



# REOPENING GAFFURIUS'S LIBRONI

EDITED BY AGNESE PAVANELLO

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	vii
List of Tables	x
Abbreviations	xi
Introduction	xiii

### REOPENING GAFFURIUS'S LIBRONI

1	<i>The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices: Archival Evidence and Research Perspectives</i> Daniele V. Filippi	3
2	<i>'Scripsi et notavi': Scribes, Notators, and Calligraphers in the Workshop of the Gaffurius Codices</i> Martina Pantarotto	59
3	<i>Gaffurius's Paratexts: Notes on the Indexes of Libroni 1–3</i> Daniele V. Filippi	165
4	<i>Gaffurius at the Mirror: The Internal Concordances of the Libroni</i> Cristina Cassia	181
5	<i>The Non-Milanese Repertory of the Libroni: A Potential Guide for Tracking Musical Exchanges</i> Agnese Pavanello	217
	Bibliography	271
	Index of Names	287
	Index of Works	293





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1.1 Payment of 20 July 1484 to Giovanni Pietro da Pozzobonello for writing a choirbook. AVFDMi, *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r
- 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
- 1.3 Franchinus Gaffurius's autograph inscription in Lodi, Biblioteca Comunale, Cinq. XXXV.A.1
- 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 (fol. 176r)
- 2.2 Librone 1, fol. 17r: Scribe A<sup>1</sup>
- 2.3 Librone 1, fol. 21r: Scribe A<sup>2</sup>
- 2.4 Librone 1, fol. 44v: minor initial S by Scribe B
- 2.5 Librone 1, fol. 73r: Scribe B
- 2.6 Librone 1, fol. 2va: Gaff<sup>i</sup>
- 2.7 Librone 1, fol. 1r: double hyphen between separated syllables
- 2.8 Librone 1, fol. 1r: final double barline with serpentine decoration and punctuation mark in text
- 2.9 Librone 1, fol. 2va: emblem of the Veneranda Fabbrica
- 2.10 Parchment front cover of a register of the Veneranda Fabbrica. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Arch. C 6
- 2.11 Librone 1: (a) fol. 2va: frog spawn details in illuminated letter; (b) fol. 2va
- 2.12 Librone 1, fol. 3v: cadel initial
- 2.13 Librone 1, fol. 166r: minor initial
- 2.14 Librone 1: decoration in Scribe B section: (a) fol. 32v; (b) fol. 65v; (c) fol. 82v
- 2.15 Watermark in Librone 2, fol. 78r
- 2.16 Librone 2, fol. 18r: Scribe C
- 2.17 Librone 2, fol. 45v: Scribe A<sup>3</sup>
- 2.18 Librone 2, fol. 153v: Scribe D
- 2.19 Librone 2, fol. 69v: Scribe E

- 2.20 Librone 2, fol. 86r: Scribe B
- 2.21 Librone 2, fol. 99r: Scribe F
- 2.22 Librone 2, fol. 112r: Gaff<sup>7</sup>
- 2.23 Librone 2: decorated initials by Scribe C: (a) fol. 159v; (b) fol. 154v
- 2.24 Librone 2: decorated initials in section by Scribe D: (a) fol. 136v; (b) Librone 1, fol. 133v; (c) Librone 2, fol. 130v
- 2.25 Librone 2: decorated initials in section by Scribe B: (a) fol. 91r; (b) fol. 119r; (c) fol. 121v
- 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
- 2.27 Scribal hand of Antonio da Lampugnano in an antiphoner for the Oblates of Rho. Milan, Università Cattolica, MS 5: (a) fol. 66v; (b) fol. 65v
- 2.28 Librone 2: decorated initials in section by Scribe F: (a) fol. 93v; (b) fol. 107v; (c) fol. 97r; (d) fol. 109r
- 2.29 Librone 3, fol. 12v: Scribe G
- 2.30 Librone 3, fol. 15r: Scribe G
- 2.31 Scribe G: (a) 3bis: Fragment 1; (b) 3bis Fragment 2
- 2.32 Librone 3, fol. 25r: Scribe H
- 2.33 Librone 3, fol. 28v: Scribe A
- 2.34 Librone 3, fol. 30r: tremulous hand of Scribe A
- 2.35 Librone 3, fol. 40r: Scribe I
- 2.36 Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2441, fol. 4r
- 2.37 Decoration in an anonymous Milanese Canzoniere
- 2.38 Milan, Fondazione Trivulzio, MS Triv. 2079, fol. 10r: Scribe I
- 2.39 Librone 3, fol. 159v: Scribe J
- 2.40 Librone 3, fol. 111r: Scribe K
- 2.41 Librone 3, fol. 79r: Gaff<sup>7</sup>
- 2.42 Initials by Scribe G in Librone 3: (a) fol. 11v; (b) fol. 156v; (c) fol. 223v; (d) fol. 105v
- 2.43 Initials by Scribe I in Librone 3: (a) fol. 60v; (b) fol. 65v; (c) fol. 67v
- 2.44 Initials by Scribe J in Librone 3: (a) fol. 55v; (b) fol. 162v; (c) fol. 56v; (d) fol. 109v
- 2.45 Librone [4], fol. 136r: Scribe J

- 2.46 Librone [4]: later stage of Scribe J: (a) fol. 19v; (b) fol. 22v; (c) fol. 23v; (d) fol. 106r
- 2.47 Librone [4], fol. 144r: lauda *Ognun driza al ciel el viso* copied by Gaffurius
- 2.48 Inked initials in Librone [4]: (a) fol. 11r; (b) fol. 61v; (c) fol. 105r
- 4.1 Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Quam pulchra es*, Tenor: text underlay ‘in agrum’ vs. ‘iam hyems transit’
- 4.2a [Loyset Compère?], *Beata es virgo Maria*, Librone 1, fol. 170v, Tenor: incipit
- 4.2b [Loyset Compère?], *Beata dei genitrix Maria*, Librone [4], fol. 129v, Tenor: incipit
- 4.3a Gaspar van Weerbeke, *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Librone 1, fol. 138r, Bassus: incipit
- 4.3b Gaspar van Weerbeke, *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Librone [4], fol. 135r, Bassus: incipit
- 4.4a *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Cantus: breve *a'* added later vs. correct position
- 4.4b *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Altus: same text underlay of the word ‘habitacula’
- 4.4c *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Bassus: mensuration sign missing vs. later addition
- 4.5 [Franchinus Gaffurius?], *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, Cantus: mistaken semi-breve *g'* vs. its erasure and correction
- 4.6 [Franchinus Gaffurius?], *Salve verbi sacra parens*, Tenor: corrections entered later by Gaffurius vs. correct
- 4.7 Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Ave regina caelorum ave*, Altus: correct incipit in Librone 1 vs. correction of the first breve in Librone 2

## LIST OF TABLES

- 1.1 Relevant account books at AVFDMi for 1484–1522
- 1.2 Entries for G. P. da Pozzobonello in the *Liber prestantiarum* 1470–91, *Registri*, 263, fol. 175r
- 1.3 The present structure of Librone 1: paper types, scribes, and contents
- 2.1 Rastra and pricking in Librone 1
- 3.1 Motets added to, or missing in, the index of Librone 1
- 3.2 Hypothetical reconstruction of the lost first gathering of Librone 3
- 4.1 The motets composing the cycles *Beata et venerabilis virgo* and *Diffusa est gratia*
- 5.1 Works copied by Hand A in Librone 1 with concordances in earlier sources
- 5.2 Librone 2: distribution of the copying work with regard to the Franco-Flemish repertory
- 5.3 Librone 2: transmission of mass cycles
- 5.4 Librone 3: transmission of mass cycles
- 5.5 Concordances between Librone 3 and Petrucci
- 5.6 Concordances between Librone [4] and Petrucci

## ABBREVIATIONS

CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
GCO	<i>Gaffurius Codices Online</i> , < <a href="https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/">https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/</a> >
<i>Grove Music Online</i>	< <a href="https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/">https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/</a> >
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> , < <a href="http://www.motetcycles.ch/">http://www.motetcycles.ch/</a> >
MCE	<i>Motet Cycles Edition</i> , < <a href="https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions">https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions</a> >
<i>MGG Online</i>	< <a href="https://www.mgg-online.com">https://www.mgg-online.com</a> >
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 <sup>1</sup> )
Petrucchi, <i>Motetti C</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti C</i> (Venice, 1504; RISM B 1504 <sup>1</sup> )
Petrucchi, <i>Motetti IV</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti Libro Quarto</i> (Venice, 1505; RISM B 1505 <sup>2</sup> )
RISM	Répertoire International de Sources Musicales
RRMMAER	Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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\* 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> All 144 of its remaining folios are severely damaged, mainly on the top margin.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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]).<sup>7</sup> However, the problems highlighted concerning the present state of the Libroni leave room for the possibility

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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.<sup>8</sup>

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).<sup>9</sup> These compositions look deeply rooted

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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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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*<sup>12</sup> 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 versions<sup>13</sup> of a piece in two different Libroni.<sup>14</sup>

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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’.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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,<sup>17</sup> a closer look at the other internal concordances reveals that they can all be explained by at least one practical reason.

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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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> Another date, 22 June 1507, appears in the archival documents in a description matching the contents of Librone [4].<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup>

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

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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].<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup> In the index of Librone 1 these three motets, listed in the column dedicated to the 'motetti missales consequentes'<sup>24</sup> 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),<sup>25</sup> and includes a motet for the Elevation, immediately recognizable for its fermata-marked chords.<sup>26</sup> 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 offeratorii';<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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*.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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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.



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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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).<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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’.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup>

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)<sup>37</sup> 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].<sup>38</sup> The simple fact that in Librone 1 the text is complete only in the

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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.

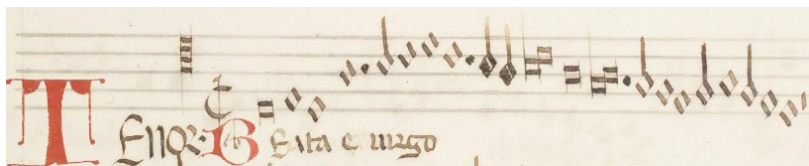


Fig. 4.2a. [Loyset Compère?], *Beata es virgo Maria*, Librone 1, fol. 170v, Tenor: incipit

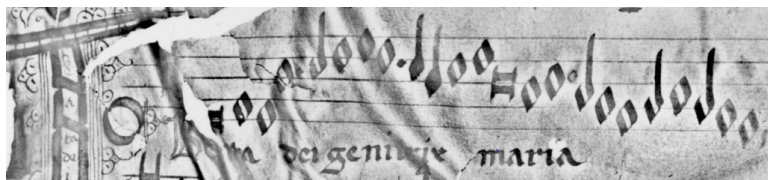


Fig. 4.2b. [Loyset Compère?], *Beata dei genitrix Maria*, Librone [4], fol. 129v, Tenor: incipit

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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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).<sup>41</sup> 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],<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup>

## 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.

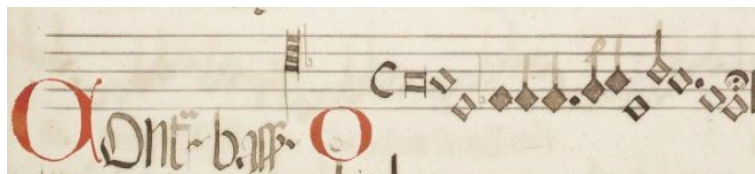


Fig. 4.3a. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Librone 1, fol. 138r, Bassus: incipit

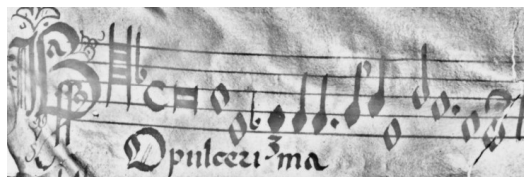


Fig. 4.3b. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Librone [4], fol. 135r, Bassus: incipit

belonging to a same complex and copied in a brief span of time.<sup>45</sup> 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.

deliciis'.<sup>46</sup> 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'.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup>

Finally, Gaffurius's *Missa sexti toni irregularis* consists of five movements in Librone 2 (KGCSA) but only three in Librone 3,<sup>50</sup> 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,<sup>51</sup> the foliation entered in correspondence with each mass refers directly to the first recto of the Gloria section, even when the Kyrie is present.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> Both text and music, therefore, indicate that the two versions of this mass are closely related to each other and that probably the

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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.<sup>56</sup>

### 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.<sup>57</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup> 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*.<sup>59</sup>

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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).<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup>

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).<sup>64</sup> 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,<sup>65</sup> while *O beata praesulis* is an independent motet. In Librone 2, *O beata praesulis* and *Promissa mundo gaudia* are instead framed by two masses.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup>

#### 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.<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup>

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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].<sup>70</sup> 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,<sup>71</sup> 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,<sup>72</sup> 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

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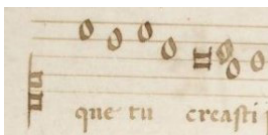
70. These three motets have been copied in Librone 3, fols. 181v–183r [III.46], 205v–206r [III.62], 207v–208r [III.64], and in Librone [4], fols. 124v–125r [IV.77], 13v–14r [IV.5], 23v–24r [IV.7] respectively. Scribe J copied twice also a fourth motet, *Imperatrix gloriosa* (Librone 3, fols. 206v–207r [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

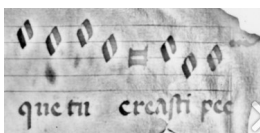
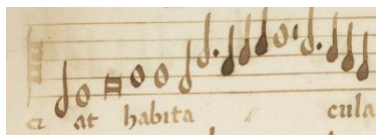


Fig. 4.4a. *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Cantus: breve *a'* added later vs. correct position

Librone 3, fol. 182r



Librone [4], fol. 125r

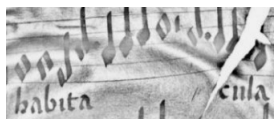
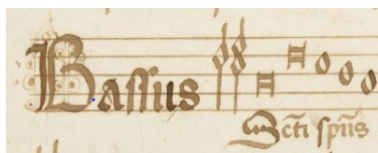


Fig. 4.4b. *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Altus: same text underlay of the word 'habitacula'

Librone 3, fol. 182r



Librone [4], fol. 125r

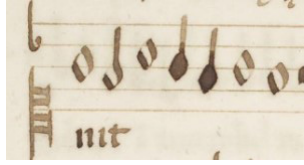


Fig. 4.4c. *Sancti spiritus adsit*, Bassus: mensuration sign missing vs. later addition

*e'*.<sup>73</sup> 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

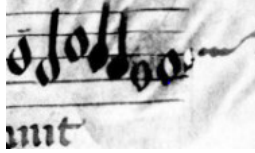
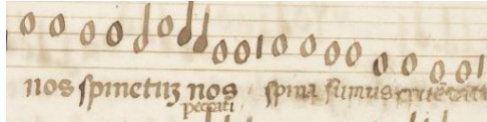


Fig. 4.5. [Franchinus Gaffurius?], *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, Cantus: mistaken semibreve *g'* vs. its erasure and correction

Librone 3, fol. 207v



Librone [4], fol. 23v

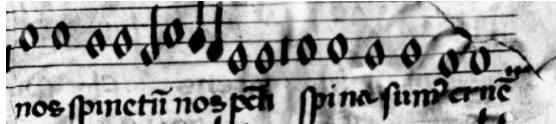


Fig. 4.6. [Franchinus Gaffurius?], *Salve verbi sacra parens*, Tenor: corrections entered later by Gaffurius vs. correct text

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.<sup>74</sup> 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].<sup>75</sup>

### 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,<sup>76</sup> and one was probably copied the other, or from the same ancestor.<sup>77</sup> The question whether this *Magnificat* was composed by Gaffurius is not yet answered.<sup>78</sup> In fact, no stylistic clue allows us to establish its authorship with confidence;<sup>79</sup> 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

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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.<sup>80</sup> Whatever the case, the duplication of this *Magnificat* is surely unintentional and useless from a practical point of view.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup>

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*.<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup>

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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.<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup>

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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.<sup>87</sup>

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.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup>

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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 inadvertent<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, it should be noticed that, in the same piece, frequent changes in note values might point towards the copyist’s initiative.<sup>93</sup> 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

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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

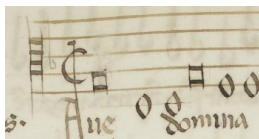


Fig. 4.7. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Ave regina caelorum ave*, Altus: correct incipit in Librone 1 vs. correction of the first breve in Librone 2

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.<sup>94</sup> 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.<sup>95</sup> 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*.<sup>96</sup> 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*<sub>4</sub> to *c*<sub>3</sub>); in Librone 2, where the clef used from the beginning is *c*<sub>3</sub>, 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*<sub>4</sub> 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.<sup>97</sup> Internal concordances also reveal that in other cases scribes might have had more than one ancestor on hand for a single piece.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, there must have been a small collection of manuscripts or unbound sheets of paper at the scribes' disposal, of which, unfortunately, nothing remains.<sup>99</sup> Gaffurius's compositions deserve separate consideration. The Libroni contain many pieces ascribed to him, few of which are autographs.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup> 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.<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> 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,<sup>105</sup> 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,<sup>106</sup> 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*.<sup>107</sup> 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.<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>111</sup> 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,<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup> 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

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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





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## INDEX OF NAMES

\* Occurrences in footnotes are listed only if the name is not already in the main text of the same page. The occurrences of the name Gaffurius are obviously too numerous to be indexed, but the most relevant aspects of his figure discussed in the book are highlighted under his entry.

### A

---

- Agricola, Alexander 115, 239 n.83, 241, 246, 250, 264  
Alardi, Petrus 232 n.52  
Alciati, Andrea 35  
Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia), Pope 57, 238 n.80  
Alfonso, duke of Calabria (King of Naples as Alfonso II) 237 n.77  
Amboise, Georges I d' 56, 178 n.41, 254, 266 n.179  
Antegnati family 57  
Anthonius de Bruxellis 232  
Arlotti, Buonfrancesco 244 n.102  
Arnulfus (Arnolfo Giliardi?) 84, 221, 223, 236, 249  
Attavanti, Paolo 24 n.61

### B

---

- Baldo, Carlo de 39, 51  
Basiron, Philippe 268 n.187  
Bent, Margaret 210  
Biagio di Grancino da Melegnano 106  
Bianchi, Francesco 33  
Binchois, Gilles 70, 84, 167 n.7, 186, 187 n.22, 221–23, 227–28  
Bisan, Zanino 118  
Blackburn, Bonnie J. 68 n.30, 121 n.100, 186 n.21, 232 n.52 and n.53, 233 n.58, 234 n.63, 237 n.80, 243, 244 n.102, 249, 250 n.124, 260 n.159, 264  
Boladello family 91–92  
Boladello, Ambrosio de 91–92  
Boladello, Anselmo de 92–93

- Bonnel, Pietrequin (Pierre) 209 n.104, 238 n.80  
Borromeo, Carlo, Cardinal 58  
Bortone, Amerigo 174  
Bramantino, see Suardi Bartolomeo  
Brumel, Antoine 97, 177, 225–26, 227 n.36, 230–32, 241, 246, 252, 262  
Bugatti (de Bugatis), Giovanni Battista 23–24  
Bugatti (de Bugatis), Pietro Martire 23–24  
Busnoys, Antoine 221, 223, 225 n.31, 268 n.187

### C

---

- Calusco, Bernardino 40 n.114,  
Calvasina, Giovanni Antonio 41  
Calvi (Calvo), Antonio Ambrogio 39, 51  
Camponi, Cristoforo 106  
Canobio, Petrus de Canobio 27  
Caponago, Giacomo da 105–106  
Cara, Marchetto 118  
Carles, Geoffroy 266 n.178  
Caron, Firminus 228, 268  
Casate, Gerolamo (Hyeronimus) da 21, 25, 47–48  
Casola (de Casolis), Pietro 29–30  
Castellanus, Petrus 243, 263  
Castris, Bartolomeo (Bartholomeus) de 236, 249  
Cattin, Giulio 181 n.1  
Cavassico, Bartolomeo 118  
Caza (De Caziis), Francesco 21, 41  
Charles VIII, King of France 253–54, 256  
Ciceri, Angelo 54  
Cimello, Tommaso 234 n.61  
Cisero, Ludovico de 92  
Cisero, Nicolao de 92

Clement VII, Pope 267 n.186  
 Compère, Loyset 32–33, 69, 84, 91, 97, 108, 111,  
 117, 123, 167, 168 n.11, 175, 177–178, 182–183,  
 184 n.10, 187–188, 190 n.38, 191, 193–94, 196,  
 205, 208 n.98, 209 nn.105–06, 214, 217, 221,  
 223–26, 232 n.54, 240–42, 246, 248, 250–53,  
 256–57, 261–63, 265  
 Coppini, Alessandro 122–123, 127, 130–31, 138,  
 177, 195 n.52, 240–42, 248–50, 257 n.149  
 Cordier, Johannes 236 n.74  
 Cornazano, Antonio 237 n.77, 238 n.80  
 Cornelio di Lorenzo 234–36  
 Corrado Tedesco 260 n.161  
 Crepin, Gilles (Crispini, Egidio) 221 n.20  
 Crispini, Egidio see Crepin, Gilles

**D**

De Predis, Cristoforo 56 n.126  
 De Quadris, Johannes 268 n.187  
 Diomedes 118  
 Domarto, Petrus de 268 n.187  
 Donato, Girolamo 237 n.80  
 Du Fay (Dufay), Guillaume 72, 184 n.11, 186,  
 187 n.22, 193 n.45, 221, 223, 228

**E**

Eleonora of Aragon (wife of Ercole I  
 d'Este) 234 n.62  
 Este, d', court/family 232, 234, 249  
 Este, Alfonso I d' 233  
 Este, Anna d' 233  
 Este, Beatrice d' 56, 233  
 Este, Ercole I d' 184, 233–35, 244 n.102, 245,  
 257–58  
 Este, Isabella d' 233  
 Este, Leonello d' 222 n.25

**F**

Fallows, David 210 n.108, 243 n.97, 245 n.102  
 Fancelli, Luca 14 n.28,  
 Fano, Fabio 87 n.49  
 Faugues, Guillaume 228, 268  
 Fedeli, Antonio 27 n.66  
 Filippo di San Giorgio, Fra' 225 n.33  
 Finscher, Ludwig 172, 224 n.31  
 Fogliano, Giacomo 118

**G**

Gaffurius, Franchinus  
 'Ambrosian masses' 229, 230 n.48, 231, 241  
 Autograph additions/corrections to the Li-  
 bronni 9, 61, 73–80, 88–90, 101–03, 109–  
 09, 111, 114–15, 117, 124–25, 127, 132–34,  
 137–38, 140, 199, 201–04  
 Copying work 17–20, 59, 73–80, 88–89,  
 108–09, 114, 123–25, 127, 129–30, 132–33,  
 137, 198, 208, 259  
 Documental sources on his life 5 n.4  
 In Naples 234  
 In Varese, Santa Maria del Monte 36–37,  
 49–50, 53–58, 266  
 Indices of the Libroni 165–79, 182, 239  
 Mensural usages 224–25 n.29, 246 n.108,  
 260  
 Music library 228  
 Ownership note of Librone 1 8, 20, 35  
 Ownership note of Librone [4] 34–36,  
 134, 267–68  
 Records/Payments from the Duomo ar-  
 chive 14, 20–22, 25–27, 45–50, 138–39  
 Rector of the Church of San Marcelli-  
 no 37, 266  
 Salary 27 n.65  
 Text underlay in autographs 209  
 Theoretical publications 140, 257 n.148,  
 266, 267 n.186, 268  
 Galassi (Galassis), Marco Antonio de 22, 47  
 Gallagher, Sean 235  
 Ganda, Arnaldo 23  
 Gaspar, see Weerbeke, Gaspar van  
 Gasser, Nolan 172, 259  
 Ghiselin, Johannes 268  
 Giliardi, Arnolfo 236  
 Glassiate, Giovanni Antonio de 46  
 Gluxiano, Giovannino de 92  
 Gonzaga, Francesco 258 n.151  
 Grassi (de Grassis), Tommaso 23 n. 58, 29,  
 44  
 Grassi, Giovannino 106  
 Grassi, Salomone 106  
 Grolier, Jean 36 n.95, 266 n. 178, 267 n.186  
 Guarnerius, Guillelmus 234 n.60  
 Guinati, Antonio 230

**H**

Haberl, Franz Xaver 248 n.112  
Holi (de Holi), Petrus de 232 n.52

**I**

Isaac, Heinrich 96, 99, 113, 195 n.52, 198  
n.66,131, 224 n.29, 225–27, 231, 235–37, 238  
n.80, 241, 246–47, 248 n.111, 249–50  
Isabella of Aragon, wife of Gian Galeazzo Sforza  
and Dukess Duchess of Milan 5 n.5, 236,  
237 n.77, 238 nn.80–81, 268 n.188

**J**

Jeppesen, Knud xiii–xiv, 8, 61 n.11, 66–67, 90,  
93, 98, 100–01, 110 n.83, 116, 155–58, 174 n.24,  
220 n.15,  
Johannes Abbat 193 n. 45,  
Jolanda of Savoy (Valois), wife of Amadeus  
VIII and Duchess of Savoy 230  
Josquin des Prez xiv, 116–117, 123, 184 n.11,  
186 n.21, 187, 193 n.45, 241–44, 245 n.102 and  
n.104, 246, 250, 252–53, 258–59, 261–64  
Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere), Pope 56, 58

**K**

Knoep, Henricus 232

**L**

La Rue, Pierre de 177, 209 n.104, 268  
Lampugnano, Antonio da 13–14, 18–19, 41, 45,  
105–07, 138  
Landriano, Giovanni Antonio 45–46  
Laude, Geronimo (Hyeronimus) de 23 n.58  
Launoy, Charles de 238 n.80  
Le Signerre, Guillaume 140  
Legnano, Giovanni da 21 n.51, 29, 44  
Leonardo da Vinci 14 n.28, 56, 255  
Leverett, Adelyn 174  
Lockwood, Lewis 234  
Lomazzo, Giovanni Pietro da 21, 41, 47  
Lomont, Johannes 232  
Lore (de Loris), Niccolò (Nikolaus) de 236  
Lorenzi, Giovanni Battista 119–21, 256  
Louis d'Orléans, see Louis XII  
Louis XII, King of France 56, 253–54, 257  
nn.148–50, 257 n.148, 258  
Lowinsky, Edward 8

Lurano, Filippo 118

**M**

Madrignano, Arcangelo 120–121  
Malegolo, Pantaleone 35 n.93  
Mana, Antonio 33–34  
Mandello, Pietro Antonio de 31, 43  
Mantegati (Mantegatiis), Alessandro de 91–  
92  
Mantegazza, Alessandro 91  
Mantegazza, Filippo 140  
Margaret of Austria 237  
Marliani, Fabrizio 56  
Marliano, Giacomo 106  
Martini, Johannes 84, 97–98, 108, 202, 221,  
223–226, 231, 233, 241–42  
Maximilian I, Holy Roman Enperor 235, 237,  
247  
McKay, Cory 224 n.29, 225 n.31, 247 n.109  
Medici, Lorenzo de' 236–37, 238 n.80  
Medici, Piero de' 236, 237 n. 76 and n.77, 238  
n.80  
Merkley, Lora and Paul 4 n.2, 8–9, 12–13, 20,  
22 n.52, 194 n.49, 219 n.10, 228 n.42, 232, 234  
n.64, 235, 245  
Miller, Clement 221 n.20  
Millet, Franchois 236  
Moderne, Jacques 40  
Morales, Cristóbal de 58  
Moroni, Taddeo 39, 51  
Mouton, Jean 123, 248, 261–62

**N**

Notens, Johannes 241, 246  
Novate, Andreolo Medici da 106

**O**

Obrecht, Jacob 99, 224 n.29, 225–27, 231, 234,  
241–42  
Ockeghem, Johannes 268  
Oggiono (Uglono), Leone da 49, 53 n.117  
Orto, Marbriano de 268  
Osnago, Biagio and Aloysio de 91–92

**P**

Pachel, Leonhard 24 n.61  
Pegi (De Pegiis), Giovannina 91–92

Perego, Bernardino de 50–51  
 Peschiera, Maddalena 31  
 Pesenti, Michele 118  
 Petrucci, Ottaviano 186 n.21, 227 n.36, 237  
 n.80, 243–45, 246 n.106, 252, 259, 261–64  
 Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy 237, 250,  
 261  
 Piccolomini, Enea Silvio (Pope Pius II) 259  
 Pirovano, Gabriele 255 n.138  
 Ponte, Gottardo da 140  
 Porri (De Porris), Giacomo de 43  
 Pozzobonello, Giovanni Pietro da xvi–xvii,  
 9–15, 17–20, 22–23, 41, 43–46, 85–88, 105,  
 138–139, 205 n.89, 228–29  
 Pozzobonello, Giovanni 87  
 Pozzobonello, Luigi 87  
 Prioris (Prieur, Denis) 33, 183, 239–42, 250,  
 257–58  
 Prizer, William F. 118 n.91, 181 n.1  
 Pullois, Johannes 184 n.11, 186–187, 221–23,  
 227–28  
 Putheobonello, Johannipetro de, see Pozzobo-  
 nello, Giovanni Pietro da

## R

Ratti, Achille (later Pope Pius XI) 36 n. 96  
 Reynolds, Christopher 221 n. 20, 222 n.23  
 Rifkin, Joshua xiv n.6, 8, 17 n.35, 18, 66, 70, 71  
 n.32, 72, 86 n. 46, 166, 174, 202 n.78, 243 n.94,  
 263 n.171  
 Rossi, Francesco 165, 168–170, 172, 225 n.31  
 Rozio, Giovanni Andrea 40, 52  
 Rupere, Bernardinus de la 36 n.95  
 Rupsch, Konrad 260

## S

Samaruga, Ambrosino 92  
 Sanseverino, Galeazzo 251 n.130  
 Sanudo, Marin 255 n.140  
 Sartori, Claudio xiii, xix n.16, 4 n.2, 7–9, 12, 27  
 n.65, 36, 54, 137 n.118, 182 n.5  
 Schuster, Alfredo Ildefonso, Cardinal 58  
 Scinzenzeler, Ulrich 24 n.61  
 Sforza, court/family xiv, 27 n.65, 31, 56, 60,  
 217, 220, 225, 228, 230, 232, 234 n.64, 235, 237  
 n.77, 238, 242, 247, 251, 255–56, 265

Sforza, Ascanio 56, 243 n.94, 244–45 n.102,  
 253  
 Sforza, Bianca Maria 247 n.111  
 Sforza, Bona (of Savoy) 24 n.61, 230, 232 n.52,  
 253  
 Sforza, Francesco II 57  
 Sforza, Francesco 105, 236, 255 n. 139, 255, 256  
 n.141  
 Sforza, Galeazzo Maria 5 n.5, 24 n.61, 28, 31,  
 56, 183–84 n.9, 187, 221, 230, 232 n.52 and nn.  
 54–55, 233–34, 245, 247 n.111, 251–53, 255–57  
 Sforza, Gian Galeazzo 5 n.5, 232 n.55, 236, 237  
 n.77, 238 n.80, 253, 255  
 Sforza, Ippolita 237 n.77  
 Sforza, Ludovico (Il Moro) xiii, 56, 60, 119–  
 121, 183 n.9, 230, 232–33, 237, 243 n.94, 247  
 n.111, 248 n.111, 249, 253–55, 256 n.146, 258  
 Sforza, Massimiliano 119, 120 n.96  
 Sforza, Sforza II 237 n.77  
 Sirede, Benedecitus (Benotto di Francia) 222  
 n.25  
 Spataro, Giovanni 248 n. 112, 263  
 Squassi (de Squassis), Melchion 23–24, 43,  
 136 n.115  
 Squassi (de Squassis), Nicolao de Squas-  
 sis 23–24, 43, 50–51, 136 n.115  
 Stappen, Crispinus van 221 n.20  
 Stefani, Davide 36, 54  
 Steifel, see Steynsel, Guillelmus  
 Steynsel, Guillelmus 235–36  
 Stuart of Aubigny, Bérault 254  
 Suardi, Bartolomeo, known as Bramanti-  
 no 255

## T

Tadoni, Gioachino de 27 n.66  
 Taverna, Santino 7, 232 n.54  
 Tinctoris, Johannes 97, 108, 224–26, 231, 234,  
 238 n.81, 241, 269 n.188  
 Tongris, Peter de 232  
 Trivulzio, family 119, 121, 267  
 Trivulzio, Gian Giacomo xix, 56–57, 60, 119–  
 121, 138, 253–58, 267  
 Trivulzio, Scaramuccia 257 n. 148  
 Tromboncino, Bartolomeo 118

**V**

---

Vergiate, Giovanni Antonio da 49–50, 53–55,  
132  
Vimercati, Giovanni Andrea 29  
Visconti, family 56–57

**W**

---

Ward, Lynn Halpern 265  
Weerbeke, Gaspar van 74, 84, 89–91, 97, 102,  
108, 167–69, 171–72, 175–76, 182–83, 184 n.10,  
187, 189, 192–93, 195 n.51, 196, 205–07, 208  
n.97, 213–14, 217, 220 nn. 13–15, 221, 223–26,  
230–31, 232 n.54, 235, 236 n.71, 241–42, 251,  
262–65, 269 n.188

Wegman, Rob C. 247 n.109

Werrecore, Hermann Matthias 39–40, 51–52,  
139

Wiser, Johannes 222 n.26

**Y**

---

Ycart, Bernardo 234 n.61

**Z**

---

Zarotto, Antonio 23, 24 n.61



## INDEX OF WORKS<sup>1</sup>

### A

- Accepta Christi munera* ([Gaffurius?]) [II.19] 102, 175  
 [*Alia Missa brevis eiusdem toni?*] ([Gaffurius?]) [II.31] 174, 231  
*Alma redemptoris mater* / *Ave regina caelorum* (Josquin) [III.44] 261–62  
*Ambrosi doctor venerande* ([Gaffurius?]) [IV.31] 37 n.99, 266 n.180  
*Audi benigne conditor* (Gaffurius) [I.81], [IV.52] 89, 168–72, 209, 213  
*Ave cella novae legis* ([Gaffurius?]) [I.74] 80, 89, 171, 198  
*Ave corpus domini* (2<sup>a</sup> p. of *Ave regina caelorum*, Weerbeke) [I.102], [II.14] 175 n.29, 214  
*Ave decus virginale* ([Compère]) [III.21] 188  
*Ave domina angelorum* (Weerbeke) see *Ave regina caelorum ave domina angelorum* (Weerbeke)  
*Ave domine Iesu Christe* cycle ([Compère?]) [I.120–127] 91, 167, 168 n.11, 187, 223  
*Ave Maria gratia plena* (Compère) [III.51] 123, 248, 261–62  
*Ave Maria gratia plena* (Josquin) [IV.72] 263–64  
*Ave mundi domina* cycle (Weerbeke) [I.90–97] 91, 196, 220 n.13, 223  
*Ave mundi reparatrix* [I.77] 80, 171  
*Ave regina caelorum ave domina angelorum* (Weerbeke) [I.94], [II.16] 175 n.29, 184, 196 n.57, 206–07, 213  
*Ave regina caelorum mater* (Weerbeke) [I.102], [II.14] 175 n.29, 196 n.57, 205, 207, 214  
*Ave regina caelorum mater* [III.37–41] 259  
*Ave salus infirmorum* (Compère) [I.107], [III.20] 187, 214  
*Ave sponsa verbi summi* (Compère) [I.108], [III.22] 187–88, 193, 209 n.106, 214, 252  
*Ave stella matutina* (Weerbeke) [I.84] 171  
*Ave verum corpus* ([Gaffurius?]) [II.34] 99, 175  
*Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar* cycle (Compère) [I.106–108], [III.19–26] 28 n.70, 91, 168 n.11, 175, 187–88, 205 n.90, 214, 223  
*Ave virgo gloriosa Maria mater gratiae* (Compère) [I.109], [II.10] 184 n.10, 194 n. 47, 196, 214, 226

### B

- Beata dei genitrix* ([Compère?]) [IV.82] = [I.128], *Beata es virgo Maria* 190–91, 208 n.98, 214  
*Beata es virgo Maria* ([Compère?]) [I.128] = [IV.82], *Beata dei genitrix*  
*Beata et venerabilis virgo* [III.32–36], [IV.46–50] 197, 215, 259  
*Beata gens* (Weerbeke) [IV.75] 264

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1. The index includes only the works contained in the Libroni, listed by title/incipit. The attributions in brackets follow the rules used in *GCO-Catalogue* (and explained in the *GCO User Guide*); in the absence of indications, the compositions are to be understood as anonymous. The Roman numerals refer to the numbering in *GCO-Catalogue*. For motet cycles, the entry gives only the incipit of the first motet (unless the other component motets are specifically mentioned), but all the catalogue numbers.



- Beatus ille venter* [III.33] 197  
*Benedicamus Crispinel* [I.139] 38 n.109, 221, 223  
*Benedicamus domino* (1) [I.64] 79, 89, 169–72  
*Benedicamus domino* (2) [I.65] 79, 89, 169–72

## C

- Caeli quondam roraverunt* ([Gaffurius?]) [III.62], [IV.5] 199–01, 210 n.110, 215  
*Castra caeli dum transcendo* (Gaffurius) [I.67] 89, 169, 170–71  
*Christe cunctorum dominator* [I.11] 77, 88  
*Christi mater ave* (Weerbeke) [I.82] 74, 89, 168–69, 171  
*Confirma hoc deus* (Weerbeke) [IV.76] 264  
 [...] *Contine supra caput* (2<sup>a</sup> p. of *Pontifex urbis*, [Gaffurius?]) [IV.13] 37 n.99

## D

- Deus creator omnium* [I.12] 77  
*Domine Iesu Christe unigenite* [IV.61] 37 n. 99, 133, 208 n.101, 266

## E

- Eia mater* ([Gaffurius?]) [I.70] 80, 171  
*Exultabit cor meum* [I.116] 223

## F

- Fecit potentiam quinti toni* [I.8] 78, 208 n. 101  
*Felix namque es sacra virgo Maria* [III.36], [IV.50] 197, 215  
*Fiat pax in virtute tua* (Coppini) [III.9] 248  
*Flos de spina* (Pullois) [I.87] 71, 184 n.11, 221–23

## G

- Gaude prole regia* (Compère) [III.bis, fragment 2] 32–33, 111, 182 n.6, 261  
*Gaude quae post ipsum* [IV.71] 264  
*Gaude quia tui nati* [IV.70] 264  
*Gaude virgo mater Christi* [IV.68] 264  
*Gaudeamus omnes in domino* [IV.67] 263–64  
*Gloria from Missa Cent mille scude* [III.7] 116, 178, 240 n.87  
*Gloria, Credo breves* (Compère) [III.31] 123, 177–78, 240–41, 248, 261 n.165  
*Gloria tibi trinitas* [IV.22] 132

## H

- Hac in die* (Gaffurius) [II.27], [III.48] 175, 185, 196, 214  
*Haec est sedes gratiae* [I.79] 80, 171  
*Hic est dies verus dei* [I.10] 77, 83, 88  
*Hodie nobis de virgine cycle* (Compère) [I.129–136] 91, 223

## I

- Illuminans altissimus* [I.5] 77, 88  
*Imperatrix gloriosa* ([Gaffurius?]) [III.63], [IV.4] 199 n.70, 215  
*Imperatrix reginarum* (Gaffurius) [I.69] 79, 169–72  
*In illo tempore Maria Magdalенаe* (Coppini) [III.8] 248

- In illo tempore missus est* ([Spataro?]) [IV.56] 248 n.112  
*Intemerata virgo* (Josquin) [IV.58] 264  
*Intende qui regis Israel* [I.4] 76

## L

- Lamentatio Ieremiae* [III.1] 113, 177

## M

- Magnificamus te dei genitrix* [III.34], [IV.48] 197, 215  
*Magnificat primi toni* (Compère) [I.15] 69, 84, 221, 223  
*Magnificat primi toni* (1) (Gaffurius) [I.23] 73  
*Magnificat primi toni* (2) (Gaffurius) [I.27] 73, 203 n.83  
*Magnificat primi toni* (3) (Gaffurius) [I.28] 73  
*Magnificat secundi toni* [I.36] 74, 78, 88, 202  
*Magnificat tertii toni* (Du Fay) [I.14] 68, 84, 184 n. 11, 221, 223  
*Magnificat tertii toni* (Martini) [I.19] 84, 202, 221, 223  
*Magnificat tertii toni* [III.42] 113  
*Magnificat quarti toni* [I.37] 74, 78, 88, 202  
*Magnificat quinti toni* [I.38], [III.bis Fragm. 1] 74, 78, 88, 111, 182 n.6, 202–03, 239, 261  
*Magnificat sexti toni* (Compère) [I.18] 84, 221, 223  
*Magnificat sexti toni* (1) (Gaffurius) [I.24] 73  
*Magnificat sexti toni* (2) (Gaffurius) [I.29] 73  
*Magnificat sexti toni* (3) (Gaffurius) [I.30] 73, 203 n.83  
*Magnificat sexti toni* (4) (Gaffurius) [I.31] 73  
*Magnificat [sexti toni]* ([Gaffurius?]) [IV.20] 132, 208  
*Magnificat sexto tono competit atque primo* [III.53] 125  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (Arnulfus) [I.17] 84, 221, 223  
*Magnificat octavi toni* ([Busnoys?]) [I.16] 84, 221, 223  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (1) (Gaffurius) [I.25] 84  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (2) (Gaffurius) [I.32] 84, 203  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (3) (Gaffurius) [I.34] 73  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (4) (Gaffurius) [III.16] 123, 127  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (Martini) [I.20] 84, 202, 223  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (1) [I.21], [I.33] 73 n.38, 84, 185, 202–04, 213  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (2) [I.35] 73–74, 78, 88, 202  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (3) [I.39] 74, 78, 88, 202  
*Magnificat octavi toni* (4) [III.54] 125  
*Magnificat verses* [IV.89–92] 129 n.105, 133  
*Magnum nomen Domini* (Gaffurius) [I.80], [IV.51] 89, 168, 170–72, 209 n.103, 213  
*Maria salus virginum* (Rupsch) [III.67] 259–60, 261 n.163  
*Mater digna dei* (Weerbeke) [I.83] 171  
*Mater patris filia* (Weerbeke) [I.104], [IV.86] 214  
*Mente tota* (Josquin) [IV.60] 264  
*Missa* (Agricola) [III.3] 115, 239 n.83, 241, 250  
*Missa* (Brumel) [III.4] 97, 177, 241, 246  
*Missa* (1) (Gaffurius) [II.40] 231  
*Missa* (2) (Gaffurius) [III.13] 124, 208, 241

- Missa* (Tinctoris) [II.11] 97, 224–26, 231, 234, 238 n.811, 268–69 n.188
- Missa* (1) [II.23] 99, 174, 231
- Missa* (2) [III.5] 240–41
- Missa Ave maris stella* (Josquin) [III.10] 241, 243, 262
- Missa Ave regina caelorum* (Weerbeke) [II.39] 176, 195 n.51, 225–26, 230–31
- Missa* [*brevis et expedita?*] (Gaffurius) [II.30] 174–75, 195 n.54, 231
- Missa brevis primi toni* (Gaffurius) [II.12] 226, 231
- Missa brevis octavi toni* (Gaffurius) [II.33] 99, 102, 175, 195 n.55, 231
- Missa Cent mille scude* see *Gloria* from *Missa Cent mille scude*
- Missa Chargé de deul* (Isaac) [II.38] 96, 99, 195 n.52, 225–27, 231, 235
- Missa Coda pavon* (Martini) [II.6] 224–26, 231
- Missa Comment peult avoir joye* (Isaac) [III.14]
- Missa de carnaval* (Gaffurius) [III.18] 113, 241
- Missa De dringhs* (Brumel) [III.11] 241, 246, 262
- Missa De tous biens pleine* (Compère?) [III.12] 241, 246
- Missa De tous biens pleine* (Gaffurius) [II.25] 100, 108, 174, 231
- Missa diversorum tenorum* [= *Missa plurimorum carminum* (I)] (Obrecht) [II.36] 99, 225–27, 231, 234
- Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae* (Josquin) [III.28] 117, 184, 241–44, 245 n.104, 258, 262
- Missa Io ne tengo quanto te* (Martini) [II.20] 225–26, 231
- Missa Je ne demande* ([Prioris?]) [III.2] 33, 115, 128, 177–78, 170 n.42, 183, 239, 241–42, 258
- Missa La bassadanza* [= *La Spagna*] (Isaac) [II.1] 96, 175, 198 n.66, 225–26, 231, 235, 237, 238 n.80
- Missa La Spagna* (Isaac) see *Missa La bassadanza* (Isaac)
- Missa L'homme armé* (Brumel) [II.41] 225–26, 230–32
- Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* (Josquin) [III.27] 117, 184 n.11, 186 n.21, 193 n.45, 225–26, 227 n.36, 241, 243, 262
- Missa Ma bouche rit* (Martini) [II.7] 224–26, 231
- Missa Montana* (Gaffurius) [III.17] 36, 38, 124–25, 128, 177, 183, 239, 241
- Missa O clara luce* (Gaffurius) [II.32] 100, 108, 231
- Missa O venus bant* [III.15] 113, 195 n.52, 240–41, 247
- Missa Omnipotens genitor* (Gaffurius) [II.4] 175, 198 n.66, 231
- Missa Quant j'ai au cuer* (Isaac) [II.37] 99, 225–27, 231, 235
- Missa plurimorum carminum* (I) (Obrecht) see *Missa diversorum tenorum* (Obrecht)
- Missa Sanctae Caterinae quarti toni* (Gaffurius) [II.28] 174–75, 195 n.51, 196, 231
- Missa sexti toni irregularis* (Gaffurius) [II.26], [III.30] 113, 174–76, 194–95, 210, 214, 231, 241, 247
- Missa Si dedero* (Coppini) [III.29] 123, 127, 177, 195 n.52, 240–41, 248
- Missa Tant quant nostre argent dura* [II.24] 96, 224–26, 230–31
- Missa Trombetta* (Gaffurius) [II.22] 96, 174, 195 n.54, 231
- Missus est ab arce patris* [IV.62] 264

## N

- Nativitas tua sancta dei genitrix* cycle [I.113–15] 223
- Nunc dimittis* (1) [I.1] 75

## O

- O admirabile commercium* (Compère) (1) [I.111], [IV.28] 194 n.48, 214
- O admirabile commercium* (1) [I.88] 71, 223

- O beata praesulis* [I.76], [II.2] 80, 89, 101–02, 171, 175, 197–98, 213  
*O crux benedicta* ([Gaffurius?]) [IV.3] 129  
*O genitrix gloriosa* (Compère) [III.6] 246  
*Ognun driza al ciel el viso* [IV.93] 38 n.106, 129 n.105, 133, 135  
*O Iesu dulcissime* ([Gaffurius?]) (1) [I.72] 171  
*O Iesu dulcissime* ([Gaffurius?]) (2) [I.26], [IV.54] 78, 168, 170–72, 208, 213  
*O Maria clausus hortus* (Weerbeke) [I.103] 175 n.29, 197 n.57, 205 n.90, 207 n.95, 214  
*O Maria nullam* (Josquin) [IV.59] 264  
*Omnipotens aeterne deus* (Gaffurius) [I.62] 79, 89, 168–71, 208 n.101  
*O pater Olderic* [IV.39] 133–34, 208 n.101, 266 n.180  
*O pulcherrima mulierum* (Weerbeke) [I.101], [IV.87] 192–93, 213  
*Ora pro nobis virgo* (Josquin) [IV.57] 264  
*O res laeta* (Gaffurius) [I.68] 169–71  
*O sacrum convivium* (Gaffurius) [II.18], [IV.53] 102, 175, 209 n. 103, 214

**P**

- Pontifex urbis* ([Gaffurius?]) [IV.13] 37 n.99, 266 n.180  
*Promissa mundo gaudia* (Gaffurius) [I.75], [II.3] 80, 171, 175, 197–98, 209 n.103, 213

**Q**

- Quam pulchra es* (Weerbeke) [I.98], [II.13], [IV.85] 175, 182, 189–90, 196 n. 57, 205 n.88, 207, 208 n. 97, 213, 223  
*Quam pulchra es* cycle (Weerbeke) [I.98–105] 90, 187–88, 196, 220, 265  
*Quem terra pontus* (Weerbeke) [I.95], [II.17] 175 n. 29, 184 n.10, 196 n.57, 205 n.88, 213

**R**

- Reformator animarum* ([Gaffurius?]) [I.73] 171

**S**

- Salve decus genitoris* (Gaffurius) [I.56] 238  
*Salve mater salvatoris* (Gaffurius) [I.57] 90, 167, 209 n. 102  
*Salve regina* (Du Fay?) [I.140] 72, 221, 223  
*Salve regina* (1) [I.85] 80, 89, 168, 170–71  
*Salve regina* (2) [I.141] 168  
*Salve regina* (3) [III.73] 125  
*Salve sancta facies* [III.65] 259  
*Salve verbi sacra parens* ([Gaffurius?]) [III.64], [IV.7] 199, 201, 215  
*Sancti dei omnes orate* (Mouton) [III.43] 123, 248, 261–62  
*Sancti spiritus adsit* [III.46], [IV.77] 199–201, 215  
*Sanctus* ([Compère?]) [II.9], [IV.29] 175, 194, 214, 224 n.31, 225–26, 265  
*Sanctus* ([Gaffurius?]) [II.35] 102, 175, 208 n.101  
*Sanctus* (1) [II.5] 102, 175  
*Sanctus* (2) ([Obrecht?]) [II.8] 225 n.31, 226  
*Sanctus* (3) [II.21] 102, 176  
*Solemnitas laudabilis* ([Gaffurius?]) [IV.42] 266 n.180  
*Spiritus domini replevit* (Weerbeke) [IV.73] 264  
*Spiritus domini replevit* [III.72] 114

*Stabat mater* (Gaffurius) [I.138], [III.50] 214  
*Stabat mater* [III.74] 114, 238, 259  
*Suscipe verbum* ([Compère?]) [IV.30] 194 n.48

**T**

*Te deum laudamus* (Binchois) [I.86] 16, 18, 70, 84, 221–23  
*Te deum laudamus* [II.42] 27, 101, 167, 176  
*Tota pulchra es* (Weerbeke) [I.105] 189 n.33  
*Trophaeum crucis* [I.22] 78, 168, 170–71, 208 n.101

**U**

*Uterus virgineus* [I.78] 171

**V**

*Veni sancte spiritus* (Weerbeke) [IV.74] 264  
*Verbum dei deo natum* ([Gaffurius?]) [IV.43] 133, 266 n.180  
*Verbum sapientiae* (Gaffurius) [I.66] 169–71  
*Virgo constans* ([Gaffurius]) [II.29], [III.49] 175, 185, 196, 214  
*Virgo dei digna* (Gaffurius) [I.63] 74, 79, 167, 169–70, 173  
*Virgo praecellens* cycle [III.56–60] 259, 262  
*Virgo prudentissima* (Gaffurius) [I.13] 78, 88, 168, 170–71, 173, 208 n.101  
*Virgo verbum concepit* [III.35], [IV.49] 197, 215  
*Vox de caelo* [I.89] 223  
*Vox iucunda cum favore* ([Gaffurius?]) [I.71] 171

...

[Textless] (Coppini) [III.52] 123



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