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Direttore
Agostino Ziino

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Teresa M. Gialdroni

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On the Marian Antiphons *Salve Regina*, *Te decus virgineum*, and Antonio Caldara
With a Bibliography for the *Salve Regina**
Warren Kirkendale

Salve Regina

The numerous ecclesiastical libraries in Rome offer unique opportunities for research on sacred music.¹ They made possible a tenfold increase in the bibliogra-

* The two antiphons are edited by Warren Kirkendale, with Italian and English versions of this article as Introduction: *Antonio Caldara, due antifone mariane*, «Arcadia: Musiche Italiane del Settecento», Lucca, LIM, 2011; presented in Oct-Nov 2010 also as papers at the meetings of the Società Italiana di Musicologia in Pisa and the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rome. The Italian versions of the discussion of the *Salve Regina* (with the bibliography) and of the *Te decus* are being published also in «Marianum», LXXIII, and «Carmelus», LVIII, respectively, 2011.

1 Friedrich Blume did not enjoy such advantages in Kiel, and in the chapter on plainchant in his superfluous, opportunistic article *Musik und Rasse*, «Die Musik: Organ des Amtes für Kunstpflege [...] des Führers für die gesamte geistige und weltanschauliche Erziehung und Schulung der NSDAP», XXX, 1938, p. 744, arguing for the superiority of the Germanic races, ignoring the Mediterranean cradle of our civilization, and venting an antipathy towards Roman Catholic chant scholars, he astonishingly reproaches them for insisting that chant be understood «only within the context of its liturgical function», and he advocates its barbarous study «independently of its texts, purposes and functions», apparently seduced not only by Goebbels, but also by approaches of some ethnomusicologists who likewise attempt to deal with music of exotic cultures which they do not understand!

phies of literature on the *Salve Regina* in the standard church and music dictionaries.² One setting by Antonio Caldara is the third of eleven of this text for solo voice and instruments by eight composers,³ ff. 24-33v of the scores copied by various hands in the manuscript Sant. Hs. 3514 of the Diözensan-Bibliothek Münster. Polyphonic collections devoted to a single antiphon currently are known almost exclusively for the *Salve Regina*.⁴ They illustrate that this ancient antiphon found extensive employment. Thanks to its very high literary and musical quality, the 'Gregorian' *Salve* came to be the most sung and the most researched liturgical text, with exception of the Ordinary of the Mass; and during the baroque era the polyphonic settings of the text surpassed the number of those of the Mass. RISM currently lists almost 4,000 polyphonic sources. Chant scholars agree that it is one of the most perfect creations of their repertoire.⁵ It was sung already by the souls in the *Purgatory* of Dante (VII.82), and was also the first Latin text and the first European music heard in North America. Used as a *cantio nautica* by Spanish mariners and fishermen during storms, it was invoked by the crew of Christopher Columbus on a ship named «Santa Maria» 11 October 1492, the eve of seeing land of the New World for the first time, and within three weeks taught to the natives.⁶ Luther condemned it severely in a sermon of 8 September 1522 because,

2 Cf. below, pp. 360-364, Bibliography.

3 Antonino Reggio, the Prince of Ardore [i.e. Giacomo Francesco Milano; only in the index; extant in D-MÜs Hs. 2683 and D-WRgs an Nr. 290], Giovanni Battista Borghi, Antonio Caldara, Baldassare Galuppi, Domenico Scarlatti, Francesco de Majo (4), Francesco Seydelmann, Ferdinando Bertoni. Nine settings of the *Salve Regina* by Caldara for various ensembles are extant in 14 sources: A-KR F 5/123; CS-Pak 264; D-B Mus. Ms. 2715 (3), 2736, 2757, 2766; D-Mbs Coll. Mus. Max 57 (copy of D-MÜs Sant. Hs. 3514, ca. 1833); D-MÜs Hss. 3514, 3978 (nos. 3 and 5); D-Po Caldara 7; SK-Mms D II/III-4 (cfr. RISM II/A, CD-ROM).

4 RISM lists numerous such collections containing two to twenty-four settings, many anonymous or by a single composer. Cfr. also the large Franco-Flemish collections from the early 16th century, D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 34 and D-Rp C 98; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, 1, Munich, Henle, 1989, pp. 141-145, and Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, *Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, 1, ibid. 1989, pp. 298-300. The manuscript in Regensburg reflects a tradition documented already for that city ca. 1470, when «Lienhart [Wolf] czu regenspurgk» printed a *Salve* cycle of 14 woodcuts – the only iconographical source hitherto identified with such music (Plate 1).

5 PETER WAGNER, *Das Salve Regina*, «Gregorianische Rundschau», 11, 1903, pp. 103 ff, gives a good analysis of the melody.

6 [Christopher Columbus] *Diario de Colón*, Madrid, Graficas Yagües, 1962, 11 Oct. 1492: «Por lo

in his view, it exalted the Virgin too highly above Christ.⁷

The text was the subject of commentaries, meditations and sermons;⁸ it was augmented by tropes (already in the earliest source, from Reichenau), used for *alternatim* elaborations for the organ, paraphrased by protestants as *Salve, Christe* or *Salve, Rex*, eliminating Mary, and also translated into the vernacular, *inter al.* by Hans Sachs ca. 1515.⁹ Diderot associated it with executions, and when, during the French Revolution, the nuns were led to their deaths, all sang the *Salve Regina*, until the last one was executed.¹⁰

The *Salve Regina* is one of the first 'Gregorian' chants for which attempts at attribution have been made, none of them certain.¹¹ But the text and its Dorian melody (*Liber Usualis* 276, Plate 2; Lydian, *Liber Usualis* 279, from the seventeenth century is of inferior quality) may be by the same author. The earliest documentation is almost exclusively German and French: for Hermannus Contractus in the Benedictine abbey of Reichenau, 1013-1054; more plausibly for Ademar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy (Lat. Podium, a Marian sanctuary), † 1098, as a processional chant for his companions in the First Crusade; for St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 1091-1153, born after the earliest sources [!]; somewhat fewer Spanish: for

cual, cuando dijeron la Salve, que la acostumbraban decir e cantar a su manera todos los marineros y se hallan todos» (already St. Benedict used the words «dicere» and «canere» as synonyms); 1 Nov.: «dicen la Salve y el Ave Maria, con las manos al cielo come le amuestram, y hacen la señal de la cruz»; 16 Feb. 1493, simply as customary indication of the time of day: «Al decir la Salve, que es a boca de noche». Cfr. also LÉON CRISTIANI, *Les origiens du Salve Regina*, «L'ami du clergé», LIX, 1949, p. 730.

7 *Werke*, x/3, Weimar, Böhlau, 1905, pp. 321f.

8 Cfr. JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, *passim*; GABRIEL MEIER, *Das Salve Regina: Sein Ursprung und seine Verbreitung*, in *Akten des fünften internationalen Kongresses katholischer Gelehrter zu München*, Munich, Herder, 1901, pp. 160f.

9 F. J. MONE, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Freiburg, Herder, 1854, II, 203-216, lengthy tropes; WILHELM BÄUMKER, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied*, Freiburg, Herder, 1891, III, 225; OTTO ETL, *Geschichtliches über das Salve Regina*, «Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift», xcvi, 1949, pp. 201-210: 204.

10 STEPHAN BEISSEL, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg, Herder, pp. 494-504: 504.

11 The French, Spanish, and German authors tend to give preference to their own compatriot. One of the clearest discussions of the various attributions was presented already by WAGNER, *Das Salve Regina* cit., pp. 69 ff. The sources for the attributions, not too reliable, are identified in many of the publications listed in my Bibliography.

San Pedro Martinez of Mezonzo, bishop of Compostela, † 1003, for the pilgrimages to Santiago.

At the beginning, in the eleventh century, the *Salve Regina* did not yet have a liturgical function. This was documented only in 1135 for processions during the feast of the Assumption of the B.V.M. at Cluny. In Rome it was prescribed after Compline: by Gregory IX in 1239 for Fridays, and by Clement VI during the Holy Year 1350 for all days. The earliest sources come from the eleventh-twelfth centuries (Reichenau, Seckau, Einsiedeln; with musical notation only in the thirteenth century, from St. Gallen). The chant became quickly diffused throughout Europe, especially in the religious Orders: Cistercians (since 1218), Dominicans (1221, Bologna ca. 1230), and Franciscans (1249, 1263), in France by Louis IX the Saint (1251) and from the fourteenth century in all the Latin rites. In 1521 it was inserted in the *Breviarium Romanum*, becoming obligatory for the Vespers in 1568 with the reform of the breviary by Pius V.

Until the thirteenth century, the *Salve Regina* served also as a true antiphon, that is as introduction to other texts (psalm, versicle, responsory and/or *oratio* spoken by the priest), also «ad canticum» (before the *Benedictus* or the *Magnificat*), retaining the designation when, already 1249 (see above), it had become the oldest and most extended of the four autonomous Marian ‘antiphons’ separated from psalmody: the one used from the first Vespers of Trinity Sunday until the None of the Saturday before the first Sunday of Advent, spoken privately at the end of the Offices of Lauds and Compline, and sung publicly from the Council of Trent (*Breviarium Romanum* of 1568) until the Second Vatican Council (1964) as the conclusion of every Office which was sung in the choir. These usages are valid for the spoken text (Lauds, Compline) and for plainchant (Vespers). The more recent, expansive, and demanding polyphonic and concerted music was heard only during the most frequented and last public Office, the Vespers, at well-endowed churches during the major feasts, particularly those dedicated to the Virgin.

Polyphonic settings of the *Salve Regina* make their first appearance in the fourteenth century, with only two extant settings – late echoes of improvised organum duplum.¹² Only with the Trent codices begins, in the early fifteenth

12 HERMANN HALBIG, *Ein zweistimmiges Salve Regina aus dem 14. Jahrhundert*, «Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch», XXV, 1930, pp. 57-59, and MAX LÜTOLF, *Eine neue Quelle zur italienischen*

century, the abundance of polyphonic settings (absent from the Gothic motets, which did not use prose texts), often with the plainchant melody as *cantus firmus* in long notes.¹³ Also secular *cantus firmi* were used.

The fifteenth century was the golden age for the Marian cult, especially in the Low Countries and in France, with the construction of innumerable churches dedicated to the Virgin and many polyphonic settings of the *Salve Regina* for their Marian chapels and altars. The music became also detached from the Vespers, quasi as a religious folksong for the popular paraliturgical *Salve* devotions, celebrated Saturday afternoons by well-endowed *Salve* confraternities, especially in Germany and the Low Countries. In 1638 it was observed that these musical devotions were frequented even more than the Vespers themselves:¹⁴

[...] sub horam quintam vespertinam, solemnī cantu musico et organīs per totum anni circulum decantari solent, quae Teutonica lingua Laudes beatae Mariae vocantur, Gallica *Salve* ab antiphona illa quae vel semper, vel majori parti anni canitur. [...] Id in tota Fiandra et Brabantia tam solemnē est, ut major sit populi concursus ad Laudes quam ad Vesperas.

[...] near the fifth hour of the evening, through the entire cycle of the year, are customarily sung, with solemn voices and organs, that which in the German language are called “lauds of the blessed Virgin”, in French “*Salve*”, from the antiphon which either always, or most of the year is sung. [...] This is so solemn in all of Flanders and Brabant, that there is more thronging of people to [these] lauds than to the Vespers.

Kirchenmusik des Trecento, «*Analecta Musicologica*», xvii, 1976, pp. 1-22. The fragment of S. Maria in Trastevere (possibly from Marian devotions of a Florentine company of *laudesi*) and the complete Franciscan setting in D-Bds, with the Dorian chant as the lower voice, are published by LÜTOLF, *Eine neue Quelle* cit., pp. 19-22. Cfr. also PAOLO PERETTI and AGOSTINO ZIINO, *Ancora sul frammento di Montefortino*, in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento*, viii, Lucca, LIM (in preparation) on two *Salve Regina* for 3-4 voices from the late 14th or early 15th century in Ascoli Piceno, derived from Franco-Flemish or English liturgy.

¹³ On fifteenth-century settings, cfr. also REINHARD STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, index.

¹⁴ GEORGIUS COLVENERIUS, *Kalendarium Marianum*, in *Summa aurea de laudibus beatissimae Virginis Mariae*, iii, ed. by Jean Jacob Bourassé, Paris, Migne, 1862: «Caput III: De Vespertinis M. Mariae laudibus, seu *Salve*». From this quotation it is clear that the word «*Laudes*» does not refer to the Lauds of the Offices, but to the paraliturgical Marian devotion.

In Rome during the seventeenth century the Borghese family financed polyphonic vocal music for the *Salve* devotions every Saturday evening in Santa Maria Maggiore.¹⁵ It is possible that also the *Salve Regina* of Caldara was destined less for Vespers, than for a paraliturgical Marian devotion. By this time, polyphonic settings, mostly for solo voice and instruments, were being composed in great numbers, especially in Naples. That these exceeded by far the compositions of the other three Marian ‘antiphons’ (*Alma Redemptoris Mater*, *Ave Regina*, and *Regina caeli*) was due especially to the longer season of their use in the liturgy and to their extensive employment also outside of it.

The text, with its plea for protection, is the most favoured and most succinct formulation of the Virgin’s function as merciful mediator between Christians and her Son (the antiphons *Hæc est* and *Te Decus* – see below – have a similar content), invoked at the close of the day, before retirement.

- [1] Salve Regina, mater misericordiae
- [2] Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.
- [3] Ad te clamamus, exules, filii Hevae.
- [4] Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.
- [5] Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.
- [6] Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exilium ostende.
- [7] O clemens, o pia,
- [8] O dulcis Virgo Maria.

This text absorbed elements of the Scriptures,¹⁶ of the ancient *clamores* and the legal language of the late Middle Ages (appeals for intercession for exiles and pilgrims by an ‘advocate’).¹⁷ The use of the first person plural indicates the chant of a community. The first two lines, sung to the same plainchant, have the form of a sequence. The text is rhymed prose, with the same vowel, «e», at the end of lines,¹⁸ and with internal rhyme («clamamus», «suspiramus»; «gementes»,

15 JEAN LIONNET, *La “Salve” de Sainte Marie Majeure: la musique de la chapelle Borghese au 17ème siècle*, «Studi musicali», XII, 1983, pp. 97-120.

16 Cfr. the quotations in JOSÉ M. CANAL, *De clamoribus liturgicis et de antiphona “Salve Regina”*, «Ephemerides Liturgicae», LXXII, 1958, p. 211.

17 CANAL, *De clamoribus liturgicis* cit. and ROMUALD BAUERREISS, *Der “Clamor”, eine verschollene mittelalterliche Gebetsform und das Salve Regina*, «Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner Ordens», LXII, 1949, pp. 26-33.

18 Like the sequence *Laus tibi, Christe* of Notker Balbulus.

«flentes»; «pia», «Maria»). The four distichs can be distinguished as *partes orationis* with different rhetorical functions: *salutatio* (lines 1-2), *narratio* (lines 3-4), *invocatio/petitio* (lines 5-6), *peroratio/exclamatio* (lines 7-8).

Caldara's setting is divided into five independent movements, the fifth being a varied recapitulation of the first:

	Lines	Measures	Tempo	Measure	Key
I. <i>Salve Regina</i>	1-2	1-34	Largo	4/4	A
II. <i>Ad te clamamus</i>	3-4	35-83	Allegro-Largo	3/8-4/4	D-d/F
III. <i>Eia ergo, advocata nostra</i>	5	84-174	Allegretto	3/8	B \flat
IV. <i>Et Jesum, benedictum</i>	6	175-205	Andante	4/4	G
V. <i>Salve Regina</i>	1, 7-8	206-232	[Largo]	4/4	A

[I.] Largo

V. 1

Sopr.

Sal - ve, sal - ve Re - gi - na

[II.] Allegro

V. 1

Sopr.

Ad te cla - ma - - -

[III.] Allegretto

V. 1

Sopr.

E - ia er - go, ad - vo - ca - ta no - stra,

[IV.] Andante

V. I.

Sopr.

Et Je - sum, be - ne - dic - tum

[V.] Largo

206

209

Sal - ve, sal - ve, Re - gi - na

Like similar works in Italian sacred repertoire of the period, the style is that of the secular solo cantata (no reason for a negative judgement), with the recurring instrumental ritornellos, but without the recitatives or da capo arias of the cantatas, not used for liturgical texts. In the early eighteenth century composers like Alessandro Scarlatti¹⁹ and Caldara retain from the *Salve* chant only an allusion to its incipit with the descent of a fifth, the gesture of a bow²⁰ – Scarlatti still for a vocal quartet, Caldara for solo voice. The violins of Caldara add the ‘sighs’ to «suspiramus»:

19 Two *Salve Regina* by Alessandro Scarlatti, for CATB, vv, BC and for CATB (1702 and 1703), ed. by Luca Della Libera, Middleton, A-R Editions, 2009 and in preparation (“Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era”): a-g-a-d. Cf. also ex. 11-12 (Lully, Charpentier) in PAOLO ISOTTA, *Sui Salve Regina di Johann Adolf Hasse*, «Analecta Musicologica», xxv, 1987, pp. 373-418: 385 sg.

20 The same falling fifth was used by Giacomo Carissimi for the incipit of the motet *Salve, Virgo* in his *Arion Romanus*, Constance, 1670. For a secular example of a similar gesture for the word “Salve”, by Orazio Vecchi, cfr. WARREN and URSULA KIRKENDALE, *Music and Meaning: Studies in Music History and the Neighbouring Disciplines*, Firenze, Olschki, 2007, pp. 126, 198. Handel utilizes for his *Dei* in the *Salve Regina* HWV 241 a downward leap of an octave.

V. I-II

Sopr.

Ad te su - spi - ra - mus, ge - men - tes

For the phrase «in hac lacrimarum valle»», which had become an idiom in common parlance, Caldara reserved the only appearance of the lowest note in the entire composition, descending with a very expressive leap of an eleventh to c', for «val-», into a deep «valley»:21

81

la - cri - ma - rum val - le

Towards the end of four of the movements he indicates with fermatas, three of them over a $\frac{6}{4}$ chord, improvised cadences (the singer would end them with a trill), a practice adapted later, as already the ritornellos, from vocal music to the instrumental concerto.

The extraordinary, but simple melodic elegance of Caldara already anticipates Mozart, though formulated at least forty years before his birth by a composer born fifteen years before J. S. Bach! Only if one did not know of many pages of Caldara's music (e.g. in the liturgical works) with an astonishing resemblance to those of Haydn and Mozart would one be misled to attribute this work to a later composer.

Te decus virgineum

Another antiphon by Caldara, *Te Decus virgineum* (Münster, Sant. Hs. 723), consists of the autograph score and separate parts for contralto, unison violins (four copies), bass (two copies), and organ (same as bass) written by a single scribe,

21 Handel's melody descends in a katabasis of an octave, with less large leaps. Cfr. U. KIRK-ENDEALE, *Music and Meaning* cit., p. 411.

often hardly legible because of damage caused by the ink. The number in its title «Antif.^a 2^{da} Alto Solo con VV.ⁿⁱ di Ant.^o Caldara» was determined not by a chronological sequence or by the presence of another setting of this text by Caldara (Sant. Hs. 722, likewise autograph, not numbered, for the same ensemble, possibly for a different year), but by its definitive position in the liturgy, after the antiphon *Haec est regina virginum*. Unlike the *Salve Regina*, the text

Te decus virgineum, virgo Dei genetrix Maria: Te solam, inter omnes virgines
castissima, exoramus, et pro salute nostra apud Dominum intervenire digneris

is extremely rare (RISM lists only the two modern settings by Caldara). It appeared already in the twelfth-century Benedictine antiphonal F-Pn, lat. 12584 of Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, as the fifth antiphon *In secundo nocturno* of the feast *In nativitate Sanctae Virginis Mariae*, for the psalm 97, *Cantate Domino canticum novum*.²² And it was prescribed – immediately after the other antiphon composed by Caldara, *Haec est Regina virginum*²³ – in the Carmelite Ordinale of Sibert de Beka, promulgated for London ca. 1312, «In annuntiatione gloriosae Virginis Mariae, totum duplex. Ad Vesperas ant. *Haec est Regina*. Ps. [112] *Laudate pueri*. Ant. *Te decus*. Ps. [116] *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*»,²⁴ etc., where the two texts remained for centuries.²⁵ Sibert restored the ancient Carmelite rite of Jerusalem

22 RENÉ-JEAN HESBERT, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, Roma, Herder, 1961-79, II, XV, 551 and III, 502.

23 Sant. Hs. 724 (autograph, «antifona prima»), published by Rudolf Ewerhart, Cologne, Edmund Bieler, 1968 (“Die Kantate”, 11). This edition and many others of Caldara’s music are filed in the Fondo Kirkendale of the Vatican Library. In addition to the settings by Caldara and Handel, RISM lists others only by Domenico Campisi (1588-1641), Girolamo Chiti 1679-1759), Joseph Haydn (as Offertorium, Hoboken *deest*), and Petit (as Offertorium). Another, by Leonardo Leo (1694-1744), is in I-Mc.

24 *Ordinaire de l’Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel*, ed. Benedict Zimmerman, Paris, Piccard, 1910, p. 217.

25 The *Breviarium fratrum ordinis B.^{ae} Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli juxta Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae antiquam consuetudinem ... pars hymnalis*, Venetiis, MDCC, apud Cieras, p. 530 (Plate 3), «in festo Conceptionis beatæ Mariæ Virginis [8 Dec.] ... ad Vesperas», contains the texts of all five antiphons followed by their five «salmi Laudate», nos. 112, 116, 145-147 (cfr. JAMES MOORE, *The Vespero delli Cinque Laudate and the Role of Salmi Spezzati at St. Mark’s*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», XXXIV, 1981, pp. 249-278, which regards the «cinque Laudate» as a Venetian monopoly). The *Breviarium* cit., p. 662, «in festo Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis [25 March] ... ad Vesperas», has the text only of the first antiphon, «Haec est», and for the rest refers to p. 530. On these two feasts, cfr. AUGUSTINUS M. FORCADELL, *Commemoratio solemniss Beatae*

(Holy Sepulchre), reducing the more recent dependence upon the Dominicans.²⁶ The fact that only Carmelite sources include both texts, *Haec est* and *Te decus*, not diffused in manuscripts for other rites²⁷ nor in the printed Tridentine *Breviaria Romana*, indicates that Caldara composed these two antiphons for the Roman Carmelites, probably not for their feasts of the Conception or Annunciation on 8 December or 25 March, which also employ these texts (cf. note 25), but for 15 July, the vigil (first Vespers) of the elaborate feast of the Madonna of Carmel in their church of S. Maria di Montesanto on the Piazza del Popolo,²⁸ as Handel had done in 1707 (HWV 235 and HWV 243).²⁹ Caldara may well have known the two

Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo: Historia et Liturgia, Rome, Ordo Carmelitanorum, 1950, pp. 17 ff and 22-28. Another source very close to Handel and Caldara, with the plainchant melodies, is a contemporary antiphonal of 1702 in the Roman Carmelite church of San Martino ai Monti, Ms. Carmel V.8 (Plate 4). It contains on pp. 98-100, as the first two antiphons, *Haec est* and *Te decus* «in primis Vesperis» for 8 December but not for 25 March. Psalms by Caldara in D-MŪs include nos. 112 and 147, Hss. 721 (1718) and 720, for three voices.

26 ARCHDALE A. KING, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*, London, Longmans & Green, 1955, pp. 254f. On the Carmelite's feasts of the B.V.M. and their use of the *Salve Regina*, cfr. pp. 271-283, 318-320.

27 *Haec est* is found also with the Dominicans, *Te decus* only in Carmelite sources – JAMES JOHN BOYCE, *Cantica Carmelita: The Chants of the Carmelite Office*, diss., New York University, 1984, p. 138. Jeffrey Kurtzman kindly informs me that neither of the two texts is found in any edition of antiphons from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, or in any printed collection which contains even a single item for the Offices; and that, except for the *Psalmorum totius anni modulatio* and *Il Sacro Parnasso delli salmi festivi e brevi* of Lorenzo Penna (Bologna, Monti, 1669 and 1677), no edition identifies psalms with the Carmelite rite.

28 This ancient rite became the feast of the patron of the Order in 1609, a function fulfilled earlier by the Annunciation or the Conception – ARIE G. KALLENBERG, *The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the Liturgical Tradition of the Order*, «Carmelus», XLVII, 2000, p. 15; J. J. BOYCE, *Carmelite Liturgy and Spiritual Identity: The Choir Books of Kraków*, Tournhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 176, 348. The texts *Haec est* and *Te decus* are contained in the *Breviarium* cit., *pars aestivalis*, p. 449, for the «commemoratio solemnitas M. Virginis Mariae [16 July] [...] ad Vesperas». Here, unlike 25 March and 8 December, the Vespers are amplified by the repetition of the five antiphons after their five *salmi Laudate*. For 16 July Ms. V.11 indicates for these texts only on its title page a reference to Ms. v.8, p. 98.

29 Both preserved in manuscripts from the Colonna family, patrons of the Roman Carmelites. Cf. WATKINS SHAW and GRAHAM DIXON, *Handel's Vesper Music*, «The Musical Times», CXXVI, 1985, pp. 392f (Shaw) and 393, 395 ff (Dixon); ROBERTO GORINI, *Un'antifona di Händel "perduta" e "ritrovata"*, «Nuova rivista musicale italiana», XIX, 1985, pp. 62-74. DONALD BURROWS, *The "Carmelite" Antiphons of Handel and Caldara*, «Händel-Jahrbuch», XLVI, 2000, pp. 33-47, overlooked both Boyce, *Cantica Carmelita*, and the important article by Dixon, published three times

antiphons of Handel, possibly from the library of the Colonna family. He composed his for the same ensemble: *Haec est* for soprano, *Te decus* for alto, with violins and basso continuo, but without the viola (normally understood to double the bass at the octave above) notated by Handel for *Haec est*.

In an excellent article³⁰ Graham Dixon suggested three explanations for the fact that also Handel seems to have set to music only the first two of the five antiphons for the first Vespers of this feast: 1) the other three have been lost, 2) they were composed by other masters (not identified),³¹ or 3) they were performed as chant. Already before knowing the confirmation with the identical case of Caldara, I had found only the third explanation very plausible, valid for both composers. Plausible and confirmed is also the observation of Dixon that complete polyphonic cycles of antiphons for single Vesper services seem to be the exception rather than the rule, perhaps because five polyphonic antiphons would have prolonged the liturgy unduly.

The destination for the Carmelite feast, sustained by Cardinal Carlo Colonna, explains also why bills for copies of these two antiphons of Handel and Caldara do not exist in the archive of their patron, Francesco Maria Ruspoli, and why the copyist of Caldara's *Te decus* is not one of those who worked for this prince.³² But

already in 1987 (see below, note 30), and derived his biographical information on Caldara exclusively from the superficial compilation in the *New Grove Dictionary*, 1980.

30 GRAHAM DIXON, *Handel's Music for the Carmelites: A Study in Liturgy and Some Observations on Performance*, «Early Music», xv, 1987, pp. 16-29; published also in *Handel e gli Scarlatti a Roma*, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Agostino Ziino, Firenze, Olschki, 1987, pp. 29-48, and in «Carmelus», xxxiv, 1987, pp. 78-93. The only thing which does not convince me is his transfer of the two antiphons from the first to the second Vespers, merely to have a more complete cycle for his broadcast. But Dixon, p. 27, rightly condemns the edition of H. C. ROBBINS LONDON et al., *The Roman Vespers of 1707* (Cardiff, University College Press, 1985, without *Te decus*, not yet rediscovered) as liturgical nonsense.

31 RISM lists many sources for the three antiphons not set by Handel or Caldara but prefixed to the third, fourth, and fifth psalms by Sibert de Beka and by the Breviary of 1700: 458 for *Sub tuum praesidium*, 89 for *Sancta Maria succere miseris*, and 82 for *Beata dei genetrix*, a minority of them by Italian composers, and not all classified as antiphons, rather than as motets, responsories, or litanies. The settings of these texts are thus much more numerous than those of the first two antiphons, because they were admitted also to the Marian feasts of the Roman rite – cf. *Liber Usualis* 1861, 1255, 1754.

32 But a large part of Handel's 'Carmelite' music of Colonna provenance found in Manchester was copied by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini, a principle scribe for works of Handel and Caldara

they were surely all composed during their sojourns in Rome (Handel 1707, Caldara 1709-16, possibly even 1708),³³ like other music of theirs in the collection of Fortunato Santini now in Münster, largely of Ruspoli provenance.³⁴

* * *

Since the *Salve Regina* was not bound to a particular feast (in certain times and places it was sung also at the conclusion of the Mass),³⁵ its setting of course did not have a fixed position in the liturgical calendar. Handel's, HWV 241, was composed in the service of Ruspoli for the vigil of Trinity Sunday, 17 June 1707,³⁶ the day which began the long, prescribed season for its employment at Vespers, and it was perhaps re-used for the Carmelites (they had been using the text already ca. 1263, and eventually up to ten times a day!).³⁷ But Caldara's, on the other hand, absent from the Ruspoli accounts, could have been destined rather for the conclusion of their feast (16 July), where according to their rule the *Salve Regina* was sung in the procession to the altar of the Virgin.³⁸

copied for Ruspoli – cf. WATKINS SHAW, *Some Original Performing Material for Handel's Lost Church Music*, «Göttinger Händel-Beiträge», II, 1986, p. 228, and *Handel: Some Contemporary Performance Parts Considered*, in *Eighteenth-Century Music in Theory and Practice*, ed. by M. A. Parker, Stuyvesant, Pendragon, 1994, p. 61; URSULA KIRKENDALE, *Music and Meaning*, and *Antonio Caldara: Life and Venetian-Roman Oratorios*, Firenze, Olschki, 2007, indices, under “Angelini”. DIXON, p. 20, reproduced a page from his hand.

33 FRANCESCO VALESIO, *Diario di Roma*, Milano, Longanesi, 1976, IV, 114: “Si celebrò hoggi la festività della Madonna del Carmine nella chiesa di Monte Santo con solenne musica fatta alle spese del cardinale Colonna” (“Today [16 July 1708] was celebrated the festivity of the Madonna of Carmel in the church of Monte Santo with solemn music made at the expense of Cardinal Colonna»); p. 300 “Si celebrò hoggi la festa della Madonna SS.^{ma} di Monte Santo” (“Today [16 July 1709] was celebrated the feast of the SS.^{ma} Madonna of Monte Santo»).

34 On the activity of Handel in Rome and his compositions for the Catholic liturgy, cf. U. KIRKENDALE, *Music and Meaning* cit. (above, note 20), Ch. IX-XI.

35 E.g. already in 1321 by the Carmelites, 1328 in Lombardy for all Masses, after the Gospel of John, in 1544 before it. Cf. KING, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* cit., pp. 319f, and JOSEF ANDREAS JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia*, Freiburg, Herder, 1962⁵, II, p. 568.

36 U. KIRKENDALE, *The Ruspoli Documents on Handel*, in *Music and Meaning* cit., pp. 329, (bill of the copyist 30 June) 410f.

37 GIULIO CATTIN, *Virgo mater ecclesiae: un tropo alla Salve Regina nelle fonti monodiche e polifoniche dei sec. XIV-XV*, in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento*, Certaldo, Centro di Studi sull'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, IV, ed. by Agostino Ziino, 1978, pp. 149-176: 157 and 163, note 58.

38 *Cerimoniale Divini Officii secundum Ordinem Fratrum B. Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli*, Roma,

I have presented a confrontation of two liturgically and musically very different types of antiphons, from the same Roman ambient: 1) the extended *Salve* no longer linked with a following psalm to an Office, but become autonomous, diffused in all Latin rites and in very numerous sources (almost 4,000 in RISM), prescribed for a large part of the year and used also outside of this period and outside of the liturgy itself. 2) The much shorter *Te decus* for a particular Office of the Carmelites, not used in other rites, and with only two settings in RISM (both by Caldara, that of Handel is lacking). I wished also to connect the antiphons of the two composers, so close in time and place.

Especially the *Salve Regina* illustrates the extraordinary melodic talent of Caldara during his sojourn in Italy. He spent, however, the last twenty years of his life at the imperial court in Vienna, as the highest paid chapel master of the eighteenth century. Here he intensified his contrapuntal style substantially, adapting it to the taste of the emperor. But also in this context his music is never cerebral, contrary to that of some by J. S. Bach, but maintains effortlessly its melodic elegance, in a unique synthesis of Mediterranean and Northern art. Like Handel and Mozart, he was able to acquire this elegance only in Italy. The pioneer of Viennese musicology, Franz Kandler, recognized this when he wrote in 1817: «Caldara possesses the rare distinction of uniting the fluent, ingratiating Italian song with rigorous German thoroughness»; «[He is] one of the greatest composers who ever lived», «a crown jewel of church music»; «[Fugues, which] in the hands of a Jos. Fux [or] Seb. Bach ... so often leave a prosaic feeling, are combined by Caldara with mild, animated spirits, which captivate ... even the arch-enemy of fugues». The few connoisseurs who examined his manuscripts were of the same opinion. In 1929 an English writer called him «one of the greatest [...] Italian composers» of his time. An Austrian apostrophised him aptly as «the Italian Handel». That such a great master is not better known today is an injustice of music historiography. («Propheta in sua patria honorem non habet»). He was almost forgotten in Italy because he left the country, taking his manuscripts with him. Their huge quantity, diffused in all of Europe, intimidates Austrian musicologists today. The collection of his autographs in Vienna is perhaps larger than

apud G. Facilotum, 1616, pp. 164f: «Finitis Vesperis, si processio ad cappellam Beatae Virginis facienda fuerit: sic fiet. Dicto ultimo Benedicamus, hebdomadarius antiphonam Salve Regina cantando incipiat». «Haec processio fieri debet omnibus Dominicis, & omnibus festis Beatae Virginis».

that of any other composer. He deserves, more than the relatively mediocre Vivaldi, research and performance. Stravinsky judged both composers correctly: «Vivaldi is greatly overrated – a dull fellow who could compose the same form so many times over. [...] Caldara I respect».³⁹

39 For many judgements on the music of Caldara and detailed information on his life and manuscripts cf. U. KIRKENDALE, *Antonio Caldara: Life and Venetian-Roman Oratorios* (German ed. 1966, English ed. translated and revised by W. Kirkendale, Firenze, Olschki, 2007); also U. and W. KIRKENDALE, *Caldara, Antonio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XVI, 1973, pp. 556-566. Our first acquaintance with the antiphons discussed in this article derives from excellent performances directed by Rudolf Ewerhart and broadcast by the Westdeutscher Rundfunk in 1958-59. A recording of them is deposited in the Istituto Storico Germanico, Roma.

Publications on the Salve Regina

On the text, its attributions (much debated), age, sources, liturgical function, and vast diffusion, cf. these publications, which I could consult in Rome. They contain also references to some other studies (cf. especially the bibliographies of 1935, 1963, and 1965, with publications before 1900). Among the more important studies, those of Jean de Valois in the «Tribune de Saint Gervais» are accessible also on Internet. The publications on the medieval chant do not often indicate whether the texts discussed are provided with musical notation or not. Research on the *Salve Regina* in Italy and in baroque music is still rather scant.

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PLATE 1: No. 9 of 14 woodcuts in a cycle *Salve Regina*, Regensburg, c. 1470, unicum, © British Library Board, shelfmark B 1, p. 7.. "In allen trubsaln und noten Sungen munnich und pfaffen das salve der Jungkfrauen maria zm lob" ("In all tribulations and distress monks and priests sing the *Salve* in praise of the Virgin Maria").



PLATE 2: The Dorian melody of the "Salve Regina", *Liber Usualis*, p. 276.

Ant.
1.

S Al-ve, * Re-gí- na, máter mi-se-ricórdi- ae :

Ví- ta, dulcé- do, et spes nóstra, sál-ve. Ad te
clamá-mus, éxsu-les, fí-li- i Hévae. Ad te suspi-rá-
mus, geméntes et flén-tes in hac lacrimá-rum vátte.
E- ia ergo, Advocá- ta nóstra, íllos tú- os mi-se-ri-
córdes ócu-los ad nos convér-te. Et Jésum, benedí-
ctum frúctum véntris tú- i, nó-bis post hoc exsí-li- um
os-ténde. O clé-mens : O pí- a : O dúlcis
* Vírgo Ma-rí- a.

PLATE 3: *Breviarium fratrum ordinis B. ae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli juxta Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae antiquam consuetudinem [...] pars hymnalis*, Venetiis, MDCC apud Cicras, p. 530: Vespers of the five "salmi Laudate", with the second antiphon *Te decus virgineum*.

530 **Festa Decembris.**

5itentiam humiliter egit. Et Bo sanctus Episcopus pro Ecclesia Dei maximis laboribus, curisque perfunctus, multis libris etiam egregie conscriptis, antequam in morbum incideret, mortis suae diem praedixit. Ad quem aegrotum Honoratus Vercellensis Episcopus, Dei voce ter admonitus, accurrit, eique sanctum Domini corpus praebuit; quo ille sumpto, conformatis in Crucis similitudinem manibus, orans, animam Deo reddidit pridie Nonas Aprilis, ejus tamen festivitas hac die celebratur.

3. Ecce vir prudens.

In tertio Nocturno, Lectiones de Homilia sancti Augustini Episcopi in Evangelium. Vos estis sal terra. de Comuni Doctorum. lxi.

Vesperae de Conceptione B. Virginis Mariae.

DIE VIII. DECEMBRIS.

In Festo Conceptionis beatae Mariae Virginis.

Duplex maius.

Ad Vesperas, Antiphona.

Haec est Regina Virginum, quae genuit Regem velut rosa decorat. Virgo Dei Genitrix, per quam reperimus Deum & hominem, alma Virgo intercede pro nobis omnibus.

Psalms. Laudate pueri Dominum. 111.

Antiphona. Te decus virgineum, Virgo Dei Genitrix Maria, te solam inter omnes Virgines castissimam exoramus, ut pro salute nostra apud Dominum intervenire digneris.

Psalms. Laudate Dominum omnes Gentes. 114.

Antiphona. Subitum praesidium confugimus, sancta Dei Genitrix: nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitati-

bus nostris: sed a periculis cupidis libera nos semper, Virgo gloriosa, & benedicta.

Psalms. lauda anima mea Domino. 126.

Antiphona. Sancta Maria succurre miseris, juva pusillanimes, refove debiles: ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto saemineo sexu.

Psalms. Laudate Dominum, quoniam bonus est psalmus. 126.

Antiphona. Beata Dei Genitrix Maria, virgo perpetua, templum Domini, sacrum Spiritus sancti. Tu sola sine exemplo placuisti Domino Jesu Christo. Ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto saemineo sexu.

Psalms. I. lauda, Jerusalem Dominum. 126.

Capitulum. Prov. 8.

Dominus possedit me in initio viarum suarum, antequam quidquam faceret a Principio. Ab aeterno ordinata sum; & ex antiquis antequam terra fieret. Nondum erant abyssi, & ego jam concepta eram.

R. Stirps Jesse virgam produxit, virgaque florem: * Et super hunc Florem requiescet Spiritus almus. * Virgo Dei Genitrix virga est, flos Filius ejus. Et super.

Gloria Patri. Et super.

Hymnus. Ave maris stella, de Officio parvo ejusdem B. Virg. Mariae. cliv.

*** Conceptio est hodie sanctae Mariae Virginis.**

R. Cujus vita inclita cunctas illustrat Ecclesias, alleluja.

Ad Magnificat. Antiphona.

Gloriosa Virginis Mariae Conceptionem dignissimam recolamus, cujus Dominus humilitatem respexit, quae Angelo nun-

PLATE 4: Antiphonal, 1702, Rome, San Martino ai Monti, Ms. Carmel. V.8, p. 100, with the Antiphon *Te decus virgineum*.

100 *In festo*

Uirgo interce=
de pro nobis o=
nibus. *E* uouae. *añ*a

*T*e decus virgi=
neum, Uirgo De=
i Genitrix Ma=
ria