

THE ORIGINS OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY “IN-BETWEEN” GENERATION
AND THE LONG SHADOW OF EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY GERMAN
HISTORIOGRAPHY

BENJAMIN ORY

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STANFORD, CA

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Karol Berger

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Katelijne Schiltz

Approved for the Stanford University Committee on Graduate Studies.

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Abstract

The Origins of a Sixteenth-Century “In-Between” Generation and the Long Shadow of Early Twentieth-Century German Historiography

Benjamin Ory

This dissertation takes as its point of departure a problematic historiographical tradition. Even while recognizing that the death of the famous composer Josquin des Prez (1450–1521) marked a stylistic turning point, scholars working in Germany in the early twentieth century characterized the decades that followed, ca. 1520–50, as an aesthetic retrenchment, overstating Josquin’s influence and unwittingly lumping into the same generation sixteenth-century musicians who in fact worked at different times and in different stylistic idioms.

Relying on research in approximately thirty archives, this study reveals how a problematic narrative arose owing to nationalism, religious politics, interpersonal politics, the state of the field at the time, and the inaccessibility of primary source materials. The dissertation revisits composer biographies and the datings of central musical sources. And it uses comparative stylistic analyses of sacred polyphony to pinpoint how, when, and where a new style emerged ca. 1520. Placing writings that launched the modern historiographical tradition in dialogue with musical repertoires central to the early history of musicology, the dissertation aims to give appropriate weight to a decisive shift in the history of music while also revealing the enduring influence of early German scholarship on the discipline as a whole.

To Laura

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Pitch Nomenclature

Pitches are indicated using bolding:

c''	an octave above middle C
c'	middle C
c	an octave below middle C
C	two octaves below middle C

Pitch classes are presented in regular font without bolding, as in “a cadence to F.”

List of Manuscript Sigla

I have based my manuscript names on the sigla used by the Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550 (henceforth, *CCM*).¹ When a work is also known or better known by another name that bears little resemblance to the *CCM* sigla (e.g., The Medici Codex, The Newberry Partbooks, or The Vallicelliana Partbooks), I have opted for the more common name. If the sigla and source names are used interchangeably, both are listed below. In the case that archives in a given city are easily distinguishable, I use the full name of the city. Sistine Chapel manuscripts are exceptionally listed as Cappella Sistina.

Augsburg 142a	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, MS 2° 142a
Barcelona 1967	Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, MS 1166/1967 (“Cancionero de Gandia”)
Bologna A71	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, A.71
Bologna Q19	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.19 (“Rusconi Codex”)
Bologna Q20	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.20
Bologna Q21	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.21
Bologna Q23	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.23
Bologna Q27(1)	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.27 I°
Bologna Q27(II)	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.27 II°
Bologna R142	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, R.142
Bologna SP 31	Bologna, Archivio Musicale di S. Petronio, MS A.XXXI

¹ Charles Hamm, ed., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, 4 vols. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology and Hänsler-Verlag, 1979–88).

Brno choirbooks	Brno, Archiv mesta Brna, fond V 2 Svatojakubská knihovna, sign. 15/4 "Bam. 1" and 14/5 "Bam 2"
Cambrai 3	Cambrai, Le Labo (olim Médiathèque d'agglomération de Cambrai, and Bibliothèque Municipale/Bibliothèque Communale), MS 3
Cambrai 125–8	Cambrai, Le Labo (olim Médiathèque d'agglomération de Cambrai, and Bibliothèque Municipale/Bibliothèque Communale), MS 125–8
Cambridge 1760	Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 1760
Cappella Giulia XII.4	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Giulia XII,4
Cappella Sistina 15	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 15
Cappella Sistina 16	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 16
Cappella Sistina 19	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 19
Cappella Sistina 20	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 20
Cappella Sistina 22	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 22
Cappella Sistina 23	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 23
Cappella Sistina 26	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 26
Cappella Sistina 38	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 38
Cappella Sistina 42	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 42
Cappella Sistina 46	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 46
Cappella Sistina 57	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 57
Casale 3	Casale Monferrato, Archivio Capitolare, FM 3 (olim P(E))
Coimbra 2	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.2
Copenhagen 1848	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Ny kongelige Samling 1848, 2°
FlorD 11	Florence, Duomo, Archivio Musicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, MS 11

FlorBN 164—7	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX.164—7
FlorBN II.I.232	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II.I.232
FlorBN II.I.350	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II.I.350
FlorC 2440	Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2440
FlorC 2441	Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2441
FlorC 2442	Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2442 (“Chansonnier Strozzi”)
’s-Hertogenbosch 72A	’s-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MS 72A
’s-Hertogenbosch 157	’s-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MS 157 (olim MS 75)
HradKM 7	Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, MS Hr-7 (II A 7) (“Codex Speciálník”)
Jena 2	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 2
Jena 8	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 8
Leuven 4	Leuven, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS M4
LonBL 35087	London, British Library, Add. MS 35087
LonBL 57950	London, British Library, Add. MS 57950 (“Old Hall Manuscript”)
London-Modena-Paris fragments	London, British Library, Add. MS 19583; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.F.2.29 (Lat. 1232); and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 4599
LonRC 1070	London, Royal College of Music, MS 1070
LonRC 2037	London, Royal College of Music, MS 2037
Medici Codex	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Acquisti e doni 666 (FlorL 666)
ModD 9	Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare, MS Mus. IX

ModD 10	Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare, MS Mus. X
ModE F.2.29	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.F.2.29 (Lat. 1232) (part of the “London-Modena-Paris fragments,” listed above)
ModE N.1.2	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.N.1.2
MunBS 5	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 5
MunBS 6	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 6
MunBS 34	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 34
MunBS 65	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 65
MunBS 510	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 510
MunU 401	München, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 44i (olim MS 4° Art. 401)
Newberry Partbooks	Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS VM1578.M91 (ChiN M91, four partbooks); Birmingham, St. Mary’s College, Oscott, Recusant Library, R0279, RFF3 (olim GB-SC Case B No. 4)(SuttonO 4, one partbook)
Padua A17	Padua, Duomo, Biblioteca Capitolare, Curia Vescovile, MS A.17
Paris 851	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Rés. Vma ms. 851 (“Bourdeney manuscript”)
Regensburg 940–1	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, A. R. 940–941
RomeM 23–4	Rome, Palazzo Massimo, VI/C6/23
St. Gallen 463	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 463 (“Tschudi Liederbuch”)
Treviso 8	Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo 8
Treviso 29	Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo 29
Treviso 30	Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo 30
Vallicelliana Partbooks	Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S1 35–40 (RomeV 35–40)
VatP 1976–79	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1976–9
VatP 1980–81	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1980–1

VatVM 571	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Mus. 571
Verona 760	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLX
Vienna 15941	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs. 15941
Vienna 18746	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs. 18746
Wolfenbüttel A	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. A Aug. 2°
Wolfenbüttel 292	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 292

Abbreviations

AIM	American Institute of Musicology (1945–)
anon.	anonymous
attr.	attribution
CCM	Charles Hamm, ed., <i>Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550</i> , 4 vols. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology and Hänsler, 1979–88).
CMM	<i>Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae</i> (American Institute of Musicology series, 1947–)
EM	<i>Early Music</i> (1973–)
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online</i> (Oxford University Press, 2001–), https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ .
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i> (1948–)
JM	<i>Journal of Musicology</i> (1982–)
MGG I	Friedrich Blume, ed., <i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart I</i> (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86).
MGG II	Ludwig Finscher, ed., <i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart II</i> (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008).
MGG Online	Laurenz Lütteken, ed., <i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart Online</i> (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2016–), https://www.mgg-online.com .
NJE	Josquin des Prez, <i>New Josquin Edition</i> (Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1987–2016).
Päm	<i>Publikationen älterer Musik</i> (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musik and Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925–41)
OHWM	Richard Taruskin, <i>Oxford History of Western Music</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009–), https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/ .
UA	Universitätsarchiv
VNM	Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis (1868–)

Introduction

In 1939 the musicologist Hermann Zenck wrote to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft to request support for his scholarship on the mid sixteenth-century composer Adrian Willaert:

There is no need for special reference to the extent to which research into the art of a blood German [*blutmäßig germanischen*] and in his time a leading European composer can help put the native music traditions of the North in the right light.¹

From our twenty-first-century vantage point, it is not especially surprising to read racialist and nationalistic statements expressed by early twentieth-century German scholars. Thanks to ongoing research conducted since the early 1990s, above all pioneering studies by Pamela Potter and Thomas Schipperges, we are familiar with the impact on these scholars of political and institutional affiliations. We know, for example, how Zenck's political allegiances helped advance his career under the Third Reich.

But we have not yet fully appreciated the intersection of such nationalistic statements with research on sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composers. Potter and Schipperges, similar to most scholars who have focused on musicology's past, have not approached their research from the lens of early music scholarship, as they would doubtless be the first to acknowledge. And scholars of sixteenth-century music have tended to avoid challenging twentieth-century historiographies, lest the shadow of National Socialism tarnish the reputations of beloved composers.

¹ “Es bedarf keines besonderen Hinweises, in welch hohem Grade die Erforschung der Kunst eines blutmäßig germanischen und in seiner Zeit europäisch führenden Musikers geeignet ist, die bodenständige Musiktradition des Nordens in das richtige Licht zu rücken.” Letter from Hermann Zenck to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 13 March 1939, Bundesarchiv Lichterfelde, R73/16003.

The result is that we have yet to fully grasp the long shadow of a discourse that originated with the first scholars to produce substantial work on this music—figures like Zenck who were trained in Germany in the mid-to-late 1920s. Narratives that continue to give short shrift to a heterogeneous collection of Franco-Flemish composers active between ca. 1515 and 1555, often described as an “in between” or “post-Josquin” generation, originated during these years. And early music scholars continue today to cite Zenck on Willaert and Joseph Schmidt-Görg on Nicolas Gombert, for example, without fully contextualizing the circumstances under which this scholarship was produced. Through an integrative analysis of the music, the sources, and the historiography, this study aims to tell a more nuanced story.

The dissertation begins by uncovering and contextualizing early twentieth-century scholarly biases. Chapter 1 reexamines the historiographical situation in which modern scholars find themselves. I reassess a periodization that has grouped figures such as Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens non Papa together in an amorphous “post-Josquin” bundle that includes composers born as much as thirty years apart and whose music has little in common. I contend with and clarify historiographical terminology that has led to a negative evaluation of innovations by these figures. These reevaluations provide the foundation for historiographical and stylistic arguments in later chapters.

Chapters 2 through 4 examine the first generation of scholars to carefully consider the music of the mid sixteenth century: musicologists trained in Germany during the Weimar Republic and National Socialist periods. For the most part, sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composers fell outside the National Socialist cultural program. Instead, a problematic historiography arose owing to a confluence of interwoven factors: nationalism, religious politics, institutional and departmental politics, interpersonal politics, and more

neutral factors owing to the state of the field at the time and the inaccessibility of primary and secondary source materials. Chapter 2 describes these factors with reference to the influential pre-war musicologist Heinrich Besseler, whose evaluations have led to an enduring negative reception of music from the 1520s. Chapter 3 turns to Zenck and Schmidt-Görg, formative scholars for modern research on Willaert and Gombert, respectively. Chapter 4 traces the reverberations of this research in the post-war era, especially with regard to Willaert and the still-incomplete Willaert collected-works edition. Placing the scholars side-by-side with the early music objects they studied, I extend existing research to tell a more holistic story that reveals their continued influence.

In addition to clearing the historiographical ground, this project aims to refocus our attention on the mid sixteenth century. As such, the last two chapters propose a new historiography. It has long been known that polyphonic musical sources in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century survive in greater numbers in Italy than anywhere else in Europe, largely as a result of destruction that took place in the North during the French Revolution.² But the relative abundance of Italian manuscripts and prints also bears witness to the importance of musical centers such as Rome and Ferrara. A veritable litany of young composers made their way through Ferrara, in particular: Jean Richafort and Jean Mouton, both with the young King Francis I (r. 1515–47), and Costanzo Festa. Others served the Ferrarese Este family directly, including Willaert, Maistre Jan, Lupus Hellinck, and Jachet of Mantua. Another related network of composers served Vatican institutions, including Festa, Andreas de Silva, and Hellinck.

² For a brief mention of manuscript destruction during the French Revolution, see Leeman Perkins, “Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83),” *JAMS* 37 (1984): 507–66, at 514.

I proceed from a clarification of composer biographies, updated datings of central but understudied musical sources, and comparative stylistic analysis aimed at pinpointing the stylistic shift that coincided with the death of Josquin des Prez in 1521. Over the past three years I have built a digital humanities resource, The 1520s Project, which makes available in score 250 polyphonic works from the 1510s, 1520s, and 1530s.³ At the same time, I have joined an effort to restart the Willaert collected-works edition. I have taken on and largely completed, a volume of Willaert motets from the 1510s and 1520s, charting paths of manuscript transmission with respect to works probably written in Ferrara.⁴ Chapter 5 challenges the broad application of the music-theoretical term pervasive imitation. The parameters for this term have never been clearly defined; as a result, this stylistic label has reinforced the idea that the musical styles of mid sixteenth-century composers were greatly influenced by Josquin. On the contrary, much of the music from the 1510s and 1520s inherited musical techniques and aesthetic paradigms from Mouton and other composers apart from Josquin who were active at the French royal court during the early years of the sixteenth century.

Chapter 6 argues that musical sources of the late 1510s begin to evince a decisive stylistic change, reflected mainly in the motet repertoire: in place of predominately four-voice polyphonic textures, with individual lines coming and going, we now find textures of up to six independent voices with relatively few rests. Works in this new style depart from the contrastive aesthetic of Josquin and his contemporaries; they build on five- and six-voice music composed in France beginning in the first decade of the century. The 1510s thus hardly represent a moment of statis, but rather an outright aesthetic revolution with

³ Benjamin Ory, *The 1520s Project*, accessed 3 June 2022, <http://1520s-Project.com>.

⁴ See my forthcoming volume in the CMM Willaert collected-works edition.

significant repercussions for mid sixteenth-century style. This shift can be seen in works originating at both the Este Court in Ferrara and at the Vatican. These musical centers shared a fondness for sonic saturation, which aimed for thick textures and large numbers of active voices. But the surviving sources also indicate that these two institutions had contrasting preferences. Parsing regional and institutional differences makes it possible to craft a more nuanced narrative to account for changes in compositional language across the late 1510s and early 1520s.

This study emphatically rejects the notion of an artistic pause and a post-Josquin generation. Placing writings that launched the modern historiographical tradition in dialogue with musical repertoires central to the early history of musicology invites a richer story that gives appropriate weight to a decisive shift in the history of music while also revealing the enduring influence of early German scholarship on the discipline as a whole. This dialogue can illuminate biases in our music histories and, in doing so, empower us to craft new and more convincing narratives.

Chapter 1: An “In Between” Generation

In 1954 Gustave Reese’s long-awaited, thousand-page *Music in the Renaissance* was finally published.¹ This magnificent companion to his 1940 volume *Music in the Middle Ages* provided a much-needed English-language overview of Western European music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Over the course of more than a decade, Reese had synthesized the newest published research. He had drawn on the expertise of early music specialists in the United States and Europe, who contributed their unpublished materials and assisted him in writing sections of chapters. He had updated historiographical paradigms from the grand music histories of the nineteenth century, most notably August Wilhelm Ambros’s *Geschichte der Musik* (1862–82) as well as from the most important textbook in recent decades, Heinrich Besseler’s 1931 *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*.

But *Music in the Renaissance* did not simply rehash past scholarship. Indeed, much of the historiography was Reese’s own.² Arguably as much as any previous twentieth-century historian, Reese centered the preeminent composer Josquin des Prez (d. 1521). And Reese coined a term that would come to define mid sixteenth-century composers ever since: a heterogeneous collection of musicians active between Josquin and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (d. 1594) were now characterized as the “post-Josquin” period or generation.

With the benefit of almost seventy years of source research and music analysis, “post-Josquin” now seems markedly problematic as a historiographical marker for ca. 1515–50. We can now observe significant differences between the music of the composers active

¹ The first edition of Reese’s book comprised 1022 pages. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954).

² As Craig Wright has noted, “perhaps no scholar had a greater personal impact on the historiography of the music of the early Renaissance than did Gustave Reese.” Craig Wright, “Musicology and Fifteenth-Century Music,” *JM* 1 (1982): 39–43, at 39.

during these years, to the point that a single period designation no longer seems adequate. We are also more alert to the dangers of hero worship that follow from casting an entire epoch in the shadow of a single composer.

But Reese and other early twentieth-century scholars had accepted a periodization rooted in nineteenth-century scholarship. Writing in 1834, Raphael Georg Kiesewetter tells us that 1520–50 is the epoch of Adrian Willaert; some three decades later, Ambros centers two additional musicians from the Low Countries, Nicolas Gombert and Clemens non Papa.³ Following Reese, anglophone music histories highlight mainly this trio under the name post-Josquin. Willaert and Gombert represent stylistic “antipodes,” Edward Lowinsky tells us; Clemens falls somewhere in the middle.⁴

My objection to this reading of the period is not that it is simplistic, although it is. Comprehensive music histories lack the space to tell the more pluralistic histories we have come to expect in modern scholarship. Rather, the central problem is that this “post-Josquin” grouping is incorrect: composers such as Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens have been inappropriately lumped together, not based on their periods of compositional activity, but because they apparently died around the same time. Post-Josquin further suggests a substantial connection between these figures and Josquin des Prez, but the lack of evidence for such relationships has become apparent as we have come to better understand all of these composers’ biographies and compositional styles. We can now cast aside the notion that these later musicians are best understood as followers of Josquin, let alone mere followers. Unraveling this historiography will make room to focus on a group of figures

³ Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, *Geschichte der Europaeisch-Abendlaendischen oder Unsrer Heutigen Musik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1846), 60; and August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 6 vols., 3rd ed. (Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1893).

⁴ Edward E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*, trans. Carl Buchman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), xvii.

whose musical activity begins in the 1510s and early 1520s. A closer examination of the “post-Josquin” generation underpins my historiographical reevaluations in chapters 2–5, and sets the stage for chapter 6 to shed light on a substantial change in musical style ca. 1520.

Unraveling a Problematic Historiography

The careers of Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens were more chronologically dispersed than nineteenth-century historians ever imagined. Kiesewetter knew that Willaert took a position as *maestro di cappella* at St. Mark’s in Venice in 1527, but only with René Lenaerts’s 1945 article on the biography was it established that Willaert had been in Ferrara from 1522 to 1527.⁵ Then, in the early 1980s, Lewis Lockwood pushed Willaert’s service back seven years further: Willaert was in the service of Cardinal Ippolito I d’Este by 8 July 1515.⁶

Clemens, by contrast, first appears in print in publications by Pierre Attaingnant in the late 1530s. His career continued through his death in spring 1555 (appendix 1.1 provides a synopsis of Clemens’s career). The first position that Clemens is known to have held was a trial run as *succendor* at St. Donatian’s in Bruges in 1544. If we surmise that he was between eighteen and twenty-five years old when his first works were published, we arrive at a birthdate of ca. 1515 or maybe even as late as ca. 1520. This would make Clemens at least twenty-five years younger than Willaert, who is thought to have been born—albeit without hard evidence—around 1490. If these two men were contemporaries, so were Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Franz Schubert. To put this another way: when Willaert started serving the Este family in Ferrara, even after having presumably studied law in Paris, Clemens may

⁵ Kiesewetter, *Geschichte der Europaeisch-Abendlaendischen oder Unsrer Heutigen Musik*, 60; and René Bernard Lenaerts, “Voor de biographie van Adriaen Willaert,” *Hommage à Charles van den Borren: mélanges*, ed. S. Clercx-Lejeune and A. van der Linden (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1945), 205–15.

⁶ 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): 85–112.

not even have been born yet, or at most he was a toddler. But nineteenth-century historians believed the composers were contemporaries: for Ambros, Clemens's “non papa” moniker separated him from his contemporary Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–34).⁷ The evidence available at the time suggested to Ambros that Willaert, Clemens, and Gombert all began their careers in the 1520s.

Even Gombert and Willaert cannot accurately be characterized as contemporaries. The first evidence of Gombert’s musical activity comes in 1526, and his music does not circulate until 1529 or 1530—about fifteen years after Willaert’s does (appendix 1.2 provides a synopsis of Gombert’s career). Again, nineteenth-century historians did not know much about Willaert’s activities in the 1510s and 20s. Without photostatic copies of central sources or easy access to archives, there was little knowledge of the surviving manuscript sources well into the mid twentieth century. Historians might have reasonably surmised that Willaert was a late bloomer. At the same time, Gombert had stormed onto the scene in 1532, when fifteen of his works were published by printers Attaingnant and Jacques Moderne. Considering that early historians believed Gombert had composed the *déploration* motet *Musae ioris* on Josquin’s death in 1521, Gombert’s biographical profile trended chronologically earlier than we see it today.

There were still other reasons for grouping these figures together. Hermann Finck tells us that Gombert was a pupil of Josquin and his musical heir, and Giuseppe Zarlino relays that Willaert was a pupil of Jean Mouton and the premiere figure of his generation.⁸

⁷ Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 3:313.

⁸ “Nostro verò tempore novi sunt inventores, in quibus est Nicolaus Gombert, Iosquini piae memoriae discipulus, qui omnibus Musicis ostendit viam, imò semitam ad quaerendas fugas ac subtilitatem, ac est author Musices plane diversae à superiori. Is enim vitat pausas, & illius compositio est plena cùm concordantiarum tūm fugarum.” Hermann Finck, *Practica Musica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1556), fol. 2r; and Giuseppe Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice: 1558).

Gombert and Clemens likewise appeared to be two sides of the same coin: it was known that Gombert served as Kapellmeister to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–56)—and John Hawkins, Charles Burney, and François-Joseph Fétis all indicated that Clemens had held the same position (in fact, Fétis thought that Clemens had served Charles first).⁹ Key biographical details seemed to line up.

Even though our understanding today of the musical sources and biographical evidence is far more granular than in the nineteenth century and even in the 1950s, these generational groupings have endured. Howard Mayer Brown described Gombert, Willaert, and Clemens as inhabiting “the post-Josquin generation” in his 1976 *Music in the Renaissance*.¹⁰ Allan Atlas noted in 1998 that “the second quarter of the sixteenth century produced three great Flemish motet composers: Nicolas Gombert, Adrian Willaert, and Jacobus Clemens non Papa.”¹¹ In 2005 Richard Taruskin was heir of this scholarly tradition in highlighting Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens as the three mid sixteenth-century composers of note.¹²

Even if the grouping of these three figures remains entrenched today in anglophone music histories, it is encouraging that it is increasingly difficult to find references to “post-Josquin” composers in the scholarly literature. (This trend does not hold for all “post-” periodizations: for an earlier period, the term post-Franconian has recently emerged.)¹³ There

⁹ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, “Die Messen des Clemens non Papa,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1926): 129–58, at 131–32.

¹⁰ Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1976), 185–210.

¹¹ Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 396.

¹² Richard Taruskin, “A Perfected Art,” in “Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century,” in *OHWM*, accessed 16 February 2022.

¹³ Recent uses of the term post-Josquin include Mitchell P. Brauner, “Polychoral and Early Polychoral Music in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century,” in *Dal Canto Corale alla Musica Policoria: L’arte del “coro spezzato,”* ed. Lucia Boscolo Foleganna and Alessandra Ignesti (Padua: Cleup, 2014), 41–48, at 45; and Taruskin, “A Perfected Art.”

Post-Franconian has been proposed as a neutral term to describe music theories that followed Franco of Cologne. Margaret Bent has also described these extensions of Franconian theory as “transitional,” another problematic label often applied to mid sixteenth-century music. Margaret Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the Speculum Musicae* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 42.

now seems to be a general recognition that post-Josquin is hardly a neutral term, but a relational one that problematically puts the historical emphasis on Josquin rather than his successors.¹⁴ And scholars are increasingly sensitive to the limits of the organizing principle of generations, since there is no reason to think that the sixteenth-century composers in question saw themselves as inhabiting a defined group clearly separated from their predecessors. Rather, divisions often came down to a looser group of composers who came before, the *antichi*, and a set of contemporaries, or *moderni*.¹⁵ These broad, chronologically unspecific labels simply placed composers either in the past or the present.

Within the past decade, a new term for the period—the “lost generation”—was proposed by Julie Cumming and Peter Schubert.¹⁶ This is surely an improvement: it does not suggest, as with post-Josquin, a musical inheritance or a historiographical shadow. But “lost” arguably still casts this period in the interstices between the Josquin generation and the so-called High Renaissance. There is no reason to think that these figures were “lost” to their contemporaries; the term ultimately says more about us moderns than about sixteenth-century musicians and thinkers. Another worry about “lost” stems from the continued

¹⁴ Cf. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, 187.

¹⁵ Labels often varied and groupings only partially agreed. For example, Pietro Aron places Heinrich Isaac among the *antichi* and Josquin with the *moderni*, whereas Gallus Dressler puts Josquin before Isaac chronologically; still, in no grouping does Gombert arrive before Josquin. Every writer had a different sense of time, how fast it passed, and when they saw a shift in prominent musical figures, but in general the later chronologically a theorist was active in the sixteenth century, the more names they knew and the more generations they presented. At the same time, relegation to the *antichi* was no guarantee that one was deceased: in 1533 Giovanni Maria Lanfranco viewed Jean Richafort as one of the *antichi*, but there is evidence to suggest that Richafort was still alive and composing at the time. Pietro Aron grouped Josquin and Verdelot together in his 1539 edition of *Toscanello in musica*, but they could only be contemporaries in the loosest sense of the word, since they were separated by an age difference of probably thirty years. See Jessie Ann Owens, “Music Historiography and the Definition of ‘Renaissance’,” *Notes, Second Series* 47 (1990): 305–30, at 318.

Anna Zayaruznaya has colloquially defined *moderni* as “folks nowadays” in her “Old, New, and Newer Still in Book 7 of the *Speculum musice*,” *JAMS* 73 (2020): 95–148, at 96. Zayaruznaya notes that Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht has pointed to Robert Estienne’s French-Latin dictionary of 1538, which uses *poètes modernes* as *poetae recentis memoriae*. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Making Sense in Life and Literature*, trans. Glen Burns (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 84.

¹⁶ Julie E. Cumming and Peter Schubert, “Talking about the Lost Generation: Sacred Music of Willaert, Gombert, and Michele Pesenti,” *JM* 32 (2015): 323–27.

reliance on generations, and (related) the continued lumping together of geographically and chronologically disparate figures. Cumming and Schubert do not explain why Michele Pesenti, an Italian composer who died in 1528, is grouped with Pierre Manchicourt, a Franco-Flemish musician who first shows up as a choirboy at the Arras Cathedral in 1525. The field as a whole would benefit from separating out the internal chronological groupings that have caused composers whose careers barely overlapped to be discussed as if they were products of the same time. A further concern about a “lost generation” is that it could be seen to support the pernicious idea that the mid sixteenth century was the manneristic successor to what Heinrich Glarean characterized as the *ars perfecta*. The classic music of the period is known; the overgrown works that followed are less familiar. In any case, mannerism continues to lurk in the background.

The Decline of Mannerism

Mannerism suggests a post-classical style or, in an organicist historiographical model, a period of decay or decline following a flowering. The term emerged during the nineteenth century as a descriptor for visual art dating from after the Sack of Rome in 1527 that was often characterized by a distortion of spatial perspectives and elongated physical features. It was most popular in mid twentieth-century art history and was regularly used as an organizing concept for edited volumes and monographs well into the 1990s.¹⁷ Mannerism was first adopted by musicologists beginning with Hilmar Trede’s now-lost 1928 dissertation

¹⁷ For recent uses of the term mannerism as a historiographical organizing principle in visual art, see Liana de Giolami Cheney, ed., *Readings in Italian Mannerism* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997); Daniel Arasse and Andreas Tönnesmann, *Der Europäische Manierismus 1520–1610* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1997); and Cheney, ed., *Readings in Italian Mannerism II: Architecture* (New York: Peter Lang, 2020).

and a monumental three-part article published by Leo Schrade in 1934.¹⁸ But there was never substantial agreement on a stable definition. Schrade characterized the music following Josquin, ca. 1520–1600, as manneristic. Although the study was influential, its conclusions were not accepted by all sixteenth-century scholars; as chapter 2 shows, those who disagreed with Schrade’s characterization included Besseler, Lowinsky, Alfred Einstein, and Armen Carapetyan. In the mid twentieth century, scholars used mannerism to describe a variety of practices: the fourteenth-century *ars subtilior*, music in the years approaching 1600, and—most in parallel with the visual arts—music of the post-Josquin generation.¹⁹ Others, following the literary historian Ernst Curtius, saw mannerism in a cyclical, “post-classical” sense as moments of decadence that returned at various points throughout history.²⁰

This lack of a stable definition began to invite criticism, both in music and in the visual arts. In 1963 Ursula Günther critiqued the way that the term “manneristic period” emphasized “albeit unintentionally, the negative side of the phenomena.”²¹ Since the 1960s, the term has receded in both fields. In art history, the loss has been quiet, similar to the move away from the term Baroque.²² In 1967 John Shearman made an effort to rehabilitate mannerism, but his influence was not long lasting, as he, too, struggled to define it as a homogenous stylistic concept.²³ In the last decades of the twentieth century, some early

¹⁸ Hilmar Trede, “Manierismus und Barock im italienischen Madrigal des 16. Jahrhunderts” (Ph.D. diss., Universität Erlangen, 1928), as cited in James Haar, “Maniera and Mannerism in Italian Music of the Sixteenth Century,” in *Essays on Mannerism in Art and Music: Papers Read at the West Chester State College Symposium on Interdisciplinary Studies, November 18, 1978*, ed. Sterling E. Murray and Ruth Irwin Weidner (West Chester: West Chester State College, 1978), 34–62, at 43n30; and Leo Schrade, “Von der ‘Maniera’ der Komposition in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1934): 3–20, 98–117, and 152–70.

¹⁹ Haar, “Maniera and Mannerism,” 43–44.

²⁰ Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 273.

²¹ “Der Terminus ‘manneristic period’ betont, wenn auch gewiß ungewollt, die negative Seite der Erscheinungen.” Ursula Günther, “Das Ende des *ars nova*,” *Die Musikforschung* 16 (1963): 105–20, at 106.

²² Fabio Berry (personal communication, 4 August 2020).

²³ John Shearman, *Mannerism* (New York: Penguin Books, 1967); and Emanuele Lugli (personal communication, 31 July 2020).

music scholars, including James Haar and Joshua Rifkin, turned their attention to *maniera*, an Italian term denoting personal style and drawn from Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* of 1550.²⁴ In 1997 Rifkin described the “motivity” in Willaert’s music as an example of *maniera*. But Rifkin’s description applies more to Willaert’s melodic and contrapuntal approaches than to the period as a whole. More generally, we can achieve greater granularity by distinguishing a composer’s personal style from the style and conventions of a particular genre, and we can separate both of these from discussions of the musical style of a given period.

Today, the idea of mannerism in music is often met with skepticism.²⁵ The same problems as always apply: it remains unclear if mannerism is geolocated to a specific place (Italy rather than northern Europe?), chronologically bounded, and exactly what the characteristics of the style are. Moreover, scholars are generally unconvinced that a clear line can be drawn from the term’s genesis as a descriptor of modes of representation in visual art to specific if abstract musical details. Certainly, no sixteenth-century musical writer made such a connection. And Günther’s critique continues to hold: it is difficult to escape the term’s negative connotations. At the same time, we have gotten to know individual figures better. We now recognize that historical periods do not represent stylistic aberrations, and that the art or music of the late fourteenth century or the mid sixteenth century is not “lost in its own intricacies.”²⁶ Still, the idea that mid sixteenth-century music is less important or is

²⁴ Haar, “Maniera and Mannerism”; and Joshua Rifkin, “Miracles, Motivity, and Mannerism: Adrian Willaert’s *Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari* and Some Aspects of Composition in the 1520s,” in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 243–64.

²⁵ For example, see Seth Coluzzi, “Mind the Gap? (Between Mannerism and the Baroque),” *EM* 47 (2019): 412–15.

²⁶ Judith W. Mann (personal communication, 15 November 2018); and Philippe Vendrix, “Introduction: Defining the Renaissance in Music,” in *Music and the Renaissance: Renaissance, Reformation, and Counter-Reformation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 11.

less aesthetically appreciable than that which precedes and follows it has remained. This makes sense: eliminating a label does not mean that we automatically escape its resonances.

The “Artistic Pause”

Hand in hand with “post-Josquin” and “mannerism” is a third historiographical specter, Einstein’s designation of the 1520s in his three-volume *The Italian Madrigal* (1949) as an “artistic pause.”²⁷ Einstein believed that it took time for Italy to come to terms with the new secular chanson style that arrived from France ca. 1520. During the decade ca. 1520–30, composers “transform[ed] the diffuse texture of Josquin into the compact, organic, and strictly imitative one of Gombert.”²⁸ It took time for musicians to come to terms with this change. And secular repertoires were particularly unprepared for this shift. Owing in part to Einstein’s negative evaluation, mid sixteenth-century musical style has been said to mark a conservative retrenchment from rhetorically charged gestures made familiar by Josquin, and—merely—to lay the groundwork for the flowing, pervasive imitation of the late sixteenth century. The 1520s have arguably suffered more than any other decade.

With the benefit of more than seventy years of sustained scholarship, it is evident that a number of factors distorted Einstein’s judgement. As Haar and Iain Fenlon have noted, Einstein dated the genesis of the madrigal later and the decline of the frottola earlier than we do today.²⁹ Access to sources also played a role: Einstein privileged printed editions, and there was a substantial hiatus in the publication of printed editions between, on one hand, Ottaviano Petrucci’s last music publications ca. 1519–20 and Andrea Antico’s prints of

²⁷ Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols., trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 1:139–41.

²⁸ Ibid, 1:141.

²⁹ Iain Fenlon and James Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 5.

ca. 1521, and on the other hand, the first publications in the late 1530s by the two major Venetian printers of the mid sixteenth century, Girolamo Scotto and Antonio Gardano.³⁰ Volumes from the 1520s, including the *Libro primo de la fortuna* (Rome: de Judici, ca. 1526), were certainly cited by Einstein, but many fewer of these survive than in adjacent decades. Einstein arguably undervalued the role that economic instability played in the stifling of polyphonic music printing. Whereas to him it must have looked as if fewer new works were available to printers, it now seems clear that more polyphonic music was composed in Italy during the 1520s than during any previous decade.

Manuscript production, too, gave the appearance of having fallen off. Through no fault of his own, Einstein was not familiar in the 1930s with important manuscripts of the 1520s that had yet to resurface, including Padua A17 and the Newberry Partbooks, the latter of which Lowinsky first described to Einstein in 1941.³¹ But Lowinsky relayed to Einstein that he thought that the partbooks must have postdated the first printed editions of Philippe Verdelot's madrigals, and therefore originated during the mid-1530s.³² It was not until 1944 that Lowinsky could provide Einstein with a precise list of the pieces, authors, and incipits that made up this critical madrigal source, and (subsequently) with a microfilm; by that point, Einstein's self-described magnum opus had been completely drafted in German.³³ Einstein concluded that owing to its fine calligraphy and scribal errors (e.g., a minim too many here, a rest too few there), the Newberry Partbooks were a presentation copy that did not offer

³⁰ Stanley Boorman, "Thoughts on the Popularity of Printed Music in 16th-Century Italy," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 48 (2001): 129–44.

³¹ Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Alfred Einstein, 3 December 1941, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19 (Einstein, Alfred).

³² "Da das Ms. keine Autoren angibt und die Verdelots von irgend einem Engländer identifizier wurden, heisst das natürlich, dass diese 12 Madrigale in Drucken der Zeit vorhanden sind." Ibid.

³³ Letter from Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 4 January 1944, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19.

important evidence of practical music making.³⁴ In any case, it is not clear that Einstein's conclusions about the Newberry Partbooks would have mattered anyway. At that point *The Italian Madrigal* was in the hands of the composer Roger Sessions, who was already well into the translation process. A quick addendum would have been possible, but it was too late for Einstein to revise his large-scale historiographical views.

Also in the background of Einstein's judgement was the belief, propagated by scholars such as Besseler and Reese, that Josquin's late style closely approached the musical style of his successors. As chapter 5 argues, this assessment continues to play an important role in our historiographies of the development of mid sixteenth-century musical style. In *The Italian Madrigal*, this view shaped Einstein's reception of Willaert's double-canon chansons, one of the most important repertoires of secular music to emerge ca. 1520. Einstein argued that "this canonic chanson was something new, and the father of this innovation was of course Josquin des Prez"; in other words, despite their apparent novelty these chansons were in an older style.³⁵ Such an evaluation might have stemmed from Erich Hertzmann's 1931 dissertation on Willaert's secular works, with which Einstein was surely familiar, but it also coincided with Einstein's general difficulty appreciating Willaert's music. On the one hand, Willaert was the "greatest name of the epoch between 1525 and 1560"; on the other hand, he was "perhaps not the greatest but certainly the most influential musician of his time."³⁶ In contrast to Josquin, whose music was forward-looking, Willaert's secular works looked backwards. His sacred music was not much better: "Willaert's early motet style...remains wholly within the great 'autonomous,' liturgically conditioned music of the

³⁴ Letter from Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 26 March 1944, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19.

³⁵ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 1:140.

³⁶ Ibid, 1:224.

quattrocento.”³⁷ All of this aligned with a broader German evaluation that placed the emphasis on Josquin and later Gombert at the expense of Willaert.³⁸

Einstein must have also known Besseler’s *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, which placed Josquin’s successors in what one might describe as an “in between” generation (in Besseler’s words, “zwischen Josquin und Lasso”).³⁹ By the time that *The Italian Madrigal* was published, Einstein despised Besseler personally, just as he intensely disliked anyone whom he considered to have had any past affiliations with the Third Reich.⁴⁰ For all of this, Einstein saw German scholarship as the pinnacle of musicology; his book’s notion of an “artistic pause” represented a direct inheritance of the German musicological tradition.⁴¹ Einstein and many other scholars of the period not only inherited narratives from Besseler, but also from the most prominent Willaert and Gombert specialists of the early twentieth century, Hermann Zenck and Joseph Schmidt-Görg. As chapters 2 through 4 make clear, pernicious biases today in the study of mid sixteenth-century music in the United States can

³⁷ Idem, Review of Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, Publikationen älterer Musik, vol. 1, *Motetten zu 4 Stimmen, I. und II. Buch (1539 und 1545)*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1937), *Music and Letters* 20 (1939): 218–19, at 219.

³⁸ Erich Hertzmann, *Adrian Willaert in der weltlichen Vokalmusik seiner Zeit* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931). On Einstein’s relationship to Hertzmann’s dissertation, see chapters 2 and 3.

³⁹ Heinrich Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Potsdam: Athenaion, 1931), 251.

⁴⁰ For example, Einstein’s wife Hertha wrote in 1947 to Lowinsky that “Dagegen bin ich mit Ihrer Dankbarkeit gegen Besseler immer noch nicht einverstanden. Die Briefe, die Sie dem Exnazi geschrieben haben, waren für ihn viel mehr wert, als seine Empfehlung gegen Sie. Und ich kann Ihnen nur raten, sich viel und oft von Ihrer Schwester erzählen zu lassen, ueber die Fleischtoepfe im Konzentrationslager, dann kommen Sie vielleicht zu der Einsicht, dass Herr Besseler immer noch viel mehr in seinen Magen bekaeme, selbst ohne Liebesgabenpakete, als wahrscheinlich Ihre Schwester bekommen hat.” Here, Hertha spoke for both Einsteins. Letter from Hertha Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 21 March 1947, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19.

⁴¹ In Einstein’s view, the one significant monograph produced in the United States was Helen Hewitt’s 1942 edition of Ottaviano Petrucci’s 1501 print *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton*—and as Einstein often noted, Hewitt had herself studied with Besseler. Sebastian Bolz, “Das Ende der Unschuld. Beethoven als historiografisch-biografische Denkfigur bei Alfred Einstein,” in the proceedings of the 2018 conference “Beethovens Vermächtnis: Beethoven im Exil” (forthcoming), which cites letter from Alfred Einstein to Erwin Kroll, 20 March 1948, University of California, Berkeley, Archives Einstein Coll. 1 (Alfred Einstein Papers, 1835–1985), box 6, folder 567. On Einstein’s German scholarship in exile see Pamela M. Potter, “From Jewish Exile in Germany to German Scholar in America: Alfred Einstein’s Emigration,” in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 298–321.

be directly traced to research undertaken in Germany during the Weimar Republic and under the Third Reich.

For Reese, it must have been comforting that Einstein and Besseler seemed to agree. Reese had long been familiar with Besseler's handbook: on request, in 1935 Besseler generously sent Reese one of his author's copies.⁴² And Einstein was one of Reese's chief interlocutors, answering questions about individual works and providing unpublished materials from *The Italian Madrigal*, which were incorporated throughout Reese's book, including into the chapter covering sixteenth-century Italian secular music. In 1947 Einstein supplied Reese with a list of the compositions that were slated to be reproduced as examples in volume two (later, volume three) of his book (fig. 1.1). Unlike in the published table of contents, Einstein here proposed dates for each work.

Notice that Einstein dated virtually nothing to after 1520 or before 1530: only a single, possibly anonymous work, *Un canaglier di Spagna*, was suggested to come from the middle of this decade.⁴³ Einstein believed that Verdelot's works were composed later, during the 1530s. The same went for works by Willaert, Costanzo Festa, and Jacques Arcadelt. Seeing this must have confirmed to Reese that the 1520s were not as important as the surrounding decades. And this observation, in turn, confirmed the conclusions of earlier scholars.

⁴² Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Gustave Reese, 28 July 1935, New York Public Library, JPB 92–71 (Gustave Reese Papers), Series 1, Folder 98 (Besseler, Heinrich).

⁴³ On the second page, Einstein dates *Queste non son piu lacrime* by Bartolomeo Tromboncino to 1520.

Figure 1.1. First page of Alfred Einstein's list of musical examples for volume two of *The Italian Madrigal* and their datings, as sent to Gustave Reese in 1947⁴⁴

Index to vol. II		<i>Viva el gran re Don Fernando ad. 1492</i>
Anonymous		
Anonymous (Petrarch)	Pace non troovo	about 1470
Ysaac Arrigo (Poliziano)	Questo mostrarsi adirata	about 1485
Pisano Bernardo (Poliziano)	Questo mostrarsi lieta	about 1485
Anonymous	De no de si de no	1505
Anonymous	L amor donna ch io te porto	1507
Anonymous	L infermo alhor.	1505
Anonymous	Risenio i monti	1505
Tromboncino Bart.	Signora anzi mia dea	1505
Tromboncino Bart. (Petrarch)	Hor che l ciel e la terra	1516
Lulinus Joannes	Poi che son di speranza	1514
Tromboncino Bart. (Petrarch)	S'il dissi mai	1507
Tromboncino Bart. (Sannazar)	Se per colpa del vostro altiero	1514
Antico Andrea	Io mi parto madonna	1508
Tromboncino Bart. (Michelangelo)	Come haro donque ardire	1519
Verdelot Philippe	Madonna qual certezza	1536 (1535?)
Verdelot Philippe	Ogn'hor per voi sospiro	1536 (1535?)
Verdelot Philippe	Gloriarmi poss'io, donne	1536 (1535?)
Verdelot Philippe	Madonna 'l tuo bel viso	1536 (1535?)
Festa Costanzo	Dur'e'l partito	1536
Festa Costanzo	Così suav'è'l foco	1539
Arcadelt Jacques (Petrarch)	Io mi rivolgo indietro	1539
Arcadelt Jacques (Sannazar)	Se per colpa del vostro fiero	1539
Arcadelt Jacques (Sannazar)	Amor la tua virtute	1539
Corteccia Francesco	A che ne stringi	1547
Corteccia Franc. (Ariosto)	Io dico e dissi	1547
Corteccia Franc.	Quest'io tesseva	1547
Fogliano Giacomo	Tua volsi esser sempre mai	1515
Fogliano Giacomo	Io vorei dio d'amore	1537
Ferabosco Domenico (Boccaccio)	Io mi son giovinetta	1542
Willaert Adrian	Amor mi fa morire	1536
Willaert Adrian (Petrarch)	Liete e pensose	1539
Anonymous (Fr. Petro da Hostia?)	Un cavagliere di spagna	about 1526
Arcadelt Jacques	La pastorella mia	about 1530?
Tromboncino Bart.	Poi che volse la mia stella	1504
Azzaiuolo Filippo	Poi che volse la mia stella	1537
Maio, Giovan Tomaso di	O trezze blonde	1546
Maio, Giovan Tomaso di	Tutte le vecchie	1546
Nola, Giovan Domenico da	Chi la gaghiar da	before 1541
Fontana Vincenzo	Madonna mia pietà	1545
Nola, Giovan Domenico da?	Chi chi li chi	1555
Nola, Giovan Domenico da	O dolce vita mia	1541
Willaert Adrian	O dolce vita mia	1544
Cimello Thomaso	Ognor diro capelli	1545
Rore, Cipriano de (Petrarch)	Per mezz'i boschi	1542
Rore, Cipriano de (Petrarch)	Padre del ciel	1544
Rore, Cipriano de (Guidiccioni)	Ancor che col partire	1547
Rore, Cipriano de, (Petrarch)	Crudele acerba inesorabil morte	1557
Rore, Cipriano de (della Casa)	O sonno o della queta	1557
Taglia Pietro	Com'esser puo	1555
Berchem Iachet	Donna se voi volete	1555
Arcadelt Jacques (Petrarch)	Chiare fresch'e dolci acque	1555
Cambio Perissone	E la morte di marito	1545
Cambio Perissone	Non t'ariccordi	1545

⁴⁴ New York Public Library, JPB 92-71, Series 3, Folder 110. Reproduced by permission of the Music Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

Why Early Historians Struggled with the Mid Sixteenth Century

My dissertation suggests that negative evaluations of mid sixteenth-century music are primarily a twentieth-century phenomenon. But the elevation of Josquin, Palestrina, and Orlando di Lasso (d. 1594) at the expense of those in between began to take root in the nineteenth century. In contrast to twentieth-century organicist models of history that supported notions of an artistic pause and a post-Josquin generation, early historians presented the mid sixteenth century through progressive historical models, through which these figures set the stage for Palestrina and Lasso.⁴⁵ Since each generation was seen as positively building on the previous one, a true negative evaluation was improbable.

Nineteenth-century historians lacked both access to and knowledge of manuscript sources, especially those outside of Germany and Austria, and so these scholars relied on prints and published theoretical treatises.⁴⁶ Two of the most important theorists before 1550 whose works circulated in printed form were Glarean, the author of the *Dodekachordon* (1547), and Pietro Aron, who published treatises from the 1510s through the 1540s. At first blush, it would appear that these theorists are ideally suited to tell us about the most important composers of the early-to-mid sixteenth century. In fact they articulate arguably esoteric preferences for older music at the expense of music that at the time was hot-off-the-press. Glarean's youngest featured composers are Jean Richafort and Ludwig Senfl; figures such as Willaert, Costanzo Festa, and Gombert are absent. We moderns have context that

⁴⁵ On early historians' progressive historical models, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, "'Singende Seele' or 'unsingbar'? Forkel, Ambros, and the Forces behind the Ockeghem Reception during the Late 18th and 19th Centuries," *JM* 23 (2006): 3–61.

⁴⁶ For instance, all the works by Johannes Okeghem discussed in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literature (in works by Burney, Hawkins, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, and Kiesewetter) were known from citations by theorists, most notably Glarean. See table 1 in *ibid*, 9.

nineteenth-century scholars did not: the *Dodekachordon* was complete by 1539 in spite of its later publication date.⁴⁷ Early historians understandably assumed otherwise.

Aron's musical examples are also earlier than the publication dates of his treatises. For example, his citations in the 1529 *Aggiunta* to *Toscanello* were drawn primarily from Petrucci's anthologies, including the *Motetti de la corona* series, the single-author Josquin prints, and the *Odbecaton*, which date from the period 1501–19.⁴⁸ To be fair, some works by composers whose careers mostly postdate 1520 are cited in the *Aggiunta*. The treatise features two Costanzo Festa works (the chanson *Fors seulement* and the motet *Ecce deus savior meus*), *Ave virgo gratiosa* by Verdelot, and *Miserere mei deus* by Jean Lhéritier. Moreover, Aron's list of composers in the 1539 edition of *Toscanello in musica* (originally published in 1523) notably includes Verdelot.⁴⁹ For all of this, in general the emphasis falls on music from ca. 1500 to ca. 1520. One lacuna is particularly remarkable: Willaert does not feature in any of Aron's treatises—despite the two men having known each other in Venice in the early 1530s.⁵⁰

It is not that Glarean, Aron, and others did not know who the prominent composers of the ensuing generation were. But the surviving correspondence between Aron, Giovanni Del Lago, and Giovanni Spataro reveals little about their contemporaries. It foregrounds abstruse discussions about mensuration and *musica ficta* in an older repertoire rather than focusing on newer music notated predominantly in C .⁵¹ Willaert's works are the fourth most-

⁴⁷ Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 120.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 37–81, esp. table 3.2 at 70.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 70.

⁵⁰ On the relationship between Willaert and Aron, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁵¹ Sixteenth-century theorists continued to discuss older signs, owing to their traditional place in music pedagogy and the elevated stature of music by Josquin. Ruth I. Deford, *Tactus, Mensuration, and Rhythm in Renaissance Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

cited in the correspondence, after music by Aron, Spataro, and Josquin, respectively—but it is telling that Willaert’s musical experiment *Quid non ebrietas* garners much more substantial attention in the letters than any of his more normative pieces. Additionally, as Cristle Collins Judd has suggested, Willaert (as with his contemporaries, I presume) could not feature in Aron’s treatises because his works had not yet appeared in prints that readers could easily find.⁵² Instead, theorists started saying laudatory things about Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens only in the 1540s and, even more, in the 1550s, long after the advent of more commercially oriented printing in the 1530s.⁵³ In general, this picture makes sense: we rarely hear from theorists about the exciting new thing that is happening. More often they tell us about the exciting thing from a while ago.

With theorists praising Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens only relatively late in their careers and with a gap in the music sources available to early historians, scholars were understandably led to conclude that Josquin was the dominant figure of the early-to-mid sixteenth century. In a sense he was: Josquin’s fame long outlasted his death, with manuscript copies and printed editions proliferating in the 1530s, 1540s, and beyond.⁵⁴ On the one hand, this historiographical emphasis has problematically obscured Josquin’s contemporaries, his successors, and central compositional trends during the period; later scholars such as Lowinsky Beethovenized Josquin in unhelpful ways, causing him to tower over the period as a Romantic hero.⁵⁵ In chapter 5, I challenge the long-held view that

⁵² Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 39.

⁵³ On the origins of commercial printing in Italy, see Boorman, “Thoughts on the Popularity,” 131.

⁵⁴ See for instance Michael Meyer, *Zwischen Kanon und Geschichte: Josquin im Deutschland des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2016).

⁵⁵ One particularly telling passage by Lowinsky comes in a response to Joseph Kerman: “Only in the rare cases where a genius so exceeds the limits of his age that he alone becomes his own context can we dispense with continuous detailed comparison. This is the case only with the late works of the very greatest masters. It holds for Beethoven’s late quartets, perhaps also for Monteverdi’s late operas—although as long as the ca. 40 operas of Cavalli are for the most part unpublished and unstudied we cannot know for sure. It is certainly true for the late works of Bach. It applies to Josquin’s late chansons (but, curiously enough, not to his late motets because

Josquin's music strongly and directly influenced the musical style of his successors; instead, I suggest that these musicians looked to five- and six-voice works emerging from the French royal court and its most prominent composer, Mouton.

On the other hand, this emphasis reflects a real and important phenomenon.

Josquin's music and personality had a staying power unlike that of any other composer of the period. Some modern reexaminations of Josquin's stature risk swinging the pendulum too far in the opposite direction. For example, Paula Higgins has suggested that Josquin's present-day historiography is outsized compared to that for Willaert, since Willaert was seen by many as Josquin's heir (I would qualify this as being true more in Italy than elsewhere).⁵⁶ But the posthumous sixteenth-century legacies of the two composers were not similar: whereas Josquin was rumored in German lands to have been more productive after his death than during his lifetime, Willaert's music mostly stopped being printed within a decade of his death in 1562.⁵⁷ At the same time, historians must have noticed that the patterns of circulation for works by each composer diverged greatly. Specific pieces by Josquin were widely disseminated: his *Missa De beata virgine* appears in seventy-one sources, *Benedicta es*

their style and technique were so avidly absorbed by the younger generation that their work—a singular occurrence—became the historical context of their master's late style)." Edward E. Lowinsky, "Character and Purposes of Musicology: A Response to Joseph Kerman," *JAMS* 18 (1965): 222–34, at 228. See also idem, "Musical Genius—Evolution and Origins of a Concept," *Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964): 321–40; idem, "Musical Genius—Evolution and Origins of a Concept II," *Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964): 476–95; and Paula Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and Other Mythologies of Genius," *JAMS* 57 (2004): 443–510, at 449–64.

⁵⁶ Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez," 462. See also Rob C. Wegman, "Who Was Josquin?," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 21–50. For a different view see Jesse Rodin, "When Josquin Became Josquin," *Acta Musicologica* 81 (2009): 23–38; and idem, "Josquin and Epistemology," in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jesse Rodin and Anna Maria Busse Berger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 119–36.

⁵⁷ Georg Forster wrote in 1540 that "I remember a certain eminent man saying that, now that Josquin is dead, he is putting out more works than when he was still alive." Jessie Ann Owens, "How Josquin Became Josquin: Reflections on Historiography and Reception," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 271–80, at 277. For the decline in the printing of Willaert's music after his death, see Katelijne Schiltz, "Guinto Adrian fra l'anme beate: Une quintuple déploration sur la mort d'Adrien Willaert," *Musurgia* 10 (2003): 7–33, at 8.

celorum regina in sixty-five, and *Stabat mater* in fifty-four.⁵⁸ But the circulation of music by Willaert lacks the same kind of depth (table 1.1 shows the most widely disseminated works by Willaert).

Table 1.1. Adrian Willaert's most widely disseminated music⁵⁹

Work	Voices	Manuscripts	Printed Editions	Total Sources
<i>Pater noster</i> ⁶⁰	4	24	8	32
<i>Amor mi fa morire</i>	4	0	11	11
Spurious: <i>Missa Benedicta es</i> ⁶¹	5	11	0	11

⁵⁸ See Rodin, “Josquin and Epistemology,” 124 (table 7.2).

⁵⁹ As far as I can tell, none of these works is discussed in sixteenth-century music theory treatises.

⁶⁰ The *secunda pars*, beginning with the text *Ave Maria, gratia plena*, appears as a standalone motet in three of these sources.

⁶¹ Two sources attribute the *Missa Benedicta es* to Willaert (out of eleven, with six anonymous sources and three that attribute the mass to Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin), one of which possibly is the earliest manuscript of the eleven and dates to ca. 1530–31, ’s-Hertogenbosch 72A.

On the one hand, ’s-Hertogenbosch 72A also includes a five-voice cantus firmus mass attributed to Willaert that is an *unicum* in the manuscript; David Kidger has argued that this increases the likelihood that the *Missa Benedicta es* was composed by Willaert. Hesdin’s authorship is less probable, since he was not known to have written imitation masses. David Kidger, “The Masses of Adrian Willaert: A Critical Study of Sources, Style and Context” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), 148; and idem, “A Reappraisal of the Sixteenth-Century Musical Complex founded on Josquin’s Setting of *Benedicta es*,” in *Josquin International Conference: New Directions in Josquin Scholarship* (Princeton University, 29–31 October 1999), 16–42.

On the other hand, the strongest argument to date comes from Joshua Rifkin: the appearance of the *Missa Benedicta es* in ModE N.1.2 all but rules out an attribution to Willaert. The scribe of this source, Jean Michel, was based at the Este court in Ferrara and intimately knew Willaert’s music. Joshua Rifkin, “Hesdin, (Nicolle des Celliers de),” *GMO*, accessed 20 March 2020.

More recently, Irene Holzer has strengthened Rifkin’s argument: it is hard to imagine when Willaert could have written the mass. By 1530 the *Missa Benedicta es* was circulating in the North (Kidger has offered a probable period of composition as ca. 1525–30), so if Jean Michel did not know the work was Willaert’s, the most probable period of composition would have been Willaert’s early years in Paris (possibly, ca. 1512–15). But the mass does not stylistically match Willaert’s imitation masses in the *Liber quinque missarum* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, 1536), which Holzer has suggested date from those Parisian years. Nor does it not reflect the careful counterpoint for which Willaert is known. There are numerous sections that, much unlike Willaert’s securely attributed early works, appear to be vertically constructed (e.g., the end of the *Osanna*). Holzer has also offered skepticism about the attribution of the other mass attributed to Willaert in ’s-Hertogenbosch 72A in her “La Santa Unione de le Note: Kompositionsstrategien in Adrian Willaerts Messen” (Ph.D. diss., Universität Salzburg, 2010), 155–68 and 256–89.

It is worth remembering that de-attributing the work does not automatically shift the attribution from Willaert to Hesdin (Joshua Rifkin, personal communication, 9 July 2019). Indeed, I am inclined to believe that neither attribution is probable. Several of the earliest sources with attributions to Hesdin were compiled in Italy. But it is not clear that Hesdin ever spent time on the Italian peninsula. One of these sources, *Cappella Sistina* 19 (ca. 1535–37), may not have a particularly close connection to the composer. It incorrectly attributes the mass *Veni sponsa Christi* to Hesdin, which can more plausibly be attributed to Luperus Hellinck.

<i>Allons, allons gay</i>	3	3	8	11
<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i>	6	9	1	10
Not secure: <i>La rousé du moys de may</i> ⁶²	3	2	8	10
<i>Ecce Dominus veniet</i> ⁶³	5	7	2	9

The motet *Pater noster* survives in thirty-two sources probably as a result of its text, which was possibly made popular in the motet tradition by Josquin. After *Pater noster*, the next most widely disseminated piece appears in just eleven. The circulation of Gombert's music follows a similar pattern.⁶⁴ Works by Clemens appear in more sources, but still not in as many as Josquin's best known pieces.⁶⁵ What early historians could then confirm was that all of these composers wrote a good deal of music. But with the exception of pieces such as Willaert's *Pater noster*, it was hard to know which ones to focus on. And it was undeniable that Josquin had composed some of the most beloved works in the sacred repertoire. By contrast, the magnitude of music composed by mid sixteenth-century figures only later fully came into focus as additional sources were discovered. We now know that Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens composed quite a bit more than Josquin, who probably wrote around 100 pieces over the course of his career.⁶⁶

⁶² A handful of sources attributes the chanson to Jean Richafort.

⁶³ This count considers the Newberry Partbooks to be one manuscript source.

⁶⁴ Neither Gombert nor Clemens benefits from the same kind of source accounting that David Kidger has generously provided for Willaert. David Kidger, *Adrian Willaert: A Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2005). A cursory search of manuscript sources through the DIAMM database (admittedly, a very rough measurement) reveals 244 sources containing at least one work by Gombert, as compared with 398 instances for Willaert, 470 for Clemens, and 652 for Josquin. The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music, accessed 1 September 2021, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk>. Gombert composed a few hit motets: *Tulerunt dominum* appears in twenty-three sources, *Ave sanctissime Maria* in twenty-one. But no work by Gombert ever achieved the popularity of Willaert's *Pater noster*, which survives in thirty-two sources. Jennifer Thomas, "The Core Motet Repertory of 16th-Century Europe: A View of Renaissance Musical Culture," in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Haggh (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 335–76, at 337–38.

⁶⁵ Seven of Clemens's motets survive in more than twenty sources. See Thomas, "The Core Motet Repertory."

⁶⁶ Jesse Rodin, "The Josquin Canon at 500 with an Appendix Produced in Collaboration with Joshua Rifkin," *EM* (forthcoming, 2021).

Reconsidering Mid Sixteenth-Century Historiography

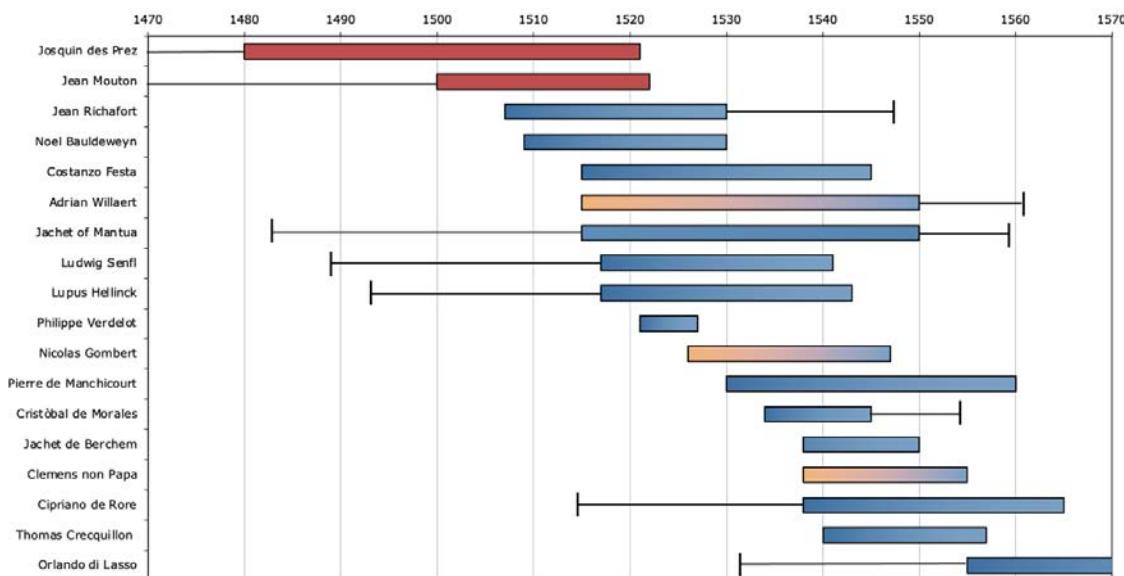
With the benefit of what we know today, a reconsideration of the mid sixteenth century is not just possible, but prudent. More than 150 years after Kiesewetter, we are in a better position to pinpoint the transition between an older and a younger guard ca. 1520. Sometime during the second decade of the sixteenth century, the first of the mid sixteenth-century composers begin to appear. Fig. 1.2 presents a rough timeline centered on the major composers. Central years of musical activity are in blue; birth and death dates are demarcated by vertical black ticks. Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens are in orange; Josquin and Mouton are included in red, for comparison. As the timeline suggests, a number of these musicians are chronologically closer to Clemens than Willaert, revealing at least a second grouping that could include Crecquillon, Cipriano de Rore, and Cristóbal de Morales. But by lumping all these figures together, it becomes hard to fulfill one of our main tasks as historians: to recognize patterns.

Indeed, we stand to benefit greatly from separating out the musicians whose careers began during the first two decades of the sixteenth century from what might be described as a second “wave” of composers who first appeared on the scene in the years shortly before or around 1540.⁶⁷ Musicians such as Morales, Clemens, and Rore differed greatly from Festa and Willaert, not just in terms of the music-stylistic features of their works and the genres they preferred, but also in the very idea of how they saw and marketed themselves. This is evinced in their involvement with their publications. Beginning with Ambros, scholars have assumed that composers such as Willaert or Gombert had a hand in the Venetian

⁶⁷ My thanks to Stephen Rice for this characterization of waves of composers.

publication of single-author prints.⁶⁸ This view is probably mistaken.⁶⁹ Nor have more recent scholars pursued the notion that composers were personally involved in the day-to-day operations of the presses printing their music.

Figure 1.2. Timeline of major mid sixteenth-century composers between Josquin des Prez and Orlando di Lasso



It appears that Gombert and Willaert secured prominent positions before the advent of commercially oriented printing and did not feel the need to follow the maxim “publish or perish” in the same ways that Palestrina probably did.⁷⁰ The outlook of a composer such as

⁶⁸ Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 3:110, 112, and 120. “Schwer wiegt auch die Fülle der in den 1530er und 1540er Jahren erscheinenden Motettendrucke Gomberts, die ohne Beteiligung des Komponisten kaum zustande gekommen sein dürften.” Michael Zywietz, “Gombert, Nicolas,” *MGG Online*, accessed 14 August 2021.

⁶⁹ Early doubts were raised by Lewis Lockwood in his “A Sample Problem of *Musica Ficta*: Willaert’s *Pater noster*,” in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 161–82, at 174–75. Lockwood has noted that a number of discrepancies suggest that, with regard to the four-voice single-author prints of Willaert works published by Scotto in 1539 and Gardano in 1545, “if such supervision [by the composer over the print] did take place, it was neither very careful nor very complete.”

⁷⁰ Jane Bernstein, “Publish or Perish? Palestrina and Print Culture in 16th-Century Italy,” *EM* 35 (2007): 225–35; and eadem (personal communication, 27 November 2018).

Morales, who in 1543 signed a printing contract with Valerio Dorico to market his own music, is different.⁷¹

This study takes account of this distinction. The music-stylistic investigations focus on the first wave of these musicians, a group of mainly Franco-Flemish composers whose careers began in the 1510s and who were primarily active in Italy. But first, considerable historiographical ground clearing is needed. Chapter 2 turns to the first scholars to produce substantial research on music of the mid sixteenth century: German musicologists trained in the mid-to-late 1920s, above all Heinrich Besseler.

⁷¹ The 1543 Dorico contract with Morales reveals a composer with a keen sense of self-marketing: the 525 copies of the *Missarum liber primus* would be divided such that Morales would receive 275 copies, fifty of which he could sell in Italy, and the rest of which he would presumably sell back in Spain. Suzanne G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 95–101.

Appendix 1.1. Synopsis of Clemens non Papa's Career

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
ea. 1510 → ca. 1515?	birth ¹
1536	Two chansons (<i>Le departir est sans department</i> and <i>Ung jour passé</i>) appear anonymously in <i>Second livre contenant xxv Chansons</i> (Paris: Attaingnant) and are later attributed to Clemens in 1540. ² Whether these attributions are secure is unclear.
1542	The nickname “non papa” appears for the first time in Cambrai 125–8. Pope Clemens VII (r. 1523–34) has been dead eight years.
26 March 1544	recruited to be <i>succentor</i> at St. Donatian in Bruges for a trial period. The mass <i>Gaude lux donatianaæ</i> may connect to Clemens’s time there. ³
April 1545	no longer at St. Donatian
I October to 24 December 1550	in ’s-Hertogenbosch, engaged by the Confraternity of Our Lady. He presents a mass to be sung, possibly <i>Missa Spes salutis</i> , as well as the motet <i>Ego flos campi</i> . ⁴
1551–52	visits the singers of the <i>getijdencollege</i> of St. John in Gouda ⁵
17 January 1553	Archduke Maximilian writes to Philippe III de Croÿ, asking his cousin for assistance in recruiting Clemens to be one of his two <i>Kapellmeisters</i> . ⁶

¹ Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers believed that a birthdate ca. 1510 is indicated by the anonymity of early publications, the first appearance of the name Jacques Clément in 1538, and the hesitant nomination in Bruges. But it is not clear why we should assume that Clemens was so old (around twenty-eight years old) when he first appeared. If Willaert and Senfl are comparative figures, then around twenty years old seems more probable. Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, “Bibliography of the Sacred Works of Jacobus Clemens non Papa,” *Musica Disciplina* 18 (1964): 85–150.

² The chansons are attributed to Clemens in *Second livre contenant xxvii. Chansons* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1540). Joshua Rifkin has offered skepticism about a number of Clemens attributions before 1545. Kempers, too, was unsure about three of the seven pre-1545 Clemens chansons published in vol. 10 of the CMM collected-works edition. Joshua Rifkin, “Why (not) Clemens?,” Paper presented at Valorizing Clemens non Papa: International Conference, Boston University, 6–7 November, 2015. My thanks to Professor Rifkin for sharing with me his text.

³ Joshua Rifkin, “Why (not) Clemens?”; and René Bernard Lenaerts, “Voor de biografie van Clemens non Papa,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 13 (1931): 178–80.

⁴ Lance D. Morrison, “The *Spes salutis* Masses of ’s-Hertogenbosch Ms 75 and Clemens non Papa: A Comparative Study” (M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, 2018). Morrison has suggested that the mass is modeled after the anonymous mass *Spes salutis* in ’s-Hertogenbosch 157, which was possibly composed by Lupus Hellinck.

⁵ Eric Jas, “Introduction,” in *Beyond Contemporary Fame: Reassessing the Art of Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillion*, ed. Eric Jas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 9–15, at 10.

⁶ Henri Vanhulst, “Clemens non Papa, ‘grant yvrogne, et mal vivant’ (1553),” in *Beyond Contemporary Fame: Reassessing the Art of Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillion*, ed. Eric Jas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 17–25.

13 May 1553	Philippe III does not relay Maximilian's intentions. He responds that Clemens is not the appropriate person, because he is a drunkard and is living a bad life.
10 June 1553	Maximilian writes that he is no longer interested in Clemens. ⁷
Spring 1555	Clemens dies. ⁸

⁷ By 1554 Jacobus Vaet was *Kapellmeister*.

⁸ Leuven 4 includes the motet *Hic est vere martyr*, which is dated 21 April 1555 and labelled the “final work of Clemens non Papa.”

Appendix 1.2. Synopsis of Nicolas Gombert's Career

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Event</i>
2 October 1526	Grenada	Gombert first appears on a chapel benefice list for Charles V as <i>chantre</i> (he was not listed on the previous benefice list of 1523).
1 July 1528	Monzon	Gombert appears on a chapel paylist (he was not there in 1525), now the second highest paid. He is possibly already now <i>maître des enfants</i> . ¹
1 January 1529		Gombert is <i>maître des enfants</i> . ²
1529–30	Paris	Works by Gombert first appear in print, in three publications by Pierre Attaingnant.
22 February 1530	Bologna	Charles V is crowned by Pope Clement VII. No contemporary accounts identified specific musical works, but a later print designates Gombert's <i>Missa Sur tous regetz</i> 'A la Incarnation.'
1 April 1530	Departure from Bologna	appears on a paylist
28 June 1530	Augsburg	added to a paylist from 23 June
14 November 1530	Augsburg	appears on a paylist
7 January 1531	Departure from Cologne	appears on a paylist
3 February 1531	Brussels	appears on a paylist
15 June 1531	Termonde	appears on a paylist
30 September 1531	Brussels	appears on a benefice list
15 September 1532	Linz	appears on a paylist
1534	Spain	appears on a paylist

¹ Mary Tiffany Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V: The Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 92.

² Eadem, "Gombert, Thiebault, Crecquillon, Canis, Payen and the chapel of Charles V," *EM* 42 (2014): 191–206, at 205n32. The document, in Lille Archives départementales du Nord, Reg. Nr. B 3350, ff. 179v-180v, is transcribed in Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert: Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls. V. Leben und Werk* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1938), 251–52.

19 June 1534	Tournai	becomes a canon at Tournai ³
10 May 1535	Barcelona	appears on a paylist
May 1535		Charles embarks for North Africa. The chapel does not appear to be part of the expedition. ⁴
November 1537	Brussels	Gombert leads a recruiting trip for the Imperial Chapel and is given a considerable sum of money to recruit for various positions. ⁵
28 December 1540	Namur	Gombert is not on the benefice list. Thomas Crecquillon is now <i>maître de la chappelle</i> .
1547	Tournai	Gombert writes a letter and sends a motet to Charles V's <i>gran capitano</i> Ferrante Gonzaga.
1556		Hermann Finck's <i>Practica muscica</i> hails Gombert as one of the best "in our own days."
1561		A pair of treatises by Jerome Cardan use language describing Gombert that suggests he is deceased.

³ Edmond Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle*, 8 vols. (Brussels: G.-A Van Trigt, 1867–88), 7:337.

⁴ No chapel records survive from this period. Martin Ham, "Thomas Crecquillon in Context: A Reappraisal of His Life and of Selected Works" (Ph.D. diss., University of Surrey, 1998), 23.

⁵ These include schoolmasters for the children, chaplains, singers, children of the choir and an organist. Ibid, 23. Maria Rika Maniates believed it was generally accepted that Gombert had accompanied Charles V and twenty singers in 1537 to Spain, but Gombert is not listed in the documents as having accompanied the recruits. Maria Rika Maniates, "The Sacred Music of Nicolas Gombert," *The Canadian Music Journal* 6 (1962): 25–38, at 26.

Chapter 2: Heinrich Besseler and the Long Shadow of Early Twentieth-Century Music Historiography

In 1950 the German scholar Hermann Zenck introduced the Adrian Willaert collected-works edition for the American Institute of Musicology by emphasizing the music-historical problems that this mid sixteenth-century composer presents:

Willaert's work appears so manifold and important above all because of the historical situation quite aside from all personal or national considerations. By this we mean that trend which leads from the late Middle Ages through the varying influences of the Renaissance and Humanism to the Counter-Reformation, those spiritual and historical tendencies which have found their artistic expression [sic] especially in Willaert's production.¹

Something similar appears in a 1951 obituary by the musicologist Walter Gerstenberg for his colleague Zenck: it was “Willaert's historical situation that affected the historian Zenck: the epochal turn from late Middle Ages to the Counter-Reformation . . . found its monumental artistic expression in Willaert's music.”² The clear implication, as can be confirmed through contemporary writings by Zenck and others, is that Willaert is an important figure whose music is difficult to talk about. Put into language adopted by later writers, Willaert—like contemporary mid sixteenth-century composers Nicolas Gombert and Clemens non Papa—is to be “respected if not loved.”³

¹ Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia: Motetta IV vocum, Liber primus*, ed. Hermann Zenck, vol. 1 in *CMM* 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), ii.

² “Über die nationalen und persönlichen Momente seines Schicksalsweges nach Italien hinaus ist es die einzigartige historische Situation Willaerts, die den Historiker Zenck betroffen hat: die epochale Wendung vom Spätmittelalter zur Gegenreformation, die in Willaerts Musik ihren monumentalen künstlerischen Ausdruck gefunden hat.” Walter Gerstenberg, “Hermann Zenck (19.3.1898–2.12.1950),” *Die Musikforschung* 4 (1951): 341–47, at 345.

³ James Haar here describes only Willaert, but attributes he finds challenging in Willaert's music (“full of contrapuntal artifice,” “somewhat thick in sound”) might well apply to music by the other two composers, even if their works make less use of canonic writing. James Haar, “A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism,” *JAMS* 36 (1983): 191–209, at 208.

Many scholars today continue to give short shrift to a heterogeneous collection of Franco-Flemish composers active between ca. 1515 and 1555, often described as an “in between” or “post-Josquin” generation. Indeed we still find a tendency to skip over this period or characterize it mainly as building on Josquin and preparing the way for Palestrina. This discourse originated with the first scholars to produce substantial work on this music—figures like Zenck and Gerstenberg who were trained in Germany in the mid-to-late 1920s. The next three chapters illuminate the origins of this discourse and the turn away from Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens’s musical and aesthetic qualities.

Mid sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composers did not escape nationalistic—and even racial—justifications, but they fell largely outside the National Socialist cultural program. Instead I argue that our modern-day negative reception of the mid sixteenth century arose from six interlocking areas of influence in early twentieth-century Germany: National Socialist, and more generally, nationalist German politics; institutional and departmental politics; religious politics; a tendency toward evolutionary historical models; interpersonal politics; and more neutral factors due to the state of the field and the accessibility of primary and secondary source materials.

Starting mainly in the early 1990s, scholars in both Europe and North America began to reevaluate early twentieth-century German musicology, examining how its socio-economic and ideological circumstances led to clashes and compromises with political and institutional authorities. In particular, I am indebted to the pathbreaking studies of Pamela Potter and Thomas Schipperges, which decisively demonstrated that politics during the Third Reich was not an isolated phenomenon whereby political powers somehow determined scholarship, but rather that the years 1933 to 1945 fit within a broader

environment of German cultural history and German nationalism.⁴ Potter's and Schipperges's research contextualizes the careers of many scholars important for mid sixteenth-century research. But their studies mainly examine these figures through the lens of twentieth-century institutional history and common practice period repertoire, when in fact many of these scholars were early music specialists. The next historiographical step then is to put the circumstances of the scholarship in dialogue with a full-scale reevaluation of the objects of study. Approaching this project from complementary angles and taking into account a true multitude of scholarly influences can enable us to craft a richer and more nuanced story. It can also help us better understand the history—and present—of our discipline.

In the years following World War I, widespread interest in early music was a pan-European phenomenon, but mid sixteenth-century research in particular flourished within a small network of scholars connected to Munich professor Adolf Sandberger (1864–1943) and his student Theodor Kroyer (1873–1945) (fig. 2.1).⁵ The list of important contributions from the 1920s and 1930s, both from scholarship connected to the Sandberger and Kroyer as well as beyond the bounds of their school, is almost dizzying: Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, although Dutch by nationality, examined the motets of Clemens non Papa in a 1926 German dissertation (published in 1928) under Sandberger in Munich.⁶ Also in 1926, Joseph Schmidt-Görg published the first half of his dissertation on Clemens's masses in the

⁴ Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); and Thomas Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler: Musikwissenschaft und Wissenschaftspolitik in Deutschland 1924 bis 1949* (Munich: Strube, 2005).

⁵ On the network of scholars surrounding Sandberger, see Andreas Elsner, "Zur Geschichte des musikwissenschaftlichen Lehrstuhls an der Universität München" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1982).

⁶ Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, *Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine Motetten* (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1928).

*Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft.*⁷ Erich Hertzmann, a student of Johannes Wolf and Arnold Schering in Berlin, offered a formative examination of Willaert's vernacular vocal music that appeared in a 1931 dissertation, and led to the publication of a handful of selections from Willaert's *Canzzone villanesche alla napolitana* in an early installment of Friedrich Blume's series *Das Chorwerk*.⁸ Hans Eppstein, originally a student of Heidelberg professor Heinrich Besseler (1900–69) but expelled from the university in July 1933 as a communist, completed his dissertation on Gombert's motets in Bern under Ernst Kurth in 1935.⁹ The German *Doktorvater* implies a patrilineal connection more intense than the term “doctoral advisor” does today, and it is understood that professors were highly influential in the choice of their students’ doctoral topics.¹⁰ Zenck’s 1924 dissertation on sixteenth-century German composer Sixt Dietrich, as well as his 1929 Habilitation on Willaert, almost certainly stemmed from his *Doktorvater* Kroyer, who himself wrote a Habilitation on Ludwig Senfl in 1902.¹¹ Kroyer also advised Otto Ursprung, who wrote his 1911 dissertation on Jacobus de Kerle and later served as an editor for the Senfl collected-works edition published by *Das*

⁷ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, “Die Messen von Clemens non Papa,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1926): 129–58; and idem, “Clemens non Papa als Messenkomponist,” *Gregorius-Blatt* 52 (1928): 183–90. Kempers responded to Schmidt-Görg in Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, “Zur Biographie Clemens non Papa’s,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1927): 620–27.

⁸ Erich Hertzmann, *Adrian Willaert in der weltlichen Vokalmusik seiner Zeit* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931); and idem, ed., *Adrian Willaert und andere Meister: Volkstümliche Italienische Lieder zu 3-4 Stimmen*, in *Das Chorwerk* 8 (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1930).

⁹ Although listed as *freireligiös*, Eppstein was of Jewish heritage. UA Heidelberg, StudA Eppstein; Hans Eppstein, *Nicolas Gombert als Motettenkomponist* (Würzburg: Richard Mayr, 1935); and Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, 306–8. The topic of the dissertation probably came from Besseler, whose scholarly focus was chronologically earlier than Kurth’s. On Besseler’s role as Eppstein’s doctoral advisor, see letter from Heinrich Besseler to Leo Schrade, 5 April 1934, Akademie der Künste, Leo-Schrade-Archiv, Schrade 73: Korrespondenz mit Heinrich Besseler.

¹⁰ For example, Antoine-Elisée Cherbuliez wrote in his evaluation of his student Edwin Löhrer’s dissertation on Ludwig Senfl’s masses that “ich gab dem Verfasser die Aufgabe, zunächst einmal sich dieser unveröffentlichten und zweifellos sehr wichtigen Messen Senfls anzunehmen...” Evaluation dated 16 July 1935, Staatsarchiv Zürich, U 109.7.1270.

¹¹ Theodor Kroyer, *Ludwig Senfl und sein Motettenstil: Zur Geschichte des Geistlichen Vokalsatzes im 16. Jahrhundert* (München: Verlag der Allgemeinen Zeitung, 1902).

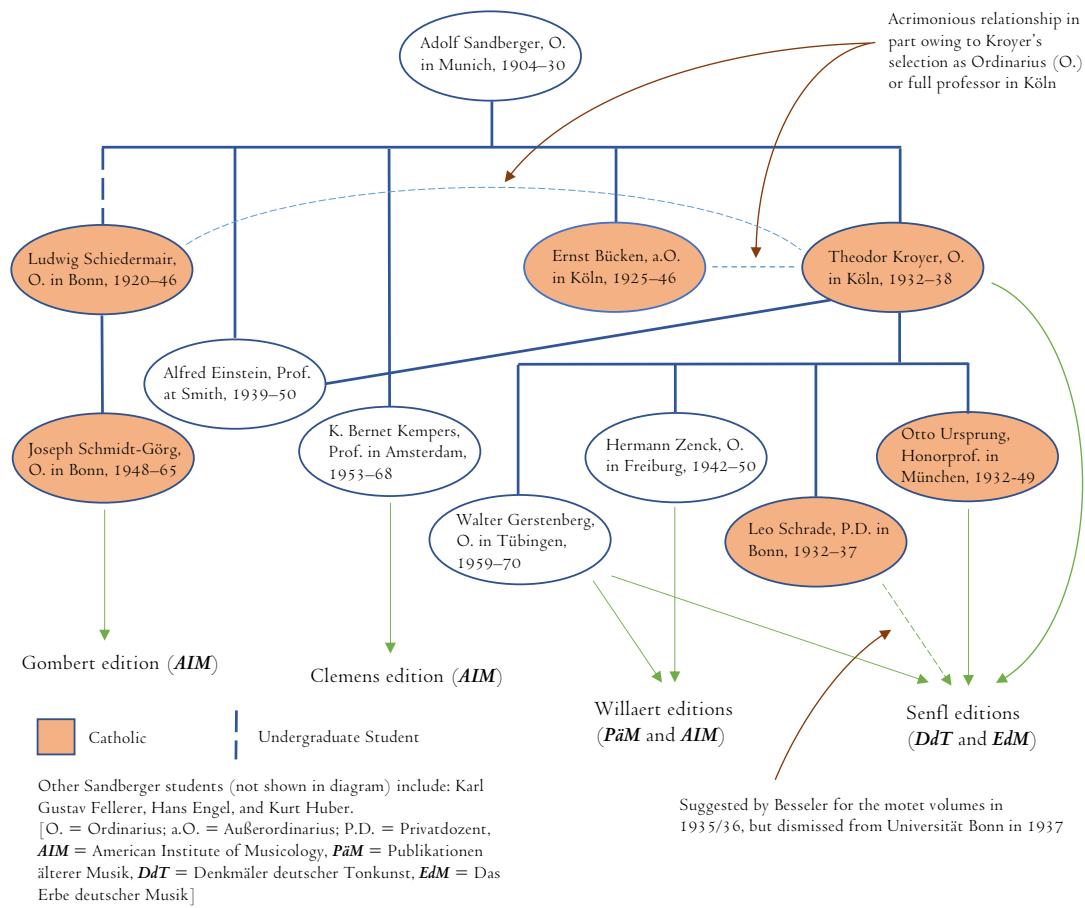
Erbe deutscher Musik.¹² The first volume of Willaert's motets was published by Zenck in Kroyer's series *Publikationen älterer Musik* in 1937. Schmidt-Görg completed his immense and important book on Gombert in 1938. This volume marked the last in this series of mid sixteenth-century scholarship; in its later years, the National Socialist climate strongly promoted German composers and, increasingly, wartime propaganda. It left little room for mid sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composers.

The influence of Sandberger and Kroyer, and that of their pupils and grand-pupils, was particularly strong in the Weimar Republic, but also waned during the later years of the Third Reich. Sandberger maintained lengthy correspondence with his students, and fellow students and grandstudents frequently assisted and collaborated with each other. These bonds were long-lasting, and persisted well into the post-war period: probably organized by Gerstenberg, the old Kroyer pupils would periodically meet in Tübingen.¹³ Members of the school would ultimately lead the Gombert, Willaert, Clemens, and Senfl collected-works editions (chapter 3 follows the research and careers of Hermann Zenck, a student of Kroyer and expert on Willaert; and Joseph Schmidt-Görg, the “grand-pupil” of Sandberger whose work centered on Gombert). After 1945 however, sixteenth-century music held less importance in Europe, so few specialists followed in their footsteps. But as chapter 4 shows, this scholarly tradition was reinforced by émigré musicologists in the United States, who brought pre-war German scholarly sensibilities to an emerging discipline in their new country.

¹² Otto Ursprung, *Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32–1591): Sein Leben und seine Werke* (München: Vikar am K. Hof- und Kollegiatstift St. Kajetan, 1911).

¹³ Susanne Gerstenberg (personal communication, 28 August 2020).

Figure 2.1. The Sandberger/Kroyer school and its mid sixteenth-century research



Although Sandberger himself was Lutheran, many of the musicologists in the Sandberger/Kroyer school were Catholic, as fig. 2.1 shows, in part because both professors taught in Catholic Bavaria and it was common then to study at the local school (e.g., Kroyer and Alfred Einstein came from Munich; Ludwig Schiedermair from Regensburg). Some confessional affinity played a role in the choice of topics: Catholics tended to study Catholic sixteenth-century composers. Sandberger, who spearheaded early research on Lasso, directed his students to focus on Catholic musicians who set the stage for his own area of research. All musicologists used their scholarship to advance their political and religious aims.¹⁴ But

¹⁴ Cf. Laurenz Lütteken, who has written that “during the first decades of the twentieth century, this denominational focus lost its power, with the exception of some prominent figures like Bach or Schütz,” in his

Catholicism in German musicology was decidedly a minority enterprise next to what one might describe as a Lutheran juggernaut.¹⁵ Outside of Bavaria and the Rheinland, most professors were Lutheran. This was often politically advantageous, as I will show below.

In general, the newfound focus on mid sixteenth-century scholarship seems to have stemmed from a desire to focus attention on hitherto unexplored areas of the field. Armen Carapetyan, the founder of the American Institute of Musicology, later wrote in a 1949 letter to Otto Gombosi that with the editions of “Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens non Papa, [the institute is] filling a large and important gap in the sixteenth century,” with the labor of Zenck, Schmidt-Görg, and Kempers.¹⁶ But equally—if not more—important for this research was Sandberger. Indeed, it is hard to overstate his broad importance for musicology in the first half of the twentieth century: in 1934 his students occupied no fewer than twenty-three professorships in Germany and abroad.¹⁷ Quite possibly, Sandberger would have been a relevant figure for almost any active field of research. But the choice of topics reflected Sandberger’s own interests. He had written his Habilitation on Orlando di Lasso; this probably motivated Kempers’s dissertation on Clemens. Sandberger’s notes from Kempers’s 1925 dissertation defense stress connections between Clemens and Gombert, and above all Lasso.¹⁸ Beyond Lasso, the focus of the Sandberger/Kroyer school extended to Senfl as well as members of Lasso’s Bavarian orbit. Sandberger was the head of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in*

¹⁵“Theory of Music and Philosophy of Life: The *Dodekachordon* and the Counter-Reformation,” in *Heinrich Glarean’s Books: The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth-Century Musical Humanist*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 38–46, at 40.

¹⁶Thanks to Joshua Rifkin (personal communication, 12 November 2021) for this characterization.

¹⁷Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, 10 December 1949. Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136 (Otto Gombosi Papers), Box 12, Correspondence 1947 to 1949. Carapetyan had himself recently written a dissertation on Willaert’s *Musica nova* and could surely advocate for the composer’s music on its own terms, but instead emphasized the missing historical knowledge as motivation for the research. Armen Carapetyan, “The *Musica Nova* of Adriano Willaert” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1945).

¹⁸Wolfgang Sandberger, “Sandberger, Adolf,” *MGG Online*, accessed 23 June 2020.

¹⁹Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 431 (Nachlass Sandberger), Teil 1, Schachtel 9, Kempers, Clemens non papa; and UA München, O-Npv-1925/26.

Bayern; it is probable that he found it advantageous—just as Guido Adler did with the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*—when his students' research could lead to edited volumes of music in the series.¹⁹

Sandberger retired in 1930. This limited his influence during the last thirteen years of his life. From around that time, arguably more influential for the historiography of mid sixteenth-century music was Besseler, who was neither a Catholic nor a Sandberger student. He was however a close colleague of Kroyer, Leo Schrade, and Zenck. Besseler was mainly a scholar of fifteenth-century music. Indeed he is better remembered today as an expert on Guillaume Du Fay (d. 1474), for his leadership of the series *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, and for applying phenomenology to music following the philosopher Martin Heidegger than for his enduring influence on our historiographies of the sixteenth century. But Besseler thrived during the first years of National Socialism. He accrued institutional power, becoming head of the vaunted collected-works editions in Germany (including those for sixteenth-century composers); he also handpicked scholars for a variety of musicological positions. At the same time, his 1931 handbook *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* was immensely successful, and it provided a stepping stone for generations of German and anglophone musicologists writing their own histories, including—but certainly not limited to—Gustave Reese, Howard Mayer Brown, and Ludwig Finscher.²⁰ That Besseler's activities in the 1920s and 30s were so multifaceted and consequential makes him an ideal test case for my historiographical model.

¹⁹ See for example Heinrich Isaac, *Choralis Constantinus*, vol. 2, ed. Anton Webern, vol. 32 in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Vienna: Artaria, 1909).

²⁰ Although copyrighted in 1931, Besseler's text was published in installments: pp. 1–32 in 1930; pp. 33–96, 1931; pp. 97–128, 1932, 129–60, 1933; and 161–338, 1934. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 303.

Gombert and Willaert in Besseler's *Die Musik des Mittelalters*

In many ways, Besseler's approach to the sixteenth century in *Die Musik des Mittelalters* was familiar. As was typical, on one side of the century towered Josquin; on the other, Palestrina and his contemporary Orlando di Lasso (d. 1594). In the middle, writers placed a nebulous group of mid sixteenth-century musicians, all of whom held fairly equal importance. There was no agreement about which figure should be centered. In practice, this balancing act often resulted in a historiographical seesaw, with Willaert and Gombert perched on either side.

Pursuing different historiographical agendas, writers tended to elevate one only when denigrating the other. Indeed pointed contrasts were common. Both Zenck and Schmidt-Görg explicitly adopted this approach, elevating Willaert and Gombert, respectively, through contrast with the other in the introductions to their respective collected-works editions.²¹ In the mid-1940s, Besseler's student Edward Lowinsky opened his musicological best-seller *Secret Chromatic Art* by casually referring to the two composers as the "antipodes" of their generation.²² By contrast, Clemens was often cast as the odd man out: his musical style fell somewhere in-between Willaert and Gombert, a problematic characterization that continues to crop up even in recent histories.²³ Other figures considered important today, such as Philippe Verdelot, Jean Richafort, and Costanzo Festa, barely registered at all.

This balancing act notwithstanding, there is no question which figure Besseler favored in *Die Musik des Mittelalters*. The text singles out Gombert for high praise: he was

²¹ Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, i; and Nicolas Gombert, *Opera Omnia: Missae IV Vocum*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg, vol. 1 in *CMM 6* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951), ii.

²² Edward E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*, trans. Carl Buchman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), xvii.

²³ Richard Taruskin, "Clemens," in "Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century," in *OHWM*, accessed 9 November 2018.

“the musician who followed the path of the younger generation in a most directed way, and thus succeeded Josquin despite ostensibly departing [from him stylistically].”²⁴ For Besseler, Gombert both maintained connections with the past (he was believed to have been a pupil of Josquin) and pushed forward to the future by inaugurating an imitative style that, by shedding older cantus firmus techniques, fostered equality among the voices. It was Gombert, Besseler remarked, who inaugurated the classic sixteenth-century Netherlandish School.

For Besseler, Gombert’s simultaneous, Janus-like glances to the future and past made him an ideal music-historical figure. Besseler disclosed his historiographical preferences—which were largely consistent throughout his career—in his post-war article “Bach und das Mittelalter” (1950). There, he characterized history as cyclical, driven by a series of great figures like Pérotin, Du Fay, and Johann Sebastian Bach.²⁵ Not only important for his use of folksong and secular three-voice works as cantus firmi in the mass ordinary, Besseler saw Du Fay as emblematic of the emergent preference for simultaneous conception over successive composition, or, in other words, the immense shift from melodic to harmonic thinking.²⁶ Each successive figure synthesized what he inherited; each looked toward the future; and each exhibited a “uniform progression” (*einheitlichen Gesamtstil*) in their music, an elegant level of continuity created by limiting each section of a work to “one key, one rhythm, one ‘affection’ and often to a single theme.”²⁷ If Besseler had been willing to add to this list of possibilities ‘one texture’ or ‘one technique,’ and I suspect that he would

²⁴ “Der Musiker, der den Weg der jungen Generation am entschlossensten und folgerechesten beschritt und damit trotz äußerer Abkehr die eigentliche Nachfolge Josquins übernahm, war Nicolas Gombert aus Brügge.” Heinrich Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Potsdam: Athenaion, 1931), 252.

²⁵ Heinrich Besseler, “Bach und das Mittelalter,” in *Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Bachtagung: Der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Leipzig 23. bis 26. Juli 1950*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1950), 108–30; and, in translation, idem, “Bach and the Middle Ages,” *The Score* 9 (1954): 31–42.

²⁶ Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 174.

²⁷ Besseler, “Bach and the Middle Ages,” 34.

have been, he might have argued that few Renaissance figures exhibited the uniform progression Gombert did in his nearly ubiquitous layering of pervasively imitative entries. Especially in Gombert's sacred music, point after point of imitation is passed from voice to voice in such a seamless, overlapping manner that hardly any points of stasis can be heard. Josquin and his contemporaries used imitation as a means to an end; for Gombert, imitation was an end in itself.²⁸

But for Besseler Gombert could never be as instrumental as Du Fay or Bach. Unlike Du Fay, he did not pioneer new generic forms: Gombert wrote masses, motets, and chansons, which were nearly as dominant as genres ca. 1540 as they had been ca. 1500. And Gombert did not compose madrigals or German *Lieder*. Seeing Josquin as more forward-looking than we see him today, thanks to works attributed to Josquin in mid sixteenth-century sources that now seem clearly to have originated after his death, Besseler could find little new in Gombert. Gombert was for Besseler above all a *follower* of Josquin.

While elevating Gombert to a degree, Besseler is remarkably critical of Willaert:

Before [Jacques Arcadelt and Cipriano de Rore], Adrian Willaert, maestro di cappella since 1527 at San Marco in Venice, had the strongest school-forming effect. In his motets, the older technique still occupies a large space; the late works from the *Musica nova* (1559), with their canon and cantus firmus frameworks, could only be described as antiquarian, as they did not display very modern features in their careful text declamation and refined sound treatment.²⁹

Besseler's language departed from the grand music histories of the nineteenth century that relied on the judgments of sixteenth-century writers who lauded Willaert, Gombert, Clemens, and others. Different approaches to writing histories must have been

²⁸ Fabrice Fitch, *Renaissance Polyphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 159.

²⁹ "Vor ihnen hat Adrian Willaert, seit 1527 Kapellmeister an S. Marco zu Venedig, am stärksten schulbildend gewirkt. In seinen Motetten nimmt die ältere Technik noch einen großen Raum ein; die Spätwerke aus der 'Musica nova' (1559) mit ihren Kanon- und Cantus firmus-Gerüsten könnte man nur als altertümelnd bezeichnen, wiesen sie nicht in ihrer sorgfältigen Textdeklamation und raffinierten Klangbehandlung auch ausgesprochen modern Züge auf." Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters*, 256–57.

partly responsible: nineteenth-century historians such as August Wilhelm Ambros often preferred teleological historiographical models (building on Josquin and leading to Palestrina and Lasso), whereas Besseler saw history as cyclical—a series of intermittent, great figures. Such a divergence also stemmed from increased access to primary and secondary materials: Besseler was the beneficiary of several decades of focused musicological research that enabled him to level criticism for the first time on stylistic grounds. The result was that Willaert's style was insufficiently forward-looking; Besseler's focus here on the music-text relationships indicates that he saw Willaert as moving away from Josquin's modern-sounding rhetorical gestures.

As the following chapters will show, Besseler's evaluation was highly influential throughout the twentieth century, setting up Josquin as more important and aesthetically valuable than his successors. Even within this larger cyclical historiographical decline, Besseler put forward an evolutionary view of Willaert that has never fully been addressed. In *Die Musik des Mittelalters*, Besseler placed more focus on the twenty-five madrigals and twenty-seven motets of Willaert's last print, *Musica nova* (1559), than on any of his other works—this notwithstanding its fairly narrow sixteenth-century reception. The publication was interpreted as containing late, mature works à la Ludwig van Beethoven's late string quartets, thereby reinforcing the idea that Willaert was anachronistic—not trendsetting and innovative, but reflective of a distant past.³⁰ Compared to Gombert, Willaert offered even fewer paths to the future. Besseler's evaluation ultimately sucked all the oxygen out of the room: following his handbook, more substantial Willaert scholarship since has focused on

³⁰ Through no fault of his own, Besseler did not know at the time that Willaert had composed much of *Musica nova* not during the late 1550s, but rather probably during the early 1540s.

Musica nova than on all of his other works combined.³¹ And this has created challenges for the appreciation of Willaert's music: the works of *Musica nova* are limited in their use of imitation; they have consistently low ranges, thick voicings, and remarkably continuous counterpoint. In other words, these are not the easiest works to program for concerts.

Still, Willaert had a long and lauded career; he composed plenty of works that Besseler might well have appreciated. Indeed Willaert composed a staggering amount of secular music—substantially more than Gombert did—including perhaps as many as seventy madrigals, sixty chansons, fifteen ricercars, and the ultra-popular collection *Canzona villanesche alla Napolitana* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1544, with reprints in 1545, 1548, and 1553). These myriad vernacular works fit elegantly into Besseler's philosophy of music listening and participation that he promoted throughout his career, first in his foundational “Fundamentals of Musical Listening” (1925), and then in later works such as “Umgangsmusik und Darbietungsmusik im 16. Jahrhundert” (1959) and *Das musikalische Hören der Neuzeit* (1959).³²

³¹ Susan McClary possibly overstates the case when she says that “scholars have long acknowledged Adrian Willaert's *Musica nova*—a collection of motets and madrigals—as one of the great monuments of Western art.” Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 78. Other notable contributions to the substantial body of literature on *Musica nova* are Timothy R. McKinney, *Adrian Willaert and the Theory of Interval Affect: The Musica Nova Madrigals and the Novel Theories of Zarlino and Vicentino* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); Katelijne Schiltz, “*Vulgari orecchie – purgata orecchie*”. De relatie tussen publiek en muziek in het Venetiaanse motetoeuvre van Adriaan Willaert (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003); Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal in Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Michele Fromson, “Themes of Exile in Willaert's *Musica nova*,” *JAMS* 47 (1994): 442–87; Martha Feldman, “Rore's ‘selva selvaggia’: The *Primo libro* of 1542,” *JAMS* 42 (1989): 547–603; David Butchart, “‘La Pecorina’ at Mantua, *Musica Nova* in Florence,” *EM* 13 (1985): 358–66; Anthony Newcomb, “Editions of Willaert's ‘Musica Nova’: New Evidence, New Speculations,” *JAMS* 26 (1973): 132–45; Helga Meier, “Zur Chronologie der *Musica nova* Adrian Willaerts,” *Analecta Musicologica* 12 (1973): 71–96; and Armen Carapetyan, “The *Musica Nova* of Adrian Willaert,” *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946): 200–221.

³² Heinrich Besseler, “Fundamental Issues of Musical Listening,” trans. Matthew Pritchard, with Irene Auerbach, *Twentieth-Century Music* 8 (2011): 49–70; idem, “Umgangsmusik und Darbietungsmusik im 16. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959): 21–43; and idem, *Das musikalische Hören der Neuzeit* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959). On Besseler's use of *Gebrauchsmusik*, see Stephen Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik: A Study of Musical Aesthetics in the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) with Particular Reference to the Works of Paul Hindemith* (New York: Garland, 1989), 6–24.

Besseler's Historiographical Priorities

Taken together, Besseler's writings promote the idea of *Gebrauchsmusik*, a functional music that stands in contrast to autonomous (*eigenständig*) art, or presentation music (*Darbietungsmusik*), that has existed since the rupture between art and life. He argued that from the early 1430s, amateur musicians began to participate in music-making alongside professionals. The arrival of the Italian madrigal in the 1530s represented a watershed moment, whereby a vernacular art form overtook the status of religious music for the first time. For Besseler, the madrigal emerged from community; it did not belong to the concert hall. This flowering of *Gebrauchsmusik* ended with the transition to monody at the end of the sixteenth century, coinciding with the deaths of Palestrina and Lasso. Writing in the late 1920s, Besseler believed that the modern concert was in crisis. A return to *Gebrauchsmusik* (after 1945, Besseler preferred the term *umgangsmäßig* music) could help reinstate a closer relationship between music and audiences. If Willaert was, as Besseler believed, a central figure in the genesis of the madrigal, then Besseler should have celebrated him, not dismissed him. But there was a catch: examples of early madrigals by Willaert were often spoken about by scholars of this period, but proved difficult to locate. It turns out they do not exist.

All of this raises the question: what Willaert would Besseler have known? Besseler signed the contract for *Die Musik des Mittelalters* in 1927; at that time, none of the emerging scholarship on Willaert by Zenck or Hertzmann had been published. By the time of the history's publication four years later, Besseler was familiar with some of Zenck's scholarship, and indeed, favorably reviewed the 1928 publication of Zenck's dissertation in 1929.³³ But how much he knew of Zenck's unpublished 1929 Habilitation on Willaert is less clear, since

³³ UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 12; and Heinrich Besseler, "Literatur zur alten Polyphonie," *Melos* 8 (1929): 240–42.

Zenck published only a portion of it during his lifetime.³⁴ With the exception of excerpted melodic lines, the Habilitation does not include complete transcriptions of works by Willaert. Although it represented a monumental step forward for research on the composer, there is no reason to believe that Besseler saw it that way. Further, the first volume of the Willaert collected works edition did not appear until a decade later, in 1937. Beyond this, by 1931 Einstein had scored up the madrigals from *Musica nova*, which he shared with Hertzmann for his dissertation; but these transcriptions were not publicly available.³⁵ These challenges notwithstanding, Besseler did have access to at least some of Zenck's scores while writing his handbook, which Zenck was generally loathe to share.³⁶ And Besseler fortunately saved the programs from early music concerts he attended: he presumably heard the Agnus Dei from Willaert's *Missa Benedicta es* in 1926 (fig. 2.2) and, although too late for inclusion in *Die Musik des Mittelalters*, he attended a concert in 1933 featuring a performance of Willaert's madrigal *I vidi in terra* from *Musica nova*.³⁷

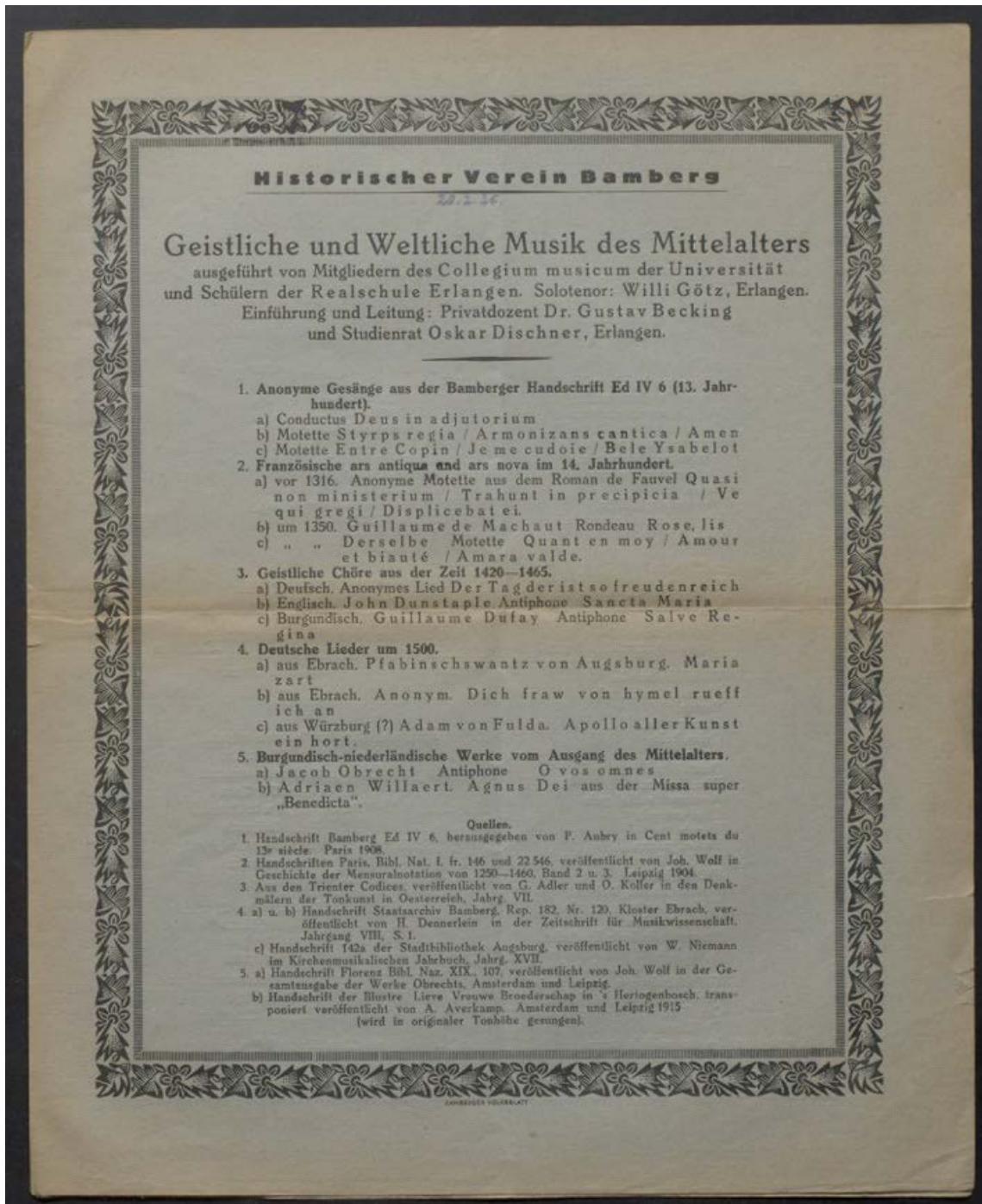
³⁴ Hermann Zenck, "Studien zu Adrian Willaert: Untersuchungen zur Musik und Musikanschauung im Zeitalter der Renaissance" (Habilitation, Universität Leipzig, 1929). Chapter 2 of Zenck's Habilitation was published as idem, "Zarlino's 'Istitutioni harmoniche' als Quelle zur Musikanschauung der italienischen Renaissance," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1929–30): 540–78. But the part of the study focusing on Willaert's motets (chapter 3) was not published until the 1950s, then posthumously as idem, "Über Willaerts Motetten," in *Numerus und Affectus: Studien zur Musikgeschichte*, ed. Walter Gerstenberg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), 55–66.

³⁵ Hertzmann, *Adrian Willaert in der weltlichen Vokalmusik*, vi.

³⁶ "Ueber dies werden Sie verstehen, dass ich meine Sparten nur in besonderen Fällen engerer Zusammenarbeit und persönlicher Beziehung zur Verfügung stellen kann. Ein solcher Ausnahmefall, als ich s.Z. Herrn Prof. Besseler meine Sparten für die Bearbeitung des Mittelalter- und Renaissance- Bands des Bückenschen Handbuchs überliess." Letter from Hermann Zenck to Edward Lowinsky, 18 March 1933, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 7, Box 105, Folder 2, 1932–1933.

³⁷ The concert was held at the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Deutschen Universität in Prague on 14 June 1933 and also included Andrea Gabrieli's twelve-voice motet *Ecco vineggia bella*. UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 19, Bd 01; and as mentioned (without reference to Willaert) in Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, 47.

Figure 2.2. Concert by the Historischer Verein Bamberg, 20 February 1926³⁸



³⁸ UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 19, Bd 01. Reproduced by permission of Universitätsarchiv Leipzig.

That he heard a selection from the *Missa Benedicta* was not surprising. This is one of the few Willaert works that was published early in the twentieth century, although the attribution was probably spurious (on the basis of the surviving sources, the mass is more likely to be by Hesdin).³⁹ More importantly, the mass does not display Willaert's tight counterpoint or masterful weaving of individual motives. Instead it reuses motives from Josquin's famous motet in straightforward and unsophisticated ways. As early as the late 1910s, the mass had reinforced the pernicious idea that Willaert had been dependent on, and was therefore less important than, Josquin.⁴⁰ It seems that Besseler did not have opportunities to hear works by Gombert, Clemens, or other mid sixteenth-century composers (save Senfl); to the extent that he developed his views through listening, this would have been one of his few opportunities to form a judgment.

Lacking scores for mid sixteenth-century music in modern notation, Besseler relied on his own transcriptions. His Willaert and Gombert scores survive today in a hitherto undiscussed folder in his *Nachlass* in Leipzig, with a number of transcriptions dating from the early-to-mid 1920s (see table 2.1).⁴¹ One transcription corresponds to the lone Willaert example in *Die Musik des Mittelalters*: Besseler transcribed the *prima pars* of Willaert's six-voice motet *Alma redemptoris mater* from *Musica nova*, a piece that exhibits an “antiquarian” canon between tenor and quintus. But Besseler also copied a number of works that are not discussed in the handbook, drawn from a compiled Bayerische Staatsbibliothek volume of Pierre Attaingnant chanson prints from between 1529 and 1534, including three Willaert

³⁹ Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de, *Missa Super Benedicta door Adriaen Willaert*, ed. Anton Averkamp (Amsterdam: Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis and G. Alsbach, 1915). For the most recent evaluation of the mass's authorship, see Irene Holzer, “La Santa Unione de le Note’: Kompositionsstrategien in Adrian Willaerts Messen” (Ph.D. diss., University of Salzburg, 2010), at 155–68 and 256–89.

⁴⁰ Petra van Langen, “Anton Averkamp and Albert Smijers: Two Catholic Presidents,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 68 (2018): 148–62, at 154.

⁴¹ UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 08, Bd 02.

chansons and three Gombert chansons. These transcriptions, many of which are dated June 1923, originated during Besseler's own studies under Friedrich Ludwig in Göttingen.

Although these short pieces may have been easier to copy than later and longer works, sixteenth-century chansons written by Italians and Flemish composers based largely in Spain do not play a large role in Besseler's history. Moreover, the simplicity of these works reflects the generic conventions of the chanson at the time, written—as these pieces were—as characteristically simple songs intended for a broad, amateur audience. They hardly showcase the complex polyphony shot through these composers' sacred vocal works.

Table 2.1. List of transcriptions in Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Nachlass Heinrich Besseler 08, Bd 02 (“Willaert and G[o]mbert”)

(a) Besseler's own transcriptions probably or certainly dating to the 1920s⁴²

Work	Composer	Print	Source	Date
six gaillardes, six pavanes		<i>Six Gaillardes et six Pavanes</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, ca. 1528)	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 31	
eight basse dances, two branles		<i>Neuf basses dances</i> (Paris: Attaingnant, 1530)	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 31	
<i>A l'aventure, l'entrepris</i>	Willaert	<i>Six Gaillardes</i>	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 31	11 June 1923
<i>Mon cuer mon corps</i>	Willaert	<i>Six Gaillardes</i>	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 31	23 June 1923
<i>Alleluia my fault chanter</i>	Gombert	<i>Six Gaillardes</i>	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 31	26 June 1923
<i>Dessus le marche d'Arras</i>	Willaert	<i>Six Gaillardes</i>	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 31	26 June 1923

⁴² Besseler's transcriptions in this folder survive on two styles of staff paper sold by the same Leipzig-based firm: C.A. Klemm A. N° 6 and C. A. Klemm A. N° 4.

<i>Amours vous me faictes</i>	Gombert	<i>Vingt et sept chansons</i> (Paris: Attaingnant, 1533)	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 31	27 June 1923
<i>En aultre avoir trop plus</i>	Gombert	<i>Vingt et huyt chansons</i> (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534)	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 31	27 June 1923
<i>Benedicta es celorum regina</i> [incomplete] ⁴³	Willaert	<i>Musica nova</i> (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1559)		
<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i> [<i>prima pars only</i>]	Willaert	<i>Musica nova</i>	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 47	
<i>Benedicta es celorum regina</i> [<i>prima pars only</i>]	Willaert	<i>Musica nova</i>	D-Mbs Mus. Pr. 47	

(b) Transcriptions by others, including by students of Besseler, probably dating to the 1930s⁴⁴

Work	Composer	Print	Source	Transcriber
<i>Ave regina celorum</i> (a5)	Gombert			Frl. Kunkel [?]
<i>Ave Maria</i>	Gombert			Habich [?]
<i>Puer qui natus est</i>	Spurious: Gombert [more plausibly, Vincenzo Ruffo]	<i>Nicolai Gombert</i> <i>Musici excellentissimi</i> <i>cum quinque vocibus</i> (Venice: Scotto, 1541)	D-Ju Mus.8 a- e	Karl Schweickert ⁴⁵
<i>O magnum mysterium</i>	Gombert			Dischler [?]
<i>Venite ad me omnes</i>	Gombert			Heinrich Rietz

⁴³ On reverse of the first page of the transcription, upside down, there is a partial transcription of *Salve Ave Regina* attributed to Du Fay; on reverse of the second is a further example drawn from LonBL 57950, titled “Anfang einer dreistimmigen Hohelied Motette.” These are examples 149 and 141, respectively, in Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters*, 216 and 202–3.

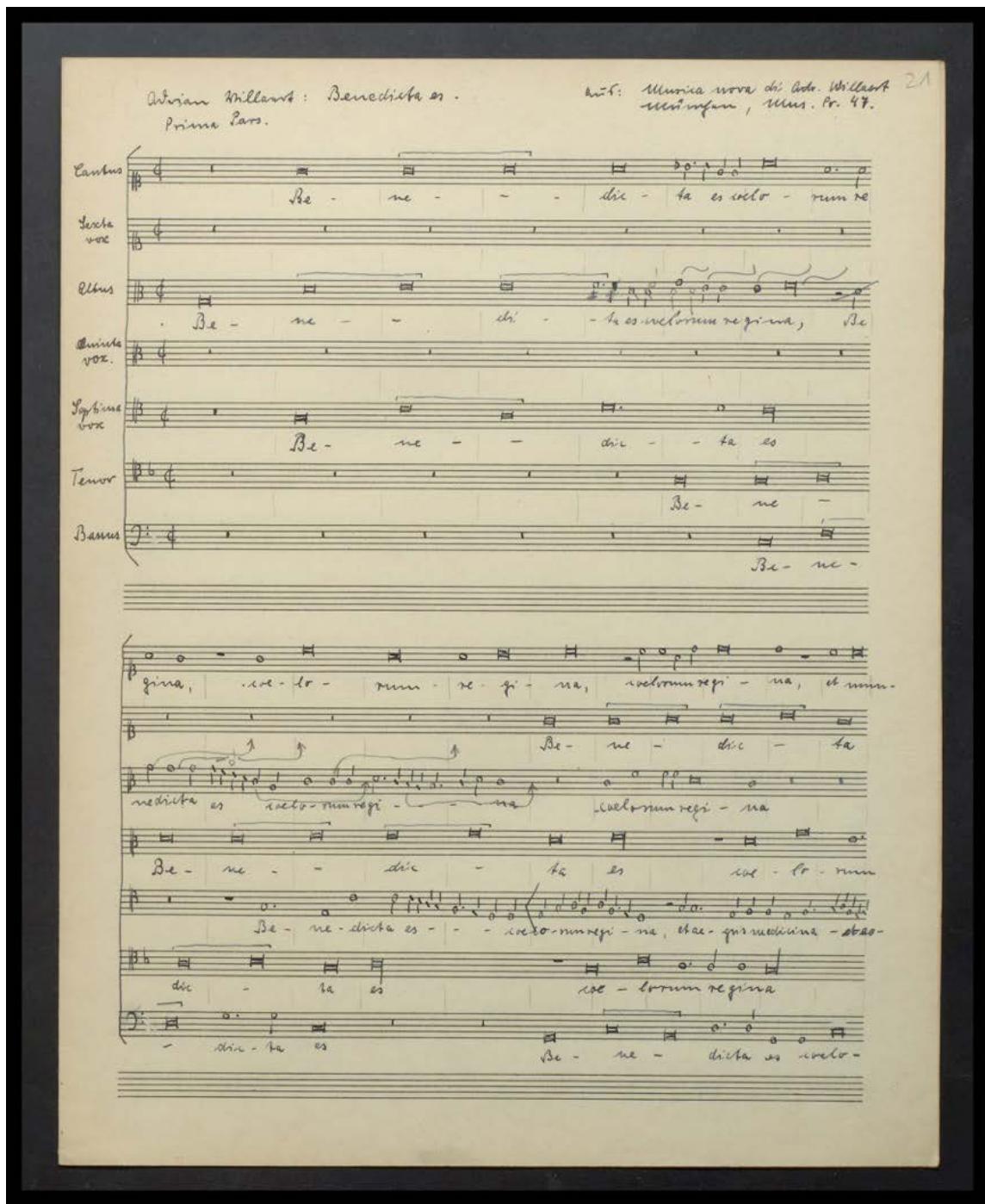
⁴⁴ Transcriptions by Besseler’s students were made on several types of “Sünova” staff paper, “Sünova” no. 6, no. 7, no. 8 and no. 9. No dates for these transcriptions are provided.

⁴⁵ Karl Schweickert was a doctoral student of Besseler, who graduated with the dissertation *Die Musikpflege der Kurfürsten von Mainz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Mainz: L. Wilckens, 1937). See Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, 336–37.

We find one further transcription from *Musica nova*. Besseler began to copy—but did not complete—Willaert’s seven-voice *Benedicta es* (fig. 2.3). If the use of canonic material in the mid sixteenth century was for Besseler antiquarian, he could hardly have stacked the deck more clearly against Willaert than by drawing stylistic conclusions from this work. Indeed *Benedicta es* is unusual even for Willaert: it contains three canonic voices (the quintus follows the tenor at the interval of a fifth and at a distance of three breves; the sextus follows at the interval of an octave and at the distance of eight breves). To Besseler, this must have appeared to be the height of pointless erudition.

In this respect the piece confirms that the dour, aged man on the woodcut portrait on the front of *Musica nova* presents an accurate image of Willaert (fig. 2.4). In *Benedicta es* we have the old man, slavishly devoted to an outdated style with his careful but uninspiring counterpoint. Besseler must have been curious about the motet on account of its text; in fact, the folder includes not one but two partial transcriptions. It is possible that Besseler was trying to uncover a musical relationship with the mass, or with Josquin’s own six-voice setting. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion, in any case, that Besseler found Willaert’s *Benedicta es* uninspiring: after all, he did not include it in *Die Musik des Mittelalters*.

Figure 2.3. The opening of Heinrich Besseler's transcription of *Benedicta es*⁴⁶



⁴⁶ UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 08, Bd 02. Reproduced by permission of Universitätsarchiv Leipzig.

Figure 2.4. Woodcut portrait of Adrian Willaert on the cover of *Musica nova*, from the same copy of the print at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek that Heinrich Besseler drew his transcription⁴⁷



⁴⁷ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Mus.Pr. 47, quintus, 3v, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00071866-8.

The Aftermath of *Die Musik des Mittelalters*

Besseler's evaluations of mid sixteenth-century composers were quickly adopted by both amateurs and specialists alike in Germany. In the early 1930s, ideology had raised interest in Franco-Flemish musicians. At that time in Germany, French-speaking composers born in modern-day Belgium or France were referred to as Netherlandish, as Friedrich Blume later noted.⁴⁸ Netherlandish was not a trick designation, since Belgium did not exist before 1831, and the historiography divided the region into the North Netherlands (modern day Netherlands) and the South Netherlands (modern day Belgium).⁴⁹ But the term opened the door to less scrupulous thinking. With some linguistic slippage between *Niederländisch* and *Niederdeutsch*, these musicians appeared to be close cousins of those in German lands.⁵⁰ Moreover, it was tempting to combine musicology and racial theory. The NSDAP and SS pedagogue Richard Eichenauer saw Franco-Flemish composers as sharing “Nordic” blood with the Germans; he specifically mentioned Gombert and Clemens.⁵¹ When turning to the Italian peninsula, Eichenauer followed the racial theorist Ludwig Woltmann, who decades earlier had argued that Palestrina represented a mix of Northern and Mediterranean races, and that a number of Italian families had Germanic heritage.⁵² For Eichenauer, the *Oltramontani* (Franco-Flemish composers serving in Southern Europe) were particularly important because they spread Northern polyphony to Southern Europe. Willaert's success

⁴⁸ Friedrich Blume, “Josquin des Prez: The Man and the Music,” in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at The Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 18–27, at 19.

⁴⁹ Thanks to Joshua Rifkin (personal communication, 10 November 2021) for this observation.

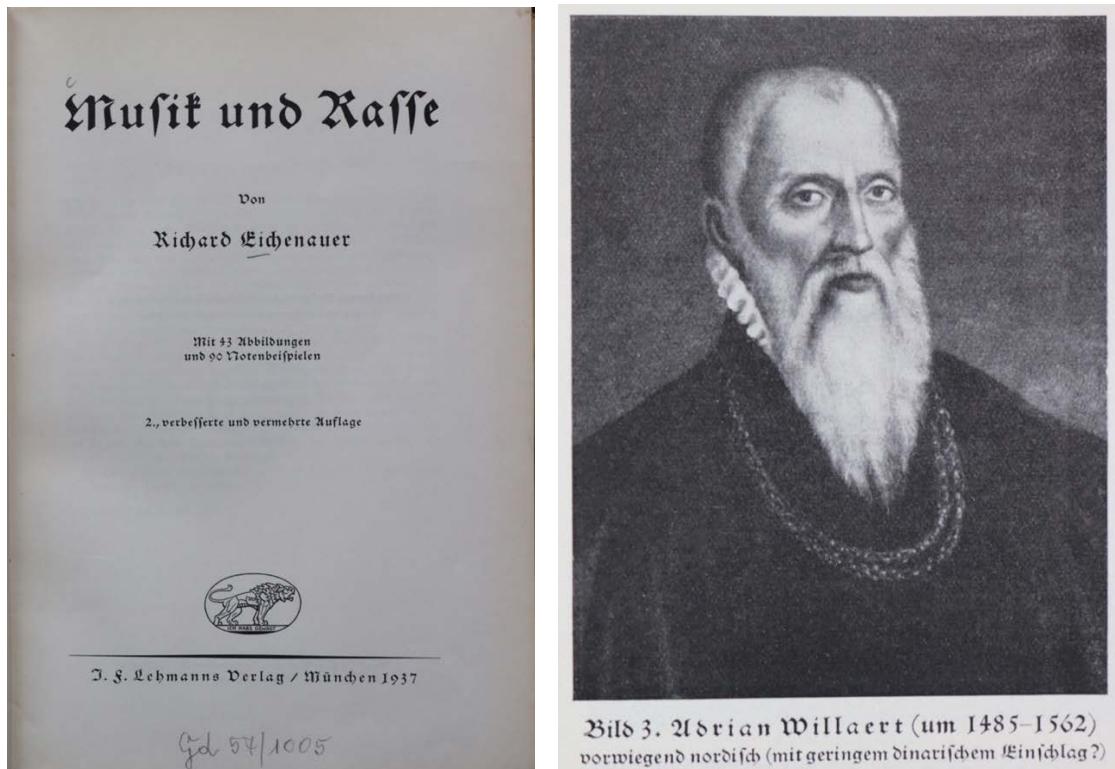
⁵⁰ Even among opportunistic musicologists, there was not broad agreement about this, however: Friedrich Blume “explicitly throws out the ‘music-historical’ equation of ‘German’ and ‘Flemish’” in *Wesen und Werden deutscher Musik* (1944), preferring instead “intereuropean literature” for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Anselm Gerhard, “Musicology in the ‘Third Reich’: A Preliminary Report,” *JM* 18 (2001): 517–43, at 528.

⁵¹ Richard Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse*, 2nd ed. (München: J.F. Lehmann, 1937), 138. On Eichenauer, see Hans-Christian Harten, Uwe Neirich and Matthias Schwerendt, *Rassenhygiene als Erziehungsideologie des Dritten Reichs: Bio-bibliographisches Handbuch* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 259–61.

⁵² Ludwig Woltmann, *Die Germanen und die Renaissance in Italien* (Leipzig: Thüringische Verlagsanstalt, 1905), 130.

with chromaticism and double-choir music in Italy originated with his mixed Nordic and Dinaric (meaning Southern-European) race, which one could see in the image Eichenauer provided (fig. 2.5).⁵³

Figure 2.5. Richard Eichenauer's image of Adrian Willaert in *Musik und Rasse*⁵⁴



Eichenauer may have been a “dilettante,” as Potter has noted, and indeed many musicologists at the time were skeptical of such research.⁵⁵ But his work was well known and

⁵³ Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse*, 148–49.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 148.

⁵⁵ Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 179. Interpersonal politics may have also played a role. Surviving documents suggest that Eichenauer was seen as a capable, if somewhat high-strung, administrator. In 1939 Eichenauer was invited to speak at the second *Reichsmusiktage* on the current conditions of music and race. Accounts disagree as to the exact reason why, but Eichenauer did not present as planned (Eichenauer apparently told the organizers at the time that there were insufficient attendees; he later claimed that the delayed proceedings did not allow him sufficient time to speak, given his busy schedule). Other musicologists possibly resented that a non-academic scholar could have produced such an influential text in SS circles. Bundesarchiv Licherfelde, R16/6294 and R16/6295.

probably tantalizing to opportunistic scholars. Kroyer was familiar with *Musik und Rasse*—he owned a copy—and apparently was intrigued by it, as a 1934 letter of his indicates.⁵⁶ Early on during National Socialism, and prior to his removal from the University of Freiburg in 1937, Wilibald Gurlitt too was enthused by the idea of Germanness in music and saw a parallel between his own research on music surrounding the German Reformation and the recent German break (*deutscher Aufbruch*) of 1933.⁵⁷ Gurlitt mentioned how Reformation-era music had applicability for research on music and race, and specifically cited Eichenauer's book.⁵⁸ And Eichenauer was not alone: Robert Pessenlehner argued in 1937 that Willaert brought “Dutch” polyphony to Italy: “the essence of his—Germanic—art flourished in his ‘school’.”⁵⁹ Friedrich Blume's 1939 *Das Rasseproblem in der Musik* neither accepted nor explicitly denied theories of music and race, but specifically mentioned Willaert and Lasso as the last Northern creative musicians, and highlighted the important transfer of Northern polyphony to the South in the madrigal.⁶⁰

But following Besseler's *Die Musik des Mittelalters*, Eichenauer changed his tune about which composers to highlight. When Eichenauer published his next racially oriented text on Renaissance polyphony in 1938, titled *Polyphonie – die ewige Sprache deutscher Seele: Der Jugend des*

⁵⁶ Kroyer writes: “Ein kurzen Nachtrag zu unserer heutigen Besprechung: der Rundfunkredner, der neulich über das Thema “Musik und Rasse” gesprochen hat, heist Richard Eichenauer und ist Studienrat in Bochum (West.). Von ihm ist unter dem gleichen Titel i.J. 1932, Verlag Lehmann in München, das ich Ihnen aus meiner Institutsbibliothek gern zu Verfügung stehe, wenn Sie es wünschen. Nach meiner Lektüre des Buches lässt sich noch viel über das Thema sagen./Heil Hitler!” Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Nachlass Kroyeriana, Schachtel 2, Bibliothekskatalog; and letter to Kloß, dated 18 June 1934, UA Köln, Zug 9/285/I.

⁵⁷ Eckhard John, “Der Mythos vom Deutschen in der deutschen Musik: Musikwissenschaft und Nationalsozialismus,” in *Die Freiburger Universität in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Eckhard John, Bernd Martin, Marc Mück and Hugo Ott (Freiburg: Plotz, 1991), 163–90, at 163–66. John has noted that Gurlitt was not a party member, and his wife was of Jewish descent, which resulted in his exclusion from the university in 1937, and yet as John indicates, a binary designation of Nazi/non-Nazi does not encapsulate the complexity of his personal and ideological situation. In addition to being amenable to music and race research, Gurlitt was no stranger to political expectations: he ends a 1936 letter for example with the expected “Heil Hitler!” UA Freiburg, B3/343.

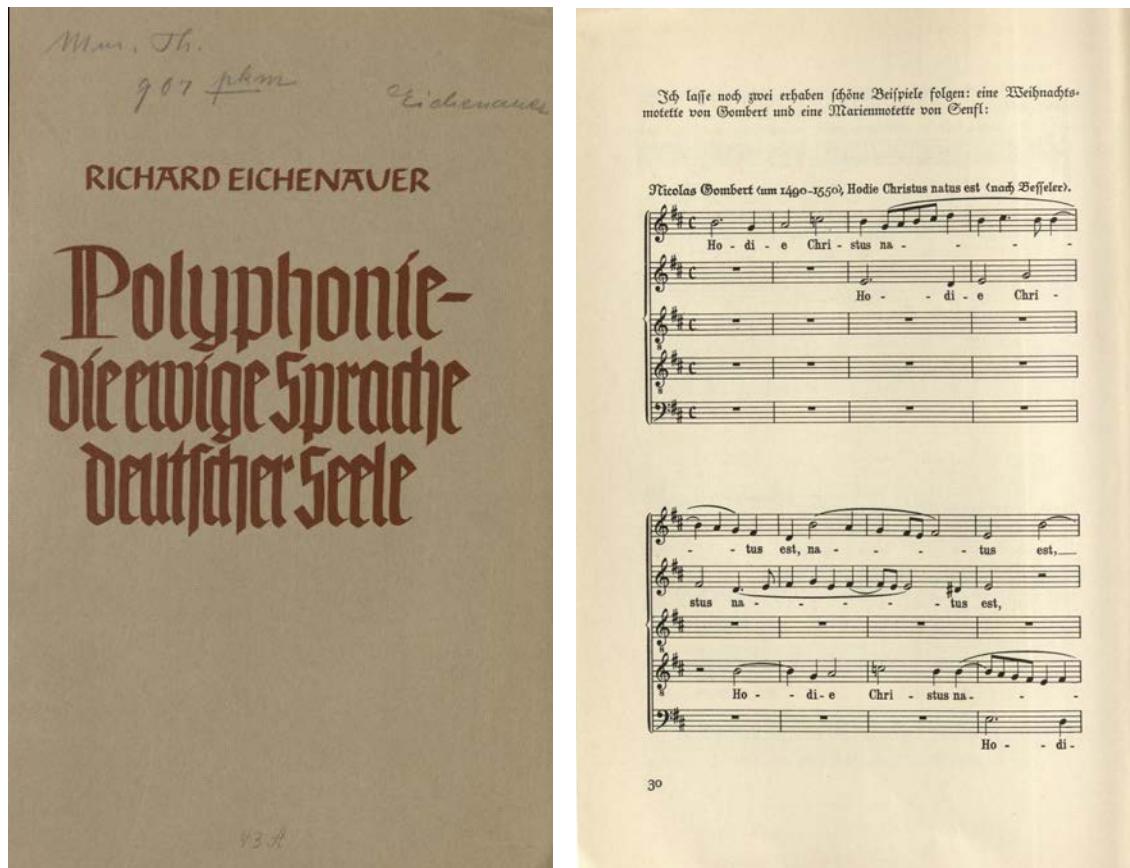
⁵⁸ John, “Der Mythos vom Deutschen,” 165.

⁵⁹ Robert Pessenlehner, *Vom Wesen der Deutschen Musik* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1937), 82.

⁶⁰ Friedrich Blume, *Das Rasseproblem in der Musik* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer, 1939), 65 and 69.

Dritten Reichs, less emphasis was placed on Willaert, and more on Gombert and Senfl (Eichenauer included a motet for each composer; none was provided for Willaert).⁶¹ Eichenauer's musical examples explicitly rely on and credit Besseler's music history (*Hodie natus Christus est* was the Gombert example in *Die Musik des Mittelalters*); Eichenauer's understanding of the period probably also followed Besseler's handbook, too (fig. 2.6).

Figure 2.6. Nicolas Gombert's *Hodie Christus natus est* in Richard Eichenauer's *Polyphonie – die ewige Sprache deutscher Seele*



⁶¹ Richard Eichenauer, *Polyphonie – die ewige Sprache deutscher Seele* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer, 1938), 30–33. On Willaert, Eichenauer wrote that “Und auch in Italien ist die Hochblüte der Polyphonie zweifellos vorwiegend von einem Menschentum getragen worden, das man biologisch zum Germanentum rechnen muß, mag es sich nun um neuerdings eingewanderte Nordeuropäer handeln, wie bei den berühmten Vertretern des ‘venezianischen’ Stils, Adrian Willaert (um 1485–1562) und Ciprian de Rore (um 1516–1565), die beide Niederländer von Geburt sind, oder um italienisch gewordenes Germanenblut aus der Völkerwanderungszeit.” Ibid, 19. One later example on pp. 52–53 is drawn from a Fritz Jöde collection and is attributed to Luperus Hellinck.

In general university musicologists were far less concerned about questions of music and race than with simply promoting German greatness; but Besseler's *Die Musik des Mittelalters* was equally influential for less pernicious historiographical inquiries as well. In 1934 Leo Schrade published a magisterial three-part article that extended Besseler's findings to their logical conclusion. Schrade had submitted the article in January 1933 to the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* while the journal was under Einstein's editorship; Einstein did not understand Schrade's argument and may or may not have rejected the piece (as Einstein later told Armen Carapetyan, "Schrade is a man who prefers his own opinions to historical facts.").⁶² As Lowinsky relayed the story, once the Nazis came to power and Einstein was dismissed from his post, the path was cleared for Schrade's publication.⁶³

In the article, applying the sixteenth-century art-historical term *maniera* to the music of the mid sixteenth century, Schrade categorized the period after Josquin (beginning around 1520) as manneristic.⁶⁴ It is not hard to see how he developed this reading, nor how it was in turn adopted by many later twentieth-century musicologists. Particularly important for Schrade with regards to Willaert was his foundation of the Venetian school and two figures

⁶² "Ich kenne natürlich seine Studie in der verflossenen Zeitschrift für MW -- habe sie sogar noch selber im Januar 1933 angenommen, weil Schrade ein seriöser Kerl ist und seine Ansicht sagen soll; aber es geht mir mit dem Verständnis wie mit meinem Glauben an die Trinität." Letter from Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 11 December 1944, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19; and letter from Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, 17 November 1977, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 7, Folder 5.

⁶³ Carapetyan mentioned to Lowinsky that he had not understood Schrade's article. Lowinsky responded that "needless, to say, I had the same experience with Schrade's long article of the 1930s, and Einstein told me too that he had not understood it. The way I remember him telling the story, Schrade submitted the article to him while he was still editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* and Einstein rejected the article precisely because he couldn't make head or tail of it. Einstein of course lost his editorship as the Nazis came to power, and Schrade's piece was eventually published in 1935, if memory serves, under a new editor." Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Armen Carapetyan, 30 July 1975, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 7, Folder 5.

⁶⁴ Leo Schrade, "Von der 'Maniera' der Komposition in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1934): 3–20, 98–117, and 152–70.

Schrade saw as Willaert's students there, Andrea Gabrieli and Gioseffo Zarlino.⁶⁵ Schrade highlighted the patrilineal connection from teacher to student. But Willaert's relevance was tenuous since he himself was only to a degree composing in a manneristic musical style. According to Besseler, Josquin had pioneered pervasive imitation; Gombert was merely his follower. And Willaert was somehow even less inventive: Schrade, like Besseler, saw him as a "conservative."⁶⁶ Both composers, moreover, seemed to take Josquin's innovations to their logical conclusion—and beyond. At their best, they represented an overblown outgrowth of a classical musical style.

Now we find an interesting wrinkle in the story. Just three years after the handbook had been copyrighted, Besseler realized that his assessments had been—at least in part—flawed, because they had been heavily based on a non-representative set of chanson examples. Gombert's musical style in particular represented a larger break from Josquin than Besseler had assumed and than Schrade now suggested. Drawing on research conducted by Eppstein, one of Besseler's Jewish doctoral students dismissed from the University of Heidelberg in 1933, Besseler wrote to Schrade (a transcription of the full letter is provided in appendix 2.1):

A closer examination of Gombert (the dissertation is currently being finished in Bern, where the author emigrated) surprisingly showed that Gombert is by no means a Josquin follower, but rather that Gombert's style marks a very sharp break with Josquin's principles. After a few early works in Josquin's style, Gombert was the first to develop—as H[ermann] Finck explains—the loss of the cantus firmus,

⁶⁵"Die bekannte Legende, daß eine seiner frühen Motetten als Josquinwerk von der Capella Sistina in Rom gesungen, als solches über alles Maß gepriesen, dann aber nach Bekanntwerden des wahren Sachverhalts sofort schmählich verdammt worden sei, so als hätte man vorher nichts gelobt, das wäre im übrigen recht bezeichnend für die Voraussetzungen der "Maniera", die in der römischen Schule entstanden. Die Gründe für Willaerts nie so ganz verleugnete konservative Festigkeit könnten hier in Rom noch mehr gehärtet worden sein, das Weltbürgertum W[illaert]'s wird aufs neue nach der kurzen römischen Episode offenbar in der Kapelle Ferdinands I gesichert. Von 1527 ab wird Venedig durch ihn Zentrum und gleichsam eine neue musikalische "Sammelstelle". W[illaert] läßt sich anscheinend nicht ausschließlich von der "Maniera" der Komposition erklären, obwohl er ihr mehr als zuneigt; wesentlich für die Stellung W[illaert]'s ist allerdings die einwandfreie Maniera-Interpretation Zarlinos." Ibid, 99n1.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

asymmetrical construction, and strict pervasive imitation, which Josquin in no way prefigured. As for “Maniera” in art, which you describe on pp. 98/99 as a conservative extension of Josquin’s legacy, it cannot in any case be applied to Gombert.⁶⁷

In the same letter, Besseler cited a second dissertation, that of his student Lowinsky, which complemented Eppstein’s dissertation by showing the stylistic break between Gombert and Lasso.⁶⁸ Besseler wrote:

Similarly sharp is the contrast between Lasso and Gombert, and clear, as shown for example by revisions of texts that Clemens non Papa composed in Gombert’s style. A dissertation from Lowinsky, which will presumably be published in the *Tijdschrift [of the Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis]* yields various interesting statements, including about the much-described “Reservata” question. That Lasso reached a new historical level—against Josquin as well as against Gombert—is only shown in my opinion at the moment he breaks free from Italian entanglement: with the motet collection of 1571.⁶⁹

It was in part these important studies that made Besseler want another crack at crafting the historiography. As Schipperges and Anna Maria Busse Berger have recounted, Besseler wrote in 1941 that a reorganization of the handbook series would “make room for the treatment of sixteenth-century music, which was given short shrift in my volume.”⁷⁰

⁶⁷ “Eine genauerer Betrachtung Gomberts (die Dissertation wird jetzt in Bern zu Ende geführt, da der Verf. emigriert ist) ergab überraschenderweise, daß es sich hier keineswegs um Josquin-Nachfolge handelt, sondern der Gombertstil einen ganz scharfen Bruch mit den Prinzipien Josquins bedeutet. Gombert hat nach einigen vereinzelten Jungenwerken im Josquinstil in der Tat als erster mit aller Konsequenz – wie es ja auch H. Finck ausführt – den cantus firmus-losen, asymmetrisch gebauten und strikt durchimitierenden Satz ausgebildet, womit ihm Josquin keineswegs vorangegangen ist. Von ‘Maniera’ in der Art, wie Sie sie auf S. 98/99 als konservativen Anschluß an das Josquin-Erbe kennzeichnen, kann jedenfalls bei Gombert nicht gesprochen werden.” Letter from Besseler to Schrade, 5 April 1934.

⁶⁸ Edward E. Lowinsky, “Das Antwerpener Motettenbuch Orlando di Lasso’s und seine Beziehungen zum Motettenschaffen der niederländischen Zeitgenossen,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 14 (1935): 185–229 and 15 (1936–37): 1–43, 94–105.

⁶⁹ “Aehnlich scharf ist dann wieder der Gegensatz Lasso-Gombert, und zwar bewußtermaßen, wie z.B. Neubearbeitungen von Texten zeigen, die Clemens non Papa im Gombertstil komponiert hatte. Eine Dissertation von Lowinsky, die vermutlich in der *Tijdschrift* erscheinen wird, bringt dazu verschiedene interessante Feststellungen, auch über die vielbeschrie[be]ne ‘Reservata’-Frage. Daß Lasso sowohl gegen Josquin wie gegen Gombert eine neue historische Stufe erreicht hat – und zwar durch Bruch und Opposition gegen das Vergangene –, zeigt sich m.E. erst in dem Augenblick ganz überzeugend, wo er sich aus der italienischen Verstrickung löst: seit der Motettensammlung von 1571.” Letter from Besseler to Schrade, 5 April 1934.

⁷⁰ Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, 247. For an English translation, see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *The Search for Medieval Music in Africa and Germany, 1891–1961: Scholars, Singers, Missionaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 99–100.

For the mid sixteenth century these revelations came too late. For at least two decades (and in Germany for much longer), *Die Musik des Mittelalters* remained the quintessential history of early music. There was no appetite to undertake a project to revise or replace the work. The larger academic and cultural environment had intensified with regime change, now becoming even more unfriendly to sixteenth-century Netherlanders. Instead, the focus turned to Senfl.

Besseler and the Ludwig Senfl Edition

It had always been true that German musicologists broadly endeavored to write about and center German composers, especially those composing in German lands. Now, this tendency approached an imperative. The most prominent composer of the Renaissance who met these criteria was Lasso, who had served the Bavarian Court under Duke Albrecht V and Wilhelm V from 1556 until his death in 1594.⁷¹ German musicologists overlooked potential obstacles: that although Lasso composed in German, he was incredibly prolific in composing Latin, French, and Italian works; that he lacked Protestant bona fides, since there was no reason to believe he was not Catholic or harbored secret Protestant leanings; that his contemporary fame was not localized to the German world, but pan-European; and that he was born in Mons, a French-speaking city in modern-day Belgium. Wolfgang Boetticher's 1944 commemoration of the 350th anniversary of Lasso's death in *Musik im Kriege* laid out the tensions in the composer's considerable use of foreign idioms, resolving it only by saying that "probably no older master was closer to the means of parody, the independent

⁷¹ For example, Otto Schumann wrote that what Handel meant to the eighteenth century, Lasso meant to the sixteenth. Otto Schumann, *Geschichte der Deutschen Musik* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1940), 87.

utilization of foreign thoughts.”⁷² Similar to justifications of Bach’s French and Italian influences, Lasso’s absorption and masterful use of non-German models paradoxically demonstrated the originality of his German style.⁷³

Identifying the most important composers in the generation before Lasso proved more difficult. Martin Luther was often viewed as the central figure of the sixteenth century, as the Reformation profoundly reshaped the socio-political landscape of German lands and Europe more broadly. It was known that Luther liked and had studied music, and that he appreciated Josquin. Since Josquin had died in 1521, with the Reformation in its infancy, evaluations of his importance had no need to grapple with his service in Catholic institutions, or with his largely Latin oeuvre—although it helped that Josquin’s Marian motets were popular with sixteenth-century German Protestants, who often re-texted them to fit new liturgical contexts.⁷⁴

When considering the period after 1521, Protestant scholars highlighted figures linked with the Reformation or who contributed to burgeoning vernacular genres (as opposed to Catholic mid sixteenth-century composers). Ludwig Senfl was a natural fit. He had served the Imperial Chapel under Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, and then (from early 1523) Duke Wilhelm IV in Munich.⁷⁵ Today we might complicate this story by

⁷² Wolfgang Boetticher, “Lassus. Zum 350. Todestag am 14. Juni,” *Musik im Kriege* 2 (1944): 83–85, at 85. Boetticher’s research on Lasso began while writing his Habilitation on solo lute practice, and culminated in his 1958 monograph on the composer. In the book, Boetticher offered a sanitized version of his wartime activities in his introduction, which are recounted more critically in Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), at 181–202.

⁷³ Bernd Sponheuer, “The National Socialist Discussion on the ‘German Quality’ in Music,” in *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny*, ed. Michael Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), 32–42, at 37.

⁷⁴ See for instance, Michael Meyer, *Zwischen Kanon und Geschichte: Josquin im Deutschland des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

⁷⁵ This extended to the highest levels of National Socialist cultural programs. Senfl features in a March 1941 document addressed from “Leiter M” (Heinz Drewes, head of the Music Division of the Propaganda Ministry, with corrections from Hans Joachim Moser) to Joseph Goebbels, regarding an unnamed project to further

observing that Senfl was Swiss rather than German, having been born in Basel or Zurich, and that this was known during his lifetime—but German scholars readily adopted him as one of their own.⁷⁶ After all, a German career and a teacher-student relationship with Heinrich Isaac was viewed favorably. Senfl not only composed a substantial number of German *Tenorlieder*, but despite his positions with Catholic institutions, he maintained in close contact with Reformation leaders and with Luther himself from at least 1530. Senfl's music enjoyed a remarkably wide circulation during his lifetime; the theorist Heinrich Glarean praised him in his *Dodekachordon* of 1547. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Senfl's sacred and secular works were published in academic publications, but it was his secular works that gained particular traction in Germany. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl has convincingly argued that his *Tenorlieder* had an outsized influence on music histories, both under National Socialism and more recently.⁷⁷

With *Die Musik des Mittelalters* offering no persuasive reason why Franco-Flemish figures should be seen as central to the story of sixteenth-century music, Besseler—even if he was starting to rethink his views on the matter—acquiesced to the greater nationalistic and religious demands being made on the institutions he served. When he assumed his position as head of German music editions in the mid-1930s, several series were already active, including Sandberger's *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern* and Kroyer's *Publikationen älterer Musik*. Kroyer had founded his series in the late 1920s under the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musik* umbrella, with the aim of publishing works by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century

⁷⁶“musical-cultural reforestation” of a German Eastern Europe. Pamela M. Potter, “Musicology Under Hitler: New Sources in Context,” *JAMS* 49 (1996): 70–113, at 103. Potter’s Appendix B reproduces the letter.

⁷⁷Senfl was “called Swiss” during his lifetime and perhaps promoted this strategically. Klaus Pietschmann, “genannt Schweitzer”: eine nationale Karrierestrategie Ludwig Senfls?,” in *Senfl-Studien I*, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2012), 3–16.

⁷⁷Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, “The Modern Invention of the ‘Tenorlied’: A Historiography of the Early German Lied Setting,” *Early Music History* 32 (2013): 119–77, at 167.

Franco-Flemish and Italian composers in modern notation for a scholarly audience. Kroyer had selected his student Zenck to lead a Willaert edition; had the series continued with full support past 1934, I believe there could have ultimately been Gombert and Clemens editions as well.

But Kroyer was not a National Socialist, in part owing to religious tensions (he was fervently Catholic, which was frowned upon in many National Socialist circles). As a result, he was marginalized in the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musik* from 1934.⁷⁸ In his own department in Cologne, Kroyer clashed with his colleague Ernst Bücken, diminishing his national and university reputation. He also struggled to justify the value of the series. Already in 1928, Kroyer had tried to do just this, emphasizing the series' "cultural-political importance"; in 1934 he stressed that the project had "national interest and global standing."⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the heads of many of the series' editions were Jewish, and were therefore undesirable (including future émigrés to the United States Dragan Plamenac and Einstein; Schrade, whose wife was Jewish, was also an editor). Another problem was that the series had difficulty showing value in a newly charged nationalistic environment, since it was hard to see what benefit Italian composers might serve in a National Socialist Germany. Besseler all but ended *PäM* in 1935 by founding *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* to replace all existing collected-

⁷⁸ Christian Thomas Leitmeir, "Ein 'Mann ohne Eigenschaften'? – Theodor Kroyer als Ordinarius für Musikwissenschaft in Köln (1932–1938)," in *Musikwissenschaft im Rheinland um 1930*, ed. Klaus Pietschmann and Robert von Zahn (Kassel: Merseburger, 2012), 93–136, esp. at 95.

⁷⁹ "In dem Zirkular vom 22. Dezember 1927, das den Forschungsinstituten eine Reichsbeihilfe für das Jahr 1928/29 in Aussicht stellt, ist darauf hingewiesen, dass nach den Bedingungen des Reichsinnenministeriums Forschungsaufgaben von allgemeiner kulturpolitischer Bedeutung für die Unterstützung in Betracht kommen." Letter from Theodor Kroyer to Kreishauptmann Marcus, Vorstand der König Friedrich-August-Stiftung für wissenschaftliche Forschung zu Leipzig, 7 January 1928, UA Köln, Zug 9/285; and "Heute komme ich zu Ihnen in einer Angelegenheit, die die Universität Köln ebenso wie das nationale Interesse und die Weltgeltung betrifft, und für die ich Ihren Rat und Beistand erbitte." Letter from Theodor Kroyer to Peter Winkelkemper, 19 April 1934, Kurator der Universität Köln, UA Köln, Zug 9/285.

works series in Germany. *PäM*, Besseler dismissively wrote to Schrade, did not match the cultural-political moment, because it “limits itself to non-German works.”⁸⁰

In the decade that followed, *Erbe deutscher Musik* focused its attention above all on the Senfl collected-works edition, a collaboration with the *Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft*. The Swiss had not previously led a Senfl collected-works edition (*Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* under Kroyer had published eight Magnificat settings and twelve motets by Senfl in 1903, but made it no further). This made the composer ripe for a study produced jointly by Swiss and German scholars. The Swiss saw an opening to highlight “the greatest master that Switzerland had created” when Besseler inaugurated *Erbe deutscher Musik* in 1935; the Germans likewise seized the opportunity to highlight “the prince of all German music.”⁸¹ Besseler proposed to the Swiss society’s president Wilhelm Merian that responsibilities would be split between countries—and this was ultimately agreed upon—but some Swiss musicologists argued in favor of conditions that editors for the series would mainly be Swiss.⁸² An even split of responsibilities was not always possible, anyway: Edwin Löhrer, a doctoral student at the University of Zurich, was supposed to complete the first volume of

⁸⁰ Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Leo Schrade, 13 January 1935, Akademie der Künste, Leo-Schrade-Archiv, Schrade 73: Korrespondenz mit Heinrich Besseler.

⁸¹ For the Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, the edition offered the opportunity to present the works “des größten Meisters, den die Schweiz hervorgebracht hat.” Martin Kirnbauer and Heidy Zimmerman, “Wissenschaft ‘in keimfreier Umgebung?’ *Musikforschung* in Basel 1900–1960,” in *Musikwissenschaft – eine verspätete Disziplin?: Die akademische Musikforschung zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Modernitätsverweigerung*, ed. Anselm Gerhard (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2000), 321–46, at 330. The prospectus for the Senfl edition includes a quotation about Senfl by “ein Schweizer” that reads “der Fürst der ganzen Deutschen Musik?” Heidy Zimmerman, “Musikwissenschaft unter neutralem Regime: Die Schweizer Situation in den 20er bis 40er Jahren,” in *Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus: Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)*, ed. Isolde v. Foerster, Christoph Hust, and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Mainz: Are Edition, 2001), 121–41, at 132–35. On the reorganization of *Erbe deutscher Musik*, see Heinrich Besseler, “Die Neuordnung des musikalischen Denkmalwesens,” *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* 1 (1935): 187–89.

⁸² “Ich hatte mir gedacht, dass wir jedenfalls die Bedingung stellen müssten, dass die Bearbeiter in der Hauptsache Schweizer seien, dass wir aber für den Editionsausschuss, den wir bilden müssen, eventuell uns bereit erklären könnten, auch zwei bis drei Deutsche zuzuziehen.” Letter from Wilhelm Merian or possibly Arnold Geering to Carl Vogler, Präsident des Schweizerischen Tonkünstlervereins, 5 March 1936, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Archiv Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, Schachtel 1/3, Senfl 1: 1933–1945.

Senfl's masses, but Ursprung claimed that Löhrer's work was so defective that his transcriptions had to be essentially redone, and that he had completed the volume himself.⁸³

Planning for the edition began in 1935. Volumes began to appear in 1937 and continued to appear with regularity until 1942–43. Besseler formally proposed in 1936 that Kroyer's former student Schrade would edit the motets. Besseler did not want to recognize the old *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern* contract with Kroyer—in part because of his apparent unpunctuality—but nonetheless respected Kroyer's authority on Senfl and wanted access to his extensive Senfl motet materials.⁸⁴ In 1935 he told Schrade to start preparing the motets, and that they would aim to negotiate orally with Kroyer at the 1936 Barcelona conference.⁸⁵

But Schrade was excluded from German musicology in 1937, dismissed from the University of Bonn that year because of his wife's Jewish heritage.⁸⁶ This meant that Besseler instead put forward that year Walter Gerstenberg, who at the time was Kroyer's assistant in Cologne.⁸⁷ Gerstenberg was a young, but politically well-positioned scholar, who had

⁸³ “Denn ich mußte jede Minute für Fertigstellung des Bandes Senfl-Messen verwenden, deren Erscheinen etwas vorzeitig angekündigt war. Denn der Erst-Bearbeiter war der Sache nicht gewachsen und so mußte ich einspringen, mußte aber (ach zu meiner eigenen Überraschung) alles ab ovo neu durcharbeiten. Freilich ergab sich nunmehr auch eine ganz andere Auffassung der Kompositionen: von ‘Instrumentalismen’ und ähnlichem auch keine Spur, aber reiche wertvollste und bisher fast einzigartige positive Belege einer virtuosen Gesangskunst. Sie werden ja bald sehen, Ende dieses Monats kommt der Band heraus, soweit es auf mich ankommt.” Letter from Otto Ursprung to Knud Jeppesen, 19 January 1937, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 343 (Nachlass Ursprung), Schachtel 6, Jeppesen, Knud. See also a presumably earlier letter by Löhrer advocating for funding for the volume in UA München O-XIV-681.

⁸⁴ Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Leo Schrade, 13 January 1935, and letter from Heinrich Besseler to Leo Schrade, 31 March 1936, Akademie der Künste, Leo-Schrade-Archiv, Schrade 73: Korrespondenz mit Heinrich Besseler.

⁸⁵ Letter from Besseler to Schrade, 31 March 1936.

⁸⁶ Schrade's wife—although a practicing Catholic—came from a Jewish family. Schrade himself noted at the time that this was the key reason for his dismissal from the University of Bonn. Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 105; and Hans Joachim Marx, “...ein jüngerer Gelehrter von Rang” Leo Schrades frühe Jahre bis zur Emigration in die USA (1938), *Die Musikforschung* 67 (2014): 251–69, at 262. Schrade was himself also Catholic then, as noted in his personnel file at the University of Bonn. UA Bonn, PA 9067.

⁸⁷ Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Wilhelm Merian, 31 March 1936, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Archiv Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, Schachtel 1/3, Senfl 1: 1933–1945; letter from Heinrich Besseler to Wilhelm Merian, 23 April 1937, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Archiv Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, Schachtel 1/3, Senfl 1: 1933–1945; and UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. Prom 1360.

attended the Barcelona conference with Kroyer, and who would present the following year at the 1938 *Reichsmusiktage*. Since there was concern that Kroyer would be territorial, the plan was that he would give his own research materials for Gerstenberg to use, and he would oversee Gerstenberg's editorial progress. One volume by Gerstenberg of motets (out of a proposed eight) appeared in 1940. A second was nearly complete and in the hands of Friedrich Blume, but Gerstenberg was called up for military service in 1942, and the publication of his volumes was put on hold.⁸⁸ The fifth volume of the edition as a whole (the third volume of the *Lieder*) was destroyed during the bombing of Leipzig in 1944.⁸⁹ As the dates of these publications make clear, Senfl was important enough for the National Socialist cultural program to prioritize even late in the war when resources like paper were limited.

The Enduring Legacy of a Lopsided Historiography

Meanwhile research on the mid sixteenth century never got off the ground. Despite the appearance of critically important dissertations, Habilitations, and monographs in the late 1920s and in the 1930s, very little music was available to scholars in modern notation until well after 1945. As I will discuss in chapter 3, one volume of Willaert's music was published by Zenck in *Publikationen älterer Musik* in 1937, but the series was dissolved soon thereafter.⁹⁰ Indeed over ninety years after Zenck began his work, the Willaert collected-works edition remains incomplete. Instead the historiography propagated by *Die Musik des Mittelalters* was broadly adopted: a story of the sixteenth century that ignored or, worse, denigrated

⁸⁸ Letter from Friedrich Blume to Arnold Geering, 17 May 1942, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Archiv Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, Schachtel 1/3, Senfl 1: 1933–1945.

⁸⁹ Mitteilungsblatt Oktober 1944, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Archiv Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, Schachtel 1/3, Senfl 1: 1933–1945.

⁹⁰ Adrian Willaert, *Sämtliche Werke: Motetten zu 4 Stimmen, I. und II. Buch (1539 und 1545)*, ed. Hermann Zenck, in *Publikationen älterer Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1937).

composers of the 1520s through the 1550s. Failing to recognize that the early works of mid sixteenth century indeed marked a revolutionary stylistic break from Josquin and his contemporaries, Einstein called the 1520s an “artistic pause.” Einstein’s comment is the tip of an iceberg—a widespread, problematic discourse that has labelled mid sixteenth-century music as manneristic, or has simply ignored it altogether. Besseler’s student Lowinsky made particularly harsh and unfair characterizations about Willaert’s early style that derived directly from his *Doktorvater* and which have been remarkably hard to shake, including the idea that Willaert lacked facility in composing melodies.⁹¹ Howard Mayer Brown, Colin Slim, and James Haar all followed Lowinsky in their negative judgments of this music, as I will discuss in chapter 4.⁹² In 1997 Ludwig Finscher added to this scholarly inheritance by remarking that Willaert is the opposite of Josquin—whereas Willaert is for the expert, Josquin is for the world.⁹³ Only as the Josquin canon has shrunk considerably over the past twenty-five years, eliminating spurious attributions, has it become apparent that late Josquin is less “forward-looking” than was previously imagined.⁹⁴

In the post-war period, Besseler seems to have recognized this as well. Neither Willaert nor Gombert featured in Besseler’s “Umgangsmusik und Darbietungsmusik” or *Das musikalische Hören*—in the latter, Besseler covers the period with *Entlaubet ist der Walde*, a *Lied*

⁹¹ Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de’ Medici, Duke of Urbino*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1:80.

⁹² Brown wrote that “some of the difficulty [in perceiving how Willaert’s *soggetti* are used] can no doubt be attributed to [his] inability or disinclination to conceive sharply etched, highly contrasting themes that immediately engage the ear’s attention. He was no great melodist.” Howard Mayer Brown, “Words and Music: Willaert, the Chanson and the Madrigal about 1540,” in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations: Acts of two Conferences at Villa I Tatti in 1976–1977*, 2 vols. (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1980), 2:217–66, at 228; H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 1:158; and Haar, “A Sixteenth-Century Attempt.”

⁹³ Ludwig Finscher, “Von Josquin zu Willaert – ein Paradigmenwechsel?,” in *Musik/Revolution: Festschrift für Georg Knepler zum 90. Geburtstag*, 3 vols., ed. Hanns-Werner Heister (Hamburg: Bockel, 1997), 1:145–73, at 173.

⁹⁴ See most notably, Eric Jas, “What Other Josquin?,” *Early Music History* 33 (2014): 109–42; and Jesse Rodin, “The Josquin Canon at 500 with an Appendix Produced in Collaboration with Joshua Rifkin,” *EM* (forthcoming, 2021).

by Senfl—but he revisits his pre-war characterizations in “Das Renaissanceproblem in der Musik” (1966).⁹⁵ By then, Besseler had rebalanced his vocabulary. Since *Gebräuchsmusik* was commercially oriented and had featured prominently in the 1920s culture wars, the term no longer seemed appropriate for historical genres. He now preferred the more scientific *Umgangsmusik* (which roughly translates to colloquial music, or everyday music).⁹⁶ Musical legacies had shifted, and Willaert was now praised as the progenitor of a style:

Finally, with the madrigal in 1530, the missing thing finally appears whereby sophisticated texts and the model of the motet are in dialogue. Composers from the Netherlands, the *oltramontani*, led the charge until the middle of the century. This applies not only to the madrigal, but also to church music and the motet, as seen in the work of Adrian Willaert († 1562). The takeover of the Dutch models and their conversion to Italian [ones] step-by-step is the main event of the 16th century.⁹⁷

Meanwhile, Besseler no longer viewed Gombert positively:

One will no longer designate the art since 1530 as Renaissance, since the *ars perfecta* has changed to [Heinrich] Glarean’s displeasure. This structure, which is first observed in the music of Nicolas Gombert († 1556), leads away from tonality and the human. Therefore, the art historical term mannerism appears appropriate.⁹⁸

It is not clear why in the intervening thirty years, Besseler had rebalanced the relative importance of Willaert and Gombert. To an extent, Besseler’s statements are unremarkable, emblematic of a larger shift in the scholarly environment by the 1960s away from music

⁹⁵ Besseler, *Das musikalische Hören*, 17.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 13–14.

⁹⁷ “Mit dem Madrigal entstand 1530 endlich dieses bisher Fehlende, wobei anspruchsvolle Texte und das Vorbild der Motette mitwirkten. Bald hatten Komponisten aus den Niederlanden, die *oltramontani*, bis über die Jahrhundertmitte die Führung. Das gilt nicht nur für das Madrigal, sondern auch für die Kirchenmusik und die Motette, wie man aus dem Schaffen Adrian Willaerts († 1562) ersieht. Die Übernahme der niederländischen Vorbilder und ihre Umwandlung zum Italienischen Schritt für Schritt ist das Hauptergebnis im 16. Jahrhundert.” Heinrich Besseler. “Das Renaissanceproblem in der Musik,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23 (1966): 1–10, at 9–10.

⁹⁸ “Als Renaissance wird man jedoch die Kunst seit 1530 nicht mehr bezeichnen, da die *ars perfecta* sich zu Glareans Verdruß geändert hat. Die Struktur, die man zuerst bei Nicolaus Gombert († 1556) beobachtet, führt weg von der Tonalität und vom Menschlichen. Daher erscheint der kunsthistorische Begriff *Manierismus* angebracht.” Ibid, 10.

north of the Alps in favor of that from the Italian peninsula.⁹⁹ I would also be remiss to ignore that a number of early-music scholars view Besseler in the post-war period as a shell of his former self: the scholarship he published beginning in Summer Semester 1949 from his posts at Jena and later Leipzig was nowhere near as revolutionary or brilliant as his earlier work in Heidelberg.¹⁰⁰ Schipperges's book on Besseler does not really offer an answer, either: it largely covers the most productive years of Besseler's career through 1949.¹⁰¹

One possibility is that Besseler now felt more comfortable with the term mannerism, which following Schrade's article, became popular through at least the 1970s. But that would require ignoring, as Besseler noted in his 1934 letter to Schrade, that in art-historical contexts, *maniera* and mannerism were typically geolocated to Italy.¹⁰² It was less clear how these terms apply to northern European art and music. Possibly, Besseler now thought of mannerism as part of an organic model of history, following his Heidelberg colleague Ernst Curtius, who defined mannerism as a “decadent form of Classicism” that continually figures

⁹⁹ On the emphasis on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian music in the second half of the twentieth century, see Joshua Rifkin, “Why (not) Clemens?,” Paper presented at Valorizing Clemens non Papa: International Conference, Boston University, 6–7 November, 2015, 4.

¹⁰⁰ David Fallows writes that “it is widely agreed that the Besseler of the years after 1945 was no longer the equal of the magnificent scholar seen in his publications of 1925–35. In addition, everybody who has used Besseler's Dufay edition knows that some volumes have considerable errors.” David Fallows, Review of Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 28 (2019): 87–92, at 91. By virtue of the dates Fallows has given, his assessment undervalues Besseler's monograph *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon*, which was an important post-war contribution to early music scholarship. I would be inclined to push the date of rupture in Besseler's scholarship to his move in 1949 to the German Democratic Republic. *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon*, which was completed that year, was based on research that preceded Besseler's relocation. See also Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, 283–85. Our perception of Besseler's decline could also be indicative of a West German bias, as Besseler continued to have a strong impact on East Germans, such as Peter Gölke, and trained a number of doctoral students.

¹⁰¹ Schipperges has more recently discussed Besseler's teaching and advising in Jena. Thomas Schipperges, “Heinrich Besseler und seine Schule in Jena 1950 bis 1957,” in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik: Forschung und Lehre im frühen Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges (München: Edition Text + Kritik, 2015), 353–77.

¹⁰² “Wie aber steht es mit der italienischen und ‘nordischen’ Maniera, auf die Sie gelegentlich anspielen (S. 107)? Hat die niederländische Entwicklung ein Eigenrecht oder gar den Vorrang vor der italienischen, da sie die ‘Möglichkeit zu geschichtlicher Einordnung und stilistischer Bezeichnung’ bieten soll? Sie gehen auf diese Frage nicht ein, aber sie scheint mir unerlässlich, um die Tragweite und den Sinn der ‘Maniera’ zu bestimmen.” Letter from Besseler to Schrade, 5 April 1934.

in European literature.¹⁰³ Glarean saw good taste in Josquin's music; now, this had been overrun by an unnatural heap of rhetoric, or pervasive imitation. How this applied to Gombert and not to Willaert (for Glarean, largely Gombert's contemporary) is unclear. Still, it seems that Zenck's scholarship on Willaert made an impact on Besseler. Besseler credited—alongside Willaert's madrigals—his church music and motets, which Zenck had championed throughout his career. But by still elevating one figure instead of the other, Besseler never escaped the historiographical seesaw.

How Besseler's Historiography Colors Our Readings

Notwithstanding a number of more recent developments, *Die Musik des Mittelalters* continues to color our readings of key documentary evidence. One of the best-known anecdotes comes from Zarlino, in his treatise *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558):

I remember what I have heard the most excellent Adrian Willaert tell many times, namely, that they used to sing that six-part motet *Verbum bonum et suave* under the name of Josquin at the papal chapel in Rome on nearly every feast day of Our Lady. It was ranked among the most excellent compositions that were sung in those days. Now Willaert had moved to Italy from Flanders during the pontificate of Leo X, and finding himself in the place where they sang the motet, he noticed that it was ascribed to Josquin. When he pointed out that it was in fact his own, as it indeed was, such was their malice, or rather (to put it more generously) their ignorance, that they never wanted to sing it again.¹⁰⁴

Scholars have long contemplated the significance of this anecdote. Circumstantial evidence suggests the incident would have occurred around July 1515, before Willaert left Rome in the service of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este of Ferrara, and presumably before Ottaviano Petrucci printed *Verbum bonum* with an attribution to Willaert in his *Motetti de la*

¹⁰³ Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 273.

¹⁰⁴ Translation taken from Rob C. Wegman, "Who Was Josquin?," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 21–50, at 25.

corona, libro quarto (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519).¹⁰⁵ Working from stylistic characterizations that depended on *Die Musik des Mittelalters*, Finscher argued that *Verbum bonum* is legitimately close in style works by Josquin and therefore deduced that Willaert was traumatized by the event.¹⁰⁶ Rob Wegman has argued that the episode demonstrates the “mass psychology” of Josquin’s larger-than-life status in the 1510s.¹⁰⁷ Both of these readings seem to accept that the story is fundamentally true—that genuine music-stylistic confusion arose in an institution intimately familiar with works by both composers.

Although Zarlino must be taken seriously, this seems unlikely. After all, it is striking that this case of mistaken identity revolves around *Verbum bonum* of all pieces. Compositions in more than five voices were rare in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, with six-voice works tending to be relatively short. At 184 breves, *Verbum bonum* was certainly not short (the opening is shown in ex. 2.1).¹⁰⁸ The composer paraphrases the medieval sequence in a strict canon in the middle pair of voices, but the canonic voices match the motivic and rhythmic density of the others, creating the effect of six equal voices. Entrances interweave in pervasive imitation to create a textural density, not only without any full-stop cadences within each *pars*, but also without moments of stasis. Cadences are interrupted, undercut, and avoided. Transitions between points of imitation are seamless.

¹⁰⁵ 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): 85–112, at 87.

¹⁰⁶ Finscher, “Von Josquin zu Willaert,” 153.

¹⁰⁷ Wegman, “Who Was Josquin?,” 25.

¹⁰⁸ Josquin’s *Preter rerum* is 185 breves; and *Benedicta es* is 176. But Josquin’s six-voice works tend to feature sections in reduced texture (e.g., duos and trios); these are entirely lacking in Willaert’s motet.

Example 2.1. Adrian Willaert, *Verbum bonum*, mm. 1–12¹⁰⁹

Verbum bonum

Adrian Willaert

Prima pars: Verbum bonum

Superius

Altus I

Altus II

Tenor

Bassus II

Bassus I

Canon: tenor/altus II at the fourth

Ver - bum bo - num

¹⁰⁹ My edition of the motet can be found at <http://1520s-project.com/>. I will further discuss the motet in chapter 6.

5

S bo - - - num

A. I - bum bo - - - num et

A. II et su - a - - - ve,

T et su - a - - - ve,

B. II num et su - a - - - ve,

B. I et su - a - - - ve, per -

S et su - a - - - ve, Per - so - ne - mus

A. I su - a - - - ve, Per - so - ne - mus

A. II - ve, Per - - - - -

T - - - - - Per - - - - - mus il -

B. II per - so - ne - - - - - mus il - - -

B. I - so - ne - - - - - mus il - - - lud a -

In fact, there are very few pieces like *Verbum bonum* in surviving sources between 1515 and 1525. Other forward-looking works certainly exist: Willaert's *Enixa est puerpera*, Costanzo Festa's *Tribus miraculus*, and Richafort's *Veni, sponsa Christi* all feature various

stylistic markers of the new style. But no contemporary work features such a dense and pervasively imitative texture. *Verbum bonum* is thus a proverbial shot across the bow in much the same way that Josquin's own *Ave Maria...virgo serena* had been some thirty years earlier: both works explore new techniques years before their widespread adoption.

All of this hardly reinforces Besseler's characterization of Willaert as "antiquarian." When Willaert corrected the attribution of the motet, the papal choir might have been annoyed, but more than that they were probably embarrassed: the only reason they would have thought *Verbum bonum* was by Josquin was that the chapel had copied the motet from a source with a faulty attribution, or if they learned by word-of-mouth that the motet was by Josquin on the basis of incorrect information. On reflection, what Willaert was telling them must have seemed obvious: indeed virtually no other contemporary motet has less in common with Josquin's late style. The papal singers would have surely noticed that the canon between the tenor and altus II in *Verbum bonum* starts right at the beginning of the motet; such an opening is exceedingly unusual in works by Josquin. Notwithstanding my criticism of mannerism, Schrade identified this well. Even though Willaert was a student of Mouton (and for Schrade, this meant an indirect pupil of Josquin) and a stylistic conservative, at the time of his visit to Rome in the 1510s, Willaert's motet represented a genuine break with the past.¹¹⁰

Just as the musical developments that took place during the period ca. 1515–25 are in need of reexamination, so too is the way our field has contended with twentieth-century historiography. Besseler's judgments about the mid sixteenth century were not simply the

¹¹⁰ "Offenbar wird schon in dem römischen Jahrzehnt (1484–1494) der Grund für den Konservativismus der päpstlichen Kapelle gelegt, der noch vor seinem Tode so feste Formen annahm, daß mancher Musiker an ihm zerbrach und offenbar auch Willaert aus Rom (1516) durch ihn verdrängt wurde, obschon gerade er — als mittelbarer Schüler Josquins (über Mouton) — sich in den Konservativismus am ehesten hätte einordnen können." Schrade, "Von der 'Maniera,'" 98.

product of music and politics under National Socialism, but rather were the result of a confluence of influences and pressures. It follows that a more diverse set of historiographical lenses will permit greater nuance with respect to the complex, sometimes contradictory pressures that impinged on musicological research in early twentieth-century Germany. A fuller understanding of these pressures, in turn, can facilitate a richer understanding of the development of the discipline, as well as deeper engagement with the historical materials in question. With this in mind, I now turn to the two figures most responsible for scholarly judgements on Willaert and Gombert, Besseler's colleagues Hermann Zenck and Joseph Schmidt-Görg.

Appendix 2.1. Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Leo Schrade, 5 April 1934¹

Heidelberg, den 5. April 1934.

Lieber Herr Kollege,

zu Ihrem interessanten Maniera-Aufsatz ein paar Worte, sowohl der Zustimmung wie der Kritik! Zunächst scheint mir, daß Sie zwei entscheidende Punkte schärfer herausgearbeitet haben, als es bisher je der Fall war: den Sinn des Wort-Ton-Verhältnisses im 16.Jahrhundert, und die Selbstinterpretation dieser Musik nebst Ihren Voraussetzungen und Folgen.

Ueber den ersten Punkt sind wir uns wohl einig: Abwehr des völlig undiskutablen sogenannten Subjektivismus ebenso wie jeder humanistischen „Wort“-Apotheose (das Problem der reformatorischen Musikauffassung steht ganz für sich). Daß in der imitazione della natura der Schlüssel zum Verständnis liegt, darin stimme ich ganz mit Ihnen überein. Nur: was ist „natura“? Sie setzen dafür das deutsche Wort Natur, was zunächst wohl berechtigt ist, wenn man den ontologischen Rang gegenüber dem Kunstwerk bezeichnen will. Für die musikalische Kunstdtheorie würde ich aber die Wiedergabe dieses Begriffs mit „Welt“ angemessener finden, weil hierbei die für das 16. Jahrhundert so entscheidende Ranggleichheit von innerseelischen (sogen. „subjektiven“) und äußereren (sogen. „objektiven“) Tatbeständen auch für unseren Sprachgebrauch noch unmittelbar anschaulich ist: die innerseelische Welt der Affekte, die moralische der Anekdoten, Schwänke, Sprüche usw., die religiöse der liturgischen und biblischen Texte, und schließlich (aber doch weit seltener) die natürliche Welt der Dinge um uns. Ausgezeichnet, was Sie S.17/18 über parlare und parole

¹ Akademie der Künste, Leo-Schrade-Archiv, Schrade 73: Korrespondenz mit Heinrich Besseler.

sagen: die „Welt“ existiert musikalisch nur, soweit sie angesprochen oder ausgesprochen wird!

Ausgezeichnet erscheint mir auch, was Sie über die Maniera als idealistische Form mit dem Anspruch auf klassische, d.h. „ewige“ Geltung sagen. Das wäre ein neuer und überzeugender Unterbau für die spätere Aufhöhung des Palestrinastils. Nun aber kommt mein Haupteinwand. Die Epoche des Manierismus 1520–1600 bestimmen Sie von Italien her, und dort erscheint sie als eine Einheit, in der es zwar verschiedene „Richtungen“ (S.102) und „Perioden“ gibt, aber keine eigentliche „Geschichte“, weil eben das stets wirksame Stilideal unverändert bleibt. Wie aber steht es mit der italienischen und „nordischen“ Maniera, auf die Sie gelegentlich anspielen (S. 107)? Hat die niederländische Entwicklung ein Eigenrecht oder gar den Vorrang vor der italienischen, da sie die „Möglichkeit zu geschichtlicher Einordnung und stilistischer Bezeichnung“ bieten soll? Sie gehen auf diese Frage nicht ein, aber sie scheint mir unerlässlich, um die Tragweite und den Sinn der „Maniera“ zu bestimmen.

Um es ganz kurz und überspitzt zu sagen: ich halte die italienische „Maniera“ zum wesentlichen Teil für eine Pseudomorphose, eine zwar ungeheuer wirksame, aber von außen übernommene Fremdform, gegen die sich der ursprünglich-italienische Musiziertrieb das ganze Jahrhundert hindurch immer kräftiger zur Wehr setzt. Tanzliedfrottola, Villotta, Villaneske, Balletto und Kanzonette bezeichnen die Gegenwirkung, die schließlich in die Barockepoche einmündet (allerdings weniger in die Monodie, deren Bedeutung m.E. maßlos überschätzt wird). Ich habe in meiner Athenaion-Darstellung von vorherein stets versucht, die ursprünglichen Kräfte jeder Landschaft herauszuarbeiten, was gerade für das Jahrhundert der international-idealistischen „Maniera“ zu interessanten Ergebnissen führt – am wichtigsten war mir dabei die Deutung Italiens und der Barockwendung. Das hat manche

Vorarbeit erfordert und den Abschluß so verzögert, da ich die mir vorschwebende Darstellung nicht veröffentlichen konnte, ohne sie hinreichend unterbaut zu haben.

Was die niederländische Entwicklung betrifft, so ist dort die „Maniera“ im italienischen Sinne in solcher Schärfe zweifellos nicht wirksam; soviel ich sehe, handelt es sich dort um die echt-„historische“ Entfaltung einer Entelechie durch Gegensatz und Synthese. Die entscheidenden Namen sind in diesem Sinne Ockeghem, Josquin, Gombert und Lasso. Eine genauere Betrachtung Gomberts (die Dissertation wird jetzt in Bern zu Ende geführt, da der Verf. emigriert ist) ergab überraschenderweise, daß es sich hier keineswegs um Josquin-Nachfolge handelt, sondern der Gombertstil einen ganz scharfen Bruch mit den Prinzipien Josquins bedeutet. Gombert hat nach einigen vereinzelten Jugendwerken im Josquinstil in der Tat als erster mit aller Konsequenz – wie es ja auch H. Finck ausführt – den cantus firmus-losen, asymmetrisch gebauten und strikt durchimitierenden Satz ausgebildet, womit ihm Josquin keineswegs vorangegangen ist. Von „Maniera“ in der Art, wie Sie sie auf S. 98/99 als konservativen Anschluß an das Josquin-Erbe kennzeichnen, kann jedenfalls bei Gombert nicht gesprochen werden. (Uebrigens kann ich auch Anm.I auf Seite 101 nicht zustimmen: Okeghem bearbeitet im Agnus III denselben C.f.-Teil wie im Christe S. 80).

Aehnlich scharf ist dann wieder der Gegensatz Lasso-Gombert, und zwar bewußtermaßen, wie z.B. Neubearbeitungen von Texten zeigen, die Clemens non Papa im Gombertstil komponiert hatte. Eine Dissertation von Lowinsky, die vermutlich in der Tijdschrift erscheinen wird, bringt dazu verschiedene interessante Feststellungen, auch über die vielbeschrie[be]ne „Reservata“-Frage. Daß Lasso sowohl gegen Josquin wie gegen Gombert eine neue historische Stufe erreicht hat – und zwar durch Bruch und Opposition

gegen das Vergangene – , zeigt sich m.E. erst in dem Augenblick ganz überzeugend, wo er sich aus der italienischen Verstrickung löst: seit der Motettensammlung von 1571.

Soviel in aller Kürze – ich denke, daß noch in diesem Monat der Athenaionband vollständig ausgegeben wird, auf den ich mich beziehen muß (obwohl auch dort alles nur in knappen Umrissen dargestellt werden konnte). Es wäre mir sehr lieb, wenn Sie mir ebenfalls alles mitteilen wollten, was Sie einzuwenden haben. Schade, daß ich Ihren Maniera-Aufsatz zu spät kennen lernte – ich wäre vielleicht doch etwas ausführlicher auf diesen Komplex eingegangen, den ich nur sehr summarisch und zudem noch zerstreut (unter Madrigal, italianisierter Niederländermotette und gegenreformatorischer Kultmusik) behandelt habe. Aber die grundsätzliche Sicht des 16. Jahrhunderts (bis zu Lasso) vom Norden her würde ich nicht geändert haben. Ich sehe nicht klar, wie Sie über diesen Punkt denken; nach S.98 Ihres Aufsatzes scheint es, als wäre Ihnen die Stileinheit wichtiger als die landschaftlich-nationalen Entelechien und Pseudomorphosen. Nur würde dann die Frage auftreten, ob bei einem solchen Ansatz des Maniera-Problems die Orientierung an der kunsthistorischen „Stil“-betrachtung nicht doch stärker wäre, als Sie nach S.4 Anm. für sich selbst zugeben möchten!

Aus Freiburg hörte ich, daß dort neben Dr. zur Nedden noch ein von Schering präsentierter Kandidat Edmund Wachten zur Diskussion steht. Er hat mit einer dickeibigen Untersuchung über die sinfonischen Dichtungen von R.Strauß promoviert – kennen Sie ihn, oder wissen Sie etwas über ihn? Und noch eine streng vertrauliche Anfrage, die vielleicht Herr Schiedermair beantworten könnte. Mir wurde von sehr zuverlässiger Seite erzählt, daß Schering im vorigen April, als die Lage noch unklar war, zu einem [Sch]üler in privater Besprechung geäußert habe, er wisse noch nicht, wie die Dinge sich entwickeln und wie der Ariernparagraph sich auch auf seine Person auswirken würde. Daß diese Aeußerung dem Sinne nach gefallen ist, kann ich kaum bezweifeln, denn sie wurde sogleich nach jener

Besprechung Ende April vorigen Jahres meinem Gewährsmann berichtet. Weiß man darüber Näheres?

Mit schönen Grüßen für heute

Ihr

H. Besseler

Chapter 3: Between Franco-Flemish Composers and More Fashionable Topics:

Hermann Zenck and Joseph Schmidt-Görg to 1945

Past scholarship on Willaert and Gombert does not easily catch our attention.

Indeed, the early twentieth-century German scholars Hermann Zenck and Joseph Schmidt-Görg are best remembered today not for their Willaert and Gombert research, but for their scholarship on the German composer Sixt Dietrich and on Ludwig van Beethoven, respectively.¹ Something similar could be said for Zenck's close colleague Walter Gerstenberg: a recent article on post-war musicology in Tübingen describes Gerstenberg's research program in detail, but does not once mention his direction of the Willaert edition or his authorship of the formative *MGG I* article on the composer.²

Although chapter 2 showed that judgements drawn by Heinrich Besseler in *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* continue to color our music histories, many of our evaluations of mid sixteenth-century musicians originated with the first specialists to write extensively about them, above all Zenck and Schmidt-Görg. In the years following World War I, research on these composers was impacted by the six interlocking areas of influence identified in chapter 2: National Socialist, and more generally, nationalist German politics; institutional and departmental politics; religious politics; a tendency toward evolutionary

¹ "Hermann Zenck, a student of Theodor Kroyer in Leipzig and [Friedrich] Ludwig's successor, had a special interest in sixteenth-century music, focusing on Sixt Dietrich, Ludwig Senfl, and Michael Praetorius." Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb, ed., "Introduction," in *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on his Life and Music* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 21–31, at 26; and Anne-Marie Wurster und Jörg Rothkamm, "Im Dienste der völkerverbindenden Kunst Beethovens": Joseph Schmidt-Görg als Ordinarius des Bonner Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars und Direktor des Beethoven-Archivs," in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik: Forschung und Lehre im frühen Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges (München: Edition Text + Kritik, 2015), 225–62, at 232.

² Christina Richter-Ibáñez, "...für das Fach verloren? Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Tübingen 1935 bis 1960," in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik: Forschung und Lehre im frühen Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges (München: Edition Text + Kritik, 2015), 265–319.

historical models; interpersonal politics; and more neutral factors due to the state of the field and the accessibility of primary and secondary source materials. For Zenck, the lack of access to sixteenth-century sources before 1945 hindered his ability to draw a complete picture of Willaert's stature in Cinquecento Italy. His Willaert scholarship was stifled by National Socialist politics that directed his attention elsewhere, above all to Dietrich. Neither Schmidt-Görg's research on Gombert, nor his Catholicism were desirable in the academic environment under the Third Reich. He addressed his vulnerabilities through increasingly opportunistic scholarship and a research program that trended away from Gombert and towards Beethoven.

Justifying Research on Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens

Prior to the twentieth century, mid sixteenth-century composers were known largely from laudatory statements by sixteenth-century theorists, brief appearances in grand music histories that followed evolutionary historical models, and for a handful of musical works included in nineteenth-century anthologies, such as Franz Commer's series *Collectio operum musicorum Batavorum* (1840–58) and Robert-Julien Van Maldeghem's *Le Trésor musical* (1865–93). A small number of works had even been performed: François-Joseph Fétis included Gombert's motet *Pater noster* in one of his historical concerts, and a six-voice instrumental Gombert “Harmonia” from a 1541 print opened an 1835 concert organized by Simon Molitor.³ That works by these composers were largely unknown did not necessitate a negative reception. Despite probably knowing only a small number of pieces, in *The Oxford History of Music* (1905), H. E. Wooldridge described the music of Gombert, Richafort, and

³ François Joseph Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, 8 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris: Didot Frères, 1869), 4:51–55, at 53; and Herfrid Kier, *Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850): Wegbereiter des musikalischen Historismus* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1968), 88–90.

Willaert as having a “purity of sound and beauty of expression, embellishing a perfect structure.”⁴ Wooldridge’s handbook fit into a long history of reception by figures such as August Wilhelm Ambros and Edmund van der Straeten that offered positive statements (if tempered in comparison to Josquin) on these composers. Negative evaluations arose only with deeper musical knowledge.

Clemens by far featured more in Commer’s series than either Gombert or Willaert—and in fact, he was the most prominently featured composer, with thirty-eight motets, a handful of *Souterliedekens*, and four chansons (Willaert meanwhile was represented by three motets and a Magnificat; Gombert by one motet and two chansons).⁵ If Commer’s series had shaped future research, Clemens, Christian Hollander, and Jacobus Vaet would have been historiographical figures of focus, with less importance placed on earlier sixteenth-century musicians. But Commer had difficulty publishing his series, and it was ultimately not a practical publication widely used in musical circles.⁶

Commer’s attention notwithstanding, no theorist championed Gombert or Clemens as effectively as Gioseffo Zarlino did Willaert in his *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558). And there was a long-standing focus on Zarlino, which could be traced all the way back to laudatory statements by eighteenth-century music theorist Jean-Phillipe Rameau. As a result, among mid sixteenth-century composers around 1930, Willaert was arguably the best known. His status as a premier figure of the Renaissance however was buoyed by three central myths that oversold his sixteenth-century stature (table 3.1).

⁴ H. E. Wooldridge, *The Polyphonic Period. Part II, Method of Musical Art, 1300–1600*, in *The Oxford History of Music*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905), 2:266.

⁵ Table 1 in Eric Jas, “Why Josquin? The Society for Music History of the Netherlands (VNM) and the first Josquin edition,” *Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik* 2021 (forthcoming).

⁶ Jas, “Why Josquin?”, 4.

Table 3.1. Adrian Willaert myths ca. 1930

Inherited myth	In actuality...
Willaert was responsible for, or at least was a key player in, the genesis of the madrigal. As one of the <i>oltramontani</i> , he brought dense Northern polyphony into dialogue with vernacular Italian genres (the lauda and frottola) to create a synthesis—the early madrigal of the 1530s. ⁷	The genre's genesis came in the 1520s. It is not clear if Willaert composed any madrigals while serving the Este family in Ferrara between 1515 and 1527. ⁸ Willaert's first documented madrigals in the 1530s instead showed Verdelot's influence. ⁹
Willaert was the progenitor of the Venetian school. He trained Gioseffo Zarlino, Nicola Vicentino, Cipriano de Rore, and Andrea Gabrieli, among others. His music had an enormous effect on the later double choir techniques of Giovanni Gabrieli, Jacobus Handl, and Hans Leo Hassler (the latter two Germans having spent time in Venice).	It is unclear how and in what contexts Willaert may have taught composition, although singers at St. Mark's probably were taught to improvise over a cantus firmus. ¹⁰ It is unclear if Rore was his pupil. ¹¹ Neither Zarlino nor Vicentino are known to have been singers, and Gabrieli was an organist; it is unknown what kind of pedagogical relationship they might have had with Willaert. We should also be cautious about the value of musical lineage. ¹²
Willaert was the inventor of the double-choir technique, as seen in the <i>cori spezzati</i> and in response to the architecture of St. Mark's.	This is unlikely. It has been known since the 1950s that Willaert was an early adopter, but not the first to compose for double choirs. ¹³ The use of <i>cori spezzati</i> was unlikely to have been motivated by the layout of St. Mark's, since strong reverberation would not have allowed for the singers to have been far apart. ¹⁴

⁷ Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia: Motetta IV vocum, Liber primus*, ed. Hermann Zenck, vol. 1 in *CMM* 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), i–v.

⁸ No madrigals of Willaert's survive in sources datable to the 1520s, whereas motets by Willaert feature in sources from the 1520s that transmit early madrigals, including the Newberry Partbooks.

⁹ Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 197–223, esp. at 200, 204, and 212. Cf. Wolfgang Osthoff, *Theatergesang und Darstellende Musik in der Italienischen Renaissance* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969), 286 and 305, which argued against Verdelot's influence on Willaert's madrigals.

¹⁰ Giulio Maria Ongaro, "The Chapel of St. Mark's at the time of Adrian Willaert (1527–1562): A Documentary Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986), 109–10.

¹¹ Contrasting viewpoints are presented by Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Cipriano de Rore's Early Italian Years: The Brescian Connection," in *Cipriano de Rore: New Perspectives on His Life and Music*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Katelijne Schiltz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 29–74; and Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, xxvii.

¹² Paula Higgins, "Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny': The Discourse of Creative Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 169–86.

¹³ Giovanni D'Alessi, "Precursors of Adriano Willaert in the Practice of *Coro Spezzato*," *JAMS* 5 (1952): 187–210. See also Erich Hertzmann, "Zur Frage der Mehrchörigkeit in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1929–30): 138–47.

¹⁴ Iain Fenlon, "St. Mark's before Willaert," *EM* 21 (1993): 546–48, 552, 554–58, 560–63, at 555.

Scholars claimed first, that Willaert was a key figure in the genesis of the madrigal; second, that Willaert was the father of the Venetian school; and third, that Willaert invented double choir music. As a result, he was viewed as fundamental to a central shift in the history of sixteenth-century music: the move from Franco-Flemish composers through the *oltramontani* to native-born Italians. Stylistically, Willaert provided an opportunity to connect the *Durchimitation* seen in Josquin’s style to its apex in the hands of Palestrina and Lasso in the mid sixteenth century. All three myths have been debunked to varying degrees in the twentieth century.

Reading between the lines does not reveal a strong connection to the aesthetic qualities of Willaert’s music. Some of the early twentieth-century musicologists most in touch with his music—Theodor Kroyer, Hermann Zenck, Walter Gerstenberg, and Max Seiffert—stated at different times that studying Willaert offered the possibility of confronting “music-historical” problems.¹⁵ On the one hand, this suggests Willaert was interesting from a musicological point of view, since studying the composer might yield new thematic problems.¹⁶ These might have included music for St. Mark’s, madrigals, or other genres that had not substantially featured in editions of Renaissance music to that point. Presumably, the importance of many composers began with their “music-historical”

¹⁵ “[Zenck] hat sich in Leipzig in den letzten Jahren besonders auf die Probleme der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte geworfen, und seit einigen Wochen liegt seine Habilitationsschrift ‘Studien zu Adrian Willaert’ auf der Fakultät.” Letter from Theodor Kroyer to Willibald Gurlitt, 25 March 1929, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Nachlass Kroyeriana, Schachtel 3, Gurlitt, Willibald; Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, ii; Walter Gerstenberg, “Hermann Zenck (19.3.1898–2.12.1950),” *Die Musikforschung* 4 (1951): 341–47, at 345; and letter from Max Seiffert to the *Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 12 March 1919. Thanks to Petra van Langen for providing me a copy of the letter and a transcription.

It must be acknowledged, however, that there was engagement with Willaert’s music not predicated on music-historical questions: Andre Pirro devoted sixteen pages to the composer in chapter 7 of his *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e* (Paris: Renouard, 1940), 238–52. But few followed Pirro in either his depth or choice of focus.

¹⁶ Eric Jas (personal communication, 15 June 2021).

significance, and at the time, the term did not carry a negative connotation.¹⁷ On the other hand, the term has the possibility of becoming faint praise. It could signal that the composer was important during his lifetime and on that basis should be studied, but also that the music is no longer aesthetically appreciated.¹⁸ Or, I might suggest this slightly differently: the study of many composers began by focusing on their “music-historical” importance, but at some point, many began to be appreciated for their aesthetic value. Even by the second decade of the twentieth century, the Dutch musicologist Anton Averkamp had great enthusiasm for music by Josquin on the basis of the works he knew:

And what gives Josquin’s art such extraordinary strength is its versatility. Not only in the field of mass or motet composition, but also in the field of song we have true little masterpieces by Josquin and they can be so naughty that one would hardly have expected this from the venerable provost.¹⁹

For Willaert, “music-historical” justifications lasted much longer.

In 1919 the Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis (henceforth, VNM) was looking to plan its next collected-works edition, having just completed Jan Sweelinck and Jacob Obrecht series. It was taken for granted that an edition would be devoted to the works of a single composer, and the choice came down to Willaert and Josquin. At a VNM meeting on 15 February 1919, the question was put to the two German musicologists sitting on the board, Seiffert and Johannes Wolf: both suggested Willaert.²⁰ But Josquin was preferable to the society, in no small part because Averkamp was

¹⁷ For example, Otto Ursprung lauded Armen Carapetyan’s institute, writing that “the plan which is developed [in the enclosed prospectus] is very ample; it shows that the Institute has turned to a period of the development of music rich in problems. I wish the enterprise best success.” Letter from Otto Ursprung to Armen Carapetyan, 7 February 1948, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 343 (Nachlass Otto Ursprung), Schachtel 1, Carapetyan, Armen.

¹⁸ My thanks to Fabrice Fitch for this insight.

¹⁹ Jas, “Why Josquin?,” 13; and Anton Averkamp, “De verhouding van Noord tot Zuid op muzikaal gebied in de XV^e en XVI^e eeuw,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 9 (1914): 213–223, at 216–17.

²⁰ Jas, “Why Josquin?,” 14.

president. Although Averkamp had published Willaert's mass *Benedicta es* in 1915 (today, it is thought that Hesdin is the more probable composer) and had liked the work, he had long held a preference for music by Josquin.²¹ And some question might be raised as to what extent he liked the work, since Averkamp provided on a separate sheet a series of options for shortening the Kyrie and Sanctus (fig. 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Options included in Anton Averkamp's 1915 edition for shortening the *Missa Benedicta es*

Indien de omvang van WILLAERT'S „Missa super Benedicta” misschien een bezwaar zou zijn om haar in de R. K. kerken, tijdens den dienst, te doen uitvoeren, dan worden de volgende bekortingen voorgeslagen:

KYRIE I

CHRISTE

SANCTUS

PLENI

OSANNA

BENEDICTUS

Het tweede AGNUS DEI kan worden weggelaten.

²¹ Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin, *Missa Super Benedicta door Adriaen Willaert*, ed. Anton Averkamp (Amsterdam: Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis and G. Alsbach, 1915).

That same year in 1915, Averkamp wrote in the journal of the VNM that

Willaert's immediate predecessor is Josquin de Prés. So it is only natural to compare the works of both composers. It must be admitted that Josquin is more brilliant than Willaert. His inspiration is of a nobler quality, his fantasy is richer, he knows how to touch one's soul more deeply and one is more impressed by a true artistic expression. On the other hand, there is a certain naive awkwardness, the repeated use of two-voice phrases and not infrequently a stiffness in the treatment of the voice, which indicate that the development of music is still in its infancy.²²

In a certain sense, the board's discussion four years later was a *fait accompli*: it did not really matter what Seiffert or Wolf would have said, since Averkamp was set on Josquin. Having been informed of the position of Averkamp and the board, Seiffert then proposed embarking on editions projects for both composers simultaneously: Willaert provided a temporal link between the two then-completed editions, he was the founder of the Venetian school, and his music would raise new "music-historical" problems.²³ Johannes Wolf subsequently agreed with Seiffert:

The Society has two major tasks to fulfil: the publication of the complete works of Josquin and Willaert. Both are milestones of development. Willaert is the source of the most lively inspiration in all areas of music; instrumental and vocal art are most deeply indebted to him. The Renaissance movement is inconceivable without him, and the rise of modern music is intimately linked to his work. Josquin, the idol of Italy, should by no means be forgotten. But we thought to tackle him only after Willaert, because his great contemporary Jacob Obrecht has just been treated.²⁴

Albert Smijers, who stood to lead the Josquin edition should the VNM board decide in favor of Josquin, had not been present at the decisive meeting. He was Josquin's chief propagandist, writing that "after all, Willaert was for sure dependent on Josquin: for instance,

²² Jas, "Why Josquin?", 14; and Anton Averkamp, "Adriaen Willaert," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 10 (1915): 13-29.

²³ "Der Vereenigung als Gastgeber würde also mit Josquin nach Obrecht bei derselben Gegend und demselben Jahrgang, kitschig gesprochen, bleiben, während Willaert, zeitlich ein Zwischenglied zwischen Obrecht und Sweelinck, dazu der Begründer der Venezianischen Schule, eine sicherlich gern begrüßte Abwechslung brächte, indem sie an neue musikgeschichtliche Probleme heranführt." Letter from Max Seiffert to VNM board, 12 March 1919.

²⁴ Nederlands Muziek Instituut 008, Archief Scheurleer, inv. no. 140G, folder H. Correspondence VNM editions 1905-1922 Joh. Wolf. Translation from Jas, "Why Josquin?", 15n95.

the *Missa super Benedicta* by Willaert came into being in response to a Motet by Josquin; how would it be possible to value this mass when one does not know what has been taken from Josquin and what is originally from Willaert?”²⁵ The society accepted these arguments, although by 1922 Smijers himself questioned the attribution of *Missa Benedicta es.*²⁶

Still, damage had been done: Willaert was put on the back burner. Ostensibly, Smijers was supposed to gather photographs of sources for both Josquin and Willaert together during his travels to archives and libraries, but this was soon abandoned, probably because a collected-works edition for either composer—in this case, Josquin—was a far greater undertaking than had been initially assumed. And because the Josquin edition became so extensive, the VNM never returned to the mid sixteenth century. This was not just true for Willaert: Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, whose doctorate on Clemens under Adolf Sandberger was finished in 1925 and who taught at the University of Amsterdam from 1929, would have been a natural candidate to lead a VNM Clemens edition. But it would have probably been too expensive to have two simultaneously active projects. Moreover, the rivalry between the musicological institutes in Amsterdam and Utrecht minimized Bernet Kempers’s institutional influence in the society until after Smijers’s death.²⁷ By the time that the first Josquin edition was finished in the mid-1960s, preparations had already begun for a second. Willaert and Clemens never had the same opportunity.

If not the Dutch, the Italians were also not positioned to lead mid sixteenth-century research. Neither Gombert nor Clemens spent substantial time in Italy, and so would have

²⁵ Petra van Langen, “Anton Averkamp and Albert Smijers: Two Catholic Presidents,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 68 (2018): 148–62, at 154.

²⁶ Albert Smijers, “Hesdin of Willaert?,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 10 (1922): 180–81.

²⁷ Eduard Reeser invited Bernet Kempers to join the board of the VNM following Smijers’s death. Jaap van Benthem (personal communication, 26 May 2022).

been unlikely figures of study. Willaert made more sense, save that in the early twentieth century, Italy did not have as established of a musicological tradition, and most Italian musicologists at the time were self-trained.²⁸ Their big project, beginning just prior to World War II, was an Italian Palestrina edition.²⁹ And owing to nationalism, some Italian musicologists instead aimed to minimize Willaert's stature (they apparently did not want the forefather of Venetian music to be a Netherlander).³⁰ The first twentieth-century musicologist to make substantial contributions to Willaert scholarship was Giovanni D'Alessi, residential canon of the Treviso cathedral chapter. But D'Alessi initially focused on Treviso manuscripts; his article on Willaert and his recordings of Venetian motets (fig. 3.2) did not appear until after World War II.³¹

Moreover, D'Alessi also did not have an academic position, and so his responsibilities lay elsewhere, including leading the *Scholae Cantorum* of the diocese of Treviso, being the director of the Cecilian School from 1927 through 1964, and in his later years, working on the collected-works edition of the later Venetian composer Giovanni Matteo Asola.³² In other words, Willaert was not front-of-mind. In addition, there was another problem: the rich depth of sixteenth-century manuscripts held in Italian cathedrals, libraries, archives, and in private possession was only starting to become apparent, and it would not be until the early post-war period that the holdings were professionally catalogued

²⁸ Walter H. Rubsamen, "Music Research in Italian Libraries: An Anecdotal Account of Obstacles and Discoveries," *Notes, Second Series* 6 (1949): 220–233, at 229.

²⁹ The first volume of the Palestrina edition appeared in 1939. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Le Opere Complete*, ed. Raffaelolo de Rensis et al., 36 vols (Rome: Fratelli Scalera, 1939–99).

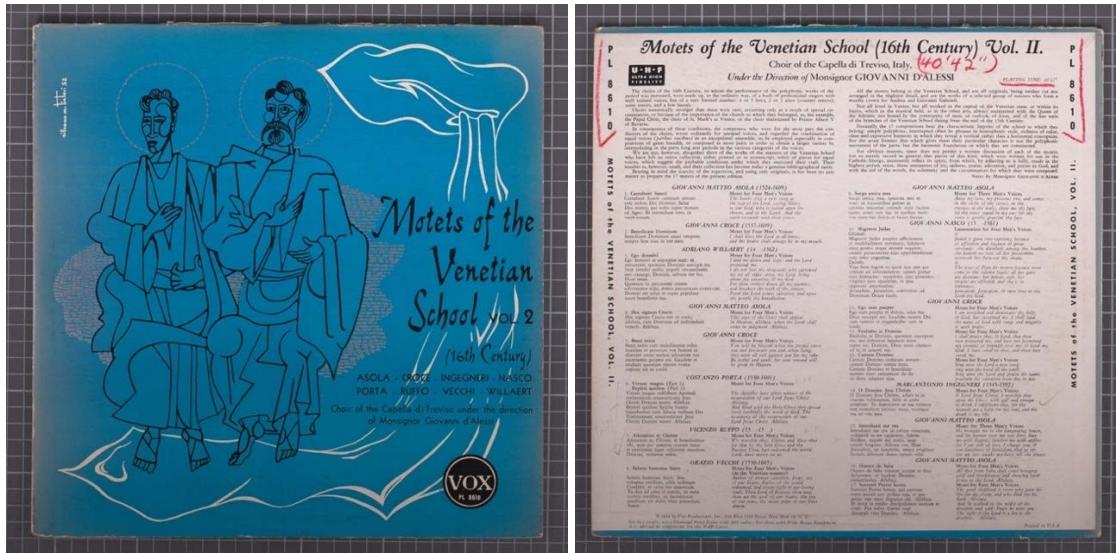
³⁰ Alfred Einstein, Review of Adrian Willaert, *Sämtliche Werke*, Publikationen älterer Musik, vol. 1, *Motetten zu 4 Stimmen, I. und II. Buch (1539 und 1545)*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1937), *Music and Letters* 20 (1939): 218–19, at 218.

³¹ Giovanni D'Alessi, "I Manoscritti Musicali del Sec. XVI° del Duomo di Treviso (Italia)," *Acta Musicologica* 3 (1931): 148–55; and idem, "Precursors of Adriano Willaert in the Practice of 'Coro Spezzato'." The latter article had appeared the previous year (1951) in Italian.

³² Diocesi di Treviso, Istituto diocesano Musica Sacra, "Giovanni D'Alessi," accessed 19 October 2021, <http://www.istitutomusicasacratreviso.it/la-storia/giovanni-d'alessi/>.

and studied by musicologists (many by scholars active at universities in the United States, including Walter Rubsamen, Edward Lowinsky, and later, David Crawford and Joshua Rifkin).

Figure 3.2. Choir of the Capella di Treviso and Giovanni d'Alessi, *Motets of the Venetian School, Vol. 2* (1954)³³



In Germany, discussions about Willaert followed the myths in table 3.1. He was often a name on a list, as in Hermann Halbig's music history (fig. 3.3). His historical importance was understood to have stemmed from Hans Leo Hassler, who studied under Giovanni Gabrieli in 1584–85 in Venice, and from Jacobus Handl, who adopted Venetian chromaticism and wrote double choir music.³⁴ Hans Engel's *Deutschland und Italien in ihren musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen* (1944) focused on musical transfers from the North to Italy and then back to Germany; Engel cited in particular an 1893 article by Rudolf Schwartz that

³³ Images courtesy of the Archive of Recorded Sound, Stanford University Libraries.

³⁴ For example, see Hans Joachim Moser, *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1923), 1:410.

detailed the influence of the Italian madrigalists on Hassler.³⁵ A slightly different teleology placed the origins for double choir music in the North: Erich Hertzmann argued in a 1929–30 article that the style was not an Italian development, but originated instead with Johannes Okeghem and through the eight-voice *Lugebat David*, then thought to be by Josquin (now better attributed to Gombert), and Mouton’s *Verbum bonum*, before arriving at the “endpoint” of Willaert.³⁶ These historical narratives elevated Willaert’s studies with Mouton and his lineage of students through his establishment of the Venetian school over his own accomplishments as a composer.

Willaert had long been considered the premier figure of his generation; justifying focus on Gombert was arguably more difficult. As a result, there was no composer-specific scholarship prior to 1930. During National Socialism, Joseph Schmidt-Görg tied his research on Gombert to the composer’s position in Charles V’s chapel and the chapel’s relationship to the Rheinland.³⁷ Schmidt-Görg also wrote about Jean Taisnier, another musician who served in the chapel of Charles V, and his connections to the Rheinland.³⁸

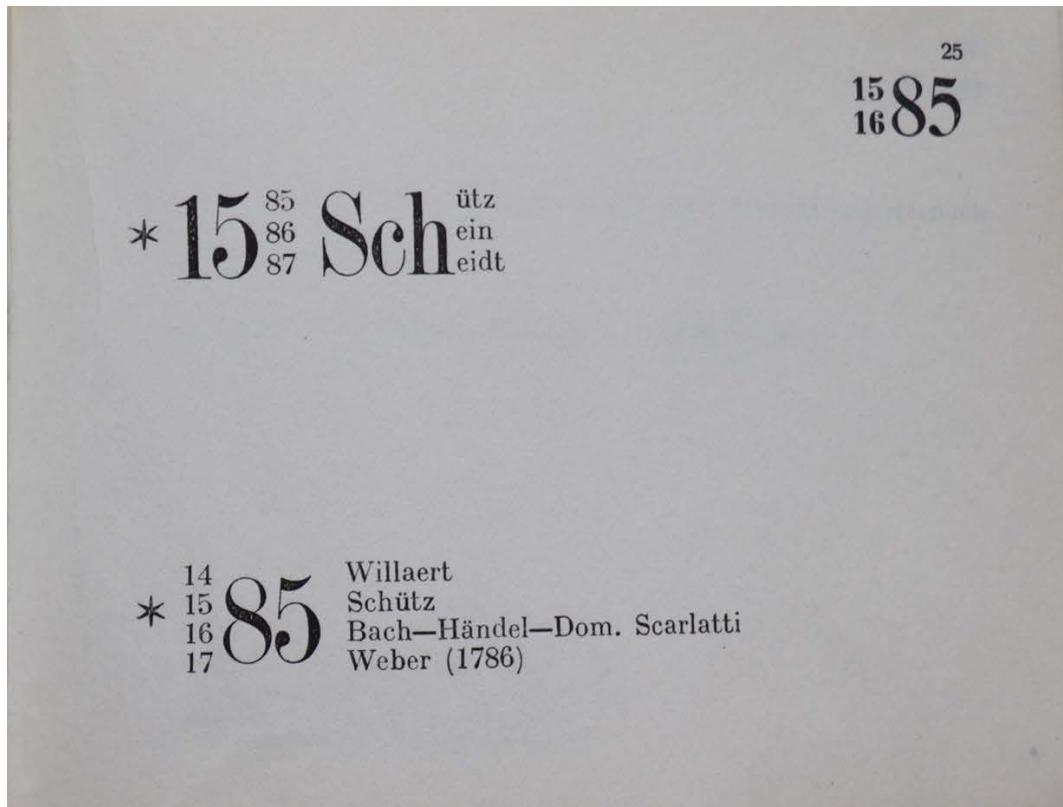
³⁵ Hans Engel, *Deutschland und Italien in ihren musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen* (Regensburg; Gustav Bosse, 1944), 73 and 87; and Rudolf Schwartz, “Hans Leo Hassler unter dem Einfluss der italiänischen Madrigalisten,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1893): 1–61.

³⁶ Hertzmann, “Zur Frage der Mehrchörigkeit.”

³⁷ “So sprach u. a. … J. Schmidt-Görg über die Hofkapelle Karls V. und ihre Beziehungen zum Rheinland.” Joseph Schmidt-Görg, “Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Universität Bonn 1933–42,” *Deutsche Musikkultur* 3/4 (1943): 42–45, at 44.

³⁸ Idem, “Jean Taisnier und seine Beziehungen zum Rheinland,” *Rheinische Blätter* 16 (1939): 73–79.

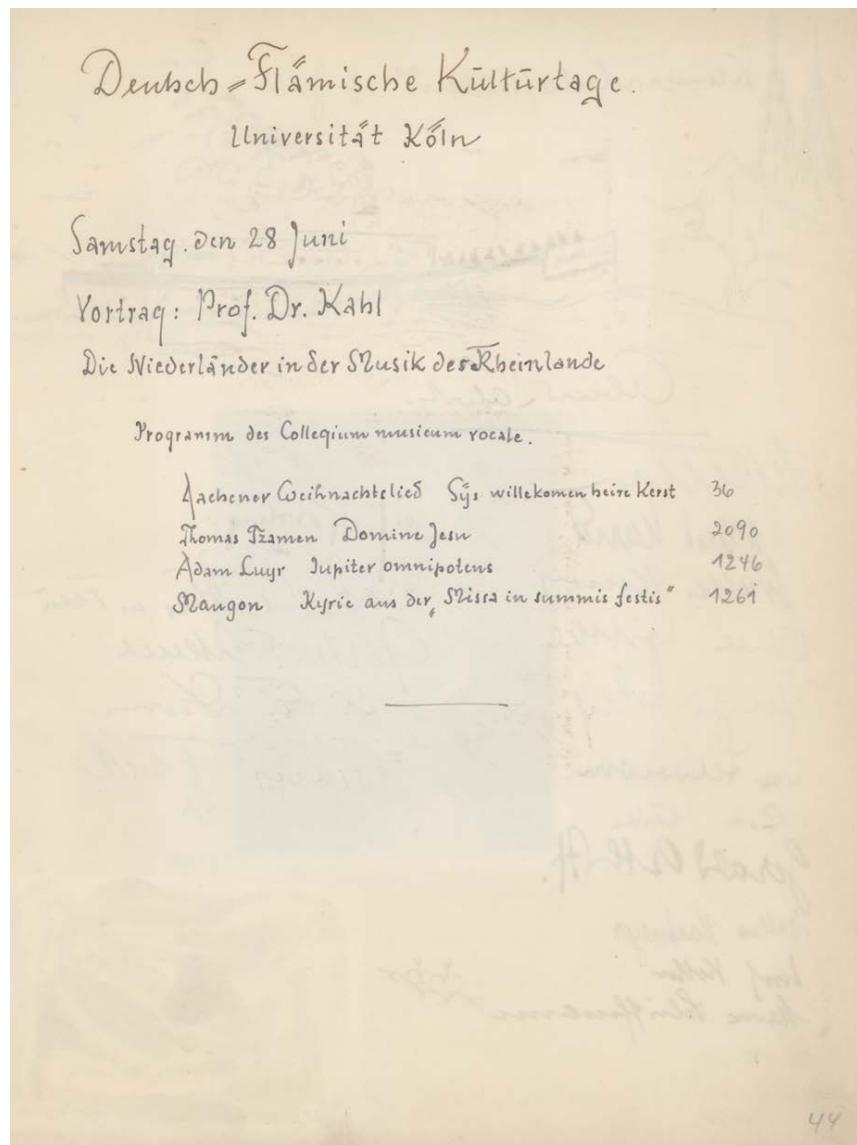
Figure 3.3. Adrian Willaert's appearance in Hermann Halbig's *Musikgeschichte – Leicht Gemacht*³⁹



At the universities of Bonn and Cologne (owing to proximity, the two departments were closely connected), there was increased interest in connections between the Rheinland and the Low Countries. Although to a degree this reflected a long-standing interest, the focus intensified following the German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940: in addition to the lectures by Schmidt-Görg discussed later in this chapter, two further musical events stressed a shared German-Flemish culture: an organ concert in 1942, and a 1941 concert by the Köln Collegium Musicum led by Karl Gustav Fellerer (fig. 3.4).

³⁹ Hermann Halbig, *Musikgeschichte – Leicht Gemacht* (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Chr. Friedrich Vieweg, 1942), 25. 1485 can only be an estimate: no historical documentation evinces Willaert's birthdate.

Figure 3.4. “The Netherlands in the Music of the Rheinlands,” program of the Köln Collegium Musicum for German-Flemish Cultural Day on 28 June 1941⁴⁰



For Gombert, this focus on the Rheinland was not particularly fruitful. Outside of Imperial contexts, little is known about Gombert, save that he served from 1534 as a canon at the Cathedral in Tournai, a position bestowed by Charles. It must be acknowledged that

⁴⁰ UA Köln, Zug 800/33. Reproduced by permission of Universitätsarchiv Köln.

there was elevated interest in the Emperor in the 1920s and 1930s, as evinced by Ernst Krenek's opera *Karl V* (1933) and above all, Karl Brandi's masterful biography *Karl V* (1937–41).

But Brandi's biography had not made Charles a true German hero. Brandi attempted to avoid criticizing the Catholic emperor, despite viewing history through a Protestant lens. This required a creative argument that Charles had little to do with the internal affairs of German lands, when at the same time it was known that Charles spent more than 3,000 days of his life there and attempted to suppress Lutheranism during the Schmalkaldic War of 1546–47.⁴¹ Even setting aside the Emperor's strong anti-Protestant stance, Charles did not fit National Socialist interests well, because he was not focused on *Ostpolitik*, but rather led a traveling empire often located to the West in Spain.⁴² Charles's universal monarchy—a perspective Brandi promoted—could not foster pride in the German state specifically. As a result, when Schmidt-Görg's Gombert monograph was reviewed by Herbert Gerigk (in charge of evaluating music research under *Reichsleiter* Alfred Rosenberg), Gerigk described Schmidt-Görg as a “very reliable specialist,” but noted that young Bonn scholar had not yet revealed his political intentions.⁴³ In other words, it was not yet clear what relevance his research would have for the National Socialist cultural apparatus. Linking Gombert to Charles did not make Gombert relevant.

⁴¹ Alfred Kohler, “Karl V. in der deutschsprachigen Historiographie,” in *The Histories of Emperor Charles V: Nationale Perspektiven von Persönlichkeit und Herrschaft*, ed. C. Scott Dixon and Martina Fuchs (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 17–27, at 19; and Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), x and 319–32.

⁴² Arno Strohmeyer, “Karl V. und die Universalmonarchie in der deutschen Geschichtsforschung,” in *The Histories of Emperor Charles V: Nationale Perspektiven von Persönlichkeit und Herrschaft*, ed. C. Scott Dixon and Martina Fuchs (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 29–44, at 31.

⁴³ “Herbert Gerigk, der enge musikpolitische Mitarbeiter Alfred Rosenbergs, schätzte Schmidt-Görg dennoch als ‘sehr zuverlässige[n] Fachvertreter, dessen Arbeit über Nicolas Gombert seitens der Hauptstelle Musik eine positive Bewertung erfahren habe. Zudem schilderte er ihn als einen ruhigen Mann, der sich bisher nach keiner Seite hin exponiert hat’, sich politisch also unauffällig verhalten habe.” Patrick Bormann, *Das Bonner Beethoven-Haus 1933–1945* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus Bonn, 2016), 50.

If neither Willaert nor Gombert were central to academic scholarship, they were even less suited for popular contexts. Indeed, the two composers were almost entirely absent from the songbooks (*Liederbücher*) designed for popular singing audiences published between 1918 and 1945, with the exception of Willaert's *Ave Maria* (the *secunda pars* of the famous *Pater noster*), published in *Jugendmusikbewegung* leader Fritz Jöde's *Geistliche Chorgesänge für gemischte Stimmen* (1931).⁴⁴ As Jöde noted, the motet appeared in a mid sixteenth-century anthology by the German printer Johannes Petreius; this probably explains why *Ave Maria* was chosen for the songbook. Beyond this, the exceptions are a handful of Italian secular works by Willaert found in two volumes from the series *Das Chorwerk*, both from 1930, which would have had somewhat of a less scholarly audience than the collected-works editions.⁴⁵ Lacking music already published in modern notation was an issue, since those preparing songbooks—possibly with the exceptions of Jöde and former Besseler doctoral student Walther Lipphardt—were unlikely to seek out sixteenth-century sources to transcribe works by Willaert and Gombert from original notation. And even when Willaert's and Gombert's music began to appear in modern notation, pervasive imitation, dense textures, and long and unpredictable melodic lines made their music aesthetically challenging, especially for amateurs unfamiliar with the style. That they primarily wrote for Catholic liturgical and devotional contexts did not help either. But arguably most problematic was the lack of German texted works: if Willaert and Gombert were going to be performed by Germans, someone would need to translate the texts. When Hertzmann's collection of

⁴⁴ *Geistliche Chorgesänge für gemischte Stimmen*, ed. Fritz Jöde (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer, 1931), 83–85.

⁴⁵ *Adrian Willaert und andere Meister: Italienische Madrigale zu 4–5 Stimmen*, ed. Walter Wiora, in *Das Chorwerk* 5 (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1930); and *Adrian Willaert und andere Meister: Volkstümliche Italienische Lieder zu 3–4 Stimmen*, ed. Erich Hertzmann, in *Das Chorwerk* 8 (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1930). Both were well received: Rudolf Gerber described both volumes in 1932 as displaying “exquisite Zeugnisse italienischen Klangsinnes.” Rudolf Gerber, Review of Friedrich Blume, ed., *Das Chorwerk* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer, 1930–), *Acta Musicologica* 4 (1932): 24–25.

thirteen Italian secular works appeared (which included four pieces by Willaert from the *Canzoni villanesche alla napolitana* collections of 1545 and 1548), below the Italian text underlay sat a German translation.

Compared to Willaert and Gombert, Clemens appeared to have a more promising future. Both Schmidt-Görg and Kempers both wrote their dissertations on Clemens's music.⁴⁶ Kempers later remarked that neither knew that the other was writing on the same topic, which is, to a degree, surprising, given the close relationship between Ludwig Schiedermair and his *Doktorvater* Sandberger (thankfully for the two young scholars, they chose different genres of focus: Kempers, the motets; Schmidt-Görg, the masses).⁴⁷ That both scholars independently wrote their dissertations on Clemens shows the relevance of the composer at the time. Even if I argued in chapter 1 that Clemens should be evaluated separately from Willaert and Gombert, in the early twentieth century, he was thought of as a slightly later contemporary. I suspect that focus on Clemens intensified following Commer's series, but it may also have related to generic and religious preferences. Clemens was known well for his *Souterliedekens* (Dutch metrical psalms), which Daniël François Scheurleer had explored in a book on the genre in 1898.⁴⁸ Although the *Souterliedekens* were known to be cross-confessional, any vernacular music associated with the Reformation probably intrigued early twentieth-century German scholars. Besseler subsequently included an example of a Clemens-attributed *Souterliedeken* setting in his *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (1931) as one of two Clemens examples in his text. In one of his songbook volumes, Jöde

⁴⁶ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, "Die Messen von Clemens non Papa," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1926): 129–58; idem, "Clemens non Papa als Messenkomponist," *Gregorius-Blatt* 52 (1928): 183–90; and Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, *Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine Motetten* (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser, 1928).

⁴⁷ Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, "Die Messe 'En Espoir' des Jacobus Clemens non Papa," in *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Dagmar Weise (Bonn: Beethovenhaus Bonn, 1957), 10–20, at 10.

⁴⁸ Reprinted as Daniël François Scheurleer, *De Souterliedekens: Bijdrage Tot de Geschiedenis der Oudste Nederlandsche Psalmberijming* (Utrecht: HES, 1977).

included *Der Winter ist ein unwert Gast*, another of the *Souterliedekens* attributed to Clemens in 1596.⁴⁹ A focus on the *Souterliedekens* might seem strange today. Whether these works offer insight into Clemens as a composer is not clear: they first appeared posthumously in a single 1556–57 print (Clemens is not known to have written others, and no manuscripts survive). Even within that print, we know that ten of the *Souterliedekens* attributed to Clemens were more probably written by Tielman Susato.⁵⁰ But at the time, these difficulties of attribution were not yet apparent.

Another contributing factor to Clemens's elevated profile was his apparent Netherlandish origin. As mentioned in chapter 2, the linguistic slippage between *Niederländisch* and *Niederdeutsch* elevated the profile of Dutch-speaking composers over their French-speaking brethren. Joseph Schmidt-Görg's dissertation had relayed Edmond Vander Straeten's interpretation of the historical evidence, which suggested that Clemens came from Béthune (today, in France). Kempers, by contrast, was insistent: Clemens was a Hollander, and he cited the *Souterliedekens* as a strong indication, since he believed it would be unlikely that a French native speaker would set Dutch texts.⁵¹ Kempers may have seen Clemens's origins as important to defend. In 1934 he wrote an article on music in the Netherlands for *Rheinische Blätter* (a National Socialist magazine describing itself as “der Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur”) in which he reductively stereotyped differences in temperament and personality between the Hollanders and Flemish, and argued that the two have entirely

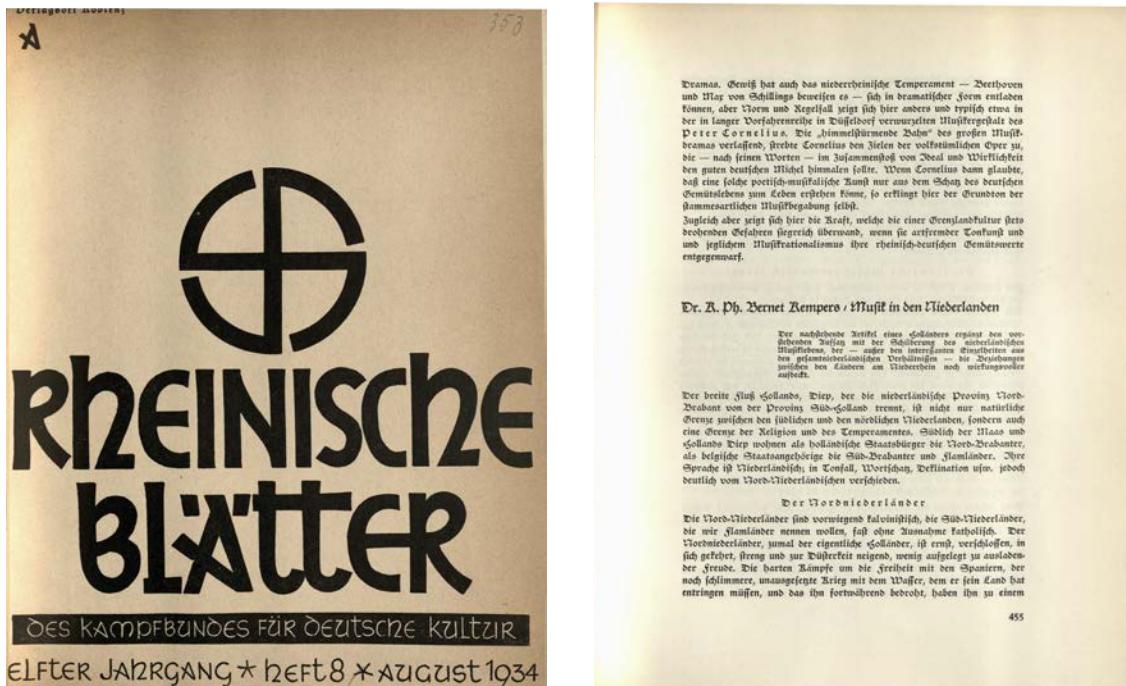
⁴⁹ *Weltliche Lieder und Gesänge für gleiche Stimmen*, ed. Fritz Jöde (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer, 1930), 60.

⁵⁰ Willem Elders, Kristine Forney, and Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Clemens non Papa, Jacobus,” *GMO*, accessed 29 May 2020.

⁵¹ Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, “Zur Biographie Clemens non Papa’s,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1927): 620–27, at 620. Within a few years, documentation emerged that at least in part threw doubt on some of the conclusions drawn by Kempers. René Bernard Lenaerts, “Voor de biografie van Clemens non Papa,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 13 (1931): 178–80.

separate cultures (fig. 3.5).⁵² He argued that the Flemish have been more influenced by the Germans; the Hollanders have a more mature, established culture of their own.⁵³

Figure 3.5. Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers's 1934 article "Musik in den Niederlanden"



Today Kempers is known to have participated in the Dutch resistance during World War II, but in the early years of National Socialism, he—similar to some scholars known to have been marginalized or killed during the Third Reich, such as Wilibald Gurlitt or Kurt Huber—appears to have been a willing participant in the regime's cultural program.⁵⁴

⁵² Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, "Musik in den Niederlanden," *Rheinische Blätter* 11 (1934): 455–60, at 456–57. A curriculum vitae for Walter Gerstenberg from the 1930s indicates that he may have originally been intended to write this article, which he lists as "Über niederländische Musik"; the reason for the change in authorship is unclear, however. UA Tübingen, 351/529.

⁵³ Bernet Kempers, "Musik in den Niederlanden," 456–57.

⁵⁴ In March 1941 the Nazis obliged all recognized Dutch artists to join the Kultuurkamer; a number of artists held meetings about this, including at the home of Kempers. They decided to collect signatures to protest this policy. Biography of Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers written by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, 11 December 1967, Amsterdam Stadsarchief, arch. nr. 279, inv. nr. 560. Following this, in 1942 Kempers was interned for a

Keeping Clemens Dutch may have been an important justification in this scholarly environment.

All of this made Clemens suitable for popular audiences. In addition to the *Souterliedekens* in Jöde's 1931 choirbook, six works appear in Lipphardt's *Das Männerlied: Liederbuch für Männerchöre* (1934) out of the total eighty-three, making him one of the four best represented composers in the collection, and the best-represented sixteenth-century composer. A five-voice canonic Sanctus spuriously attributed to Clemens also appeared in *Chorliederbuch für die Wehrmacht* (1941) (fig. 3.6), drawn originally from Jöde's earlier collection *Der Kanon* (1928).⁵⁵ Shortly after the war, Clemens's music further circulated in Jöde's *Chorbuch alter Meister* (1948/49), albeit alongside a now broader selection of figures. But compared to Clemens, Willaert and Gombert remained the purview of academics, above all Zenck and Schmidt-Görg.

few months at a concentration camp near Amersfoort. Wolfgang Boetticher later claimed that he had a close association with Kempers during the war, although skepticism about the claim is raised in Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 201. Cf. the biography of Kempers in Amsterdam Stadsarchief, arch. nr. 279, inv. nr. 560, which states that Kempers's captivity lasted from 1942 to 1945.

Boetticher possibly told the truth as he remembered it. Prior to the publication of de Vries's book, Boetticher had written that had known Kempers during these years, whom he described in a private memoir in 1993 as the most knowledgeable scholar of the music of the generation of Netherlanders prior to Lasso. Wolfgang Boetticher, *Lebenserinnerungen* (n.p., 2002), 39. Many German musicologists compartmentalized that their colleagues were not politically desirable; they emphasized above all the quality of the scholarship. That letters between Kempers and Boetticher are not known to survive is not as revealing as de Vries has suggested; much personal correspondence was lost during this period, and no collected papers for Kempers are publicly available. Imagining that the two men knew each other, an unequal power dynamic between the well-connected Waffen-SS member and the Dutch musicologist could have pressured Kempers to be friendly, even if he disliked Boetticher or his politics.

⁵⁵ *Chorliederbuch der Wehrmacht*, eds. Fritz Stein and Ernst-Lothar von Knorr (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1941), 134. I am not sure from where the attribution to Clemens, or even its association with the mass ordinary, originates: the music comes from the *Canon à Ronde a5*, an anonymous, textless work held at the British Library. Elders, Forney, and Planchart, "Clemens non Papa, Jacobus."

Figure 3.6. *Sanctus* from *Chorliederbuch für die Wehrmacht* (1940)

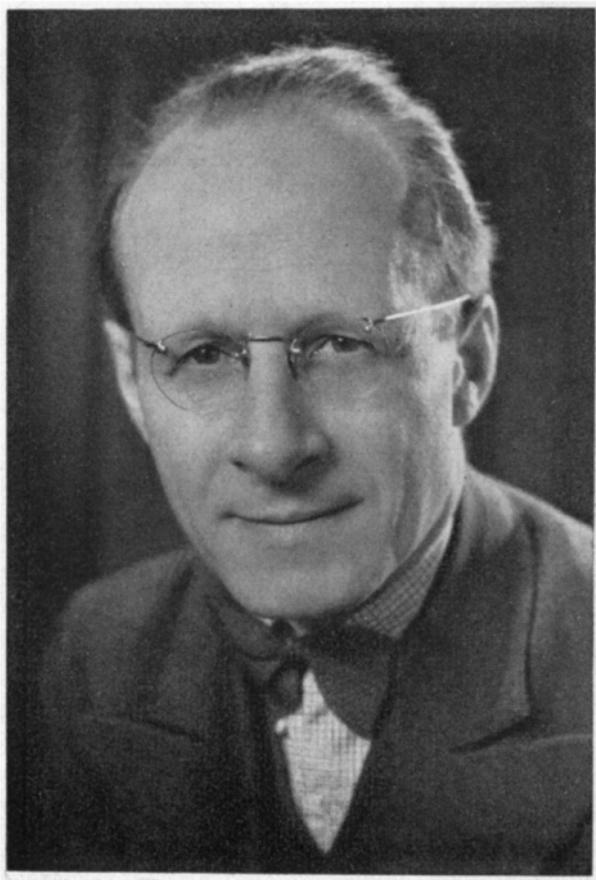


Balancing Willaert against Sixt Dietrich: Hermann Zenck's Scholarship to 1945

No twentieth-century scholar was more important for Willaert research than Zenck (1898–1950). Today best known for his denazification after National Socialism, Zenck (fig. 3.7) was a highly respected expert on sixteenth-century music. A student of Kroyer in Heidelberg, where the latter was a professor from 1920–23, Zenck followed his *Doktorvater* to Leipzig, where he finished his dissertation on Dietrich in 1924.⁵⁶ Remaining there under Kroyer, Zenck completed a Habilitation on Willaert, and taught at the university as a *Privatdozent* until 1932.

⁵⁶ Thomas Schipperges, “Musiklehre und Musikwissenschaft (Universität Heidelberg, 1898–1927),” *Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 5 (1998): 11–43, at 38; UA Heidelberg, StudA Zenck; and UA Leipzig, PA 1086.

Figure 3.7. Hermann Zenck, as pictured in Walter Gerstenberg's 1951 obituary



Zenck's research on Willaert did not emerge in a vacuum, but rather was strongly supported by Kroyer. Zenck later wrote about his *Doktorvater* that "everywhere you can feel Kroyer's innate closeness to Italian music and his vivid understanding of its national uniqueness – the effect of reading Ambros's history and echoing the experiences of the enthusiastic traveler to Italy."⁵⁷ Willaert played only a small role in Kroyer's own dissertation *Die Anfänge der Chromatik im italienischen Madrigal des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (1902).⁵⁸ Still, Kroyer

⁵⁷ "Überall spürt man Kroyers angeborene Nähe zur italienischen Musik und das eindringliche Verständnis ihrer nationalen Sonderart – Wirkungen der Lektüre des Ambros'schen Geschichtswerks und Nachklänge der Erlebnisse des begeisterten Italienfahrers." Hermann Zenck, "Theodor Kroyer (1873–1945)," *Die Musikforschung* (1948): 81–91, at 84.

⁵⁸ Theodor Kroyer, *Die Anfänge der Chromatik im italienischen Madrigal des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902).

noted that Willaert initiated the “Romantic era” of the Italian madrigal that lasted through Luca Marenzio. He moreover suggested that Willaert may have composed some madrigals by 1530, thereby placing him among the first madrigalists. Kroyer’s discussion moved from Willaert’s use of the chromatic semitone in an early motet such as *Quid non ebrietas* to expressive music-text relations in later madrigals from *Musica nova*, in order to declare approvingly that “this is unmistakably true: Willaert is a chromatic composer.”⁵⁹

Kroyer’s high regard for Willaert probably influenced Zenck’s choice of topics for his Habilitation. And Kroyer’s judgements about Willaert remained visible in scholarship—and not just Zenck’s—into the post-war period. In his monumental three-volume history *The Italian Madrigal*, Alfred Einstein saw three masters (Philippe Verdelot, Jacob Arcadelt, and Costanzo Festa) as key players in the development of the genre; grappling with Kroyer’s earlier position, Einstein expressed surprise that works by Willaert (“the greatest name of the epoch between 1525 and 1560”) does not appear among them.⁶⁰ But following Kroyer, Einstein suggests that Willaert madrigals were floating around but had not yet been published. Kroyer’s influence extended well beyond his pupils: Edward Lowinsky’s long-standing focus on *Quid non ebrietas* and chromaticism almost certainly emerged from Kroyer’s dissertation.

At least early on in Zenck’s career, Kroyer’s letters of recommendation carried significant weight. Kroyer’s 1929 letter to Gurlitt argued in favor of selecting Zenck to

⁵⁹ “Das steht folglich unverrückbar fest: Willaert ist Chromatiker.” Ibid, 27 and 39.

⁶⁰ Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols., trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 1:154. Even by the early 1930s, Einstein saw his own expertise far exceeding Kroyer’s, and Willaert was not often front of mind when Einstein listed the early madrigalists. In a 1932 letter to Hans Engel, he wrote: “Aber es steht gedruckt, das frühe Madrigal, u. wenn Sie sich einmal die Mühe, sämtliche Stücke von Arcadelt, Verdelot, Festa, Viola, etc. anzusehen, werden Sie das buchstäblich bestätigt finden. Das Schlimme dabei ist, dass Sie dergleichen einem Menschen wie ich zutrauen, von dem Sie ruhig annehmen dürfen, dass er der beste Kenner des Madrigals in Deutschland ist, Sandberger und Kroyer und Sie zusammengenommen (nichts für ungut).” Letter from Alfred Einstein to Hans Engel, August 1932, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 431 (Nachlass Sandberger), Teil 1, Schachtel 9, Hans Engel.

succeed Friedrich Ludwig in Göttingen, and specifically highlighted Zenck's Willaert research:

[Zenck] has thrown himself in the last few years in Leipzig towards problems of medieval music history, and for a few weeks his Habilitation has been with the faculty. This extensive work deals with the history of the Renaissance and is the first undertaking for a Willaert collected works edition, a portion of which Dr. Zenck already has in score and is preparing for *Publikationen älterer Musik*.⁶¹

Publikationen älterer Musik (subsequently, *PāM*), a *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musik* series produced by Breitkopf und Härtel, had been announced by Einstein in 1925; Kroyer directed the series.⁶² The *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musik* provided a stipend for Zenck's foreign travels and trips to German libraries.⁶³ Kroyer arranged for Zenck's participation and mentioned this in his summary of Zenck's *Referat*.⁶⁴ But despite these plans, and—I believe—the preparation of hundreds of transcriptions by Zenck between the mid 1920s and the early post-war period, just a single volume of Willaert's four-voice motets was completed by December 1935 and appeared in 1937. Although Zenck published a few chapters from his Habilitation shortly after its completion, his core study on Willaert's motets remained unpublished during his lifetime, and he offered virtually no scholarly articles on the composer after 1933.⁶⁵

Zenck's Habilitation on Willaert's motets was completed in 1929; two years later, Hertzmann's dissertation on Willaert's secular music appeared.⁶⁶ Although both Arnold

⁶¹ "Er hat sich in Leipzig in den letzten Jahren besonders auf die Probleme der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte geworfen, und seit einigen Wochen liegt seine Habilitationsschrift 'Studien zu Adrian Willaert' auf der Fakultät. Dieses umfangreiche Werk behandelt die Geschichte der Renaissance und ist die erste Unterlage zu einer Gesamtausgabe Willaerts, die Dr. Zenck zum Teil bereits in Partitur hat und für die 'Publikationen älterer Musik' vorbereitet." Letter from Theodor Kroyer to Wilibald Gurlitt, 25 March 1929, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Nachlass Kroyeriana, Schachtel 3, Gurlitt, Willibald.

⁶² Alfred Einstein, "Der Kongress für Musikwissenschaft der Deutschen Musikgesellschaft in Leipzig (4.–8. Juni 1925)," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925): 581–87; and "Programm der 'Abteilung zur Herausgabe älterer Musik bei der DMG,'" *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1925): 129–31.

⁶³ Letter from Hermann Zenck to Hans-Oskar Wilde, Dean of Philosophische Fakultät, Göttingen, 2 February 1936, UA Göttingen, Kur. Pers. 11598.

⁶⁴ UA Leipzig, PA 1086.

⁶⁵ See chapter 2, n34.

⁶⁶ Erich Hertzmann, *Adrian Willaert in der weltlichen Vokalmusik seiner Zeit* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931).

Schering and Johannes Wolf were listed as instructors, Hertzmann's acknowledgements make clear that Wolf was most important for his doctoral studies.⁶⁷ This is not surprising: Hertzmann was Jewish. In 1933 Einstein was forced to resign from his post as editor of *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*. Although the exact circumstances are not clear, Schering appears to have been critical for the antisemitic decision making; he neglected to invite either Sandberger or Wolf to the decisive meeting, as both would have opposed the forced resignation.⁶⁸ Wolf resigned his seat on the board of the *Deutsche Musikgesellschaft* in protest. Although virtually no correspondence appears to survive from early in Hertzmann's career, all of this suggests that Hertzmann would have had an easier time working with Wolf than Schering. Moreover, Wolf probably directed his student to Willaert. After all, Wolf (alongside Seiffert) had defended a prospective Willaert collected-works edition to the VNM just over a decade prior, writing that Willaert was an indispensable figure for Renaissance music.

The Erich Hertzmann Papers at Columbia University include numerous transcriptions that Hertzmann made during the preparation of his dissertation, including from sources in Basel, Bologna, Cambrai, and most significantly the Bibliothèque Nationale and Bibliothèque Mazarin in Paris, both of which Hertzmann must have visited.⁶⁹ On the whole, this impressive collection trends secular; although not as systematic as Zenck's encyclopedic motet coverage, Hertzmann had particular expertise in the French chanson and Italian canzone villanesche. His knowledge of Willaert's secular music could have nicely

⁶⁷ "Durch seine unermüdliche Lehrtätigkeit und seine freundlichen Ratschläge ist er der wichtigste Förderer meiner musikwissenschaftlichen Studien gewesen, nicht zuletzt dadurch, daß er mir sein umfangreiches Kopienmaterial zur Verfügung gestellt hat." Ibid, vi.

⁶⁸ Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 66–67.

⁶⁹ Columbia University, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Erich Hertzmann Papers, 1938–58, Box 15.

complemented Zenck's work on the motets as part of a collaborative project, but Kroyer preferred single editors for *PäM* editions. He also favored his own students; and Zenck's project predated Hertzmann's. Additional factors were probably at play: Hertzmann's project had been a dissertation, whereas Zenck's was a Habilitation and was supposed to represent a more mature contribution to scholarship. And Hertzmann's scholarship was not universally positively received: Friedrich Blume sharply criticized the dissertation, describing its handling of the chanson as "confused," the coverage of existing literature as insufficient, and considering some of Hertzmann's claims contestable.⁷⁰ Moreover, there was no future for Hertzmann as Jewish musicologist with a disability in early 1930s Germany.⁷¹ In the years following his doctoral studies, Hertzmann was a music critic, possibly in Berlin, or as David Josephson has suggested, in Breslau.⁷² At some point during the mid-1930s, Hertzmann was driven by friends to Switzerland, hiding there with friends before escaping by plane to London.⁷³ All of this made Hertzmann's participation in *PäM* unlikely.

Kroyer could have also chosen Einstein, since already by the early 1930s, Einstein had numerous transcriptions of works by Willaert, including of *Musica nova*, which he shared with Hertzmann for his dissertation.⁷⁴ But Einstein was already slated for the Luca Marenzio edition (two volumes of madrigals were published by Einstein before the series was dissolved). René Lenaerts also published several articles on Willaert during the 1930s and 1940s, but he was unlikely to be considered by Kroyer as he was Belgian, and his work on

⁷⁰ "Der verworrenste Gebiet aus dem gestellten Aufgabenkreis ist wohl die Chanson." Friedrich Blume, Review of Erich Hertzmann, *Adrian Willaert in der weltlichen Vokalmusik seiner Zeit* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931), *Acta Musicologica* 3 (1931): 180–83, at 182.

⁷¹ On Hertzmann's physical disability, see Paul Henry Lang, "Editorial," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 356–57, at 356.

⁷² David Josephson, "The German Musical Exile and the Course of American Musicology," *Current Musicology* 79–80 (2005): 9–53, at 16. I have asked Professor Josephson about this detail; he is unsure of where the information came from. David Josephson (personal communication, 13 July 2021).

⁷³ Rembert Weakland (personal communication, 12 March 2020).

⁷⁴ Hertzmann, *Adrian Willaert in der weltlichen Vokalmusik*, vi.

Willaert did not begin until the mid-1930s; by this point, Zenck had been working on the Willaert edition for most of a decade.

In the end, Zenck was the choice. Although only one out of a planned six volumes ultimately appeared, Zenck's organizational decisions for *PäM* remain important because they were never critically reexamined, but instead were adopted wholesale for the post-war *CMM* edition.⁷⁵ The single *PäM* volume (split into volumes one and two for the later edition) published the music from Girolamo Scotto's two volumes of Willaert's four-voice motets from 1539 and additions from various reprints (fig. 3.8 shows an announcement by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft for the *PäM* volume).⁷⁶ It must be acknowledged that this volume was a watershed for Willaert research: only two of the fifty-five motets contained therein had previously been published in modern notation, and Zenck was an outstanding reader of the music.⁷⁷ But underpinning his choice for organizing this volume—and the *CMM* edition's focus on the single-author prints, also known as the *Einzeldrücke*—were two ideas in line with a historiographical approach common at the time and which continue to shape our understanding today of Willaert. First, Zenck believed that Willaert's music improved over time, a view he first asserted in his Habilitation.⁷⁸ It follows then that Willaert's career would teleologically culminate in *Musica nova* (1559). More focus on the prints coming from Willaert's later years made sense.

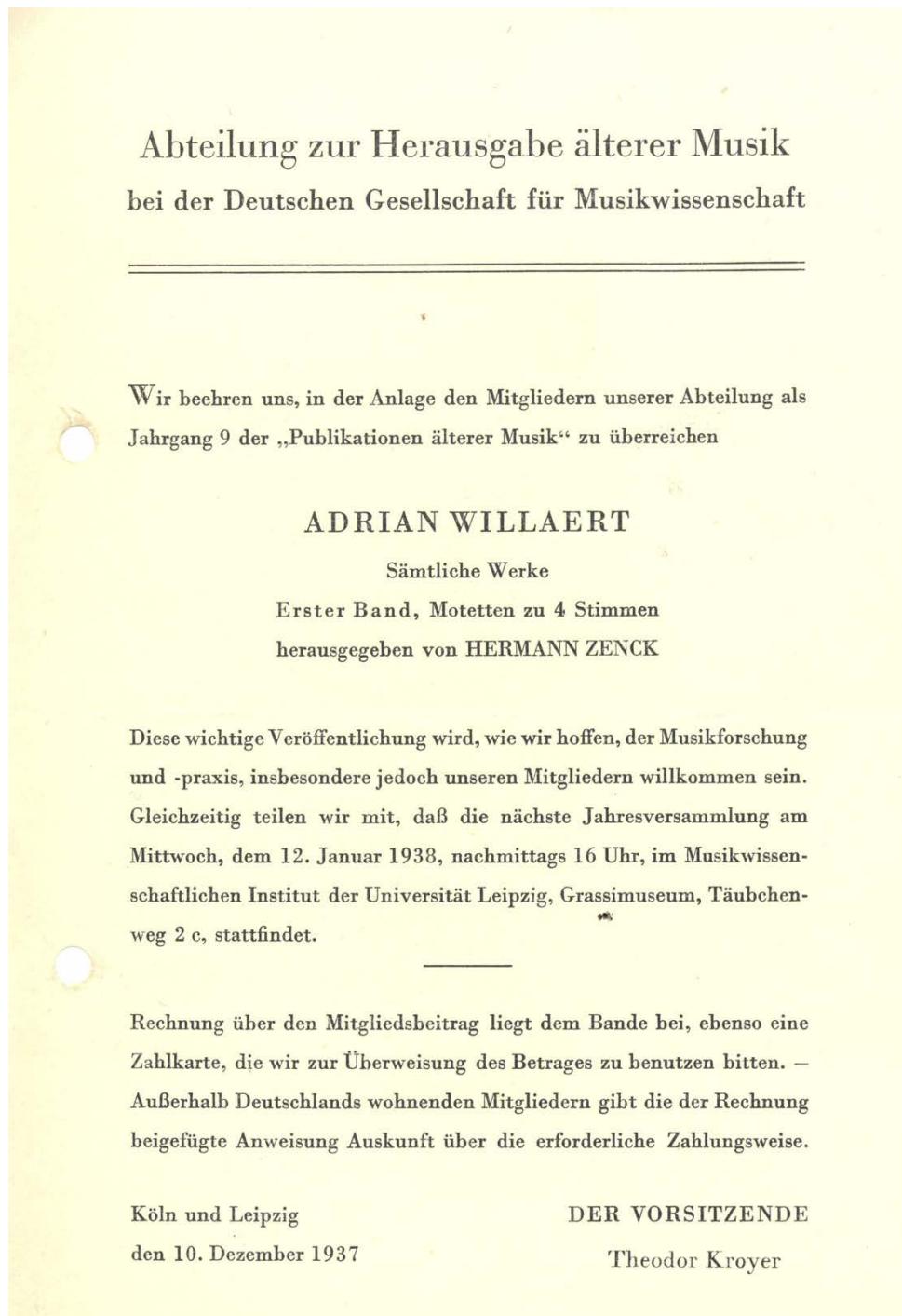
⁷⁵ As early as 1956, this decision was questioned in Alvin Johnson, Review of Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 3, vol. 4, *Motetta VI vocum, 1542*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1952), *JAMS* 9 (1956): 133–41.

⁷⁶ Adrian Willaert, *Sämtliche Werke: Motetten zu 4 Stimmen, I. und II. Buch (1539 und 1545)*, ed. Hermann Zenck, in *Publikationen älterer Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1937).

⁷⁷ Einstein, Review of Adrian Willaert, *Sämtliche Werke*, 218.

⁷⁸ Hermann Zenck, "Über Willaerts Motetten," in *Numerus und Affectus: Studien zur Musikgeschichte*, ed. Walter Gerstenberg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), 55–66, at 55 and 57.

Figure 3.8. Announcement by the Abteilung zur Herausgabe älterer Musik of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft for the first volume of the Adrian Willaert edition in the series *Publikationen älterer Musik*, 10 December 1937⁷⁹



⁷⁹ Akademie der Künste, Leo-Schrade-Archiv, Schrade 80: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft. Reproduced by permission of the Akademie der Künste.

Second, Zenck's reliance on the *Einzeldrücke* implicitly upheld the view of August Wilhelm Ambros, who believed that Willaert's Venetian prints were done "under the master's eye" (a similar claim has been made more recently about Venetian single-author prints of Gombert's music, too).⁸⁰ It turns out that there is little evidence that Willaert had a close relationship with any printer. All one had to do was collate the variants for the prints and manuscript sources, as Alvin Johnson noted over sixty years ago, and one would see that the best reading was not always found in the *Einzeldrücke*.⁸¹ In the *PäM* edition, variants between the prints and other readings from anthologies and manuscripts were catalogued (variants were not discussed in Zenck's later volumes for the *CMM* edition), but the readings chosen by Zenck came from the single-author prints.⁸² In fact, the *CMM* edition went on to include pieces almost certainly not by the composer, but which were attributed by Scotto or Antonio Gardano to Willaert in the *Einzeldrücke*. The inclusion of the six-voice *Saha nos, Domine* as an authentic work by Willaert, following *Il Primo Libro de Motetti di M. Adriano a Sei* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1542) (fig. 3.9), is particularly egregious, since the motet appears with attributions to Jean Mouton in an overwhelming number of early, reliable sources,

⁸⁰ A rationale for Zenck's choices might have appeared in the promised Critical Notes for the *CMM* edition, which were slated to be vol. 15 of the *Opera Omnia*; such a volume remains forthcoming, and at this point, probably cannot feature Zenck's own explanation. August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 6 vols. (Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckart, 1893), 3:110, 112, and 120. "Schwer wiegt auch die Fülle der in den 1530er und 1540er Jahren erscheinenden Motettendrucke Gomberts, die ohne Beteiligung des Komponisten kaum Zustande gekommen sein dürften." Michael Zywietsz, "Gombert, Nicolas," in *MGG Online*, accessed 14 August 2021.

⁸¹ Johnson, Review, 133.

⁸² Had Zenck been able to continue the *CMM* edition past 1950, he would have likely first completed the motets in single-author prints, followed by the madrigals of *Musica nova*. He then probably would have turned to the four-voice masses in *Liber quinque missarum* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini da Forli, 1536). A letter written by Zenck in May 1950 to the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek in Regensburg asks for permission for a microfilm to be made of the three surviving partbooks at the library of Marcolini's print. Letter from Hermann Zenck to Stiftsdekan Josef Poll, 17 May 1950, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, A. R. 1019. Zenck had intended to combine these voices with an altus drawn from surviving Cambrai manuscripts. As Irene Holzer has noted, Zenck would have had great difficulty comparing the *Missa Queramus cum pastoribus* in the print with the version that survives in Cambrai 3, as these are two independent works with the same name, both attributed to Willaert. Irene Holzer, "'La Santa Unione de le Note': Kompositionsstrategien in Adrian Willaerts Messen" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Salzburg, 2010), 18.

including Bologna Q19 and the Medici Codex.⁸³ To keep the emphasis on the single-author prints and explain away this surely faulty attribution, Lowinsky later even came up with a clever but highly speculative theory—that Willaert could not correct the error, owing to his trip home to Flanders during 1542.⁸⁴ With our fuller knowledge of the sources today, the ascription to Willaert is only slightly more plausible than the attribution to Josquin in the manuscript Bologna R142. But neither Willaert edition fully considered the implications of variants or conflicting attributions. And single-mindedly focusing on the *Einzeldrücke* moreover enabled Zenck to focus only on Willaert’s career in Venice, which would have important ramifications for decades to come. In other words, it made things easier.

Figure 3.9. Jean Mouton, *Salva nos, Domine*, from *Il Primo Libro de Motetti di M. Adriano a Sei* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1542), cantus, there errantly attributed to Adrian Willaert⁸⁵



⁸³ *Salva nos, Domine* is discussed in 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 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 209–226, at 221.

⁸⁴ Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de’ Medici, Duke of Urbino*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1:179–80.

⁸⁵ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Mus.pr. 52, cantus, p. 26, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074422-1.

In addition to simplifying the historiography, the *Einzeldrücke* helped mitigate one of Zenck's central challenges, finding and collating the sources—this in the era before the widespread availability of microfilm. Beyond what could be found at German libraries, Zenck relied upon the help of fellow musicologists throughout Western Europe. A series of letters to d'Alessi from between 1932 and 1937 poses questions about works by Willaert in manuscripts from Treviso, with a particular focus on Treviso 8.⁸⁶ Zenck asked d'Alessi for photostatic copies of the manuscript to be made; perhaps as a result, a facsimile image of Willaert's motet *Beatus Stephanus* from Treviso 8 sits at the front of second volume of the CMM Willaert edition.⁸⁷ Zenck also inquired with Higini Anglès in 1935 about Willaert works in Barcelona (Zenck noted that he knew the works by Willaert in Madrid and Toledo libraries from a trip that he had taken ten years earlier in 1925).⁸⁸ Zenck used a card catalogue to keep track of all of the works by Willaert that he knew (fig. 3.10) and their sources; apparently, he maintained a similar catalogue that was used by Gerstenberg for the *Erbe deutscher Musik* Senfl edition.⁸⁹ Although undated, the Willaert card catalogue gives a sense of the limits of Zenck's knowledge at the time. For example, the card for *Salva nos, Domine* reveals that Zenck did not know any concordant sources for the motet (fig. 3.11).

⁸⁶ These letters are presumably held in Treviso, Archivio Capitolare del Duomo. Photocopies of these letters can be found in the papers of Wolfgang Horn, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Universität Regensburg.

⁸⁷ Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia: Motetta IV vocum, Liber secundus*, ed. Hermann Zenck, vol. 2 in *CMM* 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), iii.

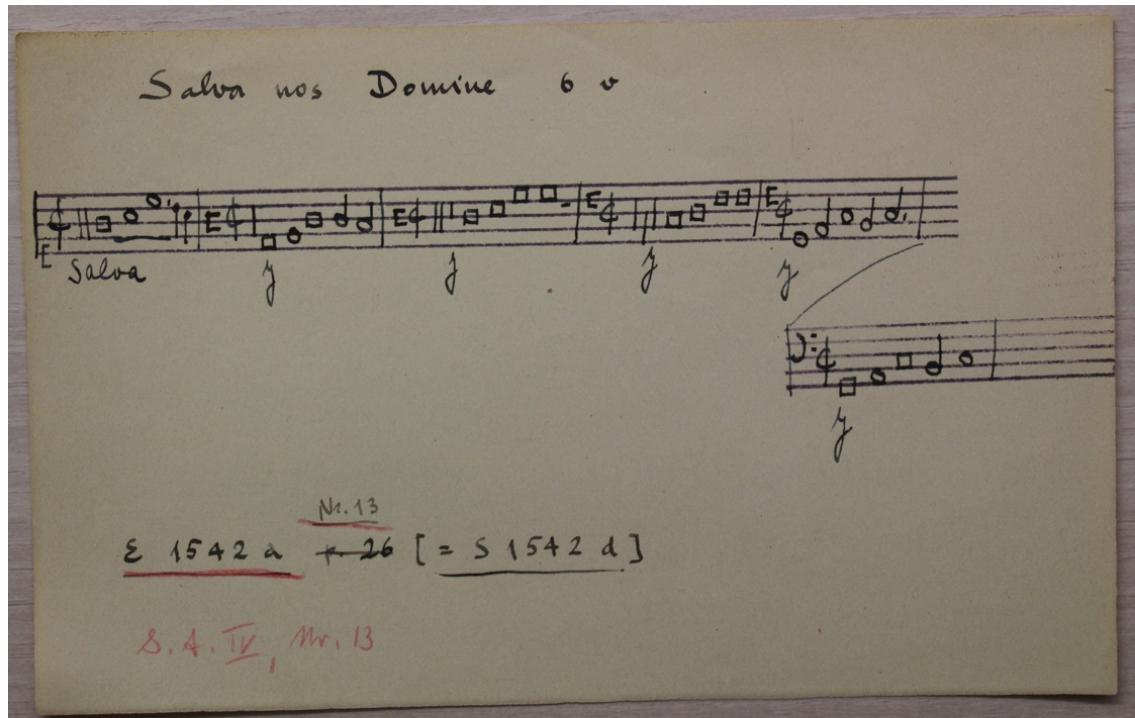
⁸⁸ Letter from Hermann Zenck to Higini Anglès, 31 October 1935, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Fons Higini Anglès, Correspondència, M 7084/900.

⁸⁹ “Eben Ihre Briefs noch einmal durchsehend, entdecke ich, dass sich doch zwei Stimmen der ‘De profundis’-Komposition in Leipzig befinden (abweichend von Zencks Katalog!)” Letter from Walter Gerstenberg to Friedrich Rabenschlag, 27 October 1938, UA Leipzig, NA Rabenschlag, Friedrich 03/9985–10009.

Figure 3.10. Hermann Zenck's card catalogue for pieces by Adrian Willaert⁹⁰



Figure 3.11. Hermann Zenck's card catalogue entry for the motet *Salva nos, Domine*⁹¹



⁹⁰ Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Universität Regensburg.

⁹¹ Ibid.

The correspondence with d'Alessi notwithstanding, Italian sources in particular constituted a vast unknown in the pre-war years. Zenck's Habilitation in fact mentions just two manuscripts including music by Willaert from before 1530, Bologna Q19 and Cappella Sistina 16, so Zenck's understanding of the composer's output before the late 1530s Venetian prints must have dramatically expanded as further sources were discovered.⁹² A whole litany of sources would be discovered over the next two decades. The Newberry Partbooks were purchased in 1935 by the Newberry Library in Chicago (although mentioned in auction catalogues previously, little was known of the contents), but these were first historically contextualized in 1941 by Edward Lowinsky.⁹³ After World War II, Lowinsky discovered both the Vallicelliana partbooks and the Medici Codex, which, although announced in 1913 in the Italian journal *La Bibliofilia*, was closely guarded by its owner Leo S. Olschki and was unknown until Lowinsky saw the manuscript in Florence in 1947.⁹⁴ Rubsamen discovered Padua A17 in 1948; Dragan Plamenac, Copenhagen 1848 in 1955.⁹⁵ The card for the four-voice *Regina celi, letare* (fig. 3.12)—one of the widest circulating motets by Willaert with eight sources—further evinces how few Italian sources were known at the time: Zenck knew just one(!) source for the motet.

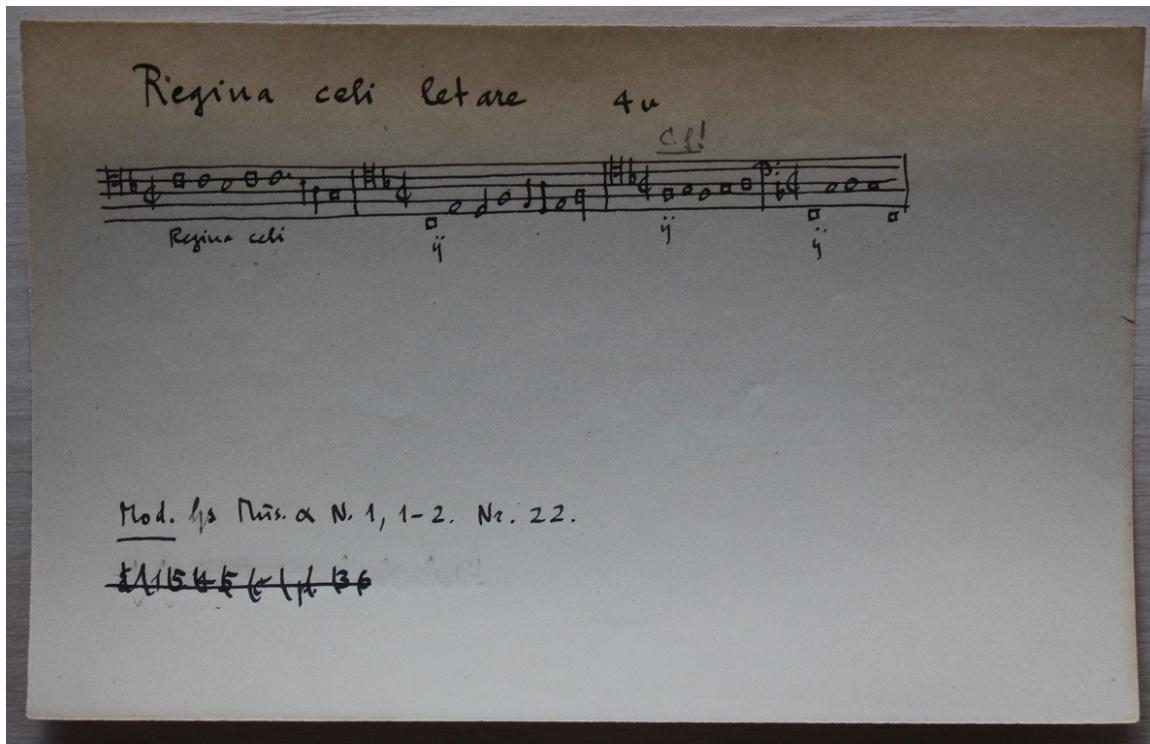
⁹² Hermann Zenck, "Studien zu Adrian Willaert: Untersuchungen zur Musik und Musikanschauung im Zeitalter der Renaissance" (Habilitation, Universität Leipzig, 1929), 142–43. The card catalogue indicates that Zenck knew Treviso 8, 29, and 30.

⁹³ Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Richard S. Hill, 31 July 1941, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 21, Folder 5.

⁹⁴ Lowinsky informed Einstein that one reason for the secrecy surrounding the Medici Codex was the Italian prohibition on the sale and export of manuscripts from before 1550. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Alfred Einstein, 23 August 1948, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19 (Einstein, Alfred).

⁹⁵ New York Public Library, JPB 92–71 (Gustave Reese Papers), Series 1, Folder 1005 (Plamenac, Dragan); and Walter H. Rubsamen, "Music Research in Italian Libraries: An Anecdotal Account of Obstacles and Discoveries, Second Installment." *Notes, Second Series* 6 (1949): 543–69, at 563.

Figure 3.12. Hermann Zenck's card catalogue entry for Adrian Willaert's motet *Regina celi, letare*⁹⁶



As described in chapter 2, a bigger problem was that Willaert—unlike Senfl—was ill-suited for a German nationalism that emphasized German composers, as was most of Kroyer's agenda. To begin with, the department in Cologne may not have been receptive to Kroyer's love for Italian music.⁹⁷ But more importantly, Kroyer's influence declined during the early years of National Socialism. Besseler considered Kroyer a compromise candidate to be elected president of the International Society of Musicology congress in Barcelona in 1936 should Edward Dent step down; and internationally Kroyer remained a known figure.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Universität Regensburg.

⁹⁷ Martina Grempler, "Die Italienbeziehungen der rheinischen Musikwissenschaft in den 1930er-Jahren," in *Musikwissenschaft im Rheinland um 1930*, ed. Klaus Pietschmann and Robert von Zahn (Kassel: Merseburger, 2012), 287–97, at 290.

⁹⁸ Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Otto Ursprung, 28 January 1936. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 343, Schachtel 5, Korrespondenz zum Kongress in Barcelona.

But Kroyer had been stigmatized by loud, anti-Semitic charges from his colleague and fellow Sandberger student Ernst Bücken, who complained vociferously that he had not been considered for Ordinarius despite having served the department for a decade.⁹⁹ According to Bücken, there had been a Jewish plot to deny Bücken the position. Although Kroyer received funding from the university for the second volume of the *Graduale* of the St. Thomaskirche in Leipzig, no further support for the series was forthcoming.¹⁰⁰ After his retirement in 1938, *PäM* was taken over in 1941 by Kroyer's former student and his successor in Leipzig Helmut Schultz, but the series was dissolved in 1943. Schultz was drafted that year, and died in military service during the final months of the war. As a result, there was little possibility of a second volume in the Willaert edition and no other ideal place in which Zenck could publish the music.

Kroyer himself may also have been less enthusiastic about Zenck's Willaert research by the mid-1930s, following Zenck's assumption of the professorship in Göttingen. When Kroyer left Leipzig for Cologne, the names he put forward for his replacement included both Wilibald Gurlitt and Zenck; once Gurlitt had been rejected by the faculty, the remaining candidates were Zenck and Schultz, both Kroyer disciples.¹⁰¹ The faculty considered Zenck their first choice, followed by Schultz and then Jacques Handschin, but Kroyer did not agree.¹⁰² He wrote: "Dr. Zenck is the older of my two assistants. I appreciate him as a scholar, but I miss in him unfortunately the brilliant, scientific attitude, as well as

⁹⁹ Letter from Ernst Bücken to Ernst Leupold, Rektor of Universität Köln, 1 December 1933, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 431, Teil 1, Schachtel 9, Bücken, Ernst.

¹⁰⁰ Christian Thomas Leitmeir, "Ein 'Mann ohne Eigenschaften'? – Theodor Kroyer als Ordinarius für Musikwissenschaft in Köln (1932–1938)," in *Musikwissenschaft im Rheinland um 1930*, ed. Klaus Pietschmann and Robert von Zahn (Kassel: Merseburger, 2012), 93–136, at 103–4.

¹⁰¹ UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. B 2/20:21.

¹⁰² Letter from the Philosophische Fakultät der Universität Leipzig to the Minister für Volksbildung zu Dresden, 22 May 1933, UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. B 2/20:21.

passionate devotion... that I admire in Schultz.”¹⁰³ Zenck was supportive of Schultz, and Schultz was ultimately offered the position.¹⁰⁴

Meanwhile, the political pressure on Zenck in Göttingen intensified. Although Pamela Potter has convincingly argued that in general, party membership should be only one of many considerations when assessing a scholar’s activities during National Socialism, it cannot be ignored that Zenck joined a laundry list of party organizations: he joined the *SA-Reserve (Sturmabteilung)* in November 1933; he was in the *NS-Lehrerbund* from 1934–35; possibly at the request of the head of the *NS-Dozentenbund*, he joined the NSDAP in 1938 (his party membership was backdated to 1 May 1937), which itself was presumably a result of domestic membership opening up for the first time since 1933; and he additionally joined the *NS-Dozentenbund* in 1939.¹⁰⁵ After the war, Zenck claimed he had joined the SA because all the other lecturers in Göttingen had done so, and that he had been pressured into signing a document protesting against the supposedly large number of Jewish professors at German universities.¹⁰⁶

As a former party member in French-controlled Württemberg-Baden, the responsibility for Zenck’s denazification fell to Forschlag Group C (in general, the French let the Germans run the process themselves). Zenck indicated that already in 1938 he had

¹⁰³ “Dr. Zenck ist von meinen beiden Assistenten der älterer. Ich schätzt ihn als Gelehrten, aber ich vermisste bei ihm leider die genial, ebenso aus wissenschaftlicher Gesinnung, wie aus leidenschaftlicher Hingabe an die Doppelaufgabe entsprungene, kraftbewusste Ganzheit, die ich an Schultz bewundere.” Letter from Theodor Kroyer to Geheimrat von Seydewitz, Ministerium für Volksbildung, 7 June 1933, UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. B 1/14.27.

¹⁰⁴ For Zenck’s support of Schultz, see letter from Hermann Zenck to the Philosophische Fakultät of Universität Leipzig, 17 September 1932, UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. B 2/20:21.

¹⁰⁵ On the relevance of party membership, see Pamela M. Potter, “Dismantling a Dystopia: On the Historiography of Music in the Third Reich,” *Central European History* 40 (2007): 623–51, at 639. On Zenck’s participation in National Socialist organizations, see UA Freiburg, B17/891. On joining the NSDAP, Zenck later wrote: “Auf ausdrückliche Aufforderung des Dozentenbundsführers im Sommer 1938 trat ich in die Partei ein; ich erhielt eine Mitgliedskarte mit dem Ausfertigungsdatum vom 1. Febr. 1938, auf der Auffassung diente diese Karte als Ausweis für Parteianwärter, das eigentliche Mitgliedsbuch wurde mir niemals ausgestellt.” UA Freiburg, B3/786.

¹⁰⁶ UA Freiburg, B24/4263; and as described in Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 241.

regretted applying to join the party, and had told others of his regret in 1940—but he provided little documentation. The accounts by Zenck and his colleagues who wrote on his behalf hinged on a single act of resistance: a performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* in the Winter Semester 1943 that apparently critiqued of the Nazi Party, although how so is unclear. The conclusion that Potter drew twenty years ago seems inescapable: such accounts are more contrived than convincing.¹⁰⁷ It almost goes without saying, moreover, that a single act of criticism does not nullify moral responsibility for activities spanning the previous ten years, and yet that was exactly what was suggested and ultimately accepted.

In 2021 I interviewed Martin Zenck, Hermann Zenck's youngest child and a retired musicologist himself.¹⁰⁸ Zenck did not know his father well; Martin was born in 1945, and Hermann died when he was five in 1950. Martin's understanding is that his father had initially been an opportunistic participant. Martin noted that Hermann was one of the first editors of *Musik und Volk*, a journal closely aligned with the National Socialist cultural program, for which he wrote an article in 1934 on the 450th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth.¹⁰⁹ But by mid-1935 he no longer appeared as an editor on the masthead, possibly the result of the journal's reorganization.¹¹⁰ Martin senses that his father afterwards distanced himself from the National Socialist apparatus; to an extent, I think that this is true. A recent article on the foundation of the Göttingen musicology seminar has noted that even though Zenck's career was indisputably advanced by the cultural apparatus of the Third Reich,

¹⁰⁷ Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 241.

¹⁰⁸ Martin Zenck mentioned to me that *MGG II* asked him if he would like to write the article about his father. He declined, since he viewed the topic to be too personal. He laudably suggested that someone with more distance from the subject should write it. Cf. a handful of articles in *MGG* written by family members of scholars (e.g., the entry on Helmuth Osthoff was written by his son Wolfgang).

¹⁰⁹ Hermann Zenck, "Zur 450. Wiederkehr von Martin Luthers Geburtstag," *Musik und Volk* 1 (1933): 14–17.

¹¹⁰ Zenck was last listed among the editors in the April/May 1935 issue. The June/July issue from that year indicated a reorganization: whereas earlier issues had been published by Bärenreiter, now Georg Kallmeyer-Verlag joined Bärenreiter in publishing the journal. *Musik und Volk* was now edited by the Kulturamt der Reichsjugendführung, Hauptreferat Musik.

including enabling Zenck to assumed the professorship in Freiburg in 1942, the National Socialist vocabulary appears relatively infrequently in his published scholarly writings.¹¹¹

I am less sympathetic to an article published in the encyclopedia *Badische Biographien* in 2005, which was published some seven years after Potter's monograph appeared. For the entry on Zenck, the author Horst Ferdinand asserted that "a scholar of Zenck's intellectual bent, with the scientist's will to truth, the fine sensibility of the artist, and his religious bond, had to recognize more and more from year to year that the Nazi system was based on lies and deceit."¹¹² The article concluded by saying that Zenck's reluctance to conform explains his slow ascent in the academic world. That he only became Ordinarius in 1941, Ferdinand suggested, reflects his strained relationship with the party apparatus.

One piece of evidence does indeed point to Zenck's desire to limit his political engagement: when he was invited in March 1938 to participate in Heinz Drewes's *Reichsmusiktage*, he declined the invitation in April of that year because he was "already heavily burdened with work."¹¹³ Zenck consulted privately with Besseler to determine how critical his attendance was, prior to declining.¹¹⁴ At the same time, however, Zenck's

¹¹¹ "Auch wenn er in seinen wissenschaftlichen Texten nationalsozialistisches Vokabular relative sparsam verwendete, ist bemerkenswert, dass Zenck seine Karriere während des Nationalsozialismus vorantreiben konnte und dass er neben verschiedenen Ämtern einen Ruf nach Freiburg auf den Lehrstuhl des entlassenen Wilibald Gurlitt erhielt." Julian Heigel, Christine Hoppe, and Andreas Waczkat, "...es liegt also für das Gebiet der Musikwissenschaft eine aus der Vergangenheit in die Gegenwart wirkende Verpflichtung in Göttingen vor: Zur Gründungsgeschichte des Göttinger Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars," in *Musikwissenschaft 1900–1930: Zur Institutionalisierung und Legitimierung einer jungen akademischen Disziplin*, ed. Wolfgang Auhagen, Wolfgang Hirschmann, and Tomi Mäkelä (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2017), 162–81, at 176–77.

¹¹² "Ein Gelehrter vom geistigen Zuschnitt Zencks mit dem Wahrheitswillen des Wissenschaftlers, der feinen Sensibilität des Künstlers und seiner religiösen Bindung musste von Jahr zu Jahr mehr erkennen, dass das NS-System auf Lug und Trug beruhte." Horst Ferdinand, "Zenck, Hermann, Musikforscher," in *Badische Biographien*, 6 vols. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1875–2011), 5:302–04.

¹¹³ "Auf die Anfrage vom 29. März erlaube ich mir mitzuteilen, dass es mir im Laufe des Mai zu meinem Bedauern nicht möglich ist, einen Vortrag im Rahmen der Reichsmusiktage in Düsseldorf zu halten, da ich mit Arbeiten am Ort bereits stark belastet bin." Letter from Hermann Zenck to the Director of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, 23 April 1938, UA Göttingen, Phil. Inst. 64.

¹¹⁴ "auf Ihre Anfrage: soviel ich weiß, will Dr. Drewes anlässlich der ersten 'Reichsmusiktage' (veranstaltet vom Prof.-Min.) auch die Musikwissenschaft auftreten lassen. Wie und unter welcher Leitung, weiß ich noch nicht. Jedenfalls scheint die DNGW als solche nicht in Aktion zu treten. Dr. hat sich nur persönlich nach den Leuten

personnel file in Göttingen includes a letter of support that argued that Zenck was a “true and successful colleague in the question of university politics”; another letter from the mid-ranking SS commander Walter Blume describes him as a “genuine SA man” and notes that he has been politically reliable in preparations for the university’s 200th anniversary.¹¹⁵ Blume wrote further: “I have known Zenck personally for a number of years and have gotten to know him personally as fully and completely one with the National Socialist worldview and committed to these goals at all times.”¹¹⁶

No matter how ideologically predisposed Zenck was to National Socialism—as with many scholars of the time, he may have been more an opportunist than a true believer—he was still expected to contribute to the larger cultural program. His participation came largely through his publication of early music editions. When in 1935 Besseler published his memorandum on the reorganization of *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*, Zenck wrote to him that he was broadly in agreement, noting that small changes from the previous program would not have sufficed given the new goals, and that “this is evinced by the sense and rank of our science in the National Socialist people’s order – this fact must be completely recognized by all colleagues.”¹¹⁷ This is remarkable: Zenck was essentially undercutting his

erkundigt, die vom Ministerium eingeladen wurden.” Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Hermann Zenck, 8 April 1938, UA Göttingen, Phil. Inst. 64.

¹¹⁵ “Ich bestätige von mir aus, dass mir Professor Zenck ein treuer und erfolgreicher Mitarbeiter in hochschulpolitischen Fragen ist.” Letter to the Kurator der Universität Göttingen, 13 January 1937, UA Göttingen, Kur Pers. 11598; and “Im Gegensatz zu einer grossen Anzahl von Konjunkturrittern ist Zenck aufrichtig gerne SA-Mann, er hat Freude am Dienst und er wird auch bestimmt so freudigen Herzens in der Zukunft SA-Mann bleiben.” Letter from W. Blume to the rector of Universität Göttingen, 13 January 1937, UA Göttingen, Kur Pers. 11598.

¹¹⁶ “Ich kenne Zenck persönlich seit einer Reihe von Jahren und habe ihn als einen Mann kennen gelernt, der voll und ganz auf dem Boden der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung und der sich jeder Zeit für diese Ziele einsetzt.” Letter from Blume to the rector of Universität Göttingen.

¹¹⁷ “Ihrer Denkschrift über die Neuordnung der ‘Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst’ stimme ich zu; kleine Abweichungen und Vorschläge besonders hinsichtlich der Organisation zu erörtern hat jetzt keine Zweck, wo es vor allem um die Durchsetzung eines neuen Gesamtziels geht. Dieses ist gegeben durch den Sinn und den Rang unserer Wissenschaft in der nationalsozialistischen Volksordnung – diese Tatsache müssen selbstverständlich alle Mitarbeiter restlos anerkennen.” Letter from Hermann Zenck to Heinrich Besseler, 2 January 1935, UA Göttingen, Phil. Inst. 64.

own Willaert edition. Zenck outlined to Besseler several ventures by which he could participate in the larger project, including the sacred and secular music of Sixt Dietrich and Baroque Protestant music from Lower Saxony by founding and leading the National Socialist series *Landschaftsdenkmale der Musik in Niedersachsen*. One volume by Zenck of Dietrich's music had already appeared in *PäM* in 1928; a second subsequently appeared in 1942 in *Erbe deutscher Musik*.

If Zenck could find new relevance for his previous doctoral study on Dietrich under National Socialism and could publish the music in the new series, this was less true for his research on Willaert. As chapter 2 showed, Besseler did not think that highly of Willaert at the time. Moreover, the political incentives for Willaert were weak: Zenck justified his research to the dean of the philosophical faculty at Göttingen in 1936, writing that the continuation of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, and by extension his own Willaert collected-works edition, was "an imperative of the hour" by which "the primacy of German musicology can be maintained and further consolidated, in view of the lively efforts of France, England, and especially Italy."¹¹⁸ This explanation does not center Willaert, but rather promotes the edition as part of a larger game of keep-away from foreign powers. Indeed the central myths shown in table 3.1 that had promoted Willaert scholarship only tangentially related to a German-focused nationalistic program.

Zenck rehashed this justification in asking the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in 1939 for funds for a research trip to Italy (appendix 3.1 provides a transcription of the

¹¹⁸ "Die Weiterführung der von der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft veranstalten, gegenwärtig einzigen deutschen musikwissenschaftlichen Auslandspublikation, für die auch mein Vorgänger Fr[iedrich] Ludwig die Gesamtausgabe der Werke des G[uillaume] de Machaut besorgt hat, ist neben unserer deutschen Denkmälerarbeit m.E. ein Gebot der Stunde, wo es gilt, die noch unbestrittene Vorrangstellung der deutschen Musikwissenschaft angesichts der lebhaften Anstrengungen Frankreichs, Englands und besonders Italiens zu halten und weiter zu befestigen." Letter from Hermann Zenck to Hans-Oskar Wilde, Dean of the Philosophische Fakultät, Göttingen, 2 February 1936, UA Göttingen, Kur. Pers. 11598.

letter). He wrote: “I think it is essential that such important, international research fields remain in the hands of German scholars, so that the claim of German musicology in foreign countries is practically strengthened.”¹¹⁹ Zenck also made what must have been fairly common claims: that Willaert had great importance for the early Baroque through his founding of the Venetian school; that the German composer Heinrich Schütz had studied in Venice and had inherited Venetian, and by extension, Willaert’s musical practices; and that Willaert was an important Northern composer who had a large influence on other Italian and Netherlandish composers. But in the last paragraph of his request, Zenck says something perhaps unsurprising, but certainly shocking:

There is no need for special reference to the extent in which research into the art of a blood German [*blutmäßig germanischen*] and in his time a leading European composer can help put the native music traditions of the North in the right light.¹²⁰

Here, Zenck was using the same racial justifications for studying Willaert that Richard Eichenauer had promoted. As with many musicologists, Zenck here was willing to opportunistically bend his scholarship towards fashionable questions of music and race. His justification notwithstanding, the request was unpersuasive: no funds were available for Willaert research.¹²¹

In 1941 Zenck was selected as Ordinarius in Freiburg. The other finalists for the position were Rudolf Gerber, endorsed by Friedrich Blume, and Helmuth Osthoff, who had

¹¹⁹ “Zugleich halte ich es für wesentlich, dass derartige international wichtige Forschungsbereiche unbedingt in den Händen deutscher Lehrer bleiben, um auf diese Weise auch dem Ausland gegenüber den Führungsanspruch der deutschen Musikwissenschaft praktisch zu bekräftigen.” Letter from Hermann Zenck to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 13 March 1939, Bundesarchiv Licherfelde, R73/16003.

¹²⁰ “Es bedarf keines besonderen Hinweises, in welch hohem Grade die Erforschung der Kunst eines blutmäßig germanischen und in seiner Zeit europäisch führenden Musikers geeignet ist, die bodenständige Musiktradition des Nordens in das richtige Licht zu rücken.” Letter from Hermann Zenck to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 13 March 1939.

¹²¹ Letter from the President of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft to Hermann Zenck, 10 May 1939, Bundesarchiv Licherfelde, R73/16003.

a recommendation from Arnold Schering and a favorable report from Blume.¹²² Schering was by then deceased; his letter probably dated from Osthoff's previous application in 1937 for the position, following Gurlitt's removal. The faculty in Freiburg recognized that Zenck was involved with the Dietrich, Willaert, and Michael Praetorius editions, but they saw his local Badish connections as perhaps most important for his selection.¹²³ Among his research interests, Zenck's work on Dietrich probably had the most currency in the department. Gurlitt shared this interest and helped Zenck gain access to a photocopy of a letter in Basel in June 1943 regarding the Wittenberg liturgy for an edition of Dietrich's hymns.¹²⁴ This volume was published posthumously in 1960 with Gurlitt's assistance.¹²⁵ A preference for Dietrich was manifest in Leipzig, too: a 1932 letter evaluating Zenck there indicates that "important above all was his work on" Dietrich.¹²⁶ Zenck received the Freiburg position on 6 July 1942, with his duties commencing in the Winter Semester of that year. A focus on Dietrich both reflects what Zenck's contemporaries saw during the 1930s and 1940s as the important composer to study (German and close to the central figures of the Reformation), and which composer would have been best for Zenck to prioritize in order to receive institutional support.

Zenck's teaching in Freiburg emphasized a wide variety of German music, including keyboard music of Bach and the Baroque, German *Lieder*, Beethoven's symphonies, and early music topics such as "Musik und Musikanschauung des Mittelalters" and "Übungen zur

¹²² UA Freiburg, B3/343.

¹²³ Letter to the Ministerium des Kultus und Unterrichts Karlsruhe, 24 July 1941, UA Freiburg, B3/343.

¹²⁴ Given that the topic of Gurlitt's dissertation was Praetorius, he surely shared with Zenck an interest in the composer, too. Letter from Hermann Zenck to Wilibald Gurlitt, 6 June 1943, UA Freiburg, Nachlass Gurlitt, C101/191.

¹²⁵ Ludwig Finscher, "Sixt Dietrich: Hymnen (1545). Hrsg. von Hermann Zenck † mit einem Geleitwort von Wilibald Gurlitt," *Die Musikforschung* 16 (1963): 202.

¹²⁶ Letter from Alfred Dedo Müller to the Dean of the Theologische Fakultät der Universität Leipzig, 19 June 1932, UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. B 2/20:21.

alten deutsch Volksliedweise” (both Winter Semester 1943–44).¹²⁷ Prior to the end of the war, his heavy teaching load probably left little time for research. Indeed his responsibilities were substantial, with musicologists spread thin across Germany during the war years: Zenck taught five or six courses each semester, including leading vocal and instrumental ensembles. Late in the war, on 5 June 1944, Zenck was called up for military service. He was captured by the French and spent more than a year in a prisoner-of-war camp. Zenck was released on 7 November 1945 and returned to Freiburg.¹²⁸ A letter from Zenck dated 22 November 1945 indicates that the music seminar had taken place in his house in the early months of that year, presumably without him present; he asked the university to reimburse him for the cost of fuel (the change in location probably stemmed from the department’s destruction during a bombing raid on 27 November 1944).¹²⁹ In any case, records indicate that Zenck did not teach between Winter Semester 1944–45 and Summer Semester 1946, and that as a former party member, he had to undergo denazification after the war.¹³⁰ The Willaert project by now was on hold.

Schmidt-Görg to 1945: Between Gombert and Beethoven

Many of the same pressures that impinged on Zenck’s Willaert research negatively impacted fellow Sandberger/Kroyer school “grand-pupil” Joseph Schmidt-Görg (1897–1981) and his scholarship on Gombert. Just one year older than Zenck, Schmidt-Görg was also a sixteenth-century specialist who had completed his doctorate and Habilitation during

¹²⁷ UA Freiburg, B17/891.

¹²⁸ UA Freiburg, B24/4262.

¹²⁹ “bitte ich, nach Möglichkeit, wie es bei anderen Kollegen bereits geschehen ist, das Heizmaterial zurückzuerstatten, das in den Monaten Januar/April verbraucht wurde, als sich das Musikwissenschaftliche Seminar der Universität in meiner Wohnung Zasiusstr. 117, ii. Stock befand.” Letter from Hermann Zenck, 22 November 1945, UA Freiburg, B24/4263.

¹³⁰ UA Freiburg, B17/891.

the Weimar Republic. A student of both Ludwig Schiedermair and Arnold Schmitz at the University of Bonn, Schmidt-Görg (shown as a young man in fig. 3.13) spent his entire career at that institution, where he received his doctorate for a dissertation on Clemens's masses in 1926 and his Habilitation titled "Die Mitteltontemperaturen" in 1930. In 1938 Schmidt-Görg published his monumental book on Gombert, *Nicolas Gombert: Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V. Leben und Werk*. That same year, Schmidt-Görg became a junior professor in the department, and he eventually rose to the rank of Ordinarius in 1948. At the same time, beginning in 1928, Schmidt-Görg also worked underneath Schiedermair at the Beethovenhaus Bonn, where he served as an assistant. After the war, he succeeded Schiedermair as director there as well. Schmidt-Görg's career contrasted with Zenck's: where Zenck was politically well-connected, Schmidt-Görg was not; where Schmidt-Görg had a lengthy post-war career, Zenck did not; and even early on, where Zenck largely focused on early music, Schmidt-Görg's scholarship included both early and later chronological topics.

Indeed, Schmidt-Görg was neither a member of the NSDAP nor was he particularly well connected within the Sandberger/Kroyer network. He was also insufficiently connected to Besseler to take advantage of the reorganization of the *Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung*. Part of the problem was the longstanding animosity between Schiedermair and Kroyer, amplified by Kroyer's selection in Cologne as Ordinarius.¹³¹ This could have been an obstacle in Schmidt-Görg's hypothetical participation in *PäM* (still, no Gombert edition by any author is even suggested in Kroyer's descriptions of the series).¹³² The first of Schmidt-Görg's two political memberships was to the *SA-Landsturm* (from July 1934 to December

¹³¹ On the animosity between Schiedermair and Kroyer, see letter from Ludwig Schiedermair to Adolf Sandberger, 20 June 1933, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 431, Teil 1, Schachtel 15, Ludwig Schiedermair.

¹³² Schmidt-Görg could have also theoretically led a Clemens edition for *PäM*. His Gombert research was first published in the 1930s, just as Kroyer's influence was waning.

1935), but this does not reflect his own political initiative; rather, these reserves groups absorbed existing war-veteran groups such as *Kyffhäuserbundes*, an organization to which Schmidt-Görg had belonged as a World War I veteran.¹³³ The second was membership in the *NS-Lehrerbund*, which Schmidt-Görg joined in July 1934.

Figure 3.13. Joseph Schmidt-Görg in an undated photo ca. 1930¹³⁴



¹³³ Bormann, *Das Bonner Beethoven-Haus*, 50.

¹³⁴ UA Bonn, PF-PA 1076. Reproduced by permission of Universitätsarchiv Bonn.

On the whole, Schmidt-Görg was sidelined during National Socialism. As relayed by Fred Prieberg and Patrick Bormann, a short summary by musicologist Herbert Birtner suggests that Schmidt-Görg's revival of Gregorian chant in the early National Socialist period backfired. Schmidt-Görg's presentation on the subject, which pointed out the difficulties in finding Franconian elements in Gregorian chant, apparently gave it a "Jewish" association (Bormann is unsure about the reliability of Birtner's report).¹³⁵ In any case, Schmidt-Görg's Gombert book, as mentioned earlier, was not sufficiently politically engaged to satisfy Gerigk. When Gerigk concluded that Schmidt-Görg was politically ambiguous, he may have also been thinking—in addition to his scholarship—of his Catholicism, which was a large roadblock to participation in the newly organized state's cultural programs. For example, Hans Engel complained in 1937 that Gerigk was slandering himself, the composer Ludwig Weber, Kurt Huber, and Besseler as Catholic to Rosenberg, when in fact they were not.¹³⁶ Schmidt-Görg could offer no such defense. He was nonetheless highly regarded by his Catholic *Doktorvater*, Schiedermair, who wrote highly of him in a letter in 1937 to Sandberger.¹³⁷

Notwithstanding Schiedermair's praise, Schmidt-Görg was arguably not even the favorite among the *Privatdozenten* in Bonn. Besseler had selected Schrade before Gerstenberg

¹³⁵ "Nach Prieberg habe Joseph Schmidt-Görg zudem 'den ersten großangelegten Versuch' unternommen, 'die Gregorianik zu "retten", in dem er in diesem ohnehin für die NS-Ritualmusik unbrauchbaren und von religionsfeindlichen Funktionären als "jüdisch" bekämpften Stil "fränkische", also germanische Elemente diagnostizierte.' Prieberg bezog sich dabei vermutlich auf einen nicht publizierten Vortrag auf der 58. Philologentagung in Trier Ende Oktober 1934, dessen Inhalt nur in einer knappen Zusammenfassung durch Herbert Birtner überliefert ist. Demnach wies Schmidt-Görg eingangs des Vortags auf die Schwierigkeiten hin, fränkische Elemente in der Gregorianik ausfindig zu machen. Stattdessen hob er die besondere Bedeutung der Aachener Pfalzschule und der Metzer Sängerschule nach der Einführung des gregorianischen Chorals unter Pippin und Karl dem Großen hervor... Wie zuverlässig diese Zusammenfassung Birtners war, lässt sich schwer beurteilen." Ibid, 49.

¹³⁶ Gerigk "hat die DMK, die ihm schon als Konkurrenz zur Musik im Wege ist, angezeigt als 'reaktionär,' und den Prof. Weber, Besseler, Huber, und mich als 'Katholiken' bei Rosenberg." Letter from Hans Engel to Geheimrat, 20 February 1937, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 431, Teil 1, Schachtel 9, Hans Engel.

¹³⁷ Letter from Ludwig Schiedermair to Adolf Sandberger, 14 March 1939, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 431, Teil 1, Schachtel 15, Ludwig Schiedermair.

for the Senfl edition. Kroyer selected Schrade for the Luys Milán edition; he had not chosen Schmidt-Görg as an editor in the series. When Schrade was excluded from Bonn and emigrated to the United States, Schiedermair wrote a letter to the Library of Congress asking about potential positions for Schrade, and asked Sandberger to write to Yale University on Schrade's behalf.¹³⁸ When the Ordinarius position in Bonn came up again in 1946, there was newfound interest in Schrade, who was now a professor at Yale, but he turned the offer down.¹³⁹ Only after Schrade had declined the professorship was the less senior Schmidt-Görg afforded the same opportunity.

When the University of Fribourg in Switzerland began to search for a Catholic replacement for Peter Wagner in 1939, Otto Ursprung spoke favorably of both Schmidt-Görg and Huber, whom he prized on coming from the “‘good old’ scientific school” (as with Ursprung, both were Sandberger “grandpupils”).¹⁴⁰ With respect to Schmidt-Görg, Ursprung used the same language as Gerigk had, calling him a reliable (“zuverlässiger”) researcher and remarking that his evaluation of the archival sources for Gombert was extraordinary, presumably referencing how Schmidt-Görg had established that there was one main Imperial Chapel under Charles V, rather than three separate ones based in Madrid, Vienna, and Brussels. But Ursprung added that Schmidt-Görg’s treatment of Gombert’s musical style was not on the same level. All in all, Ursprung concluded, Schmidt-Görg was “quiet and solid.”¹⁴¹ (Owing to his age and number of children, Schmidt-Görg’s chances in

¹³⁸ Letter from Harold Spivacke to Ludwig Schiedermair, 20 July 1937, Beethoven-Haus Bonn/Archiv (Briefe und Angebote) 1936–7 A-Z (VBH 18); and letter from Ludwig Schiedermair to Adolf Sandberger, 10 November 1937, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 431, Teil 1, Schachtel 15, Ludwig Schiedermair.

¹³⁹ Letter from Leo Schrade to Friedrich Oertel, 21 June 1947, UA Bonn, UV 69–184.

¹⁴⁰ “... aus der ‘guten alten’ wissenschaftlichen Schule.” Letter from Otto Ursprung to Hans Foerster, 6 May 1939, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 343, Schachtel 2, Foerster.

¹⁴¹ “ruhig und solid.” Letter from Ursprung to Foerster, 6 May 1939.

Fribourg were apparently slim.¹⁴²) Ursprung's view of the younger scholar appears to have been shared by Schmidt-Görg's colleagues in Bonn, who wondered if aesthetic questions could have been more fully handled in the second half of the Gombert book.¹⁴³ In essence, the book did not help Gombert rise above the realm of music-historical problems to become aesthetically appreciated.

But why Gombert? It turns out that there was in fact a burgeoning interest in Gombert around 1930. Schmidt-Görg's Gombert book was preceded by Hans Eppstein's 1935 dissertation on Gombert's motets and an aborted dissertation on Gombert's masses by the composer Kurt Rasch. Rasch was a student of Schering in Berlin and had begun his study of Gombert with the mass *Sancta Maria* in Winter Semester 1929–30.¹⁴⁴ Eppstein may have been aware of Rasch; a 1932 letter from Helmuth Osthoff to Rasch asks whether the department could inform Eppstein of the in-progress dissertation.¹⁴⁵ Rasch's doctoral project was never completed, however; needing to earn money, Rasch gave up his studies and became a freelance composer. Schmidt-Görg's focus probably turned more fully to Gombert sometime after 1933 and before 1935, when his first articles on music by the composer appeared.¹⁴⁶

As Stephen Rice has noted, Eppstein's project compared Gombert's motets with the latter's presumed teacher, Josquin, and aimed to identify the early works of Gombert's career

¹⁴² Letter from Herbert Gerigk to the NSD-Dozentenbund, 22 May 1939, Bundesarchiv Licherfelde, NS 15/37, pp. 2–3.

¹⁴³ Letter from the faculty to the Rektor of the University and the Reichsminister for Science and Education, 18 June 1936 UA Bonn, PF-PA 1076.

¹⁴⁴ Hans-Günter Hartmann and Josef Kern, *Kurt Rasch (1902–1986): Lebensbild eines Komponisten*, ed. Eve-Maria Rasch (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1997), 39–42.

¹⁴⁵ Letter from Helmuth Osthoff to Kurt Rasch, 11 March 1932, UA Humboldt Universität Berlin, Phil.Fak.01:1584.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, "Zu einigen Motetten des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1935): 47–48; and idem, "Die acht Magnifikat des Nikolaus Gombert," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 5, ed. H. Finke (Münster in Westfalen: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935), 297–310.

on the basis of their publication dates and stylistic similarities with the older composer. But Eppstein had a hard time describing Gombert's "objective" musical style; for example, when analyzing a selection of motets, he recognized that more imitative entries accompanied the last section of the text, but he had difficulty discerning a larger pattern in its construction.¹⁴⁷ Another substantial problem was the then expansive Josquin canon, which included many pieces by later composers. When confronting a piece such as *Lugebat David, Absalon*, attributed to Josquin in several sources but (as we now know) almost certainly by Gombert, Eppstein had to explain why Josquin's and Gombert's styles were at times not so far apart.¹⁴⁸ An even larger problem for Eppstein's continued research on Gombert was that Eppstein—marked as a communist and of Jewish heritage—could not rely on Besseler for placement in a German university, nor on Kurth, who was himself marginalized in Swiss musicology.¹⁴⁹ After finishing his doctoral studies in Bern, Eppstein taught at the short-lived *Jüdische Landschulheim Caputh* in Potsdam before emigrating to Sweden in 1936.¹⁵⁰ Once there, Eppstein did not pursue Gombert scholarship further, eventually becoming a Bach specialist and completing a second dissertation on the composer in 1966.

Neither Eppstein nor Schmidt-Görg could rely on existing modern transcriptions. Kroyer's *Der Vollkommene Pariturspieler* (1930) presented a number of sections from

¹⁴⁷ Hans Eppstein, *Nicolas Gombert als Motettenkomponist* (Würzburg: Richard Mayr, 1935), i, 52–57; and Stephen Rice, "The Five-Part Motets of Nicolas Gombert: Stylistic Elements, Theoretical Issues, and Historiography" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2003), 33.

¹⁴⁸ Eppstein, *Nicolas Gombert als Motettenkomponist*, 17; and Rice, "The Five-Part Motets," 35.

¹⁴⁹ Kurth also had Jewish heritage, even if he was a practicing Protestant. When the Germans annexed Austria in the Anschluss, Kurth technically became a German, although by 1940 he was considered stateless by Switzerland. He faced considerable anti-Semitism from the Bern cantonal authorities when he subsequently applied for—and ultimately received—Swiss citizenship in 1940–41. I suspect he was empathetic to Eppstein's marginalization and would have been eager to accept him as a student. On Kurth, see Heidy Zimmerman, "Musikwissenschaft unter neutralem Regime: Die Schweizer Situation in den 20er bis 40er Jahren," in *Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus: Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)*, ed. Isolde v. Foerster, Christoph Hust, and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Mainz: Are Edition, 2001), 121–41, at 131; Staatsarchiv Bern, BB 8.2.273; and Staatsarchiv Bern, BB 4.4.300.

¹⁵⁰ Hans Eppstein and Bengt Olof Egström, "Eppstein, Hans E." *MGG Online*, accessed 3 August 2020.

Gombert's Magnificat settings (among Kroyer's examples in the publication, Gombert is curiously the best represented composer), but relatively few complete works were available in modern notation.¹⁵¹ Eppstein transcribed about eighty motets (roughly half of Gombert's output); he shared these with fellow Besseler-student Lowinsky, who was at the time working on the music-stylistic juncture between Gombert and Lasso.¹⁵² Schmidt-Görg, too, made his own transcriptions, although it is unclear how many.¹⁵³ Given the slow but steady pace of the post-war *CMM* edition, it is uncertain whether Schmidt-Görg had accumulated the large repository of transcriptions of music by Gombert that Zenck had for Willaert.

Compared with Eppstein's study, Schmidt-Görg's book was much more substantial in its treatment of all the relevant genres, to the point that it has served as the foundation of all modern Gombert scholarship.¹⁵⁴ In the first half of the book, Schmidt-Görg examined the surviving archival documentation for Gombert's life (while at the same time, clearing up significant misunderstandings about the structure of the Imperial chapel); in the second half, he provided blow-by-blow descriptions of the composer's style and works, proceeding from the highest and "most important" genre, the polyphonic mass, down through the motet (a discussion that included the Magnificats), to the chanson.¹⁵⁵ Schmidt-Görg's book remains deeply useful today, owing to his thorough archival documentation and his detailed assessments of individual works.

¹⁵¹ Theodor Kroyer, ed., *Der Vollkommene Partiturspieler* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1930).

¹⁵² Edward E. Lowinsky, "Orlando di Lasso's Antwerp Motet Book and Its Relationship to the Contemporary Netherlandish Motet," in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 385–431, at 387n6.

¹⁵³ The private Nachlass Schmidt-Görg probably contains no transcriptions from before the early 1950s. Thanks to Christa-Maria Schmidt for providing me selected documents from the Nachlass. Eppstein, *Nicolas Gombert als Motettenkomponist*, 5.

¹⁵⁴ Rice, "The Five-Part Motets," 35.

¹⁵⁵ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert: Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V. Leben und Werk* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1938), 155.

Notwithstanding Schmidt-Görg's valuable archival discoveries, the criticisms of the book made by his colleagues (not enough aesthetic treatment of the music) were probably not entirely off-base. Schmidt-Görg was reluctant to draw connections between Gombert's style and that of his successors (he makes more effective connections to Josquin, Gombert's alleged teacher), despite being in an academic environment that appreciated Gombert above all for serving as a bridge between Josquin, on the one hand, and Palestrina and Lasso, on the other. The last chapter, "Influences and After-Effects," provided a useful list of connections, but could have done more to set Gombert up as a central mid sixteenth-century composer writing compelling music that influenced successive generations of musicians. Schmidt-Görg encapsulated his defense of Gombert's formidable music as follows:

It is simply nothing other than the deep spiritualization of Gombert's art, which unforms and melts all elements in their way – not so much external grace as beauty of the soul, less the cheerful piety of sunny Italy than the serious mysticism of the North, which then in this artist is fused through its construction and inclination with passionate devotion and ascetic austerity in that land in which he stayed for years: Spain.¹⁵⁶

As Rice has noted, Schmidt-Görg was presumably seeking to elevate Gombert's "difficult" music over more lucid styles. I suspect that in doing so, Schmidt-Görg was taking aim not only at the giants in the generations before and after Gombert, as Rice has argued, but also at Willaert ("the cheerful piety of sunny Italy"), whose specter loomed large over the period.¹⁵⁷ After contrasting Gombert's musical style with Willaert's use of Italian-influenced homophonic passages, Schmidt-Görg set up Gombert as the indispensable predecessor for

¹⁵⁶ "Es ist eben wiederum nichts anderes als die tiefe Verinnerlichung Gombertscher Kunst, die alles auf ihre Art unformt und einschmelzt — nicht so sehr äußere Anmut also seelische Schönheit, weniger die heitere Frömmigkeit des sonnigen Italien als die ernste Mystik des Nordens, die dann in diesem Künstler durch Fügung und Neigung sich begegnete mit glutvoller Andacht und aszetischer Herbheit in jenem Lande, das ihm jahrelang Aufenthalt blieb: Spanien." Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert*, 238. Although not identical, my translation here is indebted to Rice, "The Five-Part Motets," 39.

¹⁵⁷ Rice, "The Five-Part Motets," 39–40.

Palestrina and Lasso.¹⁵⁸ According to Schmidt-Görg, the musicians from the Low Countries who settled in Italy, namely Willaert and Jachet, were influenced by Italian practices and were using old Netherlandish music-stylistic elements (in other words, they were not as modern or influential as composers from the Low Countries).¹⁵⁹

Schmidt-Görg's monograph largely did not match the historical moment, inasmuch as Gombert was not German and had not extensively served in German lands, he was not connected with the Reformation, and he wrote little in vernacular genres. And secular music was not Schmidt-Görg's focus. Gombert was thought at the time to have composed a single madrigal dating to Charles's travels to Italy, but—to Alfred Einstein's perplexity—this work was not referenced in the book.¹⁶⁰ Instead, as he would throughout his career, Schmidt-Görg prioritized the mass among genres in Gombert's oeuvre (as with a number of *CMM* editions, Schmidt-Görg began with the masses; he had also prioritized Clemens's masses in his dissertation). The only nod to the political moment in the book was a brief note claiming that the Gombert family name can still be found in East Prussia; this probably signaled a recognition of *Ostpolitik* and the importance of linking cultural policy with eastward German expansion.¹⁶¹ Outside the confines of his monograph, Schmidt-Görg probably felt more overt pressure to conform politically. In 1938, the same year the book was released, he

¹⁵⁸ “Gomberts Stil blieb von dieser Homophonie so gut wie unberührt, im Gegensatz etwa zu Adrian Willaert.” “Wenn Monteverdi hier, wo es sich um ein Meisterwerk im ‘alten’ Stil handeln sollte, gerade auf Gombert zurückgriff, so gab damit der Repräsentant einer neuen Epoche offen dem die Ehre, dessen Kunstwillen der voraufgehenden Richtung und Ziel war – denn ohne Gombert wären auch Palestrina und Lasso nicht zu denken.” Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert*, 237 and 245.

¹⁵⁹ “so erscheint die Kunst der in Italien ansässig gewordenen Niederländer, etwa eines Jachet von Mantua und Adrian Willaert, nicht so einheitlich zusammengefaßt. Neben Werken der neueren niederländischen Richtung finden wir bei ihnen naturgemäß stärkere Einflüsse italienischer Kunst, vor allem in manchen Sätzen „nota contra notam“ Willaerts, dann aber auch eigentümlicherweise weit häufigere Anklänge an ältere niederländische Praktiken, die man in der Heimat selbst kaum noch antraf.” Ibid, 245–46.

¹⁶⁰ Alfred Einstein, Review of Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert, Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1938), *Music & Letters* 20 (1939): 88–89, at 89.

¹⁶¹ Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert*, 21.

participated in the *Reichsmusiktage* session on music and race in Dusseldorf.¹⁶² His paper, titled “Acoustical Help for the Music and Race Problem,” may have come out of his Habilitation in systematic musicology (a 1933 *Acta Musicologica* article also presumably coming from his Habilitation discussed acoustical problems in the modern orchestra).¹⁶³

As Fred Prieberg recounted, Schmidt-Görg wrote an article that same year in *Der deutsche Erzieher* that expressed doubts about the usefulness of music and race research; whether or not his *Reichsmusiktage* presentation held the same doubts is unclear, since his presentation was never published, nor does it appear to have survived.¹⁶⁴ Possibly, Schmidt-Görg was later embarrassed by his participation in the session: his paper did not appear in his curriculum vitae in either of his post-war Festschriften.¹⁶⁵ In his Beethoven research from the late 1930s and early 1940s, Schmidt-Görg evaded questions of race by pointing out that genealogical questions had to be answered first; and yet at the same time, he was doing that genealogical research probably under Schiedermair’s direction by writing about Beethoven’s Flemish ancestors.¹⁶⁶ Schmidt-Görg traveled in 1941 to Belgium to conduct this research.¹⁶⁷ In 1935 Schmidt-Görg had also traveled to Belgium with Schiedermair’s permission.¹⁶⁸ It seems possible that Schmidt-Görg combined his travel for his two areas of research, not

¹⁶² Gotthold Frotscher summarized the music and race session in “Das Problem Musik und Rasse auf der musikwissenschaftlichen Tagung in Düsseldorf,” *Musik in Jugend und Volk* 1 (1938): 426–27.

¹⁶³ Fred Prieberg, *Handbuch deutscher Musiker, 1933–1945*, version 1.2 (Unpublished, 2005), 6231; and Joseph Schmidt-Görg, “Akustische Probleme der modernen Orchesterbehandlung,” *Acta Musicologica* 5 (1933): 49–59.

¹⁶⁴ Prieberg, *Handbuch deutscher Musiker*, 338.

¹⁶⁵ Wurster und Rothkamm, “Im Dienste der völkerverbindenden Kunst Beethovens,” 232.

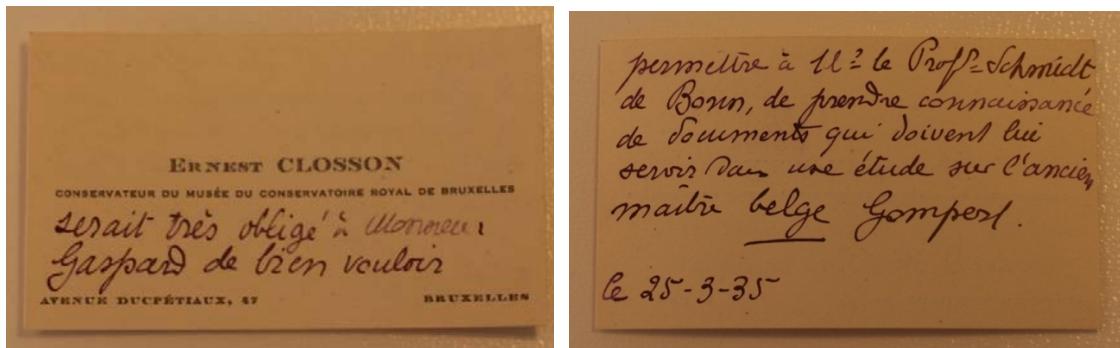
¹⁶⁶ “Allerdings entzog sich Schmidt-Görg möglicher Forderungen nach einer Anwendung seiner Ergebnisse auf Rassenforschung und Vererbungslehre durch den Hinweis, dass erst sämtliche genealogische Fragen geklärt werden müssten.” Bormann, *Das Bonner Beethoven-Haus*, 46–47; Joseph Schmidt-Görg, “Stand und Aufgaben der Beethoven-Genealogie,” in *Beethoven und die Gegenwart: Festschrift des Beethovenhauses Bonn, Ludwig Schiedermair zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Arnold Schmitz (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler, 1937), 114–61; and idem, “Beethovens flämische Vorfahren,” *Zeitschrift für Musik* 108 (1941): 299–301.

¹⁶⁷ Bormann, *Das Bonner Beethoven-Haus*, 51.

¹⁶⁸ Letter to the Universitätskurator, 18 March 1935, UA Bonn, PA 8870.

only visiting archives for the Gombert project (fig. 3.14), but also pursuing Beethoven projects, which were more relevant to the National Socialist cultural program.

Figure 3.14. Letter of introduction for Joseph Schmidt-Görg providing permission to examine archival documents relating to Nicolas Gombert, 25 March 1935¹⁶⁹



It must be acknowledged that Schmidt-Görg was unusually good at persevering.¹⁷⁰ As musicologists were increasingly drafted for the taxing war effort, he inexplicably avoided military service: in February 1944 the *Bonner Wehrmeldamtes* sent him a message that his services might be needed, but for unknown reasons he avoided active duty.¹⁷¹ He was the last musicologist active in the Rhineland, with duties encompassing not just Bonn, but Cologne as well. He even outlasted Zenck, the last musicologist left in the south-west area of Germany.¹⁷² If only by process of elimination, Schmidt-Görg became increasingly prominent, as evinced by a series of public wartime lectures that he gave, of which two were relevant to his research on sixteenth-century music (fig. 3.15). These talks were well received: the Prorektor of the University of Bonn sent his congratulations after the second lecture in

¹⁶⁹ Private Nachlass Schmidt-Görg, Schachtel 623, 2v.4. Reproduced by permission of Christina-Maria Schmidt.

¹⁷⁰ Lewis Lockwood (personal communication, 12 September 2018).

¹⁷¹ Bormann, *Das Bonner Beethoven-Haus*, 51.

¹⁷² Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 120.

1944.¹⁷³ Although intended for a general audience, these lectures are important, because they made clear Schmidt-Görg's historiographical priorities.

The first of these *Kriegsvorträge*, titled “Netherlandish Music in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,” was presented as part of a series of lectures in 1942 on the topic of “Holland and Flanders,” presumably with the aim of linking Germany with its newly occupied territories. Here, Schmidt-Görg described the dominance of Netherlandish musicians in sixteenth-century Europe—musicians presumably from Holland but of uncertain origin, such that among these “Netherlanders” one could expect to find both French musicians and “good Germans” (perhaps a bit misleading, since Schmidt-Görg appears to knowingly conflate musicians from Holland and Flanders, a distinction he had more accurately investigated during his Clemens research).¹⁷⁴ Since German libraries had more sixteenth-century sources than Netherlandish ones do, Schmidt-Görg argued that German research on these figures is justified.

Schmidt-Görg then presented his historical argument elevating Gombert. The sixteenth century, he argued, succeeded Josquin in two directions: on one hand, with the double-choir music of Willaert and his school (i.e., Giovanni Gabrieli); on the other, with the imitative style that influenced future generations, the best example of which is Gombert.¹⁷⁵ Willaert is known for his chromaticism; Gombert’s style is the one that nourished Clemens, Lasso, and Palestrina. Schmidt-Görg ended the lecture by saying that just as the Netherlands served as the geographic border between German and Romanesque culture, so too was the

¹⁷³ UA Bonn, PA 8870.

¹⁷⁴ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, “Niederländische Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,” *Kriegsvorträge der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn*, Heft 66, ed. Karl F. Chudoba (Bonn: Gebr. Scheur, 1942), 6.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 19.

Netherlands's period of dominance chronologically wedged between the middle ages and modernity.

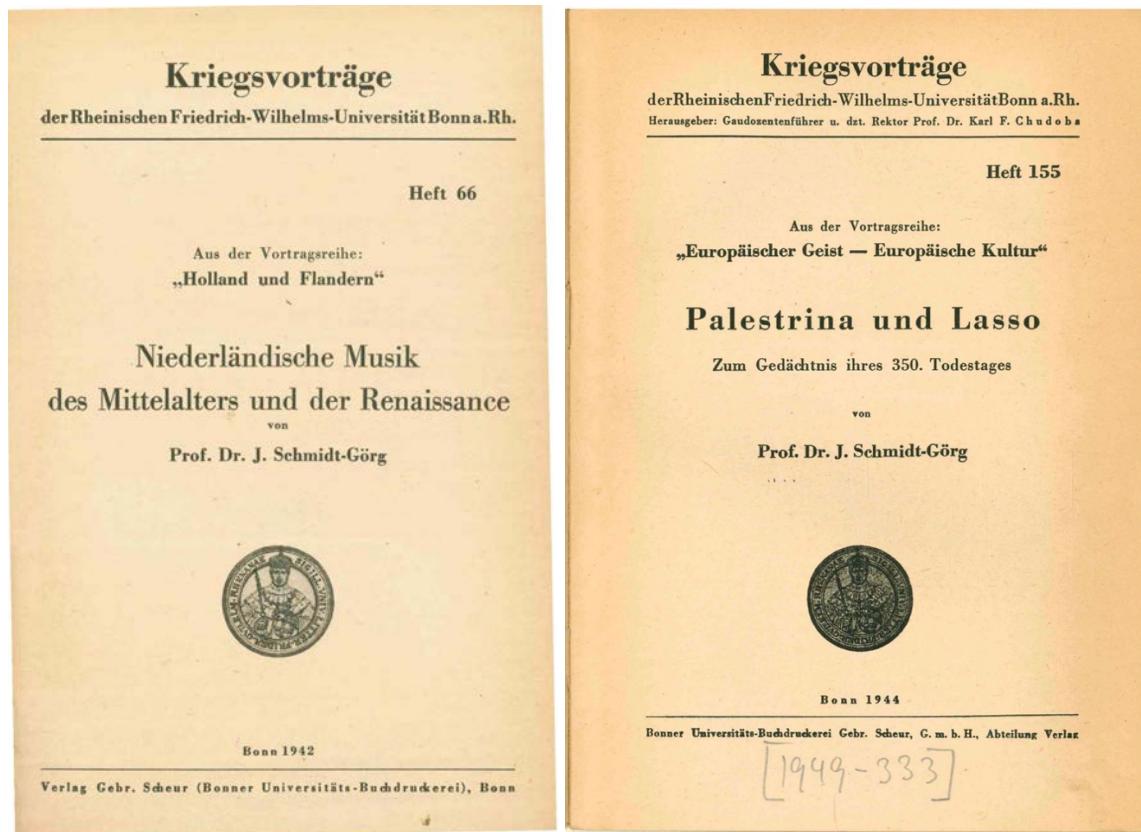
The second *Kriegsvortag*, titled “Palestrina and Lasso,” commemorated in 1944 the 350th anniversary of the deaths of both composers in 1594.¹⁷⁶ Schmidt-Görg argued that emphasis should be placed on Palestrina’s masses, which included both cantus firmus masses and, in greater numbers, masses on Netherlandish motets in an imitative style.¹⁷⁷ Of all the genres of the period, Schmidt-Görg believed the imitation mass (known as the parody mass in the 1940s) was the highest form of musical creation—and not, as some scholars had supposed, an irritant to the pious. But Palestrina was not a savior, nor an innovative composer. He was fundamentally a practitioner of Netherlandish polyphony, following the imitative style of Gombert. Gombert, then, was the tool by which Schmidt-Görg knocked Palestrina off his pedestal: everything that Palestrina is known for, the Netherlandish Gombert had already done a generation earlier. With Lasso, by contrast, Schmidt-Görg placed the emphasis on the motets. If Palestrina is the master of the mass, then Lasso is the master of the motet. Palestrina peers backwards; Lasso looks forward.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ According to the 1957 curriculum vitae in the Festschrift for his sixtieth birthday, a similarly-titled article “Palestrina und Lasso” appeared in the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* on 4 February 1944, but it cannot be found in the copy of the newspaper that I have examined. As the Festschrift also notes, a commemoration of Palestrina on the 350th anniversary of his death did appear in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on 1 February 1944; perhaps this caused confusion. Dagmar Weise, ed., *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn: Beethovenhaus Bonn, 1957), xix–xxiv, at xxi; and Joseph Schmidt-Görg, “Palestrina / Zur 350. Wiederkehr seines Todestages am 2. Februar,” *Kölnische Zeitung*, 1 February 1944, 4.

¹⁷⁷ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, “Palestrina und Lasso,” *Kriegsvorträge der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Heft 155*, ed. Karl F. Chudoba (Bonn: Bonner Universitäts-Buchdruckerei Gebr. Scheur, 1944), 8.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 23.

Figure 3.15. The covers of Joseph Schmidt-Görg's 1942 and 1944 *Kriegsvorträge*



A similar historical view can be found in Schmidt-Görg's uneven 1967 anthology

*Geschichte der Messe.*¹⁷⁹ Gombert's skillful use of *Durchimitation* in his masses—along with the use of the technique by his contemporaries Clemens, Thomas Crecquillon, and Pierre de Manchicourt—fertilized the *Blütezeit* (“flowering”) of vocal polyphony in the masses of Palestrina.¹⁸⁰ But a shift in post-war early music scholarship toward Josquin and earlier generations, and away from the mid sixteenth century, meant that teleological rationalizations for Gombert were now less fruitful. Seeing the changing incentives,

¹⁷⁹ Leaving aside a regrettable English translation, Margaret Bent rightly criticized the strange nature of the meandering anthology, which probably would have been better suited in a pre-1945 German musicology. Margaret Bent, “Anthology of Music: History of the Mass by Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Arno Volk/Oxford, 60s,” *Musical Times* 111 (1970): 75–76.

¹⁸⁰ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Geschichte der Messe* (Köln: Arno Volk, 1967), 12.

following these lectures Schmidt-Görg spent relatively little time on mid sixteenth-century research. Instead, he transitioned his scholarship away from Gombert and to Beethoven in the years following the end of the war. Gombert would never again hold the same relevance.

Appendix 3.1. Letter from Hermann Zenck to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft,

13 March 1939¹

Göttingen, den 13. März 1939

An die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft,

Zur Weiterführung meiner Forschungen, die der kritischen Gesamtausgabe der Werke Adrian Willaerts (gest. 1562) gewidmet sind, beabsichtige ich, in den Sommerferien dieses Jahres (August bis Oktober 1939) die Musikbestände einiger italienischer Bibliotheken und Archive, vor allem in Rom (Bibl. Vat., Cap. Sistina, Cappella Giulia, Archivium Liberianum, Biblioteca Chigi, Bibl. Casanatense u.a.) durchzuarbeiten. Zu diesem Zwecke erlaube ich mir, die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft um eine Beihilfe von RM 1.200.- zu bitten, die mir neben Reise und Aufenthalt auch die Herstellung von Photokopien u.s.w. ermöglichen soll.

Die Bedeutung der kritischen Gesamtausgabe ist mit wenigen Worten umrissen: der flandrische Musiker Willaert verkörpert mit am eindrucksvollsten die grossartige Musiktradition des europäischen Nordens im Zeitalter der Renaissance; als Kapellmeister an San Marco in Venedig und Begründer der venezianischen Schule, als Lehrer vieler niederländischer und italienischer Meister hat er einen tiefgreifenden Einfluss nicht nur auf das Musikleben seines Zeitalters, sondern darüber hinaus auch des Frühbarock ausgeübt. – Ich darf daran erinnern, dass der grösste deutsche Musiker des 17. Jahrhunderts, Heinrich Schütz, zwei Studienaufenthalte in Venedig verbracht und der niederländisch-venezianischen Kunst tief verpflichtet war. Aus diesen Gründen wurde schon im Jahre 1925 eine auf 6 Bände veranschlagte Gesamtausgabe der Werke Willaerts in das Programm der

¹ Bundesarchiv Lichterfelde, R73/16003.

„Publikationen älterer Musik“ (bei der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, unter Leitung von Theodor Kroyer) aufgenommen. Dank der europäischen Bedeutung Willaerts ist das Quellenmaterial sehr weit verbreitet, sodass die Vorbereitungen zur Gesamtausgabe längere Zeit in Anspruch nahmen. Im Jahre 1925 konnte ich mit finanzieller Unterstützung des Sächsischen Forschungsinstituts für Musikwissenschaft bei der Universität Leipzig eine Studienreise nach Spanien unternehmen, der ich die Bearbeitung der in Frage kommenden Materialien der Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris anschloss. In den Sommerferien der Jahre 1927 und 1929 bearbeitete ich – ebenfalls mit Unterstützung des genannten Instituts und der Philosophischen Fakultät in Leipzig – die Musikhandschriften der Bibliotheken in Verona, Venedig, Bologna, Modena, und Florenz; desgleichen studiere ich die in Frage kommenden Handschriften und Drucke deutscher Bibliotheken.

Als Frucht dieser Arbeit legte ich 1937 den I. Band der Gesamtausgabe vor (Publikationen älterer Musik IX. Jg. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel.) Der Vorbereitung der weiteren Bände soll die im Sommer des Jahres beabsichtigte Forschungsreise dienen.

Es bedarf keines besonderen Hinweises, in welch hohem Grade die Erforschung der Kunst eines blutsmäßig germanischen und in seiner Zeit europäisch führenden Musikers geeignet ist, die bodenständige Musiktradition des Nordens in das richtige Licht zu rücken. Zugleich halte ich es für wesentlich, dass derartige international wichtige Forschungsbereiche unbedingt in den Händen deutscher Gelehrter bleiben, um auf diese Weise auch dem Ausland gegenüber den Führungsanspruch der deutschen Musikwissenschaft praktisch zu bekräftigen.

Heil Hitler!

Hermann Zenck

Chapter 4: Post-War Politics and American Diplomacy: Early Twentieth-Century Germany's Continued Influence on Mid Sixteenth-Century Music

After 1945 incentives for music research in Germany shifted. Early music topics that had been prioritized before the war were now viewed as less politically and confessionally advantageous. Greater institutional focus was now placed on German composers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. And scholars shifted their research priorities accordingly. But the historiography of the music of the mid sixteenth century that had been propagated by German scholars in previous decades came nonetheless to be adopted by subsequent generations of musicologists not only in Germany, but also in the United States. Chapter 4 traces the reverberations of this historiography in the post-war period. I follow a wealth of newly discovered archival materials that shed light on the incomplete Willaert collected-works edition and the unusual and outsized support for mid sixteenth-century research provided by Armen Carapetyan and the American Institute of Musicology. At the same time, narratives about composers of the 1520s that had been previously set forth by Besseler were now propagated by his former student Edward Lowinsky. Through focus on figures such as Walter Gerstenberg and Lowinsky, chapter 4 illuminates the enduring influence of early twentieth-century German scholarship on the discipline as a whole.

Schmidt-Görg and Zenck in the Immediate Post-war Era

Joseph Schmidt-Görg did not have to undergo denazification, as he was not a party member. This made him well-positioned to thrive in the post-war era, especially at the University of Bonn. In 1937 Friedrich Blume appeared to be the preferred candidate to

succeed Ludwig Schiedermair in Bonn, considered alongside Helmuth Osthoff and Werner Korte.¹ But Ordinarius positions were slow to turn over, especially so during the war. Schiedermair ultimately became emeritus faculty in 1946; owing to his former party membership, Osthoff was now disqualified.² Although Schmidt-Görg was not initially a candidate, it was apparent that he would succeed Schiedermair to become the next director of the Beethovenhaus in Bonn. He put himself up for consideration for the Ordinarius position and was selected for the professorship in 1948, with his letter to the committee stressing that his research would bridge both the sixteenth century and Beethoven, with greater emphasis on the latter.³ He assumed the directorship of the Beethovenhaus in 1949.

Probably because it was understood that research on Beethoven would butter his bread more than early music topics, Schmidt-Görg's interests in acoustics and Franco-Flemish polyphony faded as seminar topics after 1948, and he began to publish the Beethoven sketches and letters at the Beethovenhaus as part of a project that ran from 1951 until well after his death, in 2011.⁴ Despite the continuity between National Socialism and the so-called zero hour (*Stunde null*), both in personnel and in musical topics, Schmidt-Görg's career illustrates a fairly common shift from early music to chronologically later areas of focus.

¹ Anne-Marie Wurster und Jörg Rothkamm, “Im Dienste der völkerverbindenden Kunst Beethovens?: Joseph Schmidt-Görg als Ordinarius des Bonner Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars und Direktor des Beethoven-Archivs,” in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik: Forschung und Lehre im frühen Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges (München: Edition Text + Kritik, 2015), 225–62, at 233–38.

² Fred Prieberg, *Handbuch deutscher Musiker, 1933–1945*, version 1.2 (unpublished, 2005), 5057. On Osthoff's denazification process, see most recently Jonathan Schilling, “Helmuth Osthoff und die Musikwissenschaft in Frankfurt am Main 1945–1955,” in *Beitragsarchiv des Internationalen Kongresses der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Mainz 2016*, ed. Gabriele Buschmeier and Klaus Pietschmann (Mainz: Schott, 2018), 1–4.

³ Letter from Joseph Schmidt-Görg, 1 June 1946, UA Bonn, UV 69-184.

⁴ Wurster und Rothkamm, “Im Dienste der völkerverbindenden Kunst Beethovens?,” 248. Still, it must be acknowledged that Schmidt-Görg wrote entries for *MGG I* in the early post-war years that covered Renaissance topics, including for the composers Gilles Binchois, Antoine Brumel, Cornelis Canis, and Gombert.

Zenck, by contrast, was not released from the prisoner-of-war camp until 7 November 1945, was provisionally reinstated in August 1946, and thereafter had to undergo denazification before he could again teach at the university. Although charged as a lesser offender (category III), Group C decided that in Freiburg Zenck was a “determined opponent” and a radical critic of the Nazi politic.⁵ He returned to teaching in Winter Semester (WS) 1946–47, teaching three to four courses through Summer Semester (SS) 1950.⁶ Although the content of these courses can only be deduced from the titles, it does not appear that he ever taught a course on Willaert, and instead his early music focus trended toward earlier topics (e.g., music of the fifteenth century, music in Germany between 1450 and 1550, and mass composition in the fifteenth century). This was not exceptional. In fact, no titles of courses taught in the whole of Germany between 1945 and 1955 include the names Willaert, Gombert, or Clemens—though three mention Senfl, fourteen Josquin, fifteen Lasso, and seventeen Palestrina.⁷ But slowly the scholarly focus was shifting. Even if Palestrina and Lasso remained central figures, late fifteenth-century topics became increasingly popular, probably in part owing to Besseler’s influence, and many younger scholars emerging in the post-war years focused their scholarship on Josquin, Josquin’s contemporaries, and their predecessors.⁸ Carl Dahlhaus wrote his 1953 dissertation on

⁵ “entschiedener Gegner” UA Freiburg, B24/4263; and Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 241.

⁶ UA Freiburg, B17/891.

⁷ Walter Gerstenberg taught the first courses on Willaert post-war, with “Übungen zur Adrian Willaert” in WS 1955–56 and “Übungen zu Willaerts Motetten” in WS 1957–58. Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges, ed., “Lehrveranstaltungen 1945 bis 1955” in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik: Forschung und Lehre im frühen Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges (München: Edition Text + Kritik, 2015), CD-ROM; and Christina Richter-Ibáñez, “...für das Fach verloren? Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Tübingen 1935 bis 1960,” in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik: Forschung und Lehre im frühen Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges (München: Edition Text + Kritik, 2015), 265–319, at 316–18.

⁸ Carl Dahlhaus told Karol Berger in no uncertain terms that he considered Besseler the most important musicologist of his generation. Karol Berger (personal communication, 4 March 2022).

Josquin's masses; Ludwig Finscher wrote his 1954 dissertation on Loyet Compère; and Gerhard Croll wrote his 1954 dissertation on the motets of Gaspar van Weerbeke.

At the same time, early post-war scholars in the United States were reliant upon the pre-war research of Schmidt-Görg and Zenck on Gombert and Willaert. Gustave Reese was author of *Music in the Middle Ages* (1940) and had around 1943 begun work on his next volume, *Music in the Renaissance*. For both books Besseler's *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* was highly influential: upon request, Besseler had generously sent Reese in 1935 one of his author's copies.⁹ Reese aimed to update Besseler's history with recent scholarship conducted since the early 1930s: chapter 7 of *Music in the Renaissance*, originally titled "Sacred Vocal Polyphony from the Time of Gombert to that of the Younger Contemporaries of Lassus," but which must have been expanded to include Willaert, relied upon published scholarship by Schmidt-Görg, Zenck, Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, and Hans Eppstein, none of whom Reese was personally familiar with, as well as Erich Hertzmann, who also lived in New York City and whom Reese knew well.¹⁰ Reese also used a series of reports on individual composers by his research assistant Eric Ganz. But the availability of music by these composers was limited. Aside from the volume of Willaert's motets in *Publikationen älterer Musik* (subsequently, *PäM*), Reese had to rely upon his own transcriptions or those by his colleagues. Reese saw *Verbum bonum* was an important motet to include in the handbook: microfilms of the prints were initially difficult to secure, so he asked Edward Lowinsky in February 1947 whether he had a transcription; Lowinsky replied that Oliver Strunk had a copy of the *prima pars* that Strunk had loaned Lowinsky.¹¹ When Strunk sent Reese the

⁹ Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Gustave Reese, 28 July 1935, New York Public Library, JPB 92–71 (Gustave Reese Papers), Series 1, Folder 98 (Besseler, Heinrich).

¹⁰ New York Public Library, JPB 92–71, Series 3, Folder 92. The eventual title for the chapter was "Sacred Vocal Music of the Post-Josquin Period: Gombert, Clemens non Papa, Willaert, and their Contemporaries."

¹¹ New York Public Library, JPB 92–71, Series 1, Folder 765 (Lowinsky, Edward).

transcription, he informed Reese that the transcription was not his: it had been copied by Hertzmann, presumably during Hertzmann's doctoral studies in Berlin, from the motet's appearance in a Pierre Attaingnant print.¹² Apparently, Reese also wrote to Eppstein, probably asking for transcriptions of Gombert works. No reply survives in the Reese papers.

In January 1951, Reese reached out to Zenck for scores of Willaert psalm settings to use as examples for the volume; without Zenck's assistance, he would have to use an example from a print about which Zenck had expressed doubts in a recent article (appendix 4.1 transcribes the letter). Unfortunately, Reese wrote about a month too late, as Zenck had passed away in mid-December 1950, and Zenck's wife Eva noted in her response that the Willaert edition had been taken over by Walter Gerstenberg in Berlin. She later kindly assisted Reese with his request.¹³ All of this underscores how reliant in the early post-war era Reese and other scholars in the United States were on German pre-war research.

Armen Carapetyan and the American Institute of Musicology

Interest in Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens was nonetheless revived by Armen Carapetyan (fig. 4.1), whose American Institute of Musicology (AIM) was now aiming to publish a series of early music editions in its *CMM* series.¹⁴ Carapetyan (1908–92) was an Armenian immigrant from Iran; his family arrived in the United States in the 1920s and lived thereafter in Rhode Island.¹⁵ Carapetyan received a Ph.D. in music in January 1945 from

¹² New York Public Library, JPB 92–71, Series 1, Folder 1252 (Strunk, Oliver).

¹³ Letter from Eva Zenck to Gustave Reese, 24 April 1951, New York Public Library, JPB 92–71, Series 3, Folder 92.

¹⁴ On Carapetyan and his institute in its early years, see Jeanna Kniazeva, “A New Prosperity in Our Field Cannot Be Expected Unless the Scholars of Various Countries Pull Together”: Jacques Handschin and the American Institute of Musicology,” *Acta Musicologica* 92 (2020): 72–92; and Paul L. Ranzini, “Editorial: The Present and A Little AIM History,” *Musica Disciplina* 61 (2018): 7–15.

¹⁵ Caro Carapetyan was Armen's brother and conducted possibly the first modern performance of Antoine Brumel's *Missa L'homme armé*. Debbie Simpkin King, “Caro Carapetyan: His Choral Beliefs and Practices” (M.A. thesis, North Texas State University, 1981), 11 and 15.

Harvard University.¹⁶ Although AIM was founded in Cambridge, Massachusetts in either 1944 or 1945, within two years, Carapetyan began to operate his publishing house largely from Europe.¹⁷

Figure 4.1. Armen Carapetyan (seated right) and his family ca. 1950¹⁸



¹⁶ Armen Carapetyan, “The Musica Nova of Adriano Willaert” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1945).

¹⁷ The Institute of Renaissance and Baroque Music was founded in 1944; it was superseded by the American Institute of Musicology, probably the following year. See letter from Armen Carapetyan to Percy A. Scholes, 14 September 1948, Library and Archives Canada, R11530-0-1-E (Percy A. Scholes fonds), Box 24, Folder Carapetyan, Armen.

¹⁸ UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 11. Reproduced by permission of Universitätsarchiv Leipzig.

Owing in part to his frequent moves, no collected papers for Carapetyan survive.¹⁹ This means that our knowledge of Carapetyan comes from his extensive correspondence with a number of scholars in both Europe and the United States and the publications his institute produced. Over the past several years, I have assembled a corpus of over five hundred letters to and from Carapetyan, in addition to further correspondence about the publishing house by other early music scholars.

Carapetyan established a number of offices for AIM during the organization's first decade, including several offices in Massachusetts and Rome; later in Florence, Amsterdam, and a subscription office in Dallas (although Carapetyan lived at various times in Florence, Malaga, Alicante, and Tucson, AIM was theoretically based in Rome until the 1970s).²⁰ Publications were initially printed in Italy, but by the 1960s, Carapetyan had to look elsewhere for the specialist printers and engravers who were familiar with setting Renaissance polyphony, in particular the Netherlands and Germany. For a brief time during the heightened Cold-War tensions of the 1950s, exacerbated by United States senator Joseph McCarthy, Carapetyan was forced to leave Europe for the States.²¹ By 1956 he had returned. As he put it to Gustave Reese in 1954, "it [had] seemed [in 1953] impossible yet to pull out of Europe and carry on with the Institute satisfactorily," probably in part because so many

¹⁹ Increased cooperation between Carapetyan and Hännslер Verlag began in January 1974, and the institute was fully purchased by Hännslер around 1982. Virtually nothing survives from before that time (some business records from 1982 through 2002 are held by the current owner of AIM Paul Ranzini in Wisconsin). Paul L. Ranzini (personal communication, 11 April 2019).

²⁰ From 1948 to 1949, Carapetyan and his family lived in Rome; from August 1949 through October 1950, they resided in Florence. Owing to Carapetyan's poor health and limited funds, the family subsequently moved to Malaga, Spain. Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Hildegard Besseler, 1 December 1950, UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 11.

²¹ Ranzini, "Editorial," 14–15.

of Carapetyan's collaborators were Europeans.²² Whether for personal or professional reasons, or both, it seems that he never did.²³

Carapetyan paid scholars for their editions in advance, helped his musicologists secure images of important sources, facilitated connections between scholars to share resources, translated introductions, and had manuscripts engraved and sent back-and-forth for the correction of first and second proofs (even partial third proofs as well, as Schmidt-Görg notes indicate for Gombert's *Missa Philomena*). The institute also collected a number of microfilms of Renaissance manuscripts and prints for scholars to use that were ultimately donated in 1975 to Harvard University's Villa I Tatti library in Florence.²⁴ The original group of films—which presumably sit today at the Villa—came from or were copied from Guillaume de Van's personal collection, which comprised 500 titles and 50,000 individual images of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources.²⁵ De Van presumably brought these with him following his collaboration with the Nazis in Paris. In any case, AIM provided all sorts of benefits for scholars. For Besseler, the *CMM Du Fay* edition provided a rare opportunity for the now Jena-based musicologist to leave the Eastern Bloc and travel to Italy (Besseler came to visit both for a week in March 1950, and then again with his wife in June of that year).²⁶ Schmidt-Görg worked on the first two volumes of masses simultaneously;

²² Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Gustave Reese, 24 March 1954, New York Public Library, JPB 92-71 (Gustave Reese Papers), Series 1, Folder 192.

²³ In 1963 Claude Palisca noted that “the majority of editors involved in the series published by Carapetyan remains European,” in “Notable Achievements,” in *Musiology*, ed. Frank LL. Harrison, Mantle Hood, and Claude Palisca (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963), 150–95, at 190.

²⁴ “The Armen Carapetyan Microfilm Collection was begun in 1975 with the donation of the distinguished scholar’s private collection.” Katheryn Bosi, “The Morrill Music Library,” *Villa I Tatti* 13 (1993): 11. Bosi later described the circumstances of the donation: the collection consisted of about 750 microfilms of manuscripts and 100 microfilms of early printed books. At the time, it was housed at the Carapetyan’s house in Calpe, Spain, and a Villa I Tatti employee drove there to collect the holdings. Some of these included copies of manuscripts destroyed during World War II. Eadem, “The Morrill Music Library at the Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti, Florence: Its History and Holdings,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 55 (2008): 448–73, at 453–54.

²⁵ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 343 (Nachlass Otto Ursprung), Schachtel 1, Carapetyan, Armen.

²⁶ Besseler also suggested that this travel, to take place in 1950, was an opportunity for him to spend his Westmarks. Letter from Heinrich Besseler to the Dean of the Philosophische Fakultät Karl Griewank, 9

each individual mass was sent back and forth between him and Carapetyan multiple times over several years (fig. 4.2). In other words, AIM enabled early music edition making in a scholarly environment that was not otherwise conducive to such work. Schmidt-Görg completed eleven volumes over twenty-five years; Kempers completed an astounding twenty-one volumes over twenty-six years.²⁷

Figure 4.2. Joseph Schmidt-Görg's records of materials sent to Armen Carapetyan for the CMM edition, 1951–54²⁸

Carapetyan			
Kat.	nr.	uach.	Datum
Missa Tunc Orante	Ms.	L.P. Malaya	13. VI. 51
Missa Sancte Maria	1. Kat.	Impress u. Planuz	26. IX. 51
Misericordie	2. "	" " "	19. IX. 51
Missa Sancte Maria	1.+2. Kat./ imp.	Planuz	16. I. 51
M. Beati Annae, Missa Eius dies, 1. XI.	{ Korrektur: stats der notarmer. Kodex:	Planuz	{ 26. I. 51
her tunc reges	Impriuimatis 2. Kat.	Planuz	14. XII. 51
Da pacem / Beati / Je mio	Vermerkung	" Bologna	23. I. 52
Ex. g. Plethora (angulis datus)		Aster	6. III. 54

December 1949, UA Leipzig, PA 2926. In late January 1950, Carapetyan wrote to Gombosi that “Besseler will be here in a month or so and we shall discuss the rules of transcription.” Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, 30 January 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136 (Otto Gombosi papers), Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and undated. See also letter from Armen Carapetyan to Oliver Strunk, 1 April 1950, University of Pennsylvania Special Collections, Ms. Coll. 221, Box 2, Folder 80. In July Carapetyan wrote to Gombosi that “Besseler is again here (with his wife). He attended the Congress at Rome and now will stay a week or so before returning.” Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, 3 June 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 10.

²⁷ The last volume of the Clemens edition, published in 1976, was completed after Kempers’s death in 1974 with the help of Kempers’s former student and friend Chris Maas.

²⁸ Private Nachlass Schmidt-Görg, Schachtel 578. Reproduced by permission of Christina-Maria Schmidt.

So why did scholars participate? It turns out that Carapetyan's institute changed the incentive structure for European musicologists, promoting a type of research that would have few outlets in either post-war German state and making an otherwise mundane task lucrative. The advanced payments were attractive—and underscored the disparities between the rich musicologist from the United States (apparently, Carapetyan was wealthy from some shrewd Arizona real estate investments) and the less wealthy European scholars after the war.²⁹ This may have been a strong contributing factor to why Besseler assumed the Du Fay edition after the death of de Van in 1949. At the time, Besseler could not secure a professorship in West Germany due to his participation in the National Socialist cultural program. He had been selected as professor in Jena, but he was still living at his home in Heidelberg, and did not seem eager to assume his new position. Besseler wrote to Carapetyan that he would forgo the usual honorarium if Carapetyan would give it to him as a six-month advance, which would provide him a living stipend (and therefore, he could delay his teaching at Jena for another six months) and, I suspect, allow him to search for another job in West Germany.³⁰ Scholars today remark that the Du Fay edition is filled with sloppy errors. But there is strong reason for us to think about it instead as the decline of incentives: Besseler accepted the edition for money, spent the money, and then could have cared less about whether and how it was completed, as he himself hinted in a letter to Lowinsky.³¹ He had fewer incentives to double-check his proofs, or labor over the significance of any

²⁹ Ranzini, "Editorial," 12n12.

³⁰ Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Armen Carapetyan, 22 July 1949, UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 15.

³¹ "Die Dufay-Ausgabe war etwas gestört worden, durch äußerer Schwierigkeiten und mein Hauptinteresse an anderen Dingen, das meine Zeit unerwartet stark in Anspruch nahm." Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Edward E. Lowinsky, 11 July 1958, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 3, Folder 15 (Besseler, Heinrich).

newfound source. As Carapetyan later griped, what should have taken two years ended up taking twenty.³²

The disparities between what AIM could offer and what musicologists were otherwise earning in these early years can be further evinced by the profound lack of a market in Europe for anything that AIM produced. In 1950 Carapetyan and Otto Gombosi were working together with the Newberry Library on a possible edition of the Capirola Lutebook that would be published by AIM. During negotiations, it became clear that the Newberry Library expected to handle all sales for, and assume the profits from, the book in the United States; AIM would handle sales in Europe. This was unacceptable to Carapetyan: owing to post-war economics and the price of the edition, Carapetyan exclaimed that he could not expect to sell more than fifteen(!) copies in all of Europe.³³ In essence, the institute was using cheap European labor to produce products for an American academic market. And to be clear, if Carapetyan did not lead these editions, no European publisher was prepared to publish these. When Paul Müller was reticent in 1950 to assume the Alexander Agricola edition, Hans Albrecht could honestly reach out on behalf of Carapetyan and say

³² “Later you were I think displeased in connection with the edition of Dufay, partly because of that misfortune that was de Van and partly by Besseler's hysteria of the moment. That too has cleared – though poor Dufay is still waiting completion, with all the talk 17 years ago that Besseler had the edition nearly ready, and though he took it over 15 years ago!” Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, 20 April 1964, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 56, Folder 6 (American Musicological Society, Book Orders). Carapetyan later wrote to Grout: “Well, Dufay is done - after 20 years of agony, after the misery with de Van and the charming deal I got for it (of which you know or will recall something), after a huge sum lost in a lawsuit, after years of trying experience with Besseler, who had big advances during the first two years or so, when he was out of a job, only to forget me for years after, and after having printed the motets for a third time! It is an accomplishment... especially if you consider that the new edition of the motets cost me about \$7,500 and so far we have sold about 8 volumes...” Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, 1 January 1967, Cornell University, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, Box 52, Folder 35.

³³ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Stanley Pargellis, 1 February 1951, Harvard University, Loeb Music Library, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 10.

that should Müller attempt to lead the edition without Carapetyan's institute, there would be "no assistance for its publication" in Germany.³⁴

All of this meant that Carapetyan's decisions about what to prioritize had an enormous impact on the future directions of early music research. Fairly quickly, Carapetyan shifted his interests towards the fifteenth century, where one benefit was that the surviving music by each composer was smaller, and therefore more manageable to publish.³⁵ Aesthetic taste may have also played a role: after working on Willaert, Carapetyan began to work on a collected-works edition for Antoine Brumel (d. 1512/13). He never ultimately published the edition, but it signaled future directions. In 1958 Carapetyan wrote to Lowinsky that he now preferred earlier music.³⁶ Carapetyan also wrote to Gustave Reese in 1954 that Andrew Minor and Josephine Shine (both based in the United States) had not responded to his inquiries about beginning a Jean Mouton edition.³⁷ He was inclined to ignore the two German musicologists who had been eager to lead it: "anyhow," he wrote, "I am not necessarily eager to start work on Mouton."³⁸ Such decisions had profound implications—as evinced by the still incomplete *CMM* Mouton edition, for which the first volume was published only in 1967.³⁹ But Carapetyan did prioritize Willaert, Clemens, and Gombert,

³⁴ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, 21 March 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and Undated.

³⁵ Carapetyan later bemoaned having accepted an expansive series of sixteenth-century music. "Foolishly, or unluckily, I took on big projects like the Flemish composers in the Spanish Court when I should not have." Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, 28 October 1968, Cornell University, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, Box 52, Folder 35.

³⁶ By 1963 Carapetyan had decided to pass on the Brumel edition; apparently he had lost his transcriptions in the early 1950s in Spain. Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Clytus Gottwald, 12 January 1963, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Korrespondenz -1970 [Ordner 1a + 1b] – unbearbeitet. On Carapetyan's change in preference, see letter from Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, 21 July 1958, University of Chicago, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 56, Folder 6.

³⁷ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Gustave Reese, 15 August 1954, New York Public Library, JPB 92-71, Series 1, Folder 192.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ In 1957 Paul Kast wrote about the need for a Mouton edition: "Nach dem starken, international bekundeten Interesse für Jean Mouton erscheint die Forderung nach einer Gesamtausgabe seiner Werke auf breiter Basis als ein Anliegen der Musikwissenschaft, das kaum länger zurückgestellt werden darf." Paul Kast, "Zu

which were the third, fourth, and six editions in the series. Indeed, the mid sixteenth century's prominence was tied to the institute.

Carapetyan's interest in Willaert was also personal, as he had written his dissertation at Harvard on *Musica nova*. In a 1946 article in his own *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, Carapetyan lamented how "Willaert's art has proved unpopular with musical historians"; he ended by hoping that "the *Publikationen Äelterer Musik* or some other organization will resume the modern publication of Willaert's works."⁴⁰ Although the contracts between AIM, and Schmidt-Görg, and Zenck appear not to have survived, the authors were not part of the undated prospectus produced in 1947 by Carapetyan.⁴¹ They probably began working on their volumes around 1948 or early 1949. That Zenck aimed to form his edition around the *Einzeldrücke* and prioritize the later works, or that Schmidt-Görg would begin with Gombert's dense imitation masses, would have been music to Carapetyan's ears: after all, his own work on Willaert pushed a teleological, even Beethovenian, historiographical model, by which *Musica nova* was "mature and serious art," in contrast to the excesses of youth.⁴² To work on the edition, Zenck requested—and received—a leave of absence in July 1949 from his teaching duties in WS 1949–50. The first volume was completed by November of that year; a second followed shortly thereafter.⁴³ These were lightly-edited reprints of the earlier *PäM* publication, now split in half to form two volumes.

In reviews, scholars welcomed the publication of the Willaert edition, but found that Zenck's editorial choices were curious. Given that the first two books of motets had been

Biographie und Werk Jean Moutons," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Wien Mozartjahr 1956*, ed. Erich Schenk (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1958), 300–303.

⁴⁰ Armen Carapetyan, "The *Musica Nova* of Adriano Willaert," *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946): 200–21, at 219 and 221.

⁴¹ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 343, Schachtel 1, Carapetyan, Armen.

⁴² Carapetyan, "The *Musica Nova*," 219.

⁴³ UA Freiburg, B24/4263.

published in *PāM*, there was no question why Zenck had begun there. Following the editorial conventions of the time, the new edition used modern clefs and halved note values, save in sesquialtera sections, where note values were quartered, whereas the older edition had retained original clefs and note values throughout. Changes in editorial accidentals (mostly removing accidentals that had been suggested in *PāM*) were made without comment. Both Manfred Bukofzer and Gustave Reese lamented that the critical commentary in *PāM* was omitted from the *CMM* edition, although they understood that it would be provided in a future volume fifteen (such a volume has never appeared).⁴⁴ Bukofzer, in particular, noted that it would have only taken eight pages to reproduce the *PāM* commentary, which hardly seemed a price too high, given the already substantial length of the edition.

But Zenck could not have realistically just duplicated the earlier commentary, at least not without substantial revisions. In 1937 he had access to only a handful of Italian manuscripts; since that time many more sources—including for these particular motets—had come to light. The Newberry Partbooks were mentioned by Bukofzer as an omission from *PāM*; as mentioned in chapter 3, Padua A17 was first described in 1949 by Walter Rubsamen; and Edward Lowinsky already knew by 1950 about the Medici Codex, even if he had not yet published his findings.⁴⁵ Otto Gombosi even wrote to Carapetyan in March 1950, asking him to alert Zenck to Lowinsky's discovery of the Vallicelliana Partbooks and

⁴⁴ Manfred F. Bukofzer, Review of Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 3, vol. 1, *Motetta IV vocum, liber primus, 1939 et 1945*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), *JAMS* 4 (1951): 251–52; and Gustave Reese, Review of Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 3, vol. 1, *Motetta IV vocum, liber primus, 1939 et 1945*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), *Notes, Second Series* 8 (1951): 743–44. Edward Lowinsky similarly complained that the Gombert edition reserved its critical commentary for a separate, later volume. As with the Willaert edition, the critical commentary never appeared. Edward E. Lowinsky, Review of Nicolas Gombert, *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 6, vol. 1, *Missae IV Vocab*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951), *Musical Quarterly* 38 (1952): 630–40, at 632.

⁴⁵ Walter H. Rubsamen, "Music Research in Italian Libraries: An Anecdotal Account of Obstacles and Discoveries, Second Installment," *Notes, Second Series* 6 (1949): 543–69, at 563; and Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1:vii.

their fifteen Willaert motets, three of which Gombosi believed were *unica*.⁴⁶ Even when Zenck knew of a source as part of his work on the 1937 edition, as he did with Bologna Q19, that was no guarantee that he had actually seen it: the *PāM* notes for the motet *Dominus regit me* fail to mention numerous differences between the earlier manuscript and the later print, not least of which is the addition of a flat signature and the transposition of the entire motet by fourth!⁴⁷

A critical commentary would also have had to defend the prioritization of the *Einzeldrücke*, which was becoming less obvious as an organizing principle, given first, the newfound knowledge from René Lenaerts that Willaert had had a substantial Ferrarese career before arriving in Venice in 1527; and second, the discovery that the readings of particular works in early manuscripts circulating before 1530 were sometimes more accurate than the versions appearing in the single-author prints.⁴⁸ In 1946 Alfred Einstein mentioned to Gustave Reese that he did not know Lenaerts's research; if Zenck did not know it either, the newfound biographical details possibly would have been surprising, and Zenck might not have been prepared to wholly reevaluate his approach.⁴⁹ The absence of the critical commentary volume may not have ultimately been so consequential: Alvin Johnson reasoned in 1955 that since neither Zenck nor Gerstenberg engaged with concordant sources to correct obvious errors or clarify authorship, "the Critical Notes, when they appear, will

⁴⁶ Letter from Otto Gombosi to Armen Carapetyan, 6 March 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and Undated. Lowinsky's discovery was published later that year; in the article, he mentions that Zenck apparently did not know the motets. Edward E. Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome," *JAMS* 3 (1950): 173–232, at 199n80.

⁴⁷ Adrian Willaert, *Sämtliche Werke: Motetten zu 4 Stimmen, I. und II. Buch (1539 und 1545)*, ed. Hermann Zenck, in *Publikationen älterer Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1937), xix.

⁴⁸ Rene Bernard Lenaerts, "Voor de Biographie van Adriaen Willaert," in *Hommage a Charles Van den Borren*, ed. S. Clercx-Lejeune and A. van der Linden (Anvers: Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1945), 205–15.

⁴⁹ "Leider kenne ich die Arbeit Dr. Lenaert's [sic] – von dem ich nur weiß, dass er über Willaert gearbeitet hat, – auch nicht!" Letter from Alfred Einstein to Gustave Reese, 10 September 1946, New York Public Library, JPB 92-71 (Gustave Reese Papers), Series 3, Folder 80 (Music in the Renaissance, Chapter 6).

satisfy to a limited extent those who, like this reviewer, are disturbed by the disregard of collateral sources for the presentation of a critical edition.”⁵⁰ In other words, a post-facto justification could only to a degree fix systemic, underlying problems.

Zenck only saw the first three published volumes. He taught through SS 1950, where among his last students was a young Dahlhaus, but by the fall he was too sick to teach. He died of a brain tumor in December 1950. At that point Carapetyan had the right to reassign the edition. In the original *CMM* contracts, Article X stated that in exchange for the advance compensation, “the author agrees to provide that in the event of death before completion of the work, all pertinent material will be surrendered by his heirs to AIM.”⁵¹ When this did not happen, Carapetyan could be belligerent: Gombosi’s widow did not want to turn over his Hayne van Ghizeghem materials after his death in 1955, which Carapetyan rather callously chalked up to “human elements playing a part,” so he went to Gombosi’s former colleague at Harvard, John Ward, to see if he would help him enforce the contract.⁵² On another occasion, Carapetyan used his general editor Joseph Smits van Waesberghe to implicitly threaten legal action against contributors to the AIM series *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* who had taken advance payment but had not completed their assigned volumes.⁵³ But Carapetyan did not exercise his legal rights and reassign Willaert edition to any of the most

⁵⁰ Alvin Johnson, Review of Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 3, vol. 4, *Motetta VI vocum*, 1542, ed. Hermann Zenck (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1952), *JAMS* 9 (1956): 133–41, at 141.

⁵¹ All of the early contracts use the same language. See the contracts between AIM and Gombosi for the collected works of Hayne van Ghizeghem, and between AIM and Gerhard Croll for Gaspar van Weerbeke. Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 10; and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb, “Introduction,” in *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on his Life and Music* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 21–31, at 28.

⁵² Letter from Armen Carapetyan to John Ward, 4 October 1956, Harvard University, John M. Ward Papers, circa 1942–1996, 2007MTW-1, Folder C.

⁵³ After describing the delays by collaborators apparently in breach of contracts, Waesberghe writes: “The question has been asked by what law the contracts entered upon with the American Institute of Musicology are governed, in case disagreements cannot be privately settled. The answer is that said contracts are governed by the law of Commonwealth of Massachusetts.” Letter from Joseph Smits van Waesberghe to Contributors and Collaborators in *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 19 October 1951, Private Nachlass Schmidt-Görg, Schachtel 578.

knowledgeable musicologists available (a list that surely included Erich Hertzmann and Alfred Einstein). He took the path of least resistance and handed it to Zenck's friend, Gerstenberg.

Part of the problem was that, already during the young institute's first five years, Carapetyan had burned bridges with scholars in the United States. He reengaged German scholars without regard for their wartime political affiliations—a practice to which Paul Henry Lang called attention to in a 1949 editorial.⁵⁴ Lang and Carapetyan exchanged numerous letters and often used Otto Gombosi (like Lang, a fellow Hungarian émigré) as an intermediary. Lang accused Carapetyan of using “anonymous excerpts from letters à la Senator McCarthy,” and Carapetyan wrote that “Lang's behaviour reminds one more of an S.S. trooper than anything else I have seen out of professional circles.”⁵⁵ Gombosi took a more moderate position, as did Besseler, with whom both musicologists corresponded.⁵⁶ Some scholars in the United States quickly tired of the caustic back-and-forth. Richard Hill asked Gombosi that in a review of the *CMM Du Fay* series, it would be best if he could “be persuaded to avoid like death any comment on the current Lang-Carapetyan shenanigans.”⁵⁷ Donald Grout told Lang that “personally I wish you'd let the whole thing drop.”⁵⁸ According to Carapetyan, a number of European scholars, including Charles van der Borren, were unhappy with Lang over his uncompromising position.⁵⁹ Lang meanwhile had made no

⁵⁴ Paul Henry Lang, “Communications,” *JAMS* 2 (1949): 202–5. Carapetyan responded later that year in “Editorial: In Reply to an Incorrect Statement,” *Musica Disciplina* 3 (1949): 45–54.

⁵⁵ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, 25 February 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and Undated; Letter from Paul Henry Lang to Otto Gombosi, 31 March 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and Undated.

⁵⁶ See the correspondence in UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 11.

⁵⁷ Letter from Richard S. Hill to Otto Gombosi, 3 April 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and Undated.

⁵⁸ Letter from Donald J. Grout to Paul Henry Lang, 4 April 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and Undated.

⁵⁹ Letter from Carapetyan to Gombosi, 25 February 1950.

friends by nominating Jacques Handschin for the presidency of the International Musicological Society at the Basel conference in 1949, but at the same time telling Carapetyan and presumably others that doing so was “the best way of getting rid of him.”⁶⁰

Proximally Lang was concerned about the publication of an article by Hans Joachim Moser in AIM’s journal *Musica Disciplina*; but at the core of his complaint was Carapetyan’s close association with de Van, who participated in summer sessions organized by AIM in Rome, and who served as the first editor of the *CMM Du Fay* edition before his death in 1949.⁶¹ It appears that at least initially de Van and Carapetyan were close—possibly even closer than Lang had suggested. The two men had been introduced by Laurence Feininger, who was now also based in Rome.⁶² In a 1981 interview, Armen’s brother Caro credited de Van for his approach to performing medieval and Renaissance music, an influence which perhaps dates back de Van’s participation in AIM’s 1947 and 1948 summer sessions hosted by the Institute in Rome.⁶³ And de Van’s microfilm collection and valuable camera formed part of the backbone of the institute.⁶⁴ Lang’s dislike of de Van emerged from his having seen photostatic copies of correspondence between de Van, Besseler, and the French musicologist Yvonne Rokseth (a former member of the French Resistance, and previously,

⁶⁰ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Paul Henry Lang, 16 February 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and Undated.

⁶¹ Martin Kirnbauer and Heidy Zimmerman, “Wissenschaft ‘in keimfreier Umgebung?’ Musikforschung in Basel 1900–1960,” in *Musikwissenschaft – eine verspätete Disziplin?: Die akademische Musikforschung zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Modernitätsverweigerung*, ed. Anselm Gerhard (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2000), 321–46, at 336n66; and Kniazeva, “A New Prosperity,” 87–89.

⁶² Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, 17 November 1977, University of Chicago, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 7, Folder 5.

⁶³ “[De Van], a musicologist whose specialty was Medieval and Renaissance music, (he is dead now) had quite a different feeling about that. He felt that much of the music of that period was undoubtedly performed in a rather robust, rough way. And not necessarily the emaciated, ethereal sounds we want to apply to all early music.” King, *Caro Carapetyan*, 187.

⁶⁴ De Van’s camera was provided by Louise Dyer to photograph manuscripts for a publication of fourteenth-century music. Letter from Louise Dyer to Armen Carapetyan, 12 August 1949, University of Melbourne, Editions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, Box 2016.0034 Unit 1.

de Van's mother-in-law) that Lang described as "simply incredible."⁶⁵ And Lang was certainly not alone. In 1948 Leo Schrade resigned his position on the institute's American advisory board, following his discovery of de Van's affiliation with the Institute.⁶⁶ But it did not escape Gombosi's notice that while Lang was attacking German musicologists, he maintained a friendship with Besseler, advocating for his takeover of the Du Fay edition.⁶⁷

One clear result of these conflicts was that Carapetyan soured his relationship with Einstein. At first blush, given his impeccable knowledge and completed transcriptions of Willaert's madrigals, Einstein, a permanent visiting professor at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, would have been a natural choice to succeed Zenck as editor. Einstein might have had some interest: after all, in 1939 Einstein had bemoaned how the Willaert *PāM* collected-works edition had been sidelined by nationalistic priorities that elevated German composers at the expense of Netherlanders like Willaert who had been active in Italy.⁶⁸ And while a graduate student at Harvard in the early 1940s, Carapetyan was one of several students who consulted Einstein and his collection of transcriptions, which had been held since 1939 at Smith.⁶⁹ Einstein's diaries detail numerous letters back and forth

⁶⁵ "I have seen photostatic copies of the de Van correspondence with Besseler and Rockseth [sic] and I can assure you that it is simply incredible." Letter from Paul Henry Lang to Otto Gombosi, 31 March 1950. On the relationship between de Van and Rokseth, see Geneviève Thibault and François Lesure, "Yvonne Rokseth (Maisons-Laffitte 17 juillet 1890 – Strasbourg 23 août 1948)," *Revue de Musicologie* 30 (1948): 76–90, at 83.

⁶⁶ Letter from Leo Schrade to Egon Wellesz, 28 May 1948, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, F.13.Wellesz.1585 (Nachlass Egon Wellesz).

⁶⁷ Letter from Otto Gombosi to Paul Henry Lang, 9 April 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 12, Correspondence 1950 and Undated; and letter from Paul Henry Lang to Heinrich Besseler, 31 March 1950, UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 11. Former NSDAP membership did not appear to be a complete obstacle for Lang. Within just a few years, he wrote a very friendly letter to Gerstenberg, mentioning that "in fact, I might even tour around in Germany and see my colleagues at work. It will be a pleasure, I assure you, to make your personal acquaintance and I am looking forward to it." Letter from Paul Henry Lang to Walter Gerstenberg, 28 February 1954, UA Tübingen, 371/2.

⁶⁸ Alfred Einstein, "Musikalisches," *Musik und Wert* 3 (1939): 377–88, at 387.

⁶⁹ The Einstein collection was well known. A second student during those years who consulted it was Gordon Sutherland; in his dissertation, he mentions that Einstein "loaned [him] the manuscript copies which he made of seventeen Buus ricercari." Gordon Sutherland, "Studies in the Development of the Keyboard and Ensemble Ricercare from Willaert to Frescobaldi" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1942), iii. A 1939 press release announcing Einstein's upcoming visiting professorship at Smith College mentions that he has made "available to the college his valuable and rare collection of more than a thousand books on music. Including Italian

between the two scholars, as well as with Carapetyan's wife Harriette; on at least one occasion in 1946, Carapetyan came to visit Einstein in Northampton.⁷⁰

Yet no letters to or from Carapetyan survive among the Einstein collected papers held at the University of California, Berkeley; in the context of the extensive correspondence that the collection does contain, this absence speaks volumes about Einstein's views of Carapetyan in his later years. As late as March 1946 Einstein was not avoiding Carapetyan's institute, as evinced by the publication of an article by Einstein in Carapetyan's journal.⁷¹ But Lang's letters to Gombosi three years later reinforce the impression that Einstein was now none too thrilled.⁷² Carapetyan's institute used academic labor from scholars who had collaborated with the Nazi regime, and as is well known, Einstein keenly avoided associating with anyone he considered guilty from those years, including Handschin, who was closely involved with AIM during the institute's early years.⁷³ Since the mid-1930s, Einstein had viewed Moser as a representative for the kind of National Socialist scholar that he despised: in a 1935 letter to Ernst Kurth, Einstein asked: "What if a Hans Joachim [Moser] shows up

instrumental works of the 16th. and 17th. centuries and many other rarities not owned by the music library at Smith College, the collection has been placed in the Clef Club room at Sage Hall where it may be used by students and members of the faculty." Announcement of Alfred Einstein's Seminar, 6 October 1939, Smith College Archives, Personnel File Alfred Einstein, section "Faculty and Staff." Owing to the COVID-19 pandemic, I have not yet been able to visit the Smith College Archives. My thanks to Sebastian Bolz for making this document available to me.

⁷⁰ Einstein's diaries indicate that correspondence between him and Carapetyan occurred with regularity throughout 1945, but that it slowed in 1946, perhaps after Carapetyan's visit in October of that year shortly before his departure for Europe (the entry for 25 October reads "Carapetyan hier"). University of California Berkeley Archives, Alfred Einstein Coll. II, Box 1.

⁷¹ Alfred Einstein, "The Greghesca and the Giustiniana of the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946): 19–32.

⁷² Lang gives us a sense of Einstein's disapproval, when he writes that "while the editorial disclaims (with a considerable show of high moral indignation) any relationship between politics and scholarship, the letter to Einstein states exactly the opposite and tearfully concedes that E. was right indeed, etc." Letter from Paul Henry Lang to Otto Gombosi, 29 September 1950, Harvard University, Ms. Coll. 136, Box 10.

⁷³ Einstein and his wife extended their ire even to those who were certainly not party members; Einstein's widow later called Jacques Handschin—rather unfairly—an "aufrechter Nazi." Heidy Zimmerman, "Musikwissenschaft unter neutralem Regime: Die Schweizer Situation in den 20er bis 40er Jahren," in *Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus: Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)*, ed. Isolde v. Foerster, Christoph Hust, and Christoph-Helmut Mahling (Mainz: Are Edition, 2001), 121–41, at 141n76.

next to you? And against a Hans Joachim you would be lost in your cleanliness and lack of weapons.”⁷⁴ Einstein surely took notice of Carapetyan publishing an article by Moser.

But Einstein’s disapproval was spread more broadly. Carapetyan reported that he “heard some violent words (to say the least) from Einstein regarding Besseler,” now the head of the Du Fay edition.⁷⁵ Moreover, in 1948 Gerstenberg, who like Zenck had been a member of the NSDAP from 1937, wrote to Einstein as a fellow member of the Sandberger/Kroyer school and as the first musicology professor at Freie Universität Berlin. He asked Einstein to come give a lecture and apologized for the “shameful politic[s]” of the recent past.⁷⁶ Einstein declined.⁷⁷ For one thing, Einstein had been marginalized in German academia even before 1933, so the Sandberger/Kroyer network held little attraction for him in the post-war period.⁷⁸ Indeed, although Einstein resigned his position in 1948 on the institute’s American advisory board, owing to Schrade’s treatment of Lowinsky and Handschin’s involvement with AIM, we might imagine a multitude of reasons why Einstein might have severed ties.⁷⁹ As a result, Einstein would probably have never involved himself in a Willaert edition that had been started by Zenck. Moreover, there was a historiographical

⁷⁴ “Wenn einmal doch ein Hans Joachim neben Ihnen auftaucht? Und gegen einen Hans Joachim wären Sie in Ihrer Sauberkeit und Waffenlosigkeit verloren.” Letter from Alfred Einstein to Ernst Kurth, 7 July 1935, Universität Bern, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Nachlass Kurth, Karton I, Mappe E1 (Briefe von Alfred Einstein). A transcription of this letter can be found at https://www.musik.unibe.ch/dienstleistungen/nachlass_kurth/index_ger.html.

⁷⁵ Letter from Carapetyan to Strunk, 1 April 1950.

⁷⁶ “eine schmachvolle Politik.” Letter from Walter Gerstenberg to Alfred Einstein, 21 February 1949, University of California Berkeley Archives, Alfred Einstein Coll. I, Folder 379. A second letter in the collection from Gerstenberg to Einstein offering congratulations for his seventieth birthday in 1951 presumably went unanswered.

⁷⁷ “Fast könnt’ ich Ihnen mit einem Besuch im Vierten Reich zuvorkommen: die Freie Universität Berlin hat mich für diesen Sommer zu Gast-Vorlesungen eingeladen. Aber meine Sehnsucht ist gleich null.” Letter from Alfred Einstein to Nicholas Slonimsky, 30 March 1949, University of California, Berkeley Archives, Alfred Einstein Coll. I, Box 7, Folder 851; and recounted in Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 258.

⁷⁸ On Einstein’s exclusion from German musicology, see Pamela M. Potter, “From Jewish Exile in Germany to German Scholar in America: Alfred Einstein’s Emigration,” in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 298–321.

⁷⁹ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, 16 May 1947, University of Chicago, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 7, Folder 5.

reason, too. Despite all the transcriptions of works by Willaert that Einstein had accumulated, Willaert was for Einstein a relatively minor figure in the development and flowering of the madrigal; Rore was much more the central character.⁸⁰

If not Einstein, why not Hertzmann? After all, Hertzmann had published some of the only existing transcriptions of Willaert's secular music; he remained an authority on the composer into the 1960s.⁸¹ But the same bridges that Carapetyan burned with Einstein and Lang were probably burned with Hertzmann, too. As described in chapter 3, Hertzmann (fig. 4.3) had a physical disability from his childhood that made mobility challenging; this, in addition to his Jewish heritage, made his future in Germany under the Third Reich bleak.⁸² Following his emigration in 1938 to the United States, Lang helped him secure a position at Columbia University; recollections from former students indicate that the two men developed a close friendship.⁸³ Owing to Lang's anger about Carapetyan, there would have been little chance of Hertzmann's participation in AIM, not to mention that Hertzmann, himself a refugee, might have independently shared Lang's feelings.

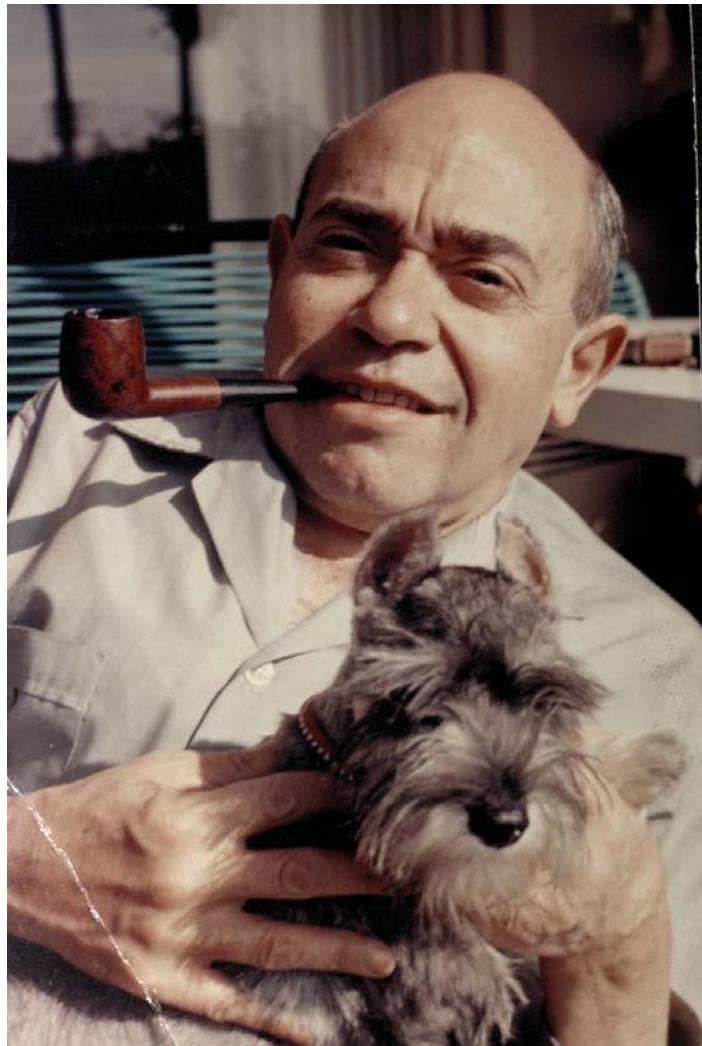
⁸⁰ Sebastian Bolz, "Cipriano de Rore, Alfred Einstein, and the Philosophy of Music History," in *Cipriano de Rore: New Perspectives on His Life and Music*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Katelijne Schiltz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 451–77.

⁸¹ See his remarks at the 1961 Isham Memorial Library Conference on the Chanson and Madrigal, where he served as a respondent. Daniel Heartz, "Les Goûts Réunis or The Worlds of the Madrigal and The Chanson Confronted," in *Chanson & Madrigal 1480–1530: Studies in Comparison and Contrast, A Conference at Isham Memorial Library, September 13–14, 1961*, ed. James Haar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 88–138, at 123–38.

⁸² On Hertzmann's physical disability, see Paul Henry Lang, "Editorial," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 356–7, at 356.

⁸³ In 2020 I interviewed a number of Columbia graduate students from the early 1960s. Many thanks to Isabelle Cazeaux, Rembert Weakland, Ruth Torgovnik Katz, and Austin Clarkson for their recollections of Lang and Hertzmann. See also Lang, "Editorial."

Figure 4.3. Erich Hertzmann and his dog Liesel, Christmas 1962 in Ventura, California⁸⁴



Moreover, Hertzmann's interests now extended beyond his dissertation on sixteenth-century music, both to chronologically earlier music and also to Thomas Attwood's studies with Mozart and to sketches by Beethoven.⁸⁵ Hertzmann's diversification of interests

⁸⁴ Thanks to Archbishop Rembert Weakland for providing me this photograph. This photo was reproduced in black and white in *ibid*. Details were provided by Weakland.

⁸⁵ Oliver Strunk, "Erich Hertzmann (December 14, 1902–March 3, 1963)," *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964): 47–48, at 48; and "The Sketches of Beethoven and Verdi: A Radio Interview with Erich Hertzmann," *Current Musicology* 1 (1965): 49–54.

probably reflected similar pressures to those that motivated Schmidt-Görg's change in direction: in early twentieth-century European musicology, one was often expected to dissertation on an early music topic—and indeed, such topics were often assigned—to the exclusion of later music.⁸⁶ This was the case in the US, too, until well into the 1970s. With the Habilitation, a scholar then aimed to broaden their research program to encapsulate a wider range of musicological topics, which would be necessary knowledge when serving as the only, or one of two, professors in a given department. Schmidt-Görg started as an early music scholar, then completed a Habilitation on orchestral acoustics, and complemented both of these interests with his Beethoven research. Hertzmann never completed a Habilitation—which was not a necessary degree in the United States—but he broadened his research program nonetheless. For Hertzmann, these decisions also had to do with his refugee status: the material necessary to pursue his scholarship on Willaert was held in European archives. As Hertzmann mentioned to Rembert Weakland, one of his students at Columbia, like Einstein he had little interest in returning to Europe.⁸⁷ He did however congratulate Schmidt-Görg in his 1957 *Festschrift*, which suggests that at least some relationships with German musicologists had not been severed.⁸⁸

This does not mean that Hertzmann lost interest in Willaert, however. In the early 1960s (ca. 1961–63), Hertzmann gave, but never published, a paper that would have great relevance to my own dissertation and the *CMM* edition: an investigation of Willaert's motets to 1530. What survives in Hertzmann's collected papers at Columbia University is a table

⁸⁶ For example, Antoine-Elisée Cherbuliez wrote in his evaluation of his student Edwin Löhrer's dissertation on Ludwig Senfl's masses that "ich gab dem Verfasser die Aufgabe, zunächst einmal sich dieser unveröffentlichten und zweifellos sehr wichtigen Messen Senfls anzunehmen..." Evaluation dated 16 July 1935, Staatsarchiv Zürich, U 109.7.1270.

⁸⁷ Archbishop Rembert Weakland (personal communication, 11 May 2020).

⁸⁸ Dagmar Weise, ed., *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn: Beethovenhaus Bonn, 1957), x.

that shows collections to 1530 with motets by Willaert (fig. 4.4). A number of these pieces were unpublished at the time (Hertzmann died five years before Lowinsky's multi-volume edition of the Medici Codex, which included transcriptions, was published). Along with this table, Hertzmann included a transcription of *Quia devotis laudibus* from Bologna Q19.

Although our knowledge of the 1520s and of Willaert's early career exceeds what was known in the early 1960s, in a certain sense, we are just starting to surpass Hertzmann's knowledge: my volume in preparation for the Willaert collected-works edition is just now filling in many of the same gaps that Hertzmann grappled with in his paper. This is all to say that Hertzmann had not forgotten his sixteenth-century research entirely. Had Carapetyan pursued a different route in attracting scholars to work on mid sixteenth-century editions, he might have avoided alienating many of the Jewish émigrés and fostered a more collaborative and productive environment for this research.

Figure 4.4. Erich Hertzmann's table of motets by Adrian Willaert to 1530, from the early 1960s⁸⁹

COLLECTIONS UP TO 1530 THAT ARE SOURCES OF MOTETS BY ADRIAN WILLAERT	
<u>Medici Codex, 1518:</u>	
Beatus Johannes apostolus; publ. Willaert, Works, II, 71	Christi virgo dilectissima; JAMS, XIV, (1961), pl. II, p. 12-13
Intercessio quasumus...beate; WW II, 93	Regina coeli; unpubl.
Saluto te sancta virgo Maria; WW I, 105	Veni Sancte Spiritus; WW II, 42
Veni Sancte Spiritus; WW II, 42	Virgo gloria Christi margareta; unpubl., exc. illegible facsimile in Lowinsky's article, <i>Annales Mus.</i> , V.
<u>Bologna, Bibl. G. B. Martini, Ms. Q19 (Rusconi codex), 1518:</u>	
Dominus regit me; WW I, 99	O gemma clarissima; WW I, 36
O gemma clarissima; WW I, 36	Quia devotis laudibus; Ex. 1, this paper
<u>Motetti de la corona, Lib. IV, Petrucci, 1519:</u>	
Verbum bonum et suave (a6); WW IV, 16	
<u>Motetti novi e chanzoni francesche a quattro sopra doi, Antico, 1520:</u>	
Three motets and six chansons including <u>Christi virgo dilectissima</u>	
<u>Motetti libro secondo, Antico, 1521:</u> two motets.	
<u>Motetti et carmina gallica, Antico?, c. 1521:</u> one work.	
<u>Libro primo de la fortuna, Giunta, c. 1530:</u>	
In tua patientia; I, 59	
Nigra sum; unpubl.	
Quid non ebrietas; Lowinsky article, Tijdschrift v. Muziekset- enachap, XVIII (1956), 1.	
<u>Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Ms. Vall. S. Borr. E. II, 55-60, ca. 1520:</u>	
Rehtus Johanneb. Spokenkunst; WW XXX	Ave Maria ancilla sancte trinitatis; WW III, 114
Ave maris stella; WW III, 107	Beata viscera; WW IV, 105
Domine Iesu Christe; WW III, 31	Domine Iesu Christe...qui non vis; WW IV, 88
Ecce Dominus veniet; WW unpubl.	O beatum pontificem; WW IV, 28
O beatus pontificem; WW IV, 28	O crux splendidior; WW III, 66
O gloriosa Domina; WW IV, 59	O salutaris hostia; WW IV, 55
O stupor et gaudium; unpubl.	Obsecro Domine; WW IV, 47
Simile est regnum celorum; unpubl.	Peccavi super numerum; WW III, 61
NB: <u>Inclite dux</u> , WW III, 44, and <u>Sacerdotum diadema</u> , WW III, 50, considered to date from pre-Italian period by editor of WW.	

⁸⁹ Columbia University, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Erich Hertzmann Papers, 1938–58, Box 15, Folder Willaert – Transcriptions. Reproduced by permission of the Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

The Later Years of the Willaert Edition

Instead, the Willaert edition fell to Walter Gerstenberg. At that time, Gerstenberg had no particular Willaert expertise; as chapter 2 notes, during the National Socialist years, Gerstenberg worked under Kroyer's and Besseler's direction on the Ludwig Senfl edition. He was given the edition because Eva Zenck had asked Carapetyan to do so.⁹⁰ Gerstenberg was then a professor at Freie Universität in Berlin, where he had founded the department in 1948. His dissertation had been on Domenico Scarlatti; his Habilitation examined how "the problems that Protestant church musicians wrestled with lie at the core of German musical ingenuity."⁹¹ He probably accepted the task owing not to a strong interest in the composer, but rather because before 1945 being an editor of a collected-works edition was a mark of prestige.⁹² He may have also felt a personal obligation to complete a project begun by his former friend and colleague. Gerstenberg went on to write the *MGG I* article for Willaert in the mid-1960s, but published just two scholarly articles that while on broader topics, touched on the composer.⁹³ Still, Gerstenberg had a certain school-forming effect for Willaert research: perhaps at his direction, several of his students in the 1950s pursued research that touched in some way on Willaert, and an interest in Willaert at Tübingen was manifest through the late 1980s.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Heinrich Besseler, 9 June 1965, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, NA Besseler 15.

⁹¹ "Die Probleme, um die die evangelischen Kirchenmusiker ringen, liegen im Kern des deutschen Musikgeniums." Walter Gerstenberg, "Beiträge zur Problemgeschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik" (Habilitation, Universität Köln, 1935), 5; and idem, *Die Klavierkomposition Domenico Scarlattis* (Regensburg: Heinrich Schiele, 1933).

⁹² On the primacy of early music editions during National Socialism, see Pamela M. Potter, "German Musicology and Early Music Performance, 1918–1933," in *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 94–106, at 103–5.

⁹³ Walter Gerstenberg, "Zur Motette im 16. Jahrhundert" in *Festschrift Alfred Orel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hellmut Federhofer (Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1960), 73–75; and idem, "Um den Begriff einer Venezianischen Schule" in *Renaissance-muziek 1400-1600 donum natalicium Rene' Bernard Lenaerts*, ed. Jozef Robijns (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit, 1969), 131–42.

⁹⁴ Gerstenberg's students included Bernhard Meier and Hermann Beck. Paul Kast, whose doctorate on Willaert's apparent teacher Jean Mouton was completed under Helmuth Osthoff in 1955, continued his

Gerstenberg and Zenck had been exceeding close, dating back to their time together under Kroyer in Leipzig. Martin Zenck remembers Gerstenberg as a frequent guest at their house in Freiburg, in no small part because Gerstenberg was his godfather.⁹⁵ Hermann Zenck died on 2 December 1950; already by 29 January 1951, Gerstenberg was editor.⁹⁶ Gerstenberg took from Zenck's estate a voluminous number of transcriptions and research materials that Zenck had already prepared. This formed the basis of volumes four (the six-voice motets) and five (the motets of *Musica nova*) of the edition, as Gerstenberg readily noted; materials prepared by Zenck were possibly also helpful in the preparation of volumes eight (the *Psalmi vesperales* of 1550) and thirteen (the madrigals of *Musica nova*). In contrast to the rapid progress of the Clemens edition, Gerstenberg published only four volumes between 1950 and 1972. And most of that had really been done by Zenck.

After the war ended, Gerstenberg faced political complications. At the time, he was professor in Rostock. Initially he admitted in an August 1945 questionnaire that he had been an NSDAP member from 1937.⁹⁷ And like Zenck, he too had been a member of the *NS-Dozentenbund*. But just a month later, he changed his tune: in Cologne he had been forced to be party applicant, but was never a member. This was almost certainly false.⁹⁸ Gerstenberg had included his party membership on his *curriculum vitae* when he assumed the professorship in Rostock in 1941; apparently, he had also paid dues in 1944.⁹⁹ Although initially unable to

Mouton research in the late 1950s while under Gerstenberg's direction in Tübingen. Wolfgang Horn, although not a Gerstenberg student, had worked on *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* and was entrusted by Gerstenberg with the Willaert edition in September 1988.

⁹⁵ Martin Zenck (personal communication, 29 September 2021).

⁹⁶ Letter from Eva Zenck to Gustave Reese, 29 January 1951, New York Public Library, JPB 92-71, Series 3, Folder 92.

⁹⁷ Questionnaire dated 23 July 1945, UA Rostock, PA Gerstenberg.

⁹⁸ Michael Buddrus and Sigrid Fritzlar, *Die Professoren der Universität Rostock im Dritten Reich: Ein biographisches Lexikon* (München: K. G. Saur, 2007), 160–61.

⁹⁹ Lebenslauf dated 22 August 1939, UA Rostock, Phil. Fak. 141 (Lehrauftrag für Musikwissenschaft, 1929–1945). “In Rostock hat er von 1944 an wieder Beiträge bezahlt.” Letter from the Kuratorium der Universität to the President of the Land Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Abteilung Kultur und Volksbildung, 27 September 1945, UA Rostock, PA Gerstenberg.

teach post-war (his excuse was not particularly convincing), he was later allowed to return, and the falsehood Gerstenberg propagated was repeated in 1947 by the rector of the university in a letter on his behalf.¹⁰⁰ Still, this denial of party membership was not particularly helpful beyond the university in the immediate post-war years: Gerstenberg was among the top candidates for the professorship in Leipzig following the death of Helmut Schultz in 1945. But he was not truthful in his answers to the questionnaire that he provided to Leipzig the following year, omitting that he had been a party member, while the committee—in contact with Wilibald Gurlitt—had already been informed, and believed, otherwise.¹⁰¹ It was also not desirable to be in Rostock, located in the newly founded German Democratic Republic. Sensitive to the shifting political winds and having been one of the 215 faculty members to speak out against the use of emergency law in East Germany, Gerstenberg abruptly and unceremoniously moved during the first days of WS 1948/49 to assume his position in Berlin.¹⁰² Only after he had arrived there did he inform Rostock.¹⁰³

But Gerstenberg was politically talented. By 1952 he had secured a professorship in Tübingen. In 1958 after some negotiation, Gerstenberg left Tübingen and accepted a position at Heidelberg, only to use his newfound leverage to begin widely searching for a different position almost immediately. When he returned to Tübingen, now as Ordinarius in April 1959, the Heidelberg faculty were understandably furious.¹⁰⁴ But this did not seem to hurt Gerstenberg significantly. Within a few years, his rise culminated in his service as

¹⁰⁰ Letter from the Rektor, 24 April 1947, UA Rostock, PA Gerstenberg.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Wilibald Gurlitt, 17 May 1946, UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. B2/2246; and questionnaire dated 20 November 1946, UA Leipzig, Phil. Fak. B2/2246.

¹⁰² UA Rostock, PA Gerstenberg.

¹⁰³ Letter from Walter Gerstenberg to Dean of the Faculty of Arts Hermann Kleinknecht, 10 October 1948, UA Rostock, PA Gerstenberg.

¹⁰⁴ UA Heidelberg, PA 408. Gerstenberg had considered the University of Zürich in 1957 as well, but had ultimately refused the professorship, enabling Kurt von Fischer to become Ordinarius. Staatsarchiv Basel, ED-REG 1a 2 1716.

chancellor of Tübingen for the academic year 1965–66, which enabled him to grant an honorary doctorate to Otto Erich Deutsch, a scholar today best known for his Franz Schubert catalogue, also known as the Deutsch catalogue. Gerstenberg certainly had his friends and allies, but not all liked him. Following Rudolf Stephan's 1964 interview with Theodor Adorno, entitled “Ad vocem Hindemith,” in which Adorno sharply criticized the recently deceased composer Paul Hindemith, Gerstenberg informed his colleagues that they needed to strongly disagree with both Adorno and Stephan.¹⁰⁵ Martin Zenck told me that Gerstenberg's resistance was a strong contributing factor in preventing Stephan from securing Osthoff's former professorship in Frankfurt, which ultimately went to Ludwig Finscher.¹⁰⁶ An editor at the publisher Bärenreiter, with which Gerstenberg worked on the Neue-Mozart Ausgabe, referred to him as “Gartenzwerg,” or garden gnome, a quip that played on Gerstenberg's lack of height and the presumed difficulty of dealing with him.¹⁰⁷

All of this goes to show that Willaert was understandably low on Gerstenberg's priority list. By 1953 Gerstenberg was also supposed to be completing the motets for the Senfl edition, although post-war funding still had to be secured; between then and 1974 he brought four volumes to publication.¹⁰⁸ And Gerstenberg was not just slow in completing the Willaert edition. Members of the *Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft* noted in 1966 that Gerstenberg was slow bringing the ninth volume in the Senfl edition to publication and suggested that Gerstenberg pass off the edition to a student.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, he also

¹⁰⁵ Martin Zenck (personal communication, 29 September 2021). On “Ad vocem Hindemith,” see Wolfgang Lessing, *Die Hindemith-Rezeption Theodor W. Adornos* (Mainz: Schott, 1999), esp. at 14 and 257.

¹⁰⁶ This led to a rift between Gerstenberg and Martin Zenck. Martin Zenck (personal communication, 29 September 2021).

¹⁰⁷ Joshua Rifkin (personal communication, 9 July 2019 and clarification, 1 June 2022).

¹⁰⁸ Letter to Walter Gerstenberg, 29 October 1953, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Archiv SMG, Schachtel 3/3, Inv. 5, 2 Mäppchen.

¹⁰⁹ Protokoll der Sitzung des Zentralvorstandes vom 19. Februar 1966, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Nachlass Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, Schachtel 4, Inv. 8.

corresponded in the mid 1950s with Breitkopf und Härtel with the intent of restarting *PäM*, for which he viewed Einstein's volume of Luca Marenzio's madrigals and Leo Schrade's volume of music by Luis de Milan as top priorities.¹¹⁰ Even when Gerstenberg did find the time to work on Willaert, this was not always in service of the scholarly *CMM* edition: in 1956 he published three five-voice motets as vol. 59 of *Das Chorwerk*, although to be fair, this was arguably not a hindrance to Willaert reception.¹¹¹

None of this pleased Carapetyan. Mistrust between Gerstenberg and Carapetyan probably dated to the early 1950s, when Carapetyan had expressed interest in assuming control of the Senfl edition. Gerstenberg, who in 1953 was a visiting professor at Yale, consulted with his friend and fellow Kroyer student Schrade, who told him to keep Carapetyan at an arm's length.¹¹² And as mentioned earlier, volumes from Gerstenberg were slow to appear. To Strunk, Carapetyan described Gerstenberg as "hopelessly delinquent."¹¹³ To Besseler, Carapetyan wrote in June 1965 (the full letter is transcribed in appendix 4.2):

But [Gerstenberg] has been a tormentor. Every time (the few times, so far, that he has produced work of his own) he has caused frightful delays and inconveniences. I had to go all the way to Heidelberg 5 years ago to get the Foreword of a volume out of him, after 9 months of useless correspondence. Presently there is a volume engraved. He had the proofs on 20 may, 1963, handed to him by [Ekkehard] Abromeit!! In two years he has not brought himself to write a few pages of Foreword. Last October, out of patience, I finally informed Frau Zenck of the sad state of the Willaert edition. New promises (and I suspect some unsavory talk about me), but still no action, despite Abromeit's efforts right there in Tübingen. It looks like deliberate sabotage! Yet, years ago I suggested in friendly way that he pass the work to a young musicologist of his own choice, if he found the task too much. He said he wanted to finish the job himself. I am baffled. Ironically, on the material side too Willaert (together with Dufay and Gombert) was offered 17 years ago at an advance subscription price. A good many libraries took advantage of it – even some

¹¹⁰ Einstein was now four years deceased, which for Gerstenberg's aims was probably a positive: there was no chance that Einstein would have collaborated with Gerstenberg. Letter from Walter Gerstenberg to Breitkopf & Härtel, 19 May 1956, UA Tübingen, 371/1.

¹¹¹ Adrian Willaert, *Drei Motetten zu fünf Stimmen*, ed. Walter Gerstenberg, vol. 59 in *Das Chorwerk* (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1956).

¹¹² Susanne Gerstenberg (personal communication, 22 August 2020).

¹¹³ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Oliver Strunk, 4 April 1965, University of Pennsylvania Special Collections, Ms. Coll. 221, Box 1, Folder 23.

individuals. We have tried to refund, but the libraries refuse it. Yet they naturally demand the edition, while each volume we supply is covered by a fraction of the original cost charged.”¹¹⁴

Carapetyan wrote further to Besseler in an additional, undated fragment:

As for Gerstenberg himself... still nothing, despite repeated promises to Abromeit himself. The man is devoid of any sense of honor. I fear I shall be compelled to denounce him publicly and reappoint the edition.¹¹⁵

Besseler responded that “Gerstenberg is a small scholar, but he wants to make himself known by all means,” again probably a reminder of Gerstenberg’s small physical stature.¹¹⁶

As Carapetyan’s writings make clear, part of the problem was Carapetyan had sold the Willaert edition (as with many of the other early editions) at a fixed price to libraries during the early years. In 1951 Carapetyan wrote to Schmidt-Görg:

It would be very helpful if you gave me, as soon as you can, an approximate estimate of the number of pages that Gombert’s *Opera Omnia* would comprise. I want this information for the calculation of the price of the entire edition.¹¹⁷

For the Gombert and Clemens editions, an approximation of scale was to a degree possible: even if sources were yet to be discovered, much of the relevant music had circulated in prints, and prints were readily found and catalogued in German libraries. By contrast, as described in chapter 3, Italian manuscripts represented a real unknown (works by Gombert and Clemens were not especially prevalent there). Although the correspondence does not survive, Carapetyan almost certainly posed the same question to Zenck. Zenck could have only answered what he knew, so Carapetyan must have sold the Willaert edition at a price that was suitable for many fewer volumes than were ultimately needed. Just as importantly,

¹¹⁴ Letter from Carapetyan to Besseler, 9 June 1965. Ekkehard Abromeit worked from 1951 to 1986 for the music publisher C. L. Schultheiss.

¹¹⁵ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Heinrich Besseler, undated, UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 15.

¹¹⁶ “Dank für alles, was Sie schreiben, auch die interessanten Dinge über Gerstenberg (der ein kleiner Forscher ist, aber sich mit allen Mitteln bekannt machen will.)” Letter from Heinrich Besseler to Armen Carapetyan, 28 June 1965, UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 15.

¹¹⁷ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Joseph Schmidt-Görg, 3 August 1951, Private Nachlass Schmidt-Görg, Schachtel 578.

as the letter to Besseler indicates, slow progress on the Willaert edition meant that increases in material and labor costs, combined with costs associated with inflation, meant that twenty years later, Carapetyan had sold the edition at a tremendous loss. By the early 1960s, an average volume of 150 pages of polyphony by AIM cost between \$3000 and \$4000, partly a result of wages having doubled in Europe over the previous five years.¹¹⁸

And then there was a third compounding factor not mentioned in the Besseler letter. It is hard to get a sense of the economics of AIM, but the organization was never profitable. Carapetyan noted that he subsidized every single edition with his personal assets.¹¹⁹ Carapetyan wrote to Hildegard Besseler in 1951 that moving to Spain from Italy “will benefit our rather battered treasury, for surely life is very considerably cheaper than in Italy,” suggesting that at first it was not financially easy to run the institute.¹²⁰ On top of the considerable expenses of setting the music for publication and producing between one and three proof copies for each author, Carapetyan offered incentive-altering royalties of 10% of revenue per edition, a position which became untenable by the mid 1960s (by contrast, Carapetyan claimed that Breitkopf & Härtel apparently only offered a “wretched” 3% royalty before the war for *PäM*).¹²¹ As Carapetyan wrote to his editors in November 1965:

The subject of this letter is author’s or editor’s royalties. To my embarrassment, some of you have not received statements for a rather long time. This is due to rapidly increasing office work every month, while we remain critically short of hands – and we remain dispersed, which causes even more work.

1965 has completed the 20th year of my endeavors in musicology’s behalf. Without going into an account, even in the barest outline, of what these 20 years have meant in labors, vexations, worries, in health itself, I shall come to the point to

¹¹⁸ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Oliver Strunk, 29 January 1965, University of Pennsylvania Special Collections, Ms. Coll. 221, Box 1, Folder 23.

¹¹⁹ Carapetyan wrote: “I have had to subsidize, personally, all of our publications all these years.” Letter from Armen Carapetyan to the collective editors of *CMM*, 20 November 1965, Basel, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Korrespondenz -1970 [Ordner 1a + 1b] – unbearbeitet.

¹²⁰ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Hildegard Besseler, 1 December 1950, UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 11.

¹²¹ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Oliver Strunk, 30 November 1962, University of Pennsylvania Special Collections, Ms. Coll. 221, Box 54, Folder 1574.

say that on the financial side the 20 years have been anything but felicitous. I have had to subsidize, personally, all of our publications all these years.¹²²

Carapetyan continues:

Some of the earliest titles offered (by inexperience and good faith) at a fixed subscription price and paid for many years ago but until today not yet completed have been catastrophic as costs have been rising (and indeed are rising still, especially in Europe where we produce most of our works), so that by now the prices received years ago cover not even a fourth of actual costs, without wondering about future years that the editions in question will take, at the rate we have been going, to be completed.¹²³

This meant that the Willaert edition, as with many of the early editions by AIM, was now too expensive to keep going. Carapetyan endeavored to hurry up Gerstenberg, and to a lesser extent, Schmidt-Görg.¹²⁴ But it must be acknowledged that Gerstenberg's slowness was not all that unusual for editors in Carapetyan's series. As mentioned earlier, potential editors for the Mouton edition had been slow to respond in the 1950s. Catherine Brooks signed a contract for the Gilles Binchois edition in 1951, but failed to produce anything over the next twenty-five years.¹²⁵ And Carapetyan regularly complained about editors. To Clytus Gottwald, he wrote:

I hope you are not falling into the position of poor Dr. Finscher, who eagerly came to me for the Compère edition, got a good start, then fell into new duties and let Compère fall into oblivion. It is neither fair to the composer, nor to the publisher, not yet to the public.¹²⁶

Carapetyan also complained to Gottwald that he was not delivering on his promises for the Johannes Ghiselin edition: "in your contract it is written in – by yourself – that the last volume would be delivered in 1961/1962. Five years have passed beyond the date set down

¹²² Letter from Carapetyan to the collective editors of *CMM*.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Letter from Carapetyan to Strunk, 4 April 1965.

¹²⁵ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Gustave Reese, 8 October 1976, New York Public Library, JPB 92-71, Series 1, Folder 194.

¹²⁶ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Clytus Gottwald, 11 August 1967, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Korrespondenz -1970 [Ordner 1a + 1b] – unbearbeitet. Finscher had also started the Firminus Caron edition in 1955.

by yourself.”¹²⁷ In this case at least, Carapetyan’s message was apparently received: the Ghiselin edition was completed in 1968.

But the Willaert edition was the most prominent and earliest edition by AIM to have struggled to regularly produce publications. By the 1960s, there were also at least three plausible editors in Europe who could have taken it over. First, Hermann Beck, a one-time Gerstenberg student in Tübingen and from 1968 the first professor at the University of Regensburg, had written his Habilitation in Würzburg on Willaert’s masses, which spawned a handful of articles as well as a monograph on the Venetian school.¹²⁸ While at the University of Regensburg, Beck notably led the Renaissance Ensemble in 1974 in performing the *Agnus Dei I* and *II* from Willaert’s mass *Mittit ad virginem*, which must have been one of the earliest performances of the work.¹²⁹ Second, Gerstenberg could also have handed the edition to Bernhard Meier, a former doctoral student of Zenck and Gurlitt who in 1963 completed his Habilitation under Gerstenberg. Meier was long familiar with Carapetyan: in 1954 he had begun the Jacobus Barbireau edition and in 1956 the Cipriano de Rore edition. Meier would ultimately begin work with his wife Helga on several volumes for the Willaert edition. And third, René Lenaerts was professor in Leuven, where he taught until going emeritus in 1973. But none of these scholars was engaged by Gerstenberg. As a result,

¹²⁷ Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Clytus Gottwald, 12 September 1967, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Korrespondenz -1970 [Ordner 1a + 1b] – unbearbeitet.

¹²⁸ Articles include Hermann Beck, “Probleme der Venezianischen Messkomposition im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Wien Mozartjahr 1956*, ed. Erich Schenk (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1958), 35–40; idem, “Adrian Willaerts Fünfstimmige Missa Sine Nomine aus Hertogenbosch, Ms. 72a,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 47 (1963): 53–73; and idem, “Grundlagen des Venezianischen Stils bei Adrian Willaert und Cyprian de Rore,” *Renaissance-Muziek 1400–1600: Donum Natalicum René Bernard Lenaerts*, ed. Jozef Robijns (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit, Seminaire voor Muziekwetenschap, 1969), 39–50. For the monograph on the Venetian school, see idem, *Die Venezianische Musikerschule im 16. Jahrhundert* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1968).

¹²⁹ The mass was first published in Jameson Neil Marvin, *Ferrarese Masses of the Late Renaissance* (D.M.A., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971), 373–447. The concert program for Beck’s ensemble from 22 June 1974 can be found in UA Regensburg, Rep. 169 (Institut für Musikwissenschaft), unverzeichnet.

Carapetyan wrote in 1973 that 1975 was the absolute deadline for the completion of the edition.¹³⁰

1975 came and went, but for reasons that perhaps related to Carapetyan's challenging situation in the early 1970s, both relating to his health and his finances, the edition was not reassigned and it stalled. Wolfgang Horn wrote to Frank d'Accone in 1990: "the slow tempo of the edition after Zenck's death is almost incredible; I cannot understand it at all. . . The tragedy started with the untimely death of Hermann Zenck in 1950."¹³¹ In 1971 the Josquin Festival-Conference followed on the completion of the first Josquin edition in 1969 and paved the way for a new international effort; meanwhile, Gerstenberg was no more than a third finished with the Willaert edition twenty years into his leadership.

Gerstenberg went emeritus in 1970. In Tübingen, his successor was the Bach scholar and head of *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* Georg von Dadelsen. The final Willaert volume edited by Gerstenberg was published in 1972; Helga Meier then assumed at least a part of the edition sometime during the 1970s. In 1977 she published a volume of madrigals, some canzone villanescha and one greghesca by Willaert. Sometime after 1980 and before 1984, the Willaert edition became a project for her husband Bernhard Meier, too: in his request for a research semester in WS 1984/85, Meier listed as one of projects the Willaert mass volumes.¹³² Bernhard also agreed to publish the chansons and critical notes, but he died in 1993. And although Helga had a completed set of transcriptions for the volume of remaining masses, her poor health in her later years, combined with the financial challenges faced by AIM and the successive turnovers of ownership, slowed progress. Wolfgang Horn was

¹³⁰ Letter from Wolfgang Horn to Frank D'Accone, 4 January 1990, Universität Regensburg, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Papers of Wolfgang Horn.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² UA Tübingen, 298/961.

entrusted by Gerstenberg personally with completing the outstanding volume(s) of motets in September 1988 and later became the head of the edition. Although by 1990 Horn had almost entirely completed a volume of music for Vespers and Compline, for more than thirty years, the draft sat in his desk drawer (as of 2022, the publication process is just beginning for this volume).¹³³ A volume of five- and six-voice masses prepared by Helga Meier was apparently completed by 2004; and yet it, too, was never published.¹³⁴ In 2016 the New Josquin Edition was complete, and yet today the Willaert edition remains perhaps more than one-third incomplete: sixty motets remain to be published, as do Willaert's chansons, the five- and six-voice masses, the Lamentations settings, the antiphons, the ricercari, the music for Vespers and Compline, a Passion setting, and the promised critical notes to the edition as a whole. One conclusion is hard to avoid: a project that got off the rails with Besseler's reorganization of the *Denkmäler* series in 1935 has never fully gotten back on track.

Edward Lowinsky and *The Medici Codex of 1518*

On the other side of the Atlantic, early evaluations of the mid sixteenth century had taken root in the domineering persona of Edward Lowinsky. As Besseler described in 1937 in a letter of recommendation, Lowinsky was primarily a specialist in Netherlandish and Italian music between 1530 and 1550.¹³⁵ After the war, Lowinsky was one of the few Renaissance music émigrés who was willing to return to Europe for extended research trips; as a result, he pursued mid sixteenth-century research in a way that few of the others did.

¹³³ Letter from Wolfgang Horn to Paul L. Ranzini, 4 March 2005, Universität Regensburg, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Papers of Wolfgang Horn.

¹³⁴ Wolfgang Horn wrote in a letter to Paul L. Ranzini in January 2004 that Helga Meier had indicated to him the volume was complete, all except the introduction. Letter from Wolfgang Horn to Paul L. Ranzini, 5 January 2004, Universität Regensburg, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Papers of Wolfgang Horn.

¹³⁵ Letter of Recommendation from Heinrich Besseler, 9 December 1937, University of Chicago Special Collections, Series 6, Box 100, Folder 9 (Recommendations and Criticism of Secret Chromatic Art, 1940–41).

Lowinsky's interest in Clemens originated with his dissertation on Orlando di Lasso's 1555 Antwerp motet book under Besseler's direction. In 1933 Lowinsky emigrated from Germany first to the Netherlands, where Albert Smijers helped him publish his dissertation and thus receive in 1936 his Heidelberg degree *in absentia*.¹³⁶ There he began to develop what almost amounted to a musical conspiracy theory and whose origins lay in a misunderstanding of *musica ficta*.¹³⁷ His 1946 musicological bestseller *Secret Chromatic Art* highlighted above all Hubert Waelrant and Clemens. Lowinsky argued that for a number of works by these composers, to keep motives intervallically consistent between appearances, implicit but unwritten accidentals created radical harmonic progressions hidden to those who did not understand the proper use of such alterations—and in so doing, allowed composers to foster a double meaning critical of the Catholic Church and the Inquisition. *Musica ficta* fit into Lowinsky's larger view of the period—that the Renaissance was set apart from the medieval period by its revolutionary aspects, including incipient tonality and chromaticism, and that these revolutionary aspects prepared the ground for modernity.¹³⁸

In *Secret Chromatic Art*, Willaert is mentioned only in passing for his *Quid non ebrietas*, a motet that famously explores performers accidentals. In this musical puzzle, the tenor follows the established rules and modulates to end with an implied double flat on its final e that is consonant with the d' in the superius above. This means that Willaert may have been the first musician to consider the possibility of a double accidental, although neither Willaert nor the contemporary theorists who discussed the work indicated a graphic sign or name for

¹³⁶ Lowinsky dated his dissertation as complete 31 July 1933. Edward E. Lowinsky, "Heinrich Besseler (1900–1969)," *JAMS* 24 (1971): 499–502, at 501; and Bonnie Gordon, "The Secret of the *Secret Chromatic Art*," *JM* 28 (2011): 325–67, at 350–51.

¹³⁷ See, for instance, Gordon, "The Secret of the *Secret Chromatic Art*."

¹³⁸ Philippe Vendrix, "Introduction: Defining the Renaissance in Music," in *Music and the Renaissance: Renaissance, Reformation, and Counter-Reformation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 1–17, at 6–7.

the concept.¹³⁹ The motet's chromatic adventurousness notwithstanding, it could not serve for Lowinsky as a forerunner to a secret Netherlandish art, because its solution is clear and did not allow for a double meaning.¹⁴⁰ And Lowinsky believed that not even Willaert valued the motet highly, since the composer did not include it in his single-author publications. Here, Lowinsky was following the same belief from Ambros, through Zenck, that Willaert had been directly involved in the publication of his works by Venetian printers.

But Lowinsky's keen interest in Willaert extended well beyond his monograph. In 1954 Lowinsky argued that "it is of symbolic significance that in the same year 1519 in which Magellan started his circumnavigation of the globe, Adrianus Willaert, later choir-master of San Marco in Venice, for the first time in history navigated, as it were, around the whole tonal space by going step by step through the circle of fifths until he reached after 12 steps the point of departure."¹⁴¹ Two years later in 1956, Lowinsky wrote the seminal article on the motet, in which he argued that *Quid non ebreitas* was a precursor to later sixteenth-century chromaticism, a view which almost certainly stemmed from Kroyer's evaluation half-a-century earlier.¹⁴² Lowinsky also later wrote extensively about a canonic inscription in Titian's painting *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, which Lowinsky considered to be by Willaert.¹⁴³ Willaert's canon then served as an integral part of a multi-century history of the *canon per tonos*. Lowinsky's historiographical priorities were such that he rarely considered Willaert on his own terms, but rather only as the start of a longer, teleological arc.

¹³⁹ Karol Berger, *Musica Ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 39–48.

¹⁴⁰ Edward E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*, trans. Carl Buchman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), 53–55.

¹⁴¹ Idem, "Music in the Culture of the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15 (1954): 509–53, at 540.

¹⁴² Idem, "Adrian Willaert's Chromatic 'Duo' Re-Examined," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 18 (1956): 1–36.

¹⁴³ Idem, "Music in Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*: Origin and History of the *Canon per tonos*," in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 289–350, at 291.

While a doctoral student, Lowinsky had asked Zenck for access to the Willaert scores Zenck was preparing for the collected-works edition.¹⁴⁴ Zenck declined to share. Such a lack of access probably contributed to Willaert's peripheral presence in Lowinsky's early scholarship. But all of this changed in Lowinsky's 1968 multi-volume edition of the *Medici Codex*, where, considering Willaert more or less on his own terms, he put forward an actively negative evaluation of the composer's early works. Here and in many of his writings, Lowinsky was prone to snap judgements that have been difficult to dislodge in the succeeding decades. Lowinsky was particularly laudatory of late Josquin; evidently taking on board Zenck's conclusion that late works by Willaert represented the endpoint of an important stylistic evolution, Lowinsky came to interpret Willaert's earlier music—seemingly distant from Josquin—in a negative light:

In flair and sheer musicianly gifts, the young Willaert is outranked by [Andreas] De Silva, by Costanzo Festa, perhaps even by [Jean] Richafort and [Pierre] Moulu. Yet, a few decades later, none of these composers reached the commanding position held by Willaert. Why should this be so?¹⁴⁵

It is hard to reconcile this offhand assessment of Willaert's early works as lacking in skill with music of which Lowinsky must surely have been aware: expert pieces composed in double canon (4-ex-2 and 6-ex-4), including chansons and motets in the print *Motetti novi e chanzoni* (Venice: Andrea Antico, 1520) and the dense and arguably *sui generis* mass *Mente tota*. But Lowinsky found little appeal in double-canon music by Willaert. Part of the problem was that, following Hertzmann's earlier evaluations, Lowinsky saw Willaert's early double-canon

¹⁴⁴ Letter from Hermann Zenck to Edward E. Lowinsky, 18 March 1933, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 7, Box 105, Folder 2, 1932–1933.

¹⁴⁵ Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 1:80. One should also keep in mind that de Silva, Richafort, and Moulu were all probably older than Willaert at the time; this possibly factored into Lowinsky's judgment.

works as student exercises composed under the tutelage of Mouton. Only in the early 1980s did Lowinsky begin to revise Hertzmann's earlier conclusion.¹⁴⁶

Lowinsky also disliked the inexact text setting for early works by Willaert. Lowinsky preferred precision and consistency, both of which were reasons why he often critiqued the application of editorial accidentals in collected-works editions.¹⁴⁷ But his judgment about Willaert's text setting probably originated with his *Doktorvater* Besseler, who had criticized Willaert's late works from *Musica nova* as being insufficiently careful in their text declamation.¹⁴⁸ This criticism is rather unfair, above all because it is hard to be certain exactly how Willaert set the text for any piece of music. To our knowledge, no works survive today in the composer's own hand. In the 1510s and 1520s, when text underlay is most fluid, readings of pieces by Willaert vary wildly, probably because different scribes over the course of a work's transmission had different agendas. For some, text declamation was simply of little importance. Moreover, it probably appeared to Lowinsky that later Willaert and later sixteenth-century composers had better text declamation, because the technology of music printing encouraged publishers to purposefully set the text underneath individual notes. Since Willaert was probably never closely involved in the publication process for any of his music, he also probably did not have a hand in these decisions either.¹⁴⁹

Arguably more problematic was Lowinsky's further critique of Willaert, a judgement ostensibly grounded in the music of the Medici Codex, but which might be seen to apply to the whole corpus:

Willaert's music has no easy appeal. Despite its masterly construction and notwithstanding its virtues of conciseness and elegance, its richness in harmonic color, its unexcelled adaption of the text, its variety of rhythmic and metric structure,

¹⁴⁶ Idem, "Music in Titian's *Bacchana of the Andrians*," 291.

¹⁴⁷ See for instance idem, Review of Nicolas Gombert, *Opera Omnia*, 635.

¹⁴⁸ Heinrich Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Potsdam: Athenaion, 1931), 256–57.

¹⁴⁹ See chapter 1, n69.

it has a certain heaviness, hard to define, rooted perhaps in the absence of a true melodic inspiration.¹⁵⁰

As with the historiography of Johannes Okeghem, Willaert is defined here in negative terms: his musical style is notable for its lack of attributes presumably found in the *ars perfecta* of Josquin, and in the later sixteenth-century style of Palestrina and Lasso.¹⁵¹ But nowhere does Lowinsky offer the criteria according to which he has reached this assessment, nor any kind of rigorous comparison between the contours of Willaert's melodies and those of his contemporaries, or even with those of Josquin. Without this critical information, it is challenging to conclude whether Lowinsky's judgement tells us more about Willaert or about his own historiographical milieu and scholarly biases. Michèle Fromson has seen this passage as evidence that our analytical grasp is eluded by Willaert's seamless counterpoint.¹⁵² But by contrast in 1952 Lowinsky lauded Gombert, whose music is even denser: "there is hardly a great 16th-century master more neglected in modern editions, in performances and recordings, than Nicolas Gombert."¹⁵³ And although scholars have more generally struggled with pervasive imitation, early works by Willaert (i.e., the ones that Lowinsky was ostensibly evaluating) are on the whole not as dense with carefully interwoven motivic entrances as his later works were.

For example, Lowinsky compared Willaert's settings of *Veni sancte spiritus*, the first of which appears in the Medici Codex and the later version, a six-voice canon in *Musica nova*. The earlier setting features an "effusiveness of lyrical melody, the strong contrast in rhythm between drawn out syllabic notes and fast flowing melismatic notes," but Lowinsky prefers

¹⁵⁰ Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 1:80.

¹⁵¹ On Okeghem reception, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, "'Singende Seele' or 'unsingbar'? Forkel, Ambros, and the Forces behind the Okeghem Reception during the Late 18th and 19th Centuries," *JM* 23 (2006): 3–61.

¹⁵² Michèle Fromson, "Cadalential Structure in the Mid-Sixteenth Century: The Analytical Approaches of Bernhard Meier and Karol Berger Compared," *Theory and Practice* 16 (1991): 179–213, at 179.

¹⁵³ Lowinsky, Review, 631.

the later setting, which offers “a much simpler, more severe melodic style and a more unified and faster moving rhythm.”¹⁵⁴ In the *Musica nova* setting, Willaert’s compositional hand is arguably forced by the canonic structure; and Lowinsky did not explain why one melodic approach is superior to the other.

Ultimately, Lowinsky drew four conclusions about Willaert: that early Willaert follows Mouton’s style, but not particularly well; that escaping Mouton’s shadow allowed Willaert to embrace Josquin’s influence; that Willaert matured as a composer in Venice; and that notwithstanding his Venetian style and the stature he achieved there, Willaert is a composer to be appreciated, not loved. Many of these conclusions can be traced directly back to Zenck and Besseler.

To the Present Day

Lowinsky’s edition of the Medici Codex was influential. Swayed presumably by Lowinsky’s negative assessments, Colin Slim remarked four years later in his magisterial two-volume edition of the Newberry Partbooks that Willaert’s motet *Ecce Dominus veniet* did not appear in sixteenth-century single-author prints, because “Willaert did not consider it to represent his best work.”¹⁵⁵ Slim further noted that *Ecce dominus veniet* “reveals itself as no model of Willaert’s ‘mature and serious art’ which stemmed from the late 1530s and 1540s.” Slim’s teleological judgments originated with Zenck and Carapetyan, through Lowinsky, and Slim’s presupposition of a close personal relationship between Willaert and the Venetian printing firms of Scotto and Gardano made their way to Slim from Ambros through Zenck and then Gerstenberg. But even if it can be explained, Slim’s judgment is itself remarkable:

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 1:102.

¹⁵⁵ H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 1:158.

Ecce Dominus veniet is one of Willaert's most widely disseminated motets. As table 1.1 showed, it survives in nine sources. Only *Pater noster*, which features in twenty-nine sources (plus three sources that transmit the *secunda pars* only), apparently circulated more widely. Considering the large number of sources, the work must have appealed to sixteenth-century audiences. It takes special pleading to deny that.

The reach of early twentieth-century research on Willaert extended well beyond Slim. Hertzman's conclusion, that Willaert's early double-canon works were student works, was accepted by Lawrence Bernstein as late as 1973, though he revised his position in the late 1990s.¹⁵⁶ More generally, assessments that stem mainly from conclusions reached by Besseler and Lowinsky about Willaert's "difficult" style and lack of melodic prowess have been hard to shake. Howard Mayer Brown wrote in 1980 that "some of the difficulty [in perceiving how Willaert's *soggetti* are used] can no doubt be attributed to [his] inability or disinclination to conceive sharply etched, highly contrasting themes that immediately engage the ear's attention. He was no great melodist."¹⁵⁷ James Haar followed suit in 1983, arguing that Willaert's music evinces a "careful ordering of melodic and contrapuntal materials" while clearly implying that the music is neither inventive nor inspired.¹⁵⁸ In 1997 Finscher pursued this line of argument to its logical conclusion. For Finscher, Willaert is the opposite of Josquin: whereas Willaert is for the expert (*Kenner*), Josquin is for the world.¹⁵⁹ No matter

¹⁵⁶ Lawrence F. Bernstein, "La Courone et fleur des chansons a troys": A Mirror of the French Chanson in Italy in the Years between Ottaviano Petrucci and Antonio Gardano, *JAMS* 26 (1973): 1–68, at 7; and idem, "Josquin's Chansons as Generic Paradigms," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 159–79, at 164.

¹⁵⁷ Howard Mayer Brown, "Words and Music: Willaert, the Chanson and the Madrigal about 1540," in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations: Acts of two Conferences at Villa I Tatti in 1976–1977*, 2 vols. (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1980), 2:217–66, at 228.

¹⁵⁸ James Haar, "A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism," *JAMS* 36 (1983): 191–209, at 208.

¹⁵⁹ Ludwig Finscher, "Von Josquin zu Willaert – ein Paradigmenwechsel?," in *Musik/Revolution: Festschrift für Georg Knepler zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister, 3 vols. (Hamburg: Bockel, 1997), 1:145–73, at 173.

whether or not Finscher intended this contrast to complement Willaert's music, his judgment, like the others, amounts to damnation by faint praise. It is also confusing: Josquin was also considered an "expert" by many writers as early as Heinrich Glarean. It is strange to come to the completely opposite conclusion.

Although music by Willaert has suffered owing to a variety of problematic biases, his music from the 1520s has arguably been the most hindered. And the problems are more widespread than they are limited to any single composer. As a result, a dramatic revision our historiography of sixteenth-century music needs to happen right at the generational shift between Josquin and his contemporaries and a group of young composers who began to emerge in the late 1510s. In chapter 5, I turn to this juncture and show that the stylistic break between Josquin and Mouton, and their successors is far more dramatic than is often believed.

Appendix 4.1. Letter from Gustave Reese to Hermann Zenck, 18 January 1951¹

January 18, 1951

Prof. Dr. Hermann Zenck
Zasiusstrasse 117
Freiburg i/Br., Germany

Dear Professor Zenck:

May I introduce myself by stating that I am the author of Music in the Middle Ages, a book that was published in 1940 and which may possibly have come to your attention. In the last nine years I have been working on another volume, Music in the Renaissance, which is now practically complete.

As an illustration of Willaert's style, I have, in the manuscript, used an extract from Cum invocarem, this being one of the few compositions in this style, attributed to Willaert, that are available to me. (There is a copy of the Montanus and Neuber print at the New York Public Library: also, the Commer reprint is at my disposal.) In view off the doubts expressed by you regarding this print piece in your recent article in Die Musikforschung, I should, of course, prefer to use an extract from one of the psalm settings of 1555. Would it be an imposition if I were to ask you to let me have an appropriate extract from of these compositions, which, of course, I would print with a suitable acknowledgement to you?

¹ New York Public Library, JPB 92-71 (Gustave Reese Papers), Series 3, Folder 92.

Anything that you might feel disposed to do towards carrying out this suggestion would be greatly appreciated by me.

I am in possession of the first volume of your new edition of Willaert and am in the process of comparing it with your old edition. The new publication, like the old one in its day, appears to be excellent, and I expect to write a review of it for Notes, which is the Journal of our Music Library Association.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

[Gustave Reese]

Appendix 4.2. Letter from Armen Carapetyan to Heinrich Besseler, 9 June 1965¹

My dear Besseler,

Returning from a trip I found your letter of 16 May, for which my thanks. I trust you had received the Critical Notes of Volume V, sent to you on April 27th.* Please tell me the date on which you sent the music of Volume I to Abromeit – for my records. Besides, now months pass and Abromeit fails to write. I know he has great difficulties with his staff.

I was touched by your thoughts of an honorary degree for my endeavors. That itself is an honor! I think it should be abundantly clear that I have worked these 20 years (1965 completes the 20th year of my enterprise) out of a sense of need and a devotion to early music, not for self-glory. (I have shunned publicity, eschewed participation in committees [sic] and councils, refused invitations to join for a season the faculty of various universities, as also the invitations to public appearances, rejected all suggestions and proposals of things to benefit me personally. I have lived almost monastically.) Yet, I confess (every human has his weak [sic] points!), a doctor honoris causa, conferred by a German university and proposed by you, would have been gratifying. By the way, you mentioned Tübingen, honoring Otto Erich Deutsch, and my thoughts went to the present Chancellor of that university... Gerstenberg has broken all records of unfair and unkind comportment in my experience with editors. It was Frau Zenck who anxiously asked me to let Gerstenberg continue the Willaert edition, presumably Zenck's will. I did not go after him. But he has been a tormentor. Every time (the few times, so far, that he has produced work of his own) he has caused frightful delays and inconveniences. I had to go all the way to Heidelberg 5 years ago to get the Foreword of a volume out of him, after 9 months of useless

¹ UA Leipzig, NA Besseler 15.

correspondence. Presently there is a volume engraved. He had the proofs on 20 may, 1963, handed to him by Abromeit!! In two years he has not brought himself to write a few pages of Foreward. Last October, out of patience, I finally informed Frau Zenck of the sad state of the Willaert edition. New promises (and I suspect some unsavory talk about me), but still no action, despite Abromeit's efforts right there in Tübingen. It looks like deliberate sabotage! Yet, years ago I suggested in friendly way that he pass the work to a young musicologist of his own choice, if he found the task too much. He said he wanted to finish the job himself. I am baffled. Ironically, on the material side too Willaert (together with Dufay and Gombert) was offered 17 years ago at an advance subscription price. A good many libraries took advantage of it – even some individuals. We have tried to refund, but the libraries refuse it. Yet they naturally demand the edition, while each volume we supply is covered by a fraction of the original cost charged. And the longer it takes to complete the edition the greater the material penalty. But enough, and apologies for boring you with this. One thing is sure: Gerstenberg would not be the one to give me a d.h.c.!

As ever cordially,

A. C.

*The packet also contained copies of CSM 9 + 10 for you.

Chapter 5: Pervasive Imitation and the Limits of Josquin's and Mouton's Influence

Josquin's *Ave Maria... virgo serena* (ex. 5.1) opens with a much discussed point of imitation. The four voices enter from highest (superius) to lowest (bassus), presenting the now famous motive with its melodic interval of an ascending fourth at the consistent temporal interval of two breves.¹ Then, just as the bassus is completing this periodic entry, the superius reenters with a second point of imitation on the text "gratia plena," passed again from voice to voice.

Example 5.1. Josquin des Prez, *Ave Maria... virgo serena*, mm. 1–10²

Ave Maria

Superius
A - ve Ma - ri - a,

Altus
A - ve Ma - ri - -

Tenor
A - ve

Bassus

S
gra - ti - a ple - -

A
- a, gra - -

T
Ma - ri - a,

B
A - ve Ma - ri - a,

¹ See e.g., Cristle Collins Judd, "Some Problems of Pre-Baroque Analysis: An Examination of Josquin's *Ave Maria... virgo serena*," *Music Analysis* 4 (1985): 201–239, at 207; and most recently, Julie E. Cumming and Peter Schubert, "The Origins of Pervasive Imitation," in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jesse Rodin and Anna Maria Busse Berger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 200–28, at 222.

² Edition drawn from Jesse Rodin and Craig Sapp, ed., *Josquin Research Project*, accessed 9 December 2021, <https://josquin.stanford.edu>.

There is no question that at the time that the motet first entered circulation ca. 1484, the use of points of imitation, never mind overlapping points of imitation, was not yet commonplace.³ It is understandable, then, that a number of scholars have drawn attention to *Ave Maria... virgo serena* as an early example of and important precursor to pervasive imitation.⁴ But the motet is distant from sixteenth-century style: the opening is spacious, not texturally dense; Josquin uses a variety of techniques after the opening (imitative and non-imitative duos, full-stop cadences, and homorhythmic passages, including the motet's famous, final appeal to the Virgin); and the type of imitation used (at the octave, rather than at the fourth or fifth; real, rather than tonal) is less common in sixteenth-century music.⁵ Indeed, *Ave Maria... virgo serena* is arguably not a good reference point for mid sixteenth-century style. And this raises two questions: how much imitation and of what kind is required for pervasive imitation? And if *Ave Maria... virgo serena* is not as “forward-looking” as has often been suggested, what really was Josquin’s influence on the style of the composers who succeeded him?

Seventy years have passed since Alfred Einstein described the 1520s as an “artistic pause” and Gustave Reese named a heterogenous group composers between Josquin and Palestrina to a “post-Josquin” generation. Decades of painstaking source study, investigations of musical genres, and rigorous musical analysis have enabled an increasingly

³ Joshua Rifkin, “Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin’s *Ave Maria... virgo serena*,” *JAMS* 56 (2003): 239–350, at 271–78; idem, “A Black Hole? Problems in the Motet Around 1500,” in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 21–82, at 29n42, 64n155, and 70n170; and Clare Bokulich, “Contextualizing Josquin’s *Ave Maria... virgo serena*,” *JM* 34 (2017): 182–240, at 183n3.

⁴ See Bonnie J. Blackburn, “On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century,” *JAMS* 40 (1987): 210–84, at 277; Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1976), 127; and Julie E. Cumming, “From Variety to Repetition: The Birth of Imitative Polyphony,” in *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 6 (2008): 21–44, at 21. On the reception of the motet more generally, see Clare Bokulich, “Remaking a Motet: How and When Josquin’s *Ave Maria...virgo serena* Became *The Ave Maria*,” *Early Music History* 39 (2020): 1–73.

⁵ On the ending of *Ave Maria... virgo serena*, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, “For Whom do the Singers Sing?,” *EM* 25 (1997): 593–609, at 603–605.

granular understanding of the 1510s and 1520s. At the same time, the canon of works by Josquin has shrunk considerably, enabling scholars to better understand where Josquin's style ended and that of his successors began. With spurious attributions eliminated, Josquin now appears less "forward-looking" than at any time since 1520. But the view put forward by Einstein and Reese, among others, persists: our inherited historiography places the mid sixteenth century under Josquin's towering shadow. What follows is the view that the musicians who began their careers in the late 1510s and early 1520s were not boldly inventive, but merely extended techniques introduced by Josquin and his contemporaries.

At the center of this historiography is the term pervasive imitation, used to describe music in which individual imitative gestures are passed successively among the voices of a polyphonic composition, saturating the musical space. In this chapter, I argue that pervasive imitation is hardly a neutral and unambiguous stylistic descriptor. Instead, using the term indiscriminately obscures an audible and visible change in approach to texture ca. 1520. The first scholars to use the term developed pervasive imitation on the basis of works by Josquin like *Ave Maria... virgo serena* to reflect Josquin's extensive sixteenth-century legacy. On the contrary, Josquin's musical style was not nearly as influential for his immediate successors as was assumed. Instead, young musicians of the 1510s and 1520s in France and Italy increasingly looked to a musical style popularized by Jean Mouton for five- and six-voice works at the French royal court. Still, I argue that the gap between Josquin and Mouton, and their successors persists.

The Problem of Pervasive Imitation

The term pervasive imitation originated early in the twentieth century. Hugo Riemann used the term *Durchimitation* (literally, "through imitation") in his *Handbuch der*

Musikgeschichte (1907) as if it were well known and had long been accepted by scholars.⁶ None of his earlier published writings reveals the term (and unfortunately, the greater part of the Riemann *Nachlass* sat in private hands and was destroyed by bombing during World War II), so the exact genesis of the term is unknown. But *Durchimitation* was Riemann's term, as Hans Joachim Moser later confirmed in his *Musiklexicon*.⁷ It is possible, if not probable, that *Durchimitation* evolved from the older term *durchkomponiert*, which refers to through-composed songs such as many nineteenth-century *Lieder*. The comparison is apt: both terms describe a continuous texture.⁸

Riemann placed the genesis of a sixteenth-century musical technique in the fifteenth century. This historical arc took hold in the nineteenth century. August Wilhelm Ambros saw mid sixteenth-century style as originating with Josquin: the “menacing and prophetic” five-voice motet *Propter peccata* illustrated Josquin’s style and prefigured Gombert’s four-voice motet *Ve, ve, Babylon*.⁹ Ambros argued that Gombert “acquir[ed] new riches using traditional methods.”¹⁰ This exemplifies how issues of attribution plagued early scholars: *Propter peccata* is a contrafactum of the instrumental work *La spagna* and is not likely to be by Josquin at all.¹¹ At the time, few works were available in modern notation; Ambros probably did not recognize that the homorhythm, duos, and internal cadences in *Ve, ve, Babylon* made the motet texturally sparser than the majority of works by Gombert.¹² Ambros lacked nuanced

⁶ Jesse Rodin, “The Pervading Myth of Pervasive Imitation” (Unpublished paper, February 2007), 2. My thanks to Professor Rodin for sharing with me his text. For a recent usage of the term, see Cumming and Schubert, “The Origins of Pervasive Imitation.”

⁷ Hans Joachim Moser, *Musiklexicon*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (Hamburg: Hans Sikorski, 1955), 1:302.

⁸ Alexander Rehding (personal communication, 18 June 2020); and Christoph Hust (personal communication, 28 June 2020).

⁹ “die Prophetendrohung *Propter peccata*.” August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 6 vols., 3rd ed. (Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckart, 1893), 3:228 and 300.

¹⁰ Ibid, 3:301.

¹¹ *Propter peccata* appears in *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Formschneider, 1537).

¹² *Ve, ve, Babylon* appears in Nicolas Gombert, *Opera Omnia: Cantiones Sacrae*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg, vol. 6 in CMM 6 (American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 77–86.

terminology. But he set the stage for Riemann, whose identification of *Durchimitation* (as opposed to imitation, which he noted was visible in earlier music) helped explain Ambros's historiography by suggesting that sixteenth-century composers inherited concrete stylistic techniques from their predecessors.

For Riemann, *Durchimitation* originated—somewhat curiously—in the music of Johannes Okeghem and his school. *Durchimitation* was hard to find in Okeghem's chansons, but Riemann successfully located it in the *Pleni sunt* of Okeghem's four-voice mass *Pour quelque paine* (today, believed to be by Cornelius Heyns).¹³ This provided an historiographical foothold: the technique's blossoming in Josquin's four-voice motet *De profundis clamavi* (ex. 5.2) then represented both a “prime example” of the technique and a continuation of existing Netherlandish practice.¹⁴ From context it is possible to infer that what Riemann was describing in *De profundis* was the use and re-use of a series of original motives set to individual lines of text. The text for the motet is divided into chunks; the music for each is sensitive to the text’s meaning. *Durchimitation* then had a higher aesthetic value for Riemann than note-against-note counterpoint with homorhythmic textures and long final notes or pauses. It made the motet compelling, because variety eschewed “slavish” adherence to a single compositional manner.¹⁵ In other words, imitation leads to variation.

¹³ Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, vol. 2, part 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 225–33.

¹⁴ Ibid, 255–56.

¹⁵ Ibid, 256.

Example 5.2. Nicolas Champion, *De profundis clamavi*, mm. 1–20¹⁶

De profundis clamavi

Nicolas Champion

Prima pars: De profundis clamavi

Superius De profundis clamavi

Altus De profundis clamavi

Tenor (empty staff)

Bassus (empty staff)

Soprano De profundis clamavi

A - dis

T (empty staff)

B (empty staff)

¹⁶ Josquin des Prez, *Motets on Texts from the Old Testament 2: Texts from the Psalms 1*, ed. Patrick Macey, vol. 15 in *NJE* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2009), 1–9.

9

13

17

Taking a step back, *De profundis* can be placed in context. Around 1500, motets are predominately in four voices; they use $\frac{4}{4}$ mensuration, often with sesquialtera at the ends of

pieces; they often abstain from using a cantus firmus; there is alternation between passages of thicker and lighter texture; there are often duos (but not paired duos); and there is often imitation.¹⁷ Points of imitation—which I take to be motives passed between most or all voices in an equal fashion—are not yet often used as the structural foundation for works.

The French royal court style that first appears in the manuscript LonRC 1070 and is more fully developed in *Motetti de la corona [libro primo]* (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1514) evolves from the motet conventions ca. 1500. Extending earlier practices, motets unfold in a series of paired duos (now superius/altus and tenor/bassus, instead of superius/tenor and altus/bassus); cadences overlap with successive imitative entrances; and there are shorter passages in homorhythm.¹⁸ But a series of imitative entrances in all voices in which voices are not grouped into pairs remains rare. This French royal court style differs greatly from the style preferred by mid sixteenth-century composers, who often opted for a thicker texture, introduced points of imitation, and used fewer duos (paired or otherwise), probably in part because of their preferences for more than four voices. I suggest that the term pervasive imitation should be reserved only for this latter style.

De profundis then fits into a tendency that Rob Wegman has noticed for spurious, late works by Josquin to be stylistically close to those by French royal court composers Mouton, Jean Richafort, and Antoine Févin. Wegman has imagined a bifurcated Josquin with two distinct, compositional personalities: a normative “Josquin b” accepted by many scholars, and a more compositionally flexible “Josquin g” whose works are often omitted from the composer’s canon.¹⁹ Indeed, *De profundis* is squarely “Josquin g.” It opens with an imitative

¹⁷ Joshua Rifkin, “A Black Hole?,” 24.

¹⁸ Ibid, 27.

¹⁹ Rob C. Wegman, “The Other Josquin,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 58 (2008): 33–68, at 60.

duo in the superius and altus, which is subsequently answered by the tenor and bassus and welded together by an elided cadence at m. 9. Following French royal court practice, the motet almost exclusively proceeds then through imitative and non-imitative duos, with limited sections of four-voice imitation. Thicker texture appears mostly at the end of each of the motet's two *partes*. Full-stop cadences often appear between phrases (e.g., mm. 12–13 and mm. 22–23). Riemann praised this motet as forward-looking, owing to its clear division of text and the individual treatment of each chunk, but this paradoxically sets it apart from a seamless, mid sixteenth-century style. I would argue that the motet Riemann selected is not pervasively imitative, but is instead characteristic of a French royal court style.

Similar to Ambros, Riemann's stylistic analysis was hampered by issues of attribution: the ascription of *De profundis* to Josquin is probably spurious. When faced with conflicting attributions, when all else is equal, modern scholars tend to give greater weight to the attribution to the lesser known composer, for good reasons. Although *De profundis* appears in the print *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg: Grimm and Wrysung, 1520) attributed to Josquin, Patrick Macey has reasoned that the motet's attribution to Nicolas Champion in the Alamire manuscript VienNB 15941 (ca. 1521–31) is more probably the accurate one.²⁰ Such a decision is bolstered by the Alamire scribes' activity in both Mechelen and Brussels, where Champion served at the Habsburg court. Indeed, the attribution in VienNB 15941 may signal a close relationship between source and composer.

Still, *Durchimitation* was catchy. It became for Charles van der Borren *imitation syntaxique* in French and pervasive or pervading imitation for Gustave Reese and other

²⁰ Des Prez, *Motets on Texts from the Old Testament 2*, xiv, xvii.

anglophone scholars.²¹ Both Heinrich Besseler in *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (1931) and Reese in *Music in the Renaissance* (1954) mapped the term onto works by Josquin. Besseler in particular marveled at Josquin's transformation from early in his career to his late works; he was however careful to recognize that Josquin's evolution in style still does not completely arrive at the preferences of the younger generation or that of the figure he considered to be Josquin's greatest follower, Gombert.²² Besseler highlighted the tension between new and old techniques at the end of the Agnus Dei III of Josquin's mass *Pange lingua*. Here, he argued that Josquin used the well-established cantus firmus style in conjunction with *Durchimitation* (fig. 5.1).

Figure 5.1. Heinrich Besseler's example from the Agnus Dei III of Josquin des Prez's *Missa Pange lingua*²³

Beispiel 170
Josquin des Prez, Schluß der Messe „Pange lingua“ (vollständige Ausgabe: Das Chorwerk, Heft 1)

²¹ Charles van den Borren, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Nederlanden*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1948), 1:260; Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954), 249; and Blackburn, "On Compositional Process," esp. at 277.

²² Heinrich Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Potsdam: Athenaeum, 1931), 249 and 252.

²³ Ibid, 249.

If an evaluation had to be made upon these sixteen measures alone, Besseler's case would be—on first blush—persuasive. To begin with, the attribution of *Missa Pange lingua* to Josquin is secure. And Besseler found a genuine point of imitation. In his example, all four voices have imitative entrances, and these entrances overlap continuously. Each voice has multiple entries of the same motive. There is moreover a sense of equality between the voices in their use of imitation: the order of the entries, and the interval and distance at which these entries occur changes throughout the example.

Yet to my eye, the whole Agnus Dei III does not qualify as pervasively imitative. Context helps: Josquin was approaching the end of a multi-movement polyphonic mass that is not beholden to a single overriding texture. In these final measures, he chose to spin out one final bit of musical material continuously, building tension with almost a dozen suspensions and numerous imitative entrances as the section tumbles towards final resolution.²⁴ In other words, we might describe this imitation as one tool within Josquin's larger toolkit. By contrast, mid sixteenth-century composers used pervasive imitation as their dominant method of composition—not as one device within a contrastive aesthetic—but as a method of generating an aesthetic of saturation.

At the same time, close examination reveals subtle differences between Josquin's imitative entries and those used by Willaert or Gombert. Few later composers shared what John Milsom has described as Josquin's combinative impulse: in this example, Josquin combined the subject with itself in myriad ways in a demonstration of enormous technical skill. I count three different interlocks or combinations of the complete motive in Besseler's example, as shown in the reduction in fig. 5.2: first, between the superius and altus at the

²⁴ For an identification of these suspensions, see example 59 in David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 321.

interval of a third; two, between the altus and superius at the interval of a sixth; and three, between the superius and tenor at the unison.²⁵

Figure 5.2. Graphic reduction of the three interlocks of the complete motive in the section selected by Heinrich Besseler from Josquin des Prez, *Missa Pange lingua*

By contrast, mid sixteenth-century composers rarely used a motive as succinct as six notes. They preferred longer melodic lines (as chapter 4 showed, Willaert's melodies are indeed so long as to invite criticism from modern scholars for lacking direction). In order to use these in a five- or six-voice pervasively imitative texture, their melodies then required adjustment. Flexed imitation (or flexed *fuga*, to use Milsom's coinage) was a key device: subtly changing the motive's rhythmic and melodic content enabled composers to engineer a thicket of regular, closely spaced imitative entries, combining one motive with the next in a continuous texture. Mid sixteenth-century composers also often used countersubjects,

²⁵ On Josquin's combinative impulse, see Milsom, "Josquin des Prez."

A number of these interlocks also appear inverted. One further interlock can be identified in the eleventh measure of Besseler's example (NJE, m. 153) between the superius and tenor at the unison. This example is both rhythmically flexed and the tenor statement of the motive is incomplete; therefore it does not appear in figure 5.2.

whereas Besseler's example uses only the motive and closely related variants of the motive. Most importantly, mid sixteenth-century composers seamlessly combined successive motives to create continuity; Josquin's successive interlocks of a single motive are localized to a single section.

Similar issues muddied the waters when Gustave Reese also highlighted the end of a work attributed to Josquin. Josquin was so central to Reese's textbook that Claudio Sartori's discovery in 1956 of new documents that placed Josquin in Milan (from 1459–79) more-or-less single-handedly motivated a “revised edition” in 1959 of *Music in the Renaissance*.²⁶ Reese argued that in the four-voice psalm setting *Dominus regnavit*, Josquin replaced the “old *cantus-firmus* by the device of pervading imitation,” which he defines as “a series of fugue-like expositions.”²⁷ He described the “chain of points of imitation” in *Dominus regnavit* (ex. 5.3 shows the passage used in the book) as being “rarely broken. . . some points present imitation in pairs, others are in ordinary imitation, still others are canonic.”²⁸ As with Besseler's example from *Missa Pange lingua*, Reese's example was misleading: for the motet, this section was atypically thick, building tension while heading towards a final cadence.

²⁶ David Fallows, “Josquin,” *EM* (forthcoming, 2021).

²⁷ Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 249.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Example 5.3. *Dominus regnavit*, mm. 59–71²⁹

Dominus regnavit

Josquin des Prez?

Superius

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

S

A

T

B

62

²⁹ Ibid, 1–9.

66

Soprano (S): -ve - - runt flu - - mi - na vo - - cem su - -
 Alto (A): e - le - va - ve - - runt flu - - mi - na vo - -
 Tenor (T): - runt flu - - mi - na vo - - cem su - -
 Bass (B): le - va - ve - - runt flu - - mi - na vo - - cem

70

Soprano (S): am.
 Alto (A): - cem su - - am.
 Tenor (T): - - - - am. E
 Bass (B): su - - - - am.

Similar to *De profundis clamavi*, *Dominus regnabit* is a motet in a French royal court style that was attributed to Josquin only long after his death. The motet first carries an attribution

to Josquin in *Tomus secundus psalmorum* (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1539), a print whose Josquin attributions Eric Jas has regarded as “notoriously untrustworthy.”³⁰ Moreover, beyond this section, the motet proceeds largely through successive imitative and non-imitative duos, separated by full-stop cadences. There are few points of imitation shared by all four voices. Even from the opening, contrasts with music by Willaert and Gombert are evident: *Dominus regnavit* begins with an extensive pair of imitative duos for mm. 1–28, followed by another pair of non-imitative duos from mm. 36–45. *Dominus regnavit* was not by Josquin; and it has little in common with mid sixteenth-century musical style.

Our repertorial knowledge has been sharpened since the 1950s by decades of careful source and music research, but our musical vocabulary still lags behind. Rather than narrowing our usage of pervasive imitation to a single musical texture used at a particular time or in a specific place, pervasive imitation has been increasingly applied to a broad swath of fifteenth-century repertoire, not to mention an enormous percentage of sixteenth-century polyphonic music. Julie Cumming and Peter Schubert have argued that the origins of this technique lie in early fifteenth-century two-voice imitation: their work showed the emergence of imitative openings and a stylistic change in motet imitation ca. 1480.³¹ This in turn built on an earlier article by Cumming, in which she identified a number of presentation types of imitation in the repertoire transmitted by Petrucci prints.³²

³⁰ Josquin des Prez, *Motets on Texts from the Old Testament: Texts from the Psalms 3*, ed. Eric Jas, vol. 17 in *NJE* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2008), xi.

³¹ Cumming and Schubert, “The Origins of Pervasive Imitation.”

³² Julie E. Cumming, “Text Setting and Imitative Technique in Petrucci’s First Five Motet Prints,” in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 83–110.

These invaluable insights notwithstanding, their later article does not provide a definition of what they consider to be pervasive imitation. Only by following footnotes does one arrive at a third article by Cumming that offers the definition. There, Cumming wrote:

It is imitation used in late fifteenth- and the sixteenth-century motet, called pervasive because it pervades all the voices and the structure of the work.³³

Cumming cited Josquin's *Ave Maria...virgo serena* as an example of pervasive imitation, but as this chapter's opening makes clear, this motet has less in common with mid sixteenth-century musical style than is often suggested.³⁴ Cumming and Schubert also have not traced their discoveries past ca. 1508 in their article together, which is understandable as it comes in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* (2015), but there is nonetheless a sizable gap between the fifteenth-century music they have described and mid sixteenth-century style, as I am sure they would be the first to acknowledge. Moreover, of the six possible presentation types Cumming has diagrammed in her Petrucci prints article (non-imitative duos, imitative duos, periodic entries, non-imitative part writing, non-imitative four-voice homorhythm, and free imitation), just one—free imitation—is closely linked to mid sixteenth-century musical texture.³⁵ These categories represent well the imitative techniques that appeared in Petrucci's publications, and yet, simultaneously they underline how different the musical vocabulary is ca. 1500 versus ca. 1530. Perhaps most importantly, most of Cumming and Schubert's examples come from the openings of pieces: by contrast, I suggest that the “special sauce” of pervasive imitation is the technique's seamless chunk-by-chunk use over the course of a piece. Indeed many, even most, pieces ca. 1520 will open with an imitative gambit (e.g., the motets transmitted by Bologna Q19 and the Medici Codex, both dated 1518), but relatively

³³ Eadem, “From Variety to Repetition,” 21.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Periodic entries could in theory be linked with pervasive imitation, but in practice they rarely appear, probably because of their imitative rigidity.

few continue with it beyond the first fifteen-or-so measures. We would impoverish our vocabulary to call all these pieces equally pervasively imitative. I would instead suggest that Cumming and Schubert have found the origins of imitation.

The negative consequences of pushing the origins of pervasive imitation earlier and earlier can be seen in Richard Taruskin's *Oxford History of Western Music* (2005). Taruskin described how Antoine Busnoys (d. 1492) used a series of points of imitation instead of a preexisting cantus firmus in parts of the Gloria and Christe of his mass *L'homme armé*—this, Taruskin argued, is an early example of pervading imitation.³⁶ Taruskin was right to point out that these are sections for which imitation serves as an organizing principle—and Jesse Rodin has further identified a sizeable minority of largely imitative works within Busnoys's oeuvre, including the chanson *Bel acueil*—but this trend represents the exception rather than the rule for polyphonic music ca. 1480.³⁷

A closer examination reveals a number of problems. First, to state the obvious, the prevailing organizing principle of the *L'homme armé* mass as a whole is the *L'homme armé* tune used as a preexisting cantus firmus, rather than points of imitation. We draw attention to these specific sections not because of their contemporary stylistic importance, but because of what subsequently occurs in the mid sixteenth century. As Edgar Sparks hinted in a footnote nearly half-a-century ago, “there is always the danger of distorting the picture of the normal style when examples are chosen because of their significance in relation to future practices.”³⁸ Second, there are substantial differences in scale: these are short, three- and four-voice passages lasting twenty or twenty-five measures, whereas a pervasively imitative

³⁶ Richard Taruskin, “Pervading Imitation,” in “Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century,” in *OHWM*, accessed 28 May 2019.

³⁷ On *Bel acueil*, see Rodin, “The Pervading Myth,” 11.

³⁸ Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420–1520* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 220n4, as cited in Rodin, “The Pervading Myth,” 12.

mid sixteenth-century motet by Willaert or Gombert could be five or six voices and as many as 150 or 180 breves in length. Such expansive imitation required greater technical facility. Third, it is concerning that there are no obvious through-lines from works by Busnoys to those by mid sixteenth-century composers. That mid sixteenth-century composers knew at least some of Josquin's hits is unquestionable; it is probable that they knew works by composers as chronologically early as Alexander Agricola (whose *Nobis sancta spiritus* circulates in Bologna Q19) or Okeghem (whose *Alma redemptoris mater* appears in Cappella Sistina 46). But their works do not circulate in manuscripts alongside those attributed to Busnoys, nor can we often place mid sixteenth-century figures at institutions for which surviving sources indicate that Busnoys was part of the contemporary performance repertoire. Too much focus on a single snapshot in time runs the risk of losing sight of the greater picture in which pervasive imitation arises as an organizing principle ca. 1520 or thereafter.

This progressively expanded definition of pervasive imitation results in an epistemological problem: since Taruskin has identified the flowering of the technique early, he therefore gives himself little flexibility for growth when writing about sixteenth-century music. Without the terminology to cogently describe Gombert's motet *In illo tempore*, Taruskin remarked that in this motet, pervading imitation is “an understatement.”³⁹ Further on in the chapter, Taruskin betrayed his feelings about Gombert's style: Willaert was able to become the classic of the period by avoiding Gombert's “density” in favor of “stylistic moderation.”⁴⁰ My reading of Taruskin is that he saw Gombert's imitative practice as beyond

³⁹ Richard Taruskin, “Gombert,” in “Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century,” in *OHWM*, accessed 9 November 2018.

⁴⁰ Idem, “Willaert and the Art of Transition,” in “Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century,” in *OHWM*, accessed 9 November 2018.

pervasive imitation and therefore having exceeded acceptable bounds and understanding.

Sixteenth-century writers would disagree with such an interpretation.

Taruskin recognized a central difference in the use of pervasive imitation between Busnoys's and Gombert's music: by the mid sixteenth century, the number of voices no longer corresponded to the number of motivic entrances within a point of imitation.

Taruskin noted that there are sixteen entrances of Gombert's first motive in his motet *In illo tempore* and fourteen of the second motive. Indeed, multiple appearances of each motive in each voice has long been considered a hallmark of mid sixteenth-century style, at least since it was described in Otto Ursprung's 1931 survey of Catholic music, but such a marker is truer for Gombert's oeuvre than it is for Willaert's.⁴¹ To take a piece that I argue pioneers pervasive imitation, Willaert's six-voice motet *Verbum bonum* does not limitlessly reuse motivic material. Such an approach would be contrapuntally difficult: the motet's closely-integrated, canonic inner voices constantly drive forward motion. Repeating motives in the other voices then would cause them to textually fall behind the preexisting material (aesthetically acceptable for Jean Mouton, but less so for Willaert). In *Verbum bonum* repeated motives are localized mostly to the beginning of the *secunda pars*, before the canonic voices have entered.

And *Verbum bonum* is hardly an outlier within Willaert's oeuvre: the print *Adriani Willaert sex vocum, qui vulgo motecta dicuntur* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1542) includes fifteen Willaert attributions, eleven of which feature preexisting material presented in a canonic procedure in two of the voices.⁴² Gombert's compositional practice by contrast uses fewer canons and is therefore freer to spin out individual motives as desired. Comparing Willaert's

⁴¹ Otto Ursprung, *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik* (Potsdam: Athenaion, 1931), 175.

⁴² The print includes fourteen secure Willaert attributions and ten with a canon, setting aside the attribution to *Salva nos, Domine*, which is more probably by Mouton.

Verbum bonum with Busnoys's mass reveals the need add greater distinction to our vocabulary surrounding pervasive imitation: a caveat about the number of entries does not encapsulate a forty-year difference in imitative approaches. In fact, even if, we use the term pervasive imitation to describe the earlier practice, I believe we would need a new name for the method of composition ca. 1530. One possible solution would be to replace imitation, as John Milsom has done, with the term *fuga* to describe these contrapuntal textures.⁴³ But replacing the term imitation offers no guarantees that its resonances will be neutralized, and *fuga* has its own complications.⁴⁴ Instead, I would argue that imitation, or—where rarely applicable—points of imitation, can cover all of these fifteenth-century examples. We can appropriately leave pervasive imitation to the sixteenth century.

Controlling the Josquin Canon

As my discussion of Riemann and Reese's examples of pervasive imitation makes clear, Josquin's "forward-looking" compositional style is in doubt. Decades of careful source research have eliminated scores of spurious attributions. Helmuth Osthoff's 1966 monograph on Josquin included 285 works, 191 of which were considered authentic; the *NJE* then reduced this to 139 authentic works (the editors used two other classifications,

⁴³ Milsom has argued that imitation can ambiguously both signify a series of coordinated motivic entrances in multiple voices and the way one work models itself after another. On *fuga*, see John Milsom, "Sense and Sound in Richafort's Requiem," *EM* 30 (2002): 447–63, at 448n5; idem, "Crecquillon, Clemens, and four-voice *fuga*," in *Beyond Contemporary Fame: Reassessing the Art of Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillon*, ed. Eric Jas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 293–345, at 294; and idem, "Josquin des Prez and the Combinative Impulse," in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 211–46.

⁴⁴ Milsom has arguably overstated the confusion with the term imitation when used in contrapuntal contexts—there is greater ambiguity when describing borrowing procedures in imitation masses, which can bring to mind the concept of *imitatio*. Historically, *fuga* had a nebulous cluster of contrapuntal meanings in the sixteenth century and was used at times as a catch-all. Pietro Aron introduced *imitatio* and *fugatio* as equivalent terms in his *De institutione harmonica* (1516), but the third book of Giosseffo Zarlino's *Le Institutioni harmoniche* (1558) used the term *fuga* to describe exact intervallic correspondence in which the *comes* strictly follows the intervals of the *dux*, whereas *imitatione* can ignore "the sequence of tones and semitones in the leading voice." James Haar, "Zarlino's Definition of Fugue and Imitation," *JAMS* 24 (1971): 226–54, at 226 and 231–32.

doubtful and spurious); and recent research by Rodin and Joshua Rifkin has suggested that even this canon was too expansive.⁴⁵ By Rodin and Rifkin's latest count, there are 103 authentic and probable works, of which fifty-four represent the core group. As they have noted, there are 200 spurious attributions, and given the thirty-eight attributions they have further identified as doubtful, the number of spurious attributions may ultimately rise.

By contrast, some recent scholarship has struggled to separate attribution fact from fiction. Wegman has recently argued for inclusion of the six-voice motet *Inter natos mulierum* in the Josquin canon.⁴⁶ *Inter natos* offers a number of hallmarks of sixteenth-century style: five- and six-voice texture, freer interrelationships between voices, avoidance of full-stop internal cadences, the use of a post-cadential extension, and above all, extensive pervasive imitation. If we had been prepared by twentieth-century authors to accept that pervasive imitation is hallmark of Josquin's style, we might be inclined to accept this attribution as stylistically plausible. This matters: *Inter natos* would link Josquin to his successors by indicating that Josquin already developed the style they popularized.

But the attribution of *Inter natos* to Josquin is spurious. In general, works with attributions to Josquin from trustworthy sources dating to during his lifetime and geographically close to the composer are considered most secure. By contrast, a lot of music with Josquin attributions first appeared ca. 1530 or later. Most of these works are not really by Josquin. Of the four surviving sources for *Inter natos*, two are chronologically late and anonymous (Cappella Sistina 38 and FlorD 11) and the other two with Josquin attributions (the tenor partbook Bologna R142 and the Vallicelliana Partbooks) probably do not reflect a

⁴⁵ Eric Jas, "What Other Josquin?", *Early Music History* 33 (2014): 109–42, at 129; Jesse Rodin, "Josquin and Epistemology," in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jesse Rodin and Anna Maria Busse Berger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 119–36; and idem, "The Josquin Canon at 500 with an Appendix Produced in Collaboration with Joshua Rifkin," *EM* (forthcoming, 2021).

⁴⁶ Wegman, "The Other Josquin."

close connection with the composer. Josquin left the Italian peninsula in 1505, at least a decade before Bologna R142 was compiled, and decades before the compilation of the Vallicelliana Partbooks in ca. 1530–31. Bologna R142 is a particularly untrustworthy witness: the partbook might date as early as ca. 1515–30 and as late as ca. 1530–50, and although a later dating seems more likely, there is no conclusive evidence in either direction. It includes no fewer than eight(!) works attributed to Josquin in the manuscript that are unsecure attributions.⁴⁷ Neither do the Vallicelliana partbooks offer an oasis of security within a dangerous Josquin attribution minefield, since *Inter natos* is transmitted there alongside another work with a spurious Josquin attribution, *Confitemini domino*.

Admittedly—for my project of advocating caution—Wegman has stacked the deck in my favor: the attribution of *Inter natos* to Josquin has been tenuous for some time (for all the reasons I mention, the motet was excluded from the *NJE*). But it is not as simple as ruling out compositions such as *Inter natos* that first circulate well after Josquin’s death. A handful of problematic works in five- and six-voices are already circulating in the 1510s (table 5.1).

⁴⁷ In addition to *Inter natos mulierum*, these are *Ave nobilissima creatura*, *In illo tempore stetit Jesus*, *O virgo virginum*, *Salva nos domine*, *Salve regina*, *Veni sancte spiritus*, and *Tenez moy en vos bras*. On the dating of Bologna R142, see most recently Jas, “What Other Josquin?,” 116.

Table 5.1. Five- and six-voice works with non-secure attributions to Josquin before 1520⁴⁸

Work	Category of Attribution?	Sources with Josquin attributions	Terminus	Voices
<i>Lectio actuum apostolorum</i>	Category 4 (“The rest: works for which no convincing argument can be made at present, and which in some cases are demonstrably by other composers; three lost compositions”)	Cappella Sistina 42, <i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i> (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519; and reprint, Giunta, Pasoti, and Dorico, 1526)	1512	5
<i>Missus est Gabriel angelus/A une dame j’ay fait veu</i>	Category 4	Medici Codex, <i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i> (1519 and reprint, 1526), <i>Liber selectarum</i> (Augsburg: Grimm and Wyrsung, 1520)	1518	5
<i>Ave nobilissima creatura</i>	Category 3 (“Problematic, ranging from ‘fat chance’ to ‘could be’—but are there really good reasons to believe it is?’”)	<i>Motetti de la corona, libro tertio</i> (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519), <i>Motetti de la corona, libro tertio</i> (reprints, Giunta, Pasoti, Dorico, 1526 and 1527)	1519	6

This raises questions about whether contemporary musicians serving in institutions of high esteem such as the Cappella Sistina would have recognized an implausible attribution such as to *Verbum bonum*, as discussed in chapter 2, or whether they would have even thought to ask for clarification, had they received a mistaken attribution. Early historians probably had a more difficult time doing so. I will propose a conclusion different from Wegman’s pitch for canonic inclusivity: these historians could find what they were looking for—forward-looking works by Josquin—whereas in reality, they often found works first circulating around 1530

⁴⁸ Evaluation of attributions taken from Rodin, “The Josquin Canon.”

that anticipated works around 1530. It must have then been obvious that composers such as Willaert and Gombert started from late works by Josquin in developing their own style. But when we examine Josquin's secure works, we find ourselves far away stylistically.

Late Josquin's Limited Influence

Pierre Moulu's motet *Mater floreat* exemplifies how Josquin was held in high regard by his younger contemporaries. The motet praises twenty-four composers; among this group, the text says, “may incomparable Josquin receive the prize.”⁴⁹ Moulu’s work might just list composers that Moulu found interesting, but it might also signal Josquin’s presence in the French royal court orbit presumably during the so-called “lost years,” after his time in Rome (ca. 1489–94) and before he went to Ferrara (ca. 1503–4).⁵⁰ But if Moulu saw Josquin as the greatest contemporary composer, *Mater floreat* does not imitate Josquin’s musical style. Josquin certainly had his imitators: probably driven in part by demand for new works by the canon in Condé, a number of pieces crop up during the 1510s and 1520s, including on the Italian peninsula, which camouflaged themselves in formal plans and musical techniques popularized by Josquin and which sometimes carried attributions to the composer.⁵¹ But few of Josquin’s prominent successors modeled their own works on his music. Despite his praise, Moulu’s compositions have much more in common with Mouton and the French royal court than with Josquin. Arnoldus Causin and Adrianus Coclico were self-professed students of Josquin; regardless of the truth content of their claims, neither imitated their

⁴⁹ “Josquin incomparabilis bravum accipiat.” Fallows, *Josquin*, 309–12; and idem, “Moulu’s Composer Motet: Date and Context,” in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 325–33, at 327.

⁵⁰ On Josquin’s potential connections with the French royal court, see Jeannette Dibernardo Jones, “Rhétorique and Musique: The Poetry of Musical Networks in Fifteenth-Century France” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2019).

⁵¹ For example, see Jesse Rodin, “A Josquin Substitution,” *EM* 34 (2006): 249–57.

teacher, but had a style similar to their own contemporary Gombert.⁵² None of this is a surprise, however: composers rarely write in a self-consciously old style.

To be clear, there is no question that individual composers paid homage to Josquin the person and to specific works by him; even figures such as Jachet of Mantua who have no purported personal connection to Josquin paid homage to him.⁵³ And all composers are influenced by at least some of the figures who precede them.⁵⁴ My argument is about how broad shifts in musical style took place in the first half of the sixteenth century. Here I challenge Ludwig Finscher, who argued that a small number of gifted composers including Costanzo Festa and Carpentras emulated Josquin, whereas Willaert developed a style opposite to Josquin (a position awfully close to literary theorist Harold Bloom's category of *tessera*, or completion and antithesis, designed to explain the creative process of Romantic poets).⁵⁵ But Finscher did not convincingly establish why it was logical to compare these

⁵² Jeffrey J. Dean, "Josquin's Teaching: Ignored and Lost Sources," in *Uno Gentile et Subtile Ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam, Giola Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Stevens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 741–50, at 749.

⁵³ Jachet's motet *Dum vastos Adriae fluctus* is of particular interest, as it names a number of five-voice motets by Josquin: *Preter rerum seriem*, *Stabat mater*, *Inviolata*, *integra et casta es*, *Salve regina*, and *Miserere mei*, all of which are secure attributions. No four-voice motets or masses are mentioned, which perhaps reflects Jachet's five-voice disposition for his own motet. Jessie Ann Owens, "How Josquin Became Josquin: Reflections on Historiography and Reception," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 271–80, at 276; Albert Dunning, "Josquini antiquos, Musae, memoremus amores: A Mantuan Motet from 1554 in Homage to Josquin," *Acta Musicologica* 41 (1969): 108–16, esp. at 111; and John Milsom, "Motets for Five or More Voices," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 281–320, at 282. Another example of homage might be Gombert's five-part *Inviolata* setting, which similar to Josquin's motet, is "based on the plainsong sequence melody; the nature of the correspondences, however, demonstrates clearly that Gombert was working with Josquin's polyphonic structure as well." Stephen Rice, "Resonances of Josquin in Later *Inviolata* Settings," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History: Proceedings of the International Conference, Leuven, 4–6 October 2005*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 197–220, at 199–206.

⁵⁴ For example, David Fallows has argued that Josquin was himself influenced by Jacob Obrecht. David Fallows, "Influences on Josquin," *Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissance-Musik* 2 (2003): 67–80.

⁵⁵ It is unclear exactly what emulation entails. Finscher noted that early in his career, Willaert preferred inexact imitation, whereas Josquin used exact imitation, but I would have appreciated more specific examples with regard to what Willaert learned from Josquin or specifically avoided. I am also cautious about the conclusion Finscher draws—that Willaert is for the specialist (*Kenner*), but Josquin is for the world. Willaert's contemporaries did not see him this way. Ludwig Finscher, "Von Josquin zu Willaert – ein Paradigmenwchsel?," in *Musik/Revolution: Festschrift für Georg Knepler zum 90. Geburtstag*, 2 vols., ed. Hanns-Werner Heister (Hamburg: von Bockel), 1:145–73, at 154; idem, "Four-Voice Motets," in *The Josquin Companion*,

composers with Josquin. There was no doubt an expansive sixteenth-century Josquin reception in German lands and in Spain. Beginning in the 1530s, German printers introduced a wealth of new works attributed to Josquin to an audience hungry for an older musical style. As a result, nearly half of all Josquin motet sources are German manuscripts and prints, and German sources contain one more motet with a Josquin attribution than all other sources combined.⁵⁶ At the same time, Spanish cathedrals continued to copy Josquin masses into their choirbooks throughout the century.⁵⁷ But the influence of Josquin in France and Italy after ca. 1520—where these composers were active—was more limited.

One approach to evaluating Josquin’s musical legacy is to ask: *what* Josquin was influential? My discussion focuses on the core group of fifty-four works identified by Rodin and Rifkin, which offer as secure of attributions to Josquin as is presently possible. To begin with, it is not Josquin’s obsessive compositional personality, which almost no prominent composer in subsequent decades emulates.⁵⁸ Josquin also ingeniously manipulated small musical materials, often a short motive (e.g., the six-note figure in *Missa Pange lingua* discussed earlier in the chapter), whereas for mid sixteenth-century figures, there is the motive, and then there is the melodic line that continues afterwards. Josquin’s motives are more fundamentalist; the texture that these motives produce is more variegated.

Josquin’s late works became increasingly popular around the time of his death: of Josquin’s five most widely disseminated pieces in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, only

ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 249–79, at 279; and Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 14.

⁵⁶ Winfried Kirsch, “Josquin’s Motets in the German Tradition,” in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at The Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 261–78, at 262.

⁵⁷ Robert Stevenson, “Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal,” in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at The Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 217–46, at 226.

⁵⁸ Jesse Rodin, *Josquin’s Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

the mass *L'homme armé super voces musicales* does not come from after ca. 1504 (the mass' exceptional popularity arises in large part from its appearance in music-theoretical treatises).⁵⁹ We know that five- and six-voice compositions became common ca. 1530; many of Josquin's contributions with these dispositions date to his later period.⁶⁰ And Josquin's late motets were some of the most chosen models for imitation masses, with *Benedicta es, celorum regina* being the most popular.⁶¹ We might expect then, that his late works in more than four voices were highly influential. Appendix 5.1 lists secure works by Josquin that plausibly date from after he arrived at Cambrai in 1504.

Among these late works, scholars have rarely suggested that the songs were most influential—for example, Edward Lowinsky argued that Josquin's genius so exceeded the limits of his age that with his chansons, Josquin operated as his own context.⁶² Rather it is often proposed that Josquin's late motets were absorbed by his followers.⁶³ We can place these motets in sources near mid sixteenth-century composers in their early years, including in the manuscript Padua A17 (1522, which contains *Pater noster* and *Benedicta es*) and in prints such as *Motetti de la corona, libro tertio* (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519, which contains *Huc me syderero*, *Stabat mater*, and *Preter rerum seriem*) and the *Liber selectarum*.⁶⁴ We further have good evidence that *Benedicta es* and *Preter rerum* both circulated in Italy as early as the mid-1510s, since they are attributed to Josquin in Cappella Sistina 16 alongside Willaert's mass *Mente tota*. In other words, it requires no large leap to imagine Costanzo Festa singing these motets as a

⁵⁹ Idem, “Josquin and Epistemology,” 124.

⁶⁰ David Fallows places in the composer's last fifteen years nearly all of the songs in five or six voices, most of the six-voice motets, in addition to four masses. Fallows, *Josquin*, 338.

⁶¹ Patrick Macey, Jeremy Noble, Jeffrey J. Dean and Gustave Reese, “Josquin (Lebloitte dit) des Prez,” *GMO*, accessed 15 April 2020.

⁶² Edward E. Lowinsky, “Character and Purposes of Musicology: A Response to Joseph Kerman,” *JAMS* 18 (1965): 222–34, at 228.

⁶³ See, for example, Milsom, “Motets for Five or More Voices,” 283.

⁶⁴ On the *Liber selectarum*, see Stephanie P. Schlagel, “The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the ‘German Josquin Renaissance’,” *JM* 19 (2002): 564–615.

young man at the Sistine Chapel, or Willaert, Jachet, and Maistre Jan performing them for the Este family in Ferrara.

But these works are not being imitated by Franco-Italian composers around 1520. Josquin's four-voice motets follow the standard voice distribution of the time: they usually have one high voice, two middle ones, and one low. To create six-voice works, two additional voices are added, most often middle voices in a tenor/altus range. A few of Josquin's late six-voice motets, most notably *Preter rerum* and *Benedicta es*, are unusual in their dispositions: they instead add one middle and one low voice. *Benedicta es* is unusual for other reasons, too. It is a six-voice, three-section motet with a duo for its *secunda pars*.⁶⁵ To say nothing about the duo (which has no analog in the music of Josquin's successors), three-section motets were going out of fashion in the 1510s: for example, none of Willaert's ten motets in Bologna Q19 and the Medici Codex has three *partes*, nor do any of Richafort's eleven motets that appeared by 1521.⁶⁶ The superius and tenor in *Benedicta es* quote the chant almost throughout, but not exactly; more typical for Willaert or his contemporaries would be an exact canon between two of the voices. Josquin's use of slightly varying, pre-existing lines would also be less common for Gombert, who preferred freer counterpoint. Josquin's use of trios—seen for example in the *prima pars* (mm. 74–86) and in the *tertia pars* (mm. 154–61)—is also relatively unusual. All of this allows Josquin to create a contrastive aesthetic that trades

⁶⁵ Two of the few internal duos within a larger, six-voice texture come in the canonic *Benedicta es* and *Agnus Dei II* of Willaert's *Missa Mente tota*.

⁶⁶ Richafort's eleven motets before 1521 are *Sufficiebat*, *Consolatur captivorum*, *Emendemus in Melius*, *Veni, sponsa Christi*, *Miseremini mei*, *Philomena praevia*, *Cognoscimus*, *Domine*, *Christus resurgens*, *Exaudiat te Dominus*, *Pater noster*, and *Quem dicunt homine* (this does not include *Congratulamini mibi omnes*, attributed to Ricaforte in Bologna Q19, but which appears without attribution in twelve other sources, is attributed to Josquin in five sources, and to Johannes Le Brun in one. Harry Elzinga has questioned the authorship on stylistic grounds. In any case, the motet also has two *partes*). Johannes Richafort, *Opera Omnia: Motets*, ed. Harry Elzinga, vol. 2 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology and Hänsler, 1999), lxviii–ix.

on the differences between a full five- or six-voice texture and sections with reduced numbers of voices.

Similarly, the organizing principle of *Preter rerum* is the alternation of the superius and tenor chant lines, around which two sets of trios are constructed. Even when there are points of imitation with all six voices active, it is again in service of a contrastive aesthetic punctuated by rhythmic jabs. Josquin's *Pater noster* has a thick texture similar to these two motets, and yet its *secunda pars* largely operates in homorhythm, with sets of three voices alternating in short succession. The aesthetic preferred by Josquin's successors is by contrast one of polyphonic saturation, leaving these duos and trios behind to approach seamless consistency at its outer edge.⁶⁷

Alongside *Benedicta es* and *Preter rerum*, motets by Josquin that appear in the *Liber selectarum* include *Stabat mater*, a five-voice motet with a long-note tenor, the six-voice *O virgo prudentissima*, which has a canon between the tenor and altus, and the five-voice *Inviolata, integra et casta es*, a five-voice motet with a canon at the upper fifth. *Stabat mater* is texturally the thickest of these works, and yet it also has too many homorhythmic or mostly homorhythmic textures to have much in common with works ca. 1530. *O virgo prudentissima* rarely has more than three or four voices active at any one point: the two tenor parts present the cantus firmus in canon, which perhaps for contrapuntal reasons, sound less often than the other voices. Although the *secunda pars* builds towards the thick texture of Willaert's or Gombert's style, its sonic saturation is comprised of a series of entrances of short melodic segments alongside the canonic voices, which sound continuously after m. 177 (ex. 5.4).

⁶⁷ Howard Mayer Brown noted that “in much of the music by Gombert, Clemens, and Willaert, Josquin’s ideal of clarity, elegance, balance, and symmetry was replaced by the desire to create a continuous and placid flow of sound, not well articulated formally but held together by all possible permutations of the technique of imitation.” Brown’s dichotomy was too strong, but his description well encapsulated the aesthetic and textural difference between early and mid sixteenth-century composers. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, 195.

Example 5.4. Josquin des Prez, *O virgo prudentissima*, mm. 178–90⁶⁸

Superius do - - mi - num.

Altus I bis ad do - - - - mi - num.

Altus II bis ad do - mi - num.

Tenor II pro no - bis ad do - mi -

Tenor I ad do - mi - - num, Al - -

Bassus pro no - bis ad do - mi -

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S Al - le - lu -

A. I Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

A. II Al - le - lu - ia, al - - - le -

T. II - num, Al - - - le - lu -

T. I - le - lu - - - ia,

B - num. Al - le - lu - - - ia, al - - - le - lu -

⁶⁸ Josquin des Prez, *Motets on Non-Biblical Texts: De beata Maria virgine*, ed. Willem Elders, vol. 24 in *NJE* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2007), 63–75.

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S
A. I
A. II
T. II
T. I
B

ia.
- ia,
- ia, al - - le - lu - ia, al -
- ia,
- ia, al - le - lu -
- ia.
- ia,

188

S
A. I
A. II
T. II
T. I
B

le - lu - ia.
- ia, al - - le - lu - ia.
- ia.
- ia.

Unlike Willaert or Gombert, Josquin is not building thick texture from a series of points of imitation, but from combining several different features. Perhaps because of this multifaceted construction, the late motets were rarely used as imitation mass models before

ca. 1530, when Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin's mass *Benedicta es* appears.⁶⁹ No matter how much these younger composers respected Josquin—and we have every reason to believe they did—mid sixteenth-century composers probably did not look extensively to Josquin's late motets in formulating their own musical style.

What about the chansons? Leaving aside the difficult-to-verify claim of Josquin's genius in these secular works, Lowinsky was not wrong to point out that the chansons do not offer a good generic model for his successors. To speak almost too generally, differentiation between genres declined between 1470 and 1520; by 1540 chansons by Gombert were stylistically similar to his motets and masses. In addition, direct comparisons here are tricky because not all mid sixteenth-century composers wrote chansons: a music history that placed greater value on the chanson might undervalue Costanzo Festa, who offered no contributions to the genre, and possibly Philippe Verdelot, depending on our trust in four attributions that appear only in a few prints, none of which are close to the composer or which appear sufficiently early in his career that we should without question trust the attributions.⁷⁰ That Willaert and Maistre Jan in particular wrote numerous chansons probably stemmed in large part from their service to the Francophone-friendly Este court in Ferrara. Jachet meanwhile does not appear to have written a single secular work before 1530.

Willaert's chansons present an interesting case; after all, he wrote in more stylistic registers than Gombert or many of his contemporaries. Although there are early Willaert

⁶⁹ One additional imitation mass on Josquin's *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* appears in Barcelona 1967, which Bernadette Nelson has attributed to Verdelot and argues that it dates from his late period (ca. 1520–27). The choirbook itself dates from the mid sixteenth century; if Verdelot indeed lived past 1527, and the mass is by him, it is possible that the mass could post-date 1530. Bernadette Nelson, "A 'Parody' on Josquin's 'Inviolata' in Barcelona 1967: An Unknown Mass by Philippe Verdelot?," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 127 (2002): 153–90.

⁷⁰ Cf. Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols., trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 1:153, which claims that Verdelot was a chanson composer.

chansons that bear some similarities to works by Josquin, others are far closer to those by Mouton. On the one hand, Rifkin has seen Willaert's three-voice chanson *J'ay vnu le regnart* (dated to before December 1527 on the basis of its association with another setting by Maistre Jan) as having stylistic affinity with Josquin's *En l'ombre d'ung buissonet* or *Si j'ay perdu mon amy*.⁷¹ I would agree. But such similarity is generically localized: *J'ay vnu le regnart* contrasts with the thicker texture Willaert preferred in other genres. On the other hand, Willaert's contributions to *Motetti novi e chanzoni* (Venice: Andrea Antico, 1520) share so much stylistically with the French royal court in their predilection for double canons that Erich Hertzmann and Lowinsky wrote these off as student works, as examples of Willaert copying Mouton in a counterpoint-class-style model composition (Larry Bernstein has more reasonably concluded that we ought to consider these *Motetti novi* chansons as masterful and *sui generis* in the ways they manipulate double canons to make them sound as little like canons as possible, thereby distancing the visual and aural experiences).⁷²

It is possible that composers like Richafort, Jean Lhéritier, and Gombert were more directly influenced by secular works by Josquin than Willaert was, and especially by *Nimpes, nappées/Circumdederunt me*, since all three used the *Circumdederunt* tenor in their own works (Richafort in his six-voice *Requiem* mass; Lhéritier in his six-voice motet *Nigra sum*; and

⁷¹ Joshua Rifkin, “Jean Michel, Maistre Jhan and a Chorus of Beasts: Old Light on Some Ferrarese Music Manuscripts,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 52 (2002): 67–102, at 79–80.

⁷² In a discussion about the chanson after a Daniel Heartz paper at the 1961 Isham Memorial Library conference, Erich Hertzmann stated that “these canons of his strike me as rather naïve, in fact best considered as schoolwork or preparatory work, compared with other works in the volume. So I would not consider these as pieces by an accomplished master... I would put them before the *Verbum bonum*, for example, even though they are published later.” Daniel Heartz, “Les Goûts Réunis or the worlds of the madrigal and the chanson confronted,” in *Chanson & Madrigal, 1480–1530: Studies in Comparison and Contrast*, ed. James Haar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 88–138 at 125; and Lawrence F. Bernstein, “Josquin’s Chansons as Generic Paradigms,” in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 35–55, at 40.

Gombert in his motet *Musae joris*).⁷³ *Nymphes, nappées* is one of a few secular works by Josquin to use a chant tenor, and the only one to use it in canon; this creates a thick texture, which Richafort emulates.⁷⁴ But John Milsom has argued that it is also precisely this complicated, canonic scaffold that prevented Richafort from placing imitation on top of it in his mass. In other words, using Josquin's chanson as a direct model kept the work from being stylistically modern. Few of Josquin's late chansons truly anticipate a later imitative style: David Fallows has asserted that *Plus nulz regretz* is "one of the most careful examples of imitative four-voice polyphony in Josquin's output," but what he described is more a series of imitative duos and non-imitative duos than sustained points of imitation in all four voices.⁷⁵ It is difficult to point to specific ways in which Josquin's chansons broadly influenced mid sixteenth-century musical style.

Beyond the late motets and chansons, one might consider Josquin's masses. To dispense with arguably the most immediate comparison, I believe that *soggetto cavato* masses like Jachet's *Missa Ferdinandus dux Calabriae* (probably composed before 1526) are more representative of a specific honorific tradition descending from Josquin's mass *Hercules dux Ferrariae* than they are of general mass-writing stylistic emulation. Josquin moreover did not write imitation masses, whereas mid sixteenth-century composers wrote mostly imitation masses. They composed relatively few polyphonic masses in total however, especially compared to their voluminous motet outputs, owing to the fall of the relative prestige of the genre during their lifetimes. It is worth mentioning that early imitation masses written by

⁷³ On the unusual construction of Richafort's *Requiem*, see Milsom, "Sense and Sound in Richafort's Requiem." For a full list of works using *Circumdederunt me*, see Martin Just, "Josquins Chanson 'Nymphes, Napées' als Bearbeitung des Invitatoriums 'Circumdederunt me' und als Grundlage für Kontrafaktur, Zitat und Nachahmung," *Die Musikforschung* 43 (1990): 305–335, at 308.

⁷⁴ Fallows, *Josquin*, 297.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 304.

those younger than Josquin point not to Josquin's masses, but to some of his earliest works: at the French royal court, Févin wrote masses on Josquin's *Mente tota* from the cycle *Vultum tuum* and on the motet *Ave Maria... virgo serena*. Willaert, too, must have looked to Josquin's motet when he wrote his own *Missa Mente tota* sometime during the 1510s. These uses of early Josquin compositions gain further significance, since as mentioned earlier, scholars have drawn attention to *Ave Maria... virgo serena* as an early example of and important precursor to pervasive imitation.⁷⁶

There is no question that *Ave Maria... virgo serena* was modern ca. 1484; but whether that remained true in the 1510s is doubtful. Instead, it seems possible *Ave Maria... virgo serena* "felt modern [to Févin]—a French-court motet *avant la lettre*," resembling a lucid French royal court style ca. 1510, and celebrated as such, but distant from complex, mid sixteenth-century polyphony.⁷⁷ As mentioned earlier, following the periodic entries of the opening motive, Josquin proceeded largely through duos, both imitative and non-imitative; homorhythm is used extensively throughout the motet; and four-voice imitative entrances remain rare. Indeed *Ave Maria... virgo serena* is in many ways stylistically similar to Riemann's example *De profundis clamavi*. When later composers modeled their own compositions on *Ave Maria...virgo serena* (Ludwig Senfl in his own six-voice motet; Ludwig Daser in an imitation mass), they arguably paid homage to Josquin more than they emulated his musical style.

Moreover, it is important not to confuse twentieth-century historiography with sixteenth-century reception: *Ave Maria... virgo serena* receded in stature after Josquin's death, in contrast to his later motets *Benedicta es*, *Preter rerum*, *Miserere mei*, *Deus* and *Stabat Mater*, which became more popular during the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century.⁷⁸ The

⁷⁶ Blackburn, "On Compositional Process," 277; and Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, 127.

⁷⁷ Bokulich, "Remaking a Motet," 69.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 6 and 15.

elevated reputation of *Ave Maria... virgo serena* instead comes from a twentieth-century scholarly tradition inaugurated in a 1948 article by Edward Lowinsky.⁷⁹ Scholars have never agreed about what exactly makes the work a watershed; as with its composer Josquin, it has a composite reception that needs to be carefully parsed.

Willaert's mass *Mente tota* similarly had a complex intertextual relationship with Josquin's motet, as well as probably with Févin's mass. As with Senfl's and Daser's reworkings of *Ave Maria...virgo serena*, Willaert's mass bears few surface-level similarities to Josquin's motet: it is a six-voice, double-canonic work of extreme erudition that expertly samples small fragments to paint a kaleidoscopic picture. Little fragments give off whiffs of Josquin's melody, but the preexisting material has been segmented and reshaped. Perhaps Willaert saw Josquin's early style—so far away from his late motets and chansons—as providing a canvas on top of which he could imprint his own musical personality.

On the whole, I am skeptical that mid sixteenth-century composers drew their understanding of pervasive imitation, of how to write in thick textures, or even how to devise formal plans from these early works. Instead, they must have perceived music from ca. 1485 as ancient history. But this is not to say that these composers learned nothing from Josquin. Josquin's imitative textures and his combinative impulse in layering individual motives probably led to a wider spread adoption of imitation in the sixteenth century. It is also not hard to imagine how sections of Josquin's music, such as Besseler's localized *Missa Pange lingua* example (fig. 5.1), might have influenced—albeit not with exact contrapuntal correspondence—the sixteenth-century preference for layering points of imitation. Indeed *Missa Pange lingua* is special: David Fallows notes that the mass's Agnus Dei III is without any

⁷⁹ Ibid, 53–54; and Edward E. Lowinsky, “On the Use of Scores by Sixteenth-Century Musicians,” *JAMS* 1 (1948): 17–23.

real precedent.⁸⁰ Mid sixteenth-century composers may have recognized that. But I want to reiterate that the distance between this and mid sixteenth-century works in terms of imitative approaches, large-scale structure, aesthetics, texture, and melodic preferences is nonetheless sizable.

Instead of thinking big, we might benefit from thinking small: by doing so, I can point to a specific musical marker popularized by Josquin and absorbed by mid sixteenth-century composers: Josquin's adoption of the post-cadential extension, a melodic or harmonic tag that occurs after the final cadential arrival.⁸¹ Josquin himself hardly invented this device: rather, simple melodic tags in a single voice (after all the others hold their final notes) were common in music in the two or three decades before Josquin. But whereas over 60% of Busnoys's extensions used a single-voice melodic tag to rearticulate a cadential pitch, Josquin preferred multi-voice extensions.⁸² In Josquin's securely attributed music, 61.9% of his three- and four-voice music have multi-voice extensions; 70% of his five- and six-voice works do.⁸³

Most commonly in the multi-voice post-cadential extension used by mid sixteenth-century composers, a plagal or authentic first cadence is followed fairly quickly by a second cadence, which is most often plagal. One textbook example of Josquin's post-cadential extensions comes at the end of the *secunda pars* of *O virgo prudentissima* (ex. 5.4). At the end of m. 186, the superius and tenor I form a 7-6 suspension, leading into sixth-to-octave motion that enables them to complete a first, perfect cadence. Starting in m. 187, both voices hold

⁸⁰ Fallows, *Josquin*, 320.

⁸¹ On post-cadential extensions, see Eric Tuan, "Beyond the Cadence: Post-Cadential Extensions in Ockeghem's Sacred Music" (Unpublished Paper, 2014), 1.

⁸² 60.9% to be precise. Eric Tuan, "Beyond the Cadence: Post-Cadential Extension and Josquin's Compositional Style" (Undergraduate thesis, Stanford University, 2012), 21.

⁸³ Ibid, 50.

the final **g/g'** while the other voices spin out their material. In m. 189 all other voices except one (the altus II) then complete a plagal cadence with a paradigmatic bass drop of an interval of a fourth, which is then completed by a final melodic tag in the altus II.

Mid sixteenth-century composers probably learned this more from Josquin than his contemporaries, since none of Josquin's contemporaries uses the post-cadential extension more than 50% of the time.⁸⁴ They probably learned it from late Josquin in particular, since this type of ending is especially common in his late works for five and six voices. Bernadette Nelson has noted that ten years after Josquin's death, a post-cadential extension of three- to six-measures became exceedingly common.⁸⁵ With more active voices in a pervasively imitative texture, it may have felt more elegant to slowly unwind the tension rather than to bring the music to a sudden halt. For Josquin, who often thickened textures at the end of pieces, this was useful; but in a constant, unyielding texture, it may have been paramount to avoid a jerky finish.

Although mid sixteenth-century composers knew well works by Josquin and often paid homage to him, describing these figures as post-Josquin or as under Josquin's shadow probably does not accurately reflect the limited concrete influences that Josquin's musical style had on their own works. I believe it is more productive to look elsewhere. Over the past couple decades, it has become increasingly apparent that the composers at the French royal court ca. 1500–1515 were deeply influential. Indeed, they held immense importance for mid sixteenth-century musical style.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 62.

⁸⁵ Nelson, "A 'Parody' on Josquin's 'Inviolata,'" 174.

A New Style for Five- and Six-Voice Motets at the French Royal Court

Following his departure from Ferrara in 1504, Josquin spent his last seventeen years removed from the premiere musical institutions in Western Europe and served as canon in Condé until his death. Although he remained a productive composer and his works continued to circulate throughout Europe, to some degree it appears that the torch was already being passed to a slightly younger generation of composers associated with the French royal court. Singers associated with the chapels of King Louis XII (r. 1498–1515) and his wife Anne of Brittany (r. 1488–1514), and later, King Francis I (r. 1515–47), included the composers Mouton, Richafort, the brothers Antoine and Robert Févin, and Antonius Divitis. These interconnected institutions had a large reach. Music originating at these institutions circulated widely in Italy during the 1510s, as evinced by Petrucci's *Motetti de la corona* series and musical sources connected to both the Vatican and Ferrara. I am not the first to notice that the musical style emerging from this court was influential.⁸⁶

Indeed, the French royal court had an expansive legacy. To begin with, Gioseffo Zarlino tells us that Willaert studied with Mouton. Although scholars have too easily taken this to mean a sustained set of teacher-student interactions in the way that one might learn counterpoint at a university today, at the very least it can tell us about who Willaert saw as a formative figure in the 1510s.⁸⁷ It follows then that Willaert wrote the five imitation masses

⁸⁶ The influence of the French royal court is often understated in music histories, but some scholars have more recently have more appropriately given weight to the institution's importance. Mitchell P. Brauner has written that "it has also long been recognized that the French-court repertory was incredibly influential on the composers of the following generation, those composers that emerge between 1515 and 1530." Mitchell Brauner, "'Polychoral' and Early Polychoral Music in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *Dal Canto Corale alla Musica Policoriale: L'arte del "coro spezzato,"* ed. Lucia Boscolo Foleganna and Alessandra Ignesi (Padua: Cleup, 2014), 41–48, at 42. Rob Wegman has argued that "it is Mouton who appears to have been the historically most influential figure of his generation." Wegman, "The Other Josquin," 60.

⁸⁷ What exactly the relationship between Mouton and Willaert would have entailed is not clear. The French royal court was a mobile institution, whereas Willaert probably remained in Paris while he studied civil law. We also cannot say for sure that Zarlino accurately communicated what Willaert told him, or that Willaert was accurate himself in what he told Zarlino. Tim Shephard has thought that Zarlino's repetition of the claim makes it more probably accurate, but I am not sure that is the case. Zarlino used his treatises to position

of *Liber quinque missarum Adriani Willaert* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1536) on five French royal court motets, including two by Mouton. And it was not just Willaert. Across Europe, Mouton's and Richafort's motets became *the* preferred models for imitation masses until mid-century (at which point Josquin's motets began to become more popular). When Parisian printers Le Roy & Ballard published three retrospective, single-author motet prints in the mid 1550s, they chose Josquin, Mouton, and Richafort as their classic composers. In other words, two of their three classic composers (if not all three!) were active at the French royal court.

But for an institution of such esteem, we face two, large epistemological problems. First, it is only vaguely known which singers were there, and when they were present. Records for the chapels in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century are sparse: only a few lists survive after 1493, including the 1498 salary list for Anne de Bretagne for the year ending September 1499 and the 1515 list of singers who performed at the funeral of Louis XII.⁸⁸ Records have not survived any better for the chapel under Francis I, as only three rosters are extant, for the years 1517–18, 1533 and 1547.⁸⁹ And the records that survive still do not tell a complete story. Richafort does not appear on any of the surviving chapel lists per se, but still he almost certainly belonged to Anne of Brittany's chapel, as evinced by a benefice he received in Brittany on 10 November 1512.⁹⁰ As a result, speculation has run rampant. It has been suggested that Willaert, Maistre Jan, Costanzo Festa, Andreas de Silva,

himself as the rightful heir to the *maestro di cappella* position at St. Mark's in Venice; it would be advantageous to be in a patrilineal line of important composers, too. Tim Shephard, "Finding Fame: Fashioning Adrian Willaert c. 1518," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 4 (2012): 12–35, at 18 and 20.

⁸⁸ John T. Brobeck, "Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under Francis I," *JAMS* 48 (1995): 187–239, at 197; and Stephen Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne (1477–1514) and Music: An Archival Study" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975), 8.

⁸⁹ Brobeck, "Musical Patronage," 189–90.

⁹⁰ Richard Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding their Deaths," *JM* 6 (1988): 60–82, at 77–78.

and Jachet of Mantua were each at the court in various capacities, although much of this is informed at best by circumstantial evidence, and at worst, is downright dubious.⁹¹ At least one wunderkind was present: Claudio de Sermisy was a member of the chapel probably by late 1508 and certainly by 1510; his service there continued into the 1550s.⁹²

Second, we lack sources from the French royal court, with just a few notable exceptions (e.g., the manuscripts LonRC 1070 and CambriP 1760), probably in large part because of manuscript losses during the French Revolution.⁹³ This means that the survival of works by individual composers and even of whole genres is uneven. For example, none of Mouton's five-voice motets survives in French sources before the 1530s; even then, only

⁹¹ Only Zarlino's claims place Willaert in the vicinity of the French royal court. Lowinsky argued that Francis I entrusted Mouton with preparation of the Medici Codex; Willaert then served as Mouton's assistant in executing the manuscript. Lowinsky also speculated that Willaert was the messenger from the court who brought the completed codex to its destination. All of Lowinsky's arguments here were incorrect. Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1:40–41. Maistre Jan was hired by Alfonso I d'Este in Rome in June 1512 and originally came from France. Lewis Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505–1520," *JAMS* 32 (1979): 191–246, at 230. Possibly around that time, Jan wrote *Ave Maria gemma virginum*, which combines the lines "Le gentil Févin" and "Qui l'aymeroit" from Mouton's *Qui ne regrettoit*. Martin Ham has considered the possibility that "Maistre Jhan was indeed directly connected to the French court, leaving in the months following Févin's death." Martin Ham, "Le Gentil Févin and Motets of Remembrance," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 65 (2015): 67–105, at 80 and 84. Lowinsky suggested that Festa left Ischia for France in the early 1510s and was taught by Mouton. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 1:50. David Crawford later showed that Lowinsky was probably incorrect. David Crawford, "A Review of Costanzo Festa's Biography," *JAMS* 28 (1975): 102–11, at 104–5. Philip Jackson speculated on the basis of his appearance in the French-oriented *Motetti de la corona* volumes that de Silva may have been at the court of Louis XII. Philip T. Jackson, Review of Winfried Kirsch, *Die Motetten des Andreas de Silva* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1977), *Music and Letters* 61 (1980): 359–61, at 360. Lowinsky reproduced a list of French musicians drawn up by François Rabelais in his Prologue to the Fourth Book of *Pantagruel*, which include both Festa and Jachet. Lowinsky saw this as evidence that Festa was at the French royal court (this could equally apply to Jachet). Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 1:49. Speculation regarding Jachet's French origins—he came "perhaps in the retinue of Francis I"—appeared in Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 232–33. Harry Elzinga has suggested that the connections between Richafort's and Jachet's motets *Sufficiebat*, both of which use the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Mon souvenir me fait mourir*, raise the possibility that "Jachet and Richafort were employed at the French court during the reigns of Louis XII and Francis I and that they may have been among the chapel singers who accompanied Francis I to Bologna in December, 1515 to his meeting with Pope Leo X." Richafort, *Opera Omnia: Motets*, lx.

⁹² Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels," 78.

⁹³ A brief mention of French manuscript losses during the French revolution can be found in Leeman Perkins, "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83)," *JAMS* 37 (1984): 507–66, at 514.

two appear in Attaingnant's motet volumes.⁹⁴ Instead, we know about Mouton's motets largely from Italian sources such as Bologna Q19, the Medici Codex, and the *Motetti de la corona* series. Italian sources were important for other genres, too: *Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome: Antico, 1516) is one of the earliest sources of masses by Févin and Mouton. But the secular repertory has not survived equally well. If Mouton wrote five- and six-voice chansons—and a number of later sources with five- and six-voice chansons carry attributions to Mouton—contemporary sources are largely absent. Instead, during his lifetime, the chansons that circulated fall within a fairly narrow stylistic band (table 5.2). All are in three or four voices. Four out of six have at least two voices in a canonic procedure. The problem is, these works do not provide a great precursor to the next generation of composers. Their style is the paradigmatic French royal court motet aesthetic that embraced clarity, rather than textural density.

⁹⁴ Patrick Macey, “Jean Mouton: Canon, Cantus Firmus, and the ‘Combinative Impulse’ in Motets for Five Voices,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 10 (2018): 237–90, at 240 and 242.

Table 5.2. Chansons attributed to Mouton during his lifetime

Title	Voices	Earliest Source	Dating of first attribution	Canon?	Remarks
<i>Adieu mes amours</i>	4	<i>Motetti novi e chanzoni</i>	1520	✓	Comprised of two canons (S and A, T and B), each at the distance of a semibreve, at the interval of a lower fourth
<i>Dieu gard de mal, de deshonneur</i>	3	LonBL 35087 (ca. 1505–06, no attr.); Cambridge 1760 (with attribution, dating unclear)	ca. 1500–20		Section in sesquialtera, many scalar runs in semiminims
<i>En venant de Lyon</i>	4	<i>Motetti novi e chanzoni</i>	1520	✓	Triple canon (T, A, S) at succeeding intervals of ascending fourths, at the distance of a semibreve
<i>Je le laray puisqu'il my bat</i>	4	LonBL 35087	ca. 1505–06	✓	Canon between S and A at the interval of a lower fifth, at the distance of a semibreve
<i>L'ort vilain jaloux</i>	4	<i>unicum in Bologna Q19</i>	1518		
<i>Qui ne regretrait le gentil Fevin</i>	4	<i>Motetti novi e chanzoni</i>	1520	✓	Canon between T and S at the interval of an upper octave, at the distance of two breves

The yawning gap between contemporary sources and the expansive sixteenth-century circulation of works with Mouton attributions is problematic. I would argue that scholars

have been too accepting of works that appear “forward-looking” on the basis of attributions in prints such as *Livre de meslanges contenant six vingt chansons* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1560) and *Ioannis Mouton sameracensis musici praestantissimi* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1555).⁹⁵ Indeed, I believe that the latest volume of the Mouton collected-works edition makes too small a distinction between works that have a high probability of being genuine Mouton and those that both lack contemporary sources and appear to be stylistically a stretch.⁹⁶ Take, for instance, the five-voice chanson *Ce que mon coeur pense*, considered a likely authentic work. No surviving sources for the work date before 1560, at which point a source with only the superius survives, so the modern edition is therefore based on *Mellange de chansons tant des vieux autheurs que des modernes* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1572).⁹⁷ I would be surprised if this attribution turned out to be genuine, and I do not believe a similarly tenuous Josquin attribution would be handled in the same way.

These issues of attribution matter because *Ce que mon coeur pense* does not look like the chansons in table 5.2; it instead has many stylistic elements appropriate for a mid sixteenth-century composition, so many so that we might be incline to say that Mouton anticipates his successors. This is the same problem that the “forward-looking” *Inter natos mulierum* poses for

⁹⁵ *Ioannis Mouton sameracensis musici praestantissimi* includes ten motets that are securely attributed to Mouton: nine appeared in sources during the composer’s lifetime, and the text of *Benedictus Dominus deus* places the motet with high probability at the 1514 funeral of Anne of Brittany. Attributions for the other motets are less certain. The attribution of one motet, *Gloriosi principes*, to Mouton is considered spurious, since the much earlier Medici Codex attributes it to Erasmus (Lapicida), although that attribution may also be incorrect. Three motets (*Da pacem, Domine, Exsultet conjubilando Deo*, and *O Maria piissima*) all appear for the first time in the print; I would be cautious in accepting the attributions for these works. Another group of four motets (*In illo tempore, Ave sanctissima Maria, Alleluia confitemini, Reges terre congregati, Peccantem me quotidie*) first appear in sources from the 1530s. Their attributions are more reliable than the motets that first appear in the 1550s, but less secure than those for the motets that appeared in sources from the 1510s and early 1520s. Joshua Rifkin has suggested to me that the print has fairly good readings of motets by Mouton, which he believes come from German sources. Joshua Rifkin (personal communication, 25 June 2019).

⁹⁶ Johannes Mouton, *Opera Omnia: Missae Sine nomine I & II, Credo a 4, Magnificats and Chansons*, ed. Thomas MacCracken, vol. 5 in *CMM 43* (Münster: American Institute of Musicology, 2014).

⁹⁷ Thomas MacCracken reasoned that Le Roy & Ballard seemed to have a reliable source of music for the composer, the print itself was reliable, and the readings are nearly identical to the only other source, Paris 851, a late sixteenth-century manuscript where it appears anonymously. *Ibid*, lvii.

the Josquin canon. Although it is not pervasively imitative, there are a number of points of imitation, harmonic rhythm on the level of the minim, five functional voices without a cantus firmus, and—also unusual for works by Mouton in this genre—a post-cadential extension (ex. 5.5).

Example 5.5. *Ce que mon coeur pense*, mm. 61–66⁹⁸

The musical score consists of six staves, each representing a voice: Superius, Altus, Tenor I, Tenor II, Bassus, and Bassus (repeated). The music is in common time, with a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are written below the notes, corresponding to the vocal parts. The vocal parts are: he - las! (Altus), di pas, je ne le di pas, he - las! (Tenor I), pas, he - las, je ne le di pas, he - las! (Tenor II), je ne le di pas, je ne le di pas, he - las! (Bassus), he - las, je ne le di pas, he - las! (Bassus).

A similar problem can be found in the motet repertoire. About thirty years ago, Howard Mayer Brown examined Josquin's and Mouton's styles in their six-voice motets, and from these stylistic grounds sought to clarify conflicting attributions.⁹⁹ Josquin's rhythms are “nervous and varied”; his “melodic lines can be more easily divided” into chunks; he used these elements in the creation of a novel form.¹⁰⁰ Mouton's rhythms are more “regular and dignified.”¹⁰¹ Josquin preferred free canons and his cantus firmi were integral to his works;

⁹⁸ Ibid, 188–92.

⁹⁹ Howard Mayer Brown, “Notes Towards a Definition of Personal Style: Conflicting Attributions and the Six-part Motets of Josquin and Mouton,” in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium Utrecht 1986*, ed. Willem Elders (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), 185–207.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 189–90.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 190.

Mouton preferred strict canons and his cantus firmi were less integral to his compositions. Brown specifically compared Josquin's *O virgo prudentissima* and Mouton's *O Maria piissima*, which he noted were examples "as securely attributed to their respective composers as any late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century composition is ever apt to be."¹⁰² Although correct that the attribution of *O virgo prudentissima* to Josquin is secure, the evidence for *O Maria piissima* is mixed. Indeed, the motet appears for the first time in 1555, almost thirty-five years after Mouton died. Surely there are more secure attributions.

But setting *O Maria piissima* aside, Brown illuminated important stylistic features in Mouton's motets that remained important for mid sixteenth-century style. The regularity of Mouton's rhythms appears to have been picked up—and further developed—by Richafort, and whether or not coming directly from Mouton, this became characteristic of music beginning in the late 1510s. Mouton was also probably the first composer for whom throughout his four-voice output, the 5th/3rd/5th configuration of clefs is standard, which means that the clef for the tenor lies a fifth higher than the bassus, the clef for the altus a third higher than the tenor, and the superius a fifth higher than for the altus.¹⁰³ This cleffing combination became increasingly standardized over the course of the sixteenth century. Composers in Italy ca. 1515–20 appeared to also follow Mouton's formal devices: following Mouton, they adopted the use of strict canons and cantus firmi operating independently from the motivic workings of the composition, especially in their five- and six-voice works. But by ca. 1530, these formal devices are much less common.

Sixteenth-century audiences must have seen similarities between Mouton's musical style and that of his successors, and this led to some unusual misattributions. Take

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Andrew Johnstone, "'High' Clefs in Composition and Performance," *EM* 34 (2006): 29–53, at 35 and 35n15.

Mouton's *Salva nos, Domine*, which was mistakenly attributed to Willaert in *Il Primo Libro de Motetti di M. Adriano a Sei* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1542), as discussed in chapter 3. This was the only six-voice work attributed to Mouton in sources from during his lifetime. At just 39 breves, the piece is remarkably short; but Mouton also writes other short (if not quite this short) five- and six-voice motets, as do Willaert and Costanzo Festa.¹⁰⁴ *Salva nos, Domine* begins with the sextus and bassus entering as an unusual low duo (ex. 5.6). The tenor and quintus present the cantus firmus in canon, with the quintus following the tenor at the interval of a lower fourth and at the distance of a breve. The motet is entirely in $\frac{4}{4}$ mensuration (no sesquialtera is present). It is texturally thick: once the voices have all entered in m. 7, each downbeat features at least four—and often five—voices (at any one time, one voice often rests and prepares to reenter). There are no full-stop cadences, with only a deceptive cadence at m. 15. Motion remains fairly constant throughout.

¹⁰⁴ See Table 1 in Macey, “Jean Mouton,” 242. Of Festa’s early motets, *Felix Anna* is 76 breves in length, *Quam pulchra es* is 66 breves, and *Regem archangelorum* is 70 breves. Several of Willaert’s earliest works are short, including *Quia devotis laudibus* at 52 breves in length, *O gemma clarissima* at 70 breves, and *Virgo gloriosi Christi* at 85 breves. But all of these are in four voices. Willaert’s early six-voice works (*Missa Mente tota*, *Verbum bonum* and *Enixa est puerpera*) are on an entirely different scale and are stylistically distant from Mouton’s practice. I will discuss this further in chapter 6.

Example 5.6. Jean Mouton, *Salva nos, Domine*, mm. 1–19¹⁰⁵

Salva nos, domine

Jean Mouton

Prima pars: Salva nos, domine

Superius

Altus

Tenor I

Tenor II

Tenor III

Bassus

Canon: tenor I/tenor II at the lower fourth

¹⁰⁵ Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia: Motetta VI vocum*, ed. Hermann Zenck, vol. 3 in CMM 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1952), 65–67. My edition of the motet can be found at <http://1520s-Project.com>.

4

Soprano (S): Salva nos, Do mi va

Alto (A): Salva nos, Do mi va

Tenor I (T.I): Salva nos, Do mi va

Tenor II (T.II): Salva nos, Do mi va

Bass (B): mi ne, vi gi lan tes, nos, va

8

S nos, Do - - - mi - ne, vi -

A - ne, vi - gi - lan - tes,

T. I nos, Do - - mi - ne,

T. II - va nos, Do -

T. III vi - gi - lan - tes, cu - sto - di

B Do - mi - ne, vi - gi - lan - - - - -

12

S - - gi - lan - - - -

A vi - gi - lan - tes, vi - gi - - -

T.I vi - gi - - - lan - - - -

T.II - mi - ne, vi - gi - - - -

T.III nos dor - mi - en - - - tes,

B - tes, vi - - - gi - lan - - tes,

16

S - tes, cu - sto - di nos, cu - sto - di nos [dor - mi - en - - - -]

A - lan - - - tes, cu - sto - di nos

T.I - tes,

T.II - lan - - - tes,

T.III cu - sto - - - di,

B cu - sto - di nos dor - mi

But *Salva nos, Domine* is stylistically distant from motets by mid sixteenth-century composers. The motet is not driven by points of imitation (outside of the opening, there is

just one point at “custodinos” at m. 17), and the harmonic rhythm remains at the level of the semibreve rather than the minim.¹⁰⁶ As Brown noted, Mouton’s cantus firmus are often not integral: here, the canonic voices are textually behind the other voices and are not motivically connected to the others at first. Only later do they catch up. The lack of imitation—and especially, inexact imitation—make the attribution to Willaert implausible, as does the length (of Willaert’s five- and six-voice motets before 1530, the shortest is *Ecce Dominus veniet* at 76 breves, almost double the length of *Salva nos, Domine*).

So how did the confusion in attribution occur? Mary Lewis argued that in general Gardano’s sources for this volume came from the circle of musicians and patrons surrounding Willaert; but here the printer may have needed another work to fill out the volume and was less discerning with the attribution he received than he should have been.¹⁰⁷ Given that no concordant sources attribute the work to Willaert, the attribution in Gardano’s volume probably did not hoodwink Willaert’s immediate contemporaries, but it must have plausible enough that Gardano did not immediately question it.

Salva nos, Domine is one of a handful of works in five- or six- voices by Mouton that circulated in the 1510s. Before emerging as a dominant figure ca. 1514, just one work by Mouton in more than four voices circulated, his five-voice *Missus est Gabriel angelus* which appears as an *unicum* in Cappella Sistina 42 (to be clear, not the five-voice motet of the same name with conflicting attributions to both Josquin and Mouton, neither of which Rifkin and

¹⁰⁶ I cannot agree with Patrick Macey, who saw this motet as “featuring carefully crafted stretto *fuga*,” since the motet rarely has points of imitation shared by all voices, unless we are talking about the two voices in canon at the distance of a breve, in which case we are better off simply calling it a canon. Cf. Macey, “Jean Mouton,” 275.

¹⁰⁷ 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 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 209–26, at 221.

Tom Braas have viewed as credible).¹⁰⁸ The Cappella Sistina 42 *Missus est Gabriel* is notated in mensuration **O**, though it originally may have been in $\frac{1}{2}$ or **O2** mensuration; it has a long-note cantus firmus in the tenor I; and it has a thicker texture than most of four-voice works by Mouton. Following this, a handful of five- and six-voice motets appeared with Mouton attributions in the 1510s, all works which probably first circulated sometime after 1500 (table 5.3).

All of these motets securely attributed to Mouton use preexisting material to thicken the texture, whether it be a cantus firmus, a canon on a cantus firmus, a canon, or chant paraphrase.¹⁰⁹ *Peccata mea*, *Domine*, *Per lignum sahi facti sumus*, and *Tua est potentia* are a trio of five-voice motets exclusively in $\frac{1}{2}$; all have a canon between two of the middle voices; and all three are about seventy breves in length (*Peccata* is seventy breves, *Per lignum* is sixty-five, and *Tua est potentia* is seventy-one). *Moriens lux* is similarly in $\frac{1}{2}$ mensuration and is eighty breves in length; it differs in that it has just one voice with preexisting material. At 180 breves, *Ave Maria, gratia plena* is lengthwise an outlier: it is textually sparser, features homorhythm, includes full-stop cadences, and uses reduced texture sections for duos and trios. In other words, it is more stylistically similar to Mouton's four-voice motets in the musical style that I described earlier in the chapter as being associated with the French royal court. This leaves *Nesciens mater*, the lone eight-voice motet. In this motet, the texture is even thicker; similar to all but *Ave Maria, gratia plena*, it is relatively short at 83 breves in length.

¹⁰⁸ Rifkin, “A Black Hole?,” 35–36. On the other motet *Missus est angelus Gabriel*, see Tom Braas, “The Five-Part Motet *Missus est angelus Gabriel* and its Conflicting Attributions,” in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium Utrecht 1986*, ed. Willem Elders (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), 171–83, esp. at 181.

¹⁰⁹ Macey, “Jean Mouton,” 242.

Table 5.3. Five-, six-, and eight-voice works by Mouton appearing during his lifetime

Work	Voices	Suggested Dating
<i>Missus est Gabriel</i>	5	<i>unicum</i> in Cappella Sistina 42, no later than 1512. ¹¹⁰
<i>Are Maria, gratia plena... virgo serena</i>	5	No later than 1518. Appears in Bologna Q19 and Cappella Sistina 26, which was copied by the scribe Claudio Gellandi and his assistant ca. 1518 ¹¹¹
<i>Salva nos, Domine</i>	6	No later than 1518. Appears in the Medici Codex and Bologna Q19
<i>Moriens lux amatissima</i>	5	No later than 1518. Appears in Bologna Q19
<i>Nesciens mater</i>	8	No later than 1518. Appears in the Medici Codex
<i>Peccata mea, Domine</i>	5	No later than 1518. Appears in the Medici Codex, followed by Petrucci's 1519 <i>Motetti de la corona, libro secondo</i>
<i>Per lignum salvi facti sumus</i>	5	Perhaps as early as 1516, certainly by 1518. Appears in the Medici Codex and Florence II.I.232, which is dated ca. 1516–21, as well as <i>Motetti libro primo</i> (Venice: Antico, 1521) ¹¹²
<i>Tua est potentia</i>	5	No later than 1518. Appears in the Medici Codex.

Considering these works together, Mouton's five- and six-voice style includes the following features:

- **Use of Preexisting Material:** Mouton always used a device to thicken texture, such as a cantus firmus, cantus firmus in canon, etc. This does not set Mouton apart from his contemporaries, however: every five-voice work with a secure attribution to Josquin also uses some kind of cantus firmus or strict imitation canon. Motets in five

¹¹⁰ Cappella Sistina 42, ff. 3v–169r have a *terminus ante quem* of November 1512, when the scribe Johannes Orceau dies. *Missus est Gabriel* is 25v–31r. Richard Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology and Hänsler, 1996), 67.

¹¹¹ Jeffrey J. Dean, "The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501–1527" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1984), at 232.

¹¹² On *Per lignum* in Florence II.I.232, see Anthony Cummings, "A Florentine Sacred Repertory from the Medici Restoration," *Acta Musicologica* 55 (1983): 267–332, at 281–82.

and six voices from young Franco-Flemish composers active in Italy in the 1510s (especially those by Willaert) often use preexisting material, too. By contrast, five- and six-voice works composed entirely freely began to circulate around 1520, but remain rare until ca. 1530 (e.g., Costanzo Festa, *Tribus miraculis*; Willaert, *Enixa est puerpera*; Richafort, *Veni sponsa Christi*).

- **Lacking Imitation:** unlike in his four-voice motets, Mouton used significantly less imitation in his five-, six-, and eight-voice works, in part owing to Mouton's relative avoidance of reduced texture sections, in which imitative duos might have been found, and his preference for using preexisting material. Mouton did not use pervasive imitation.
- **No clear combinative impulse:** Mouton did not share Josquin's combinative impulse.¹¹³
- **Thicker textures:** with fewer sections of reduced texture, Mouton was arguably en route to the aesthetic of saturation preferred later in the sixteenth century; in these works, he has limited interest in Josquin's contrastive aesthetic. More voices sound more of the time.
- **Relatively short:** Mouton's five- and six-voice motets are often less than 100 breves, and are therefore much shorter than Josquin's five- and six-voice works. Composers associated with the Ferrarese court pick up on this trend, as I will discuss in chapter 6.

¹¹³ I am unsure about the combinative impulse that Patrick Macey sees in Mouton's motets, since the segments that Macey identifies are short (e.g., three notes in length), and he often sees them in their flexed forms, which results in great difficulty in telling where a motive does or does not possess identity. See, for example, the diagram of *Peccantem me quotidie* in Macey, "Jean Mouton," 254.

- **A developing preference for $\frac{4}{3}$ mensuration:** this tendency is seen in the late works by both Josquin and Mouton. But taken together, the five- and six-voice works by Mouton avoid sesquialtera more than the late works by Josquin do (of the eighteen masses and motets Rodin considers as plausibly dating from Josquin's time in Condé, twelve of these use $\frac{4}{3}$, whereas of the eight motets by Mouton that I mention in table 5.3, only one, *Ave Maria, gratia plena*, uses any kind of sesquialtera).¹¹⁴
- **Voices often enter against dissonant notes** (e.g., m. 7 of *Salva nos, Domine* or m. 35 of *Moriens lux*).¹¹⁵ This becomes exceedingly common for the younger generation of composers.
- Mouton preferred **rhythmically simple stepwise melodies**, composed largely of minims, semibreves, and breves. Mid sixteenth-century composers had similar preferences.
- The **harmonic rhythm remains at the level of the semibreve**. This begins to change ca. 1520.

Mouton's commitment to thicker textures in his five- and six-voice motets provided a guiding aesthetic principle for the mid sixteenth-century composers. They followed him above all by having more voices active at the same time in the late 1510s in support of an aesthetic sonic saturation. This influence notwithstanding, it must be recognized that Mouton—similar to Josquin—never used imitation to the same degree as mid sixteenth-

¹¹⁴ Jesse Rodin, "Taking the Measure of Josquin," *Die Tonkunst* 15 (2021): 10–28, at 23.

¹¹⁵ This dissonance handling was cited by Lawrence Bernstein as evidence for why the attribution of the chanson *En non saichant* to Josquin is dubious. Lawrence F. Bernstein, "Chansons for Five and Six Voices," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 393–422, at 415. Composers who began their careers in Italy ca. 1515 adopted this dissonance treatment. See, for instance, *Domine non secundum* by Jean Beauisseron. Peter Ackermann, "Die päpstliche Kapelle und die Genese des 'Palestrinastils,'" in *Der Fondo Cappella Sistina als Musikgeschichtliche Quelle: Tagungsbericht Heidelberg 1993*, ed. Adalbert Roth und Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 13–31, at 20.

century composers, and almost no sections of his five- and six-voice music qualify as pervasively imitative. Although Mouton and the French royal court style are an important predecessor for mid sixteenth-century style, the shift that occurred in the 1520s was nothing short of extraordinary. In chapter 6, I turn to the first works by these younger figures.

Appendix 5.1. Works by Josquin with Plausible Post-1504 datings, and Secure and Provisionally Accepted Attributions

Unless otherwise specified in a footnote, datings come from the appendix to Rodin, “The Josquin Canon at 500,” in which category I is the “core group” (here, four masses, five motets, and five chansons); and category II contains “works that, on a mixture of source and stylistic evidence, merit provisional acceptance.”

(a) Masses

Work	Voices	Category	Suggested Dating
<i>Missa Faysant regretz</i>	4	I	after 1505 ¹
<i>Missa De beata virgine</i>	4–5	I	Glarean says “composed when approaching old age,” Gloria and Credo in <i>Cappella Sistina</i> 23 (ca. 1507), composed in parts ²
<i>Missa Sine nomine</i>	4	I	1514
<i>Missa Pange lingua</i>	4	I	ca. 1510, appears in sources by ca. 1515 ³
<i>Credo [Quarti toni]</i>	4	II	ca. 1510

(b) Motets

Work	Voices	Category	Suggested Dating
<i>Pater noster</i>	6	I	perhaps from Ferrara (1503–4), possibly late ⁴ ; or, 1520
<i>Preter rerum</i>	6	I	transmitted by ca. 1516
<i>Benedicta es, celorum regina</i>	6	I	from “Josquin’s later career,” in <i>Cappella Sistina</i> 16 (ca. 1517) ⁵
<i>Inviolata, integra et casta es</i>	5	I	late ² transmitted by ca. 1518
<i>Domine, ne in furore [fow]</i>	4	II	transmitted 1519
<i>O virgo prudentissima</i>	6	I	transmitted 1520
<i>De profundis clamavi [3-ex-1 canon]</i>	5	II	transmitted by ca. 1521

¹ David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 269.

² Ibid, 314 and 316. Jeffrey Dean suggested that *Cappella Sistina* 23 was assembled by scribe Johannes Orceau ca. 1508–9. Dean, “The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel,” 58.

³ Fallows, *Josquin*, 320–23, esp. at 322.

⁴ Ibid, 344–46.

⁵ Ibid, 286. On the dating of *Cappella Sistina* 16, see Dean, “The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel,” 94.

<i>In principio erat verbum</i>	4	II	transmitted by ca. 1530
<i>Qui habitat in adjutorio</i>	4	II	transmitted by ca. 1531
<i>In exitu Israel de Egypto</i>	4	II	transmitted by ca. 1531

(c) Secular works

Work	Voices	Category	Suggested Dating
<i>Nymphes, nappées/ Circumdederunt me</i>	6	I	late
<i>Plus nulz regretz</i>	4	I	1508 ⁶
<i>Faulte d'argent</i>	5	I	Appears in two sources in the years just after 1510, Augsburg 142a and FlorC 2442 ⁷
<i>Plaine de deuil</i>	5	II	transmitted by ca. 1523
<i>Se congé prens</i>	6	I	transmitted by ca. 1520
<i>Petite camusette</i>	6	I	transmitted by ca. 1523
<i>Douleur me bat</i>	5	II	transmitted by ca. 1523
<i>Du mien amant</i>	5	II	transmitted by ca. 1523
<i>Incessament livré suis</i>	5	II	transmitted by ca. 1523
<i>Parfons regretz</i>	5	II	transmitted by ca. 1523
<i>Plusieurs regretz</i>	5	II	transmitted by ca. 1523
<i>Cœur langoreulx</i>	5	II	transmitted by ca. 1526
<i>Qui belles amours</i>	4	II	transmitted by ca. 1527
<i>Pour souhaitter</i>	6	II	transmitted 1545
<i>Regretz sans fin</i>	6	II	transmitted 1545
<i>Vous l'arez</i>	6	II	transmitted 1545

⁶ Fallows, *Josquin*, 302–4.

⁷ Ibid, 333.

Chapter 6: Willaert's Frosty Roman Reception? Evidence of an Emerging Italian Musical Style and an Aesthetic Split Between Northern Italy and the Vatican

At the session “Josquin at Five Hundred: The Lost Years,” held at the 2021 annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, the respondent Richard Sherr expounded on Gioseffo Zarlino’s anecdote about Willaert’s visit to the papal chapel.¹ Sherr argued that Willaert did not simply listen to *Verbum bonum* and recognize it as his own; likewise, the papal singers did not just think that the motet was by Josquin. Rather, Willaert was literally standing among the papal singers, presumably in the cantoria of the Sistine Chapel, looking at the manuscript they were singing from. There, he saw that the motet was attributed in the manuscript to Josquin.

As Sherr noted, such a manuscript no longer exists. In fact, he remarked, there are only three works by Willaert in Sistine Chapel sources. Only two, both presumably from the pontificate of Leo X (r. 1513–21), bear ascriptions to Willaert. (I might even strengthen Sherr’s remarks: setting aside *Missa Benedicta es*, which is unlikely to be by Willaert, these works are the only ones plausibly by Willaert.)² Sherr suggested that in telling the papal singers that the motet was his own, Willaert triggered a ban on his works. Such a prohibition might have been personal: for instance, singers who had sung with Josquin in Rome and

¹ Richard Sherr, Respondent at the session, “Josquin at Five Hundred: The Lost Years,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, 12 November 2021. In the distributed recording, Sherr’s remarks regarding Willaert’s *Verbum bonum* begin at 21:40.

² There are only two works by Willaert in Sistine Chapel manuscripts: Cappella Sistina 46, ff. 43v–47r contains *Enixa est puerpera*, attributed to Adria[n]; and Cappella Sistina 16, ff. 116v–130r includes *Missa Mente tota*, attributed to Adrien. Cappella Sistina 19 includes *Missa Benedicta es*, there attributed to Hesdin. This mass is unlikely to be by Willaert, as noted in chapter 1. Other Willaert pieces appear in manuscripts today held at the Vatican: VatP 1980–81 are a pair of partbooks copied probably in Rome for Giulio de’ Medici and include Willaert’s motet *Saluto te* without attribution; Cappella Giulia XII.4, a manuscript prepared by the scribe Johannes Parvus for the Cappella Giulia in 1536, includes two works attributed to Adriano, *Magnum hereditatis* (ff. 29v–31r) and *O salutaris hostia* (ff. 106v–108r). The partbooks VatP 1976–79 should be set aside, since they were largely copied by scribe Petrus Alamire and did not make their way to the Vatican until considerably later. Roman sources for music by Willaert will be discussed later in the chapter.

Ferrara might not have appreciated being told that they could not recognize Josquin's music, and Carpentras, the master of the papal chapel, might not have enjoyed being corrected by a young composer who had just arrived in Rome. Or, perhaps Willaert was just rude. The possibilities are numerous.

Everyone likes a good story. And Sherr is correct to note the relative dearth of works by Willaert in Sistine Chapel manuscripts, although—as Joshua Rifkin noted later in the session—the Medici Codex was prepared by papal scribes, and in that manuscript Willaert is one of the best represented composers.³ But I will argue in this chapter that there is another plausible explanation for what appears to be Willaert's frosty Roman reception.

Musical sources of the late 1510s begin to evince a decisive stylistic change: in place of predominately four-voice polyphonic textures in sacred genres, with individual lines coming and going, we now find textures of up to six independent voices with relatively few rests. These pieces depart from the contrastive aesthetic of Josquin and his contemporaries; as described in chapter 5, it builds on a musical style popularized at the French royal court for motets in five and six voices. Such a shift can be seen in works by a network of young composers in Italy, many of whom were active at the Este Court in Ferrara and in Rome at the Vatican. Their aesthetic was one of sonic saturation, which aimed for thick textures and large numbers of active voices.

³ Jean Mouton is the best represented composer in the Medici Codex with ten attributions (including one doubtful work that was ascribed to Monton, a misspelling by Scribe I). After Mouton, Willaert is the next best represented composer, with seven attributions, including the opening motet in the manuscript *Virgo gloria Christi*. This makes Willaert better represented than his papal chapel counterparts: five works are attributed to Andreas de Silva; and four to Costanzo Festa. On the Medici Codex, see Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Joshua Rifkin, "Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries," *JAMS* 26 (1973): 305–26; idem, "The Creation of the Medici Codex," *JAMS* 62 (2009): 517–70; Tim Shephard, "Constructing Identities in a Music Manuscript: The Medici Codex as a Gift," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 (2010): 84–127; and Richard Wexler, "The Repertory of the Medici Codex," in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 473–84.

For all that these two musical centers shared, I argue that surviving works indicate that the Vatican and the Ferrarese court had contrasting preferences. My conclusions in this chapter build on my digital humanities resource, *The 1520s Project*, which provides high-quality, digital scores for 250 pieces of European polyphonic music from the 1510s, 1520s, and 1530s.⁴ To be sure, these scores suggest that both institutions favored sonically saturated motets. But the Vatican appears to have preferred longer motets with a greater number of voices, in both newer and older styles, whereas Ferrara cultivated shorter pieces that set shorter texts. One strong signal of Roman—if not Vatican—preferences is the *Motetti de la corona, libro quarto* (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1519), which printed for the first time works by Costanzo Festa, Adrian Willaert, and Noel Bauldeweyn, a composer from the Low Countries with early sixteenth-century currency in Rome, but whose works circulated far less in northern Italy. Willaert's *Verbum bonum* is notable for its use of the old mensural sign C, which I locate in a small but significant subset of motets circulating ca. 1515–21. I also identify a subset of short works in five and six voices that I term “short and squat” motets, primarily written by younger composers with connections to Ferrara. All of these differences can help explain the gap with regard to Willaert that Sherr has noticed in the transmission record. By better parsing regional and institutional differences, we can craft more nuanced narratives of musical change with respect to the late 1510s and early 1520s.

Surveying Italian Sources of the 1510s

The *Motetti de la corona, libro quarto* arguably substantiates the notion of an ongoing shift in the 1510s to a new musical style as well as any source from the decade. This print can

⁴ Benjamin Ory, *The 1520s Project*, accessed 3 June 2022, <http://1520s-Project.com>.

be put in context: table 6.1 inventories Italian manuscripts (a) and printed editions (b) probably dating to these years with repertoire by younger composers.

Table 6.1. Selected Italian sources possibly or definitively from the mid-to-late 1510s, transmitting works by young composers

(a) Manuscripts

Source	Date	Origin	Contents of Note
Cappella Sistina 16	1517 ⁵	Vatican	Willaert, <i>Missa Mente tota</i>
Bologna Q19	1516–18 ⁶	northern Italy	95 works, including seven by Jachet, five by Costanzo Festa, and three by Willaert
Medici Codex	1517–18 ⁷	Vatican	53 motets, including seven by Willaert
Cappella Sistina 46	ca. 1508–27 ⁸	Vatican	Willaert, <i>Enixa est puerpera</i> ; three motets by Andreas de Silva; two by Costanzo Festa; two by Richafort
VatP 1980–81	ca. 1518–23 ⁹	Rome	a number of concordances with the Medici Codex and Bologna Q19; Jean Lhéritier, <i>Salvator mundi</i>
Bologna A71	ca. 1515–20 ¹⁰	Bologna?	Willaert, <i>Regina celi</i> [no attr.]; Silva, <i>In illo tempore</i> [no attr.]
FlorBN II.I.232	ca. 1516–21 ¹¹	Florence	Richafort, <i>Sufficiebat</i>
FlorBN 164–7	ca. 1515–22	Florence	secular works by Sebastiano Festa; Silva, <i>Judica me Deus</i>

⁵ Jeffrey J. Dean, “The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501–1527” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1984), 226–27.

⁶ On Bologna Q19, see Robert Nosow, “The Dating and Provenance of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19,” *JM* 9 (1991): 92–108, esp. at 107; and most recently, Mitchell P. Brauner, “A Tale of Three Manuscripts: On the Origins and Uses of I-Bc Q19, Q20 and Q21,” in *Sources of Identity: Makers, Owners, and Users of Music Sources Before 1600*, ed. Lisa Colton and Tim Shephard (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 227–38.

⁷ Rifkin, “The Creation of the Medici Codex.”

⁸ *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina MS 46*, ed. Jeffrey J. Dean (New York: Garland, 1986).

⁹ Anthony M. Cummings, “Giulio de’ Medici’s Music Books,” *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 65–122, at 79 offers a dating of ca. 1513–23. Since the partbooks feature Lupus’s *In convertendo*, ca. 1518–23 seems reasonable.

¹⁰ Bonnie J. Blackburn, “A Lost Guide to Tinctoris’s Teachings Recovered,” *Early Music History* 1 (1981): 29–116, at 46–53.

¹¹ CCM 1:216 and 4:369.

FlorC 2440	ca. 1515–20 ¹² , with additions in the 1520s ¹³	Florence	possibly postdates 1520: Costanzo and Sebastiano Festa, one secular Italian work each [no attr.]
FlorBN II.I.350	ca. 1514–20 ¹⁴ , date 1521 on f.	Florence	Jachet, <i>Omnes sancti tui quesumus</i> [no attr., incomplete]

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(b) Printed Editions

Source	Contents of Note
<i>Motetti de la corona, libro primo</i> (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1514)	Andreas de Silva, <i>Letatus sum</i>
<i>Motetti de la corona, libro secundo</i> (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519)	Maistre Jan, <i>O benignissime Domine Jesu</i> ; Lupus Hellinck, <i>Postquam consummate sunt</i>
<i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i> (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519)	Willaert, <i>Verbum bonum</i> ; Festa, <i>Tribus miraculis</i> ; Bauldeweyn, two motets

Although there is a smattering of works by younger composers, few motets before 1520 push the stylistic envelope. To begin with the best known manuscript of the period, the Medici Codex includes seven motets by Willaert, all of which are for four voices, and many of which closely follow the French royal court style. Willaert's motet *Saluto te* features imitative duos, reduced textures, and homorhythmic passages, all characteristics more in common with works ca. 1510 than with works ca. 1530; his *Christi virgo dilectissima* is a double-canon (4-ex-2) motet that shows the influence of a French royal court tradition that foregrounded canonic procedures (one might think of Jean Mouton's double-canon chanson *Qui ne regretrait le gentil Fervin*). Looking at pieces by Lupus Hellinck, even leaving aside any aesthetic judgments it must be acknowledged that the style of several of Hellinck's motets

¹² CCM 1:234 and 4:376.

¹³ Iain Fenlon and James Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 157.

¹⁴ CCM 1:217 and 4:370.

are so distant from his mature style in the 1530s that musicologists in the mid-twentieth century invented an Italian Lopus to whom they ascribed what they saw as bad-quality music.¹⁵ The northern Italian manuscript Bologna Q19 includes seven works by Jachet; these too show a strong French royal court influence.

Moving beyond the Medici Codex and Bologna Q19, we might first turn to Cappella Sistina 46, which was compiled by several scribes over nearly two decades. But notwithstanding the dating for Willaert's works suggested by Sherr's remarks at the opening of this chapter, the most notable motet in the manuscript would appear to postdate the 1510s: Jeffery Dean has dated the copying of Willaert's *Enixa est puerpera* to ca. 1523–25.¹⁶ More probably dating to the 1510s are pieces by Andreas de Silva and Costanzo Festa, the most striking of which is Festa's eight-voice *Inviolata integra et casta es* (copied ca. 1517–19). But this, too, foreshadows musical style ca. 1530 less than one might assume. *Inviolata* features two antiphonal groups of four voices in a quadruple canon (8-ex-4), and it is not until the *tertia pars* that all eight voices consistently sound together. On the one hand, *Inviolata* is novel: there are very few eight-voice pieces that can be dated to the 1510s and 1520s. On the other hand, a strong argument can be made that the motet largely looks backwards: Mitchell Brauner has shown that Festa drew his formal plan for the piece from Josquin des Prez's motet of the same name and his compositional technique from Mouton's *Nesciens*

¹⁵ For example, Bonnie Blackburn has regarded Lopus's motet *Esto nobis* as “very weak, written in a melismatic style with little regard for the declamation of the words, full of contrapuntal faults and modal ambiguities,” and she attributed the work to the Italian Lopus. Bonnie J. Blackburn, “The Lopus Problem” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1970), 30. Blackburn’s evaluations were highly influenced by her doctoral advisor—and later husband—Edward Lowinsky, and they should be seen as symptomatic of a larger trend rather than as the source of this historiographical quirk. In 1990 Richard Sherr revealed new documents from the Vatican archives that incontrovertibly placed Hellinck at the Vatican in 1518, removing any reason to doubt that ascriptions to Lopus can be assigned to a single historical figure. *Selections from Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19 (“Rusconi Codex”)*, ed. Richard Sherr, 2 vols. in *Sixteenth-Century Motet* (New York: Garland, 1990), 6:xi–xii.

¹⁶ *Vatican City*.

mater, another eight-voice motet created through a quadruple canon.¹⁷ Willaert's *Missa Mente tota* appears in Cappella Sistina 16, but as mentioned in chapter 5, this mass is a double-canonic work of extreme erudition. Again, the double-canon technique points to the French royal court more than to Italy of the late 1510s.

Moving beyond the confines of the Vatican, four Florentine sources offer mixed results. FlorBN II.I.350 contains Jachet's *Omnis sancti tui quesumus*, although the dating of the manuscript is unclear: it could have been copied as late as 1521. Little suggests that the motet was in high demand here, since the scribe did not bother to complete the piece. FlorC 2440 contains works by both Costanzo and Sebastiano Festa, but Iain Fenlon and James Haar have suggested that those pieces may have been copied later, during the 1520s. Jean Richafort's four-voice *Sufficiebat* circulated early in FlorBN II.I.232, but it is the only piece by the younger group of composers in this manuscript. And this motet is altogether unusual and probably self-consciously old-fashioned: the composer placed a cantus firmus in the superius, drawn from the chanson *Mon souvenir me fait mourir* by Hayne van Ghizighem.

The picture developed so far indicates that the motets by younger composers that do circulate in these sources are not yet strongly differentiated from those by their predecessors. Bologna A71, a manuscript compiled in Bologna, includes de Silva's *In illo tempore* and Willaert's *Regina celi* (variants in Bologna A71 for *Regina celi* indicate a close relationship between its reading and that in the presumably earliest source for this motet, the Medici Codex).¹⁸ Both four-voice motets have full-stop internal cadences and do not contain unusually thick textures; de Silva's motet in particular features lengthy homorhythmic

¹⁷ Mitchell P. Brauner, "Costanzo Festa's *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria*: A Double Homage Motet," in *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles (Amsterdam: Overseas Publishers Association, 1996), 57–64.

¹⁸ For more details on *Regina celi* and its sources, see my forthcoming volume in the CMM Willaert collected-works edition.

passages. Works by de Silva, Maistre Jan, and Luperus Hellinck also circulate in the second and third books of the *Motetti de la corona* series, but these are also four-voice works with substantial reduced texture sections and with full-stop cadences.

Among all of these pieces we find few examples of the bold, new aesthetic seen in the *Motetti de la corona, libro quarto*.

The *Motetti de la corona, libro quarto*

The anthology *Motetti...libro quarto* dates from near the end of Ottaviano Petrucci's music printing career. Setting aside two curious publications from the 1530s, removed by more than a decade from the bulk of his publishing output, *Motetti...libro quarto* was Petrucci's penultimate music print and his last motet print. It is among a small number of surviving Italian sources from before 1530 to contain music in six voices. And it contains two motets, Willaert's *Verbum bonum* and Costanzo Festa's *Tribus miraculis*, that are strong precursors of mid sixteenth-century style.

Prior to this print, Petrucci's *Motetti de la corona* series had championed a contrastive musical style which had its roots at the French royal court. Even though Petrucci had published three books devoted exclusively to Josquin's masses (in 1502, 1505, and 1514) and printed a number of sacred and secular pieces by the composer, by 1519 it must have been hard to find authentic works by him. Josquin had not stepped foot on the Italian peninsula since leaving Ferrara in 1504. That the series instead highlighted France's most prominent musician Mouton might have reflected this challenge. Or, it possibly indicated a shift in musical taste. Eight Mouton motets appeared in the first volume in 1514, with eleven and three in the second and third 1519 volumes, respectively. Petrucci's volumes coincided with the reign of the Francophile pope Leo X, who employed twenty French singers (including

seven composers) in the papal chapel during his eight years as pope, including the French musician Carpentras as master of the papal chapel.¹⁹ Between Petrucci's prints and Leo's patronage, in the 1510s French royal court works were Italy's bread and butter.

But in Petrucci's last motet volume, for whatever reason, works by Mouton are nowhere to be found (table 6.2 offers a transcription of the table of contents of the *Motetti...libro quarto*). Four motets (nos. 3, 5, 6, and 8) are attributed to Josquin (the attributions are tenuous: only *Inviolata integra et casta es* was probably composed by Josquin).²⁰ One motet is ascribed to the Frenchman Jean Le Brung, a largely unknown musician today, and one is attributed to Carpentras. These works are consistent with those in the first three volumes of the *Motetti de la corona* series.

But the remaining pieces tell a different story. *Motetti...libro quarto* transmits motets by the younger composers Bauldeweyn, Festa, and Willaert, which collectively bookend the print. The two motets for six voices by Festa and Willaert open the print (nos. 1 and 2); Bauldeweyn's two contributions are at the end (nos. 15 and 16).

¹⁹ Richard Sherr, *The Papal Choir During the Pontificates of Julius II to Sixtus V (1503–1590): An Institutional History and Biographical Dictionary* (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2016), 132–38. Composers included Antonius Bruhier, Johannes Conseil, Hilaire Penet, Bernardo Pisano, de Silva, and Costanzo Festa. Besides Festa, the only Italian composer whose works circulated widely was Pisano; de Silva was probably Spanish, and the rest were French. A document from during the pontificate of Adrian VI (r. 1521–23) indicates that the papal chapel had been reduced and in September 1522 consisted of no more than twenty-four singers. Around or after Leo's death, many of the composers left the chapel. Silva, the first designated papal composer, no longer appeared in papal records. But Festa, Pisano, and Conseil all appear to have continued their employment and were active singers in December 1526.

²⁰ For Jesse Rodin and Joshua Rifkin, *Inviolata integra et casta es* is a category 1 Josquin motet, meaning that it is part of the core repertory. *Missus est angelus Gabriel* is a category 3 (a category defined as “Problematic, ranging from ‘fat chance’ to ‘could be’—but are there really good reasons to believe it is?’”) motet. It is attributed in the Medici Codex to Mouton, but this attribution is also untrustworthy. *Lectio actuum apostolorum* is a category 4 (“the rest”) motet, and is probably by Jo. Viardot, to whom the motet is attributed in Cappella Sistina 42. *Misericordias domini* is accepted as authentic by the *NJE*, but is rejected by Rodin and Rifkin (a category 4 motet). Jesse Rodin, “The Josquin Canon at 500 with an Appendix Produced in Collaboration with Joshua Rifkin,” *EM* (forthcoming, 2021).

Table 6.2. Tabula for *Motetti de la corona, libro quarto* (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519)

Tabula			
		viii	a quattro
Io. lebrung	Deus in nomine tuo	x	a quattro
	Descendi in ortum meum	xii	a quattro
	Dulcissima virgo maria	xvi	a quattro
Noel baulduin	Exaltabo te deus meus rex	xi	a quattro
	Gloriosus dei ap[osto]lus	vi	a cinque
	Barth[olemeus] ²¹	v	a cinque
Iosquin	Inviolata integra & casta es	iii	a cinque
Iosquin	Lectio atuum apostoloru[m]	vii	a quattro
Iosquin	Missus est angelus gabriel	viii	a quattro
Carpentras	Miserere mei deus	xiii	a quattro
Iosquin	Misericordias domini	xiv	a quattro
	O crux ave spes unica	xv	a quattro
	O pulcherrima mulierum	i	a sei
Noel baulduin	Qua[m] pulchra es	ii	a sei
Costantius festa	Tribus miraculis	iii	a cinque
Adrianus	Verbum bonum & suave		
	Verbum bonum & suave		

Opening the volume with *Tribus miraculis* and *Verbum bonum* might have been desirable from a technical printing perspective: to fit six voices into four partbooks, some partbooks would have to include more than one voice—although at least with *Verbum bonum*, Petrucci could have condensed the voices by notating the canonic middle voices as 2-ex-1 rather than by providing a *resolutio*.²² Putting these motets first may have also signaled that

²¹ Edgar Sparks first called attention to the question of attribution with regard to *Gloriosus dei apostolus Bartholomeus*, noting that the tabula ascribes the previous piece *Exaltabo te* to Noel baulduin, but offers no attribution for this motet. The altus above *Gloriosus dei* (on both ff. 10r and 10v) attributes the work to Noel baulduin. But the tenor, superius, and bassus do not share this ascription. *Gloriosus dei* is *unicum* in the print.

Sparks also called attention to an apparent numbering error in the altus for *Exaltabo te*, wherein above the final page, the heading reads Noel baulduin xi, the same as previously appeared above *Gloriosus dei*, instead of Noel baulduin xvi. I have examined a black-and-white scan of edition held at the British Library, GB-Lbl, K.I.d.16. Although I see smudging in the numbers, I cannot confirm Sparks's statement (I see more xv than xi). Since Sparks viewed this numbering issue as a coincidence, we can set this point aside.

Having laid out all the evidence that would suggest that a printing error would provide the best explanation, Sparks instead provisionally accepted the attribution. Bernadette Nelson has agreed with Sparks's decision. Given that the attribution appears only in one voice and not in the tabula, my view is that it is unlikely to have reflected Petrucci's intent. Edgar H. Sparks, *The Music of Noel Bauldewyn* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1972), 23–24; and Bernadette Nelson, "Pie Memorie," *Musical Times* 136 (1995): 338–344, at 339.

²² This would have also helped Petrucci avoid some errors, most notably in the T at 78₁ and the A. II at 78₂. See appendix 6.4 for more details.

Petrucci saw six-voice works as desirable. A comparison might be drawn with the *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg: Grimm and Wyrsung, 1520), a lavish German music print published the following year that also opened with six-voice music.

And Petrucci probably saw marketability in Festa and Willaert. Festa had been a member of the papal chapel for two years and his works had previously circulated in northern Italy (in both 1514 and 1516, Festa's motets made their way to Sigismondo d'Este; on one of these occasions, they came through the Ferrarese scribe Jean Michel).²³ Willaert was probably even better known. Invariably identified by his first name alone—as Adriano, Hadrian, Adrian, or Adrien—the young composer had made waves at the Vatican ca. 1515 and appears to have been appreciated by his Este patrons.²⁴ But even with music by these two young star musicians, it is unclear whether Petrucci's prospective buyers were enthused: *Motetti...libro quarto* was reprinted less than any other volume in the series.²⁵

Volumes two and three of the *Motetti de la corona* series had been printed just months earlier. For these, Stanley Boorman has suggested that the now Fossombrone-based Petrucci acquired his exemplars from someone with connections to northern Italy, Florence, and Rome. For the fourth volume, Boorman offers two conjectures: first, that Petrucci's supplier for the fourth volume was probably Roman and at some point had exhausted his stock of “suitable” music; and second, that Petrucci may have thought he was presenting the latest

²³ Lewis Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505–1520,” *JAMS* 32 (1979), 191–246, at 228 and 230.

²⁴ Nearly all Italian sources before 1530 refer to Willaert by his first name. Possibly, this reflected a degree of fame, but additional factors were probably also at play. To begin with, printers lacked the character W, which was often rendered as Vv. Two Vs would have raised questions of pronunciation: should it be pronounced “vu,” as in Vuillard, a choice opted for by some later French printers, or was it a single “v” sound? But the avoidance of Willaert’s last name was hardly limited to technical printing challenges—indeed, manuscripts preferred some variant of Adrian, too. In all probability, Italians had difficulty saying Willaert. And this issue carries on to the present day: we still have yet to arrive at a consensus on pronunciation. My thanks to Katrijnne Schiltz for this observation. On printing the composer’s last name, see Adrian Willaert Foundation, “Hoe Schreef men zijn naam?,” accessed 16 July 2021, http://www.adriaenwillaert.be/ned/wie_was_hij/hij_getuig_naam.html.

²⁵ Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 843–44.

repertoire favored by the Ferrarese.²⁶ In this chapter, I will consider both possibilities. The first step to determining the origins of Petrucci's repertoire is to take a closer look at the volume's pair of motets by Bauldeweyn.

The Biography of Noel Bauldeweyn and the Circulation of His Works

By all accounts, it is surprising that music by Bauldeweyn appears in the *Motetti...libro quarto*. There is no reason to believe Bauldeweyn was ever active on the Italian peninsula, or that he had connections to any Italian court or institution. Although doubts have been raised by Bernadette Nelson on the basis of the motet *Gaude dei genitrix* in the manuscript HradKM 7, Bauldeweyn was probably not its author, and so the evidence points to him being from the Low Countries rather than from central Europe.²⁷ For the duration of his career, we can

²⁶ Ibid, 314–15.

²⁷ Nelson has noted that the motet *Gaude Dei genitrix* appears in HradKM 7 with an attribution to Baulduinus Tedescus, which suggests a German origin for the composer. She has dated the manuscript to ca. 1510. More recent research has made this identification improbable: HradKM 7 is now dated to ca. 1485–1500 (for what it is worth, Ian Rumbold also has given the name of the composer as Balduinus Tectis, not Tedescus). Compared to the other works by Bauldeweyn that circulate in surviving sources, *Gaude dei genitrix* is a substantial outlier. Chronologically, it appears to predate the first securely dated works (those in the two Jena choirbooks and the *Motetti...libro quarto*) by around twenty years. The geographic distance also raises eyebrows: although we can place works by Bauldeweyn in early sources that today reside in German lands, a number of these originated at the Alamire scriptorium in the Low Countries and afterwards circulated widely.

Until recently, HradKM 7 was the only known source with music possibly attributed to Bauldeweyn compiled as far east as Prague. In 2012 two mid sixteenth-century choirbooks in Brno were announced as having been discovered; four years later, Wolfgang Fuhrmann showed that the *Missa Anthonii Brumelii sex vocum* in the Brno choirbooks was in fact the same mass as the *Missa sex vocum* attributed to Bauldeweyn in Wolfenbüttel A and Cappella Sistina 57. Given that the Brno choirbooks postdate Wolfenbüttel A by thirty years and were presumably compiled further afield from where the composer was active, in all probability, the Brno manuscripts get the attribution wrong. This throws additional doubt on an origin for Bauldeweyn east of the Low Countries, since it suggests that Bauldeweyn may not have been well known in sixteenth-century Bohemia.

Moreover, there is the question of the name: how sure can we be that there is not another musician named Baulduinus? From what we can tell, Bauldeweyn is a last name; Noel is his first. No other works known today to be by Bauldeweyn are attributed in sources to the name Balduinus Tectis. And identification of our Bauldeweyn is a known difficulty, given the commonality of both his last name and similar names: Bauldeweyn may well have crossed paths at the Antwerp Cathedral with both a Nicolaus Bauldini and a Noel Brant, and this caused confusion for twentieth-century scholars. I can add that a Jehan Bauduin served Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (Emperor, r. 1519–56) as an organ porter from 1506 through 1532; a Martin Bauduin appears on, and then is removed from, a playlist for the Imperial Chapel dated 22 May 1522. Either could have been a relative of our composer. If so, this may indicate a place of origin: Charles's *Grande Chapelle* recruited heavily from the Low Countries.

place Bauldeweyn in a fairly narrow geographic area. In 1509 he arrived in Mechelen as an established adult singer and served as *magister cantorum* in a prestigious position at St. Rombouts (biographical information is provided in appendix 6.1). By 1513 he had left the post. Thereafter, he remained in Antwerp at least through 1519, and in the Low Countries for the rest of his life. He probably died around 1530.

But the glaring gaps in Bauldeweyn's biography should not overshadow the importance of his music. Although on balance Bauldeweyn's output leaned generically more toward masses than that of many composers emerging during the 1510s, save perhaps de Silva, Bauldeweyn composed works of substantial length for five and six voices that circulated relatively early. (At the same time, Bauldeweyn's generic preference might reflect the institutions he served in the North, or it might be an artifact of the Alamire scribes and their patrons—more than sixty percent of the six hundred polyphonic compositions included in the Alamire choirbooks produced ca. 1496–1534 are masses.²⁸) As Edgar Sparks noted in 1972, Bauldeweyn's propensity for dispositions with more than four voices—two of his six masses are for five voices; two are for six—was advanced for his time, “close to Willaert in this respect and look[ing] forward to Gombert.”²⁹ Thanks to research on the

Nelson, “Pie Memorie,” 339. The attribution of *Gaudete genitrix* to Bauldeweyn has been given further weight by Edgar H. Sparks and Bernadette Nelson, “[Balbun, Balduin, Bauldewijn, Baulduin, Baulduvin, Valdovin], Noel.” *GMO*, accessed 30 August 2021. On HradKM 7, see Lenka Mrácková, “Behind the Stage: Some Thoughts on the Codex Speciálník and the Reception of Polyphony in Late 15th-Century Prague,” *EM* 37 (2009): 37–48, at 37; and Ian Rumbold, “Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II A 7 (Speciálník Codex),” in *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-page in Manuscripts and Printed Books Containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530*, ed. Thomas Schmidt and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 349–95, esp. at 357. On the Brno choirbooks, see Wolfgang Fuhrmann, “Brumel’s Masses: Lost and Found,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 8 (2016): 11–32. On the twentieth-century confusion with names at the Antwerp cathedral, see Eugeen Schreurs, “Noel Bauldeweyn – Magister Cantorum in Mechelen and Antwerp (?): Some Reflections Arising from a ‘Brumel’ Mass in Brno,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 65 (2015): 107–23. On the two Bauldeweys at the Court of Charles V, see Mary Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V: The Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 83 and 247.

²⁸ Bernadette Nelson, Review of Herbert Kellman, ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, (Ghent: Ludion, 1999), *Notes* 57 (2001): 623–35, at 623.

²⁹ Sparks, *The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn*, 3.

Alamire sources by Flynn Warmington and Honey Meconi, among others, we can place two of Bauldeweyn's five-voice masses, *Inviolata* and *En douleur en tristesse*, in sources before September 1517; a third six-voice mass *Sine nomine* must have circulated by 1520.³⁰

At least one other important music-stylistic characteristic appears in at least some of Bauldeweyn's music: an emerging tendency for a harmonic rhythm at the level of the minim. This can be seen in his five-voice chanson *En douleur en tristesse* (ex. 6.1). *En douleur* probably predates the mass of the same name, which dates from late 1517, as the composer opens each movement with a point of imitation constructed around the first phrase of the chanson. Still, one cannot rule out the possibility that both are based on the same preexisting melody, and therefore the order of operations might have been different. But the chanson also appears in Vienna 18746, a manuscript dated to 1523; even if *En douleur* first circulated that year, it would have been unusual for its time: in most music written in the 1510s and early 1520s the harmonic rhythm was still at the semibreve.³¹

³⁰ The identified Alamire scribes C5, D, and X contributed to Jena 2, which includes Bauldeweyn's mass *Inviolata*. Flynn Warmington has argued that X does not appear in manuscripts that must have been written after 1517, and that most of his copying was done between 1515 and 1518, when Pierre de La Rue died. Both Meconi and Warmington appear to have suggested that La Rue is scribe X. Honey Meconi, "Alamire, Pierre de la Rue, and Manuscript Production in the Time of Charles V," *Qui musicam in se habet: Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, ed. Anna Zayarnaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn and Stanley Boorman (Middleton: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), 575–613, at 588 and 610; and Flynn Warmington, "A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts," in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, ed. Herbert Kellman (Amsterdam: Ludion, 1999), 41–52. Meconi has further suggested that a number of Alamire manuscripts, including Jena 2 and Jena 8, which includes *Missa En douleur en tristesse*, were completed before September 1517: changes in the Alamire scribes reflect the departure of Charles V to Spain. *Sine nomine* appears in Wolfenbüttel A, which is dated ca. 1518–20.

³¹ Whether this harmonic rhythm is featured throughout Bauldeweyn's oeuvre is hard to say, since few pieces are available today in modern notation. It can be found in the Kyrie I and III of *Missa Inviolata*, which are cast in **o** and **ø**, respectively, although interestingly not in the **c** Christe.

As late as the 2001 *GMO* article, a Bauldeweyn collected-works edition was listed as in preparation. No volumes have thus far appeared. Much of this has to do with the original author of the Grove article, Edgar Sparks, who was known to be a meticulous, but exceedingly slow, scholar. For this reason, despite his stellar reputation as an expert on the authenticity of works attributed to Josquin, Sparks was not asked to be a part of the first Josquin committee for the *NJE* and was not initially slated to be a probable editor of any volumes (when Edward Lowinsky raised the possibility in 1973, Arthur Mendel demurred: Sparks was a "slow worker"). Notes taken by Bonnie J. Blackburn at the first meeting of the first Josquin committee, 22 August 1973, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 5, Box 82, Folder 11 (Committee Meetings). Sparks had planned a Bauldeweyn edition already in 1966, but wrote in 1972 to

Example 6.1. Noel Bauldeweyn, *En douleur en tristesse*, mm. 1–14³²

En douleur en tristesse

Noel Bauldeweyn

Superius: En dou - leur en tri - stes - se lan - guy -

Altus: (Silent)

Tenor I: Canon: tenor I/altus at the unison (Silent)

Tenor II: En dou - leur en tri -

Bassus: (Silent)

Soprano (S): -ray - ie tous - - - -

Alto (A): (Silent)

Tenor I (T.I): (Silent)

Tenor II (T.II): -stes - se lan - guy - ray - ie tous -

Bass (B): En dou - leur en tri - stes - - se lan - guy -

Lowinsky following the publication of *The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn* that “I am holding off temporarily on publication of the works of Bauldeweyn since I am almost sure the list of compositions and sources in the Appendix of the monograph will stimulate some suggestions for additions or changes.” For whatever reason, Sparks never published the edition. Letters from Edgar Sparks to Edward E. Lowinsky, 6 February 1966 and 7 September 1972, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 48, Folder 8 (Sparks, Edgar).

³² My edition is based on *Nederlandse Polyfonie uit Spaanse Bronnen*, ed. René Bernard Lenaerts, vol. 9 in *Monumenta Musicae Belgiae* (Antwerp: Vereniging voor Muziekgeschiedenis te Antwerpen and the Seminarie voor Muziekwetenschap van de Universiteit te Leuven, 1963), 76–77 and can be found at <http://1520s-Project.com>.

Soprano (S) vocal line:

-jou - lan - guy - ray - - - - - je tous - -

Alto (A) vocal line:

En dou - leur en tri - stes -

Tenor I (T.I) vocal line:

En dou - leur en tri - stes - se lan -

Tenor II (T.II) vocal line:

jours. Si - - ie perds ma

Bass (B) vocal line:

ray - ie tous - - jours [lan - guy - ray - ie

Soprano (S) vocal line:

-jou - Si - ie perds ma mai - stres -

Alto (A) vocal line:

-se lan - guy - ray - ie tous - - jours

Tenor I (T.I) vocal line:

guy - ray - ie tous - - jours Si -

Tenor II (T.II) vocal line:

mai - stres - - se ma - da - - - -

Bass (B) vocal line:

tous - - jours] Si - - ie perds ma mai - stres - - -

Let us suppose that Bauldeweyn spent his entire life in the Low Countries, with his works first and foremost appearing in sources connected to the Alamire workshop. How did his music make its way to Petrucci's partbooks?

I suggest that Petrucci sourced Bauldeweyn's music from Rome. It is possible that Bauldeweyn's music came to Rome through the Vatican, which possibly secured his works through a north-south Habsburg connection, independent of any other Italian transmission. For example, there is little evidence to suggest that Bauldeweyn was highly appreciated in Ferrara, at least early on in his career. As table 6.3 shows, the earliest that Bauldeweyn's music appeared there was sometime after 1530, in the fragmentary manuscript ModE F.2.29. The manuscript contains the bassus for the *prima pars* of *Quam pulchra es* (f. 12v), transposed upwards by an interval of a fifth relative to its appearance in *Motetti...libro quarto*. Otherwise—with the caveat that extensive damage to the top staff on this folio obscures some notes—one finds only a single variant: in m. 39 a dotted minim rhythm is split into a minim and a semiminim. Conceivably, then, *Quam pulchra es* was copied from *Motetti...libro quarto* or from an intermediary: it may not represent an altogether separate branch of the transmission.

Table 6.3. Bauldeweyn's music in Italian sources³³

Source	Dating	Work(s)	Provenance
<i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i>	1519	<i>Exaltabo te Deus meus,</i> <i>Quam pulchra es</i>	Fossombrone (exemplars from Rome?)
ModD 10	ca. 1520–30	<i>Missa A voce mutata</i>	Modena
Bologna Q27(1)	ca. 1525–50	<i>Ad Dominum cum tribularer</i>	northern Italy
ModE F.2.29	ca. 1535	<i>Quam pulchra es</i>	Ferrara (scribe, Jean Michel)
Cappella Sistina 57	ca. 1535–57	<i>Missa Sine nomine</i> (a6)	Vatican (scribe, Johannes Parvus)
Cappella Sistina 22	ca. 1563–68	<i>Missa En douleur en tristesse</i>	Vatican (scribe, Johannes Parvus)
Treviso 30 ³⁴	ca. 1570–75	<i>Tu Domine universorum</i>	Treviso

This leaves us with a series of manuscripts where we might expect to find traces of a young, important composer but do not: pieces by Bauldeweyn are not part of the French and Ferrarese repertory in the Medici Codex; his music does not circulate in Bologna Q19, which was probably copied by Sebastiano Festa between 1516 and 1518 and features a number of Ferrarese composers; and Bauldeweyn's works are absent from Padua A17, a choirbook with 125 sacred works copied in Padua by 1522 that includes a number of northern Italian composers. And beyond ModE F.2.29, little suggests that Bauldeweyn ever became part of the core Ferrarese repertoire: for example, his works do not circulate in the two surviving partbooks of LonRC 2037.

Rather, table 6.3 suggests that Bauldeweyn's music was more appreciated in Rome than elsewhere in Italy. Such an argument is strengthened by circumstantial evidence. The

³³ This list omits VatP 1976–9. See n2.

³⁴ The manuscript was destroyed by bombing in 1944; contents are known from a thematic catalogue made by Treviso cathedral archivist Giovanni d'Alessi.

manuscript Wolfenbüttel A was copied by the same scribe as MunBS 65 and MunBS 510, and probably comes from Bavaria.³⁵ Importantly, Wolfenbüttel A is chronologically the first surviving manuscript in which music by Costanzo Festa circulated outside the Italian peninsula (it contains Festa's mass *Se congie pris*). Should Festa have composed his mass after November 1517, then he probably did so during his service as a papal singer. With this in mind, it seems probable then that Festa's mass came to Bavaria from Rome. Two of Bauldeweyn's masses, the six-voice *Missa Sine nomine* and *Missa En douleur*, may well have arrived in Bavaria the same way. Indeed the three masses are consecutive (nos. 4–6) in Wolfenbüttel A. Although I came to this conclusion independently, in broad strokes, I am not the first to make this argument: nearly forty years ago, Joshua Rifkin argued in an unpublished paper that portions of the manuscript's contents have a Roman origin.³⁶ As Rifkin noted, Festa's mass is not the only unusual inclusion in this manuscript complex. De Silva, whose *Missa sine nomine* appears in MunBS 510, was also not yet a well-known composer outside of Italy.³⁷ Moreover, the two masses in Wolfenbüttel A by Bauldeweyn both appear—as table 6.3 shows—in later Vatican sources copied by Johannes Parvus, long after Bauldeweyn's probable death. Parvus probably drew on music that had been floating around the Vatican for years.

³⁵ On Wolfenbüttel A, see most recently Stefan Gasch, “*amicitia, auxilium, unitas* – Neue Beobachtungen zum Entstehungshintergrund des Chorbuches Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. A Aug. 2°,” *Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissance-Musik* 18 (2019): 209–41; and Ursula Becker, “Zum historischen Hintergrund des Wolfenbütteler Chorbuchs Cod. Guelf. A. Aug 2°: Beobachtungen zum Buchschmuck,” *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge: Aus den Schätzen der Herzog August Bibliothek* 15 (2009): 179–255. One further mass, *Du bon du cuer*, appears without attribution in two further Bavarian manuscripts dated to around this time, MunBS 5 and MunBS 6. Nelson has argued that authorship belongs to Bauldeweyn. Bernadette Nelson, “The *Missa Du bon du cuer*: An Unknown Mass by Noel Bauldeweyn,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 51 (2001): 103–30.

³⁶ Joshua Rifkin, “Ein römisches Messenrepertoire am bayerischen Hof – Bemerkungen zum Wolfenbütteler Chorbuch A Aug. 2° und zu seinem Umkreis,” Paper presented at *Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez*, Wolfenbüttel, 15 September 1976.

³⁷ Ibid, 5.

With all of this in mind, I would like to return to the first of Boorman's two conjectures. It would appear that as with volumes two and three of the *Motetti de la corona* series, for the *Motetti...libro quarto*, Petrucci continued to draw on music coming from Rome, in this case some of which may have come from the Vatican or Vatican-adjacent sources. But Boorman's second suggestion remains to be answered: was Petrucci searching for Ferrarese works?

A Ferrarese Musical Network

Unlike Bauldeweyn, both Festa and Willaert indisputably had connections to Ferrara. One could make a strong argument that during the 1510s, Ferrara was the nucleus of Italian musical life. In addition to its importance for the transmission and popularization of the French royal court style, the Este family patronized myriad young musicians, including Willaert, Maistre Jan, Jachet, and Lupus Hellinck (table 6.4 suggests definite and possible composer presence in Ferrara during this decade).

Table 6.4. Possible and, in bold type, definite composer presence in Ferrara, 1512–19³⁸

Date	Presence
after June 1512	Maistre Jan is hired by Duke Alfonso in Rome; he serves the Ferrarese court through 1541. ³⁹
5 March 1514	Costanzo Festa visits the Ferrarese court, as noted in the account book of Sigismondo d'Este. ⁴⁰ Festa's <i>Quis dabit</i> appears in Bologna Q19; he may bring the motet with him to Ferrara. ⁴¹

³⁸ This table does not include Jean Lhéritier, who served Alfonso I d'Este between 1506 and 1508.

³⁹ Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 230.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ James Haar, “Festa, Costanzo,” *GMO*, accessed 23 February 2021.

after 8 July 1515	Willaert enters the service of Ippolito I d'Este on 8 July in Rome and travels to Ferrara sometime thereafter. ⁴² If he travels with Ippolito, he may arrive shortly thereafter, since Ippolito is there between 6 July and 3 August. ⁴³
between 12 November and 11 December 1515	Jean Mouton is given leave from King Francis I and visits Ferrara. ⁴⁴ Maistre Jan is present. If Ippolito's musicians are there too, then Mouton and Willaert probably meet in Milan, maybe in Ferrara, and probably also in Bologna.
June(?) 1516	Enea Pio writes to Ippolito about trying to recruit La Fage, who is regarded as the best contrabass in Italy and is a composer. ⁴⁵
10–23 June 1516	Ippolito is in Ferrara; Willaert is probably there, too. ⁴⁶
5 July 1516	A letter from Jean Michel names a “Jacquet” (probably our Jachet) in service at the Ferrarese court as principal music copyist and ducal singer to Sigismondo d'Este. ⁴⁷ A six-voice motet by Festa is sent to Sigismondo d'Este: this is possibly <i>Tribus miraculis</i> .
7 July–31 October, and 13 December 1516	Ippolito is in Ferrara; Willaert is probably there, too. ⁴⁸
1517	Jachet (“Jaches Cantore”) is named again in Sigismondo's account books. ⁴⁹
11 January, 28 January–17 February, 28 March, 13–19 April, 19 May–6 June, 22 June–26 August, 21 September, 6–23 October 1517	Ippolito is in Ferrara; Willaert is probably there, too. ⁵⁰

⁴² 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): 85–112, at 87.

⁴³ Michele Catalano, *Vita di Ludovico Ariosto*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Leo S. Olschki, 1931), 2:392–94.

⁴⁴ Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 213.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 222–24.

⁴⁶ Catalano, *Vita di Ludovico Ariosto*, 2:392–94.

⁴⁷ Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 69; and Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 225.

⁴⁸ Catalano, *Vita di Ludovico Ariosto*, 2:392–94.

⁴⁹ Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 198n21.

⁵⁰ Catalano, *Vita di Ludovico Ariosto*, 2:392–94.

23 October 1517	Willaert leaves for Hungary with Ippolito's entourage.⁵¹
By 1518	Festa is now a member of the papal chapel in Rome. ⁵²
June 1518 to April 1519	Lupus Hellinck serves Sigismondo d'Este in Ferrara.⁵³
1 August 1519	Account books show that Willaert has returned to Ferrara, preceding Ippolito's return in March 1520.⁵⁴
1519	Willaert travels to France to recruit singers.⁵⁵
12 April to 2 September 1520 (Ippolito †)	Ippolito is in Ferrara until his death; Willaert is probably there, too.⁵⁶

Apart from Costanzo Festa, who visited in 1514, none of these musicians was Italian.

Most were Franco-Flemish musicians who were probably trained in the Low Countries. As noted in chapter 5, scholars have speculated that these young composers had connections with the French royal court before arriving in Ferrara.⁵⁷ If true, this would not be so surprising: many Este singers are known to have begun their careers in France. In any case, these figures probably shared somewhat similar backgrounds, were probably of similar ages, shared an employer, and as I will demonstrate, to a degree conformed to a common musical

⁵¹ Lockwood, "Adrian Willaert," 88–89.

⁵² Herman-Walther Frey and David Crawford suggested the date 1 November 1517; however, Edward Lowinsky was unwilling to accept this as he had posited that Festa was in France in 1518. Herman-Walther Frey, "Michelagniolo und die Komponisten seiner Madrigale. Bartolomeo Tromboncino, Jean Conseil, Costanzo Festa, Jakob Arcadelt," *Acta Musicologica* 24 (1952): 147–97, at 166; David Crawford, "A Review of Costanzo Festa's Biography," *JAMS* 28 (1975): 102–11; and Edward E. Lowinsky, "On the Presentation and Interpretation of Evidence: Another Review of Costanzo Festa's Biography," *JAMS* 30 (1977): 106–28, at 107–11. Richard Sherr has suggested that although the date can be questioned on other grounds, Festa must have joined the chapel by 1518 at the latest. Sherr, *The Papal Choir*, 246.

⁵³ Although Hellinck had been in Rome in the papal chapel, a supplication on 12 April 1518 asks for an indulst, as he intended to be absent from Rome on business in Ferrara. Lupus Hellinck, *Three Four-Part Masses*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn (Middelburg: Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen, 2016), vii.

⁵⁴ Lockwood, "Adrian Willaert," 90.

⁵⁵ Whether Willaert's trip to France took place before or after his return to Ferrara is uncertain. Lockwood, "Adrian Willaert," 91 and 107.

⁵⁶ Catalano, *Vita di Ludovico Ariosto*, 2:392–94.

⁵⁷ See in particular chapter 5, n91.

style. Composers in this network probably learned from each other, either directly or indirectly (see fig. 6.1 for a rough diagram of the Este musical network ca. 1512–20).

Even if Sigismondo's centrality in this network is an artifact of how Ferrarese records survive, we can nonetheless connect him to Festa, Hellinck, and Jachet.⁵⁸ Additional connections can be substantiated; for clarity these are not included in the diagram. For example, both Willaert and Maistre Jan composed settings of *J'ay vu le regnart* that appear in the London-Modena-Paris fragments (ca. 1535). Rifkin has suggested that these chansons have a shared origin and date to Jan's and Willaert's service in Ferrara prior to Willaert's departure in 1527.⁵⁹ Jachet and Willaert, too, may have had a close relationship, as evinced by the much later publication *Di Adriano et di Iachet. I salmi apertinenti alli Vespri* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1550)—although one cannot rule out the possibility that the impetus for the publication lay with the publisher.

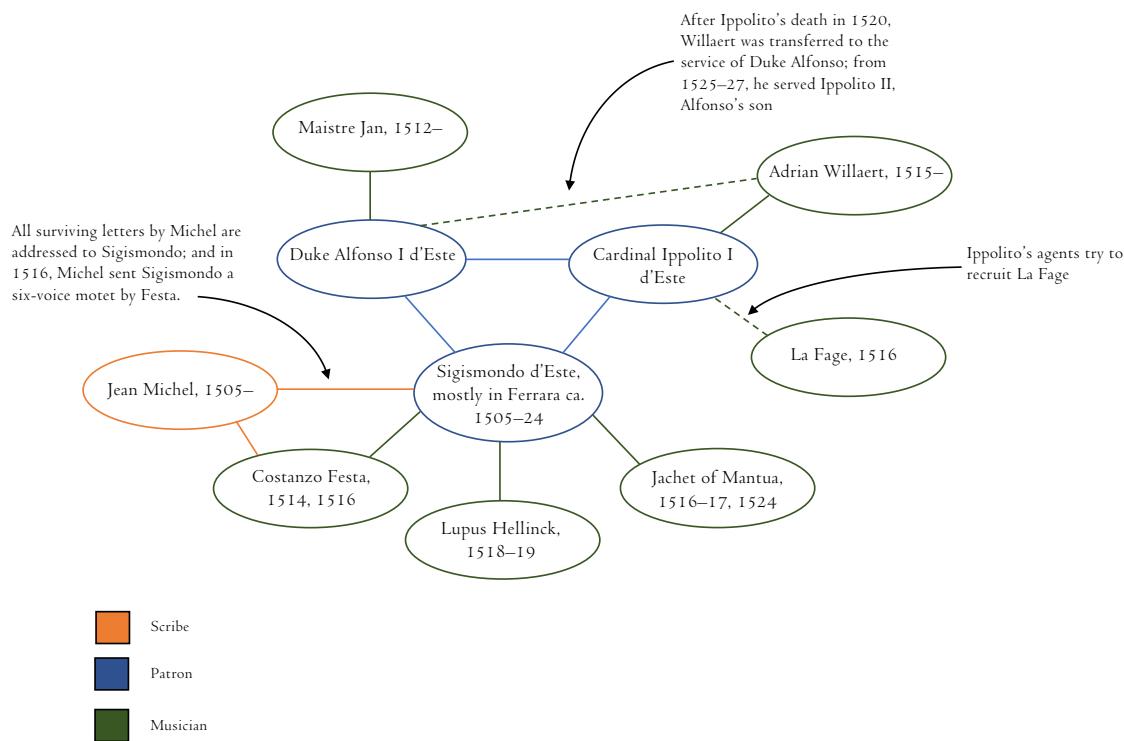
In spite of all these rich connections, it is hard to be sure that either Willaert's *Verbum bonum* or Festa's *Tribus miraculis* received a warm reception north of Rome, and especially in Ferrara. No surviving sources enable us to place either work physically there. In fact, neither piece survives in manuscript sources at all. Setting aside the 1526 reprint of *Motetti...libro quarto* by Giovanni Giacomo Pasoti, Valerio Dorico, and Jacopo Giunta, *Tribus miraculis* is an *unicum* in Petrucci's volume, and Willaert's motet survives in just two further

⁵⁸ Early on in his life, Sigismondo contracted syphilis and was debilitated by the disease. As a result, he spent most of his life in Ferrara, with exception of summer travel to country residences (as opposed to Ippolito I, who traveled extensively as a Cardinal). That letters between Sigismondo and Michel survive is probably an artifact of his extended presence in the city. Sigismondo supported a staff of between thirty-five and forty individuals, including a couple of musicians at a time. Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 198.

⁵⁹ Joshua Rifkin, “Jean Michel, Maistre Jhan, and a Chorus of Beasts: Old Light on Some Ferrarese Music Manuscripts,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 52 (2002): 67–102, at 76–78.

sources, both printed editions: a 1534 Pierre Attaingnant motet print and the 1542 Gardano single-author print of Willaert's six-voice motets.⁶⁰

Figure 6.1. Rough rendering of the Este musical network in Ferrara, ca. 1512–20



Some extramusical evidence might help explain the limited transmission of *Tribus miraculis*. A letter from Jean Michel to Sigismondo d'Este on the 5 July 1516 states:

My Lord, for the present I am sending you two motets for four voices by Maistre Jan, and one for six by Constan, while waiting for better things. But I do beseech you to order your servant Jacquet to be a little more diligent in giving me the copies because I have no copies of these motets, as they are with messeur Vincenzo de moust [de Mosto] and do not let maistre Jacquet waste time, as he should spend some time composing and not be so devoted to falcons and flagons, and to what is inside them, which will addle his brains.⁶¹

⁶⁰ These prints are *Motetti de la corona, libro quarto* (Rome: Pasoti, Dorico and Giunta, 1526); *Liber octavus.xx.musicales motetus quatuor/quinque vel sex vocum modulos habet* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534); and *Il Primo Libro de Motetti di M. Adriano a Sei* (Venice: Gardano, 1542).

⁶¹ Translation taken from Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 227 and 229.

Although Michel does not say which six-voice motet this is, within Festa's oeuvre the possibilities are limited: no six-voice motet by him other than *Tribus miraculis* survives in any source securely datable to before 1520 (by contrast, sources from these years feature nine Festa motets in four and five voices).⁶² If *Tribus miraculis* is indeed the motet referenced, the letter does not suggest an enthusiastic reception: after all, the Ferrarese have seen it, and they are still “waiting for better things.” Michel’s letter also provides a possible explanation as to why there is no trace of Ferrarese transmission: returning exemplars was somewhat lower on Jachet’s list of things to do than drinking(!).

As for *Verbum bonum*, no Ferrarese connection can be substantiated. When Zarlino described the case of mistaken identity, he noted that this event occurred when Willaert came from Flanders to Italy and found himself in Rome during the papacy of Leo X. If Zarlino meant to outline Willaert’s travel itinerary, then the motet’s transmission preceded both Willaert’s arrival on Italian soil and the subsequent Ferrarese interest in his works. The Josquin-Willaert incident could have occurred around July 1515, when Willaert was hired in Rome by an agent of Ippolito I d’Este. If *Verbum bonum* was already in circulation before then, the Ferrarese may not have had a copy—unless Willaert kept one among his possessions for some reason. It might therefore make the most sense to posit a transmission directly from the North—a scenario that could also explain why Willaert’s six-voice *Missa Mente tota* appears in Cappella Sistina 16 but is absent from contemporary northern Italian sources.⁶³

⁶² One other candidate comes to mind: *Vidi speciosam* is a six-voice motet that first circulates in Padua A17. But it cannot be connected to Ferrara, either. Rather, the motet’s other source Cappella Sistina 20 suggests a probable Vatican origin.

⁶³ Some northern Italians possibly knew that Willaert had composed a mass on Josquin’s *Mente tota*: Padua A17 includes the motet on ff. 154v–155r (independent of the rest of the *Vultum tuum* motet cycle) sandwiched in between Willaert’s *In tua patientia* (ff. 153v–154r) and *Intercessio quesumus Domine* (ff. 155v–156r). Perhaps, someone in Padua recognized the link. But Padua A17 is a manuscript of motets and does not include masses, so even if a copy of Willaert’s mass was floating around in Padua, it would not have likely been included here.

Another clue that might help unravel the transmission of *Verbum bonum* comes from the anonymous motet on the same text that was included in Petrucci's print.⁶⁴ This motet survives in only two sources, *Motetti...libro quarto* and the 1540s manuscript MunU 401, but in the later source with a spurious attribution to Josquin. Unlike with Willaert's *Verbum bonum*, it is not hard to see why this motet—at least to a less-than-discriminating eye—could plausibly carry an attribution to Josquin. This *Verbum bonum* almost certainly imitates Josquin's *Benedicta es celorum regina*, which the papal singers knew from Cappella Sistina 16.⁶⁵ As with *Benedicta es*, the motet is in three *partes* (as with about four securely attributed Josquin motets); the *secunda pars* is in reduced texture (a trio, to an extent in alignment with the duo in the analogous section of *Benedicta es*); and near the end of the *tertia pars*, the composer breaks with $\frac{1}{2}$ mensuration for a sesquialtera passage that returns to $\frac{1}{2}$ only for the final cadence and post-cadential extension.

There is no doubt about the authorship question: this motet was not composed by Josquin. Among other features, it lacks Josquin's characteristic melodic and motivic repetition. Several elements, most notably the tripartite formal plan, point to the North

Missa Mente tota could help date the *Verbum bonum* anecdote: the incident had a higher chance of happening before Willaert's mass had been copied with an attribution sometime before ca. 1517 (if Dean's dating is accurate, ca. 1514). Imagining that the mass was sung around the time it was copied, the Sistine Chapel choir should have had a good sense of Willaert's six-voice writing and an idea of who this composer was. In the late 1510s, no one else is writing six-voice textures that look similar to either the mass or *Verbum bonum*. Dean, "The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel," 226.

⁶⁴ Gustave Reese noted that "Willaert has left us also a variation-chain setting *a 5*," but identifying the setting is difficult. The only *Verbum bonum* attributed to Willaert is the six-voice motet. Could Reese have been referring to the anonymous five-voice motet in *Motetti...libro quarto*? If so, this shows how easily mistakes in attribution between two pieces with the same name can arise. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954), 369. See also Alvin Johnson, Review of Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 3, vol. 4, *Motetta VI vocum, 1542*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1952), *JAMS* 9 (1956): 133–41, at 136n7.

⁶⁵ John Milsom has written that "the busy melodic movement, closely worked imitations, frequent cadences on to the same degree, and bright major tonality [are] uncharacteristic of Josquin, and instead suggest that the composer owed a debt to Antoine Brumel, above all the Brumel of *Nato canunt omnia*" in "Motets for Five or More Voices," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 281–320, at 319.

rather than to Italy. Indeed few tripartite motets by composers on the Italian peninsula appear in new sources in the late 1510s (see table 6.5).

Table 6.5. Partial list of motets in more than two *partes* first appearing in Italy, ca. 1515–30

Motet	Partes	Composer	Earliest Source	Dating
<i>Quis dabit</i>	3	Costanzo Festa	Bologna Q19	by 1518, possibly ca. 1514 ⁶⁶
<i>De profundis</i>	3	Lodovico Fogliano	Bologna Q19	by 1518
<i>Inviolata, integra et casta es</i>	3	Costanzo Festa	Cappella Sistina 46	before 1527, probably before 1519, possibly ca. 1517–19 ⁶⁷
<i>O Domine Jesu Christe</i>	7 (!)	Maistre Jan	Bologna Q20	ca. 1525 ⁶⁸
<i>Deus in nomine tuo</i>	3	Verdelot	Newberry Partbooks	by 1527–29

By contrast, motets whose texts could have suggested a tripartite formal scheme adopt other solutions. As Alvin Johnson noted, the sequence *Verbum bonum* comprises six stanzas that divide easily into three groups of two strophes each; as with all sequences, the chant melody within the pair of stanzas is identical. This means that it would have certainly been easier for Willaert—like the composer of this anonymous motet—to opt for a three-section formal design.⁶⁹ But to Willaert, a motet in three *partes* may have seemed old-fashioned. One plausible scenario would be that the papal singers or scribes knew that a setting of *Verbum*

⁶⁶ “Festa’s motet *Quis dabit* is a lament upon the death of Queen Anne of Britany who died on January 9, 1514.” Crawford, “A Review of Costanzo Festa’s Biography,” 104.

⁶⁷ Brauner, “Costanzo Festa’s *Inviolata*,” 63.

⁶⁸ Idem, “A Tale of Three Manuscripts,” 232.

⁶⁹ Johnson, Review, 136.

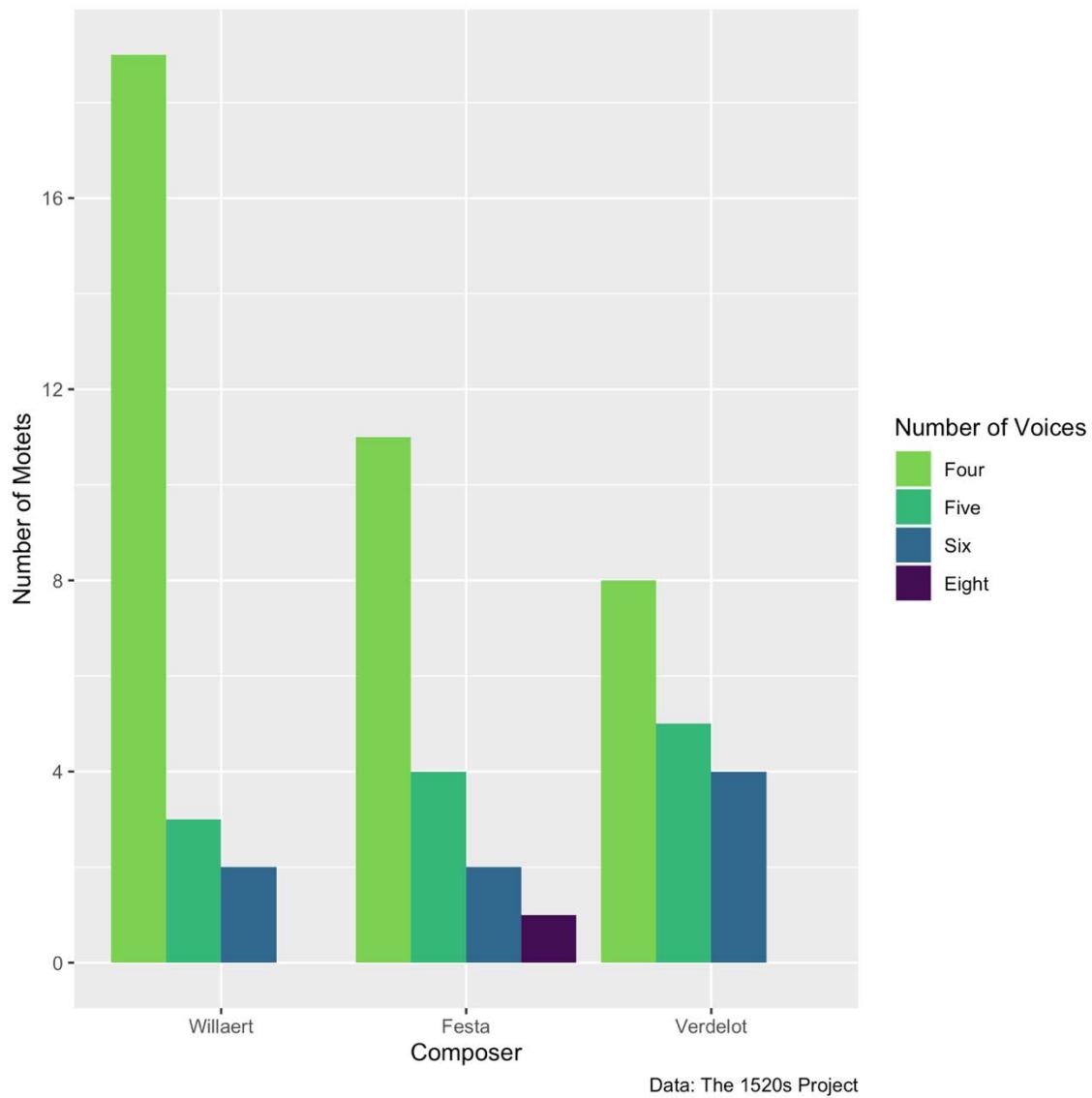
bonum was circulating in the North with an attribution to Josquin. They then received Willaert's motet without an attribution and assumed that it was by Josquin without ever factoring in the musical style. This, too, points to the possibility that Willaert's *Verbum bonum* reached the Vatican by way of the North, independent of Ferrara. Taken together with the lack of northern Italian sources for *Tribus miraculis*, it would seem that on the whole, Festa's and Willaert's motets were more at home at the Vatican than among the Ferrarese. Let us now turn to these two motets.

***Tribus miraculis* and Sonic Saturation**

Whether or not *Tribus miraculis* was composed prior to Festa's arrival at the Vatican, its only circulation appears to have been in Rome. The motet signals a newfound interest in textures for more than five voices: after all, this motet and Willaert's *Verbum bonum* are the first six-voice motets published by Petrucci in the *Motetti de la corona* series and the first six-voice motets by Willaert and Festa to circulate.⁷⁰ In fact, only a relatively small percentage of works by Festa and Willaert during this period are scored for more than four voices. This situation contrasts with the relative distribution of textures for a composer such as Verdelot, who arrived on the scene slightly later (see fig. 6.2; appendix 6.2 provides the underlying list of motets for this graphic).

⁷⁰ That this print was the first by Petrucci to include works in six voices could also have resulted from other factors, including the technical competence required to execute a print with a variety of vocal dispositions or a lack of suitable four-voice music for Petrucci to print.

Figure 6.2. Number of voices in motets by Willaert, Festa, and Verdelot securely datable to before 1530



When we step beyond the three composers examined in fig. 6.2, this data can be contextualized: around 1520 in Italy, five-voice motets more commonly appear than six-voice motets. There was a long-standing tradition of five-voice tenor motets, exemplified most clearly in the music of Johannes Regis. And six-voice motets were by no means unprecedented: pieces with this disposition circulated in the Vatican repertory even before

1500 (for example, see the motets *Humilium decus/Sancta Maria/Cent mille escus* and a setting of the text *Regina celi*, both in Cappella Sistina 15). But in the immediate context of the 1510s, this disposition appears relatively rarely. Although not by any means representative, The 1520s Project suggests that for every three motets in five voices, approximately one motet survives in six or more voices.⁷¹ This makes intuitive sense: a work in six voices takes more resources to sing and introduces greater complexity (by contrast, many five-voice works essentially feature a familiar style of four-voice composition surrounding pre-existing material in a fifth voice). As a result, we do not have motets in six voices in sources securely datable to before 1530 with respect to several young composers, including Sebastiano Festa, Maistre Jan, Jachet, Jean Lhéritier, Andreas de Silva, and Richafort.

Beyond the mere number of voices, *Tribus miraculis* is remarkable for another reason: in the years before 1520, there are relatively few works circulating in six voices which do not use preexisting material (see table 6.6).

Table 6.6. Partial list of motets in six or more voices without pre-existing material or canon in sources before ca. 1525

Motet	Voices	Composer	Earliest Source	Dating of Earliest Source
<i>Miserere mei Domine</i>	6	Hellinck	Bologna Q19	ca. 1517–18
<i>Tribus miraculis</i>	6	Costanzo Festa	<i>Motetti...libro quarto</i>	1519
<i>Attendite Domine</i>	6	Verdelot	Padua A17	1522
<i>Enixa est puerpera</i>	6	Willaert	Cappella Sistina 46	ca. 1523–25

⁷¹ The 1520s Project includes some forty-three motets in five voices, but only fifteen in six voices and three in eight.

This is true for Willaert, too: among seven five- and six-voice pieces that can be plausibly dated before 1530, all but one (*Enixa est puerpera*) feature either a long-note cantus firmus or a canon between at least two voices (for more details, see appendix 6.3).

Looking at table 6.6, it must be acknowledged that Luper's *Miserere mei Domine* is unusual: it is only thirty-seven measures long and is notated under \textcircled{O} (one breve of \textcircled{O} can be taken to last as long as two breves under \textcircled{C} —so normalized to breves under \textcircled{C} , it is seventy-four breves long), surely in homage to Josquin's *Miserere mei, deus*, which would have been well known both to Sigismondo and at the Vatican. At some 233 breves, Festa's *Tribus miraculis* lasts at least three times as long (although still nowhere near as long as Josquin's *Miserere*). Like *Verbum bonum*, *Tribus miraculis* would probably have been most at home only in the most expert and well-staffed chapels of the day; Festa's employment at the Sistine Chapel makes it the most probable locale for its performance. Unlike Willaert's pervasively imitative motet, as described in chapter 2, Festa's does not tightly interweave motives.

Instead, the aesthetic world of *Tribus miraculis* is best described as combining independent voices to create textural density, often using fairly large note values and occasionally featuring inexact imitation. As with *Verbum bonum*, internal cadences are rare: cadential motion is often seen in three voices (a pair of voices complete sixth-to-octave motion; a third voice features the interval of a descending fifth that typically appears in the bassus), but is undercut by entrances in one of the three remaining voices. The motet's dense texture continues until midway through the *secunda pars*, at which point a short trio leads into a passage in sesquialtera. Although the sesquialtera section is slightly sparser in texture, when \textcircled{C} resumes, the density returns, too.

Indeed, like *Verbum bonum*, *Tribus miraculis* is a watershed of its own, emblematic of an increased interest in what I term sonic saturation—an interest in keeping most or all the

voices in play most of the time. The motet lacks sustained passages with textures of fewer than four voices. Example 6.2 shows an example in which all six voices are simultaneously active: while the superius and altus here offer free counterpoint in shorter note values, the lower four voices feature offset longs, breves, and semibreves.

As noted in chapter 5, Josquin and his contemporaries preferred greater textural contrast, with individual lines coming and going. Josquin's *Benedicta es* illustrates this principle: in between sections scored for six active voices, Josquin uses plenty of reduced textures, including trios and a *secunda pars* scored throughout as a duo. Composers working largely in Italy who followed him tended to repudiate this contrastive aesthetic. Pieces in sources from the 1510s with attributions to Festa arguably embody this trend most clearly. In his four-voice motet *Regem, regem dominum* (Bologna Q19) and the *tertia pars* of the eight-voice *Inviolata, integra, et casta es* (Cappella Sistina 46), Festa's goal seems to be an almost pervasively full texture. Standalone duos are rare; free four-voice counterpoint is common.

Although Mouton's six-voice *Salva nos, Domine* (Medici Codex) features free counterpoint in four voices, *Tribus miraculis* is characterized by free six-voice counterpoint on an entirely different scale. On the present evidence, then, it appears that Festa was writing free six-voice counterpoint before Willaert and before Verdelot showed up on the Italian scene in 1521. *Tribus miraculis* precedes the circulation of the first six-voice motet by Willaert without preexisting material, *Enixa est puerpera*, by between four and six years.

Example 6.2. Costanzo Festa, *Tribus miraculis*, mm. 96–110

Musical score for mm. 96–110 of Costanzo Festa's *Tribus miraculis*. The score consists of six staves, each representing a voice: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor I (T. I), Tenor II (T. II), Bass I (B. I), and Bass II (B. II). The key signature is B-flat major (one flat), and the time signature is 8/8. The vocal parts sing Latin words such as "ret", "nos", "ut", "sal", "va", "al", and "le". The music is divided into two systems. The first system (mm. 96–100) includes measures 96, 97, 98, 99, and 100. The second system (mm. 101–110) includes measures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, and 106.

System 1 (mm. 96–100):

- Soprano (S):** Starts with a half note (F#), followed by eighth notes (E, D, C), a half note (B), eighth notes (A, G, F#), and a half note (E).
- Alto (A):** Eighth notes (D, C, B, A), followed by eighth notes (G, F#, E, D).
- Tenor I (T. I):** Eighth notes (C, B, A, G), followed by eighth notes (F#, E, D, C).
- Tenor II (T. II):** Eighth notes (B, A, G, F#), followed by eighth notes (E, D, C, B).
- Bass I (B. I):** Eighth notes (A, G, F#, E), followed by eighth notes (D, C, B, A).
- Bass II (B. II):** Eighth notes (G, F#, E, D), followed by eighth notes (C, B, A, G).

System 2 (mm. 101–110):

- Soprano (S):** Eighth notes (D, C, B, A), followed by eighth notes (F#, E, D, C), and a half note (B).
- Alto (A):** Eighth notes (C, B, A, G), followed by eighth notes (E, D, C, B), and a half note (A).
- Tenor I (T. I):** Eighth notes (B, A, G, F#), followed by eighth notes (D, C, B, A), and a half note (G).
- Tenor II (T. II):** Eighth notes (A, G, F#, E), followed by eighth notes (C, B, A, G), and a half note (F#).
- Bass I (B. I):** Eighth notes (F#, E, D, C), followed by eighth notes (A, G, F#, E), and a half note (D).
- Bass II (B. II):** Eighth notes (E, D, C, B), followed by eighth notes (G, F#, E, D), and a half note (B).

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Soprano (S): al - - le - lu - ia, al -

Alto (A): 8 - lu - - - ia, al - - - le -

Tenor I (T.I): 8 nos; al - le - lu - - -

Tenor II (T.II): 8 - nos; [al] - le - lu - - -

Bass I (B.I): - ret nos al - - - le - lu - ia,

Bass II (B.II): - lu - - -

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Soprano (S): - - - le - lu - - ia, al -

Alto (A): 8 - lu - - ia, al -

Tenor I (T.I): 8 - - - - ia,

Tenor II (T.II): 8 - ia,] al - - le - lu - -

Bass I (B.I): - - - - al - le - lu - ia,

Bass II (B.II): - ia, al - - - le lu - -

New Folks Omitting Strokes? The Emergence of the Mensural Sign C⁷²

Let's return to *Verbum bonum*. Scholars have long wondered about the relationship between the readings in the motet's three printed sources. But as Johnson noted more than fifty years ago, no single source seems to preserve a definitive reading, nor does it seem that any one of these prints was copied directly from any other.⁷³ I can provide the evidence that must have underpinned Johnson's conclusions: a critical apparatus for the motet, listing all variants, is included as appendix 6.4.

Six errors in Petrucci's redaction are corrected in both subsequent prints: these include three ungrammatical dissonances, one variant introduced in the unresolved tenor (T, m. 78), and at least one error that must have been introduced during or after a *resolutio* was provided for the canonic voices (A. II, m. 78). Among the three sources, the Petrucci print and the Gardano print are closely related. Despite the sizeable number of variants, there are relatively few significant ones. Most arose when either Gardano or a scribe of a hyparchetype systematically removed ligatures. And it is worth underlining that many variants between all three prints are relatively minor (on the whole, mostly a series of simplifications, such as where two minims become a semibreve).

By contrast, Gardano and Attaignant share a significant variant not seen in Petrucci's edition, in which three semibreves are added to the lowest sounding voice (the bassus I in my edition) during the second half of the motet's opening phrase (fig. 6.3) (in Petrucci's print, the bassus I rests here). What is interesting is that this variant also appears in mm. 27–28, where the opening motive is repeated now for the second stanza with the text “Ave quod salutata.” It is unlikely then to be an accident, but instead must reflect some sort

⁷² My section title is indebted to Rob C. Wegman, “Different Strokes for Different Folks? On Tempo and Diminution in Fifteenth-Century Music,” *JAMS* 53 (2000): 461–505.

⁷³ Johnson, Review, 135.

of systematic choice (either to add or to remove it). Taken together, it is probably less likely that Attaingnant had access to some independent, northern transmission of Willaert's motet. Rather, his exemplar probably came to the North from Italy. And given the lack of directionality between the three sources, it seems almost certain that a significant portion of the Italian transmission of *Verbum bonum* is no longer discernible today.

Figure 6.3. Adrian Willaert, *Verbum bonum*, mm. 1–5, with the expanded Bassus I motive from Attaingnant and Gardano prints highlighted

Verbum bonum

Adrian Willaert

Prima pars: Verbum bonum

Superius

Altus I

Altus II

Tenor

Bassus II

Bassus I

Canon: tenor/altus II at the fourth

Ver bum bo num et

Ver bum bo num

Ver bum bo num

et su a

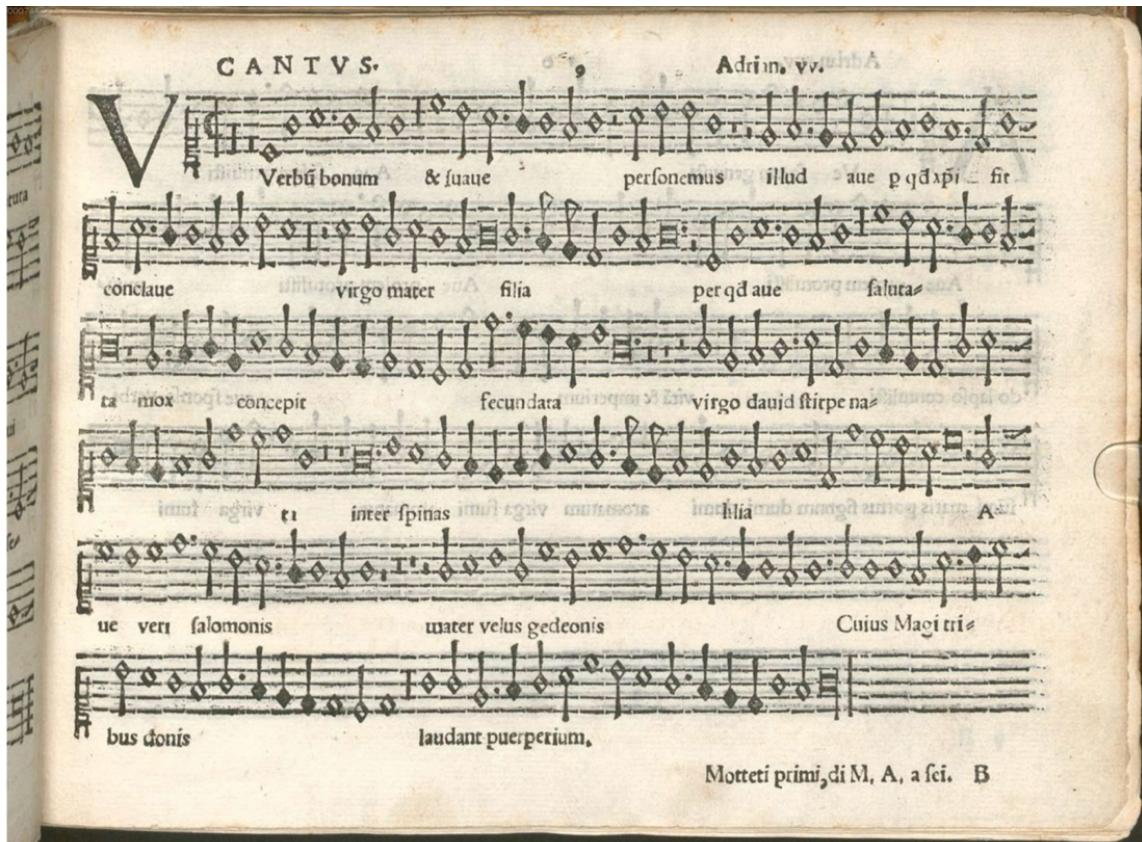
One other element in Petrucci's print suggests that something new is in the water: Willaert's *Verbum bonum* appears under the mensural sign C. In all the music attributed to Willaert in sources securely datable to before 1530—well over forty works comprising more than 4,000 breves of music—only two other pieces use this sign in all voices: the chansons *Petite camusette* and *Dessus le marche d'arras*. No other motets are notated under C. Rather, $\text{C}\frac{1}{2}$ is the dominant mensuration, accounting for over ninety percent of the corpus. The next-largest mensural category is sesquialtera, which, notated under 3 or $\text{C}3$, accounts for just under five percent. Similar to the pre-1520 music of his contemporary Richafort, and indeed in line with larger trends, Willaert's mensural practice was narrow at this time: he never used the slow triple meter of *tempus perfectum* (O), nor did he use C2, O2, ϕ , or $\frac{3}{2}$, not to mention old-fashioned signs that one would not expect, such as O and C. In the midst of such uniformity, the mensural sign of *Verbum bonum* is unusual.

One might rightly ask whether Willaert employed C to slow down the music to reflect an unusually plaintive or lamenting text, but we can all but rule out this possibility: the sequence praises the Virgin Mary; it is celebratory, not sad. Interestingly, Mouton's unrelated *Missa Verbum bonum*, published by Antico in 1521, opens in C. But other contemporary motet settings of *Verbum bonum*, including the anonymous *Verbum bonum* in *Motetti...libro quarto*, do not offer a discernible pattern. One further point of comparison is Pierkin de Therache's four-voice *Verbum bonum*, which appears in the manuscripts Cambridge 1760 and the Medici Codex and with which Willaert may have been familiar. But the two settings could not be more diametrically opposed: whereas Willaert aims for textural density, Therache's work is mainly constructed as a series of successive imitative duos.

At least by the 1530s and 1540s, C must have struck most musicians as an odd sign: perhaps it is not accidental that *Verbum bonum* appears in $\text{C}\frac{1}{2}$ when it surfaces in Gardano's

single-author print (fig. 6.4). This raises the question: was Gardano reinterpreting Willaert's motet for a mid sixteenth-century audience, or did he have access to a better exemplar?

Figure 6.4. Adrian Willaert, *Verbum bonum*, from *Il Primo Libro de Motetti di M. Adriano a Sei* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1542), cantus⁷⁴



On the one hand, as appendix 6.4 shows, the reading of the motet in Gardano's print has fewer errors (ungrammatical dissonances and problems relating to lack of identity between the canonic voices) than Petrucci's. On the other hand, Gardano possibly omitted ligatures in the motet systematically, reinterpreting the now two-decade old work for his audiences. Employing the mensural sign C could very well have been the result of a similar reinterpretation.

⁷⁴ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Mus.pr. 52, cantus, p. 9, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074422-1.

This would fit into a larger pattern among scribes and printers. Willaert's motet *Sancta Maria, regina celorum* appears in two sources, Padua A17 and *Liber Octavus.xx.musicales motetus quatuor/quinque vel sex vocum modulos habet* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534). In the Paduan manuscript, all the voices are notated under $\frac{1}{2}$. But in the later print, Attaingnant's reading features the long-note fifth voice, labelled the *quinta pars*, under three successive mensuration signs, O, C, and then $\frac{1}{2}$ (fig. 6.5). These signs together represent a *lectio difficilior*, because it is easier to imagine a scribe or printer recasting the entire motet in $\frac{1}{2}$ than introducing more complex mensural signs. My suspicion is that Attaingnant's Parisian audience was more familiar with a diverse range of mensural signs than were Italian audiences after 1520.

Assuming that C was the original sign, we might propose that *Verbum bonum* was a unique experiment, *sui generis* in its use of C to denote a slower, measured tempo with six independent voices—all the more important because Willaert was pioneering the use of pervasive imitation. It must be acknowledged that a scribal error may have affected an intermediate source, in which case neither Willaert nor Petrucci played a role in the selection of the mensuration sign; but against a background in which the use of $\frac{1}{2}$ was pervasive in the motet repertory, C is the *lectio difficilior*. As such chalking this up to scribal error seems farfetched.

Figure 6.5. Adrian Willaert, *Sancta Maria regina celorum*, from *Liber Octavus.xx.musicales motetos* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534), quinta pars⁷⁵



We could also consider a scenario in which Petrucci altered the sign himself. Petrucci did renotate some mensural signs: as Bonnie Blackburn has shown, his editor Petrus Castellanus frequently rennotated music in $\text{O}2$ in the more digestible C . He also substituted J for sesquialtera passages in which his exemplars read J .⁷⁶ Petrucci probably did this in the *Motetti...libro quarto* with the tenor parts of Festa's *Tribus miraculis* (J) is not usually Festa's

⁷⁵ Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, 4 Mus.2a(6), superius, ff. 14r–15r, urn:nbn:de:urmel-bc3e9f83-68bc-459f-ad1e-66257ed199815-00005093-1724.

⁷⁶ Bonnie J. Blackburn, “The Sign of Petrucci’s Editor,” in *Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing. Atti del Convegno internazionale Venezia – Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10–13 ottobre 2001*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2005), 415–29.

preferred sign for sesquialtera).⁷⁷ But this substitution notwithstanding, G is how Petrucci orthographically writes sesquialtera; it does not denote a mensural meaning different from J . His hypothetical switch from C to G would represent a more substantial editorial decision.

On its own, the sign C is not remarkable. Widening the lens to include secular music, C is the dominant mensuration for Verdelot's four-voice madrigals in the Newberry Partbooks and in Cipriano de Rore's *Note nere* madrigals, albeit with a different purpose. But for motets of the early sixteenth century, this sign is unusual. Josquin, for instance, rarely used C : the sign accounts for less than one percent of the sounding durations in his music.⁷⁸ On the whole, late Josquin's mensural practice, with an overwhelming preference for C , is similar to that of Willaert. Yet in the 1510s, we begin to see a sizeable minority of motets notated under C (table 6.6).⁷⁹ This trend did not last long: by 1530 for sure, and arguably sooner, these same composers overwhelmingly reverted to C .

Table 6.6. Partial list of new motets in Italian sources using the mensuration sign C , ca. 1515–21⁸⁰

Composer	Work	Earliest Source (dating)	Voices	Length in breves	Use of Sesquialtera?
Hellinck	<i>Esto nobis</i> <i>Domine</i>	Medici Codex (1518)	5	67	No
Costanzo Festa	<i>Super flumina</i> <i>Babylonis</i>	Medici Codex	5	102	No

⁷⁷ Festa generally preferred the signs G and J .

⁷⁸ Jesse Rodin, "Taking the Measure of Josquin," *Die Tonkunst* 15 (2021): 10–28.

⁷⁹ Cf. Ruth I. Deford, *Tactus, Mensuration, and Rhythm in Renaissance Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 144, which states that "by c. 1520 the only signs in common use were C and signs of *sesquialtera* or triple proportion."

⁸⁰ This does not include works in which C is used for a long-note tenor against C in the remaining voices (e.g., in the Medici Codex, Pierre Moulu's *Vulnerasti cor meum* and *Fiere tropos*; in Cambridge 1760, Richafort's *Sufficiebat*). Durations are normalized to breves under C .

Jachet	<i>O vos qui transitis</i>	Bologna Q19 (1518)	4	222	No
Jachet	<i>O Jesu Christe</i>	Bologna Q19	4	45	Yes (major i.e., breve/semibreve)
Hotinet (Barra)	<i>Peccantem me cotidie</i>	Bologna Q19	4	60	No
Renaldo	<i>Hec dies quam fecit dominus</i>	Bologna Q19	4	39	No
Arnold Caen	<i>Nomine qui domine</i>	<i>Motetti de la corona, libro secundus</i> (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519)	4	64	No
Caen	<i>Sanctificavit dominus</i>	<i>Motetti de la corona, libro secundus</i>	4	166	Yes (major)
Bauldeweyn	<i>Quam pulchra es</i> ⁸¹	<i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i> (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519)	4	97	No
Willaert	<i>Verbum bonum</i>	<i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i>	6	186	No
Bisgueria(?)	<i>Confirma hoc, Deus</i>	<i>Motetti novi libro tertio</i> (Venice: Antico, 1520)	5	84	No (only <i>prima pars</i> is in C; <i>secunda pars</i> is in $\text{C}^{\frac{1}{2}}$)
Mouton	<i>Jocundare Jerusalem</i> ⁸²	<i>Motetti liber quarto</i> (Venice: Antico, 1521)	4	225	Yes (but the <i>secunda pars</i> is in $\text{C}^{\frac{1}{2}}$, which acts as an intermediary)
Anonymous	<i>O Domine Jesu Christe</i>	[<i>Motetti et carmina gallica</i>] (Rome:	4	68	No

⁸¹ A six-voice mass circulating around ca. 1530 in 's-Hertogenbosch 72A based on Bauldeweyn's *Quam pulchra es* also uses the mensuration C.

⁸² The superius, altus, and bassus read C at the opening, whereas the tenor gives $\text{C}^{\frac{1}{2}}$ mensuration. C is possibly a *lectio difficilior*. The work then transitions to $\text{C}^{\frac{1}{2}}$, prior to the section in 3, enabling a more normal set of transitions between mensurations.

In searching for an explanation, we can begin by noting that C indicated a slower tempo than C_{f} , although intuitively from at least *Verbum bonum*, the difference in tempo between music notated under the two mensuration signs was probably small. Setting aside the final longs, *Verbum bonum* features note values as large as a dotted breve and as small as fusae. The dominant view today is that the tempo of music notated under C is taken a third slower than that under C_{f} . The risk of such an interpretation is that the opening semibreve motive of *Verbum bonum* could be intolerably slow, although this might reflect our modern perceptions of how the melodic lines should flow more than it does sixteenth-century views.

My reservations notwithstanding, I concur that Willaert probably used C to signal a slower tempo, with the aim of helping listeners digest the motet's textural density, in particular its aesthetic of sonic saturation. Notably, the motet begins with motion in semibreves rather than breves, and, more importantly, with imitative entrances spaced mostly one semibreve apart. A slower tempo helps make all of this digestible. As for the other music in table 6.6 notated under C: it is possible that at least some of these composers took their lead from *Verbum bonum*. In the relatively unlikely case that Petrucci was responsible for the sign, it would almost certainly reflect an already existing practice in northern Italy. By 1542 for Gardano however, such a sign must have seemed obsolete. And some scholars even further removed from the 1510s struggled with these motets, too: Edward Lowinsky assumed that the tempo of music notated under C was twice as slow as that under C_{f} , which to him made Costanzo Festa's *Super flumina Babylonis* a funeral dirge and Hellinck's *Esto nobis* "old-fashioned."⁸³

⁸³ Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 1:202, 234–35.

Regardless of when C emerged as a viable alternative to $\frac{1}{2}$, there is one unusual feature of its usage in these motets: three works include passages in major sesquialtera—that is, with three semibreves in the time of two (although chronologically slightly later, de Silva’s five-voice *Ave Regina celorum* in the Newberry Partbooks also uses major sesquialtera following C). As Clare Bokulich has noted, albeit with respect to an earlier repertory, this relationship is usually found under $\frac{1}{2}$.⁸⁴ Under the mensuration sign C by contrast, minor sesquialtera—three minims in the time of two—had previously been typical. As a result, even though both the signs C and 3 are present in the motet *Jocundare Jerusalem*, Mouton may have seen direct juxtaposition as a bridge too far: the *prima pars* is in C, whereas the *secunda pars* is in $\frac{1}{2}$, so that when 3 appears, the two mensurations are not back-to-back.⁸⁵ At all events, this issue does not affect *Verbum bonum*, which is cast entirely in duple meter. Little suggests that Willaert had interest in tackling this problem once he arrived in Ferrara. Now composing for his Este patrons, C may no longer have been front-of-mind. Indeed, table 6.6 does not suggest that there was substantially more interest in the mensural sign in Ferrara than elsewhere.

Preferences in Ferrara: “Short and Squat” Motets

I am skeptical that either *Verbum bonum* or *Tribus miraculis* evince Ferrarese preferences. But this raises the question: what was popular in Ferrara? What Festa’s and

⁸⁴ With regard to the *motetti missales*, Bokulich has written that “passages in semibreve *sesquialtera* are only approached by $\frac{1}{2}$ and in a pair of interesting cases, from 0. That none of the motets shifts from C to semibreve *sesquialtera* seems to suggest that the impetus behind switching to triple metre is not just to vary the prevailing metre but also to impart a sense of acceleration through to the final cadence. If C is understood as indicating a slower tempo than $\frac{1}{2}$, then perhaps semibreve *sesquialtera* following on the heels of C could have caused the tempo to become too lethargic or the texture too protracted.” Clare Bokulich, “Metre and the *Motetti missales*,” in *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 397–427 at 405.

⁸⁵ Antico prints the entire tenor of *Jocundare Jerusalem* in $\frac{1}{2}$.

Willaert's motets share with the Ferrarese repertory an aesthetic of sonic saturation. And the use of the mensuration sign C can be seen as a corollary to these new textural norms—although not every work notated under C strives for this degree of density.

The Ferrarese also seem to have preferred what I will call the “short and squat” motet type. These are works in five or six voices of about ninety or fewer total breves, normalized under $\frac{1}{2}$. Such a trend is new. Josquin did not write five- and six-voice motets this short: among his securely attributed motets, the shortest is the canonic *De profundis* at 117 breves; the next shortest is *Inviolata, integra et casta es* at 144. Rather, these Ferrarese composers appear to have been influenced by compositions emerging from the French royal court, and especially those by Jean Mouton, who visited Ferrara in late 1515. Mouton's *Sah^a nos, domine* embodies this preference. Through the use of free counterpoint and a two-voice canon, Mouton maintains at least four—and often five—active voices to create a thick texture. His motet must have been compelling—as table 6.7 shows, this trend caught on in Ferrara.

Further context evinces the novelty of these pieces: short and squat motets are considerably shorter than the average five- and six-voice motet written in the years ca. 1515–30 (although not representative, a quick survey of the works in The 1520s Project indicates that a rough average would be 112 breves under $\frac{1}{2}$ for five-voice motets and 148 breves for motets in six voices).⁸⁶ Omissions from this list are almost as important as what is included: de Silva, Festa, and Conseil, all musicians at the Vatican, did not write motets in five- and six-voices during this period that are shorter than 100 breves. Nor can we easily find examples by Lhéritier, who was chapel master at San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome between

⁸⁶ See appendix 6.5 for additional information.

1521 and 1522.⁸⁷ The Florence-based Verdelot composed just one, *Ave gratia plena*, that clocks in at 84 breves. For the most part, this trend appears to have been confined to northern Italy.

Table 6.7. Partial list of short and squat motets by composers in Italy, ca. 1515–30⁸⁸

Motet	Dating	Composer	Source	Voices	Breves under $\frac{1}{4}$
Gloriosa principes	1518	Erasmus(?) ⁸⁹	Medici Codex	5	61
Esto nobis	1518	Hellinck	Medici Codex	5	86.45
O sacrum convivium	1518	Maistre Jan	Bologna Q19	5	60
Ave mater matris Dei	1518	Maistre Jan	Bologna Q19	5	59
Miserere mei Domine	1518	Hellinck	Bologna Q19	6	74
Miserere mei Deus	1518	Hellinck	Bologna Q19	5	71

⁸⁷ Lhéritier's five-voice *Nigra sum* is 89 breves, but circulates too late to appear in table 6.7: it first appears in 1532.

⁸⁸ Richafort's *Veni sponsa Christi* (Medici Codex) has a duration of forty-six breves. If he composed the motet during his visit to Italy, then it can be added to this list.

⁸⁹ The composer Erasmus Lapicida is not known to have been active in Italy, but little of the received biography makes sense. To begin with, we should be highly skeptical of the claim that Erasmus was over 100 years old when he died, for which the evidence is a posthumous and unspecific statement by Johann Rasch in 1586. Then, there is a question of the music: it is difficult to figure out why the scribes of the Medici Codex included works by the court composer at the Hofkapelle of Elector Ludwig V (r. 1508–44) in Heidelberg; the music for the Medici Codex comes almost exclusively from Ferrara, France, and Rome. Moreover, we should be suspicious that almost 350 miles away from Ferrara, Erasmus independently developed this new Italian style.

And sixteenth-century audiences did not all agree that this motet was written by Erasmus: two sources, the prints *Liber Octavus.xx.musicales motetus quatuor/quinque vel sex vocum modulos habet* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534) and *Ioannis Mouton Sameracensis... Selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 6, & 8 vocum... liber primus* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1555), attribute the motet to Mouton. Modern scholars are rightly skeptical of the Mouton attributions: no source from during Mouton's lifetime attributes the work to him. Given that neither attribution is probable, I agree with Ludwig Finscher that this motet is likely Italian in origin.

I would not like to join Finscher and Lowinsky in their negative assessments of the motet's quality, however. Lowinsky pointed to the "awkward and sluggish" progression at mm. 51–53, which does not seem especially problematic to me. Lowinsky disliked the creation of false relations, should an editorial accidental be added to the final cadence prior to the post-cadential extension. But this is not really as problematic as Lowinsky asserted, as evinced by an analogous situation at the end of the *secunda pars* of Richafort's *Pater noster*. Ludwig Finscher, "Der Medici-Kodex – Geschichte und Edition," *Die Musikforschung* 30 (1977): 468–81, at 472n17; and Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 1:77 and 230.

Regina celi letare	1518	Renaldo	Bologna Q19	5	41
Partus et integratas	1520	La Fage	<i>Motetti libro quarto</i> (Venice: Antico, 1520)	5	52
Ave gratia plena	1527–29	Verdelot	Newberry Partbooks	5	84
Ecce Dominus veniet	1527–29	Willaert	Newberry Partbooks	5	76
Salva nos ab excidio	ca. 1530	Willaert	ModD 9	5	67
Beata viscera Maria virginis	ca. 1531	Willaert	Vallicelliana Partbooks	6	78

On the whole, the composers of short and squat motets were probably relatively young, or at least relatively junior composers. The one motet that sticks out, *Gloriosa principes* (Medici Codex, ff. 140v–141r), probably came from northern Italy, too. Scribe I of the Medici Codex, Johannes Maria de Burisetis, copied this piece; in 2021 Sherr showed that de Burisetis had previously been active in Ferrara, noting that this could in part explain how the Ferrarese repertory reached the Vatican.⁹⁰ Following Sherr’s discovery, it is not hard to imagine this work coming from a young—and thus easily mistaken—composer in Ferrara. For two musicians, we can ascertain their age: Luperus Hellinck (a synopsis of his career is provided in appendix 6.6) was admitted as a choirboy at St. Donatian’s in Bruges in 1506, probably when he was twelve years old.⁹¹ In 1518 Luperus was in his twenty-fourth year, as noted in one of his supplications to Leo X. If the music in the Medici Codex attributed to Luperus were composed in 1517 or 1518, they were the work of a twenty-three- or twenty-four-year-old composer, who was just at the outset of his professional career. Jachet, too,

⁹⁰ Scribe I of the Medici Codex copied ff. 2v–36r, 79v–143r; Scribe II copied ff. 36v–77r, 143v–146r. Richard Sherr, “The Fondo Cappella Sistina in RISM,” The First RISM Lecture (28 January 2021), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ATlxoNG6Sdg>, beginning at 1:40:30.

⁹¹ Hellinck’s voice broke five years later at age seventeen.

pops up on the musical scene around this time. In 1516 he served as a copyist and singer at the Ferrarese court. Thanks to the city of Mantua, which later conferred citizenship on the Frenchman Jacques Colebault, we have the composer's last name. Although a novice composer at the time (see the letter from Jean Michel earlier in the chapter), he was thirty-three years old when he first appeared in Ferrara.⁹² For others, there is less to go on. No evidence points to a specific birthdate for Maistre Jan and we are on shaky ground in trying to ascertain anything about Willaert's past before he was hired in 1515 (see appendix 6.7 for a synopsis of Willaert's career).⁹³ The ages of these composers matter because their relative youth might signal that short and squat motets were experimental works by junior composers testing their meddle in five- and six-voice textures.

While Maistre Jan and Lupus wrote this style of motets, as far as we know Jachet did not. This might have something to do with Jachet's more spotty presence in Ferrara: he spent ca. 1519–20 with the Rangoni family of Modena, identified as their musician in payments in 1519 and 1520 from Leo X.⁹⁴ Indeed, after 1516 Jachet is not documented in Ferrara until 1525, and although seven works by Jachet appear in Bologna Q19 and three in Padua A17, none is included in the Medici Codex (if he was not in Ferrarese service ca. 1518, that could help explain why none of his works appears in the manuscript).

⁹² A Mantuan death notice in 1559 declared Jachet to be seventy-six years old; scholars have therefore concluded that he was born in 1483.

⁹³ Maistre Jan was hired as a ducal singer in 1512. Few biographical details from his early years in Ferrara survive: he was in Padua in 1517, which may have prompted the composition of his motet *Ave gloriose beatissime Antoni*, a motet that mentions Padua and circulates in Bologna Q20. Filippo Strozzi made a payment in 1521 to a “maestro Janni musico,” a musician who possibly could be Jachet. Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 230; Nosow, “The Dating and Provenance of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19,” 105; and Richard J. Agee, “Filippo Strozzi and the Early Madrigal,” *JAMS* 38 (1985): 227–37, at 229. It is assumed that Jan was born ca. 1485–90 (*MGG II* gives ca. 1490; *GMO* gives ca. 1485), so at the time that he arrived in Ferrara, he was in his mid-to-late 20s or early 30s.

⁹⁴ George Nugent, “Jacquet's Tributes to the Neapolitan Aragonese,” *JM* 6 (1988): 198–226, at 215.

This discussion thus underscores the historiographical challenges identified in earlier chapters. This apparent preference for short and squat motets has added to the challenge that modern scholars face with the repertoire emerging in the 1510s and 20s, as embodied by the reception of Willaert's *Ecce Dominus veniet* (ex. 6.3). As mentioned in chapter 4, it would be difficult to deny that sixteenth-century audiences appreciated the motet: it has the third-widest sixteenth-century circulation of any of Willaert's motets (see chapter 1, table 1.1). But modern scholars have nonetheless been skeptical of the motet's aesthetic value. In addition to struggling with a motet that circulated only in anthologies and manuscripts, Colin Slim appears to have been hesitant about the value of a short motet, organized around a canon at the unusual interval of a seventh, that does not follow Willaert's later preference for pervasive imitation, but instead is largely comprised through free counterpoint.⁹⁵ Although it is true that the motet is unusual, it follows an existing practice that was appreciated at the Ferrarese court and which still had currency later on.

⁹⁵ H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 1:158.

Example 6.3. Adrian Willaert, *Ecce Dominus veniet*, mm. 1–14⁹⁶

Ecce Dominus veniet

Adrian Willaert

Superius

Altus Ec - ce Do - mi

Tenor I Ec

Tenor II Canon: tenor II/superius at the seventh

Bassus Ec - ce Do -

S

A nus, ec - ce Do - mi - nus ve -

T. I cc Do - mi - nus ve -

T. II

B mi - nus ve -

⁹⁶ See my edition of *Ecce Dominus veniet* in my forthcoming volume in the CMM Willaert collected-works edition.

9

S

A ni - et, [ec - ce]

T. I ni - et, ec - ce Do - -

T. II Ec - ce Do - -

B ni - - ni - -

12

S Ec - ce Do - -

A Do - mi - nus ven - ni - - ni - -

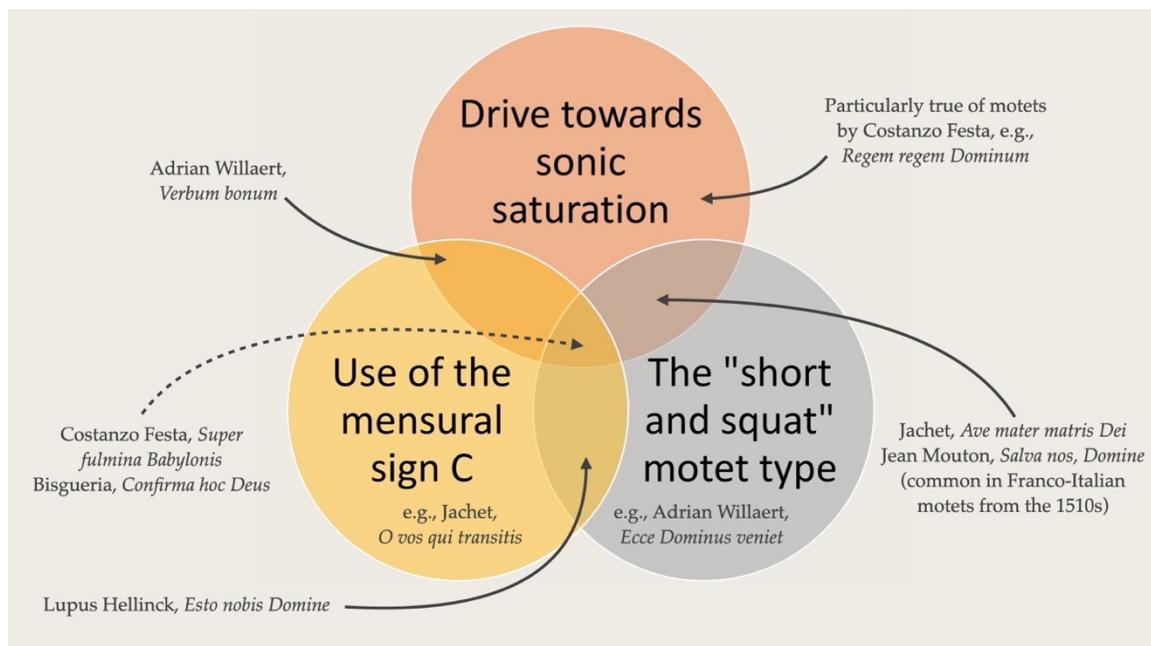
T. I mi - nus ve - -

T. II mi - nus ve - ni - -

B et, ec - - ce - -

Ecce Dominus veniet can be contextualized with respect to broader stylistic trends in the late 1510s through a Venn diagram. Fig. 6.6 includes sample pieces that fit into each of three overlapping categories. As *Ecce Dominus veniet* does not use the mensural sign C and arguably does not evince a particularly strong drive towards sonic saturation, it is on the periphery looking in.

Figure 6.6. Venn diagram of stylistic features in the late 1510s



Verbum bonum is fairly close to the center of the diagram, but it is anything but short and squat. It has a sounding duration of roughly two-and-a-half times that of most short and squat motets and four-and-a-half times that of the ultra-short *Salva nos, Domine*. If performed with the slower tempo suggested by the mensuration sign, the work may have had little appeal in Ferrara, where shorter works were evidently in vogue. At the same time, we can recognize the difficulty of “having your cake and eating it”: it is difficult to weave pre-existing material into a pervasively imitative texture in more than four voices in a work of a

short duration. If a composer spins out each phrase, passing a motive from one voice to the next, let alone does what Willaert and Gombert later prefer, having each voice present the motive more than once within a single imitative point, a total duration of seventy breves becomes almost impossibly short. If I am right that the Ferrarese preferred short motets, this practical consideration may help explain why Ferrarese composers did not appear to pursue pervasive imitation until they had left Ferrara. Also interesting is the lack of motets that fulfill all three characteristics at the center of the Venn diagram. Those closest to this ideal-type would be Costanzo Festa's *Super flumina Babylonis* and Bisgueria's *Confirma hoc Deus*, but normalized to breves under $\frac{1}{2}$ these motets are slightly too long given my admittedly artificial parameters, with the durations of 134.33 and 96.2 breves, respectively.

Why is Willaert not a central figure in this Venn diagram? Although *Verbum bonum* is in C, not much else is; and in general, his six-voice works circulating before 1525 trend longer, rather than shorter. One might instinctively view Willaert's service at the Ferrarese court as static, but we have little reason to believe that he was there consistently before 1520. As with Lupus's service for Sigismondo d'Este in Rome rather than Ferrara, we can assume that it is the rule (not the exception) that Willaert accompanied Ippolito on his travels. It seems almost certain that Willaert spent October 1517 through August 1519 with Ippolito in Hungary; between whenever he joined Ippolito's entourage in 1515 and his departure for Hungary two years later, he was probably traveling with Ippolito as well. Willaert and Ippolito seem to have separated at some point in 1519: Willaert traveled to France in 1519 to recruit singers for the Este court, but Ippolito stayed in Agria (present day Eger) until 26 January 1520.⁹⁷ As the entries in table 6.4 show, taking Ippolito's whereabouts as evidence, we can surmise that Willaert spent relatively little time in Ferrara. Mapping Willaert's travels

⁹⁷ Catalano, *Vita di Ludovico Ariosto*, 2:392–94.

offers another possible date for the *Verbum bonum* incident at the Sistine Chapel. Ippolito was in Rome from the end of June 1516 until the end of July that year (but notably, not in 1517, 1518, or 1519).

Willaert's Frosty Roman Reception?

Among the young composers in 1510s Italy, Willaert and Costanzo Festa were probably the most established musicians, and their works had the widest circulations. Eleven motets and a mass by Festa appeared in sources before 1520; another two masses, eight motets, and possibly six secular Italian pieces entered circulation during the 1520s. The transmission of Willaert's music followed a similar trajectory: by 1520, surviving sources transmit one mass, thirteen motets, and six chansons. During the 1520s, something in the range of another fifteen motets and six chansons can be added to this list (see appendix 6.8 for works by Willaert to 1530). The transmission of music by both composers eclipses that of their most immediate contemporaries: to take just three examples, only nine pieces by Maistre Jan, fourteen motets and one mass by Jachet, and perhaps nine works by Lupus survive in sources dated to before 1530. By contrast, Festa and Willaert are among the very few musicians in these years whose music circulated widely beyond the institutions they served. The circulation of Willaert's music is all the more impressive: no sources from Ferrara survive from the late 1510s, so we are probably missing additional music by the composer alongside central manuscript sources that would foreground his elevated stature.

With all of this in mind, the lack of music by Willaert in Rome is surprising. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Willaert's musical presence in Cappella Sistina manuscripts is limited, with the mass *Mente tota* and the now-lost copy of *Verbum bonum* probably

circulating before he arrived on Italian soil. Beyond this, one finds only a smattering of works (table 6.8):

Table 6.8. Works by Willaert in Roman manuscripts to 1560

Source	Dating	Work
Cappella Sistina 16	ca. 1512–17	<i>Missa Mente tota</i>
VatP 1980–81	ca. 1518–23	<i>Saluto te</i>
Cappella Sistina 46	ca. 1523–25	<i>Enixa est puerpera</i>
VatVM 571	ca. 1520–30	<i>Ecce Dominus veniet</i>
RomeM 23–4	ca. 1532–34	<i>Domine Jesu Christe fili Dei, Beata viscera, O gloriosa domina, De sancto Martino</i>
Cappella Giulia XII.4	1536	<i>O salutaris hostia, O admirabile commercium</i>

Pace Sherr, the limited circulation of Willaert's works in Rome is by no means limited to omissions in papal chapel manuscripts. Only one manuscript connected with the Cappella Giulia (XII.4) preserves works by Willaert—and it preserves only two. And VatP 1980–81 may not represent an entirely separate branch of the Ferrarese Willaert transmission, as it includes a number of pieces with concordances in the Medici Codex and is also a Roman manuscript bound for a Medici patron. All of this makes Sherr's idea of a ban on Willaert's works in the Cappella Sistina improbable.

And then there is the Roman print *Messa motteti Ca[n]zonni Novamente sta[m]pate Libro Primo* (Nicolo de Judici, ca. 1526), which attributes *Omnes sancti tui quesumus* to Willaert (fig. 6.7). Even though scholars have generally accepted the authenticity of this motet, the attribution is implausible.⁹⁸ Seven sources attribute the motet to Jachet of Mantua, including

⁹⁸ David M. Kidger, *Adrian Willaert: A Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 211; as cited in Wolfgang Horn, "Willaert, Adrian," in *MGG Online*, accessed 31 December 2021. The first doubts of Willaert's

FlorBN II.I.350, ModD 9 (ca. 1520–30), and a bevy of single-author printed editions by Scotto and Gardano of Jachet’s works between 1539 and 1565. It seems probable that attribution confusion arose owing to a shared path of transmission of works by both Willaert and Jachet from Ferrara in the early-to-mid 1520s. But it is nonetheless surprising that de Judici and presumably his Roman audience did not sense that something was amiss. No work by Willaert before 1530 opens with the same sort of the square rhythmic style, frequent homorhythm, and numerous cadences seen in this motet (ex. 6.4). Roman audiences may simply not have known Willaert’s music well.

Figure 6.7. *Messa motteti Ca[n]zonni Novamente sta[m]pate Libro Primo* (Rome: de Judici, ca. 1526), tabula⁹⁹

Tabula

P.molin	Mesa de paranin phus Motetti	ii
Padriē	Onnes sāti tñi quesumus domine	v iii
Uerdelot	Lanto tempore	x
Bascogne	Benedicat tibi dominus	x
Josquin	Luuor lāguenx	x i
	Aue regina quattro sopra dñi in tenor	
	.Lāsoni	
Ant.pretin	Belta come la voftra	x i
Rugerius	Ocor negliamorosi lací stretto	x ii
Ant.pretin	Laere gruato e lēportunā nebia	x iii
Ant.pretin	Mia beginn fortuna	x iii
Marcheto	Questa humil fera	x iii
Secodo sa re	Slie pur bella questa bella	x iii
Uerdelot	Ma dōna quādo io vodo	x v
	Ben chel ciel fortuna amore	x v
	E quando andarāu al monte	x vi

authorship were raised in Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, 211, but neither author had been able to consult the sole surviving exemplar at the Archivio Capitolare di Mallorca.

⁹⁹ Reproduced by permission of the Catedral de Mallorca.

Example 6.4. Jachet of Mantua, *Omnes sancti tui quesumus*, mm. 1–9¹⁰⁰

Omnis sancti tui quesumus

Jachet of Mantua

Prima pars: Omnes sancti tui quesumus

Superius Jachet of Mantua

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

S

A

T

B

¹⁰⁰ Jachet de Mantua, *Opera Omnia: Primo libro dei Motetti a quattro voci*, ed. George Nugent, vol. 4 in *CMM* 54 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology and Hänsler, 1982), no. 22, 116–21. I discuss the attribution to Willaert in my forthcoming volume in the *CMM* Willaert collected-works edition. My edition of the motet can be found at <http://1520s-project.com/>.

The reasons for Willaert's frosty Roman reception are not entirely clear. Without a doubt, Vatican sources of the period prioritized homegrown composers such as Festa and Carpentras whose music was readily available.¹⁰¹ Geographical distance may also have played a role: as appendix 6.8 shows, relatively few works by Willaert circulated in the 1520s outside of northern Italy (and ignoring the intervening Alps, the geographical distance between Ferrara and Rome is not much less than that between Ferrara and Munich). But the differences in musical style noted earlier in the chapter were probably also important. Indeed, the one piece by Willaert in *Cappella Sistina* 46, *Enixa est puerpera*, is a six-voice motet more analogous to *Verbum bonum*, the *Missa Mente tota*, and Festa's *Tribus miraculis* than any other contemporary work by Willaert.

As with the three works just mentioned, *Enixa est puerpera* (ex. 6.5) does not survive in any northern Italian sources of the early sixteenth century. The motet was Willaert's earliest work in six voices not to use pre-existing material or canon (both *Verbum bonum* and the mass *Mente tota* are based on canons; and the *Missa Mente tota* is based on Josquin's motet from the *Vultum tuum* cycle). In the absence of pre-set compositional constraints, Willaert freely used pervasive imitation for the first time since *Verbum bonum*, occasionally even with individual voices reentering with an imitative motive for a second time—a feature that would emerge as a hallmark of mid sixteenth-century polyphony (e.g., S, m. 10), most dramatically in Gombert's maximalist pervasive imitation. But Willaert was not aiming for maximal textural density: although the texture is relatively thick throughout, he includes several trios and a largely homorhythmic, twenty-eight-measure passage in *sesquialtera* in the *secunda pars*.

¹⁰¹ See for example, *Cappella Sistina* 18, *Cappella Sistina* 20, and *Cappella Giulia* XII.4.

Example 6.5. Adrian Willaert, *Enixa est puerpera*, mm. 1–16¹⁰²

Enixa est puerpera

Adrian Willaert

Prima pars: Enixa est puerpera

The score shows the vocal parts for the first section of the piece. The lyrics are as follows:

Superius: E - ni - - - xa est

Altus I: E - ni - - - xa est puer - pe -

Altus II: E - ni - - - xa

Tenor I: E - ni - - - xa

Tenor II: (empty staff)

Bassus: (empty staff)

Continuation (measures 5-8):

Soprano (S): puer - pe - - - ra,

Altus I (A.I): -ra, e - ni - - - xa est puer - - - pe - ra,

Altus II (A.II): est puer - pe - ra,

Tenor I (T.I): est, e - ni - - - xa

Tenor II (T.II): E - ni - - - xa est

Bassus (B): - ni - - - xa est, e - ni -

¹⁰² See my edition of *Enixa est puerpera* in my forthcoming volume in the CMM Willaert collected-works edition.

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S: e - ni - - - xa est

A.I: e - ni - - - xa est puer - pe -

A.II: puer - - - pe -

T.I: est puer - pe - - - ra,

T.II: puer - pe - ra,

B: - - - xa est puer - - - pe - ra,

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S: puer - - - pe - ra, Ful - get di - es

A.I: - ra, Ful - get di - es, ful - get di -

A.II: - - - ra, Ful - - - get

T.I: Ful - - get di - es,

T.II: Ful - - get di - es, [fu - - -

B: - - - Ful - - get di - - -

Dean has suggested that *Enixa est puerpera* was copied into Cappella Sistina 46 between 1523 and 1525, where it is attributed to Adria[n]; the manuscript's *terminus ante quem* is the Sack of

Rome in 1527. If Sherr is correct to suggest that works by Willaert were banned following the *Verbum bonum* incident, then this would necessitate moving the date of composition and subsequent circulation for *Enixa est puerpera* much earlier, probably to before 1515. If so, then *Enixa est puerpera* would be another example of a work by Willaert that reached the Vatican from the North, rather than via Ferrara. Such an early dating, potentially before *Verbum bonum*, would make this arguably one of the most important motets of the entire sixteenth century, a decisive turning point in the development of pervasive imitation even more dramatic than *Verbum bonum*. I find this possibility unlikely. As Willaert's early works show a predilection for double-canons (4-ex-2), it is easier to imagine Willaert developing a more lucid style only later. This chronology of Willaert's works would also match the surviving source evidence. A later date would also help explain why Willaert did not notate this thick, six-voice texture using the mensuration sign C. Perhaps the answer lies in the major sesquialtera we find in the *secunda pars*. Or perhaps by the mid 1520s, the fad of using C as an integral mensuration in motets had passed.

Returning once more to *Verbum bonum* and Zarlino's story of a misattribution to Josquin: it is curious that no copy of the motet survives in a Vatican manuscript. I find it hard to imagine that the work was discarded, particularly if *Enixa est puerpera* later appeared in a Cappella Sistina manuscript. And *Verbum bonum* is well aligned with the musical tastes of the papal chapel—rather than the Ferrarese—in the 1510s and 20s. My suspicion is that it circulated as a single-fascicle manuscript and suffered destruction during the Sack of Rome. Indeed, the pervasive imitation in *Verbum bonum* and *Enixa est puerpera*, evidently appreciated in Rome, had not yet taken hold in northern Italy. Imitation-based textural density was in the water, but for another decade was to remain below the surface.

Appendix 6.1. Synopsis of Noel Bauldeweyn's Career

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
After May 1509	Bauldeweyn is appointed <i>magister cantorum</i> at the Church of St. Rombaut (Malines/Mechelen), succeeding Richafort. ¹
ca. 1510	The Malines town accounts book (dated 1510–11) lists a “Noel den sanghmr van S ^t Rom” as having received a gift of money for the purchase of a ceremonial robe.
ca. 1513	Bauldeweyn is no longer at the post. ²
ca. 1512–19	Bauldeweyn is probably at the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp. ³
maybe: Mar. 1516	Jena 2 includes Bauldeweyn’s <i>Missa Inviolata</i> .
maybe: before Sep. 1517	Jena 8 includes Bauldeweyn’s masses <i>En douleur en tristesse</i> , <i>Inviolata</i> , and <i>Myns liefskins bruyn ooghen</i> . ⁴
1519	Two of Bauldeweyn’s motets appear in <i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto: Exaltabo te Deus meus</i> and <i>Quam pulchra es</i> .
ca. 1530–35	Coimbra 2 includes two masses by Bauldeweyn (<i>Inviolata</i> and <i>Quam pulchra es</i>) and might well have been copied in the first half of the decade in Low Countries. The manuscript also features three memorial inscriptions—two for Johannes Mouton (<i>Johannes Mouton pie memorie</i>) and one for Bauldeweyn (<i>Noel Baldwin pie memorie</i>). ⁵

¹ Nelson, “Pie Memorie,” 338.

² Bauldeweyn probably departs before Jacobus Champion becomes a singer at Mechelen on 29 July 1513, and he surely does before Christmas 1514, when Champion is elevated to *zangmeester*. Schreurs, “Noel Bauldeweyn,” 111.

³ Some evidence points to Bauldeweyn’s presence later in Antwerp, including a funeral for a “meester Noel” paid for at some point between Christmas 1529 and Christmas 1530. Kristine Forney has argued that the apparent references in Antwerp are for two other men: first, a Nicolas Bauldini, a doctor and canon of the church, who appears in accounts as early as 1509 and as late as 1533; and second, a Noel Brant or Grant, who was choirmaster there. No other evidence suggests Bauldeweyn was in Antwerp. Kristine K. Forney, “Music Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp,” *Early Music History* 7 (1987): 1–57, at 44–45; and Nelson, “Pie Memorie,” 339. More recently, Eugeen Schreurs has scrutinized Forney’s conclusion. Bauldeweyn may have indeed been *zangmeester* in Antwerp ca. 1512–19. He possibly held additional positions in the Low Countries, as evinced by his strong presence in Alamire complex manuscripts and his use of Dutch songs as the basis for two of his masses. Schreurs, “Noel Bauldeweyn.” Schreurs’s conclusion is plausible: Bauldeweyn’s dense musical textures and sustained five- and six-voice writing would be remarkably forward-looking if his Mechelen position was his final one.

⁴ That both Jena 2 and Jena 8 contain Bauldeweyn’s mass *Inviolata* is notable: repertoire in manuscripts destined for Frederick III, Elector of Saxony (r. 1486–1525) was carefully controlled, and this is the only duplication in manuscripts intended for him. Honey Meconi, “Range, Repertoire, and Recipient in the Alamire Manuscripts,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 11 (2019): 97–112, at 97n2.

⁵ This fits well with Bauldeweyn’s death being ca. 1529–30. Schreurs, “Noel Bauldeweyn,” 115.

Appendix 6.2. Apparatus for Figure 6.2

Table of Motets by Willaert, Festa, and Verdelot in Sources to 1530

a) Adrian Willaert

Motet	Voices	Source (Dating)
Virgo gloria	4	Medici Codex (1518)
Saluto te	4	Medici Codex
Regina celi	4	Medici Codex
Christi virgo dilectissima	4	Medici Codex
Veni sancte spiritus	4	Medici Codex
Beatus Johannes apostolus	4	Medici Codex
Intercessio, quesumus,	4	Medici Codex
Domine		
O gemma clarissima	4	Bologna Q19 (1518)
Dominus regit me	4	Bologna Q19
Quia devotis laudibus	4	Bologna Q19
Verbum bonum	6	<i>Motetti... libro quarto</i> (1519)
Sancta et immaculata	4	<i>Motetti novi e chanzonni</i> (Venice: Antico, 1520) virginitas
Inter natos mulierum	4	<i>Motetti novi e chanzonni</i>
Quid non ebrietas	4	<i>Libro primo de la fortuna</i> (Rome: de Judici, 1526), 1521 ¹
Sancta Maria regina celorum	5	Padua A17 (1522)
Beata dei genitrix	4	Padua A17
Omnipotens sempiterne deus	4	Padua A17
Inclite dux salve victor	5	Padua A17
In tua patientia permanens	4	Padua A17
Congratulamini mihi omnes	4	Copenhagen 1848 (ca. 1525)
Quasi unus de paradisi	4	Bologna Q20 (ca. 1525)
Enixa est puerpera	6	Cappella Sistina 46 (1527)
Pater noster	4	Newberry Partbooks (1527–29)
Ecce Dominus veniet	5	Newberry Partbooks

b) Costanzo Festa

Motet	Voices	Source (Dating)
Quis dabit	4	Bologna Q19 (1518)
O pulcherrima virgo	4	Bologna Q19
Elisabeth beatissima	4	Bologna Q19
Regem regem Dominum	4	Bologna Q19
Regem archangelorum	4	Bologna Q19
Super flumina babilonis	5	Medici Codex (1518)
Deduc me, Domine	4	Medici Codex

¹ *Quid non ebrietas* circulated at the Vatican during the papacy of Leo X, who died in 1521. This is not a dating for the *Libro primo de la fortuna*.

Angelus ad pastores	4	Medici Codex
Regina celi, letare	5	Medici Codex
Tribus miraculis	6	<i>Motetti...libro quarto</i> (1519)
Maria Virgo, prescripta	5	<i>Motetti novi libro tertio</i> (Venice: Antico, 1520)
Quam pulchra es	4	<i>Motetti novi libro quarto</i> (Venice: Antico, 1521)
Nunc dimittis servum tuum	4	<i>Motetti novi libro quarto</i>
Felix anna	4	Padua A17 (1522)
Vidi speciosam	6	Padua A17
Congratulamini mihi	4	Bologna Q20 (ca. 1525)
Inviolata, integra et casta es	8	Cappella Sistina 46 (1527)
In illo tempore	5	Cappella Sistina 46

c) Philippe Verdelot

Motet	Voices	Source (Dating)
Sancta maria succurre miseris	4	Padua A17 (1522)
Attende Domine	6	Padua A17
Ave sanctissima Maria	4	<i>Fior de Motetti e Canzoni novi</i> (Rome: Giunta, 1523)
Tribulatio et angustia	4	<i>Fior de Motetti e Canzoni novi</i>
Beati qui habitant	4	Bologna SP 31 (ca. 1527)
O dulcissime Domine	5	Newberry Partbooks (1527–29)
Congregati sunt	6	Newberry Partbooks
Deus, in nomine tuo	6	Newberry Partbooks
Gaudeamus omnes in Domino	4	Newberry Partbooks
Victime pascali laudes	4	Newberry Partbooks
Ad Dominum cum tribularer	4	Newberry Partbooks
Hesterna die	4	Newberry Partbooks
Si bona suscepimus	5	Newberry Partbooks
In te, Domine, speravi	5	Newberry Partbooks
Ave gratia plena	5	Newberry Partbooks
Recordare, Domine	5	Newberry Partbooks
Sancta Maria, virgo virginum	6	Newberry Partbooks

d) Overview (“MotetsbyVoices.csv”)

Composer	Four Voices	Five Voices	Six Voices	Eight Voices
Willaert	19	3	2	0
Festa	11	4	2	1
Verdelot	8	5	4	0

Code in ggplot for Figure 6.3

```
library(tidyverse)
library(ggplot2)
library(here)
library(RColorBrewer)

MotetsbyVoices <- read.csv("MotesbyVoices.csv")

install.packages("viridis")

library(reshape2)
library("viridis")

MotetsbyVoices_long <- melt(MotetsbyVoices)

p <- ggplot(data = MotetsbyVoices_long, mapping = aes(reorder(Composer, -value), value,
fill = variable))

p2 <- p + geom_bar(position = "dodge", stat = "identity") + labs(x = "Composer", y =
"Number of Motets", caption = "Data: The 1520s Project", fill = guide_legend(title =
"Number of Voices")) + scale_y_continuous(breaks=seq(0,24,4))

viridis_palatte <- c("#7ad151", "#35b779", "#31688e", "#440154")

p3 <- p2 + scale_fill_manual(values = viridis_palatte)

p3
```

Appendix 6.3. Adrian Willaert's Five- and Six-Voice Works to 1530

Source (dating)	Work	Attribution (Secure: ✓)	Voices	Canon?	Cantus firmus?
Cappella Sistina 16 (before 1517)	<i>Missa Mente tota</i>	Adrien (✓)	6	✓	
<i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i> (1519)	<i>Verbum bonum</i>	Adrianus (✓)	6	✓	
<i>Motetti et carmina gallica</i> (Venice: Antico, ca. 1521) ¹	<i>Je l'ay aymée bien sept ans & demy</i>	[anon.]	5	✓	
Padua A17 (1522)	<i>Sancta Maria, regina celorum</i>	[anon.] (✓?)	5		✓
<i>Famosissimi Adriani Willaert... Liber Primus. Quinque Vocum...</i> (Venice: Scotto, 1539) (dating to Oct. 1525? on the basis of its text)	<i>Victor, io, salve</i>	Adriani Willaert (✓)	5		✓
Cappella Sistina 46 (ca. 1523–25)	<i>Enixa est puerpera</i>	Adria[n] (✓)	6		
Newberry Partbooks (1527–29)	<i>Ecce Dominus veniet</i>	[anon.] (✓)	5	✓	

¹ Only the altus partbook is extant.

Appendix 6.4. Critical Apparatus for Adrian Willaert, *Verbum bonum*

Sources

- 1519** *Motetti de la corona, libro quarto* (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519)
- 1534** *Liber octavus.xx.musicales motetos quatuor/ quinque vel sex vocum modulos habet*
(Paris: Attaingnant, 1534)
- 1542** *Il Primo Libro de Motetti di M. Adriano a Sei* (Venice: Gardano, 1542)

Voice Designations

	1 (Superius)	2 (Altus I)	3 (Altus II)	4 (Tenor)	5 (Bassus II)	6 (Bassus I)
1519	Superius	Altus	Altus	Tenor	Secundus Bassus	Primus Bassus
1534	Superius	Primus Contratenor	Secundus Contratenor	Tenor	Secundus Tenor	Bassus
1542	Cantus	Altus	Quintus	Tenor	Sextus	Bassus

Discrepancies between edition and principal source, *Motetti de la corona, libro quarto*¹

Location	Voice	Discrepancy	Source of reading in the edition	Reason for departing from principal source
28 ₁	A. I	Sb-c' instead of Sb-e'	1534, 1542	not idiomatic; printer's or scribe's eye may have followed the melodic contour at m. 30
54 ₁	B. II	Sm-d instead of Sm-c	1534, 1542	ungrammatical dissonance
65 ₁ -68 ₁	A. I	Sb/p-e' 2Sm-d' c' instead of Mi/p-e' Fu- d' c' [...]unchanged] Sb-r	1534, 1542	ungrammatical dissonance; printer's or scribe's eye may have followed this edition's m. 66
78 ₁	T	Sb-r instead of Sb-g	1534, 1542	maintaining canonic identity; A. II at m. 80 otherwise has an ungrammatical dissonance

¹ My edition can be found at The 1520s Project (<http://1520s-Project.com>). In Petrucci's edition, the lowest sounding voice is the Bassus (this edition's Bassus I), rather than the Secundus Bassus (this edition's Bassus II); I have followed this by having the B. I be the lowest sounding voice.

78 ₂	A. II	Br/p-g instead of Br-g Sb-g	1534, 1542	matching canonic voices, following T
80 ₁ Variants	A. II	Sb-r instead of Sb-c'	1534, 1542	ungrammatical dissonance

Location	Voice	Source	Variant	This Edition
	all	1542	♩ mensuration	♩ mensuration
4 ₁₋₅ ₁	B. I	1534, 1542	3Sb-f e d	Br-r Sb-r
7 ₁	A. I	1534	Sb-r	Sb-d'
10 ₂	A. I	1534, 1542	Br-d' Mi-d'	Br/p-d'
11 ₁₋₂	B. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
13 ₂	B. II	1534, 1542	Mi-d	Mi-e
17 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534	Sb-c	2Mi-c c
20 ₃₋₂₁ ₁	B. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
21 ₄₋₂₂ ₃	A. I	1534	Sb-g' Mi-f'	Mi/p-g' 3Sm-f' f' e'
24 ₁₋₂	B. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
24 ₁₋₂₅ ₁	B. II	1534	3-note lig.	COP lig. Br
27 ₁₋₂₈ ₁	B. I	1534, 1542	3Sb-f e d (same as mm. 4-5)	Br-r Sb-r
28 ₁	A. I	1519	Sb-e'	Sb-c'
35 ₁₋₂	A. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
35 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534	COP lig.	No COP lig.
40 ₁	B. II	1534	2Sm-d' e'	Mi-d'
41 ₃₋₄₂ ₁	T	1534	2Sb-g g	Sb/p-g Mi-g
43 ₁₋₂	A. II	1534	2Sb-c' c'	Sb/p-c' Mi-c'
44 ₁	A. I	1534, 1542	2Mi-r b	Sb-b
52 ₁₋₅₃ ₁	A. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
52 ₁₋₅₃ ₁	B. I	1542	No lig.	lig.
54 ₁	B. II	1519	Sm-c (error)	Sm-d

55 ₂	B. I	1534	Mi-d Sb-d	Sb/p-d
57 ₂ -58 ₁	A. I	1534	Sb-d' Mi-r	3Mi-d' d e
58 ₁₋₂	S	1534, 1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
58 ₃ -59 ₁	T	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
60 ₁₋₂	A. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
61 ₁₋₂	B. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
62 ₁	A. I	1534	2Sm-c' b	Mi-c'
62 ₁₋₂	S	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
63 ₂	B. I	1534	Mi-e	Mi-f
63 ₃ -64 ₁	B. I	1534	COP lig.	No COP lig.
65 ₁ -68 ₁	A. I	1519	Mi/p-e' Fu-d' c' [...unchanged] Sb-r	Sb/p-e' 2Sm-d' c'
65 ₃ -66 ₁	T	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
67 ₁₋₂	A. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
67 ₂ -68 ₁	B. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
68 ₁	A. I	1534	Sb-r Br-d'	Br/p-d'
70 ₂	B. II	1534	2Sb-g g	Br-g
74 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534	COP lig.	No COP lig.
78 ₁	T	1519	Sb-g	Sb-r
78 ₂	A. II	1519	Br-g Sb-g	Br/p-g
79 ₁₋₂	T	1534	Sb/p-g	Sb-g Mi-g
80 ₁	A. II	1519	Sb-c'	Sb-r
80 ₂ -81 ₁	A. II	1534	Sb/p-c'	Sb-c' Mi-c'
81 ₂ -82 ₁	B. I	1534, 1542	Br/p-G	Br-G Sb-G
85 ₃ -86 ₁	B. II	1534, 1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
86 ₁₋₂	B. II	1534	COP lig.	No COP lig.
88 ₂ -89 ₁	A. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.

89 ₂ -90 ₁	S	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
94 ₁₋₂	S	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
94 ₂ -95 ₁	B. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
95 ₂ -96 ₁	B. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
99 ₂ -100 ₁	S	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
102 ₁₋₂	B. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
106 ₁₋₂	A. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
107 ₁₋₂	S	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
107 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534, 1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
111 ₂ -112 ₁	S	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
112 ₁₋₂	B. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
113 ₁₋₂	B. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
117 ₁₋₂	S	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
119 ₂ -120 ₁	B. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
121 ₃	B. I	1534	Sb-d (error; correct note possibly written in pen in edition at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)	Sb-c
124 ₁₋₂	B. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
127 ₁₋₂	B. II	1534	COP lig.	No COP lig.
131 ₄	A. I	1542	Sm-b (error)	Mi-b
134 ₃	S	1534	Mi/p-g' Sm-f'	Sb-g'
135 ₁₋₂	B. II	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
136 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534, 1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
137 ₁₋₂	B. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
139 ₁₋₂	B. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
140 ₁₋₂	S	1534, 1542	Sb/p-g'	Sb-g' Mi-g'

141 ₂ -142 ₁	B. I	1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
143 ₂ -144 ₁	B. I	1534, 1542	No COP lig.	COP lig.
144 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534	COP lig.	No COP lig.
144 ₂ -145 ₁	B. II	1534, 1542	Sb/p-g	Sb-g Mi-g
145 ₂₋₃	B. II	1534	Mi-c Sb-c	Sb-c Mi-c
145 ₂₋₃	B. II	1542	Sb/p-c	Sb-c Mi-c
148 ₁	A. I	1542	Sb-a Mi-a	Sb/p-a
154 ₁₋₂	A. II	1534	Sb-f'	2Mi-f' f'
154 ₄ -155 ₁	A. II	1534	2Mi-d' d'	Mi/p-d' Sm-c'
156 ₁₋₂	T	1534	Sb-b	2Mi-b b
156 ₄ -157 ₁	T	1534	2Mi-g g	Mi/p-g Sm-f
160 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534	Sb-e	2Mi-e e
165 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534	Sb-e (same variant as B. I, m. 160)	2Mi-e e
166 ₁	A. I	1534	2Sm-b a Sb-b	Sb/p-b
168 ₁	B. I	1534	Sm-A B	Mi-A
177 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534, 1542	Br-G	2Sb-G G
182 ₁₋₂	B. I	1534, 1542	Br-G	2Sb-G G
183 ₁₋₂	B. I	1542	Br-d	2Sb-d d

Appendix 6.5. Motet Length Calculations

My calculations assume that the duration of one breve under **O** can be taken to last as long as two breves under **♩**.¹ The relationship between **♩** and **C** in this repertory is not yet clear, given the apparent interchangeability of these mensural signs by scribes and printers. For the purposes of this calculation, I consider one breve under **C** to have an equivalent duration to 1.33 breves under **♩**. **C2** is taken to be equivalent to **♩** whether or not imperfect *modus* is implicated.²

Table of Motets in Five and Six Voices in The 1520s Project appearing between 1515 and 1530

Motet	Composer	Voices	Calculations	Breves under ♩
			40 breves, C ;	
Confirma hoc deus	Bisgueria	5	43, ♩	96.2
Ego sum qui sum	Conseil	5		174
Gloriosa principes	Erasmus	5		61
Regina celi letare	Co. Festa	5		104
Super flumina babilonis	Co. Festa	5	101 breves, C	134.33
Maria virgo, prescripta	Co. Festa	5		130
In illo tempore	Co. Festa	5		135
Tribus miraculis	Co. Festa	6		233
Vidi speciosam	Co. Festa	6		188
Inviolata, integra, et casta es	Co. Festa	8		196
Sufficiebat	Jachet	5		116
Ave mater matris dei	Jachet	5		59
O sacrum convivium	Jan	5		60
Partus et integritas	La Fage	5		52
Alma redemptoris mater	Le Santier	5		132
Deus in nomine tuo	Lhéritier	5		234

¹ Even if this relationship turns out not to be the right one, it is surely close—and in any case only one work is affected.

² Deford, *Tactus, Mensuration, and Rhythm*, 168.

Esto nobis	Lupus	5	65 breves, C	86.45
Miserere mei Deus	Lupus	5		71
Miserere mei Domine	Lupus	6	37 breves, O	74
Fiere tropos	Moulu	5		104
Vulnerasti cor meum	Moulu	5		174
Per lignum	Mouton	5		63
Tua est potentia	Mouton	5		69
Peccata mea	Mouton	5		68
Moriens lux	Mouton	5		79
Missus est angelus gabriel	Mouton	5		193
Ave Maria gratia plena	Mouton	5		191
Salva nos, Domine	Mouton	6		38
Nesciens mater	Mouton	8		81
Regina celi	Renaldo	5		41
Veni, sponsa Christi	Richafort	5		46
Pater noster	Richafort	5		86
Jam non dicam	Richafort	5		122
O beata infantia	Richafort	6		177
			84 breves, C;	
Omnis pulchritudo Domini	de Silva	5	51, C2	135
			110 breves, C;	
Puer natus est	de Silva	5	100, C2	210
Ave regina celorum II	de Silva	5		164
Ave gratia plena	Verdelot	5		84
O dulcissime Domine Jesu				
Christe	Verdelot	5		147
Si bona suscepimus	Verdelot	5		114
Recordare, Domine	Verdelot	5		103
In te Domine speravi	Verdelot	5		137
Sancta Maria, virgo				
virginum	Verdelot	6		98
Salva nos ab excidio	Willaert	5		67
Verbum bonum	Willaert	6	184 breves, C	244.7

Appendix 6.6. Synopsis of Lupus Hellinck's Career

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
ca. 1494	Lupus Hellinck is born. His diocese of origin is Utrecht. ¹
24 March 1506	'Wulfardus' is admitted as a choirboy to the church of Saint Donatian in Bruges.
1511	Lupus's voice breaks.
ca. 1513–15	Lupus returns to Saint Donatian as a verger.
26 November 1515	Lupus leaves his position at Saint Donatian.
1 April 1518	Lupus supplicates Pope Leo X to be ordained a priest.
12 April 1518	Lupus makes a second supplication.
June 1518 to April 1519	Lupus is in the service of Sigismondo d'Este in Ferrara.
October 1519	Hellinck is received as an installed cleric at Saint Donatian.
20 June 1521	Hellinck is named choirmaster at the church Onze Lieve Vrouw in Bruges.
1523	Lupus becomes choirmaster at Saint Donatian.
17 June 1523	Wulfaert Latinizes his name to Lupus.
1535	Gérard Thol is hired by Saint Donatian's to teach the boys, enabling Hellinck to compose more.
Before 14 January 1541	Hellinck dies.

¹ For the most recent biographical details, see Hellinck, *Three Four-Part Masses*, vii–xi.

Appendix 6.7. Synopsis of Adrian Willaert's Career, to 1528

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
ca. 1490?	birth, perhaps in Bruges or Roulaers ¹
ca. 1512–17	Willaert's mass <i>Mente tota</i> first circulates in Cappella Sistina 16.
8 July 1515	Payment record indicates that Willaert has entered the service of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este.
October 1517 to August 1519	Willaert serves Ippolito in Eastern Europe, probably at least in part in Hungary. ² Account books show that Willaert returned to Ferrara by 1 August 1519.
September 1518	The Medici Codex is presented to Lorenzo II de' Medici, nephew of Pope Leo X (r. 1513–21), and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, a cousin of King Francis I. Willaert's motet <i>Virgo gloriosa Christi</i> opens the collection.
1519	Willaert's motet <i>Verbum bonum</i> is published in Petrucci's <i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i> , attributed to Adrianus. Zarlino's story about the papal chapel mistaking the motet for a work by Josquin requires another, presumably earlier and now lost, source. ³
1519	travels to France to recruit singers ⁴
11 May 1519	Antoine Willaert is admitted as a choirboy in St. Donatian's in Bruges; if a relative—or even as suggested, Willaert's brother—this may point to a possible place of origin. ⁵
1 August 1519	returns to Ferrara
1520	Andrea Antico prints the <i>Motetti novi e chanzoni</i> , the first print in which Willaert is the best-represented composer.
3 September 1520	Ippolito dies; Willaert is transferred to the service of Duke Alfonso I d'Este.

¹ H. Colin Slim suggested that the woodcut for *Musica nova* depicts a man older than seventy, perhaps seventy-five or eighty years old, but this rendering may take artistic liberties. Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 1:43.

² Lockwood, "Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este," 89. See also Document 2g for payment to Willaert for clothing for the forthcoming trip.

³ No manuscript sources survive for *Verbum bonum*. Every print source correctly attributes the work to Willaert.

⁴ Lockwood, "Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este," 91 and 107.

⁵ A. C. De Schrevel, *Histoire du Séminaire de Bruges*, 2 vols. (Bruges: Louis de Plancke, 1895), 1:197.

23 May 1524	Spataro mentions in a letter that Papal musicians have been unable to perform Willaert's <i>Quid non ebrietas</i> well and have had it for three or more years. Tim Shephard has suggested the motet was written ca. 1519–21. ⁶
February 1525 to April 1527	serves Ippolito II d'Este ⁷
12 December 1527	hired as <i>maestro di cappella</i> at St. Mark's in Venice
ca. 1528	Attaingnant first prints works by Willaert (without attribution) in the collection <i>Chansons et motets en canon à quatre parties sur deux</i> . ⁸ The first attribution to Willaert in an Attaingnant printed edition follows in 1530.

⁶ Tim Shephard, “Finding Fame: Fashioning Adrian Willaert c. 1518,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 4 (2012): 12–35, at 26.

⁷ Joan Anne Long, “The Motets, Psalms and Hymns of Adrian Willaert – A Liturgico-Musical Study” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), 39.

⁸ Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Study* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 212.

Appendix 6.8. Adrian Willaert's Works to 1530

(a) Willaert works datable 1520 or earlier

<i>Terminus ante quem</i>	Source	Work	Attribution	Voices	Remarks
1517	Cappella Sistina 16	<i>Missa Mente tota</i>	Adrien	6	The <i>terminus</i> is only an estimate, albeit a highly credible one. Jeffrey Dean dated all of Cappella Sistina 16 to between 1512 and 1517, with Willaert's mass <i>Mente tota</i> being added to the manuscript ca. 1514 by the scribe Gellandi. ¹ David Kidger has also noted that Cappella Sistina 16 cannot postdate 1521, since the coat of arms of Pope Leo X (r. 1513–21) is affixed to the manuscript. ²
1518 ³	Bologna Q19	<i>O gemma clarissima</i>	Adrianus	4	also appears in <i>Motetti novi libro tertio</i> (Venice: Antico, 1520) without attribution, as well as LonRC 2037 attributed to Adrianus Willaert. In Bologna Q19, the motet features an ending “Amen” that disappeared in later prints, partially removed in Willaert’s 1539 motet books and entirely missing in 1545. ⁴ Laurie Stras has additionally noted that the text venerates a Catherine, whether of Alexandria, Sienna, or Bologna; all three were celebrated by convents in Ferrara. ⁵
		<i>Dominus regit me</i>	Adrianus	4	appears in LonRC 2037, attributed to Adrianus W.
		<i>Quia devotis laudibus</i>	Adrianus	4	<i>unicum</i> in manuscript. Similar to <i>O gemma clarissima</i> , the motet’s text also venerates a Catherine.
1518	Medici Codex	<i>Virgo gloriosa Christi</i>	Adriano	4	<i>unicum</i> in manuscript

¹ Dean, “The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel,” 226–27.

² David M. Kidger, “The Masses of Adrian Willaert: A Critical Study of Sources, Style and Context” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), 26.

³ On the manuscript’s dating, see Nosow, “The Dating and Provenance of Bologna,” 107.

⁴ Martin Picker, ed., *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 45.

⁵ Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 29n48.

	<i>Saluto te sancta Virgo Maria</i>	Adriano	4	appears in LonRC 2037 attributed to Adrianus Willaert and VatP 1980–81 without attribution	
	<i>Regina celi laetare</i>	Adrien	4	Early sources include <i>Motetti libro secondo</i> (Rome?), LonRC 2037, Bologna A71, and ModD 9. There is a second, unrelated <i>Regina celi</i> transmitted only in <i>Adriani Willaert musici.... Liber Secundus</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1545).	
	<i>Christi virgo dilectissima</i>	Adrien	4	appears in <i>Motetti novi e chanzoni</i> (Venice: Antico, 1520) attributed to Adrien and <i>Chansons et motets en canon</i> (Paris: Attaingnant, ca. 1528) without attribution	
	<i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>	Adrien	4		
	<i>Beatus</i>	Adrien	4		
	<i>Johannes apostolus</i>				
	<i>Intercessio, quaesumus, domine</i>	Adrien	4	appears in <i>Motetti libro secondo</i> attributed to Hadrien, in LonRC 2037 attributed to Adrianus Willaert and without attribution in Padua A17	
1519	<i>Motetti de la corona, libro quarto</i>	<i>Verbum bonum</i>	Adrianus	6	In the 1526 reprint of the Petrucci edition, attribution is unchanged. In <i>Liber octavus XX. Musicales</i> (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534), it is attributed to A. Wyllart; in the 1542 Gardano six-voice single-author print, Adrian VV.
1520	<i>Motetti novi e chanzoni</i>	<i>Sancta et immaculata virginitas</i>	Adrien	4	appears without attribution in Padua A17 and MunU 401
	<i>Inter natos mulierum</i>	Adrien	4		
	<i>Petite camusette a la mort</i>	Adrien	4		
	<i>Irons nous tous jours coucher</i>	Adrien	4		
	<i>Mon petit cœur n'est pas a moy</i>	Adrien	4	appears in Cambrai 125–8, attributed to Willaert	

		<i>J'ayme bien mon ami</i>	Adrien	4	
		<i>J'ayme bien mon ami [2]</i>	Adrien	4	The second version appears to be a revision of the first. ⁶
1520	<i>Chansons a troys</i> (Venice: Antico)	<i>Mon mary m'a diffamee</i>	Adrien	4	
		<i>Dulces exuviae</i>	Doubtful: [Anon.]	3	Shephard has noted that St. Gallen 463, f. 13v attributes <i>Dulces exuviae</i> a3 to Willaert, but he believes that authorship remains unclarified between Willaert and Mouton. Both composers also wrote four-voice settings of this text as well. ⁷ On stylistic grounds, I am skeptical that this is Willaert, given the extensive homophonic textures, much unlike Willaert's other early chansons and motets. That authorship would not be clarified until ca. 1540 gives me pause, too: perhaps the attribution resulted from confusion with Willaert's other four-voice setting.

(b) Willaert works datable 1520 to 1530

<i>Terminus ante quem, or dating</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Attribution</i>	<i>Voces</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1521	First described in a letter from Giovanni Spataro to Pietro Aron, 23 May 1524	<i>Quid non ebrietas</i>	Messer Adriano	4	In the letter, Spataro describes a conversation about the work with Lorenzo Bergamozzi, who served in Leo X's private music between 1513 and 1521; Shephard has argued ca. 1519–21 is the most likely period of composition and agreed with Lewis Lockwood that its genesis dates to after Willaert's return to Ferrara in August 1519. ⁸ The motet appears in <i>Libro primo de la fortuna</i> (Rome:

⁶ Shephard, “Finding Fame,” 24.

⁷ Ibid, 31.

⁸ Edward E. Lowinsky, “Adrian Willaert’s Chromatic ‘Duo’ Re-examined,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 18 (1956): 1–36, at 5; Shephard, “Finding Fame,” 26; and Lockwood, “Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d’Este,” 101.

					de Judici, ca. 1526). ⁹
ca. 1521	<i>Motetti et carmina gallica</i> (Rome: Antico), only Altus survives	<i>Je l'ay aymée bien sept ans & demy</i>	Less Secure: [Anon.]	5	Also appears in St. Gallen 463 attributed to Adrian Willaert. But the manuscript's other attributions of <i>Dulces exuviae</i> and <i>Rex autem David</i> to Willaert make me nervous about trusting this attribution. Later in the century however, the 1560 and 1572 editions of the <i>Livre de Meslanges</i> (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard) attribute the work to Vuillard.
1522	Padua A17 ¹⁰	<i>Sancta Maria regina celorum</i>	[Anon.]	5	attributed to Willart in <i>Liber octavus XX. Musicales</i> (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534)
		<i>Beata dei genitrix Maria</i>	Not Secure: [Anon.]	4	Six manuscript sources transmit the motet anonymously; <i>Tertius liber cum quatuor vocibus</i> (Lyon: Jacques Moderne, 1539) attributes the work to Conseil, and Regensburg 940–1 gives the attribution of Lhéritier. Only the first volume of Scotto's 1539 four-voice print attributes it to Willaert. David Kidger has argued on the basis of Leeman Perkins's <i>GMO</i> article on Lhéritier that the motet was by Lhéritier. ¹¹ Boorman has agreed in his <i>GMO</i> article on Conseil. More recently, Kidger has revised his

⁹ Bonnie Blackburn has noted that Lodovico Zacconi found Moulu's *Sancte Maria mater Dei* in a motet book published in Rome in 1535, and this could refer to the *Libro primo de la fortuna*, which has been dated by various musicologists to between ca. 1526 and 1535. But Blackburn further remarked that this could also refer to a reprint rather than the original volume, and Dorico did reprint a volume in the 1530s that was originally published in the 1520s. In the absence of further evidence, I will stick with Knud Jeppesen's date of ca. 1526. Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Two Treasure Chests of Canonic Antiquities: The Collections of Hermann Finck and Lodovico Zacconi," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History: Proceedings of the International Conference, Leuven, 4–6 October 2005*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 303–38, at 324. See also Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, 218.

¹⁰ The Padua cathedral choirmaster Giordano Passetto copied a large part of Padua A17 in 1522. Walter Rubsamen first described Padua A17 and subsequently provided an index and incipits. Walter H. Rubsamen, "Music Research in Italian Libraries: An Anecdotal Account of Obstacles and Discoveries, Second Installment," *Notes, Second Series* 6 (1949): 543–69, at 563; and idem, *Music Research in Italian Libraries: An Anecdotal Account of Obstacles and Discoveries* (Los Angeles: Music Library Association, 1951), 52–58. All Willaert works in Padua A17 are anonymous, as are all works in the manuscript, save one attributed to Mouton.

¹¹ Kidger, *Adrian Willaert*, 236; and David Kidger, personal communication (18 February 2020).

				belief: Regensburg 940–1 dates from significantly later in the century and features numerous conflicting attributions, so the ascription to Lhéritier should not automatically supersede the other attributions. The motet's exclusion from the 1545 Gardano edition does not necessarily indicate a previously problematic attribution.
		<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus</i>	[Anon.]	4 attributed to Willart in <i>Liber secundus quinque et viginti musicales</i> (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534). Also appears in Casale 3, which David Crawford dated to ca. 1521–26. ¹²
		<i>Inclite dux salve Victor</i>	[Anon.]	5 attributed to Willaert in the Scotto 1539 five-voice single-author print.
		<i>In tua patientia permanens</i>	[Anon.]	4 attributed to Willaert in a number of sources on both sides of a provisional stemma ¹³
October 1525	<i>Famosissimi Adriani Willaert... Liber Primus. Quinque Vocum... (Venice: Scotto, 1539)</i>	<i>Victor, io, salve</i>	Adriani Willaert	5 This is a good estimate, though not a source <i>terminus</i> . Albert Dunning argued that the text of the motet (specifically, the line <i>Gallorum capto rege—dedere decus!</i>) strongly suggests that it was composed after the capture of Francis I on 24 February 1525 and probably before his escape to the Milanese citadel in October of that year. ¹⁴
ca. 1520– 25	Copenhagen 1848	<i>Congratulamini mibi omnes</i>	[anon.]	4 Copenhagen 1848 is from Lyons. The bulk of the manuscript is from ca. 1520—the earliest paper used dates

¹² David Crawford, *Sixteenth-Century Choirbooks in the Archivio Capitolare at Casale Monferrato* (American Institute of Musicology, 1975), 33, 68, and 125. Crawford has argued that Casale's scribes took some of their pieces from Antico's books, so this serves as a *terminus post quem*; concordances also exist with some sources of 1526 (e.g., the reprints of *Motetti de la corona*), but rarely with later Italian sources, so 1526 provides an approximate *terminus ante quem*.

¹³ See my forthcoming volume in the CMM Willaert collected-works edition.

¹⁴ Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480–1555* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1970), 273. Dunning also argued that *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps* originates from the same period, but the textual evidence is less clear.

				from ca. 1517–18—with additions continuing through ca. 1525. ¹⁵ <i>Congratulamini</i> also appears without attribution in the Newberry Partbooks. The earliest attribution to Willaert probably came in Bologna Q20 (ca. 1525, attribution in the bassus to Adrian Willaert).
ca. 1525	Bologna Q20	<i>Quasi unus de paradisi</i>	[anon.]	4 attributed to A. Willaert in LonRC 2037
ca. 1526 ¹⁶	<i>The Andrians</i>	<i>Qui boyt et ne reboyt</i>	Not secure: [Anon.]	4 Lowinsky argued that Willaert is the author of the <i>canon per tonos</i> in Titian's painting <i>The Andrians</i> , on the basis of his early interest in canonic chansons and his service in the early 1520s to the Este court. ¹⁷
1527	Cappella Sistina 46	<i>Enixa est puerpera</i>	Adria[n]	6 Dean has suggested that the motet was copied into Cappella Sistina 46 by the scribe Claude Bouchet ca. 1523–25. 1527 is the <i>terminus</i> for the manuscript. ¹⁸
December 1527	London- Modena- Paris partbooks (dated to ca. 1535)	<i>J'ay venu le regnart</i>		3 This is not a source <i>terminus</i> , but an estimate. Rifkin has argued that the close association of this setting with another by Maistre Jan signals that the chanson must have been composed prior to Willaert leaving Ferrara for Venice. ¹⁹
ca. 1527 ²⁰	Bologna	<i>Si ne je voy</i>	Not	3 The title in Bologna Q21 is “Se

¹⁵ French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century: Studies in the music collection of a copyist of Lyons, *The Manuscript Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2° in the Royal Library, Copenhagen*, ed. Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1994), 1:94–108, esp. at 96 and 107.

¹⁶ Museo del Prado, *The Andrians*, accessed 6 May 2020, <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-andrians/c5309744-5826-48ac-890e-038336907c52?searchid=0f9d0080-73ac-f9cd-e6d81859a94663c>.

¹⁷ Edward E. Lowinsky, “Music in Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*: Origin and History of the *Canon per tonos*,” in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 289–350.

¹⁸ Dean, *Vatican City*.

¹⁹ Rifkin, “Jean Michel, Maistre Jhan and a Chorus of Beasts,” 79–80.

²⁰ Verdelot is absent from FlorBN 164–7 and FlorC 2441, and therefore the dating for these two manuscripts shade towards 1522 or before (prior to his arrival in Florence). Bologna Q21 includes a number of pieces by Verdelot, whereas the paper and generally older repertory suggest that it remains chronologically proximate to

	Q21	<i>m'amie</i>	Secure: [anon.]	ie anj mon amie.” Authorship was not clarified until <i>Cinquiesmee livre de chansons</i> (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1560).
1527–29 ²¹	Newberry Partbooks	<i>Pater noster</i>	[anon.]	4 The motet survives in thirty-two sources, the widest circulation of any Willaert motet in the sixteenth century. The earliest attribution to Willaert probably comes in LonRC 2037. <i>Pater noster</i> is also the opening motet of VatP 1976–79 (ca. 1528–30), where it appears without attribution. It may have been a late addition to the partbooks. ²²
		<i>Ecce Dominus veniet</i>	[anon.]	5 The earliest attribution to Willaert probably comes in the Vallicelliana Partbooks.
Easter, 17 April 1530 (1529?)	<i>Six Gaillardes et six Pavanes avec treze chansons</i> (Paris: Attaingnant)	<i>A l'aventure, l'entrepris</i>	Willart	4 <i>Il primo libro de le canzoni franzese</i> (Venice: Scotto, 1535) attributes the work to Adrian Willaert. The tenor of the Attaingnant print reads “1529 / Cum privilegio./”, which suggests the volume was in production that year. ²³
		<i>Mon cuer mon corps</i>	Willart	4 <i>Il primo libro de le canzoni franzese</i> also attributes the work to Willaert.
		<i>Dessus le marché d'Arras</i>	Willart	4 Four sources transmit the chanson anonymously.

Florence 164–167, and comes from before the Newberry Partbooks. Rifkin, “Scribal Concordances,” 312–13; and idem (personal communication, 6 July 2020).

²¹ Slim suggested that the majiscules and minuscules in the Newberry Partbooks were painted by Giovanni Boccardi; *a terminus ad quem* for the manuscript must be Boccardi’s death on 1 March 1529. Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 1:34–35. Although Slim argued that the partbooks were bound for Henry VIII, Fenlon has suggested that they were designed for all the major powers and that it seems unlikely that they were compiled much after 6 May 1527, the beginning of the Sack of Rome. Iain Fenlon, “La diffusion de la chanson continentale dans les manuscrits anglaise entre 1509–1570” in *La Chanson à la Renaissance: Actes du XX^e Colloque d’Etudes humanistes du Centre d’Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance de l’Université de Tours. Juillet 1977*, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Tours: Van de Velde, 1981), 172–89, at 178–80. For a more recent discussion, see Mary Ellen Ryan, “Our Enemies Are Gathered Together: The Politics of Motets During the Second Florentine Republic, 1527–1530,” *JM* 36 (2019): 295–330, at 302–3.

²² Michael Alan Anderson, “The Palatini Partbooks Revisited,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 11 (2019): 85–96, at 87.

²³ Hertz, *Pierre Attaingnant*, 230–31.

ca. 1530 (as early as 1520)	ModD 9	<i>Ave maris stella</i>	Adrian	5	also appears in the Vallicelliana Partbooks, attributed to Adriano. The motet is possibly mentioned by Giovanni Maria Lanfranco in a letter from 20 October 1531 to Willaert. ²⁴
		<i>Salva nos ab excidio</i>	[anon.]	5	
		<i>Armorum fortissime ductor Sebastiane</i>	Adrian	4	incomplete in manuscript
		<i>O gloriosa domina</i>	[Anon.]	6	also appears in the Vallicelliana Partbooks, attributed to Adriano.
		<i>O beatum pontificem qui totis</i>	[Anon.]	6	also appears in the Vallicelliana Partbooks, attributed to Adriano.
1530–34 ²⁵	LonRC 2037	<i>Magnum hereditatis misterium templum dei</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
		<i>Mirabile misterium declaratur hodie</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
		<i>Benedicta es celorum regina</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
		<i>Videns dominus flentes</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
		<i>Tristis est</i>	Adrianus	4	

²⁴ Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 961.

²⁵ Edward Nowacki, working with information from Rifkin, suggested that the manuscript can be dated ca. 1527–34: he believed that the inclusion of Mouton's *Non nobis domine*, which celebrates the birth of Renee of France, suggested a *terminus post quem* of 1528, the year that Renee arrived in Ferrara and married Ercole. Equally apparent are the mentions of Alfonso as Duke in several works, which provide a *terminus ante quem* of 1534, the year of Alfonso's death. Edward Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet 1500–1535," in *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), 159–84, at 164. Rifkin has more recently given an earlier *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript, which he says can be dated "no later than 1530." Joshua Rifkin, "Miracles, Motivity, 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 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 243–64, at 245.

<i>anima mea</i>	Willaert		
<i>Plange quasi virgo plebs</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	<i>unicum</i> in manuscript, only S and B survive
<i>Ave regina celorum</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
<i>Inviolata integra et casta es</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
<i>Pateface sunt ianue</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
<i>Victimae paschalli</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
<i>Ave virginum gemma</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
<i>Quem terra pontus</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
<i>Salve crux sancta</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	
<i>O Magnum misterium</i>	A. Willaert	4	
<i>Valde honorandus est</i>	A. Willaert	4	
<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i>	Adrianus Willaert	4	

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¹ Trede’s dissertation is believed to be lost. It is cited, but has not been seen.

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