



REOPENING GAFFURIUS'S LIBRONI

EDITED BY AGNESE PAVANELLO

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Studi e Saggi



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ABBREVIATIONS

CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
GCO	<i>Gaffurius Codices Online</i> , < https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/ >
<i>Grove Music Online</i>	< https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/ >
Librone 1	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 1 (<i>olim</i> MS 2269)
Librone 2	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 2 (<i>olim</i> MS 2268)
Librone 3	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 3 (<i>olim</i> MS 2267)
Librone [4]	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Casette Ratti, n° VII, 34–43 (<i>olim</i> MS 2266)
MCD	<i>Motet Cycles Database</i> , < http://www.motetcycles.ch/ >
MCE	<i>Motet Cycles Edition</i> , < https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions >
<i>MGG Online</i>	< https://www.mgg-online.com >
MSD	Musicological Studies and Documents
NJE	New Josquin Edition
Petrucchi, <i>Motetti A</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti A</i> (Venice, 1502; RISM B 1502 ¹)
Petrucchi, <i>Motetti C</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti C</i> (Venice, 1504; RISM B 1504 ¹)
Petrucchi, <i>Motetti IV</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti Libro Quarto</i> (Venice, 1505; RISM B 1505 ²)
RISM	Répertoire International de Sources Musicales
RRMMAER	Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance

INTRODUCTION

A manuscript from the past is more than a fragment of memory. It embodies an act of communication – in the notation of some contents – and the principles for reading it at the same time, both expressed in a materiality that opens up a specific historical reality, being at the same time the product of a subjective creation process and an object stemming from historically determined conditions.

Working with the four Gaffurius Libroni in the past few years has been a progressive discovery of the rich dimensions under which the earliest extant polyphonic manuscripts of the Duomo of Milan can be investigated. As a corpus related to the presence and activity of the chapel master Franchinus Gaffurius during the years 1484–1522, the four manuscripts represent today a monument of the polyphonic practice of his time grounded on a centuries-old tradition of church singing, unique witnesses for the performance of sacred works in Milan in the last decades of the 15th century and the first of the 16th. Chronologically, they cover the last period of Sforza rule and the new French regime established after the fall of Ludovico il Moro at the end of 1499 – a politically crucial period for the history of the Italian states and of Milan in particular.

The music collected in these manuscripts, including polyphonic pieces for Mass and Office as well as for Marian and other liturgical services, attests to the building of a proper Milanese collection of works composed for the cathedral during Gaffurius's tenure (mostly his own compositions) and, in parallel, to the circulation and performance of contemporary Franco-Flemish polyphony in Renaissance Milan. In fact, the repertory (around 350 items of music)¹ includes works connected both with the Ambrosian rite, characteristic of the Milanese diocese and notably of the cathedral, and the Roman rite, in accordance with the coexistence of liturgical traditions that still characterizes the Milanese environment.

After the pioneering study by Knud Jeppesen and the contributions by Claudio Sartori,² the Libroni have almost exclusively been investigated in relation to the

1. The number of items is given after the catalogue available online on *Gaffurius Codices Online* (hereafter GCO), <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch>>.

2. Knud Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28. Claudio Sartori, *Le musiche della Cappella del Duomo di Milano: Catalogo delle musiche dell'Archivio* (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1957); id., 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', in *Storia di Milano*, ix. pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 723–48.

Franco-Flemish repertory they include, notably the motet cycles known as *motetti missales*.³ In our case too the study of the Libroni was first prompted by the urge to properly assess the transmission of the motet cycles composed by the singers attached to the Sforza court in the 1470s. A project that was carried out at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in the years 2014–17⁴ aimed to better contextualize the motet cycles, and more specifically the *motetti missales*, and led to the compilation of a critical catalogue of all the cycles transmitted in the Gaffurius manuscripts (among other sources), their component motets, and their texts.⁵ It was during this work, which involved an intense study of the four choirbooks, that the need emerged to scrutinize the Libroni more in depth, in light of recent research and with an interdisciplinary approach.

The question of the precise dating of the Libroni had come to the fore mostly in connection with the problem of establishing a time frame for the composition of specific Franco-Flemish works, such as Josquin des Prez's pieces, constantly the object of a lively scholarly interest.⁶ Since only Librone 1 is provided with an inscription containing the date of completion of the copying project (1490), the chronology of the other three manuscripts has remained a matter of discussion.

The intention to anchor the study of the Libroni to the background of their specific cultural environment led to the realization of our first book project entirely dedicated to the Gaffurius manuscripts, *Codici per cantare* (2019), which included interdisciplinary studies about Milanese book production, the cultural setting experienced by the Sforza court composers, and the particularities of Milanese liturgical usages.⁷ Alongside musicological investigations on specific topics – mostly related to motet cycles, given the focus of the research project – the book provides new information about the manuscripts. It contains, in fact, the first palaeographical and codicological study of Libroni 1–3 after Jeppesen's description, as well as

3. For an overview of the studies and the discussion about the *motetti missales*, see Daniele Filippi and Agnese Pavanello, 'Introduction' in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 1–16.

4. The project, entitled 'Motet Cycles in the Late Fifteenth/Early Sixteenth-Century: Function, Performance, and Compositional Design in the Context of Musico-Liturgical and Devotional Practices' was supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation. For an overview of its outcome see <<http://p3.snf.ch/Project-149236>>.

5. See the *Motet Cycles Database* (MCD): <<http://motetcycles.ch>>.

6. An example is the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae* (in this regard see the discussion in Pavanello's chapter in this book). Many useful observations on the Libroni are embedded, for instance, in an article of Joshua Rifkin dedicated to one of the most famous motets by Josquin. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's "Ave Maria ... Virgo Serena"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/2 (2003), 239–350.

7. Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019).

a complete catalogue of the Libroni, with concordances and essential bibliography.⁸ That publication therefore represented the starting point for the following research and the work now gathered in the present volume, expressly dedicated to exploring specific aspects of the making of the Libroni and their contents.

The digitization of the Libroni, realized in accordance with the holding institution and thanks to the financial support of the Swiss National Fund for Scientific Research during the succeeding project, ‘Polifonia sforzesca / Sforza Polyphony, The Motet Cycles in the Milanese Libroni between Liturgy, Devotion, and Ducal Patronage’,⁹ has recently made accessible the Libroni to everyone interested in these manuscripts, facilitating research on them and also comparison with other manuscripts and documentation. In order to provide an adequate description of and information on the volumes, an open access portal has been created, containing, besides the catalogue, the first detailed inventory of the manuscripts with a systematic classification of the hands involved in the copying work.¹⁰ *Gaffurius Codices Online* (<<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch>>) is the result of intense teamwork within the project and has served as the basis for the contributions of this new book, forming a complementary output of the same research activity.¹¹

The chapters of this book focus on different aspects concerning the origin and the making of the manuscripts, addressing issues related to their physical characteristics, contents, and specific repertorial choices. They newly assess the issue of the chronology, expand and significantly enrich the codicological and palaeographical analysis initiated in the previous publication, and discuss relevant issues concerning the internal concordances and the ‘import’ of external or non-Milanese works.

All documentary evidence that has emerged so far concerning the genesis of the Libroni is gathered in Daniele Filippi’s study, presenting for the first time the results of a systematic search through the archival records of the Duomo archive covering the period of Gaffurius’s tenure (1484–1522). The discovery of new documents concerning the payments for copying music together with the improved transcriptions and translations of those that were already known contribute not only to framing the copying work for Librone 1 more precisely, but also to identify

8. Martina Pantarotto, ‘Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologico-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 101–38; Cristina Cassia, ‘Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389. The printed catalogue prepared by Cassia preceded the online version of GCO, which is substantially based on Cassia’s work.

9. <<https://www.fhnw.ch/plattformen/polifonia-sforzesca/>; <http://p3.snf.ch/project-172933>>.

10. See the Inventory on GCO.

11. Preliminary versions of the chapters gathered in this book were read at the 47th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Basel (July 2019). The contributions will be also made freely accessible on the GCO-site.

beyond doubt Librone 2 in the payment records related to the year 1492. The meticulous reconstruction of the copying tasks associated to the only scribe whose name is recorded in the documents (Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello) furnishes a thoughtful insight into a copying process that may have taken place in different blocks and phases, and in a way less linear than suggested by Gaffurius's inscription in Librone 1. Filippi's accurate reading of the documents helps to clarify in its fundamental lines the chronology of the first two Libroni. The archive, however, is silent about the later manuscripts. If this surprising outcome unfortunately does not resolve the debated question of the precise dating of Librone 3 and does not provide confirmation of the recovered date of 1507 for Librone [4],¹² it nevertheless opens new scenarios around the making of these later manuscripts. According to Filippi, who recognized in the inscription originally included in Librone [4] the typical formula of Gaffurius's ownership notes, the manuscript might have been privately copied for Gaffurius and used for his musical duties outside the cathedral as well. This suggestion would provide a convincing explanation for the specific contents of Librone [4], which includes a number of works already copied in Librone 3.

Filippi's archival research was a necessary step to collect the evidence about the copying projects undertaken by Gaffurius in collaboration with several scribes. Equally fundamental has been the contribution made by the palaeographical and codicological description undertaken by Martina Pantarotto, who systematically re-examined the codices in their materiality and meticulously inspected the contributions of each scribe. As a scholar specifically acquainted with Gaffurius's activity as writer and bibliophile, Pantarotto has been able to map the several phases of the master's own interventions on the manuscripts, particularly significant in their function of connecting the different units copied by other scribes. Her painstaking examination of the gatherings and of the distribution of the copying work among the scribes has produced substantial new results for the reconstruction of the process of making the manuscripts in its different phases. This work was also important, in the case of Librone 1, for its direct influence on the recent restoration of the manuscript.¹³ Concerning the hands of the scribes, Pantarotto's analysis clarifies matters of graphic education, establishing some temporal relationships with regard to the age and habits of the scribes involved. With just one exception, the copying of the Libroni was entrusted to scribes with an Italian graphic formation,

12. The choirbook was burned at the Esposizione internazionale held in Milan in 1906 (more references are available in the chapters of this book). The current library shelfmark of the manuscript is not Librone 4, since only fragments of it survive, but *Cassette Ratti*, nos. 34–43. For practical reasons in the present book, as well as on *GCO*, the reference to this manuscript is always given as Librone [4].

13. On the restoration of Librone 1, see Pantarotto in this volume (Ch. 2).

although the exact nature of their relationships with Gaffurius remains unascertained. It is unknown whether they were directly involved in the activities of the music chapel (as singers, for instance) or if they belonged to the Duomo environment at large. In this regard, two figures of professional scribes stand out: Scribe A, tentatively identified by Filippi with Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello, characterized by a handwriting very much rooted in a 15th-century graphic tradition (which Pantarotto inclines to frame in a northern Italian monastic context), responsible in Librone 1 for two distinct copying blocks (as mentioned, possibly originated in different moments); and Scribe I, known for his copying of the music manuscript Codex Basevi 2441 and belonging to a younger generation of copyists with new graphical orientation and features. Recent discoveries related to this scribe made by Pantarotto have indeed provided new insights on Librone 3 in particular, opening new paths of research for explaining the inclusion of specific works copied by this scribe. Pantarotto's chapter, illuminating in its systematic analysis of the codicological and palaeographical data, is enriched by an examination of the decoration elements present in the manuscripts, useful to clarify and to complement the results of her investigation. In sum, Pantarotto's comprehensive study stands as a milestone in research on the Libroni, providing the indispensable basis for any further specific work on the manuscripts and their material features.

Another chapter by Filippi completes the exploration of palaeographical aspects of the Libroni. An accurate scrutiny of the indexes has furnished additional elements to assess the chronology of later interventions. In particular the table of the contents of Librone 1 as studied by Filippi reveals that the entries were made at different times. Ink and the traits of Gaffurius's hand suggest that the list of pieces was enriched in parallel with the additions as more pieces were added to the main corpus of the manuscript. The work of reconstruction of these different phases and of the interventions made on the bound manuscript was carried out by Pantarotto in close collaboration with Filippi, who in turn drew further methodologically relevant consequences from the study of the post-binding additions.

The palaeographical analysis with the reconstruction of at least a relative stratigraphy of the manuscripts sets the stage for exploring and evaluating various characteristics of the Libroni corpus. Cristina Cassia's contribution deals with the striking (and counterintuitive) phenomenon of the internal concordances, namely of pieces copied twice – in one case even three times – within the corpus. The careful scrutiny carried out by Cassia offers an articulate explanation for the cases of re-copying, addressing matters of revision or correction for better versions as well as relating to a specific use of one Librone or the other. Especially taking into account the later dating of Libroni 3 and [4] and the inclusion of works already present in Librone 1 or 2, Cassia suggests that pieces were re-copied because they were still being performed. This in turn raises the question whether the later

Libroni were prepared to replace the older ones or to enlarge the repertory of the chapel. Moreover, the significant – as well as especially puzzling – number of concordances between Libroni 3 and [4] leads to question the idea that the two manuscripts, probably copied in a relatively short time frame, were both destined for the cathedral. The idea that they might have been prepared for different purposes would instead provide a good explanation for the presence of the concordant pieces – in accordance with Filippi's suggestion that particularly Librone [4] was possibly in Gaffurius's private possession. Might the absence of records about these late Libroni mean that their origin or commission differed from that of Librone 1 and Librone 2? Although not dealing with this specific question, Cassia's study offers a clear picture of the intersections between the repertories of the two manuscripts and furnishes elements that may help clarify the temporal relationship between the copying of Librone 3 and Librone [4]. According to Cassia's analysis, the latter, characterized by more correct readings in concordant pieces, was copied later than Librone 3: the *terminus ante quem* for Librone 3 would be, therefore, 1507 (the date originally inscribed on Librone [4]).¹⁴ The clues leading to this conclusion are subtle and, as often happens with scholarly deductions, debatable. In fact they look at the interventions by Scribe G/J in the two manuscripts from a different angle than the one adopted by Pantarotto.

The final chapter of this book is centred on the examination and discussion of the Franco-Flemish repertory gathered in the Libroni, with particular focus on non-Milanese works (namely pieces probably composed elsewhere and later included in the Duomo manuscripts). The question regarding the paths of transmission leading to the inclusion of certain works in the Libroni is not just relevant for tracking musical exchanges and identifying possible channels for the acquisition of international repertory. In fact, it goes hand in hand with the need to map the repertory selected for the Libroni, relevant in turn for a deeper understanding of their making, their functions, and the intentions expressed in their materiality. The examination of the Franco-Flemish works and their concordances in non-Milanese sources reveals a network of the circulation of music around some main centres and enriched by the personal contacts of singers frequently moving from one place to another. The connection with Florence seems to have been particularly important for the acquisition of repertory, as do relations between the Sforza and other courts (the Este court especially). With regard to the issue of the chronology of Librone 3, some of the concordances of the Franco-Flemish works again support its dating to the early years of the 16th century (a dating fully compatible with the results of the palaeographical analysis). The discussion of this choirbook and its

14. This conclusion refers to the main corpus of the choirbook, without considering Gaffurius's later additions.

contents, produced under the French domination, in resonance with Pantarotto's research, led the author to the awareness that the selection of repertory for this Librone may have been related to the changed political conditions, namely a Francophile cultural climate. Gaffurius himself is known to have dedicated copies of his theoretical writings to French authorities, apparently being comfortably aligned with the new political situation.¹⁵ On the basis of the available elements, the question of the enigmatic inclusion in Librone 3 of Compère's motet cycle labelled 'Galeazescha' is also addressed in this contribution. With regard to this particular work a link with the figure of the condottiero Gian Giacomo Trivulzio is explored and discussed.

Overall, the single chapters collect a number of significant details to allow a new assessment of the Libroni in a historical perspective with regard to their Milanese environment and on broader background of the contemporary production of polyphony. Internal analysis, archival research in connection with palaeographical evidence, and comparison of sources doubtless have opened new paths of investigation for these remarkable manuscripts. The title of the book, *Reopening Gaffurius's Libroni*, emblematically points to the ultimate purpose of the work accomplished by the 'Polifonia sforzesca' team condensed in this publication: the aim of reopening the discussion of these valuable and in many respects unique manuscripts, creating a solid basis for further studies and circumstantiated investigations. Much remains to be done for the future, especially with regard to Gaffurius's music, decidedly understudied in its peculiarities and barely explored in the context of his Milanese career, as well as to the activities and contacts of the many persons, alongside the scribes, involved in the life of the cathedral chapel and of its master.¹⁶ The Libroni thus will need to be opened and reopened again in order to disclose new knowledge to modern eyes and furnish fresh insights on their contents and materiality. They still can offer clues on many unknown aspects of the musical and cultural life of Renaissance Milan, and undoubtedly conceal stories that await discovery.

15. In this regard see Martina Pantarotto, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio: I manoscritti laudensi', *Scripta*, 5 (2012), 111–17, and Adam Ferrari, 'Nuovi dedicatari per Franchino Gaffurio: La ricerca del consenso nella Milano di Luigi XII e Francesco I', *ACME*, 1 (2019), 111–20.

16. New impulse for the research on Gaffurius has been the recent publication of the volume of essays edited by Davide Daolmi, *Ritratto di Gaffurio* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2017), which, however, does not deal with Gaffurius's music. One of the few investigations of Gaffurius's compositional style can be found in Daniele Filippi, 'Text, Form, and Style in Franchino Gaffurio's Motets', in Thomas Schmidt-Beste (ed.), *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 383–410. Concerning the Duomo chapel no specific detailed studies have been undertaken after Claudio Sartori's research (see in particular 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', in *Storia di Milano*, ix. pt. 3, 723–48, cited in n.2).

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We had the opportunity to meet and consult many fellow scholars over the last years, who kindly shared their knowledge on Milanese topics: to all of them we owe gratitude. I would like to thank in particular Maddalena Peschiera, the archivist of the Milanese Duomo, who supported our work in all possible ways, making the digitization of the Libroni possible and favouring our access to the archival resources of the cathedral; moreover, Monsignor Gianantonio Borgonovo, head of the Veneranda Fabbrica culture department, enthusiastically endorsed our project. Pier Luigi Mulas, Massimo Zaggia, Norberto Valli, and Marino Viganò provided us with precious information on matters of their competence, for which I thank them with all my heart. Particularly helpful have been the lively conversations with Edoardo Rossetti, who always inspired our work with his exceptional knowledge of Milanese history and culture: to him go my warmest thanks and gratitude. We are also indebted to some colleagues for sharing sources and bibliography, especially Carlo Bosi, Davide Daolmi, Thomas Schmidt, Francesco Rocco Rossi, Giovanni Zanovello, and Rob C. Wegman. A special thank you goes to Cory McKay, who carried out computational analysis on some anonymous pieces of the Libroni.

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in Milan in October 2019, within the walls of the cathedral and with the restored Librone 1 – for the first time in the Duomo after Gaffurius’s time – on a specially built stand, will remain a memorable event for all of us.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest thanks to Bonnie J. Blackburn, who helped us in so many different ways during the preparation of the book and of the digital Motet Cycles Edition. She has been a mentor and interlocutor for all of us in any aspect of the research work, always having an open ear for our various questions and doubts. We are extremely grateful to her for accepting to copyedit this book and take care of the final stage of our contributions.

Agnese Pavanello

REOPENING GAFFURIUS'S LIBRONI

THE MAKING AND THE DATING OF THE GAFFURIUS CODICES: ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE AND RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

DANIELE V. FILIPPI

The Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, the vestry board of the cathedral, is home to a wealth of documents regarding the administrative history of the institution virtually since its foundation in the fourteenth century.¹ Thanks

1. I wish to thank Agnese Pavanello, Cristina Cassia, Martina Pantarotto, and Bonnie Blackburn for reading preliminary versions of this chapter and generously sharing ideas and research materials. It would have been impossible to collect the documents and correctly interpret them without the help and support of the archivist Maddalena Peschiera and her staff at the Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, notably Roberto Fighetti and Alessandra Micheletto. I am also grateful to architecture historians Francesco Repishti and Jessica Gritti of the Politecnico di Milano for sharing their wisdom and knowledge of the Veneranda Fabbrica documents. A preliminary version of this chapter was read at the 47th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Basel (July 2019).

Following standard practice, I always use the modern, twentieth-century pagination of the Veneranda Fabbrica registers; obviously, however, the references included in the transcriptions of the documents retain the original pagination.

The document numbers (e.g. Doc. 1) refer to their position in Appendix 1 (in which they are ordered chronologically and provided with information regarding their publication in earlier literature and their correspondence with other documents). Documents not included in Appendix 1 (either because they are mere duplicates of other documents or for their marginal interest) are referenced with their archival location.

In the transcriptions, no attempt has been made to alter the original spelling (except for systematizing the distinction between *i* and *j*), but punctuation and capitalization have been conformed to modern usage, and most abbreviations have been solved. The money amounts are given in lire (L.), with the further specification of soldi (s.) and denari (d.) only where necessary. 1 lira = 20 soldi; 1 soldo = 12 denari; occasionally, the fiorino (florin) is mentioned: 1 fiorino = 32 soldi (or 1 lira and 12 soldi). In the original documents, the amounts are normally provided with the specification 'imperialium' (genitive of 'imperiales', to indicate the reference value of the so-called 'imperial lire').

Abbreviations:

Annali = *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, 6 vols. + 2 of Appendices and 1 of indexes (Milan: G. Brigola, 1877–85)

ASDMi = Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano

to the efforts of previous scholars,² significant documents regarding Franchinus Gaffurius's *Libroni* emerged from the archive, but nobody has ever seriously tried to sift the Veneranda Fabbrica records in order to properly reconstruct the genesis of the four books. Even though scholars of the *Libroni* have dealt to some extent with their origins,³ the literature is still fraught with data and interpretations that need substantial revision. In what follows I will present many new documents directly or indirectly related to the genesis, making, and dating of the *Libroni*, as well as several improvements on the reading of documents published by previous scholars. As the crop of new data does not answer, alas, all the questions regarding the *Libroni*, I will also try to give the reader an idea of where the documentary evidence leaves us, and which paths look more promising for future research.

The documents I will be referring to derive, with few exceptions, from the records of the Fabbrica: the minutes of the board's meetings and the account books are de facto our only direct sources of information regarding the life and working

ASMi = Archivio di Stato di Milano

AVFDMi = Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano

O.C. = *Ordinazioni capitolari*

GCO = *Gaffurius Codices Online*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/>>

2. In particular Claudio Sartori, who extensively researched the archive in the 1950s and whose publications, inevitably with some qualifications, still form an indispensable starting point: see esp. Claudio Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano (Nuove notizie biografiche e documenti inediti sulla sua attività di Maestro di Cappella e sulla sua riforma della Cappella del Duomo)', *Universitas Europae*, 1/[a] iv–v: 18–20, [b] viii–ix: 13–16, [c] xi–xii: 17–20 (1952–1953); Claudio Sartori, *Le musiche della Cappella del Duomo di Milano: Catalogo delle musiche dell'Archivio* (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1957); Claudio Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', in *Storia di Milano*, ix, pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 723–48. More recently, Paul and Lora Merkley found some important new documents about the *Libroni*: see Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 322–32. See also Graziella de Florentiis, 'Storia della Cappella musicale del Duomo dalle origini al 1714', in Graziella De Florentiis and Gian Nicola Vessia (eds.), *Sei secoli di musica nel Duomo di Milano* (Milan: NED, 1986), 41–126.

3. Apart from the pioneering article by Knud Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28, see Masakata Kanazawa, 'Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1966), esp. i. 442–47; Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 322–32; Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's "Ave Maria ... Virgo Serena"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/2 (2003), 239–350, esp. 253–64; Joshua Rifkin, 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin: Further Thoughts on a Familiar Topic', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 221–336 at 287; and Martina Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologica-paleografica dei *Libroni* della Fabbrica del Duomo', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I *Libroni* del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019), 103–38.

of the Duomo music chapel in and around Gaffurius's period.⁴ Given the particular perspective of these sources, interested as they are primarily in the financial preconditions and repercussions of musical activities, we lack the most basic information about, for instance, when, where exactly, and how the chapel performed.⁵

Different types of documents, collected in different registers, are relevant to our research:⁶

- The minutes of the Fabbrica board meetings, containing the deputies' (*deputati*) decisions on various topics, are collected in the *Ordinazioni capitolari*.
- Each time the Fabbrica treasurer had to receive or make a payment, a *mandato* was written, initially on a separate sheet of paper (of these *mandati sciolti*, however, only examples from 1505–1507 and 1516 survive for Gaffurius's period, currently preserved in the series *Mandati*); then, the information was recorded in that year's *Liber mandatorum* as an order for payment, or into a *Liber intratarum*, in case of money received.
- After the *mandato*, each transaction was recorded in different (and cross-referenced) books: up to 1489 the Fabbrica held *Libri dati et recepti* (ordered by date, with credits and debits on different columns) and *Libri prestantiarum* (ordered by payee), covering several years; from 1490, however, the book-keeping system changed, and the Fabbrica adopted yearly cash books (*Libri* or *Giornali di cassa*, ordered by date) and *Libri mastri* (double-entry ledgers, ordered by cost centre and/or by person). Information from the cash book was periodically transferred (often in a more concise form) into the ledger, and each transaction in the former was then provided with references to the latter.

4. Gaffurius was chapel master at the Duomo from 1484 to his death in 1522. For later periods, especially from the late sixteenth century on, the sources of information about the life of the chapel are more diverse, ranging from the journals of the masters of the ceremonies (currently housed in the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter) to such invaluable documents as the so-called *Gerletto* (see <<http://users2.unimi.it/musica/gerletto/>>).

5. The main exceptions are, on the one hand, the concise 'statutes' of the chapel issued in 1463 ('capitula per biscantores observanda', published in Claudio Sartori, 'Josquin des Prés cantore del Duomo di Milano (1459–1472)', *Annales musicologiques*, 4 (1956), 55–83 at 70–71), and, on the other hand, the sparse and often anecdotal accounts of specific ceremonial occasions (for an example regarding the wedding of Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Isabella of Aragon in 1489, see Daniele V. Filippi, "'Audire missam non est verba missae intelligere...': The Low Mass and the Motetti missales in Sforza Milan", *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 11–32 at 25–27).

6. For a more thorough treatment of the Fabbrica books and bookkeeping, see Richard V. Schofield, Janice Shell, and Grazioso Sironi (eds.), *Giovanni Antonio Amadeo: Documents / I documenti* (Como: New Press, 1989), 32–37 (English) and 72–77 (Italian), on which I have based my own brief discussion. I am thankful to Francesco Repishti for pointing me to this reference.

TABLE 1.1. RELEVANT ACCOUNT BOOKS AT AVFDMi FOR 1484–1522

Account books considered not relevant for the present research (e.g. books regarding debts, bequests, or transactions with stone-cutters and other specific categories of workers) are not included in this list. Notice that some books cover more than one consecutive year. At times the *Ordinazioni capitolari* volumes cover overlapping periods, and therefore are not included in the table; the relevant volumes are: O.C. 3 (1451–91); O.C. 4 (1438–1506); O.C. 5 (1504–11); O.C. 6 (1511–18); O.C. 7 (1519–31).

YEAR	LIBER MANDATORUM	LIBRO DI CASSA	LIBRO MASTRO	OTHER
1484	<i>Registri</i> , 661	—	—	<i>Liber albus prestantiarum inchoato 1470, Registri</i> , 263 (1470–91)
1485	<i>Registri</i> , 664	—	—	
1486	<i>Registri</i> , 666	—	—	
1487	<i>Registri</i> , 667	—	<i>Registri</i> , 277 (= <i>Liber dati et recepti</i>)	
1488	<i>Registri</i> , 669	—		
1489	<i>Registri</i> , 672	—		
1490	<i>Registri</i> , 673	<i>Registri</i> , 841	—	
1491	<i>Registri</i> , 677	<i>Registri</i> , 842	<i>Registri</i> , 279	
1492	<i>Registri</i> , 677	<i>Registri</i> , 843	<i>Registri</i> , 283	
1493	<i>Registri</i> , 681	<i>Registri</i> , 844	<i>Registri</i> , 283	
1494	<i>Registri</i> , 681	<i>Registri</i> , 845	<i>Registri</i> , 284	
1495	<i>Registri</i> , 684	<i>Registri</i> , 846	<i>Registri</i> , 284	
1496	<i>Registri</i> , 684	<i>Registri</i> , 847	<i>Registri</i> , 286	
1497	<i>Registri</i> , 684	<i>Registri</i> , 848	<i>Registri</i> , 286	
1498	<i>Registri</i> , 684	<i>Registri</i> , 849	<i>Registri</i> , 288	
1499	<i>Registri</i> , 684	<i>Registri</i> , 850	<i>Registri</i> , 292	
1500	—	—	<i>Registri</i> , 293	
1501	—	<i>Registri</i> , 851	<i>Registri</i> , 294	
1502	—	<i>Registri</i> , 852	<i>Registri</i> , 296	
1503	—	<i>Registri</i> , 855	<i>Registri</i> , 297	
1504	<i>Registri</i> , 695	<i>Registri</i> , 855	<i>Registri</i> , 297	
1505	<i>Registri</i> , 695	<i>Registri</i> , 857	<i>Registri</i> , 299	<i>Mandati</i> , 1 (= <i>mandati sciolti</i>)
1506	<i>Registri</i> , 695 + 699	<i>Registri</i> , 859	<i>Registri</i> , 300	
1507	<i>Registri</i> , 699	<i>Registri</i> , 860	<i>Registri</i> , 301	
1508	<i>Registri</i> , 699	—	<i>Registri</i> , 302	
1509	<i>Registri</i> , 701	—	<i>Registri</i> , 303	

YEAR	LIBER MANDATORUM	LIBRO DI CASSA	LIBRO MASTRO	OTHER
1510	<i>Registri</i> , 701	—	<i>Registri</i> , 304	
1511	<i>Registri</i> , 701	—	<i>Registri</i> , 304	
1512	<i>Registri</i> , 704	—	<i>Registri</i> , 306	
1513	<i>Registri</i> , 704	—	<i>Registri</i> , 307	
1514	<i>Registri</i> , 707	—	<i>Registri</i> , 309	
1515	<i>Registri</i> , 707	—	<i>Registri</i> , 310	
1516	<i>Registri</i> , 707	—	<i>Registri</i> , 311	<i>Mandati</i> , 1 (= <i>mandati sciolti</i>)
1517	<i>Registri</i> , 710	—	<i>Registri</i> , 312	
1518	<i>Registri</i> , 710	—	<i>Registri</i> , 313	
1519	<i>Registri</i> , 712	—	<i>Registri</i> , 313a	
1520	<i>Registri</i> , 712	—	<i>Registri</i> , 314	
1521	<i>Registri</i> , 712	—	<i>Registri</i> , 315	
1522	—	—	<i>Registri</i> , 316	

As can be seen in Table 1.1, there are lacunae and not all the books of the different types are extant for each single year of Gaffurius's tenure.⁷ The coverage, however, is fairly consistent, and the redundancy of a bookkeeping system in which each transaction generated multiple records, often with precise cross-references,⁸ gives us a reliable base of information.

Before starting our survey, I should mention that from the period before Gaffurius's tenure I know of only one document regarding manuscripts of polyphony at the Duomo: in an *ordinazione capitolare* of 20 November 1463 published by Sartori (O.C. 2, fol. 325r), we read that the singer Santino Taverna was named *prior biscantorum* (head of the *biscantores*, or members of the polyphonic chapel) and given a rise in salary with the task of 'making provisions for books of polyphony, so that they would not be missing when needed by the *biscantores*' ('ut providere valeat de libris biscantium, ne deficiant biscantoribus dum opus erit').⁹

7. In the following pages, the individual registers will be identified by their shelfmark: the table will thus be useful to the reader also in order to verify at a glance to which category each register belongs.

8. The covers of the various account books originally had different colours, in order to help the accountants distinguish them at sight; information about the colour is often included in the cross-references, as shown in the examples of Table 1.2 below. The covers were, rather improvidently, discarded during successive restorations, except for some fragments, but the colour-coded information is still sometimes useful in order to identify the different books, including lost ones.

9. Sartori, 'Josquin des Pres cantore del Duomo', 74–76, 83; the document is transcribed in n. 1 on pp. 74–76.

1484–1490: towards Librone 1

The ownership note of Librone 1 famously bears the date 23 June 1490:¹⁰

Liber capelle ecclesie maioris Mediolani factus opera et sollicitudine Franchini Gaffori laudensis prefecti prefate capelle, impensa vero venerabilis Fabrice dicte ecclesie, anno Domini m cccc° lxxxx°, die 23 junii.

Book of the chapel of the cathedral of Milan, made through the careful agency of Franchinus Gaffurius of Lodi, head of the said chapel, at the expense, however, of the venerable vestry board of the said church in the year of the Lord 1490, on the 23rd of June.

It should be observed that this note, written by Gaffurius himself, was on the lower half of a former parchment pastedown of the back cover, whereas the index of the manuscript (again compiled by the chapel master) was on the pastedown of the front cover.¹¹ When Jeppesen examined the Librone in 1930,¹² the pastedowns were already detached from the cover, undoubtedly due to a previous restoration and re-binding of the manuscript,¹³ and both apparently positioned at the front of the volume.¹⁴ During the 1950s restoration, the pastedowns were completely detached from the rest of the manuscript, and the placement at the front, as recorded by Jeppesen, masked the function of the inscription and caused some confusion among scholars: Sartori, Lowinsky, and others understood it ‘as signifying the inception of work on the manuscript’, instead of its conclusion.¹⁵ Later scholars, including Joshua Rifkin and Paul and Lora Merkley, correctly understood the function and meaning of the inscription, even though they still thought that it was originally placed at the front, instead of at the end, of the manuscript.¹⁶ The shape

10. See <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3921>>.

11. See Pantarotto, ‘Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti’, 106. The original covers of the Libroni are lost.

12. According to the records in AVFDMi, *A.D. Cappella musicale*, cart. 44, fasc. 15, on 9 May 1930 the Veneranda Fabbrica acceded to Jeppesen’s request to consult the manuscripts, and on 19 May, having finished, he asked for the photographic reproductions of several pages.

13. Possibly in 1857, based on a series of payments for that year retrieved by the archivist Maddalena Peschiera in AVFDMi, *A.D. Cont.* cart. 12, fasc. 01. Details of pictures of the archive from 1952, before the successive restoration of the manuscript, confirm that Librone 1 no longer had its early modern cover. A more thorough account of the Libroni’s life in the archive from Gaffurius’s time to the present, however, must be postponed to future research.

14. Jeppesen, ‘Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes’, 16.

15. Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet’, 253. Adding to the confusion, according to Jeppesen the folio with the ownership note was placed first at the time (‘1. Pergamentblatt’) and the one with the index came second (‘auf der Versoseite des 2. Blattes findet sich eine Tabula’): Jeppesen, ‘Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes’, 16. See also Sartori, *Le musiche della Cappella*, 43.

16. See Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet’, 253, with further details and qualifications in nn. 28 and 29; Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 329.

and folds of the parchment folios, however, leave no doubt as to their original positioning. During the new restoration of 2019 they have been re-included and inserted in paper folders after the front flyleaves (index) and before the back flyleaves (ownership note) respectively.¹⁷

The fact that the ownership note was written on the pastedown of a *cover* indicates that by June 1490 Librone 1 was ‘completed’ and *bound*. By that date, thus, it existed as a volume, not just as a collection of loose gatherings, even though the comparison of palaeographical and codicological data and the study of the index show that several compositions were added later by Gaffurius on blank openings.¹⁸

Which records do we have about music books in the period before and immediately after the date of the ownership note? The first document, unpublished so far, dates back to July 1484. It is an order for payment to the priest ‘Johannipetro de Putheobonello’, or Giovanni Pietro (da) Pozzobonello, dated 20 July 1484: ‘To the priest Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello as an advance payment for the writing of a book for singing, three lire, viz. L. 3’ (Doc. 2). It is also worth considering the corresponding entry in the *Liber prestantiarum* 1470–91 (*Registri*, 263, fol. 175r; Doc. 3), and especially the full extent of entries regarding Pozzobonello in that book, which date to the period 1484–89 and will be the subject of further discussion below. Figure 1.1 reproduces fol. 175r of the *Liber prestantiarum*, whereas Table 1.2 gives the transcription of the entries and their corresponding entries in other account books (again, presented in full below when available).

On 24 March 1485 we have another order for payment to the same Pozzobonello, with an almost identical wording: ‘To the priest Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello as advance on his pay for the writing of a book for singing, one lira and ten soldi, viz. L. 1 s. 10’ (Doc. 5). This document was published by Sartori and the Merkleys, but with a twofold mistake: the figure is not L. 2 s. 10, as they report, but L. 1 s. 10, and the word after the copyist’s name does not indicate Pozzobonello’s supposed profession of ‘musicò’, but rather is part of a bureaucratic formula (‘*mutuo* super razione...’) indicating an advance or part payment.¹⁹ It is extremely probable,

17. See GCO, ‘Restoration of Librone 1 (2019)’, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/porta/page/RestorLibrone1>>, accessed 28 October 2020.

18. As already revealed by Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet’, 253, n. 29. See now the chapter by Martina Pantarotto and my ‘Gaffurius’s Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of Libroni 1–3’ in this volume.

19. Additionally, the Merkleys surmise that the March 1485 payment regarded ‘a monophonic service book’: in all likelihood, they base this conjecture on the phrase ‘libri a cantu’, which lacks any allusion to polyphonic singing. As will become clear by examining the subsequent documents, however, Pozzobonello was a copyist of polyphonic music, and the phrases ‘liber a cantu figuratus’ and ‘liber a cantu’ were used interchangeably: compare, for instance, the transaction of 19 October 1489 as described in Doc. 9 (‘*unius libri acantu figurati*’) and Doc. 10 (‘*unius libri a cantu*’) respectively.

TABLE 1.2. ENTRIES FOR G. P. DA POZZOBONELLO IN THE *LIBER PRESTANTIARUM* 1470–91, *REGISTRI*, 263, FOL. 175R

The first five entries are in the left-hand column of the folio, the last one is in the right-hand column; see Fig. 1.1.

DOC. NO.	ENTRY	AMOUNT	CORRESPONDING ENTRIES
3	Dominus presbiter Johannes Petrus de Puteobonello debet dare quos mutuo recepit die xx jullii 1484 a domino Jacobo de Porris thesaurario Fabrice super ratione scripture unius libri a cantu vigore mandati. Scriptum ei thesaurario in credito in libro berretino Dati 1482 in fo. cliiii ^o a tergo L. iii	L. 3	Lost ash-blue book of <i>Dati et recepti</i> 1482 [–84?], [old] fol. 154v + <i>Registri</i> , 661, fol. 30v = Doc. 2
6	Item die 24 martii 1485 ut supra in suprascripto libro in fo. cc a tergo L. i s. x	L. 1 s. 10	Lost ash-blue book of <i>Dati et recepti</i> 1482 [–84?], [old] fol. 200v + <i>Registri</i> , 664, fol. 14v = Doc. 5
10	Item die xviii ^o octobris 1489 a domino Ingreso de Oxii thesaurario Fabrice super ratione scripture unius libri a cantu. Scriptum ei thesaurario in credito in libro albo Dati 1487 in fo. clii L. iiiii	L. 4	<i>Dati et recepti</i> 1487–89, <i>Registri</i> , 277, [old] fol. 152, i.e. 153r + <i>Registri</i> , 672, fol. 57v = Doc. 9
12	Item die ii novembris 1489 a thesaurario suprascripto super ratione ut supra. Scriptum ei thesaurario ut supra in fo. 156 L. i s. xviii	L. 1 s. 18	<i>Dati et recepti</i> 1487–89, <i>Registri</i> , 277, [old] fol. 156, i.e. 157r + <i>Registri</i> , 672, fol. 62r = Doc. 11
14	Item die xxiii ^o novembris 1489 a thesaurario suprascripto ut supra. Scriptum ei thesaurario ut supra in fo. clvii L. ii	L. 2	<i>Dati et recepti</i> 1487–89, <i>Registri</i> , 277, [old] fol. 157, i.e. 158r + <i>Registri</i> , 672, fol. 64v = Doc. 13
21	Debet habere scriptum in debito libro viridi mastro in isto in fo. cc iii ^o pro resto istius debiti ubi factus et debitor in eo libro in fo. cc xxvi L. xii s. viii	L. 12 s. 8 [= sum of the previous amounts]	Internal reference to [old] fol. 204, i.e. 203v Lost green ledger 1490, [old] fol. 226 + <i>Registri</i> , 841, fol. 90v = Doc. 22

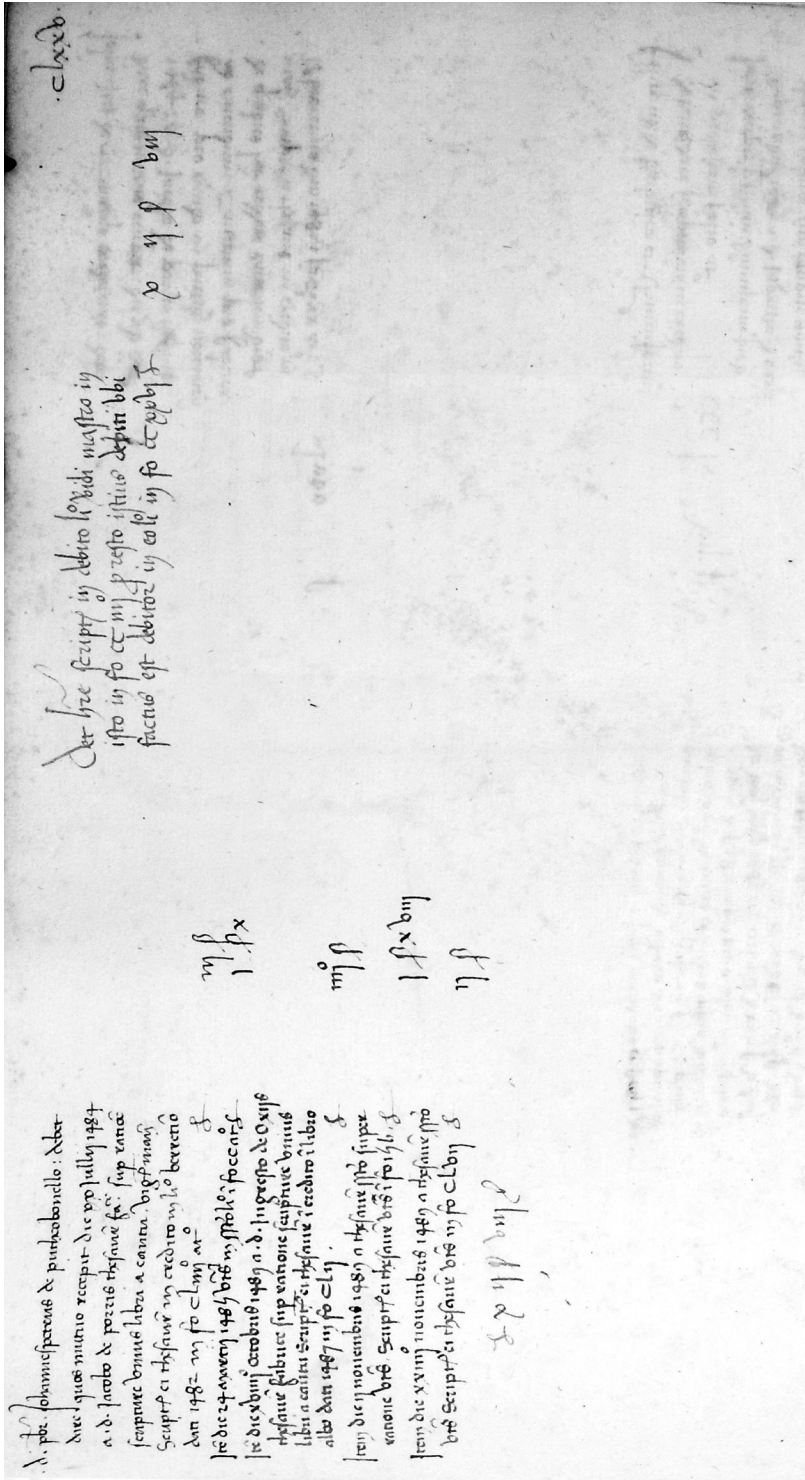


Fig. 1.1. Entries regarding Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello in the *Liber prestantiarum* 1470–91. AVFDMi, *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r. © Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano

however, that Pozzobonello is the same person as the singer listed in the roster of the Duomo chapel for two brief periods in 1457 and 1462–63.²⁰

The next documents, an order for payment and its corresponding ledger entry, date to four years later, 19 October 1489: again Pozzobonello receives a payment for writing a ‘book’, but this time the documents specify that it contains vocal polyphony (‘unius libri a cantu figurato’) and there is a precise deadline (a very close one: by the 1st of November): ‘To the priest Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello four lire as advance on his pay for the writing of a book of vocal polyphony which he must complete by the first day of November, viz. L. 4’ (Doc. 9). On 2 November there is another order for payment and corresponding ledger entry for a book for singing (‘unius libri a cantu’) that Pozzobonello is writing for the Fabbrica (‘quem ipse scribit venerabili Fabrice’): ‘To the priest Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello for the work on a book for singing which he is writing for the aforesaid Fabbrica one lira and eighteen soldi, viz. L. 1 s. 18’ (Doc. 11).²¹ Neither the present tense (‘scribit’) nor the accounting phrase seem to explicitly indicate that the job is finished: perhaps Pozzobonello was not yet done and needed more days.

The next document, however, of 24 November, shows significant differences in the description of the job: ‘To the priest Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello as a partial payment for the writing of polyphonic motets [on] six gatherings of large-format paper (‘mutitorum afiguratorum quaternorum sex papiri forme maioris’) for use by the aforesaid Fabbrica, viz. for singing in polyphony in the said church, two lire, viz. L. 2’ (Doc. 13).²² This document is more specific than the previous ones about:

1) the contents: ‘mutitorum afiguratorum’, that is, polyphonic motets (Sartori and the Merkleys unfortunately read ‘multorum’ instead, even though the correct reading was already given in the *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo*);

2) the destination: ‘pro usu [...] Fabrice videlicet pro bischantando in dicta ecclesia’, that is, for use by the polyphonic chapel maintained by the vestry board in the cathedral;

3) the writing support: ‘papiri forme maioris’, that is, paper in large format²³ (the specification of large format will occur again, with the identical phrase, in the

20. See Sartori, ‘Josquin des Pres cantore del Duomo’, 55–83 at 77, based on documents found in AVFDMi, *Registri*, 605, 250, and 254 respectively. For further information on the elusive Pozzobonello, see the chapter by Pantarotto in the present volume.

21. The figure is given erroneously as L. 1 s. 13 in *Annali*, iii. 51 and Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato: Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2002), 251; and as L. 2 s. 13 in Sartori, ‘Franchino Gaffurio a Milano’, [c] 20.

22. Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato*, 251 gives the wrong date 2 November 1489 (probably based on an equivocal reading of the corresponding *Annali* entry).

23. On ‘forme maioris’, see Arnaldo Ganda, ‘Il “tipografo del Servius H 14708” ha un nome: Domenico Giliberti da Vespolate’, *La Bibliofilia*, 87/3 (1985), 227–65.

later documents referable to Librone 1 and, with a different expression, in those referable to Librone 2);

4) the codicological structure: ‘quaternorum sex’, that is, six gatherings (rather than ‘a book’, as in the previous documents).²⁴

Given the accuracy of these multiple specifications, it seems reasonable to distinguish this project from the previous one (the one that was to be completed by the beginning of the same month of November). Moreover, on 4 December, as already remarked by previous scholars, there is an order for payment (and corresponding ledger entry) for a different payee, Master Antonio da Lampugnano, a professional scribe, manuscript decorator, and designer of inscriptions:²⁵

To Master Antonio da Lampugnano as a payment for the work he has done in making several initials (‘nonnullos psalmos’) in the book of vocal polyphony written by the priest Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello for use by the aforesaid Fabbrica, viz. for use by the polyphonic singers in the aforesaid Duomo, and also as a payment for designing and inscribing several letters which he made and engraved onto three plaques to be installed in the said church, and this in the recently past month of November, in sum three lire and four soldi. L. 3 s. 4. (Doc. 15)

Once again, the specific terms used in the document provide us with important details. Crucially, Lampugnano was not being paid for copying music, as implied by the Merkleys, but rather for adding decorated initials to a book of polyphonic music copied by Pozzobonello: *psalmus* was the jargon term used in Lombardy at the time to indicate decorated initials.²⁶ Furthermore, if Lampugnano still did his

24. The word *quaterni*, here and in the following documents, might be translated as ‘quaternions’ (that is, ‘gatherings of four leaves each’), which would accord well with the identification proposed below (the relevant quires of Librone 1 being all quaternions): however, as the term was normally used in its generic sense at the time, I consider it more appropriate to render it as ‘gatherings’.

25. The Merkleys call Lampugnano a *biscantor* (Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 328: ‘Both of the copyists [i.e. Pozzobonello and Lampugnano] were *biscantori*’), without adducing evidence: I have found nothing to support this in the AVFDMi records (which periodically include lists of members of the chapel), and it seems unlikely given his professional qualifications. For further information and documents on Lampugnano, see again the chapter by Pantarotto.

26. As the historian of illumination Pier Luigi Mulas kindly clarified in conversation, for which I am especially thankful. See also Pierluigi Mulas, ‘Codici miniati di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio’, *Viglevanum*, 17 (2007), 8–27 at 12. See also the Fabbrica payment of L. 4 s. 18 d. 6 to the same Lampugnano of 28 February 1465 for ‘meniandi psalmos centumoctuagintanovem factos per eum in libro Fabricae nominato Beraldo [recte Beroldo, now Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 2262] [...] et item pro psalmitis ducentumnonagintatribus parvis factis in dicto libro’ (*Registri*, 623, fol. 13r; published in *Annali*, ii. 240–41; Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coverto e ferrato*, 249): the specification that the *psalmi* were partly in red, partly in blue, and with flourishes (‘compositos partim senaprio et partim azuro cum florimentis suis’) is a further confirmation that initials were intended.

job in November ('et hoc in mense novembris'), it seems unlikely that the project in question was the one of the 'mutitorum afiguratorum' for which Pozzobonello received a payment on 24 November (Doc. 13 above: the formula 'pro parte solutionis scripture' used there, moreover, indicates a part payment for an unfinished work). It should be noted, furthermore, that here the entries refer again to a 'libro a cantu figurato' rather than to gatherings and motets, and that there is no mention of a large format. In sum, the Lampugnano project seems to match the Pozzobonello job described in Doc. 9 and Doc. 11, rather than the one of Doc. 13.

Then we get to 1490: enter Gaffurius. That the Fabbrica issued an order for payment to the chapel master on 28 May 'occasione quaternorum nonnullorum a cantu et aliis diversis causis' was already known to previous scholars: 'By the aforesaid order, the aforesaid treasurer should give to the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, master of the polyphonic chapel of the aforesaid Duomo, fourteen lire, fourteen soldi, and four denari, which the aforesaid Fabbrica owes him because of several gatherings notated for singing and various other reasons, viz. L. 14, s. 14, d. 4' (Doc. 16). The ledger for 1490 is lost, but the cash book for that year contains two unpublished entries, one of which reveals additional details of crucial importance (as we will see in due course). The first entry (see Doc. 18 in Appendix 1) corresponds verbatim to Doc. 16. The second one, dated 29 May 1490, is more detailed, as it probably derives from an 'itemized invoice' presented by Gaffurius ('ut patet scripto uno per eum subscripto'):²⁷

Under the cost centre of sundries, to the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, master of the polyphonic chapel of the Duomo, as a reimbursement for the same amount of money he spent on behalf of the Fabbrica for six ruled gatherings of duplicated large-format paper, and for having eight large-format gatherings notated in polyphony as well as for having the same gatherings decorated, as it appears from a paper signed by him and inserted in the file of sundries for the current year, based on the order for payment issued on 27 May, in sum fourteen lire, fourteen soldi, and four denari, L. 14 s. 14 d. 4. (Doc. 17)

From this cash-book entry, thus, we learn that less than a month before inscribing the ownership note into Librone 1,²⁸ Gaffurius was reimbursed for six gatherings

27. As a result of the redundancy of the Fabbrica bookkeeping, Doc. 17 ('pro capitulo diversarum expensarum') is meant to justify the expense according to its cost centre, probably based on a (lost) loose order for payment issued on 27 May and in turn reflecting Gaffurius's invoice; Doc. 18 ('pro [...] Franchino de Gaffuriis') more simply refers to the actual cash transaction between the treasurer and Gaffurius, based on the order for payment of Doc. 16.

28. In that same May 1490, Gaffurius travelled to Mantua on behalf of the Fabbrica in order to meet with the architect Luca Fancelli regarding the design of the Duomo's *tiburio* (the problematic crossing tower of the cathedral for which even Leonardo contributed a project): see Giulia Ceriani Sebregondi et al. *Ad triangulum: Il Duomo di Milano e il suo tiburio. Da Stornaloco a Bramante, Leonardo e Giovanni Antonio Amadeo* (Padua: Il poligrafo, 2019), 375–78. One wonders whether

of paper he had bought and for the expenses he had incurred by having eight gatherings notated and ‘decorated’ (‘ameniarì’). The document specifies not only that the paper was of large format (‘forme maioris’), but also that it was already ruled (‘papiri [...] rigati’).²⁹

Finally, an entirely new set of five entries from July 1490 gives us the last details about Pozzobonello. Let us start from a cash-book entry of 16 July 1490:

Under the cost centre of sundries, to the aforesaid priest Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello as his pay for the notation of fifteen gatherings of large-format paper, which he notated in polyphony for L. 1 s. 6 and d. 8 each, and this for use by the polyphonic chapel of Milan’s Duomo, as it appears from a paper signed by the aforesaid priest Giovanni Pietro and inserted in the file of sundry orders of the aforesaid year, based on an order for payment issued on 13 July, twenty lire, viz. L. 20. (Doc. 19)

Apparently, on or before 13 July Pozzobonello had presented to the Fabbrica a comprehensive and retrospective list of his completed projects, for a total of fifteen notated gatherings.³⁰ Based on a cost of L. 1 s. 6 d. 8 per gathering, the total amounted to L. 20.³¹ Pozzobonello’s ‘invoice’ was then attached to a (lost) *mandato sciolto* (or loose order for payment) issued on that date. Subsequently, the Fabbrica accountants must have verified in the records that Pozzobonello had already been paid a total of L. 6 in wine in 1484–85 (Doc. 20, entry of 16 July 1490: this information must have been contained in a different and lost register for those years) and L. 12 s. 8 in money (Doc. 22, entry of the following day: this information was available in the *Liber albasius prestantiarum inchoato 1470*, that is *Registri*, 263; see Doc. 21 and Table 1.2 above).³² Therefore, on July 20 the Fabbrica issued an

this visit to Mantua might have had any consequences for the repertory included in Librone 1, but given the proximity of the visit to the date of the ownership note, and the nature of the post-binding additions, it seems quite unlikely.

29. For the ruling of the Libroni, see the chapter by Pantarotto. The further specification ‘duplicate’ indicates that, as customary for such a large format, the bifolia were obtained by pasting together two entire leaves, instead of folding the paper.

30. For the cumulative use of ‘forme maioris’ in this document, see below.

31. The per-gathering cost was probably more notional than actual, as there is never an exact correspondence between the payments to Pozzobonello and multiples of that figure. On the gathering as the ‘unit of measurement’ for paying copyists, and on the difficulty of matching such payments with the actual structure of manuscripts, see Mulas, ‘Codici miniati di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio’, 10.

32. The entries referring to Pozzobonello in the cash book for 1490 all have a cross-reference to fol. 226 of the lost ledger for that year: the same cross-reference appears in Doc. 21 (see Table 1.2 above), thus indirectly confirming that the ‘green ledger’ of Doc. 21 indeed was that of 1490, and reinforcing the hypothesis that the entry was made during the calculations of July 1490. The entry for Pozzobonello in the same register at fol. 203v (referenced in Doc. 21) further confirms both the colour code of the book and the dating.

TABLE 1.3. THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF LIBRONE 1:
PAPER TYPES, SCRIBES, AND CONTENTS

	Hymns + Magn.		Magnificats		Magn.		motets			motets		
	Gaff		Scribe B		Gaff		Scribe B			Gaff		
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
<i>thin paper</i>	gatherings 1											
<i>thick paper</i>	2	3	4									
	Scribe A											
	Magnificats											
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			
	Scribe A											
	Te deum + motets											

order for payment for the remaining sum of s. 32 (= L. 1 s. 12), thus settling the balance with Pozzobonello (Doc. 23; recorded in the cash book two days later, Doc. 24). From this moment, Pozzobonello apparently disappears from the Duomo records.

In sum, how should we understand these documents from 1484–90? The formulae and terminology used in the account books are consistent and at times very precise, but also frustratingly reticent. The payment and bookkeeping system (with advance, part, and in-kind payments), combined with the partial or total loss of books for certain years, does not always allow for the unquestionable identification of individual jobs. Furthermore, the loss of all the Duomo musical manuscripts and books from before the late sixteenth century apart from the Libroni, and of any contemporary inventories, further complicates matters: other supports for performance must have existed, but we cannot know, and therefore we cannot be sure whether the extant documents concerning the copying of music actually regard the Libroni. In spite of these difficulties, I propose here a reading of the 1484–90 documents that, while paying attention to the fine details of wordings and formulae, tries to match them with the palaeographical and codicological evidence for Librone 1.

The key elements to keep in mind regarding the copying of Librone 1 are that three scribes were involved – Scribe A (twelve gatherings), Scribe B (seven gatherings), and Gaffurius (five gatherings) – and that Scribe A used a thicker and differently ruled paper (see Table 1.3).³³

The eight gatherings mentioned in Doc. 17 of 29 May 1490 are likely to correspond with the seven gatherings written by Scribe B (5–7 and 9–12) plus the first gathering,³⁴ which was partially written by Gaffurius but with minor initials, voice designations, and decoration by a different hand (the same that decorated the section written by Scribe B).³⁵ The other gatherings not written by Scribe A (8 and 13–15) were in fact left blank at the time of the binding, when Gaffurius

33. For more details see Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 16; Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 253–64; Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti'; Pantarotto's chapter in this volume; and *GCO-Inventory*.

34. I thank Martina Pantarotto for sharing her intuition to this effect during our communal brainstorming sessions on the Libroni documents.

35. The same calligrapher later worked on Librone 2 (sections by Scribes B and D: see again the chapter by Pantarotto). As already noted by Rifkin, only a few items in the first gathering of Librone 1 were copied before the binding of the manuscript; some pages were filled later by Gaffurius, and others remained blank. See Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 254, n. 31, the chapter by Pantarotto, and my 'Gaffurius's Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of Libroni 1–3'. Incidentally, the first gathering also contains the only illumination of the manuscript: this well-known and often reproduced S initial – encasing the emblem of the Veneranda Fabbrica, with the Virgin Mary protecting with her mantle the façade of the old Cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore – still awaits adequate study.

inscribed the ownership note and partially indexed the volume; Gaffurius filled them afterwards.³⁶

Following this line of reasoning, Pozzobonello cannot be Scribe B (a sort of sub-contractor who remains anonymous in Doc. 17), but rather the more independent, and separately paid, Scribe A.³⁷ Since, however, Scribe A wrote twelve gatherings in *Librone 1* (2–4 and 16–24), whereas Doc. 13, the Pozzobonello document whose job description seems unmistakably linked to *Librone 1*, mentions six gatherings only, how to account for the remaining six?

As shown in Table 1.3 above, Scribe A wrote two distinct sections of the manuscript, one of Magnificats and one of motets (with an opening *Te deum*); the two sections were conceived as independent from the beginning, as they both originally started with a blank recto (later filled in by Gaffurius), while the subsequent gatherings of both Scribe A's sections were compiled consecutively.³⁸ The stratigraphic analysis of Scribe A's writing proposed by Rifkin and taken up by Pantarotto highlights, among subtler nuances, a significant change in the midst of both his sections (between fol. 17r and 17v, within gathering 3, for the Magnificat section, and between 157r and 157v, within gathering 21, for the motet section).³⁹ The most likely explanation is that Scribe A interrupted his work at a certain point to resume it after a substantial amount of time;⁴⁰ therefore, I suggest identifying the Pozzobonello payments of 1484–85, in spite of their generic terminology, as referring to the first layers of Scribe A: six completed gatherings (2 + 16–20) and two only started (3 and 21).

If this is true, Pozzobonello/Scribe A started copying music for *Librone 1* in 1484–85, and then stopped working for unknown reasons. In October 1489 he was assigned a different project, with the subsequent intervention of Lampugnano as decorator. I consider this as a lost project, unrelated to *Librone 1*, for two reasons. The first reason is the different terminology of the accounting documents:

- neither in Doc. 9 and Doc. 11 (Pozzobonello) nor in Doc. 15 (Lampugnano) there is mention of the large format as found in the subsequent Doc. 13 (Pozzobonello) and Doc. 17 (Gaffurius);⁴¹

36. See again Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 253–54, esp. nn. 29 and 31, the chapter by Pantarotto, and my 'Gaffurius's Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of *Libroni 1–3*'.

37. See again Pantarotto's chapter.

38. See *GCO-Inventory* and Pantarotto's chapter.

39. The music of the first two staves of the Contratenor altus at fol. 158r still belongs to the first layer. For the sake of clarity, I should say that I am conflating into two main phases the stages (a) to (c) and (d) to (f) proposed by Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 256–57, n. 40.

40. See again Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 256–57, nn. 40 and 42.

41. It appears, however, in the cumulative retrospective of Doc. 19, in which all fifteen gatherings copied by Pozzobonello are labelled as large format ('forme maioris'). Unless we hypothesize that the accountant carelessly adopted for the whole bundle a description that applied, properly

- Doc. 9 assigns Pozzobonello a very close deadline; this is a unicum among the documents examined, and might be due to the necessity of passing the ‘book’ over to Lampugnano for decoration, and possibly to a wish to have it ready by Christmas;⁴² all this seems to point to a project quite limited in scope;⁴³
- contrariwise, the phrase ‘pro parte solutionis’ in Doc. 13 explicitly indicates a part payment to Pozzobonello for an ongoing job, whereas the other documents of 1489 (Doc. 9, Doc. 11, and even Doc. 15 for Lampugnano) adopt different phrasings;
- Doc. 9, Doc. 11, and Doc. 15 use the term ‘book’ (*liber*), as do the documents of 1484–85, while Doc. 13 introduces the term ‘gatherings’ (*quaterni*), which later recurs in the payments to Gaffurius: Pozzobonello might have started his work for Librone 1 as a self-standing ‘book’, which later was incorporated into Gaffurius’s larger project according to the building-blocks philosophy that characterizes all his Libroni.⁴⁴

The second reason for considering the October 1489 project as unrelated to Librone 1 stems from Lampugnano’s stature as a calligrapher and decorator: pending further studies, it seems unlikely to attribute to him either the simple initials complementing the pieces written by Scribe A in Librone 1,⁴⁵ or anything else in the Libroni.⁴⁶

Continuing with our reconstruction, then, we can surmise that Pozzobonello, having finished the October–November project, resumed his work for the forthcoming Librone 1 in late November 1489: the six gatherings mentioned in Doc. 13 would correspond to gatherings 4 and 22–24, plus the completion of gatherings 3 and 21.

speaking, only to twelve of the fifteen gatherings, this partially undermines my understanding of this specification as distinctive of the late November project. The idea that the non-Libroni project might have been in smaller format, though, is ultimately not essential for my argument.

42. It is fair to mention, however, that many items in Librone 1 are explicitly or arguably meant for the festivities of Christmastide.

43. If we take the total number of fifteen gatherings copied by Pozzobonello mentioned in the retrospective Doc. 19 at face value, and if we assume that twelve gatherings correspond to Scribe A’s contribution to Librone 1, we should conclude that the October 1489 project was a short ‘book’ indeed, only consisting of three gatherings.

44. I thank Martina Pantarotto for suggesting this, which accords well with her interpretation of Scribe A as progressively transitioning from an autonomous role to more careless freelancing under Gaffurius’s umbrella (see once again her chapter).

45. The colour initials in Scribe A’s second section end abruptly with gathering 22.

46. Only more accurate research about Lampugnano and his known works (notably a reliable identification of the initials he added to the multilayered ‘Beroldo’ manuscript mentioned above, MS Trivulziana 2262) will prove the validity of this assumption.

Finally, at least from May 1490 Gaffurius started acting as a broker for the Fabbrica and got paid for having other gatherings notated and decorated by (himself and) anonymous contributors. Considering that Scribe A used the same paper throughout his twelve gatherings, and that it was different from the paper used by Scribe B and Gaffurius, the six gatherings purchased by Gaffurius according to Doc. 17 had probably nothing to do with Scribe A's stock, in spite of the coincidence in number with the 'quatern[i] sex' of Doc. 13: rather, they might have been the four gatherings of Librone 1 left momentarily blank (8 and 13–15) and two additional gatherings intended for a different purpose.⁴⁷

In June 1490 Gaffurius claimed responsibility and credit (in a figurative sense) for the whole Librone 1 operation by inscribing his name, thus flaunting his own agency, in the ownership note. In July 1490 Pozzobonello, having an open account in the Fabbrica records, still got paid separately after presenting his retrospective list. If indeed we identify him with Scribe A, who contributed also to Libroni 2 and 3,⁴⁸ we must assume that from that moment on he too worked as a sort of subcontractor under Gaffurius, as did all the other scribes involved.

1492: Librone 2

The next documents referring to a book of polyphony in the Fabbrica records date from 1492. In the minutes of the board meeting of 27 February, we read of a proposal by Gaffurius to the Fabbrica regarding a 'librum [...] missarum acantu pro usu prefate Fabrice':

In the usual room of the venerable Fabbrica of Milan's Duomo a proposal was put forward by the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, master of the polyphonic chapel of the aforesaid Duomo: for the honour of the aforesaid Fabbrica and for his own utmost devotion towards the same Fabbrica he offered to contribute ten florins in order to make a book of polyphonic masses for use by the aforesaid Fabbrica. / The aforesaid deputies, after quick discussion, determined and concluded that the said book must be made, in view of the most worthy considerations proposed and advanced by the same priest Franchinus. (Doc. 25)

The partial transcription and translation of this document given by the Merkleys⁴⁹ obscured an important fact: namely, that Gaffurius was offering to contribute out of his own pocket for the making of this 'book of polyphonic masses',

47. Pozzobonello, by the way, is never explicitly reimbursed for the paper in the extant documents. Compare Doc. 1 below.

48. For Scribe A's contribution to the other Libroni, see again the chapter by Pantarotto.

49. Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 326.

which evidently he badly needed for the chapel. He offered 10 florins, that is L. 16, corresponding to twice his monthly salary. The board acceded to the proposal but tacitly declined the money: on 13 April there is an order for payment to Gaffurius for the same sum of L. 16 (already published by previous scholars) for the expenses he will incur for the making of ‘librum unum magnum missarum cantandarum figuraliter in dicta capella biscantorum’:

By the aforesaid order, the aforesaid treasurer should give to the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, master of the polyphonic chapel of the aforesaid Duomo, sixteen lire for the expenses he will incur by having made a big book of masses to be sung in polyphony by the said chapel of polyphonic singers to the praise and honour of the aforesaid Fabbrica, according to the decision taken in the aforesaid Fabbrica board meeting of last February 27, viz. L. 16. (Doc. 26)

Newly found documents show that by 16 July the copying was finished (Doc. 28) and the book was even bound (Doc. 27):

By order of the venerable and estimable deputies of the Veneranda Fabbrica of Milan’s Duomo, Mr Gerolamo da Casate, treasurer of the aforesaid Fabbrica, should give to Giovanni Pietro da Lomazzo, paper merchant and stationer, eight lire as a payment for the binding of a big book of masses notated for the polyphonic singers of the aforesaid Duomo, viz. L. 8. (Doc. 27)

Furthermore, by the same order, the aforesaid treasurer should give to the venerable Franchinus Gaffurius, master of the chapel of the aforesaid singers and most worthy music professor, eight lire, and this as a final balance for notating the aforesaid book for singing, for the benefit and honour of the aforesaid Veneranda Fabbrica and in execution of the decision [of the board] taken in this regard, viz. L. 8. (Doc. 28)

Remarkably, the ‘cartario’ mentioned in Doc. 27 is the same Giovanni Pietro da Lomazzo who published Francesco Caza’s *Tractato vulgare de canto figurato* (an Italian compendium of the second part of Gaffurius’s forthcoming *Practica musice*) in June 1492 and Gaffurius’s own *Theorica musice* at the end of the same year.⁵⁰ *Cartario* indicated, in fact, a paper merchant and stationer (in this case active also as a publisher and book trader), not to be confused with a *cartaio* (paper manufacturer).⁵¹

50. Additionally, the *Practica musice* in 1496. See <<https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>>, under GW06441, GW10437, and GW10434 respectively. Caza, or de Caziis, was a singer at the Duomo under Gaffurius.

51. See Arnaldo Ganda, ‘Cenni su carta, cartai e cartolai nel Quattrocento milanese’, *La Bibliofilia*, 116/1–3 (2014), 149–64. For another example involving the well-known publisher Giovanni da Legnano, see Doc. 8 below.

The description of the job remains constant throughout all the documents in the various account books, and the mention of the large format and of the contents (masses) leaves virtually no doubt as to the identification with Librone 2.⁵² The archival evidence seems as solid and straightforward as it can be: proposal in February, first payment for copying in April, last payments for copying and binding in July. Furthermore, it reveals Gaffurius's further progress towards the role of overseer and broker: even though palaeographical analysis reveals that six scribes were involved – besides the chapel master and including Pozzobonello, who, if our identification with Scribe A is correct, contributed four gatherings and the beginning of a fifth one⁵³ – no individual payments to any of them are extant.

Compared to the clean picture emerging from the documents, the material aspect of the manuscript is, admittedly, less homogeneous than we might expect.⁵⁴ Apparently, Gaffurius included both contributions by close collaborators and blocks by more independent scribes. As in Librone 1, here too the study of the fragmentary index combined with palaeographical and codicological data shows that some sections were left blank at the time of the binding and indexing, to be filled later. These additions in turn contribute to give the manuscript a more disordered aspect.⁵⁵

Incidentally, an order for payment of 6 November 1493 informs us that a new music stand (*lectorinum*) was built for the *biscantores* the following year: 'By the same order the aforesaid treasurer should give to Master Marco Antonio de Galassis, smith and carpenter, sixteen lire as payment for a music stand he made and sold to the Fabbrica for the polyphonic singers of the Fabbrica, viz. L. 16' (Doc. 29).

Marginalia on the costs of Libroni 1 and 2, and on the Fabbrica's stationery supply

As we have seen, the cost of Librone 2 seems to have been initially estimated at L. 16 but in the end it amounted to twice as much, with 8 additional lire for copying expenses and 8 for the binding. For Librone 1 we have a payment of L. 14 s. 14 d. 4 to Gaffurius (including the cost of six gatherings of paper, and the copying

52. For this identification with Librone 2 (instead of Librone 3, as proposed by Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 329–31), see already Rifkin, 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin', 287, n. 187 and the literature quoted there.

53. Gatherings 3–6 and the beginning of gathering 7: see *GCO-Inventory* and the chapter by Pantarotto.

54. See Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 15–16; Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti'; the chapter by Pantarotto in the present volume; and *GCO-Inventory*.

55. See again Pantarotto's chapter and my 'Gaffurius's Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of Libroni 1–3'.

and decoration of eight gatherings)⁵⁶ plus possibly between L. 14 and L. 16 for the scribal work of Pozzobonello.⁵⁷ Differently from Librone 2, the cost of the binding is not recorded: assuming it was similar to that of the later book, by adding it to the figures above we would obtain a total for Librone 1 of ca. L. 37 or 39. There are, however, too many unknowns for us to draw any firm conclusions from these data, but let them stand as a possible reference for future studies.⁵⁸

What is certain is that the cost of the paper itself was relatively marginal. As is well known, paper was remarkably cheaper than parchment; according to Arnaldo Ganda, in Milan in 1472 the printer Antonio Zarotto paid for a 500-sheet ream of paper ‘ad formam magnam’ L. 4 s. 10 and for one ‘ad formam mezanam’ L. 3; in March 1490, however, a ream of watermarked paper ‘aliquantulum maioris forme mezane’ cost only L. 1 s. 16.⁵⁹ As for the Duomo, a cash-book entry of 17 August 1493 ‘pro rismis tres papiri oblatti [...] per certos follatores’ informs us that three reams of paper offered to the Fabbrica by some paper manufacturers were valued L. 3 (*Registri*, 844, fol. 58v).

The transactions with paper merchants and stationers recorded in the Fabbrica account books provide us with some further examples and data. The Fabbrica suppliers in our period were first Melchion de Squassis and then his son Nicolao, until 1506, and from later in the same year Pietro Martire de Bugatis (from 1509 in association with his brother Giovanni Battista).⁶⁰ They were normally paid once a

56. The phrasing ‘occasione quaternorum nonnullorum notatorum acantu et alliis diversis causis’ in Doc. 16 (emphasis mine) adds a margin of uncertainty to the figure.

57. I obtain the higher figure by multiplying the notional cost of one gathering as given in Doc. 19 by the twelve gatherings he may have contributed to Librone 1 according to my reconstruction above. The lower figure (L. 14 s. 2, for the sake of precision) reflects instead the total amount of the payments to Pozzobelli minus the two payments explicitly referred to the October–November 1489 project (Doc. 9 and Doc. 11).

58. As a marginal note to these admittedly inconclusive observations about costs, I should report that a ledger entry of 31 December 1509 records a payment of L. 18 to a certain Hyeronimus de Laude ‘pro scriptura foleorum 360 papiri facta [...] in registrando bona immobilia quondam D. Thomae de Grassis’ (*Registri*, 303, fol. 193v). Even though belonging to a completely different field, it is the only document I know from the Duomo Archive in which both the material extent and the payment for a single writing job are specified. For a 1475 payment to a scribe for both the parchment and his work in copying a chant book, see Doc. 1 below.

59. Arnaldo Ganda, ‘La pergamena a Milano nella seconda metà del Quattrocento: Uso, prezzo, punti di vendita e di fabbricazione’, in Roberto Guarasci et al. (eds.), *Scritti in memoria di Raoul Guêze, 1926–2005* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2007), 145–66 at 155; Ganda, ‘Cenni su carta, cartai e cartolai’, 158.

60. The last payment to Melchion de Squassis I have found dates from April 1485; the last yearly payment for a regular supply to Nicolao dates from March 1507 for the previous year (but in 1513 he still received a single payment; see below in the main text). Both the de Squassis (or Squas-si) and the de Bugatis (or Bugatti) were also ducal suppliers: see Maria Paola Zanoboni, ‘Profili biografico-patrimoniali di alcuni mercanti di carta milanesi: Seconda metà XV–inizi XVI secolo’, in Renzo Paolo Corritore and Luisa Piccinno (eds.), *Cinque secoli di carta: Produzione, commercio e*

year, or every two years (in the 1510s, even every three or five years), for the previous year(s). These cumulative payments regarded the complete supply of paper, books, ink, wax, and other things.⁶¹ Often the documents refer to itemized lists or invoices, which are unfortunately lost, but sometimes the reference itself reports data from the beginning or the end of the corresponding list (in order to help the accountant identify it more easily). An order for payment to Melchion de Squassis of 4 February 1485 (Doc. 4, from *Registri*, 664, fol. 7v) reports the first and the last items of the list: ‘libros duos forme mediocris fo. 150 pro quolibet copertos corio L. 2 s. 10’ and ‘libro uno de forma granda de fo. 50 rigato et coperto de carta s. xviii d. iii imperialium’ respectively. Thus we learn that the Fabbrica bought, among other things, two mid-sized books of 150 folios (i.e. 300 pages) each bound in leather for L. 2 s. 10, and a large-size book of 50 folios, ruled and bound in parchment, for s. 18 d. 3. An order for payment to Nicolao de Squassis of 23 January 1486 (Doc. 7, from *Registri*, 666, fol. 4r) reports the last item of its corresponding list as ‘libri duo forme magne L. i s. xiii’. A rare single payment to the same Nicolao, issued in 1513 when he was no longer the regular supplier of the Fabbrica, generated further precise entries. The order for payment of 19 April 1513 (Doc. 41, from *Registri*, 704, fol. 97r) refers to ‘occasione librorum duorum videlicet libri unius mastri foliorum 300 cohopeni corio seu corduano giallo cum rubrica veneta et zornalis unius foliorum 150 cohopeni ut supra’: thus we learn that at that date a ledger of 300 folios (with index) and a cash book of 150 folios, both bound in yellow leather, cost the Fabbrica L. 8 s. 10.

consumi della carta nella Regio Insubrica e in Lombardia dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea (Varese: Insubria University Press, 2005), 25–48 and Katia Toia, ‘Gli Squassi, cartai ducali e imprenditori nel Quattrocento’, in *Sì, carta! Catalogo della mostra presso l'Archivio di Stato di Milano, novembre 2013–febbraio 2014* (Milan: Archivio di Stato, 2013), 57–61.

61. E.g. ‘pro solutione nonnullarum quantitatum vernicis cere librorum et aliarum rerum in anno proxime preterito 1486’ (ledger entry for Nicolao de Squassis of 5 February 1487, *Registri*, 277, fol. 7r); ‘pro completa solutione quorumcumque librorum papiri atramenti cere et aliarum rerum de eorum apotheca’ (ledger entry for the de Bugatis brothers of 18 May 1517, *Registri*, 312, fol. 229v). ‘Books’ meant, in this context, blank books, to be used as ledgers, registers, etc. Nicolao de Squassis, however, also traded in printed books: in 1499 the Fabbrica gave him sixty copies of the ‘expositionum septem psalmorum compositorum per magistrum Paulum Florentinum’ to sell (‘pro vendendo’), and in March 1504 (*Registri*, 297, fol. 209v) the sale brought in L. 7 (the work is to be identified as the *Expositio in psalmos poenitentiales* by the Florentine Servite friar Paolo Attavanti; it had been published in Milan in 1479 by Antonio Zarotto and around the same year by Leonhard Pachel and Ulrich Scinzenzeler, with dedication to Duchess Bona, the widow of Galeazzo Maria Sforza).

The silence about Libroni 3 and [4]

As we have seen above, the documents and transactions referable to Libroni 1 and 2 are relatively abundant, even if many details remain obscure. The situation is radically different for Libroni 3 and [4]: not a single document even indirectly connected to these books has emerged so far from the archive. New discoveries are always possible, but this lack of documentation is indirectly confirmed, at least for the period 1502–22, by the corresponding records in the documents of a sixteenth-century pastoral visit preserved at the historical archive of the Diocese of Milan (ASDMi, *Visite Pastorali, Metropolitana*, LXXXII, 23). The delegates of the bishop must have surveyed the Fabbrica ledgers, annotating, among other things, the expenses made for the Duomo music chapel from 1502. The first expense for ‘books of polyphonic music’ dates to 1523. Obviously, this is not an independent source of information, but merely a confirmation that a sixteenth-century external auditor examining the Fabbrica books did not find evidence of expenses for music books in those years.

At the present state of research, thus, the AVFDMi records do not provide any information about the genesis of Libroni 3 and [4]. How to explain this silence? My reading of the documents from the early 1490s highlights Gaffurius’s progression towards a role of overseer in the making of music manuscripts for the Duomo chapel: as we have seen, in 1492 there were no longer payments to individual scribes or calligraphers, but rather Gaffurius acted as a broker. There seems to be no sign of deterioration in the relationship between Gaffurius and the Fabbrica over the following years, as even the eulogistic phrasings in the accounting entries indirectly confirm. In late 1505, however, there was a curious incident: based on the following *ordinazione capitolare*, we learn that the Fabbrica treasurer had deducted from Gaffurius’s emolument the 16 lire the latter had received in April 1492 for the making of the mass book that we have identified as Librone 2:⁶²

Sitting together in the usual room etc. / Having learnt of the complaint repeatedly advanced by the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, from the chapel of singers of the said Duomo, about sixteen lire that the treasurer of the aforesaid Fabbrica retained [from his salary] based on a most recent order for the same amount of sixteen lire, which he [i.e. Gaffurius] appears to owe in the books of the aforesaid Fabbrica, and which were paid to him by Mr Gerolamo da Casate, then treasurer of the same Fabbrica, on 17 April 1492, for the making of a big notated book of masses to be sung in the aforesaid church, as it appears from the white ledger for the same year 1492, at fol. 113 [= *Registri*, 283, fol. 112v]; [the deputies,] considering that the aforesaid book

62. For an account of previous misunderstandings about this document, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘Masses Based on Popular Songs and Solmization Syllables’, in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 51–87 at 68, n. 38.

was completed, presented, and handed in to the effect above stated, ordered that the same [Gaffurius] should be recorded as creditor with the appropriate bookkeeping entries. They also command to the treasurer that, in view of the above considerations, he must not deduct anything in regard to the aforesaid sixteen lire. (Doc. 30)

Having verified that the music book had been duly completed and handed in, then, the deputies accepted Gaffurius's complaint and decided that the money should be paid back to the chapel master, with no further deduction. As a matter of fact, on 5 December we have a cash-book entry:

Under the cost centre of the singers [i.e. the music chapel], to the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, master and rector of the Duomo chapel of singers, sixteen lire, paid to him already on 17 April 1492 by the then treasurer of the aforesaid Fabbrica for the making of a big notated book of masses to be sung in the aforesaid church, as it appears more clearly from the white ledger of the same Fabbrica for that same year, viz. at fol. 113 [= *Registri*, 283, fol. 112v], and this since the same book was completed, presented, and handed in to the aforesaid deputies by the same priest Franchinus, and immediately thereafter returned to the same priest Franchinus in his capacity as master and rector of the same chapel. Based on the order for payment of the past 28 November, by virtue and in execution of the decision taken [by the board] in this regard and entered in the minutes on last November 24, viz. L. 16. (Doc. 31)

On the same date, the transaction was recorded in the ledger, both under the cost centre of the chapel ('Capitulum biscantorum') and under Gaffurius's personal account:

The cost centre of the polyphonic singers of the Veneranda Fabbrica owes L. 16 s. – on 5 December for the price of a big notated book of masses and other songs to be sung in the Duomo for use by the chapel, bought from the priest Franchinus Gaffurius already on 17 April 1492, credited to him in the present book at fol. 229 [= Doc. 33], L. 16. (Doc. 32)

Furthermore [the priest Franchinus, mentioned on the facing page, should have] L. 16 s. – on 5 December, already paid to him on 17 April 1492, as a full payment for the songs he notated in a certain big book for use by the chapel, debited to the cost centre of the polyphonic singers in the present book at fol. 135 [= Doc. 32], L. 16. (Doc. 33)

A certain flexibility in the phrasings of the various entries is the norm, but the differences among these documents are, in my perception, more than what is usual: in the same ledger Gaffurius is credited for having sold the 'big book' to the Fabbrica (Doc. 32) and for having notated it. Is this a sign of a certain confusion among the accountants in dealing with this unusual transaction? On the other hand, the phrase '*missarum et aliorum cantorum*' in Doc. 32 deserves a comment:

if the volume planned in February 1492 (Doc. 25) and described elsewhere in the AVFDMi account books as entirely dedicated to masses is indeed Librone 2, in fact it ended up by containing not only masses, but also a dozen of motets and a *Te deum*;⁶³ the description in Doc. 32 is, thus, more accurate in describing the book's contents than any other entries either from 1492 or 1505, and it might derive from Gaffurius himself, or in any case from an independent source of information.

To dispel any potential ambiguity in our understanding of these documents, let us review the phrasings of Doc. 30 and Doc. 31 regarding the timing: based on Doc. 30 ('attenta perfectione presentatione et consignatione libri'), it seems that Gaffurius showed the book to the deputies in order to demonstrate that back in 1492 he had duly respected the agreements; as said, the deputies verified that the book had been completed and delivered, and ordered the treasurer to rectify his mistake. Doc. 31 further specifies that 'immediately afterwards' the book was returned to Gaffurius, in his capacity of chapel master. As far as I understand the documents, there is nothing in them that might suggest that the preparation of the 1492 book had been delayed or unduly protracted, let alone until 1505.⁶⁴ Furthermore, it is worth noting that the additional payment of L. 8 to Gaffurius of July 1492 (Doc. 28 above) 'pro resto solutionis notandi suprascriptum librum' was not taken into consideration: a further sign, in my view, that the 1505 incident was the fruit of an internal (and inaccurate) retrospective audit, and not of any controversy or discussion specifically regarding the polyphonic books of the chapel. In the ledger for 1504 there are, unusually, multiannual reports (1501–4) of salaries for the members of the polyphonic chapel (*Registri*, 297, fols. 246v–251r and 336v); for Gaffurius, the total of 384 lire is reported, referring to four years of his normal salary (L. 8 per month = L. 96 per year);⁶⁵ an entry regarding the singer Petrus de Canobio, however, refers to L. 14 s. 8 'omitted from the credit item' recorded under his name 'in the year 1491' (*Registri*, 297, fol. 336v). Might this be a further sign that accounting revisions reaching back as far as the early 1490s were enacted between 1504 and 1505, which might have caused the erroneous deduction of L. 16?⁶⁶

63. See Cristina Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389, and *GCO-Catalogue*.

64. As Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti', 122–23 seemed to imply. Pantarotto of course could not know about the exact correspondences with the 1492 documents.

65. Gaffurius's salary never changed over the thirty-eight years of his tenure at the Duomo, as already remarked by Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano', [a] 18. It was modest indeed if compared to the salaries of the Sforza court singers: see, for instance, Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 370–71 and *passim*, and Lora L. Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan: Aspects of Clientage at Court', in Giacomo Fornari (ed.), *Album amicorum Albert Dunning: In occasione del suo LXV compleanno* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 189–230.

66. The treasurer in charge for 1505 was Gioachino de' Tadoni; he substituted for Antonio Fedeli, who had served, rather unusually, for two consecutive years (see *Annali*, iii. 123, 126, 130, and *passim* for the surrounding years).

All in all, the late 1505 incident seems just the mistake of an overzealous accountant.⁶⁷ But might it be an indirect symptom that times had changed, and that it was no longer possible to get funding for new music books from the Fabbrica? Looking at this episode from a different angle, we might also wonder: if such a dispute left trace in no fewer than three different books – the board minutes, the cash book, and the ledger (two entries)⁶⁸ – isn't the complete silence of the archive about Libroni 3 and [4] all the more significant? The most likely conclusion to draw would be that it was not the Fabbrica that paid for the two volumes: no disbursement, no entries in the account books.

Given the evident agency of Gaffurius as editor, scribe, and contributor of all the four Libroni,⁶⁹ it is beyond dispute that also Libroni 3 and [4] were produced under his supervision, and not purchased or otherwise obtained from outside his sphere of action. Pending, then, further research, how should we account for the existence of Libroni 3 and [4], in the absence of payments by the Fabbrica?

Librone 3: the missing first gathering and the new fragments

Librone 3 lacks the initial folios: possibly a quinternion, as the first empty recto of the first extant gathering bears the ancient pagination '11'. Might the first folio of this missing gathering, detached under unknown circumstances, have contained clues, signs of patronage and sponsorship (for instance by members of the Duomo Chapter, or any other donor), or signs that the book was originally connected not generically to the Fabbrica and the chapel, but to a specific altar or chantry (keeping in mind also the puzzling presence in the manuscript of the *Galeazescha*, the remarkable *motetti missales* cycle whose appended title seems to point to Galeazzo Maria Sforza)?⁷⁰ The expenses specifically connected with worship at the Duomo were not paid by the Veneranda Fabbrica, but by the Sacristy and the Chapter. Liturgical books, including chant books, normally did not leave a trace

67. At first, I wondered whether the incident might have been prompted by a new request of money for a music book presented by Gaffurius to the Fabbrica board: the deputies might then have directed the treasurer to verify the chapel master's accounts regarding similar requests from the past, and subsequently the misunderstanding over the 1492 book arose. But the lack of a corresponding *ordinazione capitolare*, similar to that of February 1492 (Doc. 25), the phrasings of Doc. 30, and the other details discussed above all but rule out this possibility.

68. Plus the lost *mandato sciolto* referenced in Doc. 31.

69. See Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti', and her chapter in the present volume.

70. See the chapter by Pavanello in the present volume and my introduction to Loyset Compère, *Ave virgo gloriosa (Galeazescha)*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi, *Motet Cycles Edition*, 3, *Gaffurius Codices Online*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions>>, with the relevant literature given there.

in the Fabbrica accounts, nor did they become part of the collection of the music chapel – it was in fact primarily the clergy, not the *biscantori*, who were in charge of singing chant. When, for instance, Pietro Casola (an influential liturgist and ordinary member of the Duomo Chapter, repeatedly appointed among the *deputati* of the Fabbrica) commissioned a notated Ambrosian antiphoner and donated it to the cathedral in 1502, the specific recipient mentioned in its beautifully illuminated title page is the Sacristy (see Fig. 1.2): ‘Et hic liber donatus est sacraestie preefate ecclesie per Petrum de Casolis ordinarium’.

The manuscript, which bears signs of centuries-long use, is currently housed in the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter (shelfmark II-U-01-009), together with other books sponsored by Casola in 1502–7 and, of course, many other liturgical books.⁷¹

Very few accounting documents mention liturgical books: one is a *Dati et recepti* entry from 1488, connected with a chantry that the Fabbrica had to maintain in order to comply with the testamentary provisions of the wealthy merchant (and former usurer) Tommaso de’ Grassi (†1482):⁷²

Furthermore [the treasurer should have] L. 4 [paid] on 8 August to Master Giovanni da Legnano, paper merchant and stationer, as a payment for a printed missal he sold and gave to the Fabbrica in the past month of July for use by the chaplain of the chantry instituted by the late and esteemed Tommaso de’ Grassi in the church of Santa Maria Segreta in Milan. (Doc. 8)

This case regards a chantry in a different church, but a later document shows that bequests regarding chantries in the Duomo could provide not only for the necessary vestments and liturgical implements, but also for missals. The 1528 bequest by the canon Giovanni Andrea Vimercati provided for ‘a chasuble, an alb, and an amice every year; a stole and a maniple every two years; a missal every four years; a frontal, a corporal and altar-cloths every six years; two bronze candlesticks and a bronze or copper cross, and a silver chalice every twenty years’.⁷³

71. On the Casola books, see Pedralli, *Novo, grande, covertò e ferrato*, 273–74; Federica Peruzzo, ‘Il “Breviarium Ambrosianum” di Pietro Casola (1490): Tra filologia e liturgia’ (Ph.D. diss. Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2003); Massimo Zaggia, ‘Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano negli anni di Franchino Gaffurio (1484–1522)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 3–51 at 25–27.

72. On de’ Grassi’s career and his remarkable donations and bequests, see Franco Bacchelli, ‘Grassi, Tommaso de’’, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 58 (2002), online at <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tommaso-de-grassi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tommaso-de-grassi_(Dizionario-Biografico)>), and Pedralli, *Novo, grande, covertò e ferrato*, 251, n. 72.

73. AVFDMi, *Archivio Storico*, cart. 58, XIX, fasc. 7, no. 1. At the end of each period, the old items could be sold in order to contribute to the purchase of the new ones. The chaplains, who should be ‘boni cantores [...] et sciant competenter legere et missas celebrare’, should provide



Fig. 1.2. Title page of a notated Ambrosian antiphoner donated by Pietro Casola. Biblioteca del Capitolo Metropolitano di Milano, MS II-U-01-009, fol. 6v

Another example regarding the payment for a manuscript *ingressarium* on vellum in 1475 shows that chant books could be copied and destined to a specific altar in the Duomo (in this case the altar of St Agnes): ‘To Pietro Antonio de Mandello as a payment for the writing and the vellum of one *ingressarium* to be used at the altar of St Agnes in the Duomo, eight lire, viz. L. 8’ (Doc. 1). Various altars at the Duomo were endowed with chantries, and some were famously associated with the liturgical patronage of wealthy Milanese families, including, *ça va sans dire*, the Sforzas.⁷⁴ The Fabbrica itself arranged for the decoration of several altars, both those invested with dynastic significance (e.g. the altar of St Joseph, associated with Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza) and those which became foci of popular devotion (e.g. the altar of Our Lady ‘in medio ecclesie’, or, later, that of the ‘Madonna dell’Albero’).⁷⁵ Even in the absence of any substantial proof, considering the dearth of detailed studies regarding this aspect in the life of the Duomo, the possibility that Librone 3 might have been connected with one of these altars or chantries cannot be ruled out.⁷⁶ I should note, however, that none of the chantry bequests from the period I have examined in various Milanese archives⁷⁷ ever mentions performances of polyphonic music.

Another element should be considered in this discussion about the origins of Librone 3. In March 2019, during a random survey of the Fabbrica music holdings conducted together with the archivist of the Duomo, Maddalena Peschiera, I stumbled upon two new ‘Libroni fragments’ preserved in a modern folder, with no shelfmark:⁷⁸ two folios, apparently restored during the 1950s and since then forgotten. No one, as far as we could establish, was any longer aware of their existence, neither in the Archive nor outside it, and no data have been retrieved in the records about their original position and the circumstances leading to their present state.⁷⁹

themselves the two candles to be kept alight during the daily Mass and the torch for the Elevation (‘*tortiam unam honorabilem pro illuminando sacratissimum Corpus Christi quando elevatur*’).

74. See Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Where Devotion and Liturgy Meet: Re-Assessing the Milanese Roots of the “Motetti Missales”’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 53–91.

75. For the expenses regarding the altar of the Madonna dell’Albero in 1516–17, for instance, see *Registri*, 311, 707, and 710. A new section was opened in the ledgers in order to account for the offers received and the money spent for the altar, its ornaments, and the liturgical equipment (not books, however).

76. This might help explain the presence of redundant concordances with Libroni 1 and 2: see the comprehensive discussion of this complex problem in Cristina Cassia’s contribution to the present volume.

77. Not only at the Veneranda Fabbrica Archive, but also at the historical archive of the Diocese of Milan, and at the Archivio dei Luoghi Pii Elemosinieri.

78. In November 2020 the folder containing the fragments was assigned the shelfmark ‘3 bis’.

79. I first announced their (re-)discovery at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Basel, on 5 July 2019. Subsequently, the pictures of the fragments were published on the GCO

The recto of Fragment 1 contains empty staves, with partially preserved original foliation in the top right corner. Only the upper part of the original folio is extant: it seems to be the first folio of an otherwise lost gathering. The verso contains the complete Cantus and the incipit of the Tenor (with a few additional notes from the second staff) from an anonymous *Magnificat quinti toni* already present in Librone 1.⁸⁰ Fragment 2 is a new incomplete source for Loyset Compère's motet *Gaude prole regia*.⁸¹ Only the lower half of the original folio is extant: the recto contains the conclusion of the Altus (text only) and the full Bassus of the *secunda pars* of the motet, while the verso is completely blank (no ruling). Based on the mise-en-page, size, rastrum, and scribal hand (Scribe G),⁸² the fragments can be considered as formerly belonging to Librone 3.

In Librone 3 rectos with empty staves occur only at the beginning of a gathering,⁸³ and four out of six instances are in gatherings begun by the same Scribe G: see fols. 11r (gathering 1), 99r (gathering 10), 117r (gathering 12), and 172r (gathering 18).⁸⁴ We can therefore assume that Fragment 1 was the initial folio of a gathering. Not the first gathering, though, because of the fragment's foliation: it starts with a '2', and the second figure might be a '4' or a '6'. The '4' would be, relatively speaking, the easiest alternative to reconcile with the reconstructed codicology of Librone 3, by postulating the previous existence of at least two additional gatherings at the end of the book.

Fragment 2, instead, has a completely blank verso, without ruling, something that in Libroni 1–3 happens only in the last verso of Librone 2 (fol. 211v): it is therefore tempting to conclude that it corresponded to the last folio in the manuscript, which might help explain its severely damaged state. It cannot be excluded that

website: see <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/6575>> and <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/6576>>.

80. See Librone 1, fols. 60v–62r, [I,38], <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3815>>; modern edition in Anonimi, *Magnificat*, ed. Fabio Fano, Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 7 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1965).

81. Concordance in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS ILL.232, fols. 26v–30r; modern edition in Loyset Compère, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 15/3 ([s.l.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1959).

82. According to the classification adopted in *GCO-Inventory*. This scribe is present in Librone 3, but not in the other Libroni. See the chapter in this volume by Pantarotto. In Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti', the scribe is called 'COPISTA I' of Librone 3.

83. The only exception, fol. 197r, is part of a sequence of empty pages, and its verso too has empty staves.

84. The other two are in gatherings started by Scribe I (gathering 13, fol. 125r) and by Gaffurius (gathering 21, fol. 198r). We should note, however, that at least other eight gatherings originally started with empty staves on the first recto, later filled with music starting in a gathering placed before: see fol. 27r (gathering 3), fol. 57r (gathering 6), fol. 87r (gathering 9), fol. 154r (gathering 16), fol. 162r (gathering 17), fol. 182r (gathering 19), fol. 190r (gathering 20), and fol. 208r (gathering 22). Of these, gatherings 9, 16, 17, and 19 again belong to Scribe G.

the two fragments belonged to the same gathering, Fragment 1 at its beginning, and Fragment 2 at its end (with, in between, the continuation of the Magnificat, possibly one or two other works in the central openings, and then the first part of Compère's motet). That the two fragments cannot be part of the lost first gathering is ruled out also by the information about its content contained in Gaffurius's partial index of Librone 3.⁸⁵ In it we read that a full (unidentified) mass with the canonic inscription 'In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum' started with the Gloria on fol. '2' (that is, on the opening of fols. 1v–2r), and that the Gloria of (Prioris's?) *Missa Je ne demande* started on fol. '8' (spreading, then, from fol. 7v to at least 9r: apart from any other consideration, this would leave only one full opening before the extant fol. 11r for Compère's *Gaude prole regia*, which, however, needs two).

Generally speaking, besides the intrinsic value of the fragments and the speculations about their exact positioning, their existence further alerts us to the potential discrepancy between the present state of Librone 3 and its state in Gaffurius's time.

Before moving on to Librone [4], I would like to mention a possible further clue about the dating of Librone 3 emerging from the comparison of later listings of the Duomo music books. The listings in question are contained in an *Inventario della Musica de Maestri di Capella che furono della Chiesa Metrop.^{na} di Mil.^o [...] quali esistono nell'Archivio particolare della V.^{da} Fabbrica [...] e per qualche parte nella Sagrestia Aquilonare di d.^a Chiesa* (1779) and in an *Indice di tutta la Musica che si ritrova nell'Archivio della V.^{da} Fabbrica del Duomo, incominciando dal 1507* (1791), both prepared by the tenor and vice chapel master Francesco Bianchi, and currently preserved under the shelfmark Librone 37, tome a and b respectively; furthermore, there is a mid-nineteenth-century *Nuovo elenco di tutta la musica esistente nell'Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano secondo la nuova disposizione datale per ordine di Materia, e di date*, currently preserved under the shelfmark Librone 35.

In the two eighteenth-century listings Librone 3 is recorded as 'Un Librone vecchio Messe' (37a) and 'Lamentazioni, Messe, Magnificat, Antifone, Librone manuscritto' (37b), in both cases under the name of 'Antonio Mana'. Evidently, the compiler Francesco Bianchi's palaeographical skills were wanting: he misread the name 'Antonio Maria' written twice on the last verso of Librone 3 (among other scribbles and pen trials) and mistook it for the name of the composer of the whole manuscript. In the later Librone 35's *Indice dei libroni antichi* (p. 7) we find again the name 'Mana' associated with our Librone 3 ('Librone MS. contenente Lamentazioni, Messe, Magnificat, Antifone').⁸⁶ More interestingly, in a separate

85. <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/4891>>. As the index includes only masses, it gives us no clues about the effective inclusion and possible position of the Magnificat and the motet contained in the new fragments.

86. Both Librone 37b and Librone 35 indicate that at the time Librone 3 had the shelfmark '5'.

chronological list of composers, ‘Mana’ is associated with the date ‘1507’ (p. 1). As we will see in due course, Librone [4] had an inscription with the date 1507. Unless the compiler of Librone 35 confused the two books (which is surely possible, but quite unlikely given the clear distinction found in Libroni 37a and 37b), we should infer that Librone 3 possibly had a reference to the year 1507 (maybe on the subsequently replaced cover or on its pastedowns). This indirect evidence can thus be tentatively taken as a reference for the dating of the manuscript, which most scholars in any case agree on placing after 1500 or even 1502.⁸⁷ As in the previous two Libroni, in any case, palaeographical data and the study of the index reveal additions made on empty pages after the binding of the manuscript.

1507: Librone [4] and its ownership note

Let us finally turn to Librone [4], which, due to its fragmentary preservation and physical inaccessibility, has always remained quite marginal in the Libroni studies. As is well known, a fire at the Esposizione internazionale of 1906 severely damaged the manuscript, which was on exhibit in the Veneranda Fabbrica pavilion.⁸⁸ The *Annali* report that an inscription at the end (‘in fine’) of the Librone bore the date ‘1527’: ‘Liber Franchini Gafurii musici praefitentis, die 22 junii 1527’.⁸⁹ The inscription is no longer visible in the fragments, but recent research demonstrates that all the sources from before 1906 except the *Annali* report the date as 1507, not 1527.⁹⁰ Notably, we find that date in the two eighteenth-century inventories mentioned above while discussing Librone 3. If our identification is correct, the description of Librone [4] in Librone 37a, p. 111 is as follows: ‘1507. die 22 Junij Franchinij [*sic*] Gafurij / Messe, Motetti, e Magnificat / Librone Vecchio’. Librone 37b, p. 5 reports a similar formula: ‘Franchini Gafurij Musici perfitensis / Messe, Motetti, e Magnificat, die 22. Iunij 1507. Manuscritto’. The formula of Librone 37b, with the apparently incongruous term *perfitensis*, proves to be more interesting than it might seem at first glance. As Martina Pantarotto has shown, Gaffurius used the formula ‘Liber Franchini Gafurii musicam [*or sometimes: musicen*] profitentis’

87. See Rifkin, ‘Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin’, 287, n. 187 and the literature cited there.

88. See *Il Duomo di Milano all’Esposizione internazionale del 1906: Catalogo* (Milan: Tip. Sonzogno, 1906); Claudio Sartori, ‘Il quarto codice di Gaffurio non è del tutto scomparso’, in *Collectanea historiae musicae*, 1 (Florence: Olschki, 1953), 26–44; most recently, and with further bibliography, Maddalena Peschiera, ‘Un “pratico” in soccorso della Veneranda Fabbrica: Achille Ratti e il restauro dei documenti bruciati nell’Esposizione internazionale del 1906’, in Franco Cajani (ed.), *I quaderni della Brianza*, 40/183: *Pio XI e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno, Desio, 6 febbraio 2016* (2017), 275–98.

89. *Annali: Appendici*, ii, 169.

90. See Davide Stefani, ‘Le vite di Gaffurio’, in Davide Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, *Studi e saggi*, 3 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2017), 27–48 at 38.

(‘Book of Franchinus Gaffurius, professor of music’) in several autograph notes of ownership inscribed in his own manuscript and printed books from the 1490s.⁹¹

A late example from Gaffurius’s copy of Andrea Alciati, *Paradoxorum ad Pratum libri VI* (Lodi, Biblioteca Comunale, Cinq. XXXV.A.1: see Fig. 1.3),⁹² helps us understand the reason for the misreadings in Librone 37b and in *Annali*: besides other minor mistakes, the compilers must have erroneously solved the abbreviation for ‘pro-’ as *prae-* (*Annali*) and *per-* (Librone 37b) respectively.

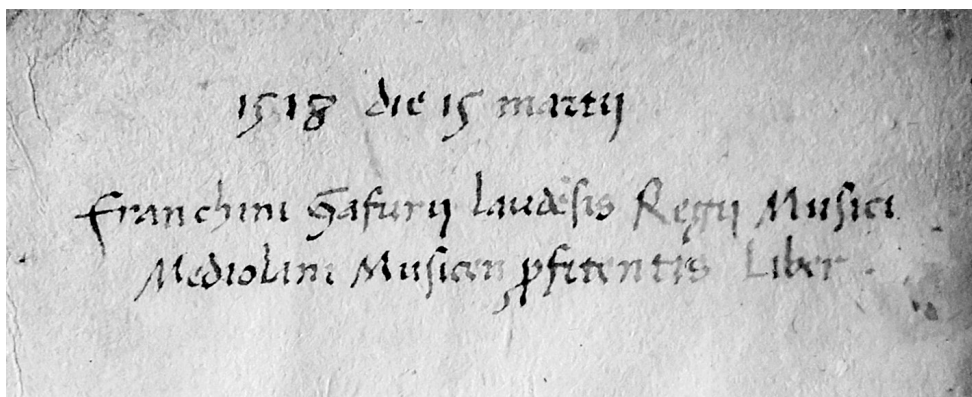


Fig. 1.3. Franchinus Gaffurius’s autograph inscription in his own copy of Andrea Alciati, *Paradoxorum ad Pratum libri VI* (Milan: A. Minuziano, ca. 1518). Lodi, Biblioteca Comunale, Cinq. XXXV.A.1

But what matters most here is that if the note inscribed in Librone [4] indeed used that phrasing, it means that the book was Gaffurius’s *private* possession. A comparison with the ownership note of Librone 1 discussed above is telling: there the book was clearly labelled as belonging to the Duomo chapel (‘Liber capelle ecclesie maioris’), because in spite of Gaffurius’s agency it was the Fabbrica who had paid for it (‘impensa vero venerabilis Fabrice’). Keeping in mind that Gaffurius had offered to contribute to the expenses for the making of a Librone in 1492 (see above), it is not unlikely that he paid out of his own pocket for Librone [4], even if it was meant for use at the cathedral.⁹³

91. Martina Pantarotto, ‘I manoscritti milanesi di Franchino Gaffurio’, *Scripta*, 12 (2019), 169–81. I am grateful to Martina for sharing a pre-print of her article.

92. See Martina Pantarotto, ‘Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri’, in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 49–72 at 68.

93. Gaffurius did not hesitate to spend for books and even for commissioning translations of Greek treatises into Latin, as famously testified by Pantaleone Malegolo: ‘veterum musicorum graeca opera [...] quae omnia eius cura et impensa a diversis interpretibus in latinum sunt conversa’: Alessandro Caretta, Luigi Cremascoli, and Luigi Salamina, *Franchino Gaffurio* (Lodi: Edizioni dell’Archivio storico lodigiano, 1951), 24. See Pantarotto, ‘Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri’.

The precise dating of the recovered note of ownership, moreover, requires a few comments. According to Claudio Sartori and Davide Stefani, in June 1507 Gaffurius in fact was not attending to his ordinary duties at the Duomo: starting in April, he was on a three-month leave at the shrine of Santa Maria del Monte, on the hills above Varese, in order to create a music chapel there and educate its singers.⁹⁴ Once again, however, a partial reading of the (somewhat contradictory) documents has caused confusion about this episode. At first I myself was inclined to date Gaffurius's mission to Varese to 1507, thus coinciding with the dating of Librone [4],⁹⁵ but the discovery of further documents drove me to date it rather to the previous year. Since, in any case, the Varese incident is quite interesting but virtually ignored by scholars, and it might have something to do with the repertory copied in Libroni 3 and [4] (notably the *Missa Montana*: see below), I have gathered the relevant documents and some preliminary information in Appendix 2, as a starting point for future research.

Whether or not the making of Librone [4] was indirectly associated with the mission to Varese, the formula adopted by Gaffurius in the lost note of ownership suffices alone to explain why Librone [4] has left no trace in the Veneranda Fabbrica account books: the book was paid for by the chapel master, not by the vestry board. Considering also the uncertainty regarding Librone 3, it is difficult, again, to reckon with this difference from the Libroni of the early 1490s. Both Librone 3 and Librone [4] are smaller in format than Libroni 1 and 2, Librone [4] being the smallest.⁹⁶ Still, they all belong to the same typology of manuscript: large choir-books with similar mise-en-page, designed and written for performance. A possible distinguishing trait of Librone [4] is the presence of one scribe only, besides

94. Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano', [a] 19–20; Stefani, 'Le vite di Gaffurio', 44.

95. It is worth noting, in this connection, that the luxury manuscript copy of Gaffurius's *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* (written on vellum and beautifully decorated) currently preserved in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. n. 12745) does date from the same period as Librone [4]: it was signed by its copyist, Bernardinus de la Rupere, on Monday 19 April 1507 (see Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri', 63–64). The manuscript, undoubtedly commissioned by Gaffurius, was later re-dedicated to Jean Grolier, Treasurer and Receiver-General of French forces in the Duchy of Milan, but the original dedicatee is unknown: see also Anthony Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 32–33.

96. See the chapter by Pantarotto. Whether it was also the shortest is a matter of debate: it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain how many folios were lost before the 144 partially preserved ones, which surely formed the final part of the manuscript – see the notes by Achille Ratti as reported by Ciceri in *Liber capelle ecclesie maioris: Quarto codice di Gaffurio*, ed. Angelo Ciceri and Luciano Migliavacca, Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 16 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1968), viii. A useful summary of what is known about some lost compositions is in Cristina Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 275–90 at 279–85.

Gaffurius, in the extant folios⁹⁷ – this would accord well with the idea of a book more ‘personally’ connected to Gaffurius than to the Duomo chapel environment.

Was the Fabbrica no longer willing to pay for new musical manuscripts? Or did Gaffurius need Librone [4] for musical activities outside the Duomo – for missions such as the one to Varese, or maybe for performances at the church of San Marcellino, of which he was rector from at least 1494 (if not 1488),⁹⁸ or at other Milanese churches? Obviously, the loss of the initial section (which might have been decorated or bear other distinctive signs), of the upper parts of the extant folios (where attributions and rubrics might have been inscribed), and of any additional paratextual elements (such as an index) further restrict our horizon of enquiry. A fresh reconsideration of the contents does not provide much revealing evidence, either – with three partial exceptions. The first regards the works dedicated to saints, among which we find not only, unsurprisingly, a motet for St Ambrose, but also a motet for St Bassianus of Lodi (the patron saint of Gaffurius’s home town) and one for St Erasmus:⁹⁹ from Gaffurius’s second will of 16 April 1512 we learn that in 1488 he had the main altar of the church of San Marcellino dedicated ‘in titulum sancti Bassiani episcopi et sanctorum martirum Marcelini et Petri atque Erasmi’.¹⁰⁰ In his previous will of 18 November 1510, Gaffurius had arranged for a fresco to be painted in the same church, portraying, on one side, himself kneeling in adoration of the Eucharist with St Ambrose and St Bassianus, and on the other side SS Marcellinus and Peter, and St Erasmus.¹⁰¹ Considering, then, that the early-fourth-century martyrs Marcellinus and Peter shared the same feast day, our motets cover three out of the four feasts of Gaffurius’s favourite saints.¹⁰² The second clue might point again to Varese: Librone 3 includes a

97. We cannot know who copied the missing part, but the fact that the manuscript was repeatedly chosen for being displayed in exhibitions from the late nineteenth century, until the fatal Expo of 1906, may suggest that it was more unified and thus considered aesthetically more appealing: at least this was Sartori’s suggestion in Sartori, ‘Il quarto codice’, 27.

98. Both Caretta, Cremascoli, and Salamina, *Franchino Gaffurio*, 82–83, 97 and Stefani, ‘Le vite di Gaffurio’, 41 report a document from 1494 as the earliest evidence. Gaffurius’s second will of 1512 as published by Davide Daolmi, however, reveals that he had erected a new main altar for that church in 1488 and had it consecrated to four saints of his choice (as I discuss below in the main text): see Davide Daolmi, ‘Iconografia gaffuriana: Con un’appendice sui due testamenti di Gaffurio’, in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 143–211 at 171, 183.

99. See *Ambrosi doctor venerande* (2.p. *Licium placae domini furorem*), [IV.31], <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/6500>>; *Pontifex urbis* (2.p. [...] *Contine supra caput*), [IV.13], <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/6482>>; and *Domine Iesu Christe unigenite*, [IV.61], <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/6530>> respectively.

100. Daolmi, ‘Iconografia gaffuriana’, 183.

101. *Ibid.* 176.

102. Of course the veneration for these saints was not the sole prerogative of Gaffurius in Milan: further research is needed on the connections between the Libroni’s ‘sanctorale’ and contemporary Milanese piety and liturgy.

four-voice *Missa Montana* by Gaffurius;¹⁰³ according to the *Annali*, Librone [4] contained a possibly concordant ‘Messa montana della B. V. M. a 4 voci’.¹⁰⁴ As a matter of fact, the Sanctus of the mass as we read it in Librone 3 includes a Marian trope, as already noted by previous scholars.¹⁰⁵ It is hard to resist the temptation to see a connection between this oddly-titled Marian mass and the shrine of Santa Maria *del Monte*. The third and, for the moment, final clue regards the two laude (one still extant, from the end of the book,¹⁰⁶ one lost at its beginning¹⁰⁷): their presence seems in a certain sense incompatible with the liturgy-related character of the Libroni; we might more easily imagine the performance of laude as associated, again, with such a popular pilgrimage shrine as Santa Maria del Monte (the laude are not Marian, though), or to other locations outside the Duomo. Given, however, the permeability between ‘devotion’ and ‘liturgy’ at the time,¹⁰⁸ and the lack of accurate documentation about devotional practices at the Duomo, this is hardly a definitive argument.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, taken together, these three clues suggest that Librone [4] might have been conceived by Gaffurius as an all-purpose collection for different occasions and circumstances in and even (or perhaps especially) outside the Duomo.

103. With Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus: see [III.17], <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/5823>>. Modern edition in Franchino Gaffurio, *Messe*, ed. Amerigo Bortone, *Archivum musicus metropolitanum Mediolanense*, 1 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1958).

104. *Annali: Appendici*, ii, 168.

105. See the preface of Gaffurio, *Messe*, ed. Bortone, v, and Nolan Ira Gasser, ‘The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study’ (Ph.D. diss. Stanford University, 2001), 15 and 250, n. 56. For the trope ‘Genitori summi filii’, see Gunilla Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges: Poésie dans la messe médiévale. Interprétations et commentaires* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2001), 223–24.

106. See *Ognun driza al ciel el viso*, [IV.93], <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/6562>>.

107. The Christmas lauda *Facciam festa e giulleria*: see *Il Duomo di Milano all’Esposizione internazionale del 1906*, 41.

108. See Filippi, ‘Where Devotion and Liturgy Meet’.

109. The other Libroni too contain pieces that are not so easy to classify: consider, for instance, the whimsical *Benedicamus Crispinel* in Librone 1 ([I.139], <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3916>>). As to the laude, it is perhaps worth mentioning that, according to an ancient tradition, on the vigils and feasts of St John the Baptist and SS Peter and Paul, in June, groups of girls sang what the documents call ‘cantilene’ in the Duomo and around the city in order to collect donations for the Veneranda Fabbrica (see, for instance, *Annali*, ii, 73, document of 1437). The donations ‘ex cantilenis cantatis’ are regularly recorded in the account books (e.g. in *Registri*, 277, fol. 32r, document of 3 July 1487), but this tradition still awaits scholarly exploration. What were, precisely, these ‘cantilene’?

After 1522: expenses for music books under Werrecore

As a sort of appendix to the discussion of documents regarding the making and the dating of the Libroni, I offer here a few notes about similar transactions in the Fabbrica records regarding books of polyphonic music under Gaffurius's successor, the Fleming Hermann Matthias Werrecore (in charge at the Duomo 1522–50; he died after 1574).¹¹⁰ Differently than for the period of Gaffurius's tenure, the documents presented here are not the crop of a systematic archival campaign: I merely verified the documents mentioned in the existing literature,¹¹¹ and I slightly enriched the list, with no pretence at completeness.

According to an *ordinazione capitolare* of 5 January 1523, the new chapel master requested 'several books of vocal polyphony' ('de nonnullis libris a cantu figurato'), because the singers badly needed them ('illis valde indigent'); the deputies acceded to the request:

Having heard master Matthias the Fleming, master of the Duomo chapel of polyphonic singers, who requested from the said deputies that they graciously provide for several books of vocal polyphony for use by the singers of the said chapel, since they badly need them, the said deputies gave order that the Reverend Carlo de Baldo, Taddeo Moroni, and Giovanni Ambrogio Calvi, all ordinaries of the said Duomo as well as members of the board of deputies, act and provide for the requested books as their prudence will judge best, but ensuring the lowest cost possible for the said Fabbrica. (Doc. 42)

In December of same year 1523, Werrecore was reimbursed for five books 'a cantu figurato' he had bought for the chapel: 'Furthermore, on the last day of December [the cost centre] should give L. 20 s. 4 d. – to Master Matthias the Fleming, for the price of five books of vocal polyphony he bought for use by the chapel of the aforesaid Duomo; in credit to the treasurer in this book at fol. 195, L. 20 s. 4' (Doc. 43). Since the previous *ordinazione capitolare* had entrusted the purchase of the books to three ordinaries of the Duomo, this payment may regard a different set of books (see below, Doc. 47, for one such reimbursement to one of the ordinaries from a much later period). The documents of the pastoral visit repeatedly

¹¹⁰. Werrecore apparently belonged to a family already based in Milan: Federico Mompellio, 'La cappella del Duomo da Matthias Hermann di Vercore a Vincenzo Ruffo', in *Storia di Milano*, ix, pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 749–85 at 750. See furthermore Christine Getz, 'The Milanese Cathedral Choir under Hermann Matthias Werrecore, *Maestro di cappella* 1522–1550', *Musica Disciplina*, 46 (1992), 170–222; Marco Brusa, 'Hermann Mathias Werrecoren "Maestro di capella del Domo di Milano" 1522–1550', *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*, 15 (1994), 173–229; Hermann Matthias Werrecore, *Cantum quinque vocum quos motetta vocant ... liber primus* (1559), ed. Christine Suzanne Getz, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 151 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2008).

¹¹¹. See the literature cited in the previous note.

mentioned above, however, report only this expense ‘pro libris de cantu figurato’ for 1523.¹¹² As no music books from before 1550 are extant in the Duomo archive, except for the Libroni, it is not easy to identify the books to which these various transactions refer.

If this purchase (or these purchases) happened at the beginning of Werrecore’s tenure at the Duomo, the next known documents regarding books date to the 1540s. On 13 January 1540 Werrecore bought for the chapel a printed book of five-voice masses (‘unius libri musici stampati pro missis a 5’):¹¹³ ‘Under the cost centre of sundries, nine lire and ten soldi paid to master Matthias as a payment for a printed book of music with five-voice masses, by order of the reverend ordinaries of the Duomo of Milan; in credit to the treasurer, L. 9 s. 10’ (Doc. 44). The next month, on 21 February, Werrecore received another reimbursement, this time for cheaper ‘libri a musicha’ (probably partbooks) he had bought: ‘Under the cost centre of sundries, two lire, three soldi, and six denari paid to master Matthias the Fleming as a payment for music books he bought; in credit to the magnificent treasurer, L. 2 s. 3 d. 6’ (Doc. 45). Three years later, on 1 August 1543, Werrecore was reimbursed for a music book printed, interestingly, ‘in Lyons’ (by Jacques Moderne?): ‘Under the cost centre of the polyphonic chapel, five lire and ten soldi paid to master Matthias Werrecore, chapel master, to buy a music book printed in Lyons, by order of the reverend primicerius; in credit to the magnificent treasurer, L. 5 s. 10’ (Doc. 46).

Another undescribed book of polyphony was bought for the chapel on 20 December in the same year 1543, but this time not directly by Werrecore: ‘Furthermore, on the 20th of the said month L. 17 s. 5 d. – down to the Reverend ordinary Giovanni Andrea Rozio in order to buy a book of polyphony for use by the aforesaid chapel; in credit to the treasurer [in this book at] fol. 474, L. 17 s. 5’ (Doc. 47).¹¹⁴ It is only in 1547 that we find mention not of the purchase of books on the market, but rather of the in-house compilation of a musical manuscript for the chapel:

On 16 April 1547 the aforesaid chapel of polyphonic singers should give L. 24 s. – paid to Mr Matthias Werrecore the Fleming, master of the said chapel, as

112. Indeed it was the annotation in ASDMi, *Visite Pastorali, Metropolitana*, LXXXII, 23 that led me to locate the ledger entry.

113. Getz erroneously read ‘15’ instead of ‘a 5’, which led her to unwarranted speculations about the identity of the ‘15 music books’ (Getz, ‘The Milanese Cathedral Choir’, 200–201).

114. For further documents from 1543 involving Bernardino Calusco, ‘cartario Fabrice’ and publisher, who also in 1543 published a collection of motets with three contributions by Werrecore (*Mutetarum divinitatis liber primus*), see Getz, ‘The Milanese Cathedral Choir’, 201–202. It is not clear whether the payment of L. 10 she found in *Registri*, 404, fol. 143r (and the corresponding entry in *Registri*, 328a, fol. 329v) might have something to do with that operation.

his pay for writing or notating twenty-four songs in the book of Magnificats for use by the said chapel, as it appears from a paper in the possession of the accountant [Giovanni Antonio] Calvasina; in credit to the treasurer [in this book at] fol. 368, L. 24. (Doc. 48)

* * *

In spite of the many questions that this survey leaves unanswered, it is to be hoped that scholars of the Gaffurius Codices will find here firm documentary ground for new research paths. The findings do not revolutionize the chronology of the Libroni, but surely help to consolidate it (for Libroni 1, 2, and [4]) or problematize it (in the case of Librone 3). Future investigations will have to concentrate on the main protagonists of the Libroni enterprise: Franchinus Gaffurius and the Veneranda Fabbrica. As notably suggested by the Varese episode, a more detailed knowledge of the master's life and career (whose last monographic account dates back to 1951) would undoubtedly provide further elements for comprehending the genesis, contents, and destination of the Libroni. A better understanding of the Fabbrica environment in those years, and of its interplay with the Duomo Chapter for questions regarding the cathedral's liturgy and liturgical books, would be helpful, too. Furthermore, targeted archival investigations about some of the shadowy characters in our story (from Pozzobonello and Lampugnano to Caza and Lomazzo) could add valuable pieces of information in order to reconstruct the 'connective tissues' between the Libroni, apparently so isolated, and the web of musical culture, singing practices, and book production in Milan at the turn of the sixteenth century.

APPENDIX 1

Documents

This appendix gathers together in chronological order the main documents from AVFDMi discussed or referenced in the chapter (including those in Appendix 2). Each entry includes the progressive number with which the document is identified throughout the chapter, the document date, its archival location, a brief summary, the full transcription, and, where relevant, indications regarding its publication in earlier literature and the corresponding entries in other documents.

The following bibliographical abbreviations are used:

Annali, ii. = *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, vol. 2 (1412–1480) (Milan: G. Brigola, 1877).

Annali, iii. = *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, vol. 3 (1481–1550) (Milan: G. Brigola, 1880).

BRUSA 1994 = Marco Brusa, 'Hermann Mathias Werrecoren "Maestro di capella del Domo di Milano" 1522–1550', *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*, 15 (1994), 173–229.

CICERI 1952 = Angelo Ciceri, 'Documenti inediti intorno alla vita di Franchino Gaffurio rinvenuti nell'Archivio della Ven. Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano', *Archivio storico lodigiano*, 71 (1952), 27–33.

GETZ 1992 = Christine Getz, 'The Milanese Cathedral Choir under Hermann Matthias Werrecore, Maestro di Cappella 1522–1550', *Musica Disciplina*, 46 (1992), 170–222.

MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999 = Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

MOMPELLIO 1961 = Federico Mompellio, 'La cappella del Duomo da Matthias Hermann di Vercore a Vincenzo Ruffo', in *Storia di Milano*, vol. ix, pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 749–85.

PANTAROTTO 2019 = Martina Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologico-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019), 101–38.

PEDRALLI 2002 = Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato: Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2002).

SARTORI 1952–1953 = Claudio Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano (Nuove notizie biografiche e documenti inediti sulla sua attività di Maestro di Cappella e sulla sua riforma della Cappella del Duomo)', *Universitas Europae*, 1/[a] iv–v: 18–20, [b] viii–ix: 13–16, [c] xi–xii: 17–20 (1952–1953).

Doc. 1. 12 December 1475; *Registri*, 644, fol. 55r. Order for payment to Pietro Antonio da Mandello for a manuscript *ingressarium*: ‘Petro Antonio de Mandelo pro eius solutione scripture et carte libri unius *ingressarii* ad serviendum ad altare sancte Agnetis in ecclesia maiori Mediolani L. octo imperialium videlicet L. viii.’ *Annali*, ii. 287; PEDRALLI 2002, 250.

Doc. 2. 20 July 1484; *Registri*, 661, fol. 30v. Order for payment to Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello for copying a book for singing: ‘Domino presbitero Johannipetro de Putheobonello mutuo super ratione eius causa scripture unius libri a cantu libras tre imperialium videlicet L. iii.’ Corresponding entry in *Liber prestantiarum* = Doc. 3.

Doc. 3. 20 July 1484; *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r. Entry in *Liber prestantiarum* for Pozzobonello for copying a book for singing: ‘Dominus presbiter Johannespetrus de Putheobonello debet dare quos mutuo recepit die xx jullii 1484 a domino Jacobo de Porris thesaurario Fabrice super ratione scripture unius libri a cantu vigore mandati. Scriptum ei thesaurario in credito in libro berretino Dati 1482 in folio cliiii° a tergo L. iii.’ Corresponding order for payment = Doc. 2.

Doc. 4. 4 February 1485; *Registri*, 664, fol. 7v. Order for payment to the paper merchant and stationer Melchion de Squassis: ‘Magistro Melchioni de Squassis cartario Fabrice pro eius solutione certarum rerum per eum datarum prefate Fabrice prout patet lista una infilata in filo diversorum in capitulis vigintiquatuor quorum primo incipit libros duos forme mediocris fo. 150 pro quolibet copertos corio L. 2 s. 10, ultimus incipit item libro uno de forma granda de fo. 50 rigato et coperto de carta s. xviii d. iii imperialium, in summa libras vigintiunam s. quindecim d. quatuor imperialium, ut patet lista una per eum emanata subscripta per Petrum eius filium, infilata in fillo diversorum anni presentis, que res date fuerunt in anno proxime preterito videlicet L. xxi s. xv d. iv.’

Doc. 5. 24 March 1485; *Registri*, 664, fol. 14v. Order for payment to Pozzobonello for copying a book for singing: ‘Domino presbitero Johannipetro de Putheobonello mutuo super ratione mercedis sue causa scripture unius libri a cantu libram unam et soldos decem imperialium videlicet L. i s. x.’ SARTORI 1952–1953, [c] 20; MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 328. Corresponding entry in *Liber prestantiarum* = Doc. 6.

Doc. 6. 24 March 1485; *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r. Entry in *Liber prestantiarum* for Pozzobonello: ‘Item die 24 martii 1485 ut supra in suprascripto libro in fo. cc a tergo L. i s. x.’ Corresponding order for payment = Doc. 5.

Doc. 7. 23 January 1486; *Registri*, 666, fol. 4r. Order for payment to the paper merchant and stationer Nicolao de Squassis: ‘Nicolao de Squassis cartario Fabrice pro eius solutione nonnullarum rerum per eum datarum prefate Fabrice videlicet librorum, vernicis et alliarum rerum per eum datarum prefate Fabrice in anno proxime preterito, ut patet lista una capitulorum vigintiquinque quorum primum incipit pro libram unam vernicis s. x et ultimum finit item libri duo forme magne L. i s. xiii, visa et diligenter examinata per dominos negotiorum gestores prefate Fabrice, in fillata in fillo diversorum anni presentis, in summa libras vigintiduas imperialium, videlicet L. xxii.’

Doc. 8. 9 August 1488; *Registri*, 277, fol. 88r. Ledger entry for Giovanni da Legnano for a printed missal sold to the Fabbrica: 'Item die viiii augusti magistro Johanni de Legnano carthario pro solutione unius missalis ad stampum [sic] per eum dati et venditi Fabrice in mense jullii proxime preteriti pro usu capellani cappelle dotate per spectabilem quondam d. Thomam de Grassis in ecclesia Sancte Marie Secrete Mediolani L. iiiii.' *Annali*, iii. 43; PEDRALLI 2002, 250–51.

Doc. 9. 19 October 1489; *Registri*, 672, fol. 57v. Order for payment to Pozzobonello for copying a book for singing in polyphony: 'Domino presbitero Johanni Petro de Putheobonelo libras quatuor imperialium super ratione mercedis sue scripture unius libri acantu figurati quod per eum perfici debet hinc ad kalendas novembris proxime futuri videlicet L. iiiii° s. imperialium.' SARTORI 1952–1953, [c] 20; MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 328. Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 277, fol. 153r; corresponding entry in *Liber prestantiarum* = Doc. 10.

Doc. 10. 19 October 1489; *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r. Entry in *Liber prestantiarum* for Pozzobonello for copying a book for singing: 'Item die xviii° octobris 1489 a domino Ingesto de Oxiis thesaurario Fabrice super ratione scripture unius libri a cantu. Scriptum ei thesaurario in credito in libro albo Dati 1487 in fo. clii L. iiiii.' Corresponding order for payment = Doc. 9; corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 277, fol. 153r.

Doc. 11. 2 November 1489; *Registri*, 672, fol. 62r. Order for payment to Pozzobonello for the work on a book for singing: 'Domino presbitero Joannipetro de Putheobonelo super ratione operis unius libri a cantu quem ipse scribit prefate Fabrice libram unam et soldos decemocto imperialium videlicet L. i s. xviii.' *Annali*, iii. 51; SARTORI 1952–1953, [c] 20; MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 328; PEDRALLI 2002, 251. Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 277, fol. 157r; corresponding entry in *Liber prestantiarum* = Doc. 12.

Doc. 12. 2 November 1489; *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r. Entry in *Liber prestantiarum* for Pozzobonello: 'Item die ii novembris 1489 a thesaurario suprascripto super ratione ut supra. Scriptum ei thesaurario ut supra in fo. 156 L. i s. xviii.' Corresponding order for payment = Doc. 11; corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 277, fol. 157r.

Doc. 13. 24 November 1489; *Registri*, 672, fol. 64v. Order for payment to Pozzobonello for copying polyphonic motets: 'Domino presbitero Joannipetro de Putheobonello pro parte solutionis scripture mutitorum afiguratorum quaternorum sex papiri forme maioris pro usu prefate Fabrice videlicet pro bischantando in dicta ecclesia libras duas imperialium videlicet L. ii.' SARTORI 1952–1953, [c] 20; MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 328; PEDRALLI 2002, 251. Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 277, fol. 158r; corresponding entry in *Liber prestantiarum* = Doc. 14.

Doc. 14. 24 November 1489; *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r. Entry in *Liber prestantiarum* for Pozzobonello: 'Item die xxiii° novembris 1489 a thesaurario suprascripto ut supra. Scriptus ei thesaurario ut supra in fo. clvii L. ii.' Corresponding order for payment = Doc. 13; corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 277, fol. 158r; *Annali*, iii. 51.

Doc. 15. 4 December 1489; *Registri*, 672, fol. 68r. Order for payment to Antonio da Lampugnano for making initials in a book for polyphonic singing copied by Pozzobonello and for designing several letters engraved onto three plaques to be installed in the Duomo: 'Magistro Antonio de Lampugnano pro eius solutione operum suorum per eum factorum in faciendo nonnullos psalmos in libro acantu figurato scripto per dominum presbiterum Johannem Petrum de Puteobonelo pro usu prefate Fabrice videlicet pro usu bischantorum in prefata maiori ecclesia, et etiam pro eius solutione designationis et scripture nonnullarum litterarum per eum factarum et descriptarum super tres lapides ponendos in opere in dicta ecclesia, et hoc in mense novembris proxime preterito, in summa libras tres et soldos quatuor imperialium. L. iii s. iiiii°.' MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 328. Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 277, fol. 162r (8 December 1489): *Annali*, iii. 52; SARTORI 1952–1953, [c] 20; PEDRALLI 2002, 251.

Doc. 16. 28 May 1490; *Registri*, 673, fol. 24r. Order for payment to Franchinus Gaffurius for several gatherings with musical notation and various other reasons: 'Mandato antedicto det thesaurarius antedictus venerabili domino presbitero Franchino de Gaffuris magistro capelle bischantorum prefate maioris ecclesie super ratione crediti sui quod habet cum prefata Fabrica occasione quaternorum nonnullorum notatorum acantu et alliis diversis causis libras quatuordecim et solidos quatuordecim et d. quatuor imperialium videlicet L. xiii° s. xiii° d. iiiii°.' SARTORI 1952–1953, [c] 20; MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 329; PANTAROTTO 2019, 122, n. 28. Corresponding cash-book entries = Doc. 17 and Doc. 18.

Doc. 17. 29 May 1490; *Registri*, 841, fol. 65r. Cash-book entry for Gaffurius for six ruled gatherings of large-format paper, and for having eight gatherings notated in polyphony and decorated: 'Pro capitulo diversarum expensarum, venerabili domino presbitero Franchino de Gaffuriis magistro capelle biscantorum ecclesie maioris pro restitutione totidem denariorum per eum expensorum in servitiis Fabrice in quaternis sex papiri forme maioris duplicate rigati et in notari faciendo quaternos octo forme maioris cantu figurato et in ipsos quaternos amenari faciendo, ut patet scripto uno per eum subscripto et infillato in filo diversorum anni presentis, et hoc mandato facto sub die xxvii maii, in summa libras quatuordecim s. quatuordecim et denarios iiiii.or, L. xiii° s. xiii° d. iiiii°.' Corresponding entry in the same book = Doc. 18; corresponding order for payment = Doc. 16.

Doc. 18. 29 May 1490; *Registri*, 841, fol. 65r. Cash-book entry for Gaffurius for several gatherings notated and other reasons (see Doc. 17): 'Pro venerabili domino Franchino de Gaffuriis magistro capelle biscantorum Johanniantonio de Landriano thesaurario numeratos ei super ratione eius crediti quod habet cum Fabrica occasione quaternorum nonnullorum notatorum et aliis de causis mandato facto sub die xxviii maii suprascripti libras quatuordecim s. quatuordecim et denarios quatuor imperialium videlicet L. xiii° s. xiii° d. iiiii°.' Corresponding entry in the same book = Doc. 17; corresponding order for payment = Doc. 16.

Doc. 19. 16 July 1490; *Registri*, 841, fol. 90r. Cash-book entry for Pozzobonello for the notation of fifteen gatherings of large-format paper: 'Pro capitulo diversarum expensarum, suprascripto domino presbitero Johannipetro de Puteobonello pro eius mercede notationis quaternorum quindecim papiri forme maioris per eum notatorum in cantu

figurato ad computum de Lb. 1 s. vi et d. viii imperialium pro quolibet quaterno, et hoc pro usu capelle biscantorum ecclesie maioris Mediolani, ut patet scripto uno subscripto per suprascriptum dominum presbiterum Johannempetrum et infillato in filo diversorum mandatorum anni suprascripti, mandato facto sub die xiii julii suprascripti, libras viginti imperialium videlicet L. xx.’

Doc. 20. 16 July 1490; *Registri*, 841, fol. 90r. Cash-book entry regarding wine Pozzobonello had received in 1584–85: ‘Pro presbitero Johannipetro de Puteobonello capitulo vini pro pretio brentarum iiii.or vini per ipsum habiti a Fabrica usque de anno 1484 et 1485 ad computum de Lb. i s. x imperialium pro qualibet brenta, et ut plenius continetur in mandato facto sub die xiii julii suprascripti, in summa libras sex imperialium videlicet L. vi.’

Doc. 21. ?17 July 1490;¹¹⁵ *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r. Entry in *Liber prestantiarum* for Pozzobonello: ‘Debet habere scriptum in debito libro viridi mastro in isto in fo. cc iiiii° pro resto istius debiti ubi factus est debitor in eo libro in fo. cc xxvi L. xii s. viii’. Corresponding cash-book entry = Doc. 22.

Doc. 22. 17 July 1490; *Registri*, 841, fol. 90v. Cash-book entry regarding money Pozzobonello had received according to the *Liber prestantiarum*: ‘Pro domino presbitero Johannepetro [sic] de Puteobonello libro albasio prestantiarum inchoato 1470 pro resto debiti quod habet in eo libro in fo. clxxv libras duodecim et s. octo imperialium videlicet L. xii s. viii.’ Corresponding entry in *Liber prestantiarum* = Doc. 21.

Doc. 23. 20 July 1490; *Registri*, 673, fol. 31v. Order for payment to Pozzobonello, for several gatherings of polyphonic music he had notated: ‘Mandato venerabilium et spectabilium dominorum deputatorum venerabilis Fabrice ecclesie maioris mediolani, det thexaurarius suprascriptus domino presbitero Johannipetro de Puteobonello soldos trigintaduos imperialium super ratione notandi nonnullos quaternos acantu figurato impositione domini Johannisantoni de Glassiate ex dominis magistris et negotiorum gestoribus prefate Fabrice videlicet L. i s. xii.’ Corresponding cash-book entry = Doc. 24.

Doc. 24. 22 July 1490; *Registri*, 841, fol. 92r. Cash-book entry for Pozzobonello, settling the balance for several gatherings of polyphonic music he had notated: ‘Pro domino presbitero Johannipetro de Puteobonello Johanniantonio de Landriano thexaurario numeratos ei super ratione eius crediti quot habet occaxione nottandi certos quaternos a cantu figurato, mandato facto sub die xx julii suprascripti, pro eius resto in summa libram unam et s. duodecim imperialium videlicet L. i s. xii.’ Corresponding order for payment = Doc. 23.

Doc. 25. 27 February 1492; *O.C.* 4, fol. 64r (old 51). Minute of the Fabbrica board meeting about a proposal by Gaffurius regarding a book of polyphonic masses: ‘In solita camera venerabilis Fabrice ecclesie maioris Mediolani facta fuit ibidem propositio per venerabilem

115. The date is conjectural: I assume this entry was written immediately before Doc. 22, when the Fabbrica accountants were settling the balance with Pozzobonello.

dominum presbiterum Franchinum de Gaffuris magistrum capelle biscantorum prefate maioris ecclesie qui pro honore prefate Fabrice et eius devotione quam erga prefatam Fabricam gerit maximam se offert contribuere florenos decem etc. pro fieri fatiando librum unum missarum acantu pro usu prefate Fabrice. / Prefati domini deputati matura inter eos perhabita consultatione deliberarunt et concluderunt dictum librum fieri debere attentis maxime dignis respectibus per ipsum dominum presbiterum Franchinum propositis et adductis.' MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 326.

Doc. 26. 13 April 1492; *Registri*, 677, fol. 66r. Order for payment to Gaffurius for the expenses he will incur for the making of a big book of polyphonic masses: 'Mandato antedicto det thesaurarius antedictus venerabili domino presbitero Franchino de Gaffuris magistro capelle biscantorum prefate maioris ecclesie libras sedecim imperialium super ratione [*crossed out: op*] expensarum per eum fiendarum in perfici faciando librum unum magnum missarum cantandarum figuraliter in dicta capella biscantorum ad laudem et honorem prefate Fabrice iuxta ordinationem in consilio prefate Fabrice facta sub die 27 februarii proxime preteriti videlicet L. xvi.' SARTORI 1952–1953, [c] 20; MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 325; PANTAROTTO 2019, 120. Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 283, fol. 112v (17 April 1492); corresponding cash-book entry = *Registri*, 843, fol. 31v (17 April 1492).

Doc. 27. 16 July 1492; *Registri*, 677, fol. 79v. Order for payment to the paper merchant and stationer Giovanni Pietro da Lomazzo for the binding of a big book of polyphonic masses: 'Mandato venerabilium et spectabilium dominorum deputatorum venerabilis Fabrice ecclesie maioris Mediolani det dominus Hyeronimus de Casate thesaurarius prefate Fabrice Johannipetro de Lomatio cartario libras octo imperialium pro eius solutione ligature libri magni missarum notatarum pro cantoribus biscantantibus in prefata maiori ecclesia videlicet L. viii.' Corresponding cash-book entry = *Registri*, 843, fol. 70v (19 July 1492); corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 283, fol. 136v (19 July 1492).

Doc. 28. 16 July 1492; *Registri*, 677, fol. 79v. Order for payment to Gaffurius, as a final balance for notating the book for singing mentioned in Doc. 27: 'Item mandato ut supra det thesaurarius suprascriptus venerabili domino Franchino de Gaffuris magistro capelle prefatorum biscantorum et musice professori dignissimo libras octo imperialium et hoc pro resto solutionis notandi suprascriptum librum in cantu pro utilitate et honore prefate venerabilis Fabrice, et hoc in executione ordinationis superinde facte.' Corresponding cash-book entry = *Registri*, 843, fol. 71r (19 July 1492); corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 283, fol. 136v (19 July 1492).

Doc. 29. 6 November 1493; *Registri*, 681, fol. 54v. Order for payment to the carpenter Marco Antonio de Galassis for a music stand he made and sold to the Fabbrica: 'Mandato ut supra det thesaurarius suprascriptus magistro Marchoantonio de Galassis fabro et lignamario libras sedecim imperialium pro eius solutione et mercedis sue unius lectorini per eum facti et Fabrice venditi pro biscantoribus Fabrice, videlicet L. xvi.' Corresponding cash-book entry = *Registri*, 844, fol. 79v; corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 283, fol. 289v (15 November 1493).

Doc. 30. 24 November 1505; *O.C.* 5, fol. 61r. Minute of the Fabbrica board meeting: Gaffurius had complained about the erroneous deduction from his salary of 16 lire he had received in 1492 for the making of a book of polyphonic masses; the deputies, having verified that Gaffurius had actually used that money for making the book, decide that the money should be paid back to the chapel master: 'In solita camera consedentes et cetera. / Intellecta querella pluries facta per venerabilem dominum presbiterum Franchinum Gaffurum capelle cantorum prefate maioris ecclesie pro libris sexdecim imperialium sibi retentis per thesaurarium prefate Fabrice super mandato eydem novissime facto pro totidem libris sexdecim imperialium de quibus apparet debitor in libris prefate Fabrice, que sibi numerate fuerunt per dominum Ieronimum Casatum tunc thesaurarium eiusdem Fabrice die xvii aprilis anni 1492 proxime preteriti pro fieri faciendo librum unum magnum notatum missarum cantandarum in prefata ecclesia ut constat libro ipsius anni 1492 albo in foleis cxiii videlicet 113 [= *Registri*, 283, fol. 112v], ordinarunt attenta perfectione presentatione et consignatione libri de quo supra ad effectum predictum ipsum creditorem fieri debere cum scripturis debitis. Mandantque thesaurario pro predictis libris sexdecim nullam retentionem faciat attentis predictis.' SARTORI 1952–1953, [c] 20; MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 323–24; PANTAROTTO 2019, 123.

Doc. 31. 5 December 1505; *Registri*, 857, fol. 145r. Cash-book entry for Gaffurius, as a reimbursement for the erroneous deduction regarding the 1492 book of polyphonic masses: 'Pro capitulo cantorum, venerabili domino presbitero Franchino de Gaffuris capelle cantorum ecclesie maioris prefecto et rectore libras sedecim imperialium, sibi numeratas usque de anno 1492 die 17 aprilis per dominum tunc thesaurarium prefate Fabrice pro fieri faciendo librum unum magnum notatum missarum cantandarum in prefata ecclesia et prout clarius apparet in libro albo rationum eiusdem Fabrice ipsius anni, videlicet in foleis 113 [= *Registri*, 283, fol. 112v], et hoc quoniam liber ipse fuit perfectus, presentatus et consignatus prefatis dominis deputatis ab ipso domino presbitero Franchino: qui quidem postmodum et imediate eidem domino presbitero Franchino uti magistro et rectori ipsius capelle reconsignatus fuit pro usu prefate ecclesie. Mandato facto die 28 novembris proxime preteriti virtute et in executione ordinationis super hoc facte notate sub die 24 mensis novembris proxime preteriti, videlicet L. xvi.' Corresponding ledger entries = Doc. 32 and Doc. 33.

Doc. 32. 5 December 1505; *Registri*, 299, fol. 178v. Ledger entry for Gaffurius, as a reimbursement for the erroneous deduction regarding the 1492 book of polyphonic masses: 'Capitulum biscantorum venerabilis Fabrice debet dare die 5 decembris L. 16 s. – pretio libri unius magni notati missarum et aliorum cantorum cantandarum [sic] in ecclesia maiori pro uxu capelle, empti a domino presbitero Franchino Gaffurro [sic] usque de anno 1492 die 17 aprilis, ei in credito in isto fo. 229 [= Doc. 33], L. xvi.' Corresponding entry in the same book = Doc. 33; corresponding cash-book entry = Doc. 31.

Doc. 33. 5 December 1505; *Registri*, 299, fol. 273r. Ledger entry for Gaffurius, as a reimbursement for the erroneous deduction regarding the 1492 book of polyphonic masses: 'Item [contrascriptus dominus presbiter Franchinus debet habere] die 5 decembris L. 16 s. – numeratas ei usque de anno 1492 die 17 aprilis pro completa solutione cantorum notatorum ab eo in quodam libro magno pro uxu capelle, capitulo biscantorum in debito

in isto folio 135 [= Doc. 32], L. xvi.' MERKLEY–MERKLEY 1999, 324. Corresponding entry in the same book = Doc. 32; corresponding cash-book entry = Doc. 31.

Doc. 34. 5 April 1506; *O.C.* 5, fol. 79v. Minutes of the Fabbrica board meeting regarding Gaffurius's request of a six-month leave in order to go to Santa Maria del Monte; the deputies accord him four months and name the singer Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate as his substitute: 'Audito venerabili domino presbitero Franchino Gaffuro, rectore ecclesie Sancti Marcellini Mediolani, musices professore ac capelle cantorum ecclesie mayoris Mediolani magistro, requirente licentiam se absentandi ab hac civitate Mediolani per menses sex proxime subsecuturos causa proficiscendi ad ecclesiam intemerate Virginis Marie Montis pro instituenda instruendaque cantorum capella, et quod in eius locum deputari potest presbiter Johannesantonius Vergiatus, qui non mediocris discipline in ipsa musices arte est, prefati domini prefeci, qui nedum huic celeberrime ecclesie affecti sunt, sed pro eorum innata devotione religioneque ubicumque Virginis nomen resonet nihil obmitterent [*crossed out: quod ad*] quod ad eius laudem devotionisque augmentum censurum sit, decreverunt requisitioni ipsius presbiteri Franchini annuere et harum itaque serie amplam licentiam concedunt memorato presbitero Franchino quod possit cum eius puero ad predictam ecclesiam Sancte Marie Montis ire et absens per menses quatuor stare ad effectum premissum et quod eisdem nota detur; pro cuius absentie tempore in eius locum et officium deputant presbiterum Johannemantonium Vergiatum, de cuius sufficientia satis edocti fuerunt; ita quod postquam presbiter Franchinus ipse redierit intelligatur esse in eo officio in quo inter presentiarum est.' CICERI 1952, 32; SARTORI 1952–1953, [a] 20.

Doc. 35. 7 April 1506; *Registri*, 695, fol. 135r. Order for payment to Gaffurius for his salary and that of the choirboy Leone da Uglono (Oggiono) for the past trimester: 'Mandato ut supra det ut supra venerabili domino presbitero Franchino de Gaffurris capelle cantorum prefate maioris ecclesie preceptori videlicet pro prefato domino Franchino libras vigintiquatuor imperialium et pro Leone de Uglono eius clerico et cantore in prefata capella libras tres imperialium et hoc pro solutione eorum salariorum debitorum refferendo pro mensibus tribus videlicet januarii, februarii et martii proxime preteriti videlicet pro dicto domino Franchino ad computum librarum octo imperialium pro quolibet mense et pro dicto eius clerico ad computum libre unius imperialium pro singulo mense videlicet in summa L. 27.' Corresponding ledger entries = *Registri*, 300, fol. 188v (Gaffurius) and fol. 141v (Uglono); corresponding cash-book entries = *Registri*, 859, fol. 28r.

Doc. 36. 1 April 1507; *Registri*, 699, fols. 56v–57r. Order for payment to Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate, for his remuneration when substituting for Gaffurius: 'Mandato antedicto det suprascriptus dominus thesaurarius venerabili domino presbitero Johanniantonio de Vergiate, musice professori, libras novem et soldos duodecim imperialium pro remuneratione eius mercedis mensium trium, videlicet aprillis, madii et junii, biscantandi et errudiendi pueros loco et schontro venerabilis domini presbiteri Franchini Gaffurri, etiam musice professori cappelle concinentium prefate Fabrice in prefata ecclesia maiori, qui per ipsos tres menses moram traxit ad cappellam domine Sancte Marie in Monte concinentium instituendam, videlicet L. viiii^o s. xii.' SARTORI 1952–1953, [a] 20.

Corresponding order for payment = Doc. 36; corresponding cash-book entry = *Registri*, 860, fol. 39r (21 April 1507).

Doc. 37. 21 April 1507; *Registri*, 301, fol. 149v. Ledger entry for Vergiate for his remuneration when substituting for Gaffurius: 'Item die 21 aprilis L. 9 s. 12 numeratos ei pro remuneratione sua aprilis, maii et junii preteriti [*added above: anni*] erudiendi pueros loco magistri Franchini Gaffurri qui se absentavit per illos tres menses, thesaurario in credito in isto fol. 171, L. ix s. xii.' Corresponding order for payment = Doc. 36; corresponding cash-book entry = *Registri*, 860, fol. 39r.

Doc. 38. 31 December 1507; *Mandati*, 1, folder 5, no. 78. Loose order for payment indicating that Gaffurio should be debited with the sum corresponding to three monthly salaries for his absence, and that, conversely, Vergiate should be credited for the substitution: 'Per dominum rationatorem venerabilis Fabrice ecclesie maioris Mediolani fiat debitor venerabilis dominus presbiter Franchinus de Gaffuris, musice professor capeleque cantorum rector, de libris vigintiquatuor imperialium, occasione sallarii sui mensium trium, videlicet aprilis, maii et junii proxime preteritorum, ad computum librarum octo imperialium pro quolibet mense, de quibus est creditor in libris prefate Fabrice, et nunc fiat debitor, attento quia in dictis tribus mensibus stetit absens videlicet in partibus domine Sancte Marie ad Montem, videlicet L. xxiii^o

Item mandato ut supra per dominum rationatorem ut supra fiat creditor venerabilis dominus presbiter Johannesantonijs de Vergiate, ex dominis bischantoribus capelle cantorum prefate Fabrice, de libris novem et soldis duodecim imperialium, occasione sallarii sui additi pro mensibus tribus, videlicet aprilis, maii et junii, quibus ipse dominus presbiter Johannesantonijs servivit prefate Fabrice ad regendum capellam cantorum loco suprascripti domini presbiteri Franchini Gaffuri, attento quia in dictis tribus mensibus stetit absens, et hoc ad computum florenorum duorum valoris etc. ultra eius solitum sallarium ex ordinatione in consilio prefate Fabrice facta videlicet L. viiii^o s. xii.' SARTORI 1952–1953, [a] 20. Corresponding ledger entries = Doc. 39 and Doc. 40.

Doc. 39. 31 December 1507; *Registri*, 301, fol. 148v. Ledger entry debiting Gaffurius with the sum corresponding to the salary for the three months of his leave: 'Item die ultimo decembris L. 24 s. – pro salario mensium aprilis maii et junii preteritorum ei retento consumptorum ad dominam Sanctam Mariam de Monte pro sui beneplacito; loco eius se exercuit presbiter Johannes Antonius Vergiatus solutus a venerabili Fabrica, capitulo biscantorum L. 24.' Corresponding entry in the same book = Doc. 40; corresponding cash-book entry = *Registri*, 860, fol. 157r.

Doc. 40. 31 December 1507; *Registri*, 301, fol. 130r. Ledger entry debiting Gaffurius with the sum corresponding to the salary for the three months of his leave: 'Item die suprascripto L. 24 s. – pro nottis datis domino presbitero Franchino Gaffurro ei in debito pro mensibus tribus fol. 148 L. xxiii.' Corresponding entry in the same book = Doc. 39.

Doc. 41. 19 April 1513; *Registri*, 704, fol. 97r. Order for payment for the paper merchant and stationer Nicolao de Squassis: 'Mandato ut supra det ut supra domino Nicholao de Squassis libras octo et soldos decem imperialium occaxione librorum duorum videlicet

libri unius mastri foliorum 300 cohopteri corio seu corduano giallo cum rubrica veneta et zornalis unius foliorum 150 cohopteri ut supra et consignatorum agentibus pro prefata Fabrica ut patet scripto uno subscripto per dominum Bernardinum de Perego, alterum ex negotiorum gestoribus prefate Fabricae, infilato in filo diversorum cancellarie anni presentis de quibus denariis fiat debitor capitulum diversorum expensorum videlicet L. viii s. x.' Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 307, fol. 135v.

Doc. 42. 5 January 1523; *O.C.* 7, fol. 104r. Minute of the board meeting regarding Matthias Werrecore's request of several books of polyphonic music for the chapel; the deputies accede to the request: 'Audito magistro Mathia Flamengo, magistro capelle cantorum cantus figurati prefate maioris ecclesie, requirente a prefatis dominis deputatis ut vellint providere de nonnullis libris a cantu figurato pro usu cantorum prefate capelle quoniam illis valde indigent. / Ideo prefati domini deputati ordinaverunt et ordinant quia reverendi domini Carolus de Baldo, Thadeus Moronous et Johannes Ambrosius Calvus, omnes ex dominis ordinariis prefate maioris ecclesie et ex prefatis dominis deputatis, faciant et provideant circa requisitos libros prout eorum prudentie melius videbitur, inspecta tamen minori impensa prefate Fabricae.' *Annali*, iii. 225; *MOMPELLIO* 1961, 753; *GETZ* 1992, 200; *BRUSA* 1994, 182.

Doc. 43. 31 December 1523; *Registri*, 317, fol. 209r. Ledger entry for Werrecore, as a reimbursement for five books of polyphonic music he had bought for the chapel: 'Item debet dare die ultimo decembris L. 20 s. 4 d. – magistro Mathie Flamengo occasione pretii librorum quinque a cantu figurato per eum empti pro usu capelle prefate maioris ecclesie; thesaurario in credito in isto fol. 195, L. xx s. iiiii.'

Doc. 44. 13 January 1540; *Registri*, 403, fol. 46r. Cash-book entry for Werrecore, as a reimbursement for a printed book with five-voice masses: 'Pro capitulo diversarum expensarum libras novem et soldos decem imperialium numeratos magistro Mathiae pro solutione unius libri musici stampati pro missis a 5 de comisione reverendorum dominorum ordinariorum ecclesie maioris Mediolani, magnifico thesaurario in credito L. viiii s. x.' *GETZ* 1992, 200. Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 327, fol. 190v (14 January 1540).

Doc. 45. 21 February 1540; *Registri*, 403, fol. 51r. Cash-book entry for Werrecore, as a reimbursement for some music books: 'Pro capitulo diversarum expensarum libras duas soldos tres et denarios sex imperialium numeratos magistro Mathiae flamengo pro solutione librorum a musicha emptorum, magnifico thesaurario in credito L. ii s. iii d. vi.' *GETZ* 1992, 200. Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 327, fol. 190v.

Doc. 46. 1 August 1543; *Registri*, 404, fol. 138v. Cash-book entry for Werrecore, as a reimbursement for a music book printed in Lyons: 'Pro capella biscantorum libras quinque et soldos decem imperialium numeratos magistro Mathie Verrecoren magistro capelle pro emendo unum librum musice stamparum Lugduni et de comisione reverendi domini primicerii, magnifico domino thesaurario in credito, L. v s. x.' *GETZ* 1992, 202. Corresponding ledger entry = *Registri*, 328a, fol. 454v; *BRUSA* 1994, 182.

Doc. 47. 20 December 1543; *Registri*, 328a, fol. 455v. Ledger entry for Giovanni Andrea Rozio, for him to buy a book of polyphony: 'Item die 20 suprascripti lb. 17 s. 5 d. – numeratos reverendo domino Joanni Andree Rozio ordinario pro emendo librum unum figuratum pro usu prefate capelle, thesaurario in credito fol. 474, L. xvii s. v.' BRUSA 1994, 182.

Doc. 48. 16 April 1547; *Registri*, 330a, fol. 208 [207v]. Ledger entry for Werrecore, as his pay for writing twenty-four songs in a book of Magnificats: 'Capella biscantorum antedicta debet dare die 16 aprilis 1547 Lb. 24 s. – numeratas domino Mathie Verecoren flamengo magistro dicte capelle pro eius mercede scribendi seu notandi cantos n° 24 in libro magnificat pro usu dicte capelle ut patet scripto penes Calvasinam rationatorem, thesaurario in credito fol. 368, L. xxiii.' MOMPPELLIO 1961, 756; GETZ 1992, 204; BRUSA 1994, 182.

APPENDIX 2

Gaffurius's Mission to Santa Maria del Monte in Varese

In the *Ordinazioni capitolari* of 5 April 1506 we read that Gaffurius had requested a six-month leave in order to go to the shrine of Santa Maria del Monte, on the hills above Varese, to create a music chapel there and educate its singers ('pro instituenda instruendaque cantorum capella').¹¹⁶ On the same day the Fabbrica deputies accorded him, however, only four months, and named the singer Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate as his substitute:

Having listened to the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, rector of the Church of San Marcellino in Milan, music professor, and master of the chapel of the Duomo singers, who asked for permission to leave this city of Milan for the next six months, in order to go to the Church of Santa Maria del Monte and institute and instruct a chapel of singers, and [explained] that in his place it is possible to appoint Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate, whose competence in the same art of music is not common, the aforesaid deputies – who are by no means connected to that most renowned church, but for their innate religious devotion do not wish to omit anything that might be judged apt to praise the Virgin and increase the devotion towards her, wherever her name resounds – decided to accede to the priest Franchinus's request and concede him ample permission to go to the aforesaid Church of Santa Maria del Monte with his *puer*,¹¹⁷ and remain absent for four months to the effect above stated, and that they should be sanctioned [by the 'puntatore']; for the time of his absence, they appoint in his place and duty the priest Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate, of whose fitness they were satisfactorily informed, provided that once priest Franchinus comes back, he will be reinstated in the same position he has at present. (Doc. 34)

The phrase 'nota detur' indicates that Gaffurius would be fined for his absence. No entry, however, is to be found in the account books for 1506 about that, neither under Gaffurius nor under Vergiate (who of course should have received a rise in salary). Inexplainably, it was only between April and December of the following year 1507 that the account books recorded the rise to Vergiate and the fine to Gaffurius for the months of his leave (which, in the end, were only three, from April to June). This has caused some

116. Angelo Ciceri, 'Documenti inediti intorno alla vita di Franchino Gaffurio rinvenuti nell'Archivio della Ven. Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano', *Archivio storico lodigiano* 71 (1952), 27–33 at 32 reports the entry as undated and attributes it to December 1506. The date '1506 die Jovis quinto mensis aprilis', however, is legible with the utmost clarity in the manuscript.

117. The term *puer* might be translated as 'servant', but the minute specifics that both he and Gaffurius ('eisdem') would have to be sanctioned by the 'puntatore' ('nota detur'): this seems to indicate that the *puer* too was on the roll of the Fabbrica as a choirboy. Based on documents discussed below, I identify him as Leone da Uglono (Oggiono).

confusion in earlier literature: paradoxically, while Angelo Ciceri, archivist of the Duomo from 1949 to 1972, who published only the *ordinazione capitolare*, implicitly dated the mission to 1506,¹¹⁸ Sartori, who also knew some of the 1507 documents, spoke of two distinct missions to Varese in 1506 and 1507; Davide Stefani, Gaffurius's most recent biographer, followed Sartori.¹¹⁹

Before examining the 1507 documents, however, I should mention a revealing anomaly in the April 1506 accounts. The Duomo singers were normally paid at irregular intervals, mostly with cumulative payments corresponding to several monthly salaries. In April 1506 no singer received a payment, except for Gaffurius and the choirboy Leone da Uglono (modern Oggiono), in an unusual joint transaction, recorded on 7 April:

By the same order, the aforesaid treasurer should give to the venerable Franchinus Gaffurius, preceptor of the chapel of singers of the Duomo, viz. for the aforesaid d. Franchinus twenty-four lire and for Leone da Uglono, his pupil and singer in the same chapel, three lire, and this as a payment of their salaries for three months, that is the last January, February, and March, viz. at a rate of eight lire a month for the said d. Franchinus and of one lira a month for the aforesaid pupil, viz. in sum L. 27. (Doc. 35)

Therefore, it seems likely that Gaffurius obtained his leave on 5 April, was able to draw his salary (and that of his pupil Leone da Uglono) for the past trimester two days later, and then left for Varese with the choirboy.

Only on 1 April 1507 was an order for payment issued to Vergiate, regarding his substitution:

By the aforesaid order, the aforesaid treasurer must give to the venerable priest Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate, music professor, nine lire and twelve soldi as remuneration for singing in polyphony and instructing the choirboys for three months, viz. April, May, and June, in substitution for the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, music professor as well in the chapel of the singers of the aforesaid Fabbrica in the aforesaid Duomo, who has taken leave for the same three months in order to institute a chapel of singers at Santa Maria del Monte, viz. L. 9 s. 12. (Doc. 36)

118. Ciceri, 'Documenti inediti', 32.

119. Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano', [a] 19–20; Stefani, 'Le vite di Gaffurio', 44. It must be said that even the sixteenth-century diocesan officials who examined the Fabbrica account books and annotated the expenses made for the chapel (see above in the main text) were deceived by the anomalous timing of these transactions. In the already mentioned MS ASDMi, *Visite Pastorali, Metropolitana*, LXXXII, 23 Gaffurius's leave and Vergiate's substitution are recorded under 1507 (with reference to the ledger *Registri*, 301): 'Hoc anno in absentia prefeci capelle instruxit pueros in cantu figurato unus ex cantoribus, cui soluta fuit merces ablata predicto prefeco' ('In this year, in the absence of the chapel master, one of the singers taught polyphonic singing to the choirboys, and the latter was paid the salary subtracted from the said chapel master' – this annotation is not entirely accurate, though, because the rise accorded to Vergiate was only a fraction of Gaffurius's full salary for the three months).

The retouched wording of the corresponding ledger entry further clarifies that the reference is to the previous year ('preteriti anni'):

Furthermore on 21 April L. 9 s. 12 [to Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate] paid to him for his remuneration of April, May, and June of the last year, for teaching the choirboys substituting for master Franchinus Gaffurius, who took a leave for those three months; in credit to the treasurer in this book at fol. 171, L. 9 s. 12. (Doc. 37)

A loose order for payment from the end of December 1507 attests that Gaffurio should be debited with the sum corresponding to three monthly payments for his absence, and that conversely Vergiate should be credited with L. 9 s. 12 for the substitution:¹²⁰

The bookkeeper of the Veneranda Fabbrica of Milan's Duomo should debit the venerable priest Franchinus Gaffurius, music professor and rector of the singers' chapel, with twenty-four lire, corresponding to his salary for three months, viz. the last April, May, and June, at a rate of eight lire for each month, with which he is credited in the books of the aforesaid Fabbrica, but now must be debited, considering that in the said three months he was absent and resided at Santa Maria del Monte, viz. L. 24.

Furthermore, by the same order, the above bookkeeper must credit the venerable priest Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate, from the polyphonic singers of the chapel of the aforesaid Fabbrica, with nine lire and twelve soldi, as a supplement to his salary for three months, viz. April, May, and June, during which the same priest Giovanni Antonio served the aforesaid Fabbrica by guiding the singers' chapel as a substitute for the aforesaid priest Franchinus Gaffurius, considering that in the said three months the latter was absent, and this at a rate of two florins in addition to his usual salary, according to the decision taken in the aforesaid Fabbrica board meeting, viz. L. 9 s. 12. (Doc. 38)

On the same day there are corresponding entries in the cash book (*Registri*, 860, fol. 157r, whose wording is almost identical to that of the order for payment) and in the ledger: 'Furthermore, on the last day of December L. 24 s. – retained [from Gaffurius] for the salary of the last months of April, May, and June he spent at Santa Maria del Monte according to his own wish (the priest Giovanni Antonio da Vergiate acted in his place, paid by the Veneranda Fabbrica under the cost centre of the polyphonic singers), L. 24' (Doc. 39).

Another entry in the ledger book of 31 December 1507 records the fine given to Gaffurius with a different wording: 'Furthermore, on the same day, L. 24 s. – for the fines given to the priest Franchinus Gaffurius, in debit to him for three months [in this book at] fol. 148, L. 24' (Doc. 40).

We can therefore take for certain that Gaffurius's mission to Santa Maria del Monte happened in April–June 1506 for a duration of just three months. But what else do we know about this curious episode? Apart from the laconic mentions in the literature about Gaffurius quoted above, his trip to Varese has been completely disregarded by recent

120. In his partial transcription of the document, Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano', [a] 20 gives the erroneous date 3 December.

scholars, and nothing is known about the project of constituting a music chapel at Santa Maria del Monte, nor about its fate after Gaffurius went back to Milan and resumed his duties at the Duomo. We may wonder, in particular, who sponsored this operation, covering the expenses for Gaffurius's travel, board and lodging, and fee (keeping in mind that, as said, he had to renounce his salary at the Duomo, and surely did not work for free). The *ordinazione capitolare* of April 1506 is, again, curiously reticent: the deputies recorded in the minutes their affection and devotion towards the shrine, but did not cite or allude to any patron or institution. A comparable case from June 1507, for instance, looks more straightforward: it was the powerful 'Cardinal Roano' (Georges I d'Amboise) who asked the deputies to give permission to three stonecutters to go to Genoa in order to work for him on an unspecified project; the deputies kindly acceded to the request.¹²¹ Similarly, when Duomo stonecutters were to work in the Milanese Church of San Nazaro under the patronage of General Gian Giacomo Trivulzio in 1517 and 1518, his name was duly recorded in the corresponding *Ordinazioni capitolari*.¹²²

The shrine of Santa Maria del Monte, attached to a female monastery, had constantly enjoyed the patronage of the dukes of Milan (first the Viscontis, then the Sforzas, who notably sponsored the reconstruction of the shrine in 1472 and the foundation of the monastery in 1474).¹²³ Galeazzo Maria, Ludovico, and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, among others, had left many tangible signs of their devotion and had themselves portrayed in frescoes and reliefs (now no longer extant). A remarkable *paliotto* (frontal) donated by Ludovico and his wife Beatrice d'Este is currently preserved at the adjacent Museo Baroffio, together with another one inspired by Leonardo's *Vergine delle rocce*:¹²⁴ the sheer quality of these extraordinary artefacts suffices to give an idea of the shrine's unique role in the spiritual geography of the Milanese rulers.¹²⁵ Another notable supporter of Santa Maria del Monte was bishop Fabrizio Marliani (ca. 1440–1508), who consecrated the main church in 1500 and donated precious liturgical books and prayer books to the monastery.¹²⁶ After Ludovico il Moro's fall in 1499–1500, the French occupiers and their local partners followed in the footsteps of the Sforzas: in 1505 King Louis XII interceded with Pope Julius II in order to solve an administrative quarrel regarding the monastery *cum* shrine (see below), praising

121. O.C. 5, fol. 122r (6 June 1507); *Annali*, iii. 138.

122. Marino Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, la Madonna di Lonigo e la Trivulziana a San Nazaro di Milano', in Sergio Marinelli (ed.), *Aldebaran III: Storia dell'arte* (Verona: Scripta, 2015), 57–86 at 70. For similar examples regarding stonecutters requested by the Duke, see *Annali*, iii. 56.

123. Carlo Alberto Lotti, *Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese: Il monte sacro Olona e il Sacro Monte del Rosario* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2000); Raffaella Ganna, 'La fabbrica sforzesca di Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese: Revisione critica e fatti inediti', in Marco Bascapè and Francesca Tasso (eds.), *Opere insigni, e per la divotione e per il lavoro: Tre sculture lignee del Maestro di Trognano al Castello Sforzesco. Atti della giornata di studio, Milano, Castello Sforzesco, 17 marzo 2005* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2006), 37–53.

124. Museo Baroffio e del Santuario del Sacro Monte sopra Varese. See the reports by Laura Marazzi at <<http://www.museobaroffio.it/focus/paliotto-con-gli-stemmi-sforza-ed-este-76.html>> and <<http://www.museobaroffio.it/focus/paliotto-leonardesco-64.html>> respectively.

125. For a broader discussion of 'Pietas Sforzesca', see Filippi, 'Where Devotion and Liturgy Meet'.

126. The most famous of which is the Ambrosian *ingressarium* decorated by Cristoforo de Predis and currently preserved at the Museo Baroffio (Inv. 1000), <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=171207>.

it and declaring his ‘great devotion’ for the place of so many miracles;¹²⁷ in 1518 Gian Giacomo Trivulzio sponsored a new portico;¹²⁸ and in 1532, during the last Sforza restoration, Francesco II funded the construction of a new door decorated with his coat of arms (the so-called Porta Sforzesca).¹²⁹ Three chantries initiated by the Viscontis were successively maintained by the Sforzas and by the French occupiers.¹³⁰

The description of the artistic and spiritual splendours of the religious complex – which in the seventeenth century was further enriched with a Pilgrims’ Trail and fourteen chapels dedicated to the mysteries of the Rosary, thus turning into probably the most iconic among the Alpine Sacri Monti (Sacred Mountains)¹³¹ – could go on for pages. To return to our main thread, however, it is important to stress that the 1506 project must have been the result of some ambitious and well-funded initiative: it involved (1) a pilgrimage shrine of primary importance, also in terms of dynastic and political value, (2) Milan’s leading expert for polyphony, and (3) a non-negligible investment (covering not only Gaffurius’s reimbursement and fee, but also the salary for the singers and almost inevitably some expenses for copying music). The exceptionality of the initiative becomes all the more apparent if we consider that at this date there is still no documentary evidence, to my knowledge, regarding the existence of a polyphonic chapel (or the regular performance of composed polyphony) in any church in Milan and the surrounding area, except for the Duomo – and possibly what remained of the Ducal Chapel.¹³²

The existing literature on Santa Maria del Monte is focused on its multilayered architecture, its artistic heritage, and its remarkable role in the collective devotion of early modern Lombardy. No one seems to have investigated the musical practices connected with the shrine: the only relevant information regards the installation of an organ in 1530, built by the renowned Antegnati firm,¹³³ and the fact that in 1575 the nuns declared that they did not sing the office in the monastery, but only recited it, because it was already sung by the chaplains in the main church.¹³⁴

Acceding to the nuns’ request of 1500, Pope Alexander VI had granted them the administrative union between the monastery and the archpriesthood of the shrine in 1502;¹³⁵ according to the bulla *Ex superne maiestatis providentia*, the archpriest was to be assisted

127. Romite dell’ordine di Sant’Ambrogio ad Nemus (eds.), *Il monastero di Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese*, La storia di Varese, 4.2 (Gavirate: Nicolini, 2006), 283 (from ASMi, Archivio generale del fondo di religione, 3850).

128. Ganna, ‘La fabbrica sforzesca di Santa Maria del Monte’, 48.

129. Lotti, *Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese*, 119.

130. Romite dell’ordine di Sant’Ambrogio ad Nemus (eds.), *Il monastero di Santa Maria del Monte*, 99.

131. See <<https://www.sacrimonti.org/en/>>.

132. Whose situation in the years of the French occupation is still shrouded in obscurity: see Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 405; Christine Getz, ‘The Sforza Restoration and the Founding of the Ducal Chapels at Santa Maria della Scala in Milan and Sant’Ambrogio in Vigevano’, *Early Music History*, 17 (1998), 109–59 at 111–12.

133. See Oscar Mischiati (ed.), *Gli Antegnati: Studi e documenti su una stirpe di organari brecciani del Rinascimento* (Bologna: Patron, 1995), 367.

134. Romite dell’ordine di Sant’Ambrogio ad Nemus (eds.), *Il monastero di Santa Maria del Monte*, 56, from ASDMi, Visite Pastorali, Varese, CIII, 1.

135. The nuns belonged to the independent order of the Romite di Sant’Ambrogio ad Nemus, following the Augustinian rule.

by four resident chaplains and a sexton, and should guarantee the celebration of the daily Masses and offices, some of which were sung.¹³⁶ Various ecclesiastics, however, appealed against the papal decision, and Gaffurius's visit apparently fell within a protracted period of administrative and financial uncertainty (another bull by the new Pope Julius II was issued on 15 April 1507 in order to settle the controversy, but de facto the affair dragged on for years). Only some of the extant archival documents regarding the religious complex are accessible at the State Archive of Milan and at the historical archive of the Diocese, whereas the archive of the monastery is normally not open to external visitors.¹³⁷ Preliminary research reveals only that music was cultivated by the shrine's chaplains in the period of Carlo Borromeo and beyond, although apparently on a personal basis and without mention of a formal chapel.¹³⁸

In 1508 Gaffurius published the *Angelicum ac divinum opus musice*, a didactic abridgement in Italian of materials from his *Practica musice*; right at the beginning, he includes religious women among the potential addressees of the textbook. One may wonder whether this has anything to do with the mission to Varese. I tend, however, to exclude that it was a nuns' chapel that Gaffurius was supposed to form, as there is no evidence for musical activities within the convent in the entire early modern period (quite the contrary, as in the 1575 document mentioned above). It was only in the twentieth century, at the request of the archbishop of Milan Cardinal Alfredo Ildefonso Schuster, that the convent became a centre for the cultivation of Ambrosian chant. For what is worth, there is no trace of *voci pari* settings in Libroni 3 and [4].

136. Romite dell'ordine di Sant'Ambrogio ad Nemus (eds.), *Il monastero di Santa Maria del Monte*, 54–56.

137. Let alone during the 2020 pandemic, during which most of this chapter was written. For the other documents, see ASMi, Archivio generale del Fondo di religione, 3850–3889 and Pergamene per fondi, 131–139; and ASDMi, Visite Pastorali, Varese, including various pieces regarding sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pastoral visitations – on which see Ambrogio Palestra, *Visite pastorali di Milano (1423–1859)* (Rome: Multigrafica editrice, 1971).

138. For instance, a document from 1567 indicates that one of the chaplains played the organ and possessed various music books (ASDMi, Visite Pastorali, Varese, LXXI, 1); a later document mentions a 'liber 2.s missarum Christophori Moralis in cantu figurato' and another 'liber missarum formae grandioris in cantu figurato manu scriptus' (ibid. 3).

‘SCRIPSI ET NOTAVI’: SCRIBES, NOTATORS,
AND CALLIGRAPHERS IN THE WORKSHOP
OF THE GAFFURIUS CODICES

MARTINA PANTAROTTO

The four musical manuscripts known as Gaffurius Codices and preserved among the Libroni della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano¹ were all prepared under Franchinus Gaffurius during his tenure as chapel master, but differ quite significantly in appearance and contents: a study of their materiality, therefore, is a necessary prerequisite for building any hypothesis regarding their making and their chronology. Such a study has allowed us to cast new light on Gaffurius’s working habits and on various aspects of his own musical production, as well as on his cultural network.² A painstaking codicological and palaeographical examination of the four monumental manuscripts must necessarily address many elements, from the bindings, pastedowns, and flyleaves to the folios and gatherings with their different paper types, watermarks, and layouts, and to the verbal and musical texts with their paratexts and decorations. As we shall see, Gaffurius worked with a team of eleven scribes. On the one hand, his agency as *magister scriptorii* must be put

1. I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano: to its Board of Directors for endorsing the Polifonia Sforzesca research project, and to the staff of the Archive, notably the chief archivist Maddalena Peschiera, for providing her expert assistance during every phase of our work, with unending patience.

2. I have been working on the Gaffurius Codices for a few years now, in collaboration with Agnese Pavanello’s team at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, first during the project *Motet Cycles (c.1470–c.1510): Compositional Design, Performance and Cultural Context (2014–2017)*, then within the project *Polifonia Sforzesca: The Motet Cycles in the Milanese Libroni between Liturgy, Devotion, and Ducal Patronage (2018–2020)*. Preliminary results were presented at the study day ‘Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca’ (Università degli Studi di Milano, 14 October 2016) and subsequently published in Martina Pantarotto, ‘Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologico-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo’, in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019), 103–38. A preliminary version of this chapter was read at the 47th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Basel (July 2019), under the title ‘Notes, Texts, and Decoration: Gaffurius and His Team at Work on the Libroni’.

into relation with his activity as theorist, teacher, and collector,³ and then compared with the contemporary production of literary and musical manuscripts in Milan and neighbouring areas.⁴ On the other, the palaeographical investigation of the different hands, taking advantage of recent research on the production of manuscripts in the Milanese area at the turn of the sixteenth century, offers new insights on the cultural links between the Duomo environment and the Sforza court,⁵ on the roles of Ludovico il Moro and Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, as well as on the interconnection and intermingling of Italian, French, and northern European traditions happening in Milanese cultural powerhouses, in which religious and secular, Latin and vernacular texts were produced and circulated.

Of the four original volumes, only three (Libroni 1–3) are currently accessible.⁶ The fourth is fragmentarily preserved in a series of boxes (the so-called Cassette Ratti, nos. 34–43) after a fire seriously damaged it during the Esposizione internazionale held in Milan in 1906.⁷ After successive restorations, the extant fragments were photographed in the 1950s and published in 1968.⁸ Since they are now extremely fragile and hardly legible, owing to the combustion and the reaction of the chemicals applied during the restoration, the Polifonia Sforzesca Research Project digitized the 1950s photographs and made them available online together with new digitizations of the other three manuscripts.⁹ The palaeographical analysis of the fourth codex was, therefore, conducted on the digitized images, whereas the codicological analysis was necessarily limited to an educated guess. I have also taken

3. I have endeavoured to reconstruct Gaffurius's library: see Martina Pantarotto, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio: I manoscritti laudensi', *Scripta*, 5 (2012), 111–17; Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri', in Davide Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio* (Lucca: LIM, 2017), 49–72; and Pantarotto, 'I manoscritti milanesi di Franchino Gaffurio', *Scripta*, 12 (2019), 169–81.

4. See Massimo Zaggia, 'Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano negli anni di Franchino Gaffurio (1484–1522)', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 3–51.

5. See Martina Pantarotto, 'Copisti a Milano tra la fine del Quattrocento e l'inizio del Cinquecento: Prime ricerche', *Scripta*, 13 (2020), 123–140.

6. Libroni 1, 2, and 3 bear, imprinted in gold at the base of the spine, their *olim* shelfmarks, 2269, 2268, and 2267 respectively, with which they are often identified in previous studies.

7. See Maddalena Peschiera, 'Un "pratico" in soccorso della Veneranda Fabbrica: Achille Ratti e il restauro dei documenti bruciati nell'Esposizione internazionale del 1906', in Franco Cajani (ed.), *I quaderni della Brianza*, 40/183: *Pio XI e il suo tempo: atti del convegno, Desio, 6 febbraio 2016* (2017), 275–98.

8. *Liber capelle ecclesie maioris: Quarto codice di Gaffurio*, ed. Angelo Ciceri and Luciano Migliavacca, Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 16 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1968).

9. See *Gaffurius Codices Online (GCO)*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/>>, especially <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/6574>>, accessed 15 October 2020. For previous facsimile editions of Libroni 1–3, see volumes 12a–c, edited by Howard Mayer Brown, in the series *Renaissance Music in Facsimile* (New York; London: Garland, 1987).

into consideration two new folios, in all likelihood formerly belonging to Librone 3, that recently emerged from the archive and are so far unknown to scholars.

My discussion will proceed book by book. For each Librone, I will examine the material data, the contributions of the different hands (detailing the characteristic elements of their textual and musical script, the *mise-en-page*, and the minor decoration), the major decoration, and the index (if present).¹⁰ The scribes will be identified by a series of alphabetical letters running continuously across the entire corpus (from Scribe A to Scribe K), except for Gaffurius (indicated with Gaff).¹¹ A final paragraph will reconstruct the construction of each manuscript step by step, highlighting Gaffurius's interventions and reframing the data in order to elucidate the correct succession of the copying and editing layers identified. Given the ample interconnections between the sections of each Librone and between the various Libroni, this way of proceeding, aimed at presenting the reader with an analysis of the data as accurate and transparent as possible, will inevitably require some flash-forwards in the narrative and frequent cross-references.

Before starting our survey, a few general remarks are in order. Gaffurius's interventions, scattered among the four Libroni, range from copying entire gatherings to adding corrections, revisions, supplements, and completions, and to inserting paratextual apparatuses (titles, attributions, foliation, and, at least for Libroni 1–3, partial indexes). His team of scribes was not homogeneous, neither for their education or their graphic competence, nor for the extent of each scribe's contribution, for his role, and for his relationship with Gaffurius, the *magister scriptorii* who supervised the whole enterprise. Some scribes are responsible for extensive sections and are present in two or even three Libroni (Scribe A in Libroni 1–3, Scribe B in Libroni 1 and 2, and Scribe J in Libroni 3 and 4), whereas others' contributions are brief and isolated. Some of them follow the tradition of European liturgical gothic scripts, others reveal a plainly Italian education.¹² Some hands are more formal, others more cursive. At least one scribe has been traced in other manuscripts. Besides the general supervision of Gaffurius and the recurrence of

10. See also the detailed records in *GCO-Inventory*.

11. See Appendix 3 for a concordance between the scribes as listed by Knud Jeppesen and the identifying letters used in the present work, together with specimens of the scribes' musical and textual scripts. See Knud Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28.

12. The panorama of gothic scripts (or *litterae textuales*) seems now less homogeneous than scholars used to think: see Stefano Zamponi, 'Aspetti della tradizione gotica nella *littera antiqua*', in Robert Black, Jill Kraye, and Laura Nuvoloni (eds.), *Palaeography, Manuscript Illumination and Humanism in Renaissance Italy: Studies in Memory of A. C. de la Mare* (London: The Warburg Institute, 2016), 105–25.

some hands in the various Libroni, it is the musical repertory itself¹³ that establishes numerous relationships both within and without the corpus: it forms the object of other contributions in this book.¹⁴ Normally, in the Libroni each scribe can be assumed to be responsible both for the music and for the text (and sometimes for the decoration as well).¹⁵ A systematic survey reveals that script changes affect both text and music, although they were added as separate layers (which explains the occasional difference between the respective inks on the same page). The few exceptions are those folios in which the scribe left the text under the music incomplete, or completely missing, and Gaffurius himself added it.

1. Librone 1 (*olim* MS 2269)

1.1. *Material and codicological description*

Paper manuscript; fols. III (modern flyleaves), 189, III' (modern flyleaves). During the 2019 restoration (see below), two paper folders have been inserted after flyleaf III and before flyleaf I' respectively, in order to house the original parchment pastedowns of the front and back cover, detached during a previous restoration. The manuscript consists of 189 folios; the foliation, written by Gaffurius himself on the upper right margin of each recto in Arabic numbers (1–188), skips the first folio; a modern hand has marked the latter in pencil 'ira' on the upper right corner of the recto and '2va', a few centimetres lower in the upper left margin on the verso. The format is 'in plano': 645 × 456 mm; all gatherings have reinforcing strips, since the bifolia were obtained by pasting together two large-format leaves.¹⁶ The gatherings are as follows: 1–13 (8), 14 (6), 15 (8), 16 (7), 18–24 (8). They are mostly regular quaternions, with the exception of no. 14 (fols. 104–9), a ternion, and no. 16 (fols. 118–24), a quaternion in which the first leaf of the internal bifolium is missing (between fols. 120 and 121)¹⁷ — I shall come back to them later. The paper shows no watermark but is of two types: one thinner, smoother, and slightly bigger (which underwent substantial trimming on the upper margin), the other thicker and rougher. The first paper type is used in gatherings 1 and 5–15, the second one in

13. For an annotated catalogue of the Libroni, see Cristina Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389; see also Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', *ibid.* 275–90, and *GCO-Catalogue*.

14. See the chapters by Cassia and Pavanello.

15. Appendix 4 presents a comparative table of the musical scripts in the Libroni, with samples of clefs and other signs.

16. This is the meaning of the phrase 'forme maioris duplicate' used in an archival document of May 1490 concerning, in all likelihood, Librone 1: see the chapter 'The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices' by Filippi in the present volume.

17. See Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 16.

gatherings 2–4 and 16–24. Corresponding to the different paper type is a different preparation of the page and writing block (see Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1. RASTRA AND PRICKING IN LIBRONE 1
Gatherings with the thinner and larger paper are in grey.

GATHERING(S)	FOLS.	SCRIBE	NO. OF STAVES	RASTRUM	PRICK-HOLES	REMARKS
1	1a–7	Gaffurius	12	double, 28 mm	6, round	
2	8–15	A	11	26 mm	not visible	fol. 14r: double rastrum ¹⁸
3	16–23	A	11	single, 26	only on fols. 18–21: 10	fols. 18–21: no indentation, oblong
4	24–31	A	11	double, 26	5, oblong	
5–7	32–55	B	12	double, 28	6, round	
8	56–63	Gaffurius	12	double, 28	6, round	
9–12	64–95	B	12	double, 28	6, round	
13–15	96–117	Gaffurius	12	double, 28	6, round	
16	118–24	A	11	26	not visible	fol. 121: 5 holes, double rastrum
17–19	125–48	A	11	single, 26	10, round	fols. 134–39: no indentation, oblong
20	149–56	A	11	26	not visible	fols. 149 and 156 are different ¹⁹
21	157–64	A	11	double, 26	5, star-shaped	fol. 159: single rastrum
22	165–72	A	11	26	not visible	grey ruling
23–24	173–88	A	11	double, 26	5, star-shaped	fols. 183–86: no indentation, oblong

18. Here the absence of prick-holes does not allow us to establish which kind of rastrum was used: on fol. 14r, however, the last two staves are shorter and poorly aligned with the others, though parallel between themselves, which suggests the use of a double rastrum.

19. The external bifolio of gathering 20 (fols. 149 and 156) presents traces of a double rastrum on the outer margin and, unlike the rest of the gathering, is ruled in brown ink.

At fols. 1ra–7v and 32r–117v, corresponding to gatherings 1 and 5–15, the writing block is as follows: $645 \times 456 = 29 [526] 90 \times 38 [335] 83$, with 12 staves + 12 lines of texts (fol. 6). The ruling is in lead pencil for the vertical bounding lines and in ochre ink for the staves; the staves are ruled with a double rastrum, with two 28 mm staves and a 19 mm blank space between them in which a guideline for the text has not been traced. That the rastrum used was a double one is confirmed by the presence, ca. 8 mm from the edge of the page in the folios of the first gathering, of six prick-holes, made with an awl, corresponding to every two staves and at a distance of 93 mm from one another. The series of prick-holes is not visible in all folios, since, as usual, they underwent trimming: it can clearly be seen in the first gathering and at fols. 56, 95, 98, and 104 (see Fig. 2.1a–b), ensuring us that the preparation of gatherings 1 and 5–15 was homogeneous.

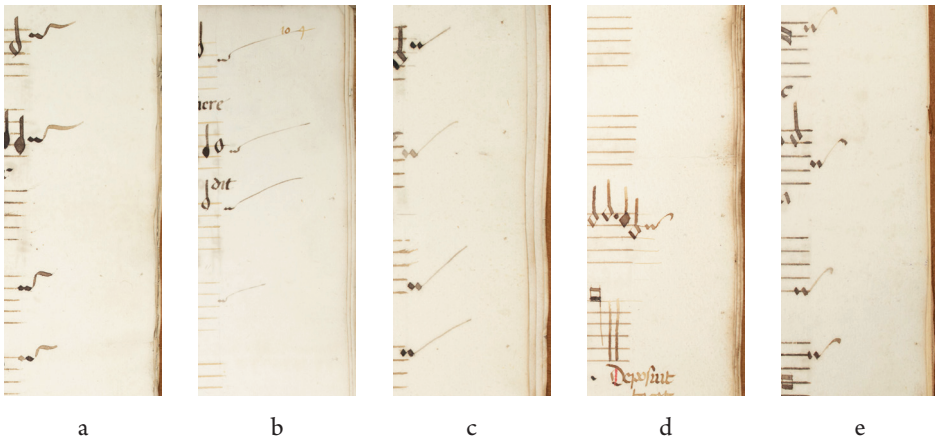


Fig. 2.1. Prick-holes in *Librone 1*: (a–b) for a double rastrum with awl (fols. 56r and 104r); (c) for a single rastrum with awl (fol. 127r); (d) for a single rastrum with oblong punch (fol. 19r); (e) for a double rastrum with star punch (176r)

In the second group, fols. 8r–31v and 118r–188v, corresponding to gatherings 2–4 and 16–24, the writing block of the rougher paper is as follows: $643 \times 455 = 44 [546] 53 \times 52 [350] 53$, with 11 staves + 11 lines of texts (fol. 18). The ruling is in lead pencil for the vertical bounding lines and in brown or grey ink for the staves. Three series of folios distinguish themselves for the absence of indentation in the first stave, in gatherings 3 (fols. 18–21), 18 (fols. 134–39) and 24 (fols. 183–86).²⁰ Possibly because of the more limited trimming of the outer margin, in this second group the prick-holes are more often visible than in the first (except for gatherings 2, 16,

20. This might be a sign that these folios derive from a different paper stock, or might just be the result of errors in the ruling, as the different folios seem randomly distributed within the gatherings. The indentation is also missing on the versos of folios 9, 168, and 177.

20, and 22) and, in spite of the same writing block and rastrum, allow us to detect distinct subgroups of folios. In gatherings 17–19 (Fig. 2.1c) the staves are traced with a single 26-mm rastrum, with 26-mm spacings in between: ca. 10 mm left of the edge of the page we find the corresponding ten prick-holes (starting from the second stave) made with an awl; very similar, though closer to the page edge and made with an oblong punch, is the pricking in the folios with no indentation in gatherings 3 (Fig. 2.1d), 18, and 24. In gatherings 4 (fols. 24–31), 21 (fols. 157–64), and 23–24 (fols. 173–88), instead, a double 26-mm rastrum was used, as indicated by the series of five prick-holes, made with an oblong punch in gathering 4, and with a star punch in gatherings 21 and 23–24 (Fig. 2.1e).²¹ Fols. 5v–7r, as well as the last verso of the manuscript, fol. 188v, are regularly ruled but empty.

The modern cover (670 × 480 mm), added during the 2019 restoration, is wooden boards and leather; at the top of the spine it bears, imprinted in gold, the current shelfmark (1), at the bottom the previous one (2269). The new cover replaced the previous one, implemented during the 1950s restoration and neo-medieval in taste, with two clasps, cornerpieces, and bosses, and the logo of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo embossed at the top of the front board (similarly to the new one, the old spine had both the current and the *olim* shelfmark imprinted in gold).

1.2. *The restoration of 2019*

Before examining the palaeographical details of Librone 1, it is worth briefly discussing its restorations, the last of which (at least for the moment) was undertaken in the summer of 2019. The restoration of a medieval or early modern manuscript is, inevitably, an invasive intervention: although normally motivated by conservation issues, such operations as unstitching the folios, cleaning them, and rebinding them unavoidably destroy the manuscript's previous state (irrespective of it being the 'original' one or not).²² In some cases, due to the bad state of preservation of a manuscript, the incompetence of the restorer, or the ignorance of technical aspects that only later research would illuminate, past restorations profoundly altered the original object, partially, if not completely, jeopardizing the possibility for us to retrieve historical data. If the mid-twentieth-century restoration of Libroni 1–3 did not have such dire consequences, it surely entailed the remaking of the gatherings as well as the substitution of the binding. In the case of Librone 1, restoration significantly altered the composition of the gatherings themselves. Some

21. Often the prick-holes are visible only in the lower part of the folio; in the upper part they were excised during trimming (see e.g. fols. 178 and 182).

22. Melania Zanetti, 'Tra prevenzione e restauro: La manutenzione in biblioteca', *Biblioteche oggi*, 35 (2017), 3–6 at 6, and more in general Zanetti, *Dalla tutela al restauro del patrimonio librario e archivistico: Storia, esperienze, interdisciplinarietà*, Studi di archivistica, bibliografia, paleografia, 4 (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2018).

aspects probably misled the restorers, including the lack of catchwords (which are useless in a manuscript of this kind), the structure of the bifolia (which, as mentioned, were obtained by pasting together two large-format leaves, in order to achieve maximum size), and the precarious state of conservation (moisture, traces of which are still visible on the internal margins, probably caused the decay of the stitching). The 1950s restorers thus gathered the folios in the right order but in codicologically erroneous ways, constituting ternions, quaternions, quinternions, or sexternions without a precise rationale. This had an impact on the immediate understanding of the manuscript organization, as before June 2019 users had to reckon with different hands alternating in apparently incongruous ways, and notably with short sections written by one hand interspersed between longer sections by other hands, following an inscrutable logic. Fortunately, however, Libroni 1–3 had already been studied in some detail in the 1930s (that is, before the restoration) by the musicologist Knud Jeppesen, who provided the first (and so far the most) accurate codicological description of the manuscripts.²³ Jeppesen's observations, complemented by Joshua Rifkin's notes,²⁴ were helpful in order to reconstruct the original gatherings, after a new systematic analysis of the folios (see Appendix 2).²⁵ Such reconstruction helps to explain the apparently incoherent sequence of scribal hands and musical compositions: most of the short sections, in fact, turn out to be additions made on the last verso of a gathering and the facing first recto of the subsequent one. The mise-en-page of the Libroni follows the so-called choirbook layout, in which the various voices of polyphonic compositions are distributed on the opening in adjacent blocks, and page breaks are coordinated, so that all singers can read their parts simultaneously from the open book.²⁶ If the copying work of such manuscripts proceeds by gatherings, the 'solitary' first recto and last verso

23. Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes'; after him, but with fewer codicological details, Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscripts de musique polyphonique, XV^e et XVI^e siècles: Italie. Catalogue*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, B IV/5 (Munich: Henle, 1991), 237–52. See also the records of the manuscripts in *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 vols. (Neuhausen, Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag, 1979–88) and Mariella Busnelli, 'L'archivio musicale della Fabbrica del Duomo', in Graziella De Florentiis and Gian Nicola Vessia (eds.), *Sei secoli di musica nel Duomo di Milano* (Milan: NED, 1986), 251–70, esp. 256 and 258–70.

24. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's "Ave Maria ... Virgo Serena"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/2 (2003), 239–350, esp. 245–59.

25. Appendix 2 updates the synoptic tables earlier given in Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti', 129–32.

26. As Thomas Schmidt puts it, 'the verso and recto sides of the opening have become the two columns of the new basic visual unit of presentation': Thomas Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in Thomas Schmidt and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-Page in Manuscripts and Printed Books Containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 3–100 at 34.

often remain blank, and thus available for later insertions once the gatherings have been assembled. Furthermore, as we shall see, the correct identification of the gathering also leads to a better understanding of the subdivision of work among the various scribes.

In previous publications I had to distinguish between the gatherings as currently visible in the manuscript and as reconstructed based on codicological data.²⁷ Now things look different: during the 2019 restoration, the restorer Sonia Introzzi (from the Laboratorio Volumina, Milan), re-established the original gatherings of *Librone 1* based on my findings and in accordance with the Soprintendenza Archivistica e Bibliografica della Lombardia and the archivist of the Duomo. Thanks to this restoration, inspired by interdisciplinary collaboration, the manuscript has thus recovered its pristine codicological coherence. (For the cover, however, it was not possible to go back to an ‘original’ state: as stated by Jeppesen, the *Librone* already had a modern leather binding in the early 1930s; the original one is lost. It therefore seemed appropriate to replace the bulky cover from the 1950s with a more functional one).

1.3. *Palaeographical description*

No more than two scribes were involved, in addition to Gaffurius, in the copying of *Librone 1*, but the manuscript is by no means unified: besides the codicological ‘dissonances’ already noted (regarding paper types and writing block), there are significant differences in script and decoration, and some oddities in the distribution of the musical works. We might be tempted to interpret the subdivision of the work in terms of the repertory copied: Scribe A copied a prevalingly Franco-Flemish repertory (with, however, the significant exception of two pieces by Gaffurius in the final section, at fols. 179v–183r), whereas Scribe B copied Gaffurius’s own works. But the situation is more complex and deserves a close reading, based on a combination of codicological, palaeographical, philological, and archival data.

Scribe A

The portion of *Librone 1* copied by Scribe A consists of twelve regular gatherings: it accounts, thus, for exactly the half of the manuscript. It is subdivided into two sections: gatherings 2–4 (fols. 8v–31r) and 16–24 (fols. 118v–188r). Scribe A copied the earliest compositions in the *Librone*²⁸ on the thicker and smaller paper (see above), always ruled with eleven staves. Pieces always start on the verso. The minor decoration merely consists of small red initials, and there are no titles or

27. Pantarotto, ‘Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti’.

28. See Pavanello’s chapter in the present volume.

rubrics. The generous spacing between the staves (corresponding to the height of one staff) easily accommodates two lines of text if necessary (see fol. 8v), but normally the text is on one line, equidistant from the staves and without any guideline. The script is a traditional, mid- to late fifteenth-century non-*rotunda* gothic, with kissing of bowls, no attempt to make the ascenders the same height, elision open letters with the following one, and morphological variants; a tendency can be observed to prolong down to the baseline, by means of a thin descending pen stroke, the letters terminating with a horizontal pen stroke above the line (especially the final *t*). It has been already pointed out that Scribe A's script undergoes several variations and his copying work appears to be discontinuous.²⁹ It is indeed a well-founded observation, as we shall show in detail in what follows, proceeding gathering by gathering.

Apart from the slightly cramped first *Magnificat* (fols. 8v–10r), the typical rhythm of this scribe establishes itself from the opening at fols. 10v–11r, with big red initials chromatically identifying the four voices and smaller red initials marking the verses. For every initial the scribe entered the appropriate guide letter with the edge of the pen. Of the four main initials, the upper left one, belonging to the top voice (Cantus, or Superius), is sometimes larger than the others and corresponds to the first letter of the sung text; the other three, instead, are the initials of the voice denominations (usually Tenor, Contratenor altus, and Contratenor bassus), which are written in normal ink under the first staff (the corresponding space on the staff remains blank). Each of the two voices on each folio usually occupies three or four staves, with one or two staves left empty in the middle and sometimes at the bottom. For the musical notation, Scribe A utilizes a broader pen than the one used for the text, and a denser brilliant black ink. The semibreve, minim, and semiminim note heads are decidedly diamond-shaped. Characteristic of Scribe A is the tendency to extend the staff for some millimetres into the right margin in order to accommodate one or two additional notes.³⁰ At the end of each voice there is a double bar line; the punctuation mark underneath the last note is a series of dots forming a cross and then prolonging its arm horizontally (see Fig. 2.2).

In the text underlaid to the notes, Scribe A often divides the words into syllables, inserting a hyphen only when the word continues after a line break: in that case, he inserts a hairline hyphen with the edge of the pen after the affected syllable. He also separates words written very closely with a thin slanting pen stroke traced with the edge of the pen.

29. Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 256–57, n. 40.

30. At least in some cases, the purpose of the extension seems to be to complete the *tactus*: this suggests that Scribe A was himself a singer. I thank Bonnie Blackburn for pointing this out, which agrees nicely with the hypothesis about Scribe A's identity I discuss below.

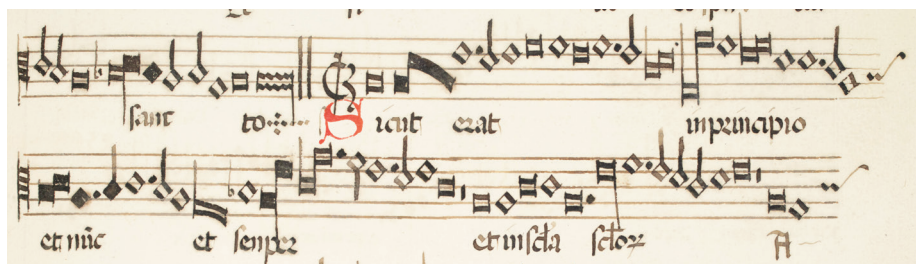


Fig. 2.2. Librone 1, fol. 17r: Scribe A¹

The *Magnificat* by Loyset Compère copied on fols. 10v–17r fills gathering 2 and extends seamlessly onto the first two folios of gathering 3. From fol. 17v, however, there is an evident change: the rest of that gathering and the following one are still attributable to Scribe A, but with such differences that it seems appropriate to identify this hand as A². The decoration and mise-en-page remain the same, but the ink is lighter and has a different colour (now it seems the same, however, for both music and text). The pens (as before, distinct for notation and text) have a different cut and thickness: they seem thinner and more flexible. The script begins to appear smaller, less formal and more cursive (notice the *g* with the open lower bowl, or, from fol. 18v, the outright cursive *a*). The shape of the musical notes, however, is exactly the same as in A¹. Similar also is the way of separating closely-written words with a thin pen stroke; again, the separated syllables have a hyphen only when the word continues on a new line. The final bar line is still a double one, but the punctuation sign underneath is now merely one dot (see Fig. 2.3).

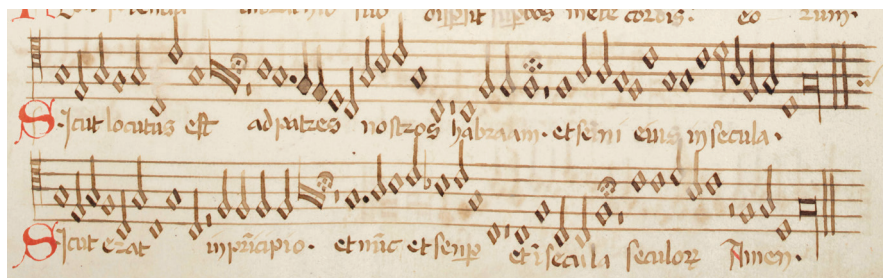


Fig. 2.3. Librone 1, fol. 21r: Scribe A²

Turning back to Table 2.1, we may notice that gatherings 2–3 have no visible prick-holes, except for fols. 18–21, which have ten holes made with an oblong punch, and no indentation of the first staff. These minimal differences suggest that these folios (the two internal bifolia of the gathering) may derive from a different ream of paper, but the continuity of script and repertory does not allow us

to isolate them from the rest of the gathering. In gathering 4 (beginning with fol. 24r), however, the same mise-en-page is achieved through a different ruling, with a double rastrum and its distinctive five star-shaped holes in the outer margin (starting, as above, from the second stave).

At this point, the distinction we have made between A¹ (fols. 8r–17r) and A² (fols. 17v–31r) prompts some considerations. Joshua Rifkin identified six different stages in the work of Scribe A, based on such elements as the shape of the *custos*, the final bar lines, and the more or less cursive character of the script, exemplified by the letter *a*.³¹ His interpretation presupposed an evolution of Scribe A's script, and led him to detect a succession of chronologically distinct phases. In my view, not all the elements considered by Rifkin are equally significant: some of them may simply correspond to brief interruptions of an otherwise continuous copying work. Moreover, we cannot take for granted a chronological evolution from formal to cursive script, as these two graphic approaches can very well coexist. Having said that, however, some discontinuities in Scribe A's copying work are unmistakable and go hand in hand with the above-mentioned differences in the preparation and ruling of the page (even though, as said, the writing-block remains the same). They make evident a general change of approach. Scribe A's first gathering, with its traditional gothic script, the accurate diamond-shaped note heads, and the red initials, looks like the beginning of a book project that did not come to an end. After gathering 2 and the first folios of 3, something must have happened: a change of programme, if not of destination. When Scribe A resumed his work, a different approach can be clearly perceived, even within the same framework: the script is now more cursive, both in the text and in the music, and the central folios are differently prepared and come from a different paper stock.

We find Scribe A again in the final section of Librone 1, starting from the first verso of gathering 16 (fol. 118v), a quaternion with a missing leaf in the internal bifolium, and continuing on the following eight gatherings, all regular quaternions. Again, as in the first three gatherings, we can recognize at least two distinct phases of intervention. The first work copied, the *Te deum* by Binchois (with only two voices written down, the third supplied 'A faux bordon'), follows Scribe A's original style in terms of decoration, with major and minor red initials with guide letters, and formal script, with diamond-shaped noteheads. At the end of the piece, on fols. 120v–121r, we find the familiar double bar line on the stave and the final punctuation mark forming a dotted cross (the end of each verse in the text is marked with a dot followed by a stroke entered with the edge of the pen). The only differences with gathering 2 are the use of a less dark and dense ink and the shape of some *custodes*, which finish with a simple oblique pen stroke without ending in a

31. Ibid.

thick dot. In spite of some further slight variations in the ink, the section comprising fols. 118v–157r (= gatherings 16–20) is continuous and homogeneous:³² neither the preparation of the page,³³ nor the mise-en-page, nor the musical and textual script suggest any time-gaps in the copying work. Incidentally, in these gatherings the scribe often inserts the text only partially: sometimes in the top voices only (as in the motet *O admirabile commercium* at fols. 123v–124r), or more frequently in the Cantus only (as in the motet *Flos de spina* at fols. 121v–122r; similarly at 124v–126r); sometimes he even inserts just a handful of words in all voices (fols. 150v–151r).³⁴ We can thus label fols. 118v–157r as A¹ again.

From the first verso of gathering 21 (fol. 157v), however, the situation is radically different: in the last four gatherings (21–24, fols. 157–88), Scribe A used a thinner pen and a lighter and less dense ink (here he seems to use the same tool for both music and text), and his script is more cursive (from fol. 162v it is now definitely a simplified form of *textualis*). The *custos* again has the terminal curve; as to the preparation of the page, we find the series of five star-shaped holes that indicates the use of a double rastrum, starting on the second stave, just as in gathering 4.³⁵ We shall label this section as A².

Scribe A, then, copied gathering 2 and the beginning of 3, and 16–20 up to the first recto of 21,³⁶ then there was a break. A significant change must have intervened, because when he resumed his work at fol. 157v (as he did in gathering 3 at fol. 17v), his style had changed and his script became more cursive: notice the *a* without the upper arm and the *g* with the open lower bowl. The final punctuation mark changes from the dotted cross to a serpentine line and finally reduces itself to a simple dot from fol. 165r. The double bar line on the stave, instead, becomes a triple one from fol. 162r. Finally, only in these last gatherings of the manuscript does Scribe A sometimes 'connect' with a thin horizontal pen stroke, made with

32. Rifkin (*ibid.*) distinguishes fols. 126v–157r based on the prevailingly different shape of the *custos* (in its simpler form, with no curve at the end), and contends that this is the earliest layer of Scribe A's activity.

33. As pointed out above, in gatherings 16 and 20 the prick-holes are not visible, as in gathering 2, while in gatherings 17–19 we find the series of ten holes, as in gathering 3; again as in 3, in some internal folios of gathering 18, fols. 135–39 there is no indentation, the ruling is done with a single rastrum, and the holes are made with an oblong punch.

34. This also happens, however, in the following section: at fols. 159v–160r the text is underlaid only in the top voice and tenor, and in fols. 170v–171r only in the top voice; at fols. 160v–162r the text is completely missing.

35. Prick-holes are missing also in gathering 22, whose ruling, together with that of gathering 20, is in grey and watery ink, different from the ochre one of the other gatherings.

36. Based on ink colour and script, the beginning of the Contratenor altus voice at fol. 158r also seems to belong to the same phase — unless we explain the distinction between A¹ and A² not as a result of an evolution in time, but rather of a choice between distinct graphic approaches (more on this below).

the edge of the pen, the separated syllables belonging to the same word (see, for instance, fols. 163r, 165v, or 174v).

The opening on fols. 184v–185r requires discussion. At fol. 184v, Scribe A wrote the Cantus and Tenor of a *Salve regina* attributed elsewhere to Du Fay (first verse) with the formal *textualis*, the thicker and larger notation, and the dark and brilliant black ink typical of his A¹ phase; but already on the facing recto he returned to the more cursive script, smaller notation, and lighter ink of A². Rifkin advanced a convincing explanation for this apparently puzzling behaviour.³⁷ Fol. 184 belongs to what is currently the innermost bifolium of gathering 24; originally, it could have served as the outermost bifolium of a gathering: Scribe A started copying the *Salve regina* on the first verso during his A¹ phase, left it temporarily incomplete, and then resumed the transcription in the A² phase.

As to the paper and its preparation, we should observe that in the internal folios of the last gathering (fols. 183–86) there is no indentation of the first stave and the ruling is done, just as at fols. 18–21 and 134–39, with a single rastrum, with ten prick-holes made with an oblong punch on the outer margin, starting from the second stave: these folios represent, in a sense, a material link between the A¹ and A² sections.

All in all, the differences between A¹ and A² should not be explained merely in terms of time distance and ‘evolution’. When Scribe A resumed his work, some changes must have intervened around him: the commissioning institution was still the same, to be sure, but the climate, the roles, and the expectations were probably different — in today’s parlance, we could say that the artistic direction of the project had changed. It seems fair to conclude that the protagonist of the new scenario was Gaffurius, with his tastes, his preferences, and his personality. We shall return to this in the conclusions.

Scribe B

Scribe B copied seven gatherings (5–7, fols. 32v–56r, and 9–12, fols. 64v–97r), placed between the two sections by Scribe A, with some further ‘bridges’ by Gaffurius (see below). Several aspects distinguish his pages from those by Scribe A and connect them to those by Gaffurius: the paper belongs to the larger and thinner type, with extensive trimming in the upper margin; there are twelve staves per page, traced with a double rastrum (the stave height is 28 mm); the initials are always those of the sung text (major ones for Cantus and Contratenor altus, minor for Tenor and Contratenor bassus), whereas the voice names were added vertically (with a different ink from that of the initials). The calligrapher responsible for

37. Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet’, 256, n. 40.

the initials does not coincide with Scribe B. We see it clearly at fols. 44v–45r, in which Scribe B added the ‘Suscepit’ and ‘Gloria’ with a different ink after the intervention of the calligrapher: the minor initials (S and G; see Fig. 2.4) he added himself are clearly different from those entered by the calligrapher in the surrounding openings.



Fig. 2.4. Librone 1, fol. 44v: minor initial S by Scribe B

Scribe B’s textual script is a firm and assured Italian *rotunda*, traced in dark ink with a wide nib; the pen is the same for text and music (see Fig. 2.5). He marked the separated syllables on the same line with a short oblique pen stroke, but he did not bother to when there is a line break.

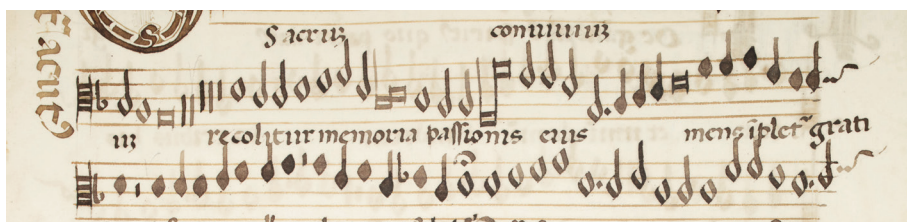


Fig. 2.5. Librone 1, fol. 73r: Scribe B

Scribe B’s section is continuous and self-contained in terms not only of style but also of contents, since he copied works by Gaffurius³⁸ exclusively (Magnificats in gatherings 5–7, mostly Marian motets in gatherings 9–12). In two cases, however, in gatherings 8 and 13, he finished his transcriptions on the first folio of the new gathering (in both cases a regular quaternion), subsequently continued and completed by Gaffurius: in the first case, Scribe B uses the first recto of gathering 8 (fol. 56r) to complete Gaffurius’s *Magnificat octavi toni*, after which Gaffurius wrote a series of

38. With the possible exception of the anonymous *Magnificat* at fols. 51v–53r.

anonymous Magnificats (at fols. 56v–64r); in the other case, Scribe B skipped the last verso of gathering 12 and the first recto of gathering 13, and wrote a motet (*Virgo dei digna*) on the first opening of the latter (fols. 96v–97r), after which Gaffurius copied an alternation of his own and anonymous motets, finishing with the motet cycle *Christi mater ave* by Gaspar van Weerbeke (at a later time, as we will see, Gaffurius also filled the previous blank opening, fols. 95v–96r). Gaffurius and Scribe B must, therefore, have worked at the same time and in close collaboration: as said, all their gatherings share paper type, page preparation, and decoration. Since, in view of other considerations discussed below, it is unlikely that Scribe B filled in spaces left blank by Gaffurius, we should think that he did his copying work under Gaffurius's supervision, and that in two cases the master directly took over his job. Alternatively, Scribe B left his job unfinished for unknown reasons, with two gatherings completely blank if not for the first recto, and the master had to finish it, also in order to connect Scribe B's part with the sections written by Scribe A.

Gaffurius

In Librone 1 Gaffurius was responsible for the initial gathering (fols. 1ra–8r), one gathering within the section by Scribe B (gathering 8, fols. 56v–64r), three gatherings between Scribe B's section and the successive one by Scribe A (13–15, fols. 97v–118r), and some minor interventions here and there in the manuscript (fols. 31v–32r, 39v–40r, 50v–51r, and 95v–96r).

His script is essentially a *textualis*, in which the typical rules of the *litterae textuales* graphic system apply:³⁹ the kissing of bowls, elision of concave letters with the following one, elision of letters with a spur, morphological variants of round *r*, round final *s*, and round *d*. The letters are often traced in simplified forms with a thin pen (except for the first opening), with a cursive tendency and sharp pen strokes slanting to the right. Even in its steadier forms (as can be seen also in other autographs), his script is characterized by a poor alignment on the baseline and a fluctuating inclination of the letters; typical are the *a* with a narrow bowl compressed towards the baseline and the *g* with the flat-topped upper bowl and closed lower bowl. The same hastiness and cursive tendency is visible in his musical notation. (See Fig. 2.6.)

A close analysis of the folios written by Gaffurius in Librone 1 is crucial in order to better understand the rationale of his interventions, and, as in the case of Scribe A but with a higher degree of complexity, to determine the palaeographic layers. We shall, thus, proceed by browsing the manuscript from beginning to end,

39. For the characteristics of this script, the indispensable reference is Stefano Zamponi, 'La scrittura del libro nel Duecento', in *Civiltà comunale: Libro, scrittura, documento. Atti del Convegno, Genova, 8–11 novembre 1988* (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1989), 315–54.



Fig. 2.6. Librone 1, fol. 2va: Gaff¹

warning the reader straightaway that the succession of folios does not match with the chronology of the copying work, which will be summarized afterwards.

The first item at fol. 1ra (two-voice verses of the *Nunc dimittis* and an antiphon), hastily written in ochre ink and without decoration, with all the music indented, is clearly a later addition (in view of the copying layers, we shall label it Gaff^s). The two voices occupy the five staves at the top and bottom of the page respectively, separated by two empty staves. In spite of the hastiness, we observe some recurring traits of Gaffurius's hand: the text to be sung is written out in its entirety, there are *custodes* (only one is missing), and the final double bar lines are decorated by three short serpentine lines. As a result, the page leaves the impression of a secondary, but indeed reliable and accurate, addition, one that provides all necessary information to the performers. The real beginning of the manuscript is on the following opening, with two hymns (see a detail in Fig. 2.6 above): its solemnity is marked by the well-known illumination on fol. 2va (which, alas, suffered extensive trimming of the upper margin), by the mid-size and minor initials, by the voice names added vertically (from top to bottom), and by the pen flourishes on the left and lower margins. While Gaffurius wrote text and music, all the decorations are by one different hand.

The two hymns occupy the upper and lower half of the opening respectively. In the first one the top voices extend over three staves, the lower ones two; between Cantus and Tenor, on the verso, there are two empty staves, on which Gaffurius entered the text for additional stanzas in smaller script; between Altitonans and Baritonans, on the recto, there is one empty staff. In the second hymn, each voice occupies two staves, and there are no empty staves in the middle; the text for additional stanzas, again in smaller script, is entered on the blank part of the last Tenor staff. Gaffurius here used a black ink: his formal script (Gaff¹) is a *textualis* with poor alignment of the letters on the baseline (which, in the reduced space between the staves, is not traced) and cursive elements such as the stems of *f* and *s* that reach below the line of text, the ascender of *h* that does not reach it, and the frequent round *r*. Except for the truncated text in the two right-hand voices of the

second hymn, the copying work is visibly accurate. Separated syllables are marked with a double oblique hyphen, traced with the edge of the pen and sometimes barely visible (see *se-culo* at fol. 1r, Fig. 2.7).

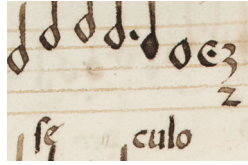


Fig. 2.7. Librone 1, fol. 1r: double hyphen between separated syllables

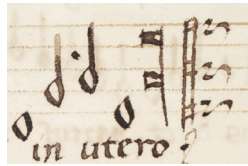


Fig. 2.8. Librone 1, fol. 1r: final double barline with serpentine decoration and punctuation mark in text

Characteristic of the Gaff¹ phase are the presence of pen decoration, the use of a dense and black ink for both text and music, the formal script, the *custos* elongated with the edge of the pen towards the page margin, and the threefold serpentine decoration of the last double bar, to which there corresponds in the text a medial dot intersected by a thin 8-shaped sign whose lower bowl often remains open (See Fig. 2.8). As mentioned, the opening has its own solemnity, but there is also a certain disharmony in the distribution of music and text on the page, with an excessive accumulation of ‘black’ in the lower part of the pages.

Things already change on the next opening, fols. 1v–2r, although we recognize a similar ‘rhythm’ in the organization of the pages: the opening is divided into two superimposed areas (one for each hymn), and space for the major decoration is reserved for the top voice of the left-hand page, with a pendant on the facing one (prompted by the indentation of the first staff). The upper area of the opening, in which the second stanza of the hymn *Intende qui regis Israel* occupies a total of six staves, seems graphically close and fully comparable with the previous pages: the script is formal, and the ink is black.⁴⁰ The lack of any decoration, however, foreseen but not added, is a sign that this opening belongs to a phase later than the intervention of the calligrapher (Gaff²). On both pages there is the blank space

40. With the possible exception of the Contratenor altus at fol. 2r, whose ink verges on brown.

left for the initial, corresponding to the indentation of the stave (on the left one the guide letter is clearly visible). The other voices have small initials traced in ink by Gaffurius, who also inserted the voice names vertically, from top to bottom. This seems to confirm that the calligrapher had already concluded his work on the manuscript when these pages were copied. The ink rubric in the upper margin of the left page is in Gaffurius's hand.

The lower area of the opening, with the second stanza of the hymn *Illuminans altissimus*, was copied in a different phase (Gaff⁵), as revealed by the use of ochre ink. The script is still formal and maintains the traits described above, but is slightly larger in size. Furthermore, on the right page Gaffurius inserted the voice names horizontally, above or below the respective stave.

Turning the page, at fols. 2v–3r we find four two-voice Magnificat verses, arranged differently than in the previous openings: each of the verses occupies a quadrant of the opening, with one voice above the other on the same page. On the left page, an empty stave separates the voices of each verse, while in the right page it separates the two verse blocks. The script is different: small, hasty, and somewhat slanting to the right (Gaff⁴). It has been traced with a thin pen and an ink that tends to change colour from brown to black (possibly in reaction to the moisture on the upper part of the folios: the same effect can be observed on some pages copied by Scribe B). There are no large or decorated initials. The voice names were inserted horizontally in the left margin or, for the upper voices, filling the indentation. A double oblique hyphen links the separated syllables.

The next opening, fols. 3v–4r, brings us back, for its upper area (with the second stanza of the hymn *Hic est dies verus dei*), to the Gaff¹ phase attested at fols. 2va–1r. Again the calligrapher traced a major initial (subsequently trimmed) at the top of the left page, its pendant on the right, and the vertical voice names (on the right page, though, they are unusually entered bottom to top). The hymn in the lower area of the opening, however, the second stanza of the three-voice *Christe cunctorum dominator*, was copied by Gaffurius at a different time (Gaff²). Decoration is absent, the ink somewhat lighter. Only the last of the bar lines at the end of the voices has the triple squiggly decoration. The text of additional stanzas is inserted under each voice. The top voice has a guide letter for the initial; the others have small initials traced in ink by Gaffurius. The voice names were added by Gaffurius in the left margin — vertically on the left page, horizontally on the right one. The text script is small, compressed, formal, and accurate, but slightly hasty. All points to a copying chronologically close to that of the upper area of fols. 1v–2r.

On the following opening, fols. 4v–5r, the second stanza of the hymn *Deus creator omnium* was written in ochre ink in the upper area: the ink colour, together with the presence of the other traits discussed above, allows us to allocate this item to

the same phase as the lower area of fols. 1v–2r (Gaff⁵). The voices on the right page have only the first words of the text.

The staves in the lower section of the opening remain empty, as do the following folios, until the last verso of gathering 1, which, together with the first recto of gathering 2 (fols. 7v–8r), formerly left empty by Scribe A, hosts the four-voice hymn *Virgo prudentissima*. The opening looks quite different: Gaffurius's script is utterly cursive here, and he added the voice denominations hastily and without grace, vertically for the lower voices and horizontally for the Contratenor acutus, above the indentation left empty for lack of decoration. The ink colour, verging on black, is close to that of the first folios, but the characterizing element of this item is no doubt the cursive quality of the script (Gaff⁸). To the same phase belongs the motet *Tropheum crucis*, entered on fols. 31v–32r between Scribe A's gathering 4 and Scribe B's gathering 5; as for *O Iesu dulcissime*, entered on fols. 39v–40r, between Scribe B's gathering 5 and 6, were it not for the more cursive ductus, we could easily attribute this intervention to the Gaff⁵ phase: we shall label it as Gaff⁷.⁴¹ In both cases the pieces are entered on the last page of a gathering and the first of the following one, previously left blank; the interventions work, more or less intentionally, as links between the various blocks, although contentwise they may be at odds with the surrounding ones, as in the case of the two motets inserted between Magnificats.

The second gathering entirely written by Gaffurius is no. 8 (fols. 56–63): again, just as gathering 1, it was plainly copied at different times, irrespective of the succession of folios. After the first recto, still written by Scribe B (continuing from the previous gatherings), Gaffurius started an anonymous *Magnificat octavi toni* at fols. 56v–57r. Based on ink and script, this item belongs to the phase immediately following the intervention of the calligrapher (Gaff²): the script is formal, spaces are reserved for the major initials, though not entered, while Gaffurius wrote some of the minor ones in black ink, with decorative loops. The following opening, with an anonymous *Magnificat secundi toni*, belongs to the different ochre-ink phase (Gaff⁵), as do the optional duets ('Duo si placet') *Fecit potentiam* and *Esurientes*, entered at the bottom of fols. 59v–60r and 60v–61r respectively (as well as the *Esurientes* duet added at the bottom of Scribe B's fols. 50v–51r). The anonymous *Magnificat quarti toni* at fols. 58v–60r, instead, was written with the varying ink and the minute, hasty, and slightly slanting script seen in gathering 1 (Gaff⁴). To the same phase belong the two anonymous Magnificats Gaffurius entered at fols. 60v–64r,

41. The two motets are not attributed in the manuscript: for their possible ascription to Gaffurius, see Francesco Rocco Rossi, 'Franchino Gaffurio compositore: Tra indagine stilistica e nuove conferme attributive', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 219–31; Rossi, 'Le pratiche mensurali nei quattro libroni di Gaffurio: Una risorsa per possibili attribuzioni', *Studi musicali*, 10/2 (2019), 155–92.

up to the first recto of gathering 9: the script is the same, with no decoration, except the occasional initial with ornamental loops, and no squiggles on the final bar lines. Gathering 8, therefore, was evidently present in the manuscript from the beginning (as certified by the first recto written by Scribe B continuing from the previous gathering), but was left blank: it was subsequently filled in by Gaffurius at different times, and not consecutively — I shall return later to this apparently incoherent use of space, similar to that of gathering 1. It is, however, clear that, for the paper type, the preparation with the same double rastrum, the indentation, and the overall page set-up, the gathering belonged to Scribe B's section: the latter, in fact, continued transcribing Gaffurius's compositions from the first verso of gathering 9 (fol. 64v) and continued until gathering 12 or, more precisely, until the beginning of gathering 13, of which he used only fols. 96v–97r for Gaffurius's motet *Virgo dei digna*.

In terms of the manuscript's topography, gatherings 13–15 (fols. 96–117), which form a bridge between the section by Scribe B and the second section by Scribe A, represent the last intervention by Gaffurius in Librone 1, but once again the chronology is more complex than that. On the last verso of gathering 12 and the first recto of gathering 13, fols. 95v–96r, Gaffurius entered his motet *Omnipotens aeterne deus* with the black ink and the minute cursive script of Gaff⁸: there is no decoration and the final punctuation mark is a simple dot, mostly followed by a comma at the same height. Again, the paper, the prick-holes, and the ruling, not to speak of the motet copied by Scribe B at fols. 96v–97r, assure us that the gathering belonged to the same stock as Scribe B's ones: it was incorporated in the manuscript with most pages remaining blank, on which later interventions by Gaffurius progressively sedimented. On fols. 97v–98r the master copied two *Benedicamus* (superimposed on the same opening in the manner of the hymns of gathering 1), in a minute and half-formal script (Gaff⁴), using a thin pen and a varying ink. On fols. 98v–101r Gaffurius copied three of his own motets with ochre ink (Gaff⁵) and a larger formal script. His motet *Imperatrix reginarum* at fols. 101v–102r, instead, is written with black ink in a small formal script fully comparable with that of Gaffurius's earliest interventions, but owing to the lack of decorations by the calligrapher it must belong to the Gaff² phase. Different still is the motet *Eia mater*, at fols. 102v–103r: the script is large and formal, the ink brown, and there is no decoration (even on the final bar lines); the final punctuation mark is the already familiar middle dot intersected in the Tenor by a thin 8-shaped sign. The following folios, connecting gathering 13 to 14 (fols. 103v–106r), contain a series of motets, possibly composed by Gaffurius, and copied in a decidedly black ink, with a formal and minute script (Gaff³). The script is very similar to that associated with the varying ink, but there are no voice names and no decorations, except for Gaffurius's simple initials (only occasionally re-inked); the final bar lines do not have their typical

squiggles. The impression is one of simplicity and essentiality. The motets *Ave cella novae legis* and *Promissa mundo gaudia*, at fols. 106v–108r, were copied by Gaffurius with the varying ink, verging on reddish (Gaff⁴), whereas the motet *O beata prae-sulis* at fols. 108v–109r is in ochre ink (Gaff⁵). Again, gathering 14 is homogenous with the section of Scribe B, although, exceptionally, it is a ternion: the central bifolium might have been removed before the foliation and indexing of the manuscript, when the entire gathering was still blank. The beginning of gathering 15 on fol. 110, with the Marian motets of the cycle *Ave mundi reparatrix*, was compiled by Gaffurius with the simple and essential script seen at fols. 103v–106r, with simple final bar lines (Gaff³). The two lower voices of *Haec est sedes gratiae*, fols. 111v–112r, were added later in ochre ink (Gaff⁵); with the same ink Gaffurius continued on the following folios, until fol. 114r. The last folios in the gathering (fols. 114v–117r), instead, were written by Gaffurius in a grey ink, with a broad-edged pen not used anywhere else in Librone 1. The similarity in format and other traits to the ochre-ink interventions suggests putting these folios in a close phase (Gaff⁶) (to which, in spite of the different ink colour, we might also refer *Eia mater*, discussed above).

On the last verso of gathering 15, fol. 117v, and the first recto of the following (belonging to the second section of Scribe A) Gaffurius entered an anonymous *Salve regina* with the minute formal script in black ink corresponding to the early phase immediately following the calligrapher's intervention: puzzling as it may appear at first sight, this reinforces the impression that Gaffurius first intervened on the folios that linked the various blocks, as if to establish connections between his own sections and those by other scribes, and then proceeded to gradually fill in the intervening folios. With fol. 118r, Gaffurius's own pages in Librone 1 come to an end.

1.4. *The decoration*

On the verso of the first folio, the only painted illumination in Librone 1 marks the solemn opening of the manuscript. It reproduces the emblem of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo (the vestry board of the Cathedral): the Blessed Virgin shields the Duomo (the façade is still that of the old cathedral, Santa Maria Maggiore) under her mantle, painted in bright green and peacock blue and held up on the sides by two angels (see Fig. 2.9).

While the Madonna, the angels, and the mantle have vivid colours, the architectural image is painted in light and dark grey and has suffered colour losses. So far, the illumination — whose approximate dating concords with the manuscript's⁴² — has been neglected by art historians. It deserves, however, to be studied, for at least two reasons. On the one hand, if we could trace it back to a studio or school,

42. In a private communication, for which I am deeply grateful, the illumination expert Pier Luigi Mulas dated it back to the late 1480s–early 1490s.



Fig. 2.9. Librone 1, fol. 2va: emblem of the Veneranda Fabbrica

this would provide a useful element for assessing the cultural and artistic relationships surrounding the making of Librone 1 and the Veneranda Fabbrica environment at large. On the other, it would be worth reconstructing in detail the visual history of the façade, and of the Veneranda Fabbrica logo, as attested in emblems, reliefs, and documents of the time, with subtle differences (here, for instance, the Virgin has no crown) and a variable degree of architectural accuracy. Compare, for instance, the picture on the parchment cover of a Veneranda Fabbrica register of 1387–1401 (Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Arch. C 6; see Fig. 2.10).



Fig. 2.10. Parchment front cover of a register of the Veneranda Fabbrica. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Arch. C 6

Librone 1's illumination appears within a large ink initial S. Since the initial slavishly follows the contour of the illumination, it was certainly added afterwards. The ink is lighter than the one used for text and music; some lines are doubled and, more than pen flourishes, the so-called frog spawn (white globes with a dot in the centre; see Fig. 2.11a) were used as decorative elements. The same style characterizes the other two main initials on this opening, as well as, in more simplified forms, the minor ones (see Fig. 2.11b). Only on fol. 2va do we find some pen flourishes on the left and lower margins, with elaborate rosettes, floral elements, and frog spawn.



Fig. 2.11. Librone 1: (a) fol. 2va: frog spawn details in illuminated letter; (b) fol. 2va

This decoration style regards only the first opening: from the following folio (this section was copied by Gaffurius, as discussed above) there are areas left blank for the expected, but in fact never added, initials. As a matter of fact, almost all pages copied by Gaffurius in the four Libroni lack decoration: normally they have blank areas reserved for it, or at most double-inked capital initials, slightly larger than the sung text. Among the few exceptions, besides the initial opening of Librone 1, are fols. 3v–4r, on which the second stanza of the hymn *Hic est dies verus dei* has cadel initials (see Fig. 2.12); as discussed below, this style recurs in other Libroni too.



Fig. 2.12. Librone 1, fol. 3v: cadel initial

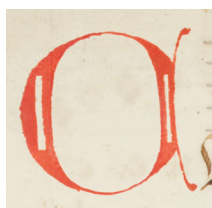


Fig. 2.13. Librone 1, fol. 166r: minor initial

Scribe A's sections comprise red initials: the major ones are red with inner unfilled spaces, the minor ones are simple, and all are accompanied by a guide letter (Fig. 2.13). But this decoration is not always present: at fol. 173r it stops abruptly, and the last two gatherings of Librone 1 remain without decoration (only the guide letters are visible), just as in Scribe A's sections in Libroni 2 and 3. In Librone 1 they cease in the middle of a musical composition but coinciding with a change of gathering: evidently, the work of the calligrapher proceeded by batches of gatherings.

In Scribe B's section the decoration resumes the style of the first opening: ink initials with re-inked lines and pen flourishes, with floral motifs and frog spawm (Fig. 2.14a).



Fig. 2.14. Librone 1: decoration in Scribe B section: (a) fol. 32v; (b) fol. 65v; (c) fol. 82v

Even the second letter of the first word, slightly larger than the rest of the text, presents a thin pen-flourished decoration. At least one initial per page is decorated in this way, but from fol. 44v on the work seems unfinished and the internal decorations of the initials are missing (Fig. 2.14b). The S initial with lavish flourish at fol. 82v is an exception (Fig. 2.14c). In due course I shall return to this decoration style, which we find in pages copied both by Gaffurius and by Scribe B, and to the hand responsible for it (see §2.3).

1.5. *The compilation*

The original logic for the assembling of Librone 1 was apparently based on the musical contents and their liturgical function: first came the hymns, then the Magnificats, and finally the motets. This coherence, though, was partially blurred by later interventions.

The section copied by Scribe A consists of two blocks: a collection of Magnificats (by such composers as Arnulfus, Compère, and Martini), currently gatherings 2–4, and one of prevalingly Marian motets (mainly by Compère and Weerbeke, introduced by a *Te deum* by Binchois), gatherings 16–24. Gaffurius separated them and put a gathering of hymns (copied by himself) before Scribe A's Magnificats block, and the section written by Scribe B (with first Gaffurius's own Magnificats, gatherings 5–7, and then his motets, 13–15) between Scribe A's Magnificats and motet blocks. In turn, Gaffurius added further Magnificats and motets in his own hand within Scribe B's section, at gatherings 8 and 13–15 respectively.⁴³

43. See Table 1.3 in the first chapter by Daniele Filippi.

Let us consider again the section by Scribe A, whose tentative identification will require a brief digression. As we have seen, his section comprises two chronologically and graphically distinct layers, the second continuing the first but with distinctive codicological and palaeographical features (notably, a more cursive script and a less rigorous graphic approach). Whereas the first layer (gatherings 2 and 16–20) appears to be more independent of Gaffurius, the second one (3–4 and 21–24) seems comparable to Scribe A's interventions in Libroni 2 and 3, and is thus probably the result of Scribe A's closer interaction with Gaffurius.

Scribe A's script appears to be the most old-fashioned in all the Libroni, linked to common monastic graphic models and faithful, at least as far as the text is concerned, to styles current in the first half of the fifteenth century. Should we think that the sections he contributed (which are always codicologically isolated in the manuscripts) were in fact 'recycled' by Gaffurius from pre-existing projects and distributed among Libroni 1–3? The answer must be negative, first because of the 'evolution' of Scribe A's own script, second because in Librone 1 he also copied two works by Gaffurius (fols. 179v–183r) — not to speak of the different size of Librone 3. Scribe A must, therefore, have been collaborating with the master during a good part of the Libroni enterprise.⁴⁴ The tremor showing in his contribution to Librone 3 (probably dating, based on the contents, from the early sixteenth century) is an indicator of old age — the same tremor appears in Gaffurius's own script in the last years of his life, from ca. 1520. Scribe A, therefore, was older than Gaffurius. He was trained on mid-fifteenth-century graphic models and a corresponding musical repertory. The master found him already active when he started his tenure as chapel master at the Duomo (1484), and a fruitful and long-lasting work relationship must have begun. His musical script changed, becoming hastier, more cursive, and possibly less demanding, but his habits, signs, and graphic tricks remained the same.

Matching the quantitative data about Scribe A's copying work in Librone 1, and in particular the six gatherings of the earlier layer (which, in any case, cannot be dated before ca. 1485), with the results of Daniele Filippi's archival campaign at the Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica,⁴⁵ there emerges a candidate for identification: the priest Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello, the only music scribe explicitly mentioned in the records of the vestry board in that period. The identification remains, of course, hypothetical, as no sample of Pozzobonello's script with his name is

44. According to Cristina Cassia (see her contribution in this volume) some errors in Scribe A's text transcriptions, influenced by phonetics (e.g. 'aput' for *apud*, or 'quot' for *quod*), might point to a transalpine origin; pending further research, and in the light of the discussion that follows, I cannot accept this hypothesis.

45. See his contribution in the present volume, which, besides publishing many new documents, corrects several imprecisions widespread in the modern Libroni bibliography.

known. His name, in the form Johannes Petrus de Putheobonello, recurs a score of times in the extant Fabbrica records from 1484 to 1490, corresponding to several distinct transactions. Filippi's close reading of the documents reveals that the transactions potentially regarding Pozzobonello's work for Librone 1 refer to two phases, one from 1484–85, that is, during the very first period of Gaffurius's tenure at the Duomo, the other from 1489–90. It is plausible that Gaffurius, at the beginning of his new job, either endorsed a book project possibly formulated before his arrival,⁴⁶ or in any case did not want to interfere too much with Pozzobonello's copying work. As Gaffurius's position at the Duomo became more consolidated, however, there were no longer individual payments to music scribes in the records, even though the complex Libroni enterprise continued. After 1490, the same Pozzobonello is never mentioned in the registers, even though, if the identification with Scribe A is correct, he contributed to Libroni 2 and 3.⁴⁷ In Filippi's words, Gaffurius evidently became the 'overseer and broker' of the copying work for the Duomo chapel. But how do the documents illuminate the figure of Pozzobonello and his work? He is indirectly defined as *scriptor* in the documents of 1484–85 (he is paid 'causa scripture unius libri a cantu'; Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano [= AVFDMi], *Registri*, 661, fol. 30v), and 1489 ('super ratione operis unius libri a cantu quem ipse scribit prefate Fabrice', *Registri*, 672, fol. 62r; 'pro parte solutionis scripture mutitorum afiguratorum quaternorum sex papiri forme maioris pro usu prefate Fabrice', *Registri*, 672, fol. 64v). In 1490 his function seems to be that of *notator* (he is paid 'mercede notationis quaternorum quindecim papiri forme maioris per eum nottatorum in cantu figurato [...] pro usu capelle biscantorum ecclesie maioris Mediolani' on 16 July, *Registri*, 841, fol. 90r; and 'ratione notandi nonnullos quaternos a cantu figurato', on 20 July, *Registri*, 673, fol. 31v). Should we conclude that Pozzobonello was only responsible for the notation, or does the document wording also refer to the text? The second interpretation seems more probable, as the two roles always seem to coincide in the Libroni. In another document of May 1490 (*Registri*, 841, fol. 65r), in all likelihood referring to Librone 1, detailed costs are mentioned, including the purchase of paper, the notation, and the decoration: 'Pro capitulo diversarum expensarum venerabili domino

46. When Clare Bokulich, 'Contextualizing Josquin's "Ave Maria ... virgo Serena"', *Journal of Musicology*, 34/2 (2017), 182–240 at 202 speaks of 'pre-Gaffurius layers' of Librone 1, she probably intends it in terms of the dating of the repertory, in the wake of Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 247–50. See, however, Rifkin, 255–57, on the possibility that some of Scribe A's work pre-dated Gaffurius's arrival in Milan.

47. That Pozzobonello's name is not to be found in archival documents from the Duomo after 1490 does not necessarily mean that he had died: besides possible lacunae in the registers, it might be that once Gaffurius had established himself in the Duomo environment, even Pozzobonello, though well respected, was merely considered as a member of his team, and therefore did not leave a trace in individual transactions.

presbitero Franchino de Gaffuriis magistro capelle biscantorum ecclesie maioris pro restitutione totidem denariorum per eum expensorum in servitiis Fabrice in quaternis sex papiri forme maioris duplicate rigati et in notari faciendo quaternos octo forme maioris cantu figurato et in ipsos quaternos ameniari faciendo'. This is a further confirmation that, for this kind of books, *notatio* was synonymous with *scriptura*. The priest Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello, therefore, was surely a scribe and a notator.⁴⁸ But what else do we know about him? Not much, admittedly. The first mentions in archival documents date back to 1457 and 1462–63, when he was listed among the singers of the Duomo chapel;⁴⁹ afterwards, his name no longer appears in the records until the mentions as scribe of 1484–90. According to the Duomo records, in October 1484 a priest Giovanni Pozzobonello rented a plot belonging to the church of Santa Tecla, 'super quo est unus caxelolus assidum' (*Registri*, 662, fol. 73v). The information is less irrelevant than it may seem: we know that other wooden stalls, called *caxeloli assidum* in the documents,⁵⁰ were present in the same area, and that they were the working stations of copyists and public supplication scribes. In particular, in 1442 a certain Luigi Pozzobonello had such a stall, by assignment of the Duomo chapter.⁵¹ Both Luigi and Giovanni might have been relatives of Giovanni Pietro, and their respective jobs as scribes were possibly part of a family trade, or at least of a shared tradition. The name Pozzobonello/Pozzobonelli was fairly common in the Milanese area at the time, but the identity of trade, place, and client hardly seems a mere coincidence. A priest named Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello rented a house in the parish of San Celso from the Ospedale Maggiore in 1462, and in 1469 the hospital assigned a plot of land in the same area to him and his brothers;⁵² finally, he is recorded as rector of the church

48. It is worth repeating that Filippi's examination of the Veneranda Fabbrica documents for the period of Gaffurius's tenure, 1484–1522, did not reveal the name or figure of any other identifiable music scribe.

49. See Claudio Sartori, 'Josquin des Prés cantore del Duomo di Milano (1459–1472)', *Annales musicologiques*, 4 (1956), 55–83 at 77, based on documents found in AVFDMi, *Registri*, 605, 250, and 254 respectively. Fabio Fano, 'Note su Franchino Gaffurio', *Rivista musicale italiana*, 55 (1953), 227–44, suggested that Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello might be the same person as the Giovanni Pietro 'de organo' or 'de organis' listed among the chapel singers from 1487 to 1508. I see no reason to accept this proposal: why should the Duomo accountants change the way of citing a well-known professional, always called by surname in the other documents? Furthermore, this would prolong his professional life and extend his range of competencies in a seemingly excessive way.

50. *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente: Appendici*, ii (Milan: G. Brigola, 1885), 300, glossary, *ad vocem* 'Caxelolus'.

51. Ada Grossi, 'Dell'attività scrittoria nella piazza del Duomo di Milano nel Quattrocento e delle suppliche di età viscontea', *Aevum*, 70/2 (1996), 273–83 at 277, 279–80; the relevant document is in Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo di Religione, busta 189.

52. Giuliana Albini and Marina Gazzini, 'Materiali per la storia dell'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano: Le Ordinazioni capitolarie degli anni 1456–1498', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 12/1 (2011),

of San Zenone in Vermezzo (a few miles south-west of Milan) from 1477 to 1488.⁵³ Pending further research on the elusive Pozzobonello, the suspicion that he might coincide with Scribe A remains strong indeed.

Let us now return to the ‘fusion’ of different copying blocks undertaken by Gaffurius in Librone 1. A crucial outcome of our stratigraphic analysis is that Gaffurius included in the mix several gatherings that were partially or entirely blank. We have identified the earliest phase of his own copying work (Gaff¹) as characterized by the presence of third-party decoration. Subsequently, after the Librone was foliated and bound, Gaffurius intervened in six distinct phases, either in the blank gatherings or on the facing pages between Scribe A’s and Scribe B’s gatherings (see Appendix 5). In gathering 1 Gaffurius wrote the hymns of fols. 2v–1r, then, skipping two openings, the hymn *Hic est dies verus dei* at fols. 3v–4r (Gaff¹): in all Librone 1, these are the only pages copied by Gaffurius provided with decorations by the calligrapher; the rest of the first gathering remained blank, available for further compositions. In an immediately successive phase (Gaff²) he copied the hymns *Christe cunctorum dominator* in the lower section of fols. 3v–4r and *Illuminans altissimus* at fols. 1v–2r. Differently from the previous one, this second phase is not limited to the initial gathering. The rest of the gathering was written by Gaffurius in different phases, and some pages still remained blank. Judging from a comprehensive evaluation of his interventions in the manuscript, we can determine that he first added the hymns at fols. 2v–3r (Gaff⁴); then, during the ochre-ink phase (Gaff⁵), he wrote the hymns at fols. 1v–2r and 4v–5r and the canticle *cum* antiphon on fol. 1ra. Definitely later (Gaff⁸) is the copying of the motet *Virgo prudentissima* at fols. 7v–8r, working as a connection with the following gathering written by Scribe A.

The stratigraphic analysis clarifies that, when the calligrapher did his job, and when the manuscript was bound, gathering 8 was still blank except for the first recto (written by Scribe B). Immediately thereafter (Gaff²), the master filled in the first opening (fols. 56v–57r); only later (Gaff⁴) he completed the collection of Magnificats at fols. 58v–64r, reaching to the beginning of the following gathering, but not without leaving a blank opening (fols. 57v–58r); later still (Gaff⁵) he copied on that opening a *Magnificat secundi toni* in ochre ink and added the optional duets in the lower sections of fols. 59v–60r and 60v–61r.

As to gatherings 13–15, between the section by Scribe B and the second section by Scribe A, we should observe that no. 13 had been inaugurated by Scribe B on the

149–542 at 238 and 380; Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato: Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2002), 19, 251, and 404.

53. Fausto Ruggeri, ‘Per un censimento del clero ambrosiano nel sec. XV: Benefici e beneficiati nelle filze del notaio Giovanni Pietro Ciocca (1476–1500)’, *Studi di storia medioevale e di diplomatica*, 16 (1996), 113–78 at 152 and 173.

first full opening (the previous recto, however, just as the facing last verso of gathering 12, had remained blank). Gaffurius intervened first at fols. 101v–102r (Gaff²) — perhaps Scribe B was originally supposed to continue in the first half? Then, the master filled in the previous folios, in two stages: first the two *Benedicamus domino* (Gaff⁴), then the motet cycle *Castra caeli* (Gaff⁵). Only later, really in the last phase of intervention on Librone 1 (Gaff⁸), he added the motet *Omnipotens aeterne Deus* between gatherings 12 and 13 (fols. 95v–96r).

Gaffurius apparently compiled the initial folios of both gathering 14 (fols. 103v–106r) and 15 (fols. 109v–112r) at the same time (Gaff³); the following folios at first remained blank, whereas the master had already taken care of connecting this block (and implicitly the entire section by Scribe B) to the last block in the manuscript, the second of Scribe A's sections, by inserting the *Salve regina* at fols. 117v–118r (Gaff²). Subsequently, Gaffurius compiled the folios remaining blank inside gatherings 14 and 15 at different times: first the short cycle *Ave cella novae legis* (Gaff⁴), then the motet *O beata praesulis* (Gaff⁵); shortly thereafter the cycle *Christi mater ave* by Gaspar van Weerbeke (Gaff⁶);⁵⁴ later still his own motets *Magnum nomen Domini* and *Audi benigne conditor* (Gaff⁷).

In sum, by comparing the alternating hands and the codicological data, we can affirm that Gaffurius's interventions are later than the sections copied by Scribe B (with whom he closely collaborated) and by Scribe A (whose twofold series of gatherings is autonomous in terms both of contents and of graphic style). It is precisely Gaffurius's interventions, however, that progressively enriched the manuscript and gave it its final shape. This confirms, thus, the tenor of the first half of the ownership note ('Liber capelle [...] factus opera et sollicitudine Franchini Gaffuri'):⁵⁵ Librone 1 was indeed planned and supervised by Gaffurius, who compiled several sections, organized the decoration, added many titles and attributions (including such performative instructions as 'verte folium', 'turn the page'), inserted the foliation, compiled the index, and made textual and musical corrections to the works copied by the other two scribes. On the other hand, the presence of the Veneranda Fabbrica emblem in the manuscript's sole illumination and the wording of the second half of the ownership note ('[...] impensa vero venerabilis Fabricae') clarify the institutional character of the manuscript, confirmed also by the traces it left in the Duomo records.⁵⁶

54. On this small cycle, see Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 311, n. 155.

55. A full transcription and translation of the ownership note follows in the next paragraph.

56. See Filippi's contribution in the present volume, as well as his 'Operation Libroni: Franchinus Gaffurius and the Construction of a Repertory for Milan's Duomo', in Karl Kügle (ed.), *Sounding the Past: Music as History and Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 101–14.

1.6 *The former pastedowns and the index*

Until June 2019, four parchment leaves, formerly constituting the pastedowns of Librone 1, were preserved detached from the manuscript, in a separate folder available on demand in the Duomo Archive. When Jeppesen examined the Librone in the early 1930s, they were already detached from the binding, but still somehow inserted in the manuscript (probably at the beginning).⁵⁷ During the 2019 restoration, they were included in two paper folders inserted at the beginning and the end of the manuscript respectively (see above). The four leaves, measuring ca. 475 × 292 mm, were reused from older notarial documents. They were pasted together, two by two, along their longer sides, perpendicular to the text lines, and glued to the internal faces of the binding boards, with their margins folded and presenting to the reader the blank verso of the previous documents. The four leaves, formerly denominated ‘Allegati I–IV’ in a typed note that accompanied them after the 1950s restoration, have been recently renamed A, B, C, and D.

The leaves *olim* known as I and IV, now C and D, originally formed the pastedown of the back cover.⁵⁸ Whereas leaf Cr, forming the upper part of the pastedown, remained blank, on Dr Gaffurius penned an ownership note:

Liber capelle ecclesie maioris Mediolani factus opera et sollicitudine Franchini Gaffori laudensis prefate capelle, impensa vero venerabilis Fabrice dicte ecclesie, anno Domini m cccc° lxxxv°, die 23 junii.

Book of the chapel of the cathedral of Milan, made through the careful agency of Franchinus Gaffurius of Lodi, head of the said chapel, at the expense, however, of the venerable vestry board of the said church in the year of the Lord 1490, on the 23rd of June.

The date constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the volume (with the qualifications discussed above regarding Gaffurius’s later interventions).

The leaves *olim* marked II and III, now A and B, originally formed the pastedown of the front cover. On it Gaffurius wrote an index of the motets included in Librone 1. The left column lists the motets from fol. ‘65’ (that is, 64v–65r) to fol. ‘81’ (80v–81r). The right one famously bears the heading ‘Mottetti missales consequentes’,⁵⁹ and lists the *motetti missales* starting from Gaffurius’s own cycle *Salve mater salvatoris*, from fol. ‘85’ to ‘93’, followed by Gaspar van Weerbeke’s cycles

57. Jeppesen, ‘Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes’, 16.

58. See Filippi’s contribution in this volume for a discussion of their positioning when Jeppesen saw them, and the ensuing confusion in later literature. The leaves reproduced in the 1987 facsimile correspond to Cv, Av, Bv, and Dr.

59. On the problems regarding the special repertory of the *motetti missales*, see Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai *motetti missales* (e dintorni)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 139–69, and the literature given there. Also, Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019).

Ave mundi domina, from fol. '127' to '134', and *Quam pulchra es*, from fol. '135' to '137'. The index starts on leaf Av and continues on Bv (the lower part of the former pastedown): on the left column the list of motets goes on homogeneously from fol. '82' to '188'; the right column lists the remaining components of the cycle by Gaspar (fol. '138' to 142') and continues with further cycles by Loyset Compère (*Ave virgo gloriosa*, fol. '144' to 148'), an anonymous composer (*Ave domine Iesu Christe*, fol. '163'), and Loyset again (*Hodie nobis*, fol. '172' to '179'). The six further entries added at the bottom of both columns were also written by Gaffurius, but with different inks and scripts, corresponding to at least four different times and not in consecutive order. Pending closer study, the autograph index further attests to the complex stratigraphy and the progressive setting up of *Librone 1*.⁶⁰

On the lower right margin of leaf Bv (formerly folded and inserted in the binding), we find, perpendicular to the lines of the index, a *notitia* related to the document originally written on the verso: 'Confessio facta per dominam Johanninam de Pegiis tutricem Johannis et Juliani fratrum de Boladello domino Ambrosino de Boladello'. Indeed, as the former pastedowns are all that remains of the original binding of *Librone 1*, the study of the documents originally written on the repurposed parchment folios can disclose further information about the context in which the manuscript was produced. On leaf Ar we find an incomplete document, whose initial and final lines are missing, and whose legibility is seriously reduced by the loss of ink caused by the glue. It is, however, possible to make out the name of the notary and of some persons involved in the transaction, which regards some properties related to the Milanese *Schola hospitalis sanctorum Petri et Pauli*, close to Porta Romana, and the related rights. The parties are the brothers Biazius and Aloysius de Osnago, the deputy of the hospital, Iacobus, and the *vicarius provisionis* of the Milanese Commune, Ambroxius. The notary is Alexander de Mantegatiis, who declared himself 'notarius domini vicari Iacobi'. He is probably the father of Angelinus de Mantegatiis, active as episcopal notary in the years 1478–91;⁶¹ the dates 1417 and 1421 are visible in the document, and even judging from his script the notary cannot be the homonymous Alessandro Mantegazza (perhaps his grandson?), active in the first decades of the sixteenth century.⁶² A

60. For a detailed discussion of the index, and especially of the additions and their implications about the setting up of *Librone 1*, see Filippi's 'Gaffurius's Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of *Libroni 1–3*' in the present volume. Probably the first to attract scholarly attention to the importance of the index was Rossi, 'Franchino Gaffurio compositore'; he did not address, however, palaeographical or codicological issues.

61. Cristina Belloni and Marco Lunari (eds.), *I notai della curia arcivescovile di Milano (secoli XIV–XV)* (Rome: MiBAC – Direzione generale per gli archivi, 2004), 225–27.

62. Archivio di Stato di Varallo, *Pergamene d'Adda (1349–1767): Inventario*, ed. Maria Grazia Cagna (Varallo, 1986), documents no. 282 (1501) and 339 (1514).

kinship with the Alessandro de Mantegatiis listed among the Duomo singers in 1499 cannot be ruled out.⁶³

Leaf Br contains a complete document, drawn up on 26 January 1442 by the Milanese public notary Ludovicus de Cisero, son of magister Nicolaus, resident in the parish of San Sisto at Porta Ticinese. The notary was active in Milan since the early 1420s (although back then he resided in the parish of San Simpliciano) and until 1449.⁶⁴ The document regards a transaction whose main party is domina Johannina de Pegiis, daughter of Francescolus and widow of Anselmolus de Boladello, in her capacity as guardian of her minor sons Johannes and Julianus. She resided in the parish of Santa Maria Segreta at Porta Cumana.

Leaf Cv hosts a document drawn up in Milan in 1421. The right margin was trimmed; the loss of ink caused by the glue and by the folds reduces its legibility, but the tenor of the document seems similar to that of Ar: it mentions the prior of the 'Schola hospitalis sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, prope Porta Romana' (that is, the Scuola dei Santi Pietro e Paolo of the Basilica dei Santi Apostoli e Nazaro Maggiore, currently known as San Nazaro in Brolo).⁶⁵ Some names are the same, as in the case of Biazius de Osnago, but a certain Iohanninus de Gluxiano is also cited. The script is the same as in the other, better legible, document: there follows that the notary was again Alexander de Mantegatiis.

Leaf Dv presents three documents: it is, in fact, a page from a large register, in which we find the final part of a document, the following document in full, and the initial part of a third one. The documents date back to 1427 and are drawn up by Ambrosinus Samaruga, notary of the Ufficio di Provisione of the Milan Commune until at least 1449.⁶⁶ All three documents regard the family of Anselmolus de Boladello, which suggests a common origin with the document of Br.

In sum, the former pastedowns of Librone 1 were obtained from earlier parchment leaves containing Milanese documents unrelated either to the Duomo chapel or the Veneranda Fabbrica. The documents date from fifty to seventy years earlier. Leaves A and C originated from the archive of the notary Alexander de Mantegatiis (who was still alive, though retired, when his son died in 1491). Leaves B and D, instead, though drawn up by different notaries in different periods (B dates to 1442, D derives from a register of 1427) refer to transactions regarding the

63. AVFDMi, *Registri*, 299, fol. 167v.

64. Pietro Canetta, 'Bernarda, figlia illegittima di Bernabò Visconti', *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser. 1, 10 (1883), 9–53 at 28 and 33, documents drawn up by Ludovicus de Cisero in 1424; Grossi, 'Dell'attività scrittoria', 280.

65. Ernesto Brivio, 'Apostoli e Nazaro, basilica dei SS.', in Angelo Majo (ed.), *Dizionario della Chiesa ambrosiana*, 6 vols. (Milan: NED, 1987–93), i. 188–91.

66. Marina E. Spinelli, 'La repubblica ambrosiana (1447–1450): Aspetti e problemi' (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Milano, 1990), 45, n. 309.

same family (that of Anselmolus de Boladello), and thus probably derived from the same private archive. As said, the leaves were pasted together two by two in order to obtain the right size, but curiously the two pairs sharing the same origin were mixed (A with B, C with D). It seems probable, therefore, that the binding of *Librone 1* was carried out by a Milanese workshop which reused parchment leaves formerly belonging to private archives and by then discarded or considered devoid of interest.

2. *Librone 2* (olim MS 2268)

2.1. *Material and codicological description*

Paper manuscript; fols. IV (modern flyleaves, followed by a fragment of a former pastedown with index by Gaffurius), 211, IV' (modern flyleaves). The manuscript consists of 211 folios; the foliation, written by Gaffurius himself on the upper external margin of each recto in Arabic numbers, starts from the second folio and skips by mistake from 102 to 104; a modern hand marked the first folio '1a' in pencil.⁶⁷ The format is 'in plano': 650 × 450; all the gatherings present reinforcing strips since the bifolia were obtained by pasting together two large-format leaves (which were heavily trimmed on the upper margin). The gatherings are largely modern assemblages, as a result of the 1950s restoration. The first folios are covered by a film that determined the smudging of the ink. Jeppesen speaks of twenty-six gatherings, prevaingly quaternions, with some quinternions and ternions;⁶⁸ today, however, after the said restoration, the manuscript consists of twenty-seven gatherings, almost all reassembled as quaternions: 1 (6), 2 (5), 3 (6), 4–6 (8), 7 (10), 8 (6), 9–25 (8), 26–27 (9). Based on the analysis of the folios and on the description by Jeppesen, I propose the following reconstruction: 1–2 (10), 3–6 (8), 7 (4), 8–9 (8), 10 (12), 11 (9: a quinternion with a missing first folio), 12–15 (8), 16 (4), 17(6), 18–20 (8), 21 (10), 22–25 (8), 26 (10: a ternion inserted into a binion). The paper is homogeneous in the whole manuscript and presents a horizontal fold, previous to the binding, which divides each folio in two sections ca. 330 mm high (a similar fold is to be seen in the thinner paper of *Librone 1*). From fol. 16 a watermark can be seen (Fig. 2.15): an oxhead surmounted by a cross with circles at end of the arms, a motif that can be located in Milan between the late fifteenth century and the first decade of the sixteenth.⁶⁹

67. Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 15–16 speaks erroneously of 213 folios, although he counts the former pastedown and notices the skip of fol. 103.

68. Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 15.

69. This watermark is not listed per se in Charles Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Paris: Picard, 1907), but is close to nos. 14428, 14431, and 14433. Based on the similar designs found in Briquet and on

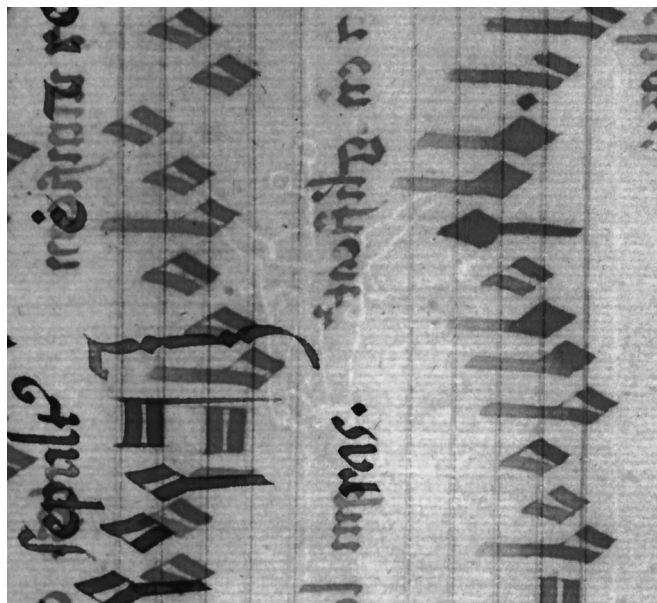


Fig. 2.15. Watermark in Librone 2, fol. 78r

The watermark is present only on fols. 56–63, 78, 94–109, 130–53, and 204. The prevailing writing-block is as follows: $650 \times 450 = 28$ [330] 92×76 [313] 61, with 12 staves + 12 lines of text (fol. 12r).

The ruling is in lead pencil for the vertical bounding lines and in ochre ink for the staves. The staves are traced with a 25-mm rastrum and 20-mm spacings in between. The prick-holes visible in gatherings 4–7, 9–16, and 22–26 allow us to identify a double rastrum. At fols. 56–63 and 137–53, instead, the writing-block is 45 [488] 117×40 [316] 90, with 11 staves + 11 lines of text (fol. 57r); the ruling, again in lead pencil for the vertical bounding lines and in ink for the staves, is accomplished with a double 28-mm rastrum, with 18-mm spacings: five prick-holes are visible on the outer margin, starting from the first stave, at a distance of 93 mm from each other, to which a sixth hole is added for the last stave. Other minimal differences or variations will be included in the palaeographical description below. Fols. 1ra, 19v–20r, 53v–54r, 83v, 117v, 130r, 160r, and 203v–204r (partly coinciding with the ends/beginnings of the original gatherings) are ruled but empty; fol. 211v is completely blank.

analogous motifs in other contemporary manuscripts, we can locate the motif of the oxhead topped with a cross in Milan in a time span between 1497 and 1516. A similar, though not identical, motif is found also in some early sixteenth-century registers of the Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica.

The modern cover (700 × 473 mm) is in wooden boards and leather and neo-medieval in taste, with two clasps, cornerpieces, and bosses, and the logo of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo embossed at the top of the front board. At the top of the spine it bears, imprinted in gold, the current shelfmark (2), at the bottom the previous one (2268).

2.2. Palaeographical description

Like Librone 1, Librone 2 too originated from the assembling of sections in a certain measure autonomously conceived and then connected by Gaffurius. In this manuscript he copied just one gathering (fols. 110v–117r), otherwise limiting himself to brief interventions, as usual on folios previously left blank (fols. 18v–19r, 54v–56r, 63v–65r, 135v–136r, and 209v–211r), or even to minimal additions (completion of a missing text: fols. 6v–7r, 137–139r, and 154v–157r). Besides the master, we find again Librone 1's Scribe A (here with four gatherings and two folios) and B (two gatherings and a half), and four other scribes, whose interventions vary in scope and mode: some of them seem to work in close collaboration, others contribute isolated and chronologically later additions. The irregular gatherings and the way in which the hands alternate, sometimes after just a few folios, reveal that the manuscript was prepared in different phases, whose reconstruction is, however, complicated precisely by the modern alteration of the original gatherings. We shall examine the different hands in order of appearance, leaving for a later paragraph the explanation of the succession of phases in the compilation of the manuscript.

Scribe C

The first copyist we meet with, Scribe C, appears to be a close collaborator of the master, in that he implemented the comprehensive plan of the Librone and contributes to connecting the various sections. He copied the two initial gatherings (fols. 1av–19r), part of gathering 9 (fols. 65v–69r), gathering 10 (fols. 72v–83r), and the last seven gatherings (fols. 154v–203r), for a total of more than ten out of twenty-six gatherings.⁷⁰ Scribe C's script is an Italian *textualis, rotunda*, recognizable, besides the use of a ferrous ink that often corroded the paper in correspondence to the noteheads, for the uncial *d* with a completely horizontal shaft. His hand does not recur anywhere else in the Libroni. (See Fig. 2.16).

70. Reference is always to the reconstructed gatherings, as in Appendix 2.

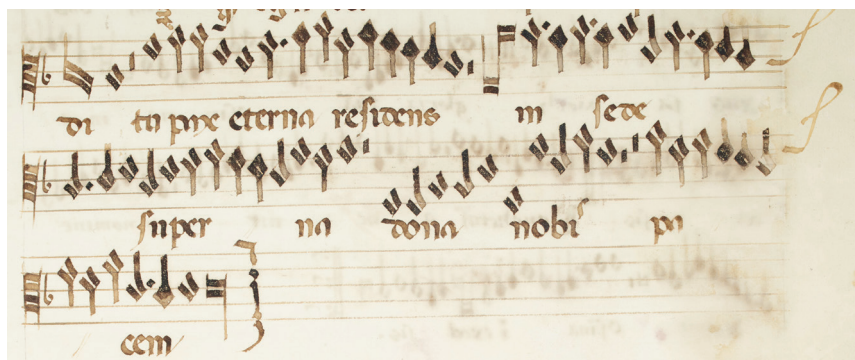


Fig. 2.16. Librone 2, fol. 18r: Scribe C

In the first gatherings, in all likelihood originally two quinternions, Scribe C copied seamlessly Henricus Isaac's *Missa La bassadanza* and works by Gaffurius, in the usual choirbook layout. Blank spaces were reserved for the initials in all voices, whose names the scribe entered vertically in the margin, from top to bottom. As to the musical signs, Scribe C used a *custos* ending in a closed loop and a final bar line consisting of a succession of dots and wave-like signs. In the text, he frequently used the Tyronian note for *et*; the division of syllables within words is marked, as in Gaffurius, by an oblique double hyphen traced with the edge of the pen; the strong final punctuation mark is a medial dot, only rarely followed by two further dots at the same height. In the bottom line of the page, Scribe C tends to prolong the descenders downwards.

The last folios of gathering 2 remained blank, and Gaffurius subsequently filled them in. Scribe C's next appearance is at fols. 65v–69r, in the internal folios of gathering 9 according to our reconstruction. Scribe C copied Gaffurius's *Missa Trombetta*, taking over the copying work from the master, who had inaugurated the gathering. The rest of the gathering remained, for the moment, blank. If in the first gatherings no prick-holes are to be seen, here we find six round holes, clearly visible on the margin of fol. 66r, one for each pair of staves. Scribe C filled the entire gathering 10 with an anonymous *Missa Tant quant nostre argent dura* (fols. 72v–83r), a sexternion with the first recto and the last verso left momentarily blank. Here too the prick-holes reveal the use of a double rastrum, and, just as in the previous gathering, the ink is lighter, brown verging on ochre; in both gatherings, furthermore, there is no indentation. Scribe C finally intervened in the final section of Librone 2, from the middle of gathering 20, where he took over from Scribe D and copied Isaac's *Missa Chargé de deul*: the gathering has a different preparation (see below). Scribe C concluded his transcription on the last verso, placing all four voices on the same page. The following gathering, no. 21, is still written by Scribe C, who, as customary, left the first

recto blank and started from the first verso; he continued on the following gatherings, copying uninterruptedly three masses by Weerbeke, Gaffurius, and Brumel, up to fol. 203r, the second folio of the last gathering. In this section the mise-en-page is the same; the series of six prick-holes, indicating the use of the double rastrum, are visible on the external margins of gatherings 22–25.

Scribe A

At fol. 20v, after an empty opening that typically reveals a change of gathering, we meet the second scribe involved in the copying of *Librone 2*, Scribe A, who was already active in *Librone 1*. Here he wrote four gatherings and two folios (fols. 20v–53r), a block opened and closed by a blank page. The repertory he copied mainly consists of polyphonic mass Ordinaries, and includes works by Johannes Martini, Johannes Tinctoris, Gaffurius, Compère, and Weerbeke. In this section the decoration is missing, but the scribe always inserted a guide letter, as in *Librone 1*. There are both simple and double final bar lines, and the concluding punctuation mark in the text is a simple medial dot. As in the previous manuscript, Scribe A sometimes extended the staves on the right margin with the pen in order to accommodate more notes, and added a hyphen with the edge of the pen between divided syllables only if a line break intervened. Differently from *Librone 1*, here the preparation of the page is perfectly homogeneous with the previous section, even though the prick-holes are visible only in gathering 4, at fols. 30–35.

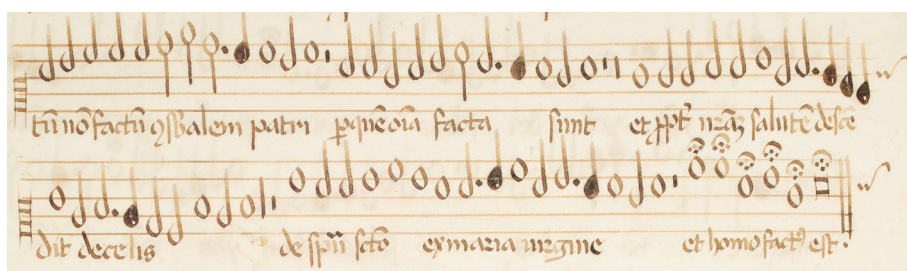


Fig. 2.17. *Librone 2*, fol. 45v: Scribe A³

We can see this phase as a further development of the A² hand in *Librone 1*. The textual script is a simplified gothic with cursive elements (see Fig. 2.17). As to the musical script, indeed it is significantly different from that of *Librone 1*, most conspicuously in the note heads, which pass from diamond-shaped there to drop-shaped here. At first sight, focusing on the notation, the identity between what we may call the A³ hand and the A¹/A² hands of *Librone 1* might seem questionable: a meticulous analysis, however, shows that some characteristic signs remain

the same, including the clefs and the *custos* with thick terminal. Scribe A's musical script undergoes the same process of cursivization already noticed in his textual script, possibly also because of the influence of a dissimilar model: an interesting example of *duplex manus*, whose different *ductus* and degree of cursivity give strikingly divergent visual impressions.

Scribe D

Scribe D copied four gatherings and a few folios: gatherings 8 (fols. 56v–63r), 17–19, and, partially, 20 (fols. 130v–154r). As in the case of Scribe C (discussed above) and Scribe B (see below), his gatherings do not form a continuous section, but are rather conceived almost as autonomous *libelli*, each tendentially containing one work; Gaffurius later intervened in order to connect them to the surrounding ones. In terms of chronology, Scribe D did his copying work before Scribe C (see the discussion about gathering 20 below).

His script is an airy *textualis*: the long descenders of *s* and *f* are tapered, echoing transalpine models; the *d* is mostly upright; the double *i* becomes a *y*; the *custos* ends with a pen stroke prolonged upward ending in a variable hook, and the final bar line is double, without any decoration. He did not insert hyphens between divided syllables, even when the word is broken over two lines (see Fig. 18).

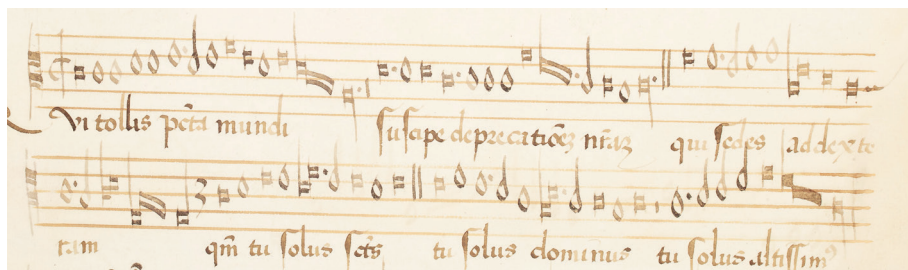


Fig. 2.18. Librone 2, fol. 153v: Scribe D

The preparation of the page in most of Scribe D's gatherings is different from the rest of the manuscript, with eleven staves (fols. 57–59 have no indentation); voice names were inserted vertically in the margin, from top to bottom; the calligraphic initial is always that of the sung text.

In gathering 8 he copied a mass by Johannes Martini, leaving momentarily blank the first recto and the last verso (subsequently filled in by Gaffurius). We find him again from gathering 17. Jeppesen in fact recognized two further different scribes in gatherings 18–20,⁷¹ but the analysis of the *ductus* and of the morphology of the

71. Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 16.

letters makes us sure that they too were copied by Scribe D. In gathering 17 (fols. 130v–135r), the only ternion in the manuscript, heavily trimmed on the upper margin, he copied Gaffurius's *Missa brevis octavi toni* and his motet *Ave verum corpus*, leaving blank the first recto and the last verso of the gathering (the latter will be subsequently filled in by Gaffurius). Only in this gathering, among Scribe D's, are there twelve staves as in the other sections of the volume: the six prick-holes corresponding to the pairs of staves are visible in the margin. From fol. 136 we are back to eleven staves, with five holes plus one on the margin. Gathering 18, again with the first and the last page left momentarily blank, is entirely dedicated to Obrecht's *Missa diversorum tenorum*. The subsequent one starts, after the usual blank recto, with Isaac's *Missa Quant j'ai au cueur*, until the last recto, fol. 151r, but then seamlessly continues with the same composer's *Missa Chargé de deul*, until fol. 154r in gathering 20; the interrupted transcription of the mass is taken over by Scribe C, finishing on the last recto of the gathering. The cursive tendencies of Scribe D, restrained at first, emerge more freely in these last gatherings. A certain hastiness characterizes his work: often he entered only a few words of the sung text under the notes, and Gaffurius had to intervene and complete it (e.g. at fols. 137r–140r).

Scribe E

Scribe E copied only one work in Librone 2, an anonymous mass, subdivided into two blocks. He started copying the mass on the final folios of gathering 9 (fols. 69v–72r), continuing until the first recto of the following gathering, already compiled by Scribe C. As there was no more space available for the Sanctus, he copied it on the blank folios between gatherings 18 and 19, adding a reference at the bottom of fol. 72r ('Sanctus: require in foliis 144'). His intervention is, thus, an addition made after the assembling and binding of the manuscript, without any further retouching by Gaffurius. His textual script is a humanistic cursive, written in ochre ink. At first sight, its similarity to Gaffurius's own script can give rise to doubts: his musical script, however, is different (see Fig. 2.19).



Fig. 2.19. Librone 2, fol. 69v: Scribe E

Scribe B

As in Librone 1, Scribe B's copying work in Librone 2 is entirely dedicated to Gaffurius's compositions (Fig. 2.20). He copied a total of three gatherings and two folios, in two separate blocks. On gathering 11 he copied the *Missa De tous biens pleine* (fols. 84r–93r), occupying also the first recto of the next gathering, subsequently copied by a different scribe. Gathering 11 is irregular: of the Kyrie I, only the voices of Contratenor altus and Contratenor bassus are present on fol. 84r, whereas the Cantus and Tenor must have been on the facing folio (constituting a bifolium with fol. 92), lost before the foliation and binding. The current facing folio, 83v, remained blank; Gaffurius's own index lists the mass as starting on fol. 85v, because most of its references point directly to the beginning of the Gloria, according to the Ambrosian use. Scribe B returns in gathering 15, a regular quaternion (fols. 118–25), in which he transcribed the master's *Missa O Clara luce*, expanding also on the subsequent gathering, a simple binion (fols. 126–29). The folios in this group are very similar, in paper and preparation, to those of Librone 1. Scribe B does not seem used to leaving blank the first recto and the last verso of the gatherings, as customary for Scribe A and other scribes: in gathering 15 he started the Kyrie on the first recto with all the voices on one page (fol. 118r), and the same happened for the Agnus on the last verso (fol. 129v). This is Scribe B's last contribution to the Libroni, after which he left the scene.



Fig. 2.20. Librone 2, fol. 86r: Scribe B

Scribe F

Scribe F intervened in gathering 12, after the first recto on which Scribe B had finished transcribing a mass by Gaffurius. This gathering and the following one, until the first recto of no. 14 (fols. 93v–110r) are entirely occupied by Gaffurius's compositions. Jeppesen indicated gatherings 12 and 13 as irregular (8+2 and 8–1 respectively),⁷² but if we accept the idea that gathering 11 instead is irregular, for the loss

72. Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 15.

of a folio between the current fols. 83 and 84 (as suggested above), gatherings 12 and 13 would in fact be regular quaternions, each dedicated to a mass (fols. 93–100 and 101–9, keeping in mind the skip of 103 in the foliation).

Scribe F wrote a late fifteenth-century calligraphic script, influenced by the end-of-the-century chancery scripts and by print typefaces: note the *a* with a long oblique pen stroke, the ubiquitous round *s*, the looped-stroke ligatures *ct* and *st*, the ligature for the conjunction *et*, and the chancery flourishes (Fig. 2.21). It is a decidedly later hand than the others in the Libroni: also the large-format ink decoration and the sometimes markedly out-of-scale voice names added vertically in the margin point in this direction. Scribe F did not insert any hyphen between divided syllables. The preparation of the page is the usual one, with the six prick-holes of the double rastrum visible in the margin; this scribe, however, had the distinctive habits of re-inking the staves freehand and tracing the guideline (and occasionally the mean line as well) for the text in lead pencil between the staves. Furthermore, fols. 94–117 have no indentation.



Fig. 2.21. Librone 2, fol. 99r: Scribe F

Scribe F also worked on the last gathering, transcribing an anonymous *Te deum* at fols. 204v–209r (probably a ternion, ruled with eleven staves, inserted within the binion of fols. 202/203 and 210/211, ruled with twelve staves). Jeppesen thought it was a different hand:⁷³ this does not seem to be the case, although the *ductus* is more cursive; moreover, we find again the habit of tracing the additional guideline for the text and re-inking the staves.

Gaffurius

Gaffurius's interventions in Librone 2 are less extensive than in Librone 1, and often aimed at completing sections already written by other scribes. This is true in particular for the sections copied by Scribe C and Scribe D. Gaffurius intervened in gathering 1, at fols. 6v–7r, in order to underlay the text of the motet *O beata*

73. Ibid. 16.

praesulis to the music already written by Scribe C, in a phase probably close to Gaff³ (although the lack of musical notation makes the assessment more difficult): the ink is black, the script semi-cursive, in small to medium size. Similar also is the intervention at fols. 155v–157r, again adding text under Scribe C’s notation. At the end of the first block by Scribe C, on the last opening of gathering 2 (fols. 18v–19r), Gaffurius inserted an anonymous Sanctus: here the pen is thin, the ink a brilliant black, and the script cursive; therefore we can associate this intervention with the Gaff⁸ phase. Gaffurius’s next intervention is in gathering 7, a binion in whose first half Scribe A copied motets by Weerbeke: after an empty opening at fols. 53v–54r, Gaffurius transcribed his own motets *O sacrum convivium* and *Accepta Christi munera* (fols. 54v–56r), with a quite broad pen and a definitely ochre ink (Gaff⁷; see Fig. 2.22).

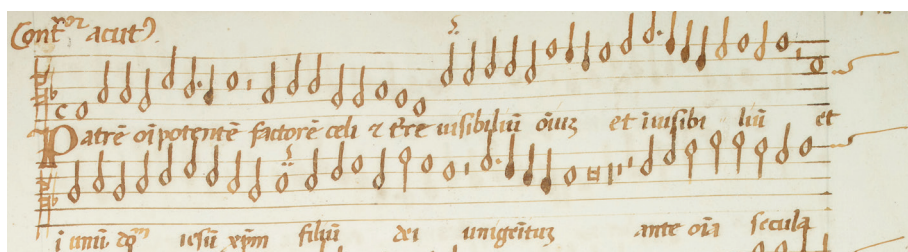


Fig. 2.22. Librone 2, fol. 112r: Gaff⁷

To the same phase belongs the intervention connecting gatherings 8 and 9, with an anonymous Sanctus written at fols. 63v–65r. Again with the same pen and script Gaffurius transcribed two masses at fols. 110v–117r of gathering 14 (whose first recto was written by Scribe F). The Credo of the second mass is interrupted at fols. 116v–117r: Gaffurius must have realized that he needed two more openings to conclude; thus he left fol. 117v blank (the facing first recto of gathering 15 was already filled by Scribe B, with four voices on the same page, as described above), inserted a reference at the bottom of fol. 117r (*Verte cito ad finem libri in foliis 2010 [sic]*), and skipped to the end of the manuscript (gathering 26), where he completed the Credo at fols. 209v–211r. Gaffurius entered a similar reference at fol. 133r, at the end of the Credo of the *Missa brevis octavi toni* written by Scribe D (*Sanctus require in foliis 136*). Here he probably wanted to have an alternative Sanctus, instead of the one combined with a motet copied consecutively by Scribe D at fols. 133v–135r; he thus inserted it at fols. 135v–136r, that is, on the facing pages left blank between gatherings 17 and 18, with the cursive script and the ochre ink that we have learned to recognize as Gaff⁷.

A further intervention aimed at completing the text under the notes is at fols. 137v–139r, written by Scribe D. Here Gaffurius’s hand seems, especially in the first

lines, slightly faltering, possibly trembling: it might be a very late addition by the master (Gaff⁹).

2.3. *The decoration*

The decoration of *Librone 2* is even less homogeneous than that of *Librone 1*: it changes when the scribe changes and in some sections it is completely missing. This confirms, on the one hand, the identity between scribe and calligrapher (though with one exception), and on the other casts further light on the compilation of the manuscript. As usual, our discussion will follow the succession of folios.

In the section copied by Scribe C the minor decoration, always drawn in pen, follows the *cadell* style, widespread in the manuscripts of the last quarter of the fifteenth century beyond the Alps, and more common in Italy a few decades later, extending, in the early Cinquecento, to non-musical manuscripts: we find big ink initials, with parallel broad-edged pen strokes and ribbon-like braidings, sometimes expanding into the outer margin as a sort of flourish (Fig. 2.23).



Fig. 2.23. *Librone 2*: decorated initials by Scribe C: (a) fol. 159v; (b) fol. 154v

In the gatherings written by Scribe A, the decoration is missing, although the scribe had consistently inserted the guide letters (just as in the last two gatherings of *Librone 1*). The section written by Scribe D has initials decorated in ink with parallel pen strokes (Fig. 2.24a), sometimes filled in and decorated with frog spawn, just like those present in the sections written by Scribe B in *Librone 1* (Fig. 2.24b). In one case there is also a pen flourish on the external margin (Fig. 2.24c).

The decoration of the section written by Scribe B too is entirely similar to that of his section in Librone 1, sometimes with flourishes in the margin, similar to that of the first opening of Librone 1 (Fig. 2.25a–b). Just as in Librone 1, we find also simpler initials, with parallel pen strokes without filling, for instance in the lower part of the page with initial and flourishes (Fig. 2.25c).



Fig. 2.24. Librone 2: decorated initials in section by Scribe D: (a) fol. 136v; (b) Librone 1, fol. 133v; (c) Librone 2, fol. 130v



Fig. 2.25. Librone 2: decorated initials in section by Scribe B: (a) fol. 91r; (b) fol. 119r; (c) fol. 121v

As we have demonstrated above (see §1.3), the hand responsible for such decoration cannot be Scribe B, whose style for minor initials was different, and all hints seem to point to an independent calligrapher. This is, then, the main, two-fold exception to the coincidence between scribe and calligrapher that seems to

dominate in the Libroni: the same motifs recur in the first gathering of Librone 1, written by Gaffurius, in the section by Scribe B there, and in the sections by Scribes B and D in Librone 2. The minor decoration establishes, thus, a strong connection between Librone 1 and Librone 2: also in view of the discussion of the different hands above, we might think of a first phase in the preparation of Librone 2 involving Scribes B and D, as well as Scribe A (for his presence in Librone 1) and C (for his collaboration with D). The role of the calligrapher who was called to decorate parts of Librone 1 and of Librone 2 seems to have been precisely that of giving a certain stylistic unity to gatherings copied by different hands.

Might this calligrapher be the same Antonio da Lampugnano who, according to a document in the Duomo Archive, had been paid to *facere psalmos* in some gatherings written by Pozzobonello in December 1489 (although the manuscript at issue cannot be identified)?⁷⁴ Together with that of Pozzobonello, Lampugnano's is the only name mentioned in the Duomo documents for our period in relation to the preparation of music books. In the records of the Veneranda Fabbrica there is an order for payment dated 4 December 1489 to a Magister Antonius de Lampugnano 'in faciendo nonnullos psalmos in libro a cantu figurato scripto per dominum presbiterum Johannem Petrum de Putheobonello pro usu prefate Fabricae'.⁷⁵ The same documents mention the 'scriptur[a] nonnullarum litterarum per eum factarum et descriptorum super tres lapides'. He was, therefore, a craftsman, a calligrapher also working on epigraphs. Unlike with Pozzobonello, we have more information about him and, what is more, we have other works by him. He was active also as a scribe: he copied, probably as a young man, a sumptuous *Treatise of Falconry and Hunting* (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, MS 368 [*olim* MS 1375]) written for Duke Francesco Sforza. In the subscription dated 1459, Lampugnano styled himself 'cognatus et discipulus Iacobi de Caponago' (see Fig. 2.26).

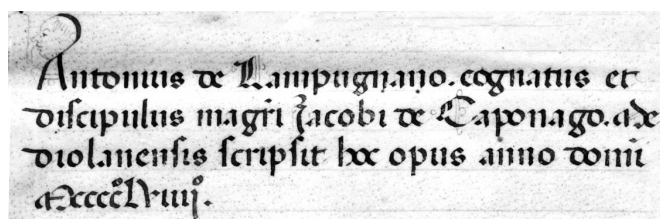


Fig. 2.26. Colophon naming the scribe Antonio da Lampugnano in a treatise on falconry. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, MS 368 (*olim* MS 1375), fol. 108v

74. Based on a close reading of the documents, Filippi tends to exclude the possibility that the manuscript was Librone 1 (see his chapter in the present volume), but there remains a degree of uncertainty.

75. AVFDMi, *Registri*, 672, fol. 68r. For the interpretation of 'nonnullos psalmos', see Pier Luigi Mulas, 'Codici miniati di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio', *Viglevanum*, 17 (2007), 8–27.

Of his master, Giacomo da Caponago, we know that he was a calligrapher too, and an expert in music manuscripts: in 1447 the prior of the Milanese Convent of Santa Maria Incoronata gave him the task of writing, notating, and binding four large choirbooks.⁷⁶ Some years later, Antonio's reputation must have become established, since the Fabbrica del Duomo charged him with some interventions in the minor decoration of the Ambrosian breviary known as *Beroldo* (Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS Triv. 2262), copied in 1396–99 by Andreolo Medici da Novate and decorated by Giovannino and Salomone Grassi.⁷⁷ In that case too the document refers to 'solutione aminiandi psalmos 189 ... et item pro psalmitis 293 parvis':⁷⁸ in all likelihood what is meant is the small initials, alternately in red and blue, with blue or red flourishes respectively. Antonio followed in the steps of his master: he copied the text (but not the notation) of the six choirbooks for the Chiesa Rossa of Crescenzago, commissioned by Giacomo Marliani between 1487 and 1491 (Milan, Biblioteca e Archivio di Sant'Ambrogio, MSS M45–M50), notated by the canon of Santa Maria delle Grazie Cristoforo Camponi⁷⁹ and decorated with flourished initials by the Carmelite Biagio di Grancino da Melegnano;⁸⁰ the artist of the major illuminations, however, still remains hidden under the name of 'Maestro dei Corali di Crescenzago'.⁸¹ In the same period, in 1492, Antonio da Lampugnano wrote a processional antiphony for the Oblates of Rho (now Milan, Biblioteca dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, MS UC 5), again notated by Cristoforo Camponi, who commissioned the manuscript.⁸² In that manuscript we find the habit of inserting small faces in the ink initials, already present in the treatise of falconry (Fig. 2.27), and common to some of the Libroni scribes, notably Scribe I of Librone 3 (see below): it is precisely by comparing the initials decorated in this way that it is possible to recognize the distinctive traits of each scribe/calligrapher, within a shared *usus*.

76. Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato*, 341.

77. For this manuscript and an updated bibliography see Federica Peruzzo, 'Il "Breviarium Ambrosianum" di Pietro Casola (1490)', *Ricerche storiche sulla Chiesa Ambrosiana*, 24 (2006), 9–51 at 21.

78. *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, ii (Milan: G. Brigola, 1877), 240–41.

79. Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato*, 617.

80. On the activity of this calligrapher, see Marco D'Agostino and Martina Pantarotto (eds.), *I manoscritti datati della provincia di Pavia*, *Manoscritti datati d'Italia*, 33 (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2020), record no. 2.

81. Pier Luigi Mulas, 'Maestro di Crescenzago', in Milvia Bollati (ed.), *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: Secoli IX–XV* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004), 479–80.

82. See the facsimile by Giacomo Baroffio and Eun Ju Kim (eds.), *Antiphonarium letaniarum: Processionale Ambrosiano del 1492. Milano, Biblioteca dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Manoscritto UC MS 5* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2008).

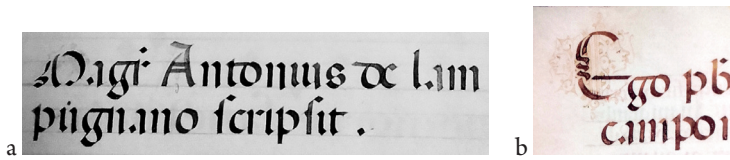


Fig. 2.27. Scribal hand of Antonio da Lampugnano in an antiphoner for the Oblates of Rho. Milan, Università Cattolica, MS 5, (a) fols. 66v and (b) 65v

Indeed it would be tempting to think that Antonio da Lampugnano was the calligrapher who worked on *Libroni 1* and *2*, but his currently known works do not allow us to verify this hypothesis: the minor decoration of the *Beroldo*, a lavishly decorated fourteenth-century manuscript, corresponds to completely different aesthetic criteria, while in the other manuscripts he copied, the decoration, including the minor one, was entered by different hands. His hand as a scribe is known, but his style as a calligrapher and artists still awaits specific study.

The few folios copied by Scribe E in *Librone 2* do not have any decoration. In the sections written by Scribe F, the decoration is different from the rest of the manuscript in that it displays an indecisive approach, inspired by a wavering taste. It looks as if he was making clumsy attempts at developing a personal style: there are both major and minor initials in red or blue, and ink cadel initials with added touches in red (see Fig. 2.28). There are even, at fol. 109r, two pasted initials cut out from a parchment fragment.



Fig. 2.28. *Librone 2*: decorated initials in section by Scribe F: (a) fol. 93v; (b) fol. 107v; (c) fol. 97r; (d) fol. 109r

2.4. *The compilation*

In Librone 2 there seems to be a closer collaboration between Gaffurius and the team of scribes he supervises, two of which were already active in Librone 1; here too, however, the section by Scribe A seems to be rather autonomous. In Librone 2 too Gaffurius inscribes rubrics in the top margin (not all such rubrics are in his hand, though), adds some further indications and cross-references elsewhere ('verte cito ad finem libri in foliis 2010 [=210]' [fol. 117r], 'Sanctus require in foliis 136' [fol. 133r]), and minimal, sometimes almost unnoticeable, corrections to the work of the other scribes. Sometimes he also completed the text underlaid to the notes when other scribes had inserted only the incipit or omitted the text altogether. In comparison to Librone 1, the hands alternate so frequently that it is more difficult to recognize autonomous blocks: it is easier to postulate a distribution of the copying work and an alternation of scribes working at the same time, at least for the sections of Scribes C and D. It is, however, possible to make some further observations by combining the data regarding the (original) gatherings, the blank folios, the hands, and the decoration. Some sections or kernels emerge. The most obvious example is, as said, the group of works by Martini, Tinctoris, Gaffurius, Compère and Weerbeke, copied by Scribe A at fols. 20v–53r (gatherings 3–7), preceded and followed by a blank folio. Similarly autonomous are the two and a half gatherings copied by Scribe B, again preceded and followed by blank folios (here, however, in the adjacent gatherings, as Scribe B tended to start on the first recto of the gathering), with Gaffurius's masses *De tous biens pleine* (fols. 84r–93r) and *O Clara luce* (fols. 118r–129v); for these folios the irregularity of the gatherings and the lacuna between fols. 83 and 84 (see above) makes one think of a previous dismembering and reassembling.

The only paper to show a watermark (see Fig. 2.15 above) is that of the gatherings copied by Scribe D and of an internal folio of gathering 10 (fol. 74r), which is the only sexternion in the Librone: presumably, Scribe C used here a bifolium left blank in the gatherings written by Scribe D (possibly from gathering 17, the only ternion of the volume, whose paper also shows the watermark). We may even think that the four and a half gatherings written by Scribe D (fols. 56v–63r and 130v–154r), characterized, as said, by a slightly different preparation of the page, originally formed an autonomous project (or part of a different project), and were then repurposed by Gaffurius for inclusion in Librone 2. It is in any case interesting to note that in the section written by Scribe D we see at work the same calligrapher who had intervened in the sections written by Scribe B and by Gaffurius himself in Librone 1, and who was again active in the section written by Scribe B in the present manuscript. Therefore the gatherings written by Scribes B and D, decorated by the same calligrapher under Gaffurius's supervision, can be said to represent

a first phase, whose possible subphases must have been close in time. The way Gaffurius had to distribute his most substantial scribal contribution to Librone 2 between gatherings 14 and 26 (see above) suggests that Scribe B's section (gatherings 15–16) had already been incorporated in the Librone at that point, and that the master's work came later. If the section by Scribe A maintains its autonomy, that by Scribe B is connected with that of Scribe D; but in turn Scribe D's work is intertwined with that of Scribe C (see especially the discussion of gathering 20 above): C and D might have worked together, and their gatherings saw further interventions by Gaffurius in order to complete the sung text.

In assembling Librone 2, Gaffurius relied mainly on Scribe C, who, differently from the other scribes considered so far, seems to prefer quinternions, and left the first recto and the last verso blank. As in Librone 1, Gaffurius's interventions in Librone 2, though less substantial, were entered at different times, and again we can surmise that some sections were still blank when the manuscript was bound. The first phase regards fols. 6v–7v and 154v–157r and corresponds to Gaff³. A different, and more substantial and systematic, phase of intervention (Gaff⁷) happened after the assembling of the sections by Scribes A, B, C, and D, and even after the later interventions by Scribe F, who in turn apparently used spaces previously left blank in order to be filled in later (especially gatherings 12–14). Gaffurius took over from Scribe F in gathering 14 as well as in the last folios of gathering 26, in which he finished copying a mass inserted in gathering 14: at this point, most, if not all, of the manuscript was already set up. Later on (Gaff⁸), he wrote fols. 18v–19r with cursive script and black ink, again filling in gaps between existing sections. Finally, a further minor intervention, simply aimed at completing the text under Scribe D's notes at fols. 137r–139r, seems to belong to a much later phase (Gaff⁹), given the trembling of the semi-cursive ductus.

Once again, Gaffurius's interventions seem driven by the logic of filling in the spaces that remained blank between gatherings and of making some insertions (and probably some displacements, even at the risk of altering the regular composition of the gatherings), until the volume took his final shape. Among the other scribes, the last, chronologically, was Scribe E, who inserted a mass, distributing it between the final folios of gathering 9 and the blank ones between gatherings 18 and 19.

2.5 *The index*

Gaffurius provided each Librone (with the possible exception of Librone [4], about which we cannot know) with an autograph index, after foliating the manuscript himself. It was a congenial operation for him, as can be seen from many volumes in his library: since, however, the indexes were generally entered on

pastedowns or flyleaves, they are often lost or only fragmentarily preserved. This last is the case with *Librone 2*: the remaining fragments are currently pasted on the recto of a folio at the beginning of the manuscript.⁸³ The index is organized by musical genres, with the top part dedicated to the masses (the heading is lost) and the lower one to the motets (under the heading 'Motetti'). Here too we can discern several later additions, but for a thorough discussion of the entries I refer the reader to the specific contribution about the indexes by Filippi in this volume ('Gaffurius's Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of *Libroni 1–3*').

3. *Librone 3* (*olim MS 2267*)

3.1. *Material and codicological description*

Paper manuscript; fols. III (modern flyleaves), 1 (an ancient flyleaf numbered '3' in pencil by a modern hand), 217, III' (modern flyleaves). The manuscript consists of 217 fols.; the foliation, written by Gaffurius himself on the upper right margin of each recto, starts with '11' (as the codex is acephalous) and ends with '227'. The format is 'in folio': 487 × 340. The gatherings do not seem to have been altered during the 1950s restoration: 1–2 (8), 3–8 (10), 9 (12), 10 (10), 11–12 (8), 13 (11, a quinternion with leaf inserted after the first six), 14 (an artificial quinternion in which the first and the last folios, devoid of conjoint leaves, are pasted together with the following and the previous folio respectively), 15–16 (8), 17–18 (10), 19–20 (8), 21–23 (10).⁸⁴ The paper shows no watermarks and is homogeneous in the entire manuscript. The writing-block is 487 × 340 = 41 [383] 63 × 24 [266] 50, with 10 staves + 10 lines of text (fol. 19r; often a staff is added in the lower margin in order to complete a voice part); the ruling, normally without indentation, is in lead pencil for the vertical bounding lines and in ochre ink for the staves. A double 20-mm rastrum was used, with 18-mm spacings: six prick-holes are visible on the outer margin, one corresponding to each pair of staves and the sixth underneath the last staff. In some gatherings an additional series of five holes is also visible, for the lines of text. Fol. 1v is completely blank, whereas fols. 11r, 36v, 98v–99r, 116v–117r, 124v–125r, 171v–172r, 196v–198r, and 227v contain empty staves (at fol. 227v there are several sixteenth-century *probationes penna*, mentioning a certain 'Antonio Maria').

The modern cover (518 × 360) is in wooden boards and leather and neomedieval in taste, with two clasps, cornerpieces, and bosses, and the logo of the Veneranda

83. When Jeppesen saw it, before the 1950s restoration, it was on the 'Versoseite' (Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes', 15).

84. The only differences from the description given by Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes', 15 regard gatherings 13–15.

Fabbrica del Duomo embossed at the top of the front board. At the top of the spine it bears, imprinted in gold, the current shelfmark (3), at the bottom the previous one (2267).

3.2. *The fragments*

Two fragmentary, non-consecutive loose folios have been recently recovered in the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica (now placed in a folder with shelfmark 'Librone 3bis' and labelled 'Fragment 1' and 'Fragment 2'). They were probably sent back to the Archive as attachments after the 1950s restoration of Librone 3, to which they seem to belong for the mise-en-page and the scribal hand.

Fragment 1 is the upper part of a folio: it measures 328 × 336 and presents an irregular external margin; the original foliation is partially visible: a '2' followed by a '4' or '6'. The recto contains empty staves, while the verso contains the Cantus and the beginning of the Altus of an anonymous *Magnificat* (a total of eight staves are visible, of which the last four are incomplete because of the material loss on the right side of the page).⁸⁵ Fragment 2 is, instead, the lower part of a folio; it measures 270 × 327 and presents an irregular external margin. The recto shows six staves (the last of which added in the lower margin), with the Bassus of the second part of a motet for St Catherine by Loyset Compère, *Gaude prole regia*. The verso is completely blank. For a more thorough discussion of the fragments and of their possible relation with Librone 3, I refer again to Filippi's chapter in this volume.

3.3. *Palaeographical description*

Librone 3 is smaller in size than Libroni 1 and 2, but contains more pages: it originally had at least 227 fols., on which six scribes, besides Gaffurius, were at work. The distribution of the workload was uneven: the scribes who copied most of the manuscript were only two (Scribes G and I); Scribe J and Gaffurius made substantial interventions, whereas the contributions of some scribes were minimal. Scribe A was again part of the team, although he copied only one gathering (fols. 27v–36r). Scribe J, instead, was active also in Librone [4], and worked in close collaboration with the master. As usual, we shall examine the different hands in order of appearance, leaving for later the account of the succession of phases in the compilation of the manuscript.

85. The same *Magnificat* is preserved in Librone 1 (fols. 60v–62r).

Scribe G

The role of main scribe in Librone 3 is held by Scribe G, who intervenes on ten out of twenty-three gatherings (without writing them entirely, though). His interventions are found at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the volume. We find his hand right at the (acephalous) beginning of the Librone: his script is a traditional *textualis*, whereas his mise-en-page is characterized by the vertical voice names (with calligraphic decoration of the initials) and by the major initial in ink reserved to the Cantus and sometimes accompanied or substituted by a liturgical rubric (fols. 14v, 17v, and 20v). His pages look tidy and composed, with minor decoration extending to simple capital letters (Fig. 2.29).

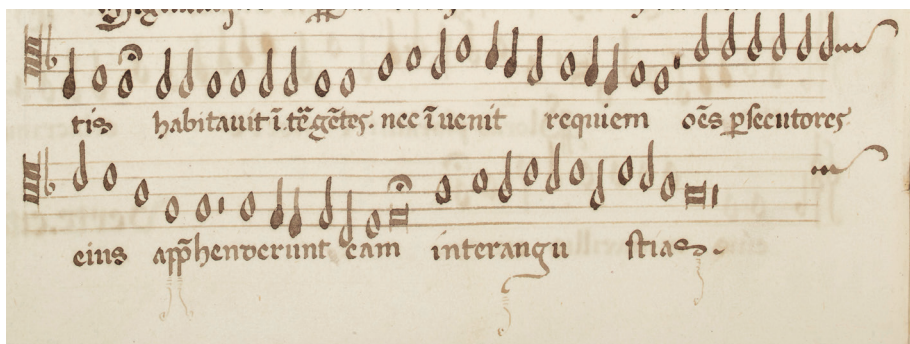


Fig. 2.29. Librone 3, fol. 12v: Scribe G

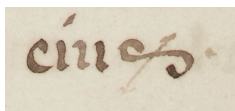


Fig. 2.30. Librone 3, fol. 15r: Scribe G

Scribe G has some further distinctive habits: for instance, he sometimes prolongs downwards the vertical pen strokes in the last text line, or prolongs horizontally the last stroke of a letter at the end of the line (as in the *e* or in the final round *s*: see Fig. 2.30).

Although Scribe G likes to insert some swashes in the complementary pen strokes of some letters, his script is composed: in the initial gatherings the descenders of *f* and *s* rest on the baseline, while later on they cross it and finish with a slight leftward curve; the *d* either has a tall and upright ascender or retains the gothic shape with an almost horizontal shaft; the final *s* is round or somewhat compressed and reduced in its lower curve, or even prolonged as mentioned above.

He used a medium-thick pen and a dark ink; the script rests on a guideline traced in pencil and equidistant from the staves, but there is no prick-hole visible in the margin; a double oblique hyphen traced with the edge of the pen marks the divided syllables, though not systematically. The final bar lines can be double (triple at fols. 94v–97r), or decorated on the right side with a triangle of superimposed globes, in the shape of a honeycomb, sometimes entered with the edge of the pen in very thin strokes. The final punctuation mark is a horizontal comma, only sometimes preceded by a dot or two superimposed dots. After the first two gatherings with the *Lamentatio Ieremiae* (fols. 11v–24r: the transcription ends on the antepenultimate folio of gathering 2), we find Scribe G again in gatherings 9 and 10 (fols. 87v–106r). In gathering 9, exceptionally a sexternion, Scribe G copied a mass by Isaac, starting on the first verso and inserting the text almost exclusively under the Cantus, with the first two words only under the other voices. In gathering 10 he continued with the anonymous *Missa O venus bant*,⁸⁶ leaving unwritten the last verso of gathering 9 and the first recto of the next one (fols. 98v–99r); he concluded leaving empty the last two folios, as in gathering 2. In gathering 12, a regular quaternion, Scribe G copied Gaffurius's *Missa de carneval* (fols. 117v–124r), leaving the first recto and the last verso blank. In gatherings 16–19 matters become slightly more complicated. Scribe G used gathering 16, a regular quaternion, for Gaffurius's *Missa sexti toni irregularis* (fols. 154v–159r), leaving the first recto and, as in gatherings 2 and 10, the last two folios blank: here Scribe J took over from him, and the difference between their scripts and the general layouts of their pages becomes apparent if one compares fols. 154r and 154v. Gatherings 17 and 18 are, instead, quinternions. On the first verso of gathering 17 Scribe G began the transcription of a series of motets, continuing until the last recto (fols. 162v–171r); as usual, he resumed on the first verso of gathering 18, copying a motet and a Magnificat (fols. 172v–176r), and left the second half of the gathering unused. In gathering 19 Scribe G started again on the first verso and copied another series of motets, some by Gaffurius and some anonymous (fols. 182v–187r); again, he left the last two folios unwritten.

Even though the current codicological structure of Librone 3 appears rather incoherent (but, as said, it was probably already so before the last century's restoration, or even from its origin), we realize that Scribe G normally worked with regular quaternions, leaving the first recto and the last verso blank. (All gatherings written by Scribe G show traces of the six prick-holes for a double rastrum on the outer margin.) We can even say that he used to finish his transcriptions before

86. On which see Agnese Pavanello, 'A Flemish Venus in Milan: Gaspar van Weerbeke's "Missa O Venus Bant"', *Early Music History*, 38 (2019), 107–39. For the irregularities in the transcription of the various sections of this mass, see Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', 335–36.

reaching the end of the gatherings: in five out of ten gatherings (nos. 2, 10, 16, 18, and 19) he did not use the entire gathering, but left the last folios (sometimes even more than two) blank. These empty spaces were filled in later by different hands. It is the same approach seen in Libroni 1 and 2, and this confirms that Scribe G worked under the supervision of Gaffurius, and in close collaboration with him. In four cases it is Scribe J who filled in the rest of the gathering, occupying also the first recto of the following one, in a way similar to what Gaffurius himself did in Libroni 1 and 2. Apparently anomalous is the last intervention by Scribe G in Librone 3: in gathering 23, he did not copy the first folios, but rather the second half of the quinternion, after the isolated *Spiritus domini replevit* (fols. 220v–221r). His transcription of an anonymous *Stabat mater* begins on the last verso of the central bifolium. Apart from the previous intervention by Scribe G, the first half of the gathering was compiled by Gaffurius: in this case, it would seem that Gaffurius intervened before Scribe G, and not after him, as elsewhere. This inconsistency would find a partial explanation if we were to imaginarily turn the gathering inside out along its fold — it would then start with fol. 223, with the recto unwritten as usual. Scribe G began copying the *Stabat mater* on the first verso (fol. 223v) until the middle of the gathering; then he left two folios unwritten and resumed with *Spiritus domini replevit*, of which he penned only the music: again, an incomplete gathering, and an unfinished transcription. It was Gaffurius who added the text under the notes, and then decided to turn the gathering inside out in order to use the unwritten folios and continue the series of motets from the previous gathering.

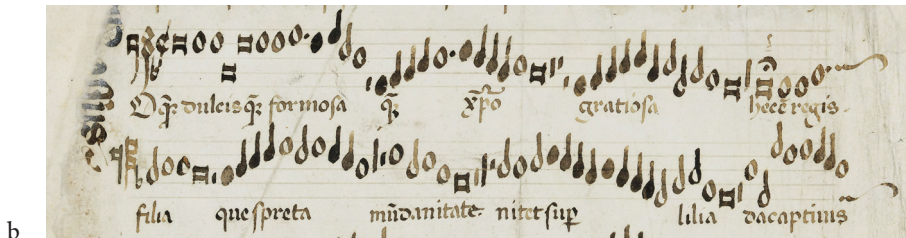


Fig. 2.31. Scribe G: (a) 3bis Fragment 1; (b) 3bis Fragment 2

Scribe G also wrote the two recently recovered fragments examined above: it is precisely the identity of graphic approach, decoration, and mise-en-page that certifies the provenance of the two folios from the original structure of Librone 3 (see Fig. 2.31 a–b). For a discussion of their possible position within the manuscript, I refer the reader again to Filippi’s chapter.

Scribe H

Scribe H copied only a *Missa Je ne demande* at fols. 24v–27r, that is, on the last two folios of gathering 2 and the first recto of gathering 3. It seems a late addition: his script, penned in black ink, with broad ascenders and descenders and cursive elements, already follows sixteenth-century models (Fig. 2.32). Gaffurius added the title ‘Je ne domando’. The notation presents diamond-shaped note heads and a *custos* with an ample concave curl. Furthermore, an entry in the index of Librone 3 informs us that the Gloria of the same mass started at fol. ‘8’ (= 7v–8r, now lost); therefore it appears clear that Scribe H worked after at least gatherings 1–3 had been assembled, filling in the pages left blank by Scribes G and A.⁸⁷



Fig. 2.32. Librone 3, fol. 25r: Scribe H

Scribe A

In Librone 3 Scribe A wrote just one gathering, no. 3 (fols. 27–36), transcribing a mass by Alexander Agricola (Fig. 2.33). Once again he left the first recto blank (it was later filled in by Scribe H, as just discussed). In contrast to in Libroni 1 and 2, in which Scribe A’s hand was steady and confident, in spite of the cursive tendency, here it is noticeably trembling and the stems of the notes slant irregularly (Fig. 2.34).

87. See Filippi’s ‘Gaffurius’s Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of Libroni 1–3’ in the present volume.



Fig. 2.33. Librone 3, fol. 28v: Scribe A

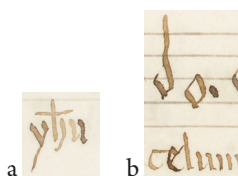


Fig. 2.34. Librone 3, fol. 30r: tremulous hand of Scribe A

The preparation of the page in the gathering is homogeneous with the rest of the manuscript: the ruling has no indentation and was made with a double rastrum; there is no decoration, but the scribe reserved space for the initials and entered the guide letters. The final bar line is double and the *custos* has a thickening terminal. Sometimes, but not always, the divided syllables are marked with a thin (and trembling) horizontal hyphen traced with the edge of the pen, like those of words broken at the end of the line.

Scribe I

After Scribe A's gathering 3, a new scribe takes over in gathering 4, Scribe I. This scribe copied, in six gatherings and some folios, works by Brumel, Josquin, Compère, and some anonymous compositions. Unlike Jeppesen, I ascribe fols. 108v–110r to a different hand, that of Scribe J (the difference is apparent from the musical and textual script, the capital letters, the final bar lines, and the style of the decoration). Scribe I's six gatherings, all quinternions, are divided into two blocks. The first (fols. 37r–54r and 57v–78r) begins on the first recto of gathering 4 and continues seamlessly into gathering 5, until the antepenultimate folio, on which Scribe I ended the Gloria of the *Missa Cent mille scude*. Scribe I resumed writing on the first verso of gathering 6 (fol. 57v) and again continued seamlessly until the second folio of gathering 8, where he stopped. The second block follows after some gatherings mainly copied by Scribe G, and consists of gatherings 13–14, including

also the first two folios of gathering 15 (fols. 125v–147r); here Scribe I copied a motet cycle by Compère (the famous *Galeazescha*), followed by Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* and *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae*.

Although they share with the surrounding gatherings the same ruling scheme with no indentation, the folios penned by Scribe I present an additional series of ten prick-holes in the margin, corresponding to the text guidelines traced in pencil. The ink is brown and the script is a formal chancery, after the style of the new century, with separated letters, sinuous stems, round *d* and *r*, one-stroke *x*, and a slight rightward slant (Fig. 2.35). The calligraphic initial is the first letter of the text in the Cantus only, whereas for the other voices it is the initial of their voice name (sometimes decorated with great care). Both in the line and at line-breaks, the syllable division is sometimes marked by a thin, double, oblique hyphen, close to the first syllable involved.



Fig. 2.35. Librone 3, fol. 40r: Scribe I

The folios penned by Scribe I look like an autonomous section within the volume: the collection of masses (none of them by Gaffurius) starts on the first recto of gathering 4, with four voices on the same page. As a matter of fact, fol. 37r presents the characteristics of an opening page, with the paper darkened by exposure to light and a partial loss of ink colour. His group of gatherings is connected to the rest of Librone 3 only through additions inserted by Scribe J or Gaffurius himself. The presence of Compère's [*Missa*] *Galeazescha* at the beginning of his second block (fols. 125v–135r) might suggest that this was an early kernel, but in the same block we find Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* too, which suggests 1502 as a *terminus post quem*:⁸⁸ we are, then, around the first years of the sixteenth century.

Scribe I also copied the MS Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2441 (Fig. 2.36).⁸⁹ It is a musical manuscript of a

88. See Pavanello's chapter in the present volume.

89. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26/2 (1973), 305–26; William F. Prizer, 'Secular Music at Milan during the Early Cinquecento: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS

completely different nature:⁹⁰ a collection of secular songs (*frottole*) by various composers, but mostly anonymous; the format is oblong, 146 × 210 mm. Interestingly, the paper presents a watermark with an ox head surmounted by a cross (not present in Briquet): it is different from the one in *Librone 2*, but the motif is the same and some specific elements are similar (the horns wide apart, the head with eyes and nostrils), confirming its Milanese provenance (years later the same motif, although with a few differences, is present in the paper of some registers of the *Veneranda Fabbrica*).



Fig. 2.36. Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2441, fol. 4r

The *mise-en-page* accommodates five staves per page, under which, starting from fol. 2v, are gathered the song stanzas. The sixty-eight compositions are not attributed in the manuscript, but for at least thirty-one the identity of the composer is known: twelve are by Bartolomeo Tromboncino, nine by Marchetto Cara, four by Filippo di Lurano, two by Michele Pesenti, and one each by Zanino Bisan, Diomedes, Giacomo Fogliano, and Bartolomeo Cavassico.⁹¹ The manuscript has been

Basevi 2441', *Musica Disciplina*, 50 (1996), 9–57; and Renato Borghi, 'Il manoscritto Basevi 2441 della Biblioteca del Conservatorio L. Cherubini di Firenze: Edizione critica' (Ph.D. diss., Università degli studi di Pavia at Cremona, 1996).

90. For a description of the manuscript and a thorough examination of the existing literature, see Manuel Moreno, 'El Ducado de Milán y la transmisión de las composiciones castellanas en cancioneros musicales italianos: El manuscrito FC1', *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, 35 (2017), 512–33.

91. The attribution of *Fami, donna el mio dovere* to the Bellunese notary Cavassico prompted Prizer to move the dating of the manuscript to after 1510 (Prizer, 'Secular Music at Milan', 14); Borghi, 'Il manoscritto Basevi 2441', 75–80 further circumscribed the dating to 1512–13, the period of Marchetto Cara's travel to Milan. But see also Rodobaldo Tibaldi, 'Repertorio tradito e repertorio coevo nelle intavolature per canto e liuto raccolte da Francesco Bossinensis con uno

dated to the early 1510s: Scribe I's script in Librone 3 is less fluent and more controlled, thus probably confirming that the Duomo choirbook was penned some years earlier. Besides the identity of hand with our Scribe I, the presence of two compositions supports the Milanese origin of Basevi 2441: the only concordances for the texts of *Lassa hormai sta dura impresa* and *Io non so tenir nel cuore*, at fols. 43v–44r and 44v–45r, are in an anonymous Milanese Canzoniere, formerly belonging to the Trivulzio family and currently in a private collection.⁹² The hand of the Canzoniere copyist is recognizable as that of Giovanni Battista Lorenzi, active in Milan as scribe, chancellor, and secretary, who copied manuscripts for Ludovico il Moro, Massimiliano Sforza, and Gian Giacomo Trivulzio.⁹³ Not much is known of the anonymous Canzoniere, except that it is surely Milanese (one of the poems mentions the city); based on the style of the decoration, ascribable to the so-called Maestro B. F., it has been dated to slightly before 1510.⁹⁴ A mysterious tangle of letters included in the decoration (see Fig. 2.37) might reveal, once deciphered, the identity of the author (whose name is indicated with *R* in one of the poems) or at least of his beloved (indicated with *M*).⁹⁵

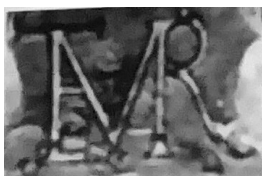


Fig. 2.37. Decoration in an anonymous Milanese Canzoniere

sguardo alle raccolte analoghe', in Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (eds.), *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale = Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10–13 ottobre 2001* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005), 491–590 at 565–66.

92. Laura Daniela Quadrelli, 'Edizione critica e commentata di un canzoniere milanese anonimo (XV–XVI secolo)' (Ph.D. diss., Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2017) and Quadrelli, 'Anonimo milanese', in Tiziano Zanato and Andrea Comboni (eds.), *Atlante dei canzonieri in volgare del Quattrocento*, Edizione nazionale i canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini, 7 (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017), 56–64.

93. See Giliola Barbero, 'Nuovi manoscritti di Giovanni Battista Lorenzi copista e segretario milanese', *Aevum*, 84/3 (2010), 695–709, and Marzia Pontone, 'I manoscritti trivulziani per Massimiliano Sforza e l'attività milanese del copista Giovanni Battista Lorenzi', *Aevum*, 87/3 (2013), 685–711.

94. On the partnership between the Maestro B. F. and Lorenzi, see Mulas, 'Codici miniati di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio', 13.

95. The current owner of the Canzoniere is not known; the only available reproductions are those included in Zanato and Comboni (eds.), *Atlante dei canzonieri in volgare*, from which Fig. 2.40 is taken.

The Canzoniere interests us because through it we detect a connection between one of Gaffurius's scribes, specializing in sacred music, and the secular milieu of the courts and of Milanese aristocracy. From the sacred music of Librone 3 we have moved on to the secular songs of Basevi 2441, and from there to the secular poetry without music of the Canzoniere, the work of a scribe known for his versatility (some documents penned by Lorenzi are also extant) and deeply rooted in Milanese cultural circles.⁹⁶ Giovanni Battista Lorenzi and our Scribe I, thus, had access to the same sources, or at least were involved in the same circulation of books (considering that the two manuscripts contain many *unica*). Moreover, the Canzoniere belonged to the Trivulzio collection, and Gian Giacomo Trivulzio 'il Magno' was the most relevant political figure in Milan after the fall of Ludovico il Moro. An additional link emerges once we recognize the hand of Scribe I among those of the MS Fondazione Trivulzio, Triv. 2079, containing the *Commentarii gestarum rerum illustrissimi principis Johannis Jacobi Trivultii*, a celebratory work that extols the deeds of Trivulzio from 1465 to 1494, written by the Abbot of Chiaravalle Arcangelo Madrignano between 1503 and 1509 (Fig. 2.38).⁹⁷

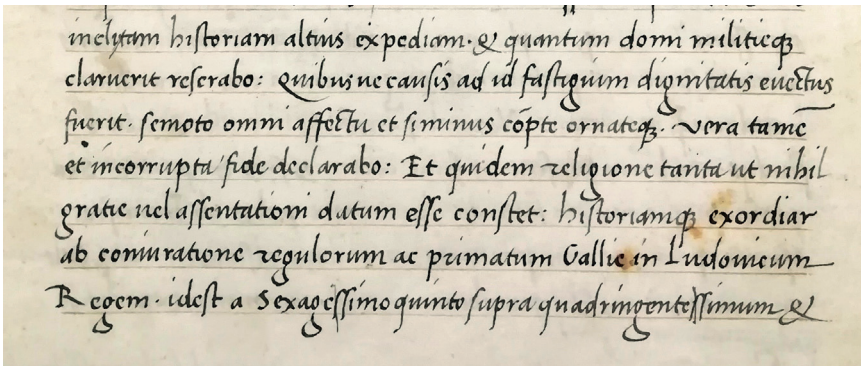


Fig. 2.38. Milan, Fondazione Trivulzio, MS Triv. 2079, fol. 10r: Scribe I

Triv. 2079 is a working manuscript, incomplete and composite: it comprises a parchment first gathering, illuminated, containing the preamble and the dedication to Trivulzio, and a paper section of one hundred and seventy folios, compiled

96. Among the many manuscripts penned by Lorenzi, we should at least mention the diptych for the young Massimiliano Sforza, son of Duke Ludovico: the *Liber Iesus* and the *Grammatica Donati*, Milan, Archivio Storico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MSS Triv. 2163 and 2167 (1496–98). See Pontone, 'I manoscritti trivulziani'.

97. See Giliola Barbero's report on the manuscript in Manus OnLine, <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=173493>; for an edition of Madrignano's work, see Arcangelo Madrignano, *Le imprese dell'illustrissimo Gian Giacomo Trivulzio il Magno: Dai codici trivulziani 2076, 2079, 2124*, ed. Marino Viganò (Milan: Fondazione Trivulzio, 2014).

by no fewer than eight scribes, under the author's supervision. The first, neatly completed, gathering was written by Lorenzi. The paper section is instead thick with notes, corrections, and insertions, probably by the author himself; the narrative, moreover, does not cover the full temporal range announced in the preamble, and therefore the work remained incomplete. The first scribe of the paper section is precisely our Scribe I (fols. 10r–26v): the slant of the script, the morphology of letters, the abbreviation signs and punctuation marks, the ligatures and nexus assure us of the identity of the hand. In Triv. 2079 we do not find the characteristic pen initials decorated with human faces present both in Librone 3 and in Basevi 2441, so distinctive of this scribe: here he is doing a different job, a 'service' transcription devoid of any decorative element.

The author of the *Commentarii* and supervisor of the copying work was the unscrupulous Abbot Arcangelo Madrignano, a career prelate gravitating in the circle of Trivulzio. He was listed among the *familiari* in the ledgers of Casa Trivulzio,⁹⁸ not only for this work, but also on other occasions, in connection with his hazardous political manoeuvres.⁹⁹ We thus find joined here the famous Lorenzi and the obscure Scribe I, and our itinerary from the Duomo Chapel to Milan's political and cultural circles in the first fifteen years of the sixteenth century reaches its provisional end. Thanks to these new elements regarding the manuscripts to which he contributed and the networks they adumbrate, Scribe I, although still anonymous, starts to stand out from a less vague background.¹⁰⁰ In the light of what we have just learned about his activities and connections, it cannot be by mere chance that precisely Scribe I, who was in touch with the boldest opponent of Ludovico il Moro in those years, copied the [*Missa*] *Galeazescha* in Librone 3 (fols. 125v–135r).¹⁰¹

Scribe J

Although Scribe G copied the most substantial portion of Librone 3, it was Scribe J who actually stitched together the various sections, intervening, at least in one case (gathering 8, fols. 82v–87r), after Gaffurius himself. His script is an elegant and airy *textualis*, with evident cursive tendencies: the descenders of *s* and *f* reach below the

98. See Mulas, 'Codici miniati di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio', 10–11.

99. A painstaking archival research allowed Marino Viganò to uncover the biography of this protagonist of the religious and cultural scene of the time, and to illuminate the network he built in order to support his ambitions: see Madrignano, *Le imprese dell'illustrissimo Gian Giacomo Trivulzio*, pp. v–xx.

100. His habit of extending the stave to avoid breaking a *tactus* (see e.g. Librone 3, fol. 46r, Bassus) suggests that he was a singer. Again, I am grateful to Bonnie Blackburn for this suggestion.

101. See the contribution by Pavanello in the present volume, as well as Filippi's introduction to Loyset Compère, *Ave virgo gloriosa (Galeazescha)*, Motet Cycles Edition, 3, GCO <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions>>.

baseline and, similarly to the descenders of *p* and *q*, sometimes present a leftward curl; both letters and notes tend to slant to the right; the abbreviation signs and the lower bowl of *g* in the bottom line are adorned with curls. Likewise, the final *e* and *t* have the last stroke prolonged horizontally and often curled upward. The letter *d* is sometimes upright, but often appears in the gothic shape with oblique stem. The final bar lines are mostly decorated with a pyramid of three globes (each with a dot in the centre), the left ones open, the right one ending with a rightward cusp. Voice names are mostly horizontal: the letters of ‘Bassus’ are often inscribed within the initial *B*, those of ‘Tenor’ are arranged around the initial *T*, intertwined with the pen decoration. The final punctuation mark, when present, is a dot crossed by an oblique stroke, sometimes with bulging tips; often the last stroke of the final word is prolonged horizontally and bent upwards; at the end of sections he often prefers to end with a maxima rather than a long, which he decorates in a sawtooth manner (see Fig. 2.39).

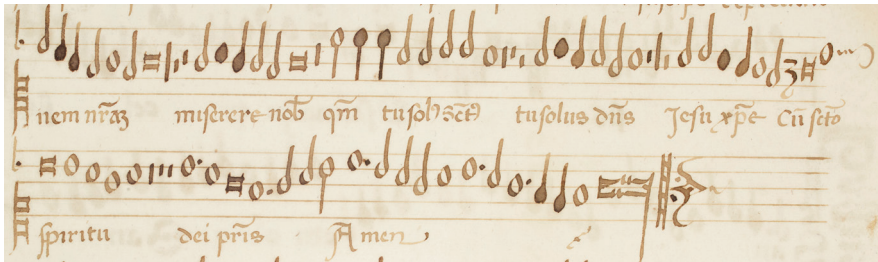


Fig. 2.39. Librone 3, fol. 159v: Scribe J

Scribe J, who worked also on Librone [4], wrote both music and text in a way very similar to that of Scribe G: we could even think that they are the same person, working at a certain chronological distance (more on this in §4.2 below). In the notation, Scribe J’s notes look more slender and elongated, but the only real difference seems to regard the decoration of the final bar lines, while his *custodes* look strikingly similar to those of Scribe G. In the text, however, the divergences are more apparent: Scribe J’s script is more cursive, he uses a thinner pen and a lighter ink, and some letters are morphologically different (especially the *v*). The preparation of the page is irrelevant to the comparison, since Scribe J always worked on gatherings already set up and partially written by other scribes. This last detail is important: Scribe J surely intervened in a different phase, after the assembling of the gatherings, filling in the pages that had remained blank at the end of gatherings, and sometimes running onto the first recto of the following ones as well. Another distinctive element regards the repertory: all works by the composer Alessandro Coppini included in Librone 3 were added by Scribe J.

Let us examine in some detail Scribe J's interventions. The first one is at fols. 54v–57r, between gatherings 5–6 penned by Scribe I: Scribe J copied two motets by Coppini on the last two folios of 5 and the first recto of 6. The transcription of the second motet is interrupted at fol. 57r, evidently because his intervention was later than those of Scribe I and there was no more space available: Scribe J could enter the conclusion only at fols. 106v–108r, the final ones of gathering 10 that Scribe G had left blank. Gaffurius judiciously added a note in the lower margin of fol. 57r: 'Verte cito in f. 107'. Consecutively, on the last folio of gathering 10, Scribe J copied another composition, this time not by Coppini, but by Gaffurius himself. The different decoration and some further divergences suggest that this work, a *Magnificat*, was added at a later time (J²), as if to connect gatherings 10 and 11 (it ends, in fact, on the first recto of the latter). Scribe J also worked on gathering 8 (fols. 82v–87r), occupying its entire second half (after a mass copied by Gaffurius) and the first recto of the following one. What he copied here, however, is the final part of Coppini's *Missa Si dederò*, whose first part is to be found much later in the Librone: it is in gathering 15 (fols. 147v–154r), left almost entirely blank by Scribe I, and extends onto the first recto of gathering 16, entirely written by Scribe G (from the first verso). Here too a note at fol. 154r refers the reader to the continuation of the mass at fol. 82v ('Pleni et Agnus a carte 83').

At fols. 159v–162r he copied a Gloria and Credo by Compère, occupying once again the second half of gathering 16, left blank by Scribe G, and the first recto of the following one. Similar is also his intervention in gathering 18, again started by Scribe G. Here Scribe J entered a motet by Jean Mouton, *Sancti dei omnes*, quite crammed onto two openings (fols. 176v–178r), possibly after filling in the subsequent folios: therefore, we label this intervention as J² again. The subsequent folios — in which, curiously, the voice names are placed vertically, after Scribe G's habit (but the hand is surely that of Scribe J) — contain motets by Josquin and anonymous (fols. 178v–182r). As usual, he finished on the first recto of the following gathering 19. In this gathering too, for the last time, Scribe J took over from Scribe G in the two final folios: here (fols. 187v–190r) he transcribed an *Ave Maria* by Compère and a textless composition by Coppini, occupying also the first recto of the subsequent gathering, the rest of which was written by Gaffurius. Scribe J's distinctive task seems to be that of completing the gatherings in which some pages had been left blank, and thus filling in the spaces still available in the already assembled volume. This happens again in gathering 21, in which Scribe J added some Marian motets possibly by Gaffurius on the last folios (fols. 205v–208r) of a gathering compiled by the master, occupying, as usual, also the first recto of the following one.

Scribe K

Scribe K's only contribution is at fols. 110v–115r (gathering 11), strictly intertwined with Gaffurius's own interventions. Scribe K started copying the master's *Missa Montana*, but from the last five lines of fol. 112v Gaffurius took over from him the insertion of the text under the notes, continuing to underlay it until fol. 115r; from 115v, Gaffurius wrote the music as well, and completed the transcription of the mass on the last recto of the gathering. Scribe K's textual script is a quick sixteenth-century cursive, written in black ink with a medium-thick pen. More notable is his musical script, somehow reminiscent of the diamond-shaped noteheads of Scribe A¹ in Librone 1, though smaller (Fig. 2.40).

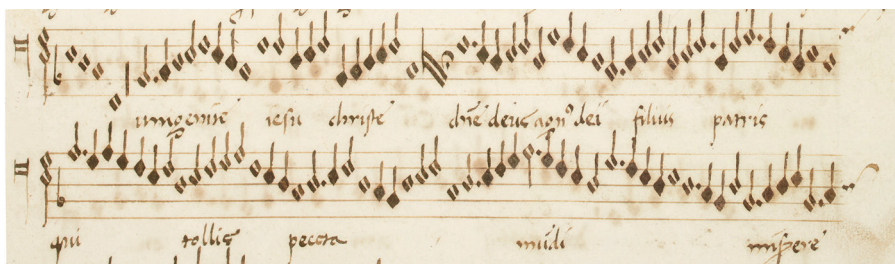


Fig. 2.40. Librone 3, fol. 111r: Scribe K

Gaffurius

In Librone 3 Gaffurius transcribed four gatherings at the end of the volume (of which, however, two are only half-filled) and intervened in other two spots, corresponding to another half gathering. His first contribution is in gathering 8, of which Scribe I had occupied only the first two folios. Gaffurius copied one of his own masses (fols. 78v–82r) for three voices: the Tenor part starts on the bottom left quadrant of the opening, as usual, but always continues over the opening and ends on the bottom lines of the facing recto, as indicated by a *manicula* added by Gaffurius. The script in medium size and the ochre ink fully resemble the Gaff⁷ phase already noticed in Librone 2 (Fig. 2.41).

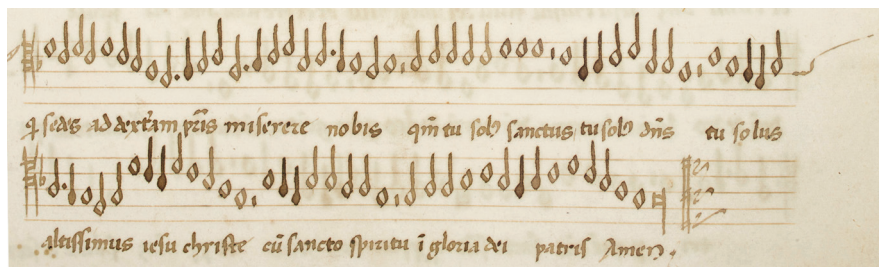


Fig. 2.41. Librone 3, fol. 79r: Gaff⁷

In gathering 10 Gaffurius supervised Scribe K's transcription of his *Missa Montana*, first, as mentioned earlier, adding the text (from fol. 112v) and then taking over the entire copying work (fols. 115v–116r). The script with cursive tendencies and the ochre ink again resemble the Gaff⁷ phase. Besides these two isolated interventions, Gaffurius completed Librone 3 by contributing the last four gatherings (20–23). He possibly started from gathering 23, in which Scribe G had entered a *Stabat mater* (fols. 223v–227r). The preparation of the page in gatherings 20–23 is homogeneous with the rest of the manuscript (the usual six prick-holes are visible in the margin) and the large-size script in ochre ink belongs again to the Gaff⁷ phase. In gathering 20, Gaffurius copied two of his Magnificats at fols. 190v–196r, starting on the first verso and leaving the last pages blank (fols. 196v–197v). In gathering 21 (all the last three gatherings are quinternions) he copied some motets (fols. 198v–205r), again starting from the first verso and leaving the last pages blank (fols. 205v–208r, later filled in by Scribe J). Gaffurius then filled gathering 22 entirely with motets, continuing seamlessly into gathering 23 (fols. 208v–220r). According to the hypothesis advanced in the discussion of Scribe G above, here Gaffurius reused a gathering already started by Scribe G, turning it inside out in order to better exploit the folios that remained blank. At fols. 208v–218r the ink is of a darker brown, but there are no noticeable differences between the various musical pieces; Gaffurius inserted the voice names vertically in the margin; the initial of the Cantus is mostly missing (guide letters are visible in the margin), while he entered those of the other voices himself in ink, sometimes with decorative thick dots. Only the *Salve regina* at fols. 221v–223r seems referable to the Gaff⁸ phase, for the smaller size of the script and the darker ink: it thus seems to constitute Gaffurius's latest intervention on the manuscript.

3.4. *The decoration*

In Librone 3 the succession of different styles of minor decoration parallel to the changes of script attests to the identity between scribe and calligrapher.

Scribe G traces ink-flourished major initials, sometimes decorated with frog spawn, but more often with traditional pen motifs; from fol. 100v, he sporadically inserted small human faces, in profile or frontally, within the initials (Fig. 2.42). The initial on the verso of Fragment 1 is fully comparable to those in the section by Scribe G in the body of the manuscript.

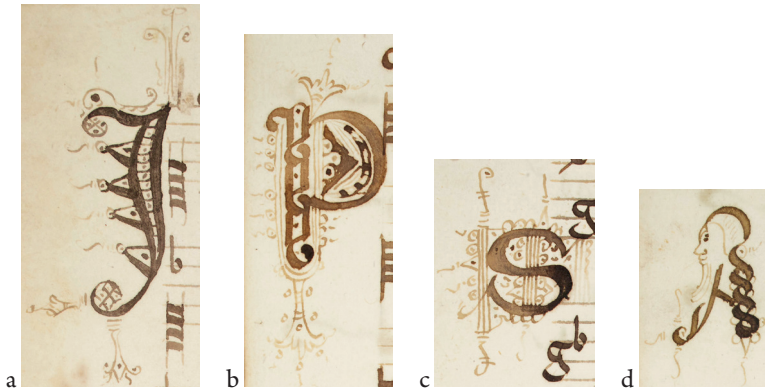


Fig. 2.42. Initials by Scribe G in Librone 3: (a) fol. 11v; (b) fol. 156v; (c) fol. 223v; (d) fol. 105v

The sections penned by Scribe H, Scribe K, and Gaffurius himself reserve space for the initials, but the minor decoration is entirely missing. Scribe I decorated his initials in ink, with parallel strokes and thin flourishes, but especially with his characteristic small faces, almost invariably present page after page (Fig. 2.43).



Fig. 2.43. Initials by Scribe I in Librone 3: (a) fol. 60v; (b) fol. 65v; (c) fol. 67v

Finally, Scribe J seems quite careless about his initials: he hastily flourished them in ink, although, as already noted, he had a habit of arranging the letters of voice names within or around the initial. In the pen flourishes he used the same motifs as Scribe G. We should note, however, that at fols. 108v–110r (phase J²) his style changes, adopting cadels (Fig. 2.44).



Fig. 2.44. Initials by Scribe J in Librone 3: (a) fol. 55v; (b) fol. 162r; (c) fol. 56v; (d) fol. 109v

3.5. *The compilation*

The modalities of Gaffurius's interventions and the ways the various scribes used the gatherings prompt some observations. Gaffurius looms large in the sections copied by Scribe G: he corrected the inversion of parts (Tenor and Altus) at fols. 90v–91r, added paratextual elements, and completed the sung text when the scribe had limited himself to writing the music. Gaffurius's supervision is evident also in the short and late section by Scribe H: for instance, he completed the text on the fifth line of the Altus part at fol. 26r, and slightly retouched the notation at fols. 25v–26r.

Generally speaking, we notice a different approach in Librone 3, compared to Libroni 1 and 2: here Gaffurius seems to assign to Scribe J the task of stitching together the various corpora (the gathering by Scribe A, and the sections by Scribe I and Scribe G). As we have seen, Scribe J always intervened in the final folios of gatherings (as in gatherings 5, 8, 10, 15, 16, 19, and 21), and sometimes on the first recto (as in gatherings 6, 9, 11, 16, 17, 19, and 20), in order to add various compositions, including notably all the works by Alessandro Coppini attested in Librone 3. It is evident that Scribe J intervened after Gaffurius assembled the sections by Scribes G and I, that is, after the binding of the manuscript, and, at least in two cases, after Gaffurius's further interventions. The two collaborated closely. In gathering 8, Scribe J's intervention comes after Gaffurius's contribution at fols. 78v–82r, because otherwise, if he had had all the gathering at his disposition, he would not have split Coppini's *Missa Si dederò* into two separate blocks (see above). Similarly clear is the succession of the interventions in gatherings 19–20 and 21–22: Scribe J intervened after Gaffurius, using the first recto and the last verso of the gatherings, which the master used to leave blank. Vice versa, in gathering 11 it is Gaffurius who intervened after Scribe J, who had completed at fols. 106v–108r the transcription of a motet started in gathering 5 and then added a Magnificat, with a

different decoration style, at fols. 108v–110r (J²). As detailed above, from fol. 110v Scribe K started the transcription of the *Missa Montana*, and then Gaffurius took it over from him.

The typology of Scribe J's interventions and the repertory he transcribed suggest that he was a person of some importance. The assurance and elegance of his script and minor decoration indicate a well-developed professional, whom Gaffurius trusted as a collaborator: he assigned him the task of enriching Librone 3 with a series of targeted interventions filling in the blank pages. By then, the structure of Librone was already defined and bound, and this explains why his interventions are mostly later than Gaffurius's — although the master returned, later still, to the Librone, in line with his habit of considering his manuscripts as permanently under construction.

3.6. *The index*

An autograph index by Gaffurius is found on the only extant former flyleaf. It lists all (and only) the masses in the Librone. Among other things, it allows us to recover information about the contents of the lost first gathering, which included a mass with the inscription 'Canon In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum' and the Gloria of the *Missa Je ne demande*.¹⁰²

4. Librone [4] (*olim* MS 2266)

4.1. *Material and codicological description*

As mentioned in the introduction, it is not possible to say much about the material state and codicology of Librone [4], as today it consists of 144 fragmentary folios, so darkened and shrivelled after the fatal fire of 1906 and successive chemical treatments as to be nearly illegible. Thanks, however, to the photographs taken after the 1950s restoration, which have recently been digitized, we can advance a few considerations.

The volume was more similar to Librone 3 than to Libroni 1 and 2, although even smaller, ca. 429 × 275. The mise-en-page follows, as usual, the choirbook layout. The page comprises ten staves (ca. 18 mm), without indentation. Since the top of the page and the outer margins are lost, there is no trace of foliation, and the index that probably accompanied the manuscript, according to Gaffurius's habit, is not extant. Considering that an unknown number of folios are missing at the

102. See Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', 332, Filippi's chapter in the present volume, as well as his 'Gaffurius's Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of Libroni 1–3'.

beginning, but internal lacunae can be excluded,¹⁰³ and that the last extant folio is in all likelihood the final one of the original manuscript,¹⁰⁴ a still highly conjectural structure could be as follows: 1 (8, fols. 1–8), 2 (8, fols. 9–16), 3 (8, fols. 17–24), 4 (8, fols. 25–32), 5 (8, fols. 33–40), 6 (7, fols. 41–47), 7 (8, fols. 48–55), 8 (4, fols. 56–59), 9 (8, fols. 60–67), 10 (10, fols. 68–77), 11 (10, fols. 78–87), 12 (10, fols. 88–97), 13 (10, fols. 98–107), 14 (10, fols. 108–17), 15 (8, fols. 118–25), 16 (10, fols. 126–35), and then either 17 (10, fols. 136–144) or 17 (6, fols. 136–41) and 18 (3, fols. 142–44).¹⁰⁵ The logic of this reconstruction, which is of course susceptible of improvement, rests on the conviction that between fols. 24–25, 55–56, 59–60, 77–78, and 107–108 there must have been a change of gathering, since we find in those locations the typical add-ons by Gaffurius on two blank folios (last verso/first recto) already seen in the three previous Libroni. Furthermore, based on the succession and distribution of the musical pieces on the pages, we can hypothesize that the gatherings were prevalingly quaternions, with several quinternions and, admittedly, some irregularities, possibly engendered by the loss of one folio (prior to compilation), for instance in gathering 6 (sticking to the hypothesis of regular gatherings, a folio should be missing in the last section of the Librone). According to testimonies from before the burning of the manuscript, the Librone contained an ownership note, which unfortunately was reported in the *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo* (1885) with a wrong date: ‘Liber Franchini Gafurii musici praefitentis [*sic*] die 22 iunii 1527 [*instead of 1507*]’;¹⁰⁶ but I shall return to this note in due course.

4.2. Palaeographical description

The palaeographical analysis has been conducted on the now digitized photographs taken after the 1950s restoration. It seems that Scribe J was responsible for the transcription of the entire volume, unless of course other hands intervened in the lost portion of the manuscript: in the extant 144 folios, only his hand and that of Gaffurius are recognizable. Some cases raise, however, doubts (e.g. fols. 10v–12r, *O crux benedicta*), because certain elements (e.g. the shape of *a*, *g*, and *r*)

103. The choirbook layout, with each musical piece spreading across one opening (verso and recto), would immediately reveal the loss of one or more sheets, which is not the case.

104. For the pre-1906 descriptions of Librone [4] and a discussion of the possible lost compositions, see Cassia, ‘La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni’, 279–85.

105. In fols. 142–44 the ruling appears to be different, with four + four staves separated by a blank space in the middle. This kind of ruling was designed to accommodate the Italian lauda *Ognun driza al ciel el viso* with its additional text stanzas (fols. 143v–144r). Gaffurius might have added to the manuscript a binion prepared in this way with the lauda in mind, and then filled in the Magnificat verses at fols. 141v–143r. Since the reproductions of the fragment do not permit verifying whether the middle staves were originally present or not, nor to determine how the ruling was done, alternative explanations are equally plausible.

106. *Annali: Appendici*, ii. 169.

seem referable to a different hand: but it might just be the same Scribe J working in a different phase — the precarious state of the fragments does not allow us to attain certainty.

Scribe J

Scribe J, whom we have already seen present in Librone 3, copied, as said, virtually all the extant folios: fols. 1r–24r, 25v–55r, 56v–69r, 60v–77r, 78v–83r, 87v–107r, and 108v–141r; the musical works he transcribed are by anonymous composers (the loss of the upper margin may have deprived us of some attributions), by Gaffurius, and by other musicians (not Coppini, though). The copying of Librone [4] was for Scribe J a substantial and demanding task, for a total of at least seventeen gatherings, something very different from the sporadic ‘fillers’ he had to enter in Librone 3. Scribe J can be deservedly numbered among the ‘scribes of and for Gaffurius’. In this book his script and decoration style are fully comparable with those of Librone 3 (Fig. 2.45), except for a wider variety in the decoration following the final bar lines, and for the habit of inserting at the end of a voice, when the piece continues on the next opening, a *custos* beginning with four rather than two or three dots (see Appendix 4).



Fig. 2.45. Librone [4], fol. 136r: Scribe J

The study of Scribe J’s script in Librone [4] clarifies the problematical relationship between the hands G and J as discussed in regard to Librone 3 (§3.3 above). In the morphology of many letters and in the way of tracing musical signs, G and

J make similar choices; in their sections we find, even though in different proportions, the same cursive quality, the same ductus for some strokes, the same types of abbreviations, and other shared habits. Even the most macroscopic divergences, such as the different decoration of the final bar lines and the shape of the *v*, are at least sporadically contradicted in Scribe J's transcriptions in Librone [4]. The oscillation between some shapes and some morphological choices suggests that Scribe J's work on Librone [4] was chronologically intermediate between the hands G and J in Librone 3: for some traits and the way of tracing capital letters or some musical signs, the copyist of Librone [4] is close to Librone 3's Scribe G, but it is even closer to Scribe J, even though without the assurance of traits that characterize the latter's interventions in Librone 3. Therefore, we can conjecture that those interventions were later than the copying of Librone [4]. As said, the similarity between the two hands leaves the door open for the hypothesis that they were the same person. Scribe G might have started working with Gaffurius on Librone 3, to which he made a substantial contribution. Perhaps for a certain inability to plan spaces, or for hitches in the implementation of the copying project, he developed the habit of leaving blank the final folios of his gatherings. Later on, he might have written Librone [4] for Gaffurius: a smaller manuscript, with a few relevant differences from the other three in terms of appearance (with remarkable graphic homogeneity), contents (*inter alia* for the presence of Italian laude), and possibly even function (as suggested by the ownership note, very different in tone from the 'institutional' ownership note of Librone 1).¹⁰⁷ In that phase his script became more cursive and fluent, almost hasty at times; the decoration of the final bar lines oscillated (see Fig. 2.46) and, from the honeycomb in thin strokes characteristic of hand G in Librone 3 (there too, however, we sometimes find a simple bar line), it stabilized into the pyramid of three globes that became characteristic of hand J. In that phase too he adopted a medium-thick pen and an ink that, judging from the photographs of the burnt (and then chemically enhanced) fragments, verges on black. He inserted the voice names horizontally, arranging the letters inside or around the initial (something never found in Scribe G's sections of Librone 3). Afterwards, the scribe returned to work on Librone 3, possibly in conjunction with the availability of Coppini's works, which (presumably under Gaffurius's direction) he systematically entered into the available spaces — mainly those adjacent to Scribe G's pages, but also those in the gatherings penned by Scribe I and Gaffurius himself.

107. See Filippi's observations in this regard in his chapter in the present volume.



Fig. 2.46. Librone [4]: later stage of Scribe J: (a) fol. 19v; (b) fol. 22v; (c) fol. 23v; (d) fol. 106r

In those years, there was a singer in the Duomo chapel who enjoyed the special trust of Gaffurius, to the point of being proposed by him (and appointed by the Fabbrica) as his deputy during the master's leave at Santa Maria del Monte in Varese (April–June 1506): Antonio da Vergiate.¹⁰⁸ Pending further research, however, there are no elements to substantiate this hypothetical identification.

Gaffurius

Gaffurius's interventions in Librone [4] are limited to some scattered openings, on which he mostly entered unattributed compositions that recent studies tend to partly attribute to him.¹⁰⁹ As said, it seems legitimate to posit that the isolated openings filled in by Gaffurius corresponded to the last verso/first recto left blank by Scribe J between gatherings. At fols. 24v–25r Gaffurius copied an anonymous work without text. At fols. 55v–56r he transcribed text and music of a three-voice *Magnificat*, possibly by himself¹¹⁰ — note the *manicula* that indicates the last two staves of the Tenor placed at the bottom of the facing recto, as in Librone 3. At fols. 59v–60r Gaffurius copied a four-voice motet, *Gloria tibi trinitas*. All these

108. See Claudio Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano (Nuove notizie biografiche e documenti inediti sulla sua attività di Maestro di Cappella e sulla sua riforma della Cappella del Duomo)', *Universitas Europae*, 1/[a] iv–v: 18–20, [b] viii–ix: 13–16, [c] xi–xii: 17–20 (1952): [a] 19–20; and the qualifications in Filippi's chapter in the present volume.

109. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Variations on Agricola's *Si dederō*: A Motet Cycle Unmasked', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 187–217.

110. Ibid. 189, n. 9. It uses his favoured mensuration signs.

interventions seem homogeneous: suspending judgement on ink colour, the size and semi-cursive appearance of the script seem comparable to the Gaff⁷ phase.

Gaffurius then added the motet *O pater Olderice* at fols. 77v–78r, again probably at the border between two gatherings. The state of the two folios is too precarious to allow more conjectures, but if we observe Gaffurius’s minimal interventions on the following opening (in which he enters an additional line of text under the one penned by Scribe J), it seems possible to refer this intervention to the Gaff⁸ phase, with its minute, cursive, and simplified script. The motet *Domine Iesu Christe unigenite* at fols. 107v–108r belongs to the Gaff⁷ phase. More substantial interventions are found at fols. 83v–87r, in which Gaffurius transcribed the motet cycle *Verbum dei deo natum*, recently attributed to him,¹¹¹ and fols. 141v–144r, with some *Magnificat* verses and the vernacular lauda *Ognun driza al ciel el viso* (Fig. 2.47), whose additional text stanzas are placed between and under the voices. The former of these interventions seems referable to the Gaff⁷ phase, whereas the latter belongs to the latest and most cursive Gaff⁸ phase. Finally, Gaffurius completed the text in pages penned by Scribe J at fols. 90r, 114r, and 118r, always in a minute and cursive script referable again to the Gaff⁸ phase.



Fig. 2.47. Librone [4], fol. 144r: lauda *Ognun driza al ciel el viso* copied by Gaffurius

111. Ibid.

4.3. *The decoration*

For what we can see in the fragments, Librone [4] had inked major initials, with parallel strokes and ink flourishes, fully comparable to those in the sections by Scribe J in Librone 3: the arrangement of letters within or around the flourished initial is similar (Fig. 2.48; compare with Fig. 2.44 above).



Fig. 2.48. Inked initials in Librone [4]: (a) fol. 11r; (b) fol. 61v; (c) fol. 105r

4.4. *The compilation*

Considering the state of the manuscript, we are forced here to exercise pure speculation. The manuscript looks homogeneous, folio after folio, without the ‘dissonances’ in terms of preparation, script, and decoration evident, in various measure, in the other three Libroni. Even the usual later interventions by Gaffurius are more limited: they concern the folios left blank between gatherings and fols. 83v–87r (with the short cycle *Verbum dei deo natum*); even later, probably entered when the manuscript was already completed and bound, are the interventions classified as Gaff⁸ (the motet *O pater Olderic* and the final folios).

The only chronological information derives from the note originally present in the manuscript and lost with the 1906 fire, that, in spite of previous imprecisions, we can now reconstruct as ‘Liber Franchini Gafurii musicen profitentis, die 22 iunii 1507’.¹¹² Moreover, as perceptively suggested by Filippi, the phrasing of the note seems to suggest that the manuscript belonged to the master himself, rather than to the Duomo chapel. Again, the presence of two Italian laude, one lost at

112. See Davide Stefani, ‘Le vite di Gaffurio’, in Davide Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 27–48 at 38; Cassia, ‘La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni’, 275, n. 1; and Filippi’s chapter ‘The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices’ in the present volume.

the beginning of the manuscript,¹¹³ and *Ognun driza al ciel el viso* at its conclusion, might be a symptom of a different function.

Conclusions

The preparation of the four Libroni went on for a long time span — not overly long, however, as indicated by the recurrence of the same scribes in two or three volumes and by the data regarding the codicological structure and the minor decoration. In this latter regard, it seems that the care for the aesthetic quality of the volumes — at least in terms of homogeneity of decoration or artistic finesse — was not among the guiding principles of the enterprise. It is in fact the irregular decoration, more than the alternation of scribal hands or the slight variance of the mise-en-page, that is the decisive factor creating an impression of striking inconsistency. One wonders why Gaffurius, an aesthete bibliophile, did not worry about that: evidently, the functionality of the manuscripts, meant to be used for singing, was, at least for Libroni 1–3, the determining element, beyond any other concern. If for certain aspects the compilation of the Libroni remains a conundrum, we can consider as certain and factually verified the following assertions regarding the copying work and the scribal team:

- The scribes involved, including Gaffurius, do not have an equal share in the work: their contributions range from a few folios to entire groups of gatherings.
- The various hands do not follow each other in a regular and planned succession: some take over in the middle of a gathering, some use the last verso of a gathering and the first recto of the following one (which in choirbook layout often remain blank); others add further works after the binding of the volume, sometimes having to split a long composition into separated blocks and add the appropriate cross-references; yet others transcribe independent blocks, as good as unrelated to what precedes or follows.
- Each scribe has a different graphic training: some follow purely gothic models, others betray the influence of humanistic scripts, and especially of the round typographic font so widespread in contemporary Italian editions. All hands seem Italian: one copyist only (Scribe D) might be suspected to be a foreigner (it seems that all the chapel singers were Italian during Gaffurius's tenure at the Duomo).¹¹⁴ The scripts and the graphic models they follow in-

113. *Il Duomo di Milano all'Esposizione internazionale del 1906: Catalogo* (Milan: Tip. Sonzogno, 1906), 41.

114. Claudio Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', in *Storia di Milano*, ix, pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan:

dicates that the scribes were of different ages: some were clearly educated in the mid- to late fifteenth century, others are influenced by more recent trends and seem to be still developing their own style.

- In addition to the scribes, at least one calligrapher is at work (or two, if we prefer to think that the initials in Scribe A's sections of Librone 1 were not entered by the copyist himself). The study of the minor decoration demonstrates, in fact, that normally each scribe is responsible not only for entering text and music, but also for adding the minor decoration: this is the only explanation for the fact that the script and the style (and quality) of the decoration change in parallel. A further confirmation is provided by the similarity of solutions adopted by the scribes even when working on different volumes. Nevertheless, we should not overlook the fact that in several sections of Libroni 1–3 we find spaces reserved for the decoration, although for unknown reasons they were not actually filled: the distinction of roles was, therefore, foreseen in more cases. Anyway, a close analysis of the decoration reveals further relationships, notably in the case of the main exception to the rule of the identity between scribe and calligrapher: the same artist was involved in the decoration of Libroni 1 and 2, working on sections written by Gaffurius and Scribe B in Librone 1, and by Scribes B and D in Librone 2.
- Codicological data also help to define sections and subsections. A watermark is visible only in a group of gatherings in Librone 2.¹¹⁵ The mise-en-page has minimal variance and proceeds by blocks of gatherings: this indicates that it was not done by the scribe, who received the paper already ruled. At the same time, the slight differences in paper and ruling are precious clues to be added to the succession of hands for the individuation of blocks and work phases. Unfortunately, we cannot always reconstruct the original distribution of the gatherings because of the successive manipulations and restorations of the manuscripts, which altered the arrangement; moreover, in order to achieve an exceptionally large size, the bifolia had been obtained by pasting together two large-format leaves, which makes the original structure difficult to ascertain).¹¹⁶ For Librone 1, however, the codicological and palaeographical study

Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 723–48 at 747; Filippi, 'Operation Libroni', 110.

115. Pending further specific studies of the oxhead motive in Milanese watermarks, it would be tempting to connect the Librone 2 watermark, as well as its sister variants present in the registers of the Veneranda Fabbrica, with the supply of paper the vestry board bought, year after year from 1484 to 1506, from the *cartai* Squassi (first Melchion, then his son Nicolao), as documented by the registers: see Arnaldo Ganda, 'Cenni su carta, cartai e cartolai nel Quattrocento milanese', *La Bibliofilia*, 116/1–3 (2014), 149–64 at 160–61, and Filippi's chapter in the present volume.

116. The bifolia were obtained in this way for the larger Libroni 1 and 2, but also for some gatherings of Librone 3 (e.g. nos. 3, 13, and 14).

has allowed us to formulate a reliable reconstruction, which was subsequently ‘applied’ during the material restoration of the manuscript in 2019, bringing it back to its previous state. A transfer of gatherings between the Libroni can be ruled out for various reasons, notably because only Libroni 1 and 2 share the same size, while Libroni 3 and [4] are somewhat smaller.

- In some cases, Gaffurius intervened frequently in the sections copied by one scribe: he completed the text, corrected the music, or even took over the transcription. Evidently, the scribe worked in the *scriptorium* of the master, under his strict control and direction. In other cases there seems to be no relationship at all between the scribe and Gaffurius (I have emphasized the case of Scribe A in Librone 1, but even Scribe I in Librone 3 seems to work completely on his own).
- There are successive layers in the compilation of each Librone, which sometimes suggest a prolonged gestation: not only Gaffurius, but even some scribes intervened in already assembled blocks of gatherings. In my analyses above I have tried to account for these working phases and multiple layers within the manuscripts as thoroughly as possible.

The different formats, the distribution of the contents, and the duplications of many pieces¹¹⁷ indicate that the Libroni, in spite of their manifold relationships, do not actually constitute four tomes of a single and unified collection. Appendix 6 presents a hypothetical synoptic reconstruction of the compilation of the four manuscripts, based on the relative chronology of the interventions, in turn emerging from the study of many different factors detailed above (codicology, scribal hands, decoration, and musical contents). The relative chronology has been based on the few established chronological data, deriving from the ownership notes of Librone 1 and Librone [4], as well as from orders for payment and other documents in the Duomo Archive.¹¹⁸ As mentioned, Gaffurius added an autograph ownership note on the parchment pastedown of Librone 1, and many elements — from the nature of the pastedown itself to the script, to the form of Gaffurius’s name (on which see below) — confirm that it was coeval: the first reference date is, therefore, 23 June 1490.¹¹⁹ The indication indirectly deriving from Librone [4]

117. See the thorough discussion of internal concordances in Cristina Cassia’s chapter in the present volume.

118. Some documents regarding the Libroni found in the Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica have been published by Sartori, ‘Franchino Gaffurio a Milano’ and by Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); the results of a recent archival campaign are in Filippi’s contribution to this volume, to which I refer the reader for all the relevant details.

119. For an examination of Gaffurius’s ownership notes and subscriptions, see Pantarotto, ‘I manoscritti milanesi di Franchino Gaffurio’. Especially noteworthy is the influence of the Greek

refers, instead, to 22 June 1507. These data find partial correspondence in the archival documents, notably in a series of payments to Gaffurius, the priest Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello, and the calligrapher Antonio da Lampugnano between 1489 and 1490. By comparing the information extracted from the (incomplete) archival records and the results of our analyses of the manuscripts, some further considerations can be advanced.

Gaffurius's interventions vary in the four Libroni, revealing different approaches that in turn probably depended on the need at the time. In Librone 1 (whose ownership note explicitly emphasizes his 'careful agency') Gaffurius incorporates material in the project that had been prepared autonomously (possibly even before he took over the reins of the enterprise), assimilating, integrating, and progressively conditioning it — these are the different phases of Scribe A's work I have documented above. Gaffurius programmes, organizes, and supervises the copying work and decoration of one section (that penned by Scribe B) and contributes five gatherings himself, distributed at the beginning and in the body of the manuscript, some of which were left blank at first. In Librone 2, Gaffurius is less present: his interventions are mainly aimed at connecting the various blocks or adding, in spaces previously left blank, some compositions that were of special interest to him. A further series of interventions can be divided into two levels: the first comprises simple additions of missing text or *custodes*, the second corrections, changes, and insertions of text and music. He also added titles and performance-related rubrics ('verte cito') that confirm his role of supervisor. Librone 3 seems to belong to a new phase, with a different organization of work. As we have seen above, most of the copying was done by three new scribes (G, I, and J), and Gaffurius's contributions are mostly concentrated in the last four gatherings. Considering that Scribe J intervened at a later time, adding newly acquired repertory (notably by Coppini) to the already assembled manuscript, the project looks even more compact and homogeneous. The main scribes display assurance and remarkable graphic skills; Scribe I, furthermore, apparently enjoyed a certain independence, and he evidently had connections with secular cultural circles in Milan (remarkably, that of Gian Giacomo Trivulzio 'il Magno'). Finally, Librone [4] further confirms the trend (at least to judge from the extant fragments): it seems to be a smaller and more portable manuscript, entirely copied by one hand (Scribe J), and Gaffurius's interventions are limited to a few additions in the blank openings and in the final folios.

No documents later than 1492 concerning the making of music books have been found in the Duomo records so far (with the exception of a long drawn-out

language on the formulae Gaffurius used to define himself and his profession. On the influence of Greek treatises on Gaffurius's terminology more generally, see Anna Siekiera, *Tradurre per musica: Lessico musicale e teatrale nel Cinquecento* (Prato: Rindi, 2000), 31–34.

argument in 1505 regarding the payments to Gaffurius of 1492). Who paid for Libroni 3 and [4]? Possibly Gaffurius himself? Was the fee for the copying work included in the compensations for other tasks or jobs? Something did change, as the materiality of the Libroni also attests, and we shall have to keep investigating.¹²⁰ In the year following Gaffurius's death, the Fabbrica reimbursed the new chapel master, 'Mattia Fiammingo' (Hermann Matthias Werrecore), for some books of polyphonic music he bought for the chapel (AVFDMi, *Registri*, 317, fol. 290r, 31 December 1523). After Gaffurius, then, the books the chapel needed were 'bought'. Our Libroni, however, were not 'bought', and they are indeed 'Gaffurian' in that they clearly bear the imprint of the master: he was the 'director of operations', the real *magister scriptorii*. Admittedly, he was a *sui generis* one, disregarding the graphic or aesthetic canons and focusing on the contents — so much so that he subdivided the copying work according to compositions and genres rather than by gatherings, and he did not shun repetitions and multiple copies. It is precisely this approach, however, that gives us a glimpse into Gaffurius's studio, suggesting that specific copying assignments might be given to certain scribes as part of their musical and professional education. We cannot think of loose, multipurpose gatherings (also for the varying size of the manuscripts), but surely we can envisage broader material from which the master picked his selection: a repertory consisting of autonomous and homogeneous blocks, some of which might have existed independently before entering the 'construction site' of the Libroni and merging into Gaffurius's project. The study of the contributions by the various scribes and by Gaffurius's himself indicates that the gatherings were soon assembled and bound together, whereas further additions were made subsequently. The first recto and the last verso of gatherings, often left blank (due *inter alia* to the adoption of the choirbook layout and to the subdivision of work among scribes), presented the master with an irresistible opportunity for additions, and, as we have seen, the codicological and palaeographical analysis has revealed a multilayered stratigraphy of Gaffurius's interventions, encompassing all four Libroni.

Returning to the chronology of the manuscripts, it should be said that if the preparation of the four Libroni can be roughly comprehended between 1489 and 1507, these dates must be regarded with a certain flexibility. As to the first date, we have already observed that, if Scribe A can be identified with Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello, the earliest layer of his work for Librone 1 would be dated to 1484–85 (as said, Scribe A does seem to manifest a graphic and musical education rooted in the third quarter of the century: he was probably older than Gaffurius, and already a mature professional when he arrived). As to the second date, we should observe that Gaffurius held the position of chapel master until his death in 1522, and that

120. See Filippi's chapter 'The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices' in this volume.

he was never fully satisfied with his works and enterprises. Suffice it to mention the complex vicissitudes that accompanied the editing and publishing of his theoretical trilogy: the *Theorica musicae*, printed in Milan in 1492 by Filippo Mantegazza, was a reworking of a treatise published in Naples twelve years earlier, and in fact a complete rewriting of materials he had already assembled in Genoa (as shown by the debated matter of the dedication as attested by the manuscript London, British Library, Hirsch 1441, written in 1479).¹²¹ The *Practica musicae*, published in Milan by Guillaume Le Signerre in 1496, was again a reworking of previous materials, as shown by the manuscripts Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Mus. 142; Bergamo, Biblioteca civica Angelo Mai, MAB 21; and Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, A 69, all dating from the early 1480s.¹²² Finally, the *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, completed in 1500, was published only in 1518, after repeated changes of dedicatee (Milan: Gottardo da Ponte); the master, however, still not satisfied with it, adding variants to the manuscript held in Lodi (Biblioteca comunale Laudense, XXVIII.A.9), whose revision shows an autograph subscription dated 1514, but on whose pages Gaffurius kept intervening until the last year of his life.¹²³ This was, then, Gaffurius's practice as author and scribe: it is hardly surprising that this trait of his personality also is evident in his music manuscripts.

In this light, the *terminus ante quem* is indirectly given by the steady and confident hand we see in all Gaffurius's interventions on the Libroni, including Librone [4]: the characteristic trembling script of his last years, noticeable in some autograph documents¹²⁴ as well as in some late interventions on other books, is completely absent in the Libroni (with the only, almost imperceptible, exception of fol. 137v in Librone 2). When Gaffurius works on the Libroni of the Duomo, his hand is still assured and he has the manner of an undisputed master. Another useful element is the spelling of his surname: the form 'Gaffurius', which is found in manuscripts and printed volumes starting from 1508 and becomes prevalent in the 1510s,¹²⁵ appears only in Librone 3 (non-autograph), whereas in Libroni 1 and 2 we

121. See Pantarotto, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio: I manoscritti Laudensi', esp. 116.

122. Ibid.

123. See Adam Ferrari, 'Nuovi dedicatari per Franchino Gaffurio: La ricerca del consenso nella Milano di Luigi XII e Francesco I', *ACME*, 72/1 (2019), 111–20. Reproductions (in print and in CD-rom) in Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli and Martina Pantarotto (eds.), *I manoscritti datati delle province di Brescia, Como, Lodi, Monza-Brianza e Varese*, *Manoscritti datati d'Italia*, 24 (Florence: SISMELE – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), record no. 53.

124. See the letter of 22 October 1520 (Lodi, Biblioteca Comunale, Autografi 14), reproduced in Alessandro Caretta, Luigi Cremascoli, and Luigi Salamina, *Franchino Gaffurio* (Lodi: Edizioni dell'Archivio storico lodigiano, 1951), 145.

125. See the discussion in Pantarotto, 'I manoscritti milanesi di Franchino Gaffurio'.

find the more common and earlier forms ‘Gafforus’, ‘Gaforus’, and ‘De Gafforiis’ (see Appendix 1).¹²⁶

In conclusion, beyond the issues of relative and absolute chronology that we have tried to assess, it is clear that the Libroni not only contain a precious and unique musical collection, but, if properly interrogated, reveal, perhaps in a more subdued voice, a story of cultural relationships, of Milanese milieux, workshops, and elite circles, of travelling musicians and professional partnerships, of love poems and tokens of friendship, that soar, together with the sound of polyphony, towards the lofty spires of the Duomo.

(translation from Italian by Daniele V. Filippi)

¹²⁶. The pre-1906 transcriptions of the note formerly present in Librone [4] (see above) report the spelling ‘Gafurii’. If we consider them reliable, we could move up the adoption of this form to at least June 1507.

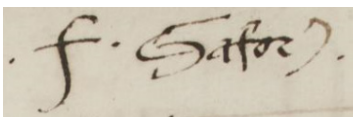
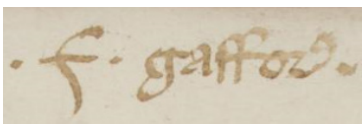
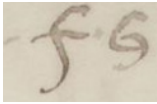
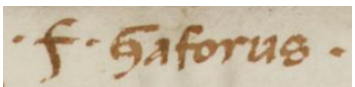
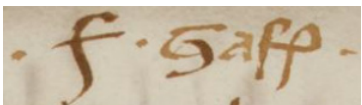
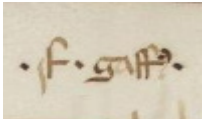
APPENDIX 1

Gaffurius's Name in the Libroni

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fol. 35v aut.		fol. 37v aut.	
fol. 40v aut.		fol. 41v aut.	
fol. 43v aut.		fol. 46v aut.	
fol. 49v aut.		fol. 53v aut.	
fol. 64v aut.		fol. 65v aut.	
fol. 66v aut.		fol. 67v aut.	

1. Aut. = autograph.

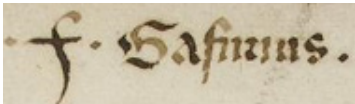
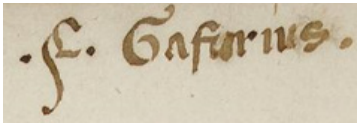
fol. 68v aut.		fol. 69v aut.	
fol. 70v aut.		fol. 71v aut.	
fol. 72v aut.		fol. 73v aut.	
fol. 74v aut.		fol. 75v aut.	
fol. 77v aut.		fol. 78v aut.	
fol. 80v aut.		fol. 81v aut.	
fol. 82v aut.		fol. 84v aut.	
fol. 85v aut.		fol. 87v aut.	
fol. 90v aut.		fol. 93v aut.	

fol. 95v aut.		fol. 96v aut.	
fol. 98v aut.		fol. 99v aut.	
fol. 100v aut.		fol. 101v aut.	
fol. 112v aut.		fol. 98v aut.	
fol. 179v not aut.		fol. 181v not aut.	

LIBRONE 2

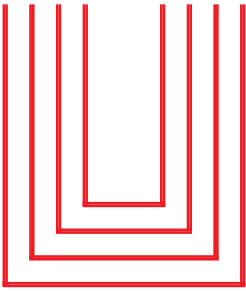
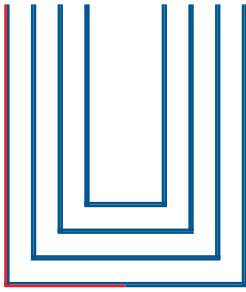
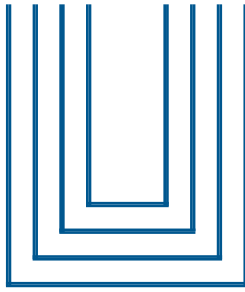
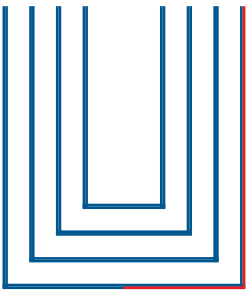
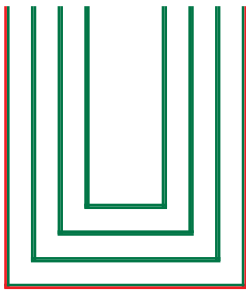
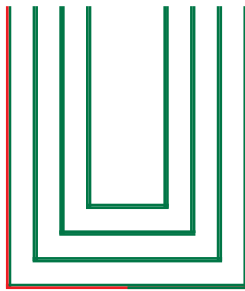
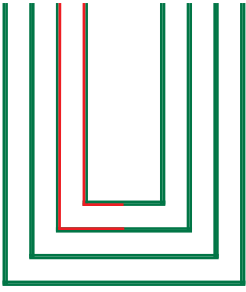
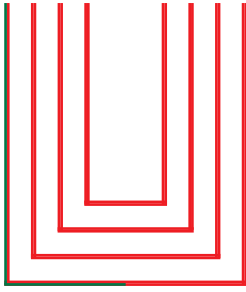
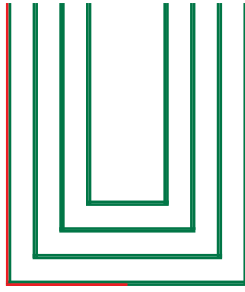
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fol. 130v not aut.		fol. 176v not aut.	

LIBRONE 3

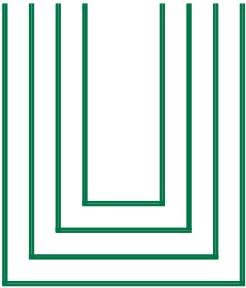
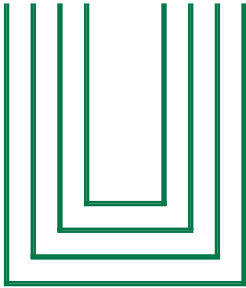
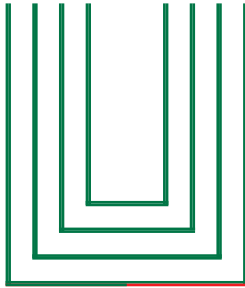
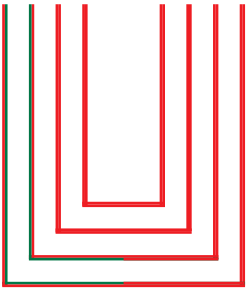
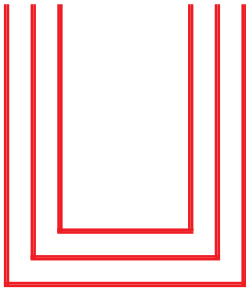
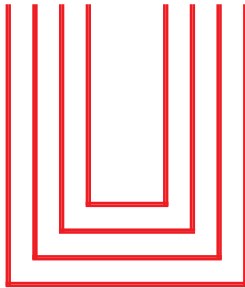
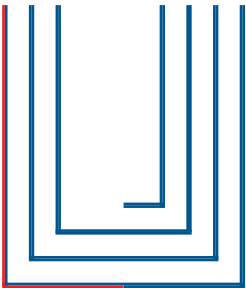
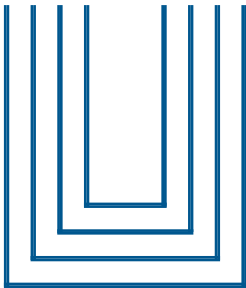
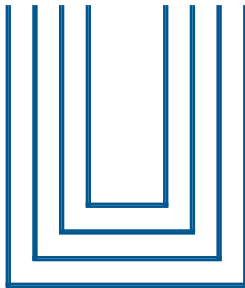
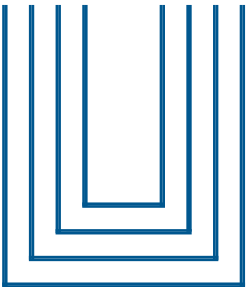
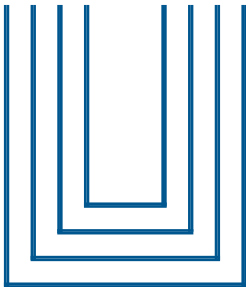
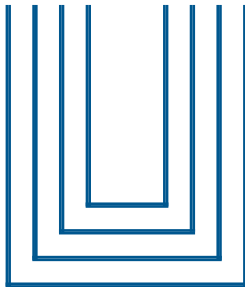
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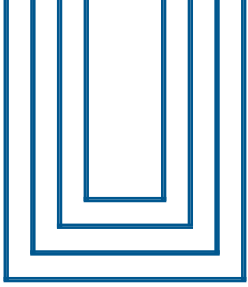
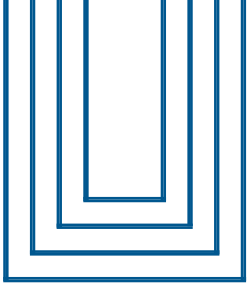
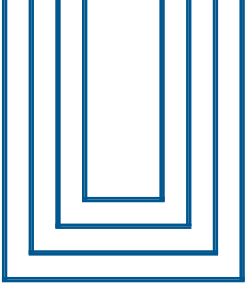
· MARTINA PANTAROTTO ·
 APPENDIX 2.
 GATHERING STRUCTURE

Librone 1²

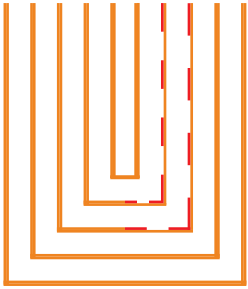
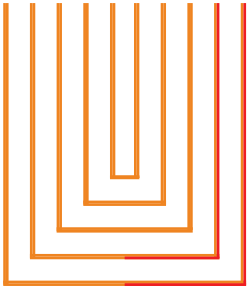
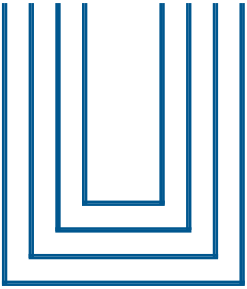
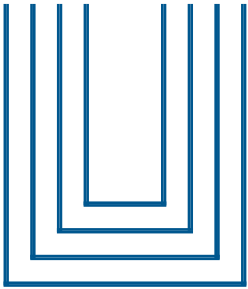
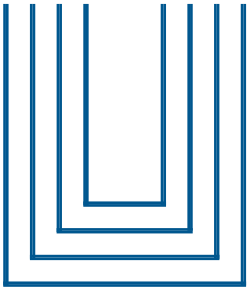
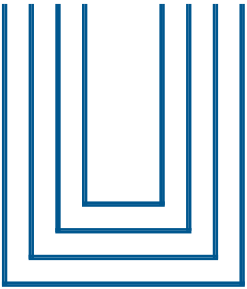
		
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4. 24-31	5. 32-39	6. 40-47
		
7. cc. 48-55	8. 56-63	9. 64-71

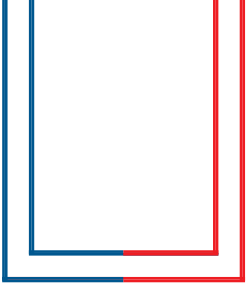
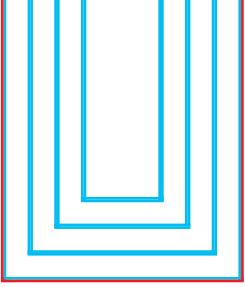
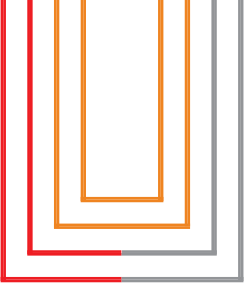
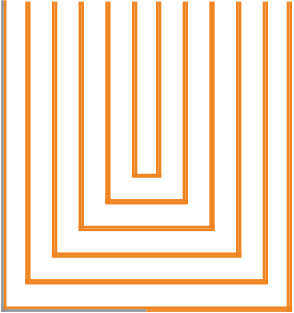
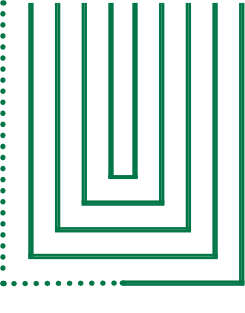
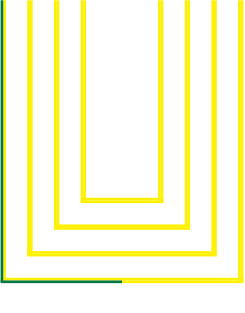
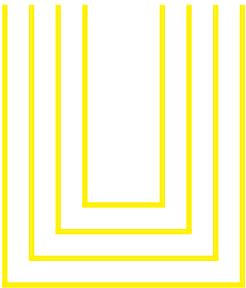
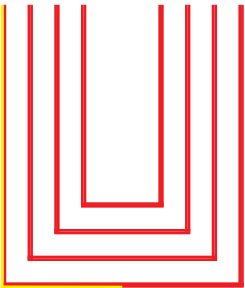
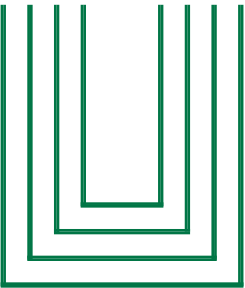
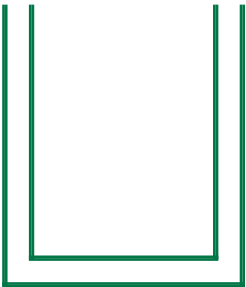
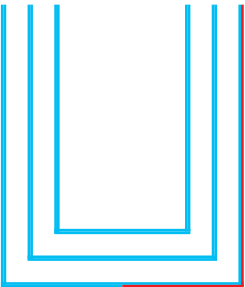
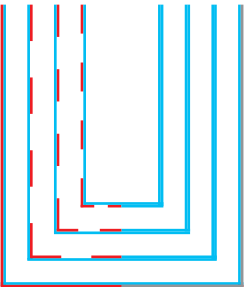
2. The double line means two different Scribes: one on recto and one on verso. The interrupted line means that Gaffurius write only a part of page, not all of it (interventions in music or text)

		
10. 72-79	11. 80-87	12. 88-95
		
13. cc. 96-103	14. 104-109	15. 110-117
		
16. 118-124	17. 125-132	18. 133-140
		
19 cc. 141-148	20. 149-156	21. 157-164

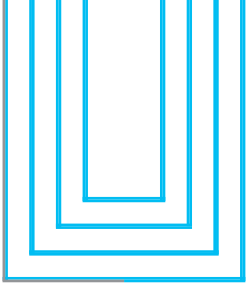
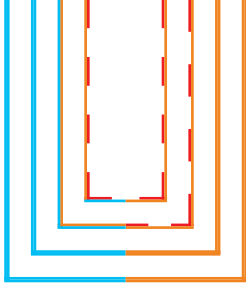
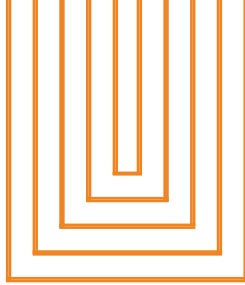
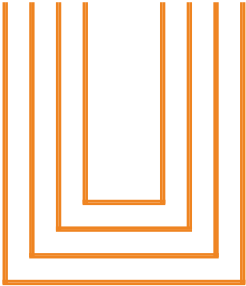
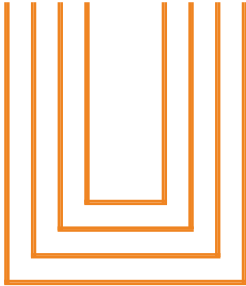
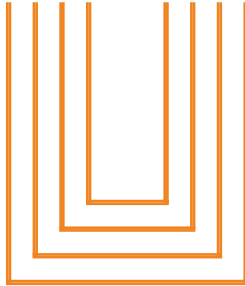
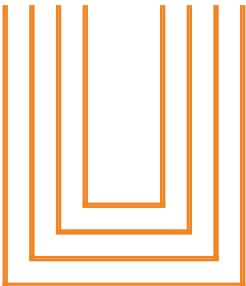
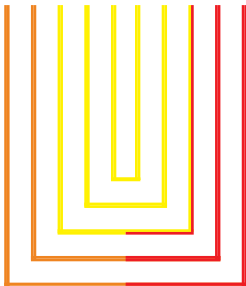
		
22. 165-172	23. 173-180	24. 181-188

Librone 2

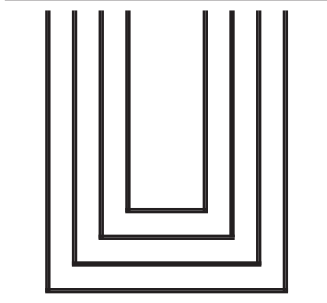
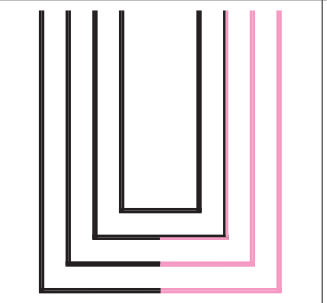
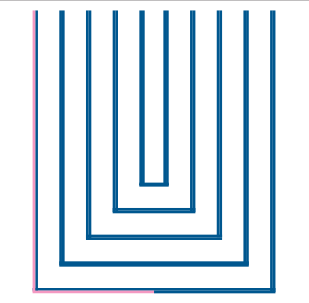
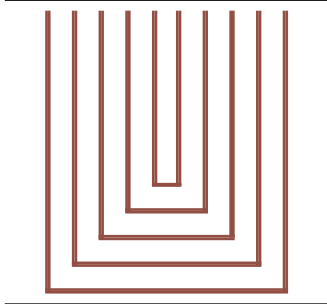
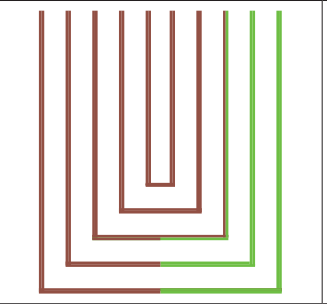
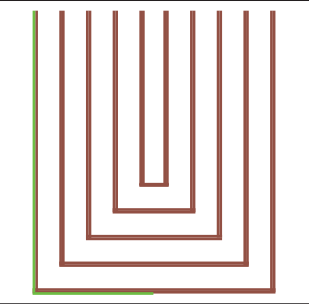
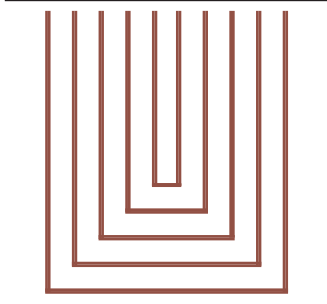
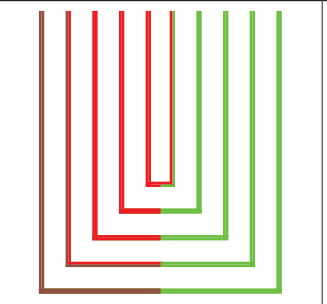
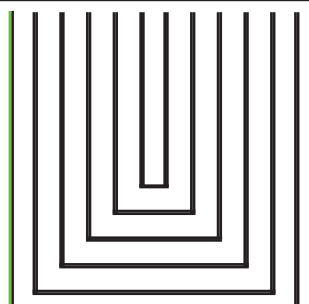
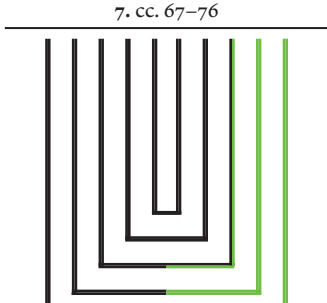
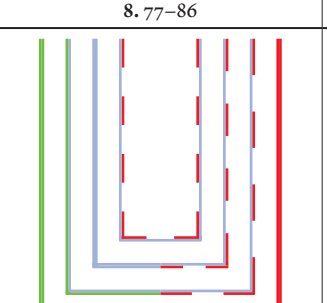
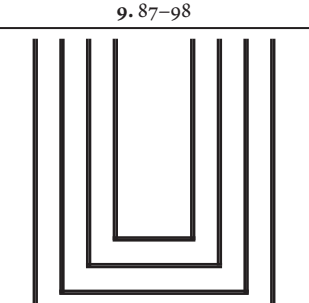
		
1. cc. 1A-9	2. 10-19	3. 20-27
		
4. 28-35	5. 36-43	6. 44-51

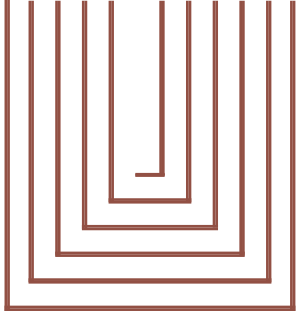
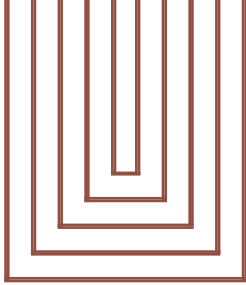
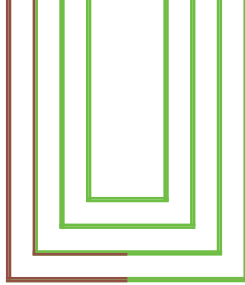
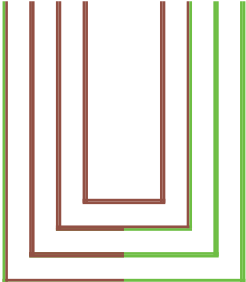
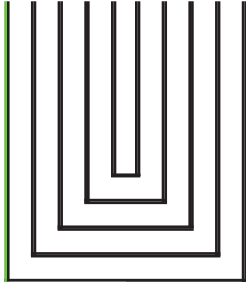
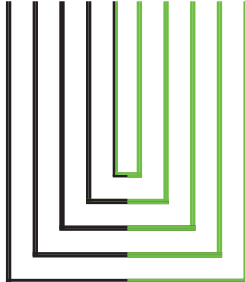
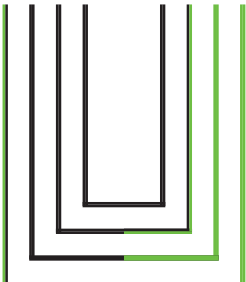
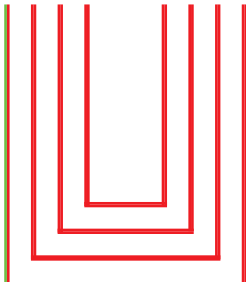
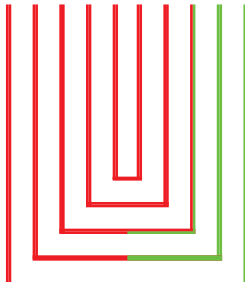
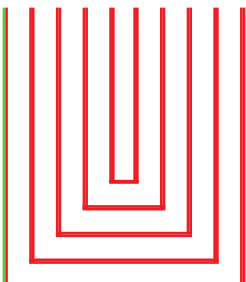
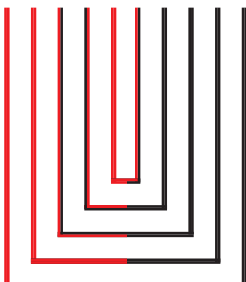
		
7. cc. 48–55	8. 56–63	9. 64–71
		
10. 72–83	11. 84–92	12. 93–100
		
13. cc.101–109 ³	14. 110–117	15. 118–125
		
16. 126–129	17. 130–135	18. 136–143

3. The foliation skips from 102 to 104.

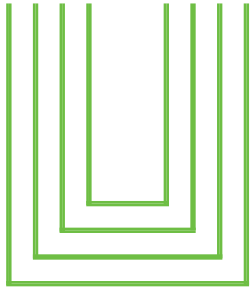
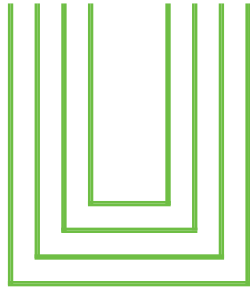
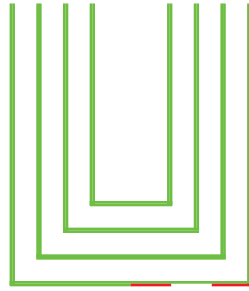
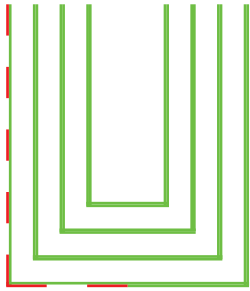
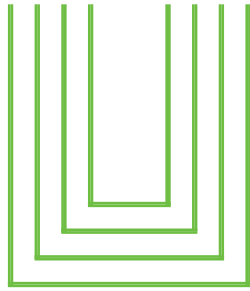
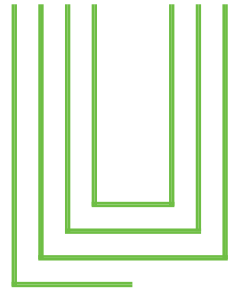
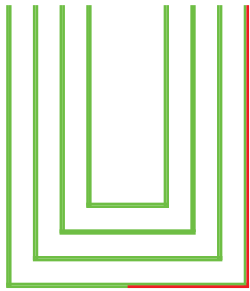
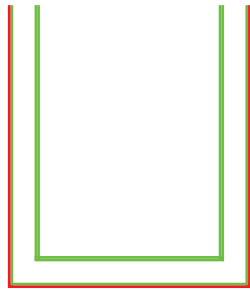
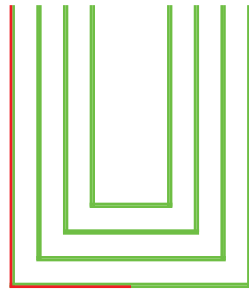
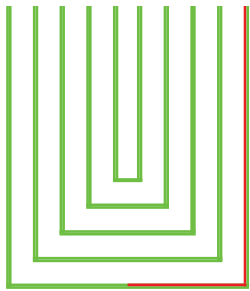
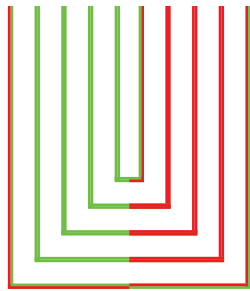
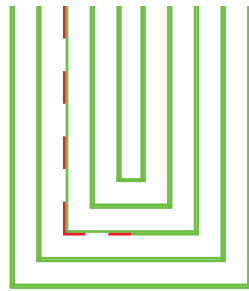
		
19. CC. 144-151	20. 152-159	21. 160-169
		
22. 170-177	23. 178-185	24. 186-193
		
25. 194-201	26. 202-211	

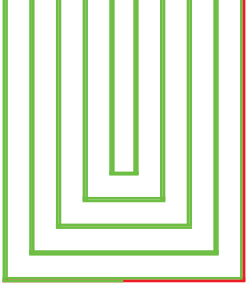
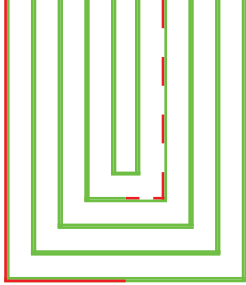
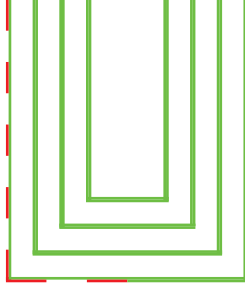
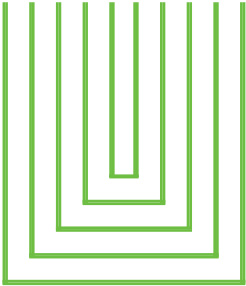
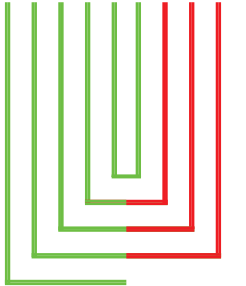
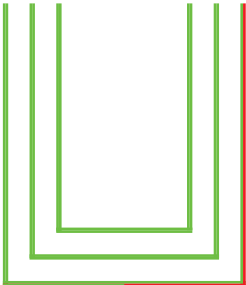
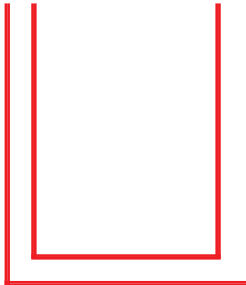
Librone 3

		
1. cc. 11-18	2. 19-26	3. 27-36
		
4. 37-46	5. 47-56	6. 57-66
		
7. cc. 67-76	8. 77-86	9. 87-98
		
10. 99-108	11. 109-116	12. 117-124

		
13. cc. 125-135	14. 136-145	15. 146-153
		
16. 154-161	17. 162-171	18. 172-181
		
19. cc. 182-189	20. 190-197	21. 198-207
		
22. 208-217	23. 218-227	

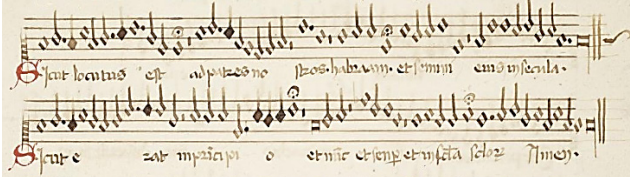
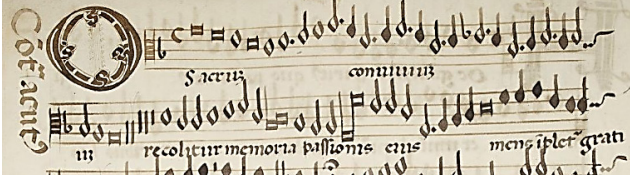
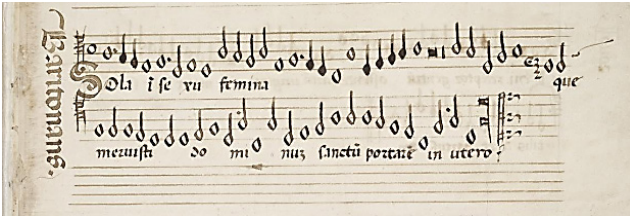
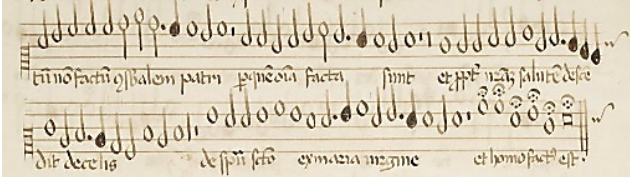

Librone [4] (conjectural)

		
1. 1-8	2. 9-16	3. 17-24
		
4. 25-32	5. 33-40	6. 41-47
		
7. 48-55	8. 56-59	9. 60-67
		
10. 68-77	11. 78-87	12. 88-97

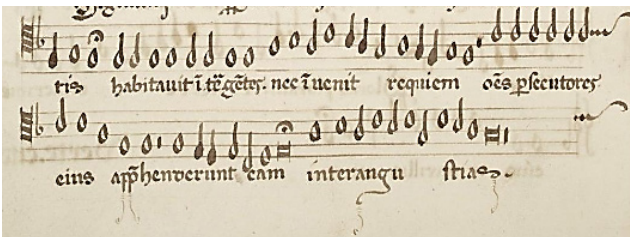


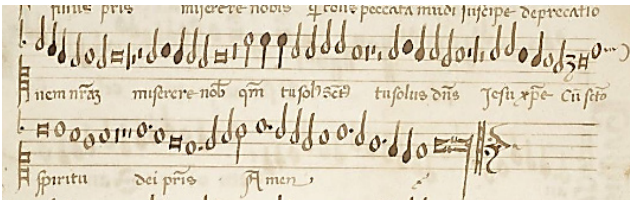

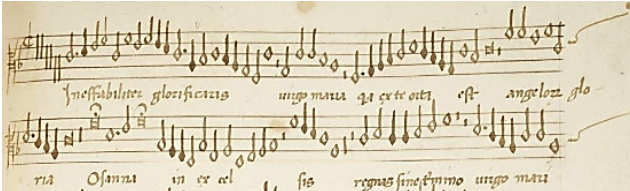
		
13. 98-107	14. 108-117	15. 118-125
		
16. 126-135	17. 136-144	
other hypothesis:		
		
17. 136-141	18. fols. 142-144	


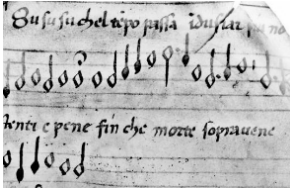
APPENDIX 3

The Libroni Scribes: Concordance with JEPPESEN (1931)
and Script Specimens

SCRIBE	JEPPESEN	SPECIMEN
LIBRONE 1		
<p>A Gatherings 2–4, 16–24</p>	<p>Schreiber II: Simplified non-rotunda gothic (fol. 21r)</p>	
<p>B Gatherings 5–7, 9–12</p>	<p>Schreiber III: Italian rotunda (fol. 73r)</p>	
<p>Gaffurius Gatherings 1, 8, 13–15</p>	<p>Schreiber I: simplified <i>textua-</i> <i>lis</i>, with a cursive tendency (fol. 1r)</p>	
LIBRONE 2		
<p>A Gatherings 3–7</p>	<p>Schreiber III (fol. 45v)</p>	
<p>B Gatherings 11, 15–16</p>	<p>Schreiber VI (fol. 86r)</p>	

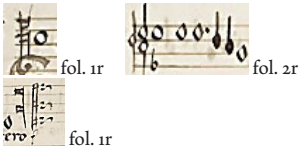
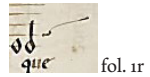
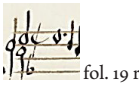

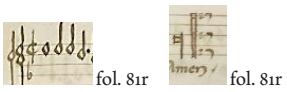
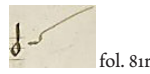
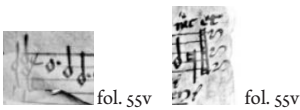
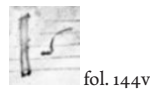
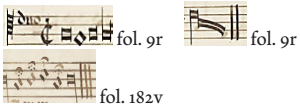

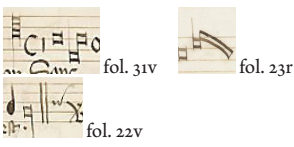
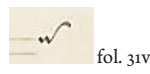
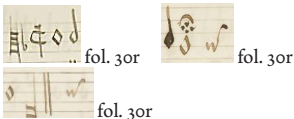
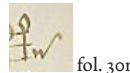
SCRIBE	JEPPESEN	SPECIMEN
C Gatherings 1–2, 9–10, 21–25	Schreiber I: Italian <i>textualis</i> <i>rotunda</i> (fol. 18r)	
D Gatherings 8, 17–20	Schreiber IV, Schreiber IX, Schreiber X: <i>textualis</i> , with tapered descenders (fol. 153v)	
E Two folios in gathering 9	Schreiber V: Script influenced by humanistic cursive (fol. 69v)	
F Gatherings 12–13, 26	Schreiber VII, Schreiber VIII: calligraphic, influenced by chancery scripts (fol. 99r)	
Gaffurius Gathering 14	Schreiber II (fol. 112r)	
LIBRONE 3		
A Gathering 3	Schreiber III: as above, but trembling (fol. 28v)	

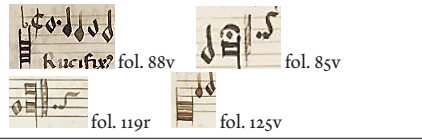


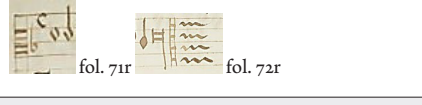
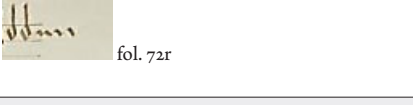
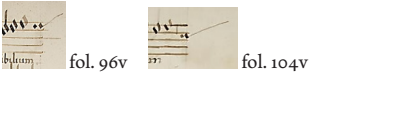
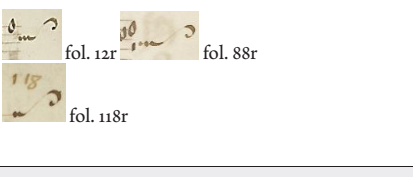
SCRIBE	JEPPESEN	SPECIMEN
<p>G Gatherings 1–2, 9–10, 16–19, 23</p>	<p>Schreiber I, Schreiber VIII: Italian <i>textualis</i> (fol. 12v)</p>	
<p>H Two folios in gathering 2</p>	<p>Schreiber II: sixteenth-century cursive (fol. 25r)</p>	
<p>I Gatherings 4–8, 13–15</p>	<p>Schreiber IV: sixteenth-century formal chancery script (fol. 40r)</p>	
<p>J Interventions in gatherings 5, 8, 10, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21</p>	<p>Schreiber V: Italian <i>textualis</i> with cursive tendency (fol. 159v)</p>	
<p>K Two folios in gathering 11</p>	<p>Schreiber VII: sixteenth-century cursive (fol. 111r)</p>	
<p>Gaffurius Gatherings 20–23</p>	<p>Schreiber VI (fol. 116r)</p>	

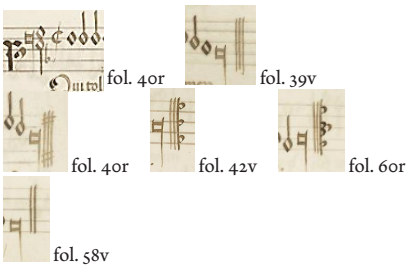


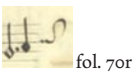


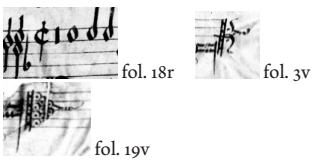
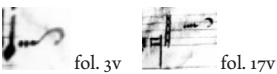


SCRIBE	JEPPESEN	SPECIMEN
LIBRONE [4]		
J	— (fol. 136r)	
Gaffurius fols. 55v–56r, 59v–60r, 77v–78r, 83v–87r 107v–108r, 141v–144r	— (fol. 144r)	

APPENDIX 4

Musical Scripts in the Libroni

	CLEFS AND OTHER SIGNS	CUSTOS
GAFFURIUS		
Librone 1	 <p>fol. 1r fol. 2r fol. 1r</p>	 <p>fol. 1r</p>
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 19 r</p>	 <p>fol. 19 r fol. 111v</p>
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 81r fol. 81r</p>	 <p>fol. 81r</p>
Librone [4]	 <p>fol. 55v fol. 55v</p>	 <p>fol. 144v</p>
SCRIBE A		
Librone 1	 <p>fol. 9r fol. 9r fol. 182v</p>	 <p>fol. 29v fol. 156r</p>
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 31v fol. 23r fol. 22v</p>	 <p>fol. 31v</p>
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 30r fol. 30r fol. 30r</p>	 <p>fol. 30r</p>

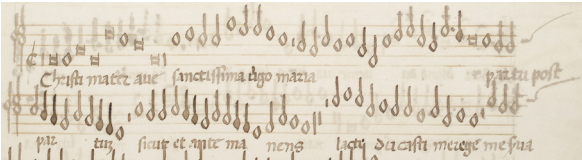
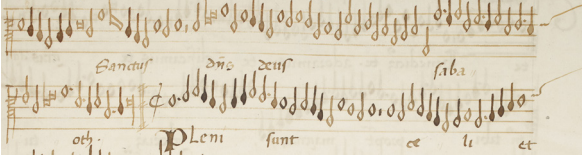
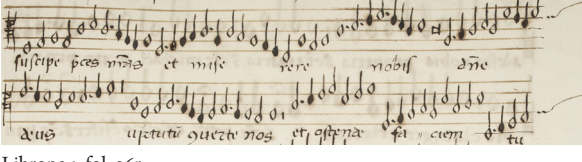
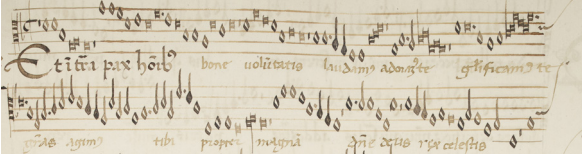
	CLEFS AND OTHER SIGNS	CUSTOS
SCRIBE B		
Librone 1	 <p>fol. 94r fol. 52r fol. 33r</p>	 <p>fol. 94r fol. 52r</p>
Librone 2	 <p>Kucifix fol. 88v fol. 85v fol. 119r fol. 125v</p>	 <p>fol. 93v fol. 85v</p>
SCRIBE C		
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 4v fol. 76v fol. 194v fol. 194v</p>	 <p>fol. 15r fol. 4v</p>
SCRIBE D		
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 58r fol. 61v fol. 134r</p>	 <p>fol. 58r fol. 138r</p>
SCRIBE E		
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 71r fol. 72r</p>	 <p>fol. 72r</p>
SCRIBE F		
Librone 2	 <p>Artem cup fol. 96v fol. 96v fol. 104v</p>	 <p>fol. 96v fol. 104v</p>
SCRIBE G		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 12r fol. 13v fol. 89v fol. 15v</p>	 <p>fol. 12r fol. 88r fol. 118r</p>
SCRIBE H		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 25r fol. 26v fol. 25r</p>	 <p>fol. 25r fol. 25r</p>

	CLEFS AND OTHER SIGNS	CUSTOS
SCRIBE I		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 40r fol. 39v fol. 40r fol. 42v fol. 60r fol. 58v</p>	 <p>fol. 38r fol. 40r</p>
Florence, Biblioteca del Con- servatorio, Basevi 2441	 <p>fol. 71r fol. 70r</p>	 <p>fol. 70r</p>
SCRIBE J		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 55r fol. 82v fol. 149v</p>	 <p>fol. 84r fol. 55r fol. 149r</p>
Librone [4]	 <p>fol. 18r fol. 3v fol. 19v</p>	 <p>fol. 3v fol. 17v</p>
SCRIBE K		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 111r fol. 112v</p>	 <p>fol. 111r fol. 113r</p>

APPENDIX 5

Gaffurius's Phases of Intervention in the Libroni

<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, fols. 2va–1r, 3v–4r (upper)</p>	<p>Librone 1, fol. 1r</p>	<p>black ink; formal script; presence of decoration</p>
<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, fols. 1v–2r (upper), 3v–4r (lower) 56v–57r, 101v–102r, 117v–118r</p>	<p>Librone 1, fol. 2r</p>	<p>black ink; formal script; absence of decoration</p>
<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, 103v–106r, 109v–112r; Librone 2, fols. 6v–7r, 155v–157r</p>	<p>Librone 1, fol. 112r</p>	<p>brown ink; formal script; absence of decoration, simplified signs</p>
<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, fols. 2v–3r, 58v–64r, 97v–98r, 106v–108r</p>	<p>Librone 1, fol. 2v</p>	<p>ink verging from brown to reddish; min- ute, slanting, semi-cursive script</p>
<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, fol. 1ra, 1v–2r (lower), 4v–5r (upper), 57v–58r, 59v–60r (low- er), 60v–61r (lower), 98v–101r, 108v–109r, 111v–112r (lower)</p>	<p>Librone 1, fol. 101r</p>	<p>ochre ink; large-size, formal script</p>

<p>Gaff⁶ Librone 1, fols. 102v–103r, 114v–117r</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 115r</p>	<p>grey ink; large-size, formal script</p>
<p>Gaff⁷ Librone 1, fols. 39v–40r, 112v–114r; Librone 2, fols. 54v–56r, 110v–117r, 135v–136r, 209v–211r; Librone 3, fols. 78v–82r, 115v–116r, 190v–196r, 198v–205r, 208v–220r; Librone [4], fols. 24v–25r, 55v–56r, 59v–60r, 83v–87r, 107v–108r</p>	 <p>Librone 2, fol. 136r</p>	<p>ochre ink; cursive script</p>
<p>Gaff⁸ Librone 1, fols. 7v–8r, 31v–32r, 95v–96r; Librone 2, fols. 18v–19r; Librone 3, fols. 221v–223r; Librone [4], fols. 77v–78r, 141v–144r</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 96r</p>	<p>black ink; cursive script</p>
<p>Gaff⁹ Librone 2, fols. 137v–139r</p>	 <p>Librone 2, fol. 137r</p>	<p>ochre ink; faltering hand</p>

APPENDIX 6

Chronology of the Compilation of the Libroni (Tentative Reconstruction)

The following table presents the relative chronology of the scribal interventions on each manuscript, based on the codicological and palaeographic analysis. The conjectural timeline in the leftmost column is based on the following ascertained dates: 1490, ownership note of Librone 1; 1492, binding of Librone 2; 1507, reconstructed ownership note of Librone [4].

TIMELINE	RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY			
	LIBRONE 1	LIBRONE 2	LIBRONE 3	LIBRONE [4]
1484–85?	Scribe A ¹			
1489–90	Scribe A ²			
...	Scribe B	Scribe A ²		
	Gaff ⁱ	Scribe B		
	Gaff ²	Scribe D		
1491–92*	Gaff ³	Gaff ³		
...	Gaff ⁴	Scribe C		
	Gaff ⁵			
	Gaff ⁶	Scribe F		
		Scribe E	Scribe A ³	
			Scribe G	
ca. 1505**			Scribe I	
...			Scribe H	
			Scribe K	
	Gaff ⁷	Gaff ⁷	Gaff ⁷	Gaff ⁷
1507			Scribe J	
...			Scribe J	
	Gaff ⁸	Gaff ⁸	Gaff ⁸	Gaff ⁸
ca. 1520***		Gaff ⁹		

Notes:

* In Librone 2 Scribes B and D work at the same time (they share the same decoration); Scribe C works after Scribe D (watermark) and Gaff³ works with Scribe C.

** In Librone 3 Scribe I works about 1505, maybe a little later (see other MSS by the same Scribe); Gaff⁷ comes later than Scribe I. Scribe J works after the binding of the volume.

*** Gaffurius's hand did not tremble before 1520.

GAFFURIUS'S PARATEXTS:
NOTES ON THE INDEXES OF LIBRONI 1–3

DANIELE V. FILIPPI

Priscos cum haberes quos probares indices,
Lector, placere qui bonis possent modis,
Nostri libelli cur retexis paginam?

LUXORIUS (sixth cent.)

The index (or *tabula*) compiled by Franchinus Gaffurius for Librone 1 has attracted the attention of modern scholars exclusively because it lists the *motetti missales* – it is indeed the only source for that very name – and for related matters of attribution. No one has ever tried, however, to study the index more thoroughly and see if it contains any further clues for a better understanding of the manuscript's genesis and structure. At the 'Motet Cycles' conference in Basel, in April 2016, Francesco Rossi highlighted some peculiar features of the index and used them as evidence for his 'reconsiderations on the *motetti missales* paradigm';¹ a discussion ensued about how to reconcile his pragmatic and content-oriented reading of the index with the fact that some of the entries had clearly been written at different times, with different inks and scripts. Then came Martina Pantarotto's first palaeographical and codicological study of the Libroni² and, with the colleagues of the Polifonia Sforzesca research team, we started pondering some unsolved riddles in the structure of Librone 1: it was only then that I decided to go back to the index and scrutinize it more closely. My first results made evident that the stratigraphy of the index

1. Later published as Francesco Rocco Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex: Reconsiderations on the "Motetti Missales" Paradigm', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 381–95.

2. Martina Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologico-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019), 103–38.

reflected the stratigraphy of Gaffurius's interventions on the manuscript: Joshua Rifkin had already established that 'many additions to the choirbook by Gaffurius [...] clearly postdate the binding of the volume',³ but we needed more detail. Pantarotto was then working on what would become her chapter in the present volume, and in one of our joint brainstorming sessions I prompted her to study the variations in Gaffurius's script according to this perspective. Her enthusiastic response resulted in the discovery of no fewer than eight phases of Gaffurius's interventions (nine phases in all, if considering the other Libroni too).⁴ The preliminary study of the index of Librone 1, then, proved decisive for a better understanding of the manuscript. The following notes have been updated in the light of Pantarotto's findings: unsurprisingly, however, as the reader will soon see, the newly acquired knowledge comes hand in hand with further unanswered questions.

To the detailed discussion of the index of Librone 1, some briefer remarks on those of Libroni 2 and 3 follow, whose study yields more modest results: it further illuminates, nevertheless, Gaffurius's *modus operandi*, and more generally confirms that the attention dedicated to paratexts is always well spent.

The index of Librone 1

The index of Librone 1 was written by Gaffurius on the parchment pastedown of the front cover.⁵ Evidently, the master penned it after the volume was bound and after entering the foliation,⁶ probably copying from a draft list previously compiled by browsing through the manuscript. The index consists of two main lists, written with the same script and ink in two columns, and some additions. Disregarding the additions for the moment, the main list on the left can be described as a register

3. Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's "Ave Maria ... Virgo Serena"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/2 (2003), 239–350 at 253, n. 29, and 254, nn. 31 and 32. Previously, Masakata Kanazawa, 'Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966), 444–46 had noticed the remarkable variance in Gaffurius's script: he correctly identified some of Gaffurius's post-binding additions, but mistakenly attributed them to a different hand (which he labelled 'Scribe IV').

4. See Pantarotto's chapter and, for a synopsis, her Appendices 5 and 6.

5. For the provenance, material aspect, and collocation of the manuscript's former pastedowns (later detached from the binding), see my chapter (§'1484–1490: towards Librone 1') and the chapter by Martina Pantarotto (§1.6) in the present volume. For a digital reproduction of the two leaves carrying the index, originally glued together, see <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3207>> (top half) and <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3209>> (bottom half) respectively.

6. As Martina Pantarotto observed in one of our Libroni sessions, in coeval manuscripts the foliation was often inserted only in view of the indexing, and Gaffurius had a penchant for indexing his manuscripts. I express my heartfelt thanks to her for this and other valuable suggestions that I have gladly incorporated in my text.

of motets (including Marian antiphons and a *Te deum*), in impeccable order of occurrence from fol. '65' (= 64v–65r) to fol. '188' (=187v–188r), but excluding the motets belonging to the special cycles listed in the right-hand column. Each item's incipit is preceded by the number of voices⁷ and followed by the folio number. In two cases (Gaffurius's own motets *Virgo dei digna* and *Salve mater salvatoris*), the specification 'letanie' (litanies) is added on the left. The main list on the right, topped by the heading 'Motetti missales consequentes', is dedicated to the well-known motet cycles included in the manuscript, again listed in order of occurrence; they are provided with some annotations and, unlike the single motets on the left, with attributions ('Gaffori', 'Gaspar', 'Loyset'). I will not dwell here on the idiosyncrasies of the *motetti missales* list, whose remarkable implications as to the nature and function of the cycles, as well as the attribution of *Ave domine Iesu Christe*, have already been discussed in previous studies.⁸

In sum, Gaffurius conceived the index as a systematic list of the motets included in Librone 1, with the special group of the *motetti missales* put in evidence on the right. The other genres present in the manuscript (hymns and Magnificats) are left out. The two main lists considered together (always disregarding the additions) cover fols. 64v to 188r, that is gatherings 9–24 (see below, however, for the substantial omissions in gatherings 13–15).

As to the additions, they are entered in two distinct areas: one at the bottom of the left column (in which we can further distinguish between the first added item, *Vita dulcedo*,⁹ clearly placed in continuation to the main list, and the detached and differently aligned block below); the other at the bottom of the right column.

7. Note that the scoring of Binchois's *Te deum* 'a faux bordon' had first been entered as '4', then Gaffurius erased the '4' and wrote '3'.

8. On the first aspect, see at least Knud Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28; Thomas L. Noblitt, 'The Ambrosian "Motetti Missales" Repertory', *Musica Disciplina*, 22 (1968), 77–103; Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 332–53; Nolan Ira Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001); Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex'; and Daniele V. Filippi, 'Breve guida ai *motetti missales* (e dintorni)', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 139–69. On the second aspect, see now the introduction to [Loyset Compère?], *Ave domine Iesu Christe*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi, Motet Cycles Edition, 2 (2020), *Gaffurius Codices Online*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions>>. Further observations on how Gaffurius's indexes can be of help to the cataloguer of the Libroni are in Cristina Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 275–90.

9. The piece is catalogued as *Salve regina* in Cristina Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389, no. [I.85], and in *GCO-Catalogue*, but in the following discussion, for clarity, I will always use the incipit, as Gaffurius did in the index, and call it *Vita dulcedo*.

It is worth noting straightaway that all the motets recorded in the main or original lists were copied by Scribe A and Scribe B in the manuscript, whereas all the motets added to the index, and those which remained unrecorded as well, were copied by Gaffurius. With the sole exception of Gaspar van Weerbeke's short cycle *Christi mater ave* (fols. 114v–117r), all the motets added to Librone 1 are compositions by Gaffurius, or attributed to him by modern scholars, or anonymous.

Whereas the two main lists seem to reflect the 'original state' of the manuscript after the binding (at least as far as motets are concerned), about the additions we may wonder whether they were already present in the manuscript but were added to the index only later, or they were added *ex novo* to the Librone and consequently to the index (although the two operations need not necessarily have been performed at the same time).

Let us examine the additions, starting from the right-hand column of the index. It is immediately apparent that each entry is distinct for script and ink (with the exception of the pair *Magnum nomen domini* and *Audi benigne conditor*), and that they do not follow the order of the pagination. Leaving aside, for the moment, the question whether or not these pieces were added underneath the *motetti missales* column because they pertain to that group,¹⁰ we should observe that four out of six motets were entered by Gaffurius in the Librone as 'fill-ins' between gatherings: *O Iesu dulcissime* between Scribe B's gatherings 5 and 6, *Trophaeum crucis* between Scribe A's gathering 4 and Scribe B's gathering 5, *Virgo prudentissima* between Gaffurius's gathering 1 (preceded by blank folios) and Scribe A's gathering 2; and *Omnipotens aeternae deus* between gathering 12 (Scribe B) and gathering 13 (inaugurated by Scribe B and then filled by Gaffurius). *Magnum nomen domini* and *Audi benigne conditor*, instead, are copied in the midst of gathering 15. The first four of the added motets (*Magnum*, *Audi*, *O Iesu*, and *Trophaeum*) are for five voices: indeed, they are the only real five-voice pieces in the whole manuscript.¹¹

Turning to the additions at the bottom of the left-hand column, I distinguish, as said, the case of the anonymous *Vita dulcedo* (setting the even verses of the *Salve regina*), because it is clearly attached to the main list – either because, as proposed by Rossi, it was meant to be performed in alternatim with the composition that closes the main list (the three-voice *Salve regina*, fols. 187v–188r, a likewise anonymous setting of the antiphon's odd verses),¹² or simply because Gaffurius wanted to keep the three *Salve regina* settings close to one another in the list. In any case,

10. See the discussion on Rossi's hypothesis below.

11. The three motets of Compère's cycle *Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar* and two motets from the cycle *Ave domine Iesu Christe* famously have a pseudo-five-voice scoring, with two alternating tenors: see my introductions to the digital Motet Cycles Edition, vols. 2 and 3, GCO, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions>>.

12. Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex', 392–93.

Vita dulcedo was entered in the manuscript between gathering 15 (on which see below) and gathering 16 (Scribe A). The five entries in the bottom block correspond to motets entered consecutively in gathering 13, but strangely, as already observed by Rossi,¹³ they are in reverse order in the list. The block is misaligned with the main list, or rather the incipits are aligned with the voice number specifications of the list above, as if Gaffurius had initially forgotten to add the voice numbers and then entered them further to the left. At least three different inks and varieties of Gaffurius's script are visible (one for the first three items, *Imperatrix reginarum*, *O res laeta*, and *Castra caeli dum transcendo*; one for *Verbum sapientiae*; and one for *Benedicamus domino*).¹⁴ We may notice that *O res laeta* seems to have been inserted after the entries immediately above and under it: the number '4' has an unusual curved shape, the folio abbreviation is partially superimposed on the one above it, and in general the vertical spacing is ungainly.

Now, which motets in Librone 1 remained outside both of the original lists and the additions? Ten motets (by, or attributed to, Gaffurius, or anonymous), consecutively copied at fols. 102v–112r (= the last folios of gathering 13, the entire gathering 14, and the beginning of gathering 15); and the three-motet cycle *Christi mater ave* by Weerbeke, at fols. 114v–117r (= end of gathering 15). In other words, the index excluded the entire gatherings 13–15, constituting a Gaffurian enclave between the block of the motets copied by Scribe B (gatherings 9–12) and the block of the motets copied by Scribe A (gatherings 16–24), with the following exceptions:

- *Omnipotens aeterne deus*, copied by Gaffurius as a fill-in between gatherings 12 and 13, and included (last) among the additions on the right;
- *Virgo dei digna*, copied on the first full opening of gathering 13 by Scribe B and duly included in the original list;
- *Magnum nomen domine* and *Audi benigne conditor*, copied in the midst of gathering 15 and included, as we have seen, among the additions on the right.

How to account, then, for these exclusions, surely not based on matters of genre or content, and for the various additions to the index?

Rossi advanced an explanation based on his broadening of the concept of *motetti missales*.¹⁵ In his view, the additions in the right-hand column continue the list of the *motetti missales* above: Gaffurius entered the first four right-hand additions,

13. Ibid., 389.

14. Even though the index does not specify it, there are actually two distinct four-voice *Benedicamus domino* at fols. 97v–98r, as already pointed out by Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex', 390–91.

15. Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex', and Francesco Rocco Rossi, 'Franchino Gaffurio compositore: Tra indagine stilistica e nuove conferme attributive', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 219–31.

which Rossi considers as potentially forming a cycle,¹⁶ then the last two, and then he continued to add entries ‘boustrophedonically’ from the bottom of the left-hand column,¹⁷ featuring two ‘virtual’ mini-cycles (*Virgo prudentissima* combined with the first *Benedicamus domino*, and *Omnipotens aeterne deus* with the second one) and a four-motet cycle encompassing *Verbum sapientiae*, *Castra caeli*, *O res laeta*, and *Imperatrix reginarum*.¹⁸ Irrespective of the genre-specific problems raised by the proposed cycles, the weak point of this reconstruction lies in the fact that, in its content-centred perspective, it leaves the blatant graphic dissimilarity of the index entries unexplained and disregards the palaeographical and codicological status of the corresponding items in the manuscript altogether.

After observing this, and aiming at an accurate explanation for all the puzzling details of the index, I formulated a different hypothesis. When the volume was bound, Gaffurius compiled the main lists: at that point, besides some folios in gathering 1 and the last verso/first recto between some gatherings, a substantial part of the manuscript was still unwritten, comprising the entire gatherings 13 (with the exception of *Virgo dei digna*, written by Scribe B), 14, and 15. Gaffurius copied *Vita dulcedo* as a fill-in between gatherings 15 and 16 and entered it consecutively in the left-hand column (possibly also for its logical connection with the two *Salve regina* at the end of that list). Afterwards, Gaffurius progressively filled fols. 97–102 in gathering 13 (in non-consecutive order), and added the corresponding items in the left-hand column: possibly *Castra caeli* and *Benedicamus* first, with a bold and large script, then *Imperatrix reginarum* (keeping it at a distance from the main list above), then *O res laeta* (wedged in between the surrounding entries), and finally *Verbum sapientiae*. When he got to adding pieces at fols. 102–117, there was no more room in the left-hand column: possibly in order not to invade the right-hand column, solely dedicated to the *motetti missales*, he gave up the idea of indexing those pieces. Later on, however, when he added some further motets as ‘fill-ins’ between gatherings, he preferred to invade the right-hand column rather than lose track of the scattered new motets: leaving a certain distance from the *motetti missales* list, he added the entries for *O Iesu dulcissime*, *Trophaeum crucis*, *Virgo prudentissima*, and *Omnipotens aeterne deus*. Later still, he copied *Magnum nomen domini* and *Audi benigne conditor* in the last available openings of gathering 15, and for some reason felt the need to include them in the index: this he did by squeezing the entries between the *motetti missales* and the additions below (perhaps also in order to keep the five-voice motets, possibly linked by cyclic relationships, close to one another).¹⁹

16. Rossi, ‘Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex’, 389–90; Rossi, ‘Franchino Gaffurio compositore’.

17. Rossi, ‘Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex’, 386.

18. *Ibid.*, 390–91.

19. See C33a and C33b in the *Motet Cycles Database*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<http://www.motetcycles.ch/>>.

TABLE 3.1. MOTETS ADDED TO, OR MISSING IN, THE INDEX OF LIBRONE 1

The 'phase' in the rightmost column (based on Martina Pantarotto's analysis of Gaffurius's script) refers to the copying of the piece, not to the inscription of the index entry.

INCIPIIT	COMPOSER	FOLS.	GATHER- ING	INDEX STATUS	PHASE
<i>Virgo prudentissima</i>	Gaffurius	7v–8r	1/2	added (right)	Gaff ⁸
<i>Trophaeum crucis</i>	anonymous	31v–32r	4/5	added (right)	Gaff ⁸
<i>O Iesu dulcissime</i>	[Gaffurius?]	39v–40r	5/6	added (right)	Gaff ⁷
<i>Omnipotens aeterne deus</i>	Gaffurius	95v–96r	12/13	added (right)	Gaff ⁸
<i>Benedicamus domino</i>	anonymous	97v–98r	13	added (left)	Gaff ⁴
<i>Verbum sapientiae</i>	Gaffurius	98v–99r	13	added (left)	Gaff ⁵
<i>Castra caeli dum transcendo</i>	Gaffurius	99v–100r	13	added (left)	Gaff ⁵
<i>O res laeta</i>	Gaffurius	100v–101r	13	added (left)	Gaff ⁵
<i>Imperatrix reginarum</i>	Gaffurius	101v–102r	13	added (left)	Gaff ²
<i>Eia mater</i>	[Gaffurius?]	102v–103r	13	—	Gaff ⁶
<i>Vox iucunda cum favore</i>	[Gaffurius?]	103v–104r	13/14	—	Gaff ³
<i>O Iesu dulcissime</i>	[Gaffurius?]	104v–105r	14	—	Gaff ³
<i>Reformator animarum</i>	[Gaffurius?]	105v–106r	14	—	Gaff ³
<i>Ave cella novae legis</i>	[Gaffurius?]	106v–107r	14	—	Gaff ⁴
<i>Promissa mundo gaudia</i>	Gaffurius	107v–108r	14	—	Gaff ⁴
<i>O beata praesulis</i>	anonymous	108v–109r	14	—	Gaff ⁵
<i>Ave mundi reparatrix</i>	anonymous	109v–110r	14/15	—	Gaff ³
<i>Uterus virgineus</i>	anonymous	110v–111r	15	—	Gaff ⁵
<i>Haec est sedes gratiae</i>	anonymous	111v–112r	15	—	Gaff ⁵
<i>Magnum nomen domini</i>	Gaffurius	112v–113r	15	added (right)	Gaff ⁷
<i>Audi benigne conditor</i>	Gaffurius	113v–114r	15	added (right)	Gaff ⁷
<i>Christi mater ave</i>	Weerbeke	114v–115r	15	—	Gaff ⁶
<i>Mater digna dei</i>	Weerbeke	115v–116r	15	—	Gaff ⁶
<i>Ave stella matutina</i>	Weerbeke	116v–117r	15	—	Gaff ⁶
<i>Vita dulcedo</i> [= <i>Salve regina</i>]	anonymous	117v–118r	15/16	added (left, consecutively)	Gaff ²

In turn, the weak points of this reconstruction emerged after Martina Pantarotto started to define the stratigraphy of Gaffurius's interventions in Librone 1. Table 3.1 lists, in order of appearance in the manuscript, all the motets added to the

index and the motets left out of it, showing the corresponding phase in Gaffurius's script, based on Pantarotto's findings.

To the earliest phase, Gaff², belong *Vita dulcedo* and *Imperatrix reginarum*. Gaffurius copied the first at the border between the blank area and Scribe A's motet block, and added it consecutively to the left-hand list. As Pantarotto herself suggests in her chapter, Gaffurius might have copied *Imperatrix* after some blank openings in gathering 13 because Scribe B was supposed to continue his copying work in those folios. It is difficult to figure out why Gaffurius did not index the pieces copied during the Gaff³ and Gaff⁴ phases, scattered in gatherings 13 and 14. The only exception, concerning the (two) *Benedicamus domino*, might have been prompted by the need to easily retrieve those liturgically expedient items. Of the Gaff⁵ phase, three motets were listed (in gathering 13) and three ignored (in gatherings 14 and 15). The three consecutive motets in gathering 13 might have been included for the cyclic or para-cyclic connections between them and with the following *Imperatrix reginarum*. Again, it is hard to fathom why the pieces belonging to the next Gaff⁶ phase (notably Weerbeke's short cycle) were not included in the index. On the contrary, all the pieces in the Gaff⁷ phase were included among the right-hand additions, both the 'fill-in' *O Iesu dulcissime* and the two consecutive motets *Magnum nomen domini* and *Audi benigne conditor* of gathering 15 (all three five-voice pieces are also copied in the later Librone [4], possibly combined in a cycle with another motet).²⁰ Finally, the latest Gaff⁸ phase comprises the three 'fill-ins' scattered in the manuscript and included in the index at the bottom of the right-hand column.

Combining the chronological and the topographical perspectives, it is clear that the additions on the left-hand side came first (Gaff²–Gaff⁵), although the staggered sequence both of the copying and of the insertions in the index, as well as the resulting reverse order in the index, appear difficult to explain in a convincing way. The additions to the right-hand side belong, instead, to the later Gaff⁷–Gaff⁸ phases, and their order in the index in fact seems to mirror the chronology of the copying (hence the lack of foliation order) – although, as said, we cannot assume that the operations of copying and indexing were always performed simultaneously.

In sum, pending further research we have to accept the fact that some of Gaffurius's additions to the index follow a transparent logic, while some others, and some omissions too, depend upon inscrutable criteria (in certain cases possibly related to compositional or functional connections between the pieces such as those proposed by Finscher, Gasser, Rossi, and the present writer).²¹

20. See again C33b in the *Motet Cycles Database*.

21. See Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c.1450–1518): Life and Works*, MSD, 12 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 90, n. 10; Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles'; Daniele V. Filippi, 'Text, Form, and Style in Franchino Gaffurio's Motets', in Thomas Schmidt-Beste (ed.), *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?* (Turnhout:

Regardless of the remaining doubts and questions, the study of the index led us to some momentous deductions about Librone 1 and Gaffurius's way of proceeding. First of all, it now seems evident that at the moment of the binding, foliating, and indexing of the volume, Gaffurius left substantial space for future additions: he left blank not only several folios in gathering 1 and the interstices between gatherings or blocks, but three entire gatherings in the midst of the motet section. (Why not at the end of the manuscript, after Scribe A's own motet block? Possibly because Scribe B had already begun gathering 13 with *Virgo dei digna* and then interrupted his work: this might have inspired Gaffurius to create a 'buffer zone' for the future addition of motets, which he delimited by adding *Vita dulcedo* immediately before Scribe A's block.)

Secondly, our current knowledge about the layered additions partially problematizes the documentary evidence regarding the dating of Librone 1. Since no specific payment for the binding of the book has emerged from the archive (as it did, instead, for Librone 2),²² we can only assume that the 'snapshot' of the original lists in the index exactly corresponds to the date inscribed on the pastedown of the back cover (23 June 1490). We cannot entirely rule out, however, that some of the early additions came after the original lists but before the inscription of the ownership note. It seems, nevertheless, clear that the motets added to the index and those left out of it were copied after those recorded in the original lists – therefore most probably after June 1490 (with the caveat just mentioned), and in some cases at a distance of years.

Furthermore, we are now in a better position to understand that the original project of Librone 1 was more consistent (and, *si licet*, less Gaffurian) than it may appear owing to the successive additions. If we consider that the motets at fols. 7–8, 31–32, and 39–40 are posterior additions (as suggested by their insertion at the bottom of the right-hand column and verified by palaeographical analysis), the original genre-based layout of the manuscript emerges more clearly, with the first gathering dedicated to hymns, the subsequent seven to Magnificats, and the following sixteen to motets. In this perspective, it makes perfectly sense that Gaffurius copied *Virgo prudentissima* not in the first available opening of the first gathering (originally dedicated to hymns and only later 'invaded' by Magnificat verses), but at the border between that gathering and following one: in all likelihood he wanted to leave room for further hymns, although in the end the two openings before *Virgo prudentissima* remained blank.²³

Brepols, 2012), 383–410 at 397; and the articles by Rossi repeatedly quoted above. Only a systematic study of Gaffurius's motets might clarify these issues.

22. See my chapter 'The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices' in the present volume.

23. The chapter by Pantarotto in the present volume discloses the successive addition of hymns in gathering 1: see §§1.3 and 1.5.

As already inferred by Rifkin, *Librone 1* in its original state (revealed by the index and fully exposed by palaeographical analysis) was almost entirely the work of Scribe A and Scribe B: it was only later that Gaffurius's interventions progressively sedimented, reflecting his ongoing activity as composer and chapel master of the Duomo.

The index of *Librone 2*

The index of *Librone 2* is preserved in fragments: the remaining portions were pasted, probably during the 1950s restoration, on the recto of a folio placed at the beginning of the manuscript.²⁴ Judging from the substantial fragments, the index consisted of a single column subdivided into a list of masses, in the upper part, with a heading no longer visible, and a list of motets, underneath, with the heading 'Motetti'. A few faded or erased entries in the space between the two lists are only partially readable. The list of the masses is particularly useful in that it informs us of titles and attributions not always present in the body of the manuscript (a crucial help in case of unica such as Gaffurius's own *Missa trombetta* and *Missa De tous biens pleine*).²⁵

As in the case of *Librone 1*, the palaeographical homogeneity and consecutive pagination of the main portions of the two lists allows to detect, by contrast, a few additions. Among the masses, the two additions at the bottom of the list are clearly readable: 'Missa brevis et expedita' and 'Alia missa brevis eiusdem toni'. The foliation, however, is no longer visible, and conversely these titles are not written over any of the masses copied in the manuscript. Amerigo Bortone tentatively identified these items as the masses copied at fols. 110v–114r (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.30]) and 114v–117r + 209v–211r (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.31]) respectively.²⁶ Adelyn Leverett contended, perhaps more convincingly, that the entries refer instead to the masses at fols. 69v–72r + 143v–144r (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.23]) and 110v–114r (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.30]).²⁷ Between the main list and the two items just mentioned, there seem to be two faded entries. One is completely unreadable, but its folio number is probably '94', therefore it should point to Gaffurius's *Missa sexti toni irregularis* at fols. 93v–100r. The beginning of the following entry reads 'Missa sancte' and thus refers to the same master's *Missa Sanctae Caterinae quarti*

24. Apparently, when Knud Jeppesen examined the manuscript, decades before the 1950s restoration, the index was on the 'Versoseite': see Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 15. For a digital reproduction see <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3937>>.

25. See Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 278.

26. Franchino Gaffurio, *Messe*, ed. Amerigo Bortone, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 3 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1960).

27. Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'An Early Missa Brevis in Trent Codex 91', in John Kmetz (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152–73 at 161–64.

toni at fols. 101v–109r (or 100v–110r, counting in the two surrounding motets that form a hybrid cycle with the mass).²⁸ Finally, after two unreadable entries, we find a faded ‘Sanctus’ (see below for a possible identification among the non-indexed items) and a strangely slanting but very clearly legible entry for the *Sanctus* at fols. 18v–19r. The appendages to the index correspond, therefore, as Pantarotto’s analysis shows, to late phases of intervention by Gaffurius (the mass [II.30] = Gaff⁷; *Sanctus* = Gaff⁸) and to the late contributions by Scribe E (if the mass [II.23] is the *Missa brevis et expedita*, copied in two interstices between gatherings 9/10 and 18/19) and of Scribe F (the *Missa sexti toni irregularis* and the *Missa Sanctae Catherinae* in gatherings 12–13).

Among the motets, the original list includes Weerbeke’s works copied by Scribe A at fols. 48v–53r,²⁹ whereas the additions regard *O beata praesulis*,³⁰ *Promissa mundo gaudia*, *Accepta Christi munera*, and *O sacrum convivium*. The late insertion of the first two motets, copied consecutively in gathering 1 by Scribe C and thus belonging to the earliest layer of the manuscript,³¹ has no obvious explanation, if not Gaffurius’s distraction or second thoughts: in fact, the entries seem graphically homogenous with the previous ones in the list. The other two motets were copied consecutively, but in reverse order, by Gaffurius in the late Gaff⁷ phase, in an area remained empty between the blocks of Scribe A and Scribe D (gatherings 7–8).

Which compositions remained unrecorded in the index, and how to account for such omissions? For the masses *La Bassadanza* and *Omnipotens genitor* we cannot know for sure, but they were probably included in the lost initial part of the index. For the omission of the anonymous *Sanctus*, of the *Sanctus* with second part *O sapientia* attributed to Compère, and of the same composer’s *Ave virgo gloriosa*, all copied consecutively by Scribe A in a section of the Librone otherwise duly indexed, there is no easy explanation. The motets *Hac in die* and *Virgo constans* did not need a separate entry as they were included in the hybrid cycle of the *Missa Sanctae Catherinae* (see the rubric over *Hac in die* at fol. 100v). The *Ave verum corpus* attributable to Gaffurius in turn did not need an entry as it was an ‘ad Elevationem’ motet complementing the *Sanctus* of the *Missa brevis octavi toni*.³² In turn, the following *Sanctus*, added by Gaffurius himself (Gaff⁷) probably as an alternative

28. See C20 in the *Motet Cycles Database*.

29. *Quam pulchra es*, *Ave regina caelorum* (2.p. *Ave corpus domini*), *O Maria clausus hortus*, *Ave regina caelorum* (2.p. *O salutaris hostia*), and *Quem terra pontus*. For their cyclic relationships, see C13b and C12b in the *Motet Cycles Database*.

30. Preceded in the index by the same rubric that we read at fol. 6v, ‘Pro sancto Ambrosio’: only the last three letters of the abbreviated name ‘Am.^{io}’ are visible.

31. The text of *O beata praesulis*, however, was entered by Gaffurius: see *GCO-Inventory*.

32. See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 347–48; Sergio Lonoce, ‘Gaffurio perfectus musicus: Lettura dei “motetti missales”’ (tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2009), 99–103; Agnese Pavanello, ‘The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese

movement for the same mass (without ‘ad Elevationem’ motet), did not necessarily need a separate entry (or it might have corresponded to the faded or erased ‘Sanctus’ entry mentioned above). The other ‘missing’ compositions were again added to the manuscript either by Gaffurius in the late Gaff⁷ phase (the anonymous *Sanctus* at fols. 63v–65r and the two-movement mass [II.31] at 114v–117r + 209v–211r), or by another late contributor to Librone 2, Scribe F (the *Te deum* at fols. 204v–209r).

In sum, similarly to what we have seen for Librone 1, here too the study of the index, complemented with the palaeographical analysis, demonstrates that, at the moment of the binding (payment of 16 July 1492),³³ foliating, and indexing of Librone 2, substantial areas of the manuscript were purposely left empty for future additions.

A further observation regards the way in which Gaffurius referenced the masses. Although seven of the masses whose foliation is readable in the index actually comprise a Kyrie, it is only for Weerbeke’s *Missa Ave regina caelorum* and, if my conjecture above is right, for Gaffurius’s *Missa sexti toni irregularis* that the index actually points to the Kyrie. For all the remaining masses, it points directly to the Gloria, as it does, obviously, for the masses that start straightaway with that movement in the manuscript.³⁴ That the Ambrosian mass did not comprise a Kyrie is well known: Librone 2, however, includes all sorts of mass arrangements (GC, GCS, GCSA, KGCS, and KGCSA).³⁵ It is unclear whether the different indexing of the two masses just mentioned relates to any special ritual or performance circumstances, or is merely a *lapsus calami*. It seems in any case clear that most index entries reflect the pragmatic need of directly reaching the Gloria when the Duomo chapel had to sing a polyphonic mass (see the end of the chapter for further reflections on this topic).

The index of Librone 3

The index of Librone 3 is found on the only extant original flyleaf of the manuscript.³⁶ It lists all the masses contained in the Librone, irrespective of their having two, three, four, or five movements; the other genres are disregarded.

Elevation Motets in Context’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 33–59 at 43, n. 58; and Cassia, ‘La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni’, 277–78.

33. See again my chapter ‘The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices’ in the present volume.

34. As observed by Marie Verstraete in an unpublished paper read at the Basel 2016 ‘Motet Cycles’ conference (‘Random Patchwork or Deliberate Design? A Typologizing Approach to Polyphonic Mass Forms in the Milanese Libroni’); see furthermore Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai *motetti missales*’, 158–59 and Pavanello’s chapter in the present volume.

35. See Table 5.3 in the chapter by Pavanello in the present volume.

36. For a digital reproduction, see <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/4891>>.

As in the index of Librone 1, each entry is preceded by the number of voices and followed by the foliation. As in Librone 2, the index contains precious information about titles and attributions (again, especially helpful for Gaffurius's unica: see the *Missa montana*; interesting is the case of the mass copied at fols. 37r–46r, for which the attribution to 'Petricon de la rue' was later corrected by Gaffurius into 'de Brumel').

The only evident additions to this index are the last two entries, concerning Alessandro Coppini's *Missa Si dederò* and Loyset Compère's *Gloria et Credo breves*:³⁷ the corresponding pieces were copied by Scribe J in the empty areas of gatherings 15 (but with an overflow in gatherings 8–9) and 16 respectively. As Pantarotto's palaeographical analysis shows, Scribe J intervened in Librone 3 when the volume was already assembled, and filled the spaces that, once again, had been left empty.

As already noted in previous studies,³⁸ the index allows us to recover information about the contents of the lost first gathering, which, based on the first entries, included an unidentified mass with the canonic inscription 'In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum' and the Gloria of the *Missa Je ne demande*. As a speculative exercise, I propose here a conjectural reconstruction of the lost gathering. The hard facts (reported without square brackets in Table 3.2 below) are that the first extant folio of the Librone, 11r, is blank, and that, according to the index entries, the canonic mass started at fols. 1v–2r while the Gloria of the *Missa Je ne demande* started at fols. 7v–8r. Furthermore, we know that the rest of the *Missa Je ne demande* was copied by Scribe H at fols. 24v–27r (current gathering 2), after the Lamentations penned by Scribe G (current gatherings 1–2), and filling in the first recto of gathering 3, written by Scribe A. It is fair to assume that the same Scribe H also copied the Gloria. Considering that Scribe G was the main scribe of this Librone, and that he had the habit (or the instruction) of leaving the last openings of a gathering unwritten,³⁹ and supposing that the canonic mass had only three movements (GCS) as do most of the masses in Librone 3, the reconstruction could be as summarized in Table 3.2.

Regardless of the details of this hypothetical reconstruction,⁴⁰ it should be noted that this addition by Scribe H is duly recorded in the index: therefore, although

37. A further incomplete addition ('Et in terra') at the bottom of the list is enigmatic: there are no other masses to be indexed in the manuscript (unless we think of the possible loss of folios at the end: see my discussion of the fragments in the chapter 'The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices'); the script does not resemble Gaffurius's hand; and the '1' (or '7?') in the column of the scoring is indeed puzzling.

38. See Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 285 and *GCO-Catalogue*.

39. See the chapter by Pantarotto in the present volume (§3.3).

40. A potential weak point is that the Gloria of the *Missa Je ne demande*, at least as edited in Anonimi, *Messe*, ed. Fabio Fano, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 6 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1966), 73–77 (based on Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS Ris. mus. I. 27), does not seem long enough to require three openings.

TABLE 3.2. HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE LOST FIRST GATHERING OF LIBRONE 3

Fols.	Scribe	Contents/Notes
1r	[empty staves]	
1v–2r	[G]	<i>Missa</i> with canonic inscription ‘In omnem terram...’: Gloria
2v–3r	[G]	[continuation of Gloria]
3v–4r	[G]	[Credo]
4v–5r	[G]	[continuation of Credo]
5v–6r	[G]	[Sanctus (or continuation of Credo)]
6v–7r	[G]	[continuation of Sanctus (or Sanctus)]
7v–8r	[H]	<i>Missa Je ne demande</i> : Gloria
8v–9r	[H]	[continuation of Gloria]
9v–10r	[H]	[continuation of Gloria]
10v	[empty staves]	[since the Credo required two openings, Scribe H skipped to the next available area starting at fols. 24v–25r]
11r	empty staves	

it was entered later than the contributions by Scribe G (in gatherings 1–2) and Scribe A (in gathering 3), it was still penned before the systematic indexing of the masses took place.

Compared to the index of Librone 2, here Gaffurius adopted a more consistent, and in a sense more transparent, way of referencing the masses. For all the five settings actually including the Kyrie, he explicitly mentioned that in the index entries, by using the formula ‘Kyrie cum tota missa’, whereas he reserved the formula ‘Et in terra pax cum tota missa’ for the three- or four-movement masses (GCS/GCSA) without Kyrie. Appropriately, the only entries lacking the formula ‘cum tota missa’ are the lone Gloria from an otherwise unknown mass on ‘Cent mille scude’ (*Cent mille escus*) and the two movements by Compère, indicated as ‘Et in terra pax et Patrem breves de Loyset’. We may wonder whether this change of approach was merely a variation in Gaffurius’s editorial policies, so to speak, or it was prompted by a different liturgical context: was Librone 3 used also (or more often) for liturgies following the Roman rite, in the Francophile climate of the 1500s in Milan?⁴¹ In this perspective, however, it is sobering and ironic that the ratio between the masses with Kyrie and the masses without it is actually higher in Librone 2 (10:13)

41. For a mass sung ‘alla romana’ by the French Cardinal Georges I d’Amboise at the main altar of the Duomo in 1507, see Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai motetti missales’, 161. More in general see *ibid.* 158–59 and Pavanello’s chapter in the present volume.

than in Librone 3 (5:12).⁴² Once again, any attempt at cornering Gaffurius in the Procrustean bed of modern standards of systematicity seems doomed to failure. Fortunately, though, there seems to be always something to learn in the process.

42. I include among the settings without Kyrie in Librone 2 also the mass with only Gloria and Credo (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.31]), and in Librone 3 the *Missa Je ne demande* and the *Gloria et Credo breves*. See Tables 5.3 and 5.4 in Pavanello's chapter in the present volume.

GAFFURIUS AT THE MIRROR: THE INTERNAL CONCORDANCES OF THE LIBRONI

CRISTINA CASSIA

Gaffurius's four Libroni, currently preserved in the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, are the only extant polyphonic music manuscripts containing sacred music compiled in Milan between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹ They are therefore essential to reconstruct the musical life of that period, both at the local level and in a broader context. In fact, even if in the Libroni the most represented composer, as expected, is Franchinus Gaffurius, chapel master at Milan's cathedral from 1484 to 1522, these manuscripts also include a number of pieces by renowned foreign composers, both contemporary and from the past.²

* I am grateful to Agnese Pavanello, Daniele V. Filippi, and Bonnie Blackburn for reading this chapter and providing valuable advice. A preliminary version of this work was read at the 47th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference (MedRen) in Basel, in July 2019.

1. Concerning secular music, the only extant manuscript surely copied in Milan in the same period is Florence 2441. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26/2 (1973), 305–26 at 306. According to William F. Prizer, 'Music at the Court of the Sforza: The Birth and Death of a Musical Center', *Musica Disciplina*, 43 (1989), 141–93 at 186, the manuscript Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana e Archivio Storico Civico (Castello Sforzesco) 55 was also copied in Milan. Prizer later withdrew this statement in William F. Prizer, 'Secular Music at Milan during the Early Cinquecento: Florence, Biblioteca Del Conservatorio, MS Basevi 2441', *Musica Disciplina*, 50 (1996), 9–57 at 9, based on Giulio Cattin's rejection of the Milanese origin of the manuscript, originally proposed by Remo Giazotto, 'Onde musicali nella corrente poetica di Serafino dall'Aquila', in his *Musurgia nova* (Milan: Ricordi, 1959), 3–119. Cattin, for his part, suggested that Milan 55 was compiled in the Veneto region at the beginning of the sixteenth century, without explanation. See Giulio Cattin, 'Nomi di rimatori per la polifonia profana italiana del secondo Quattrocento', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 25/2 (1990), 209–311 at 220 and 249. See also Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 321.

2. The four Libroni have been digitized and the images are available on *Gaffurius Codices Online* (GCO), Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/>>, accessed 30 July 2020.

In all, in their present state, the four Libroni contain 352 pieces.³ It should be remembered, however, that the contents still visible of Librone [4] are only partial, because an unknown number of folios were burned in the fire which damaged the pavilion where this manuscript was exhibited during the Esposizione universale of Milan in 1906.⁴ All 144 of its remaining folios are severely damaged, mainly on the top margin.⁵ Librone 3 is also incomplete: its original foliation, which is clearly readable, proves that the first ten folios are lost. Their contents are partially listed in the index compiled by Gaffurius and currently bound at the beginning of the manuscript. Moreover, the recent discovery in the Duomo's archive of two fragments, whose dimensions and contents suggest that they were probably part of one or more gatherings once attached at the end of the same Librone, raises the question of completeness of the Libroni in general.⁶

On the other hand, among the extant pieces of the Libroni complex, sixty-nine have been found to have internal concordances. Thirty-two motets and a mass were copied twice and one motet, Gaspar van Weerbeke's *Quam pulchra es*, three times, by two different scribes (in Libroni 1, 2, and [4]).⁷ However, the problems highlighted concerning the present state of the Libroni leave room for the possibility

3. Librone 1 in fact includes 141 pieces, Librone 2 forty-two, Librone 3 seventy-four plus two fragmentary pieces, and Librone [4] ninety-three. The numbering of the pieces is based on Cristina Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019), 291–389; each motet has been considered separately, even when part of a cycle. See also *GCO-Catalogue*.

4. See Maddalena Peschiera, 'Un "pratico" in soccorso della Veneranda Fabbrica: Achille Ratti e il restauro dei documenti bruciati nell'Esposizione internazionale del 1906', in Franco Cajani (ed.), *I quaderni della Brianza*, 40/183: *Pio XI e il suo tempo: Atti del convegno, Desio, 6 febbraio 2016* (2017), 275–98.

5. For a description of this manuscript, see Claudio Sartori, 'Il quarto codice di Gaffurio non è del tutto scomparso', *Collectanea historiae musicae*, 1 (Florence: Olschki, 1953), 26–44. Sartori, assuming that Librone 3 with its 227 folios could have been considered a 'twin' of Librone [4], supposed that this latter lacked at least fifty folios at its beginning. However, two fragmentary pieces recently rediscovered in the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano also call into question the length of Librone 3; see further below.

6. See Daniele V. Filippi, 'The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices: Archival Evidence and Research Perspectives' (Ch. 1 above). The two pieces to which the two newly recovered fragments belong (a *Magnificat quinti toni* [Fragment 1], with an internal concordance in Librone 1, fols. 60v–62r [I.38], and the motet *Gaude prole regia* by Loyset Compère [Fragment 2]) are listed neither in the index nor in any description of Librone 3. However, the dimensions of the fragments seem to match those of the folios of Librone 3 and, moreover, they were copied by Scribe G, who only worked on Librone 3. For the designation of the scribes, see Martina Pantarotto (Ch. 2 above), and *GCO-Inventory*.

7. Librone 1, fols. 134v–135r [I.98]; Librone 2, fols. 48v–49r [II.13]; Librone [4], fols. 132v–133r [IV.85]. Hereafter, each composition of the Libroni complex, at first mention, is identified by the Librone number, foliation, and *GCO-Catalogue* number (composed of a Roman numeral, indicating the corresponding Librone, and an Arabic numeral, showing its position within

that several more internal concordances might have been copied on folios now missing. In particular, the catalogue of an exhibition held in 1892 in Vienna lists for Librone [4] two masses that now are lost, Prioris's *Missa Je ne demande* and Franchinus Gaffurius's *Missa montana*, which were probably concordant with the homonymous compositions entered in Librone 3.⁸

The significant number of internal concordances is not only interesting per se, with a view to the conservation and transmission of the repertory, but can also help to shed new light on the material aspects of the compilation of the Libroni. These manuscripts were all copied in Milan between around 1490 and 1507, under Gaffurius's supervision, and most likely meant to be used by local singers. They therefore constitute a unified complex of manuscripts, which, through an accurate study combining repertory and internal concordances with palaeographical data and archival documents can reveal much of the phases of copying and assembly and provide clues to their use.

The bulk of the thirty-four internal concordances, listed in the table in the Appendix, are ascribed to composers working in Milan in the last decades of the fifteenth century: Franchinus Gaffurius (eight pieces plus four – anonymous in the manuscripts – ascribed to him by scholars), Gaspar van Weerbeke (seven) and Loyset Compère (six plus one ascribed).⁹ These compositions look deeply rooted

that manuscript). From the second appearance onwards, the composition is only indicated by the *GCO-Catalogue* number.

8. Adolfo Berwin and Robert Hirschfeld (eds.), *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen, Wien 1892: Fach-Katalog der Abtheilung des Königreiches Italien* (Vienna: Selbstverlag der Ausstellungs-Commission, 1892), 91. See also Martin Staehelin, 'Möglichkeiten und praktische Anwendung der Verfasserbestimmung an anonym überlieferten Kompositionen der Josquin-Zeit', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 23/2 (1973), 79–91 at 82, and Cristina Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 275–90 at 282–85. Prioris's mass was arguably concordant with the anonymous *Missa Je ne demande*, whose Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus were copied at the beginning of Librone 3 (fols. 7v/8r... and 24v–27r [III.2]). Among these three movements, only the Credo and Sanctus are extant, since the gathering containing the Gloria is now lost. The ascription to Prioris was probably written at the beginning of the Gloria, as assumed in the preface to Johannes Prioris, *Opera omnia*, i: *Masses*, ed. Herman Keahey, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 90 (Neuhausen; Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1982), xvi–xvii. Concerning the identity of Prioris, see Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 65/1 (2012), 5–65.

9. As noted above, Gaffurius was appointed chapel master at Milan's cathedral in 1484. Weerbeke was in Milan from 1472 to 1481, when he joined the papal chapel; he then came back to Milan under Ludovico il Moro. See, among others, Lora L. Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan: Aspects of Clientage at Court', in Giacomo Fornari (ed.), *Album amicorum Albert Dunning: In occasione del suo LXV compleanno* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 189–230, and Paul A. Merkley, 'Weerbeke in Milan: Court and Colleagues', in Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb (eds.), *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on His Life and Music*, Epitome musical (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 47–58. Compère's name appears for the first time in a list of singers of Galeazzo Maria Sforza's chapel

in the Milanese environment, since, as far as is known, only three of them were also copied in a few non-Milanese sources.¹⁰ The remaining eight pairs of pieces are anonymous, and, at the current state of research, no external concordances have been found in contemporary sources, and no stylistic element provides clues as to their authorship.

As already mentioned, the four Libroni also contain a number of pieces by renowned composers both contemporary and belonging to the previous generation, pieces which sometimes carry explicit attributions.¹¹ Interestingly enough, none of these compositions, even the most widespread, appears twice in the Libroni complex. This suggests that, at least in some cases, the Libroni may have served as a repository, or perhaps that these compositions were performed less often, probably only on special occasions. For example, it is difficult to explain the presence of the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariæ*¹² in a Librone compiled for Milan's cathedral, unless it was sung in a particular circumstance, possibly in the presence of the dedicatee Ercole d'Este I or his delegates, or it was copied as a model for local composers.

As the table in the Appendix shows, most of the duplicate pieces make their first appearance in Librone 1, the oldest manuscript of the series. Among the copyists responsible for concordant pieces, the more involved are Scribes A and J, who sometimes copied both versions¹³ of a piece in two different Libroni.¹⁴

dated 15 July 1474; he left Milan at the beginning of 1477, shortly after Galeazzo's death. See Joshua Rifkin (revised by Jeffrey Dean and David Fallows), 'Compère, Loyset; 1. Life', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 30 July 2020. Concerning the attributions proposed by scholars, see *GCO-Catalogue*.

10. The three motets with both internal and external concordances are Weerbeke's *Ave regina caelorum ave* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque royale, MS IV.922, 'Occo Codex', contains only the second part of the motet: *O salutaris hostia*) and *Quem terra pontus* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych, MS 5892, *olim* 2016), and Compère's *Ave virgo gloriosa Maria mater gratiae* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Ny kongelige Samling 1848, 2°; London, Royal College of Music, MS 1070 [Anne Boleyn music book]; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 46; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS K.I.2; Petrucci, *Motetti A*). For further information on these compositions, see the corresponding records in *GCO-Catalogue*.

11. See, among others, Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* and *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariæ* (both copied in Librone 3, on fols. 135v–141r [III.27] and 141v–147r [III.28]) respectively. External concordances have enabled scholars to establish the authorship of a few pieces which are anonymous in the Libroni, such as Guillaume Du Fay's *Magnificat tertii toni* (Librone 1, fols. 8v–10r [I.14]) and Johannes Pullois's *Flos de spina* (Librone 1, fols. 121v–123r [I.87]).

12. See [III.28]. For the transmission of this mass, see Agnese Pavanello, 'The Non-Milanese Repertory of the Libroni: A Potential Guide for Tracking Musical Exchanges' (Ch. 4 below).

13. Hereafter I use the term 'version' to distinguish the copies of a composition attested in the different sources; the variant readings resulting from the transmission of the piece do not necessarily reflect any involvement of the composer.

14. For the indication of the scribes and the extent of their work, see Pantarotto (Ch. 2) and *GCO-Inventory*.

The most common variants in the internal concordances of the Libroni concern both text and music, and include on the one hand the spelling of single words, the replacement of one word with another, and text underlay, and on the other the presence or absence of ligatures and ‘agglomeration vs fragmentation of note values’.¹⁵ Other divergent readings are much rarer, and consist mostly in mistakes not corrected in one of the two versions.

Explaining the Internal Concordances

What might be the reason for duplicating pieces in books apparently meant to be used in the same institution by the same singers, and all compiled under the supervision of a single choirmaster (Gaffurius) within a relatively short period? Among the possible explanations, two can be discarded with confidence. First, no piece is written so badly or is so damaged as to be hardly legible. Among the internal concordances, only two motets in honour of St Catherine (*Hac in die* and *Virgo constans*) entered in Librone 2 show traces of moisture, which has made a few notes at the bottom of the folios unreadable.¹⁶ However, this damage has to be dated well after the compilation of this Librone. Second, the internal concordances surely were not meant for two groups of singers singing simultaneously: there are not two pieces that are identical, and even the smallest variants would hinder the coordination between the two groups.

Certainly, a different destination or usage of each Librone would be a compelling reason for duplicating compositions, but so far, no document provides evidence in this regard. Therefore, the present contribution, approaching the four Libroni as a single complex and not as independent books, aims to explore possible reasons for internal concordances, based solely on the material data obtainable from the manuscripts themselves.

Starting from this assumption, the most obvious explanation, to be sure, would be that, notwithstanding Gaffurius’s supervision, those pieces were duplicated inadvertently. However, if this might be true for the specific case of a *Magnificat octavi toni* copied twice in Librone 1, as I shall explain later,¹⁷ a closer look at the other internal concordances reveals that they can all be explained by at least one practical reason.

15. This wording is quoted from James Haar, ‘Josquin in Rome: Some Evidence from the Masses’, in Richard Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Washington: Library of Congress, 1998), 213–23 at 214.

16. See fols. 100v–101r [II.27] and 109v–110r [II.29] respectively.

17. Librone 1, fols. 29v–31r [I.21] and 51v–53r [I.33].

1. Continuity in the repertory

Half of the internal concordances involve the pairs Libroni 1 and 2, or Libroni 3 and [4]. The two pairs of Libroni have different dimensions: Libroni 1 and 2 are significantly larger than 3 and [4]; the reason is unknown.¹⁸ What is certain is that Libroni 1 and 2, due to their size, are heavier and less easy to handle. Moreover, the copying of the two pairs is separated by more than a decade. In fact, the ownership note of Librone 1 contains the date 23 June 1490, which refers to its conclusion and binding.¹⁹ Another date, 22 June 1507, appears in the archival documents in a description matching the contents of Librone [4].²⁰ Libroni 2 and 3, which do not contain any written date, were surely copied in between the other two. Indeed, the most recent research provides evidence that Librone 2 was plausibly copied a few years later than Librone 1, in 1492, and Librone 3 not much earlier than Librone [4], perhaps around 1505.²¹

We might even surmise that Libroni 3 and [4] were meant to replace Libroni 1 and 2 for everyday use, the oldest manuscripts still being used only when needed for specific compositions. This would easily explain why seventeen pieces have been copied in both pairs of manuscripts. Pending further studies to confirm or discard this hypothesis, it should be noticed that, as a matter of fact, Librone 1 contains a core of older pieces (by Gilles Binchois, Guillaume Du Fay, and Johannes

18. For the dimensions of the Libroni, see Pantarotto (Ch. 2) and the section ‘Manuscripts’ in GCO. For possible explanations of the different size of the manuscripts, see Filippi (Ch. 1).

19. However, Gaffurius later added a few pieces on folios that had been left empty, notably on those at the end of a gathering and at the beginning of the new one. See Pantarotto (Ch. 2).

20. As pointed out by Davide Stefani, ‘Le vite di Gaffurio’, in Davide Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, Studi e saggi, 3 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2017), 27–48 at 38, the date ‘1527’ found in *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall’origine fino al presente: Appendici* (Milano: G. Brigola, 1885), ii. 169 (no. 78, ‘Gaffurio’) must be considered an error of their compilers. See also Cassia, ‘La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni’, 279, and Filippi (Ch. 1).

21. For Librone 2, see in particular Joshua Rifkin, ‘Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin: Further Thoughts on a Familiar Topic’, in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 221–36 at 287–88, n. 187, and Filippi (Ch. 1). For Librone 3, see David Fallows, *Josquin*, Epitome musical (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 256–59, and Pavanello (Ch. 4). According to Bonnie Blackburn, ‘Masses Based on Popular Songs and Solmization Syllables’, in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 51–87 at 68 and 83, Petrucci’s edition of Josquin’s *Missa L’homme armé sexti toni* is the source of the version in Librone 3 ([III.27]); therefore 1502, the date of publication, is the *terminus post quem* for the copying of this mass. For bibliographical references concerning the date of composition of Josquin’s masses and the relationship between the sources, see Fallows, *Josquin*. For a detailed analysis of concordances between the four Libroni and Petrucci’s motet anthologies, see Marilee J. Mouser, ‘Petrucci and His Shadow: A Study of the Filiation and Reception History of the Venetian Motet Anthologies, 1502–08’ (Ph.D. diss., University of California: Santa Barbara, 2003), 91–117.

Pulloy), and that Josquin's compositions and other up-to-date repertory only appear in Libroni 3 and [4].²²

Especially noteworthy is that the *motetti missales* cycle *Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar* / [Missa] *Galeazescha*, presumably dedicated to Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza (who died in 1476), was possibly still sung at the beginning of the sixteenth century and that it is complete and receives this the title *Galeazescha* only in Librone 3. Indeed, Librone 1 contains only three motets out of eight: *Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar*, *Ave salus infirmorum*, and *Ave sponsa verbi summi*, this latter significantly shorter than the concordant version in Librone 3.²³ In the index of Librone 1 these three motets, listed in the column dedicated to the 'motetti missales consequentes'²⁴ and ascribed to 'Loyset', are framed by two eight-motet cycles, Weerbeke's *Quam pulchra es* and the anonymous 'Ave domine Jesu christe cum reliquis totius misse'. All the other cycles listed under the label 'motetti missales' in this index have two common features: each of them consists of eight compositions (or many sections of a comparable overall length),²⁵ and includes a motet for the Elevation, immediately recognizable for its fermata-marked chords.²⁶ If compared with the complete [Missa] *Galeazescha* in Librone 3, the three motets entered in Librone 1 correspond respectively to 'loco introitus', 'loco gloria', and 'loco offertorii';²⁷ thus this short cycle differs from the other *missales* not only for its length, but also for the absence of the Elevation motet with its particular style. Why, then, did Gaffurius, in filling the index, decide to list it in the same section? In seeking

22. Binchois died in 1460, Du Fay in 1474, Pulloy in 1478.

23. See Librone 1, fols. 143v–145r [I.106], fols. 145v–147r [I.107], and fols. 147v–149r [I.108], and the Introduction to *MCE* (*Motet Cycles Edition*, <<http://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/>>) 3. For the arrangements of the two cycles, see *MCD* (*Motet Cycles Database*, <<http://www.motetcycles.ch/>>) C14a *Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar*, and *MCD* C14b *Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar*/*<Missa> Galeazescha*, and Pavanello (Ch. 5). For possible (and opposite) meanings of the reference to Galeazzo, see Daniele V. Filippi, 'Operation Libroni: Franchinus Gaffurius and the Construction of a Repertory for Milan's Duomo', in Karl Kügle (ed.), *Resounding Pasts: Music as History and Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 101–14.

24. The label 'motetti missales' only appears in the index of Librone 1, and not in Librone 3; as noticed by Thomas Schmidt, 'The Coherence of the Cycle? The Notation of the Motetti Missales in Manuscript and Print', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 171–86 at 186, in institutional choirbooks as the Libroni paratextual information is scant, because 'readers were assumed to be familiar with what the music was for'.

25. In fact, *motetti missales* were probably meant to be superimposed on a low mass for its entire length; see Daniele V. Filippi, "'Audire missam non est verba missae intelligere...': The Low Mass and the Motetti Missales in Sforza Milan', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 11–32 at 22.

26. Concerning the Elevation in the *motetti missales*, see Agnese Pavanello, 'The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 33–59, and the bibliography mentioned there.

27. *Loco* rubrics are contained in Librone 3, fols. 125v–135r [III.19]–[III.26].

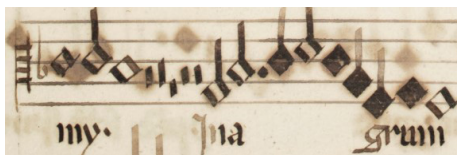
a plausible answer to this question, it is worth bearing in mind that the complete eight-motet cycle *Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar* was entered in Librone 3 more than a decade afterwards, but all the motets are stylistically similar and the cantus firmus-based structure is coherent overall. Thus, the possibility that the five motets missing in Librone 1 were composed at a later stage should be discarded.²⁸ Surely, it is possible that the ancestor available to Scribe A only contained these three motets and that the third corresponded exactly to the shorter version of Librone 1. Nevertheless, it can not be excluded with certainty that the cycle in the original version was complete and Scribe A singled out only three motets out of eight, additionally curtailing the last one. If this were the case, how could this choice be justified? Certainly, lack of space was not an issue: in fact, the three motets were entered towards the end of gathering 19, ending on the first recto of gathering 20. The copyist could have gone on copying the rest of the cycle in the new gathering, but instead filled it with other motets by Compère and anonymous composers. Rather, from my point of view, Scribe A might have interrupted the copy due to a mistake in the copying process. In fact, the three motets entered in Librone 1 do not follow the order of the complete cycle, and correspond respectively to numbers 1, 2, and 4; the motet number 3, 'loco Credo', is missing. The first folios of gathering 19 contain the end of the previous *missales* cycle *Quam pulchra es*; thus Compère's cycle was copied here on purpose, to group the *missales* cycles. It is possible then that the scribe, while copying *Ave sponsa verbi summi* in the third position, realized that he had skipped a motet – whose text, incidentally, opens with the same word 'Ave' (*Ave decus virginale*) – and decided not to go further, ceasing to copy this motet at a plausible point, i.e. before the change of mensuration. The particular writing at the end of the motet may strengthen this scenario: in all the other seven motets of the cycle, Tenor 1 and Tenor 2 always sing *alternatim* but join in the last sentence. In the 'shortened' version Tenor 1 sings the last sentence alone, Tenor 2 rejoining it after a rest of two and a half breves, only to sing the last *longa*.²⁹ This awkward conclusion could effectively point to Scribe A's abrupt decision to give up copying before the piece was finished. If that were true, Gaffurius too must have been aware of the entire *missales* cycle, as Scribe A, and entered the three motets in the index under the label 'missales', referring to their original state and not to the actual shape of the cycle in the manuscript.³⁰

28. See also the introduction to *MCE* 3.

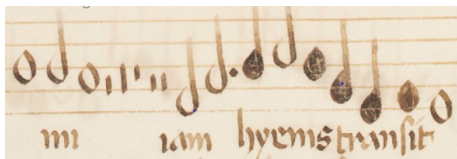
29. I thank Daniele V. Filippi for pointing out to me this significant detail, reading it against the background of the entire *Galeazescha* cycle. The lack of the final bar line in the Tenor 1 part and the later addition of the words 'Libera nos o Maria' by Gaffurius at the end of Cantus and Tenor 2 might further reinforce the idea of a sudden interruption in copying.

30. For a different explanation of the short *Galeazescha* cycle, see the introduction to *MCE* 3.

Librone 1, fol. 134v



Librone 2, fol. 48v



Librone [4], fol. 132v



Fig. 4.1. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Quam pulchra es*, Tenor: text underlay ‘in agrum’ vs. ‘iam hyems transit’

Undoubtedly, the most striking case of duplication in the repertory is Weerbeke’s motet *Quam pulchra es*, copied in three of the four Libroni.³¹ Taking a closer look at the three versions, it is evident that those in Librone 2 and [4] are closely related. In fact, they are almost identical to each other and differ from the version in Librone 1 not only in the note values, but also in the text itself.³² Indeed, besides variations in the spelling of a few words, significantly the Tenor of both Librone 2 and [4] contains the sentence ‘iam hyems transit’, completely lacking in Librone 1 (see Fig. 4.1).³³ This sentence is clearly a mistake, because, from the point of view of meaning, it is linked neither to the previous nor to the following one.³⁴ Moreover, the passage concerned is a Cantus–Tenor duo, where the voices proceed for most of the time in parallel sixths and the Cantus has the correct text ‘in agrum’.³⁵ Scribe J, who entered *Quam pulchra es* in Librone [4] more than a decade after the completion of Librone 2, relied so strongly on that version that not only he replicated this specific mistake, but he did not even bother to add words missing in Librone 2, even when an unjustified difference between the voices could have an

31. See [I.98], [II.13], and [IV.85].

32. For a comprehensive list of the variants, see the Critical apparatus of the motet (*MCE* 6.1).

33. This sentence comes from the Song of Songs 2: 11 (‘Iam enim hiems transiit’). The second part of the motet *Tota pulchra es*, which belongs to the same motet cycle of *Quam pulchra* (and has only been copied in Librone 1, fols. 141v–143r [I.105]), opens with this same sentence.

34. The text at this point should read ‘Veni, dilecte mi, egrediamur in agrum et videamus si flores fructus parTURIERUNT [...]’.

35. See *MCE* 6.1, mm. 42–44, T.

impact on text underlay. In fact, the last sentence of the text should read 'Ibi dabo tibi ubera mea', but in both Libroni 'tibi' is only written in the parts of Altus and Bassus. In the Cantus and Tenor it is missing, even if no musical reason justifies its absence. There are in fact enough notes to accommodate two more syllables, and, moreover, the repetition of the same motif first in the pair Altus and Bassus, and then in Cantus and Tenor, implies the same text underlay. The only noticeable difference between the versions of the motet in Libroni 2 and [4] is the Bassus's incipit in Librone [4], 'O quam pulchra', with an added 'O' at the very beginning. However, since this 'O' only occurs in one out of four voices, it can surely be considered a mistake that occurred during the copying process and not a clue to a different ancestor.³⁶

Surprisingly, the versions of *Quam pulchra es* contained in Librone 1 and 2, despite their several variants, were both entered by the same Scribe, A, and possibly within a short period of time if we consider the dating of Libroni 1 and 2. It is not certain whether Scribe A was relying on two different ancestors. The version in Librone 1 contains a few mistakes in the music with related erasures and corrections, but those errors might simply have originated from the copyist's momentary distraction. Furthermore, the presence of a common significant error (three uncorrected consecutive fifths)³⁷ in both Librone 1 and 2 (and consequently also in Librone [4]) seems to corroborate the assumption that discrepancies between the two versions are also simply due to Scribe A's initiative: he could then have relied on a single ancestor and introduced adjustments at his discretion. Even if this were the case, the reason for inserting 'iam hyems transit' in Librone 2 is not clear, unless he knew by heart portions of the well-known biblical text of the Song of Songs and incorporated this sentence in the manuscript unintentionally, mixing distinct passages.

A third interesting case study to prove the continuity of the repertory is the motet *Beata es virgo Maria*, copied both in Librone 1 and, with substantial variants, in Librone [4].³⁸ The simple fact that in Librone 1 the text is complete only in the

36. The incipit of the Cantus, due to the fragmentary state of the paper, is only partially visible; however, both the position of the text with respect to that of the notes and the empty space discernible before 'uam' imply the loss of the single capital letter 'Q'. See Librone [4], fol. 132v. The addition of 'O' in the Bassus is probably due to the scribe's confusion between the shapes of the capital letters 'O' and 'Q', which closely resemble each other.

37. See *MCE* 6.1, m. 58.

38. Librone 1, fols. 170v–171r [I.128] (Scribe A) and Librone [4], fols. 129v–130r [IV.82] (Scribe J). This motet, anonymous in both manuscripts, could have been composed by Compère; in fact, the section consecrated to pieces by this composer found in Milanese manuscripts, *Annali: Appendici*, ii. 181, lists a motet *Beata dei genitrix*. However, the information provided by this source is not always trustworthy; concerning the poor reliability of a few attributions given by the *Annali*, see Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 280–82.

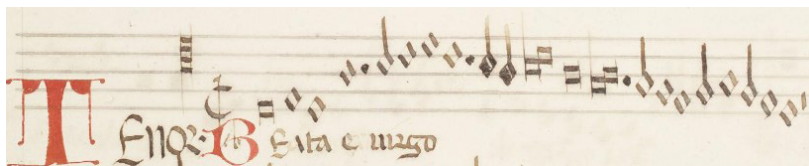


Fig. 4.2a. [Loyset Compère?], *Beata es virgo Maria*, Librone 1, fol. 170v, Tenor: incipit

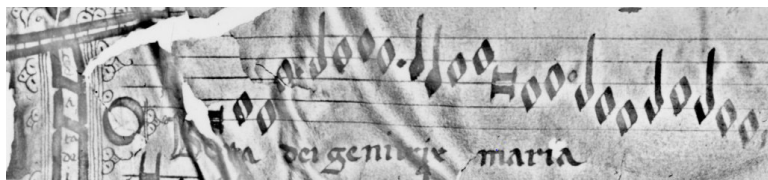


Fig. 4.2b. [Loyset Compère?], *Beata dei genitrix Maria*, Librone [4], fol. 129v, Tenor: incipit

Cantus (in the other voices it is limited to the incipit) does not prevent it from being sung. In fact, the texts that make up *Beata es virgo Maria* were arguably well known at that time and the resulting text of the motet, which is a *cento*, could have been memorized by the singers.³⁹ However, the lack of a breve and a semibreve in the middle of the voices of Altus and Bassus makes the coordination with the other singers hard at first sight and requires great skill and experience in order to find an extempore solution.⁴⁰ In any case, the corrections not completed at the beginning of Cantus and Tenor, where the ‘x’ of ‘ex’ has been erased, but not yet replaced by the correct ‘s’ (see Fig. 4.2a), show that the piece was probably still under revision and thus raise doubts as to whether it was ever performed. The same composition has been copied in Librone [4], where it displays the same text, this time applied to all voices, with the only exception being the incipit (‘Beata dei genitrix’; see Fig. 4.2a and 2b).⁴¹ Moreover, the two notes missing in Librone 1 have been correctly entered in Librone [4], thus indicating that Scribe J was surely not relying on

39. For the sources of the text, see the beginning of CANTUS 001563 (‘Beata dei genitrix Maria virgo perpetua templum domini sacrarium spiritus sancti sola sine exemplo placuisti domino Jesu Christo’), for the Feast of the Assumption, and CANTUS 004332 (‘Post partum virgo inviolata permansisti dei genitrix intercede pro nobis’), for the Feast of the Purification of Mary. The central part of the text consists in invocations to Mary, for which I found no matches in standard reference repertories.

40. On the second staff of the Bassus, a semibreve *c* is missing between the semibreve *d* and the semibreve rest. Concerning the Altus, a minim *c* is lacking on the fourth staff, shortly before the change of mensuration, and has to be inserted between the semiminim *b* and the dotted minim *a*.

41. For the incipit of CANTUS 001563 see n. 39 above.

Librone 1's version while copying the motet. The possibility of a common ancestor also has to be discarded, taking into account not only the different textual incipit but, above all, the different mensuration signs in the ternary section ('3', with halved values, in Librone 1; '6/2', with whole values, in Librone [4]). In this specific case, therefore, the two versions of this motet are most likely unrelated to each other; Scribe J, in copying this composition into Librone [4], was probably unaware that it had already been entered in the Libroni complex a few years before.

Finally, the two versions of Weerbeke's *O pulcherrima mulierum*, copied by Scribe A in Librone 1 and Scribe J in Librone [4],⁴² show a different text underlay at the very beginning, which is consistent in all the voices and thus probably indicates a different performance. In Librone 1 the entire first musical phrase is sung as a long melisma on 'O'; in Librone [4], instead, these same notes are combined with the words 'O pulcherrima' (see Fig. 4.3a and 4.3b). Probably, by the time of Librone [4]'s completion, such a long melisma at the beginning of a piece had gone out of fashion; therefore, this variant plausibly mirrors a change in the performance, and is not due to a simple initiative of the copyist. The insertion of a '3' in the Bassus part of Librone [4], bar. 3, is also probably due to the time elapsed between the compilation of the two manuscripts. In fact, this '3' is redundant, since the passage is already written in colour; however, in this case, its addition indicates clearly Scribe J's concern to render this passage clearer, thus suggesting that at that time this kind of notation could have raised doubts about its meaning.⁴³ Despite these and other minor variants, the two versions of *O pulcherrima mulierum* look linked to each other – as shown by a common uncorrected mistake – although it is unclear if they are based on a common ancestor or one on the other.⁴⁴

2. Different length of the pieces

In three pairs of concordances the two versions of a piece are distinguished significantly by their length, this striking difference surely being not random coincidence but planned. This situation should be regarded as uncommon for manuscripts

42. Librone 1, fols. 137v–138r [I.101] and Librone [4], fols. 134v–135r [IV.87]

43. Also in the Cappella Sistina manuscripts scribes added a few similar redundant '3' as they felt the need to clarify passages which, in fact, did not require them. See Richard Sherr, 'Thoughts on Some of the Masses in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 14 and Its Concordant Sources (or, Things Bonnie Won't Let Me Publish)', in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Epitome musical (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 319–33 at 329–30.

44. In both versions in the first stave of the Altus there is an erroneous breve *d'* which should be a semibreve. See *MCE* 6.4, m. 6. For a comprehensive view of the minor variants, see the Critical apparatus of the piece.



Fig. 4.3a. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Librone 1, fol. 138r, Bassus: incipit

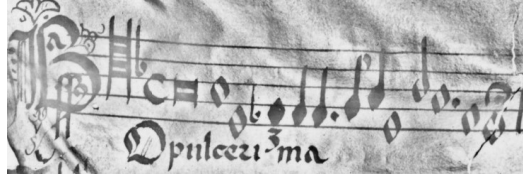


Fig. 4.3b. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Librone [4], fol. 135r, Bassus: incipit

belonging to a same complex and copied in a brief span of time.⁴⁵ In the passage from one Librone to the other, one motet has been lengthened and two compositions, on the contrary, have been shortened.

As already mentioned, the version of Compère's *Ave sponsa verbi summi* copied in Librone 3, as the fourth motet of the [Missa] *Galezescha* ('loco offertorii'), contains at the end an entire section not present in Librone 1, 'Gaude virgo fruens

45. I was not able to find examples of lengthening or shortening of pieces in a similar context, both carefully planned and copied within a few years. For example, Guillaume Du Fay's *Missa L'homme armé* was copied twice in the Cappella Sistina manuscripts (Capp. Sist. 4 and Capp. Sist. 49), but the doubling is justified by the incompleteness of the first version, which lacked Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. See Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 123. Haar, 'Josquin in Rome', 217, reports another interesting case concerning Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*. This mass was copied first in Capp. Sist. 197 and then in Capp. Sist. 154, both manuscripts conceived to be used by the papal choir. The later version contains one more section ('Et in spiritum sanctum', in the Credo) compared to Capp. Sist. 197 and to all the other sources of the mass. According to Haar, this newly composed section is probably attributable to the papal singer 'Jo. Abbat'. On the duplication of this composition, see also Mitchell P. Brauner, 'Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Choir in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1998), 167–74 at 172. This duplication, however, differs from those in the Libroni, for the two Roman manuscripts were copied around 1492–95 and 1543–60 respectively, therefore decades apart.

delicium'.⁴⁶ However, as outlined above, this section was not composed at a later stage and it might be that Scribe A, despite having it at his disposal in the ancestor, deliberately decided not to include it in Librone 1. In fact, the possibility that both the short and the long version of this motet stem from a common ancestor cannot be ruled out, since the only substantial difference between them – two notes missing in the Altus of Librone 1 – should be simply considered a case of haplography.

The two shortened compositions have been copied in Libroni 2 and 3 and Libroni 3 and [4]. Compère's *Sanctus* in Librone 2 consists of two sections, the actual *Sanctus* (without the *Benedictus*) and a second part written in Elevation style, with *breves* and *longae* surmounted by fermatas, starting with the words 'O sapientia'.⁴⁷ In Librone [4], instead, the second part is completely missing and the *finalis* of the *Sanctus* is modified (from D to G), in order to fit with the *finalis* of the other motets belonging to the same cycle.⁴⁸ This shortening is probably due to a change in the performance. In fact, none of the cycles copied in Librone [4] contains a motet for the Elevation, which means that independent Elevation motets were probably inserted when needed.⁴⁹

Finally, Gaffurius's *Missa sexti toni irregularis* consists of five movements in Librone 2 (KGCSA) but only three in Librone 3,⁵⁰ an 'Ambrosian' shortening that surely sped up the copying process but that may not necessarily reflect different performance requirements. In fact, it is not sure that the 'Roman' masses copied in the Libroni were always performed in their entirety. In this regard, the extant part

46. Librone 1, fols. 147v–149r [I.108], and Librone 3, fols. 128v–130r [III.22].

47. This *Sanctus* is anonymous in both Librone 2 (fols. 35v–36r [II.9]) and Librone [4] (fols. 66v–67r [IV.29]). Compère's presumed authorship is based on the *custodes* at the end of the piece in Librone 2, which refer to the following motet, Compère's *Ave virgo gloriosa Maria mater gratiae* (fols. 36v–37r [II.10]), indicating that the two compositions are related to each other.

48. This *Sanctus* [IV.29]) and the two motets which frame it (*O admirabile commercium*, fols. 65v–66r [IV.28] and *Suscipe verbum*, fols. 67v–68r [IV.30]) constitute a cycle. See MCD C29, *O admirabile commercium* (with *Sanctus*).

49. In support of this hypothesis, see in particular the reasoning concerning the seven Elevation motets copied in a row in Librone [4] (fols. 70v–77r [IV.32]–[IV.38]) in Pavanello, 'The Elevation as Liturgical Climax', 42–43. According to Lynn Halpern Ward, 'The "Motetti Missales" Repertory Reconsidered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39/3 (1986), 491–525 at 505 and 515–16, the absence of Elevation motets in Librone [4]'s cycles may also be due to the fact that, by that time, not all the masses celebrated in the Milanese cathedral contained music for the Elevation, or that the cycles were no longer used in the mass context and therefore Elevation motets had lost their function. Both speculations, however, do not seem plausible. According to Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 355–56, Elevation motets were linked with the ducal ceremonial and therefore they were no longer needed after 1499.

50. Librone 2, fols. 93v–100r [II.26] and Librone 3, fols. 154v–159r [III.30]. Ambrosian masses do not contain a separate Kyrie and Agnus.

of the index of Librone 2 is telling: with two exceptions,⁵¹ the foliation entered in correspondence with each mass refers directly to the first recto of the Gloria section, even when the Kyrie is present.⁵² Except for a few pairs of minims in unison in Librone 2 which become semibreves in Librone 3, the music of the *Missa sexti toni irregularis* is identical in the two Libroni, included a few mistakes, which have not been corrected.⁵³ Regarding the texts, apart from small differences concerning one or more words missing in one version but not the other, both versions lack entire sentences, such as ‘Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis’ in the Gloria and ‘genitum non factum consubstantialem patri’ in the Credo, in spite of its importance in the Creed’s text.⁵⁴ However, the absence of the words ‘et ex patre natum’ is more meaningful in establishing the interdependence of the two versions: in fact, in both cases the text jumps directly from ‘filium dei unigenitum’ to ‘ante omnia saecula’, which makes no sense.⁵⁵ Both text and music, therefore, indicate that the two versions of this mass are closely related to each other and that probably the

51. In the case of Weerbeke’s five-movement *Missa Ave regina caelorum*, fols. 160v–176r [II.39], the index points to ‘folio 161’, the first recto of the Kyrie; the same applies to the *Missa sexti toni irregularis*, fols. 93v–100r [II.26], of which only the foliation (‘94’) is discernible. The entry for the *Missa Sanctae Caterinae* (fols. 101v–109r [II.28]) is unreadable.

52. In addition, the Libroni contain three masses in four movements, without the Kyrie (Librone 2: Isaac, *Missa Chargé de deul*, fols. 151v–159v [II.38]; Librone 3: *Missa O venus bant*, fols. 99v–106 [III.15], and Coppini, *Missa Si dederò*, fols. 147v–154r and 82v–87r [III.29]). Concerning ‘Roman’ and ‘Ambrosian’ masses, and, more in general, the links between the Libroni and the Ambrosian rite, see Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai motetti missales (e dintorni)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 139–69 at 158–63.

53. In order to locate the changes in note values, see the modern edition of the mass in Franchino Gaffurio, *Messe*, ed. Amerigo Bortone, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 2 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 1959): Credo: p. 123, mm. 42, 44–45, Cantus; p. 127, mm. 115–16, T. For the mistakes, common to both versions, see Gloria: p. 116, m. 11, Altus (minim *d*’ should be *b*); Credo: p. 125, m. 76, Altus (minim *d*’ should be *b*); p. 129, mmb. 135–36 Tenor (three breve rests instead of two).

54. This sentence is also missing in other four masses (out of the twelve extant masses explicitly ascribed to Gaffurius in the Libroni, besides the *Missa sexti toni irregularis*): *Missa omnipotens* (Librone 2, fols. 12v–13r [II.4]), *Missa trombetta* (Librone 2, fols. 66v–67r [II.22]), *Missa Sanctae Caterinae quarti toni* ([II.28]), and *Missa [brevis et expedita?]* (Librone 2, fols. 111v–112r [II.30]). Other sentences missing in both versions of the *Missa sexti toni irregularis* are located in the Credo: ‘sedet ad dexteram patris’ and ‘et vivificantem, qui ex patre filioque procedit’. For an overview of missing sentences in masses of the same period, see Ruth Hannas, ‘Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 5/3 (1952), 155–86. This article, however, as its author herself admits (see p. 178), relies ‘on a representative but not complete number of Credos’, and the statement ‘It is to be noted, also, that no strictly Italian, Spanish, or French composers are cited in Chart III as practicing Credo deletions’ must be revised in view of Gaffurius’s masses.

55. Among the other masses composed by Gaffurius (see previous footnote), only the *Missa brevis octavi toni* [II.33] lacks ‘et ex patre natum’; there, however, ‘ante omnia saecula’ is also missing, and thus the text of the Creed makes sense.

version of Librone 3 has been copied directly from that of Librone 2. In any case, as for the abovementioned motet *Beata es virgo Maria*, this mass too was probably waiting for revision; in fact, even leaving aside two errors of pitch in the Gloria, in the Tenor of the Credo there is a superfluous rest of a breve, which is a self-evident hindrance to the coordination of the singers.⁵⁶

3. Different disposition within the manuscripts

Some internal concordances can also be explained by the reorganization of the sequence of a few compositions or by the choice of a few motets out of a complete cycle, both alterations probably corresponding to new practical requirements. For example, in Librone 1 Weerbeke's *motetti missales* cycles *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es* are complete, but only a few compositions – corresponding to the Elevation complex – have been singled out and copied in Librone 2.⁵⁷

With *Ave virgo gloriosa Maria mater gratiae* by Compère, the version in Librone 2, compared to that in Librone 1, is problematic as regards the duration of the notes (which prevent the placement of all the syllables of the text) and two sentences are reversed.⁵⁸ Clearly the version in Librone 2 is not an improvement over that in Librone 1; possibly this motet was copied again in Librone 2 to be combined with the *Sanctus* that preceded it, as shown by *custodes* and 'verte folium' rubrics at the end of the *Sanctus* itself.

A different combination of two motets also appears in Librone 2 and 3. *Hac in die* and *Virgo constans* have been entered in Librone 3 as if they were a single motet in two parts, with *custodes* and 'verte folium' rubrics to connect them to each other. In Librone 2, however, they were treated as separate compositions framing the *Missa Sanctae Caterinae*. This is clearly shown by the rubrics, 'Missa sanctae Caterinae virginis et martyris' at the beginning of *Hac in die* – which, therefore, was intended as *loco introitus* – and 'loco Deo gratias' at the beginning of *Virgo constans*.⁵⁹

56. In both manuscripts, the superfluous rest lies on the last stave of the Tenor, between the words 'expecto' and 'mortuorum'.

57. The chosen motets are, in order of appearance: *Quam pulchra es* ([II.13]), *Ave regina caelorum mater* (fols. 49v–50r [II.14]) and *O Maria clausus hortus* (fols. 50v–51r [II.15]), from the cycle *Quam pulchra es*, and *Ave regina caelorum ave* (fols. 51v–52r [II.16]) and *Quem terra pontus* (fols. 52v–53r [II.17]) from the cycle *Ave mundi domina*.

58. See Librone 1, fols. 149v–150r [I.109], and [II.10]. In Librone 2, the substitution of two notes in unison with the corresponding dotted value in syllabic passages sometimes results in one more syllable than the notes available. The reversed sentences in the Altus of Librone 2 result in 'et hora mortis suscipe esto nobis gratiosa', instead of 'esto nobis gratiosa et hora mortis suscipe', as in the other voices and in Librone 1.

59. See [II.27] and [II.29]; Librone 3, fols. 183v–185r [III.48]–[III.49], and MCD C20 *Hac in die/Missa sanctae Caterinae v. et m.*

TABLE 4.1. THE MOTETS COMPOSING THE CYCLES
BEATA ET VENERABILIS VIRGO AND *DIFFUSA EST GRATIA*

LIBRONE 3, fols. 162v–167r [III.32]–[III.36]	LIBRONE [4], fols. 90v–95r [IV.46]–[IV.50]
	Diffusa est gratia
Beata et venerabilis virgo (2. p.: Caeli terraeque maris)	Beata et venerabilis virgo (2. p.: Caeli terraeque maris)
Beatus ille venter	
Magnificamus te dei genitrix	Magnificamus te dei genitrix
Virgo verbum concepit	Virgo verbum concepit
Felix namque es sacra virgo Maria	Felix namque es sacra virgo Maria

As for the four anonymous motets *Beata et venerabilis virgo*, *Magnificamus te dei genitrix*, *Virgo verbum concepit*, and *Felix namque es*, they have been copied in the same order in Libroni 3 and [4], but they form two slightly different cycles due to the addition of a fifth motet to the four-motet core. In Librone 3, *Beatus ille venter* has been inserted in the second position, while in Librone [4] a new motet, *Diffusa est gratia*, opens the cycle (see Table 4.1).⁶⁰ This cycle is of particular interest because its texts are strictly liturgical and *Beata et venerabilis virgo*, *Beatus est ille venter*, and *Magnificamus te* correspond respectively to the Offerenda, Confractorium, and Transitorium of the Ambrosian rite, and were probably meant to be sung in those specific liturgical moments.⁶¹ In fact, in Librone 3, *Beata et venerabilis virgo* is introduced by the rubric ‘Offerenda’, which indicates clearly its placement in the liturgy, possibly in a Marian votive mass.⁶² In Librone [4], the loss of the upper margins of all folios makes it impossible to establish whether ‘Offerenda’ (or any other rubric) was written out or not. In any case, the lack of the motet corresponding to the Confractorium (*Beatus ille venter*) suggests that probably there was a difference in the performance of the two cycles.⁶³

Finally, the sequence of Gaffurius’s motet *Promissa mundo gaudia* and the anonymous *O beata praesulis* in Librone 2 is the reverse of that in Librone 1. However, the

60. See also MCD C22a *Beata et venerabilis virgo* and MCD C22b *Diffusa est gratia*.

61. See Nolan Ira Gasser, ‘The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study’ (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001), 443–48. Usually the texts of the Libroni motet cycles are *centones*, which combine sections drawn from different sources.

62. Gasser, ‘The Marian Motet Cycles’, 446.

63. The lack of *Beatus ille venter* could indicate that in Librone [4] the motet for the Confractorium could be chosen freely among other motets that could fit with that liturgical moment. It must be remembered, however, that the correspondence between liturgical items and superimposed motets was not necessarily a strict one; synchronization was only compulsory at the Elevation; see Filippi, “Audire missam”, 21–24. For a similar situation concerning the lack of Elevation motets in the cycles of Librone [4], see Pavanello, ‘The Elevation as Liturgical Climax’, 33–59.

two pieces are not related in any way to each other, as shown by tonal types and texts, which refer respectively to Christmas time and to Saint Ambrose (whose feast is celebrated on 7 December).⁶⁴ It is possible that these two motets were copied one after the other because they are linked to the same liturgical moment: the performers had then to choose the one suitable according to the corresponding feast. Unfortunately, however, the context of both Libroni does not provide specific clues in this direction. In Librone 1, *Promissa mundo gaudia*, combined with the previous motet *Ave cella novae legis*, forms a little cycle suitable for Marian feasts and for Christmastide,⁶⁵ while *O beata praesulis* is an independent motet. In Librone 2, *O beata praesulis* and *Promissa mundo gaudia* are instead framed by two masses.⁶⁶ Scribe C probably copied the motets in Librone 2 using Gaffurius's versions in Librone 1 as a starting point, but decided to reverse the order to match that of the two feasts.⁶⁷

4. Better versions

In a few specific cases, the copy of the same piece seems justified by the need of a better version of both music and text. No particular attention has ever been paid to layout, which differs from piece to piece in the number of staves and, less often, of openings. In general, in the Libroni complex the music is well distributed on the page and certainly no piece needed to be copied again in order to be readable, contrary to what happened in the Cappella Sistina manuscripts, in which pieces were mostly duplicated in order to replace earlier 'particularly cramped' versions with better-spaced ones.⁶⁸ Furthermore, no layout is a clear improvement of another one as concerns, for example, the position of cadences at the turn of the page or the completeness of the tactus on each stave, and the differences are solely linked to the available space and to the taste of the individual scribe.⁶⁹

64. Librone 1: *Promissa mundo gaudia*, fols. 107v–108r [I.75], and *O beata praesulis*, fols. 108v–109r [I.76]; Librone 2: *O beata praesulis*, fols. 6v–7r [II.2], and *Promissa mundo gaudia*, fols. 7v–8r [II.3]. Concerning the tonal type, *Promissa mundo gaudia* has a final C with no key signature; *O beata praesulis* has a final G with key signature of one flat.

65. See MCD Co9 *Ave cella novae legis*.

66. Heinrich Isaac's *Missa la bassadanza*, fols. 1av–6r [II.1], and Gaffurius's *Missa Omnipotens genitor* [II.4] respectively.

67. Gaffurius copied both text and music of the two motets in Librone 1, and the text of *O beata praesulis* in Librone 2; Scribe C entered the music of this motet and the whole *Promissa mundo gaudia* in Librone 2. The two versions of these motets do not present any significant variants.

68. See Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 123.

69. Both elements can simplify the singers' task, as already noticed by Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', 79.

All four Libroni bear traces of corrections, made by the scribes themselves in the course of copying, or entered later by Gaffurius, who intervened frequently, checking both text and music, and adding ‘verte folium’ rubrics and *custodes* in order to help the singers at the moment of the page turn. Still, a few pieces contain uncorrected errors, rendering them hard to read at sight, or corrections that are difficult to read. Among them are three motets copied at the end of Librone 3, *Sancti spiritus adsit*, *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, and *Salve verbi sacra parens*, which have possibly been improved when entered into Librone [4].⁷⁰ This is even more likely because these two Libroni have been copied within a short span of time and the copyist of these three pairs of compositions is always the same person, Scribe J.

The versions of these three motets in Librone 3 show errors both in text and music with a few noticeable corrections. In *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Scribe J wrote ‘mentis tuorum visita’ instead of ‘mentes’ in all four voices and then erased it and corrected it,⁷¹ and a missing *a*’ semibreve was added later in the fourth stave of the Cantus. None of these mistakes occurs in Librone [4] (see Fig. 4.4a). That the link between the two versions of this motet is very close is confirmed, among other things, by the same text placement. This includes questionable solutions, like the placing of the word ‘habitacula’ in the Altus, under a musical passage with a rest in the middle (see Fig. 4.4b). The most telling example, however, concerns the lack of the mensuration sign at the beginning of Tenor and Bassus in Librone 3. Unfortunately, fol. 181v of Librone [4] is damaged at the beginning of the Tenor, so it is not possible to check whether the mensuration sign was present or not. However, that of the Bassus is visible and was clearly added later, as indicated both by the absence of space reserved for it between the clef and the first breve, and by its thinner strokes (see Fig. 4.4c). This points plausibly to the absence of the mensuration sign in the ancestor, which, therefore, could have been Librone 3.

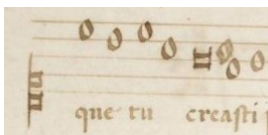
Similar instances can be found in *Caeli quondam roraverunt*. In Librone 3, the text of the motet shows clear corrections,⁷² but there is a mistake not fixed in the music: in the fourth stave of the Cantus the scribe wrote a semibreve *g*’ instead of

70. These three motets have been copied in Librone 3, fols. 181v–183r [III.46], 205v–206r [III.62], 207v–208r [III.64], and in Librone [4], fols. 124v–125r [IV.77], 13v–14r [IV.5], 23v–24r [IV.7] respectively. Scribe J copied twice also a fourth motet, *Imperatrix gloriosa* (Librone 3, fols. 206v–207r [III.63], and Librone [4], fols. 12v–13r [IV.4]). However, neither of the two versions of this motet is a clear improvement of the other, since they do not contain corrections. Furthermore, the text underlay is sometimes slightly different, as well as the spelling of a few words (for example ‘yesse’/‘jesse’ and ‘spetiosa’/‘speciosa’). Therefore, the available data do not allow establishing with certainty whether the version in Librone [4] has been copied from Librone 3, as in the three previous cases.

71. Probably the scribe got confused because one of the previous sentences of the text contained the word ‘mentis’ (‘horridas nostrae mentis purga tenebras’).

72. See the words ‘sciens’ (Cantus), ‘stilaverunt’ (Altus), ‘nubes’ (Tenor), ‘iustus’ (Tenor).

Librone 3, fol. 181v



Librone [4], fol. 124v

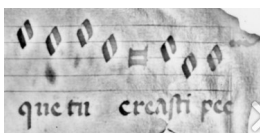
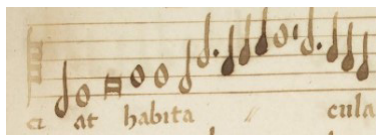


Fig. 4.4a. *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Cantus: breve *a'* added later vs. correct position

Librone 3, fol. 182r



Librone [4], fol. 125r

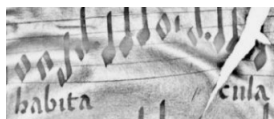
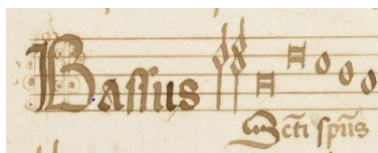


Fig. 4.4b. *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Altus: same text underlay of the word 'habitacula'

Librone 3, fol. 182r



Librone [4], fol. 125r

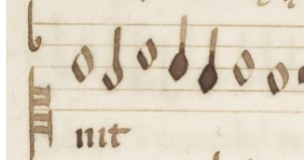


Fig. 4.4c. *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Bassus: mensuration sign missing vs. later addition

e'.⁷³ Interestingly, as the image in Fig. 4.5 shows, this mistaken *g'* was also copied in Librone [4] (and thus must have been in the ancestor used by the scribe), but then erased and replaced by the right pitch, with a slightly rounder shape (see Fig. 4.5). This particular case could raise questions about the performance of the two

73. The *g'* overlaps with a first inversion triad on A with suspension of the fourth in the Bassus.

Librone 3, fol. 205v



Librone [4], fol. 14r

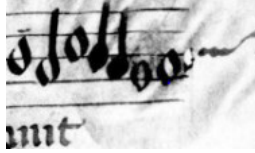
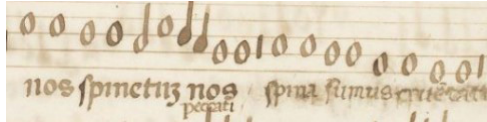


Fig. 4.5. [Franchinus Gaffurius?], *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, Cantus: mistaken semibreve *g'* vs. its erasure and correction

Librone 3, fol. 207v



Librone [4], fol. 23v

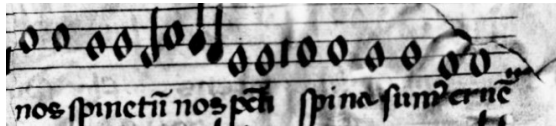


Fig. 4.6. [Franchinus Gaffurius?], *Salve verbi sacra parens*, Tenor: corrections entered later by Gaffurius vs. correct text

versions of this motet. This kind of mistake, which comes from the ancestor and is impossible to discover in reading from separate parts, can easily be detected when all the voices sing together; it follows that the version of the motet copied in Librone [4] must have been corrected after the piece was sung.

Finally, in Librone 3, Gaffurius corrects the text of *Salve verbi sacra parens*, adding 'peccati' to 'nos spinetum nos' and erasing the following section, replacing it by the barely legible sentence 'spina sumus cruentati'. In Librone [4] the text of the Tenor in the corresponding section is spelled correctly and it is much easier to read (see Fig. 4.6). Furthermore, as had happened in *Sancti spiritus adsit*, the mensuration sign of the Bassus in Librone 3 (fol. 208r) was probably added later, as shown by its reduced dimension and the vertical stroke with a loop on the top, instead of the diagonal straight stroke found in Cantus and Altus.⁷⁴ In Librone

74. The different shape does not necessarily mean that this sign was entered by a scribe other than Scribe J: the different shape and position of the stroke could be due to the tight space

[4], instead, there is no doubt that the mensuration sign was entered from the beginning.

In my view, considering the examples provided and remembering that those pairs of motets have been copied by a single scribe and in a short span of time, it is highly probable that Scribe J used the versions in Librone 3 as a point of departure for the ones in Librone [4]. The possibility of a common ancestor, even if it cannot be discarded, seems rather unlikely, since it would not explain why all the mistakes are concentrated in Librone 3 and they are all corrected in Librone [4].⁷⁵

5. An uncorrected mistake

An anonymous *Magnificat octavi toni* has been entered twice in Librone 1, copied by Scribe A and Scribe B ([I.21] and [I.33]) respectively. The two versions of this *Magnificat*, which are located towards the end of gatherings 4 and 7, are almost identical,⁷⁶ and one was probably copied the other, or from the same ancestor.⁷⁷ The question whether this *Magnificat* was composed by Gaffurius is not yet answered.⁷⁸ In fact, no stylistic clue allows us to establish its authorship with confidence;⁷⁹ Scribe A inserted it at the end of a gathering including two *Magnificat* settings by Johannes Martini (one of which carries no attribution). However, Scribe B copied this composition in a quire completely devoted to Gaffurius's *Magnificats*, each provided with an explicit attribution in the top margin of the first folio. It is worth noticing that these attributions have been written by Gaffurius himself, at a time after Scribe B's copying. Even if this might confirm that Gaffurius did not recognize his paternity of this *Magnificat*, the possibility that he accidentally skipped a page while writing the attributions, or that the attribution was written on the very top of the page and then trimmed away during the binding of the

available. One might wonder if the Tenor clef was also added later, since its shape is somehow in between that of Cantus/Altus and that of Bassus. In Librone [4] the Tenor sign – as well as that of the Bassus – was entered immediately and not later.

75. For a different chronology of the interventions of Scribe J in Libroni 3 and [4], see Pantarotto (Ch. 2).

76. In the first version there is a wrong semibreve *d* on the fourth staff of the Bassus (fol. 31r), instead of the *c* of the second version (fol. 53r). 'First' and 'second' hereafter refer exclusively to the position of the two versions within the manuscript; it is impossible to establish which one was copied first.

77. Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 257 n. 41, supports the second hypothesis.

78. This issue was first raised by Rifkin, *ibid.* 255 n. 33.

79. At the level of structure, the fact that the first verse ('Et exultavit') of this four-voice *Magnificat* is written in reduced texture (Cantus, Tenor, and Bassus) is unique among Gaffurius's *Magnificats*, but this feature too, albeit conspicuous, is not a crucial factor for discounting Gaffurius's authorship.

volume cannot be definitively ruled out.⁸⁰ Whatever the case, the duplication of this *Magnificat* is surely unintentional and useless from a practical point of view.⁸¹ Moreover, it confirms that Librone 1 was compiled following a plan not accurately pre-established; rather, it results from independent gatherings grouped together on the basis of their general contents (hymns, motets, and Magnificats), without paying much attention to single compositions.⁸²

It is not even clear whether the gatherings to which these Magnificats belong were originally meant to be part of two different manuscripts with the same dimensions, and then were bound together by mistake. Perhaps, instead, they were designed to be part of the same manuscript from the beginning, and this error originated in a wrong distribution of the copy work between the scribes. In any case, the placement of the second version of this *Magnificat* is problematic, because the previous *Magnificat octavi toni* (fols. 49v–51r [I.32]), ascribed to Gaffurius, had not yet been entered completely. Scribe B interrupted the copy after the first three even verses – probably planning to go on copying the other three later – then entered this new *Magnificat*.⁸³ Gaffurius added later a fourth verse to the incomplete *Magnificat*, which, anyway, lacks two more verses and could not have been sung in this way.⁸⁴

80. In the same Librone, on fol. 45v, the indication ‘Sexti toni’ was trimmed away and then written again by Gaffurius.

81. Rodin, *Josquin’s Rome*, 110–11, reports a similar case in the Roman environment: Capp. Sist. 45 contains an anonymous motet copied twice, *Salve regis mater sanctissima/Hic est sacerdos*. To explain this duplication, which took place before the binding of the manuscript, Rodin assumes that the second version was meant to replace the first one, probably an autograph, which had been copied hastily and was less easy to sing from, or that *Salve regis mater sanctissima* was performed by two groups of singers, and thus two copies were required. However, Rodin also wonders if the copyists realized this duplication or if it went completely unnoticed.

82. Concerning the other three Libroni, for the moment only the origin of Librone 2 has been investigated accurately: as underlined by Filippi (Ch. 1), the documents referring to Librone 2 reveal that it was compiled in a brief span of time, and this suggests that it could have been conceived from the beginning in a more structured way (even if later additions in the index of Librone 2 reveal that at least a few pieces were entered subsequently). Further studies are required to establish whether the compilation of Libroni 3 and [4] was underpinned by an accurate plan of the contents or not.

83. That this *Magnificat* was intended to have just three sections, each with two lines of text, seems unlikely, even if the bar lines at the end of the third section are thicker than those at the end of the first and of the second. In fact, in the other two *Magnificats* by Gaffurius with three sections and six lines of text contained in Librone 1 (fols. 40v–41r [I.27], and fols. 45v–46r [I.30], both copied on a single opening), Scribe B has left enough space to enter two lines of text between the staves, and the whole text is written down. In this *Magnificat octavi toni*, on the contrary, not much space is left for a complete second line; in addition, the initials of verses nos. 2 and 3 take all the space at disposal, and leave no room to put another initial under them (contrary to what happened in [I.27] and [I.30]). See also n. 85 below.

84. This confirms the assumption that this *Magnificat* was not meant to have just three sections with double text underlay. In any case, one wonders why Gaffurius bothered to add a verse to

Furthermore, it is uncertain if both versions of this anonymous *Magnificat octavi toni* were used for performance, since neither shows evidence of being preferred or discarded. As regards the first version, the wrong note not corrected in the Bassus does not necessarily prevent the composition from being sung, since the singers could have adjusted the pitch by ear during the performance. Additionally, it is unlikely that the wrong clefs in the Altus and Tenor of the same version, erased and rewritten in the right position with a different ink and shape, could be misleading for the singers. In fact, nothing indicates whether these corrections were entered before or after performing the piece. However, it should be noted that the clef of the first stave of each voice is always correct, even when the following clefs are not. Furthermore, the correct position of all notes and *custodes*, which does not reveal any trace of correction, confirms that the scribe filled the staves not looking at the wrong clefs, but always implying the first (correct) one. In turn, it would not have been that hard for the singers, once they realized the error, to sing the whole piece with the initial clef. Concerning the second version of the *Magnificat*, certainly the *custodes* added at the end of the first opening of each voice render the page turn for the singers easier than in the first version, where only the Altus has a *custos* in that position.

The text underlay is almost identical in both versions, but there are minor differences in the spelling (e.g. 'michi' in the first *Magnificat*, 'mihi' in the second). Surely the layout is more accurate in the second version, where often each verse begins on a new stave, even leaving empty the free space on the previous one; this also renders the placement of the paratexts (e.g. 'duo') easier.⁸⁵ On the contrary, in the first version, the verses are copied one after another and the end of a verse and the beginning of the following one are on the same stave. However, they are always clearly visible, thanks to their initials drawn in red ink.

The duplication of this *Magnificat* is not reported anywhere in *Librone 1*, neither in the surviving index (which contains no *Magnificats*), nor in a paratext; therefore, one may ask if Gaffurius or someone else realized it, or if it went completely unnoticed.⁸⁶

a *Magnificat* which, anyway, lacked two more verses and the space to insert them. Furthermore, it is not clear why the added *Esurientes* section has a c4 clef in the Tenor instead of c3, as in the previous verses.

85. On the second opening, not all the verses start on a new stave; the scribe was probably afraid not to have enough space to insert the whole composition in two openings.

86. Considering the number of interventions by Gaffurius in *Librone 1*, in my opinion it is unlikely that Gaffurius noticed this duplication and did not indicate which version should be used for performance.

Scribe A and Duplicated Pieces in Libroni 1 and 2

The duplication of pieces by Scribe A deserves a few additional considerations, since this copyist seems to have a different purpose in mind than that of Scribe J in Libroni 3 and [4]. Scribe A copied six pairs of pieces by Weerbeke and Compère in Libroni 1 and 2. As we have seen, these two manuscripts have been copied (or at least assembled) in a short period of time; therefore it is interesting to determine whether these six concordances rely on two different ancestors or a common one, or if the versions in Librone 2 were copied directly from those in Librone 1.⁸⁷

In these six concordances, the variants consist mostly in note values and text spelling. It is not always easy to understand whether Scribe A merely duplicated what was right before his eyes, sometimes making mistakes, or if he tried to improve and correct what he thought was wrong. Certainly, changes in the spelling of a same word and lexical variants are difficult to explain as a result of Scribe A's conscious choices, given that this copyist had not mastered the Latin language. This is clearly revealed by incorrect spellings of very common words and mistakes in Latin declensions, which can occur in all the voices or in a single one.⁸⁸ Taking into account more specifically the peculiarity of spelling errors, in my view the possibility cannot even be ruled out that Scribe A had a Flemish or northern origin.⁸⁹ In fact, Scribe A did often not recognize double consonants and the distinctions between voiced and voiceless consonants, especially at the end of a word. Moreover, he sometimes confused the letter 'c' with 'g', an error which may result from the peculiar sound of the letter 'g' in the Flemish pronunciation, but is unjustified for a native Italian speaker, also bearing in mind the similarities in spelling between Italian and Latin words.⁹⁰

87. The shapes of note heads in Scribe A's sections attest that he did not copy all the gatherings of Librone 1 and 2 simultaneously: indeed, in Librone 1 note heads are rhomboidal, while in Librone 2 (as well as in Librone 3) they are round.

88. See, for example, 'visera' (instead of 'viscera') and 'pele' (instead of 'puellae') in *Quem terra pontus* (Librone 1, fols. 131v–132r [I.95], and [II.17]), or the alternant 'botris' and 'botrus' in *Quam pulchra es* ([I.98]; [II.13]).

89. This hypothesis, which relies solely on the peculiarities of Scribe A's writing, is excluded by Pantarotto (Ch. 2) on palaeographical grounds. For the documents that led Daniele V. Filippi to propose a possible identification of Scribe A with Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello, see Filippi (Ch. 1).

90. See, for example, the spellings 'velud' (for 'velut', in *Ave regina caelorum mater*, Librone 1, fols. 138v–139r [I.102], C), 'aput' (for 'apud', in *Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar*, Librone 1, fols. 143v–145r [I.106], CAT1). Concerning the alternate 'g'/'c', see the words 'plaga'/'placa' (in *O Maria clausus hortus*, Librone 1, fols. 139v–140r [I.103]) and 'dulgiter'/'dulciter' (*Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar* [I.106]), which can be linked to the Italian words 'placare' and 'dolce'. See also the erroneous 'visera', cited in n. 88 above, which should be 'viscera', corresponding to the Italian 'viscere'. For the pronunciation of 'g' in Dutch, see William Z. Shetter, '18. Flemish (Dutch)', in Timothy J. McGee (ed.), *Singing Early Music: The Pronunciation of European Languages in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Music: Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,

Spelling errors are found in almost all the concordant pieces copied by Scribe A, so they cannot be used to establish which ancestor he was using. On the contrary, lexical variants may point to a different tradition or ancestor at hand. Here too, however, there may be exceptions: for example, the substitution of 'salve' (Librone 1) with 'gaude' (Librone 2) in Weerbeke's *Ave regina caelorum ave* can be simply explained by the fact that these two words were often interchangeable in medieval Latin texts and Scribe A could have simply been inadvertent⁹¹ The complete lack of an entire verse is more difficult to explain. This happens at the beginning of the motet *Ave regina caelorum ave* of Librone 2, which leaves out the initial verse and starts directly with 'ave domina angelorum' in all four voices. The lack of the first verse and the doubling of the second one is surely no improvement compared to the version in Librone 1; on the contrary. Furthermore, the same passage also contains a significant musical variant: in the Bassus, a dot has been replaced by a rest, which, dividing the musical phrase into two sections, results in a different text underlay. Again, was Scribe A responsible for the variants or was he loyal word-for-word to the ancestor at his disposal? Concerning the text, it is hard to answer in one way or another. As regards the music, the aforementioned replacement of a dot with a rest can be simply viewed as a result of miscopying.⁹² Moreover, it should be noticed that, in the same piece, frequent changes in note values might point towards the copyist's initiative.⁹³ In fact, the substitution of two notes with a dotted one of the same total length is a constant habit of Scribe A in the passage from Librone 1 to Librone 2. It should be said, however, that it is not clear whether

1996), 271–81 at 274. For a comprehensive picture of Dutch pronunciation of Latin, see Harold Copeman, '19. Netherlands Latin', *ibid.* 282–88.

91. For the alternation of 'gaude' and 'salve', together with 'ave', see Marco Gozzi, 'Sequence Texts in Transmission', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 157–87 at 161.

92. On the confusion between dots and rests, see also Margaret Bent, 'Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony', in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 95–317 at 309, no. 6.

93. For a few concrete examples of scribes' changes introduced during the process of copying (including conflation of two notes into one of the same total value), see, for example, Sherr, 'Thoughts on Some of the Masses', 320–22. For this specific kind of variant, see also Howard Mayer Brown, 'In Alamire's Workshop: Notes on Scribal Practice in the Early Sixteenth Century', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Datierung und Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit*, *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), 15–63 at 27–28. Bent, 'Some Criteria', 304, taking into account the role played by the scribes in the creation of variants, observes that, except for rare cases, music scribes hardly introduced in a single voice variants that could affect the whole structure of the piece, since they copied each voice separately and could not look carefully at all the voices at once. Actually, the substitutions of two notes with one in Librone 2 do not change anything in the contrapuntal structure of the pieces; thus this kind of variant can easily be due to the scribe himself.

Librone 1, fol. 131r



Librone 2, fol. 52r

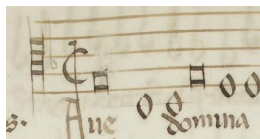


Fig. 4.7. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Ave regina caelorum ave*, Altus: correct incipit in Librone 1 vs. correction of the first breve in Librone 2

this change reflects an adjustment which already took place in performance, and therefore Scribe A reproduced by memory something he had heard, or if it is just a suggestion by the copyist himself, or, even more likely, a way to speed up the copying process.⁹⁴ In practice, however, this change of values triggers an immediate reflex in the text underlay, which sometimes is clearly improved, but occasionally gets worse, because it results in one more syllable than the total number of notes.⁹⁵ During performance, then, certain values have to be split anew into two in order to place all the syllables. Therefore, assuming that Scribe A is responsible for these variants, in copying the same pieces for the second time he did not aim to improve them, as opposed to what Scribe J did in Librone [4], as mentioned earlier.

As for the ancestor of the versions entered in Librone 2, two hints suggest that Librone 1 was used as a point of departure. First, as already noticed, both versions of *Quam pulchra es* contain three consecutive fifths in the voices of Tenor and Bassus, due to an erroneous minim *b* in the Tenor, which, by the way, results in a dissonance with the minim *c'* of the Altus. Three consecutive fifths are also present in an awkward Altus–Bassus duo in both versions of *Ave regina caelorum mater*.⁹⁶ Second, and most important: in the version of *Ave regina caelorum ave* in Librone 1, the Alto clef changes after the first stave (from *c*₄ to *c*₃); in Librone 2, where the clef used from the beginning is *c*₃, the first breve was originally written a third above and then erased and rewritten in the correct position, thus indicating that Scribe A was copying from a version starting with a *c*₄ clef (see Fig. 4.7).

94. The same idea of speeding up the copying process accounts for the use of Latin abbreviations throughout the four Libroni, even when the scribes had enough space to enter whole words.

95. Compare, for example, the Altus of *O Maria clausus hortus* ([I.103] and [II.15]; modern edition: MCE 6.6).

96. For possible emendations, see respectively MCE 6.1, m. 58, and MCE 6.5, m. 49.

For all these reasons, the duplication of pieces by Scribe A appears to boil down to a simple work of copying, with no purpose other than to provide a second version, without paying too much attention to the details.

Mistakes, Corrections, Performance, and the Role of the Scribes

Due to the small changes and adjustments introduced in the pieces by the scribes during the copying process, it is rarely possible to determine with certainty what kind of ancestors were used. Surely, the version in a Librone could have served as a starting point for the other one, even when the second version was copied many years later.⁹⁷ Internal concordances also reveal that in other cases scribes might have had more than one ancestor on hand for a single piece.⁹⁸ Therefore, there must have been a small collection of manuscripts or unbound sheets of paper at the scribes' disposal, of which, unfortunately, nothing remains.⁹⁹ Gaffurius's compositions deserve separate consideration. The Libroni contain many pieces ascribed to him, few of which are autographs.¹⁰⁰ It is unclear whether in these particular cases Gaffurius too relied on ancestors that he had previously copied, or if he wrote his compositions directly in the Libroni from drafts and sketches. This last possibility sounds especially plausible for the single Magnificat verses added at the bottom of folios containing previously entered Magnificats.¹⁰¹ It is instead safe to assume that scribes entering Gaffurius's pieces in the Libroni relied on ancestors written

97. See Weerbeke's *Quam pulchra es* [II.13] and [IV.85].

98. See Compère's *Beata es virgo Maria* [I.128]/*Beata dei genitrix* [IV.82].

99. Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 125, makes a similar assumption for the copying of Cappella Sistina music manuscripts.

100. The pieces copied by Gaffurius which carry an attribution to him in the manuscripts have been entered in Librone 1: fols. 99v–102r [I.66]–[I.69], fols. 107v–108r [I.75], fols. 112r–114v [I.80]–[I.81]; Librone 2: fols. 54v–55r [II.18], fols. 110v–117r, 209v–211r [II.30]–[II.31]; Librone 3, fols. 78v–82r [III.13]. However, some other compositions copied by Gaffurius in the Libroni could have been composed by him as well, although without written-down ascriptions. These pieces are among the very few still extant musical autographs from the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. See, among others, Joshua Rifkin, 'Pietrequin Bonnel and Ms. 2794 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29/2 (1976), 284–96, and especially Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) and the rich bibliography provided there.

101. Motets inserted in order to connect two separate quires are found in both Librone 1 (*Virgo prudentissima* [I.13]; *Trophaeum crucis* [I.22]; *O Iesu dulcissime*, fols. 39v–40r [I.26]; *Omnipotens aeternae deus*, fols. 95v–96r [I.62]) and Librone 2 (*Sanctus*, fols. 135v–136r [II.35]). Due to its fragmentary state, it is not possible to reconstruct the gatherings of Librone 4; however, the isolated single pieces copied by Gaffurius (*Magnificat*, fols. 55v–56r [IV.20]; *O pater Oldericus*, fols. 77v–78r [IV.39]; *Domine Iesu Christe unigenite*, fols. 107v–108r [IV.61]) probably serve the same purpose of connecting two gatherings. Gaffurius inserted single Magnificat verses in Librone 1 (*Esurientes*, fols. 50v–51r; *Fecit potentiam*, fols. 57v–60r; *Esurientes*, fols. 60v–61r).

by the choirmaster himself, but this did not prevent them from making mistakes or taking some freedoms.¹⁰² The four concordant pieces with explicit ascription to Gaffurius entered earlier by him in Libroni 1 or 2, and then by Scribes C and J in Librone [4] are instructive in this regard.¹⁰³ In his autographs, Gaffurius did not bother to indicate a precise text underlay, assuming that the singers were trained to place the single syllables without effort.¹⁰⁴ Yet, in the concordant versions, the scribes respected in general (with a few exceptions) the combination of musical phrase and line of text, but changed the words' position within it. This demonstrates once more that the copying process was not merely a passive reproduction from an ancestor, but rather that scribes played an active role in giving the written-down piece its final shape.

In addition, many pieces contained in the Libroni bear clear traces of corrections, both in text and music. Internal concordances prove to be particularly interesting precisely with regard to proofreading, because they offer specific clues about the phases of interventions. In fact, in a few cases, mistakes occur in both versions, but in one they are emended and in the other not. It is clear, then, that the pieces, once copied, were revised, but the proofreading was sometimes interrupted,¹⁰⁵ and anyway, in most cases, not painstakingly done. In fact, as the numerous examples previously cited show, many compositions still contain mistakes of a different kind: defective text underlay, with complete sentences missing, especially in the Altus voice,¹⁰⁶ wrong words or spelling, missing or wrong notes or rests.

The number and extent of mistakes shared by both versions of a few pairs of concordances clearly indicate that the pieces were somehow sung even when not

102. For example, an error typically related to the copying process is dittography, which consists in incorrectly writing the same word, phrase, note, or musical passage twice. See, for example, Scribe B's duplication of the passage *d'–f'* minims and *e'–c'* semibreves in the first stave of the Altus of Gaffurius's *Salve mater salvatoris* in Librone 1, fol. 85r (modern edition: MCE 4.1, mm. 2–3).

103. These four pieces are the motets *Promissa mundo gaudia* ([I.75] and [II.3]), *Magnum nomen domini* (Librone 1, fols. 112v–113r [I.80], and Librone [4], fols. 95v–96r [IV.51]), *Audi benigne conditor* (Librone 1, fols. 113v–114r [I.81], and Librone [4], fols. 96v–97r [IV.52]) and *O sacrum convivium* (Librone 2, fols. 54v–55r [II.18], and Librone [4], fols. 97v–98r [IV.53]).

104. At that time, composers' inaccuracy in text underlay was probably the norm rather than exceptional, as shown e.g. by Pietrequin Bonnel's autographs; see Rifkin, 'Pietrequin Bonnel', 285. See also the different positions of the syllables and the repeated or omitted words in the same Gloria from the *Missa de septem doloribus beatissimae Mariae Virginis* by Pierre de la Rue entered by Alamire in five different manuscripts, discussed in Brown, 'In Alamire's Workshop', 22–23.

105. See Compère's *Beata es virgo Maria* [I.128].

106. See, for example, the Altus of both versions of Compère's *Ave sponsa verbi summi*, in which the incomplete text underlay is further complicated by the absence of rests, which make it hard to understand where a sentence ends and the following one begins. This kind of writing would look more suitable for an instrumental performance rather than for a vocal one, but the use of instruments in the Milanese cathedral is not documented unless for extraordinary performances of the 'trombetti ducali' (I thank Daniele V. Filippi for this information).

corrected, unless one assumes that both versions were never performed. This last assumption is, however, untenable, especially if one considers versions copied one from the other, as happens for Gaffurius's *Missa sexti toni irregularis*.¹⁰⁷ In this specific case, in particular, it would have made no sense to lose time in copying the same piece twice, with the same mistakes (when at least the well-known text of the Ordinary could have been emended without a great effort), if it was just a matter of preserving it.

From a practical point of view, concerning incomplete text underlay in one or more voices, the singers plausibly memorized the text before the performances and thus the poor written indications functioned simply as a reminder.¹⁰⁸ As regards the music, admittedly, the situation is more complex, because if a mistake in pitch can be easily detected and corrected by ear, missing notes or rests in a voice produce a shift in the vertical alignment of the piece. Even in this case, however, in singing from manuscripts containing errors, the role of experience and memory should not be underestimated, as Margaret Bent has cogently argued in such a context.¹⁰⁹ Of course, one could wonder why, once the error was detected during a performance and an extempore solution was found, nobody bothered to write it down for future use. In fact, given that the four Libroni are full of corrections entered after the copying, it would not have been out of place to add new ones if required. Moreover, as demonstrated, specific evidence proves that in some instances errors were surely corrected after the piece was sung.¹¹⁰ However, one can surmise that the singers were not allowed to make annotations on the Libroni, since such changes required specific writing skills, time, and necessary tools to erase and rearrange the note or passage. The uncorrected mistakes could ultimately be due to the lack of coordination between singers and scribes in charge of entering the changes in the manuscripts, or, more simply, to the custom of improvising, which does not require that a definitive solution be found for each problem.

107. [II.26] and [III.30].

108. In a similar context, David Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474', in Stanley Boorman (ed.), *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 109–59 at 128, argues that compositions whose text underlay was limited to the Cantus implied a unique singer for each of the other parts. The Cantus part, instead, required more singers, hence the complete text underlay, to help them to synchronize with each other, especially when this part was entrusted to choirboys and their master (see in particular pp. 121–22). This organization of the singers might also have applied to the Milanese cathedral, even if we do not have any evidence about it.

109. Bent, 'Some Criteria', 304: 'Some modern writers express incredulity that a manuscript with errors could have been used for performance and remain uncorrected. This reflects our higher dependence on visible signs and our lower memory capacity. I find no difficulty in accepting that many errors were solved in performance after the initial learning had been done from the faulty parts.'

110. See *Caeli quondam roraverunt* [IV.5].

Final Remarks

The study of internal concordances not only provides specific information about the pieces involved and attests their use over the years, but also offers a few hints on the relationship between pairs of manuscripts, on their assembly, and on the work of the scribes, the role of performers, and ultimately about the purpose and dating of the Libroni. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine which version of a duplicated piece was copied first, since both Libroni of each pair (1–2 and 3–[4]) were compiled a few years distant from each other. Moreover, as revealed by the extant indexes and confirmed by palaeographical studies, a few compositions were surely entered at an unspecified time after the binding of the volumes.¹¹¹ In this unclear picture, however, the three above-mentioned compositions entered by Scribe J in both Libroni 3 and [4] could possibly help to establish a temporal relationship between these two manuscripts. If the versions in Librone [4] are improvements of those in Librone 3, as I suppose,¹¹² it follows that Librone [4], or at least the gatherings containing these compositions, were copied later than Librone 3, and not the other way round. This information, as vague as it may sound, would, however, be helpful in terms of relative chronology: bearing in mind that Librone [4] was finished in 1507 (as indicated in the colophon, now lost), the date of completion of Librone 3, though still unknown, should be prior to that one.

At this point the question arises for what purpose the Libroni were compiled and whether all or, in any case, most of the compositions that they contain have in fact been sung, despite the uncorrected errors. The significant number of internal concordances – which differentiate the four Libroni from other contemporary complexes of manuscripts – indicate clearly that the process of copying was linked to their effective use by the singers led by Gaffurius, in the Cathedral or in other institutions.¹¹³ In fact, the Libroni were not conceived as a structured collection of pieces to preserve, but rather as a ‘living’ anthology, understood as a support for the Cathedral choir and thus open to improvements, additions, and adjustments at different levels.

The investigation of the internal concordances has introduced us into Gaffurius’s workshop, revealing surprising details on the organization of the manuscripts and their mutual relationships, but also on the leeway of the scribes, who, more or less consciously, often played a crucial role in the transmission of the pieces. Above all, this particular research path has enhanced our understanding of the four

111. The dates of the manuscripts refer to their binding and do not account for later additions; see Filippi (Ch. 1) and Pantarotto (Ch. 2).

112. Concerning the interventions of Scribe J in these two Libroni, however, see also the different hypothesis, based on palaeographical observations, proposed by Pantarotto (Ch. 2).

113. On a possible different function of Librone [4], see Filippi (Ch. 1).

Libroni as a complex of culturally meaningful objects, and not merely as neutral vectors of the repertory. Such an outcome has been made possible through the convergence of different perspectives, combining documentary evidence, palaeographical data, and a study of the repertory. A similar approach is surely promising for the investigation of other complexes of manuscripts, and should increasingly become essential for the study of sources from the Middle Ages to the early modern era.

APPENDIX

The Internal Concordances of the Libroni

	TITLE	COMPOSER	LIBRONE 1	LIBRONE 2	LIBRONE 3	LIBRONE 4	SCRIBES
1	<i>Magnificat octavi toni</i>	anonymous	29v–31r [I.21] 51v–53r [I.33]				A / B
2	<i>O Iesu dulcissime</i>	[Gaffurius?]	39v–40r [I.26]			98v–99r [IV.54]	Gaff / J
3	<i>Magnificat quinti toni</i>	anonymous	60v–62r [I.38]		Fragment 1		Gaff / G
4	<i>Promissa mundo gaudia</i>	Gaffurius	107v–108r [I.75]	7v–8r [II.3]			Gaff / C
5	<i>O beata praesulis</i>	anonymous	108v–109r [I.76]	6v–7r [II.2]			Gaff / C+Gaff
6	<i>Magnum nomen domini</i>	Gaffurius	112v–113r [I.80]			95v–96r [IV.51]	Gaff / J
7	<i>Audi benigne conditor</i>	Gaffurius	113v–114r [I.81]			96v–97r [IV.52]	Gaff / J
8	<i>Ave regina caelorum ave (2.p. O salutaris hostia)</i>	Weerbeke	130v–131r [I.94]	51v–52r [II.16]			A / A
9	<i>Quem terra pontus</i>	Weerbeke	131v–132r [I.95]	52v–53r [II.17]			A / A
10	<i>Quam pulchra es</i>	Weerbeke	134v–135r [I.98]	48v–49r [II.13]		132v–133r [IV.85]	A / A / J
11	<i>O pulcherrima mulierum</i>	Weerbeke	137v–138r [I.101]			134v–135r [IV.87]	A / J

	TITLE	COMPOSER	LIBRONE 1	LIBRONE 2	LIBRONE 3	LIBRONE 4	SCRIBES
12	<i>Ave regina caelorum mater</i> (2.p. <i>Ave corpus domini</i>)	Weerbeke	138v-139r [I.102]	49v-50r [II.14]			A / A
13	<i>O Maria clausus hortus</i>	Weerbeke	139v-140r [I.103]	50v-51r [II.15]			A / A
14	<i>Mater patris filia</i>	Weerbeke	140v-141r [I.104]			133v-134r [IV.86]	A / J
15	<i>Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar</i>	Compère	143v-145r [I.106]		125v-126r [III.19]		A / I
16	<i>Ave salus infirmorum</i>	Compère	145v-147r [I.107]		126v-127r [III.20]		A / I
17	<i>Ave sponsa verbi summi</i>	Compère	147v-149r [I.108]		128v-130r [III.22]		A / I
18	<i>Ave virgo gloriosa Maria mater gratiae</i>	Compère	149v-150r [I.109]	36v-37r [II.10]			A / A
19	<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	Compère	151v-152r [I.111]			65v-66r [IV.28]	A / J
20	<i>Beata es virgo Maria</i>	Compère	170v-171r [I.128]			129v-130r [IV.82] (<i>Beata dei genitrix</i>)	A / J
21	<i>Stabat mater</i>	Gaffurius	181v-183r [I.138]		185v-187r [III.50]		A / G
22	<i>Sanctus</i> (2.p. <i>O sapientia</i>)	[Compère?]		35v-36r [II.9]		66v-67r [IV.29] (only <i>prima pars</i>)	A / J
23	<i>O sacrum convivium</i>	Gaffurius		54v-55r [II.18]		97v-98r [IV.53]	Gaff / J
24	<i>Missae sexti toni irregularis</i>	Gaffurius		93v-100r [II.26] (KGCSA)	154v-159r [III.30] (GCS)		F / G
25	<i>Hac in die</i>	Gaffurius		100v-101r [II.27]	183v-184r [III.48]		F / G
26	<i>Virgo constans</i>	Gaffurius		109v-110r [II.29]	184v-185r [III.49]		F / G

	TITLE	COMPOSER	LIBRONE 1	LIBRONE 2	LIBRONE 3	LIBRONE 4	SCRIBES
27	<i>Beata et venerabilis virgo (2.p. Caeli terraeque maris)</i>	anonymous			162v-163r [III.32]	91v-92r [IV.47]	G / J
28	<i>Magnificamus te dei genitrix</i>	anonymous			164v-165r [III.34]	92v-93r [IV.48]	G / J
29	<i>Virgo verbum concepit</i>	anonymous			165v-166r [III.35]	93v-94r [IV.49]	G / J
30	<i>Felix namque es</i>	anonymous			166v-167r [III.36]	94v-95r [IV.50]	G / J
31	<i>Sancti spiritus adsit</i>	anonymous			181v-182r [III.46]	124v-125r [IV.77]	J / J
32	<i>Caeli quondam roraverunt</i>	[Gaffurius?]			205v-206r [III.62]	13v-14r [IV.5]	J / J
33	<i>Imperatrix gloriosa</i>	[Gaffurius?]			206v-207r [III.63]	12v-13r [IV.4]	J / J
34	<i>Salve verbi sacra parens</i>	[Gaffurius?]			207v-208r [III.64]	23v-24r [IV.7]	J / J

THE NON-MILANESE REPERTORY OF THE LIBRONI: A POTENTIAL GUIDE FOR TRACKING MUSICAL EXCHANGES

AGNESE PAVANELLO

Besides containing almost all known compositions by Franchinus Gaffurius and works of the composers serving the Sforza court in Milan (in particular Loyset Compère and Gaspar van Weerbeke), the four Libroni of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo known as ‘Gaffurius codices’ enclose compositions of different provenance and not directly related to Milanese institutions, for some of which the Libroni represent the main or even unique source. Beyond their function as a kind of ‘repository’ of the Duomo chapel master’s compositional output and of a special court-related repertory (the so-called ‘motetti missales’),¹ the manuscripts were also designed to include other sacred works by composers outside Milan, probably acquired at various times and in various ways, and evidently thought to be performable by the Duomo chapel on appropriate occasions. By focusing on this ‘external’ repertory, in this chapter I will address the question of which paths of transmission might have led to the inclusion of such compositions in the Libroni and whether specific choices in the compiling of the repertory during Gaffurius’s tenure at the Duomo chapel can be recognized. An examination of the Milanese manuscripts from this perspective, moreover, offers hints to enable us to better

1. For an overview of Gaffurius’ compositions in the Libroni see the catalogue by Cristina Casia, ‘Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389. See also *Gaffurius Codices Online*: <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch>> (hereafter GCO). The percentage of Gaffurius’s works in the Libroni has been estimated by Daniele Filippi: ‘in Libroni 1, 2, and [4] the works attributed with documentary evidence or attributable with scholarly consensus to him account for c.50 per cent of the attributed pieces; for Librone 3 the quota is c.30 per cent’. See Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Operation Libroni: Franchinus Gaffurius and the Construction of a Repertory for Milan’s Duomo’, in Karl Kügle (ed.), *Sounding the Past: Music as History and Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 101–14. For the motet cycles of Loyset Compère and Gaspar van Weerbeke, as well as all other motet cycles of the Libroni see the *Motet Cycles Database (MCD)*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<http://motetcycles.ch/>>, accessed 4 August 2020.

assess the repertory included as well as the scribe's attitudes or tasks, furnishing additional ways to evaluate the making of the Libroni and their chronology.

First of all let us summarize what we know about the chronology of the four manuscripts. Librone 1 is the only one provided with a colophon, dated 1490, which informs us about the end of the copying process.² This unquestionable evidence will be taken as a point of reference, even if the codicological and palaeographical analysis as well as the archival documents suggest a copying process extending at least over some months (and perhaps even a few years).³ Thanks to Daniele Filippi's new archival research, however, the date for the completion of Librone 2 has now been accurately established.⁴ Payments for the year 1492 attest to the copying of a manuscript of masses, which is undoubtedly to be identified with this large choirbook. In addition to the more accurate picture given by the number of hands involved in this copying project, the records furnish a *terminus ante quem* for the repertory included in Librone 2.⁵

The situation for Librone 3 and [4], however, is different.⁶ The production of these later manuscripts seems to have left no traces in the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica (the vestry board of the Duomo). No documents concerning their copying could be found during the archival campaign, leaving us without a precise reference for the dating of the manuscripts.⁷ Whereas Librone [4] can be assigned to 1507, based on an inscription formerly visible in the manuscript,⁸ for Librone 3 any kind of documentary evidence is missing. Considering that the manuscript is

2. The inscription is visible online since the manuscripts are fully digitized. For a first discussion of the codices see Knud Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28; Claudio Sartori, *Le musiche della Cappella del Duomo di Milano: Catalogo delle musiche dell'Archivio* (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1957). An overview of the repertory is also given in Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscripts de musique polyphonique, XV^e et XVI^e siècles: Italie. Catalogue*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, B IV/5 (Munich: Henle, 1991). For more information see the bibliography provided on the website of GCO.

3. On this point see the discussion of the making of Librone 1 in the chapters by Filippi (Ch. 1) and Pantarotto (Ch. 2) in this volume. From the codicological analysis it clearly emerges that some additions took place later, when the manuscript was already bound. I will take this fact into account in my discussion of the repertory only when additions involve attributed non-Milanese works.

4. See Daniele Filippi's contribution in this volume (Ch. 1) and his new correct interpretation of the documentary evidence.

5. For this manuscript as well I will not discuss the issues of later additions not related to the topic of this contribution.

6. I will refer to the manuscript as Librone [4], even if the official shelfmark of this fragmentary manuscript is Cassette Ratti, n. VII, 34–43 (*olim* MS 2266).

7. Daniele Filippi carried out specific research on the documents of the Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo during the project *Polifonia sforzesca*, from which the studies in this volume as a whole also originated (cf. the introduction to this volume and n. 11).

8. For a revision of the wrong date given by the *Annali* (1527 instead of 1507) and taken as the reference in older musicological studies, see Davide Stefani, 'Le vite di Gaffurio', in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 27–48 at 38. See also Filippi, Ch. 1 in this volume.

the source with the proportionally larger quantity of external repertory, this lack of information is particularly frustrating. We have thus to determine its genesis through a series of elements involving material and internal characteristics. While I refer to Martina Pantarotto's study for more details on the structure of the manuscripts and on its scribes, as well to Daniele Filippi's further observations in this volume, I need to underscore here that not only the two Libroni share a (more or less) similar format, and a scribal hand totally absent in Librone 1 and 2,⁹ but the study of the repertory included and its concordances further support the origin of Librone 3 as chronologically not too distant from that of Librone [4], as will be discussed below.¹⁰ Since I will devote a good part of my following considerations to Librone 3, the dating of this manuscript will inevitably represent a matter of discussion in relation to questions concerning the choice of repertory. On the whole, however, the studies carried out during the two SNF-projects held at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis have already yielded some firm points on the intricate issue of the chronology of the Libroni, allowing us to conduct a scrutiny of their contents on a more solid ground.¹¹

Libroni 1 and 2: The 'Non-Milanese' Franco-Flemish Works

In relation to their repertory, Librone 1 and 2 form a pair of complementary collections. In Librone 1 hymns, Magnificats, and Marian antiphons were copied together with a substantial number of motets suitable to be performed at different

9. An approximative correspondence in the format can be established on the basis of the fragments from Librone [4], even if, due to the severe damage caused by the fire during the Exposition in 1906, a codicological reconstruction of this manuscript is impossible, including accurate measurements to the millimetre. However, the measurements made during the research project point to Librone [4] as a slightly smaller manuscript than Librone 3. Likewise taking into account a moderate difference in size, the two later Libroni can be generically paired with respect to the previous two (although this similarity does not extend to the repertory included, as I will argue below).

10. All these elements are in contrast with Paul and Lora Merkley's hypothesis of dating Librone 3 to the 1490s. See Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla Storia della Musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 329–33. I will return to this below.

11. Work on the Libroni took place during the three-year research projects *Motet Cycles in the Late Fifteenth/Early Sixteenth-Century: Function, Performance, and Compositional Design in the Context of Musico-Liturgical and Devotional Practices* (Project #149236) and *Polifonia sforzesca/Sforza Polyphony. The Motet Cycles in the Milanese Libroni between Liturgy, Devotion, and Ducal Patronage* (Project #172933) funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Among the publications collecting the results of the research of the project teams to be mentioned are Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), and Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019). For more information see <<http://www.motetcycles.com/>> and <<http://www.fhnw.ch/plattformen/polifonia-sforzesca/>>.

services, some of them gathered in cycles and also meant to be sung during mass.¹² Even if a connection with the mass is explicitly given in the index of Librone 1, listing some cycles as ‘motetti missales’, this manuscript does not contain mass Ordinary cycles but is largely characterized by a repertory for the Office, for Compline and Vespers in particular. Librone 2, instead, was almost entirely devoted to polyphonic mass cycles, incorporating some motets ‘loco Sanctus-ad Elevationem’ and ‘post elevationem’ (and a few that might also be ‘loco missae’) as well.¹³

Compositions by the chapel master Franchinus Gaffurius form a large part of the overall repertory in both choirbooks. In Librone 1 a series of hymns, Magnificats, motets, and motet cycles are attributed to him (and probably other unattributed works can be added) and were mostly copied by a hand identified as Scribe B in our catalogue, or by the composer himself.¹⁴ Interestingly, the third hand involved in the making of the manuscript, Scribe A, seems to have been entirely responsible for copying Franco-Flemish works, both by northern singers who worked in Milan for the Sforza court and by composers without a clear connection with Milan.¹⁵

12. On the motet cycles known as *motetti missales* and the state of the research on this specific repertory see Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai *motetti missales* (e dintorni)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 139–69. An essential bibliography on the topic is listed there at pp. 167–69. In particular, on the ‘function’ or use of these cycles see Daniele V. Filippi, “‘Audire missam non est verba missae intelligere...’: The Low Mass and the *Motetti Missales* in Sforza Milan’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 11–32.

13. In Librone 2 Gaspar van Weerbeke’s motets from the motet cycles *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es*, meant to be sung ‘loco sanctus’ and ‘ad elevationem’, were copied separately, probably to be flexibly performed during mass in a different constellation than the cycles to which they belong, namely as they are transmitted in Librone 1. It is thus plausible to believe that other motets of this choirbook were also included among mass cycles with regard to a similar function within mass services. For a specific discussion of the Milanese Elevation motets, see Agnese Pavanello, ‘The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 33–59, and Felix Diergarten, “‘Aut propter devotionem, aut propter sonorositatem’: Compositional Design of Late Fifteenth-Century Elevation Motets in Perspective’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 61–86.

14. Specifically on music for the office in Librone 1 (and also in Librone 3) see Daniele Torelli, ‘Gli inni e il repertorio per l’ufficio nei Libroni gaffuriani’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 233–71.

15. The only exception among ascribed works seems to be represented by three motets by Gaspar van Weerbeke copied by Gaffurius himself, which, however, are a later addition. It cannot be excluded that among anonymous works copied by Scribe B other Franco-Flemish compositions are to be counted, but on the basis of the available attributions, a clear division in the copying work with regard to the repertory is undisputable. For more information see Martina Pantarotto’s contribution (Ch. 2) in this volume. A first codicological study by Pantarotto included in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 103–38 revised Jeppesen’s catalogue of hands, maintaining, however, Jeppesen’s system of numbering scribes from 1 in each manuscript. In this volume, instead, hands are identified following the alphabetical system adopted in *GCO*, in which scribes maintain their designation throughout the manuscripts.

Besides the *motetti missales* by the northern composers serving Galeazzo Maria Sforza in the 1470s, Weerbeke and Compère,¹⁶ Scribe A copied a group of Magnificats by Franco-Flemish composers, including Du Fay, Johannes Martini, and Busnoys (the latter a scholarly attribution),¹⁷ as well as by ‘Arnulfus’.¹⁸ Moreover, he copied Binchois’s *Te Deum*, Pullois’s *Flos de spina*, and a *Salve regina* attributed to Du Fay,¹⁹ as well as a *Benedicamus Crispinel* besides some anonymous motets.²⁰

Table 5.1 comprises a list of the attributed compositions with their earlier concordances; these include the Trent Codices,²¹ the Strahov Codex,²² S. Pietro

16. On this repertory substantial new bibliography was produced during the research projects hosted at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. Besides Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai *motetti missales*’ and the *Codici per cantare* volume, see in particular the section devoted to the topic in *Journal of Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017) and Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*.

17. See Mary Natvig, ‘The Magnificat Group of Antoine Busnoys: Aspects of Style and Attribution’, in Paula Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 257–76, and Cassia, ‘Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani’, 297.

18. I shall return to this composer below. To this series of Magnificats belong two Magnificats by Compère and one without any ascription.

19. On the debated attribution, cf. the remarks by Cassia, ‘Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani’, 321. In his study on Du Fay, Alejandro Planchart accepted the ascription to the composer given by the manuscript Munich, Bayerische Stadtbibliothek, Mus. MS 3154 (‘Leopold codex’), fols. 86v–88r. See Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), ii. 413. For a different view see Robert J. Mitchell, ‘Musical Counterparts to the “Wilhelmus Duffay” “Salve Regina” Setting in MunBS 3154’, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 54/1 (2004), 9–22. For an edition of the manuscript Munich 3154, see Thomas L. Noblitt (ed.), *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold: Staatsbibliothek München Mus Ms. 3154*, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 80–83 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987). For a recent study of the manuscript see Ian Rumbold, ‘Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 3154’, in Thomas Schmidt and Christian Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-page in Manuscripts and Printed Books Containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 285–348.

20. The text ‘Benedicamus Crispinel’ may refer to Crispinus van Stappen, a Franco-Flemish singer, who was long active at the papal chapel from the end of 1492, as already suggested by Bridgman, *Manuscripts de musique polyphonique, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 245. An alternative hypothesis is that the title refers to Egidius Crispini (Gilles Crepin), a Franco-Flemish singer documented at the court of Savoy in the early 1460s and at St Peter’s in Rome at least from 1471 to 1481. According to Christopher Reynolds this soprano singer was involved in the copying of manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS S. Pietro B.80. See Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter’s, 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 44, 94–95. Clement Miller identified this singer with the ‘Egidius’ mentioned by Franchinus Gaffurius in *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (ca. 1481). See Clement A. Miller, ‘Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions’, *Musical Quarterly*, 56/3 (1970), 367–88 at 376. If the inclusion of this piece (based on a very strange text) is rather enigmatic in the context of Librone 1, the allusion points to a Franco-Flemish origin.

21. For the rich bibliography on the seven Trent Codices see the references and the information on <https://www.cultura.trentino.it/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/home_page>.

22. ‘Strahov Codex’: Prague, Strahov Monastery Library (Museum of Czech Literature, Strahov Library), MS D.G.IV.47. For the dating of the manuscript around 1467–70 see Pawel

B.80,²³ Montecassino 871,²⁴ and, for Binchois's *Te Deum*, even an earlier source as known as 'Modena B' ('ModB') – which places its composition in the 1440s.²⁵ Pullois's *Flos de spina*, transmitted in Trent 90, can be dated to the 1450s.²⁶

Scribe A, therefore, copied not only all the 'external' repertory by Franco-Flemish composers in Librone 1 but also the oldest repertory into the Libroni, including earlier works apparently of greater international circulation.²⁷ The inclusion of such older pieces in the repertory of the Duomo at the end of the 1480s raises the question of their function and provenance. Were they already in use in the cathedral and perhaps needed to be recopied into the new choirbook? Or do they belong to the repertory brought by the Sforza singers or other Franco-Flemish

Gancarczyk, 'The Dating and Chronology of the Strahov Codex', *Hudební Věda*, 43/2 (2006), 135–46. On this manuscript see Robert J. Snow, 'The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1968).

23. The manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS S. Pietro B.80, copied in Rome for use at St Peter's Basilica, has been dated around 1474–75; some pieces were added a later point (not later than ca. 1500). Reynolds argued that the main corpus was probably copied from two earlier manuscripts from the period between ca. 1458 and 1463 which were subsequently discarded. See Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's*, 89–110.

24. The musical portions of the manuscript Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 871 are dated between 1480 and 1500. See Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871: A Neapolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

25. Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria (I-Moe) MS a.X.1.11. The manuscript is dated during the reign of Leonello d'Este (1441–50). Charles Hamm and Anne Scott argued that it was made in Ferrara for use at the court chapel. See Charles Hamm and Ann Besser Scott, 'A Study and Inventory of the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.X.1.11 (ModB)', *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), 101–43. However, more recently James Haar and John Nadas have claimed that Florence was its place of origin. According to these scholars, the manuscript was made for the chapel of the cathedral of S. Maria del Fiore and then was taken by the singer and copyist Benedictus Sirede ('Benotto di Francia') to Ferrara in 1448. James Haar and John Louis Nadas, 'The Medici, the Signoria, the Pope: Sacred Polyphony in Florence, 1432–1448', *Recercare*, 20 (2008), 25–93.

26. The gathering of Trent 90 (Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1377 [90], 'Trent 90') containing the motet has been dated to 1456 by Suparmi E. Saunders, 'The Dating of Trent 93 and Trent 90', in Nino Pirrotta, and Daniele Curti (eds.), *I codici musicali trentini a cento anni dalla loro riscoperta. Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger La musicologia come missione. Trento. Castello del Buonconsiglio 6–7 settembre 1985* (Trent: Museo Provinciale d'Arte, 1986), 60–83. The following, extensive study on the watermarks of the four Trent manuscripts compiled by Johannes Wiser (Trent 89–91) undertaken by Peter Wright has confirmed the date 1456 for the production of the paper on which *Flos spina* was copied. See Peter Wright, 'Watermarks and Musicology: The Genesis of Johannes Wiser's Collection', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), 247–332 at 283, 298. For other references concerning this manuscript see also <https://www.cultura.trentino.it/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/descrizione/22653?Codice=Tr90> (accessed 10 March 2020) The copy of the motet in San Pietro B.80, copied around 1480, should derive from an earlier copy written between 1458 and 1463. See Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 244.

27. Scribe A, however, also copied a few works by Gaffurius. See *GCO-Inventory*.

TABLE 5.1. WORKS COPIED BY HAND A IN LIBRONE 1

(in bold those with concordances in earlier sources)

Works by Gaffurius are omitted. For a map of all concordances see *GCO*.

FOLIOS	COMPOSITION	COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES IN EARLIER SOURCES
8v–10r	Magnificat tertii toni	Du Fay	Trent 89, fols. 165–66 S. Pietro B.80, fols. 200v–203r Montecassino 871, pp. 330–33
10v–17r	Magnificat primi toni	Compère,	(concordances with later sources)
17v–20r	Magnificat octavi toni	Busnoys?	S. Pietro B.80, fols. 219v–224r
20v–21r	Magnificat octavi toni	‘Arnulfus’	(concordance with a late source)
21v–23r	Magnificat sexti toni	Compère	(unicum)
23v–27r	Magnificat tertii toni	[Martini]	Munich 3154, fols. 121r–122v
27v–29r	Magnificat octavi toni	Martini	(concordance with a late source)
29v–31r	Magnificat octavi toni	Anon.	(unicum, copied twice in Librone 1)
118v–121r	Te deum laudamus	Binchois	‘Modena B’, fols. 24v–27r S. Pietro B.80, fols. 242v–246r
121v–123r	Flos de spina	[Pulloy]	Trent 90, fols. 434v–436r S. Pietro B.80, fols. 226v–228r Strahov Codex, fols. 218v–220r
123v–124r	O admirabile commercium	Anon.	Strahov Codex, fols. 160v–161r (<i>O pater aeterne</i>)
124v–126r	Vox de celo	Anon.	(unicum)
126v–134r	[Motet Cycles]* Ave mundi domina	Weerbeke	(partial concordances in Librone 2 and other sources)
134v–143r	Quam pulchra es	Weerbeke	(partial concordances in Librone 2 and [4])
143v–152r	Ave virgo gloriosa	Compère	(partial concordances in Librone 3)
154v–168r	Nativitas tua + 2 motets	Anon.	(unicum)
158v–160r	Exultabit cor meum (+ 1 motet)	Anon.	(unicum)
162v–170r	Ave Domine Jesu	[Compère?]	(unicum)
171v–179r	Hodie nobis de virgine	Compère	(unicum)
183v–184r	Benedicamus Crispinel	Anon.	(unicum)
184v–187r	Salve regina	[Du Fay]	Trent 89, fols. 349v–352r Munich 3154, fols. 86v–88r
187v–188r	Salve regina	Anon.	(unicum)

* For more details see *MCD*.

composers, or even owned by Gaffurius himself?²⁸ Whatever the answer – and keeping in mind what the map of the concordances may suggest – it is interesting to compare the situation of Librone 2 with regard to the non-Milanese works.

Alongside eleven masses by Gaffurius Librone 2 contains an equivalent number of masses by Franco-Flemish composers. Among the works of this group it is not easy to identify or define with a comfortable degree of certainty which of the mass cycles are to be considered as ‘imported’ repertory. Excluding Weerbeke’s and Martini’s masses, which might even have been specifically composed for Milan, at least seven items – that is, most of the non-Gaffurian repertory of Librone 2 – might have been acquired from outside through different ways and in various circumstances.²⁹

Considering first the masses not by Gaffurius, it emerges that a larger number of hands were involved in writing music by Franco-Flemish composers in this manuscript (Scribes A, C, and D). Scribe A copied masses by Martini (*Coda [di] pavon*,³⁰ *Ma bouche rit*) and Tinctoris (*Missa sine nomine*) as well as motets by Weerbeke and Compère (see Table 5.2).³¹ Scribe C was responsible for copy-

28. These questions are open even if one considers that portions of Librone 1 may have been copied earlier than around 1489–90. On this question see Joshua Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin’s “Ave Maria ... Virgo Serena”’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/2 (2003), 239–350 at 253–57 ff.; see Filippi (Ch. 1) and Pantarotto in this volume.

29. We could, however, regard Martini’s masses as imported repertory in consideration of his short stay in Milan in 1474. In any case, at least six masses remain to attest a flow of imported works to the Sforza city. The provenance of the anonymous mass *Tant quant nostre argent dura* is unknown, but an attribution to a Franco-Flemish composer can be taken for granted. In any case, the mensurations used exclude Gaffurius’s authorship. On the basis of an experimental computational analysis carried out by Cory McKay, a conjectural ascription came forward: Obrecht or Isaac. Based on the software jSymbolic, which extracts hundreds of characteristics from a corpus of securely attributed fifteenth- and sixteenth-century polyphonic works, these statistical results help to give an orientation or a suggestion for the possible composer, useful for a specific future study of this mass. At least they point to an imported work. For a description of the method used, see Cory McKay, Julie Cumming, and Ichiro Fujinaga, ‘jSymbolic 2.2: Extracting Features from Symbolic Music for Use in Musicological and MIR Research’, in *Proceedings of the International Society for Music Information Retrieval Conference*, 348–54; online at <http://ismir2018.ircam.fr/doc/pdfs/26_Paper.pdf>. The web page for the jSymbolic software is <http://jmir.sourceforge.net/index_jSymbolic.html>. Carlo Bosi had already suggested Isaac as the composer of this mass in Carlo Bosi, “Tant que mon/nostre argent dura”: Die Überlieferung und Bearbeitung einer “populären” Melodie in fünf mehrstimmigen Sätzen’, *Acta Musicologica*, 77/2 (2005), 205–28 at 225–26.

30. Martini’s mass *Coda [di] pavon* is designated in Librone 2 as ‘coda pavon’. I use the mass title as indicated in the critical edition mentioned below (however, there it is without square brackets), although no source attests to the title in this form.

31. The Sanctus with a second part *O sapientia* on fols. 35v–36r has been attributed to Compère by Martin Staehelin, ‘Möglichkeiten und praktische Anwendung der Verfasserbestimmung an anonym überlieferten Kompositionen der Josquin-Zeit’, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 23/2 (1973), 79–91 at 82. This attribution has been questioned by Ludwig Finsscher, ‘Compère, Loyset’, in *MGG Online*, <<https://www.mgg-online.com>> (accessed 6 August

ing Isaac's mass *La bassadanza* and Brumel's *Missa L'homme armé* (along with Weerbeke's mass *Ave regina caelorum* and the anonymous *Missa Tant quant nostre argent dura*), whereas Scribe D was in charge of copying masses by Isaac (*Missa Quant j'ai au cueur* and *Missa Chargé de deul*, to fol. 154) and Obrecht (the so-called *Missa diversorum tenorum I*), as well as Martini's mass *Io ne tengo quanto te*. The copying of Gaffurius's masses instead was distributed among all the scribes involved in the copying work (seven including Gaffurius himself) – each with different responsibilities. This suggests that each scribe was in close contact with the Duomo chapel master.³²

By examining the extant concordances some reliable information concerning the chronology of the copied repertory emerges. In relation to the copying work of Scribe A it can be established that Martini's masses *Coda [di] pavon* and *Ma bouche rit*, included in the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca estense e universitaria, MS α .M.1.13, copied in Ferrara in 1480 or 1481, are to be dated back to the time before 1480–81.³³ Weerbeke's motets (both 'elevation complexes' from the motet cycles in Librone 1) must also be situated in the 1470s, when Weerbeke served the Sforza court; similarly for Compère's motets and Sanctus.³⁴ For Tinctoris's mass no concordances are known to support a chronology – Librone 2 is in fact the

2020). See also Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', 323. The anonymous Sanctus on fols. 33v–35r has been included in Table 5.2 considering that, on the basis of the particular mensural sign $\text{O } \frac{3}{2}$, it may possibly be ascribed to Tinctoris or someone following his mensural preferences and thus be a Franco-Flemish work (and not Gaffurius, who does not use the proportion in that way). Francesco Rocco Rossi pointed out to me that the same sign occurs in the Benedictus of the mass by Tinctoris in Librone 2 as well as in his *L'homme armé* mass. Cory McKay's computational analysis (see n. 29 above) instead suggested Obrecht on the basis of the available data concerning following composers: Busnoys, Tinctoris, Obrecht, Martini, and Gaffurius. My thanks to Bonnie Blackburn and Francesco Rocco Rossi for discussion about this piece.

32. Scribe C copied three masses by Gaffurius, scribes B and F two, and scribes A, D, and E one. Scribes B, E, and F, as well as Gaffurius, were seemingly not involved in copying works from outside but only works by Gaffurius. On the close collaboration of Scribe F with Gaffurius and of Scribe C and D in Librone 2, see Pantarotto in this volume.

33. The version of both masses in Milan diverges from that of the Modena MS copied by Fra' Filippo di San Giorgio in 1480 or 1481. Murray Steib has argued that the Milanese versions are earlier than the works copied in the Modena MS, and Martini revised them for the inclusion in his collection of masses for the Ferrara court. See Murray Steib, 'Herculean Labours: Johannes Martini and the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α .M.1.13', *Early Music History*, 33 (2014), 183–257 at 197, 200–1; Johannes Martini, *Masses without Known Polyphonic Models*, ed. Elaine Moohan, RRRMMAER 34 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1999), p. xvii. That means that the Milanese versions probably go back to the 1470s, as the motets by Compère and Weerbeke were copied by the same scribe. The masses *Coda [di] pavon* and *Ma bouche rit* are edited in Johannes Martini, *Masses, Part 2, Masses with Known Polyphonic Models*, ed. Elaine Moohan and Murray Steib (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1999), 42–73, 152–89.

34. See Filippi, 'Breve guida ai motetti missales'.

TABLE 5.2. LIBRONE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE COPYING WORK WITH REGARD TO THE FRANCO-FLEMISH REPERTORY

SCRIBE A		
20v–26r	<i>Missa Coda [di] pavon</i>	Martini
26v–33r	<i>Missa Ma bouche rit</i>	Martini
33v–35r	<i>Sanctus</i>	Anon. [Obrecht?]*
35v–36r	<i>Sanctus / O sapientia</i>	Anon. [Compère?]
36v–37r	<i>Ave virgo gloriosa Maria mater gratiae</i>	Compère
37v–43r	<i>Missa [sine nomine]</i>	Tinctoris
48v–53 r	Motets [loco Sanctus-Elevationem, post Elev.]	Weerbeke
SCRIBE C		
1av–6r	<i>Missa [La bassadanza]</i>	Isaac
72v–83r	<i>Missa Tant quant nostre argent dura</i>	Anon. [Obrecht ? Isaac ?]**
160v–176r	<i>Missa Ave regina caelorum</i>	Weerbeke
191v–203r	<i>Missa L'homme armé</i>	Brumel
SCRIBE D		
56v–63v	<i>Missa Io ne tengo quanto te</i>	Martini
136v–143r	<i>Missa diversorum tenorum [= Missa plurimorum carminum I]</i>	Obrecht
144v–151r	<i>Missa [Quant j'ai au coeur]</i>	Isaac
151v–159v	<i>Missa Chargé de deul</i> (until fol. 154)	Isaac

* Cf. n. 32

** Cf. n. 30

unique source – but an origin of the mass during the composer's Italian stay in the 1470s, if not before, seems more than plausible.³⁵

With regard to the repertory copied by Scribe C and D: Librone 2 is the oldest source for Brumel's mass *L'homme armé* and Isaac's mass *La Spagna* or *La bassadanza*, for which the date of the completion of Librone 2 (1492) furnishes the

35. On Tinctoris's mass see Peter Gronemann, *Varietas delectat: Mannigfaltigkeit in Messen des Johannes Tinctoris*, Folkwang-Texte (Essen: Verl. Die Blaue Eule, 2000), *passim* (*Missa sine nomine* Nr. 3). No discussion of chronology is included in Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera omnia*, ed. William Melin, CMM 18 ([s.l.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1976), pp. xi–xii. Considering that Scribe A copied the earliest work in Librone 1, one wonders whether Gaffurius's *missa brevis*, copied by the same scribe at fols. 43v–48r, may also be counted among Gaffurius's early works for the cathedral (the absence of the Agnus may point to this, but the Kyrie not).

earliest chronological reference.³⁶ The manuscript is also among the earliest extant copies of Isaac's other masses, *Missa Quant j'ai au cueur* and *Missa Chargé de deul*.³⁷ For Isaac's *Missa Quant j'ai au cueur* as well as for Obrecht's mass ('*Missa diversorum tenorum*') the MS Capp. Sist. 35 seems to precede Librone 2, although it is worth noting that its dating (between 1487 and 1492) is rather close to that of the Milanese Librone.³⁸ Given that these masses belong to contemporary composers operating in different places at the time of the making of Librone 2, these works apparently represent a current repertory, probably not earlier than the 1480s.

As it seems, in Librone 2 as well the portion copied by Scribe A includes the earliest layer of compositions – although not as old as Binchois's or Pullois's works in Librone 1. One may wonder what the distribution of the copying work in relation

36. Brumel's mass, published in Venice by Petrucci in 1503, is transmitted in more manuscript sources – among them Jena 31 (Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 31), Chigi C.VIII.234, and Capp. Sist. 49 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C.VIII.234 and MS Capp. Sist. 49). See Antoine Brumel, *Missae Je nay dueul, Berzerette savoyenne, Ut Re Mi Fa Sol, L'Homme armé, Victimae paschali*, ed. Barton Hudson, *Opera omnia*, i, CMM 5 ([s.l.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), pp. xviii–xx, 65–88. The edition in CMM uses Petrucci's print as main source, collating other manuscripts, but without evaluating the sources and the reason for the choice, nor discussing issues of chronology. Isaac's mass 'de bassa danza' was included as 'La Spagna' in Petrucci's print of his masses of 1506. The three movements transmitted in Librone 2 were chosen as the main basis of the edition because the source is the oldest one, although without providing an evaluation of the sources: Heinrich Isaac, *Four-Voice Masses II*, ed. Edward R. Lerner, *Opera omnia*, vii, CMM 65 (Neuhausen; Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1984), pp. x–xix.

37. For a list of the numerous sources of *Missa Chargé de deul* – among them, besides Capp. Sist. 35 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 35), Berlin 40021 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Mus. 40021), and Jena 31 see Isaac, *Opera omnia [Four-voice Masses II]*, vii, pp. xix–xxi (Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus taken as main source for the edition), pp. xix–xxxvi. For the *missa Chargé de deul*, transmitted in Codex Speciálník (Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech / Regional Museum, Library, MS MS Hr-7 [II A 7]), and in the MS Lucca 238 (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238) among other sources, see Heinrich Isaac, *Four-Voice Masses I*, ed. Edward R. Lerner, *Opera omnia*, vi, CMM 65 (Neuhausen; Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1984), pp. x–xxii. On the Codex Speciálník see the recent study by Ian Rumbold, 'Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II A 7 ('Speciálník Codex')', in Schmidt and Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources*, 349–96; on its dating in particular see 350–51. For a general overview of the concordances of the masses also useful is the online database <<http://www.mdb.uni-mainz.de/>> (accessed 5 November 2020). No specific reference, however, is given for the dating of the sources listed there; thus it is not always reliable for specific gatherings or works.

38. Isaac's mass was copied by the main scribe of the manuscript on fols. 28v–37v, whereas only the Kyrie and Sanctus of Obrecht's mass are transmitted at fols. 176v–178r and 184v–186r by the same hand, separated by some pieces written by another scribe. The transmissions of Librone 2 and Capp. Sist. 35 do not show a direct dependence on one form or the other. On the making of Capp. Sist. 35 see Adalbert Roth, 'Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches mit polyphoner Musik der päpstlichen Kapelle: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Sistina, Ms. 35', in Martin Staehelen (ed.), *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Komm, 1998), 43–64.

to the chronology may suggest about the specific making of the Libroni and/or about the background and age of the scribes.³⁹ On the whole, however, Librone 2 looks like a more ‘up-to-date’ collection of music, in which older masses by the generation of Du Fay, Caron, or Faugues – just to give a few examples that would make a pendant with Pullois or Binchois’s works in Librone 1 – did not find a place. A closer examination of the repertory choices thus raises yet again the question of the criteria that guided the selection. Could the provenance or the background of the scribes have played a role in such choices and, in this case, how can we imagine the role of Gaffurius himself?

A connection between one hand and the repertory copied, as emerging in Librone 1 for Scribe A, is less recognizable in Librone 2, but still present in a certain measure. Besides the portion copied by Scribe A – here too almost entirely linked to Franco-Flemish composers (although not foreign to Milan) – it is interesting to note that Scribe D was also mostly involved in copying ‘foreign’ music. It seems not irrelevant that his hand is the only one in the manuscript (and in all the Libroni) that shows some clear ‘ultramontane’ features.⁴⁰ If he was indeed himself an ‘ultramontane’, one may wonder whether personal connections may have granted him easier access to non-Milanese works. Or are we going too far without considering Gaffurius’s own music library?⁴¹ In this perspective, observing some apparently non-Italian traits in Scribe A’s writing, I initially tended to think that he – being the main hand of the *motetti missales* – should be identified with a Franco-Flemish singer with close contacts with the Sforza court. A confirmation of this hypothesis would have helped to explain his connection with a northern repertory, and lead to the identification of Scribe B as Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello.⁴² However, even if some phonetic ‘errors’ recurring in the text underlaid by Scribe A might suggest a northern provenance of the scribe, palaeographical analysis does not endorse this hypothesis.⁴³ By discarding the idea of a northern provenance, Pantarotto instead

39. On this issue see Filippi (Ch. 1) and Pantarotto (Ch. 2) in this volume. Moreover, cf. the observations by Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet’, 235–64.

40. See Pantarotto (Ch. 2) in this volume.

41. Certainly Gaffurius owned, or at least had access to, several musical sources, which he used for discussion in his theoretical studies. I will return to this below. On Gaffurius as collector of books, see Martina Pantarotto, ‘Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri’, in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 49–72 and Pantarotto, ‘Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio: I manoscritti laudensi’, *Scripta*, 5 (2012), 111–17.

42. Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello, the only scribe mentioned in the Duomo documents, was a Milanese priest, as the available documentation suggests. He has been identified with a *biscantor* of the Duomo by the Merkleys (Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 328–29), but for more precise information see Pantarotto (Ch. 2) and Filippi (Ch. 1) in this volume.

43. In studying the internal concordances in the Libroni Cristina Cassia explicitly points to text variants that may reveal a northern provenance of the scribe (see her contribution in this volume), but – according to the opinion of philologists collected by Pantarotto – probably related to dialects

suggested that Scribe A had a monastic formation in northern Italy. This view does not support, therefore, the idea of a particular channel for the acquisition of Franco-Flemish repertory favoured by the shared origin of scribe and composer. The question of the relationship between a scribe's background and the repertory copied (also in view of its availability and access), involving particularly Scribe A but also Scribe D, the only probably ultramontane hand of the Libroni, must thus remain open;⁴⁴ we also need to factor in that Scribe A has been now tentatively identified as Pozzobonello.⁴⁵

Although it is difficult to precisely date the different layers of the copying work as reconstructed by Pantarotto, on the whole the project of Librone 2 must have been quite coordinated and realized side by side by the different scribes within a short time frame. Scribe D closely collaborated with Scribe C, and was also in close contact with the work of Scribe A. Moreover, the gatherings written by scribes A, C, and D were decorated by same hand.⁴⁶

Apart from considerations of the possible personal involvement of the scribes in the gathering of the repertory, a few objective data on the overall copying work in Librone 2 are of general interest. Circa 60 per cent of the masses of Librone 2 (13 items out of 23) was copied without Kyrie, after the Ambrosian use, and in particular eight of the eleven masses attributed to Franco-Flemish composers and four by Gaffurius. Of these thirteen masses without Kyrie, twelve also lack the Agnus, again in accordance with the Milanese rite.⁴⁷ Perhaps surprisingly, of the nine masses provided with all the ordinary five movements most (six) are by

of northern Italy. One should, however, also consider that such phonetic variants may be due to a conservative attitude in copying from a northern source.

44. From the documentation concerning the Duomo chapel it seems that all singers were Italian. See Claudio Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', in *Storia di Milano*, ix, pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 723–48 at 746. This would suggest that Scribe D was possibly not a singer of the chapel – which would be perfectly thinkable. It cannot be excluded, however, that the known names do not include all the singers active under Gaffurius or that behind an Italianized name hides a foreign singer (although most of the names are very Milanese and Lombard). Certainly, some features of the hand of Scribe D indicate a graphical education outside Italian models (especially the stems for f and s).

45. On Daniele Filippi's persuasive proposal that Scribe A should be identified instead with Pozzobonello, see his contribution in this volume, Ch. 1. Filippi came to this conclusion during the writing of this essay; therefore I refer to him for the discussion and argumentation for this new proposal.

46. According to Pantarotto in this volume (Ch. 2). See in particular the reconstructed chronology in her Appendix 2.6.

47. The Ambrosian mass is usually characterized by the absence of Kyrie and Agnus. On the possibility that on some occasions the Agnus was sung, for instance in masses for the dead, see Norberto Valli, 'La liturgia a Milano nel Quattrocento: Coesistenza di due riti?', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 89–100.

Gaffurius himself; the other three are by Weerbeke (*Missa Ave regina caelorum*), Brumel (*Missa L'homme armé*), and an anonymous composer (*Tant quant nostre argent dura*). The selective copying of works transmitted in a complete form elsewhere suggests for most of the repertory an intention to provide works well suited for the Ambrosian rite (see Table 5.3).⁴⁸

Gathering Repertory: Networks Involving Composers, Singers, and Patrons

By looking more in detail at the composers represented, we are able to figure out some possible connections with the Milanese environment. When considering that Brumel was in Geneva from 1486 and increasingly served the court of Savoy from 1489, and that he was in Chambéry in 1490 for a few months, the copying of his mass *L'homme armé* in Librone 2 shortly thereafter is not surprising.⁴⁹ At least after the marriage of Duke Galeazzo Maria with Bona of Savoy in 1468, musical contacts between the two courts were frequent. Galeazzo Maria recruited several singers from the court of Savoy when he founded his own chapel, among which was even Antonio Guinati, former abbot and master of Jolanda of Savoy's chapel and then his chapel master from December 1472.⁵⁰ Guinati remained in his role at the Sforza court at least until Bona's removal from the regency of the duchy in 1480; he reappears in this post under Ludovico il Moro.⁵¹ The presence of singers formerly at the Savoyard court may have paved the way for musical exchanges.

48. It is ultimately unclear why some masses were copied in full and others not; in the case of Gaffurius's own masses, the presence of regular five-movement masses side by side with 'Ambrosian' three-movement ones may reflect the need to provide music for different church services and/or to preserve masses already composed before his appointment at Milan's Duomo. Interestingly, the page numbers of Gaffurius's masses given in the index of Librone 2 match the beginning of the Gloria also for the five-movement masses. This fact, first observed by Marie Verstraete in an unpublished paper at the conference 'Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy', Basel, 8–9 April 2016, is discussed in Filippi, 'Breve guida ai motetti missales', 158.

49. For Brumel's biography see Klaus Pietschmann, 'Brumel, Antoine', in *MGG Online*, <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/14320>> (accessed 29 June 2020), and Barton Hudson, 'Brumel, Antoine', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 29 June 2020).

50. Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 36, *passim*.

51. As part of payment for his duties as master of the ducal chapel Antonio Guinati obtained the rights to extract minerals from the duchy's part of the Alps. According Giancarlo Andenna, Guinati and his German technicians left Lombardy after the removal from power of Bona. See Giancarlo Andenna, "'Ob eius eximiam musice artis peritiam": Antonio Guinati, maestro della cappella ducale sforzesca, alla ricerca di miniere nelle Alpi', *Verbanus*, 37 (2016), 89–108. Yet as the documents published by the Merkleys attest, Guinati acquired his position at court again (Merkley and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 378, 384, 385, *passim*). Cf. also Paul A. Merkle, 'Ludovico Sforza as an "Emerging Prince": Networks of Musical Patronage in Milan', in Merkle (ed.), *Music and Patronage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 255–70 at 260. It is not clear whether Guinati maintained his position at the Sforza court uninterruptedly or if he resumed his post during Ludovico's government; documents are scarce.

TABLE 5.3. LIBRONE 2: TRANSMISSION OF MASS CYCLES

Reference to the scribes in round brackets. * indicates that work is transmitted with five movements elsewhere.

Masses copied with only Gloria, Credo

fol. 114v–117r + 209v–211r, [Gaffurius?], [*Alia missa brevis* ?]

Masses copied with only Gloria, Credo, Sanctus

fol. 11av–6r (C), Isaac, *Missa* [*La bassadanza*] *

fol. 20v–26r (A), Martini, *Missa Coda* [*di*] *pavon* *

fol. 26v–33r (A), Martini, *Missa Ma bouche rit* *

fol. 37v–43r (A), Tinctoris, *Missa* [*sine nomine*]

fol. 56v–63r (D), Martini, *Missa Io ne tengo quanto te* *

fol. 65v–69r (C), Gaffurius, *Missa Trombetta*

fol. 69v–72r + 143v–144r (E), Anon. [Gaffurius?], *Missa*

fol. 110v–114r (Gaff.), Gaffurius, *Missa* [*brevis et expedita*?]

fol. 130v–134r (D), Gaffurius, *Missa brevis octavi toni*

fol. 136v–143r (D), Obrecht, *Missa diversorum tenorum* [= *Missa plurimorum carminum* I] *

fol. 144v–151r (D), Isaac, *Missa* [*Quant j'ai au cueur*] *

Masses copied with Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus (without Kyrie)

fol. 151v–159v (D), Isaac, *Missa Chargé de deul* *

Masses copied with Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus (without Agnus)

fol. 43v–48r (A), Gaffurius, *Missa brevis primi toni*

Masses with all five Ordinary movements

fol. 8v–18r (C), Gaffurius, *Missa Omnipotens genitor*

fol. 72v–83r (C), Anon., *Missa Tant quant nostre argent dura*

fol. 84r–93r (B), Gaffurius, *Missa De tous biens pleine*

fol. 93v–100r (F), Gaffurius, *Missa sexti toni irregularis*

fol. 101v–109r (F), Gaffurius, *Missa sanctae Caterinae quarti toni*

fol. 118r–129v (B), Gaffurius, *Missa O clara luce*

fol. 160v–176r (C), Weerbeke, *Missa Ave regina caelorum*

fol. 176v–191r (C), Gaffurius, *Missa*

fol. 191v–203r (C), Brumel, *Missa L'homme armé*

For single mass movements, see the Catalogue of Librone 2.

Furthermore, a personal connection between Brumel and singers serving the Sforza court has been suggested on the basis of an undated letter concerning the recommendation of a singer from Brussels. Addressed to Henricus Knoep, Peter de Tongris, and Johannes Lomont,⁵² this letter sent by ‘Anthonius de Brux[ellis]’, identified by the Merkleys with Brumel,⁵³ would attest to contacts that would possibly also explain the acquisition of Brumel’s music and thus may give a clue for the presence of his mass in Librone 2 – the only *homme armé* mass in this manuscript.⁵⁴

In the light of the close relationship between the Sforza and the Este court during the rule of Ludovico Sforza,⁵⁵ the inclusion in Librone 2 of masses by the singer

52. The letter is not provided with a date. Paul and Lora Merkleys ascribe this document to the period of Bona’s regency between 1477 and 1480 (Merkley and Merkleys, *Music and Patronage*, 281–82). A dating during Bona’s regency is confirmed by Bonnie Blackburn, who studied and transcribed many documents from the Sforza archive during her research in Milan. The singers named in the letter were in the service of the Sforza chapel also in the 1480s under the regency of Ludovico il Moro. Heinrich Knoep from Liège died in Milan in 1490; Johannes Lomont is attested in Milan at least until 1487, whereas Petrus de Tongris can be found just once (in this letter) among the documents published by the Merkleys. Since ‘de Tongris’ probably refers to Tongeren near Liège, the identification of this Petrus with Petrus de Holi or just Holi, known to be from Liège, seems to be quite likely (Petrus Alardi, also a singer in the chapel, is said to be from Savoy). Petrus Holi held a prominent position at the Sforza court (he was also a *cameriere* in Galeazzo’s household) and continues to be attested in Milan during Ludovico’s regency (after being for some time at the papal chapel). See Merkleys and Merkleys, *Music and Patronage*, index.

53. The identification of Brumel with Anthonius de Brux[ellis] is, however, problematic since it is not based on indisputable documentary evidence. It is not clear whether the Merkleys misread the document, reading ‘de Brux[ellis]’ as a variant of Brumel, as it seems likely, or what led them to identify Brumel in the reference. I warmly thank Bonnie Blackburn for pointing out some discrepancies in the readings of the documents published in Merkleys’ book as well as for sharing her Milanese research material and her knowledge of the documents with me.

54. The occasion (and place) for the composition of this mass is unknown, and the same is true for a good part of Brumel’s biography. It is not known, for instance, where the composer went after leaving Geneva in August 1492. In relation to acquiring repertory from outside, it should be noted that the court and the Duomo chapels were distinct organisms with different duties, and therefore the transfer of repertory from the court to the cathedral must not be seen as a self-evident process. However, the inclusion of the *motetti missales* by Compère and Weerbeke in Librone 1 suggests that channels of exchanges existed. Possibly the singers of the two institutions performed jointly on some relevant celebrations in the cathedral. Documents usually do not specify this, but it is well attested that the court singers intervened in Duomo celebrations. See Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Where Devotion and Liturgy Meet: Re-Assessing the Milanese Roots of the “Motetti Missales”’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 53–91 at 64–74. An interesting letter of 1475 in which Galeazzo summoned the Duomo singers, including Santino Taverna, to the village of Cassano is cited by the Merkleys (*Music and Patronage*, 123). Cf. also Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai *motetti missales*’, 163–66. The Merkleys also found a document clearly attesting to the involvement of Ludovico in matters of benefices related to the *clerici* of the cathedral (*Music and Patronage*, 327).

55. Ludovico officially became duke in 1494 after the death of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, son of Galeazzo Maria, who had been murdered in 1476. He was, however, the regent of the duchy from the end of 1480, for the underage legitimate duke Gian Galeazzo. In this position he ruled the

of Ercole I, Johannes Martini, may be seen as a self-evident choice. In 1477 the marriage of Galeazzo's second daughter Anna with the heir of Ercole d'Este, Alfonso I, was stipulated, and a few years later, in 1480, that of Ludovico il Moro with Ercole's second daughter Beatrice, which took place in 1491.⁵⁶ Musical exchanges between Milan und Ferrara as well as Mantua, where Beatrice's sister Isabella mostly lived from 1490, frequently occurred, especially in the years following the two Sforza–Este weddings celebrated in January 1491 in Pavia and Milan, even if precise information on the transfer of specific sacred repertory from Ferrara to Milan is barely traceable.⁵⁷ Martini himself, however, stayed in Milan in 1474 (from February until November), after having been documented at the court of Ercole I in Ferrara the year before (1473) – to which he returned afterwards.⁵⁸ Considering what the concordances of the Modena MS suggest on the dating of Martini's mass cycles, it would not be unrealistic even to think of Milan as the place of composition of one or more of Martini's works.⁵⁹ In any case Martini's familiarity with the Sforza chapel and the Milanese musical environment would be enough to explain the preservation of the composer's works in the manuscript of the cathedral – the making of which is also very close to Beatrice's moving to Milan.⁶⁰

Milanese state de facto. For an overview of Ludovico's biography see Gino Benzoni, 'Ludovico Sforza, detto il Moro, duca di Milano', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 2006) <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-sforza-detto-il-moro-duca-di-milano_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-sforza-detto-il-moro-duca-di-milano_(Dizionario-Biografico)>) (accessed 4 July 2020) and the references given there.

56. The alliance stipulated between Ludovico, the duke of Ferrara, and the king of Naples, as well that with the king of France, was publicly proclaimed in Milan on 20 May 1480. The wedding with Beatrice belonged to Ludovico's strategic politics of alliances. See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 406.

57. The extant correspondence of Beatrice and Isabella d'Este involves many aspects related to the musical interests of the two sisters, although specific pieces of music are not usually mentioned (let alone sacred music). Concerning the musical and artistic interests of Beatrice see, for instance, Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro*, 4 vols. (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1913), iv. 248–54, and Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 367, 421–23, *passim*.

58. The reason for Martini's stay is unknown. In consideration of what was to be his long and loyal service to Ercole, it is possible that his time in Milan was negotiated between the two rulers or happened for a special reason. Interestingly, Martini's salary in Ferrara was less than what he got in Milan, probably because he was remunerated also in other ways; concerning this, see Murray Steib, 'Introduction', in Johannes Martini, *Masses, Part 1: Masses without Known Polyphonic Models*, ed. Elaine Moohan and Murray Steib, RRMMAER 34 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1999), p. ix. However, as Bonnie Blackburn pointed out in a personal communication, there is no evidence that Martini was member of Ercole's court before February 1475. He was only rewarded with 3 braccia of green damask to make a jacket (*zipon*) in June 1473 (record of the 22 June), being called 'compositore' (the only time in the documents), probably because he composed *Perfunde celi rore* for Ercole's wedding in that year. I warmly thank Bonnie Blackburn for sharing her extensive knowledge of the Ferrarese Este documents with me.

59. On the features and sources of Martini's masses see Steib, 'Introduction', pp. xi–xix.

60. Johannes Martini was the music teacher of Beatrice and Isabella d'Este. See Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth*

The Este court was possibly also the channel for the acquisition of the masses by Tinctoris and Obrecht. For Tinctoris too a personal connection could explain the copying of his mass in Librone 2, considering that he visited Ferrara in May 1479 or that Gaffurius stayed in Naples between the end of 1478 and 1480, and therefore became acquainted with Tinctoris' compositions in that period (if not before).⁶¹ Nevertheless, Ferrara seems to have represented a special hub for musical activities – not least because of Ercole's enormous love of music.⁶² The inclusion of Obrecht's mass in Librone 2 indeed points to Ferrara, where the composer was hosted by Ercole from October 1487 to May 1488 (from there he visited Rome in connection with benefices). The presence of his mass both in Capp. Sist. 35 and in Librone 2 may be directly related to his presence in Italy, even if from the extant correspondence published by Lewis Lockwood we are informed that Duke Ercole had obtained a mass by Obrecht already in 1484 via 'Cornelio di Lorenzo', one of his most trusted singers.⁶³ Originally from Antwerp and active at or for the Este court for many years, Cornelio was a member of Galeazzo Maria Sforza's chapel from 1474 to 1477.⁶⁴ In 1487 he was charged with bringing Obrecht from Bruges to the court of Ferrara; his passage through Milan on his way to Flanders is

Century (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 144–45, 167, 172; William F. Prizer, 'Una "Virtù molto conveniente a madonne": Isabella d'Este as a Musician', *Journal of Musicology*, 17/1 (1999), 10–49.

61. According to Tomaso Cimello, Gaffurius became a close friend of Tinctoris as well as of other singers in Naples such as Bernardo Ycart and Guillelmus Guarnerius. Gaffurius himself mentions in his *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* a motet he dedicated to Tinctoris. See Miller, 'Early Gaffuriana', 377–79. Specific documentation is not known that would concretely substantiate the relationships with Ycart and Guarnerius. Music by Ycart is apparently not transmitted in the Libroni.

62. Since Ercole was educated at the Aragonese court in Naples and married Eleonora of Aragon, we can assume that contacts with the Neapolitan context remained close over the years. On Ercole's foundation and cultivation of a musical chapel and on the music in Ferrara during his rule, see Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, and Lockwood, 'Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este', *Studi musicali*, 1 (1972), 101–31.

63. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 180. Even if Lockwood thought that Cornelio was in Ercole's service for forty-two years, according to Bonnie Blackburn it is not sure that the 'Cornelio da Fiandra' listed in the 'Bolletta dei salariati' for 1470 is to be identified with the singer (in fact there is no specification that he was a musician). Blackburn informed me that payments to Cornelio are registered from November 1477 to December 1477, April and December 1479, April and October 1480, February, March, May, September, October, and November 1481, November 1481, September 1482, 1485 (only in the alphabetic list of the salaried), February and December 1486, July–December 1487, January and November 1488; moreover, there are irregular payments to December 1494. In August 1490 Cornelio complains that his salary was not paid while he was in Flanders (and then he got paid).

64. Lockwood identified Cornelio with one of the two singers 'Cornelio' employed at the Sforza court (*Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 179); the Merkleys do not distinguish between the two Cornelios in their index; one is 'Picardo', the other 'de Fiandria' or 'de Lillo'.

registered in a letter by the Ferrarese ambassador.⁶⁵ Serving the Medici from 1482 to 1484 during the Ferrara–Venice war, and then being again in Florence at the end of the 1480s (from 1488 to 1490), he certainly had close connections with singers and institutions of the cities of Milan, Ferrara, and Florence.⁶⁶ Cornelio, therefore, might easily have facilitated the transfer of repertory to Milan, as he did in other circumstances. In 1490, for instance, he had access to Weerbeke’s mass *Princesse d’amourettes* in Florence and sent it to Ferrara; moreover, he promised Ercole a copy of a new mass by Isaac based on ‘Jay prins amours’.⁶⁷

Cornelio’s agency would already offer a key to explain the inclusion in Librone 2 of three masses by Isaac (*Missa La bassadanza*, *Missa Quant j’ai au cueur*, *Missa Chargé de deul*), who was active in Florence from the mid-1480s and was working for the Medici at the time of the copying of the manuscript. There is further evidence for personal ties between singers in Milan and Florence. Guillelmus Steynsel, a colleague of Isaac and Cornelius, worked for the Medici as a singer at the baptistery of S. Giovanni and the convent of the SS. Annunziata in 1484–85 and then in 1489–93, after having served in the Burgundian chapel of Maximilian in Flanders.⁶⁸ As already assumed by Sean Gallagher, based on the documents found by Paul and Lora Merkley, he also was in Milan between 1486 and 1488 at the Sforza court for some time before returning to Florence.⁶⁹ A recently rediscovered private letter sent from Florence by Steynsel to Weerbeke in December 1489 witnesses to a probable long-standing friendship between these two singers, which may have been significant in terms musical exchanges.⁷⁰ As with Weerbeke himself, Steynsel would thus represent another perfect candidate for the role of ‘broker’ of repertory,

65. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 180.

66. For the Florentine documents see Frank D’Accone, ‘A Documentary History of Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery during the Fifteenth Century’ (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960), *passim*, and D’Accone, ‘The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14/3 (1961), 307–58, repr. in D’Accone, *Music in Renaissance Florence: Studies and Documents*, Variorum/Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), no. IV.

67. For this and other references concerning acquisition of music via Cornelio, see Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 179–83. For the reference to Isaac see Martin Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, 2 vols., Publicationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschende Gesellschaft – Publications de la Société suisse de musicologie, Serie II, 28 (Bern, Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1977), ii. 31.

68. D’Accone, ‘A Documentary History of Music’, index; D’Accone, ‘The Singers of San Giovanni’.

69. The Merkleys incorrectly give his name as ‘Steifel’. See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 380, 382, 386. I could verify the documents and the name in the Milanese State Archive and thus confirm that Steynsel is the right name of the singer, who indeed lived in Milan in that time.

70. The letter is discussed in a recent article by Sean Gallagher, ‘Belle promesse e facti nulla: A Letter to Weerbeke and the Treatment of Singers in Florence and Milan’, in Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb (eds.), *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on his Life and Music*,

and, in this specific case, particularly for Isaac's masses copied in the Libroni and probably coming from Florence.⁷¹

In addition to the works in Librone 2 referable to Florence, a striking attribution to 'Arnulfus' in Librone 1 again points to the Tuscan city, where 'Arnolfo da Francia' (Arnolfo Giliardi) worked as a singer in the service of Lorenzo de Medici from 1473, becoming then also a master at the Servite convent of SS. Annunziata.⁷² Indeed, the environment of SS. Annunziata in Florence seems to have been a major centre for music networking and circulation. Cornelius di Lorenzo, Steynsel, and also other Franco-Flemish singers coming from there are attested in Milan over the years: Franchois Millet, who fled with Steynsel from Florence and remained in Milan longer than his colleague, or Bartolomeo (Bartholomeus) de Castris and Nicolò di Lore (Nikolaus de Loris) (mentioned below).⁷³

Given that the biographical itineraries of many singers could be taken as paths of transmission,⁷⁴ it is relevant here to underline this direct and long-lasting connection between Milan and Florence, attested also by the repertory of Librone 3 (see below). Beyond the numerous personal contacts, this connection must be considered also in the light of the strong alliance that tied the Sforza with the Medici, firmly established by Francesco Sforza and pompously confirmed by his son with his diplomatic mission to Florence in 1471.⁷⁵ For the wedding of Gian Galeazzo with Isabella of Aragon in January 1489 a Florentine delegation was sent to Pavia and Milan. Lorenzo de' Medici's son Piero represented his father at this

Epitome musical (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2019), 59–71 <<https://www.brepolsonline.net/doi/abs/10.1484/M.EM-EB.4.2019025>> (accessed 29 June 2020).

71. Gaspar van Weerbeke himself, who resided in Milan again from autumn 1489, is documented in Florence in the year 1493 (and surely was there more often on his way to or from Rome). Whereas Cornelio di Lorenzo's mention of his mass *Princesse d'amourettes* gives good evidence of previous contacts between the composer and Franco-Flemish singers employed at the baptistery of S. Giovanni and at the convent of the SS. Annunziata, Steynsel's letter concretely witnesses the personal relationships that tied Franco-Flemish singers in Italy.

72. D'Accone, 'A Documentary History of Music', 148–49, 163–67; D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni', 326–29, *passim*.

73. D'Accone's studies remain the main reference for Florence. For recent studies on the musical environment of the SS. Annunziata, see Giovanni Zanovello, "'In the Church and in the Chapel": Music and Devotional Spaces in the Florentine Church of Santissima Annunziata', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 67/2 (2014), 379–428; Zanovello, 'Heinrich Isaac, die Medici und andere Florentiner', *Musik-Konzepte*, 148–49, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2010), 5–19.

74. Among others, for instance, Johannes Cordier (Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage, ad indicem*) or Jachetto de Marvilla (Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 183–85).

75. The list of the persons involved in the embassy to Florence is published in Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 274–78.

celebration in response to Ludovico's invitation.⁷⁶ In consideration of this, this marriage may have been an occasion for musical exchanges and may even have prompted the composition of Isaac's mass *La bassadanza* that opens Librone 2 – which Lorenzo might have commissioned for this special occasion. Indeed, the choice of a tune which was already popular at the time and whose name directly related to Spanish culture would fit perfectly in the celebration of this event of politically strategic importance involving the Sforzas and the Spanish Aragonese of Naples.⁷⁷ Although this assumption cannot be confirmed on a documentary basis, the mass certainly was not originally conceived for the double marriage of Maximilian I's son Philip and daughter Margaret stipulated in 1495 (and concluded respectively in 1496 and 1497), as scholars have previously suggested,⁷⁸ since this hypothesis is contradicted by the dating of Librone 2.⁷⁹ In any case this mass is the only one among Isaac's mass cycles in the Librone with no previous concordances – an element supporting the idea of a composition for the Milanese wedding as a gift from Lorenzo de' Medici.⁸⁰ Moreover, in consideration that Librone 1 contains

76. On this trip of Piero, representing his ailing father in Milan at Ludovico's invitation, see Alison Brown, *Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici and the Crisis of Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 74–80.

77. The first known transmission of the tune ('Tenore del re di Spagna') is in Antonio Cornazano's *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, a treatise dedicated to Ippolita Sforza (1455) and to Sforza II (the second version of 1465). For more information see Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Spagna', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 11 June 2020). Ippolita, who married Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, later king of Naples as Alfonso II, was the mother of Isabella of Aragon, whose wedding with her cousin Gian Galeazzo Sforza in 1489 would represent a perfect occasion for contextualizing Isaac's mass, especially in consideration of the 'Spanish' part of the Sforza family embodied by Ippolita. In the context of the tension between Lodovico and Lorenzo de' Medici involving the political events concerning Forlì and Faenza, Piero's embassy was extremely important and the available documentation reports gifts from both sides on the occasion of Isabella's wedding (Brown, *Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici*, 80). Worth mentioning is that Piero de' Medici was especially interested in music and played several instruments (*ibid.* 108).

78. See Panja Mücke and Christiane Wiesenfeld, 'Dynastische Kommunikation und Kulturtransfer: Heinrichs Isaacs Missa La Spagna', in Andrea Ammendola, Daniel Giowotz, and Jürgen Heidrich (eds.), *Polyphone Messen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Funktion, Kontext, Symbol* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress GmbH, 2012), 83–99.

79. The mass is not on an isolated gathering, which could have been added at a later point. It opens Librone 2 – which perhaps suggests a special emphasis on the mass cycle – but belongs to a portion of the manuscript that is in itself palaeographically homogeneous. See Pantarotto in this volume.

80. Worth mentioning in this regard is that in 1491 Lorenzo sent a book with music by Isaac to the Venetian ambassador (Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, ii. 34–35), identified by Bonnie Blackburn as the Venetian patrician Girolamo Donato, dedicatee of Petrucci's *Odhecaton*. For an accurate discussion of Donato's letter to Lorenzo and of other witnesses concerning the ambassador and his love of music, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de' Medici, a Lost Isaac Manuscript, and the Venetian Ambassador', in Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon (eds.) *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1996), 19–44.

repertory associated with the Sforzas (the *motetti missales* in particular as well as Gaffurius's *Salve decus genitoris*), the idea that Librone 2 came to host masses formerly related to the court seems plausible. In this perspective, the possibility that works seeming 'foreign' at first sight may have had direct connections with Milanese events or courtly life should be seriously kept in mind.⁸¹

On the whole, however, it seems not too hazardous to argue that in the non-Milanese (or, more precisely, non-Gaffurian) repertory of Librone 1 and 2 a special association with the courts of Savoy, Ferrara, and Florence can be recognized, suggesting that certain preferences in the choice of repertory might have been in accordance with specific political relationships.

The Next Step: Libroni 3 and [4]

The smaller and certainly later Librone 3 and Librone [4] differ from the previous two both as to their making and the repertory they contain. A clear and complementary distribution of the repertory between the two collections according to liturgical genres is much less defined, since both choirbooks contain music for mass and office as well as for devotional services. Yet Librone 3 was possibly considered in a first stage mainly to be a collection of masses, since the largest part of the manuscript contains mass cycles (mostly until fol. 162r of the 227 folios),⁸² to which some motet cycles and motets as well as a few Magnificats, a *Stabat mater*, and other pieces were added in the last third of the manuscript, chiefly copied

The available documentation reveals that Lorenzo was generous in sharing Isaac's compositions as gifts with diplomatic implications. In this perspective the idea of a special present for the marriage of 1489 sounds even more plausible. Less convincing is the idea that this mass may have been composed for the new Borgia pope in 1492, a pope coming from a 'Spanish' noble family. Piero de' Medici led the Florentine embassy visiting the new pope Alexander VI in Rome in November accompanied by Isaac and two other singers (Charles de Launoy and Pierre de Bonnel) and it is realistic to think that they brought music to the papal city. Although a composition based on a Spanish tune may have fit the occasion, the mass 'La bassadanza' had already been copied in Librone 2, so it had been composed before the papal election. Moreover, the tune said by Cornazano to be 'del re di Spagna' seems to be more appropriate for a celebration involving a royal personality. (No copy of this mass is preserved in the Vatican archive.) One should not, however, exclude the idea of a 're-direction' for Isabella's wedding of a work originating under different circumstances. It is also thinkable that Isaac composed the mass to welcome Isabella in Pisa on her way to Milan, an event that was properly celebrated by the Medici family gathered there, including Lorenzo (see Brown, *Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici*, 74–75). In this different perspective, the mass could still be related to Isabella's and Gian Galeazzo's wedding.

81. In this perspective one could also consider Tinctoris's mass, the only mass in the manuscript which could be directly related to the Neapolitan environment from which Isabella of Aragon came.

82. The position of the Galeazescha among the masses is logically to be explained in relation to the function of the motet cycle as a 'mass cycle'.

by Gaffurius himself and Scribe G (with the later intervention of Scribe J, mainly responsible for the addition of single pieces across the gatherings). The original state of the manuscript, however, should have been slightly different. The first un-attributed mass listed in Gaffurius's index at the beginning of the manuscript is in fact not preserved, and similarly the Gloria from Prioris's mass *Je ne demande*.⁸³ Otherwise the contents correspond to the works listed in the index. Yet, since this only includes the masses, we do not have evidence of divergences between a previous state of the manuscript and its present one with regard to the other works. The discovery of two fragments from Librone 3, however, points to some changes or adjustments in the manuscript that happened at some point (probably during Gaffurius's lifetime) but the chronology can hardly be reconstructed today. These fragments are of special interest also because they contain Franco-Flemish pieces, a Magnificat and a motet (discussed below).

The fragmentary status of Librone [4] makes it difficult to obtain an overall view of the collection. As mentioned earlier, it contains music for mass, office, and different services as well. Even if in what survives motet and motet cycles do prevail, a marked focus on music for the mass is also recognizable in the presence of some masses and mass movements as well as in the series of motets appropriate for performance at the elevation of the Host (fols. 70v–77r). As it has been reconstructed by Cassia, along with the Kyrie de *Missa Sti. Ambrosii* two other masses were originally included in the manuscript, Prioris's *Missa Je ne demande* and Gaffurius's *Missa montana*, both also contained in Librone 3.⁸⁴ The fact that Prioris's and Gaffurius's masses were copied in both manuscripts – between which other striking internal concordances can be observed⁸⁵ – raises the question whether the two manuscripts may have been created for different purposes. Interestingly, all four masses in the first part of Librone [4] – most likely by Gaffurius, as well as the surrounding motets – are provided with five movements, suggesting that they were probably composed to be performed within a Roman rather than an Ambrosian rite, and thus point to a different destination from that of the main services

83. For this attribution see Cristina Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 275–90 at 284–85. For the identification of the composer Prioris with Denis Prieur see Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 65/1 (2012), 5–65. In relation to the questions concerning the making of Librone 3 and its 'original' state raised by the irregular gatherings, it is interesting to notice that at the beginning of Agricola's mass the paper is more damaged than earlier. One wonders whether this particular gathering, the only one by Scribe A in Librone 3, might have been independent or have opened a portion of the manuscript then incorporated in a larger copying project. On Librone 3 and its particularly irregular gatherings, see Pantarotto in this volume.

84. Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 284–85.

85. See Cassia in this volume.

of the cathedral, which usually followed the Ambrosian liturgy.⁸⁶ Several motet cycles are found in the manuscript; among them works by Franco-Flemish composers related to Milan stand out.

With the awareness that Librone 3 and 4 are to be considered as a result of two different copying projects (and not as complementary manuscripts) possibly meant to fulfil different needs and institutional duties, I turn back to Librone 3 and its repertory.

The Mass Repertory in Librone 3 (and the Issue of Chronology)

By focusing at first on the masses of Librone 3 a few general observations will serve to introduce a more detailed discussion of the repertory included. The largest part of the masses copied in this choirbook is by Franco-Flemish composers. The manuscript contains only four mass cycles by Gaffurius, compared with the nine attributed masses by northerners – to which an anonymous mass cycle is in all likelihood to be added. It seems, therefore, that the acquisition of current foreign repertory was a main goal in making this manuscript, which, with regard to masses and in comparison with Librone 2, can be less clearly defined as a ‘repository’ for Gaffurius’s music. Both masses copied in shorter form and masses provided with all five Ordinary movements characterize this manuscript too. Most of the works ascribed to Franco-Flemish composers were copied only partially: six of the nine masses (including the incomplete transmission of the mass ascribed to Prioris and the anonymous mass at fols. 46v–51r) consist in fact only of Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus. To these a Gloria and Credo pair by Compère is to be added.⁸⁷ Along with Alessandro Coppini’s *Missa Si dederò* and the anonymous *Missa O Venus bant*, both provided with four movements (without Kyrie but with Agnus), five complete mass cycles are included in the manuscript, four of them by Franco-Flemish composers and one by Gaffurius (see Table 5.4). Whereas no concrete clues help us to understand why some masses were copied entirely and some others in shorter form, it is evident that practical reasons guided the copying work, at least in part designed to spare time and paper in accordance with the intended use of the music. Except for Gaffurius, there is no evidence that any of mass cycles may have been specifically composed for an Ambrosian service.⁸⁸

86. Only an anonymous mass cycle in the last part of the manuscript is copied with just three movements, the typical form of a polyphonic mass Ordinary in Ambrosian context.

87. Moreover, probably also the Gloria from a mass *Cent mille scude* at fols. 52v–54r, copied by the same hand responsible for the Franco-Flemish repertory.

88. The concordances are telling with regard to this point. Similarly, for the Franco-Flemish works that are *unica* it is also unlikely.

TABLE 5.4. LIBRONE 3: TRANSMISSION OF MASS CYCLES

Reference to the scribes in round brackets.

Masses copied with Gloria and Credo

fol. 159v–162r (J), Compère, *Gloria, Credo 'breves'*

Masses copied with Gloria, Credo, Sanctus

fol. 24v–27r (H), [Prioris], *Missa Je ne demande* (Gloria lost)

fol. 46v–51r (I), Anon., *Missa*

fol. 66v–73r (I), Brumel, *Missa [De dringhs]*

fol. 73v–78r (I), [Compère or Notens ?], *Missa De tous biens pleine*

fol. 78v–82r (Gaff.), Gaffurius, *Missa*

fol. 110v–116r (K), Gaffurius, *Missa Montana*

fol. 135v–141r (I), Josquin, *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*

fol. 141v–147r (I), Josquin, *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae*

fol. 154v–159r (G), Gaffurius, *Missa sexti toni irregularis*

Masses copied with Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus (without Kyrie)

fol. 99v–106r (G), Anon., *Missa O Venus bant*

fol. 147v–154r + 82v–87r (J), Alessandro Coppini, *Missa Si dedero*

Masses with all five Ordinary movements

fol. 27v–36r (A), Agricola, *Missa*

fol. 37r–46r (J), Brumel, *Missa*

fol. 57v–66r (I), Josquin, *Missa Ave maris stella*

fol. 87v–98r (G), Isaac, *Missa Comment peult avoir joye*

fol. 117v–124r (G), Gaffurius, *Missa de Carneval*

Among the composers represented we find names that are already familiar for their inclusion in Librone 2, Isaac and Brumel in particular, with one and two masses respectively. For the first time, however, works by Alexander Agricola, Josquin des Prez, and Prioris appear in the Duomo repertory together with a *Missa De tous bien pleine* – anonymous here but attributed both to Compère and Johannes Notens – and another anonymous mass in all likelihood by a Franco-Flemish colleague.⁸⁹ No masses by Martini, Obrecht, Weerbeke, or Tinctoris are included in

89. Concerning the attribution to Prioris, see n. 84. Cf. *GCO-Catalogue*, III.2.

this manuscript.⁹⁰ One wonders whether the Librone was possibly meant to collect more recent or easily available compositions or works of composers somehow related to Milan or active in Italian courts at the time of the compilation of the manuscript – also taking into account what has emerged from the examination of Librone 2. In trying to find a logical explanation for such a selection, however, more contrasting data blur the picture.

With regard to a direct connection with Milan of composers included in Librone 3, one may wonder why Compère, for instance, is represented in the manuscript and Weerbeke not at all – although the latter stayed in Milan for a longer time and was certainly well acquainted with Gaffurius (as well as with intellectual Milanese circles).⁹¹ Moreover, with regard to the Ferrarese connection as emerged from Librone 2, why are Martini or Obrecht completely absent, especially considering that Obrecht moved to Ferrara in 1504 and that Librone 3 includes Josquin's *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae*?⁹² No biographical evidence helps to contextualize the transmission of the mass *Je ne demande* ascribed to Prioris, although the rich transmission of his music in Italian sources has been related to a still undocumented presence of the composer in Italy.⁹³ Completely unknown in biographical terms is also the relation between Milan and a composer like Coppini, mostly documented in Florence.

On the other hand, the copying of Josquin's masses could be logically linked to his work experience with the Sforza family and his stay in Milan at some point during the 1480s.⁹⁴ Yet, as logical as this inclusion may seem, one wonders why no

90. At least among the attributed compositions.

91. An extraordinary document concerning the participation of Weerbeke in humanistic circles is discussed by Edoardo Rossetti, 'L'"Isola beata" dei musici e degli aristocratici: Qualche appunto su gerarchie sociali e culturali nella Milano di fine Quattrocento', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 53–87. Weerbeke's career in Milan has been recently summarized by Paul A. Merkley, 'Weerbeke in Milan: Court and Colleagues', in Lindmayr-Brandl and Kolb (eds.), *Gaspar van Weerbeke*, 47–58.

92. The exclusion of Martini's composition could be explained by taking into account that the composer's death in 1497 possibly stopped the transmission of his music. On the other hand, it is possible that Obrecht came to Italy after the copying of Librone 3. However, a different reading is put forward below.

93. The possibility that Prioris was in papal service in the early 1480s has been suggested, for instance, by Alejandro E. Planchart, 'Prioris, Johannes', in *MGG Online*, <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/55679>>. However, if the identification of Prioris with Denis Prieur proposed by Dumitrescu is correct, there is no evidence that the composer was active outside of France. For Dumitrescu the Roman transmission does not imply a stay of the composer at the papal chapel (as is logical, since the transmission of works in a region does not necessary mean that their composer must have been there). See Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', 31, 40–41.

94. For the reconstruction of Josquin's stay in Milan see the recent article by Rifkin and the rich bibliography cited and discussed there: Rifkin, 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin': Further Thoughts

works by Josquin seem to have found a place in Librone 2, a manuscript chronologically closer to the composer's activity in Milan. Moreover, why was a mass with a precise addressee such as the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie* included among the repertory of the Duomo? We could generally assume that Josquin's music found a place in the Librone just because of his increased fame or because his music became more easily available due to the prints by Petrucci as well as to a larger manuscript transmission from the 1490s – also taking into account Josquin's return to Italy and his service in Ferrara in 1503–4. However, no general assumptions can easily be made about the choice of the masses in Librone 3, especially without facing the issue of the dating of the manuscript. Mapping the concordances is therefore a necessary step in order to circumscribe the period of its copying and frame the choice of the repertory in a more precise chronological context.

For Josquin's masses as well as for some other pieces the availability of concordances in prints by Ottaviano Petrucci is most relevant. Not only the print transmission gives a precise chronological reference *ante quem* for the otherwise undated works, but it also helps to evaluate the Milanese sources.⁹⁵ All three masses by Josquin in Librone 3 were printed in Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century, *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* in Josquin's *Misse, Libro primo* (1502), *Missa Ave maris stella* and *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae* in *Misse, Libro secondo* (1505).⁹⁶ In particular the transmission of the *Missa l'homme armé sexti toni* in Librone 3 shows a direct relation with the first printed book dedicated to Josquin's masses. The use of the mensural sign C , in fact, seems to leave no doubt that the Milanese transmission derived from Petrucci's print of 1502.⁹⁷ As Bonnie Blackburn has demonstrated, this was a sign consciously inserted by Petrus Castellanus in the Petrucci

on a Familiar Topic', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 221–336 at 269 ff. Rifkin argues that Josquin must have been in Milan at the latest by 1484 (ibid. 276). Without entering into the details of a complex discussion, not very relevant in this context, I agree with the idea put forward by many scholars that Josquin must have been in Milan during the illness of Ludovico, 1487–88, namely at least in the period in which Ascanio Sforza – whom Josquin served – had to rule Milan instead of his brother: Marco Pellegrini, *Ascanio Sforza: La parabola politica di un cardinale-principe del Rinascimento*, 2 vols., Nuovi studi storici, 60 (Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 2002). For our reasoning the precise dates of Josquin's stay in Milan are not particularly crucial.

95. Concerning the Petrucci transmission in relation to the Milanese Libroni, see Marilee J. Mouser, 'Petrucci and his Shadow: A Study of the Filiation and Reception History of the Venetian Motet Anthologies, 1502–08' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 2003), 91–117, *passim*.

96. Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 477–84, 590–98.

97. The overall correspondence in the readings of the two sources confirms such a conclusion, which David Fallows first pointed out in David Fallows, 'Josquin and Milan', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), 69–80 n. 19. See also Jesse Rodin in Josquin des Prez, *Masses Based on Secular Monophonic Songs*, 2, ed. Jesse Rodin, New Josquin Edition, 6 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging

prints, rare in manuscript sources of the period.⁹⁸ That the scribe apparently was copying from the print of 1502, issued in September (or alternatively from a manuscript source copied from it) concretely indicates that the mass must have been copied into the Librone after September 1502 and that this date represents a first reference point for the manuscript's chronology.⁹⁹

By comparing the readings of the other two masses written by Scribe I, one would expect to face a similar situation and confirm their relationship with Petrucci's publications, in this case the mass book of 1505. Surprisingly, however, the same kind of dependence cannot be established for the other two masses.¹⁰⁰ Although the copies in Librone 3 are quite close to Petrucci, some divergences distinguish them from the print, leading to the conclusion that another source was used for copying.¹⁰¹ The copies in the Librone seemingly preceded Petrucci's edition and thus probably originated between the end of 1502 and 1505. For the mass *Hercules dux Ferrariae* the Milanese transmission represents the earliest surviving manuscript and at the same time a source that originated in a period temporally close to Josquin's stay in Ferrara in 1503–4 (or maybe even coinciding with it).¹⁰² Even

voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2014), Critical Commentary, 2–35 at 27. Cf. Cassia's catalogue, 338, under III.27.

98. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Sign of Petrucci's Editor', in Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (eds.), *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale = Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10–13 ottobre 2001* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005), 415–29.

99. See also Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Masses Based on Popular Songs and Solmization Syllables', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000), 51–87 at 68 n. 38.

100. Cf. Josquin des Prez, *Masses Based on Solmisation Themes*, ed. James Haar and Lewis Lockwood, NJE 11 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2002), no. 1, pp. 1–3.

101. For the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie*, for instance, Librone 3 gives a verbal canon for the Gloria ('Canon Hercules dux ferarie. Fingito vocales: sequentibus signis'), which is not included in this form in the Petrucci print (RISM B J 670).

102. With regard to the issue of the chronology of this mass, see Willem Elders, 'New Light on the Dating of Josquin's "Hercules" Mass', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 48/2 (1998), 112–49; Christopher Reynolds, 'Interpreting and Dating Josquin's "Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae"', in Honey Meconi (ed.), *Early Musical Borrowing* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 91–110. On the different hypotheses concerning the date of composition of this mass, see the discussion in Bonnie J. Blackburn, "'Notes Secretly Fitted Together': Theorists on Enigmatic Canons – and on Josquin's Hercules Mass?', in Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman (eds.), *'Qui musicam in se habet': Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart* (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), 743–60 at 757–58 (and other references given there). Blackburn suggests that Josquin's mass may have been composed by Josquin as a gift to Ercole on behalf of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza around 1486–87, since a letter by the Ferrarese ambassador Buonfrancesco Arlotti to Ercole dated 18 October 1486 reveals interesting details on the close relationship between Ascanio Sforza and Ercole, probably dated back to the time in which Ascanio lived in Ferrara (1480–81). Specifically mentioned in the letter

if this proximity easily cannot be read in relation to a concrete event or to specific circumstances, it suggests a relationship with the court of Ferrara lasting into the post-Sforza period. The inclusion of Ercole's mass in Librone 3 nevertheless seems rather enigmatic in the context of the Milanese Libroni. It would be logical to assume that the copying of the mass happened before Ercole's death in January 1505, but the possibility that the mass may instead have been copied in Librone 3 later than 1505 from a source independent of Petrucci should not be discarded, especially considering the posthumous inclusion in Librone 3 of the 'Galeazescha', dedicated to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, long deceased (discussed below).

The analysis of the duplication of repertory between Librone 3 and 4, however, adds an essential element for the issue of chronology. By looking at the concordances between the two choirbooks, some corrections made in Librone [4] come into sight, suggesting a later copying of the works in this manuscript. According to Cristina Cassia, who has studied the internal concordances in detail, a chronological order between the two Libroni can be established on the basis of the comparison of readings and corrections, leading to the conclusion that Librone 3 was copied before Librone [4], therefore earlier than 1507.¹⁰³ If this view is correct, the time span between the end of 1502 and 1507 thus emerges as the chronological frame for the bulk of the copying work of Librone 3, in any case for the portion of the manuscript written by the same hand (Scribe I). This time span may be tentatively restricted to the years 1503–4, if one assumes, as said, that the mass for Ercole was copied before his death. If not, the interval would then be from 1505 to 1507. In any case, previous hypotheses on the copying of Librone 3 in the 1490s must definitely be discarded, and in particular the view of the Merkleys, who placed the manuscript at least ten years earlier than the current dating, based on an incorrect reading of the documents in the Duomo Archive and disregarding the evidence given by the concordances and by the material data.¹⁰⁴

is Ascanio's gratitude to Ercole d'Este for showing him how to sing music from notation ('tenire li libretti in mano') as well as that the cardinal was having a polyphonic mass prepared that he had promised to send Ercole with other things. Fallows, as others, assumed that the mass was composed during Josquin's stay in Ferrara in 1503–4. See David Fallows, *Josquin, Epitome Musical* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 119.

103. For details concerning this important point, see Cassia (Ch. 4) in this volume.

104. The Merkleys erroneously identified in the document of 1492 related to Librone 2 the copying work for Librone 3. As Daniele Filippi, in his contribution in this volume (Ch. 1), clearly demonstrates, this hypothesis is not tenable. Among the reasons put forward by the Merkleys to underpin the identification of Librone 3 in the record of 1492 is the belief that the mass *Hercules dux Ferrarie* must have been acquired during the time in which Josquin was associated with Milan (1484–89). Moreover, since the Merkleys rejected the idea that the 'Galeazescha' was copied during the French domination, the 'Galeazescha' must have been copied earlier (Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 329–31). These views have thus obfuscated the objectivity of the data

The scribe responsible for the copying of Josquin's masses and most of the Franco-Flemish repertory in Librone 3 (Scribe I) has long been recognized to be the scribe who copied the manuscript Basevi 2441 preserved in Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio – a manuscript of Milanese provenance.¹⁰⁵ His gatherings contain along with Josquin's masses the two masses by Brumel, 'Sine nomine' and *Missa de Dringhs*,¹⁰⁶ the *Missa De tous bien pleine* (ascribed elsewhere to Compère and to Johannes Notens),¹⁰⁷ two anonymous masses (surely not to be ascribed to Gaffurius because of the mensuration signs),¹⁰⁸ as well as the motet cycle 'Galeazescha' and *O genitrix gloriosa* by Compère. Although other hands copied non-Milanese works – Scribe A for Agricola, Scribe G for Isaac – there is no doubt that Scribe I was the main hand in charge of providing mass music for the manuscript. This scribe shows a more professional hand in comparison with other interventions in the Libroni and was apparently active in Milan at the beginning of the sixteenth century. From Pantarotto's studies it becomes apparent that this scribe worked for prominent patrons, and new evidence concerning his activity turns out to be of great relevance for evaluating the making of Librone 3 (on this see below).

The time span for the copying of Librone 3 outlined above serves as a reference also for the part of the manuscript written by Scribe G, responsible for the copying of a large portion of the manuscript. As is to be inferred from Pantarotto's studies,

concerning the work of Scribe I, not placeable, as we have just seen, before 1502. On the possibility that also Librone 3 contained a reference to 1507, see Filippi (Ch. 1) in this volume.

105. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26/2 (1973), 305–26. On the Milanese manuscript Basevi 2441, see also William F. Prizer, 'Secular Music at Milan during the Early Cinquecento: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS Basevi 2441', *Musica Disciplina*, 50 (1996), 9–57. Martina Pantarotto has re-examined the watermark of Basevi 2441, confirming its Milanese provenance (see Ch. 2).

106. In Librone 3 Brumel's *Missa de Dringhs* is not provided with this enigmatic title, which appeared in the Petrucci edition of 1509 (*Missarum diversorum auctorum*, RISM B 1509¹. See Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 684). Having been copied earlier, the mass obviously does not show a direct dependence on the print. The mass is based on Brumel's chanson *Tous les regrets*. See Clement A. Miller, 'The Musical Source of Brumel's "Missa Dringhs"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21/2 (1968), 200–4.

107. For an overview of the sources of this mass and the ascription to Compère see Murray Steib, 'Loyset Compère and his Recently Rediscovered "Missa De Tous Biens Plaine"', *Journal of Musicology*, 11/4 (1993), 437–54. For an overview of the sources and concordances of the works copied by Scribe I, see *GCO*, Catalogue.

108. In contrast to the common use of expressing *sesquialtera* and other proportions with simple signs or numbers – not clearly defined in many cases – Gaffurius used precise proportions to express the change of tempo relationships, developing a specific system of mensural signs that he used in his compositions. This allows us to identify music attributable to him among anonymous pieces in the Libroni when proportions are included. On Gaffurius's mensural usages see Francesco Rocco Rossi, 'Le pratiche mensurali nei quattro libroni di Gaffurio: Una risorsa per possibili attribuzioni', *Studi musicali*, 10/2 (2019), 155–92.

there no evidence, in fact, for assuming that the work of Scribe G forms a chronological layer much distant from that of Scribe I. Isaac's *Missa Comment peult avoir joye* and the anonymous mass *O Venus bant*, the latter transmitted as an unicum in Librone 3, were copied by Scribe G in addition to two masses by Gaffurius (*Missa de carnival*, *Missa sexti toni irregularis*). Whereas little can be said about the provenance and dating of the five-voice *Missa O Venus bant*, characterized by a particular texture and in all likelihood also a Franco-Flemish work,¹⁰⁹ Isaac's mass in Librone 3 represents a first four-voice version of a work, not entirely transmitted in this form elsewhere, that the composer re-elaborated for six voices during his service at the court of Maximilian (*Missa Wolhauf, Gesell, von hinnen*).¹¹⁰ Even assuming that the Milanese version – which is not provided with a title as it is in concordant sources (*Comment peult avoir joye*) – could be dated before Isaac's moving to Maximilian's service, there is no evidence about a specific path of transmission which would lead to its inclusion in Librone 3. In consideration of the contacts of the Sforza court with the Florentine environment and with Maximilian's court, however, the acquisition of Isaac's music may have been relatively uncomplicated.¹¹¹

109. This mass is edited in Anonimi, *Messe*, ed. Fabio Fano, Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 6 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 1966), 131–56. On this work, see Eric F. Fiedler, 'Missa "loco cantoribus"? Gedanken über Ausnahmefälle', in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds.), *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993), 411–18. On the connection of this mass with Milan, see Agnese Pavanello, 'A Flemish Venus in Milan: Gaspar van Weerbeke's "Missa O Venus Bant"', *Early Music History*, 38 (2019), 107–39 at 128–31. In his website on Renaissance masses (<<http://www.robcwegman.org/mass.htm>>), Rob C. Wegman suggests Isaac as the composer. Interestingly, a first computational examination carried out by Cory McKay (cf. n. 29 above) at our request confirms the validity of this hypothesis. If this attribution should turn out to be reliable, this *Venus bant* mass should be newly contextualized (and differently from my proposal in 'A Flemish Venus').

110. This is to be inferred from its transmission in the manuscript Munich 3154, whose gatherings 19 and 20 (not precisely to be dated but characterized by a paper with watermark documented in 1488–89) contain the version for six voices with the German designation. See Noblitt (ed.), *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold: Staatsbibliothek München Mus ms. 3154*, iv, p. xi. The mass must have circulated in this enlarged form at least from the late 1490s, since the Segovia Codex, now dated around 1498–1500, includes it in this version. For a comparison of the two versions see Thomas L. Noblitt, "'Contrafacta' in Isaac's Missae 'Wohlauf, Gesell, von Hinnen'", *Acta musicologica*, 46/2 (1974), 208–16; cf. the edition in Isaac, *Four-Voice Masses I*, ed. Lerner, pp. xxxii–xxxvii. I thank Giovanni Zanovello for supplying me with copies from the edition during the pandemic of spring 2020, when all libraries were closed.

111. Bianca Maria Sforza, daughter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, married Maximilian in 1494, and Ludovico Sforza fled to their court in Innsbruck after Milan fell under French domination. Contacts between Milan and the court of Maximilian through Bianca Maria must have been quite close; therefore it is possible that the acquisition of the mass happened via Bianca Maria or persons from her court, some of which were Milanese. Yet specific documents concerning musical exchanges have still to be discovered. On the other hand, among the Franco-Flemish singers employed by

Before looking at motets and other pieces in Librone 3, specific considerations need to be addressed regarding the mass *Si dederò* by Coppini, the only Italian composer in the manuscript apart from Gaffurius.¹¹² Librone 3 contains a few more works ascribed to him – the motets *In illo tempore Maria Magdalene* and *Fiat pax in virtute tua* and a textless composition. As the palaeographical and codicological analysis confirms, these works were copied in addition to the repertory copied by the Basevi scribe (Scribe I) and scribe G (at the end and at the beginning of gatherings) by the same hand responsible for the entire copying of Librone 4, Scribe J.¹¹³ To this hand is also due the copying of *Sancti dei omnes orate: Christe audi nos* ascribed to Mouton, *Ave Maria gratia plena: Sancte Michael ora pro nobis*, and the Gloria and Credo pair by Compère among a few other pieces. Considering that the work of Scribe I took place after the end of 1502 and before 1507 and that Scribe J was finished with Librone 4 in June 1507, it seems reasonable that Coppini's compositions were copied by Scribe J in Librone 3 in a time close to this later date.¹¹⁴ Which channel led to the inclusion in the manuscript of works by Coppini, mostly operating in Florence, is an open question. But once again the Milanese transmission seems to reveal a specific connection with Florence and the environment around the convent of the SS. Annunziata.

Documented at the SS. Annunziata in Florence as a novice from 1475, the Servite friar Alessandro Coppini served the convent as organist and teacher from 1489 to 1497.¹¹⁵ Since Librone 3 is the only known source of these sacred pieces by Coppini and almost everything we know of his sacred music,¹¹⁶ Frank D'Accone

Ludovico up to the end of 1499, we encounter former colleagues of Isaac in Florence (see further below).

112. Otherwise, only in Librone [4] do we find a work that can be ascribed to an Italian composer: the motet *In illo tempore missus est* [GCO-Catalogue no. IV.56, at fols. 100v–103r] is currently attributed to Giovanni Spataro on the basis of information gained from the *Annali* and from the transcription Franz Xaver Haberl made before the manuscript was burnt. See *L'arte musicale in Italia*, i: *Composizioni sacre e profane a più voci, secolo XVI*, ed. Luigi Torchi (Milan: Ricordi, 1897), 35–48 and *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente: Appendici* (Milan: G. Brigola, 1885), ii. 203.

113. See *GCO-Inventory*.

114. One should consider the possibility that the pieces were copied after the completion of Librone [4], but nothing certain can be said with regard to the precise time of copying. On the copying process cf. Pantarotto in this volume.

115. For more about Coppini's biography, his study in Bologna, and his service at other Florentine churches as well in his last year in Rome at the papal chapel, see Frank A. D'Accone, 'Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance', *Analecta musicologica*, 4 (1967), 38–76; repr. in *Music in Renaissance Florence*, no. IX; Richard Sherr, 'Verdelot in Florence, Coppini in Rome, and the Singer "La Fiore"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37/2 (1984), 402–11.

116. Apart the four works in Librone 3 only a six-voice composition by Coppini is known to have survived, in Landesbibliothek Kassel (*Hodie nobis caelorum Rex*). See D'Accone, 'Alessandro

suggested that the friar could have lived in Milan for some time after the chapel of SS. Annunziata was dismissed in 1493, or perhaps in the early sixteenth century, in periods during which Coppini is not documented anywhere else (between 1505 and 1509).¹¹⁷ If this possibility cannot be completely ruled out, the inclusion of music coming from Florence is no surprise in consideration of the contents of the earlier Libroni – both showing links with musicians not documented in Milan but associated with Florence and particularly with the Servite convent, where Coppini as well as Arnulfus, Isaac, and many others along with the singers mentioned above were active. This connection emerges as extremely important also because documents survive attesting to the copying of manuscripts by singers operating at the convent.¹¹⁸ From the documentation collected by D’Accone it is known, for instance, that the singer Bartolomeo de Castris owned a book of polyphony with masses, which served as a basis for other copies made at the SS. Annunziata in the 1480s.¹¹⁹ This singer is also documented in Milan between 1493 and 1495; after the fall of Ludovico il Moro and the French occupation in 1499, he moved to the Este court together with the singer Nicolò di Lore.¹²⁰

On the basis of this biographical evidence, Bonnie Blackburn recently formulated the hypothesis that either Bartolomeo de Castris or Nicolò di Lore may have been the scribe of Coppini’s works, namely Scribe J.¹²¹ On the basis of the palaeographical analysis, however, the hand which copied Coppini’s works is undoubtedly Italian, as are all other hands in Librone 3, while de Castris’s and di Lore’s hands are not, as their signatures in documents from the SS. Annunziata clearly confirm. Whereas these Franco-Flemish singers may have indeed brought repertory from Florence to Milan in the 1490s, the idea that they were directly involved in the making of the Duomo manuscripts must be completely dismissed.¹²²

Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi’, 64.

117. Ibid.

118. The documents from the SS. Annunziata also provide evidence of the transfer of some repertory from Rome, and notably from the papal chapel. See D’Accone, ‘A Documentary History of Music’, 197, 208 (no. 670, document of May 1483). Zanovello, “In the Church and in the Chapel”, 390.

119. Zanovello, “In the Church and in the Chapel”, 401.

120. Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 393–95.

121. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘Variations on Agricola’s *Si dederò*: A Motet Cycle Unmasked’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 187–217 at 215.

122. Moreover, my own idea that the hand might have been Coppini’s own cannot be confirmed on the basis of a comparison with some records signed by the friar in Florence. I had the possibility to verify the signatures in documents from the SS. Annunziata in Florence during a research trip in 2019 (specifically in: Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, Serie 119, Santissima Annunziata dei Padri Serviti di Firenze, Portate 1049, 1050).

In any case not only Coppini's and Isaac's works may be related to the SS. Annunziata. The transmission of Agricola's mass could be reasonably explained in the light of the composer's stay in Florence in 1491–92, and also considering that earlier concordances may support an origin of the mass in his Italian period or before.¹²³ In this case, however, especially in consideration of Agricola's eventful biography and his many travels before joining the service of the duke of Burgundy in 1500 (Ferrara, Naples, Hungary, France, etc.), we have even fewer clues to connect the work to a specific environment and channel of transmission.¹²⁴

The mass attributable to Prioris was apparently copied by a scribe as an addition across gatherings already written by other scribes.¹²⁵ A confirmation of this is indirectly furnished by the index, which mentions the lost Gloria of the mass on fol. 8, whereas the Credo and Sanctus begin on fol. 24v.¹²⁶ Since the initial pages of the manuscript are lost, it is not possible to ascertain whether the mass opening the manuscript was a composition by Gaffurius or a foreign work.¹²⁷ Since, as mentioned, some rearrangements in the structure and repertory of the manuscript had probably already occurred during its making or during Gaffurius's tenure, it is difficult to establish under what circumstances the opening mass got lost. Its entry in the index would, however, suggest that it might have happened at a later copying stage.

The Galeazescha

Focusing on motets, motet cycles, and other repertory of Librone 3, Compère's Marian motet cycles entitled 'Galeazescha' deserves special attention. Copied by the same hand as that of Josquin's masses, the Basevi scribe (I) responsible, as we have seen, for the larger part of the mass repertory in Librone 3, this cycle

123. The mass is transmitted in MS Jena 31 (dated around 1498) and MS Berlin 40021 (copied over many years, ca. 1485–1500). For the dating see Michael Chizzali and Jürgen Heidrich, Art. 'Jena', MGG Online, <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/51093>>; *Der Kodex Berlin 40021: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin Mus. ms. 40021*, ed. Martin Just, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 76–78 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990), i. 20–36.

124. For an overview of Agricola's biography see Rob C. Wegman, Fabrice Fitch, and Edward R. Lerner, 'Agricola [Ackerman], Alexander', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 17 June 2020). Bonnie Blackburn has found evidence that Agricola was in Mantua in 1490 and in Ferrara in 1485 or 1486. On his sojourn in Hungary Blackburn is preparing a specific publication.

125. This hand copied only Prioris's mass movements in Librone 3.

126. The copying of the mass, however, probably happened before Librone 3 was bound, since the work is included in the index. See Pantarotto in this volume.

127. This unattributed mass is indicated in the index as '4. Et in terra pax cum tota missa Canon In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum' and covered six folios. It was therefore copied according the Ambrosian rite with Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus. The antiphon mentioned indicates that the mass may have served for all occasions involving feasts of apostles.

undoubtedly raises many questions in the context of a manuscript or – even more precisely – of a scribal unit written after 1502 and, as proposed, before 1507. Why include a cycle dedicated – as the ‘title’ suggests – to Galeazzo Maria Sforza in a choirbook written more than twenty-five years after his death, when Milan was under French domination and the Sforzas had been banished from the city? Despite the approximative dating of Librone 3, in fact there is no evidence for placing the copying of the manuscript during the short Sforza restoration of 1512–15. And even in this implausible scenario, the inclusion of the cycle would be not less enigmatic. If the cycle had been copied in an autonomous gathering as an insertion by one minor hand, we might think that it was recopied or rebound from older material to be preserved or memorialized. Instead, the cycle was written by the main hand responsible for copying Franco-Flemish masses in the manuscript, whose professional and beautiful copying work stands out in the context of the Libroni. The inclusion of the Galeazescha, therefore, seems to respond to a copying project guided by a clear intention. Was this music meant to be specifically performed under the vaults of the Duomo, or elsewhere, by the singers of the cathedral? How to explain otherwise its presence in a manuscript copied at the beginning of the sixteenth century?

If Librone 1 had not contained concordances for three of the motets of the cycle and would thus not have clearly attested an association with the Sforza court of the 1470s and with Duke Galeazzo Maria in particular, to whom the *motetti missales* corpus by Compère and Weerbeke has been related,¹²⁸ one might even ponder whether ‘Galeazescha’ as a title in Librone 3 might refer to a different ‘Galeazzo’, to a person active in Milan at the time of the copying. But, beside the necessity to identify an addressee with sufficient power and cultural significance,¹²⁹ a good reason needs to be found to explain why a composer active at the French court might have been involved in writing music for a foreign Milanese patron, and notably a richly composed motet cycle based on a series of cantus firmi – namely a compositional device which gives a mark of outstanding status to an extended multi-part work.¹³⁰ Since Librone 1, however, does partially contain three motets

128. See in particular Patrick P. Macey, ‘Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin’, *Early Music History*, 15 (1996), 147–212.

129. It is worth mentioning that at the time masses and outstanding motets were usually dedicated or related almost exclusively to rulers, popes, and the like.

130. Possibly a personality such as Galeazzo Sanseverino would fill the role in a certain measure, however without offering a key to interpretation for all the aspects connected to the musical transmission. Therefore, such an idea must be discarded. On the Galeazescha see the observations of Finscher in Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c.1450–1518): Life and Works*, MSD 12 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), and Macey, ‘Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan’, 166–79. A new edition of the cycle by Daniele Filippi is available on Gaffurius Codices Online. I refer to Filippi’s introduction for more details on the composition.

from the Galeazescha (although without such a heading) listed by Gaffurius under the *Motetti missales*, it does not seem possible to doubt that the rubric in Librone 3 addressed Galeazzo Maria Sforza and thus that the motet cycle originated during Compère's stay in Milan from 1474 to 1477. Even taking into account alternative scenarios, such as a later commission of the work, the date of completion of Librone 1, 1490, undoubtedly represents the terminus *ante quem* for the composition.¹³¹

A comparison of the transmission in Librone 1 and 3 reveals very interesting details. Different readings in the motets and a diverging version of one of them (*Ave sponsa verbi summi*) in fact suggest that the Galeazescha cycle in Librone 3 was most probably not copied from the older Librone, but instead from a different source.¹³² This fact raises, as a consequence, other relevant questions. Were two or more sources of the cycle available among the music of the cathedral, or did the scribe use a source coming from elsewhere? How can we imagine the process of 'acquiring' repertory and of making it available with this specific situation in mind? The transmission opens yet again the issue whether a particular scribe may have had a personal channel to access music or whether he was charged with a specific task of selecting or copying the entrusted repertory. Since Scribe I did not copy any piece by Gaffurius and instead only works by Franco-Flemish composers, the supposition that his task was differently defined than that of Scribe G is well founded. It is a logical consequence to assume that, being in charge of copying works like the masses by Josquin, he was able to access sources 'outside' the Duomo environment as well.

As said, Scribe I was a professional scribe, active in Milan at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and copied works by Compère, Brumel, and Josquin, having access to music sources that included the first mass book by Josquin printed by Petrucci (or eventually a source deriving from it). He worked, then, during the period of the French occupation. Even if Compère and Josquin (and in some measure also Brumel) can be variously associated with Milan, at the time of the copying of Librone 3 they were in the French sphere. From this perspective, Scribe I's work involved music well suited to be performed in French Milan and, at the same time, by composers well known in the city.

131. This is certainly true for the three motets in question, but, in consideration of the compositional technique of the cycle, built on texts and melodies divided and personally recombined in the single motets in a kind of patchwork design, the same dating can be assumed for the other motets as well.

132. Librone 3 contains a final section *Gaude fruens deliciis* (bb. 39–58) which does not appear in Librone 1. Cassia argues that it even would be possible to think of just one source for the Galeazescha used for both Librone 1 and 3. There are, however, stronger arguments to consider different sources (cf. Cassia in this volume and the introduction to the new edition by Filippi).

In relation to Josquin's music, it needs to be emphasized that it found a place in the Libroni only in a later phase, not being attested at all in the earlier Libroni despite his attachment to Ascanio Sforza's household. Considering that even Compère is barely represented in Librone 2, compared to the later Librone 3 and 4, one indeed wonders if the repertorial choices of Librone 3 (and 4) might have been influenced by the new political circumstances or, in other words, whether Compère's and even Josquin's connection with the French court may have played some role in the inclusion of their work in the later Libroni.¹³³ Even if, obviously, one could always consider the presence or absence of their and other names in one book or the other as the fruit of casual circumstance, the inclusion of such a distinctive composition as the 'Galeazescha' must have been – I highlight it once again – anything but casual in a choirbook originated in a city subjected to French domination. At that time one of the more powerful and influential personalities of Milan was Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, called 'Il Magno' (the great), who, in the first months after the fall of Ludovico il Moro, had governed the duchy as marshal of France on behalf of Louis XII. The connection between Trivulzio and Gaffurius or his Libroni may not be obvious, nor is it obvious how the new political constellation may have affected the activities of the Duomo environment and the copying of the choirbooks. Yet a closer look at Trivulzio's personal story and at the situation in Milan after Ludovico's capture opens a new perspective on the work of Scribe I and offers interesting clues on the selection of the repertory – Galeazescha included.

Belonging to a noble Milanese family, Trivulzio was educated with Galeazzo Maria Sforza at the Milanese court, becoming one of the most successful condottieri of his time. His military career flourished at first in the Sforza orbit. He had been a very close and precious collaborator of Galeazzo Maria in several military enterprises.¹³⁴ After the murder of Galeazzo, Bona called him to the regency council of her young son Gian Galeazzo. Because of disagreements with Gian Galeazzo's uncles in matters of political decisions, Trivulzio's relationships with the Milanese court deteriorated and he became a strong opponent of Ludovico il Moro, whom he regarded as the usurper of the rights of the Sforza heir. In the service of the Aragonese in Naples, always supporting the cause of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Trivulzio excelled in many strategical conflicts, acquiring territories and titles over the years. After the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1494 and the military expedition of Charles VIII to Italy, whom Trivulzio rescued from defeat at the battle

133. On Josquin's relationships with the French court and with Compère see Paul Merkley, 'Josquin Desprez in Ferrara', *Journal of Musicology*, 18/4 (2001), 544–83.

134. See Maria Nadia Covini, *L'esercito del Duca: Organizzazione militare e istituzioni al tempo degli Sforza (1450–1480)*, Nuovi studi storici, 42 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1998), 259–63.

of Fornovo, the Milanese condottiero passed into the service of the French king, in clear opposition to Ludovico and his change of political alliances. Created knight of Saint-Michel and French governor of Asti (1496), he guided the invasion of Milan by Louis XII in 1499, obtaining the title of marquis of Vigevano and lieutenant in Milan. Louis made him marshal of France and governor of Milan on his behalf.

During his government Trivulzio tried to reinforce the Guelph faction and restore the balance between the different parties as it was before the rise of il Moro. His political choices are therefore not to be read in an anti-Sforza perspective, but specifically against the usurper and illegitimate duke Ludovico, the growing hostility towards whom in the last years of his sovereignty had favoured the passage to French domination.¹³⁵ Even if the political position of Trivulzio changed after Ludovico's return in February 1500 (and his definitive removal in April of the same year) and Louis XII entrusted the government of Milan to French dignitaries such as Charles of Amboise and Bérault Stuart of Aubigny, Trivulzio's role and influence in French Milan – a city shaken by internal conflicts between the different factions – remained crucial, since he was further involved in military actions and politics to defend the duchy, also operating to reinforce his Milanese supporters and to maintain privileges and patrimony for himself and his family.¹³⁶

In the years of the first French domination, Trivulzio engaged in artistic patronage. As other men of arms of his time, he was very interested in books and manuscripts, which he commissioned for his library. Several books dedicated to him

135. For a detailed discussion on the figure of Trivulzio and his political actions, see Letizia Arcangeli, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio marchese di Vigevano e il governo francese nello Stato di Milano (1499–1518)', in Letizia Arcangeli (ed.), *Gentiluomini di Lombardia. Ricerche sull'aristocrazia padana nel Rinascimento* (Milan: Unicopli, 2003), 3–70. For a short biography see Marino Viganò, 'Trivulzio, Gian Giacomo', in Gennaro Sasso, *Machiavelli: Enciclopedia machiavelliana*, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2014), ii, 626–28; id., 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio: Declino, fine, esaltazione di un condottiere milanese (1518–1519)', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 145 (2019), 185–219.

136. Thorough research on the years of the French domination in Milan has been carried out by Stefano Meschini; see Meschini, *Luigi XII duca di Milano: Gli uomini e le istituzioni del primo dominio francese (1499–1512)*, Studi e ricerche storiche (Milan: F. Angeli, 2004), and Meschini, *La Francia nel ducato di Milano: La politica di Luigi XII (1499–1512)*, 2 vols., Studi e ricerche storiche (Milan: F. Angeli, 2006); on Trivulzio and his political profile in particular see pp. 62–98, 176–95. Owing to the focus of these books, however, not much space is granted to Trivulzio's activities after his official government of Milan. For more circumstantiated information on Trivulzio's policy in the years of the French domination essential is the contribution of Arcangeli, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio'. From Arcangeli's rigorous study it clearly emerges that, despite being 'just' marquis of Vigevano and Marshal of France after May 1500 (an office with no precisely defined assignments, but disciplinary jurisdiction over the whole army), Trivulzio was able to further increase his wealth and to maintain power thanks to personal relationships and clientele, including the relevant positions covered by members of his family, and 'di proporsi come servitor del re di Francia e suo principale appoggio nello stato di Milano [to propose himself as a servant of the king of France and his main support in the state of Milan]' (*ibid.*, esp. 52–58; citation from p. 55).

were printed in Milan in those years and several scribes are documented as being in charge of copying works for him.¹³⁷ Trivulzio's cultural patronage still needs to be investigated in depth in a wider perspective, yet even the commissions to personalities like Bramantino and Leonardo alone suggest that he emulated Ludovico in employing the best artists and personalities, who had previously worked for the Sforza court.¹³⁸ Leonardo, again in Milan from June 1506 to the beginning of September 1507, was asked to design the sepulchral monument for Trivulzio to be placed in the new chapel in construction in the church of San Nazaro in Brolo, including an equestrian statue in bronze of the condottiero himself. The commission of the statue is strikingly similar to the task Ludovico entrusted to Leonardo when coming to Milan in 1482.¹³⁹ This project was certainly aimed at creating an impressive memory of his successful life, bringing additional prestige to his person and his family. However, it probably was also guided by a will to legitimate himself as a ruler, at least a military one, besides being a Milanese aristocrat of the Guelph faction, solidly rooted in the life of the city and its traditions, whose acknowledged loyalty to Galeazzo Maria and his son Gian Galeazzo had led him to oppose the usurper (and his own state).¹⁴⁰

137. See, for instance, Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coverta e ferrato: Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2002), 614–15; Pierluigi Mulas, 'Codici miniati di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio', *Viglevanum*, 17 (2007), 8–27; Massimo Zaggia, 'Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano negli anni di Franchino Gaffurio (1484–1522)', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 3–51 at 36, 38, 41–42.

138. The first known commission Trivulzio gave to Bramantino (Bartolomeo Suardi), who was entrusted to design Trivulzio's new chapel in San Nazaro in Brolo, is the making of the 'arazzi dei mesi [the tapestries of the months]', known as the Trivulzio tapestries (ca. 1504–9). Trivulzio also employed the astrologer Gabriele Pirovano, who had served Ludovico as well. Since Trivulzio, like the Sforza dukes, was very superstitious, he involved Pirovano in the project with regard to the symbolic and esoteric iconographical elements to be included in the visual representations of the tapestries. On the creation of this art and Trivulzio see Marino Viganò, 'Bramantino a Milano: Precisazioni "trivulziane"', *Raccolta Vinciana*, 35 (2012), 118–52. I would like to thank Marino Viganò warmly for providing me with information and for an enlightening exchange of correspondence concerning Trivulzio.

139. As is known, Leonardo came to Milan to create the equestrian statue *in memoriam* Francesco Sforza, which for different reasons was never finished. For a reconstruction of the details of Trivulzio's commission to Leonardo see Marino Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio e Leonardo: Appunti su una committenza (1482–1518)', *Raccolta Vinciana*, 34 (2011), 1–52, and Viganò, 'Leonardo and the Trivulzio Monument: Some Questions and Evidence (1507–1518)', in Constance Moffatt and Sara Tagliagalamba (eds.), *Illuminating Leonardo: A Festschrift for Carlo Pedretti Celebrating his 70 Years of Scholarship (1944–2014)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 239–55.

140. With regard to the reasons for the commission to Leonardo for his funeral monument it is worth noting that in contemporary accounts Trivulzio was said to act 'as a duke'. According to the Venetian secretary of the Greater Council of the republic of Venice, the historian Marin Sanudo, his funeral did indeed equal that of a duke ('Fu sepolto come si fusse stato un ducha di Milano [He was buried as if he had been a duke of Milan]'). See Marin Sanudo and others, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto: (MCCCXCVI–MDXXXIII) dall'autografo marciano ital. cl. 7. codd. CDXIX–CDLXXVII*

A cultivation of the memory of the former legitimate duke would thus be perfectly fitting in the picture of Trivulzio aspiring to rule Milan and aiming to legitimize himself through his fidelity to the true previous duke. Even if nothing is known about his relationship with music,¹⁴¹ the historical facts involving his person make it plausible to hypothesize that the copying of the Galeazescha in Librone 3 was related to his specific desire to honour the memory of the defunct duke. Speculative as it may sound, this hypothesis finds support in a brilliant discovery recently made by Pantarotto, who identified the hand of the Galeazescha (Scribe I) in a manuscript owned by Trivulzio now preserved in the family archive.¹⁴² Despite the less formalized traits, the hand is clearly recognizable.¹⁴³ Particularly interesting is the fact that this scribe contributed to a literary manuscript, on which a well-known and refined copyist, Giovanni Battista Lorenzi, also collaborated, whose activity as scribe for Trivulzio has been long recognized.¹⁴⁴

This identification, attesting that Scribe I worked for Trivulzio, makes it likely that the inclusion of Compère's cycle responded to a specific wish to preserve special music for Galeazzo (and possibly for his son) at the time of the preparation of the manuscript. Considering that in the 1470s Trivulzio was attached to the Sforza court, being a close companion of Galeazzo also in his private adventures, he probably already knew the music and its composer and certainly he was aware of the efforts Galeazzo put into building his extraordinary chapel. Considering that Trivulzio most likely had personal contacts with Compère from his time in Milan and even later during the military actions of Charles VIII in Italy,¹⁴⁵ it is not surprising that the 'Galeazescha' could have remained in his memory, being a composition with extraordinary characteristics and a powerful expressive impact.¹⁴⁶ It is quite plausible therefore to think that he was the person behind the copying of this

(Venice: Visentini (tip.), 1879), xiv (1887), col. 252. For more references concerning this point see Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio: Declino, fine, esaltazione', 185–86.

141. In the absence of studies on musical life in Milan in this period we can only speculate on an interest possibly originating during his education at Francesco Sforza's court.

142. Martina Pantarotto, 'Copisti a Milano tra la fine del Quattrocento e l'inizio del Cinquecento: Prime ricerche', *Scripta* 13 (2020), 123–40.

143. See the images (Figg. 2.35, 2.37, 2.38) in Pantarotto's study (Ch. 2) in this volume.

144. Giliola Barbero, 'Nuovi manoscritti di Giovanni Battista Lorenzi copista e segretario milanese', *Aevum*, 84/3 (2010), 695–709; Pantarotto, 'Copisti a Milano'.

145. Compère was in the retinue of Charles VIII in his Italian campaign of 1494–95. Since Trivulzio was at the side of Charles in the battle of Fornovo (6 July 1495) and during his retreat from Italy, he had more occasions to meet Compère again.

146. Of course, it would also be possible to think that he merely continued a memorial tradition already cultivated by Ludovico. As Daniele Filippi has pointed out, other documents suggest that Ludovico cultivated the memory of his brother in the 1490s. Cf. Filippi, 'Operation Libroni', 109. In any case, a re-copying of Compère's cycle in Librone 3 is hardly to be connected with the previous duke.

special work. Whether the copy of the Galeazesca in Librone 3 was meant to be used for memorial services in the cathedral or in a church served by Gaffurius and the Duomo singers or merely to be performed as a kind of celebrative music in main or votive services cannot be established on a documentary basis, but it also seems credible that Trivulzio may even have paid for these services out his own pocket. As usual for persons of his condition, he regularly attended mass and spent money on works of charity.¹⁴⁷ Although very speculative, the idea of a homage to Galeazzo by Trivulzio or his entourage would thus convincingly explain the puzzling (and anachronistic) copying of Compère's 'Galeazescha' at this later time.

The connection of Scribe I to Trivulzio, who was acquainted with the French court, would also allow us to posit alternative channels of acquisition for the repertory of Librone 3. A kind of 'French'-oriented selection in the repertory copied by Scribe I may indeed point to new influences or preferences related to Trivulzio and the French government.¹⁴⁸ From this perspective the addition of the mass ascribed to Prioris, chapel master of the French king, can be evaluated.¹⁴⁹ In relation to this mass it is relevant to point out that Duke Ercole d'Este received a mass by Prioris in June 1503, sent directly from France to Ferrara.¹⁵⁰ Beyond documenting a case of the transfer of music from France to Italy through personal channels, this transaction involves a ruler and collector of music who is indirectly represented

147. Trivulzio used most of his tax revenue collected from his fiefdom of Vigevano for annual alms to monasteries (Arcangeli, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio', 8). Concerning his devotion to the 'Madonna di Lonigo' see Marino Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, la Madonna di Lonigo e la Trivulziana a San Nazaro di Milano', in Sandro Martinelli (ed.), *Aldebaran III: Storia dell'arte* (Verona: Scripta, 2015), 57–86.

148. In this regard it is worth mentioning that also a personality like Trivulzio's nephew Scaramuccia may have played a role in the transfer of music, since he lived between France and Milan from 1500 to 1509. As a brilliant jurist he was in fact employed as councillor by Louis XII in his parliament in Paris. He became bishop of Como in 1508. It is known that he held literary academies with prominent guests. According to Pantarotto, Gaffurius possibly dedicated a copy of *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* to him. Pantarotto, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio', 115.

149. Prioris is documented in this role from at least 1503. For references to Prioris as master of the Royal chapel, see Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', 17. The first document concerning Denis Prieur / Dionisius Prioris as singer, priest, and master of chapel of the duke Louis d'Orléans, king of France (Louis XII) from 1498 to 1515, is dated 1497 (*ibid.*, 14). Paradoxically, even the addition of Coppini's music might be read against a French instead of a Florentine background, since his attachment to the French court is suggested by a letter written by Louis XII in his favour and by the mention of his name (in some variants like Copinet, Copijn) in France. Apparently Coppini served the French court for some time before returning to Florence and Italy. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Jean Michel and "Lucas Wagenrieder": Some New Findings', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 55/2 (2005), 113–52 at 120–21.

150. The letter informs us that Louis had promised the mass to Ercole the summer before and that it was given by Prioris himself. See Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 230. No trace of this mass is found in Ferrarese sources (nor for other masses sent to Ercole cited in documents).

in Librone 3 through the mass of Josquin: it is thus tempting to speculate that the mass sent by Prioris may have been precisely the mass *Je ne demande* that ended up in Librone 3.

After the fall of Ludovico Sforza, Ercole's politics in favour of the French king had made him a faithful ally of Trivulzio. The duke of Ferrara was among the rulers and aristocrats who welcomed Louis XII in Milan in 1499 and he was again present in the city for the king's visit in 1502.¹⁵¹ His long-standing relationship with Trivulzio, documented by a rich correspondence, lasted from the years of Trivulzio's employment by Ercole as head of his troops during the war with Venice (1482–84). He thus was a key figure for Milanese politics and its impact, especially on the north Italian territories.

In the light of the political alliance and close personal bond between Ercole and Trivulzio, the inclusion of Josquin's mass *Hercules dux Ferrariae* in Librone 3 can also be seen in a new light. In fact, instead of appearing as extraneous within the Milanese manuscript, it acquires a specific connotation for its relation with one of Trivulzio's closest allies. This fact opens new possibilities to assess the copying of the mass – especially in relation to the debated issue of the mass's chronology.¹⁵² Moreover, it strongly suggests that the relationship with Ferrara may likewise have been relevant for supplying other music for Librone 3. The idea of acquisition of repertory from Ferrara, however, is not in contradiction with the proposed 'French'-oriented selection of the repertory, which, in consideration of Ercole's political position, may have been the result of mutual sharing of political and cultural allegiances. In any case, the awareness of Ercole's involvement in Milanese politics and support of the French cause gives significant clues at the least for a more conscious reading of the musical transmission of Josquin's mass.

All these things considered, the discovery that the scribe of the Galeazescha and of the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie* as well as of most of the Franco-Flemish repertory in Librone 3 served Trivulzio opens new perspectives: in particular, it encourages further research on the relationships between the new government and the cathedral environment or Gaffurius himself, who, as it seems, promptly aligned himself with a pro-French cultural policy.

151. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 141, 225. Ercole as well as his son-in-law Francesco Gonzaga took part in the parade organized for the triumphal entry of Louis XII in Milan. See Carolyn James, *A Renaissance Marriage: The Political and Personal Alliance of Isabella d'Este and Francesco Gonzaga, 1490–1519* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 103.

152. See n. 103.

Other Motets and Motet Cycles

The part containing motets and other liturgical pieces (e.g. Magnificats, Stabat mater settings) in Librone 3 – the Galeazescha excepted – was copied by Scribe G and by Gaffurius himself. Both copied motets and motet cycles, mostly without giving attributions. There are certainly works by composers other than Gaffurius, probably Franco-Flemish, among them possibly the one or the other of the two anonymous motet cycles *Beata et venerabilis virgo* and *Ave regina caelorum mater*, identified as such by Nolan Gasser.¹⁵³ No concordances outside of the Libroni help to contextualize the works, in part based on Ambrosian texts.¹⁵⁴ The anonymous motet cycle copied by Gaffurius, *Virgo praezellens*, is instead transmitted in other sources.¹⁵⁵ Its inclusion in the manuscript Capp. Sist. 15 from the mid-1490s points to Franco-Flemish authorship, as does the copy in a later source from the Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch. This cycle, based on a Marian prayer, a contrafactum of a Christmas hymn written by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, was also printed by Petrucci in his motet collection *Motetti C* (1504), unfortunately without attribution as well.¹⁵⁶ The Milanese version is closer to the Petrucci print than to Capp. Sist. 15, although a direct dependence cannot be established. In particular, the absence of Petrucci's favoured sign for *sesquialtera* suggests an independent tradition for the cycle, whose first stanza found a durable memory in a sixteenth-century intarsia in the choir of the church of San Domenico in Bologna.¹⁵⁷

Among the pieces copied by Gaffurius – all without attribution – at least two motets can be counted as 'foreign' works: *Salve sancta facies* (fols. 208v–210r) and *Maria salus virginum* (fols. 212v–214r). The first one has a concordance with ascription to Josquin in the later manuscript Bologna Q.20.¹⁵⁸ Even if Josquin's authorship has been discussed and rejected by some scholars and it is dubious at least, its presence in a non-Milanese source mostly containing Franco-Flemish repertory suggests that the piece may represent an 'imported' work. As it does

153. See Nolan Ira Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study' (Ph.D. diss, Stanford University, 2001), 331, 461–74.

154. See *MCD*, C22a and C23.

155. See *MCD*, C47a.

156. Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 953. The text was identified by Filippi when working on the Motet Cycle Database (*MCD*).

157. The intarsia shows a book between musical instruments with this stanza inscribed and provided with music notation. The wooden choir was carved between 1528 and 1530 and between 1541 and 1549 intarsias were made. Considering the chronological frame of the work, it is plausible that text and notation derive from a Petrucci exemplar. I am grateful to Daniele Filippi for drawing my attention to this intarsia and Alessandra Fiori for sending me pictures of it.

158. Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q.20, fols. 76v–77r.

not display Gaffurian mensural usages, an ascription to Gaffurius can be ruled out with certainty.¹⁵⁹ *Maria salus virginum* is transmitted anonymously in Verona 758 and Warsaw 5892, whereas in the Apel Codex the piece is copied twice with an attribution to Conrad Rupsch (ca. 1475–1530).¹⁶⁰ If the concordances suggest that the motet should represent a non-Milanese work, the ascription to Rupsch is rather puzzling. One wonders what relationships should tie the German composer, known for his later activity as composer for the Reformation, and Gaffurius in Milan. The only biographical information we have on the composer is related to his German career and he does not seem to have had direct contacts with Milan or Italy in general. The presence of the motet in the Apel Codex (apparently its earliest source), suggests that the piece had already been composed around 1500, if not earlier. If Rupsch was the composer, the motet would represent an early work by him.¹⁶¹

On the other hand, one should also seriously consider that the attribution in the Apel codex may simply be wrong.¹⁶² In a manuscript where attributions are more than sparing that ascription turns out to be even more striking. Since the two copies of the motet in the Apel codex are identical, one most probably deriving from the other, we have to deal with one single attribution against the anonymous transmission of the other sources. Was Rupsch perhaps the provider of the piece instead of its composer? Given that at this state of research an answer is not

159. Because of the presence in the text of ‘noe noe’ at the end and the F-mode Bonnie Blackburn suggests that the piece might be French (personal communication).

160. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494 (‘Apel Codex’), fols. 115v–116r, 159v–160r; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, MS DCCLVIII, fols. 11v–13r; Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych, MS 5892 (Warsaw 5892), fol. 106v. The Milanese transmission is very close to the Verona MS.

161. Works can travel in unpredictable ways, but one might wonder about the young Rupsch in Italy. The presence of two persons named ‘Corrado Tedesco’ belonging to the Servite Order in the convent of the SS. Annunziata in Florence during the 1480s opens the way to speculation. An identification of one or both of them with Rupsch would easily explain the Milanese transmission – especially in consideration of the long-standing relationship with the musicians active at the Servite cloister. In a presumed Florentine stay Rupsch would indeed have been a young boy. Yet there is no evidence to support such identification and the availability of such a foreign motet in Milan could be explained, obviously, in many different ways. For the documents concerning ‘Corrado’, see D’Accone, ‘A Documentary History of Music’, 188, 212, *ad indicem*.

162. The motet is in fact stylistically close to many motets of the Libroni and could be framed in the notion of a ‘Milanese style’, largely used by Renaissance scholars in relation to the Milanese *motetti missales* and similar motets included in the Libroni. See, for instance, Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet’. A reconsideration of this idea, however, has been put forward particularly by Clare Bokulich, ‘Contextualizing Josquin’s “Ave Maria ... virgo Serena”’, *Journal of Musicology*, 34/2 (2017), 182–240. More recently, in a very thought-provoking contribution Felix Diergarten also questions such a stylistic categorization. See Felix Diergarten, “Gaude Flore Virginali” – Message from the “Black Hole”?, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 429–55.

possible, we should also consider the option that Gaffurius got the work from outside through a personal channel we are not able to concretely figure out.¹⁶³

A few other Franco-Flemish motets were copied by Scribe J in the blank pages across gatherings after the masses and the motets copied by the other scribes and Gaffurius were already entered. These additions include Mouton's *Sancti dei omnes*, Josquin's *Alma redemptoris mater/Ave regina caelorum*, and Compère's *Ave Maria gratia plena* (2.p. *Sancte Michael ora pro nobis*), as well as a few anonymous works. These attributed pieces, already circulating in Italian sources, were printed by Petrucci in his motet collections between 1502 and 1505 (see Table 5.5). Also in these cases, however, Librone 3's dependence on the prints cannot be established (nor a direct link with Capp. Sist. 15).¹⁶⁴ The proximity to Petrucci of certain readings or details of the Milanese Librone, however, would strongly point to a chronological proximity, even if these works apparently became available to Gaffurius and his scribe at a later point.¹⁶⁵

Finally, Compère's motet *Gaude prole regia* deserves comment. It was found in one of two newly discovered fragments from Librone 3 together with an anonymous Magnificat *quinti toni* already included in Librone 1, both copied by the same hand G and formerly part of the manuscript, as the surviving numbers of the foliation unequivocally suggest.¹⁶⁶ This motet for St Catherine of Alexandria contains a verse highlighting the 'union' of France and Flanders and thus it has been related to the reception in Paris of Philip, duke of Burgundy, in 1501.¹⁶⁷ Why and when this motet was eliminated from the manuscript is an open question: the exclusion of a

163. Interestingly, the motets occupying fols. 208v–218r, including *Maria salus virginum*, are all in an F-mode, pointing to a conscious selection of pieces in the same tonality, even if not thematically related to each other. For some reason Gaffurius was interested in gathering them in Librone 3, unfortunately without giving ascriptions.

164. *Ave Maria* by Compère and *Alma redemptoris* by Josquin, in fact, show significant variants that do not allow the Milanese copy to be traced back to the Roman manuscript.

165. Gloria und Credo *breves* by Compère at fols. 159v–162r were also added by Scribe J when the manuscript had already been bound.

166. The fragments, identified with the numbers 1 and 2 and included in a folder now labelled 3bis, are visible on the GCO, to which I refer for a detailed description. Compère's fragmentary motet is on Fragment 2.

167. The passage alluding to France and Flanders is: 'Te clamant sanctam in caelis / omnis natio fidelis, / Francia cum Flandria'. On the motet in general see Ludwig Finscher, 'Loyset Compère and his Works: VI. The Tenor Motets and Analogous Forms', *Musica Disciplina*, 16 (1962), 93–113 at 101–5. The motet may have been composed for the 25 November 1501 feast of St Catherine of Alexandria, the day in which Duke Philip the Fair, Governor of the Netherlands, was welcomed in Paris (see Joshua Rifkin, Jeffrey Dean, and David Fallows, 'Compère, Loyset, Life', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 4 August 2020)). Among other plausible occasions might also be the treaty of Lyon stipulated between the king of France and duke of Burgundy in April 1503. See Baron John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton and others, *The Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1969), i. 126.

TABLE 5.5. CONCORDANCES BETWEEN LIBRONE 3 AND PETRUCCI

FOLS.	COMPOSER	SCRIBE	TITLE	PETRUCCI PRINT	DERIVED FROM PETRUCCI?
51v–52r	Compère	I	<i>O genitrix</i>	<i>Motetti A</i> (1502)	no
57v–66r	Josquin	I	<i>Missa Ave maris stella</i>	<i>Missarum II</i> (1505)	no
66v–77r	Brumel	I	<i>Missa de dringhs</i>	<i>Missarum diversorum auctorum</i> (1509)	no
135v–141r	Josquin	I	<i>Missa L'homme armé sexti toni</i>	<i>Misse I</i> (1502)	yes
141v–147r	Josquin	I	<i>Missa Hercules Dux</i>	<i>Missarum II</i> (1505)	no
176v–178r	Mouton	J	<i>Sancti dei</i>	<i>Motetti C</i> (1504)	no
178v–189r	Josquin	J	<i>Alma redemptoris/Ave regina</i>	<i>Motetti IV</i> (1505)	no
187v–189r	Compère	J	<i>Ave Maria</i>	<i>Motetti A</i> (1502)	no
201v–203r	Anon.	Gaff.	<i>Virgo praezellens</i> (5 motets)	<i>Motetti C</i> (1504)	no

motet with a specific political allusion might indeed have a political explanation, but of course more casual or material reasons cannot be ruled out. Considering the irregular structure of the gatherings in Librone 3 as well, this finding is a further sign that the genesis of the manuscript and its early life were somewhat troubled.¹⁶⁸

Librone [4]

Due to the damage caused by the 1906 fire, Librone [4] now consists of anonymous fragments: the attributions which may have been on the upper margins of the pages have not survived. The ascriptions can be partly reconstructed in different ways: some works by Gaffurius are identifiable thanks to earlier descriptions of the manuscript or on the basis of the mensural signs, and some motets or motet cycles by Compère, Josquin, and Weerbeke have concordances in other sources.¹⁶⁹ Assuming there was more foreign repertory, it is thus even more difficult to categorize than the other manuscripts.

¹⁶⁸. See Pantarotto in this volume (Ch. 2).

¹⁶⁹. An important resource for this reconstruction are the *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, 9 vols. (Milan: G. Brigola, 1877). Cf. Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 277–85.

As mentioned above, this choirbook has some distinguishing traits. The prevalence (proportionally speaking) of masses in five movements, the predilection to combine motets with mass cycles, the series of Elevation motets, the conspicuous number of motet cycles as well as the occurrence of concordances with the other Libroni: all these aspects make this manuscript – despite its fragmentary condition – very distinctive. The manuscript also stands out also for the presence of one scribe only, apart from Gaffurius.

Focusing first on pieces by Franco-Flemish composers, a certain number of concordances again establish a connection with the Petrucci prints. The anonymous cycle *Gaudeamus omnes* is included in the collection *Motetti C* (1504), whereas the cycles *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur* by Josquin and *Spiritum domini replevit* by Weerbeke were published in *Motetti Libro Quarto* (1505).¹⁷⁰ Librone [4], however, only partially transmits Josquin's and Weerbeke's cycles and therefore its versions can hardly have been the source for Petrucci's work. On the other hand, the readings in Librone [4] do not point to a direct derivation from the Venetian prints (see Table 5.6). Despite the incomplete transmission of Josquin's and Weerbeke's motet cycles in Librone [4] (at least less complete than in Petrucci), one should ponder whether this repertory found a way from Milan to the Venetian publisher, even though no evidence supports this suggestion.¹⁷¹ Certainly, motets by these composers circulated in northern Italy, as other concordances related to the production of these composers suggest, and Petrucci (or Castellanus) had access to different music sources from northern Italy and elsewhere.

Likewise the famous *Ave Maria gratia plena* by Josquin, already printed in *Motetti A* (1502) and transmitted in earlier sources, found a place in Librone [4] as well as some motets by Compère, a few of which have a concordance in Librone 1 or 2. With the exception of one motet ascribed to Giovanni Spataro – whose inclusion raises many questions considering the later controversy that arose between Gaffurius and Spataro himself – all attributable compositions in Librone [4] are related to Franco-Flemish composers with a previous direct connection with Milan.¹⁷² One wonders whether the composers of one or the other of the

170. Cf. Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, nos. 15 and 21.

171. Rifkin argues in a recent study on Josquin that *Vultum tuum* must have been related to Milan. At the conclusion of a long discussion on Josquin and his 'Milanese' works he states that 'Josquin des Prez spent most, and very possibly all, of the years from 1483 or 84 till 1489 in the orbit of the Sforzas, mostly in Milan itself; and in composing motet cycles, he took up a tradition that he found in Milan'. See Rifkin, 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin', 251–88 at 288.

172. As it has to be inferred from a letter by Spataro of August 1517, Spataro and Gaffurius were in correspondence since around 1493. See *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 204. On Spataro's ideas on harmony see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Dispute about Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style', in Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.),

TABLE 5.6. CONCORDANCES BETWEEN LIBRONE [4] AND PETRUCCI

FOLS.	COMPOSER	SCRIBE	TITLE	PETRUCCI PRINT	DERIVED FROM PETRUCCI?
103v–107r	Josquin	J	(From motet cycle <i>Vultum tuum</i>) <i>Ora pro nobis virgo</i> <i>Intemerata virgo</i> <i>O Maria nullam</i> <i>Mente tota</i>	<i>Motetti IV</i> (1505)	no
113v–118r	Anon.	J	(motet cycle) <i>Gaudeamus omnes in domino</i> <i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i> <i>Gaude quia magi dona</i> <i>Gaude quia tui nati</i> <i>Gaude quae post ipsum</i>	<i>Motetti C</i> (1504)	no
118v–120r	Josquin	J	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i>	<i>Motetti A</i> (1502)	no
120v–124r	Weerbeke	J	(motet cycle) <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i> <i>Veni sancte spiritus</i> <i>Beata gens</i> <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	<i>Motetti IV</i> (1505)	no

anonymous cycles hide among them. Recently, Bonnie Blackburn has argued that the selection of the composers represented may have been a conscious choice by Gaffurius to please the French authorities. This hypothesis would be in line with what has emerged in the previous discussion on Librone 3. The large portion of anonymous works – prevalent in comparison with the attributed ones – makes it difficult, however, to properly evaluate the transmission with regard to the composers' selection. By scrutinizing the anonymous cycle *Missus est ab arce patris* Blackburn suggested that it was by a northern composer.¹⁷³ On the basis of the particular style of the composition, based on Agricola's *Si dedero*, she also argued for a Florentine connection, which, in view of what can be gathered from the

Théorie et analyse musicales, 1450–1650: Actes du Colloque international, Louvain-La-Neuve, 23–25 septembre 1999 = *Music Theory and Analysis, 1450–1650: Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain-La-Neuve, 23–25 September 1999* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie; Collège Érasme, 2001), 1–37.

173. Alternatively, Blackburn suggests it might be someone trained by a northern composer. Blackburn, 'Variations on Agricola's *Si dedero*', 204.

previous manuscripts, appears to be a quite plausible assumption.¹⁷⁴ This possible link to Florence would slightly change our understanding of the overall contents of the manuscript, possibly less Milanese than it seems at first sight.

The series of anonymous cycles in this Librone still requires specific study, unfortunately complicated by the material status of the manuscript. As Lynn Halpern Ward first noticed, this manuscript collects the highest number of motet cycles among the Milanese Libroni, and they all lack a clearly identifiable elevation motet.¹⁷⁵ A flexibility in combining motets ad hoc, however, is manifested for instance by the partial transmission of Weerbeke's *Quam pulchra es* as well as in the combination of a Sanctus ascribed to Compère with different motets or sections.¹⁷⁶

A clearer picture of the purpose and the use of Librone [4] would undoubtedly help to better understand its contents and repertory. The distinctive presence of mass-motet cycles (with all five Ordinary movements) and motet cycles raises the question whether these works were meant to be sung in churches different from the cathedral or for specific votive and private services, or whether we can assume for the anonymous cycles a comparable function to those by Compère and Weerbeke in Librone 1. Specifically concerning the series of Elevation motets, the grouping leaves the question open whether those motets were collected to be combined with other motets in cycles or with masses, or even for independent use as sung meditation during the Eucharistic liturgy.¹⁷⁷

Considering that the motet cycles by Compère und Weerbeke were related to religious services of the Sforza family (which members of the ruling family attended or were promoted by the court, etc.), one wonders about the circumstances in which the motets included in Librone [4] might have been sung in French Milan. Even if we can easily assume that Marian motets were constantly performed at Marian services and devotions, the question here is whether the new rulers of Milan tried to encourage the cultivation of some musical practices initiated under the Sforza dukes also outside the main services of the cathedral. In any case, Gaffurius

174. Blackburn, 'Variations on Agricola's *Si dederò*', 209–17.

175. Lynn Halpern Ward, 'The "Motetti Missales" Repertory Reconsidered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39/3 (1986), 491–523.

176. See *GCO-Catalogue*, II.9 and IV.20. On this see Cassia in this volume (Ch. 4, n. 50/51). Recent research has pointed out that the combination of motets in cycles may need to be contextualized in a broader picture and that the peculiar aspects of the Milanese transmission do not necessarily mean that motet cycles were exclusively a Milanese phenomenon. See the 'Introduction' in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*,

177. In the other Libroni a motet meant to be performed during the Canon missae including the ritual of the Elevation of the host is mostly transmitted within motet cycles (*motetti missales*) or parts of them. The moment of the Elevation is marked by a characteristic consonant chordal writing (in long notes provided with fermata signs). On the Milanese Elevation motets and especially on the group of motets copied one after the other in Librone [4] see Pavanello, 'The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound', 33–59.

and his chapel should have represented the main venue to have sacred polyphony performed. Since no information is available, the only clues we have are to be inferred from the scarce documentary evidence. In this regard, the inscription printed on Gaffurius's *Angelicum ac divinum opus musicae* (1508), in which he boasts the title of 'regius musicus', suggests that besides the cultivation of good relationships with the French government the Duomo chapel master must have been involved in musical performances on institutional as well private occasions.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, the idea that some repertory gathered in Librone [4], similarly to Librone 3, might have been directly correlated with the new political establishment or new institutional commitments acquires more weight.¹⁷⁹

A look at the other repertory gathered in the manuscript adds more elements of evaluation. Librone [4] in fact contains a few motets related to specific liturgical feasts or celebrations of saints, namely St Bassianus, St Ambrose, St Ulderic ('Odorico'), all Saints, St John the Evangelist, and St Erasmus.¹⁸⁰ Based on this, Daniele Filippi has proposed that the repertory in Librone [4] may have been gathered to supply the needs of churches such as S. Marcellino, of which Gaffurius was parish priest.¹⁸¹ Alternatively, the manuscript may have been prepared for the sojourn of the Duomo chapel master at S. Maria del Monte in 1506 and for his duties there – among them, notably, the task of building a musical chapel.¹⁸² This proposal is quite convincing and would not exclude the suggestions advanced so far: the Milanese basilica of S. Nazaro in Brolo, for instance, preserved the relics

178. This title disappears in the short period of the Sforza restauration (1512–15). Worth mentioning is that Gaffurius dedicated various copies of his works to French authorities, for instance the autograph copy of *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* now in Lyon to Geoffroy Carles (1460–1516), marquis of Saluzzo and president of the Milanese parliament, or the copy of the same work in Vienna to Jean Grolier, appointed in 1510 treasurer of the Milanese duchy, and also dedicatee of the printed version of 1518. See Pantarotto, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio', 114–15; Élisabeth Pellegrin, 'Les Manuscrits de Geoffroy Carles, président du parlement de Dauphiné et du Sénat de Milan', in Giovanni Mardersteig (ed.), *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, 4 vols. ([Vatican City]: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), iii. 309–27 at 321–24; Davide Stefani, 'Le vite di Gaffurio', 27–48 at 45–46.

179. In this regard it is worth mentioning the document found by Filippi attesting to the celebration of a mass in the Roman rite by the French Cardinal Georges I d'Amboise at the main altar of the Duomo in 1507 (see Filippi, 'Breve guida ai motetti missales', 161), particularly interesting because it mentions the rite in relation to a French prelate – especially in consideration of the masses in five movements prevailing in Librone [4].

180. The motets in question are: *Pontifex urbis* (St Bassianus), *Ambrosi doctor venerande, O pater Olderice, Solemnitas laudabilis* (All Saints), *Verbum dei deo natum* (St John Evangelist), and *Domine Iesu Christe unigenite* (St Erasmus). For the images and foliation, see *GCO*.

181. In his testament of 1512 Gaffurius requested the celebration of four masses in four days within the week at the altar of St Bassianus in the church of San Marcellino, which had been built on his behalf. See Davide Daolmi, 'Iconografia gaffuriana: Con un'appendice sui due testamenti di Gaffurio', in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 143–211 at 183.

182. See Filippi's contribution in this volume (Ch. 1, Appendix 2).

of Ulderic, a saint highly venerated in Milan.¹⁸³ Since this church was the burial place of the Trivulzio family, the inclusion of this motet in Librone [4] is particularly intriguing. It may be just an interesting coincidence that Trivulzio had already planned his funeral monument there in 1504.¹⁸⁴

On the basis of an inscription formerly written inside Librone [4] Filippi further suggested that the manuscript possibly belonged to Gaffurius himself rather than to the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo.¹⁸⁵ This may explain the fact that no records of payments for this manuscript could be found in the archive. Yet, since the making of Librone 3 has left no records either, it is uncertain whether the absence of documentation can be related to the contents and function of the manuscript. In view of the need (or will) to gather suitable repertory for the chapel performing under changed circumstances, it would, however, be plausible to think that financial support for the making of the two younger Libroni came from outside the Duomo, as the involvement of Scribe I in the copying work for Librone 3 would also suggest. This would not contradict the idea of Librone [4] as Gaffurius's personal possession. A sponsorship independent of the Duomo environment would make this even more logical. Also in this perspective, the idea that some repertory of this Librone was connected with duties related to the new government of Milan or to personalities linked to the French authorities, similarly to what was suggested for Librone 3, seems indeed quite persuasive.¹⁸⁶ Specific research on the largely understudied musical life in French-dominated Milan, including a particular inquiry into Gaffurius's activities and personal relationships, emerges as an urgent and essential task.

On the whole, however, also in consideration of the absence of mass cycles by other composers than Gaffurius, the contents of Librone [4] look indeed

183. On the origin of the cult of St Ulderic at San Nazaro and the belief that the body of the saint was buried in the Milanese church see Giorgio Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città e campagna di Milano ne' secoli bassi* (Milan: Francesco Colombo, 1854), i. 611–12.

184. On San Nazaro as burial place of the Trivulzio family and on the construction of the new chapel by Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, see Viganò, 'Leonardo and the Trivulzio Monument', and Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, la Madonna di Lonigo', esp. 57–58 and the references given there.

185. This inscription is preserved in *Annali: Appendici*, ii. 169.

186. In a recently published article Ferrari reconstructs the history of the publication of Gaffurius's treatise *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, finally dedicated to Jean Grolier, Viscount of Aiguisy and general treasurer of Milan from 1510 to 1512 and again from 1515 until the expulsion of the French in 1521. Grolier, who supported the publication, is explicitly mentioned by Gaffurius as 'patronus (patron)' in the *Apologia Franchini Gafurii Musici adversus Ioannem Spatarium et complices musicos Bononienses* printed in Turin in 1520. Known for his artistic interests, being a passionate bibliophile, numismatist, and collector, Jean Grolier later became ambassador at the court of Clement VII. Apparently Gaffurius frequented his house and the cultural circle hosted in it. See Adam Ferrari, 'Nuovi dedicatari per Franchino Gaffurio: La ricerca del consenso nella Milano di Luigi XII e Francesco I', *ACME*, 72/1 (2019), 111–20.

particularly Milanese, with music apt for certain important feasts and celebrations, and motets easily usable in different liturgical and devotional contexts. The idea that the manuscript was Gaffurius's personal property or was made for his personal use rather than for the Duomo chapel as an institution in the end agrees quite well the mixed contents of the source, unique among the Libroni also for the inclusion, at the beginning and at the end, of two Italian laude.

Final Remarks

Despite being usually considered almost as a homogeneous corpus produced under Gaffurius's tenure, the four Libroni – each with its particular arrangement and repertory – seem to tell us different stories, embodying distinct moments of a musical history of which we still know very little. Particularly between the first two Libroni and the later ones much seems to have happened, and changed, in Milan: under French domination the ducal chapel no longer existed (at least, surely not in its previous shape). Even if we are not able to concretely figure out how this fact may have affected the Duomo chapel and its performances, as well as the duties of Gaffurius himself, the later Libroni originated within a different politico-cultural constellation and new spheres of influence, whose musical relevance is hard to determine but should not be overlooked.

The enquiry attempted in this chapter has highlighted possible channels for the exchange and acquisition of music, enlarging our view of the musical networking involving Gaffurius and the Duomo environment. If there are reasons to believe that external repertory may have arrived preferably via the court, or by means of (Franco-Flemish) court singers, the paths of its acquisition and the criteria of selection still remain unclear. In certain cases, however, the agency of the different scribes may have contributed to make certain compositions available. In this regard, even the role of Gaffurius does not appear entirely self-evident, since music surely available to him – and notably mentioned in his treatises – found no place in the Duomo manuscripts.¹⁸⁷ With all the possible uncertainties, the contents of the manuscripts do point to some conscious choices and criteria for selection, especially by contrast with all the music and the contemporary composers that the Libroni do not include (from Caron, Faugues, or Ockeghem to De Orto, Ghiselin, or La Rue).¹⁸⁸ As underlined above, the repertory selected and the concordances

187. Notably in his treatise *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (ca. 1482), where Gaffurius discusses passages from various works and notably masses, which he evidently knew well. Among the composers mentioned we find Basiron, Busnoys, De Quadris, Domarto, Faugues, and Ockeghem. See Miller, 'Early Gaffuriana', 375.

188. Despite the presence of Isabella of Aragon in Milan from 1489, for instance, there are barely repertorial connections with the Neapolitan environment/Aragonese court – the only exception

suggest a network of personal channels that often seem to be consonant with the political vicissitudes of the duchy.

Considering the Libroni as a whole, however, and their function within the services of a major church institution with specific duties and purposes, it clearly emerges that the making of the manuscripts was ultimately linked to their practical use, with a side interest in preserving older repertory. So, if we are not able to explain in detail why some pieces found a place in the manuscripts and others not, we must also be aware that not much is known about the ceremonies in the Milanese cathedral, or what was sung and when within the walls of a church permanently under construction. In this sense our detailed examination of the copying project represents a useful way to broaden our understanding and our hermeneutic reading of these sources. In other words, it is a way of more consciously reopening Gaffurius's Libroni, trying to recover the value of these manuscripts as testimonies of musical, cultural, social, and institutional history.

being the mass of *Tinctoris* (of which, however, we do not know origin or provenance; as said, it may have been acquired via Ferrara). Just a few concordances with regard to masses connect the Libroni with the papal environment of the 1480s and 1490s in spite of the several known personal connections which might have favoured the transfer of repertory (as in the case of Weerbeke's long stay in Rome in the 1480s and his return there at the end of the century).

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