

# PUBLISHED EDITIONS AND ANTHOLOGIES OF THE 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY:

## *Music of the Renaissance or Renaissance Music?*

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THIS ESSAY represents an attempt to clarify – to whatever extent possible – some of the ways in which the historical concept of a Renaissance was defined for music in the course of the 19th century. It takes as a point of departure a fundamental assumption and a matter of history. The assumption is that our understanding of the music of any given period is essentially dependent upon the repertory available for study. And the well-documented historical fact is that the 19th century was for Europe a period of growing historicism with respect to the music of its past.

If one goes back as far as the late 15th century, music more than about 40 years old was not considered worth hearing – if the view of Johannes Tinctoris is in any way typical. By mid-16th century Heinrich Glarean had extended that interval to 70 years, but in the 16th and 17th centuries generally there is little evidence of interest in music that was not in more or less current repertory, dating back at most a generation or so. Even in the 18th century, which saw the beginnings of serious historical research into the music of earlier periods typified in the work of authors such as Hawkins, Burney, and Forkel, the approach could be described as antiquarian in nature. The compositions surviving from earlier times were viewed largely as curious (and usually as rather crude) relics.

By contrast the 19th century is characterized more and more by an interest in the compositions of previous periods as they actually sounded, as artistic creations with their own stylistic norms and valid esthetic appeal. Some works, at least, were beginning to be studied not merely in the abstract as vestiges of more primitive stages in the evolutionary discovery of tonality and the “laws” of harmony, but rather as products of highly developed contrapuntal skills, as music capable of moving “modern” listeners as well.

Certain repertoires began in fact to be viewed as warranting recovery, not just for the sake of history but as music deserving to be brought back to life in performance and reintegrated into the cultural, social, and even the religious life of the time. This was true of the vocal polyphony – in particular the sacred polyphony – of the 15th and 16th centuries, especially of the late 16th century, and the effect of this new perspective may be seen in the inclusion of such works in the programs of choral concerts, festivals, and workshops as well as liturgical services, and, no less clearly, in the growing number of publications intended to make the music available not simply for study but also – and perhaps even primarily – for performance.

A typical, if unusually stellar, example of this kind of interest in the polyphony of the 16th century is that demonstrated by Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut (1772-1840).<sup>1</sup> Thibaut, who may have heard Forkel lecture on music during his student days at the University of Göttingen, began early on to collect sacred vocal music and folksongs. In 1805 he settled in Heidelberg, where he had been named professor of Roman law at the University, and where – more importantly, for our purposes – he became in 1811 the director of an amateur chorus, the *Heidelberger Singverein*, which usually gave about four concerts a year featuring vocal polyphony from the 16th through the 18th centuries. Beginning in 1814 the *Singverein* met weekly in his house, where occasional visitors included such luminaries as Goethe, Tieck, Mendelssohn, and Schumann.

During those years Thibaut continued to collect sacred vocal music suitable for use by his chorus, sending some of his young friends to foreign lands at considerable expense to acquire works of interest. By this steady process of accretion his collection became one of the largest of its kind and attracted the attention of both Zelter and Kiesewetter. Thibaut made no attempt to disseminate in printed form the works that had come thus into his hands. However, he did publish (in 1824) a book, *Über die Reinheit der Tonkunst*, which must have been widely influential at the time to judge from the numerous printings through which it passed in the course of the 19th century; the 7th edition appeared as late as 1893 with explanatory notes and a biography of the author. In this work Thibaut defined “purity” (*Reinheit*) in a variety of ways, but applied the notion principally to the vocal polyphony of the 16th through the 18th centuries – from Palestrina to Handel – repertoire for which he proposed the term “classical,” not in an historical sense but on the basis of critical and esthetic judgments.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Thibaut, see Richard D. GREEN, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* (hereafter *New Grove*), 18, pp. 766-67; also Willi KAHN, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (hereafter *MGG*), 13, col. 333-34.

Thibaut's immediate contemporary – and in a sense his French counterpart – was Alexandre Choron.<sup>2</sup> In 1805 Choron began to publish, in relatively inexpensive editions, the music of Josquin, Goudimel, Palestrina, and Carissimi, then that of Italian and German composers, going forward until the time of J.S. Bach (see below, *Collected Editions and Musical Monuments*, hereafter CEMM, p. 23). Despite the political instability in France in the following decades, he was able to continue fostering an interest in these earlier repertoires through the establishment in 1818 of an *Institution Royale de Musique Classique et Religieuse*. During the 1820s, before the school foundered for want of sufficient funding, Choron's students joined with those of other institutions in choral festivals held at the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, at the church of St. Sulpice, and at a number of provincial cathedrals as well. Included on the program for these events, in addition to more usual fare – oratorios of the baroque period and more contemporary repertoire – was the vocal polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Choron's editions were soon largely replaced by those of Commer, Rochlitz, Proske, and others, but for the time they were invaluable and much used. In addition, his impact on students, teachers, organists, and choral singers was apparently widespread. Among them was Adrien de La Fage (1805-62), who was first his pupil, then his assistant. Although de La Fage did not carry on Choron's activities as a publisher of the vocal polyphony of the 16th century, he is remembered for his studies of the music and theory of earlier periods. These have reached the present in part through the publication of his *Cours complet de plain-chant* (Paris, 1855-56), *Extraits du catalogue critique et raisonné d'une petite bibliothèque musicale* (Rennes, 1857), and *Essais de dipthérogaphie musicale* (Paris, 1864). The latter two are particularly useful because of references to manuscripts and documents that have since been lost.<sup>3</sup>

The growing historicism in 19th-century Europe and the rediscovery of the vocal polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries went hand-in-hand with another powerful movement of the time, Caecilianism, the attempt to reform the musical practices associated with the celebration of the liturgy in the Catholic Church.<sup>4</sup> The origins of the Cecilian Societies can presumably be traced – in some sense at least – to the commission of cardinals appointed at the Council of Trent (1564/65) to consider the use of polyphonic music in the ritual observances of the church. Caecilian Societies were subsequently formed, apparently as a more or less direct consequence, in a number of important Catholic centers such as Vienna, Passau, and Munich – significantly, all of them in northern Europe.

2 Concerning Choron, see Arthur HUTCHINGS, *New Grove*, 4, pp. 340-41.

3 Cf. Gustave CHOUQUET/Arthur HUTCHINGS, *New Grove*, 10, pp. 356-57.

4 Concerning the Caecilian movement, see Winfried KIRSCH, "Caecilianismus," *MGG* (new edition), 2, col. 317-26.

In 1868 the movement came of age institutionally with the founding, during the *Katholikontag* in Bamberg, of the *Allgemeinen Cäcilien-Verein*. That organization and its fundamental purposes were recognized two years later by a bull from Pope Pius IX (“*Multum ad commovendis animos*”). From its main centers in Germany, including Trier, Cologne, and especially Regensburg, the Caecilian Society spread in the 1880s to other nations: Belgium, Holland, Bohemia, Italy, Ireland, the USA, and later to Poland, Hungary, and France as well.

The primary focus of this effort was of course the plainchant itself, which was regarded as the only “true” church music. Chant was seen as setting the standard for any other music used in a liturgical setting because of its adaptation to and its close association with the sacred texts; its declamatory power was thought to help make the words intoned clearer and more easily comprehensible. Early efforts at reforming the chant, such as those undertaken by Choron and La Fage in France and Pietro Alfieri in Rome (see below), were eventually superseded by the massive scholarly effort undertaken by the Benedictine monks of Solesmes. It became their mission to restore “Gregorian” chant to its presumed pristine purity on the basis of the earliest sources then still extant.<sup>5</sup>

As for polyphony, a distinction was drawn among works intended for liturgical use, those apt for devotional (but not liturgical) purposes, and religious compositions more appropriate for the concert hall; secular repertory was largely ignored. Liturgical polyphony, like the chant, was to focus on the text and to present it in an “objective” manner that would allow it to be readily understood. Such compositions had to conform to the time constraints of the customary ritual and to exemplify the esthetic criteria of simplicity, clarity, stylistic unity, and rhythmic tranquillity. Unaccompanied vocal polyphony was deemed to come closer to that ideal than any other type of sacred music.

From the historicizing perspective of the 19th century this meant, first of all, the “classical” composers of the 16th century, to borrow Thibaut’s expression. Excluded from the imaginary Pantheon were those of the late 15th and early 16th century who indulged in seemingly autonomous counterpoint, that is compositional procedures characterized by mensural complexities, canonic conundrums, and other such artifices. (Hence the descriptive term “artificial” employed by Forkel and others). Also excluded, but at the other end of the chronological spectrum, was the affective monody of the 17th century. In the center was the so-called “Roman school,” especially as personified by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/26-1594), who – thanks to the influential biography

5 See Eugene CARDINE and Richard SHERR, “Solesmes,” *New Grove*, 17, pp. 452-54.

of Baini (see below) – was widely seen at the time as the quasi-legendary savior of polyphonic church music.

Early enthusiasm for Palestrina emanated from Rome, where in the 19th century the master's polyphonic compositions were still being sung in the Sistine Chapel by the papal choir. Among the first to see Palestrina's sacred music as the ideal was Pietro Alfieri (1801-1863), a Roman priest who wished to see liturgical music delivered "from what he saw as the debased theatrical style of contemporary composers and the neglect and incompetence of singers and organists."<sup>6</sup> This led him to a pioneering study of chant, which he hoped to see restored to its original purity. It also prompted him to champion the music of Palestrina, which conformed to his ideal for sacred music in being "grave, succinct, and suited in expression to the words, which were to be presented clearly and with few repetitions."

In his *Raccolta di musica sacra*, of which there were 7 volumes (Rome: 1841-46), he published the first large modern collection of works by Palestrina (see CEMM, p. 25). His labors in this connection undoubtedly helped to lay the groundwork for the "complete works" edited by Th. de Witt, F. Espagne, F. Commer, and F. X. Haberl (Leipzig, 1862-1903). It is surely worthy of note that this was one of the first such ventures to be initiated and virtually completed in the course of the 19th century.

However, the widest dissemination of the concept of a Palestrinian ideal – as well as the most hyperbolic assessment of the composer's stature – was undoubtedly due to Alfieri's predecessor and mentor, Giuseppe Baini (1775-1844), whose two-volume biography of the 16th-century composer, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, was first published in 1828.<sup>7</sup> This was answered in 1832 by Carl Georg von Winterfeld's critically complementary study, *Johannes Pierluigi von Palestrina, seine Werke und deren Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Tonkunst*, and followed in 1834 by a German translation of Baini's monograph by Fr. S. Kandler that was published by Kiesewetter.<sup>8</sup> At the time that Palestrina's fame was being carried to German-speaking Europe in these works, editors in the same regions were beginning to publish in ever more substantial numbers the compositions of 15th and 16th century composers, including those of Palestrina and some of his most respected contemporaries.

Some of this activity may be regarded as primarily scholarly or historical in character. One could so construe, for example, the collection published by Frie-

6 See Dennis LIBBY, "Alfieri," *New Grove*, 1, p. 252.

7 There is a modern reprint from Georg Olms, Hildesheim, dated 1966.

8 See Otto URSPRUNG, "Baini," *MGG*, 1, col. 1089-90.

drich Rochlitz (1769-1842), whose multi-faceted career included half a century as the editor of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (from 1798 on).<sup>9</sup> His intentions are clear from his title: *Sammlung vorzüglicher Gesang-Stücke vom Ursprung gesetzmässiger Harmonie bis auf die Neuzeit*.<sup>10</sup> Of the three volumes, published in Leipzig from 1838-40, the first contains works by Du Fay, Okeghem, Josquin, Lassus, Goudimel, Morales, Tallis, and Senfl – a colorful mix – and the second compositions credited to Palestrina, Vittoria, Nanini, Anerio, (Andrea) Gabrieli, Walther, Gallus, Vulpius, Walliser, and Praetorius (see CEMM, pp. 24-25). (The third is constituted primarily of works of 17th century composers.)

Also didactic in nature, it would seem, are certain of the editions credited to Franz Commer (1813-87), who published more than 1,000 pieces of “classical” vocal polyphony in the course of his career.<sup>11</sup> His *Collectio operum musicorum Batavorum saeculi xvi*, which counted a total of twelve volumes between 1844 and 1858, may surely be seen in this light (see below, CEMM, pp. 25-26). It is essentially an extensive anthology of composers identified as having originated in the Low Countries (that is the Batavia of his “batavorum”), and the inclusion of works by Palestrina and Victoria under such a title is something of a surprise. Similarly, the publication of selected works by Josquin, both sacred and secular, as vol. 6 in the series, *Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke* was surely primarily an attempt – and a remarkably early one – to provide a brief overview of the genres and styles characteristic of that composer.

By contrast, other of Commer’s editions appear to have been motivated to a greater extent by the goals and purposes of the Caecilian movement. This would appear to be the case for the series *Musica sacra: Cantiones xvi, xvii saeculorum*, whose four volumes contained only music on religious texts (some of them in fact liturgical). As indicated by the term *cantiones* in the title, which was undoubtedly borrowed from similar collections printed in the 16th century, the majority of these works were motets (see the brief sample below, CEMM, p. 25).

The same Caecilian orientation seems likely as well for the continuation of the series under the general title *Selectio modorum*. Volumes 5 through 13 were given over to sacred works by Lassus: Masses, motets, Magnificat settings, and Lieder of a religious character. The final segment of the series opened with volume 14, published in 1873, containing compositions by Hans Leo Hassler, and continued through volume 28 in 1887 with works by such late 16th-century figures as Anerio,

9 See Horst LEUCHTMANN, “Rochlitz,” *New Grove*, 16, pp. 83-4.

10 The even more suggestive French title was *Collection de morceaux de chant, tirés des maîtres qui ont le plus contribué aux progrès de la musique et qui occupent un rang distingué dans l’histoire de cet art, choisis et arrangés chronologiquement*.

11 Regarding Commer, see *New Grove*, 4, p. 591 (unsigned).

(Andrea) Gabrieli, Gallus (Handl), Ingegneri, Lassus, Marenzio, Mel, Monte, Senfl, and Wert, as well as a goodly number of 17th-century composers.

Unlike Choron and de La Fage, whose interest in the vocal repertory of the 15th and 16th centuries was inextricably linked to their activities as church musicians and pedagogues, the enthusiasm of Joseph Napoleon Ney for the repertory in question found its expression almost entirely within the secular realm. Son of Napoleon's celebrated marshal – *le brave des braves* – and after the latter's death the second prince de la Moskowa, Joseph Ney, a composer of some talent, organized in Paris in 1843, together with the composer Adolphe Adam, a society to foster the performance of sacred vocal music from earlier centuries.<sup>12</sup> Their efforts resulted in a cycle of concerts underwritten by the noble ladies of the period and, even more significantly, a series of publications dedicated to the works performed in concert by those associated with the *Société*, the *Recueil des morceaux de musique ancienne exécutés aux concerts de la Société de musique vocale religieuse et classique*. This collection reached a total of 11 volumes comprising compositions, both sacred and secular, from the 15th through the 18th century (see below, the CEMM, pp. 26-29).<sup>13</sup>

Although his activities appear to have been largely in the secular realm, Ney had significant contacts with the church musicians who were interested in reviving the same repertory. Pupils of Choron performed a Mass of his composition in 1831, and he helped Louis Niedermeyer, the *sous-directeur* of the *Société*, to reopen the *Institution royale*, the school established earlier by Choron, as the *École de musique religieuse classique*.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, however, his encouragement of the growing movement to foster the rediscovery and performance of the vocal polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries may have pointed the way, in a sense, for the activities of Charles Bordes (1863-1909).

Trained not only in composition but also as an organist and choirmaster, Bordes made his mark in Paris as *maître de chapelle* at the church of St. Gervais. There he organized in 1892 a recurring succession of services, the *Semaines Saintes de St. Gervais* for which the music sung by his choir, the *Chanteurs de St. Ger-*

12 See Gustave CHOUQUET, "Moskova," *New Grove*, 12, p. 611. The *Règlement* for the *Société* – a series of 14 articles – was published in the first volume of the series under the signature of the *sous-directeur*, Louis Niedermeyer, the *maîtres des classes de chant*, and others. Among the "membres honoraires libres, formant le comité de perfectionnement attaché à la Société" are mentioned, in addition to Adolphe Adam, the composers Auber, Halévy, Meyerbeer, Onslow, Rossini, and Spontini.

13 Concerning the activities of the *Société*, see, Rémy CAMPOS, *La Renaissance introuvable ?*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2000. I should like to thank Mr. Campos for drawing this series of publications to my attention, and Mr. Xavier Bouvier, chief librarian at the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire in Geneva, for making available for study copies in the possession of his institution.

14 Concerning Niedermeyer, also a composer of some stature, see Guy FERCHAULT, *New Grove*, 13, pp. 221-22.

vais, was by the best known French and Italian composers of the 15th and 16th centuries. Two years later, with the assistance of composers Alexandre Guilmant and Vincent d'Indy, he organized the *Schola Cantorum*, a society for sacred music that became a school for the revival of these earlier repertoires. Subsequently, he established similar schools in Avignon (1899) and Montpellier (1905) and brought the vocal polyphony of composers such as Josquin, Palestrina, Lassus, and Victoria to wider audiences by touring with his choir in the French provinces and in neighboring European countries.<sup>15</sup> The presentation of such compositions in religious services and (possibly with the example of the Prince de la Moskowa in mind) in concert was accompanied and presumably sustained by a substantial series of publications under the title, *Anthologie des maîtres religieux anciens* (Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1893ff.), which included three volumes of Masses, two of motets, and – surprisingly, perhaps – a *Chansonnier du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* with polyphonic chansons by Claudin de Sermisy, Guillaume Costeley, Mathieu Gascongne, Clément Janequin, and Roland de Lassus (see CEMM, p. 43).

More than his earlier contemporaries in French-speaking Europe, Robert Julien van Maldeghem (1810-93) appears to have been animated by the ideals of the Caecilian movement. A church organist who had studied with Fétis at the Brussels Conservatory, he founded the Belgian *Caecilia*, a periodical concerned with sacred music. By contrast, his activity as a publisher of the vocal polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries seems to have been motivated primarily by educational and – perhaps even more so, given the political climate of the times – by nationalistic concerns. This is suggested, first of all, by the title of his ongoing series of publications: *Trésor Musical: collection authentique de musique sacrée & profane des anciens maîtres belges*. Between 1865 and 1893 he brought out two volumes a year, one of sacred music, the other of secular pieces, for a total of 618 compositions in all, most of them by composers who could be directly associated with the Low Countries (see CEMM, p. 40).<sup>16</sup>

Much more in tune with the goals of the Caecilian movement, in fact clearly inspired by its ideals, were the four large volumes of sacred music edited by Carl Proske (1794-1861) in Regensburg between 1853 and 1886.<sup>17</sup> What is merely implicit in the *Musica Sacra* edited by Commer is made unmistakably clear by Proske's title: *Musica divina sive Thesaurus concentum selectissimorum omni cultui divino totius anni juxta ritum sanctae ecclesiae catholicae inservientium*. Proske's intentions are equally

15 See Elaine BRODY, "Bordes," *New Grove*, 3, p. 45.

16 Concerning Maldeghem, see Patrick PEIRE, *New Grove*, 11, p. 569; also Gustave REESE, "Maldeghem and His Buried Treasure," *Notes* 6 (1948-49), pp. 75-117.

17 Concerning Proske, see August SCHARNAGL, *New Grove*, 15, pp. 309-10; also MGG, 10, col. 1655-56.



apparent from the manner in which he organized his materials (see below, CEMM, p. 30). Beginning in volume one with a series of 10 settings for the Ordinary of the Mass and two for the Requiem, he continued in volume two with a large body of motets organized according to the liturgical season or specific feast for which they would be appropriate. This is followed in volume three by a collection of polyphonic compositions for Vespers: psalms, Magnificats, hymns, and settings of the four great Marian antiphons traditionally sung at Compline.

The final volume of the series, although sub-titled *Liber vespertinus*, includes music for a variety of liturgical needs: settings of the Passion according to each of the four evangelists; the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the great responsories sung at Matins during Tenebrae services; a series of litanies; and various other works that could be used at Offices during Holy Week or on other important occasions. For his final publications Proske returned to the ordinary of the Mass with the *Selectus novus missarum* . . . , published in four fascicles between 1855 and 1861, each with four Masses (one of them a Requiem) for a total of sixteen.

A wide variety of composers is represented in these collections, a circumstance that may have been dictated in part by Proske's wish to provide appropriate vocal polyphony for all of the important liturgical observances of the yearly calendar. Still, the majority of them lived and worked during the second half of the 16th century. As might be expected, Palestrina has a prominent place in this repertory, but Victoria is certainly no less in evidence, and others, including Lassus, Andrea Gabrieli, Hassler, and a number of less-admired masters are also well represented.

For the historians of music who were at work through this same period of the 19th century, one would be inclined to expect different criteria than those adopted by Proske, for example, in selecting works for discussion and, even more so, for illustrative anthologizing. Of those who focused for the first time with considerable emphasis on composers of the period from the late 15th through the 16th century, the most influential may have proven to be the two representative of what one could justifiably call the Viennese "school" of music history: Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773-1850) and his nephew, August Wilhelm Ambros (1816-1876).

Kiesewetter, a singer of some accomplishment whose interest in the music of the past clearly extended to the practical realm, inaugurated in 1816 a series of four to six amateur concerts that were given yearly in his house until about 1845. Eventually, two of these featured music of historical interest, including vocal polyphony from the 16th through the 18th centuries.<sup>18</sup> As a result of this

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18 See Othmar WESSELY, "Kiesewetter," *MGG*, 7, col. 892-900.

activity, Kiewewetter accumulated a rather sizable collection of music, including some important autographs and other manuscripts, which are inventoried in his *Galerie der alten Contrapunctisten* (Vienna, 1847).<sup>19</sup> All of this material he later gave to the National Library in Vienna, where it provided a basis for some of the research undertaken by Ambros.

As an historian Kiewewetter is perhaps best remembered for his prize-winning essay for the competition sponsored in 1828 by the Royal Belgian Institute of Sciences, Literature, and Fine Arts on the question: “What have been the contributions of the Netherlanders to musical composition, especially in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries?”<sup>20</sup> The essay is of particular interest to us here because it clearly provided the foundation for his pathbreaking history of European music, which was published in 1834 (in Leipzig by Breitkopf und Härtel) under the descriptive title: *Geschichte der europäischen-abendländischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik*.<sup>21</sup> Kiewewetter also conceived in this connection of a series of publications to illustrate through examples the history of western music. Unfortunately, he was never able to realize this extensive project,<sup>22</sup> but he did append to his history a modest number of illustrative pieces, all of them polyphonic and, for the 15th century, all on sacred texts (see CEMM, p. 23).

His choices are instructive: a chanson by Adam de la Halle, a fragment of the Gloria from Machaut’s Mass, an anonymous (14th-century?) chanson (perhaps a virelai), then a series of short excerpts from the Mass repertory of the 15th century: three by Du Fay and one each by Eloy, Faugues, Okeghem, and Josquin. Although there are chapters in the book dealing with the “epochs” of Willaert and Palestrina, no music by those composers, or by others of their respective generations, is offered in evidence, perhaps because the author believed that a representative selection was already available in the published collections cited above.

19 The didactic intent of Kiewewetter’s catalogue of his extensive collection of music from earlier periods is evident from his descriptive title: *Galerie der alten Contrapunctisten: eine Auswahl aus ihren Werken, nach der Zeitfolge geordnet zu deutlicher Anschauung des Fortschreitens der Kunst; von den frühesten Versuchen harmonischer Verbindung bis zum Angang des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts und dem Aufblühen der neapolitanische Schule, als der Periode der neueren Musik. Alles in verständlichen Partituren aus dem Archiv alter Musik des k.k. Hofrathes. . . von ihm eigens zusammengestellt.*

20 The topic of the competition was formulated as a “Verhandelingen over de vraag: Welke Verdiensten hebben zich de Nederlanders, vooral in de 14e, 15e, en 16e eeuw in het vak der Toonkunst verworven?”

21 An English translation by Robert MULLER was published in 1848 as *History of the Modern Music of Western Europe* and reprinted in New York by the Da Capo Press in 1973.

22 The concept began to reach fruition only in 1894 when Guido Adler, who had submitted a memorandum to the Austrian government in 1888 proposing a *Monumenta historiae musicae*, was finally able to initiate a series of editions with a rather more modest scope, the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*; see Rudolf von FICKER, “Adler,” *MGG*, 1, col. 85-88.

Kiesewetter's nephew Ambros, although trained professionally in law, was also a competent performer and a recognized composer.<sup>23</sup> Inspired by the famous tract, *Vom musikalische Schönen* (1854), by Eduard Hanslick (a friend from his student days with whom he shared a young-romantic enthusiasm of a Schumannesque stamp) and the monograph, *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhundert und ihre Pflege* (1855) by A.B. Marx, he set out to establish a reputation of his own as an essayist with *Die Grenzen der Musik und Poesie* (1856). Perhaps as a consequence of the attention he attracted with this essay, he was commissioned soon after by the Leipzig publisher Constantin Sander (later, F.E.C. Leuckart) to write a general history of music. In preparation for this task he made a series of research trips to Italy (1861, 1865-66, 1866, and 1868) and did much work in addition in the rich libraries of Vienna and Munich. The fruits of these intensive labors, his *Geschichte der Musik*, was first published in three volumes between 1862 and 1868.

Like Kiesewetter, whose lead he followed in several significant regards, as we shall see, Ambros planned an edition of musical examples to accompany his history, but, like his uncle's, the project did not come to fruition in his lifetime. Only with the edition of 1882, "enlarged and enhanced" (*vermehrte und verbesserte*) as the expression goes – in this case posthumously – was there at last a collection of musical examples published with the history. They were compiled by Otto Kade (in a fifth volume), partly from pieces scored by Ambros, partly from those Kade had transcribed himself (see below, CEMM, pp. 38-39). Significantly, although the book began with music in ancient Greece, covered that of the European West from "the earliest times," and concluded with Monteverdi and the music of the 17th century, all 85 pieces included or excerpted in this collection were from the late 15th or early 16th century.

The focus, then, for both authors, was the development of the kind of vocal polyphony that Thibaut termed "classical," the style that was so admired by the leaders of the Caecilian movement that examples of it formed the bulk of the repertory published in their numerous editions. These Viennese historians were in fact attempting to trace the evolution of that style from its inception to its culmination in the sacred music of Palestrina and his immediate contemporaries, many of whom, including some of the most distinguished, were, like the Roman master himself, of Italian origins. Curiously, however – and this brings us to the problem posed by their writings, a dilemma that is both historical and historiographical – neither of them discusses this music in terms of the Renaissance, whether understood as a cultural phenomenon or even, simply, as a more or less arbitrary period of history that followed upon the Middle Ages.

23 Concerning Ambros, see Friedrich BLUME, *MGG*, 1, col. 408-13.

Kiesewetter, in fact, makes no mention at all of the later period as such and refers to the Middle Ages only in passing. Instead, he pursues his historical narrative by “epochs,” identified each time by what he considers to be the leading figure. From the 14th century, whose guiding spirits he takes to be Marchettus and De Muris (largely in the absence, it must be said, of any substantial musical repertory upon which to base a judgment), he moves successively through the “epochs” whose musical style was dominated first by Du Fay (1380-1450), then by “Ockenheim” (1450-1480), Josquin (1480-1520), Willaert (1520-1560), and Palestrina (1560-1600). Having thus surveyed the 15th and 16th centuries, he moves on to what he recognizes to be the very different styles of the 17th and 18th through discussion of the music of Monteverdi, Carissimi, Scarlatti, and later figures.

Kiesewetter does take cognizance of the circumstance that the beginnings of what he regards as proper counterpoint came with the appearance of Du Fay toward the end of a period known as the Middle Ages. He observes that “music was that art in the family circle which first revived in the early period of the Middle Ages, and is therefore entitled to be considered as the eldest of the sisterhood,” but goes on to affirm that “[music] first reached the greatest perfection... at a period which is not exactly acknowledged to be that of a golden age, in respect to poetry, painting, architecture, etc.”<sup>24</sup>

His emphasis, consistently, is on the role of the Netherlanders in the development of the musical culture of the period. He introduces the hero of his next epoch, Adrian Willaert, as “Among the Belgians, who were partly invited and came partly of their own accord to seek their fortune about his time in Italy,” explaining that he was a pupil of Mouton, “and therefore in the second degree from the school of Josquin” (p. 149). And, having mentioned a number of the other “Belgians” whose careers can be traced to Italy, he declared that they “enjoyed in this epoch, if not the monopoly, at least the supremacy, as regarded music, in Italy” (p. 151).

French, English, and German composers of the period are also mentioned as significant figures, whereas for Italy attention is drawn primarily to the paucity of native-born masters. Kiesewetter declares that “At the beginning of this epoch Italy possessed only Costanzo Festa,” and he identifies a few others from upper Italy as “generally speaking, merely beginners, springing from the Venetian school” (p. 154) that was for him the creation of Willaert.

His chapter on the epoch of Palestrina opens with a review of the considerable biographical information that could be drawn from Bainsi’s massive mono-

24 See the *History of the Modern Music of Western Europe*, trans. Robert MULLER (London: 1848, reprint New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), “Epoch of Josquin,” p. 135.

graph and a glowing appreciation of the composer's musical style. Our author declares that although

... in [Palestrina's] works, every gradation of the contrapunctic art may be found, from the simplest species... through the *stile familiare*... to the most complicated canons... , he moves... in the fetters with which he apparently restricted himself... with a freedom and grace that never allow the restraint to be perceived; the fire of his genius... glows throughout... (pp. 170-71).

Moreover, he prefaces these remarks with the observation that "In his best works [Palestrina] finds it difficult to conceal his education in the school of the Netherlands, how much soever he may have elevated its style by his own originality" (p. 170).

Never does Kiesewetter connect any of this with the Renaissance in Italy, which, in the traditional view, was reaching its apogee just at that time, nor is it mentioned later as he goes on to discuss the other composers of the so-called "Roman" school. Obviously, he got no help in this regard from Baini, who fails, similarly, to acknowledge any link between the compositional activity of his hero and the intellectual and cultural ferment of the period in which Palestrina had lived. In sketching his own brief history of vocal polyphony, Baini divides the period between the 14th century and the time of Palestrina into four *epoche*, using precisely the term that Kiesewetter was later to borrow.<sup>25</sup> He also identifies each of them, as Kiesewetter would, by their leading figure: Du Fay for the first, Okeghem for the second, Josquin for the third, and, for the last, Costanzo Festa who would prepare the ground for Palestrina.

None of this is oriented by a concept of the Renaissance, however, but rather by the author's excessive admiration for the object of his study. For example, although he acknowledges Josquin's great fame as justified to a degree, Baini berates him in the most partisan of manners for his playful deployment of technical artifice, calling him "il più scherzevole compositore, che sia in tanti secoli apparso sulla faccia della terra," and deploring his neglect of the meaning of the texts he set (p. 408). His inherent bias emerges even more clearly when he comes to speak of the composers who were directly contemporaneous with Palestrina. He dismisses Lassus, in particular, as "Flemish by birth, Flemish in style, sterile as to beautiful ideas, and lacking in soul and in fire,"<sup>26</sup> whereas his encomium for his hero goes on unceasingly, page after page.

25 See the *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2, pp. 387-423, especially p. 399ff.

26 See the *Memorie storico-critiche*, 2, p. 432, "Orlando di Lassus, fiammingo di nascita, fiammingo di stile, sterile di bei concetti, privo di anima e di fuoco, e che con alcune messe e mottetti ad 8. voci di stil piano si usurpò l'eccessivo elogio: *Lassum qui recreat orbem*."

As for Kiesewetter, he closes the chapter on Palestrina with a discussion of the musicians from other regions who had also gained some historical distinction. First in line is Lassus, whom he introduces with the assertion that, “The Belgians had even in the epoch of Palestrina... a hand in the game, although their influence in foreign countries was visibly on the decline, owing to the strenuous opposition already given by able composers of other nations” (p. 175). Then come the French, the English, and the Germans of the late 16th century, but with only the briefest discussion, before Kiesewetter moves on to the innovations of the 17th century.

Ambros’ indebtedness to Kiesewetter’s model of music history is evident from the outset. After an initial volume concerned with the music of Greek antiquity and the “Orient,” he goes directly to what he calls European-western music (“Die Anfänge der europäisch abendländischen Musik”), borrowing the phrase directly, it would seem, from the title of his uncle’s work. This segment is primarily a discussion of the music that arose in the context of early Christianity and in the culture of western Europe in the course of Middle Ages.

A second major section (Zweites Buch), entitled “The Development of Rule-bound (regulated?) Vocal Polyphony” (“Die Entwicklung des geregelten mehrstimmigen Gesanges”) brings first a discussion of mensural music and of true (“eigentlich”) counterpoint, then a chapter on “The First Netherlandish School: Du Fay and His Age” (“Die erste niederländische Schule: Dufay und seine Zeit”). Here a brief narrative concerning musical practice as described in Boccaccio’s *Decameron* leads to a description of the arrival and the increasing dominance of musicians from the Low Countries in both Italy and (with Okeghem) France.

Not surprisingly, then, the first section of his Volume III (“Erstes Buch”) announces “The Age of the Netherlanders” (“Die Zeit der Niederländer”). It is noteworthy that by the time Ambros’ history was published in 1868, Jakob Burckhardt’s widely disseminated and influential study of 1860, *The civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*,<sup>27</sup> had been in circulation for some years. This undoubtedly made it more difficult for Ambros to ignore the coincidences of time and place between cultural developments in “Renaissance” Italy and the developing musical style of the 16th century than had perhaps been the case for Kiesewetter. Ambros’ awareness of Burckhardt’s work, or at least of ongoing discussion of the concept of the Renaissance as a period in history, is suggested by the fact that his Volume III was initially published under the subtitle, “Geschichte der

27 *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Basel: 1860), available in numerous English language editions; see the translation of S.G.C. MIDDLEMORE, based on the 15th edition of the German original, 2 vols., New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929; as a Harper Torchbook, 1958, etc.

Musik im Zeitalter der Renaissance bis zu Palestrina” (“History of Music in the Age of the Renaissance until Palestrina”).<sup>28</sup>

However, Burckhardt’s work could hardly be seen as forcing Ambros’ hand with regard to his discussion of the vocal polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries. Burckhardt included in his study but one brief passage concerning music, which he begins with the assertion that “Musical composition down to the year 1500 was chiefly in the hands of the Flemish school, whose originality and artistic dexterity were greatly admired.” He then mentions Palestrina more or less in passing but quickly turns to the secular musical practices that were obviously his primary concern. He comments on the use of instruments and on the place of music making in such venues as the learned academies and the homes of the wealthy. His focus is on the role of music in the day-to-day life of Renaissance society rather than on the cultivation of vocal polyphony among the church choirs and court chapels of the peninsula or the development of the stylistic norms then already firmly associated with the music of Palestrina.”<sup>29</sup>

Interestingly, by the third edition of Ambros’ study the “Zeitalter der Renaissance” had disappeared from the title, leaving only “Die Zeit der Niederländer,” and the sole discussion of any substance that refers directly to the historical notion of a Renaissance comes in the opening pages of his Volume III. Even there, however, the governing conception for his musical history of this period continues to follow the pattern established by Kiesewetter. Ambros initiates his discussion with the declaration that “the century from 1450 to 1550 truly deserves to be called the century of the Netherlanders.”<sup>30</sup> And while he allows that continuous common threads of theoretical instruction and compositional practice run through it, he suggests that it can be divided into three “epochs” designated by the names of their foremost representatives: Okeghem, Josquin, and Gombert. Ambros also posits a fourth epoch, that of Orlando Lasso, which coincides with the age of Palestrina during which, in his view, musical hegemony is assumed by the Italians (3: 3).

Not that he denies every connection between the creative and social ferment of the Renaissance and developments in music; quite to the contrary, he asserts that the fifteenth century, “at once the conclusion of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the new age,” was a moment of rare intellectual excitement and,

28 See Friedrich BLUME, *Renaissance and Baroque Music: A Comprehensive Survey*, trans M.D. HERTER NORTON, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1967, pp. 29-32.

29 See *The civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 2, pp. 385-88.

30 *Geschichte der Musik*, 3:3 (Dritte verbesserte und mit Nachträgen versehene Auflage, von Otto Kade), Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckart, 1893. “Das Jahrhundert von 1450 bis 1550 verdient in der Musikgeschichte recht eigentlich den Namen des Jahrhunderts der Niederländer.”

at the same time, of highly significant development for music.<sup>31</sup> However, his characterization of the new trends is primarily a negative one. He emphasizes the fanciful excess, the irrational caprice, the colorful distraction that he sees reflected in all aspects of life, including, to a degree, the music of the period.<sup>32</sup> One could easily conclude that even though Ambros was dazzled by the exuberant imagination and the enormous creative energy of the period, he was not entirely comfortable with what he regarded as characteristic of Italian society in the new age.

There is further evidence of that in what follows. While recognizing that in Italy the 15th century can no longer be construed as belonging in any sense to the Middle Ages, he sees things much differently as far as Germany and France are concerned. He affirms that the Renaissance reached Germany only in the 16th century and even then largely in the form of scholarly humanistic endeavors. For France he deems the late 15th century as merely preparatory for the full-fledged importation of Italian Renaissance culture in the time of Francis I. And in the neighboring Netherlands he saw old values and old styles as even more entrenched and more decisive than in either France or Germany.

It was Ambros' opinion that because music in Italy remained the province of Netherlandish composers until virtually the end of the 16th century, their inherent conservatism was an impediment to the assimilation of music to the other arts being deployed in the new, ever more dramatic contexts of Italian culture – theatrical productions, festal processions, pantomimes, *intermezzi*, and the like – in which the cathartic effects of ancient Greek theater were being emulated and the vaunted powers of an unknown – and irretrievable – music were being sought. He likens the music of these *oltremontani* to a young vestal virgin (“priesterliche Jungfrau”), pure, strong, and virtuous, far too serious and also far too awkward (*schwerliederich*), to be able to plunge easily into such a charming cultural bacchanal.<sup>33</sup>

31 *Geschichte der Musik*, 3:4, “Das fünfzehnte Jahrhundert, zugleich Abschluss des Mittelalters und Anfang der Neuzeit, bezeichnet in der Geschichte einen geistig sehr erregten Moment, und gerade in dieses Jahrhundert fällt auch eine höchst merkwürdige Entwicklung der Musik.”

32 *Geschichte der Musik*, 3:4, “Der Drang nach neuen Lebensformen, nach einer neuen Gestaltung der Dinge... äusserte sich in allen Kreisen des Lebens (bis selbst in die Tracht hinein) durch phantastische Überschwenglichkeit, durch launenhafte Willkür, selbst durch bunte Zerfahrenheit; und es ist davon auch in der gleichzeitigen Musik etwas zu spüren.”

33 *Geschichte der Musik*, 3:6, “In Italien hätte nun die Musik nothwendig schon damals in jene Bahnen einlenken müssen, auf welche sie um das Jahr 1600 gerieth, auf das Streben, die antike Musik, von deren Herrlichkeit man um so lebhafter träumte, je weniger man davon wirklich wusste, deren Wundersagen mit gläubiger Miene immer wieder nacherzählt wurden, unter ähnlichen Bedingungen und Modificationen ‘wiederaufleben’ zu machen wie die antike Baukunst; sie hätte schon damals die Gestalten der Göttersage singend, tanzend, und agierend auf die Schaubühne einführen müssen. Finden wir nun gleich bei den glänzenden Festzügen, den Festspielen zur Feier fürstlicher



He does not see this as an unfortunate turn of events, however, but – quite to the contrary – as very healthy for the music of the period. In his view, the Netherlanders' attachment to their own musical traditions made it possible for them to cultivate and to perfect their compositional skills in accordance with their own sober temperament, undisturbed by foreign influences. As a consequence they were able to do what he saw as essential for music at the time both in developing compositional techniques and in determining the direction of its stylistic evolution generally. He credits them with the creation of a genuine, authentic church music, building on the foundation of the sacred liturgical chant (and their own popular music) and thus bringing into existence by means of the most elevated of artistic principles highly refined musical compositions. By doing so, asserts Ambros, they assured for music in all ages to follow the full weight and worth of an artistic expression and saved it from the sad fate of being reduced in the secular atmosphere of festal celebration to something superficial and inane.<sup>34</sup>

Renaissance Italy contributed to that development, in the eyes of our author, primarily through its creative influence. Under the southern sun, he wrote, the music of the Northerners gained unmistakably in scope, clarity, and taste and absorbed something of the warmth that has always energized and enlivened the arts in Italy. More importantly, they abandoned little by little much of their subtle artifice and intricate motivic play for a broader, more even and decorous

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Vermählungen, den pantomimischen Tänzen und den Intermezzi recitirende Dramen die Mythologie in reichstem Masse mit hereingezogen und mit dem ganzen malerischen Sinne der Zeit und der Nation in Scene gesetzt: so fehlte es doch der Musik, um damit gleichen Schritt halten zu können, vorläufig noch an den entsprechenden Mitteln des Ausdrucks; sie war jedenfalls viel zu ernst und eigentlich auch noch viel zu schwergliedrig, um sich in jenes liebenswürdige Geisterbacchanal so kurzweg stürzen zu können. Wenn sie nun aber rein, streng und keusch wie eine priesterliche Jungfrau in dem Treiben dasteht, so ist dieses wesentlich auf Rechnung des Umstandes zu setzen, dass sie auch in dem im vollen Stromme der Renaissance schwimmenden Italien von den Niederländern gepflegt wurde, die ihre heimische Kunst, wie ihre heimliche Denk- und Gefühlsweise, mit über die Alpen herübergebracht hatten."

34 *Geschichte der Music*, 3:7, "Die herrschend gewordene Ansicht der Zeit, welche in Sachen der Musik die Niederländer obenan setzte, war jedenfalls für die Musik sehr heilsam. Sie machte es den niederländischen Meistern möglich, unbeirrt von fremden Einflüssen, nach eigener Sinnesweise die Tonkunst zu üben und auszubilden; und diese Ausbildung traf gerade das Rechte, wie es der Musik eben noth that, sowohl in ihrer constructiven Technik als in ihrer ganzen Richtung überhaupt. Indem die Niederländer auf der Grundlage des autorisierten gregorianischen Kirchengesanges eine echt kirchliche Kunstmusik schufen, indem sie den Schatz alter Kirchenmelodie (aber auch ihrer heimischen Volksmelodien) zur Schöpfung wirklicher, nach höheren Kunstgesetzen gebildeter Kunstwerke verwerteten und den Schwerpunkt der Musik in die religiöse Tonkunst verlegten, bewahrten sie die Musik vor dem Geschieke, die Schule ihrer höheren Ausbildung bei den bunten, schnell zerplatzenden Seifenblasen jener Götteraufzüge, Tänze, und Feste suchen zu müssen. Sie sicherten so der Musik für alle Folgezeiten die volle Würde und das volle Gewicht einer Kunst, während sie in dem lachenden Festreiben raschen Lebens- und Kunstgenusses unrettbar der Verflachung verfallen wäre."

rhythmic style. As he says, “the individual artifices of counterpoint gave way to a whole, great art of composition.”<sup>35</sup>

Despite these attempts to explain the mutual influences of Netherlandish music and Italian Renaissance culture on one another, and somehow to reconcile them historically, Ambros’ observations reflect, I believe, an inherent tension in his historical narrative that stems at least in part from the “northern temperament.” On the one hand is his view of the exuberant atmosphere of the Italian Renaissance with its self-confident refinement of literature, art, and architecture as inspired by the primarily secular models of Greek and Roman antiquity. On the other is his intellectual and esthetic commitment to a style of vocal polyphony with deep roots in the medieval traditions of northern Europe. This was the music he had come to know not only through the efforts of Kiesewetter and other historians but also, and perhaps more broadly, through the numerous editions of the music of the 15th and 16th centuries by French choirmasters, Caecilian sympathizers, and scholars of various stripes. It was music he admired above all for its grave, decorous appropriateness to the sacred uses for which it had been fashioned, and he saw its style as simply overlaid on the Italian culture of the Renaissance by historical accidents that even now we find difficult to explain.

Ambros articulated this historical disjunction clearly, and he did not believe that it had been bridged by the refinements in the style of vocal polyphony that came at the hands of Palestrina and his contemporaries. He opined, rather, that Palestrina, “judging from his compositional manner, is a direct descendent of the (Franco)-Netherlandish school. That he made the works of the old Netherlanders an object of deep and diligent study is only too evident from his own [music]... [and] not the masters of the immediately preceding period... [but] Okeghem, Obrecht, and... Josquin.”<sup>36</sup>

As he saw matters, moreover, as long as the northerners maintained their musical dominance in Italy with the sober vocal polyphony they had brought with them from their homelands, they were able to hold at bay the proclivity

35 See *Geschichte der Musik*, 3:7-8, “Italien aber übte auf seine Musiklehrer, die Niederländer, mit jenem wunderbar bildenden Einflusse, der diesem gelobten Lande der Künste eigen ist... ihre Musik gewann dort ganz unverkennbar an Mass, Klarheit, Geschmack und nahm etwas von den warmen, sonnigen Töne an, welcher von jeher die Kunst in Italien erwärmt und belebt hat... die abenteuerliche Mensuralnotenklitterung, die Stachelsätze... wurden immer seltener; das intricate Spitzengewebe kleiner, auf das Feinste ineinandergreifender Noten machte endlich der Schreibart in grösseren, ruhigeren, überschaubareren Notengeltungen völlig Platz. Die einzelnen ‘Künste’ des Tonsatzes gingen allmählig in der einen, ganzen, grossen Kunst des Tonsatzes auf.”

36 See *Geschichte der Musik*, 4:27-28, “Seiner Schreibweise nach ist Palestrina ein direkter Abkömmling der (französisch)-niederländischen Schule. Dass er die Werke der älteren Niederländer zum Gegenstand eifriger und tiefer Studien gemacht, lehren seine eigenen nur Genüge... nicht die Meister der unmittelbar vorhergegangenen Periode... er greift nach Okeghem und Hobrecht und... Josquin.”

for rampant individualism that he apparently believed to be deeply rooted in the Italian character. Only at the end of that period, around 1600, did he see a resolution of the conflict between the conservative influence of the musicians trained in the Netherlands and the cultural tendencies of the Renaissance with the emergence of the new monodic style. This he viewed as the “artistic medium that brought artistically gifted individuality to the fore in direct opposition to the established style... the tardy offspring of the spirit of the new age, the age of the Renaissance.”<sup>37</sup>

With these words Ambros gave expression to what can well be described as an historical and historiographical dilemma. The music of the “age of the Renaissance,” especially as idealized for Italy by Baini and in northern Europe by proponents of the Caecilian movement, was not at all viewed in the 19th century as Renaissance music, properly speaking. Rather it was seen as a culminating stage in the development of the medieval musical culture of northern Europe, specifically that of the Low Countries. For Ambros, as for Kiesewetter, the vocal polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries was an unmistakable reflection of the ethnic character and serious temperament of the region that had produced its leading composers, however much tempered and warmed by the creative energy and artistic refinement of the Italian Renaissance. And in the disjunction between what was perceived as the serious, even solemn, style of the sacred polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries and the brilliant secular civilization of Renaissance Italy, the sympathies of the Viennese historians clearly lay with the northern composers.

Both authors seem to have vibrated to an intellectual and esthetic affinity with the Netherlanders in whose compositional mastery they could see the origins of the sophisticated contrapuntal skills that were in a sense the pride of the musical tradition of German-speaking regions in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was in the works of those northern-trained composers – rather than in those of the Italian masters who displaced them – that they appear to see the *fons et origo* of the style that would culminate, for them, not only in the contrapuntal *tours de force* of a Handel or a J.S. Bach but also in the musical achievements of the Viennese “classicists,” Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. It was, in other words, in the sacred music of the Netherlanders as idealized by the Caecilian

37 See *Geschichte der Musik*, 3:11, “So lange nun die Niederländer in Italien die musikalische Oberherrschaft behaupteten, herrschte mit ihnen auch jene Polyphonie, die sie aus ihrer Heimat mit herübergebracht, und drängte (sehr zum Heile der gesetzmässigen Festigung und Ausgestaltung der Musik) jene tief im italienischen Wesen begründete Neigung nach Individuellem einstweilen zurück. Erst gegen 1600 erhob sich dort die Monodie als das künstlerische Mittel, das musikalisch kurbegabte Individuum zur Geltung zu bringen, in offener Opposition gegen den bisherrigen Kunststyl. Sie ist die allerdings verspätete Geburt des Geistes der neuen Zeit, der Zeit der Renaissance... ”

movement and concretized in the collections published primarily by northern editors, that they perceived the roots of their own musical culture. And their view of the “music of the Renaissance” – as opposed to what could be seen as Renaissance music – was very much colored by that perception.

## Collected editions and musical monuments

The publications listed here (in chronological order) represent only a partial inventory of the works brought back to light by the many 19th-century editions dedicated in whole or in part to the vocal polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries. Contents have been listed in particular for those collections that are now rare and difficult to find.<sup>1</sup> For a fairly comprehensive bibliography, see Knud JEPPESEN, *MGG*, 10, col. 702, who also cites related publications edited by G. v. TUCHER (Vienna, 1827), S.W. DEHN (Berlin, 1838), KIESEWETTER (Leipzig, 1841), and others.

### Alexandre-Étienne CHORON (1771-1834)

Anthologies such as *Collection des pièces de musique religieuse* (ca. 1830), including music by Josquin, Goudimel, Palestrina, and others. Paris: 1805-?.

### Raphael Georg KIESEWETTER (1773-1850)

- *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1834.<sup>2</sup>
- *Supplément*... containing the most ancient monuments of figured counterpoint

<i>Tant con je vivrai</i>	Adam de LA HALE	Kyrie, <i>Missa L'homme armé</i>	DUFAY
Gloria (fragment of the Mass)	MACHAUT	Kyrie, Agnus Dei, <i>Missa Dixerunt discipuli</i>	ELOY
<i>Mais qu'il vous vienne a plaisance</i>	?	Kyrie, <i>Missa L'homme armé</i>	Vincentius FAUGUES
<i>Non avra pieta</i>	LANDINI	Kyrie, <i>Missa ad omnem tonum</i>	OCKEGHEM OR
Kyrie, <i>Missa Se la face ay pale</i>	DUFAY		OCKENHEIM
Benedictus, <i>Missa Ecce ancilla Domini</i>	DUFAY	Kyrie, <i>Christe, Missa Gaudeamus</i>	Josquin DES PRES

### Friedrich ROCHLITZ (1769-1842)

*Collection de morceaux de chant, tirés des maîtres qui ont le plus contribué aux progrès de la musique et qui occupent un rang distingué dans l'histoire de cet art, choisis et arrangés chronologiquement*, 3 vols. Mainz: Schott, 1838-40

VOLUME I:		Kyrie & Christe	OKEGHEM
Kyrie	DU FAY	Hymnus	JOSQUIN
Kyrie	DU FAY	Chant intermédiaire	JOSQUIN

1 I should like to thank Elizabeth Davis, Librarian of the Gabe M. Wiener Library of Music and Art of Columbia University, for her assistance in drawing together the information included in this inventory for those few items that were not found complete in the holdings of the library.

2 The musical examples in Kiesewetter's history were but a very small sample from the substantial number of compositions that he had collected and transcribed, as is evident from the catalogue he published in Vienna in 1847 of his holdings, which spanned the history of Western music from Hucbald, Guido, and Franco to composers of the 17th and 18th centuries: *Galerie der alten Contrapunctisten* (Ancient monuments of figured counterpoint).

Motette	JOSQUIN	<i>Media vita in morte sumus</i>	GALLUS
<i>Regina coeli</i>	LIASSO	<i>Exultate Justi</i>	VULPIUS
<i>Salve regina</i>	LIASSO	<i>Surrexit Christus hodie</i> (Ostergesang)	VULPIUS
<i>Weihnachts-Gesang</i>	LIASSO	<i>Gaudent in coelis</i> (Motette)	WALLISER
Die Hauptstücke des 51 <sup>ten</sup> Psalm	LIASSO	<i>Ecce Dominus veniet</i> (Motette)	PRAETORIUS
Motette psalm	Claude GOUDIMEL	VOLUME 3:	
Kyrie & Christe	C. de MORALES	<i>Funeste piaggie</i>	CACCINI
Gloria	C. de MORALES	Coro finale	CACCINI
Psalm Motette	Thomas TALLIS	<i>Turbaluntur impii</i>	Giacomo CARISSIMI
Motette mit Choral	Ludwig SENEL	<i>Ardens est</i>	
<i>Deus propitiuss esto</i>	Ludwig SENEL	<i>cor meum</i> (Motette)	Giacomo CARISSIMI
<i>Nunc dimittis</i>	Ludwig SENEL	<i>O sacrum</i>	
VOLUME 2:		<i>convivium</i> (Motette)	Giacomo CARISSIMI
<i>Adoramus te</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>Jephta</i>	Giacomo CARISSIMI
Gloria	PALESTRINA	Sanctus	BENEVOLI
<i>Pleni sunt coeli</i>	PALESTRINA	Christe eleison	BERNABEI
<i>O bone Jesu</i>	PALESTRINA	Alleluja	BERNABEI
<i>Impropria</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>Salve regina</i>	BERNABEI
Madrigale	PALESTRINA	Kyrie eleison	Alessandro SCARLATTI
<i>Lauda, anima mea</i> (psalm)	PALESTRINA	Gloria patri	Alessandro SCARLATTI
<i>Stabat mater</i>	NANINI	<i>Vanum est</i>	Alessandro SCARLATTI
<i>Exaudi nos</i>	NANINI	Sanctus	Alessandro SCARLATTI
<i>Weihnachts-Gesang</i>	NANINI	Agnus Dei	Alessandro SCARLATTI
<i>Jesu dulcis memoria</i>	VITTORIA	<i>Salve Regina</i>	CALDARA
Hymnus	VITTORIA	Agnus Dei (duetto)	CALDARA
<i>Adoramus te</i>	ANERIO	Qui tollis	CALDARA
<i>Christus factus est</i>	ANERIO	<i>Stabat mater</i> (quartetto)	ASTORGA
<i>Miserere</i>	ANERIO	<i>Fac me poenitentem flere</i> (duetto)	ASTORGA
<i>In ecclesiis benedicite Domino</i> (hymnus)	GABRIELI	<i>O quam tristis</i> (terzetto)	ASTORGA
Benedictus	GABRIELI	Kyrie	DURANTE
Gesänge Böhmischer und Märischer Brüder:		<i>Regina angelorum</i>	DURANTE
<i>Morgenlied</i>		<i>Requiem aeternam</i>	DURANTE
<i>Abendlied</i>		<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i>	DURANTE
<i>Bittegesang</i>		Crucifixus	Antonio LOTTI
<i>Buss-Gesang</i>		Qui tollis	Antonio LOTTI
<i>Aeterno gratias Patri</i> (Motette)	WALTHER	Crucifixus	Antonio LOTTI
Gesänge Martin Luther:		Der 44 <sup>ste</sup> Psalm	MARCELLO
<i>Zum Feste Maria Reinigung</i>		Et incarnatus est	MARCELLO
<i>Nach dem 67<sup>ten</sup> Psalm</i>		<i>Pater noster</i>	HASLER
<i>Adventslied</i>		<i>Seelig sind die Todten</i>	Heinrich SCHÜTZ
<i>Osterlied</i>		<i>Wer will die Auserwählten</i>	
<i>Osterlied</i>		<i>Gottes Beschuldigen</i> (Motette)	SCHÜTZ
<i>Passionsgesang</i>	GALLUS	<i>Was betrübst du dich,</i>	
<i>Adoramus te</i>	GALLUS	<i>meine Seele</i> (Psalm)	SCHÜTZ

## Pietro ALFIERI (1801-1863)

*Raccolta di musica sacra*, 7 vols.: I. Masses; II. Motets; III. Hymns; IV. Lamentations; V. Offertories; VI. Motets; VII. Magnificat settings. Rome: 1841-1846 (first large collection of works by Palestrina).

Franz Alys Theodor COMMER (1813-1887)<sup>3</sup>

*Collectio operum musicorum Batavorum saeculi xvi*, vols. i-xii. Berlin/Mainz, 1844-1858.

Includes works by Arcadelt, Basiron, Buus, Canis, Certon, Claudin, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Gombert, Jachet, Jannequin, Josquin, Lassus, Le Jeune, Kerl, Palestrina, and Victoria (together with later and lesser known composers).

*Musica sacra: Cationes xvi, xvii saeculorum*, vols. i-iv. Berlin: 1839-1842.

Primarily compositions by 17th and 18th-century composers, but with some from the 16th century, e.g.:

PALESTRINA, *Quo cunque pergis virginis* (4 vv.) – vol. 2

VICTORIA, *Popule meus* (4 vv.) – responsorium – vol. 2

PALESTRINA, *Nos autem gloriare* (4 vv.) – vol. 3

WALTER, *Allein auf Gottes Wort* (4 vv.) – vol. 3

PALESTRINA, *O crux ave spes unica* (4 vv.) – vol. 3

G. GABRIELI, *Benedixisti Domine* (7 vv.) – vol. 3

The series was continued under the following title:

*Selectio modorum ab Orlando di Lasso*. . ., vols. v-xiii. Berlin: 1860-72.

Lassus, Masses, Lieder, motets, Magnificat (4, 5, 6, 7, & 8 vv.)

*Selectio modorum ab J. L. Hasler* (4-9 vv.), vols. xiv-xxviii. Berlin/Regensburg: 1873-87.

Primarily compositions by 17th-century composers, but included as well were a number of (mostly late) 16th-century figures: Anerio, Gabrieli, Gallus (Handl), Ingegneri, Lassus, Marenzio, Mel, Monte, Senfl, Werte.

Josquin, *Ausgewählte Kompositionen* (4-6 vv.), Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke, vol. 6. Berlin: 1877.

## Contents

*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*

*In nomine Jesu* (6 vv.)

*In illo tempore stetit Jesus* (6 vv.)

*Inviolata, integra et casta* (5 vv.)

*Absalon fili mi* (4 vv.)

*Tribulatio et angustia invenerunt me* (4 vv.)

*Laudate pueri* (4 vv.)

*De profundis clamavi* (4 vv.)

*O virgo genitrix* (5 vv. = *Plusieurs regrets*)

*N'est-ce pas un grand déplaisir* (5 vv.)

*Mille regrets de vous abandonner* (4 vv.)

*Circumderunt me* (6vv.)

= 2a pars, *Christus mortuus est* or *Sic Deus*)

*A custodia, matutina* (?)

*Et ecce terrae motus factus est* (?)

*O benigna regina* (?)

*Ut colloct eum Dominus* (?)

*Nymphes napees* (6 vv.)

*Incessamment livré suis au martyre* (5 vv.)

*Plusieurs regrets* (5 vv.)

*Coeurs desolés de toutes nations* (4 vv)

*In meinem Sinn* (4 vv. = *Entre je suis*)

<sup>3</sup> See Karl G. FELLNER, *MGG*, 2, col. 1583-88.

## Joseph Napoléon NEY, prince de la Moskowa (1803-1857)

*Recueil des morceaux de musique ancienne exécutés aux concerts de la Société de musique vocale religieuse et classique, fondée à Paris en 1843.* Paris: s.d.

## Table du premier volume:

- |    |                                 |   |
|----|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Giov. Pier. Luigi da PALESTRINA | <i>Messe à 6 voix dite du Pape Marcel</i>   |
| 2. | PALESTRINA                      | <i>Messe à 4 voix dite Aeterna Christi munera</i>   |
| 3. | PALESTRINA                      | <i>Stabat Mater dolorosa</i> , antienne à deux choeurs<br>(Se chante dans la Chapelle pontificale les Jeudi et Vendredi saints) |
| 4. | PALESTRINA                      | <i>Fratres ego enim</i> , antienne à deux choeurs<br>(Se chante le Jeudi Saint à Rome dans la chapelle pontificale)             |
| 5. | PALESTRINA                      | <i>Adoramus te, Christe</i> , motet à 4 voix  |
| 6. | PALESTRINA                      | <i>Pleni sunt coeli</i> à 3   |
| 7. | PALESTRINA                      | <i>Alla riva del Tebro</i> , madrigal à 4 voix  |

## Table du deuxième volume:

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 8.  | Gregorio ALLEGRI   | <i>De lamentatione Jeremiae prophetae</i> à 4 voix<br>(Se chante dans la chapelle pontificale à Rome le Samedi Saint à Matines) |
| 9.  | Gregorio ALLEGRI   | <i>Miserere</i> à deux choeurs<br>(Se chante dans la Chapelle Pontificale à Rome les Mercredi et Jeudi saints)                  |
| 10. | Orlande de LASSUS  | <i>Regina coeli</i> à 4 voix  |
| 11. | Orlande de LASSUS  | <i>Salve regina</i> à 4 voix avec Choeur  |
| 12. | Orlande de LASSUS  | <i>Miserere</i> (à 5)   |
| 13. | <i>Cantique du matin</i>                                       | (Chant des frères bohèmes ou moraves, 2 <sup>e</sup> moitié du 15 <sup>e</sup> siècle, traduction libre de l'Allemand)          |
|     | <i>Cantique du soir</i>  |   |
|     | Invocation des frères moraves                                  |   |
| 14. | [ANON.]  | <i>Alla trinità beata</i> ( <i>Laudi spirituali</i> du 15 <sup>e</sup> siècle)  |
| 15. | ARCADELT<br>(maitre de Chapelle du Cardinal de Lorraine 1540), | <i>Ave Maria</i>  |
| 16. | T. L. da VITTORIA<br>(Né à Séville en 1560)                    | <i>Jesus dulcis</i> , motet à 4 voix  |
| 17. | VITTORIA.  | <i>Pueri hebreorum</i> , antienne - p. 256  |
| 18. | Volckmar LEISRING  | <i>O filii et filiae</i> , chant de Pâques à 2 choeurs  |
| 19. | Alexandre SCARLATTI.   | <i>Cor mio</i> , Madrigal à 5 voix de femmes  |
| 20. | Jean Sébastien BACH<br>né à Eisenach en 1685                   | <i>Tantum ergo</i> - p. 279   |

## Table du troisième volume:

consists entirely of works by composers of the 17th and 18th centuries: Stradella, Giovanni-Battista Clari, Benedetto Marcello, Handel, and Gluck.



## Table du quatrième volume:

consists entirely of compositions by Bach (1) and Haydn (7).

## Table du cinquième volume:

41. JOSQUIN DES PREZ	<i>La déploration de Jehan de Orkeghem</i> , composée à l'occasion de sa mort par son élève
42. Clément JANNEQUIN	<i>La bataille de Marignan</i> , chant français à 4 voix
43. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Scais tu dir l'avé</i> , chanson française
44. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Si le long temps à moy trop rigoureux</i> , chanson à 4 voix
45. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Ce faux amour</i> , chanson à 4 voix
46. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Fuyons tous d'amour le jeu</i> , chanson à 4 voix
47. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Bonjour mon coeur</i> , chanson française à 4 voix
48. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Le tems peut bien un beau teint effacer</i> , chanson à 4 voix
49. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Je l'ayme bien</i> , chanson à 4 voix
50. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Si vous n'etes en bon point</i> , chanson
51. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Per pianto la mia carne si distilla</i> , madrigal à 5 voix
52. Pavane à 4 voix	<i>Belle qui tiens ma vie</i> , tirée de l' <i>Orchésographie</i> de Thoinot d'ARBEAU
53. PALESTRINA	<i>Vaghi pensier</i> , madrigal à 4 voix, paroles du Cardinal BEMBO
54. PALESTRINA	<i>Là ver l'aurora</i> , madrigal
55. ARCADELT	<i>Il bianco e dolce cigno</i> , madrigal à 4 voix
56. Don Carlo GESUALDO, Prince de Venosa	<i>Gelo ha madonna il seno</i> , madrigal à 5 voix
57. Le Prince de Venosa	<i>Come esser suo</i> , madrigal à 5 voix
58. BENDETTO MARCELLO	Strofa a tre bassi
59. LOTTI venitien.	<i>Spirto di Dio</i> , madrigal à 4 voix chanté sur le bucentaure à l'occasion du mariage des Doges avec la mer Adriatique

## Table du sixième volume:

60. Andrea GABRIELI	Magnificat à trois choeurs
61. Andrea GABRIELI	Benedictus à 3 choeurs
62. Giov. Maria NANINI de Vallerano.	<i>Diffusa est gratia</i> , motet à 4 voix
63. Orlande de LASSUS	<i>Quia cinerum</i> à 5 voix, des <i>Psaumes de la Pénitence</i>
64. Felice ANERIO	<i>Ave regina coelorum</i> , antienne à deux choeurs
65. Felice ANERIO	<i>Adoramus</i> , motet à 4 voix
66. Thomas THALYS	Kyrie eleison à quatre voix
67. J. HAENDL (surnommé GALLUS)	<i>Media vita in morte sumus</i> , motet à 2 choeurs
68. GALLUS (HAENDL)	<i>Adoramus</i> à 6 voix
69. GALLUS	<i>Ecce quomodo moritur justus</i> , motet à 4 voix
70. LUPUS	<i>Audivi vocem</i> , motet à 6 voix
71. VULPIUS	<i>Exultate justi</i> , psaume à 4 voix
72. VITTORIA	<i>O vos omnes</i> , motet à 4 voix
73. VITTORIA	Gloria patri à 6 voix
74. Dom JUAN IV (roi de Portugal, 1615)	<i>Crux fidelis</i> à 4 voix
75. CARISSIMI	<i>O felix anima</i> , motet à 3 voix
76. BARBIERI	<i>Veni de Libano sponsa</i> , motet à 6 voix
77. Franceso DURANTE	Christe eleison, de la <i>Messe en ré mineur</i>

## Table du septième volume:

78. PALESTRINA	<i>Tribularer si nescirem</i> , antienne à 6 voix
79. PALESTRINA	<i>Agnus Dei</i> , de la Messe à huit voix
80. PALESTRINA	<i>Populo meus quid fecisti</i> , antienne à 2 choeurs (se chante à Rome le Samedi Saint dans la Chapelle Sixtine)
81. PALESTRINA	<i>Canite tuba in Sion</i> , motet à 5 voix
82. PALESTRINA	<i>Vinea mea electa</i> , répons à 4 voix (se chante le Vendredi Saint dans la Chapelle Sixtine)
83. PALESTRINA	<i>Una hora non potuisti vigilare</i> , répons à 4 voix (se chante à Rome le Vendredi Saint à l'Office des Ténèbres)
PALESTRINA	<i>Velum templi scissum est</i> , répons à 4 voix (se chante à Rome le Vendredi Saint)
84. PALESTRINA	<i>Tantum ergo</i> , motet à 5 voix
85. PALESTRINA	<i>In monte Oliveti</i> , répons à 4 voix
PALESTRINA	<i>Tristis est anima mea</i> , répons à 4 voix (se chante le Jeudi Saint à la chapelle Pontificale)
86. PALESTRINA	<i>Esurientes implevit bonis</i> , motet à 5 voix
87. PALESTRINA	<i>Corporis mysterium</i> , motet à 4 voix
88. PALESTRINA	<i>O bone Jesu</i> , motet à 4 voix
89. PALESTRINA	<i>Sicut erat</i> , motet à six voix
90. PALESTRINA	<i>Dei mater alma</i> , motet à 4 voix
91. PALESTRINA	<i>Lauda anima mea Dominum</i> , motet à 5 voix
92. PALESTRINA	<i>Hodie Christus natus est, Noël Noël</i> , motet à 2 choeurs
93. PALESTRINA	<i>Gloria patri</i> , à 2 choeurs

## Table du huitième volume:

consists entirely of compositions by Carissimi, Buononcini, Giovanni Paolo Colonna, Leonardo Leo, and Giovanni Battista Clari.

## Table du [neuvième] volume:

[100.] PALESTRINA	<i>Messe canonique</i>
[101.] PALESTRINA	<i>Messe de requiem</i> à 5 voix
[102.] GIOV. GABRIELI	Magnificat à 8 voix
[103.] GIOV. GABRIELI	<i>Miserere</i> à 6 voix
[104.] GIOV. GABRIELI	<i>Beata es virgo</i> , motet à 5 voix
[105.] Orlande de LASSUS	De psalmis penitentialibus à 3 et à 4 voix

## Table du dixième volume:

106. PALESTRINA	<i>Dies sanctificatus</i> , motet à 4 voix
107. PALESTRINA	<i>Sicut cervus</i> , motet à 4 voix
108. PALESTRINA	Même morceau en la bémol à 4 voix
109. PALESTRINA	<i>Laus honor virtus gloria</i> , motet à 6 voix
110. PALESTRINA	<i>Veni sponsa christi</i> , motet à 4 voix
111. VITTORIA	<i>O quam gloriosum</i> , motet à 4 voix
112. VITTORIA	<i>Vere languores</i> , motet à 4 voix
113. ANTONIO LOTTI	<i>Miserere</i> à 4 voix
114. ANTONIO LOTTI	<i>Benedictus</i> à 4 voix

115. Auteur inconnu	Fragment d'un ancien Noël français à 5 voix
116. Eustache du CAUROY	<i>Noël, Noël</i> , chœur à 4 voix
117. Eustache du CAUROY	<i>Se questa valle di miseria, lodi spirituali</i> du 16 <sup>e</sup> siècle à 4 voix
118. Baldassare DONATO	Villote napolitaine à 4 voix
119. GASTOLDI	<i>Viver lieto voglio</i> , ballet à 5 voix

## Table du onzième volume:

120. BENEVOLI	Sanctus à 16 voix
121. A. LOTTI	Christe eleison à 5 voix
122. CARISSIMI	<i>Le Rudiment ou la déclinaison du pronom hic, haec, hoc</i> à 4 voix
123. Clément JENNEQUIN	<i>Le chant des oiseaux</i> à 4 voix
124. Orlando GIBBON	<i>Le Vieux chasseur</i> , madrigal à 5 voix
125. Orlando GIBBON	<i>Le Croisé captif</i> , madrigal à 5 voix
126. MAILLART	<i>Tout au rebours</i> , Canon par mouvement contraire à 5 voix
127. Andrea GABRIELI	<i>Sento un rumor</i> , Chœur à 8 voix
128. Auteur inconnu	<i>A chi more per Dio</i> , fragment d'un Madrigal spirituel à 4 voix
129. Luca MARENZIO	<i>Abi dispietata morte</i> , Madrigal à 4 voix

## Carl PROSKE (1794-1861)

*Musica divina sive Thesaurus concentum selectissimorum omni cultui divino totius anni juxta ritum sanctae ecclesiae catholicae inservientium*. 4 vols. Regensburg: 1853-86 (R/1973)

## I. Liber missarum (1853):

<i>Missa brevis</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>Missa super Dixit Maria</i>	J. Leone HASLER
<i>Missa Iste confessor</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>Missa In nativitate</i>	
<i>Missa Dies sanctificatus</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>Domini</i>	Jos. Octavio PITONI
<i>Missa octavi toni</i>	LASSUS	<i>Missa</i>	Antonio LOTTI
<i>Missa ad imitat. Moduli</i>		<i>Missa pro defunctis</i>	
<i>Puisque j'ay perdu</i>	LASSUS	<i>IV vocibus paribus</i>	Matthaeus ASOLA
<i>Missa quarti toni</i>	VICTORIA	<i>Missa pro defunctis</i>	
<i>Missa brevis</i>	A. GABRIELI	<i>quatuor vocum</i>	Jos. Octavio PITONI

## II. Liber motetorum (1855):

## Proprium de tempore

## De adventu Domini

<i>Ad te Domine levavi</i>	
<i>animam meam</i>	Joa. Jos. FUX
<i>Ecce concipies/</i>	
<i>Super solium David</i>	Jacobus HANDL
<i>Obsecro Domine</i>	Jacobus HANDL
<i>Cum audisset Joannes</i>	Manuel CARDOSO
<i>Dicite pusillanimes</i>	Joa. Jos. FUX
<i>Egredietur virga/Radix Jesse</i>	Jacobus HANDL
<i>De coelo veniet</i>	Jacobus HANDL
<i>Ave Maria</i>	D. Pompeo CANNICIARI

## In festo nativitatis Domini

<i>Dies sanctificatus</i>	PALESTRINA
<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i>	Giov. Maria NANINI
<i>O magnum mysterium</i>	T. L. da VITTORIA
<i>Hodie nobis de coelo pax</i>	Costanzo PORTA
<i>Natus est nobis Deus de Deo</i>	Jacobus HANDL
<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i>	Gregorio TURINI

## In festo S. Stephanum protom[artyrum]

<i>Lapidabant Stephanum</i>	
<i>(iii vocum)</i>	Giov. Maria NANINI

- Sepelierunt Stephanum* Luca MARENZIO
- In festo S. Joannis ap. et evang.  
*His est beatissimus evangelista*  
 (iii vocum) Giov. Maria NANINI  
*Valde honorandus est* PALESTRINA
- In festo SS. Innocentium  
*Vox in rama audita est* CLEMENS NON PAPA
- In circumcissione Domini  
*O admirabile commercium* Fabio COSTANTINI  
*Ecce Maria genuit nobis*  
 (iii vocum) Rud. DE LASSO
- In epiphania Domini  
*Tribus miraculis* Luca MARENZIO  
*Ab oriente venerunt magi* Jacobus HANDL
- Dominicis post epiphaniam  
*Jubilare Deo* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Dextera Domini* Orl. de LASSUS
- Dominica in septuagesima  
*Ubi est Abel frater tuus?*  
 (iii vocum) Greg. AICHINGER
- Dominica in sexagesima  
*Exurge quare obbomis/*  
*Exurge Domine* Jac. de KERLE
- Dominica in quinquagesima  
*Benedictus es Domine* Orl. de LASSUS
- In quadragesima: a Feria IV. Cinerum ad  
 dominicam passionis  
*Exaltabo te Domine* Giovanni CROCE  
*Angelis suis mandavit* Manuel CARDOSO  
*Meditabor in mandatis tuis* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Erat Jesus ejiciens* Orazio VECCHI  
*Laetatus sum* Alessandro SCARLATTI
- Dominica de passione  
*Eripe me de inimicis* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Confitebor tibi Domine* Orl. de LASSUS
- Dominica in palmis  
*Pueri Hebraeorum* PALESTRINA  
*Improperium expectavi* Orl. de LASSUS
- In coena Domini  
*Christus factus est* Matteo ASOLA
- In parasceve  
*Popule meus* T. L. da VITTORIA  
*Adoramus te Christe* Greg. AICHINGER
- Sabbat Sancto  
*Vespere autem sabbati* Jacobus HANDL
- In resurrectione Domini  
*Hac dies quam fecit Dominus* PALESTRINA  
*Angelus autem Domini* Felice ANERIO
- Alleluja, Christus surrexit* Felice ANERIO  
*Maria Magdalene* Andrea GABRIELI  
*Christus resurgens (iii vocum)* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Et respicientes viderunt* Luca MARENZIO
- Dominicis post pascha usque ad Ascensionem  
 Domini  
*Surrexit pastor bonus* PALESTRINA  
*Virtute magna reddebant*  
 apostoli Giovanni CROCE  
*Lauda anima mea Dominum* Greg. AICHINGER  
*Cantate Domino canticum novum* Greg. TURINI  
*Benedicite Gentes* Orl. de LASSUS
- In ascensione Domini  
*O rex gloriae* Luca MARENZIO  
*Ascendens Christus in altum* Jac. HANDL  
*Omnnes gentes*  
*plaudite manibus* Giov. Maria CASINI
- In festo pentecostes  
*Loquebantur variis linguis apostoli* PALESTRINA  
*Veni sancte spiritus* Gregorio ALLEGRI  
*Factus est repente de coelo sonus/Confirma*  
*hoc Deus* Greg. AICHINGER
- In festo SS. Trinitatis  
*Te Deum patrem ingenitum* Andrea GABRIELI  
*Tibi laus, tibi gloria* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas* Agostino AGAZZARI
- In solemnitate Corporis Christi  
*O sacrum convivium* Giovanni CROCE  
*O sacrum convivium* Giuseppe Ant. BERNABEI  
*Caro mea vere est cibis* Andrea GABRIELI  
*Ego sum panis vivus* Alessandro COSTANTINI  
*Ego sum panis vivus* Paolo AGOSTINI  
*In voce exultationis* Gius. Ottavio PITONI  
*Ex altari tuo Domine* Gius. Ottavio PITONI  
*Qui terrena triumphat/Qui manducat*  
*hunc panem* Gius. Ottavio PITONI  
*Transfige dulcissime Domine Jesu*  
 (in elevatione) Giovanni BIORDI  
*Domine, non sum dignus/Miserere mei*  
 (in comunione) VITTORIA
- Dominicis post pentecostes  
*Duo seraphim/Tres sunt* T. L. da VITTORIA  
*Domine convertere et eripe* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Sperent in te omnes* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Illumina oculos meos* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Benedicam Dominum qui tribuit* Orl. de LASSUS  
*In te speravi Domine* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Expectans expectavi* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Domine in auxilium*  
*meum respice* Orl. de LASSUS  
*Super flumina Babylonis* Orl. de LASSUS

## Proprium sanctorum

- In festo S. Andreae apostoli  
*Doctor bonus* T. L. da VITTORIA
- In festo S. Nicolai  
*Beatu Nicolaus* incert.
- In festo conceptionis B. Mariae Virginis  
*Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui* PALESTRINA  
*Conceptio tua* Luca MARENZIO  
*Conceptio tua* Constanzo PORTA
- In festo S. Thomae apostoli  
*Quia vidisti me, Thoma* J. Leo HASLER
- In festo SS. nominis Jesu  
*In nomine Jesu* Jac. HANDL  
*O Jesu benignissime* Rudolph de LASSUS
- In festo purificationis B. V. Mariae  
*Senex puerum portabat* T. L. da VITTORIA  
*Hodie beata virgo Maria* Fabio COSTANTINI
- In festo annuntiationis B. Mariae Virginis  
*Gabriel Angelus* Luca MARENZIO  
*Ne timeas Maria* T. L. da VITTORIA  
*Dixit Maria ad angelum* J. Leo HASLER
- In festo inventionis S. Crucis  
*Nos autem gloriarī* Felice ANERIO
- In nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae  
*Fuit homo missus a Deo* PALESTRINA  
*Joannes esset nomen ejus* OrL. de LASSUS
- In festo SS. apostolorum Petri et Pauli  
*Tu es Petrus/*  
*Ego pro te rogi Petre* CLEMENS NON PAPA  
*Quem dicunt homines* Luca MARENZIO  
*Hodie Paulus Apostolus* Luca MARENZIO
- In festo visitationis B. Virginis Mariae  
*Beata es virgo Maria* J. Leo HASLER
- In festo S. Mariae Magdalenae  
*Mulier, quae erat* Andrea GABRIELI
- In festo S. Laurentii martyris  
*Levita Laurentius* Andrea GABRIELI
- In assumptione B. Mariae Virginis  
*Quae est ista* PALESTRINA
- Vidi speciosam sicut columbam* Felice ANERIO  
*Sicut cedrus exaltata sum*  
*in Libano* Felice ANERIO  
*Assumpta est Maria*  
*(iii vocum)* Greg. AICHINGER
- In decollatione S. Joannis Baptistae  
*Missio Herodes spiculatore* PALESTRINA
- In nativitate B. Mariae Virginis  
*Nativitas gloriosae*  
*Virginis Mariae* Luca MARENZIO  
*Regali ex progenie* Jac. HANDL  
*Cum jucunditate* Tommaso BAI  
*Felix namque es sacra*  
*Virgo Maria* Guis. Ottavio PITONI
- In festo exaltationis S. crucis  
*Adoramus te Christe* PALESTRINA  
*Crux fidelis, inter omnes* Felice ANERIO
- In dedicatione S. Michaelis archangeli  
*Princeps gloriosissime* PALESTRINA  
*Factum est silentium in coelo* Felice ANERIO
- In festo SS. angelorum custodum  
*Omnes sancti angeli*  
*custodes nostri* Greg. AICHINGER
- In festo omnium sanctorum  
*Salvator mundi salva nos omnes* PALESTRINA  
*Angeli, archangeli* Adrea GABRIELI  
*Vidi turbam magnam* Costanzo PORTA  
*O quam gloriosum*  
*est regnum* T. L. da VITTORIA  
*O quam gloriosum est regnum* Luca MARENZIO
- In festo S. Martini episc. et confess  
*O quantus luctus hominum* PALESTRINA  
*O beatum pontificem* Luca MARENZIO
- In festo presentationis B. Mariae Virginis  
*Congratulamini mihi* PALESTRINA
- In festo S. Caeciliae virg. et mart.  
*Dum aurora finem daret* PALESTRINA  
*Cantantibus organis* Luca MARENZIO  
*Triduanas a Domino* Tommaso BAI

## Commune Sanctorum

- In festis apostolorum et evangelistarum  
*Isti sunt viri sancti* PALESTRINA  
*Estote fortes in bello* T. L. da VITTORIA  
*Tollite jugum meum super vos* Andrea GABRIELI  
*Beati eritis* Giovanni CROCE
- In festo unius martyris  
*Beatus vir, qui suffert*  
*tentationem* Andrea GABRIELI  
*Iste sanctus pro lege Dei sui* T. L. da VITTORIA
- Honestum fecit illum Dominus* Felice ANERIO  
*Desiderium animae ejus* Felice ANERIO
- In festo plurimorum martyrum  
*Gaudet in coelis animae*  
*sanctorum* T. L. da VITTORIA  
*Laetamini in Domino* Giov. Maria NANINI  
*Istorum est enim*  
*regnum coelorum* Claudio CASCIOLINI

In festo martyrum tempore paschali <i>Filiae Jerusalem</i>	Andrea GABRIELI	<i>Serve bone et fidelis</i>	Tommaso BAI
In festo confessorum pontificum <i>Ecce sacerdos magnus</i>	T. L. da VITTORIA	In festo abbatum <i>Intercessio nos, quaesumus Domine</i>	Incert.
<i>Sacerdos et pontifex</i>	Andrea GABRIELI	In festo virginum <i>Veni sponsa Christi</i>	PALESTRINA
In festo summi pontificis <i>Dum esset summus pontifex</i>	Luca MARENZIO	<i>Veni sponsa Christi</i>	T. L. da VITTORIA
In festo doctorum ecclesiae <i>In medio ecclesiae aperuit os ejus</i> ( <i>iii vocum</i> )	Giov. Fr. BRISSIO	<i>Veni sponsa Christi</i>	Andrea GABRIELI
In festo confessorum non pontificum <i>Hic vir despiciens mundum</i>	T. L. da VITTORIA	In festo non virginum <i>Regnum mundi</i>	Felice ANERIO
<i>Similabo eum viro sapienti</i>	Luca MARENZIO	In dedicatione ecclesiae <i>Exaudi Domine preces servi tui</i>	PALESTRINA
<i>Euge serve bone</i>	Orazio VECCHI	<i>O quam metuendus est</i>	T. L. da VITTORIA
		<i>Domum tuam Domine</i>	Jac. HANDL

## Appendix Motetorum (cuilibet tempori convenientium)

<i>Sicut cervus desiderat/Sitivit anima mea</i> <i>ad Deum</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>Voce mea Dominum clamavi</i>	Giovanni CROCE
<i>Factus est Dominus firmamentum</i> <i>meum</i>	Orl. de LASSUS	<i>Ego sum pauper et dolens</i>	Giovanni CROCE
<i>Benedicam Dominum</i>	T. L. da VITTORIA	<i>Benedicam Domino</i> <i>in omni tempore</i>	Giovanni CROCE
<i>Ego dixi: Domine miserere</i>	Felice ANERIO	<i>Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus</i> ( <i>iii vocum</i> )	Alessandro COSTANTINI
<i>Cantate Domino canticum novum</i>	J. Leo HASLER	<i>Cantate Domino canticum</i> <i>novum</i>	Gius. Ottavio PITONI
<i>Domine Deus, pater omnipotens</i>	J. Leo HASLER	<i>Laudate Dominum</i> <i>in sanctis ejus</i>	Gius. Ottavio PITONI
<i>Gratias agimus tibi</i>	J. Leo HASLER	<i>Exultate Deo</i> <i>adjutorio nostro</i>	Alessandro SCARLATTI
<i>Cantabo Domino in vita mea</i>	Orazio VECCHI		
<i>Velociter exaudi me</i>	Orazio VECCHI		
<i>Exaudi Deus orationem meam</i>	Giovanni CROCE		

(Total: 180 pieces, including both *partes* of motets in two sections)

## III. Psalmody, Magnificat, hymnodia, et antiphonas B. Mariae Virg. complectens (1859)

## Psalmodia vespertina: Falsibordoni

<i>Domine ad adjuvandum</i>	Tom. Lud. da VITTORIA	<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	octavi toni
<i>Intonationes psalmodiarum</i>	Jos. Ant. BERNABEI	<i>Intonationes cum psalmodiis</i> <i>omnium tonorum</i>	Caes. de ZACHARIIS
<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	primi toni	<i>Domine ad adjuvandum (falsibordoni and ad aequales</i> <i>in all 8 tones, plus mixti toni).</i>	
<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	primi toni	<i>Falsibordoni (v vocum)</i>	Ludovico VIADANA (in all 8 tones)
<i>Confitebor</i>	primi toni	Psalmodia modulata	
<i>Beatus vir</i>	primi toni	<i>Domine ad adjuvandum</i>	Christoph. DEMANTIUS
<i>Confitebor</i>	secundi toni	<i>Deus in adjutorium</i>	Caes. de ZACHARIIS
<i>Beatus vir</i>	tertii toni	Psalmi quinque ad vespas	Didaco ORTIZ
<i>Confitebor</i>	quarti toni	<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	
<i>Laudate pueri</i>	quarti toni	<i>Confitebor</i>	
<i>Laetatus sum</i>	quinti toni	<i>Beatus vir</i>	
<i>Lauda Jerusalem</i>	sixti toni	<i>Laudate pueri</i>	
<i>Beatus vir</i>	septimi toni	<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	
<i>Laudate pueri</i>	septimi toni		
<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	septimi toni		
<i>Credidi</i>	septimi toni		
<i>Laudate pueri</i>	octavi toni		

Psalmi ad quatuor aequales voces	Greg. TURINO	Psalmi quatuor	Incerto
<i>Dixit Dominus</i>		<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	
<i>Confitebor</i>		<i>Confitebor</i>	
<i>Beatus vir</i>		<i>Beatus vir</i>	
<i>Laudate pueri</i>		<i>Laudate pueri</i>	
<i>In exitu Israel</i>		Psalmi aliquot variorum auctorum	
<i>Laetatus sum</i>		<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	R. GIOVANNELLI
<i>Nisi Dominus</i>		<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	Ottav. PITONI
<i>Lauda Jerusalem</i>		<i>Laudate Dominum</i>	Incert.
<i>Credidi</i>		<i>Nisi Dominus</i>	J. J. FUX
<i>Beati omnes</i>		<i>Beati omnes</i>	J. J. FUX
<i>Laudate Dominum</i>		<i>De profundis</i>	J. J. FUX
Psalmi sex inediti	Felice ANERIO	Canticum Beatae Mariae Virginis; Magnificat	
<i>Dixit Dominus</i>		<i>Magnificat octo tonorum</i>	Francisco SURIANO
<i>Confitebor</i>		<i>Magnificat octo tonorum</i>	Orl. de LASSO
<i>Beatus vir</i>		Magnificat aliquot variorum praestantissimorum auctorum	
<i>Laudate pueri</i>		<i>Magnificat octavi toni</i>	PALESTRINA
<i>Laudate Dominum</i>		<i>Magnificat primi toni</i>	Orl. de LASSUS
<i>Memento Domine David</i>		<i>Magnificat octavi toni</i>	MORALES
Psalmi quatuor	Bernardino NANINO	<i>Magnificat quinti toni</i>	ORTIZ
<i>Dixit Dominus</i>		<i>Magnificat</i>	Fel. ANERIO
<i>Beatus vir</i>		<i>Magnificat quarti toni</i>	Luca MARENZIO
<i>Laudate pueri</i>		<i>Magnificat</i>	PITONI
<i>In convertendo</i>		<i>Magnificat</i>	FUX

## Hymnodia Vespertina

## Hymni praecipuarum solemnitatatum

Hymnus in nativitate Domini		Hymnus in nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae	
<i>Christe redemptor omnium</i>	Fel. ANERIO	<i>[Ut queant.] Nuntius celso veniens</i>	ORTIZ
Hymnus in epiphania Domini		Hymnus in festo SS. apostolorum Petri et Pauli	
<i>Hostis Herodes impie</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>[Aurea luce.] Janitor coeli</i>	ORTIZ
Hymnus in dominica passionis et festo exaltationis S. crucis		Hymnus in festo S. Michaelis	
<i>Vexilla regis prodeunt</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>[Tibi Christi splendor.]</i>	
Hymnus in ascensione Domini		<i>Collaudamus venerantes</i>	Incerto.
<i>Jesu nostra redemptio</i>	VITTORIA	Hymnus in festo omnium sanctorum	
Hymnus in festo pentecostes		<i>Christe redemptor omnium</i>	ORTIZ
<i>Veni creator spiritus</i>	PALESTRINA	Hymnus in dedicatione ecclesiae	
Hymnus in festo SS. Trinitatis		<i>Urbs beata Jerusalem</i>	VITTORIA
<i>O lux beata Trinitas</i>	VITTORIA	Hymnus in festis Beatae Mariae Virginis	
Hymnus in festo corporis Christi		<i>Ave Maris Stella 1</i>	VITTORIA
<i>Pange lingua 1</i>	VITTORIA	<i>Ave Maris Stella 2</i>	SURIANO
<i>Pange lingua 2</i>	PITONI	<i>Ave Maris Stella 3</i>	J. L. HASLER
<i>Pange lingua 3</i>	CASINI	<i>Ave Maris Stella 4</i>	BIORDI

## Antiphonae Beatissimae Mariae Virginis

Antiphonae B. M. V.	Francisco SURIANO	<i>Salve regina</i>	
<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>		<i>Salve regina</i>	
<i>Ave regina</i>		Antiphonae B. M. V.	Fel. ANERIO
<i>Regina coeli</i>		<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	

<i>Ave regina</i>			
<i>Regina coeli</i>			
<i>Salve regina</i>			
Antiphonae B. M. V.	Gregor. AICHINGER	Selectus singularum antiphonarum B. M. V.	
<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>		auctoribus diversis compositorum	
<i>Ave regina</i>		<i>Alma redemptoris/</i>	
<i>Regina coeli</i>		<i>Tu quae genuisti (paribus vocibus)</i>	PALESTRINA
<i>Salve regina</i>		<i>Alma redemptoris</i>	Fel. ANERIO
Antiphonae B. M. V.		<i>Alma redemptoris</i>	AICHINGER
(trium vocum)	Gregor. AICHINGER	<i>Ave regina</i>	Orl. de LASSUS
<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>		<i>Ave regina</i>	COST. PORTA
<i>Ave regina</i>		<i>Ave regina</i>	AICHINGER
<i>Regina coeli/Resurrexit</i>		<i>Ave regina</i>	FUX
<i>Salve regina</i>		<i>Regina coeli/Resurrexit</i>	ORTIZ
		<i>Regina coeli</i>	C. PORTA
		<i>Regina coeli</i>	LOTTI
		<i>Salve regina/Et Jesum</i>	Orl. de LASSUS
		<i>Salve regina</i>	Fel. ANERIO
		<i>Salve regina</i>	AICHINGER

## IV. Liber vespertinus (1863)

## Selectus harmoniarum praecipuarum Officio hebdomadae sanctae inservientium

<i>Passio D. N. J. Cristi</i>		Feria VI. in parasceve	
<i>sec. quatuor evangelistas</i>	Francisco SURIANO	Lectio prima: De lamentatione. Heth.	
Dominica in palmis: Passio sec. Matthaeum		Cogitavit	
Feria tertia: Passio sec. Marcum		Lectio secunda: Lamed. Matribus suis	
Feria quarta: Passio sec. Lucam		dixerunt	
Feria sexta: Passio sec. Joannem		Lectio tertia: Aleph. Ego vir videns	
<i>Lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae</i>	PALESTRINA	Sabato sancto	
Feria V. in coena Domini		Lectio prima: De lamentatione. Heth.	
Lectio prima: Incipit lamentatio		Misericordiae	
Lectio secunda: Vau. Et egressus est		Lectio secunda: Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum	
Lectio tertia: Jod. Manum suam misit.		est	
		Lectio tertia: Incipit oratio Jeremiae	

## Responsoria in triduo maj. heb. ad matutinum

## A. Harmoniae variorum auctorum

Feria V. in coena Domini		Resp. V. <i>Tenebrae factae sunt</i>	Giov. CROCE
Resp. I. <i>In monte Oliveti</i>	Giovanni CROCE	Resp. VI. <i>Animam meam dilectam</i>	Annib. ZOILO
Resp. II. <i>Tristis est anima mea</i>		Resp. VII. <i>Tradiderunt me in manus</i>	
Resp. III. <i>Ecce vidimus eum</i>	Ludovico VIADANA	Resp. VIII. <i>Jesum tradidit impius</i>	
Resp. IV. <i>Amicus meus</i>	Lud. VIADANA	Resp. IX. <i>Caligaverunt oculi mei</i>	
Resp. V. <i>Judas mercator pessimus</i>	Annibale ZOILO	Sabbato sancto	
Resp. VI. <i>Unus ex discipulis</i>	Giovanni CROCE	Resp. I. <i>Sicut ovis ad occisionem</i>	Lud. VIADANA
Resp. VII. <i>Eram quasi Agnus</i>	Lud. VIADANA	Resp. II. <i>Jerusalem surge, et exue te</i>	
Resp. VIII. <i>Una hora non potuistis</i>	FERRARIO	Resp. III. <i>Plange quasi virgo</i>	
Resp. IX. <i>Seniores populi</i>	Lud. VIADANA	Resp. IV. <i>Recessit pastor noster</i>	HANDL
Feria VI in parasceve		Resp. V. <i>O vos omnes, qui transitis</i>	Giov. CROCE
Resp. I. <i>Omnes amici mei</i>		Resp. VI. <i>Ecce quomodo moritur</i>	Jacobus HANDL
Resp. II. <i>Velum templi scissum est</i>	Giov. CROCE	Resp. VII. <i>Astiterunt reges terrae</i>	Annib. ZOILO
Resp. III. <i>Vinea mea electa</i>	Lud. VIADANA	Resp. VIII. <i>Aestimatus sum</i>	
Resp. IV. <i>Tanquam ad latronem existis</i>	Annib. ZOILO	Resp. IX. <i>Sepulto Domino</i>	Jacobus HANDL

## B. Selectissimae modulationes – Th. L. de VICTORIA

Feria V. in coena Domini		Resp. VII. <i>Eram quasi Agnus</i>
Resp. IV. <i>Amicus meus</i>		Resp. VIII. <i>Una hora non potuistis</i>
Resp. V. <i>Judas mercator pessimus</i>		Resp. IX. <i>Seniores populi</i>
Resp. VI. <i>Unus ex discipulis</i>		



## Feria VI in parasceve

- Resp. IV. *Tanquam ad latronem existis*  
 Resp. V. *Tenebrae facta sunt*  
 Resp. VI. *Animam meam dilectam*  
 Resp. VII. *Tradiderunt me in manus*  
 Resp. VIII. *Jesum tradidit impius*  
 Resp. IX. *Caligaverunt oculi mei*

## Sabbato sancto

- Resp. IV. *Recessit pastor noster*  
 Resp. V. *O vos omnes, qui transitis*  
 Resp. VI. *Ecce quomodo moritur*  
 Resp. VII. *Astiterunt reges terrae*  
 Resp. VIII. *Aestimatus sum*  
 Resp. IX. *Sepulto Domino*

## Supplementum harmoniarum variis officiis hebdomadae sanctae inservientium

<i>Miserere in falsobordone</i>	PALESTRINA	<i>Benedictus</i>	PALESTRINA
<i>Miserere in falsobordone</i>	Fabr. DENTICE	<i>Benedictus</i>	VITTORIA
<i>Miserere in falsobordone</i>	G. M. NANINI	<i>Benedictus</i>	Jac. HANDL
<i>Miserere in falsobordone</i>	Lud. VIADANA	<i>Benedictus octavi toni</i>	Did. ORTIZ
<i>Miserere in falsobordone</i>		<i>Christus factus est (I et II)</i>	Jac. HANDL
<i>Miserere in falsobordone</i>		<i>Christus factus est</i>	G. O. PITONI
<i>Miserere</i>	Jac. HANDL	<i>Impropria in adoratione crucis</i>	PALESTRINA
<i>Miserere</i>	Greg. TURINI	<i>Impropria</i>	G. A. BERNABEI
<i>Miserere</i>	Alex. UTTENDAL	<i>Adoramus (I et II)</i>	Franc. ROSSELLI
<i>Benedictus in falsobordone</i>	Giov. GUIDETTI	<i>Adoramus</i>	Orl. de LASSO
<i>Benedictus in falsobordone</i>		<i>Adoramus</i>	Paolo AGOSTINI
<i>Benedictus in falsobordone</i>		<i>Adoramus</i>	Incert.

## II. Selectus litaniarum

- Litania de B. M. V. (trium vocum)* – Gr. AICHINGER  
*Litania* – Orl. de LASSO  
*Litania* – Joa. de FOSSA  
*Litania* – Jac. FINETTI  
*Litania* – Agostino AGAZZARI  
*Litania* – Giov. BIORDI  
*Litania* – Greg. ZUCHINO  
*Litania* – PALESTRINA  
*Litania de SS. Nomine Jesu* – Georg. VICTORINUS  
*Litania de omnibus sanctis* – Orl. de LASSO

## III. Selectus harmoniarum variis officiis inservientium

- Stabat mater (trium vocum)* – Greg. AICHINGER  
*Stabat mater* – Agost. AGAZZARI  
 Antiphona: *Asperges me* – VITTORIA  
*Vidi aquam*  
*Pater noster* – Leon. PAMINGER  
*Ave Maria* – VITTORIA  
*Te Deum* – Fel. ANERIO  
*Te Deum* – Did. ORTIZ  
*Te Deum* – Jac. HANDL

*Selectus novus missarum praestantissimorum superioris aevi auctorum...* 4 vols. Regensburg: 1855-61

## Pars I: Quatuor Missas IV, V, et VI vocibus decantandas (1855)

- Missa Veni sponsa Christi (quatuor vocum)* – PALESTRINA  
*Missa Hor le tue forze adopra (quatuor vocum)* – Felice ANERIO  
*Missa Qual donna attende (quinque vocum)* – Orl. de LASSUS  
*Missa Assumpta est Maria (sex vocum)* – PALESTRINA

## Pars II: Quatuor Missas IV, VI, et VIII vocibus decantandas (1857)

- Missa Simile est regnum coelorum (quatuor vocum)* – VITTORIA  
*Missa Vidi speciosam (sex vocum)* – VITTORIA  
*Missa super voces musicales (sex vocum)* – Francesco SORIANO  
*Missa (octo vocum)* – Leo HASLER

## Pars I: Quatuor Missas IV, V, et VI vocibus decantandas (1861)

- Missa O quam gloriosum est regnum (quatuor vocum)* – VITTORIA  
*Missa Si bona suscepimus (quinque vocum)* – PACIOTTI  
*Missa In die tribulationis (quinque vocum)* – Orlandus de LASSUS  
*Missa Dum complerentur (sex vocum)* – PALESTRINA

## Pars II: Quatuor Missas IV, V, VI, et VIII vocibus decantandas (1861)

- Missa Nos autem gloriari (quatuor vocum)* – Francesco SORIANO  
*Missa Trabe me post te (quinque vocum)* – VITTORIA  
*Missa Pater peccavi (six vocum)* – Andreas GABRIELIS  
*Missa pro defunctis (octo vocum)* – Orazio VECCHI

## Auguste Wilhelm AMBROS (1816-1876)

*Geschichte der Musik*. 3 vols. Leipzig: 1862, 1864, 1868.

Vol. 5: Auserwählte Tonwerke der berühmtesten Meister des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beispielsammlung dem dritten Bande der Musikgeschichte von A. W. Ambros nach dessen unvollendet hinterlassenen Notenmaterial<sup>4</sup> mit zahlreichen Vermehrungen (Otto Kade). Leipzig: 1882.

Joannes OKEGHEM:

*Missa cuiusvis toni*: Sanctus, Benedictus, Qui venit (A)<sup>5</sup>  
*Je nay deul* (A)  
*L'auter dantan*  
*Se ne pas jeulx*  
*Se vostre ceur*  
*Fuga trium vocum in epidiatessaron* (from Forkel)

Jacob HOBRECHT

*Ave regina/Funde preces ad filium* (A)  
*For seusement* (A)  
 Ohne text (= 3a pars, *Salve regina* [ii])  
*La tortorella*  
*Se bien fait*  
*Salve regina*

Josquin DE PRÈS

*Stabat mater dolorosa* (A)  
*Missa pange lingua*  
*Jai bien cause*  
*Je say bien dire* (A)  
*Adieu mes amours*  
*Scaramella va alla guerra*

Pierre DE LA RUE

*Missa Tous les regres*: Sanctus  
*O salutaris hostia* (A)

Antonius BRUMEL

*Missa festivale*: excerpts  
*Regina coeli* (A)

Alexander AGRICOLA

*Comme femme* (A)

GASPAR

*Virgo Maria* (A)

Loyset COMPÈRE

*Nous sommes de l'order de St. Babouin* (A)

Johannes GHISELIN

*La Alfonsina* (A)

DE ORTO

*Ave Maria* (A)  
*Missa mi-mi*: Agnus III (A)

Franciscus DE LAYOLLE

*Salve virgo singularis*  
*Pia ad Deum precatio*: *Media vita in morte sumus*

Antonius FEVIN

*Descende in hortum meum* (A)

Eleazar GENET, gen. CARPENTRAS

*Lamentations*, Libro II: excerpts

Nicolaus GOMBERT

*Ave regina coelorum*

Benedict DUCIS

*Es wollt uns Gott genedig sein*  
*Vater unser im Himmelreich*  
*Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu Dir*  
*erbarm Dich mein o Herre Gott*  
*An Wasserflüssen Babylon*

Henricus FINCK

*Missa de beata virgine*

Thomas STOLTZER

Psalm 12: *Hilf Herr, die Heylligen haben abgenommen*

Paulus HOFFHEYMER

*Ach lieb mit leid*  
*Ich hab heimlich ergeben mich*  
*Mein traurens ist*

Henricus ISAAC

*Illumina oculos meos*  
*Christus filius Dei* (= *Virgo prudentissima*)  
*Virgo prudentissima*

Introitus: *Puer natus est*

Introitus: *Puer natus est* (eine andre Fassung)

Alleluja: *de nativitate Jesu*

Alleluja: *de nativitate Jesu* (eine andre Fassung)

Alleluja: *de circumcissione Domini*

*Donna di dentro/Fortuna d'un gran tempo*

Ohne text

Ohne text

Ohne text

Mathes GREITER

*Ich stund an einem Morgan*

David KÖLER

*O dw edler brun der freuden*

<sup>4</sup> Ambros left in transcription more than 800 works dating from the 15th to the 18th centuries.

<sup>5</sup> (A) indicates that the example was printed from a transcription by Ambros; all others were transcribed by Kade.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Arnoldus DE BRUCK<br>O du armer Judas (A)<br>O allmächtiger Gott  | Thomas WALLISER<br>Deus noster refugium<br>Seven frottole: (A)  |
| Ludwig SENFL<br>Ave rosa sine spina/Dominus tecum (Comme femme)<br>(A)<br>Wol kumpt der Mai<br>Im Maien, im Maien   | BARTHOLOMEUS, organista de Florentia, Si talor<br>questa<br>Alexander FLORENTINUS, ohne text<br>Franciscus DE LAYOLLE, ohne text<br>Joh. Baptiste ZESSO, E quando andarete<br>Paulus SCOTUS, Fallace speranza<br>Francesco D'ANA, Nasce l'aspro |
| Johann WALTHER<br>Holdseliger meins Hertzen trost<br>Ein neues Christliches Lied  | Adrian WILLAERT<br>Pater noster (A)   |
| Matthäus LE MAISTRE<br>Hör Menschenkind<br>Schem dich du tropf, du bastis im kopf   | Hans Leo VON HASSLER<br>Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr/Es ist ja, Herr  |
| Antonius SCANDELLUS<br>Missa super epitaphium Mauriti: excerpts<br>Nu komm der Heiden Heiland<br>Der Wein, der schmeckt mir also wohl<br>Bonzorno Madonna | Jacobus GALLUS<br>Jerusalem gaude<br>Laetentur coeli<br>Bartolomeo ESCOBEDO<br>Introitus... : Exurge quare obdormis/ Quoniam<br>humiliata est   |
| Rogier MICHAEL<br>Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott   | Christophero MORALES<br>Sancte Antoni/O sancte Antoni   |
| Leonhart SCHROETER<br>Te Deum laudamus (German)   |   |

(A total of 35 compositions, some of which count several pieces)

### Robert Julien van MALDEGHEM (1810-1893)

*Trésor musical*. Collection authentique de musique sacrée et profane des anciens maîtres belges.

Brussels: Librairie Européenne de C. Muquardt, 1865-93.

For a complete annotated list of the nearly 600 compositions published in Maldeghem's collection, with as many as possible of the mistaken attributions and similar errors corrected, see Gustave Reese, "Maldeghem and his Buried Treasure," *Notes* 6 (1948-49), pp. 75-117; Reese's study was also incorporated into the reprint of the collection done in 1965. The composers best represented (with 10 or more pieces) include the following: Benedictus Appenzeller; Jacques Arcadelt; Jean de Cleve; Thomas Crecquillon; Josquin Desprez; Nicolas Gombert; Jacob de Kerle; Pierre de la Rue; Orlando di Lasso; Claude le Jeune; Philippe de Monte; Andrea Pevernage; Franciscus Sale; Adrien Willaert.

### Charles BORDES (1863-1909)

*Anthologie des maîtres religieux anciens*. Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1893-?.

*Livre des messes: première année*

1. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Missa brevis* - à 4
2. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Missa quarti toni* - à 4
3. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Missa Ascendo ad Patrem* - à 5
4. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Missa Ave maris stella* - à 4
5. Roland de LASSUS *Missa Douce mémoire* - à 4
6. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Missa pro defunctis* - à 6
7. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Missa O regem coeli* - à 4

*Livre des messes: deuxième année*

8. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Missa Papae Marcelli* - à 4  
 9. Claude GOUDIMEL *Missa Le bien que j'ay* - à 4  
 10. Christophorus MORALES *Missa Quæramus cum pastoribus* - à 5  
 11. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Missa O quam gloriosum est regnum* - à 4  
 12. Jacobus KERLE *Missa Regina coeli* - à 4  
 13. Roland de LASSUS *Missa pro defunctis* - à 5  
 14. Francisco GUERRERO *Missa Puer qui natus est nobis* - à 4

*Livre des messes: troisième année*

15. Francesco SURIANO *Missa Nos autem gloriari* - à 4  
 16. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Missa pro defunctis* - à 4  
 17. Antonio LOTTI *Missa à 3 voix égales*  
 18. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Missa Salve regina* - à 5  
 19. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Missa sine nomine* - à 4  
 20. Elzéar GENET (*dit* CARPENTRAS) *Missa A l'ombre d'un buissonnet* - à 4  
 21. Giovanni ANIMUCCIA *Missa Conditore alme siderum* - à 4

*Livre des motets: première année*

1. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *O quam gloriosum* - à 4  
 2. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Peccantem me quotidie* - à 5  
 3. Jacques CLEMENS [NON PAPA] *Tu es Petrus* - à 4  
 4. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *O magnum mysterium* - à 4  
 5. Giovanni Maria NANINI *Hodie Christus natus est* - à 4  
 6. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Coenantibus illis* - à 5  
 7. Roland de LASSUS *Ego sum resurrectio et vita* - à 3  
 8. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Trois repons (à 4) aux matines du Vendredi Saint, 2<sup>e</sup> Nocturne: Tanquam ad latronem existis; Tenebrae factae sunt; Animam meam dilectam*  
 9. Josquin DESPREZ *Christe immolate in crucis ara* - à 4  
 10. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam* - à 4  
 11. Felice ANERIO *Christus factus est pro nobis* - à 4  
 12. Giuseppe CORSI *Adoremus te, Christe* - à 4  
 13. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Trois repons (à 4) aux matines du Samedi Saint, 1<sup>re</sup> Nocturne: Sicut Ovis ad occisionem; Jerusalem surge; Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea*  
 14. Giuseppe Ottavio PITONI *Christus factus est pro nobis* - à 4  
 15. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Estote fortes in bello* - à 4  
 16. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Dum complerentur dies pentecostes* - à 5  
 17. Giovanni Maria NANINI *Diffusa est gratia* - à 4  
 18. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Trois repons (à 4) aux matines du Jeudi Saint, 3<sup>e</sup> Nocturne: Eram quasi agnus; Un hora non potuistis vigilare; Seniores populi consilium fecerunt*  
 19. Andrea GABRIELI *Angeli, archangeli* - à 4  
 20. Josquin DESPREZ *Ave Maria* - à 4  
 21. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Trois repons (à 4) aux matines du Vendredi Saint, 1<sup>re</sup> Nocturne: Omnes amici mei derelinquerunt me; Velum templi scissum est; Vinea mea electa*  
 22. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Gaudet in coelis* - à 4  
 23. Gregor AICHINGER *Factus est repente de coelo* - à 4  
 24. Gregor AICHINGER *Assumpta est Maria* - à 3  
 25. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Trois repons (à 4) aux matines du Vendredi Saint, 3<sup>e</sup> Nocturne: Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum; Jesum tradidit impius; Caligaverunt oculi mei*  
 26. Josquin DESPREZ *Miserere mei, Deus* - à 5  
 27. Giovanni BRISSIO *In medio ecclesiae* - à 3  
 28. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Trois repons (à 4) aux matines du Samedi Saint,*

- 2<sup>e</sup> Nocturne: *Recessit pastor noster; O vos omnes qui transitis per viam; Ecce quomodo moritur Justus*  
 Pulvis et umbra sumus - à 4
29. Roland de LASSUS
30. Gregor AICHINGER *Salve regina* - à 4
31. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA Trois repons (à 4) aux matines du Samedi Saint, 3<sup>e</sup> Nocturne: *Astiturent reges terrae; Aestimatus sum cum descendantibus; Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum*
32. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Exultate Deo* - à 5
33. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA Trois repons (à 4) aux matines du Jeudi Saint, 2<sup>e</sup> Nocturne: *Amicus meus osculi; Judas mercator pessimus; Unus ex discipulis meis tradet me*
34. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Alma redeptoris mater* - à 4
35. Gregor AICHINGER *Ave regina* - à 4
36. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Jesu dulcis* - à 4
37. Gregor AICHINGER *Regina coeli* - à 4
38. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Iste sanctus pro lege Dei* - à 4
39. Andrea GABRIELI *Sacerdos et pontifex* - à 4
40. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Veni sponsa Christi* - à 4
- Livre des motets: deuxième année*
41. Heinrich SCHÜTZ *Verba mea auribus percipe* - à 4  
*Quoniam ad te corabo* - à 4
42. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Vere languores nostros* - à 4
43. Jacques CLEMENS NON PAPA *Beata es Maria* - à 4  
*Ave Maria* - à 4
44. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Recessit pastor noster* - à 4  
*O vos omnes* - à 4  
*Ecce quomodo moritur justus* - à 4  
*Christus factus est* - à 4
45. Matteo ASOLA *Timor et tremor* - à 6
46. Roland de LASSUS *Domine, non sum dignus* - à 4
47. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Christus resurgens* - à 4
48. Jean RICHAFORT *Mortuus est enim* - à 4
49. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Stabat mater* - à 8 (2 choeurs)
50. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Dextera Domini* - à 4
51. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Ave Maria* - à 4
52. Josquin DESPREZ *Ave verum* - à 2 et à 3
53. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Assumpta est Maria* - à 6  
*Quae est ista* - à 6
54. Roland de LASSUS *Nos qui sumus in hoc mundo* - à 4
55. Jacques CLEMENS NON PAPA *Beata es virgo Maria* - à 4  
*Ave Maria* - à 4  
*Pauper sum ego* - à 4
56. Roland de LASSUS *Loquebantur variis linguis* - à 4
57. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Duo seraphim clamabant* - à 4
58. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Domine convertere* - à 4
59. Roland de LASSUS *Pange lingua, Nobis datus* - à 4
60. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Tantum ergo* - à 4
61. Jacques CLEMENS NON PAPA *Tristitia obsedit* - à 4  
*Quid igitur faciam* - à 4  
*O sacrum convivium* - à 4
62. Ludovicus VIADANA
63. *Psalmodieae vespertinae* (choix de faux-bourçons des maîtres anciens) 1<sup>re</sup> série: Pour les dimanches et fêtes et le commun des saints - à 4
- Carolus ANDREAS *Dixit Dominus*  
 Ludovicus VIADANA *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*  
 Giov. Bat. GIUDICI *Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes*  
 C. ZACHARIAS *Credidi, propter quod locutus sum*

- Orpheus VECHUIS *Domine, probasti me* (pour les 2<sup>es</sup> Vêpres du commun des Apôtres et Evangelistes)
- Ludovicus VIADANA *Memento, Domine, David* (pour les 2<sup>es</sup> Vêpres des Confesseurs, Pontifes et diverses fêtes)
- Carolus ANDREAS Magnificat
64. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *O admirabile commercium* - à 5
65. Roland de LASSUS Psaumes de pénitence, I: *Domine, ne in furore tuo* - à 5
66. Roland de LASSUS Psaumes de pénitence, II: *Beati quorum remissae sunt* - à 5
67. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA *Ecce sacerdos magnus* - à 4
68. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina *Congratulamini mihi* - à 4
69. *Psalmodiae vespertinae* (choix de faux-bourçons des maîtres anciens) 2<sup>e</sup> série: Pour les vêpres de la Ste Vierge - à 4  
*Dilexi* (pour les Vêpres des Morts et les funérailles)
- Giov. Maria NANINI *Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi*
- Carolus ANDREAS *Levavi oculos meos*
- GIUDETTI *De profundis clamavi*
- Ludovicus VIADANA *Confitebor tibi, Domine*
- Ludovicus VIADANA Magnificat (à 2 choeurs)
- Ludovicus VIADANA *Hic vir despiciens* - à 4
70. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA Psaumes de pénitence, III: *De profundis clamavi* - à 5
71. Roland de LASSUS *Tantum ergo* - à 4
72. Giovanni Pierluigi da PALESTRINA *Tantum ergo* - à 4
73. *Psalmodiae vespertinae* (choix de faux-bourçons des maîtres anciens) 3<sup>e</sup> série: Pour les vêpres des morts - à 4  
*Dixit Dominus* (pour les Vêpres de la T.S. Vierge et du commun des Vierges et Saintes femmes)
- Vincenzo RUFFI *Laetatus sum*
- commun *Lauda Jerusalem*
- Ludovicus VIADANA *Ave maris stella* - à 4
- Carolus ANDREAS Magnificat (à 2 choeurs)
- 73<sup>bis</sup>. Felice ANERIO *Filiae Jerusalem* - à 4
- 73<sup>ter</sup>. Carolus ANDREAS *Popule meus* - à 4
74. Andrea GABRIELI
75. Tomas Luis da VITTORIA

*Chansonnier du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. Paris: Schola Cantorum, s.d.

- Pierre CERTON
1. *Je me tais et supplie* - à 4
- Claudin de SERMISY
2. *Hau, bau, bau le boys* - à 4
3. *Puisqu'en amour a si grand passe-temps* - à 4
- Guillaume COSTELEY
4. *Mignonne, allons voir si la rose* - à 4
5. *Puisque ce beau mois* - à 4
6. *Si c'est un grief tourment* - à 4
7. *Allons gay, gay, bergères* (Noël en forme de rondeau) - à 4
- GASCONGNE
8. *Je ne saurais chanter ni rire* - à 4
- Clément JANNEQUIN
9. *Au joly jeu du pousse avant* - à 4
10. *Ce moys de may, ma verte cotte vestiray* - à 4
11. *Petite nymphe folastre* - à 4
- Roland de LASSUS
12. *Bonjour mon coeur, bonjour ma douce vie* - à 4
13. *Ce faux amour d'arc et de flèches s'arme* - à 4
14. *Fuyons tous d'amour le jeu* - à 4
15. *La nuit froide et sombre* - à 4
16. *Las ! voulez-vous qu'une personne chante* - à 4
17. *L'heureux amour qui s'eslève et honore* - à 4
18. *Or, sus, filles, que l'on me donne* - à 4
19. *Quand mon mari vient de dehors* - à 4
20. *Si le long temps à moi trop rigoureux* - à 4
21. *Si vous n'êtes en bon point* - à 4
22. *Soyons joyeux sur la plaisante verdure* - à 4
23. *Un jour vis un foulon qui foulait* - à 4
24. *Sauter, danser, faire des tours* - à 4
25. *Voicy du gai Printems* - à 4
26. *Le dieu Mars et l'amour sont parmy la campagne* - à 4