



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
Petrucchi, <i>Motetti A</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti A</i> (Venice, 1502; RISM B 1502 ¹)
Petrucchi, <i>Motetti C</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti C</i> (Venice, 1504; RISM B 1504 ¹)
Petrucchi, <i>Motetti IV</i>	Ottaviano Petrucci, <i>Motetti Libro Quarto</i> (Venice, 1505; RISM B 1505 ²)
RISM	Répertoire International de Sources Musicales
RRMMAER	Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance

GAFFURIUS'S PARATEXTS:
NOTES ON THE INDEXES OF LIBRONI 1–3

DANIELE V. FILIPPI

Priscos cum haberes quos probares indices,
Lector, placere qui bonis possent modis,
Nostri libelli cur retexis paginam?

LUXORIUS (sixth cent.)

The index (or *tabula*) compiled by Franchinus Gaffurius for Librone 1 has attracted the attention of modern scholars exclusively because it lists the *motetti missales* – it is indeed the only source for that very name – and for related matters of attribution. No one has ever tried, however, to study the index more thoroughly and see if it contains any further clues for a better understanding of the manuscript's genesis and structure. At the 'Motet Cycles' conference in Basel, in April 2016, Francesco Rossi highlighted some peculiar features of the index and used them as evidence for his 'reconsiderations on the *motetti missales* paradigm';¹ a discussion ensued about how to reconcile his pragmatic and content-oriented reading of the index with the fact that some of the entries had clearly been written at different times, with different inks and scripts. Then came Martina Pantarotto's first palaeographical and codicological study of the Libroni² and, with the colleagues of the Polifonia Sforzesca research team, we started pondering some unsolved riddles in the structure of Librone 1: it was only then that I decided to go back to the index and scrutinize it more closely. My first results made evident that the stratigraphy of the index

1. Later published as Francesco Rocco Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex: Reconsiderations on the "Motetti Missales" Paradigm', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 381–95.

2. Martina Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologico-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019), 103–38.

reflected the stratigraphy of Gaffurius's interventions on the manuscript: Joshua Rifkin had already established that 'many additions to the choirbook by Gaffurius [...] clearly postdate the binding of the volume',³ but we needed more detail. Pantarotto was then working on what would become her chapter in the present volume, and in one of our joint brainstorming sessions I prompted her to study the variations in Gaffurius's script according to this perspective. Her enthusiastic response resulted in the discovery of no fewer than eight phases of Gaffurius's interventions (nine phases in all, if considering the other Libroni too).⁴ The preliminary study of the index of Librone 1, then, proved decisive for a better understanding of the manuscript. The following notes have been updated in the light of Pantarotto's findings: unsurprisingly, however, as the reader will soon see, the newly acquired knowledge comes hand in hand with further unanswered questions.

To the detailed discussion of the index of Librone 1, some briefer remarks on those of Libroni 2 and 3 follow, whose study yields more modest results: it further illuminates, nevertheless, Gaffurius's *modus operandi*, and more generally confirms that the attention dedicated to paratexts is always well spent.

The index of Librone 1

The index of Librone 1 was written by Gaffurius on the parchment pastedown of the front cover.⁵ Evidently, the master penned it after the volume was bound and after entering the foliation,⁶ probably copying from a draft list previously compiled by browsing through the manuscript. The index consists of two main lists, written with the same script and ink in two columns, and some additions. Disregarding the additions for the moment, the main list on the left can be described as a register

3. Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's "Ave Maria ... Virgo Serena"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/2 (2003), 239–350 at 253, n. 29, and 254, nn. 31 and 32. Previously, Masakata Kanazawa, 'Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966), 444–46 had noticed the remarkable variance in Gaffurius's script: he correctly identified some of Gaffurius's post-binding additions, but mistakenly attributed them to a different hand (which he labelled 'Scribe IV').

4. See Pantarotto's chapter and, for a synopsis, her Appendices 5 and 6.

5. For the provenance, material aspect, and collocation of the manuscript's former pastedowns (later detached from the binding), see my chapter (§'1484–1490: towards Librone 1') and the chapter by Martina Pantarotto (§1.6) in the present volume. For a digital reproduction of the two leaves carrying the index, originally glued together, see <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3207>> (top half) and <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3209>> (bottom half) respectively.

6. As Martina Pantarotto observed in one of our Libroni sessions, in coeval manuscripts the foliation was often inserted only in view of the indexing, and Gaffurius had a penchant for indexing his manuscripts. I express my heartfelt thanks to her for this and other valuable suggestions that I have gladly incorporated in my text.

of motets (including Marian antiphons and a *Te deum*), in impeccable order of occurrence from fol. '65' (= 64v–65r) to fol. '188' (=187v–188r), but excluding the motets belonging to the special cycles listed in the right-hand column. Each item's incipit is preceded by the number of voices⁷ and followed by the folio number. In two cases (Gaffurius's own motets *Virgo dei digna* and *Salve mater salvatoris*), the specification 'letanie' (litanies) is added on the left. The main list on the right, topped by the heading 'Motetti missales consequentes', is dedicated to the well-known motet cycles included in the manuscript, again listed in order of occurrence; they are provided with some annotations and, unlike the single motets on the left, with attributions ('Gaffori', 'Gaspar', 'Loyset'). I will not dwell here on the idiosyncrasies of the *motetti missales* list, whose remarkable implications as to the nature and function of the cycles, as well as the attribution of *Ave domine Iesu Christe*, have already been discussed in previous studies.⁸

In sum, Gaffurius conceived the index as a systematic list of the motets included in Librone 1, with the special group of the *motetti missales* put in evidence on the right. The other genres present in the manuscript (hymns and Magnificats) are left out. The two main lists considered together (always disregarding the additions) cover fols. 64v to 188r, that is gatherings 9–24 (see below, however, for the substantial omissions in gatherings 13–15).

As to the additions, they are entered in two distinct areas: one at the bottom of the left column (in which we can further distinguish between the first added item, *Vita dulcedo*,⁹ clearly placed in continuation to the main list, and the detached and differently aligned block below); the other at the bottom of the right column.

7. Note that the scoring of Binchois's *Te deum* 'a faux bordon' had first been entered as '4', then Gaffurius erased the '4' and wrote '3'.

8. On the first aspect, see at least Knud Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28; Thomas L. Noblitt, 'The Ambrosian "Motetti Missales" Repertory', *Musica Disciplina*, 22 (1968), 77–103; Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 332–53; Nolan Ira Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001); Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex'; and Daniele V. Filippi, 'Breve guida ai *motetti missales* (e dintorni)', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 139–69. On the second aspect, see now the introduction to [Loyset Compère?], *Ave domine Iesu Christe*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi, Motet Cycles Edition, 2 (2020), *Gaffurius Codices Online*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions>>. Further observations on how Gaffurius's indexes can be of help to the cataloguer of the Libroni are in Cristina Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 275–90.

9. The piece is catalogued as *Salve regina* in Cristina Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389, no. [I.85], and in *GCO-Catalogue*, but in the following discussion, for clarity, I will always use the incipit, as Gaffurius did in the index, and call it *Vita dulcedo*.

It is worth noting straightaway that all the motets recorded in the main or original lists were copied by Scribe A and Scribe B in the manuscript, whereas all the motets added to the index, and those which remained unrecorded as well, were copied by Gaffurius. With the sole exception of Gaspar van Weerbeke's short cycle *Christi mater ave* (fols. 114v–117r), all the motets added to Librone 1 are compositions by Gaffurius, or attributed to him by modern scholars, or anonymous.

Whereas the two main lists seem to reflect the 'original state' of the manuscript after the binding (at least as far as motets are concerned), about the additions we may wonder whether they were already present in the manuscript but were added to the index only later, or they were added *ex novo* to the Librone and consequently to the index (although the two operations need not necessarily have been performed at the same time).

Let us examine the additions, starting from the right-hand column of the index. It is immediately apparent that each entry is distinct for script and ink (with the exception of the pair *Magnum nomen domini* and *Audi benigne conditor*), and that they do not follow the order of the pagination. Leaving aside, for the moment, the question whether or not these pieces were added underneath the *motetti missales* column because they pertain to that group,¹⁰ we should observe that four out of six motets were entered by Gaffurius in the Librone as 'fill-ins' between gatherings: *O Iesu dulcissime* between Scribe B's gatherings 5 and 6, *Trophaeum crucis* between Scribe A's gathering 4 and Scribe B's gathering 5, *Virgo prudentissima* between Gaffurius's gathering 1 (preceded by blank folios) and Scribe A's gathering 2; and *Omnipotens aeternae deus* between gathering 12 (Scribe B) and gathering 13 (inaugurated by Scribe B and then filled by Gaffurius). *Magnum nomen domini* and *Audi benigne conditor*, instead, are copied in the midst of gathering 15. The first four of the added motets (*Magnum*, *Audi*, *O Iesu*, and *Trophaeum*) are for five voices: indeed, they are the only real five-voice pieces in the whole manuscript.¹¹

Turning to the additions at the bottom of the left-hand column, I distinguish, as said, the case of the anonymous *Vita dulcedo* (setting the even verses of the *Salve regina*), because it is clearly attached to the main list – either because, as proposed by Rossi, it was meant to be performed in alternatim with the composition that closes the main list (the three-voice *Salve regina*, fols. 187v–188r, a likewise anonymous setting of the antiphon's odd verses),¹² or simply because Gaffurius wanted to keep the three *Salve regina* settings close to one another in the list. In any case,

10. See the discussion on Rossi's hypothesis below.

11. The three motets of Compère's cycle *Ave virgo gloriosa caeli iubar* and two motets from the cycle *Ave domine Iesu Christe* famously have a pseudo-five-voice scoring, with two alternating tenors: see my introductions to the digital Motet Cycles Edition, vols. 2 and 3, GCO, <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/page/editions>>.

12. Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex', 392–93.

Vita dulcedo was entered in the manuscript between gathering 15 (on which see below) and gathering 16 (Scribe A). The five entries in the bottom block correspond to motets entered consecutively in gathering 13, but strangely, as already observed by Rossi,¹³ they are in reverse order in the list. The block is misaligned with the main list, or rather the incipits are aligned with the voice number specifications of the list above, as if Gaffurius had initially forgotten to add the voice numbers and then entered them further to the left. At least three different inks and varieties of Gaffurius's script are visible (one for the first three items, *Imperatrix reginarum*, *O res laeta*, and *Castra caeli dum transcendo*; one for *Verbum sapientiae*; and one for *Benedicamus domino*).¹⁴ We may notice that *O res laeta* seems to have been inserted after the entries immediately above and under it: the number '4' has an unusual curved shape, the folio abbreviation is partially superimposed on the one above it, and in general the vertical spacing is ungainly.

Now, which motets in Librone 1 remained outside both of the original lists and the additions? Ten motets (by, or attributed to, Gaffurius, or anonymous), consecutively copied at fols. 102v–112r (= the last folios of gathering 13, the entire gathering 14, and the beginning of gathering 15); and the three-motet cycle *Christi mater ave* by Weerbeke, at fols. 114v–117r (= end of gathering 15). In other words, the index excluded the entire gatherings 13–15, constituting a Gaffurian enclave between the block of the motets copied by Scribe B (gatherings 9–12) and the block of the motets copied by Scribe A (gatherings 16–24), with the following exceptions:

- *Omnipotens aeterne deus*, copied by Gaffurius as a fill-in between gatherings 12 and 13, and included (last) among the additions on the right;
- *Virgo dei digna*, copied on the first full opening of gathering 13 by Scribe B and duly included in the original list;
- *Magnum nomen domine* and *Audi benigne conditor*, copied in the midst of gathering 15 and included, as we have seen, among the additions on the right.

How to account, then, for these exclusions, surely not based on matters of genre or content, and for the various additions to the index?

Rossi advanced an explanation based on his broadening of the concept of *motetti missales*.¹⁵ In his view, the additions in the right-hand column continue the list of the *motetti missales* above: Gaffurius entered the first four right-hand additions,

13. Ibid., 389.

14. Even though the index does not specify it, there are actually two distinct four-voice *Benedicamus domino* at fols. 97v–98r, as already pointed out by Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex', 390–91.

15. Rossi, 'Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex', and Francesco Rocco Rossi, 'Franchino Gaffurio compositore: Tra indagine stilistica e nuove conferme attributive', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 219–31.

which Rossi considers as potentially forming a cycle,¹⁶ then the last two, and then he continued to add entries ‘boustrophedonically’ from the bottom of the left-hand column,¹⁷ featuring two ‘virtual’ mini-cycles (*Virgo prudentissima* combined with the first *Benedicamus domino*, and *Omnipotens aeterne deus* with the second one) and a four-motet cycle encompassing *Verbum sapientiae*, *Castra caeli*, *O res laeta*, and *Imperatrix reginarum*.¹⁸ Irrespective of the genre-specific problems raised by the proposed cycles, the weak point of this reconstruction lies in the fact that, in its content-centred perspective, it leaves the blatant graphic dissimilarity of the index entries unexplained and disregards the palaeographical and codicological status of the corresponding items in the manuscript altogether.

After observing this, and aiming at an accurate explanation for all the puzzling details of the index, I formulated a different hypothesis. When the volume was bound, Gaffurius compiled the main lists: at that point, besides some folios in gathering 1 and the last verso/first recto between some gatherings, a substantial part of the manuscript was still unwritten, comprising the entire gatherings 13 (with the exception of *Virgo dei digna*, written by Scribe B), 14, and 15. Gaffurius copied *Vita dulcedo* as a fill-in between gatherings 15 and 16 and entered it consecutively in the left-hand column (possibly also for its logical connection with the two *Salve regina* at the end of that list). Afterwards, Gaffurius progressively filled fols. 97–102 in gathering 13 (in non-consecutive order), and added the corresponding items in the left-hand column: possibly *Castra caeli* and *Benedicamus* first, with a bold and large script, then *Imperatrix reginarum* (keeping it at a distance from the main list above), then *O res laeta* (wedged in between the surrounding entries), and finally *Verbum sapientiae*. When he got to adding pieces at fols. 102–117, there was no more room in the left-hand column: possibly in order not to invade the right-hand column, solely dedicated to the *motetti missales*, he gave up the idea of indexing those pieces. Later on, however, when he added some further motets as ‘fill-ins’ between gatherings, he preferred to invade the right-hand column rather than lose track of the scattered new motets: leaving a certain distance from the *motetti missales* list, he added the entries for *O Iesu dulcissime*, *Trophaeum crucis*, *Virgo prudentissima*, and *Omnipotens aeterne deus*. Later still, he copied *Magnum nomen domini* and *Audi benigne conditor* in the last available openings of gathering 15, and for some reason felt the need to include them in the index: this he did by squeezing the entries between the *motetti missales* and the additions below (perhaps also in order to keep the five-voice motets, possibly linked by cyclic relationships, close to one another).¹⁹

16. Rossi, ‘Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex’, 389–90; Rossi, ‘Franchino Gaffurio compositore’.

17. Rossi, ‘Surveying the First Gaffurius Codex’, 386.

18. *Ibid.*, 390–91.

19. See C33a and C33b in the *Motet Cycles Database*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<http://www.motetcycles.ch/>>.

TABLE 3.1. MOTETS ADDED TO, OR MISSING IN, THE INDEX OF LIBRONE 1

The 'phase' in the rightmost column (based on Martina Pantarotto's analysis of Gaffurius's script) refers to the copying of the piece, not to the inscription of the index entry.

INCIPIIT	COMPOSER	FOLS.	GATHER- ING	INDEX STATUS	PHASE
<i>Virgo prudentissima</i>	Gaffurius	7v–8r	1/2	added (right)	Gaff ⁸
<i>Trophaeum crucis</i>	anonymous	31v–32r	4/5	added (right)	Gaff ⁸
<i>O Iesu dulcissime</i>	[Gaffurius?]	39v–40r	5/6	added (right)	Gaff ⁷
<i>Omnipotens aeterne deus</i>	Gaffurius	95v–96r	12/13	added (right)	Gaff ⁸
<i>Benedicamus domino</i>	anonymous	97v–98r	13	added (left)	Gaff ⁴
<i>Verbum sapientiae</i>	Gaffurius	98v–99r	13	added (left)	Gaff ⁵
<i>Castra caeli dum transcendo</i>	Gaffurius	99v–100r	13	added (left)	Gaff ⁵
<i>O res laeta</i>	Gaffurius	100v–101r	13	added (left)	Gaff ⁵
<i>Imperatrix reginarum</i>	Gaffurius	101v–102r	13	added (left)	Gaff ²
<i>Eia mater</i>	[Gaffurius?]	102v–103r	13	—	Gaff ⁶
<i>Vox iucunda cum favore</i>	[Gaffurius?]	103v–104r	13/14	—	Gaff ³
<i>O Iesu dulcissime</i>	[Gaffurius?]	104v–105r	14	—	Gaff ³
<i>Reformator animarum</i>	[Gaffurius?]	105v–106r	14	—	Gaff ³
<i>Ave cella novae legis</i>	[Gaffurius?]	106v–107r	14	—	Gaff ⁴
<i>Promissa mundo gaudia</i>	Gaffurius	107v–108r	14	—	Gaff ⁴
<i>O beata praesulis</i>	anonymous	108v–109r	14	—	Gaff ⁵
<i>Ave mundi reparatrix</i>	anonymous	109v–110r	14/15	—	Gaff ³
<i>Uterus virgineus</i>	anonymous	110v–111r	15	—	Gaff ⁵
<i>Haec est sedes gratiae</i>	anonymous	111v–112r	15	—	Gaff ⁵
<i>Magnum nomen domini</i>	Gaffurius	112v–113r	15	added (right)	Gaff ⁷
<i>Audi benigne conditor</i>	Gaffurius	113v–114r	15	added (right)	Gaff ⁷
<i>Christi mater ave</i>	Weerbeke	114v–115r	15	—	Gaff ⁶
<i>Mater digna dei</i>	Weerbeke	115v–116r	15	—	Gaff ⁶
<i>Ave stella matutina</i>	Weerbeke	116v–117r	15	—	Gaff ⁶
<i>Vita dulcedo</i> [= <i>Salve regina</i>]	anonymous	117v–118r	15/16	added (left, consecutively)	Gaff ²

In turn, the weak points of this reconstruction emerged after Martina Pantarotto started to define the stratigraphy of Gaffurius's interventions in Librone 1. Table 3.1 lists, in order of appearance in the manuscript, all the motets added to the

index and the motets left out of it, showing the corresponding phase in Gaffurius's script, based on Pantarotto's findings.

To the earliest phase, Gaff², belong *Vita dulcedo* and *Imperatrix reginarum*. Gaffurius copied the first at the border between the blank area and Scribe A's motet block, and added it consecutively to the left-hand list. As Pantarotto herself suggests in her chapter, Gaffurius might have copied *Imperatrix* after some blank openings in gathering 13 because Scribe B was supposed to continue his copying work in those folios. It is difficult to figure out why Gaffurius did not index the pieces copied during the Gaff³ and Gaff⁴ phases, scattered in gatherings 13 and 14. The only exception, concerning the (two) *Benedicamus domino*, might have been prompted by the need to easily retrieve those liturgically expedient items. Of the Gaff⁵ phase, three motets were listed (in gathering 13) and three ignored (in gatherings 14 and 15). The three consecutive motets in gathering 13 might have been included for the cyclic or para-cyclic connections between them and with the following *Imperatrix reginarum*. Again, it is hard to fathom why the pieces belonging to the next Gaff⁶ phase (notably Weerbeke's short cycle) were not included in the index. On the contrary, all the pieces in the Gaff⁷ phase were included among the right-hand additions, both the 'fill-in' *O Iesu dulcissime* and the two consecutive motets *Magnum nomen domini* and *Audi benigne conditor* of gathering 15 (all three five-voice pieces are also copied in the later Librone [4], possibly combined in a cycle with another motet).²⁰ Finally, the latest Gaff⁸ phase comprises the three 'fill-ins' scattered in the manuscript and included in the index at the bottom of the right-hand column.

Combining the chronological and the topographical perspectives, it is clear that the additions on the left-hand side came first (Gaff²–Gaff⁵), although the staggered sequence both of the copying and of the insertions in the index, as well as the resulting reverse order in the index, appear difficult to explain in a convincing way. The additions to the right-hand side belong, instead, to the later Gaff⁷–Gaff⁸ phases, and their order in the index in fact seems to mirror the chronology of the copying (hence the lack of foliation order) – although, as said, we cannot assume that the operations of copying and indexing were always performed simultaneously.

In sum, pending further research we have to accept the fact that some of Gaffurius's additions to the index follow a transparent logic, while some others, and some omissions too, depend upon inscrutable criteria (in certain cases possibly related to compositional or functional connections between the pieces such as those proposed by Finscher, Gasser, Rossi, and the present writer).²¹

20. See again C33b in the *Motet Cycles Database*.

21. See Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c.1450–1518): Life and Works*, MSD, 12 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 90, n. 10; Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles'; Daniele V. Filippi, 'Text, Form, and Style in Franchino Gaffurio's Motets', in Thomas Schmidt-Beste (ed.), *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?* (Turnhout:

Regardless of the remaining doubts and questions, the study of the index led us to some momentous deductions about Librone 1 and Gaffurius's way of proceeding. First of all, it now seems evident that at the moment of the binding, foliating, and indexing of the volume, Gaffurius left substantial space for future additions: he left blank not only several folios in gathering 1 and the interstices between gatherings or blocks, but three entire gatherings in the midst of the motet section. (Why not at the end of the manuscript, after Scribe A's own motet block? Possibly because Scribe B had already begun gathering 13 with *Virgo dei digna* and then interrupted his work: this might have inspired Gaffurius to create a 'buffer zone' for the future addition of motets, which he delimited by adding *Vita dulcedo* immediately before Scribe A's block.)

Secondly, our current knowledge about the layered additions partially problematizes the documentary evidence regarding the dating of Librone 1. Since no specific payment for the binding of the book has emerged from the archive (as it did, instead, for Librone 2),²² we can only assume that the 'snapshot' of the original lists in the index exactly corresponds to the date inscribed on the pastedown of the back cover (23 June 1490). We cannot entirely rule out, however, that some of the early additions came after the original lists but before the inscription of the ownership note. It seems, nevertheless, clear that the motets added to the index and those left out of it were copied after those recorded in the original lists – therefore most probably after June 1490 (with the caveat just mentioned), and in some cases at a distance of years.

Furthermore, we are now in a better position to understand that the original project of Librone 1 was more consistent (and, *si licet*, less Gaffurian) than it may appear owing to the successive additions. If we consider that the motets at fols. 7–8, 31–32, and 39–40 are posterior additions (as suggested by their insertion at the bottom of the right-hand column and verified by palaeographical analysis), the original genre-based layout of the manuscript emerges more clearly, with the first gathering dedicated to hymns, the subsequent seven to Magnificats, and the following sixteen to motets. In this perspective, it makes perfectly sense that Gaffurius copied *Virgo prudentissima* not in the first available opening of the first gathering (originally dedicated to hymns and only later 'invaded' by Magnificat verses), but at the border between that gathering and following one: in all likelihood he wanted to leave room for further hymns, although in the end the two openings before *Virgo prudentissima* remained blank.²³

Brepols, 2012), 383–410 at 397; and the articles by Rossi repeatedly quoted above. Only a systematic study of Gaffurius's motets might clarify these issues.

22. See my chapter 'The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices' in the present volume.

23. The chapter by Pantarotto in the present volume discloses the successive addition of hymns in gathering 1: see §§1.3 and 1.5.

As already inferred by Rifkin, *Librone 1* in its original state (revealed by the index and fully exposed by palaeographical analysis) was almost entirely the work of Scribe A and Scribe B: it was only later that Gaffurius's interventions progressively sedimented, reflecting his ongoing activity as composer and chapel master of the Duomo.

The index of *Librone 2*

The index of *Librone 2* is preserved in fragments: the remaining portions were pasted, probably during the 1950s restoration, on the recto of a folio placed at the beginning of the manuscript.²⁴ Judging from the substantial fragments, the index consisted of a single column subdivided into a list of masses, in the upper part, with a heading no longer visible, and a list of motets, underneath, with the heading 'Motetti'. A few faded or erased entries in the space between the two lists are only partially readable. The list of the masses is particularly useful in that it informs us of titles and attributions not always present in the body of the manuscript (a crucial help in case of unica such as Gaffurius's own *Missa trombetta* and *Missa De tous biens pleine*).²⁵

As in the case of *Librone 1*, the palaeographical homogeneity and consecutive pagination of the main portions of the two lists allows to detect, by contrast, a few additions. Among the masses, the two additions at the bottom of the list are clearly readable: 'Missa brevis et expedita' and 'Alia missa brevis eiusdem toni'. The foliation, however, is no longer visible, and conversely these titles are not written over any of the masses copied in the manuscript. Amerigo Bortone tentatively identified these items as the masses copied at fols. 110v–114r (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.30]) and 114v–117r + 209v–211r (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.31]) respectively.²⁶ Adelyn Leverett contended, perhaps more convincingly, that the entries refer instead to the masses at fols. 69v–72r + 143v–144r (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.23]) and 110v–114r (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.30]).²⁷ Between the main list and the two items just mentioned, there seem to be two faded entries. One is completely unreadable, but its folio number is probably '94', therefore it should point to Gaffurius's *Missa sexti toni irregularis* at fols. 93v–100r. The beginning of the following entry reads 'Missa sancte' and thus refers to the same master's *Missa Sanctae Caterinae quarti*

24. Apparently, when Knud Jeppesen examined the manuscript, decades before the 1950s restoration, the index was on the 'Versoseite': see Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', 15. For a digital reproduction see <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/3937>>.

25. See Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 278.

26. Franchino Gaffurio, *Messe*, ed. Amerigo Bortone, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 3 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1960).

27. Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'An Early Missa Brevis in Trent Codex 91', in John Kmetz (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152–73 at 161–64.

toni at fols. 101v–109r (or 100v–110r, counting in the two surrounding motets that form a hybrid cycle with the mass).²⁸ Finally, after two unreadable entries, we find a faded ‘Sanctus’ (see below for a possible identification among the non-indexed items) and a strangely slanting but very clearly legible entry for the *Sanctus* at fols. 18v–19r. The appendages to the index correspond, therefore, as Pantarotto’s analysis shows, to late phases of intervention by Gaffurius (the mass [II.30] = Gaff⁷; *Sanctus* = Gaff⁸) and to the late contributions by Scribe E (if the mass [II.23] is the *Missa brevis et expedita*, copied in two interstices between gatherings 9/10 and 18/19) and of Scribe F (the *Missa sexti toni irregularis* and the *Missa Sanctae Catherinae* in gatherings 12–13).

Among the motets, the original list includes Weerbeke’s works copied by Scribe A at fols. 48v–53r,²⁹ whereas the additions regard *O beata praesulis*,³⁰ *Promissa mundo gaudia*, *Accepta Christi munera*, and *O sacrum convivium*. The late insertion of the first two motets, copied consecutively in gathering 1 by Scribe C and thus belonging to the earliest layer of the manuscript,³¹ has no obvious explanation, if not Gaffurius’s distraction or second thoughts: in fact, the entries seem graphically homogenous with the previous ones in the list. The other two motets were copied consecutively, but in reverse order, by Gaffurius in the late Gaff⁷ phase, in an area remained empty between the blocks of Scribe A and Scribe D (gatherings 7–8).

Which compositions remained unrecorded in the index, and how to account for such omissions? For the masses *La Bassadanza* and *Omnipotens genitor* we cannot know for sure, but they were probably included in the lost initial part of the index. For the omission of the anonymous *Sanctus*, of the *Sanctus* with second part *O sapientia* attributed to Compère, and of the same composer’s *Ave virgo gloriosa*, all copied consecutively by Scribe A in a section of the Librone otherwise duly indexed, there is no easy explanation. The motets *Hac in die* and *Virgo constans* did not need a separate entry as they were included in the hybrid cycle of the *Missa Sanctae Catherinae* (see the rubric over *Hac in die* at fol. 100v). The *Ave verum corpus* attributable to Gaffurius in turn did not need an entry as it was an ‘ad Elevationem’ motet complementing the *Sanctus* of the *Missa brevis octavi toni*.³² In turn, the following *Sanctus*, added by Gaffurius himself (Gaff⁷) probably as an alternative

28. See C20 in the *Motet Cycles Database*.

29. *Quam pulchra es*, *Ave regina caelorum* (2.p. *Ave corpus domini*), *O Maria clausus hortus*, *Ave regina caelorum* (2.p. *O salutaris hostia*), and *Quem terra pontus*. For their cyclic relationships, see C13b and C12b in the *Motet Cycles Database*.

30. Preceded in the index by the same rubric that we read at fol. 6v, ‘Pro sancto Ambrosio’: only the last three letters of the abbreviated name ‘Am.^{io}’ are visible.

31. The text of *O beata praesulis*, however, was entered by Gaffurius: see *GCO-Inventory*.

32. See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 347–48; Sergio Lonoce, ‘Gaffurio perfectus musicus: Lettura dei “motetti missales”’ (tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2009), 99–103; Agnese Pavanello, ‘The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese

movement for the same mass (without ‘ad Elevationem’ motet), did not necessarily need a separate entry (or it might have corresponded to the faded or erased ‘Sanctus’ entry mentioned above). The other ‘missing’ compositions were again added to the manuscript either by Gaffurius in the late Gaff⁷ phase (the anonymous *Sanctus* at fols. 63v–65r and the two-movement mass [II.31] at 114v–117r + 209v–211r), or by another late contributor to Librone 2, Scribe F (the *Te deum* at fols. 204v–209r).

In sum, similarly to what we have seen for Librone 1, here too the study of the index, complemented with the palaeographical analysis, demonstrates that, at the moment of the binding (payment of 16 July 1492),³³ foliating, and indexing of Librone 2, substantial areas of the manuscript were purposely left empty for future additions.

A further observation regards the way in which Gaffurius referenced the masses. Although seven of the masses whose foliation is readable in the index actually comprise a Kyrie, it is only for Weerbeke’s *Missa Ave regina caelorum* and, if my conjecture above is right, for Gaffurius’s *Missa sexti toni irregularis* that the index actually points to the Kyrie. For all the remaining masses, it points directly to the Gloria, as it does, obviously, for the masses that start straightaway with that movement in the manuscript.³⁴ That the Ambrosian mass did not comprise a Kyrie is well known: Librone 2, however, includes all sorts of mass arrangements (GC, GCS, GCSA, KGCS, and KGCSA).³⁵ It is unclear whether the different indexing of the two masses just mentioned relates to any special ritual or performance circumstances, or is merely a *lapsus calami*. It seems in any case clear that most index entries reflect the pragmatic need of directly reaching the Gloria when the Duomo chapel had to sing a polyphonic mass (see the end of the chapter for further reflections on this topic).

The index of Librone 3

The index of Librone 3 is found on the only extant original flyleaf of the manuscript.³⁶ It lists all the masses contained in the Librone, irrespective of their having two, three, four, or five movements; the other genres are disregarded.

Elevation Motets in Context’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 33–59 at 43, n. 58; and Cassia, ‘La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni’, 277–78.

33. See again my chapter ‘The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices’ in the present volume.

34. As observed by Marie Verstraete in an unpublished paper read at the Basel 2016 ‘Motet Cycles’ conference (‘Random Patchwork or Deliberate Design? A Typologizing Approach to Polyphonic Mass Forms in the Milanese Libroni’); see furthermore Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai *motetti missales*’, 158–59 and Pavanello’s chapter in the present volume.

35. See Table 5.3 in the chapter by Pavanello in the present volume.

36. For a digital reproduction, see <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/4891>>.

As in the index of Librone 1, each entry is preceded by the number of voices and followed by the foliation. As in Librone 2, the index contains precious information about titles and attributions (again, especially helpful for Gaffurius's unica: see the *Missa montana*; interesting is the case of the mass copied at fols. 37r–46r, for which the attribution to 'Petri-con de la rue' was later corrected by Gaffurius into 'de Brumel').

The only evident additions to this index are the last two entries, concerning Alessandro Coppini's *Missa Si dederò* and Loyset Compère's *Gloria et Credo breves*:³⁷ the corresponding pieces were copied by Scribe J in the empty areas of gatherings 15 (but with an overflow in gatherings 8–9) and 16 respectively. As Pantarotto's palaeographical analysis shows, Scribe J intervened in Librone 3 when the volume was already assembled, and filled the spaces that, once again, had been left empty.

As already noted in previous studies,³⁸ the index allows us to recover information about the contents of the lost first gathering, which, based on the first entries, included an unidentified mass with the canonic inscription 'In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum' and the Gloria of the *Missa Je ne demande*. As a speculative exercise, I propose here a conjectural reconstruction of the lost gathering. The hard facts (reported without square brackets in Table 3.2 below) are that the first extant folio of the Librone, 11r, is blank, and that, according to the index entries, the canonic mass started at fols. 1v–2r while the Gloria of the *Missa Je ne demande* started at fols. 7v–8r. Furthermore, we know that the rest of the *Missa Je ne demande* was copied by Scribe H at fols. 24v–27r (current gathering 2), after the Lamentations penned by Scribe G (current gatherings 1–2), and filling in the first recto of gathering 3, written by Scribe A. It is fair to assume that the same Scribe H also copied the Gloria. Considering that Scribe G was the main scribe of this Librone, and that he had the habit (or the instruction) of leaving the last openings of a gathering unwritten,³⁹ and supposing that the canonic mass had only three movements (GCS) as do most of the masses in Librone 3, the reconstruction could be as summarized in Table 3.2.

Regardless of the details of this hypothetical reconstruction,⁴⁰ it should be noted that this addition by Scribe H is duly recorded in the index: therefore, although

37. A further incomplete addition ('Et in terra') at the bottom of the list is enigmatic: there are no other masses to be indexed in the manuscript (unless we think of the possible loss of folios at the end: see my discussion of the fragments in the chapter 'The Making and the Dating of the Gaffurius Codices'); the script does not resemble Gaffurius's hand; and the '1' (or '7?') in the column of the scoring is indeed puzzling.

38. See Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 285 and *GCO-Catalogue*.

39. See the chapter by Pantarotto in the present volume (§3.3).

40. A potential weak point is that the Gloria of the *Missa Je ne demande*, at least as edited in Anonimi, *Messe*, ed. Fabio Fano, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 6 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1966), 73–77 (based on Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS Ris. mus. I. 27), does not seem long enough to require three openings.

TABLE 3.2. HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE LOST FIRST GATHERING OF LIBRONE 3

Fols.	Scribe	Contents/Notes
1r	[empty staves]	
1v–2r	[G]	<i>Missa</i> with canonic inscription ‘In omnem terram...’: Gloria
2v–3r	[G]	[continuation of Gloria]
3v–4r	[G]	[Credo]
4v–5r	[G]	[continuation of Credo]
5v–6r	[G]	[Sanctus (or continuation of Credo)]
6v–7r	[G]	[continuation of Sanctus (or Sanctus)]
7v–8r	[H]	<i>Missa Je ne demande</i> : Gloria
8v–9r	[H]	[continuation of Gloria]
9v–10r	[H]	[continuation of Gloria]
10v	[empty staves]	[since the Credo required two openings, Scribe H skipped to the next available area starting at fols. 24v–25r]
11r	empty staves	

it was entered later than the contributions by Scribe G (in gatherings 1–2) and Scribe A (in gathering 3), it was still penned before the systematic indexing of the masses took place.

Compared to the index of Librone 2, here Gaffurius adopted a more consistent, and in a sense more transparent, way of referencing the masses. For all the five settings actually including the Kyrie, he explicitly mentioned that in the index entries, by using the formula ‘Kyrie cum tota missa’, whereas he reserved the formula ‘Et in terra pax cum tota missa’ for the three- or four-movement masses (GCS/GCSA) without Kyrie. Appropriately, the only entries lacking the formula ‘cum tota missa’ are the lone Gloria from an otherwise unknown mass on ‘Cent mille scude’ (*Cent mille escus*) and the two movements by Compère, indicated as ‘Et in terra pax et Patrem breves de Loyset’. We may wonder whether this change of approach was merely a variation in Gaffurius’s editorial policies, so to speak, or it was prompted by a different liturgical context: was Librone 3 used also (or more often) for liturgies following the Roman rite, in the Francophile climate of the 1500s in Milan?⁴¹ In this perspective, however, it is sobering and ironic that the ratio between the masses with Kyrie and the masses without it is actually higher in Librone 2 (10:13)

41. For a mass sung ‘alla romana’ by the French Cardinal Georges I d’Amboise at the main altar of the Duomo in 1507, see Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai motetti missales’, 161. More in general see *ibid.* 158–59 and Pavanello’s chapter in the present volume.

than in Librone 3 (5:12).⁴² Once again, any attempt at cornering Gaffurius in the Procrustean bed of modern standards of systematicity seems doomed to failure. Fortunately, though, there seems to be always something to learn in the process.

42. I include among the settings without Kyrie in Librone 2 also the mass with only Gloria and Credo (*GCO-Catalogue* no. [II.31]), and in Librone 3 the *Missa Je ne demande* and the *Gloria et Credo breves*. See Tables 5.3 and 5.4 in Pavanello's chapter in the present volume.

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 dederò*: 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 Baptistery 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, *Archivum 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
 Faugues, Guillaume 228, 268
 Fedeli, Antonio 27 n.66
 Filippo di San Giorgio, Fra' 225 n.33
 Finscher, Ludwig 172, 224 n.31
 Fogliano, Giacomo 118

G

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

H

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

I

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

J

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

K

Knoep, Henricus 232

L

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

Lurano, Filippo 118

M

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

N

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

O

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

P

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

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