

PIETRO GAETANO'S

ORATIO DE ORIGINE ET

DIGNITATE MUSICES

edition with translation and commentary



submitted in part-fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Classics)

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I, Joseph Dodd, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

The *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* addresses how humanist scholars believed music should interact with power. Written in the late 1560s by Pietro Gaetano, a little-known singer at Venice's Basilica San Marco, it has much to offer our understanding of how musical humanism could be applied in statecraft; by forging a more harmonious state it becomes a philosophy with practical purpose. My thesis presents an edition of the *Oratio* with translation and commentary, prefaced by an introduction which examines the historical and intellectual context of the *Oratio* as well as my editorial methodology.

The ambition of my thesis is threefold: the edition illuminates a worthwhile but obscure manuscript; the translation makes it more accessible to non-Latinists; the commentary sets it in context. The project contributes to securing a piece of intellectual history for future generations since the *Oratio* is rooted in the Cinquecento and will thus be of interest primarily to musicologists and historians of the period. It predates opera by forty years and proposes ideas key to the development of that genre, ideas drawn from classical literature and philosophy. Additionally, the translation and commentary demonstrate what those familiar with classical texts can contribute. To date, few texts like this have been studied by classicists, yet to understand it fully, one must be aware of the classical allusions and quotations peppered throughout.

Through analysis of these, my thesis shows that access to an advanced level of scholarship was not restricted to universities. Gaetano was obviously well-educated but spent his professional life as a musician attached to the Basilica. Yet he shows understanding of both pagan and Christian intellectual traditions wider and deeper than might be expected. This project illuminates the benefits of interdisciplinary approaches to this kind of text and points to new potentially fruitful opportunities for collaborative research.

Impact Statement

This thesis is the *editio prima* of a neo-Latin text of the late Renaissance. By it, I have made this text available to a wider readership of more diverse fields than has previously been the case. It is my belief that this manuscript merits deeper appreciation and study. While it has been mentioned in musicological books and articles since the 1970s, its treatment has been incidental rather than the focus of study.

I believe the *Oratio* is worthy of this attention in part because it does offer new insights as to what scholars in the late Renaissance believed music could offer to society at large. It was written as princes began to see increased value in employing court musicians for the moral and intellectual benefits as well as for entertainment. It thus represents some of the humanist developments of the age, the all-encompassing nature of which deserves detailed study.

While the *Oratio* has been studied by scholars in the last fifty years (most notably Leeman Perkins in the 1970s and 1990s, Jessie Ann Owens also in the 1990s, and Philippe Vendrix in the 2000s), their interest was primarily in the musicological implications of the text. Vendrix looks more broadly at how the *Oratio* functions as a piece of historiographical writing, but it does not examine the full text in depth, and while Vendrix is interested in the richness of Gaetano's source material, he does not interrogate those sources or examine the language in which they are presented.

This thesis is written to fill that gap. It is designed as a traditional classical edition, introducing the author and manuscript, and setting the intellectual scene before presenting the text and translation in parallel. The commentary then examines aspects of the Latin in depth, including the author's choice of language, his selection of sources, or potential subtexts. It clarifies obscure or technical descriptions and supports the translation. My hope is that this makes the text available and useful to as wide a field as possible. By it, musicologists or early-modern historians untrained in Latin are enabled to read what is often complex language and identify the development of ideas pertinent to their interests. Additionally, classicists and neo-Latinists who are interested in tracing the reception of classical ideas will find much of value.

As is true of many texts of this period, the *Oratio* is multi-faceted. During this project, I have had to become familiar with unexpectedly wide-ranging fields. While the *Oratio* stands on its own merits, there is a case for a wider sample size of texts examined by a group with different specialisms. Such a collaborative interdisciplinary approach could increase access to a more representative selection of material and enrich our understanding of it.

Pietro Gaetano's *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices*

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	7
<i>Introduction</i>	9
Gaetano	15
The <i>Oratio</i>	20
Summary of contents	20
Style	22
Genre	26
Letter	26
Oration.....	28
Diplomatic gifts	32
Dignitas	36
Classicism, Hellenism, and Humanism in Venice	39
Concepts of music and the arts	43
Methodology	48
Influences	54
Conclusions	56
Text & Translation	59
Commentary	125
Appendices	236
I – Simplified family tree of the Montefeltro and della Rovere dynasties ...	236
II – Gaetano's <i>Oratio</i> , 1v.	237
III – Adrian Willaert's testament (twelfth version)	238
Bibliography	239

Preface & Acknowledgements

I first encountered Pietro Gaetano and his *Oratio* in the early stages of my doctoral work. To that point, my primary focus had been on how classical characters were presented in opera; whether tropes emerged and if they mapped onto contemporary rulers. What my argument lacked, however, was a clear statement that from its inception, opera and music had been politically invested. Coming across a reference to Gaetano celebrating the Austrian royal family (*Ep.v*) in a paper by Philippe Vendrix,¹ I thought it may be the missing piece and knew I needed to study it.

When I travelled to Venice in March 2018, the manuscript turned out to be considerably longer than I had anticipated. Examining it more closely, I believed that it had the potential to be worthy of study on its own merits as it is a substantial text that synthesises several strands of humanist history.

In the course of my research, I have been grateful for the support and advice of my supervisors, Professor Gesine Manuwald and Professor Charles Burnett. Their flexibility and patience while I have balanced teaching commitments, as well as through the pandemic, has been constant. I am appreciative of their contributions and encouragement, without which this would have been impossible. I am also grateful for their and Professor Maria Wyke's backing of my application to the UCL-Yale Scholarship Exchange Programme.

At Yale, I am indebted to Professor Christina Kraus. She generously lent her expertise in the theory of commentary to provide a strong intellectual foundation for my own, as well as spending many hours in helping me to revise and rationalise the translation. Professor Jessica Peritz and Professor Markus Rathey also helped me to think through many of the musicological implications that I had not previously considered.

I also thank my upgrade panel at UCL, Professor Stephen Colvin, Professor Victoria Moul, and Dr Simon Pulleyne, who offered me useful criticism early in the project, and indeed from whom came the idea to present this thesis in commentary form.

I am also grateful to UCL's Department of Greek and Latin for funding travel expenses to Venice as well as supporting my application for a Yale Exchange Scholarship.

Much of what I have enjoyed about wider academia I owe to Professor Valentina Arena. My thanks to her for her early support of my doctoral work and for generously inviting

¹ “To write historically about music during the 16th century: Pietro Gaetano”, *Music's Intellectual History* (RILM, 2009), 33-42.

my contribution to other stimulating projects, such as teaching about the Roman Republic in UCL's Department of History or helping to organise conferences in London and Rome.

This project grew from my love of opera. I am fortunate that this was nurtured by wonderful teachers at school, but my first real experience of it came through Charles Peebles, whose guardianship of the UCL Music Society, and especially UCOpera, was inspirational to generations of UCL undergraduates.

I am also grateful to Marymount International School, London and Aldro School for their encouragement as I have developed and completed this thesis.

Finally, this project would have been impossible without the patience, support, and love of my parents – thank you.

Introduction

The *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* addresses how humanist scholars believed music should interact with power.² Written in the late 1560s³ by one Pietro Gaetano, a singer at the Basilica San Marco in Venice, who but for a handful of other known surviving records would be lost to history,⁴ it has much to offer on understanding how humanism could be applied in statecraft; in forging a more harmonious state it becomes a philosophy for practical purpose. While the *Oratio*'s arguments are limited in their originality and it is not entirely clear why it was written, it still holds value to modern scholarship. It brings us a new perspective on the links between diverse topics, it is an example (as yet unpublished in a modern format) of the synthesis of two distinct literary genres, and it offers a glimpse of the mentality of the time and place in which it was written. In celebrating and emulating the classical world, the *Oratio* represents a hope that ancient ideas concerning the role of harmony in statecraft would find continued relevance. I will argue that that relevance was indeed found some forty years later in the production of the first operas and has never yet diminished. Consequently, my purpose in this thesis is to uncover some of the roots that may have nourished the earliest ideas behind opera, and to show that, since at least the Cinquecento, music and its practitioners have been entwined with political power. This introduction will provide the *Oratio*'s background and context for the detailed examination of the text supplied by the translation and commentary.

The *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* is a sixty-three-page manuscript comprising two distinct but related parts; the latter an oration on the earliest beginnings and moral worth of music; the former a letter dedicating the oration to Guidobaldo II della Rovere, the Duke of Urbino. The sole known manuscript of the *Oratio* is held in the Biblioteca Correr, under shelf-

² In this thesis, if I refer to the work as a whole unit, I shall call it the *Oratio*. To distinguish between the oration (MS 6r ff.) itself and the preceding letter (MS 1r -5v), I shall refer to each in unitalicised English. N.B., the numbering of the sections is my own. The only appendix on the text itself has been marked in pencil on the top right of each double page spread. There is also a brief note, in the hand of the scholar who bequeathed his library to the Biblioteca Correr, that cites Zeno's claim that Gaetano wrote at least one other oration, probably in the 1570s, called *de qualitate puerorum ac de eorum instruione* (sic), (cf. Cigogna in Gaetano, MS. Cic. 906, cf. Zeno, 1785, 203; Rossi, 1888, 462). I will similarly discuss this text and possible implications in the body of my thesis; briefly, the last record of its existence that I have found is in an auction catalogue of 1903 (*Cat. Sneyd*, 1903, 84).

³ Or possibly the early 1570s, see section on the *Oratio* in this **Introduction**; also, **Commentary**, *Or. lxxv DIXI*.

⁴ Cf. Ongaro, 1986, 256 for as exhaustive an index of references as exists on Gaetano's life and career. Vendrix (2009, 34) is mistaken (although the scope of this article admittedly was not to be a biography of Gaetano) to state that merely a single archival document exists. N.B., the MS itself is the only copy of the text still known to be extant. From the content of the letter, it is possible (although not likely) that at least one other copy was made, dedicated to Maximilian II. There are also a handful of stray secondary source references to Gaetano's life and possible family (see below for a hypothetical biography of Gaetano).

mark MS Cicogna 906.⁵ It came into the Correr's possession via the donation of the private library of the Venetian citizen Emmanuele Antonio Cigogna in 1865, who is chiefly known for his monumental *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane*, covering seven volumes of public and private inscriptions taken from around the city in the twilight of the Republic. Cigogna acquired it in May 1841 from one Marco Procacci of Pesaro.⁶ In the Correr the manuscript remained, apparently largely unread until the middle of the twentieth century.⁷ The first modern scholar to make use of it was Leeman Perkins, who in 1972 intended to publish a study of it in the then “near future,” which never came to pass.⁸ However, he did make some reference to the *Oratio* in a work published eighteen years later,⁹ the same year as Jessie Ann Owens.¹⁰ Both of them were primarily interested in what the document contributed towards an understanding of Renaissance musicology. In 2009, Philippe Vendrix examined the *Oratio* again, focussing primarily on the prefacing letter as a piece of historical literature. These contributions are useful and do help to define the musicological significance of the *Oratio*. However, such an approach excludes those who cannot read the complicated Latin and the significance that the language itself holds. Texts such as the *Oratio* need a more holistic reading, which both situates the text in relation to contemporaneous scholarship and examines the minutiae of the language.

While there are undoubtedly many such texts as Gaetano's *Oratio*, I was particularly drawn to it partly because it has received some attention and there is thus a discourse to which I can contribute, but chiefly because it occupies a fascinating space in cultural history, where the tastes that would set the tone for the next several centuries of music were developed. While not their originator, Gaetano discusses the ideas that would inspire Monteverdi and the first composers of opera. Thus, the *Oratio* and its contribution to an understanding of the development of Western musical and philosophical traditions have been overlooked.

The *Oratio* is an unusual document in terms of both its content and its presentation. By the late sixteenth century, both handwritten treatises and Latin had been eclipsed in favour of the more utilitarian printed vernacular. It is even more unusual because Gaetano would probably not have been considered a scholar (indeed, at *Or.i* he specifically disclaims any

⁵ It was previously catalogued (and consequently in all scholarship appears) under ms Cic. 1049. Note that the Biblioteca Correr uses the modern spelling of Cicogna. Items in this catalogue were donated from the private library of Emmanuele Cigogna (as he spelt his name; see Cigogna, 1830 & 1842). Thus, when discussing the man, I will use his spelling, and when discussing the MS, I will use the Correr's.

⁶ Rossi, 1888, 462, n.4.

⁷ Although Rossi wrote an account of it (*ibid.*, 462-6).

⁸ Slim, 1972, 42, n.6. In personal correspondence with Professor Perkins in 2019, he assured me that he had no contribution pending. He died in 2022.

⁹ Perkins, 1990, 50-3.

¹⁰ Owens, 1990, 307, n.5., [republished in Vendrix, 2016, 307, n.5.].

pretensions to scholarship). It is, however, a scholarly text, showing a great depth of learning. The modern researcher therefore has a difficult task in categorising it. Most simply, the *Oratio* is a connection of two classical literary genres: epistolography and rhetoric. That identification is not necessarily to presuppose its purpose. It is not known if this manuscript was a dedication copy given to the Duke of Urbino, a version swiftly re-hashed for a new audience in changing circumstances (a substantial portion of the oration [*Or.lxiii-lxviii*] is taken up with explicit celebration of the Habsburg court, not that of the della Rovere),¹¹ or something else. As an oration, it is not known if it was intended for (semi-)public delivery or private reading. As a letter, it is unclear if Guidobaldo ever saw or heard it. However, it is rich in content and steeped in humanist research and learning. From the first page of the letter, Gaetano shows himself to be utterly familiar with a broad range of ancient literature, to access which he would have needed a good grounding in both Latin and Greek. In the letter alone – fewer than 1,500 words – he moves from discussing the didactic potential of an extract of Aelian, to demonstrating his awareness of his dedicatee’s family, to a panegyric of a contemporary singer whom he hymns with a story from Augustine, all in a humorous Latin often reminiscent of Cicero. Through this, the *Oratio* speaks to us of music, philosophy, and statecraft. Gaetano’s achievement is to show a true affinity for the Classics, as was typical of the spirit of humanism, and to understand their potential as living texts.

Referring to the *Oratio* as a whole, Perkins rather harshly characterises Gaetano as “neither … a great intellect nor, apparently, an original thinker.”¹² It is true that the *Oratio* is essentially a précis of humanist scholarship on harmony, wrapped up in flowery obsequiousness. But it is also a passionate plea to recognise the power and beauty of music. Gaetano fundamentally believed in the benefits that music alone could bestow on those who took the trouble to engage with it, and the resulting sixty pages of Latin put us in as close contact as it is possible to be with the underlying humanity of humanist philosophy.

However, the *Oratio* is also an anachronism. By the 1560s, scholars who were serious about their work being read by a wider audience had begun to abandon both handwriting in favour of more easily copied and disseminated printed texts and Latin in favour of the vernacular. Consequently, by choosing a (presumably single-copy) Latin manuscript, Gaetano immediately identified himself as a traditionalist, which explains Perkins’ remark. The aims of the *Oratio* are unclear. Gaetano is almost otherwise unknown. However, the ideas it contains

¹¹ Vendrix, 2009, 39-40.

¹² Perkins, 1990, 51.

were crucial to the development of opera, and by reaching out beyond the contemporary *accademie* it is a possible model of those scholars and musicians who secured elite backing for their new art form. More tantalisingly, Gaetano's own contemporaries within the *cappella* of St Mark's would be key figures in this movement.

The primary objective of this introduction is to establish the context of the *Oratio*. As I shall discuss below, the *Oratio* is a humanist text, and could not have been written without the increasingly easy access to a wide range of classical sources and the ideas that developed from engagement with them that typified the Cinquecento. Venice occupied an extraordinary place both at a meeting place of west with east and where its citizens enjoyed a remarkable amount of free speech.¹³ These and various other factors converged to establish its importance to the development of humanism.

That said, the Renaissance, and the humanist theories that emerged from it were not necessarily more advanced in Venice than in other northern Italian cities. Norwich summarised this effectively, “The Venetians were not thinkers: they were doers. Empiricists par excellence, they mistrusted abstract theories. Their genius was essentially visual and tactile – and, later, musical: it appealed to the senses rather than to the intellect. ... They always remained better at producing books than at actually writing them.”¹⁴ However true this may be, Venice’s position as a trading hub was key to the development and dissemination of the ideas that charged humanism. Trade brought foreign ideas, which were treated with a degree of liberalism uncommon in contemporaneous Europe, and enough money to invest in arts. If Ravenna was humanism’s “nursery,”¹⁵ Venice was its conduit. Gaetano was part of that discourse.

While art historians and musicologists have made great efforts to preserve and study humanist material relevant to their field of study,¹⁶ neo-Latinists have not yet approached the body of Renaissance texts on musicology in any way that could be considered comprehensive.¹⁷ As Verbeke demonstrates (albeit rather provocatively), poorly rendered or mistaken transcriptions and translations only hinder progress in understanding and using source material effectively. In recent decades, there has been a renewed interest from musicologists and

¹³ Johnson, 2002, 936-48; Muir, 2006, 334.

¹⁴ Norwich, 1983, 341.

¹⁵ Weiss, 1977, 257.

¹⁶ And “persistently and successfully” too. Kristeller, 1983, 116.

¹⁷ Verbeke, 2009. Deitz (1998, 148) went further: “there are no such creatures as sedecimarian Latinists ... the problem, briefly, is that the study of sixteenth-century Latin is not an established academic discipline and that it falls somewhere in one or more of the many ill-defined fields of the *Nachleben* of the classics.” Admittedly, this does not consider a quarter-century’s subsequent research and study into neo-Latin and reception studies, but it does at the least demonstrate the novelty of this field and his subsequent remark that editions will continue to be produced by “trained classicists” holds true.

historians in the Latin writings of Renaissance musicians. While I would not claim that their grasp of the language is in any way deficient, the text itself does not form the main part of their study, but rather its topical content provides a tool for historical (or historiographical) understanding.¹⁸ For some reason, those with greater familiarity with the language itself and its potential for reading these documents as works of reception of classical literature have not yet studied the corpus of neo-Latin musicological texts. Thus, I hope that this thesis, which not only brings to light a gem of humanist literature, will also point towards a relatively unexplored field in interdisciplinarity between Latinists and musicologists.

Even with that possibly ambitious aim, there is a justifiable argument that elevating works of such secondary (at best) “importance” as the *Oratio* is an indulgence.¹⁹ It had no discernible immediate scholarly impact and has languished in a small specialist library in Venice for nearly two hundred years, read by maybe a dozen scholars who were mostly interested in it as contributing to their prosopographies of Gaetano’s contemporaries. Moreover, if neo-Latin editions are produced in a haphazard way according to the random interests of enthusiastic doctoral students, it is difficult to maintain quality control, let alone consistency of publication.²⁰ Hence, their potential public utility may be questionable, and their readership limited. However, I dispute the objection to studying these texts, chiefly on two grounds. First, it stifles scholarly freedom of interest. There is a vast corpus of untouched neo-Latin texts.²¹ Without attempting to read them, even if they are selected simply by virtue of being at the top of the pile, neo-Latinists have no hope of contextualising them. Moreover, while the challenge of finding funding to organise a project large and wide-ranging enough to edit minor neo-Latin texts is surely insuperable (particularly as it would need to draw on specialists from diverse fields) that is a poor reason to leave them unstudied.²² Secondly, the *Oratio* was not written in an intellectual vacuum. At the very least, such texts “can be of great

¹⁸ See, for example, Glixon, 1979 & 1983; Ongaro, 1986; Vendrix, 2009; Schiltz, 2018 (*intra* Passadore, 2018; da Col, 2018).

¹⁹ One is mindful of West’s question: “Is your edition really necessary?” (West, 1973, 61).

²⁰ Cf. Deitz, 2005, who presents a cautionary (sometimes verging on nihilist) argument against the risk of flooding the market with unreadable editions, see esp. 348, 355-8. See also Sidwell, 2017, 397-8, who also talks in terms of prioritising texts.

²¹ Moul, 2017, 2.

²² Twenty years ago, this field had been neglected, as Deitz noted (1998, 149, n.33), with no collection like “the *Bibliotheca Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*,’ the ‘Oxford *Classical Texts*,’ or the ‘Loeb *Classical Library*’” [italics Deitz’s own]. Since 2001, the *I Tatti Renaissance Library* has made inroads to this field, and with ambitious aims, numbering to date ninety volumes – but purposefully (and with good reason) limits itself to “major” works. However, this only covers some forty-two authors with their own volume (Ficino dominating the field with thirteen, Politian scraping in second with five) plus a handful of collected miscellaneous treatises, comedies, tragedies, and poems. Thus, the assembly of this library clearly – and probably inevitably – has been achieved through very particular research interests of the available scholars. The *Bibliotheca Latinitatis novae*, the *Bibliotheca neo-Latina*, and the *Noctes neo-Latinæ* face similar issues, albeit it is important to note that such established collections do present a more attractive prospect to libraries seeking a degree of ‘completeness’ (Deitz, 2005, 357-8). However, therein lies the real problem: neo-Latin is capable of defying definition. For a more up-to-date list, see Sidwell, 2017, 395-6. Note that even in this more impressive list, there is still the sad reality that one series (*Officina Neolatina: Selected Writings from the Neo-Latin World*, which Brepols announced in 2007) was suspended by 2017.

interest for the relations of their authors with greater contemporaries or with famous circles.”²³ Similarly, Moul argues that these texts, while not to discount their individual merits, contribute to a greater whole.²⁴ This point is obvious in the quite tightly constricted corpus of ‘The Classics’ but less so when one observes an intellectual discourse spanning centuries and continents. In specific terms, although the *Oratio* itself had little in the way of demonstrable impact, Gaetano was on close terms with several members of the Venetian School of musicians of the late sixteenth century and would certainly have been at least acquainted with a wider circle than is directly attested. The ideas he espouses in his oration were fundamental to expressing the potential of harmony as a metaphor for good governance, which would be a central idea in the development of opera.

My thesis thus presents the first full edition of the text with a parallel English translation, which attempts to balance the spirit of the Latin’s often abstruse style with reasonable clarity.²⁵ I hope that by recovering, editing, and translating the text, it may become more widely available and useful to musicologists and historians of the Renaissance as well as classicists. In the commentary, the lemmata I have proposed have the following aims. First, to provide context to and explanation of Gaetano’s allusions, including cross-references and composition. Secondly, to elucidate decisions of translation. Thirdly, to offer suggestions for Gaetano’s source material and give some idea of the richness of the intellectual world Gaetano inhabited. These aims align with Burnett’s edition of the twelfth century *De essentiis* and follow Sidwell’s editorial principles he considers peculiar to neo-Latin texts.²⁶ I intend that this format will provide a helpful structure to classicists dealing with unfamiliar content. Within the commentary, “§ xyz” refers to the relevant paragraph of Gaetano, unless obviously referring to another author (e.g. Pico). Where necessary, I distinguish between the letter (*Ep.xyz*) and the oration (*Or.xyz*). Sectional divisions are my own and are discussed below (see **Methodology**).

Gaetano and his *Oratio* are representative products of the Cinquecento. His writing offers an illuminating and intimate glimpse of the man, his beliefs, and potential for the impact of those beliefs on wider society. While in some superficial ways his work was already outmoded when it was written, many of the *Oratio*’s subtextual themes would grow and develop as music took on an increasingly public face. In this **Introduction**, I will discuss first what is known of

²³ Kristeller, 1983, 116 – note too that in the forty years since Kristeller wrote those words the task at hand has scarcely diminished.

²⁴ Moul, 2017, 4.

²⁵ Cf. Cigogna, 1842, 637; Slim, 1972, 42; Kristeller, 1998, 281.

²⁶ Burnett, 1983, 237 (& ff); Sidwell, 2017, 400-7, cf. González Manjarrés, 2001 who offers notes following the text.

Gaetano himself; secondly what can be said of the *Oratio* itself, summarising its arguments; thirdly the identity (or identities) and significance of the intended audience or reader; and fourthly the broader implications of the *Oratio* to scholars of neo-Latin, humanism, and musicology. Finally, I will outline my editorial principles. With this context set in place, it is my hope that the *apparatus fontium* as laid out in the commentary will be made clearer.²⁷

Gaetano

It is first necessary to offer a brief biography, such as can be surmised, of the man himself.²⁸ While Gaetano may have been Venetian (contemporary records generally state if a singer was a *forestiero*, i.e. anyone who hailed from somewhere outside Venetian administered territories – be they the *Domini di Terraferma* or its *Stato da Mâr*),²⁹ his surname may point to ancestry from Gaeta in Latium. Gaetano sang at St Mark's in the *cappella* as a tenor under its maestro Adrian Willaert from 1535. In his words,³⁰ at some point he received training from the French composer Lhéritier.³¹ Whether that was before or after he joined St Mark's, his recruitment there seems to have been summary and without audition.³² However, he evidently impressed, as his next appearance in the records reports that by 1537 he sang solo with the organ (Bent's suggestion is that such a role required a strong understanding of harmony and counterpoint),³³ for which responsibility he was given a pay raise.³⁴ This seems to have sparked some rivalry, demonstrated in 1540 by a complaint brought by Gaetano against one Giorgio Carpenello, a counter-tenor, who Ongaro believes had originally been intended for this role but whose musical skills had proven insufficient.³⁵ However, this case may in fact represent a change in musical tastes. Willaert is known to have shown a preference for placing melodic lines in the tenor, which may have given Gaetano an advantage.³⁶

²⁷ See Sidwell, 2017, 403-5.

²⁸ For this, I have relied heavily on Giulio Ongaro's 1986 doctoral dissertation, which is almost a prosopography of the singers of the *cappella* under the direction of Adrian Willaert.

²⁹ That is, Venice's territories on the Italian mainland or overseas – the doge at this point claimed the title "Lord of a Quarter and One Half-Quarter of the Roman Empire." N.B., Venetian spellings are inconsistent.

³⁰ In the oration proper (*Or. xli*), Gaetano lists important composers of the generation immediately preceding his own, *inter alios*, *Lheritier, meus praeceptor* (my teacher, Lhéritier) (cf. Cigogna, 1842, 637; Vendrix, 2009, 34).

³¹ On Lhéritier, see Perkins, 2001a. Unfortunately, we lack documentary evidence about when this might have been (although Perkins comes close to suggesting the early 1550s, the two may have met much earlier, see *ibid.*, 625). Note that Lhéritier spent some of his career (c.1514-22/3) in Rome at various institutions. If Gaetano was from Gaeta, this too could have been a plausible meeting point.

³² Ongaro, 1986, 102 (text in doc. 108). N.B. that where appropriate in using Ongaro's 1986 thesis, I shall refer to the page number of his thesis as well as the document number he has assigned, which may be found in full in an extensive appendix.

³³ Bent, 1983, 377. The typical performance method may have been, as per the suggestion of Tinctoris, the improvisation of a tenor line over a theme (see *ibid.*, 371-3). See also, on the necessity predicated by the unusual acoustics of St Mark's for singers to be able to project their voices, da Col, 2018, 257-9, esp. "Metallo da voce."

³⁴ Ongaro, 1986, 108 (text in doc. 121).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 107-9 (text in doc. 454).

³⁶ Ulrich & Pisk, 1963, 177.

Subsequently, Gaetano clearly enjoyed a long and relatively stable tenure at St Mark's. At the time, many of the singers were in holy orders. This is clear in the register of chapel personnel dated 1556, as out of twenty-one singers, ten are titled *messer pre* and two *messer fra* (as is the organist Armonio) suggesting that they were members of one of the two minorite orders in the city. Willaert, Gaetano, and one Guido da Ravenna are all given the honorific *Domino* or *Don*. The seven remaining are called *ser*, and are listed at the end of the register, at least implying some lower status in chapel hierarchy (even if there appears to be no corresponding ranking in line with salary). This document is also interesting for demonstrating that Gaetano's base salary from the basilica was the joint highest for singers (eighty ducats a year – only Willaert, on two hundred, made more).³⁷ It also appears that his position came with subsidised accommodation, possibly in the parish of San Giovanni in Bragora (in the sestiere of Castello),³⁸ as two further documents attest to the procuratia (St Mark's governing body, who reported directly to the doge)³⁹ paying for the repair of his house.⁴⁰ Despite this relative security, there is also some evidence that Gaetano struggled with money at least once, when in 1569 he is recorded to have been repaying a loan directly from his salary.⁴¹ Both Ongaro and da Col note that financial difficulties were not uncommon for singers at the time.⁴²

Gaetano's life was also not untouched by tragedy. In 1558, the Provveditori alla Sanità logged the death of Gaetano's five-month-old son Vergilio (Vuerzilio in Venetian dialect) from intestinal worms.⁴³ Clearly Gaetano had a family to support. This was not necessarily uncommon in the *cappella* but would certainly have put pressure on even an apparently generous salary.⁴⁴ However, the comparatively high salary could have been in recognition of his need to support a family, as well as a reflection of his musical skill. The name of Gaetano is attested in connection with Venetian churches for the next two centuries (the Republic's last

³⁷ Ongaro, 1986, 145-6 (text in doc. 355). N.B. that this was the basic salary provided by the state, and may well have been supplemented by tuition, commissions, or simple 'moonlighting.' For a fuller discussion of the experience of a contemporary musician, see Glixon, 1983.

³⁸ Ongaro, 1986, 491 (text in doc. 519).

³⁹ On the administration and civic officials of Venice, see da Mosto, 1937.

⁴⁰ Ongaro, 1986, 197-8 (text in docs. 221 & 257). Subsidised state-owned accommodation would become a standard part of the benefits package for the *maestro di cappella* (ibid., 174, 202) and possibly other singers: Francesco Violante highlighted the rent he had to pay when the *Savi alle Decime* (who were custodians of the tax-roll) updated their records in 1566 (ibid., 214).

⁴¹ Ibid., 220, n.94.

⁴² Ibid., 213-21, esp. 219ff; da Col, 2018, 235-7.

⁴³ Ongaro, 1986, 491 (text in doc. 519). This evidence could also give us some idea of Gaetano's date of birth. Assuming he would be no younger than fifteen at his audition, and not much more than in his late thirties as he raised a family, a date of between 1510 and 1520 seems plausible.

⁴⁴ Da Col, 2018, 236, n.22 refers to a *capitolo* of Parabosco which quotes singers describing themselves as *parte con moglie e senza, e parte preti* ("some with wives, some without, and some priests"), pointing to the various marital states of the *cappella*. Pavanini (1981) argues that it would be difficult to support a family of four on sixty ducats in the latter part of the century. See also a record of a petition sent by the singers in 1553 transcribed and translated in Passadore, 2018, 212-3 n.33 (also in Glixon, 1983, 419).

as an independent state). In compiling his monumental work *Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane*, Cigogna referred to one Marcantonio Gaetano (or Gaetani) who was made parish priest (*piovano*) of the church of San Michele Arcangelo (which was generally called Sant' Angelo) in 1590 before being granted the rank of *Canonico Ducale*. He died in 1617 at the age of 74.⁴⁵ Cigogna clearly believed that he was of the same family as Pietro, as shown in his corrections published in the fifth volume.⁴⁶ Indeed, the dates, and the close connection of each to the church make it plausible that Marcantonio was Pietro's son and thus Vergilio's older brother. This, however, is pure conjecture, and ought not to be subjected to too much pressure.

Willaert placed some degree of trust in Gaetano, as evidenced by the aged and gouty maestro naming him as a commissioner in the 1558 version of his will reproduced at **Appendix III** (although Gaetano was not named in its subsequent iterations).⁴⁷ Gaetano too held Willaert in great esteem, writing at *Or.xli*, after a list of great contemporary musicians, *sed Adrianus inter hos, et inter ceteros omnium aetatum Musicos, tenuit principatum*.⁴⁸ After his death in 1562, Gaetano seems to have held high opinions of his successors Cipriano Rore (*excellensis ingenii et singularis*),⁴⁹ who was briefly maestro from 1563-4, and Gioseffo Zarlino (*summa ingenii celeritate atque memoria vir*),⁵⁰ who would then hold the post until his own death in 1590. However, to Gaetano, the most either could do was imitate their predecessor and make their music seem as if it had been written by the great master (*Or.xliv; xlvi*).

Certainly then, the *Oratio* was written after 1565.⁵¹ Vendrix reads the *Oratio* as a bid for new employment (albeit accepting the conjectural nature of his hypothesis). However, it should be stated that his evidence for this seems circumstantial, largely based on the chance that both the original intended recipient, Maximilian II the Holy Roman Emperor, and the obvious eventual dedicatee, Guidobaldo II Duke of Urbino, both found themselves without a director of music within a relatively short space of time. Vendrix's solution is that after the emperor appointed a Flemish composer rather than an Italian, Gaetano changed tack and re-dedicated his already written oration to a new recipient (this could explain the slight differences in form between the letter and oration, e.g. in the letter Gaetano, classically, has not capitalised the first letters of sentences whereas in the oration he often has). In 1569 Guidobaldo too found himself

⁴⁵ Cigogna, 1830, 144. See also Gallicciolli, 1795, 297.

⁴⁶ Cigogna, 1842, 637.

⁴⁷ Ongaro, 1986, 461-6 (text in doc. 492).

⁴⁸ "But among both them and the remaining musicians of all the ages, Adrian has held first place."

⁴⁹ *Or.xliii* "a man of distinguished and remarkable ability."

⁵⁰ *Or.xliii* "a man of the swiftest ability and memory."

⁵¹ Vendrix has offered a convincing argument for its being written between 1567 and 1569, although I disagree with some of the route he takes to reach that conclusion (see **Introduction, The Oratio: Commentary, Or.lxxv DIXI**)

in need of a new director of music on the death of Animuccia, and it is on this fact, and his own reading of an inconsistency between present and past tenses in Gaetano's discussion of Animuccia that Vendrix posits his suggestion that Gaetano had "some vague desire to succeed him."⁵² Indeed, it is not wholly impossible that a copy was sent to each ruler, although the overt idolising of the Habsburgs that concludes the oration makes this less likely. The possible intentions of the letter are discussed below.

It also seems certain that Gaetano wrote a second treatise, this time addressed to the Patriarch of Venice, Giovanni Trevisano. That Gaetano was the author of each was the opinion of both Zeno and Rossi.⁵³ The title of this, *de qualitate puerorum et de eorum instruzione*, points to a focus on education.⁵⁴ The subsequent history of the only known copy of this manuscript is murky. In 1833 it was in the possession of one Rev. Walter Sneyd,⁵⁵ but it is listed as having been put up for sale at Sotheby's seventy years later, where the lot in which it was included was bought for sixteen shillings by a buyer called Murray.⁵⁶ Since it has not so far been possible to trace the manuscript beyond this point, I will not weigh heavily on it; suffice to say that if it were written by Gaetano, as I believe is highly likely,⁵⁷ it demonstrates that Gaetano had an interest in education, which is consistent with the level of competence in Latin and Greek texts evident from this *Oratio*. The existence of this second manuscript dedicated to the patriarch also serves as a reminder of Gaetano's status in that he was more closely aligned with the Venetian state than with the church. In the sixteenth century, St Mark's Basilica was not associated with the patriarch, but was rather the private chapel of the doge, and its singers were his servants (see § **xlvi Serenissimo Principe Venetiarum**).

However, the existence of a second text could point to another purpose – that of being a purely intellectual literary pursuit. At least two of his lay contemporaries in the *cappella* were

⁵² Vendrix, 2009, 39.

⁵³ Zeno, 1785, 203; Rossi, 1888, 462.

⁵⁴ "On the character of boys and their education."

⁵⁵ *Cat. Man.*, 1833, 23.

⁵⁶ *Cat. Sneyd*, 1903, 84. Owing to the somewhat obscure nature of the catalogue relating the sale of part of the estate of Walter Sneyd, I quote the pertinent extract in full (sic):

Third day of sale (18th December 1903) - Lot 570: "Orationes et Panegyrici Diversorum Authorum. Bernardi Justiniani Oratio habita apud Xistum Pont. Max (10 ll.) *on paper, neatly written* – Aretini Leonardi in Hypocritas (4 ll.) *very finely written* – Ad Clariss. Virum Patricium Venetum Jacobum Martinum Marcellum in Obitu Valerii Filii Nich. Sagundini Consolatio (30 ll.) *written in angular characters* – Gerardus a Cbalo, Oratio ad Principem Laurentium Priulum habita, 1577 (6 ll.) *clearly written* – III^{mo} et Rev^{mo} Domino Johanni Trivisano Patrarchiae Venetae Petrus Cajetanus Cantor Sancti Marci perpetuam felicitatem aeternamque salutem exortat (14 ll.) *written in bold gothic letters* – Oratione di Mons^r Cicogna fatta nella morte del Card. Navagero Vescovo di Verona (30 ll.) *boldly written* – Canzone Sopra il Ritratta del Gio. Francesco Sagredo Podesta e Capitano di Capodistria (20 ll.) *boldly written* – All'Immortalità del Card. Pietro Ottoboni del titolo di S. Salvatore in Lauro, Vescovo di Brescia (16 ll.) *neatly written in red and black*; and other MANUSCRIPT Orations, etc. some AUTOGRAPH ORIGINALS, in 1 vol. *half vellum sm. 4to*". The identity of and amount paid by the winning bidder is recorded in Sotheby's *Sales Catalogues*, [Sneyd Papers, S2840], 63.

⁵⁷ An example of Gaetano using a post-classical form, of which there are several instances in this *Oratio*. See Holford-Strevens, 2001 for an exploration of how certain "linguistic weed[s] would prove peculiarly resistant to Renaissance hoes" [p.421].

well-educated and active in publishing (albeit publishing musical anthologies and scores).⁵⁸ Such a document that is so complimentary of Venetian musical traditions, written by one who makes no reference to his own musical abilities, which were clearly extensive, does not seem to be one that is seeking a new job. As far as can be surmised, Gaetano had no complaint that the quality of music had declined in the years after Willaert's death. Furthermore, Ongaro and Anthon give strong arguments that a role in the *cappella* of St Mark's would have been more socially prestigious and lucrative compared to roles on the mainland.⁵⁹ Moreover, I do not necessarily read inconsistency in Gaetano's tenses; the few perfect tense verbs with which Vendrix takes issue (e.g. *Ep. ix contempsit ... exornavit*)⁶⁰ indeed point to past action that remains true in the present, “he *has* [not] scorned ... he *has* improved” rather than a definitively completed action. It is certainly true that Gaetano may have wanted to express some desire to succeed Animuccia, and that the present tense verbs in that passage (e.g. *aptat ... conficit ... agit*) should be interpreted as historic present. On balance, though, I think that even considering the coincidence of both directorships becoming available within a comparatively short space of time, to interpret the *Oratio* as some pre-emptive application for either role would be to overstate the available evidence. Rather, it seems to me more likely that through his *Oratio*, Gaetano is, as an agent of the state, expressing Venetian soft power in the wake of its diminished influence on the Italian peninsula following the War of the League of Cognac (1526-30). This accounts too for the anachronistic presentation of the letter. Letters seeking employment or discussing terms of employment were certainly contemporaneously sent around Italy, several by Willaert.⁶¹ However, what again marks the *Oratio* as unusual, is that all those that I have found are in a vernacular tongue. This reinforces my reading of the *Oratio* as more of a composition in artful prose than a purely utilitarian tool. See also below (**Diplomatic gifts; Concepts of music**).

Either way, Gaetano was not appointed to Guidobaldo's court at Pesaro. Rather, he seems to have remained in Venice. Ongaro gives the date of the last document that refers to him as 1575, although since this date falls outside the remit of his study (the *cappella* under Willaert, who died in 1562) he does not include the document in his catalogue.⁶² This final

⁵⁸ Ongaro, 1986, 207-10.

⁵⁹ On prestige, see Ongaro, 1986, 213, on remuneration, see Anthon, 1946, 112-123, esp. 118ff. N.B. that this specifically relates to church musicians, but Anthon observes that even the most generously paid court *maestri*, possibly those of the court of Ferrara, earned an average of twelve ducats a month – not a vast increase on the possible total of Gaetano's salary, benefits, and opportunities for supplementing his pay further in Venice.

⁶⁰ Vendrix, 2009, 39.

⁶¹ See, for example, a reproduction of a letter sent from Willaert to Guidobaldo in 1562 reproduced in Piperno, 2001, insert 78ff.

⁶² Ongaro, 1986, 505. When I visited the State Archives, I was similarly unable to find a later document.

date, coupled with what would already have been a forty year career as an adult singer, makes it more than likely that Gaetano was one of the victims of that year's outbreak of bubonic plague (which killed up to a third of Venice's population), probably aged somewhere between 55 and 65.

The *Oratio*

The *Oratio* therefore represents a mature expression of Gaetano's professional opinions, with a likely composition date of between 1565-72, and possibly more precisely 1567-9.⁶³ It is a typical product of neo-Latin humanist activity.⁶⁴ In this, it represents a conscious effort on Gaetano's part to imitate classical literature and does so in a variety of ways. His decisions regarding the language he uses, the structure he adopts, and the paratexts in which he frames his work all point to series of decisions driven by a preference for a style that reached beyond mediaeval scholasticism.

The various interpretations of the *Oratio*'s purpose notwithstanding, it does seem likely that the manuscript was despatched from Venice, as Rossi records that it had been given to the Venetian Cicogna by one Marco Procacci, a native of Pesaro, in 1841.⁶⁵ This is contrary to Vendrix's suggestion that it had remained in Venice.⁶⁶ However, if it was at any point part of the ducal library at Pesaro, it became detached at some point and was not transferred to the Vatican Libraries in 1657 with the bulk of the collection after the final della Rovere duke had died.⁶⁷

Summary of contents⁶⁸

Letter (Ep.)

- §§ *i-ii* – Gaetano provides his apology for offering this oration, called a *munus*, to Guidobaldo.
- §§ *iii-v* – Gaetano's focus shall be on music, as it is especially appropriate to Guidobaldo.
- §§ *vi-ix* – The particular qualities of the house of Montefeltro/della Rovere.
- §§ *x-xii* – The singer Virginia Vagnoli, employed by Guidobaldo, is likened to a tenth Muse.

⁶³ Vendrix, 2009, 39-40 & n.10.

⁶⁴ Cf. Kristeller, 1990; Glomski, 2017; van der Poel, 2017.

⁶⁵ Rossi, 1888, 462, n.4.

⁶⁶ Vendrix, 2009, 34.

⁶⁷ Alexander-Skipnes, 2010, 67.

⁶⁸ N.B., sectional headings are my own.

- §§ *xiii-xiv* – Conclusion to letter and general summary of points made.

As shall be discussed in detail below (see **Genre, Letter**; and **Commentary, Ep.**), the existence of this letter in some senses confuses the overall purpose of the *Oratio*, as it refers to a different set of *dramatis personae* to those celebrated in the subsequent oration. However, it seems likely that Gaetano believed his argument in the oration would find favour at the delle Rovere court, as the last few dukes had invested heavily in artistic and musical excellence. Making use of ring composition, he models himself on Cicero, delving into music's history and relating it to the court at Pesaro.

Oration (Or.)

- §§ *i-vi* – Proemium – Gaetano suggests his qualifications to make such an oration and states the importance of authenticity in speechmaking.
- §§ *vii-viii* – The categories of musician.
- §§ *ix-xviii* – The Music of the Spheres.
- § *xix* – The Music of the Body.
- §§ *xx-xxviii* – Instrumental Music.
- §§ *xxix-xxxvii* – Some of music's history, first its appreciation, then its development.
- §§ *xxxviii-xli* – Gaetano's five ages of musician.
- §§ *xlvi-lx* – The power, applications, and benefits of music.
- §§ *lxii-lxviii* – How music can guarantee social harmony.
- §§ *lxix-lxxii* – How music is essential to the divine.
- §§ *lxxiii-lxxv* – Coda – Gaetano names and thanks most of those he has mentioned and expresses hope in the salvation music offers.

After an introduction in which Gaetano tentatively outlines his qualifications for making such a speech, the oration can be split most clearly into two parts: the first examining some of the intellectual history of music (i.e. the *origo*), and the second on how the practical applications of this mysterious art are proof of its God-given status (i.e. the *dignitas*). The first section starts with a variation on the classical division defined by Boethius (that of *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*), albeit with a focus on the practitioners rather than the art itself, before tracing the development from Jubal, via Greece and Rome, through the Middle Ages and the contributions made by Guido of Arezzo, to the music of the century or so before Gaetano and down to his own day.

After this, Gaetano moves to a non-chronological discussion of how music can be applied in various ways (both positive and negative) to effect a desired change. This Gaetano manages to bring around to hymn the achievements of the House of Habsburg, both political and spiritual. The argument is that none of this would have been possible without the divine intercession of the art of music.

Style

In terms of the *Oratio*'s language, Gaetano makes a clear attempt to imitate classical forms. This is striking because preceding centuries had seen a trend towards 'vernacularisation' of Latin. Holford-Strevens suggests that, as the vernacular became more wide-spread, the tendency to make Latin follow the grammar of its daughter languages increased, and by the fourteenth century had "infected Latin on the pretext of sounding more natural."⁶⁹ This had several manifestations. Authors, even highly educated ones, began to adopt a 'subject-verb-object' word order.⁷⁰ Similarly, Holford-Strevens identifies in a paragraph of Jacques de Liège "quod-clauses instead of accusative and infinitive [*quod semibrevis brevem imperficial*], gerunds with object instead of gerundives [*intelligendo illam*]," to say nothing of the peculiar vocabulary: *semibrevis, imperficere*.⁷¹ This trend would continue until well into the fifteenth century, leading to a confusing medley of different words describing the same technical feature by scholars with differing grasps on Latin (and pertinently, since most technical terms derived from Pythagorean works, Greek).⁷²

Thus, the choice to write mostly in a self-consciously classical register of Latin was somewhat charged. Indeed, depending on the lengths to which it is taken, while such a decision could in some ways appear revolutionary, in others it could have seemed almost reactionary. Certainly, it could set an author among those vitriolically opposed to the vernacular. Lazzaro Bonamico, professor of Greek & Latin at Padua, put into his mouth in Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo delle lingue* (1530s) "when I consider the matter ... it seems to me that the Tuscan is to Latin as the dregs are to wine; for the vulgar tongue is nothing but Latin debased and corrupted by time, by barbarians, and by our own neglect" in reply to which his anonymous interlocutor "begs

⁶⁹ Holford-Strevens, 2001, 420.

⁷⁰ Saenger, 1997, 253-4; see also Thurot, 1868, 343, who suggests that the change from the so-called *ordo artificalis* to *ordo naturalis* first occurred in spoken Latin, presumably because scholars speaking in at least their second language needed to express an idea quickly. As the vernacular order became more commonplace, written Latin followed suit.

⁷¹ Holford-Strevens, 2001, 420-1.

⁷² Until the 1580s, it was not possible to read Greek musical notation accurately, but musical theorists among the humanists enthusiastically imitated classical ideas: "odes, elegeia, epikedeia, epimikia, epithalamia, paeans, orphic songs, nomoi, and antistrophic choruses" (Palisca, 1985, 6).

him not to go so far as Romolo Amaseo did ... in Bologna, ‘who,’ he says ‘in public lectures so roundly condemned the vernacular as to make me feel there and then that it would be better to die Cicero’s servant and to have spoken Latin well, than to live these days with this Tuscan Pope [this being Clement VII, born Giulio de’ Medici]’.⁷³ Some have seen in Amaseo (and others, notably Sigonius) a wish to eradicate the vernacular entirely.⁷⁴ Kristeller reads them more as defences of the study of Latin “without any intention to abolish the *volgare*.⁷⁵ While that may be the case, the fact remains that fervently pro-classical speeches were interpreted as anti-vernacular. Indeed, contemporaneously with Gaetano, Amaseo’s speeches *de latinae linguae usu retinendo* were published in Bologna (*R. Amasei orationum volumen*, Bologna, 1564) arguing that “the restoration of the majesty of the Empire and the dignity of the Latin language go hand in hand.”⁷⁶ Such language would have seemed provocative to the emperor (whom Gaetano goes out of his way to flatter, *Or.lxiii-lxviii*).

This was not the only choice available. Other authors such as Bembo saw a place for vernacular alongside Latin (see for instance his *Prose della volgar lingua*).⁷⁷ However, this appreciation of new forms was coupled with zealous preference for Ciceronian Latin, which Grendler traces to Salutati in 1395.⁷⁸ This preference was not simply for the ‘Golden Age’ style of Cicero, but even for vocabulary. This could be taken to pedantic (possibly even radical) extremes: translating cardinals as *senatores*, their Dean as *princeps senatus*, and nuns as *Virgines Vestales*.⁷⁹ Gaetano does not go so far, but he does include some apparently classical forms which had become commonplace by his period: e.g. *Divus Augustinus* (*Ep.xi Divus*; *Or.xxxi*; *Or.lxix*) and *Divus Ambrosius* (*Or.lxx*). Indeed, Bembo and Gaetano would have come into contact with one another, as the Venetian Bembo was librarian of St Mark’s Basilica and thus the official historian of the republic from 1530 to 1538.⁸⁰

A third way was that of Quintilianism. Its proponents favoured *imitatio*, which was Quintilian’s pursuit of “a Latin style based on the reading and copying of a variety of the best authors, [believing] that language was not fixed but must evolve in order to respond to new circumstances.”⁸¹ A major advocate of this eclectic style was Pico, who would connect diverse

⁷³ Grayson, 1960, 6.

⁷⁴ Sabbadini, 1885, 127-36.

⁷⁵ Kristeller, 1944-5, 373 & n.75.

⁷⁶ Grayson, 1960, 7.

⁷⁷ On Bembo’s appreciation of vernacular, see Richardson, 2000.

⁷⁸ Grendler, 1989, 215, but see 212-34. See also id., 2002, 205-48 for a discussion of the development of this process.

⁷⁹ Burckhardt, 1944, 150.

⁸⁰ Fenlon, 2002b.

⁸¹ Grendler, 1989, 214-15.

sources through “short, ‘synthetic’ aphorisms”.⁸² Each source could thus be valued on its own merits and adjusted to fit the argument.

Intentionally or not, Gaetano would have found himself caught in this debate. It seems that he cleaves closest to the Quintilian style. The richness of his source material (Cicero, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Aelian, Augustine, and Boethius to name the most prominent) allows each author to contribute something valuable to the whole. That said, Gaetano remains imitative of Cicero, in some instances either copying him (*Or.iii quattuor personis induti simus*) or paraphrasing him (*Or.i magistri caeterarum artium*). Moreover, he does make use of classical constructions throughout the *Oratio*. For example, in *Ep.vi*, he uses the classical balance of *hic* [*hi*] ... *ille* (the latter ... the former). While this may seem to upset the chronological accuracy of the text (the martial Francesco Maria [*ille*] reigned after the more scholarly Federico and Guidobaldo I [*hi*]), this chiasmus is typical of the Latin Gaetano is trying to emulate. However, in *Ep.vii*, to avoid repeating himself, Gaetano chooses a parallel construction (*Federici et Guidi Ubaldi ... Francisci Mariae ... illorum ... huius*). Such variation shows an awareness of the necessity to keep the structure of the text fresh. This also answers the questions asked by Pigman concerning whether perceived similarities are merely coincidences and allows for Gaetano’s *Oratio* to say something fresh.⁸³

Gaetano also draws on classical vocabulary which he then applies to Christian contexts. *Divus* has been mentioned above, but there are also examples of the epithet of Jupiter, *Optimus Maximus*, being applied to the Christian God (*Ep.iii; Or.lxxv*)⁸⁴ and the complex *imperator* being used in two different ways in *Ep.v & Ep.vi* (first as ‘emperor’, then in the more classical sense of ‘general’). That said, Gaetano does not limit himself to words that might be considered strictly Ciceronian. As Tunberg observed in the case of Erasmus, a prominent advocate of Quintilianism, he “draws on the entire ancient patrimony of Latin for his vocabulary and he is noticeably fond of non-Ciceronian words and phrases.”⁸⁵ While Gaetano does not perhaps go quite so far, his use of Gellian-esque tautology (discussed in **Commentary**, see *Ep.i; Or.xxiii; Or.li; Or.liv*) shows both an appreciation of a wider classical reading and of contemporary humanist taste. He uses words unusual to classical ears (*benemeritus*, *Ep.v & Or.lxii; animasticus*, *Or.vii*) and uses words in ways that tempt the reading of puns (*concinnarem*, *Ep.ii*, in the context may imply a pun around *concentum* and the idea of a harmonious gift being crafted). This

⁸² Borghesi et al, 2012; *infra*, Riva, 6.

⁸³ See Pigman, 1990.

⁸⁴ Tunberg, 2017, 253.

⁸⁵ Tunberg, 2017, 241.

approach of still admitting occasional neologisms avoids the trap identified by Grayson of becoming static or fossilised in pursuit of perfection, which would “circumscribe expression ... conclude that Latin belonged to the past, not to the present nor the future ... [and rather] maintain Latin as a live idiom ... [with] greater freedom of expression, whilst being fraught with dangers of impurity and anachronism”.⁸⁶

Gaetano also follows the fashion for adapting his name to Latin. He used (or was credited with) numerous forms of his name through his career, as illustrated by Ongaro. The most common Italian rendering was Gaetano, although Gaetan and Gaietano are also seen.⁸⁷ In Latin, Gaietanus is more often seen,⁸⁸ although Cajetanus is also a possible option.⁸⁹ In his signature to the letter (*Ep.xiv*) he writes *Caētanuſ* in the manner of rendering *Gaius* as *Caius* (although the dieresis demonstrates that the first two vowels are not a diphthong). In this, while he is setting himself in the classical tradition, he also follows that of musicologists writing about music. Of these, the best known is Tinctoris, whose treatises on music (such as *de inventione et usu musice*) by virtue of being written in Latin could become part of a wider network of scholarship.⁹⁰ Indeed, Gaetano’s *Oratio* is sufficiently similar to that of Tinctoris that Perkins mistakenly cites Gaetano’s “*Oratio de inventione et usu musices.*”⁹¹ In this more specialist group too, good Latin was prized.⁹² Despite this clear preference for a classical style, Gaetano allows himself the space to lavish praise upon his master Zarlino’s *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* (*Or.xlii*), published in Italian in 1558, showing an awareness of the potential of each approach.

Gaetano seems not to make habitual use of metrical tools in his prose, but investigation into this has not been a focus of the research of this project.⁹³

In terms of style, Gaetano thus manages to navigate a tricky course through contemporaneous debates, achieving a register that ought not necessarily to exclude him from any one school of thought.

⁸⁶ Grayson, 1960, 12.

⁸⁷ Ongaro, 1986, 349, 365, 402; van der Straeten, 1888, 231.

⁸⁸ Ongaro, 1986, 310, 360.

⁸⁹ *Cat. Sneyd*, 1903, 84.

⁹⁰ Woodley, 2001. On Tinctoris more generally, see Weinmann, 1961; Woodley, 1985.

⁹¹ Perkins, 1990, 53, n.51.

⁹² Strohm mentions Tinctoris’s approval of Ockeghem’s and Buynoys’s “competent Latinity” (2015, 267).

⁹³ Future work on this point might make use of Krause, 2009 (especially bibliography pp.106-9 on humanist prose rhythm) and Tunberg, 2017, 249-50.

Genre

The *Oratio* is divided into a dedicatory prefacing letter and a considerably longer thesis, which Gaetano identifies as a speech. Here I will discuss these specific genres within their neo-Latin humanist context and offer some further suggestions on the possible function of the work as a whole.

Letter

The *Oratio* opens with a ten-page letter. It is headed by a dedication to Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino and Lord of Senogallia. Gaetano's choice to set down his thoughts in a handwritten Latin letter tells us much about his values. The letter's peculiar blend of salesmanship and scholarship is unusual (if not without precedent) as it is dedicated to, and was presumably meant to be read by, one who was not himself an academic musician. Because of this, we are allowed a glimpse of how music was perceived in non-specialist (albeit elite) communities. In the subsequent oration (as opposed to the letter), Gaetano will show himself to be well-versed in ideas that permeated contemporary Italy, whereas the letter provides a counterpoint to them. His text is suffused with a desire to recreate a greater classical past. He professes a profound belief in the potential for music as a force for good in noble courts. He represents an aspiration of his time, that men of learning could shape history as much as soldiers and statesmen.

The first question about the letter concerns its relationship to the *Oratio* and whether it, as distinct from the oration, was intended as a private or a public document. Examples of both are widely attested in the Renaissance, with the production of each kind generating numerous letter-writing manuals, which in turn led to their composition being taught at schools.⁹⁴ Communication between states was increasingly important, and the modes in which they chose to do so was a matter of both national prestige and personal pride.⁹⁵ As a servant of the Venetian state, it is not impossible that Gaetano wrote the *Oratio* as a gift from the state to that of Urbino. Since the time of Federico da Montefeltro, the dukes had been noted patrons of literature (to which Gaetano refers, see *Ep.vi-vii*), with an especial interest in collecting Latin manuscripts.⁹⁶ Such a document as the *Oratio* would thus likely have had some appeal.

It is striking in itself that the letter was written in Latin, and in a Latin of a similar register to the oration. For orations and treatises to be composed in Latin is not especially

⁹⁴ Kristeller 1988; Henderson 1993; & Burton, 2007.

⁹⁵ Kristeller, 1980, 8-9; id. 1990, 123-4.

⁹⁶ Hofmann, 2008; Alexander-Skipnes, 2010.

remarkable, but the covering letters that oiled this aspect of Renaissance diplomacy had begun to be written in Italian since the mid-fifteenth century, certainly in secular contexts.⁹⁷ Glomski puts this date slightly later,⁹⁸ but the *Oratio*'s date from the second half of the sixteenth century would still make this a relatively late example. Latin would permit a more public platform, or at least a wider readership. This is suggested by the fact that Blok's compilation of *Seventy-seven neo-Latin letters*, which runs from 1346 to 1669, features letters destined "for a wider circle of readers."⁹⁹ However, there is no direct evidence to support the notion that the *Oratio* was a state-sponsored expression. Perkins suggests the conclusion that it was intended to some degree for circulation, but its deficiencies of invention were the primary limiting factor.¹⁰⁰

If on the other hand it was a wholly private document, then, as mentioned above, Vendrix offers a plausible narrative that Gaetano sought employment, first from the Habsburg court (hence the celebration of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian and his family, *Or.lxiii-lxviii*) and then, after failing to secure an appointment there, hastily rededicating the oration to Guidobaldo with a new letter, as the court at Pesaro had found itself without a court composer in 1569.¹⁰¹ However, the tone (and tense) in which Gaetano celebrates Paolo Animuccia (*Ep.ix*) does cast some doubt on this hypothesis. It is not clear why Guidobaldo would want to replace Animuccia, and it appears that Gaetano knew him to be still alive when he dedicated the *Oratio*. Moreover, as argued in the biography proposed above, at between fifty and sixty years old, Gaetano would be relatively elderly to commence a new appointment, probably had family and connections to keep him in Venice and, as the tone of the oration makes clear, he enjoyed a fulfilling working relationship with Zarlino.

Possibly the least contentious hypothesis that can be drawn from the letter is that the *Oratio* is a smart gift offered to one known to have an appreciation of music. It follows standard conventions of the time, such as the inscription that heads the letter. This is comparable to Italian examples, such as Monteverdi who was writing twenty years later. Stevens asserts that in Monteverdi's day, court etiquette was sufficiently rigid that a consistent salutation would be offered to a given rank. For example, the correct salutation for a duke or prince would be *Serenissimo [mio Singolare] Signore et Padron Collendissimo*.¹⁰² Indeed, Willaert addressed a letter in Italian to Guidobaldo II in 1562 in which he called him *Illusterrimo et Excellentissimo*.¹⁰³ By

⁹⁷ Azzolini & Lazzarini, 2017, 4-7.

⁹⁸ Glomski, 2017, 255 citing Kristeller 1988, 124; Henderson 1993, 143, 155-6; & Burton, 2007, 89.

⁹⁹ Blok, 1985.

¹⁰⁰ Perkins, 1990, 50-1.

¹⁰¹ Vendrix, 2009, 39-40.

¹⁰² Stevens, 1995, 6-7, where a full table of appropriate inscriptions can be found.

¹⁰³ Piperno, 2001, picture inserts between 78 & 79 (cit. ASF-Urb., cl. I, div. G, b. 217, Carteggio di Venezia, c.574r

contrast, comparable and contemporaneous examples addressing secular lords in Latin are rather harder to find.¹⁰⁴ If the letter was not sent in the hope of preferment, then the question of re-dedication is also solved. There being no vacancy and thus no chance of employment, Gaetano does not risk scuppering his chances by slighting Guidobaldo in comparison to Maximilian. Moreover, it is reflective of the effort that Gaetano went to in writing the oration that he did not re-write it for Guidobaldo having already written something for Maximilian. See also below (**Oration**). As noted above, it does seem to have fulfilled some of the expected function of a letter and to have been delivered to Pesaro (see **The *Oratio***).

Oration

The remaining fifty-five pages of the manuscript are taken up with the oration itself. Orationes form a well-attested but largely uncollated and unedited genre of neo-Latin humanist literature, a product of the belief that the composition of speeches formed a significant part of the presentation of those who considered themselves educated (see **Commentary § i. oratoris**). The nebulous nature of these texts points to their different intended goals. Nevertheless, by the sixteenth century the perception that they were the product of a literary society made them a formal tool with which scholars proved their learnedness, linking them with the classical tradition. They thus contrast with late-mediaeval scholastic texts such as Tinctoris's *Complexus effectuum musices*, even if they were also rooted in the Neo-Platonist/Aristotelian dialectic (see **Commentary Or. Title origine et dignitate; & musices**).¹⁰⁵ However, as Gaetano implies (see **Commentary Or.iii quattuor personis induti simus**), this demonstration of education ought not to be beyond one's capabilities.

Gaetano's choice to write an oration also imbues his work with a moral quality. Quintilian had argued that a necessary condition of being a good orator was to be a good man: *vir bonus dicendi peritus, optima sentiens, optimeque dicens* (Quint. *Inst. XII.1.25*). But this can also be read as an argument that oratory is a contributing factor in making one a good man. Furthermore, Quintilian was himself engaging in the classical tradition of his age, seeing it as the best way to reinvigorate his post-Republican era with the values of civic political

¹⁰⁴ Useful starting points particularly relating to the dedications and formats of treatises on music can be found in Holford-Strevens, 2001 and Bossuyt *et al*, 2008. N.B. Gaetano (probably) himself provides a corroborating piece of evidence in the second attested oration, *de qualitate puerorum et de eorum instruione* which opened: *Ill^{mo} et Rev^{mo} Domino Johanni Trivisano Patriarchae Venetae Petrus Cajetanus Cantor Sancti Marci perpetuam felicitatem aeternamque salutem exortat.* (“To the most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Giovanni Trevisan the Patriarch of Venice, Pietro Gaetano, a singer at St Mark's offers perpetual good fortune and everlasting health.”) This clearly demonstrates that Gaetano considered that there was a form to be adhered to – a further reason to lament the loss of this text.

¹⁰⁵ On Tinctoris's intellectual roots, see Strohm, 2001, 9ff.

participation of Cicero and Cato's age.¹⁰⁶ On the development of the link between (particularly Platonic) moral goodness and oratory contemporaneous with Quintilian, see Brinton, 1983. This general association also corresponds with Gaetano's 'Quintilian' style (see above).

Likewise, Cicero was an important source for Gaetano. His speech-craft, especially in *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, had been studied through the Middle Ages and Renaissance,¹⁰⁷ and from the end of the fourteenth century scholars produced commentaries on his speeches themselves even as they were being discovered.¹⁰⁸ The most significant aesthetic works that appear to have influenced Gaetano's writing however are the *Tusculan Disputations*. In claiming the *Tusculans*, as well as other semi-didactic works, Gaetano casts the reader as Cicero's student and consequently as Roman.¹⁰⁹

There were also more recent models for Gaetano. While its reach should not be overstated, Pico's *Oratio de hominis dignitate* has become seen as a 'Manifesto of the Renaissance,' almost paradigmatic in how it asserted its intellectual authority. Valcke sees Burckhardt as responsible for creating a 'mythologised' Pico, obscuring other Renaissance scholarship, although Borghesi cautions against being over-zealous in attempts to re-evaluate Pico's contribution.¹¹⁰ In this case at least, it is highly likely that Pico's *Oratio* was available in Venice. On Pico's possible influence on Gaetano, see **Commentary** *Or. Title dignitate*; §§ xxviii; xxix).¹¹¹ Gaetano's *Oratio* stands out because while there is no evidence (other than the oration's existence and content) to suggest that he had received a 'university' education (cf. **Introduction** below; **Commentary** *Or. Title musices*; *Or.i aut grammatici ... caeterarum artium*), a study of the Venetian civic documentary evidence in which he features suggests that he was not of high social class. Despite this likelihood, this demonstration of his learnedness extends the boundaries set by his natural birthright (see *Or.ii propriam naturam*); he considered himself sufficiently well-read to address the nobility directly, if deferentially.

¹⁰⁶ Bolaffi, 1958.

¹⁰⁷ See Cox and Ward, 2006, *inf.* especially Ward, 3-69, Taylor-Briggs, 77-108, and Cox, 109-43, as well as Ward, 2019.

¹⁰⁸ Ward, 1995, 74-210; Van der Poel, 2017, 272; Altman, 2015, 1-15; Ward, 2019, 92-116; for resurging interest in preserving classical scholarship see Grafton 1988.

¹⁰⁹ See Gildenhard on the Roman quality of the student-reader of the *Tusculans*, 2007, 207-77 [chapter 3].

¹¹⁰ Valcke, 2005, 13-25; Borghesi, 2012, 53, & n.10. On the passages of Burckhardt Valcke presumably finds most egregious, see Burckhardt, 1944 120; 215-16; 319.

¹¹¹ Indeed Pico's method of argumentation has continued to inform how debate is conducted: "Pico's system of thought and his method of quoting and editing his sources, by connecting and 'linking' them in short, synthetic aphorisms, may also resonate with us, inspiring a comparison between Pico's 'concordistic' way of synthesizing diverse traditions and ideas and our own post-modern way of retrieving and reconstructing them, both philologically and theoretically, from the depths of the historical archive" (Riva in Borghesi et al, 2012, 6). On the history of the "myth of Pico" more generally see Borghesi in *ibid.*, 53.

As with the letter, it is not clear whether this oration was intended as a public declamation or as a written missive in the style of an oration. The historical artefacts on which they were based had first been encountered as written documents, separated from the contexts in which they were delivered, with or without edits, by one-and-a-half millennia.¹¹² The authors of Renaissance orations tended to state when and where they were declaimed if they were; if to be edited and published, a secondary brief dedication *ad lectorem* was not uncommon (e.g. Laguna, 2r-v has forty-four lines of elegiac couplets dedicated to Eberhard Billick, a counter-Reformation German theologian,¹¹³ and concludes with a brief afterword, 39v-40r). Laguna's speech also belonged in a discourse with more immediate political risks and ramifications;¹¹⁴ it and contemporaneous literary works seeking to check the increasingly partisan division in Europe took different forms, so Laguna's choice was deliberate and theatrical.¹¹⁵ See *Or. i auditores*.

The oration does contain literary devices that suggest that it may have been declaimed, see e.g. polyptoton (*Or. ii* *siquidem varietates animorum variam vivendi viam requirunt* and *Or. xxxii quibus quidem quoad*); rhetorical questions (*Or. x* *quid dicendum est?*; *Or. lx* *quid ... potest ... quam musice?*); [de]crescendos (*Or. vii* *animasticum ... et instrumentale; ex animastico, mundana et humana, ex instrumentalis naturalis et artificiosa* etc; *Or. lxi* *omnes domini terrarum orbis, duces, principes, reges, imperatores, summi pontifices*) besides drawing heavily on Cicero throughout.

In the *TLL*, delivered speech (*pronunciatio*) is the chief implication of *oratio*: IX.2: 877.31-67, *cum notione dicendi* [*TLL*'s emphasis] i.q. *λόγος*; *ibid.* 877.69 *respicitur potius ipsa actio loquendi*; also *ibid.*, 883.26-82, *pertinet ad artem et rationem dicendi*; *LMLD* V. 495. The eleventh century grammarian Papias made the distinction, *dictio est pars constructe orationis ... oratio est ordinatio dictionum congruam sententiam perfectamque demonstrans*.¹¹⁶ Yet, scholars in the Middle Ages had thought that the standard of *pronunciatio* was so poor that manuals needed to be written to remedy the situation.¹¹⁷ These built on the classical sources (such as Quintilian and Cicero) of whom Gaetano makes use throughout the *Oratio* (and occasionally directly cites, e.g. Cicero at *Or. xii*; Gellius at *Or. li*; and Quintilian at *Or. lviii*).¹¹⁸ These arts were then taught at schools. One such was headed by Stefano Piazzoni, who in 1526, under his Latinised name Stefanus Plazonis, published a *Praeexercitamentorum libellus*. This is a textbook on the *ars loquendi* or *dicendi*

¹¹² Clay, 1998, 29; Ward, 2006, 40, n.179.

¹¹³ See González Manjarrés, 2001b, 122-5 & n.5.

¹¹⁴ González Manjarrés, 2001, 41-69.

¹¹⁵ Pérez Fernández, 2012, 304. On the form of Laguna's subsequent works, see *ibid.*, 308-11)

¹¹⁶ See Cervani, 1998, 27, cf. *Or. i grammatici*.

¹¹⁷ See Jennings, 2006, 316-7; Ward has also compiled a useful catalogue of mediaeval commentators on this topic: 2019, 479-87.

¹¹⁸ For an excellent account of the major works, see Vickers, 1989, 12-52.

and its especial application to oratory. Whether or not Gaetano knew this particular book, at several points (see **Commentary** e.g. *Ep.ii Heliani exemplum*; *Or.ii ad propriam naturam revocare debet*; *Or.vi genera*; *Or.xxviii at vero defatigasse*) he shows himself familiar with its precepts. Other comparable grammars are discussed by Vickers.¹¹⁹

Were the oration to have been read unabridged, it could have taken about an hour and three-quarters,¹²⁰ which in Symonds' view is plausible, even if he registers incredulity at the patience of the potentates who sat through such events.¹²¹ There is evidence of a public auditorium in Venice as one Willem Verheiden delivered an *oratio ... de ortu et occasu maximorum imperiorum ... in publico San-Marci Auditorio* in September 1590.¹²² Certainly Venice was a self-consciously theatrical city in its public spectacle, where every part of its self-expression (architectural, artistic, musical) was carefully planned, managed, and censored by different functionaries of the state (see also **Diplomatic gifts** on the Accademia Venetiana's 1559 edition of orations).¹²³



Joos van Wassenhove, Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, and his son Guidobaldo, and others listening to a discourse. c. 1480. Reproduced by permission of the Royal Collection Trust | © His Majesty King Charles III 2024.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 1989, 254-5.

¹²⁰ Based on my own reading pace.

¹²¹ Symonds, 1881, 191. Cf. Burckhardt, 1944, 139-40.

¹²² Verheiden, W. in Verheiden, J., 1598, 59-69.

¹²³ Fenlon, 2007, 85-127 details the process of this development from the early Middle Ages to Gaetano's day.

While they do not (and cannot) claim to be comprehensive, in their compilation of the works of the major music theorists from Boethius to Zarlino, Williams and Balensuala do not register a single piece entitled *oratio*.¹²⁴ However, it may not be helpful to be too constrained in identifying Gaetano's terms through the title he uses. Indeed, as shall be discussed in the **Commentary**, parts of this *Oratio* read more like the imagined dialogue of Cicero's *Tusculans* (*i.a.*).¹²⁵ *DMLBS* (II. 2043) offers “discourse, narrative, [and] literary composition” suggesting that, in Britain at least, there was no longer a necessity to speak orations; rather, they could exist as literary art pieces in their own right.¹²⁶ That said, as suggested by Burckhardt, there was social and intellectual prestige associated with the performance of rhetoric (see van Wassenhove's depiction of court of Urbino).¹²⁷

On balance, it seems most likely that Gaetano's oration was offered as such a literary art piece, presented with its dedicatory letter, as little more than an expression of goodwill. In a full example of rhetoric intended to obtain a return, one would expect *salutatio*, *exordium/captatio benevolentiae*, *narratio*, *petitio*, *conclusio* (greeting, introduction/expression of goodwill, statement of facts, request, conclusion).¹²⁸ Of these, the *Oratio* seemingly lacks any *petitio* – more than anything else, this seems to make it unlikely that Gaetano sought a job at Guidobaldo's court. In that case, whether it was an art piece or a piece for performance, it seems most likely that the *Oratio* was intended as a gift from an educated individual (whether privately, or as a representative of either an academy or the state) to a learned prince.

Diplomatic gifts

Being reasonably confident in the *Oratio*'s classification as a gift, it is worth discussing some of the wider context for that activity in the Renaissance. Indeed, a recurring theme of the letter itself is the idea of gift exchange, and the question of what is appropriate for a member of the lower classes to give to the upper classes. This is perhaps particularly relevant in the case of the dukes of Urbino. Guidobaldo's family did have something of a reputation for largesse and were consequently popular with their subjects. Guidobaldo's great-grandfather Federico da Montefeltro (see *Ep.vi Federicum ... Duces*) had made his fortune as a commander (or

¹²⁴ Williams & Balensuala, 2007, 299-311; on their aims see *ibid.*, vii-xvii.

¹²⁵ On Cicero's intellectual genealogy in composing the *Tusculans*, see Gildenhard, 2007, 150-1.

¹²⁶ In this instance, it is important to set aside the Christianised definition of “prayer” (cf. *MLML*, 742-3). Rather, Gaetano is appealing to classical notions.

¹²⁷ Burckhardt, 1944, 137-44.

¹²⁸ Glomski, 2017, 257.

condottiere) of the mercenary companies that characterised Italian warfare of this period.¹²⁹ Indeed, one scholar has suggested ungenerously that the fabulous wealth of the Montefeltro/della Rovere families that they had earned as *condottieri* meant that they could afford to tax their citizens lightly and thus boost their popularity.¹³⁰

The della Rovere family clearly engaged in gift exchange as a political act, just as much as showing personal affection. For example, in the decades preceding the composition of the *Oratio*, Urbino had become established as a centre of maiolica production.¹³¹ This elaborately painted tin-glazed earthenware could then be sent as gifts either within the immediate family (although laden with political iconography)¹³² or to outsiders, transmitting diplomatic subtext. The pope (Clement VII) found himself the recipient of Urbino-made earthenware and consequently used it (and significantly, was seen to be using it).¹³³

Guidobaldo II himself capitalised on this industry as an extension of his ‘soft power.’ Two examples are notable: the first in 1547,¹³⁴ when Guidobaldo sent one service to Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, and another to his brother-in-law, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. The second is from 1562, when the duke sent a service of maiolica to Philip II.¹³⁵ This service had a possible double entendre in that it depicted the glories of Julius Caesar, the namesake of Guidobaldo’s great-uncle, Julius II (born Giuliano della Rovere, reigned 1503-13). That maiolica was made of the inexpensive materials pottery and tin (albeit with costly paint) is potentially alluded to in Gaetano’s prefacing letter where he recounts the episode of the gift of the poor Persian peasant as read in Aelian (see *Ep.ii Heliani exemplum*). The skill of the artist was what lent it any monetary worth. Indeed, there is some evidence that they were preferred to services made of precious metals, which would be brought out for dazzling guests at formal feasts. In more intimate settings (in a letter to her mother Isabella d’Este, Eleonora Gonzaga, Guidobaldo’s mother called such spaces *casa da villa*) simpler earthenware was more comfortable. In this light, Gaetano’s repeated assertion of things owning inherent value that can be recognised by the discerning eye gains significance.

¹²⁹ Norwich, 1983, paints compelling pictures of several and the consequences of Italian reliance on them, see 302-12, 354-9; 372-3; 376-9.

¹³⁰ Burckhardt, 1944, 29. Despite this, even the della Rovere could find their resources stretched – for example when his uncle the pope visited in 1507, Francesco Maria found it necessary to borrow furnishings befitting the papal court from his brother-in-law Francesco Gonzaga, the duke of Mantua (Luzio & Reiner, 1976, 172). This loan notwithstanding, Urbino swiftly gained an international reputation for the palace’s beauty and the hospitality guests might expect (Albury, 2011, 325).

¹³¹ Cf. Cioci, 1987 [N.B. Cioci is doubtful of the duke’s enthusiasm for art *per se*]; Bojani, 2002.

¹³² Cf. Wilson, 2018, 195-201.

¹³³ Ibid., 207; cf. Spallanzani, 1994, 129; Mallet & Dreier, 1998, 36-7.

¹³⁴ Mallet & Dreier, 1998, 38.

¹³⁵ Wilson, 2018, 207.

Moreover, Guidobaldo's family owed their position to extraordinary *munera*. The dukedom of Urbino came into the hands of the della Rovere after Guidobaldo I da Montefeltro (1482-1502; 1503-8) was persuaded to adopt his sister's son, Francesco Maria della Rovere (1508-16; 1521-38). Francesco Maria was the son of Giovanna da Montefeltro (the sister of Guidobaldo I) and Giovanni della Rovere. The match had been arranged by Giovanni's uncle, Pope Sixtus IV (born Francesco della Rovere, reigned 1471-84). The adoption was arranged under the aegis of Pope Julius II. Such bequests are unsurprising for the relatives of the pope (similarly, Alexander VI, next but one pope after Sixtus, promptly ousted the della Rovere from Urbino, installing his son Cesare Borgia from 1502-3). Urbino was a traditional fiefdom of the papal states, but also a useful buffer zone, where competent generals could be installed to keep the pope safe from the predations of the French.¹³⁶

However, once installed, these *condottieri* sought the validation that fuller participation in intellectual activities could provide. As discussed above, Federico da Montefeltro was renowned for his library (see also *Ep.vi-viii* and **Commentary**) and over his life curated a collection second only to the papal libraries,¹³⁷ which retained its reputation into the reign of his great-grandson Guidobaldo.¹³⁸ Books in Greek were sufficiently rare to be prized possessions, as evidenced by the explicit naming of a copy of Homer, produced at the latest in 1438, left in the will of one Giano Parrasio to Antonio Seripando in 1522, before similarly passing to his brother Geralamo in 1531.¹³⁹ It is also recorded that books could be given by the Venetian State (e.g. to Henry III of France by Doge Mocenigo).¹⁴⁰ This clear favour for gifts of this nature reinforces the argument that the *Oratio* was intended as a gift.¹⁴¹

Moreover, while there is no explicit evidence for it in the *Oratio*, the wider political context may suggest that Gaetano was seeking to defend Venice from potential risks. The early part of the sixteenth century had been marked by several significant wars, first those of the League of Cambrai 1508-16)¹⁴² and later that of the League of Cognac (1526-30).¹⁴³ The

¹³⁶ For a fuller depiction of the family ties, see **Appendix I**.

¹³⁷ Hofmann, 2008; Alexander-Skipnes, 2010.

¹³⁸ Piperno, 2001.

¹³⁹ Weiss, 1977, n. 163, 164-5; Mercati, 1934, 111-20.

¹⁴⁰ Fenlon, 2007, 267-70.

¹⁴¹ Note that high status gifts could be less humane, e.g. Bona Sforza, Queen of Poland, gave Charles V two people, presumably with dwarfism, in 1544 in the hope that he would support her claim to the duchy of Milan. Charles thanked her for the gift, assuring her that the *pueri ... annis quam statura maiores, moribus vero pares* would be well cared for and urging her care for their parents and families (Blok, 1985, 31-32). Charles V was not always himself the most thoughtful donor – in 1520 Leo X thanked the young emperor for fourteen hunting eagles, but in rather remote terms, asking “how could he use them appropriately?” Hunting (*venatio clamorosa* rather than *venatio quiesca*) was forbidden by canon law (canon 138) to clerics. (Blok, 1985, 108-10).

¹⁴² Which pitted first France and the Papacy against Venice, then Venice and the Papacy against France, and finally the Papacy against France and Venice, with the Holy Roman Empire coming in to support the Papacy.

¹⁴³ Which set first the Holy Roman Empire and northern Italian allies against France, Venice, the Papacy and certain of their allies before the Papacy switched sides.

participation in these wars by both the Holy Roman Empire and the Papal States (with whom the Montefeltro/della Rovere dukes of Urbino were closely allied) put Venice in a challenging position. Each of these neighbouring states had had rulers during the sixteenth century who claimed the dignity (and territory) of the ancient Roman empire; first Pope Julius II (1503-13), then Emperor Charles V (1519-56). Furthermore, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Guidobaldo's father, had played an ambiguous role, first leading armies against Venice and later being appointed captain-general of the republic's land forces. This military insecurity forced Venice to rely increasingly on diplomacy to guarantee neutrality on the Italian mainland.¹⁴⁴ The *Oratio* may thus exist in an unofficial space where it could appeal to and placate both sides as a means of safeguarding Venice's existence.

Venice had played an important part in the development of the role of state ambassador (i.e. one bearing credentials) as opposed to private agents representing the interests of individual rulers. Their role was seen in such a way that they were titled 'orator,'¹⁴⁵ one of the *personae* that Gaetano claims to be so reluctant to adopt (*Or.i*). Among their number was Federigo Badoer, who had served the republic first as orator to the court of Guidobaldo (in 1547) and subsequently that of Charles V (1553-6) before returning to Venice in 1557 where he founded the Accademia Venetiana.¹⁴⁶ This body, which in its short existence comprised "nearly all the most prominent intellectuals of the city"¹⁴⁷ (including Gaetano's *maestro* Zarlino) became in one sense the publishing arm of the Venetian state.¹⁴⁸ As an example, in 1559, the Accademia published a selection of thirty-one speeches delivered by prominent Venetians, some well-known, including Politian and Bembo (*Orationes Clarorum Hominum vel honoris officiisque causa ad principes, vel in funere de virtutibus eorum habitaे*). Presenting themselves as the *Rethores Academiae Venetae*, the editors select addresses to four popes, four kings, five doges, an emperor and various nobles or high-ranking court officials (see *Orationes* indices, 2r-3r). Each speech celebrates a virtue exemplified by its recipient and valued by the Accademia (and by extension, Venice). While the Accademia was short-lived (closing in 1561 through financial pressures, four years before the *Oratio*'s earliest possible composition date), Gaetano's proximity to key figures within it and the close alignment of the *Oratio*'s argument with the aims of the dissolved Accademia make it a credible suggestion that Gaetano saw his work as an extension of the earlier project.

¹⁴⁴ Norwich, 1983, 431-3.

¹⁴⁵ Burckhardt, 1944, 139-41; Mattingley, 1955, 77-88.

¹⁴⁶ On the history of the Accademia Venetiana, see Rose, 1969; Pagan, 1973-4.

¹⁴⁷ Fenlon, 2002b, 125.

¹⁴⁸ Rose, 1969, 209 cites a 1560 decree of the Council of Ten (effectively Venice's governing body) that gave sole publishing rights of the Council's decrees to the Accademia.

Certainly, their intellectual foundations are comparable, among them a concept of scholarly *dignitas*.

Dignitas

The oration claims to discuss both the *origo* and *dignitas* of music. While its *origo* is clear enough within Gaetano’s context, dealing with the development of music from its ‘invention’ by Jubal and development through pagan and Christian writers, the idea of *dignitas* is less straightforward. For an indication of the breadth of its classical meanings, see *TLL* s.v. (V.1: 1133.50). Fundamentally, the word encompassed those things which were excellent or noble and done in pursuit of improving the republic (e.g. Cic. *Inv. rhet.* II.166, see *TLL* *ibid*). It is in this sense that Gaetano seems to invoke it, but there was precedent for its use in similar Renaissance treatises.

Cicero, as discussed, was one of Gaetano’s main classical sources, and Gaetano may well have developed his understanding of the word through reading the statesman’s works. Cicero mentioned *dignitas* repeatedly (accounting for over half of classical attestations) but not entirely consistently, instead being driven, in many cases, by the context in which the politician and philosopher found himself (Copenhaver, 2019, 34-8).¹⁴⁹ The word is perhaps most familiar, especially in Cicero, in the phrase *cum dignitate otium* or *otium cum dignitate*, which appears first in Cicero’s works at *Sest.* 98.¹⁵⁰ This *otium* was dignified not only because one would have space to think of higher things, as Kristeller says of the Neoplatonist Plotinus, “contemplation may lead … to a still higher ascent and an immediate union of our self with the highest principle, the ultimate one and good,”¹⁵¹ but also because one could then apply it to useful intellectual work. That is, unmodified *otium* is not necessarily a good thing, but the higher ideal of *dignitas* lends its pursuit credit (see *De or. pr.*; *Sest.* 98; *Ad fam.* I.9.21). Indeed, as Kaster suggests, this goal is not just that of the ‘best men’ (*optimates*) “in the normal, narrow sense of the term but of all who are not ‘desperadoes’ (*optimates* in the broad sense).”¹⁵²

By the Renaissance, *otium cum dignitate* was considered to be appropriate to statesmen and those who wanted to be seen as engaged with statesmanlike behaviour. Kristeller cites the

¹⁴⁹ Copenhaver, 2019, 34-8. Copenhaver cites Freund in suggesting that the so-called “basic meanings” (i.e. worth, worthiness, merit) may thus be unrepresentatively skewed (*ibid.*, 29).

¹⁵⁰ Kaster, 2006, 35 n.72.

¹⁵¹ Kristeller, 1991, 136-7.

¹⁵² Kaster, 2006, 35 n.72.

particular examples of Valla, Erasmus, and Luther.¹⁵³ The evolution from the classical model (and especially from the more hermetic monastic model) is that one who engages in this detached reflection (or *vita contemplativa*) would be expected to participate fully in the betterment of his community (via *vita activa*).¹⁵⁴ It is in this way that Gaetano may have seen the message of his *Oratio*; that through his reflections on music's benefits, he may so use it generally to improve the lives of his audience. Moreover, by Cicero's definition, even though he is not himself one of the traditional *optimates*, he is certainly no 'desperado.'

The best-known use nearly contemporary with Gaetano is in Pico's so-called *Oratio de hominis dignitate*. This oration was published posthumously in 1496 in Bologna.¹⁵⁵ Pico did not give his oration this name (the only name tentatively posited as 'original' by Farmer is the *Oratio ad laudes philosophiae*)¹⁵⁶ but the identification of *dignitas* as a theme has been attached to it since its fourth publication in 1504 in Strasbourg. However, if Gaetano was familiar with Pico's work it is most likely that he read the 1557 edition printed by Scotto (who was himself also a musician and musicologist) in Venice under the title *Oratio quaedam elegantissima de Hominis celsitudine & dignitate*.¹⁵⁷

Pico's work opens with the apparent reassertion of the belief that man is the greatest of all creations (*in hac ... mundana ... nihil spectari homine admirabilius*, § 1). However, Pico quickly undermines this claim, pointing to man's shortcomings compared to angels and stating that man is merely the most fortunate and noble animal (§§ 5-6 & ff.). Rather, man's *dignitas* is his potential to become more dignified by contemplating creation (§§ 18-23).

Gaetano does not attempt to subvert his assertion of music's absolute and singular supremacy, but he does make clear that for others to benefit fully from it (and so for it to attain its fullest goodness), the 'dignified' requires direction from the 'efficient' (see *Ep.vi-viii* on praise for the della Rovere family's attention to music; and *Ep.v*; *Or.lxiii-lxviii* on similar celebration of the Habsburgs). By putting himself in a position in which he claims to be uncomfortable (*Or.iii-v*), Gaetano sacrifices his own *dignitas* in order to expound the liberal art of music (i.e. *mousike* –

¹⁵³ On the relationship and tension between the two concepts, see Vickers, 1990, esp. 10-12; Gildenhard, 2007, 46-63; also the dated but still applicable Balsdon, 1960. On Cicero's additional use of the word, of which Gaetano may have been aware, see Gildenhard, 2007, 183ff.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 138-47; on Valla in particular and his balance of *vitae activa* and *contemplativa*, see Panizza, 1991.

¹⁵⁵ On the work's publication history, see Quaquarelli & Zanardi, 2005, 101-10.

¹⁵⁶ Farmer, 1998, 18-19.

¹⁵⁷ Papio (2012, 46) and Copenhaver (2019, 28) agree that Pico's *Oratio* was named by its various posthumous publishers and not its author. For a fuller discussion of Pico's *Oratio*'s publication history and naming convention, see Papio, 46 ff. (N.B. Papio writes "Scoto"). Of particular relevance to the discussion of Gaetano's *Oratio* is the observation that Pico's focus on man's *dignitas* is in fact limited to §§ 1-50, with the rest of the text an "encomium of philosophy" (Papio, 47). As discussed, Gaetano divides his work along similar lines. *Pace* Copenhaver, even though Pico named it differently, the concept of 'dignity' has been attached to Pico's oration since early in its publication history.

see below **Concepts of music**) more fully. The art exists with dignity without reference to ‘other’. In a sense it legitimises Gaetano’s endeavours, but it loses none of its own *dignitas* because it is doing none of the work itself. To Gaetano, the art of music bridges the gap between the immediate world and a quasi-Platonic ‘ideal’ world perceived only through *ratio* and acts as the agent that improves the lives of those experiencing it. Its *dignitas* is its ability to inspire.



Detail of the frontispiece of a volume of Orationes Clarorum Hominum etc (Venice, 1559) showing the emblem of the Accademia Venetiana della Fama.

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These teleological conceptions of music derived from it having its own *dignitas* imbue Gaetano’s work with a distinctive flavour much more spiritual than Tinctoris’s practical *usus*. They are also thoroughly of their time and place. As suggested above (see **Diplomatic gifts**), it is likely that Gaetano was associated with the Accademia Venetiana. The founding ideals of the Accademia were the pursuit of civic moral improvement and its emblem was the personification of Fame rising to heaven with the motto *Io volo al ciel per riposarmi in Dio* (‘I fly to

heaven to rest in God').¹⁵⁸ The balance accomplished by the synthesis of learning (accomplished through the *vita contemplativa* giving purpose to *otium cum dignitate*) with industry (in the *vita attiva*) would thus make an educated person, an academy, or their output both decorative and useful – and harmonious.

Classicism, Hellenism, and Humanism in Venice

The intellectual ground for the development of humanism rooted in classical models was especially fertile in Venice. Even before the advent of the printing press in the Renaissance, Venice had been a centre for the production of Latin schoolbook grammars, especially the *Doctrinale* by Alexander of Villedieu first published in 1199. This work revolutionised Latin education, providing a clear primer for students and offering mnemonics to memorise at secondary level alongside the rubrics learnt at elementary level.¹⁵⁹ Even when Italian grammarians sought to establish themselves as guardians of what they saw as their *lingua mundi*, they took inspiration from Alexander.¹⁶⁰ His work continued to be popular, being issued forty-six times (half of these in Venice) in Italy until 1480, and continued to be printed until 1588.¹⁶¹ While there must be some caution exercised in correlating local publishing with local use in the Venetian schoolroom, it at least suggests a keen interest in classical education.¹⁶² However, Venice's position as an internationally connected city did make it a hub for foreign teachers who could then diffuse what they had learnt. Black notes that in Venice, “teachers came not only from North Italy (Parma, Mantua, Milan, Ferrara, the Trentino) and even from the South (Calabria, Sicily, Puglia) but also from all over Europe (Albania, Bavaria, Germany, France, Portugal, Prague).”¹⁶³ The access to learning thus became self-perpetuating, widening access further to those lower down the social ladder. Gaetano shows that he undoubtedly had a strong grasp of Latin.

However, Gaetano did not only demonstrate his learning through virtuosity in his Latin. By showing an affinity for Greek texts as well as Latin, Gaetano could make a strong point regarding his learning.¹⁶⁴ In doing so, he demonstrated that he had read beyond what might be considered core texts. The story of the Persian peasant who presents water to Artaxerxes in *Ep.ii* is almost a verbatim translation from Aelian's *Varia Historia* (I.32). This suggests a

¹⁵⁸ See Fenlon, 2002b, 125-6.

¹⁵⁹ Black, 2001, 74-83.

¹⁶⁰ Black, 2001, 87-92.

¹⁶¹ Reichling, 1893, ccxcv-ccci; Black, 1991, 325; Black, 2001, 156-157, n. 158.

¹⁶² Black, 2001, 156-9.

¹⁶³ Black, 2001, 4; cf. Ortalli, 1997, 895-6.

¹⁶⁴ Kristeller, 1990, 120.

conscious choice on Gaetano's part to demonstrate his proficiency in Greek. This story is also recounted in Plutarch,¹⁶⁵ which is likely to have been the better-known version of this story. Aelian was not a well-known author in the century after the fall of Constantinople, having become the preserve of Byzantine scholars (especially since the compilation of the *Souda* in the tenth century). However, Politian cited him extensively, and appears to have had use of a copy of the *Varia Historia* belonging to one Giovanni Lorenzi, who lived in Venice in the late fifteenth century.¹⁶⁶ However, by the late sixteenth century, copies of Aelian's *Historia* had become more generally available, Camillo Peruschi having published an edition in Rome in 1545 under a dedication to Pope Paul III. Giacobo Laureo also published an Italian translation in Venice in 1550.¹⁶⁷ Examining Gaetano's text does not conclusively prove that he used the original Greek, or Laureo's translation of it, or some combination of the two. Certainly, he wanted to give the impression that he had not relied on a translation, and it is not impossible that he had learnt some Greek.

Venice had always maintained closer ties with the Greek world than the rest of Europe, and there were Greek manuscripts in Venice after Cardinal Bessarion, who had plundered the monastery of Casole in southern Apulia in the mid-fifteenth century, left his extensive library to Venice.¹⁶⁸ However, the association had not started then. Greek scholars had been in frequent contact with Venice from the mid-fourteenth century, including Simon Atumanus,¹⁶⁹ who was granted citizenship on 11th April 1373.¹⁷⁰ Scholars also spent time working in Venice, such as Manuel Chrysoloras and Demetrius Cydones in first 1390-1, and again in 1396-7. The former would later establish a school of Greek in Florence, but they seem to have been widely known to humanist circles across Italy.¹⁷¹ This widening exposure meant increased study by Italians. Iacopo Angeli was the first Italian teacher of Greek and in 1395 he travelled to Constantinople from Venice.¹⁷² Antonio Francino da Montevarchi also contributed to this development.¹⁷³ From at least the 1460s in Venice it was possible to study Greek, alongside Latin grammar and rhetoric and other staples of the Italian humanist diet, at a tertiary level at the Scuola di San Marco.¹⁷⁴ Besides this and the equivalent Scuola di Rialto there were several

¹⁶⁵ *Vit. Art.* V.1.

¹⁶⁶ For a fuller treatment of the text's history through late antiquity and the Middle Ages, cf. Dilts, 1971, 3-12.

¹⁶⁷ Wilson, 1997, 19.

¹⁶⁸ Valentinelli, 1868, 13; Sabbadini, 1905, 59, n. 68.

¹⁶⁹ Weiss, 1977, 40-1. Cf. Mercati, 1916.

¹⁷⁰ Anon., 1883, 108.

¹⁷¹ Calecas, 1950, 64, 66.

¹⁷² Weiss, 1977, 258-9.

¹⁷³ Hart & Hicks, 2017, 10.

¹⁷⁴ Nardi, 1971, 3-98; Ross, 1976; Lepori, 1980; Palmer, 1983, 48-9; Grendler, 1989, 62-3, 269; 2002, 138-9.

thousand pupils studying Latin at school level (at independent schools as well as those funded by either the Church or the state) in the late sixteenth century.¹⁷⁵ How thorough these schools were would naturally have depended on a number of factors, but Sansovino acknowledges that in preparing a vernacular translation (the publication of which also demonstrates a market for such editions) himself of Plutarch's *Lives*, he was reliant on Xylander's Latin rendition despite his tuition (Sansovino, *Sec.* 212v.). Schoolboys' deficiencies notwithstanding, all this demonstrates a wide degree of access to the language.

One of the most significant developments in the expansion of access to Greek materials came with the donation of books to Venice by the refugee Orthodox metropolitan turned Roman Catholic cardinal Bessarion in 1468. Bessarion left his collection on the condition that a public library be formed. However, between the arrival of the collection in Venice in 1474 and 1532 there was only limited access to the books, which were first left in crates in the Doge's Palace. They were then moved, unpacked, and shelved in the Basilica awaiting the completion of the Biblioteca. In this intermediary stage, the state employed a curator to manage the collection and access to it.¹⁷⁶ The state considered the library to be a source of great prestige. In the 1556 and 1561 versions of his *Delle cose notabili che sono in Venezia libri II*, Francesco Sansovino (the son of the Jacopo who built the Marciana) called the collection *la piu bella libraria che havesse mai huomo del mondo* and *honorata* respectively (§B2v.; 23r.). The collection lent great prestige to Venice through the commissioning of complimentary copies of rare volumes for foreign rulers, even contributing to the construction of its civic identity.¹⁷⁷ Before the completion of the construction of the Marciana in 1588, Gaetano's likely level of access would have been unusual. Libby presents intellectual arguments for Venetian patriotism as an essentially elite activity, perpetuated by "small groups of scholarly patricians thrown together by personal ties as well as by common interests."¹⁷⁸ Following Venice's re-evaluation of its ability to project its influence after its defeat at Agnadello, the city's young elite, denied a military or diplomatic outlet for their talents, turned their attention to their city's cultural output.¹⁷⁹ Ongaro also observes that even with the constriction of state finances during the War of the League of Cambrai, the first act of the procuratori following the Treaty of Brussels was to re-establish the salaries of all the musicians and other employees of the church that had previously been docked,

¹⁷⁵ Grendler, 1995, VI. 198-202

¹⁷⁶ See Labowsky, 1979, 75; Zorzi, 1987, 108.

¹⁷⁷ Davies, 2013; King, 2013.

¹⁷⁸ Libby, 1973, 8.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

even if in practice this took a while to achieve.¹⁸⁰ However, the presence of the Bessarion collection in Venice over that century was a source of national pride and led to the promotion of Greek teaching.

These developments were not confined to Venice. In wider Italy, Greek also permeated. Manuel Chrysoloras travelled to Florence to establish a school at the invitation of Coluccio Salutati and there was intellectual correspondence concerning Greek in different Italian cities.¹⁸¹ However, it did remain specialist and thus somewhat marginal. For instance, Greek positions were not as well-paid as professors of law at universities, as Bembo makes clear in a letter of 1527.¹⁸² This was not true of court positions. The potential lustre added to one's prestige by having an interest in Greek is demonstrated in the salaries that dukes were prepared to pay to keep Greek speaking scholars in proximity. In 1498, Demetrios Chalkondyles was paid 96 lire 9 soldi 8 denari per month by the duke of Milan, a considerably higher sum than was paid to scholars of other disciplines.¹⁸³

However, the driving force does seem to have been Venetian. By the end of the sixteenth century, it has been estimated that there was a significant population of over 4,000 Greeks living in Venice.¹⁸⁴ Among them had been an influx of Greek scribes, whose only saleable commodity at first was their proficiency in Greek.¹⁸⁵ These factors made Venice one of the centres for the diffusion of Greek culture through the rest of Europe. It was in this milieu that Badoer founded the Accademia Venetiana, which soon moved to share premises with the books donated by Bessarion in Sansovino's Library.¹⁸⁶ Here, and in a reasonably socially open environment, the “primi intelletti” of Venice, numbering around one hundred, gathered to listen to ideas regarding education and public service – both of interest to Gaetano.¹⁸⁷ One of the aims of the programme of the Accademia was the publication of musicological texts.¹⁸⁸ It certainly counted some significant musicians among its members; indeed, before he was appointed *maestro di cappella*, Zarlino was associated with the Accademia.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁰ Ongaro, 1983, 51-4.

¹⁸¹ Blok, 1985, 194-200

¹⁸² Grendler, 2002, 234-5.

¹⁸³ Caretta, Cremascoli, and Salamini, 1951, 91. This is contrasted with the salaries of Luca Pacioli (25 *lire* 16 *soldi* 8 *denari*) for arithmetic and geometry, and Franchino Gaffurius (6 *lire* 9 *soldi* 8 *denari*) for music. For the stark difference this represents when compared with the salaries of performing musicians, cf. Anthon, 1946. See also Wyatt, 2014, xix-xx, which suggests it could afford Chalkondyles a very comfortable annual living with an ample staff.

¹⁸⁴ Fenlon, 2007, 67.

¹⁸⁵ Richardson, 2009, 75-7.

¹⁸⁶ Fenlon, 2007, 102.

¹⁸⁷ Fenlon, 2002b, 124.

¹⁸⁸ Rose, 1969, 204-5; Graheli, 2013, 288-305.

¹⁸⁹ Fenlon, 2002b.

As a city, Venice was proud of its investment in art, and recognised the role that music could play in legitimising Venetian authority as a defender of *harmonia*. In the late sixteenth-century, Francesco Sansovino (the son of the architect Jacopo) produced a guidebook to the city. In his description of the iconography of the *Loggetta* at the foot of the Campanile San Marco, designed by his father in 1537, he gives details of the four statues that stood in its niches:

Quest’altro ch’è Apollo, esprime, che si come Apollo significa il Sole, & il Sole è veramente un solo & non piu, & però si chiama Sole, così questa Rep. per constitutioni di leggi, per unione, & per incorrotta libertà è una sola nel mondo senza piu regolata con giustitia & con sapientia. Oltre à ciò si sà per ogn’uno, che questa natione si diletta per ordinario della musica, & però Apollo è figurato per la musica. Ma perche dall’unione de i Magistrati che sono congiunti insieme con temperamento indicibile esce inusitata harmonia, la qual perpetua questo ammirando governo, però fù fabricato l’Apollo.¹⁹⁰

Apollo, the god of music, thus functions as the embodiment of a harmonious state. Harmony itself became an expression of Venetian ‘soft power.’

Concepts of music and the arts

With all this as background, Gaetano’s decision to use the Greek genitive *musices* in his title seems significant. While one cannot be definitive about Gaetano’s immediate source, and his consequent motivations in selecting it, there were precedents that would have been available to him. Here I will outline some of these sources and sketch a theory for his motivation and distinction between Greek and Latin terminology.

In reading the text, it seems that when Gaetano uses the Latin form *musica*, he is referring to the technical skill (or fine art) of performed music. However, the use of the Greek form and its inflections seems to suggest an idea closer to the abstracted liberal art of music. In this section, in the interests of clarity, I shall refer to the liberal art as *mousike*, even though Gaetano himself uses Latin spellings following Quintilian, which I shall discuss below.

¹⁹⁰ Sansovino, 1581, 111b. “The next [statue] is Apollo, and as Apollo represents the Sun, which is truly one alone and unique, and is hence called the Sun, so is this Republic unique in the world for ruling with justice and wisdom through its code of law, its unity, and its uncorrupted liberty. Furthermore, it is known that this nation takes delight even in everyday music, so Apollo is shown to represent music. Also, since from the union of her Magistrates, who are joined together by an unspoken humour, comes forth extraordinary harmony, which perpetuates this admirable government, Apollo was thus fashioned” (my translation). See also Rosand, 1997, 513-4.

There are near-contemporaneous examples of similar practice of authors demonstrating their familiarity with Greek vocabulary. In his *De inventoribus rerum*, the humanist Polydore Vergil wrote *de origine rhetorices*, declining it as a Greek noun (*De invent. rer. I.13*) as well as discussing music, *Musicen antiquissimam esse poetae clarissimi testimonio sunt.*¹⁹¹ For him, the distinction is between music (*mousike*) that exists without ontological dependence on being put to use and the music that was given as a boon to mortals: *natura ... a principio mortalibus musicam* (*ibid*).

Fenlon cites the example of the Accademia Filarmonica (established in Venice's *terraferma* vassal Verona in 1543) in promoting the “social and cultural claims of a number of the arts ... to share in the prestige which had traditionally been allocated to literature and to separate themselves from the artisanal crafts with which they had previously been associated.”¹⁹² By partaking in these claims, the liberal art of music (as practised by *musici*, see below **Commentary Or. i musici**) could thus elevate itself without negating the continued performance of music by those outside the academy.

Such a distinction seems to have been peculiar to music among the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. On the frontispiece of a 1532 Venetian MS of (Pseudo-)Psellus's *Syntagma, ἐπιστήμας ... Μονσικῆν* is rendered *disciplinam ... Musicam* but in referring to its status as an art *Μονσικῆς* is transcribed (*σύνοφις ἡκριβωμένη* vs *elaboratum Musices compendium*, Psellus a.i.r).¹⁹³ The text itself (δ.iii.r-ε.iv.r) covers the whole gamut of music's existence from its use as *τεχνή* (techne – skill) but also its more abstracted *φύσις* (phusis – natural form) and *aἴσθησις* (aisthesis – perception by senses), much in the same way as Gaetano treats it.¹⁹⁴

While inflections of *musica/mousike* are seen throughout the oration, they at first appear to be used inconsistently. In Quintilian, the declension is *musice* (*Inst. I.10.17*), *musicen* (*Inst. I.10.9-33*), *musices* (*Inst. I.10.16*), *musicae* (*Inst. I.10.17*) with *musice* representing an ablative (*Inst. I.10.18*). Winterbottom notes the use of Greek words by Quintilian, “often technical, but in a technical context, familiar enough to be naturalized ... [but] so naturalized as to have Latin endings”;¹⁹⁵ very few surviving classical authors used this word in a comparable way. Winterbottom is persuasive that, given his expertise, Quintilian's orthography ought to have

¹⁹¹ *Musicen* the Greek accusative agreeing with *antiquissimam*.

¹⁹² Fenlon, 2002b, 120.

¹⁹³ The work is assumed to be by Arsenius, archbishop of Monembasia, who (with Francesco Contarini) co-dedicated the volume to Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi. On the work's disputed originality or status as a compendium, see Mathiesen, 1992, 8-10 & n.15).

¹⁹⁴ It concludes *τέλος τῆς μουσικῆς*, which would be seen subsequently in Tinctoris and others as *finis musicae*.

¹⁹⁵ Winterbottom, 1970, 36 & n.2.

been consistent,¹⁹⁶ and the key MSS agree in transcribing the Greek word in Latin letters. Inflections of *musica*, -ae are attested elsewhere,¹⁹⁷ without a conclusive distinction between it and *musice*, -es.

Gaetano's use is mixed. Within the oration, the preferred nominative is *musica* (i.e. simply the Latin, it is implausible to read it as the Doric or Aeolic dialectic *mousika/μουσικά*), but in the concluding encomium to music that particularly refers to its inspirational properties there are three (§ lx.27v; § lxx.31v; § lxxiii.31r) possible readings of a nominative *mousike* (i.e. the 'proper' Attic *μουσική*), each being used in a plausibly significant way. The distinction between the two versions of the nominative is not unique to Gaetano; Gaffurio distinguishes them in *Theorica Bvi.v*, implicitly alluding to the greater prestige of the Greek by aligning himself with it. In the *Oratio*, there is similar varied use of *musicam/musiken* (i.e. *mousiken*), and *musicæ/musices* (i.e. *mousikes*). The (Latin) dative is given as *musicæ* throughout. Gaetano is faced with the same problem of how to create a 'Greek ablative.' His preference is for *musica* (i.e. *mousika*; e.g. § xxvii *de m.a*) but there is inconsistency, even on the same MS page (14r): there are instances of Quintilian's *mousike* (§§ xiii, xxvii *de m.e*; § xxxiv *m.e utuntur*; § lxii *homines m.e delectantur*) but more strikingly, there is a possible transcription of the Greek dative governed by a preposition (§ xxxiv *de m.e*), which is not a possible construction in Latin.¹⁹⁸ Note that the letter is more consistent (which fact may be an argument for a different composition date), showing *musicen* (*Ep.viii*) and *musices* (*Ep.xiv*) with *musica* for the ablative throughout.

Such dalliance with Greek forms was fashionable in musicology. In the early Schottus edition of *Margarita Philosophica*, Reisch included a woodcut at the start of the section about music, which was called *Typus Musicæ* (Reisch, 1503/4, fr. [N.B. some controversy over the date, which is marked 1496 in the preface]). By the edition published by Grüninger in 1512, the woodcut had been renamed *Typus Musices*, suggesting that Reisch (or Grüninger) considered the two synonymous – but that the Greek was preferred.¹⁹⁹ Similarly, Coclito concludes his *Compendium* with the words *Finis Musicae*; a possible conclusion is that the Greek refers to the personified – almost deified – music (i.e. that which is created at the direction of the Muses), the Latin form is the mundane skill performed by musicians,²⁰⁰ possibly mirroring music's

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁹⁷ See Bonnellus, 1962, 545.

¹⁹⁸ But see discussion *ad loc.*

¹⁹⁹ N.B. in the same edition, Reisch also lays out the *Praecepta Logices*.

²⁰⁰ Not to be confused with *Musica mundana*.

transition from a liberal to a fine art.²⁰¹ Tinctoris used both forms, but chose *musicae* in the title of his *magnum opus*, associated with music as a performed skill.

Even if Gaetano did not speak Greek, the selection of an explicitly Greek word also enabled Gaetano to set himself in an intellectual genealogy that reached back to Pythagoras and hints at his knowledge of the intervening musicography (see § xxvi). Other early modern musicologists saw similar value in calling attention to this heritage. Williams and Balensuela catalogue another twelve works of music theory written between Boethius's and Gaetano's lifetimes that use a form or cognate of the Greek word in their title:²⁰²

Gerbert, C11th – *Enchiridion musices*
Tinctoris, 1473/4 – *Complexus effectuum musices*
Tinctoris, 1473/4 – *Proportionale musices*²⁰³
Berzio [Burtius], 1487 – *Musices opusculum*
Podio, 1495 – *Commentarium musices*
Wollick, 1509 – *Enchiridion musices*
Quercu, 1509 – *Opusculum musices*
Cochlaeus, 1511 – *Tetrachordum musices*
Glarean, 1516 – *Isagoge in musicen*
Lampadius, 1537 – *Compendium musices*
Coclico, 1552 – *Compendium musices*
Salinas, 1566 – *Musices liber tertius*

To which can be added:

Gaffurio, 1480-92 – Various including *Theorica musice* (1492)²⁰⁴ (on Gaffurio in relation to Gaetano, see § i. **magistri**).
Cannuzio, 1510 – *Regule florum musices*²⁰⁵
Luther, 1530, – *Peri tes mousikes*²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Seay, 1973.

²⁰² Williams & Balensuela, 2007, 299-304.

²⁰³ See edition by D'Agostino, 2008.

²⁰⁴ For a list, see Miller, 1980, 77-9, rev. Blackburn, 2001.

²⁰⁵ Baxandall, 1972, 101-2.

²⁰⁶ Leaver, 2007, 85-97.

When seen in the context of this list, it seems that Gaetano intended to associate himself with scholars who considered themselves the heirs to Greek theories (other strands of this are discussed at § i. **aut grammatici ... caeterarum artium**). However, among these works, although some use similar examples, the *Oratio* is exceptional in not being primarily theoretical or musicological; it is much more concerned with the philosophical and aesthetic value of employing musicians. Gaetano's roots are also more firmly in Neo-Platonism than Neo-Aristotelianism. As shown in Plett's review of the rhetorical conceptualisation of music in the Renaissance, most of the examples of music becoming a “rhetorical-affective” art come from after Gaetano, particularly with the emergence of opera.²⁰⁷ As discussed in the **Commentary** (*Ep. iv penetravi ... protuli*), Gaetano's claim is that his assessment of music's rightful place in society made a novel contribution to scholarship and wide society, which is in itself an echo of Cicero's ‘discovery’ of Philosophy (*Tusc. I.5-6*). The *Tusculan Disputations* had a deep influence on Gaetano, which is reflected throughout his *oratio*. Note in the list the presence of Tinctoris (see **Commentary** *Or. Title origine et dignitate*; & §§ *xxxix, lxxiv*).

Gaetano is likely also making an appeal to his specific audience: Guidobaldo in particular was a known collector of Greek manuscripts.²⁰⁸ Although by the mid-Cinquecento knowledge of Greek was steadily growing, it would have enhanced Gaetano's scholarly credentials to call his reader's attention to such knowledge he had of it; **musices** is a marker of the number of allusions to Greek texts that will be made *infra* (those named include Plato [§ *xi*], Josephus [§ *xxi*], Ptolemy [§ *xxvii*], and Homer [§ *lix*]; numerous others are likely sources) even if Gaetano had encountered them in Latin translations. For a similar use of this practice (albeit using Greek letters) see Laguna's 1543 oration *Europa Εαυτήν τημωρούμενη* (itself a reference to Terence's play of the same name), although Laguna in his afterword *ad lectorem* (39v-40r) makes an apology that his Greek and Hebrew falls short of the standard of St Jerome. Gaetano makes use of fewer Greek naturalisations than e.g. Laguna (see González Manjarrés, 2001b, 104), but there are examples, e.g. *Ep. ii. Heliani; phialam; Or. xxi. Cytharam*.

Gaetano would have amplified his abilities in part because until the Renaissance, musicologists had direct access only to Latin texts and translations and, subsequently, even if they were aware that their subject's roots lay in Pythagorean harmonics, it remained difficult to acquire good manuscripts.²⁰⁹ However, as discussed, Venice's extensive library of Greek

²⁰⁷ Plett, 2004, 365-412.

²⁰⁸ See Caro, 1961, 80-2 (no.637) & *ibid.*, 143-7 (no.680).

²⁰⁹ See Holford-Strevens, 2001; Reynolds & Wilson, 1991, 154-8.

works in the nascent Biblioteca Marciana, the nucleus of which had been donated by Cardinal Bessarion in 1468,²¹⁰ would likely have been available to Gaetano with his connections.

It cannot be proven whether or not Gaetano attended university. If he was Venetian (discussion above, **Gaetano**, notwithstanding), he would have had some degree of preferential access to the University of Padua, on the Venetian *terraferma*.²¹¹ His evident worries for money, met by occasional censures for failing to repay loans,²¹² suggests that he probably did not have family resources on which to rely which would have enabled him to attend university easily. Furthermore, it is not possible to show conclusively that Gaetano had command of Greek beyond the basics – several of those authors to whom he refers had been translated at least into Latin and often into the vernacular (in his 1550 Italian translation of Aelian, Laureo laments *l'uso potentissimo Tyranno* in the lack of widespread knowledge of Greek and Latin, albeit particularly among women, §A2v),²¹³ and by Gaetano's lifetime there was a long-established tradition of publishing such *volgarizzamenti* in Venice. However, it is clear that he was writing in a milieu suffused with Hellenisations; indeed, the presence of the 'Greek' form *γῆ ἦ χρι* (see § xxxiv **Jesu Christi**) demonstrates an expectation of some awareness on the part of the reader.

Methodology

This section will explain the principles I have followed in editing and translating the manuscript of Gaetano's *Oratio*. In the unusual position of knowing about only one manuscript,²¹⁴ although this is probably more common to neo-Latinists who can expect to deal with less vast gulfs of time between their authors and themselves, my task in editing it has been relatively straightforward, enabling me to skip the *recensio* necessary for editors of classical texts. That said, I have faced several problems and made decisions concerning how to best resolve them in order to create a document useful to a wide range of readers. This is in part because in dealing with neo-Latin, there is the blessing (or not) unavailable to classical Latinists and Hellenists that many autograph manuscripts (such as Gaetano's *Oratio*) have survived intact, raising questions not faced by most classical editors. Neo-Latin texts are, of their nature as being non-vernacular, more constructed than classical texts, representing a conscious choice on the part of their author to reject the vernacular and express themselves in a way that,

²¹⁰ Omont lists 482; 1894, 21-41.

²¹¹ Grendler, 2002, 31-40; 133-7.

²¹² See Ongaro, 1986, 220 n.94; 360; 494.

²¹³ See too Cox, 2006, 109-21.

²¹⁴ That said, it is plausible that further copies exist, perhaps in the ducal library from Pesaro, which was transferred to the Vatican in 1657 following the reversion of the della Rovere lands to the Papal States following the death of Guidobaldo's son Francesco Maria II. See **Appendix I**.

although in some ways intended to be more inclusive as a unit of Europe's *lingua franca*, must inevitably have excluded the majority of any contemporaneous audience, and certainly most modern readers. Thus, attempting to appeal to a wide range of readers, who by neo-Latin's nature approach these texts from a range of disciplines interested in their contemporary vernacular appeal, I have sought to make their task as easy as possible.²¹⁵

My guiding principle in producing this edition of Gaetano's *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* has been to balance preservation of the Latin with utility. Where I feel that a decision would make either the Latin or my translation less comprehensible, for the sake of the modern non-specialist reader clarity has won out. Here I will briefly discuss some of the more obvious decisions that have come up in the process of transliteration and translation. Note that in this section, I have followed the unrestored text more closely than in the transcribed and restored text, to make it as clear as possible what decisions I have taken when compared with my edition. Because I anticipate that this section will be of more use to those who are readers of Latin, and in the interests of saving space, I have not translated Latin words but have included references to help interested readers find the relevant section in the parallel text.

In 1998, Deitz took tentative steps towards sketching a rubric for editing sixteenth-century neo-Latin texts,²¹⁶ which he restated in stronger terms in 2005, demonstrating a “schematic” (some might say schismatic) approach.²¹⁷ He outlined the four typical ways of editing a text (reprint, diplomatic, working, and critical) and analysed their advantages and drawbacks.²¹⁸ My aim is to make Gaetano's *Oratio* usable by a wider audience than is currently the case. Thus, it would not have been useful merely to reprint the text. Because there is not more than one copy available, the possibility of a critical edition establishing a ‘mean’ value between multiple versions can also be excluded. Thus, is left a choice between a diplomatic and working edition. A diplomatic edition would necessitate leaving all abbreviations exactly as I found them. In Deitz's discussion of working editions, he notes “all these interferences [from altering the distinction of individual letters or ‘correcting’ capitalisation, to changing spelling, paragraphing, or wording] can be justified *if and only if* only one copy ... of that particular text is known to exist.”²¹⁹ His argument is very much in favour of normalising and

²¹⁵ Moul, 2017, 3.

²¹⁶ Deitz, 1998.

²¹⁷ Deitz, 2005, esp.358.

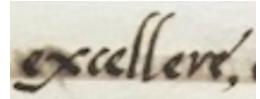
²¹⁸ Deitz, 1998, 144-7.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 146.

modernising texts to make them familiar to the target audience.²²⁰ Generally I follow his suggestions, but will point out where I have diverged from him. Briefly, my aim in the edition proper has been to create a working edition, with diplomatic elements. In the rationale in this **Methodology**, I have explicitly attempted to recreate what Gaetano wrote, and have been as diplomatic as word processing has allowed.

The clearest example of interference with Gaetano's MS is my introduction of sectional divisions, or paragraphs.²²¹ In adding these I have broken the Latin into pieces that, even if they are of disparate size, hold a common idea. Where the sense or topic changes, I have followed suit. These sections are included to aid the reader in finding their place and should not be understood as breaks or chapters. The letter and oration are each one unbroken paragraph, which while emphasising the unity of Gaetano's thought would be quite overwhelming for the modern reader.²²²

Otherwise, the Latin's paratexts are essentially Gaetano's. His punctuation is clear and consistent.²²³ He treats u and v as the same letter, with majuscule *V* but minuscule *u*. To aid readability, I have distinguished between its use as a consonant and a vowel. Where double *i* is written *ij* (e.g. *Ep.vii hij*) I have restored to the more familiar form (i.e. *hiis*). Gaetano uses the long s (ſ) only four times in the letter (*Ep.ii, iv eset; Ep.xiii esent*) else choosing the short s for double letters (*Ep.xi essent; Ep.xii eset*). Another trait of his handwriting is the emphasis of the crossbar on the letter *e* when it is terminal. However, twice Gaetano emphasises a non-terminal *e* (*Ep.iv definitam; Ep.vii excellere*), possibly showing a slip. Similarly, *eo'* and *adeo'* are followed by apostrophes where they occur in *Ep.v, viii, x, xii*, but not at *Ep.xiii*.²²⁴ In the letter, classical convention is followed for capitalisation, and the first letter is left in minuscule. The oration is more interesting, as while most are rather in majuscule, the further one reads, the more inconsistent he becomes. In my edition, I have rationalised the usage so that all sentences begin with a capital letter as well as names.



Some of the particular issues I have encountered are as follows. Most examples in this section are drawn from my treatment of the letter, but the same principles hold for the oration.

²²⁰ Ibid., 152ff. Contra, Kristeller, 1959; Köhler, 1998.

²²¹ Deitz, 1998, 154.

²²² Here I have followed Deitz's suggestion (1998, 154).

²²³ N.B. in leaving the punctuation intact in the Latin, I do not follow Deitz's suggestion of modernising. However, where the sense of the translation would be lost or confused, I have preferred to follow a format familiar to the unfamiliar reader.

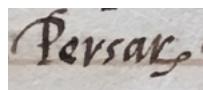
²²⁴ This is a good example of the problems faced by an editor of palaeography. One possible reason could be that Gaetano simply forgot on the last page of the letter, although it would be unusual for him to make a mistake (see below). Further analysis of this feature in the oration proper may help to draw firmer conclusions.

i. Abbreviations

To maintain the balance of reproduction with readability, I have restored all of Gaetano's abbreviations.

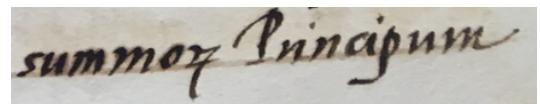
ii. Genitives plural

With a handful of exceptions (notably the first few words *SVMMORVM ac liberalium*) he abbreviates genitives plural, leaving enough to identify declension, but then replacing the



terminal *-um* with a flick of his pen,

(*Ep.ii Persarum*). One unusual



instance is *Ep.xiv summorum Principum*, where *summorum* has an unusual abbreviation, and *Principum* is not abbreviated at all.

iii. Superlatives

Gaetano is inconsistent with his treatment of superlatives. Some common ones (*Ep.i Illustrissime et Excellentissime; Ep.viii excellentissime ... illustrissimi; Ep.xiii clarissima*) have their endings abbreviated and written in superscript (e.g. *Ill.^{me}*). However, others appear in full (*Ep.v potentissimo; Ep.vii praestantissimorum* [but this is presumably in part because there would otherwise have been an added complexity through the genitive plural] *suauissimis; Ep.ix elegantissimos ... amantissimo; Ep.x praestantissimam; Ep.xiv humilissimus*). The common classical abbreviation *Opt. Max.* (*Ep.iii Optimus Maximus*) is also used.

iv. *ae* diphthong – ash or e caudata

Gaetano used both the ash (æ) and the e caudata (ø), but with a strong preference for the latter (fifty-seven instances to eleven in the letter). This seems to be the result of a desire to write relatively swiftly – he wrote an e caudata by flicking the pen back against its path, in one or two instances looking like the Greek ξ. The ash is found in the dedication in capital letters where e caudata would not be possible (*SENOGALLIÆ PRAEFECTVM*), and at the starts of words (*Ep.i æstimare ... æstimandus ... æstimatione; Ep.ix ætatis ... æqui*). Irregular uses are found at *Ep.iii (quaæ)*, *Ep.v (scribendæ)*, and *Ep.ix (naturæ)*. Particularly interesting is the ash in *Austriacæ* (*Ep.v*), where it seems to be used to vary it with the e caudata in the agreeing dative *prosapie*. Despite this instance, he does not consistently vary the written endings of agreeing words (cf. *relique ingenuæ* in *Ep.iv*). There are also a handful of instances where he chooses an e caudata where an ash might be more expected (*Ep.xiii aetas*). Several words are spelled with a diphthong where none would be expected in classical Latin or vice versa (*Ep.vi representes; Ep.x Greciæ*; vs *Ep.i*

preciosa; *Ep.xii hereditario*; *Ep.xiv feliciter*). By way of contrast, at the few appearances of the *oe/æ* diphthong (*Or.xxvi*, *Or.xxxiv*, *Or.lxxii*, *Or.lxxv*), it is consistently rendered as the letter *e*. Here I have restored it to “oe”. To avoid creating unnecessary confusion for readers, I have likewise rendered all instances of ash and e caudata as “ae” written as separate letters.

v. Ands and ampersands

Gaetano uses different strengths of ‘and,’ which I will address more closely below. The



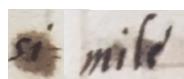
most common connecting conjunction in the letter is however the ampersand, which I have rendered as *et* throughout (twenty-eight instances in the letter). There are additionally twenty or twenty-one (see below) independent uses of *et*, six of which are written simply as an *e* where its lower curl meets an extended crossbar which flicks up to the right.



Fifty words in the letter end in *-que*, all of which have their *-ue* replaced with ₃ (subscript *sic.*).

vi. Spelling and miscellaneous abbreviations

Other less easily categorised abbreviations have needed restoration. Many words find a terminal or one of a double *m* replaced with an apostrophe (*Ep.i danti'*; *Ep.vi su'mum*) or a more pronounced line like a macron (*Ep.ii aquā*; *Ep.x illā*); in some, two different occurrences of *m* are treated differently (*Ep.vii quanqua'*);²²⁵ and some contain two different abbreviations (*Ep.iv*



quoscunq₃). Both instances of *tang_{~3}* (*Ep.ii* and *vii*) show an especially elaborate tilde to mark the specific abbreviation of *tamquam*. Sometimes this seems to be done in the interests of space (as with *su'mum* as Gaetano started a new line), otherwise it was presumably quicker to write. Occasionally, a normal *e* (i.e. written with extended crossbars [*Ep.v si/mile*]) is difficult to distinguish from an *e'* (indicating a third or fifth declension accusative singular [*Ep.iii potestate'*]). Once he uses an unusual abbreviation for a third declension ablative plural at the end of a line (*Ep.xi uocib₃*). Its reading, however, is obvious.

In my translation, I have changed names, where applicable, to the form most familiar to modern English readers (*Ep.ii Heliani*; *Ep.vi Francescum Mariam*). In the edited text, I have dealt with neo-Latin spelling conventions individually, again trying to strike a balance between clarity and preservation. Where the meaning has remained obvious, I have left spellings as Gaetano wrote or implied; for instance, where classical Latin would not usually employ an *ae*

²²⁵ N.B. the first *m* is replaced by *n*.

diphthong (*Ep.i preciosa*; *Ep.xiii hereditario*; *Ep.xiv feliciter*) and vice versa where it would (*Ep.vi representes*); or where a neo-Latin spelling is clear from context (*Ep.ii Heliani*; *Ep.ii quiddam*; *Ep.v benemeritis*). Where a word would otherwise present difficulty or look uncomfortable, I have restored it to its more usual form and made a footnote (*Ep.ii austam*; *Ep.vii ad huc*; *Ep.x autoritate*).

vii. Mistakes, smudges, and corrections

Gaetano clearly took more time over his presentation on the first page. One notes the inhabited initial that starts the letter and that the words are more carefully spaced and letters more carefully shaped (see **Appendix II**). As the letter progresses, his writing is noticeably hastier. This haste is not helped by the ink itself becoming more smudged, especially on the fourth to eighth pages. A few words have thus been difficult to read, notably *rustici* (*Ep.v*), *et* (*Ep.vii*), *[et]* (*Ep.vii*), *cadunt* (*Ep.viii*), *tractatione* (*Ep.ix*) where the *ct* are covered by an ink blotch, and *ad* (*Ep.xii*), which is written very faintly and is at the end of the line. It appears that Gaetano ran out of ink. It is highly likely that it is *ad* to balance *ab*; there is also sufficient trace of the *d* to compare it to other nearby examples.

While the Latin has very few ‘mistakes’ as such, there are a few addenda worth highlighting. In *Ep.iv*, in the middle of a line, Gaetano possibly believed that his point needed emphasis, and inserted *vero* in superscript, with a neat triangle underneath. Similarly, in *Ep.xii*, having reached the end of a line, Gaetano adds *cu'*. These are in the same hand but show that Gaetano came back to the text later. In *Ep.xiv*, there is an indication that he rewrote part of the text, perhaps having drafted it first and then going over it. The word *prestantia* is clearly visible (the ink has not run here), but just above the *an* is a trace, slanting the same way as the rest of the letters showing that it could not be bleed-through or a smear from the reverse or opposite pages. There is no evidence that Gaetano consistently drafted and reworked his manuscript, but this instance reveals the care that he put into his work.

viii. Translation

In my translation, I have similarly tried to find a style that respects the formal style of Gaetano’s ‘classicised’ Latin but retains clarity in English. Wherever possible, I have tried to stay close to the Latin in order to give a flavour of the register of the original language. However, Latinists will recognise many instances where changes have been made to make the English more readable. In this process, it has sometimes been necessary, for example, to translate passive phrases as active (*Ep.ix a Fortuna oblatum munus*). Additionally, sometimes word repetition (for example the various forms of *Musa* in *Ep.x-xii*) has felt overwhelming in English

and has consequently been replaced. Similarly, some long sentences that work perfectly well in Latin have needed to be broken up (just as one whole paragraph of uninterrupted Latin would have been unpalatable). While I have tried for consistency of translation in individual words, sometimes it has been necessary to change the word's flavour to retain precision. For example, the word *ratio* has been translated variously, sometimes in close proximity to other examples – cf. *Ep.vii, viii, ix* (see also **Commentary**, e.g. *Or.i rationem*). While the 'headline' dictionary translation of "reckoning, account" etc (*L&S* s.v.) is used (*Or.i, Ep.vii*), extensions of that are used elsewhere (*Or.iii* – reason, *Ep.viii* – rationality), as well as more remote renditions (*Or.viii* – argument, *Or.x* – way, *Or.xvi* – theory). In each case, I have tried to fit the meaning to context.

As is usual among classical writers as well as neo-Latin authors of his age, Gaetano uses various words for the concept of 'and.' While English has lost these distinctions, Gaetano is fully aware of the ways in which, while *et* simply joins two ideas (*Ep.i Illustrissime et Excellentissime*), sometimes apparently as an afterthought (*Ep.i et aspernari ... et asservare; Ep.iv et abstrusam*), *atque* suggests a more fundamental, less separable link (*Ep.iii concessu atque munere*). Such nuance, being difficult to render effectively (and unobtrusively) in translation, is sometimes lost, so I would invite the reader to be mindful of it.

However, while I have almost always sought clarity of expression, it would seem unjust to alter the Latin's complexity, as it would diminish the letter's rhetoric. Hence, I have left in the English, for example, a quintuple negative in *Ep.xii: nam cum ipsi nihil in musica scientia, neque a natura denegatum, neque a doctrina non delatum fuerit, tantum in hoc genere virtutis inter omnes musicos gloria excellit, ut nulli, nisi Musis eam comparari fas esset.* As I shall discuss below, such flourishes prove Gaetano's affinity for classical bombast, and mark his reception of the classical tradition.

Influences

As I discuss above, it is hard to discern the *Oratio* itself having exerted any meaningful influence over anyone. But that is to see it merely as a text with no connection to its author. Gaetano would have been in daily contact with the other musicians in the *cappella* – among whom after Willaert's death in 1562 was the young Andrea Gabrieli (see *Procuratori*, b91, 207, 28r-29v for details on his employment in 1566 and close association with the singers). In 1585, as part of a wider experiment on the ideas of the Florentine Camerata, Gabrieli set to music

choruses of Giustitiani's production of *Edipo tiranno* at Vicenza.²²⁶ Even if the circumstances of the tragedy's composition were entirely unrelated to the specifics of this *Oratio*, the theories of music behind its production, and especially the relationship between its underlying intellectual framework and its proximity to political power make a persuasive case that the ideas espoused by the *Oratio* were developing capital by the mid to late Cinquecento.²²⁷

While *Edipo tiranno* is a spoken play, in the spirit of recreating Greek tragedy, which contemporary *accademie* were keen to accomplish, Gabrieli was commissioned to write music for its choruses, composed for forces varying between one singer and six lines of chorus, making it one of the prototypes for opera as a genre. However, despite general acclamation, it seems to have inspired few operas in the same vein and has thus largely been overlooked by historians of opera, who tend to start their timelines rather more neatly in 1600 with Peri's *Euridice* – a clear prototype of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*.

Giustitiani's staging was intended to follow Sophocles' play, "which Aristotle had defined as the epitome of tragedy,"²²⁸ but undoubtedly had a number of technical misunderstandings. Burian notes the fidelity of the translation, the design of the theatre (built to Vitruvius' specifications), and the skill and knowledge of the director Ingegneri, who cleaved as closely as possible to known or supposed Greek dramatic conventions, even going as far as the arrangement of the chorus "deployed for their songs in five rows of three or three of five."²²⁹ Even the choice of title: *Edipo tiranno* (rather than *re*) highlights the intention to stage a consciously Greek tragedy. However, for it to have been accurate, several important elements were missing. Kimbell notes that at this point, "the pattern of strophes and antistrophes in the original choruses had not been recognised,"²³⁰ and that while Ingegneri did acknowledge the role that instruments had played in Sophocles' time, he persuaded Gabrieli to omit them.²³¹ Despite these lapses in 'authenticity,' the production was extremely well received critically, demonstrating a keen enthusiasm among contemporary audiences for the new experiences Greek drama could offer.²³² As Taplin notes, "though many of their ideas were mistaken, they did lay special emphasis on the combination of speech, music, song, dance, and chorus, and the way tragedy was emotionally heightened and yet clearly audible."²³³ Carlton is unequivocal

²²⁶ The Florentine Camerata was an influential intellectual group concerned with research into music flourishing especially between 1577 and 1582 (Palisca, 1989, 7).

²²⁷ Kimbell, 1994, 41-2; Restani, 2020, 466ff.

²²⁸ Restani, 2015, 79.

²²⁹ Burian, 1997, 230-1.

²³⁰ Kimbell, 1994, 38.

²³¹ Schrade, 1960, 61; Kimbell, 1994, 38.

²³² Burian, 1997, 231.

²³³ Taplin, 1989, 50.

that “sacred and secular musical drama were the outgrowth of Florentine efforts to study and imitate classical Greek drama.”²³⁴ This shows that an attempt to return to Greek tragedy formed a vital part of the development of early opera.

As an experiment, however, *Edipo tiranno* seems to have been ultimately unsuccessful in commercial terms. Ingegneri would write in 1598 that Greek tragedies were “melancholy, unamusing and too expensive to costume and provide sets for,”²³⁵ perhaps indicating that the novelty of authentic Greek tragedies wore off quickly. Ingegneri’s reflection also anticipates the next few pieces that can be considered operas: *Dafne* (Peri & Rinuccini, Florence, 1598), *Euridice* (Peri, Caccini, & Rinuccini, Florence, 1600), and *La favola d’Orfeo* (Monteverdi & Striggio, Mantua, 1607). All of these would have a more pastoral character, which would be rather less melancholy, rather more amusing, and somewhat cheaper to produce. *Edipo tiranno* also does not read like a modern opera, as most of the text would have been spoken, and Gabrieli’s music was both unaccompanied and for chorus. Kimbell’s belief is that *Edipo tiranno* had little effect, as Gabrieli’s music was not widely known,²³⁶ and Murata considers it to be unrelated to modern opera.²³⁷ However, the apparently general acclaim must indicate that it would have been heard by younger composers, and hence have had an impact on their work.²³⁸ It is inconceivable that in such an artistically driven society other composers would not have attended. As Taplin argues, *Edipo tiranno* “led to experiments in reconstruction in practice, and these in their turn soon inspired the first masterpiece of what we now call opera, Claudio Monteverdi’s *La favola d’Orfeo* of 1607.”²³⁹

This link between Gaetano and Gabrieli, while indirect and fragile, especially if extended to include Monteverdi, at least demonstrates the inter-connectedness of obscure and overlooked works such as the *Oratio*. It suggests a possible and plausible intellectual relationship – and shows again that all neo-Latin texts form part of a much larger whole.

Conclusions

From the moment he set pen to paper, Gaetano was behind the times. The easy dissemination of vernacular texts via printing presses ensured that any author from the mid-sixteenth century onwards who chose to write in a classical language would be stating a

²³⁴ Carlton, 2000, 72.

²³⁵ Translation from Murata, 1984, 105.

²³⁶ Kimbell, 1994, 38-9.

²³⁷ Murata, 1984, 133.

²³⁸ Cf. criticism mentioned by Restani (2020, 468).

²³⁹ Taplin, 1989, 50.

preference for older modes of communication, much as Federico da Montefeltro had a well-known aesthetic preference for Latin and Greek manuscripts, even going as far as banishing printed works from his main library.²⁴⁰

But the *Oratio* should not be interpreted as an ineffectual reactionary lunge at changing circumstances. Gaetano's letter and oration texture our understanding of his world. He was a man of relatively humble origins who on the strength of his education and abilities alone held himself worthy to correspond with emperors, patriarchs, and dukes. He sought patronage, at least of his ideas, if not his services, as would many hundreds of musicians in the subsequent centuries, and flatters his reader to an almost ridiculous degree (Guidobaldo, after all, could hardly claim much in the way of noble ancestry), but in no real way does Gaetano demean himself in doing so – indeed, he underlines his point that discourse should take place between rulers and ruled.

²⁴⁰ Hofmann, 2008, 21 citing Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 398, *tutti iscritti a penna, e non ve n'è ignuno a stampa, chè se ne sarebe vergognato* & Lapi's *Carmen de laudibus Divi Principis Federici*.

Text & Translation

EP.

**AD ILLUSTRISSIMUM ET EXCELLENTISSIMUM GUIDUM UBALDUM
URBINI DUCEM ATQUE SENOGALLIAE PRAEFECTUM**

- i.** SUMMORUM ac liberalium principum, Guide Ubalde Dux Illustrissime et Excellentissime, in accipiendis sibi oblatis muneribus, cum sit maxime proprium, non quid offeratur, sed quibus de causis et a quo homine offeratur, animadvertere: quod autem oblatum sit, tanti aestimare, quanti videtur is, qui offerat aestimandus, sequitur, ut nec aestimatione vel specie munerum, nec dignitate vel opibus dantium, sed eorum animi hilaritate et benevolentia ad ea accipienda illi utique moveantur. Quocirca plerique ex eis praeciosa dona reiicere et aspernari, exigui autem pretii accipere et asservare solent.
- ii.** Qua de re ex omni antiquitate unum Heliani exemplum de Artaserse Persarum Rege mihi proferre sit satis. Quem praetereuntem cum quidam^a rusticus, ut mos erat Persis, tamquam regem aliquo munusculo honorare vellet, sibique procul domo absenti non esset unde hoc fieret, ne rex sine honorario abiret, ad proximum flumen accurrit ex eoque aquam utraque vola haustam^b hilari fronte obtulit regi, pretiosius pollicens domo se munus allaturum. Quam quidem aquam rex non solum non aspernatus fuit sed in auream phialam excipi asservarique iussit. Quare mihi consideranti, quibus nam e pretiosis mercibus munus concinnarem, quod omnibus principibus dignum videretur, in mentem nil esse ad illud conficiendum pretiosius atque aptius quam musica.
- iii.** Nam cum nobis data fuerit Dei concessu atque munere, divinam illam quidem, ob eamque rem maximis principibus dignam esse nullus quidem nescit. Qui propter quam a Deo Optimo Maximo habent potestatem cum ipsis quoque ad numen divinum proxime accedant, et nulla magis pretiosa et digna materia confectum et ornatum munus illis donari potest, quam quae e facultate musica eruatur. Omnes enim reliquae ingenuae artes, singulae per se, aliquid ad ornatum a musica scientia mutuantur: habentque illae ipsae suos terminos, ad quos qui pervenient insignibus et ornamentis virtutis honestantur.

^a MS *quiddam*.

^b MS *austam*.

EP.

**TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOS AND DISTINGUISHED GUIDOBALDO,
DUKE OF URBINO AND LORD OF SENOGALLIA**

- i.** IT BEING CHARACTERISTIC of the most noble and courteous princes, Most Illustrious and Distinguished Lord Guidobaldo, in accepting the gifts they are offered, to notice, since it is most proper, not what is being given but for what reasons and by what kind of person it is being given, and to reckon what is presented to be worth as much as the person who offers it, it follows that it is not according to the cost, nor the splendour of the gifts, and not according to the dignity nor the wealth of those giving it, but rather by the givers' good humour and kind spirit that these princes are moved to accepting gifts. On account of this fact, almost all princes will generally reject and spurn costly gifts yet receive and treasure those of scanty value.
- ii.** To illustrate my point, let it be sufficient for me to provide from all of antiquity a single example out of the works of Aelian concerning Artaxerxes, King of the Persians. While the king happened to be passing by, a certain peasant wanted to honour him with some little trinket, as was the custom among the Persians; but since, as he was far from home, he had no means of doing this, lest the king depart unhonoured, he ran to the nearest river. With cheerful countenance he offered the water that he had drawn out in the palms of his hands to the king, with assurances that he would bring him a more precious gift from his home. And yet not only did the king not spurn that water, on the contrary he ordered that it be taken up and preserved in a golden vial. Therefore, when I considered out of what precious materials I could set a gift that would seem worthy of all princes, I could think of nothing that is more precious nor more suitable for accomplishing this than music.
- iii.** Since she has been given to us by the leave and gift of God, nobody is unaware that she is certainly divine herself, and for that reason worthy of the greatest princes. Since they themselves also draw very near to the divine authority because of the power that they derive from Great and Almighty God, no gift can be given to them that has been made and adorned with material either more precious or worthy than that which may be brought to light from musical capability. For all the other noble arts individually borrow something for their adornment from the knowledge of music: and they themselves have their own goals; those who attain them are honoured by the insignia and decorations of moral perfection.

iv. Musica vero^a in tanta scientia et difficultate versatur ut nullam habeat definitam regionem, cuius terminis circumscripta septaque teneatur. Quo fit ut nullus in hoc genere virtutis sine aliquot divino afflato ita valeat excellere, cui plura de scientia huius artis abesse quam adesse non videantur. In qua quidem illi ipsi, quoscumque et ars et natura omni ex parte perfectos expolivit, proprius a divinitate, quam ab humanitate absunt. Quare ne praestantiam et altitudinem eius artis, qua potissimum confiderem, diutius latere in occulto ferrem, quantum ipse potui ad eius incunabula penetravi: illiusque excellentiam in veterum scriptorum historiis reconditam et abstrusam in medium protuli: ac de eius origine et dignitate composui orationem.

v. Quam quidem, cum in capiendo eius scribendae consilio animum eo potissimum intenderem ut quibus principibus musici essent in deliciis,^b iisdem musicae dignitatem atque praestantiam in occulto reconditam patefacerem, Austriacae prosapiae et cum eis vinculo affinitatis et benevolentiae coniunctis principibus, quippe de musica et musicis maxime omnium benemeritis, muneri mittendam duxi. Cuius exemplum, cum propter vinculum amicitiae, quo cum Maximiliano potentissimo Imperatore (cui iure optimo eam inscripsi atque dicavi) es astrictus, tum in primis propter mirificam quam habes de musica delectationem; Persici rustici exemplo ad simile factum excitatus; tibi quoque muneri mittere volui. Quod munus utinam ea esset dignitate atque praestantia ut tuae amplitudinis merito responderet.

vi. Quid est enim tam praeclarum quod inter illustrissimas laudes tuarum virtutum elucere possit? Nam ut initium demonstrandae rei paulo altius repetam ac de *[laudibus]*^c maiorum tuorum strictim aliquid attingam, cum vestigia priorum ducum sectatus fueris, ad eam summarum artium gloriam pervenisti, ut in re bellica summum Imperatorem Franciscum Mariam patrem in studiis vero scientiarum Federicum et Guidum Ubaldum doctissimos Duces omnino representes. Hi enim quantum in omni doctrina excelluerint, eorum palatii academia a tot illustribus atque omnium scientiarum doctissimis viris, dum ipsi viverent, frequentata (quae cum immortali fama tum maxime literarum monumentis celebratur) est optimus testis. Ille vero quantum bellica gloria claruerit, nostri seculi annalibus dilucide explicatur.

^a Correction in MS.

^b MS *delitiis*.

^c An appropriate word is missing from the MS here.

- iv. By contrast, music is concerned with such intelligence and complexity as to have no prescribed area by whose borders she can be defined or enclosed. The result is that without some sort of divine inspiration no one to whom more aspects of this art do not seem to be unknown than known can excel in this type of attainment. In fact, in this matter those very men whom both craft and ability have polished to perfection from every angle are nearly further from the divine realm than from the human. Therefore, so that I need not bear the grandeur and superiority of this art (in which I place my particular trust) lying any longer in obscurity, I have come as close as I am able to its cradle; and where its excellence was once hidden and concealed in the histories of the ancient writers I have brought it forth into the public eye and composed this oration on its origin and dignity.
- v. As such, since in forming my plan for writing this oration I exerted my mind to this end especially, to open up the dignity and grandeur of music, which had previously been kept hidden, both for those princes who held musicians in favour, namely the Austrian imperial family, and for those princes who are bound to them by the bonds of marriage and goodwill, being the people who have most of all earned the thanks of music and musicians, I thought to send this as a gift. On account of the bond of friendship with which you are tied to the mightiest Emperor Maximilian (to whom I have already properly dedicated and pledged this oration), but also, and more importantly, on account of the wonderful delight that you derive from music, I was driven by the example of the Persian peasant to perform a deed in a similar way, and wanted to send a copy of this to you as a gift. If only this gift could have the worth and grandeur to answer that which your greatness so merits!
- vi. What is so brilliant that it can shine out among all the illustrious praises of your virtues? For if I might revisit a little more fully the outset of what I must demonstrate and briefly touch on matters relating to your ancestors, since you have followed in the footsteps of earlier Dukes, you have reached the summit of the most rarefied skills, so that you wholly bring to mind your father the General Francesco Maria, who was supreme in military knowledge, just as you do Federico and Guidobaldo, who were most learned dukes in the pursuit of scholarship. The greatest testimony of the extent to which the latter excelled in every academic discipline is the academy of their palace, celebrated first with immortal fame, but above all by the monuments of literature, which during their lifetime was thronged by so many illustrious men who were the most knowledgeable in all disciplines. Likewise, the former's^a fame in martial glory is brightly illuminated and recorded in the annals of our age.

^a i.e., Francesco Maria.

vii. Quamobrem quamquam ex omnibus ingenuis artibus has duas in primis, videlicet litterarum^a scientiam [et]^b rei militaris praestantiam excellere putentur neque adhuc^c diiudicatum sit, uter ex hiis ipsis sit illustrior, tamen horum Principum in diversa gloriae ratione ea est de singulorum ingenio laus atque commendatio, ut plurimum quidem duobus in literarum, sed multo plus tertio in armorum studiis tribuatur. Si enim praestantissimorum Federici et Guidi Ubaldi academia doctorum hominum disputationibus et suavissimis concentibus musicorum, [at]^d magnanimi et bellicosi Imperatoris Francisci Mariae, minime litterarum^e laude parentis, tota doma bellicorum instrumentorum sonis personabat. Ut illorum domus Apollini et Musis, huius autem Marti et Bellonae omnino consecratam dices.

viii. Tu vero Dux Excellentissime in patris et eorum utriusque vestigiis insistens, in utraque pariter laude versaris: et rem bellicam ornas et reliquas ingenuas artes studiose colis. Adeo ut in te Illustrissimi patris et doctissimorum Federici et Guidi Ubaldi adhuc vivat atque vigeat memoria. Nam cum natura ad colendas virtutes creatus sis, tantum ratione confirmationeque voluntatis et doctrinae ad ipsam naturam adiunxisti ut omnes egregias artes, quae in principem virum cadunt, mirabilius et magnificentius augeas et illustres. In quibus musicen in primis tanti facis, ut a graviorum rerum tractatione ad eam tamquam in Musarum domum fere quotidie divertas ibique non solum canentibus musicis multum operae tribuas, sed etiam quandoque animi causa in exercenda tractandaque musica magna cum voluptate verseris.

^a MS *literarum*.

^b MS torn. *Sc. &c.*

^c MS *ad huc*.

^d MS torn. There is a suggestion of a *t*, and the adversative *at* fits better than a correlative *et ... et*

^e MS *literarum*.

vii. Therefore, although out of all their natural talents they are considered to have excelled chiefly in these two (namely knowledge of literature and military prowess), nor is it so far possible to ascertain which of them was more brilliant. However, while these princes will have differing reckonings of glory, praise and approval is earned by the character of each individual so that while a great deal may be bestowed on the two with regard to the study of literature, yet much more on the third for his zeal for arms. For if the academy of the most pre-eminent Federico and Guidobaldo resounded with the discussions of learned men and the sweetest harmonies of musicians, so did the whole household of the great-hearted and warlike General Francesco Maria (who was not at all lacking in praise for literature) with the clangour of the instruments of war. One may have said that in every respect the formers' palace was a temple to Apollo and the Muses, the latter's to Mars and Bellona.

viii. But, most excellent Lord, stepping in the footsteps of your father and of both of your other forebears, you partake in each glory equally, both ornamenting matters of war and attentively tending the other gentlemanly arts. This is so true that the memory of your most illustrious father and that of the most learned Federico and Guidobaldo is yet alive and flourishing in you. For though you were made by nature to cultivate those things which are good, you joined so much goodwill and learning by means of rationality and proof to that nature that you marvellously and magnificently exalt and glorify all outstanding arts, which fall to a man who is a prince. And among these, you set so much value on the art of music that you turn your attention from the business of weightier matters to her and you almost daily turn aside as if into the Muses' palace, and there not only give much attention when musicians are playing, but also turn from time to time to the practice and performance of music for your mind's sake with great pleasure.

ix. Quibus musicis moderandis illustrem musicum Paulum Animuccia praefecisti, qui quidem inter elegantissimos nostrae aetatis musicos est omnino numerandus. Nam ea ratione musicos concentus aptat atque conficit, ut non solum maxime delectet, sed etiam quasi voluptate quadam perfundat audientes. Huc accedit morum suavitas bonitasque naturae: pro qua et aequi et iniqui ipsum amare coguntur. Cui cum studio fortunae ac virtutis merito datum fuerit, ut in magistrum sacelli tanti ac tam benefici principis recipereetur, a Fortuna oblatum munus non contempsit, neque naturae beneficium non exornavit. Nam et principi suae virtutis amantissimo maximas pro acceptis beneficiis quotidie agit gratias: et eximium ingenium ad excogitandos aptandosque et variandos musicae concentus a natura datum doctrina maxime excolit; ut in fortunae munere utendo gratum se praebeat, et in naturae studio atque ingenii bonitate admirabilis existat.

x. Sed Apollinis et Musarum vocibus pulsari et quasi tacito convicio verberari sentio meas aures, quod cum de tuis musicis mentionem fecerim, Virginiam praestantissimam virginem (quae propter eximiam musicae scientiam quam tenet apud te est in summo honore atque pretio) adhuc tacitus praeterierim. Nam adeo praeclare et voce et fidibus canit, ut [ad]^a divinitatem Musarum, quam ab humanitate canentium musicorum proprius absit. Quamobrem quoniam quod a sapientioribus fit, minus prudentes id quidem iure imitari possunt, auctoritate^b et exemplo cuiusdam Graeciae^c civitatis inter Musas hanc spectatam virginem numerare decimamque Musam mihi illam ipsam appellare placet.

xi. Quae quidem civitas ut refert Divus Augustinus in libris *De Doctrina Christiana*, cupiens honorare Musas; quae illis temporibus tres tantummodo erant numero. Tres illustres artifices adhibuit: quibus simulachra Musarum terna singulis ea lege fingenda locavit, ut ex novem, quae tria iudicarentur pulchriora, ea potissimum emerent, in temploque Apollinis in honorem trium Musarum dedicarent. Sed cum diligentia artificum factum fuisset, ut omnia novem simulachra tanto artificio perficerentur, ut ex eis quae tria essent pulchriora diiudicare non posset, ne opus tam illustrium artificum sine honore iaceret, placitum fuit, ut totidem, quot ipsi finxissent simulachra emerentur; ad numerumque Musarum sex aliae adderentur Musae: quae in illis simulachris in templo Apollonis erectis colerentur.

^a MS faded.

^b MS *autoritate*.

^c MS *Greciae*.

ix. You appointed to the direction of these musicians the distinguished musician Paolo Animuccia, who ought to be counted among the choicest musicians of our age. For he develops and performs musical harmonies in such a way that he is not merely greatly pleasing, but inundates those listening with pleasure, as it were. This is joined by gentleness of behaviour and sweetness of nature, in return for which anyone, either well- or ill-disposed, is compelled to love him. And through the favour of fortune and the reward for virtue it was granted to him to be received as the master of the chapel of such a great and munificent prince he has not scorned the gift that Fortune has given him, nor has he failed to improve on his natural talents. Daily he gives the greatest thanks to his prince, who is so appreciative of his talents, for the emoluments that he has received. By his learning he develops the extraordinary talent given to him by nature for devising, adapting, and varying the concords of music; so that he renders himself pleasing by employing fortune's gift, and so appears admirable in his study of nature and integrity of character.

x. But I sense that my ears ring with the voices of Apollo and the Muses, and are struck with a sort of silent reproach, because although I have made mention of your musicians, I have so far passed over in silence Virginia, that most outstanding virgin, who in your household is held in the highest honour and esteem on account of her remarkable knowledge of music. For she makes such beautiful music both with voice and string that she draws closer to the divinity of the Muses and away from the music performed by mere mortals. Wherefore, since those who are less skilled are rightly able at least to imitate that which may be done by those who are wiser than them, I would follow the authority and example of one particular Greek city and be pleased to count that distinguished virgin among the Muses and even to name that self-same the tenth Muse.

xi. You see, this city, as St Augustine relates in his books *de Doctrina Christiana*, wanted to honour the Muses, who in those times were merely three in number. The city invited three illustrious craftsmen, to whom it contracted the task of each making three likenesses of the Muses according to this condition that the city would buy out of the nine whichever set of three it judged to be more beautiful. These would then be dedicated in the temple of Apollo in honour of the three Muses. But when it came about, owing to the hard work of the craftsmen, that all nine likenesses had been fashioned with such great skill that it was impossible to decide which set was more beautiful, lest works of such illustrious craftsmen languish without honour, it was agreed that the city would buy all the completed statues. Thus, six further Muses were added to the original three, and once their likenesses were set up in the temple of Apollo, they were worshipped.

xii. Quare si numerus Musarum, ne muta simulachra manibus artificum efficta inhonorata iacerent, sex aliis Musis auctus fuit, quis me inscitiae accuset, si castam probatam, tantis virtutibus excultam, antiquis moribus ornatam, manu omnipotentis Dei fabricatam Virginem inter Musas numerandam, ab eisque decima in sede illam ipsam collocandam duxi? Nam cum ipsi nihil in musica scientia, neque a natura denegatum, neque a doctrina non delatum fuerit, tantum in hoc genere virtutis inter omnes musicos gloria excellit, ut nulli nisi Musis eam comparari fas esset. Itaque nullam aliam domum te decima Musa magis colere habitareque decebat, quam in qua Musarum non pressa leviter ad exigui temporis, sed ad omnium seculorum memoriam fixa vestigia conspicerent.

xiii. Sed ut eo iam unde emerita tam praeclarae Virginis nos abduxerunt redeamus, etiam atque etiam dicam te clarissima ornamenta honoris, dignitatis, gloriae atque laudis ab antiqua nobilitate et ab illustrissimis maioribus iure haereditario accepta tuis spectatis virtutibus longe clariora reddidisse. De quorum praestantia, quae dici possunt, cum tanta sint, ut mihi de singulis dicere nimis longum esset, ne scribendo sermonem longius, quam gravitas et maiestas tanti principis reique institutae ratio ferat, producam ad propositum revertar atque in pauca conferam.

xiv. Quare Dux Excellentissime accipe e nobili ac divina materia musices ex omni antiquitate eruta concinnatum munusculum; si propter eius tenuitatem tua amplitudine indignum, attamen ob eam ipsam rem ab instituta ratione summorum principum accipiendi munera non alienum. In quo quidem munusculo, quo minus ubertas et copia dantis agnosceretur eo magis humanitas et benignitas accipientis elucebit. Dii faxint ut ad annos, quos tua recipit aetas, ille magnus ea cum accessione tum corporis tum animi roboris addatur annus, ut tibi totam vitam robustam et iucundam faeliciter beateque vivere contingat.

Vale.
humilissimus servulus
Petrus Caëtanus Cantor
Sancti Marci Venetiarum :~

xii. Therefore, if the number of the Muses was augmented by six others, so that the silent likenesses made by the craftsmen's hands would not languish without honour, who could accuse me of ignorance if I have maintained that that chaste and upright Virgin, educated in such notable virtues, who is adorned with pristine morality, who has been crafted by the hand of Almighty God, ought to number among the Muses and be settled by them on a tenth throne? For since there is nothing in her musical knowledge that is neither denied by nature nor that is not afforded by education, she excels in glory all musicians in this kind of attainment to such an extent that she cannot rightly be compared to anyone except the Muses. Therefore, it was fitting that you, the tenth Muse, should adorn and inhabit no other home than that in which men see the Muses' footsteps, not lightly trodden for the memory of a short time, but fixed for the memory of all ages.

xiii. However, so that we may return to that place from which the merits of this shining Virgin have led us, and, again and again I will say repeatedly that you have rendered the brightest jewels of honour, dignity, glory, and praise, which were handed down from ancient nobility and by the hereditary right from your most illustrious forebears, far brighter now by means of your distinguished virtues. But since the things that can be said concerning their pre-eminence are so great that it would take far too long for me to speak of them individually, lest I drag out my speech in writing longer than the dignity and majesty of such a prince, and the argument of the matter under discussion, can bear, I will return to my topic and briefly bring everything together.

xiv. Therefore, Most Excellent Lord, accept this little gift that I have set from the noble and divine substance of the art of music, now that I have brought it to light from across all antiquity; if because of its slightness it is unworthy of your magnificence, nonetheless because of that itself, it is not foreign to the established principle of the highest princes for receiving gifts. Truly in this little trinket, the less the abundance and means of its donor be noticed, the more shall the humanity and kindness of its recipient shine forth. May the gods decree that to the years your lifetime guarantees you a great new age may be added with such an addition of both the body's health and of the mind that you may have fortune to live your whole life happily and blessedly with health and joy.

Farewell.

Your least and most humble servant,

Pietro Gaetano, Singer

at St Mark's in Venice

OR.**ORATIO DE ORIGINE ET DIGNITATE MUSICES****Petri Caëtani**

- i.** Omnes homines, doctissimi ac praestantissimi auditores, qui alicuius artis scientiam se tenere publice profitentur, summa animi et ingenii contentione niti debent, ut quam personam vel proprio vel alieno consilio susceptam sustinent, eam ita tueantur atque ornent, ut nec in diligendo genere vitae iudicio caruisse, nec in exequendo eius, quam delegerint, vitae munere ingenii viribus egere videantur. Nam si quis aut grammatici, aut musici, aut oratoris, aut cuiusvis magistri caeterarum artium personam suscipiat ac de illius facultate nullam sciat reddere rationem, is non tantum se ipsum ignorasse; verumetiam audax atque impudens in deliberando fuisse iudicatur. Itaque cum in constituenda vita, quam agere velimus, eam nobis personam induere liceat quae cuique suo iudicio optima videatur.
- ii.** Quicquid in nostram deliberationem cadit, propriae naturae regula metiri oportet. Cui cum nulla vis afferri possit, quisque suam in deliberando consulat atque sequatur: et si aut gloriae, aut lucri, aut alicuius potentiae cupiditate ad ea studia ferretur, quae suo ingenio repugnarent, consilium abiicere, ad propriamque naturam revocare debet. Siquidem varietates animorum variam vivendi viam requirunt: ex quo alium plus alio ad ea, quae tractantur in vita, valere videmus.
- iii.** Quamobrem cum nos quattuor^a personis induiti simus, duabus scilicet a natura, quarum altera ex eo, quod est rationis, omnibus est communis, altera propter animorum dissimilitudines singulis proprie attribuitur. Tertiam ex qua omnia caduca atque mobilia pendent nobis fortuna vel tempus imponit, quarta autem a nostra voluntate proficiscitur. Quisque cognitione sui hanc suscipere; ac propriis viribus tueri ornareque debet; nam quibus personis aut induiti a natura nascimur, aut fortunae vel temporis beneficio nobilitamur, eae nec repudiari absque reprehensione levitatis nec commutari possunt.

^a MS *quatuor.*

OR.

Pietro Gaetano's

ORATION ON THE ORIGIN AND DIGNITY OF THE ART OF MUSIC

- i.** All men, o most learned and worthy listeners, who publicly profess that they possess some knowledge of some art, ought to strive with the utmost exertion of spirit and intellect to preserve and adorn the role they have adopted and displayed, whether it be through their own resolution or that of someone else, and moreover in such a way that they should seem neither to lack judgement in choosing that kind of life, nor to be wanting in the powers of intellect in carrying out the office of that life which they have chosen. For if anyone assumes the role of a grammarian, or a musician, or an orator, or of any master you like of any sort of the other arts and does not know how to give an account of that skill, he is judged not only to be ignorant of himself, but also to have been rash and foolhardy in making his decision. Therefore when setting in order the life we want to lead, we should be permitted to assume the role which in each one's judgement seems to be the best.
- ii.** Whatever leads to making one's choice should be measured according to one's own nature. Since no force can be exerted on this nature, each person should consult and follow his own nature in making decisions; if one is borne to such pursuits that may ill-suit his character by desire of glory, or material gain, or any other sort of power, he ought to give up the idea and remember his own nature. To be sure, different souls require different ways of living: consequently, we see one flourish more than another in dealing with those things with which life is concerned.
- iii.** This is because we are clothed by four roles – namely, by two from nature, of these, one, coming from that which belongs to reason, is common to all; the other on account of the dissimilarity of souls is tied to each soul individually. The third, on which hangs all that is transitory and fickle, luck or timing imposes on us, but the fourth proceeds from our own will. Each of us ought to adopt this fourth role through awareness of his own self, and to guard and adorn it through his own powers, because those roles by which we are either clothed by nature when we are born, or ennobled by the kindness of good luck and good timing, can be neither rejected nor substantially altered without an accusation of levity.

- iv. Quare cum fortuna mihi quasi invideret personas, quas natura attribuisset, neque dignitates, neque honores, neque divitias, neque opes, ex quibus omnibus personarum delectus, quae nostro iudicio probantur ac suscipiuntur, fere pendet, elargita esset, musici personam, quippe, quae facile sustentetur, suscipere, meque ad musicam artem tamquam caeterarum artium, antiquissimam atque nobilissimam, minimeque periculosam, applicare placuit.
- v. Quam quidem personam ne^a temere videar suscepisse, quantum in me erit, experiri ac tentare decrevi, an de artificiosa musica a me aliquid dici possit, quod vos delectare, meque non immerito, si non magni, at saltem mediocris, vel minuti musici nomen vendicare ostendat, nam si omnia quaecumque cadant in sermonem, quem de musica sum habiturus, mea oratione comprehendere vellem, cum sint infinita infinitum tempus ad narrandum desiderarent. Quamobrem postulo a vobis, ut cum de ea re, mihi dicendum sit, qua mundus universus contineatur, si qua praeteriero, consideretis una comprehensione materiam et caeli, et terrae, et omnium animantium atque rerum genericem et conservatricem me dicentem tam parvo temporis spatio nequivisse complecti.
- vi. Atque ut ingrediar ad dicendum +meaeque+^b institutae orationi fundamenta iaciam, unde musices habuerit principium, a quibus aucta regulisque alligata, atque ad artem redacta fuerit, [quaeque ex]^c ea utilitates capiantur, quam potero breviter exponam. Sed quamvis mea oratio de artificiosa in primis musica futura sit, tamen cum omnia genera musicorum iis vinculis connectantur inter se; atque ea cognitione contineantur, ut unum, absque mentione universorum, satis commode tractari non possit, nulla certa lege eam esse alligatam volo, quominus quacumque velit latius vagetur.

^a MS *neē* (i.e. correction).

^b MS appears quite legible in the usual dark ink (cf. *Or.v. m~ non immerito*) but interspersed with characters to appear *tm;eqs.*

^c MS has a correction of an inserted *-q3* (*-que*), which elides with *ex*.

- iv. And so, since it is as if luck has begrimed me those roles that nature might have gifted, bestowing neither the dignities, nor honours, nor riches, nor power, on all of which virtually depends the choice of role which, in my opinion, is accepted and adopted, so it seemed good to me to take up the role of a musician, since it is easily borne, and to apply myself to the musical art on the grounds that of the rest of the arts it is the oldest and noblest – and least perilous.
- v. That said, so that I do not appear to have rashly adopted such a role, I have, as far as I will be able, decided to test and to try to see whether it may be possible for me to say something that might please you about ‘craftsmanlike’ music that might show that you are pleased and that I claim for myself, not unworthily – if not to a great extent, then at least somewhat, or even a little bit – the title of musician, for if I wanted to include every trifling detail in the speech that I am about to deliver about music, since they are infinite, they would need infinite time for the telling. Because of this, I implore you, that, since I must speak about something by which the whole of creation is contained, if I omit anything, you should consider that in speaking in this very brief space of time, I have not been able to embrace in one sweep the matter of both heaven and earth, which generates and preserves all living creatures and things.
- vi. Moreover, so that I may commence my speech and lay out the foundations for the speech I have started, I will lay out as briefly as I am able whence the art of music had her beginning, by what rules she has been raised and restrained and made into an art, and what advantages may be gained from her, which I will lay out as briefly as I am able. But although my developing oration will primarily concern ‘craftsmanlike’ music, since all the types of musician are connected by bonds between themselves and held together in a relationship, so that one type cannot be treated easily enough without mentioning all, I do not want it to be constrained by one unbending rule, lest it be unable to roam as widely and in whatever direction as it may wish.

vii. Quamobrem ad communem intelligentiam de principalibus ac subalternis musices generibus summatim aliquid est attingendum, duo igitur sunt musicorum genera generalissima, animasticum scilicet et instrumentale; ex animastico, mundana et humana, ex instrumentalis naturalis et artificiosa musica originem dicit; ex earum utraque, florida, plana, rhythm[eti]ca,^a atque metrica nascitur; mundanum genus in caelestibus corporibus et in elementis, et rebus animatis agnoscitur. Ex instrumentalis naturalis, [id est]^b, vocalis et artificiosa musica pendet; naturalis ea est, quam natura tum homines tum aves edocuit; artificiosa, qu[a]e^c vel flatu vel tactu vel percussione conficitur: florida planaque musica voce tractatur: rhythm[etica]^d vero ad prosam orationem pronuntiandam, metrica ad faciendos versus adhibetur.

viii. Quare quandoquidem tractatio de singulis generibus musicorum separatim ab universis fieri nequit, et propterea, quae de artificiosa musica dicturus sum, uno genere nec apposite comprehendi nec plane dilucideque explicari possunt; hoc a vobis mihi dari cupio, ut omnibus eius generibus sic uti liceat, ut ratio atque dignitas quarumcumque rerum dicendarum postulabit.

ix. Sed ut ad propositum revertar, omnes tum ingenuas tum serviles artes praeter musicen, necessitas omnium artium optimus magister edocuit, ususque et exercitatio auxit, perfecteque expolivit, atque absolvit. Musices vero notionem, ipsa natura in animis hominum impressit; quod infantium atque rudium hominum exemplo probatur. Nam cum illos vagientes in cunis nutrices placare volunt, ad cunarum agitationem cantus adhibent: quibus non tantum quiescunt, sed etiam maxime delectantur. Rudes autem, atque liberalium artium ignari, si quando aut vocum aut fidium aut cuiusvis musici instrumenti concentus auribus accipiunt, ita moventur quasi illius artis scientiam teneant.

x. Pastoribus itidem ab intelligentia omnium scientiarum remotissimis, nisi natura musices notionem mortalibus ingenuisset, e fistulosa materiae calamis geniculatis, a principio modos confectos sine doctrina ad musicam aptare non contigisset. Sed de mulierculis, seu in vineis, seu in campis, seu in paganis vicis, quid simul agentibus, quid dicendum est? Nonne suis concentibus, nullo artificio, de improviso factis, vel musices scientiae peritos delectant et quasi vertunt ad admirationem. Quod quidem nulla ratione fieret, si musices intelligentiam in animis caelitus informatam non haberent.

^a MS illegible, inferred from context.

^b MS *i.*

^c MS *que* (without e-caudata).

^d MS illegible, inferred from context.

vii. Whereupon, to touch briefly on something that concerns a general understanding of the principal and lesser kinds of the art of music: there are two very general kinds of musician, that is to say those who practise it within their soul, and those who do so instrumentally. Universal and human music derive their origin from that kind found in the soul, and from the instrumental kind so do natural and craftsmanlike music; out of each of these is born the florid, the plain, the rhythmic and the metrical kinds. The universal kind is recognised in the heavenly bodies, and in the elements, and in animate things. From the instrumental descend natural (that is, vocal) and craftsmanlike music; the natural is that which nature taught both to mankind and to birds; the craftsmanlike is that which is made by breath, or by touch, or by beat: florid and plain music are performed by the voice whereas rhythmic music is used for delivering a prose oration and metrical for composing verse.

viii. So since it is impossible to offer a treatise that deals with one kind of musician distinctly from all the others, and on that account, what I am about to say about 'craftsmanlike' music can neither be sufficiently comprehended nor clearly explained with one kind, so I want to be granted this by you: that it be permitted to employ all her kinds as the argument and dignity of whatever needs to be said will require.

ix. But, to come back to the point: it was necessity, which is the best master of all the arts, that taught all the arts except music, both gentlemanly and professional. Practice and training improved them and polished them and perfected them. But nature herself imprinted the knowledge of the art of music on the souls of men, as is proven by the example of both babes and barbarians. For when nurses want to appease those bawling in the cradle, they add songs to the cradle rocking: in this way they are not only quieted, but even greatly delighted. On the other hand, should those who are uncivilised and ignorant of the liberal arts hear in their ears the harmonies of voices or strings or any kind of musical instrument at all, they are accordingly moved just as if they had knowledge of this art.

x. In the same way, if the nature of the art of music had not engendered an awareness in mortals, it could not come about that shepherds, who are so far removed from the understanding of all scholarship, from the earliest times with no learning fitted music to scales made on knotty pipes made from a hollow material. But what can be said about peasant women, or those who conduct their business in the vineyards, or in the fields, or in rustic hamlets? Surely even the tunes they make by improvisation, without any artfulness, are still delightful to those who have been immersed in the study of the art of music and almost provoke admiration. This could in no way have happened if they had not a heaven-sent understanding of the art of music delineated in their souls.

xi. Praeterea mundanam musicen in caelorum corporibus inesse probatur. Nam ut Pythagoras atque eius sectatores, ex Platone testantur, summus omnipotensque et omnium rerum artifex Deus, in mundi creatione adeo^a caelos coniunxit inter se, ut imparibus intervallis distincti, suo impulsu atque motu varios ac suavissimos concentus efficiant. Tantos enim motus, quantos perpetua orbium conversio efficit, nequaquam silentio incitari posse putabant.

xii. Hinc Cicero multarum rerum peritissimus in somnio, quod de Scipione Africano conscripsit, doctos homines ratione inductos, tum nervis tum cantibus harmoniam, quae caelorum conversione ex gravium acutorumque sonorum proportione conficitur, imitatos fuisse, variaque instrumenta musica, ac varios concentus vocum excogitasse testatur. Quam quidem harmoniam Nili fluvii exemplo, (in illo somnio) propter eius magnitudinem, aures hominum capere non posse probatur. Ubi enim ex altissimis montibus precipitat Nilus, gens, quae illum locum accolit, qui Catadupa vocantur, propter magnitudinem strepitus praecipitantum aquarum, sensu audiendi caret. Quare nostrae aures itidem oppletae, sonitus magnitudine, qui fit incitatissima totius orbis conversione, ad eius harmoniam penitus obsurderunt.

xiii. Quae tametsi audiendi sensu non comprehendatur, nullam tamen dubitationem iniicere debet, quanam ratione cantibus atque nervis a primis inventoribus scientiarum, cum ea, quae de musice a natura docti essent, in regulas illigarent ad artemque redigerent fuerit expressa, nam ut invisa referri atque imitatione effingi, sic inaudita animi cogitatione percipi exemploque rerum similium representari possunt.

xiv. Itaque si caelorum harmoniam sensu aurium nemo audivit, tamen cum in eorum perpetuis conversionibus multis atque gravibus argumentis fieri probetur, non est mirandum, homines ad divina opera Dei contemplanda atque immitanda humo excitatos^b nervorum sonis vocumque cantibus illam expressisse. At cui mirum videatur divina animalia, quae de caelo animam omnibus scientiis edoctam arripuerunt, (quam Aristoxenus musicus idemque philosophus^c ex harmonia constare dicebat) caelestem harmoniam cogitatione p[er]cepisse^d eiusque exemplo ad musica instrumenta transtulisse, cum rationis expertia ill[i]um sensu aurium percipient, cantuque quoad possunt imitentur?

^a MS *ad eo*.

^b MS *exitatos*.

^c Uncapitalised in MS.

^d MS appears to have been *praecepisse* originally, later corrected to *percepisse*.

xi. Besides, it is proven that a universal art of music exists among the heavenly bodies. For as Pythagoras and his followers attest (according to Plato), God, highest and omnipotent and the maker of all things, bound the heavens to each other during the Creation in such a way that because of the unequal gaps that separate them, the heavenly bodies create the sweetest varying harmonies by their impulse and motion. For they thought that such great movements as are made by the perpetual rotation of the spheres could by no means be accomplished in silence.

xii. Consequently Cicero, who was a great expert on many matters, bears witness in his exposition of the dream of Scipio Africanus that learned men, having been led by reason, imitated with both strings and songs the harmony that is achieved by the rotation of the heavens from the relative proportion of deeper or higher sounds, and devised the various musical instruments and the various concords of voices. Moreover, he shows with the example of the Nile (in this dream) that men's ears cannot grasp this harmony because of its enormity. For where the Nile descends from the highest mountains, the people dwelling near that place, which is called the Catadupa, lack the sense of hearing of it because of the enormous crash of the falling waters. And so, our ears, which are filled completely in the same way by an enormity of sound, which comes from the whizzing whirl of the whole world, are completely stoppered-up against that harmony.

xiii. Even if this harmony is not fully grasped by the sense of hearing, there ought nevertheless to be no doubt arising concerning with what technique it was expressed in songs and on strings – all the way back to those who first uncovered this knowledge – when they bound in rules the things which had been taught by nature about the art of music, and so rendered it into an artform. For just as the unseen can be reproduced and copied into a likeness, so the unheard can be perceived by the workings of the soul and be represented with an example of something similar.

xiv. Therefore, if nobody has heard the harmony of the heavens with their ears, even when the case for their perpetual rotation had been proven by many weighty arguments, it is no surprise that mankind, having been sprung from the soil to contemplate and imitate the divine works of God, should have emulated that harmony in the sounds of strings and the singing of voices. But who would be surprised if holy beings, who had seized from heaven a spirit thoroughly instructed in all branches of learning (which Aristoxenus the musician, and likewise a philosopher, said was derived from harmony), perceived celestial harmony through thought and transferred what they learnt from its example to musical instruments, despite lacking a way of perceiving it with the sense of their ears, and so seem to have imitated it – as far as they were able – in song?

xv. Nam in libris prophetae Job, ubi de mirabilibus operibus Dei verba facit, sic habet? Quis posuit in visceribus hominis sapientiam? Vel quis dedit gallo intelligentiam? Quis enarrabit caelorum rationem? Et concentum caeli quis dormire faciet? Concentum caeli homines divinae scientiae intelligentes, caelorum harmoniam, galli vero intelligentiam, eius harmoniae sensu, quem hoc animal natura putatur habere, interpretantur; quo quidem sensu gallos certis horis diei atque noctis ad cantandum allici affirmant. Deinde si invisibilia, imitatione visibilium, relata atque efficta creduntur, quae causa est, quamobrem inaudita exemplo similium expressa atque eiusmodi testibus confirmata credi non debeant? Nam quis Caldeorum in caelum umquam ascendit? Tamen quae de caelestibus corporibus, de illorum situ, de positionibus, de aspectibus, de potestate, de magnitudine^a scripserunt, tam pro certis ab eius scientiae professoribus putantur, quam si oculatis testibus probarentur.

xvi. Atque ut ad rei confirmandam veritatem ex mirabilibus Archimedis Siracusani, geometricae syderumque scientiae peritissimi, inventis exemplum sumam, cum hic summus artifex in vitream spheram lunae solisque et quinque errantium stellas alligasset, quae tantum intelligentia et ratione comprehenduntur, sub sensu oculorum suo artificio subiecit, aequae enim circum artificiosum et simulatum axem contrario motu sine intermissione rapi proprioque inniti videbantur orbes, ac in naturali atque vero, astrologorum testimonio fieri putatur. Itaque in vitrea effigenda caelestem quasi ex solida materia fabricatam spheram, e qua exemplum duceret, sub oculis habuisse videbatur, quid multa? Hunc natura tam subtilem ac rerum sui imitatorem finxit atque creavit, ut plus ipsum in imitandis quam suam Genetricem^b in effigendis sphaerae conversionibus valuisse putaretur.

xvii. Sed cum in causis divinarum ac caelestium rerum exquirendis, quippe ab humanis ingenii tantum cogitatione et intelligentia comprehensis, nec disputando gravibus argumentationibus limari, nec ratione, nec testibus, nec exemplis firmari veritas possit, sapientium hominum auctoritas sequenda est. Taliū igitur virorum, quales supra nominavi, testimonio, cum sapientissimi quoque Salomonis auctoritas accedat, quippe qui in numero, pondere, et mensura, et quibus fere omnia musicorum genera constant, Deum omnia creasse dixerit, est assentiendum.

^a *magnitudine.*

^b MS *Genetricem.*

xv. Is it not so in the books of the prophet, Job, where he speaks of the miraculous works of God? Who put wisdom into man's vitals? And who gave understanding to the rooster? Who will tell out the heavens' order? And who will put the concord of heaven to sleep? Men with understanding of theology explain the concord of heaven, the harmony of the heavens, and even the understanding of the rooster by their sense of harmony, which this animal is thought to have naturally; indeed, they claim that it is from just such a sense that the roosters are enticed to sing at certain hours of day and night. So if invisible things, through imitation of the visible, are believed to have been expressed and effected, what reason is there that things that are unheard be disbelieved, given that they have been articulated in the example of alike things, and likewise confirmed by witnesses of this kind? For who among the Chaldeans ever ascended into heaven? Yet what they wrote about celestial bodies – their situations, their positions, their appearances, their power, their vastness – is thought by professors in that field to be as certain as if it had been verified by eyeswitnesses.

xvi. And to prove the truth of this, I will take an example from among the miraculous inventions of Archimedes the Syracusan, an expert in the knowledge of geometry and the stars. When this greatest artificer had bound into a glass sphere the heavenly bodies of the moon and the sun and the five planets, which were grasped only by understanding and theory, he subjected them to the sense of sight by his craft; and supported by themselves the planets seemed to hurry in contrary motion without interruption around his crafted and simulated axis, exactly as it was thought to happen in nature and in truth, according to the account of the astrologers. And so in fashioning the glass he seemed to have under his eyes a celestial globe made as if from solid material, from which he could draw a model. What more is there to say? Nature both moulded and brought into being this imitator of herself to be so subtle that in his mere imitations he himself was reckoned to have been stronger than his Maker in fashioning the rotations of the globe.

xvii. But when one seeks the causes of divine or celestial things, since of course they are grasped by human minds only by theory and the intellect, the truth cannot be thoroughly investigated in disputation by weighty arguments, nor by method, nor by witnesses, nor examples, rather, the authority of wise men should be followed. Therefore, we should assent to the testimony of the kind of men whom I have just named, since the authority of the most wise Solomon also assents, in that he said that God had created all things in number, weight, and measure, by which practically all kinds of musicians are reckoned.

xviii. Quamobrem ne de tam illustrium et virtutibus, et nomine, et inventis virorum auctoritate atque fide: quicquam detrahatur, in caelestibus corporibus et in elementis mundanam musicam inesse, et e celorum^a conversione suavissimam harmoniam exire, et exemplo rerum similium ab hominibus exprimi potuisse, credendum est.

xix. Humana vero musica, ut de ea aliquid^b attingam, in corporis et animae coniunctione, in commixtione humorum in corporibus rationalium et irrationalium animalium inest. Nam ex apposita quattuor^c humorum commixtione in corporibus exit quaedam^d harmonia, quae videndo non minus oculos videntium, quam quae ex instrumentalis musica nascitur audiendo aures auscultantium delectat.

xx. Sed quoniam vestra expectatio tacite me admonere videtur, ut a mundana et humana, ad naturalem et artificiosam musicam meam transferam orationem, videamus [quibus]^e natura talem mentem ac intelligentiam dederit, ut ex tam parvis elementis, quae ab ea de musica docti essent, nulla prius a doctoribus eius facultatis scientia erudit, musica pracepta tradere artemque instituere atque conficere valuissent.

xxi. Quare ut ab ultima antiquitate primisque hominibus initium sumam, Tubal, ante universalem rerum hominumque interitum, qui septimum ab Adam eius in successione per gradus tenuit locum, musicae operam dedit, psalteriumque et cytharam primus reperit; ex eoque pater canentium sua aetate fuit appellatus. Haec tamen instrumenta, qua essent forma et qua ratione ad cantus adhicerentur, minime constat. Constat tamen illum musicam auxisse atque eam commendasse immortalitati.

^a MS *celorum*.

^b MS *aliquid*.

^c MS *quatuor*.

^d MS *quaedam*.

^e MS has unusual marking after *qui*-.

xviii. On which account, lest anything at all be taken away from the authority of and faith in men so illustrious in virtues, name, and discoveries it must be believed that universal music is present in heavenly bodies and in their elements, and the sweetest harmony derives from the rotation of the heavens, and following the example of similar things has been able to be expressed by mankind.

xix. But human music, if I may touch a little upon it, comes from the union of body and spirit, and the mixture of calculable humours with incalculable instincts. For out of the appropriate mixture of the four humours in the body comes a certain harmony, the sight of which pleases the eyes of those who see it no less than sound of that which is born out of instrumental music does the ears of those who hear it.

xx. But since your patience seems quietly to rebuke me, I will shift my topic from universal and human music to natural and ‘craftsmanlike’ music. Let us see to whom nature has given the necessary mind and understanding, so that from such small nuggets that they may have learnt from nature about music (despite previously having received no instruction in its discipline from any who were learned in it) they have grown strong enough to pass on the precepts of music, as well as to set up and establish and perfect the art.

xxi. Therefore, in order to take up my beginning from uttermost antiquity and the first of mankind; before the total extinction of matter and men, Jubal, who was of the seventh generation in the line of Adam, gave his craft to music, and was the first to invent the psaltery and the cithara; as a result he has been called the father of singers in his time. Yet there is little agreement what shape these instruments took or how they were applied to song. However, it is agreed that he enriched music and entrusted it to immortality.

xxii. Nam cum a suis maioribus accepisset Adam duos totius humani generis universales interitus, alterum post alterum, interiectis temporibus futuros praenuntiasse; unum scilicet ex aquarum proluvie ex incendio alterum, cumque uter eorum alterum praeventurus esset ignoraretur, ne sua de musica inventa, aut aquis aut flammis perirent ex hominumque memoria (si qui de universo interitu superessent) dilaberentur, duas columnas, unam lateritiam marmoream alteram, erexit; quarum in utraque sua de musica inventa incidit: ut si aquarum proluvie terrarum orbis periret, lapidea superesset, quae superstibus^a ex occasu, si qui essent, discendi copiam faceret: si vero flammarum ardore conflagraret, lateritia, quae inventi memoriam conservaret. Hanc enim ardore flammarum, illam vero aquarum impetui obsistere posse putabat.

xxiii. Iisdem autem in columnis Seth[is]^b Adae filii nepotes, qui syderalem scientiam astrorumque cognitionem excogitarunt, sua itidem inventa inscripserunt, itaque cum humanum genus, praeter Noe cum sua familia, vi aquarum de caelo immissa periisset, marmorea columna superfuit: quae teste Josepho, qui hanc historiam scripsit, suis temporibus in terra Syria videbatur: quamobrem a veritate fortasse non abhorret, si quis diceret, ex inventis et Tubalis et nepotum Sethis astrologiae et musicae artis in illa marmorea columna incisis, earum facultatum elementa Chaldeos (quippe quibus in sua provincia columnam illam habere contigisset) didicisse; ab eisque postea ad Graecos, qui omnium scientiarum se inventores fuisse profitentur, dimanasse ex iisque seminibus tantas illos conflasse et effecisse artes, quantas longe lateque diffusas videmus. Sed utcumque res se habet, antiquos Graecos post interitum universalem, aut accepta a Chaldeis aut per se inventa omnia musicorum genera multis modis locupletasse, inter omnes constat. Veruntamen eorum tractatio varia diversaque fuit.

xxiv. Naturalem enim et artificiosam de qua nunc agitur musicam tribus modis, vel sola voce, vel solo instrumento, vel voce adhibita ad instrumentum tractaverunt, qua vero tantum voce, eius primam tractationem ab iniculis ac seminibus musicorum, quae omnibus animantibus natura insunt, sumpsisse putantur, deinde cum vocalis musicae nimis nuda atque simplex videretur, varia genera instrumentorum excogitaverunt; quae ut etiam nostris temporibus factitatur; ad concentum humanae vocis accommodarent.

^a MS *supstitibus*.

^b MS *Seth* – Hebrew names are inconsistent in declension, but see below, *Sethis*.

xxii. For, since he had heard from his elders that Adam had foretold two total annihilations of the whole human race, one after the other at different times, and that one would be from a flood of waters, the other from a fire, and since it was not known which of the two would come first, lest his discoveries concerning music should be destroyed by either the floods or the flames and so be lost from human memory (if anyone should survive the total annihilation), he raised two columns, one of brick, the other of marble; on each of which he inscribed his discoveries concerning music: so that if the world should perish in a flood of waters, the stone one should survive, which would make available his learning to survivors (if there were any); but if the world was consumed in the heat of flames, the brick would survive to preserve the memory of what had been discovered. For he thought the latter would be able to resist the heat of the flames, and the former the rush of the waters.

xxiii. Moreover, the descendants of Seth the son of Adam, who worked out a knowledge of the stars and an understanding of the constellations, inscribed their discoveries on the same columns in the same manner. Then, when the race of men, apart from Noah and his family, had perished by the force of waters sent down by heaven, the marble column survived: and this according to Josephus, who wrote a history of this, could be seen in his times in the land of Syria. On this account perhaps someone would not be far from the truth, who claimed that the Chaldeans (because of course it had turned out that the column was in their territory) had come to learn the first elements of both the astrological and musical arts from the discoveries of both Jubal and the descendants of Seth that had been carved on the marble column; afterwards we see that they trickled down from them to the Greeks (who declared themselves to be the discoverers of all disciplines), and from these seeds they kindled and created as many arts as we see diffused far and wide. But whatever the case, after the complete annihilation, it is agreed by all that the ancient Greeks enriched all the kinds of musician with sundry styles, having either inherited them from the Chaldaeans, or discovered them themselves. Nevertheless, their treatment has been varied and diverse.

xxiv. For they set natural and craftsmanlike music (that is, what is now our topic) in three ways, either to voice alone, or to instrument alone, or to voice joined with an instrument, and by this route, indeed by voice alone, they are thought to have derived its first treatment from the sparse threads of musicians and from those seeds that are planted by nature in all living creatures. Then, since the vocal sort of music seemed overly bare and sparse, they devised various kinds of instruments which (as frequently happens in our own times as well) they fitted to concord with the human voice.

xxv. Quis autem primus ab interitu humani generis musicen reppererit,^a multae ac variae sunt auctorum opiniones; alii musices ac lyrae inventum Mercurio tribuunt, alii vero in ea re huic praeferunt Amphionem: Amphioni non desunt, qui Linum anteponant. Sed Phrinis Milesius, ut refert Aristoteles, apud antiquiores Graecos priscam et simplicem musicen in novas harmonias atque in numeros traducere, rationemque numerorum ad lyrae atque cytharae sonum aptare cepit. Terpandrum autem Lesbium nunnnulli ad exemplum septem orbium planetarum ex lyra, additis^b tribus chordis, heptacordum fecisse: primumque lyrics regulas scripsisse affirmant. Sed cum in re tam veteri ita discrepant auctores inter se, ut perdifficile sit diiudicare quis tantum ingenio praestiterit caeteris, ut naturalis ac instrumentalis musicae principia e reconditis atque abditis eius artis notionibus et elementis a natura sine arte homini ingenitis educere in mediumque proferre [possit]^c, antiquitatis auctoritas sequenda est.

xxvi. Quare ne in quaerendis principiis, quam in commemorandis musicae laudibus sim longior, quod veterum scriptorum lectione colligitur, ante scilicet urbium aedificationem in locis sylvestribus musicen primo fuisse coeptam exerceri, mihi dicere sit satis. Nam, ut in Aelii Donati commentariis in Terentium habetur, Athenienses priusquam coacti essent in urbem, in vicis Atticae regionis rusticanam agrestemque vitam exercebant. Ubi vota pro frugibus Apollini Nomio,^d idest pastorum agricolarumque praesidi deo, vota solventes, circum aras in honorem divinae rei constructas cantitabant. Deinde cum ab incultis et feris moribus ad mansuetudinem perventum esset, urbesque fuissent^e conditae, ad eas ex locis sylvestribus pervenit, ubi adeo complexa fuit, ut non solum in theatra ad ornandam locupletandamque rem tragicam atque comicam induceretur, verum etiam ad conficienda deorum sacra in templis adhiberetur. Porro aut[em] summarum artium doctores illam suisscriptis illustrarunt.

^a MS *repererit*.

^b MS *aditis*.

^c not in MS.

^d MS *Nonio* or *Nouio*.

^e MS *fuisset*.

xxv. But the opinions of scholars on who was the first to discover the art of music after the destruction of the human race are many and varied; some attribute the discovery of the art of music and the lyre to Mercury, while others set Amphion before him in this matter, and those who set Linus before Amphion are not lacking in number. But Aristotle relates that Phrynis the Milesian, who lived among the more ancient Greeks, began to bring the primitive and simple art of music to new harmonies and melodies and to fit the method of these melodies to the sound of the lyre and the cithara. But some assert that Terpander the Lesbian, by adding three strings, made a heptachord from the lyre following the model of the seven planetary bodies and thus was the first to have written lyric rules. But since concerning a matter so ancient scholars are in such disagreement amongst themselves that it is very difficult to judge who so outshone the rest in natural talent as to be able to produce and bring into public view the principles of natural and instrumental music from the mysterious and hidden notions of her art and from the elements that have been inborn in a human being by nature without skill, the authority of antiquity must be followed.

xxvi. Therefore, lest in searching for these foundations, I risk taking even longer than I will in declaring the praises of music, it seems enough to me to state what is gathered from reading the ancient writers, namely, that before the building of cities the art of music first began to be practised in wooded places. For, as is maintained in the commentaries on Terence by Aelius Donatus, before the Athenians came together into their city, they led a rustic and bucolic life in the countryside villages of Attica. When making votive offerings for the sake of their crops to Apollo Nomius – that is, to the patron god of shepherds and farmers – they would chant around altars they had set up in honour of a sacrifice. Then, when one progressed from uncultivated and wild manners to domesticity and cities had been founded, music came to those cities from the woodland places, where it was so embraced that it was not only introduced into the theatres for the adornment and enrichment of tragedy and comedy, but indeed was even employed in the temples to celebrate the rites of the gods. Moreover, hereafter, those learned in the highest arts gave her glory in their writings.

xxvii. Itaque e doctissimis philosophis duae musicorum sectae emerserunt. Quarum altera Pythagoram Samium, altera vero Aristoxenum Tarentinum, illarum sectarum principes sequebatur; hic in musicis omnia sensui, ille rationi primas deferebat. Sensus enim varietate subiecti facile in errorem induci posse putabat; ac propterea e proportionibus sonantium corporum ex quantitate inventis musices omnis ratio pendere volebat. Sed Aristoxenus, ut in libris quos de musicis conscripsit videre licet, nihil probabat, quod aurium iudicio improbaretur, atqui Ptolemaeus^a mathematicus inter hos quoddam medium secutus, eorum leges musicas ita moderatus est, ut nihil dederit sensui, quod negari posset rationi: sed utrique poscere videretur, quamobrem qua de musica eius extant scripta, multi scriptores eius facultati secuti fuere. At enim ex his duabus musicorum sectis ad eam existimationem musices dimanavit, ut eius studia apud omnes maxime vigerent, praemia namque proposita, tum ad gratiam, tum ad dignitatem, eius artis studiosos excitabat; ut ad doctrinam, quam quisque consequutus esset, frequens usus atque exercitatio adiungeretur.

xxviii. Quo factum fuit, ut in conviviis virorum illustrium circumferretur lyra: ad eamque de clarorum hominum virtutibus ac deorum laudibus vicissim canerent convivae: quam cum in caena apud Laomedontem Themistocles recusasset, tametsi summo ingenio sumisque virtutibus praeditus esset, tamen indoctior habitus fuit. Summam enim eruditionem Graeci in nervorum vocumque cantibus sitam esse censebant. Nec qui musicam nesciebant satis exculti doctrina putabantur. Proinde multi ex illustribus viris musicen discebant: inter quos Epaminundas clarissimus Thebanorum Imperator, maximus philosophus, totius Graeciae multorum iudicio facile princeps. Fidibus praecclare dicitur cecinisse: atque sapientissimus Socrates adeo hanc scientiam adamavit, ut iam senex ab adolescente tibicine eam voluerit edoceri. Achillem autem, cum magnus Alexander accepisset praecclare ad lyram cecinisse, ipse quoque ei rei studiose operam dedit. Nec Lycurgus durissimis^b legibus, quas suis civibus condidit, musicam disciplinam improbavit. At vero satis appositione exemplorum vos satietate similium mihi videor defatigasse.

^a MS *Ptolomaeus*.

^b MS *durissimis*.

xxvii. And so, out of the group of the most learned philosophers, two sects of musicians emerged. One of them followed Pythagoras of Samos, whereas the other followed Aristoxenus of Tarentum, who were the leaders of these sects. The latter submitted everything among musicians to sense-perception, the former gave primacy to ratio. For he reckoned that sense could easily be led into error by the variety of what had been subjected to it and therefore every ratio of the art of music sought to depend on the proportions of resounding bodies that had been discovered. However, Aristoxenus, as can be seen in the books he wrote on the art of music, clearly approved of nothing that was disapproved of by the ears' judgement, yet Ptolemy the mathematician followed a certain middle way between the two, and so moderated their musical rules, so that he gave nothing to hearing which could be denied to ratios: but he seemed to insist on this from both; and for this reason and from what is extant of his writings on music, many writers have followed his process. But it is out of these two sects of musicians that it has spread abroad to the credit of the art of music, so that her studies flourish greatly everywhere, insomuch as having established honours, it stirred up those students of this art now to goodwill, now to moral worth, so that frequent use and practice would be attached to its teaching, which would be followed by everyone.

xxviii. And so the lyre was borne around at the banquets of illustrious men: and those dining together would sing in turn to her accompaniment about the virtues of famous men or the praises of the Gods: although Themistocles demurred from this when dining with Laomedon; even though he was gifted with the greatest genius and virtues, he was however reckoned to be rather unschooled. You see, the Greeks reckoned that the highest culture resided in the music of string and voice. Those who were ignorant of the art of music were thought not to have developed their learning enough. So then, many illustrious men learned music: among them was Epaminondas, the most famous general of the Thebans, the greatest philosopher and easily the leading man of all Greece in many people's judgement. He was said to have sung with the strings splendidly: and even the wisest Socrates fell in love with this discipline to such an extent that when an old man, he wanted to be thoroughly schooled in it by an adolescent flute-player. Moreover, when the great Alexander learned that Achilles had sung splendidly to the lyre, he eagerly studied the subject himself. Even Lycurgus, in the very severe laws which he had established for his citizens, did not disapprove of musical instruction. But now I think I have tired both you out enough with a provision of examples and myself with a sufficiency of comparisons.

xxix. Nam cum Pythagoras philosophus nobilissimus ac rerum naturalium subtilissimus indagator, atque eius sectatores mundum ipsum, ut supra dictum est, musica ratione compositum, senserint, illisque antiquis temporibus in tanto honore musicen, fuisse memoriae proditum fuerit, ut eosdem et musicos, et vates, et sapientes esse atque iisdem honoribus afficiendos putaretur, neminem vestrum dubitare arbitror, multos illustres ac nomine sapientiae claros viros extisset, qui ut hanc divinam atque ad nos divinitus delatam scientiam assequerentur, ea in re summo studio elaborarint. Nam in Helicone Apollini ac Musis sacro, et musicis, et vatibus, et sapientibus statuas una positas antiqui Graeci conspexerunt, quod ea gratia factum fuisse putandum est, ut per simulachra corporum in celeberrimo totius Graeciae loco una collocata, studiorum atque artium suarum affinitas agnosceretur.

xxx. Sed quid de musicorum affinitate cum vatibus ac sapientibus plura dicam? Nonne omnes artes liberales ita sunt connexae inter se, quasi ex pluribus membris unum corpus efficiatur, cui ipsa membra serviant atque famulentur? Ergo omnium disciplinarum quas hominum ingenia, seu ad oblectationem ac^a pastum animi, sive ad corporis usum, ac societatis humani generis conservationem atque concordiam excogitarunt, nulla sane quidem ex omni parte in suo genere potest esse perfecta, nisi cum musica aliqua^b ex parte fuerit coniuncta, ab ea enim quaeque^c illarum ad perfectionem atque absolutionem sui muneric, aliquid mutuatur.

^a MS repeats *ac.*

^b MS *ali qua.*

^c MS *queq;* without e caudata.

xxix. For as has been said, since Pythagoras (the noblest philosopher and the most exacting investigator of natural phenomena) and his followers perceived that the universe itself had been assembled by musical order (as has been said above) and since because from those ancient times it was recorded that the art of music was held in such honour that it was thought that musicians and prophets and wise men were one and the same and ought to be endowed with the same honours, I believe that not one of you doubts that many illustrious men, famous on account of their wisdom, have existed who have laboured in this regard with the utmost zeal to chase after this wisdom, which is divine and brought to us from the gods. For on Helicon, which is sacred to Apollo and the Muses, the ancient Greeks beheld statues of musicians and prophets and wise men that had been set up together, which should be thought to have happened for this reason, in order that the affinity between studies and their arts could be recognised through the images of these figures that had been gathered together in the most frequented spot in the whole of Greece.

xxx. But what more can I say about the affinity of musicians with prophets and philosophers? Is it not the case that all liberal arts have connections between themselves, just as many limbs make up one body, to which those limbs are obedient and subservient? Consequently, of all of the disciplines that the ingenuity of men has devised – whether for the delight and refreshment of the soul, or for the use of the body, or for both the preservation and peace of the comradeship of the human race – surely none of them can be made entirely perfect after its kind without being joined in some part with music; from her each of them borrows something towards the perfection and completion of its own function.

xxxii. Grammaticae aptam verborum connexionem vocisque sonum ad efficiendum recte pronunciandi concentum musica subministrat. Dialectica medii termini cum extremis convenientiam musices ratione probat. Rhetorice vocis sonorum varietates ad movendos audientium affectus musicae acceptas refert; geometria quantitatum rerum metiendarum proportiones per musicam invenit. Philosophia aptam elementorum ac humorum a musica compositionem petit. Astrologiam rerum praedicendarum musica rationem docet. Phisicam ad cognoscendas pulsuum aequalitates et inaequalitates illustrium scriptorum huius facultatis, qui extant, libris scientia musices egere probatur. Sacra theologia, praeter ea, quae concionatoribus sacrarum scripturarum admovendos audientium affectus cum oratoribus sunt communia, multa praeterea comprehendit, quae ut Divus Augustinus testatur, musices intelligentiam requirunt. Quare, cum ex liberalibus artibus nulla sit, quin ad perfectionem sui musices disciplinae aliqua ex parte auxilio egeat, si musices artem caeteris artibus dignitate praestare dicerem, nullus earum magister, me inscitiae^a ac temeritatis iure accusaret.

xxxii. Sed quoniam musices originem ac progressionem, quatenus per varias scriptorum rerum antiquarum sententias potui satis iam, si minus assecutus, at saltem consequutus mihi fuisse videor, et praeterea satis multis exemplis demonstrasse, quantum apud Graecos haec scientia coleretur, atque etiam quibus honoribus eius cultores afficerentur, ad Romanos deinceps est transeundum, quibus quidem quoad illius primae aetatis horridi et inulti mores, ac illorum severa atque bellicosa natura ferebat, musices curam non defuisse constat.

^a MS probably *inscitiae* rather than *infinitiae*, although G.'s use of the long s is unusual.

xxxi. To Grammar, music affords an apt sequence of words and a sound of voice to create a pleasing harmony of good delivery. Logic esteems the agreement of a conclusion medial between extremes according to the art of music's order. Rhetoric conveys the modulations of the sounds of the voice that it has inherited from music in order to move listeners' emotions. Geometry finds through music the proportions of the extents of measurable things. Philosophy seeks the proper composition of elements and humours from music. Music teaches astrology the method of foretelling events. It is agreed that physics needs a knowledge of the art of music to understand the equality and inequality of beats in the extant books of illustrious writers of this faculty. Sacred theology, besides those tools for affecting the emotions of listeners which are common to both preachers of holy scriptures and orators, extends over much besides, which, as St Augustine testifies, requires an understanding of the art of music. So, since out of the liberal arts there is none that, if it is to attain perfection of itself, does not need assistance from some aspect of the art of music's teaching, if I were to say that the art of music stands above the other arts in dignity, no master of them could justly accuse me of ignorance or rashness.

xxxii. But seeing that I have now been able to arrive at the point where I think that I have, if not caught up with, then at least followed closely as much as I was able with the origin and progression of the art of music through the various thoughts of the ancient writers, and moreover to have given an account satisfactorily, with many examples, of the extent to which this knowledge was cultivated among the Greeks, and even with which honours its cultivators were endowed, next it is time to pass to the Romans, in whom, insofar as the frightful and uncultivated manners of that first age and their own grim and warlike nature allowed, it is agreed that the care of the art of music was not lacking.

xxxiii. Numa enim^a Pompilius secundus Romanorum Rex, ut Livius testatur, Salios Marti, qui per urbem carmina in honorem illius dei canentes irent, instituit. Sub consulibus autem paululum immutato more, tibicines sacrificiis praecinebant, praeterea cum illa prisca severitas quibusdam condimentis humanitatis aspersa paulisperque ad comitatem ac hilaritatem traducta fuisse, ad Graecorum consuetudinem Romae itidem in epulis convivae ad cantus et tibicinem virtutes atque laudes virorum illustrium prosequebantur. Sed in theatris adeo frequens usus musices fuit, ut et tragica res et comica diversis modis musicis ornaretur. Postea vero quam Respublica ab uno fuit occupata musices usus mansit in theatris: nec ab imperatoribus illa quidem contempta fuit. Nam Octavianus Caesar Augustus Romanorum Primus Imperator, usque adeo poetas (qui et musici putabantur) adamavit, ut eos in deliciis^b haberet ac maximis munieribus prosequeretur, Tiberius autem Nero, tametsi omnes ferissimas, ac immanissimas belluas sua feritate atque immanitate superaret, tamen non solum musices exercitationi operam dedit, sed etiam cibis ad clarificandam vocem appositis utebatur.

xxxiv. Ut vero a Gentili ad iuniorem populum discedamus, post mortem redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi^c cum fidelium congregatio unum in locum convenire coepisset ibi psalmos cantitabat. Crescente deinde Christianorum multitudine, tempa in honorem Dei, Matrisque Virginis, et Divorum aedificari copta fuerunt. In quibus rite sacrificiis constitutis divina officia musicis concentibus ut eruditio naturae ferebat, celebrabantur. Qui mos paulatim ad omnes fidelium ecclesias dimanavit. Quo cum dulcedine cantus infideles quoque ad audiendum concentus vocum canentium allicerentur, multi ex eis, cum harmoniae dulcedine capti, tum in primis fidelium praedicationibus adducti baptizabantur. Sed Respublica Christiana optime constituta, innumerabilibusque fidelibus aucta, atque firmata, rectores cathedralium ecclesiarum Davidis ac sapientissimi eius filii Salomonis exemplum sequuti (quorum alter cantores,^d qui musicis instrumentis ante Foederis Arcam et vocibus decantarent, alter, ut in celeberrimo et augustissimo omnium templorum universi orbis templo, Aeterno Patri dicato, sacrificiis cantantes adessent instituit)^e cantores praecentores, subcentores, et concentores, qui alternis vocum concentibus, divina officia honestarent, constituerunt.

^a MS •n•

^b MS *delitiis*.

^c MS *Ὑην Χρι*.

^d The MS closes the brackets illogically here.

^e Closing bracket in MS, which makes more sense.

xxxiii. For as Livy records, Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, established for Mars the Salian priests, who would go through the city singing songs in honour of their god. Furthermore, under the consuls when habit had changed somewhat flautists would play before sacred rites, and moreover when their ancient severity, after being sprinkled with certain seasonings of humanity, little by little had been drawn to courtesy and good-naturedness, according to the manner of the Greeks, likewise at feasts in Rome dinner companions would hymn the virtues and praises of illustrious men to songs and the flute. But such was the frequent employment of the art of music in the theatres, that both tragedies and comedies were adorned with diverse musical styles. Indeed, after the Republic had been seized by one man, the employment of the art of music remained in the theatres: she was not held in contempt by the emperors. For Octavian Caesar Augustus, the first emperor of the Romans, admired poets (who were also regarded as Musicians) to such an extent that he had them among his favourites and would pursue them with the most lavish gifts, but Tiberius Nero, even if he surpassed all the most ferocious and savage wild animals with his ferocity and savage character, did not only take pains over the practice of music, but he even partook of foods suited to making his voice clearer.

xxxiv. Indeed as we pass from the Gentile to a younger people, after the death of our redeemer Jesus Christ, whenever a congregation of the faithful had begun to gather together in one place, they would sing psalms there. Then as the multitude of Christians grew, temples began to be built in honour of God, the Virgin Mother, and the saints. In these, after sacrifices were duly performed, the holy offices were celebrated with music playing just as the instruction of nature prompted. And so little by little this custom spread to all churches of the faithful. Hence the unfaithful were also enticed by the sweetness of song to hear harmonies of singing voices, and many of them, ensnared first by the sweetness of harmony then particularly drawn in by the preaching of the faithful, were baptized. But once the Christian Republic was very well constituted, enlarged, and strengthened by its innumerable faithful, the rectors of the cathedral churches, following the example of David and of his most wise son Solomon (of whom the one introduced singers who would chant songs before the Ark of the Covenant with voice and musical instruments, the other established that singers should be present in the most celebrated and august temple of all temples of the entire world consecrated to the Eternal Father), established singers made up of precentors, succentors, and concentors in varying harmonies of voices to grace the holy offices.

xxxv. Sed quo genere musicorum uterentur minime constat. At Divus Gregorius hoc nomine summus Pontifex primus canendi ratione commutata, cantum planum, ut vocant, qui et Gregorianus ab ipso auctore nuncupatur, seu reperit, sive in elegantiores formam redigit, in Romanam ecclesiam introduxit: cuius usus ad haec usque tempora duravit. Graeci vero cum certos de musicę auctores haberent, quos sequerentur, quo genere musices in ecclesiis usi fuerint ignoratur. Timotheo^a enim Milesio generis chromatici, Olimpo autem, cuius patria nescitur, enharmonici inventum assignatur, diatonici vero generis, tametsi nullus extet auctor,^b mansit tamen usus apud omnes, aliorum generum vel difficultate rei, vel hominum incuria,^c ne vestigium quidem ullum reperiatur. Sed quodvis ad caelebrandum divina officia ex eis generibus adhibuerint Graeci, nullum de eorum musica huius aetatis, nec in praceptis, nec in exercitatione vestigium apparet, quo ad^d antiquioris musices originem possit perveniri. Nam qua his temporibus in ecclesiis musice utuntur, de ea nulla pracepta in scriptis traduntur; sed eius omnem rationem atque numeros^e manuum motus moderatur.

xxxvi. Galli vero, quibus primae in canendo sine controversia deferuntur, ab Italis antiquam musicam didicerunt. Nam Carolus Magnus Imperator, cum ad expellendos Longobardos in Italiam armatus venisset, victor in Galliam rediens cantores Italos duxit, qui in suo regno sementem musices facerent elegantioris. Atqui, ut recentioris musices vestigia, quae nos ad eius prima incunabula et rudimenta perducant, aliquando tamen persequamur, Guido Aretinus monacus, ex familia Sancti Benedicti ab hinc decem et octo supra quingentos annos, voces musicales reperit: quibus nomina ex primis et mediis syllabis primorum tres carminum Sapphicorum himni Sancti Ioannis Baptiste sumpta imposuit, et cum eas septem cum elementariis literis coniunxisset, in sinistram [man]um^f illigavit; qua ut elementaria tabella pueri notionem literarum, ita musices prima elementa eius artis cupidi docerentur. Nam ante Guidonem voces nullo nomine proferebantur, sed tantum per vocales litteras adhibebantur ad verba, itaque ratio discendi in hunc ordinem redacta, adeo recepta amplexaque fuit, ut nullus musices nostri temporis studiosus per illam ad eius studium non ingrediatur.

^a MS *Tibmot^heo*.

^b MS *au/tor*.

^c MS *in curia*.

^d MS *quo'ad*.

^e MS *numer^os*

^f MS smudged.

xxxv. Yet it is not at all clear what kind of musicians they used. Rather, St Gregory, the first pope of this name, by changing the system of singing, either invented or reworked into a more refined form plainchant, as they call it (they also call it Gregorian after its creator), and introduced it into the Roman church; its use has lasted even down to today. However, although the Greeks had reliable authorities concerning the art of music, whom they followed, it is unknown which kind of music was used in their churches. After all, while the discovery of the chromatic kind is assigned to Timotheus of Miletus and the enharmonic to Olympus, whose country of birth is unknown, and the use of the diatonic kind remains among all, even if no author is extant; of other types not the least trace is to be uncovered, either on account of the difficulty of the matter, or through mankind's lack of curiosity. But whichever of these types the Greeks have applied to the celebration of the holy offices, no trace from their music of that period appears in teachings nor in practice whereby it might be possible to arrive at the origin of that more ancient art of music. For of the kind of music which they employ nowadays in their churches no precepts in writings are handed down; but the gesture of hands governs all its method and its measurements.

xxxvi. But the French, to whom the first ranks in singing are yielded without quarrel, learnt ancient music from the Italians. For the Emperor Charlemagne, after he came armed into Italy to expel the Longobards, as he returned victorious to France brought Italian singers who sowed the seeds of the more refined art of music in his kingdom. And indeed, so that we may finally pursue the traces of the more recent art of music that may lead us to her first cradles and nurseries, Guido of Arezzo, a monk of the order of St Benedict, developed musical pitches 518 years ago. To these he assigned names taken from the first and middle syllables of the first three Sapphic verses of a hymn to St John the Baptist, and when he had joined these with the first seven letters, he mapped them onto his left hand; and with this, as boys are taught the concept of letters by an elementary table, so those who were desirous of this art could be taught the first elements of music. For before Guido, the pitches were mentioned with no name but by so fixing them through tuned letters to words the method of learning was consequently simplified into this technique and was received and embraced to such an extent that in our time no student of the art of music has commenced its study without it.

xxxvii. Reliqua vero, quae de musice scripsit, cum apud quosque eius artis doctores improbata fuissent, semper iacuerunt, tamen in bibliotecis monacorum suae religionis manu scripta diligentius asservantur sed tamen negligentius visuntur, multos praeterea commemorare possem, qui post Guidonem suas de musica cogitationes literarum monumentis mandaverunt, sed cum sint potius legendi propter venerationem debitam antiquitati, quam propter suam doctrinam imitandi, silentio eos praeterire, quam vos nimio labore auscultandi defatigare malo.

xxxviii. Quare occurram vestrae expectationi ac de musicis et musica nostri superiorisque seculi ea dicam, quae mihi dicenda esse videbuntur. Nam si ambitiosius singula persequerer, vos nimia longitudine orationis fortasse universa negligentius auscultaretis. Igitur ad musicos qui huic musicae fundamenta iecerint quique variis vocum concentibus eam auxerint ac locupletarint transitum faciam. Quinque a principio, quo inventa fuit haec, de qua nunc agitur musica, aetates musicorum numerari possunt.

xxxix. Sed quos prima aetas tulit, cum una cum suis de musica inventis ex memoria hominum sint propemodum deleti, non conqueram, altera deinceps, quae sequuta [est] [rêth?e], qui floruissent in opere quod Joannes Tintoris de musica scripsit commemoratur: quorum fama, propter suas qu[a]e adhuc extant compositiones (qualescumque sint) ad nostram memoriam pervenit. Quae quidem compositiones, licet indignae sint, quae hac aetate iterum cantentur, tamen cum multo facilius sit addere inventis, quam novi aliquid excogitare, et ipsae laudandae, et eorum inventoribus, quippe qui posteris viam ad hanc scientiam monstraverint, maxima est habenda gratia, sed nomina eorum si quaeras, cum non sint minus horribilia auditu, quam eorum compositiones durae atque asperae cantatu, vereor ne ad illorum sonum perterrefias. Quis enim est tam fidenti animo, quem haec formidolosa nomina, videlicet, Duffai, Demomarto, Busnois, Heloi, Barburan, Binthois, et similia, non perterrent?

xi. Sed satis de ioco: ad tertiam aetatem transeamus. Cuius faelicitas in procreandis musicis tanta fuit, ut quos ipsa tulerit, omnes in omnia secula per ora virorum sint volaturi. In ea enim Ocheghen, Josquin de Pres, Brumel, Fevim, Mouton, Petrus de Larue, Andreas de Sylva, et multi alii nobiles et illustres musici, tum ingenio ad excogitandas ac disponendas tum etiam ornamentis ad illustrandas musicae inventiones floruerunt. Quamobrem quae illorum de musica extant scripta, ea nulla umquam vetustas obruet, nec oblivio delebit.

xxxvii. But the rest of what he wrote about music, since it has been rejected among those who are learned in this art, has always lain to one side - although his writings have been diligently preserved by hand in the libraries of the monks of his order they are yet studied with less attention – moreover I am able to record that many of the learned who came after Guido entrusted their thoughts on music to monuments of literature commissioned their own meditations in monuments of literature, but since they are to be read more because of the veneration due to their antiquity than to be imitated on account of their teaching, I prefer to pass over them in silence, rather than exhaust you in an excessive effort of listening.

xxxviii. And so I will reward your patience and will speak on matters concerning both the musicians and the music of our age and the preceding one that will seem to be worthy of being discussed. You see, if I were too ambitiously to go through each individual one, from the excessive length of the oration, you might listen too neglectfully to all. Therefore, I will make a transition to the musicians who laid the foundations to this music and who bolstered and enriched her with varying choirs of voices. From the beginning, when that music with which we are now concerned was discovered, five ages of musicians can be counted.

xxxix. But I will not seek out those whom the first age produced, since together with their discoveries about music they have been more or less wiped from the memory of mankind, that which followed next (and those who flourished in it) is commemorated in the work that Joannes Tinctoris wrote about music; their fame, on account of their surviving compositions, such as they may be, has come down to our knowledge. Indeed those compositions, although they are unworthy of being sung again today, despite it being much easier to add to the discoveries than to devise something novel, are themselves to be praised, and we must have the greatest thanks to their discoverers, since they showed to their descendants the path to this discipline. But should you ask for their names, since they are no less horrible to hear than their compositions are harsh and bitter to sing, I am fearful lest you have the life scared out of you at the sound of them. For who is so bold of heart, that these fearsome names – specifically Du Fay, Domarto, Busnoys, Eloy, Barbingant, de Bins (and those like them) – do not petrify him?

xi. But enough silliness: let us turn to the third age. The productivity of this one for begetting musicians was such that every one of those whom it bore shall remain soaring everafter in the mouths of men. For in this age Ockeghem, Josquin des Prez, Brumel, Févin, Mouton, Pierre de La Rue, Andreas de Silva, and many other noble and illustrious musicians flourished, who possessed a genius first for devising and laying out compositions of music and then embellishing them with ornaments. It is because of this that what they wrote about music has survived which no old age will obscure nor will oblivion destroy it.

xli. His deinceps quartae aetatis musici successerunt; in qua Adrianus Villaert, Nicolaus Gomberth, Carpentras, Janechin, Lheritier meus praceptor, Constantius Festa, Morales, Jachet, Verdelot, et alii innumeri praecellentes viri extiterunt. Qui multis modis rem musicam auxerunt ac variis ornamentis illustrarunt, sed Adrianus inter hos, et inter caeteros omnium aetatum musicos, tenuit principatum. Ingenio enim et doctrina et inventione in hoc genere artis ita excelluit, ut ad eum de musica consulendum undique musicorum studiosi, confluenterent; et quicquid ab eo monerentur, id omne tamquam ex oraculo Pythii Apollinis editum acciperent.

xlii. Nam docendi exercitatione ac iudicio aurium tanta ratione musicen quibusdam labeculis antiquitatis aspersam purgavit, ut multi vel satis erudit, musicen ad hanc munditiam et elegantiam redactam, ab eo edoceri summo desiderio afficerentur.^a Qui quidem, qua erat mansuetudine atque humanitate omnibus se ad docendum dabat: eiusque domus, quasi ludus atque officina docendi, huius scientiae studiosis patebat. *Quid vos multis moror?* Nec doctiorem, nec mitiorem, nec humaniorem musicum Adriano post hominum memoriam, ulla aetas tulit: nec fortasse feret. Qui quidem cum a Serenissimo^b Principe Venetiarum Sacello Divi Marci praefectus fuisse, praeter multa admiranda opera, quae ad usum festorum atque solemnium dierum totius anni composit, quattuor^c supra triginta, et amplius annos tanta prudentia cantores creditos gubernavit, ut ex eis laeserit neminem, omnibus autem, quoad posset, fecerit beneficium.

xliii. Huic deinceps mortuo, Ciprianus Rore Iosephusque Zarlinus eius discipuli in magisterium alter post alterum successere, Ciprianus, ut erat excellentis ingenii et singularis, tam belle praceptorum imitatus fuit, ut in conficiendis ac variandis musicis numeris alter ab illo videretur. Zarlinus vero summa ingenii celeritate atque memoria vir, ac propterea aequi promptus ad percipiendum audita, ut ad explicandum acutus atque ornandum copiosus, usu docendi atque sensu aurium a praceptore inventa sic avide arripuit, quasi explere cupiens diuturnam sitim, quae postea, non paucis aliis ad rei perfectionem a se inventis additis, multis rationibus comprobata suis scriptis immortalitati commendavit, scripsit enim librum de musica, quae *Harmoniacae Institutiones* nuncupatur. In quibus omnia quaecumque a quovis musico, tum ad docendum, tum ad discendum desiderari possunt, tam dilucide explicantur, ut nullus sit, qui per eas perfectam musices intelligentiam non perducatur.

^a MS afficerentur.

^b MS ser~mo.

^c MS *quatuor*.

xli. The musicians of the fourth age followed them; and it was in this that Adrian Willaert, Nicolas Gombert, Carpentras, Janequin, Lhéritier (my own teacher), Costanzo Festa, Morales, Jacquet, Verdelot, and innumerable other outstandingly excellent men arose. They promoted the state of music in many ways and embellished it with diverse ornaments, but among both them and the remaining musicians of all ages, Adrian has held first place. For he so excelled in ability and learning as well as innovation in this kind of art that studious musicians flocked from everywhere to consult him about music and whatever advice each received from him they accepted it all as if it were a prophecy from the oracle of Pythian Apollo.

xlii. For by the practice of teaching and the judgement of his ears he purged the art of music that had been defiled by (as it were) some foibles of antiquity with such a method that many – or at least educated – men were affected by the greatest desire to be taught by him the art of music which had been returned to its purity and elegance. For his part, because of the gentleness and humanity that were his characteristics, he gave himself to the teaching of everyone: and his house was laid open to students of this knowledge just as if it were a school and workshop of learning. Why do I detain you with so much? No age in the memory of men has produced a more learned, milder, more civilized musician than Adrian: nor perhaps will any. Indeed, when he had been placed in charge of the Chapel of St Mark by the most Serene Prince of the Venetians, besides his many admirable works, which he composed for use on festal and solemn days over the whole year, he governed singers entrusted to him for thirty-four years (and more) with such wisdom that he hurt none of them, rather to all of them, insofar as he could, he showed kindness.

xliii. Then after his death, his students Cipriano de Rore and Gioseffo Zarlino succeeded him one after the other in the office. Cipriano, who was of distinguished and remarkable ability, so handsomely imitated his teacher that in fixing and adapting musical meters he seemed to be the natural successor. But Zarlino is a man of the swiftest ability and memory, and for this reason he is equally quick at totally understanding something he has heard as he is penetrating in explaining it and abundant in adorning it; by experience of teaching and by the sense of his ears he seized what had been discovered by his teacher as eagerly as if wanting to quench a long-held thirst, which afterwards, once he had added much else from his own discoveries to music's improvement, having been approved by many methods he commended them to immortality in his writings. For he wrote a book about the craft of music, which was called *Harmonic Fundamentals*. In these, anything that could be desired by any musician related either to learning or to teaching any sort of music is so clearly explained that nobody could fail to be guided through them to a complete understanding of the art of music.

xliv. Quare fatendum est, quarta aetate musicen omnibus suis numeris et partibus adeo fuisse perfectam, ut in ea tum in exercitatione, tum in doctrina nulla absolutio nullaque perfectio desideretur. Nam de exercitatione, viginti ab hinc annis Venetiis musicorum aucta ibique nata et erudita ingenia ita variarunt rem musicam, ut primum unum, deinde duos canentium choros, alternis sibi respondentes, tum tres, postremo quattuor^a in ecclesias induxerint, de doctrina vero Adriani et Zarlini solertia, huius in tradendis praeceptis, illius in numeris ac modis musicis aptandis, factum est, ut in ea nihil loci relictum sit, in quo quis ingenii vires, vel ad augendam, vel ad variandam, vel ad edolandam atque poliendam rem musicam experiatur.

xlv. Sed paucis ab hinc annis extitit quidam in musica haeresiarca, qui usu et doctrina illam immutare chromaticisque modulis atque concentibus sibi magis nomine quam re notis ornare conatus est. Cui quidem etiam si multorum sapientium ac musicae artis peritorum iudicio minime successerit, non desunt tamen, qui eius haeresim ambitiosius sectentur. Quibus quidem tanto fastidio ac satietati sunt fruges ut glande pomisque sylvestribus vesci velint. Quare ne aqua et igni^b interdicamur, eiusmodi haereticis non utamur.

xlvi. Sed ad quintam musicorum aetatem transeamus, quae quidem tot compositores effudit, ut quot superioribus aetatibus in singulis provinciis reperiebantur. Totidem hoc tempore e singulis civitatibus, tamquam ex equo Troiano derepente^c in publicum exierint. Qui cum multas faciant compositiones, in multorum etiam numero sunt numerandi: totum enim superiorum elegantiumque musicorum componendi genus aut consulto immutarunt aut stulte neglexerunt. Sed tamen ex eis non pauci, ut e numero multorum se eriperent, antiquos musicos ipsorum vestigiis sequuti fuere. Qui tametsi quo intenderent non pervenerunt, tamen proprius a perfectione musicae superioris, quam ab adumbratione praesentis aetatis abfuerunt. Quam quidem vere dici potest, ex infinito numero, quem protulit, musicorum, adhuc neminem vidiisse, cui tantum sydera faxterint atque natura, ut in componendo illustrium atque singularium compositorum praeteritarum aetatum, laudem et gloriam assequerentur.

^a Sic cf. *Or.iii; xix; xlvi.*

^b MS *igni*.

^c MS *de repente*.

xliv. It is for this reason that it should be admitted that in the fourth age the art of music has been perfected in all its meters and parts to such an extent that no completion and no perfection is lacking in either its practice or learning. For concerning practice, in the twenty years before now the abilities of musicians among the Venetians, having been promoted, nurtured, and taught there, have transformed the state of music in such a way that they have brought first one, then two choirs of singers, each responding to the other, then three, and eventually four into the churches; indeed it is because of the learning of Adrian and skill of Zarlino, the latter in delivering teachings, the former in adapting musical meters and modes, that it has been brought about that no area of the subject would remain there in which someone of ability might try his strength in augmenting, or varying, or carving and polishing music's condition.

xlv. But a few years before now there arose in music a certain heresiarch, who by his experience and learning tried to change music and to adorn it with both chromatic modulations and notes which are known to him more by name than in reality. Indeed, even if in the judgement of many who are wise and skilled in the art of music he has had very little success, those who would ambitiously cleave to his sect are not altogether lacking in number. To them indeed crops are held in such scorn and they are so fed up with them that they would prefer to feed on the acorn and the woodland fruits. Therefore, lest we are forbidden water and fire, let us not observe such a heresy.

xlvii. But let us move on to the fifth age of musicians, which has overflowed with such a proliferation of composers that just as many are found in individual territories today as were in all the previous ages combined. Just as great a number have issued forth from individual states as if suddenly they came out of the Trojan horse and into the city. Although they create numerous compositions, they ought to be counted as a single entity made up of many: for they have either changed the whole genre of compositions of greater and more elegant past musicians by design, or neglected it senselessly. But still, out of these there are more than a few who have followed the musicians of old with their own footsteps, in order to rescue themselves from association with that entity of many. And although they did not reach their goal, nevertheless they were closer to the perfection of past music than to its semblance in this present age. Indeed, one may truly say that among the infinite number of musicians which the present age has brought forth it has as yet seen nobody for whom the stars and nature have done so much that they achieve the praise and glory enjoyed by the illustrious and singular composers of previous ages in composition.

xlvii. Nam cum musica sit cum divinitate coniuncta, ab ingeniis tantum divino quoddam^a spiritu afflatis ad eius perfectam intelligentiam perveniri potest; quo fit, ut plures in quoque genere virtutis excellentes homines, quam in musicis reperiantur. Quis enim studio cuiuslibet disciplinae penitus se dedit, quin eius omnem vim et materiam scientia et cognitione comprehendat? Musices vero, qui a benignitate syderum et naturae non adiuvantur, frustra laborem suscipiunt, ut in ea praeter caeteros excellant. Homines igitur desinant admirari, tam exiguum copiam excellentium musicorum omnibus aetatibus extitisse, cum singulae vix denos^b ex se undecumque perfectos procrearent.

xlviii. Quare quandoquidem, in omni re optimum quicquam rarissimum habetur, cum natura omnium parens tum raro musicos sine exceptione laudandos ingignat, musicam autem hominibus dederit, quasi ad reficiendos ac recreandos animos, gravioribus curis defatigatos. Quo animus est nobilior corpore, eo tum musice aliis liberalibus disciplinis ad usum corporis atque humanae societatis conservationem inventis excellit, tum musici singulari eximiaque doctrina musicae exculti atque honestis moribus ornati, inter doctos caeterarum doctrinarum viros summum locum tenent. Nam quod est maximum ac maxime in hoc genere scientiae admirandum, musici tantum valent ad movendas animi affectiones atque sensus, ut dulcedine cantus vocisque suavitate cum blandis verbis coniunctae, quo velint animos audientium allicant.

xlix. Quod quidem Timothei^c Milesii et aliorum musicorum exemplo demonstratur, nam cum ad mensam illius Magni Alexandri legem bellicam fidibus caneret, de industria mutatis modulis regem quasi furentem de mensa ad arma prosilere coegit; rursus remisso cantu continuo et regis mutavit affectus. Terpander^d vero Lesbius suavitate cantus Spartanos inter se maximis seditionibus tumultuantes adeo delinivit, ut a concitata discordia desisterent in veteremque concordiam redirent. Qua de re Lesbiis cantoribus primas Spartani semper detulerunt.

^a MS *quo^ddam*.

^b MS *de nos*.

^c MS *Thimotei*.

^d MS *Therpander*.

xlvii. For since music is bound to the divine, it is only possible for a complete understanding of it to be reached by talents inspired by the divine spirit (as it were); and this is why more men are found who are outstanding in every type of virtue than among musicians. For who so entirely gives himself to study of whatsoever discipline he pleases without seizing all its power and substance with his knowledge and understanding? But those who are not helped by the kindness of the stars and nature take up the study of the art of music, in order to excel beyond all others in her, but in vain. Let men therefore cease to marvel that such a paltry supply of excellent musicians has existed throughout all the ages, since each has scarcely brought ten complete musicians into existence out of itself at all.

xlviii. And seeing that in every matter whatever is best is rarest, as nature (the parent of all) so infrequently gives birth to musicians worth praising without exception, she has nevertheless given music to mankind, as if for repairing and restoring those souls that are exhausted by weightier duties. To the extent that the soul is more noble than the body, so then has the art of music excelled the other liberal arts that have been devised for the use of the body and conservation of human society, and besides, musicians who have been improved by the unique and extraordinary teaching of music and are adorned with honourable customs, hold the highest place among those men who have been taught the other things that can be taught. For what is greatest, and most greatly worthy of admiration in this type of discipline, is that musicians have enough strength to influence the dispositions of the soul and the senses, that by the charm of their song and the sweetness of their voice joined with attractive words, they entice the souls of their listeners where they wish.

xl ix. Indeed this is demonstrated by the example of Timotheus of Miletus (and that of other musicians), for when he sang the martial cause to the lyre's accompaniment at the table of Alexander the Great himself, by deliberately changing modes he compelled the king to jump as if in a rage from the table and take up his arms; he then with a soothing song immediately changed the emotions of the king. Similarly, with sweetness of song Terpander of Lesbos soothed the storming Spartans when they were in the midst of great riots so much that they ceased their violent discord and returned to their old concord. Because of this, the Spartans always bestowed first prize on singers from Lesbos.

1. Sed in re tam certa multorum exemplorum prolatione ad persuadendam veritatem uti magis mihi curiosum quam necessarium videtur. Cui enim incredibile accidere potest, homines ex harmonia undecumque compactos musicis modulis animis moveri et sensibus, cum animalia ratione parentia ad vocis atque instrumenti musici concentum celeriter concurrant? Nam ut ad ornatum orationis et ad animi audientium oblectationem fictas fabulas, more poetarum, inducam et cum veris exemplis commisceam; Amphionem Jovis, aut Mercurii filium adeo dulciter ad lyram cecinisse dicitur, ut suo cantu saxa ad struendos Thebarum muros traxisse scriptores fabulentur, Orpheus autem Apollinis filius, quantum fidibus et cantu ad alliciendum bruta animalia, avesque et silvas, atque etiam ad ipsum Cerberum custodem inferorum placandum ac leniendum valuerit, notius est, quam ut a me commemoretur.
- ii. De Arione praeterea Methimneo tam nobili fidibus cantatore, quod Gellius ex Herodoto scripsit, cum propter delphinum naturam proprius historiae quam fabulae adsit (hi enim pisces, tum hominum consuetudine, tum vero sonis atque cantibus maxime delectari dicuntur) non est tacendum, qui cum bene nummatus in navim Syracusis ad suum regem Corinthum redditurus ascendisset in fraudem incidit. Navi enim in altum provecta, nautae praedae ac pecuniae potiendi aviditate de illo necando consilium cuperunt. Sed cum suboluisset Arioni, quod nautae in ipsum machinarentur, data prius pecunia, ab illis ea lege vitam exoravit, ut statim praeceps in mare desideret. Itaque de more ornatus in puppim ascendit: ibique stans contenta voce carmina fidibus ad suum casum accomodata cecinit. Ad extremum cum lyra omnique ornatus in profundum eiecit. Quem repente Delphinus dorso super fluctus edito exceptum sustulit: in columemque in terram Laconicam evexit: indeque ad suum regem se ille recepit.

1. But in such a sure matter, to make use of an elaboration of many examples for persuading you of the truth seems to me more interesting than necessary. For to whom can it be unbelievable that men who have been driven together from every direction by the harmony deriving from musical modulations are moved in their spirits and their senses, when animals lacking reason quickly run together to the concert of the voice and instrument of a musician? To show this, both to adorn my speech and to delight the soul of my listeners, I will present fictional fables, in the manner of the poets, and I will mix them together with real examples; just as Amphion the son of Jupiter (or was it Mercury?) is said to have sung so sweetly to the lyre, that writers recount that by his song he drew up stones to build the walls of Thebes, it is too well known for me to commemorate how powerful was Orpheus the son of Apollo with strings and song in soothing dumb brutes, and the birds and woods, and even in placating and beguiling Cerberus himself, the guard of the infernal regions.
- ii. One cannot be silent besides about what Gellius wrote concerning Arion of Methymna, so extraordinary a lyrist and minstrel, following Herodotus's account, which because of the nature of dolphins, may be closer to fact than fable (you see, these fish are said to be delighted by familiarity with people but particularly by man's sounds and songs). He, when laden with money and about to depart Syracuse for his king in Corinth, fell into deception after he had boarded the ship. For when it had been steered into deep waters, the sailors, because of their eagerness to get hold of booty and money, formed a plan to kill him. But when Arion had detected what the sailors plotted for him, after he had first given over his money, he begged his life from them on these terms, that he jump immediately headlong into the sea. And so wearing his usual regalia he climbed onto the stern, and standing there with a high voice sang songs suited to his situation with accompaniment on the lyre. At the last he flung himself along with his lyre and all his equipment into the depths. Suddenly a dolphin, with its back lifted high above the waves, caught him up and bore him to safety in the land of Laconia, and thence Arion returned to his king.

l.ii. Ad haec aliqua alia exempla, tum ex fabulis, tum ex historiis, tum etiam ex ipsa experientia de brutis animalibus, quae sono vocum et cantibus commoventur atque delectantur, adderem, si gravitas dignitasque orationis me hac in re multum esse pateretur. Volatilia vero paene^a omnia omnium generum ab ipsa natura canere edocta, cum ipsorum cantibus usque resonet aer, quantum musicis concentibus delectentur, enumeratione exemplorum probare non est necesse. Quoniam autem pro ratione temporis mihi ex hoc loco ad dicendum iure consuetudinis constituti,^b iam satis multis verbis et exemplis declarasse videor, quanam ratione atque modo, cum ab antiquioribus et Graecis et Latinis atque aliis nationibus, tum maxime a musicis nostri superiorisque seculi emendata, aucta variata ac multis ornamentiis illustrata fuerit res musica, restat ut de fructu et utilitate, quam tum ad oblectationem animi requiemque curarum, tum etiam ad usum et tractationem multarum rerum quae tractantur in vita, hominibus praebeat, dicendum esse videatur.

l.iii. Quare, ut a rebus bellicis initium sumam, ex iis, quae ad paranda bella requiruntur, nihil est magis necessarium quam musica. Nam militum, equitum armorum, machinarum, ac rerum caeterarum vis ad apparatum, timpanorum autem, buccinarum, tubarum, lituum, atque aliorum instrumentorum concentus, ad finem belli referuntur. Frustra enim exercituum imperatores instruerent acies in bello, si milites et equites in congregando cum hostibus ordines turbarent. Quod quidem saepe factum fuisse legitur, ubi sparsi milites in hostium copias, nullo praeeunte tympanista, temere irruissent.

^a MS *pene*.

^b MS *constitutae*.

- iii.** To these I could add some other examples, some from legends, some from histories, some even from the very experiences of brute animals, which are provoked and delighted by the sound of voices and songs, if the gravity and dignity of my oration would allow me to get caught up in this matter. Indeed, since with their songs the air constantly resounds, it is not necessary to demonstrate by the listing of examples how much almost all of the kinds of animal that fly, having been taught to sing by nature, are delighted by musical harmonies. But seeing that I seem to have already proven sufficiently with many words and examples, according to the ration of time allotted to me to speak from this point by the right of custom, by what argument and method both by the ancient Greeks and Romans and other nations, and especially by musicians of our own and past age, the state of music has been enlarged, varied, and illustrated with many ornaments, it remains that it seems to be necessary to speak of the profit and utility which it provides to mankind either for the delighting of the soul and the respite of cares, or for the use and management of many matters which arise in life.
- iiii.** Therefore, to take my beginning from military affairs, out of those things which are required for the preparation of war, nothing is more necessary than music. For the strength of the soldiers, the heavy cavalry, the war-engines and the rest of the equipment pertain to war's preparation, but the sound of the drums, and of bugles, of trumpets, of curved horns, and of other instruments are for its conclusion. For in vain would generals draw up the lines of their armies in war, if their ranked soldiers and cavalry cast their ranks into disarray when joining with the enemy. Indeed this is often said to have been the case, when scattered soldiers blindly rushed into the forces of the enemy, with no drummer giving guidance.

liv. Hoc autem periculum facile declinatur, si ipsi contra hostes tympanorum sono modulatis ac moderatis passibus congregiantur. Equorum vero ferocitas buccinarum ac tubarum sonitu ita augetur, ut in equitum adversariorum turmas maximo impetu irrumpant: praeterea si qui timore imminentis mortis deficerent animo, dum bellicum canitur ad buccinarum sonos tantas et animi et corporis recipiunt vires, ut ad necem maxima contentione pugnant. Nimis autem feroce in bello, musicis quoque numeris permulcentur. Nam Lacedemonii cum visis hostibus usque adeo inflammarentur ad pugnam, ut furiosa inordinataque impressione ordines turbarent, nec ad [tu]barum,^a nec ad timpanorum strepitus, sed ad tibiarum modulos in proelium ingrediebantur. Cretenses quoque cythara^b gressus in hostes moderatos esse dicuntur. Hariaratem vero terrae Lydiae regem, non tantum concinantes fistulatores et fidicines, sed etiam feminas^c fidicinas in exercitu habuisse, Gellius ex Herodoto memoriae prodidit.

lv. Quare cum et milites cautiores et animosiores, et equi ferociores in bello musicis modis reddantur, fatendum est, rem bellicam tantum a musicis instrumentis adiuvari, ut reliqui omnes apparatus bellorum absque musica ad consequendam victoriam nihil valere videantur. Sed ut hominis pacifici natura fert, satis multa de bello: quid enim musico cum bellatoribus? Valeant musici, qui bello delectantur. Ad reliquas utilitates, quas musicae vis ad enarrandum^d nobis subministret, properemus.

^a MS smudged.

^b MS *Cithara*.

^c MS *feminas*.

^d MS *enarandum*.

liv. But this danger is easily avoided, if they march together against the enemy in regular and restrained steps to the sound of the drums. Indeed, the fierceness of horses is so increased by the din of bugles and trumpets that they burst in on squadrons of enemy cavalry with very great force: in addition, should any waver in their spirit through fear of imminent death, as the signal is given by the blast of bugles they receive such strength in both soul and body that they fight to the death with the utmost effort. But those who are too fierce in war are also softened by musical melodies. For the Spartans, when the enemy had been seen, would be fired up for a fight to such an extent that they would throw their ranks into confusion in their furious and chaotic onslaught – yet they were not advancing to battle to the braying of trumpets, nor the crashing of drums, but to the trilling of flutes. The Cretans too are said to have held their steps against the enemy steady by means of the cithara. Indeed, Alyattes, the king of the land of Lydia, had in his army not merely symphonias of pipers and lyrists, but even lady ‘lyristes’ – so Gellius (after Herodotus) records to posterity.

lv. Thus, since soldiers are rendered both more cautious and more courageous, and their horses more fierce by musical modes, it must be admitted that military affairs are so helped by musical instruments that all the remaining apparatus of warfare seems to contribute nothing to the pursuit of victory without music. But as the nature of a man of peace directs, that is enough about war: for what does a musician have to do with warriors? Farewell to those musicians who delight in war. Let us hurry to the remaining uses, which the power of music supplies for description to us.

lvi. Inter quas etsi^a praecipuae videntur ea, quae ad oblectationem animi in musicis numeris quaerantur, nonnullae tamen ex eis ad usum corporis admodum necessariae petuntur. Laborum aegritudinumque levationem, cantus vocum atque fidium maximam habere quis ignorat? Nam in opere faciundo paene omnes, qui se exercent, rudi modulatione suos labores consolantur. Mulieres itidem aliqua in re laborantes per cantus incondite effusos levamen suorum laborum assequuntur. Atque nonminus ad curandos morbos, quam ad levandos labores corporis musicam adhiberi solitam non caret exemplis: nam his temporibus in Apulia, stellionis morsu, furentes, musica medicina sanari nullus Apulus ignorat. Febres vulneraque et alias aegrotationes musicis numeris antiquitatem curasse in veteribus monumentis annalium reperitur. Quid quaeris? Ea est vis musices et natura, ut Damon Pithagoricus, vel ebrios gravioribus modulis musicorum ad temperantiam reduceret. Mihi videre videor, quosdam ex vobis ad hoc Damonis exemplum subridere. Quid ita?

lvii. Praeter cantores nonne, et summi principes in conviviis intempestivis quandoque usque eo indulgent genio, ut maxime vino incalescant? Ergo mirum vobis non videatur, si cantores in laetitia musicae viventes ad exemplum illustrium principum in lauoribus conviviis aliquando immoderatis perpotationibus exhilarentur: cum praesertim quod sapientiorum exemplo, a minus prudentibus fiat, id iure factum honestissime defendi possit.

lviii. Sed ut iam ad illa summa, quae genus humanum ad animi aliquo morbo affecti curationem, beneficia per musicen consequatur, veniamus, quaenam vis aliarum artium tanta est, ut animos iacentes erigere, oppressos relaxare,^b distractos colligere, furentes placare possit? Nulla quidem alia medicamenta ad has animi aegritudines curandas, praeter musicen, proficiunt hilum. David, cum Saul furens nullis medicamentis mitigari posset, sono tamen cytharae a furore ad tranquillitatem revocabat. Chrisippus, ut est apud Quintilianum, suum quoddam carmen matribus ad placandos vagientes pueros assignat. Nec non doctissimus Pontanus hac aetate cantilenas, quas *Nenia* appellat, ad eundem usum maxime appositas composuit.

^a MS *et si.*

^b MS *relassare.*

lvi. Among them, even if those uses which are sought in musical melodies for the pleasure of the spirit seem to be foremost, still, more than a few are pursued as being essential for the use of the body. Who does not know that the airs of voices and strings provide tremendous relief from cares and sicknesses? For almost all those who are occupied in carrying out work alleviate their labours with simple tunes. Likewise their women, working on some matter or other, seek solace for their labours with airs enthusiastically pouring out. Moreover, no less are we not lacking examples of music habitually being invoked to cure diseases as much as for lightening the cares of the body: for today in Apulia, no Apulian could fail to know that those who are raving from the bite of a snake are cured by music's medicine. One may find in the old tomes of the chronicles that the ancients cured fevers, wounds, and other maladies through musical melodies. In short, such is the power and nature of the art of music that Damon the Pythagorean would lead the drunk by the weightier melodies of musicians to temperance. I think I see certain among you titter a little at this example of Damon. Why so?

lvii. Assuredly, besides singers, do not even the highest princes sometimes indulge the spirit in ill-timed feasts to the point that they grow greatly heated with wine? Therefore it should not seem astonishing to you if singers living in the joy of music are most heartened by immoderately heavy bouts from time to time according to the example of illustrious princes at more luxurious banquets: especially since what is done by the less thoughtful following the example of the wiser can be very respectably defended as done rightly.

lviii. But in order that we might now arrive at those supreme benefactions for a cure for a soul suffering from some malady, which the human race reaches through the art of music, what force of the other arts is so great that it can stiffen sagging spirits, relieve the overwhelmed, focus the absent-minded, and calm the raving? Indeed, no other medicines whatsoever profit at all in curing these sicknesses of the soul except the art of music. When Saul was raving and could be soothed by no remedy, David nevertheless called him back from madness to tranquility with the sound of his lyre. Chrysippus (as recounted by Quintilian) prescribes a song of his to mothers for calming wailing infants. And surely Pontanus, the most learned man in this age composed little ditties (which he calls *Neniae*), which are very much appropriate for the same purpose.

lxix. Sedenim ad vim musices et naturam^a magis demonstrandam, nec illud quidem silentio praeteream, quod de quoddam musico^b scripsit Homerus: qui ab Agamemnonte ad bellum Troianum proficescente Clitemestrae uxori sibi dilectae custos relictus esset, musicis modulationibus eam ab Aegisto assiduis blanditiis ad impudicitiam sol[li]citatam, in officio castitatis erga virum continuit: quem Aegistus, ne diutius sibi esset impedimento ad expugnandam amatae mulieris pudicitiam, de medio sustulit. Itaque tantisper Clitemnestra viro suo castitatem servavit, quoad a musico nervorum vocomque cantibus a desidioso otio^c immoderatisque cupiditatibus aversa est.

lx. Age vero, ne semper calamitatibus oppressos, laboribus defatigatos, curis confectos, furore percitos animos respiciamus: quid porro esse potest hominibus prospero fortunae flatu utentibus, aut iucundius ad fruendam, aut optabilius <ad> conservandam, aut aptius ad augendam faelicitatem, quam musice? In humanis autem actionibus, quae in virtutibus animi consistunt, quid admirabilius, quam paucos e multis existere, qui modulando, contentus hominum cuiusque generis tenere, delectare, ad se convertere possit? Musicorum, musicorum sane, hoc quidem est praecipuum munus.

lxii. Musices enim ea vis est et natura, ut sui amantes non solum amabiles, sed etiam admirabiles apud omnes reddat. Hinc omnes domini terrarum orbis, duces, principes, reges, imperatores, summi pontifices, omnium gener[um]^d musicos amplectuntur, fovent, in deliciis habent. Nam praeter ea, quae a musice, unde animus e gravioribus curis reficiatur; et aures clamoribus gentium defessae conquiescant, suppeditantur, nullis suavioribus condimentis humanae faelicitates dulciores fiunt, quam quae a gratiosis ac venustis musicis subministrentur. Adde quod est in veteri Graecorum proverbio, indoctos musices a Musis atque Gratiis abesse.

lxii. Platonis item est, opinor, in *Republica* musicam cum divinitate coniunctam ac civili viro maxime necessariam. Igitur quo magis homines musice delectantur, eo ad divinitatem proprius accedunt. Hic mihi occurunt, et quasi ulti se offerunt multi tum nostrae, tum superiorum aetatum summi principes, quos, ut musices studiosos ac de musicis maxime benemeritos, commemorem atque collaudem.

^a MS *natura*.

^b MS *quoddam musico*.

^c MS *ocio*.

^d MS smudged.

lxix. Yet in order to demonstrate the power and nature of the art of music more fully, I should not pass over in silence that which Homer wrote about a certain musician: having been left behind by Agamemnon as he was setting out for the Trojan war as a guardian of his beloved wife Clytemnestra, when she was being incited by Aegisthus, with constant blandishments, to break her chastity, with musical modulations he made her continue in her duty of chastity toward her husband; but Aegisthus got rid of him, lest he be any longer an impediment to his assaulting the chastity of the woman he loved. Consequently, Clytemnestra preserved her chastity for her husband for as long as she was kept by the musician with airs of voice and strings away from idle leisure and intemperate lusts.

lx. Well then! Let us not always pay attention to those souls oppressed by calamities, those exhausted by labours, those worn out by cares, those stirred up by rage: henceforth, what can be more gratifying to the enjoyment of happiness, or more desirable in maintaining it, or more suitable to increasing it, than the art of music is to those men who enjoy the favourable breath of fortune? But in civilised acts, which are rooted in the soul's virtues, what is more admirable than that there exist few out of many, who by playing can hold, delight, and draw the attention of men of every race? Truly this particular gift belongs to musicians and musicians alone.

lxii. For the strength and nature of the art of music is such that it makes the lovers of herself not only lovable but also worthy of being admired among everyone. Hence all lords of the lands of the earth, the dukes, princes, kings, emperors, popes esteem, cherish, and hold musicians of all kinds as favourites. For besides those things, which are supplied by the art of music, by which the soul is restored from the heavier cares, and the ears tired by the clamours of the people are rested, man's happinesses are made more agreeable by no sweeter seasoning than those which are furnished by agreeable and charming musicians. Add to this the old saying of the Greeks, that those who are ignorant of the art of music lack the Muses and the Graces.

lxii. Likewise, I think it is Plato's saying in the *Republic*, that music is joined with divinity and is absolutely necessary for the civilised man. Therefore, the more men rejoice in the art of music, the closer they draw to the divine. On this point, many of the noblest princes both of our own and of previous ages flock to me and present themselves, as if of their own accord, for me to commemorate and commend them as being studious of the art of music and greatly generous towards musicians.

lxiii. Sed nec per temporis brevitatem, nec per facultatem dicendi, neque per rei difficultatem pro cuiusque dignitate atque meritis id mihi quidem facere licet, verum tamen^a maxima et prope divina in musicos beneficia maximorum principum Austriacae^b Prosapia me cogunt, ut quoquo modo possum de illis aliquid generatim dicam: quorum cum sit proprium et avitum munus omnium generum virtutibus benevolentia complecti, muneribus afficere, auro ditare ornatos viros, tanti faciunt musicen, ut eos non modo canentibus musicis operam dare, verum etiam ipsam musicen percipere atque animi causa, quandoque exercere sine satietate delectet: in caeteris autem artibus, quae summos principes doceant, ita versantur, ut omnibus excellentibus et praeclaris viris gloria praestent.

lxiv. Quamobrem vere me Hercole dici potest, hanc esse illam divinam, omnibusque laudibus celebrandam atque illustrandam progeniem; quae tamquam ferocissimorum^c seminarium heroum, tot duces, tot principes, tot reges, tot imperatores, ut Oeniponti in celeberrimo et augustissimo templo divi Francisci ipsorum ex aere imagines in ordinem dispositae testantur, produxit, cum Solone, cum Lycurgo, cum Epaminunda, cum Pyrro, cum Alexandro, cum C. Caesare, et sapientia, et ingenii praestantia, et belli disciplina, et numero victoriarum et animi altitudine comparandi; quae tamquam de caelo in terram add^d regnandum demissa, tot ducatus, tot principatus, tot provincias, tot regna, seu iure haereditario possessa, sive armis in suam ditionem potestatemque redacta, vinculis clementiae, muneribus iustitiae, liberalitatis magnificentia sibi tenent obligata; quae in omnibus suis actionibus eum ordinem, eam rationem, eam convenientiam servat, ut ex eis tamquam e concentibus musicorum, vel voce vel fidibus praeclare canentium, quae undecumque exaudiatur, suavissima exeat harmonia.

^a MS *ueruntamen*.

^b MS *Austriacæ* greatly enlarged.

^c MS *ferocissimi*.

^d MS *ad* in superscript as correction.

lxiii. But, not through shortness of time, nor through my lack of ability in speaking, nor through the difficulty of the task, am I able to compose this in proportion to their dignity and merits – and yet even so the great (even almost divine) kindnesses of the greatest princes of the Austrian Royal Family to musicians compel me to speak a little about them in general terms in whatever manner I am able: since it is their service to qualities of all kinds to embrace them with kindness, bestow them with largesse, and enrich them with gold; they value the art of music so highly that not only does it delight them endlessly at all times to give their attention to choirs of musicians, but even to grasp the art of music itself and for the sake of their spirit sometimes practise it without tiring of it: moreover they are so much engaged in all the other arts, which teach the noblest princes, so that they surpass in glory all excellent and famous men.

lxiv. By Hercules indeed, on account of this it can be said that this very dynasty is divine, and must be celebrated and illuminated with all praises; it has produced, like a seedbed of the boldest heroes, so many dukes, princes, kings, and emperors, as the images at Innsbruck in the most celebrated and august temple of St Francis bear witness, cast in bronze and laid out in order, who match Solon, Lycurgus, Epaminondas, Pyrrhus, Alexander, Gaius Caesar in wisdom, and uprightness of character, and discipline of war, and number of victories and loftiness of soul; it is as if the dynasty has been sent down from heaven to earth in order to rule, they hold bound to them by so many dukedoms, so many principalities, so many provinces, and so many kingdoms, either held by hereditary right, or brought by force of arms into its dominion and power, bound by the bonds of clemency, by the services of justice, by the magnificence of their generosity: it preserves in all its deeds such order, such reasoning, such agreement that from them the sweetest harmony, which is heard everywhere, proceeds just as if from symphonias of musicians playing most clearly, either by voice or on the lyre.

lxv. Sed quid de pio divinoque horum principum cultu in Deum ac de religione dicam? Nonne pro illa tuenda, ipsius hostium telis, periculo capitis, se saepe obiecerunt? Inter quos illi duo summi atque optimi. Principes Carolus et Ferdinandus fratres germani, non minus sanctitatis ac religionis commendatione, quam sanguinis nobilitate, ac regnorum, quae possidebant, amplitudine, et dignitate, alter post alterum ad summi Christianorum Imperii altitudinem elati, tanta magnitudine ac fortitudine animi fidem et religionem, consilio et auxilio pravorum hominum de illa nequiter sentientium oppugnatam, armis tutati fuerunt, ut in eos illud praecipuum elogium omnes gentes uno ore consentiant, pietatis, sanctitatis, ac religionis fuisse cultores. Quod quidem aequa armis contra impios pugnando ac sanctissime cum piiis religiosisque vivendo, demonstrarunt. Nam inter caeteros principes huius augustissimae prosapiae, hi quidem optimi fratres germani, pietate, sanctitate, ac religione adeo praestitisse dicuntur, ut omnibus futuris principibus universi orbis tuendae, colendae, et augendae religionis exemplum, quod sequerentur, proposuerint.

lxvi. Quo quidem exemplo, atque etiam innato, avitoque et pio amore in Deum ac religionem ad similem gloriam et similem factum inclitus et Catholicus Rex Hispaniarum Philippus excitatus, pravam haeresim e sua provincia illuc per malos vicinos importatam, summa belli contentione extirpavit: effecitque, ut qui in suis Regnis (siqui sunt) pravitate opinionum infecti essent, metu poenae in officio se continerent religionis.

lxvii. At vero grati animi officium singulis quibusque principibus huius nobilissimae ac generosissimae proliis ab uno quoque musico debitum me admonere, et quasi iure postulare videtur, ut de eximia liberalitate ac benignitate Maximiliani II potentissimi imperatoris, ac summorum principum Ferdinandi et Caroli eius germanorum in universam musicorum scolam aliquid separatim dicam. Nam et si sui maiores, ingenio, prudentia, religione, opibus, rebus gestis, victoriis ita floruerunt, ut ullis nullam laudem, ullius rei fecisse reliquam, videantur, tamen gloria omnium virtutum illis respondere, paresque esse, re autem musica praestantiores ac in musicos magnificentiores putantur.

lxv. But what can I say about these princes' pious and holy devotion for God and about their religion? Surely, for protecting it, they have often subjected themselves to the weapons of its enemies, risking death? Among them these two are noblest and best. The full brothers Princes Charles and Ferdinand, no less by excellence of sanctity and devotion than by nobility of blood, nor in the extent and dignity of the kingdoms which they held, were raised one after the other to the height of the greatest Empire of the Christians; with force of arms they kept safe the faith and religion with such greatness and courage of soul when it was attacked on the counsel and with the help of evil men who thought wickedly of it, that all the peoples agree with one voice this particular eulogy: they were the cultivators of piety, holiness, and devotion. Indeed, they have each proven this fact by fighting with weapons against the heathens, and by living in the most holy manner with the pious and devout. For among the rest of the princes of this most august dynasty, truly these excellent full brothers are said to have stood out in piety, holiness, and devotion to such an extent that they have displayed an example to all future princes of the whole world to follow, of how to protect, nurture, and increase worship.

lxvi. Indeed, driven by this example and still more by his innate, ancestral, and pious love for God and religion to similar glory and a similar deed, the renowned and Catholic King Philip of Spain with great effort of war rooted out from his lands crooked heresy, which had been imported there by wicked neighbours. And he brought it about that those (if there are any) in his kingdoms who had been infected by wickedness of thought constrained themselves through fear of punishment to the performance of devotion.

lxvii. But you see, the duty of a grateful mind to each of these princes of this most noble and high-born line owed by all musicians seems to admonish me and demand almost by right that I should speak a little separately of the extraordinary generosity and kindness of Maximilian II – that most potent emperor – and of the highest princes Ferdinand and Charles, his full brothers towards the universal school of musicians. For although their ancestors so flourished in talent, wisdom, devotion, wealth, accomplishments, and victories, that they seem to have left no praise for anybody for anything, nevertheless they are thought to match their forebears in the glory of all the virtues, and to be their equals, but to be more exalted in music and more lavish towards musicians.

lxviii. Quamobrem quoniam quae de oblectatione quam capiunt de musica, deque ipsorum liberalitate in musicos dici possunt, plura sunt et maiora, quam ut ab indiserto et prope infanti homine commemorentur, ne potius videar in praetereundo ingratus, quam gratus in commemorando, hoc tantum dicam, quo ipsi studiosius musicae operam tribuunt, musicosque benignius liberaliusque tractant, eo propius accedere ad divinitatem. De cultu vero catholicae fidei ac religionis, omnium virium contentione nituntur, ut Divi Petri navicula in mediis fluctibus a variis, et saevissimis ventorum turbinibus agitata in profundum non demergatur. Quod te invictissime ac religiosissime Maximiliane Imperator augustissime, in puppi ad clavum sedente, ne in maioribus quidem tempestatibus et procellis est pertimescendum.

lxix. Sed ut de utilitate, quam ad animae salutem affert musica, aliquid breviter dicamus, multi quidem sunt, qui nisi suavitate, ac varietate sonorum, vel vocum, vel instrumentorum allicerentur, in ecclesiam numquam introirent. Qua cum propter eam, qua ex musicis concentibus afficiuntur, delectationem frequentent, vel inviti faciendis sacris divinisque officiis celebrandis intersunt ad colendamque religionem inducuntur. Qui vero sua sponte ad sacra templa se conferunt, non solum ibi propter musicam libentius commorantur, sed etiam magis inflammantur ad religionem. Divus Augustinus non multo post suam ad fidem catholicam conversionem, ut [ipsem] in libro confessionum scriptum reliquit, in hymnis et cantis in ecclesia suave sonantibus ita animo commovebatur, ut in lachrymas ac fletum erumperet. In veteri autem lege usus musicorum instrumentorum introductus fuit, ut durities animi Hebreorum suavitate cantus molliretur. Neque aliam ob causam Romae a Numa Pompilio Salii, qui in honorem Martis canerent, a consulibus autem tibicines, ut sacrificiis adessent, instituti fuerunt, nisi quia hac ratione populus adhuc rudis ad colendam religionem inducebatur.

lx. Sed in nova ecclesia, et apud Graecos et Latinos mirum quantum profuit musice, ad alliciendos infideles ad christianam fidem? Quamobrem Divus Ambrosius, ac multi alii, tum Latini, tum Graeci antistes, inspecta utilitate, musicis modulis divina officia, ut celebrentur, instituerunt. Qui mos a principibus christianis, et in ecclesiis, et in sacratis regalium palatiorum sacellis ad haec usque tempora servatur. Nam fere omnes principes, mercede conductos musicos habent, qui ad rem divinam modulatos cantus adhibeant: cultumque Deo debitum, vocum concentibus ornatum tribuant.

lxviii. On which account, seeing that there are more and greater things concerning the pleasure that they derive from music and concerning their generosity towards musicians than are able to be commemorated by an inelegant and almost speechless man, lest I seem ungrateful in passing over them rather than grateful in recording, I will say only this, the more zealously they pay attention to music and the more kindly and generously they treat musicians, the closer they approach divinity. Concerning the worship of the Catholic faith and religion they strive with all their strength, with the result that that the fishing boat of St Peter, though rocked in the middle of the waves stirred by the various and most savage winds, is not plunged into the abyss. Because when you, most indefatigable and devout Maximilian, most august emperor, remain at the tiller in the stern, there is naught to be feared even in greater storms and gales.

lxix. But we ought briefly to say something concerning the advantage that music brings to the salvation of the soul, as there are indeed many who unless they were drawn in by the sweetness and variety of sounds or voices or instruments would never enter a church. Although they might frequent it because of the pleasure which they experience from the musical harmonies, they are present, even unwillingly, among the holy rites and celebrations of divine offices, and are introduced to the performance of devotion. But those who bring themselves to the holy temples of their own accord, not only more willingly stay there on account of music, but are even more fired up for religion. Not long after his conversion to the Catholic faith, St Augustine as he himself left in writing in the book of *Confessions*, was so moved in his spirit in the hymns and songs sweetly sounding in church that he burst out in tears and lamentation. Moreover the use of instrumental musicians was introduced in the old law so that the hardness of the Hebrews' spirit might be softened by the sweetness of song. And for no other reason were the Salian priests appointed by Numa Pompilius in Rome to sing in honour of Mars, and the flute-players were established by the consuls to be present at sacrifices, than that because by this method the people who were still simple could be induced to cultivate religion.

lx. But in the new church, among both the Greeks and the Romans, is it wonderful how much the art of music benefitted in enticing the infidels into the Christian faith? It is because of this that St Ambrose, and many other prelates, both Latin and Greek, established the holy offices for celebration through settings of music, after observing its benefit. This custom has been preserved by Christian princes, both in churches and in the sacred chapels of royal palaces even to these times. For almost all princes have employed musicians for a wage, to add artful strains to divine services, and offer due worship to God, ornamented by choirs of voices.

lxxi. Sed cum satis multis argumentis et exemplis probatum sit, musicen caeterarum liberalium artium esse^a unam, quae ad animos aegritudinibus affectos recreandos et ad considerationem omnipotentis Dei excitandos, vim maximam habeat et facultatem quantum animus est praestantior corpore, tantum caeteris disciplinis musicam praestare, iterum et saepius dicendum est.

lxxii. Porro autem cum musica sit Creatoris omnium rerum naturaeque inventum, in coelisque ab angelis usque canentibus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus exercitum, et in sacratis templis, et a sacris viris exerceatur, a principibus autem terrarum orbis ita admetur, ut ex eis fere nullus sit, qui animi causa canendi studio non delectetur, et Inventoris amplitudine et personarum dignitate a quibus exercetur, et sanctitate locorum, ubi exercetur, divinam quidem illam, Deique concessu atque munere humano generi datam scientiam esse, non est inficiandum.^b

lxxiii. Iam vero cum pro temporis angustia, et pro ratione longitudinis quam recipiat oratio, satis meo promisso fecisse, satis unde musice habuerit principium declarasse, satis praeterea a quibus, in regulas illigata, locupletataque, et in elegantiorem formam redacta, fuerit, atque etiam quae ex ea cum ad corporis usum atque curationem, tum in primis ad animi oblectamenta atque animae salutem capiantur utilitates, mihi ostendisse videar, restat, ut hos divinos spiritus, qui ex tam parvis igniculis et seminibus musices homini a natura ingenitis tantam, tamque ad humanae vitae usum necessariam artem conflarent atque effecerint, mihique materiam ad hanc mea oratione, celebrandam, et illustrandam scientiam suppeditarint, nominatim proferam atque appelle: proque tanto beneficio in universum humanum genus collato grati animi signum aliquod ostendam.

^a MS *essere*.

^b MS *inficiandum*.

lxxi. But since it has been proven with sufficiently many arguments and examples that music is the one among the rest of the liberal arts that has the greatest strength and capacity for restoring spirits affected by troubles, and stirring them up to meditation on almighty God, it must be said again and again that as much as the soul surpasses the body, so does music surpass the other disciplines.

lxxii. Furthermore, as music is the invention of the Creator of all things and of nature, and is practised in the heavens by the Angels continuously chanting, “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts” and in the holy temples and by holy men; likewise let it be loved so passionately by the princes of the earth that out of them there could scarcely be one who for his spirit’s sake would not delighted by devotion for singing; and for both the greatness of the Creator and the dignity of the people by which it is performed, as well as for the holiness of the places where music is performed, it cannot be denied that it is divine, and is a science given to the human race by the concession and gift of God.

lxxiii. And now, since, because of the shortness of time, and for the length of the argument which this oration occupies, I would think I have fulfilled enough my promise, and have declared enough where the art of music had its beginning, and I think I have shown enough moreover by whom it has been bound in rules, and enriched, it has been brought into a more refined form, and what advantages may be taken from it both for the use of the body and its care, and especially for the delights of the spirit, and even the health of the soul, it remains to bring forward and call by name those holy spirits, who out of such small sparks and seeds of the art of music that have been implanted in man by nature, have so assembled and brought to pass an art so great and so necessary to the fulfilment of human life and have supplied me with material to celebrate and illuminate this art in this oration. In return for such a service that has been conferred on the whole human race I will show some sign of a grateful spirit.

lxxiv. Quare tibi Tubal, qui ante universalem rerum interitum psalterium et cytharam repperisti;^a tuaque inventa de musica, ne perirent, in duas columnas incidenda curasti; vobisque Chaldei, qui columnam ab aquarum inundatione superstitem, a Tubale in vestra provincia erectam conservastis; vobisque doctissimi atque solertissimi Graeci, qui post interitum universalem, aut acceptam a Chaldeis, aut vestro marte inventam musicen in tantam artem redigistis; vobisque Mercuri, Amphion, Line, qui tantum lyra valuistis, ut eius inventum, cui vestrum tribuendum sit, inter scriptores ambigatur; tibique Terpander, qui ad imitationem septem orbium planetarum heptacordum confecisti; tibique Pythagora, qui coelos musica ratione compositos firmis gravibusque argumentis demonstrasti, musicenque inde deductam sub sensu aurium hominum subiecisti; tibique Aristoxene, qui leges musicas composuisti; tibique Ptolemaee,^b qui Pythagorae et Aristoxeni scripta de musica inter se dissidentia moderatus fuisti atque aptasti; tibique dive Gregori^c Pontifex Maxime, qui planum cantum, ut vocant, in elegantiores formam redactum in Romanam ecclesiam introduxisti; tibique Guido Aretine, qui voces musicales repperisti,^d et cum septem elementariis literis coniunctas in sinistram manum illigasti; tibique Joannes Tintoris, qui huius, quae nunc utimur, musices regulas scripsisti, posterisque viam ad hanc rationem componendi demonstrasti; vobisque Ocheghen, Josquin, Brumel, Fevim, Monton, Petre de Larue, Andrea de Sylva, Adriane, Gombert, Carpentras, Constanti Festa, Morales, Cipriane, atque vobis item aliis divini spiritus, qui rem musicam auxistis, locupletastis atque variis ornamentis illustrastis, quas possum gratias generatim ago.

lxxv. Singulatimque omnes quibus per merita effusi sanguinis Jesu Christi beata vita in coelis frui contigit, oro atque obsecro, ut vestra maxima in universum genus humanum per musicen collata beneficia maximo cumulo in omnibus musica delectantibus augeatis: a Deoque Optimo Maximo cum tempus aderit vestris precibus sempiternam illis gloriam exoretis: ut sicut in terris vitam laetam et iucundam in musica, et cum musicis vivere consilium fuit, ita in caelis inter angelos vobiscum aeternam ac beatam eis vitam vivere contingat. ~

DIXI ~

^a MS *reperiisti*.

^b MS *Ptolomaee*.

^c MS *Gregori* (*sc. Graegori*).

^d MS *reperiisti*.

lxxiv. Therefore, to you Tubal, who before the universal extinction of the world, discovered the psaltery and the cithara and took care lest your discoveries about music should perish by inscribing them onto two columns; and to you, Chaldeans, who preserved the column that survived the flood of waters, erected by Tubal in your lands; and to you, most learned and accomplished Greeks, who after the universal extinction brought the art of music, either inherited from the Chaldeans or discovered by your own struggle, into so great an art; and to you, Mercury, Amphion, and Linus, who were so greatly accomplished on the Lyre, that among writers it is in doubt to which of you should be attributed its creation; and to you, Terpander, who fashioned a heptachord in imitation of the seven planetary orbs; and to you, Pythagoras, who demonstrated with convincing and serious arguments that the heavens had been put together along musical lines, and who also subjected the art of music brought forth from the heavens to the sense of men's ears; and to you, Aristoxenus, who composed musical rules; and to you, Ptolemy, who moderated between the differences of Pythagoras's and Aristoxenus's writings on music and adapted them; and to you, Pope St Gregory, who introduced plainchant (as they call it) into the Roman church in a more elegant form; and to you, Guido of Arezzo, who discovered musical notation and with the first seven letters tied them joined to the left hand; and to you, Joannes Tinctoris, who wrote the rules of the art of music that we use now, and who showed the way of composing in this method to his successors; and to you, Ockeghem, Josquin, Brumel, Févin, Mouton, Pierre de la Rue, Andreas de Silva, Adrian, Gombert, Carpentras, Costanzo Festa, Morales, Cipriano, and to you others, divine spirits, who have enlarged the musical realm, enriched it, and illuminated it with various ornaments – I give such thanks as I am able to you together.

lxxv. And for all of you individually to whose lot through the merits of the poured-out blood of Jesus Christ it has fallen to enjoy a blessed life in the heavens, I pray and plead that you enlarge your great services to the whole human race that have been collected together through the art of music with the greatest increase for all those who delight in music, and that from God, Best and Greatest, when the time comes you will by your prayers pray for eternal glory for them, so that, just as it was allotted you to live a happy and joyful life in music with musicians on earth, so may it befall them to live an eternal and blessed life in the heavens among the angels. ~

I HAVE SPOKEN ~

Commentary

Ep.

As discussed in the introduction, manuscripts containing paratextual dedications or presentations are commonplace Renaissance texts. Under Kristeller's categories (1964, 15-16), since Gaetano's letter and subsequent oration do not cross-reference each other (and in some ways appear to hold contrary aesthetic views [cf. *Ep. ix-x* with *Or. xli-xliii*]), it appears that this is an example of a 'letter of transmission' (i.e. stating that Gaetano is sending the oration) rather than a 'dedicatory letter' as it is called by Vendrix (2009, *passim*), the work's not wholly clear purpose (*ibid.*, 39; see **Introduction**) notwithstanding. But, as Richardson notes (2009, 199-216), when one attempts to get into specific cases, strict categorisation fails. In comparison to other examples of dedications (e.g. Simon de Quercu's *opusculum musices* of 1509 which comprises only a page, even though it is dedicated to the Duke of Milan), this seems unusually long, presumably corresponding to whatever Gaetano's different aims were.

Heading

Ad : with *acc.* in lieu of (e.g.) *Petrus Caëtanuſ Guido Ubaldo* (etc.) stands in contrast to other letters of the period (Blok, 1985). The absence of *S[alutem] P[lurimam] D[icit]* is also atypical. Observance of this code marked a writer as being learned; indeed, Bembo criticised his son for failing to imitate Cicero (*ibid.*, 12) and in the printed publications of Ficino's letters there are very few examples where the convention is not followed. Even when letters were exchanged between writers of disparate social strata, the classical epistolographical form was available, as seen in the sparser *GVIDO VBALDO FERETRIO, FRANCISCI MARIAE FIL. VRBINI DVCI, GVIDVS LOLGIVS*. S. Lolgio, although with links to influential ecclesiastical figures, was 'merely' a man of letters and his directness of address does not seem to have been misplaced. Cf. § *xiv*. **vale**.

Illustrissimum et Excellentissimum : is in line with the contemporary prescribed format for the honorifics of a foreign duke in dedications or addresses (Stevens, 1995, 7). Guidobaldo himself is so addressed elsewhere in a dedication by Bembo's publisher Torrentino (1555, 203-6) in a volume documenting the life of his great uncle.

Guidum Ubaldum : Guidobaldo II della Rovere, the son of Francesco Maria I della Rovere, who ruled the dukedom of Urbino from 1539-1574. Patronage of the arts was an important aspect of the performance of power for Renaissance nobility (e.g. earlier dukes of Urbino, see §§ *vi, vii*), although Guidobaldo himself was hardly the most pre-eminent in this regard. Dividing the name in its Latin form is essentially universal. Gaetano details the family's attention to art at §§ *vi ff.*

Urbini Ducem atque Senogalliae Praefectum : Senogallia (modern Senigallia near Ancona) was the ancestral city of the della Rovere family. The *condottiero* Giovanni della Rovere was given the lordship of it (along with a clutch of other titles) by his uncle Pope Sixtus IV in 1474. His son, Francesco Maria I della Rovere (cf. § *vi ff.*) inherited the dukedom of Urbino from his sonless father-in-law, Guidobaldo I da Montefeltro in 1508. A family tree is included at **Appendix I**. The ducal court had been held at Pesaro rather than Urbino since 1523, which may account for Gaetano's lack of precise discussion at §§ *vi-vii*.

SUMMORUM ... moveantur : is a complex opening sentence containing numerous clauses neatly balanced against one another: **quid** ... **quibus** ... **quo** reflected by **quod** ... **tanti/qui** ... **qui**; a repeated **nec** ... **vel** answered by **sed** with ablatives dependent on genitives in chiastic arrangement. In places, this pressure to show innovation in the structure inhibits Gaetano's use of language; the repeated **offeratur** feels redundant.

Such artifice may be a product of Gaetano's musical training. By way of contrast, Josquin (who had taught Willaert, see below *Or.xli-xlii*) explicitly used elements of rhetorical practice (e.g. *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*) in his musical compositions (see Kranz, 1989, esp. 13-63), earning him a place in Gaetano's preferred 'third age' of composers (see § xl). See also notes on Gellius (*Or.li Gellius ex Herodoto*; *Or.liv Gellius ex Herodoto*).

SUMMORUM ac liberalium ... animadvertere ... aestimare : a genitive of characteristic with two infinitives seems a convoluted opening. Considering the likely recipient however, it could be intended to echo one of the interpretations of A.E.I.O.U., the informal motto of the Habsburgs, *Austriae est imperare orbis universo* (N.B. the purposefully ambiguous alternative reading *Alles Erdreich ist Österreich untertan*).¹ If applicable, this may complicate the possible purpose of the letter. **SUMMORUM ac liberalium principum** : as the opening statement, **ac** implies a close internal connection between the two, but is contrasted with the dedication's *et*. Having just addressed him as *illusterrimus et excellentissimus*, Gaetano is inviting Guidobaldo to adopt two further adjectives. This reads as a more familiar address (cf. the highly formulaic titles throughout Renaissance epistolography). Moreover, it is highly unusual not to see two superlatives thus joined. **liberalium** sets some expectations for the letter's (and oration's) content. *L&S* considers *liberalis* synonymous with *ingenuus* (Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.35 *quos habuerit artium liberalium magistros*).

muneribus : as discussed in the **Introduction (Diplomatic gifts)**, elite gift-exchange (especially of literature, Richardson, 2009; Moss, 1996; Weiss, 1977) in the Renaissance was key to the promotion of dynastic 'soft-power'. The dukes of Urbino were noted for their production of maiolica.

proprium : Gaetano may be implying that such behaviour as he describes is proper to a postulated *persona* (on which see discussion at *Or.i*) of a *summus ac liberalis princeps* (see also *Or.lxiii de illis*).

nec aestimatione ... benevolentia : in tone this is very similar to Visconti's dedication of his *canzonieri* to Beatrice d'Este/Bianca Maria Sforza, where he begs that "she should consider the affection of the donor rather than *la quantità del dono* (Richardson, 2009, 206). See § ii **Heliani exemplum** and § x **decimam ... Musam** for further similarities to this text.

hilaritate et benevolentia : is the first example of many couplings, ranging from hendiadys to tautology. This is stylistically reminiscent of Aulus Gellius (cf. Holford-Strevens, 2003, 58-60), with whom Gaetano seems to have been familiar (cf. *Or.li, liv*).

reiicere et asperi ... accipere et asservare : there is balance in the infinitives' prefixes *re* & *ab* (distancing the recipient) versus *ad*.

¹ Other expansions of the moniker do exist, including *Austria est imperio optime unita* or *Austria erit in orbe ultima*, but these are later reinterpretations. See Kohn, 1939.

ex omni antiquitate : repeated in the final lines of the letter (§ *xiv*). Such a framing device is revealing, as Gaetano gives the impression that a classical choice is natural to him. **antiquitate** : although see **Persarum**, this is a non-standard point from which to draw the **unum** ancient example.

Heliani exemplum : i.e. Claudio Aelianus (Aelian), *Helianus* being a common (although not universal) contemporary Latin transcription of *Aἰλιανός*.

The **exemplum** of Artaxerxes (**quem ... iussit**) is almost a verbatim translation of Ael. *VH.I.32* (cf. also Plu., *Art. V.1*), which had also been published in Italian in 1550 by Giacomo Laureo. Gaetano makes one edit in tone, omitting Aelian's claim that the Persian was more concerned that he would be outdone by his compatriots in honouring the king. It is also not the sole use of this *exemplum* in a contemporary context. In the first of two significant similarities between the two texts, Visconti wrote in the preface to his *canzonieri*, dedicated first to Beatrice d'Este and subsequently re-dedicated to Bianca Maria Sforza, the empress consort of Maximilian I, *Accepta, prego, adunque le fatiche de uno tuo minomo servitore, e se la indignità del suo vacillante stile fuorse il delicatissimo, docto e ingenioso gusto ti offendesse, ricordati de quella vulgata istoria del gran re de' Persi che non si sdegnò bagnare li reggii labri ne le infangate mani del rozzo cultivatore, porgendoli devotamente l'acque d'un vicino fiume, on risguardano a la quantità del dono ma a l'interna affezione del donatore.* (Visconti, pref. ll.106-114). See also § *x decimam... Musam*, where Gaetano uses another idea contained within Visconti's work, which suggests he had access to a copy.

Within the scope of the *Oratio*, Gaetano alters the focus of the *exemplum* so that while there remains a model for Guidobaldo following the argument in § *i*, Gaetano is also given a role appropriate to his station. Such reciprocity in literary *exempla* is suggested in *TLL* V.2: 1333.22 ff.

As literary tools, following Aristotle (*Rh.* esp.1393a-1394a) *exempla* had been integral to early mediaeval scholasticism, “aimed at organising knowledge with greater efficiency and institutionalising pedagogy” (Witt, 2001, 79, see also *ibid.*, 338-91 for their specific application to various types of oratory). Cox (2003) argues that Venice's rich store of classical texts made it especially fruitful in this respect in the early Renaissance. Piazzoni also considers them essential to argument (Cir. ff).

Artaserse Persarum Rege : Artaxerxes II, King of the Achaemenid Empire 404-362/58 B.C.

Persarum : may indicate an ‘orientalising’ subtext, which shows some of the changing attitudes of the period. Within the context of the period between the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the build-up to the War of Cyprus of 1570-3, and its culmination at the Battle of Lepanto of 1574, the Ottomans represented an existential threat to Venetian hegemony over Mediterranean trade (on this history, see Norwich, 1983, 464-89). Persia, or rather, a romanticised ideal of Persia, would come to offer a contrast to this.

Before this point, i.e. the fall of Constantinople, when ‘Persians’ appeared in Venetian art, they, or people traditionally identified as Persian (and other peoples living in places that had become Muslim) tended to be portrayed wearing the style of turbans typical of the Ottoman and Mamluk courts (at least before the fall of Cairo in 1517; see for example Norwich, 1983, plates 11, 17, 35, 36 for thirteenth and fourteenth century examples). This is also true for the depiction of those pre-Islamic peoples who had lived in those regions, such as the Magi (Raby, 1982, 21-2; Schmidt Arcangeli, 2007, 138) and thus of Artaxerxes. While it is not clear whether Gaetano himself envisaged a clear distinction between different eastern cultures, Raby argues that the “homogenisation of Muslim *Hofkultur* along the Mediterranean littoral” had concentrated Venetian attention on Constantinople (1982, 83, see also id., 2007, 107-37; Schmidt Arcangeli suggests a desire to foster “a peaceful community of Christians, Mamluks, and Ottomans”, 2007, 132-3). It is certainly observable that Venetian ‘orientalising’ took a form in which paintings whose setting predates Islam “fulfilled one dictate of historicism – spatial transference, although their contemporary character prevented a corollary transference in time” (ibid., 82). Persians are thus visualised in a way that would have felt familiar to Venetians who had spent time overseas.

However, the expansion of the Ottomans into zones of Venetian interest by the sixteenth century suggests a development of this image. This process was initiated by the fall of Constantinople and, having lost a friendly (or pliable) port in the eastern Mediterranean, Venice had looked further afield for potential allies (either Christian or Muslim) who could apply pressure from a different front, in much the same way as the legendary Prester John had been envisioned in the Middle Ages (Rota, 2009, 31-8; on Prester John, see Brewer, 2015). In practice, Venice’s search was fruitless, but it led to a fetishisation of Persia even as Venetian embassies attempted to appease Ottoman Constantinople. This was expressed in “termini e concetti che ... gettano un’ombra di disprezzo sui turchi, ignobili, nel mentre illuminano e mettono in risalto qualità e valori alti dei persiani” (Bellingeri, 2007, 64), to the extent that

Venetians spoke of contemporary Persians as the heirs of Darius I and Xerxes I (ibid., 54, 64). Rota (2009, 7ff) expresses this adoption of iconography more mildly, suggesting that Venice's position as the "Orient's" gateway to Europe inevitably led to Venice taking some of its visual cues from an exotic 'other' in the Middle East. Moreover, the physical remove and difficulty in travelling to Persia led to "a perception of Persia as a country whose social and political institutions virtually did not change over the centuries" (ibid., 33, n.127) in a manner not dissimilar and potentially appealing to the Venetian state (Norwich, 1983, 257-76, recounts how little Venice had altered its systems from the late-fourteenth century). Simply, the Venetian concept of the Persians made them the "least barbarian of the barbarians" (Benzoni, 1985, 74) and thus an attractive locus to situate *exempla* such as this one of Gaetano's.

By 'othering' the majority of the *exempla*, first through visualising the subjects in familiar but foreign dress, then through imagining them as if still classical, those positive traits which the reader shares with the subject (here generosity and magnanimity) will be thrown into sharper relief, and are thus made entirely palatable to a Christian ruler (whose family had produced two enormously influential popes within the previous century, see **Introduction, Diplomatic gifts**).

mihi : Gaetano makes frequent use of the first person. Generally, in the oration this usage can be read as part of the exchange between orator and audience. Nonetheless, in contexts like this it is reminiscent of Pindar's usage invoking a quasi-vatic tone (drawn from Homer, see Gerber, 1982, 16-17; Instone, 1996, 94), which was imitated by neo-Latin and Italian Pindarists to hide their self-referential opinions and thoughts in plain sight within the context of an established literary model (see Revard, 2009, 1-45 & 287-315 for numerous examples). At least three volumes of Pindar were available in Venice, contained in Bessarion's gift (see Omont, 1894, 40, nn.458, 459, 463; see also Latin translations by Lonicerus [1535] & Sturm [1564]; on Pindar's rediscovery, see Revard, 2001, 1-8).

rusticus : suggests Gaetano's synthesis of Aelian with Plutarch. Whereas the only clue for Sinaetes's (the Persian's) background in Aelian is derived from ἐπανλεως, meaning something closer to a country villa (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* XXIV.6), Plutarch calls him an *αὐτονύμος*. However, this does not prove that Gaetano was familiar with the original Greek: in Laureo's translation, Sinaetes is called *contadino* (fol. 8v).

flumen : Aelian believed that this was the Cyrus or modern Kura (*VH.I.32*; *Ciro* in Laureo).

aquam ... haustum : Ovid uses similar imagery at *Met.* XI.187, *terraeque immurmurat haustae*.

pretiosus ... se munus allaturum : *esse* is understood with **pollicens**.

Quam ... aquam ... in auream phialam : alludes to Gaetano's supposed immediate hope for the *Oratio*, that Guidobaldo-*Artaxerxes* will place the manuscript-*aquam* given by Gaetano-*rusticus* into his library-*phialam*. In Aelian, there is an echo of the false dichotomy of Pind. *Ol.* I.1-2, ἄριστον μὴν ὕδωρ, δέ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ / ἄτε διαπρέπει νκτὶ μεγάνορος ἔκζοχα πλούτον, which contrast also appears at Pind. *Ol.* III.42, εἰ δ' ἄριστενει μὲν ὕδωρ, κτεάνων δέ χρυσὸς αἰδοιέστατος. Even if Gaetano had not read Pindar, the idea of natural living things being contrasted with or encased by precious or artificial objects was not an uncommon classical trope. If this *exemplum* was intended as a reference to Pindar, natural water would stand for music (additionally Bowra, citing Aesch, *Supp.* 23, 553; Eur. *I.A.* 1294; Callim. *Hymn.* I.19; Cleobulus fr. I.2; and Simon. fr. 581/76. 2 P., states that to Pindar water is “bright [and] therefore a fit emblem for glory,” 1964, 204) and the gold cup would be the court that honours it and its practitioners; “a symbol for celestial brightness and everlasting glory” (Bowra, 1964, 87) that shall ever glorify its contents. Music also has healing potential (as Gaetano discusses at *Or.lvi-lviii*), as does water (Revard, 2009, 240-1 citing Pindar *Ol.* I).

In discussing the passage from Aelian, Caldwell's exposition of it as an *exemplum* seems to correspond to the way in which it is used by Gaetano, "a product of the natural world is used properly by a subject of the king, and the king responds favorably, in a show of reciprocity ... however, with a much more lavish and nonnatural gift than what his subject Sinaetes has provided" (2017, 93), thereby honouring the natural element. In Gaetano's experience, a king would own all the land in his kingdom, thus Sinaetes is simply returning to the king a portion of what was already his, which act and intention in his turn the king honours. Such an *exemplum* may have had particular appeal to Gaetano as a member of the Venetian *cappella*. The relationship between gold and water was perhaps more immediately obvious to him (indeed the metaphor could be extended to music being the life-force encased by the gold of St Mark's Basilica). The religious and redemptive power of music is discussed first at *Or.xxxiv* then at *Or.lxix-lxx*. Of course, this idea too is present in Pindar, see Bowra, 1964, 401 "poetry ... is worthy to be an earthly counterpart of the songs which Apollo and the Muses sing on Olympus, and which Pindar regards as the archetype of music on those lofty occasions when all discords are resolved and all misgivings obliterated by the power of the life-giving word." Yet Gaetano is also offering music back to a prince who rules as God's steward (indeed, this was recognised as the point of *Olympian I* by composers of Renaissance odes that "kings belong to Jupiter and share in his dignity," Revard, 2009, 48, see also *ibid.*, 58, 62-3). Guidobaldo for his part will offer music back to the glory of God in the hope of eternal salvation. The *exemplum* is thus rich with inexplicit potential: both Gaetano and Guidobaldo can represent Sinaetes, as the king could be either (or both) Guidobaldo or God. See also § x **Apollinis ... aures**.

in : distances Gaetano from Plutarch, in whose account Artaxerxes sends the goblet in exchange. **phialam** is also a transliteration of the first word of *Ol.* VII, and moreover is called *πάγχρυσον* just as Artaxerxes's is **auream** (although Aelian and Plutarch each have *χρυσῆν*). It is possible that Gaetano had an idea of the appearance of such a vial. Persian vases, likely diplomatic gifts, did make their way to Venice. Giovanni Bellini included one (albeit not of gold) in his 1514 *Feast of the Gods* (Schmidt Arcangeli, 2007, 124).

concinnarem : is a striking choice of word, pre-empting **musica**. Its primary attestation is in musical terms (*TLL* IV: 52.48-53.8), and while there are examples of it being used in praising (ibid., 53.82-54.19) and it is tempting to read Gaetano's use as a quotation of Cicero on statecraft (*Rep.* II.69), the *TLL* does not suggest it being used in speechcraft. Its inflection is repeated in § *xiv*.

nil ... pretiosius ... quam musica : the pre-eminence of the author's topic is often expressed in such terms, cf. Pico *de Hom. Dig.* § 1 *nihil spectari homine mirabilius*, indeed Machiavelli's *Il Principe* (*Let. Ded.*), *non ho trovato la mia suppellettile cosa, quale io abbia più cara o tanta esistimi quanto la cognizione delle azioni delli uomini grandi, imparata con una longa esperienza delle cose moderne et una continua lezione delle antique*. On Pico's wider significance to the *Oratio*, see *Or. Title* **dignitate**. **musica** : is the first use of the word in the letter (and the MS, i.e. the first indication to the reader of the topic). The difference between *musica* and *musice* is discussed in the introduction and below (*Or. Title* **musices**), but following the argument *ad loc.*, an offer of *musica* is more music as a fine art rather than *Musice* the liberal art. Such a conclusion follows his self-description as *cantor* (§ *xiv*) and could hint at a desire for employment at Pesaro (such a reading is treated preferentially by Vendrix [2009, 40]). However, that does not quite fit in the immediate context of the letter, as **musica** is elsewhere called *divina* (see § *iii*), and of course the offered oration is on the origin of *musice*. The solution is that it would hardly be within Gaetano's ability to give *musice* as a gift (he himself admits his deficiency at *Or. xvii-xviii*). What he offers instead is his musical knowledge and ability. This shows a difference between the letter and the oration and possibly looks forward to opera, thus giving practical purpose to musical philosophy (see **Introduction, Influences**).

Dei concessu atque munere : God is thus characterised as having acted in a way consistent with the contemporary practice of gift-exchange. This phrase is repeated at *Or.lxxii*.

divinam illam quidem : is a common motif. The same idea is found in Filelfo *de Exil.* I.122 *hoc est mentem ipsam, qua nihil est ab immortali Deo divinius homini datum*, see De Keyser, 2013, 450 n.66 “elsewhere philosophy receives this description” citing Plat., *Tim* 47β ~ Cic., *Tim.* 52; Cic. *de Leg.* I.58. **divinam** : is used almost universally as the antithesis of *humana* (*TLL* V.1.1619-25).

Deo Optimo Maximo : adapts the cult title of Capitoline Jupiter, as done by Zarlino at the opening of his discussion *della origine & certezza della Musica* (1573, 5 *Iddio Ottimo Massimo*); cf. Filelfo, *de Exil.* II.7; II.50; III.69 who uses it of Christ. This form is repeated at *Or.lxxv*.

facultate musica eruatur : **facultate** : contrasted with **difficulitate** in § iv. Here used as a metonym for *opes, possessiones, divitiae*, see *TLL* s.v. VI.155.60-156.36 [III.B]). **eruatur** : a choice of word determined by the task’s difficulty, see *TLL* V.2 844.72 ff. Used in a closely similar context of bringing the obscure to light in Hor. *Epist.* II.2.115-16 *obscurata [vocabula poetarum] eruunt atque proferent in lucem*. Gaetano could even be using it self-deprecatingly; Cicero at *Orat.* xxiii.79 describes how an orator should use *acutae crebraeque sententiae ponentur et nescio unde ex abdito erutae*, cf. its repetition at § xiv.

reliquae ingenuae artes : is a phrase used twice within the letter (see § viii **reliquas ingenuas artes**). Here, it leads to a passage probably borrowed from Cicero (*de or.* II.5). Gaetano replaces *ceterae* with **reliquae**, a somewhat more dismissive description, with tones of ‘residual’ (*OLD ad loc.* b) or ‘left behind’ or ‘omitted’ (*L&S ad loc.* 2.b.a. & β) rather than ‘other,’ which would rank the arts equally. This sets music apart from all others (and points to the typical *laus musicae* at *Or.xxi*). **ingenuae** is entirely Gaetano’s word in this context, although cf. Cic. *de or.* I.73 *ad dicendum omnibus ingenuis artibus instructus* (see *OLD* 996-7 s.v.).

a musica scientia mutuantur : reverses the idea at Cic. *de or.* II.5. For Cicero the other arts can look after themselves, but oratory (the art under discussion) is dependent on prior learning (conversely Gaetano expresses his concern for his lack of expertise at *Or.i*). Gaetano celebrates the contribution of music to “all the liberal arts” at *Or.xxi*.

mutuantur : puns on Cic. *de or.* II.5 where the other arts *se tuentur*.

habent ... terminos : Cicero states that the practitioners of arts have limits *de or.* I.214 *oratoris facultatem non illius artis terminis ... describere*; Gaetano argues that music expands an art's (and so an artist's) capabilities. He subsequently describes what music brings to each art of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* at *Or.xxi*.

virtutis : in lieu of e.g. *artis* or *scientiae*, sc. Cic. *Leg.* 1, 8, 25; id. *Rep.* 1, 2, 2. *L&S* s.v. II.B.1 'moral excellence'. Cf. a different use in § *iv*. The explicit pursuit of *virtus* in public life was a key aim of humanism (see Hankins, 2019) but it had been disappointed in the tumult of the early Cinquecento. Whereas scholars such as Filelfo (Blanchard, 2007) or Guicciardini (Celli, 2019, esp. 145-259) had tried to restore it through philosophical discourse, Gaetano sought to inspire goodness through inspiring awareness of art that transcended everyday life.

scientia et difficultate : throughout the *Oratio*, **scientia** stands for abstract knowledge rather than practical *τέχνη*-skill (see, e.g., the description of the **academia** at *Ep.vi*; the opening of the oration *Or.i artis scientiam*; and indeed Gaetano contrasts it to technical ability at *Or.x*).

nullam habeat regionem ... teneatur : verbatim from Cic. *de or.* II.5, cf. *OLD saepio* (**septa** is otherwise an unusual choice more often seen in agricultural or political contexts).

cuius terminis balances **terminos, ad quos** in § *iii*. This implies that the majority of the arts are limited – see *Or.xxix-xxxii* (especially *Or.xxi*) where Gaetano addresses how music aids and embellishes them.

nullus ... valeat excellere : emphasises the breadth of Gaetano's argument, that no-one can excel in everything without divine intercession.

genere virtutis : 'kind of attainment' rather than strict virtue. Repeated at § *xii*.

sine aliquot divino afflatu : couches Gaetano's quest for music's essence in the same terms as Cicero's description of Archimedes (see below *Or.xvi Archimedis Siracusani* & ff.), *ne in sphaera quidem eosdem motus Archimedes sine divino ingenio potuisset imitari* (*Tusc.* I.63). N.B. **afflatu** : should not be construed as a musical phrase, at *Or.vii* wind instruments are played *flatu*, rather it has spiritual overtones (at *Or.xlvii* it is by divine breath that music receives its *dignitas*). Included in the letter, it has a more immediate connotation than in the oration.

illi ipsi ... propius a divinitate, quam ab humanitate absunt : can be read as a criticism of those who are 'over-schooled' in music and is likely aimed at the too-numerous *musici* of the Fifth Age (see *Or.xvi*) and contrasted with Virginia (below § *x*).

confiderem : with the ablative (**qua**) is a particularly Ciceronian construction (*L&S* s.v. Cic. *Tusc.* V.3.8; *ibid.* 14.40; *id.*, *Rosc. Com.* I.2; *id. Att.* VIII.13).

latere : cf. *iacentque*, Cic. *Tusc.* I.4; *iacuit*, *Tusc.* I.5; = neglected, *κεῖθαι* (Kennedy, 2010, 25).

occulto : denotes something having been intentionally hidden and generally in negative terms (*TLL* IX.2.363-72). The few exceptions are Christian texts, when the acts of God surpass human understanding (*ibid.* 365.32-45, e.g. August. *De civ. D.* X.12 *sicut autem ipse qui fecit, ita modus quo fecit occultus est et incomprehensibilis homini*).

The discovery of Quintilian *Inst.* in a monastery by Bracciolini is described similarly by Bruni (*Ep.v*). Richardson also cites Valori's dedication of his *Vita* of Lorenzo the Magnificent, "he had decided to publish ('in lucem edere') only at the request of Luigi de' Rossi. Adding an

allusion to Christ's teaching – he was 'bringing to light' what had been hidden under a bushel – he thus affirmed ... his devotion to the Medici" (2009, 207-8).

incunabula penetravi : Gaetano is here likely alluding to Cicero's statement at *Tusc.* I.5: *philosophia iacuit usque ad hanc aetatem nec ullum habuit lumen litterarum Latinarum quae illustranda et excitanda nobis est*, which itself anticipates the discovery of Archimedes's tomb at *Tusc.* V.64-5 (of course this overlooks Lucretius's contribution to Roman philosophy: on the doctrinally or even existentially troubled relationship Cicero had with *De rerum natura*, making ignoring it a path of least resistance, see André, 1974; Jaeger provocatively suggests that the *inmissi cum falcibus* at *Tusc.* V.65 stand for previous philosophers [2010, 45]). That said, the need to illuminate 'hidden' literature is common in Cicero, cf. *Arch.* VI.14 *sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plena sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas: quae iacerent in tenebris omnia nisi litterarum lumen accederet*. While there is no language linked to light within Gaetano's text here, it does appear subsequently, § *xiv elucebit*.

If Gaetano is lifting this idea from the *Tusculans*, it is unusual for him not to take the precise words (as at *Or.xii* & *Or.xvi*). However, that might obscure his point; **penetravi** also initiates a tricolon of first-person verbs (**protuli** ... **composui**) echoing Cicero's implied claim to have a personal degree of responsibility for the recovery of ancient philosophy (see Jaeger, 2008, 39-47). By making this reference in a somewhat obscured manner, Gaetano stakes his claim to musical intellectual history without his audience's attention being mistakenly directed towards his employment of Cicero. Thus, it provides a template for Gaetano to base his argument that music had been neglected until he rescued her, whilst admitting a few other writers, of whom Gaetano was by his own admission aware.

More broadly, this language of enlightenment was not uncommon contemporaneously. Within this letter, see, for example § *iii* **eruatur** and § *xiv* **eruta**. Similarly, compare Ficino's well-known declaration in a letter of 1492 to Paul of Middleburg, *hoc enim saeculum tanquam aureum liberales disciplinas ferme iam extinctas reduxit in luce* (Ficino, *Letters* Vol 10, 116 [Bk XI.34]).

incunabula is repeated in the oration (§ *xxxvi*), but this is likely unrelated to this instance. It is most commonly used literally, but is attested of incorporeal things too, (see *TLL* VII.1.1078.33-4, *Cic. de or. I.23 ab incunabulis nostrae veteris puerilisque doctrinae*). Gaetano's use here appears novel. **penetravi** : showing awareness of classical use, this is the older sense of a more methodical synonym of *intrare* (*TLL* X.1.1064.66-1065.32) rather than the more aggressive sense *impetu vel vi* (*ibid.* 1065.33-1070.64).

de eius origine et dignitate : eius i.e. music, but the pronoun allows for some sleight of hand. Whereas he is able to offer *musica* as a *cantor*, by adopting the mask of a *musicus* or *orator* (see *Or.i*), he is able to offer an *oratio* on *musice*. **origine et dignitate** is the first time the subject of the main *Oratio* is mentioned.

composui orationem : should not be read as an explicitly musical term taken out of context, rather, **composui** is used for a range of arts (*TLL* III.2112.66ff).

essent in deliciis : is possibly from Cic. *Verr.* II.4.3 (*TLL* V.1 448.48-80), although such a use would put the musicians in a somewhat diminutive position. Other possible verbs in such a construction include *habere* or *vivere* (see *OLD ad loc.* d, e).

iisdem ... eis : Gaetano is somewhat inconsistent in his usage, with *iis* making five appearances throughout the MS, whereas *eis* appears thirteen times.

Austriacae prosapiae : i.e. the Habsburgs. Within the MS, this refers to *Or.lxiii*, where the Habsburgs are celebrated as the pre-eminent dynasty in the Christian world.

affinitatis ... coniunctis : *adfinitas* is often paired with *coniungo* in terms of marriage (e.g. *Suet. Ner.* XXXV; *TLL*, I.1219.53-1220.66).

de musica et musicis : highlights the distinction between music and musicians (see **Introduction, Gaetano; Ep.xiv cantor; Or.i musici**).

Cuius exemplum ... volui : suggests that Gaetano did not intend this as a private letter (“confidential epitext”, Genette, 1997, 371-86) but rather as something for a wider audience, whether in Vienna, Venice, or Pesaro (see Richardson, 2009, 198-216). It also provides a notable contrast to Pico’s reasons for writing his *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, § 150 *haec sunt ... me ad philosophiae studium non animarunt modo, sed compulerunt*.

Maximiliano potentissimo Imperatore : the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II, who reigned 1564-76 (see *Or.lxvii*).

iure optimo : in classical Latin (*TLL* VII.2.699.30-40) this phrase is used to indicate uncertainty, suggesting that Gaetano had been unsure over whether to offer the Habsburgs his *Oratio*.

tam paeclarum : poses a question which encloses the second *exemplum*, which is not quite concluded until § *xiii clariora*.

de : lacking an ablative is superfluous and suggests that a word was missed as the MS was transcribed into the presentation copy extant. It is, thus, an example of one of Gaetano's rare mistakes. The meaning is unaffected.

Imperatorem Franciscum Mariam : Francesco Maria I (1490-1538), the first of the della Rovere family to rule the Dukedom of Urbino, having inherited the title after being named his childless uncle Guidobaldo I's heir. **Imperatorem** refers to his status as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the League of Cognac, with whom he had fought with Venice against the Holy Roman Empire (see also **Introduction**, **Diplomatic gifts**). In his preface to Leoni's *Vita*, Ciotti reminds the doge of Francesco Maria's service to Venice. He was excommunicated and stripped of his titles in Urbino and Pesaro by Leo X in 1516 to make way for Medici claims, but he retook the city in 1521. **Imperatorem** is used in a different sense to that above (§ *v Maximiliano potentissimo Imperatore*). There, it was used as 'emperor', but Francesco Maria could make no claim on that title, so here it must be used in the older pre-imperial sense of 'general' (i.e. one who holds power/*imperium*). However, the close proximity invites comparison, and any comparison to the Habsburgs serves to flatter the Montefeltro/della Rovere dynasty.

Federicum et Guidum Ubaldum doctissimos Duces : Federico da Montefeltro (1422-82) and his son Guidobaldo I (1472-1508).

Federico has become seen almost as the model for a Renaissance prince, in part for how he "caught Burckhardt's attention" for his simultaneous patronage of arts and practice of politics (Clough, 1978, 129, citing Burckhardt, 1892, 43, 44-6). Federico was especially renowned for the library he established and developed in the ducal palace, for a glimpse of which see Hofmann, 2008. Gaetano's emphasis is on their learnedness, but it is somewhat surprising that Gaetano does not celebrate Federico's military successes, especially since Francesco Maria's are praised; Federico had been a *condottiero* commanding a mercenary company, in 1474 he was granted the dukedom of Urbino by Pope Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere). In his dedication to Mutio's *Historia*, Ciotti ascribes equal importance to each talent but does order them chronologically: *Principe gloriosissimo ememorabile per Imprese militari, e per eminenza di letteratura*. Ficino celebrated the very fact of the union of these talents in Federico, *Quodve apud priscos suerat venerandum, sed iam prope deletum: sapientiam coniunxit cum eloquentia, cum arte*

militari prudentiam. Idemque potissimum in Fæderico Urbinate Duce, tamquam in pallade declaravit, filiumque eius et fratrem virtutis illius effecit heredes (Ficino, *Letters* Vol 10, 116 [Bk XI.34]).

By contrast to some contemporaneous writers, Gaetano is relatively restrained in his praise for Federico. For example, a 14-line poem penned by Martinus Phileticus (the scribe of George of Trebizond, Marston MS 93) is dedicated *DIVO PRINCIPI FEDERICO MONPHELTRO*.

Federico's significance remained widely known more than a century after his death. In 1605, Giovanni Battista Ciotti dedicated a reprint of Mutio's *Historia de' fatti di Federico di Montefeltro* to Ascanio Cardinal Colonna, on the grounds that he *renova la memoria di quel Prencipe* (A.2.v).

Guidobaldo I is a somewhat less significant figure. However, Bembo's eulogy of him does feature in the Accademia Venetiana's *Orationes* (1559, 140) and paints a picture of the quintessential Renaissance prince who exemplifies both chivalry and culture.

academia : the ducal library does not seem to be widely termed an academy in the sense of the other academies that had grown up around Italy in the Cinquecento.

doctissimis viris : patronage of the arts was demonstrated by the presence of those patronised (see Clough, 1973). At Guidobaldo's court this included Polydore Vergil and Baldassare Castiglione, the narrative of whose book *Il Cortegiano* is set in the court of Urbino. As well as the learned men who spent time at the court, Federico's famous *studiol* was also adorned with paintings of *uomini illustri* of classical, biblical, ecclesiastical, or literary renown (see Cheles, 1986, 15-25 & plates 10-40 between pp.32/33).

dum ipsi viverent : the Latin could refer to the **doctissimis viris**, but the dukes are more likely, owing to the placement of **frequentata**.

literarum monumentis : *sc.*, praised in literary writing, such as the poems recorded by Hofmann (2008) by Giovanni Battista Valentini (Cantalycius), which focus on Federico's (in particular) craft and taste in the assembly of his library.

nostri seculi annalibus : such as a *Vita* by Giovanni Battista Leoni (1542-1613), written after even Gaetano.

In the febrile atmosphere of sixteenth-century Italy, which often broke out into violence, this praise was not universal. Francesco Maria was subject to criticism from the humanist scholar and statesman Guicciardini, who in the aftermath of imperial soldiers sacking Rome in 1527 had seen in the Duke of Urbino a possible saviour for the city and the papacy. Rather, the duke ignored his plea to aid the new Medici pope Clement VII (see § vi; Guicciadini's letter

is preserved by Celli, 2019, 100-3) and was subsequently blamed for the defeat of the Holy League set up to stop Charles V. See Giucciardini, 1563, 358-81.

§ vii.

Quamobrem ... dices : this section is a clear demonstration of how persuasive rhetoric had supplanted syllogistic rhetoric (Grendler, 1989, 207). Rather than present a list of facts in his eulogy, Gaetano appeals to Guidobaldo's emotions through various rhetorical devices. See also Gaetano's discussion of the two Habsburg princes below (*Or.lxv*).

ex omnibus ingenuis artibus : is a phrase common in classical descriptions of education (see *TLL* VII.1 1547.27-50, esp. Cic. *de or.* I.73 *omnibus ingenuis artibus instructus*). Gaetano never explicitly demarcates which talents fall into this category, but by drawing distinctions with *reliquus* (§ *iii* & § *viii*), he avoids the appearance of being dismissive of Guidobaldo's ancestors' skills.

illorum domus Apollini et Musis ... consecratam : Federico's suite of rooms in the palace at Urbino contained twin chapels, one Christian but the other facing it dedicated to the Muses and Apollo. Their joint vestibule is inscribed: *Bina vides parvo discrimine iuncta sacella / altera pars musis, altera sacra deo est*. Gaetano is likely making a reference to these chapels, despite the della Rovere court having moved to Pesaro in 1523 (cf. § *Heading*). See Godwin, 2002, 90-6; Cheles, 1986, 9-14. Cf. Gaetano's description of the Hofkirche *Or.lxiv Oeniponti ... divi Francisci*. N.B. **domus** : is plural, suggesting Gaetano's awareness of the relevance of each palace.

omnino : not an unusual word *per se*, but its close repetition from § *vi* is noticeable.

vestigis : repeated in § xiv.

in quibus musicen ... verseris : music had been considered a proper diversion for the nobility since knowledge of Aristotle had become more widespread in the late Middle Ages (e.g. *Pol.* 1337a-1342β, see Leach, 2011). **musicen** : is the first instance in the MS of the Greek *μυνσική* (see especially *Or. Title Musices*). Throughout, to distinguish it as the liberal from the Latin *musica*, which implies the fine art or craft of music, I have translated this as “the art of music.” Similarly, where necessary, I have translated *musica* as “the craft of music” (following e.g. *artificiosa*, see *Or.vii artificiosa*).

reliquas ingenuas artes : cf. discussion at § iii. While the earlier appearance of a non-standard phrase serves to affect the reading here (i.e. making the reader think of music versus other arts), the choice of **reliquas** may simply be intended to drive a sharp distinction between the *res bellica* and the other pursuits suitable for one of Guidobaldo’s station (see *OLD ad loc. a.*), thus pointing to Gaetano’s question in *Or.lv quid enim musico cum bellatoribus?*

omnes egregias : is the only appearance of *egregius* as a description for art within the MS. Paired with **omnes**, any *ars* that is not cultivated by Guidobaldo cannot be *egregia*. While there is also a high concentration of adjectives for *ars* in this section, the reasonably expected *liberalis* is not among them, although it does appear several times in the oration (§§ ix, xxx-xxxii, xlvi, lxxi).

Musicen : see discussion in Introduction (**Concepts of music**) and below (*Or. Title musices*), but this is the first Greek inflection in the MS, and so suggests that Guidobaldo’s attention is to all the arts after they have been improved by contact with music (see also the *laus musicae* in *Or.xxx-xxxii*).

in Musarum domum : devotion to the Muses was not inconsistent with Christian piety for the humanist, see Laguna 3r-4v, *hactenus meo in museíolo delituit* (Greek *sic.*) and § vii **illorum ... consecratam.**

magna cum voluptate : although the order modifier-preposition-noun is common throughout Latin literature (*OLS* 23.92-3), it is notable here as the only example of such a construction in the *Oratio*. This may point towards Gaetano having put greater effort into considering the literary aspects of the letter as opposed to the oration.

§ ix.

As noted in the introduction to the letter, it is worth comparing this and the following section with *Or.xli-xliii*, as here Gaetano celebrates musicians (and probably of each of the categories of *musicus* and *cantor*) who were still alive, whereas in the oration (which, as I discuss elsewhere, is probably of an earlier date), Gaetano's argument is that the golden age of music had come and gone.

moderandis : is also used to describe playing an instrument (e.g. Hor. *Carm.* I.24.14) as well as directing. Gaetano's implication is thus that the court is Animuccia's instrument. N.B. that there are examples of the verb in both deponent and non-deponent formation (*TLL* VIII 1212.9-12).

Paulum Animuccia : Paolo Animuccia, who had been *maestro di cappella* at Urbino probably from the late 1550s (or possibly earlier) until his death in 1569. On his career, see Lockwood, 2001 (although he cites this *Oratio* as one of his chief sources). Despite the rich praise lavished on him here, he does not appear in the catalogue of musicians at *Or.xxxviii-xlii* and does not seem to have had a very distinguished career.

Animuccia did however write a letter not dissimilar to Gaetano's in that it is a rare example of an intelligent musician who was well-informed about current events in music hoping to address them (Sherr, 1984, 74).

est : this section is generally written in the present tense, except **datum fuerit** ... **contempsit** ... **exornavit**. Vendrix observes that here Gaetano “hesitates between the present and past” tenses (Vendrix, 2009, 39) taking this as a hint that Gaetano was seeking a newly vacated post.

morum suavitas : there is a possible pun here: the MS abbreviation (*mor_{um}*) hints at the sweetness of mulberry trees (*mororum*).

aequi et iniqui : may refer to Guidobaldo’s peers and vassals or may alternatively (or also) mean those who understand music and those who do not; *sc.* music cannot fail to be beneficial, whether or not one takes pleasure in and understands it.

magistrum sacelli : while the phrase *magister sacelli* was a possible (if somewhat archaic) rendering of *maestro di cappella*, *sacellum* potentially carries connotations of the shrines used in classical pagan cult (*OLD ad loc.*), although cf. *Or.xlii Sacello Divi Marci*.

contempsit ... **exornavit** : as mentioned above (see **Introduction**, **Gaetano**), it is partly on the tense of these verbs that Vendrix argues that Gaetano hoped to succeed Animuccia. However, it seems more likely that Animuccia was still alive and that carry present action.

excogitandos aptandosque et variandos : **-que et** in this manner is a construction not used by Cicero, Caesar, or Nepos (*OLS* 19.35), showing a departure from the style to which Gaetano seems to aspire. The tricolon points to the order in which the process would be performed.

§ x.

Apollinis et Musarum ... meas aures : such direct interaction between the gods and their poet is a common neo-Latin Pindaric trope (Revard, 2001, esp. 50-119). The notion was sufficiently ingrained that it continued to have meaning for Christian writers.

Virginiam praestantissimam virginem : Virginia Vagnoli, a famous Sienese singer in the ducal court at Urbino (see Vendrix pp.39-40; Piperno, 2001, 77-82; 115-16; 129-36). Through the next few sections, Gaetano repeatedly puns on her name and the title of the Virgin, placing them as equals in proximity to the divine (§§ xii-xiii).

ad divinitatem Musarum quam ab humanitate : is starkly contrasted with those who find they are too polished to draw close to the divine at § iv.

exemplo : if the first *exemplum* (§ ii. **Heliani exemplum**) tells Guidobaldo the importance of receiving gifts, this second *exemplum*, the implication of which concludes with a tightening focus on his court (§ xii **nullam aliam domum**), his family (§ xiii **Illusterrimis maioribus**), and himself (§ xiii **tuis ... virtutibus**) teaches him the value of music, which is the gift he is receiving.

decimam ... Musam : is not a unique epithet in flowery Renaissance praise; indeed, Visconti recycled it for Bianca Maria Sforza, having first used it for Beatrice d'Este, *tu sei tra le Grazie la quarta, tra le Muse la decima et unica fenice al nostro secolo* (*I canzonieri* pref. ll.104-5). See Richardson, 2009, 84-5; 204. See also § ii **Heliani exemplum**, which suggests Gaetano was familiar with Visconti's work. Plato's alleged declaration *Ἐνέα τὰς Μούσας φασίν τινες· ὡς ὀλιγάρος· ἥνιδη καὶ Σαπφώ Λεσβόθεν ἡ δεκάτη* (*Anth. Graec.* IX.506) would have been known by the time Gaetano wrote the letter (Hutton, 1935, 35-45) and had inspired numerous imitative or allusory versions (*ibid.*, "Registry", s.v., 559-60).

§ xi.

Divus Augustinus refert in libris *de Doctrina Christiana* : Aug. *de doc. Christiana*, II.xvi.26-xvii.27. This is one of only a few classical works directly acknowledged in the *Oratio* (although many other writers' names are given), the others being Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (*Or.xii*), Plato's *Republic* (*Or.lxii*) and Augustine's *Confessions* (*Or.lxix*), besides a citation of the contemporary Zarlino's *Le istituzioni harmoniche* at *Or.xliii*.

It would be unjust to hold Gaetano's use of references to the same standard as modernity; the use of antecedents in literature that seemed appropriate was very common, as Panzera says of Sansovino: "l'accusa di plagio non sembra essere la soluzione più appropriata

per un'epoca in cui la proprietà intellettuale non era ancora tutelata da una precisa normativa e comunque non fornirebbe una risposta esaustiva di fronte a una prassi che appare generalizzata” (2012, 27, but the full article contains discussion of examples of ‘plagiarism’ contemporaneous with Gaetano and how they fit into learned society).

Divus : while *Sanctus* may be more familiar, this is a standard epithet for ‘Saint’ by Gaetano’s period. However, he may be making a classical allusion: in those terms, it is only attested with the names of deified emperors, or as part of a ritual title after the Christianisation of the Roman Empire (see *TLL* V 1655.76-1658.21; *OLD* s.v.; *L&S* s.v.). However, inflections of **Divus** are seen in inscriptions from the Renaissance on, a fashion possibly introduced by Erasmus (see Thompson, 1997, n.215). Cf. § *iii* **Deo Optimo Maximo** (see also **Introduction, Style**).

efficta inhonorata iacerent : the imagery is similar to the condition in which Gaetano claims to have found music (§ iv).

Virginem : the play on Vagnoli's Christian name (see also § xiii) makes her into a bridge between the Virgin Mary and Muses, in the same way as the Dukes of Urbino had a pair of facing shrines dedicated to each (see § vii **illorum ... consecratam**). Gaetano does not make the link to the Virgin explicit, risking, as it would, censure, nor is there literary evidence that the Virgin was ever likened to the Muses in places where it might be expected (e.g. in Vincent de Beauvais' *De laudibus seu de gestis Beatae Virginis Mariae* or Petrus Comestor's *Carmen in laudem beatae Virginis* [Marston MS 285]). In her seminal work on the iconography and veneration of the Virgin Mary, Warner does not mention any explicit allusion to the Muses within Catholic tradition, the inspiration she provided to writers and artists notwithstanding (1976). See § xiii **praeclarae Virginis**.

nihil ... a natura denegatum ... a doctrina delatum fuerit : natural ability and training must combine to make a great musician; one without the other is not enough.

in hoc genere virtutis : phrase repeated from § iv.

nullam aliam domum : i.e. than Guidobaldo's court at Pesaro, see § vii **illorum domus....**

Musa ... decebat : while Visconti made use of a model for comparing women to the Muses, he himself was associated with them as a poet: *ad magnificum et generosum equitem auratum dominum Gasparem Vicecontem Musarum decus et dominum meum precolendissimum* (Visconti, 163 canzon. app. I, 157). See Pyle, 1993 for an attempt at his biography.

praeclarae Virginis : the attribution of the exceptional **praeclarae** raises Vagnoli to a moral excellence almost unattainable by mortals in classical literature (*TLL* X.2.i 485.44-490.13) and further blurs the distinction between the singer and the Mother of God. By contrast, when he answers his own question, Gaetano only calls Guidobaldo's own virtues **clariora**.

redeamus : suggests that Gaetano has used this second *exemplum* to model **in medium protuli** (§ iv). This is also reminiscent of the way in which the return from the *digressio* of Cic. *Tusc.* V.64-6 (*sed redeat ... oratio*) is used subsequently in the oration (see *Or.xxviii at vero ... defatigasse*). At this instance, however, the similarity is more explicit and indicates Gaetano's use of ring composition, further demonstrating his awareness of classical style (see Jaeger, 2002, 51-4 & n.17).

Illustrissimis maioribus : Guidobaldo's immediate predecessors who have laid the groundwork, § vi **Franciscum Mariam & Federicum et Guidum Ubaldum**.

tuis ... virtutibus : rather than mentioning Guidobaldo's name or rank, Gaetano instead focuses more on Guidobaldo's soul and character.

clariora : answers Guidobaldo's question at § vi **quid est enim tam praeclarum...**, and avoids the hyperbole to which Vagnoli is subjected, stopping just short of what Richardson terms the “tendency to excessive praise” typical of the period (2009, 203).

nobili ac divina materia musices : i.e. what comprises the liberal art and gives it its *dignitas* (see **Introduction, Dignitas**)

ex omni antiquitate : repeated from § ii. This ring composition thus draws the letter to a close.

eruta : repeated from § iii, here it appears more ironically self-deprecating, almost quoting the manner in which Cicero (*Orat. xxiii.79*) records Theophrastus's argument that an orator ought to gather “apposite maxims” (Hubbell, 1962, 365) in such a manner to charm his audience. On other instances of the figurative meaning of *eruo* “to unearth (anything unknown, latent, or forgotten), search out, bring to light, elicit”, see *OLD* 680 s.v.

concinnatum : an unusual word in this context repeated from § ii **concinnarem** presumably for a similar purpose as **ex omni antiquitate**.

elucebit : enlightens the reader regarding Gaetano's intention at § iv **incunabula penetravi**, furthering the idea of ring composition, and intending to demonstrate that he had achieved the same as Cicero.

Dii : continues the classical pagan tone (see § iii **Deo Optimo Maximo**, § vii **domus Apolloni et Musis**, § x **Apollinis et Musarum**).

faxint : a sigmatic future, invoking archaic Latin forms more associated with Plautus and Terence than Cicero. De Melo cites its use in Cicero “in imitation of old laws” (2002, 76). Cf. less clearly § xlvi **faxerint**. See *TLL* VI.1.83.18-78.

tum corporis tum animi : the more clear reading here is the difference between instrumental and spiritual music (which shall be discussed at *Or.vii*), modelled through the difference between Latin and Greek terms for music (see Introduction and *Or. Title musices*). However, it may also be taken from the difference between spiritual and animal delineated by Sallust (*Cat. I.1*, see *Or.i Omnes homines* for the main argument).

vitam ... vivere : despite these felicitations, Guidobaldo would die in 1574, not long after this letter was (probably) sent. See Vendrix, 39-40.

The conclusion is left in vague terms with no suggestion of what Gaetano was seeking. Cf. Ciotti in 1605, *che sì come l'Opera honora grandamente le mie stampe, così sarò io favoritamente protetto, & honorata dalla benignità, e dalla gratia di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima: & humilissimamente le bacio le mani.* (Mutio, A.3.r.)

vale : an entirely typical inclusion regardless of relative class (cf. above, § *Heading Ad*); more intimate relationships could see versions of *bene vale* (e.g. Blok, 1985, 23, 51, 58, 60) or warmer (*ibid.*, 34 *vale et me amans, quod his litteris oro, effectum dato*, 126 *vale et me ama*). The lack of date is atypical (on the problem which this creates, cf. Vendrix, 2009, 39-40).

humilissimus servulus : a common manner in which to introduce the name of a low status author (e.g. Ciotti in Mutio, A.3.r, *humilissimo & devotissimo servo*). N.B. such practice was not universal, cf. George of Trebizond, 30v, *DOCTISSIMI ET LATINARVM GRAECARVMQVE LITTERARVM PERITISSIMI GEORGII TRABEZVNTII DE DIALECTIS OPVS EXPLICATVM EST // TEAOC*, although admittedly not in his hand. Dedicating his *Istitutioni Harmoniche* as *maestro di cappella* to the Patriarch (i.e. not his employer; St Mark's was the Doge's personal chapel and thus somewhat outside the authority of the patriarch), the higher status Zarlino could call himself *servitore affectionatissimo* (1573, *2v).

Petrus Caëtanus : follows classical convention and contemporary custom. On the various appearances of Gaetano's Latin name, see **Introduction, Gaetano** and Ongaro, 1986, 505.

cantor : if one were to read the work in the order it was probably composed (i.e., oration then re-dedicated letter), then one would be struck by the clear humility of not calling himself a *musicus* (discussed in detail at *Or.i musici*, then hesitantly claimed at *Or.v meque* etc.)

It is also worth repeating that Gaetano's profession marks this as an unusual document. While the distinction remained, few *cantores* appear to have written a comparable treatise about music on this scale, a task that demanded not insignificant abilities.

Or.

Title.

Oratio de Origine et Dignitate Musices : while scholarship (Slim, 1972, 42; Perkins, 1990, 50-3; Owens, 1990; Vendrix, 2009), generally gives this as the title of the whole work (i.e. including the prefatory letter), this is the only instance in the oration of Gaetano describing it thus. In the letter, he does say that *de eius origine et dignitate composui orationem* (*Ep.iv.*) Otherwise though, with its greater focus on Guidobaldo, in the letter Gaetano refers to the whole work as a *munus* (*Ep.v*) and indeed a *munusculum* (*Ep.xiv*). While there are mentions of the oration throughout *Or.*, explicit references to *origo* or *dignitas* are lacking. However, the speech is constructed to divide content between the two topics, and the junction where Gaetano switches is visible, with §§ *vi-xvi* covering the *origo* of music and §§ *xlvii-lxii* its *dignitas*, concluding with a coda at §§ *lxxiii-lxxv*.

Oratio : as discussed in the **Introduction (Oration)**, orations are an important genre of Renaissance literary output, and by so titling his work, Gaetano is establishing himself as part of that classical tradition and alerting his audience to the vein of classical allusions and quotations throughout the text.

In classical terms, Gaetano's oration sits between categories. Vendrix and others assume a motive for its composition, suggesting that it is a kind of deliberative oratory (Vendrix, 2009). However, it does not make any explicit call for its audience to take any action, and so edges towards an interpretation as an art-piece, or epideictic oration, that in this case urges a greater appreciation of the power of music: "Plato and Isocrates give epideictic a social function, reinforcing the norms of public morality" (Vickers, 1989, 55). Moreover, they were measurements of 'good taste,' Pernot observing that the audience "would attend the epideictic speech as they would a concert, simply sampling the workmanship of the piece and the talent of the execution" (2015, 69). This implies that there is an aesthetic to which the speech's composer should aspire.

The best maintained genre to survive the transition from republics to monarchies (Vickers, 1982-3, 500; but cf. Ward, 1995, esp. 51-73 who argues that Vickers overlooks examples of judicial and deliberative rhetoric), in that transition epideictic oratory became panegyrical, in praise of rulers. Gaetano is attempting a nuanced version of this: praise of a monarch by praising a virtue he sponsors and espouses (cf. such an allusive style with the directness of the letter, especially *Ep.vi-viii*; within oratory, on the division of types of rhetoric, see Vickers, 1989, 53-62, on epideictic especially, 54-9).

As becomes clear (and in line with the conclusion of the letter, see *Ep.xiv humilissimus servulus*), Gaetano affects a style of self-deprecation (e.g. § *i personam ... susceptam*), typical of Renaissance oratory, especially by those of lower status than the recipient (see e.g. Petrarch writing to the emperor Charles IV, Blok, 1985, 149-151; and Poggio Bracciolini to Pope Nicholas V, *ibid.*, 184-5).

Origine et Dignitate : a combination not wholly without precedent, if not directly. There is an echo of Tinctoris's *de inventione et usu musicae*, (which contained a reworked version of his earlier *Complexum*, Strohm, 2001, 12; Woodley, 1985, 251-2). However, Weinmann considers it an outlier to the main body of Tinctoris's work, many editors having excluded it – much as Gaetano's is unusual in contemporary tone (1961, 5-26). Gaetano is novel in that he subtly elevates each of these aspects (**Origine** and **Dignitate**), giving greater stature to the art than to the artists, further signified by **Musices** rather than *Musicae* (see **Introduction**, **Concepts of music**). Gaetano uses *atque/ac* frequently between conjoins to demonstrate their similarity, but follows classical convention here with the neutral **et**, which “simply adds an element” (OLS 19.23ff). Notably, in 1588 (i.e. after the latest possible date for the *Oratio*), Rudolf Schlick delivered an *Exercitatio, qua musices origo prima, cultus antiquissimus, dignitas maxima et emolumenta*, and in 1600, Sethus Calvisius published *Exercitationes Musicae Duae, quarum Prior est de modis musicis, quos vulgo Tonos vocant, recte cognoscendis, & diiudicandis; Posterior, de initio et progressu musices, aliisque rebus eo spectantibus*. However, Gaetano seems to be the first to unite the two elements explicitly.

Origine : versus Tinctoris's *inventio*, Gaetano implies music's independent existence, at least as a liberal art. This would be both regardless of whether it is put to use and without the consideration of becoming a fine art requiring a $\tau\epsilon\chi\eta$ -skill: “la *technè* est associée à l’“inventivité,”” (Bett, 2003, 33), see **Introduction**, **Concepts of music and the arts**; §§ *ix-xviii*; § *xiii primis inventoribus*; elsewhere Gaetano mentions music's cradle, *Ep.iv*, *Or.xxxvi*; an origin independent of mankind is the obvious conclusion to the idea of the harmony of the spheres.

Before the development of humanism, there had been much scholastic Christian debate regarding the identity of the first who had ‘discovered’ music (for a useful framework, see McKinnon, 1987). Gaetano does himself consider this and appears to believe uncritically the idea that music was a body of knowledge to be discovered (see § *xiii primis inventoribus*). Subsequently, he discusses both the traditional Judeo-Christian so-called founder, Jubal (see § *xxi Tubal*), and classical pagan alternatives such as Mercury, Amphion, and Linus (see § *xxv*

Mercurio; alii ... praeferunt Amphionem; Linus). Doing so, he builds a plausible chronology.

Dignitate : like **Origine**, this should be read in contrast to Tinctoris's *usu*. Gaetano does not at any point clearly spell out what he means by *dignitas*. The reader may infer Gaetano's definition from the climax of the oration (§§ *lxi* ff.), which is driven by music's association with the Habsburgs. The *dignitas* of music stands for the supra-national concept sought by Laguna (and others) in the development of humanism and is correspondingly more valuable than 'mere' *usus* or *utilitas* hitherto celebrated. In Laguna's *Europa Ζαντήν τιμωρούμενη* such cultural topoi, as Europe was being broken apart and reforged, "estaban occasionando ... una unidad de civilización que, por encima de las diferencias religiosas entre cristianos, a todos unía con indisolubles vínculos" (González Manjarrés, 2001b, 96-7, see also Pérez, *infra*, 13-23). Gaetano will use this tradition of Christian and classical concepts, drawn from its origins (cf. McKinnon, 1987) to show the centrality of music.

As Gaetano will make clear, the capacity he envisages for music will also exceed that of Tinctoris's *usu* by the fact that he argues for music's divine origins (see variants of **divinam illam quidem** at *Ep.iii* and *Or.lxxii*, but also *Ep. xiv nobili ac divina materia musices*; *Or.xlvii divino ... spiritu afflatis*; and § *lxii ad divinitatem proprius accedunt*, the last of which implies that the more one contemplates music (in the *vita contemplativa*) the closer one draws to God.

For a fuller discussion of Gaetano's understanding of *dignitas* (including the legacy of Pico and Cicero), see **Introduction**.

Musices : as discussed in the **Introduction (Concepts of music and the arts)**, transcribed from *μονοκῆς*, seemingly originally into Latin by Quintilian (*Inst. I.10.9-33*). Although the number of references to (if not citations of) Quintilian suggests that he was a primary source for Gaetano, even without him, the Greek word is a useful hook on which Gaetano could hang his work. Thus, he immediately situates it both in the classical tradition and alongside contemporaneous scholarship that was increasingly comfortable working in Greek. In this particular instance, Gaetano follows the humanist model (identified by Kristeller, 1944-5 [reworked as 1979b] and developed by Witt, 2001) of shifting from the scholastic liberal art (the 'Ideal' governed by the Muses: *musice, -es*) to the fine art (the Imitation practised by musicians: *musica, -ae*), on which and on the history of such usage, see *Introduction* and § *i. artis scientiam*.

Gaetano asserts that a man concerned with public life must fit the ‘mask’ he wears in public. He alludes to three specialisms – grammarian, musician, and orator – implying that his complete and convincing command of each will be necessary for the persuasiveness of his oration.

His understanding is said to be like donning different masks. These *personae* mirror (if not directly) the four *personae* which comprise our characters – the ability to reason, the individual soul’s unique manifestation, fortune or chance, and an individual’s willpower. By wearing the musician’s mask, Gaetano invokes the power of music, which has the ability to increase his own limited resources, but even so, music so imbues all things that it is impossible to cover everything.

Gaetano’s approach to literary allusion is outlined in the **Introduction** and will be discussed in more detail below, but where he situates his introduction is so remote from his stated purpose – namely, how and why performed music came to occupy its position in society – that it is reminiscent of the stylistic device of priamel. This is defined by Fränkel as “a series of detached statements which through contrast or comparison lead up to the idea with which the speaker is primarily concerned” (cited in Gerber, 1982, 3; for fuller bibliography see, *ibid.*, 6-7).

There is no explicit reference to the content of the prefatory letter, suggesting that the two parts of the MS were composed at different times with different purposes (see also Introduction). Gaetano is unusual among other authors on a similar subject in that within the MS of the oration (as separate from the letter) there is no explicit dedicatee (the panegyric to the Habsburgs at §§ *lxiii-lxviii* notwithstanding).

Omnes homines, doctissimi ac praestantissimi auditores : shares some general characteristics with the opening of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*. **Omnes homines** : are the opening words of Sall. *Cat.*, which mirror Arist. *Metaph.* I.980a.22 *πάντες ἄνθρωποι*. Gaetano makes no hesitation about how far his subject's reach might extend. Although **Omnes homines** applies to Gaetano's obligations as author, rather than explicitly to music's potential reach, the audience is invited to make the association. There are contemporaneous precedents for music's universally didactic and morally improving quality, e.g. Coclito's *Compendium* includes a *Praefatio ad Noricam Iuventutem*. **doctissimi ac praestantissimi auditores** : in the vocative, implying an attendant audience, as do subsequent asides and apologies for prolixity, e.g. §§ xx. **sed ... videtur; xxviii. at vero ... defatigasse**. While **auditores** could justifiably be taken at face value in dealing with a classical text (Clay calls Bovie's contextually incorrect translation of “reader” for *auditorem* [Hor. *Ars P.* 149] “a symptom of our age of literacy” [1998, 29]), a neo-Latin use such as this may be more metaphorical (see **Introduction, Genre, Oration**). Note that in the edition of Verheiden printed for distribution, even though the text asserts that it was declaimed, there are repeated addresses to the *lector* (indeed, the preface to the oration is *ad litterarum et patriae libertatis studiosum lectorem*; [Verheiden, J., 1598, 58]). A possible alternative is that in a lost original of the oration, there had been a dedicatee, but in repurposing the oration by appending it to the letter to Guidobaldo, Gaetano erred on the side of political nicety by not reminding Guidobaldo that he was the understudy recipient.

doctissimi ac praestantissimi : florid cinquecento prose prescribed an order and adjectives specific to each rank (for Italian examples, see Stevens, 1995, 7). For a Latin university oration, see e.g. *Magnifice Rector, Illustres ac Generosi Domini Barones, Viri Reverendi, clarissimi ac prudentissimi, tumque studiosa iuventus* (Schlick, p.3); *legi patres colendissimi* (Pico § 1).

The balancing by **ac**, typical of humanist oratory (as seen in the last quote from Schlick), may suggest that each is required in order to fulfil the other's requirements; ergo Gaetano not being *praestantissimus* may struggle to claim to be *doctissimus*. See also *Ep.i summorum ac liberalium*.

doctissimi : a common epithet to apply to the audience of such orations, e.g. Laguna (at Cologne in 1543), *haec declamatio ... fuit recitata ... coram maxima Principum hominumque doctissimorum corona*; similarly, Schlick, 3, “*doctissimi hunc consessum*” and indeed their authors (see George of Trebizond). However, its instance here suggests that this custom is apparently preserved outside of the academy. Clearly, Gaetano has a reasonable expectation of a well-read audience. His choice also points to his fear of being accused of being a pseudo-intellectual or sophist (see Plut. *Vit. Them.* II.3, *τῶν πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκούντων*, relevant below, § xxvii). Numerous others are called *doctissimus* throughout the oration and prefaced letter: Federico and Guidobaldo I (*Ep. vi* & *viii*), the two schools of musicians (*Or. xxvii*), Pontano (*Or. lviii*), and the various Greeks who developed musical knowledge (*Or. lxxiv* referencing *Or. xxviii-xxix*).

praestantissimi : an echo of Cic. *Rep.* VI.xxiii.25 “*magnis et praestantibus viris.*” Verheiden suggests that the souls of his listeners were *praeclari* (Verheiden, W., 1598, 59).

auditores : linked to *omnes homines* and not yet in contact with the verb *profitentur*, the listeners are invited to associate themselves with “all men.” Calling the piece an oration makes this an expected word, but there is no guarantee of its declamation (see *Title*). For instance, in a (printed) volume of his *opusculum musices*, Quercu addresses *suos auditores* (A.ii.v).

artis scientiam : juxtaposes the words the semantic difference between which defines the oration; the way in which practice of the performed art must be informed by theoretical knowledge. Gaetano was most likely familiar with this idea from Zarlino, who claimed that “a perfect knowledge of music (‘cognitione perfetta della cose della Musica’) has to be based on both *senso* and *ragione* together (cf. § xxvii **sensui ... rationi**) and has to embrace both *scienza (speculativa)* and *arte (prattica)*” (Sachs, 1991, 194 & n.). On Zarlino, see § xlivi.

scientiam se tenere : the use of *se tenere* makes *scientia* appear physically quantifiable, which suggests it is something one either does or does not have; Gaetano is aware that he might be accused of the latter. Cicero uses it similarly at *Cat* I.1 (*OLD* s.v. **scientia**) and *tenere* is also used with *memoria* (e.g. *qui memoriam rerum Romanarum teneret*, *Brut.* III.22, *OLD* s.v. **teneo**). The expression also invites a contrast between Gaetano and his supposedly *doctissimi* audience; by limiting the extent to which he claims authority over this knowledge Gaetano is cast as its custodian rather than its creator.

publice : the notion of public audience for Gaetano carries the challenge of public scrutiny, see Gellius (with whom Gaetano claims familiarity, cf. §§ *li, liv*) *N.A.* XVII.21 *ne in sermonibus forte inconspectum aliquid ... diceremus, sicut sophista ille ἀπαιδευτος, qui publice nuper disserens ... dixit*; the sophist is defined by his ignorance, which Gaetano hopes to avoid.

However, the Stoic duty of performing *erga* for the state's benefit provides motivation. Cicero had set an example that the orator's role was to perform philosophy (e.g. *Brut.* 224; de Lacy, 1997, 171-2 & n.24; Gildenhard, 2007, 152-5; cf. below **magistri**; § *iii. reprehensione levitatis*) and accordingly Gaetano sought to improve the state by promoting and celebrating music; for Boethius, *musica ... etiam moralitati coniuncta* (*Inst. Mus. pr.*).

personam vel proprio vel alieno consilio susceptam : personam is difficult to translate with a full range of meaning, critical as it is to comprehension of the passage; Gaetano means a role one plays in life, but a *persona* was also the literal mask worn by actors in theatre, scholarly awareness of which practice was growing at the time of the *Oratio*'s composition.

There are two further senses of *persona* in this early section of the speech, which are related but that literary scholarship has distinguished. Gaetano will outline below (§ *iii.*) the four Stoic *personae*, of which this is an example of the third and fourth types (see § *iii. tertiam ... quarta*).

Here however, the sense is closer to that of the 'literary persona' (see Clay, 1998; Mayer, 2003; and Altman, 2016, 29-56). Plato's Socrates is to some extent the mouthpiece for Plato's own ideas; similarly, Cicero's philosophical works portray different historical figures he had never met in dialogue. In each of these simulations, the author is obviously playing a role. However, Cicero's legal and political speeches are (intended to be read as) closer representations of his own character. Despite this, he admits that in public life one puts on and takes off different masks, see Cic. *Att. X.15.3* *gravioris personae suscipienda spes*. Gaetano puts this performative aspect of public participation in centre stage. The classification of his work as an oration (see *Title Oratio*) provides the context in which he intended his work to be received. Even though it may not have been declaimed, composing an oration that has the sense of a philosophical treatise allows Gaetano to wear each *persona* simultaneously and unproblematically. Note that he goes on to say (§ *iii*) that adopting *personae* should not be done at the expense of authenticity; the classical belief was that the likeness (*όμοιότης*) of one's true character (*ήθος*) must be revealed in the expression and the eyes (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* I.3).

Cicero also toys with *personae*. Gildenhard argues that in the *Tusculans* he affects a role that his peers would hold in contempt. It would not be in keeping for a Roman noble to behave like a Greek sophist (2007, 32-4; see below, **magistri**). By using 'Crassus' to praise Plato (*de or. I.47*), Cicero is enabled to praise the philosopher to whom he owed so much without sacrificing his own dignity (Altman, 2016, 30-1).

Gaetano does not adopt *personae* as Cicero does. Taking this part and another in dialogue, and so couching (and protecting) himself through the mouth of another, his careful

balance between citing an author's name and unattributed literary allusions establishes his authority, so giving him a scholarly *persona* above what might be expected. This was common to the period, the minority who studied philology "no procedía de una especialidad o disciplina determinada, sino que a todos, fuesan hombres de la Iglesia, del Derecho, de la Ciencia o de la Literatura" (González Manjarrés, 2001a, 63). The smallness of their field and the range of their expertise allowed them the freedom to go beyond their fields' typical scope. As discussed below (**magistri**), Cicero risked his reputation in extending the range of topics on which a Roman of his class would be expected to write, whereas Gaetano faces the opposite problem, aware that 'mere musicians' were rarely members of the literati. See **oratoris** for evidence of the suggestion that *personae* also stood as *officia*, and so represented state-sanctioned work, the work that bodies such as the Accademia Venetiana sought to promote, the learning achieved through *otium cum dignitate* given purpose in the *vita attiva* (see **Introduction, Dignitas**).

vel ... vel could also suggest this action is not necessarily the decision of the person who had adopted the mask, but rather he may find himself coerced. **alieno** suggests that such *personae* may not prove to be as good a fit.

The theatrical associations of *personae* also point back to Pico's *Oratio de hominum dignitate*. In its opening statement, the world is said to be like a stage (*in hac quasi mundana scena*, § 1,) and its most remarkable actor is man. Elsewhere, in contrast to *persona*, Pico also has God declare that Adam had received no form peculiar to himself (*nec propriam faciem ... tibi dedimus*, § 18), allowing man the licence to forge his own destiny (although Copenhaver argues that this is an illusion and rather man should aspire towards being angelic, 2019, 27-8).

An unexpressed thought here (although made explicit especially at § *v* **meque non immerito**) is Gaetano's sense that he may lack the capacity to speak on this subject. This is not unique to Gaetano; indeed, such a technique was taught in textbooks (see § *ii* **ad propriam naturam**) and was employed by undoubted experts (see Pico §§ 163-75).

aut grammatici ... caeterarum artium : Gaetano selects three of the liberal arts by name, each pertinent to the context of an oration about music written in Latin, and so partly claimed by Gaetano for himself. The balancing of **aut ... aut ... aut ... aut** ascribes equal weight to each. The frontispiece to Reisch contains the names of the various *artes* arranged in a circle around their female manifestations, who stand at the feet of a crowned three-headed winged woman, the combination of the three branches of Philosophy, *Naturalis*, *Moralis*, and *Divina*. The inclusion of *caeterarum artium* acknowledges the others' existence but excludes them as being less germane.

That said, there is a hint of music's superiority: she is the only 'advanced' topic, i.e. from the *quadrivium*. Grammar and oratory are also each closer to being a *τέχνη* rather than a *μονοτεχνίη* (on the utility over artistry of *τέχναι*, see Bett, 2003; Plato called rhetoric *ἡ περὶ τούς λογονός τέχνη*, *Phd.* 90b). The Greek *μονοτεχνίη*, while it can be tied to the specific art of poetry sung to 'music,' (e.g. *Pi. O. I.15*), encompasses all the distinct branches of art that are governed by the Muses (cf. *Ep.ix*). However, of course *μονοτεχνίη* is also a *τέχνη* insofar as it can be considered to be a set of rules or a system or method of making or doing (on the similar problem of *ratio*, see § *i rationem* and § *xxvii sensui ... rationi*). This tension was ancient; *μονοτεχνίη* "seems to be the first of the 'tekhnai' nouns formed in -*tekhní*, reflecting its early conceptualization as a craft with established practices and principles" (Murray & Wilson, 2004, 1). As *τέχναι* became more morally equivocal (Bett, 2003, 33) the concept of *μονοτεχνίη* was elevated. As a liberal art it became something with the potential for absolute good (cf. *Phld. Mus.*; see Bett, 48).

Gaetano's presentation plays with the definition of music. At some points it should be considered a liberal art, at others a fine art. While not always clear, it seems that Gaetano prefers *musices* for the former and *musicae* for the latter (see above *Title Musices*). Here the focus is on the practitioners, not the arts themselves: thus, a *musicus* performs *musica*, not *Mονοτεχνίη*.

grammatici : i.e. a professor of Latin grammar. In the sixteenth century, the art of imitating Ciceronian Latin was highly prized (on the Renaissance debate over what constituted ‘good’ imitation, see McLaughlin, 1995 and Della Neva, 2015; on methods of education including the ‘commonplace-book,’ see Moss, 1996, esp. 134-85). Isidore of Seville defined grammar as *scientia recte loquendi et origo et fundamentum liberalium litterarum* (*Orig. I.5.1* following Quint. *Inst. I.4*). As states developed, it became necessary to employ grammarians to maintain diplomatic *gravitas*. From 1371, Lucca employed three state grammarians believing that *grammaticalis scientia est origo et fundamenta omnium virtutum et scientiarum* (Barsanti, 1905, 202). The grammarian’s role was not totally fixed, and at different times covered everything from schoolmaster to secretary to princes. In 1352, Petrarch made disparaging remarks about those who limited themselves to the former office, but the word *grammatico* in Italian vernacular is attested from at least 1102 (cf. Grendler, 1995, VI. 1-3; on the development of the role of vernacular [*volgare*] in education from the fourteenth century, see Black, 2009, 106-24). Given the fact that Gaetano produced this oration and the likelihood that he had a role in the Basilica’s choirboys, or *zaghi*, (on Gaetano’s putative *de qualitate puerorum*, see introduction; cf. Ongaro, 1988, 85-6) it seems reasonable to conclude that he considered himself a *grammaticus*, especially taken with **magistri**.

Although Latin was deemed essential to education, grammars published in a fairly idiosyncratic style appear to have been in wide circulation in the Middle Ages (e.g. Papias’s *Ars Grammatica*, see Cervani, 1998, vii-lxi with analysis of tradition lix-lxi). For grammar’s place in the wider curriculum, see Grendler, 1989, 162-202.

musici : this does not necessarily mean a musician in the sense of a practising performer or composer, as shown by Gaetano calling himself a *cantor* in the subscription to the letter (above), but is a rather higher aspiration (Palisca, 1993, xi). Boethius had asked *quid sit musicus* (*Inst. Mus. I.34*); Bower provides a useful gloss (1989, 50, n.137).

In the previous century, Johannes de Quadris, who held an appointment at St Mark’s, was called *musicus et cantor* in the records of the Basilica (Lütteken, 1989/90). A *musicus* in cinquecento Italy was one concerned with the theory of music, and had probably received a university education, consequently occupying a higher social status (Fenlon, 1993a, 552). Indeed, Venice had appointed six *professori di humanità* in 1561, part of whose role was the instruction of theoretical music. Their salary, of 200 ducats per annum exceeded that of the *podestà* (or governor) of Chioggia by 20 ducats and was considerably more than those of less important magistrates, demonstrating the esteem in which they were held by the Venetian government (Anthon, 1946a, 119, op. cit. *Documentari finanziari*, Serie II, Vol. I, part I, 220).

The distinct definition was preserved at least into the early Cinquecento: Calvisius, 2, *ad altiores Musicæ gradus ascendendum: ut aliquando vel Musici alicuius vel Melopæci [composer] vel Cantoris officio*. However, it should be noted that this distinction became less clear, especially as private positions at courts became more stable and lucrative, as they had by the second half of the Cinquecento (Anthon, 1946b, 229-32). This also explains Gaetano's later fluid use of the term. For an overview of the distinction, see Fuhrmann, 2004, 19-47.

oratoris : as Gaetano intended *musica* to be read as distinct from *μονστρή*, so it seems he meant oratory to be from rhetoric. Using the Greek word *Rhetorices* similarly to Gaetano, Piazzoni says that its *partes* are the *officium Oratoris* (*Prae. lib. 7v*). As with music, the art of composing language occupied an exalted position in humanist education (see Ward, 2019). Whereas the study of grammar had continued widely even if its Latin was less 'pure', the study of rhetoric had been attenuated by the fragmentation of classical literature on the subject (Vickers, 1989, 214-53).

Gaetano's choice suggests a conservative stance, based on primary rhetoric, or rhetoric intended for a specific education in contrast to the art *per se* (cf. § *xxxii. Rhetorice*). As Grendler (1989, 209) puts it, "few Italian schoolboys would grow up to become princes, ambassadors, or court humanists." Beyond those who would, students of rhetoric in the Renaissance were taught eloquence in letter-writing, through familiarity with more advanced Latin texts, ultimately with a view to instruct them in classical moral wisdom. For a full discussion of rhetoric in the curriculum, see Grendler, 1989, 203-34. With its focus on practical purpose, *orator* here thus suits Gaetano's meaning better than *rhetor*.

Perhaps Gaetano took some reassurance in this *persona* from the argument in Quintilian (*Inst. I.10.9-33*) that music was crucial for the student orator. This argument was cited directly by Tinctoris in his *Complexum* (§ 93; see Cullington, 2001, 62).

As mentioned in the **Introduction**, *orator* had the additional local meaning, that of officially appointed state ambassador (see Mattingly, 1955, 77-88). While Gaetano would not have held such a position, it is likely, given his proximity to power, that he would have been aware of this. Additionally, one of the sections of Piazzoni's *Libellus* discusses the *partes Rhetorices sive officia Oratoris* (7v). This supports the idea that each of these *personae* represent an official duty, plausibly in service to the state.

magistri caeterarum artium : possibly paraphrasing Cic. *Nat. D.* II.22.57 *magistrum artium reliquarum*. Whereas Cicero says that this *magister* is a certain *ignis artificiosa*, Gaetano subsequently invokes **omnium rerum artifex Deus** (§ x), exemplifying the typically humanist blend of classical and Christian thought.

magistri : a common epithet of humanists, and one implying a link to education in a formal setting (Kohl, 1988). Suitably learned monks of the scholastic era had also used it (Ward, 2006, 5 mentions two: Magister Menegaldus and Magister Alanus). It speaks to a position earned by merit rather than birth, so claiming this literary *persona* is not without tension; less so to Gaetano, who was not and did not pretend to be noble, but to the class-conscious Cicero, he “hat sich ausdrücklich verbeten, *magister* genannt zu werden” (Pohlenz, 1912, 22 n.1 citing *Orat.* i.12; *Rep.* I.38; *Fin.* II.1). See above, **personam ... susceptam**.

However, Gaetano is clearly nervous to claim this ‘role.’ This underlines how his *Oratio* stands apart from the list of works discussed in the **Introduction (Concepts of music)**, as his is the only one that does not deal with the purely theoretical musicology. By way of contrast, in the highly decorated border (by Guillermus Le Signerre) of the first page of the first book of Gaffurio’s *Practica Musice*, a robed figure labelled F. Gaforus is shown seated in a schoolroom lecturing a group of boys. The scheme is such that he is suggested to be taking his descent directly from Apollo (see Gaffurio, *a i.r*; on this see Young, 1969, xxvi-xxx, who considers that the decoration was performed “under Gafurius’ [sic] watchful eye”). Similarly, nowhere does Gaffurio apologise for his boldness for taking up his theme (on Gaffurio’s life and writings, see Kreyszig, 1993, xv-xxx and with a more detailed explication of the scholarly arithmetic, see Illuminati & Ruini, 2005, xv-xlviii; on his humanism, see Palisca, 1985, 191-225). Similarly, the first sentence of the prologue to the *Proportionale musices* states that it is *editum a magistro Johanne Tinctoris*.

caeterarum artium : namely *logica*, *aritmetica*, *geometria*, and *astronomia*. The latter three together with music formed the *quadrivium*, which was so named by Boethius following Nicomachus (Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 32-3, nn.50, 51). Logic, together with grammar and rhetoric made up the *trivium*, which was studied first, although its name is only traced to the Carolingian Renaissance (Marou, 1969, 18-19; Ward, 2019, 134-5). To be familiar with each topic and its application was necessary to being considered educated (see below § *xxx artes liberales* & § *xxxii passim*). As discussed above (§ *Title Musices*), the Venetian state funded a number of schools to train effective administrators. Similarly, there were a number of private schools, such as that of Stefano Piazzoni that did not receive state subsidy, but nevertheless had impressive alumni from both noble and bourgeois families (Piazzoni, 2r.-6r.), a peculiarly Venetian characteristic. The influence of these schools was important, as can be seen in the handbook on oratory written by Piazzoni (Hart & Hicks, 10-11).

These ‘liberal arts’ should be understood as distinct from practical skill (artifice). Latin lacks a semantic distinction, although Cicero puts the art made by nature above that made by man (*Nat. D.* II.22.57), cf. § *xvi natura ... putaretur*.

rationem : is the first instance in the oration of *ratio*, which has differing meanings throughout the *Oratio*. Here it has a sense of account as in rationale (closer to the *caput alterum* in the *TLL*, s.v., XI.2 168.11-169.42). Elsewhere, it stands for other ideas such as the ability to reason or argue (§ *iii quod est rationis*); a justification or counting or reckoning (§ *xix humorum ... rationalium et irrationalium animalium*), the idea of reasoning (§ *xxvii sensui ... rationi*) or in reference to the various proportions created by harmony.

verumetiam : is likely a neo-Latin contraction but used as an intensifier of contrast (cf. *verumtamen*); see *OLD* s.v. **uerum** 4., and Cic. *Verr.* IV.72.

§ ii.

quicquid : is generally used to suggest vagueness, or at least a lack of specificity (*OLD* s.v., Cic. *Att.* IX.19.4). Coupled with **quisque**, the sense that Gaetano seeks not to over-commit himself to his argument lest he be unmasked as an imposter is underlined.

propriae naturae ... propriam naturam : *natura* is contrasted with *persona*, but the latter cannot be faked; one's personality is preordained and to stray beyond its capabilities risks **reprehensio levitatis** (§ iii). By intelligent imitation of classical antecedents, Renaissance scholars knew they could reveal their own identity through their choices: “imiter l'idée d'un auteur ne signifie donc pas qu'on recopie à l'identique” (Goyet, 1996, 403).

ad propriam naturam revocare debet : Gaetano strikes an interesting balance: on the one hand he must not exceed his abilities (*supra*), but he should also achieve an unthreatening tone. This is an approach advocated by Piazzoni, who devotes a section *de depreciatione*, in which he says that a speaker ought to underplay their abilities, and thus show *virtus aut nobilitas* (*Prae. lib.* 18v).

**siquidem varietates ... variam vivendi viam requirunt ... quae [tractantur in]
vita valere videmus** : this heavy consonantal assonance, hinting at polyptoton, offers a rhetorical flourish to the piece.

§ iii.

quattuor personis induti simus : taken directly from Cic. *Off.* I.107-117, albeit with different emphases. The tradition (derived from Cicero's statement at *Off.* III.7) is that Cicero had based the first two books of his *De officiis* on Panaetius's *Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*, but there is little other evidence to support that claim (De Lacy, 1977, 169-70; for the lineage of this concept see Gill, 1988, 169nn.3-4, 183-4; cf. Van Straaten, 1952, vi-vii). While the passive voice (following Cicero) suggests a lack of autonomy in choosing these roles, in line with the uncertainty of who has put Gaetano up for this speech (see § i. **vel proprio**), it does not wholly exclude the 'actor' from the decision. Notably, Gaetano's tone is less magisterial than Cicero's, who opens with the gerundive *intelligendum etiam est*. Furthermore, Gaetano seems to be less interested than Cicero in *decorum* (on which, see Dyck, 1996, 238-249, esp. 241ff.). Dyck also observes how Cicero structures his doctrine to tighten the focus from generally shared traits to individuals (1996, 269), whereas Gaetano starts at the individual, moves to the general, and then re-tightens his focus.

This theory is a key feature of Stoic philosophy and provides a way for man to regain control following his *διαστροφή* (or "fall from nature"). In this context, Gaetano seems to suggest that music is the attraction back to natural excellence. As Gildenhard observes (2007, 170-87), Cicero's scheme in the *Tusculans* is also to demonstrate a path of philosophical enlightenment. His employment of rhetoric, far from the cynical use with which it is now commonly associated, was for public benefit, (on this see Remer, 2017).

duabus ... a natura : lifted from the first part of Cicero's description (*Off. I.107-114*).

altera ex eo ... communis : in using *Off. I.107* Gaetano does not quite take enough from the material for his sentence to hang together; it would be improved by an explication of what he means by **communis** (as Cicero provides).

quod est rationis, omnibus est communis : as distinct from Pythagorean *ratio*, cf. § *xxvii* and above, § *i rationem*. This draws on Pl. *Tim.* 30b, *διά δὴ τὸν λογισμὸν τόνδε νοῦν μὲν ἐν φυλῇ, φυχὴν δὲ ἐν σώματι ζηνιστάς τὸ πᾶν ζηνετεκταίνετο*. It is notable that Cicero spends much less time offering texture to this *persona* than the others (*Off. I.107*).

altera propter animorum dissimilitudines singulis proprie attribuitur : Cic. *Off. I.107-114*. Plato observed that souls fulfil different functions: *Rep.* II.370a-b, *ἐνοῶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτος εἰπόντος σοῦ, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῶν φύεται ἔκαστος οὐ πάντας ὅμοιος ἐκάστῳ, ἀλλὰ διαφέρων τὴν φύσιν, ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔργον πρᾶξιν*; in likening the gods to men, the same argument is made in Cic. *Nat. D. I.80*, *si enim nihil inter deum et deum differt, nulla est apud deos cognitio, nulla perceptio*.

tertiam ... quarta : Cic. *Off. I.115-16*. These form a pair with the fourth *persona* in balance with the first pair. Disagreeing with Schmekel who considered them a Ciceronian innovation (1892, 39-41), Gill traces the intellectual lineage of this second pair to earlier Stoic philosophy, especially Panaetius (1988, 174-6). **quarta :** The joke is that Gaetano has hinted (§ *i vel alieno*) that the choice has not been his alone.

cognitione : *L&S* and the *OLD* both associate this form of 'awareness' as that resulting from examination through rational study, already central as the first kind of *persona*, but which shall grow in relevance when Gaetano discusses Pythagoreanism (§§ *xi, xxvii, xxix*). The Greek *ἀναγνωρίζω* and the derived *ἀναγνωρίσις* are theatrical terms describing the recognition that provokes dénouement (see *LSJ* s.v. for examples). It is thus helpful to make the link here with recognition of one's *personae*. The link to masks is also in Roman drama, e.g. Ter. *Eu.* 921; *Hec.* 831. A classical parallel of the use of theatrical terms in Plutarch is found in O'Donnell, 1975.

repudiari : a strong word to use reflexively, although attested of scorning speeches (*eloquentia haec forensis spreta a philosophis et repudiata*, Cic. *Orat.* iii.13). Gaetano might have employed *frigere* to describe a failed oration (Quint. *Inst.* IV.3.2 *ne ... oratio refrigerescat*).

reprehensione levitatis : the risk of not following one's *propria natura*. The implication of an audience underlines the sense of performance indicated by *persona*. As discussed above (§ *i personam ... susceptam; magistri*), Cicero risks just this. Gigon argues that his performed *persona* in the *Tusculans* jeopardised his entire output (1973, 258). He himself had warned that Romans who behaved too 'Hellenically' risked well-deserved ridicule (Cic. *Off. I.111*).

§ iv.

probantur : is a legalistic choice of word, used of demonstrating a thing's goodness or truth, *TLL* X.2.ii 1460-72.

elargita : the classical active deponent voice rather than the common neo-Latin ecclesiastical *elargire* (*DMLBS* I.975; *LMSMIL*, 786).

musicam artem : Gaetano is emphasising his knowledge of the $\tau\epsilon\chi\eta$ -skill of music rather than the scholarly liberal art. This is thus an example of *musicam* being preferred to *musicen*.

§ v.

artificiosa musica : is the first mention of the specific type of music that Gaetano will discuss (primarily §§ *xxi-xxviii* but ff.).

meque non immerito ... musici nomen vendicare ostendat : Gaetano's elaborate modesty, neatly expressed through a descending tricolon, underlines the difference between theoreticians (*musici*) and practitioners (*cantores*) defined above at § *i musici*. The repeated /me/ may emphasise Gaetano's awareness of his exposure.

§ vi.

orationi fundamenta : fundamenta is more usual with the genitive (cf. Cic. *Cael.* 30; *Planc.* 29) but often seen with the ambiguous e.g. *rei publicae* (Cic. *Catil.* IV.13; cf. Quint. *Inst.* XII.6.2). Gaetano's use is possibly taken from Quint. *Inst.* I.4.5 *oratoris futuri fundamenta*.

regulis[que] alligata ... lege ... alligatam : *alligo* is itself a neutral word (being either supportive or constrictive as needed, cf. *TLL* I 1680 24ff.) but it is striking that Gaetano establishes this contrast within a few lines. In the first instance, Gaetano's implication is that it is positive that rules have been established (cf. his praise for Zarlino, § *xliii*), but in the second, he does not wish this to be inflexible.

The first section of the oration proper. Gaetano defines and delineates the categories of musician.

duo igitur sunt musicorum genera generalissima : Gaetano takes Boethius as his main source for this section, but with substantial alterations. The most obvious is that the emphasis is on the *musici* who practise rather than music itself. While the traditionally taught tripartite division of music into *mundana*, *humana*, and *instrumentalis* (as at Boethius, *Inst. Mus.* I.2, and followed by theoreticians such as Gaffurius fol.11.r-fol.14.v) remains, Gaetano is novel in establishing two groups of musician and so indicating the distinction between the theoreticians and practitioners identified above (§ i. **musici**). By way of contrast, Gaffurio establishes three types of *musicus et cantor*: *unum quod instrumentis agit. aliud fingit carmina. tertium instrumentorum opus carmenque diudicat* (1492, fol.14.v & ff.). Differently again, Coclito identifies four *genera* of musician: music's inventors (see § xxv **primus**), its mathematicians (who are generally scorned in Gaetano's Second Age, see § xxxix **altera deinceps**), those who excel as kings over the rest, and poets (Coclito, 1552, B.iii.v-C).

Gaetano's approach appears to be innovative, even as he goes on to discuss 'Five Ages' of musician (§§ xxxviii-xlii – most of whom are known today primarily as composers, and so even if they left no writings on music theory, their thoughts on music theory can be inferred from their work), a phenomenon with clearer precedent (Owens, 1990). Note that Boethius also distinguishes the art from the practitioner (*Inst. Mus.* I.34; cf. § i. **musici**). If Gaetano is making an uncited reference to him, this is in keeping with the contemporaneous shift in the reception of Boethius, led by Salinas, who was the first to recognise Boethius's intermediary position in transmitting Greek theory (see Palisca, 1994).

This is also possibly an allusion to Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum*, of which several editions had been published in Venice by Gaetano's lifetime (Ippolito, 1998, xxvii), *oratorum genera esse dicuntur tamquam poetarum* (Cic. *Opt. gen.* 1), but Gaetano sets himself in opposition to Cicero, who writes, *oratorem genere non divido* (*Opt. gen.* 3). Nevertheless, this would demonstrate Gaetano's awareness of more recherché texts (on the limited contemporary awareness of this and other more obscure Ciceronian works, see Ward, 2019, 93, 158-9).

genera generalissima : a logistic term found in Boethius, although not in relation to music (*Cat. Aris. Comm.* I.3.184; III.17; III.1.83; *Comm. Porph.* I.1.7.8; I.1.8.5; I.1.8.9; I.1.17.11; I.1.24.27). The assonance underlines Gaetano's self-deprecating apology for the extent to which he believed he was oversimplifying the scheme. It may also point to the novelty of his argument.

genera is a distinct class of **genera** to the *genera* within which the different types of music are composed (i.e. *diatonicum*, *chromaticum*, and *enharmonicum* [Boethius, *Inst. Mus.* I.21, although named slightly differently at their first mention at I.15; see Bower, 1989, 22 n.82]). Gaetano will mention these at § *xxxv*, notably as here (and unlike Boethius) focusing on the musicians rather than the art itself.

The division of a speech into *genera* was an important technique in rhetoric, as recognised by Cicero (*Inv. rhet.* I.22.32) and taught in Renaissance textbooks such as Piazzoni's (*Prae. lib.* 12*r*) as being key to an orator showing how his argument fits together. However, following Cicero, Gaetano's description would suggest that **generalissima** should be redundant, *genus est quod plures partes amplectitur* (Ward, 2019, 114-6 relates mediaeval commentaries on this and proximate passages).

animasticum : a rare word only attested in contexts unrelated to music or musicians, and not in the *TLL* (although cf. *infra*). In his 1533 work *De occulta philosophia*, Agrippa described an *ordo animasticus* as one of godlike men or heroes (*viri fortes et beati* [III.17, 243; many including Plato and Jesus Christ are listed at III.34, 281-3]) forming a bridge from the divine to mankind, *horum itaque heroum non minor in his inferioribus disponendibus regendisque quam deorum daemonumque potentia est* (III.34, 282); see also Shumaker, 1972, 152 (whose edition of Agrippa of c.1650 [see *ibid.*, 158, n.70] has *de ordine anamastico*, whereas the 1533 edition had *animastico*). Thus, Gaetano may be describing the kind of musician who plays the kind of music that exists outside of man's consciousness and independently of man's imitation (*sc. mundana et humana*), but it is present in the God-given soul. This sense is reinforced by his catalogue and thanks of the 'heroes of music' at § *lxxiv*, allowing it to be distinguished from *musica naturalis* that teaches men and birds. It is nevertheless perhaps strange that Gaetano does not make this point explicitly.

It could be that its meaning would be recognised in a local context, referencing the Paduan natural philosopher Zabarella (*Phys. lib.* 8. *super textum* 32. pg. 183: *Opponit Zabarella Animasticum Physico; ac strictim motum Animasticum vocat, qui ab anima proficiscitur: Physicum qui a natura* [although this was published in 1578, after the latest plausible date for the *Oratio*]), *Du Cange* defines *animasticum* as referring to those beings that have souls (*ad animam pertinens*). Similarly, Galileo would also distinguish *physica* from *animistica* (Wallace, 1977, 275).

Another plausible reading is in the neo-Aristotelian idea that the holiest part of man is his *intellectus* (on Valla's promotion of this theory, see Panizza, 1991, 181-7). For Gaetano, man's engagement in using his *intellectus-animasticus* for the improvement of his society is the highest ideal.

See also *Or.xiv animam*.

instrumentale : the everyday experience of music, echoing the *genus animasticum*. This is not Boethius's word, rather a later mediaeval clarification.

ex animastico, mundana et humana, ex instrumentalis naturalis et artificiosa musica : a novel expression of Boethius's description; the division could be described as *unsounding* and *sounding* music respectively (see Burnett, 1991, 49-50). Gaetano further divides Boethius's *musica instrumentalis* in two (Boethius *Inst. Mus.* I.2, derived from Ptol. *Harm.* I.13-14 citing Archytas). The order of the *genera* corresponds to their proximity to the original ideal of music, and their implied equivalent decreasing purity (sc. *dignitas*).

In this division into four parts, it is tempting to equate them with the four Stoic *personae* discussed above (reasoning/*ratio* being shared by humans and the divine) but this likely applies too much pressure to the material. Nevertheless, by extending to this fourth category beyond Boethius, it can be seen that Gaetano constructs a parallel rhetorical decrescendo from the general *mundana* to the particular *artificiosa*, so showing further awareness of the *ars rhetorica*.

ex instrumentalis naturalis et artificiosa : Gaetano's source for joining the natural and that made by skill could be Cic. *Nat. D.* II.57 *omnis natura artificiosa est*.

florida, plana rhythm[eti]ca, atque metrica : demonstrates the movement away from Aristotelian focus on speculative mathematics postulated by Cassiodorus that had underpinned mediaeval music theory (see § xxxix on Gaetano's dismissal of the composers who had cleaved to that tradition until relatively recently). For the earlier school, the tripartite division of music into *armonica* (or often *melica*), *rithmica* and *metrica* was either the equation by which music could be accomplished or represented the different ways in which music could be made (by voice, breath, or touch respectively). For fuller discussion, see Dyer, 2007.

Gaetano classifies all these as part of the necessary knowledge of the practical musician. His division comes rather from the rhetorical style of musical composition newly developed and popularised by Josquin and others in Gaetano's 'Third Age' (see § xl). Quintilian does make use of *floridum* in defining styles of speaking, but it is contrasted with *subtile* rather than *planum* (*Inst. XII.10.58*). Gaetano does not mention here (as Gaffurio does at *Theor. Mus.* I.1) Ficino's

translation of Plato (*Tim.* 47e) that rhythm tempers immoderate character (Palisca, 1985, 193-4), although he does imply so in §§ *liii-lv* discussing the military applications of music.

ex instrumentalis naturalis, id est vocalis, et artificiosa musica pendet : appears to be an original statement, particularly the suggestion that vocal music is natural music.

Boethius's classification of the voice is rather more ambiguous. He does not suggest it as one of the instruments governed by technical skill and obfuscates somewhat by using the Latin *vox* to translate *φθόγγος*, which covers both voice and the more general 'pitch' (see Bower, 1989, 8 n.34, 16 n.63). However, Boethius does address human voice and its limitations at *Inst. Mus.* I.12-13 and clearly accepts it as universally experienced (*Inst. Mus.* I.1 *qui suaviter canere non potest, sibi tamen aliquid canit & ff.*), possibly as an intermediary state between *musica humana* and *instrumentorum*.

Gaetano's (possibly professional) suggestion is that it possesses a higher degree of *dignitas* because everyone is capable of performing this kind of music without trained skill, but it requires some level of input.

vel flatu, vel tactu, vel percussione conficitur : see Boethius, *Inst. Mus.* I.2, which Bower links to Cassiodorus *Institutiones*, II.5.6 (1989, 10, n.43). In *De doctrina christiana* II.xvii.27 (already seen at *Ep.xi*; also *In psalmum* cl. 8), Augustine states that music is made by voice (*voce*) as in singing, by breath (*flatu*) as in wind instruments, or by beat (*pulsu*). It is unspecified what Gaetano's distinction is between **tactu** and **percussione**. Augustine conflates *citharis et tympanis* (this was common in the Greek tradition, see West, 1992, 48 n.22; Augustine's addition of vocal appears innovative). It is likely that Gaetano like Boethius is differentiating between stringed instruments and drums (see also § *xxi*). The division also preserves the tricolon lost by the separation of vocal music.

rhythmetica ... ad prosam ..., metrica ad ... versus : seems an unusually strict division. Even those likely less versed in classical learning knew that rhythm and metre had a place in both prose and verse (for an example, see a discussion of John of Garland's *De arte prosayca, metrica, et rithmica* (Purcell, 1996, 87-98)).

§ viii.

quare quandoquidem : a formal expression (but cf. frivolity in Verg. *E.* III.55), also used at § *xlvi*, reinforcing the self-evidence of the previous point. **quandoquidem** : particularly is portentous of weighty conclusions (Lucr. II.980, but also Cat. IL.7; LXIV.218).

artificiosa musica: marks the first time Gaetano is specific about what *genus* of music he intends as the oration's focus, *sc.* the fine art rather than the liberal.

§§ ix-xviii.

'Universal music' (sc. the Music of the Spheres): there is an innate understanding of the ability of music even in uncultivated people, proving that it exists independently of the rules and regulations established by academic thought. Music so imbues civilisation that we have become unaware of it. We can increase our understanding of it by employing our reason.

tum ingenuas tum serviles : Gaetano refers to the *ingenuae artes* twice in the letter, without being explicit about exactly which are included (see *Ep.iii reliquae ingenuae artes*; *Ep.viii reliquas ingenuas artes*). A recognition of “noble” or “gentlemanly” arts is one of the distinctions of Renaissance humanism from mediaeval scholasticism, with curricula set out from at least the late fourteenth century (see Grendler, 1989, 117-41). **serviles** has a sense of being distinct from a gentleman rather than explicitly servile, much as Gaetano is creating a distinction between *musica* and *mousike*.

praeter musicen : consistently through these sections (to § *xviii*), Gaetano distinguishes between the liberal and fine art.

necessitas omnium artium optimus magister : shows classical framing by subject and complement. This echoes Pl., *Rep.* II. 369c *ποιήσει δὲ αὐτήν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ή ήμετέρα χρεία*, (popularised by Jowett’s aphoristic translation “necessity the mother of invention,” [1874, 191], cf. Horman in his schoolroom *Vulgaria* of 1519 *mater artium necessitas*). On other identities of the teacher of the arts cf. Cicero’s ‘creative spark’ (*Nat. D.* II.22 *id est ut dixi ignem artificiosum, magistrum artium reliquarum*); sometimes named gods could be ascribed this role, Caes. *Gal.* VI.17 *Mercurium ... omnium inventorem artium*. See also above § *i. magistri*.

Musices vero notionem : *sc.* the liberal art. On the history of the concept of the harmony of the spheres to Gaetano’s day, see Piper, 1851, Vol.2: 245-76.

illos vagientes ... nutrices placare volunt : conversely Quintilian remarks that mute nurses’ charges can speak, they do so incoherently (*Inst.* X.1.10 probably referencing Herod. II.2).

Rudes autem ... moventur : similar phrases appear in Quint. *Inst.* I.10.9 *quia rudes atque agrestes animos admiratione mulceret*; I.10.21 *indoctos a Musis atque a Gratiis abesse* (cf. § *lxii*) and Ael. *NA* XII.6 (see § *li dicuntur* on the story of Arion). Vergil had also described how singing eased shepherds’ cares, *E.* IX.64 *cantantes ... minus via laedit*. **auribus accipiunt** : is a formal expression when applied to **rudes**. Gaetano may be employing bathos or aggrandising the lowly shepherds, in a way similar to Lucretius of men watching the games and hearing music on the lyre (*Lucr.* IV.982).

pastoribus ... ab intelligentia omnium scientiarum remotissimis : the naïve shepherd is a common image, see Verg. *E.* I.20-6, esp. *urbem ... stultus ego huic nostrae similem*. Quintilian also emphasises the idea that music's exceptionality is that even peasants can appreciate it (*Inst. I.*10.16, *sed etiam singulorum fatigatio quamlibet se rudi modulatione solatur*).

natura ... ingenuisset : for Gaetano, nature plants awareness of music, but cf. the reversal of this in Verg. *E.* I.4-5, *tu, Tityre, lensus in umbra / formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas*.

musices ... musicam : is a clear demonstration of the difference between *musice* (*mousike*) and *musica*: the shepherds' souls have an awareness of the liberal art, which they then attempt to replicate through the performed art.

e fistulosae materiae calamis geniculatis : the chiasmus of this phrase and separation of the ablative from its governing preposition draw attention to the outlandish framing words, creating a sense of Gaetano's reaction to this genre of music's unrefined nature. **fistulosae** : Coleman does not go so far as to disparage the implied sound, but this is possibly referencing an effect at Ver. *Ecl. II.*37 where *fistula* "is emphatically placed in enjambement" before an "explosive series of dentals." His remark is that this underlines Corydon's self-assurance (1977, 100). A similar effect is achieved by Ovid (*Met. XI.*162-3) where in recounting the competition between Apollo and Pan, the description of the sound Pan makes is placed forcefully at the start of the two consecutive lines: *barbarico ... carmine*. **calamis** : loaned from Greek (cf. Th. *Id.5.7*), as opposed to the more Latin [*h*]arundinibus (e.g. Verg. *E. VI.*8, Ovid, *Met. XI.*154, 190) hints at the exotic, although well-attested in Latin literature from Cato *Agr.* 105.2, as well as the deliberately evocative Verg. *E. I.*10, although cf. *ibid.* 2, *avena*. **geniculatis** : paired with *culmo* at Cic. *de Sen.* XV.51 (see also Verg. *G. I.*111).

modos : such a passing reference at the first mention of musical modes makes clear that Gaetano's intention is not to write a specialist musicological text. Modes (which set tonality, understood as the Renaissance's precursor to musical keys) and their significance form a substantial part of Renaissance musicologists' writings (see e.g. Krantz, 1989, 13-63).

quasi vertunt ad admirationem : Gaetano employs bathos in order to damn the pastoral with faint praise. After references to the *Eclogues*, an echo of the parodying tone of the *Antibucolica* (Don. *Vit. Verg.* 43) *Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi?* (Coleman, 1977, 71).

musices intelligentiam in animis : cf. § xiv **animam**.

caelitus : is a relatively rare example of Gaetano using a post-classical Latin word, see *TLL* III.1 75 8-81.

Pythagoras atque eius sectatores : this phrase is repeated at § xxix. The choice of *atque* shows that Gaetano knew that the ideas of Pythagoras of Samos (see below, §§ xxvii, xxix), fl. late C5th B.C. only survived to posterity under the aegis of a school of fervent followers. Iamblichus chronicles their extinction in the late C4th B.C. (*Vit. Pyth.* 35). Cicero criticised their dogmatic tendency to fall back on the argument *ipse dixit* (*avtōs ἔφα*) to the extent *ut etiam sine ratione valeret auctoritas* (*Cic. Nat. D.* I.10, see also Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 29). While arguably the most significant Pythagorean was Nicomachus, he is not mentioned by Gaetano, owing in part to the majority of his transmission being via Boethius and others (see Robbins et al, 1926, 138-45; for a comprehensive bibliography of Nicomachus, see Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 32 n.49). On Pythagoras's life and doctrine, see Burnet, 1920, 38-45.

ex Platone testatur : despite being a clear source for much of the *Timaeus* and works pertaining to the function of *λογός*, Plato only names Pythagoras once (*Rep.* X. 600a-b) possibly in order to avoid the criticism or even persecution faced by some Pythagorean disciples (Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 90-1). However, here Gaetano is clearly referring to Er's vision of Sirens singing as they inhabit their various orbits, so creating the harmony of the spheres (*Rep.* X. 616c-617d), see also § lxii **Platonis ... in Republica**. It likely also shows his familiarity beyond Cicero's description in the *Somnium Scipionis* (*Rep.* VI.18-19). Pythagoras's transmission through Plato was also well-known (e.g. Gaffurio, 1492, fol.12.v).

summus omnipotens ... Deus : in contrast to uses of the cult title of Jupiter (*Optimus Maximus*, see *Ep.iii*, *Or.lxxv*), here Gaetano grants one of the most prevalent epithets of the Christian God to the godhead understood by pre-Christian Plato. Although he is citing Plato, who widely uses the singular of *θεός* in a generally polytheistic culture (e.g. immediately after the description cited, at *Rep.* X. 617e), it may be that Gaetano is attempting to assimilate the pagan and Christian aspects of divinity, in a manner not dissimilar to Federico da Montefeltro's twin chapel in his palace (see *Ep.vii illorum domus*).

omnium rerum artifex Deus : synonymous with *artifex* (*TLL* IX.2 704.63-705), at *Nat. D.* II.142, Cicero has *quis vero opifex praeter naturam* (on Gaetano's possible answer cf. § *xvi natura ... putaretur*). Cicero translates *δημονργός* as *artifex* (Cic. *Tim.* 6 translating Pl. *Tim.* 29a.2-3). Notably, this appeals more to the technical skill of God, rather than a passively perfect entity, such as that seen in Pythagorean philosophy: "God manifests in the mathematical laws which govern everything." (Waterfield, 1988, 25). Rather, Cicero's (and thus Gaetano's) use is more practical, as Pease observes on Cic. *Nat. D.* II.58 *artificiosa ... artifex* (which Plasberg translates as *τεκνική ... τεκνῖτης* [Pease, *ad loc.*]) "Numerous cases of *artifex* applied to the god or nature which created the universe are found in *TLL* II, 700.58-701." This tone is apparently at odds with the ideas that likely underpin Gaetano's criticism of his Second Age of Musicians (see § *xxxix*).

imparibus intervallis distincti : intervals and their ratios underpin all ancient theories of harmonics, and their precision is recorded by Plato at *Tim.* 35-6. Certainly, Plato portrays the character Timaeus as one imbued with Pythagorean teaching. On the development of the understanding of intervals, see Barker, 1991b and Sachs, 1991.

tantos enim motus ... nequaquam silentio incitari posse : a clear paraphrase of Cic. *Rep.* VI.18 "nec enim silentio tanti motus incitari possunt." By the late Renaissance, there does not appear to be any suggestion that this description was anything other than allegorical.

putabant : as opposed to e.g. *credebant* or *sciebant*, carries a stronger sense of uncertainty (see *TLL* X.2: 2759.53 s.v.) underlining the allegorical nature of this passage.

Cicero : the writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106-43 B.C. exerted a profound influence over the Renaissance. For a brief summary of this influence, see MacKendrick, 1989, 261-5.

in somnio quod de Scipio Africano conscripsit : until the 1493 discovery of the first five books of Cicero's *De re publica* at the Badia of Bobbio near Pavia, the sixth (commonly called the *Somnium Scipionis*) had been the only book to survive the Middle Ages, partly owing to the commentary of Macrobius.

magnitudinem ... magnitudinem ... magnitudine : likely a lack of imagination rather than an intentional tricolon (see also § xxxv **auctore ... auctores ... auctor**; § lxi **amantes ... amabiles ... admirabiles**). In discussing the *quadrivium*, Boethius speaks of music (and arithmetic) as being *multitudinis*, whereas geometry and astronomy are *magnitudinis*.

ex altissimis montibus ... sensu audiendi caret : almost word-for-word copy of Cicero (*Rep.* VI.19), slightly rearranged. **precipitat ... praecipitantur** : provides an example of inconsistent spelling within a short space.

qui Catadupa vocantur : the Cataracts of the Nile, from the Greek plural-only *Katáδονποι* (see Hdt. II.17) ultimately *καταδονπέω*. Cicero (*Rep.* VI.5) has *ubi Nilus ad illa, quae Catadupa nominantur*.

sensu aurium caret : musical taste (found through *iudicium aurium*, see Sachs, 1991) is only needed for instrumental music. Notably, physical deafness does not seem to carry similar moral benefits to physical blindness (Sears, 1991), even if this is a suggestion of such an ability to hear beyond the physical world. The 'sense of one's ears' continues to be a theme through the following sections.

nostrae aures ... obsurduerunt : is the closest that Gaetano comes to the assertion by Iamblichus (*VP* 15), later discussed by medieval scholars (see Burnett, 1991, 49 & n.58), that Pythagoras alone could literally hear the harmony of the spheres, cf. § xiv.

§ xiii

primis inventoribus : strictly ‘discoverers’ of an already existent Ideal rather than e.g. ‘creators,’ see § *Title*. **origine**. On the concept of invention in the Renaissance, see Polydore Vergil’s *de inventoribus rerum* (ed. Copenhaver, 2002) and Atkinson, 2007 (*Ep.vi* may contain an allusion to Vergil in *doctissimi viri*).

exemplaque rerum similium representari : i.e. the fine art *musica* is produced to imitate the soul’s experience of the liberal art *musice*.

§ xiv.

sensu aurium : see § *xxvii sensui*.

Aristoxenus musicus, idemque philosophus : Aristoxenus of Tarentum (c.375-fl.335 B.C.) the earliest of the foremost extant Greek harmonic theorists (see Solomon, 2000, xxiii & n.11) of whose work *Ἀριστοχενά Στοιχεῖα* some fragments are extant. One MS (the Codex Venetus) was in the Library of St Mark and had been edited and translated into Latin by Antonius Gogava as *Aristoxeni musici antiquissimi harmonicorum elementorum libri* (Venice, 1562 [bound with Ptolemy’s *Harmonics*, a fragment of Aristotle, and one of Porphyry]). As in Gogava, the epithet ‘the Musician’ was how Aristoxenus was often referred to in classical texts (e.g. Gell. *N.A.* IV.11) but here Gaetano is quoting Cicero (*Tusc.* I.19), who so puts rather greater emphasis on Aristoxenus’s philosophical than musical abilities, which are elsewhere rather brusquely dismissed: *Aristoxen[um] ... omittamus ... ita delectatur suis cantibus, ut eos etiam ad haec [sc. philosophiam] transferre conetur* (*Tusc.* I.41). For a fuller biography, see Westphal, 1893, i-xii; Macran, 1902, 86-93). Gaetano discusses Aristoxenus’s harmonic theory further at § *xxvii*.

divina animalia ... arripuerunt : this idea of “seizing” the essence of music seems at odds with others elsewhere where it is freely given (e.g. *Ep.iii*, *data ... Dei concessu atque munere*).

animam : is the first mention of *anima* in the *Oratio*. The letter mentions only *animus* (*Ep.* §§ *i, v, viii, xiv*) as does the oration to this point (*Or.* §§ *i, ii, iii, xiii*). The use of **animam** here (that it can be “seized from heaven”) suggests that Gaetano considers *anima* to be a somewhat tangible substance, but that it needs external assistance to function.

Whereas *anima* should be understood as the person’s soul or spirit, somewhat synonymous with *ratio*, *animus* is generally the physical act of breathing. The classical distinction is given *sapimus animo, fruimur anima* (Acc. *trag.* 296, *TLL* II: 69.82-3); cf. *animus est, quo sapimus, anima est qua vivimus*, (*Non.* 426, *L&S* s.v. **anima**).

However, classical sources do not give complete consistency between meaning and possible pre-eminence. In meaning, Cicero usually considers *animus* to be generally synonymous with *ratio* (*TLL* II: 92.64ff), but sometimes (as at *Nat. D.* I.87) associates *anima* with *ratio*. At *Tusc.* V.85, Cicero puts the good of the *animus* above that of the *corpus*, as it is that which may enliven the shell of the body. But that too is inferior to the soul, as Cicero says in the *Tusculans* (I.19), a source for much of Gaetano's material, *ipse autem animus ab anima dictus est*.

At § xix **corporis et animae coniunctione**, Gaetano connects body and soul, suggesting that harmony is the output of that *musica humana*, which connects it to the spirit, as it is this *ratio-animus* that perceives *musica mundana* (§ x **musices intelligentiam in animis**), underlining the Greek idea of *áppovía* as a binding force (*LSJ* s.v.). Elsewhere, Gaetano seems conspicuously to avoid mentioning *anima* in passages that refer to breathing (e.g. at *Ep.iv afflatu* & *Or.vii vel flatu ...*). He himself comes closest to drawing a clear distinction at § lxxiii **tum ad animi ...** by saying that the *animus* may have pleasure but the *anima* health.

In the translation, when Gaetano uses *anima* I have said “soul”, when he uses *animus* I have said “spirit.” N.B. his use of *spiritus* at § xlvi **divino ... spiritu afflati** ff., which rather seems to refer specifically to the spirit of God.

Job : the Book of Job focuses on theodicy, which is not strictly relevant to Gaetano's argument, but it emphasises his understanding of an omnipotent creator. He is also mentioned by Pico (*Oratio* §§ 83-4; 124-9; 165).

quis posuit ... faciet? : directly quoted from the Vulgate Bible (Job 38:36-7).

gallo intelligentiam : referenced in Pico at § 124-9 who links the rooster's omniscience to Pythagoras and Socrates. The MS has *Gallo* capitalised, possibly a weak pun on the wisdom of *Gallus* (*sic.*) of Cic. *Rep.* I.16, who plays a part in demonstrating the wisdom of Archimedes (see § xvi).

concentum caeli ... caelorum harmoniam : while the juxtaposition invites contrast, there is no particular semantic difference (although *concentus* is rather the translation of *συμφωνία* see *TLL* IV: 19.69-76; on synonymy see *ibid.* 19.80-1, 21.7-10), except that through the emphatic synonymy Gaetano is reminding the reader of Platonic ideas of harmony (e.g. Cic. *Nat. D.* II.119).

divinae scientiae : as with § xxiii. **syderalem scientiam**, this is a compounded noun, as in Tinctoris's *Complexus effectuum musices*, § 6, *divinamque scientiam Augustinus asserit* (see Cullington, 2001, 67, n.3, clarifying that this is not Augustine's phrase).

invisibilia ... visibilium : suggests the Nicene Creed (*factorem ... visibilium omnium et invisibilium*), underlining God's omnipotence.

Caldeorum : the Chaldeans were known for astrological divination. Joost-Gaugier observes that Pico's elision of the teachings of Chaldeans, Pythagoras, Hermeticists, and Kabbalists suggests that these discrete sources would have been in agreement with each other (2009, 30-1). The Chaldeans are also mentioned by Pico immediately following his discussion of the rooster's omniscience (*Oratio* §§ 130-6). On Pico's sources, possibly also available to Gaetano, see Borghesi et al, 2012, 175 n.162.

Archimedis Siracusani : Archimedes of Syracuse (c.287-12 B.C.), whose legend was considerable in the Renaissance. Netz (2004, 10-11) points out the difficulties in trying to establish any definite biography of Archimedes owing to a lack of contemporary sources, going as far as to say that “perhaps this should not be attempted at all.” Although some of Archimedes’s works were available in the sixteenth century, and indeed in Venice as early as 1491, (Netz suggests from 1204 [2004, 13-6] and a volume of *Archimedis diversa opera geometrica* is listed as item 261 in Omont’s catalogue of Bessarion’s 1468 donation to Venice [1894, 31]) there is no reason to suspect that Gaetano had any access to a book on sphere-making that Pappus of Alexandria knew to have existed (Papp. *Coll.* VIII.3 *κατὰ τὴν σφαιροποιίαν*). Much of Gaetano’s discussion in this section is derived from Cicero’s *exemplum* of the *inventio atque cogitatio* of Archimedes at *Tusc.* I.63. Cicero’s relation of his discovery of Archimedes’s tomb at *Tusc.* V.64-5 may already have been alluded to by Gaetano above (*Ep.iv*).

geometricae syderumque scientia peritissimi : a synthesis between what Gaetano knew to be extant (*diversa opera geometrica*) and what he could reasonably assume (Cic. *Rep.* I.21-22). The choice of *syderum* rather than a more faithful *siderum* was very common in contemporary writing (also at § xxiii; González Manjarrés, 2001b, 98). However, it is surprising that Gaetano does not use a compound noun (such as at § xxiii. **syderalem scientiam**), which was the typically classical way of referring to astrology.

exemplum : although fundamentally neutral, this is a tool indispensable to the repertoire of the orator. By the explicit use of this term (cf. *Ep.ii* & *x*), Gaetano generates *auctoritas*. This positive *exemplum* likely alludes to Cicero’s discussion of Archimedes at *Tusc.* V.64-5. The absence of a comparison does not truly matter, as the author’s preference is generally clear by implication. On Cicero’s use of moral *exempla*, see Jaeger, 2008, 33-4; 43-4.

sumam : the first-person verb draws attention to Gaetano’s place in intellectual lineage (cf. Cicero laying claim to Archimedes in Jaeger, 2008, 37-40 and Gaetano’s own claim to have rediscovered music at *Ep.iv* **incunabula penetravi**).

cum ... alligasset ... comprehenduntur : in separating the two verbs and altering the subject, Gaetano loses Cicero’s elegant balance *cum ... illigavit, effecit* (*Tusc.* I.63, see Kennedy, *ad loc.*), implying the unity of the two actions.

summus artifex : in his *Onomasticon*, Calpino had said that Archimedes’s craft made him appear *velut Deus terrenus* (1549, unpaginated). This epithet is then upheld by later dictionaries and onomastica.

in vitream sphaeram ... alligasset : appears taken largely from Cicero's account at *Rep.* I.21-22, also recounted at *Tusc.* I.63 (see Dougan *ad loc.*), except that in each the sphere's material is called simply *solidam*. **vitream** appears to be derived ultimately from Claudian's *In sphaeram Archimedis* (*Carm. Min.* 51.1) *in parvo ... aethera vitro ... Syracosius transtulit arte senex*. Calpino's dictionary states, *mechanico artificio sphaeram vitream fecit* (1549, unpaginated).

errantium stellas : *errantes stellae* a translation of *πλάνητες ἀστέρες* to distinguish those bodies (*sc.* Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) from those stars that appear fixed to the naked eye. See Cic. *Rep.* I.22 *et earum quinque stellarum, quae errantes ... nominarentur*.

natura ... putaretur : as above, few of Archimedes's own words had survived. His presence or even citation in literature was thus itself a kind of literary *persona* that an author could don to lend credibility to his narrative. The vagueness of the passive **putaretur** means that Gaetano cloaks this with the lack of any direct citation of exactly whose opinion this may have been and so himself adopts the *persona* of Archimedes. On the absence of credible sources and subsequent mythologising of Archimedes by Romans (especially Cicero) and heirs to the classical tradition, see Jaeger, 2002 & 2008. Moreover, by celebrating Archimedes's achievement so highly, Gaetano asserts that Archimedes had identified and worn the correct *personae* (*sc.* physicist, craftsman, etc) according to Gaetano's definition (§ *i personam...*).

Although Gaetano does not make the point (possibly because he does not explicitly mention harmony here), Archimedes's surpassing of **suam Genetricem** ought to put him in the category of *musicus animasticus* (see § *vii animasticum*). Cicero stated that nature was unsurpassed in her ability to craft (*Nat. D.* II.142). The use of **Genetricem** instead of e.g. *Deum* also allows Gaetano to avoid accusations of blasphemy (cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* II.88. *Archimedem ... plus valuisse*), although elsewhere Cicero states that it is hard to explain Archimedes's deeds *sine divino ingenio* (*Tusc.* I.63, cf. Mayor, *Nat. D.* II.88 *ad loc.* "much as we have come to see in the heavens the glory, not of God, but of Kepler, Newton, Laplace &c").

Aquinas had thought (following Aristotle) that art-craft imitated nature (see Aquinas, 1963, 83; cf. Arist. *Phys.* II.194a.21 *ἡ τέχνη μιμεῖται τὴν φύσιν*; *ibid.* 199a.15; on these Apostle, 1969, 208 n.11 & 219 nn.16-17).

credendum est : is less explicit than at § *xxv antiquitatis auctoritas sequenda est* but is a reproduction of the same idea.

§ xvii.

in causis divinarum ac caelestium rerum exquirendis : cf. Cicero *Nat. D.* I.1 who calls the exercise *perdifficilis* ... *et perobscura*. The divinity of music is posited by Gaetano in *Ep.iii*.

veritas : implies an absolute idea of truth, following Cicero (*Nat. D.* I.40, I.55) rather than something that can be weighed out in disputation (e.g. Cic. *de or.* I.262).

sapientium hominum : the criteria for qualification are not specified, but presumably Gaetano means *musici*, on which he will further elaborate in § xxx. See § xviii **ne ... est**.

sapientissimi ... Salomonis auctoritas : is likely a reference to the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* (I.14).

in numero, pondere, et mensura : this is a symbolic choice of words for Gaetano, as these had often been represented in the Middle Ages as the organ, cymbal, and monochord as an extension of Pythagorean harmonic theory (van Schaik, 2005, 138). It thus also invites prolepsis to § xxi **Psalteriumque et Cytharam**, which can therefore also be seen in a context beyond the Judeo-Christian.

quibus ... constant : with the ablative, “reckoned by” (see Cic. *de or.* III.19, *OLD* s.v.).

§ xviii.

ne ... quicquam detrahatur ... credendum est : demonstrates an attitude towards the authority of experts in contemporary academia. See Grendler, 2002, 241-8.

auctoritate atque fide : or a similar formulation is often seen in forceful conclusions, e.g. Cic. *Orat.* xxxiv.120.

§ xix.

Human music (sc. the Music of the Body)

Humana ... Musica : is Gaetano's only discussion of this category, but it provides a preparatory bridge from *Musica mundana* to *Musica naturalis* and *artificiosa*. Boethius allows a similar amount of space, notwithstanding an unfulfilled promise to return to the topic later (*Inst. Mus.* I.2). In the Middle Ages, occasionally *musica humana* had been interpreted as the sound made by the human voice (Burnett, 1991, 49n) but this is not Gaetano's intention. On the broader historiography of the concept, see Bower, 1989, 10n.

corporis et animae coniunctione : for Boethius, (*Inst. Mus.* I.2), this is rather the union of the body with *illam incorpoream rationis*; the spirit-*anima* is entirely left out. It is present elsewhere in Cicero's discussion of the soul (*Tusc.* I.10), where he says that Aristoxenus held the soul to be the body's harmony itself (cf. § xiv **animam**).

humorum ... rationalium et irrationalium animalium : Gaetano's argument is that the relative proportions of humours could be scientifically measured. See § i **rationem**.

videndo ... videntium ... audiendo ... ausculantium : on the tension between vision and hearing, see Frangenberg, who cites the Venetian-born Benedetti's *Comparatio visus et auditus: magis necessarium esse visum, et nobiliorem quam auditum existimo* (1991, 71).

§ xx.

Gaetano apologises for taking so long to introduce instrumental music.

Sed ... videtur : there is a similar apology at § xxviii **at vero ... defatigasse** that when taken together with this one gives the appearance of a delivered speech.

[quibus] : the MS contains a confused jumble here, *qui-* is clear, then appearing to be a *b* and the scribe's signum for a question mark on top of each other.

natura dederit : an echo of § ix **natura ... impressit**.

§§ xxi-xxviii.

Instrumental music, divided earlier into natural music, i.e. vocal music, and music made using skill (not necessarily training). §§ xxi-xxiii appear to draw on a synthesis of Josephus and Petrus Comestor.

§ xxi.

ultima antiquitate primisque hominibus : opens Gaetano's investigation into the earliest origins of music, which is framed by two similarly weighty phrases (see § xxv **antiquitatis auctoritas sequenda est**). These phrases feel Ciceronian (see *TLL* II.174.38-40, citing *Fin.* I.65 *fabulis ab ultima antiquitate repetitis*; *Div.* I.87 *clarissimis monumentis testata ... antiquitas*) which impression lends itself to Gaetano's stated aim.

initium sumam : further qualifies everything said to this point (at least from § ix-xx) as somewhat prefatory. This seems a break with classical expectation, Quintilian classes the *initium* as the opening of the speech itself (III.8.6), equating it with the (possibly unnecessary) *prooemium*, and in the pseudo-Cicero *In Sallustium*, the phrase *initium sumam* occurs within the first section.

Tubal : more correctly 'Jubal', which could suggest that Gaetano was not familiar either with Josephus in Greek, where he is *Ιούβαλος* (*A.J.* I.64) nor with the vernacular translation by Lauro (see 7r). Tubal had however been a common reading from the Middle Ages (Petrus Comestor *Hist. Schol. Gen.* Beinecke MS Osborn fa38 6v-7r & MS 520 6r) to the Renaissance (Polydor. Ver., *de invent. rer.* I.14.4). Gaffurio though, in the opening to his *Theorica musice* (Beinecke MS Mus.34, ai.r), calls him *Iubale*, and cites Josephus (presumably *A.J.* I.68-72, see Kreyszig, 1993, 7 nn.1a-c).

Gaetano's account diverges somewhat from other examples, e.g. Gaffurio opens with discussion of the Judeo-Christian origins of music and while Gaetano does begin his discussion of instrumental music with Tubal, he is nevertheless the first biblical character mentioned, and somewhat after the classical Cicero, Pythagoras, Aristoxenus, and Archimedes.

rerum hominumque interitum : i.e., the Great Flood. **interitum** is not a typically classical word (despite its occasional use by Cicero, e.g. *Tusc.* I.29; *Div.* 37). In the Vulgate, God says *delebo ... hominem ... ab homine usque ad animantia ab reptili usque ad volucres* (Gen. 6:7) However, the narrative of Gaetano's *exemplum* requires him to create distance, as the next section reveals that Jubal did not know what form the **interitum** would take. See § xxii **unum** ... **alterum** especially **proluvie**.

qui septimum ... locum : Adam's elder son Cain fathered Enoch, and thence Irad, Mehujael, Mehusael, and Lamech, whose first wife Adah bore Jubal, (Gen. iv.17-21). **ab Adam** is thus metonymic for 'from the creation of the world', tying music to the Christian tradition as Polydore Vergil does (*de invent. rer.* I.14.4).

musicae operam dedit : i.e. the practice of music.

psalteriumque et cytharam ... minime constat : despite being a very common pairing, and both remaining in use throughout the Middle Ages and beyond Gaetano's day, the precise identity of these instruments is debated (on which, West, 1992, 48, writes, "the problem of classifying the musical instruments of the world's people on scientific principles has long exercised musicologists"). *LXX* translates Gen. iv.21 (כִּנּוֹר וְעֲגָב *kinor ve ugav*) as *φαλτήριον καὶ κιθάραν*, preserving the singular, which Gaetano follows, whereas Josephus has *μουσικὴν ἥσκησε καὶ φαλτήρια καὶ κιθάρας ἐπενόησεν* (*A.J.* I.64). While the first psaltery is an instrument that is plucked (see Psalm 143:9, *LXX*, ἐν *φαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ φαλῷ σοι*; Vulgate, *in psalterio decacordo psallam tibi*) which would fulfil § vii **vel tactu**, the second is of doubtful provenance, as Gaetano acknowledges with **minime constat**. Feldman (2000, 23 n.148) notes that in Psalm 150:4 the *LXX* translates **עֲגָב** (*ugav*) as *օργανον*, suggesting something requiring the passage of air (§ vii **vel flatu**). However, a verse earlier, **כִּנּוֹר** (*kinor*) also finds itself translated as *κιθάρα* or *cithara*. The Vulgate also names the instruments in the singular, *cithara et organo*, but reverses their order. However, Polydore Vergil states that Josephus seemed to use the word *organum pro instrumento quocunque musico* (*de invent. rer.* I.15.8), suggesting that by distinguishing **psalteriumque et cytharam**, they held religious semantic significance for both Josephus and Gaetano, especially contrasted with § xxv **lyrae atque cytharae** which stands for a pseudo-mythical classical past. Gaetano is fond of the un-Ciceronian **-que et** (*L&S* 1508-9, *que*. IV.1; appears in *Ep. ix Or. ix*, xvi, 1) suggesting that he was familiar with the Greek. Besides, this coupling is common enough to be a binomial.

By way of contrast, in Quintilian (*Inst.* I.10.31) the psaltery should be considered "lascivious and demoralizing" (Colson, 1924, 132, reading Cicero's association of the

instrument with Clodius at *Har. resp.* 44): *psalteria et spadicas etiam virginibus probis recusanda*. This could be resolved by the fact that in that passage Quintilian is employing standard Roman tropes of decadent ‘orientalism.’ This association is absent from Gaetano, possibly as to employ it here could risk blasphemy (but cf. *Ep. ii Persarum*).

ex eoque Pater canentium sua aetate fuit appellatus : Gaetano may be emphasising the singing through his professional interest. His source was likely the Vulgate *Iubal ... fuit pater canentium* (Gen. 4:21). Philo also has *πατέρα μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν πάντων ὄργάνων τὸ γεγωνὸν λόγον προσφένεστατα καλεῖ* (*Post. XXXI*.103).

§ xxii.

ab suis maioribus : as recounted by Josephus *A.J.* I.70.

unum ... ex aquarum proluvie ex incendio alterum : expanding on § xxi **rerum hominumque interitum**, besides the biblical sources used for Gaetano’s *exemplum*, an apocalyptic flood was also the fate foretold for the world by Stoic philosophers, elaborated on by Seneca at *QNat.* III.27-30, who furthermore likens the flood to a fire in its ferocity. See Rosenmeyer, 1989, 136-59; Star, 2021, 127-56. **proluvie** is not the usual word used to describe the flood: in the Vulgate, it is called a *diluvium* (Gen. 6-9); similarly, Lauro calls it the *diluvio* (7vff.) and Zarlino the *sopravvenuto diluvio* (1573, 6). The choice of the fifth declension version is also unusual for the period, both *proluvio, -onis* and *proluvium, -i* are more commonly attested in post-classical texts (*TLL* X.2.1844.22-5; 30-40). However, it is used of much less significant bodies of water in Lucretius (V.950) and Cicero (*Q.* fr. 3.7.1).

duas columnas ... erexit : suggests that Gaetano also drew on Petrus Comestor (*Hist. Schol. Gen.* Beinecke MS Osborn fa38 6v-7r & MS 520 6r). Josephus states that the two columns were raised by the descendants of Seth (*A.J.* 68-71), moreover **marmoream** : is also Comestor’s (possibly looking to the classical tradition). Josephus’s word is the less precise *λίθων*.

§ xxiii.

syderalem scientiam astrorumque cognitionem : the more common compounded noun, cf. § xvi. **syderum scientia**, (*sideralis scientiae*, Plin. *H.N.* VII. 49.160). The further clarification of *astrorum cognitatem* is likely Renaissance tautology.

quae teste Josepho : even if his main source was Petrus, Gaetano emphasises his awareness that the original source was J. *A.J.* I.67-72. Josephus is also cited by Zarlino (1573, 6).

in terra Syria : Petrus has *in terra Syriaca* (*Hist. Schol. Gen.* Beinecke MS Osborn fa38 7r & MS 520 6r), Josephus the less clear *Σεριδά* or *Σηριάδα* (*A.J.* I.71).

ex iisque seminibus ... conflasse : **conflo** tends to have negative connotations in classical Latin, (s.v. id. *TLL* IV: 240.36-242.53). This includes use by Lucretius (e.g. III.70, wealth gathered by the blood of civil war; VI.1091, diseases gathered together) which makes the juxtaposition with **seminibus** jarring.

multis modis : here likely Greek musical modes, cf. § xxiv **tribus modis**.

§ xxiv.

tribus modis : *modus* here seemingly does not apply to the musical sense of a mode, in the sense of being distinct melodically or harmonically, but the manner in which the music is expressed (cf. *TLL* VIII: 1264.8-1268.47 with id. 1252.69-1264.6, esp. 1255.38-1256.45).

ab iniculis ac seminibus : while the phrase is not found in *DRN*, there is an echo of Lucretius (e.g. I.501) in how Gaetano conceives of music's development. **iniculis**, possibly a word of Gaetano's invention, is formed of the rare Latin *ina* most attested in late authors (s.v. *TLL* VII.1: 806.1-9). In this context, it probably refers to the remnants preserved by Jubal (§§ xxi-xxiii).

musicorum : following the rule established by **cantor** above (*Ep.xiv*), this again refers to theoretical musicians, who are not barred from the performance of music.

primus : Orpheus's omission from this list appears to be striking. In so doing, Gaetano follows the practice of Zarlino (1558, 3-4), cf. Gaffurio (*Theor. Mus.*, a.i.v, where Orpheus is twenty-eighth in his list of musicians), but several classical authors imply a place for him among the inventors of music (Pind. *P.* 176-7; Hor. *Ars* 391-6; Quint. *Inst.* I.10.9). This had been followed by Coclico, who put him in his first group of musicians (1552, B.iii.v-iv.r). On Orpheus, see § l **Orpheus**.

multae ac variae : Gaetano recognises that the various options are too numerous to go through (cf. Gaffurio, *Theor. Mus.* a.i.r-v for a list of some forty possible contenders).

sunt auctorum opiniones : the recognition of debate contrasts with the earlier deference to the so-called wise (see §§ xvii-xviii). An effect of the present tense is that Gaetano appears to engage with the debate as a *musicus*, only to recuse himself as a *cantor* with **antiquitatis auctoritas sequenda est**.

musices ac lyrae : the art of music itself is distinguished from its performance, represented by the lyre. **lyrae** : the lyre takes on symbolism here (e.g. **lyrae atque cytharae**; § xxviii **in caena...**) for the civilising power of music (see also Sansovino's association of Apollo with Venice in **Introduction (Classicism, Hellenism, and Humanism in Venice)**). West (1992, 33 & & n.104) notes a Pythagorean tendency to disparage the panpipes as opposed to the lyre, as at § x **fistulosae**. For lyres in the Greek world, see West, 1992, 48-70.

Mercurio : the god, who strung guts across a tortoise shell. His invention of the lyre was recounted by various classical authors (Hor. *Od.* I.10.6; *Hym. Hom. Merc.* 20ff), but Gaetano, an employee of a Christian establishment, is neutral in his account of this pagan god's claim.

alii ... praeferunt Amphionem : Pliny (*Nat.* VII.82) ascribes the discovery of the entirety of music to Amphion. Gaetano may have got this reference from Zarlino (1558, 3).

Linus : Diod. III.67 records that Linus discovered rhythm and melody, and indeed taught Orpheus.

Phrinis Milesius : Gaetano is possibly confusing Phrynis with Timotheus (see § xxxv **Timotheo**). Phrynis is recorded as having come from Mytilene on Lesbos and not Miletus in Asia Minor. See West, 1992, 360-1.

Aristoteles : as at Arist. *Met.* II.993b, where Phrynis is said to have been Timotheus's teacher, possibly explaining the mistake above.

lyrae atque cytharae : invites contrast with § *xxi* **psalteriumque et cytharam**. While there is little semantic difference in Latin literature (see *TLL* VII.1: 1949 for a table comparing use of the various words for stringed instruments, adding *fides*, the three words are essentially interchangeable), Gaetano's choice (as well as his use of *γ* to render *κιθάρα*, cf. Zarlino, 1558, *passim* who chooses *cithara*) arguably puts his reader into a Greek world. There is precedent in that Cicero's only mention of **lyra** is in a Greek civilising context (s.v. *TLL* VII.1: 1948.80-1949.31 ref. *Tusc.* I.4, see § *xxviii*). The pairing is, however, itself significant; **atque** invites a reading of synonymy but in a manner somewhat different to the Gellian modes below (§§ *li*, *liv*, cf. Holford-Strevens, 2003, 58). The union takes on metonymy, that of the classical world as opposed to the biblical. The weight of West's description of the available evidence for the cithara adds to this impression (1992, 51-6).

Terpandrum ... Lesbium : as with Amphion, Pliny (*Nat.* VII.82) ascribes the addition of four strings to Terpander. On Terpander, see West, 1992, 329-30; Power, 2010, 317-422. See also § *xlix* **Terpander ... Lesbius**.

ad exemplum septem orbium planetarum : scholiast (Parisinus lat. 7930) *dicunt tamen quidam liram Orphei cum VII cordis fuisse, et caelum habet VII zonas, unde theologica assignatur*.

heptachordum : i.e. what Gaetano would have considered a cithara, which was typically thought to have seven strings, although see West, 2003, 51-3.

[possit] : the MS otherwise lacks a verb in this clause and would require an uncharacteristically unclassical *ut* with infinitive.

antiquitatis auctoritas sequenda est : See also § *xvi* **credendum est** and § *xxi* **ultima antiquitate primisque hominibus**.

in quaerendis principiis ... sim longior : stands in apparent contrast to the stated aim of the *Oratio* (e.g. § iv **incunabula penetravi**).

Aelii Donati commentariis : rather, this anecdote is from Evanthisius's *De Fabula* (I.3), which has somehow become attached as an introduction to Donatus's commentaries on Terence (Wessner, 1902). Evanthisius's purpose is to provide an etymology for comedy, blending *κώμη* (rural settlement) with the more commonly accepted *κώμος* (religious festival/procession) and *ῳδή* (song).

vota ... vota : is repeated, seemingly redundantly.

Apolloni Nomio : a pastoral aspect of Apollo, who is mentioned by Cicero (*Nat. D.* III.57), but in association with the Arcadians rather than the Athenians. Vergil similarly alludes to Apollo Nomius (*Ecl.* V.35), on which see Coleman, 1977, 162, who recognises him as an “immigrant deity” from Greece. Evanthisius (I.3) also calls him Agyeius (*Ἄγυειος*). See also Callim. *Hymn 2* (to Apollo) 47ff.

divinae rei : see *L&S* s.v. **res**, I.C.; *OLD* s.v. **res**, 8b & **diuinus** 2 for examples of the various uses of action done in service of the divine.

duae Musicorum sectae : attested in Ptolemy's *Harmonics*, and in Porphyry's commentary (to a copy of which Gaetano would likely have had access, Omont, 1894, 260), which opens *Πολλῶν αἱρέσεων οὐσῶν ἐν μονοτικῇ ... δύο πρωτεύειν ἀν τις ὑπολάβοι* (Porph. *Ptol. Harm.* 3.1-2). It subsequently cites Ptolemaïs of Cyrene (ibid. 23.25-24.4). See Burkert, 1972, 369-71 for an overview and Huffman, 2007, 402-28 for detailed discussion of the dialectic.

Pythagoram Samium ... ille : first mentioned by Gaetano in § xi, this summary of his philosophy appears to be derived from *Θεωρῶν οὐν τὰς αἰσθήσεις μὴ ἔστωσας ἀλλ' ἐν ταράχω οὔσας* & ff. (Porph. *Ptol. Harm.* 32.23-33.15). If that is the case, then **ille** rather stands for Archytas of Tarentum, who calculated and tabulated 'correct' harmonic proportions (*Ptol. Harm.* 13-14). Boethius paraphrased this passage of Ptolemy at *Inst. Mus.* V.17-18. Archytas's hard-line enunciation of Pythagorean philosophy accounts for the fact that Aristoxenus had also been a Pythagorean. Huffman remarks that Archytas "fits the popular conception of a Pythagorean better than ... Pythagoras himself" (2005, 44 & ff.). On Pythagoras's harmonic theory, see West, 1993, 233-5. N.B. also ibid., 103, "Pythagoras [sc. his theories] ... is a projection of the notions and ideals of some later Pythagoreans".

Aristoxenum Tarentinum ... hic : first mentioned by Gaetano at § xiv. It is possible that Gaetano had himself read Aristoxenus, but the description of his philosophy here most likely comes from the explication of Ptolemy/Porphyry. The brevity of the reference holds nothing that is not present in Ptolemy. A volume containing both Aristoxenus and Ptolemy was available in Venice at the time (Gogava, 1562). West (1992, 104) mentions an anecdote that concord or discord can be heard in listening to an aulete. See also ibid., 229-32 for Aristoxenus's theory of natural melody.

sensui ... rationi : *ἀκοή καὶ λόγος* in Ptolemy (*Harm.* 3.4). **sensui :** given that Ptolemy specifies 'hearing' (also see above § xiv **sensu aurium**), it is worth following suit in the translation for clarity. However, in selecting this rather than, e.g. *audiendi*, Gaetano is emphasising the subjective quality of the senses rather than *ratio-λόγος* empirically derived. This resolves in part the problem identified by Bower in Boethius, who uses *animus* for both the seat of reasoning and that of feelings and emotions (1989, 1, n.1). **rationi :** here 'reasoning,' originally *λογιστικός* (on the primacy of this science over even arithmetic to the Pythagorean Archytas and his influence on Cicero, for whom prioritising feelings over reasoning meant a loss of control [see *Tusc.* IV.36; *Rep.* I.38], see Huffman, 2005, 68-76).

At the start of the *Harmonics*, Ptolemy “for the most part avoids employing technical harmonic vocabulary” but as Solomon observes (2000, 3, n.9) there are many ways of translating *λόγος*, including ‘reason’ or ‘proportion’ (but cf. Alexanderson, 1969, 8 [4.7] on the nature of *λόγος* providing “exact knowledge”).

Gaetano chose *ratio* to reflect the Greek meaning he understood (although *ratio* has various semantic shades throughout the *Oratio*, see above § *i rationem*) allowing him the use of *proportionibus* in this section, a further instance of the non-technical nature of the *Oratio* as a whole work. Barker (1991, 104-30) offers further discussion of the use of *λόγος* as ‘reason’ (see also, id. 2015, 85 n.35). The appeal to reason could appear to be partly undermined by Cicero’s criticism of Pythagorean dogmatism (*Nat. D.* I.10; see § *xi. Pythagoras atque eius sectatores*) but that too comes as an appeal for *rationis momenta*.

primas : the first of two occurrences (see § *xlix primas*). There, *palmas* should be supplied; here there is a similar meaning, although this iteration appears more substantive.

e proportionibus sonantium corporum : see § *x imparibus intervallis distincti*. Archytas was especially committed to this concept (Huffman, 2005, 74-6).

de Musice ... de Musica : an example of both the ‘Greek’ and ‘Latin’ forms respectively in use in close proximity, hinting that Gaetano understood a qualitative difference in meaning between the two and recognised that distinction between the writings of Aristoxenus and Ptolemy (see § *Title. Musices*). This is possibly due to the greater degree of empiricism in Ptolemy’s work. Note also the presence of a ‘Greek ablative’ (see Introduction, § *xxxvii de Musice*; cf. § *xxxv de Musice*).

Ptolemaeus mathematicus : Claudius Ptolemaeus (fl. C2nd A.D. in Alexandria) was a conduit for harmonic theory and education, distilling five centuries of writers before him and influencing the next fifteen, in particular through Boethius, whose fifth book of *De institutione musica* was a paraphrase of Ptolemy’s *Harmonica* (Bower, 1989, xxvi & n.25). While there is debate over the extent to which the surviving product is genuinely ‘Ptolemaic’ (see Solomon, 2000, xxx-i for a summary of the possible interference intermediary transcribers may have inflicted on the *Harmonics*), the ideas within the *Harmonics* would have formed the foundation of Gaetano’s theoretical education. At the outset, Ptolemy explains that harmonics is the faculty (*δύναμις*) of perceiving (*καταληπτική*) external stimuli and discerning differences between them (*Harm. 3.1*). For a fuller (if necessarily scant) biography of Ptolemy’s legacy through his *Harmonics*, see Solomon, 2000, xxi-xxxvi, esp. xxv-xxxii. There were several copies (possibly conflicting) of the *Harmonics* in the Biblioteca Marciana (Omont, 1894, 30-1, nn.232, 259, 260).

inter hos quoddam medium secutus : Ptolemy criticised both the Aristoxenians and Pythagoreans each for discounting the other (*Harm. 5.28*, *διαμαρτεῖν ἐκάτεροι*), but he aligned himself more closely with the Pythagoreans. This equipoise is clearly praiseworthy. Gaetano may have been considering how music theory could be used politically, as in his own time Glarean had used his music theory as a way of shoring support with the Habsburg dynasty. Fenlon and Groote suggest that he went as far as using his ideas of harmony as evidence for his continued loyalty to the harmonious policies pursued by the Roman Catholic Church after his works briefly appeared on the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Fenlon & Groote, 2013, 1-37, esp. 4-5).

multi scriptores : such as Zarlino (see § *iii artis scientiam* and § *xlivi Iosephusque Zarlinus ... Harmoniacae Institutiones*), who headed his final volume “the senses are fallible, and judgement should not be made solely by their means, but subjected to judgement” (see Taruskin, 2005, 585-8).

ad eam : “to her accompaniment” in translation. Gaetano is known to have sung *ad organum* (see **Introduction**, **Gaetano**; Ongaro, 1986, 108). The sense of ‘singing to’ an instrument is the root of the Greek *κιθαρωδία* (see Power, 2010).

in caena apud Laomedontem Themistocles recusasset : this stretches the story recounted at Plut. *Vit. Cim.* IX.1, where Cimon is praised *ώς δεξιώτερον Θεμιστοκλέοντος*. Themistocles had a famous aphorism that he had preferred practical statecraft to theoretical accomplishment (Plut. *Vit. Them.* II.3),² but there is no evidence that he attended this banquet held by Laomedon (cf. Jacoby, 1947, 2 & n.7). However, Gaetano copies Cic. *Tusc.* I.4 almost verbatim here, following Zarlino’s reference (1558, 6). See also Quint. *Inst.* I.10.19-20.

Laomedontem : mentioned at Plut. *Vit. Cim.* IX.1, otherwise apparently unknown; see Blamire *ad loc.* who counters Jacoby’s assertion (1947, 16) that he was a Thessalian resident alien with the view that such a name points to an origin in the Troad.

summo ingenio summisque virtutibus praeditus : Themistocles had faith in his natural abilities. Among classical sources, Plut. *Vit. Them.* II.2, *ώς τὴν φύσει πιστεύων*; Xen. *Mem.* IV.2.2, and Xen. *Sym.* VIII.39 each try to establish what it was that made Themistocles great despite his indifference to learning.³

indoctior habitus fuit : Themistocles’s boast seems more likely to be an expression of his populist credentials (Marr, 1998, 73).

summam ... censebat : taken directly from Cic. *Tusc.* I.4, but with Epaminondas and Themistocles reversed.

inter quos : Gaetano has taken *igitur et* from *Tusc.* I.4 as additive rather than adversarial (*sc.* “even Epaminondas”). Cicero’s point is that it should surprise the reader that a serious statesman should excel in music (Gildenhard, 2007, 136-8).

Epaminundas clarissimus Thebanorum Imperator : Epaminondas (l.C5th – 362 B.C.) his office was that of *Βοιωτάρχης*.

maximus philosophus : not drawn from Cicero, rather Nep. *Epam.* 2, 3; cf. Cic. *Leg.* II.14 *vir* [Plato] *doctissimus atque gravissimus philosophorum omnium*.

totius Graeciae multorum iudicio facile princeps : Cic. *Tusc.* I.4 has *princeps meo iudicio Graeciae*. Cicero draws the same conclusion at *de or.* III.34, 139, but cf. Cicero’s similar assignation to Themistocles (*Acad. pr.2*) and Pericles (*Off.* II.60), and especially Plato, *ille quidem sapientissimus vir longeque doctissimus* (*Leg.* II.39).

sapientissimus Socrates : most likely taken from Cicero *Sen.* 26, which may itself have derived from Plato *Menex.* 235e-236a and id. *Euthyd.* 272c, although the latter suggests that Konnos was teaching Socrates the harp. However, Gaetano may also be referring to a passage of Plato's *Symposium* (215.*ff.*) in which a drunk Alcibiades accuses the sober Socrates of using his arguments to bewitch young men erotically as would an aulete (see Lynch, 2018).

Achillem ... cum magnus Alexander : Alexander is recorded to have wanted to see the lyre of Achilles (as opposed to that of Paris) by both Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.* XV.5) and Aelian (cf. *VH.IX.8*), cf. *Ep.ii* **Heliani exemplum**. However, this anecdote may resemble Plut. *de Alex. fort.* 331d-e more closely.

Lycurgus : is likely taken from Plutarch (*Vit. Lyc.* XXI.1).

at vero ... defatigasse : there is an immediate internal similarity with § xx **Sed ... videtur**, however, there is also a parallel with Cic. *Tusc.* V.66 (to which Gaetano has already alluded, see *Ep.iv* *passim*), *sed redeat under aberravit oratio*. This too comes at the conclusion of a list of *exempla* and Cicero appears to fear that he is losing the attention of his interlocutor (see Jaeger, 2002, 51-4; 2008, 35-7). However, whereas Cicero's digression is a diversion from the *exempla* with which he is constructing his argument, Gaetano's *exempla* themselves risk becoming overly digressive.

Nonetheless, *digressio* was a well-established rhetorical device. Jaeger (2002, 52 n.16) cites Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.27; 51; 97; *de or.* II.80; II.311-12; III.203; *Brutus* 292; 322. Piazzoni argues that it creates sufficient distance from which one can either praise or attack what is being discussed (see *Prae. lib.* 1*v*; 11*r*). In this, Gaetano is reminiscent of Pico, who dismisses his critics' attack that he has gathered useless trivia *oblatrarunt canes mei minutula quaedam et levia ad numeri ostentationem me accumulasse* (§ 264). There is thus a fine line to be drawn between being illustrative and giving too much. Gellius warns against precisely this, see *NA* Pr. 11, *sine cura ... sectati ... quibus in legendis ... animus senio ac taedio languebit*. Gellius also establishes criteria for how his miscellany is to be judged; critically, it should retain the ability to make readers' minds more refined (Pr. 16-17, see, Holford-Strevens, 2003, 36-8). Gaetano catches himself before moving from the miscellaneous to the trivial. On Gellius in the *Oratio*, see §§ *li*; *liv*.

² N.B. his indifference is to *πρᾶξιν λεγομένων* rather than the 'doing' itself.

³ I am taking Frost's argument for *ἐπεροπῶν* (1980, 66) rather than Marr's (and others', following Lindskog [1914]) reading of *ἐπερερῶν* (1998, 73), based on both the lack of further attestation for a verb *ἐπερεράω* in Greek literature and the fact that *ἐπερερῶν* is itself a modern editorial 'correction'; the "best" (Perrin, 1968, 4, n.1) MSS prefer to follow *ἐπεροπάω*.

§§ xxix-xxxi.

Music has long been recognised as necessary for other arts to be perfected.

§ xxix.

Pythagoras Philosophus nobilissimus ac ... subtilissimus : Cicero acknowledges that Pythagoras is *dignissimus* of *titulus hic [sapiens] insignis* (*Tusc.* V.30). On the Roman ‘mythology’ of Pythagoras, see Joost-Gaugier, 2006, chapter 2, esp. 25-30 (notwithstanding her exaggeration [27] of *Tusc.* I.62 *quod summae sapientiae Pythagorae visum est*). This myth developed in the Renaissance, as early Christian philosophers venerated him as almost a saint (see § xxxiv **Jesu Christi** on upsilon as the ‘Pythagorean letter’; on religious mythology see Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 66-76, 218-9; id. 2009, 19-36). Secular reverence also increased: a depiction of Pythagoras is found alongside Solomon as the incarnation of wisdom on a column capital dedicated to the seven sages of antiquity on the Doge’s Palace in Venice (Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 199-200, fig. 32). Pico also called Pythagoras *sapientissimus* (§ 120) and places great weight on his contribution to learning alongside diverse other ancients (see § xv **Caldeorum**). On Pythagoras elsewhere in the *Oratio*, see above §§ xiv, xxvii. On his ‘mythology’ generally, see Casini, 1998.

nomine sapientiae : suggests a guise or an appearance rather than authenticity. Perhaps this should not be read as a slight when taken with *persona* (§ i).

in Helicone ... statuas una positas : various statues are listed by Pausanias (IX.29.5-31).

§ xxx.

vatibus ac sapientibus : appears to be tautologous rather than forcing any especial distinction.

artes liberales : typically defined as the *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy).

ex pluribus membris unum corpus : the concept of a “body of learning” has some of its roots in humanism (see Grendler, 2001).

§ *xxxii.*

This section is essentially a *laus musicae* along a relatively standard format of celebrating how music aids other arts. A similar scheme is in Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* (1573, 7-8), in which music is said to aid grammar, logic, oratory, arithmetic, geometry, architecture and stagecraft, astronomy, philosophy, medicine, and theology. As Gaetano's *maestro* (see § *xlvi* **Iosephusque Zarlinus & Harmoniacae Institutiones**), Zarlino's selection may have influenced Gaetano, but the inclusion of philosophy, physics, and theology stands out in relation to the other arts, which all come from the *trivium* and *quadrivium*.

The twelfth century scholastic theologian Hugh of St Victor (III.1) designed a scheme for the divisions of philosophy (see Taylor, 1961, 83-101; nn.108-16), as follows:

Philosophy

I. Theoretical		
i. theology	v. hunting	
ii. physics	vi. medicine	
iii. mathematics	vii. theatics	
	IV. Logic	
	i. grammar	
	ii. argument	
	c. geometry	a. demonstration
	d. astronomy	b. probable
II. Practical		argument
i. solitary		1. dialectic
ii. private		2. rhetoric
iii. public		c. sophistic
III. Mechanical		
i. fabric-making		
ii. armament		
iii. commerce		
iv. agriculture		

This is quite a different scheme to that proposed by Gaetano. He ignores (here, although approaches some of them subsequently §§ *liii* ff.) the practical arts and chooses those which would be taught at a higher level. The exclusion of mathematics may be due to Zarlino (and others) subjecting music to arithmetic, owing to the fact that it depended on proportions and ratios, which are themselves formed from numbers (see Zarlino, 1558, 89-90). Music itself formed the fourth branch of the *quadrivium*, but it would be nonsensical to discuss what music gave to itself.

Grammaticae ... musica subministrat : is a subject of the *trivium* - Gaetano expands Quint. *Inst.* I.4.4, *tum neque citra musicen grammaticae potest perfecta*, see also Quint. *Inst.* I.10.17 *Archytas atque Euenus etiam subiectam grammaticen musicae putaverunt*. As Gaetano's Latin is so self-consciously classical in style, following e.g. Dante in the *Convivio* and the *De vulgari eloquentia*, he probably here intends *grammatica* to be synonymous with *Latina*. However, he may also be engaging in the humanist dialectic of whether vernacular languages could have their own grammar (see Grayson, 1960, 10-15). In this he is reminiscent of his near contemporary the Venetian cardinal Pietro Bembo (see Bembo ed. Dionisotti, 1931). See also wider discussion of Latin in **Introduction (Style)**.

recte pronunciandi : Quintilian (*Inst.* XI.3.43-5) says that the key to this is a blend of *aequalitas*, *uarietas*, and avoiding *μονοτονία*. However, it seems unusual for Gaetano to situate this under grammar. Piazzoni rather mentions *pronunciatio* as one of the five key elements of rhetoric (7v), presumably from e.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see Kennedy, 1972, 346-63). Cf. Ward, 2019, 29, n.145.

Dialectica : or logic was also part of the *trivium*. It is possibly an unexpected inclusion. Valla had reduced the scope of dialectic, categorising it as a part of rhetoric. See Grendler, 2001, 257-62.

Rhetorice : is the third part of the *trivium*. By grouping these three, Gaetano is showing his knowledge of the curriculum. See **Introduction, Genre, Oration** for more detail on rhetoric in contemporary thought.

Geometria : one part of the *quadrivium*.

Philosophia : is not typically included among the liberal arts. By this, and his focus on the **elementorum ac humorum ... compositionem**, Gaetano likely intends ‘natural philosophy,’ as **humorum** would otherwise be an unexpected word choice. To some contemporaries of Gaetano, “the study of Greek and Latin is a cause of ignorance, and that, if the time spent learning them were devoted instead to learning philosophy, then the modern age would have a chance to produce its own Platos and Aristotles’ ... as a result, modern philosophy is but a poor copy of the ancients” (Grayson citing Pietro Pomponazzi, 1960, 20). It is evident that Gaetano did not subscribe to such an opinion, but it shows awareness of the development of the intellectual world.

Astrologiam : was also part of the classical *quadrivium*. However, its inclusion appears almost mediaeval, as *astrologia* had been replaced by *astronomia* by 1400 (Grendler, 2002, 408). The change to accusative also demonstrates rhetorical *variatio*.

Phisicam : by contrast, physics is not included in lists of the liberal arts and may represent opposing modern humanist theories.

theologia : will subsequently (§§ *lxv-lxvi*) be very important to Gaetano’s argument.

Divus Augustinus : St Augustine is mentioned elsewhere at *Ep.xi Divus Augustinus* & *Or.lxix Divus Augustinus*. This likely refers to August. *Conf. X.33*.

§§ *xxxii-xxxvii*.

A brief history of how Music came to flourish in a way recognisable to Gaetano.

§ *xxxii*

ad Romanos deinceps est transeundum : while this is an oversimplification based on Gaetano’s own lack of available data (see Griffith, 2020 on the rich variety of ‘Greek’ music, although tending towards greater homogenisation through the classical period), on the general importation of Greek concepts see Gildenhard, 2007, 10. It was (and is) generally accepted that Roman musical models were developed from Greek ones (Moore, 2020).

quibus quidem quoad : is a further rhetorical flourish.

§ xxxiii.

Numa ... Pompilius : the second king of Rome (associated with establishing *sacra*). Diodorus believed that he had been a pupil of Pythagoras (Diod. Sic. VIII.14; X.3) also Plut. *Vit. Num.* VIII.5.

Numa ... instituit : despite Gaetano's claim, this passage appears to be lifted primarily from Quint. *Inst.* I.10.20-1, as an example of music's universality in surprising contexts, rather than from Livy. **ut Livius testatur** at I.20, whose language is less similar.

ad Graecorum consuetudinem Romae itidem : as discussed in § xxviii. These *carmina* are attested in Cato and Varro, *apud Non.* (see Momigliano, 1957, 109-111).

virorum Illustrium : as at *Or.xxviii*, where Gaetano discusses the Greek origins of this custom, **Illustrium** is capitalised in the MS, perhaps aping the contemporary customs relating to noble titles (cf. *Ep. Ded.*).

§ xxxiv.

iuniorem : is more frequently seen applied to school pupils learning from their master (e.g. George of Trebizond, *Isag. Dial.*, 29r, *obligationem iuniores appellant*) and is suggestive of Gaetano's likely role in education in Venice (see **Introduction, Gaetano**).

Jesu Christi : *ȳhu x̄pi* in MS. This abbreviation, although common (e.g. Marston MS 285 43v), here may well be employed in order to compress Christ's name onto one page; in § lxxv Gaetano writes in full *Jesu Christi*. Although the *OLD* notes that confusion accompanied their use, each form had been common in abbreviations of the Greek *Ιησοῦς Χριστός* from the fourteenth century (Mason, 2010, 9). Note the blend of Latin endings with 'Greek' words. The use of *y* instead of the more common *i* is particularly attested in Venice (see Pon, 1998, 446-54) and in handwritten manuscripts (Sedda, 2017, 156).

The clear Greek upsilon (Y) in the MS may suggest the "letter of Pythagoras" as defined by St Jerome (letter CVII), which symbolised the choice between two paths, one good and one evil. See also Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalion* III.2; Taylor, 1961, 84 and 209 n.9, and Petrarch, *Epistolae metricae* 3.32 "[the *bivium*] of the old man of Samos."

congregatio unum in locum convenire : Joost-Gaugier attributes much of this to the suitability of the language of Pythagoras (2006, 222-45).

dulcedine cantus : is largely dependent on Aristoxenus *Harmonic Elements*, copies of which “stressed the value of voice, the construction of melody, and the diatonic scale” (Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 222-3). Gaetano would have had access to the Codex Venetus, a twelfth century MS that shows signs of adaptation and development (Macran, 1902, 90, see also 91-2).

cantores praecentores, subcentores, et concentores : precentors and succentors are today found as directors of music in choral foundations, concentrors more often in monastic communities. However, to Gaetano, these terms would probably have referred to each singing a different line in harmony (the melody in the precentor, a contrapuntal bass in the succendor, and an accompanying harmony in the concendor), see *L&S* s.v. This is in contrast with the following on **cantum planum** and may help to explain Gaetano’s apparent lack of comprehension.

Divus Gregorius : Pope St Gregory I (c. 540-604, r. from 590) was thought to have been divinely inspired in the development of Gregorian chant (or plainsong), often being depicted with a dove alighting on him (e.g. the late tenth century *Antiphonarium officii* of Hartker, p.13, see Weyer, 2020). However, the association with St Gregory seems in fact to have been made by the Franks, who inscribed early chant books with the words *Gregorius presul composuit hunc libellum musicae artis*. In fact, the pope to whom these refer was Gregory II (r. 715-31). That the latter was never canonised (thus was not **Divus**) demonstrates that the misunderstanding had persisted to Gaetano's day, see also *Ep.xi Divus*. See McKinnon, 1990 & id. 2001b (*Grove*).

cantum planum : plainsong is the monophonic setting of liturgy. Here, **planum** is probably used in the sense that it is unadorned by more than one line (but note the presence of **concentores** above). The Gregorian chant Gaetano means is distinct from other plainchant traditions (such as the Orthodox or Ambrosian rites). See Levy et al, 2001 (*Grove*). While its use had developed over the intervening centuries, plainsong would have been central to Gaetano's experience as a singer at St Mark's. In the century before Gaetano, Carlerius, a French musician who worked in the Low Countries (Haggh, 2001, *Grove*), wrote on music, “illustrat[ing] a contrast between sorrowful and joyful music, identifying Gregorian chant entirely with the former – actually an astonishing aesthetic judgement” (Strohm, 2001, 13, *Grove*). The contrast by the fifteenth century was with polyphony.

The development of plainsong points to a standardisation of singing. Among the contributions of Guido (see § xxxvi **Guido Aretinus monacus**) was the abstract representation of music on a staff. Its early development drew on Neo-Platonist philosophy, Pythagorean ideas of ratio having especial significance (Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 223). This thus fits into Gaetano's model of development of music.

auctore ... auctores ... auctor : is at each instance used in a different way, especially at the second, “authorities concerning the art of music.” See *TLL* s.v. II.1194.

reperit : the same word is used of Jubal’s invention of **psalteriumque et cytharam** at § *xxi*.

de musicę auctores : See **Introduction, Concepts of music etc.** The e-caudata could be a possible inclusion of a Greek dative iota subscript doing work as a Latin ablative (*μουσικὴ*). Although it could make sense for this to be a Latin rendering of e.g. *περὶ μουσικῆς* (and thus nominally *musicae*), Gaetano would in that case more likely have written *musices* without **de**. The presence of **auctores** supports this argument; one who writes about music is concerned with the liberal art.

Timotheo ... Milesio : on Timotheus, see West, 1992, 361-4. Cf. below § *xlix Timothei Milesii* (Cullington, 2001, 72, n.56).

generis chromatici ... enharmonici ... diatonici : the three modes of music as defined by Aristoxenus. Of their relative merits, *mater enim ecclesia de tribus his generibus solum dyatonicum ad omne quod canere velis aptissimum elegit, aliis reprobatis duobus* (Johannes Gallicus in de Coussemaker, 1876, 306).

Olimpo : probably the aulos-player (see West, 1992, 330-1).

de eorum musica : as in § *xxvii*, there is a very apparent distinction between *musice* and *musica*. Here Gaetano is stating that there was nothing left of the performed music of the Greeks.

§ *xxxvi*.

Carolus Magnus Imperator : Charlemagne (747-814), the first Holy Roman Emperor (from 800), although Gaetano’s tone seems to separate this fact from association with the contemporary Habsburg Emperor.

After acceding to the Frankish throne, Charlemagne’s *casus belli* was an attempted reunification of the Western Roman Empire’s heartlands. This was accomplished not only through military power, but also through cultural sponsorship, including legal reforms and the promotion of Latin. He also founded a great many churches and invested heavily in celebrating the arts in them. There was even a well-established literary theme of Charlemagne having ushered in a quasi-Saturnian Golden Age (see especially Murray, 1990, who also cites Byzantine depictions as early as 775 of him as a second David). On Charlemagne, see Barbero, 2004; McKitterick, 2008.

cantores ... musices facerent elegantioris : suggests Horace's *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit* (*Ep* II.1.156). The contemporary view of the various Italian states towards Charlemagne had not been wholly positive. The soul of Charlemagne being fought over by devils and angels is a common trope in early mediaeval art. This fact may enable Gaetano to feel that he may benefit from the increased cultural prestige.

incunabula : cf. *Ep.w ad eius incunabula penetravi*. Here, paired with **rudimenta**, it is used in a different way to *Ep.w*. Rather than music needing to be protected and cared for as if an infant, here it simply refers to the basics of music. Cf. § ix. **in cunis**.

Guido Aretinus monacus : Guido of Arezzo, lived 990s–after 1033 (Palisca, 2001a), was a musical theorist who made several significant contributions to the development of the representation of abstract music, especially stave notation and solmisation, and from that then mapping that solmisation onto the hand (see below). While it is not clear to which work Gaetano is referring, it may be the *Micrologus* (written c.1026) or the so-called *epistola de ignoto cantu / epistola ad Michaelem* (written c.1033). Gaetano may devote as much space to Guido as he does because of his potential role in teaching the *zaghi* (see **Introduction, Gaetano**). He would thus be familiar with how this theory was taught. On Guido's contributions to music, see *Grove* s.v.; Taruskin, 2005, 99–104; and Hicks, 2017, 100ff.

ab hinc decem et octo supra quingentos annos : as Guido's dates are unclear, this probably refers to a MS contemporaneously available in Venice with an autograph of 518 years previously. While likely little help towards dating Guido (on the difficulties of which see Palisca, 2001a), identifying this MS may give a firmer date for this *Oratio* (see **Introduction**).

voces musicales : although Palisca (2001a, 523) suggests that Guido preferred 'modes' or 'tropes' to 'tones'. Gaetano's practical language here indicates his *cantor*-practitioner status rather than *musicus*-scholar (see *Ep.xiv cantor*). Making the pitch abstract from an absolute value made the wide dissemination of music much easier, as it could rely on written rather than solely on oral or aural transmission.

nomina ... imposuit : i.e. solmisation, or the assignation of syllables to pitches within a given scale. These syllables were taken from a **himni Sancti Ioannis Baptistae**: *ut queant laxis resonare fibris mira gestorum famuli tuorum, solve polluti labri reatum Sancte Ioannes.* This Sapphic Guido set to a melody so that the first syllable of (mostly) every other word (*ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*) is pitched on a successively higher note. A singer would then simply have to remember the melody to work out relative intervals. In the sixteenth century, the Florentine musicologist, Giovanni Battista Doni, developed this into *solfège* replacing *ut* with *do*. N.B. the seventh note (originally *si* from *Sancte Ioannes*) was an eighteenth-century development to complete the diatonic scale.

septem cum elementariis literis : that is, A to G, ascending in pitch from G (the lowest G called *gamma*). This *gamma* would then be called *ut* as the foundational note of the first ('hard') hexachord. Hence intervals progress tone, tone, semitone, tone, tone as the first six notes of a major scale. At *fa*, the next hexachord begins, the 'natural' running from C, and the 'soft' from F, based on the *ut* of the natural hexachord. N.B. to preserve the melodic progression, the *fa* of the soft hexachord must be B♭ rather than B♯.

	hard	natural	soft	called
G[amma]	<i>ut</i>			<i>gamma</i>
A	<i>re</i>			<i>are</i>
B	<i>mi</i>			<i>bemi</i>
C	<i>fa</i>	<i>ut</i>		<i>cefaut</i>
D	<i>sol</i>	<i>re</i>		<i>desolre</i>
E	<i>la</i>	<i>mi</i>		<i>elami</i>
F	-	<i>fa</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>fefaut</i>
G	<i>ut</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>gesolreut</i>
A	<i>re</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>alamere</i>
B/B♭	<i>mi</i>	-	<i>fa</i>	<i>befa</i> / <i>bemi</i>
C	<i>fa</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>cesolfaut</i>
D	<i>sol</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>delasolre</i>
E	<i>la</i>	<i>mi</i>	-	<i>elami</i>

This system allows the seven letters of the scale (called Boethian Notation after its presumed creator) to be mapped onto six, with one step jumped.

in sinistram manum illigavit : all this theory is then mapped onto the so-called ‘Guidonian hand.’ Starting with the end of the left thumb, (*gamma, ut-hard*), each pad of each knuckle of the hand is assigned a value, moving down the thumb, across the top of the palm, up the little finger, across the prints, down the index finger, across to the base of the ring finger, to its second joint, and back again to the final unused knuckle in the middle of the middle finger (D, *la* in the soft hexachord, *sol* in the hard). By associating the various notes of the three hexachords (hard, natural, and soft) to specific zones of the hand, a singer could also remember where the intersecting points of each hexachord were. The use of the Guidonian hand in music education as an aide-mémoire appears to have been widespread to the point of ubiquity by Gaetano’s day (Quercu, A.ii.r). See Taruskin, 2005, 101-3.

§ xxxvii.

de musice : another ‘Greek ablative’ (see Introduction, § xxvii **de musice**; cf. § xxxv **de musice**).

§§ xxxviii-xlii.

The five ages of musician

Rather than discuss each musician in depth here, I give a few details for the most notable suggesting a reason for their inclusion in the relevant age and the resulting groupings. Full biographies can be found in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the full references for which are given in full in the bibliography.

Criticism of other musicians’ style was very common in treatises of this period. On the division into periods, see Owens, 1990. On the way in which such criticism was expressed (both startlingly *ad hominem* and frustratingly vague in what the problem is) see Haar, 1998, 1-19.

occurram vestrae expectationi : implies a further apology for taking so long to get to the point (cf. § xx **Sed ... videtur** & § xxviii **at vero ... defatigasse**). Cicero uses a similarly light-hearted construction at *de or.* III.191 (see *OLD* s.v. **occurro** 1. fig.).

ac : is stylistically classical (*OLS* 19.26) and avoids repetition of other conjunctions.

transitum : may be being used in a formal rhetorical sense (indicating a new argument, *OLD* s.v. 5a), but is possibly punning on its use in technical musical vocabulary (*ibid.* 5c, op. cit. Quint. *Inst.* VIII.6.38; XII.10.68), especially pre-empted by **occurram vestrae expectationi**.

Quinque ... aetates musicorum : see Owens, 1990, 320-1 who lists fifteen writers (including Gaetano) between 1472 and 1613 who divide musicians up into various ages and categories. It is striking (if not surprising) that a composer (such as Willaert) goes from the exciting and fresh “*viventi: ... Villaert*” in 1533 to the established tradition “*prima practica: Messer Adriano*” by 1607.

While Owens establishes that there is form for such a catalogue, laying out five ages in such a form invites comparison with either Hesiod (*Op.* 109-201) or Ovid (*Met.* I. 89-150). However, whereas the classical authors trace a decline in man’s fortunes, Gaetano’s line generally trends upwards before an implied drop (due to saturation) in the most recent times. **aetates** : fits within the contemporary historiography established by Vasari, who divides art history into three *èta* (on Vasari, see Satowsky, 1993; Rubin, 1994).

prima aetas : the ages are defined by style rather than dates, note that there is some overlap (e.g. **Heloi** and **Josquin**).

altera deinceps : i.e. the ‘second age.’ The dates of the composers suggest a period c.1400-1500. Most of the composers listed here had French or Burgundian origins, whose music had become less fashionable in Venice in favour of that by composers from the Low Countries.

Joannes Tinctoris de musica scripsit : Tinctoris (c.1435-1511) was an influential music theorist, originally from the Low Countries, but who worked across France and Italy (Hüschen, 2001). Gaetano could be referring either to the *Proportionale musices* (1472-3) or the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), both of which celebrate the disciples of Du Fay.

ad nostram memoriam : as pointed to above (§ xxiv **dulcedine cantus**) there were manuscripts of earlier fashions retained in the library of St Mark’s. It is however difficult to establish what repertoire was sung on a regular basis.

durae atque asperae : in referring to a lack of rhetorical euphony is itself abruptly mimetic. Gaetano may have Aristotle’s *Poetics* in mind here (see McKeon, 1966, 22-4).

formidolosa nomina : clearly Gaetano is joking; the names are hardly more outlandish to an Italian than **Ockeghem**, **Willaert**, and **Gomberth**, who are here celebrated (see Fenlon, 1996).

Duffai : Guillaume du Fay, c.1397-1474 (Planchart, 2001) was a Burgundian composer who worked in France and Italy. Despite Gaetano’s dismissal, Du Fay had “formed the central musical language of the Renaissance.” (Brown, 1976, 90). Du Fay’s style was mathematical, based around isorhythmic motets,¹ in which the mathematical perfection was paramount. The aim of this school was for perfect harmony, avoiding parallelism and thirds in favour of open fifths and octaves.

Demomarto : Petrus de Domarto, fl.c.1445-55 (Wegman, 2001).

Busnois : Antoine Busnoys, c.1430-92 (Higgins, 2001). A Burgundian composer noted especially for composing French songs.

Heloi : Eloy d’Amerval fl.1455-1508 (Higgins & Dean, 2001).

Barburgan : Barbingant, fl.1460, was a French composer, now very little known (Fallows, 2001a).

¹ Isorhythm: the same rhythmic value (e.g. minim-crotchet-crotchet) is repeated in a piece but set to different pitches.

Binthois : Gilles de Bins, c.1400-60 (Fallows, 2001b), a successful Burgundian composer. Binthois is an unusual appearance of the name; Binchois is more common.

non perterrent : as Vendrix points out (2009, 38), this is the only direct criticism expressed by Gaetano *contra* the ‘second age,’ although “abandoning the gravity” does not mean that Gaetano departs from a “Ciceronian tone” (*ibid.*).

§ xl.

tertiam aetatem : dates c.1450-1525. This age is characterised by rhetorical construction, i.e. music should serve as a vehicle to bring out the text. Josquin was a key figure in this development, on which see Kranz, 1989, esp.13-63. This idea held throughout the period under discussion, as Haar says of Zarlino (1998, 9), “melody alone can give pleasure, but only when there is a text does the music amount to anything.”

per ora virorum sint volaturi : a classical allusion to poetic immortality, *Enn. var. 17, volito vivos per ora virum*, likely read by Gaetano at Cic. *Tusc. I.34*. Cf. Verg. *G. III.9 virum volitare per ora*.

Ochegen : Johannes Ockeghem, 1410/25-97 (Perkins, 2001b) because his dates fall more into the ‘second age,’ Brown includes him with the earlier group of **Du Fay**, **Busnoys**, and **de Bins** (1976, 90), although stylistically he was quite separate (*ibid.*, 66-83). Gaetano may be thus acknowledging this.

Josquin de Pres : Josquin des Prez, 1450/5-1521 (Macey et al, 2001). Following Du Fay, but giving text pre-eminence, Josquin made music’s language “more flexible, more expressive, and more adaptable to composers’ ideas than music had ever been before” (Brown, 1976, 117).

Brumel : Antoine Brumel, c.1460-1512/3 (Hudson, 2001).

Fevim : Antoine de Févin, c.1470-1511/2 (Brown & Keahey, 2001).

Mouton : Jean Mouton, c.1459-1522 (Brown & MacCracken, 2001).

Petrus de Larue : Pierre de La Rue, c.1452-1518 (Meconi, 2001).

Andreas de Sylva : Andreas de Silva, 1475/80-1525/9 (Kirsch, 2001).

multi alii nobiles et illustres : draws attention to the fact that while Gaetano chose not to give the same exhaustive list of the various inventors of music as Gaffurio had (cf. § xxv **multae ac variae**), he has provided a detailed list of those composers who had been active in the previous century.

quartae aetatis : dating c.1500-50 is Gaetano's golden age of music. Its composers are especially noted for developing richer polyphony, with greater interplay between contrapuntal lines. In particular, Willaert employed the twin lofts in St Mark's to create an antiphonal effect by splitting the choir between them, thus altering how the music would be heard by the congregation below.

Adrianus Villaert : Adrian Willaert, c.1490-1562 (Lockwood et al, 2001; see also Kidger, 2005 for a very full overview of Venetian musical life in the sixteenth century and Willaert's role in its development). Although Gaetano is critical of Du Fay and his school, McKinney makes clear that Willaert drew a great deal from the older composer's use of harmony (2010, *passim*, esp. 1-40). There is perhaps a sense of familiarity and tenderness here, as with **Cipriano de Rore** and **Giuseppe Zarlino** below, that by using Willaert's Christian name, when he was widely known by his surname, he is emphasising the affection and esteem in which he held these men. As mentioned in the **Introduction**, Gaetano was named one of Willaert's executors in a draft of his will (see also **Appendix III**). Many of the other composers whose Christian names he uses are more commonly known to posterity by those names (e.g. § xl **Josquin**) or are important to the narrative (e.g. § xxxix **Joannes Tintoris**; Ep. ix **Paulum Animuccia**).

Nicolaus Gomberth : Nicolas Gomberth, c.1495-c.1560 (Nugent & Jas, 2001), was the pupil of **Josquin**, and in turn influenced both **Morales** and **Jaquet**.

Carpentras : a.k.a. Elzéar Genet or Eliziari Geneti, c.1470-1548 (Brown & Sherr, 2001).

Janechin : Clément Janequin, c.1485-1558 (Brown & Freedman, 2001).

Lheritier meus paeceptor : Jean Lhéritier, c.1480-after 1551 (Perkins, 2001a). **meus paeceptor** gives one of the tantalising glimpses into Gaetano's life. Ascribing a precise date – and indeed the precise terms of whatever relationship they had – is speculative, but assuming that they were in contact before Gaetano assumed his post at St Mark's, this would be c.1525-30. For further discussion, see **Introduction**.

Constantius Festa : Costanzo Festa, c.1485/90-1545 (Haar, 2001). Festa was one of the few musicians mentioned here who, like Gaetano, was a lay member of a court *cappella*: in his case, the Sistine Chapel's.

Morales : Cristóbal de Morales, c.1500-53 (Stevenson & Planchart, 2001).

Jachet: Jacquet of Mantua, 1483-1559 (Nugent, 2001) had worked with Willaert at the court of Ferrara prior to Willaert's appointment to St Mark's.

Verdelot : Philippe Verdelot, 1480/5-1530/40 (Slim & La Via, 2001).

§ xlvi.

labeculis antiquitatis : Gaetano's criticism is aimed at the 'second age' rather than antiquity itself. Nor are the problems insurmountable; in one of the very rare examples of parts of the *Oratio* being translated, Owens appears to exaggerate the diminutive **labeculis**: "blemishes of antiquity" (1990, 314), as while *L&S* gives "blemish" as a definition s.v., there is no clear distinction between it and *labe*.

For the idea of Willaert improving music, Gaetano may be following his (by then) *maestro* Zarlino, who in the *proemium* to his *Istitutioni Harmoniche* has, *Nondimeno ... ne ha conceduto gratia di far nascere a nostri tempi Adriano Vvillaert, veramente uno de piu rari intelletti, che habbia la Musica pratica giamai essercitato: il quale a guisa di nuovo Pithagora essaminando minutamente quello, che in essa puote occorrere, & vandovi infiniti errori, ha cominciato a levargli, & a ridurla verso quell'onore & dignità, che già ella era, & che ragionevolmente doveria essere* (1573, 2). The inclusion of *dignità* (see Introduction and *Or. Title* **dignitate**) as well as the subliminal imagery of delving into the past to find the 'pure' version of music suggest that this was a recognisable part of contemporary musicology.

Serenissimo Principe Venetiarum : The doge in this case was Andrea Gritti (r. 1523-38, see da Mosto, 1977, 235-46), who famously had played a large part in recruiting Willaert (Ongaro, 1987, 54-5; Fenlon, 1989, 111-12). Gaetano may be making a point in how a secular prince could contribute to the development of music. As St Mark's was the private chapel of the doge, its *maestro* was a court appointment rather than a clerical one. Whereas earlier doges seemed generally merely to rubber-stamp such appointments as were recommended, Gritti's personal interest seems to align with Gaetano's ideal (see Ongaro, 1987, 79-81; Fenlon, 1996).

Sacello Divi Marci : Willaert was appointed *maestro di cappella* of St Mark's Basilica in 1527 and held the post until his death.

Gaetano has again (cf. *Ep.vii domus ... consecratam*) juxtaposed the pagan (**Oraculo Pythii Apollonis**) with the Christian, perhaps indicating the Venetian inheritance of moral authority (a succinct exposition is in Fenlon, 1993b).

Ciprianus Rore : Cipriano de Rore, 1515/6-65 (Owens, 2001). A combination of unhappiness in the *cappella* (“administrative difficulties caused by the division of the chapel into two choirs,” Owens, 2001, 669) coupled with insufficient salary (Johnson, 1954, 46-7 transcribes a letter of de Rore’s to that effect; Ongaro, 1987, 202n.), led to his resignation in 1564.

Iosephusque Zarlino : Gioseffo Zarlino, 1517-1590 (Palisca, 2001b). **-que** indicates the proximity of the appointments of de Rore and Zarlino, (only three years apart) if not their styles. Zarlino’s length of tenure from 1565 to his death shows a happier relationship with his employers. While the warmth of Gaetano’s subsequent words may be more a product of his flowery prose than real respect, it is worth recognising that Gaetano recognises the contribution Zarlino had made to his hero Willaert’s legacy.

praeceptorem : provides new evidence towards answering a question in music history. If read in the same way as **praceptor** in § lxi, this would suggest that de Rore spent time learning from Willaert. There is little other documentary evidence (beyond de Rore’s own writings) to suggest a close link between Willaert and de Rore, most notably being called a *discipolo* of Willaert (although this does not indicate anything stronger than “a follower of Willaert’s practice” Feldman, 1995, xxvii). However, having sung in the choir for some decades at the time of de Rore’s succession, Gaetano would have had reason to know the nature of the relationship. The apparent lack of official record in Venice’s infamous bureaucracy suggests an informal arrangement.

quae ... eas : sic. in MS. This suggests that Gaetano is, unusually, referring to the (feminine) topic of the content of the book (**Institutiones**) rather than the (masculine) book (**librum**). The fact that **quibus** is plural, again agreeing with **Institutiones**, reinforces this.

Harmoniacae Institutiones : published as *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* in 1558, and subsequently widely reprinted. This was one of the most important codifications of music to that date. I have tried to avoid the common neutral translations of *Istitutioni* as “Elements” or “Principles” following Taruskin (2005, 586), who goes as far as translating Zarlino’s work as “The Established Rules of Harmony” – i.e. from which no deviation can be admitted. This helps to explain Gaetano’s criticism of chromaticism (§ xlvi **haeresiarcha**).

The precepts it contained retained immediate value into the next generation and the emergence of opera, as shown by Monteverdi’s ownership of a 1573 reissue (now held at Yale, MLSC, ML171 Z37 I87+).

§ xliv.

musicen ... perfectam : pre-empts Gaetano's conclusion that music is the *ars perfecta* (§ lxxii **personarum**). On this, see Taruskin, 2005, 585-628.

Adriani et Zarlini : here de Rore is omitted. This may indicate that Gaetano was one of the members of the *cappella* who took against him (see § xlvi **Ciprianus Rore**). However, de Rore does get a mention in Gaetano's list of thanks (§ lxxiv **Cipriane**) while Zarlino is left out.

§ xlv.

haeresiarca : Gaetano does not name this musician. It is not immediately clear whether they were in fact a Reformation heretic or someone who followed an alternative tradition in music. One plausible candidate is Jacob Clemens non Papa, c.1510-56/58, who although relatively obscure in his own time, would have been known to Gaetano with his wide knowledge and connections to Netherlandish music (on Clemens more generally, see Elders et al, 2001; on analysis of his musical style, see Taruskin, 2005, 593-99). Despite largely composing diatonically, he and other composers included elements of *musica ficta* in their work revealing their "hidden sympathies with the religious reformers of his time." (Brown, 1976, 206-7 following Lowinsky, 1946). On Clemens' proximity to Lutheran philosophy, as seen through the output of composers such as Dressler, see Forgács, 2007, esp.12-51, with examples 102-3 & 112-13.

That said, because these modulations were unwritten, Taruskin points out that there is simply a lack of explicit supporting evidence, but he stops short of dismissing the theory, calling it "if not disproved, at least shelved" (2005, 596; Elders et al are similarly skeptical, 2001, 28). Taruskin does, however, admit a degree of chromaticism "if a mild one" (2005, 597). Moreover, and probably more persuasive as evidence that he is the object of Gaetano's ire, Clemens was certainly writing in a style of music that was an alternative to that of Zarlino, which, given Gaetano's loyalty to his *maestro* (§§ xlvi- xliv) and his strong distaste for earlier music (§ xxxix) he would likely find objectionable. N.B. the distinction in tone from § xxvii **sectae**, although that appears to be a translation of *aiρέσεις*.

chromatis : despite Gaetano's condemnation, chromaticism *per se* could hardly be excluded from music. The use of *musica ficta* (i.e., musical notes outside Guido's *gamut*, see § *xxxvi*, rather than music that literally did not exist) had been widespread from the mid-fourteenth century (see Taruskin, 2005, 273-6), although with some limitations. Willaert himself had become well-known for a piece featuring chromaticism (see Lowinsky, 1956).

sibi ... nomine ... ornare : Gaetano here, possibly unintentionally, sets himself up against Tinctoris, who in both his *Proportionale musices* (Prologus, 9-14) and his *Complexus effectum musices* (xix, 4-5) argued for the glory that is owed to musicians and that will spur them to greater achievement (see Wegman, 2003, 181).

glande ... vesci : this comparison is made in a similar way by Cicero (*Orat. ix.30-1*), when remarking that Thucydides's speeches would not transfer well to the public sphere, *quae est autem in hominibus tanta perversitas, ut inventis frugibus glande vescantur?* Lucretius also uses *glandes* as metonymic for a lack of civilization (V.1363).

vesci : is often used of livestock, (*OLD* s.v. Verg. *A. VI.656-7, conspicit ... alios ... per herbam vescantis*), here Gaetano is probably suggesting pigs.

aqua et igni interdicamur : this is used frequently as a synonym for exile in classical texts (implicit at Cic. *Att. III.4*; explicit at id. *Dom. 18*; Plin. *Ep. IV.11*).

However, Gaetano is making several telling assertions here. Most obviously, he is claiming a position for himself (and for his audience) as a person of consequence, as the punishment of exile by its nature assumes that there is property to confiscate; “exile was a common misfortune for members of the political class in Italian city-states of the Renaissance” (De Keyser, 2013, vii; see also Shaw, 2000, 5-54 for the types of people who faced exile). The terms in which exile is threatened are also peculiar. Variants on the formula *interdictio aqua et igni* do not appear anywhere in, for example, Filelfo's *De Exilio*, and seems largely to be limited to classical antecedents. Starn (1982, 37) suggests that the ancient penalty may have continued into the Middle Ages to some extent when exercised by a ‘supra-national’ body such as the Church (perhaps as a step-down from excommunication). However, elsewhere (*ibid.*, 18-19), he defines it almost by its lack of definition even to Romans. By contrast, Muir implies that the punishment carried a more secular authority, being an exclusion from civic proceedings (2002, 15). Shaw also suggests (2000, 55-86) that the penalties suffered by exiles seem generally to have been confined to the imposition of fines (including confiscation of property) or being barred from political office. The closest correspondence to the Roman *interdictio* was being

declared a *bandito*, which, while implying similar effects of exclusion from legal protection, was expressed in different terms. Thus, Gaetano's use seems something of a false archaism.

Even if his tone is somewhat jocular in its scorn, Gaetano's implication is that it would be a just punishment for those who contravene the limits of artistic licence.

utamur : is used in a similar (negative, although self-critical rather than monitory) sense by Cicero, *Marcel.* I.1 & *Fam.* II.16.6 (*L&S, ad loc.* II.g).

§ *xlvi.*

tot compositores effudit : see, for example, Lewis, 1997, 27-43 for a catalogue of very obscure names (and some better known) published by just one press in Venice in the 1540s and 1550s.

in singulis provinciis : Gaetano's apparent surprise is likely due in part to developments in printing technology that made more music widely available (see Bernstein, 1998; Lewis, 1997). Glarean is dismissive of those musicians who refuse to consider anything but the latest music in his *Dodecachordon*, *nostra vero tempestate sint, qui nullam cantilenam, nisi iam recens ab authore, velut incude a fervescente proveniat, probent, veteres omneis contemnant.* (113).

ex equo Troiano : is a somewhat incongruous image to choose here. The only other suggestion of a reference to the Homeric myths is at § *lix.*

neglexerunt : is surely to be read with § *xliv* **musicen ... perfectam**, as the newest generation could not hope to make music more perfect.

faxerint : repeated from *Ep.xiv* **faxint** is again a deliberately archaic word, used fatalistically, although here its precise form is unclear and seems unattested in literature. See *TLL* VI.1: 83.18-78. Gaetano may be making a joke of his old-fashioned tastes.

§§ *xlvii-lii.*

An introduction to the power of music.

§ *xlvii.*

divino ... spiritu afflatis : the sense is that it is this divine spirit that imbues music with its *dignitas*. Also mentioned at *Ep.iv* **afflatu**. While Gaetano avoids calling it *spiritus sanctus*, presumably to avoid sounding heretical himself, his choice is synonymous.

This is also Gaetano's first reference to *spiritus* (also in §§ *lxxiii-iv*). It is distinct from the human *anima* referred to elsewhere (esp. § *xiv* **animam**), seemingly specifically used of God.

excellentium ... perfectos : appears to be a further example of Gellian tautology.

§ *xlvi*.

musicae ... liberalibus disciplinis : likely *sc.* a more quotidian kind of music as distinct from *musices*. Elsewhere Gaetano describes them as the *artes liberales* rather than *disciplinae*.

doctrina musicae ... inter doctos caeterarum doctrinarum viros : this repetition is reminiscent of § *xxxv* **auctore ... auctores ... auctor**.

animi ... affectiones sensus : refers to the harmony of the balance of soul and senses, cf. § *xiv* **animam**.

§ *xlvi*.

Timothei Milesii : is a mistake, possibly copied from Tinctoris's *Complexus* where the same error is spotted by Cullington (2001, 72, nn.51, 56, see also Palisca et al, 1992, 37). The lyrist Timotheus of Miletus is mentioned above (§ *xxxv* **Timotheo ... Milesio**). This aulete served at the court of Alexander and his father Philip, and accompanied the former on his campaigns, the anecdote is preserved in the *Suda* (Adler 0.573). He is known to have been an aulete from Lucian, *Harmonides* and Quintilian, *Inst.*, II.iii.3. As a singer, Gaetano's imagination would likely be the blend of words and music. Timotheus had a distinguished history as a paradigm for musicians instructing rulers (Restani, 2020, 465).

Magni Alexandri : this well-known anecdote comes from Dio Chrys. *Or. de reg.* I.1.

Terpander ... Lesbios : Gaetano's source may be Diodorus Siculus (8.28.1). Elsewhere (e.g. § *xxv* **Terpandrum ... Lesbium**) Gaetano's focus is on Terpander's contribution to the development of music.

Lesbiis cantoribus primas Spartani semper detulerunt : as suggested above (§ *xxvii* **primas**), *palmas* is understood.

§ *l*.

Amphionem Iovis aut Mercurii : Gaetano's confusion may be from Hor. *Od.* III.11.1.

Orpheus : is the only mention of Orpheus in the *Oratio*, made more surprising in that he is absent from the list of first musicians (cf. § *xxv* **primus**). Augustine classes Orpheus among *theologi poetae* (*Civ. d.* XVIII).

Gellius ex Herodoto : *NA*. XVI.19 following *Hdt.* I.23-4. As discussed in the **Introduction (Style; Genre)**, with examples in this section and at § *liv*, Gaetano’s style is reminiscent of Gellius. There was a copy of Gellius in the Biblioteca Marciana (Omont, 1894, 50 n.252). At both citations, Gaetano remarks that Gellius took his material **ex Herodoto**, presumably to lend credibility to Gaetano’s research but also possibly to show an awareness of Gellius’s attempt to imitate the simplicity of Herodotus’s original (Holford-Strevens, 2003, 59-60). It is likewise a signal that Gaetano will attempt to follow suit. Gaetano’s account is, by the necessity of his genre, more constrained than that of Gellius. Gaetano’s account is only 144 words to Gellius’s 392 (Holford-Strevens remarks “nor does Gellius compete in brevity and neatness”, 2003, 59). However, Gaetano’s edits cut more content than style, and the vignettes (e.g. Gell. *de more cinctus, amictus, ornatus stansque in summae puppis*; cf. Gaet. *de more ornatus in puppim*) are similarly vivid. The same anecdote would be repeated by Gaetano’s *maestro Zarlino* (1573, 10), however, unlike Gaetano, Zarlino also cites Pliny for this source (*HN*IX.8).

Part of the reason for this variation in citation may be due to Gellius potentially appealing to Gaetano beyond purely stylistic considerations. The tone with which *NA*. is registered is morally rather than factually didactic. Gellius “participates in ... cultural battles ... related to negotiations of authority and power, ... establish[es] an educational programme of Roman culture that proves its own superior ‘market value’ and enhances the status of its own author in the imperial elite” (Keulen, 2009, 9). Like Gellius, Gaetano hoped that his work would be morally improving (Holford-Strevens, 2003, 36-44) but, for different reasons (Gaetano no doubt mindful of his named audience), each stops short of direct admonishment. That is not to say that Gellius was *per se* a moralist, rather see Lomanto in Holford-Strevens (2003, 43n.79), “la morale, intesa concretamente come norma di condotta quotidiana e perfino come galateo.”

nobili fidibus cantatore : is almost a direct transcription of Gellius's *nobilis Arion cantator fidibus* – this is the sole appearance in the *Oratio* of any inflection of *cantator*. Gaetano's preferred term is *cantor* (cf. *Ep.xiv cantor*).

proprius historiae quam fabulae absit : Gaetano's belief shows Gellius's skill in imitating Herodotus, who “takes the miracle in his stride” (Holford-Strevens, 2003, 59).

pisces : while natural scientists such as Belon had established that dolphins and whales have features distinct from fish and common with mammals by the 1550s (see Romero, 2012, 5.1), the fact that they are both sea-dwellers means that dolphins have been classified as fish by amateur observers up to the twenty-first century (Souza & Begossi, 2007).

dicuntur : the belief, seemingly also held by Gaetano, in the affinity between dolphins and music appears to have been widely held in the classical world, among many other references to dolphins within Aelian (see Maspero, 1998, 997 for a list) see *N.A.* XII.6 ὅσοι μέν οὖν εἰσιν ἔνδικοι καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς ἐπαιῶντες, τῆς τῶν δελφίνων φιλομονσίας αἰδοῖ θάπτονται αὐτούς · οἱ δὲ ἀπό τε Μονσῶν φασιν ἀπό τε Χαρίτων ἀκηδῶς αὐτῶν ἔκονσι (which provides an alternative proof for § ix **Rudes autem**; also quoted below via Quintilian § lxi **in veteri Graecorum proverbio**). However, note that subsequently (XII.45), Aelian makes no mention of the lyre, stating rather that dolphins are *φιλωδοί τε καὶ φίλαντοι*. Pliny also has (*HN* IX.24) *delphinus non homini tantum amicum animal verum et musicae arti, mulcetur symphoniae cantu set praecipue hydrauli sono*.

praedae ac pecuniae : from Gellius's *praedae pecuniaeque* (*NA.* XVI.19). Like Gellius, Gaetano is fond of synonymy almost to the point of redundancy (cf. Holford-Strevens, 2003, 56-9).

suboluisset : seemingly an archaic word with the prefix *sub-*, seen in Plautus (e.g. *Ps.* I.5.7) and Terence (e.g. *Phorm.* III.1.10) when a plot is detected (see *L&S ad loc.*), but not in Gellius's account.

contenta voce : following Herodotus, Gellius says that Arion sang *voce sublatissima*. This is supposed to refer to the *ὑρθος νόμος*, pitched so high that singers had been known to burst a blood vessel in its performance (Sleeman, 1927, 164-5 22).

dorso super fluctus edito : taken directly from Gellius, although Gaetano has simplified the surrounding structure of the sentence.

§ lii.

pro ratione temporis ... ad dicendum : may indicate that the speech has a time constraint.

ex hoc loco : as discussed in the **Introduction (Genre, Oration)** , there may have been a public auditorium in Venice (Verheiden, W. in Verheiden, J., 1598, 59-69). However, **loco** may be metaphorical, indicating Gaetano's position in his argument (*TLL*, VII.1: 1592.43ff) or adopting Ciceronian tropes (*L&S* s.v.).

iure consuetudinis constituti : while it is unclear exactly what the established custom is, the inference that there is one suggests that the *Oratio* is comparable to other speeches, and thus plausibly part of the output of a learned body (see **Introduction, Diplomatic gifts**). N.B. the MS has *constitutae*, one of Gaetano's rare mistakes in syntax.

§§ liii-lv.

Military applications of music.

§ liii.

rebus bellicis : may remind the reader of Francesco Maria I della Rovere (*Ep.vi* & ff.).

initium sumam : is a poetic phrase, repeated from earlier § xxi.

militum ... rerum caeterarum : for a Venetian text, the lack of explicit reference to naval warfare is apparent. This likely reflects both a lack of classical references to music on ships and increasing Venetian focus on its *terraferma*.

timpanorum, ... buccinarum, tubarum, lituum, atque aliorum instrumentorum : would be instruments common on the contemporary battlefield, used to give signals and orders.

Lacedemonii : Gaetano here does not cite Gellius's description of Spartans advancing to battle at *N.A.* I.11.1-2, plausibly because he disputes the effect the flutes had. Gellius claims Thucydides as his source, with greater epithets (*auctor historiae Graeciae gravissimus*) than Herodotus (*historicorum nobilissimi*, XIII.7.6; *scriptor historiae memoratissimus*, VIII.4; see Baldwin, 1975, 68).

ordines : the Latin is not totally clear whether this refers to the Spartan or enemy ranks.

ad tibiarum modulos : a similar effect is recounted by Gaetano at § liv **Damon Pithagoricus**. This is also supported by Quintilian *Inst.* I.10.14-16, often used elsewhere by Gaetano, as a contrast to *cornua ac tubae* of the Roman legions.

Cretenses ... cythara ... dicuntur : feminas fidicinas : Gellius in fact has female flautists: *concinentes habuit fistulatores et fidicines atque feminas etiam tibicinas in exercitu*. However, the chapter heading associated with *N.A.* I.11 reads ... *quodque Herodotus Alyattem regem fidicinas in procinctu habuisse tradit*, possibly following a scribal correction.

However, Gaetano here has copied Gellius's misunderstanding of the Greek: Herodotus refers to *avλον γνναικη̄ον ... και' ἀνδρη̄ον*, which refers to a double-piped wind instrument with one pipe playing an octave above the other, thus mimicking the difference between male and female voices (see Sleeman, 1927, 160, 6; also Terzēs, 2020, 219-22 for *auloi* generally; N.B. this is not to say there were no female auletes, see De Simone 399-400). Herodotus drew attention to this to underline the 'oriental' peculiarity of such a practice, quite apart from the implied decadence of introducing women.

It is curious that Gaetano chose to make reference to Gellius' remarks on the soothing moderating power of music in a military context rather than an oratorical one: "as a typical orator who holds speeches in the *contio*, Gellius mentions the *popularis* Gaius Gracchus (cf. I.11.12) – according to Gellius, the function of his notorious 'oratorical pipe' (*tibia contionariae*) was not to restrain or animate his delivery, as other sources alleged, but to *restrain and calm* the exuberant energy of the orator's delivery" (Keulen, 2009, 153, referencing Gell, I.11.13 [Cic. *de or.* II.88] & I.11.14). Clearly Gaetano had first-hand knowledge of Gellius, and his style shares some features such as synonymy and a blend of the antique with certain neologisms (see Holford-Strevens, 2003, 56-9).

Gellius ex Herodoto : *N.A.* I.11.6-7 following *Hdt.* I.17.

musicis modis : again shows Gaetano's lack of precision in terminology. I infer that he intends 'musical modes' (as Quint. *Inst.* I.x.32 does, see § *liv.* **ad tibiarum modulos**) rather than 'kinds of music.'

quid enim musico cum bellatoribus : seems at first reading a peculiar question, as Gaetano has surely just answered it. However, his use of the word **musico** means that he can claim again the scholarly *persona* rather than the grubbier musicians who would actually be playing in battle (see *Ep.xiv cantor*; *Or.i musici*). Cf. *Ep.viii reliquas ingenuas artes*.

§§ lvi-lx.

Benefits of music to both body and soul.

§ lvi.

his temporibus in Apulia : this likely refers to the *tarantella*, a dance that originated around the town of Taranto. The folklore surrounding this story disputes whether the dance is caused by a bite (see **stellionis morsu**) or a cure for it. See Schwandt, 2001.

stellionis morsu : if Gaetano is referring to the *tarantella*, this is surprising, as the dance is normally associated with the bite of the wolf spider (*lycosa tarantula*, which takes its name from the town).

in veteris monumentis annalium : such as those mentioned by Gaetano above (*Ep. vi literarum monumentis*) showing an awareness of the interconnectedness of these chronicles.

quid quaeris? : may be referencing Jesus's first words in the Gospel of John, *quid quaeritis* (John I.38).

Damon Pithagoricus : this story is more commonly attributed to Pythagoras himself. Quintilian records that Pythagoras saved a family by persuading a flautist to alter her mode (*Inst. I.x.32*, see Joost-Gaugier, 2006, 63). However, it is attributed to Damon by Galen (*On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* V.6.21-2) and by Martianus Capella (*On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury* IX.926), see Raffa, 2018, 18. The better-known story of Damon the Pythagorean is told by Cicero (obliquely at *Tusc.* V.63, i.e. immediately before a section well used by Gaetano; and explicitly at *de Off.* III.45).

ebrios : is plural, despite there being no suggestion in any of the sources of there having been more than one drunk at the scene.

modulis : see § *lv* **musicis modis.** Here Gaetano surely does mean mode, as Quintilian has the flautist change *in spondeum modos* (*Inst. I.x.32*; in Iamblichus' account the change is from the Phrygian, which had stirred up the drunk man's rage).

subridere : this joke may point to a motet by Willaert, *Quid non ebrietas?* (see Lowinsky, 1956). Its text is from Horace (*Ep.* I.5.16-20).

§ lvii.

cantores : Gaetano sheds the *persona* of *musicus* again (cf. *Ep.xiv cantor*; *Or.i musici*) to discuss less dignified aspects of music.

incalescant : is specific vocabulary related to the effects of drinking (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

illustrium : is capitalised, possibly ironically, in the MS.

§ lviii.

Nulla ... hilum : Ficino had suggested that the Orphic Hymns have soul-curing properties (see Gouk, 1988; Voss 1988).

David : the biblical basis for this story is found at 1 Samuel 16:23, however, the emphasis is changed. Whereas the Vulgate refers to the *spiritus Dei malus* that caused Saul's raving, Gaetano avoids the cause, focussing rather on the treatment.

Chrisippus ... apud Quintilianum : it is unlikely that Gaetano was directly familiar with Chrysippus, but the line in Quintilian is found at *Inst. I.x.32*, i.e., the same place as the story of the flute-player (§ lvi **Damon Pithagoricus**).

doctissimus Pontanus : Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503) was a Renaissance scholar employed at the Aragonese court in Naples, where he served alternately as an advisor, a military secretary, and finally chancellor. See Kidwell, 1991. Pontano includes a set of *naeniae* in *De amore coniugali* (II.viii-xix).

cantilenas ... Nenia : were written as lullabies (*far la ninna nonna*), see Monti Sabia, 176-7. The juxtaposition of **cantilenas** with **doctissimus** is intentionally charming.

§ lix.

de musico ... scripsit Homerus : adapted from Nestor's story told to Telemachus at *Od.III.263-72*, which is the only surviving classical account of this detail of the Clytemnestra/Aegisthus myth (Scully, 1981, 68, n2). As expected from Gaetano's purpose, the musician in his retelling is brought into sharper focus, whereas Nestor's emphasis is on the cruelty and duplicity of Aegisthus.

§ lx.

prospero fortunae flatu : likely quoting Cic. *Off.* II.19, *cum prospero flatu [fortunae] utimur* etc (see *TLL* VI.1: 879.17-22).

quam musice : cf. *Ep.ii quam musica*. While this is within the context of music's more practical applications, by alluding to the metaphysical liberal art Gaetano points the reader towards his conclusion that music is ultimately divine.

§§ lxi-lxviii.

Music's proximity to political power and thus guarantee of social harmony.

§ lxi

amantes ... amabiles ... admirabiles : is a difficult pun to render in English. The crucial distinction is that Gaetano is using **admirabiles** in the sense of the miraculous, thus the mundane exchange of human affection in **amantes ... amabiles** is transcended, allowing music and musicians the role of guarantor of the divine right of the rulers who employ them.

duces, principes, reges, imperatores, summi pontifices : follows a politically careful crescendo.

in veteri Graecorum proverbio : the proverb itself taken from Quint. *Inst.* I.10.21 (cf. Ael. *N.A.* XII.6 at § *li dicuntur*).

§ lxii.

Platonis ... in Republica : most likely refers to the 'Myth of Er' at the conclusion of the *Republic* (617b-c). However, the idea recurs in Plato, e.g. the creating Demiurge of *Timaeus* relying on proportion and harmony (36e-37a). There are also more oblique references too: in Book X of the *Republic* (597e), the artisans making physical objects are said to be imitators of an Ideal; likewise for Gaetano, *musica* imitates *mousike*.

ad divinitatem proprius accedunt : offers a clear argument both for music's *dignitas* as it comes from God and in favour of the *vita contemplativa* (see **Introduction, Dignitas**).

benemeritos : generally conjoining the two words *bene* and *merens* seems to be characteristic of post-fourth century Latin and is usually seen in Christian contexts (*TLL* VIII [s.v. **merens**]: 811.13-15, cf. 809.68, 813.70).

Austriacae Prosapia : repeated from *Ep.v*. Vendrix's inference is that Gaetano sought employment at the Habsburg court. This would provide a purpose for the 'original' speech (if there was one). The letter's existence would then point to a rewrite of the project adjusting to new circumstances.

There is support for this view in that in the letter Gaetano does not give any other reason for composing the speech than to extol the Habsburgs, but nor does he make any explicit proposal seeking employment. The most pressure that can be applied to such an argument is that the speech represents a 'sounding' of possible future opportunities. See **Introduction**, **Gaetano**; **The *Oratio***; **Diplomatic gifts** for more detailed discussion. **Prosapia** is, however, a strikingly obsequious word to use. In dismissing overly archaic words, Quintilian calls it *insulsum* (*Inst. VIII.3.26*) and Suetonius uses it mockingly of Galba (*Gal. II.1*), *sed haud dubie nobilissimus magna^{que} et vetere prosapia*. It is redeemed somewhat by being used by later authors, especially Church Fathers, (*TLL X.2 fasc.xiv: 2168.50ff.*) but it seems uncharacteristic for Gaetano to be unaware of the classical antecedents.

de illis : the Latin is not decisive as to whether Gaetano is referring to the **beneficia** or the **principum**; the ambiguity allows both to be understood, as the former are an inherent feature of the latter's *persona* (see also *Ep.i proprium*).

muneribus ... auro : by which the emperor reciprocates the gestures Gaetano makes above *Ep.i muneribus*; *Ep.ii auream*.

Hercole : is self-consciously classical, (see cf. *Ep.iii Deo Optimo Maximo*; *Or.lxxv Deoque Optimo Maximo*) but not uncommon in texts of this period (see Pico, § 104 & Borghesi et al, 2012, 163 n.116).

Duces ... Principes ... Reges ... Imperatores : echoes the list at § *lxii* but for the omission of popes, which, while accurate, draws attention to the fact that Venice blocked the passage of Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor 1508-1519 (but King of the Romans from 1486), to Rome for his coronation as Emperor.

Oeniponti in celeberrimo et augustissimo templo divi Francisci : refers to the Hofkirche at Innsbruck (dedicated in 1553), which was built as a chapel and mausoleum of Maximilian. Clearly its symbolic potential as a locus for celebration of the arts was widely recognised. Maximilian sought the support of humanist scholars, notably through the publication of *Der Weisskunig*. Plett (2004, 365) also shows an undated woodcut by Hans Burgkmair (1473-1531) depicting the emperor amidst the musicians of the *Hofkapelle*, where the king could show appreciation of and participation in music (as Guidobaldo is said to at *Ep.viii magna cum voluptate*). In the oration, this reference appears to balance the twin chapels of Guidobaldo at Urbino (*Ep.vii in quibus musicen ... verseris*).

in celeberrimo et augustissimo templo : may be quoting Livy XLII.12.6 *foedus incisum litteris esse ... ad Delum augustissimo et celeberrimo in templo* (see *TLL II*: 1380.5-9).

divi Francisci : is technically a misnomer. In fact, the Hofkirche was dedicated to Das Heilige Kreuz, but it was adjacent to a Franciscan monastery.

ex aere imagines : the twenty-eight statues that remain in the Hofkirche are larger than life-size and depict ancestors (historical and mythical) of the Habsburgs. As with the wider description of the shrine, this imagery of statuary is reminiscent of the simile of the tenth Muse outlined at *Ep.xi Divus ... Christiana*.

cum Solone, cum Lycurgo, cum Epaminunda, cum Pyrro, cum Alexandro, cum C. Caesare : while this is a list of especially significant and feted classical figures, none would normally be immediately associated with music, except for the fact that Lycurgus, Epaminondas, and Alexander are referred to elsewhere in the oration (§ *xxviii Epaminundas clarissimus Thebanorum Imperator*; § *xxviii Achillem ... cum magnus Alexander*; § *xxviii Lycurgus*; § *xlix Magni Alexandri*).

§ *lxv.*

Carolus et Ferdinandus : Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor from 1519-1556 was succeeded by his brother, Ferdinand I, who then ruled until 1564.

§ *lxvi.*

catholicus rex Hispaniarum : obliquely references the title of the Spanish monarch *Rex Catholicissimus* (awarded by Pope Alexander VI in his 1493 bull *Inter caetera*). Gaetano may also be varying his vocabulary, further suggesting a knowledge of Greek through the sense of **catholicus** as ‘universal.’

Philippus : Philip II of Spain (1527-98, reigned from 1556) was the son of Charles V.

e sua provincia : it is unclear whether Gaetano is referring to England (of which Philip had been king 1554-8 *uxoris iure*) or the Netherlands, where Calvinist insurrections had broken out in 1566. If the latter, this would secure Vendrix’s proposed dates for the composition of the *Oratio* of 1567-9.

§ *lxvii.*

Maximiliani II potentissimi Imperatoris : Maximilian II ruled as Holy Roman Emperor after the death of his father Ferdinand (see § *lxv*).

§ *lxviii.*

invictissime ac religiosissime ... augustissime : balances the Christian with the ancient pagan, as at *Ep.vii illorum domus Apolloni et Musis ... consecratam.*

§§ *lxix-lxxii*.

Music's essentiality to the divine.

§ *lxix.*

ad animae salutem affert musica : *L&S* suggests that *salus* may have a sense of salvation (s.v. C, Vulg. Act. 13:26; 10:1, 13:11); see also *OLD* (s.v. 6) for a wider range of classical citations albeit without spiritual connection, but much more common is the sense of physical health. However, the possible alternative *salvatio* is largely restricted to late Latin, which Gaetano may have wished to avoid (see *L&S*, s.v. citing Boethius and the Vulgate).

Divus Augustinus ... confessionum : marks the only triple citation of a given author, see *Ep.xi Divus Augustinus*; *Or.xxxi Divus Augustinus*. Cf. Plato is cited twice (*Or.xi* & *Or.lxii*).

a Numa Pompilio Salii : refers to § *xxxiii Numa ... Pompilius*.

§ *lxx.*

in nova ecclesia : **nova** here makes the Church the latest iteration in a tradition stretching back to Jubal, rather than any Renaissance innovation. Gaetano here begins the transition towards the conclusion of his oration (the peak marked at § *lxxii personarum*).

musice : used here as a nominative, see § *lxxiii*.

Divus Ambrosius : normally St Ambrose, c.339-397 predated St Gregory by two centuries and has been credited with a great deal of musical significance, although this is likely overstating his contribution to indigenous developments around his diocese of Milan (Bailey, 2001, 452). This Milanese or 'Ambrosian chant' was thought to have been the first codification of psalmody. See McKinnon, 2001a, Bailey, 2001.

§ *lxxi.*

liberalium artium : this is the third explicit mention of the 'liberal arts.' If this is intentional artifice, it may be to mirror the reader's enlightenment. At their first mention (§ *ix Rudes autem*), the audience are themselves the **rudes**, by the second (§ *xxx artes liberales*), they have been somewhat educated, and at this final instance, Gaetano's argument of the merits of music has been proven.

§ lxxii.

Sanctus : a similar formula is found at a similar point in Pico § 232, where he remarks that those who contemplate the divine mystery must sing *pleni sunt caeli, plena est omnis terra maiestate gloriae tuae* (a normal part of the *Sanctus* in a mass, cf. Borghesi et al, 2012, 251 n.317).

Inventoris : a novel epithet for God within the *Oratio*, who is elsewhere called **artifex** (§ xi). Gaetano thus makes a comparison between God and Archimedes, who is himself called **summus artifex** (§ xvi) and praised for his **inventis**.

personarum : while syntactically referring to the performing musicians themselves, the reappearance of this word here, after its heavy use in §§ i-v and subsequent absence, could point (as in the letter, see *Ep.xiv ex omni antiquitate & concinnatum*) to an attempt by Gaetano at ring composition (and possibly by using the classical pagan Stoic model of *personae* in the context of music's redemptive power thus claiming the model for Christianity). Certainly, it points to the end of Gaetano's peroration; what follows is coda. A possible reading is that music itself is circular, being heaven-sent with the purpose of drawing souls to heaven. The argument that musicians form some sort of bridge to the divine – an *ars perfecta* – was widespread in the period (see also § xliv **musicen ... perfectam**). Taruskin cites one Venetian diplomat to the court of Henry VIII of England, saying that his singers *non contavano ma giubilavano* (Taruskin, 2005, 613), an example of the inadequacies of language for describing this music.

divinam quidem illam : the order of the earlier phrase is reversed. See *Ep.iii divinam illam quidem*.

Deique concessu atque munere : see *Ep.iii Dei concessu atque munere*.

§§ lxxiii-lxxv.

Coda: celebration of those who have brought Gaetano's argument thus far. The selection is drawn from the origo section.

§ lxxiii.

musice : appears thus in what must be the nominative (see **Introduction, Concepts of music**). Juxtaposed here with **principium**, this appears revelatory, as the art of music becomes objective enough to be a subject (cf. § lx & § lxx).

tum ad animi oblectamenta atque animae salutem ... utilitates : reinforces the distinction between *animus* and *anima* (see § xiv **animam**).

Tubal ... interitum : see § xxi.

Chaldei : see § xxiii.

Mercuri, Amphion, Line, ... Terpander : see § xxv.

Pythagora ... Aristoxene ... Ptolemaee : see § xxvii.

Gregori : see § xxxv.

Guido Aretine : see § xxxvi.

Joannes Tinctoris : see § xxxix. The “petrifying” names of the Second Age are passed over unthanked.

Ochegen ... de Sylva : see § xl.

Adriane ... Morales : see § xli. Note the omission of Janechin, Lheritier and Jachet, who Gaetano likely perceived to have been of slightly lesser significance.

Cipriane : see § xlvi. This is a strange inclusion, as while Gaetano does praise Cipriano above, his most lavish praise is reserved for Zarlino, who goes unmentioned here.

marte : a common (and heavily classical, cf. § lxiv **Hercle**) expression for ‘by your efforts’: cf. Forcellini, s.v. “Hinc *Marte nostro* quippiam facere dicimur, quum solis nostris viribus, nostra sponte, sine alieno auxilio facimus, *da per noi soli*.” See also *OLD* s.v. **Mars** i.a. Cic. *Verr.* III.9; id. *Phil.* II.95.

generatim : allows Gaetano to thank the group collectively without singling out individuals. This generous thanks makes music greater than the sum of its parts. See *L&S* s.v. *singillatim* *potius quam generatim atque universe loquar* (Cic. *Verr.* II.5.143).

Singulatimque: an alternative spelling of *singillatim*, contrasts with **generatim, -que** balancing the couplet. While it is not unusual for a classical author to open a clause with *-que* (L&S s.v. I.G. Cic. *Fn.* III.67), it is striking for Gaetano to open the last thought of the oration with it, showing again his love of pseudo-Gellian pairings.

Deoque Optimo Maximo : for the only time in the oration, but as at *Ep.iii*, adopts the cult title of Jupiter, following the use of Zarlino (1573, 5).

sempiternam illis gloriam ... aeternam ac beatam vitam : as the double chapel described at *Ep.vii* has both Christian and pagan elements, this heavily Christian language balances the invocation of pagan classical models.

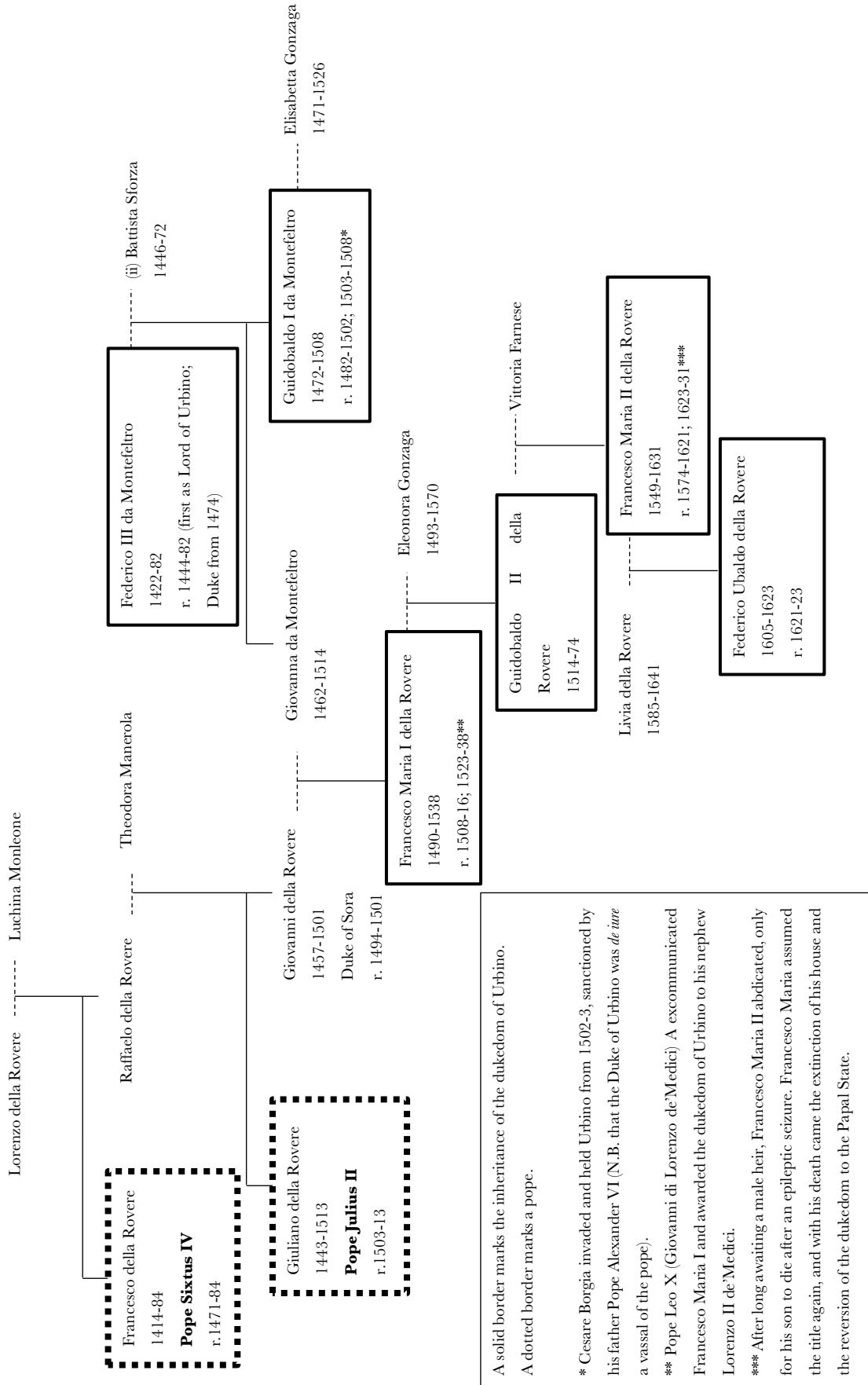
vitam laetam et iucundam in musica / ... in caelis ... aeternam et beatam ... vitam : is a final demonstration of Gaetano's classical education.

DIXI : is a common word not only at the conclusion of neo-Latin orations, but also at those of academic books (e.g. Piazzoni's *Libellus*, 61v). However, Vendrix reads it as the date of the piece, misconstruing the first I as L and seeing M from a dot and ligature before the word to read the date 1561 (MDLXI), then tying himself in knots over the dating of the oration (2009, 39-40). As he infers, from the people mentioned in the oration, 1561 is a highly improbable date, requiring various contrivances of composition.² Despite this, his proposed date of 1567-9 is plausible, although Perkins' broader range of 1565-72 (ibid., 39 & n.10) relies on less conjecture.

² I suspect the mistake is from a smudged microfilm, I am grateful to the Biblioteca Correr for enabling me to see the original MS.

Appendices

I – Simplified family tree of the Montefeltro and della Rovere dynasties



AD ILL.^{IVVM} ET EX.^{IVVM} GVIDVM VBALDVM
VRBINI DUCEM, ATQ^E SENO,
GALLIA PRAEFACTVM.

SUMMORVM, ac liberalium Principiū quide ybal-
de Dux Iff. me et Ex. me in accipiendis si-
bi oblatis muneribus, cum sit maxime propri-
um, non quid offeratur, sed quibus de causis, & a quo ho-
mine offeratur, animaduertere, quod autem oblatum sit, fa-
ci estimare, quanti uidetur is, qui offerat, estimandus, se-
guitur, ut ~~in~~ estimatione, uel specie muner, nec digni-
tate, uel opibus dantū, sed eorū animi hilaritate, &
beneuolentia ad ea accipienda illi utiq^z moueantur. quo-
circa plenq^z ex eis præciosa dona reiçere, et aspernari,
exigui autem prefij accipere, & asseruare solent. qua de
re ex omni antiquitate unum ffelianum exemplum de
Arta verse Persar, Rege mihi proferre sit satis: quem
prefererunt cum quiddam rusticus, ut mos erat Persis,
tanq^z Regem aliquo munusculo honorare uellet, sibiq^z
procul domo absenti nō esset, unde hoc fieret, ne Rex
sine honorario abiret, ad proximum flumen accurreret.

III – Adrian Willaert's testament (twelfth version)

1558. Indictione prima, die sabbati XXVI mense Martii, Rivoalti, praesentibus infrascriptis juratis et rogatis testibus.

Ego, Adrianus Wilaert, magister capellae ecclesiae Sancti Marci Venetiarum, filius quondam domini Dionisii, sanus per gratiam Omnipotentis Dei mente, sed corpore languens (non tamen in leto), volens bona mea ordinare, vocari et venire ad me feci Franciscum de Michaelibus, Venetiarum notiarum, quem rogavi ut hoc meum testamentum, mean ultimam voluntatem continens, scriberet complendum et roborandum post meum obitum, clausulis consuetis, servatis ordinibus Venetiarum; qui notarius scripsit prout ipsi dixi, videlicet: recomando l'anema mia a messer Domenedio, lo qual prego la voglia accettar in sua gratia et misericordia; el corpo mio lasso alla terra; lasso mei commessarii: messer prê Hieronimo Vinci, messer Marco Antonio Cavazon, e **messer Piero Gaetan**, cantori, messer Zuane, Fiamengho, tenorista in gessia de San Marco, et messer Appollonio Massa, medico, li quali quanto aspetta alla mia sepultora, facino quello che li parera con mancho pompa si possa. Lasso tutto el pro, che correra de anno in anno, de tutti li mei danari che si ritroverà haver el signor Zuan Jacopo Focheri, al tempo della mia morte, nelle sue man, a Susana, mia moglier, in vita soa, lo qual messer Zuan Jacopo, non li volendo tenir più nelle sue man et pagar quello che mi paga adesso per utile di essi, li ditti mei commessarii siano obligati metterli alli Monti, over in Cecha, dando el pro, de anno in anno che si trazeva di essi a ditta Susana in vita sua, et subito che ditta Susana sara morta, lasso ditti danari, zoe tutto el cavedal, in sette parte equal, zoe alli poveri dell' hospedal de S. Zanepolo, alli poveri dell' hospedal dell' Incurabili, alla Pietà, alla schuolla della Passion, in giesa de San Zulian, al monasterio de Santo Iseppo, al monasterio delle muneghe de Malamocho, et al monasterio delle Convertide; li qual danari siano liberi soi et possiro subvenirsi de loro, come parera alli governatori de ditti loci, et questo fazo accio habbiano causa pregar Dio per l'anema mia; li altri danari et beni che ho in Fiandra, lasso a mie sorelle et suoi fioli, caso che in vita non li havesse havuto ditte mie sorelle. El residuo de tutti li altri mei beni mobeli lasso alla ditta Susana, mia moglier, la qual prego che de quello li avanza ge sia recomenda li poveri. Interrogatus a notario de locis piis et interrogandis, dico: non voglio far altro de quello e scritto de sopra. Praeterea, etc., si quis, etc., signum, etc., qui haec fieri rogavit.

Io, Adriano Willaert, son contento et affermo quanto è sopra scritto.

Io, prê Piramo, quondam Francesco, sotto canonico di S. Marco, testimonio jurado et pregado, scrisse.

Io, prê Alvise Jurassine, sotto sagrestan di S. Marco, testimonio jurato et pregato, scrisse.

Subscription: Testamentum domini Adriani Willaert, magistri capellae ecclesia Santi Marci Venetiarum, filii quondam domini Dionisii, de quo rogatus fui, ego Franciscus de Michaelibus, Venetiarum notarius, sub anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1558, Indicatione prima, die sabbati XXVI mense Martii, Rivoalti.

transcribed from van der Straeten, 1888, 231.

Note the inconsistency between Latin and vernacular languages – variously Venetian and Italian.

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DMLBS *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* ed. Howlett, D.R., [Oxford, 1975-2003].

Du Cange *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* (du Cange et al.) [Niort: L. Favre, 1883-87].

Forcellini *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* (Faccialati, J. & Forcellini, A.E.) [Padua, 1771].

Grove *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition (29 vols.), ed. Sadie, S., [Oxford, 2001].

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LMLD *Lexicon Mediae Latinitatis Danicae* V (Blatt, F. et al. edd.) [Aarhus, 1999].

LMSMIL *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimæ Latinitatis* (Maigne d'Arnis, W.-H. ed.) [Frères Garniers, Paris, 1890].

LSJ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Liddell H.G., Scott, R., Jones, H.S.) [Clarendon, Oxford, 1925].

LXX *The Septuagint version of the Old Testament: with an English translation, and with various readings and critical notes* (Brenton, Sir L.C.L. ed.), [Zondervan, Grand Rapids, 1977].

MGL *Munimenta Gildhallaे Londoniensis* (3 vols.), ed. Riley, H.T., [Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, London, 1859-62].

MLML *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Niermeyer, J.F., ed.) [Brill, Leiden, 1976].

OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 2nd ed. (2 vols.), ed. Glare, P.G.W. [Oxford, 2012].

OLS *Oxford Latin Syntax* (2 vols.), ed. Pinkster, H. [Oxford, 2015-21].

Procuratori *Ricordi dei Procuratori di San Marco, Procuratori 'de supra'*, Chiesa, Atti [Venice, 1316-1790].

TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* [Teubner, Leipzig, 1968-81].

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