V ITALIAN-TEXTED MADRIGALS BY LOCAL COMPOSERS IN THE "ANTWERP ANTHOLOGIES"

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The four madrigal anthologies published by Pierre Phalèse the Younger and Jean Bellère between 1583 and 1591 (*Musica divina*, *Harmonia celeste*, *Symphonia angelica*, and *Musica olympica*)[1] have already been paid special attention by scholars, who have assessed their importance in the dissemination of Italian-texted madrigals beyond the Alps.[2] As evidenced by a poem by Johannes Gheesdalius included in the tenore, basso, and sesto partbooks of *Melodia olympica*,[3] these volumes were intended as a set, and indeed share several common features. Most of the madrigals they contain were written by Italians, or by popular composers from Northern Europe who enjoyed successful international careers, such as Orlando di Lasso and Philippe de Monte. Having spent a few years in Italy, these two were certainly well-acquainted with the Italian language and music. A few dozen madrigals, however, were written by less prominent composers active in the Low Countries at the time the

1 To distinguish these four anthologies from the others published in the same years, throughout this chapter I refer to them as the "Antwerp anthologies", a label borrowed from Lewis Hammond, "Selling the Madrigal".

2 See among others Lewis Hammond, "Pierre Phalèse as Music Editor", and Lewis Hammond, "Selling the Madrigal".

3 The poem was printed on the verso of the title page, where the other partbooks contain the dedication to Giulio Balbani. After mentioning the four anthologies, the poem invites the singer to purchase them all. See Lewis Hammond, "Selling the Madrigal", 225–26. For an English translation of Gheesdalius's text, see Appendix 4 (p. 231) and Lewis, "Collecting 'Italia' Abroad", 88–89.

four volumes were published. These composers are Andreas Pevernage, Noé Faignient, Cornelis Verdonck, Hubert Waelrant, Jan van Turnhout, and Peter Philips, who hereafter will be referred to as "local composers", their diverse biographies notwithstanding. Focussing on these local composers, this chapter aims to investigate their interaction with the Italian-texted madrigal repertory. In particular, it tries to figure out how they came by the texts for their musical settings, and to what extent they were able to understand Italian poetical language. An answer to the latter question could offer valuable insights not only into the compositional, but also into the editorial activities of these composers. As a matter of fact, three of these composers, namely Pevernage, Waelrant, and Philips, also worked for Phalése as editors of the "Antwerp anthologies". These anthologies, however, were printed with various kinds of language mistakes. Clarifying whether these are simply due to the pitfalls of handpress printing or to an actual lack of knowledge of Italian literary language can considerably increase our understanding of the production mechanisms underlying the madrigal in the Low Countries.

V.1 ITALIAN INFLUENCE IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

During the last decades of the sixteenth century, madrigals setting Italian texts were particularly popular in the Low Countries, especially in Antwerp.[4] Italian music reached the north mainly through the fairs held in Germany, as well as through book carriers and travellers who took with them the music they had purchased during their stay in the peninsula. The printer Christophe Plantin also sold some Venetian editions in his shop in Antwerp.[5] Italian-texted madrigals began to be published in the Low Countries in the 1550s, starting with Orlando di Lasso's "Opus 1".[6] Entire volumes of madrigals—both anthologies and single-author editions—were dedicated to wealthy local patrons, often merchants of Italian origin.[7] Antwerp was the only city in the Low Countries where

4 See Forney, "Antwerp's Role".

5 See Vanhulst, "Suppliers and Clients".

6 This collection was published twice in 1555 by Tielman Susato with two different titles, one in French and the other in Italian. See RISM L 755 and L 756. Lasso arrived in Antwerp in 1554, but his madrigals and villanesche had been composed before this, when he was still in Italy. See Forney, "Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus 1'", 34–35. For a brief overview of sixteenth-century editions of Italian-texted madrigals in the Low Countries, see Bossuyt, "Luca Marenzio", 391–96.

7 Pierre Phalèse the Elder had previously included Italian-texted madrigals in his collections but had never dedicated an entire volume to the genre, which, at his time, was not appreciated as strongly as it was in the following years. See Vanhulst, *Catalogue des éditions de musique*, xxxi.

Italian literary works were printed during the sixteenth century. However, the scarcity of editions published *in loco* and the small number of translations of Italian works on the market suggest that locals had only a limited interest in Italian literary language.[8] Italian was primarily studied for commercial reasons, and the appeal of Italian culture and literature was typically limited to the intellectual milieu.[9] However, Italian-texted madrigals and other light musical genres undoubtedly attracted a wider public than just the members of local Italian communities and intellectuals, as attested by an increase in single-author editions and anthologies of madrigals, some of which were republished several times, as well as by the growing number of local dedicatees who had no Italian roots. *Musica divina*, *Harmonia celeste*, *Symphonia angelica*, and *Melodia olympica* aimed to provide local musicians with a wide variety of secular Italian music and were unique both in the considerable number of pieces they included and in the fact that they were written for different numbers of voices.[10] The four anthologies enjoyed major success and continued to be republished well into the seventeenth century: *Harmonia celeste*, first published in 1583, was reissued five times, *Musica divina* (1583) seven times, *Symphonia angelica* (1585) four times, and *Melodia olympica* (1591) three times.[11]

V.2 THE ANTWERP ANTHOLOGIES: THE EDITORS AND THEIR CHOICES

As indicated on the title pages of the four Antwerp anthologies, Phalèse edited the first volume, *Musica divina*, himself, but commissioned local composers who were well-known in the Low Countries to edit the other volumes (see Table 1).

Most of the pieces included in the Antwerp anthologies were taken from Venetian editions of individual composers published in the previous decades.[12] The editors likely played an active role in the supply of

8 See Bingen, "Les éditions d'oeuvres en langue italienne". For information concerning the dissemination of Italian books in the Walloon region, see Adam, "La réception du livre italien". Data concerning musical and literary volumes published in the Low Countries can be retrieved from *The Universal Short Title Catalogue* (https://www.ustc.ac.uk/; accessed 30 August 2023) by selecting the appropriate filters.

9 See Bingen, "L'insegnamento dell'italiano", 427.

10 Both of these elements set these volumes apart from contemporary Venetian prints, which usually contained far fewer pieces, all with the same number of voices.

11 For variants contained in different editions, see the section "Proofreading and new editions" in the present chapter.

12 See Hoekstra, "The Reception and Cultivation", 140–41. See also Chapter 4 in the present volume.

TABLE 1. Editors, dedicatees, and dedicatory madrigals of the Antwerp anthologies

YEAR	ANTHOLOGY	EDITOR	DEDICATEE	DEDICATORY MADRIGALS
1583	*Musica divina*	Pierre Phalèse	Giovanbattista di Bartolamei	*Fra l'altre virtù*
1583	*Harmonia celeste*	Andreas Pevernage	Cesare Homodei	*Cesar gentil degno d'alloro* *Quando la voce al dolce canto*
1585	*Symphonia angelica*	Hubert Waelrant	Cornelis Pruenen	*Tra romor di tamburi e suon di trombe*
1591	*Melodia olympica*	Peter Philips	Giulio Balbani	

Italian music thanks to their contacts and collaborations with printers and publishers. Pevernage's contacts with both Plantin's and Gardano's firms are well attested; as for Waelrant, he was easily able to obtain Italian music thanks to his activity as a music printer.[13] The case of Philips is quite different, in that—as I will explain later—he is the only local composer for whom a stay in Italy is documented. During his time there, he came into direct contact with some well-known Italian composers of the time. The editors' connections with the dedicatees also played a role in the anthologies' local reception. In particular, the Antwerp councillor Cornelis Pruenen (or Pruynen, 1532–98), the dedicatee of *Symphonia angelica*, was particularly fond of music: he was not only a music patron, but also a musician.[14] Besides Waelrant, who dedicated his sixth book of motets for five and six voices to Pruenen in 1558,[15] many other local composers had close links with him. Philips, for example, chose Pruenen to be the godfather of his daughter Leonora,[16] and Verdonck mentioned his years in Pruenen's service in the dedication of his *Madrigali a sei voci* to Pruenen's nephew Jean de Cordès.[17] In this collection, Verdonck also set to music a poem by Pruenen himself;[18] this attests that Pruenen

13 See Lewis Hammond, "Selling the Madrigal", 229, 232–33.
14 Vanballenberghe, "Aspects of Genre", vol. 1, 14.
15 RISM WW 1a.
16 Lewis, "Collecting 'Italia' Abroad", 57.
17 RISM V 1242.
18 See below.

was conversant with the Italian language and thus could fully appreciate the madrigal repertory. Giovanbattista di Bartolamei, Cesare Homodei, and Giulio Balbani, the dedicatees of *Musica divina*, *Harmonia celeste*, and *Musica olympica* respectively, all belonged to the Italian community living in Antwerp and, according to the dedications, also showed great interest in music.[19] The enthusiasm for Italian music spread especially at gatherings organized in private houses in which the patrons also took part and Italian music was heard and selected. A sonnet by the Flemish poet Jan van der Noot to Jan van Geesdale mentions such gatherings at Pevernage's house, but it may well be that the other editors also had the opportunity to organize or take part in such events.[20] While in Italy madrigals often seem to have been connected to courts and academies, beyond the Alps private musical gatherings were apparently the principal occasions on which this repertory was listened to, as attested by the dedication written by Nicholas Yonge at the beginning of the English madrigal anthology *Musica transalpina*.[21]

The number of Italian-texted madrigals by local composers included in the Antwerp anthologies is limited: *Melodia olympica* contains ten, *Harmonia celeste* nine,[22] *Symphonia angelica* seven, and *Musica divina* only three (▶ Appendix 6). This does not mean, however, that these composers enjoyed only limited fame and appreciation in the Low Countries. The Florentine merchant and writer Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–89), in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (1567), considered Waelrant one of

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19 Giulio Balbani's brother Francesco was the godfather of one of the children of the composer Emanuel Adriaenssen, who was active in Antwerp in those years; Adriaenssen, in turn, was the godfather of Pruenen's son. See Smith, "Italian Influence", 206. Homodei was Milanese, but nothing is known about his profession. Bartolamei was a jeweller and Balbani a financier. See also Hoekstra, "The Reception and Cultivation", 150.

20 See Hoekstra, "The Reception and Cultivation", 141–42, who also provides the Flemish text and its English translation. According to Willems, "De bibliographie der Poëticsche Werken van J. Van der Noot", 46, this sonnet was written in 1586 and was included in the copies of Van der Noot's *Poeticsche Werken* that were assembled in that year, even though their title pages bear the date 1581, 1584, or 1585.

21 RISM 1588[29]. *Musica transalpina* contains fifty-seven madrigals, most of which were written by well-known composers (such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Luca Marenzio, and Orlando di Lasso) and whose texts were translated from Italian to English so that an English audience could understand them. In the dedication to Lord Gilbert Talbot, Yonge recalls the musical gatherings organized in his own house and explicitly mentions the interest in the Italian-texted repertory. See *Musica transalpina*, unnumbered folios: "Right honourable, since I first began to keepe house in this Citie, it hath been no small comfort unto mee, that a great number of Gentlemen and Merchants of good accompt (as well as this realme as of forreine nations) have taken in good part such entertainment of pleasure, as my poore abilitie was able to afford them, both by the exercise of Musicke daily used in my house, and by furnishing them with Bookes of that kinde yeerly sent me out of Italy and other places, which beeing for the most part Italian Songs, are for sweetnes of Aire, verie well liked of all, but most in account with them that understand that language". Concerning this dedication, see also Cassia, "Bembo, Palestrina, and an English *contrafactum*".

22 The number also includes the two madrigals by Pevernage that were added to *Harmonia celeste* starting with the 1589 edition.

the most important composers of the Low Countries, together with several others including Séverin Cornet and Jan van Turnhout's brother, Gheert.[23] "Walrands" is also mentioned along with "Trehou", "Verdonck" and "Pivernage" in the sonnet *Aen Belgica* by Jan de Maes (1586?), who praised them for their music.[24]

V.3 LOCAL COMPOSERS' LIFE AND WORK IN ANTWERP AND BRUSSELS

At this point, a few details about the life and work of the local composers whose pieces are included in the Antwerp anthologies can help us better assess their musical and textual choices. Although they were all in Antwerp in the years in question (except Turnhout, who lived in Brussels), they came from different backgrounds.

Hubert Waelrant (c. 1517–95) taught music in a school in Antwerp (1553–56) and ran a music printing shop together with Jean de Laet (1554–58).[25] Waelrant's *Il primo libro de madrigali et canzoni franzesi* (1558) contained nine madrigals, seven of which were settings of well-known texts, mainly by Petrarch.[26] This collection, dedicated to his pupil Bartolomeo Doria Invrea, is of particular interest in that it is the second volume containing Italian-texted madrigals ever published in the Low Countries, preceded only by the aforementioned "Opus 1" by Lasso. A few years later, in 1565, Waelrant's *Le canzoni napolitane a quatro voce* was issued in Venice by Girolamo Scotto.[27] This does not prove that the composer ever went to Italy; in fact, this collection is likely a reprint of a lost edition first issued in Antwerp by Waelrant himself together with Laet.[28] The hypothesis that Waelrant might have studied with Adrian Willaert is not supported by any evidence.[29]

23 See Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, 29. Guicciardini moved to Antwerp in 1541.

24 In 1583–84 these composers had set to music excerpts from Van der Noot's bilingual poem *Lofsang van Brabant*, but the settings are all lost. See Weaver, "Waelrant". Maes's sonnet was included in Van der Noot, *Poeticsche Werken*, unnumbered folios. According to Willems, "De bibliographie der Poëticsche Werken van J. Van der Noot", 46–47, it was written in 1586 (like the other abovementioned sonnet by van der Noot). The poem is transcribed in its entirety and translated into English in Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 331–32, where it is ascribed to Van der Noot himself.

25 See Forney, "A Gift of Madrigals and Chansons", 55.

26 RISM W 1.

27 RISM W 2.

28 See Bernstein, "Musica transalpina", 404, who bases her hypothesis on some concrete elements, such as the lack of a dedication and the crowded layout (the latter was typical of Scotto's reprints of previous editions).

29 On Waelrant's purported stay in Italy, see Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 46–55.

Noé Faignient (c. 1537–after 1581?),[30] who became a citizen of Antwerp in 1561, had a volume entirely dedicated to his music published there in 1568, containing eleven madrigals for four, five, and six voices.[31] Eight more madrigals by Faignient were included in a similar edition of three-voice pieces published in the same year, of which no printed copy has survived.[32] Information on his time in Antwerp is scarce; we know that he worked as a music teacher and rented a shop from the city.[33]

Andreas Pevernage (1542/3–91) settled in Antwerp some years later, in 1585, after working as a chapel master in Bruges and Kortrijk among other positions. Unlike the madrigals by Waelrant and Faignient, Pevernage's madrigals were all included in anthology editions published in Antwerp by Phalèse and Bellère within a mere few years: one in *Musica divina* (1583), five in the first edition of *Harmonia celeste* (1583), two added to the 1589 edition of the same, one in a volume of *Bicinia sive cantiones suavissimae duarum vocum* (RISM 1590[19]), and two in *Melodia olympica* (1591). When Phalèse entrusted him with composing the dedicatory madrigal of *Musica divina* and editing *Harmonia celeste*, Pevernage, although he was surely well known,[34] had not published any madrigals yet, and he likely composed most of them at Phalèse's request.[35]

Cornelis Verdonck (1564–1625), from Turnhout, studied in Antwerp with Séverin Cornet (himself a local composer who published two collections of music on Italian texts) and stayed in Cornelis Pruenen's service for almost twenty years before entering the service of Pruenen's nephews Arnold and Jean de Cordès.[36] His volume of six-voice madrigals

30 For the different hypotheses concerning the date of Faignient's death, see Wood, "*Chansons, madrigales & motetz*", 48–51.

31 RISM F 61.

32 Luckily a manuscript copy (in three partbooks) of these *Chansons, madrigales & motetz à 3 parties* is preserved in the Stifts- och Landsbiblioteket in Linköping (Sweden), call no. 1964. For more information on this source and its contents, see Noske, "The Linköping Faignient-Manuscript" and Wood, "*Chansons, madrigales & motetz*".

33 For the most up-to-date biography of Faignient, see Wood, "*Chansons, madrigales & motetz*", 44–59. The hypothesis that Faignient's parents were Italians who lived in Antwerp (Wood, "*Chansons, madrigales & motetz*", 45 and 58) is not confirmed by the evidence.

34 In 1578 he had published his *Cantiones aliquot sacrae* (RISM P 1669), consisting of sacred and secular motets, twenty-five of which were "elogia" written for outstanding personalities of the time, such as Margaret of Parma. For a complete list of these personalities, see Hoekstra, "Andreas Pevernage's *Cantiones sacrae*", 23–24.

35 Despite the lack of evidence, it cannot be ruled out that some of them previously circulated in manuscripts or in prints now lost.

36 For the most detailed account of Verdonck's life (which also sheds light on the existence of several Cornelis Verdoncks in Antwerp in the same years), see Vanballenberghe, "Cornelis Verdonck".

was published quite late, in 1603; however, a single madrigal by Verdonck had already been included in a volume of music by Cornet published in 1581.[37]

Finally, Jan van Turnhout (c. 1545–after 1618) was chapel master to the governor of the Low Countries, Alessandro Farnese, in Brussels in the years in question. Phalèse and the other editors of the Antwerp anthologies had only limited interest in his compositions: indeed, in the four volumes only a single piece by this composer appears, included by Philips in *Melodia olympica*.[38]

Of all the local composers who contributed to the Antwerp anthologies, the one with the clearest documented relationship with Italian musical culture was Peter Philips. In 1582 the catholic Philips fled from England to Flanders for religious reasons. Then he spent three years in Rome, where he was an organist at the English College and in the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. In Rome he likely met Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Luca Marenzio, and Felice Anerio. The inclusion of their madrigals in *Melodia olympica*—the volume Philips edited—is thus no coincidence. After travelling in different European cities, in 1590 Philips settled in Antwerp, where he continued to frequent Italian circles.[39] It was in Antwerp that he wrote most of his keyboard works,[40] which include tablatures of madrigals by Marenzio, thus confirming his interest in the works of this composer.[41]

V.4 TEXT AND MUSIC

The editors of the Antwerp anthologies chose the compositions to be included in their volumes from among well-known Italian pieces, mainly taken from Venetian editions, and unpublished settings by local composers.[42] Some of the pieces by local composers—in particular the dedicatory ones—were written specifically for these anthologies. However, the

37 *Deh come bella sete* (RISM C 3947).

38 For an overview of Turnhout's life and works, see Thieffry, "Jean de Turnhout"; according to Thieffry, Philips (who edited *Melodia olympica*) might have met Turnhout during his own stay in Brussels. See Thieffry, "Jean de Turnhout", 34.

39 See Smith, "Italian Influence", 196.

40 See Smith, "Italian Influence", 197–98.

41 On Philips's tablatures of Marenzio's madrigals see Navach, "Madrigali al virginale"; none of them are related to the madrigals included by Philips in *Melodia olympica*.

42 The information on musical settings provided in this chapter is mainly taken from *RePIM – Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica, 1500–1700* (https://repim.itatti.harvard.edu, accessed 3 October 2023).

fact that Waelrant's *Vorria morire* for four voices is also found in the lute anthology *Pratum musicum* one year before its appearance in *Symphonia angelica*—albeit with the Dutch text "Als ik u vinde"—suggests that some pieces were in circulation for some time before they were printed.[43]

Although in the four volumes the madrigals' texts are all anonymous, as was often the case in musical anthologies, in many cases the authors can be identified through comparisons with contemporary literary sources (▶ Appendix 6). However, most of the texts set to music by local composers are untraceable and therefore remain anonymous. In all likelihood they were taken from previously published musical settings, even if—in the absence of musical citations—it is often difficult to determine which specific settings were available to local composers.[44] It is interesting to note that the texts set to music by the same local composers in their single-author editions are for the most part attributable to well-known poets. For example, fifteen out of twenty madrigals included in Turnhout's *Il primo libro di madrigali a sei voci* (1589) set texts that can be ascribed to ubiquitous figures such as Petrarch and Pietro Bembo, or to relatively well-known poets such as Domenico Venier. Of these fifteen texts, five are likely taken directly from poetical sources.[45] The importance of the poets in single-author editions is also particularly evident in Verdonck's *Madrigali a sei voci* (1603), in which the list of the pieces is next to a corresponding list of the poets ("autori delle parole").[46]

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Against this background, we can now take a closer look at the madrigals of local composers included in the Antwerp anthologies to understand where the lyrics come from. At that time, texts were mainly

43 This collection (RISM 1584[12]) was edited by Emanuel Adriaenssen and published by Phalèse. *Als ik u vinde* (fols. 50^{v}–51^{r}) is written both in French lute tablature for four lutes and in vocal notation. *Pratum musicum* also contains Faignient's *Chi per voi non sospira*, in both a three-voice and a two-lute version (fols. 40^{v}–42^{r}). This piece was likely copied from *Musica divina* (first issued in 1583), as the identical placement of text and repetition signs suggest.

44 Although these texts might have been transmitted in prints or manuscripts now lost, there is evidence to show that lifting texts from previous musical settings was common practice among sixteenth-century composers.

45 The five texts are *O fortuna crudel* (taken from Ludovico Paterno's *Le nuove fiamme*, published in 1553), and four poems by different authors all found in the poetry anthology *Il sesto libro delle rime di diversi* (1533): *Poi che madonn'il mio martir non crede* (Bonifacio Dragonetto), *Dove fuggi crudele* (Domenico Venier), *Misero stato degl'amanti* (Virginia Salvi), *Dolce mio caro et pretioso albergo* (Domenico Venier). See Cassia, "Un compositore fiammingo e i suoi madrigali", which supplements the information provided by Haar, "The Madrigal Book of Jean Turnhout".

46 This unusual addition was considered important enough to be advertised on the title page ("Con la tavola nel fine & gli Autori delle Parole").

taken from printed literary or musical sources. A smaller number of poems, which usually circulated locally, reached composers in manuscript form. Moreover, some texts were written for special occasions and composers were asked by patrons, friends, or acquaintances to set them to music.[47]

The latter is likely the case with the three dedicatory madrigals composed by Pevernage, one of which is included in *Musica divina* (*Fra l'altre virtù*, dedicated to Giovanbattista di Bartolomei) and two in *Harmonia celeste* (*Quando la voce al dolce canto muove* and *Cesar gentil*, both addressing Cesare Homodei). These three texts were probably written by local writers and may even have originated during gatherings in which musicians, literati, and patrons took part.[48]

The few texts by famous poets (Giovanni Maria Bonardo, Ludovico Ariosto, Ludovico Paterno, Girolamo Parabosco, and Battista Guarini) used by local composers were also most likely taken from musical sources rather than from literary editions. The text of *Dolce mio foco ardente* by Ludovico Paterno, for example, was probably not taken from his *Le nuove fiamme* (1561),[49] but more likely comes from the piece of the same name in Pomponio Nenna's first book of madrigals,[50] which is probably also Pevernage's source for the anonymous text of *Amorose faville*. Similarly, the poem *Oh come è gran martire*, written by Battista Guarini, was printed by Comin Ventura in an anthology of poetry in 1587, four years before the publication of *Melodia olympica*.[51] However, two minor variants in the text used by Pevernage in the *Melodia olympica* suggest that he lifted it from a previous musical setting (see Table 2).

Unlike Ventura's edition, the musical settings (starting with that of Luzzaschi printed in 1582)[52] have "ardore" instead of "ardire" at line 5, and "che" instead of "ch'io" at line 9. "Ardire" was a mistake, and indeed it was corrected to "ardore" in the first single-author edition of Guarini's

47 For a more detailed picture of the different ways in which composers came by the texts, see Bianconi, "Il Cinquecento e il Seicento", 338–43.

48 According to Forney, "Pevernage", the composer "was active in humanist circles surrounding the Plantin press". As for the authorship of the texts, Hoekstra, "The Reception and Cultivation", 155, suggests that "dedicatory madrigal texts such as Pevernage's *Fra l'altre virtù* for Bartolomei in *Musica divina* or *Caesar gentil* for Cesare Homodei in *Harmonia celeste* may have been written by the composers themselves."

49 Paterno's text was first published in his volume *Le nuove fiamme* (Venice: Giovanni Andrea Valvassori, 1561; reprinted Lyons: Guglielmo Rovillio, 1568).

50 RISM N 382.

51 *Rime di diversi celebri poeti*, 203.

52 RISM L 3124.

TABLE 2. The two versions of Guarini's poem

B. GUARINI, COMIN VENTURA EDITION (1587)	PEVERNAGE, *MELODIA OLYMPICA* (1591)	TRANSLATION
Oh come è gran martire, a celar suo desire, quando con pura fede, s'ama chi non se 'l crede. O mio soave **ardire**, o mio dolce desio, s'ogn'un ama il suo core, e voi sete il cor mio, allhor fia **ch'io** non v'ami, che viver più non brami.	O com'è gran martire, a celar suo desire, quando con pura fede, s'ama chi nol se 'l crede. O mio soave **ardore**, o mio dolce desio, s'ogn'un am'il suo core, e voi set'il cor mio, all'hor fia **che** non v'ami, che viver più non brami.	Oh what a great suffering it is to hide desire when with pure faith one loves who does not believe it. Oh my sweet daring / ardour, oh my sweet desire, if each loves his own heart and if you are my heart, it will be that I will not love you, when I will no longer desire to live.

Rime in 1598.[53] Luzzaschi, who worked in Ferrara and knew Guarini personally,[54] probably had a manuscript copy of the poem at his disposal when composing his madrigal, which became the textual source for the following musical settings. Due to the absence of musical citations, it is not possible to determine which of the four madrigals printed before 1591 Pevernage used as his source for the text. However, he likely knew Verdonck's *O com'è gran martire*, which had been published in Antwerp by Phalèse and Bellère in 1590 and contains the word "ardore".[55]

Faignient's madrigals are only included in the first two anthologies, *Musica divina* and *Harmonia celeste*, both first published in 1583. Of all the pieces by local composers, *Parmi veder la bella donna mia* is the only one (besides Waelrant's *Vorria morire* discussed above) with a concordance: it was first printed in Faignient's miscellaneous 1568 volume for four, five, and six voices.[56] In the case of *Chi per voi non sospira* it is possible to plausibly establish the previous musical setting from which Faignient took the text. This anonymous poem was set to

53 See Guarini, *Rime*, fol. 98^{v}. "Ardire" is a mistake because it subverts the rhyme scheme and creates an unrelated rhyme (v. 7, "-ore").
54 On the relationship between Luzzaschi and Guarini, and the music in Ferrara in those years, see Durante and Martellotti, "Genesi e sviluppo dei madrigali di Battista Guarini".
55 RISM 1590^{19}.
56 RISM F 61.

music by Annibale Zoilo (1574), Vincenzo Bastini (1578),[57] and Alfonso Ferrabosco (late sixteenth century). We can rule out that Faignient took the text from Zoilo's printed madrigal, because Zoilo's text contains a few variants.[58] The lyrics of Faignient's madrigal are identical to those found in both Bastini's and Ferrabosco's settings; however, its musical incipit betrays the influence of Ferrabosco's. We do not know when Ferrabosco composed *Chi per voi non sospira*, which is first found in an English manuscript copied in the late sixteenth century.[59] Pieces by Ferrabosco were circulating in the Low Countries in the 1580s, as attested by the inclusion of his madrigals *Io mi son giovinetta* in *Musica divina* and *Tu dolce anima mia* in *Harmonia celeste*.[60] This means that Faignient could have known some of them and may even have been familiar with Ferrabosco's *Chi per voi non sospira*, taking inspiration from it for his own madrigal on the same text. In both Faignient's and Ferrabosco's settings the first line is divided into two parts, and "Chi per voi non" is separated from "sospira" by rests (▶ Ex. V.1a and V.1b), a suitable device for rendering the sighing mentioned in the text in the music. Other elements, such as the high range of the two upper voices, seem to confirm the link between these two pieces, even if there are no musical citations. Two contrafacts of Faignient's madrigal were published in the following years. The first was included with an English text (*When shall I cease lamenting*) in *Musica transalpina* (1588). The second, a sacred contrafact with a Latin text (*Cur anxiè suspiro*), was included in the German anthology *Hortus musicalis* (1609).[61] In both cases, the new texts differ significantly from the original; however, in both first lines, the break caused by the placement of the rests makes sense, indicating that Faignient's choice had been understood and appreciated.[62]

▶ p. 193–4

57 RISM 1574[4] and RISM B 1239, respectively.

58 The variants in Zoilo's setting are given in square brackets: "Chi per voi non sospira / **e** [o] non si sent'il core / quando v'ascolt'**e** [o] mira / soavemente riscaldar d'amore / egl'è ben certo segno / o che non vive / o **che di vit'è** [gli è di vita] indegno."

59 GB-Och 78–82. For a detailed description of this source, see http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+78--82&msflag=0#MSTAB (accessed 19 June 2023).

60 Incidentally, GB-Och 78–82 and *Harmonia celeste* are the only sources that contain *Tu dolce anima mia*.

61 RISM 1609[15].

62 In the Latin version, the first word sung immediately after the rest is "suspiro", which closely recalls the original madrigal ("Cur anxiè [rest] suspiro"). In the English piece, the rests fall between "cease" and "lamenting", enhancing the meaning of the first verb ("When shall I cease [rest] lamenting").

Four of the five pieces by Waelrant included in *Symphonia angelica* use texts of villanelle set to music by Italian composers in the previous decades. In 1565 Waelrant published an entire volume of *canzoni napolitane* for four voices, and was thus familiar with this genre and its texts. Unfortunately, only the alto and basso partbooks of this collection have survived, meaning that only limited comparisons are possible.[63] However, the only four-voice piece by Waelrant in *Symphonia angelica*, *Vorria morire per uscir di guai* (fol. 4^{r}), exhibits a style similar to that of the *canzoni napolitane* (repetitions of textual and musical phrases, as well as frequent repetitions of single pitches), and we cannot rule out that it was composed around the same time. The fifth composition by Waelrant in *Symphonia angelica* celebrates the dedicatee, Cornelis Pruenen, whose name is explicitly mentioned in the text. As in the case of the dedicatory madrigals composed by Pevernage, the text was written specifically for this publication and the author is unknown. Its incipit, "Tra romor di tamburi e suon di trombe", recalls that of a well-known octave from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, "Non rumor di tamburi o suon di trombe" (Canto XXV, 68), which was set to music by around a dozen composers between 1549 and 1606.[64] The subsequent lines are completely different, however, as they recall the siege of Antwerp of 1585 and are thus explicitly political, in contrast to the war of love that forms the subject of Ariosto's octave. Nevertheless, whoever wrote the poem set to music by Waelrant had encountered Ariosto's text through a literary edition or musical setting. It is also possible that the poet drew inspiration from Alessandro Striggio's madrigal *Non rumor di tamburi o suon di trombe*, which was first published in 1571[65] and later included in Phalèse's *Musica divina*.

As mentioned above, Cornelis Pruenen was himself a poet and wrote at least one text that was set to music by Verdonck. In the above-mentioned table "Autori delle parole" found at the end of the edition of Verdonck's six-voice madrigals, Pruenen's name is linked to the madrigal

63 The altus part is preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and the bassus in Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement Devonshire Collections.

64 See *RePIM – Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica*.

65 RISM S 6967.

Tempo fia homai.[66] It is thus conceivable that Pruenen also wrote other texts set to music in those years—and maybe included in Phalèse's volumes—but this information has been lost since the poets' names were not recorded.

Besides the texts used in Pevernage's and Waelrant's dedicatory madrigals, the only other text set to music by local composers and currently not attested elsewhere is "Donna bella e gentile / tanto io v'am'e desio", set to music by Verdonck. Its first line corresponds to that of a ballata by Lelio Capilupi published in a Venetian anthology in 1552.[67] Bearing in mind that the villanelle of the time often contained single lines taken from well-known poems,[68] Verdonck likely used a lost villanella as his source for the text. Similarly, the first line of *Un'ape esser vorrei*, set to music by Verdonck and other composers, is probably taken from a poem by Torquato Tasso.[69]

Philips's madrigals only appear in the last volume of the Antwerp anthologies, *Melodia olympica*, which was published after he settled in Antwerp and which he edited. This volume only includes four of his madrigals. In light of his abovementioned interest in Marenzio's compositions, the text of Philips's madrigal *Amor che vuoi* may have been taken from the fourth stanza of Marenzio's villanella *Vivea da lacci sciolto*, published in 1587, rather than from Mazza's setting of 1590. Similarly, *Amor se i bei rubini* may be linked to Anerio's madrigal of the same name for five voices (1585), despite the lack of musical citations. Since both Philips and Anerio had links with the English College of Rome, it is even possible that Philips got to know this composition before it was published. Philips's madrigal, besides being full of textual repetitions, is unique in its awkward division into two parts. Indeed, the first part does not correspond to a meaningful phrase but lacks the principal verb ("posso"):

66 The names of the poets were only very seldom mentioned in music editions of the time, and it is unclear whether in this case it was Verdonck's or Phalèse's choice to do so. See Vanballenberge, "Aspects of Genre", vol. 1, 237.

67 *Rime di diversi illustri signori napolitani*, 208. This ballata continues in a completely different way ("se'l vostro sguardo mi mantiene in vita […]").

68 See DeFord, "Musical Relationships", 120.

69 "Un'ape esser vorrei, / donna bella e crudele […]"; for the complete poem, see Tasso, *Le rime*, 532, No. 499.

Prima parte

Amor, se i bei rubini,	Love, if the beautiful rubies,
discoprendo le perle al vivo sole,	revealing the pearls in the bright sun,
formano il dolce riso	shape the sweet smile,
e fan che sembr'il viso	and make the face seem like
rose, gigli e viole.	roses, lilies, and violets.

Seconda parte

Perché non poss'ahimé, com'ape suole,	Why cannot I, as does the bee,
sugger i vaghi fiori	suck the lovely flowers,
e gustar de sue labbia i dolci humori?	and taste the sweet nectar of her lips?

This setting is of particular interest as it highlights two points. For one, it is unclear to what extent Philips was familiar with Italian poetry and understood the complexity of the poetical structure. For another, the composer seems more concerned with the music than with the text, as is clearly visible in the numerous repetitions of the same portion of text, which apparently serve no other purpose than to demonstrate Philips's musical creativity.[70]

As for the music, a detailed description of the musical settings by local composers is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, a few common features emerge that are worth highlighting. The pieces by local composers, like those taken from Italian collections and included in the Antwerp anthologies, do not contain many chromaticisms or dissonances. This choice aligns with the target audience of these anthologies, which addressed amateur musicians, not professionals, and were usually sung at small gatherings for recreational purposes; accordingly, the music could not be too demanding.[71] This intended use also seems to explain some common traits found in the local composers' pieces, such as the absence of musical citations, which the audience would likely have been unable to detect. The local composers also made use of constant repetitions of short passages of the text with different music. This procedure, which sometimes makes it difficult to understand the text as a whole, shows that they focused mainly on the music and

70 For example, in the canto partbook the words "discoprendo le perle al vivo sole" are set to music five times.

71 This also explains the lack of interest in the madrigals of the Flemish composer Giaches de Wert evident in the Antwerp anthologies: only four of his madrigals were included. For more details, see Hoekstra, "Wert's Reception at Home", 82–84.

on showcasing their melodic inventiveness rather than conveying the meaning of the text.

A brief overview of Waelrant's pieces on the text *Vorria morire per uscir di guai* provides interesting insights into both the choice of the text and the different ways in which it was reused. *Symphonia angelica* contains two different settings by Waelrant of *Vorria morire per uscir di guai*, for four and six voices respectively, in two different modes (F and G, both with b♭). The Winchester Partbooks, a music manuscript copied between 1564 and 1566 in the Low Countries,[72] also contains a four-voice *Vorria morire per uscir di guai* ascribed to the same composer. However, this piece and the homonymous four-voice setting found in *Symphonia angelica* are completely different.[73] The text corresponds to the first stanza of a villotta contained in an anthology first printed by Scotto in 1566 and then reissued by Gardano's heirs in 1570.[74] Ludovico Agostini had composed a *canzone alla napolitana* on the same text (and with the same strophic structure) in 1574.[75] Jacob Regnart, by contrast, had set the first stanza to music in a collection of "canzone italiane".[76] None of these pieces based on the same text share any musical connection, and thus it is not clear which source Waelrant relied on for the lyrics. Waelrant's three *Vorria morire per uscir di guai* are not strophic and the relationship between text and music changes from one setting to another. The Winchester Partbooks' version contains a complete repetition of both the text and the music of line 1 (with a minor variant the second time) and of lines 2–3, and the text underlay is syllabic, two typical features of the villanella genre (▶ Ex. V.2a). Almost the same happens in the four-voice piece included in *Symphonia angelica*, where the first and third lines are repeated on the same music and the text underlay is once again syllabic (▶ Ex. V.2b). The six-voice setting, by contrast, is reminiscent of the madrigal structure: textual repetitions no longer correspond to the same music; moreover, there is a greater variety of note values, and a few words are set with melismata (▶ Ex. V.2c). The

▶ p. 195
▶ p. 196
▶ p. 197

72 GB-Wcc 153. This manuscript was probably compiled at the request of Erik XIV of Sweden who wanted to gift it to Elizabeth I of England; see Forney, "A Gift of Madrigals and Chansons".

73 Forney, "A Gift of Madrigals and Chansons", 55 and 57, wrongly maintains that the Winchester partbooks' setting is a concordance of that in *Symphonia angelica*. The two pieces are transcribed in their entirety in Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 354–58.

74 RISM 1566^{5} and 1570^{20}, respectively.

75 RISM A 406.

76 RISM R 753.

TABLE 3. The different versions of the text of *Un'ape esser vorrei* (variants from the first column are in bold)

CARACCIOLO/VERDONCK	MAZZONI	VINCI
Un'ape esser vorrei poiché vi fece la natura fiore, Clori mia bella, ch'io poi cercherei per forza o per inganni pascermi del soave vostro odore lasciando questo cor nel vostro cuore.	Un'ape esser vorrei poiché vi fece la natura fiore, **anima mia, ch'un giorno** **proverei** per forza o per inganni pascermi del soave vostro **amore** **lasciandov'il mio** cor nel vostro cuore.	Un'ape esser vorrei poiché vi fece la natura fiore, **Cloride bella**, ch'io poi cercherei per forza o per inganni pascermi del soave vostro odore lasciando questo cor nel vostro cuore.
I wish I were a bee because nature has made you a flower, my beautiful Clori, so that then I would try by force or by trickery to feed myself on your sweet smell leaving this heart in your heart.	I wish I were a bee because nature has made you a flower, **my soul, so that one day I** **would try** by force or by trickery to feed myself on your sweet **love** **leaving you my** heart in your heart.	I wish I were a bee because nature has made you a flower, **beautiful Cloride**, so that then I would try by force or by trickery to feed myself on your sweet smell leaving this heart in your heart.

six-voice structure also gives rise to a greater contrapuntal density when all the voices sing together. It is interesting to note, however, that the first three bars of this six-voice setting recall the rhythmic and harmonic structure of the Winchester Partbook's version, a resemblance that cannot be accidental.

The other two six-voice pieces by Waelrant included in *Symphonia angelica* (*Mi voglio fare hormai lo fatto mio* and *Quanto debb'allegrarse la natura*) display similar features: they are not strophic and do not share any motif with the previously published villanelle on the same text.[77] Similarly, the text of Verdonck's *Un'ape esser vorrei* (for six voices) was first set to music as a *canzone alla napolitana* by Francesco Mazzoni (1569), and later as a five-voice madrigal by Paolo Caracciolo (1582) and Pietro Vinci (1584). These settings contain textual variants and

77 The settings of *Quanto debb'allegrarse la natura* by Vincenzo Fontana (RISM F 1476), Baldassarre Donato (RISM D 3404), and Antonio Scandello (RISM S 1146) share the same head motif. The setting by Antonino Barges (RISM B 922) is musically unrelated to those settings and contains limited repetitions of music.

Verdonck's text proves identical to Caracciolo's—which may therefore have been Verdonck's source—but the music is independent of any previous setting (see Table 3).

The movement of texts from light genres (such as the villanella) to the madrigal and vice versa is well attested in the last decades of the sixteenth century.[78] The text of Turnhout's *Vorria parlare e dire* had likewise previously been used in villanelle by Marenzio (1584) and Gasparo Costa (1588).[79] Turnhout composed his madrigal using the complete text of the four stanzas but avoiding musical repetitions.[80]

V.5 PROOFREADING AND NEW EDITIONS

The reissues of the four Antwerp anthologies are in most cases new editions in that the pieces were reset. Besides entailing slight variations from a graphic point of view, this process also provided an opportunity to fix errors that had slipped into previous editions. Accordingly, a brief look at these different reissues and their proofreading provides interesting information about the typesetters' and proofreaders' skills in the Italian language. Susan Lewis Hammond has already raised the issue of the anthologies' resettings, briefly addressing the subject and observing that the changes mostly involve "letter decoration, music layout, and placement of text underlay" as well as the paratexts.[81] However, comparisons between the different editions of each single anthology reveal other interesting aspects linked to the Italian language that have passed unnoticed. Concerning the pieces by local composers, the most obvious interventions are the addition of two madrigals by Pevernage in *Harmonia celeste*, starting from the 1589 edition, and the ascription to Pevernage of the madrigal *Fra l'altre virtù* starting from the 1588 edition of *Musica divina*.[82] The different editions of this piece are of particular interest in that they show certain editorial interventions. *Fra l'altre virtù* is dedicated to Giovanni Battista di Bartolamei, whose family name is mentioned toward the end of the text. In the

78 See DeFord, "Musical Relationships".
79 RISM M 587 and C 4220, respectively.
80 The aforementioned relationship between Philips's *Amor che vuoi ch'io facci* and Marenzio's villanella with a stanza on the same text is similar.
81 Lewis Hammond, "Pierre Phalèse as Music Editor", 106–8.
82 In the first edition, this piece was anonymous. In my opinion, *Fra l'altre virtù* may have been added in a hurry at the last moment, since it is not listed in the index; this may explain the lack of the author's name.

first edition (1583) the last line read "fa che Parnasso e Pindo e Helicona sempre di gicilier risuona", with "gicilier"—an erroneous spelling of the Italian word "gioilier" ("jeweller")—sung twice.[83] Once printed, a cancel slip with the words "di Bartolamei" was pasted over "gicilier, gicilier".[84] Although apparently "Bartolamei" was considered a five-syllable word, and thus with the preposition "di" had the same total number of syllables as "gicilier, gicilier", the accents of the new words no longer matched the music. "Bartolamei" was sung on the sequence two crotchets–minim–two crotchets, which erroneously emphasized the syllable "la" in all voices (▶ Ex. V.3a). In the 1588 edition, the text was corrected and "di Bartolamei" incorporated into the print. However, the problem of the wrong accentuation remained. The issue was finally fixed in the 1591 edition by reversing the values of the notes corresponding to the third and fourth syllables of the word "Bartolamei": in this way, the minim matches the stressed syllable "me" (▶ Ex. V.3b).[85] These small differences show that over the years this piece was not only reprinted, but also double-checked. Although we do not know to whom this task was entrusted, the solution of the problem of accentuation on the family name "Bartolamei" suggests an editor who was a native speaker or well versed in Italian.

▶ p. 198

▶ p. 199

The index of the collection also reveals discrepancies between the different editions. For example, in the 1588 edition the incipits of the first two madrigals are reversed and *Dolce contrade*, which in 1583 was anonymous, is ascribed to Spirito da Reggio. More interesting is the correction of the incipit of a madrigal by Palestrina: in 1583, *Vestiva i colli* appeared as *Festiva i colli* in both the music and the index. This mistake is clearly due to a northern pronunciation of the letter "v", and while it

83 In the copies I checked (see the following footnote) the "c" in the word "giciliere", which appears in the paratext printed at the beginning of the madrigal in each partbook ("Al Molto Magnifico S. Giovanni Battista di Bartolamei Giciliere"), was always amended by hand to "o". These kinds of small corrections were usually done when the pages were still at the printers. See Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 274. The repetition of "gicilier" in the music, in the paratext, and even in the dedication clearly shows that the wrong spelling was not a simple oversight, which means that the typesetter had poor knowledge of Italian. I am grateful to Antonio Chemotti for drawing my attention to this aspect.

84 I was able to check three of nine extant copies of the 1583 edition (one held in Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica and two in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) and they all have the cancel slips. The original "gicilier gicilier" is still visible in the alto part of D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 185#Beibd.1. Antonio Chemotti has informed me that the copy at Brussels, KBR (Rare books LP 426 A) also has cancel slips.

85 This procedure was applied to all voices, with the sole exception of the repetition of "Bartolamei" in the alto part.

might be the typesetter who made the mistake, one does wonder whether the editors of the Antwerp anthologies were also expected to proofread the volumes and to what extent the linguistic mistakes not fixed in these editions are due to their limited knowledge of Italian.[86]

Harmonia celeste is likewise not devoid of linguistic mistakes. For example, the first part of the text of Pevernage's madrigal *Cesar gentil* contains two blatant errors that were not fixed in the following editions. The canto part has "degno da loro", while the other voices have the right words "degno d'alloro". Moreover, the sentence "fra le virtù che il ciel concesso tal", sung by all voices, makes no sense, unless "tal" is replaced by "t'ha". *Harmonia celeste* was edited by Pevernage himself, so even though the mistakes could be due to the typesetter (this is likely the case with "degno da loro", which is spelled wrongly only in the canto part), the fact that they were not corrected afterwards may indicate that they passed unnoticed by the composer.

V.6 FINAL REMARKS

As shown, the Italian-texted madrigals by local composers often reveal inaccuracies in dealing with the Italian language. That the text was not the composers' main point of interest is confirmed by occasional confusing shifts in the tonic accent of the words. For example, at the beginning of the canto of Turnhout's *Vorria parlare e dire*, the first "dire" is set with crotchet–minim, while "martire", set with semibreve–minim–crotchet, is given an accent on the "a" that changes the meaning of the word (in Italian "martìre" means "torture", while "màrtire" corresponds to "martyr").

To what extent were the people working in the printing firm familiar with the Italian language? Compositors active in Antwerp did not necessarily know Italian, not even those who dealt with Italian literary texts, as attested by the printer Plantin in the section "Ai lettori" of the bilingual edition (Italian-French) of Gian Michele Bruto's *La institutione*

86 There is no evidence of who proofread the Antwerp anthologies. Waelrant surely proofread the editions he published together with Laet, who had no musical training (see Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet*, 118–20). It is thus possible that he undertook this task at least for *Symphonia angelica*, of which he was the editor. According to Lewis Hammond, "Pierre Phalèse as Music Editor", 105, it is "likely that Phalèse did the (albeit limited) editorial work for the reprints of all four anthologies himself", but, as already observed, Lewis Hammond did not explore the fixing of Italian words.

di una fanciulla.[87] When it comes to Pierre Phalèse, nothing specific is known about his knowledge of Italian, but for this aspect he probably relied on his associate Jean Bellère, as his father had done.[88] Bellère seems to have mastered the Italian language. In fact, in 1555 he published *La institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente* by Gian Michele Bruto in a bilingual edition (Italian and French) together with Plantin. In the "Note au traducteur", Plantin praises Bellère for his translation, avowing that soon he would outdo those who preceded him in this task.[89] However, taking into account the numerous spelling mistakes in the Antwerp anthologies, it is unclear whether Bellère carried out some kind of check.

As for local composers' command of the Italian language, there is no clear evidence. The fact that the dedications signed by Waelrant, Pevernage, Philips, and Phalèse are written in Italian is no evidence that they wrote them in this language: the texts could have been translated afterwards or directly commissioned from native speakers.[90] However, a closer look at the relationship between text and music—and in particular at the placement of tonic accents of words—and at the correspondence between the music and the textual structure can be revealing. In this case, too, we cannot rule out that local composers were sometimes helped by other people living in Antwerp with a higher proficiency in Italian, who may have listened to their pieces prior to publication, pointing out any blatant mistakes. Two examples, however, clearly show a limited knowledge of the Italian language. The first is the aforementioned awkward subdivision of Philips's *Amor, se i bei rubini*. The second, a few years earlier, is found in Waelrant's first book of madrigals: in this case, Petrarch's sonnet *Volo con l'ali* was set to music in two parts and the second part began with the eighth line, a clear mistake from the point of view of the structure of the sonnet and the meaning of the text.[91]

87 Plantin, admitting that the edition still contains small errors that can be easily detected, praises the compositors for doing a thorough job, despite their poor knowledge of Italian ("poco essendo della Italiana lengua intendenti", Bruto, *La institutione*, unnumbered folios).

88 Phalèse the Elder did not know Italian; see Vanhulst, *Catalogue des éditions de musique*, xii.

89 See Bruto, *La institutione*, unnumbered folios.

90 It is interesting to note that the four dedications are very similar to one another, even in the choice of wording. In particular, the dedications of *Harmonia celeste*, *Symphonia angelica*, and *Melodia olympica* consider the patron's love for music one of his virtues; the three texts contain the words "fra le altre sue virtù" / "tra l'altre virtù", which, moreover, form the opening text of Pevernage's dedicatory madrigal of *Musica divina* ("Fra l'altre virtù"). "[F]ra le virtù" is also found in another madrigal by the same composer, *Cesar gentil* (in *Harmonia celeste*).

91 This issue was already raised by Gerald R. Hoekstra in Waelrant, *Il primo libro*, xvi n. 22.

This chapter highlights several clues that suggest a limited knowledge of Italian by the local composers involved, as editors and authors, in the Antwerp anthologies. Yet this does not seem to have impaired the anthologies' local reception and positive evaluation, even in a period in which Italian music from Italy was widely available. For instance, in 1628 the Flemish humanist Frans Sweerts praised Verdonck's compositional skills, quoting a claim purportedly by the well-known Dutch composer Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck that Verdonck would have been able to rival all Italian composers had his commitments not prevented him.[92] This statement does not simply indicate a generic appreciation of Verdonck's works but also suggests that, at least within the Low Countries, local composers were sometimes considered to be at the same level as their famous Italian colleagues. This also explains the decisions of *Musica transalpina*'s editor Yonge, who, when selecting madrigals to publish—in English translation—in his anthology, included pieces by Faignient (*Questi ch'inditio fan* and *Chi per voi non sospira*) and Verdonck (*Donna bella e gentile*) taken from the Antwerp anthologies alongside madrigals by famed composers such as Palestrina and Marenzio. All in all, the success and circulation of Phalèse's anthologies significantly contributed to the internationalization of this repertory. Local composers, notwithstanding their limited knowledge of Italian literary language that has emerged in this chapter, played a pivotal role in this, both selecting Italian pieces to be included in the anthologies and composing new madrigals. Despite the difficulties of such operations, maintaining the connection with the Italian language must have seemed a prerequisite for success, thanks to the curiosity and interest that Italian culture aroused in northern countries.

92 See Sweerts, *Athenae belgicae*, 199: "A Musica clarus, & si Ioanni Petri Swelingo Musico & Organistarum Belgii facile principi credimus, si per occupationes licuisset, cum omnibus Italiae phonascis contendisset". The passage is translated into English and discussed in Vanballenberghe, "Aspects of Genre", vol. 1, 13–14: "He was a musician, and if we may believe J. P. Sweelinck, musician and organist of Belgium [referring to Sweelinck], if his [Verdonck's] career had allowed him, he could contend with every *kapelmeester* of Italy". Sweerts also mentions Pevernage, Waelrant, and Faignient (Sweerts, *Athenae belgicae*, 125, 350, and 585 respectively). Incidentally, as a young man Sweerts studied music with Waelrant and in 1596 was the dedicatee of Phalèse's *Madrigali a otto voci de diversi eccelenti et famosi autori* (RISM 1596[8]). For Sweerts' biography, see Fris, "Sweerts (François)".