



REOPENING GAFFURIUS'S LIBRONI

EDITED BY AGNESE PAVANELLO

LIBRERIA MUSICALE ITALIANA

Libreria Musicale Italiana



PDF

I nostri PDF sono per esclusivo uso personale. Possono essere copiati senza restrizioni sugli apparecchi dell'utente che li ha acquistati (computer, tablet o smartphone). Possono essere inviati come titoli di valutazione scientifica e curricolare, ma non possono essere ceduti a terzi senza una autorizzazione scritta dell'editore e non possono essere stampati se non per uso strettamente individuale. Tutti i diritti sono riservati.

Su academia.edu o altri portali simili (siti repository open access o a pagamento) è consentito pubblicare soltanto il frontespizio del volume o del saggio, l'eventuale abstract e fino a quattro pagine del testo. La LIM può fornire a richiesta un pdf formattato per questi scopi con il link alla sezione del suo sito dove il saggio può essere acquistato in versione cartacea e/o digitale. È esplicitamente vietato pubblicare in academia.edu o altri portali simili il pdf completo, anche in bozza.

Our PDF are meant for strictly personal use. They can be copied without restrictions on all the devices of the user who purchased them (computer, tablet or smartphone). They can be sent as scientific and curricular evaluation titles, but they cannot be transferred to third parties without a written explicit authorization from the publisher, and can be printed only for strictly individual use. All rights reserved.

On academia.edu or other similar websites (open access or paid repository sites) it is allowed to publish only the title page of the volume or essay, the possible abstract and up to four pages of the text. The LIM can supply, on request, a pdf formatted for these purposes with the link to the section of its site where the essay can be purchased in paper and/or in pdf version. It is explicitly forbidden to publish the complete pdf in academia.edu or other similar portals, even in draft.

Studi e Saggi



. 40 .

La realizzazione del presente volume è stata possibile grazie a un contributo
del Fondo Nazionale Svizzero per la Ricerca Scientifica



SWISS NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Con il patrocinio
della Schola Cantorum Basiliensis FHNW



University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland
Schola Cantorum Basiliensis | Academy of Music

Redazione, grafica e layout: Ugo Giani

Copy-editing: Bonnie J. Blackburn

Traduzioni in inglese: Daniele V. Filippi

In copertina: Franchinus Gaffurius, *Harmonia instrumentalis*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,
Cod. Ser. n. 12745, fol. 4r

© 2021 Libreria Musicale Italiana srl, via di Arsina 296/f, 55100 Lucca

lim@lim.it www.lim.it

Tutti i diritti sono riservati. Nessuna parte di questa pubblicazione potrà essere riprodotta, archiviata in sistemi di ricerca e trasmessa in qualunque forma elettronica, meccanica, fotocopiata, registrata o altro senza il permesso dell'editore.

ISBN 978-88-5543-078-4

REOPENING GAFFURIUS'S LIBRONI

EDITED BY
AGNESE PAVANELLO

LIBRERIA MUSICALE ITALIANA

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 A¹
- 2.3 Librone 1, fol. 21r: Scribe A²
- 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: Gaffⁱ
- 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 A³
- 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: Gaff⁷
- 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: Gaff⁷
- 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> , < https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/ >
<i>Grove Music Online</i>	< https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/ >
Librone 1	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 1 (<i>olim</i> MS 2269)
Librone 2	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 2 (<i>olim</i> MS 2268)
Librone 3	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 3 (<i>olim</i> MS 2267)
Librone [4]	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Casette Ratti, n° VII, 34–43 (<i>olim</i> MS 2266)
MCD	<i>Motet Cycles Database</i> , < http://www.motetcycles.ch/ >
MCE	<i>Motet Cycles Edition</i> , < https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions >
<i>MGG Online</i>	< https://www.mgg-online.com >
MSD	Musicological Studies and Documents
NJE	New Josquin Edition
Petrucci, <i>Motetti A</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti A</i> (Venice, 1502; RISM B 1502 ¹)
Petrucci, <i>Motetti C</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti C</i> (Venice, 1504; RISM B 1504 ¹)
Petrucci, <i>Motetti IV</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti Libro Quarto</i> (Venice, 1505; RISM B 1505 ²)
RISM	Répertoire International de Sources Musicales
RRMMAER	Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance

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

MARTINA PANTAROTTO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Librone 1 (*olim* MS 2269)

1.1. *Material and codicological description*

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

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

14. See the chapters by Cassia and Pavanello.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

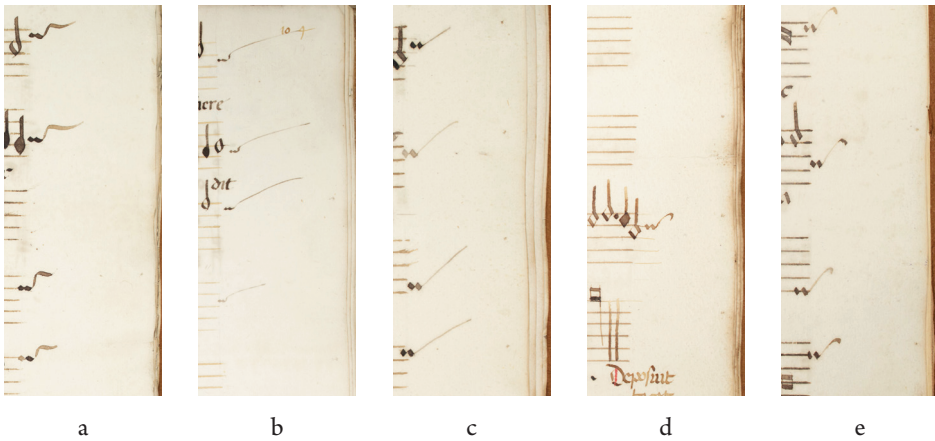


Fig. 2.1. Prick-holes in *Librone 1*: (a–b) for a double rastrum with awl (fols. 56r and 104r); (c) for a single rastrum with awl (fol. 127r); (d) for a single rastrum with oblong punch (fol. 19r); (e) for a double rastrum with star punch (176r)

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

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

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

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

1.2. *The restoration of 2019*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3. *Palaeographical description*

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

Scribe A

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

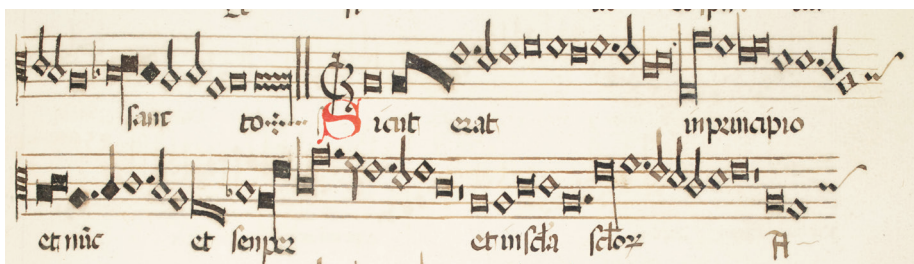


Fig. 2.2. Librone 1, fol. 17r: Scribe A¹

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

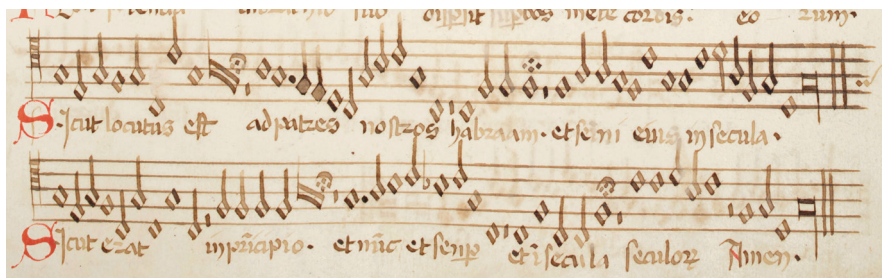


Fig. 2.3. Librone 1, fol. 21r: Scribe A²

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

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

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

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

31. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scribe B

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

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

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



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

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

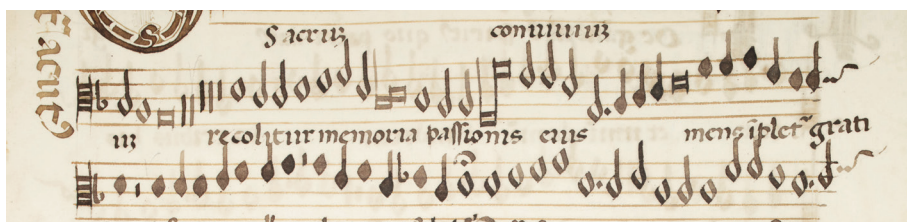


Fig. 2.5. Librone 1, fol. 73r: Scribe B

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

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

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

Gaffurius

In Librone 1 Gaffurius was responsible for the initial gathering (fols. 11a–8r), one gathering within the section by Scribe B (gathering 8, fols. 56v–64r), three gatherings between Scribe B's section and the successive one by Scribe A (13–15, fols. 97v–118r), and some minor interventions here and there in the manuscript (fols. 31v–32r, 39v–40r, 50v–51r, and 95v–96r).

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

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

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



Fig. 2.6. Librone 1, fol. 2va: Gaff¹

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

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

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

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

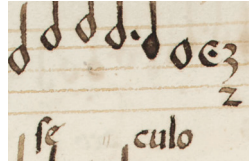


Fig. 2.7. Librone 1, fol. 1r: double hyphen between separated syllables

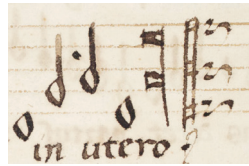


Fig. 2.8. Librone 1, fol. 1r: final double barline with serpentine decoration and punctuation mark in text

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4. *The decoration*

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

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

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



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

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



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

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



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

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



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

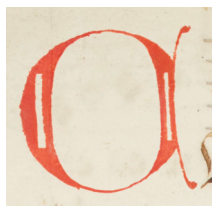


Fig. 2.13. Librone 1, fol. 166r: minor initial

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

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

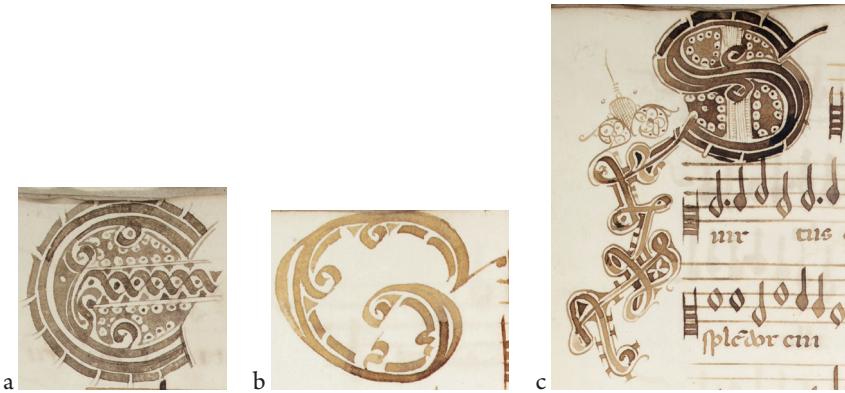


Fig. 2.14. Librone 1: decoration in Scribe B section: (a) fol. 32v; (b) fol. 65v; (c) fol. 82v

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

1.5. *The compilation*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6 *The former pastedowns and the index*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *Librone 2* (olim MS 2268)

2.1. *Material and codicological description*

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

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

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

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

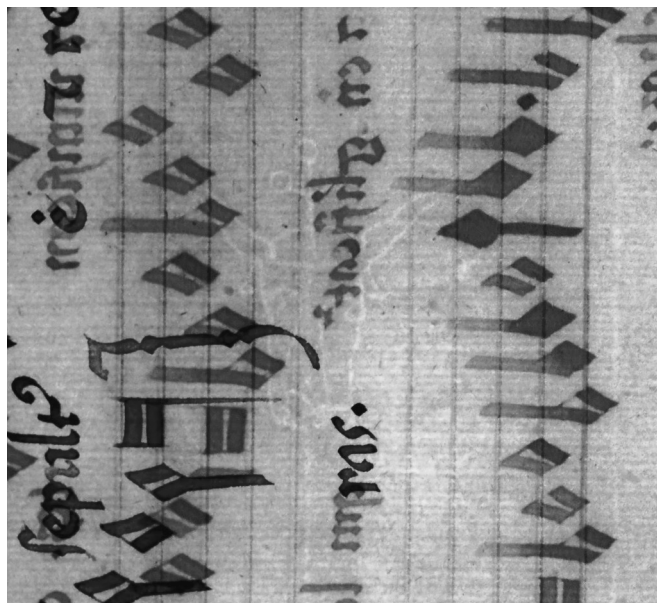


Fig. 2.15. Watermark in Librone 2, fol. 78r

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

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

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

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

2.2. Palaeographical description

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

Scribe C

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

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

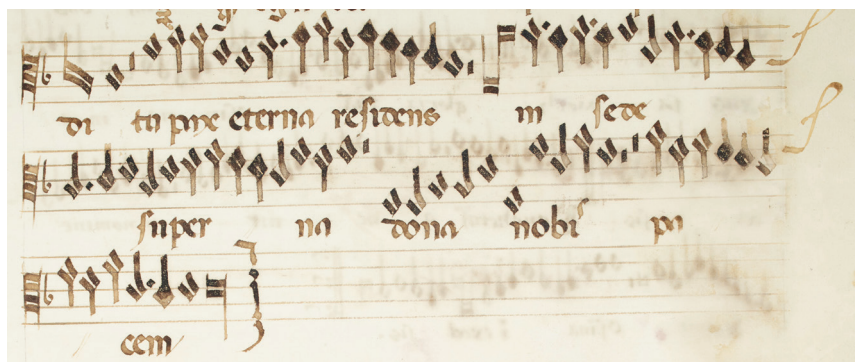


Fig. 2.16. Librone 2, fol. 18r: Scribe C

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

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

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

Scribe A

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

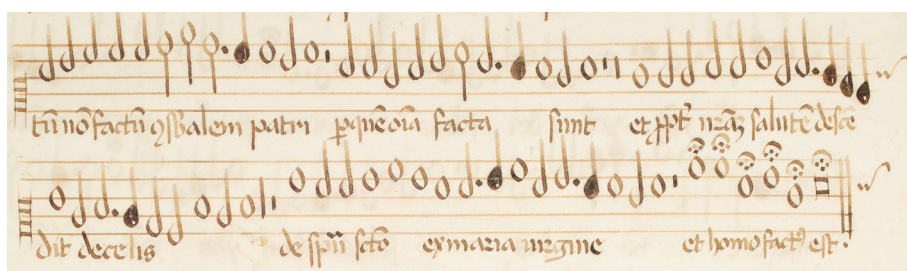


Fig. 2.17. *Librone 2*, fol. 45v: Scribe A³

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

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

Scribe D

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

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

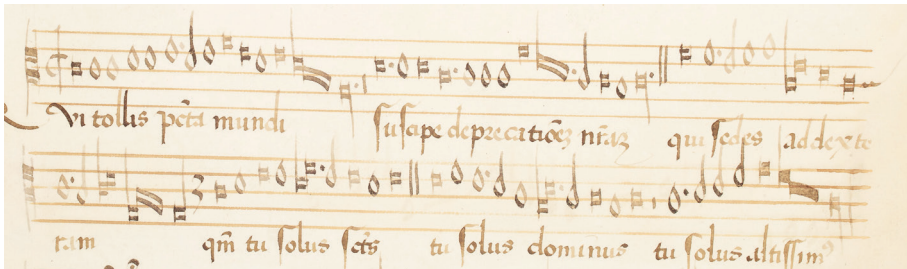


Fig. 2.18. Librone 2, fol. 153v: Scribe D

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

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

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

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

Scribe E

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



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

Scribe B

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



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

Scribe F

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

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

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

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



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

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

Gaffurius

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

73. Ibid. 16.

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

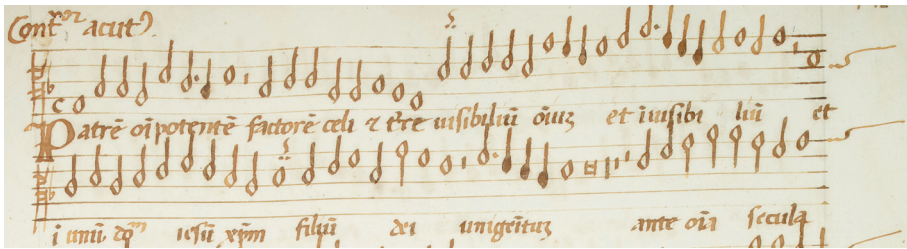


Fig. 2.22. Librone 2, fol. 112r: Gaff⁷

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

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

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

2.3. *The decoration*

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

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



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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

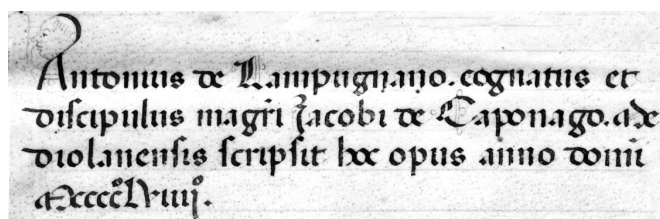


Fig. 2.26. Colophon naming the scribe Antonio da Lampugnano in a treatise on falconry. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, MS 368 (*olim* MS 1375), fol. 108v

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

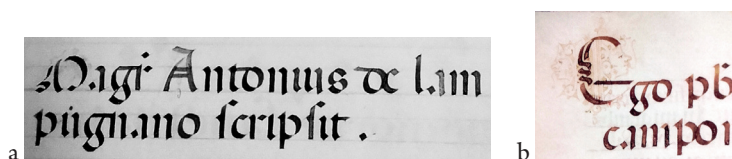


Fig. 2.27. Scribal hand of Antonio da Lampugnano in an antiphoner for the Oblates of Rho. Milan, Università Cattolica, MS 5, (a) fols. 66v and (b) 65v

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

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



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

2.4. *The compilation*

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

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

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

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

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

2.5 *The index*

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

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

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

3.1. *Material and codicological description*

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

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

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

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

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

3.2. *The fragments*

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

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

3.3. *Palaeographical description*

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

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

Scribe G

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

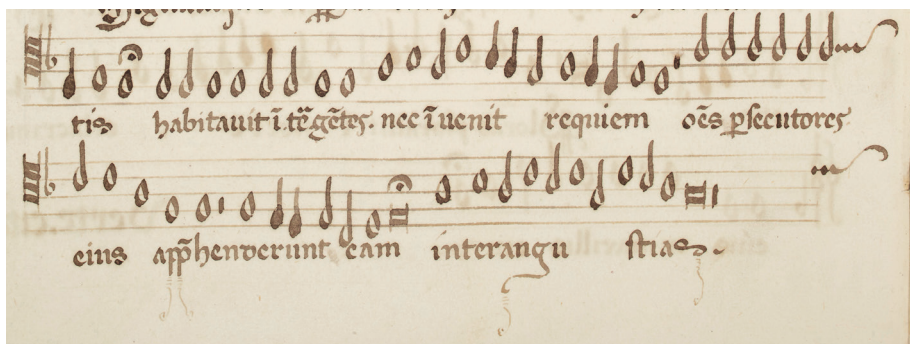


Fig. 2.29. Librone 3, fol. 12v: Scribe G

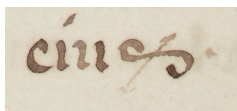


Fig. 2.30. Librone 3, fol. 15r: Scribe G

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

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

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

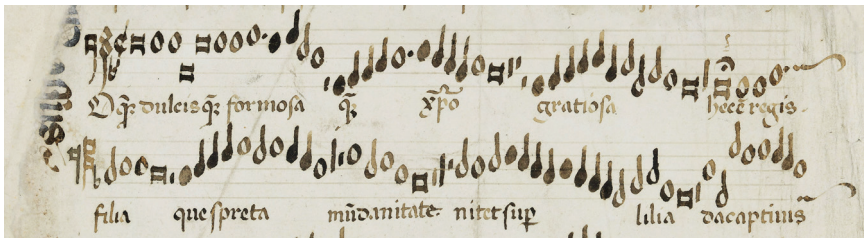
Even though the current codicological structure of Librone 3 appears rather incoherent (but, as said, it was probably already so before the last century's restoration, or even from its origin), we realize that Scribe G normally worked with regular quaternions, leaving the first recto and the last verso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

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

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



a



b

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

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

Scribe H

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



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

Scribe A

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

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



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

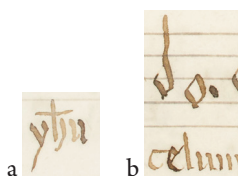


Fig. 2.34. Librone 3, fol. 30r: tremulous hand of Scribe A

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

Scribe I

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

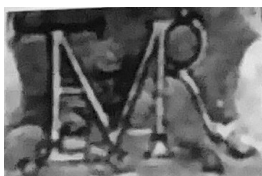


Fig. 2.37. Decoration in an anonymous Milanese Canzoniere

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

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

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

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

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

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

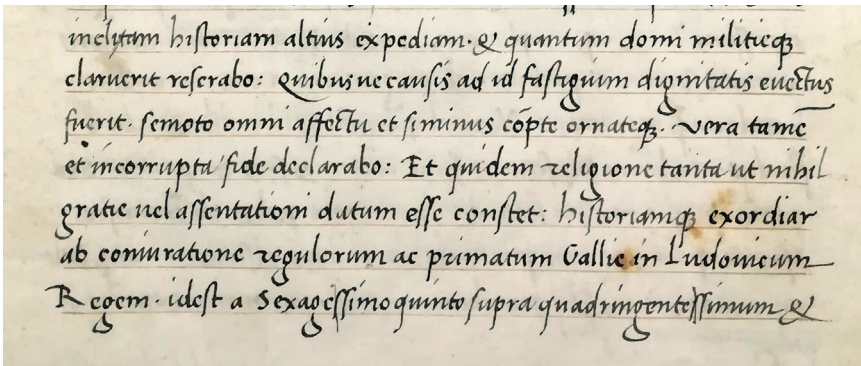


Fig. 2.38. Milan, Fondazione Trivulzio, MS Triv. 2079, fol. 10r: Scribe I

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

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

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

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

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

Scribe J

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

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

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

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

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

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

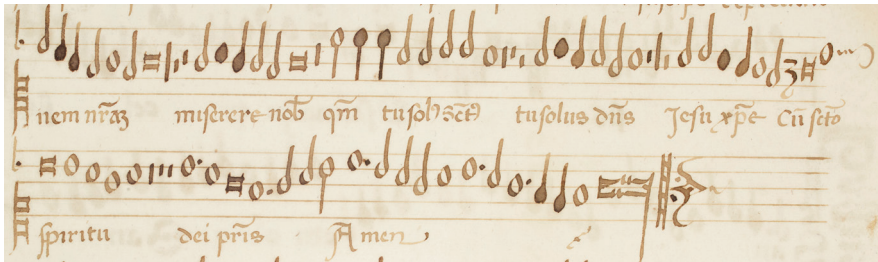


Fig. 2.39. Librone 3, fol. 159v: Scribe J

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

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

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

Scribe K

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

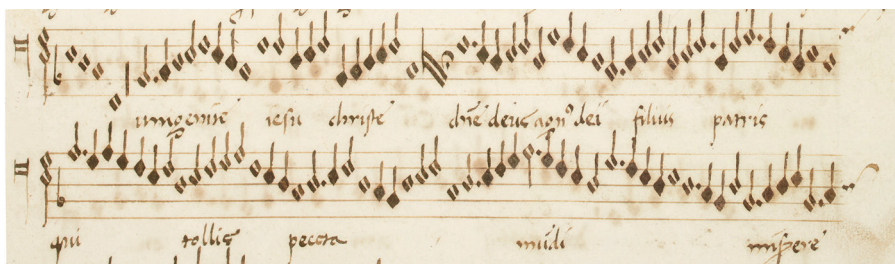


Fig. 2.40. *Librone 3*, fol. 111r: Scribe K

Gaffurius

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

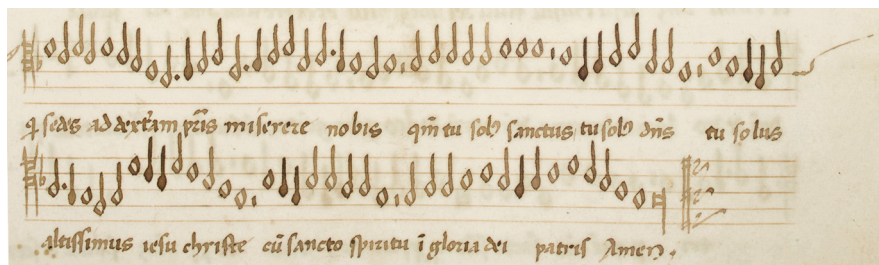


Fig. 2.41. *Librone 3*, fol. 79r: Gaff⁷

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

3.4. *The decoration*

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

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

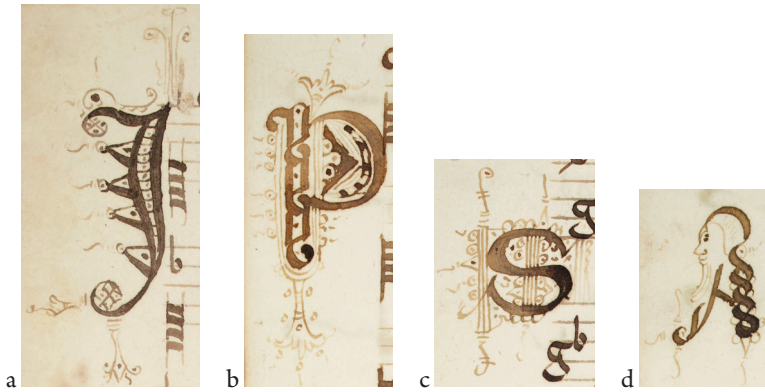


Fig. 2.42. Initials by Scribe G in Librone 3: (a) fol. 11v; (b) fol. 156v; (c) fol. 223v; (d) fol. 105v

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



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

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



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

3.5. *The compilation*

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

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

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

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

3.6. *The index*

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

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

4.1. *Material and codicological description*

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

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

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

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

4.2. Palaeographical description

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scribe J

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

Gaffurius

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

111. Ibid.

4.3. *The decoration*

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

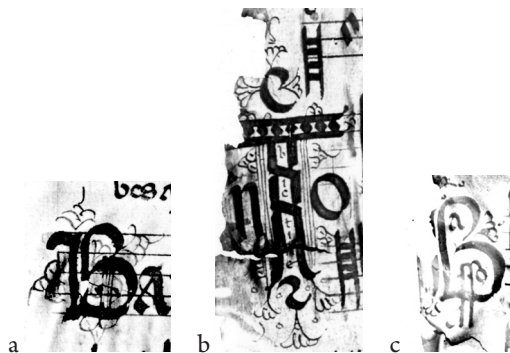


Fig. 2.48. Inked initials in Librone [4]: (a) fol. 11r; (b) fol. 61v; (c) fol. 105r

4.4. *The compilation*

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

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

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

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

Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

- In addition to the scribes, at least one calligrapher is at work (or two, if we prefer to think that the initials in Scribe A's sections of *Librone 1* were not entered by the copyist himself). The study of the minor decoration demonstrates, in fact, that normally each scribe is responsible not only for entering text and music, but also for adding the minor decoration: this is the only explanation for the fact that the script and the style (and quality) of the decoration change in parallel. A further confirmation is provided by the similarity of solutions adopted by the scribes even when working on different volumes. Nevertheless, we should not overlook the fact that in several sections of *Libroni 1–3* we find spaces reserved for the decoration, although for unknown reasons they were not actually filled: the distinction of roles was, therefore, foreseen in more cases. Anyway, a close analysis of the decoration reveals further relationships, notably in the case of the main exception to the rule of the identity between scribe and calligrapher: the same artist was involved in the decoration of *Libroni 1* and *2*, working on sections written by Gaffurius and Scribe B in *Librone 1*, and by Scribes B and D in *Librone 2*.
- Codicological data also help to define sections and subsections. A watermark is visible only in a group of gatherings in *Librone 2*.¹¹⁵ The *mise-en-page* has minimal variance and proceeds by blocks of gatherings: this indicates that it was not done by the scribe, who received the paper already ruled. At the same time, the slight differences in paper and ruling are precious clues to be added to the succession of hands for the individuation of blocks and work phases. Unfortunately, we cannot always reconstruct the original distribution of the gatherings because of the successive manipulations and restorations of the manuscripts, which altered the arrangement; moreover, in order to achieve an exceptionally large size, the bifolia had been obtained by pasting together two large-format leaves, which makes the original structure difficult to ascertain).¹¹⁶ For *Librone 1*, however, the codicological and palaeographical study

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

122. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

(translation from Italian by Daniele V. Filippi)

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

APPENDIX 1

Gaffurius's Name in the Libroni

LIBRONE 1			
fol. 7v ¹ aut.		fol. 32v aut.	
fol. 35v aut.		fol. 37v aut.	
fol. 40v aut.		fol. 41v aut.	
fol. 43v aut.		fol. 46v aut.	
fol. 49v aut.		fol. 53v aut.	
fol. 64v aut.		fol. 65v aut.	
fol. 66v aut.		fol. 67v aut.	

1. Aut. = autograph.

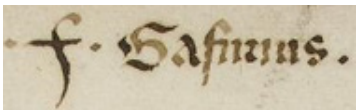
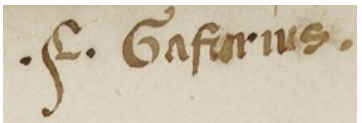
fol. 68v aut.		fol. 69v aut.	
fol. 70v aut.		fol. 71v aut.	
fol. 72v aut.		fol. 73v aut.	
fol. 74v aut.		fol. 75v aut.	
fol. 77v aut.		fol. 78v aut.	
fol. 80v aut.		fol. 81v aut.	
fol. 82v aut.		fol. 84v aut.	
fol. 85v aut.		fol. 87v aut.	
fol. 90v aut.		fol. 93v aut.	

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

LIBRONE 2

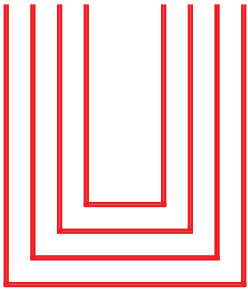
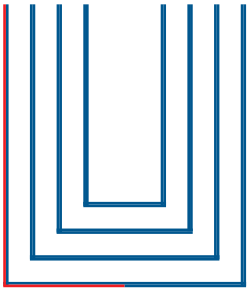
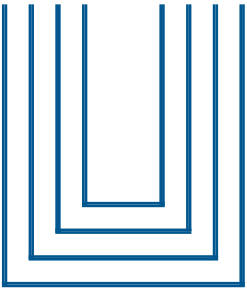
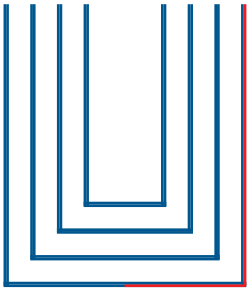
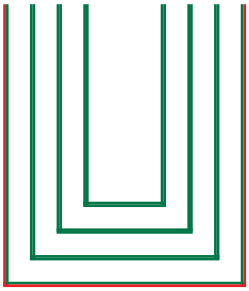
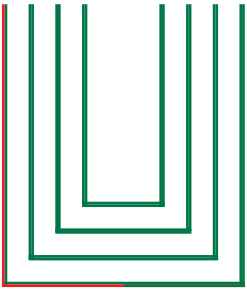
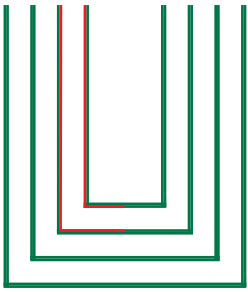
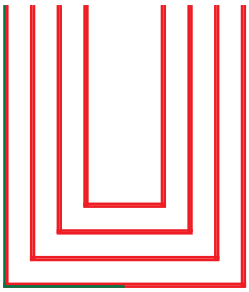
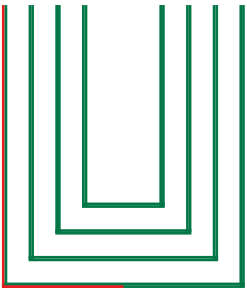
fol. 7v not aut.		fol. 8v not aut.	
fol. 43v not aut.		fol. 54v aut.	
fol. 94v aut.		fol. 101v aut.	
fol. 110v aut.		fol. 118r aut.	
fol. 130v not aut.		fol. 176v not aut.	

LIBRONE 3

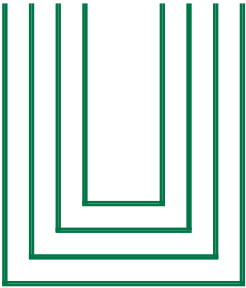
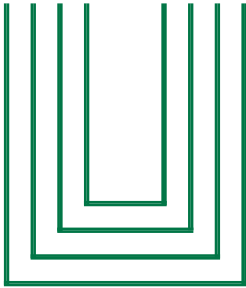
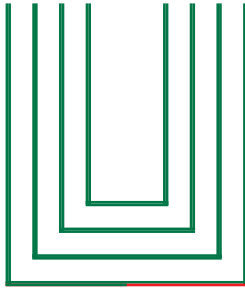
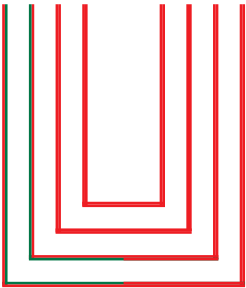
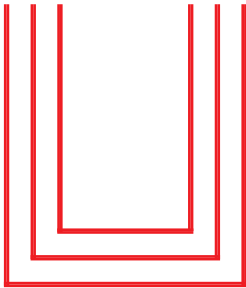
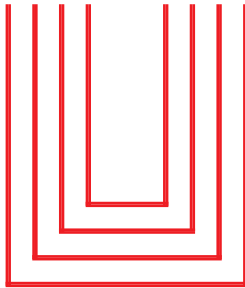
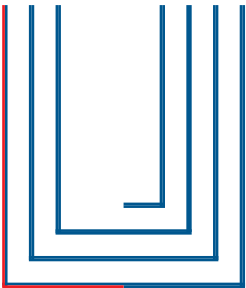
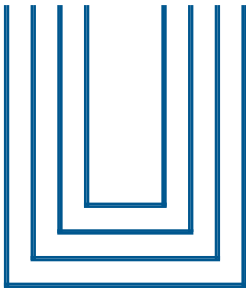
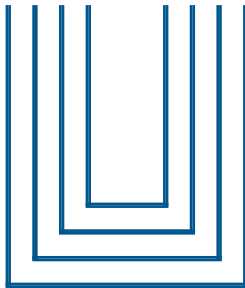
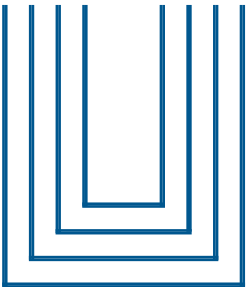
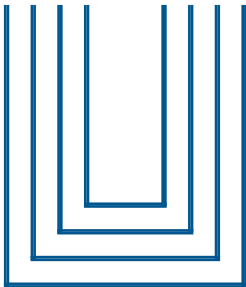
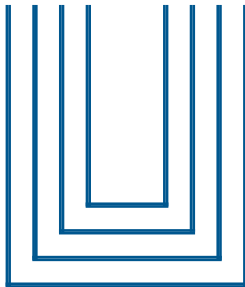
fol. 108v not aut.		fol. 117v not aut.	
-----------------------	---	-----------------------	--

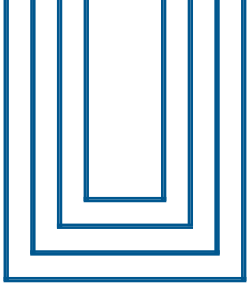
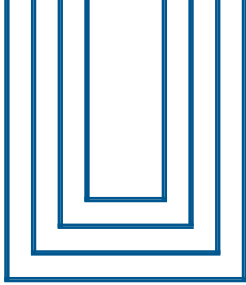
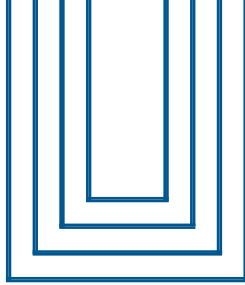
· MARTINA PANTAROTTO ·
 APPENDIX 2.
 GATHERING STRUCTURE

Librone 1²

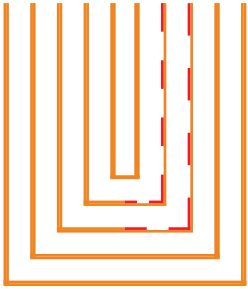
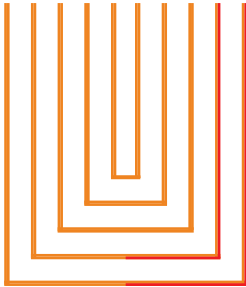
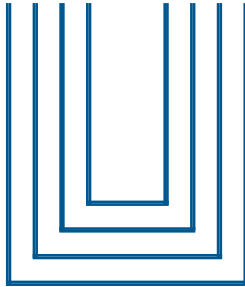
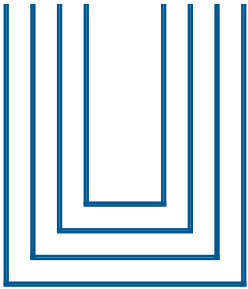
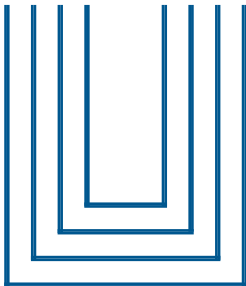
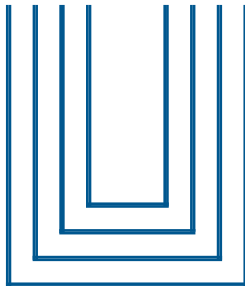
		
1. cc. 1A-7	2. 8-15	3. 16-23
		
4. 24-31	5. 32-39	6. 40-47
		
7. cc. 48-55	8. 56-63	9. 64-71

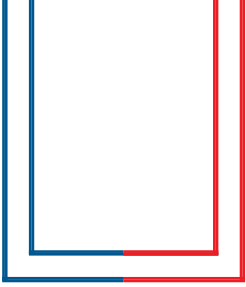
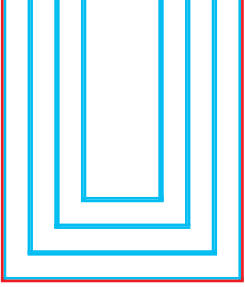
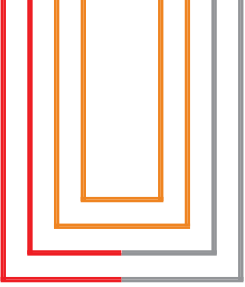
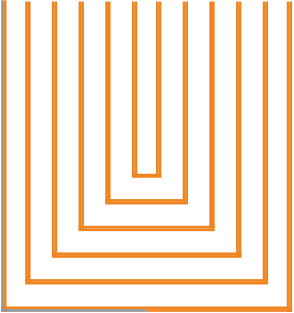
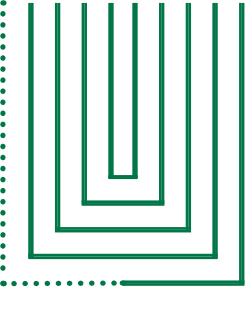
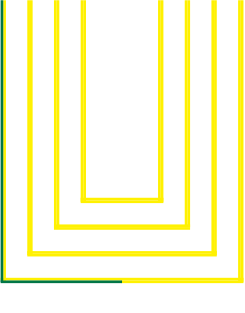
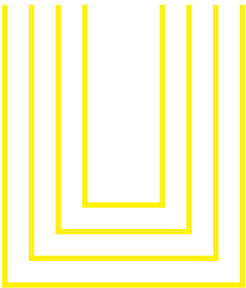
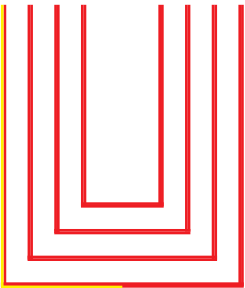
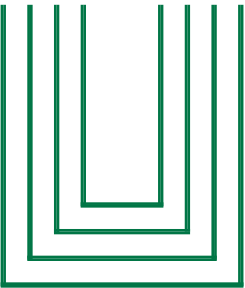
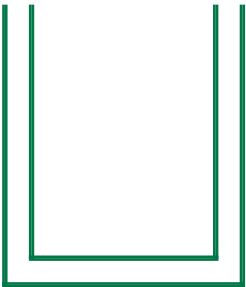
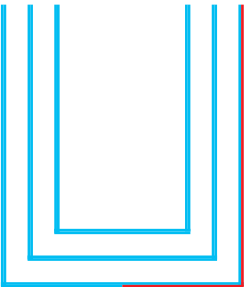
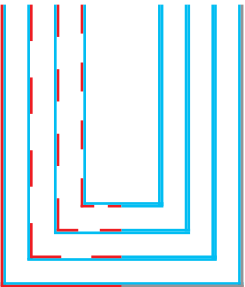
2. The double line means two different Scribes: one on recto and one on verso. The interrupted line means that Gaffurius write only a part of page, not all of it (interventions in music or text)

		
10. 72-79	11. 80-87	12. 88-95
		
13. cc. 96-103	14. 104-109	15. 110-117
		
16. 118-124	17. 125-132	18. 133-140
		
19 cc. 141-148	20. 149-156	21. 157-164

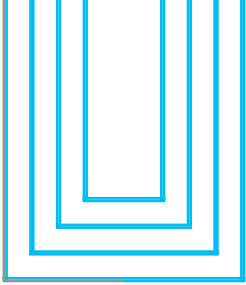
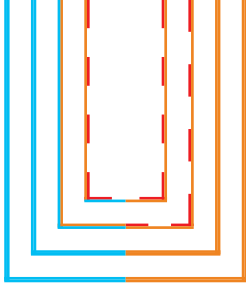
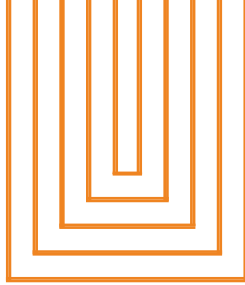
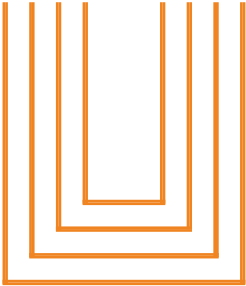
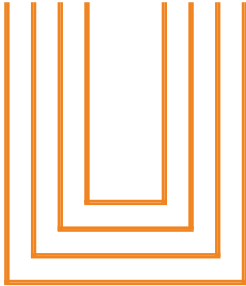
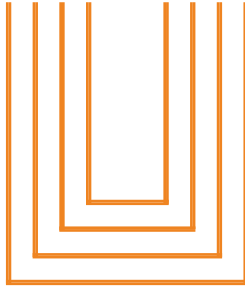
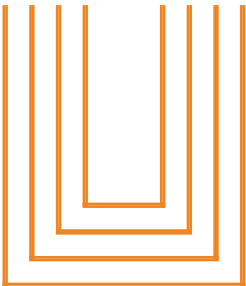
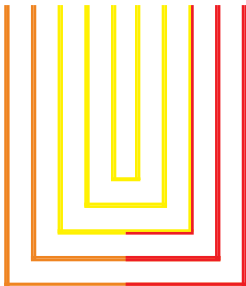
		
22. 165-172	23. 173-180	24. 181-188

Librone 2

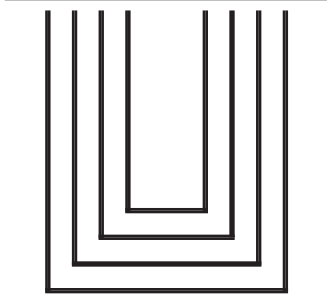
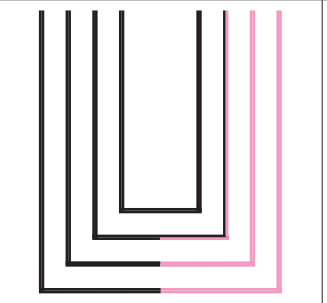
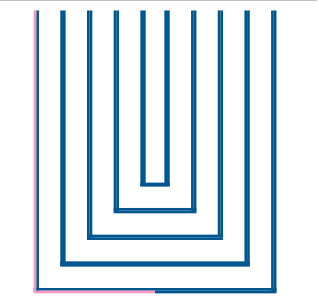
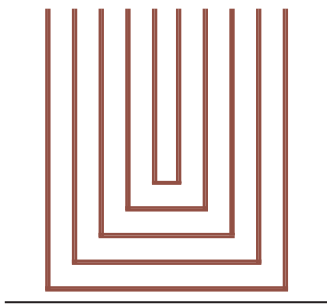
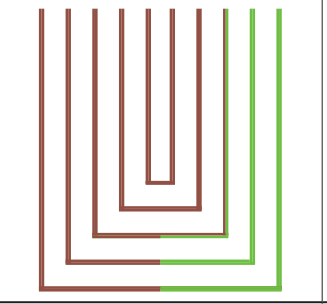
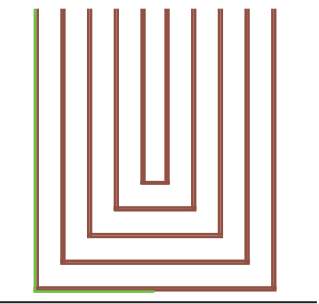
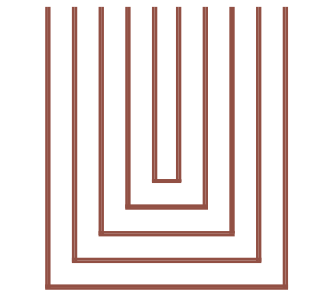
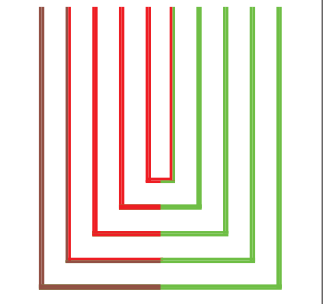
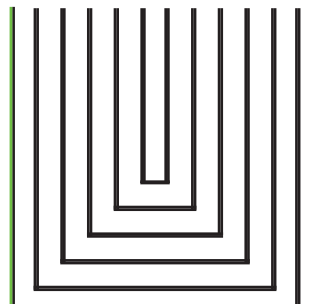
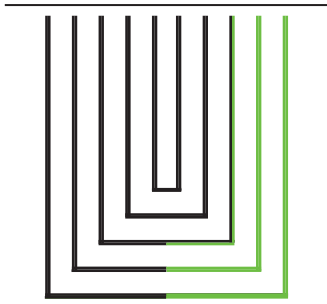
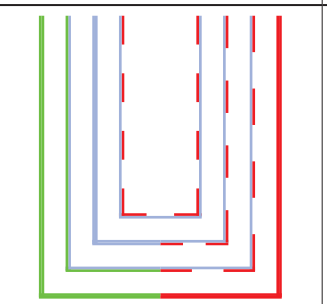
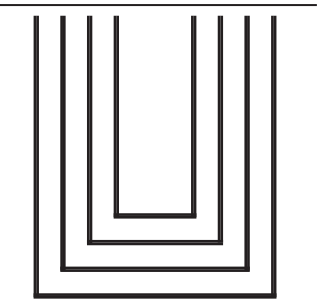
		
1. cc. 1A-9	2. 10-19	3. 20-27
		
4. 28-35	5. 36-43	6. 44-51

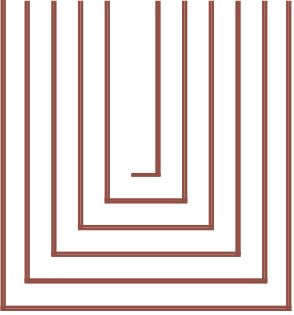
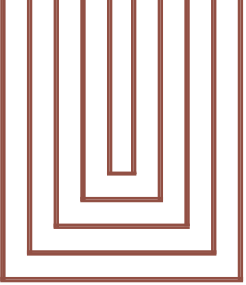
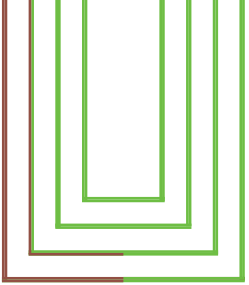
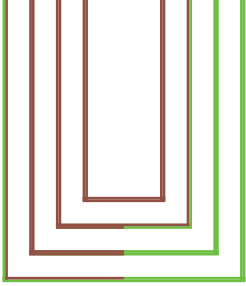
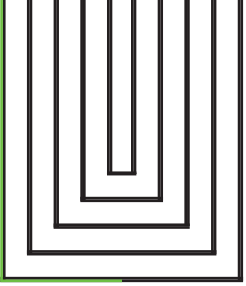
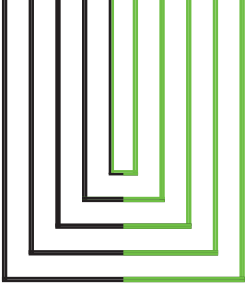
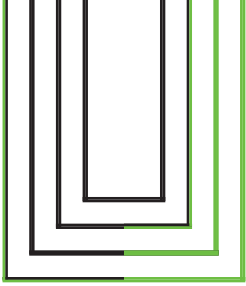
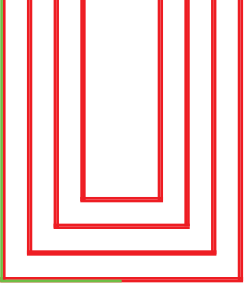
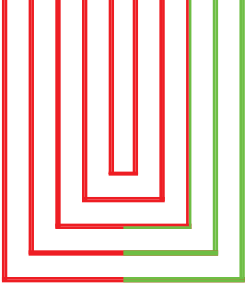
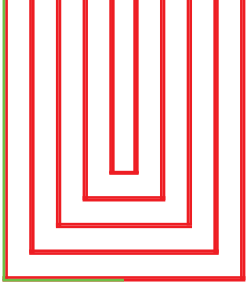
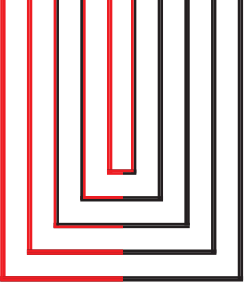
		
7. cc. 48–55	8. 56–63	9. 64–71
		
10. 72–83	11. 84–92	12. 93–100
		
13. cc.101–109 ³	14. 110–117	15. 118–125
		
16. 126–129	17. 130–135	18. 136–143

3. The foliation skips from 102 to 104.

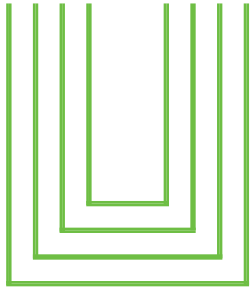
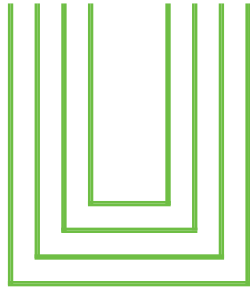
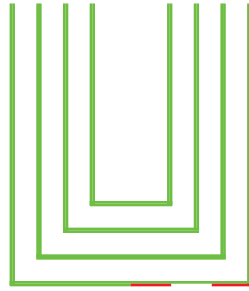
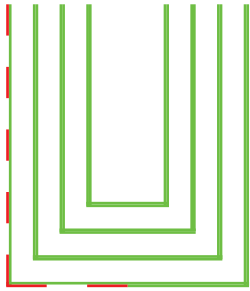
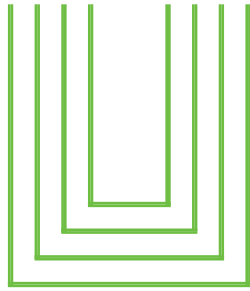
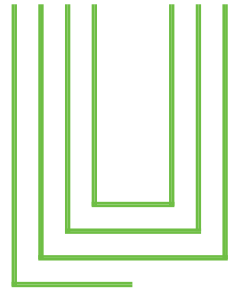
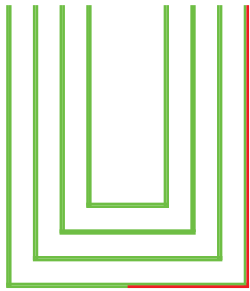
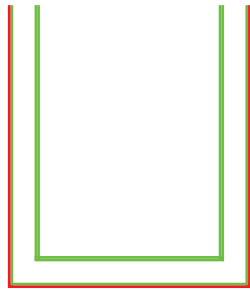
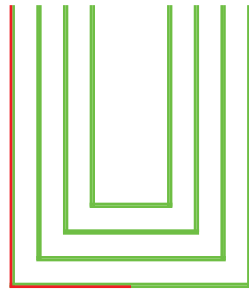
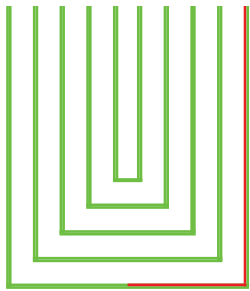
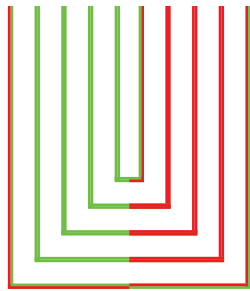
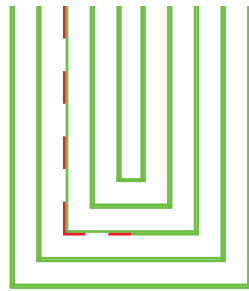
		
19. CC. 144-151	20. 152-159	21. 160-169
		
22. 170-177	23. 178-185	24. 186-193
		
25. 194-201	26. 202-211	

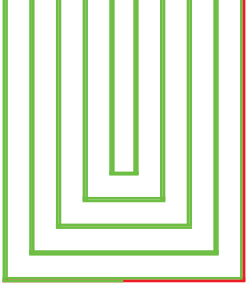
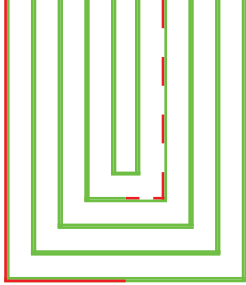
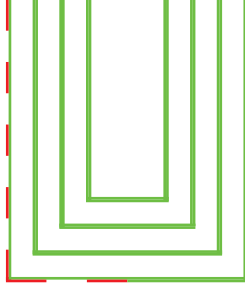
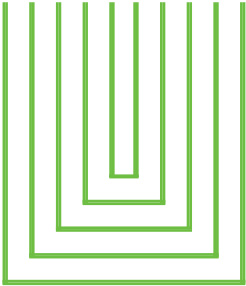
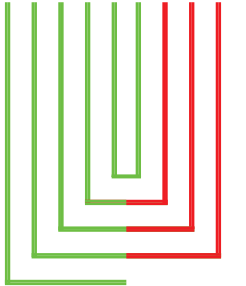
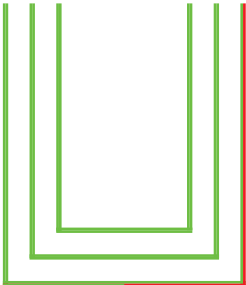
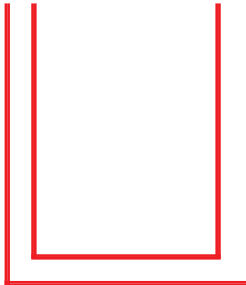
Librone 3

		
1. cc. 11-18	2. 19-26	3. 27-36
		
4. 37-46	5. 47-56	6. 57-66
		
7. cc. 67-76	8. 77-86	9. 87-98
		
10. 99-108	11. 109-116	12. 117-124

		
13. cc. 125-135	14. 136-145	15. 146-153
		
16. 154-161	17. 162-171	18. 172-181
		
19. cc. 182-189	20. 190-197	21. 198-207
		
22. 208-217	23. 218-227	

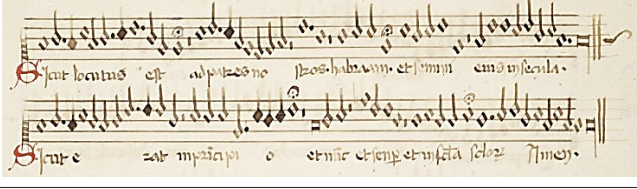
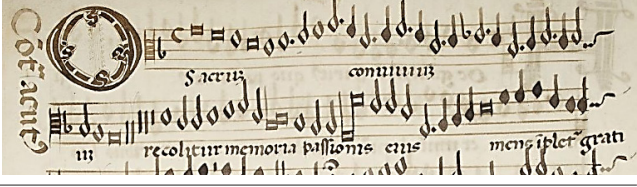
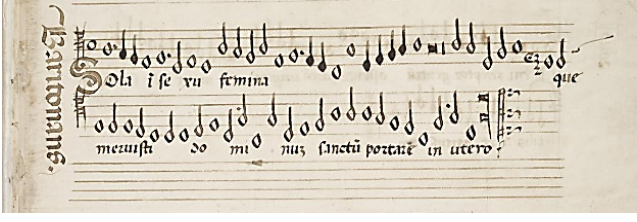
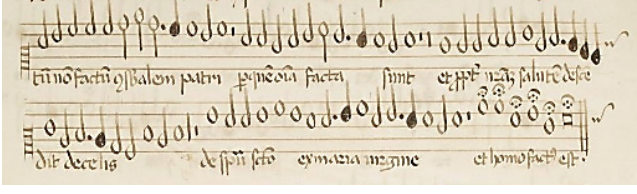

Librone [4] (conjectural)

		
1. 1-8	2. 9-16	3. 17-24
		
4. 25-32	5. 33-40	6. 41-47
		
7. 48-55	8. 56-59	9. 60-67
		
10. 68-77	11. 78-87	12. 88-97

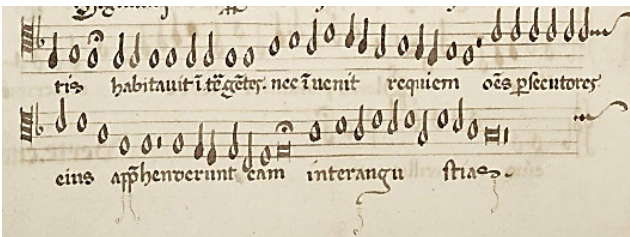


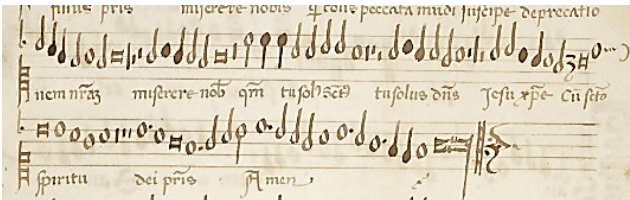

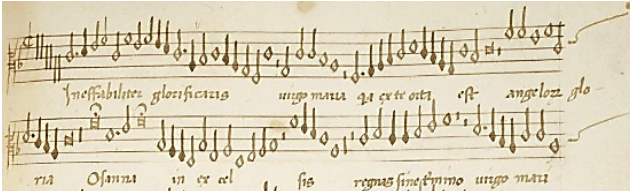
		
13. 98-107	14. 108-117	15. 118-125
		
16. 126-135	17. 136-144	
other hypothesis:		
		
17. 136-141	18. fols. 142-144	


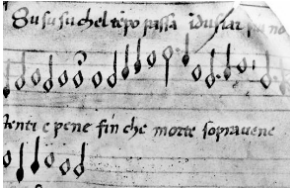
APPENDIX 3

The Libroni Scribes: Concordance with JEPPESEN (1931)
and Script Specimens

SCRIBE	JEPPESEN	SPECIMEN
LIBRONE 1		
<p>A Gatherings 2–4, 16–24</p>	<p>Schreiber II: Simplified non-rotunda gothic (fol. 21r)</p>	
<p>B Gatherings 5–7, 9–12</p>	<p>Schreiber III: Italian rotunda (fol. 73r)</p>	
<p>Gaffurius Gatherings 1, 8, 13–15</p>	<p>Schreiber I: simplified <i>textua-</i> <i>lis</i>, with a cursive tendency (fol. 1r)</p>	
LIBRONE 2		
<p>A Gatherings 3–7</p>	<p>Schreiber III (fol. 45v)</p>	
<p>B Gatherings 11, 15–16</p>	<p>Schreiber VI (fol. 86r)</p>	

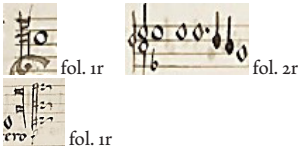
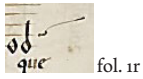
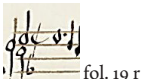
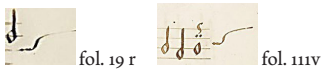
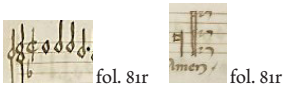

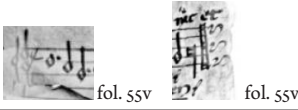
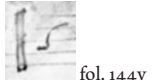
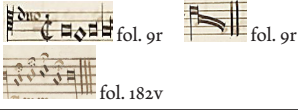

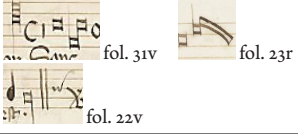
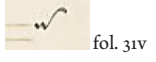
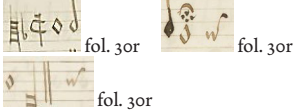
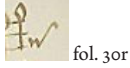
SCRIBE	JEPPESEN	SPECIMEN
C Gatherings 1–2, 9–10, 21–25	Schreiber I: Italian <i>textualis</i> <i>rotunda</i> (fol. 18r)	
D Gatherings 8, 17–20	Schreiber IV, Schreiber IX, Schreiber X: <i>textualis</i> , with tapered descenders (fol. 153v)	
E Two folios in gathering 9	Schreiber V: Script influenced by humanistic cursive (fol. 69v)	
F Gatherings 12–13, 26	Schreiber VII, Schreiber VIII: calligraphic, influenced by chancery scripts (fol. 99r)	
Gaffurius Gathering 14	Schreiber II (fol. 112r)	
LIBRONE 3		
A Gathering 3	Schreiber III: as above, but trembling (fol. 28v)	

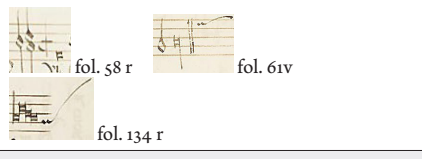

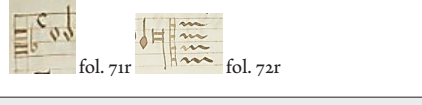
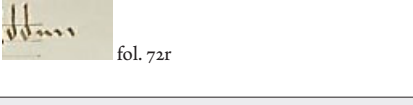
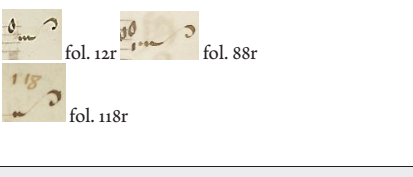
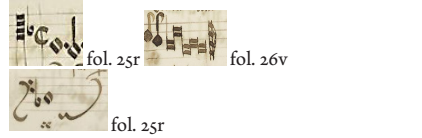
SCRIBE	JEPPESEN	SPECIMEN
<p>G Gatherings 1–2, 9–10, 16–19, 23</p>	<p>Schreiber I, Schreiber VIII: Italian <i>textualis</i> (fol. 12v)</p>	
<p>H Two folios in gathering 2</p>	<p>Schreiber II: sixteenth-century cursive (fol. 25r)</p>	
<p>I Gatherings 4–8, 13–15</p>	<p>Schreiber IV: sixteenth-century formal chancery script (fol. 40r)</p>	
<p>J Interventions in gatherings 5, 8, 10, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21</p>	<p>Schreiber V: Italian <i>textualis</i> with cursive tendency (fol. 159v)</p>	
<p>K Two folios in gathering 11</p>	<p>Schreiber VII: sixteenth-century cursive (fol. 111r)</p>	
<p>Gaffurius Gatherings 20–23</p>	<p>Schreiber VI (fol. 116r)</p>	

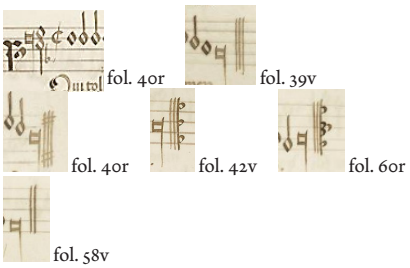

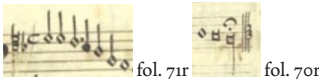
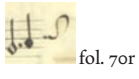


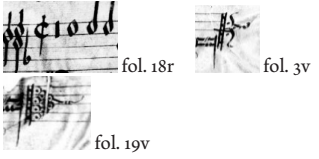
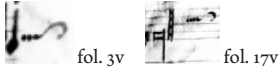


SCRIBE	JEPPESEN	SPECIMEN
LIBRONE [4]		
J	— (fol. 136r)	
Gaffurius fols. 55v–56r, 59v–60r, 77v–78r, 83v–87r 107v–108r, 141v–144r	— (fol. 144r)	

APPENDIX 4

Musical Scripts in the Libroni

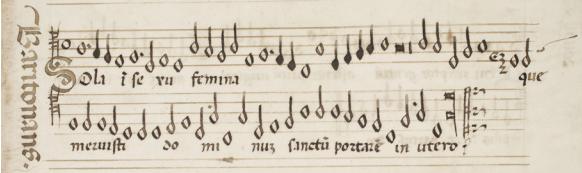
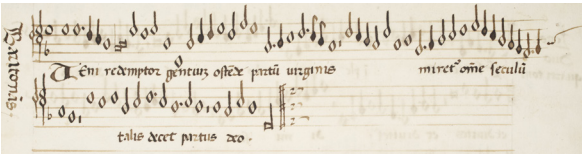

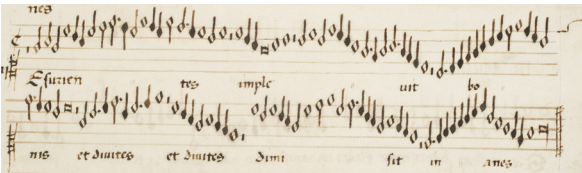

	CLEFS AND OTHER SIGNS	CUSTOS
GAFFURIUS		
Librone 1	 <p>fol. 1r fol. 2r fol. 1r</p>	 <p>fol. 1r</p>
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 19 r</p>	 <p>fol. 19 r fol. 111v</p>
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 81r fol. 81r</p>	 <p>fol. 81r</p>
Librone [4]	 <p>fol. 55v fol. 55v</p>	 <p>fol. 144v</p>
SCRIBE A		
Librone 1	 <p>fol. 9r fol. 9r fol. 182v</p>	 <p>fol. 29v fol. 156r</p>
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 31v fol. 23r fol. 22v</p>	 <p>fol. 31v</p>
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 30r fol. 30r fol. 30r</p>	 <p>fol. 30r</p>

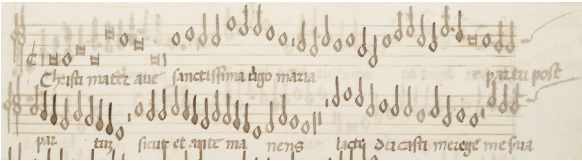
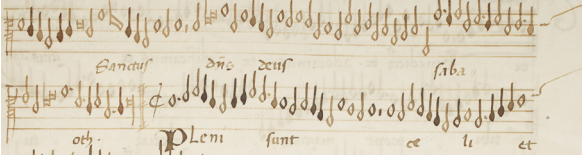
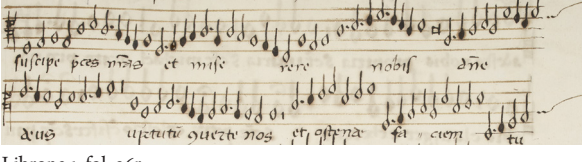
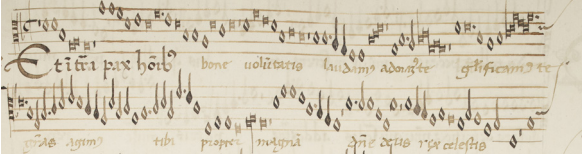
	CLEFS AND OTHER SIGNS	CUSTOS
SCRIBE B		
Librone 1	 <p>fol. 94r fol. 52r fol. 33r</p>	 <p>fol. 94r fol. 52r</p>
Librone 2	 <p>Kucifix fol. 88v fol. 85v fol. 119r fol. 125v</p>	 <p>fol. 93v fol. 85v</p>
SCRIBE C		
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 4v fol. 76v fol. 194v fol. 194v</p>	 <p>fol. 15r fol. 4v</p>
SCRIBE D		
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 58r fol. 61v fol. 134r</p>	 <p>fol. 58r fol. 138r</p>
SCRIBE E		
Librone 2	 <p>fol. 71r fol. 72r</p>	 <p>fol. 72r</p>
SCRIBE F		
Librone 2	 <p>Artem cup fol. 96v fol. 96v fol. 104v</p>	 <p>fol. 96v fol. 104v</p>
SCRIBE G		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 12r fol. 13v fol. 89v fol. 15v</p>	 <p>fol. 12r fol. 88r fol. 118r</p>
SCRIBE H		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 25r fol. 26v fol. 25r</p>	 <p>fol. 25r fol. 25r</p>

	CLEFS AND OTHER SIGNS	CUSTOS
SCRIBE I		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 40r fol. 39v fol. 40r fol. 42v fol. 60r fol. 58v</p>	 <p>fol. 38r fol. 40r</p>
Florence, Biblioteca del Con- servatorio, Basevi 2441	 <p>fol. 71r fol. 70r</p>	 <p>fol. 70r</p>
SCRIBE J		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 55r fol. 82v fol. 149v</p>	 <p>fol. 84r fol. 55r fol. 149r</p>
Librone [4]	 <p>fol. 18r fol. 3v fol. 19v</p>	 <p>fol. 3v fol. 17v</p>
SCRIBE K		
Librone 3	 <p>fol. 111r fol. 112v</p>	 <p>fol. 111r fol. 113r</p>

APPENDIX 5

Gaffurius's Phases of Intervention in the Libroni

<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, fols. 2va–1r, 3v–4r (upper)</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 1r</p>	<p>black ink; formal script; presence of decoration</p>
<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, fols. 1v–2r (upper), 3v–4r (lower) 56v–57r, 101v–102r, 117v–118r</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 2r</p>	<p>black ink; formal script; absence of decoration</p>
<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, 103v–106r, 109v–112r; Librone 2, fols. 6v–7r, 155v–157r</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 112r</p>	<p>brown ink; formal script; absence of decoration, simplified signs</p>
<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, fols. 2v–3r, 58v–64r, 97v–98r, 106v–108r</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 2v</p>	<p>ink verging from brown to reddish; min- ute, slanting, semi-cursive script</p>
<p>Gaff⁵ Librone 1, fol. 1ra, 1v–2r (lower), 4v–5r (upper), 57v–58r, 59v–60r (low- er), 60v–61r (lower), 98v–101r, 108v–109r, 111v–112r (lower)</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 101r</p>	<p>ochre ink; large-size, formal script</p>

<p>Gaff⁶ Librone 1, fols. 102v–103r, 114v–117r</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 115r</p>	<p>grey ink; large-size, formal script</p>
<p>Gaff⁷ Librone 1, fols. 39v–40r, 112v–114r; Librone 2, fols. 54v–56r, 110v–117r, 135v–136r, 209v–211r; Librone 3, fols. 78v–82r, 115v–116r, 190v–196r, 198v–205r, 208v–220r; Librone [4], fols. 24v–25r, 55v–56r, 59v–60r, 83v–87r, 107v–108r</p>	 <p>Librone 2, fol. 136r</p>	<p>ochre ink; cursive script</p>
<p>Gaff⁸ Librone 1, fols. 7v–8r, 31v–32r, 95v–96r; Librone 2, fols. 18v–19r; Librone 3, fols. 221v–223r; Librone [4], fols. 77v–78r, 141v–144r</p>	 <p>Librone 1, fol. 96r</p>	<p>black ink; cursive script</p>
<p>Gaff⁹ Librone 2, fols. 137v–139r</p>	 <p>Librone 2, fol. 137r</p>	<p>ochre ink; faltering hand</p>

APPENDIX 6

Chronology of the Compilation of the Libroni (Tentative Reconstruction)

The following table presents the relative chronology of the scribal interventions on each manuscript, based on the codicological and palaeographic analysis. The conjectural timeline in the leftmost column is based on the following ascertained dates: 1490, ownership note of Librone 1; 1492, binding of Librone 2; 1507, reconstructed ownership note of Librone [4].

TIMELINE	RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY			
	LIBRONE 1	LIBRONE 2	LIBRONE 3	LIBRONE [4]
1484–85?	Scribe A ¹			
1489–90	Scribe A ²			
...	Scribe B	Scribe A ²		
	Gaff ⁱ	Scribe B		
	Gaff ²	Scribe D		
1491–92*	Gaff ³	Gaff ³		
...	Gaff ⁴	Scribe C		
	Gaff ⁵			
	Gaff ⁶	Scribe F		
		Scribe E	Scribe A ³	
			Scribe G	
ca. 1505**			Scribe I	
...			Scribe H	
			Scribe K	
	Gaff ⁷	Gaff ⁷	Gaff ⁷	Gaff ⁷
1507			Scribe J	
...			Scribe J	
	Gaff ⁸	Gaff ⁸	Gaff ⁸	Gaff ⁸
ca. 1520***		Gaff ⁹		

Notes:

* In Librone 2 Scribes B and D work at the same time (they share the same decoration); Scribe C works after Scribe D (watermark) and Gaff³ works with Scribe C.

** In Librone 3 Scribe I works about 1505, maybe a little later (see other MSS by the same Scribe); Gaff⁷ comes later than Scribe I. Scribe J works after the binding of the volume.

*** Gaffurius's hand did not tremble before 1520.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acton, John Emerich Edward Dalberg, Baron, Sir Adolphus William Ward, George Walter Prothero, and Ernest Alfred Benians, *The Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1969), i.
- Albini, Giuliana, and Marina Gazzini, 'Materiali per la storia dell'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano: Le Ordinazioni capitolarie degli anni 1456–1498', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 12/1 (2011), 149–542.
- Andenna, Giancarlo, "'Ob eius eximiam musice artis peritiam": Antonio Guinati, maestro della cappella ducale sforzesca, alla ricerca di miniere nelle Alpi', *Verbanus*, 37 (2016), 89–108.
- Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, 6 vols. + 2 of Appendices and 1 of indexes (Milan: G. Brigola, 1877–85).
- Anonimi, *Messe*, ed. Fabio Fano, *Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense*, 6 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 1966).
- Arcangeli, Letizia, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio marchese di Vigevano e il governo francese nello Stato di Milano (1499–1518)', in Letizia Arcangeli (ed.), *Gentiluomini di Lombardia. Ricerche sull'aristocrazia padana nel Rinascimento* (Milan: Unicopli, 2003), 3–70.
- Archivio di Stato di Varallo, *Pergamene d'Adda (1349–1767): Inventario*, ed. Maria Grazia Cagna (Varallo, 1986).
- L'arte musicale in Italia: Composizioni sacre e profane a più voci, secolo XVI*, ed. Luigi Torchi (Milan: Ricordi, 1897).
- Bacchelli, Franco, 'Grassi, Tommaso de"', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 58 (2002), online at <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tommaso-de-grassi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tommaso-de-grassi_(Dizionario-Biografico))>.
- Barbero, Giliola, 'Nuovi manoscritti di Giovanni Battista Lorenzi copista e segretario milanese', *Aevum*, 84/3 (2010), 695–709.
- Baroffio, Giacomo, and Eun Ju Kim (eds.), *Antiphonarium letaniarum: Processionale Ambrosiano del 1492. Milano, Biblioteca dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Manoscritto UC MS 5* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2008).
- Belloni, Cristina, and Marco Lunari (eds.), *I notai della curia arcivescovile di Milano (secoli XIV–XV)* (Rome: MiBAC – Direzione generale per gli archivi, 2004).
- Bent, Margaret, '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), 295–317.

- Benzoni, Gino, 'Ludovico Sforza, detto il Moro, duca di Milano', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 2006) <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-sforza-detto-il-moro-duca-di-milano_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-sforza-detto-il-moro-duca-di-milano_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 4 July 2020].
- Berwin, Adolfo, 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).
- Blackburn, Bonnie J., 'The Dispute about Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style', in Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.), *Théorie et analyse musicales, 1450–1650: Actes du Colloque international, Louvain-La-Neuve, 23–25 septembre 1999 = Music Theory and Analysis, 1450–1650: Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain-La-Neuve, 23–25 September 1999* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie; Collège Érasme, 2001), 1–37.
- 'Lorenzo de' Medici, a Lost Isaac Manuscript, and the Venetian Ambassador', in Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon (eds.) *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone* (Stuyvesant NY: Pendragon Press, 1996), 19–44.
- 'Masses Based on Popular Songs and Solmization Syllables', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 51–87.
- "Notes Secretly Fitted Together": Theorists on Enigmatic Canons—and on Josquin's Hercules Mass?', in Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman (eds.), *"Qui musicam in se habet": Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart* (Middletown, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), 743–60.
- 'The Sign of Petrucci's Editor', in Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (eds.), *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale = Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10–13 ottobre 2001* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005), 415–29.
- 'Variations on Agricola's *Si dedero*: A Motet Cycle Unmasked', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 187–217.
- Bokulich, Clare, 'Contextualizing Josquin's "Ave Maria ... virgo Serena"', *Journal of Musicology*, 34/2 (2017), 182–240.
- Boorman, Stanley, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Borghi, Renato, 'Il manoscritto Basevi 2441 della Biblioteca del Conservatorio L. Cherubini di Firenze: Edizione critica' (Ph.D. diss., Università degli studi di Pavia at Cremona, 1996).
- Bosi, Carlo, "'Tant que mon/nostre argent dura": Die Überlieferung und Bearbeitung einer "populären" Melodie in fünf mehrstimmigen Sätzen', *Acta Musicologica*, 77/2 (2005), 205–28.
- Brauner, Mitchell P., 'Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Choir in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians*, 167–74.

- Bridgman, Nanie, *Manuscripts de musique polyphonique, XVe et XVIe siècles: Italie. Catalogue*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, B IV/5 (Munich: Henle, 1991).
- Briquet, Charles Moïse, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Paris: Picard, 1907).
- Brivio, Ernesto, 'Apostoli e Nazaro, basilica dei SS.', in Angelo Majo (ed.), *Dizionario della Chiesa ambrosiana*, 6 vols. (Milan: NED, 1987–93), i. 188–91.
- Brown, Alison, *Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici and the Crisis of Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
- Brown, Howard Mayer, '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.
- Brumel, Antoine, *Missae Je nay dueul, Berzerette savoyenne, Ut Re Mi Fa Sol, L'Homme armé, Victimae paschali*, ed. Barton Hudson, *Opera omnia*, 1, CMM 5 ([s.l.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1969).
- Brusa, Marco, 'Hermann Mathias Werrecoren "Maestro di capella del Domo di Milano" 1522–1550', *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*, 15 (1994), 173–229.
- Busnelli, Mariella, 'L'archivio musicale della Fabbrica del Duomo', in Graziella De Florentiis and Gian Nicola Vessia (eds.), *Sei secoli di musica nel Duomo di Milano* (Milan: NED, 1986), 251–70.
- Caretta, Alessandro, Luigi Cremascoli, and Luigi Salamina, *Franchino Gaffurio* (Lodi: Edizioni dell'Archivio storico lodigiano, 1951).
- Cassia, Cristina, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389.
- 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 275–90.
- Cattin, Giulio, 'Nomi di rimatori per la polifonia profana italiana del secondo Quattrocento', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 25/2 (1990), 209–311.
- Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 vols. (Neuhausen, Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag, 1979–88).
- Ceriani Sebregondi, Giulia, et al., *Ad triangulum: Il Duomo di Milano e il suo tiburio. Da Stornaloco a Bramante, Leonardo e Giovanni Antonio Amadeo* (Padua: Il poligrafo, 2019).
- Ciceri, Angelo, 'Documenti inediti intorno alla vita di Franchino Gaffurio rinvenuti nell'Archivio della Ven. Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano', *Archivio storico lodigiano*, 71 (1952), 27–33.
- Compère, Loyset, *Ave virgo gloriosa (Galeazescha)*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi, Motet Cycles Edition, 3, *Gaffurius Codices Online*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions>>.

- Copeman, Harold, '19. Netherlands Latin', in McGee (ed.), *Singing Early Music*, 282–88.
- A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
- Covini, Maria Nadia, *L'esercito del Duca: Organizzazione militare e istituzioni al tempo degli Sforza (1450–1480)*, *Nuovi studi storici*, 42 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1998).
- Cumming, Julie E., *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- D'Accone, Frank A., 'Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance', *Analecta musicologica*, 4 (1967), 38–76; repr. in his *Music in Renaissance Florence*, no. IX.
- 'A Documentary History of Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry during the Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960).
- *Music in Renaissance Florence: Studies and Documents* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).
- 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14/3 (1961), 307–58; repr. in his *Music in Renaissance Florence*, no. IV.
- D'Agostino, Marco, and Martina Pantarotto (eds.), *I manoscritti datati della provincia di Pavia*, *Manoscritti datati d'Italia*, 33 (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2020).
- Daolmi, Davide, 'Iconografia gaffuriana. Con un'appendice sui due testamenti di Gaffurio', in Davide Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 143–211.
- (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, *Studi e saggi*, 3 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2017).
- De Florentiis, Graziella, 'Storia della Cappella musicale del Duomo dalle origini al 1714', in Graziella De Florentiis and Gian Nicola Vessia (eds.), *Sei secoli di musica nel Duomo di Milano* (Milan: NED, 1986), 41–126.
- Diergarten, Felix, "'Aut propter devotionem, aut propter sonorositatem": Compositional Design of Late Fifteenth-Century Elevation Motets in Perspective', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 61–86.
- "'Gaude Flore Virginali" – Message from the "Black Hole"?, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 429–55.
- Dumitrescu, Theodor, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 65/1 (2012), 5–65.
- Il Duomo di Milano all'Esposizione internazionale del 1906: Catalogo* (Milan: Tip. Sonzogno, 1906).
- Elders, Willem, 'New Light on the Dating of Josquin's "Hercules" Mass', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 48/2 (1998), 112–49.
- Fallows, David, *Josquin, Epitome Musical* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

- ‘Josquin and Milan’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), 69–80.
- ‘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.
- Fano, Fabio, ‘Note su Franchino Gaffurio’, *Rivista musicale italiana*, 55 (1953), 227–44.
- Ferrari, Adam, ‘Nuovi dedicatari per Franchino Gaffurio: La ricerca del consenso nella Milano di Luigi XII e Francesco I’, *ACME*, 72/1 (2019), 111–20.
- Fiedler, Eric F., ‘Missa “loco cantoribus”? Gedanken über Ausnahmefälle’, in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds.), *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993), 411–18.
- Filippi, Daniele V., ‘“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.
- ‘Breve guida ai motetti missales (e dintorni)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 139–69.
- ‘Operation Libroni: Franchinus Gaffurius and the Construction of a Repertory for Milan’s Duomo’, in Karl Kügle (ed.), *Sounding the Past: Music as History and Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 101–14.
- ‘Text, Form, and Style in Franchino Gaffurio’s Motets’, in Thomas Schmidt-Beste (ed.), *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 383–410.
- ‘Where Devotion and Liturgy Meet: Re-Assessing the Milanese Roots of the “Motetti Missales”’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 53–91.
- and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019).
- and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019).
- Finscher, Ludwig, ‘Loyset Compère and his Works: VI. The Tenor Motets and Analogous Forms’, *Musica Disciplina*, 16 (1962), 93–113.
- *Loyset Compère (c.1450–1518): Life and Works*, MSD 12 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1964).
- Gaffurio, Franchino, *Messe*, ed. Amerigo Bortone, *Archivium musices metropolitanum Mediolanense*, 1–3 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1958–60).
- Gallagher, Sean, ‘Belle promesse e facti nulla: A Letter to Weerbeke and the Treatment of Singers in Florence and Milan’, in Lindmayr-Brandl and Kolb (eds.), *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on his Life and Music*, 59–71 <<https://www.brepolsonline.net/doi/abs/10.1484/M.EM-EB.4.2019025>>

- Gancarczyk, Paweł, 'The Dating and Chronology of the Strahov Codex', *Hudební Věda*, 43/2 (2006), 135–46.
- Ganda, Arnaldo, 'Cenni su carta, cartai e cartolai nel Quattrocento milanese', *La Bibliofilia*, 116/1–3 (2014), 149–64.
- Ganda, Arnaldo, 'La pergamena a Milano nella seconda metà del Quattrocento: Uso, prezzo, punti di vendita e di fabbricazione', in Roberto Guarasci et al. (eds.), *Scritti in memoria di Raoul Guêze, 1926–2005* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2007), 145–66.
- Ganda, Arnaldo, 'Il "tipografo del Servius H 14708" ha un nome: Domenico Giliberti da Vespolate', *La Bibliofilia*, 87/3 (1985), 227–65.
- Ganna, Raffaella, 'La fabbrica sforzesca di Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese: Revisione critica e fatti inediti', in Marco Bascapè and Francesca Tasso (eds.), *Opere insigni, e per la divozione e per il lavoro: Tre sculture lignee del Maestro di Trognano al Castello Sforzesco. Atti della giornata di studio, Milano, Castello Sforzesco, 17 marzo 2005* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2006), 37–53.
- Gasser, Nolan Ira, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001).
- Getz, Christine, 'The Milanese Cathedral Choir under Hermann Matthias Werrecore, *Maestro di cappella* 1522–1550', *Musica Disciplina*, 46 (1992), 170–222.
- 'The Sforza Restoration and the Founding of the Ducal Chapels at Santa Maria della Scala in Milan and Sant' Ambrogio in Vigevano', *Early Music History*, 17 (1998), 109–59.
- Giazotto, Remo, 'Onde musicali nella corrente poetica di Serafino dall'Aquila', in his *Musurgia nova* (Milan: Ricordi, 1959), 3–119.
- Giovè Marchioli, Nicoletta, and Martina Pantarotto (eds.), *I manoscritti datati delle province di Brescia, Como, Lodi, Monza-Brianza e Varese*, *Manoscritti datati d'Italia*, 24 (Florence: SISMELE – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014).
- Giulini, Giorgio, *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città e campagna di Milano ne' secoli bassi* (Milan: Francesco Colombo, 1854), i.
- Gozzi, Marco, 'Sequence Texts in Transmission', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 157–87.
- Gronemann, Peter, *Varietas delectat: Mannigfaltigkeit in Messen des Johannes Tinctoris, Folkwang-Texte* (Essen: Verl. Die Blaue Eule, 2000).
- Grossi, Ada, 'Dell'attività scrittoria nella piazza del Duomo di Milano nel Quattrocento e delle suppliche di età viscontea', *Aevum*, 70/2 (1996), 273–83.
- Haar, James, 'Josquin in Rome: Some Evidence from the Masses', in Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians*, 213–23.
- and John Louis Nádas, 'The Medici, the Signoria, the Pope: Sacred Polyphony in Florence, 1432–1448', *Recercare*, 20 (2008), 25–93.

- Hamm, Charles, and Ann Besser Scott, 'A Study and Inventory of the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.X.1.11 (ModB)', *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), 101–43.
- Hannas, Ruth, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 5/3 (1952), 155–86.
- Hobson, Anthony, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Isaac, Heinrich, *Four-Voice Masses I*, ed. Edward R. Lerner, *Opera omnia*, 6, CMM 65 (Neuhausen; Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1984).
- *Four-Voice Masses II*, ed. Edward R. Lerner, *Opera omnia*, 7, CMM 65 (Neuhausen; Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1984).
- Iversen, Gunilla, *Chanter avec les anges: Poésie dans la messe médiévale. Interprétations et commentaires* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2001).
- James, Carolyn, *A Renaissance Marriage: The Political and Personal Alliance of Isabella d'Este and Francesco Gonzaga, 1490–1519* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
- Jeppesen, Knud, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28.
- Josquin des Prez, *Masses Based on Secular Monophonic Songs*, 2, ed. Jesse Rodin, NJE 6 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2014).
- *Masses Based on Solmisation Themes*, ed. James Haar and Lewis Lockwood, NJE 11 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2002).
- Kanazawa, Masakata, 'Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966).
- Der Kodex Berlin 40021: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin Mus. ms. 40021*, ed. Martin Just, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 76–78 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990).
- Leverett, Adelyn Peck, 'An Early Missa Brevis in Trent Codex 91', in John Kmetz (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152–73.
- Liber capelle ecclesie maioris: Quarto codice di Gaffurio*, ed. Angelo Ciceri and Luciano Migliavacca, *Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense*, 16 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1968).
- Lindmayr-Brandl, Andrea, and Paul Kolb (eds.), *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on His Life and Music* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).
- Lockwood, Lewis, 'Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este', *Studi musicali*, 1 (1972), 101–31.
- *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (1985; rev. paperback edn., New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

- Lonoce, Sergio, 'Gaffurio perfectus musicus: Lettura dei "motetti missales"' (tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2009), 99–103.
- Lotti, Carlo Alberto, *Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese: Il monte sacro Olona e il Sacro Monte del Rosario* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2000).
- Lubkin, Gregory, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
- Macey, Patrick P., 'Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin', *Early Music History*, 15 (1996), 147–212.
- Madrignano, Arcangelo, *Le imprese dell'illustrissimo Gian Giacomo Trivulzio il Magno: Dai codici trivulziani 2076, 2079, 2124*, ed. Marino Viganò (Milan: Fondazione Trivulzio, 2014).
- Malaguzzi Valeri, Francesco, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro*, 4 vols. (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1913).
- Martini, Johannes, *Masses, Part 1: Masses without Known Polyphonic Models*, ed. Elaine Moohan and Murray Steib, RRMMAER 34 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1999).
- *Masses, Part 2: Masses with Known Polyphonic Models*, ed. Elaine Moohan and Murray Steib, RRMMAER 35 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1999).
- Matthews, Lora L., '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.
- McGee, Timothy J. (ed.), *Singing Early Music: The Pronunciation of European Languages in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Music: Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).
- McKay, Cory, Julie Cumming, and Ichiro Fujinaga, 'jSymbolic 2.2: Extracting Features from Symbolic Music for Use in Musicological and MIR Research', in *Proceedings of the International Society for Music Information Retrieval Conference*, 348–54; online at <http://ismir2018.ircam.fr/doc/pdfs/26_Paper.pdf>.
- Merkley, Paul A., 'Josquin Desprez in Ferrara', *Journal of Musicology*, 18/4 (2001), 544–83.
- 'Ludovico Sforza as an "Emerging Prince": Networks of Musical Patronage in Milan', in Paul A. Merkley (ed.), *Music and Patronage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 255–70.
- 'Weerbeke in Milan: Court and Colleagues', in Lindmayr-Brandl and Kolb (eds.), *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on His Life and Music*, 47–58. <<https://www.brepolsonline.net/doi/10.1484/M.EM-EB.4.2019024>>
- and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).
- Meschini, Stefano, *La Francia nel ducato di Milano: La politica di Luigi XII (1499–1512)*, 2 vols., Studi e ricerche storiche (Milan: F. Angeli, 2006).
- *Luigi XII duca di Milano: Gli uomini e le istituzioni del primo dominio francese (1499–1512)*, Studi e ricerche storiche (Milan: F. Angeli, 2004).

- Miller, Clement A., 'Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions', *Musical Quarterly*, 56/3 (1970), 367–88.
- 'The Musical Source of Brumel's "Missa Dringhs"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21/2 (1968), 200–4.
- Mischiati, Oscar (ed.), *Gli Antegnati: Studi e documenti su una stirpe di organari bresciani del Rinascimento* (Bologna: Patron, 1995).
- Mitchell, Robert J., 'Musical Counterparts to the "Wilhelmus Duffay" "Salve Regina" Setting in MunBS 3154', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 54/1 (2004), 9–22.
- Mompellio, Federico, 'La cappella del Duomo da Matthias Hermann di Vercore a Vincenzo Ruffo', in *Storia di Milano*, ix, pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 749–785.
- Moreno, Manuel, 'El Ducado de Milán y la transmisión de las composiciones castellanas en cancioneros musicales italianos: El manuscrito FC1', *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, 35 (2017), 512–33.
- Mouser, Marilee J., 'Petrucci and his Shadow: A Study of the Filiation and Reception History of the Venetian Motet Anthologies, 1502–08' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 2003).
- Mücke, Panja, and Christiane Wiesenfeld, 'Dynastische Kommunikation und Kulturtransfer: Heinrichs Isaacs Missa La Spagna', in Andrea Ammendola, Daniel Giowotz, and Jürgen Heidrich (eds.), *Polyphone Messen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Funktion, Kontext, Symbol* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress GmbH, 2012), 83–99.
- Mulas, Pierluigi, 'Codici miniati di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio', *Viglevanum*, 17 (2007), 8–27.
- Natvig, Mary, 'The Magnificat Group of Antoine Busnoys: Aspects of Style and Attribution', in Paula Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 257–76.
- Noblitt, Thomas L., 'The Ambrosian "Motetti Missales" Repertory', *Musica Disciplina*, 22 (1968), 77–103.
- "'Contrafacta" in Isaac's Missae "Wohlauf, Gesell, von Hinnen"', *Acta musicologica*, 46/2 (1974), 208–16.
- (ed.), *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold: Staatsbibliothek München Mus Ms. 3154, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 80–83* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987).
- Owens, Jessie Ann, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Palestra, Ambrogio, *Visite pastorali di Milano (1423–1859)* (Rome: Multigrafica editrice, 1971).
- Pantarotto, Martina, 'Copisti a Milano tra la fine del Quattrocento e l'inizio del Cinquecento: Prime ricerche', *Scripta*, 13 (2020), 123–40.

- ‘Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri’, in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 49–72.
- ‘Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologico-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 103–38.
- ‘I manoscritti milanesi di Franchino Gaffurio’, *Scripta*, 12 (2019), 169–81.
- ‘Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio: I manoscritti laudensi’, *Scripta*, 5 (2012), 111–17.
- Pavanello, Agnese, ‘The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 33–59.
- ‘A Flemish Venus in Milan: Gaspar van Weerbeke’s “Missa O Venus Bant”’, *Early Music History*, 38 (2019), 107–39.
- Pedralli, Monica, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato: Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2002).
- Pellegrin, Élisabeth, ‘Les Manuscrits de Geoffroy Carles, président du parlement de Dauphiné et du Sénat de Milan’, in Giovanni Mardersteig (ed.), *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, 4 vols, ([Vatican City]: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), iii. 309–27.
- Pellegrini, Marco, *Ascanio Sforza: La parabola politica di un cardinale-principe del Rinascimento*, 2 vols., Nuovi studi storici, 60 (Rome: Nella sede dell’Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 2002).
- Peruzzo, Federica, ‘Il “Breviarium Ambrosianum” di Pietro Casola (1490)’, *Ricerche storiche sulla Chiesa Ambrosiana*, 24 (2006), 9–51.
- ‘Il “Breviarium Ambrosianum” di Pietro Casola (1490): Tra filologia e liturgia’ (Ph.D. diss., Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2003).
- Peschiera, Maddalena, ‘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.
- Planchart, Alejandro Enrique, *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Pontone, Marzia, ‘I manoscritti trivulziani per Massimiliano Sforza e l’attività milanese del copista Giovanni Battista Lorenzi’, *Aevum*, 87/3 (2013), 685–711.
- Pope, Isabel, and Masakata Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871: A Neapolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978).
- Prioris, Johannes, *Opera omnia*, i: *Masses*, ed. Herman Keahey, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 90 (Neuhausen; Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1982).

- Prizer, William F., 'Music at the Court of the Sforza: The Birth and Death of a Musical Center', *Musica Disciplina*, 43 (1989), 141–93.
- 'Secular Music at Milan during the Early Cinquecento: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS Basevi 2441', *Musica Disciplina*, 50 (1996), 9–57.
- 'Una "Virtù molto conveniente a madonne": Isabella d'Este as a Musician', *Journal of Musicology*, 17/1 (1999), 10–49.
- Quadrelli, Laura Daniela, 'Anonimo milanese', in Tiziano Zanato and Andrea Comboni (eds.), *Atlante dei canzonieri in volgare del Quattrocento*, Edizione Nazionale I canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini, 7 (Florence: SISMELE – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017), 56–64.
- 'Edizione critica e commentata di un canzoniere milanese anonimo (XV–XVI secolo)' (Ph.D. diss., Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2017).
- Reynolds, Christopher A., 'Interpreting and Dating Josquin's "Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae"', in Honey Meconi (ed.), *Early Musical Borrowing* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 91–110.
- *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
- Rifkin, Joshua, 'Jean Michel and "Lucas Wagenrieder": Some New Findings', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 55/2 (2005), 113–52.
- 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin: Further Thoughts on a Familiar Topic', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 221–336.
- 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's "Ave Maria ... Virgo Serena"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/2 (2003), 239–350.
- 'Pietrequin Bonnel and Ms. 2794 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29/2 (1976), 284–96.
- 'Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26/2 (1973), 305–26.
- Jeffrey Dean, and David Fallows, 'Compère, Loyset, Life', *Grove Music Online*.
- Rodin, Jesse, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Romite dell'ordine di Sant'Ambrogio ad Nemos (eds.), *Il monastero di Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese*, La storia di Varese, 4.2 (Gavirate: Nicolini, 2006).
- Rossetti, Edoardo, 'L'"Isola beata" dei musicisti e degli aristocratici: qualche appunto su gerarchie sociali e culturali nella Milano di fine Quattrocento', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 53–87.
- Rossi, Francesco Rocco, 'Franchino Gaffurio compositore: Tra indagine stilistica e nuove conferme attributive', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 219–31.

- ‘Le pratiche mensurali nei quattro libroni di Gaffurio: Una risorsa per possibili attribuzioni’, *Studi musicali*, 10/2 (2019), 155–92.
- ‘Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex: Reconsiderations on the “Motetti Missales” Paradigm’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 381–95.
- Roth, Adalbert, ‘Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches mit polyphoner Musik der päpstlichen Kapelle: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Sistina, Ms. 35’, in Martin Staehelin (ed.), *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Komm., 1998), 43–64.
- Ruggeri, Fausto, ‘Per un censimento del clero ambrosiano nel sec. XV: Benefici e beneficiati nelle filze del notaio Giovanni Pietro Ciocca (1476–1500)’, *Studi di storia medioevale e di diplomatica*, 16 (1996), 113–78.
- Rumbold, Ian, ‘Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II A 7 (‘Speciálník Codex’), in Schmidt and Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources*, 349–96.
- ‘Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 3154’, in Schmidt and Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources*, 285–348.
- Sanudo, Marin, Guglielmo Berchet, Nicolò Barozzi, Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Marco Allegri, and others, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto: (MCCCXCVI–MDXXXIII) dall’auto-grafo marciano ital. cl. 7. codd. CDXIX–CDLXXVII* (Venice: Visentini, 1879).
- Sartori, Claudio, ‘La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio’, in *Storia di Milano*, ix, pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 723–48.
- , ‘Franchino Gaffurio a Milano (Nuove notizie biografiche e documenti inediti sulla sua attività di Maestro di Cappella e sulla sua riforma della Cappella del Duomo)’, *Universitas Europae*, 1/[a] iv–v: 18–20, [b] viii–ix: 13–16, [c] xi–xii: 17–20 (1952–1953).
- ‘Josquin des Prés cantore del Duomo di Milano (1459–1472)’, *Annales musicologiques*, 4 (1956), 55–83.
- *Le musiche della Cappella del Duomo di Milano: Catalogo delle musiche dell’Archivio* (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1957).
- ‘Il quarto codice di Gaffurio non è del tutto scomparso’, in *Collectanea historiae musicae*, 1 (Florence: Olschki, 1953), 26–44.
- Saunders, Suparmi E., ‘The Dating of Trent 93 and Trent 90’, in Nino Pirrotta and Daniele Curti (eds.), *I codici musicali trentini a cento anni dalla loro riscoperta: Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger La musicologia come missione. Trento. Castello del Buonconsiglio 6–7 settembre 1985* (Trent: Museo Provinciale d’Arte, 1986), 60–83.
- Schmidt, Thomas, ‘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.

- ‘Making Polyphonic Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries’, in Schmidt and Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources*, 3–100.
- and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-Page in Manuscripts and Printed Books Containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).
- Schofield, Richard V., Janice Shell, and Grazioso Sironi (eds.), *Giovanni Antonio Amadeo: Documents / I documenti* (Como: New Press, 1989).
- Sherr, Richard (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1998).
- ‘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 Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds.), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn, Epitome Musical* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 319–33.
- ‘Verdelot in Florence, Coppini in Rome, and the Singer “La Fiore”’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37/2 (1984), 402–11.
- Shetter, William Z., ‘18. Flemish (Dutch)’, in McGee (ed.), *Singing Early Music*, 271–81.
- Siekiera, Anna, *Tradurre per musica: Lessico musicale e teatrale nel Cinquecento* (Prato: Rindi, 2000).
- Snow, Robert J., ‘The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1968).
- Spinelli, Marina E., ‘La repubblica ambrosiana (1447–1450): Aspetti e problemi’ (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Milano, 1990).
- Staehelin, Martin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, 2 vols., Publicationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschende Gesellschaft – Publications de la Société suisse de musicologie, Serie II, 28 (Bern, Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1977).
- ‘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.
- Stefani, Davide, ‘Le vite di Gaffurio’, in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 27–48.
- Steib, Murray, ‘Herculean Labours: Johannes Martini and the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS a.M.1.13’, *Early Music History*, 33 (2014), 183–257.
- ‘Loyset Compère and his Recently Rediscovered *Missa De tous biens plaine*’, *Journal of Musicology*, 11/4 (1993), 437–54.
- Tibaldi, Rodobaldo, ‘Repertorio tradito e repertorio coevo nelle intavolature per canto e liuto raccolte da Francesco Bossinensis con uno sguardo alle raccolte analoghe’, in Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (eds.), *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale = Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing: Atti del Convegno internazionale*

- di studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10–13 ottobre 2001* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005), 491–590.
- Tinctoris, Johannes, *Opera omnia*, ed. William Melin, CMM 18 ([s.l.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1976).
- Toia, Katia, ‘Gli Squassi, cartai ducali e imprenditori nel Quattrocento’, in *Sì, carta! Catalogo della mostra presso l’Archivio di Stato di Milano, novembre 2013–febbraio 2014* (Milan: Archivio di Stato, 2013), 57–61.
- Torelli, Daniele, ‘Gli inni e il repertorio per l’ufficio nei Libroni gaffuriani’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 233–71.
- Valli, Norberto, ‘La liturgia a Milano nel Quattrocento: coesistenza di due riti?’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 89–100.
- Verstraete, Marie, ‘Random Patchwork or Deliberate Design? A Typologizing Approach to Polyphonic Mass Forms in the Milanese Libroni’, unpublished paper read at the Basel 2016 ‘Motet Cycles’ conference.
- Viganò, Marino, ‘Bramantino a Milano: Precisazioni “trivulziane”’, *Raccolta Vinciana*, 35 (2012), 118–52.
- ‘Gian Giacomo Trivulzio: Declino, fine, esaltazione di un condottiere milanese (1518–1519)’, *Archivio storico lombardo*, 145 (2019), 185–219.
- ‘Gian Giacomo Trivulzio e Leonardo: Appunti su una committenza (1482–1518)’, *Raccolta Vinciana*, 34 (2011), 1–52.
- ‘Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, la Madonna di Lonigo e la Trivulziana a San Nazaro di Milano’, in Sergio Marinelli (ed.), *Aldebaran III: Storia dell’arte* (Verona: Scripta, 2015), 57–86.
- ‘Leonardo and the Trivulzio Monument: Some Questions and Evidence: (1507–1518)’, in Constance Moffatt and Sara Tagliagalamba (eds.), *Illuminating Leonardo: A Festschrift for Carlo Pedretti Celebrating his 70 Years of Scholarship (1944–2014)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 239–55.
- ‘Trivulzio, Gian Giacomo’, in Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, and Gennaro Sasso, *Machiavelli: Enciclopedia machiavelliana*, 3 vols. (Rome, 2014), ii. 626–28.
- Ward, Lynn Halpern, ‘The “Motetti Missales” Repertory Reconsidered’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39/3 (1986), 491–523.
- Werrecore, Hermann Matthias, *Cantuum quinque vocum quos motetta vocant ... liber primus (1559)*, ed. Christine Suzanne Getz, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 151 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2008).
- Wright, Peter, ‘Watermarks and Musicology: The Genesis of Johannes Wiser’s Collection’, *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), 247–332.
- Zaggia, Massimo, ‘Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano negli anni di Franchino Gaffurio (1484–1522)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 3–51.

- Zamponi, Stefano, 'Aspetti della tradizione gotica nella *littera antiqua*', in Robert Black, Jill Kraye, and Laura Nuvoloni (eds.), *Palaeography, Manuscript Illumination and Humanism in Renaissance Italy: Studies in Memory of A. C. de la Mare* (London: The Warburg Institute, 2016), 105–25.
- 'La scrittura del libro nel Duecento', in *Civiltà comunale: Libro, scrittura, documento. Atti del Convegno, Genova, 8–11 novembre 1988* (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1989), 315–54.
- Zanetti, Melania, 'Tra prevenzione e restauro: La manutenzione in biblioteca', *Biblioteche oggi*, 35 (2017), 3–6 at 6, and more in general Zanetti, *Dalla tutela al restauro del patrimonio librario e archivistico: Storia, esperienze, interdisciplinarietà*, Studi di archivistica, bibliografia, paleografia, 4 (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2018).
- Zanoboni, Maria Paola, 'Profili biografico-patrimoniali di alcuni mercanti di carta milanesi: Seconda metà XV–inizi XVI secolo', in Renzo Paolo Corritore and Luisa Piccinno (eds.), *Cinque secoli di carta: Produzione, commercio e consumi della carta nella Regio Insubrica e in Lombardia dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea* (Varese: Insubria University Press, 2005), 25–48.
- Zanovello, Giovanni, 'Heinrich Isaac, die Medici und andere Florentiner', *Musik-Konzepte*, 148–49, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2010), 5–19.
- "'In the Church and in the Chapel": Music and Devotional Spaces in the Florentine Church of Santissima Annunziata', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 67/2 (2014), 379–428.

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
 Fauges, 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 WORKS¹

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^a 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

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^a 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

IMPRESSO E RILEGATO IN ITALIA
PER CONTO DELLA LIBRERIA MUSICALE ITALIANA



LUCCA MMXXI
· MMDCLXXIV AUC ·