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ROME, MADRID, WARSAW: POLYCHORALITY AND SONIC CREATIVITY
IN THE MUSIC OF TOMÁS LUIS DE VICTORIA
AND GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ANERIO*

As suggested by Marco Della Sciucca in his contribution to this collection of essays,¹ Roman polychorality still awaits a full and unbiased exploration. Here I would like to illuminate some aspects of this rich tradition by following its irradiation across Europe. I will be analysing the polychoral works published by Tomás Luis de Victoria in Madrid in 1600 (about fifteen years after leaving Rome), and the two extant masses composed by Giovanni Francesco Anerio for the court of Sigismund III in Warsaw (circa 1624-1630).

I will examine these polychoral works from a structural and macroformal point of view. This admittedly one-sided and *a posteriori* analytical perspective tends to overemphasize the opposition between ‘polyphonic’ and ‘polychoral’ concepts (and should therefore be integrated with other approaches), but it does enable us to clearly delineate some important differences between composers, trends, and individual works.

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In his article for the New Grove (2001), Robert Stevenson, as a distinguished connoisseur of Victoria’s oeuvre, warned against an arbitrarily simplified view of his style and personality, based exclusively on a small selection of (master)works:

Victoria’s posthumous reputation has largely rested on some plangent motets in his first publication (1572) and on the *Officium defunctorum* of 1605 [I would add the austere Holy Week responsories and lamentations of 1585 to the list] [...] Poignancy and mystical fervour are, however, not the only emotions in Victoria’s music, nor indeed the predominant ones. His contemporaries and immediate successors certainly saw a different side of his artistic nature.

The most neglected of Victoria’s compositions are precisely the most distant from the “‘plangent motets’-Holy Week music-*Officium defunctorum*” cliché, namely, his polychoral works.

After Giovanni Animuccia’s pioneering experiments (1570), Victoria, together with Palestrina, was among the first ‘Roman’ composers to write and publish polychoral compositions.² His first work for this medium was the eight-voice *Ave Maria* published in

* The research for the present article was completed as part of my project ‘A History of Sonic Experience in the Renaissance’ (<http://www.sonicexperience.org/>), funded by a grant from the University of Pavia (Department of Musicology, Cremona).

¹ See M. Della Sciucca, “L’altra Italia: Roma. Tecniche ed estetiche della policoralità in Palestrina,” here at pp. 37-56.

² On Roman polychorality see particularly: K. Fischer, “Le composizioni policorali di Palestrina,” in *Atti del*

1572, and throughout his career he adopted the polychoral technique in different genres: masses, motets, antiphons, psalms, sequences, Magnificats, and litanies. He played an important role in the development of the Roman approach to polychorality, cultivating an original gusto and boldly exploring the possibilities of the new medium (he was, for instance, the first Rome-based composer to publish a work for twelve voices in three choirs: the psalm *Laetatus sum*, 1583). His turn-of-the-century collection, *Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi et alia quam plurima, quae partim octonis, alia nonis, alia duodenis vocibus concinuntur* (Madrid: Ex typographia regia / Apud Ioannem Flandrum, 1600, RISM V1435) was his crowning achievement: Victoria assembled his most mature polychoral works for eight, nine and twelve voices³ – some of which, according to his own habit, had already appeared in print.⁴ The new compositions of this extremely interesting collection manifest various stylistic tendencies. Different pre-existing works used as compositional models exert their influence: a parody mass based on a polychoral psalm very rich in contrast (*Missa Laetatus sum*) is likely to be different from another mass based on a less idiomatic polychoral piece (like the *Missa Ave Regina coelorum*); a polychoral mass based on a non-polychoral but highly distinctive composition like Janequin's *La bataille* (*Missa Pro victoria*) is in a class of its own, and even more intriguing are the two Magnificats conceived as reworkings of previous monochoral versions. Here I would like to concentrate on the masses *Pro victoria* and *Laetatus sum*,⁵ to shed light on an unacknowledged, yet highly significant trait of the composer Victoria: his *sonic creativity*, expressed through a form which is rich in contrasts.

Convegno di Studi Palestriniani (28 settembre - 2 ottobre 1975), ed. F. Luisi (Palestrina: Fondazione "Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina," 1977), pp. 339-363; N. O'Regan, "The Early Polychoral Music of Orlando di Lasso. New Light from Roman Sources," *Acta musicologica*, 56/2 (1984), pp. 234-251; A. F. Carver, *Cori spezzati*, 2 vols., 1: *The development of sacred polychoral music to the time of Schütz* (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 107-125; N. O'Regan, "Roman Polychoral Music: Origins and Distinctiveness," in *La scuola poliorale romana del Sei-Settecento*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi in memoria di Laurence Feininger (Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca Clesiana, 4-5 ottobre 1996), eds. F. Luisi, D. Curti and M. Gozzi (Trento: Provincia autonoma - Servizio beni librari e archivistici, 1997), pp. 43-64; P. Ackermann, *Studien zur Gattungsgeschichte und Typologie der römischen Motette im Zeitalter Palestrinas* (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 2002), pp. 177-200; Noel O'Regan, "Palestrina's Polychoral Works: A Forgotten Repertory," in *Palestrina e l'Europa*, Atti del III convegno internazionale di studi (Palestrina, 6-9 ottobre 1994), eds. G. Rostirolla, S. Soldati and E. Zomparelli (Palestrina: Fondazione "Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina," 2006), pp. 341-363; D. V. Filippi, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2008), pp. 86-100; M. Della Sciucca, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2009), *passim*.

³ Victoria provided these compositions with an organ *partitura*, which generally follows the first choir with occasional modifications: for a discussion of its function and its implications for contemporary performance practice, see Noel O'Regan, "What Can the Organ *Partitura* to Tomás Luis de Victoria's *Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi et alia quam plurima* of 1600 tell us about Performance Practice?," *Performance Practice Review*, 14 (2009), at <http://ccdl.libraries.claremont.edu/col/ppr>.

⁴ Notwithstanding the title, the collection comprises also compositions for four voices (see the catalogue in Filippi, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* cit., pp. 202-203).

⁵ Modern editions in *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis Opera Omnia*, 8 vols., ed. F. Pedrell (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902-1913; facsimile edition Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1965), vi.

The nine-voice *Missa Pro victoria* is (rather loosely) based on Clément Janequin's famous chanson *La bataille* (alias *La guerre*),⁶ which inaugurated an interesting series of 16th and 17th-century works in 'battle style'.⁷ Leaving aside problems such as those connected with the parody technique,⁸ I will briefly discuss this work focusing on other aspects.

Victoria's veritable *coup de génie* is the impressive association between battle style and polychoral technique (cf. table 1).

Many possible ways of interaction between the nine voices in two choirs (I: CCATB, II: CATB) are explored. The two groups sing alternate episodes, or generate antiphonal blocks replying to each other; they form superimposed but still distinct layers, or merge into real eight-voice writing. Entire sections are sung in monochoral fashion (the five-voice *Christe* and the four-voice *Crucifixus*).

Imitative, pseudo-imitative, strict or animated homorhythmic textures follow one another. Imitative structures are, however, generally concise, and less thoroughly developed than in previous phases (or in different stylistic scenarios) of Victoria's production, and homorhythm is the leading principle: thus, the vertical dimension, the harmonic element comes to the fore, and its sonic impact is further enhanced by its association with rhythmic contrasts (mensural changes, opposition of shorter and longer notes, etc.). In some areas the ingredients of the battle style (*conciato*-declamation, powerful harmonic formulas, fanfare-like motives, et similia) are prominent, while other sections are less characterized. What makes this mass a masterwork is precisely the unpredictable, sparkling synthesis between these different stylistic options, where the polychoral interaction multiplies the effects of textural, contrapuntal, and rhythmic contrasts. The Spanish master brings this summa of polyphonic and polychoral techniques to unprecedented expressive heights.

⁶ Possibly composed to celebrate Francis I's victory in Marignano (1515), it was first published in 1528.

⁷ In a far from systematic survey of 'battle'-Masses I met with: the *Missa super La bataille* by Janequin himself (from: *Liber decem Missarum*, Lyon: J. Moderne, 1532), Guerrero's *Missa De la Batalla escoutez* (from: *Missarum liber secundus*, Rome: D. Basa, 1582), and G. Croce's *Messa sopra la Battaglia* (from *Messe a otto voci*, Venice: G. Vincenti, 1596) in the period before Victoria (on Janequin, Guerrero, and Victoria, see H. E. Gudmundson, "Parody and Symbolism in Three Battle Masses of the Sixteenth Century," Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 1976); after Victoria: G. F. Anerio, *Missa della Battaglia* (from: *Messe a quattro voci*, Rome: L. A. Soldi, 1619) and *Missa Nuncupata la Battaglia* (manuscript D-MÜs [1608]; modern editions of both masses in N. Z. Williams, "The Masses of Giovanni Francesco Anerio: A Historical and Analytical Study with a Supplementary Critical Edition," 2 vols., Ph. D. diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971: II, pp. 151-168 and 301-312 respectively); Girolamo Bartei, *Messa della Battaglia* (8 v. and organ, from: *Missae octonis vocibus liber primus*, Rome: B. Zannetti, 1608); Francesco Foggia, *Messa detta La battaglia* (from *Octo missae*, Rome: Fei, 1663; modern edition by S. R. Miller in "Music for the Mass in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Messe piene, the Palestrina Tradition, and the Stile antico," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998, Appendix II). Beside that, one must also remember the 'batalla'-masses by Jerónimo de Carrión, Joan Cererols, Juan Bautista Comes, Juan Esquivel Barahona, Lluís Vicenç Gargallo, Francisco López Capillas, Juan Pérez (Roldán), Fabián Pérez Ximeno, Mateo Romero; not to mention various anonymous works. This chiefly Italo-Spanish tradition (with a noteworthy appendix in the New World) would deserve a study of its own.

⁸ See, *faute de mieux*, Filippi, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* cit., pp. 129-138.

Table 1. T. L. de Victoria, *Missa Pro victoria*

section		scoring	bars	notes
Kyrie	<i>Kyrie I</i>	a 9	17	50 superimposed choral layers; many repeated notes, pseudo-imitation, chordal writing monochoral section, with contrasting sub-choirs; ternary measure; rhythmically and harmonically more animated writing choirs merged in a de facto eight-voice 'tutti'; concitato-battle style, repeated notes, pseudo-imitation, chordal writing
	<i>Christe</i>	a 5 (choir 1)	17	
	<i>Kyrie II</i>	a 9	16	
Gloria	<i>Et in terra</i>	a 9	54	136 antiphonal choral blocks (occasionally superimposed) and 'tutti' finale; alternation of strict and animated homorhythmic textures the two choirs interact in many different ways, from an antiphony of rather broad phrases to briefer exchanges, to superimposition, etc. alternation of strict (prevailing) and animated homorhythmic textures; concitato episodes; grand finale with repetitions, measure changes, etc.
	<i>Qui tollis</i>	a 9	82	
Credo	<i>Patrem</i>	a 9	65	226 here too, many possible techniques of polychoral interaction are explored; strict declamatory homorhythm prevails quantitatively over more animated textures; very clear-cut rhythmic contrasts (concitato declamation vs. episodes in broader note values) and oppositions of syllabic and melismatic phrases opening monochoral phrase in perfect homorhythm, then progressive construction of a more animated 'tutti'; broad note values prevail monochoral section; imitative/pseudo-imitative texture; later homorhythmic concitato duets; animated four-voice finale; beautifully contrasted writing, with text expression, an episode in ternary measure, etc. two five-voice pseudo-imitative episodes open this section (the first a 'trans-choral' 1+4 grouping); then the choral layers reply to each other at close quarters or superimpose, finally generating the classic sonic masses of the majestic conclusion; short phrases, concitato declamation, alternate binary and ternary sections contribute to a contrasted and highly expressive writing
	<i>Et incarnatus</i>	a 9	26	
	<i>Crucifixus</i>	a 4 CATB (from choir 1)	52	
	<i>Et in Spiritus</i>	a 9	83	

section		scoring	bars	notes
Sanctus	<i>Sanctus</i>	a 9	45	82 after an opening trans-choral mini-bicinium, the two choirs alternate or form superimposed layers; eight-voice writing on “Pleni sunt...”; pseudo-imitation and animated homorhythm prevail; a contrapuntally animated texture characterizes also the Hosanna in ternary measure
	<i>Benedictus</i>	a 9	37	
Agnus	<i>Agnus</i>	a 9	53	53 after the de facto eight-voice pseudo-imitative opening and the successive airy-textured episode, homorhythmic blocks alternate or superimpose one another; the battle style finale in full scoring consists of a section replicated from Kyrie II and a new coda
			tot.	547

Let us consider, for instance, the *Qui tollis* section, from the *Gloria* (cf. ex. 1 in appendix). Whereas in the first part of the *Gloria* antiphonal chordal blocks with homorhythmic texture prevailed, the *Qui tollis* opens with an ‘imitative fanfare’ sung by choir I (“*Qui tollis peccata mundi*”). There follows an exchange of declamatory blocks. On the word “*suscipe*” there is a sudden slowing down of the declamatory rhythm, which prepares the subsequent *concitato* episode (“*deprecationem nostram*”). Rapid antiphonal exchanges (“*Qui sedes*”) and energetic harmonic gestures lead to a new chordal ‘colon’ (“*Quoniam*”), which introduces new antiphonal exchanges of contrasting rhythmic nature. After a short passage sung by the lower voices of choir II in ternary measure (“*Cum sancto Spiritu*”: a standard allusion to the Holy Trinity?), polychoral volleys of quasi-Handelian taste (“*In gloria / Dei Patris. / Amen*”) are unleashed, progressively building the massive, multipart finale.

No less remarkable is the *Missa Laetatus sum* for twelve voices in three choirs (I: CATB, II: CCAT, III: CATB). The main characteristic of this composition is the strong contrast between sections in full scoring and monochoral sections for three-four voices (see table 2).

The most striking contrast is in the *Kyrie*, where the *Kyrie I* and *II*, in full three-choir scoring, frame the monochoral *Christe*, sung by three trebles (one from each choir). To the contrast in scoring (twelve vs. three voices), Victoria adds a contrast in tessitura and vocal sound (introducing three equal high voices). Moreover, while the two twelve-voice *Kyrie* settings have an animated homorhythmic texture, rich in repeated notes and rather static from the harmonic point of view, organized in antiphonal or superimposed blocks which build lavish sonic masses, the *Christe* is based on imitative counterpoint and is much more rhythmically spirited.⁹

⁹ The idea was already present in embryo in the psalm on which Victoria bases his mass (cf. the “*Rogate quae ad pacem sunt*” section): but here in the mass the contrast is maximized.

Table 2. T. L. de Victoria, *Missa Laetatus sum*

	section	scoring	bars		notes
Kyrie	<i>Kyrie I</i>	a 12	23	62	the three choirs sing first in alternation, then forming closer/superimposed blocks; animated homorhythmic texture
	<i>Christe</i>	a 3 CCC (1 treble from each choir)	17		monochoral section; 'trans-choral', equal voices scoring; imitative counterpoint
	<i>Kyrie II</i>	a 12	22		the three layered or alternated choirs sing blocks of animated homorhythm; great 'tutti' finale
Gloria	<i>Et in terra</i>	a 12	27	106	the first episodes are more spaced, while the following blocks reply to each other at close quarters or superimpose, finally generating the sonic masses typical of the conclusion; the first episodes are imitative; the following are strictly homorhythmic; the last episodes are again more animated
	<i>Domine Deus, Rex</i>	a 3 CCA (from choir II)	17		monochoral section, higher voices; imitative counterpoint; melismatic writing
	<i>Domine Deus, Agnus</i>	a 3 ATB (from choir I)	14		monochoral section, lower voices; imitative counterpoint; melismatic writing (with some motivic relationships with the preceding 'parallel' section)
	<i>Qui tollis</i>	a 12	48		the first episodes are more spaced, while the following blocks reply to each other at close quarters or superimpose; after two climactic 'waves' of polychoral interaction, the three choirs progressively merge into the powerful 'tutti' finale; strictly homorhythmic textures prevail, except for the more animated finale
Credo	<i>Patrem</i>	a 12	52	183	variety of polychoral interaction (antiphonal blocks, superimposition, etc.), up to the 'tutti' finale; strictly homorhythmic textures prevail
	<i>Et incarnatus</i>	a 12	20		slow-paced alternated episodes followed by a three-layered tutti; strictly homorhythmic textures prevail
	<i>Crucifixus</i>	a 4 CCAT (choir II)	47		monochoral section; imitative counterpoint (except for the homorhythmic pre-final "Et iterum..."); ternary episodes
	<i>Et in Spiritum</i>	a 12	64		many possible techniques of polychoral interaction are explored, in successive climactic 'waves', up to the umpteenth grand finale; strictly homorhythmic textures prevail, except for the more animated conclusion

section		scoring	bars	notes
Sanctus	<i>Sanctus</i>	a 12	28	59 immediately after the trinitarian alternation of the three choirs on “Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus”, the text calls for a vigorous multi-layered ‘tutti’; the Hosanna consists of two antiphonal blocks + another multi-layered ‘tutti’; homorhythmic textures prevail
	<i>Benedictus</i>	a 4 CCAT (choir II)	23	
	<i>Hosanna [II]</i>	a 12	8	slightly shortened reprise of Hosanna [I]; animated homorhythm
Agnus	<i>Agnus</i>	a 12	28	28 multi-layered ‘tutti’ writing, then antiphonal blocks progressively building the finale; now strict, now more animated homorhythmic textures
			tot.	438

Example 2 reproduces the central part of the *Credo*. After the tutti conclusion on “descendit”, the *Et incarnatus* opens with two slow-paced episodes, each sung by one choir in strictly homorhythmic texture, followed by a solemn three-layered tutti on “et homo factus est”. The monochoral *Crucifixus* (CCAT) has a sharply contrasting imitative beginning, while the following episodes, enlivened by mensural changes, alternate contrapuntal and homorhythmic-declamatory textures. The subsequent *Et in Spiritum* continues this policy of contrasts, opening with superimposed homorhythmic blocks, and so on.

Thus, in these works Victoria operates on different levels to obtain highly effective contrasts. He seeks to characterize the single episode, shaping a lively and dynamic form – and thanks to his spiritual finesse he always provides vivid sonic illustrations of the text, creating perfect meditative journeys (his *Glorias* and *Credos* are outstanding examples).

Elsewhere in the 1600 collection, Victoria obtains similar results working in another way. The two Magnificats *Primi* and *Sexti toni* (eight- and twelve-voice, respectively) are reworkings of monochoral Magnificats published twenty years earlier (1576 and 1581). While Victoria maintains some versets intact from the preceding versions, other versets are partially rearranged, and other ones are completely rewritten: the outcome is an extraordinary synthesis, unusual in terms of form, structure, and expression. The resulting close interaction between polyphony and polychorality has no parallels, to my knowledge, in coeval compositions; and Victoria’s aesthetics of contrast anticipates strongly sectionalised formal developments which were to come in the following decades.¹⁰

Undeniably, these achievements have their roots in Victoria’s Roman experience, and together with many other elements they call for a definitive dismissal of the negative, restrictive view of Roman polychorality. The latter had different faces and com-

¹⁰ On the reworking of the two Magnificats, see D. V. Filippi, “Polychoral Rewritings and Sonic Creativity in Palestrina and Victoria,” *Polifonie*, 8/2-3 (2008), pp. 143-182 (in Italian: pp. 63-142).

prised a plurality of attitudes: moving now to Giovanni Francesco Anerio (and, indirectly, to Palestrina), we will examine a somewhat dissimilar approach to polychoral composition.

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Anerio was probably the most remarkable Roman composer of the post-Palestrinian generation:¹¹ yet his music is still little known, largely because of the scarcity of modern editions and the resulting rarity of performances. Active in Rome from the 1590s, after holding some prestigious positions in the Città Eterna he repeatedly sought to obtain posts in Northern Italy. He worked in Verona (1609-1611), then he applied in vain for the post of chapel master at the Milanese Duomo (1611) and at the Mantuan court (1612). Finally, after further Roman appointments, he crowned his striving toward the North getting the post of Royal chapel master at the Warsaw court of Sigismund III,¹² where he arrived in the mid 1620s. The exact date of Anerio's arrival in Poland is a matter of discussion.¹³ Alina Żórawska-Witkowska suggested that Anerio's recruitment may have been connected with Prince Ladislaus' Italian tour of 1624-1625.¹⁴ Ladislaus (1595-1648), the eldest son of Sigismund and his first wife, Anna, "was at once a music and opera lover, and an Italophile".¹⁵ He "travelled through Italy incognito"¹⁶ and visited Rome at the opening of the Holy Year 1625. During his Italian trip, he made several "efforts to recruit new musicians for the Polish court":¹⁷ although Anerio's name is not mentioned in any of the known extant documents about the young Prince's Grand Tour,¹⁸ a link between his appointment and Ladislaus' recruitment campaign is clearly plausible.

¹¹ On his life and works, see D. V. Filippi, *Selva armonica. La musica spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

¹² On Sigismund's musical chapel and the recruitment of Italian musicians, see B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów [The music courts of the Polish Vasas]* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2007); an English extended abstract is available online in *De Musica*, 14 (2008), at http://www.demusica.pl/?Pismo_De_Musica:De_Musica_XIV%2FNuove_Pagine_3.

¹³ Anerio's presence in Treviso in June 1624 is generally considered as a *terminus post quem* for his departure (cf. H. Federhofer, "Nochmals zur Biographie von Giovanni Francesco Anerio," *Die Musikforschung*, 6 [1953], pp. 346-347), while, according to a personal communication by B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska (September 2010), archival documents attest that Anerio was in Poland during the year 1625.

¹⁴ A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyczne podróże królewiczów polskich. Cztery studia z dziejów kultury muzycznej XVII i XVIII wieku [Musical journeys of Polish princes. Four essays from the history of musical culture of the 17th and 18th centuries]* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1992), p. 11 (I owe this citation to B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, who kindly provided useful comments and suggestions on this point via e-mail).

¹⁵ A. Żórawska-Witkowska, "'Dramma per musica' at the Court of Ladislaus IV Vasa (1627-1648)," in *Italian opera in Central Europe: 1. Institutions and ceremonies*, eds. M. Bucciarelli, N. Dubowy and R. Strohm (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006), pp. 21-50, in particular p. 21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24. While Ladislaus succeeded in hiring singers like Baldassare Ferri and Alessandro Foresti, his offer to none other than Claudio Monteverdi was politely rejected (cf. the literature given *ibid.*, p. 23).

¹⁸ See *Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy do krajów Europy Zachodniej w latach 1624-1625 [The jour-*

The only extant compositions of Anerio's five-year stay in Poland (he died in 1630 in Graz) are two masses, the *Missae Constantia* and the *Missae Pulchrae*, both polychoral works, for twelve (+ b.c.) and eight voices respectively.¹⁹

The *Missae Constantia*²⁰ is evidently a *Staatsmesse*: its origin is probably linked to some celebration for Queen Constance's name-day or birthday.²¹ The now lost *Missae Sigismunda* was obviously its pendant.²² The mass is a complex composition, whose sections, passages and internal correspondences would deserve a thorough study: here I will confine myself to some observations concerning basic formal and textural questions (cf. table 3).

The size of this work is remarkable: while Victoria married the sumptuousness of polychorality to conciseness, here – undoubtedly also to fulfil ceremonial requirements – the sonic grandiosity of the three choirs accompanied by the instrumental bass unfolds itself in long musical spans. Victoria's two masses discussed above are 400-500 bars long, while the *Missae Constantia* is 1000: we are here on a high level of stateliness and magnificence.²³

Animated homorhythmic textures constitute the fundamental bricks of Anerio's writing, while the adoption of strict homorhythm is relatively limited (some of the ternary passages are fashioned in this way). However, imitative counterpoint is at times very

ney of prince Władysław Vasa to western European countries in the years 1624-1625], ed. Adam Przyboś (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1977), and the German version *Die Reise des Kronprinzen Wladyslaw Vasa in die Länder Westeuropas in den Jahren 1624/1625*, ed. Bolko Schweinitz (Leipzig-Weimar: Kiepenheuer, 1988). I hope to be able to study the fascinating accounts of Ladislaus' European musical travel in a future article.

¹⁹ Modern editions: G. F. Anerio, *Missae Constantia: per tre cori*, ed. Z. M. Szwejkowski, «Sub Sole Sarmatiae», 8 (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997); G. F. Anerio, *Missae Pulchrae: per due cori*, ed. A. Patalas, «Sub Sole Sarmatiae», 3 (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1995).

²⁰ See audio CD, track 7.

²¹ Archduchess Constanze Renate von Österreich-Steiermark (1588-1631), daughter of Archduke Charles II of Austria and Maria Anna of Bavaria, was the sister of Sigismund's first wife, Anna. Constance and Sigismund got married in November 1605.

²² The rather schematic nature of many *soggetti* in the *Missae Constantia* (filled with modal formulas, scale fragments, etc.) seems to indicate that they are freely invented, or in any case not deriving from pre-existing compositions by means of paraphrase or parody. As already pointed out by Z. M. Szwejkowski ("Le Messe di Giovanni Francesco Anerio ed il loro rapporto con l'attività del compositore in Polonia," *Quadrivium*, 16/1 (1975), pp. 145-152), the interesting rubric of the b.c. part "[...] MISSA | Que eodem modo | quo Sigismunda | decantari potest", could mean that the two 'Royal' Masses shared the same instrumental bass: a couple sharing the same foundation.

²³ I could not access copies of the contemporary accounts of Sigismund and Constance's wedding listed in the Digital Library of Polish and Poland-Related News Pamphlets from the 16th to the 18th Century (<http://cbdu.id.uw.edu.pl/>), but one can gain an idea of the solemnity and complexity of the liturgical apparatus during such celebrations reading an account of Sigismund's previous wedding with Anna (1592): "la Sposa fu guidata sotto l'ordinario baldachino del marito con la madre, la Regina Battore [sic], & la sorella del Re [...]; ove stette al Kirie, principio della messa, il qual nove volte fu cantato con bellissima musica di voci, di cornetti, & organi concordandosi con lo strepito di trombe, di tamburri, & di 500 archibugieri [...] che fuori della chiesa gratiosamente strepitavano" (R. Morlupino, *Il successo delle nozze di Sigismondo III. Re di Polonia con la Principessa Anna [...] Et altre cose notabili di quel Regno*, Udine: G. B. Natolini, 1592, p. 8; available on line at <http://cbdu.id.uw.edu.pl/2400/>). On polychorality in Poland in the late 16th century, see B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Italian 'Schools' of Polychorality from the Perspective of the Courts of the Polish Vasas and the Austrian Habsburgs," *Musical Today*, 3 (2006), pp. 53-74, in particular pp. 56-57.

Table 3. G. F. Anerio, *Missa Constantia*

section		scoring	bars	notes	
Kyrie	<i>Kyrie I</i>	a 12	66	201	the three choirs sing in orderly succession the imitative-textured opening, with almost no overlapping; more homorhythmic antiphonal and superimposed blocks follow, up to the intricate ‘tutti’ finale
	<i>Christe</i>	a 4 CCAT (CA from choir I, CT from choir II)	64		monochoral section, with ‘trans-choral’ scoring; imitative and quite melismatic texture (but with homorhythmic opening and frequent homorhythmic pairs)
	<i>Kyrie II</i>	a 12	71		structurally similar to Kyrie I: at first the three choirs sing in turn, then more concise antiphonal blocks and an intricate ‘tutti’ finale follow; prevailing animated homorhythmic texture;
Gloria	<i>Et in terra</i>	a 12	109	242	many different techniques of polychoral interaction are explored; animated homorhythmic texture prevail, but the ternary episode in full scoring on “Gratias agimus...” is strictly homorhythmic; more vivid structural contrasts (e.g. 3 choirs/1 choirs/3 choirs)
	<i>Qui tollis</i>	a 12	133		here too different techniques of polychoral interaction (dialogue-like antiphony, layered ‘tutti’, etc.); imitative (see the first monochoral episode with paired voices) and animated homorhythmic textures, with rhythmic contrasts; the final “Amen” (ternary at first) has a particular contrapuntal and melismatic texture
Credo	<i>Patrem</i>	a 12	106	339	an imitative opening (choir I) is followed by homorhythmic blocks; preemptory homorhythmic ‘tuttis’ on “Et ex Patre natum” and again on “Genitum...”; considering the preceding general pause, the shift to the ternary measure and the twelve-voice homorhythmic texture, the Et incarnatus could be seen as an independent section, but it is introduced by a monochoral cadence, while Anerio usually concludes each section with a climactic cadential episode in full scoring; three orderly blocks follow, before the homorhythmic twelve-voice conclusion on “Et homo factus est”
	<i>Crucifixus</i>	a 4 CCAT (CA from choir I, CT from choir II)	58		monochoral section, with ‘trans-choral’ scoring; imitative texture, progressively shifting to animated homorhythm
	<i>Et ascendit</i>	a 4 ATTB (TB from choir I, A from choir II, T from choir III)	30		monochoral section, with ‘trans-choral’ scoring; at first imitative, later homorhythmic texture
	<i>Et iterum</i>	a 12	145		successive ‘waves’ of polychoral interaction; antiphonal or superimposed blocks of animated homorhythm; on “Et in Spiritum...”, shift to ternary

section		scoring	bars		notes
					measure and strict homorhythmic texture (again in antiphonal or superimposed blocks); return to binary measure (“Confiteor...”) and to more animated homorhythmic textures; the final ‘tutti’ is once again highly ornate
Sanctus	<i>Sanctus</i>	a 12	70	160	airy imitative opening sung by the three choirs in orderly succession; then blocks of animated homorhythm, now alternated, now superimposed
	<i>Benedictus</i>	a 4 CCAA (CA from choir I, CA from choir II)	68		monochoral section, with ‘trans-choral’ scoring; imitative and quite melismatic texture
	<i>Hosanna</i> [II]	a 12	22		slightly rearranged repetition of Hosanna [I]; blocks of animated homorhythm rapidly bringing to the concise ‘tutti’ conclusion
Agnus	<i>Agnus</i>	a 12	105	105	beginning = Kyrie I; then gradual shift to animated homorhythmic texture, up to the vast and intricate ‘tutti’ finale
			tot.	1047	

important, also in structural terms (cf. the partial reproduction of the *Kyrie* in ex. 3). Tutti episodes are generally very ornate and intricate, and the conclusions of the main sections in particular do not feature solid homorhythmic masses.

In the more ‘abstract’ sections, the three choirs often sing in orderly succession (particularly in the various imitative openings), while in the *Gloria* and *Credo*, whose texts can be treated in a more expressive way, there is a broader range of polychoral solutions and more vivid structural contrasts. The subsections in reduced scoring (constantly for four voices, but with varying internal organization) involve singers belonging to different choirs (two and even three choirs); the physical distance between the choirs must have been reasonably short to make it possible.²⁴

The *Missa Pulchra es* (cf. table 4) is based on a monochoral Palestrinian model, the five-voice motet of the same name in the *Motettorum liber quartus* [...] *ex Canticis canticorum* (1584). As in the previous examples, I will leave aside questions of parody technique, etc., to concentrate on basic structural and sonic matters.

In Anerio’s mass, as well as in Palestrina’s model, homorhythmic textures prevail. The openings are however more often than not imitative, and imitative counterpoint permeates entire episodes, sometimes in association with highly melismatic vocal lines. Contrapuntal choral layers may at times merge in eight-voice writing. In Palestrina’s *Pulchra es*, the *exordium* was almost the *only* imitative episode: if, on the one hand, the standard procedures of parody technique required an optimal utilization of the opening segment of the

²⁴ Incidentally, the same applies to Victoria’s works.

model, it should be noted, on the other hand, that Anerio's polychoral fabric appears *constantly* innervated by polyphonic-contrapuntal practices (at times, for instance, he reverts to well-tested contrapuntal expedients for the sake of text expression).²⁵

There are, of course, strictly homorhythmic episodes (in particular the *Et in Spiritum*, where homorhythmic texture and ternary measure are combined; the conclusion of the *Credo*; and the two *Hosannas*), and Anerio does not fail to exploit the idiomatic resources of polychorality. In a composition strongly marked and unified by the recurrent references to selected elements of the pre-existing model, and on the whole uniform in writing style, some contrasts catch the ear. The homorhythmic *Kyrie II* sharply contrasts with the previous mainly imitative subsections, while the contrapuntal four-voice *Benedictus* stands out against the homorhythmic polychoral *Hosannas* which frame it (cf. ex. 4). On a smaller scale, isolated antiphonal exchanges of short, homorhythmic blocks may contrast with the surrounding areas (e.g. in the *Agnus*).

This mass is similar in proportions to Victoria's two masses, and half as long as the *Missa Constantia*: this huge difference in size alone is sufficient to reveal a diversity of approach in the two masses, probably connected to the circumstances of composition and performance (about which we sadly know very little). In fact, Anerio proves to have in his possession both a 'grander', more solemn and ornate polychoral style (*Missa Constantia*), and a lighter, more concise approach (*Missa Pulchra es*).

In neither of the two masses is there anything comparable to Victoria's aesthetics of contrast. Although Anerio sometimes sets monochoral imitative sections against polychoral sections, or introduces mensural changes, he rarely 'exhibits' these contrasts, and does not seem to seek a polar opposition between different textures and scorings. Specific requirements of his royal patrons and other aspects of the musical environment at the Polish court may have partially influenced this approach. Nonetheless, an examination of Anerio's other polychoral mass, the *Missa Surge illuminare*, based on Palestrina's polychoral motet of the same name (1575),²⁶ confirms these conclusions. It is thus interesting to observe that Anerio's attitude to polychoral parody masses is consistent, regardless of the mono- or polychoral nature of the model, and its more or less homorhythmic texture.

The link with Palestrina, made explicit – in spite of the chronological distance – through the choice of his works as compositional models, proves to be fundamental for Anerio's polychoral settings of the mass Ordinary. In Palestrina's polychoral music,²⁷ the matrix of imitative counterpoint is, generally speaking, present and perceptible. He writes entire imitative segments and often adopts contrapuntally animated textures. The integration of polyphonic concept and polychoral idiom creates an admirable *varietas* but not deliberately accentuated local contrasts. In the compositions for twelve voices, for example, there is never a clear-cut opposition between a single choir and the tutti in three choirs.

²⁵ See the "Descendit..." episode in the *Credo*.

²⁶ The mass is preserved in D-MÜs [Santini] Ms. 1215; modern edition in Williams, "The Masses of Giovanni Francesco Anerio" cit., II, pp. 380-419.

²⁷ See the literature cited in footnote 2 and Della Sciucca's article in this collection of essays.

Table 4. G. F. Anerio, *Missa Pulchra es*

section		scoring	bars	notes
Kyrie	<i>Kyrie I</i>	a 8	34	87 alternated and overlapping blocks of imitative polyphony the polychoral interaction is airier and the texture slightly more homorhythmic briefer blocks, antiphonal exchanges, finale in full scoring; strict homorhythmic texture prevails
	<i>Christe</i>	a 8	27	
	<i>Kyrie II</i>	a 8	26	
Gloria	<i>Et in terra</i>	a 8	53	97 after the first imitative episode sung by choir I, antiphonal exchanges of homorhythmic blocks (even short ones) prevail; imitative counterpoint looms again in the last episode successive ‘waves’ of polychoral interaction (antiphonal and superimposed blocks, eight-voice writing, etc.); animated homorhythmic textures prevail
	<i>Qui tollis</i>	a 8	46	
Credo	<i>Patrem</i>	a 8	50	151 as in the Gloria, different techniques of polychoral interaction (antiphonal exchanges of short declamatory blocks, layered blocks, eight-voice writing, etc.); after the imitative opening, animated homorhythmic textures prevail concise section: alternated choirs + layered ‘tutti’; slightly animated homorhythmic texture monochoral section; the first episode is imitative and melismatic; then, animated homorhythmic textures prevail, up to the strict homorhythmic conclusion strictly homorhythmic, mostly eight-voice writing, in ternary measure; thereafter, shift to binary measure (“Et unam sanctam...”), with short homorhythmic antiphonal blocks; remarkable declamation in briefer note values in the finale
	<i>Et incarnatus</i>	a 8	9	
	<i>Crucifixus</i>	a 4 CATB (choir I)	46	
	<i>Et in Spiritum</i>	a 8	46	
Sanctus	<i>Sanctus</i>	a 8	36	73 in the first subsection imitative textures prevail (short homorhythmic blocks alternate with four/eight-voice contrapuntal writing); the <i>Hosanna</i> is homorhythmic (antiphonal blocks and final ‘tutti’) monochoral section, with ‘trans-choral’ scoring; the imitative (initially even melismatic) texture sharply contrasts with the preceding <i>Hosanna</i> ; the last episode is more homorhythmic antiphonal blocks and final ‘tutti’ (with slight reminiscence of the <i>Hosanna [II]</i>); strictly homorhythmic texture
	<i>Benedictus</i>	a 4 CCAT (CT from choir I, CA from choir II)	27	
	<i>Hosanna [II]</i>	a 8	10	
Agnus	<i>Agnus</i>	a 8	31	31 imitative and animated homorhythmic blocks alternate (a real antiphonal exchange of short, strictly homorhythmic blocks occurs only on “peccata mundi”); layered ‘tutti’ finale
			tot.	439

Even in internal monochoral mass sections, Palestrina tends to attenuate rather than accentuate the contrast. The vocal orchestration is skilfully moulded for expressive reasons, but the composer shows no particular interest in the interplay of sonic masses.²⁸ In all these aspects Anerio seems to follow in Palestrina's footsteps, developing the master's polychoral technique without departing from its basic principles. The innovative Anerio is to be found elsewhere, namely in the field of concertato sacred and devotional music, where he was really able to open *new* perspectives – but this is another story.²⁹

As we have seen, Victoria, on the other hand, has a penchant for more exaggerated sonic oppositions.³⁰ This aesthetics of contrast emerges in his Roman years, but is most evident in the works published in Madrid in 1600. Victoria achieves contrasts mainly by changes of scoring, and polar oppositions between free/imitative and homorhythmic counterpoint.³¹

* * *

Roman polychoral practices irradiated from the Eternal City throughout Europe. In late 16th-century Madrid, Victoria – possibly reacting also to local stimuli³² – perfected the sonic creativity he had already developed in Rome, in the years when he and Palestrina had *founded* the Roman polychoral tradition: and Victoria's work contributed in turn to promote the flourishing of Spanish polychorality. Many years later – years which saw a variety of Roman experiments in integrating polyphony, polychorality and concertato –³³ Anerio brought the Palestrinian approach to polychorality to Warsaw, where he faithfully re-interpreted it. This approach was characterized by the typically Roman ability to combine polyphonic vitality and sonic magnificence.³⁴

For lack of adequate knowledge, polychoral music (especially *Roman* polychoral music) has often been treated with superciliousness both by 16th-century specialists (as a late, simplified, pompous, decadent offspring of 'classical' polyphony) and by 17th-cen-

²⁸ For further remarks, cf. Filippi, "Polychoral Rewritings and Sonic Creativity in Palestrina and Victoria" cit.

²⁹ On Anerio's devotional works of the 1610s, cf. Filippi, *Selva armonica* cit. For a discussion of his concertato motets, see G. Dixon, "Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet During the Early Seventeenth Century," *Acta Musicologica*, 53 (1981), pp. 105-119.

³⁰ The difference of approach between the two composers can be even more easily appreciated if we remember that Victoria's masses are almost thirty years *earlier* than Anerio's ones.

³¹ Cf. again Filippi, "Polychoral Rewritings and Sonic Creativity in Palestrina and Victoria" cit.

³² Because of conflicting attributions and other serious problems in the manuscript tradition, the question regarding the relationship between Victoria's compositions and the works of the Flemish Philippe Rogier (c. 1561-1596), active in Madrid since 1572, will have to remain unanswered for the moment.

³³ Cf. G. Dixon, "The Origins of the Roman 'Colossal Baroque'," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 106 (1979), pp. 115-128; idem, "Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet" cit.; Noel O'Regan, "Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome, 1575-1621" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, St. Catharine's College, 1988).

³⁴ On the different "paradigms" of polychorality promoted in Poland by Italian musicians, see Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, "Italian 'Schools' of Polychorality" cit.

tury scholars (as nothing more than a harbinger of Baroque sonic sensibilities). It is time to affirm, on the contrary, that polychoral music is *one of the culminating achievements of early modern musical creativity*, precisely because it is a fecund synthesis of different musical experiences and stylistic enquiries. Each composer plays in his own way with a variety of elements: polyphony and homophony, imitative and homorhythmic textures, spatialised sounds, voices and instruments, formal inventiveness and sonic imagination.

Polychorality deserves a better historiographic fate – and many crucial issues need to be addressed. I wish to conclude with a threefold series of questions, which I hope will be considered by future research projects on polychoral music, as well as on the export of early modern Italian music to Europe.

a) Roman polychorality: To what extent was the ability to write polychoral music a necessary qualification, when a Roman master was recruited abroad? And, more generally, what role did the “polychoral sound” play in the musical image of Rome, as it was perceived throughout Europe in the first decades of the post-Palestrinian era?

b) The historical and spiritual context: If polychoral music became – in the words of Noel O’Regan – “the musical badge of the Counter-reformation”,³⁵ which aspects of contemporary spirituality (e.g. on liturgical matters) found expression in it and favoured its widespread diffusion? Can we go beyond the rather generic references to ‘aesthetic enticement’ and ‘pomp’?³⁶

c) More technical matters: Polychorality was one of the most astonishing results of centuries of experiments with the artistic use of the human voice. How did it contribute to enlarge the range of sonic experiences available to European audiences? Composers of polychoral works had unprecedented sonic masses at their disposal and were thus prompted to adopt new formal solutions. How did the different polychoral styles (and particularly those of Roman origin, with their mixture of polyphonic conception and *Klanglichkeit*) contribute to the development of the new formal models which were to come in the 17th century?

³⁵ O’Regan, “Roman Polychoral Music” cit., p. 48.

³⁶ I will explore, for instance, the association between polychorality and the idea of heavenly music within a forthcoming article entitled “Sonic Afterworld. Mapping the Soundscape of Heaven and Hell in Early Modern Cities.”

Appendix

Music examples

Example 1. Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Missa Pro victoria*, Gloria: *Qui tollis*
From: *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis Opera Omnia, vi, Missarum liber tertius*, ed. Felipe Pedrell (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909) (facsimile edn. Ridgeway, NJ: Gregg Press, 1965)

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system consists of five staves: four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and one piano accompaniment staff. The second system consists of four vocal staves and one piano accompaniment staff. The third system consists of four vocal staves and one piano accompaniment staff. The lyrics are: "Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, qui tol - lis pec-ca-ta mun - di, Qui tol - lis pec-ca-ta mun - di, pec-ca-ta mun - di, Qui tol - lis pec-ca-ta mun - di, Qui tol - lis pec-ca-ta mun - di, Qui tol - lis pec-ca-ta mun - di, Qui tol-lis pec - ca-ta mun- Qui tol - lis pec - ca-ta mun- Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun- Qui tol - lis pec - ca-ta mun-". The piano accompaniment features a steady rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a more active line in the left hand, often moving in parallel motion with the vocal lines. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C).

5

Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, sus-ci-

Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, sus-ci-pe

Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, sus-ci-pe

Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, sus-ci-

Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, sus-ci-

5

di, mi-se-re-re no-bis. Su-

di, mi-se-re-re no-bis. Su-

8

di, mi-se-re-re no-bis. Su-ci-

di, mi-se-re-re no-bis. Su-

5

9

pe, sus - ci - pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no -

sus - ci - pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no -

sus - ci - pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no -

8 pe, sus - ci-pe, sus - ci-pe de-pre-ca-ti - o-nem no - stram,

pe, sus - ci - pe de - - - pre -

9

- ci - pe, sus - ci-pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no-stram, de-pre-ca-ti -

- ci - pe, sus - ci-pe de-pre-ca-ti - o-nem no-stram,

8 pe, sus - ci-pe, sus - ci-pe de-pre-ca-ti - o-nem no-stram,

- ci - pe, sus - ci-pe de - - - pre - ca - ti -

9

12

stram, de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no - stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris, mi-se-

stram, de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no-stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris, mi-se-

stram, de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no - stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris, mi-se-

8 de-pre-ca-ti-o - nem no - stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris, mi-se-

ca - ti - o-nem no - stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris, mi-se-

12

o - nem no - stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris,

de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no-stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris,

8 de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem no-stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris,

o - nem no - stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa - tris,

12

15

re-re no - bis. Quo - ni - am

re-re no - bis. Quo - ni - am

re-re no - bis. Quo - ni - am

re-re no - bis. Quo - ni - am

re-re no - bis. Quo - ni - am

15

mi-se-re - re no - bis. Quo - ni - am tu so-lus san - - -

mi-se-re - re no - bis. Quo - ni - am tu so-lus san - - -

mi-se-re - no - bis. Quo - ni - am tu so - lus san -

mi-se-re - no - bis. Quo - ni - am tu so - lus san -

15

19

Tu so-lus Do - - - mi-nus. Tu so - lus Al-tis - si -
so-lus Do - mi - nus. Tu so-lus Al - tis - si-mus, Tu so - lus Al-tis - si -
Tu so - lus Do - mi-nus. Tu so - lus Al-tis - si -
8 tu so - lus Do-mi-nus. Tu so - lus Al-tis - si -
Tu so - lus Do - mi-nus. Tu so - lus Al-tis - si -

19

ctus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si - mus
ctus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si - mus
8 ctus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si - mus
ctus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si - mus

19

ctus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si - mus
ctus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si - mus
ctus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si - mus
ctus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si - mus

23

mus, Je-su ste.
mus, Je-su Chri - ste.
mus, Je-su Chri - ste.
8 mus, Je - su Chri - ste.
mus, Je-su Chri - ste.

23

Cum San - cto Spi - - - - ri -
8 Cum San - cto Spi - - - -
Cum San - cto Spi - - - -

23

29

in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris

in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris

in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris

8 in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris

in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris

29

in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A -

tu in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A -

8 tu in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris,

tu in glo - ri - a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A -

29

32

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A - men, A -

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A - men, A -

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - A - men, A -

8 in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A - men, A -

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A - men, A -

32

men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris A - - -

men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A -

8 men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A -

men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A -

32

37

men, in glo - ri-a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A - men, A-men,

men, in glo - ri-a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A - men, A-men,

men, in glo - ri-a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A - men,

8 men, De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A - men,

men, in glo - ri-a De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A - men, A-men,

37

men, in glo - ri-a De-i Pa-tris De-i Pa-tris, A -

men, in glo - ri-a De-i Pa-tris De-i Pa-tris, A -

8 men, A - men, in glo - ri - a, De-i Pa-tris De-i Pa-tris, De-i Pa-tris, A -

men, in glo - ri-a De-i Pa-tris De-i Pa-tris, A -

37

40

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A - men, A -

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A - men, A -

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A -

8 in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A - men, A -

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A - men, A -

40

men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris A - - -

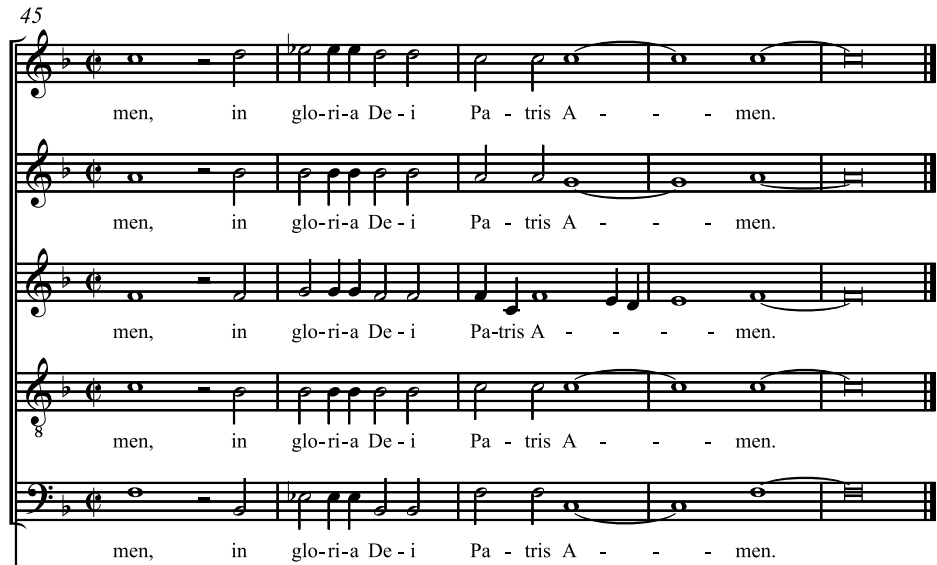
men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A -

8 men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A -

men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, A -

40

45



men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris A - - - men.

men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris A - - - men.

men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris A - - - men.

8 men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris A - - - men.

men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris A - - - men.

45



men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris A - - - men.

men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris, A-men, A - men, A - men.

8 men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris, A-men, A - - - men.

men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris, A-men, A - - - men.

45



men, in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris, A-men, A - - - men.

Example 2. Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Missa Laetatus sum*, Credo, bars 45-127

From: *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis Opera Omnia, VI, Missarum liber tertius*, ed. Felipe Pedrell, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909 (facsimile edn. Ridgeway, NJ: Gregg Press, 1965)

45

de-scen - dit de coe - lis, de coe - - - - -

de-scen - dit, de-scen-dit de coe - lis, de

de-scen - dit de coe - lis, de-scen-dit de coe -

de-scen - dit de coe - lis, de coe - - - - -

-lu - - - - tem de-scen - dit de coe - lis, de coe -

-lu - - - - tem de-scen - dit de coe - lis, de coe -

- - - - lu - tem de-scen-dit de coe - - - - -

- - - - - tem de-scen-dit de coe - lis, de coe -

-stram sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de coe -

sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de coe -

-lu - - - - tem de - scen - dit, de - scen - dit

-lu - - - - tem de - scen - dit de

50

lis.

8 coe - lis.

8 - - lis.

lis.

lis.

8 lis.

- - - lis.

lis. Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi-

- - - lis, de coe - lis. Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi-

8 de coe - - lis. Et in - car - na - est de Spi-

coe - lis. Et in - car - na - est de Spi-

58

ex Ma - ri - a Vir - - - gi -
ex Ma - ri - a Vir - - gi -
ex Ma - ri - a Vir - - - gi -
ex Ma - ri - a Vir - - - gi -
ri - tu San - - - - cto
ri - tu San - - - - cto
ri - tu San - - - - cto
ri - tu San - - - - cto

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and four piano accompaniment staves (Right Hand Treble, Left Hand Bass, Right Hand Treble, Left Hand Bass). The second system includes four vocal staves and four piano accompaniment staves. The lyrics are printed below the vocal staves. The piano accompaniment features a steady rhythmic pattern in the bass line and a more active line in the treble line.

65

et ho - mo fa - ctus est, et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

et ho - mo fa - ctus est, et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

et ho - mo fa - ctus est, et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

et ho - mo fa - ctus est, et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

ne: et ho - mo fa - ctus est.

ne: et ho-mo fa-ctus est fa-ctus est.

ne: et ho-mo fa-ctus est fa-ctus est.

ne: et ho-mo fa-ctus est fa-ctus est.

et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

et ho-mo fa - ctus est.

Chorus II

73 4 vocum

sub
e - ti-am pro no - - -
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti-am pro no - - -
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis pro no - - -

79

Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to pas-sus, et se -
- - bis: sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to pas -
- - - bis: sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la - - - to pas - sus,
- - - bis: pas - sus, et se - pul -

84

pul - tus est, et se-pul - tus est.
sus, et se - pul - - - tus est.
et se-pul-tus est, et se - pul-tus est. Et re - sur - re - xit
- tus est, et se-pul - tus est. Et re - sur - re - xit

90

se - cun - dum Scri - ptu - ras se -
 ter - ti - a di - - - e, se - cun - dum Scri -
 8 ter - ti - a di - - - e, se - cun -
 ter - ti - a di - - - e, se - cun - dum Scri - ptu - ras

94

cun - dum Scri - ptu - ras. Et a - scen - dit in coe - lum,
 ptu - ras. Et a - scen - dit in coe - lum, se - det ad dex - te -
 8 dum Scri - ptu - ras se - det ad dex - te - ram
 Et a - scen - dit in coe - - - lum, se -

99

se - det ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris. Et
 ram Pa - - - - - tris. Et
 8 Pa - - - tris, Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est, et
 det ad dex - te - ram Pa - - - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est, et

104

i-te-rum ven - tu-rus est cum glo - ri-a ju - di-ca - re vi -

i-te-rum ven - tu-rus est cum glo - ri-a ju - di-ca - re vi -

i-te-rum ven - tu-rus est cum glo - ri-a ju - di-ca - re vi -

i-te-rum ven - tu-rus est cum glo - ri-a ju - di-ca - re vi -

110

vos, et mor - tu - os: non e - rit fi - nis, non

vos, et mor - tu - os: cu - jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis, non

vos, et mor - tu - os: cu - jus re - gni non e - rit fi -

vos, et mor - tu - os: cu - jus re - gni non e - rit fi -

115

e - rit fi - - - - nis, non e - rit fi - - - - nis.

e - rit fi - - - - nis, non e - rit fi - nis.

- - - - nis, non e - rit fi - - - - - - - nis.

- - - - nis, non e - rit fi - nis, non e - rit fi - - - - - nis.

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - - - mi -

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - - - ctum, Do -

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - - - mi -

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - - - mi -

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - mi - num

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - mi - num

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - mi - num

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - mi - num

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, San - ctum, San - ctum,

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, San - ctum, San - ctum,

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, San - ctum, San - ctum, Do -

Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, San - ctum, San - ctum,

125

num qui ex

- - - mi - num qui ex

num qui ex

num, Do - mi - num qui ex

et vi - vi - fi - can - tem:

et vi - vi - fi - can - tem:

et vi - vi - fi - can - tem:

et vi - vi - fi - can - tem:

Do - - - mi - num,

Do - - - mi - num,

- - - mi - num,

Do - - - mi - num,

Example 3a. Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Missa Constantia*, Kyrie, bars 1-37 (from *Kyrie I-II*)
 From: Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Missa Constantia: per tre cori*, ed. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski,
 «Sub Sole Sarmatiae», 8 (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997)

The image displays a musical score for three voices (C, A, T) and organo. The score is organized into three systems of staves. The first system shows the vocal entries for Soprano (C), Alto (A), and Tenor (T) with lyrics: "Kyrie eleison". The Soprano part begins with a whole note on G4, followed by quarter notes on A4, B4, and C5. The Alto part begins with a whole note on E4, followed by quarter notes on D4, C4, B3, and A3. The Tenor part begins with a whole note on C3, followed by quarter notes on D3, E3, and F3. The organo part is shown at the bottom, starting with a whole note on C2, followed by quarter notes on D2, E2, and F2. The second and third systems are empty staves for the voices, and the organo part continues with quarter notes on G2, A2, and B2, followed by a whole note on C3. A small number '6' is written above the organo staff in the third system.

6

C
- - - - - son[e] - lei -

A
- - - - - son [e - - - lei -

T
8 Ky - rie e - - lei - - - - -

B
Ky - rie e - lei - - - - -

C
Ky -

A
Ky -

T
8

B

C

A

T
8

B

B.c.
6 5 / 4 3 5 6 5 6 6 7 6 4 3 2°

ROME, MADRID, WARSAW

14

C
- - - - - son]

A
- - - - - son]

T
8
son

B
8
son

C
rie e - lei - - - - - son [e -

A
- - - - - rie e - - - - - lei - -

T
8
Ky - rie e - lei - - - - -

B
Ky - rie e - lei - - - - -

C

A

T
8

B

B.c.
6 5 9 6 6 6 5
4 3

22

C Ky -

A Ky -

T Ky -

B Ky -

C - lei - son]

A - - son

T - - son

B - - son

C Ky - rie e - lei - - - - son

A Ky - rie e - lei - - - - son

T Ky - rie e - lei - - - - son

B Ky - rie e - lei - - - - son

B.c. 4 3 5 6 7 6

3° p.°

ROME, MADRID, WARSAW

30

C
rie e - lei - - - son e-

A
- rie e - lei - - - son e-

T
- rie e - lei - - - son e-

B
rie e - lei - - - son e-

C
e - lei - son

A
e - lei - son

T
e - lei - son

B
e - lei - son

C
e - lei - son

A
e - lei - son

T
e - lei - son

B
e - lei - son

B.c.
5 6 5 7 6 # # 6 6
2° 3° p.°

Example 3b. Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Missa Constantia*, Kyrie, bars 67-82 (from *Christe*)

67

C
Chri - ste e - lei - - - - - - - - - -

A
Chri - ste e - - - - lei - - - - son

T

B

C
Chri - ste e - lei - - - -

A

T
Chri - ste e - lei -

B

C

A

T

B

B.c.
a 4 voci pari p.^o et 2^o choro

6 4 3 6 4 3 6 6 5 6

ROME, MADRID, WARSAW

75

75

C
A
T
B

C
A
T
B

C
A
T
B

B.c.

6 5 5 6 7 6 4 3 4 3

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score for a choir and basso continuo. The page is numbered 75. It features three systems of staves. Each system includes four vocal staves (C, A, T, B) and one basso continuo staff (B.c.). The music is in a minor key, indicated by a single flat in the key signature. The lyrics are: "son Chri - ste e - lei -", "Chri - ste e - lei -", "son Chri-", and "son". The basso continuo part includes figured bass notation: 6 5, 5 6, 7 6, 4 3, 4 3.

Example 3c. Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Missa Constantia*, Kyrie, bars 131-146 (from *Kyrie II*)

131

C Ky - rie e - lei - son

A Ky - rie e - lei - son

T Ky - rie e - lei - son

B Ky - rie e - lei - son

C Ky - rie e - lei -

A Ky - rie e -

T Ky - rie e -

B Ky - rie e -

B.c. 5 6 5 6 6 5 / 4 3 5 6 5

a XII 2°

139

C
A
T
B

C
A
T
B

C
A
T
B
B.c.

son
lei - son
lei - son [e - lei - son]
lei - son
Ky - rie e - lei
Ky - rie e - lei
Ky - rie e - lei
Ky - rie e - lei
6 6 5 6 4 3 4 3 5 6 5 6 6 5 4 3 5 6
3°

Example 4. Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Missa Pulchra es*, Sanctus-Benedictus, bars 28-73
 From: Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Missa Pulchra es: per due cori*, ed. Aleksandra Patalas, «Sub Sole Sarmatiae», 3 (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1995)

28

C in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na ho-

A in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na ho-

T in ex-cel-sis ex-ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis in ex-cel-

B in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na ho-

C ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-

A ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-

T ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-

B ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-

32

C san-na ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis

A san-na ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis

T sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis

B san-na ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis

C cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis

A cel-sis in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis

T cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis

B cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis ho-san-na in ex-cel-sis

37

C I
Be - - - ne - di - ctus qui ve - - -

C II
Be - - -

A II
Be - - - ne - di - - - - - ctus

T I
Be - - - -

41

C I
- - - - nit be - - - ne di - ctus qui

C II
- ne - di - - - - ctus qui ve - - - - nit

A II
qui ve - - - - - - - - - -

T I
ne - di - ctus qui ve - - - - - - - - nit

46

C I
ve - - - - nit qui ve - - - - nit in

C II
qui ve - - - - - - - - - - nit

A II
nit ve - - - - - - - - - nit

T I
ve - - - - nit ve - - - - - - - - nit in

51

C I
no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni

C II
in no - - - -

A II
in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi -

T I
8 no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi -

55

C I
in no - mi - ne in no - mi - ne

C II
mi - ne Do - - - mi - ni

A II
ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi -

T I
8 ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi -

59

C I
in no - mi - ne Do - - - mi - ni

C II
in no - mi - ne Do - - - - - mi - ni

A II
ni in no - mi - ne Do - - - mi - ni

T I
8 ni in no - mi - ne Do - - - - - mi - ni

ROME, MADRID, WARSAW

64

C Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex -

A Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex -

T Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex -

B Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex -

C Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis

A Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis

T Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis

B Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis

Ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis

67

C cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho -

A cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho -

T cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho -

B cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho -

C ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis

A ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel -

T ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis

B ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis

70

C
san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - - - sis

A
san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - - - sis

T
8 san - na in ex - cel - - - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - - - sis

B
san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - - - sis

C
ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - - - sis

A
sis in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - - - sis

T
8 ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - - - sis

B
ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis ho - san - na in ex - cel - - - sis

Abstract

In spite of the contributions of important composers like Palestrina, Victoria and many others, Roman polychoral music is still much less widely known than Venetian polychorality.

In fact, the study of this repertoire often leads to surprising discoveries and raises questions at different levels. This article explores Roman polychorality by looking at two examples of its European dissemination: the works published by Tomás Luis de Victoria in Madrid in 1600, about fifteen years after his departure from Rome, and the masses composed by Giovanni Francesco Anerio for the court of Sigismund III in Warsaw (circa 1624-1630). In his collection of 1600, Victoria displays a vast variety of polychoral styles: the composer shows a penchant for sonic contrast, created especially by means of the polar opposition between imitative writing for reduced scoring and homorhythmic-antiphonal *tutti* sections. Despite later date, Anerio's Polish masses (*Missa Constantia* for three choirs + b.c., *Missa Pulchra es* for two choirs) contain fewer sonic contrasts. Contrapuntal practices innervate his writing, and he clearly holds to the basic principles of Palestrinian polychoral style.

Oscurato, nella nostra prospettiva, dai fasti della policoralità veneziana, il repertorio policorale romano è ancora poco conosciuto. E non importa se le firme sono quelle di Palestrina e Victoria, o dei più bei nomi delle generazioni successive.

In realtà, ogni assaggio di questo repertorio regala sorprese e solleva interrogativi sui più diversi fronti. In questo contributo, la policoralità romana viene sondata attraverso due sue irradiazioni europee: le opere che Tomás Luis de Victoria pubblica a Madrid nel 1600, quindici anni dopo aver lasciato Roma, e le messe composte da Giovanni Francesco Anerio per la corte di Sigismondo III a Varsavia (ca. 1624-1630).

Nella raccolta del 1600 Victoria dispiega un ampio ventaglio di stili policorali, in cui emerge il gusto spiccato per i contrasti sonori, espresso in particolare attraverso la studiata e insistita contrapposizione fra scrittura imitativa a organico ridotto e scrittura omoritmica e antifonale a organico pieno. Anerio, invece, nelle sue messe polacche (la *Constantia* a tre cori e la *Pulchra es* a due) realizza contrasti meno pronunciati, nonostante l'epoca più tarda; l'animazione contrappuntistica pervade la scrittura, ed è chiaro il riferimento agli indirizzi stilistici inaugurati da Palestrina.