Mention the name of Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni to today’s musicians, especially to singers, and they will invariably associate it with one of two pieces: *Cantate Domino canticum novum* and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis*. These two psalm-motets have developed a life of their own, being part of the repertory of a vast number of church choirs worldwide. Their use is not confined to Roman Catholic churches: in Scotland, for example, *Cantate Domino* is also sung by some Presbyterian and Episcopal church choirs. A number of versions of this piece can currently be found on YouTube, performed by American groups. There is clearly something extremely attractive to choirs – and not just church choirs – about this piece and its companion *Laudate Dominum*. People who sing them know little or nothing of Pitoni and have, in all likelihood, sung nothing else by him; if asked when the pieces were composed, they would most likely venture the sixteenth century, which is a factor in their reputation. In this paper I would like to examine the phenomenon of the two pieces’ continuing popularity, looking at their reception history and, especially, at the role of the German collector, editor and pioneer of the Cecilian movement Carl Proske in their dissemination.

In Britain the two pieces’ popularity seems to stem from editions published in 1931 and 1962 respectively; these are the earliest editions listed in the British Library Catalogue of Printed Music.\(^1\) Richard R. Terry’s edition of *Cantate Domino* appeared in 1931 and George Malcolm published his edition of *Laudate Dominum* in 1962.\(^2\) It is no coincidence that both of these editors were organists and masters of the music at the Roman Catholic Westminster Cathedral in London. Terry was the first Master of Music at the newly-built Cathedral from 1901 to 1924 and set up a musical tradition which matched that of Anglican cathedrals. He was also an editor of Tudor English music as well as of Roman music.\(^3\) George Malcolm was Master of the Music at the Cathedral in the 1940s and 1950s.\(^4\) Both men must have made liturgical use of the Pitoni pieces in their own transcriptions prior to their editions being published. Terry’s 1931 edition of *Cantate Domino* seems to have been the catalyst for its subsequent appearance in other editions.

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editions in Britain and in the USA and the same seems true for Malcolm’s 1962 edition of *Laudate Dominum*.  

Where did Terry and Malcolm obtain the music for their editions? Neither gives a source but the only known earlier editions were German ones and these in turn seem to have been based on those in Annus I, Tomus II of the series *Musica Divina*, edited by Carl Proske and published in Regensburg in 1855. Among the early subscribers to the *Musica Divina* series was Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster after the reconstitution of the English hierarchy in 1850. It is reasonable to assume that a copy of Proske’s cumulative anthology would have been placed by Wiseman in the library of the then pro-cathedral choir.

Proske’s *Musica Divina* series was hugely influential in the dissemination of Roman sacred music in the 19th and 20th centuries. Pieces which appeared there have been continually re-edited in the ensuing 150 or so years. This is proof of the success of the project in which Proske sought to reinvigorate church choirs in Catholic Bavaria and throughout Europe by returning to plainchant and to the polyphony of the late 16th century. It was part of the wider Cecilian movement which was a reaction to what was seen as the overly operatic style of church music at the time. Proske’s intention is setting up the *Musica Divina* series was to provide church choirs with relatively simple settings of the main liturgical items: Masses, hymns, psalms, Magnificats, as well as a variety of motets for all the major feasts and Common liturgies of the church year. It appeared as a series of fascicles which built into a comprehensive collection aimed at providing, as Proske said in his introduction to the first Volume, not a musical museum of interest to music historians, but a liturgical repertory which he hoped would be used regularly by church choirs and so become a living part of church celebrations.

The vast majority of the pieces included by Proske, and by those who continued the series after his death in 1861, are by late sixteenth-century composers. Table I gives a summary of the contents of Volume II of *Musica Divina*, containing motets for feasts in

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7 Before the building of Westminster Cathedral the church of St. Mary’s, Moorfields in London was used as the pro-cathedral of the Westminster diocese.

the church year, in order of frequency by composer. Lassus and Palestrina head the list, followed by Victoria, Marenzio and Felice Anerio; Pitoni is joint ninth.

TABLE 1

CONTENTS OF MUSICA DIVINA, ANNUS I, TOMUS II: LIBER MOTETTORUM (1855)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPOSERS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF MOTETS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orlandus Lassus (1530/2-1594)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni P. da Palestrina (1525/6-1594)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomas L. da Victoria (c. 1548-1611)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luca Marenzio (1553/4-1599)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felice Anerio (c. 1560-1614)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Gabrieli (1532/3-1585)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Handl Gallus (1550-1591)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Croce (c. 1557-1609)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregor Aichinger (1564/5-1628)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans Leo Hassler (1564-1612)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni (1657-1743)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tommaso Bai (c. 1650-1714)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costanzo Porta (c. 1528/9-1601)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Clemens (1510/5-1555/6)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alessandro Costantini (1581-1657)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabio Costantini (1670/5-1644)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alessandro Searlatti (1660-1725)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregorio Turini (1553/5-1596)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregorio Allegri (1582-1652)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Biordi (1691-1748)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni F. Brissio (c.1570-after 1617)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompeo Canicciari (1670-1744)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudio Casciolino (1697-1760)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johann J. Fux (1660-1741)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudolph Lassus (c.1563-1625)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the Table, Proske did not confine himself to late 16th-century composers but included some from the early 17th-century and even from the late 17th century or early 18th century, such as Alessandro Scarlatti, Claudio Casciolino, Pompeo Canniciari, Giovanni Biordi, Tommaso Bai – and Pitoni. These were all composers who wrote church music in the stile antico or stile osservato and whose style was judged by Proske to have the same qualities that he saw in 16th-century music. More than that, he may have seen in their greater leaning towards tonality and greater use of homophony something which would connect more readily with church congregations than the more densely imitative music of the 16th century. In this context it is significant that Proske
included Pitoni in his list of important model composers in his foreword to Volume II: he is the only non-16th-century composer named among those who, according to Proske, belonged to the ‘best masters of the most musically-advanced nations of earlier times’. The others are (Proske only gives surnames): Palestrina, Lassus, Victoria, Porta, [Giovanni Maria] Nanino, [Felice?] Anerio, [Andrea?] Gabrieli, Marenzio, Handl, Hassler and Aichinger.

TABLE 2

MUSIC BY G. O PITONI PUBLISHED IN MUSICA DIVINA

Vol. I  Missa In Navititate Domini
         Missa pro Defunctis

Vol II Felix namque, pro Nativitate Beatae Mariae Virginis
    In voce exultationis, pro Festo Corporis Christi
    Ex altari tuo, Domine, pro Festo Corporis Christi
    Qui terrena triumphat, pro Festo Corporis Christi
    Cantate Domino
    Laudate Dominum in sanctis

Vol. III Magnificat
    Psalmum Laudate Dominum omnes gentes
    Hymnus Pange lingua gloriosi

Vol. IV  Christus factus est

Table 2 lists all pieces by Pitoni included by Proske in the Musica Divina series. The first volume, containing Mass Ordinary settings, included two by Pitoni. The Missa in Nativitate Domini is a short and very simple setting, almost completely homophonic in style; there is no setting of the Benedictus and just a single Agnus Dei. There is much declamation of syllables on crotchets, although the underlying pulse is on the minim. The only variety is provided by occasional moves into triple time. The Missa pro Defunctis is much more extensive, setting the complete Requiem proper as well as the Libera me, Domine. Four-voice contrapuntal sections based on the plainchant alternate with much more modern-style terzetti for either SST or ATB. These terzetti use lively semiquavers to paint the words, especially in the Dies Irae and Liber me. Proske was clearly very taken with both Masses. In his introduction he called the Nativity Mass ‘the parting salute of a great life-spirit shortly to be released into heavenly harmony’ and spoke of its ‘clarity, combined with a certain festivity’. The Requiem, he wrote, was held together by the golden thread of the plainchant; it combined the ‘example of his eternal predecessors with Pitoni’s own invention […] so that the whole

9 ‘[…] den besten Meistern der musikalisch gebildetsten Nationen früherer Zeti angehörig’.
work reached a peak of originality’.  

This high opinion was not shared, however, by Franz Haberl who removed both Masses from his reprint of Volume I of Musica Divina in 1885. Haberl’s preface speaks of Pitoni’s Requiem as being anachronistic: ‘Pitoni and Antonio Lotti have been omitted for practical considerations: the Requiem of an anonymous composer, someone from the Roman School at the start of the 17th century, will work better alongside the insertion [of works] by Francisco Guerrero and Caspar Kerll than the confused and anachronistic work of Pitoni, conceived in a variety of styles and more like an historic curiosity, which was included in the first edition’.  

Clearly it was the inclusion of the three-voice sections in a more modern style which was the problem. Haberl made no comment on the Nativity Mass. In fact he retained only six of the twelve Mass settings from Proske’s first edition, substituting some of the latter’s choice of Masses by Palestrina and Lassus with other ones by the same composers and adding an extra Palestrina setting instead of the Lotti Mass.  

Three of the six pieces in Volume II are assigned to the feast of Corpus Christi: In voce exultationis, Ex altari tuo domine, Qui terrena triumphat/Qui manducat hunc panem (in this last piece, both sets of words are underlaid to the same music). All three have a bright joyful tone and are the most contrapuntally interesting of the Pitoni pieces included by Proske. They make good use of imitation and of invertible counterpoint, using subject and counter-subject pairs which contrast long-note themes with shorter-note ones, in the manner of 18th-century stile antico fugues. There is a particularly effective Alleluia section at the end of the third piece. Felix namque, set for the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, is a largely homophonic setting, very much like Cantate Domino and Laudate Dominum, with a second section in triple time.  

Proske’s Annus I, Tomus III was devoted to psalms, hymns and Magnificat settings and he included one example of each genre by Pitoni. The Magnificat is in falsobordone style, through-composed with short verses simply getting through the text in syllabic fashion. The same is true of the other two pieces: the hymn Pange lingua, one of three settings given, sets just one verse in polyphony which is presumably repeated over and over, with a slightly more extended ‘Amen’. The plainchant hymn

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11 ‘Pitoni und Antonio Lotti wurden aus praktischen Erwägungen ganz übergangen; das Requiem des Auctor incertus, eines Componisten der römischen Schule anfangs des 17. Jahrhundert wird sich mit den einschaltungen von Franceso Guerrero und Caspar Kerll besser aufführen lassen, als die mit verwirrender und anachronistischer Stylverschiedenheit concipirte, einem historischen curiosum nicht unähnliche Komposition Pitoni’s in der ersten Auflage’. 
tune is in a modified version in, unusually, the bass voice. The psalm *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* is again in simple chordal *falsobordone* with an added Amen. All of these settings by Pitoni are the most simple which Proske supplies in this volume; they are more basic than other settings of the same text and suitable for the most inexperienced of choirs. Essentially Proske seems to have chosen the Pitoni settings to provide training material for choirs and to give them some basic but effective settings of music for Vespers and for Benediction.

The fourth volume of *Musica Divina* is dedicated to music for Holy Week. There is just a single piece by Pitoni here, a setting of *Christus factus est*. This is in the usual three sections sung cumulatively during the offices of Tenebrae, the complete piece being sung on Holy Saturday. It is a more complex and longer setting than any of the other pieces by the composer in the anthology. The overall texture of this piece is largely homophonic but there is some imitation at the starts of sections and occasionally in the middle of the piece. The middle section sees Pitoni responding to the text in a more interesting manner than in most of these other pieces: it sets the words ‘mortem autem crucis’ in quite a chromatic fashion, albeit more in an 18th-century than a 16th-century way: there are diminished 7th chords and melodic sequences which make this an effective setting which would bring satisfaction to both singers and listeners.

Turning to the sources which Carl Proske might have used for his editions of Pitoni’s works, it is somewhat ironic that the two pieces by Pitoni in the original volumes of *Musica Divina* for which the sources most clearly pointed to Pitoni were the two Mass settings, subsequently substituted by Haberl. Proske gives the source for the *Missa in Nativitate Domino* as a manuscript in the library of the Cappella Giulia in St. Peter’s, dated 2 January 1743, a month before the composer’s death. The *Missa pro Defunctis* was edited from a manuscript which Proske had acquired in Rome and dated 1688. In the case of the other pieces Proske simply states that they were copied from an ‘old Roman manuscript’. The earliest surviving sources for *Cantate Domino* and *Laudate Dominum* to be found in the Proske collection in Regensburg are a pair of manuscripts, both containing transcriptions of the same twenty-three pieces. One of these, Mappe A.I. 1/19, consists of a set of partbooks and a series of folders, one for each piece, in which the soprano part has been copied out and three blank sheets of manuscript paper supplied for copying the other three parts. The overall cover has the following title: ‘xxiii Cantiones Sacrae IV vocum. Ex Ms. Antiquiss[imo] Romano in Bibliotheca propria partitionem fecit C[arl] P[roske] m[ensis] Feb[uarii] a[nno] 1838’. The transcriptions are in Proske’s hand. A later hand has written in pencil: ‘Auctorum incertorum diversorumque’.

The other manuscript, Mappe A.I. 1/18, is in the hand of the Italian scholar and collector Fortunato Santini and consists of a set of four partbooks. The overall cover bears the description: ‘xxiii Cantiones sacrae IV vocum Auct[or]um ----- [blank]. Ms. Antiq. ex collectionis. D. Fortunati Santini rom[ani]’. On the first page of the canto volume is written the following: ‘F.S. a Mr. le Chanoin Charles Proske’. This

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13 ibid. p. lxx
manuscript is not dated. A later hand has added in pencil ‘incerto aut incertis cf. Praenestini aliqua celiberrimorum auctorum opera’. No composers’ names were inserted by Santini but a later hand has written the name ‘Pitoni’ in pencil against three: *In voce exultationis*, *Ex altare tuo Domine*, and *Cibavit nos*. An index lists all twenty-three pieces inside the front cover; a much more recent hand has written ‘Pitoni?’ in pencil against *Cantate Domino* (though not *Laudate Dominum in sanctis*) and ‘Palestrina?’ against two further pieces: *Pange lingua* and *In voce exultationis*.

Among these twenty-three pieces are the six published as by Pitoni in Volume II of *Annus I of Musica Divina* and the *Pange lingua* in Volume III. While there is no direct evidence, it seems likely that Proske copied the pieces in Mappe A.I.1/19 from those in Santini’s manuscript, Mappe A.I.1/18. Both manuscripts have call-numbers beginning with ‘A’ indicating that their contents are anonymous. These pieces do not appear in Proske’s Mappe Pitoni. What is not at all clear is where the attribution to Pitoni originated. It is, of course, possible that Santini informed Proske in person or by letter that certain or all of the pieces in his manuscript had been ascribed to Pitoni in their original source but it is odd that he did not assign any such attributions in his manuscript. Nor do they appear under Pitoni’s name in the Santini collection in Münster. As a result some doubt must remain about the actual identity of the composers of all the pieces in these two manuscripts, including *Cantate Domino* and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis*. There seems to be no earlier surviving source for any of these pieces: none was found by Siegfried Gmeinwieser when compiling his catalogue of the composer’s works. In particular, he states for *Cantate Domino*: ‘The exemplar for the print could not be identified’.

The Regensburg library contains a further manuscript containing copies of pieces by Roman composers made in 1839 by Johann Georg Mettenleiter, *Kappellmeister* at the *Alte Kapelle* in Regensburg. He does not identify his sources for these pieces but it is thought that for the most part they were copied from Proske’s transcriptions. On his copy of *Cantate Domino* Mettenleiter originally wrote: ‘Authore J. P. Palestrina’ but later crossed this out and replaced it with ‘Pitoni’. This means that (a) Mettenleiter did not originally regard this as a piece by Pitoni and (b) he was prepared to accept it as by Palestrina. Incidentally, a note in Mettenleiter’s hand which accompanies his transcription of Pitoni’s Requiem states: ‘I received a copy of this exceptional Requiem from […] Dr. Proske who had obtained the original manuscript of the master in Rome and still possesses it. It was performed under my direction by 64 singers on the 25th June

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14 Karl Gustav Fellerer, ‘Verzeichnis der kirchenmusikalischen Werke der Santinischen Sammlung’, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* xxvi (1931), 111; xxvii (1932), 157; xxviii (1933), 143; xxix (1934), 125; xxx (1935), 149; xxxi (1936–8), 95.
15 ‘Die Vorlage für den Druck konnte nicht mehr nachgewiesen werden’.
16 Bischofliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, SM (Sammlung Mettenleiter) LIX/1574, p. 315.
1846 on the occasion of the death of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI’. Clearly the Requiem was thought worthy of such a solemn occasion in 1846, if not by the 1880s.

Turning finally to a closer examination of the two pieces still in fashion today, *Cantate Domino* and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis*, we must ask what it is about them that makes them so popular? While not labelled as ‘prima pars’ and ‘secunda pars’ the two pieces are clearly closely related to each other: their opening bars are the same, they are in the same mode and share similar characteristics. Their texts are taken from adjacent psalms, the final two in the Book of Psalms: *Cantate Domino* sets two verses from Ps. 149 and *Laudate Dominum* takes four verses from Ps. 150 to which it adds a final Alleluia. They are what might be called confessionally-neutral texts, acceptable to all Christian denominations, since they set psalm verses. In *Musica Divina* these two pieces come at the very end of Volume II in a section entitled ‘Appendix Motettorum’ and including general-purpose motets not assigned to particular feastdays. There are many other 17th-century settings of these texts. *Cantate Domino* in particular has been set by Byrd, Buxtehude, Croce, Hassler, Monteverdi and Schütz among others.

Ps. 150 has long been a favourite text for composers and performers, with its listing of the instruments in the Jewish Temple orchestra providing opportunities for word-painting. In his *Laudate Dominum in sanctis* setting Pitoni takes the opportunity to use some rare melismatic writing in parallel thirds on the words ‘in sono tubae’. A similar use of parallel thirds is found on the repeat of the word ‘Cantate’ near the start of *Cantate Domino*, and again, combined with paired imitation, on the word ‘exultent’ near the end. Apart from these and some cadential ornamentations, both of these pieces are almost entirely homophonic, especially *Laudate Dominum*; they are essentially falsobordone settings, though without any recognisable psalm tone.

One feature which characterises both settings and must help explain their popularity is Pitoni’s use of a jaunty triple rhythm. Both psalm texts fit easily into triple time, implied by the natural rhythm of their words in the Vulgate translation. Indeed, when *Laudate Dominum* moves from triple to duple time after fourteen bars it doesn’t seem quite so convincing, since the rhythm of the words continues to imply triple time; this change can be difficult for choirs to bring off; Pitoni does return to triple time for the final Alleluia. *Cantate Domino* continues in triple time throughout, but makes effective use of hemiolas leading up to important cadences, emphasised by suspensions. Both pieces follow the words by splitting the music into short phrases, broken up by rests. The harmony is simple but strong, with the bass moving in fourths and fifths to give a strongly tonal feel. All of these are somewhat timeless features, used by composers from the 16th to the 19th centuries, though the tonal emphasis and short

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18 ‘Dieses ausgezeichnet Requiem erhielt ich zur Copie von […] Dr. Proske, welcher das original Manuskript des Meisters in Rom erhalten hat und noch besitzt. Aufgeführt unter meiner Leitung von 64 Sänger wurde dasselbe am 25ster Juni 1846, veranlasst durch den Tod Seinen Heiligkeit den Papst Gregor XVI’.

19 The final piece in this section is Alessandro Scarlatti’s *Exsulate Deo*, setting a text taken from Psalm 80 which has also remained popular to the present.
phrase-lengths do place it more in the later period. At the same time, Pitoni is following the falsobordone tradition which goes even further back into the 14th century and earlier and which has always been a feature of popular devotional singing. It is this, perhaps more than anything, which gives these pieces their hold on singers and listeners alike: strong rhythm and harmony, easy to sing lines which blend to produce a satisfactory sound, even with relatively inexperienced singers. They exhibit a retrospective sixteenth-century style which could easily be mistaken for the work of Palestrina or by his contemporaries or immediate successors. The pieces can also be used effectively in the training of choirs, much in the way that the books of Italian Arie Antiche published by Ricordi and Schirmer have been used by generations of singing teachers to encourage bel canto singing.20 The clean Latin vowels and mixture of homophony with just a dash of imitation make them useful material for choirs learning to blend and sing together.

As we have seen the authenticity of these two pieces as works by Pitoni is somewhat questionable. They certainly cannot be said to represent the full measure of his achievements as a composer. In that respect they are similar to a number of other largely homophonic pieces from the 16th and early 17th centuries which achieved popularity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries but whose attributions have been found to be suspect, for example the Jesu, dulcis memoria attributed to Victoria.21 There is some irony in the fact that the name of Giuseppe Pitoni lives on today mostly through a couple of simple pieces which do not represent his full contribution and might not even be by him, while his considerable body of polyphonic and other music is largely forgotten. This is the fate of certain other composers – Johann Pachelbel for example – but at least it means that their name does live on. Giovanni Biordi, Tomasso Bai, Pompeo Canicciari are relegated to the margins whereas the composer from Rieti has been given the honour of a conference to mark the 350th anniversary of his birth.

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20 Alessandro Parisotti ed., Arie Antiche 3 vols., Milan, Ricordi, 1885, 1890, 1900. Volumes I and II were first issued by Schirmer in New York in 1894 and have been in constant print ever since. See Margaret Murata, ‘Dr. Burney bought a music book…’, Journal of Musicology xvii (1999), 76-111.