IV PIERRE PHALÈSE THE YOUNGER AND THE MADRIGAL: THE THRUST OF HIS STRATEGY (1583–93)

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Although Italian secular vocal music only began to be printed in Antwerp in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, the first traces of music by Italian composers in the Low Countries are found in the publications of Pierre Phalèse the Elder (c. 1510–c. 1576), albeit of works for lute. He was active in Leuven as a bookseller and occasional publisher starting in 1541.[1] Four years later, he began publishing polyphonic music, and his list of publications was undoubtedly original: in contrast to Tielman Susato in Antwerp and music publishers outside of the Low Countries, who focused predominantly if not exclusively on vocal repertoire, he initially limited himself to instrumental repertoire. He had five books of lute music printed by several fellow Leuven residents, although he apparently owned the typographical material that was used in each case.[2] Even more important than the international nature of the publications are the names of the lutenists listed on some of the title pages: Francesco da Milano and Pietro Paolo Borrono on the fourth book in 1546, Pietro

1 Vanhulst, *Catalogue*.

2 RISM 1545[21] (*Des chansons… livre premier*; revised reprints: 1547[19], 1547[20], and 1549[38]), 1546[20] and 1546[21] (*Des chansons… livre deuxième*), 1546[28] (*Carminum… liber IIII*), 1547[23], 1547[24], and T 380–81 (*Des chansons… livre troixiesme…*). The fifth book, *Des chansons… livre cinquiesme*, is missing in RISM (copy PL-Kj). See Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, Nos. 1–7. Facsimile edition: Vanhulst (ed.), *Des chansons reduictz en tabulature* and Vanhulst (ed.), *Des chansons gaillardes paduanes et motetz réduitz en tabulature*.

Teghi on the third book in 1547, and again da Milano—along with Antonio Rota and Giovanni Maria da Crema—on the fifth book in the same year. Phalèse found it useful to mention these Italians, not only because they were responsible for a substantial portion of the content, as composers of fantasias and dances or as arrangers of vocal compositions, but no doubt also because their names carried a certain resonance. However, some of these publications did not have as much success as expected, and in 1573 the publisher had so many copies of the third and fourth books left that he decided to reprint the first and last gatherings of these to replace the original ones and thus to create the illusion of a "new" edition.[3] It goes without saying that the works of most Italian lutenists were first published in Venice, although this does not seem to have been the case for Teghi. Since Phalèse started working as a publisher only in 1545, he may have been responsible not only for the choice of Venetian lute books, but also for the conversion of Italian tablature—with numbers and the highest string indicated at the bottom—into French tablature—with letters and the highest string at the top. His interest in Italian lute music appears to be a constant over the course of his career: in 1564, he published a volume of dances for three lutes by Giovanni Pacolini (Pacoloni),[4] for which Fredericus Viaera wrote a fourth part for cittern.[5] Little is known about Viaera other than that he was from Friesland; it remains an open question whether he himself converted the Italian lute tablature into the French, but there are in any case numerous errors in the edition. Another one of the Italian lutenists mentioned is Raphael Viola, but this musician is completely unknown, and his *Carminum pro testudinis liber* from 1575 has not been preserved.[6]

Vocal settings of Italian texts are mostly absent from the Leuven publications. Before 1560, Phalèse only published works by local composers, and while he subsequently extended his publications to include composers from the Low Countries working elsewhere, his secular repertoire was largely limited to the French chanson. In 1561, for example, he reprinted the motets from Adriaen Willaert's *Musica nova*,[7] but not

3 RISM 1573^{23}, 1573^{26}, and T 382. Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, Nos. 167–68.
4 RISM P 42.
5 RISM 1564^{21}.
6 Göhler, *Verzeichnis*, part 1, No. 992.
7 RISM W 1128.

the madrigals from the same volume (published two years earlier by Antonio Gardano).[8] From 1560 onwards, the Leuven vocal repertoire slowly began to broaden, thanks to Orlando di Lasso, whose chanson collections occasionally included a madrigal, sometimes by a different composer. Jean de Castro's *Chansons et madrigales* from 1570 was certainly a landmark, not only because the title page mentioned both genres, but also and especially because the majority of the compositions have an Italian text.[9]

Pierre Phalèse the Younger (c. 1540–1629) moved the family business to Antwerp and resumed music publishing activities there in 1582, continuing up until the year of his death. We know little about his musical aptitude, except that in the dedication of Leonardus Nervius's 1623 *Cantiones sacrae… octo vocum*, he wrote that around 1560 he says "avoir servy et enseigné l'art de toucher les Instrumens" ("served and taught the art of playing instruments") to Charles de Croÿ.[10] There is no doubt that he knew Italian: he clearly paid more attention to secular than to sacred music, and this secular repertoire was almost entirely devoted to the madrigal and related genres.[11] The music published in Antwerp was almost entirely opposed to that published in Leuven; Lasso and Castro are the only composers whose music is found in both. It is therefore not surprising that the first publication in 1582 was Lasso's *Libro de villanelle, moresche et altri canzoni*.[12] This edition is nevertheless an exception among the Antwerp publications for another reason: Lasso was the only composer of the period who was able to decide for himself who published his works.[13] He chose Le Roy & Ballard in Paris to publish his *Libro de villanelle*,[14] and he entrusted Phalèse with a completely identical reprint. For Phalèse, however, in the realm of secular music, Lasso remained mainly a composer of chansons, as can be seen in the 1592 *Fleur des chansons*, in which the publisher brought together a wide selection of Lasso's compositions on almost exclusively French poems.[15] Phalèse

8 RISM W 1126.
9 RISM C 1469.
10 *Antwerpse muziekdrukken*, 78.
11 See Forney, "Antwerp's Role" and Hoekstra, "The Reception and Cultivation" for an overview, and Lewis Hammond, "Selling the Madrigal" concerning the anthologies of 1583–91.
12 RISM L 941.
13 See Vanhulst, "Lassus et ses éditeurs".
14 RISM L 930.
15 RISM 1592[9] and L/LL 1002.

had printed the *Libro de villanelle* not because he wanted to, but because Lasso wanted it printed.

Phalèse's new approach was no longer to market mainly original works, but to print music already published in Venice or, exceptionally, in another Italian city. It is extremely doubtful that this was done with the permission of the original publisher, in which case Phalèse's project seems reprehensible by contemporary standards. We should not forget, however, that in his time, any ordinance was valid only within the territory over which the legislator had authority, so it was impossible for publishers to protect themselves against those reprinting their material in other territories. On the other hand, Phalèse's plan indicates that Italian prints were undoubtedly quite hard to find in the Low Countries—and perhaps also in the surrounding areas—and that in 1582 he had already obtained a large collection of Venetian music editions. No one knows how and where he had obtained them, but we will see that his collection was constantly growing. The anthologies compiled by himself or by local composers are the most important part of Phalèse's production during the first decade of his activity in Antwerp, and they will therefore be discussed first.

IV.1 THE ANTHOLOGIES COMPILED BY OR FOR PHALÈSE

Musica divina (1583)

Phalèse himself was responsible for the contents of his first collection of "excellenti madrigali": the *Musica divina di XIX autori illustri* of 1583.[16] Was he trying to give the impression that he was the composer of the first piece, *Fra l'altre virtu*, which appears without attribution and is missing from the table of contents, but was undoubtedly composed for the collection? After all, it celebrates the "gioiliere" ("jeweller") Giovanni Battista di Bartolamei, to whom he dedicated the volume. The first reprint attributes the work to Andreas Pevernage (1542/43–91),[17] which proves that this composer had collaborated on the project from the beginning. That Phalèse opted for Pevernage is remarkable, as neither he nor his father had previously published his music. Pevernage's *Cantiones aliquot sacrae*, a collection of motets supplemented by "elogia nonnulla" ("some

16 RISM 1583[15].
17 RISM 1588[16].

hymns of praise"), was published by Jean Bogard in Douai in 1578,[18] and between 1589 and 1592 Plantin published four editions of his chansons.[19] The collaboration with Phalèse thus seems rather coincidental and may be explained by the fact that Pevernage was struggling professionally in 1583 as a result of the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants.[20]

The identification of the works designated as "incerto" ("uncertain") brings the number of composers to twenty-seven. It is surprising that Phalèse did not know the author of Luca Marenzio's *Liquide perle*—the 1588 reprint rectifies this—and that he attributed Jacques Arcadelt's *Da bei rami* and Sessa d'Aranda's *Quando da gl'occhi* to Philippe de Monte. *Musica divina* includes a total of fifty-seven works; Phalèse counted one more because he considered Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Ogni loco* and its "seconda parte", *Poscia*, to be two separate pieces. *Io mi son* by Domenico Ferrabosco, *Con lei fuss'io*, here attributed to Jacques du Pont, and *Gionto m'ha amor* by Giovanni Domenico da Nola, are the only compositions that had previously been published in Leuven, specifically in the *Livre de meslanges* of 1575 compiled by Jean de Castro; they must already have achieved lasting success.[21]

Just under a third of the repertoire comes from composers of local origin working outside the Low Countries: Monte, of whom Phalèse the Elder had published almost exclusively chansons, is here the author of seven works, of which *Alma ben nata* was probably not published previously. The same number of works were composed by Giovanni de Macque, perhaps not coincidentally a pupil of Monte.[22] All of these works are from his *Madrigali* of 1579; Phalèse sometimes even retained the original order of the compositions. Although his name appeared previously in editions from Leuven, Cipriano de Rore received much less attention here, as is also the case for Giaches de Wert: Rore's *Anchor che col partire* and Wert's *Cara la vita mia* were not recent compositions, but enjoyed sustained success. Phalèse's choice focused more on the repertoire of the younger generation, published during the previous two decades. Can we

18 RISM P 1669. Concerning the activities of the three generations of the Bogard family, see Persoons, "Johannes I Bogardus" and Vanhulst, "The Music".
19 RISM P/PP 1670–73. See Stellfeld, *Bibliographie*, 109–36, for a description of its contents and details about its sale.
20 Bouckaert, "Andreas Pevernage", 167–68.
21 RISM 1575[4].
22 See Deutsch, "'Per l'harmonia'".

therefore say that he wanted to "rejuvenate" Jacques Arcadelt's *Da bei rami*, which dates from 1542—the oldest work in the volume—by attributing it to Monte? That Lasso was mentioned only twice is not surprising, as his name is usually associated with "Einzeldrucke"—editions featuring works by a single composer—and other repertoire. That *Musica divina* actually begins with his as yet unpublished *Poi che'l mio largo pianto* is a clear indication of contact between Phalèse and the composer. In the collection, one also finds a six-voice setting by Monte on the same poem by Petrarch, albeit with variants.

Noé Faignient, who had died in Antwerp around 1578, is the only local musician whose works were included in *Musica divina*. This proves how little the Italian genres had interested composers active in the Low Countries by then. Madrigals by Faignient had previously been included in a 1568 collection of various secular works and motets, published in Antwerp by the widow of Jan Laet,[23] and Phalèse the Elder had published several of his chansons and Flemish songs.[24] Together with *Par mi veder la bella*, a madrigal from 1568, *Chi per voi* appeared for the first time in *Musica divina*, which indicates that Phalèse had direct contact with the composer's widow.

Otherwise, the contents of the anthology were drawn entirely from Italian editions.[25] Six of the seven pieces by Giovanni Ferretti belong to the genre of the "canzona"; Phalèse may have suspected buyers would find this genre more approachable than the more ambitious madrigal. Palestrina is represented with four madrigals, though his name is missing from three of them; interestingly, they were taken from four separate sources. Alessandro Striggio received the same attention as Palestrina, and one composition by each of them can be found in the same anthology from 1566. The three madrigals by Giovanni Maria Nanino were taken from two editions, one of which also includes a composition by Andrea Gabrieli. Concerning the two "canzoni alla napolitana" by Girolamo Conversi, it is noteworthy that *Musica divina* preserves only the second part of his *Alma guidott'amar*, *Ma se tempo*. Stefano Felis received the same attention as Conversi, though one of his madrigals is in three

23 RISM F/FF 61.
24 Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, Nos. 137 and 173–74.
25 Our research is based on Bernstein, *Music Printing*, Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, Lincoln, *The Italian Madrigal*, Nuovo Vogel, Vogel and Einstein, *Bibliothek*, RISM, Zappalà (ed.), *Indice dei compositori* and RePIM. The concordances have been systematically verified.

movements. In addition, Phalèse's anthology includes one composition each by Gasparo Pratoneri, Giovanni Leonardo Primavera, Sessa d'Aranda, Girolamo Vespa, and Pietro Vinci. These rather older works suggest a somewhat historically-oriented approach in *Musica divina*. On the other hand, Marenzio's *Liquide perle* and Monte's *Tempr' homai*, whose first editions date from the autumn of 1580, are more recent compositions. Finally, one wonders how Phalèse obtained Fabrizio Dentice's as yet unpublished *Amor che deggio*. Outside of *Musica divina*, this work only exists in a version for solo voice and lute, copied by Cosimo Bottegari in a manuscript known today under his name.[26] The madrigal may have come from a lost Italian edition, or it is equally possible that a handwritten copy was sent from Parma, where Dentice was employed by the Farnese family, to the Brussels-based court of Alessandro Farnese, governor of the Netherlands. In the case of the latter, however, the attribution "d'Incerto" ("uncertain") in *Musica divina* is difficult to explain.

Table 1 lists the Italian sources that Phalèse may have used for his anthology. Obviously, if the same composition was published several times previously and by different publishers, the concordances refer to the collection in general and not necessarily to a specific edition. My intention is not to mention all existing concordances, but only those with which a relationship to *Musica divina* seems likely. The chance is all the greater if several pieces are found in the same edition, especially if Phalèse respected their order in the source, repeated typesetting errors, or even copied the title page, as is suggested by the similarity between *Musica divina di XIX autori illustri* and Angelo Gardano's 1576 *Musica di XIII autori illustri* (see Table 1, № 27). For publications that were reprinted, one might suspect that Phalèse used the most recent ones, which would correspond to the period in which he was active as a publisher, starting in 1577 in Leuven. The source descriptions systematically follow RISM; the pieces are given following the names and incipits in the Antwerp edition, without correcting any errors. This gives an idea of the problems faced by typographers who did not know Italian when typesetting Italian texts. The "Einzeldrucke" are arranged alphabetically and the others chronologically.

26 I-MOe, C 311, fol. 28^{v}.

TABLE 1. Concordances in *Musica divina* with Italian editions. The city is given only for the editions not published in Venice

	SOURCE	CONCORDANCES
1	Girolamo Conversi, *Primo libro de canzoni… a cinque* (G. Scotto, 1572–80; RISM C/CC 3545–48)	*Ma se tempo gia mai* *Sola, soletta i me ne*
2	Stefano Felis, *Primo libro de madrigali a sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1579; RISM F 211, 1579[5])	*Di faville d'amor* *Non so s'Amor / Anzi no ch'ombr'e /* *Cessi pur l'ombr'e*
3	Giovanni Ferretti, *Canzone alla napolitana a cinque* (G. Scotto, 1567–82; RISM F/FF 512–17)	*Come poss'io morir* *Donna crudel, tu m'hai* *Sei tanto gratiosa*
4	—, *Primo libro delle canzone alla napolitana a sei* (G. Scotto, 1573–81; RISM F 531–33)	*Corrette tutti quanti*
5	—, *Secondo libro delle canzone a sei* (heir of G. Scotto, 1575–81; RISM F 534–35)	*Ecco ch'io lass'il core* *Su, su, su, non piu*
6	Giovanni de Macque, *Madrigali a quattro… sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1579; RISM M 86)	*Amor, e'l ver, fu meco* *Di coralli e di perle* *Fra belle ninfe, in* *Il vago e lieto aspetto* *Moriro di dolor prima* *Non al suo' amante* *Sedendo in su l'arena*
7	Giovanni Piero Manenti, *Madrigali… a sei* (sons of Antonio Gardano, 1574; RISM M 328)	*Se pensand'al partir*
8	Luca Marenzio, *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1580–82; RISM M 530–31)	*Liquide perle amor*
9	Philippe de Monte, *Primo libro de' madrigali a sei* (C. Merulo, 1569 / G. Scotto, 1570–82; RISM M/MM 3339–42)	*La dolce vista a me* *Leggiadre nimfe e / Il dolc'e desiato* *Poi ch'el mio largo pianto*
10	—, *Terzo libro delli madrigali a cinque* (G. Scotto, 1570–81; RISM M/MM 3350–54)	*Ahi chi mi romp'il / Di ch'ella mossa* *Anima dove vai*
11	—, *Terzo libro de madrigali a sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1576; RISM M 3364)	*Amorosi pensieri, lagrim'amare*
12	—, *Quarto libro de madrigali a sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1580; RISM M/MM 3368)	*Tempr' homai l'ira*
13	Giovanni Maria Nanino, *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1579; RISM N 26)	*Erano i capei d'or / Non era l'andar* *Morir non puo'el core*

14	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Primo libro de madrigali a quatro* (Rome: V. & L. Dorico, 1555 / Venice: C. Merulo, 1568–74; RISM P 752–54)	*Gia fu chi m'hebbe cara*
15	Sessa d'Aranda, *Primo libro de madrigali a quatro* (sons of Antonio Gardano, 1571; RISM S 2842, 1571[12])	*Quando da gli occhi del divin* (attr. Monte)
16	Alessandro Striggio, *Secondo libro de madrigali a sei* (G. Scotto, 1571–82; RISM S 6967–70)	*Alla mia dolce e vaga* *Non rumor di tamburi* *Partirò dunque e per che*
17	Girolamo Vespa, *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1576; V 1319)	*Ditemi, o diva mia, non*
18	Pietro Vinci, *Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque* (G. Scotto, 1571–79; RISM V 1675–76)	*Sappi, signor, che Lidia son io*
19	Giaches de Wert, *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque* (G. Scotto, 1558–61; RISM W 855–56)	*Cara la vita mia* / *Poi che con gl'occhi*
20	Perissone Cambio, *Primo libro de madrigali a quatro* (Antonio Gardano, 1547–82; RISM 1547[14], R/RR 2511). Cf. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, 561, for a more complete list	Cypriano de Rore, *Anchor che col partire*
21	*Primo libro d'i madrigali di diversi… quatuor* (Antonio Gardano, 1542; RISM 1542[17]. Cf. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, 353–57 for the reprints	Filippo de Monte [= Arcadelt], *Da bei rami scendea* [Domenico] Ferabosco, *Io mi son*
22	*Secondo libro delle muse a cinque* (Antonio Gardano, 1559 / G. Scotto, 1561; RISM 1559[16], 1561[9])	[Palestrina], *Ogni loco mi porge* / *Poscia che per*
23	*Terzo libro delle muse a quattro* (Rome: A. Barré, 1562 / Venice: F. Rampazetto, 1563; RISM 1562[7], 1563[9])	[Palestrina], *Qual piu crudel martire*
24	*Il desiderio, secondo libro… a cinque* (G. Scotto, 1566; RISM 1566[3])	Giannetto Palestina, *Festiva' i colli* / *Cosi le chiome* Alessandro Striggio, *Chi fara fed'al cielo*
25	*Primo libro… a quattro… il desiderio* (G. Scotto, 1566; RISM 1566[2])	[Gasparo Pratoneri, *or* Spirito da Reggio], *Dolce contrade, o chiusi* [Giovanni Leonardo Primavera], *Amor, quando m'invia*
26	*Secondo libro delle fiamme… a cinque et sei* (G. Scotto, 1567–70; RISM 1567[13], 1570[14])	Gio. Ferretti, *Questa fera gentil*
27	*Musica di XIII autori… cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1576; RISM 1576[5])	Andrea Gabrieli, *Caro dolce ben mio* Gi. Maria Nanino, *Scoprirò l'ardor mio* / *Se voi set'il mio*
28	*Corona di madrigali a sei* (heir of G. Scotto, 1579; RISM 1579[2])	Orlando Lasso, *Di pensier in pensier*

Harmonia celeste (1583)

The second anthology, *Harmonia celeste*, was compiled by Pevernage. In the dedication of his "scielta di migliori madrigali" ("choice of the best madrigals") from 22 October 1583, he addressed Cesare Homodei, an Antwerp-based merchant from Milan, whose admiration for "quel' bel volume che Pietro Phalesio messe ultimamente in luce" ("this beautiful book recently published by Petrus Phalèse") was known to Pevernage. We thus know that he explicitly took *Musica divina* as his model. Plantin stocked the two editions in June and November, respectively, at the price of 1 fl, the same price which is later given to the two subsequent anthologies.[27] As these editions contain six partbooks with a total of 184 folios, the price is normal for a Phalèse edition; his editions with fewer partbooks and of a smaller size cost about half as much. A comparison with the price charged by Plantin for his own music editions makes no sense, as they were marketed as luxury products. Moreover, the size of the print run also played a role, but in the case of Phalèse's editions we have no information about this.

Pevernage claimed that he was bringing together mainly compositions by Homodei's favourite composers. It is unclear whether Pevernage himself belonged to that group, but he was the composer of five madrigals which had not yet been published. Of them, *Cesar gentil / Sequita dunque* and *Quando la voce / Con humil atto* are notably bombastic celebrations of Homodei; the others are *Dolce mio foco*, *Il dolce sonno*, and *Misera que faro*. But the genre nevertheless remained an exception for the composer, whose œuvre, as mentioned, continued to favour the chanson.

Although Pevernage included music by fifteen new composers in his anthology, there is nevertheless a striking resemblance to *Musica divina*. Besides Pevernage himself, Faignient was again the only local figure whose music was included; his two compositions, *Basciami* and *Questi ch'inditio*, were previously unpublished. Lasso, Macque, Monte, and Wert remain the main representatives of local musicians working outside the Low Countries, but their compositions were not always taken from the same sources as in *Musica divina*. For the choirmaster of the

27 B-Amp, Archief 61, fols. 78^{r} and 143^{r}. The information about Plantin's sales are taken from the unpublished inventory prepared by Saskia Willaert and Katrien Derde as part of the inter-university project, "Jean de Castro: Opera omnia", led by Ignace Bossuyt (KU Leuven) and Henri Vanhulst (Université libre de Bruxelles).

duke of Bavaria, *S'io esca* did come from one of the same sources. It is impossible to determine whether Lasso's *Per pianto* came from an Italian source or from his so-called "opus I", a 1555 edition by Tielman Susato.[28] Since Pevernage quoted the Italianised version of the composer's (for once) full name, the madrigal is nevertheless included in Table 2. On the other hand, Lasso's *Appariran per me* was previously printed in Jean de Castro's *Livre de meslanges*, published in Leuven.[29] Monte's *Per divina bellezza* had also already been published by Phalèse the Elder,[30] while his *Io son si vago* was previously unpublished. Monte occupied as central a role in *Harmonia celeste* as he did in *Musica divina*, but Macque here received much less attention, and Wert was again represented by a single composition. Among the nine Italians present in both anthologies, Pevernage used the same sources as Phalèse for the works by Conversi and Vespa. This is also the case for *Ahi chi mi* and *Al vostro dolce* by Felis, while his two other works—most recently *Da l'Arcadia*—were published in Italy in 1582 or 1583. Since all the compositions by Ferretti, Gabrieli, Marenzio, Nanino, and Palestrina are also found in editions from the same period, *Harmonia celeste* has a more contemporary feel than the earlier anthology. The presence of the explicitly erotically charged *Tirsi morir volea* is quite surprising in an edition by Phalèse.[31] The fact that this madrigal appears in all the reprints confirms the suspicion that the censors were primarily on the lookout for texts that contradicted Catholic doctrine. Otherwise, Thomas Crecquillon's chanson *Ung gay bergier*, with its clear sexual allusion, would not have been found in the twenty-six editions of the *Septiesme livre des chansons*, first published by Phalèse the Elder in 1560; indeed, several of the reprints from after 1601 claim on the title page to be "convenables à la jeunesse" ("suitable for youth").[32] Also noteworthy is the thematic contrast Pevernage created by placing Ferretti's *Nasce la pena* after Striggio's *Nasce la gioia*.

The fourteen composers whose music featured in *Harmonia celeste* but not in *Musica divina* were perhaps meant to give the later print its own, unique character. Possibly they were just included to make it look different on the surface, as they provide only fifteen of the fifty-three

28 RISM 1555[19], 1555[29], 1560[4], and L 755–56 and 765. See Forney, "Orlando".
29 RISM 1575[4].
30 RISM 1570[6].
31 See Macy, "Speaking of Sex", 15–21.
32 Vanhulst, "Un succès de l'édition musicale".

pieces. It is highly unlikely that Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Tu dolce anima*, Paolo Quagliati's *Quando del mio bel sol* by, and Giovanni Francesco Violanta's *O saette d'amor* had not previously been published in Italy. The sources containing music by Ippolito Baccusi, Alessandro Bevilacqua, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, Marc'Antonio Ingegneri (present with two madrigals in *Harmonia celeste*), Tiburzio Massaino, Giovanni Battista Mosto, Antonio Pace, Benedetto Pallavicino, Marc'Antonio Pordenon, Ippolito Sabino, and Annibale Stabile were all recent. The oldest is Pace's *Secondo libro de madrigali*, which had been published in 1575 by Giuseppe Guglielmo, a lesser-known figure among the Venetian publishers, which is perhaps why this work did not quickly enjoy wide distribution.

TABLE 2. Concordances in *Harmonia celeste* with Italian sources. The city is given only for the editions not published in Venice

	SOURCE	CONCORDANCES
1	Ippolito Baccusi, *Madrigali… libro terzo a sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1579; RISM B 39)	*Poi chel mio largo pianto*
2	G. Conversi (= *Musica divina*, No. 1)	*Io vò gridando come* *Quando mi miri con*
3	S. Felis (= *Musica divina*, No. 3)	*Ahi chi mi romp'il / Di ch'ella mossa* *Al vostre dolce azuro*
4	—, *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1583; not in RISM)	*Da l'Arcadia feconda / Questo pastor prudente / Tirsi al pastor*
5	G. Ferretti, *Secondo* (= *Musica divina*, No. 6)	*Nasce la gioia mia*
6	Andrea Gabrieli, *Secondo libro de madrigali a sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1580; RISM G/GG 72)	*Dolcissimo ben mio, speme*
7	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, *Canzoni a cinque… libro primo* (Angelo Gardano, 1581; RISM G 546)	*Miracol'in natura, voglio*
8	Marc'Antonio Ingegneri, *Primo libro de madrigali a quatro* (Angelo Gardano, 1578; RISM I 51)	*Non mi tolgl'il ben mio* *Spess'in parte dal ciel*
9	Orlando di Lasso, *Primo libro de madrigali* (Antonio Gardano, 1560; RISM 1560/17[17]. Cf. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 3, 93 for the other Italian editions	*Per pianto la mia carne*
10	Giovanni de Macque (= *Musica divina*, No. 7)	*Dal suo volto scendea*

11	—, *Secondo libro de madrigaletti et napolitane a sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1582; RISM M 88)	*Amor io sent'un respirar* *Tre gratiosi amanti*
12	Luca Marenzio (= *Musica divina*, No. 9)	*Che fa hoggi il mio sole* *Tirsi morir volea / Frenò Tirsi il desio / Cosi moriro*
13	—, *Primo libro de madrigali a sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1581; RISM M/MM 500)	*Qual vive salamandra*
14	—, *Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1582; RISM M/MM 546)	*Madonna, poi ch'uccider*
15	Paolo Masnelli, *Madregali… libro primo a quattro* (Angelo Gardano, 1582; RISM M 1253, 1582[11])	Paolo Masnelli [= Alessandro Bevilacqua], *Non puo, dolce mia vita*
16	Philippe de Monte, *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Antonio Gardano, 1567 / G. Scotto, 1570–80; RISM M 3333–36)	*Che fai, alma / T'alhor tace la lingua*
17	—, *Secondo libro delli madrigali a sei* (G. Scotto, 1569–82; RISM M/MM 3344–47)	*Ch'io scriva di costei* *Correte, fiumi, a le vostre / Cosa non vada* *I begl'occhi und'io / Questi son que*
18	—, *Madrigali… a cinque… libro quinto* (sons of Gardano, 1574; RISM M 3358)	*Veramente in amore si prova*
19	Antonio Pace, *Secondo libro de madrigali a sei* (G. Guglielmo, 1575; RISM P/PP 2)	*Mi parto, vita mia*
20	Benedetto Pallavicino, *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro* (Angelo Gardano, 1582; RISM P 772)	*Quando benigna stella*
21	Marc'Antonio Pordenon, *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro* (Angelo Gardano, 1580; RISM P 5106)	*Donna, la bella mano* *Si grand'e il mio gioire*
22	Ippolito Sabino, *Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque et a sei* (Angelo Gardano, 1582; RISM S 48)	*Facciansi lieti quanti / Hor vi torna*
23	Alessandro Striggio, *Primo libro de madregali a sei* (Antonio Gardano, 1560–79 / G. Scotto, 1561–78 / F. Rampazetto, 1566; RISM S/SS 6950–56, 1560[22], 1565[19], 1566[19–20], 1569[34], 1578[23])	*Nasce la pena mia*
24	G. Vespa (= *Musica divina*, No. 18)	*Madonna, se volete*
25	*Musica di XIII autori* (= *Musica divina*, No. 28)	Giaches de Wert, *D'un si bel foc' e d'un / Scorgo tant'alto*

26	*Corona* (= *Musica divina*, No. 29)	Orlando, *S'io esca vivo* Gio. Battista Mosto, *Se voi set'il mio*
27	*Trionfo di musica… a sei… libro primo* (heir of G. Scotto, 1579; RISM 1579[3])	Tiburtio Massaino, *Ne mai piu vag'in ciel / Piaccia a l'eterno*
28	Giovanni Maria Nanino and Annibale Stabile, *Madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1581; RISM N 29, S 4198, 1581[10])	Gio. Maria Nanino, *Amor deh dimmi* Annibal Stabile, *D'amor le ricche gemme*
29	Pomponio Nenna, *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1582; RISM N 382, 1582[12])	Stefano Felis, *Sonno, scendesti in terra / Tu la ritorni*
30	*Dolci affetti… a cinque* (heir of G. Scotto; RISM 1582[4])	Giannetto Palestrino, *O bella ninfa mia*

Symphonia angelica (1585)

In 1585, Phalèse published a third anthology: *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici*. The compiler was Hubert Waelrant (1516–95), whose compositions had already been published in Leuven. Moreover, as early as 1558 he had published a collection of his madrigals and chansons with a bilingual title page and a dedication in Italian with Jan Laet, a publisher in Antwerp with whom he collaborated.[33] Waelrant was thus the first local composer to devote himself to the madrigal, leading some musicologists to suspect that he had received his training in Italy,[34] especially since Girolamo Scotto had published his *Canzon napolitane* in Venice in 1565.[35] Waelrant's madrigal *Quand'io penso al martire* was also included in the 1561 edition of Philippe Verdelot's six-voice *Madregali*.[36] More importantly, he did not dedicate his anthology to an Italian but rather to a native of Antwerp, Cornelis Pruynen, one of the richest local merchants, a city alderman,[37] and a noted patron to whom Waelrant also dedicated his *Sacrarum cantionum… liber sextus*, published by Laet in 1558.[38] Italian music thus seems to have become well established in the Low Countries, gradually replacing the chanson as the most important secular genre. However, this evolution is not yet

33 RISM W 1. See Weaver, *A Descriptive Bibliographic Catalog*, 81–87.
34 Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 45.
35 RISM W 2.
36 RISM 1561[16].
37 Ghijs, "Pruynen, Cornelis", 670–71.
38 RISM WW 1a.

noticeable in *Symphonia angelica*, for which the input of local composers was minimal. Waelrant included five of his own compositions. The four- and six-voice versions of his *Vorria morire* have been well known in Belgium since the nineteenth century, when Robert Van Maldeghem adapted it in his *Trésor musical* as *Vaarwel mijn broeder*, to be sung by generations of schoolchildren.[39] Besides *Mi voglio fare* and *Quanto debb'allegrarse*, Waelrant was also the composer of *Tra romor di tamburi*, a long madrigal in honour of Pruynen. The latter may have prompted Waelrant to also include *Donna bella* and *Un ape esser* by Cornelis Verdonck in the volume. After all, Verdonck was in Pruynen's service until his departure for Philip II's court in Madrid. It is noteworthy that Waelrant included nothing by Séverin Cornet, who died in 1582; indeed, Cornet's compositions were not included in any of Phalèse's anthologies. Cornet, who spent his youth in Italy, left behind a collection of *Canzoni napolitane*, published by Laet in 1563,[40] and a collection of *Madrigali*, printed by Plantin in 1581, supplemented by a composition by Verdonck, "discepolo dell'Autore" ("a pupil of the author").[41] The latter edition was dedicated to Gerardus de Craenmeester, an Antwerp native who, according to Cornet, could speak Italian as well as his mother tongue ("per haver lei la lingua Italiana non meno propria e famigliare che la sua materna") ("the Italian language is no less personal and common to him than his mother tongue"). This is an interesting indication about the spread of the language among Antwerp citizens.

Waelrant paid little attention to local composers working outside the Low Countries. He limited himself to a single composition each by Monte and Wert, a recent one for the former and an older one for the latter. He included as many pieces by Macque as did Pevernage, though he took his compositions from three different editions from the years 1581–82. Waelrant was also the first to include a composition by the Mechelen-born Rinaldo del Mel, whose career had until that point taken place entirely in the south. His *Tirrhena mia*, on a poem by Sannazaro, was first published just in 1584, making it the most recent piece to have been borrowed. Jan Nasco, the composer of the opening piece, should also be mentioned here, although it is not certain that Waelrant knew

39 Van Maldeghem (ed.), *Trésor musical*, 8–9.
40 RISM C 3944.
41 RISM C 3947 and 1581[7].

anything about the composer, who was connected to the cathedral of Treviso and died there in 1561.

There is no information available on Michele Comis, and his *Gioia al mondo* appears to have been printed here first, though there may be a lost Italian edition. Waelrant followed Phalèse and Pevernage in selecting works by Conversi, Ferretti, Gabrieli—with the remarkable misprint "Gloria" for "Clori a" in the Canto—and Marenzio for his anthology. As many as ten compositions were included by Ferretti, even more than in *Musica divina*, and all but one of them come from sources mentioned above in connection with *Harmonia celeste*. This is also the case for Conversi's canzona. Waelrant took the four madrigals by Gabrieli from the same source that Pevernage had used. Concerning the four madrigals by Marenzio, Waelrant used a similar variety of sources as had Pevernage, two of them new to Antwerp. Baccusi, Gastoldi, Ingegneri, and Nanino were already present in *Harmonia celeste*, and all but one of their compositions here came from the same editions. The exception, a work by Nanino, is the first strophe of the six-part *Mentre ti fui*, of which Waelrant includes only four parts. The second strophe is a composition by Giovanni Battista Moscaglia, who otherwise does not appear in any Antwerp music editions. The eleven remaining newcomers reflect Waelrant's desire for a balance between two generations, judging by the years their works were first published. With his five songs, Vincenzo Ruffo dominates the older group, which also includes Paolo Animuccia and Bartolomeo Spontone. Another older composer is Giovanni Contino, whose *Vivete lieti* was taken from *La eletta di tutta la musica*, published according to its title page in 1569 but arguably ten years older.[42] While Ippolito Sabino's madrigal was first published in 1579, the compositions of Orazio Angelini, Lelio Bertani, Giovanni Battista Locatello, Pomponio Nenna, Giovanni Piccioni, and Orazio Vecchi first appeared in 1583, mostly in anthologies. One of them, *Il lauro verde*, was printed in Ferrara with the text variant "Lucatelli" for Locatelli, a variant also found in *Symphonia angelica*.

42 Antolini (ed.), *Dizionario*, 704.

TABLE 3. Concordances in *Symphonia angelica* with Italian sources. The city is given only for the editions not published in Venice

	SOURCE	CONCORDANCES
1	Orazio Angelini, *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque* (heir of G. Scotto, 1583; RISM A 1213)	*Questa fera gentil* *Tra le chiome de l'or*
2	I. Baccusi (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 1)	*Felice in braccia a la mia* *Il sol si part'ohime* *Io son bell'e delicata*
3	G. Conversi, *Primo* (= *Musica divina*, No. 1)	*Io canterò di quell'almo / Ben poss'Amor*
4	G. Ferretti, *Canzone* (= *Musica divina*, No. 4)	*Basciami vita mia* *Leggiadra giovinett'anima*
5	—, *Secondo libro delle canzoni alla napolitana a cinque* (G. Scotto, 1569–81; RISM F 518–22)	*Far potess'io vendetta*
6	—, *Primo* (= *Musica divina*, No. 5)	*Dolc'amoros'e leggiadrette* *Pascomi sol di pianto* *Quando mirai sta bella* *Un pastor chies'ad una* *Un tempo sospirava*
7	—, *Secondo* (= *Musica divina*, No. 6)	*Mirate che m'ha fatto* *Occhi non occhi ma*
8	A. Gabrieli, *Secondo* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 6)	*Cinto m'havea tra belle* *Gloria Damon dicea* *Come voi tu ch'io* *Sonno diletto e caro*
9	G. G. Gastoldi, *Canzoni* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 7)	*Un novo cacciator*
10	M. A. Ingegneri, *Primo* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 8)	*Chi vuol veder tutta / Vedra i biondi*
11	Giovanni de Macque, *Madrigaletti et napolitane* (Angelo Gardano, 1581; RISM M 87)	*Vorria saper da voi*
12	—, *Secondo* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 11)	*Bacciami, vita mia*
13	L. Marenzio, *Primo* (= *Musica divina*, No. 9)	*Madonna mia gentil, ringratio*
14	—, *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1581; RISM M 539)	*Amor, poi che non vuole / Chi strinse mai*
15	—, *Terzo* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 14)	*Rose bianche e vermiglie*
16	Rinaldo del Mel, *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque* (heir of G. Scotto, 1584; RISM M 2200)	*Tirrhena mia, le matutine*

17	Philippe de Monte, *Decimo libro delli madrigali a cinque* (heir of G. Scotto, 1581; RISM M 3373)	*Occhi vaghi amorosi / Occhi leggiadri*
18	Giovanni Piccioni, *Terzo libro delle canzoni a cinque* (heir of G. Scotto, 1582; RISM P 2228, 1582[13])	*Duo begli occhi lucenti*
19	Vincenzo Ruffo, *Primo libro de madrigali cromatici a quatro* (Antonio Gardano, 1552–56; RISM R 3067–68)	*Ben mille nott'ho gia* *Cantan fra rami* *Fiere silvestre, che* *Sento dentr'al cor*
20	Ippolito Sabino, *Madrigali a sei… libro primo* (Angelo Gardano, 1579; RISM S 45)	*Tirsi in ira di Filli / Et secca, o gran*
21	Bartolomeo Spontone, *Primo libro di madrigali a quatro* (G. Scotto, 1558; RISM S 4169)	*Vieni, soave e dilettoso maggio*
22	*Madregali ariosi a quatro* (Antonio Gardano, 1557; RISM 1557[17]). Cf. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 2, 370 for the reprints	Giovan Nasco, *Laura celeste che si / Et io che sempre*
23	*Madregali ariosi a quatro voci… libro secondo* (Antonio Gardano, 1560; RISM 1560[10])	Paolo Animuccia, *Tu mi ponesti* Vincentio Ruffo, *Prima che spunt'il* Giaches de Wert, *Chi salira per me*
24	*La eletta… corona… libro primo* (Z. J. di Zorzi, 1569; RISM 1569[20])	Giovan Contino, *Vivete lieti e se / Gloir e vita*
25	G. M. Nanino & A. Stabile, *Madrigali* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 28)	Gio. Maria Nanino, *Lasso ch'ogni angeletto*
26	*Dolci affetti* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 30)	Gio. de Macque, *Hor un laccio* (4ª p. Nanino, *Mentre*) Luca Marenzio, *Hor pien d'altro desio* (3ª p. Nanino, *Mentre*) Gio. Batista Moscaglia, *Mentre ti fui si cara* (2ª p. Nanino, *Mentre*) Gio. M. Nanino, *Mentre ti fui si grato*
27	Stefano Felis, *Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1583; not in RISM)	Pomponio Nenna, *Torna, amato mio*
28	*De floridi virtuosi… primo libro… a cinque* (G. Vincenti & R. Amadino, 1583; RISM 1583[11])	Lelio Bertani, *Ch'ami la vita mia* Orazio Vecchi, *Tra mille fiamme*
29	*Il lauro verde… sei* (Ferrara: V. Baldini, 1583; RISM 1583[10])	Gio. Battista Lucatello, *Gia primavera di vari*

Melodia olympica (1591)

After *Sinfonia angelica*, no anthologies were published for the next six years. In 1591, however, *Melodia olympica* came off the press. Again, the compiler was a composer: Peter Philips, an Englishman who had left his country for religious reasons, had worked in Rome for three years in the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and finally settled in Antwerp. He signed the dedication of his anthology there on 1 December 1590. It addresses Giulio Balbani, a member of an Antwerp-based family originally from Lucca, but it was undoubtedly a mere formality, as there are no compositions in *Melodia olympica* that pay him tribute.

More than his predecessors, Philips provided ample space for local composers, preferring to include their compositions at the front or back of the volume. He himself was the composer of only four works, the eight-voice dialogue, *Ditemi, o diva mia*, two compositions for four voices, *Amor sei bei rubini* and *Voi volete ch'io*, and the six-voice *Amor, che vuoi*. Pevernage composed the first piece, *O com'e gran martire*, and *Infinita belta ch'in voi*. Verdonck is represented with the four-voice *A che piu strali*, the five-voice *Fiammeggiavan due stelle*, and the six-voice *Tirsi son io*. The presence of Jan van Turnhout's *Vorria parlare e dire* suggests that there may have been a relationship to the already mentioned court of Alessandro Farnese in Brussels, where the composer had been choirmaster since 1588.[43] Orazio Bassani, better known as a viola da gamba player, also worked there for some time and had previously been employed by the Farnese family in Parma. Could he have composed *Poi che ne prieg'ancor*, which appears only in the Antwerp anthology, in Brussels? Three other unica are also problematic. *Amor io non potrei* and *Amor io sent'un respirar* have been attributed to "Guglielmo Blotagrio", an Italianization of Guilielmus Blootacker, about whose career nothing is known. The third, Dentice's *Ahi crudel*, poses the same problem as his *Amor che deggio* in *Musica divina*, as no older source is known.

There is little space given in this volume to composers from the Low Countries working in Italy. While the madrigal by Wert is more recent than his compositions in the earlier Antwerp anthologies, that of Macque can be found in a source already used by Phalèse. There are analogous similarities as far as Italian composers are concerned: Philips

43 See Thieffry, "Jean de Turnhout" for a fairly complete biography of the composer.

drew from the same edition as did Pevernage and Waelrant for the two compositions by Gastoldi and Striggio and for *Vestiva i colli* by Sabino. In the case of Marenzio, who had clearly enjoyed sustained interest since 1583, Philips chose compositions from sources already used in the previous anthologies as well as from more recent ones; this is also the case for Mosto and Nanino. *Melodia olympica* includes works by Baccusi, Moscaglia, and Palestrina that appeared in Venice at the earliest in 1585. The only exception is Palestrina's *Non son le vostri mani*, for which the Antwerp anthology seems to be the first edition. The composition by Bertani derives from a Venetian anthology slightly older than the source used by Waelrant.

Apart from Bartholomeo Le Roy—hidden behind the attribution "d'Incerto"—whose composition Philips had taken from a 1573 anthology, the works of Felice Anerio, Paolo Bellasio, Giulio Eremita, Ruggero Giovannelli, and Annibale Zoilo, all of whom were composers appearing for the first time in an Antwerp publication, came from sources published or republished in 1585 at the latest. Giovanni Croce is also a newcomer in this edition, even though his works here—though not in the reprints—are labelled "d'Incerto". Indeed, his *Tirsi morir volea*, on a poem by Guarini whose setting by Marenzio was included in Pevernage's volume, dates from 1590. Also new in the Antwerp context is the sestina *Sperar non si potea*, not only in terms of its length—six stanzas plus a "chiusa" ("finale") set to music by six different composers—but also because it sings of the Italian natural environment. Thanks to this multi-part work, Vincenzo Bell'haver, Baldissera Donato, and Claudio Merulo—who was called "Claudio di Correggio" in the 1579 source where Pevernage had already found a madrigal by Massaino—received a place in the anthology. Like Merulo, Gabrieli and Vecchi, who also collaborated on the sestina, were well-known to Phalèse's customers. It remains a mystery where Philips found the anonymous *Lumi miei cari*; by contrast, a catalogue of Angelo Gardano's publications suggests that there was an Italian edition of Francesco Farina's *Morirò cor mio*.[44]

44 Mischiati, *Indici*, I–163.

TABLE 4. Concordances in M*elodia olympica* with Italian sources. The city is given only for the editions not published in Venice

	SOURCE	CONCORDANCES
1	Felice Anerio, *Madrigali a cinque… secondo libro* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585; RISM A/AA 1084)	*Il giovenil mio core*
2	[Giovanni Croce], *Primo libro de madrigali a sei* (G. Vincenti, 1590; RISM C 4473)	*Tirsi morir volea* / *Frenò Tirs' il desio* / *La bella ninfa* / *Cosi moriro i fortunati*
3	Giulio Eremita, *Madrigali… libro primo a sei* (Ferrara: V. Baldini, 1584; RISM E 742)	*Arsi dal vostr'amor* *Poi ch'el mio largo pianto*
4	G. G. Gastoldi, *Canzoni* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 7)	*Caro, soave e desiato bene* / *Perche se troppo* *Clori, mia pastorella*
5	G. de Macque, *Madrigali* (= *Musica divina*, No. 7)	*Se d'altro mai non vivo*
6	L. Marenzio, *Primo* (= *Musica divina*, No. 9)	*Spuntavan gia per far* / *Quando'l mio vivo*
7	—, *Primo* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 13)	*Potro viver io piu*
8	—, *Secondo* (= *Symphonia angelica*, No. 13)	*Deggio dunque partire* / *Io partiro, ma il core* / *Ma voi caro ben mio*
9	—, *Madrigali a quatro… libro primo* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585 / Venice: R. Amadino, 1587 / G. Vincenti 1587; RISM M/MM 578–80)	*Non al suo amante*
10	—, *Quarto libro de madrigali a sei* (R. Amadino, 1587 / G. Vincenti, 1587; RISM M/MM 510–11)	*Ne fero sdegno mai* / *Talche dovunque vò*
11	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Secondo libro de madrigali a quatro* (heir of G. Scotto, 1586; RISM P/PP 763)	*Mori quasi il mio core* *Veramente in amore mortal*
12	I. Sabino, *Terzo* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 22)	*Vestiva i colli* / *Cosi le chiome mie*
13	A. Striggio, *Primo* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 23)	*Anchor ch'io possa dire* *La ver l'aurora*
14	Giaches de Wert, *Settimo libro de madrigali a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1581; RISM W 884)	*Vaghi boschetti di soave*
15	*Primo libro de madrigali a cinque* (sons of Antonio Gardano, 1573; RISM 1573[16])	[Bartholomeo Le Roy], *Mille flate*

16	*Quarto libro delle muse a cinque* (sons of Antonio Gardano, 1574–82; RISM 1574[4], 1582[6])	Gio. Maria Nanino, *Quando fra bianche perle* / *Sentomi aprirsi* Annibale Zoilo, *Chi per voi non sospira*
17	*Corona* (= *Musica divina*, No. 28)	Gio. Battista Mosto, *Io mi son giovinetta*
18	*Trionfo di musica* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 27)	Vincenzo Bellhaver, *Sparve ogni nume* Baldissera Donati, *Tratto fuore* Andrea Gabrieli, *Sperar non si potea* Claudio da Correggio [Merulo], *Tra pure nevi* Tiburtio Massaino, *Poi disse hor* —, *Va musa inanz'a l'alba* Oratio Vecchi, *Italia bella, alta* —, *La mia candida ninfa*
19	*Floridi virtuosi* (= *Symphonia angelica*, No. 27)	Gio. Battista Mosto, *Dolci alpestre parole*
20	*Lauro verde* (= *Symphonia angelica*, No. 28)	Gio. Battista Moscaglia, *Del secco incolto lauro*
21	G. M. Nanino & A. Stabile, *Madrigali* (= *Harmonia celeste*, No. 28)	Gio. Maria Nanino, *Dolce fiammella mia* —, *Questa si bianca neve*
22	Giovanni Battista Moscaglia, *Secondo libro de madrigali a quattro* (G. Vincenti & R. Amadino, 1585; RISM 1585[29])	Paulo Bellasio, *Donna i begli occhi* Rugiero Giovanelli, *Ahi che farò, ben* Gio. Battista Moscaglia, *Si dolci son* —, *Solo e pensoso* Gio. Maria Nanino, *Legò questo mio core*
23	*L'amorosa caccia… a cinque* (Angelo Gardano, 1588; RISM 1588[14])	Hippolito Baccusi, *Questo è quel*

The four anthologies contain a total of 226 compositions, thus forming the point of departure for Phalèse's Italian repertoire. Comparing their contents leads us to several conclusions (see Table 5). Among the seventy-one attributed or identifiable composers, little attention is given to the few local composers who had published settings of Italian poems with other Antwerp publishers, as evidenced by the total absence of Cornet. More recent composers active in the Low Countries also remain in the background; it is strange that Waelrant and Philips are present only in the anthologies they compiled themselves. Pevernage, on the other hand, is found in three of the four anthologies, and his eight works comprise the largest local contribution to the repertoire. More space is given to local composers working outside of the Low Countries—mostly in Italy—which is especially noticeable in the 1583 anthologies. Macque and Monte received the most attention, with fourteen and sixteen

compositions, respectively. Lasso does not feature more than Verdonck; however, Phalèse had published single-author editions with his chansons and religious music. For a similar reason, there is only one madrigal by Mel (see *infra*). None of the four compilers forgot Wert, although they each included only one of his compositions. According to Hoekstra, his music is too difficult on every level when compared to the anthologies' other offerings.[45] But the pursuit of diversity might be a better explanation: is that not perhaps precisely why Wert is present in every anthology, even if only minimally?

As the title pages state, each volume focuses primarily on Italian composers. Many of them can only be found in one of the editions and are represented with only one composition. The list of composers with at least five works included is limited to ten names. Ferretti, the specialist of the "canzona alla napolitana", was the most valued composer, whose eighteen pieces ensured the variety of the volumes' contents. Marenzio received more attention over time, with one composition in *Musica divina*, four in the next two collections, and five in *Melodia olympica*. Gabrieli and Nanino are also present in all the anthologies. Ruffo, on the other hand, only aroused interest for Waelrant. Why Baccusi, Conversi, Felis, Palestrina, and Striggio received more attention than the other Italians is not clear and may have to do with the sources that were available in Antwerp at the time. Also notable is the presence in Philips's volume of some Italians active in the Low Countries or in (probably indirect) contact with the Brussels court. Although a more thorough study is necessary, the impression is that Phalèse put the copies of the editions he used successively at the disposal of Pevernage, Waelrant, and Philips, and that this collection of editions grew over the years, whether or not it was at the initiative of one of these composers.

45 See Hoekstra, "Wert's Reception".

TABLE 5. Summary of the repertoire in Phalèse's first four anthologies. The names in bold indicate the composers of previously unpublished works

	PHALESIUS (ED.), *MUSICA DIVINA* (1583)	PEVERNAGE (ED.), *HARMONIA CELESTE* (1583)	WAELRANT (ED.), *SYMPHONIA ANGELICA* (1585)	PHILIPS (ED.), *MELODIA OLYMPICA* (1591)	TOTAL
Anonymous				1	1
Anerio				1	1
Angelini			2		2
Animuccia			1		1
Arcadelt	1 (Monte)				1
Baccusi		1	3	1	5
Bassani				**1**	1
Bellasio				1	1
Bell'haver				1	1
Bertani			1	1	2
Bevilacqua		1			1
Blotagrio				**2**	2
Comis			**1**		1
Contino			1		1
Conversi	2	2	1		5
Croce				1	1
Dentice	1			**1**	2
Donato				1	1
Eremita				2	2
Faignient	1 + **1**	**2**			4
Farina				**1**	1
Felis	2	4			6
A. Ferrabosco		1			1
D. Ferrabosco	1				1
Ferretti	7	1	10		18
A. Gabrieli	1	1	4	1	7
Gastoldi		1	1	2	4
Giovannelli				1	1
Ingegneri		2	1		3
Lasso	**1** + 1	3			5
Le Roy				1	1

Locatello			1		1
Macque	7	3	3	1	14
Manenti	1				1
Marenzio	1	4	4	5	14
Massaino		1		2	3
Mel			1		1
Merulo				1	1
Monte	7 + **1**	6 + **1**	1		16
Moscaglia			1	3	4
Mosto		1		2	3
Nanino	3	1	2	4	10
Nasco			1		1
Nenna			1		1
Nola	1				1
Pace		1			1
Pallavicino		1			1
Palestrina	4	1		2+ **1**	8
Pevernage	**1**	**5**		**2**	8
Philips				**4**	4
Piccioni			1		1
Ponte (?)	1				1
Pordenon		2			2
Pratoneri [Spirito da Reggio]	1				1
Primavera	1				1
Quagliati		1			1
Rore	1				1
Ruffo			5		5
Sabino		1	1	1	3
Sessa d'Aranda	1 (Monte)				1
Spontone			1		1
Stabile		1			1
Striggio	4	1		2	7
Turnhout				**1**	1
Vecchi			1	12	3
Verdonck			**2**	**3**	5
Vespa	1	1			2

Vinci	1				1
Violanta		1			1
Waelrant			**5**		5
Wert	1	1	1	1	4
Zoilo				1	1
Total: 71+1	57	53	58	58	226

The success of Phalèse's initiative is shown primarily by the reprints of the four anthologies, with slightly altered content and layout as necessary. His own *Musica divina*, which remained unchanged in terms of content, achieved the greatest and most enduring success; his heirs published the volume for the seventh time in 1634.[46] Philips's *Melodia olympica* garnered the least acclaim: the dates of the three later editions suggest early success, which apparently waned after 1594 but still lasted until 1630.[47] The long interval between the penultimate and final reprints of the four anthologies is a sign of waning interest.

In 1589, Pevernage made some changes to *Harmonia celeste*, but retained the dedication. In the revised version that continued to be reprinted until 1628,[48] the works by Massaino and Mosto disappear, but we already know that Philips chose other works by these composers for his *Melodia olympica*. Less space is given to Monte and Macque: Monte's *Correte fiumi* and *Ch'io scriva* and Macque's *Dal suo volto* were replaced by compositions by Italians, and Ingegneri's *Spess'in parte* was also excluded from the reprint. Seven of the eight new compositions are for six voices, and Pevernage almost always took them from editions with which Phalèse and Waelrant were already familiar. By giving more space to Felis, Gabrieli, and Marenzio, Pevernage may have wanted to highlight composers already widely covered in his own or his colleagues' anthologies. He himself was the composer of two previously unknown madrigals, *Ardo donna per voi* and *Amorose faville*, which he evidently composed after 1583.

46 RISM 1588[16], 1591[11], 1595[4], 1606[7], 1614[13], 1623[7], and 1634[6].
47 RISM 1594[7], 1611[11], and 1630[3].
48 RISM 1589[9], 1593[4], 1605[8], 1614[12], and 1628[14].

TABLE 6. Concordances in H*armonia celeste*, revised version (1589), with Italian editions. The city is given only for the editions not published in Venice

	SOURCE	CONCORDANCES
1	Stefano Felis, *Primo* (= *Musica divina*, No. 3)	*Nova belta, somma virtu*
2	A. Gabrieli, *Secondo* (= *Musica divina*, No. 6)	*Non ti sdegnar, o Filli* *Vieni, Flora gentil, vieni*
3	G. P. Manenti, *Madrigali* (= *Musica divina*, No. 8)	*Vientene, Filli, e men'i dolci*
4	L. Marenzio, *Quarto* (= *Melodia olympica*, No. 10) —, *Terzo libro de madrigali a sei* (heir of G. Scotto, 1585; RISM M/MM 507)	*Dice la mia bellissima Licori* *Posso, cor mio, partire*

Waelrant's *Symphonia angelica* was reprinted four times.[49] He also made some changes for the first reprint, but they are less radical than Pevernage's modifications, focusing on four-voice compositions. Contino's *Vivete lieti* and Ruffo's *Fiere silvestre* and *Cantan fra rami* were left out, giving the impression that Waelrant had less interest in older works. Moreover, the first composition in the reprinted anthology was new and by a composer, Domenico Lauro, whose music had not previously been published in Antwerp. In fact, it was taken from a collection of madrigals predominantly composed by another musician, Francesco Stivori. Among the four remaining new works, two are by composers who already received considerable attention in the first edition of the anthology: a madrigal by Marenzio comes from an edition already mentioned in connection with Philips, whereas another by Macque derives from a source not previously used in Antwerp. There are no concordances for Antonio Dueto's *Non sia chi pensi* and *Nel mezzo del giardin*; this is the first appearance of his name in an Antwerp anthology. The two compositions undoubtedly come from a lost Italian edition of his first collection of four-voice madrigals, otherwise his clerical title "R. M." would have been missing, as the composer was unknown in Antwerp.

49 RISM 1590^{17}, 1594^{8}, 1611^{12}, and 1629^{8}.

TABLE 7. Concordances in *Symphonia angelica*, revised version (1590), with Italian editions

	SOURCE	CONCORDANCES
1	G. de Macque, *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro* (G. Vincenti, 1586; not in RISM)	*Non vegg'ohime quel leggiadretti*
2	L. Marenzio, *Madrigali* (= *Melodia olympica*, No. 9)	*Dissi* à *l'amata mia, lucida stella*
3	F. Stivori, *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro* (G. Vincenti & R. Amadino, 1583; RISM S 6443, 1583[17])	Dominico Lauro, *Nova leggiadra stella*

The first volume of music for lute published by Pierre Phalèse the Younger is the 1584 *Pratum musicum* of Emanuel Adriaenssen (c. 1554–1604), who received his musical education in Rome in 1574.[50] This edition was dedicated to Balthazar de Robiano, son of an Italian exiled to Antwerp and holder of various important offices. Eight years later, Adriaenssen dedicated his *Novum partum musicum* to Cesar Cini, a merchant from Genoa. Both volumes confirm the relationship between Antwerp musicians and the local Italian community.[51] The presence in *Pratum musicum* of Lasso's *Poi che'l mio*, which first appeared in *Musica divina*, proves that the lutenist knew that edition. In total, there are almost thirty compositions in the two lute books which are based on a piece found in one of the Phalèse anthologies. When a new version of Adriaenssen's *Pratum musicum* was published in 1600,[52] he incorporated other works from the anthologies.[53]

The Latin distich by Johannes Gheesdalius, which appears in three of the partbooks of *Symphonia angelica* in place of the dedication, is specifically concerned with the anthologies, insofar as it mentions all four of them.[54] The poet presented them as a single entity in four parts, considering the words *Musica*, *Harmonia*, *Symphonia*, and *Melodia* as complementary. For this reason, he urged the reader to buy all four editions

50 Spiessens, *Leven en werk*, 10.
51 RISM 1584[12] and 1592[22].
52 RISM 1600[18].
53 Spiessens, *Leven en werk*, 162–63.
54 See Appendix 4 (p. 228–40) for a transcription and translation of this poem.

together, so the poem is simultaneously an advertisement in verse—as evidenced by the word *commendatio* in the title—and an extolling of Phalèse's initiative. That the author considered the distich to be merely an amusing trifle is clear from the word *ludebat* that precedes his name. But the idea of the four anthologies as a coherent whole is nevertheless important as an illustration of the publisher's strategy. It would be interesting to know whether any customers followed Gheesdalius's advice and whether there was any financial benefit for purchasing the volumes together.

IV.2 FIRST EDITIONS AND REPRINTS

First editions

Castro is the only composer from the Leuven period other than Lasso whose music continued to be published by Pierre Phalèse the Younger. This composer devoted himself increasingly to settings of Italian texts, as can be seen by comparing his 1582 *Chansons, madrigaux et motetz à trois parties*[55]—in which there are already twice as many madrigals as chansons—with his 1588 *Madrigali a tre… con doi canzoni francese*.[56] The first volume, some of whose madrigals were previously printed two years earlier in an edition by Le Roy & Ballard and which therefore date from the period when Castro was active in Lyon,[57] illustrates Phalèse's transition from the Leuven to the Antwerp repertoire. This is shown by Castro's arrangement for three voices of Ferrabosco's *Io mi son*, Nola's *Gionto m'ha amor* (from the already-mentioned *Livre de meslanges*), and Rore's *Anchor*, though only lute arrangements of the latter work had been printed in Leuven, specifically in the *Theatrum musicum* of 1563 and its modified reprints.[58] The models of the three compositions were all included in *Musica divina*. Another work in *Chansons, madrigaux…*, an arrangement of Striggio's *Nasce la pena*, confirms the relationship to Phalèse's anthologies, since the model appears in *Harmonia celeste*.

55 RISM C 1475.
56 RISM C 1497.
57 RISM C 1474.
58 RISM 1568^{23}, 1571^{16}. The first version (1563) is missing in RISM.

Although in 1588 Castro was in the service of Johan Willem van Kleef, Duke of Gulik-Berg-Kleef, there is a very close connection between his *Madrigali a tre* and the three Antwerp anthologies of 1583 and 1585. Like in Pevernage's *Harmonia celeste*, the dedication of the edition, written on 20 August in Cologne, is to Cesare Homodei, who had moved there for a few years after Antwerp had become a Calvinist stronghold. Moreover, in the *Madrigali*, all the settings of Italian texts except for one are arrangements of compositions included in the anthologies. The predominance of Marenzio and Nanino is as striking as is the minimal presence of Antwerp composers; perhaps this reveals Castro's preferences. There is no doubt that he composed these arrangements at Phalèse's request, especially since he had done something similar fourteen years earlier with his *Fleur des chansons à trois parties*, though this also includes tricinia by other composers.[59] Such arrangements sometimes give a more instrumental character to a voice part and were intended to spread the repertoire to customers with fewer musical and/or financial resources. This "vertical" flow should have convinced Phalèse's entire clientele that compositions on Italian texts were the new trend in secular music.

Phalèse may have published Bernardino Mosto's 1588 *Madrigali… a cinque voci* even before *Madrigali a tre*, because one of the twenty madrigals in the former, *Da bei vostr'occhi*, was already published in a three-voice arrangement by Castro.[60] Born in Udine, Mosto worked at the court of Albert V in Munich and was subsequently recruited as an organist by his son, Ernest of Bavaria, who had been prince-bishop of Liège since 1581. In the dedication, signed on 1 June, the composer reminded his patron that he had had the madrigals sung in his presence and emphasized his positive reaction: "è tanto piu che cantandoli à la presenza sua, gli sono delettati è piaciuti" ("all the more because, sung in your presence, they delighted and pleased you"). This clearly demonstrates the success that the madrigals had enjoyed at the prince-bishop's court. There is even one work that has a personal touch: *Occhi sereni, angeliche parole* quotes a name, "Ch'adornat'à RICHMOET" ("which adorns Richmoet"). What this means remains a mystery, but it is certainly not a misprint, as the word is set in small capitals and appears in all voices. There is no composition

59 RISM 1574[3].
60 RISM M 3811.

TABLE 8. Compositions adapted by Castro in *Madrigali a tre* from *Musica divina*, *Harmonia celeste*, and *Symphonia angelica*

MODEL	ANTHOLOGY
G. Conversi, *Io canterò*	*Symphonia angelica*
—, *Sola, soletta*	*Musica divina*
G. Ferretti, *Ecco ch'io*	*Musica divina*
—, *Su, su*	*Musica divina*
O. di Lasso, *Amor io sent'un*	*Harmonia celeste*
G. de Macque, *Amor, poi*	*Symphonia angelica*
L. Marenzio, *Che fa hoggi*	*Harmonia celeste*
—, *Liquide perle*	*Musica divina*
—, *Madonna mia*	*Symphonia angelica*
—, *Qual vive salamandra*	*Harmonia celeste*
—, *Tirsi morir volea*	*Harmonia celeste*
G. M. Nanino, *Amor deh dimmi*	*Harmonia celeste*
—, *Erano i capei*	*Musica divina*
—, *Morir non puo*	*Musica divina*
—, *Scoprirò l'ardor*	*Musica divina*
A. Pevernage, *Il dolce sonno*	*Harmonia celeste*
B. Pallavicino, *Quando benigna stella*	*Harmonia celeste*
G. Piccioni, *Duo begli occhi*	*Symphonia angelica*
G. F. Violanta, *O saette*	*Harmonia celeste*
P. Vinci, *Sappi, signor*	*Musica divina*

dedicated to Ernest of Bavaria, and the edition is particularly small, with each partbook consisting of only twelve folios. The same applies to Mel's *Madrigali… a sei voci*, also published in 1588.[61] On the title page, the composer is referred to as a "gentilhuomo fiamengo" ("Flemish gentleman"), suggesting that he was not well known in his native land, unless the title page of his *Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque* published by Angelo Gardano in 1587 had served as a model.[62] Mel's career had to that point taken place outside of the Netherlands, and he would go on to work in Italy from 1591 onwards. Although the title page does not say so, in 1588

61 RISM M 2206.
62 RISM M/MM 2205.

he had probably already been in the service of Ernest of Bavaria for a few months. In the dedication, dated 14 July 1587, the composer calls him "padrone mio", although in it he speaks more of Ernest's brothers and father than of the prince-bishop himself. He also mentions "l'eccellentissimo M. Orlando Lasso" ("the excellent Mr. Orlando Lasso") about whom he presumes to say, "in questi suoi anni piu maturi felicimente vive, si riposa & con ogni suo agio, & benignissimo trattenimento s'essercita nell'arte Musica" ("in his more mature years he lives happily, he rests, and with all of his ease he practises the art of music in a most pleasing and entertaining manner"). These interesting allusions to the activity of the Munich court could be seen as an indirect application to join the court choir. Mel's *Madrigali* are in any case an exception in Phalèse's output, as the eleven works, including two "madrigaletti alla Napolitana", were later reprinted in Venice: eight in his *Secondo libro de' madrigali a sei*, published by G. Vincenti in 1593, and the rest in his *Terzo libro*, published by Angelo Gardano in 1595.[63] We do not know whether this happened in agreement with Phalèse. In any case it did not prevent him from reprinting the volume in 1608, though no copy of the reprint survives.[64]

In late December 1588, Turnhout signed the dedication of his *Primo libro de madrigali a sei*,[65] which came off the press a few months later.[66] His position as "maestro di cappella" ("choirmaster") at the Brussels court explains the usual stereotypical phrases directed at the governor. Typographically, the edition is notable for the presence of Farnese's coat of arms on the title page and for its format, which, unusually, is not oblong. Again, the number of folios is limited to twelve, and among the twenty compositions, which the composer calls "il primo frutto di queste mie compositioni" ("the first fruits of my compositions"), the first one stands out: *Sotto l'insegne* praises the "famoso Alessandro" ("celebrated Alessandro") who in 1585 recaptured Antwerp, "l'altere città" ("the proud city"). The author of the poem is unknown; the literary aspect of the Antwerp repertoire remains in need of research. While the Italian poets have mostly already been identified,[67] the authors of the works printed

63 RISM M/MM 2207 and 2211.
64 Vanhulst, "Le *Catalogus*", 147.
65 RISM T 1435.
66 The first mention in a Plantin journal dates from April 1589. B-Amp, Archief 66, fol. 44^{v}. See footnote 27.
67 See Nuovo Vogel and especially RePIM.

only in Antwerp remain unknown, as is the case, incidentally, for the chansons published only in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. *Sotto l'insegne* may be the work of a courtier, but the local composers undoubtedly had contacts with local poets. Whether Phalèse helped them in this respect remains an open question. It would also be interesting to have an idea about the role of his publications in the dissemination of local poetry written in Italian.

The years 1588–89 marked a milestone in Phalèse's production. He published four editions, each dedicated to a single composer. Castro and Mel were already somewhat well known, but Mosto and Turnhout were debutants, even if they did hold positions at the Liège and Brussels courts, respectively. The publisher was clearly being cautious, as the "Einzeldrucke" by Mel, Mosto, and Turnhout have an unusually small number of pages per partbook—a third of those in the anthologies. Castro's *Madrigali* has one more gathering than the other editions, but, with only three partbooks, they would not have required a greater investment. Plantin's archives show that on 26 August 1588—six days after the date of the dedication!—he sent sixty copies of Castro's *Madrigali* to Arnold Mylius, a bookseller in Cologne who had learned his trade in Antwerp, to be presented at the book fair in Frankfurt am Main.[68] The exceptionally high number of copies, at least within the context of trade relations between Phalèse—or Jean Bellère, his partner—and Plantin, proves that, at least in a simplified version, this Italian music had international success.

Reprints

By 1591, Phalèse had decided to change directions: he would focus on republishing Italian editions. First came *Il lauro verde*, published by Vittorio Baldini in Ferrara in 1583, from which Waelrant and Philips had already borrowed a madrigal by Locatello and Mosacaglia, respectively. It is unknown why Phalèse chose this edition, though perhaps he was attracted to an anthology around a single literary theme, the *lauro* (laurel), as the introductory poem suggests. Whatever the case, he carried over the entire contents of the Italian edition, omitting Baldini's typographical embellishments and leaving out the texts alongside the music in some of

68 B-Amp, Archief 65, fol. 114^{r}. See footnote 27.

the partbooks. He inserted all of the poems in the back of the Quinta and Sexta partbooks under the title "I renovati", which was also taken from the Ferrarese edition. Phalèse also added two more eight-voice works, as indicated on the title page with the names of their composers present to catch the eye—an innovation from the Antwerp anthologies.[69] These two compositions have no connection to the literary theme: Striggio's *All'apparir* comes from *Musica de diversi auttori*, published in 1584 by the duo Amadino and Vincenti,[70] and Giovanni Gabrieli's *Lieto godea sedendo* first appeared in Angelo Gardano's 1587 *Concerti* alongside works by his uncle Andrea.[71] *Il lauro verde* enriched Phalèse's published repertoire with music by seventeen new composers, in addition to Gabrieli: Giovanni Cavaccio, Giacopo Corfini, Ippolito Fiorini, Paolo Isnardi, Luzzasco Luzzaschi, Leonardo Meldert, Francesco Milleville, Leandro Mira, Filippo Nicoletti, Antonio Orlandino, Nicolas Perouet, Costanzo Porta, Andrea Rota, Francesco Rovigo, Francesco Soriano, Ascano Trombetti, and Paolo Virchi. That represents a gain of almost a quarter of the number of composers hitherto published in Antwerp drawn from Italian sources. *Il lauro verde* contains the second composition published by Phalèse by the composers Bellasio, Giovannelli, Le Roy, Pratoneri, and Stabile, the third composition by Bertano, and the fourth by Vecchi. Macque, Marenzio, Monte, Nanino, and Wert were already familiar names thanks to the earlier anthologies.

In 1593, Phalèse published Marenzio's *Madrigali a cinque voci ridotto in un corpo*, a monumental work when compared to all of his previous editions, and especially to the "Einzeldrucke": the five partbooks consist of fifty-six folios each. The important place already held by this "musico eccellentissimo" ("outstanding musician") in Phalèse's output was thus strongly reinforced. In the dedication of 8 August 1593 to Gérard de Hornes, baron of Baucignies and governor of Mechelen since 1591, Phalèse wrote that his young dedicatee had a keen appreciation for music and in particular for "l'eccellenti compositioni musicali di Luca Marenzio" and that he has therefore decided "da fare uscire dalla mia stamparia in un corpo li suoi madrigali a cinque voce" ("to publish in my printing house his madrigals for five voices"). In the collection entitled

69 RISM 1591[8].
70 RISM 1584[4]; see also 1590[11].
71 RISM G 58 and 85, 1587[16].

Madrigali a cinque voci ridotti in un corpo, Phalèse thus brought together all seventy-seven five-voice madrigals that had first been published in Venice between 1580 and 1585, eight of which we know from the anthologies.[72] He added *In quel ben nato*, which he took from the 1582 collection *Dolci affetti*, mentioned previously in connection with Pevernage and Waelrant. By contrast, the eight-voice madrigals in the first and second books were not included. Phalèse deliberately mixed the contents of the original editions: a maximum of three pieces from the same book follow one another in the Antwerp edition, and this happens only twice. More commonly, he followed his source for two consecutive madrigals.

IV.3 CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the moment Pierre Phalèse the Younger settled in Antwerp, he decided that the madrigal and related genres would take pride of place in his secular vocal output. He started by publishing anthologies, assisted by Pevernage, Waelrant, and Philips, but the emphasis was placed not on music by local composers but on compositions borrowed from earlier, mostly Venetian sources. Preference was given to composers from Italy. In a second phase, Phalèse attempted to further disseminate the contents of the anthologies indirectly through arrangements: lute arrangements by Adriaenssen and reduced, three-voice arrangements by Castro. Thereafter the first "Einzeldrucke" were published in Antwerp, modest in scope but with original content by Mel, Mosto, and Turnhout, all of whom were in the service of—or at least had some connection to—the prince-bishop of Liège or the governor of the Netherlands. In 1591, there was another shift: Phalèse started simply reprinting Italian editions, perhaps adding one or two new works, even though his version of *Il lauro verde* is typographically not as carefully made as Baldini's. We know that Plantin charged 15 stuivers for this anthology and 1.10 guilders for Marenzio's *Madrigali*.[73] Both editions were also mentioned in German book fair catalogues;[74] it would obviously be interesting to know their prices there, whether the Italian models were also available, and, if so, which editions were selling for more.

72 See *Musica divina*, No. 8; *Harmonia celeste*, Nos. 12 and 14, *Symphonia angelica*, Nos. 13–15; *Melodia olympica*, Nos. 6 and 8.

73 B-Amp, Archief 69, fol. 52^{v} for *Il lauro verde* and 70, fol. 143^{r-v} for Marenzio (including a shipment to Krakow).

74 Göhler, *Verzeichnis*, part 1, Nos. 903 and 620.

Whatever the case may be, by 1591 Phalèse prioritized Italian vocal music in his secular output. Of course he would take advantage of areas of particular demand: as early as 1594 he published Marenzio's *Madrigali a sei voci in un corpo ridotti*.[75] Did he specify "con ogni diligentia corretti" ("improved with the utmost care") on the title page so that one might forget the somewhat hesitant typography of his early period? Although in the dedication Phalèse proclaimed Marenzio a "musico de primi di nostro tempo" ("musician among the first of our time"), it was a little over fifteen years before he republished both collections.[76] At the same time, he added something new: Marenzio's four final five-voice madrigal books were subtitled "il suo testamento" ("his testament").[77] Regardless of whether or not an edition was immediately well-received, Phalèse remained true to the objective he had long had in mind: the dissemination of Italian secular music. Although local composers increasingly composed madrigals and pieces in related genres, they contributed little to Phalèse's output, which focused on Italian composers. Marenzio was the first he resolutely put at the forefront; Gastoldi, Pallavicino, and Monteverdi would follow.

75 RISM M/MM 522 and 1594[14].
76 RISM M 573, M 524, and 1610[16].
77 RISM M 574.