The music printers Madeleine and Marie Phalèse in Antwerp, 1629–1675

Maria Schildt

Over the course of more than forty-five years, the famous music-printing shop of Phalèse in Antwerp was run by the sisters Madeleine Phalèse (1586–1652) and Marie Phalèse (1589–c. 1675), usually under the joint imprint 'Heirs of Phalèse'.¹ Like their grandfather Pierre Phalèse I (c. 1505/10–1573/6) and their father Pierre Phalèse II (c. 1545–1629), the sisters devoted themselves solely to printing and publishing music. In another respect, they were different from many other women music printers in Northern Europe, in that they inherited the printing house from their father, rather than taking over the business from their late husbands.² Despite the rather modest size of the printing house, their production was considerable; indeed, in this chapter we will show that it was significant larger than previously estimated. In addition to the printing office, the Phalèse bookshop constituted a nodal point in a large network of distribution of all kinds of music throughout the Low Countries and other areas of Northern Europe.

Women music printers in early modern Europe

The printing business was one area of production in early modern Europe where women played an important and visible role in the urban community. This is also true for a sub-branch of the industry, the music-printing business. In sixteenth-century Nuremberg, Kunigunde Hergot (d. 1547) ran the family's printing firm, at first together with her first husband Hans Hergot. After Hans' death in 1526, Kunigunde printed under her own name until 1538, even after her remarriage.³ Another woman printer in the same city with a large musical output was Katharina Gerlach (c. 1515/20–1592), one of the best known early female music printers.⁴ In the eighteenth century, many women ran a music-printing business together with their husbands and sons; in several cases, the widow issued music under her own name after the death of her husband. Of eighteenth-century women printers, Maria Helena Volland (1710–1791) in Nuremberg, and Johanna van Rhee (c. 1730–1801) in Amsterdam probably had the most extensive output of printed music. Volland printed music under her own name over two decades, and Van Rhee continued to run the printing shop with her son after her husband's death in 1781.⁵

Antwerp was not only one of the most vibrant commercial centres in seventeenth-century Europe; it also had a long history of women who took an active and independent part in commercial life. The Italian Ludovico Guicciardini noted in his description of the Low Countries from 1567 that in Antwerp, women were

often going about their business unaccompanied, not only within the town but also frequently across country from one town to another with very little company and yet without incurring blame. They are assuredly most serious and most active: dealing not only with

domestic matters, with which very few men have to do, but concerning themselves with buying and selling goods, and property, and turning both hand and voice to all the masculine concerns [...].⁶

The fact that the sisters Phalèse ran a printing house was thus nothing extraordinary. The guild of St Luke, to which Antwerp printers and bookshop owners belonged, accepted women.⁷ From the archives of the printing house Plantin, where the documentary material is richer than that for other printers, we know that at least two of the daughters of Christophe Plantin ran a trading business at the age of 15 to 17, although in this case their activity was not specifically connected to printing.⁸

Madeleine and Marie Phalèse

The Phalèse music-printing firm was established by Pierre Phalèse I (c. 1505/10–1573/6) at Leuven in 1546. His son Pierre Phalèse II (c. 1545–1629) continued its activities after the transfer of the printing house to Antwerp in 1581.⁹ Pierre Phalèse II had four daughters and one son, all born in Antwerp.¹⁰

- 1 Barbara Phalèse, born between 1583 and 1585, married Jean de Vos on 20 July 1610. They had four children, among them the daughter Maria de Vos and the son Jan Baptista de Vos. She died before 1652.
- 2 Madeleine Phalèse, baptised on 25 July 1586, died 30 May 1652 and buried 3 June 1652.
- 3 Marie Phalèse, baptised 10 December 1589, married Édouard de Meyer on 1 February 1615, with whom she had two daughters, Marie de Meyer and Elisabeth de Meyer; she died c. 1675.
- 4 Pierre Phalèse, baptised 20 July 1594, became an Augustinian friar and died on 25 March 1671.
- 5 Anne Phalèse, baptised 18 July 1603, never married and died before 1652.

On the death of Pierre Phalèse on 13 March 1629, his daughters took over the family business and started to print in their own name. In the records of the St Luke's guild from 1629, 'the daughters of Phalèse, book dealers' ('De dochters van Walesius, bockvercopers [*sic*]'), are included in the list of the 'sons of masters' ('meesterssonen').¹¹ The designation 'Phalèse's daughters' suggests a joint enterprise. From the beginning of 1629, Phalèse editions were issued under the plural imprint of the 'Heirs of Phalèse'. Madeleine and Marie were probably both involved in the printing office and the bookshop from the beginning. Their joint involvement in the retail business is indicated by the fact that both sisters delivered music books to St Jacob's church from 1632.¹² Madeleine probably had a more conspicuous role for the printing house than her married sister. She signed two of the very few introductory texts included in the Phalèse editions, both printed in 1640.¹³ Madeleine pleaded for money for the publication of Gilles Hayne's *Motetti sacri* (Antwerp, 1646) in a letter to Wolfgang Wilhelm, Count Palatine of Neuburg (1578–1653), which suggests that she managed the financial aspects of the business.¹⁴ In the late 1640s and early 1650s, some of the editions appeared under the imprint 'Madeleine Phalèse and joint-heirs' ('Magdalena Phalesia & cohaeredes'), and another few under Madeleine Phalèse's single name, which indicates that by then, she had main responsibility for the printing business. After Madeleine's death in May 1652, Marie continued to run the firm, using the 'heirs of Phalèse' imprint. In the records of the guild of St Luke from September 1652, a 'Miss

Phalèse' ('Jouffr. Valeseus'), not specified by her first name, is listed among the sons of the masters; this most likely refers to Marie. She signed the dedication to Jan-Baptist Halbos included in a publication from 1663.¹⁵ The last known edition from the 'Heirs of Phalèse' was printed in 1675. Marie probably died soon afterwards.¹⁶ Nothing suggests that the two sisters Barbara and Anne had any decisive role in the printing business.¹⁷ The brother, Pierre Phalèse, was an Augustinian friar (*ordo eremitarum*). A piece of occasional music by him was printed at the family's printing house in 1662.¹⁸

When the two sisters Phalèse took over the family's printing house in 1629, they were forty and forty-three years old respectively. They had probably both been actively involved in the business before that point. They must have been trained early in the skills necessary to run a printing house and bookshop. We can compare this to the Plantin family, even if their printing business was considerably larger. For example, Christophe Plantin's five daughters, from the age of four or five until twelve, had to do proofreading.¹⁹ Since Pierre Phalèse was skilled in music, he likely trained his daughters to read music, a skill that would become useful in their later business.

Printing music

The Phalèse firm was one of the few in the Low Countries solely dedicated to printing music. Its stock of rare music typefaces was crucial for the business.²⁰ Typefaces were generally passed on together with other technical equipment through marriage or inheritance. Typefaces could also be sold or traded in business negotiations. In Nuremberg, Katharina Gerlach used a music typeface she inherited from her former husband, which had earlier been used by the firm of Berg & Neuber. Berg probably had the typeface from Formschneider or Petreius, who both were type cutters.²¹ In the same way, Madeleine and Marie had all the equipment from their father, together with the printing press. Pierre Phalèse II used at least three different typefaces for music printing.²² The typefaces for printing lute tablature were no longer used from the beginning of the seventeenth century, neither was the larger music type. According to the estate inventory from 1655, at that point the firm had 829 pounds (around 400 kg) of type, although this would have included ordinary non-music typefaces for the text underlay as well. From 1629 to 1675, the Phalèse firm seems to have used only one typeface for all the music it printed.²³ As Anne Tatnall Gross observes, as early as 1626, before the death of Pierre Phalèse II, the type was already 'badly worn'; during the following decades, the 'printing materials became increasingly shabby', even if some type and initial letters were replaced in the middle of the century.²⁴ This judgement contrasts with remarks on the quality of the printing of the Heirs of Phalèse made by the musician and music collector Sébastien de Brossard in his *Cabinet de musique* (1724).²⁵ He found the quality of the printing of the Heirs of Phalèse to be generally good, and particularly praised the bar lines.²⁶ By contrast, Brossard disliked Italian printed editions. 'Not excessively well printed' ('Pas trop bien imprimé') was his laconic remark on a print from the printer Sala in Venice.²⁷ Regarding an Italian edition that he considered well-made, Brossard adds that this contrasted with other printed music from Italy.²⁸

After the death of Marie in or after 1675, Lucas de Potter (c. 1632–1681) took over the equipment of the Phalèse printing firm, using the same typeface, though printing music under his own name.²⁹ Potter expanded the palette of typefaces owned by the printing house when he married the widow of the printer Hendrik Aertssens II (1622–1663). After Potter's death, his widow ran the firm for some more years before her son, Hendrik III

Aertssens, took over the printing business.³⁰ He used the same music typeface, although with some new type, until 1708.³¹ The further history of this music type is obscure.

Tatnall Gross draws the conclusion that the Phalèse firm, from its beginning in the sixteenth century until the death of Marie in or after 1675, had only one printing press. This seems consistent with the known output of the firm between 1629 and 1675, as discussed below. On average, the printing press of Phalèse thus printed at least one edition every two months. It is not known how many workers were needed to manage the printing activity, or how many staff were employed in the activities of the bookshop. The estate inventory from 1655 includes a record of the 'monthly cost for working wages for the servants who worked in the printing office', but as this cost is combined with other costs for the household, it is difficult to estimate the sum, and to establish the number of workers.³²

The output of the Phalèse printing house 1629–1675

Based on information in present catalogues, 158 editions printed by the Heirs of Phalèse are known to have survived. Some are not yet included in the RISM catalogue.³³ The preservation status for these editions is generally poor. More than half of the editions have survived only in a single set of part books. Most sets lack one or several of the original partbooks. Approximately 150 sets of parts survive in an incomplete state, another seventy appear intact, while it has not been possible to determine the preservation status of the rest. Considering the poor preservation of these sets, it is relevant to ask how many editions that once have existed are now completely lost, without a single surviving part book. In order to answer this question, I have examined inventories and library catalogues which list material now lost.³⁴ These inventories and catalogues (shown in Table 8.1, Appendix) attest to the existence of more than seventy-five editions that are now lost.

In many cases, the former existence of a now lost edition is attested by entries in more than one catalogue or inventory.³⁵ Three key data are necessary to identify a lost edition: title, year of printing and place. The title of course identifies the work in question; the year of printing distinguishes separate editions; and the place of printing differentiates Antwerp editions from those printed elsewhere, especially when the titles are identical or very similar. In many cases, the identity of the printer is included in the record, but where it is not, the presence of repertoire typical for this firm, or music by composers frequently represented in Phalèse editions, can allow us to attribute further editions to this firm with a degree of certainty.

Counting extant and lost editions, we can thus identify more than 230 editions, distributed over 160 titles, as listed in Table 8.2 in the Appendix.³⁶ This gives a fairly accurate picture of the total output of the firm during this period. The non-surviving editions constitute 32% of total known production. This is consistent with other estimates of the rate of loss of printed music from this time. Rudolf Rasch estimates that about 30% of all editions printed in the Low Countries in the early seventeenth century have not survived.³⁷ In case of the Ballard library in Paris, Laurent Guillo suggests that 21% of the editions listed in the inventory have not survived.³⁸

The production of the Heirs of Phalèse seems to have peaked at the beginning of the 1640s; in 1640 alone they issued eleven editions. The overall production decreased in the 1670s: only fifteen editions were issued in the years between 1670 and 1675 (see Figure 8.1). The production of the Heirs of Phalèse was modest compared to that of other early modern music printers. Katharina Gerlach, for example, issued about 150 music editions and treatises during a ten year period (1565–1575), and her output even increased in the 1570s and 1580s.³⁹

Figure 8.1 Editions printed by Heirs of Phalèse in Antwerp, 1629–1675 (first editions are marked with black bars, subsequent editions with grey bars).

Repertoires: selection and editing

The repertoire issued by the Heirs of Phalèse includes sacred and secular, vocal and instrumental music by composers active in the region of Low Countries, in addition to music by Italian, French and English composers.⁴⁰ The share of Italian music is remarkably high: almost half of all editions comprised music by Italian composers, as discussed below. Although the Phalèse sisters most likely had musical skills and knowledge, they probably had assistance in selecting and editing the music. In the case of anthologies, the role of the editor is central. Considering the limited number of anthologies issued by the sisters, it seems that they did not favour this medium. Some of the anthologies were more or less exact reprints of anthologies issued earlier, by their father or by Italian printers.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the small number of anthologies edited at Antwerp between 1629 and 1675 reveals something of the sisters' network of suppliers and co-workers.⁴²

The only edition that names the editor on the title-page is a collection of Flemish songs published by Marie Phalèse in 1663.⁴³ The editor, Jan-Baptist Halbos, was a tradesman and an amateur musician. The dedication suggests that Halbos supported the printing house financially, but he could also have been of significance for the firm in his role as tradesman.

Rudolf Rasch and Henri Vanhulst have discussed the question of editorship in the cases of the anthologies *Livre septième des chansons* and *Cantiones natalitae*, both successful enterprises, to judge from the number of reprints.⁴⁴ Rasch shows that the addition of new compositions to an anthology, often at the end of the volume, often can be interpreted as 'the editor's signature'.⁴⁵ Moreover, Rasch convincingly argues that Guilielmus Messaus (1589–1640), singer and choirmaster at St Walburgis', Antwerp, lay behind the *Livre septième* edition of 1636,⁴⁶ as well as the *Laudes vespertinae*, issued several times from 1629 and 1648.⁴⁷ The relationship between Messaus and the Phalèse firm was of long standing. Pierre Phalèse I consulted Messaus, and his daughters printed a volume of his masses in 1633.⁴⁸ In 1635, the sisters also issued a volume of motets for the church year by Messaus.⁴⁹ Messaus was involved in the two editions of Italian music in the new concertato style

issued by the sisters in the 1630s, containing motets by Giovanni Battista Ala.⁵⁰ Messaus was possibly also involved in the compilation of an anthology of Marian music printed in 1636, although he was only one of several local composers represented in the volume.⁵¹

Further musicians in the circle of the Phalèse printing house possibly played a role in the selection and publishing of music at the firm, beyond supplying their own music. Anthonis Vermeeren (b. 1618, d. after 1667), organist and choirmaster at St Philip and St Jacob, Antwerp, had at least three volumes of his own music issued by the sisters.⁵² Compositions by Vermeeren also appear at the end of an anthology issued by the sisters in 1661, which otherwise reproduced the Roman motets contained in the Italian original.⁵³ Another figure close to the sisters was Philippus van Steelant (1644–1670), organist at St Jacob's church. Apart from his Op. 1, *Missae et motetta* (1654/1656, RISM A/1 S 4726), compositions by van Steelant were included in an anthology of masses, in the volume edited by Halbos mentioned above, and in three different editions of *Cantiones natalitiae*.⁵⁴ Another person who was probably significant for the musical production by the Heirs of Phalèse was the musician and composer Gilles Hayne (1590–1650), superintendent of the musical establishment of Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg from 1638 onwards.⁵⁵ Hayne had four volumes of music published by the Heirs of Phalèse in the 1640s. As mentioned above, Madeleine Phalèse tried to attract financial support from Wolfgang Wilhelm to cover the printing costs of Hayne's work. Hayne may have acted as mediator between the Phalèse sisters and the two Italian composers Giovanni Pietro Finatti (dates unknown) and Biagio Marini (1594–1663), who both worked at the Palatine court in Neuburg and Düsseldorf, to negotiate the publication of their music by the Phalèse firm.⁵⁶

Besides these few anthologies, the Phalèse sisters devoted themselves largely to volumes by single composers. Coincidentally, Katharina Gerlach also started her career with anthologies and collections of hymns, but after her break with Neuber, she focussed on volumes by single composers, such as by Orlando di Lasso.⁵⁷

The bookshop

Antwerp printers traditionally controlled all parts of printing and distribution, with no clear division between producer and seller.⁵⁸ In many cases, it is more relevant to speak of the activities of the bookshop than the printing office. Indeed, many members designated as booksellers in the records of the guild of St Luke were also printers.⁵⁹ Information on the location of the shop usually constituted part of the imprint, often indicated by the word 'apud' ('at the house of'). Most of the printing shops in Antwerp were located in the same district of the city; the Phalèse firm was located 'ad insigne Davidis Regis' ('at the sign of King David') in the *Corte Cammerstraete*.

The Phalèse sisters had a broad network, and delivered music directly to individuals and institutions within Antwerp and beyond, in such places as Duffel, Lier, Waasmunster, Mechelen, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, Liège, Termonde, Hasselt, Huy, Corsendonck, Tournai, Scherpenheuvel, Douai, Leeuwarden, Lille, Aelst, Tongres, Eindhoven, Dinant, Gheel, Ypres, Oudenarde, Utrecht, Rotterdam and Amsterdam.⁶⁰ The firm had also a significant network of distributors. The inventory of the estate lists different printing houses who had received books – presumably music printed by the Phalèse firm – but had not yet paid for them: Jean van Geertsom and Pierre van Waesberghe in Rotterdam, Thierry van Ackersdyck and Gisbert van Zyll in Utrecht, Pauwels Matthyssens in Amsterdam, François Foppens in Brussels, Balthasar Bellère in Douai, Alexandre Sersanders in Ghent, Andreas Quinque in Tournai, as well as other printer-booksellers active in Antwerp.⁶¹

Apart from selling music printed by their own firm, music printers in early modern Europe also sold music issued by other printers. In his printing shop in early seventeenth-century Douai, Balthasar Bellère sold titles printed by other printers in the Low Countries, including Pierre Phalèse II and the Heirs of Phalèse, in addition to music printed in Italy, France and Germany.⁶² At the end of the century, another famous printing house, that of Estienne Roger in Amsterdam, sold printed music from Bologna, Venice and Antwerp.⁶³ The Italian editions Roger sold in his shop did not contain the same music as the ones he reprinted himself; rather, the repertoires were complementary.⁶⁴

The Heirs of Phalèse probably also sold music printed by other firms. While other printing houses produced music as one activity among others, the Phalèse family was one of the few in the region who devoted themselves solely to music printing. Their printing shop would thus have constituted an obvious centre for music trade in the Antwerp region. Over the course of almost one year (from 13 August 1652 until 8 July 1653), the Phalèse firm sold music books to the value of 1,116 Gulden and 19 Stuivers.⁶⁵ The Phalèse estate inventory records a stock of music books worth 3,129 Gulden, almost € 30,000 in purchasing power today.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, no list of the contents of these music books has survived, but it presumably contained of music by other printers, including music printed abroad. Since paper often was the most expensive part of printing activity, printers tended to print a limited number of copies of an edition, producing a second edition only when there was an apparent demand. This suggests that printing houses did not store many copies of their own editions.

Much of the foreign printed music surviving in collections in England and Northern Europe was probably bought in bookshops like that of Phalèse in the Southern Netherlands and the Dutch Republic. A musical manuscript copied by the English composer Matthew Locke was probably compiled in Antwerp.⁶⁷ The volume includes several Italian pieces, many copied from editions issued by the Heirs of Phalèse. Other Italian pieces included in Locke's volume suggest that he had access to Italian editions in Antwerp.⁶⁸

The Italian music

A significant part of the total output of the Phalèse firm during the entire period under examination was devoted to Italian music. More than a hundred of the known editions, constituting more than half of the entire output, contain music by Italian composers.⁶⁹ Italian music had been printed (or reprinted) in various parts of Europe from the sixteenth century onwards.⁷⁰ Many publications containing Italian music were anthologies issued in Germany or the Southern Netherlands by publishers such as Pierre Phalèse II. The existence of several reprints suggests that his editions were successful and attractive. When reissuing Italian collections, Pierre Phalèse II often reproduced the contents more or less exactly as in their Italian originals.⁷¹ His daughters largely followed this practice. Not only was the content of the volumes the same as in the originals; it was often presented with similar disposition and layout, including elements such as page breaks. As Rudolf Rasch points out, the use of terms such as 'piracy' or 'unauthorized editions' at this period seems inappropriate, as it presupposes the existence of international regulations or laws that did not exist in Early Modern Europe.⁷² Instead of dismissing this production as 'piracy', it seems more important to highlight the significant role of the Phalèse sisters in the dissemination of Italian music in Northern Europe.

At the beginning of our period, the Italian music printed by the Phalèse sisters consisted in reissues of music previously printed by their father. Most of these editions appeared

in the years following Pierre's death in 1629, reproduced by his daughters more or less unchanged.⁷³ Soon the sisters embarked on printing Italian music in the new concertato style, mainly small-scale sacred concerti for a few voices, often accompanied by obbligato instruments besides basso continuo. In 1633–1634, the sisters issued their first editions of music in the new style: Giovanni Battista Ala's first and second book of *Concerti ecclesiastici*, originally issued in Venice in 1618 and 1621.⁷⁴ The two collections were reprinted in Antwerp in 1633 and 1634 under the name of *Luscinia sacra* and *Pratum musicum*. This early group of issues of such new repertoire also included three books of motets (Op. 4–6) by Francesco Colombini, first published by Vincenti at Venice in the 1620s. The sisters reprinted them at Antwerp in 1638–1639, again with new titles. Further composers followed: Giovanni Rovetta, Paolo Cornetti, Giovanni Legrenzi, Gaspari Casati, Maurizio Cazzati, Francesco della Porta, Orazio Tarditi and Francesco Foggia. A few Italian anthologies were also reprinted at Antwerp in their entirety by the Heirs of Phalèse: *Sacra corona motetti*, edited by Bartolomeo Marcesso (Venice: F. Magni, 1656), RISM B/I 1656¹, reprinted with the same title (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1659), RISM B/I 1659²; *Scelta di motetti*, edited by Antonio Poggioli (Rome: L. Grignani, 1647), RISM B/I 1647¹, reprinted as *Delectus sacrarum cantionum* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1652), not in RISM; and one of the many anthologies edited by Florido de Silvestris, *Florida Verba a celeberrimis muices auctoribus* (Rome: G. B. Robletti, 1648), RISM B/I 1648¹ and 1649⁴, reprinted with the same title (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1661), RISM B/I 1661¹.

This repertory was apparently attractive, as testified by the multiple editions. Eleven titles containing Italian music printed by the Heirs of Phalèse were reprinted at least a second time.⁷⁵ Thanks to shorter distances and established trade routes, it was probably cheaper to buy Antwerp editions than their Italian equivalents in Northern Europe.⁷⁶ The esteem enjoyed by these composers of 'very good taste' ('très bon gout') north of the Alps is testified by Sébastien de Brossard, in his remarks on the music issued by the Phalèse sisters. Brossard described the music of Francesco della Porta as 'good and excellent music which cannot be praised too highly' ('bonne et excellente musique et on ne peut trop la louer').⁷⁷ The music of Giovanni Pietro Finatti was 'gracious and sweet, and in a word worthy of good taste' ('gracieuse et moëlleuse, en un mot digne du bon goût').⁷⁸ For Brossard, Maurizio Cazzati was 'one of the most fertile geniuses of his century' ('un des genies les plus feconds de son siècle').⁷⁹ The music of Francesco Petrobelli was 'in very good taste throughout' ('le tout de trez bon goût').⁸⁰

The freshness of the music when it was reissued in Antwerp probably became increasingly important during our period.⁸¹ The sisters' first editions of Italian music had been published in Italy more than ten years earlier. By contrast, in the 1640s and the 1650s the sisters reprinted music from Italy more swiftly after its original publication, indicating both the market for up-to-date Italian music in Northern Europe, and improved supply from Italian printing houses.⁸²

Most titles reprinted in Antwerp were selected from the production of the two famous Venetian printing firms Vincenti (more than half of the total) and Gardano/Magni. The Phalèse sisters possibly had the Italian printing catalogues at hand in Antwerp, and could plan their acquisitions. They probably also had help from suppliers with the delivery of the music from Italy. The estate inventory lists a tradesman named van Eyck, who had 'collected and delivered Italian music books and arranged for their carriage from Italy', to a sum of 53 Gulden.⁸³ This record might refer to Italian editions used as originals when preparing the Antwerp editions, as well as imported Italian music to be sold in the Phalèse printing shop. The contacts might also have sent rare Italian music disseminated solely in

manuscript. When the anthology *Scelta di mottetti de diversi eccellentissimi autori* (ed. Poggioli, Rome: L. Grignani, 1647) was reprinted at Antwerp in 1652, an additional piece by Giacomo Carissimi, *Egredimini caelestis curiae*, was included. As this motet had not been included in any printed edition up to that point, the sisters must have had the music in manuscript, unless of course it was transmitted in a now lost edition. Since Carissimi's music circulated only within a narrow circle around the composer, the inclusion of this motet in the Phalèse edition suggests that they had well-informed and well-connected mediators.⁸⁴

Besides the geographical aspect of this transfer are elements of social and confessional transfer. In the Low Countries, Italian sacred motets and concerti were used in church in the Roman Catholic context, while in Calvinist areas, the same repertoire might be performed in bourgeois private circles and in *Collegia Musica*, thus preserving the Calvinist border between religious services and domestic music-making.⁸⁵ Lutheran musicians and Kapellmeisters also employed small-scale Italian sacred motets within Lutheran services. Indeed, several copies of Phalèse editions of Italian music have survived in collections and libraries of Lutheran institutions in Northern Europe.⁸⁶ Italian music also circulated in northern Europe in manuscript, nearly all copied from printed editions, including reprints issued by the Heirs of Phalèse. This is evident when examining extant seventeenth-century music collections, such as the music libraries of the Swedish Hofkapellmeisters (the Düben collection), and the cantors in Grimma (Grimma collection).⁸⁷ It becomes even more apparent when we take into account lost music whose existence is recorded in catalogues and inventories.⁸⁸ Although it is often difficult to establish the sources from which manuscripts were copied, the fact that so much of the Italian music that circulated in manuscript occurs in editions reprinted in Antwerp suggests that in many cases the Antwerp editions probably served as originals. In seventeenth-century England, the Phalèse editions of Italian music were even more decisive. Indeed, almost half of the extant copies of Phalèse editions with Italian music survive in libraries in Great Britain.⁸⁹ This dominance is also patent when we consider manuscript music. Of the thirteen 'favourite copy-sources' from which English music scribes selected Italian music, seven were published in Southern Netherlands; of these, six were produced by the Heirs of Phalèse.⁹⁰

The recontextualisation of this repertoire, as it was relocated from Antwerp to the Dutch Republic or to Lutheran institutions in Northern Europe, provides a key to understanding how this transfer was possible. Antwerp's placement was essential for the processes of cultural and confessional transfer. The confessionally liminal area of the Low Countries was conducive to a transfer from Roman Catholic regions to Protestant ones. From Antwerp, books and printed material were easily transferred for sale in the Dutch Republic.

Summary

In this chapter we have seen that the total output of the printing house of Phalèse, while it was run by Madeleine and Marie Phalèse, was significantly more extensive than previously estimated. The small printing office, with probably only one printing press, constituted one of the nodes of the dissemination of music in Antwerp and beyond. The Phalèse sisters not only printed music; at the same time they also ran a significant business for the sale and trade of printed music through a large network. They also became key mediators of Italian sacred music to Protestant institutions in Northern Europe. For nearly fifty years straddling the middle of the seventeenth century, the Heirs of Phalèse, under the guidance of the sisters Madeleine and Marie, continued the tradition begun by their

grandfather, combining traditional typographical materials inherited from the first decades of single-impression printing with a keen sense for changes in musical taste among their customers in the Southern Netherlands and far beyond.

Appendix

Table 8.1 Catalogues and inventories containing entries of now lost editions, which contribute to a reconstruction of the estimated total output of the Heirs of Phalèse, 1629–1675

Person/ institution	Type of source	Date	Literature
Bellère, music printer and trader in Douai	Sales catalogues	–1636	Henri Vanhulst. ‘Balthasar Bellère, marchand de musique à Douai (1603–1636)’ [Annexe]. <i>Revue de Musicologie</i> 85 (1999): 227–263.
Ballard, music printer and trader in Paris	Inventory et al.	1750	Laurent Guillo. ‘La bibliothèque de musique des Ballard d’après l’inventaire de 1750 et les notes de Sébastien de Brossard’ [part I]: <i>Revue de Musicologie</i> 90 (2004): 283–345; [part II]: <i>Revue de Musicologie</i> 91 (2005): 195–232.
Ballard, music printer and trader in Paris	Library catalogue	c. 1700	Elisabeth Lebeau. ‘Les éditions musicales des anciens Pays-Bas de la Bibliothèque Ballard à Paris vers 1700’. <i>Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap</i> 9 (1955): 32–36.
Fairs at Leipzig and Frankfurt	Sales catalogues	1564–1759	Albert Göhler. <i>Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien angefertigt und mit Vorschlägen zur Förderung der musikalischen Bücherbeschreibung</i> . Hilversum: Knuf, 1965.
Collegium Musicum Utrecht	Inventory	1631–1881	Johan Cornelius Marius Van Riemsdijk. <i>Het Stads-Muziekcollege te Utrecht (Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum) 1631–1881. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der toonkunst in Nederland</i> . Utrecht: J. L. Beijers, 1881.
Collegium Musicum Groningen	Inventory	1683–1771	S. Spellers. ‘Collegium musicum te Groningen’. <i>Jaarboek der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis</i> 3 (1874–81): 22–29.
De la Fage	Sales catalogue	1862	<i>Catalogue de la bibliothèque musicale de feu J. Adr. de La Fage. Traités généraux et spéciaux sur la théorie de la musique et de la composition; histoire; biographie; oeuvres de musique pratique de divers genres; partitions, etc.; liturgie et plain chant; ouvrages sur l’art dramatique et le théâtre, etc., etc., etc.</i> Paris: L. Potier, 1862.
Jan Evertsen van Doorn	Sales catalogue	1639	<i>The catalogus librorum musicorum of Jan Evertsen van Doorn Utrecht 1639: a facsimile edition with an introduction by Henri Vanhulst</i> . Catalogi redivivi 9. Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1996. Rudolf Rasch. ‘How much is lost, or Do we know what we don’t know? Observations on the loss of printed music from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’. In <i>Album amicorum Albert Dunning in occasione del suo 65 compleanno</i> . Edited by G. Fornari. Brepols: Turnhout, 2002, 461–494.

(Continued)

Table 8.1 continued

Person/ institution	Type of source	Date	Literature
João IV	Inventory	1649	<i>Livraria de música de el-rei D. João IV: estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico</i> . Edited by Mario de Sampaio Ribeiro and Damião Peres. Academia Portuguesa da História. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967.
P. Gerotton, D. Moillerus, Livinus Perquin	Sales catalogue	1771	<i>Catalogue d'une nombreuse collection de livres, choisis, curieux et rares en toutes sortes de langues et facultés, délaissés par feu Monsieur P. GEROTTON, Dr. En Droit, Mr. D. MOILLERUS, Dr en Medecine, et MR. LE CURÉ LIVINUS PERQUIN Lesquels seront vendus publiquement aux plus offrans Lundi 3 Juin 1771 & onze Jours suivants, à la Haye en Hollande par la Veuve JEAN VAN DUREN Libraire sur le Plein</i> . The Hague: van Duren, 1771.
Cornelis Graswinkel	Estate inventory	1653	Willem de Ruiter. 'Het codicil van Cornelis Graswinckel (1653)'. <i>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis</i> 31 (1981): 73–81. Frits Noske. 'Bibliografische en historische kanttekeningen bij het codicil van Cornelis Graswinckel'. <i>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis</i> 31 (1981): 178–185.
Alphonse Goovaerts	Bibliography	1880	Alphonse Goovaerts. <i>Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas</i> . Antwerp: Kockx, 1880.
Novum Registrum Confraternitatis Sanctae Ceciliae in Oppido Hasselensi	Inventory	1670–1767	MS inventory in Collectie van Het Stadsmus, Hasselt ^a https://www.erfgoedplus.be/details/71022A51.priref.1137

^aI am thankful to Eugene Schreurs who alerted me on this inventory, and has generously shared his knowledge about this and other inventories in the region.

Table 8.2 A reconstruction of the series of editions printed by the Heirs of Phalèse, 1629–1675

Bellère	Vanhulst, Henri. 'Balthasar Bellère, marchand de musique à Douai (1603–1636)' [Annexe]. <i>Revue de Musicologie</i> 85 (1999): 227–263.
Ballard	Guillo, Laurent. 'La bibliothèque de musique des Ballard d'après l'inventaire de 1750 et les notes de Sébastien de Brossard' [part I]. <i>Revue de Musicologie</i> 90 (2004): 283–345; [part II]: <i>Revue de Musicologie</i> 91 (2005): 195–232.
CatNombColl	<i>Catalogue d'une nombreuse collection de livres, choisis, curieux et rares en toutes sortes de langues et facultés, délaissés par feu Monsieur P. GEROTTON, Dr. en Droit, Mr. D. MOILLERUS, Dr. en Medecine, et MR. LE CURÉ LIVINUS PERQUIN Lesquels seront vendus publiquement aux plus offrans Lundi 3 Juin 1771. & onze Jours suivants, à la Haye en Hollande par la Veuve JEAN VAN DUREN Libraire sur le Plein</i> . The Hague: van Duren, 1771.
CMUtrecht	Van Riemsdijk, Johan Cornelius Marius. <i>Het Stads-Muziekcollege te Utrecht (Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum) 1631–1881. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der toonkunst in Nederland</i> . Utrecht: J. L. Beijers, 1881.
CMGroningen	Spellers, S. 'Collegium musicum te Groningen'. <i>Jaarboek der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis</i> 3 (1874–1881): 22–29.

Table 8.2 continued

De la Fage	<i>Catalogue de la bibliothèque musicale de feu J. Adr. de La Fage. Traités généraux et spéciaux sur la théorie de la musique et de la composition; histoire; biographie; oeuvres de musique pratique de divers genres; partitions, etc.; liturgie et plain chant; ouvrages sur l'art dramatique et le théâtre, etc., etc.</i> Paris: L. Potier, 1862.
Doorn	<i>The catalogus librorum musicorum of Jan Evertsen van Doorn Utrecht 1639: a facsimile edition with an introduction by Henri Vanhulst.</i> Catalogi redivivi 9. Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1996.
Göhler	Göhler, Albert. <i>Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien angefertigt und mit Vorschlägen zur Förderung der musikalischen Bücherbeschreibung.</i> Hilversum: Knuf, 1965.
GoovaertsBibl	Goovaerts, Alphonse. <i>Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas.</i> Antwerp: Kockx, 1880.
João IV	<i>Livroria de música de el-rei D. João IV: estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico</i> , edited by Mario de Sampaio Ribeiro and Damião Peres. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967.

[Composer] title ^a	Printing year	Extant edition or records of lost edition
Orlando di Lasso: <i>La fleur des chansons d'Orlande</i>	1629	RISM A/I L 1034
<i>Symphonia angelica di diversi excellentissimi musici</i>	1629	RISM B/I 1629 ⁸
Cornelius Burgh: <i>Hortus marianus</i>	1630	RISM A/I B 5019
<i>Melodia olympica de diversi excellentissimi [...] raccolta da Pietro Philippi</i>	1630	RISM A/I P 1987, RISM B/I 1630 ²
'Vincenzo Guami Giardino de madrigali a 5. voci con suo basso continuo' ^b	1630	[Doorn, Bellère]
'[Andreas d'Ath] Servia sive corona Mariana 3 4 5 & 6 vocibus cum basso continuo'	1630	[Doorn, Göhler ^c]
H. Hollander: <i>Parnassus ecclesiasticus</i>	1631	RISM A/I H 6326
G. G. Gastoldi: <i>Balletti a tre voci</i>	1631	RISM A/I G 541
G. G. Gastoldi: <i>Balletti a cinque voci</i>	1631	RISM A/I G 527
'Litaniae beatissimae Mariae Virginis Lauretanae, V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. et XII. tam vocibus, quam instrumentis modulatae, quibus Missa octonis vocibus adjuncta est. Componebat Baltasar Richard, Hannonius Montensis, S ^{mae} Isabellae Hispaniarum infantis in aulae ejus sacello in Belgio cornicen, cum basso continuo ad organum. Antverpiae, apud Petrum Phalesium'	1631 ^d	[GoovaertsBibl, Bellère, Doorn, Ballard]
'Trias Harmonica sacrarum cantionum Leonardi Neruij Capucini cum basso continuo ad organum, in 4'	1631	[Bellère, GoovaertsBibl, Doorn, Ballard]
'Petri Philippi angli [...] operum posthumorum pars prima, sive missae ac psalmi VIII ac IX vocum cum B. cont. ad organum'	1631	[BallardBro, Ballard, Doorn]
'Harmanni Hollanders Iubilus filiorum Dei a 1. 2. 3. & 4. vocum cum basso Generali'	1631	[Doorn, Göhler]
L. Marenzio: <i>Madrigali a cinque voci</i>	1632	RISM A/1 M 575
'Henrici Liberti Paduanes gailliardes courants & un ballet à 5. parties'	1632	[Doorn, CMGroningen, Bellère]
'[Benedetto Pallavicino] Bicinia seu cantiones suavissima duarum vocum'	1632	[Doorn]
'Ioannis. Croce Cantiones sacre octo vocum'	1632	[Doorn]
G. B. Ala / G. Messaus: <i>Luscinia sacra</i>	1633	RISM A/I AA 553b

(Continued)

[Composer] title ^a	Printing year	Extant edition or records of lost edition
G. Messaus: <i>Missae quinque, sex, octo, decem et duodecim vocum</i>	1633	RISM A/I MM 2385
Peter Philips: <i>Paradisus sacris [...] secunda pars</i>	1633	RISM A/I P 1989
'[Andreas d'Ath] Philomela Christiana 2 3 4 5 6 vocum cum basso continuo'	1633	[Doorn]
'Iacobi Finetti concerti ecclesiastici 2 3 & 4 vocibus cum basso Generali'	1633	[Doorn]
'Philippi van Heymissen Harmonia Angelica sacrarum cantionum cum letaniis octo vocum cum basso continuo'	1633	[Doorn]
G. B. Ala / G. Messaus et al.: <i>Pratum musicum</i>	1634	RISM B/I 1634 ²
H. Hollander: <i>Jubilus filiorum Dei</i>	1634	RISM A/I H 6327
<i>Musica divina [...] raccolta da Pietro Phalesio</i>	1634	RISM B/I 1634 ⁶
Peter Philips: <i>Gemmulae sacrae binis et ternis vocibus</i>	1634	RISM A/I P 1979
R. Dering: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i>	1634	RISM A/I D 1318
J. de Castro: <i>Sonets, chansons à deux parties</i> , lib I	1634	RISM A/I C 1500
J. de Castro: <i>Chansons, sonets, stanses et epigrammes</i> , lib. II	1634	RISM A/I C 1502
'Il suave Rossignoletto di Madrigali moderni a 4. Voci con Basso continuo di Philippo van Heymissen'	1634	[Bellère, Doorn, Göhler]
'Sacrae Melodiae una, duabus, tribus, quator, quinque, et sex vocibus, una cum Symphoniis et Basso ad Organum. Petri Lappii in Basilica S. Mariae Gratiarum Brixiae musices moderatoris. Antverpiae, Ex Officina Petri Phalesii ad insigne Davidis Regis'	1634 ^e	[GoovaertsBibl]
'[Petri Philippi] Delitie Sacre 2. & 3. vocibus cum basso continuo'	1634	[Doorn]
'Cantiones sacrae praecipuis anni festis accomodatae, octo vocum cum Missa Maiali. a II, tam vocibus quam instrumentis, cum basso continuo ad organum, auctore Guilielmo Messaus, phonasco ecclesiae parochialis S. Walburgis Antverpiae'	1635	[GoovaertsBibl, Bellère, CatNombColl, Doorn]
'[Petri Philippi] Cantiones sacrae quinis vocibus cum basso continuo'	1635	[Doorn]
'[Stephani Bernardi] Madrigali a tre voci cum basso continuo'	1635	[Doorn]
'Laudes vespertinae B. Mariae Virginis' ^f	1635	[Rasch] ^g
'[J. B. Verrijt] II primo libri de canzoni amorosi a tre voci con basso continuo e senza'	[c. 1635] ^h	[João IV] ⁱ
'[J. B. Verrijt] II secondo libri de canzoni amorosi a quatro voci, con basso continuo e senza'	[c. 1635]	[João IV]
<i>Gratulationes Marianae per XXVI Salve Regina</i>	1636	Not in RISM: IRL-Dm
<i>Livre septième des chansons</i> ^j	1636	Not in RISM: PL-Kj
'[Petri Philippi] missa & psalmi octo & novem vocum operum posthumorum pars prima cum basso continuo'	1636	[Doorn, CatNombColl]
'Litaniae seraphicae Beatae Mariae Virginis, a 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 et 8 vocibus col basso C. ad organum auctore Tiburcio Bruxell'	1636	[Ballard, Doorn]

[Composer] title ^a	Printing year	Extant edition or records of lost edition
A. Marino: <i>Psalmi vesperarum</i>	1637 ^k	RISM A/I M 681
G. G. Gastoldi: <i>Balletti a cinque voci</i>	1637	RISM A/I G 528
P. Philips: <i>Deliciae sacrae [...] editio tertia</i>	1637	RISM A/I P 1982
'[Petri Philippi] operum posthumorum pars secunda sive cantiones octo vocum pars secunda cum basso'	1637	[Doorn]
'Giulio Cesare Bianchi. Motetti de Beata Virgine a una, due, tre, quattro e cinque voci, e Messa a quattro voci. In Anversa. Appresso Pietro Phalesio al Re David'	1637 ^l	[GoovaertsBibl, Doorn, Ballard]
F. Colombini: <i>Mel musicum</i>	1638	RISM A/I C 3446
'Ioannis Baptista Verrijt Paduanes 5. vocum cum basso Generali'	1638	[Doorn, CMUtrecht]
'[Giacomo Gastoldi] Balletti à tre voci'	1638	[Doorn]
'Alexandri grandi cantiones sacrae 2. 3. 4. 5. & octo vocum, item missa una 4. vocum cum basso continuo'	1638 ^m	[Doorn, De la Fage]
F. Colombini: <i>Nectar caelicum</i>	1639	RISM A/I C 3448
F. Colombini: <i>Ambrosia sacra</i>	1639	RISM A/I C 3450
A. Grandi: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> , lib. III	1639	RISM A/I G 3452
C. Monteverdi: <i>Madrigali</i> , lib. VI [...] <i>novamente ristampati</i>	1639	RISM A/I M 3493
J. Willems: <i>Primitiae Marianae</i>	1639	RISM A/I WW 1132
S. Todeschi: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i>	1639	RISM A/I T 852
'Balthasar Richardi cantiones sacre a 5 6 7 8 9. vocibus cum basso continuo'	1639	[Doorn]
'Introitus missarum octo vocum, autore Valerio Bona'	1639	[Ballard, Doorn, CatNombColl]
A. Grandi: <i>Liber sextus motectorum</i>	1640	RISM A/I G 3457
G. Hayne: <i>Moteta sacra</i>	1640	RISM A/I H 4921
G. B. Rovetta: <i>Motetta concertata [...]</i> , Op. 5	1640	RISM A/I R 2968
G. Sabbatini: <i>Madrigali [...]</i> <i>concertati</i>	1640	RISM A/I S 16
F. Colombini: <i>Madrigali concertati</i>	1640	Not in RISM: RUS-SP
J. Dromal: <i>Sertum musicum</i>	1640	RISM A/I D 3578
G. G. Gastoldi: <i>Balletti a cinque voci</i>	1640	RISM A/I G 529
F. Colombini: <i>Mel musicum</i>	1640	RISM A/I C 3447
L. de Hodemont: <i>Armonica recreatione, Villanelli a tre voci</i>	1640	RISM A/I H 6559
'Joh. Ceresini, Covolla flagrone a 2, 3 vel 4 voc.'	1640	[CMGroningen]
'Missae septem et octo vocum, auctore Matthia Pottier. Antverpiae. Apud Haeredes Petri Phalesii Typographi musices'	1640	[GoovaertsBibl]
J. Dromal: <i>Convivium musicum</i>	1641	RISM A/I D 3580
G. Sabbatini: <i>Sacrarum laudum</i> , Op. 7	1641	RISM A/I S 8
J. Dromal: <i>Corona sanctorum</i>	1641	RISM A/I D 2581
G. G. Gastoldi: <i>Balletten mit dry stemmen</i>	1641	Not in RISM: B-Gu
P. Philips: <i>Paradisus sacris [...]</i> <i>editio tertia</i>	1641	RISM A/I P 1990, RISM B/I 1641 ¹
<i>Livre septième des chansons</i>	1641 ⁿ	Not in RISM: NL(Acquoy), B-Amp, NL-DHk
'Amorose Vaghezze a tre voci concertate di Simplicio Tedeschi Veronese novamente composte et date in luce con basso continuo. In Anversa. Presso i heredi di Pietro Phalesio al Re David'	1641	[GoovaertsBibl]
J. Dromal: <i>Missae sex, litaniae</i> , Op. 4	1642	RISM A/I D 3582
G. Sabbatini: <i>Sacrae laudes</i> , Op. 3	1642	RISM A/I S 5

(Continued)

[Composer] title ^a	Printing year	Extant edition or records of lost edition
<i>Quadrige musicalis</i>	1642	Not in RISM: NL-R
F. Colombini: <i>Nectar caelicum</i>	1642	RISM A/I C 3449
'Balletten met dry stemmen door Gio. Giacomo Gastoldi ghestelt op Italiaensche rymen. Nu tot vermaeck van de nederlandsche jeugdt, Met nederduytsche woorden verciert. Seer liefvelyck, vermaeckelyckende stichtelyck om singen. Ende op alle soorten van instrumenten te spelen. Noyt voor desen ghedruckt. t'Antwerpen by de erfgenamen van Peter Phalesius in den Coninck David'	1642	[GoovaertsBibl]
J. Stadlmayr: <i>Missae IX vocom</i>	1643	RISM A/I S 4303
O. Tarditi: <i>Liber quartus motectorum</i> , Op. 13	1643	RISM A/I T 189
C. Monteverdi: <i>Il quinto libro di madrigali</i>	1643	RISM A/I M 3484
G. Hayne: <i>Motetti overo madrigali</i> , [Op. 2]	1643	RISM A/I H 4923
'J. Malaise. Motetta Sacra trium vocom, Opus primum. Antverpiae, apud heredes Petri Phalesii'	1643	[GoovaertsBibl, Ballard]
'Florentii Valentini de Christo Patiente et Virgine matre dolorosa sacrae modulationes item litania B. Virginis et psalmus De profundis concertantes I. II. III. IV V. vocibus et musicis instrumentis opus novum et recens in lucem editum cum basso contin. ad organum'	1643	[Ballard, CatNombColl]
'[Joh. Ceresini], Hennii madrigali a 5 voc.'	1643	[CMGroningen]
'H. Hollander, Parnassus Ecclesiasticus'	1643	[CatNombColl]
G. Casati: <i>Sacri concentus duarum vocom</i>	1644	RISM A/I C 1413
G. Casati: <i>Sacri concentus III. et IV. vocom</i>	1644	RISM A/I C 1417
N. a Kempis: <i>Symphoniae</i> , [Op. 1]	1644	RISM A/I K 377
C. Monteverdi: <i>Il quarto libro de Madrigali a cinque voci</i>	1644	RISM A/I M 3474
B. Marini: <i>Corona melodica</i> , Op. 15	1644	RISM A/I M 666
'J. Loisel. Musice hactenus inaudita sive Missae IV quinque et sex vocom, novo ac moderno modulamine concertatae cum Instrumentis et ripieno duplici (seu duobus aliis choris) si places. Antverpiae, apud heredes Petri Phalesii'	1644	[GoovaertsBibl, Ballard, CMGroningen, CatNombColl]
D. Philetaero: <i>Dei Deiparae divorumque laudes Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1645	RISM A/I P 1777
'[Gilles Hayne] 4 Misse solemnes octo vocom, autore de Eagideo Hennio'	[c. 1645] 1645	Not in RISM: NL-U [Ballard, GoovaertsBibl]
'P. Cornetti. Sacrarum Cantionum I. II. et III. vocibus concertat. Liber primus. Antverpiae. Apud Haeredes Petri Phalesii'	1645	[GoovaertsBibl, Ballard]
'[Joh. Ceresini], Missae 8 vocom'	1645	[CMGroningen]
G. Hayne: <i>Motetti sacri</i> , [Op. 4]	1646	RISM A/I H 4924
F. Colombini: <i>Ambrosia sacra</i> [...] <i>hac secunda editione</i>	1646	RISM A/I C 3451
'Surculus Olivae, notis musicis concertantibus et pacificis VI vocom vel instrumentorum adornatus, SS. Mariae Pacis Aeternaeque Reginae Concordiae pro patriae felici Concordia oblatu, a venerabili D. F. Joanne Loisel, Hesdiniensi, ecclesiae S. Judoci in Nemore, Sacri Ordinis Praemonstratensis canonico, nec non ecclesiae S. Michaelis Antverpiae phonasco. Opus secundum. Antverpiae, apud heredes Petri Phalesii'	1646	[GoovaertsBibl, CMGroningen]

[Composer] title ^a	Printing year	Extant edition or records of lost edition
'[Joh. Ceresini], Motetti a 3, 4 vel 5 voc.'	1646	[CMGroningen]
'Michae. Angl. Grascini [?], a 2, 3 vel 4 voc.'	1646	[CMGroningen]
'G. Gastoldi, Balletten met 3 Stemmen'	1646	[CatNombColl]
[Il primo libro di messe concertate a cinque et a sei voci di D. Romualdi Honorii]	1646	[Ballard]
G. Casati: <i>Operis primis pars continens moteta</i>	1647	RISM A/I C 1421, RISM B/I 1647 ⁴
G. Casati / P. Cornetti: <i>Primi partus foetus [...]</i> <i>suavissimis modulis</i>	1647	RISM B/I 1647 ³
N. a Kempis: <i>Symphoniae</i> , Op. 2	1647	RISM A/I K 378
'Joh. Babtistae Verryth, Divinae ac piaae oblectationes 8 voc. et 4 instrum.'	1647	[CMGroningen, CatNombColl]
'[Joh. Loisel] Flores musici 8 voc. et instrum.'	1647	[CMGroningen, CatNombColl]
'Joh. Dromal, Bellaria sacra 8 voc. et instrum.'	1647	[CMGroningen]
L. Pietkin: <i>Sacri concentus</i> , Op. 1	1648	RISM A/I P 2342
G. B. Rovetta: <i>Bicinia sacra [...]</i> lib. III	1648	RISM A/I R 2975
G. B. Rovetta: <i>Manipulus et messe musicus</i>	1648	RISM A/I R 2974
J. Loisel: <i>Modulationes</i> , Op. 4	1648	RISM A/I L 2764
[T. van Brussel:] <i>De gheestelycke tortel-duyve</i> <i>Laudes vespertinae B. Mariae Virginis</i>	1648	RISM A/I AN 1140
G. B. Rovetta: <i>Motetta concertata</i> , Op. 5	1648	RISM B/I 1648 ²
J. Dromal: <i>Sertum musicum</i>	1648	RISM A/I R 2969
'Jubilus filiorum Dei ex SS. Patrum suspiriis musico concentu una, duabus, tribus, quatuor vocibus decantandus. Cum Basso Generali ad organum. Auctore Harmano Hollanders Ecclesiae Collegiatae Beatae Mariae Virginis de Breda phonasco. Antverpiae, apud Heredes Petri Phalesii Typographi Musices'	1648	RISM A/I D 3579
G. Casati: <i>Amoenum rosarium</i> , Op. 5	1649	[GoovaertsBibl, CatNombColl, Ballard]
N. a Kempis: <i>Symphoniae</i> , Op. 3	1649	RISM A/I C 1424
G. B. Rovetta: <i>Gemma musicalis</i>	1649	RISM A/I K 379
J. Loisel: <i>Motetta sacra</i>	1649	RISM A/I R 2977
J. B. Verrijt: <i>Flammae divinae</i> , Op. 5	1649	RISM A/I L 2763
O. Tarditi: <i>Litaneae concertatae</i>	1649	RISM A/I V 1308
G. G. Gastoldi: <i>Balletten met vyf, ses en acht stemmen</i>	1649	RISM A/I T 204
G. Hayne: <i>Moteta sacra</i> , Op. 1	1649	RISM A/I G 532
'[Richard Dering] Cantica sacra cenis vocibus autore Richardo Direngo'	1649	RISM A/I H 4922
'Dionys. d'Ortho, Psalterium jucundum a 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 et 8 voc. cum instrum.'	1649	[Ballard]
F. della Porta: <i>Libri primi cantionum</i> , Op. 2	1649	[CMGroningen]
F. della Porta: <i>Cantiones</i> , Op. 3	1650	RISM A/I P 4197
G. Casati: <i>Sacri concentus duarum vocum</i>	1650	RISM A/I P 5199
'Missae et motetta octo vocum cum basso continuo ad organum. Auctore Joanne Florentino à Kempis. Antverpiae. Apud Magdalenam Phalesiam et cohaeredes'	1650	RISM A/I C 1414
'Lamb. Peytkyn, secunda pars Sacrorum concentuum a 2, 3, 4 vel 5 voc.'	1650	[GoovaertsBibl, CMGroningen, Ballard]
'Joh. Petri Finatti, Sacri concentus, 2, 3, 4 et 5 voc.'	1650	[CMGroningen]
	1650	[CMGroningen]

(Continued)

[Composer] title ^a	Printing year	Extant edition or records of lost edition
'Flores selectissimarum Missarum, ex praestantissimis nostrae aetatis authoribus quatuor, quinque, sex et plurium vocum collecti: et ad Ecclesiae Catholicae usum ordine decenti dispositi. Opera D. Matthiae Pottier Cathedralis Ecclesiae D. Mariae Antverpiensis phonasci. Antverpiae. Apud Magdalenam Phalesiam et cohaeredes'	1650	[GoovaertsBibl]
<i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1651	RISM B/I 1651 ³
M. Cazzati: <i>Corenti e balletti</i>	1651	RISM A/I C 1666, RISM B/I 1651 ⁷
G. B. Chinelli: <i>Missarum</i> , lib II, Op. 8	1651	RISM A/I C 2065
'Sim. Vesi, Motetta et Psalmi voce sola cum instrum. 5 vol.'	1651	[CMGroningen]
G. P. Finatti: <i>Missae motetta</i> , Op. 2	1652	RISM A/I F 802
F. Godefrido: <i>Fasciculus musicus</i>	1652	RISM A/I G 2925
B. Graziani: <i>Motetta</i> , Op. 1	1652	RISM A/I G 3650
<i>Delectus sacrarum cantionum</i>	1652	Not in RISM: GB-Och
N. a Kempis: <i>Symphoniae</i> , Op. 4	[1652?]	RISM A/I K 380
G. B. Rovetta: <i>Novi concentus sacrae</i>	1653	RISM A/I R 2979
'N. W. Young: Balletti a tre voci. In Anversa, Presso i heredi di Pietro Phalesio, al Re David'	1653	[GoovaertsBibl]
'N. W. Young: Sonate e canzone a tre, quattro e cinque stromenti. In Anversa, Presso i heredi di Pietro Phalesio, al Re David'	1653	[GoovaertsBibl]
<i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1654	Not in RISM: NL-Urc
F. della Porta: <i>Motetta</i> , Op. 4	1654	RISM A/I P 5201
G. Casati: <i>Operis primis pars continens moteta</i>	1654	RISM A/I C 1422
P. Hurtado: <i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1655	RISM A/I HH 8027
Phil. van Steelant: <i>Missae et motetta</i> , Op. 1	1654/56 ^o	RISM A/I S 4726
S. Vesi: <i>Motetti</i> , Op. 3	1656	RISM A/I V 1314
M. Cazzati: <i>Motetti e hymni</i> , Op. 16	1656	RISM A/I CC 1598a
D. Castello: <i>Sonate concertate</i>	1656	RISM A/I C 1464
G. Sabbatini: <i>Sacrae laudes</i> , Op. 3	1656	RISM A/I S 6
'Diversorum autorum paradisus voluptatis a 1, 2 et 5 vocibus cum instrum.'	1656	[CMGroningen]
'[Casp. Casati], Sacri concentus 3 vel 4 voc.'	1656	[CMGroningen]
'[Cantiones natalitiae]'	1656	[CatNombColl]
M. Cazzati: <i>Suonate</i> , Op. 18	1657	RISM A/I C 1603
J.-F. a Kempis: <i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1657	RISM A/I K 376
<i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1658	Not in RISM: NL-U
F. Foggia: <i>Concentus ecclesiastici</i>	1658	RISM A/I F 1441
G. de Verlit: <i>Missae et motetta</i> [...] III. IV. <i>vocum</i>	1658	RISM A/I V 1246
D. Castello: <i>Sonate concertate in stil moderno</i>	1658	RISM A/I C 1461
M. Cazzati: <i>Motetti e hymni</i>	1658	RISM A/I C 1599
G. Casati / P. Cornetti: <i>Primi partus foetus</i>	1658	RISM B/I 1658 ¹
'Gaspar. Casati, Motetta et psalmi a 2, 3 vel 4 voc. cum instr.'	1658	[CMGroningen]
<i>Sacra corona</i>	1659	RISM A/I 1659 ²
<i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	[c. 1660]	Not in RISM: NL-DH
G. Borremans: <i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1660	RISM A/I B 3768
F. Petrobelli: <i>Motetti</i> , Op. 5	1660	RISM A/I P 1644
N. Monferrato: <i>Motetti concertati</i> , Op. 3	1660	RISM A/I M 3039
A. Vermeeren: <i>Missae et motetta</i> , [lib I]	1660	RISM A/I V 1247

[Composer] title ^a	Printing year	Extant edition or records of lost edition
G. Verlit: <i>Cantiones natalitiae IIII. et V. tam vocibus Florida verba</i>	1660	RISM A/I V 1244
	1661	RISM B/I 1661 ¹
G. Verlit: <i>Missae et motetta [...] IV. V. VI. vocum Septiesme livre</i>	1661	RISM A/I V 1245
	1661 ^P	Not in RISM: B-Amp ^q
'A. Vermeren, Missae & Motetta. à 1. 2. & 3. Voc. &c.'	1661	[CatNombColl]
M. Cazzati: <i>Motetti</i> , Op. 12	1662	RISM A/I C 1593
P. V. S. <i>Optata dudum gaudia</i>	1662	RISM A/I IN 237
G. Casati: <i>Operis primis pars continens moteta</i>	1662	RISM A/I C 1423
'A. Grossi, Orfeo Pellegrino'	1662	[CatNombColl]
<i>Vermaeckelijcke duytsche liedekens</i>	1663	Not in RISM: B-OU
M. Cazzati: <i>Tributo di sagri concerti</i> , Op. 23	1663	RISM A/I C 1615
M. Uccellini: <i>Sonate correnti</i> , Op. 4	1663	RISM A/I U 16
'Het gheestelyck blom-hofken van Bethleem, Verciert met verscheyde schoone Liedekens so vanden Kersnacht als andere: Op het Musieck ghecomponeert met twee Stemmen, Cantus ende Bassus: Seer profijtelijck aende siele, ende vermakelijck aenden Gheest. Gheplant door F. Godefridus Bussé Priester Religieus vande Ordre vanden H. Benedictus inde vermaerde Abijde van Afflighem. T' Antwerpen, By de Erf-ghenamen van Peeter Phalesius'	1663	[GoovaertsBibl]
'Livre septième des Chansons vulgaires, de diverses Autheurs a quatre parties, convenables et utiles a la ieunesse, toutes mises en ordre selon leurs tons. De nouveau revue, et corrige avec des nouvelles Chansons. Avec une Brieve facile Instruction pour bien apprendre la Musique. En Anvers, Chez les Heretiers de Pierre Phalese au Roy David'	1663 ^r	[GoovaertsBibl]
G. Bussé: <i>Het gheestelyck Blomhofken</i>	1664	RISM A/I B 5115
'F. Colombini: <i>Mel musicum</i> '	1664	[CatNombColl]
M. Cazzati: <i>Motetti</i> , Op. 10	1665	RISM A/I C 1590
G. Legrenzi: <i>Sentimenti devote</i> , Op. 6	1665	RISM A/I L 1616
J. van der Wielen: <i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1665	RISM A/I W 1056
A. Vermeeren: <i>Missae et motetta</i> , lib. III	1665	RISM A/I V 1249
<i>Compositioni sacre de diversi excellenti autori</i>	1665	RISM B/I 1665 ²
B. a Sancto Josepho: <i>Missae litaniae</i> , Op. 1	1666	RISM A/I B 1921
'Step. Filipini, Concerti sacri a 2 3 4 et 5 voc. opera secunda'	1666	[CMGroningen]
B. a Sancto Josepho: <i>Corona stellarum</i> , Op. 2	[c. 1666–1672] ^s	
J. Berckelaers: <i>Cantiones natalitiae</i> , [lib. I]	1667	RISM A/I B 1982
A. Grossi: <i>Orfeo Pellegrino</i> , Op. 4	1667	RISM A/I G 4741
<i>Cantiones natalitiae</i>	1667	RISM B/I 1667 ³
M. Uccellini: <i>Compositioni armoniche / Sonate sopra il violino</i> , lib. VII	1668	RISM A/I U 20/U 21
G. B. Vitali: <i>Recueil des dances</i> , lib. V	1668	RISM A/I V 2175, RISM B/I 1668 ¹⁰
G. Casati: <i>Sacri concentus duarum vocum</i>	1668	RISM A/I C 1416
G. B. Rovetta: <i>Bicinia sacra</i> , lib. III	1668	RISM A/I R 2976
N. Monferrato: <i>Motetti concertati</i> , lib. I, Op. 3	1668	RISM A/I M 3040
A. Vermeeren: <i>Missae et motetta</i> , [lib. I]	1668	RISM A/I V 1248

(Continued)

[Composer] title ^a	Printing year	Extant edition or records of lost edition
'Livre cinquième [<i>sic</i>] du Recueil des dances, ballets, allemandes, brandes, courantes, sarabandes, etc., des diverses auteurs de ce temps, à deux parties. En Anvers, chez les heritiers de Pierre Phalese, au roy David'	1668	[GoovaertsBibl]
'G. de Verlit, Missae et motetta'	1668	[CatNombColl]
'Franc. Sisto de Reina, Florida corona, a 2, 3 vel 4 voc.'	1668	[CMGroningen]
M. Uccellini: <i>Sinfonie boscarecie</i> , Op. 8	1669	RISM A/I U 23
M. Cazzati: <i>Tributo di sagri concerti</i> , Op. 23	1669	RISM A/I C 1616
'G. Casati. Moteta'	1669	[CatNombColl]
J. Berckelaers: <i>Cantiones natalitiae</i> , lib. II	1670	RISM A/I B 1983
G. Bart: <i>Philomela sacra</i>	1671	RISM A/I B 1055
C. Dumont: <i>Missae et motetta</i> , Op. 1	1671	RISM A/I D 3698
L. Royet: <i>Missa, litania</i>	1671	RISM A/I R 3004
P. F. Munninckx: <i>Balletti, allemande</i>	1672	RISM A/I M 8145
'Benedicti Josephi, Flosculi musici a 1, 2, 3 vel 4 voc. cum instr. 8 vol.'	1672	[CMGroningen, CatNombColl] ^t
T. Becker: <i>Musicalische lendt-vruchten</i>	1673	RISM A/I B 1526
J. Cocx: <i>Ferculum musicum</i>	1673	RISM A/I C 3259
G. Doré: <i>Motetta et psalmi</i>	1673	RISM A/I D 3428
B. a Sancto Josepho: <i>Corona stellarum</i> , Op. 2	1673	RISM A/I B 1922
G. Bart, <i>Missae et motetta</i>	1674	RISM A/I B 1056
M. Cazzati: <i>Suonate</i> , Op. 18	1674	RISM A/I C 1605
'Nicol. Maiscocque, Area parthenica a 1, 2, 3, 4 vel 5 voc. cum instrum.'	1674	[CMGroningen]
'[Guil. Bart], Litaniae sacrae a 3, 4 vel 5 voc. cum instrum.'	1675	[CMGroningen, CatNombColl]
F. Loots: <i>Cantiones natalitiae III. vocom et III. instrum.</i>	[1675?]	RISM A/I L 2821a
'Tyrocinium musicum tradens facillimam methodum perfecte quascumque notas dignoscendi, perdiscendique vel horarum spacio; idque nova methodo, et hactenus incognita: praeterea mensurarum distinctiones et figuras. Antwerp: Apud haeredes Petri Phalesii, typographici musices, ad insigne Davidis Regis' [singing method]	1664	[GoovaertsBibl]

^aIn the case of lost editions, the title is given according to the first reference. Titles given in italics are extant; those given in inverted commas are taken from the inventories listed above.

^bVanhulst suggests that this is identical to a publication recorded in Doorn and João IV with the title 'Giardino de madrigali' and the same year of publication. Since the composer died in 1615, after an active career in Antwerp, this edition may have been printed in Antwerp even earlier, during the time of Pierre Phalèse II, although no copy seems to have survived that could prove this.

^cThe fair catalogue from 1631 gives the place and printer as 'Antv. Ap. Belleros'; this is probably a mistake, since Jean Bellère died in 1595, and his son Balthazar was active at Douai.

^dThe imprint given by Goovaerts in *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas* (p. 351), 'apud Petrum Phalesium', could suggest that the year is incorrect, and that this publication was printed before 1629, by Pierre Phalèse II.

^eThe imprint given by Goovaerts in *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas* (p. 357), 'Ex Officina Petri Phalesii', could suggest that the year is incorrect, and that this publication was issued before 1629, by Pierre Phalèse II. An earlier edition of this work (RISM L 689) was published in 1622.

^fAlthough some copies of *Cantiones natalitiae* and *Laudes vespertinae* lack the printer's name, it seems most likely that Heirs of Phalèse printed several of them. For a thorough discussion on this issue, and

on other questions relating to the many different editions of *Cantiones natalitiae* and *Laudes vespertinae*, see Rasch, 'De cantiones natalitiae'.

⁸On the possible existence of an edition from c. 1635, see Rasch, 'De cantiones natalitiae', vol. 1, 46.

⁹Rudolf Rasch and Randall H. Tollefsen. 'Jan Baptist Verrijt'. In *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed 10 May 2019.

¹Advertised in *Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante* on 25 July 1645: 'Tot Rotterdam by Bastiaen Wagens, Boek-verkooper op 't Steyger, wort uytgegeven en is gedruckt Il primo libro de Canzoni Amorosi, concertati a tre voci, con il basso continuo; met noch eenige andere vermakelijcke stuckjens, als mede van den Crommen Boom, nu eerst ghecomponeert, door Johan Baptista Verrijt, Organist der Stadt Rotterdam'. Rasch, *Muzikale*.

¹On the many editions of *Livre septième* and the many problems of editions and dating, see Vanhulst, 'Un succès de l'édition musicale'; Rasch, 'The Livre septième'; Rasch, 'The Editors of the Livre Septième'; Gross, 'The firm of Phalèse'.

²The large gap between the publication of the *Psalmi vesperarum* lib. II (Venice: G. Scoto, 1578) and the Phalèse reprint (1637), suggests that there might have been an earlier Antwerp reprint, during the time of Pierre Phalèse II. Apart from Marino's collection of Vesper psalms, no other collection including only Vesper psalms is known to have been printed by Heirs of Phalèse, while Pierre Phalèse II issued at least one collection of Vesper psalms in 1615, by the little-known composer Angelo Terzachi (or Terzaghi). The two Antwerp editions with Vesper psalms were perhaps issued at the same time. The two collections have almost identical titles, and both collections were supplied with basso continuo parts in Antwerp. See footnote a.

¹The imprint given by Goovaerts in *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas* (p. 362), 'Appresso Pietro Phalesio', could suggest that the printing year is incorrect, and that the publication was printed before 1629, by Pierre Phalèse II.

^mDe la Fage gives the printing year 1538, which apparently is wrong, and most likely should be 1638, as it is in Doorn.

ⁿOn the problems of dating this edition, which seems to have both the printing year 1641 and 1661, corrected by hand in the surviving copies to 1643/1663, see Rasch, 'Basic Concepts', 40.

^oThe copy in F-Lfc has 1654 as year of publication, whereas the copy in A-Wgm has the year 1656.

^pSee footnote k.

⁹*Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi*, 193.

¹On the dating see Rasch, 'Concepts and Issues', 40.

²This first edition seems to have been issued between 1666 (the year of publication of his Op. 1) and 1673, when the second and augmented edition was printed. See Van Der Meer, 'Benedictus a Sancto Josepho', 132.

¹The contents of this volume is listed in Van Der Meer, 'Benedictus a Sancto Josepho', 133.

Notes

- 1 They are also referred to by their Latin names, Magdalena and Maria Phalesius.
- 2 On other daughters taking over the music-printing business from their father, see Rasch, 'De dochters van Estienne Roger'.
- 3 On Kunigunde Hergot, see Reske, *Die Buchdrucker*, 726–731; Schmidt, 'Hergot', accessed 20 February 2019.
- 4 Gustavson, 'Gerlach', accessed 20 February 2019; Jackson, 'Gerlach', accessed 20 February 2019; Koldau, 'Frauen in der deutschen Musikkultur', 235; Koldau, *Handbuch*, 524–530, 543–544; Rode-Breyman, 'Wer war Katharina Gerlach?'; Jackson, 'Who is Katherine?'.
- 5 Volland was married to Balthasar Schmid (1705–1749) and named herself as the widow of Balthasar Schmid in her publications. Van Rhee was widow of Siegfried Markordt (c. 1720–1781) and published under the name of 'Chez la Veuve Markordt Marchande de Musique'. On Volland, see Heussner, 'Der Musikdrucker Balthasar Schmid'.
- 6 *Descrittione di Lodovico Guicciardini patritio fiorentino di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* (Antwerp: Silvio, 1567). Translation taken from Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 1: 146.
- 7 See, for example, Jacobs, 'Guilds and the Open Market'; Rombouts and van Lerius, *De liggeren*.
- 8 Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 1: 145.
- 9 On Pierre Phalèse I and II, see Vanhulst, *Les Phalèse*; Bain, *Music Printing*.
- 10 The following biographical details about Pierre Phalèse's children are drawn from the still most comprehensive study on the Phalèse firm during the period 1629 to 1675: Goovaerts, *Histoire*, 55. Goovaerts seems to have collected the information from the records of Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe church in Antwerp. Other details can be drawn from the substantial Phalèse estate inventory from 1655: 'Staet ende masse van alle ende jegelijcke de goederen [...]', Antwerp City Archives,

- Weeskamer, Staten van goed, WK#887, fol. 203–248. The entire inventory is transcribed and printed in Goovaerts, *Histoire et bibliographie*, 89–112; Goovaerts, 'De muziekdruckers Phalesius', 32–71.
- 11 Rombouts and van Lierus, *De liggeren*, 1: 666.
 - 12 This was observed by Rombouts and van Lierus, *Liggeren*, 1: 666–667.
 - 13 *Francisci Colombini organistae Ecclesiae majoris civitatis Massae Principis mel Musicum sive cantiones sacrae* II. III. IV. V. *vocibus, cum Basso continuo* (Antwerp: Apud Haeredes Petri Phalesii Typographi Musices, 1640); *Motetta concertata duabus, et tribus vocibus adiunctis litanii Beatae Virginis quatuor vocibus. Cum b. continuo ad organum* [...] in his partibus nunquam ante hac editum, in hac nostra impressione a multis mendis emundatum (Antwerp: Apud Haeredes Petri Phalesii Typographi Musices, 1640).
 - 14 Bianco, Corswarem and Vendrix, 'Gilles Hayne', Document 18.
 - 15 *Tributo di sacri concerti a II. III. e IV voci opera XXIII di Mauritio Cazzatti Maestro di Cappella in S. Petronio di Bologna and Accademia Eccitata* (Antwerp: Presso i Heredi di Pietro Phalesio al Re David, 1663).
 - 16 Of this publication, Guillaume Bart's *Litaniae sacrae* for three to five voices and instruments no copy seems to have survived, but it is referred to, for example, in the inventory of the *Collegium Musicum* in Groningen, 'Register der musyckboeken, het Edel Achtbaere Collegium Musicum toebehoorende'; for details, see Appendix, Table 8.2. Susan Bain and Henri Vanhulst place Marie's death in c. 1674 (Bain and Vanhulst, 'Phalèse family', accessed 27 February 2019). That Marie would have died in 1675 rather than 1674 would be more consistent with the first known edition, printed by the successor Lucas de Potter, as it was printed in 1676 (Maurizio Cazzati, *Sacri concerti a due, tre, quattro, e cinque*, Op. 47). Although Marie was married with Edouard de Meyer, her husband seems not to have been taken an active part in the business.
 - 17 The imprint 'Magdalena Phalesia et cohaeredes' puts the heirs in plural. It is difficult to decide whether this is simply conventional, or if it actually indicates the existence of additional siblings apart from Marie.
 - 18 *Reverendo admodum in Christo patri, P. Petro Phalesio ordinis eremitarum S.P. Avgostini, coenobii Antverpiensis* [...] *dum religiosae professionis annum quinquagesimum ritu iubilaeo sanctificat primus, panegyricon hoc poemation* (Antwerp: Apud haeredes Petri Phalesij, 1662).
 - 19 On the education and upbringing of Plantin's five daughters, see Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 1: 142–147.
 - 20 From the period from 1629 to 1675, the Phalèse firm printed only one known item that is not a music collection. The publication *Tyrocinium musicum tradens facillimam methodum perfecte quascumque notas dignoscendi, perdiscendique vel horarum spacio; idque nova methodo, et hactenus incognita: praeterea mensurarum distinctiones et figuras* (Antwerp: Apud haeredes Petri Phalesii, typographici musices, 1664) was a singing method. No copy seems to have survived, but is recorded in Goovaert, *Histoire*, 406, and Hulthem, *Bibliotheca Hulthamiana*, 211.
 - 21 Boorman, Selfridge-Field and Krummel, 'Printing and Publishing of Music', accessed 20 February 2019; Guillo, 'Les caractères de musique', 214.
 - 22 Guillo, 'Les caractères de musique', 135.
 - 23 Fragments of the same type of typeface have survived in the Plantin Moretus Museum MA 101b (nineteen matrices). This type is not included in any of Plantin's inventories. It could possibly have been included in Tylman Susato's sale in 1565. Susan Bain states that Plantin 'received some type from the firm of Phalèse in settlement of debt'. Bain, 'Plantin', accessed 20 February 2019.
 - 24 Gross, 'The Firm of Phalèse', 277.
 - 25 Brossard, *La Collection*.
 - 26 'Cet ouvrage est fort bien imprimé [...] On y voit aussi les mesures séparées par les lignes qui traversent perpendiculairement les cinq lignes de la musique, sinon toutes du moins dans les endroits principaux et ou ces separations sont absolument necessaires pour une juste execution'. Brossard's comments relate to *Missae et motetta* I. II. III. IV. *vocum cum instrumentis auctore Anton. Vermeren, phonasco & organista in Castro Antverpiano* (Antwerp: Apud haeredes Petri Phalesij, 1660). Brossard's copy is extant in F-Pn, VM¹ 875. Brossard, *La Collection*, 117–118.
 - 27 *Mottetti a due, e tre voci di D. Natal Monferrato* [...] *Libro terzo. Opera decima ottava* (Venice: Gioseppe Sala, 1681). Brossard's copy is extant in F-Pn, VM¹ 1029. Brossard, *La Collection*, 215.
 - 28 'Tres bien imprimé, beaux caracteres, beau papier etc. contre l'ordinaire des impressions d'Italie'. Brossard's comments relate to *Salmi concertati a 4 voci con strumenti, di D. Isabella Leonarda*,

- del nobilissimo collegio di S. Orsola di Novara. Opera decimanona* (Bologna: Marino Silvani, 1698). Brossard's copy is extant in F-Pn, VM¹ 1027. Brossard, *La Collection*, 235.
- 29 Spiessens, 'Muziektypografische bedrijvigheid Potter'. About twenty editions are known to have been printed under the Potter imprint. The last known music edition under the name of Potter was printed in 1684. Some of Potter's editions were reprints of editions printed earlier by the Phalèse sisters; this demonstrates that not only the equipment for printing music, but also musical repertoires could be passed on from the previous owner of a printing house.
 - 30 Spiessens, 'Muziektypografische bedrijvigheid Aertssens'.
 - 31 Guillo, 'Les caractères de musique', 208; Spiessens, 'Muziektypografische bedrijvigheid Aertssens'; Devriès-Lesure, 'Technological Aspects', 74.
 - 32 'montkosten [...] voor de arbeidsloonen vande knechten inde Druckerye gewerckt hebbende', according to the transcription of the estate inventory in Goovaerts, *Histoire et bibliographie*, 105. See footnote 10.
 - 33 *Gratulationes marianae* (1636) IRL-Dm; Colombini, *Madrigali concertati* (1640) RUS-SP; Gastoldi, *Balletten mit dry stemmen* (1641) B-Gu; *Quadriga musicalis* (1642) NL-R; *Delectus sacrarum* (1652) GB-Och; and *Vermaeckelijcke duytsche liedekens* (1663) B-OU [Stadsarchief]. On editions of *Livre septième de chansons* (1636, 1641/43 [?] and 1661) missing from RISM, as well as the many problems with establishing a correct printing year for these editions, see Rasch, 'Basic Concepts', 40, and the editions included in *Fontes hymnodiae Neerlandicae impressi*. For editions of *Cantiones natalitiae* (c. 1645, 1654, 1658, c. 1660) missing from RISM, see Rasch, 'De cantiones natalitiae'. Moreover, a number of single copies of editions printed by the Heirs of Phalèse are not recorded in RISM. No surviving editions containing only one or two compositions can be assumed to have been printed by the Phalèse printing firm between 1629 and 1675. This could suggest that occasional music was not part of their production, but since printed occasional music were not always provided with an imprint, this question can only be clarified by further studies.
 - 34 Several other catalogues and inventories list music that is now lost; and new editions are sometimes discovered. For a substantial list of inventories in the Low Countries, see Appendix in Beghein, 'The Famous and New Italian Taste', 451. For this examination, I have restricted the selection of inventories and catalogues to those included in Table 8.2, since they mostly cover the information found in other inventories or catalogues.
 - 35 The inventory of *Collegium Musicum* at Groningen provides an exception. It contains unique entries of a few now lost editions most likely printed by Heirs of Phalèse, but which are not included in other inventories or catalogues. The composer 'Joh. Ceresini' seems to be unique for the Groningen inventory, most certainly referring to the composer Giovanni Ceresini (1684–after 1659). The inventory records four publications by this composer. All were printed at Antwerp in the 1640s, most likely by the Heirs of Phalèse, to judge from the type of repertoire. The first, 'Joh. Ceresini, Covolla flagrone, a 2, 3 vel 4 voc. Antwerpiae 1640, 5 volum.', is possibly a reprint of Ceresini's Op. 5, *Motetti concertati a due, tre, et quattro voci, con le letanie della B. Vergine* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1638). The Heirs of Phalèse often replaced conventional Italian titles such as *Motetti concertati* with two-word titles of this type. The three subsequent volumes by Ceresini were 'Hennii madrigali a 5 voc. [Antwerpiae] 1643, 6 volum.', 'Missae 8 vocum', '[Antwerpiae] 1645, 9 volum.' and 'Motetti a 3, 4 vel 5 voc. [Antwerpiae] 1646, 6 volum.' In none of these cases has an original Italian edition survived. Since Ceresini lived until at least 1659, it is reasonable to assume that he continued to publish music after his last surviving collection (Op. 5), printed in 1638. 'Register der musyckboeken, het Edel Achtbaere Collegium Musicum toebehoorende', transcribed and published in Spellers, 'Collegium musicum te Groningen'.
 - 36 It is possible that some entries are incorrect and refer to editions that never existed. I have included all entries in Appendix, even doubtful ones, in the expectation that new findings will prove or disprove the existence of these missing publications. The number of editions included in Appendix contrasts to previous estimations of the total production. For example, Susan Bain and Henri Vanhulst estimate the total output of the Heirs of Phalèse at around 180 volumes. Bain and Vanhulst, 'Phalèse Family', accessed 27 February 2019. The following discussions of repertoire and context rely on this reconstructed total output.
 - 37 These estimations were issued from the entries in the catalogue of Johannes van Doorn, *Catalogus Librorum Musicorum, qui venales reperiuntur in Officina Ioannis à Doorn Bibliopole Trajectensis* (Utrecht: Joannis a Doorn, 1639). Rasch, 'How Much Is Lost', 465.
 - 38 Rasch refers to personal communication with Guillo. Rasch, 'How Much Is Lost', 483.

- 39 Jackson, 'Gerlach'.
- 40 On the repertoire, see Vanhulst, 'De Antwerpse muziekuitgaven', 60–62.
- 41 On Pierre Phalèse as editor, see Hammond, 'Pierre Phalèse as Music Editor'. Concerning the anthologies with Italian music reprinted by the Phalèse sisters, see further down below.
- 42 On a more general discussion on the role of the editor of music anthologies, see Hammond, *Editing Music*, 13–44, 181–187.
- 43 VERMAECKELYCKE DUYTSCHIE LIEDEKENS MET III. IV. V. STEMMEN, *Van verscheyden Vermaerde Meesters van desen tijdt*, BY EEN VERGADERT DOOR JOANNES BAPTISTA HALBOS, OP-GHEDRAGHEN AEN MYN HEERE, MYN HEERE ADRIANUS VAN ALPHEN, *Canonick inde Collegiale Kercke van S. Peeter tot Turnhout* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1663), not in RISM, Stadsarchief van Oudenaarde. On Halbos see Spiessens, 'Jan-Baptist Halbos'.
- 44 Rasch, 'The Livre septième'; Rasch, 'The Editors of the Livre Septième'; Vanhulst, 'Un succès de l'édition musicale'; Rasch, 'De cantiones natalitiae'.
- 45 Rasch, 'The Editors of the Livre Septième', 299.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 299–300.
- 47 *Laudes vespertinae [...] Natalitiae [...] Pevernagio* (RISM B/I 1629², RISM B/I 1648²). Rasch, 'De cantiones natalitiae', 73–76.
- 48 *Missae quinque, sex, octo, decem et duodecim vocum, cum basso continuo ad organum* (Antwerp: Apud haeredes Petri Phalesii typographi Musices, 1633), not in RISM.
- 49 *Cantiones sacrae praecipuis anni festis accomodatae, octo vocum, cum Missa Maiali. a II, tam vocibus quam instrumentis, cum basso continuo ad organum, auctore Guilielmo Messaus, phonasco ecclesiae parochialis S. Walburgis Antverpiae* (Antwerp: Apud haeredes Petri Phalesii, typographi musices, 1635). See Table 8.1 in the Appendix for the details of this lost publication.
- 50 *Luscinia sacra* (1633, RISM A/I AA553b), with the addition of *Sancta Maria* by Monteverdi and one composition by Messaus, and *Pratum musicum* (1634, RISM B/I 1634²), with the addition of pieces by Guilielmus Messaus, Henricus Liberti and Jacobus Mollet.
- 51 *Gratulationes Marianae per XXVI Salve Regina, et V. Ave Maria diversorum authorum*, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XII *vocibus decantandae, cum Basso continuo, partim selectae, partim nunc primum compositae*, including music by Georg Piscatoris, Guilielmus Messaus, Giulio Cesare Bianchi, Ant[onius] Hobzner, Henricus Pfenderi, Henricus Liberti, Jacques le Fevre, Christoph Satz, Joan Gemshof, Wibrand Andriessens, Claudius de Henin. See Charteris, 'Music Manuscripts', 315.
- 52 Vermeeren's *Missae et Motetta*, libro I, first edition (Antwerp: Phalèse 1660), RISM A/I V 1247; second edition (Antwerp: Phalèse 1668), RISM A/I V 1248; libro II (Antwerp: Phalèse 1661) (lost); libro III (Antwerp: Phalèse 1665), RISM A/I V 1249.
- 53 Heirs of Phalèse's *Florida verba. A celeberrimis musices auctoribus [...]* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1661), RISM B/I 1661¹, is a reprint of R. *Floridus Canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano Florida Verba a celeberrimis muices auctoribus* (Rome: G. B. Robletti, 1648), RISM B/I 1648¹, and includes four additional pieces by Vermeeren.
- 54 *Quadruga musicalis sive Missae quator diversorum eorumque recentiorum auctorum, quinque, octo, decem et duodecim, tam vocibus quam instrumentis, ad organum decantandae: partim nunquam editae, partim ex impressis selectae, omnium usui et commodo commodae* (Antwerp: Typis haeredum Petri Phalesij, 1642), not in RISM, and *Cantiones natalitiae* (Antwerp: Phalèse 1651, 1654 and 1658).
- 55 On Hayne, see Bianco, Corswarem and Vendrix, 'Gilles Hayne'.
- 56 Finatti's *Missae motetta litaniae B Virginis cum quator eius solennibus antiphonis duabus tribus quator & quinque vocibus cum instrumentis & suis replementis ad libitum ... auctore Ioanne Petro Finatti serenissimo Guiliemo Vvolffango Duci Neuburgico &c. inscriptum*, lib. I, Op. 2, includes a dedication to Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg, and is signed by the composer at Brussels. A copy of this publication in Piacenza (I-PCd) is the only known copy in Italy of Italian music printed by Heirs of Phalèse, an interesting example of a reversed direction of transfer. Finatti may have brought the copy to Italy himself, but since almost nothing is known of his activities and life, it is difficult to trace a plausible way of transfer. *Corona melodica* (RISM A/I M 666), with music by Biagio Marini, includes a dedication to Anna Catharina Constantia (1619–1651), wife of Wolfgang Wilhelm's son, Philip William of Neuburg (1615–1690). It was printed in 1644, when Marini was Kapellmeister at the court in Neuburg.
- 57 Jackson, 'Gerlach'.
- 58 Waterschoot, 'Antwerp', 234.
- 59 Rombouts and van Lierus, *De liggeren*.

- 60 According to the estate inventory from 1655. See footnote 10.
- 61 The close relationship between Phalèse and Geertsom is also testified by common repertoire. See Dixon, 'Jan van Geertsom'.
- 62 Vanhulst, 'Balthasar Bellère', Table III, 188–190 and [Annexe].
- 63 Roger also sold books issued by the successor of Heirs of Phalèse, Hendrik Aertssen. Rasch, 'The Music Shop of Estienne Roger', 304; Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales*, 38, 63. According to Roger's advertisement, as printed, for example, in the end of François Raguenet's publication, *Les monuments de Rome ou descriptions des plus beaux ouvrages de peinture, de sculpture, et d'architecture, qui se voyent à Rome [...]* (Amsterdam: Roger, 1701), 'On trouve outre ces sortes chez Estienne Roger tous les Livres de Musique que s'impriment en Italie, en France, en Allemagne & en Angleterre'. See Antolini, 'Publishers and Buyers', 210.
- 64 After comparing Roger's production to titles sold but not printed by Roger listed in Appendix in Rasch, 'The Music Shop of Estienne Roger', 304–311.
- 65 According to the estate inventory from 1655. See footnote 10.
- 66 Converting aid at International Institute of Social History, <http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate2.php>, accessed 26 February 2019.
- 67 GB-Lbl Add. 31437 with the title 'A Collection of Songs when I was in the Low Countreys 1648'. Holman, 'Locke'. In *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed 26 February 2019. Lynn Hulse discusses Locke's visit to the Netherlands and suggests that Locke met William Cavendish in Antwerp. Hulse, 'Matthew Locke', 212.
- 68 Locke copied music from Giovanni Rovetta, Op. 5 and 10, Galeazzo Sabbatini, Op. 3 and 7. All these were reprinted by the Heirs of Phalèse. An addition, Locke copied music from Galeazzo Sabbatini, Op. 9 and motets by Costanzo da Cosena, however none of these are known to have been reprinted by the Phalèse firm.
- 69 It is worth noting that the Italian impact was operating on other levels as well. Several of the local composers, such as Cornelius Burgh and Johannes Dromal, composed music in a significantly Italianate style.
- 70 On editions with German translations, see Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*.
- 71 In the period 1580–1610, the Phalèse firm printed about seventy titles with music by Italian composers. 'Phalèse the younger [...] was clearly the first to recognize that there was a market for whole books devoted entirely to Italian music'. Hoekstra, 'The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal'.
- 72 'It does not seem appropriate to speak of piracy when music was published or republished after (and especially long after) the composer's death or on markets that were out of reach for the composer or the publishers with whom he had associated. The latter situation holds, for example, for Western-European reprints of Italian music, from the sixteenth-century madrigal to the eighteenth-century sonata or concerto. Basically, the Italian publishers had no efficient means to sell their products systematically in England, Netherlands, or Northern Germany, leaving much room for reprinting by local publishers'. Rasch, 'Publishers and Publishers', 204. By contrast, on the use of privileges as a means of protection within a given jurisdiction – in this case within the Holy Roman Empire – see the chapter by McDonald and Rose in the present volume.
- 73 Three editions of Gastoldi's two books of *Balletti* printed by the Heirs of Phalèse provide exceptions, as they were provided with new texts in Dutch: *Balletten mit dry stemmen* (1641 and 1646) and *Balletten met vyf, ses en acht stemmen* (1649). On these publications, see Rasch, 'The Balletti'.
- 74 A few examples of music by the earliest generation of Italian composers in the new concertato style had been introduced by Pierre Phalèse II already in the 1620s, by composers such as Lucio Barbieri, Giulio Belli, Andrea Biachi, Giacomo Finetti, Crisostomo Rondino, Lodovico Viadana and Giovanni Battista Cocciola. Some of this music was first mediated north of the Alps by German publishers, before it was issued by Pierre Phalèse II. For example, the contents of the anthology *Corona Sacra* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse II, 1626), RISM B/I 1626⁴, seems to have been compiled from another anthology printed in the same year in Ingolstadt: *Deliciae Sacrae* (RISM B/I 1626²). Notably, Madeleine and Marie did not reprint any of these publications. One contributory factor could have been that none of these collections had any instrument accompaniment apart from the basso continuo.
- 75 The two-part compositions from Casati's *Il terzo libro de sacri concerti*, Op. 3 (Venice: B. Magni, 1640) were reprinted no less than three times in Antwerp.

- 76 Although prices are included in the sales catalogues from the Vincenti firm in Venice, I have not been able to find any extant detailed information of the prices of specific Antwerp editions, or of imported Italian volumes sold in the Low Countries.
- 77 *Libri primi cantionum* (1650, RISM A/I P 5197), *Cantiones II. III. IV. V.* (1650, RISM A/I P 5199) and *Motetta II. III. IV. et V.* (1654, RISM A/I P 5201). De Brossard, *La Collection*, 115.
- 78 *Missae motetta*, Op. 2 (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1652), RISM A/I F 802. De Brossard, *La Collection*, 115.
- 79 *Motetti e hymni a voce sola* (1658, RISM A/I C 1599) and *Tributo di sacri concerti* (1663, RISM A/I C 1615). De Brossard, *La Collection*, 201.
- 80 *Motetti a due e tre voci*, Op. 5 (1660, RISM A/I P 1644), De Brossard, *La Collection*, 202.
- 81 The question is in some cases complicated by now lost editions without a known printing year. For example, Francesco Petrobelli's *Motetti a due e tre voci e laetanie*, lib. II, Op. 5 (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1660) is probably a reprint of a Venetian publication, although no Italian original is known. Johann Gottfried Walther writes in his *Lexikon* (1732) that Petrobelli had a collection of motets published at Venice in 1657. Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, 473. See also Roche, "'Aus den berühmtesten italiänischen Autoribus'", 22.
- 82 In a handful of cases, the Antwerp editions were printed within two years after their Italian originals were issued: Rovetta *Motetta* (Venice: Vincenti, 1639, repr. by Phalèse in 1640), Rovetta *Motetti concertati* (Venice: Vincenti, 1647, repr. by Phalèse in 1648), Cazzati *Motetti e himni* (Venice: Vincenti, 1655, repr. by Phalèse in 1656), Cazzati *SVONATE a due violini* (Venice: Magni, 1656, repr. by Phalèse in 1657). At least twenty-two of the Italian titles selected by the Phalèse sisters to be reprinted in Antwerp were the subject of later editions also by their Italian printing houses, demonstrating the popularity of this music in Italy. Casati's *Il terzo libro de sacri concerti* is seemingly the most frequently reprinted in Italy, with new editions in 1642, 1644, 1650, 1654 (the last with only pieces for two and three parts), all printed in Venice.
- 83 'Item den negensten Meye XVI^e dreyenvyftich betaelt aenden Cassier van Mijnheer van Eyck, coopman in der Vleminckstraete soo over het ontbieden ende levering van Italiaensche musieck boecken als voor de vracht van Italien gesonden voor desen sterffhuys tsaemen de somme van 53 guldens'. See footnote 10.
- 84 The many music manuscripts preserved in England that include this piece have all most likely been copied from the Phalèse edition.
- 85 Noske, *Music Bridging*, 7, 23–25.
- 86 Such as the music library of St Mary in Lübeck (now in A-Wgm), the music library of the Swedish Hofkapellmeisters Düben (now in S-Uu), the Royal Library in Copenhagen (DK-Kk).
- 87 The Düben collection in S-Uu.
- 88 The Grimma collection in D-Dl.
- 89 Most of the copies are held by the libraries GB-Och, GB-DRc, and GB-Lbl.
- 90 Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 205.

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