

Giovanni Pierluigi da
PALESTRINA

Missae Papae Marcelli

für sechs Singstimmen / for six voices
(SATTBB)

herausgegeben von / edited by
Francesco Saggio

Urtext

Partitur / Full score



Carus 27.906

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Vorwort

Die *Missa Papae Marcelli* ist bis heute die bekannteste Komposition von Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/6–1594), was mit der Legende zusammenhängt, die sie seit dem 17. Jahrhundert umgibt: Man misst dieser Messe eine besondere Rolle bei der ‚Rettung‘ der polyphonen Musik innerhalb der katholischen Liturgie zu, nachdem das Konzil von Trient eine Reformbewegung angestoßen hatte.¹ Auch wenn in einigen Studien der Versuch unternommen wurde, die Messe rein analytisch und losgelöst von der tradierten Geschichtsschreibung zu betrachten,² wird sie noch immer vorrangig in Verbindung mit den Konzilsereignissen rezipiert, die als Ursache für ihre Entstehung gelten. Die Neubetrachtung der historischen Fakten liefert allerdings gute Gründe, das Werk anders einzuordnen, es in direkteren Zusammenhang mit persönlichen Entwicklungen des Komponisten zu stellen und es so von den hineingedeuteten gegenreformatorischen Konzilsabsichten zu lösen.

Über die Beleuchtung dieses historischen Aspekts hinaus ist es Ziel der Neuausgabe, den musikalischen Text in seiner ältesten Gestalt wiederzugeben. Die Edition basiert auf den Handschriften und Ausgaben des 16. Jahrhunderts,³ die dieses Musikwerk des „Princeps musicæ“ authentisch wiedergeben.

Palestrina und die *Missa Papae Marcelli*

Wie in vielen anderen Fällen, ist das Kompositionsdatum der Messe nicht bekannt. Ihre Niederschrift kann nur auf den langen Zeitraum zwischen 1555 und 1567 eingegrenzt werden. 1555 ist das Jahr des kurzen Pontifikats von Papst Marcellus II., mit bürgerlichem Namen Marcello Cervini. Am 9. April auf den Papstthron gewählt, blieb er für nur 23 Tage im Amt, bis zu seinem Tod in der Nacht vom 30. April auf den 1. Mai.⁴ Das Jahr 1567 wiederum ist das Jahr der Druckausgabe des *Missarum liber secundus*, der zweiten Messensammlung Palestrinas, die durch die *Missa Papae Marcelli* abgeschlossen wird. Diese Sammlung trägt die Widmung „Philippo Austriaco regi catholico et invicto“, ist also dem spanischen König Philipp II. gewidmet und enthält noch sechs weitere Messen (vier vierstimmige und zwei fünfstimmige).⁵

¹ Einen Überblick über Aussagen zu diesem Aspekt vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert liefert die folgende Ausgabe: Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass. An Authoritative Score. Backgrounds and Sources, History and Analysis, Views and Comments*, Hg. Lewis Lockwood, New York 1975, S. 28–36. Zwei Angelpunkte, die diese Legende bestätigt haben, sind Giuseppe Bainis *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e della opera di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 Bde., Rom 1828, sowie – im Theaterbereich – Hans Pfitzners *Oper Palestrina* (1915).

² Knud Jeppesen, „Problems of the Pope Marcellus Mass: Some Remarks on the Missa Papae Marcelli by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina“, in: *Palestrina, Pope Marcellus Mass. An Authoritative Score*, Hg. Lockwood (siehe Anm. 1), S. 99–130, hier: S. 99–117; Irving Godt, „A New Look at Palestrina’s Missa Papae Marcelli“, *College Music Symposium*, Bd. 23, Nr. 1 (1983), S. 22–49; Julian Grimshaw, „Compositional Phenomena in the Missa Papae Marcelli“, *Recercare* 24, Nr. 1/2 (2012), S. 5–33.

³ Für alle Informationen zu den Quellen und zur kritischen Revision sei auf den *Critical Report* verwiesen.

⁴ Zu Marcello Cervini siehe Giampiero Brunelli, Artikel „Marcello II, papa“, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Bd. 69 (2007), <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-marcello-ii_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [zuletzt aufgerufen 03/2024].

⁵ Vgl. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Missarum liber secundus*, 2 Bde., Hg. Francesco Luisi, Comitato per l’edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Rom 2011.

Einige weitere Informationen lassen sich dem Manuskript 22 der Cappella Sistina entnehmen, in das die Messe übertragen wurde, wenn auch ohne Titel. Es handelt sich um einen beachtlichen Band im Folioformat, der sechs Messen umfasst, von denen drei – alle sechsstimmig – von Palestrina stammen. Im „Q“ des „Qui sedes“ aus dem *Credo* der *Missa Benedicta es* (Blatt 58v), die der *Missa Papae Marcelli* vorausgeht, ist die Jahreszahl 1565 notiert: Sie könnte sich auf das Jahr beziehen, in dem die Abschrift jener Messe oder auch aller drei Palestrina-Messen erfolgte. Die Hypothese lässt sich nicht verifizieren, auch weil in dem Band noch eine andere Jahreszahl auftaucht, nämlich 1568 (Blatt 37v), notiert in einer Messe von Melchor Robledo, die den Messen Palestrinas vorausgeht. Der Umstand, dass zwei Angaben die *Missa Papae Marcelli* in die zweite Hälfte der 1560er Jahre datieren, lässt jedoch vermuten, dass sie nicht lange vorher komponiert wurde, und somit einige Zeit nach dem Tod von Papst Marcellus II.

In diesem breiten Zeitfenster hat das Leben des Komponisten aus Palestrina nicht wenige Veränderungen durchlaufen.⁶ Im April 1555 war er seit gerade vier Monaten Mitglied in einer der berühmtesten (und mächtigsten) musikalischen Organisationen Europas, der so genannten „Cappella di Nostro Signore“ (Kapelle unseres Herrn), also jener Vereinigung päpstlicher Sänger, die man heute üblicherweise „Cappella Sistina“ nennt. Er verdankte seine Aufnahme der Förderung durch Papst Julius III., der ihn ohne Prüfung und trotz seines Ehestandes zugelassen hatte. Das Glück währte jedoch nur kurze Zeit, und schon im Juli desselben Jahres schloss ihn der rigide Paul IV. eben wegen seines Zivilstandes wieder aus, wobei er ihm immerhin eine Rente auf Lebenszeit gewährte. Schon kurz darauf erhielt Palestrina eine neue Anstellung: Am 1. Oktober wurde er zum Kapellmeister an der Lateransbasilika S. Giovanni ernannt, eine Stellung, die er bis zum August 1560 bekleidete. Am 1. März 1561 übernahm er das Amt des Kapellmeisters an S. Maria Maggiore, wo er mindestens bis zum Januar 1565 blieb. Als das zweite Buch seiner Messen gedruckt wurde, war Palestrina bereits Kapellmeister des Seminario Romano geworden (spätestens im April 1566), eine Position, zu der 1567 einige kurzfristige Tätigkeiten hinzukamen: So leitete er beispielsweise die Privatkapelle von Ippolito II. d’Este und diente als zusätzlicher Kantor an der Lateransbasilika während der Heiligen Woche.

Zu den Aufgaben, die auf den Ausschluss aus der Cappella Sistina folgten, zählte auch der Auftrag, für eben diese Cappella neue Kompositionen zu liefern. Ein Dokument vom 6. Juni 1565 verzeichnet die Zahlung einer über die von Palestrina bereits erhaltene Rente hinausgehenden Summe für einige „schon geschriebene und noch zu schreibende“ („fatte e da farsi“) Kompositionen.⁷ Sehr wahrscheinlich zählt

⁶ Zur Biografie des Komponisten siehe Marco Della Sciucca, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Palermo 2009 sowie Rodobaldo Tibaldi, Art. „Pierluigi da Palestrina, Giovanni, detto anche ‘il Palestrina’“, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Bd. 83 (2015), <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pierluigi-da-palestrina-giovanni-detto-anche-il-palestrina_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [zuletzt aufgerufen 03/2024].

⁷ Alberto Cametti, *Palestrina*, Mailand 1925, S. 106.

die *Missa Papae Marcelli* zu diesen Werken. Das Zusammenfallen mit der Jahreszahl im Manuskript 22 könnte die Annahme stützen, dass die Messe in diesem Jahr komponiert wurde, möglicherweise zu einer Gedenkfeier zehn Jahre nach dem Tod des Papstes.

Die Legende, die der Messe anhaftet, geht auf das Jahr 1607 zurück, als der Musiker und Theoretiker Agostino Agazzari in einem Traktat über den Generalbass⁸ die Komposition der *Missa Papae Marcelli* in direkten Zusammenhang zum Problem der Textverständlichkeit in polyphoner Musik setzte. Auch wenn dieser Kausalzusammenhang später noch deutlicher von Banchieri⁹ und Ludovico Cresolli¹⁰ vertreten wurde, fehlt ihm jedes historische Fundament, das über das rein zeitliche Zusammenfallen der Komposition mit den Ereignissen rund um das Konzil von Trient hinausginge.

Palestrina und das Konzil von Trient

Die *Missa Papae Marcelli* wird üblicherweise mit den Auffassungen in Verbindung gebracht, die das Konzil von Trient zu einer Reform der liturgischen und überhaupt geistlichen Musik vertrat. Die Quellen sind ausführlich untersucht worden,¹¹ und es steht inzwischen fest, dass die direkten Auswirkungen des Konzils auf die Musik ziemlich begrenzt und auf bestimmte Situationen beschränkt blieben. Tatsächlich ist keine endgültige Entscheidung über Charakteristika der Kirchenmusik verkündet worden. Dies wurde den Diözesansynoden übertragen, die jedoch nicht übereinstimmend handelten.¹² Nur einzelne herausragende Persönlichkeiten, wie der Bologneser Erzbischof Gabriele Paleotti und der Mailänder Erzbischof Carlo Borromeo,¹³ vertraten eine unnachgiebige Haltung. Aber nichts davon steht direkt mit Palestrina in Verbindung.

Auch in den Einleitungen zu seinen Druckwerken nimmt der Komponist nie auf dieses Thema Bezug. In der Widmung des *Missarum liber secundus* gibt es nur einen schlichten Hinweis „auf eine neue Art, Melodien zu komponieren“,¹⁴ der eher rhetorisch wirkt und sich schwerlich als eine klare ästhetische Absicht interpretieren lässt, die vom Konzil vorgegeben wurde. Es ist zwar zu vermuten, dass Palestrina sich die postkonziliare Stimmung zu eigen mache und seine Schreibweise eine neue Art widerspiegelt, das Verhältnis von Text und Musik in der Liturgie zu gestalten, aber es gibt keinen konkreten Hinweis darauf, dass die *Missa Papae Marcelli* zu eben diesem Zweck entstanden ist.

Die Bekundungen von Agazzari und Banchieri zur rettenden Funktion dieser Messe müssen im kulturellen Kontext des beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts verstanden werden, der sich von den Sechziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts unterschied. Einigen Wissenschaftlern zufolge ist der Ursprung der Legende um Palestrina und seine *Missa Papae Marcelli* in Beziehung zu setzen zum Umfeld der Jesuiten und deren Versuch, die Römische Kirche zum Modell der katholischen Christenheit zu erheben.¹⁵ Wer hätte im musikalischen Bereich besser als Palestrina, Komponist der päpstlichen Kapelle und durch und durch Römer, diese Vorbildrolle vertreten können? Die Hypothese wird nicht nur durch die Beziehungen von Agazzari zu den Jesuiten gestützt,¹⁶ sondern auch durch die Bekundungen Cresolis und andere äußere Faktoren.¹⁷ Es ist also nicht auszuschließen, dass Agazzari nur deshalb auf die *Missa Papae Marcelli* zurückgriff, weil sie an die Vorstellung eines ‚Reform‘-Papstes anknüpfte oder (vielleicht) auch, weil sie musikalische Charakteristika aufwies, die den nachkonziliaren Forderungen nach Textverständlichkeit entsprachen (besonders die homophone Schreibweise in *Gloria* und *Credo*). Und all dies ganz unabhängig von Palestrinas Absicht.

Palestrina und Papst Marcellus II.

Die eigentliche, noch ungelöste Frage ist die Beziehung zwischen dieser polyphonen Messe und Papst Marcellus. Wenn sich Palestrina zwölf Jahre nach dessen Tod (und dem Tod zweier weiterer Päpste, Paul IV. und Pius IV.) dazu entschließt, die Messe unter einem Titel zu veröffentlichen, der in den handgeschriebenen Quellen überhaupt nicht auftaucht, bedeutet dies, dass die Verbindung zwischen Messe und Papst zu wichtig gewesen sein muss, um sie zu übergehen und in Vergessenheit geraten zu lassen. Immerhin verweist kein anderes Werk aus dem großen Katalog Palestrinas im Titel auf eine historische Persönlichkeit, nicht einmal, wenn der Hommage-Charakter offensichtlich ist.¹⁸

⁸ Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonar sopra il basso con tutti li stromenti*, Siena 1607, S. 11. Englische Übersetzung in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus. An Authoritative Score*, Hg. Lockwood (siehe Anm. 1), S. 28–29.

⁹ Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni sul suono dell'organo*, Bologna 1609, S. 18–19. Englische Übersetzung in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus. An Authoritative Score*, Hg. Lockwood (siehe Anm. 1), S. 9, Fußnote.

¹⁰ Ludovici Cresollii *armorici e societate Iesu Mystagogus de sacrorum hominum disciplina*, Paris 1629, S. 627. Englische Übersetzung in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus. An Authoritative Score*, Hg. Lockwood (siehe Anm. 1), S. 30.

¹¹ Siehe insbesondere Bonifacio Giacomo Baroffio, „Il Concilio di Trento e la musica“, in: *Musica e liturgia nella riforma tridentina: Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio 23 settembre–26 novembre 1995*, Hg. Danilo Curti und Marco Gozzi, Provincia autonoma di Trento 1995, S. 9–18; Craig A. Monson, „The Council of Trent Revisited“, JAMS 55 (2002), S. 1–37; Jeffrey Kurtzman, „The Effect on Italian Liturgical Music of the Council of Trent (1562), the Breviarium Romanum (1568), and the Caeremoniale Episcoporum (1600)“, in: *Studies in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred Music*, Farnham Surrey 2014, S. 1–50; Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music. Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*, Berlin und Boston 2017, Kapitel 8 und 9.

¹² Monson, „The Council of Trent Revisited“ (siehe Anm. 11), S. 18.

¹³ Bertoglio, *Reforming Music* (siehe Anm. 11), S. 402–405; Monson, „The Council of Trent Revisited“ (siehe Anm. 11), S. 22–24. Borromeo nahm, zusammen mit dem Kardinal Vitellozzo Vitelli, an der Anhörung vom 28. April 1565 teil, in der einige Messen gesungen wurden, um zu überprüfen, „ob man die Worte verstehen könne“. Obwohl dieses Datum mit der Jahreszahl im Manuskript der Cappella Sistina übereinstimmt, gibt es keinerlei Beweis dafür, dass die *Missa Papae Marcelli* in diesem Zusammenhang aufgeführt wurde. Vgl. Oscar Mischiati, „«Ut verba intelligerentur»: circostanze e connessioni a proposito della *Missa Papae Marcelli*“, in: *Atti del convegno di studi palestriniani 28 settembre–2 ottobre 1975*, Hg. Francesco Luisi, Palestrina 1977, S. 415–426, hier: S. 424–426.

¹⁴ Englische Übersetzung in: Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus. An Authoritative Score*, Hg. Lockwood (siehe Anm. 1), S. 22–23.

¹⁵ Zuerst Pierre Gaillard, „Histoire de la légende palestrinienne“, in: *Revue de Musicologie* 57, Nr. 1 (1971), S. 11–22, kürzlich Christian Thomas Leitmeir, „Catholic Music in the Diocese of Augsburg c. 1600: A Reconstructed Tricinium Anthology and Its Confessional Implications“, in: *Early Music History* 21 (2002), S. 117–173, hier S. 130–132.

¹⁶ Gaillard, „Histoire de la légende palestrinienne“ (siehe Anm. 15), S. 12.

¹⁷ Leitmeir, „Catholic Music“ (siehe Anm. 15), S. 130–132.

¹⁸ Wie im Falle der *Missa Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, die das *Liber primus missarum* (1554) eröffnet und – wie überhaupt die ganze Sammlung – Papst Julius III. gewidmet ist.

Dass Marcellus II. an liturgischer Musik interessiert war, ist letztlich nur durch ein singuläres, aber oft in Erinnerung gerufenes Ereignis belegt, das sich während der einzigen Heiligen Woche zutrug, die er als Papst selbst leitete.¹⁹ Am 12. April 1555, während der Karfreitagszeremonien, störte er sich daran, dass die Sänger die heiligen Texte ohne die nötige Ehrfurcht vortrugen, sie gar wie freudevolle Gesänge darboten, einem Karfreitag in keiner Weise angemessen. Der Papst ließ die Sänger zu sich rufen und ermahnte sie, sich in den Passionstagen eines Gesangsstils zu befleißigen, der dem Trauercharakter besser entspräche, und ihre Gesänge in einer Weise auszuführen, „dass man das, was sie zum Ausdruck bringen, auch hören und wahrnehmen könne“.²⁰ Wir wissen nicht, ob Palestrina unter den Sängern war, die der Papst zusammenrief – es ist immerhin wahrscheinlich, da er ja zu diesem Zeitpunkt offizielles Mitglied der Kapelle war –, aber zweifellos wurden die vom Papst gegebenen Weisungen an sämtliche Musiker der Cappella Sistina weitergegeben.

Die Beziehung von Papst Marcellus zur Musik taucht erneut in einem Brief Bernardino Cirillos von ca. 1574 auf.²¹ Cirillo war bereits Autor eines berühmten Schreibens über den Missbrauch der Kirchenmusik, dessen Themen das Interesse des Papstes geweckt haben dürften.²² Doch so wahrscheinlich es auch ist, dass Marcellus II. sich mit Fragen der liturgischen Musik beschäftigte, gibt es keine konkreten Hinweise für die Annahme, dass die Komposition (oder gar Aufführung) unserer Messe in sein kurzes Pontifikat fiel.²³ Der Titel *Missa Papae Marcelli* verwendet den Genitiv, um eine Zugehörigkeit zum Ausdruck zu bringen: Messe des Papstes Marcellus. Dieser Ausdruck wird nicht als „Messe für Papst Marcellus“, sondern als „Messe zum Gedenken an Papst Marcellus“ verstanden werden müssen. Eine solche Leseweise würde sowohl die Komposition des Werks deutlich nach dem Pontifikat Cervinis erklären als auch die kontrapunktische Schreibweise zu einer Zeit, als die Auswirkungen des Konzils die Hinwendung zu einer bewussteren liturgischen Musik einschlossen, wie gerade Marcellus II. sie vertreten hatte.

Alle betrachteten Aspekte führen zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass Palestrina diese Messe in den Sechziger Jahren geschrieben haben dürfte, im Gedenken an Papst Marcellus. Der musikalische Stil, dessen Palestrina sich bedient, spiegelt Auffassungen wider, die in den Jahren nach dem Konzil allmählich Verbreitung fanden, aber ohne die ausdrückliche Absicht, strengsten Forderungen zu entsprechen. In diesem historisch-kulturellen Kontext, in dem die Jesuiten eine Hauptrolle spielten, entstand die Legende von Palestrina als dem Retter der liturgischen Polyphonie, und kein Werk konnte diese Erzählung besser stützen als die *Missa Papae Marcelli* selbst.

19 Mischiati, „«Ut verba intelligerentur»“ (siehe Anm. 13), S. 420–423.

20 Das Ereignis ist im Tagebuch des Sekretärs Angelo Massarelli festgehalten und wurde kürzlich in Dokumenten des Konzils von Trient veröffentlicht, vgl. Bertoglio, *Reforming Music* (siehe Anm. 11), S. 396–397.

21 Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass. An Authoritative score*, Hg. Lockwood (siehe Anm. 1), S. 26–27.

22 Chiara Bertoglio, „Cats, Bulls and Donkeys: Bernardino Cirillo on 16th-Century Church Music“, *Early Music* 45, Nr. 4 (2017), S. 559–572.

23 Wie in einigen historischen Lebensbeschreibungen behauptet, vgl. Cametti, *Palestrina* (siehe Anm. 7), S. 97.

Was uns letztlich bleibt, ist ein musikalisches Meisterwerk, das sehr zu Recht noch aufgeführt und gewürdigt zu werden verdient, besonders im Lichte der kritischen Revision, die diese neue Edition leistet.

Cremona, Dezember 2023
Übersetzung: Ute Brüdermann

Francesco Saggio

Foreword

The *Missa Papae Marcelli* remains the best-known composition of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/6–1594), due to the mythical aura that has surrounded this mass since the seventeenth century. Its legendary status is linked to its alleged role in defending the continuing existence of polyphonic music within the Catholic liturgy, in the aftermath of the reforms proposed by the Council of Trent.¹ Although some studies have attempted to approach the mass from an analytical perspective, independent of its historiographical tradition,² it is known above all in relation to the conciliar events that are held to be the reason for its composition. Reviewing the historical facts provides substance for a different contextualization of this work, situating it more closely within the personal story of its composer and freeing it from its supposed counter-reformist conciliar intentions.

In addition to re-examining the historical question, this new edition aims to return the musical text to its oldest *facies*, based on manuscripts and sixteenth-century editions,³ thus providing an authentic restoration of this work by the “Princeps musicae”.

Palestrina and the *Missa Papae Marcelli*

As so often, the composition date of the mass is unknown. It must have been drafted within a broad time range between 1555 and 1567. 1555 was the year of the short pontificate of Pope Marcellus II, born Marcello Cervini. Elected to the papal throne on 9 April, he remained in post for only 23 days until his death during the night between 30 April and 1 May.⁴ 1567 is the year of the print publication of the *Missarum liber secundus*, the second collection of masses by Palestrina, which concludes with the *Missa Papae Marcelli*. This collection is dedicated to “Philippo Austriaco regi catholico et invicto”, Philip II King of Spain, and contains, in addition to our mass, six other masses (four with four voices and two with five).⁵

Further information comes from manuscript 22 of the Sistine Chapel, in which the mass is copied, although without a

title. It is a large in-folio volume that contains six masses, three of which are by Palestrina, all for six voices. In the “Q” of the *Qui sedes* of the *Credo* of the *Missa Benedicta es* (f. 58v), which precedes the *Papae Marcelli*, is written the date 1565: it may allude to the year in which that mass was copied, or indeed all three Palestrina masses. This theory cannot be verified, partly because there is another date in the codex, 1568 (f. 37v), in the mass by Melchor Robledo that precedes all the masses by Palestrina. However, the fact that two witnesses placed *Papae Marcelli* in the second half of the 1560s leads us to believe that the mass was composed not long before, and thus well after the death of Pope Marcellus II.

Within this time frame, Palestrina’s life underwent substantial change.⁶ In April 1555 Palestrina had been a member of one of the most illustrious (and powerful) musical ensembles in Europe for four months: the *Cappella di Nostro Signore*, as it was called at the time, i.e. the group of papal choristers, today known as the “Sistine Chapel” choir. He was accepted due to the support of Pope Julius III, who admitted him to the Chapel without an audition and even though he was married. This good fortune lasted only a short time, since in July of the same year the more rigid Paul IV expelled him because of his married status, though gave him a pension. Palestrina moved into a new position, however, shortly afterwards: on 1 October he was appointed chapel master of St John Lateran, a post he held until August 1560. On 1 March 1561 he took up the post of chapel master in Santa Maria Maggiore, where he remained at least until January 1565. By the time the second book of masses was printed, Palestrina had become chapel master of the Roman Seminary (at least since April 1566), a job to which various temporary positions were added in 1567, such as that of director of the private chapel of Ippolito II d’Este, or as an extra chorister at St John Lateran during Holy Week.

After his dismissal from the Sistine Chapel, he was also then hired to provide new compositions for that Chapel. A contract dated 6 June 1565 specifies the payment of an additional sum over and above the pension that Palestrina already received for compositions “made and to be made”:⁷ most likely the *Missa Papae Marcelli* was among these. The coincidence with the date in ms. 22 would support the theory that the mass was composed in that year, perhaps for an *in memoriam* celebration for the pontiff on the tenth anniversary of his death.

The origin of the myth surrounding the mass dates back to 1607, when the musician and theorist Agostino Agazzari,

¹ An overview of the testimonies related to this aspect from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century is collected in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass: An Authoritative Score. Backgrounds and Sources, History and Analysis, Views and Comments*, ed. Lewis Lockwood, New York, 1975, pp 28–36. Two works that have consolidated this myth are Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e della opera di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols. Rome, 1828 and, on the theatrical side, Hans Pfitzner’s opera, *Palestrina* (1915).

² Knud Jeppesen, “Problems of the Pope Marcellus Mass: Some Remarks on the *Missa Papae Marcelli* by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina”, in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass: An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (as in note 1), pp. 99–130, here: 99–117; Irving Godt, “A New Look at Palestrina’s *Missa Papae Marcelli*”, *College Music Symposium*, no. 23/1 (1983), pp. 22–49; Julian Grimshaw, “Compositional Phenomena in the *Missa Papae Marcelli*”, *Recercare* 24/1–2 (2012), pp. 5–33.

³ For all information on sources and the critical review, please refer to the *Critical Report*.

⁴ On Marcello Cervini see Giampiero Brunelli, s.v. “Marcello II, papa”, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 69 (2007), <https://www.trecani.it/encyclopedie/papa-marcello-ii_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [as consulted 03/2024] (in Italian).

⁵ See Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Missarum liber secundus*, 2 vols., ed. Francesco Luisi, Comitato per l’edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Rome, 2011.

⁶ On the author’s biography see Marco Della Sciucca, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Palermo, 2009 and Rodobaldo Tibaldi, s.v. “Pierluigi da Palestrina, Giovanni, detto anche ‘il Palestrina’”, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 83 (2015), <https://www.trecani.it/encyclopedie/pierluigi-da-palestrina-giovanni-detto-anche-il-palestrina_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [as consulted 03/2024] (in Italian).

⁷ Alberto Cametti, *Palestrina*, Milan, 1925, p. 106.

in his treatise on the basso continuo,⁸ directly relates the composition of the *Papae Marcelli* to the issue of the intelligibility of the text in polyphonic works. Although it was then taken up even more decisively by Adriano Banchieri⁹ and Ludovico Cresolli,¹⁰ this cause-and-effect relationship has, however, no historical foundation, except for the temporal coincidence between its composition and the events relating to the Council of Trent.

Palestrina and the Council of Trent

The *Missa Papae Marcelli* is commonly linked to the positions expressed by the Council of Trent regarding the reform of liturgical and sacred music in general. The documents have been studied extensively,¹¹ and it is now clear that the direct effects of the Council on music were quite limited and restricted to specific situations. In fact, no definitive decision was proclaimed on the attributes of sacred music: this was left to the diocesan synods, which did not act uniformly.¹² Only a few prominent figures, such as the Archbishop of Bologna Gabriele Paleotti or the Archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo,¹³ maintained an intransigent attitude. But nothing directly connected to Palestrina.

Even in the prefaces to his editions, the composer never refers to this subject. In the dedication of the *Missarum liber secundus*, there is a simple reference to "a new way of composing melodies",¹⁴ which has a clear rhetorical feel, difficult to interpret as a precise aesthetic determination dictated by the Council's requests. It is likely that Palestrina assimilated the post-conciliar climate and that his writing was affected by a new way of conceiving the relationship between text and music in the liturgy, but there is no concrete evidence that the *Missa Papa Marcelli* was created with this purpose.

⁸ Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra 'l basso con tutti li stromenti*, Siena, 1607, p. 11. Eng. trans. in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus: An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (as in note 1), pp. 28–29.

⁹ Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, Bologna, 1609, pp. 18–19. Eng. trans. in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus: An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (as in note 1), p. 9, footnote.

¹⁰ Ludovici Cresollii armorici e societate Iesu *Mystagogus de sacrorum hominum disciplina*, Paris, 1629, p. 627. Eng. trans. in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus: An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (as in note 1), p. 30.

¹¹ See in particular Bonifacio Giacomo Baroffio, "Il Concilio di Trento e la musica", in *Musica e liturgia nella riforma tridentina: Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio 23 September–26 November 1995*, eds. Danilo Curti and Marco Gozzi, Provincia autonoma di Trento, 1995, pp. 9–18; Craig A. Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, no. 55 (2002): pp. 1–37; Jeffrey Kurtzman, "The Effect on Italian Liturgical Music of the Council of Trent (1562), the *Breviarium Romanum* (1568), and the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (1600)", *Studies in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred Music* Farnham, Surrey, 2014, pp. 1–50; Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music. Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*, Berlin and Boston, 2017, chaps. 8 and 9.

¹² Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited" (as in note 11), p. 18.

¹³ Bertoglio, *Reforming Music* (as in note 11), pp. 402–405; Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited" (as in note 11), pp. 22–24. Borromeo, together with Cardinal Vitelozzo Vitelli, participated in the inquiry of 28 April 1565, in which some masses were sung to verify "if the words could be understood". Despite the coincidence with the date on the Sistine Chapel manuscript, there is no evidence that the *Missa Papae Marcelli* was performed in that context. Cf. Oscar Mischiati, "Ut verba intelligerentur": circostanze e connessioni a proposito della *Missa Papae Marcelli*", in: *Atti del convegno di studi palestriniani 28 settembre–2 ottobre 1975*, ed. Francesco Luisi, Palestrina, 1977, pp. 415–426, here: 424–426.

¹⁴ Eng. trans. in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus: An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (as in note 1), p. 22–23.

The statements by Agazzari and Banchieri on the salvific role of the mass must be read in the cultural context of the early seventeenth century, which was very different from that of the 1560s. According to some scholars, the origin of the myth of Palestrina and the *Missa Papae Marcelli* relates to the environment of the Jesuits and the attempt to impose the Church of Rome as a model of Catholic Christianity.¹⁵ In terms of music, who better than Palestrina, a composer of the pontifical chapel and a Roman through and through, to embody this exemplary role? The theory is corroborated both by Agazzari's relationship with the Jesuits,¹⁶ and by Cresolli's testimony, as well as by other external factors.¹⁷ It cannot therefore be excluded that Agazzari re-evoked the *Missa Papae Marcelli* purely because it was linked to the image of a "reformer" pope or (perhaps) because it had musical attributes akin to the post-conciliar requests for textual intelligibility (notably the homophony writing of the *Gloria* and the *Credo*). All this regardless of Palestrina's own wishes.

Palestrina and Pope Marcellus II

The real question that remains unresolved is the relationship between this polyphonic mass and Pope Marcellus. If, twelve years after his death (and that of two further popes, Paul IV and Pius IV), Palestrina decides to publish it with an explicit title that is nowhere to be found in the manuscript sources, it means that the relationship between the mass and the pope had to be so close that it could neither be ignored nor forgotten. In fact, no other composition in Palestrina's vast catalogue bears the name of a historical figure in the title, even when it is evidently in the nature of an homage.¹⁸

Marcellus II's interest in liturgical music is in fact demonstrated by a single event, that has also been recalled many times, which occurred during the only Holy Week he presided over as pontiff.¹⁹ On 12 April 1555, during the Good Friday rites, he noticed that the singers not only recited the sacred texts without reverence, but that they sang as if the songs were joyful, completely inappropriate for that liturgical day. The pope summoned the singers and told them that in the days of the Passion they should adopt a style of singing more suited to the mournful nature of that period and that they should perform the songs in such a way "that what they said could be heard and understood".²⁰ We do not know if Palestrina was among the singers summoned by the pope – it is likely since he was a current member of the Chapel – but it is certain that the wishes expressed by the pope must have been disseminated among all the Sistine Chapel musicians.

¹⁵ First, Pierre Gaillard, "Histoire de la légende palestrinienne", *Revue de Musicologie* 57/1 (1971), pp. 11–22 and, more recently, Christian Thomas Leitmeir, "Catholic Music in the Diocese of Augsburg c.1600: A Reconstructed Tricinium Anthology and Its Confessional Implications", *Early Music History* 21 (2002), pp. 117–173, here: 130–132.

¹⁶ Gaillard, "Histoire de la légende palestrinienne" (as in note 15), p. 12.

¹⁷ Leitmeir, "Catholic Music" (as in note 15), pp. 130–132.

¹⁸ As in the case of the *Missa Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, which opens the *Liber primus missarum* (1554), and is dedicated (as is the entire collection) to Pope Julius III.

¹⁹ Mischiati, "Ut verba intelligerentur" (as in note 13), pp. 420–423.

²⁰ The event is recorded in the diary of the secretary Angelo Massarelli and was published later in the Acts of the Tridentine Council. Cf. Bertoglio, *Reforming Music* (as in note 11), pp. 396–397.

The relationship between Pope Marcellus and music is also mentioned in a letter dating back to c. 1574 by Bernardino Cirillo,²¹ author of another, earlier, famous missive on the abuse of sacred music, whose themes would have aroused interest in the pope.²² It is therefore likely that Marcellus II had the issues of liturgical music at heart, but there is certainly no specific evidence to suggest that our mass was composed (or even performed) during his brief papacy.²³

The title *Missa Papae Marcelli* uses the genitive case to express belonging: Pope Marcellus's Mass. However, instead of "Mass for Pope Marcellus", the wording should be interpreted as "Mass in memory of Pope Marcellus". This reading would also explain its composition after Cervini's papacy and a contrapuntal texture congruent with the times, when the outcome of the Council had now taken over the drive towards a more conscious liturgical music, which Marcellus II himself had advocated.

All the elements examined here lead to the conclusion that Palestrina wrote this mass around the 1560s to commemorate Pope Marcellus years after his death. The musical style he uses is affected by the post-conciliar climate that was spreading in those years, but without an explicit intention to comply with its strictest demands. In this historical-cultural context, in which the Jesuits played a leading role, the myth of Palestrina, savior of liturgical polyphony, grew, and his *Missa Papae Marcelli* seemed the most suitable composition to consolidate this reconstruction.

Ultimately, what remains is a musical masterpiece, which rightly deserves to be performed and appreciated, especially in light of the critical insights offered by this new edition.

Cremona, December 2023
Translation: Laura Massey

Francesco Saggio

²¹ Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass: An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (as in note 1), pp. 26–27.

²² Chiara Bertoglio, "Cats, bulls and donkeys: Bernardino Cirillo on 16th-century church music", *Early Music* 45/4 (2017), pp. 559–572.

²³ As argued in some historical biographies, cf. Cametti, *Palestrina* (as in note 7), p. 97.

Prefazione

Ai miei genitori

La *Missa Papae Marcelli* è tutt'oggi la composizione più nota di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/6-1594), per via dell'aura mitica, che a partire dal Seicento, circonda questa messa. Tale fama è legata alla presunta funzione che essa avrebbe avuto nel difendere la sopravvivenza della musica polifonica all'interno della liturgia cattolica, all'indomani delle riforme promosse dal Concilio di Trento.¹ Nonostante alcuni studi abbiano provato ad affrontare la messa in un'ottica analitica indipendente dalla tradizione storiografica,² essa è ancora conosciuta soprattutto in relazione alle vicende conciliari che ne sarebbero le ragioni della sua realizzazione. Il riesame dei fatti storici offre argomenti per una diversa contestualizzazione di quest'opera, collocandola più strettamente nelle vicende personali del suo compositore e svincolandola dalle presunte intenzioni conciliari controriformiste.

Questa nuova edizione, oltre che riesaminare la questione storica, si propone anzitutto di riportare il testo musicale alla sua *facies* più antica, basandosi sui manoscritti e sulle edizioni cinquecenteschi,³ che restituiscono in modo autentico quest'opera musicale del "Princeps musicae".

Palestrina e la *Missa Papae Marcelli*

La data di composizione della messa è, come spesso accade, ignota. La sua stesura deve essere collocata entro un ambito temporale ampio, che va dal 1555 al 1567. Il 1555 è l'anno del breve pontificato di papa Marcello II, al secolo Marcello Cervini. Eletto al soglio pontificio il 9 aprile, vi rimase solo 23 giorni, fino alla morte avvenuta tra la notte del 30 aprile e il 1° di maggio.⁴ Il 1567 è l'anno di pubblicazione a stampa del *Missarum liber secundus*, la seconda raccolta di messe di Palestrina, che si chiude proprio con la *Missa Papae Marcelli*. Questa raccolta è dedicata a «*Philippo Austriaco regi catholico et invicto*», ovvero Filippo II re di Spagna e contiene, oltre alla nostra, altre sei messe (quattro a quattro voci e due a cinque).⁵

Qualche ulteriore informazione proviene dal manoscritto 22 della Cappella Sistina, in cui la messa è copiata, sebbene sprovvista di ogni titolo. Si tratta di un cospicuo volume in-folio che raccoglie sei messe, di cui tre di Palestrina tutte a sei voci. Nella "Q" del *Qui sedes del Credo* della *Missa Benedicta es* (f. 58v), che precede la *Papae Marcelli*, è vergata la data 1565: potrebbe forse alludere all'anno a cui risale la copiatura di quella messa oppure di tutte e tre le messe palestriniane. L'ipotesi non è verificabile, anche perché nel codice è presente un'altra data, 1568 (f. 37v), inserita nella messa di Melchor Robledo che precede tutte le messe del Pierluigi. La circostanza che però due testimoni collochino la *Papae Marcelli* nella seconda metà degli anni Sessanta, induce a credere che la messa non sia stata composta molto tempo prima, e dunque ben dopo la morte di papa Marcello II.

All'interno di questa finestra temporale, la vita del compositore prenestino ha subito non pochi cambiamenti.⁶ Nell'aprile 1555 Palestrina era da quattro mesi membro di una delle più illustri (e potenti) compagnie musicali d'Europa: la Cappella di Nostro Signore, come si chiamava all'epoca, ovverosia la compagnia dei cantori pontifici, oggi comunemente chiamata Cappella Sistina, grazie al sostegno di papa Giulio III, che lo aveva ammesso alla Cappella senza esame e benché sposato. La fortuna durò per breve tempo, poiché già nel luglio dello stesso anno, il rigoroso Paolo IV lo espulse proprio in ragione del suo stato civile, pur garantendogli un vitalizio perenne. Il nuovo incarico arrivò comunque di lì a poco: il 1° ottobre Palestrina venne nominato maestro di cappella di S. Giovanni in Laterano, posto che manterrà fino all'agosto del 1560. Il 1° marzo 1561 assunse l'incarico di maestro di cappella in S. Maria Maggiore, dove rimase almeno fino al gennaio 1565. Quando venne stampato il secondo libro di messe, Palestrina era ormai divenuto maestro di cappella del Seminario Romano (almeno dall'aprile 1566), attività cui si aggiunsero nel 1567 alcuni incarichi temporanei, come quello di direttore della cappella privata di Ippolito II d'Este, o come cantore aggiunto in S. Giovanni in Laterano durante la Settimana Santa.

¹ Una panoramica delle testimonianze relative a questo aspetto dal Seicento all'Ottocento è raccolta in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass. An Authoritative Score. Backgrounds and Sources, History and Analysis, Views and Comments*, ed. Lewis Lockwood, New York 1975, pp. 28-36. Due snodi che hanno consolidato questo mito sono Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e della opera di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols., Roma 1828 e, sul versante teatrale, l'opera di Hans Pfitzner, *Palestrina* (1915).

² Knud Jeppesen, "Problems of the Pope Marcellus Mass: Some Remarks on the *Missa Papae Marcelli* by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina", in: Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass. An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (come nota 1), pp. 99-130; 99-117; Irving Godt, "A New Look at Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*", *College Music Symposium*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1983), pp. 22-49; Julian Grimshaw, "Compositional Phenomena in the *Missa Papae Marcelli*", *Recercare* 24, no. 1/2 (2012), pp. 5-33.

³ Per tutte le informazioni sulle fonti e la revisione critica si rimanda al *Critical Report*.

⁴ Su Marcello Cervini si veda Giampiero Brunelli, s.v. "Marcello II, papa", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 69 (2007), <https://www.treccani.it/encyclopedie/papa-marcello-ii_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [ultimo accesso 30 maggio 2024].

⁵ Cfr. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Missarum liber secundus*, 2 vols., ed. Francesco Luisi, Comitato per l'edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Roma 2011.

Tra gli ingaggi seguiti all'espulsione dalla Cappella Sistina, vi era anche quello di fornire nuove composizioni alla medesima Cappella. Un mandato datato del 6 giugno 1565 precisa il pagamento di una somma aggiuntiva rispetto alla pensione che Palestrina già percepiva, per alcune composizioni «fatte e da farsi»:⁷ molto probabilmente la *Missa Papae Marcelli* rientrava tra queste. La coincidenza con la data presente nel ms. 22 supporterebbe l'ipotesi che la messa sia stata composta in quell'anno, forse per una celebrazione *in memoriam* del pontefice, nel decennale della sua morte.

⁶ Sulla biografia dell'autore si veda Marco Della Sciucca, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Palermo 2009 e Rodobaldi Tibaldi, s.v. "Pierluigi da Palestrina, Giovanni, detto anche 'il Palestrina'", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 83 (2015), <https://www.treccani.it/encyclopedie/pierluigi-da-palestrina-giovanni-detto-anche-il-palestrina_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [ultimo accesso 30 maggio 2024].

⁷ Alberto Cametti, *Palestrina*, Milano 1925, p. 106.

L'origine del mito della messa risale al 1607, quando il musicista e teorico Agostino Agazzari, nel suo trattato sul basso continuo,⁸ mette in relazione diretta la composizione della *Papae Marcelli* con il problema dell'intellegibilità del testo nei brani polifonici. Sebbene sia stata poi ripresa ancor più decisamente da Adriano Banchieri⁹ e da Ludovico Cresolli,¹⁰ questa relazione causa-effetto è però priva di qualsiasi fondamento storico, se non per la coincidenza temporale tra la composizione della messa e gli avvenimenti legati al Concilio di Trento.

Palestrina e il Concilio di Trento

La *Missa Papae Marcelli* viene normalmente collegata alle posizioni espresse dal Concilio di Trento relativamente alla riforma della musica liturgica e sacra in generale. I documenti sono stati ampiamente studiati,¹¹ ed è ormai acclarato che gli effetti diretti del concilio sulla musica furono abbastanza limitati e circoscritti a situazioni specifiche. In effetti non venne promulgata nessuna decisione definitiva sulle caratteristiche della musica sacra: ciò venne demandato ai sinodi diocesani, che pure non si mossero in modo uniforme;¹² solo alcune singole figure di spicco, come l'arcivescovo di Bologna Gabriele Paleotti o quello di Milano Carlo Borromeo,¹³ ebbero un atteggiamento intransigente. Ma nulla direttamente collegabile a Palestrina.

Neppure nelle prefazioni alle sue stampe, il compositore fa mai riferimento a questo tema. Nella dedicatoria del *Missarum liber secundus*, vi è un semplice accenno "a una nuova maniera di comporre melodie",¹⁴ che ha un chiaro sapore retorico, difficilmente interpretabile come una precisa volontà estetica dettata da istanze conciliari. È probabile che Palestrina abbia assimilato il clima post-conciliare e che la sua scrittura risenta di un nuovo modo di concepire

⁸ Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonar sopra il basso con tutti li stromenti*, Siena 1607, p. 11. Trad. inglese in: Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus. An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (come nota 1), pp. 28–9.

⁹ Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni sul suono dell'organo*, Bologna 1609, pp. 18–9. Trad. inglese in Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus. An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (come nota 1), p. 9, nota.

¹⁰ Ludovici Cresollii armorici e societate Iesu *Mystagogus de sacrorum hominum disciplina*, Parigi 1629, p. 627. Trad. inglese in: Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus. An Authoritative Score*, ed. Lockwood (come nota 1), p. 30.

¹¹ Si veda in particolare Bonifacio Giacomo Baroffio, "Il Concilio di Trento e la musica", in: *Musica e liturgia nella riforma tridentina: Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio 23 settembre–26 novembre 1995*, eds. Danilo Curti e Marco Gozzi, Provincia autonoma di Trento 1995, pp. 9–18; Craig A. Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited", *JAMS*, no. 55 (2002), pp. 1–37; Jeffrey Kurtzman, "The Effect on Italian Liturgical Music of the Council of Trent (1562), the *Breviarium Romanum* (1568), and the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (1600)", in: *Studies in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred Music*, Farnham Surrey 2014, pp. 1–50; Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music. Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*, Berlin and Boston 2017, Capp. 8 e 9.

¹² Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited" (come nota 11), p. 18.

¹³ Bertoglio, *Reforming Music* (come nota 11), pp. 402–5; Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited" (come nota 11), pp. 22–4. Borromeo, insieme al card. Vitellozzo Vitelli, prese parte all'audizione del 28 aprile 1565, in cui furono cantate alcune messe per verificare "se le parole si comprendessero". Nonostante la coincidenza con la data presente sul manoscritto della Cappella Sistina, non vi sono prove che la messa di Papa Marcello fu eseguita in tale contesto. Cf. Oscar Mischiati, "«Ut verba intelligerentur»: circostanze e connessioni a proposito della *Missa Papae Marcelli*", in: *Atti del convegno di studi palestriniani 28 settembre–2 ottobre 1975*, ed. Francesco Luisi, Palestrina 1977, pp. 415–426: pp. 424–426.

¹⁴ Trad. inglese in: Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus. An Authoritative Score*, Hg. Lockwood (come nota 1), pp. 22–23.

il rapporto tra testo e musica nella liturgia, ma non v'è alcuna prova concreta che la *Missa Papae Marcelli* sia stata concepita con questo scopo.

Le affermazioni di Agazzari e di Banchieri sul ruolo salvifico della messa devono essere lette nel contesto culturale del primo Seicento, ben diverso da quello degli anni Sessanta del Cinquecento. Secondo alcuni studiosi l'origine del mito di Palestrina e della *Missa Papae Marcelli* va messa in relazione con l'ambiente dei Gesuiti e con il tentativo di imporre come modello della cristianità cattolica la chiesa di Roma.¹⁵ Sul versante musicale chi meglio di Palestrina, un compositore della cappella pontificia e romano a tutti gli effetti, avrebbe potuto incarnare questo ruolo esemplare? L'ipotesi è corroborata sia dai rapporti di Agazzari con i gesuiti,¹⁶ sia dalla testimonianza di Cresolli, che da altri fattori esterni.¹⁷ Non si può dunque escludere che Agazzari abbia rievocato la *Missa Papae Marcelli* solamente perché legata all'immagine di un papa 'riformatore' o (forse) perché presentava caratteristiche musicali affini alle istanze di intellegibilità testuale post-conciliari (segnatamente la scrittura omofonica del *Gloria* e del *Credo*). Tutto questo a prescindere dalla volontà di Palestrina.

Palestrina e papa Marcello II

La vera questione che rimane irrisolta è il rapporto tra questa messa polifonica e papa Marcello. Se dodici anni dopo la sua morte (e due papi, Paolo IV e Pio IV) Palestrina decide di pubblicarla esplicitando un titolo che nelle fonti manoscritte è del tutto assente, significa che il rapporto tra la messa e il papa doveva essere a tal punto stringente da non poter essere ignorato o dimenticato. Nessun'altra composizione del vasto catalogo palestriniano reca infatti nel titolo il nome di un personaggio storico, neppure quando il carattere di omaggio è del tutto evidente.¹⁸

Che Marcello II avesse degli interessi in ordine alla musica liturgica è testimoniato in verità da un solo evento, anch'esso più volte richiamato, occorso durante l'unica Settimana Santa da lui presieduta come pontefice.¹⁹ Il 12 aprile 1555, durante i riti del Venerdì Santo, si accorse che i cantori non solo recitavano i testi sacri senza riverenza, ma che cantavano come se fossero canti improntati alla letizia, in modo assolutamente inadeguato per quel giorno liturgico. Il papa fece chiamare i cantori e intimò loro che nei giorni della Passione si adeguassero a uno stile di canto più consono alla natura luttuosa del tempo e che eseguissero i canti in modo «che ciò che proferivano si potesse sentire e percepire».²⁰ Non sappiamo se Palestrina fosse tra i cantori convocati dal papa – è probabile, essendo lui membro effettivo della

¹⁵ Per primo Pierre Gaillard, "Histoire de la légende palestrinienne", *Revue de Musicologie* 57, no. 1 (1971), pp. 11–22 e, più di recente, Christian Thomas Leitmeir, "Catholic Music in the Diocese of Augsburg c.1600: A Reconstructed Tricinium Anthology and Its Confessional Implications", *Early Music History* 21 (2002), pp. 117–73: pp. 130–2.

¹⁶ Gaillard, "Histoire de la légende palestrinienne" (come nota 15), p. 12. Leitmeir, "Catholic Music" (come nota 15), pp. 130–2.

¹⁸ Come nel caso della *Missa Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, che apre il *Liber primus missarum* (1554), ed è dedicata (così come tutta la raccolta) a papa Giulio III.

¹⁹ Mischiati, "«Ut verba intelligerentur»" (come nota 13), pp. 420–423.

²⁰ L'evento è registrato nel diario del segretario Angelo Massarelli ed è stato pubblicato modernamente negli atti del concilio Tridentino. Cfr. Bertoglio, *Reforming Music* (come nota 11), pp. 396–397.

Cappella – ma è certo che le indicazioni espresse dal papa devono essere state condivise tra tutti i musicisti sistini.

Il rapporto tra papa Marcello e la musica ritorna anche di una lettera risalente al c.1574 di Bernardino Cirillo,²¹ già autore di un'altra famosa missiva sugli abusi della musica sacra, i cui temi avrebbero destato interesse nel papa.²² È probabile quindi che Marcello II avesse a cuore i problemi della musica liturgica, ma non vi sono certo elementi concreti per ipotizzare la composizione (o addirittura l'esecuzione) della nostra messa al suo breve pontificato.²³

L'intitolazione, *Missa Papae Marcelli*, utilizza il caso genitivo per esprimere il legame di appartenenza: messa *di* Papa Marcello; ma invece che "messa per papa Marcello", la dicitura dovrà essere interpretata come "messa per la memoria di papa Marcello". Questa lettura spiegherebbe al contempo la composizione più tarda rispetto al pontificato di Cervini e una *texture* contrappuntistica al passo con i tempi, quando gli esiti conciliari avevano ormai fatto proprie quelle spinte verso una musica liturgica più consapevole, che proprio Marcello II aveva propugnato.

Tutti gli elementi vagliati portano alla conclusione che Palestrina abbia scritto questa messa intorno agli anni Sessanta, per commemorare papa Marcello anni dopo la sua morte. Lo stile musicale impiegato risente delle posizioni post-conciliari che in quegli anni andavano diffondendosi, ma senza un intento esplicito di conformarsi alle istanze più rigorose. In questo contesto storico-culturale, dove i gesuiti giocavano un ruolo di primo piano, è cresciuto il mito di Palestrina salvatore della polifonia liturgica, e la sua *Missa Papae Marcelli* è sembrata la composizione più adatta a consolidare questa ricostruzione.

Quello che a noi resta è, in fondo, un capolavoro musicale, che giustamente merita di essere ancora eseguito e apprezzato, soprattutto alla luce della restituzione critica che questa nuova edizione propone.

Cremona, dicembre 2023

Francesco Saggio

²¹ Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass. An Authoritative score*, ed. Lockwood (come nota 1), pp. 26–27.

²² Chiara Bertoglio, "Cats, Bulls and Donkeys: Bernardino Cirillo on 16th-Century Church Music", *Early Music* 45, no. 4 (2017), pp. 559–572.

²³ Come sostenuto in alcune biografie storiche, cf. Cametti, *Palestrina* (come nota 7), p. 97.

Massa Papae Marcelli

1. Kyrie

Sex vocum

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina
1525/26–1594

Cantus

Altus

Tenor I

Tenor II

Bassus I

Bassus II

5

son, Ky - ri - e e - lei

son, Ky - ri - e e - lei

8 Ky - ri - e e - lei

8 Ky - ri - e e - lei

9

son, Ky - ri - e e - lei

son, Ky - ri - e e - lei

8 son, Ky - - ri - e e - - lei

8 - ri - e e - lei

Ky - ri - e e - lei

Ky - - ri -

Ky - - - ri -

Aufführungsdauer/Duration: ca. 25 min.

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Urtext

edited by Francesco Saggio

13

Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son,
Ky - ri - e e -
ri - e e - lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - -
son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son, Ky -
e e - lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e -
ri - e e - lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - -

17

lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - -
son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - -
ri - e e - lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e -
lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e -
lei - - son, Ky - ri - e e -

20

son. Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son.
son. Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son.
son. Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son.
son. Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son.

Christe eleison

25

Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - - -

Chri - - - ste e - lei -

Chri - - - - - - - -

Chri - ste e - lei - son, Chri - ste e - lei -

29

ste e - lei - son, Chri - - -

son, Chri - ste e - lei -

- - - - - - - -

son, Chri - - - - - - - -

Chri - ste e - lei - son,

son, Chri - ste e - lei -

33

son, Chri - - -

Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Chri - - - - - - - -

son, Chri - - - - - - - -

Chri - ste e - lei - son,

son, Chri - - - - - - - -

Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Chri - - - - - - - -

son, Chri - - - - - - - -

Chri - ste e - lei - son,

Chri - - - - - - - -

Kyrie eleison

52

Ky - - ri - e e - lei - - son, ____ Ky -

Ky - - ri - e e - lei - -

Ky - - - ri - e e - lei - -

Ky - - - - -

Ky - - - - -

Ky - - - - -

57

ri - e e - lei - -

son, Ky - - - - -

son, - - - - -

- - - - -

Ky - - - - -

Ky - - - - -

61

son, Ky - - - - -

65

Ky - ri - e e - lei
son,
Ky - ri - e e - lei
son,
son,
Ky - ri - e e - lei
son,
son,
Ky - ri - e e - lei
son,

69

son,
Ky - ri - e e - lei
son,
Ky - ri - e e - lei
son,
lei - son, Ky -
Ky - e e - lei
Ky - le - son,
Ky - c e - lei
son, Ky -
Ky - ri - e e - lei
son,

73

son.
Ky - ri - e e - lei
son.
e e - lei
son.
son,
Ky - ri - e e - lei
son.
ri - e e - lei
son.

2. Gloria

Glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - o.

Cantus

Altus

Tenor I

Tenor II

Bassus I

Bassus II

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

Bo -

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

Bo -

Et ter - a pax ho - mi - ni - bus.

6

nae vo in - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne -

nae vo lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne -

nae vo lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te.

nae vo lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te.

11

di - ci - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus

di - ci - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus

di - ci - mus te. Ad - o - ra - mus te.

Ad - o - ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus

di - ci - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus

Ad - o - ra - mus te.

16

te. Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - - bi pro -

te. Gra - ti - as a - - mus ti - - bi

8 Gra - ti - a gi - mus - - -

8 te. Gra a - gi - mus ti - bi pro -

te. Pro -

Gra - ti - a gi - mus ti - - bi.

21

pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am.

tu - am. Do - mi - ne De -

bi. Do - mi - ne De -

pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am.

pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am. Do - mi - ne De -

Do - mi - ne De -

26

De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po -
us, Rex coe - le - stis.
us, Rex coe - le - stis.
De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po -
us, Rex. De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po -
us, Rex coe - le - stis.

31

tens. Do - mi - ne Fi - li, Do - mi - ne Fi -
Do - mi - ne Fi - li, Do - mi - ne Fi -
Do - mi - ne Fi - li, Do - mi - ne Fi -
tens. Do - mi - ne Fi - li, Do - mi - ne Fi -
Do - mi - ne Fi - li, Do - mi - ne Fi -
Do - mi - ne Fi - li, Do - mi - ne Fi -

36

li u - ni - ge - ni - te, u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su -
li u - ni - ge - ni - te, u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su -
li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su -
li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su -
li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su -

41

The musical score consists of four staves, each representing a different voice part: Soprano (top), Alto, Tenor, and Bass (bottom). The Soprano and Alto parts sing the melody, while the Tenor and Bass provide harmonic support. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words on separate lines and others on the same line as the note heads. Measure 41 begins with the soprano and alto singing 'Christe, Je - su'. The tenor and bass enter with 'Christe, Je - su'. The soprano and alto continue with 'ste.' The tenor and bass continue with 'ste. Do - mi - ne'. The soprano and alto sing 'ste, Je - su'. The tenor and bass sing 'ste, Je - su'. The soprano and alto sing 'ste.' The tenor and bass sing 'ste. Do - mi - ne'. The soprano and alto sing 'ste, Je - su'. The tenor and bass sing 'ste, Je - su'. The soprano and alto sing 'ste.' The tenor and bass sing 'ste. Do - mi - ne'. The soprano and alto sing 'ste, Je - su'. The tenor and bass sing 'ste, Je - su'. The soprano and alto sing 'ste.' The tenor and bass sing 'ste. Do - mi - ne'.

A musical score page featuring five staves of music. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics "Do - mi - ne" are written above the notes. The second staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics "De - us, A - gnus De" are written below the notes. The third staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics "De - us, A - gnus" are written below the notes. The fourth staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics "A" and "i," are written below the notes. The fifth staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics "gnus I" and "i," are written below the notes. Large, stylized white letters are overlaid on the music: a large 'A' on the left side, a large 'α' (alpha) symbol in the center, and a large 'I' on the far left.

51

De li - us Pa tris,
Fi - li - us Pa tris, *Fi - li -*
De - i, Fi - li - us Pa tris, *Fi - li -*
i, Fi - li -
Fi - li - us Pa tris,
De - i, *Fi - li -*

56

Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris.
us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris.
li - us Pa - - - tris, Pa - - - tris.
us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris.
Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris.
us Pa - tris, Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris.

Qui tollis

61

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,
Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - mi - se - re - re
Qui tol - ca - ta mun - di, di, no -
ca - ta mun - di, Mi - se - re - re
ca - ta mun - di, Mi - se - re - re

66

mi - se - re - re no - bis. Qui tol - lis
no - - - bis, mi - se - re - re no - bis. Qui tol - lis pec -
no - bis. Qui tol - lis mi - se - re - re no - bis. Qui tol - lis
no - bis.

pec - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci - pe, sus - - - ci -
 pec - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci - pe, sus - - - ci -
 8 - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci - pe, sus - sci - pe
 8 pec - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci - pe, sus - - - ci -
 Sus - ci - pe, sus - - - ci - pe
 pec - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci - pe, sus - - - ci -

pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram, de - ca - i - nem
 pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram, pre - ca - ti - o - nem
 de - pre - ca - ti - no - stram.
 pe ti - o m no - stram.
 de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.

no - stram. Qui se - des ad - dex - te - ram Pa -
 no - stram. Qui se - des ad - dex - te - ram Pa -
 Qui se - des ad - dex - te - ram Pa -
 stram. Qui se - des ad - dex - te - ram Pa -
 no - stram.

86

tris,

Mi - se - re - re no - bis,

8 tris,

Mi - se - re - re no - bis.

tris,

Mi - se - re - re no - bis.

91

bis.

Quo - ni - am tu so - san - ctus. Tu

no - bis.

Quo - pi - am tu so - san - ctus. Tu

bis.

ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus. Tu

no - bis.

Quo - ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus. Tu

96

so - mi - nus.

Tu so - lus Al - tis - si -

lus Do - mi - nus.

Tu so - lus Al - tis - si -

lus Do - mi - nus.

Tu so - lus Al - tis - si -

lus Do - mi - nus.

Tu so - lus Al - tis - si -

Je - - su Chri - - ste, Je - - su
 mus, Je - - su Chri - - ste, Je - - su
 mus, Je - - su Chri - - ste, Je - - su Chri -
 mus, Je - - su Chri - - ste, Je - - su
 mus, Je - - su Chri - - ste, Je - - su
 mus, Je - - su Chri - - ste, Je - - su sa

Chri - - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu, in
 Chri - - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu, in
 - - - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu, in
 Chri - - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu, in
 Chri - - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu, in
 Chri - - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu, in

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

116

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

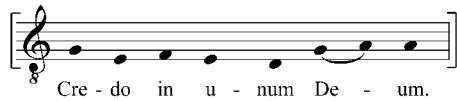
120

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

124

men. _____
 men. _____
 men. _____
 men. _____
 a - - - men.
 men. _____

3. Credo



Cantus

Altus

Tenor I

Tenor II

Bassus I

Bassus II

6

vi - si - bi - li - um om - - ni -

coe - rae, vi - si - bi - li - um om - - ni -

coe - li et ter - - rae, vi - si - bi - li - um om - - ni -

coe - li et ter - - rae, vi - si - bi - li - um om - - ni -

vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um, _____

11

um, et in - vi - si - bi - li - um. Et ____ in u - num Do - mi - um.
 um. Et ____ in u - num Do - mi - um.
 um. Et ____ in u - num Do - mi - um.
 Et ____ in u - si - bi - li - um.
 um, et in - vi - si - bi - li - um.
 Et ____ in u - num Do - mi - um.

16

num, et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - stum. Fi - li - um
 num, et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - stum. Fi - li - um.
 Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um
 Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um.

21

Et ____ ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni -
 De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ____ ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni -
 De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ____ ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni -
 De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ____ ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni -
 De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ____ ex Pa - tre na - tum

26

a sae - cu - la.
De - um de De - o, lu - men de lu - mi -
a sae - cu - la.
Lu - men de lu - mi -
a sae - cu - la.
Lu - men de lu - mi -
De - um de De - o,

31

De - um ve - rum, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ne, De - um ve - rum
ne, De - um ve - rum de - um ve - rum de - o ve - ro, ne, De - um ve - rum
de - um ve - rum de - o ve - ro.

36

ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fa - ctum, con -
de De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fa - ctum, Con -
de De - o ve - ro. Con -
De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fa - ctum, Con -
De - o ve - ro. Con -
Ge - ni - tum, non fa - ctum, Con -

41

- sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri: per quem om - ni - a
per quem om - ni - a

- sub - stan - ti - a - lem: per quem om - ni - a fa -

- sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri: per quem om - ni - a

- sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri: per quem om - ni - a

- sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri: per quem om - ni - a
per quem om - ni - a

46

fa - cta sunt. Et pro - pter

fa - cta sunt. Et pro - pter

fa - cta sunt. Qui pro - pter nos ho - mi - nes,

fa - cta sunt. Qui pro - pter nos ho - mi - nes, et pro - pter

fa - cta sunt. Qui pro - pter nos ho - mi - nes,

51

no - stram sa - lu - tem de - scen -

no - stram sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de coe - lis, de -

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

no - stram sa - lu - tem de -

no - stram sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de coe - lis.

56

dit de coe - lis.
Et in - car - na - tus
scen - dit de coe - lis.
Et in - car - na - tus
de - scen - dit de coe - lis.
Et in - car - na - tus
- scen - dit de coe - lis.
Et in - car - na - tus
scen - - dit de coe - lis.
Et in - car - na - tus
Et in - car - na - tus

62

est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi -
est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto Ma - ri - a Vir - gi -
est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi -
est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto San - cto ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi -
est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto San - cto San - cto ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi -
ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi -

68

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

Crucifixus

74

Cantus

Altus

Tenor I

Bassus I

Sub Pon - ti -
E - ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ti -
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis:
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis:

79

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

84

pul - tus est. re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di - e.
re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di - e.
Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di - e, se - cun - dum
pul - tus est. Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di - e, se - cun - dum

90

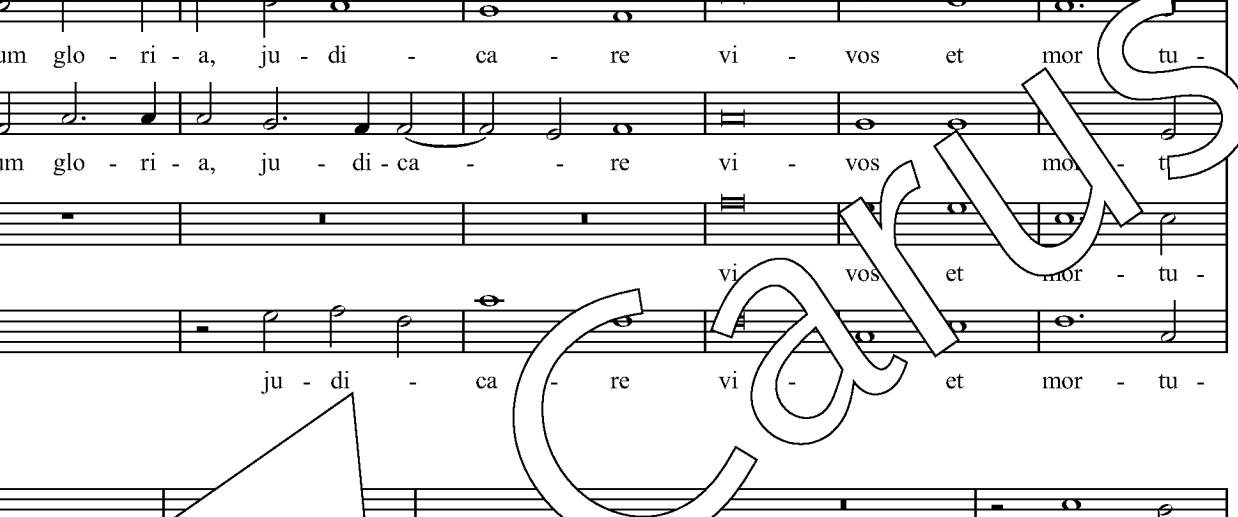
Et a - scen - dit in coe - lum:
Et a - scen - dit in coe - lum:
Scri - ptu - - - ras. Et a - scen - dit in coe - lum: se -
Scri - ptu - - - ras. Et a - scen - dit in coe - lum.

95

se - det ad dex - te - ram Pa - - - tris.
 se - det ad dex - te - ram Pa - - - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus
 det _____ ad dex - te - ram Pa - - - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus
 Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus

100

Cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor tu -
 est cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos mor - tu -
 est vi - vos et mor - tu -
 est ju - di - ca - re vi - et mor - tu -



106

os:
 os:
 os:
 cu - jus
 gni non e - rit fi - - nis, cu - jus
 cu - jus
 cu - jus
 re - gni non e - rit fi - - nis, cu - jus
 re - gni non e - rit fi - - nis, cu - jus
 re - gni non e - rit fi - - nis, cu - jus



111

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

Et in Spiritum

116

Cantus

Altus

Tenor I

Tenor II

Bassus I

Bassus II

121

122

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

et vi - fi - can - tem, et vi - vi - fi - can -
vi - fi - ca - ten - vi - vi - fi - can -
vi - fi - can - tem:
can - tem:
et vi - vi - fi -

tem: qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li -
tem: qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li -
tem: qui ex Pa - - tre Fi - li - o -
qui ex Pa - tre Fi -
qui ex Pa - tre Fi -
can - tem: qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li -

o - que _____ pro - ce - dit. Qui _____ cum Pa -
 o - que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum
 que pro - ce - dit. Qui _____
 li - o - que. Qui _____ cum Pa -
 li - o.* Qui _____ cum Pa -
 o - que pro - ce - dit.

tre
 Pa - tre et Fi - li - si mul ad - o -
 cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si mul ad - o -
 tre et Fi - li - si mul ad - o -
 et Fi - li - o Si - mul ad - o -
 Si - mul ad - o -

con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur: qui lo - cu - tus
 ra - tur, qui lo - cu - tus
 ra - tur, et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur: qui lo - cu - tus
 ra - tur, et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur: qui lo - cu - tus
 et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur: qui lo - cu - tus
 qui lo - cu - tus

* See critical report.

est per Pro - phe - - - tas. Et u - nam
 est per Pro - phe - - - tas. Et u - nam san -
 est per Pro - phe - - - tas. Et u - nam
 est per Pro - phe - - - tas. Et u - nam san -
 est per Pro - phe - - - tas. Et u - nam san -
 est per Pro - phe - - - tas. Et u - nam san -
 est per Pro - phe - - - tas. Et u - nam san -

san - ctam ca - tho - - li - cam et a - po - sto - - cam Ec -
 ctam ca - - tho - - li - cam et a - sto - li - cam Ec -
 san - ctam ca - - li - ca et a - po - sto - li - cam
 ctam ca - tho et a - po - sto - li - cam Ec - cle - si -
 Et a - po - sto - li - cam Ec - cle -
 ca - th li - cam.

cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - - num ba -
 - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or
 Ec - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num ba - ptis -
 am. Con - fi - te - or u - num ba -
 - - - si - am. Con - fi - te - or
 Con - fi - te - or u - num ba -

156

ptis ma in _____ re - mis - si - o - -
 u - num ba - ptis - ma in _____ re - mis - si - o - nem
 ma in re - mis - si - o - nem pec -
 ptis ma in _____ re - mis - si - o -
 u - num ba - ptis - ma _____ in
 ptis ma in _____ re - mis - si - o - nem

160

nem pec - ca - to -
 pec - ca - to -
 ca - to - um, _____ pec - ca - to -
 ca - to - um, pec - ca - to -
 - ri - o - pec - ca - to - rum.
 rum.

165

rum. Et ex - - spe - cto, et ex - spe -
 rum. Et ex - - spe - cto, et ex - spe -
 rum. Et ex - spe - cto, et ex - spe - cto
 Et ex - spe - cto, et ex - spe -

170

cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem, re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor -
 cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem, re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor -
 8 cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem, re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor -
 8 re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o -
 cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu -
 cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu -
 cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem.

175

- tu - o - rum.
 nem mor - tu - o rum. Et
 8 - tu - o - rum, or - tu - rum. Et
 8 Et vi - tam ven -
 Et vi -
 tam en - tu - ri sae - cu - li,
 vi - tam ven - tu - ri, et vi - ta ven - tu -
 vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li, et vi -
 tu - ri sae - cu - li, et
 Et vi -

176

tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li,
 vi - tam ven - tu - ri, et vi - ta ven - tu -
 vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li, et vi -
 tu - ri sae - cu - li, et
 Et vi -
 tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li.

et vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li. A - - -

ri sae - cu - li. A - - -

tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li. A - - -

vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li. A - - -

tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li. A - - -

A - - - en, - - -

men, a - - - men, a - - -

men, a - - - men, a - - -

a - - - men, a - - - men, - - -

a - - - men, a - - - men, - - -

men, - - - men, - - -

men, a - - - men.

men, a - - - men.

men. - - - men.

men, a - - - men.

men. - - - men.

men, a - - - men.

men. - - - men.

4. Sanctus

14

ctus _____ Do - mi - nus De -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ctus Do - mi - nus De -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ctus Do - mi - nus De -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ctus _____ Do - mi - nus De -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
San - ctus

18

us Sa - ba - oth, Do - mi - nus De -
De - us Sa - ba - oth, Do -
us, Sa - ba - oth, Do - mi - nus De -
Do - ba - oth, Sa - ba - oth, Do -
us ba - oth, Do - mi - nus De -

23

De - us Sa - ba - oth, Do -
mi - nus De - us Sa -
us Sa - ba - oth, Do - mi - nus De -
mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth, Do -
us Sa - ba - oth, Do - mi - nus De -

27

mi - nus De - - us Sa -
- - ba - oth, Do - mi - nus De - us Sa -
8 Do - mi - nus De - - us Sa -
8 - - us Sa - - ba - oth, _____ Sa -
Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth.
oth, Do - - mi - nus De - - us Sa - ba - oth.

31

- - ba - oth.
- - ba - oth. Ple sunt be li et
8 - - ba - - Ple ni sunt coe li et
8 - - ba - - Ple ni sunt coe li et
8 - - ba - - Ple ni sunt coe li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -

35

ni coe - - li et ter -
ter - ra, ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
8 ter - ra, ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
8 ter - ra, ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -
Ple - ni sunt coe - - li et ter -

ra, ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter - - -

et ter - - - ra, ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter -

ter - - - ra, ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter -

coe - - - li et ter - - - ra

ple - ni sunt coe - - - li et ter - - -

- - - ra, ple - ni sunt coe - li et ter - - -

ra glo - ri - a tu - - -

glo - ri - a tu - - - a,

ra glo - ri - a tu - - - glo - ri -

glo - ri - tu - - - a,

glo - ri - a, glo - ri -

a, glo - ri - a tu - - -

glo - ri - a tu - - -

a tu - - - a, glo - ri - a tu - - -

ri - a tu - - - a, glo - ri - a tu - - -

a tu - - - a, glo - ri -

glo - ri - a tu - - -

51

a, glo - ri - a tu
a, glo - ri - a tu
a, glo - ri - a
a, glo - ri - a tu
a, glo - ri - a tu
a, glo - ri - a tu

55

a.
a, glo - ri - a tu
a, glo - ri - a tu
a, glo - ri - a
tu
tu
tu
tu
tu
tu
a.

60

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

66

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

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

ex - cel sis. Ho - san - na

ex - cel sis. Ho - san - na

cel sis. Ho - san - na

71

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

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

in ex cel - sis. Ho - san - na

in ex cel - sis. Ho - san - na

cel sis. Ho - san - na

76

in ex - cel sis in ex - cel sis.

ex - cel sis.

in ex - cel sis.

in ex - cel sis.

in ex - cel sis.

ex - cel sis.

Ho - san - na in ex - cel sis.

Benedictus

81

Cantus Be - ne - di - - - - -

Altus

Tenor I Be - ne - di - - - - -

Tenor II Be - ne - di - - - - -

86

- - - - - ctus, - - - - - be - - - - - ne

be - - - - - d - - - - -

be - - - - - ctus,

91

be - - - - - ne - - - - - di - - - - - ctus

be - - - - - ctus

be - - - - - ne - - - - - di - - - - - ctus

qui - ve - - - - -

qui - ve - - - - - nit, - - - - -

qui - ve - - - - - nit, - - - - -

qui - ve - - - - - nit, - - - - -

qui - ve - - - - - nit, - - - - -

96

qui - ve - - - - - nit, - - - - -

qui - ve - - - - - nit, - - - - -

qui - ve - - - - - nit, - - - - -

ve - - - - - nit, - - - - -

101

qui ve - nit
qui ve - nit, qui

105

nit in no - mi-ne Do - mi - ni,
in no - mi-ne Do - mi - ni, Do - mi - ni,
nit in no - mi-ne Do - mi - ni, Do - mi - ni, no - mi -
ve - nit in

110

mi - ne Do - mi - ni, in no - mi-ne
Do - mi - ni, in no - mi-ne Do - mi -
no - mi - ni, Do - mi - ni, in

115

Do - mi - ni, in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni.
ni, in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni.
no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, Do - mi - ni.
in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni.

Hosanna ut supra

5. Agnus Dei I

Cantus

Altus

Tenor I

Tenor II

Bassus I

Bassus II

Agnus

6

Agnus Dei

The musical score consists of six staves, each representing a different voice: Cantus, Altus, Tenor I, Tenor II, Bassus I, and Bassus II. The music is written in common time with a key signature of one sharp. The vocal parts are primarily sustained notes with occasional rhythmic patterns. Large, stylized musical notes are superimposed on the staff, including a prominent 'agnus' and a 'CANTUS'. The bassus II staff features a large, circular note. The score is numbered '6' at the beginning of the second system.

10

i, A - gnu s De - - - - -
gnus De - - - - - i,
i, A - gnu s De - - - - -
i, A - gnu s De - - - - -
i, A - gnu s De - - - - -
gnus De - - - - - i,
i, A - - - - - gnu s De - - - - -

15

i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,
qui tol - pec - ca - ta mun - di,
i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,
i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mun -
qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mun -
qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mun -

20

qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui
qui tol - lis, qui tol - lis
di, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,
di, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, pec -

25

tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui tol - lis pec -

- di, qui tol - lis pec -

qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui tol - lis

lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui

ca - ta mun - di, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui

30

qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: mi -

ca - ta mun - di: mi - se -

pec - ca - ta mun - di: mi -

ta mun - di: mi -

35

re - no - bis, mi - se -

re - re - mi - se - re - re - no - bis, mi -

mi - se - re - re, no -

mi - se - re - re no - bis, mi - se - re - re mi -

se - re - re no - bis,

mi - se - re -

40

45

50

6. Agnus Dei II

Septem vocum.

Cantus I

Cantus II
Resolutio

Altus I

Altus II
Resolutio

Tenor

Bassus I
Canon *

Bassus II

5

A - - - gnus De - - -

i, A - gnus — De - - -

gnus De - - - i, A - gnus De - - -

i, A - gnus De - - -

gnus De - - - i, A - gnus

gnus De - - - i, A - gnus

* See Critical Report.

9

i, A - gnus De - i,
i, A - gnus De -
i, A - - - gnus De -
De - - - i,

A - - - agnus De -

Carus

13

i, qui tollis pec -
i, A - - - i,
i, qui tollis pec - ca - ta mun - di, pe - ca -
i, qui tollis pec - ca - ta mun - di, pec - ca -

qui tollis pec - ca - ta mun - di, pec - ca -

Carus

i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, pec -

26

lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no - bis pa - cem,
 tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di:
 mun - - - di: do - na
 di:
 qui tol - lis pe - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no - bis
 ca - ta mun - di: na no - bis pa -

31

do - no - bis pa - cem,
 no - bis pa - cem,
 do - na no - bis
 no - bis pa - cem,
 do - na no - bis pa - cem,
 no - bis pa - cem,
 do - na no - bis pa - cem,
 no - bis pa - cem,

35

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

do - na

no - - - - bis pa - cem,

do - na

pa - - - - - - - - - -

do - na no - bis pa - cem,

8 cem,

do - na no - bis pa

cem,

39

no - cem,

pa - - - - - cem, do - na no -

bis pa - - - - - cem, do -

na no - bis pa - - - - - cem, do -

do - na

cem, do - na no - - - - - bis pa - - - - - cem, do -

do - na no - - - - - bis pa - - - - - cem, do -

- bis pa - - cem, do - - - na no - bis pa - - - cem, do - - na

44

bis pa cem, do na no bis pa
na no bis pa cem,
no bis pa cem, do na no
do na no bis pa cem,
na no bis pa cem, do
no bis pa cem,

48

cem, na no bis pa cem.
cem, do na no bis pa cem.

Critical Report

I. Sources

Manuscripts

A Ms Cappella Sistina 22. Fols. 70v-92r

V-CVbav, Ms. Capp.Sist.22

Choirbook, mm. 655 x 485, ca. 1565–1568, copied in Rome for the Papal Chapel by Johannes Parvus. It contains three masses by Palestrina for six voices, all untitled: "Benedicta es", "Papa Marcelli", "Illumina oculos meos". The year 1565 is written in the Q of the *Missa Benedicta es* (fol. 58v).¹ This manuscript is severely damaged and therefore currently unavailable; the checking has been carried out on the microfilmed reproduction. Opening the manuscript, the parts layout is as follows:

Left side (folio's verso)	Right side (folio's recto)
[Cantus]	[Altus]
[Tenor I]	[Bassus I]
[Tenor II]	[Bassus II]

In the section for four voices, the layout is two parts per side.

B Ms S. Maria Maggiore 29. Fols. 1v-22v

V-CVbav, Ms. S. Maria Maggiore 29 (olim J.J.3.7, ex cod. 18)

Choirbook, mm. 510 x 385, ca. 1577–78, copied in Rome by Johannes Parvus. It contains five masses by Palestrina for six voices, all untitled: "Papa Marcelli", "Io mi son giovinetta", "Benedicta es", "Ut re mi fa sol la", "De Beata Virgine"; and the motet "Beata es".² The manuscript is well preserved, although the ink has gone through the folio in places. Opening the manuscript, the parts layout is as follows:

Left side (folio's verso)	Right side (folio's recto)
[Cantus]	[Altus]
[Tenor I ↔ II]	[Tenor II ↔ I]
[Bassus I]	[Bassus II]

From the *Gloria* onward, the position of tenors is reversed (see *Detailed Remarks*). In the section for four voices, the layout is two parts per side.

¹ See Mitchell Paul Brauner, *The Parvus Manuscript. A Study of Vatican Polyphony, ca. 1535 to 1580*, PhD Brandeis University, 1982, pp. 206–209; Clara Marvin, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. A Research Guide*, New York and London, 2002, B0244; Thomas Schmidt and Nicolò Ferrari, *The Manuscripts of the Fondo Cappella Sistina to c. 1650: Catalogue raisonné*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, forthcoming, CS22.

² See Brauner, *The Parvus Manuscript* (see note 1), pp. 263–270; Marvin, *Palestrina* (see note 1), B0352.

The mass has been copied in some other manuscripts for current use in chapels; they are listed in several studies.³ None of these manuscripts is demonstrably related to Palestrina and for this reason they are not considered in this edition.

Prints

C Editio princeps [First edition] (1567) RISM A/I P 660. Fols. O3v-R3

In-folio; choirbook. Sign: A–Q⁶ R⁴. 100 fols.⁴

Title page:

Ioannis Petri Aloysi Prae- | nestini Missarum li- | ber secun-
dus. [royal coat-of-arms with crown and double-headed eagle] | Cum gratia et privilegio. | [print mark in the frame:
INVIA VIRTVTI NULLA VESTA EST VIA]

Colophon:

[print mark INVIA VIRTVTI NVLLA EST VIA] | ROMAE |
Apud Haeredes Valerii et Aloysii doricorum | fratribus Brix-
iensium. | ANNO DOMINI. MDLXVII.

Copies consulted: I-Bc, T.295; I-Mc, Santa Barbara S.B.163.1; V-CVbav, Capp.Sist.208

Opening the manuscript, the parts layout is as follows:

Left side (folio's verso)	Right side (folio's recto)
[Cantus]	[Altus]
[Tenor I ↔ II]	[Tenor II ↔ I]
[Bassus I ↔ II]	[Bassus II ↔ I]

From the *Credo* onward, the position of tenors and basses is reversed (see *Detailed Remarks*). In the section for four voices, the layout is two parts per side.

D First reprint (1598) RISM A/I P 661. Fols. G2-G5v

In-quarto; five part-books. Sign: A–F⁴ G⁶. 30 fols.⁵

Title-page:

CANTVS | MISSARVM | CVM QVATTGOR, | Quinque,
ac Sex Vocibus, | AVCTOREM IOAN. PETRO ALOYSIO |
PRAENESTINO | Nunc denuo impressæ, & diligenter recognitæ. | LIBER SECUNDVS. | [print mark: CONCORDES VIRT-
UTE ET NATURÆ MIRACULIS] | Venetijs Apud Angelum
Gardanum. | [line] | M. D. LXXXVIII.

³ Knud Jeppesen, s.v. „Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da“, in *MGG*, Bd. 10 (1962), col. 658–706: col. 673; Marvin, *Palestrina*, s.v. “Papae Marcelli [mass a 6]”; Schmidt and Ferrari, *The Manuscripts*, CS22, and DIAMM, s.v. “Missa Papae Marcelli”, [as consulted online on 15 December 2023].

⁴ See Suzanne G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, Michigan, 1981, pp. 248–249; Marvin, *Palestrina* (see note 1), A0006.

⁵ Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611*, Rochester, 1998, p. 305; Marvin, *Palestrina* (see note 1), A0007.

Copies consulted: B-Br, *Fétis* 1.656 A (RP); V-CVbav, *Capp. Sist.* 544-548 (int.2)

The six voices – named Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Quintus and Sextus – are arranged in five part-books; the last one contains both Quintus and Sextus. The Cantus and Altus part-books correspond with their voice names. Tenor I is printed in the Tenor part-book, while Tenor II is printed in the Sextus part-book. Bassus I is printed in the Quintus part-book, while Bassus II is printed in the Bassus part-book. From the *Credo* onward, the position of tenors and basses is reversed (see *Detailed Remarks*).

**E Last reprint (1600) RISM A/I P 662, A/I P 663.
Fols. L1v-N3**

In-folio; choirbook. Sign: A-M⁸ N³. Fols. 102.⁶

Title page:

MISSARVM | IO. PET. ALOYSII PRAENESTINI | BASILICAE
S. PETRI ALMAE VRBIS | CAPELLAE MAGISTRI | Quaternis,
Quinis, ac Senis Vocibus concinendarum | LIBER SECUNDVS.
| Nunc denuò post omnes editiones iuxta sua vetustatis
exemplar summo studio recognitus, | et ad communem utili-
tatem in praestantiorem, pulchrioremque formam | fideliter
redactus. | ROMAE, Ex Typographia Nicolai Mutij. M. DC.

Colophon:

[line] | REGESTVM, ABCDEFGHIKLMN. | Omnes ascendunt
ad num. 8. N, ad 3. tantum | [line] | ROMAE, Ex Typo-
graphia Nicolai Mutij. 1599.

Copies consulted: I-Bc T.296; SI-Lng, *M tre* III 23479.

Some repertories indicate two different editions, but actually there is only one Muzi's edition with two different dates: 1600 on the title page and 1599 on the colophon. This discrepancy depends on the timing of the printing process. It is reasonable to assume that the book was printed between December 1599 and January 1600. The parts layout is the same as C.

II. Concerning the edition

This edition is based on the two oldest manuscripts (A and B) and the first printed edition (C). The reprints of 1589 (D) and 1600 (E) are derived from the first edition C, therefore they do not contain reading variants dating back to Palestrina, but are useful for clarifying ambiguous aspects, such as the underlay of the text below the notes.

The main sources (A, B, C) are not related to each other: their antigraph may have been both Palestrina's autograph (perhaps for A, unlikely for B and C) and an archival copy. It is likely that this antigraph was in detached parts, which would explain why the distribution of voices is variable depending on the source. In the score, the assignment given in A has always been followed; the differences from the other sources are indicated in the *Detailed Remarks*.

None of the three main sources attributes a name to the parts. The only exception is the *Agnus Dei II* in B, the only witness to introduce the resolution of the canon and specify the following nomenclatures:

B Agnus Dei II

Fol. 20v	Fol. 21r
Cantus primus.	Altus ps.
Cants 2s. Resolutio.	Altus 2s. Resolutio.
Tenor.	
Bassus. Canon.	Basss 2s.

[ps. = primus; 2s. = secundus]

Using these indications, in this edition the names of the parts have been assigned on the basis of the keys and thus the vocal ranges:

NAMES' PART	ORIGINAL CLEF	VOCAL RANGE
Cantus	g2	e ¹ -g ²
Altus	c2	g-c ²
Tenor I	c3	f-a ¹
Tenor II	c3	f-a ¹
Bassus I	c4	c-d ¹
Bassus II	c4	c-d ¹

Different nomenclatures are given in D, where the part-book format necessarily provides for a greater definition. The correspondences with those used are:

(present edition)	D
Cantus	Cantus
Altus	Altus
Tenor I	Tenor
Tenor II	Sextus
Bassus I	Quintus
Bassus II	Bassus

⁶ Marvin, *Palestrina* (see note 1), A0008–A0009.

Both reprints **D** and **E** are based on the first edition **C**. The part-book format of **D** required additional indications, such as the names of the parts or the captions for the reduced sections of the *Credo* and *Sanctus*, and a new underlay of the text below the notes (which also determined a different way of using the *ligatureae*). **E**, being also a choirbook, faithfully reproduces the text of **C**, both with regard to the music and the sung text. Between the two manuscripts **A** and **B** and the first edition **C**, the variants are mainly graphic in nature: *color 'minor'* instead of dotted notes, or *ligatureae* instead of detached notes. Only rarely are there differences in pitch or rhythm. In general, in the few cases where manuscripts and printing diverge in the readings, the preference is to follow the manuscripts (except in obvious cases of error) as they come first-hand from the context of which Palestrina was part. There is, however, a structural difference in the movement of the *Agnus Dei*. In all printed editions there is only one *Agnus Dei*, with the text "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis". In the manuscripts though, this is followed by a second *Agnus Dei* for seven voices, with the text "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem". This discrepancy has been identified and investigated by scholars who have published modern editions of the mass. According to Lewis Lockwood, editor of the *Norton Critical Scores* series edition,⁷ "the omission of the second *Agnus Dei* from the 1567 printing was a practical step aimed at cutting down the bulk of the publication, not a matter of choice".⁸ Therefore, the reasons are bibliographical and were not based on the author's willingness to endorse this or the other version.

More recently, Francesco Luisi returned to the issue on the occasion of his publication of the critical edition.⁹ According to Luisi, the second *Agnus Dei* is absent from the printed editions for the simple reason that it is not by Palestrina. The version for seven voices found in the manuscripts is, in his view, a clumsy attempt made by a copyist to adapt the mass to a more ancient tradition which included a second *Agnus Dei* expanded for more voices. Therefore, Luisi goes on, the omission of the seven-voice version in the *editio princeps* expresses Palestrina's direct wishes as he supervised the printing, while the fact that it was not included in the reprints shows that a performance tradition with this version was not endorsed. In practice at the time, Luisi concludes, the *Agnus Dei* for six voices was sung twice, modifying the text from "miserere nobis" to "dona nobis pacem".

Neither hypothesis offers a definitive explanation for the problem nor considers historical and compositional aspects in particular. From a bibliographical point of view, the edition of the *Missarum liber secundus* by the Dorico brothers was evidently planned as a series of six-folio gatherings (17 gatherings, for a total of 102 folios), which was normal practice in this typographic workshop.¹⁰ In the surviving copies,

however, the last gathering is reduced to only four folios: 16 gatherings with three folios plus one of two bifolios, for a total of 100 folios. However, if we try to hypothesize a complete structure of gatherings with six folios, we can see that the final gathering (and precisely in the hypothetical folios R3-R5) could have in fact included the *Agnus Dei* for seven voices.

So it would appear that the second *Agnus Dei* had been factored in during the initial planning, but that it then, for some typographical reason (or perhaps on the wishes of Palestrina himself?¹¹), was omitted and therefore the final gathering was divested of a bifolio that had by then become superfluous. The result, however, is a mass that is missing an entire section and thus a part of the liturgical text, the "dona nobis pacem". If we look at the other masses of the *Missarum liber secundus*, all have a second *Agnus Dei* with the "dona nobis pacem" and a number of voices greater than that structured into the mass setting. In particular, the *Missa sine nomine*, for four voices, has a second *Agnus Dei* for seven voices,¹² constructed according to the same compositional technique as that in the *Papae Marcelli* for seven voices given in the manuscripts, namely using a multiple canon obtained from a single voice: in both cases the written voice is that of the Bassus. In fact, there is no specific reason why the last mass of the collection should not have the usual second *Agnus Dei*. The fact that it is missing in all reprints is only due to the fact that, as was customary at the time, subsequent editions are based on previous printed copies, therefore they reproduce what they see, supplementing only if strictly necessary. Those who sang from these printed editions certainly sang the *Agnus Dei* for six voices twice, as specified in the edition of 1598 (**D**): "Agnus secundus dicitur supra primus". But this depends on features of the source (a reprint of a previous edition), not on any artistic or musical purpose.

There is ultimately no reason to doubt the authorship of the version for seven voices that is in the manuscripts. These are codices compiled for two of the most important Roman chapels, where Palestrina had worked in person. He had been cantor in the Sistine Chapel precisely during the period of Marcellus II's papacy and had continued to provide music for at least another ten years. In Santa Maria Maggiore he had been master of the Liberian Chapel during exactly those years in which the mass was likely composed. This is evidence from two very authoritative and faithful sources.

For all these reasons, this new edition embraces the *Agnus Dei* for seven voices and considers it to be an authentic part of the mass, while not completely negating the (historically based) possibility of performing, instead of the version for seven voices, the version for six voices twice, taking care to change the words "miserere nobis" to "dona nobis pacem" in the second repetition.

⁷ Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass. An Authoritative Score, backgrounds and sources, history and analysis, views and comments*, ed. Lewis Lockwood, New York, 1975.

⁸ Ibid., p. 86.

⁹ Palestrina, *Missarum liber secundus*, ed. Francesco Luisi, pp. XIV-XVIII.

¹⁰ See for example the two in-folio editions published shortly before the second book of Palestrina masses: the *Missarum liber primus* by Giovanni Animuccia, of the same year, and *Canticum B. Mariae Virginis*, also by Animuccia of 1568; see Cusick, Valerio Dorico (see note 4), pp. 247-248 and pp. 249-250.

¹¹ According to Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critici della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Rome, 1828, vol. 1, pp. 283-284, it was Palestrina himself who excised the entire section, considering it not up to the standard of the rest of the mass. However, this hypothesis lacks of any documentary evidence.

¹² Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Missarum liber secundus*, ed. Luisi (see note 9), I, pp. 94-98.

And finally, with regard to the *Agnus Dei* for seven voices, it is important to note that **A** presents the “enigmatic” version, with the three keys of the canon in the Bassus, two *signa congruentiae* (bb. 4 and 7) indicating respectively the start of Altus II and Cantus II, and recall letters A and C, given at bb. 31 and 34 to indicate the resumption of Altus II and Cantus II after the group of rests, and repeated at bb. 49 and 43, to signal the conclusion of the canonic imitation of the two voices. Source **B**, on the other hand, presents all seven voices in full, specifying that the voices of Cantus II and Altus II constitute the *resolutiones* of the canon entrusted to the Bassus.¹³

Editorial principles

The edition retains unaltered the original note values: *brevis* = breve (double whole note); *semibrevis* = semibreve (whole note) etc., as well as the time signature C , even if its meaning has changed over the centuries. In the notation used by Palestrina, there is no measure or recurring bar line. The sign C is just used to indicate the binary subdivision of the *brevis* and the *semibrevis*, and not the value of the measure. However, the same symbol also indicates the regular pulse – the *tactus* – that beats throughout composition; this is the semibreve that, according to the theoretical sources of the time, corresponds to the heartbeat (ca. 60–70 bpm). In this edition, the use of breve measures enables the original rhythmical fluidity to be respected, based around the breve and its groupings. Each measure thus corresponds to two *tactus*, i.e. two semibreve pulse units.¹⁴

In the score, original ligatures (e.g. or for) are indicated by an unbroken bracket over the staff and *color ‘minor’* (e.g. = by a broken one . For the last note of each section or movement, the edition follows the form given in **A**, which normally employs *longa* with fermata, while the printed sources prefer *longa* or *brevis* without fermata to indicate the end.

As is customary in the sacred music of the sixteenth century, very few accidentals are written by the author in the score, but many others are implied by the *musica ficta* rules: they are added by the editor in small print before the note. Each accidental applies for the whole measure (as in modern use).

The text of *Ordinarium Missae* is taken from the *Graduale Novum. Editio magis critica iuxta SC 117. Tomus II: De Feris Et Sanctis* (Regensburg: ConBrio Verlagsgesellschaft; Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2018). The differences with the text given in **A**, **B** and **C** are only of a graphic type. The text underlay follows that given in **A**, according to the theoretical rules given in historical treatises;¹⁵ in the case of repetition signs (similar to from this source, or integrations by other sources, the lyrics are given in italics.

III. Detailed Remarks

Abbreviations: C = Cantus, A = Altus, T I = Tenor primus, T II = Tenor secundus, B I = Bassus primus, B II = Bassus secundus. For source **D**, matches with part-books are: C = Cantus, A = Altus, T I = Tenor, T II = Sextus, B I = Quintus and B II = Bassus. Only for *Agnus Dei II*: C II = Cantus Resolutio, A I = Altus; A II = Altus Resolutio.

References are given in the following order: Measure – part, sign within the measure (note or rest) – source: Reading/Remarks. If the remark refers to several measures, the corresponding numeral is added (e.g. 38–39 B II 3–1, the remark refers to measure 38 sign 3 to measure 39 sign 1).

The counting of measures and signs always refers to the present edition.

Kyrie

2	T I 2,3	A, B, D: g^1-f^1 without <i>color</i>
4	C 2	B: note added in small body
6	T I 1,2	A, B, D: g^1-f^1 without <i>color</i>
32	C	A, B: d^2-g^1 without ligature
34, 40,	B I	D: $a-g$ with ligature
44		
35–36	B I 3–1	D: $f-c$ with ligature
38–39	B II 3–1	D: $f-c$ with ligature
39	B I 3	C: in I-Mc copy instead of ; in I-Bc g is corrected by pen in
		D, E: instead of
45–46	B I 3–1	D: $f-c$ with ligature
46	T II	D: e^1-d^1 with ligature
50	B I	A, B: c^1-g without ligature
60	T II	D: c^1-d^1 with ligature
61–62	A 5–1	D: $a-a^1$ with ligature
63–64	B II 3–1	D: $a-d$ with ligature
65–66	B I 3–1	D: $a-g$ with ligature
76	A	A: a^1-f^1 without ligature

Gloria

Plainchant from *Graduale Sanctuarium* (Venice: Giunta 1572), fol. 311r:¹⁶ *In festivitatis maioribus duplicibus.*

	T I, T II	B: voices have inverted position (i.e. T II on left side; T I on right side) in the ms. until <i>Agnus Dei I</i> included
6	A 2	D: by pen (probably to correct a wrong a^1)
11	A 2	D:
12	T I 3	C, D, E:
20–21	T I 3–1	C, D, E: c^1-g with ligature
37	T I 3	B, C, D, E:
42	T II 1	A: without \sharp
53–54	B I	C, D, E: $a-g$ without ligature
78	A	B: c^2-a^1 without ligature
81	C	B: e^2-d^2
	A	B: c^2-a^1 without ligature
85	B I	D: c^1-f with ligature (but the second note has a correction by pen: maybe a g changed to f)
88	B II	B, C, D, E: c^1-g with ligature
88–89	A 2–1	B, C, D, E: d^1-e^1 without ligature
92	T I	B: c^1
105	T I 1	D:
106	T I 5	D: (in B-Br copy corrected by pen in)
	T I 6	D: deleted by a stroke of pen
124–125	A 3–1	A: g^1-a^1 without ligature

¹³ For the names of the voices, cf. *supra*.

¹⁴ On the notation of Palestrina’s masses, see Francesco Saggio, “Palestrina mensuralista: ritmo e notazione nei primi quattro libri di messe”, *Philomusica on-line*, no. 21/2 (2022), pp. 129–183.

¹⁵ For a survey on the text underlay rules, see Gary Towne, “A Systematic Formulation of the Sixteenth-Century Text Underlay Rules”, in: *Musica Disciplina*, Part I, vol. 44 (1990), pp. 255–287, and Part II, vol. 45 (1991), pp. 143–168.

¹⁶ Facsimile: *Il Graduale Giunta, Venezia 1572*, ed. Marco Gozzi, vol. II, LIM, 2013.

Credo

Plainchant from *Missale Romanum ex Decreto Sacrosanti Concilii Tridentini restitutum* (Rome: heirs of B. Faletti — J. Varisco, 1570), fol. 236r.¹⁷

T I, T II, C, E: voices have inverted position in the prints until the end of the mass:
B I, B II

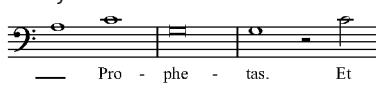
[Cantus]	[Altus]
[Tenor II]	[Tenor I]
[Bassus II]	[Bassus I]

D: T II is printed in the Tenor part-book, while T I is in the Sextus part-book, excluding T I *Crucifixus* printed in the Tenor part-book; B II is printed in the Quintus part-book, while B I is in the Bassus part-book. This distribution holds true until the end of the mass.

42–43	T II 6–2	B: f ¹ -e ¹ without ligature
58	A 4	A, B: without #
70	T II 1	B: the note is missing
70–71	C 2–1	D: c ² -d ² with ligature
71	A 1	A: without ♭
72	B I	B: d ¹ -g without ligature
74	C, A, T I, B	D: caption "Quatuor vocibus."
	T II, B II	D: caption "CRUCIFIXUS Tacet A 4."
84–85	A 3–1	D: e ¹ -d ¹ with ligature
121–122	T II 6–2	A, B, D: d ¹ -c ¹ without color
128	T II 1,2	A, B, D: f ¹ -g ¹ without color
128–130	B I	All sources show the incomplete form "Filio"; to sing "Filioque", it is possible to complete the phrase as follows:



129	T II 3,4	A, B, D: e ¹ -d ¹ without color
134	T I 1,2	C, E: e ¹ -d ¹ with color
135	T I 2,3	A, B, D: e ¹ -d ¹ without color
138	T II 2,3	A, B, D: e ¹ -d ¹ without color
139	T I 2,3	A, B, D: d ¹ -c ¹ without color
143–145	B II	B: rhythmical variant



C, D, E: rhythmical variant



144	T I 3,4	A, B, D: g ¹ -f ¹ without color
150	T I 1,2	A, B, D: c ¹ -d ¹ without color
153	A	C, E: o o g ¹ g ¹
156	T II 1,2	A, B, D: g ¹ -f ¹ without color
159	C 2,3	A, B, D: b ¹ -a ¹ without color
	T I 1	D: o a ¹
	T II 2,4	A, B, D: g ¹ -f ¹ -e ¹ without color
160	T I 3	D: o d ¹
162–163	C 2,3,4–2	A, B, D: f ² -e ² -d ² -c ² without color
168	T II	C, D, E: e ¹ -c ¹ with ligature (d ¹ of mis. 169 is untied)
169	T I 1	D: o c ¹
186–187	T II 3–1 B I	D: f ¹ -g ¹ with ligature A: rhythmical variant (incoherent with Amen subject)



193	T I	A, B: e ¹ -d ¹ without ligature
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Sanctus

5	B II	D: c ¹ -c with ligature
7	B I	D: c ¹ -c with ligature
10–11	A 6–2	D: g ¹ -f ¹ with ligature
12–13	C 5–2	D: e ² -d ² with ligature
14–15	A 6–2	D: a ¹ -g ¹ with ligature
19	B I	D: g-c ¹ with ligature
20–21	C 3–1	D: a ¹ -g ¹ with ligature
22–23	T I 2–1	B, C, D, E: divided in o o e ¹ e ¹
25–26	A 5–2	D: e ¹ -d ¹ with ligature
	B II 2	C, D, E: divided in o o c ¹ c ¹ (probably due to page change)
36	B I	D: c ¹ -c with ligature
51–52	C 2–1	D: f ² -e ² with ligature
62	A 2	B: with ♭
75	B I	D: d-g with ligature
81	T I, T II	C, E: <i>Benedictus</i> T I is printed on the left side and T II on the right side D: <i>Benedictus</i> T I is printed in the Tenor part-book, and T II in the Sextus part-book C, A, T I, T II
	B I, B II	D: caption "Quatuor vocibus."
92	C	D: caption "BENEDICTUS Tacet A 4."
94	T II	D: b ¹ -a ¹ with ligature
108	T I 3	D: e ¹ -d ¹ with ligature
109	A	D: e ¹ -d ¹ with ligature
117	T I 1	B, C, D, E: o o f ¹ f ¹
119	C, A, T I, T II	The caption "Hosanna ut supra" is missing in all sources, but the repetition of the "Hosanna" is implied by the performance practice

Agnus I

8	B II 1,2	A, B, D: e-f without color
8–9	B II 3–1	D: g-a with ligature
11–12	A 7–2	D: a ¹ -g ¹ with ligature
12	B I	D: b-a with ligature
28–29	C 3–1	B: d ² -e ² without ligature (due to page change)
37	A 2	A: without ♭
49	B I 1	All sources: b, despite the suspension c ² -b ¹ in the Cantus D: caption "AGNUS Secundus dicitur supra Primus."
54		

Agnus II

(only in sources A and B)

4	B I	A, B: § (beginning <i>resolutio</i> A II)
7	B I	A, B: § (beginning <i>resolutio</i> C II)
26–27	A I 4–2	A: a ¹ -g ¹ without ligature
31	B I	A: letter A (starting point A II after rests)
34	B I	A: letter C (starting point C II after rests)
41–42	A I 4–2	A: a ¹ -g ¹ without ligature
43	B I 1	A: letter C; B: § (end point C II)
46–47	B I 2–1	A: d ¹ -c ¹ without ligature
49	B I	A: letter A; B: § (end point A II)

¹⁷ Facsimile: *Missale Romanum. Editio princeps* 1570, ed. Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca, Città del Vaticano, 1998.

