

HUUB VAN DER LINDEN

The European dissemination of G.B. Bassani's *Metri sacri resi armonici*

Editions, manuscripts and owners of a 17th-century motet collection

AT SOME POINT, probably in the 1720s, an unidentified English printer produced a song-sheet edition of a single motet for soprano solo, two violins and basso continuo by the composer Giovanni Battista Bassani (c. 1650–1716). The publisher promoted the work, *Quid arma, quid bella*, as “Bassani’s most celebrated mottet” (see Figure 1).

This chapter investigates how this particular motet—a Latin-language sacred cantata consisting of a sequence of arias and recitatives—by a composer who never left Italy came to be celebrated in England, and how its popularity fits into the broader dissemination of the set of twelve motets from which it derives. The separate edition of *Quid arma*¹ and its popularity are just the tip of the iceberg of the dissemination of Bassani’s *Metri sacri resi armonici* and his music in general.² This broader story involves printed editions produced by music publishers in four different countries, full manuscript copies as well as in-

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1 *Quid arma, quid bella: Bassani’s most celebrated mottet*. [s.l., s.n.]. RISM A/I B 1185. On the intricacies of the music publishing business in London in this period, see Hunter 1991.

2 See also van der Linden 2016.

35.

1

Quid Arma Quid Bella Bassanis *most Celebrated Mottet*

Ritornello

Allegro

Quid arma quid Bella quid ar - - - - - quid arma quid ar -

an quid arma quid Bella & Cecos furo - - - - - res per fida Tonas

per fida Tonas & La - - - - - ceras me & Laceras me & per fida Tonas & per fida

Pia.

Ritornello

Tonas & La - - - - - ceras me & Laceras me & Laceras me Ut Su - pra

Solo

Depone Barbara tella o Sclerum Parens satis in Vulnere ferox Fata cru - da. Li - a in com -

Largo

me o de - si - mi - nés. Cui o cruda cruda Tace o fatalis in pia vox Cui o

cruda cruda Tace o fatalis in pia vox o fata - - - - - lis in pia vox o fata -

Figure 1. Giovanni Battista Bassani, *Quid arma, quid bella* (RISM A/I B 1185). The edition, perhaps by John Walsh, is undated and consists of five engraved pages, four with the voice and basso continuo parts and one with the first and second violin parts. British Library, G.311.(28).

dividual pieces extracted from them, and traces of early owners of the music.

Taken together, the material provides an illustrative example of the patterns and pervasiveness of the dissemination of Italian sacred music in Europe during the long 18th century. For although the popularity of Italian music at the time is well known in general terms and much is known about the broader patterns, many details remain to be filled in. Ideally, these details ought to derive from different angles of observation and different methodologies. Without studies of the dissemination of specific repertoires and genres, the fortunes of the music of individual composers, the influx of music into certain towns or geographic areas, as well as the circulation of specific compositions, we remain in the dark about the numerous individual stories that add up to the larger-scale patterns and tendencies.³ One of the ways to gain such a finer-detailed picture is to trace the (early) circulation and ownership of specific editions.⁴ The availability of online resources such as the RISM database and the rapid expansion of the number of digitized books have created new heuristic possibilities. It is possible to quickly search through enormous amounts of printed material and thus find more needles in the ever-growing haystack than ever before.

Bassani never worked outside Italy, but a great deal of his music—sacred and secular vocal music as well as instrumental works—appeared in print during his lifetime.⁵ The motet *Quid arma, quid bella* was the second piece in Bassani's *Metri sacri resi armonici*, opus 8, a set of four solo motets each for soprano, alto and bass, accompanied by basso continuo and a pair of violins.⁶ The set first appeared in print in 1690, published in Bologna by the firm of Monti.⁷ Within a year, the *Metri sacri* was reprinted in Antwerp by Hendrik III Aertssens with the mangled,

3 Previous work on the circulation of early modern Italian music includes Strohm 2001; Rasch 2008; zur Nieden & Over 2016. For cases of individual composers and genres, see, for example, Riedo 2013; Giuggioli & Groote 2018.

4 For non-music books, see Gingerich 2002 and West 2003; for music e.g., Greer 2015. See also Rudolf Rasch's chapter in this volume.

5 On Bassani's life and work, see Haselbach 1955.

6 The individual motets are listed in *Appendix 1*.

7 On the firm, see Cipollone 2010.

and grammatically nonsensical, title *Resi armonici*. This was one of a number of Italian editions that was quickly reprinted by Aertssens during these years.⁸ In 1696, Monti's successor Marino Silvani produced a second Italian edition of the *Metri sacri*, and yet another edition was printed by the Amsterdam music printer Estienne Roger in 1698, again with the title *Resi armonici* and therefore almost certainly based on Aertssens's edition.⁹ Finally, in 1708 the London printer William Pearson produced an edition under the new title *Harmonia festiva*, mirroring the title of Bassani's opus 13, *Armonie festive*, which Pearson also reprinted. *Harmonia festiva* was sold by John Cullen and John Young.¹⁰

Besides these different printed editions, there is also ample evidence of manuscript circulation of music from the *Metri sacri*, all of which appears to derive from the printed books. These manuscripts are of interest, among other reasons, because they point to a deliberate engagement with the music. Whether a printed copy was unavailable or copying was just cheaper, and whether the whole set or only specific motets were selected, these copying efforts imply, if not necessarily a performance, at least explicit choices and conscious selection. Manuscript copies offer more flexibility to adapt, revise and adjust the music to local needs or tastes. In fact, a number of *contrafacta* of music from the *Metri sacri*—versions with new texts to Bassani's music—testify to this practice.

The *Metri sacri* in the Dutch Republic, Flanders and France

The mangled title of Aertssens's and Roger's reprints of the *Metri sacri resi armonici* ('Sacred verses rendered harmonious') as *Resi armonici* ('Rendered harmonious') provides a useful diagnostic element, beyond the fact that it points to some error on the part of Aertssens and to the

⁸ See Spiessens 2004.

⁹ On Roger, see Rudolf Rasch's website *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène* at <https://roger.sites.uu.nl>.

¹⁰ Both a score and parts were published. On Pearson, see, for example, Krummel 1975, pp. 137–142.

reliance of Roger on Aertssens's edition.¹¹ The distinctively erroneous title also allows us to distinguish between Aertssens's and Roger's editions, on one hand, and the two Italian editions, on the other, when music books are mentioned in early inventories. The difference between the titles, along with the difference in format between Roger's folios and Monti's, Silvani's and Aertssens's quartos, enables us to narrow down specific editions referred to in archival documents, even when, as is often the case, they are described in little detail and the books themselves no longer exist.

This helps us trace the actual dissemination during the early modern period not only of the music as such, but also of these different editions. For although there is an overall correlation between the place of printing and the later dissemination of the books, there are also many exceptions. For example, it seems not unreasonable to expect buyers to have bought editions produced in their immediate vicinity. Indeed, we find that a copy of Aertssens's edition was bought the same year it was published, probably by Jacques Lelong, chapel master (*phonascus*) at the collegiate church of St Martin in Liège.¹² A second note shows that a year later his name had already been crossed out and the books were part of the library of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Tongeren (see *Figure 2*).¹³

It is likewise unsurprising that the *collegium musicum* in Hasselt owned Aertssens's and Roger's editions of the Italian music they collected. Given that they are listed among the folio-sized books, a number of the works by Bassani and other Italian composers cited in a 1721

11 What led to Aertssens's error is not clear. It seems unlikely, but possible, that he worked from a set of 1690 partbooks in which the top part of every partbook happened to be torn off. A compositor's glaring mistake seems equally unlikely.

12 B-Lc, 24/3Go8 has a note on the title pages of the basso continuo and voice partbooks with the date of acquisition "Empt[us] G R [?] hac 22a May 1691" in the top right corner, and lower on the page "Ex libris Jacobi Lelong phonasci S[anc]ti Martinis in Monte Leod[iensis]". Lelong had been appointed at St Martin's in December 1685, see Quitin 1967, p. 31. For music at the church, see Quitin 1990.

13 "Fabricae Tongrensis 1692". On music in the church in this period, see Schreurs 1989.

inventory of the *collegium* are likely Roger's editions. However, among the books in quarto we find: "Da Gio[vanni] Batt[ista] Bassani metri sacri resi armonici opera 8va a voce sola lib. 4". Given the title and format, this was clearly a complete copy of the 1690 or 1696 Italian editions.¹⁴ The inventory further notes that, like much of its other music, these partbooks had been a gift from a member of the society.¹⁵

In fact, the notion of a correlation between the place where editions were printed and the location of their early owners does not appear to hold in the case of Aertssens (in Antwerp) and Roger (in Amsterdam). In the city of Groningen, in the far north of the Dutch Republic, the *collegium musicum* had a music collection similar to the one in Hasselt. An 18th-century inventory of its library shows that it, too, owned music by Bassani, including a complete set of partbooks of the *Metri sacri*, but in this case it was a copy of Aertssens's edition.¹⁶ Conversely, Roger's edition of the *Metri sacri* appears to turn up in a church in Flanders. An inventory of the music books of St Michael's church in Ghent from around 1730 includes among the folio-size books 'Bassani opus octavum', which, given the folio format, was presumably Roger's edition, or possibly a manuscript.¹⁷

Besides these two Northern European editions, there is also some evidence that the Italian editions were for sale in the Dutch Republic. When the property of the music bookseller Nicolas Selhof was sold in The Hague in 1759, almost all of Bassani's printed music could be found in the catalogue, including the *Metri sacri resi armonici*. Given the correct title and the fact that the catalogue includes Italian editions of Bassani's music that were never reprinted in Northern Europe, this was

14 Hasselt, Stadsmus, 1992.0095.00: *Inventaris van de musieck-boecken toebehoorende het Collegie van S. Cecilia binnen Hasselt, gemaect door mij M. Janssens in decembri A[nn]o 1721 als meester des voorsch[even] Collegie*, folio 22.4v. Also listed in Schreurs 2018, pp. 147, 156, no. 102.

15 "Dono experti D[omini] Jo[ann]is Petri ab Hillen huius colleg[i] confr[at]ris".

16 Spellers 1874–1881 provides a full transcription of the list. See p. 26, no. 29 for 'G. B. Bassani, Motetti a voce sola con violini, opera ottava. Antverpia, 4 volum.'.

17 van der Linden 1964, p. 214.

Parte che Canta.

*empt. 6^{te} hae
26^{te} ellag. 1691*

RESI ARMONICI
IN
MOTETTI

A Voce sola con Violini.

DA GIO. BATTISTA BASSANI

Maestro di Capella della Cathedral, e dell' Illustri-
ssima Accademia della Morte di Ferrara,
& Accademico Filarmonico.

OPERA OTTAVA.

*Ex Libris Jacobi
Thonassii
de Montem
Lad*



Fabrice Tongeren
1692

IN ANVERS,

Per HENRICO AERTSENS, Stampatore di Musica, all'
Insegna del Monte Parnasso. 1691.

Con Privilegio.

Figure 2. *Resi armonici*, printed in Antwerp in 1691 (RISM A/I B 1181), Aertssens's reprint of Bassani's *Metri sacri resi armonici*, opus 8, first printed by Monti in Bologna 1690. The copy was once part of the library of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Tongeren. Liège, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, bibliothèque, 24/3Go8.

probably one of the two Italian editions.¹⁸ Beyond such relatively clear examples, numerous uncertain cases exist, such as an anonymous solo motet for an unspecified voice type entitled *Pompae vanae* included in a 1755 list of music belonging to the church of St Jacob in Antwerp.¹⁹ This may have been Bassani's motet for bass from the *Metri sacri*, but there is no way to be certain.

Early testimony of the *Metri sacri* in France comes from the library of the music publisher and seller Jean-Baptiste Christophe Ballard (c. 1674–1750). A copy of the 1696 edition of the *Metri sacri* printed by Silvani was in his library from at least 1730 and probably already before 1712.²⁰ Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) is documented as having consulted the Ballard copy, and it was in all likelihood the source of the bass motet *Pompae vanae* that was included in the second volume of Ballard's *Recueil de motets de différents auteurs italiens et françois* from 1712.²¹ Further evidence of the popularity of the *Metri sacri* in France appears from no fewer than three major manuscript sources. A three-volume set of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris contains all twelve motets from the *Metri sacri*, with a separate volume of four motets for each of the three voice types (i.e., soprano, alto and bass). The title pages of the three volumes make it clear that they were “copied by monsieur Philidor senior” in 1705,²² that is André Danican Philidor (1652–1730), Louis XIV's music librarian and copyist. The original destination of these volumes is not certain. Although the contents are very similar to manuscripts that Philidor produced during these years for Louis XIV's son Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, Count of Toulouse, there is no direct evidence that these volumes were made for

18 Selhof 1973, p. 194, no. 1906.

19 Spiessens 1998/1999, p. 32.

20 Guillo 2004, p. 336 for the item in the 1750 post-mortem inventory of the library.

21 Guillo 2005, p. 197, nos 520–528 for Brossard's consultation of this item in the Ballard library. The motet is on pp. 39–59 of the *Recueil*.

22 F-Pn, Rés. F. 1722, see Grand & Massip 1999, p. 177, nos 794–796. The first volume states that it was “recueillie” by Philidor, the other two explicitly state they were “copié par M.^r Philidor L'ainé”. All title pages are explicitly dated “1705”. On Philidor, see Waquet 1980.

him too.²³ They may have been copied for the Royal Chapel at Versailles.²⁴

Given the characteristic full-score format and the division into three separate volumes of four motets for each of the voice types, there may well be a direct connection between the Philidor manuscript from 1705 and a very similar set in Toulouse. The latter is also a set of three—undated but from the first half of the 18th century—in which each manuscript contains the works for a single voice.²⁵ A third set, again composed in the same way although currently lacking the second volume of the four motets for alto, is in Tours and originates from the library of the Basilica of St Martin in that city. It dates from the same period as the previous two.²⁶ This remarkable density of sources suggests that Bassani's *Metri sacri* had particular appeal in France as well.

Although this chapter is structured by geographic regions, these divisions are of course somewhat artificial. The repertoire circulated across Europe, musicians travelled, and the borders themselves were not clear-cut either. A copy of Monti's first edition of the *Metri sacri* from 1690 at the Bibliothèque nationale illustrates this. It belonged to Hartwig Zysich (1630–1712), chapel master of the Protestant Neue Kirche (New Church) in Strasbourg from 1685 until his death, as an autograph note repeated on the title pages of each of the partbooks shows: “Partes 4 in usum Hartwich Zisich”.²⁷ Zysich studied in Berlin in his

23 The volume is not mentioned in Massip 1983, which lists all the known Toulouse–Philidor manuscripts.

24 The manuscript was bought in 1992; see BNF 1992, p. 70, which states that it was copied for the chapel at Versailles but does not give clear evidence. The manuscript is not mentioned in Decobert 2007, who focuses on the part of Philidor's production for Louis XIV that ended up at the Paris conservatory and subsequently at F-Pn.

25 F-TLm, Res. Mus. Cons. 900 (1–3).

26 F-TOm, Ms. 170: *Bassani Mottets à voix seule et violons tome premier* (the four soprano motets) and Ms. 171 (the four bass motets): *Mottets à voix seule et violons tome troisième Bassani*. The pairs of old shelfmarks are consecutive, which means that the middle volume is long gone. Both volumes have the annotation “Ex Bibliotheca insignis ecclesiae S[anc]ti Martini Turonensis”, RISM id 840002004 and 840002009. See also Coutenceau-Gruet 1995, p. 90 nos 424–425.

27 F-Pn VM¹–1062.

youth and reportedly travelled to Italy around 1655. Like other musicians of his generation, he apparently developed a taste for Italian music during his formative years, which he maintained throughout his career.²⁸ Strasbourg was situated in a true borderland, a strategic area between France and its German neighbours, and the city had been annexed by Louis XIV in 1681.

The *Metri sacri* in Germany, Central Europe and Scandinavia

Monti's and Silvani's two editions produced in Bologna were bought by Italian users, too, of course, such as the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, which to this day owns a copy of the 1696 edition.²⁹ At the same time, the Italian editions were also traded across the Alps. The town of Merano, north of Bolzano, lies in that direction, still being on the Italian peninsula but part of the County of Tyrol and under direct Habsburg rule. Between 1696 and 1711 the town's parish church bought "motetti" by Bassani consisting of four partbooks: probably the 1696 edition of the *Metri sacri*.³⁰ Farther into Central Europe, a *collegium musicum* in Zürich bought almost all of Bassani's available music around the turn of the century. In 1710 they ordered music directly from Italy, including the *Metri sacri*.³¹ This is the copy of the 1696 edition now in the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich. Other early traces of the Italian editions include the copy of the 1690 edition that belonged to the Gymnasium in Frankfurt am Main, and the modest music library of the parish church in Wallerstein, some 75 kilometres north-west of Augsburg, where in 1745 the *Metri sacri* was listed as one among a few items of Italian music. Given that the inventory lists the correct full title, this must have been one of the two Italian editions.³²

28 Samuel Hartlib wrote in early 1655 that "Hartwich Zisich [...] is travelling into Italy and other parts to perfect himself in his musical endowments". The University of Sheffield, Hartlib Papers, 29/5/9A.

29 Rostirolla 2002, vol. 2, p. 966, no. 8940.

30 Lunelli 1962; van der Linden 2016, p. 288.

31 Bacciagaluppi 2012; 2017, pp. 103–104, 114–115.

32 See Israël 1872, pp. 10–11 (this copy is now in D-F); Haberkamp 1976, p. xviii.

Other owners in the region were the Benedictine abbeys at Michaelbeuern, near Salzburg, and at Ottobeuren, 100 kilometres east of Munich.³³ At the former, an inventory from 1714 lists several pieces by Bassani among its manuscript music, including the motets *Audite reges* for bass and *Mortalis, o mortalis* for alto from the *Metri sacri*.³⁴ In Ottobeuren, the collection still includes not only a copy of Silvani's 1696 edition of the *Metri sacri*, but also a manuscript with seven of the eight soprano and alto motets from the edition.³⁵ Another example, also from Central Europe, is the convent of the Order of the Sisters of St Elizabeth in Prague, which among a collection of musical manuscripts from the second quarter of the 18th century owned one that includes Bassani's *Ave verax honor castitatis* and *Quid arma, quid bella*.³⁶ Another manuscript, originally at the Piarist monastery at Podolíneč in current-day Slovakia, also includes these first two motets from the *Metri sacri*, along with several others from Bassani's opuses 11 and 13.³⁷ Yet another manuscript in the same collection has Bassani's bass motet *Eia tubae resonare* as an anonymous piece.³⁸ The same work appears, again without Bassani's name, in a manuscript in the music library of Pécs Cathedral in Hungary.³⁹ Similarly, the alto motet *Aligeri amores* from the *Metri sacri* must be the motet of that title by "Passani" that was listed in 1721 in the library of the Estherházy court chapel in Eisenstadt in Austria.⁴⁰

Moving north into Germany, the *Metri sacri* also turn up. A set of parts in the library of the Catholic Counts of Schönborn-Wiesentheid,

33 See also Collarile 2010.

34 Federhofer 1962, p. 111: "Audite Reges. De Quovis Mart[yre] Sigre Bassani" and "Mortalis. Alt[o] Solo, 2 V[iolini] con Org[ano] Sgre Bassani".

35 Haberkamp 1986, p. 271 for the printed edition and p. 37, no. 0056, for the manuscript, for which see also RISM id 450007484.

36 See Michl 2018, pp. 70, 72. The monastery has RISM siglum CZ-Ppmb, but this manuscript is not included in the items listed in the online RISM catalogue. The motets appear in the manuscript "Old Music Collection", no. 16 (= CZ-Ppmb 17) of the monastery's collection, starting on ff. 28 and 31.

37 SK-J, H-1001, see RISM id 570005263 and Kapsa 2012, pp. 207–209.

38 *Eia tubae* ("Authore incerto") is SK-J, H-726, see RISM id 570005125.

39 H-P, X 12, see RISM id 530002941 and Majewska 2017, p. [60].

40 Johann Harich 1972, p. 163: "Alligeri Amores à Passani", also in János Harich 1975, p. 15.

dating from the first half of the 18th century, comprises the four alto motets from the *Metri sacri*.⁴¹ The music can also be found in more Lutheran settings. Another manuscript, at the Herzog August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, contains a range of music by mostly German composers, as well as, towards the end, three of the four soprano motets from the *Metri sacri* (excluding the Marian *Ave verax honor castitatis*).⁴² Count Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg had converted to Catholicism in 1709, in part because his niece had married the future Emperor Charles VI. He stressed, however, that this was only a private matter and that virtually nothing in his mostly Lutheran court, government and lands would change. The exclusion of *Ave verax honor* from the manuscript at Wolfenbüttel seems to fit this “inconspicuous” Catholicism. There may be some connection between this manuscript and the large music collection of the composer Heinrich Bokemeyer (1679–1751), who worked in Wolfenbüttel from 1717 until his death. This latter collection, now in Berlin, includes a number of manuscripts that are exclusively dedicated to a mix of music by Bassani from different printed sources. Among these are two manuscripts that include, in a different order than in the printed edition, all twelve motets from the *Metri sacri*.⁴³

Although a wealth of sources documenting the popularity of the *Metri sacri* has started to emerge, absent or erroneous attributions, as well as rewritings of one kind or another, complicate a clear view of its dissemination. A good example of the latter is the soprano motet *In hoc mundo incostante*, which appears under the new text *Hoc in mari turbulento* in a manuscript set of parts that originates from the parish church of Grodzisk Wielkopolski in Poland. They were copied by the church organist, Paweł Sebastiański, in 1711 and/or 1712. Despite the new text, the music is correctly attributed to Bassani.⁴⁴ Another example is a

41 D-WD, Musiksammlung 421. See Zobeley 1982, p. 11, no. 421.

42 D-W, cod. Guelf. 294 Mus. Hdschr., ff. 104v–117v. See Vogel 1890, pp. 61–62 and RISM id 451509156.

43 D-B Mus. ms. 1162 contains three soprano motets (nos 3, 2 and 1) and three alto motets (nos 6, 5 and 8). Mus. ms. 1163 has nos 4 (soprano), 8 again (i.e., *Aligeri amores*), 7, 9, 10, 12 and 11 (see *Appendix 1* for titles). See Kümmerling 1970, pp. 105–106.

44 PL-Pa, Muz GR III/78, see RISM id 300234008, where the title pages are

manuscript volume of music that was part of the music collection of the aristocratic Oettingen family, now part of the university library in Augsburg. This set mixes music by the little-known local musician Johann Baptist Gerer (1656–1728) with unattributed music by other composers.⁴⁵ Only Gerer's own music is listed with Roman numerals in a contemporary index at the beginning of the volume, but the pieces themselves are mixed throughout the volume with music by other (anonymous) composers.⁴⁶ One of these other works is Bassani's *Quid arma, quid bella* (see Figure 3). Gerer worked in Dillingen, some 40 kilometres north-west of Augsburg, all his life. He may have had access to Bassani's *Metri sacri* in either of those towns, or at the abovementioned library of the parish church at Wallerstein, where we know a copy was present.

Going farther north still, we encounter Scandinavian sources for Bassani's *Metri sacri*. A manuscript set of parts for *Quid arma, quid bella* is part of the Düben Collection in Uppsala, which was assembled by members of the Düben family who served at the Swedish royal court between 1640 and 1726.⁴⁷ The same motet can be found again as a set of

transcribed, including "Pro Ecclesia Parochiali Grodziscensi Anno Domini 1712 die 17 Aprilis Authore signore Bassani" and "Concerto de Deo [...] Authore signore Bassani Anno D.ni 1711. Ex scriptis Pauli Sebastian[ski] O[rganarii] G[rodecensis]". Majewska 2017, p. 49, reports the date as 17 April 1711.

- 45 The manuscript is described in Haberkamp 1976, p. 78. A brief account of Gerer is Layer 1953/1954. The earlier provenance of the Gerer manuscript is unknown. See Haberkamp 1976 for the fact that the collection derives from many different sources.
- 46 Haberkamp 1976, p. 78, gives a grammatically nonsensical transcription of the heading of the index, leaving out the word "index", probably because it is the only word written in red capitals rather than in black lowercase. The actual wording implies that the index only lists Gerer's works in the volume, not that all the music in it is his: "Cantilaru[m] INDEX authore D.J.B. Gerer à voce una con 2 vv." RISM online erroneously attributes all the music in the manuscript to Gerer, including *Quid arma, quid bella*, see RISM id 450026055.
- 47 S-Uu, Vmhs 70:2. The material can be consulted online at The Düben Collection Database Catalogue, eds Lars Berglund *et al.*, <https://catmus.musik.uu.se>. On the Düben family, see Kjellberg 2010, and on the Italian music in the collection, see Berglund 2018.

parts in the collection of Hinrich Christoph Engelhardt (1694–1765), who worked as cathedral organist and musical director of Uppsala University.⁴⁸ In 1728, Anders von Düben appears to have suspended the planned donation of the Düben Collection to Uppsala University in opposition to the nomination of Engelhardt as the university's director of music.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it seems likely that in later years, once the dust had settled, Engelhardt browsed through the Düben Collection himself. Although it is noteworthy that both collections include only the motet *Quid arma, quid bella* from the *Metri sacri*, Engelhardt must have relied (partly) on sources other than the Düben parts, because the latter do not have the complete basso continuo.⁵⁰ The Engelhardt manuscript also subtly hints at how Bassani and his *Metri sacri* had become truly European repertoire. The title is in Italian but Bassani has become a “monsieur”: “Quid arma canto solo duo violini col basso per l'organo del Monsieur Basani”.

Back to Britain

With this overview of the wider European dissemination of the *Metri sacri* in place, we are in a better position to return to its success in Britain. While I have found no evidence of early owners of Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* edition on the Continent, there is clear evidence of the reverse in Britain. One of the surviving copies of Aertssens's 1691 edition—at Christ Church College Oxford—arrived there in 1710 as part of a large bequest of music books to the college by its former dean, Henry Aldrich (1648–1710).⁵¹ A manuscript at the same library that was probably part of the Aldrich bequest includes the four soprano motets as well as *Pompae vanae*, *Aligeri amores* and *Eia tubae*, while another one has the violone (basso continuo) part of *Quid arma, quid*

48 S-L, Engelhardt 203. On Engelhardt, see Edling 2016 and on the collection, see Andersson 1997.

49 On Anders von Düben's opposition to Engelhardt's nomination, see Kjellberg 2010, pp. 15–17.

50 Both copies of the basso continuo in S-Uu, Vmhs 70:2 lack the final Alleluia movement.

51 On Aldrich as a collector, see Shay 1996, pp. 377–384, and the entry in the library's online catalogue.

70.

Ritornello
Facet.

Canto solo.

Quid arma quid bella quid ar - ma quid

bella quid ar - ma quid arma quid bella & caetero

Figure 3. Bassani's *Quid arma, quid bella*. Soprano part preserved in the Gerer manuscript in the music collection of the Oettingen family, now part of the university library in Augsburg. D-HR, III 4 1/2 4° 687, p. 70.

bella.⁵² A second manuscript, with all the motets from the *Metri sacri* put into score, was bought by the Bodleian Library in 1939 and has been tentatively identified as in Aldrich's hand.⁵³ All of these sources not only point to an interest in the music in the *Metri sacri* but also hint at their actual performance.

Yet another manuscript score at the Bodleian Library of all twelve motets from the *Metri sacri* belonged to John Awbery (1720–1775), a fellow of New College Oxford who copied scores for his own library but also appears to have been involved in Oxford's concert life.⁵⁴ Further sources in Oxford confirm the popularity of Bassani and the *Metri sacri* there. A manuscript at Christ Church College copied by Richard Goodson Sr (1655–1718), organist of Christ Church Cathedral, includes the three soprano motets *Quid arma, quid bella, In hoc mundo* and *In caligine umbrosa*.⁵⁵ Similarly, a manuscript now at Westminster Abbey, with the voice parts of the complete *Metri sacri*, was originally part of the library of the Academy of Ancient Music.⁵⁶

Some manuscripts can be traced throughout the centuries. A prime example is the manuscript 'Resi armonici' with the indication "Anvers 1691" listed among the quarto-size items in the catalogue of books offered for sale by the publisher and bookseller Thomas Osborne in 1751 and in 1754 at a price of five shillings.⁵⁷ The catalogues include books

52 GB-Och, Mus. 763. The violone part is Mus. 690.

53 GB-Ob, MS. Mus. d. 207: "Bassani's songs scord [sic]". The catalogue entry in the library's online catalogue gives the date of acquisition and the statement that the copyist is "early 18th cent., possibly Henry Aldrich". See also RISM id 800226849.

54 GB-Ob, MS. Mus b. 2^a, with a manuscript owner's note "John Awbery fellow of New Coll. Oxford", see the entry in the library's online catalogue and RISM id 800273000. Identification of the copyist as Awbery himself appears in Ward Jones & Burrows 2002, p. 70. On Awbery, see Burrows & Ward Jones 2004, pp. 122–124.

55 GB-Och, Mus. 23, see the entry in the library's online catalogue.

56 GB-Lwa, CG 46. See Johnstone 2014, pp. 351–352.

57 Osborne 1751, p. 90, no. 2892: "Resi Armonici in Motetti a Voce Sola con Violini da Gio. Batt. Basana [sic], Mss. 58". Again in Osborne 1754, p. 120, no. 22510: "Resi Armonici in Motetti a Voce sola con Violini da Gio. Battista Bassani, 2 vol. *cuceto*, 58 – Anvers 1691". Note the absence of "Mss" and the addition of "Anvers 1691" in the second instance.



Figure 4. Title page of the manuscript 'Resi armonici' from Charles Burney's library. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, ND VI 23.

from the libraries of various owners, but the origins of individual books are unfortunately not indicated. Given the title and date, the manuscript was almost certainly copied from Aertssens's edition or from an intermediary manuscript. This manuscript was the same one that was later part of Charles Burney's (1726–1814) library (see *Figure 4*).

The auction catalogue of Burney's collection includes a manuscript in score of "motetti a voce sola con violini & 6 sonatas" by Bassani, dated "1691".⁵⁸ An annotated copy of the catalogue states that it was sold for five shillings to James Bartleman (1769–1821), a well-known bass singer and collector.⁵⁹ Bartleman's collection was in turn auctioned in 1822.⁶⁰ Then or later, the manuscript was bought by the collector Charles Hatchett, and it eventually ended up in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky in Hamburg.⁶¹ The title page gives the date of Aertssens's edition (1691), while the manuscript itself was copied in 1694.⁶² Although the title page shows that it derived from Aertssens's edition, the texts of the motets are actually *contrafacta*. Some include new designations: *Audite reges*, which Bassani simply gives as "for a martyr saint", now appears as a motet for "Saint Thomas [Becket] of Canterbury or another martyr saint".⁶³ The other motets also appear with new texts. The first words "Quid arma, quid bella", for example, become "Quid minas, quid arma" (see *Figure 5*).

Another British manuscript source that derives from Aertssens's or Roger's edition is the one entitled "Resi armonici in motetti sacri a voce sola con violini da Gio. Battista Basani, opera ottava", now in the Royal Library in Brussels. This manuscript appears in the sale of the collec-

58 Burney 1973, p. 10, no. 241: "Bassani (G. B.) Motetti a voce Sola, con Violini, & 6 sonatas, in score, MS. 1691".

59 Burney 1973 is a facsimile of this annotated copy (from the British Library). On Bartleman, see Highfill *et al.* 1973, pp. 367–369.

60 Bartleman 1822, p. 28 no. 997: "Bassani – Motetti, 1691 and Sonate in score Ms." is how the volume is then listed.

61 Along with numerous other manuscripts of English provenance and/or content in Hamburg (see Charteris 1997), it was listed in Charteris 1998, p. 92, who notes the Hatchett provenance. The manuscript is RISM id 451512415.

62 The date appears at the end of the manuscript as "1694. Mar. 4".

63 "Per S. Thoma di Canterbury, ò per qual si voglio [*sic*] altro santo martire", see RISM id 451512426.



Figure 5. Beginning of Bassani's *Quid arma, quid bella* as a contrafactum, beginning with the words "Quid minas, quid arma". Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, ND VI 23.

tion of the controversial librarian and collector Guglielmo Libri (1803–1869).⁶⁴ The Belgian music librarian and collector François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) bought the manuscript, along with other music books, at that sale in 1858.⁶⁵ When the Belgian Royal Library bought Fétis' collection in 1872, it included this manuscript.⁶⁶ It is in an 18th-century full-leather binding and has the engraved armorial bookplate of "S.^r John Percivale Baronet of Burton in the County of Cork in Ireland. 1702".⁶⁷ Although the bookplate was made in 1702, the book may of course have been acquired before or after that date, albeit probably not after 1715, when a new engraved bookplate was made on the occasion of Perceval's title being raised to a Barony.⁶⁸ Perceval (1683–1748), who still later became the first Earl of Egmont, was educated at Magdalen College Oxford until 1701, after which he toured England and, between 1705 and 1707, Europe.⁶⁹ He was a great music enthusiast and was (later) deeply involved with the Royal Academy of Music and the Academy of Ancient Music.⁷⁰

Thus, editions from the Continent and manuscripts based on them played a clear part in the dissemination of the *Metri sacri* in Britain. In fact, it seems likely that Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* edition was based on one such manuscript rather than on a printed edition, because it contains errors that do not appear in any of the printed editions. An example is the imperfect text in the first recitative of *Quid arma, quid bella*.⁷¹ In turn, the separate song-sheet edition of *Quid arma, quid bella*

64 Libri 1858, p. 146, no. 1947: "Resi armonici in motetti sacri di Gio. Batt. Bassani. Manuscrit des xvii^e et xviii^e siècles, in-fol, bas."

65 Becquart 1972/1973, p. 148, n. 4.

66 Fétis 1877, p. 236, no. 1839: "Resi armonici in motetti sacri a voce sola con violini da Gio. Battista Bassani. Opera ottava. MS 1 vol. in-fol." The manuscript is now preserved under shelfmark Ms II 3875 Mus Fétis 1839, RISM id 700005790.

67 The bookplate is cited in Franks 1903, p. 351, either no. 23291 or *160.

68 Franks 1903, p. 350, no. 23283.

69 Collins 1768, pp. 597–598.

70 Gibson 1987, p. 143; Johnstone 2020, *passim*.

71 *Harmonia festiva* score, p. 9: "Depone barbara tella, ò selerum parens, satis in vulnero ferox, fata crudelia, in corde meo desimines", instead of: "Depone barbara tela ò scelerum parens satis in vulnera ferox fata crudelia in corde meo disseminas", here taken from *Metri sacri* 1690, Parte che canta, p. 10.

was certainly based on Pearson's, because it contains the exact same misspellings in that recitative. Pearson's edition was printed in all likelihood in 1708, since it was advertised on 20 November of that year in *The Daily Courant* newspaper.⁷²

This edition both took advantage of the existing popularity of Bassani and his *Metri sacri* in Britain, and gave them a further boost. Hawkins commented in 1776 on Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* editions of Bassani's opuses 8 and 13 that

many of the masters here gave them to their scholars as lessons; and there are ladies now living, who had Mr. [John] Robinson [d. 1762], the late organist of Westminster abbey, for their master, who yet sing to the harpsichord those two favourite airs of Bassani, *Quid Arma, quid Bella*, and *Alligeri Amores*.⁷³

Pearson's edition explicitly singles out these two motets on the title page: *Harmonia festiva* "wherein are the celebrated mottetts of *Quid Arma, quid Bella*, and *Alegeri Amores*". Other sources also point to the success of these motets in particular. For instance, a manuscript miscellany with mostly English music, compiled and owned by John Walter, the organist at Eton College between 1681 and 1705 (subsequently in the library of Chichester Cathedral), also includes Bassani's *Aligeri amores*.⁷⁴ Another manuscript miscellany, comprising Italian music and two pieces by Purcell, includes Bassani's *Ave verax honor* and *Quid arma, quid bella*. It once belonged to Walter Michael Moseley (1765–1827), a music-loving gentleman from whose library other important musical manuscripts have also survived.⁷⁵

⁷² Tilmouth 1961, p. 72.

⁷³ Hawkins 1776, vol. 4, p. 287.

⁷⁴ It is now at GB-CHwsro, MS Cap. VI/1/1. On the manuscript, see Shay & Thompson 2000, pp. 121–123, and <https://celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/west-sussex-record-office.html>.

⁷⁵ US-SFsc, *M2.5 v. 50, as part of the collection of the Italian-American philanthropist Frank V. de Bellis. I have relied on the description at RISM id 117480. The described bookplate and name identify Moseley: see Burke 1871, vol. 2, pp. 953–954; for an obituary, see *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 97 (= n.s. 20), October 1827, pp. 367–370, which

Possibly the earliest documented owner of Pearson's edition appears from a copy now at the University of Michigan. It belonged to one Andrew Shaw, who signed it with his name and the fact that he was a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Given that he graduated in 1708, the year the book was published, he may well have acquired it that very year.⁷⁶ Another early owner was Thomas Britton (1644–1714), a small-coal dealer who in 1678 started organizing public concerts in his London home that became very popular. When his substantial music library was sold the year of his death, it included 'Bassani's motetts, opera 8 with symphonies,' almost certainly Pearson's edition, although Britton also owned non-British editions of Bassani's music.⁷⁷ The two were in close contact. Pearson is known to have borrowed "22 old song-books" from Britton in 1706 as source material for new editions of his own.⁷⁸

Another copy, at the Royal College of Music, belonged to the lawyer and book collector Thomas Bever (1725–1791), who wrote a note on it stating that it had been "purchased from Mr Gostling's collection", referring to the canon of Canterbury Cathedral and collector William Gostling (1696–1777).⁷⁹ Likewise, the gentleman Thomas Baker (1719–1794), a hop farmer and Justice of the Peace based in Farnham, Surrey,

states that "for music he had an hereditary taste" and that he composed for and played the violin and the organ. He also owned the Handel manuscript GB-Lbl, Add MS 30310.

76 US-AAu, M 2112.B32 H3, on the title page: "And: Shaw Magd: Coll." and "And: Shaw A.M. coll; Mag: Cant soc:." Venn & Venn 1927, p. 51, lists two Andrew Shaws, both at Magdalene College. The former enrolled in 1701 and obtained his M.A. in 1708. The latter (the former's son) enrolled in 1737. Given the date of publication, our Shaw was probably the older one.

77 On Britton, see Price 1978. The catalogue itself is lost but was reprinted in Hawkins 1776, vol. 5, pp. 79–88: p. 86, no. 16 for this reference. It also includes (p. 83, no. 77) 'Bassani's opera quinta, and a set of sonatas', which was either the Italian edition from 1683 or, more likely, Aertssens's edition from 1691 or Roger's from 1707/1708.

78 Price 1978, p. 1033.

79 On Bever and his music library, see Charteris 2000, particularly p. 203 for this item and Bever's ownership and acquisition notes. On Gostling and the collection, see Hyatt King 1963, pp. 19–20. He continued his father John Gostling's collection.

owned a copy of the *Harmonia festiva* edition as well.⁸⁰ A now lost copy was in the library of York Minster.⁸¹ Gradually moving towards the turn of the 19th century, further early owners of Pearson's edition were a certain Fanny Birch, who signed her copy in 1797, and the Mackworth family, who lived near Neath in Wales and acquired a copy, now in Cardiff, as part of a music collection assembled during the 18th century.⁸² Another owner was Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757–1837), the organist of the Charterhouse almshouse and school in London from 1796 until his death, who signed his copy in 1817.⁸³ Like Aldrich, Stevens owned two manuscripts in which, in a different order, almost all of the motets from the *Metri sacri* appear in score.⁸⁴ One of the two, which earlier had been in the library of the composer Philip Hayes (1738–1797), has an early note stating that the eight Bassani motets with which it opens “are in Mr Awbrey's book.”⁸⁵ In fact, as we saw, John Awbrey indeed owned a manuscript with the whole *Metri sacri* in score, and it may therefore be the source of Hayes' manuscript.

Conclusion: Repeating patterns

By merging the information derived from the books still in existence with that from archival and other documentary sources, new connections emerge and the various snippets of information start to add up to more than the sum of their parts. One of the difficulties is the identification of specific surviving copies as the ones mentioned in various types of documents, which allows us to establish longer chains of ownership. What happened with the books between the end of the early modern period and their entrance into modern collections between the 19th and

80 See Martin 2013, p. 40. This collection is now at Western University in London, Ontario, Canada.

81 An 18th-century register of borrowings from the library mentions the *Harmonia festiva* opus 13 and “op. 8”, see Griffiths 1982, p. 635.

82 On the collection in general, see McCleave 2000. It was largely assembled by Herbert Mackworth (1737–1791), although his father and grandfather probably contributed as well.

83 The former is now at US-BEm, the latter in GB-Lam (see *Appendix 2*).

84 GB-Lam, MS 43 and MS 45. The only piece not included is *Mortalis o mortalis*.

85 GB-Lam, MS 43.

20th centuries? During these later centuries, items tended to move from private into public collections, although numerous exceptions remain.

An example is that of a complete set of partbooks of Aertssens's 1691 edition that is listed in the 1880 catalogue of the library of the bibliophile Henry Huth (1815–1878).⁸⁶ When the collection was sold in 1911, following the death of Huth's son Alfred, the set was listed in the auction catalogue.⁸⁷ According to a list of buyers and prices, this copy was bought by Quaritch, the London booksellers, for £18-10s.⁸⁸ However, Quaritch appears to have acted as an intermediary for the British Museum. The institution's annual report to Parliament states that, as determined by Huth, the library freely selected 50 volumes from the collection as a bequest, but also bought a further 28 books at the auction, including the *Resi armonici*.⁸⁹

Small details also warrant attention. For instance, a single basso continuo partbook of Aertssens's edition appeared at the sale of the library of theatre historian Eduard von Bamberg (1852–1927) in 1929. According to the auction catalogue, the bottom right corner of the title page of that copy had been repaired.⁹⁰ The only separate basso continuo partbook of this edition that is now known is the one at the conservatory in Venice, which was part of the collection of the music historian Fausto Torrefranca (1883–1955). It has the exact same repair mentioned in the von Bamberg catalogue, making it clear that it is the same copy.⁹¹ More often, connecting the dots like this remains difficult or impossible. For example, in the catalogue of the Libri sale in 1858, two copies of Aerts-

86 Huth 1880, p. 1645.

87 Huth 1911, p. 144, no. 495, with a description of the binding of as "crushed blue morocco extra, antique gilt ornaments, g[ilt] e[dges] by F. Bedford". The binder was Francis Bedford (1799–1883); for a biographical sketch, see Fletcher & Girling-Budd 2020.

88 *Book-Prices* 1912, p. 98, no. 1172 for the Quaritch and the Huth sale.

89 Fortescue 1912, pp. 25–30: "The following printed books, twenty-eight in number, were purchased by the Trustees: [last item =] Bassani, Giovanni Battista: 'Resi armonici in motetti a voce sola con violini.' Henrico Aertssens, Antwerp, 1691".

90 Bamberg 1929, p. 3, no. 3748. The binding is specified as a "neuer Halbfranzband", and a repair is described as "rechte untere Ecke des Titelblattes ausgebessert".

91 Fabiano 1992, vol. 1, p. 72, no. 122. I-Vc, Torr. St. Ant. n. 661.

sens's *Metri sacri* edition are listed, but it is unclear with which, if any, of the now surviving copies these can be identified.⁹² Are they the two sets that later turned up in the collections of Huth and the Royal Library in Brussels?

The trails of numerous copies that appear in archival records and old catalogues appear to have gone cold. For example, a copy of the 1690 first edition of the *Metri sacri* appeared in the catalogue of the large private library of Baron Horace de Landau (1824–1903), published in Florence in 1890.⁹³ In 1949, when his heirs sold the music part of it at Sotheby's in London, Bassani's *Metri sacri* was still part of the library.⁹⁴ The current whereabouts of this copy are unknown, but it could be the one now at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, which acquired it at an auction in 1972. Other examples abound: in 1877 a copy of the *Harmonia festiva* opus 8 was listed in the catalogue of the booksellers Kirchhoff & Wigand in Leipzig, in 1905 a copy was listed in the library of the collector Thomas William Taphouse, and in 1913 a copy appeared at an auction in Leipzig as part of an unidentified "valuable library of music books".⁹⁵ Even more intriguing is a copy of the two books of Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* (Bassani's opus 8 and 13) bound together with a three-page manuscript motet for solo voice by "Gratiani" that is listed in an 1882 catalogue of the Berlin bookseller Albert Cohn.⁹⁶ Given this com-

92 Libri 1858, p. 146, no. 1948: "Resi armonici in motetti a voce sola con violini, di G. B. Bassani. Anvers, 1691. in 4, d -rel." and no. 1949 "Resi armonici in motetti a voce sola con violini di G. B. Bassani, opera ottava. Anversa, 1691, 4 vol. in 4, v." The latter specifically given as "les quatre parties complètes".

93 Landau 1890, p. 224, no distinguishing features are mentioned.

94 Landau & Finaly 1948, p. 91. See also Hill 1950 for music books from the collection acquired by the Library of Congress.

95 Kirchhoff & Wigand 1877, p. 5, no. 435: "Bassani, Harmonia festiva, being the eight [*sic*] opera of divine mottetts. For a single voice with proper symphonies. Fol. London, Cullen (16..) [*sic*] 13. – "; Taphouse 1905, p. 7; Boerner 1913, p. 12, no. 74. The latter is bound in a *Halbfranzband* together with the opus 13 *Harmonia festiva*. See also Haselbach 1955, pp. 29–31, for some references in booksellers' catalogues.

96 Cohn 1882, p. 3, no. 25: "Bassani. Harmonia festiva, being the eighth and thirteenth opera of divine mottetts. For a single voice with proper symphonies. 2 parts. London, printed by William Pearson. fol. 8. – Angebunden: Motet de Gratiani a voce sola. 3 Bll. Manuscript".

bination of elements, this must be the same item that was later acquired by the singer and organist William Hayman Cummings (1831–1915), because it was listed in the sale of his estate at Sotheby's in 1917.⁹⁷ None of these items can so far be linked to other references or surviving copies.

The other face of the same problem is tracing surviving copies further back in time than the 19th century. One of the two surviving copies of Roger's edition is at the Royal College of Music in London. It originates from the Sacred Harmonic Society, which owned it since at least 1853, when it appeared bound together with a set of Bassani's motets opus 12, also in Roger's edition, and the *Harmonia festiva* opus 13.⁹⁸ Additionally, the Society also owned a copy of Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* opus 8 bound together in a single volume with yet a further copy of the *Harmonia festiva* opus 13. The fact that the Society owned two copies of the opus 13 is explained by the fact that the latter volume, with the two Pearson editions, had been "presented to the Society by the Rev. F. J. Stainforth".⁹⁹ Both sets remained in the Society's collection and eventually ended up at the Royal College of Music.¹⁰⁰ Here, as elsewhere, the very earliest owners are unknown.

Nevertheless, from the evidence that has emerged so far, we can start to draw some tentative conclusions. The "celebrity" of *Quid arma, quid bella* as declared on the English song-sheet edition of that work can indeed be backed up with further evidence of its popularity not only in Britain but also on the Continent. The motet appears often enough as (part of) a selection from the *Metri sacri* to suggest that it was one of the

97 Cummings 1917, p. 28, no. 258: "Bassani (Seignior) Harmonia Festiva, being the eighth and thirteenth Opera of Divine Mottetts, *n. d.*; Motet de Gratiani, à voce sola, Manuscript, in 2 vol. half morocco".

98 Catalogue 1853, p. 25, no. 247: "Resi Armonici in Motetti, a Voce sola con Violini, da Gio. Battista Bassani. Opera Ottava. Folio. *Amsterdam, n. d.*", followed by the two other editions and the note that "the above three sets of Motetts (which are bound together) are in separate parts".

99 Catalogue 1853, p. 25, no. 248. The donor was Francis F. Stainforth (d. 1869), an avid collector of many things, including stamps and shells. Some biographical information is in Cosmo Melvill 1889–1891, p. 211.

100 Later catalogues of the Society's library continue to include these items with virtually the same wording.

more popular pieces from the set. The truly pan-European success of the set as a whole is also clearly borne out. Sometimes, in Protestant settings, the Marian *Ave verax* is excluded, but mostly confessional boundaries did not hinder its dissemination. Adaptations to local needs and tastes also emerged in other ways: the *contrafactum* of *In hoc mundo incostante* in the Polish source and the new texts for the complete *Metri sacri* in the English manuscript now in Hamburg are clear evidence of direct concerns with the usability of the music. The opposite of such *contrafacta* also occurs: a manuscript that derives from the Piarist monastery at Podolíneč, a place we already encountered above, seems to contain a new musical setting of the text of Bassani's *Pompae vanae* by the otherwise unknown Georg Neuner. The work is for soprano (as opposed to Bassani's bass), two violins and basso continuo, and was copied on 9 June 1754.¹⁰¹ Cases like these—new texts to Bassani's music and new music to Bassani's texts—further complicate the secure identification of his music on the basis of descriptions in early inventories and other archival sources.

Despite such issues, as well as the fact that further sources documenting the circulation and early ownership of Bassani's *Metri sacri resi armonici* are bound to come to light, this chapter has shown that the large-scale cultural phenomenon of the circulation of Italian music in early modern Europe can be effectively studied also by homing in on the fortune of a single successful publication or piece of music within it, and that this does not entail losing sight of the larger-scale phenomenon. In fact, the whole breadth of patterns and issues that characterize the circulation of Italian music as a whole appears to repeat itself—almost fractal-like—at a smaller scale, from a single composer, to a single publication, down to single compositions.

101 SK-J, H-595. The information given here derives from the description at RISM id 570002284. The title on the source indicates the author as "Signore Georgio Neuner". The musical incipit is different from Bassani's setting but the textual incipit is the same: "Pompae vanae inhumanae, clara fama blanda sors".

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Content of the *Metri sacri resi armonici*

- 1 *Ave verax honor castitatis* (per la Beata Vergine o per qual si voglia santa), Soprano
- 2 *Quid arma, quid bella* (per ogni tempo), Soprano
- 3 *In hoc mundo incostante* (per ogni tempo), Soprano
- 4 *In caligine umbrosa* (per ogni tempo), Soprano
- 5 *Mortalis, o mortalis* (per qual si voglia santo), Alto
- 6 *Corda languida in amore* (per la Beata Vergine), Alto
- 7 *Gustate libate* (per il Santissimo), Alto
- 8 *Aligeri amores* (per ogni tempo), Alto
- 9 *Cari zephiri volantes* (per ogni tempo), Bass
- 10 *Pompae vanae inhumanae* (per ogni tempo), Bass
- 11 *Audite reges* (per un santo martire), Bass
- 12 *Eia tubae resonare* (per S. Antonio, o per qual si voglia santo), Bass

Appendix 2

Editions and copies of the *Metri sacri resi armonici*

Parte, che Canta. [Violino Primo.] [Violino Secondo.] [Baffo Continuo.] | METRI SACRI | RESI ARMONICI | IN MOTETTI | A voce fola con Violini | *Dedicati alla Virtù, e Merito singolare del Reuerendissimo Padre* | GIACOMO PAOLO SARTORI | Dottore, Teologo Collegiato di Padoua, e Lettore | di Filosofia in Ferrara. | DA GIO. BATTISTA BASSANI | Maestro di Cappella della Cathedrale, e dell'Illustrissima Accademia | della Morte di Ferrara, & Accademico Filarmonico | OPERA OTTAVA. | [vignette] | In Bologna, per Pier Maria Monti. 1690. Con licenza de' Superiori. | *Si ven dono da Marino Siluani, all'Insegna del Violino, con Priuilegio.* RISM A/I B 1180

— D-B | Shelfmark: N.mus.ant.pract. 25 (only 2nd violin) Provenance: acquired in 1972 at auction.¹⁰²

— D-F | Shelfmark: Mus W 8 (complete) Provenance: library of the Frankfurt Gymnasium (before 1872).¹⁰³

102 At Karl Hartung in Munich, catalogue no. 1, no. 162.4 (1972).

103 Israël 1872, pp. 10–11.

- F-Pn | VM¹ 1062 (wanting the voice part). Provenance: the musician Hartwig Zysich (1630–1712).
- NL-Usg (in NL-Uu) | Shelfmark: Collectie Sint-Gregoriusbibliotheek, Map 240–1603 (only voice part). Provenance: Nederlandse Sint-Gregoriusvereniging.
- PL-Kj | Shelfmark: Mus. ant. pract. B 203 (complete). Provenance: formerly at D-B.¹⁰⁴
- US-SFsc | De Bellis collection. Shelfmark: M2102.B3888 M488 1690 (only Basso continuo).

Parte che Canta. [Violino Primo.] [Violino Secondo.] [Basso Continuo.] | RESI ARMONICI | IN | MOTETTI | A voce fola con Violini. | DA GIO. BATTISTA BASSANI | Maestro di Capella della Cathedrale, e dell'Illustrissima Accademia della Morte di Ferrara, | & Accademico Filarmonico. | OPERA OTTAVA. | [vignette] | *IN ANVERSA*, | Per Henrico Aertssens, Stampatore di Mufica, all'Infigna del Monte Parnaffo. 1691. | *Con Privilegio*. RISM A/I B 1181

- B-Br | Shelfmark: II 8.313 A (RP) (complete).¹⁰⁵
- B-Lc | Not in RISM. Shelfmark: 24/3G08 (complete). Provenance: Jean-Léonard Terry (1816–1882), whose library was acquired in 1885.¹⁰⁶ Before that owned by the musician Jacques Lelong (probably in 1691) and subsequently by the Church of Our Lady in Tongeren (in 1692).
- F-Pc (in F-Pn) | Shelfmark: Vmc 1887 (only voice part).
- F-Pn | Shelfmark: Vmc 149 (complete). Provenance: the musicologist Geneviève Thibault, Countess Chambure (1902–1975).
- GB-Lbl | Shelfmark: Music Collections K.4.f.7 (complete). Provenance: Henry Huth (1815–1878).
- GB-Och | Shelfmark: Mus. 163-6 (complete). Provenance: bequest of Henry Aldrich (1648–1710).
- I-Vc | Shelfmark: Torr. St. Ant. n. 661 (only basso continuo).¹⁰⁷ Provenance: the musicologist Fausto Torrefranca. Before that in the library of Eduard von Bamberg (1852–1927).
- NL-Usg (in NL-Uu) | Shelfmark: Collectie Sint-Gregoriusbibliotheek, Mappen 240–1603 (wanting the voice part).

¹⁰⁴ See Patalas 1999, p. 29.

¹⁰⁵ Huys 1965, p. 21, no. 23.

¹⁰⁶ Barthélémy 1992, pp. 19–20. On Terry and his library see Monseur 1956; Barthélémy 1976.

¹⁰⁷ Fabiano 1992, vol. 1, p. 72, no. 122.

Parte che Canta. [Violino Primo.] [Violino Secondo.] [Baffo Continuo.] | METRI SACRI | RESI ARMONICI | IN MOTETTI | A voce sola con Violino | *DEL SIGNORE* | GIO. BATTISTA | BASSANI | Maestro di Capella della Cattedrale, e dell'Illustrissima Accademia della Morte di Ferrara, & | Accademico Filarmonico. Opera Ottava. | [vignette] | In Bologna. per Marino Siluani. 1696. Con licenza de' Superiori | *All'Insegna del Violino, con Priuilegio.* RISM A/I B 1182

— CH-Zz | Shelfmark: AMG XIII 506 (complete). Provenance: a local *Collegium musicum*, who bought it in 1710.

— D-OB | Shelfmark unknown (wanting the basso continuo).¹⁰⁸

— I-Rsg | Shelfmark: St.mus.93 (complete).¹⁰⁹

Canto. [Violino Primo] [Violino Secondo] [Basso Continuo] | RESI ARMONICI | IN | MOTETTI | A Voce sola con Violini. | DA GIO. BATTISTA BASSANI | Maestro di Capella della Cathedrale, e dell'Illustrissima Accademia della | Morte di Ferrara, & Accademico Filarmonico. | OPERA OTTAVA. | [vignette] | A Amsterdam, chez ESTIENNE ROGER Marchand Libraire. RISM A/I B 1183

— F-Pc (in F-Pn) | Shelfmark: Rés F. 1564 (only vocal part and 2nd violin). Provenance: Henri Dumont (an unidentified 18th-century owner, not the composer of that name, who died in 1684), as appears from the inscription on the *verso* of the title page: "Hic liber amicus | Christi reddatur amore | Nopa est quod quiras | Respice nomen adest | Henrijcus Dumont".

— GB-Lcm | Shelfmark: D11/1; 4; 7; 10 (complete). Provenance: Sacred Harmonic Society (shown by a library roundel).¹¹⁰

Harmonia Feſtiua, | Being the Eighth | OPERA | OF | Divine Mottetts. | COMPOS'D | By Seignior *BASSANI*. | For a Single Voice with proper *Symphonies*. | Wherein are the Celebrated Mottetts of *Quid Arma*, | *quid Bella*, and *Alegeri Amores*. | LONDON: | Printed by *William Pearson* for *John Cullen* at the Buck between the two Temple-| Gates, *Fleet-ſtreet* and *John Young* at the Dolphin and Crown in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*. | Where may be had his Thirteenth Opera. RISM B.1184

— A-Wn | Shelfmark: MS10806-4° MUS MAG. Provenance: the online catalogue has the note "Tausch Hoboken XI. 27". The copy was thus obtained

108 Copy listed in RISM and Haberkamp 1986, p. 271.

109 Rostirolla 2002, vol. 2, p. 966, no. 8940.

110 Catalogue 1853, p. 25, no. 247.

through exchange, presumably from Anthony van Hoboken (1887–1983), in 1927.¹¹¹

— US-BEm | Shelfmark: M2102.B388 M48 1708. Provenance: this is the copy listed in RISM in Paris in the collection of André Meyer (1884–1974). His collection was sold at auction in 2012, when the catalogue identifies previous owners of this copy as “Fanny Birch 1797” (a manuscript ownership note) and Guido Richard Wagener (stamp: “Geh. Rath Wagener Marburg”).¹¹²

— CDN-Lu | Not in RISM. Shelfmark: MZ1210. Provenance: part of the Thomas Baker (1719/20–1794) Collection.

— GB-Bu | Shelfmark: q M2113.B275. According to the online catalogue not separate parts, as stated in RISM, but “1 score”.

— GB-CDspca | Shelfmark: M.C. 3.22, volume 230. Provenance: this is the copy listed in RISM at GB-CDp, which together with the other rare books were acquired in 2010 by the university library. Provenance: Mackworth family, not later than Herbert Mackworth (1737–1791).

— GB-Cfm | Shelfmark: MU.492. Provenance: copy presented to the library by the musician Vincent Novello (1781–1861) in 1849.

— GB-Ckc | Shelfmark: Rw.110.8. Provenance: Louis Thompson Rowe (1855–1927).

— GB-Cpc | Shelfmark: MUS.6.27.3.

— GB-Cpl | Shelfmark: XRa.850.65B.H1. Provenance: copy presented to the library by the musicologist Edward J. Dent (1876–1957), “Bound May 1946”.

— GB-Ge | Shelfmarks: Sp Coll R.x.58. Provenance: the bequest of William Euing (1788–1874).¹¹³ Listed in RISM as parts.

— GB-Lam | Shelfmark: 2 BASSANI. Provenance: according to the online catalogue: “Signed and dated on the title page ‘R. J. Stevens Charterhouse, 1817’”.

— GB-Lbl | Shelfmark: Music Collections G.71 (parts for 1st and 2nd violin).

— GB-Lcm | Shelfmark: D12/1. Provenance: William Gostling (1696–1777), Thomas Bever (1725–1791), Musical Union Institute, South Kensington Museum,¹¹⁴ Sacred Harmonic Society.

— GB-Lghl | Shelfmarks: G MUS NO 1 IN 263 and G MUS NO 1 IN 264. These are the copies listed by RISM in GB-Lgc. Provenance: “presented by J[ohn]

111 Also reported in Haselbach 1955, p. 30 no. 9. The book is reported as a new acquisition in Haas 1929, p. 568.

112 Meyer 2012, p. 26, no. 25.

113 See Euing 1878, p. 147.

114 Catalogue 1876, p. 437: ‘Bassani. Harmonia Festiva, being the Eighth and Thirteenth Opera of Divine Motetts; with some others by the same Author in MS. 8 parts, Vocal and Instrumental, in a case. 4to. half calf. (No. 119), as part of the “Collection of works on music. Given by professor [John] Ella, founder and director of the Musical Union Institute”.

P[ayne] Street, Esq.” (the librarian of the Madrigal Society) and the 1872 catalogue also already lists “two other copies” of the same.¹¹⁵

— GB-Ob | Not in RISM. Shelfmark: Mus. 46 c.14. Provenance: copy acquired around 1996.¹¹⁶

— GB-WCr | This refers to the copy now at CDN-Lu.

— US-AAu | Shelfmark: M 2112.B32 H3. Provenance: the Belgian jurist and musicologist Jean Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952), label with “Library of the University of Michigan Stellfeld purchase 1954”.¹¹⁷ On the title page in pen in an 18th-century hand: “And: Shaw Magd: Coll.” and “And: Shaw A.M. coll: Mag: Cant soc:”.

— US-BLu | Shelfmark: M2104.B32.

— US-CHua | Shelfmark: M2079.L63 B3 1700z from the Mackay-Smith fund. Parts for voice, 1st and 2nd violin.

— US-NH | Shelfmark: Mx33 B293 op. 8.

— US-Pu | The library reported that no copy could be located in the collection.

— US-Wc | Shelfmark: M 2112.B26 Case.

115 Catalogue 1872, p. 13.

116 Bodleian 1996, p. 8.

117 On the purchase see Cuyler *et al.* 1954.