

## 1 | Heinrich Glarean's world

IAIN FENLON AND INGA MAI GROOTE

Writing to Etienne Poncher, bishop of Paris, in the winter of 1517, to decline an invitation from Francis I to come to Paris,<sup>1</sup> the great Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus finished his letter with a recommendation that Heinrich Loriti, who adopted Glareanus as his humanist name, and was then one of the circle of scholars and pupils that had gathered around him since he arrived in Basel in 1514, should be invited in his place. Glarean, he claimed, was both amiable and adaptable, capable of seriousness when the occasion arose, but also not devoid of a sense of humour: 'Bid him sing, and he will sing without hesitation; if you would rather he read, he will read.'<sup>2</sup> As to his scholarship, he had distinguished himself by learning Greek, not so much in order to study the classics, but rather so as to be effectively equipped for theological dispute. Above all, his protégé was to be thought of as a mathematician in the old quadrivial sense of the term, with a knowledge of both cosmography and music, in addition to being an historian: 'He has a great knowledge of history, and in music, geography and all the other subjects that are commonly called mathematical he is most experienced, for this is the field in which he is a specialist.'<sup>3</sup> Glarean's formidable learning in a wide variety of disciplines, which on Erasmus' evidence had been apparent from an early stage in his career, was to become legendary during his lifetime. Indeed, most sixteenth-century readers would have known of him through his writings in a number of specific areas of knowledge, as an editor of classical texts perhaps or, more probably, as the author of one of the most popular short geographical treatises of the period. On the other hand, the work by which he is best known to musicologists, the *Dodekachordon*, published in 1547 and often described in the literature as one of the two most influential theoretical statements of the sixteenth century, would have been familiar to only a few

<sup>1</sup> See McNeill, *Guillaume Budé and humanism*, 46–8.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Erasmus to Etienne Poncher in Paris, Antwerp, 14 February 1517, Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. IV, 220. For the original version, see Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, vol. II, no. 529, 454–8, at 456 ('iusseris canere, nihil cunctatus canet; malis legere, leget').

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*: 'magna historiarum cognitio; in musica, in cosmographia, in caeteris item disciplinis quas mathematicas vocant, exercitatissimus. Nam in his praecipue regnat ille.'

rather specialized readers. This has inevitably led to a considerable historiographical imbalance. To further complicate matters relating to the later reception of Glarean's achievements, consideration of his scholarly work from the perspective of other disciplines has also resulted in a relatively fragmented image of his personality and output, where the connections between history, philology, and geography (to cite only the most prominent fields), have been rarely made.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, different areas of scholarship and their underlying contemporary methodologies need to be reconnected, not only in order to fully understand Glarean's writings on music, but also to appreciate how his other publications were intended to resonate. The delineation of Glarean as a 'musical humanist', that is, a scholar with broad interests, working from a humanist perspective within a Christian (if not specifically Catholic) environment, who placed theorizing about music in a prominent position among his wide intellectual interests, crucially anchored to a belief in the supremacy of ancient Greek civilization, is the starting point for the reconsideration of his life and published work in the essays that follow.

To some extent, the variously refracted views of Glarean's character and scholarly accomplishments are the consequence of his own efforts. Which is to say that he quite consciously stage-managed his own self-image with considerable dexterity.<sup>5</sup> The view of himself that he wished to perpetuate is partly outlined by the account of his life which he proposed in the *Carmen totam fere Glareani vitam complectens*<sup>6</sup> (delivered at the beginning of his lecture on Livy in 1554), where he accounts for the most important stages in his career, though always with a distinct emphasis on his intellectual contacts, and especially with his connections to the emperor, Maximilian I. In other words, this is an adroit exercise in social and intellectual advancement. In the *Carmen*, Glarean enumerates his friendships with prominent humanists in Basel and Paris, bitterly satirizes the reformer Oecolampadius as his major opponent in the former, and highlights the importance of Freiburg as a Catholic stronghold, before ending with a lengthy passage in

<sup>4</sup> For introductions to the different fields of Glarean's intellectual interests see Aschmann *et al.*, *Der Humanist Heinrich Loriti*, and, for musicological perspectives, Fuller, 'Defending the Dodecachordon'; Schwindt (ed.), *Heinrich Glarean oder: Die Rettung der Musik*.

<sup>5</sup> Schirrmeister, 'Die zwei Leben des Heinrich Glarean', and Sauerborn, 'hic est celebris . . .'; Greenblatt, *Renaissance self-fashioning*.

<sup>6</sup> H. Glarean, *Carmen totam fere Glareani vitam complectens quod ipsemet Friburgi publice, antequam livium explicare inciperet, decantabat anno Domini 1559*, as printed in Müller and Keller (eds.), *Glarean. Das Epos*, 52–9.

praise of the Habsburg dynasty.<sup>7</sup> In much the same way that Erasmus has been identified as demonstrating consummate skill in shaping his own posthumous reputation in intellectual history, so too these recurrent themes in the *Rezeptionsgeschichte* of Glarean's life and reputation were initially established by Glarean and his followers.<sup>8</sup> Just six months after Glarean's death in 1562, a collection of poetry written in his memory was edited by Jodocus Castner,<sup>9</sup> a student in Freiburg,<sup>10</sup> with texts by Castner himself and other members of the intellectual circles connected to the university, among them Johannes Thomas Freigius (1542–83), who later edited the *Paedagogus*, and Johannes Hartung (1505–79), professor of Greek and Hebrew, who succeeded Glarean as professor of poetics for a while after 1560.<sup>11</sup> This anthology clearly presents Glarean's humanist profile ('in tota Encyclopaedia absolutissimè doctus'), and underlines the quality of his teaching in many fields of knowledge.<sup>12</sup> So too does Heinrich Pantaleon's *Prosopographia* (1566), which celebrates a sequence of distinguished Germans 'since antiquity', which presents Glarean as both a poet and a humanist, and cites *in extenso* the warm recommendation of him to Urbanus Rhegius written by Erasmus,<sup>13</sup> as well as underlining the importance of Glarean's publications and his reputation as a teacher. By this date this was indeed considerable and, according to Pantaleon, there were those in nearly every German town and city who could or would claim Glarean as their mentor.<sup>14</sup> Glarean's legendary abilities as a teacher is a theme that persists in many later references and he was still distinctly visible as an important Catholic figure well after the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. His German-Latin song pamphlet *Kain gwalt* (in honour of Charles V), for example, was reprinted as late as 1620, together with statements by Charles V and Ferdinand I appealing for religious unity in the Empire,<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See Sauerborn, 'hic est celebris . . .', 72–3.

<sup>8</sup> For the example of Erasmus' self-fashioning, see Jardine, *Erasmus, man of letters*, 3–26.

<sup>9</sup> Castner, *De obitu incomparabilis viri* (1563). Castner, who matriculated in 1562, owned also a copy of Glarean's *De asse*.

<sup>10</sup> Mayer, *Matrikel*, 464, no. 29.

<sup>11</sup> The other names are less well known: Wolfgangus Kirchaymnerus (from Tittmoning, matriculated in 1556 in Ingolstadt, and in 1558 in Freiburg, MA 1560), Ioannes Schönling, Bernardus Faber Offenburgensis, Johannes Wolfgang Freymann, Conradus Brentnerus Brussellanus (matriculated in 1562, a student of law). The volume is dedicated to Erasmus Fend, secretary to the duke of Bavaria.

<sup>12</sup> Castner, *De obitu*, 11–13.

<sup>13</sup> Letter of Erasmus to Urban Regius, 7 March 1516, in Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, vol. II, no. 394, 208.

<sup>14</sup> Pantaleon, *Prosopographia* (1566), 126–7, 126.

<sup>15</sup> *Alt vnd neue Warnung CAROLI des Fünfften* (1620).

a clear indication that Glarean's name must have still carried considerable weight some sixty years after his death.

Notwithstanding Glarean's close association with the Catholic party, he was thought by some to be too close to Erasmian thought and those who criticized the church; this is also mentioned by Pantaleon, who additionally and damagingly remarks that Glarean was also suspected of Lutheranism. Indeed, when Glarean's works were temporarily included in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (probably as a consequence of his name having appeared in the *Bibliotheca universalis* published by the Zurich Protestant Conrad Gessner in 1545), he mustered every conceivable means of support in order to protect his reputation. As things turned out this proved to be a successful strategy, since shortly afterwards he was rehabilitated by Pope Pius IV, and a papal brief in his favour was issued in Rome.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, Glarean's inclusion in the *Index* continued to have an effect, and as late as 1738 the Bolognese music historian Padre Giambattista Martini felt obliged to petition the Congregation of the Index for permission to read Glarean's works.<sup>17</sup>

There may also be significant differences between the technical and theoretical reception of Glarean's intellectual work, and the fate of his reputation. While the latter emphasizes his role as an exponent of Catholicism, the history of the reception of his modal theory is at the very least ambivalent. While Gioseffo Zarlino's writings, and above all his treatment of the modes in *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, provide the most prominent example of the adoption of Glarean's new system in a Catholic context,<sup>18</sup> there is only one known instance of Glarean's theory being explicitly cited in a post-Tridentine ecclesiastical document.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Glarean's early followers, especially in Germany, were mostly Protestants, and seem to have neutralized the author's original intention by integrating his theories into their own writings, often in contexts where a formal *restauratio* of the early church also plays a prominent role, by placing them within a general system of learning which made universal claims. Even if Glarean sought to reinforce the impact of the *Dodekachordon*,

<sup>16</sup> Copy in CH–Bu (FN VII 1:18); for a discussion of the Index affair, see Kölbl, 'Autorität der Autorschaft', 49–60.

<sup>17</sup> See Schnoebelen, *Padre Martini's collection of letters*, letters 2494–6.

<sup>18</sup> The reception of Glarean's theory in France was similarly ambiguous, see His, 'Das "Dodecaccorde" von Claude Le Jeune'.

<sup>19</sup> Kölbl, 'Autorität der Autorschaft,' 84: in the acts of the synod of the diocese of Besançon (which included both Basel and Berne) of 1571, the chapter 'De musica' discusses twelve modes, citing Gaffurio, Glarean, and Zarlino (see Scholl, *Concilia Germaniae*, 207).

which he probably conceived as a contribution to a contemporary *Kulturkampf* by associating it with powerful Catholic patrons (the dedication to Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg forms part of this strategy, as does Glarean's distribution of personally inscribed and dedicated copies of the book to prominent churchmen),<sup>20</sup> this may also have had considerable influence at a more general political level.

In addition to harsh criticism of his confessional position, Glarean was unfavourably portrayed in a number of contemporary satirical texts, where he is depicted as hair-splitting, pompous, and quarrelsome. As early as 1517 he already appears (in dubious company) in the second part of the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, a miscellany of satirical pieces. Here Magister Schlauraff (who reports his misadventures among German 'humanists' in an awkward poem), encounters Glarean in Basel in the house of the printer Froben (which is full of heretics), where Glarean promptly throws him down the stairs.<sup>21</sup> In another letter in the same collection, Glarean is described as a great detractor, irascible and spleenish.<sup>22</sup> Later, in Otho Melander's anti-Catholic polemic *Ioci atque seria* (1605), Glarean appears as the protagonist of five unflattering anecdotes. In one he enters an assembly of colleagues in Basel on a horse (or ass) to substantiate his claim of being seated among the doctors, while in other episodes Glarean's efforts at being cancelled from the *Index librorum prohibitorum* are ridiculed, and he is insulted by Rudolf Gwalther as 'the most learned of all fools'. For anyone of Glarean's status, with an established intellectual reputation, such anecdotes were intended to be seriously damaging. In a final ill-intentioned caricature, Melander illustrates Glarean's vanity by describing him as wearing extravagant shoes, which he proudly exhibits to the students during his lecture, even though they cause him to stumble because of their impracticality. This strain of ridicule can also be found later in the seventeenth century. Jacob Brandmüller (1650) reports another even more ludicrous episode in which two Italian aristocrats presented themselves at Glarean's house, where he awaits them in his study, elaborately dressed as the poet laureate even down to the traditional crown of laurel leaves. Glarean does not address them and remains silent, evidently since (as he pedantically maintains) they had merely asked to 'see' him; it is only later

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 3 (Kölbl).

<sup>21</sup> Stokes, *Epistolae*, vol. II, 416: "There, within the house of Froben, many heretics abide, / Notably one Glareanus [orig.: Glarianus], who my aching back and side / Buffeted with thumps resounding, then to finish, knocked me down, / Though I cried aloud for pity, "Mercy! by thy laurel crown!"

<sup>22</sup> Demetrius Phalerius from Basel to Ortwin Gratius (II, no. 38), see Stokes, *Epistolae*, vol. II, 470.

that he engages them in a lively conversation.<sup>23</sup> Even if at least some of these stories are fictitious,<sup>24</sup> they had a long afterlife which stretched well into the eighteenth century. In Johann Heinrich Tschudi's *Beschreibung des lobl. Orths und Lands Glarus* (1741), a patriotic local history, Glarean is characterized as 'ein gelehrter Mann / gekrönter Poet, und guter Philosophus . . . aber darbey ein Spötter / der sich oft lächerlich aufgeführt / und in Anschauung der Religion unbeständig und wanckelmüthig' (a learned poet and philosopher . . . but a mocker who often behaves foolishly, and is fickle in religious matters), and in Christian Jöcher's *Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1733) and the *Athenae Rauricae*, a catalogue of Basel professors (1778), some of these stories are still being repeated.<sup>25</sup> Jöcher's book must have been, in turn, a source for Johann Mattheson who, echoing the *Gelehrten-Lexikon*, describes Glarean in distinctly unflattering terms:

Heinrich Loriz, however, the learned pickled-herring from Glaris, was more skilled at riding a jackass into the public oratorium and playing other audacious tricks than at writing something of excellence in music: hence his *Dodekachordum* also cost him 10 years, a book in which nothing is more estimable than the time he spent on it. What others called *placalis*, he calls *modus plagius*. Oh! how you plague yourself.<sup>26</sup>

For Mattheson, who scoffs at Glarean's writings about music theory, these anecdotes support his view of Glarean as an exponent of obsolete learning. In other eighteenth-century music histories (such as those by Charles Burney or Sir John Hawkins), Glarean is reduced to a mere name (as he had been in earlier writings such as Mersenne), or is used as a point of

<sup>23</sup> Brandmüller, *Heros generis nobilitate* (1650), fol. C3v: 'Glareanus festivus doctus Helvetius Glaronensis, Professor heic Basileae, quum audiret, nobiles quosdam ex Italia ipsum videndi causâ venisse, jussit, ut cras redirent, qui quum reversi essent, Glareanus laurea indutus & aurea torque ornatus concessit in conclave quoddam elegans & amplum, ubi se in hemicyclum recipiens jussit eos ingredi. Nobiles ingredientes Glareanum salutabant, tum ille sedebat immotus, perinde quasi illos non videret: quos etiam ita abire patiebatur. Hoc cum Itali mirarentur, hancque inhumanitatem per nuncium quendam Glareano exprobrarent. Cur illis inhumanus videar, quum solùm me videndum venerint? at postea ab illis invitatus totus dies jucundissimis colloquiis consumptus, ut ita ipsius humanitatem, prudentiam, eruditionem, faceta dicta, servatâ tamen gravitate Itali cognoscerent.'

<sup>24</sup> Sauerborn has pointed out that only the episode with the horse occurs in a number of sources, see Sauerborn, 'hic est celebris. . .', and 'Glarean – das "enfant terrible"'.

<sup>25</sup> Tschudi, *Beschreibung des lobl. Orths*, 487; Jöcher, *Gelehrten-Lexicon*, vol. I, cols. 1261–2; Herzog, *Athenae rauricae*, vol. I, 247–51. See also Stüssi and Davatz, 'Glareans Persönlichkeit'.

<sup>26</sup> Harriss, *Mattheson's 'Der vollkommene Capellmeister'*, 184. In a second passage, Mattheson correctly mentions that the *Dodekachordon* took twenty years to complete: 'But no one did so badly as Glarean, who worked on it for 20 years and produced just as pernicious a thing in his theory on the modes as Aretin did in his singing primer', *ibid.*, 182.

scholarly reference, as happens in Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, where he is extensively brought into play as a source of information about Renaissance composers, above all Josquin, presumably on account of the privileged position accorded to his music in the *Dodekachordon*. In *A General History of Music*, Burney acknowledges two aspects of Glarean's work. Firstly, commenting on his reform of the modes as ingenious but incomplete (a system of twenty-four based on each semitone, as Burney speculates, would 'have done real service to the Music of his time', obviously because it would have foreshadowed the tempered system), he also claims that it was too progressive for the tastes of Glarean's contemporaries. On the other hand, since Burney valued both Glarean's anecdotes and his choice of compositions in the *Dodekachordon*, he clearly formulated the notion of using the treatise as an anthology.<sup>27</sup> Burney also discusses Glarean's role in what is effectively a brief reception history of music theory, with authors such as Eucharius Hoffmann or Sethus Calvisius as Glarean's allies, and Bilenius cast in the role of opponent.<sup>28</sup> In the course of the nineteenth century, the *Dodekachordon* increasingly became a source for music historians, especially for those concerned with the construction of an image of Josquin and his music. In the essays by Raphael Georg Kiesewetter and François-Joseph Fétis for the Dutch Royal Institute of Sciences, Literature and Fine Arts, published in 1829,<sup>29</sup> Glarean's treatise is used in precisely this way as a source of information about the sixteenth-century school of 'Franco-Flemish' composers; in the course of the nineteenth century the book was increasingly used as an historical source. At the same time, Glarean's erudition ran contrary to the aesthetic expectations of the period. August Wilhelm Ambros' interpretation, for example, clearly disagrees with the 'anthologist' reception of the *Dodekachordon*: Glarean's own choices were often based on contrapuntal artifice, which covered other characteristics of works by Ockeghem, Josquin or Mouton, and which misled later writers to simply repeat his judgements.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, although the introduction of new modes by Glarean was recognized as an achievement in his discourse on the history of theory, his writings did not always meet the needs of a historiography that sought to establish a

<sup>27</sup> Burney, *A general history of music*, vol. II, 204–6, cit. on 204.

<sup>28</sup> On Glarean's afterlife among theorists, see (among others) Miller, 'Origins and influence'; Meier, 'Glareanus als Musiktheoretiker'; Gissel, 'Glareans Tonarten Lydisch und Hypolydisch'; His, 'Das "Dodecaccorde" von Claude Le Jeune'; Horn, 'Andreas Raselius Ambergensis'; Westendorf, 'Glareanus' "Dodecachordon" in German theory and practice'.

<sup>29</sup> Kiesewetter, 'Die Verdienste der Niederländer' / Fétis, 'Mémoire sur la question ...'.

<sup>30</sup> Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. III, 156–62.

teleological development towards 'modern' harmony, while Zarlino's treatise was regarded as the more practically orientated text. Even in Hugo Riemann's *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* of 1898, the *Dodekachordon* appears primarily as an 'anthology of contrapuntal showpieces' whose author was 'far ... from recognizing the nature of harmony'.<sup>31</sup> Related 'usages' of Glarean's treatise continue to be present in later musicological literature, which mostly invokes the *Dodekachordon* for its modal analyses, or for being the first to introduce aesthetic and historical approaches to sixteenth-century music. In all the cases sketched above, Glarean's work was increasingly invested with a rather impersonal authority, a text without a context, while the backgrounds which underpinned his ideas were not questioned, nor was the dependency of his writings on music on non-musical texts seriously taken into account. It was only with the development of a more historically conscious approach to the writing of the history of music theory that it became possible to reassess and understand his interests and arguments in a more appropriate way.

Glarean's gradual descent through ridicule to obscurity, followed by an appreciation of the *Dodekachordon* as an anthology of Renaissance compositions, stands in stark contrast to his reputation among contemporary humanists. Coming as it did from one of the most distinguished of living humanists, Erasmus' letter to Etienne Poncher must have been written to more or less coincide with Glarean's arrival in Paris in 1517. Previously he had received an initial grounding in music and other subjects in Berne, and then in Rottweil in the Black Forest with Michael Rubellus, before moving to Cologne, where he had spent seven years at the university studying philosophy, theology, followed by music and mathematics, the two subjects that in Erasmus' opinion he had mastered so thoroughly. Glarean's interest in music during his time in Cologne, which took place between 1506 and 1510, is reflected in the appearance in the *Dodekachordon* of Adam Luyr's song 'Juppiter omnipotens', which the composer must have given him during the same period; it is, in fact, the only example of secular music in the treatise that is neither a *contrafactum* nor a textless composition.<sup>32</sup> It was a presumably from Luyr that Glarean also obtained a copy of Thomas Tzamen's motet 'Domine Jesu Christi' which was also used as an example in the *Dodekachordon*; Luyr was one of Tzamen's pupils.<sup>33</sup> More importantly, it was also during these years that Glarean was taught

<sup>31</sup> Riemann, *History of music theory*; see, for example, 310–11.

<sup>32</sup> Miller, 'Introduction' in Glarean, *Dodekachordon*, trans., transcription, and comm. Miller, 32–3.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.



by Johannes Cochlaeus, who later became a theologian and was for a while a schoolmaster in Nuremberg, who published an early version of his *Tetrachordum musices* (1511), the *Musica*, in Cologne in 1507.<sup>34</sup> It may have been the arrival in the bookshops of a collection of polyphonic settings of Horatian odes by Tritonius in 1507 that encouraged Cochlaeus to compose his own four-part polyphonic settings written in a chordal style.<sup>35</sup> These, which set their texts syllabically in accordance with a specified metre and were used by Cochlaeus in teaching the poetic metres, were published in 1511. Glarean, who must have known them, disapproved of polyphonic settings of the Horatian odes and was later to include only monophonic examples in the *Dodekachordon*, nonetheless expressed his gratitude to Cochlaeus by concluding his treatise with a poem which he had written in his teacher's honour while still a student in Cologne.<sup>36</sup> Together with Sebald Heyden, another of Cochlaeus' pupils (later active in Nuremberg), Glarean was to continue the tradition of theoretical teaching and writing, shaped by the atmosphere and practices of the Latin school and the university, that they both absorbed from Cochlaeus before he moved to Nuremberg in 1510.<sup>37</sup>

Glarean's early years marked an impressive start to his scholarly career, since both Paris and Cologne were considered to be two of the most impressive intellectual powerhouses of northern Europe. Little is known about Glarean's five years in Paris, but it is surely suggestive that the first printed edition of the correspondence of Erasmus, which contains letters to Poncher, and from Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Jacobus Faber Stapulensis), also includes one from Glarean together with a poem by Glarean in praise of Erasmus.<sup>38</sup> A considerable number of letters both to and from Budé are also included, but it is Erasmus' letter to Poncher that occupies pride of place as the first item in this collection, while the author's introduction, dated 4 March 1516, lists Glarean among Erasmus' friends. Taken together, these features of the book place Glarean in a position of considerable importance in a quite specific context of humanist scholarship. In the world of Erasmus, such printed collections were intended to present his 'circle' as an assembly of identifiable individuals (in this case humanists)

<sup>34</sup> Cochlaeus, *Musica* (1507).

<sup>35</sup> Tritonius, *Melopoiae* (1507). In addition to 22 settings for classical poems (19 by Horace, the remainder by Catullus, Martial, and Ovid), the book also mentions about two dozen sacred hymns and other texts in similar metres, to be sung to the same music.

<sup>36</sup> Miller, 'Origins and influence', 157–8.

<sup>37</sup> See Fellerer, 'Die Kölner musiktheoretische Schule'.

<sup>38</sup> Erasmus, *Aliquot epistolae* (1518).

linked by epistolary exchanges, as part of the strategy of shaping and managing his own image.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Erasmus himself might well have been the catalyst that united these like-minded figures, and it is worth noting that a letter from Glarean to Zwingli, written during his time in Paris, specifically mentions both Budé and Lefèvre d'Étaples.<sup>40</sup> Although Lefèvre was principally known for his biblical studies and critical editions of Boethius and Aristotle, his didactic handbook *Musica libris demonstrata quattuor*, which is substantially dependent upon Boethius, is significant for its assertion that ancient music possessed an ethical quality.<sup>41</sup> It is presumably for this reason that it carried considerable weight with later theorists including Gaffurio, Cochlaeus, and Zarlino.<sup>42</sup> In the case of Budé, Glarean actively sought, and then publicly displayed in print their acquaintance: indeed, he eagerly studied Budé's *De asse et partibus eius* (the first comprehensive treatment of units of measurement from antiquity) before writing his eponymous work, visited the Hellenist and diplomat together with Swiss students in 1521, and personally obtained information about the Roman foot from him. He advertised this by mentioning their meeting in a number of instances in his writings, and even by reproducing Budé's model as a diagram.<sup>43</sup>

Intellectual circles apart, Glarean also had contacts with Swiss students in Paris.<sup>44</sup> Among them was Aegidius Tschudi, a historian and geographer (to be distinguished from Peter Tschudi), who is known to have been in Paris at the same time as Glarean and, significantly, twenty-two pieces that were copied into his *Liederbuch* are also drawn upon in the *Dodekachordon*.<sup>45</sup> Glarean also met Mouton while in Paris, which may well explain the presence of three of the four motets cited in the *Dodekachordon* in

<sup>39</sup> Jardine, *Erasmus, man of letters*, 17.

<sup>40</sup> Letter from Glarean to Zwingli, Paris, 29 August 1517, as given in Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. VII/1, 59–61. From this it would seem that Glarean had a relaxed friendship with Faber Stapulensis, who he would entertain at his house ('mecum cantillat, ludit, disputant, ridet mecum stultum . . . mundum').

<sup>41</sup> There is still no detailed study of Lefèvre. For relevant details, see Vendrix, 'La diffusion de textes théoriques français'; Palisca, *Humanism*, 224 and 233; Seidel, 'Französische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', 5–140, see 15–16.

<sup>42</sup> See Miller, 'Origins and influence', 158.

<sup>43</sup> See the drawing of the foot on the back cover of Glarean's copy of Budé, Library List no. 11, and mentions like that in his own *De asse* (1550), fol. 7v (see Figure 8.2).

<sup>44</sup> See Chapter 4 (Mahlmann-Bauer), pp. 68–9.

<sup>45</sup> St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 463. For the importance of the Tschudi *Liederbuch* for the music examples in the *Dodekachordon* see Miller, 'Origins and influence', 158–9, Miller, 'Introduction', 28–30, and now Judd, *Reading Renaissance music theory*, particularly 170–5.