following year, as it might if they depended only on memory. He adds the instruction that this *Amen* is to be answered *subbito*.<sup>93</sup>

Two examples suffice to show the detail and care that Nanino expended on his "Diario." The first is his entry for the feast of the Circumcision, January 1, 1596:

On the feast of the Circumcision of our Lord, papal Mass was celebrated in the Sistine Chapel in the presence of our sovereign, Clement VIII, with thirty-one cardinals in attendance. His Eminence, Cardinal Sfondrato, celebrated the Mass. A prayer was said, and His Holiness granted an indulgence of thirty days to all present. All the singers were in attendance except the dean, Francesco Sotto, and Christian Ameyden, both jubilarians. After the Mass, according to custom, the choir went to sing a motet for the pope. The *maestro di cappella* kissed the foot of the pontiff for all the singers and after a few words of commendation of the poor singers made by the *maestro di cappella*, the pope replied that all should conduct themselves in *choro* with devotion and attention, that they should not engage each other in idle chatter since that causes

many bad discords. In the future more attention should be exercised. Having left the presence of the Holy Father, the *maestro di cappella* announced to all the singers the assembly for the following day at 4:30, to elect the new officers.<sup>94</sup>

The second entry is that for the following day on which the annual elections of the college of singers took place, January 2, 1596:

At the appointed hour low Mass was celebrated by the chaplain of the choir, Rev. Mario Corona. Having invoked the Holy Spirit according to the custom of the organization, each one took his proper place. Signor Agostino Martini, *maestro di cappella* for the preceding year, resigned the office of *maestro*, thanking in general and in particular all the singers for the honor they had given him in making him *maestro di cappella*. The singers replied that he had borne the office most honorably. They proposed for the office of *maestro di cappella* Signor Sotto, Vincenzo Musatti and Giovanni Maria Nanino, and after many discourses and various opinions, Francesco Sotto, a Spaniard, was elected *maestro di cappella* by acclamation. For the office of abbot, all the chanters confirmed by acclamation Tomasso Benigni, who had filled the post the previous year most diligently. Stefano Ugerto announced his resignation of the office of punctator to the college and the new *maestro di cappella*, Francesco Sotto, and in his place by acclamation all the singers and the *maestro di cappella* appointed Giovanni Maria Nanino punctator. Absent from the meeting were the dean, Alexander Merlo, and Christian Ameyden, jubilarians. Oratio Crescentio was absent and was fined eighty-seven *julii*. Another meeting was arranged by the *maestro di cappella* for the reading of the constitutions and to give the oath to the punctator for the faithful exercise of his office.<sup>95</sup>

Nearly all accounts of Nanino's life mention that during his stay in the Sistine Choir he established a school of music in Rome, where he taught an impressive list of students with the help of Palestrina and later of Francesco Suriano and his brother, Giovanni Bernadino.<sup>96</sup> Among his students were Giovanni Bernadino, Felice Anerio, Gregorio Allegri, Domenico Allegri,<sup>97</sup> Vincenzo Ugolini, Antonio Cifra, Domenico Massenzio, Paolo Agostini, and Alessandro Constantini.<sup>98</sup> Others were Antonio Brunelli, Loreto Vittori, Stefano Landi, and Anton Maria Abbatini.<sup>99</sup> Antimo Liberatti, in his famous letter to Ovidio Porsapegi in 1685, adds the names of Pier Francesco Valentini, a Roman nobleman.<sup>100</sup> Counterpoint was undoubtedly a chief study in the school. As a text for this discipline

Nanino has left us his "Regoli di contrappunto," written with the help of his brother.<sup>101</sup> Antimo Liberatti writes that Palestrina often appeared at the school and was present during the instructions.<sup>102</sup> He also explains that Palestrina himself was not interested in teaching composition, but cooperated with Nanino in his endeavor to train young musicians.<sup>103</sup>

With his reverence for law and authority. Nanino probably inculcated in his students the ideals and decrees of the Council of Trent and its pronouncements on church music.<sup>104</sup> In 1580, Nanino is said to have opened the first public school of music begun in Rome by an Italian.<sup>105</sup> It had for its immediate purpose the training of young musicians in composition so they could obtain the certificate of approbation from the Congregation of Saint Cecilia.<sup>106</sup> However, the existence of this school is far from certain.<sup>107</sup> Probably it was simply Nanino's work with the choir boys attached to one of the Roman churches. It was seemingly the plan that these boys, well-founded in counterpoint and composition, would ultimately supply the needs of the papal choir and the other *cappelle* of the city. Nanino's teaching program and the musicians' organization seemed to work together to maintain high standards of music in the city and to produce young musicians who could come up to those standards.

The Congregation of Saint Cecilia was founded to put into practice the reforms in church music ordered by the Council of Trent, which had closed just three years before its founding.<sup>108</sup> The means to be used for that end involved a plan of admitting to the positions of director or singer in the Roman churches only those who were members of the organization and who had passed the examination conducted by its committee, possibly made up, as Haberl suggests, of Felice Anerio, director of the guild, Giovanni Maria Nanino, and Palestrina. The society was founded in 1584.<sup>109</sup> According to Haberl it received the official approbation of the Holy See through a *bull*a issued by Pope Gregory XIII.<sup>110</sup> It was definitely approved by a brief of Pope Sixtus V on May 1, 1585.<sup>111</sup> But before the papal approval was given, great opposition to the new society was demonstrated by the singers of the pontifical chapel, who believed their jealously guarded privileges were being challenged. This animosity was manifest in an entry in the Sistine records for July 6, 1584,<sup>112</sup> and again on September 7, 1584,<sup>113</sup> noting an agreement of the singers that no member of the papal chapel should join the society. There is also a record of a fine leveled against a certain Jo. B. Jacomeitus who did join.<sup>114</sup>

That Nanino was a member of the society in spite of his position in the pontifical chapel seems certain to Haberl, who cites the publi-

cation of a collection of madrigals by a group of nineteen musicians.<sup>115</sup> The work was dedicated to the Bishop of Spoleto, Monsignor Pietro Orsini, and was entitled *La Gioie, madrigali a cinque voci di diversi eccellmi musici della compagnia di Roma, novamente positi in luce*. It was published at Venice in 1589, with Felice Anerio as editor. The contributors according to the placement of the compositions in the volume were Giovanni Maria Nanino, Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina (sic), Felice Anerio, Luca Marenzio, Annibal Stabile, Oratio Griffi, Ruggero Giovanelli, Giovanni de Macque, Arcangelo Crivelli, Paolo Quagliati, Annibale Zoilo, Giovanni Troiano, Giovanni Andrea Dragoni, Paolo Belaiso, Cristoforo Malvezzi, Bartolomeo Roy, Bernadino Nanino, Giovanni Batista Lucatelli, and Francesco Suriano. That Nanino's composition was placed first, before Palestrina's or the editor's own madrigal, indicates, Haberl feels, how important his position was in the Company of Rome or the Congregation of Saint Cecilia, as the guild was variously called.<sup>116</sup> This society, begun by the composers of the Roman school, was the forerunner of the present L'Academia di Santa Cecilia in Rome, as well as the prototype of many societies of church musicians throughout the world dedicated to Saint Cecilia.

Throughout his life Nanino continued to publish his compositions, both as separate volumes of his own works and as contributions to anthologies. After his first success with the *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci*, published while he was *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore and subsequently reprinted at least three times,<sup>117</sup> he collaborated with Annibal Stabile to bring out another set of madrigals for five voices, published first in 1582 and reprinted in 1587.<sup>118</sup> His first sacred collection appeared in 1586,<sup>119</sup> and the same year saw the publication of his third book of madrigals for five voices.<sup>120</sup> Eitner also lists a collection of canzonette for three voices, issued in 1593 and again in 1599 by Alessandro Nanini.<sup>121</sup> Further publications form part of collections both of sacred works and secular compositions. A listing of the sacred works in Latin can be found in a subsequent chapter. Both Eitner and Haberl give detailed listings of the works of Nanino that appeared in various collections, beginning in 1588 and continuing until 1620. From that time until the rebirth of interest in the composers of the Roman school in the nineteenth century, Nanino's name does not appear in collections of motets or madrigals. Nineteenth century editions containing examples of his work include those compiled by Haberl,<sup>122</sup> Commer,<sup>123</sup> Forber,<sup>124</sup> Schmitt,<sup>125</sup> the Prince of Moskowa,<sup>126</sup> Torchi,<sup>127</sup> Proske,<sup>128</sup> and Rochlitz.<sup>129</sup>

In 1600, the church observed a Holy Year with pilgrims coming

in great numbers from distant lands.<sup>130</sup> The papal choir took part in the special ceremonies, including processions to the four major basilicas on two occasions, April twenty-eighth and December twenty-eighth.<sup>131</sup> In the elections for positions in the papal choir for that year, Nanino, along with two others, Paolo Fumone and Tomasso Benigni, ran for the office of *maestro di cappella*. Black and white balls were used in the balloting. It was a very close election, and Fumone won.<sup>132</sup>

The "Diario" for 1601, 1602, and 1603 is missing. But the "Camerlango"<sup>133</sup> for 1602 indicates that Nanino had become a Jubilarian (giubilato) by virtue of his twenty-five years of service in the college. He was thereby entitled to the privileges that such status gave him according to the Constitutions of Paul III and the Bull of Sixtus V.

The "Diario" for 1604 was kept by Stefano Ugerio.<sup>134</sup> Elections were held as usual on January second. Running for the office of *maestro di cappella* were Christian Ameyden, Paolo Fumone, Agostino Martini, and Nanino. The votes were cast as follows: Ameyden, fourteen for and nine against; Fumone, two for and twenty-one against; Martini, eleven for and twelve against; Nanino, seventeen for and six against. Ugerio records that there was a great applause and that Nanino embraced all the singers. After twenty-seven years in the college he had finally become the *maestro di cappella*. Before the month was passed, the "Diario" records that a fine would be leveled against singers who absented themselves without permission from the papal services in order to sing, play, or direct elsewhere. The fine was one *scudo*, a very substantial sum when one considers that the top salary was only nine *scudi* per month. One can undoubtedly see Nanino's insistence on law and obedience in this regulation.<sup>135</sup>

The choir was active during Nanino's tenure as *maestro di cappella*. They sang for the funeral of the Spanish ambassador and also for that of his wife at the church of S. Jacomo di Spagnoli, the Spanish national church in Rome.<sup>136</sup> Both Paolo Fermone and Paolo de Magistris died in May and the choir sang for the funerals. But an interesting vacation period occurred in late February and early March. It was carnival time and the weather was exceptionally cold. On February twenty-third, the "Diario" records that the singing of the office was called off for two days, but Mass was held as usual. It does not say if the reason for the change was the cold weather or the carnival. However, on February twenty-fifth, the "Diario" records that a vacation was announced for the remainder of the carnival, but the punctator adds that no further exception would be

given for the rest of the year. Thus, from February twenty-sixth until March second, the "Diario" records only the word *niente* (nothing).<sup>137</sup> However, in October another long vacation is recorded.<sup>138</sup>

Nanino was re-elected *maestro di cappella* on January 2, 1605. There were twenty-eight singers present. The Holy Spirit was invoked as usual. Nanino, as *maestro di cappella* for the preceding year, thanked everyone and resigned. There was much discussion and he was re-elected.<sup>139</sup> The year 1605 was one that brought many deaths to the papal choir. Agostino Martini died on April thirtieth; Hippolito Gambotio, August third; and Christian Ameyden, October third. Further, Pope Clement VIII died on March fifth.<sup>140</sup> The conclave to elect his successor met, which brought considerable activity and many obligations for the papal singers.<sup>141</sup> But the new pope, Leo XI, had hardly been elected and crowned when he became ill and died April twenty-seventh. This meant a repetition of all the ceremonies and protocol that the choir had just been through for the death of Clement VIII. The death of a pope and election of his successor are events a *maestro di cappella* might expect once in five or ten years. Nanino experienced it twice in one year, and the "Diario" records that many of the singers were themselves very ill during the funeral ceremonies of Pope Leo XI.<sup>142</sup>

On January 1, 1606, the choir gathered after Mass to sing the customary motet for Pope Paul V, in the first year of his pontificate. In the usual manner, Nanino, as *maestro di cappella*, delivered a speech in the name of all the singers, wishing the pope a happy feast and a happy new year. The following day the elections were held. On the first ballot Tomasso Benigni received eleven votes in favor and fourteen against; Stefano Ugerio, five for and twenty against; Leonardo Crescentio, fourteen for and eleven against; and Nanino, twelve for and thirteen against. A second ballot gave Nanino nine for and sixteen against, and Crescentio seventeen for and eight against.<sup>143</sup> Little more is recorded of Nanino for that year.

Ruggiero Giovanelli kept the "Diario" for 1607.<sup>147</sup> For March fifth through seventh, he writes that Nanino was ill, and on March eleventh, the second Sunday of Lent, he records that Giovanni Maria Nanino died at three o'clock in the morning.<sup>148</sup> The records of death kept at the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi state that Giovanni Maria Nanino, a native of Tivoli, most excellent chanter of the sovereign pontiff, at the age of sixty-three years, having received the holy sacraments of the church, died on March twelfth. His body was brought to the church and buried beneath the pavement in front



of the chapel of Saint Matthew.<sup>149</sup> The Sistine chapel account for Monday, March twelfth, says that all the singers gathered at San Luigi and escorted the body into the church where they sang the *Libera me, Domine*.<sup>150</sup> A week later, on March nineteenth, the papal singers were again at San Luigi in order to celebrate the Mass of the ninth day.<sup>151</sup>

That Nanino was buried at San Luigi is of some significance, since it was a church of considerable importance. Being the French national church, in the seventeenth century it was a place with great political connections as well as an establishment of some wealth. Giovanni Bernadino was still choirmaster there until 1608,<sup>152</sup> and it may have been through his influence that his brother was buried there. In 1640, the Cappella Sistina obtained its own burial vault in the Chiesa Nuova before the altar of the Annunciation.<sup>153</sup>

That Nanino was not a priest seems certain, since no record indicates that he was.<sup>144</sup> Undoubtedly he remained unmarried in conformity with the regulations of the college. In 1555, Pope Paul IV enforced the prohibition against married men in the choir, when he dismissed Palestrina and two others (with full pension) from the college, and very likely the law was observed carefully from then on.<sup>145</sup> Nanino was probably in minor orders; he certainly had been tonsured, since he is described frequently in the "Diario" as *clericus Romanus*.<sup>146</sup> He very likely had conformed to the common practice which was reconfirmed by Pope Clement X in 1670, when he ordered that all singers had to be tonsured within two years of their entrance into the choir, or lose their pay.

Richard Schuler

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Giovanni d'Alessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949- ), VIII, 1256.
2. "Aetatis 63 annorum vel circa . . . mortuus est." Giuseppe Radiciotti, *L'Arte musicale in Tivoli nei secoli XVI, XVII, XVIII* (2nd ed.; Tivoli: Maiella di Aldo Chicca, 1921), p. 33.
3. F. X. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 82.
4. D'Alessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VIII, 1256.
5. Andrea Adami, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro dei cantori della cappella pontificia* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1711), p. 180.
6. Gaetano Gaspari, *Catalogo della biblioteca del liceo musicale di Bologna* (Bologna: Romagnoli dall' Aqua, 1890), I, 301-2. Two of these manuscripts are entitled "Centocinquantesette Contrappunti sopra un canto fermo. Opera di Gio. Maria Nanino da Vallerano." and "Cento cinquantasette Contrappunti sopra del canto fermo intitolato la base di Costanzo Festa, opera di Gioan Maria Nanino da Vallerano."
7. Cappella Sistina, "Camerlengo," XXV (1605). This record contains one of many lists of singers with their places of origin. A typical entry is: Giov. M. Nanino, Tivolese, al prefete ma° di capp. The "Diario" of the Sistine Choir regularly lists the singers at the beginning of each year. The usual entry for Nanino is: D. Jo. Mar. Naninus, Tiburtinus, tenor.

8. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XI (1582), 41v.
9. "Actum Romae in domo habitationis mei notarii regionis pontis presentib . . . c. Io. maria Nannino (sic) layco Tiburtino." Raffaele Casimiri, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, nuovi documenti biografici* (Rome: Edizione del Psalterium, 1918), p. 31.
10. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 82. He quotes the dedication made by Agostino: dove l'istesso Gio. Belardino (sic), et il fratello Gio. Maria si complacquero esercitarsi.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
12. Radiciotti, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
13. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 83.
14. Gaspari, *op. cit.*, I, 302. The manuscript is entitled: "Trattato di Contrapunto di Gio. Maria Nanino e di Barnadino Nanini (sic), suo Nipote."
15. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 83.
16. Gaspari, *op. cit.*, I, 302. One of these is entitled: "Regole di cantrappunto di Gio. M. Nanino, e del suo fratello minore, Gio. Bernadino."
17. Radiciotti, *op. cit.*, p. 32, n. 2.
18. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the earliest ages to the present period* (London: Payne & Son, 1789), III, 198.
19. For the pertinent section of Liberati's letter see Appendix IV.
20. Quoted by Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, (1891), 88, n.
21. Gaspari, *op. cit.*, p. 302. "Il medesimo P. Martini nel T. I. pag. 461, della sua storia della Musica die quest' altro titolo al presente manoscritto: Tratto MS. di Contrap. con la regola per far Contrappunto a mente di Gio. Maria, e Bernardino Nanini suo nipote."
22. D'Alessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VIII, 1256.
23. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 90.
24. Quoted by Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI, 88, n.
25. Matteo Fornari, "Narrazione istorica dell' origine, progressi, e privilegi della Pontificia Cappella." Unpublished manuscript in the Vatican Library, Cappella Sistina, No. 606, 1749. "Nanino . . . fu scolare di Gaudio Mell, condiscipolo, coetaneo, ed amico confidente del Palestrina."
26. Burney, *op. cit.*, III, 185-6. He leans toward the idea that Mell and Goudimel are the same.
27. Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome: Societa Tipografica, 1828), I, 21-27.
28. J. R. Milne, "Palestrina," *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (3d ed.; New York: MacMillan, 1945), IV,, 16-17.
29. Casimiri, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, nuovi documenti biografici*, p. 16-18.
30. Zoe Kendrick Pyne, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, his life and times* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1922), p. 6-7.
31. Baini, *op. cit.*, I, 362, n.
32. Raffaele Casimiri, *Il Vittoria* (Rome: Edizione del Psalterium, 1934), p. 22, n.
33. Casimiri, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, nuovi documenti biografici*, p. 28-32. He shows that Palestrina left Santa Maria Maggiore in 1577 to enter the service of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. Baini had held that Palestrina remained at Santa Maria Maggiore until 1571 when he went to the Vatican basilica, holding the position for the Cardinal conjunctly with the Liberian basilica appointment.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 31-32. He cites two entries in the "Atti Capitolari" of Santa Maria Maggiore that may point to Nanino. For June 11, 1569, there is an entry which reads: "Actum Rome in regione monitium Ecclesia Sacristia et loco capitulari. Presentibus . . . et d. Io. maria mgro Cappelle test." For December 14, 1570, another notice reads: "Actum Romae in domo habitationis mei notarii regionis pontis presentib . . . d. Io. maria Nannino (sic) layco Tiburtino."
35. Baini, *op. cit.*, II, 26, n. 459.
36. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 83.
37. Casimiri, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, nuovi documenti biografici*, p. 31, n. 1.
38. W. S. Rockstro says that Nanino was at first only a singer at Santa Maria Maggiore and that he did not become *maestro di cappella* until 1579, two years after his admission to the Sistine choir, an unlikely event in the face of the legislation of the Cappella Sistina prohibiting members from doing outside work while mem-

- bers of the *cappella*. This is especially unlikely since Nanino was so strict on this point when he served as punctator and *maestro di cappella* for the Sistine choir. Cf. W. S. Rockstro, "Nanini," *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (3d ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1945), III, 599.
39. Archivo Liberiano, A, IV, 2. Volume I of the archives of the Cappella Liberiana at Santa Maria Maggiore (A, IV, 1) contains documents from 1552 until 1563. Volume II (A, IV, 2) runs from 1572 to 1578. The ten years between are missing, as well as the pay lists for 1574, 1575, and 1576. An entry for 1577 shows Nanino's successor, Horatio Caccini, being paid twenty *scudi*. Palestrina's name is listed beginning in August, 1561, but Volume I ends with 1563, and Volume II begins in 1572, after Nanino's appointment.
  40. Only subsequent editions (1579, 1582, 1605) are extant. The title page indicating the composer as *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore was retained as in the first edition: Di Gio. Maria Nanino Maestro di Cappella in S. M. Maggiore di Roma. Il Primo libro de Madrigali a cinque voci Novamente Ritampati. In Venetia appresso Angelo Gardano. 1579. Gaspari, *op. cit.*, III, 134.
  41. Ludwig Pastor, *Lives of the Popes* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1923-53), XIII, 412.
  42. D'Alessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VIII, 1256.
  43. Cappella Sistina, No. 627. Constitution of Pope Paul III, 1545. "It is not allowed for a singer to carry on the divine office outside the chapel. If he does perform at Mass or Vespers, he is fined ten *julii*. If he reports some pay from the outside job, more than ten *julii*, it is marked off his salary or gifts. If a singer has permission from the prefect to sing outside, his pay is divided among all the participating singers in Rome at that time."
  44. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 83.
  45. Archivio di San Luigi dei Francesi, No. 38, II.
  46. Conto delli panni dati a raconciar' alla madre del maestro di cappella. Per bauer' ricusciti otto camisci—30. Per bauer' rapetati ott' altri camisci—60. Per bauer' ricuscito un pluviale e deu cotte—10.
  47. Cantoribus et pbris., ecclie., hospitalario et clericis.
  48. Basso conato del suo instrumento. A Ms Mauritio trombone *scudi* tre di moneta.
  49. 4 *scudi*—la mancia di Ms Mauritio trombone.
  50. Quoted by Alberto Cametti, "Nuovi contributi alle biografie di Maurizio e Felice Anerio," *Rivista musicale italiana*, XXII (1915), 127. He demonstrates that Mauritio, the trombone player, is Maurizio Anerio.
  51. Archivio di San Luigi dei Francesi, No. 38, III.
  52. D'Alessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VIII, 1258.
  53. Archivio di San Luigi dei Francesi, "Liber introitorum et expositorum Eccl. et Hosp. Sti. Ludovici," No. 112 (1575), No. 114 (1577), No. 144 (1607).
  54. Alberto Cametti, "La scuola Pueri Cantus a San Luigi dei Francesi e i suoi principali allievi," *Rivista musicale italiana*, XXII (1915), 594.
  55. Mgr. d'Armailhaq. *L'Eglise nationale de Saint Louis des Francais a Rome* (Rome: Philippe Cuggiani, 1894), Appendix. This book is far from complete, especially in listing the *maestres de chapelle*, where Nanino is not included.
  56. Luisa Cerveli, "Cappella musicale," *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Vatican City: Enciclopedia Cattolica, 1949), III, 703.
  57. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XI (1577), 41v. The entry is written along the margin and reads: "Joannes Maria Nino (sic) admissus in cappella.
  58. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891) 84. However, Fornari lists two others admitted in 1577; Onofrio Gualfredini and Giacomo Lenetoo, both sopranos. Fornari, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
  59. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 84.
  60. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XIV (1585).
  61. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XII (1583), 32. Sacro completo D. Jo. Maria Naninnus (sic) licentiam a congregatione, pro tota hebdomada petiit, atento certo suo negocio faciendo, ego respondi, quia multi silentium observabant, pauci tenores sumus, nisi quattuor restant, si multis ire prenudo cantabimus, si multis ire, cum puncto ordinario iti, D. Hippolitus respondit, si cum suo puncto ibit, propterea non deficiet. Et D. Vincs Lambonus dixit—Ite quia tuta congregatio licentiam concedit, qui respondi, Ego autem congregationem inclusus esse credo, si unus contradicit, juxtra consuetudinem santia (?) nihil valet et puncto tentatus ordinario.
  62. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XIII (1584), 5-16.
  63. Cappella Sistina, No. 627, p. 21-27, Bulla "In suprema militentis ecclesiae cathedra."

64. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 84.
65. *Ibid.*, Rev. D. Mathias Albus, tamquam veteres, Dominus Jo. Mar. Naninus, tamquam junior; sic enim hic sancitum est, ut in posterum cantores veteres rerum negotiorumque peritissimi juniorem tamquam discipulum sibi eligant.
66. Farnari, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
67. Cappella Sistina, No. 698. (Photostatic copies of the original autographs, together with an English translation of the seven letters, can be found in Appendix I.)
68. Knud Jeppesen, "The recently discovered Montova masses of Palestrina," *Acta Musicologica*, XXII (1950). 38.
69. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XVI (1588), 1.
70. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 85.
71. Haberl says the "Diario" is missing until 1594. However, No. XVII for 1592 and No. XVIII for 1593 are extant in the Cappella Sistina collection in the Vatican Library, although both these years differ from the usual kind of "Diario," being rather the camerlango's list of payments than a day by day account of the choir's activities.
72. Romolo Giraldi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Enciclopedia italiana* (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1934-43), XXIV, 198.
73. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 91. He traces this episode to Bainsi who based his account on Giuseppe Pitoni's manuscript which contains evidence of considerable national jealousy between the Spaniards and the Italians in the choir. Haberl says that Pitoni in turn had based himself on D. Micheli.
74. A reference to the contest is also found in the catalog of the Bologna library under the entry "Centocinquantesette contrappunti sopra un canto fermo." Cf. Gaspari, *op. cit.*, I, 301.
75. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XIX (1594), 1.
76. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 85.
77. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XIX (1594), 11v.
78. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XX (1596), 1. The title page reads: "Diario del anno 1596, fatto per me, Gio. Maria Nanino, cantore et punctatore l'anno sopradetto." A photostatic reproduction of several pages of the "Diario" kept by Nanino can be found in Appendix II.
79. The "Diario" for many years is in a script that is almost illegible, with the added difficulty that through the centuries the ink has caused the paper to darken and in some instances the chemicals in the ink have eaten through the paper completely. The language used is either Italian or Latin.
80. Vide p. 66-9 for a listing of these feast days.
81. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XX (1596), 1v.
82. *Ibid.*
83. The Cappella Sistina collection in the Vatican Library contains compositions by Nanino indicated for use on Christmas, All Saints' day, Ascension day, the anniversary day of the pope's coronation, and the feast of Ss. Peter and Paul, all of which are important feasts in the pontifical calendar. This accounts also for his choosing three treble voices for some compositions, since the custom gave certain sections of the liturgy to the high voices. It also accounts for the lack of settings for certain texts which were customarily performed only in Gregorian chant. These customs have been recorded by Andrea Adami, *Osservazione per ben regolare il coro dei cantori della cappella pontificia* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1711).
84. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XX (1596), 3, 3v. A *baiocco* was a copper coin used in the Papal States of very small value. A *ventino* was a twenty-centime piece.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 10v.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 26, 26v.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 30, 30v.
89. D'Alessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VIII, 1256.
90. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XX (1596), 41.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 5, 7. (A photostatic copy of this extract can be found in Appendix II.)
95. *Ibid.*, p. 8, 8v. (A photostatic copy of this extract can be found in Appendix II.)
96. D'Alessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VIII, 1256.
97. Doubt is raised about Gregorio Allegri's being a pupil of Giovanni Maria Nanino, even though Allegri's obituary notice calls him a student of Giovanni Maria

- Nanino. This may be true in the sense that Giovanni Maria probably shared a house with his brother, Giovanni Bernadino, and helped him teach his *putti* from San Luigi. Alberto Cametti, "La Scuola Pueri Cantus a San Luigi dei Francesi e i suoi principali allievi," *op. cit.*, XXII (1915), 605.
98. D'Alessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VIII, 1256-7.
  99. Giraldi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, XXIV, 198.
  100. Gaspari, *op. cit.*, II, 468.
  101. Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna possesses several counterpoint texts of Nanino. They are: 1) "Rudimenti e regole di contrappunto," attributed to Giovanni Maria Nanino, an octavo manuscript of sixteen pages, and probably an autograph; 2) "Regole di contrappunto di Gio. M. Nanino, e del suo fratello minore Gio. Bernadino," a folio manuscript of seventy-eight sheets, on p. 22 of which Padre Martini has written: "In un MS vecchio di Roma prestatomi dal Signor D. Girol. Chiti M<sup>o</sup> di Cap. del Laterano, stanno notate le sequente parole: 'Questa regola, che segue per imparare a fare contrapunto a mente tanto sopra, quanto sotto il canto fermo, il modo e bellissimo et e del Sig. Gio. Maria Nanino et facilissimamente si pole mandare a memoria. Ma pui facilissimamente potrete leggere quelle del Sig. Gio. Bell. (sic) Nanino quali sequitano immediate doppo questa dove ha destino sacenso et discenso di grado et ascenso, o discenso di 3<sup>a</sup> e 4<sup>a</sup> e 6<sup>a</sup> e 8<sup>a</sup>. Dove anco ha disteso benissimo il modo di far contraputo tanto sopra, quanto sotto in una o vero piu note nella istessa.'" Gaetano Gaspari editor of the catalog of the library, continues: "La copia che si conserva nel nostro Liceo non e altrimenti di mano del P. Martini come disse Fétis, ma e assai bella e diligentemente effecttuata, nulla omettendo di quanto contiene l'antico esemplare del Griffi riguardo all' ortografia ed altre particolarita del codice romano, per cui puo dirsi *ad litteram* uguale a quello. Ma il fatto si e che ni un titolo puo over l'opera stanteche (come ben—avviso il Fétis) l'originale donde e trascritta questa copia e mancante nel principio e nel fine. Si prezioso codice trovasi nella Biblioteca Corsini alla Lungara di Roma ed e scritto da Orazio Griffi cappellano cantore della Cap. Pont., il quale notovvi d'averio finito di copiare il 5 ottobre 1619. 3) "Trattato di contrapunto di Gio. Maria Nanino e di Bernadino Nanini (sic) suo nipote," a folio manuscript of sixty-two sheets, several parts of which were written by Padre Martini, others by an unknown hand. The end of the manuscript is damaged. Gaspari, *op. cit.*, I, 301, 302.
  102. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 90.
  103. *Ibid.*, "Palestrina non ebbe genio di far schola, o non potendo per l'assiduo impiego della composizione harmonica; ma s'uni e si conformo con la schola di Gio. Maria Nanino."
  104. The decrees of the council were very general, but the composers of the Roman school, and in particular Palestrina and Nanino, from their long association with the Cappella Sistina and the Cappella Giulia, knew what was the mind of the lawgivers. In fact the music of the two masters can well be taken as specific example of what the Fathers of the Council of Trent intended in their legislation.
  105. Giraldi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, XXIV, 197.
  106. Angelo de Santi, "L'antica congregazione di S. Cecilia," *Civiltà Cattolica*, Anno 70 (1919), I:111-119.
  107. Cametti, "La Scuola Pueri Cantus a San Luigi dei Francesi e i suoi principali allievi," *op. cit.*, XXII (1915), 594-6. He objects to Baini's phrase: "La prima scuola aperta pubblicamente in Roma da un italiano." Rather, he says, Nanino's school was simply his working with his choir boys. Similar schools were conducted at the other churches with fine *cappelle*, viz., the Vatican, the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Spirito in Sassia, and S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Many of the great masters of the Roman school taught the *putti*, including Palestrina and Suriano, as well as the two Nanino brothers.
  108. Another reason for organizing the Congregation of Saint Cecilia is suggested by Z. K. Pyne, who says its purpose was to oust the foreigner from the Roman *cappelle*. He bases this thesis on two facts: first, the Pontifical choir with many foreigners among its members was very much opposed to the new organization; and secondly, the list of the Congregation shows the names of no foreigners. Cf. Zoe Kendrick Pyne, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
  109. There is no foundation for the date 1565 for the beginning of the Congregation. Cf. Angelo de Santi, "L'antica congregazione di S. Cecilia," *Bollettino Ceciliano*, XIII, 57.

110. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, (1891), 87. He says the *bull*a of Gregory XIII is lost.
111. Raffaele Casimiri, "L'antica 'Congregazione di S. Cecilia.'" *Cantantibus Organis* (Rome: Psalterium, 1924), p. 435.
112. "Congregatio cantorum decrevit, ut nullus nostri Collegi, in quadam sodalitate musicorum noviter erecta multis dignis de causis adscribatur." Quoted by Pietro Alfieri, *Brevi notizie storiche sulla congregazione ed accademia de' maestri e professori di musica di Roma sotto l'invocazione di Santa Cecilia* (Rome: Tip. di M. Peregò-Salvioni, 1845), p. 8-9.
113. "Cum diebus elapsis in nostra Congregatione propositum esset conveniens nec ne, ut in nova quadam musicorum societate adscriberemus, re bene considerata et cognita, judicavimus id non fieri neque convenire, neque salvis nostrae Capellae decretis licere; fuit decretum ne quis nostrum ullo modo id attentaret, aut se in illam sodalitatem adscribi pateretur." Quoted by Pietro Alfieri, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
114. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, (1891), 86.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 86-7.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
117. Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der Christlichen Zeitrechnung* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1902), VII, 140-1; Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891), 92-4.
118. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon*, VII, 141; Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VI (1891), 92. The title page reads: Madrigali a 5 voci / di Gio. Maria Nanino de di / Annibal Stabile novamente / composti et dati in luce, / in Venetia appresso Angelo Gardano. 1581.
119. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon*, VII, 141; Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VI (1891), 92-3. The title page reads: Joannis Mariae Nanino / In Capella Ponti / ficia Musici / Motecta, ul vulgo appellatur, varie et nova / inventione elebarota. Quae Ternis et Quinis vocibus concinuntur. / Venetiis Apud Angelum Gardanum / 1586.
120. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon*, VII, 141; Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VI (1891), 92. The title page reads: Di Gio. Maria Nanino / Musico nella capella di Sua Santita / Il terzo libro de Madrigali / a cinque voci / Novamente composti e dati in luce. / In Venetia appresso Angelo Gardano. 1586. Haberl argues for a second book of madrigals, since this is entitled the third book. He questions Fétis' claims for a second book dated 1580, 1582, 1587, and 1605; he says that Fétis has confused the joint publication of Nanino and Stabile for a second book of his own madrigals.
121. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon*, VII, 141; Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VI (1891), 94. Haberl does not mention the 1593 edition, but he lists the 1599 reprinting, and says that Fétis mentions a book of conzonette for three voices published in 1587, but fails to mention the place where he found it. The title page of the 1593 edition reads: Il Primo Libro / della Conzonette / a tre voci / di Gio. Maria Nanino, / Novamente da lui Composte, & per Allesandro / Nanini raccolte, & date in luce. / In Venetia Appresso Angelo Gardano. / 1593. The collection has recently been re-edited and published; Bonaventura Somma (ed.), *Giovanni Maria Nanino "Il Primo Libro delle Canzonette a tre voci miste, 1593," Vol. II of Polifonia vocale sacra e profana Sec. XVI*. (Rome: Edizioni "De Santis," 1955).
122. Haberl, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VI (1891). Five lamentations are published in connection with the biographical article.
123. Franciscus Commer, *Musica Sacra, Cationes XVI, XVII, XVIII Saeculorum* Berlin; E. Bote & Bock, 1843-87), Vol. XXV.
124. E. Frober, *Jubilus rythmicus de nomine Jesu*, (Paris, Leguoux). This is also published by Breitkopf & Hartel, Leipzig.
125. Georg Schmitt, *Anthologie ein Tonsatz*, Vol. VIII.
126. Recueil / morceaux de musique ancienne / executés aux concerts / de la société de musique / vocale religieuse et classique / fondée a Paris en 1845. / sous la direction / de M. le Prince de la Moskowa. / Publié par la societe. Vol. II.
127. Luigi Torchi, *L'Arte musicale in Italia* (Milan: Ricordi, 1897), II, 1, 15, 18, 20.
128. Karl Proske, *Musica Divina* (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1853), II, 34-39, 52-53, 57-58, 473; IV, 210.
129. Johann F. Rochlitz, *Sammlung vorzüglicher Gesangstücke vom Ursprung gesetzmassiger Harmoniei bis die neue Zeit* (Mainz: Schott, 1838-40). Bd. I, Pt. 2, No. 8, No. 9, No. 10.

130. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XXII (1600), 5.
131. These four great churches are located in far-flung areas of the city, so that a procession to visit all of them was indeed an expedition. The "Diario" lists the titles of the music sung, but fails, as usual, to mention the composers.
132. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XXII (1600), 5.
133. Cappella Sistina, "Camerlengo," V (1602). The "Camerlengo" is a kind of account book recording payments of salaries to the singers by the camerlengo, who was the treasurer of the choir. Each payment is receipted by the signature of the singer. Nanino frequently signed only "Gio. Maria." He acted as vice-camerlengo in 1600; cf. "Camerlengo," I (1600).
134. For some reason this is not catalogued with the other volumes of the "Diario" or numbered consecutively with them in the Vatican Library. This volume is found as Cappella Sistina, No. 690. It is one of the most detailed and best kept accounts in the series.
135. Cappella Sistina, No. 690, "Diario di Stefano Ugerio," p. 7.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 5v.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 21v, 22v.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 11v.
139. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XXIV (1605), 2.
140. An event of interest to musicians occurred during Clement's pontificate. In 1599, the body of Saint Cecilia, patroness of church music, was discovered in the catacombs. To celebrate the occasion the pope himself pontificated at Mass, for which there must have been some especially fine music. Cf. Ludwig Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 520-7.
141. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XXV (1605), 20. An interesting account of the functions surrounding the election of a pope is given in this volume.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
143. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XXVI (1606), 4.
144. The "Diario" of the Sistine Choir uses the title "Rev. D." to indicate priests among its members. Nanino's name is always prefixed only with "D" (*Dominus*). We could translate this as "Sir" or "Mr."
145. Fornari, *op. cit.*, p. 79. All the singers were unmarried from 1555 onwards.
146. Tonsure is a brief ceremony administered by the bishop by which a layman becomes a cleric with the privileges and duties of that state as prescribed by the canon law. The ceremony consists of the cutting of the hair of the candidate (*tonsura*).
147. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XXVII (1607), 1.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 13v. "In questo istesso giorno la sera a 3 hore di notte passio di ista a miglior vita il Signor Gio. Maria Nanino. Requiescat in pace."
149. "1607. Anno quo supra, die vero eadem 12a ejusdem mensis Martii Dnus Joannes Maria Naninus tiburtinen cantor excellmus summi Pontificis, aetatis 63 annor vel circa, receptis prius sanctis, Ecliae sacramentis, mortuus est ac ejus corpus in pram (praedictam) Eccliam translatum. In pavimento ante capellam sancti Mathei sepultum fuit." Quoted from Giuseppe Radiciotti, *op. cit.*, p. 36. Radiciotti took it from *Il Vecchio Antene*, Anni VI (1910), No. 229, a journal published in Tivoli. I tried to verify this notice in the archives of the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, but I was unable to find any reference to Nanino in the register of burials in the church. Neither could I find any marker in the pavement of the church indicating his grave, although many of the stones have become worn beyond recognition or legibility.
150. Cappella Sistina, "Diario," XXVII (1607), 14v.
151. The Roman liturgy provides Masses in commemoration of the dead on the day of death, the day of burial, the ninth and thirtieth days after death or burial, and on the anniversary day.
152. D'Allessi, "Giovanni Maria Nanino," *op. cit.*, VIII, 1258.
153. Giraldi, "Giovanni Bernadino Nanino," *Enciclopedia italiana*, (Rome, Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1934-43), XXIV, 197.