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Significance of Madrigals Anthologies in the Reception of European Repertory in Northeastern Europe

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Surveying titles of recent literature on European music tradition of the sixteenth century points to a decreased number of monographs on newly discovered sources, works and composers. Perhaps there is not much left to discover, and a broad approach to previously common heuristic, biographical or historical themes does not seem possible nowadays. Obviously, this is only partially true: local documentation of sources, often supplemented with recently discovered items only now enables its better description and interpretation. Many investigators view heuristics as an old stage in the evolution of musicology, and “anachronism” of the subject is supposedly incompatible with interdisciplinary studies. However, a trend toward investigation of the reception of repertory is becoming more discernible in modern musicology. Maybe it constitutes a natural consequence of the heuristic approach, and omitting this stage it makes more difficult to carry on comparative, interdisciplinary and historical-ideological studies. On the other hand this extremely tedious approach enables one to pose some important questions.

The main issues on dispersion of European music repertory in Poland and adjacent countries comprise the methods of dissemination, the interaction among various cultural centers affecting the profile of reception and the diachronic dynamics of this process. It is also crucial to estimate the validity of different sources. Apparently, specific historical sources provide information about different layers of reception of the cultural texts. Real or as-

sumed significance of the source is proved not by its numbers, but rather its reproducibility, adaptation and direct contacts with a local tradition of performance or composition.

Characteristic of *Cinquecento* was secular vocal music composed for Italian texts. Creative adaptations and imitations of the genre in the northern and western parts of the continent are extensively documented¹. In Baltic Sea countries the active reception of the madrigal genre was much smaller, but one can find there the most abundant (except for Italy) collections of prints containing this repertory, as well as various examples of copies, contrafacta and parodies in extant manuscripts. Based on the recent statistical analysis², the best represented genre of secular music in local manuscripts is the madrigal. Therefore, studies on its reception represent an important step in a systemic approach to the repertory common in *Ostseeraum* and help to describe its transmission. Simultaneously, they verify and expand our knowledge on connection of centers of musical life in Poland and her nearest neighbours with Italian centers, thus shaping Renaissance music tradition.

This study focuses on only one aspect of madrigals reception in northeastern Europe, i.e., an attempt to reconstruct paths of dissemination of madrigal repertory. The question is what sources were most essential locally for historically real music culture.

Undoubtedly, the most abundant source consists of the old music prints from collections in libraries. This results most certainly from the fact that the last two decades of sixteenth century witnessed an enormous growth in music publications³. At the same time, a stylistically new form of madrigal (“*new canzonetta*”)⁴ reached the peak of its popularity and became associated with the names Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Ferretti. European reception of this “hybrid” form was influenced, at least partially, by the market factors: demand for the repertory increased proportionally to the developing technologies for dissemination of repertory.

The body of presently known old madrigal prints, registered in sixteen collections in the area studied, consists of 526 items (including copies and re-editions). This represents about 20% of all currently known European madrigal heritage. However, does the fact itself of such a wealth of documen-

tation warrant confirmation as historical fact reception of repertory published in these collections? Perhaps only in its passive, potential aspect, which defines merely a starting point for further studies. Tastefully bound volumes imported from Venice, Antwerp and Munich certainly adorned bookshelves in Gdańsk, Wrocław and Legnica. However, very few written correction marks on their pages suggest an infrequent use. Therefore, how can one better capture historically real reception?

The simplest answers might apply. First, reception can be evaluated, although indirectly, by historical evidence of demand, revealed in titles of the most frequent collections. Compilation of various sources, e.g., catalogues of old prints from inventories of that time might be helpful. Even more details could be gathered from an attempt to identify original compositions copied in many manuscript collections, both vocal and instrumental. Local music production, adapting in a variety of ways (*contrafacta*, parodies) assimilated patterns, reflects the deepest layer of reception.

I would like to concentrate on one question. It concerns the mutual relationship of madrigal repertory transmitted by two different forms of printed material: single-composer publication and anthology. What was the significance of these transmissions of basically the same, although differently acquired heritage?

Out of more than 500 madrigal prints, almost 100 are duplicates, re-editions and issues appearing often in library collections⁵. Perhaps this group represents local interest in publications imported from south and west. Tens of items concern single-composer works, especially collective editions, compiling the most popular pieces of a composer from previously published volumes. There are many collections containing the best among four-voice (M 584), five-voice (M 572) or six-voice madrigals by Luca Marenzio, *ridotti in un corpo...* Also very popular were madrigals by Hans Leo Hassler (especially H 2339, represented six times), Teodore Riccio (R 1295, four times), Alessandro Striggio (S 6956) and Peter Philips (P 1991), each represented three times. Similarly, well-liked were canzonettas by Antonio Scandello (S 1146 and S 1156 — each represented three times), Jacob Regnart (R 738 and R 753 —

four and three times, respectively) and Orazio Vecchi (collections V 1020, V 1029 and V 1050).

The majority of reprinted editions comprises madrigal anthologies, the best reflection of musical demand and tastes. Presumably the repertory transmitted in those collections was paramount for its reception. The most popular collection was the famous *Musica divina di XIX autori illustri...*, represented eight times. Almost as frequently, one encounters collections *Il lauro verde...* (1583¹⁰, 1591⁸) and the two first volumes of Nuremberg's *Gemma musicalis...* (1588²¹, 1589⁸) five and six times, respectively. Also fashionable were Antwerp's prints: *Symphonia angelica...* (1585¹⁹, 1590¹⁷, 1594⁸) and *Melodia Olympica...* (1591¹⁰) as well as Munich's *Sdegnosi ardori...* (1585¹⁷)⁶.

Anthologies of madrigals encouraged interest through their titles, expressing praise for composers of collected works (*virtuosi, illustri, eccelentissimi, praestantissimi*). It is also claimed, that repertory in the presented collection is very up to date and fashionable (e.g., *nella guide si contengono i più eccellenti madrigali che hoggidi si cantino: Musica divina*, 1583¹⁵). The persuasive strength of this kind of advertising was certainly great, since *Musica divina* had seven editions (within fifty years) and *Symphonia angelica* five editions. Other books were published only once, e.g., *Gemma musicalis...* (1588²¹, 1589⁸, 1590²⁰), reaching though similar geographical area.

It is worth noting here that single-composer collections were imported directly from Italy, but madrigal anthologies arrived in northeastern Europe from very influential publishing houses in Antwerp, Leuven, Munich and Nuremberg, commercially and culturally tied to the area. Moreover, there was a phenomenon of a secondary reception of Italian patterns, adapted by German composers, so called the German madrigal⁷: this refers primarily to the stylistically varied and locally popular creations of Jacob Regnart and Hans Leon Hassler, known mostly from single-composer publications.

Much more precise data come from comparison of madrigal handwritten copies with its printed originals. Identification of particular editions, which were probably used by individual sriptors seems like a risky endeavor, but it often allows to formulate viable hypotheses on real transmission of the reper-

tory. This applies especially to sources with numerous copies of compositions, written sometimes in the exactly the same order, as in the original.

Vocal manuscripts, containing heterogeneous repertory are more challenging to analyze. This stems mainly from the fact that these are frequently additions handwritten on blank pages of various publications. In two Brzeg sources of this type (Cat. No. Mus. K. 28, Mus. K. 58)⁸ several madrigals were copied from prints of Giovanni Ferretti (F 517), Girolamo Conversi (C 3548) and Antonio Scandello (S 1146). More canzonettas by the latter composer (S 1156) were found in the Wrocław Bohn Mus. ms. manuscript 10⁹. The repertory of Legnica collection (Cat. No. 35)¹⁰ originated from two sources: canzonettas by Orazio Vecchi (V 1047) and madrigals by Stefano Venturi del Nibbio of Florence (whole book NV 2863).

The repertory copied in Silesian vocal manuscripts originated from single-composer editions. In contrast, compositions in Scandinavian collections (mainly Stockholm's partbooks Cat. No. 32, 45, 229)¹¹ presumably originated from anthologies. Scriptor most likely were familiar with collections 1544²², 1546¹⁹ and subsequent editions of *Gemma musicalis...* 1588²¹, 1589⁸ and 1590²⁰. It seems feasible that these particular pieces were copied since pertaining publications remain in libraries to this very day. However, this is not the case with two other anthologies: *Secondo libro delle flamme...* (1567¹³) and *Fiamma ardente...* (1586¹⁹), from which also a few compositions were copied.

*Codex carminum gallicorum*¹² presently stored in Uppsala is an example of a collection of compiled music devoted almost exclusively to a single composer. Most madrigals intabulated there come from prints of Jacob Arcadelt (A 1313, A 1314), Vincenzo Ruffo (R 3067) and Orlando de Lasso (L 767). However, some compositions were copied from other collected prints, as 1526⁶, 1534¹⁵, 1542¹⁷, 1557¹⁹ or 1560¹². Another Swedish manuscript¹³ was based on a book by Girolamo Conversi (C 3545), although the same compositions appear also in many well known anthologies.

To establish which book was used specifically by a scriptor of a given collection one has to compare number and range of mutually concordant sources. This is often a problem in reference to collections written in organ tabla-

ture notation. For the two oldest manuscripts of this kind — tablature of Jan from Lublin¹⁴ and tablature of Holy Ghost Convent in Cracow¹⁵ the source is the first madrigals book by Verdelot (1553²). Other cases are more difficult to interpret in this respect. The recently discovered tablature of George Gothardt¹⁶ was based on canzonettas by Antonio Scandello (S 1146) and madrigals by Ippolito Sabino (S 45) and Philippo de Monte (M 3339). However, it is difficult to establish in Gothardt's tablature whether numerous works by Girolamo Conversi, Giovanni Ferretti and Jacob Regnart originated from single-composers editions (C 3545, F 512, R 738) or from anthologies often transmitting the same repertory (1589⁸, 1583¹⁵, 1581¹⁰). Also, the origins of madrigals copied in two volumes of tablature by Johannes Fischer from Morąg¹⁷ are not clear. Here, concordance number for single-composer editions exceeds that coming from anthologies (volumes G 59, G 72, M 3811, R 738, R 1295, and V 1010). Other parts of this collection were prepared on the basis of anthologies (e.g. 1591¹¹, 1588²¹, 1589⁸): such a conclusion is confirmed by the sequence of compositions. A similar interpretation can be given to repertory noted in Oliwa tablature¹⁸, containing also works by Hans Leo Hassler (H2335) and Gemignano Capilupi (1597²¹). The lost Legnica tablature (Cat. No. 99)¹⁹ represents a typical collection “prepared” from publications devoted to a single composer. This tablature comprises almost complete copies of madrigals by Giordano Conversi (C 3545), Giovanni Dragoni (D 3492, D 3493) and Luca Marenzio (M 549). Also, one of the volumes of Pelplin tablature²⁰ contains a complete copy of madrigals by Francesco Terriera (T 538).

Evidently then, a quantitative profile of madrigal reception in organ tablaturs is shaped by single-composer collections. The most frequently repeated intabulations on the other hand, originated from anthologies. Other sources, essential for the transmission of this repertory comprise printed instrumental works, popular in the particular area. Looking for concordance between handwritten madrigals with the printed instrumental anthologies, one can conclude that some publications could be influential in the local reception. (Schmidt²¹, Ammerbach²², Kregel²³, Denss²⁴). Perhaps Georg Gothardt and Johannes Fischer were familiar with these publications. Similarly, reper-

tory in Oliwa and Legnica tablatures is close to collected compositions by Johannes Rude²⁵ and Jean Baptiste Besard²⁶.

The smallest group, although best reflecting the assimilated reception of madrigal repertory consists of compositions, which became models for manuscripts of contrafacta and parodies. The majority of the originals was known to local authors through anthologies. Exceptions here are contrafacta of the complete collection of madrigals by Marco Scacchi (S 1131), preserved in Silesian manuscript Cat. No. Bohn Mus. ms. 197²⁷ in addition to contrafacta and parodies of *Magnificat* by Orazio Vecchi (V 1010, V 1047, V 1050), found in Frankfurt (Oder)²⁸ and Wrocław²⁹ manuscripts and in the tablature of Pelplin³⁰ and Legnica Cat. No. 99³¹.

Although madrigals were frequently printed as works of single composers, anthologies contributed to their wide popularity. Local authors produced contrafacta and parodies modeled on compositions from anthologies. Examples here are *Donna crudel, tu m'hai rubato il core* by Giovanni Ferretti (F 512, 1589⁸), transmitted through Fischer's tablature as *Ego flos campi*³², *Io mi son giovinetta* by Domenico Ferrabosco (1542¹⁷) which became a model for German language contrafactum in partbooks from Stockholm³³ and Mass parodies, noted in two Wrocław manuscripts³⁴, and *O misero mio core* by Giulio Eremita (E 745, 1590²⁰), another common model of missa parodia³⁵. Especially noteworthy are the most famous compositions, copied in almost all local manuscripts as *Io son ferito ahi lasso* by Giovanni Palestrina or *Nasce la pena mia* by Alessandro Striggio (both in 1588²¹). From the latter compositions four contrafacta and six parodies were authored, testifying to its great popularity. Also compositions by Luca Marenzio³⁶, the best known madrigalist in Baltic countries, were transmitted mostly through anthologies (1589⁸, 1588²¹, 1591¹⁰).

Summarizing, in the diffusion process of the madrigal genre, both single-composer publications and anthologies were essential for musical reception. However, editions devoted to one composer contributed to the quantitative profile, while anthologies were responsible for qualitative value, corresponding to active reception. Data presented here support the postulate of Jeremy Roche: "The anthology is the sign of a flourishing musical activity"³⁷. This

study indicates that repertory transmitted through anthology reached a significantly wider audience and penetrated deeper in the consciousness of local composers. It influenced characteristics of local reception and the historical memory of the tradition.

**Sigla of prints appearing in the text according to the catalogue
RISM and *II Nuovo Vogel***

- A 1313** – Jacques Arcadelt: *Livre des Trios...*, Paris, R. Ballard 1601;
- A 1314** – Jacques Arcadelt: *Il primo libro di Madrigali a quattro...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1539;
- C 3545** – Girolamo Conversi: *Il primo libro delle canzone a cinque voci...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1571;
- C 3548** – Girolamo Conversi: *Il primo libro delle canzoni a cinque voci...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1580;
- D 3492** – Giovanni Andrea Dragoni: *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1575;
- D 3493** – Giovanni Andrea Dragoni: *Il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1575;
- E 745** – Giulio Eremita: *Il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque*, Venezia, R. Amadino 1589;
- F 512** – Giovanni Ferretti: *Canzone alla napolitana...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1567;
- F 517** – Giovanni Ferretti: *Canzoni napolitane a cinque voci...libro primo...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1581;
- G 59** – Andrea Gabrieli: *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1566;
- G 72** – Giovanni Ferretti: *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1580;
- H 2335** – Hans Leo Hassler: *Canzonette a quattro voci...libro primo...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlachin 1590;
- H 2339** – Hans Leo Hassler: *Madrigali a 5. 6. 7. & 8. Voci...*, Augsburg, V. Schönigk 1596;

- L 767** – Orlando di Lasso: *Il primo libro di madrigali a quattro voci, insieme alcuni madrigali d'altri autori...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1560;
- M 522** – Luca Marenzio: *Madrigali a sei voci ridotti in un corpo...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1594;
- M 549** – Luca Marenzio: *Il quattro libro de madrigali a cinque...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1584;
- M 572** – Luca Marenzio: *Madrigali a cinque voci, ridotti in un corpo...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1593;
- M 584** – Luca Marenzio: *Madrigali a quattro voci...novamente ristampati...*, Nürnberg, P. Kauffmann 1603;
- M 3339** – Philippe de Monte: *Il primo libro de' madrigali a sei voci...*, Venezia, C. da Correggio, 1569;
- M 3811** – Bernardino di Mosto: *Madrigali a cinque...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1588;
- P 1991** – Peter Philips: *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1596
- R 738** – Jacob Regnart: *Il primo libro delle canzoni italiane a cinque voci...*, Wien, J. Mair 1574;
- R 753** – Jacob Regnart: *Il secundo libro delle canzoni italiane a cinque voci...*, Nürnberg, K. Gerlach & J. B. Erben 1581;
- R 1295** – Teodore Riccio: *Il primo libro delle canzone napolitane a cinque voci...*, Nürnberg, K. Gerlach & J. B. Erben 1577;
- R 3067** – Vincenzo Ruffo: *Il primo libro de madrigali cromatici...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1552;
- S 45** – Ippolito Sabino: *Madrigali a sei voci...libro primo...*, A. Gardano 1579;
- S 1131** – Marco Scacchi: *Madrigali a cinque conceratati da cantarsi su gli stromenti...*, Venezia, B. Magni 1634;
- S 1146** – Antonio Scandello: *El primo libro de le Canzone Napolitane a quattro...*, Nürnberg, A. Neuber 1566;
- S 1156** – Antonio Scandello: *Il secundo libro de le Canzoni Napolitane a quattro...*, München, A. Berg 1577;

- S 6956** – Alessandro Striggio: *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1579;
- T 538** – Francesco Terriera: *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci...*, Venezia, G. Vincenti 1606;
- V 1010** – Oratio Vecchi: *Canzonette...libro primo a quattro voci*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1590;
- V 1020** – Oratio Vecchi: *Canzonette a quattro voci...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1593;
- V 1029** – Oratio Vecchi: *Canzonette a quattro voci...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1593;
- V 1047** – Oratio Vecchi: *Più e diversi Madrigali e Canzonette a 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. & 10 voci...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1594;
- V 1050** – Oratio Vecchi: *Convito Musicale...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1597;
- NV 2863** – Stefano Venturi del Nibbio: *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1592;
- 1526**⁶ – *Canzoni, frottole et capitoli. Da diversi eccellentissimi musici...Libro Primo...*, Roma, G. G. Pasoti et V. Dorico 1526;
- 1533**² – *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali di Verdelotto...*, Roma, A. Antico 1533;
- 1534**¹⁵ – *Madrigali novi...Libro primo de la serena...*, Roma, V. Dorico 1534;
- 1542**¹⁷ – *Il primo libro d'I madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1542;
- 1544**²² – *Dialogo della musica di M. Anton-Francesco Doni...*, Venezia, G. Scotto 1544;
- 1546**¹⁹ – *Madrigal di Verdelot e di altri...a sei voci...*, Venezia, A. Scotto 1546;
- 1557**¹⁹ – *Canzoni alla napolitana...Libro primo...*, Roma, V. Dorico 1557;
- 1560**¹² – *Il primo libro delle Vilotte alla napolitana de diversi eccellentissimi authori a tre voci...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1560;
- 1567**¹³ – *Secondo libro delle fiamme madrigali a cinque et sei voci...*, Venezia G. Scotto 1567;
- 1581**¹⁰ – *Madrigali a cinque voci di Giovan Mario Nanino et di Annibale Stabile...*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1581;

- 1583¹⁵ – *Musica divina di XIX. Autori illustri...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse 1583;
- 1583¹⁰ – *Il lauro verde. Madrigali a sei voci composti da diversi eccellenti musici...*, Venezia, V. Baldini 1583;
- 1585¹⁷ – *Sdegnosi ardori. Musica di diversi auttori sopra un istesso soggetto la parole, a cinque voci raccolti da Giulio Gigli da Immola...*, München, A. Berg 1585;
- 1585¹⁹ – *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1583;
- 1586¹⁹ – *Fiamma ardente de madrigali et canzoni, a cinque voci...*, Venezia, G. Vincenti 1586;
- 1588²¹ – *Gemma musicalis: Selectissimas varii stili cantiones vulgo italis madrigali et napolitane dicuntur...Friderici Lindneri...liber Primus...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1588;
- 1589⁸ – *Liber secundus Gemmae Musicalis...Friderici Lindneri...*, Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1589;
- 1589⁸ – *Harmonia celeste di diversi eccellentissimi musici*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1589;
- 1590¹⁷ – *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1594;
- 1591⁸ – *Il lauro verde. Madrigali a sei voci...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1591;
- 1591¹⁰ – *Melodia olympica di diversi...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1591;
- 1591¹¹ – *Musica divina di XIX. autori illustri...*, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1591;
- 1590²⁰ – *Tertius Gemmae musicalis liber...*, F. Lindneri Nürnberg, C. Gerlach 1590;
- 1594⁸ – *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici...*, Antwerpen, P. Phalèse, J. Bellère 1594;
- 1597²¹ – *Canzonette a tre voci di Horatio Vecchi e di Giovanni Capilupi da Modena*, Venezia, A. Gardano 1597.

Notes

- 1 Among many publications concerning adaptation of madrigal in England and Germany, most important are: Edmund H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal Composers*, London 1921; Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal. A Comparative Study*, American Musicological Society [Studies & Documents, Vol. IV], New York 1962; Karl Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal. Geschichte seiner Entwicklung bis in die Mitte des XVIII Jahrhunderts*, Weimar, E. Felber 1898; Rudolf Schwartz, 'Hans Leo Hassler unter dem Einfluss der italiänischen Madrigalisten', *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft* IX (1893), p. 1–61.
- 2 Results of these studies are presented by the author in his work: *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej. Dokumentacja — Recepcja — Przeobrażenia gatunku*, ed. Semper, Warszawa 2003.
- 3 See Maria Przywecka-Samecka, *Drukarstwo muzyczne w Europie do końca XVIII wieku*, Wrocław Ossolineum 1987, p. 70, 95–97, 126–128.
- 4 See Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton, New Jersey 1949, Vol. II, p. 576–606.
- 5 The basis for the following remarks is information from accessible catalogues of old and new collections of libraries: Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und in der Königlichen- und Universitätsbibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden*, Berlin 1883; Theodore Carstenn, 'Katalog der St. Marienbibliothek zu Elbing', *Kirchenmusikalische Jahrbuch* XI (1896); Åke Davidsson, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques suédoises (excepté la Bibliothèque de l'Université royale d'Upsala)*, Upsala 1952; Åke Davidsson, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université royale d'Upsala*. Vol. II-III, Upsala 1951; Aniela Kolbuszewska, *Katalog zbiorów muzycznych legnickiej biblioteki księcia Jerzego Rudolfa "Biblioteka Rudolfiną"*, Legnica 1992; Friedrich Kuhn, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Alten Musikalien — Handschriften und Druckwerke — der Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg*, Leipzig 1897; Janina Mendysowa, *Katalog zbiorów muzycznych XVI, XVII i XVIII w. Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, Warszawa 1970; Rafael Mitjana, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université royale d'Upsala*, Vol. I : *Musique Religieuse*, Upsala 1911; Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, Claudio Sartori, *Il Nuovo Vogel. Bibliografia della Musica Italiana Vocale Profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, Pomezia 1977; Ernst Pfudel, *Mitteilungen über die Bibliotheca Rudolfina der Königliche Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz. Königliche Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz. Oster-Programm*, Vol. I-III, Liegnitz 1876–1878; *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales. Serie A. Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, Vol. I-XIV, ed. Karlheinz Schlager, Kassel-Basel-Tours-London 1971; *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales. B/I, Recueils imprimés XVI-XVII siècles. Ouvrage publié sous la direction de François Lesure. I. Liste Chronologique*, München 1978.
- 6 The same titles are also repeated in the well known book catalogue of Zacheusz Kesner. These are: *Musica divina...*(1583¹⁵) *Symphonia angelica...*(1585¹⁹, 1590¹⁷ or 1594⁸) and a few examples of the very popular *Gemma musicalis...*(1589⁸ and 1590²⁰).

- See Tomasz Czepiel, 'Zacheus Kesner and the Musik Book Trade at the Beginning of the 17th Century: An Inventory of 1602', *Musica Iagellonica* II (1997) p. 23–69.
- 7 See Karl Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal...*, op. cit.
 - 8 Brzeg Mus. K. 28 [*Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550. Compiled by the University of Illinois Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag 1988, Vol. IV, p. 158: WrocU 28] — handwritten additions to prints L 933, K 992, G 2588, c. 1587, presently: Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cat. No. K. 28 [*olim* Brzeg, biblioteka Gymnasium Illustre]; Brzeg Mus. K. 52 [*Census-Catalogue*, Vol. IV, p. 164: WrocU 52] — partbooks written after *Septem psalmi* A. Utendala 1570 (U 119), 16th Century, presently: Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cat. No. K. 52 [*olim* Brzeg, biblioteka Gymnasium Illustre].
 - 9 Five partbooks. 16th Century; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 10 [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]. See Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau 1890, p. 31.
 - 10 Handwritten supplements of five partbooks, added to publication of J. Regnart (R 753), presently in Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Mus. I 92/I-2. See Aniela Kolbuszewska, op. cit., pp. 69–70.
 - 11 Stockholm 32 [*Census-Catalogue*, vol. III (1980), p. 160: StockKM 32] — four partbooks, 16th century, handwritten supplements to the publication of J. Kerle (K 447), Stockholm, Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket, MS Tyska Kyrkans Samling, No. 32; Stockholm 45 [*Census-Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 162: StockKM 45] — one partbook c. 1560–1570, Stockholm, Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket, MS Tyska Kyrkans Samling, No. 32, entirely from Stockholm 229; Stockholm 229 [*Census-Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 158: StockKB 229] — two partbooks, c. 1560–1570, Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Cat. No. MS Hol. S 229: 1-2, entirely from Stockholm 45.
 - 12 *Codex carminum gallicorum*, lute tablature, c. 1550, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Cat. No. Vok. Mus. hs 87. See Bengt Hambraeus, *Codex carminum gallicorum* [*Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia*, vol. VI], Uppsala 1961.
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 - 14 Organ tablature by Jan from Lublin, c. 1537–1548, Kraków, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Cat. No. ms. 1716.
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 - 16 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Slg. Bohn Mus. ms. 357 [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]. See Richard Charteris, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscript from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn*, American Institute of Musicology — Hänssler-Verlag Holzgelingen 1999.
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- 18 Wilno, Biblioteka Litewskiej Akademii Nauk sygn. F 15-284. See Jan Janca, *Oliwskie tabulatury organowe (ok. 1619). Nowe źródła do historii muzyki w Gdańsku i na Warmii*, 'Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski' 6. *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś II*, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 63–92.
- 19 See Ernst Pfudel, *Musik-Handschriften der Königlichen Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz*, Leipzig 1886, p. 52.
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- 29 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz [*olim* Breslau, Stadtbibliothek]: Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 20, fol. 165v-166r; Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 21, fol. 87v-88r; Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 23, nr 146; Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 39, nr 8, 9; Cat. No. Slg. Bohn. Mus. ms. 109, nr 6, 7. See Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften...*, p. 169.
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