

# Mapping the Presence of Paduan Repertoire in European Anthologies in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

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## Abstract

During their century-old activity, the cappella of the Basilica del Santo and that of the Cathedral of Padua welcomed among their collaborators such outstanding figures as Costanzo Porta, Luigi Balbi, Lelio Bertani, Amadio Freddi, Leandro Gallerano, and many others. Some of their compositions were included, alongside those of other chapel masters working in similar Italian chapels, in several collections printed in various European cities: Heidelberg, Munich, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Antwerp, and Strasbourg.

The aim of the present paper is a mapping the compositions of Paduan composers within the collections printed in Europe during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In particular the attention will focus on the case of *Il Trionfo di Dori* (Venice, 1592) that was provided with German texts by Johann Lyttich (Nuremberg, 1612–1613) and Martin Rinckart (Leipzig, 1619).

Beside that, the paper will investigate the channels that might have allowed these compositions to reach the various cities in which they were printed and the possible reasons for their large diffusion.

## Keywords

Paduan repertoire, seventeenth century, *Il Trionfo di Dori*, *Triumph de Dorothea*

The aim of the present contribution is to map the compositions of Paduan composers that appear within collections printed in Europe during the first half of the seventeenth century alongside works by musicians active in the most outstanding chapels of the time (namely, Bologna, Milan, Rome and Venice). It will focus in particular on compositions by the chapel masters who worked at the Basilica of St. Anthony and at the Cathedral of Padua, the two fulcra of musical life in the town during the first fifty years of the seventeenth century. A considerable number of their compositions are featured in several collections printed in various European cities, such as Heidelberg, Munich, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Antwerp and Strasbourg. Having identified these publications, the paper will then speculate on the channels that might have allowed these compositions to come into the hands of the various editors of the collections and the possible reasons for their extensive dissemination. In particular the attention will focus on the case of *Il Trionfo di Dori* (Venice, 1592) that was provided with German texts by Johann Lyttich and Martin Rinckart in their collections printed in Nuremberg and Leipzig from 1612 to 1619.

From the thirteenth century the music chapel of Padua cathedral and, from 1480, that of the Basilica of St. Anthony, represented the heart of religious and musical life in Padua. Throughout their long history, the personalities who were in charge to direct the musical chapels of these two institutions included outstanding musicians able to assimilate and appropriate the most innovative compositional techniques, thus keeping pace with similar institutions in the main centres in Italy.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the main topic of this paper, the chapel masters taken into account are those who worked in the above mentioned two Paduan chapels during the first half of the seventeenth century (Tab. 1), i.e. Costanto Porta, Lelio Bertani, Giulio Belli, Alvise Balbi, Giovanni Ghizzolo, Leandro Gallerano, Amadio Freddi, and others. Alongside these musicians, it is also appropriate to consider Ludovico Balbi, who had been a pupil of Costanzo Porta from 1565 to 1567 and was chapel master at the Cappella Antoniana from 1585 to 1591, because a significant number of his compositions – twenty in total – appeared in several collections printed outside the peninsula in the early Baroque period.

If we look at the collections printed in Italy and abroad during the first half of the seventeenth century, the compositions of the *maestri* active in the Paduan area can be detected in about sixty collections. Thirty-one of these (including the two reprints of *Il trionfo di Dori* and *Symphonia angelica*) appeared outside the Italian territory; more specifically, 12 in Antwerp, 7 in Strasbourg, 2 each in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Munich, Nuremberg, with Dresden, Heidelberg, Ingolstadt and Trier also represented (Tab. 2 and 3). Regarding the chosen repertoire, there was a noticeable balance between secular music,

1 A complete list of chapel masters active at the Basilica del Santo has been compiled by Giulio Cattin in the introduction to the collection of documents of SARTORI, Antonio. *Documenti per la storia della musica al Santo e nel Veneto*. Fonti e studi per la storia del Santo a Padova, V. Fonti, 4. Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1977. Chapel masters, organists and organ makers of the cathedral until the 16<sup>th</sup> century are listed in CASIMIRI, Raffaele. *Musica e musicisti nella cattedrale di Padova nei sec. XIV, XV, XVI. Contributo per una storia*. In *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* XVIII (1941), p. 28-31, 101-132, 182-214 and XIX (1942), p. 49-92.

that was the focus of eleven collections and three reprints, and sacred compositions, that formed the basis of seventeen collections.<sup>2</sup>

The composer with the highest number of works in collections printed abroad is Giulio Belli, who had been the chapel master at the Basilica of St. Anthony from 1606 to 1608. In fact, twenty-seven of his compositions are included in nine different collections. Also significant is the presence of compositions by Ludovico and Alvisè Balbi, which are included in several collections, with twenty and thirteen compositions, respectively, while Lelio Bertani and Costanzo Porta are represented with about ten pieces each.<sup>3</sup>

During the fifty years considered in this paper, the most productive period was that from 1609 to 1613, during which time ten collections were printed. Subsequently, in the years from 1616 to 1628, there was an average of one print every year, with the exception of the period 1624–1625, in which there were no publications. After the reprint of *Il trionfo di Dori* and *Symphonia angelica*, in 1628 and 1629 respectively, no Paduan composer has been included in any of the collections printed in either Italy or abroad between 1630 and 1643, when *Varii variorum tam in Italia quam Germania excellentissimorum musicorum concertus* was published in Dresden by Seyfert.<sup>4</sup> This collection includes two motets by Leandro Gallerano, which marked the first time these works were included in a collection printed on the other side of the Alps.<sup>5</sup>

From a geographical point of view, the most prolific centre for the publication of these works is no doubt Antwerp, which achieved a prominent role in the publishing trade (especially in music printing) thanks to the activity of the Phalèse family. Pierre Phalèse had begun to work as a publisher in Leuven in 1545. He applied for and, in January 1552, received a privilege to print music using movable type. His earliest music publications favoured composers of the Low Countries, especially Clemens non Papa and Crecquillon. From 1560, however, Phalèse showed a bolder and more international approach and ten years later he obtained an important acknowledgment for the quality of his prints. When Phalèse visited Antwerp to be examined by king Philip's prototypographer, Christophe Plantin, the latter declared that Phalèse was "expert in the art of printing music, which he did exclusively, and [was] well versed in Latin, French and Flemish". Some years later the Phalèse family moved to Antwerp, where Pierre Phalèse "the younger" continued the activity of his father, displaying a particular preference for

2 Collections of secular music: RISM B I, 1600<sup>5a</sup>, 1600<sup>8</sup>, 1601<sup>5</sup>, 1601<sup>6</sup> (1614<sup>11</sup> and 1628<sup>12</sup>), 1604<sup>13</sup>, 1611<sup>11</sup>, 1611<sup>12</sup> (1629<sup>8</sup>), 1613<sup>10</sup>, 1613<sup>13</sup>, 1619<sup>16</sup> and 1620<sup>12</sup>. Collections of sacred music: RISM B I, 1607<sup>6</sup>, 1609<sup>1</sup>, 1609<sup>15</sup>, 1611<sup>1</sup>, 1612<sup>3</sup>, 1613<sup>2</sup>, 1613<sup>6</sup>, 1616<sup>2</sup>, 1617<sup>1</sup>, 1618<sup>2</sup>, 1621<sup>2</sup>, 1622<sup>2</sup>, 1623<sup>2</sup>, 1626<sup>2</sup>, 1627<sup>1</sup>, 1627<sup>2</sup> and 1643<sup>7</sup>.

3 More specifically: Giulio Belli, 27; Ludovico Balbi, 20; Alvisè Balbi, 13; Lelio Bertani, 10; Costanzo Porta, 9; Giovanni Ghizzolo, 4; Amadio Freddi, 3 and Leandro Gallerano, 2.

4 RISM B I, 1643<sup>7</sup>.

5 A possible explanation for the absence of publications in this period can be found in the economic difficulties of the Basilica of St. Anthony during the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, resulting from a fire that had struck one of the Basilica's buildings. In this period, the music chapel experienced a slight reduction in the number of musicians it employed, which was also the reason for the interruption of musical activity at a number of other times in its history. See PADOAN, Maurizio. *La musica al Santo di Padova (1580–1650). Dinamiche finanziarie, organici e complete quaresimali*. In *Barocco Padano e musicisti francescani. L'apporto dei maestri conventuali. Atti del XVI Convegno internazionale sul barocco padano (secoli XVII–XVIII)*. Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2014, p. 24–32 and 50.

Italian composers. In addition to a large number of madrigal books devoted to single Italian composers (such as Agazzari, Croce, Frescobaldi, Marenzio, Monteverdi, Mosto, Vecchi and others), Phalèse “the younger” also published numerous collections of Italian madrigals.<sup>6</sup> In particular, these included:

- *Harmonia celeste* (Phalèse in collaboration with Jean Bellère, 1583), edited by André Pevernage and reprinted five times between 1589 and 1628;<sup>7</sup>
- *Musica divina* (1583), edited by Phalèse himself and reprinted seven times between 1588 and 1634;<sup>8</sup>
- *Symphonia angelica* (1585), edited by Hubert Waelrant, printed by Phalèse and Bellère, and reprinted four times between 1590 and 1629. Among the c. sixty compositions we also find the madrigal *Chiami la vita mia* by Lelio Bertani, chapel master at Padua cathedral;<sup>9</sup>
- *Melodia olympica* (1591), reprinted three times between 1594 and 1630. It includes the madrigal *Io mi son giovinetta* by Giovanni Battista Mosto, who was chapelmaster at Padua cathedral (1584–1588), and the madrigal *Movi il tuo plettro Apollo* by Lelio Bertani, the successor of Mosto in the same role ten years later.<sup>10</sup>

Phalèse followed the practice – well established by the Venetians firms of Gardano and Scotto – of reprinting editions of his own and other’s book. In fact from the half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century printers realized that one of the cheapest way to reach new audiences was that of proposing the reprints.<sup>11</sup>

Among other collections printed by Phalèse, the case of *Il trionfo di Dori* is particularly interesting.<sup>12</sup> An anthology of twenty-nine six-part Italian madrigals by twenty-nine different composers and poets, had already been printed in Venice by Angelo Gardano in 1592. This compendium inspired commercial ventures and artistic creativity on both side of the Alps. It was reprinted by Gardano in 1599 and also five times in Antwerp by Pierre Phalèse (1595, 1596, 1601, 1614 and 1628).<sup>13</sup> *Il trionfo di Dori* also inspired *The Triumphs of Oriana*, a collection of English madrigals edited and published by Thomas Morley in 1601. As in the Venetian collection, in which all madrigals ended with the words “Viva la bella Dori”, all twenty-three madrigals by English composers end with the final couplet “Thus sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana: long live fair Oriana”. Together

6 BAIN, Susan and VANHULST, Henri. Phalèse in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (ed. Stanley Sadie), London: Oxford University Press, 2001, 19, p. 545–549; LEWIS HAMMOND, Susan. Pierre Phalèse as music editor: The Madrigal Anthology *Musica divina* (1583). *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 2004, vol. 51, no. 1, p. 93–110.

7 RISM B I, 1583<sup>14</sup>, 1589<sup>9</sup>, 1593<sup>4</sup>, 1605<sup>8</sup>, 1614<sup>12</sup> and 1628<sup>14</sup>.

8 RISM B I, 1583<sup>15</sup>, 1588<sup>16</sup>, 1591<sup>11</sup>, 1595<sup>4</sup>, 1606<sup>7</sup>, 1614<sup>13</sup>, 1623<sup>7</sup>, 1634<sup>6</sup>.

9 RISM B I, 1585<sup>19</sup>, 1590<sup>17</sup>, 1594<sup>8</sup>, 1611<sup>12</sup> and 1629<sup>8</sup>.

10 RISM B I, 1591<sup>10</sup>, 1594<sup>7</sup>, 1611<sup>11</sup> and 1630<sup>3</sup>.

11 LEWIS HAMMOND, op. cit., p. 106–108.

12 *Il trionfo di Dori descritto da diversi et posti in musica, da altrettanti autori. A sei voci*. Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1592; RISM B I, 1592<sup>11</sup>; POWLEY, Harrison (ed.). *Il trionfo di Dori*. New York: Gaudia music and arts, 1990.

13 RISM B I, 1592<sup>11</sup>, 1595<sup>2</sup>, 1596<sup>9</sup>, 1599<sup>10</sup>, 1601<sup>6</sup>, 1614<sup>11</sup>, 1628<sup>12</sup>.

with some of the most important composers of the time (such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Luca Marenzio, Giovanni Gabrieli and many others), the collection printed in Venice by Gardano also contains works by musicians closely linked to the Paduan chapel, such as Costanzo Porta, his pupil Ludovico Balbi and Lelio Bertani.

*Il trionfo di Dori* also had a significant influence in the German territory. In fact, twenty-seven years after the first Venetian publication, the collection was reprinted in Leipzig with the title *Triumph de Dorothea*. It is striking that in this reprinted version Martin Rinckart replaced the original Italian texts that dealt with pastoral love with texts celebrating the power of music, a central tenet of Lutheran theology. Rinckart aimed to restore most authentic meaning of the collection, by honoring Dorothea and praising the mercy of the almighty Creator because he doesn't believe that the Italian composers honor the true Dorothe, but "rather, her Italian and fleshly nature, a shamed Venus" (*"sondern ihrer Welschen und Fleischlichen art nach / ein sch[a]ndde VENUS genennet"*).<sup>14</sup> The compositions by Costanzo Porta (*Da lo spuntar de matutini albori* with a text by Pietro Cresci), Ludovico Balbi (*Mentre pastori e ninfe* on a text by Marino Palma) and Lelio Bertani (*Dori a quest'ombre e l'aura* with words by Camillo Camilli) changed their titles, and became *Herbey wer Musickunst* (Porta), *O Mensch bedenck dich eben* (Balbi) e *Fahr ihn, fahr ihn, fahr mein Klage* (Bertani).<sup>15</sup>

Rinckart's inspiration for his *Triumph* undoubtedly came from the two-part *Musicalisches Streitkränzlein* printed in Nuremberg in 1612–1613. This was a two-volume collection that included all twenty-nine madrigals from *Il trionfo di Dori* provided with German secular texts by Johannes Lyttich. Lyttich taught at the royal Mansfeld Gymnasium, founded in Eisleben by Luther in 1546, and succeeded Rinckart as cantor at the town's Nikolaikirche.<sup>16</sup> This information provides us with further confirmation regarding the influence that this collection had on the compendium edited by Rinckart seven years later, although Lyttich did not propose sacred texts as had been the case with Rinckart (Tab. 4). There are two other suggestive links between *Musicalisches Streitkränzlein* and *Triumph de Dorothea*. The first one is that Rinckart preserves the three-strophe structure of Lyttich's collections. The second one regard the Latin epigram that opens the second volume of *Rest Musicalisches Streitkränzleins* which was written by "Martinus Rinckhart Theologus Isleviensis" ("Martin Rinckart, theologian of Eisleben").<sup>17</sup>

14 *Triumph de Dorothea ... geistliches musicalisches Triumph-Cränzlein*. Leipzig: Lorenz Köber, 1619; RISM B/1, 1619<sup>16</sup>; LEWIS HAMMOND, Susan. *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, p. 165.

15 I would like to thank Marco Giuliani for allowing me to consult the multimedia R.I.M. data-base, which is not yet accessible on-line. See also LEWIS HAMMOND, Susan. *Editing italian music for lutheran Germany*. In *Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Early Modern German Culture*. Randolph C. Head - Daniel Christensen (eds.). Leiden: Brill, 2007, p. 117–138; LEWIS HAMMOND, *Editing Music*, op. cit., p. 165–182.

16 GUDEWILL, Kurt. Lyttich, Johann. in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik begründet von Friedrich Blume. Zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe. Personenteil*, (ed. Ludwig Finscher). Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998–2007, vol. 11, col. 673.

17 *Rest musicalisches Streitkränzleins: hiebevorn von den allerfürtrefflichsten unnd berhümtesten Componisten, in welscher Sprach, pro certamine, mit sonderlichem Fleiss, und auff's künstlichst, mit 6. Stimmen auffgesetzt, und dannhero Triomphi di Dori oder de Dorothea genennet. ... in Druck gefördert, durch Solomonem Engelhart, ... Nuremberg: Balthasar Scherff, 1613; RISM B I, 1613<sup>13</sup>; LEWIS HAMMOND, *Editing Music*, op. cit., p. 45–47.*

In his texts, Lyttich retained the pastoral quality of the original *Trionfo* poems, which tell the story of Arcadian shepherds and nymphs singing praise to the beautiful Dori. The title page of the *Musicalisches Streitkränzlein* explains that Lyttich's *contrafacta* honored "excellent authors" and "all chaste German maidens" with "amusing and artful German texts".<sup>18</sup> Following the example of the first Venetian publication, the texts by Lyttich and Rinckart ended all the compositions with an unifying final phrase. Lyttich transformed the madrigal into strophic canzonettas with three verses for each song that finished with "Meine Schön ist die Beste" ("My love is the best"). Rinckart concludes all his compositions with the refrain "Unsere Kunst bleibt immer und ewig" ("Our art endures forever and ever").

As well as the great majority of the secular production of the sixteenth century, the madrigals contained in the first Venetian edition of *I Trionfi di Dori* are rich of procedures of word-painting with which the musicians follows the texts. The sprouting of the morning dawn ("Lo spuntar de matutini albori") is described by Costanzo Porta through a rising melody. On the contrary, the setting of the sun ("tramontar del maggior lume") is rendered by a descending line sung by all the voices (Ex. 1). The stream and the waves

The musical score consists of six staves, each with a vocal line and lyrics. The lyrics are: "sin al tra-mon - tar del mag-gior lu - - - me, del mag-gior In - sin al tra-mon-tar del mag-gior lu - - - In - sin al tra-mon - tar del mag-gior sin al tra-mon - tar del mag - gior lu - me In - sin al tra-mon-tar del mag-gior". The melody is a descending line, characteristic of the setting of the sun.

Ex. 1 Costanzo Porta, *Da lo spuntar de matutini albori*, bb. 9-13.

18 *Musicalische Streitkränzlein: hiebevorn von den allerfürtrefflichsten unnd berhümeten Componisten, in welscher Sprach, pro certamine, mit sonderlichem Fleiss, und auff's künstlichst, mit 6. Stimmen aufgesetzt, und dannenhero Triumphi di Dori oder Dorothea genennet, und in Druck verfertiget, durch Johann Lyttichium, ...* Nuremberg: Abraham Wagenmann, 1612; RISM B I, 1612<sup>13</sup>.

19 was der gros - - - se und al - ler höch-ste Schöp - fer

34 wie hoch sie Gott \_\_\_\_\_ thun zie - ren was \_\_\_ vor scho-ne und

39 wun-der ho-he ha-ben die Musick-kunstler ha - - - - - ben

**Ex. 2** Costanzo Porta, *Herbey wer Musickunst verstehet*, bb. 19-22 e 34-41, *cantus*.

11 A que - sti pra - ti la ru - gia - da, a que - sti pra - ti la ru - gia-da,  
Fahr hin, fahr hin mich nim-mer pla - ge, fahr hin, fahr hin mich nim-mer pla-ge.

**Ex. 3** Lelio Bertani, *Dori a quest'ombre e l'aura*, bb. 11-18, *cantus*,  
text by Camillo Camilli (first line) and by Martin Rinckart (second line).


are depicted by a succession of quavers.<sup>19</sup> In the compositions by Balbi and Bertani all the vocal lines describe the bow in honour of the fair Dori through a descending interval.<sup>20</sup>

We can't notice the same peculiar adherence to the music in the texts by Lyttich and Rinckart. An exception is represented by the composition "Herbey wer Musickunst verstehet" (Ex. 2). In this piece – and especially in the *cantus* part – Rinckart puts the word "hoch" ("high") in correspondence with the highest notes of the compositions (Fa<sup>4</sup>).

By analysing the madrigal with the texts by Rinckart, one can notice that he preserves some features presented in the composition of the Venetian original collection. For example, Rinckart puts the repetitions of a verse in the same bars in which we find a verse repetition also in the *Trionfo di Dori* (Ex. 3). Besides that, whenever we find a diminution in correspondence of a single syllable in the compositions by Balbi, Bertani and Porta, we detect the same procedure in Rinckart's version as well (Ex. 4).

<sup>19</sup> POWLEY, Harrison (ed.), op. cit., p. 231-238.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 206-213, 214-220.

a) 

a quest' om - - - bre e l'au - ra, a quest' om - - - bre  
fahr hin, fahr \_\_\_\_\_ mein Kla - ge, fahr mein Kla - - - ge

**Ex. 4a** Lelio Bertani, *Dori a quest'ombra e l'aura*, b. 3-8, *cantus*,  
text by Camillo Camilli (first line) and by Martin Rinckart (second line).

b) 

del mag - gior lu - - - - - me  
merckt hört und se - - - - - het

**Ex. 4b** Costanzo Porta, *Da lo spuntar de matutini albori*, b. 13-16, *cantus*,  
text by Pietro Cresci (first line) and by Martin Rinckart (second line).

c) 

Vo - ci liet' \_\_\_\_\_ e di - vi - ne.  
da man lal - - - - - le und mur - re?

**Ex. 4c** Ludovico Balbi, *Mentre pastori e ninfe*, b. 22-25, *cantus*,  
text by Martino Palma (first line) and by Martin Rinckart (second line).

In addition to the above-mentioned collections, works of a number of musicians active at the Basilica del Santo and at Padua Cathedral were also included in other significant transalpine anthologies of the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup>

Between 1611 and 1617, the four-volume *Promptuarium musicum* appeared in print. The first three volumes, edited by Abraham Schadeus, were published by Karl Kieffer in Strasbourg, the fourth was printed by Anton Bertram and its editor was Caspar Vincentius, who edited the organ score of the previous three parts as well. The only Paduan composer included in the first two parts of the *Promptuarium* was Ludovico Balbi with his motets *Hodie Christus natus est* and *Omnes gentes plaudite*. Five of Balbi's compositions also appear in the third part of the collection, where we can also find one composition by Giulio Cartari (who was active as a tenor at St. Anthony's Basilica between 1567 and 1569), two by Costanzo Porta, and another two by Giulio Belli. The final section of the *Promptuarium* includes two eight-voice compositions by Giulio Belli (*Cibavit nos Dominus* and *O bone Iesu*) and one by Ludovico Balbi (*Homo quidam descendebat*).<sup>22</sup>

21 PASSADORE, Francesco. I musicisti del Santo e della cattedrale di Padova in antologie sacre dei secoli XVI e XVII". In *Contributi per la storia della musica sacra a Padova, Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padovana XXIV*. Giulio Cattin - Antonio Lovato (eds.) Padua: Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica padovana, 1993, p. 191-212.

22 RISM B I, 1611<sup>1</sup>, 1612<sup>3</sup>, 1613<sup>2</sup>, 1617<sup>1</sup>.



The same five compositions by Ludovico Balbi that were included in the third part of Schadeus' collection re-appear in the *Florilegio portense*, a collection following the four-part division of Schadeus' *Promptuarium* that was published in Leipzig in 1621 by Lamberg. In addition to the compositions of Venetian musicians and those by Balbi, we can also find two compositions by Giulio Belli (*Audivi voce de coelo* and *Cibavit nos Dominus*), one by Costanzo Porta (*Factum est silentium in coelum*) and another one by Giovanni Battista Pinelli, who had been active as a tenor at St. Anthony's between 1575 and 1576. As far as we know, this last composition was published for the first time on this occasion. In addition to the five compositions by Balbi, also those by Belli and Porta had already been included in Schadeus' anthology.<sup>23</sup>

The rector of the Latin school in Rottenburg Johannes Donfried was the editor of two other noteworthy collections in which the presence of Paduan composers is significant:

- the tripartite *Promptuarii musici* printed in Strasbourg by Ledertz between 1622 and 1627;<sup>24</sup>
- the *Viridarium musico-marianum*, devoted to Marian pieces as stated in the title, and published by Zetzner in Trier in 1627.<sup>25</sup>

In the first two parts of the *Promptuarium* assembled by Donfried there are eleven pieces by Alvisè Balbi, four by his uncle Ludovico Balbi, eight by Giulio Belli and one by Costanzo Porta. The situation changes in the third volume of the *Promptuarium* and in the *Viridarium* (both printed in 1627), in which there are only two compositions by Alvisè Balbi and two by Giulio Belli.

Despite the awareness that the identification of the routes undertaken by the pieces of music in both time and place is certainly a complex process, I would however propose some hypotheses regarding the way in which these compositions might have crossed the borders of Italy and some of the channels that may have allowed these compositions to come into the hands of the editors of these collections.

One of the main channels for the European diffusion of Italian music books can be identified in the direct acquisition by the source or through their attendance at book fairs in Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, events that since the fifteenth century represented the nerve centres for the purchase of printed music and places where publishers advertised new titles and exchanged stock with firms across Europe. At the same time, musicians had their own methods for spreading their printed works: some presented copies to institutions and prospective patrons in the hope of a recognition or reward, while others published their own music and acted as retailers for it.<sup>26</sup>

Both the reprints of individual collections by Italian composers and the publication of anthologies printed by typographers in Antwerp, Nuremberg, Leiden, London and

23 RISM B I, 1621<sup>2</sup>.

24 RISM B I, 1622<sup>2</sup>, 1623<sup>2</sup>, 1627<sup>1</sup>.

25 RISM B I, 1627<sup>2</sup>.

26 ROSE, Stephen. The Mechanism of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 2005, vol. 130, part 1, p. 11–37; ROSE, Stephen. Music in the market-place. In *The Cambridge History of seventeenth century music*. Tim Carter – John Butt (eds.), Cambridge: University Press, 2005, p. 55–87; LENNEBERG, Hans. *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music 1500–1850*. Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2003, p. 54–73.

Copenhagen contributed to reinforce the fortune and dissemination of Italian repertoire all around Europe; and besides that we must not forget the wide diffusion of manuscript copies of Italian music that were sent abroad or acquired in Italy.

Concerning more specifically the pieces by the composers who were active in Padua, we can suppose that the singers and musicians who came there to take part in the activity of the Paduan musical chapels may have contributed to the European dissemination of locally produced works. In fact we know that on the occasions of the most important celebrations of the liturgical calendar, the music chapels of both St. Anthony and the cathedral were enriched by the presence of musicians and singers coming from other Italian and foreign centres. Particularly significant was the establishment in 1596 of the devotional practice of the *Quarantore* by Marco II Corner, bishop of Padua from 1595 to 1624, who was remembered as an enlightened patron and a great music lover. The *Quarantore* was a kind of “spiritual carnival” that became an annual occasion for the performance of majestic vocal and instrumental sacred music in a sumptuously decorated cathedral with singers and musicians who came mainly from Venice, Verona and Milan. Supplementary musicians were appointed directly by the bishop, who entrusted the organisation and the musical direction to the cathedral’s chapel master.<sup>27</sup>

Although further investigation is still necessary in order to fully understand the routes of dissemination of the repertoire of the composers of the Paduan territory, and despite of the fact that anthologies exclusively dedicated to the production of the musicians who were active in the two Paduan chapels do not exist, it is nevertheless evident that their compositions were able to find a relevant place among the pages of the numerous miscellanea published outside the Italian borders in the first half of the seventeenth century.

St. Anthony's Basilica		Cathedral	
1595-1601	Costanzo Porta	1598-1604	Lelio Bertani
1601-1606	Bartolomeo Ratti	1604-1616	Bartolomeo Favaretto
1606-1608	Giulio Belli		
1609-1613	Bartolomeo Ratti		
1614-1615	Gian Antonio Filippini "da Cento"		
1615-1621	Alvise (Luigi) Balbi	1618-1623	Girolamo Boni
1622-1623	Giovanni Ghizzolo	1624-1634	Antonio Vicentino
1624-1631	Leandro Gallerano	1634-1643	Amadio Freddi
1635-1674	Antonio Tavola (Della Tavola)	1643-1648	Giovambattista Marinoni
		1648-1684	Francesco Petrobelli

**Tab. 1** Chapel masters of the Basilica of St. Anthony and of Padua cathedral in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>27</sup> About the relevant role of bishop Marco II Cornaro in the Paduan musical life see GARBELOTTO, Antonio. *Un vescovo musicista nel 500: Marco Cornaro*. Padova: Società Cooperativa Tipografica, 1954; LOVATO, Antonio. La musica sacra nell'attività pastorale del vescovo di Padova Marco Corner (1557-1625), *Studia patavina*, vol. XXXIV, 1987, p. 29-50; LOVATO, Antonio. Il vescovo di Padova Marco II Cornaro (1557-1625) e il theatrum sacrum per il carnevale spirituale. *Musica & Figura*, 2017, 4, p. 71-97.

## Mapping the Presence of Paduan Repertoire in European Anthologies in the First Half ...

RISM B/I	TITLE OF THE COLLECTION	PAUDAN COMPOSERS	RISM B/I OF THE FIRST PRINT OR OF THE REPRINT EDITION
1600 <sup>5a</sup>	<i>Flores musicae, hoc est, suavissimae et lepidissimae cantiones, madrigalia vulgus nominat, una cum variis pavanis, paduanis, galliardis [...]</i> (Heidelberg, Voegelin)	Lelio Bertani	
1600 <sup>8</sup>	<i>De floridi virtuosi d'Italia madrigali a cinque voci ridotti in un corpo. Nuovamente con ogni diligentia stampati &amp; seguendo l'ordine de suoi toni posti in luce.</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalèse)	Giulio Belli Lelio Bertani	
1601 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Ghirlanda di madrigali a sei voci, di diversi eccellentissimi autori de nostri tempi. Raccolta di giardini di fiori odoriferi musicali. Nuovamente posta in luce.</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalèse)	Lelio Bertani	
1601 <sup>6</sup>	<i>Il trionfo di Dori descritto da diversi et posti in musica, da altrettanti autori. A sei voci.</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalèse)	Ludovico Balbi Lelio Bertani Costanzo Porta	1592 <sup>11</sup> 1595 <sup>2</sup> 1596 <sup>9</sup> 1599 <sup>10</sup> 1614 <sup>11</sup> 1628 <sup>12</sup>
1604 <sup>13</sup>	<i>Fiori musicali a tre voci de diversi eccelentissimi attori. Di novo stampati &amp; seguendo l'ordine de suoi toni posti in luce.</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalèse)	Giulio Belli (2)	1618 <sup>10</sup>
1607 <sup>6</sup>	<i>Musarum Sioniar: motectae et psalmi latini, Michaëlis Praetorij C. apud sereniss. Principem Henricum Julium ducem Brunsv. &amp; Lunaeb., chori musici magistri, IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XII. XVI. Vocum, choro et organis accommodatae. I. Pars.</i> (Nuremberg, A. Wagenmann)	Costanzo Porta	
1609 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Florilegium sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum pro diebus dominicis &amp; festis totius anni, e celeberrimis nostri temporis musicis, ...</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalèse)	Giulio Belli (2)	
1609 <sup>15</sup>	<i>Hortus musicalis, variis antea diversorum authorum Italiae floribus consitus, jam vero latinis fructus, mira suavitate &amp; artificio. V. VI. VII. VIII. &amp; pluribus vocibus concinendos, pie &amp; religiose parturiens. [...]</i> (Monaco, A. Berg)	Lelio Bertani (2) Amaio Freddi Costanzo Porta	
1611 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. &amp; VIII vocum e diversis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis autoribus, antehac nunquam in Germania editis, collectas exhibentis, pars prima: quae concentus selctissimos qui tempore hyemali S.S. Ecclesiae usui esse possunt, comprehendit. Collectore Abrahamae Schadaeo senfftebergensi, scholae spirensium senatoriae rectore, Cui basin vulgo generalem dictam, &amp; ad organa musicae instrumenta accomodatam singulari industria addidit Caspar Vincentius ejusdem civitatis musicus organicus.</i> (Strasbourg, K. Kieffer)	Ludovico Balbi	

RISM B/I	TITLE OF THE COLLECTION	PAUDAN COMPOSERS	RISM B/I OF THE FIRST PRINT OR OF THE REPRINT EDITION
1611 <sup>11</sup>	<i>Melodia olympica de diversi excellentissimi musici a IV. V. VI. et VIII. Voci raccolta da Pietro Philippi inglese. Nella quale si contengono i più eccellenti madrigali che hoggidi si cantino. Novamente ristampata.</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalese)	Lelio Bertani	1591 <sup>10</sup> 1594 <sup>7</sup>
1611 <sup>12</sup>	<i>Symphonia angelica de diversi excellentissimi auctori a quatro, cinque et sei voci raccolta da Huberto Waelrant. Nella quale si contengono i più eccellenti madrigali che hoggide si cantino. Novamente ritampata.</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalèse)	Lelio Bertani	1590 <sup>17</sup> 1594 <sup>8</sup> 1629 <sup>8</sup>
1612 <sup>3</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. &amp; VIII. Vocum e diversis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis autoribus, in Germania nusquam editis collectas exhibentis. Pars altera: quae aestivi temporis festivitibus dominicisque diebus selectiores concentus S.S. Ecclesiae usui inservientes continet. Collectore Abrahamo Schadaeo senfftebergensi. Cui basin ad organa musicaque instrumenta accomodatam vulgo generalem dictam adjecit. Caspar Vincentius, spirenium organicen.</i> (Strasbourg, K. Kieffer)	Ludovico Balbi	
1613 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. &amp; VIII. Vocum, e diversis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis authoribus collectas comprehendentis, pars tertia: [...]</i> (Strasbourg, K. Kieffer)	Ludovico Balbi (5) Giulio Belli (2) Costanzo Porta (2)	
1613 <sup>6</sup>	<i>Opera omnia sacrorum concertum I. II. III. et IV. v. v. iam convenineter collecta. Cum basso continuo et generali organo applicato; [...]</i> (Frankfurt, N. Stein)	Costanzo Porta	
1613 <sup>10</sup>	<i>Il Parnasso, madrigali de diversi excellentissimi musici a sei voci nuovamente raccolti &amp; dati in luce.</i> (Antwerpen, P. Phalèse)	Amadio Freddi (2)	
1613 <sup>13</sup>	<i>Rest musicalisches Streitkränzleins: hiebenvorn von den allerfürtrefflichsten [...]</i> (Nuremberg, B. Scherff)	Ludovico Balbi Lelio Bertani Costanzo Porta	
1616 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Siren coelestis duarum, triun et quatuor vocum, quam novavit e principalibus, etiam nec dum Vulgatis auctoribus legit, pro temporum dierumque, festorum diversitate concinnavit, organis item accomodavit, et in lucem dedit Georgius Victorinus, musicae ad D. Michaelis &amp; S. Nicolai praefectus.</i> (München, A. Berg)	Giulio Belli (2)	1622 <sup>3</sup>
1617 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias V. VI. VII. et VIII. Vocum, e diversis, clarissimis huius et superioris aetatis authoribus, in Germania nusquam editis, collectas exhibentis. Pars quarta: quae exhibet Concentus varios selectioresque, qui omnibus a S. Trinitatis Dominicis inclusivè inserviunt: cum spiritualibus Canticis, &amp; sylva harmonica Deiparae Virgini sacra. Collegit vero et basi generali accommodavit Caspar Vincentius S. Andreae wormatiensis organoedus.</i> (Strasbourg, A. Betram)	Luigi Balbi Giulio Belli	

## Mapping the Presence of Paduan Repertoire in European Anthologies in the First Half ...

RISM B/I	TITLE OF THE COLLECTION	PAUDAN COMPOSERS	RISM B/I OF THE FIRST PRINT OR OF THE REPRINT EDITION
1618 <sup>2</sup>	<i>D. Gregorii Zuchinii alirumque praestantissimorum musicorum italarum promptuarium harmonicum sacrarum missarum, quae et integre et divisim, non solum ad motectarum, verum etiam concertuum (ut vocant) formam IV. V. VI. Et VIII. Vocibus cantari, ... Cum basso generali et organum. Nunc primum in Germania editate. - Ursel, B. Busch. (Frankfurt, N. Stein)</i>	Giulio Belli (5)	
1619 <sup>16</sup>	<i>Triumph de Dorothea, non illa italico-prophana; sed angelico-coelesti &amp; importali, id est : musica, sive laus musicae; a praestantissimis musicorum italicorum coryphaeis, olim, quasi aliud agentibus; sub nomine Dorotheae cujusdam, 6. vocibus, decantata. ... (Leipzig, L. Köber)</i>	Luigi Balbi Lelio Bertani Costanzo Porta	
1620 <sup>12</sup>	Il vago alboro de madrigali et canzoni a quattro voci de diversi eccellentissimi autori: novamente ristampato. (Antwerpen, P. Phalese)	Costanzo Porta	1597 <sup>15</sup> B Br D Rp (ATB) NL DHgm (TB)
1621 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Florilegii Musici Portensis, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. VIII. X. vocom. E diversis, iisque praestantissimis aetatis nostrae autoribus collectis comprehendentis. Pars altera. Quae exhibet concertus selectissimas ... Collectore et editore M. Erhardo Bodenshatzio, ... (Leipzig, A. Lamberg)</i>	Ludovico Balbi (5) Giulio Belli (2) Costanzo Porta Giovanni Battista Pinelli	
1622 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici concertus ecclesiasticos II. III. et IV. vocom cum basso continuo &amp; generali, organo applicato, e diversis, iisque illustrissimis et musica laude praestantissimis hujus aetatis autoribus, collectos exhibentis. Pars prima ... Collectore Joanne Donfrido scholae Neccaro Rottenburgensium rectore. (Strasbourg, P. Ledertz)</i>	Alvise Balbi (4) Ludovico Balbi (4) Giulio Belli (2)	
1623 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, Concertus ecclesiasticos ducentos et eo amplius II. III. et IV. vocom. Cum basso continuo &amp; generali, organo applicato, e diversis, iisque clarissimis et musica laude praestantissimis, hujus aetatis autoribus, collectos exhibentis. Pars altera ... Collectore Joanne Donfrido scholae Neccaro Rottenburgensium rectore. (Strasbourg, P. Ledertz)</i>	Alvise Balbi (7) Giulio Belli (6) Costanzo Porta	
1626 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Deliciae sacrae musicae ... Quae ex lectissimo lectissimorum nostri aevi musicorum penu, quaternis vocibus, cum basso ad organum applicato, suavissime modulandas exprompsit ... ac ... publice posuit, Ioannes Reininger ... (Ingolstadt, G. Haenlin)</i>	Giovanni Ghizzolo (4)	
1627 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici concertus ecclesiasticos CCLXXXVI. selectissimos, II. III. &amp; IV. vocom. Cum basso continuo &amp; generali, organo applicato, e diversis et praestantissimis Germaniae Italiae et aliarum terrarum musicis collectos exhibens, pars tertia ... Opera et studio Joannis Donfried, scholae Neccaro Rottenburgicae, nec non ad D. Martini ibidem musices moderatoris. (Strasbourg, P. Ledertz)</i>	Alvise Balbi Giulio Belli	

RISM B/I	TITLE OF THE COLLECTION	PAUDAN COMPOSERS	RISM B/I OF THE FIRST PRINT OR OF THE REPRINT EDITION
1627 <sup>2</sup>	Viridarium musico-marianum. Concetus ecclesiasticos plus quam ducentos, in dialogo, II. III. et IV. vocum, cum basso continuo et generali, organo applicato, e diversis iisque clarissimis et musica laude praestantissimis hujus aetatis authoribus, pro omni genere et sorte cantorum, summa diligentia collectos, ... Opera et studio Joannis Donfrifi (Trier, L. Zetzner)	Alvise Balbi Giulio Belli	
1643 <sup>7</sup>	<i>Varii variorum tam in Italia quam Germania excellentissimorum musicorum Concertus, ab una, 2, 3, et 4, vocibus, adjuncto basso generali: quos partim Italia nondum divulgavit, nec Germania publicatos vidit, collecti et juris publici facti a quodam huius studii amatore.</i> (Dresden, W. Seyfert)	Leandro Gallerano (2) Giovan Battista Aloisi Sasso	

**Tab. 2** Collections with the presence of composers active in Paduan territory printed abroad during the first half of the seventeenth century.

CITY (PUBLISHER)	RISM B/I OF THE COLLECTIONS WITH COMPOSITIONS BY COMPOSERS FROM PADUAN TERRITORY
<b>Antwerpen</b> (P. Phalese)	1600 <sup>8</sup> ; 1601 <sup>5</sup> ; 1601 <sup>6</sup> (1614 <sup>11</sup> e 1628 <sup>12</sup> ); 1604 <sup>13</sup> ; 1609 <sup>1</sup> ; 1611 <sup>11</sup> ; 1611 <sup>12</sup> (1629 <sup>8</sup> , heritiers de P. Phalese); 1613 <sup>10</sup> ; 1620 <sup>12</sup> .
<b>Dresden</b> (W. Seyfert)	1643 <sup>7</sup> .
<b>Frankfurt</b> (N. Stein)	1613 <sup>6</sup> ; 1618 <sup>2</sup> .
<b>Heidelberg</b> (Voegelin)	1600 <sup>5a</sup> .
<b>Ingolstadt</b> (G. Haenlin)	1626 <sup>2</sup> .
<b>Leipzig</b>	1619 <sup>16</sup> (L. Köber); 1621 <sup>2</sup> (A. Lamberg).
<b>Monaco</b> (A. Berg)	1609 <sup>15</sup> ; 1616 <sup>2</sup> .
<b>Nuremberg</b> (A. Wagenmann)	1607 <sup>6</sup> ; 1613 <sup>13</sup> .
<b>Strasbourg</b>	1611 <sup>1</sup> (K. Kieffer); 1612 <sup>3</sup> (K. Kieffer); 1613 <sup>2</sup> (Karl Kieffer); 1617 <sup>1</sup> (A. Betram); 1622 <sup>2</sup> (P. Ledertz); 1623 <sup>2</sup> (P. Ledertz); 1627 <sup>1</sup> (P. Ledertz).
<b>Trier</b> (L. Zetzner)	1627 <sup>2</sup> .

**Tab. 3** European cities where the collections with compositions by musicians of the Paduan territory were printed in the period 1600–1650.

Composer	<i>Il trionfo di Dori</i> (Venice, 1592)	<i>Musicalisches Streitkränzlein</i> (Nuremberg, 1612-1613) Text by Johannes Lyttich	<i>Triumph de Dorothea</i> (Leipzig, 1619) Text by Martin Rinckart
Costanza Porta	<i>Da lo spuntar de matutini albori</i> Text by Pietro Cresci	<i>Schont tut ande- re nicht so hoch erheben</i>	<i>Herbey wer Musickunst</i>
Ludovico Balbi	<i>Mentre pastori e ninfe</i> Text by Marino Palma	<i>Sagt mir ihr lieben Schwes- tern</i>	<i>O Mensch be- denck dich eben</i>
Lelio Bertani	<i>Dori a quest'ombre e l'aura</i> Text by Camillo Camilli	<i>Sara, liebe Sara</i>	<i>Fahr hin, fahr hin, fahr mein Klage</i>

**Tab. 4** Title of the Paduan composers's works replaced by Johannes Lyttich and Martin Rinckart.

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- aufgesetzt, und dannenhero Triumph di Dori oder Dorothea genennet, und in Druck verfertigt, durch Johannem Lyttichium, ...* Nuremberg: Abraham Wagenmann, 1612.
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