

5-12-2015

The Secular Latin-Texted Works of Adrian Willaert

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Jonathan Wil Harvey, DMA

University of Connecticut, 2015

Abstract

In addition to a large body of extant works including masses, hymns, psalm settings, motets, chansons, madrigals, *canzone villanesche*, and instrumental *ricercares*, sixteenth-century composer Adrian Willaert (1490 – 1562) also wrote nine settings of secular Latin texts. These nine works can be divided into three categories: five civic motets (*Adriacos numero*, *Haud aliter*, *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*, *Si rore Aonio*, and *Victor io salve*); three settings of excerpts from Virgil's *Aeneid* (*O socii* and two settings of "Dulces exuviae"); and one unique, enigmatic outlier (*Flete oculi*). These pieces are rarely considered in the existing literature, and many scholars conflate the two "Dulces exuviae" settings as a single work. The texts of six of the nine pieces have never been translated into English before. This study examines these nine pieces through their text, musical material, and cultural-political background in order to determine their function and context.

The first chapter of this study consists of a brief summary of Willaert's life and an examination of the extant sources of his work. In the next chapter, I discuss the genre of the civic motet and examine Willaert's five contributions to it. Chapter 3 consists of an exploration of the *Aeneid*'s place in the Renaissance and an analysis of Willaert's three settings. The fourth chapter is a musical analysis of *Flete oculi* and an exploration of its enigmatic text. The concluding section explores some connections between these nine pieces and places them within the context of Willaert's entire output.

The Secular Latin-Texted Works of Adrian Willaert

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BA, Earlham College, 2007

MM, Indiana University, 2009

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Musical Arts

at the

University of Connecticut

2015

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2015

APPROVAL PAGE

Doctor of Musical Arts Dissertation

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

I extend my deep appreciation to the five members of my panel: Dr. Jamie Spillane, Dr. Eric Rice, Dr. Jeffrey Renshaw, Dr. Glenn Stanley, and Dr. Peter Kaminsky. I am especially grateful for Dr. Eric Rice's patience, guidance, and advice in the writing of this study. Special thanks also to Anna Kijas and the University of Connecticut Libraries, and to my conducting colleagues Sarah Kaufold, Jillian Nicholson-Dicks, Matt Travis, and Jun Lee.

I am also grateful for the financial support of the University of Connecticut Graduate School and School of Fine Arts, whose Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship and Pre-Doctoral Fellowship helped to make this work possible.

This document is dedicated to my wife Jessica Adamick. Thank you for your unending love and support.

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Chapter 1

Adrian Willaert's Life and the Sources of his Music

Adrian Willaert held a prestigious musical post at the Basilica of St. Mark in Venice for decades in the early and mid-sixteenth century, and his students included several of the most important musical minds of the next generation. With a few notable exceptions, however, his music remains under-studied and under-performed today. His extant works include masses, hymns, psalm settings, motets, chansons, madrigals, and Neapolitan dialect songs (*canzone villanesche*); in addition, he was one of the pioneering composers of imitative instrumental *ricercares*.¹

To establish the context of Willaert's full output, and to place these pieces within that framework, an overview of the composer's life and musical style is crucial. Willaert was probably born in Bruges around 1490, and the little that is known about his musical training and early career comes from the writings of his pupil, the theorist and composer Gioseffo Zarlino (1517– 1590). In his writings, particularly his *Dimostrationsi harmoniche* of 1571, Zarlino supplied extensive biographical information about his mentor. Zarlino wrote that as a young man, Willaert went to France to study law at the University of Paris. Such study usually began at around fourteen years of age, but Willaert may have started later, after having served as a choirboy. As a student at the University, Willaert would have studied the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* and engaged with the contemporary intellectual movement of humanism; several of

¹ Lewis Lockwood, Giulio Ongaro, Michele Fromson, and Jessie Ann Owens, "Willaert, Adrian," Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40122>).

the civil law faculty at the University of Paris were prominent humanists.² Although he started studying law, Willaert quickly turned his attention to music and studied privately with Jean Mouton, a musician in the French royal chapel.³

Mouton's career in the royal chapel had begun in the first decade of the sixteenth century, when he joined the musical establishment of Queen Anne.⁴ His position changed over time (moving to the chapel of Louis XII in 1514 and to that of Francis I shortly thereafter), but he stayed in French royal service until his death in 1522. Mouton claimed at times to be a student of Josquin, and was certainly influenced by him, although any personal tutelage is unlikely.⁵ During Mouton's long period of royal service, he composed many pieces for state occasions, and Willaert would thus have been familiar with civic musical responsibilities and their conventions through Mouton. The latter also wrote a large number of canons and other puzzle-pieces, a predilection that he passed on to Willaert.⁶

Willaert probably first travelled to Italy with his mentor in late 1514, on a trip with Francis to Bologna to meet Pope Leo X (a Medici for whom Willaert would later compose). Francis had just invaded Italy, and it is likely that his musicians accompanied him during the earlier military campaign as well.⁷ If, on an earlier trip, Willaert had accompanied the royal musicians, many Italian nobles could have heard his work. By mid-1515, and possibly as early as

² Tim Shephard, "Finding fame: Fashioning Adrian Willaert ca. 1518," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 4, no. 1 (2012): 19.

³ Lockwood et al, "Willaert, Adrian."

⁴ Richard Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding Their Deaths," *The Journal of Musicology* 6, no. 1 (Winter 1988): 71.

⁵ Rebecca Stewart, "Jean Mouton: Man and Musician; motets attributed to both Josquin and Mouton," in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, edited by Willem Elders (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991): 155.

⁶ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1959), 280.

⁷ Lewis Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 194.

late 1514, Willaert was employed as a singer in the court of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este in Ferrara.⁸

In late 1517, Ippolito traveled to Hungary to reestablish his ties there as Archbishop of Esztergom. Willaert traveled with him and stayed until mid-1519. During that time, Prince Sigismund Jagiello of Poland married Bona Sforza, who was the daughter of Duke Gian Galeazzo Sforza of Milan and the sister of future Duke Francesco Sforza (for whom Willaert would later compose). Ippolito's retinue was in attendance at the wedding, and Willaert might have first met the Sforzas on that occasion.⁹ Willaert returned to Ferrara before Ippolito, in August 1519. In September 1520, five months after Ippolito himself returned, he died.

Immediately after Ippolito's death, Willaert began working for Ippolito's brother, Duke Alfonso I d'Este. The composer was not the only member of Ippolito's court to be transferred to Alfonso: the vast majority of the cardinal's effects became the Duke's responsibility after the former's death.¹⁰ After working for Alfonso for five years, Willaert changed employers again. He began working for the son of Alfonso, Archbishop Ippolito II d'Este, in February 1525.¹¹

Willaert left the service of Ippolito II in April 1527, and there is then an eight-month gap in his known employment. It is possible that he went to Rome seeking a papal appointment. He was already well known throughout Italy, mostly through connections made during his service in Ferrara.

His next position was also his last: *maestro di cappella* at the Basilica of St. Mark in

⁸ Lewis Lockwood, "Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy, 1515-21," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 87.

⁹ Ibid, 90.

¹⁰ Shephard, "Finding Fame," 13.

¹¹ Joan Anne Long, "The Motets, Psalms, and Hymns of Adrian Willaert: a liturgico-musical study" (PhD diss. Columbia University, 1971), 39.

Venice. The doge, Andrea Gritti, personally chose Willaert for the post in late 1527 (until 1807, St. Mark's was not the cathedral of Venice, but instead the personal chapel of the doge).¹² Gritti probably knew Willaert through the 1515 meeting of Francis I and Leo X in Bologna. With the exception of two trips north to Flanders (1542 and 1556), Willaert stayed in Venice at St. Mark's until his death in late 1562.¹³

While at St. Mark's, Willaert presided over an extensive musical organization and also built a reputation as a master teacher. His students (who studied with him at various levels of formality) included many of the most prominent musicians of the next generation: Cipriano de Rore, Perissone Cambio, Baldassare Donato, Nicola Vicentino, Girolamo Parabosco, Costanzo Porta, Jacques Buus, and the aforementioned Zarlino.¹⁴

Tim Shephard convincingly argues that, in addition to cultivating a circle of students in Venice, Willaert self-consciously created a public musical persona for himself while in Ferrara, earlier in his career, as an exceptionally academic and learned composer. He emphasized his university education and concentrated on canons and other puzzle-type compositions, including the famous double canon *Quid non ebrietas* (see pp. 10-11).¹⁵ This tendency, when combined with his large body of students and his wide net of noble contacts (including Este, Sforza, and Medici family members), paints a picture of Willaert as a savvy, career-minded musician.

In addition to biographical information, Zarlino also used excerpts from Willaert's music to exemplify the theorist's compositional rules, particularly in *Le institutioni harmoniche* of 1558. In that work, Zarlino wrote that

¹² Giulio Ongaro, "Sixteenth-Century Patronage at St Mark's, Venice," *Early Music History* 8 (1988): 82.

¹³ Lockwood et al, "Willaert, Adrian."

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Shephard, "Finding Fame," 25.

in the manner of a new Pythagoras examining minutely all the possibilities and discovering countless errors, [Willaert] set out to correct them and to restore music to the honor and dignity it once possessed and logically should possess; and he revealed a rational method of composing each musical *cantilena* in elegant style, and has given a most clear example thereof in his works.¹⁶

This idea of a rational method for composition was immensely appealing to Zarlino, and it was an outlook that he inherited from Willaert's teaching. Zarlino's goal was to set out tenets for properly learned composition, and in Willaert he had a composer who wrote with exacting craftsmanship.

Willaert's compositions are generally marked by several stylistic features: continuously woven polyphony, continuously developing “motivicity,”¹⁷ careful text setting, and a penchant for pieces containing musical games and puzzles. These elements are not unique to Willaert — they are present in the music of Gombert, Clemens non Papa, and many other mid-sixteenth-century composers. Nevertheless, as we place Willaert's secular Latin-texted works into the context of his full output, it is essential to examine how they compare to the rest of his oeuvre.

The first of these stylistic markers within Willaert's music is continuously woven polyphony, meaning that Willaert characteristically writes very few passages in which all voices in the texture come to rest, except at the end of a piece.¹⁸ One example of this continuous musical activity is the five-voice *Musica Nova* madrigal *Quando fra l'altre donne*. The text is the thirteenth sonnet from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*:

¹⁶ Reese, *Music*, 374.

¹⁷ A term coined by Joshua Rifkin in the following work: Joshua Rifkin, “Miracles, Motivicity, and Mannerism: Adrian Willaert's *Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari* and Some Aspects of Motet Composition in the 1520s,” in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 243-264.

¹⁸ Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 384.

1 Quando fra l'altre donne ad ora ad ora
2 Amor vien nel bel viso di costei,
3 quanto ciascuna è men bella di lei
4 tanto cresce'l desio che m'innamora.

5 I' benedico il loco e 'l tempo et l'ora
6 che sì alto miraron gli occhi mei,
7 et dico: "Anima, assai ringraziar dei
8 che fosti a tanto onor degnata allora.

9 "Da lei ti ven l'amoroso pensiero
10 che mentre'l segui al sommo ben t'invia,
11 poco prezzando quel ch' ogni uom desia;

12 "da lei vien l'animosa leggiardria
13 ch'al ciel ti scorge per destro sentero,
14 sì ch' i' vo già de la speranza altero."

*When among the other ladies now and again
Love appears in her lovely face, by as much as each is
Less beautiful than she, by so much grows the
Desire that enamors me.*

*I bless the place and the time and the hour that
My eyes looked so high, and I say: "Soul, you must
Give great thanks that you were found worthy of
Such honor then.*

*"From her comes the amorous thought that, while
you follow it, sends you toward the highest good,
little valuing what other men desire;*

*"from her comes the courageous joy that leads you
to Heaven along a straight path, so that already I
go high with hope." ¹⁹*

The continuous nature of Willaert's musical texture can be demonstrated by observing how rarely all of the voices come to rest simultaneously. Willaert divides the sonnet according to the poetic structure: the *prima pars* of the piece is a setting of the octave of the sonnet (concluding with line eight), and the *seconda pars* is a setting of the sestet. In the 122 *breves* of the entire piece, all

¹⁹ Robert M. Durling, trans. and ed., *Petrarch's Lyric Poems* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 48.

five voices come to rest at the same time on only three occasions. Two of those, m. 73 and m. 122, are at the end of the *prima pars* and *seconda pars*, respectively. The only other passage in which all five voices reach a simultaneous point of rest is in m. 97, which is the end of the first tercet.

The other customary place for a pause, according to the poetic structure, would be between the two quatrains in the *prima pars*. Willaert only brings three of the five voices to rest there, in m. 25. Even that incomplete a level of rest is rare, and only occurs two other times: in m. 59 (the transition between lines 7 and 8, as the narrator addresses his own soul about what an honor the soul has been found worthy of); and in m. 92 (between lines 10 and 11, where the narrator contrasts his own values with those of other men). With three full rests in 122 measures of musical material, and three additional times when only three of five voices rest, this piece is an example of Willaert's tendency to weave continuous musical texture with very few breaks or rests.

Another element of Willaert's style is continuously developing "motivicity," a term coined by Joshua Rifkin and meaning "the maximum permeation of a polyphonic complex by a singular linear denominator or set of denominators."²⁰ In other words, Willaert's work is saturated with subtly changing and repeating rhythmic and pitch units. An example of this subtly shifting motivic permeation is the four-voice motet *Videns Dominus*, likely composed around 1526.²¹ In mm. 33-42 of this motet, Willaert sets the text "Lazare veni foras," or "Lazarus, come forth." Each voice contains two statements of that poetic text, and each voice has a similar but distinct musical motive (see Examples 1-4):

²⁰ Rifkin, "Miracles, Motivicity, and Mannerism," 244.

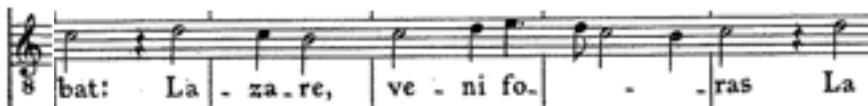
²¹ Ibid, 245.



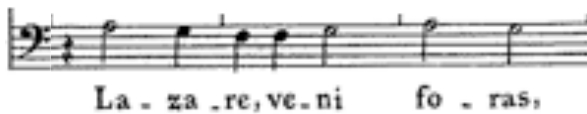
Example 1: *Videns Dominus, superius*, mm. 33-36



Example 2: *Videns Dominus, altus*, mm. 35-38



Example 3: *Videns Dominus, tenor*, mm. 33-37



Example 4: *Videns Dominus, bassus*, mm. 33-35

Each voice repeats its motive two times, but the varying rests between each repetition create a subtly shifting musical texture that is never repeated exactly, despite the fact that the motive is stated eight times in ten measures. The entire polyphonic fabric consists of nothing but the motive, shifting in relation to itself (see Example 5).



Example 5: *Videns Dominus*, mm. 33-42

A third element of Willaert's musical style is his careful text setting, which is predominately syllabic and observant of natural accentuation.²² This aspect of his music becomes more prevalent later in his career, and Zarlino's complex set of declamation rules in *Le istitutioni harmoniche* might very well reflect Willaert's explicit teaching.²³ One of the most extended treatises on word-note relations in the Renaissance, Gaspar Stoquerus's *De musica verballi* of ca. 1570, specifically refers to Willaert as an exceptionally clear text-setter:

[Willaert] so strictly observes well-defined rules [of text setting] that his compositions offer the singer greatest pleasure and no difficulties at all as far as the words are concerned. All modern composers follow him now. As Josquin appears to be the leader of the older school of music, so Adrianus stands out as the summit, the father, leader, and creator of the new style which is now being generally imitated.²⁴

A particularly clear example of his concern for text accentuation is the way that Willaert set the same "Veni Sancte Spiritus" text in two different motets. Each time, the accented syllables (in the Italianate pronunciation of Latin) are set to notes of longer duration. The four-voice *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, which first appears in the 1518 Medici Codex (see pp. 15-16), sets the text to the following rhythmic motive:

²² Long, "The Motets," 131.

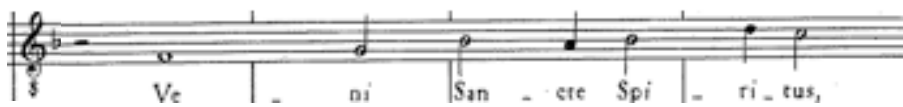
²³ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music Vol. 1: The Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 603.

²⁴ Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller, eds, *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 125.



Example 6: *Veni Sancte Spiritus* a 4, tenor, mm. 1-5

The six-voice setting, which first appears in the 1556 MS HradKM 29, sets the same text phrase to this rhythmic motive:



Example 7: *Veni Sancte Spiritus* a 6, tenor, mm. 1-4

Thus in pieces that are separated by as much as forty years, Willaert demonstrated the same kind of sensitivity to the same text, giving longer durations to accented syllables.

A fourth element of Willaert's musical style is his preoccupation with canons and other puzzle-pieces. Several sets of contemporary correspondence make it clear that Willaert's reputation for canon was well known and widespread.²⁵ In particular, the mysterious piece now called *Quid non ebrietas* confused many contemporaries with its inscrutable final cadence. The most authoritative extant version of the piece was notated by Giovanni Maria Artusi in 1600 as a two-voice textless composition titled "Quidnam ebrietas."²⁶ In that piece, the two voices end a minor seventh apart, with the *cantus* on D and the tenor on E. The *cantus* voice has no accidentals in the key signature, and the tenor has a B-flat. In the tenor voice, flats are placed on

²⁵ Blackburn et al., *A Correspondence*, 1017; Shephard, "Finding Fame," 24.

²⁶ Joseph S. Levitan, "Adrian Willaert's famous duo *Quidnam ebrietas*," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 15 (1938): 166.

the first appearance of the pitches E, A, D, G and C, in descending fifths. Further flat signs are also placed before E and A in mm. 22 and 23. Solving this problem of a cadential seventh involves three assumptions:

1. After its first flatting, E is interpreted as E-flat on all further appearances; the same holds for the flatted A, D, G and C
2. The F that immediately follows the flatted C in m. 21 has no written flat itself, but should be interpreted as F-flat, because Willaert could have argued that any falling fifth must be interpreted as a perfect fifth. The rising fourth between F (now flat) and B-flat (within the key signature) in mm. 21-22 must be perfect as well, so the B-flat needs to be interpreted as B-double-flat.
3. The E-flat in the falling tenor fifth B-flat to E-flat in m. 22 is given a cautionary accidental, and should therefore be interpreted as E-double-flat. At this point, the *cantus* D and tenor E (read E-double-flat) in m. 24 are actually the same pitch, and from that point forward all tenor notes must be realized a major second lower than written.²⁷

This mutating section, prompted by necessary inclusion of *musica ficta* to avoid tritone leaps, results in a resolution at the octave rather than a minor seventh by the end of the piece. Such puzzles were not unique to Willaert, but he was particularly known by his peers for his fascination with them.²⁸

²⁷ Edward Lowinsky, "Adrian Willaert's chromatic duo re-examined," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Muziekwetenschap* 18 (1956): 30.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

In addition to the compositional trends discussed above, Willaert's works are also marked by a stylistic division that extended throughout his era, a division that is particularly relevant to a discussion of secular Latin-texted pieces. A bifurcation of vocal music into public versus private styles that extends across secular and sacred genres marks the music of sixteenth-century Venice in particular and Italy in general, as Martha Feldman has shown. Feldman notes the stylistic differences between high and low subgenres of secular vocal music by Willaert.²⁹ Having examined the rarefied and subtle techniques of the *Musica Nova* madrigals (which were originally meant only for private performance) and compared them to the techniques that Willaert used in his anthologized madrigals (meant for public consumption), Feldman argues that the composer consciously crafted madrigals in distinct public and private styles. This public-private dichotomy is paralleled by an amateur-connoisseur dichotomy as well. Although all notated music was intended for a very small subset of the general population, that subset could be divided into amateurs (for whom music was essentially entertainment) and connoisseurs (for whom music was an intellectual exploration, a field for esoteric experiments and advanced techniques).

Katelijne Schiltz has created a similar typology for motets, arguing that there were different stylistic ideals for motets composed for public consumption on the one hand and for the private use of exclusive literary circles on the other. Specifically, motets for private use would often be more musically experimental than their public counterparts. To support this typology, Schiltz draws on evidence both within the motets of Willaert and in the theoretical writings of Willaert's student, Nicola Vicentino.³⁰

²⁹ Feldman, *City Culture*, 259.

³⁰ Katelijne Schiltz, "Content and context: On public and private motet style in 16th-century Venice," in *Théorie et*

The Sources of Willaert's Music

As a prominent composer working in the early and mid-sixteenth century, Willaert's works were included in a variety of contemporary sources, both print and manuscript. Even if the scope is limited to motets, his work still appeared in a very large number of sources, and these sources can reveal information about the function and context of his motets. Willaert was also active as a composer at a crucial turning point in the very conception of music in the West, as music printing became a common, and then dominant, form of notation and distribution. The sources of Willaert's motets not only tell us about his music, but they also exemplify larger intellectual and artistic trends of the mid-sixteenth century. In what follows, I will examine several sources of Willaert's motet output, and will place those sources within a wider context of contemporary musical life.

Specific characteristics of a musical manuscript can point to the function and context for which the object was created and indicate its intended performers and audience (if those indeed differ). These characteristics include physical ones (size, decoration, layout) and reportorial ones (number of pieces, type, composers). A few case studies should help to reveal the ways in which such characteristics indicate the function and context of the books. Each of these sources contains works by Willaert.

analyse musicales (1450-1650): Actes du colloque international Louvain-la-Neuve, 23-25 Septembre 1999 (2001): 326.

Treviso, an Italian town seventeen miles northwest of Venice, is home to a cathedral that was bombed in an Allied raid on 7 April 1944. In the destruction, a set of eighteen manuscript choirbooks and partbooks from the mid-sixteenth century that contained masses, hymns, motets, Magnificats, introits, alleluias, double-choir psalms, and antiphons was destroyed. One week before the raid, an assistant in the chapter library, Monsignor Giovanni D'Alessi, had completed a book on the musical establishment of the Treviso Cathedral from 1300 to 1633 that drew extensively on the sources that were subsequently obliterated.³¹ Given the information that D'Alessi preserved, Bonnie Blackburn endeavored to reconstruct the contents of two of those lost mid-sixteenth century manuscripts.

Treviso MS 29 was a set of five partbooks that belonged to Pietro Varisco, a priest at Treviso Cathedral from 1550 to 1584. The books contained 175 motets, twenty of which were attributed to Willaert. Using D'Alessi's thorough cataloguing, Blackburn identifies sixty contrafacta among the motets, whose text had been changed by the compiler of the manuscripts (possibly Varisco himself). She finds that the contrafacta were created in order to assemble a set of motets in Treviso MS 29 that would span the full liturgical year in the city, with all of its idiosyncrasies and Papal exceptions.³²

If the music in Treviso MS 29 had been assembled for performance in Cathedral services, it would likely have been constructed as a choirbook large enough to be seen by as many as twenty singers at once, like many of the other (destroyed) Treviso manuscripts. But MS 29 was a set of five part-books, a layout generally reserved for smaller forces. Because Varisco was a

³¹ Bonnie J. Blackburn, *Music for Treviso Cathedral in the late sixteenth century: A reconstruction of the lost manuscripts 29 and 30* (London: Royal Music Association, 1987): 2.

³² Ibid., passim.

member of the Confraternity of St. Liberalis in Treviso, which held regular services in conjunction with the Cathedral's liturgy, Blackburn concludes that he likely prepared the set of part-books for performances in that context. Taking into account both physical and reportorial characteristics of the manuscript, its function and context can be reasonably deduced. After Blackburn published her work on the Treviso manuscripts, a set of microfilm of portions of MS 29 taken by Knud Jeppesen was discovered, and it confirmed many of Blackburn's reconstructive suppositions.³³ Even more recently, the charred remains of portions of MS 29 were discovered, and what could be reconstructed from them supports Blackburn's idea that the partbooks were created for a scuola or confraternity connected to the cathedral.³⁴

The Medici Codex

An elaborately decorated and gilt-edged vellum codex bound in red velvet,³⁵ the Medici Codex (Flor 666) is a 42 X 27.5 cm choirbook containing fifty-three motets, mostly liturgical, but some devotional or political. Seven of them are attributed to Willaert. The first thirty-three are for four voices, and the last twenty are for five.³⁶ Beyond that ordering principle, the pieces are placed to create an acrostic based on the first letter of each piece. The acrostic spells "Vivat Semper Invictus Laurentius Medices Dux Urbini," or "May the always victorious Duke of Urbino Lorenzo de' Medici live forever." There were eight works included in the manuscript that were not needed to complete the acrostic, and these were included for one of two reasons: as

³³ Michele Pozzobon, "Music for Treviso Cathedral in the Late Sixteenth Century: A Reconstruction of the Lost Manuscripts 29 and 30 by Bonnie J. Blackburn," review of *Music for Treviso Cathedral in the Late Sixteenth Century: A Reconstruction of the Lost Manuscripts 29 and 30*, by Bonnie J. Blackburn, *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 254.

³⁴ David Fallows, "Briefly Noted," *Early Music* 27, no. 2 (May, 1999): 326.

³⁵ Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518, a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino* vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968): 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

references to particularly recent and relevant political events, or because they were closely related to pieces already within the acrostic.³⁷

That this small and luxurious object was created as a presentational gift for private contemplation to Lorenzo de' Medici seems unambiguous. The dating is fairly straightforward as well: Lorenzo was officially Duke of Urbino for only the last two years of his life, 1517–1519.³⁸ The presentation of an ornate and precious object was an important occasion for both donors and owners to signal power relationships and allegiances, so a question remains: who made this object for Lorenzo, and for what reason or occasion?³⁹

Edward Lowinsky proposes that a perfect presentation occasion would have been Lorenzo's wedding to Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne in May 1518, a political union arranged by Pope Leo X and King Francis I of France.⁴⁰ The repertoire of the codex suggests a marriage theme, starting with the very first piece: Willaert's *Virgo glorioso Christi, Margareta* refers to St. Margaret, Virgin and Martyr, who was the patron saint of childbirth.⁴¹ Lowinsky concludes that Francis I was the most likely donor of the codex, based largely on the repertoire contained therein, which was primarily by composers with close ties to the French royal court. Leeman Perkins convincingly proposes an alternative donor, Pope Leo X, based on scribal and decorative detail.⁴² Again, it is physical and reportorial characteristics of the unique physical object that lead one to its musical context and function.

³⁷ Ibid., 76.

³⁸ Ibid., 4.

³⁹ Jane Alden, "Reading the Loire Valley Chansonniers," *Acta Musicologica* 79, fasc. 1 (2007): 13.

⁴⁰ Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex*, 5.

⁴¹ Ibid., 22.

⁴² Leeman L. Perkins, "The Medici Codex of 1518, a Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino by Edward E. Lowinsky," review of *The Medici Codex of 1518, a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino* by Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Musical Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (April 1969): 266.

The Tschudi Liederbuch

Aegidius Tschudi (1505–1572) worked as Chief Magistrate in Glarus, Switzerland for almost fifteen years during a time when the area was divided by Reformation tensions. He was also a scholar and archivist who wrote histories of several Swiss regions. In the spring of 1516, he briefly studied with the humanist, mathematician, and music theorist Heinrich Glarean at the latter's college within the University of Basel. They remained in contact, writing and visiting each other regularly until Glarean's death.⁴³

Donald Loach argues that Tschudi, inspired by Glarean's system of twelve musical modes, assembled a collection of songs for study and private performance organized according to that modal system. The 187 compositions in the *Liederbuch* (three of which are attributed to Willaert; one of them is the three-voice *Dulces exuviae*, a secular Latin-texted piece) were organized according to number of voice parts (3-8), genre (chansons, lieder, canzone, motets), and mode (in Glarean's order). That the pieces were ordered in this way, that they encompassed such a variety of genres, and that they were in small, simple partbooks (21.6 X 15.2 cm) reinforces the idea that these pieces were compiled for private study and intimate performance. Based on scribal and paper details, Loach argues that the partbooks were likely compiled over a long period of time, possibly decades, until completion around 1540. It is possible that Tschudi began making entries as early as his childhood, since the layout matches the style of the student songbook of his priest, Johannes Heer.⁴⁴ Determining the compilation process of the manuscript through examination of physical and reportorial characteristics gives us a window into the particular function and context of the unique musical object.

⁴³ Donald Glenn Loach, "Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook (St. Gall MS 463): A Humanistic Document from the Circle of Heinrich Glarean" (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1969): passim.

⁴⁴ Ibid., passim.

The inclusion of Willaert's music in collections of such varying geographical origin and practical function indicates how highly regarded and widely known his music was during his lifetime (indeed, all of the manuscripts discussed above date from before his death). However, it is difficult to say exactly why Willaert composed any of these specific pieces, because none of the manuscript sources of his motets are known to have been prepared at his direction. Liturgical contexts are of course likely, but not necessarily provable.⁴⁵

Ottaviano Petrucci was the first significant publisher of polyphonic music, and his anthology of 1501, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*, was the first printed book of polyphonic music using a movable type multiple-impression system. Other printers had used movable music type, and still others had printed books using multiple impressions, but Petrucci's innovation was the precise combination of these technologies to print polyphony.⁴⁶ Because of the cumbersome nature of this process, other methods were invented, including Andrea Antico's system of printing polyphony from woodcut blocks. The French publisher Pierre Attaignant pioneered the system of single-impression polyphony printing from movable type, and published his first such volume in 1528.⁴⁷ It was this process that had a commercial future.

⁴⁵ A discussion of the still-controversial issue of motet placement in service is beyond the scope of this study, but to begin further reading, see James Harold Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta, and Francesco Cavalli* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); Anthony Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 43-59; Howard Mayer Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life about 1500," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 744-773; Jeffrey Dean, "Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500," *Early Music* 25, no. 2 (Nov. 1997): 611-636; Eric Rice, *Music and ritual at Charlemagne's Marienkirche in Aachen* (Kassel: Merseburger, 2009).

⁴⁶ Stanley Boorman, "The 'First' Edition of the 'Odhecaton A,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30, no. 2 (Summer 1977): 184.

⁴⁷ James Haar, "Orlando di Lasso: Composer and print entrepreneur," in *Music and the cultures of print*, ed. Kate

These early printers laid the groundwork for the huge printing ventures of the mid-sixteenth century, but their conception of music and its notation was still heavily indebted to manuscript conventions. The period 1501–1539 is often referred to as the period of artistic music printing, as opposed to the later period of commercial music printing.⁴⁸ Based on their often counterintuitive format choices (masses printed in partbooks, chansons in single choirbook volumes) and their high cost and small edition volume, early music prints may have been intended as reportorial collections from which music could be copied and arranged rather than for direct, practical music-making. That applied function was likely still served by manuscripts.⁴⁹

Music prints before the 1530s were fundamentally different than later prints in other ways as well. Early prints were often anthologies, and their titles would emphasize the genre, number of pieces, and accuracy of notation.⁵⁰ Only later were the names of composers given. Especially in prints of smaller works like motets and chansons, volumes dedicated to a single composer were rare. Publishers assembled the music themselves and often left off composer attributions altogether. For example, Attaingnant's first seven surviving chanson anthologies do not contain a single composer attribution.⁵¹

Several trends coalesced in Venice in the 1530s that led to the creation of a new kind of music publishing. First, Venice was a prime location because of its established literary publishing industry, its relative independence from papal authority, its centrality as a shipping center, its proximity to paper mills, and its existing supply of music in the many sacred and

van Orden (New York: General Music Publishing, 2000), 128.

⁴⁸ Mary Stuart Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian music printer, 1538-1569: A descriptive bibliography and historical study. Volume I: 1538-1549* (New York: General Music Publishing, 1988), 6.

⁴⁹ Haar, "Orlando di Lasso," 128.

⁵⁰ Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 13.

⁵¹ Kate van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014): 21.

secular musical establishments of the city.⁵² The second trend was the emergence of a musically literate collector's market, with a membership that had been educated in the city's musical establishments and was thus sensitive to composer reputation.⁵³ Third, Venice experienced an unprecedented level of economic and cultural prosperity in the years 1540–1570, and during that time, new economic ventures were plentiful.⁵⁴

Printers in other European regions could be granted publishing privileges, bestowed by civic authorities, and these privileges often amounted to monopolies. It was possible to obtain a monopolistic privilege on music printing in England, France, regions of the Holy Roman Empire, and even most of the rest of Italy. Tallis, Byrd, and Morley had them in England, Pierre Attaignant had one in Paris, and Nicolas du Chemin of Le Roy et Ballard had one for all of France. In the Holy Roman Empire, many smaller privileging bodies granted their own printing concessions, which made the system inefficient and confusing.⁵⁵ In contrast, the Venetian government stopped issuing printing privilege monopolies in the 1530s. Instead, it granted patents for specific printing inventions, and it required that all printed material receive a license that attested to the moral, religious, and political orthodoxy of a work. The Venetian privilege became a sort of seal of approval on works that had never been printed before, and effectively attested to their artistic value and certified an expectation that the work's print run would reach a certain minimum number of copies.⁵⁶ This system created a publishing environment that encouraged not only competition, but also cooperation and collaboration.

⁵² Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 7.

⁵³ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁴ Jane A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): 3.

⁵⁵ Richard J. Agee, "The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century," *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 24.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 7, 13, 23.

Two printers inaugurated the commercial era of printing: Girolamo Scotto and Antonio Gardano. Both were active exclusively in Venice, where they interacted with Willaert and printed his music. Understanding their rise is crucial to understanding the larger trends in music publishing and Willaert's place in them.

Very little is known about the early life of Antonio Gardano. He moved to Venice in 1537 and had likely been an active composer in France before then. By 1538, he had obtained his first printing privilege from the Venetian Senate and was issuing volumes of music. In his first few years of business, he received financial assistance from Bishop Leone Orsini, and it was from the Bishop's name that Gardano created his printer's mark: the lion and the bear. The bishop withdrew much of his support in 1539, and the house nearly closed. Gardano was able to resume full production in 1541 with the help of connections he had made among Venice's intellectual and artistic elite (elaborated below). The house flourished until his death in 1569.⁵⁷

In contrast, Girolamo Scotto came from a family of Venetian printers. The first Scotto to print in Venice was Ottaviano, Girolamo's uncle. From 1479 to 1539, management of the firm passed from Amadio (Ottaviano's son) to Ottaviano II (Girolamo's brother), and finally to Girolamo, after Ottaviano II fell ill. The Scotto house in Venice had always specialized in books of philosophy, medicine, and religion, and even after Girolamo took over its leadership, half of the output continued to be in those areas. However, Girolamo was a musician, and had entered the family business to proofread editions of music that the house was printing in collaboration with Antico in 1535.⁵⁸

Under the management of these two men, the Scotto and Gardano printing houses

⁵⁷ Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, passim.

⁵⁸ Ibid., passim.

published over 2,000 music editions, which is more than the total output of all other contemporary Italian and northern European music printers combined.⁵⁹ They defined the publishing industry in Venice, if not all of Europe, in the mid-sixteenth century, developing it into a field that, according to Kate van Orden, created the very concept of the composer as an author of discrete works.

To understand what it meant for Willaert to be published by the Scotto and Gardano presses, I shall summarize the way that the music publishing industry in sixteenth-century Venice essentially created the modern concept of the composer. In her book *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*, van Orden attempts “not only to problematize the relationship between music books and their authors, but to put bookmaking into confrontation with music making of the time.”⁶⁰ She argues that, for the most part, musicians in the sixteenth century were primarily concerned with the practical music-making that made them their livings and for which they wrote their music in the first place — in churches and noble courts. Musicians reinforced patronage bonds and established social ties with new benefactors primarily through performance. During Willaert's time, as Lydia Goehr writes, musical works and their performances “were geared towards the temper and needs of the persons and institutions who determined the functions. Musicians, who were normally under the latter's employ, had little control and power of decision regarding matters of instrumentation, form, length, and text. They obeyed the wishes of their employers.”⁶¹ Van Orden claims convincingly that “bookmen conspired to fabricate the truths modern readers regularly take as given: that the person named as

⁵⁹ Bernstein, *Print Culture*, 115.

⁶⁰ van Orden, *Music*, 9.

⁶¹ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 178.

the author of a book did indeed write the text it contains, that the book was printed where it says it was, and that one copy is the same as the next.”⁶²

Scotto and Gardano were two of the first music publishers who would actively reassure readers that they had worked from the composer’s own copy of the music. Despite such claims, only prints with authentic explanatory dedications from the composer can be considered as authorized by that composer, and those were very rare until the late sixteenth century, when composers like Lassus and Byrd began using the publishing industry to their financial advantage.⁶³

While modern musicologists are drawn to the single-composer folio choirbook as a monumental work of unified provenance (appealing to Romantic notions of compositional authority), these kinds of prints were rare and often made without the involvement of the composer at all. When the composer was involved, it was usually not as a capitalistic venture for their direct remunerative benefit, but instead as a way to solidify existing patronage bonds or to create new ones.⁶⁴ In addition, collectors often separated and rebound these single-composer prints into new sets that might contain twenty or more individually printed editions. Thus even contemporary collectors were not attached to the idea of a unified expression of a composer’s output.⁶⁵

As a practical manifestation of these ideas, we now turn to some significant sources of Willaert’s motets in print. As mentioned above, the *Musica Nova* collection of madrigals and

⁶² van Orden, *Music*, passim.

⁶³ Ibid., 27.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 42, 65.

⁶⁵ Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 123.

motets printed by Gardano in 1559 has been extensively studied.⁶⁶ We will instead examine two motet collections, one printed by Scotto and one by Gardano, that exhibit many of the traits explored above.

Musica quinque vocum vulgo motecta liber primus

The collection of five-voice motets by Willaert, printed by Scotto in 1539 and reprinted (also by Scotto) in 1550, was published as a set of five partbooks in oblong quarto containing twenty-three Latin-texted works attributed to Willaert.⁶⁷ The title page has no dedication, and eight of the twenty-three works had appeared in earlier prints from other publishers (including Moderne, Attaingnant, Formschneider, and Schoeffer) and in earlier manuscripts.⁶⁸ The second edition does not contain a change to the contents or even the order of the first edition; the only differences were a few corrections to the music and text.⁶⁹ This volume contained five of Willaert's secular Latin-texted works: *Adriacos numero*, *Haud aliter*, *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*, *Si rore Aonio*, and *Victor io salve*.

Schiltz argues that two criteria were used for the organization of the twenty-three motets in this print: modal considerations and categories of compositional technique. Regarding the

⁶⁶ See Armen Carapetyan, "The 'Musica nova' of Adriano Willaert" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1945); Helga Meier, "Zur Chronologie der *Musica Nova* Adrian Willaerts," *Studien zur italienisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte* 8 (1973): 71-96; Anthony Newcomb, "Editions of Willaert's *Musica Nova*: New evidence, new speculations," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1973): 132-45; David Butchart, "'La Pecorina' at Mantua, *Musica Nova* at Florence," *Early Music* vol. 13 no. 3 (August 1985): 358-66; Jessie Ann Owens and Richard Agee, "La stampa della *Musica nova* di Willaert," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 24 no. 2 (1989): 219-305; Michele Fromson, "Themes of exile in Willaert's *Musica nova*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* vol. 47 no. 3 (Fall 1994): 442-487; etc.

⁶⁷ Hermann Zenck, *Adriani Willaert: Opera Omnia vol. 3: Motetta V vocum, 1539 et 1550* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950): i.

⁶⁸ Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 242.

⁶⁹ Katelijne Schiltz, "Motets in Their Place: Some 'Crucial' Findings on Willaert's Book of Five-Part Motets (Venice, 1539)," trans. Hilary Staples, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 54, no. 2 (2004): 99.

modal considerations, Schiltz does not find any trends in the cleffing or the finals of the motets, which commonly determined the ordering of a collection. Instead, key signature, which was another common ordering principle at the time, is a significant factor. The first half of the collection (nos. 1–13) is in *cantus mollis*, with a flat, and the second half (nos. 14–23) is in *cantus durus*, with no flats or sharps in the signature.⁷⁰

The use of compositional technique as an ordering criterion was less common in prints of the time. Schiltz argues that this collection employs a symmetrical ordering scheme that juxtaposed works with “traditional” compositional techniques (canon and cantus firmus) against ones that used “modern” techniques (chromatic alterations and syllabic declamation following text accent).⁷¹ Schiltz argues that it was Girolamo Scotto himself who created this dual ordering system, and that he did so as a sort of esoteric intellectual game.⁷² These publisher practices, and the lack of any dedicatory comment from the composer, point toward a collection in which the composer was relatively uninvolved, even though publisher and composer lived in the same city and were acquainted with each other. Because of the partbook format and the modal/stylistic ordering, this publication was likely intended for collectors to perform and study at their leisure.

Motetta IV vocum, Liber secundus

The situation for the prints that contain four-voice motets by Willaert is more complex than that of the five-voice print discussed above. Scotto published two books of Willaert’s four-voice motets in 1539, the same year that he published the first edition of the five-voice

⁷⁰ Ibid., 104.

⁷¹ Ibid., 106.

⁷² Ibid., 112.

collection.⁷³ Six years later, in 1545, Gardano also published two books of Willaert's four-voice motets. Because the prints shared a title and a significant number of concordances, musicologists (including Hermann Zenck, the editor of Willaert's complete works) long assumed that the later Gardano prints were simply a re-edition of the earlier Scotto volumes.⁷⁴ However, the differences are significant, and they include Gardano's use of ligatures versus Scotto's printing of individual notes, Gardano's printing of accidentals outside the standard Guidonian gamut that Scotto left unwritten, and the unexplained transposition of two works in the later Gardano prints.⁷⁵ As a result of these differences, Anne Smith argues that the later Gardano prints were assembled independently. These differences also indicate that Gardano was attempting to be more editorially precise in his edition, with the addition of more detail (notating *ficta* and including ligatures to clarify text underlay), than in previous editions.

Smith also argues that while Scotto did not use any sort of ordering principle in the earlier prints, Gardano's later prints did in fact employ a system. Gardano's *Liber primus* was ordered according to the modal designation of the *exordium* of each motet, and it included only motets in which the mode contains a pitch that is a major third above the final (those based on F, C, and G with B-natural).⁷⁶

Gardano's *Liber secundus* (which contains two secular Latin-texted works, the four-voice *Dulces exuviae* and *Flete oculi*) was published as a set of four oblong quarto partbooks and contains twenty-one motets, all attributed to Willaert. It was ordered using mode, cleffing, and key signature as criteria. All but two of the motets are in modes that contain a pitch that is a

⁷³ Hermann Zenck, *Adriani Willaert: Opera Omnia vol. 2: Motetta IV vocum, Liber secundus, 1539 et 1545* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950): VII.

⁷⁴ Anne Smith, "Willaert motets and mode," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 16 (1992): 117.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 139.

minor third above the final (D, A, and G with B-flat). The first five motets are in G Hypodorian, with low clefs and a flat in the key signature. The next six motets are in some form of plagal mode on A, with low clefs and no flat. The next set of five contains pieces in high clefs and no flat, in either G Dorian or D Hypodorian. The fourth set consists of two pieces, both in high clefs with a flat. The fifth and final set of three pieces are all in low clefs, with a flat.⁷⁷ These kinds of modal orderings and ordering according to clef and signature (which often, but not always, corresponds to mode), were common in prints of the mid-sixteenth century. Later in the century, this ordering became even more common, with modes in numerical order and few exceptions to the ordering principle.⁷⁸

Publishers could acquire music for printing either by copying music from previous prints, procuring music directly from a composer, or obtaining new manuscripts from those who had access to new music.⁷⁹ In 1539 and 1540, Scotto printed a significant amount of music by Willaert (including the above-mentioned four- and five-voice prints). Scotto was focusing his firm's business increasingly on music and used his extensive network of business ties to progress in this area; he must have viewed the addition of a successful composer like Willaert to his roster as a way to advance himself as a music publisher. After this period, however, Scotto published much less music by Willaert (nothing at all in 1541 and some music of questionable attribution in 1542), while in 1541 and 1542 Gardano published eight pieces by Willaert that had appeared in no earlier collections.⁸⁰ Gardano had published almost nothing by any Venetian composers in

⁷⁷ Ibid., 128.

⁷⁸ Schiltz, 103.

⁷⁹ Mary S. Lewis, "Antonio Gardane's early connections with the Willaert circle," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 211.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 216.

1539 and 1540 (the first two years that he lived in the city). Clearly, Gardano suddenly had access to Willaert's new music.

Gardano's edition of six-voice motets by Willaert of 1542 was dedicated to Marco Trevisano, a cleric at St. Mark's. Gardano's dedication refers to musical gatherings at the dedicatee's house at which the publisher was present and new music by Willaert was performed. It is not stated outright that Willaert attended these gatherings, but it is possible that Trevisano was a source of new music by Willaert for Gardano. As the latter established himself in the city, he was able to cultivate a network of friends to supply him with new music. However, there is no evidence whatsoever that Willaert participated in or otherwise supervised the printing of his music by either Gardano or Scotto.⁸¹

There is also no conclusive evidence of Willaert's involvement in the compilation of any of the above manuscripts. In fact, there is plentiful evidence pointing in the other direction. Therefore, as van Orden argues, while we can certainly draw conclusions about how the compilers of the collections intended them to be used, there is a gap between the source and the composer. As a result, the sources do not tell us anything about Willaert's intention for the works' function(s). Any investigation of the actual circumstances of composition must include analysis of the text as well as the music. As we examine Willaert's secular Latin-texted pieces, it is especially important to scrutinize the poetic texts in order to determine context and function.

⁸¹ Ibid., *passim*.

Chapter Two

The Civic Motet and Willaert

The first category of secular Latin-texted music that we will examine is the *Staatsmotette*, or civic motet. It shares characteristics with several larger categories of music, mixing elements of sacred and secular genres in a unique way. By appropriating the musical language of the sacred motet for secular functions, the *Staatsmotette* solemnified civic ceremonies with the weight of sacred ritual. During this period, however, the mixing of sacred and secular worlds was not exclusive to music. For example, in Renaissance Venice (a milieu with clear relevance to Willaert), celebrations for the Feast of Saint Mark were an inseparable mixture of civic and church traditions. The doge, the elected head of state, was the central figure for the event, which was a celebration of the city's patron saint.⁸² A number of scholars have examined the role of music in events that maintain a balance between sacred and secular, at courts and churches throughout Europe during the medieval and Renaissance periods.⁸³ The intermingling of the civic and the sacred was frequent and deep.

In these cultural circumstances, the place of a civic motet becomes clearer. The term *Staatsmotette* was coined by the nineteenth-century music historian August Wilhelm Ambros,

⁸² Denis Arnold, "Ceremonial Music in Venice at the Time of the Gabriellis," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 82nd sess. (1955-1956): 47.

⁸³ Examples of this work include: Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500-1550* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Marica S. Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

but he only used it in a descriptive way, referring to individual pieces.⁸⁴ In his monumental study, *The Italian Madrigal*, Alfred Einstein described civic motets as Latin-texted music “for public spectacles and for State occasions on a grand scale.... This is usually published in the motet prints of the time.... It is an art of the large city squares and of the open air, of the festive halls and large reception rooms of the communities and of the sumptuous halls of princes.”⁸⁵ Einstein does not specify any particular musical characteristics, however. In Alfred Dunning’s book *Die Staatsmotette, 1480-1555* of 1970, Dunning redefines the term by using it as a generic classification, rather than a descriptive term. For Dunning, the critical identifying feature of a civic motet is its social function: a work composed specifically for a particular state ceremony in the official language of that state.⁸⁶ Because of this definition, the primary means of identifying a civic motet is through its text rather than any musical characteristics. Dunning also argues that the function of these pieces is to generate and consolidate power for the court.⁸⁷ Far from being a decorative sideshow, this music was “a necessity, an indispensable means for the exercise of power.”⁸⁸

Although Dunning argues that political music “always occurred in the garb of existing musical forms...it took its strength from them, in many cases advanced their development, grew alongside them,”⁸⁹ and had no musical identity of its own, there are certain common musical elements that scholars have discerned. While Dunning never defines the civic motet’s musical

⁸⁴ Leeman L. Perkins, “Die Staatsmotette (1480-1555),” review of *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*, by Albert Dunning, *The Musical Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Oct. 1972): 659.

⁸⁵ Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, vol. 1, trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 187.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 660.

⁸⁷ Albert Dunning, “Official Court Music: Means and Symbol of Might,” in *La musique et le rite sacré et profane*, ed. Marc Honegger, Christian Meyer, and Paul Prévost (Strasbourg: Association des publications près les Universités de Strasbourg, 1986): 17.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁹ Dunning, “Official Court Music,” 19.

characteristics, he does mention several compositional elements repeatedly in his analyses, suggesting commonalities. Features such as cantus firmus structure, a tendency toward complex polyphony employing more than four voices, displays of technical inventiveness, and emphasis on key words or phrases in the text, occur quite frequently in these works.⁹⁰ Interestingly, these features are also common in Willaert's music, as mentioned above. Martha Feldman takes this link a step further by arguing that many of Willaert's Venetian works adhere closely to what she calls "the official state rhetoric."⁹¹ The five motets discussed below are no exception.

In addition to their common function as civic dedicatory pieces, the five *Staatsmotetten* discussed below have a common source: they were first printed in 1539 by Girolamo Scotto in a volume entitled *Musica quinque vocum vulgo motecta liber primus*.⁹² Schiltz argues that when placed in Scotto's ordering structure (see p. 25), these five civic motets discussed below take on a radically different aesthetic function. Initially, their status was primarily occasional and ceremonial. When placed in this ordering context, however, their musical characteristics (particularly mode and compositional style) take on additional importance.⁹³

Si rore Aonio is the fifth motet in the 1539 Scotto print. Of the five civic motets, its genesis is the most unclear to modern scholars. The text suggests that the work was written for Pierio Valeriano Bolzani, a humanist writer, poet, and cleric who lived from 1477 to 1558.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Martin Picker, "Albert Dunning. *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*," review of *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*, by Albert Dunning, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1972): 259.

⁹¹ Feldman, *City Culture*, 82.

⁹² Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, 1539-1572* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 242.

⁹³ Schiltz, "Motets in Their Place," passim.

⁹⁴ John Platts, *A New Universal Biography Vol. 4* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1826), 289.

Prima pars

Si rore Aonio fluerent mea plectra, Valeri,
Niterer in laudes illa movere tuas,
Utque alii heroum cecinere ducumque triumphos
Nostra tibi semper Musa dicata foret

*If with the Aonian dew my quills flow, O Valerius,
I was borne upon to move them in your praises,
And as others might sing the triumphs of heroes and commanders
Our Muse will have always been devoted to you.*

Secunda pars

At desueta diu revocantem carmina terrent
Et tua me virtus et mea penuries.
Vincor ego immensas cupiens tibi pangere laudes
Teque meos laetos vincere posse modos.

*But in recalling verses long disused, they terrify me —
Both your virtue and my want (shortcomings).
I am overcome desiring to compose you immense praises
and to be able to overcome you in my joyful measures.⁹⁵*

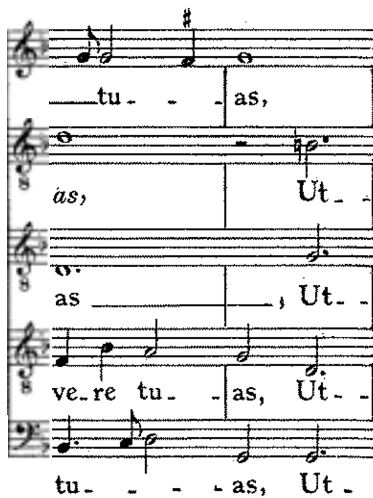
The poem is clearly addressed to “Valeri,” an odd choice as a dedicatee, except that Bolzani was a favorite of the Medici family in general and Pope Leo X in particular.⁹⁶ Beyond this detail, however, nothing is known for certain about the dating or circumstances of the composition. Like all of these civic works, it was probably written as a gift to initiate or solidify a relationship of patronage with a dedicatee. The poetry, most likely by Willaert himself, is written in the first person, from the perspective of the artist composing the verses. The piece is therefore a personal tribute to Bolzani and may not have been originally meant for a specific performance context at all. Instead, it could be a piece for contemplation, written to flatter the friend of one of Willaert's powerful patrons.

The piece is divided into a *prima* and *secunda pars*. Its structure follows that of the

⁹⁵ This and all following *Staatsmotetten* translations by Travis Griffin and Jonathan Harvey.

⁹⁶ Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 242; Platts, *A New Universal Biography*, 290.

poetry, with primary cadences occurring at the ends of poetic lines and the main musical division occurring between stanzas of the poem. The *prima pars* contains two major cadential resting points: the first is at the end of line two of the poem (on G; see Example 8), and the second at the very end (on D). The *secunda pars* has a single major cadential point, which is only reached at the very end (on G). The work is in the tonal type that Harold Powers would classify as “ \flat , c1-c4-F3-F3-F4, G.”⁹⁷ It changes mode over its duration: beginning in Dorian, a shift in ranges and the addition of frequent E-flats signals a shift to D Hypophrygian by the end of the *secunda pars*, with the final cadence occurring on the reciting pitch of G rather than the final of D.



Example 8: *Si rore Aonio*, mm. 33-34

Although the beginning of the piece is strictly imitative, the overall texture is marked by a flexible motivicity, wherein brief motives are attached to each text phrase and are subtly altered over time. The text is set mostly syllabically. For these two reasons and the fact that there is no

⁹⁷ Tonal types are descriptive designations developed by Harold Powers, indicating the key signature, cleffing, and final cadence of a piece. They are related to mode, but not synonymous with it. See: Harold S. Powers, “Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 428 – 470.

cantus firmus or canon technique at work, Katelijne Schiltz classifies this motet as one of the works in the Scotto print that utilizes modern compositional techniques, although there are very few chromatic alterations (a few E-flats and Bs).⁹⁸ The mode change also contributes to the idea that this piece is marked by modern techniques.

There is one specific textual moment that is highlighted by a change in the musical texture. The beginning of the third poetic line in the *prima pars* is homophonic in four voices, which is unique in the piece. Except for that moment, which marks a structural division, homophony is rare in even just two voices, much less three or four. Interestingly, the meaning of this particular text (“utque alii,” “and as others”) is not crucial to the meaning of the poem. One might expect the patron's name to be a textual focal point, or a word like “laudes” (“praises”). Instead, in this instance, Willaert uses texture to clarify form, rather than textual meaning.

Adriacos numero is the seventh motet in the 1539 Scotto collection. It has a clearly discernible origin: a celebration of the visit of Cardinal Ippolito de Medici to Venice in 1532. He was en route to Hungary as part of a military expedition against the Turks there.⁹⁹ As has already been noted, Willaert never specifically worked directly for the Medici, but he likely sought their patronage. The text refers to the family explicitly:

⁹⁸ Schiltz, “Motets in Their Place,” 107. Also see explanation of Schiltz’s “modern vs. traditional” system on p. 25 of this study.

⁹⁹ Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 242.

Prima pars

Adriacos numero si qui comprehendere fluctus
Posse putat saevi cum tumet unda maris,
Ille tuas referat laudes et maxima facta
Queis modo Pannonius obstupuitque Geta.

*I count the Adriatic waves if anyone can
who ponders how ferociously the wave of the sea swells,
He carries back your praises and greatest deeds
to them in the manner that Pannonius also praised Geta.*

Secunda pars

Nobis dum sacros templis adolebimus ignes,
Subdita Romano dum pia regna patri,
Non indictus eris Medices, quo vindice tuta
Vix timet iratos, Italia terra deos.

*As long as we will burn sacred fires in our temples,
Pious reigns having been subjected to the Roman fatherland,
You will not be unknown Medici, who as claimant
Scarcely fears the angry gods, the land of Italy having been protected.*

The text, aside from glorifying the Medici, also refers to “Pannonius” and “Geta.” The latter is the Roman emperor Publius Septimius Geta (189-211), who was later glorified in the poetry of the fifteenth-century Croatian humanist writer Janus Pannonius (1434–1472).¹⁰⁰ In this way, Willaert glorifies the Medicis by presenting them in comparison to a great Roman imperial family, and he simultaneously self-identifies as a humanist.

Adriacos numero is divided into a *prima* and a *secunda pars*, both of which are in the Hypolydian mode, and tonal type “b, c1-c4-F3-F3-F4, F.” The *prima pars* is distinguished by its frequent cadences, which adhere to the rhetorical structure of the poem. The only cadence that brings all parts to simultaneous rest, however, is at the very end of the *prima pars*, on F. The *prima pars* opens with strict imitation and is marked by several sections where one of the five

¹⁰⁰ Ádám Makkai, *In quest of the 'miracle stag': the poetry of Hungary* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 41.

voices drops out completely to create a four-voice texture (mm. 17-22, 31-36, 39-42); there is even one section in which two voices drop out and create a trio texture (mm. 42-46). The three-voice passage introduces the text “et maxima facta” (“and great deeds”), potentially a rhetorical gesture wherein the texture is simplified before being built back up, creating a sense of “greatness.”

The *secunda pars* is not marked by frequent cadences (they are much rarer than in the *prima pars*), and does not begin with imitation, but is distinguished by several striking moments of near-homophony in which at least three parts declaim the text together. These moments all happen in the second half of the *secunda pars*, which contains the direct proclamation of Medici power. The specific lines are the last two of the poem: “Non indictus eris Medices, quo vindice tuta / Vix timet iratos, Itala terra deos” (“You will not be unknown Medici, who as claimant / Scarcely fears the angry gods, the land of Italy having been protected”). Rhetorically, this makes sense: the might of the Medicis should be clear and unmistakable. Schiltz classifies this motet as one of the works in the Scotto collection that utilizes modern compositional techniques, primarily because of this attention to the text.¹⁰¹

Inclite Sfortiadum princeps is the fifteenth motet in the 1539 Scotto collection. It is one of two motets in this collection that pay homage to Francesco II Sforza, the Duke of Milan, commemorating his victory over the French at the Battle of Pavia in 1525.¹⁰² The text is a powerful tribute to Francesco II:

¹⁰¹ Schiltz, “Motets in Their Place,” 107.

¹⁰² Zenck, *Adriani Willaert: Opera Omnia* vol. 3, ii.

Inclite Sfortiadum princeps, nate sanguine divo
 Dux invicte, potens, strenuus, magnanime,
 Summe, animos viresque tuas cognomen ab hoste
 Laturum palmam te notat ecce tuum:
 Nuntiat hoc insigne tuum; sicut anguis et ipse
 Se novat in melius, sors tua sit melior.
 (Vivat dux Franciscus Sfortia felix)

*Renowned prince of the Sforzas, having been born in blood divine
 A duke unconquered, powerful, vigorous, magnanimous,
 Most high, your courage and strength will carry away victory from the enemy
 Behold your name distinguishes you:
 Your insignia announces this; just as the serpent also
 Renews himself for the better, may your fortune be improved.
 (Long live Duke Francisco Sforza the fortunate)*

The text in parenthesis is that of the *quintus* voice, which contains a *soggetto cavato*, a type of solmization pun, as a cantus firmus. Each of the eleven syllables of that text is made to correspond with the solmization syllable that shares its vowel. For instance, the first syllable of the word “Vivat” contains a closed [i] vowel, as does the solmization syllable “mi.” In different hexachords, these solmization syllables correspond to different pitches. The *soggetto cavato* of this text phrase is translated into pitches as follows:

text	Vi-	vat	dux	Fran-	cis-	cus	Sfor-	ti-	a	fe-	lix
solmization	mi	fa	ut	fa	mi	ut	sol	mi	fa	re	mi
natural hexachord	E	F	C	F	E	C	G	E	F	D	E
hard hexachord	B	C	G	C	B	G	D	B	C	A	B

Table 1

The *quintus* voice of the motet consists of eleven *longae* of rest, followed by a statement of the *soggetto cavato* in *longae* on the hard hexachord. Then, after eleven more *longae* of rest, the *soggetto* is stated in *longae* on the natural hexachord. The metrical values are then cut in half, and after eleven *breves* of rest, the *soggetto* is stated in *breves* on the hard hexachord. Finally, after a single *semibreve* of rest, the *soggetto* is stated one last time, in *semibreves*, on the natural hexachord (see Example 9).



Example 9: *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps, quintus*, mm. 111-116

The cadential and phrase structure of the other voices does not follow this framework at all. Rather, they follow the rhetorical meaning of the longer poetic text, resulting in two simultaneous, overlapping structures. The work is in the Phrygian mode, and the opening establishes two pairs of voices, *superius* and *altus* against tenor and *bassus*, through paired imitation. There is no rhetorical use of homophony, and the texture is marked by continuous motivicity. One textual phrase is emphasized through the presence of only three voices: “cognomen ab hoste” (“taken from the enemy”), potentially to focus attention on those words. It would have made sense for Willaert to highlight the opening two lines of text, specifically praising the Sforza, but he does not do so. Schiltz categorizes this motet, which is in the tonal type “ \natural , c1-c3-c3-c4-F4, E,” as a piece in Willaert’s old compositional style as discussed above, because it uses a cantus firmus *soggetto cavato*, a technique used most famously by Josquin in

his *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*.¹⁰³

Haud aliter is the seventeenth motet in the 1539 Scotto print. It was composed as a celebration of Ferdinand I of Austria's defeat of the Turks at Vienna in 1529.¹⁰⁴ While the text does not directly name Ferdinand, the invocation of Wenceslaus is a reference to the Czech territories of the Hapsburg Empire, which were referred to as the St. Wenceslaus territories.¹⁰⁵

Haud aliter pugnans fulgebat Caesar in armis,
Ac tu spes patriae bellica tela ferens.
Magna trophaea paras dum tu contendis in hostem,
Vincislai paras nomina magna quoque;
Nam merito sortitus eras haec nomina laudis
Cum toties victor vincere doctus eras.

*By no means other than fighting did Caesar shine in arms,
And so are you the hope of the fatherland bearing bellicose weapons.
You furnish great trophies when you struggle against the enemy,
You furnish also the great names of the Wenceslaus;
For by merit you had obtained these names of praise
As victor so often you had been taught to conquer.*

The motet is in the Ionian mode, and its tonal type is “♩, c1-c3-c4-c4-F4, C.” Because of the syllabic text setting that follows patterns of accentuation, and a rhetorical moment of homophony on the text “magna trophaea paras” (“great trophies,” see Example 10), Schiltz categorizes this as a “modern” style motet within the 1539 print.¹⁰⁶ *Haud aliter* is marked by pervasive flexible motivicity, in which small motives, which are attached to text phrases, are repeated and varied continuously. The motives are quite short, often attached to only two or three words, rather than an entire poetic line. The piece also contains a large amount of text (and

¹⁰³ Schiltz, “Motets in Their Place,” 108.

¹⁰⁴ Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 242.

¹⁰⁵ Zenck, *Adriani Willaert: Opera Omnia* vol. 3, ii.

¹⁰⁶ Schiltz, “Motets in Their Place,” 108.

therefore music) repetition, although because the motives change over time, there are no exact repetitions within the musical texture. There are frequent and regular cadences, mostly on C and G, although none of them (save the final one on C) bring all the voices to rest together. Because of the continuity of the polyphonic texture and the textual repetition, the overall effect of the piece is a long through-composed work that never rests until the very end.



Example 10: *Haud aliter*, mm. 28-31

Immediately following *Haud aliter* in the Scotto print is *Victorio salve*, the eighteenth motet in the collection. Like *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*, it was composed as a tribute to Francesco II Sforza, the Duke of Milan, commemorating his victory over the French at the Battle of Pavia in 1525.¹⁰⁷ The text makes specific reference to the Sforzas, and to the French king Francis I who was defeated there:

¹⁰⁷ Zenck, *Adriani Willaert: Opera Omnia* vol. 3, ii.

Prima pars

Victor io, salve, tantum cui fata triumphi
Gallorum capto rege dedere decus!
Notum erat ipse deos quantum venereris amesque,
Nunc de te superum cura favorque patet.
(Salve Sfortiarum maxime dux et imperator.)

*Hail victor, prosper, so great to whom the will
of the gods has given honor in triumph over the captive king of the Gauls!
It was known just how much you love and venerate the gods,
now the divine powers' care and favor of you is revealed.
(hail highest duke and commander of the Sforzas.)*

Secunda pars

Quis curare neget divos mortalia, sanctos
Mira ope cum videat reddita regna duci?
Nil fortuna malis poterat trux addere tantis,
Nil dare plus istis dii potuere bonis.
(Salve Sfortiarum maxime dux et imperator.)

*Who may deny the holy powers oversee mortality,
might see reign having been restored to the duke by a marvelous work?
No savage fortune was able to compound such evils,
not at all were the gods able to give more to your profits.
(hail highest duke and commander of the Sforzas.)*

This motet also uses a *soggetto cavato*, but a longer one than *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*. It is constructed as follows:

text	Sal-	ve	Sfor-	ti-	a-	rum	ma-	xi-	me	dux	et	im-	per-	a-	tor
solmization	fa	re	sol	mi	fa	ut	fa	mi	re	ut	re	mi	re	fa	sol
natural hexachord	F	D	G	E	F	C	F	E	D	C	D	E	D	F	G
hard hexachord	C	A	D	B	C	G	C	B	A	G	A	B	A	C	D

Table 2

The *soggetto* is in the tenor voice, and is laid out in a way similar to *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*. In the *prima pars*, after fifteen *breves* of rest, the *soggetto* is stated in *breves* on the hard hexachord. Then, after another fifteen *breves* of rest, it is stated on the natural hexachord. The note values then diminish, and after fifteen *semibreves* of rest, the *soggetto* is stated in *semibreves* on the hard hexachord (see Example 11). In the *secunda pars*, the *soggetto* structure is identical, except that the hexachords are reversed (to the order natural, hard, natural).



Example 11: *Victor io, salve*, tenor, mm. 68-75

The structure of the other four voices follows the rhetoric of the poetry, rather than the pseudo-isorhythmic framework of the tenor. The four remaining voices are also split up into two groups, with the *superius* and *altus* functioning as an upper pair, and the *quintus* and *bassus* functioning as a separate, lower pair.

Victor io salve is in the same mode as *Haud aliter pugnans* (Ionian), and the same tonal type (“ \natural , c1-c3-c4-c4-F4, C”); they appear one after the other within the print, which is ordered modally. Because of the prevalence of long melismas and the use of *soggetto cavato* technique, Schiltz categorizes this motet as “traditional” style, rather than “modern.”¹⁰⁸

The *prima pars* begins with the two pairs of voices in imitative polyphony before shifting to a more flexible, freer motivic polyphony. The final cadence of the *prima pars* is in G, between *superius* and *quintus*. The *secunda pars* begins homophonically, and then splits into paired

¹⁰⁸ Schiltz, “Motets in Their Place,” 108.

imitation for mm. 84-95. At that point, the texture again moves to freer, motivic polyphony, until another episode of paired imitation in mm. 108-117. From m. 117 to the end, there is a continuous motivic polyphonic texture until the final cadence, on C, between *altus* and *quintus*.

These five motets are examples of the ways that Willaert maintained personal ties with his network of prestigious patrons: the Medici, Sforza, and Hapsburg families are all honored in these five works. It is also important to note that Willaert does not favor one single compositional procedure in these motets, despite their similar functions. On the contrary, they exhibit a variety of techniques, both traditional and forward-looking. The hallmarks of Willaert's individual style are all present: continuously woven counterpoint, developing motivicity, careful text setting, and musical games and puzzles such as *soggetto cavato*.

Chapter Three

Virgil's *Aeneid* and Willaert

The second category of works within Willaert's body of secular Latin-texted music consists of his settings of excerpts from Virgil's *Aeneid*. Some contextual remarks are necessary in order to understand Willaert's settings. First, I will briefly explore the *Aeneid* and its transmission to the Renaissance. Second, I will examine other Renaissance musical settings of excerpts from the *Aeneid* to establish Willaert's musico-historical context. Finally, I will analyze the music and propose compositional functions and performance contexts.

The Italian humanist educational philosophy that developed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries used Virgil's *Aeneid* as a foundational text, because of its connections to Greece and to Rome. The Greek connection derives from the influence of Homer's work upon Virgil. In Homer's *Iliad*, Aeneas was a minor character associated with the founding of Rome, and Virgil took the disconnected stories of that character as the basis for an epic glorifying the roots of the new Roman Empire. The structure of the *Aeneid* is also influenced by Homer: the *Iliad* is a battle epic, the *Odyssey* is a travel epic, and Virgil brought both of those narrative archetypes into a single work. He devoted the first six books of the *Aeneid* to Aeneas's wandering journey from Troy to Latium (a travel epic), and the last six books to the war in Latium where Aeneas's forces were ultimately victorious (a battle epic).¹⁰⁹ The *Aeneid*'s connection to Rome is clear: Virgil began work on the poem from 26 to 19 BCE, probably as a tribute to Augustus, his patron and the new Emperor of Rome.

¹⁰⁹ E.G. Knauer, "Virgil's *Aeneid* and Homer," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964): 61–84.

These connections to both Greek and Roman antiquity meant that the *Aeneid* was particularly appealing to Renaissance humanist scholars. Five of the most influential Italian Renaissance humanist educational treatises¹¹⁰ all treat the *Aeneid* as a guidebook for good and moral behavior, with Aeneas as the ultimate role model.¹¹¹ This behavior modeling even crossed gender lines: Isabella Sforza, a patron of Willaert's, strongly identified with the character of Aeneas.¹¹²

In 1518, another of Willaert's patrons, Pope Leo X, commissioned the poet Marco Girolamo Vida to write an epic poem *Christias* on the life of Christ that would imitate the form of the *Aeneid*.¹¹³ In medieval and Renaissance commentaries on the *Aeneid*, Aeneas's devotion to his father Anchises is one of the dominant themes, and in an attempt to create a Christianized moral allegory out of Virgil's epic, many scholars of the time linked Jesus's devotion to God with Aeneas's devotion to Anchises.¹¹⁴ It is these educational and spiritual commentaries that informed most medieval and Renaissance readers' approaches to the *Aeneid*. They would have come to know the work through a wide variety of textual sources such as florilegia, school texts, glosses, and reworkings in the vernacular. These different modes of access had significant effects on how much of the work readers knew and the ways they attached meaning to it.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Pier Paolo Vergerio's *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis* (*On the Noble Character and the Liberal Studies*, c.1393), Leonardo Bruni's *De studiis et litteris* (*On Literary Studies*, c.1405), Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's *De liberorum educatione* (*On the Education of Children*, c.1445), Battista Guarino's *De ordine docendi et studendi* (*On the Order of Teaching and Studying*, 1459), and Maffeo Vegio's *De educatione liberorum clarisque eorum moribus* (*On Education and Distinction of Character in Children*, c.1460).

¹¹¹ Craig Kallendorf, *Vergil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 50.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 194.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹¹⁴ Sean Gallagher, "Pater optime: Vergilian Allusion in Obrecht's *Mille quingentis*," *The Journal of Musicology* 18, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 406.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 410.

Most trained musicians would have had some familiarity with the *Aeneid* through their education, and their patrons certainly did. Because of Virgil's importance to the intellectual life of Renaissance Italy, many composers set excerpts of his work to music. In fact, Virgil's words had been set to music ever since music was first notated: several ninth and tenth century manuscripts of the *Aeneid* have neumes written in, usually at especially dramatic moments.¹¹⁶ During the Renaissance, composers set excerpts from texts across Virgil's oeuvre, including the *Eclogues* (Obrecht,¹¹⁷ Lassus, and Rossetti¹¹⁸) and the *Georgics* (from Nicolas Faber's collection *Melodiae Prudentianae et in Virgilium*,¹¹⁹ a collection of odes set in simple homophony, in a German Renaissance imitation of the style of ancient Roman music as it was then understood). However, it was the *Aeneid*, for the reasons mentioned above (Greek and Roman connections, humanistic educational curriculum, Christianized allegory), that was the most popular Virgilian text source for Renaissance composers. There was some variety in the excerpts chosen from the *Aeneid*, but one passage, "Dulces exuviae," Dido's last words from Book IV, was by far the most commonly set. At least seventeen Renaissance musical settings of this speech have come down to us, including those by composers such as Josquin, Lassus, Arcadelt, Mouton, de Orto, Ghiselin, Vaet, Gerarde, Handl, and of course Willaert.¹²⁰ The text begins as follows:

¹¹⁶ Oliver Strunk, "Vergil in Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (October 1930): 483.

¹¹⁷ Gallagher, "*Pater optime*," 408.

¹¹⁸ Strunk, "Vergil," 488.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 489.

¹²⁰ Allen B. Skei, "Dulces exuviae: Renaissance settings of Dido's last words," *Music Review* 37, no. 2 (1976): 77.

651 Dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebant,
652 accipite hanc animam meque his exolvite curis
653 vixi et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi,
654 et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

O relics dear, while fate and god allowed,
receive my spirit and free me from these cares;
for I have lived and journeyed through the course assigned by fortune.
And now my Shade will pass, illustrious, beneath the earth.¹²¹

August Wilhelm Ambros suggested a reason that “Dulces exuviae” was such a popular text with composers: “not only that it, taken out of the epic, is complete in itself like a motet text but also that the solemn pathos of the words — the situation itself, the poetic figure of the dying queen — attracted them.”¹²² However, as has been established above, Renaissance composers rarely wrote from a sense of independent inspiration; the motivation to write was much more likely to be a specific patron or performance context. In this instance, where we find many composers setting the same text with no liturgical motivation, it is also possible that emulation and imitation of other musicians could have been a motive, whether out of a sense of competition or homage.¹²³

The pair of settings by Josquin and Mouton has attracted the most attention from modern musicologists, and the compositional genesis of Josquin's work in particular can give us a glimpse into the specific context of why a composer might set a Virgil excerpt. Both Josquin's and Mouton's works first appear in a manuscript copied for Henry VIII of England between 1519 and 1533 (GB-Lbl Royal 8 G. vii), which was probably prepared to commemorate the wedding

¹²¹ Allen Mandelbaum, *The Aeneid of Virgil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 103.

¹²² Skei, “Dulces exuviae,” 89.

¹²³ For explorations of this phenomenon of *imitatio*, see: Lewis Lockwood, “On 'Parody' as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music,” in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan La Rue (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 560-75; Howard Mayer Brown, “Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 1-48; Honey Meconi, “Does *imitatio* exist?” *The Journal of Musicology* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 152-178; John Milsom, “‘Imitatio,’ ‘intertextuality,’ and early music,” in *Citation and authority in Medieval and Renaissance music: Learning from the learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 141-151; etc.

of Henry and Catherine of Aragon.¹²⁴ Josquin's four-voice setting follows the poetic structure of the text, with cadences at the ends of lines. It is mostly imitative, but draws attention to key words like “vixi” (“I have lived”) through homophony, and is marked by an unusual change of mode from Dorian to Phrygian in the last poetic line.

Mouton's setting takes the *superius* voice of Josquin's, raises it by a fourth, and uses it as a cantus firmus in his own *superius* line. The modal identity of Josquin's work is preserved (albeit a fourth higher, accomplished with the addition of a B-flat to the key signature), but all of the counterpoint is new. Mouton's three lower voices contain shorter note values than Josquin's, and there is more textural variety. Mouton incorporates antiphonal effects, includes a canon between the *superius* and tenor voices at times, and generally weaves a more complex contrapuntal fabric than that of Josquin's setting.

It is the quotation of Josquin by Mouton that drew initial musicological attention to these two settings of “Dulces exuviae,” but there has also been ongoing debate about the patron(s) for whom these pieces were composed. In 1954, Helmuth Osthoff argued that the group of *Aeneid* settings appearing in the Henry VIII manuscript (including Josquin's and Mouton's settings) probably originated from a single complex of commissioned Virgil-based works. According to Osthoff, the most probable patron for this theoretical set would have been Isabella d'Este (1474 – 1539). In 1499, she commissioned the sculptor Andrea Mantegna to design a monument to Virgil in Mantua, and there was some suggestion that music was part of the project as well.¹²⁵

In 1965, Martin Picker noted that two of the Virgil settings that appear in the Henry VIII manuscript (an anonymous setting and one by de Orto) also appear in a *chansonnier* prepared for

¹²⁴ Skei, “Dulces exuviae,” 78.

¹²⁵ Helmuth Osthoff, “Vergils Aeneis in der Musik von Josquin des Prez bis Orlando di Lasso,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 11, no. 2 (1954): 99.

Marguerite of Austria at around the same time. He argued that because both of these manuscripts originated in the Netherlands, Osthoff's proposal of an Italian origin seemed less likely.¹²⁶

Decades later, in 2004, Michael Zywietz proposed that Josquin's Virgil settings, including this *Dulces exuviae*, might well have been composed specifically for Marguerite of Austria's court in Mechlin. Zywietz points out that members of the Mechlin court built a mythology around the city centered on similarities with Troy, and that Marguerite herself deeply identified with the character of Dido.¹²⁷

This review of theories about the genesis of these pieces is not presented to suggest a concrete answer. Instead, it indicates the widespread interest in Virgil at this time, especially among highly educated members of the nobility, and the range of composers who catered to this interest by setting excerpts from his works. Willaert was no exception, and his three Virgil settings are clear examples of these musical and intellectual trends.

Willaert's setting of the *Aeneid* text "O socii" appears in only one extant source, the print *Quinto libro di madrigali à cinque voci* ("Fifth book of madrigals for five voices") published by Gardano in 1566. The print is billed as a collection of pieces by Cipriano de Rore; Willaert's *O socii* is the only work by Willaert in it, but it also includes works by Ippolito Sabino, Giovanni Nasco, Orlando di Lasso, and Bartomoleo Spontone. A setting of the Virgil "O socii" text by Rore is also in the print, and these two works are the only surviving settings of this text from the

¹²⁶ Martin Picker, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 95.

¹²⁷ Michael Zywietz, "'Dulces exuviae' – Die Vergil-Vertonungen des Josquin des Prez," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 61, no. 4 (2004): 245.

Renaissance.¹²⁸ Both pieces bear the inscription “Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Cardinalis Granvellani Emblema” (“To the Illustrious and Revered Cardinal Granvelle”).

Cardinal Granvelle, or Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586), was a sixteenth century politician, diplomat, and cleric. He held posts such as the Bishop of Arras (1538-1550); prime minister to Charles V when the latter was King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor (1550-1555); prime minister to Charles's son Philip II (1555-1559); Cardinal and Archbishop of Malines (1561-death); and Viceroy of Naples (1571-1575).¹²⁹ Granvelle was an active patron of music and had especially extensive correspondence with Willaert and Lassus. The significance of his musical patronage is also made clear by three important publications dedicated to him: Tielman Susato's *Liber primus ecclesiasticarum cantionum* of 1553; Pierre Phalèse's print of motets by Pierre de Manchicourt, *Liber quintus cantionum sacrarum* of 1554; and Lassus's first set of motets, *Il primo libro de motteti*, published by Johannes Laet in 1556.¹³⁰ There is some uncertainty about precisely how Willaert and Granvelle first met, but there are three possible occasions: Granvelle's period of study in Italy in 1532-1536, Willaert's visit to Flanders in 1542, or the composer's second visit to Flanders in 1557.¹³¹

A series of letters dating from 1557 to 1559 between Granvelle, Willaert, and Giovanni Francesco Dolfino (Venetian cleric, 1529-1584) illustrate the process through which Willaert's setting of “O socii” came to be. In the first letter, Willaert thanks Granvelle for the gift of a medal that had the Cardinal's portrait on one side and the image of a ship in a storm on the other,

¹²⁸ Karen Atkins, “The Illusion of the *Prima Pratica* and *Seconda Pratica* in the music of Willaert and Rore,” (MA thesis, UNC Chapel Hill, 2012): 66.

¹²⁹ Ignace Bossuyt, “*O socii durate*: A Musical Correspondence from the Time of Philip II,” *Early Music* 26, no. 3 (August 1998): 433.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 435.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 442.

the latter accompanied by Granvelle's motto, "durate" ("endure").¹³² The Cardinal took this motto from lines 198-207 of the *Aeneid*, a passage that directly follows the shipwreck of Aeneas and his crew on the coast of Carthage:

198 O socii—neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum—
 199 O passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.
 200 Vos et Scyllaem rabiem penitusque sonantis
 201 accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopea saxa
 202 experti: revocate animos, maestumque timorem
 203 mittite: forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.
 204 Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
 205 tendimus in Latium; sedes ubi fata quietas
 206 ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
 207 durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.

*O comrades—for ere this we have not been ignorant of evils—
 O ye who have borne a heavier lot, to this, too, God will grant an end!
 Ye drew near to Scylla's fury and her deep-echoing crags;
 ye have known, too, the rocks of the Cyclopes;
 recall your courage and put away sad fear.
 Perchance even this distress it will some day be a joy to recall.
 Through divers mishaps, through so many perilous chances,
 we fare towards Latium, where the fates point out a home of rest.
 There 'tis granted to Troy's realm to rise again;
 endure, and keep yourselves for days of happiness.*¹³³

In a letter dated 8 October 1558, Willaert mentions that he plans to send a copy of *Musica Nova*, which was just being published, to Granvelle. Willaert also apologizes that he has not yet been able to fulfill Granvelle's request for a musical setting of "O socii," meaning that in some intervening correspondence, now lost, Granvelle had asked Willaert to set his motto passage from the *Aeneid* to music.¹³⁴ A letter dated the same day, from Dolfino to Granvelle, indicates that Dolfino is serving as an intermediary between Granvelle and Willaert: Dolfino writes that

¹³² Ibid., 436.

¹³³ Fairclough, H. Rushton, trans. *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1-6* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 254.

¹³⁴ Bossuyt, "*O socii durate*," 437.

Willaert has given him the copy of *Musica Nova*, which Dolfino plans to forward to Granvelle immediately.¹³⁵

In the next relevant letter, from Dolfino to Granvelle dated 8 April 1559, Dolfino assures the prime minister that Willaert has indeed begun work on the “O socii” setting. According to Dolfino, the composer was afraid that the piece would not meet Granvelle's expectations, but Dolfino wrote that he was working to assure him that Granvelle would love it.¹³⁶ For many years, musicologists had thought that Willaert was asked to write the piece on the occasion of Granvelle's appointment as archbishop in 1561. These letters indicate that he began the piece years before, in early 1559.

The text that Willaert ultimately set was not a direct quotation of the *Aeneid*. Instead, it was altered as follows:

O socii, durate.
O socii, neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum;
O passi graviores, dabit deus his quoque finem,
Experti, revocate animos moestumque timorem
Mittite; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit,
Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus, ostendunt sedes ubi fata secundas.
Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.

The changes include the addition of the opening line (“O comrades, endure,” which does not appear in Virgil), the removal of references to mythology (Scylla, Cyclops), and the removal of references to specific places (Latium, Troy). An equivalent alteration of Fairclough's translation reads as follows:

¹³⁵ Ibid., 439.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 440.

*O comrades, endure.
O comrades, for ere this we have not been ignorant of evils;
O ye who have borne a heavier lot, to this, too, God will grant an end,
recall your courage and put away sad fear.
Perchance even this distress it will some day be a joy to recall.
Through divers mishaps, through so many perilous chances,
we move forward, where the fates point out another home.
Endure, and keep yourselves for days of happiness.*

Willaert's setting, like two civic motets discussed earlier, uses a *soggetto cavato*, but this one is much shorter. The text source is just the word “durate,” Granvelle's motto. The word is translated into the solmization syllables “ut, fa, re,” and all three hexachords are used, translating into the following motives:

text	du-	ra-	te
solmization	ut	fa	re
hard hexchord	G	C	A
natural hexachord	C	F	D
soft hexachord	F	B-flat	G

Table 3

The *soggetto* occurs in the *quintus* and *sextus* voices, which are the second highest and second lowest, respectively, in the six-voice texture. These two voices each have a symmetrical arrangement of *soggetto* statements that repeats (almost) three times. The *quintus* voice states the *soggetto* on all three hexachords in the following symmetrical order: natural, soft, hard, hard, soft, natural. The *sextus* voice states the *soggetto* in a different symmetrical arrangement: hard, natural, soft, soft, natural, hard. In each of the three repetitions of this *soggetto* cycle, the rhythmic values are halved: in the first cycle, the rhythm of each statement consists of a *breve* followed by two *longae*, conforming to the syllabic accentuation of the word “durate”; in the

second cycle, beginning in m. 60, the rhythm is a *semibreve* followed by two *breves*; in the incomplete third cycle, beginning in m. 85, the rhythm is a *minim* followed by two *semibreves*. The third repetition breaks down at m. 96, where the *sextus* declaims the *soggetto* in the natural hexachord instead of the expected hard hexachord. From that point on, both voices only use the natural hexachord, until the piece ends seven measures later.

This work is marked by all of the compositional tendencies of Willaert's music mentioned above. The *soggetto* exhibits both his love of musical games and his careful text setting, which is also exemplified by the other voices. The careful text setting can be heard in the first five measures, where the opening phrase (with Granvelle's motto) "O socii, durate" is stated homophonically by the *cantus*, *altus*, and *bassus*, with careful attention paid to syllable accent. *O socii* is an extreme example of Willaert's preference for continuously woven polyphony. The mode is Hypomixolydian, the tonal type is "♭, c1-c1-c3-c4-F4-F4, G," and all of the cadences are on G. However, in the entire 102-*breve* piece, there are only two cadences. The first, between *cantus* and *altus*, occurs in m. 60, just at the moment when the first *soggetto* cycle concludes. The second cadence, between *altus* and tenor, occurs in m. 102, concluding the piece.

The continuously developing motivicity typical of Willaert's music is also seen in *O socii*. With very few exceptions, the four non-*soggetto* voices (*cantus*, *altus*, tenor, *bassus*) move through the poetic text at the same rate, but with no homophony after the first five measures. Each line of text has a distinct rhythmic profile, which adheres to the accentuation of the syllables. However, the pitch content of these motives varies widely between statements and voices. This results in a texture that is full of rhythmic reminiscences, and a continuously shifting harmonic context. With the repeating *soggetto* statements and the absence of cadences, the

resulting sound is a continuous, unbroken drive toward the end of the piece.

Willaert's four-voice *Dulces exuviae* appears in seven extant sources (three manuscript, four print). In those sources, the piece is unattributed or attributed either to Willaert or Mouton. The sources are as follows:

F-CA MS 125-128 (CambraiBM 125-8):
Bruges, 1542 (anonymous)

D-Mbs Mus. MS 274a (MunBS 274a):
Augsburg, mid-sixteenth century (anonymous)

D-Rp A. R. 940-941 (RegB 940-1):
Bavaria, 1559 (Joannes Mouton)

1538⁸ (“Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo breves quatuor vocum...”):
Wittenberg, Georg Rhaw (anonymous)

W1109 (“Adriani Willaert...musica quatuor vocum.... Liber Secundus Venetij”):
Venice, Antonio Gardano, 1545 (Adriani Willaert)

1542² (“Concentus octo, sex, quinque & quatuor vocum...”):
Augsburg, Philipp Ulhard (Adrianus Villart)

1547⁵ (“Liber tertius sacrarum cantionum, quatuor vocum...”):
Antwerp, Tylman Susato (Adrianus Willart)

The sources all originated in northern Europe, with the one Venetian exception, and they all were all printed between 1538 and 1559. As extensive as the sources are, the compositional origin and context of Willaert's four-voice *Dulces exuviae* setting is unknown. Unlike the extensive contemporaneous documentation relating to *O socii*, this piece is not accompanied by any dedication or correspondence. RISM 1538⁸ provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1538. We have seen that many noble patrons were interested in the *Aeneid*, and also that Willaert was concerned

with cultivating close relationships with powerful courts throughout Europe (as shown by his civic motets for the Hapsburgs, Medici, and Sforzas). It is possible that this setting was composed as a tribute to a noble who loved Virgil.

Willaert's four-voice *Dulces exuviae* is a setting of eight lines of Dido's speech, which is more text from the passage than other composers tended to use. The full text, from *Aeneid*, Book IV, lines 651-658, follows, with Mandelbaum's translation:

651 Dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebant,
652 accipite hanc animam meque his exolvite curis
653 vixi et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi,
654 et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
655 Urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,
656 ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
657 felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
658 nunquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.

*O relics, dear, while fate and god allowed,
receive my spirit and free me from these cares;
for I have lived and journeyed through the course assigned by fortune.
And now my Shade will pass, illustrious, beneath the earth.
I have built a handsome city, have seen my walls rise up,
avenged a husband, won satisfaction from a hostile brother:
o fortunate, too fortunate — if only
the ships of Troy had never touched our coasts*¹³⁷

While the first four lines that were traditionally set to music offer general sentiments, the additional text makes the original Dido-centric context of the passage clear. The text as a whole is therefore closely bound to its source material, rather than “complete in itself like a motet,”¹³⁸ as Ambros wrote.

The piece, which is ninety-five *breves* long, can be divided into three sections: mm. 1-21, mm. 22-43, mm. 44-95. These sections are divided from one another by rests in every voice, and

¹³⁷ Mandelbaum, *The Aeneid*, 103.

¹³⁸ Skei, “Dulces exuviae,” 89.

they correspond with significant rhetorical and poetic breaks in the text. The first section contains the first two poetic lines, the second section contains the third and fourth, and the third contains lines five through eight. In one of the clearest examples of musical text painting in these nine pieces, the lowest pitches of both the *cantus* and *bassus* voices are on the word “sub” (“beneath”) in m. 39.

The tonal type is “ \natural , c1-c3-c4-F4, E,” and the work is modally ambiguous. The *cantus* line is clearly Phrygian, and there are cadences on many pitches, mostly E, D, A, and G. There are many passages where the mode seems to shift to an A-based mode, however, and there are more cadences on A than any other pitch, especially at the beginning of the piece. There is only one proper cadence on E: late in the piece, in m. 93, between *cantus* and *bassus*. Phrygian seems to be the strongest modal assignation, but there may be modal commixture, or shift from an A-based tonality to a clear Phrygian mode over the course of the piece.

The texture of this setting is both typical and atypical of Willaert's style. On the one hand, great care is taken to observe text accentuation by setting important syllables to long note values. As was noted above, this is one of the aspects of Willaert's style for which he was most famous during his life. On the other hand, this is not a good example of his typical “continuously woven polyphony.” Quite the opposite: the piece is largely homophonic, syllabically set, and the voices move through the text at the same time, with a cadence at the end of almost every poetic line. Ambros wrote of the piece that “Willaert's music, in which the declamatory principle is more than usually prominent, makes [the text's meaning] felt. Nominally a motet, the composition is almost a tragic monologue.”¹³⁹ The polyphony is free, but the impression given is that of a single

¹³⁹ Ibid.

voice, because of the pervasive syllabic homophony.

There are a few exceptions to this general style. There are moments of greater melodic and textural complexity in the form of melismas in several voices, and those passages come on important words: “sinebat” (“allow,” supplicating); and “inimico” (“hostile”). There are also several passages in which the text is repeated, but the music is not. These also occur at emotionally resonant moments: “accipite hanc animam” (“receive my spirit”); and “et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago” (“and now my Shade will pass, illustrious, beneath the earth”).¹⁴⁰

Text repetition is also the reason that the third section of the piece is so much longer than the first two. The last two poetic lines are repeated, with identical music, at the end of the piece (mm. 64-77 is the same as mm. 80-93). The repeated text is the crux of Dido's tragedy: “o fortunate, too fortunate — if only the ships of Troy had never touched our coasts.” The event of Aeneas's shipwreck on the shores of Carthage brought her great joy and also devastating sadness. Having weighed them, she concludes that it is not better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all, but just the opposite: she wishes that she had never known Aeneas. The direct musical and textual repetition emphasizes the devastation that Dido feels.

Willaert's three-voice setting of the “Dulces exuviae” text is the least documented of his Virgil settings. For many years, it was not attributed to Willaert at all, and later it was often confused with Willaert's four-voice setting of the same text. For example, the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (diamm.ac.uk) still cross-lists the two settings as if they were a

¹⁴⁰ The cadential music on the word “imago” (“Shade”) is repeated, but the overall musical gesture is a new one for that text phrase.

single composition. The three-voice setting is in fact an independent work and was attributed to Willaert in one of its three sources:

CH-SGS MS 463 (SGallS 463, “Tschudi Liederbuch”):
Switzerland, c. 1540 (Adrianus Villaert)

1520⁶ (“Chansons a troys. Venetiis impressum opera et arte Andree Antiqui.”):
Venice, Andrea Antico (anonymous)

1542⁸ (“Tricinia. Tum veterum tum recentorium in arte musica symphonistarum,
latina, germanica, brabantica & galica...”):
Wittenberg, Georg Rhaw, (anonymous)

Strunk, in 1930, referred to “one [anonymous “Dulces”] setting in Rhaw's *Symphoniae jucundae* (1538) and *Tricinia* (1542),”¹⁴¹ conflating the two works. Skei, in 1976, refers to this setting as “another anonymous setting in 1538,” and states that it appears “first in Georg Rhaw's *Symphoniae jucundae* as a four-voice piece and later, without the *altus*, in Rhaw's *Tricinia* of 1542.”¹⁴² The two pieces are not related in this way. When David Kidger compiled the reference work *Adrian Willaert: A Guide to Research* in 2005, he established the correct attributions and identities of these pieces.¹⁴³ The current works list of the Willaert article in *Grove Music Online* (by Lockwood, Ongaro, Fromson, and Owens) also clarifies that there are in fact two different settings of “Dulces exuviae” by Willaert: one for three voices and one for four voices.

The function and context of the three-voice *Dulces exuviae* is probably similar to that of the four-voice setting (to pay tribute to a noble patron interested in Virgil), but the provenance of the three-voice sources is again not helpful in the effort to establish the context. The sources span about the same period (twenty-two years as opposed to twenty-one), and there is more

¹⁴¹ Strunk, “Vergil,” 485.

¹⁴² Skei, “Dulces exuviae,” 78.

¹⁴³ David M. Kidger, *Adrian Willaert: A Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 201, 207.

geographic diversity, with sources from northern Germany, Switzerland, and northern Italy. There does not appear to be any extant correspondence related to this setting, and none of the sources carries a helpful dedication. Barring the discovery of new letters, the exact context of this piece, like that of the four-voice setting, will remain a mystery.

The three-voice *Dulces exuviae* is much more modest in scale than the four-voice setting. It is sixty-four *breves* long (about two thirds the length of the four-voice setting) and it only sets the first four lines of Dido's speech rather than eight. Although the piece begins with strict imitation at the octave, it quickly moves to the same syllabic and homophonic texture as the four-voice setting. The three-voice setting has even more frequent and clear musical breaks, created with rests and fermatas. These breaks occur not only at the end of every poetic line, but also at most punctuation marks, heightening the “monologue” effect of the four-voice setting. The piece is in the Hypolydian mode, the tonal type is “ \flat , c4-c4-F4, F,” and every cadence is on either F or C.

Willaert singled out two passages in the text for special treatment. First, the word “vixit” (“lived”) is very clearly set apart, beginning after a rest and ending with a fermata. It is the shortest phrase in the work, and is harmonically static. The second special textual moment comes at the end, when the words “ibit imago” (“Shade will pass”) are repeated many times, with an extensive melisma in the top voice. Not only is it the longest melisma by far in the piece, it is also the only instance of text repetition in the entire piece.

Except for those two passages, the piece proceeds mostly syllabically and homophonically, with little harmonic variety and frequent rests and fermatas. It is distinctly simpler than every other piece discussed in this study. Because of this simplicity, and because

two of the three sources in which it appears were pedagogical collections (the Tschudi Liederbuch¹⁴⁴ and Tricinia¹⁴⁵), it is possible that it was composed as a teaching exercise. However, it is just as likely that because of its simplicity, it was deemed an appropriate pedagogical piece, even if Willaert never intended that use.

These three Virgil settings are probably products of Willaert's work for wealthy patrons interested in the *Aeneid*. It is interesting to note that the two settings of “Dulces exuviae” share certain musical characteristics, such as frequent cadences and pervasive homophony, that *O socii* does not exhibit. However, when considered as a collection of three pieces, they display the characteristic features of Willaert's style, including continuously woven counterpoint, developing motivicity, careful text setting, and musical games.

¹⁴⁴ Loach, “Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook,” 2.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas L. Noblitt, ed., *Tricinia: tum veterum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum: Latina, Germanica, Brabantica et Gallica* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989), VIII.

Chapter Four

Flete oculi, the Enigmatic Outlier

Willaert's four-voice *Flete oculi* is perhaps the most vexing of all of his secular Latin-texted music. As far as I can find, the text is unique in all of Renaissance music; there are no references to any other extant settings. Moreover, there are no sources of this text other than this particular setting by Willaert. The unique nature of the piece is emphasized even further by the fact that it only appears in a single extant source: Gardano's second book of four-voice motets by Willaert, published in 1545 and entitled *Adriani Willaert musici celeberrimi ac chori divi.... Liber Secundus Venetijs* (W1109). Willaert's four-voice *Dulces exuviae* also appears in this collection immediately before *Flete oculi*. The pairing of these two pieces in a collection that is very carefully ordered (see Chapter 1) indicates that Gardano recognized their shared category as settings of secular Latin texts. They are the only two non-liturgical motets in the collection.

The text of *Flete oculi* is six lines long, a single sestet. The structure is influenced by classical Latin poetry, with lines 1, 3, and 5 in dactylic hexameter, the same meter as the *Aeneid*. Lines 2, 4, and 6 are irregular both in meter and in number of syllables.

Flete oculi, rorate genas pectus que rigetis,
Semper, semper enim sors fit acerbas magis.
Immo rigete, nec os nec pectora moesta rigetis,
Nam fletus curas mollificare solet.
Vita mihi est curis miseram traducere vitam,
Utque obeam curis unica cura mea est.

*Weep eyes, drip to cheeks and breast,
Ever, ever indeed fate is fulfilled yet more bitterly.
Yet harsher still, neither mouth nor breast is moistened,
For tears alone can ease my troubles.
My life is ruled by misery throughout,
Such that the only trouble I find is my own.*¹⁴⁶

The poem's description of a devastated figure pleading for the comfort of tears is evocative, but because it has no direct context, it is enigmatic. It is possible that it is a fragment of an ancient Latin poem (although the verb “moestus” in the third line is not a Classical Latin word). It is also possible that it might be a fragment of a devotional poem, relating to suffering of a Biblical figure (“rorate” in the first line is a common word used in relation to Mary). Because of the popularity of unrequited courtly love poetry at this time, spurred by Pietro Bembo's advocacy for Petrarch's poetry, it is also possible that this poem could be from the perspective of a spurned lover.¹⁴⁷ However, no absolute conclusion can be reached. It certainly does not fit into either of the two categories above, civic motet or *Aeneid* setting.

This poetic structure of the poem, a sestet divided into three couplets of one sentence each, is reflected in the musical structure. The piece, which is 115 *breves* long, can be divided into three sections: mm. 1-41, mm. 42-70, and mm. 71-115. The first section, which opens in strict imitative polyphony, quickly moves to freer motivic polyphony. The word “semper” (“ever”) is emphasized beginning in m. 17, both through repetition and the fact that Willaert consistently sets the final syllable of the word on a long pitch, making it go on “forever.” The first section closes with a Phrygian cadence on A between tenor and *cantus* in m. 41.

The second section begins with tightly spaced imitation in all four voices on the word

¹⁴⁶ Translation by Jonathan Harvey

¹⁴⁷ Dean T. Mace, “Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal,” *The Musical Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (January 1969): 68.

“immo” (“yet,” “indeed”), before again moving to free motivic polyphony. Strictly imitative polyphony returns in m. 56, at the beginning of the fourth poetic line, where *altus* imitates *cantus* three *semibreves* later and a fourth lower. This exact imitative texture then repeats itself in the lower voices, *bassus* following tenor a fourth lower and three *semibreves* later, starting in m. 66, creating a texture of paired imitation. The second section of the piece ends when this imitative passage ends, with a cadence between tenor and *bassus* on D in m. 70.

The text of the third section, beginning with the word “vita” (“life”), has already made its first appearance before the second section ends: the *cantus* states it, starting in m. 68. The imitative texture of the piece spans across this section border, because the *cantus* statement beginning in m. 68 is the beginning of another passage of paired imitation, where the *cantus* and *altus* lines are imitated three *breves* later and an octave lower by tenor and *bassus*, respectively. The imitation quickly moves to free polyphony, with a particularly melismatic passage at mm. 95-99 on the word “curis” (“trouble”) that culminates in a weak cadence on C. The cadence on F between *altus* and *bassus* in m. 106 is the last strong cadence, because the final one in D is relatively weak. These cadences, coming in relatively close succession, create a sense of closure at the end of the piece.

Flete oculi is of the “ \flat , g2-C2-C3-F4, D” tonal type, and Willaert's pupil Zarlino used the piece as his example of the tenth mode, Hypoaeolian (transposed to D), in *Le institutione harmoniche*.¹⁴⁸ The work also serves as an example of this mode in other late Renaissance musical treatises. This is not because it is a particularly strong example of the mode, or because there are very few examples in the repertoire, but instead simply because many theorists copied

¹⁴⁸ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutione harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), facsimile, New York, 1965. Quarte parte, 332.

their modal examples directly from Zarlino. Both Giovanni Artusi (1540 – 1613) and Pietro Cerone (1566 – 1625) used *Flete oculi* as their example of the tenth mode. Cerone may not have even looked at the music before using it as his example: he treats the one work as if it were two, *Flete oculi* and *Rorate genas*.¹⁴⁹

While this piece is unique both in provenance and in text, its musical style is very typical of Willaert. It is marked by the continuously developing motivicity, infrequent cadences and resting points, and syllabic text setting that are all hallmarks of Willaert's style.

¹⁴⁹ Wiering, *The Language of the Modes*, 179.

Conclusion

Connections and Context

These nine secular Latin-texted pieces by Willaert fall into three categories, as noted above: five civic motets, three settings of excerpts from Virgil's *Aeneid*, and one enigmatic outlier. I have demonstrated that the first two of these three categories are not unique to Willaert and are in fact typical of their time. Many composers throughout the Renaissance composed civic motets and Virgil settings.

The three categories are not the only way to classify these nine works, however. They also divide themselves quite cleanly into two groups based on affect. Two moods predominate among the texts of these nine works: the lament and the celebration. There are three laments in these nine works: the two “*Dulces exuviae*” settings, and *Flete oculi*. The remaining six pieces are galvanizing celebrations: the five civic motets (*Adriacos numero*, *Haud aliter*, *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*, *Si rore Aonio*, and *Victor io salve*) and the Virgil setting *O socii*. The laments are all written for four or fewer voices, and the celebrations are all written for five or more voices.

We can also note some modal trends (see Table 4). The nine pieces are quite evenly divided between authentic and plagal modes. Six of the nine are in the traditional eight church modes, while three are in modes that were newly defined at the time, part of the twelve-mode system. There are also only two pieces that are written in transposed modes, and only two that change mode over the course of the work.

<i>Si rore Aonio</i>	Dorian, D Hypophrygian
<i>Adriacos numero</i>	Hypolydian
<i>Inclite Sfortiadum princeps</i>	Phrygian
<i>Haud aliter</i>	Ionian
<i>Victor io, salve</i>	Ionian
<i>O socii</i>	Hypomixolydian
<i>Dulces exuviae</i> four-voice	A-based plagal, Phrygian
<i>Dulces exuviae</i> three-voice	Hypolydian
<i>Flete oculi</i>	D Hypoaeolian

Table 4

These nine pieces can also be sorted within Katelijne Schiltz's “modern” vs. “traditional” musical framework, discussed in Chapter 1. The three “traditional” works (*Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*, *Victor io salve*, and *O socii*) are all marked by the use of cantus firmus / *soggetto cavato* techniques. Interestingly, all three of these works fit within the “celebration” subcategory above. The six “modern” pieces (*Si rore Aonio*, *Adriacos numero*, *Haud aliter*, *Flete oculi*, and the two “*Dulces exuviae*” settings) are all marked by a tendency towards syllabic text settings which scrupulously observe text accentuation. They include the modally adventurous pieces that change mode, and the pieces in transposed modes.

There are two full catalogs of Willaert's complete works: one compiled by David Kidger

as part of his book *Adrian Willaert: A Guide to Research*, and one compiled by Jessie Ann Owens and Michele Fromson for *Grove Music Online*. Table 5 below divides each of these collected works lists by genre. We can account for the differences between the lists through some disagreements about attribution, although both of these lists consider all nine of the works in this study to be securely attributed to Willaert.

	Kidger	Grove
motets	198	171
masses	9	8
psalms	27	29
hymns	39	35
other liturgical ¹⁵⁰	16	13
chansons	64	67
madrigals	55	56
canzone villanesche ¹⁵¹	15	15
instrumental ricercares	18	18
lute arrangements ¹⁵²	22	22
TOTAL	463	434

Table 5

Some interesting numerical results can be drawn from this table, and these numbers can in turn help us to place these nine secular Latin-texted works into their context within Willaert's oeuvre. As a baseline, according to Kidger's list, 58% of Willaert's securely attributed extant works are sacred, and 42% are secular. This is nearly identical to the Grove list (57% sacred,

¹⁵⁰ This category includes antiphons, lamentations, Magnificats, responsories, Passions, and versicles.

¹⁵¹ These works are all in a single print, *Canzone villanesche all napolitana ... con la Canzona di Ruzante ... primo libro* (Venice, 1545²⁰, 2/1548¹¹)

¹⁵² These works are all in a single print, *Involatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto* (Venice, 1536/R), which contains twenty-two arrangements by Willaert of madrigals by Verdelot, which Willaert sets for lute and voice.

43% secular). The nine secular Latin-texted works make up 2% of Kidger's and Grove's lists. Within the motet genre (which is where both catalogs place these nine pieces), 95.5% are sacred, and only 4.5% are secular, according to Kidger. Similarly, in Grove 95% of Willaert's motets are sacred, and 5% are secular. Within the broad category of secular vocal music (including chansons, madrigals, *canzone villanesche*), these nine pieces make up 6.5% of Willaert's total extant output according to both Kidger and Grove.

All this is meant to demonstrate that these nine works represent a small body of work both within the larger historical period, and within Willaert's own output. Even within that limited scope, we find a variety of compositional techniques, affects, and contexts. By considering these works in some depth, we can view Willaert and his music from a different perspective than most of the existing scholarship, which focuses on his teaching and his music for the liturgy. In these nine pieces, we find a composer working hard to establish connections outside of his primary place of employment, fully engaged with the cultural and intellectual trends of his day. Although these nine works are a small repertory, they illuminate Willaert's life and times to an extent that is disproportionate to their place within his corpus.

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