



# JOURNAL OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC

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## Organ Music *per l'elevatione* and the Council of Trent in Seventeenth-Century Italy: Contexts, Style, and Performance Practices as a Musical Representation of the Nature of the Mass

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### Abstract

Seventeenth-century Italian organ music for the Elevation in the Catholic Mass may be interpreted as an indirect musical consequence of the decree concerning the nature of the Mass issued at the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent (17 September 1562). The Council decreed the sacrificial nature of the Mass to be fully manifested at Elevation. Using slow tempo and an emphasis on chromaticism, dissonance, and suspensions, among other traits, organ pieces for Elevation create a sonic atmosphere that supports the central mystery of the Mass. This study takes into account the context of the conciliar statements; it considers liturgical books and theoretical and pedagogical treatises; it identifies organ pieces for Elevation found in manuscript and printed collections; and it analyzes genres (such as the “*toccata per l'elevatione*”), styles, musical models, and performance practices to demonstrate a clear connection between this music and the reenactment of Christ’s sacrifice.

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## 1. Introduction

1.1 In the traditional Latin Mass, organ music for the Elevation was performed at the moments of consecration and elevation of the Host and the Chalice. The following article, focusing on seventeenth-century Italy, interprets this type of organ piece in relation to the chapters about “the sacrifice of the Mass” issued at the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent (1545–63). It is a central aim of this essay to demonstrate how the musical tropes of Elevation organ music and the prescriptions for the genre made by theorists and composers in that period are meant to express the sacrificial and mysterious nature of the Holy Eucharist asserted by the Council.

1.2 The study is divided into five sections as follows: the conciliar statements about the Mass; the liturgical context in which Elevation organ pieces were performed; the musical forms, style, and models characterizing this music; prescriptions and annotations in Italian sources; and conclusions.<sup>[1]</sup>

## 2. The Tridentine Statements about the Catholic Mass: Sacrificial Nature and Devotion to the Mystery

2.1 After a series of attempts, the Council of Trent finally opened on 13 December 1545, the Gaudete Sunday of that year.<sup>[2]</sup> The council fathers began to deal with the importance of the Mass almost immediately, as early as the first months of 1547, although the decrees were not finalized until the twenty-second session (17 September 1562). At this session, the Council drew on elements from both Scripture and Catholic tradition and reaffirmed earlier Church teaching that the Mass is a re-presentation of Christ’s sacrifice on the Cross. At Mass, the same Christ who has already been immolated is made present under the species of bread and wine and is immolated another time in a bloodless manner. This “true and proper” sacrifice is not additional to the sacrifice at Calvary but consists of one and the same oblation offered to God. Mass is, therefore, Christ’s self-offering

established by him with the Last Supper to prolong the graces received from the sacrifice on the Cross.<sup>[3]</sup>

2.2 In this regard, a couple of interlinked factors are relevant: the mediation of the priest, at whose hands Christ's sacrifice is made present on the altar, and the real presence of Christ ensured by means of the transubstantiation of the Host and the Chalice at the moment of consecration.

2.3 The former aspect was discussed at the twenty-second session (and issued in chapter one): during the Last Supper, Christ instituted the Mass and appointed the apostles as his successors as priests of the New Covenant.<sup>[4]</sup> In effect, the Council restated the "singular status of the priest," connecting priests to Christ through the apostles and the apostolic succession, identifying the priesthood as a distinct order in the Church. In the conciliar perspective, the figure of the priest as a mediator is therefore an essential one and a prerequisite for the validity and efficacy of the Mass.<sup>[5]</sup>

2.4 As regards the transubstantiation of the Host and the Chalice, it had already been discussed at the thirteenth session (11 October 1551), which made the point about Christ's presence in the Eucharistic Sacrament as well.<sup>[6]</sup> The decree on the Eucharist issued on that occasion is based on the teachings of the Fourth Lateran Council,<sup>[7]</sup> and consists of eight chapters and eleven canons. In particular, the fourth chapter deals with the transubstantiation and real presence. It states that, by means of the consecration prayers formulated by the priest before the Elevation, both bread and wine turn into the body and blood of Christ.<sup>[8]</sup> As a result of these two factors, Christ is sacramentally present during Mass, providing the celebration with the same "saving power" of his sacrifice on the Cross for the living and the dead. Notably, as has been remarked,<sup>[9]</sup> the relation between the immolation on the Cross and the Mass is an essential one and develops precisely when bread and wine are consecrated before the Elevation.

2.5 As early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Elevation was perceived as the most important moment of the Eucharistic celebration, the only one considered compulsory to attend.<sup>[10]</sup> As recalled by the introduction to the "Decree concerning the things to be observed and avoided in the celebration of the Mass" (twenty-second session), the Elevation incorporates the holiest and the most divine action a faithful can accomplish, the "tremendous mystery" (*tremendum mysterium*) by which the life-giving Host is immolated as a sacrifice to God for the salvation of all.<sup>[11]</sup> Other connected mysteries are included in this: in addition to the transubstantiation and the real presence just mentioned, the seventh chapter of the

“Doctrine and canons of the Holiest sacrifice of the Mass,” for example, refers to the mystery of water and wine mixed in the Chalice and symbolizing the union between the Church and Christ himself.<sup>[12]</sup> For these reasons, the Council stresses the attitudes of worship, contemplation, and devotion with which the Eucharistic celebration must be approached: in the second, in the fourth, and in the fifth chapter of the same “Doctrine and canons of the Holiest sacrifice of the Mass,” references are made to “awe and reverence” (*metu et reverentia*), to “holiness and devotion” (*sanctitatem ac pietatem*), and to the signs of “religious sentiment and devotion” (*religionis ac pietatis signa*).<sup>[13]</sup> Of course, as the Elevation is the climax of the Mass from the perspective of the faithful, it follows that these expressions of devotion must be manifested in particular at this point of the celebration.

2.6 Given this framework, the Council outlined the nature of the Mass as sacrificial and mysterious. It consists, in fact, in the reenactment of Christ’s sacrifice on the Cross to which the faithful must show the greatest devotion, awe, and worship. Both these facets are displayed at the Elevation when, thanks to the real presence of Christ granted by the transubstantiation and enacted by the priest, the Sacrifice of Calvary is re-offered to God.

### 3. Liturgical Contexts

3.1 In Italy, from the late sixteenth century onwards, organists were principally required to play during Mass and vespers, generally fulfilling four tasks: to accompany instrumentalists and singers in the performance of polyphony; to fill particular liturgical moments with music (processions, for example); to take part in the *alternatim* performance by playing short versets between the verses sung by the choir; and to replace the singing of some liturgical texts with free organ works or improvisations (not always based on a cantus firmus), such as the Introit, the Gradual, the Offertory, the Elevation, and the Communion, or at the position of post-psalm antiphons during the office.<sup>[14]</sup> In particular, Elevation organ music normally consists of free organ works, performed after the Sanctus, replacing the Benedictus, and continuing up to the moment of the elevation of the consecrated bread and wine.<sup>[15]</sup>

3.2 Along with some examples of polyphonic masses that do not include the Benedictus,<sup>[16]</sup> several collections of organ versets for *alternatim* performance confirm this framework and the fact that the Benedictus was not commonly sung by the choir but was assigned to the organ. In the *Annuale* (1645) by Giovanni Battista Fasolo, for instance, one finds not only that two Elevation pieces are explicitly titled “Benedictus et elevatio,”<sup>[17]</sup> but also that one of them is entitled

“Benedictus et elevatio simul,” suggesting that it was conceived for the Benedictus and the Elevation “at the same time” (*simul*). As is the case with the *Annuale*, other Italian printed collections of organ music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries do not generally provide more than two versets for the Sanctus, suggesting that the Benedictus was replaced with an organ piece. Although Matteo Asola’s *Canto fermo sopra Messe, hinni et altre cose ecclesiastiche* (1592) constitutes an exception in this respect, the organ masses by Girolamo Cavazzoni (1543–49), Claudio Merulo (1568), and Andrea Gabrieli (before 1585), as well as those in Bernardino Bottazzi’s *Choro et organo* (1614), Giovanni Salvatore’s *Ricercari a 4 voci, canzoni francesi, toccate e versi per rispondere nelle messe con l’organo al choro Libro Primo* (1641), and Antonio Croci’s *Frutti musicali* (1642), each contain two Sanctus pieces;<sup>[18]</sup> furthermore, in his *L’organo suonarino* (1611), Adriano Banchieri recommends that the organist play “twice and briefly” (“due volte et brevemente”) at the Sanctus.<sup>[19]</sup>

3.3 For the sake of completeness, it must be acknowledged that vocal music could be performed at the Elevation as well—motets for small vocal ensemble, eventually with organ bass, based on texts regarding the presence of Christ in the Host. This practice is attested, moreover, by Lorenzo Ratti’s *Sacræ modulationes* (1628) and also on a smaller scale by Amante Franzoni’s *Apparato musicale* (1613), by Carlo Milanuzzi’s *Armonia sacra* (1622), by the *Avvertimenti* in Ignazio Donati’s *Salmi boscherecci* (1623), and by other sources such as *I-SGc Ms. F.S.M. 58*, which contains at fols. 5r–6r a motet for the Offertory or Elevation (*O dulcissime Jesu*).<sup>[20]</sup> In particular, high relevance is assumed for Agostino Agazzari’s *Eucaristicum melos* (1625), a collection of Sacramental motets for *Quarantore* (Forty Hours Devotion) and, by extension, Elevation.<sup>[21]</sup> Furthermore, it was common practice to use vocal settings of Eucharistic prayers at the Elevation of Requiem Masses when the use of the solo organ was formally forbidden.<sup>[22]</sup>

## 4. Organ Music for the Elevation: Forms, Style, and Models

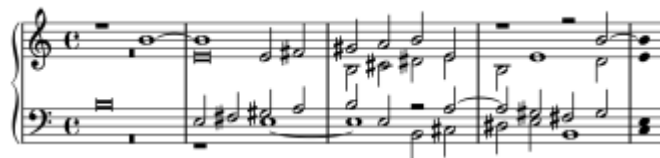
4.1 Table 1 and Table 2 list all seventeenth-century Italian organ music for Elevation found during this research, in printed and manuscript sources respectively (with sigla provided for manuscripts cited in the text).<sup>[23]</sup> As shown there, different musical forms could be adopted for organ pieces conceived for this moment of the liturgy. Together with the pieces generically entitled “Elevazione,” “Elevatione,” or “Elevatio,” the principal musical genre appears to be the “toccata per l’elevatione” (Elevation toccata), a free organ piece that, as Alexander Silbiger

has remarked, has “no exact equivalents in other musical repertoires.”<sup>[24]</sup> Nevertheless, a “Sonata” is found in Banchieri’s *Appendice all’organo suonarino*<sup>[25]</sup> and another in *I-Rv Ms. Z. 121*,<sup>[26]</sup> and a “Toccata in eco” (“ecco” in the source) in *I-COd Ms. AA21–8–40*.<sup>[27]</sup> It also happens that the pieces entitled “Toccata” or “Elevatione” are actually characterized by a contrapuntal style of writing like that of a ricercar: see Banchieri’s Elevatione toccatas in *L’organo suonarino* and the “All’elevatione” at fols. 19r–20r in *I-SGc Ms. F.S.M. 58* (Exx. 1, 2, and 3).<sup>[28]</sup>



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 1. Adriano Banchieri, “Prima Toccata del terzo tono autentico alla levatione del Santissimo Sacramento,” mm. 11–17, in Adriano Banchieri, *L’organo suonarino* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1611), p. 36



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 2. Banchieri, “Seconda Toccata del quinto tono plagale alla levatione del Santissimo Sacramento,” mm. 1–4, in Banchieri, *L’organo suonarino*, p. 37



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 3. Anonymous, “All’elevatione,” mm. 1–10. San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. F.S.M. 58, fol. 19r.

4.2 Among the Elevation organ pieces composed in Italy during the seventeenth century, scholars such as Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini have already pointed out the prominence of Girolamo Frescobaldi's Elevation toccatas contained in the three organ masses (*Messa della Domenica*, *Messa delli apostoli*, and *Messa della Madonna*) of the *Fiori musicali* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1635).<sup>[29]</sup> These three toccatas present many of the characteristics constituting the typical musical style of Italian organ works for Elevation: based on a “melancholic” mode, the third one,<sup>[30]</sup> they are generally characterized by descending imitative themes (Exx. 4, 5, and 6), widespread presence of chromaticism and dissonances (Exx. 6 and 7), suspensions (Exx. 8a, 8b, and 9), expressive figuration typical of that representing weeping and sighing in contemporaneous vocal monody (Ex. 10), and slow pacing (note the “adagio” indications for the toccatas in the *Messa della Domenica* and the *Messa della Madonna*).<sup>[31]</sup>



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 4. Girolamo Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa delli apostoli*), mm. 24–28, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1635), p. 60



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 5. Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa delli apostoli*), mm. 14–21, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*, p. 59



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 6. Frescobaldi, “Toccata cromatica per le levatione” (*Messa della Domenica*), mm. 7–15, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*, p. 23



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 7. Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa degli apostoli*), mm. 1–5, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*, p. 58



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 8a. Frescobaldi, “Toccata cromatica per le levatione” (*Messa della Domenica*), m. 6, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*, p. 23



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 8b. Frescobaldi, “Toccata cromatica per le levatione” (*Messa della Domenica*), m. 20, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*, p. 24



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 9. Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa degli apostoli*), mm. 3–5, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*, p. 58





[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 10. Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa della Madonna*), mm. 18–22, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*, p. 88

4.3 These same characteristics, already present in the two Elevation toccatas in the first edition of Frescobaldi’s *Secondo Libro di Toccate* (Rome: Nicolò Borbone, 1627), are generally found in Elevation organ works by other composers.<sup>[32]</sup> For example, the three pieces in Fasolo’s *Annuale* are provided with a precise slow tempo indication: “very slow, stressing the dissonances” (“largo assai facendo godere le ligature et durezze”) as regards the *Missa in Dominicis diebus*;<sup>[33]</sup> “it will be played very slowly to stress the dissonances” (“si suonera assai largo acciò si godano meglio le ligature”) for the *Missæ in duplicibus diebus*;<sup>[34]</sup> “solemn, with very slow pacing” (“gravis ad tempus maioris perfectionis”) in the *Missæ beatæ Mariæ virginis*.<sup>[35]</sup> Otherwise, as in the case of Frescobaldi’s “Tocata per le levatione” in the *Messa della Madonna* (Ex. 10) and Tocata Quarta of the *Secondo Libro di Toccate* (Ex. 11), Gregorio Strozzi’s Elevation toccata from *Capricci da sonare cembali et organi* (1687) also presents expressive figuration representing vocal sighs and mournful *affetti* (Ex. 12).<sup>[36]</sup> The same figures are employed in the second Elevation toccata in the “Libro Secondo” (1649) by Johann Jakob Froberger (Ex. 13),<sup>[37]</sup> not preserved in an Italian source,<sup>[37]</sup> but composed following the model of Frescobaldi’s Elevation toccatas in his *Secondo Libro di Toccate*.



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 11. Frescobaldi, “Tocata Quarta per l’organo da sonarsi alla levatione,” mm. 46–52, in Frescobaldi, *Secondo Libro di Toccate* (Rome: Nicolò Borbone, 1637), p. 12



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 12. Gregorio Strozzi, “Toccata Quarta per l’elevatione” mm. 32–43, in Strozzi, *Capricci da sonare cembali et organi* (Naples: Novello de Bonis, 1687), pp. 65–66



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 13. Johann Jakob Froberger, “Toccata da sonarsi alla levatione,” m. 16, in Froberger, “Libro Secondo di Toccate, Fantasie, Canzone, Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Gigue, et altre Partite.” Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 18706 (1649), fol. 19v.

4.4 Finally, chromaticism, dissonances, suspensions, and expressive intervals characterize not only these two Elevation works by Froberger and Strozzi (Exx. 14 and 15), but also, for example, those by Fasolo (Exx. 16a and 16b), as well as the Elevation attributed to Frescobaldi in *D-B Ms. Landsberg 122* (Ex. 17), and the “Sonata grave col principale alla levatione” in the *Appendice all’organo suonarino* by Banchieri (Ex. 18).



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 14. Froberger, “Toccata da sonarsi alla levatione,” mm. 11–13, in Froberger, “Libro Secondo,” fol. 16r



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 15. Strozzi, “Tocatta Quarta per l’elevatione,” mm. 19–24, in Strozzi, *Capricci*, p. 65



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 16a. Giovanni Battista Fasolo, “Benedictus et elevatio simul” (*Missa in Dominicis diebus*), mm. 1–5, in Fasolo, *Annuale* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1645), p. 75



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 16b. Fasolo, “Benedictus et elevatio” (*Missa beatæ Mariæ virginis*), mm. 1–5, in Fasolo, *Annuale*, p. 114



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 17. Elevatione, attrib. Frescobaldi, mm. 16–29. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Landsberg 122, fol. 1r.



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 18. Adriano Banchieri, “Sonata grave col principale alla levatione,” mm. 8–11, in Girolamo Banchieri, *Appendice*

*all'organo suonarino* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1638), p. 55

4.5 Three different models dating from the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth can be identified in Italy for the musical style of these organ pieces: madrigals, sacred vocal music, and certain keyboard works of the Neapolitan school.

4.6 Starting in the late sixteenth century, chromaticism, suspensions, dissonances, false relations, audacious harmonic progressions, and augmented or diminished intervals were often associated with poetic texts about death, anguish, solitude, mystery, and melancholy. See for instance the opening of the famous madrigal *Solo e pensoso* by Luca Marenzio (1599), in which the highly chromatic canto line is associated with the solitude expressed in the sonnet by Francesco Petrarca (Ex. 19). Another case in point is *Moro, lasso, al mio duolo* by Gesualdo da Venosa (1611), in which generally highly chromatic chordal writing, typical of Gesualdo, underlines the sections of the text about death and creates a strong contrast with those referring to life (Ex. 20).<sup>[38]</sup>



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 19. Luca Marenzio, *Solo e pensoso*, mm. 1–3, in Marenzio, *Il Nono Libro dei madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1599), [no. 12]



Ex. 21. Marc'Antonio Ingegneri, *Plange quasi virgo*, mm. 1–10, in Ingegneri, *Responsoria hebdomadae sanctae* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1588)



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 22. Emilio de' Cavalieri, opening of "Prima die, Lectio prima," in "Lamentationi del signor Emilio de['] Cavalieri." Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS O 31, fol. 5.

A multi-staff musical score for a vocal and instrumental setting. The lyrics are: "O ma - gnum my - ste - ri - um." The score consists of six staves. The top three staves appear to be vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor/Bass), and the bottom three staves are for keyboard instruments (likely organ or harpsichord). The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 4/4 time signature. The vocal parts have a simple, homophonic setting of the text, while the keyboard parts provide a harmonic accompaniment.

[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 23. Giovanni Gabrieli, *O magnum mysterium*, mm. 1–7, in Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Gabrieli, *Concerti ... Libro Primo et Secondo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1587), [no. 33]

4.8 At the beginning of the seventeenth century, some keyboard composers from Naples began to transfer this musical style to keyboard instruments. As regards this point, once again scholars have focused particularly on Frescobaldi's toccatas, investigating the relationship between them and keyboard works by composers such as Giovanni De Macque, Ascanio Mayone, and Giovanni Maria Trabaci.<sup>[39]</sup> Specifically, providing clear musical examples, Roland Jackson remarked on some connections between De Macque's "Capriccio sopra re mi fa sol," Trabaci's "Consonanze stravaganti," and the beginning of Frescobaldi's Toccata Quarta in the *Secondo Libro di Toccate*. Furthermore, the same scholar identifies common chromatic patterns in Frescobaldi's "Toccata chromatica" (*Messa della Domenica* in the *Fiori musicali*) and Trabaci's "Durezza et ligature."<sup>[40]</sup> In effect, the typical characteristics of the musical style of the organ music for the Elevation were already employed by these Neapolitan composers in keyboard works entitled "Stravaganze," "Consonanze stravaganti," "Durezza et ligature," or merely

“Ligature” or “Durezza.” In particular, De Macque composed two “Stravaganze,” a “Consonanze stravaganti,” and a “Durezza et ligature,”<sup>[41]</sup> and Trabaci a “Durezza et ligature” (1603; Ex. 24), a “Consonanze stravaganti” (1603), and a Toccata Seconda with “Ligature per l’arpa” (1615);<sup>[42]</sup> in addition, several “durezza” sections are found in Mayone’s Toccata Quarta and Toccata Quinta, both composed for the “cembalo chromatico” (1609).<sup>[43]</sup> The titles of these compositions are sufficient to evoke the features of these pieces: “exaggerated chromaticism,” “harmonic boldness accentuated by block chordal texture,” “dissonances and suspensions.”<sup>[44]</sup>



[click image to enlarge]

Ex. 24. Giovanni Maria Trabaci, “Durezza et ligature,” mm. 1–9, in Trabaci, *Ricercate, canzone francese* (Naples: Costantino Vitale, 1603), p. 115

4.9 However, unlike the Elevation pieces, the *stravaganze* of the Neapolitan school are not intended for liturgical purposes: as in the case of Frescobaldi’s Toccata Ottava “di durezza et ligature” (*Secondo Libro di Toccate*), they are remarkable compositions not even explicitly aimed to be performed on the organ. Nevertheless, several Italian organ works for the Elevation could well be considered as a liturgical reinterpretation of these keyboards works. As regards the style of writing, organ pieces like those by Fasolo (Exx. 16a and 16b), for example, are not much different from the “Durezza et ligature” by Trabaci (Ex. 24) or by other Neapolitan composers. In Fasolo’s and others’ Elevation works, however, dissonances, suspensions, and chromaticism are aimed to evoke Christ’s suffering on the Cross: as we have seen, according to the Tridentine decrees, at Elevation the sacrificial nature of the Mass is fully manifested, and the reenactment of Christ’s sacrifice on the Cross takes place. For this reason, the style of the organ music performed at Elevation must provide a sonic atmosphere able to recall, even recreate, that mystery: it is not by chance, therefore, that the “durezza” recurring in the Neapolitan keyboard works, as well as many of the musical tropes used in sacred and profane vocal music relating to Passion, death, and mystery, were deemed suitable for the organ repertory for Elevation.

## 5. Performance Practices: Prescriptions in Treatises and Annotations in the Scores

5.1 At this point, the relationship between the Tridentine decrees on the sacrificial nature of the Mass and the organ music conceived for Elevation may appear rather clear. However, analysis of the genres, styles, and stylistic models of these organ pieces gives only an implicit confirmation of this connection; it becomes more explicit in light of several liturgical books and theoretical and pedagogical treatises produced in Italy in the decades after the Council.

5.2 Although rather generic, the first official prescription for organ music for the Elevation is found in the *Cærimoniale Episcoporum* (1600), the official post-Tridentine manual regarding liturgy. In this text a chapter is devoted to the organ, organist, singers, and other musicians, and to the rules they must follow during the divine services.<sup>[45]</sup> In particular, the *Cærimoniale* not only specifies the liturgical occasions on which the organ must be used, but also describes when to use the instrument during Mass. Nevertheless, the Elevation is the only liturgical moment for which a description of the most appropriate music is provided: the organ must be played “with solemn and sweet sound” (“graviori et dulciori sono”) to create a contemplative atmosphere suitable for the most mysterious of all liturgical moments.

5.3 From the *Cærimoniale* this general prescription passed to music treatises. In the “Ordered Table for Novice Organists” (“Tabella ordinata per gli organisti principianti”) presented in the 1605 edition of his *L'organo suonarino*, Adriano Banchieri explains that at the Elevation one must play slowly and quietly and that the music performed must “excite to devotion” (“Poi si suona alla Levatione, ma piano, et cosa grave che muovi alla devotione”).<sup>[46]</sup> Something similar can be read in a second text by Banchieri, the *Conclusioni sul suono dell'organo* (1609), chapter nine (“Nona conclusione”): “At the Elevation one must play slowly, expressing devotion” (“suonasi alla levatione con gravità che rendi devotione”).<sup>[47]</sup>

5.4 Furthermore, the *Cærimoniale*'s remarks were interpreted by composers as performance practice suggestions or as organ stop indications, aimed at providing organ music for the Elevation with the required “solemn and sweet sound.” Evidence for such interpretations is found in composers' advice to performers included in the prefaces to scores or in the scores themselves. Since no specific indications about Elevation toccatas are present in Frescobaldi's suggestions “to the readers,” one might turn to the preface of Fasolo's *Annuale* in which, firstly, he



recommends playing at the Elevation as slowly as possible: “The Elevation must be played very slowly” (“la elevatione vuol essere gravissima”). Secondly, in his opinion, the organist must exaggerate the duration of the dissonances: “[Organists] should pay no attention to whether the notes are white or black; they should emphasize the suspensions, holding the dissonances longer than the notated beat” (“non guardino che le figure siano o bianche o negre ma facciano cadere le ligature, sostenendole alquanto più della sua misura”).<sup>[48]</sup> These two remarks are reiterated in the scores of the three Elevation pieces, where Fasolo inserts the quoted indications about tempo and dissonances. It is evident that the two factors underlined by Fasolo (a very slow tempo and the emphasis on dissonances) combine to create musically, on the one hand, the mysterious atmosphere demanded by the *Cærimoniale* and evoked by the Tridentine decrees, and, on the other, the sufferings of the Cross.

5.5 Another indication found in a score of an organ piece for Elevation is the “accentando” markings in Strozzi’s *Toccata per l’elevatione* (Ex. 12). These indications accompany the same dotted-rhythm figurations used in Elevation toccatas by Frescobaldi and Froberger (Exx. 10, 11, and 13) and were pointed out by Barton Hudson in his 1967 article on Strozzi’s *Capricci*.<sup>[49]</sup> Hudson, stressing the rarity of these “verbal directions,” supposes that the composer was probably suggesting to the organist “a very pointed rhythmic interpretation.”<sup>[50]</sup> In addition to this speculation, it should be noted that Strozzi, with the word “accentando,” is also referring to a performance practice typical of vocal monody in the seventeenth century. Focusing especially on the violin, Constance Frei has shown that in Italy solo instrumental music of the first decades of seventeenth century was strongly influenced by vocal performance practice, as attested by a series of stylistic peculiarities in works by Biagio Marini (1594–1663) and others.<sup>[51]</sup> As Rebecca Cypess indicates, theorists and composers of this period were convinced of the communicative power of the violin, a musical instrument considered particularly capable of imitating the human voice.<sup>[52]</sup> Vocal music came to influence keyboard music as well, as demonstrated by Frescobaldi’s prefaces to his books of toccatas, in which the composer underlines the relation between the performance of these compositions and that of the contemporary madrigal. As the research of Étienne Darbellay, Francesco Tasini, and Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini has detailed, the interpreter is invited to move the *affetti* of the listener (not surprisingly defined “*affetti cantabili*” by Frescobaldi) by means of a constant elasticity in the pulsation of the beat, in order to give the work a sense of variety, spontaneity, and contrast.<sup>[53]</sup> In the case of Strozzi, however, this concept of variety is not applied on a metrical level, but on a melodic one. In fact, as vocal treatises already prescribed at

the end of sixteenth century,<sup>[54]</sup> to add beauty and interest to the musical discourse, the singing line should be performed alternating a long note with a shorter one or vice versa: these variations of the natural accentuation of the musical discourse, more improvised by performers than written down by composers, were called “accenti.”<sup>[55]</sup> As regards instrumental music, the prescription of this practice was intended to better convey the *affetti* by trying to imitate the metrical flexibility of human singing and speech. Therefore, with his “accentando” indication, Strozzi is probably referring to this vocal practice—that is, trying to evoke mournful human singing in the playing of the organ during the reenactment at Elevation of Christ’s dolorous sacrifice.

5.6 As for the organ stop indications, the first source deserving attention is Costanzo Antegnati’s *Arte organica* (1608).<sup>[56]</sup> Concerning the Elevation, Antegnati states that he usually played using the “principale solo” at this liturgical moment, as this stop is a very sweet one (“delicatissimo”), also well-suited to accompanying a small number of voices singing motets. Additionally, to create an even sweeter atmosphere, the *principale* can be used with the tremulant stop (“tremolante”) but while playing slowly and without diminutions (“adagio et senza diminuire”). In the same way, one must play using the combination “principale” and “fiffaro”: this last stop, also known as “registro de voci humane,” or simply “voce umana,” consists of a rank of pipes slightly mistuned to the *principale*, giving the organ sound a very mystical effect.<sup>[57]</sup> In this case, the organist must play slowly and as smoothly as possible (“adagio con movimenti tardi et legato più che si può”). One year after Antegnati’s publication, Girolamo Diruta deals indirectly with organ stops at Elevation, in the second part of his organ manual *Il Transilvano* (1609). Diruta’s prescriptions for organ registration depend on the ecclesiastical modes as each mode naturally evokes a specific musical atmosphere to which the organ stops must be adapted. With regard to the modes suitable for the Elevation, like Antegnati, Diruta requires the organist to play using the “principale solo” with tremulant (“principale solo con il tremolo”) for the second and fourth modes or “some flute stop” (“qualche registro del flauto”) for the fourth mode. The *flauto* must be used to obtain an eight-foot pitch (“nelle sue corde naturali” or “nelli suoi tasti naturali”) conveying a sad mood (“con la modulatione mesta”).<sup>[58]</sup>

5.7 Furthermore, as regards the relation between Elevation organ music and Tridentine decrees, it is of great importance that Diruta explicitly connects the organ music performed at the Elevation to the reenactment of Christ’s sacrifice. Addressing organists directly, in fact, he recommends the second and fourth modes

as the most appropriate for music intended for this moment of the liturgy because they are associated with melancholy and a sense of sadness and pain. These two modes, he writes, must be used at the Elevation to imitate in the organ playing “the hard and bitter torments of the Passion” (“imitando con il sonare li duri et aspri tormenti della Passione”).<sup>[59]</sup> This assertion by Diruta directly associates Christ’s Passion with the features of the organ music considered suitable for Elevation. That association represents the key to understanding the theological implications expressed by this particular typology of liturgical music.<sup>[60]</sup> In this passage of the *Transilvano*, Diruta, a pupil of Zarlino—foregrounding the seventeenth-century discussion of the ethos of modes<sup>[61]</sup>—provides the clearest means to interpret all the material concerning organ music for the Elevation analyzed in this research: its musical style, the theoretical prescriptions about it, and its relation with the Tridentine decrees about the nature of the Mass.

## 6. Conclusions

6.1 As Craig A. Monson has demonstrated in his seminal article about the Council of Trent, the conciliar stipulations about church music are much less “than many music historians have commonly suggested.”<sup>[62]</sup> As decreed during the twenty-fourth session (11 November 1563), the majority of decisions to reform church music would continue to be taken at a local level, as had long been the case; and despite an interest in music in their preliminary deliberations, the Council members did not in the end make much of that commentary official: the well-known decree prohibiting lascivious music in church, issued at the twenty-second session, was in fact the only official pronouncement concerning music.<sup>[63]</sup> However, as Paolo Prodi suggests, it seems possible to detect some indirect musical products of the Tridentine resolutions, originating from decrees regarding subjects other than music.<sup>[64]</sup> As regards seventeenth-century Italy, organ music for the Elevation can be deemed another of these indirect musical products. Considering its musical language alongside the prescriptions of treatises and liturgical books, we should see this music as a consequence of the Tridentine decrees on the theology and nature of the Mass, that is, of the sacramental and mysterious re-presentation of Christ’s sacrifice at Calvary. As taught by the Tridentine Catechism (first edition: 1566), faith was conceived by hearing (“Fides ex auditu concipiatur”).<sup>[65]</sup> For this reason, in view of the centrality of Elevation at Mass, no other type of liturgical organ music is so intimately related to the liturgy as organ music for the Elevation. Not so different from post-Tridentine preaching encouraging the faithful to penetrate sacred mysteries through an emotional involvement,<sup>[66]</sup> the organ pieces performed at the Elevation provided a sonic experience aimed to excite the spirit to devotion



and to move the senses towards a physical and spiritual understanding of the Mass as a sacrifice.<sup>[67]</sup>

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## Examples

Ex. 1. Adriano Banchieri, “Prima Toccata del terzo tono autentico alla levatione del Santissimo Sacramento,” mm. 11–17, in Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (1611)

Ex. 2. Banchieri, “Seconda Toccata del quinto tono plagale alla levatione del Santissimo Sacramento,” mm. 1–4, in Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino*

Ex. 3. Anonymous, “All'elevatione,” mm. 1–10. San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. F.S.M. 58.

Ex. 4. Girolamo Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa delli apostoli*), mm. 24–28, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali* (1635)

Ex. 5. Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa delli apostoli*), mm. 14–21, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*

Ex. 6. Frescobaldi, “Toccata cromatica per le levatione” (*Messa della Domenica*), mm. 7–15, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*

Ex. 7. Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa delli apostoli*), mm. 1–5, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*

Ex. 8a. Frescobaldi, “Toccata cromatica per le levatione” (*Messa della Domenica*), m. 6, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*

Ex. 8b. Frescobaldi, “Toccata cromatica per le levatione” (*Messa della Domenica*), m. 20, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*

- Ex. 9. Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa degli apostoli*), mm. 3–5, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*
- Ex. 10. Frescobaldi, “Tocata per le levatione” (*Messa della Madonna*), mm. 18–22, in Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali*
- Ex. 11. Frescobaldi, “Tocata Quarta per l’organo da sonarsi alla levatione,” mm. 46–52, in Frescobaldi, *Secondo Libro di Toccate* (1637)
- Ex. 12. Gregorio Strozzi, “Tocata Quarta per l’elevatione,” mm. 32–43, in Strozzi, *Capricci da sonare cembali et organi* (1687)
- Ex. 13. Johann Jakob Froberger, “Tocata da sonarsi alla levatione,” m. 16, in Froberger, “Libro Secondo.” Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 18706 (1649).
- Ex. 14. Froberger, “Tocata da sonarsi alla levatione,” mm. 11–13, in Froberger, “Libro Secondo”
- Ex. 15. Strozzi, “Tocata Quarta per l’elevatione,” mm. 19–24, in Strozzi, *Capricci*
- Ex. 16a. Giovanni Battista Fasolo, “Benedictus et elevatio simul” (*Missa in Dominicis diebus*), mm. 1–5, in Fasolo, *Annuale* (1645)
- Ex. 16b. Fasolo, “Benedictus et elevatio” (*Missa beatæ Mariæ virginis*), mm. 1–5, in Fasolo, *Annuale*
- Ex. 17. Elevatione, attrib. Frescobaldi, mm. 16–29. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Landsberg 122.
- Ex. 18. Adriano Banchieri, “Sonata grave col principale alla levatione,” mm. 8–11, in Girolamo Banchieri, *Appendice all’organo suonarino* (1638)
- Ex. 19. Luca Marenzio, *Solo e pensoso*, mm. 1–3, in Marenzio, *Il Nono Libro dei madrigali a cinque voci* (1599)
- Ex. 20. Carlo Gesualdo, *Moro lasso, al mio duolo*, mm. 34–42, in Gesualdo, *Madrigali a cinque voci Libro Sesto* (1611)
- Ex. 21. Marc’Antonio Ingegneri, *Plange quasi virgo*, mm. 1–10, in Ingegneri, *Responsoria hebdomadæ sanctæ* (1588)

Ex. 22. Emilio de' Cavalieri, opening of "Prima die, Lectio prima," in "Lamentationi del signor Emilio de['] Cavalieri." Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS O 31.

Ex. 23. Giovanni Gabrieli, *O magnum mysterium*, mm. 1–7, in Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Gabrieli, *Concerti ... Libro Primo et Secondo* (1587)

Ex. 24. Giovanni Maria Trabaci, "Durezza et ligature," mm. 1–9, in Trabaci, *Ricercate, canzone francese* (1603)

## Tables

Table 1. Organ music for Elevation in seventeenth-century Italian printed sources

Table 2. Organ music for Elevation in seventeenth-century Italian manuscript sources

## References

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[1] Translations of Italian and Latin texts are provided by the author. For translations, titles of works, and titles of early editions, punctuation and capitalization are standardized following current usage; titles and sources are presented without abbreviations. If not part of titles, the words “elevatione” and “levatione” are always presented in this spelling although it is possible to find them in sources as “elevazione,” “eleuazione,” “levazione,” or “leuatione.” As regards musical examples, all transcriptions are based on the original print or manuscript; original note values are maintained, and, in some cases, cautionary accidentals are added in small type. Keyboard works originally printed in score are given here on two staves. In vocal works, modern clefs are employed and *ligaturæ* are designated by solid brackets.

[2] As regards the events of the Council of Trent, the classic reference is Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* (Freiburg: Herder, 1970–78). See also John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013). A clear analysis specifically about the sacrifice of the Mass is provided in John F. McHugh, “The Sacrifice of the Mass at the Council of Trent,” in *Sacrifice and Redemption: Durham Essays in Theology*, ed. Stephen W. Sykes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 157–81.

[3] “Idem ille Christus continetur et incruente immolatur, qui semel in ara crucis se ipsum cruenta obtulit.” For the text of the decrees: Klaus Ganzer, Giuseppe Alberigo, and Alberto Melloni, eds., *Conciliorum œcumenicorum decreta: Editio critica* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 3:99–109.

[4] Ganzer, Alberigo, and Melloni, *Conciliorum œcumenicorum decreta*, 3:98–99.

[5] Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 224–26.

[6] Ganzer, Alberigo, and Melloni, *Conciliorum œcumenicorum decreta*, 3:50–56.

[7] Pietro Maranesi, “Questioni teologiche e pastorali sull'Eucarestia nel Lateranense IV,” in *Negotium fidei: Miscellanea di studi offerti a Mariano d'Alatri in occasione del suo 80° compleanno*, ed. Pietro Maranesi (Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 2002), 67–102.

[8] Ganzer, Alberigo, and Melloni, *Conciliorum œcumenicorum decreta*, 3:53: “By means of the consecration of bread and wine, all the substance of bread becomes substance of Christ's body and all the substance of wine becomes substance of Christ's blood” (“per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi domini nostri et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis eius”).

[9] McHugh, “The Sacrifice of the Mass at the Council of Trent,” 176–81; Franco Buzzi, *Il concilio di Trento (1545–1563): breve introduzione ad alcuni temi teologici principali* (Milan: Glossa, 1995), 128–45; and André Duval, *Des Sacrements au Concile de Trent* (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1985), 61–150.

[10] See the historical introduction in Agnese Pavanello, “The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 9 (2017): 33–59, at 34–

37. For the importance of the visual aspects related to Elevation and Eucharist, see Achim Timmermann, “A View of the Eucharist on the Eve of the Protestant Reformation,” in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden: Brill), 365–98. The centrality of the visual perception of the Elevation was exemplified, for instance, by congregants asking the priest to “hold up” the Host to allow them to see it: see Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945), 620; digitized at <https://archive.org/details/20191218theshapeoftheliturgy/>; new ed. (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2005).

[11] Ganzer, Alberigo, and Melloni, *Concilioꝝ œcumenicoꝝ decreta*, 3:103.

[12] Ganzer, Alberigo, and Melloni, *Concilioꝝ œcumenicoꝝ decreta*, 3:101.

[13] Ganzer, Alberigo, and Melloni, *Concilioꝝ œcumenicoꝝ decreta*, 3:100–1.

[14] Arnaldo Morelli, “The Role of the Organ in Performance Practices of Italian Sacred Polyphony during the Cinquecento,” *Musica disciplina* 50 (1996): 239–70; and Michael Dodds, “Organ Improvisation in 17th-Century Office Liturgy: Contexts, Styles, and Sources,” *Philomusica on-line* 11, no. 2 (2012): 23–48, <http://riviste.paviauniversitypress.it/index.php/phi/article/view/1450>.

[15] Luigi F. Tagliavini, “Varia frescobaldiana,” *L’Organo* 48–49 (2016–17): 313–58, at 339–40; see also Stephen Bonta, “The Uses of the Sonata da Chiesa,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22, no. 1 (1969), 54–84, at 71. John Caldwell and Bonnie J. Blackburn, in *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Elevation,” published 2001, state that Elevation music was performed “during and after the consecration (as far as the Pater Noster).”

[16] See, for example, the two masses attributed by Tagliavini and Mischiati to Frescobaldi, which do not present the Benedictus: Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Due messe a otto voci e basso continuo*, ed. Luigi F. Tagliavini and O. Mischiati (Milan: Suivini Zerboni, 1975). On the disputed authorship of these two masses, see Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: An Extended Biography* (website published by the author, 2017; last updated 2023), catalog of works, section 4, <https://girolamofrescobaldi.com/catalog-2/>. See also nine manuscript masses by Francesco Spagnoli Rusca (died 1704), all without Benedictus: *I-CO* R1, R2, R4, R5, R6, R7, R14, R54, R58.

[17] Giovanni Battista Fasolo, *Annuale che contiene tutto quello che deve far un organista per risponder al choro tutto l’anno* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1645), 75–77 and 114–15.

[18] Giovanni Matteo Asola, *Canto fermo sopra Messe, hinni, et altre cose ecclesiastiche appartenenti a’ sonatori d’organo per giustamente rispondere al coro* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1592): see the cantus firmus of Benedictus and Hosanna in the *Messa degli apostoli et feste doppie*; Girolamo Cavazzoni, *Intabulatura d’organo cioè Misse, hinni, Magnificat Libro Secondo* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1543–49); Claudio Merulo, *Messe d’intavolatura d’organo Libro Quarto* (Venice: the author, 1568); Andrea Gabrieli, “Messe tre di ms. Andrea Gabrieli,” in *Intavolatura d’organo tedesca della Biblioteca nazionale di Torino*, vol. 3, fols. 51r–80r; Bernardino Bottazzi, *Choro et organo* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614); Giovanni Salvatore, *Ricercari a 4 voci, canzoni francesi, toccate e versi per rispondere nelle messe con l’organo al choro Libro Primo* (Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1641); and Antonio Croci, *Frutti musicali* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1642). See also *I-SGc* Ms. F.S.M. 58, fols. 25r–v.

[19] Adriano Banchieri, *L’organo suonarino* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1611), 45.

[20] Lorenzo Ratti, *Sacræ modulationes* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1628); Amante Franzoni, *Apparato musicale* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1613); Carlo Milanuzzi, *Armonia sacra di concerti, Messa et canzoni a cinque voci* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1622); and Ignazio Donati, *Salmi boscherecci* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1623): *Avvertimenti spettanti alla presente opera*. For the motet in *I-SGc* Ms. F.S.M.



58, see Christine Jeanneret, *L'œuvre en filigrane: une étude philologique des manuscrits de musique pour clavier à Rome au XVIIe siècle* (Florence: Olschki, 2009), 412.

[21] Agostino Agazzari, *Eucaristicum melos* (Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1625). As regards Eucharistic motets performed during the *Quarantore*, see Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 155.

[22] Owen Ress, *The Requiem of Tomás Luis de Victoria (1603)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 139; and Antonio Chemotti, “Motets and the Liturgy for the Dead in Italy: Text Typologies and Contexts of Performance,” in *Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era*, ed. Esperanza Rodríguez-García and Daniele V. Filippi (Abington, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), 57–84, at 58–67.

[23] For attributions and dating of the works in Table 2, See Jeanneret, *L'œuvre en filigrane*, or, for works with “F” numbers, Alexander Silbiger, *Frescobaldi Thematic Catalogue Online*, JSCM Instrumenta 6 (published 2010, last revised 2021), <https://frescobaldi.sscm-jscm.org>.

[24] Alexander Silbiger, “Fantasy and Craft: The Solo Instrumentalist,” in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 426–78, at 466.

[25] Adriano Banchieri, *Appendice all'organo suonarino* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1638), 55–56.

[26] Jeanneret, *L'œuvre en filigrane*, 394.

[27] Jeanneret, *L'œuvre en filigrane*, 121.

[28] *Sonate da organo di varii autori*, ed. Giulio Cesare Arresti (Bologna?: n.p., 1697–98?)—placed in Table 1 despite the uncertain publication date—includes two Elevation works for organ: on p. 20, Giulio Cesare Arresti, “Sonata 16 dell’Aresti Elevazione sopra il Pange lingua” (based on a cantus firmus), and on p. 15, Bartolomeo Monari, Sonata 11a. On this source see C. Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700*, vol. 2 (Florence: Olschki, 1968; reprint, 2008), 194; O. Mischiati, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. “Arresti, Giulio Cesare,” [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-cesare-arresti\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-cesare-arresti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/) (accessed 6 June 2024); and Gaspari On Line, no. V.192, <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=10578> (accessed 6 June 2024).

[29] Tagliavini, “Varia frescobaldiana,” 344. All Elevation toccatas attributed to Frescobaldi are presented in Silbiger, *Frescobaldi Thematic Catalogue Online*: see “F” numbers in Tables 1 and 2. (The disputed masses mentioned in n. 16 above appear in Silbiger as F 1.01 and F 1.02.)

[30] Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1622; first published by Vincenti in 1609), book 4, p. 22. See also par. 5.6-7 below regarding Diruta’s discussion of the ecclesiastical modes.

[31] For a general analysis of these works and a comparison with the toccatas in Frescobaldi’s *Secondo Libro di Toccate*, see Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: An Extended Biography*, par. 18.17–18.18, <https://girolamofrescobaldi.com/18-last-works/>. Original 1983 edition is available in Italian: Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi*, trans. Roberto Pagano (Palermo: L’Epos, 2002), 301.

[32] It could be said that the Elevation toccatas in the *Secondo Libro di Toccate* by Frescobaldi are the first ones intended not merely as functional music for liturgy but also as an artistic product.

[33] Fasolo, *Annuale*, 75.

[34] Fasolo, *Annuale*, 97.

[35] Fasolo, *Annuale*, 114. I would like to thank Lorenzo Ghielmi for his help regarding the interpretation of this indication by Fasolo.

[36] I would like to thank Eve Fairbanks for providing me with a digitized version of the original print (*US-Cah* 2810.5.1).

[37] As not Italian, this source (*A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 18076, fols. 15r–20v) is not listed in Table 2.

[38] On modes and chromaticism see Zhuqing L. Hu, “Towards Modal Coherence: Mode and Chromaticism in Carlo Gesualdo’s Two Settings of *O vos omnes*,” *Early Music* 43, no. 1 (2015): 63–78.

[39] Dinko Fabris, “Frescobaldi et les Napolitains: une nouvelle source,” in *A Fresco: mélanges offerts au professeur Étienne Darbellay*, ed. Brenno Boccadoro and Georges Starobinski (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013), 27–49; Frederick Hammond, “Girolamo Frescobaldi and the Hypothesis of Neapolitan Influences,” in *La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento*, ed. Domenico Antonio D’Alessandro and Agostino Ziino (Rome: Torre d’Orfeo, 1987), 217–36; Anthony Newcomb, “Frescobaldi’s Toccatas and Their Stylistic Ancestry,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 111 (1984): 28–44; and Roland Jackson, “On Frescobaldi’s Chromaticism and its Background,” *The Musical Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (1971): 255–69.

[40] Jackson, “On Frescobaldi’s Chromaticism,” 257–59.

[41] Alexander Silbiger, *Italian Manuscript Sources of 17th Century Keyboard Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980), 169.

[42] Giovanni Maria Trabaci, *Ricercate, canzone francese* (Naples: Costantino Vitale, 1603), 115–16; and Giovanni Maria Trabaci, *Il Secondo Libro de Ricercate, et altri varii capricci* (Naples: Giovanni Giacomo Carlino, 1615), 85–87.

[43] Ascanio Mayone, *Secondo Libro di diversi capricci per sonare* (Naples: Giovanni Battista Gargano and Lucrezio Nucci, 1609), 110–23. See also two manuscript works by Ercole Pasquini entitled “Durezza et ligature” and “Durezza”: Silbiger, *Italian Manuscript Sources*, 180–81.

[44] Hammond, “Girolamo Frescobaldi and the Hypothesis of Neapolitan Influences,” 228–29. *Durezza* and *ligature*, in this context, mean, respectively, dissonances and suspensions; *consonanze stravaganti* are strange harmonies.

[45] *Cærimoniale episcoporum* (Rome: *Typographia Linguarum expenarum*, 1600), 111–13 (133–36 in the edition digitized at <https://archive.org/details/caeremonialeepiscoporum1600/mode/2up>).

[46] Adriano Banchieri, *L’organo suonarino* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1605; reprint, Amsterdam: F. Knuf, [1969]), 38. In addition to the complete 1605 edition, Knuf’s facsimile includes the portions of the 1611 and 1638 editions cited above; digitized at <https://books.google.com/books?id=yzYZAQAAAJ&printsec>.

[47] Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni sul suono dell’organo* (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1609), 22–23.

[48] Fasolo, *Annuale*, 3.

[49] Barton Hudson, “Notes on Gregorio Strozzi and his *Capricci*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20, no. 2 (1967): 209–21.

[50] Hudson, “Notes on Gregorio Strozzi and his *Capricci*,” 212.

[51] See Constance Frei, *L'arco sonoro: Articulation et ornamentation; les différentes pratiques d'exécution pour violon en Italie au XVIIe siècle* (Lucca: LIM, 2011), passim.

[52] Rebecca Cypess, “‘Esprimere la voce umana’: Connections between Vocal and Instrumental Music by Italian Composers of the Early Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Musicology* 27, no. 2 (2010): 181–223, at 182.

[53] Étienne Darbellay, “‘Stile fantastico, passi, affetti: des Imprese musicali?’: Le temps comme interprète de l'espace et la forme comme histoire,” in *Fiori musicologici: studi in onore di Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini nella ricorrenza del suo LXX compleanno*, ed. François Seydoux (Bologna: Patron, 2001), 175–217; Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, “Gli affetti cantabili nella musica di Girolamo Frescobaldi,” in *Docere, delectare, movere: affetti, devozione e retorica nel linguaggio artistico del primo barocco romano*, ed. Sible de Blaauw, Pieter-Matthijs Gijbers, Sebastian Schütze, and Bert Treffers (Rome: De Luca, 1998), 121–36; and Francesco Tasini, “‘Vocalità’strumentale della toccata frescobaldiana: un linguaggio tradito,” *Musica/realità* 10, no. 1 (1983): 143–62.

[54] Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1594), 11.

[55] See, for example, Francesco Rognoni, *Selva de varii passaggi* (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1620), [51].

[56] Costanzo Antegnati, *L'arte organica* (Brescia: Francesco Tebaldino, 1608), [7–9].

[57] About the *tremolante*: Stewart Carter, “The String Tremolo in the 17th Century,” *Early Music* 19, no. 1 (1991): 43–60. See also a letter by the organist Giovanni Battista Morsolino in Federico Terzi, “Giovanni Battista Morsolino organista del Duomo di Milano: inedite fonti liturgiche, organistiche e organarie per la cattedrale milanese tra Cinque e Seicento,” *Ævum* 96, no. 3 (2022): 579–607, at 584–85. As regards the *voce umana*, see Pier Paolo Donati, “*Corpus* dei documenti sulla manifattura degli organi in Italia dal XIV al XVII secolo VI: documenti dal 1551 al 1580,” *Informazione organistica* 37 (2015): 223–301, at 238–43.

[58] Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, book 4, 22.

[59] Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, book 4, 22.

[60] A later association of the second mode with Christ is found in Giulio Cesare Marinelli, *Via retta della voce corale* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1671), 86. In Marinelli's opinion, this mode is suitable for singing of “plaintive, sad, and gloomy feelings dealing with death, humility, lowliness, moons, waters, and the Second Person of the most Holy Trinity” (“sensi lamentevoli, mesti, e lugubri, che trattano di morte, di humilta, di bassezza, di Lune, di acque, e della seconda Persona della Santissima Trinità”).

[61] Vania Dal Maso, *Teoria e pratica della musica italiana del Rinascimento* (Lucca: LIM, 2017), 189–240.

[62] Craig A. Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisited,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (2002), 1–37, at 3. Monson's musicological revisitation of the Council of Trent may be placed in the historiographical reconsideration of this Council, no longer considered as an isolated and decisive event, but as a culmination of a long series of reform attempts begun before it and continued after its conclusion. See, for example, John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[63] Ganzer, Alberigo, and Melloni, *Conciliarum œcumenicorum decreta*, 3:104.

[64] Paolo Prodi, *Arte e Pietà nella chiesa tridentina* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014), 261–64.

[65] *Catechismus ex decreto concilii Tridentini ad parochos ...* (Rome: in *Ædibus populi Romani*, 1566), 3.

[66] Samuele Giombi, *Libri e pulpiti: Letteratura, sapienza, storia religiosa nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Carocci, 2001).

[67] In this sense, organ music for the Elevation can be seen at the same time as one of the most interesting cases in point for the phenomenon of “listening as spiritual practice”; see Andrew Dell’Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).