LARS BERGLUND

The circulation of Giacomo Carissimi's sacred music, in Rome and abroad

STUDYING THE CIRCULATION of the music of Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) poses some challenges, largely related to problems of attribution and authorship. Those problems result from the restricted accessibility of Carissimi's music during his lifetime—a consequence of both the limited access to the composer's autograph scores and the absence of self-published printed editions. This limited availability manifested itself not only north of the Alps; it seems it was just as prevalent in Italy and in the composer's hometown of Rome, even in his lifetime.

As a result, there are very few works preserved in manuscript that have an assured origin from the composer himself and his inner circle, and only a small number of works published in printed editions with a similar provenance. There are a large number of posthumous manuscripts preserved at distant locales and of obscure provenance. Consequently, many problems of attribution remain, regardless of various efforts to sort them out.[1]

This text attempts to shed some new light on questions of the circulation and attribution of Carissimi's sacred works with the help of a source that has not been considered in this context: a music catalogue from Chiesa del Gesù in Rome.

The dispersal of Carissimi's autographs

The reason for the lack of Carissimi autographs is quite well known, but has been recounted in different versions. On his deathbed, Carissimi told his confessor, Gasparo Gioacchini, that his music should remain in the house of the Jesuit college where he lived and worked, the German College (Collegium Germanicum). The preservation of these

1 See, for example, Jones 1982; 1988.

manuscripts was clearly considered of great importance at the college. Later the same day, the confessor Gioacchini testified to Carissimi's wish before a notary, who drew up a legal document stipulating that the music composed by Carissimi should stay in the church and at the college and that he wished that his estate should found two chaplaincies and pay the salary of two soprano castratos for the Church of Sant'Apollinare.[2] Only two weeks later, the superiors of the college procured a quite remarkable brief from Pope Clement X. It stated that removing Carissimi's musical works from the college and church, or lending them to any person or religious institution, should be punishable by excommunication.[3]

This papal decree immediately led to controversy. An undated document in the college archives refers to a great many requests to at least allow people to make copies of the music. In the document, the copying of the scores is referred to as something that would do great harm (*pregiuditio*) to the college, and it is suggested that the pope should issue an additional brief also prohibiting copies from being made and taken out of the college. The reason indicated for these concerns is that the music had been composed "not without great expense to the college" ("non sine magna impensa del Collegio") and that the college should be relieved of the obligation to prove that it had paid for the music. The document concludes that as long as the music of the Church of Sant'Apollinare was not too dispersed in copies, it would retain its value (*peggio*).

It is not self-evident whether *peggio* here refers to value of a more symbolic kind, or rather to economic value. Possibly, it could imply the benefit of having a unique repertoire, not accessible elsewhere, by such a highly esteemed composer available for performance at the church. This could draw larger crowds to the church services—which was clearly an important reason for spending so much on music in Sant'Apollinare.[4] Still, the reference in the document to threats of a

2 The documents are published in Culley 1970, pp. 338–339, with an English translation, pp. 193–194.

3 Published in Culley 1970, pp. 358–359, with an English translation, p. 195.

4 This argument is made explicitly in documents in the college archive, discussing the function of music at the college and church; see Culley 1970, pp. 95–104.

lawsuit by the composer's heirs indicates that the value referred to was also of an economic kind.[5] A contemporary example substantiates this: the efforts taken by Bonifacio Graziani's heirs to secure the publishing rights to his works confirm that a musical estate of this kind was considered to have important economic and commercial value.[6]

It has repeatedly been claimed that Carissimi's autograph scores were already dispersed in connection with the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, when the German College was allegedly closed and plundered. This is arguably erroneous:[7] The Carissimi manuscripts most likely stayed at the college and its church at least until 1798.

According to Andreas Steinhuber's history of the German College, the suppression of the Jesuit Order did not at all result in the closure of the college. On the contrary, teaching continued more or less as usual after the publication of Clemence XIV's breve dissolving the Order, but now under the supervision of the Dominicans and some ex-Jesuits.[8] There is no evidence that the college or church was pillaged at this point. It was not until the French occupation and the so-called Roman Republic of 1798–1799 that the college was closed and plundered. At this point, treasures, furniture and other items of the college and church were auctioned off.[9] It seems likely that the music collection of the church was taken away at the same time. It is not known whether the Carissimi autographs were kept in the college, or instead were housed in the choir library of the church. Giocchini's testimony mentions that the musical works that he had composed for the institution should stay "in the Church and College" ("alla Chiesa e Collegio").[10]

5 Carissimi's heirs were rather distant relatives: the two cousins Girolama and Caterina, daughters of his mother's brother Alessandro, and Barnaba Ruina, the grandson of his sister Polinnia; Cametti 1917, pp. 409, 412, 417.

6 Berglund 2011, p. viii.

7 This is already implied in Baini 1828, p. 311, and then repeated in Cametti 1917, p. 385, with reference to Alfieri 1845, pp. 55–56; however, Alaleona 1908, p. 253, instead identified the French occupation as the moment when the manuscripts became dispersed; Culley 1970, p. 196, and Jones 1982, vol. 1, pp. 42–43, refer to both Cametti and Alaleona, but leave the question open.

8 Steinhuber 1906, pp. 179–185.

9 Steinhuber 1906, pp. 205–208.

10 See *Note 2*.

Soon after the French troops left, the college was reconstituted in 1800 by Pope Pius VII. According to Giuseppe Baini, Canon Massajoli, auditor of the new college protector Cardinal Luigi Valente-Gonzaga, tracked down a large number of the college's books and musical scores from a junk dealer and repurchased them.[11] There is no way to tell whether the Carissimi manuscripts were part of that transaction, although it seems possible. In any case, the subsequent fate of the autographs is not known.

Survival of Carissimi sources, in manuscript and in print

This lack of autographs is far from unique to Carissimi. The situation is similar for most of his contemporaries in Rome, such as Bonifacio Graziani and Francesco Foggia. However, unlike Carissimi, these two composers of sacred music published printed collections of their works, which they personally oversaw Graziani stands out in this respect, with 16 printed editions published during his lifetime and even more published posthumously by his relatives.[12] No such publications of Carissimi's music were issued in Italy during his lifetime. The posthumous *Sacri musicali* was compiled by Giovan Battista Caifabri after the death of the composer, and published in 1675. Carissimi's compositions that appeared in printed editions during his lifetime were instead published in a number of anthologies compiled by Florido de Silvestris and others, and in the 1666 *Missa a quinque* [...] and the 1670 *Arion Romanus*, both published north of the Alps.

There are very few 17th-century manuscripts of sacred music by Carissimi preserved in Rome and only a few such manuscripts on the Italian peninsula. The vast majority of manuscripts of Carissimi's sacred music are found in France, England, Germany and Sweden. According to currently available catalogues and lists, there are about 30 of his sacred works (including motets or dialogues) in Italian libraries and archives, although there are very few manuscripts in Rome.[13] Roughly half of the Carissimi works preserved in manuscript in Italy are also

11 Baini 1828, p. 311.
12 Shigihara 1984, pp. 75–102.
13 At Biblioteca Casanatense and at the library of the S. Cecilia Academy.

found in contemporary printed editions, and were possibly copied from them. The rest appear in manuscript dissemination only.

This raises some intriguing questions. First, how widespread was the circulation of Carissimi motets in manuscript in Rome during and just after his lifetime? Second, how many works circulating in Rome or on the Italian peninsula in the 17th century are now lost, and what do these circumstances imply for the remaining challenges and issues of attribution regarding the sacred repertoire? And third, how does the known dissemination within Italy relate to the dissemination north of the Alps?

A music catalogue in the Jesuit archives in Rome

In the Jesuit historical archives in Rome, there is a document that has thus far received little attention but offers some insight into these questions. It is a music catalogue originating from the Jesuit mother church, Chiesa del Gesù (commonly called Il Gesù), and prepared some time in the late 17th century. It comprises 62 folios, apparently listing the musical works contained in the music library of the so-called Cappella Farnesina.[14] Anna Pia Sciolari Meluzzi drew attention to it in an article published in 1993,[15] and Bernhard Schrammek treated it briefly in his dissertation on Virgilio Mazzocchi,[16] but no one seems to have worked more systematically on this interesting document. Sciolari Meluzzi associated the document with Giovanni Battista Giansetti, who was a pupil of Bonifacio Graziani. Giansetti was an organist at the church under Graziani in the 1660s, and was also its *maestro di cappella* from about 1675 until 1704.[17]

I am currently working on this catalogue, with the aim of publishing a complete transcription. In the following, I will focus mainly on its relevance for studying the circulation and problems of attribution of Carissimi's sacred music.

14 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome, Chiesa del Gesù 1049; in the catalogue of the archive, it is designated *Elenco di Inni sacri*.
15 Sciolari Meluzzi 1993.
16 Schrammek 2001.
17 Rostirolla 2017, p. 344.

The catalogue lists more than 1 600 compositions and names about 46 composers.[18] Schrammek called it an inventory (*Noteninventar*), but strictly speaking it is structured more like a catalogue, because the works are ordered according to scoring, genre or text set. First it lists motets, organized by the number of voices, from solo voice to twelve voices. Then come categories such as various Psalms, Dixit Dominus, Magnificat, Confitebor, Beatus vir, et cetera, and at the very end mass compositions. It thus appears to be a catalogue meant for practical use, ordered to find the right repertoire in relation to both scoring and occasion.

The catalogue records a repertoire covering much of the 17th century, including a few 16th-century pieces by, for example, Palestrina and Luca Marenzio. There is a great deal of music by composers active during the first three decades of the 17th century, before Carissimi came to Rome. Abundio Antonelli, *maestro di cappella* at Il Gesù and the Roman seminar during the first decade of the century, is represented by no fewer than 235 works. Among the composers from those early years we also find the two Anerio brothers, Paolo Agostino, Archangelo Crivelli, Ruggiero Giovanelli and the two Nanino brothers, all of them represented by at least ten works each. From Carissimi's time, there is music by the leading church musicians in the city, such as Andrea Maria Abbatini (6 works), Tullio Cima (26), Stefano Fabri (19), Pedro Heredia (64), Bonifacio Graziani (20), Domenico Massenzio (33) and Virgilio Mazzocchi (10). All of them were at some point *maestro di cappella* at Il Gesù and at the Roman seminar. In the list, we also find a number of leading musicians in the city who were not associated with Il Gesù, such as Orazio Benevoli, Francesco Foggia, Stefano Landi and Paolo Quagliati. Those four are only represented by a few works—Benevoli, Foggia and Qualgiati by only one work each and Landi by three.

The only composer in the catalogue who is represented by a large number of works without having served at the church and seminary is Giacomo Carissimi. He is represented by about 40 pieces in the list and ranks third in the number of works per composer represented, after the outstanding Antonelli, and Heredia.

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18 Schrammek 2001, pp. 54–57, 333–337.

Why is Carissimi so well-represented in the music library of Il Gesù? Two possible explanations present themselves: either because of the great respect for Carissimi and popularity of his music in general, or because for 44 years he had been employed at a Jesuit sister institution of Il Gesù and the Roman seminary—the German College and the adjacent church of Sant'Apollinare. Presumably both explanations are valid. Still, the fact that composers with a history at Il Gesù are overrepresented in the catalogue suggests that the association with the institution and possible connections within the patron network could have been of particular importance for the specific music found in the music collection of the church.

Anna Pia Sciolari Meluzzi claimed that the catalogue is "most probably in the hand of Giansetti".[19] Giovanni Battista Giansetti was a pupil of Bonifacio Graziani and *maestro di cappella* at Chiesa del Gesù from about 1675 until 1704.[20] He was also the organist at the church in the 1660s, during Graziani's tenure.

Comparisons with samples of his handwriting from the archive of the S. Cecilia Academy reveal this to be less than likely.[21] There are also at least two different hands in the catalogue. Sciolari Meluzzi's assumption that the catalogue should be attributed to Giovanni Battista Giansetti can therefore not be proven at this point, although it cannot be ruled out.

It still makes sense to assume that the catalogue was put together in the 1670s, or somewhat later. The latest composer found in the list, according to year of death, is Foggia, who died at a great age in 1688. Apart from him we find Abbatini (d. 1679), Tullio Cima (d. 1675), Carissimi (d. 1674), Benevoli (d. 1672), Ceccharelli (d. 1668) and Graziani (d. 1664). This suggests that little music was added to the list after the death of Bonifacio Graziani, when an attempt was made to reorganize and stabilize the musical organization of the church. This is reflected in a 1666 document entitled *Libro di Consuetudini* (Book of Customs), which starts with a brief history and summary of the musical

19 Sciolari Meluzzi 1993, p. 73.
20 Rostirolla 2017, pp. 344–345.
21 Reproductions in Giazotto 1970, pp. 221, 295.

organization and then stipulates the customs for the future.[22] The catalogue could have been prepared at the same time. That two works included in the Carissimi edition *Sacri concerti musicali* from 1675 are found in the catalogue could indicate that it dates from 1675 or later. Still, these works could also have been acquired in manuscript for Il Gesù before the printed edition. At this point, the more precise dating of the catalogue must remain open.

In all, I have been able to identify 39 titles in the catalogue that are explicitly attributed to Giacomo Carissimi.[23] There are also 15 titles that follow after a title explicitly attributed to Carissimi, but that are marked with a plus sign ("+") instead of the composer's name. These plus signs are common in the catalogue and could be ditto signs. However, there are strong arguments against such an interpretation. For example, investigating those 15 titles reveals no known Carissimi concordances among the titles. Moreover, in the case of Bonifacio Graziani, there are several titles marked with such signs following after pieces explicitly attributed to him, but none of them have concordant titles among his preserved works. Considering that more than 400 works by Graziani were published in printed editions by himself and his descendents, this speaks strongly against interpreting the plus signs as ditto signs. There are also several cases in the list in which plus signs are interspersed with a recurring composer name. For example, in folio *1v*, we find the name Abundio [Antonelli] listed several times, with plus signs between them, which does not make sense if they were used as ditto signs.

In some places the plus sign has been crossed out and replaced with a composer's name. For example, in folio *9v* we find a plus sign cancelled and replaced with the name Zoilo. This strongly suggests that the plus signs were used to indicate that the composer is unknown to the compiler, and that the work is marked as unattributed in the list.

For this reason, I will not consider the titles indicated with plus signs

22 ARSI, Rome, Chiesa del Gesù 2053; published in Rostirolla 2017, pp. 430–432.

23 Schrammek (2001, p. 336) counts 41. Still, the number depends, for example, on how variants are counted. In my list, *Cum ingredentur* and *Cum reverteretur* and *Summi regis puerpera/Omes Sancti quanta passa sunt* are counted as two versions of the same work with different texts.

in the following discussion, but only the 39 works explicitly attributed to Carissimi.

Concordances between the catalogue and works by Carissimi in printed editions and preserved manuscripts

Crucial for the circulation and preservation of sacred repertoire, especially small-scale motets by Roman composers of that period, were the large number of works published in printed anthologies during Carissimi's lifetime, not least by the diligent anthologist Florido de Silvestris. About 30 works by the composer were published in one or more such anthologies. Many of the preserved manuscripts of his sacred music arguably derive from those printed publications.

Thirteen of the 39 titles attributed to Carissimi in the catalogue appear in music prints from 1675 or earlier. Eight of them are found in printed Italian anthologies published during Carissimi's lifetime. Two titles are found in the 1675 *Sacri concerti musicali* and six in *Arion Romanus*, a collection of music attributed to Carissimi, published in Konstanz in 1670.[24] As *Table 1* makes clear, several of these works appear in two or more printed editions.

Twenty-six of the 39 titles in the catalogue do not appear in any preserved printed editions published 1675 or earlier. This suggests that about two thirds of the titles in the catalogue were available in manuscript transmission only.

Sixteen of the 39 works attributed to Carissimi in the catalogue have concordances in 17th-century manuscripts, according to currently available catalogues. Nine of those 16 works also have parallel concordances in music prints. This leaves seven titles found in the catalogue that are only preserved in manuscript (see *Table 2*).

24 Jones 1988.

Table 1. Concordances between the Il Gesù catalogue and printed editions from 1675 or earlier.

Title in catalogue	Scoring in catalogue	Concordance in printed edition
Ardens est cor nostrum ò bone Jesu	à 4	Silvestri 1664 (RISM B I:1, 1664[1]) *Arion Romanus* 1670 (RISM A/I C 1221)
Audite Sanctis audite Justi &c.	C.C.B.	Silvestri 1645, 1651, 1656
Cum ingrederetur N./Cum reverteretur David	à 3 canti 3 canti	*Sacri concerti musicali* 1675
Ecce sponsus venit egredere letare	C.A.	Silvestri 1652 *Arion Romanus* 1670
Himnum iucundatis cantimus Deo nuovo	2 canti	Silvestri 1645 *Arion Romanus* 1670
Laudemus virum gloriosum et S[antissim]us decus	à 2 canti	*Scelta*, Rotterdam 1656 *Arion Romanus* 1670 *Sacri concerti musicali* 1675
Nigra sum sed formosa o filiae Jerusalem	à 2 canti	Silvestri 1650
Omnes gentes gaudete cum Maria	A 3 canti	*Arion Romanus* 1670
O quam mirabilia sunt	2 canti	*Scelta di motetti* 1675
Quis est hic vir beatissimus &c.	à 3	Poggioli, Loreto 1646 Poggioli 1647
Sicut mater consolatur filios suos, ita consolabor vos &c.	à 2 canti	*Arion Romanus* 1670
Suscitavit Dominus sup[er] Babylonem &c.	A.T.B.	Cavalotti 1665 *Missa a 5*, Cologne 1666
Veni dilecta mea	à 2 canti	Roscioli 1643

Table 2. Titles in the catalogue that have concordances in preserved manuscripts with no printed concordances.

Title in catalogue	Scoring in catalogue	Manuscript concordances, library sigla
Ecce nos reliquimus omnia &c.	T.T.B.	GB-Lam, Ob, Och, Y, S-Uu
Magnificat	[A 8]	GB-Lbl (?)[25]
Quasi stella matutina et quasi sol	3 Canti et A	F-Pn, I-Bc
Si linguis hominum loquar et Angelorum	3 Canti	F-Pn, GB-Och, Y, I-PS, S-Uu; Cz-KR?
Simile est Regnum caelorum homini quarenti bonas magarentis	[a 2] à 2 Canti[26]	S-Uu
Summi regis puerpera/Omnes Sancti quanta passi sunt	2 Canti 2. Cant	GB-Och, GB-Y I-PS
Super flumina Babylonis illici sedimus &c.	2 Cant A T	F-LYm, Pc, GB-T, Y, I-Bc, S-Uu

Consequently, there remain 19 unique titles in the catalogue that are not found in any preserved music prints or manuscript, according to currently available catalogues (see *Table 3*).

The source material for the Carissimi entries in the catalogue is quite limited, so one cannot draw any definite conclusions; it is still possible to consider some tentative ones, however.

First, the observations based on the catalogue suggest that there was a considerable number of compositions by Carissimi that are now lost but that were in circulation during his lifetime. In the case of the Il Gesù catalogue, half of the works in the list have not survived. Second, it shows that there are works by Carissimi that circulated in Rome during his lifetime but are not known from any surviving musical sources outside the city. The considerable number of unique titles in the catalogue is arguably because it derives from the Jesuit mother church and thus from a sister institution of the college where Carissimi was active.

25 Since both the title and text and scoring of the piece are so generic, the identification with the work preserved in the British Library, G-Lbl, Add. 31478, must remain tentative.

26 *Simile est regnum* occurs twice in the catalogue, once with the scoring "à 2 Cant", and once under the heading "mottetti a 2".

It could even be explained by the close contacts, possibly even friendship, between Carissimi and Bonifacio Graziani.

Apart from these more general questions of the preservation and circulation of music manuscripts in Rome and abroad, the catalogue from Il Gesù is also potentially helpful for the attribution of some works preserved in European libraries. In the following, I will consider several such cases, both to illustrate the kind of information obtainable from the catalogue and to present some new observations regarding sacred works attributed to Carissimi.

Concordances between the catalogue and the Düben Collection, Uppsala

The Düben Collection in Uppsala contains manuscripts of 38 works attributed to Giacomo Carissimi. Twenty of these date from 1663 or later, the year when Gustav Düben took up the positions of chapel master at the royal court and organist of the German church. Most of these post-1663 manuscripts were copied either from music prints or from manuscripts that were in turn copied from printed editions. There are some exceptions, but in those cases, the attribution can be disputed.[27]

The remaining 18 of the 38 Carissimi manuscripts in the Düben Collection are early sources, dating from the 1650s. They derive from the visit of an Italian ensemble of singers and musicians to the court of Queen Christina in Stockholm and Uppsala in 1652–1654. Its musical leader was a pupil of Carissimi's from the German College, Vincenzo Albrici. These 18 works must have been brought from Rome to Sweden by the Italian musicians, meaning that these pieces were composed in 1652 or earlier. Moreover, they seem likely to derive from the close circles of Carissimi himself. [28]

27 Berglund, forthcoming b.
28 Berglund & Schildt 2024.

Table 3. Titles attributed to Carissimi in the Il Gesù catalogue that do not have known concordances in either manuscript or printed editions from 1675 or earlier.

Title in catalogue	Scoring in catalogue
Ad cantus, ad plausus, ad sonos, ad melos &c.	2 Canti
Adest nobis	voce solo con sinfonia per la Natività della B. Virg.e
Benedicite gentes Deus nostrum	à 3 Canti
Diligam te Domine	à 4 soprani/4 Canti[29]
Fugite fugite mortis umbrae c	[A 5]
[…] ornatus agros […]	[A 5]
In sole posuit tabernaculum suum	Voce sola/Voce sola con sinfonia concertante[30]
Incipite Domino in Timpanis	à 3 Canti
O dulcissime Jesu ne memineris iniquitam morandum	à 2 Canti
O dulcissime Jesu transfige cor meum	à C.A.
Plaudite celestes o gentes	
Quasi stella matutina et quasi sol per un Sa[n]to	3 Canti et A
Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum seculi contempsi	Alt.
Reminiscere orate sic fama iubet	[A 4]
Sancta et venerabilis Hostia	à 2 Soprani
Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos	à 3 Canti
Surge […] inimici Christi […]	à 2 Canti
Veni Domini et noli tardare, relaxa fascinora	Cant. [Adu]
Venite gentes	con organo e violino con canto

29 The title occurs twice in the catalogue.
30 The title occurs twice in the catalogue, with two different scorings indicated.

Table 4. Eight works preserved in the Düben Collection that are included in the Il Gesù catalogue.[31]

Title	Scoring	Düben Collection, S-Uu, Vmhs	Music print
Audite Sanctis audite Justi	C.C.B.	53:10 (dated *c.* 1654–1655) 11:3, 77:95	Silvestri 1645 Silvestri 1651 *Scelta* 1656
Cum reverteretur David	3 Canti	53:10 (dated *c.* 1654–1655) 11:6, 83:2	*Sacri concerti musicali* 1675
Ecce nos reliquimus omnia &c.	T.T.B.	53:10 (dated *c.* 1654–1655)	—
Omnes gentes gaudete	à 3 Canti	53:10 (dated *c.* 1654–1655) 11:15, 80:115	*Arion Romanus* 1670
Si linguis hominum loquar et Angelorum	3 Canti	21:1, 83:67 (dated 1665)	—
Simile est Regnum	2 Canti	53:10 (dated *c.* 1654–1655) 12:2	—
Super flumina Babylonis	2 Canti AT.	12:13 (dated 1652 or earlier) 78:80	—
Suscitavit Dominus	A.T.B.	12:5, 79 (both dated 1664)	*Scelta* 1665 *Missa* 1666

Eight of the 38 works in the Düben Collection are found in the catalogue from Il Gesù (see *Table 4*); six of them belong to the early group of 18 manuscripts dating from the 1650s.

Half of these early Carissimi manuscripts in the Düben Collection (nine out of 18) have concordances in 17th-century music prints. As is clear from *Table 4*, this concerns four of the eight works found in the catalogue. Interestingly, three of them predate the printed editions by several years. *Cum reverteretur David* appeared in *Sacri concerti musicali*, published in Rome in 1675,[32] and *Omnes gentes gaudete* is found in *Arion Romanus*, published in Konstanz in 1670. The Düben Collection

31 All manuscripts are avalable online at The Düben Collection database Catalogue, eds Lars Berglund *et al.*, https://catmus.musik.uu.se.

32 This work is found with two different texts in *Sacri concerti musicali: Cum ingrederetur N in paradisi Gloriam* and *Cum reverteretur David percusso filisteo*. The Düben Collection manuscript contains the former. See Carissimi 2015, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

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manuscript in which those two works are included, Vmhs 53:10, was copied much earlier, in the mid-1650s. This means that they predate the printed editions by 15 to 20 years. The manuscript in question is a set of partbooks with the shelfmark Vmhs 53:10, prepared by the young Gustav Düben and three other copyists in 1654–1655. The paper can be dated with some accuracy thanks to the watermarks.[33] The originals from which this and similar manuscripts were copied must have been brought by the ensemble of Italians that Christina had recruited for her court, most of whom came directly from Rome, including Carissimi's pupil Vincenzo Albrici and other members of the group that had been affiliated with the German College in Rome, such as the impresario Alessandro Cecconi.

There are several possibilities for how these works could have come into the hands of Albrici and his co-musicians. Albrici could have copied them when he studied with Carissimi at the German College in the 1640s. He could also have copied them during his short sojourn as an organist at Il Gesù in 1649–1651.[34] It is also possible that Carissimi himself provided some of his music for the musicians who were about to embark on their journey to Sweden. Christina may actually have tried to recruit Carissimi for her court, as a maestro of her Italian ensemble, and even though he turned down the offer, he could have helped in recruiting the ensemble.[35]

The motet *Suscitavit Dominus* appeared in both *Scelta de' motetti* published in Rome in 1665 and in *Missa a quinque* published in Cologne in 1666.[36] Gustav Düben acquired it in a tablature score that probably originates from Lübeck. He prepared a set of parts of the piece and dated both the tablature and the parts to 1664, a year or more before the printed editions were published. In this last case, there could be a lost printed publication earlier than the 1665 *Scelta de' motetti*. Of course, it can generally not be excluded that works published in now lost printed editions from Rome were used as copy texts both by the musicians and for non-Italian prints such as the *Arion Romanus*.

33 Rudén 1968, pp. 132–133, and app., pp. 1–2.
34 Berglund 2010, pp. 198–199.
35 Berglund & Schildt 2024, pp. 88–91.
36 RISM B I:1 1665[1] and C 1220.

Two of the Düben Collection's 18 manuscripts from the 1650s attributed to Carissimi are works unique to the Düben Collection: *Simile est Regnum* and the two-choir setting of *Salve Regina*.[37]

The presence of two unique Carissimi compositions transmitted in manuscript in a place so remote from Rome inevitably raises questions of possible misattribution. Still, the particular provenance of these sources makes the case much stronger. *Figure 1* shows the second soprano part of the motet *Simile est Regnum*, scored for two sopranos and basso continuo, in the Düben Collection manuscript. It is preserved in the partbooks with the shelfmark Vmhs 53:10. The originals from which this and similar manuscripts were copied must have been brought by the ensemble of Italians that Christina had recruited for her court. The catalogue from Il Gesù gives additional support. *Figure 2* shows a detail from the catalogue, listing a piece with exactly the same Latin text: *Simile est Regnum caelorum homini quarenti bonas magarentis*.

This title occurs twice in the catalogue, both times with an attribution to Carissimi. In folio 3*r* it is found under the heading "A 2", and indicated with the scoring "à 2 Canti", which is the same as for the piece in the Düben Collection. This title, however, has been crossed out. It appears again in folio 55*r*, this time under the heading "Mottetti à 2", but without the scoring specified. There are several instances in the catalogue of titles that have been crossed out—usually, it seems, because they were first mistakenly entered under the wrong heading. In this case the catalogue from Il Gesù confirms that a motet by Carissimi with this text and scoring was present in Rome, in the circles around the composer himself, so it strongly supports the attribution to Carissimi in the Düben Collection.

Another case in which the catalogue sheds some light on Düben Collection sources is the motet *Omnes gentes gaudete cum Maria*, scored for three sopranos and basso continuo. It is preserved in the same partbooks in the Düben Collection, Vmhs 53:10. This composition is also found in the 1670 *Arion Romanus*.[38]

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37 This eight-part *Salve Regina* is preserved without the text underlay. Regarding questions of the attribution to Carissimi, see my introduction to the edition, Berglund forthcoming a.

38 For a detailed and clarifying study of this publication, see Jones 1988.

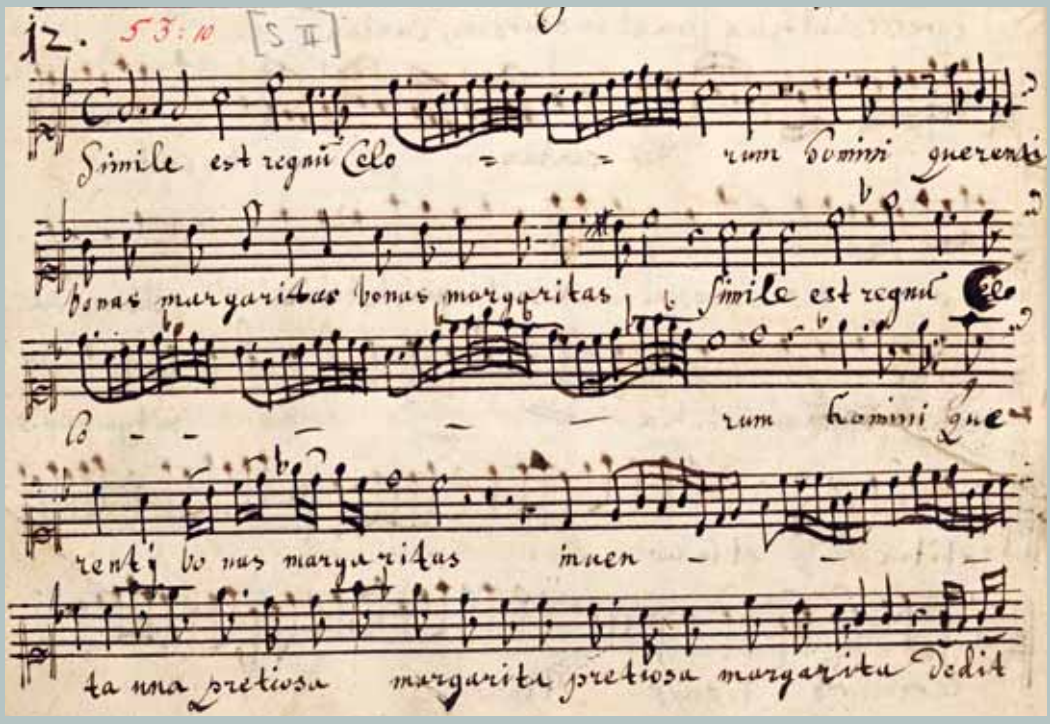

Figure 1. Second soprano part of Carissimi's *Simile est regnum*, S-Uu, Vmhs 53:10 (12).

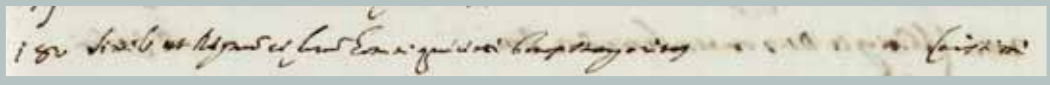

Figure 2. A detail from the Il Gesù catalogue, folio 55*r*, with the entry for *Simile est regnum*, including the attribution to Carissimi.

Omnes gentes gaudete cum Maria is a shortened adaptation of a longer piece entitled *Quasi columba speciosa*, which is preserved in full in a manuscript in Bologna.[39] The version entitled *Omnes gentes* consists of sections two and three of the three of that work, but lacking the first part. Andrew Jones carefully compared the different versions and concluded that the Uppsala version and the *Arion Romanus* version must, independently of each other, derive from an earlier adaptation.[40] It was not possible for Jones to decide whether this was an adaptation made north of the Alps or in Italy, or even whether it originated from Carissimi himself.

A work with this title is included in the catalogue from Il Gesù, with an attribution to Carissimi. This title also appears twice in the list, and in both instances has been crossed out. The first time it appears is in folio 3*r*, under the heading "A. 2", indicating works scored for two voices, but with the scoring given as "à 3 canti". The misplacement seems to explain why this entry has been crossed out. It then appears again in folio 7*r*, again with the scoring indicated as "à 3 Canti", and again with the attribution to Carissimi. This time it was entered under the heading "A. 3" at the top of the page and with other works scored for three voices. It is not clear why the title was crossed out here.

The fact that a piece with this title and scoring is listed in the catalogue from Il Gesù implies that the shortened version of the work is not an adaptation made by a northern musician, but that it originates from Rome. It is likely that this version was actually prepared by Giacomo Carissimi himself.

As can be seen in *Figure 3*, at the end of staves one and two, Gustav Düben at some point altered the text from "gaudete cum Maria" to "gaudete cum Victore". This kind of modification of Marian texts to adapt them to Lutheran dogma was common in Lutheran countries. This modification was likely made later, in the 1660s, and not in Queen Christina's time.[41] The work is preserved in two later-dated manuscripts in the Düben Collection, both copied by Gustav Düben: one set of parts, Vmhs 11:15, and an organ tablature score, Vmhs 80:116, which is

39 Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna (I-Bc), Q 45.

40 Jones 1988, pp. 175–182.

41 On Düben's retexting of Catholic texts, see Schildt 2014, pp. 322–327; 2020.

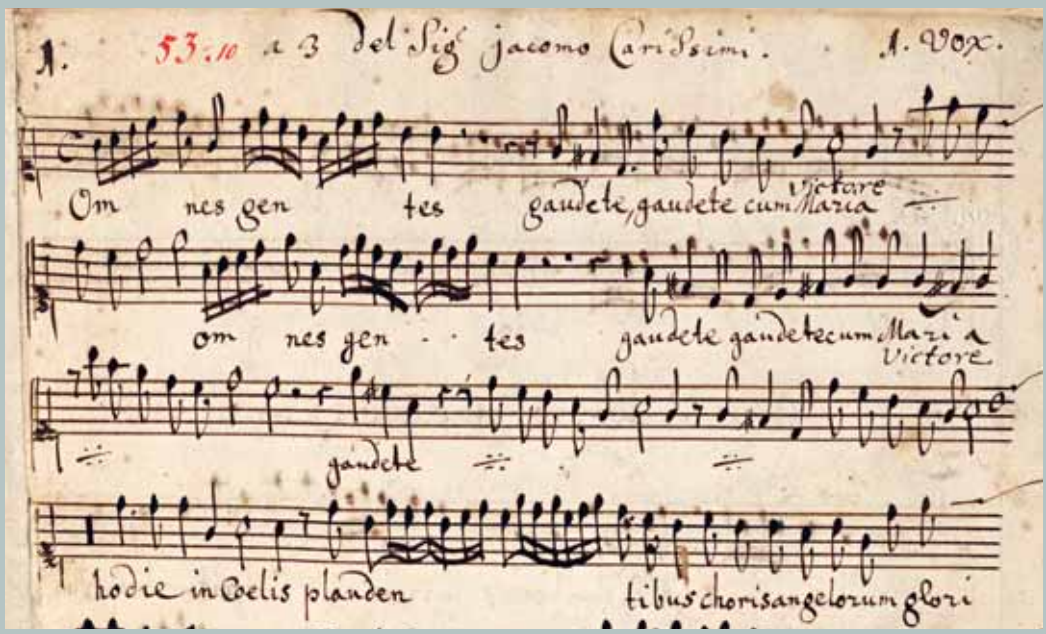

Figure 3. Omnes gentes gaudete in the Düben Collection manuscript Vmhs 53:10.

found in one of Düben's large tablature volumes. The title page of the set of parts is dated 1664 by Düben. The tablature dates from the same time.

Lucifer caelestis olim and a conflicting attribution

If we leave Sweden and the Düben Collection and move to the British Isles, we find another interesting case. In the second book of the printed anthology *Harmonia sacra*, edited by Henry Playford and published in London in 1693, we find two compositions attributed to Carissimi. One is a curious solo motet, *Lucifer caelestis olim*.

This piece is preserved in a large number of manuscripts in England and in France. There are at least 17 different manuscripts of the motet in England.[42] Ester Lebedinski has described it as one of the most copied and most popular pieces of Italian vocal music in England in the late 17th century.[43] At least some of the English manuscripts predate the 1693 Playford music print, and it can be assumed that a circulated manuscript provided him with the copy text. The piece is preserved in a number of different versions. Most of them are scored for solo bass and continuo, but a number of them are instead for solo soprano, including the version printed in Playford's *Harmonia sacra*.

A work with this title is included in the catalogue from Il Gesù (see *Figure 4*), with the full text incipit *Lucifer caelestis olim Hierarchi princeps &c.* The vocal type is not specified in the record, but the title is included under the heading "A voce sola". In the catalogue it is not attributed to Carissimi, but to Odoardo Ceccarelli, a bass singer and composer born in Umbria. He was active as a singer at the German College and the church of Sant'Apollinare in the 1620s.[44] In 1628 he became a supernumerary of the *Cappella musicale Pontificia*, and in 1633 a full member of the papal chapel.

42 Lebedinski 2014, p. 170, n. 580.
43 Lebedinski 2014, p. 160.
44 Culley 1970, pp. 156–157.

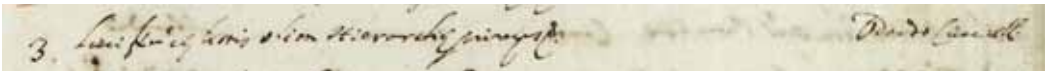

Figure 4. Lucifer caelestis olim in the Il Gesù catalogue, folio 1r, with the attribution to Odoardo Ceccarelli.

These conflicting attributions merit some consideration. It is not impossible that we are concerned with two different settings of the same text. Still, the text is very rare: these are the only occurrences of a text or a title with this particular wording in available catalogues or inventories. This suggests a strong connection between the works, if we are really concerned with two different compositions. Ceccarelli was active as a singer at Sant'Apollinare during Carissimi's tenure, and they could both have set the text to music. The text could even have been composed by Ceccarelli himself. According to Fétis, he wrote texts for Latin motets.[45]

The fact that this piece has only survived in comparatively late sources, and is only preserved in the UK and France, makes the attribution to Carissimi relatively weak. There are also stylistic traits in the composition that are not fully compatible with an attribution to Carissimi. For example, there are two triple-meter sections notated in 6/8 and 3/4, with the first meter in particular not normally being found in motets by Carissimi.[46] Moreover, the piece contains harmonic schemes that are not typical of Carissimi's contrapuntal textures, but point to a composer employing a more modern stylistic idiom.[47] Also atypical are the triple-meter arias, which employ aria melodies of a kind not characteristic of Carissimi. The composition also lacks any of Carissimi's signature traits, such as transposed phrases,[48] expressive suspensions and third-inversion seventh chords.

Unfortunately, almost none of Ceccarelli's music is preserved; the only known piece attributed to him is a secular canzonetta in a manu-

45 Fétis 1867, p. 232; Culley 1970, pp. 156–157.

46 An exception is *O quam pulchra es* for solo soprano, preserved in two manuscripts in the British Library and at the Royal College, but in fact that piece should be considered spurious as well.

47 Berglund 2011, pp. viii–ix.

48 Stein 1994, pp. 26–28.

script in Biblioteca Casanatense.[49] It does not give much guidance in terms of his compositional habits, not least since it is in a different genre and generic style. Nevertheless, considering the conflicting attributions from the catalogue, the uncertain provenance of the preserved sources and the stylistic divergences, the attribution to Carissimi of *Lucifer caelestis olim* must definitely be considered spurious.

A work by Graziani, or Carissimi—or both?

After Bonifacio Graziani died in 1664, his brother and nephew managed to secure exclusive rights from the pope to publish his music for a period of ten years.[50] Thanks to this, they could continue to publish posthumous printed editions of Graziani's musical estate. Between 1665 and 1678, they published at least 16 volumes of his works (Opuses 11–25) and at least 14 reprinted editions.[51]

In 1673, nine years after the composer's death, his relatives put out a collection of 14 motets for two to five voices and basso continuo, numbered Opus 12. This 1673 edition may have been a reprint from an earlier publication. The relatives also published a collection of Litanies as Opus 11 in 1665 and a collection of Antiphons as Opus 13 in the same year. This suggests that the first edition of the motet collection with Opus number 12 had already been issued in 1665.

The last piece in the Opus 12 collection is a motet with the text *Fugite, fugite mortis umbrae*, scored for five voices (two sopranos, alto, tenor and bass) and organ. In the catalogue from Il Gesù, in the section listing motets for five voices, we find the same title, *Fugite fugite mortis umbrae &c.*, but in the catalogue it is attributed to Carissimi.

This raises some intriguing questions. The title could, of course, also in this case refer to two completely different compositions, with the same text and a similar scoring for five voices. Just as in the case of *Lucifer caelestis olim*, the text is unique: these two instances are the only ones that can be found in currently available catalogues. Of course, Graziani's motet could be an imitation of a Carissimi model—or the

49 Biblioteca Casanatense (I-Rc), Ms. 2472.
50 Shigihara 1984, pp. 59–61, 65.
51 Shigihara 1984, pp. 75–102.

reverse. However, it seems more reasonable to assume that we are dealing with one and the same piece. There are no other known *imitatio* associations between Graziani and Carissimi.

If we assume that the piece is the same, it raises the question of which attribution is correct: that of the catalogue or of the music print? Scholars tend to put a lot of trust in the attributions of printed editions, but in this case things are more complicated. Graziani's Opus 12 is a posthumous publication. The brother and nephew of Graziani arguably used his remaining autographs for the printed editions, and if Graziani had a copy in his own hand of a motet by Carissimi without an attribution, they could have assumed that it was composed by Graziani.

In compiling the posthumous printed collections, Graziani's relatives were assisted by his former pupil, Giovanni Battista Giansetti. Giansetti would arguably have had access both to Graziani's preserved autographs and to the music library of Il Gesù.[52] This makes the conflicting attributions even more peculiar.

The printed Graziani collection was published before Carissimi's death. This would be valid for both a hypothetical first edition from 1665 and the preserved reprint from 1673. It seems unlikely that the heirs of Graziani would have deliberately published a work by Carissimi under Graziani's name. There are three possible scenarios: 1) that Graziani's heirs mistakenly attributed a Carissimi piece to their relative; 2) that the attribution to Carissimi in the catalogue is erroneous, or 3)that there actually existed two different works with this rare text and for the same number of voices.

Stylistically, this composition is written in a comparatively modern style, based on harmonic schemes, cadence patterns, and a structure of short, regular, and periodic phrases. This clearly points to Graziani rather than Carissimi,[53] and there is much to suggest that it is actually by him. If correct, this could serve as a reminder not to take the attributions in the catalogue at face value: they always have to be contextualized and be substantiated by additional evidence.

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52 As already noted, Anna Pia Sciolari Meluzzi identified Giansetti as the probable creator of the catalogue, even though this assumption has not been substantiated and is not supported by examination of the handwriting.

53 Berglund 2011, pp. viii–ix.

Summi regis puerpera and *Omnes sancti quanta passi sunt*

Two manuscripts in British libraries preserve a composition with the text *Summi regis puerpera, o quam pulchra es*, scored for two sopranos, two violins and continuo. One is found in the library of Christ Church College in Oxford, and was possibly copied by William Dingley (*c.* 1673–1735), fellow of the college from 1698.[54] In this source, the attribution reads "Luigi", and in RISM A/I it is attributed to Luigi Rossi. The other source is in the library of York Minster, in a manuscript comprising about ten works attributed to Carissimi and bearing the attribution to "Jacomo Carissimi" on the organ part.[55] Andrew Jones asserted that it has Italian provenance, based on the copyist styles and the paper;[56] he also attributed the piece to Carissimi, disregarding the reference to "Luigi" in the Oxford manuscript.

Jones also observed that the same piece was found in a fragmentary manuscript in Pistoia,[57] preserving only the first violin part. It is identical to the music in the Oxford and York manuscripts, but in the Pistoia source, another text is indicated: *Omnes sancti*. The indicated scoring is the same, "à dua [sic] Canti", and the attribution reads "del Sig:[r] Iacomo Carissimi".[58] Thus, we seem to be dealing with one and the same musical composition, but with two different texts. The violin part in the Pistoia manuscript has text indications that give away more of the text: apart from "Omnes sancti", they read "Ut secure" and "Quanta passi sunt".

The catalogue from Il Gesù includes both these titles. In folio 4*v*, we find a work indicated as *Omnes Sancti quanta passi sunt 2. Cant.—Carissimi*. In folio 45*r*, we find *Summi regis puerpera 2 Canti—Carissimi.* The longer text incipit indicated for *Omnes sancti* corresponds to the text indications in the Pistoia violin part. It refers to an antiphon text for the mass, dealing with the torments of the martyrs: *Omnes sancti quanta passi sunt tormenta ut securi pervenirent ad palmam martyrii*.[59]

54 Lebedinski 2014, p. 163.
55 Library of York Minster, M. 35.
56 Jones 1982, vol. 1, p. 92.
57 Jones 1982, vol. 2, p. 107.
58 I-PS, *Archivio e biblioteca capitolare,* Padua, Ms. B 25:3.
59 *Cantus Database*, https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca, accessed September 2022.

The two entries in the catalogue indicate that two motets attributed to Carissimi and scored for two sopranos with those texts existed in the choir library of Il Gesù. First, this means that the attribution of *Summa Regis* to Carissimi in the York manuscript is supported by the Il Gesù catalogue, and can thus likely be confirmed, even though the two British sources are relatively late and of unclear provenance. Second, it suggests that the two different text versions originated with Carissimi himself, or at least from his closest circles in Rome.

Summi regis puerpera appears to be the text for which the music was originally composed. It fits the music slightly better: note, for example, the expressive setting of the words "o quam pulchra es", and not least the jubilant melismas presenting the words "in gloria Domini". Nevertheless, it is also fully possible to use the antiphon text of *Omnes sancti* as the text underlay to the music, in accordance with the text indications in the violin part in the Pistoia manuscript.[60] The very first words *Omnes sancti* demand some rhythmic manipulation, but the rest of the text fits smoothly. The "quam pulchra" passage with its affecting rhythmic figure and expressive melodic leaps in that version present the words "quanta possi sunt tormenta" ("what torments [the martyrs] endured"), replacing the sweet affect of bridal mysticism with the agonies of martyrdom. The "in gloria" passage instead presents the words "ad palma martyrii", resulting in a joyful celebration of sainthood.

The catalogue makes no mention of violins, but such indications are actually rare in the catalogue. Only three of the 39 titles attributed to Carissimi refer to violins or to a sinfonia. The violin parts of *Summi regis*/*Omnes sancti* not only consist of a sinfonia and ritornelli, but the violins also engage with the voices in parallel passages and dialogic interplay. It therefore appears likely that the setting for two voices and two instruments is an original composition, even though the violins are not mentioned in the Il Gesù catalogue.

60 On the challenges of similar retextings, see Berglund 2020.

Titles in the catalogue attributed to Carissimi without known concordances

As noted above, for 19 of the 39 titles attributed to Carissimi in the catalogue, I have been unable to find concordances in printed editions or manuscripts (see *Table 3*). These titles are of interest for several reasons. As already argued, they give a hint to the scope of lost music by Carissimi that circulated in his close circles in Rome, as well as to local circulation more generally. Apart from this, they could potentially be used in identifying unattributed works that could be by Carissimi. A preliminary search in currently available catalogues has given very few matches of this kind. Here, I will restrict myself to one example.

The catalogue lists a piece attributed to Carissimi with the incipit *In sole posuisti tabernaculum suum*, indicated for "voce sola". An anonymous motet for solo soprano, violin and continuo with this text is indeed preserved in the Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno Collection in Kroměříž.[61]

A study of this anonymous piece reveals that it is probably not an original composition by Carissimi, at least not in the version preserved in Kroměříž. The work includes an unusually virtuosic solo violin part, having long sixteenth-note passages with thirty-second-note figurations, organized in melodic sequences and reaching high notes such as d‴ and e‴-flat and also including some double stops. Such techniques are not found in music by Carissimi or his contemporaries in Rome, but are much more typical of Bohemian violinists, such as Johann Heinrich Schmelzer.

The vocal part of the piece shows some stylistic traits that are consistent with Carissimi's motet writing. For example, it opens with a melodic phrase delineating an interval of a fifth, which is immediately repeated transposed a fourth higher.[62] Also, the general melodic and harmonic approach is fairly reminiscent of Carissimi's preserved works,

61 Sehnal & Pešková 1997, p. 776; Cz-Kr, Ms. A 294. This collection is usually referred to as the Lichtenstein-Castelcorno, even though it appears more likely that it was originally the collection of the court trumpeter Pavel Vejvanovský.

62 Stein 1994, pp. 28–61.

but with more figurations in the vocal part than are typical of his style, and not the least a more modern harmonic language based on cadential schemes and harmonic sequences, with a bass line mostly moving in crotchets and quavers. The composition concludes with a relatively long alleluia section in triple meter over a four-bar bass ostinato. All things considered, this is not likely to be an original work by Carissimi. Still, it could arguably be an adaptation or imitation of a Carissimi piece, in the spirit of an *emulatio*—an attempt to compete with and surpass the model in refinement and complexity. Such imitations of Italian works were very common north of the Alps.[63] Based solely on the title in the catalogue and in the absence of a preserved model, this possibility of course remains highly tentative. Still, it is significant that the text is so rare, only being found in the anonymous work in Kroměříž and in the Il Gesù catalogue.

The catalogue from Il Gesù with its approximately 1 600 titles is still a potentially important source for attribution attempts, not only for Carissimi but for all the named 46 or so composers. As stated, I intend to publish an edited transcription of the entire catalogue in the near future.

Concluding remarks

This essay has been an attempt to illustrate the importance and potential use of the music catalogue from Chiesa del Gesù, focusing on the case of Giacomo Carissimi. Although some observations have been tentative or preliminary, a number of conclusions can be made.

As already observed, it can be inferred from the catalogue that a fair number of now lost compositions by Carissimi circulated in Rome, probably mainly in the close circles of the composer himself. Approximately half of the titles attributed to Carissimi in the catalogue lack preserved concordances. It is important to remember that Il Gesù had very close ties to the institution where Carissimi worked. For this reason, the *Cappella farnesina* of Il Gesù was not representative of Roman church chapels more generally. Bonifacio Graziani and his predecessors and successors at Il Gesù could have had direct access to pieces by Caris-

63 Wollny 2016, pp. 329–398.

simi thanks to their privileged position that *maestri* at the other larger churches lacked. The large number of now lost works could thus hint at the number of now lost works in the collection of autographs Carissimi left to the German College, but arguably does not reflect the contemporary circulation of his music in Rome more generally. The measures of the German College to restrict access to the manuscripts, measures described at the beginning of this essay, instead suggest that Il Gesù could have been an exception. It actually appears that the dissemination of Carissimi's sacred music in the rest of Rome, as well as in Italy more generally, was exceptionally restricted and reflected the situation in the rest of Europe.

At the same time, it must be observed that there are comparatively few preserved manuscripts of motets and sacred vocal works in Rome and Italy in general, a paucity concerning not only Carissimi's work. Future studies of preserved catalogues and inventories, both this one from Il Gesù as well as others, could hopefully cast more light on questions regarding the circulation and accessibility of Carissimi's sacred music.

Still, the limited examples presented here illustrate something important: that geographical proximity is not necessarily decisive for the access to authoritative copies of music. Somewhat surprisingly, we find some of the earliest and most reliable manuscripts of Carissimi's sacred music in Uppsala. This is thanks to the resources and networks of Queen Christina, which enabled her to bring a group of leading singers and musicans from Rome to Sweden.

England is comparatively distant from Rome too, but this is not the reason why the manuscripts preserved there have a different status. It has rather to do with the lack of direct network connections and distance in time.

And finally, even in Rome, in the close vicinity to the German College where Carissimi lived and worked, geographical proximity did not necessarily help. What was important for access was rather networks, mediators and status.

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