

Carola Finkel (Hrsg.)

Palestrina und seine Zeit – Traditionelle und digitale Forschungsperspektiven

Bericht zum Symposium anlässlich der
Verabschiedung von Prof. Dr. Peter Ackermann
vom 22.–23. April 2021

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DIGITALE FORSCHUNGSPERSPEKTIVEN**

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Prof. Dr. Peter Ackermann vom 22.–23. April 2021**

herausgegeben von
Carola Finkel

Dresden 2023

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Frankfurt/Main, Deutschland

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Palestrina and the Sequence

That composers of vocal polyphony reacted to the shape and genre of the texts they were setting is obvious to any scholar of Renaissance music. Similarly obvious is that the melodies traditionally associated to the same texts could influence the polyphonic settings. When there is neither a *cantus firmus* nor a prominent paraphrase, however, we tend to envision the composer as if he were ‘free’ in front of his text, and unaffected by any previous experience of its performance. But there is more to a sung item than its words and the corresponding pitches: such elements as its metrical (or non-metrical) quality, its syllabic or melismatic text declamation, its more or less tuneful character, its regular/irregular and symmetric/asymmetric phraseology, all contribute to form a specific sonic model.

Such distinct and distinctive genres as hymns, *cantiones*, litanies, or sequences seem especially inclined to retain some traits of their traditional sonic model even when set in polyphony:¹ and this both when they are set as such (and in certain cases the question may arise whether, liturgically and *gattungsgeschichtlich*, the piece in question is, say, a polyphonic sequence or a motet) and when they are partially included in compilations or pastiches (as in the case of the late-Quattrocento *motetti missales*, or of some hyper-composite Christmas motets c.1500).²

As it has often been noted, Renaissance composers and printers, much like modern musicologists, tended to use the nondescript term ‘motet’ as an omnibus label. Even though such scholars as Oliver Strunk or, more recently, Anthony Cummings have exposed the presence of specific subtraditions within the macrotradition of the motet,³ the role of text- or genre-specific sonic models is still underappreciated. In this perspective, the relationship between motet and sequence is especially interesting, but also fraught with problems. On the one hand, the liturgical genre of sequence as such is still largely uncharted, in terms of both texts and melodies (with the further complication connected with the interchangeability of melodies).⁴ On the other hand, the late repertory (from

- 1 Anthony Cummings spoke of “precompositional consequences”: “The selection of a particular text type [...] – itself a fundamental precompositional choice – had related precompositional consequences for the composer, since in many cases it clearly suggested how to address and resolve such basic compositional issues as the number of voices, large-scale formal procedure, melodic substance and style, and texture and constructional technique”: Anthony M. Cummings, “The Motet”, in James Haar (Ed.), *European Music, 1520–1640*, Woodbridge 2006, pp. 130–156; pp. 141–142.
- 2 See my introductions to Loyset Compère, *Hodie nobis*, Motet Cycles Edition 1; [Loyset Compère?], *Ave domine Iesu Christe*, Motet Cycles Edition 2; and Loyset Compère, *Ave virgo gloriosa (Galeazescha)*, Motet Cycles Edition 3, *Gaffurius Codices Online*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions>, and the literature quoted there.
- 3 See Oliver Strunk, “Some Motet-Types of the 16th Century”, in: *Papers Read by Members of the American Musicological Society at the Annual Meeting* (1939), pp. 155–160; Cummings, *The Motet* (as note 1).
- 4 Several projects are in progress (see for instance Calvin Bower’s “Clavis Sequentiarum”, <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/sequences> or Christian Meyer’s “Catalogue thématique des Séquences”, <http://www.musmed.fr/CMN/proseq/proseq.htm>), but the task is huge, and in many cases we are still left with the old glorious *Analecta Hymnica* and a plethora of understudied manuscripts. See, however, Lori Kruckenberg, “Sequence,” in: Mark Everist/Thomas Forrest Kelly (Eds.), *The Cambridge*

c.1450 to the Council of Trent – and to Palestrina) falls in a crack between the areas of expertise of medievalists and of renaissance scholars, of researchers mostly interested in liturgical chant and of those interested in polyphony – both for what concerns the use, circulation, re-functionalization of texts and settings, and for what concerns the multiplicity of traditions (monodic sequences, including those in *cantus fractus*,⁵ sequences in simple or improvised polyphony, polyphonic sequences). As Lori Kruckenberg put it in the paragraph “Zentrales und spätes Mittelalter” of her article on the sequence in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.⁶

Zwar tendiert die Forschung dazu, die Sequenz des späten Mittelalters vor dem Hintergrund eines gattungsgeschichtlichen Stillstands zu sehen, doch hat diese Zeit bislang keine breitere Aufmerksamkeit der Forschung auf sich gezogen, und selbst eine Aufarbeitung der Quellen bleibt weitgehend ein Desiderat; es wird noch einiges an Untersuchungsarbeit zu leisten sein, bevor ein besseres Verständnis für die Gattung in diesem Zeitraum zu erreichen ist.

Scholars such as Agostino Ziino,⁷ Axel Emmerling,⁸ and more recently Marco Gozzi⁹ have traced the history of the polyphonic sequence, notably for the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.¹⁰ Several compositional trends emerge, ranging from a strict observance of the liturgical shape of the sequence (notably in alternatim settings) to a free motet-like approach (especially for texts that were not liturgical sequences *stricto sensu*, but rather devotional rhythmic prayers). Even in motet-like works, however, the attentive analyst can often detect some traces of the specific musical tradition of the genre. Ziino’s remarks on Josquin’s settings are telling: some of those settings show “certe ripetizioni musicali che ne tradiscono l’appartenenza o quanto meno il collegamento con il genere e la forma della sequenza vera e propria” and in composing them Josquin had “la con-sapevolezza di musicare un testo che appartiene ad una tradizione ben specifica, au-tonoma, e fortemente caratterizzata”.¹¹

The mid- and late-sixteenth-century developments are unfortunately much less known, not to say unexplored. One would need to gather together the settings, at least those of the most recognizable sequence texts, and analyse them verifying the presence

History of Medieval Music, 2 vols., Cambridge 2018, vol.1, pp. 300–356 and Margot E. Fassler, “Women and Their Sequences: An Overview and a Case Study”, in: *Speculum* 94/3 (2019), pp. 625–673 (with various useful resources mentioned especially in the first footnotes).

5 See Marco Gozzi (Ed.), *Cantus fractus italiano: un’antologia* (= Musica mensurabilis 4), Hildesheim-New York 2012.

6 Lori Kruckenberg, “Sequenz”, in: Laurenz Lütteken (Ed.), *MGG Online*, Kassel etc. 2016–, article first published 1998, article published online 2016, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/12060>.

7 Agostino Ziino, “La tradizione musicale dello Stabat Mater fino a Palestrina”, in: Lino Bianchi / Giancarlo Rostirolla (Eds.), *Atti del 2. convegno internazionale di studi palestriniani: Palestrina e la sua presenza nella musica e nella cultura europea dal suo tempo ad oggi*, Palestrina 1991, pp. 27–62.

8 Axel Emmerling, *Studien zur mehrstimmigen Sequenz des deutschen Sprachraums im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., Kassel 1994.

9 Marco Gozzi, *Sequenze* (= Codici musicali trentini del Quattrocento 1), Trento-Roma 2012, Introduzione. See also Marco Gozzi, “Sequence Texts in Transmission”, in: Daniele V. Filippi / Agnese Pavanello (Eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy* (= Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta 7), Basel 2019, pp. 157–187.

10 For the previous repertory, see Bryan Gillingham, “A History of the Polyphonic Sequence in the Middle Ages”, Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1976.

11 Ziino, *La tradizione musicale* (as note 7), p. 37.

or absence of such elements as the use of a *cantus prius factus* and of markers pointing to the sonic model of the sequence (e.g. syllabicity, symmetrical phraseology, binary repetitions, pseudo-alternatim within the polyphony), especially if deviating from the stylistic norm of a given composer. In the present contribution, I will not be able to fill this enormous lacuna, let alone situate the extant repertory, as it would be desirable, within a broad mapping of the cultural history of the sequence (texts and musical settings) in the sixteenth century: all that will have to remain among the desiderata, for the moment. Rather, I will concentrate on Palestrina, and survey his own settings of sequence texts. My notes, developing a suggestion already given by Strunk as early as 1939,¹² will primarily focus on the tension just mentioned: is there anything distinctive in these settings, or are they just motets (some were indeed published within motet books) setting texts that happen to derive from sequences? Did the sonic model of the sequence influence Palestrina in any way?¹³

TABLE 1 gives an overview of the surely attributed and completely preserved settings.¹⁴

12 See Strunk, *Motet-Types* (as note 3), pp. 156–157.

13 In my discussion I will almost completely bypass issues of chronology, and philological problems in general: several settings are found in manuscripts and only the information contained in the forthcoming catalogue produced by the Frankfurt “Palestrina Werk- und Quellenverzeichnis” project will furnish us with a preliminary basis in order to evaluate the sources, their reliability and chronology. I am grateful to Carola Finkel and Peter Ackermann for allowing me a preview of the relevant records from their work in progress, and for commenting on related issues.

14 Further settings currently included among the *opera dubia* are the following (here and in the subsequent notes, I will indicate the earliest – if possible Roman – source(s), merely for an easier identification of the composition: for a complete list of sources I refer the reader to Peter Ackermann/Carola Finkel, *Verzeichnis der Werke Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrinas. Online-Datenbank mit textkritischer Darstellung der Quellen*, www.palestrina-wv.uni-mainz.de.

- *Lauda Sion* a 6, ms., I-Rli Musica P 28; PdPWV Dub105

- *Stabat Mater* a 4/8, ms., I-Bc Q 35 and Q 39, I-MOe Mus.F.888, incomplete; PdPWV Dub051; modern edition: W xxxii, p. 173

- *Victimae Paschali laudes* a 8, ms., V-CVbav Barb. lat. 4184; PdPWV Dub053; W vii, 194, OC xxxiv, p. 187

A *Dies irae* in alternatim, included in an otherwise unknown Requiem attributed to Palestrina, was discovered in 2010 according to Jean Duchamp, “Un manuscrit musical pour la liturgie des morts et ses ‘Requiem’ inconnus de Palestrina et ‘Jachet’: Ferrare, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, CL. II 476”, in: *Revue de Musicologie* 96/2 (2010), pp. 271–319; Riccardo Pintus, “The Three Requiem Masses by Palestrina: New Light on Some Doubtful Attributions”, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 13/2 (2021), pp. 149–265, however, forcefully argued against the attribution to Palestrina (see esp. pp. 233–237); not yet labelled in Ackermann/Finkel.

Another *Victimae Paschali laudes*, incompletely preserved in a manuscript originally from S. Spirito in Saxia, has been accepted as authentic in the new catalogue: *Victimae Paschali laudes* a 8, ms., D-Rp BH 6005 (choir I only); PdPWV Mot329; W xxxii, p. 180.

Sequence	Settings	PdPWV	Modern editions
<i>Ave mundi spes Maria</i>	a 8, ms. ¹⁵	Mot288	W vi, p. 111; OC xxxiv, p. 29
<i>Gaude Barbara beata</i>	a 4, ms. ¹⁶	Mot270	W vii, p. 70; OC xxxv, 183
	a 5, <i>Motetorum ... liber secundus</i> , 1572	Mot078	W ii, p. 59; OC vii, p. 78
<i>Lauda Sion</i>	a 4, <i>Motecta festorum totius anni</i> , 1563	Mot012	W v, p. 36; OC iii, p. 42; F, p. 114; EN iii, p. 54
	a 8, <i>Motetorum ... liber tertius</i> , 1575	Mot120	W iii, p. 138; OC viii, p. 180
	a 8, ms. ¹⁷	Mot314	W vii, p. 91; OC xxxiv, p. 226
<i>Stabat Mater</i>	a 8, ms. ¹⁸	Mot306	W vi, p. 96; OC xxxiii, p. 43
	a 12, ms. ¹⁹	Mot327	W vii, p. 130; not in OC; EN v, p. 261
<i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i>	a 4–6, ms. ²⁰	Mot328	W xxxii, p. 137; ²¹ not in OC
	a 8, <i>Motetorum ... liber tertius</i> , 1575	Mot121	W iii, p. 143; OC viii, p. 186
	a 8, ms. ²²	Mot316	W vii, p. 117; OC xxxiv, p. 261
<i>Victimae Paschali laudes</i>	a 8, vers. I, ms. ²³	Mot317	W vii, p. 105; OC xxxiv, p. 251
	a 8, vers. II, ms. ²⁴	Mot318	W vii, p. 112; OC xxxv, p. 331

TABLE 1: PALESTRINA'S SETTINGS OF SEQUENCES.

EN = *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 6 vols. so far, Rome 2002–.

F = Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Motecta festorum totius anni cum communi sanctorum quaternis vocibus*, ed. by Daniele V. Filippi, Pisa 2003.

OC = *Le opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 35 vols., Rome 1939–1999.

W = *Pierluigi da Palestrina's Werke*, 33 vols., Leipzig 1862–1907.

PdPWV = *Pierluigi da Palestrina Werkverzeichnis* (catalogue of works)

15 V-CVbav Cappella Giulia XIII.24.

16 I-Rpa Codice Altaemps Collectio major. On the two Altaemps mss. (“Collectio major” and “Collectio minor”), see Luciano Luciani, “Le composizioni di Ruggero Giovannelli contenute nei due codici manoscritti ex Biblioteca Altaempsiana detti ‘Collectio major’ e ‘Collectio minor’”, in: Carmela Bongiovanni/Giancarlo Rostirolla (Eds.), *Ruggero Giovannelli “musico eccellentissimo e forse il primo del suo tempo”. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Palestrina e Velletri, 12-14 giugno 1992)*, Palestrina 1998, pp. 281–318, and Fabrizio Bigotti, “La biblioteca privata degli Altemps e la musica strumentale a Roma prima di Frescobaldi,” unpublished paper, n.d., <https://fabriziobigotti.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/bigotti-la-biblioteca-privata-degli-altemps3.pdf>.

17 I-Rpa Codice Altaemps Collectio minor.

18 V-CVbav Cappella Sistina 29.

19 I-Rn Mss. musicali 117-121 and I-Rsc G.Mss. 792-795; I-Rpa Codice Altaemps Collectio major. For the (in all likelihood erroneous) conflictual attribution to Felice Anerio, see Noel O’Regan, “The Triple-Choir Stabat Mater in the Altaemps Collectio Maior Partbook: A Genuine Work by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina?”, in: Federica Nardacci (Ed.), *Musica tra storia e filologia: Studi in onore di Lino Bianchi*, Rome 2010, pp. 413–426. I am thankful to Noel for providing me a copy of this article and kindly answering several related queries.

20 I-Ls A.8.

21 The edition is not based on the only sixteenth-century source, I-Ls A.8 (written by Johannes Parvus), but rather on a score from the Baini collection, I-Rc 2760: Baini, in turn, copied the sequence from a manuscript score by the early-eighteenth-century papal singer Giovanni Celi, currently in Lisbon (P-La 47-VII-13). The attribution to Palestrina (about which Haberl, who did not know the Lucca manuscript, was sceptical but open-minded: see W xxxii, Vorwort, v) is given both by Parvus and by this other, potentially independent, Roman branch of the tradition.

22 I-Rpa Codice Altaemps Collectio minor.

23 I-Rpa Codice Altaemps Collectio minor.

24 I-Rpa Codice Altaemps Collectio minor.

The inventory immediately calls for at least two observations. First, and unsurprisingly, apart from the two *Gaude Barbara beata* (in all likelihood part of a commission or homage for the special liturgy of the Gonzaga ducal chapel of Santa Barbara in Mantua),²⁵ all settings concern the few sequences that survived the Tridentine liturgical reforms: *Lauda Sion*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, *Victimae Paschali laudes*, and *Stabat Mater*.²⁶ The only exception is *Ave mundi spes Maria*, but, pending the mapping of sequences in the sixteenth century discussed above, we can provisionally assume that in extra- or paraliturgical Marian devotions certain texts continued to circulate irrespective of the Tridentine ‘purge’. The other, less obvious and more thought-provoking, observation is that a vast majority of settings are polychoral (the exceptions being here the first *Lauda Sion*, the first *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and again the two *Gaude Barbara beata*).²⁷

I will start my brief survey precisely from the non-polychoral setting of *Lauda Sion*, which is in any case the earliest one (but, as said, I will set aside issues of compositional chronology and focus on compositional typology instead).²⁸

***Lauda Sion* a 4 (PdPWW Mot012)**

TEXT: first pair of stanzas from the Corpus Christi sequence (each metrically 8p-8p-7pp²⁹), then only the first stanza of the final pair (8p-8p-8p-8p-7pp) + Amen (see *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 50, pp. 584–85)

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: paraphrased at the cantus and tenor in the first pair, at the cantus in the subsequent ternary section

-
- 25 This is undoubtedly the case for the five-voice version, included in Palestrina’s second book of motets of 1572, dedicated to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga. On the relationship between the Duke and Palestrina, starting at least from 1568, see Knud Jeppesen, “Pierluigi da Palestrina, Herzog Guglielmo Gonzaga und die neugefundenen Mantovaner-Messen Palestrina’s. Ein ergänzender Bericht”, in: *Acta Musicologica* 25/4 (1953), pp. 132–179; Jeppesen’s substantial introduction to vol. xviii of *Le opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Rome 1954; Paola Besutti, “Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina e la liturgia mantovana”, in: Bianchi and Rostirolla (Eds.), *Atti del 2. convegno* (as note 7), pp. 157–164; and Paola Besutti, “Quante erano le messe mantovane? Nuovi elementi su Palestrina e il repertorio musicale per S. Barbara”, in Giancarlo Rostirolla, Stefania Soldati, and Elena Zomparelli (Eds.), *Palestrina e l’Europa. Atti del 3. convegno internazionale di studi (Palestrina, 6-9 ottobre 1994)*, Palestrina 2006, pp. 707–742.
- 26 The status of the last one was often ambiguous (sequence, hymn or paraliturgical song?). It appeared as a sequence for the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows in several early modern liturgical books and was inserted in the Roman missal in 1727 by Pope Benedict XIII: see Ziino, *La tradizione musicale* (as note 7), pp. 32–35.
- 27 The main specific discussions of Palestrina’s polychoral works, from which I have drawn several ideas for the present treatment, are Klaus Fischer, “Le composizioni policorali di Palestrina”, in: Francesco Luisi (Ed.), *Atti del Convegno di studi palestriniani (28 settembre - 2 ottobre 1975)*, Palestrina 1977, pp. 339–364; Anthony F. Carver, *Cori Spezzati*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1988, vol. 1: pp. 108–118; Peter Ackermann, *Studien zur Gattungsgeschichte und Typologie der römischen Motette im Zeitalter Palestrinas*, Paderborn 2002, pp. 185–196; Noel O’Regan, “Palestrina’s Polychoral Works: A Forgotten Repertory” in: Rostirolla, Soldati, and Zomparelli (Eds.), *Palestrina e l’Europa* (as note 25), pp. 341–363; Daniele V. Filippi, “Polychoral Rewritings and Sonic Creativity in Palestrina and Victoria”, in: *Polifonie VIII/2–3* (2008): pp. 63–182; Marco Della Sciuca, “L’altra Italia: Roma. Tecniche ed estetiche della policoralità in Palestrina”, in: Aleksandra Patalas and Marina Toffetti (Eds.), *Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century* (= TRA.DI.MUS., Studi e monografie 1), Venice 2012, pp. 37–56; and O’Regan’s introduction to vol. v of the *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Rome 2013.
- 28 Given the wide availability of Palestrina’s opera omnia in modern edition, and since my analytical remarks mostly regard the overall character and form of the pieces, I will dispense with music examples, inviting the reader to consult the volumes referenced in TABLE 1.
- 29 According to the standard notation for Medieval Latin metrics introduced by Dag Norberg, *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval*, Paris 1968.

SCORING: 4 voices (c1c3c4f4)

The four-voice *Lauda Sion* was included in Palestrina's *Motecta festorum totius anni ... quaternis vocibus* of 1563, his first, exemplary, and widely successful book of motets.³⁰ Several elements, however, set it apart from most other motets in the collection: the presence of a sonically prominent *cantus prius factus*, the contrapuntal structure of the incipit (in which *dux* and *comes* have different *soggetti*),³¹ the partial strophic symmetry (AA'B+coda), the presence of a ternary homorhythmic section ("Bone pastor, panis vere..."), the virtual absence of microrepetitions within the segments – which preserves the pre-existing phraseological structure of the *cantus prius factus* –, and the presence of the final "Amen". Clearly, this motet differs in many ways from the other pieces in the large and carefully polished collection of the *Motecta festorum totius anni*. I contend that the reason for this conspicuous difference is precisely the tension between the 'model' of the sequence and the free and asymmetrical approach typical of the motet: on the one hand – on the motet side, so to speak –, we notice first of all the selection of the stanzas, that dramatically shortens the setting³² and affects the intrinsic binary symmetry of the sequence; on the other hand – on the side of the sequence –, we observe the prominent use of the *cantus prius factus* and other exceptional strategies, notably the very limited use of varied repetitions that allows the phraseology of the *cantus prius factus* to inform that of the polyphonic setting, as well as the presence of the final and 'liturgical' "Amen".

Veni Sancte Spiritus a 4–6 (PdPWV Mot328)

TEXT: only the even stanzas of the original Pentecost sequence (2 × 5 stanzas of 3 × 7pp each; see *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 54, pp. 234–235) are set in polyphony, without "Amen, alleluia"

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: the *cantus prius factus* is used as such to sing the odd stanzas and it is paraphrased at the cantus and tenor in the polyphonic even stanzas

SCORING: 4 voices (c1c3c4f4); 6 voices in the last stanza only (c1c2c3c4c4f4)³³

This setting of the Pentecost sequence (whose earliest extant source, I-Ls A.8, is datable to 1576–1577)³⁴ is meant for an alternatim performance: the odd stanzas are to be sung

30 See Daniele V. Filippi, "Il primo libro dei mottetti a quattro voci di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Edizione critica e studio storico-analitico", tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Pavia, 1999; Ackermann, *Studien* (as note 27), passim; Peter N. Schubert, "Hidden Forms in Palestrina's 'First Book of Four-Voice Motets'", in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60/3 (2007), pp. 483–556; and Daniele V. Filippi, "Formal Design and Sonic Architecture in the Motet Around 1570: Palestrina and Victoria", in Javier Suárez-Pajares and Manuel del Sol (Eds.), *Tomás Luis de Victoria*, Madrid 2013, pp. 163–198; pp. 166–174.

31 The only other case in the *Motecta festorum* is that of *Gaudent in coelis*, another motet with paraphrased *cantus prius factus*: see Filippi, *Il primo libro dei mottetti* (as note 30), pp. 409–411.

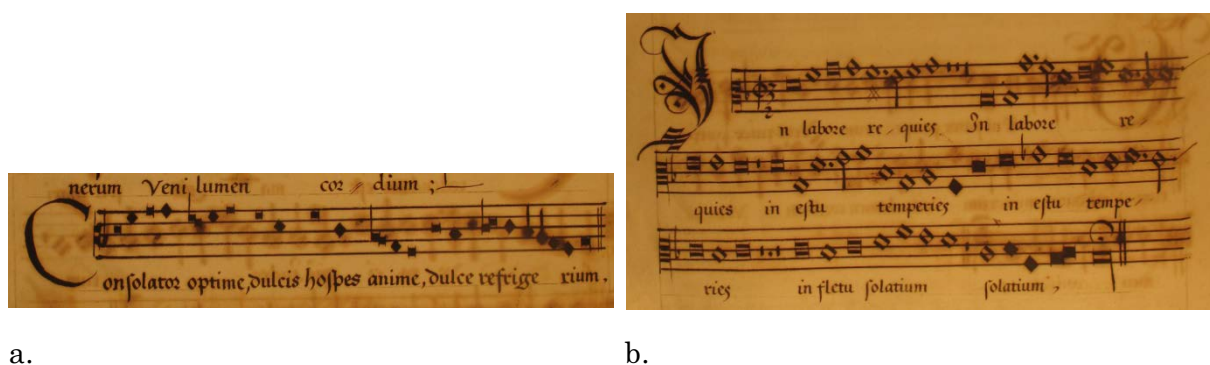
32 Thanks to this shortening, *Lauda Sion* is consistent in size with the other motets included in the *Motecta festorum*: see *ibid.*, pp. 287 and 425–428.

33 The cleffing as given here follows that of the edition in Haberl's *Werke* (that, as said, was prepared based on Baini's transcription) set in untransposed first mode on D; the earliest version copied by Johannes Parvus in I-Ls A.8 is in transposed first mode on G and, accordingly, has the cleffing g2c2c3f3 and g2c1c2c3c3f3.

34 See Mitchell Paul Brauner, "The Parvus Manuscripts: A Study of Vatican Polyphony, Ca. 1535 to 1580", Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1982, pp. 256–263. For a concise description of the manuscript, see also Emilio Maggini, *Lucca. Biblioteca del Seminario. Catalogo delle musiche stampate e manoscritte del fondo antico*, Milan 1965, p. 259.

in plainchant, whereas Palestrina set the even ones in four-voice polyphony (with an additional pair of voices singing in canon in the last stanza). Not only does the chant resonate as such in the odd stanzas, but it is paraphrased in the even ones, notably at the cantus and tenor, often in long values; in the final stanza it is even more prominently intoned by the additional voices, the cantus secundus and its canonical twin at the lower fifth, in long, unadorned notes. The adoption of the alternatim itself is a clear sign that Palestrina conceived this setting as a liturgical sequence, rather than a motet. It should be noted, however, that the composer did not mechanically stick to the phraseological structure of the sequence: he inserted frequent internal repetitions of words and entire phrases. This, combined with an ever-changing vocal orchestration, the shift to a ternary measure for the fourth stanza, and the climactic expansion of the scoring in the last one, contributes to give the setting a ‘form’ that does not slavishly follow the strophic symmetry of the sequence.

The analysis of this setting, and notably of its manuscript version copied by the papal scribe Johannes Parvus in the ms. I-Ls A.8, allows another specific and methodologically relevant observation. The study of *cantus prius facti* in medieval and Renaissance polyphony has been often reduced to a matter of pitch content: indeed, if we look up a chant in a modern ‘arrhythmic’ edition, we can hardly do more than compare the pitches with those occurring in the polyphony. But in this way we miss all the information that recent scholarship on *cantus fractus* and related rhythmicised practices of chant has brought to light.³⁵ The alternatim as visually represented in the Parvus manuscript from the late 1570s clearly demonstrates the rhythmic nature of the chant and its straightforward incorporation in composed polyphony. Patterns of long and short values were already present in the notation and in the performance practice of monophonic sequences: the quasi-mensural note shapes used for the chant (here primarily black breves and semibreves) were easily translated by the composers into the corresponding mensural values. This sometimes suggested the adoption of a ternary measure, as in Palestrina’s fourth stanza (see EXAMPLE 1 a and b):³⁶



a.

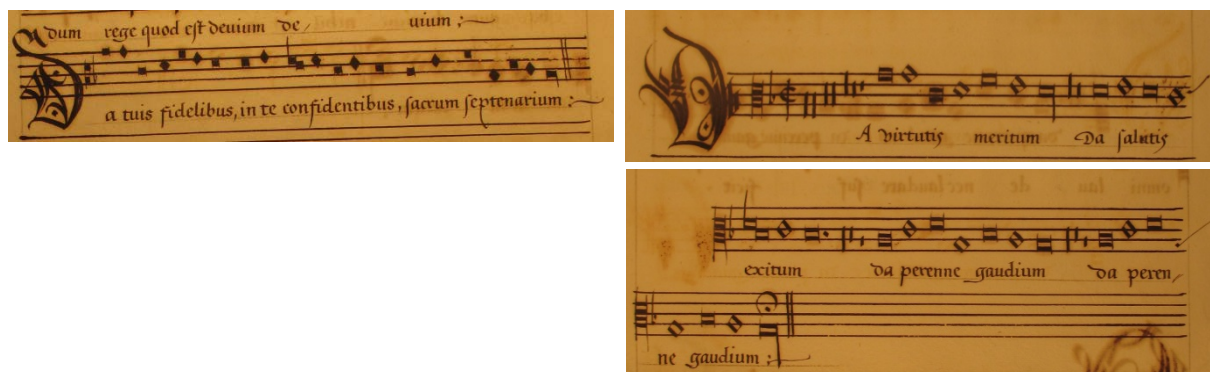
b.

EXAMPLE 1: ALTERNATIM IN THE MS. I-Ls A.8; A: THE CHANT OF THE THIRD STANZA OF *VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS* (f. 47v); B: THE TENOR OF THE FOURTH STANZA (f. 48v) (Sezione Musicale della Biblioteca Diocesana di Lucca “Mons. Giuliano Agresti”).

³⁵ See Gozzi, *Cantus fractus italiano* (as note 5) and the literature referenced there.

³⁶ I am grateful to Carola Finkel for generously sharing with me the images of the Parvus manuscript and to the library for the permission to use it for this paper.

On other occasions, the composer maintained the ternary character of the chant although he embedded it into a binary polyphonic texture, as in the canonic voices of Palestrina's last stanza (see EXAMPLE 2 a and b):



a.

b.

EXAMPLE 2: ALTERNATIM IN THE MS. I-Ls A.8; A: THE CHANT OF THE NINTH STANZA OF *VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS* (f. 50v); B: THE CANONIC TENOR SECUNDUS OF THE TENTH STANZA (ff. 52r and 53r).

In other cases, of course, the composer felt free to adjust, more or less extensively, the pre-existing rhythmic matrix of the sequence. Undoubtedly, a broader exploration of late-sixteenth-century sequence sources would help clarify the situation also for other sequences considered here.

Lauda Sion a 8 (PdPWV Mot120)

TEXT: first pair of stanzas from the sequence (each metrically 8p-8p-7pp), then skipping to the final pair ($2 \times 8p-8p-8p-8p-7pp$) + “Amen”

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: paraphrased at the cantus in the first pair of stanzas (notably at the incipit); in the last pair of stanzas, the paraphrase migrates from the cantus of Choir I to the tenor of Choir II and is then ‘liquidated’

SCORING: 8 voices in two asymmetrical choirs (c1c1c3f3-c3c4c4f4)

The second setting of *Lauda Sion* is included in Palestrina's *Motettorum ... liber tertius* for 5, 6, and 8 voices of 1575, as part of a small but significant group of polychoral pieces.³⁷ Compared to the original sequence, the text is again heavily shortened, though without cutting the last stanza as in the four-voice version. How does Palestrina react to the text and to its melody? He retains the syllabic approach and, especially at the beginning, the phraseological structure. He tends, however, to modify the binary symmetry of the sequence, both in terms of the prominence of the *cantus prius factus* and of musical structures: the first stanza is monochoral while the second has exchanges between the choirs and Tutti passages; the third stanza (“Bone pastor, panis vere...”) is in ternary measure, while the fourth (“Tu qui cuncta scis et vales...”) is binary and rhetorically

37 On this book in the context of Palestrina's motet production, see Noel O'Regan, “Palestrina's Mid-Life Compositional Summary: The Three Motet Books of 1569–75”, in Esperanza Rodríguez-García / Daniele V. Filippi (Eds.), *Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era*, Abingdon, Oxon.-New York 2019, pp. 102–122. On the polychoral settings within the book, see especially O'Regan, *Palestrina's Polychoral Works* (as note 27), pp. 343–344.

more elaborated in order to drive to the finale. We should note, by the way, that the ternary passage on “Bone pastor...” clearly recalls that of the four-voice version, both for the metrical change itself and for the construction of the homorhythmic *Satz* (except, obviously, for the polychoral build-up at the end of the segment).

The sequence is undoubtedly recognizable, both in terms of melodic content and of phraseology, but Palestrina seems to ‘motetise’ it by weakening the symmetry within the stanza pairs and by shaping a *durchkomponiert* rhetorical plan.

***Veni Sancte Spiritus* a 8 (PdPWV Mot121)**

TEXT: complete (see above), without “Amen, alleluia”

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: loosely present (migrating among voices), but more in terms of melodic profiles and phraseology than of melodic details

SCORING: 8 voices in two asymmetrical choirs (g2c1c2c4-c2c3c3f3)

The *Veni Sancte Spiritus* included, like the previously discussed *Lauda Sion*, in the third motet book of 1575, sets the entire text of the Pentecost sequence. Again, how does Palestrina react to the text and to its melody? He retains the syllabic approach and the phraseological structure, avoiding all internal or partial repetitions, except in the polychoral Tutti. He also retains the binary symmetry of the 2×5 stanzas at the level of melodic profiles, but he resorts to all sort of strategies in order to create variety: both within the choral blocks (in which he seems to multiply the sonic layers, by creating a sort of internal antiphonality, as in the first stanza,³⁸ or by shifting between strictly homorhythmic and animated polyphonic textures),³⁹ and in the management of the polychoral forces (for instance by alternating the *two* choirs on the *three* lines of the stanzas). This results in a superimposition of layers: there is symmetry *and* asymmetry between the stanzas, and, on a different plan, there is the overall formal design of the piece. The Tutti, for instance, is reserved for the central area (“reple cordis intima / tuorum fidelium”) and for the final one: the last stanza is first sung by Choir II, and then repeated by Choir II/Tutti, contributing to a rhetorically satisfying ending.

Similarly to the case of the companion *Lauda Sion* of 1575, then, here too Palestrina strives to retain some defining features of the sequence while subjecting it to the textural variety and *durchkomponiert* rhetoric typical of the motet.

The other eight-voice settings of *Lauda Sion* and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*

Compared to the compositions we have just examined, the other eight-voice settings of *Lauda Sion* (PdPWV Mot314) and *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (PdPWV Mot316) preserved in the so-called Collectio minor of the former Altaemps music collection (now at I-Rpa) demonstrate a quite different approach.⁴⁰

38 “Veni sancte Spiritus”: Choir I, Tutti; “et emitte coelitus”: lower three voices; “lucis tue radium”: Tutti again.

39 See for instance the staggered entries on “da tuis fidelibus”, or the ornate ascent of the Sextus on “perenne gaudium”.

40 As already suggested by Carver, *Cori Spezzati* (as note 27), vol. 1: p. 109. O’Regan defined them as “homophonic sequence settings in simple *Gebrauchsmusik* fashion”: O’Regan, *Palestrina’s Polychoral Works* (as note 27), p. 356.

Lauda Sion

TEXT: complete, except for one stanza (8b in *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 50, p. 584), and provided with the final “Amen, Alleluia”

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: present, either at the cantus or at the tenor

SCORING: 8 voices in two symmetrical choirs (c1c3c4f4-c1c3c4f4)

In this *Lauda Sion*, the text of the sequence is virtually complete, resulting in an uncommonly long setting of three hundred measures. The *cantus prius factus* is present, although freely paraphrased and migrating between voices. The piece is entirely in ternary measure – which is quite unusual for Palestrina, all the more so given its length – and strictly homorhythmic (with very few, and mostly inconspicuous, exceptions). Palestrina’s building blocks correspond to the stanzas: there is a rigid division between the two choirs, alternating in singing one stanza each, and musical repetitions mirror those of the sequence melody; the only exception, and the only concession to the gestural conventions of polychorality, is the final stanza, with alternating blocks (but without repetitions) and a Tutti extending to the “Amen, alleluia”.

Veni Sancte Spiritus

TEXT: complete (see above), with “Amen, alleluia”

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: present, mainly at the cantus of each choir

SCORING: 8 voices in two symmetrical choirs (g2c2c3f3-g2c2c3f3)

The manuscript *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is similar to its companion *Lauda Sion* under all aspects, including the use of the ternary measure (compare, again, the rhythmicised notation of the sequence chant in I-Ls A.8 discussed above). Here, however, the choirs/stanzas are completely ‘disjunct’, without even a superimposition between the final sonority of one choir and the first sonority of the other one. Again, the only exception is the conclusion, which involves the final pair of stanzas and features alternating blocks (inaugurated by the only internal repetition, “Da tuis fidelibus” in Choir II), a harmonic progression, and the final Tutti, once more extending to the “Amen, alleluia”.

In these two settings, then, the special arrangement of the finale is the only ‘motet-like’ compositional gesture, otherwise the sequence model largely predominates. The pervasive ternary measure seems fashioned after the rhythmicised performance practice of the chant. The polychoral idiom is restrained and, excluding the finale, recalls the predictable antiphonal alternation of two liturgical choirs. In other words, we are as close as Palestrina gets to a polyphonic sequence strictly speaking.

The two *Victimae Paschali laudes* a 8 (PdPWV Mot317 and Mot 318)

The two settings of the Easter sequence *Victimae Paschali laudes* (again preserved in the Altaemps Collectio minor) are closely related among themselves: without going into

details, I will focus on the first version, but de facto considering the overall outline of both.⁴¹

TEXT: complete Easter sequence (8p-7p + 2 × 7p-7p-6p-4p + 2 × 6p-7p-8p-10p + 8p-6p-5p-5p), with “Amen, alleluia” (see *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 54, pp. 12–14)

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: only sporadically hinted at, mainly at the beginning of the Altus in Choir I

SCORING: 8 voices in two asymmetrical choirs (g2g2c2c3-c2c2c3f3)

Remarkably, there seems to be no prominent reference to the well-known melody of the sequence, except at the beginning of the Altus (structurally a tenor part) in Choir I. Except for the final section, the two choirs alternate in long blocks with no superimposition whatsoever: we may note that the sections sung by each choir have corresponding lengths (see TABLE 2), although they set different portions of the sequence text. Remarkable is also the asymmetry with respect to the metrical structure: the first section sets stanza 1 and stanza 2a, whereas the second one sets stanza 2b. From “Angelicos testes...”, there are more idiomatic antiphonal blocks, until the final Tutti on “Amen, alleluia”.

1. Victimae paschali laudes immolent Christiani.	Choir I, mm. 1–19
2a. Agnus redemit oves: Christus innocens Patri reconciliavit peccatores.	
2b. Mors et vita duello confluxere mirando: dux vite mortuus regnat vivus.	Choir II, mm. 20–36
3a. Dico nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via? Sepulchrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis.	Choir I, mm. 37–56
3b. Angelicos testes, sudarium et vestes. Surrexit Christus spes mea: precedet suos in Galilea.	Choir II, mm. 57–74
4. Scimus Christum surrexisse a mortuis vere: tu nobis, victor Rex, miserere. Amen, alleluia.	Alternating choirs and Tutti, mm. 75–106

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE TEXT IN PALESTRINA’S *VICTIMAE PASCHALI LAUDES I*.

It seems a fully-fledged motet setting, in a rather restrained polychoral idiom. Besides the conspicuous absence of the *cantus prius factus* and the already noted asymmetry in the distribution of the stanzas among the choirs, the frequent internal repetitions of

41 A third related setting (especially close to the second one), accepted as authentic in the Haberl and Casimiri editions, is currently considered of dubious attribution (PdPWV Dub053, see above). In any case, my observations can be extended to it as well. A fourth, incompletely preserved setting (PdPWV Mot329, see above), makes a slightly more evident use of the *cantus prius factus*, but seems otherwise in line with the compositions discussed here.

words or phrases, which alter the original phraseology, constitute a telling detail: indeed they are normal in Palestrina's motets, but, as underscored above, they are not to be found in most other sequence settings. In the last section too, where more typical poly-choral gimmicks appear, the structure of the sequence is rather freely manipulated for expressive purposes (for instance, differently from the chant melody, Palestrina separates "Tu nobis victor" from "Rex miserere" in the finale).⁴² In spite of the basically homorhythmic-declamatory approach and the alternation of choirs, the sequence model recedes to the background, and the free motet approach seems decidedly to prevail.

Ave mundi spes Maria a 8 (PdPWV Mot288)

TEXT: similar to *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 32, pp. 38–39 (compare also vol. 54, p. 340), but with significant differences; 7 stanzas 8p-8p-7pp

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: —

SCORING: 8 voices in 2 symmetrical choirs (g2c2c3c4-g2c2c3c4)

In the case of the manuscript *Ave mundi spes Maria*, it is less straightforward to assess the text used by Palestrina, as it differs from the 'standard' versions of the sequence.⁴³ Similarly, I see no clear reference to a *cantus prius factus*: many soggetti in Palestrina's composition rather have a declamatory, scalar, and cadential character (although some gestures, such as the prominent "spes Maria" of the initial segment, might be redolent of a pre-existing melody). We should, however, notice the combination of syllabic text declamation, regular phrasing, and absence of repetitions in the first two stanzas (that, except for the very incipit, are substantially homorhythmic):

stanza 1, Choir I = 15 mm.

Ave mundi spes Maria 6+ mm. (slightly dilated for the opening imitation)

Ave mitis ave pia 4+

Ave plena gratia. 4+

stanza 2, Choir II = 13 mm.

Ave virgo stella maris 4+

Quae per rubum designaris 4+

Non passum incendia. 5

For the richness of its sound and the variety of compositional solutions, this work would deserve a thorough analysis, but in the perspective of the present survey suffice it to insist on the tension repeatedly mentioned above: on the one hand, Palestrina seems to deliberately maintain the structure of the stanzas and their lines (although with a variable geometry); on the other hand, the regularity observed in the first two stanzas is broken already in the third one, in which Palestrina has the two choirs interact, with repetitions and a substantial expansion of the third line, bringing to a strong Tutti cadence (m. 47), followed by a general pause. There seems to be, thus, a hint at the sequence

⁴² This is even more conspicuous in the second version.

⁴³ On this sequence see Gozzi, *Sequence Texts* (as note 9), pp. 176–182.

model, but no mechanical observance: Palestrina develops a fully autonomous, motet-like compositional project.

***Stabat Mater* a 12 (PdPWV Mot327)**

I will concentrate here on the twelve-voice setting of *Stabat Mater* (PdPWV Mot327), but the better-known eight-voice one (PdPWV Mot306) is, for what concerns the present discussion, quite similar.⁴⁴

TEXT: complete, 20 stanzas, but without “Amen”

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: —

SCORING: 12 voices in three symmetrical choirs (c1c3c4f4-c1c3c4f4-c1c3c4f4)

In this setting, Palestrina adopts as the basic building block for the polychoral project not the stanza but rather the line:⁴⁵ this becomes apparent right from the incipit, in which each choir sings one line of the first stanza. Only exceptionally does one choir sing an entire stanza. Again, however, what recalls the sequence model is the combination of syllabic declamation and retention of phraseological units (with no repetitions to alter them, except in such special cases as the strong general cadence at “dum emisit spiritum” and the final window on the glory of heaven, “paradisi gloria”). As a result, given also the clear homorhythmic projection of the text, with its short rhymed lines, the stanza still functions, in a sense, as a formal reference, in a variety of more or less schematic arrangements. Compare the first stanza, with an AAB structure mirroring the rhyme scheme (Choir II literally repeats the music sung by Choir I), the second stanza, with an ABC structure (again, each line is sung by a different choir), and the third one, contrasting Tutti-Choir II/Choir III-Tutti. In other words, the building-block for the polychoral plan is the line, but the building-block for the formal project is the stanza. The overall form of the piece is motet-like, with a stunning variety and richness of solutions, including a ternary passage and a constant diversification of textures. At the same time, however, the setting is shaped, on a different level, by the sonic model of the sequence.

The two *Gaude Barbara beata* a 4 (PdPWV Mot270) and a 5 (PdPWV Mot078)

TEXT: full text of the sequence for Saint Barbara (3 × 8p-8p-7pp/8p-8p-7pp; see *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 29, p. 97) + an interpolated final couplet⁴⁶

CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS: —

SCORING: 4 voices (a voci pari, g2g2c1c2) and 5 voices (g2c2c3c3f3), respectively

44 On the eight-voice setting, see Ziino, *La tradizione musicale* (as note 7), O'Regan, *Palestrina's Polychoral Works* (as note 27), pp. 348–349, and Della Sciucca, *L'altra Italia* (as note 27), pp. 49–55. The two works share some ideas, but are otherwise to be considered as fully independent. They are both splendid, as hyperbolically noted in Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols., Rome 1828, vol. 2: pp. 337–338.

45 On Palestrina's approach to composition for three choirs, see O'Regan's introduction to vol. v of the *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Rome 2013.

46 The final couplet “O Barbara tam decora / Pro nobis Christum exora” is present also in Jean Mouton's polyphonic setting of the sequence: see Cummings, *Motet* (as note 1), p. 149.

The two settings of *Gaude Barbara beata* differ widely from one another. They do not seem to refer to a *cantus prius factus*,⁴⁷ nor do they share melodic features. What they do share, is the structural distribution of the text: both motets divide it in two *partes*, the break falling between the twin stanzas of the second pair.⁴⁸ This is already a sign that Palestrina was not interested in respecting the original musical symmetry of the sequence (and in fact there is no melodic resemblance between the pairs of stanzas that in the monodic setting were sung to the same melody).

The five-voice composition printed in the *Motetorum ... liber secundus* of 1572⁴⁹ is an example, and a carefully crafted one, of Palestrina's grand five-voice motet style: it displays a rich imitative writing and a changing vocal orchestration. In spite of a fundamentally syllabic declamation, the melismatic flourishes and the frequent varied repetitions of subsegments completely alter the phraseology and symmetry of the sequence: consider the *exordium*, in which Palestrina expands the first line "Gaude Barbara beata" to an imposing twenty-measure segment with well-spaced imitative entries; even the two prevalingly homorhythmic ternary passages (introducing the last section of the first part and concluding the second part, respectively) present varied repetitions. In short, there seems to be virtually no trace of the sequence model, and the setting is fully consistent with Palestrina's motet style.

The four-voice version, scored a *voci pari*,⁵⁰ is strictly homorhythmic (apart from the incipit and the segment "Gaude namque elevata") and entirely in ternary measure.⁵¹ Thanks to the rigidly syllabic declamation and to a spare use of repetitions (only at the incipit, at the conclusion of the first part, and at the finale), the original phraseology of the text is retained. Palestrina uses the single line as the basic building block – sometimes setting one line for three voices, or separating it by means of a general pause –, and clearly demarcates the ending of each stanza with a cadence (often adding a general pause).

While it seems clear that Palestrina associated (precompositionally speaking) such well-known songs as *Lauda Sion* or *Veni Sancte Spiritus* to the liturgical genre of the sequence and to its sonic tradition, we may wonder, based on the five-voice setting, whether for him *Gaude Barbara beata* (a much less widespread sequence for a specific saint) was merely a rhythmic prayer, detached, so to speak, from any pre-existing melody or sung performance, and thus apt to be treated in free motet style,⁵² with the occa-

47 Via the "Catalogue thématique des Séquences" (http://www.musmed.fr/CMN/proseq/proseq_proses.htm), I was able to locate a melody for this sequence in CH-SGs Cod. Sang. 546 (available online in the Swiss e-codices library), f. 224. If this was the standard melody for this sequence (it is the same as that for *Gaude virgo Katherina*), I do not find any trace of it in Palestrina's settings. According to Paola Besutti, the sequence is not to be found in the extant liturgical books for the Mantuan chapel of Santa Barbara, but it might have been included in the now lost preliminary versions of the liturgical books prepared in the 1560s–1570s: see Besutti, *Le messe mantovane* (as note 25), pp. 713–723.

48 See Cummings, *Motet* (as note 1), p. 149. The four-voice version presents slight differences from the standard text of the sequence.

49 Already studied by Cummings, *Motet* (as note 1), pp. 148–156.

50 The motet is copied within a group of a *voci pari* pieces by Palestrina and other composers in the ms. Altaemps Collectio major: see Luciani, *Ruggero Giovannelli* (as note 16), p. 298.

51 Prompted by this unusual (at least for Palestrina) combination of *voci pari*, strict homorhythm and ternary measure, Bainsi embarked on a long explanation in twelve points in order to demonstrate that the piece was composed as a deliberate imitation of the 'canto armonico' of the ancient Greeks and Romans: Bainsi, *Memorie* (as note 44), vol. 2: pp. 330–335.

52 Cummings suggested a possible connection with Jean Mouton's setting of the same text (Cummings, *Motet* [as note 1], p. 155), according to the procedure of "structural modelling" frequently found in the

sional highlighting of its metrical structure.⁵³ The peculiar character of the four-voice version (which shares some features with other more ‘sequence-like’ settings discussed above, but without recourse to polychorality and with further idiosyncratic traits) challenges, however, this straightforward explanation; in the absence of reliable information about the chronology and the institutional context for its composition, however, the matter cannot be further clarified.

This brief survey of Palestrina sequence settings seems to confirm, together with recent research in various areas of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music, what such scholars as Strunk, Ziino, and Cummings have already suggested: the imprint of previous settings, and of the sonic tradition of a given genre or text, is strong and lasting, even when that text is introduced into the ‘free realm’ of the motet. Contemplating Palestrina’s sequence settings, we notice that they present some distinctive traits – “a physiognomy of their own”, in Strunk’s words:⁵⁴ these traits derive from the tradition of the liturgical genre (in itself a combination of text *and* melody *and* sonic style) and cannot be generically attributed to the use of metrical and strophic texts *per se*.

The various settings fall somewhere between two poles: that of the sequence and that of the ‘free’ motet. In the manuscript eight-voice *Lauda Sion* (PdPWV Mot314) and *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (PdPWV Mot316), not to speak of the 4–6 voice *Veni Sancte Spiritus* in alternatim (PdPWV Mot328), we are very close to the first pole, and the sequence model is clearly perceivable (confirming, incidentally, that it was part of Palestrina’s horizon of sonic expectations).⁵⁵ In the other settings Palestrina retains some aspects of the sequence, notably the syllabicity and the clear-cut phraseology (not disrupted by partial repetitions), but moves towards the other pole. None of his settings of sequence texts – with the only exception of the five-voice *Gaude Barbara beata* – completely ignores the model, behaving like a ‘free’ motet through and through. To what extent the relative positioning of each setting between the two poles was the fruit of Palestrina’s own choice (and stylistic development), or the result of requirements from the commissioning institution is, pending further research, impossible to assess.

That most settings are polychoral, however, cannot be a coincidence: besides circumstances connected, again, with the institutions for which Palestrina wrote the pieces, we may wonder whether the adoption of the polychoral medium was in part suggested by the inherent ‘antiphonal’ and symmetrical nature of the sequence.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the

sixteenth-century motet and exemplarily described in Michèle Y. Fromson, “A Conjunction of Rhetoric and Music: Structural Modelling in the Italian Counter-Reformation Motet”, in: *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 117/2 (1992), pp. 208–246.

53 See especially the ternary section at the end of the *prima pars*.

54 Strunk, *Motet-Types* (as note 3), p. 157.

55 As sequence scholarship has focused mainly on earlier periods, not much has been written on the performance practice of the sequence as liturgical genre in the sixteenth century. Ziino already stated that the “precisa ed intenzionale coscienza formale” emerging in Palestrina’s settings demonstrates that he knew well “le caratteristiche musicali dell’antica sequenza” and that he intended to recuperate some of its defining traits (Ziino, *La tradizione musicale* [as note 7], p. 41).

56 Even though we do not have a systematic and detailed mapping of Palestrina’s polychoral production, several scholars have pointed out the connection between the polychoral medium and certain types of texts: see for instance Fischer, *Le composizioni policorali* (as note 27) on the litanies. Noel O’Regan

polychoral medium was especially apt to help Palestrina manage the tension between the two poles: it offered him opportunities for creating variety on multiple levels while retaining some distinctive elements, and for fashioning a musically and rhetorically satisfying form without either completely obliterating the original shape of the sequence or being enslaved by its rigid symmetries.

Even more generally, this survey suggests that, notwithstanding the versatility and protean nature of the motet as genre,⁵⁷ we should not, in principle, separate it from its liturgical breeding ground: rather, we should always try to explore the possible connection of each setting with the performance tradition of its text, even when pre-existing melodic materials are not used or only alluded at. Similarly, on the side of polychorality, these preliminary results are an encouragement to further problematize the polychoral repertory, discern its subtly different behaviours and incarnations – beyond any flattening generalizations like “Roman polychorality” –, and better understand its potential connection with, and sometimes derivation from, pre-existing performance traditions.

remarked that the “sectional nature” of the antiphon *Ave Regina caelorum* text was reflected in Palestrina’s polychoral setting of 1575 (O’Regan, *Palestrina’s Polychoral Works* [as note 27], p. 343), and that “Litanies, because of their structure, lent themselves to double-choir performance” (p. 357); Palestrina’s polychoral settings are classified by liturgical genre in TABLE 2 of the same article (at p. 359): it is not entirely clear, however, which settings are labelled as “sequences” and “sequence-motets”, respectively. See also Carver, *Cori Spezzati* (as note 27), vol. 1: p. 110.

57 See Esperanza Rodríguez-García/Daniele V. Filippi, “The Motet in the Post-Tridentine World: An Introduction,” in Rodríguez-García/Filippi (Eds.), *Mapping the Motet* (as note 37), pp. 1–15.

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