



REOPENING GAFFURIUS'S LIBRONI

EDITED BY AGNESE PAVANELLO

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Studi e Saggi



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ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

DANIELE V. FILIPPI

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

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations:

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

ASDMi = Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano

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

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

ASMi = Archivio di Stato di Milano

AVFDMi = Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano

O.C. = *Ordinazioni capitolari*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1484–1490: towards Librone 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

37. See again Pantarotto's chapter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1492: Librone 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The silence about Libroni 3 and [4]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Librone 3: the missing first gathering and the new fragments

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1507: Librone [4] and its ownership note

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

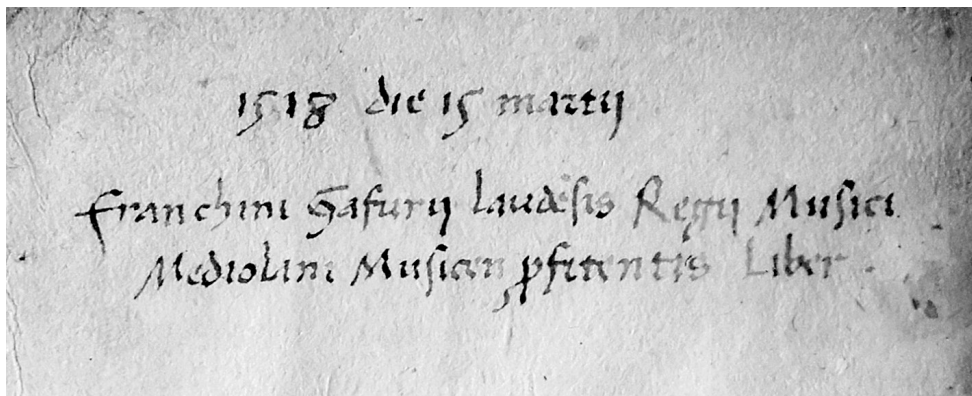


Fig. 1.3. Franchinus Gaffurius’s autograph inscription in his own copy of Andrea Alciati, *Paradoxorum ad Pratum libri VI* (Milan: A. Minuziano, ca. 1518). Lodi, Biblioteca Comunale, Cinq. XXXV.A.1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

100. Daolmi, ‘Iconografia gaffuriana’, 183.

101. *Ibid.* 176.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After 1522: expenses for music books under Werrecore

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

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

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

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

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

111. See the literature cited in the previous note.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

APPENDIX 1

Documents

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

The following bibliographical abbreviations are used:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX 2

Gaffurius's Mission to Santa Maria del Monte in Varese

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

118. Ciceri, 'Documenti inediti', 32.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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