



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 NON-MILANESE REPERTORY OF THE LIBRONI: A POTENTIAL GUIDE FOR TRACKING MUSICAL EXCHANGES

AGNESE PAVANELLO

Besides containing almost all known compositions by Franchinus Gaffurius and works of the composers serving the Sforza court in Milan (in particular Loyset Compère and Gaspar van Weerbeke), the four Libroni of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo known as ‘Gaffurius codices’ enclose compositions of different provenance and not directly related to Milanese institutions, for some of which the Libroni represent the main or even unique source. Beyond their function as a kind of ‘repository’ of the Duomo chapel master’s compositional output and of a special court-related repertory (the so-called ‘motetti missales’),¹ the manuscripts were also designed to include other sacred works by composers outside Milan, probably acquired at various times and in various ways, and evidently thought to be performable by the Duomo chapel on appropriate occasions. By focusing on this ‘external’ repertory, in this chapter I will address the question of which paths of transmission might have led to the inclusion of such compositions in the Libroni and whether specific choices in the compiling of the repertory during Gaffurius’s tenure at the Duomo chapel can be recognized. An examination of the Milanese manuscripts from this perspective, moreover, offers hints to enable us to better

1. For an overview of Gaffurius’ compositions in the Libroni see the catalogue by Cristina Casia, ‘Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389. See also *Gaffurius Codices Online*: <<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch>> (hereafter GCO). The percentage of Gaffurius’s works in the Libroni has been estimated by Daniele Filippi: ‘in Libroni 1, 2, and [4] the works attributed with documentary evidence or attributable with scholarly consensus to him account for c.50 per cent of the attributed pieces; for Librone 3 the quota is c.30 per cent’. See Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Operation Libroni: Franchinus Gaffurius and the Construction of a Repertory for Milan’s Duomo’, in Karl Kügle (ed.), *Sounding the Past: Music as History and Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 101–14. For the motet cycles of Loyset Compère and Gaspar van Weerbeke, as well as all other motet cycles of the Libroni see the *Motet Cycles Database (MCD)*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <<http://motetcycles.ch/>>, accessed 4 August 2020.

assess the repertory included as well as the scribe's attitudes or tasks, furnishing additional ways to evaluate the making of the Libroni and their chronology.

First of all let us summarize what we know about the chronology of the four manuscripts. Librone 1 is the only one provided with a colophon, dated 1490, which informs us about the end of the copying process.² This unquestionable evidence will be taken as a point of reference, even if the codicological and palaeographical analysis as well as the archival documents suggest a copying process extending at least over some months (and perhaps even a few years).³ Thanks to Daniele Filippi's new archival research, however, the date for the completion of Librone 2 has now been accurately established.⁴ Payments for the year 1492 attest to the copying of a manuscript of masses, which is undoubtedly to be identified with this large choirbook. In addition to the more accurate picture given by the number of hands involved in this copying project, the records furnish a *terminus ante quem* for the repertory included in Librone 2.⁵

The situation for Librone 3 and [4], however, is different.⁶ The production of these later manuscripts seems to have left no traces in the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica (the vestry board of the Duomo). No documents concerning their copying could be found during the archival campaign, leaving us without a precise reference for the dating of the manuscripts.⁷ Whereas Librone [4] can be assigned to 1507, based on an inscription formerly visible in the manuscript,⁸ for Librone 3 any kind of documentary evidence is missing. Considering that the manuscript is

2. The inscription is visible online since the manuscripts are fully digitized. For a first discussion of the codices see Knud Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28; Claudio Sartori, *Le musiche della Cappella del Duomo di Milano: Catalogo delle musiche dell'Archivio* (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1957). An overview of the repertory is also given in Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscripts de musique polyphonique, XV^e et XVI^e siècles: Italie. Catalogue*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, B IV/5 (Munich: Henle, 1991). For more information see the bibliography provided on the website of GCO.

3. On this point see the discussion of the making of Librone 1 in the chapters by Filippi (Ch. 1) and Pantarotto (Ch. 2) in this volume. From the codicological analysis it clearly emerges that some additions took place later, when the manuscript was already bound. I will take this fact into account in my discussion of the repertory only when additions involve attributed non-Milanese works.

4. See Daniele Filippi's contribution in this volume (Ch. 1) and his new correct interpretation of the documentary evidence.

5. For this manuscript as well I will not discuss the issues of later additions not related to the topic of this contribution.

6. I will refer to the manuscript as Librone [4], even if the official shelfmark of this fragmentary manuscript is Cassette Ratti, n. VII, 34–43 (*olim* MS 2266).

7. Daniele Filippi carried out specific research on the documents of the Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo during the project *Polifonia sforzesca*, from which the studies in this volume as a whole also originated (cf. the introduction to this volume and n. 11).

8. For a revision of the wrong date given by the *Annali* (1527 instead of 1507) and taken as the reference in older musicological studies, see Davide Stefani, 'Le vite di Gaffurio', in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 27–48 at 38. See also Filippi, Ch. 1 in this volume.

the source with the proportionally larger quantity of external repertory, this lack of information is particularly frustrating. We have thus to determine its genesis through a series of elements involving material and internal characteristics. While I refer to Martina Pantarotto's study for more details on the structure of the manuscripts and on its scribes, as well to Daniele Filippi's further observations in this volume, I need to underscore here that not only the two Libroni share a (more or less) similar format, and a scribal hand totally absent in Librone 1 and 2,⁹ but the study of the repertory included and its concordances further support the origin of Librone 3 as chronologically not too distant from that of Librone [4], as will be discussed below.¹⁰ Since I will devote a good part of my following considerations to Librone 3, the dating of this manuscript will inevitably represent a matter of discussion in relation to questions concerning the choice of repertory. On the whole, however, the studies carried out during the two SNF-projects held at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis have already yielded some firm points on the intricate issue of the chronology of the Libroni, allowing us to conduct a scrutiny of their contents on a more solid ground.¹¹

Libroni 1 and 2: The 'Non-Milanese' Franco-Flemish Works

In relation to their repertory, Librone 1 and 2 form a pair of complementary collections. In Librone 1 hymns, Magnificats, and Marian antiphons were copied together with a substantial number of motets suitable to be performed at different

9. An approximative correspondence in the format can be established on the basis of the fragments from Librone [4], even if, due to the severe damage caused by the fire during the Exposition in 1906, a codicological reconstruction of this manuscript is impossible, including accurate measurements to the millimetre. However, the measurements made during the research project point to Librone [4] as a slightly smaller manuscript than Librone 3. Likewise taking into account a moderate difference in size, the two later Libroni can be generically paired with respect to the previous two (although this similarity does not extend to the repertory included, as I will argue below).

10. All these elements are in contrast with Paul and Lora Merkley's hypothesis of dating Librone 3 to the 1490s. See Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla Storia della Musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 329–33. I will return to this below.

11. Work on the Libroni took place during the three-year research projects *Motet Cycles in the Late Fifteenth/Early Sixteenth-Century: Function, Performance, and Compositional Design in the Context of Musico-Liturgical and Devotional Practices* (Project #149236) and *Polifonia sforzesca/Sforza Polyphony. The Motet Cycles in the Milanese Libroni between Liturgy, Devotion, and Ducal Patronage* (Project #172933) funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Among the publications collecting the results of the research of the project teams to be mentioned are Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Scripta, 7 (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), and Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, Studi e saggi, 27 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019). For more information see <<http://www.motetcycles.com/>> and <<http://www.fhnw.ch/plattformen/polifonia-sforzesca/>>.

services, some of them gathered in cycles and also meant to be sung during mass.¹² Even if a connection with the mass is explicitly given in the index of Librone 1, listing some cycles as ‘motetti missales’, this manuscript does not contain mass Ordinary cycles but is largely characterized by a repertory for the Office, for Compline and Vespers in particular. Librone 2, instead, was almost entirely devoted to polyphonic mass cycles, incorporating some motets ‘loco Sanctus-ad Elevationem’ and ‘post elevationem’ (and a few that might also be ‘loco missae’) as well.¹³

Compositions by the chapel master Franchinus Gaffurius form a large part of the overall repertory in both choirbooks. In Librone 1 a series of hymns, Magnificats, motets, and motet cycles are attributed to him (and probably other unattributed works can be added) and were mostly copied by a hand identified as Scribe B in our catalogue, or by the composer himself.¹⁴ Interestingly, the third hand involved in the making of the manuscript, Scribe A, seems to have been entirely responsible for copying Franco-Flemish works, both by northern singers who worked in Milan for the Sforza court and by composers without a clear connection with Milan.¹⁵

12. On the motet cycles known as *motetti missales* and the state of the research on this specific repertory see Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai *motetti missales* (e dintorni)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 139–69. An essential bibliography on the topic is listed there at pp. 167–69. In particular, on the ‘function’ or use of these cycles see Daniele V. Filippi, “‘Audire missam non est verba missae intelligere...’: The Low Mass and the *Motetti Missales* in Sforza Milan’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 11–32.

13. In Librone 2 Gaspar van Weerbeke’s motets from the motet cycles *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es*, meant to be sung ‘loco sanctus’ and ‘ad elevationem’, were copied separately, probably to be flexibly performed during mass in a different constellation than the cycles to which they belong, namely as they are transmitted in Librone 1. It is thus plausible to believe that other motets of this choirbook were also included among mass cycles with regard to a similar function within mass services. For a specific discussion of the Milanese Elevation motets, see Agnese Pavanello, ‘The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 33–59, and Felix Diergarten, “‘Aut propter devotionem, aut propter sonorositatem’: Compositional Design of Late Fifteenth-Century Elevation Motets in Perspective’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9/1 (2017), 61–86.

14. Specifically on music for the office in Librone 1 (and also in Librone 3) see Daniele Torelli, ‘Gli inni e il repertorio per l’ufficio nei Libroni gaffuriani’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 233–71.

15. The only exception among ascribed works seems to be represented by three motets by Gaspar van Weerbeke copied by Gaffurius himself, which, however, are a later addition. It cannot be excluded that among anonymous works copied by Scribe B other Franco-Flemish compositions are to be counted, but on the basis of the available attributions, a clear division in the copying work with regard to the repertory is undisputable. For more information see Martina Pantarotto’s contribution (Ch. 2) in this volume. A first codicological study by Pantarotto included in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 103–38 revised Jeppesen’s catalogue of hands, maintaining, however, Jeppesen’s system of numbering scribes from 1 in each manuscript. In this volume, instead, hands are identified following the alphabetical system adopted in *GCO*, in which scribes maintain their designation throughout the manuscripts.

Besides the *motetti missales* by the northern composers serving Galeazzo Maria Sforza in the 1470s, Weerbeke and Compère,¹⁶ Scribe A copied a group of Magnificats by Franco-Flemish composers, including Du Fay, Johannes Martini, and Busnoys (the latter a scholarly attribution),¹⁷ as well as by ‘Arnulfus’.¹⁸ Moreover, he copied Binchois’s *Te Deum*, Pullois’s *Flos de spina*, and a *Salve regina* attributed to Du Fay,¹⁹ as well as a *Benedicamus Crispinel* besides some anonymous motets.²⁰

Table 5.1 comprises a list of the attributed compositions with their earlier concordances; these include the Trent Codices,²¹ the Strahov Codex,²² S. Pietro

16. On this repertory substantial new bibliography was produced during the research projects hosted at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. Besides Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai motetti missales’ and the *Codici per cantare* volume, see in particular the section devoted to the topic in *Journal of Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017) and Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*.

17. See Mary Natvig, ‘The Magnificat Group of Antoine Busnoys: Aspects of Style and Attribution’, in Paula Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 257–76, and Cassia, ‘Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani’, 297.

18. I shall return to this composer below. To this series of Magnificats belong two Magnificats by Compère and one without any ascription.

19. On the debated attribution, cf. the remarks by Cassia, ‘Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani’, 321. In his study on Du Fay, Alejandro Planchart accepted the ascription to the composer given by the manuscript Munich, Bayerische Stadtbibliothek, Mus. MS 3154 (‘Leopold codex’), fols. 86v–88r. See Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), ii. 413. For a different view see Robert J. Mitchell, ‘Musical Counterparts to the “Wilhelmus Duffay” “Salve Regina” Setting in MunBS 3154’, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 54/1 (2004), 9–22. For an edition of the manuscript Munich 3154, see Thomas L. Noblitt (ed.), *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold: Staatsbibliothek München Mus Ms. 3154*, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 80–83 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987). For a recent study of the manuscript see Ian Rumbold, ‘Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 3154’, in Thomas Schmidt and Christian Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-page in Manuscripts and Printed Books Containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 285–348.

20. The text ‘Benedicamus Crispinel’ may refer to Crispinus van Stappen, a Franco-Flemish singer, who was long active at the papal chapel from the end of 1492, as already suggested by Bridgman, *Manuscripts de musique polyphonique, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 245. An alternative hypothesis is that the title refers to Egidius Crispini (Gilles Crepin), a Franco-Flemish singer documented at the court of Savoy in the early 1460s and at St Peter’s in Rome at least from 1471 to 1481. According to Christopher Reynolds this soprano singer was involved in the copying of manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS S. Pietro B.80. See Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter’s, 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 44, 94–95. Clement Miller identified this singer with the ‘Egidius’ mentioned by Franchinus Gaffurius in *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (ca. 1481). See Clement A. Miller, ‘Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions’, *Musical Quarterly*, 56/3 (1970), 367–88 at 376. If the inclusion of this piece (based on a very strange text) is rather enigmatic in the context of Librone 1, the allusion points to a Franco-Flemish origin.

21. For the rich bibliography on the seven Trent Codices see the references and the information on <https://www.cultura.trentino.it/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/home_page>.

22. ‘Strahov Codex’: Prague, Strahov Monastery Library (Museum of Czech Literature, Strahov Library), MS D.G.IV.47. For the dating of the manuscript around 1467–70 see Pawel

B.80,²³ Montecassino 871,²⁴ and, for Binchois's *Te Deum*, even an earlier source as known as 'Modena B' ('ModB') – which places its composition in the 1440s.²⁵ Pullois's *Flos de spina*, transmitted in Trent 90, can be dated to the 1450s.²⁶

Scribe A, therefore, copied not only all the 'external' repertory by Franco-Flemish composers in Librone 1 but also the oldest repertory into the Libroni, including earlier works apparently of greater international circulation.²⁷ The inclusion of such older pieces in the repertory of the Duomo at the end of the 1480s raises the question of their function and provenance. Were they already in use in the cathedral and perhaps needed to be recopied into the new choirbook? Or do they belong to the repertory brought by the Sforza singers or other Franco-Flemish

Gancarczyk, 'The Dating and Chronology of the Strahov Codex', *Hudební Věda*, 43/2 (2006), 135–46. On this manuscript see Robert J. Snow, 'The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1968).

23. The manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS S. Pietro B.80, copied in Rome for use at St Peter's Basilica, has been dated around 1474–75; some pieces were added a later point (not later than ca. 1500). Reynolds argued that the main corpus was probably copied from two earlier manuscripts from the period between ca. 1458 and 1463 which were subsequently discarded. See Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's*, 89–110.

24. The musical portions of the manuscript Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 871 are dated between 1480 and 1500. See Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871: A Neapolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

25. Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria (I-Moe) MS a.X.1.11. The manuscript is dated during the reign of Leonello d'Este (1441–50). Charles Hamm and Anne Scott argued that it was made in Ferrara for use at the court chapel. See Charles Hamm and Ann Besser Scott, 'A Study and Inventory of the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.X.1.11 (ModB)', *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), 101–43. However, more recently James Haar and John Nadas have claimed that Florence was its place of origin. According to these scholars, the manuscript was made for the chapel of the cathedral of S. Maria del Fiore and then was taken by the singer and copyist Benedictus Sirede ('Benotto di Francia') to Ferrara in 1448. James Haar and John Louis Nadas, 'The Medici, the Signoria, the Pope: Sacred Polyphony in Florence, 1432–1448', *Recercare*, 20 (2008), 25–93.

26. The gathering of Trent 90 (Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1377 [90], 'Trent 90') containing the motet has been dated to 1456 by Suparmi E. Saunders, 'The Dating of Trent 93 and Trent 90', in Nino Pirrotta, and Daniele Curti (eds.), *I codici musicali trentini a cento anni dalla loro riscoperta. Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger La musicologia come missione. Trento. Castello del Buonconsiglio 6–7 settembre 1985* (Trent: Museo Provinciale d'Arte, 1986), 60–83. The following, extensive study on the watermarks of the four Trent manuscripts compiled by Johannes Wiser (Trent 89–91) undertaken by Peter Wright has confirmed the date 1456 for the production of the paper on which *Flos spina* was copied. See Peter Wright, 'Watermarks and Musicology: The Genesis of Johannes Wiser's Collection', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), 247–332 at 283, 298. For other references concerning this manuscript see also <https://www.cultura.trentino.it/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/descrizione/22653?Codice=Tr90> (accessed 10 March 2020) The copy of the motet in San Pietro B.80, copied around 1480, should derive from an earlier copy written between 1458 and 1463. See Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 244.

27. Scribe A, however, also copied a few works by Gaffurius. See *GCO-Inventory*.

TABLE 5.1. WORKS COPIED BY HAND A IN LIBRONE 1

(in bold those with concordances in earlier sources)

Works by Gaffurius are omitted. For a map of all concordances see *GCO*.

FOLIOS	COMPOSITION	COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES IN EARLIER SOURCES
8v–10r	Magnificat tertii toni	Du Fay	Trent 89, fols. 165–66 S. Pietro B.80, fols. 200v–203r Montecassino 871, pp. 330–33
10v–17r	Magnificat primi toni	Compère,	(concordances with later sources)
17v–20r	Magnificat octavi toni	Busnoys?	S. Pietro B.80, fols. 219v–224r
20v–21r	Magnificat octavi toni	‘Arnulfus’	(concordance with a late source)
21v–23r	Magnificat sexti toni	Compère	(unicum)
23v–27r	Magnificat tertii toni	[Martini]	Munich 3154, fols. 121r–122v
27v–29r	Magnificat octavi toni	Martini	(concordance with a late source)
29v–31r	Magnificat octavi toni	Anon.	(unicum, copied twice in Librone 1)
118v–121r	Te deum laudamus	Binchois	‘Modena B’, fols. 24v–27r S. Pietro B.80, fols. 242v–246r
121v–123r	Flos de spina	[Pulloy]	Trent 90, fols. 434v–436r S. Pietro B.80, fols. 226v–228r Strahov Codex, fols. 218v–220r
123v–124r	O admirabile commercium	Anon.	Strahov Codex, fols. 160v–161r (<i>O pater aeterne</i>)
124v–126r	Vox de celo	Anon.	(unicum)
126v–134r	[Motet Cycles]* Ave mundi domina	Weerbeke	(partial concordances in Librone 2 and other sources)
134v–143r	Quam pulchra es	Weerbeke	(partial concordances in Librone 2 and [4])
143v–152r	Ave virgo gloriosa	Compère	(partial concordances in Librone 3)
154v–168r	Nativitas tua + 2 motets	Anon.	(unicum)
158v–160r	Exultabit cor meum (+ 1 motet)	Anon.	(unicum)
162v–170r	Ave Domine Jesu	[Compère?]	(unicum)
171v–179r	Hodie nobis de virgine	Compère	(unicum)
183v–184r	Benedicamus Crispinel	Anon.	(unicum)
184v–187r	Salve regina	[Du Fay]	Trent 89, fols. 349v–352r Munich 3154, fols. 86v–88r
187v–188r	Salve regina	Anon.	(unicum)

* For more details see *MCD*.

composers, or even owned by Gaffurius himself?²⁸ Whatever the answer – and keeping in mind what the map of the concordances may suggest – it is interesting to compare the situation of Librone 2 with regard to the non-Milanese works.

Alongside eleven masses by Gaffurius Librone 2 contains an equivalent number of masses by Franco-Flemish composers. Among the works of this group it is not easy to identify or define with a comfortable degree of certainty which of the mass cycles are to be considered as ‘imported’ repertory. Excluding Weerbeke’s and Martini’s masses, which might even have been specifically composed for Milan, at least seven items – that is, most of the non-Gaffurian repertory of Librone 2 – might have been acquired from outside through different ways and in various circumstances.²⁹

Considering first the masses not by Gaffurius, it emerges that a larger number of hands were involved in writing music by Franco-Flemish composers in this manuscript (Scribes A, C, and D). Scribe A copied masses by Martini (*Coda [di] pavon*,³⁰ *Ma bouche rit*) and Tinctoris (*Missa sine nomine*) as well as motets by Weerbeke and Compère (see Table 5.2).³¹ Scribe C was responsible for copy-

28. These questions are open even if one considers that portions of Librone 1 may have been copied earlier than around 1489–90. On this question see Joshua Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin’s “Ave Maria ... Virgo Serena”’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/2 (2003), 239–350 at 253–57 ff.; see Filippi (Ch. 1) and Pantarotto in this volume.

29. We could, however, regard Martini’s masses as imported repertory in consideration of his short stay in Milan in 1474. In any case, at least six masses remain to attest a flow of imported works to the Sforza city. The provenance of the anonymous mass *Tant quant nostre argent dura* is unknown, but an attribution to a Franco-Flemish composer can be taken for granted. In any case, the mensurations used exclude Gaffurius’s authorship. On the basis of an experimental computational analysis carried out by Cory McKay, a conjectural ascription came forward: Obrecht or Isaac. Based on the software jSymbolic, which extracts hundreds of characteristics from a corpus of securely attributed fifteenth- and sixteenth-century polyphonic works, these statistical results help to give an orientation or a suggestion for the possible composer, useful for a specific future study of this mass. At least they point to an imported work. For a description of the method used, see Cory McKay, Julie Cumming, and Ichiro Fujinaga, ‘jSymbolic 2.2: Extracting Features from Symbolic Music for Use in Musicological and MIR Research’, in *Proceedings of the International Society for Music Information Retrieval Conference*, 348–54; online at <http://ismir2018.ircam.fr/doc/pdfs/26_Paper.pdf>. The web page for the jSymbolic software is <http://jmir.sourceforge.net/index_jSymbolic.html>. Carlo Bosi had already suggested Isaac as the composer of this mass in Carlo Bosi, “Tant que mon/nostre argent dura”: Die Überlieferung und Bearbeitung einer “populären” Melodie in fünf mehrstimmigen Sätzen’, *Acta Musicologica*, 77/2 (2005), 205–28 at 225–26.

30. Martini’s mass *Coda [di] pavon* is designated in Librone 2 as ‘coda pavon’. I use the mass title as indicated in the critical edition mentioned below (however, there it is without square brackets), although no source attests to the title in this form.

31. The Sanctus with a second part *O sapientia* on fols. 35v–36r has been attributed to Compère by Martin Staehelin, ‘Möglichkeiten und praktische Anwendung der Verfasserbestimmung an anonym überlieferten Kompositionen der Josquin-Zeit’, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 23/2 (1973), 79–91 at 82. This attribution has been questioned by Ludwig Finsscher, ‘Compère, Loyset’, in *MGG Online*, <<https://www.mgg-online.com>> (accessed 6 August

ing Isaac's mass *La bassadanza* and Brumel's *Missa L'homme armé* (along with Weerbeke's mass *Ave regina caelorum* and the anonymous *Missa Tant quant nostre argent dura*), whereas Scribe D was in charge of copying masses by Isaac (*Missa Quant j'ai au cueur* and *Missa Chargé de deul*, to fol. 154) and Obrecht (the so-called *Missa diversorum tenorum I*), as well as Martini's mass *Io ne tengo quanto te*. The copying of Gaffurius's masses instead was distributed among all the scribes involved in the copying work (seven including Gaffurius himself) – each with different responsibilities. This suggests that each scribe was in close contact with the Duomo chapel master.³²

By examining the extant concordances some reliable information concerning the chronology of the copied repertory emerges. In relation to the copying work of Scribe A it can be established that Martini's masses *Coda [di] pavon* and *Ma bouche rit*, included in the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca estense e universitaria, MS α .M.1.13, copied in Ferrara in 1480 or 1481, are to be dated back to the time before 1480–81.³³ Weerbeke's motets (both 'elevation complexes' from the motet cycles in Librone 1) must also be situated in the 1470s, when Weerbeke served the Sforza court; similarly for Compère's motets and Sanctus.³⁴ For Tinctoris's mass no concordances are known to support a chronology – Librone 2 is in fact the

2020). See also Cassia, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', 323. The anonymous Sanctus on fols. 33v–35r has been included in Table 5.2 considering that, on the basis of the particular mensural sign $\text{O } \frac{3}{2}$, it may possibly be ascribed to Tinctoris or someone following his mensural preferences and thus be a Franco-Flemish work (and not Gaffurius, who does not use the proportion in that way). Francesco Rocco Rossi pointed out to me that the same sign occurs in the Benedictus of the mass by Tinctoris in Librone 2 as well as in his *L'homme armé* mass. Cory McKay's computational analysis (see n. 29 above) instead suggested Obrecht on the basis of the available data concerning following composers: Busnoys, Tinctoris, Obrecht, Martini, and Gaffurius. My thanks to Bonnie Blackburn and Francesco Rocco Rossi for discussion about this piece.

32. Scribe C copied three masses by Gaffurius, scribes B and F two, and scribes A, D, and E one. Scribes B, E, and F, as well as Gaffurius, were seemingly not involved in copying works from outside but only works by Gaffurius. On the close collaboration of Scribe F with Gaffurius and of Scribe C and D in Librone 2, see Pantarotto in this volume.

33. The version of both masses in Milan diverges from that of the Modena MS copied by Fra' Filippo di San Giorgio in 1480 or 1481. Murray Steib has argued that the Milanese versions are earlier than the works copied in the Modena MS, and Martini revised them for the inclusion in his collection of masses for the Ferrara court. See Murray Steib, 'Herculean Labours: Johannes Martini and the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α .M.1.13', *Early Music History*, 33 (2014), 183–257 at 197, 200–1; Johannes Martini, *Masses without Known Polyphonic Models*, ed. Elaine Moohan, RRRMMAER 34 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1999), p. xvii. That means that the Milanese versions probably go back to the 1470s, as the motets by Compère and Weerbeke were copied by the same scribe. The masses *Coda [di] pavon* and *Ma bouche rit* are edited in Johannes Martini, *Masses, Part 2, Masses with Known Polyphonic Models*, ed. Elaine Moohan and Murray Steib (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1999), 42–73, 152–89.

34. See Filippi, 'Breve guida ai motetti missales'.

TABLE 5.2. LIBRONE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE COPYING WORK WITH REGARD TO THE FRANCO-FLEMISH REPERTORY

SCRIBE A		
20v–26r	<i>Missa Coda [di] pavon</i>	Martini
26v–33r	<i>Missa Ma bouche rit</i>	Martini
33v–35r	<i>Sanctus</i>	Anon. [Obrecht?]*
35v–36r	<i>Sanctus / O sapientia</i>	Anon. [Compère?]
36v–37r	<i>Ave virgo gloriosa Maria mater gratiae</i>	Compère
37v–43r	<i>Missa [sine nomine]</i>	Tinctoris
48v–53 r	Motets [loco Sanctus-Elevationem, post Elev.]	Weerbeke
SCRIBE C		
1av–6r	<i>Missa [La bassadanza]</i>	Isaac
72v–83r	<i>Missa Tant quant nostre argent dura</i>	Anon. [Obrecht ? Isaac ?]**
160v–176r	<i>Missa Ave regina caelorum</i>	Weerbeke
191v–203r	<i>Missa L'homme armé</i>	Brumel
SCRIBE D		
56v–63v	<i>Missa Io ne tengo quanto te</i>	Martini
136v–143r	<i>Missa diversorum tenorum [= Missa plurimorum carminum I]</i>	Obrecht
144v–151r	<i>Missa [Quant j'ai au coeur]</i>	Isaac
151v–159v	<i>Missa Chargé de deul</i> (until fol. 154)	Isaac

* Cf. n. 32

** Cf. n. 30

unique source – but an origin of the mass during the composer's Italian stay in the 1470s, if not before, seems more than plausible.³⁵

With regard to the repertory copied by Scribe C and D: Librone 2 is the oldest source for Brumel's mass *L'homme armé* and Isaac's mass *La Spagna* or *La bassadanza*, for which the date of the completion of Librone 2 (1492) furnishes the

35. On Tinctoris's mass see Peter Gronemann, *Varietas delectat: Mannigfaltigkeit in Messen des Johannes Tinctoris*, Folkwang-Texte (Essen: Verl. Die Blaue Eule, 2000), *passim* (*Missa sine nomine* Nr. 3). No discussion of chronology is included in Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera omnia*, ed. William Melin, CMM 18 ([s.l.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1976), pp. xi–xii. Considering that Scribe A copied the earliest work in Librone 1, one wonders whether Gaffurius's *missa brevis*, copied by the same scribe at fols. 43v–48r, may also be counted among Gaffurius's early works for the cathedral (the absence of the Agnus may point to this, but the Kyrie not).

earliest chronological reference.³⁶ The manuscript is also among the earliest extant copies of Isaac's other masses, *Missa Quant j'ai au cueur* and *Missa Chargé de deul*.³⁷ For Isaac's *Missa Quant j'ai au cueur* as well as for Obrecht's mass ('*Missa diversorum tenorum*') the MS Capp. Sist. 35 seems to precede Librone 2, although it is worth noting that its dating (between 1487 and 1492) is rather close to that of the Milanese Librone.³⁸ Given that these masses belong to contemporary composers operating in different places at the time of the making of Librone 2, these works apparently represent a current repertory, probably not earlier than the 1480s.

As it seems, in Librone 2 as well the portion copied by Scribe A includes the earliest layer of compositions – although not as old as Binchois's or Pullois's works in Librone 1. One may wonder what the distribution of the copying work in relation

36. Brumel's mass, published in Venice by Petrucci in 1503, is transmitted in more manuscript sources – among them Jena 31 (Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 31), Chigi C.VIII.234, and Capp. Sist. 49 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C.VIII.234 and MS Capp. Sist. 49). See Antoine Brumel, *Missae Je nay dueul, Berzerette savoyenne, Ut Re Mi Fa Sol, L'Homme armé, Victimae paschali*, ed. Barton Hudson, *Opera omnia*, i, CMM 5 ([s.l.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), pp. xviii–xx, 65–88. The edition in CMM uses Petrucci's print as main source, collating other manuscripts, but without evaluating the sources and the reason for the choice, nor discussing issues of chronology. Isaac's mass 'de bassa danza' was included as 'La Spagna' in Petrucci's print of his masses of 1506. The three movements transmitted in Librone 2 were chosen as the main basis of the edition because the source is the oldest one, although without providing an evaluation of the sources: Heinrich Isaac, *Four-Voice Masses II*, ed. Edward R. Lerner, *Opera omnia*, vii, CMM 65 (Neuhausen; Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1984), pp. x–xix.

37. For a list of the numerous sources of *Missa Chargé de deul* – among them, besides Capp. Sist. 35 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 35), Berlin 40021 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Mus. 40021), and Jena 31 see Isaac, *Opera omnia [Four-voice Masses II]*, vii, pp. xix–xxi (Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus taken as main source for the edition), pp. xix–xxxvi. For the *missa Chargé de deul*, transmitted in Codex Speciálník (Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech / Regional Museum, Library, MS MS Hr-7 [II A 7]), and in the MS Lucca 238 (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238) among other sources, see Heinrich Isaac, *Four-Voice Masses I*, ed. Edward R. Lerner, *Opera omnia*, vi, CMM 65 (Neuhausen; Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1984), pp. x–xxii. On the Codex Speciálník see the recent study by Ian Rumbold, 'Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II A 7 ('Speciálník Codex')', in Schmidt and Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources*, 349–96; on its dating in particular see 350–51. For a general overview of the concordances of the masses also useful is the online database <<http://www.mdb.uni-mainz.de/>> (accessed 5 November 2020). No specific reference, however, is given for the dating of the sources listed there; thus it is not always reliable for specific gatherings or works.

38. Isaac's mass was copied by the main scribe of the manuscript on fols. 28v–37v, whereas only the Kyrie and Sanctus of Obrecht's mass are transmitted at fols. 176v–178r and 184v–186r by the same hand, separated by some pieces written by another scribe. The transmissions of Librone 2 and Capp. Sist. 35 do not show a direct dependence on one form or the other. On the making of Capp. Sist. 35 see Adalbert Roth, 'Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches mit polyphoner Musik der päpstlichen Kapelle: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Sistina, Ms. 35', in Martin Staehelen (ed.), *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Komm, 1998), 43–64.

to the chronology may suggest about the specific making of the Libroni and/or about the background and age of the scribes.³⁹ On the whole, however, Librone 2 looks like a more ‘up-to-date’ collection of music, in which older masses by the generation of Du Fay, Caron, or Faugues – just to give a few examples that would make a pendant with Pullois or Binchois’s works in Librone 1 – did not find a place. A closer examination of the repertory choices thus raises yet again the question of the criteria that guided the selection. Could the provenance or the background of the scribes have played a role in such choices and, in this case, how can we imagine the role of Gaffurius himself?

A connection between one hand and the repertory copied, as emerging in Librone 1 for Scribe A, is less recognizable in Librone 2, but still present in a certain measure. Besides the portion copied by Scribe A – here too almost entirely linked to Franco-Flemish composers (although not foreign to Milan) – it is interesting to note that Scribe D was also mostly involved in copying ‘foreign’ music. It seems not irrelevant that his hand is the only one in the manuscript (and in all the Libroni) that shows some clear ‘ultramontane’ features.⁴⁰ If he was indeed himself an ‘ultramontane’, one may wonder whether personal connections may have granted him easier access to non-Milanese works. Or are we going too far without considering Gaffurius’s own music library?⁴¹ In this perspective, observing some apparently non-Italian traits in Scribe A’s writing, I initially tended to think that he – being the main hand of the *motetti missales* – should be identified with a Franco-Flemish singer with close contacts with the Sforza court. A confirmation of this hypothesis would have helped to explain his connection with a northern repertory, and lead to the identification of Scribe B as Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello.⁴² However, even if some phonetic ‘errors’ recurring in the text underlaid by Scribe A might suggest a northern provenance of the scribe, palaeographical analysis does not endorse this hypothesis.⁴³ By discarding the idea of a northern provenance, Pantarotto instead

39. On this issue see Filippi (Ch. 1) and Pantarotto (Ch. 2) in this volume. Moreover, cf. the observations by Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet’, 235–64.

40. See Pantarotto (Ch. 2) in this volume.

41. Certainly Gaffurius owned, or at least had access to, several musical sources, which he used for discussion in his theoretical studies. I will return to this below. On Gaffurius as collector of books, see Martina Pantarotto, ‘Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri’, in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 49–72 and Pantarotto, ‘Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio: I manoscritti laudensi’, *Scripta*, 5 (2012), 111–17.

42. Giovanni Pietro Pozzobonello, the only scribe mentioned in the Duomo documents, was a Milanese priest, as the available documentation suggests. He has been identified with a *biscantor* of the Duomo by the Merkleys (Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 328–29), but for more precise information see Pantarotto (Ch. 2) and Filippi (Ch. 1) in this volume.

43. In studying the internal concordances in the Libroni Cristina Cassia explicitly points to text variants that may reveal a northern provenance of the scribe (see her contribution in this volume), but – according to the opinion of philologists collected by Pantarotto – probably related to dialects

suggested that Scribe A had a monastic formation in northern Italy. This view does not support, therefore, the idea of a particular channel for the acquisition of Franco-Flemish repertory favoured by the shared origin of scribe and composer. The question of the relationship between a scribe's background and the repertory copied (also in view of its availability and access), involving particularly Scribe A but also Scribe D, the only probably ultramontane hand of the Libroni, must thus remain open;⁴⁴ we also need to factor in that Scribe A has been now tentatively identified as Pozzobonello.⁴⁵

Although it is difficult to precisely date the different layers of the copying work as reconstructed by Pantarotto, on the whole the project of Librone 2 must have been quite coordinated and realized side by side by the different scribes within a short time frame. Scribe D closely collaborated with Scribe C, and was also in close contact with the work of Scribe A. Moreover, the gatherings written by scribes A, C, and D were decorated by same hand.⁴⁶

Apart from considerations of the possible personal involvement of the scribes in the gathering of the repertory, a few objective data on the overall copying work in Librone 2 are of general interest. Circa 60 per cent of the masses of Librone 2 (13 items out of 23) was copied without Kyrie, after the Ambrosian use, and in particular eight of the eleven masses attributed to Franco-Flemish composers and four by Gaffurius. Of these thirteen masses without Kyrie, twelve also lack the Agnus, again in accordance with the Milanese rite.⁴⁷ Perhaps surprisingly, of the nine masses provided with all the ordinary five movements most (six) are by

of northern Italy. One should, however, also consider that such phonetic variants may be due to a conservative attitude in copying from a northern source.

44. From the documentation concerning the Duomo chapel it seems that all singers were Italian. See Claudio Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', in *Storia di Milano*, ix, pt. 3: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961), 723–48 at 746. This would suggest that Scribe D was possibly not a singer of the chapel – which would be perfectly thinkable. It cannot be excluded, however, that the known names do not include all the singers active under Gaffurius or that behind an Italianized name hides a foreign singer (although most of the names are very Milanese and Lombard). Certainly, some features of the hand of Scribe D indicate a graphical education outside Italian models (especially the stems for f and s).

45. On Daniele Filippi's persuasive proposal that Scribe A should be identified instead with Pozzobonello, see his contribution in this volume, Ch. 1. Filippi came to this conclusion during the writing of this essay; therefore I refer to him for the discussion and argumentation for this new proposal.

46. According to Pantarotto in this volume (Ch. 2). See in particular the reconstructed chronology in her Appendix 2.6.

47. The Ambrosian mass is usually characterized by the absence of Kyrie and Agnus. On the possibility that on some occasions the Agnus was sung, for instance in masses for the dead, see Norberto Valli, 'La liturgia a Milano nel Quattrocento: Coesistenza di due riti?', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 89–100.

Gaffurius himself; the other three are by Weerbeke (*Missa Ave regina caelorum*), Brumel (*Missa L'homme armé*), and an anonymous composer (*Tant quant nostre argent dura*). The selective copying of works transmitted in a complete form elsewhere suggests for most of the repertory an intention to provide works well suited for the Ambrosian rite (see Table 5.3).⁴⁸

Gathering Repertory: Networks Involving Composers, Singers, and Patrons

By looking more in detail at the composers represented, we are able to figure out some possible connections with the Milanese environment. When considering that Brumel was in Geneva from 1486 and increasingly served the court of Savoy from 1489, and that he was in Chambéry in 1490 for a few months, the copying of his mass *L'homme armé* in Librone 2 shortly thereafter is not surprising.⁴⁹ At least after the marriage of Duke Galeazzo Maria with Bona of Savoy in 1468, musical contacts between the two courts were frequent. Galeazzo Maria recruited several singers from the court of Savoy when he founded his own chapel, among which was even Antonio Guinati, former abbot and master of Jolanda of Savoy's chapel and then his chapel master from December 1472.⁵⁰ Guinati remained in his role at the Sforza court at least until Bona's removal from the regency of the duchy in 1480; he reappears in this post under Ludovico il Moro.⁵¹ The presence of singers formerly at the Savoyard court may have paved the way for musical exchanges.

48. It is ultimately unclear why some masses were copied in full and others not; in the case of Gaffurius's own masses, the presence of regular five-movement masses side by side with 'Ambrosian' three-movement ones may reflect the need to provide music for different church services and/or to preserve masses already composed before his appointment at Milan's Duomo. Interestingly, the page numbers of Gaffurius's masses given in the index of Librone 2 match the beginning of the Gloria also for the five-movement masses. This fact, first observed by Marie Verstraete in an unpublished paper at the conference 'Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy', Basel, 8–9 April 2016, is discussed in Filippi, 'Breve guida ai motetti missales', 158.

49. For Brumel's biography see Klaus Pietschmann, 'Brumel, Antoine', in *MGG Online*, <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/14320>> (accessed 29 June 2020), and Barton Hudson, 'Brumel, Antoine', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 29 June 2020).

50. Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 36, *passim*.

51. As part of payment for his duties as master of the ducal chapel Antonio Guinati obtained the rights to extract minerals from the duchy's part of the Alps. According Giancarlo Andenna, Guinati and his German technicians left Lombardy after the removal from power of Bona. See Giancarlo Andenna, "'Ob eius eximiam musice artis peritiam": Antonio Guinati, maestro della cappella ducale sforzesca, alla ricerca di miniere nelle Alpi', *Verbanus*, 37 (2016), 89–108. Yet as the documents published by the Merkleys attest, Guinati acquired his position at court again (Merkley and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 378, 384, 385, *passim*). Cf. also Paul A. Merkle, 'Ludovico Sforza as an "Emerging Prince": Networks of Musical Patronage in Milan', in Merkle (ed.), *Music and Patronage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 255–70 at 260. It is not clear whether Guinati maintained his position at the Sforza court uninterruptedly or if he resumed his post during Ludovico's government; documents are scarce.

TABLE 5.3. LIBRONE 2: TRANSMISSION OF MASS CYCLES

Reference to the scribes in round brackets. * indicates that work is transmitted with five movements elsewhere.

Masses copied with only Gloria, Credo

fol. 114v–117r + 209v–211r, [Gaffurius?], [*Alia missa brevis* ?]

Masses copied with only Gloria, Credo, Sanctus

fol. 11av–6r (C), Isaac, *Missa* [*La bassadanza*] *

fol. 20v–26r (A), Martini, *Missa Coda* [*di*] *pavon* *

fol. 26v–33r (A), Martini, *Missa Ma bouche rit* *

fol. 37v–43r (A), Tinctoris, *Missa* [*sine nomine*]

fol. 56v–63r (D), Martini, *Missa Io ne tengo quanto te* *

fol. 65v–69r (C), Gaffurius, *Missa Trombetta*

fol. 69v–72r + 143v–144r (E), Anon. [Gaffurius?], *Missa*

fol. 110v–114r (Gaff.), Gaffurius, *Missa* [*brevis et expedita*?]

fol. 130v–134r (D), Gaffurius, *Missa brevis octavi toni*

fol. 136v–143r (D), Obrecht, *Missa diversorum tenorum* [= *Missa plurimorum carminum* I] *

fol. 144v–151r (D), Isaac, *Missa* [*Quant j'ai au cueur*] *

Masses copied with Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus (without Kyrie)

fol. 151v–159v (D), Isaac, *Missa Chargé de deul* *

Masses copied with Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus (without Agnus)

fol. 43v–48r (A), Gaffurius, *Missa brevis primi toni*

Masses with all five Ordinary movements

fol. 8v–18r (C), Gaffurius, *Missa Omnipotens genitor*

fol. 72v–83r (C), Anon., *Missa Tant quant nostre argent dura*

fol. 84r–93r (B), Gaffurius, *Missa De tous biens pleine*

fol. 93v–100r (F), Gaffurius, *Missa sexti toni irregularis*

fol. 101v–109r (F), Gaffurius, *Missa sanctae Caterinae quarti toni*

fol. 118r–129v (B), Gaffurius, *Missa O clara luce*

fol. 160v–176r (C), Weerbeke, *Missa Ave regina caelorum*

fol. 176v–191r (C), Gaffurius, *Missa*

fol. 191v–203r (C), Brumel, *Missa L'homme armé*

For single mass movements, see the Catalogue of Librone 2.

Furthermore, a personal connection between Brumel and singers serving the Sforza court has been suggested on the basis of an undated letter concerning the recommendation of a singer from Brussels. Addressed to Henricus Knoep, Peter de Tongris, and Johannes Lomont,⁵² this letter sent by ‘Anthonius de Brux[ellis]’, identified by the Merkleys with Brumel,⁵³ would attest to contacts that would possibly also explain the acquisition of Brumel’s music and thus may give a clue for the presence of his mass in Librone 2 – the only *homme armé* mass in this manuscript.⁵⁴

In the light of the close relationship between the Sforza and the Este court during the rule of Ludovico Sforza,⁵⁵ the inclusion in Librone 2 of masses by the singer

52. The letter is not provided with a date. Paul and Lora Merkleys ascribe this document to the period of Bona’s regency between 1477 and 1480 (Merkley and Merkleys, *Music and Patronage*, 281–82). A dating during Bona’s regency is confirmed by Bonnie Blackburn, who studied and transcribed many documents from the Sforza archive during her research in Milan. The singers named in the letter were in the service of the Sforza chapel also in the 1480s under the regency of Ludovico il Moro. Heinrich Knoep from Liège died in Milan in 1490; Johannes Lomont is attested in Milan at least until 1487, whereas Petrus de Tongris can be found just once (in this letter) among the documents published by the Merkleys. Since ‘de Tongris’ probably refers to Tongeren near Liège, the identification of this Petrus with Petrus de Holi or just Holi, known to be from Liège, seems to be quite likely (Petrus Alardi, also a singer in the chapel, is said to be from Savoy). Petrus Holi held a prominent position at the Sforza court (he was also a *cameriere* in Galeazzo’s household) and continues to be attested in Milan during Ludovico’s regency (after being for some time at the papal chapel). See Merkleys and Merkleys, *Music and Patronage*, index.

53. The identification of Brumel with Anthonius de Brux[ellis] is, however, problematic since it is not based on indisputable documentary evidence. It is not clear whether the Merkleys misread the document, reading ‘de Brux[ellis]’ as a variant of Brumel, as it seems likely, or what led them to identify Brumel in the reference. I warmly thank Bonnie Blackburn for pointing out some discrepancies in the readings of the documents published in Merkleys’ book as well as for sharing her Milanese research material and her knowledge of the documents with me.

54. The occasion (and place) for the composition of this mass is unknown, and the same is true for a good part of Brumel’s biography. It is not known, for instance, where the composer went after leaving Geneva in August 1492. In relation to acquiring repertory from outside, it should be noted that the court and the Duomo chapels were distinct organisms with different duties, and therefore the transfer of repertory from the court to the cathedral must not be seen as a self-evident process. However, the inclusion of the *motetti missales* by Compère and Weerbeke in Librone 1 suggests that channels of exchanges existed. Possibly the singers of the two institutions performed jointly on some relevant celebrations in the cathedral. Documents usually do not specify this, but it is well attested that the court singers intervened in Duomo celebrations. See Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Where Devotion and Liturgy Meet: Re-Assessing the Milanese Roots of the “Motetti Missales”’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 53–91 at 64–74. An interesting letter of 1475 in which Galeazzo summoned the Duomo singers, including Santino Taverna, to the village of Cassano is cited by the Merkleys (*Music and Patronage*, 123). Cf. also Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai *motetti missales*’, 163–66. The Merkleys also found a document clearly attesting to the involvement of Ludovico in matters of benefices related to the *clerici* of the cathedral (*Music and Patronage*, 327).

55. Ludovico officially became duke in 1494 after the death of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, son of Galeazzo Maria, who had been murdered in 1476. He was, however, the regent of the duchy from the end of 1480, for the underage legitimate duke Gian Galeazzo. In this position he ruled the

of Ercole I, Johannes Martini, may be seen as a self-evident choice. In 1477 the marriage of Galeazzo's second daughter Anna with the heir of Ercole d'Este, Alfonso I, was stipulated, and a few years later, in 1480, that of Ludovico il Moro with Ercole's second daughter Beatrice, which took place in 1491.⁵⁶ Musical exchanges between Milan und Ferrara as well as Mantua, where Beatrice's sister Isabella mostly lived from 1490, frequently occurred, especially in the years following the two Sforza–Este weddings celebrated in January 1491 in Pavia and Milan, even if precise information on the transfer of specific sacred repertory from Ferrara to Milan is barely traceable.⁵⁷ Martini himself, however, stayed in Milan in 1474 (from February until November), after having been documented at the court of Ercole I in Ferrara the year before (1473) – to which he returned afterwards.⁵⁸ Considering what the concordances of the Modena MS suggest on the dating of Martini's mass cycles, it would not be unrealistic even to think of Milan as the place of composition of one or more of Martini's works.⁵⁹ In any case Martini's familiarity with the Sforza chapel and the Milanese musical environment would be enough to explain the preservation of the composer's works in the manuscript of the cathedral – the making of which is also very close to Beatrice's moving to Milan.⁶⁰

Milanese state de facto. For an overview of Ludovico's biography see Gino Benzoni, 'Ludovico Sforza, detto il Moro, duca di Milano', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 2006) <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-sforza-detto-il-moro-duca-di-milano_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-sforza-detto-il-moro-duca-di-milano_(Dizionario-Biografico)>) (accessed 4 July 2020) and the references given there.

56. The alliance stipulated between Ludovico, the duke of Ferrara, and the king of Naples, as well that with the king of France, was publicly proclaimed in Milan on 20 May 1480. The wedding with Beatrice belonged to Ludovico's strategic politics of alliances. See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 406.

57. The extant correspondence of Beatrice and Isabella d'Este involves many aspects related to the musical interests of the two sisters, although specific pieces of music are not usually mentioned (let alone sacred music). Concerning the musical and artistic interests of Beatrice see, for instance, Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro*, 4 vols. (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1913), iv. 248–54, and Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 367, 421–23, *passim*.

58. The reason for Martini's stay is unknown. In consideration of what was to be his long and loyal service to Ercole, it is possible that his time in Milan was negotiated between the two rulers or happened for a special reason. Interestingly, Martini's salary in Ferrara was less than what he got in Milan, probably because he was remunerated also in other ways; concerning this, see Murray Steib, 'Introduction', in Johannes Martini, *Masses, Part 1: Masses without Known Polyphonic Models*, ed. Elaine Moohan and Murray Steib, RRMMAER 34 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1999), p. ix. However, as Bonnie Blackburn pointed out in a personal communication, there is no evidence that Martini was member of Ercole's court before February 1475. He was only rewarded with 3 braccia of green damask to make a jacket (*zipon*) in June 1473 (record of the 22 June), being called 'compositore' (the only time in the documents), probably because he composed *Perfunde celi rore* for Ercole's wedding in that year. I warmly thank Bonnie Blackburn for sharing her extensive knowledge of the Ferrarese Este documents with me.

59. On the features and sources of Martini's masses see Steib, 'Introduction', pp. xi–xix.

60. Johannes Martini was the music teacher of Beatrice and Isabella d'Este. See Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth*

The Este court was possibly also the channel for the acquisition of the masses by Tinctoris and Obrecht. For Tinctoris too a personal connection could explain the copying of his mass in Librone 2, considering that he visited Ferrara in May 1479 or that Gaffurius stayed in Naples between the end of 1478 and 1480, and therefore became acquainted with Tinctoris' compositions in that period (if not before).⁶¹ Nevertheless, Ferrara seems to have represented a special hub for musical activities – not least because of Ercole's enormous love of music.⁶² The inclusion of Obrecht's mass in Librone 2 indeed points to Ferrara, where the composer was hosted by Ercole from October 1487 to May 1488 (from there he visited Rome in connection with benefices). The presence of his mass both in Capp. Sist. 35 and in Librone 2 may be directly related to his presence in Italy, even if from the extant correspondence published by Lewis Lockwood we are informed that Duke Ercole had obtained a mass by Obrecht already in 1484 via 'Cornelio di Lorenzo', one of his most trusted singers.⁶³ Originally from Antwerp and active at or for the Este court for many years, Cornelio was a member of Galeazzo Maria Sforza's chapel from 1474 to 1477.⁶⁴ In 1487 he was charged with bringing Obrecht from Bruges to the court of Ferrara; his passage through Milan on his way to Flanders is

Century (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 144–45, 167, 172; William F. Prizer, 'Una "Virtù molto conveniente a madonne": Isabella d'Este as a Musician', *Journal of Musicology*, 17/1 (1999), 10–49.

61. According to Tomaso Cimello, Gaffurius became a close friend of Tinctoris as well as of other singers in Naples such as Bernardo Ycart and Guillelmus Guarnerius. Gaffurius himself mentions in his *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* a motet he dedicated to Tinctoris. See Miller, 'Early Gaffuriana', 377–79. Specific documentation is not known that would concretely substantiate the relationships with Ycart and Guarnerius. Music by Ycart is apparently not transmitted in the Libroni.

62. Since Ercole was educated at the Aragonese court in Naples and married Eleonora of Aragon, we can assume that contacts with the Neapolitan context remained close over the years. On Ercole's foundation and cultivation of a musical chapel and on the music in Ferrara during his rule, see Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, and Lockwood, 'Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este', *Studi musicali*, 1 (1972), 101–31.

63. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 180. Even if Lockwood thought that Cornelio was in Ercole's service for forty-two years, according to Bonnie Blackburn it is not sure that the 'Cornelio da Fiandra' listed in the 'Bolletta dei salariati' for 1470 is to be identified with the singer (in fact there is no specification that he was a musician). Blackburn informed me that payments to Cornelio are registered from November 1477 to December 1477, April and December 1479, April and October 1480, February, March, May, September, October, and November 1481, November 1481, September 1482, 1485 (only in the alphabetic list of the salaried), February and December 1486, July–December 1487, January and November 1488; moreover, there are irregular payments to December 1494. In August 1490 Cornelio complains that his salary was not paid while he was in Flanders (and then he got paid).

64. Lockwood identified Cornelio with one of the two singers 'Cornelio' employed at the Sforza court (*Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 179); the Merkleys do not distinguish between the two Cornelios in their index; one is 'Picardo', the other 'de Fiandria' or 'de Lillo'.

registered in a letter by the Ferrarese ambassador.⁶⁵ Serving the Medici from 1482 to 1484 during the Ferrara–Venice war, and then being again in Florence at the end of the 1480s (from 1488 to 1490), he certainly had close connections with singers and institutions of the cities of Milan, Ferrara, and Florence.⁶⁶ Cornelio, therefore, might easily have facilitated the transfer of repertory to Milan, as he did in other circumstances. In 1490, for instance, he had access to Weerbeke’s mass *Princesse d’amourettes* in Florence and sent it to Ferrara; moreover, he promised Ercole a copy of a new mass by Isaac based on ‘Jay prins amours’.⁶⁷

Cornelio’s agency would already offer a key to explain the inclusion in Librone 2 of three masses by Isaac (*Missa La bassadanza*, *Missa Quant j’ai au cueur*, *Missa Chargé de deul*), who was active in Florence from the mid-1480s and was working for the Medici at the time of the copying of the manuscript. There is further evidence for personal ties between singers in Milan and Florence. Guillelmus Steynsel, a colleague of Isaac and Cornelius, worked for the Medici as a singer at the baptistery of S. Giovanni and the convent of the SS. Annunziata in 1484–85 and then in 1489–93, after having served in the Burgundian chapel of Maximilian in Flanders.⁶⁸ As already assumed by Sean Gallagher, based on the documents found by Paul and Lora Merkley, he also was in Milan between 1486 and 1488 at the Sforza court for some time before returning to Florence.⁶⁹ A recently rediscovered private letter sent from Florence by Steynsel to Weerbeke in December 1489 witnesses to a probable long-standing friendship between these two singers, which may have been significant in terms musical exchanges.⁷⁰ As with Weerbeke himself, Steynsel would thus represent another perfect candidate for the role of ‘broker’ of repertory,

65. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 180.

66. For the Florentine documents see Frank D’Accone, ‘A Documentary History of Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery during the Fifteenth Century’ (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960), *passim*, and D’Accone, ‘The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14/3 (1961), 307–58, repr. in D’Accone, *Music in Renaissance Florence: Studies and Documents*, Variorum/Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), no. IV.

67. For this and other references concerning acquisition of music via Cornelio, see Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 179–83. For the reference to Isaac see Martin Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, 2 vols., Publicationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschende Gesellschaft – Publications de la Société suisse de musicologie, Serie II, 28 (Bern, Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1977), ii. 31.

68. D’Accone, ‘A Documentary History of Music’, index; D’Accone, ‘The Singers of San Giovanni’.

69. The Merkleys incorrectly give his name as ‘Steifel’. See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 380, 382, 386. I could verify the documents and the name in the Milanese State Archive and thus confirm that Steynsel is the right name of the singer, who indeed lived in Milan in that time.

70. The letter is discussed in a recent article by Sean Gallagher, ‘Belle promesse e facti nulla: A Letter to Weerbeke and the Treatment of Singers in Florence and Milan’, in Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb (eds.), *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on his Life and Music*,

and, in this specific case, particularly for Isaac's masses copied in the Libroni and probably coming from Florence.⁷¹

In addition to the works in Librone 2 referable to Florence, a striking attribution to 'Arnulfus' in Librone 1 again points to the Tuscan city, where 'Arnolfo da Francia' (Arnolfo Giliardi) worked as a singer in the service of Lorenzo de Medici from 1473, becoming then also a master at the Servite convent of SS. Annunziata.⁷² Indeed, the environment of SS. Annunziata in Florence seems to have been a major centre for music networking and circulation. Cornelius di Lorenzo, Steynsel, and also other Franco-Flemish singers coming from there are attested in Milan over the years: Franchois Millet, who fled with Steynsel from Florence and remained in Milan longer than his colleague, or Bartolomeo (Bartholomeus) de Castris and Nicolò di Lore (Nikolaus de Loris) (mentioned below).⁷³

Given that the biographical itineraries of many singers could be taken as paths of transmission,⁷⁴ it is relevant here to underline this direct and long-lasting connection between Milan and Florence, attested also by the repertory of Librone 3 (see below). Beyond the numerous personal contacts, this connection must be considered also in the light of the strong alliance that tied the Sforza with the Medici, firmly established by Francesco Sforza and pompously confirmed by his son with his diplomatic mission to Florence in 1471.⁷⁵ For the wedding of Gian Galeazzo with Isabella of Aragon in January 1489 a Florentine delegation was sent to Pavia and Milan. Lorenzo de' Medici's son Piero represented his father at this

Epitome musical (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2019), 59–71 <<https://www.brepolsonline.net/doi/abs/10.1484/M.EM-EB.4.2019025>> (accessed 29 June 2020).

71. Gaspar van Weerbeke himself, who resided in Milan again from autumn 1489, is documented in Florence in the year 1493 (and surely was there more often on his way to or from Rome). Whereas Cornelio di Lorenzo's mention of his mass *Princesse d'amourettes* gives good evidence of previous contacts between the composer and Franco-Flemish singers employed at the baptistery of S. Giovanni and at the convent of the SS. Annunziata, Steynsel's letter concretely witnesses the personal relationships that tied Franco-Flemish singers in Italy.

72. D'Accone, 'A Documentary History of Music', 148–49, 163–67; D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni', 326–29, *passim*.

73. D'Accone's studies remain the main reference for Florence. For recent studies on the musical environment of the SS. Annunziata, see Giovanni Zanovello, "'In the Church and in the Chapel": Music and Devotional Spaces in the Florentine Church of Santissima Annunziata', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 67/2 (2014), 379–428; Zanovello, 'Heinrich Isaac, die Medici und andere Florentiner', *Musik-Konzepte*, 148–49, ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2010), 5–19.

74. Among others, for instance, Johannes Cordier (Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage, ad indicem*) or Jachetto de Marvilla (Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 183–85).

75. The list of the persons involved in the embassy to Florence is published in Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 274–78.

celebration in response to Ludovico's invitation.⁷⁶ In consideration of this, this marriage may have been an occasion for musical exchanges and may even have prompted the composition of Isaac's mass *La bassadanza* that opens Librone 2 – which Lorenzo might have commissioned for this special occasion. Indeed, the choice of a tune which was already popular at the time and whose name directly related to Spanish culture would fit perfectly in the celebration of this event of politically strategic importance involving the Sforzas and the Spanish Aragonese of Naples.⁷⁷ Although this assumption cannot be confirmed on a documentary basis, the mass certainly was not originally conceived for the double marriage of Maximilian I's son Philip and daughter Margaret stipulated in 1495 (and concluded respectively in 1496 and 1497), as scholars have previously suggested,⁷⁸ since this hypothesis is contradicted by the dating of Librone 2.⁷⁹ In any case this mass is the only one among Isaac's mass cycles in the Librone with no previous concordances – an element supporting the idea of a composition for the Milanese wedding as a gift from Lorenzo de' Medici.⁸⁰ Moreover, in consideration that Librone 1 contains

76. On this trip of Piero, representing his ailing father in Milan at Ludovico's invitation, see Alison Brown, *Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici and the Crisis of Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 74–80.

77. The first known transmission of the tune ('Tenore del re di Spagna') is in Antonio Cornazano's *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, a treatise dedicated to Ippolita Sforza (1455) and to Sforza II (the second version of 1465). For more information see Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Spagna', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 11 June 2020). Ippolita, who married Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, later king of Naples as Alfonso II, was the mother of Isabella of Aragon, whose wedding with her cousin Gian Galeazzo Sforza in 1489 would represent a perfect occasion for contextualizing Isaac's mass, especially in consideration of the 'Spanish' part of the Sforza family embodied by Ippolita. In the context of the tension between Lodovico and Lorenzo de' Medici involving the political events concerning Forlì and Faenza, Piero's embassy was extremely important and the available documentation reports gifts from both sides on the occasion of Isabella's wedding (Brown, *Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici*, 80). Worth mentioning is that Piero de' Medici was especially interested in music and played several instruments (*ibid.* 108).

78. See Panja Mücke and Christiane Wiesenfeld, 'Dynastische Kommunikation und Kulturtransfer: Heinrichs Isaacs Missa La Spagna', in Andrea Ammendola, Daniel Giowotz, and Jürgen Heidrich (eds.), *Polyphone Messen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Funktion, Kontext, Symbol* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress GmbH, 2012), 83–99.

79. The mass is not on an isolated gathering, which could have been added at a later point. It opens Librone 2 – which perhaps suggests a special emphasis on the mass cycle – but belongs to a portion of the manuscript that is in itself palaeographically homogeneous. See Pantarotto in this volume.

80. Worth mentioning in this regard is that in 1491 Lorenzo sent a book with music by Isaac to the Venetian ambassador (Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, ii. 34–35), identified by Bonnie Blackburn as the Venetian patrician Girolamo Donato, dedicatee of Petrucci's *Odhecaton*. For an accurate discussion of Donato's letter to Lorenzo and of other witnesses concerning the ambassador and his love of music, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de' Medici, a Lost Isaac Manuscript, and the Venetian Ambassador', in Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon (eds.) *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1996), 19–44.

repertory associated with the Sforzas (the *motetti missales* in particular as well as Gaffurius's *Salve decus genitoris*), the idea that Librone 2 came to host masses formerly related to the court seems plausible. In this perspective, the possibility that works seeming 'foreign' at first sight may have had direct connections with Milanese events or courtly life should be seriously kept in mind.⁸¹

On the whole, however, it seems not too hazardous to argue that in the non-Milanese (or, more precisely, non-Gaffurian) repertory of Librone 1 and 2 a special association with the courts of Savoy, Ferrara, and Florence can be recognized, suggesting that certain preferences in the choice of repertory might have been in accordance with specific political relationships.

The Next Step: Libroni 3 and [4]

The smaller and certainly later Librone 3 and Librone [4] differ from the previous two both as to their making and the repertory they contain. A clear and complementary distribution of the repertory between the two collections according to liturgical genres is much less defined, since both choirbooks contain music for mass and office as well as for devotional services. Yet Librone 3 was possibly considered in a first stage mainly to be a collection of masses, since the largest part of the manuscript contains mass cycles (mostly until fol. 162r of the 227 folios),⁸² to which some motet cycles and motets as well as a few Magnificats, a *Stabat mater*, and other pieces were added in the last third of the manuscript, chiefly copied

The available documentation reveals that Lorenzo was generous in sharing Isaac's compositions as gifts with diplomatic implications. In this perspective the idea of a special present for the marriage of 1489 sounds even more plausible. Less convincing is the idea that this mass may have been composed for the new Borgia pope in 1492, a pope coming from a 'Spanish' noble family. Piero de' Medici led the Florentine embassy visiting the new pope Alexander VI in Rome in November accompanied by Isaac and two other singers (Charles de Launoy and Pierre de Bonnel) and it is realistic to think that they brought music to the papal city. Although a composition based on a Spanish tune may have fit the occasion, the mass 'La bassadanza' had already been copied in Librone 2, so it had been composed before the papal election. Moreover, the tune said by Cornazano to be 'del re di Spagna' seems to be more appropriate for a celebration involving a royal personality. (No copy of this mass is preserved in the Vatican archive.) One should not, however, exclude the idea of a 're-direction' for Isabella's wedding of a work originating under different circumstances. It is also thinkable that Isaac composed the mass to welcome Isabella in Pisa on her way to Milan, an event that was properly celebrated by the Medici family gathered there, including Lorenzo (see Brown, *Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici*, 74–75). In this different perspective, the mass could still be related to Isabella's and Gian Galeazzo's wedding.

81. In this perspective one could also consider Tinctoris's mass, the only mass in the manuscript which could be directly related to the Neapolitan environment from which Isabella of Aragon came.

82. The position of the Galeazescha among the masses is logically to be explained in relation to the function of the motet cycle as a 'mass cycle'.

by Gaffurius himself and Scribe G (with the later intervention of Scribe J, mainly responsible for the addition of single pieces across the gatherings). The original state of the manuscript, however, should have been slightly different. The first un-attributed mass listed in Gaffurius's index at the beginning of the manuscript is in fact not preserved, and similarly the Gloria from Prioris's mass *Je ne demande*.⁸³ Otherwise the contents correspond to the works listed in the index. Yet, since this only includes the masses, we do not have evidence of divergences between a previous state of the manuscript and its present one with regard to the other works. The discovery of two fragments from Librone 3, however, points to some changes or adjustments in the manuscript that happened at some point (probably during Gaffurius's lifetime) but the chronology can hardly be reconstructed today. These fragments are of special interest also because they contain Franco-Flemish pieces, a Magnificat and a motet (discussed below).

The fragmentary status of Librone [4] makes it difficult to obtain an overall view of the collection. As mentioned earlier, it contains music for mass, office, and different services as well. Even if in what survives motet and motet cycles do prevail, a marked focus on music for the mass is also recognizable in the presence of some masses and mass movements as well as in the series of motets appropriate for performance at the elevation of the Host (fols. 70v–77r). As it has been reconstructed by Cassia, along with the Kyrie de *Missa Sti. Ambrosii* two other masses were originally included in the manuscript, Prioris's *Missa Je ne demande* and Gaffurius's *Missa montana*, both also contained in Librone 3.⁸⁴ The fact that Prioris's and Gaffurius's masses were copied in both manuscripts – between which other striking internal concordances can be observed⁸⁵ – raises the question whether the two manuscripts may have been created for different purposes. Interestingly, all four masses in the first part of Librone [4] – most likely by Gaffurius, as well as the surrounding motets – are provided with five movements, suggesting that they were probably composed to be performed within a Roman rather than an Ambrosian rite, and thus point to a different destination from that of the main services

83. For this attribution see Cristina Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 275–90 at 284–85. For the identification of the composer Prioris with Denis Prieur see Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 65/1 (2012), 5–65. In relation to the questions concerning the making of Librone 3 and its 'original' state raised by the irregular gatherings, it is interesting to notice that at the beginning of Agricola's mass the paper is more damaged than earlier. One wonders whether this particular gathering, the only one by Scribe A in Librone 3, might have been independent or have opened a portion of the manuscript then incorporated in a larger copying project. On Librone 3 and its particularly irregular gatherings, see Pantarotto in this volume.

84. Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 284–85.

85. See Cassia in this volume.

of the cathedral, which usually followed the Ambrosian liturgy.⁸⁶ Several motet cycles are found in the manuscript; among them works by Franco-Flemish composers related to Milan stand out.

With the awareness that Librone 3 and 4 are to be considered as a result of two different copying projects (and not as complementary manuscripts) possibly meant to fulfil different needs and institutional duties, I turn back to Librone 3 and its repertory.

The Mass Repertory in Librone 3 (and the Issue of Chronology)

By focusing at first on the masses of Librone 3 a few general observations will serve to introduce a more detailed discussion of the repertory included. The largest part of the masses copied in this choirbook is by Franco-Flemish composers. The manuscript contains only four mass cycles by Gaffurius, compared with the nine attributed masses by northerners – to which an anonymous mass cycle is in all likelihood to be added. It seems, therefore, that the acquisition of current foreign repertory was a main goal in making this manuscript, which, with regard to masses and in comparison with Librone 2, can be less clearly defined as a ‘repository’ for Gaffurius’s music. Both masses copied in shorter form and masses provided with all five Ordinary movements characterize this manuscript too. Most of the works ascribed to Franco-Flemish composers were copied only partially: six of the nine masses (including the incomplete transmission of the mass ascribed to Prioris and the anonymous mass at fols. 46v–51r) consist in fact only of Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus. To these a Gloria and Credo pair by Compère is to be added.⁸⁷ Along with Alessandro Coppini’s *Missa Si dederò* and the anonymous *Missa O Venus bant*, both provided with four movements (without Kyrie but with Agnus), five complete mass cycles are included in the manuscript, four of them by Franco-Flemish composers and one by Gaffurius (see Table 5.4). Whereas no concrete clues help us to understand why some masses were copied entirely and some others in shorter form, it is evident that practical reasons guided the copying work, at least in part designed to spare time and paper in accordance with the intended use of the music. Except for Gaffurius, there is no evidence that any of mass cycles may have been specifically composed for an Ambrosian service.⁸⁸

86. Only an anonymous mass cycle in the last part of the manuscript is copied with just three movements, the typical form of a polyphonic mass Ordinary in Ambrosian context.

87. Moreover, probably also the Gloria from a mass *Cent mille scude* at fols. 52v–54r, copied by the same hand responsible for the Franco-Flemish repertory.

88. The concordances are telling with regard to this point. Similarly, for the Franco-Flemish works that are unica it is also unlikely.

TABLE 5.4. LIBRONE 3: TRANSMISSION OF MASS CYCLES

Reference to the scribes in round brackets.

Masses copied with Gloria and Credo

fols. 159v–162r (J), Compère, *Gloria, Credo 'breves'*

Masses copied with Gloria, Credo, Sanctus

fols. 24v–27r (H), [Prioris], *Missa Je ne demande* (Gloria lost)

fols. 46v–51r (I), Anon., *Missa*

fols. 66v–73r (I), Brumel, *Missa [De dringhs]*

fols. 73v–78r (I), [Compère or Notens ?], *Missa De tous biens pleine*

fols. 78v–82r (Gaff.), Gaffurius, *Missa*

fols. 110v–116r (K), Gaffurius, *Missa Montana*

fols. 135v–141r (I), Josquin, *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*

fols. 141v–147r (I), Josquin, *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae*

fols. 154v–159r (G), Gaffurius, *Missa sexti toni irregularis*

Masses copied with Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus (without Kyrie)

fols. 99v–106r (G), Anon., *Missa O Venus bant*

fols. 147v–154r + 82v–87r (J), Alessandro Coppini, *Missa Si dedero*

Masses with all five Ordinary movements

fols. 27v–36r (A), Agricola, *Missa*

fols. 37r–46r (J), Brumel, *Missa*

fols. 57v–66r (I), Josquin, *Missa Ave maris stella*

fols. 87v–98r (G), Isaac, *Missa Comment peult avoir joye*

fols. 117v–124r (G), Gaffurius, *Missa de Carneval*

Among the composers represented we find names that are already familiar for their inclusion in Librone 2, Isaac and Brumel in particular, with one and two masses respectively. For the first time, however, works by Alexander Agricola, Josquin des Prez, and Prioris appear in the Duomo repertory together with a *Missa De tous bien pleine* – anonymous here but attributed both to Compère and Johannes Notens – and another anonymous mass in all likelihood by a Franco-Flemish colleague.⁸⁹ No masses by Martini, Obrecht, Weerbeke, or Tinctoris are included in

89. Concerning the attribution to Prioris, see n. 84. Cf. *GCO-Catalogue*, III.2.

this manuscript.⁹⁰ One wonders whether the Librone was possibly meant to collect more recent or easily available compositions or works of composers somehow related to Milan or active in Italian courts at the time of the compilation of the manuscript – also taking into account what has emerged from the examination of Librone 2. In trying to find a logical explanation for such a selection, however, more contrasting data blur the picture.

With regard to a direct connection with Milan of composers included in Librone 3, one may wonder why Compère, for instance, is represented in the manuscript and Weerbeke not at all – although the latter stayed in Milan for a longer time and was certainly well acquainted with Gaffurius (as well as with intellectual Milanese circles).⁹¹ Moreover, with regard to the Ferrarese connection as emerged from Librone 2, why are Martini or Obrecht completely absent, especially considering that Obrecht moved to Ferrara in 1504 and that Librone 3 includes Josquin's *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae*?⁹² No biographical evidence helps to contextualize the transmission of the mass *Je ne demande* ascribed to Prioris, although the rich transmission of his music in Italian sources has been related to a still undocumented presence of the composer in Italy.⁹³ Completely unknown in biographical terms is also the relation between Milan and a composer like Coppini, mostly documented in Florence.

On the other hand, the copying of Josquin's masses could be logically linked to his work experience with the Sforza family and his stay in Milan at some point during the 1480s.⁹⁴ Yet, as logical as this inclusion may seem, one wonders why no

90. At least among the attributed compositions.

91. An extraordinary document concerning the participation of Weerbeke in humanistic circles is discussed by Edoardo Rossetti, 'L'"Isola beata" dei musici e degli aristocratici: Qualche appunto su gerarchie sociali e culturali nella Milano di fine Quattrocento', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 53–87. Weerbeke's career in Milan has been recently summarized by Paul A. Merkley, 'Weerbeke in Milan: Court and Colleagues', in Lindmayr-Brandl and Kolb (eds.), *Gaspar van Weerbeke*, 47–58.

92. The exclusion of Martini's composition could be explained by taking into account that the composer's death in 1497 possibly stopped the transmission of his music. On the other hand, it is possible that Obrecht came to Italy after the copying of Librone 3. However, a different reading is put forward below.

93. The possibility that Prioris was in papal service in the early 1480s has been suggested, for instance, by Alejandro E. Planchart, 'Prioris, Johannes', in *MGG Online*, <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/55679>>. However, if the identification of Prioris with Denis Prieur proposed by Dumitrescu is correct, there is no evidence that the composer was active outside of France. For Dumitrescu the Roman transmission does not imply a stay of the composer at the papal chapel (as is logical, since the transmission of works in a region does not necessary mean that their composer must have been there). See Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', 31, 40–41.

94. For the reconstruction of Josquin's stay in Milan see the recent article by Rifkin and the rich bibliography cited and discussed there: Rifkin, 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin': Further Thoughts

works by Josquin seem to have found a place in Librone 2, a manuscript chronologically closer to the composer's activity in Milan. Moreover, why was a mass with a precise addressee such as the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie* included among the repertory of the Duomo? We could generally assume that Josquin's music found a place in the Librone just because of his increased fame or because his music became more easily available due to the prints by Petrucci as well as to a larger manuscript transmission from the 1490s – also taking into account Josquin's return to Italy and his service in Ferrara in 1503–4. However, no general assumptions can easily be made about the choice of the masses in Librone 3, especially without facing the issue of the dating of the manuscript. Mapping the concordances is therefore a necessary step in order to circumscribe the period of its copying and frame the choice of the repertory in a more precise chronological context.

For Josquin's masses as well as for some other pieces the availability of concordances in prints by Ottaviano Petrucci is most relevant. Not only the print transmission gives a precise chronological reference *ante quem* for the otherwise undated works, but it also helps to evaluate the Milanese sources.⁹⁵ All three masses by Josquin in Librone 3 were printed in Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century, *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* in Josquin's *Misse, Libro primo* (1502), *Missa Ave maris stella* and *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae* in *Misse, Libro secondo* (1505).⁹⁶ In particular the transmission of the *Missa l'homme armé sexti toni* in Librone 3 shows a direct relation with the first printed book dedicated to Josquin's masses. The use of the mensural sign C , in fact, seems to leave no doubt that the Milanese transmission derived from Petrucci's print of 1502.⁹⁷ As Bonnie Blackburn has demonstrated, this was a sign consciously inserted by Petrus Castellanus in the Petrucci

on a Familiar Topic', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 221–336 at 269 ff. Rifkin argues that Josquin must have been in Milan at the latest by 1484 (ibid. 276). Without entering into the details of a complex discussion, not very relevant in this context, I agree with the idea put forward by many scholars that Josquin must have been in Milan during the illness of Ludovico, 1487–88, namely at least in the period in which Ascanio Sforza – whom Josquin served – had to rule Milan instead of his brother: Marco Pellegrini, *Ascanio Sforza: La parabola politica di un cardinale-principe del Rinascimento*, 2 vols., Nuovi studi storici, 60 (Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 2002). For our reasoning the precise dates of Josquin's stay in Milan are not particularly crucial.

95. Concerning the Petrucci transmission in relation to the Milanese Libroni, see Marilee J. Mouser, 'Petrucci and his Shadow: A Study of the Filiation and Reception History of the Venetian Motet Anthologies, 1502–08' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 2003), 91–117, *passim*.

96. Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 477–84, 590–98.

97. The overall correspondence in the readings of the two sources confirms such a conclusion, which David Fallows first pointed out in David Fallows, 'Josquin and Milan', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), 69–80 n. 19. See also Jesse Rodin in Josquin des Prez, *Masses Based on Secular Monophonic Songs*, 2, ed. Jesse Rodin, New Josquin Edition, 6 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging

prints, rare in manuscript sources of the period.⁹⁸ That the scribe apparently was copying from the print of 1502, issued in September (or alternatively from a manuscript source copied from it) concretely indicates that the mass must have been copied into the Librone after September 1502 and that this date represents a first reference point for the manuscript's chronology.⁹⁹

By comparing the readings of the other two masses written by Scribe I, one would expect to face a similar situation and confirm their relationship with Petrucci's publications, in this case the mass book of 1505. Surprisingly, however, the same kind of dependence cannot be established for the other two masses.¹⁰⁰ Although the copies in Librone 3 are quite close to Petrucci, some divergences distinguish them from the print, leading to the conclusion that another source was used for copying.¹⁰¹ The copies in the Librone seemingly preceded Petrucci's edition and thus probably originated between the end of 1502 and 1505. For the mass *Hercules dux Ferrariae* the Milanese transmission represents the earliest surviving manuscript and at the same time a source that originated in a period temporally close to Josquin's stay in Ferrara in 1503–4 (or maybe even coinciding with it).¹⁰² Even

voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2014), Critical Commentary, 2–35 at 27. Cf. Cassia's catalogue, 338, under III.27.

98. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Sign of Petrucci's Editor', in Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (eds.), *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale = Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10–13 ottobre 2001* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005), 415–29.

99. See also Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Masses Based on Popular Songs and Solmization Syllables', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000), 51–87 at 68 n. 38.

100. Cf. Josquin des Prez, *Masses Based on Solmisation Themes*, ed. James Haar and Lewis Lockwood, NJE 11 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2002), no. 1, pp. 1–3.

101. For the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie*, for instance, Librone 3 gives a verbal canon for the Gloria ('Canon Hercules dux ferarie. Fingito vocales: sequentibus signis'), which is not included in this form in the Petrucci print (RISM B J 670).

102. With regard to the issue of the chronology of this mass, see Willem Elders, 'New Light on the Dating of Josquin's "Hercules" Mass', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 48/2 (1998), 112–49; Christopher Reynolds, 'Interpreting and Dating Josquin's "Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae"', in Honey Meconi (ed.), *Early Musical Borrowing* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 91–110. On the different hypotheses concerning the date of composition of this mass, see the discussion in Bonnie J. Blackburn, "'Notes Secretly Fitted Together': Theorists on Enigmatic Canons – and on Josquin's Hercules Mass?', in Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman (eds.), *'Qui musicam in se habet': Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart* (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), 743–60 at 757–58 (and other references given there). Blackburn suggests that Josquin's mass may have been composed by Josquin as a gift to Ercole on behalf of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza around 1486–87, since a letter by the Ferrarese ambassador Buonfrancesco Arlotti to Ercole dated 18 October 1486 reveals interesting details on the close relationship between Ascanio Sforza and Ercole, probably dated back to the time in which Ascanio lived in Ferrara (1480–81). Specifically mentioned in the letter

if this proximity easily cannot be read in relation to a concrete event or to specific circumstances, it suggests a relationship with the court of Ferrara lasting into the post-Sforza period. The inclusion of Ercole's mass in Librone 3 nevertheless seems rather enigmatic in the context of the Milanese Libroni. It would be logical to assume that the copying of the mass happened before Ercole's death in January 1505, but the possibility that the mass may instead have been copied in Librone 3 later than 1505 from a source independent of Petrucci should not be discarded, especially considering the posthumous inclusion in Librone 3 of the 'Galeazescha', dedicated to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, long deceased (discussed below).

The analysis of the duplication of repertory between Librone 3 and 4, however, adds an essential element for the issue of chronology. By looking at the concordances between the two choirbooks, some corrections made in Librone [4] come into sight, suggesting a later copying of the works in this manuscript. According to Cristina Cassia, who has studied the internal concordances in detail, a chronological order between the two Libroni can be established on the basis of the comparison of readings and corrections, leading to the conclusion that Librone 3 was copied before Librone [4], therefore earlier than 1507.¹⁰³ If this view is correct, the time span between the end of 1502 and 1507 thus emerges as the chronological frame for the bulk of the copying work of Librone 3, in any case for the portion of the manuscript written by the same hand (Scribe I). This time span may be tentatively restricted to the years 1503–4, if one assumes, as said, that the mass for Ercole was copied before his death. If not, the interval would then be from 1505 to 1507. In any case, previous hypotheses on the copying of Librone 3 in the 1490s must definitely be discarded, and in particular the view of the Merkleys, who placed the manuscript at least ten years earlier than the current dating, based on an incorrect reading of the documents in the Duomo Archive and disregarding the evidence given by the concordances and by the material data.¹⁰⁴

is Ascanio's gratitude to Ercole d'Este for showing him how to sing music from notation ('tenire li libretti in mano') as well as that the cardinal was having a polyphonic mass prepared that he had promised to send Ercole with other things. Fallows, as others, assumed that the mass was composed during Josquin's stay in Ferrara in 1503–4. See David Fallows, *Josquin, Epitome Musical* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 119.

103. For details concerning this important point, see Cassia (Ch. 4) in this volume.

104. The Merkleys erroneously identified in the document of 1492 related to Librone 2 the copying work for Librone 3. As Daniele Filippi, in his contribution in this volume (Ch. 1), clearly demonstrates, this hypothesis is not tenable. Among the reasons put forward by the Merkleys to underpin the identification of Librone 3 in the record of 1492 is the belief that the mass *Hercules dux Ferrarie* must have been acquired during the time in which Josquin was associated with Milan (1484–89). Moreover, since the Merkleys rejected the idea that the 'Galeazescha' was copied during the French domination, the 'Galeazescha' must have been copied earlier (Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 329–31). These views have thus obfuscated the objectivity of the data

The scribe responsible for the copying of Josquin's masses and most of the Franco-Flemish repertory in Librone 3 (Scribe I) has long been recognized to be the scribe who copied the manuscript Basevi 2441 preserved in Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio – a manuscript of Milanese provenance.¹⁰⁵ His gatherings contain along with Josquin's masses the two masses by Brumel, 'Sine nomine' and *Missa de Dringhs*,¹⁰⁶ the *Missa De tous bien pleine* (ascribed elsewhere to Compère and to Johannes Notens),¹⁰⁷ two anonymous masses (surely not to be ascribed to Gaffurius because of the mensuration signs),¹⁰⁸ as well as the motet cycle 'Galeazescha' and *O genitrix gloriosa* by Compère. Although other hands copied non-Milanese works – Scribe A for Agricola, Scribe G for Isaac – there is no doubt that Scribe I was the main hand in charge of providing mass music for the manuscript. This scribe shows a more professional hand in comparison with other interventions in the Libroni and was apparently active in Milan at the beginning of the sixteenth century. From Pantarotto's studies it becomes apparent that this scribe worked for prominent patrons, and new evidence concerning his activity turns out to be of great relevance for evaluating the making of Librone 3 (on this see below).

The time span for the copying of Librone 3 outlined above serves as a reference also for the part of the manuscript written by Scribe G, responsible for the copying of a large portion of the manuscript. As is to be inferred from Pantarotto's studies,

concerning the work of Scribe I, not placeable, as we have just seen, before 1502. On the possibility that also Librone 3 contained a reference to 1507, see Filippi (Ch. 1) in this volume.

105. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26/2 (1973), 305–26. On the Milanese manuscript Basevi 2441, see also William F. Prizer, 'Secular Music at Milan during the Early Cinquecento: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS Basevi 2441', *Musica Disciplina*, 50 (1996), 9–57. Martina Pantarotto has re-examined the watermark of Basevi 2441, confirming its Milanese provenance (see Ch. 2).

106. In Librone 3 Brumel's *Missa de Dringhs* is not provided with this enigmatic title, which appeared in the Petrucci edition of 1509 (*Missarum diversorum auctorum*, RISM B 1509¹. See Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 684). Having been copied earlier, the mass obviously does not show a direct dependence on the print. The mass is based on Brumel's chanson *Tous les regrets*. See Clement A. Miller, 'The Musical Source of Brumel's "Missa Dringhs"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21/2 (1968), 200–4.

107. For an overview of the sources of this mass and the ascription to Compère see Murray Steib, 'Loyset Compère and his Recently Rediscovered "Missa De Tous Biens Plaine"', *Journal of Musicology*, 11/4 (1993), 437–54. For an overview of the sources and concordances of the works copied by Scribe I, see *GCO*, Catalogue.

108. In contrast to the common use of expressing *sesquialtera* and other proportions with simple signs or numbers – not clearly defined in many cases – Gaffurius used precise proportions to express the change of tempo relationships, developing a specific system of mensural signs that he used in his compositions. This allows us to identify music attributable to him among anonymous pieces in the Libroni when proportions are included. On Gaffurius's mensural usages see Francesco Rocco Rossi, 'Le pratiche mensurali nei quattro libroni di Gaffurio: Una risorsa per possibili attribuzioni', *Studi musicali*, 10/2 (2019), 155–92.

there no evidence, in fact, for assuming that the work of Scribe G forms a chronological layer much distant from that of Scribe I. Isaac's *Missa Comment peult avoir joye* and the anonymous mass *O Venus bant*, the latter transmitted as an unicum in Librone 3, were copied by Scribe G in addition to two masses by Gaffurius (*Missa de carnival*, *Missa sexti toni irregularis*). Whereas little can be said about the provenance and dating of the five-voice *Missa O Venus bant*, characterized by a particular texture and in all likelihood also a Franco-Flemish work,¹⁰⁹ Isaac's mass in Librone 3 represents a first four-voice version of a work, not entirely transmitted in this form elsewhere, that the composer re-elaborated for six voices during his service at the court of Maximilian (*Missa Wolhauf, Gesell, von hinnen*).¹¹⁰ Even assuming that the Milanese version – which is not provided with a title as it is in concordant sources (*Comment peult avoir joye*) – could be dated before Isaac's moving to Maximilian's service, there is no evidence about a specific path of transmission which would lead to its inclusion in Librone 3. In consideration of the contacts of the Sforza court with the Florentine environment and with Maximilian's court, however, the acquisition of Isaac's music may have been relatively uncomplicated.¹¹¹

109. This mass is edited in Anonimi, *Messe*, ed. Fabio Fano, Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 6 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 1966), 131–56. On this work, see Eric F. Fiedler, 'Missa "loco cantoribus"? Gedanken über Ausnahmefälle', in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds.), *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993), 411–18. On the connection of this mass with Milan, see Agnese Pavanello, 'A Flemish Venus in Milan: Gaspar van Weerbeke's "Missa O Venus Bant"', *Early Music History*, 38 (2019), 107–39 at 128–31. In his website on Renaissance masses (<<http://www.robcwegman.org/mass.htm>>), Rob C. Wegman suggests Isaac as the composer. Interestingly, a first computational examination carried out by Cory McKay (cf. n. 29 above) at our request confirms the validity of this hypothesis. If this attribution should turn out to be reliable, this *Venus bant* mass should be newly contextualized (and differently from my proposal in 'A Flemish Venus').

110. This is to be inferred from its transmission in the manuscript Munich 3154, whose gatherings 19 and 20 (not precisely to be dated but characterized by a paper with watermark documented in 1488–89) contain the version for six voices with the German designation. See Noblitt (ed.), *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold: Staatsbibliothek München Mus ms. 3154*, iv, p. xi. The mass must have circulated in this enlarged form at least from the late 1490s, since the Segovia Codex, now dated around 1498–1500, includes it in this version. For a comparison of the two versions see Thomas L. Noblitt, "'Contrafacta' in Isaac's Missae 'Wohlauf, Gesell, von Hinnen'", *Acta musicologica*, 46/2 (1974), 208–16; cf. the edition in Isaac, *Four-Voice Masses I*, ed. Lerner, pp. xxxii–xxxviii. I thank Giovanni Zanovello for supplying me with copies from the edition during the pandemic of spring 2020, when all libraries were closed.

111. Bianca Maria Sforza, daughter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, married Maximilian in 1494, and Ludovico Sforza fled to their court in Innsbruck after Milan fell under French domination. Contacts between Milan and the court of Maximilian through Bianca Maria must have been quite close; therefore it is possible that the acquisition of the mass happened via Bianca Maria or persons from her court, some of which were Milanese. Yet specific documents concerning musical exchanges have still to be discovered. On the other hand, among the Franco-Flemish singers employed by

Before looking at motets and other pieces in Librone 3, specific considerations need to be addressed regarding the mass *Si dederò* by Coppini, the only Italian composer in the manuscript apart from Gaffurius.¹¹² Librone 3 contains a few more works ascribed to him – the motets *In illo tempore Maria Magdalene* and *Fiat pax in virtute tua* and a textless composition. As the palaeographical and codicological analysis confirms, these works were copied in addition to the repertory copied by the Basevi scribe (Scribe I) and scribe G (at the end and at the beginning of gatherings) by the same hand responsible for the entire copying of Librone 4, Scribe J.¹¹³ To this hand is also due the copying of *Sancti dei omnes orate: Christe audi nos* ascribed to Mouton, *Ave Maria gratia plena: Sancte Michael ora pro nobis*, and the Gloria and Credo pair by Compère among a few other pieces. Considering that the work of Scribe I took place after the end of 1502 and before 1507 and that Scribe J was finished with Librone 4 in June 1507, it seems reasonable that Coppini's compositions were copied by Scribe J in Librone 3 in a time close to this later date.¹¹⁴ Which channel led to the inclusion in the manuscript of works by Coppini, mostly operating in Florence, is an open question. But once again the Milanese transmission seems to reveal a specific connection with Florence and the environment around the convent of the SS. Annunziata.

Documented at the SS. Annunziata in Florence as a novice from 1475, the Servite friar Alessandro Coppini served the convent as organist and teacher from 1489 to 1497.¹¹⁵ Since Librone 3 is the only known source of these sacred pieces by Coppini and almost everything we know of his sacred music,¹¹⁶ Frank D'Accone

Ludovico up to the end of 1499, we encounter former colleagues of Isaac in Florence (see further below).

112. Otherwise, only in Librone [4] do we find a work that can be ascribed to an Italian composer: the motet *In illo tempore missus est* [GCO-Catalogue no. IV.56, at fols. 100v–103r] is currently attributed to Giovanni Spataro on the basis of information gained from the *Annali* and from the transcription Franz Xaver Haberl made before the manuscript was burnt. See *L'arte musicale in Italia*, i: *Composizioni sacre e profane a più voci, secolo XVI*, ed. Luigi Torchi (Milan: Ricordi, 1897), 35–48 and *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente: Appendici* (Milan: G. Brigola, 1885), ii. 203.

113. See *GCO-Inventory*.

114. One should consider the possibility that the pieces were copied after the completion of Librone [4], but nothing certain can be said with regard to the precise time of copying. On the copying process cf. Pantarotto in this volume.

115. For more about Coppini's biography, his study in Bologna, and his service at other Florentine churches as well in his last year in Rome at the papal chapel, see Frank A. D'Accone, 'Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance', *Analecta musicologica*, 4 (1967), 38–76; repr. in *Music in Renaissance Florence*, no. IX; Richard Sherr, 'Verdelot in Florence, Coppini in Rome, and the Singer "La Fiore"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37/2 (1984), 402–11.

116. Apart the four works in Librone 3 only a six-voice composition by Coppini is known to have survived, in Landesbibliothek Kassel (*Hodie nobis caelorum Rex*). See D'Accone, 'Alessandro

suggested that the friar could have lived in Milan for some time after the chapel of SS. Annunziata was dismissed in 1493, or perhaps in the early sixteenth century, in periods during which Coppini is not documented anywhere else (between 1505 and 1509).¹¹⁷ If this possibility cannot be completely ruled out, the inclusion of music coming from Florence is no surprise in consideration of the contents of the earlier Libroni – both showing links with musicians not documented in Milan but associated with Florence and particularly with the Servite convent, where Coppini as well as Arnulfus, Isaac, and many others along with the singers mentioned above were active. This connection emerges as extremely important also because documents survive attesting to the copying of manuscripts by singers operating at the convent.¹¹⁸ From the documentation collected by D’Accone it is known, for instance, that the singer Bartolomeo de Castris owned a book of polyphony with masses, which served as a basis for other copies made at the SS. Annunziata in the 1480s.¹¹⁹ This singer is also documented in Milan between 1493 and 1495; after the fall of Ludovico il Moro and the French occupation in 1499, he moved to the Este court together with the singer Nicolò di Lore.¹²⁰

On the basis of this biographical evidence, Bonnie Blackburn recently formulated the hypothesis that either Bartolomeo de Castris or Nicolò di Lore may have been the scribe of Coppini’s works, namely Scribe J.¹²¹ On the basis of the palaeographical analysis, however, the hand which copied Coppini’s works is undoubtedly Italian, as are all other hands in Librone 3, while de Castris’s and di Lore’s hands are not, as their signatures in documents from the SS. Annunziata clearly confirm. Whereas these Franco-Flemish singers may have indeed brought repertory from Florence to Milan in the 1490s, the idea that they were directly involved in the making of the Duomo manuscripts must be completely dismissed.¹²²

Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi’, 64.

117. Ibid.

118. The documents from the SS. Annunziata also provide evidence of the transfer of some repertory from Rome, and notably from the papal chapel. See D’Accone, ‘A Documentary History of Music’, 197, 208 (no. 670, document of May 1483). Zanovello, “In the Church and in the Chapel”, 390.

119. Zanovello, “In the Church and in the Chapel”, 401.

120. Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 393–95.

121. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘Variations on Agricola’s *Si dederò*: A Motet Cycle Unmasked’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 187–217 at 215.

122. Moreover, my own idea that the hand might have been Coppini’s own cannot be confirmed on the basis of a comparison with some records signed by the friar in Florence. I had the possibility to verify the signatures in documents from the SS. Annunziata in Florence during a research trip in 2019 (specifically in: Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, Serie 119, Santissima Annunziata dei Padri Serviti di Firenze, Portate 1049, 1050).

In any case not only Coppini's and Isaac's works may be related to the SS. Annunziata. The transmission of Agricola's mass could be reasonably explained in the light of the composer's stay in Florence in 1491–92, and also considering that earlier concordances may support an origin of the mass in his Italian period or before.¹²³ In this case, however, especially in consideration of Agricola's eventful biography and his many travels before joining the service of the duke of Burgundy in 1500 (Ferrara, Naples, Hungary, France, etc.), we have even fewer clues to connect the work to a specific environment and channel of transmission.¹²⁴

The mass attributable to Prioris was apparently copied by a scribe as an addition across gatherings already written by other scribes.¹²⁵ A confirmation of this is indirectly furnished by the index, which mentions the lost Gloria of the mass on fol. 8, whereas the Credo and Sanctus begin on fol. 24v.¹²⁶ Since the initial pages of the manuscript are lost, it is not possible to ascertain whether the mass opening the manuscript was a composition by Gaffurius or a foreign work.¹²⁷ Since, as mentioned, some rearrangements in the structure and repertory of the manuscript had probably already occurred during its making or during Gaffurius's tenure, it is difficult to establish under what circumstances the opening mass got lost. Its entry in the index would, however, suggest that it might have happened at a later copying stage.

The Galeazescha

Focusing on motets, motet cycles, and other repertory of Librone 3, Compère's Marian motet cycles entitled 'Galeazescha' deserves special attention. Copied by the same hand as that of Josquin's masses, the Basevi scribe (I) responsible, as we have seen, for the larger part of the mass repertory in Librone 3, this cycle

123. The mass is transmitted in MS Jena 31 (dated around 1498) and MS Berlin 40021 (copied over many years, ca. 1485–1500). For the dating see Michael Chizzali and Jürgen Heidrich, Art. 'Jena', MGG Online, <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/51093>>; *Der Kodex Berlin 40021: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin Mus. ms. 40021*, ed. Martin Just, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 76–78 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990), i. 20–36.

124. For an overview of Agricola's biography see Rob C. Wegman, Fabrice Fitch, and Edward R. Lerner, 'Agricola [Ackerman], Alexander', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 17 June 2020). Bonnie Blackburn has found evidence that Agricola was in Mantua in 1490 and in Ferrara in 1485 or 1486. On his sojourn in Hungary Blackburn is preparing a specific publication.

125. This hand copied only Prioris's mass movements in Librone 3.

126. The copying of the mass, however, probably happened before Librone 3 was bound, since the work is included in the index. See Pantarotto in this volume.

127. This unattributed mass is indicated in the index as '4. Et in terra pax cum tota missa Canon In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum' and covered six folios. It was therefore copied according the Ambrosian rite with Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus. The antiphon mentioned indicates that the mass may have served for all occasions involving feasts of apostles.

undoubtedly raises many questions in the context of a manuscript or – even more precisely – of a scribal unit written after 1502 and, as proposed, before 1507. Why include a cycle dedicated – as the ‘title’ suggests – to Galeazzo Maria Sforza in a choirbook written more than twenty-five years after his death, when Milan was under French domination and the Sforzas had been banished from the city? Despite the approximative dating of Librone 3, in fact there is no evidence for placing the copying of the manuscript during the short Sforza restoration of 1512–15. And even in this implausible scenario, the inclusion of the cycle would be not less enigmatic. If the cycle had been copied in an autonomous gathering as an insertion by one minor hand, we might think that it was recopied or rebound from older material to be preserved or memorialized. Instead, the cycle was written by the main hand responsible for copying Franco-Flemish masses in the manuscript, whose professional and beautiful copying work stands out in the context of the Libroni. The inclusion of the Galeazescha, therefore, seems to respond to a copying project guided by a clear intention. Was this music meant to be specifically performed under the vaults of the Duomo, or elsewhere, by the singers of the cathedral? How to explain otherwise its presence in a manuscript copied at the beginning of the sixteenth century?

If Librone 1 had not contained concordances for three of the motets of the cycle and would thus not have clearly attested an association with the Sforza court of the 1470s and with Duke Galeazzo Maria in particular, to whom the *motetti missales* corpus by Compère and Weerbeke has been related,¹²⁸ one might even ponder whether ‘Galeazescha’ as a title in Librone 3 might refer to a different ‘Galeazzo’, to a person active in Milan at the time of the copying. But, beside the necessity to identify an addressee with sufficient power and cultural significance,¹²⁹ a good reason needs to be found to explain why a composer active at the French court might have been involved in writing music for a foreign Milanese patron, and notably a richly composed motet cycle based on a series of cantus firmi – namely a compositional device which gives a mark of outstanding status to an extended multi-part work.¹³⁰ Since Librone 1, however, does partially contain three motets

128. See in particular Patrick P. Macey, ‘Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin’, *Early Music History*, 15 (1996), 147–212.

129. It is worth mentioning that at the time masses and outstanding motets were usually dedicated or related almost exclusively to rulers, popes, and the like.

130. Possibly a personality such as Galeazzo Sanseverino would fill the role in a certain measure, however without offering a key to interpretation for all the aspects connected to the musical transmission. Therefore, such an idea must be discarded. On the Galeazescha see the observations of Finscher in Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c.1450–1518): Life and Works*, MSD 12 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), and Macey, ‘Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan’, 166–79. A new edition of the cycle by Daniele Filippi is available on Gaffurius Codices Online. I refer to Filippi’s introduction for more details on the composition.

from the Galeazescha (although without such a heading) listed by Gaffurius under the *Motetti missales*, it does not seem possible to doubt that the rubric in Librone 3 addressed Galeazzo Maria Sforza and thus that the motet cycle originated during Compère's stay in Milan from 1474 to 1477. Even taking into account alternative scenarios, such as a later commission of the work, the date of completion of Librone 1, 1490, undoubtedly represents the *terminus ante quem* for the composition.¹³¹

A comparison of the transmission in Librone 1 and 3 reveals very interesting details. Different readings in the motets and a diverging version of one of them (*Ave sponsa verbi summi*) in fact suggest that the Galeazescha cycle in Librone 3 was most probably not copied from the older Librone, but instead from a different source.¹³² This fact raises, as a consequence, other relevant questions. Were two or more sources of the cycle available among the music of the cathedral, or did the scribe use a source coming from elsewhere? How can we imagine the process of 'acquiring' repertory and of making it available with this specific situation in mind? The transmission opens yet again the issue whether a particular scribe may have had a personal channel to access music or whether he was charged with a specific task of selecting or copying the entrusted repertory. Since Scribe I did not copy any piece by Gaffurius and instead only works by Franco-Flemish composers, the supposition that his task was differently defined than that of Scribe G is well founded. It is a logical consequence to assume that, being in charge of copying works like the masses by Josquin, he was able to access sources 'outside' the Duomo environment as well.

As said, Scribe I was a professional scribe, active in Milan at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and copied works by Compère, Brumel, and Josquin, having access to music sources that included the first mass book by Josquin printed by Petrucci (or eventually a source deriving from it). He worked, then, during the period of the French occupation. Even if Compère and Josquin (and in some measure also Brumel) can be variously associated with Milan, at the time of the copying of Librone 3 they were in the French sphere. From this perspective, Scribe I's work involved music well suited to be performed in French Milan and, at the same time, by composers well known in the city.

131. This is certainly true for the three motets in question, but, in consideration of the compositional technique of the cycle, built on texts and melodies divided and personally recombined in the single motets in a kind of patchwork design, the same dating can be assumed for the other motets as well.

132. Librone 3 contains a final section *Gaude fruens deliciis* (bb. 39–58) which does not appear in Librone 1. Cassia argues that it even would be possible to think of just one source for the Galeazescha used for both Librone 1 and 3. There are, however, stronger arguments to consider different sources (cf. Cassia in this volume and the introduction to the new edition by Filippi).

In relation to Josquin's music, it needs to be emphasized that it found a place in the Libroni only in a later phase, not being attested at all in the earlier Libroni despite his attachment to Ascanio Sforza's household. Considering that even Compère is barely represented in Librone 2, compared to the later Librone 3 and 4, one indeed wonders if the repertorial choices of Librone 3 (and 4) might have been influenced by the new political circumstances or, in other words, whether Compère's and even Josquin's connection with the French court may have played some role in the inclusion of their work in the later Libroni.¹³³ Even if, obviously, one could always consider the presence or absence of their and other names in one book or the other as the fruit of casual circumstance, the inclusion of such a distinctive composition as the 'Galeazescha' must have been – I highlight it once again – anything but casual in a choirbook originated in a city subjected to French domination. At that time one of the more powerful and influential personalities of Milan was Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, called 'Il Magno' (the great), who, in the first months after the fall of Ludovico il Moro, had governed the duchy as marshal of France on behalf of Louis XII. The connection between Trivulzio and Gaffurius or his Libroni may not be obvious, nor is it obvious how the new political constellation may have affected the activities of the Duomo environment and the copying of the choirbooks. Yet a closer look at Trivulzio's personal story and at the situation in Milan after Ludovico's capture opens a new perspective on the work of Scribe I and offers interesting clues on the selection of the repertory – Galeazescha included.

Belonging to a noble Milanese family, Trivulzio was educated with Galeazzo Maria Sforza at the Milanese court, becoming one of the most successful condottieri of his time. His military career flourished at first in the Sforza orbit. He had been a very close and precious collaborator of Galeazzo Maria in several military enterprises.¹³⁴ After the murder of Galeazzo, Bona called him to the regency council of her young son Gian Galeazzo. Because of disagreements with Gian Galeazzo's uncles in matters of political decisions, Trivulzio's relationships with the Milanese court deteriorated and he became a strong opponent of Ludovico il Moro, whom he regarded as the usurper of the rights of the Sforza heir. In the service of the Aragonese in Naples, always supporting the cause of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Trivulzio excelled in many strategical conflicts, acquiring territories and titles over the years. After the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1494 and the military expedition of Charles VIII to Italy, whom Trivulzio rescued from defeat at the battle

133. On Josquin's relationships with the French court and with Compère see Paul Merkley, 'Josquin Desprez in Ferrara', *Journal of Musicology*, 18/4 (2001), 544–83.

134. See Maria Nadia Covini, *L'esercito del Duca: Organizzazione militare e istituzioni al tempo degli Sforza (1450–1480)*, Nuovi studi storici, 42 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1998), 259–63.

of Fornovo, the Milanese condottiero passed into the service of the French king, in clear opposition to Ludovico and his change of political alliances. Created knight of Saint-Michel and French governor of Asti (1496), he guided the invasion of Milan by Louis XII in 1499, obtaining the title of marquis of Vigevano and lieutenant in Milan. Louis made him marshal of France and governor of Milan on his behalf.

During his government Trivulzio tried to reinforce the Guelph faction and restore the balance between the different parties as it was before the rise of il Moro. His political choices are therefore not to be read in an anti-Sforza perspective, but specifically against the usurper and illegitimate duke Ludovico, the growing hostility towards whom in the last years of his sovereignty had favoured the passage to French domination.¹³⁵ Even if the political position of Trivulzio changed after Ludovico's return in February 1500 (and his definitive removal in April of the same year) and Louis XII entrusted the government of Milan to French dignitaries such as Charles of Amboise and Bérault Stuart of Aubigny, Trivulzio's role and influence in French Milan – a city shaken by internal conflicts between the different factions – remained crucial, since he was further involved in military actions and politics to defend the duchy, also operating to reinforce his Milanese supporters and to maintain privileges and patrimony for himself and his family.¹³⁶

In the years of the first French domination, Trivulzio engaged in artistic patronage. As other men of arms of his time, he was very interested in books and manuscripts, which he commissioned for his library. Several books dedicated to him

135. For a detailed discussion on the figure of Trivulzio and his political actions, see Letizia Arcangeli, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio marchese di Vigevano e il governo francese nello Stato di Milano (1499–1518)', in Letizia Arcangeli (ed.), *Gentiluomini di Lombardia. Ricerche sull'aristocrazia padana nel Rinascimento* (Milan: Unicopli, 2003), 3–70. For a short biography see Marino Viganò, 'Trivulzio, Gian Giacomo', in Gennaro Sasso, *Machiavelli: Enciclopedia machiavelliana*, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2014), ii. 626–28; id., 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio: Declino, fine, esaltazione di un condottiere milanese (1518–1519)', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 145 (2019), 185–219.

136. Thorough research on the years of the French domination in Milan has been carried out by Stefano Meschini; see Meschini, *Luigi XII duca di Milano: Gli uomini e le istituzioni del primo dominio francese (1499–1512)*, Studi e ricerche storiche (Milan: F. Angeli, 2004), and Meschini, *La Francia nel ducato di Milano: La politica di Luigi XII (1499–1512)*, 2 vols., Studi e ricerche storiche (Milan: F. Angeli, 2006); on Trivulzio and his political profile in particular see pp. 62–98, 176–95. Owing to the focus of these books, however, not much space is granted to Trivulzio's activities after his official government of Milan. For more circumstantiated information on Trivulzio's policy in the years of the French domination essential is the contribution of Arcangeli, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio'. From Arcangeli's rigorous study it clearly emerges that, despite being 'just' marquis of Vigevano and Marshal of France after May 1500 (an office with no precisely defined assignments, but disciplinary jurisdiction over the whole army), Trivulzio was able to further increase his wealth and to maintain power thanks to personal relationships and clientele, including the relevant positions covered by members of his family, and 'di proporsi come servitor del re di Francia e suo principale appoggio nello stato di Milano [to propose himself as a servant of the king of France and his main support in the state of Milan]' (ibid., esp. 52–58; citation from p. 55).

were printed in Milan in those years and several scribes are documented as being in charge of copying works for him.¹³⁷ Trivulzio's cultural patronage still needs to be investigated in depth in a wider perspective, yet even the commissions to personalities like Bramantino and Leonardo alone suggest that he emulated Ludovico in employing the best artists and personalities, who had previously worked for the Sforza court.¹³⁸ Leonardo, again in Milan from June 1506 to the beginning of September 1507, was asked to design the sepulchral monument for Trivulzio to be placed in the new chapel in construction in the church of San Nazaro in Brolo, including an equestrian statue in bronze of the condottiero himself. The commission of the statue is strikingly similar to the task Ludovico entrusted to Leonardo when coming to Milan in 1482.¹³⁹ This project was certainly aimed at creating an impressive memory of his successful life, bringing additional prestige to his person and his family. However, it probably was also guided by a will to legitimate himself as a ruler, at least a military one, besides being a Milanese aristocrat of the Guelph faction, solidly rooted in the life of the city and its traditions, whose acknowledged loyalty to Galeazzo Maria and his son Gian Galeazzo had led him to oppose the usurper (and his own state).¹⁴⁰

137. See, for instance, Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato: Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2002), 614–15; Pierluigi Mulas, 'Codici miniati di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio', *Viglevanum*, 17 (2007), 8–27; Massimo Zaggia, 'Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano negli anni di Franchino Gaffurio (1484–1522)', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 3–51 at 36, 38, 41–42.

138. The first known commission Trivulzio gave to Bramantino (Bartolomeo Suardi), who was entrusted to design Trivulzio's new chapel in San Nazaro in Brolo, is the making of the 'arazzi dei mesi [the tapestries of the months]', known as the Trivulzio tapestries (ca. 1504–9). Trivulzio also employed the astrologer Gabriele Pirovano, who had served Ludovico as well. Since Trivulzio, like the Sforza dukes, was very superstitious, he involved Pirovano in the project with regard to the symbolic and esoteric iconographical elements to be included in the visual representations of the tapestries. On the creation of this art and Trivulzio see Marino Viganò, 'Bramantino a Milano: Precisioni "trivulziane"', *Raccolta Vinciana*, 35 (2012), 118–52. I would like to thank Marino Viganò warmly for providing me with information and for an enlightening exchange of correspondence concerning Trivulzio.

139. As is known, Leonardo came to Milan to create the equestrian statue *in memoriam* Francesco Sforza, which for different reasons was never finished. For a reconstruction of the details of Trivulzio's commission to Leonardo see Marino Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio e Leonardo: Appunti su una committenza (1482–1518)', *Raccolta Vinciana*, 34 (2011), 1–52, and Viganò, 'Leonardo and the Trivulzio Monument: Some Questions and Evidence (1507–1518)', in Constance Moffatt and Sara Tagliagalamba (eds.), *Illuminating Leonardo: A Festschrift for Carlo Pedretti Celebrating his 70 Years of Scholarship (1944–2014)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 239–55.

140. With regard to the reasons for the commission to Leonardo for his funeral monument it is worth noting that in contemporary accounts Trivulzio was said to act 'as a duke'. According to the Venetian secretary of the Greater Council of the republic of Venice, the historian Marin Sanudo, his funeral did indeed equal that of a duke ('Fu sepolto come si fusse stato un ducha di Milano [He was buried as if he had been a duke of Milan]'). See Marin Sanudo and others, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto: (MCCCXCVI–MDXXXIII) dall'autografo marciano ital. cl. 7. codd. CDXIX–CDLXXVII*

A cultivation of the memory of the former legitimate duke would thus be perfectly fitting in the picture of Trivulzio aspiring to rule Milan and aiming to legitimize himself through his fidelity to the true previous duke. Even if nothing is known about his relationship with music,¹⁴¹ the historical facts involving his person make it plausible to hypothesize that the copying of the Galeazescha in Librone 3 was related to his specific desire to honour the memory of the defunct duke. Speculative as it may sound, this hypothesis finds support in a brilliant discovery recently made by Pantarotto, who identified the hand of the Galeazescha (Scribe I) in a manuscript owned by Trivulzio now preserved in the family archive.¹⁴² Despite the less formalized traits, the hand is clearly recognizable.¹⁴³ Particularly interesting is the fact that this scribe contributed to a literary manuscript, on which a well-known and refined copyist, Giovanni Battista Lorenzi, also collaborated, whose activity as scribe for Trivulzio has been long recognized.¹⁴⁴

This identification, attesting that Scribe I worked for Trivulzio, makes it likely that the inclusion of Compère's cycle responded to a specific wish to preserve special music for Galeazzo (and possibly for his son) at the time of the preparation of the manuscript. Considering that in the 1470s Trivulzio was attached to the Sforza court, being a close companion of Galeazzo also in his private adventures, he probably already knew the music and its composer and certainly he was aware of the efforts Galeazzo put into building his extraordinary chapel. Considering that Trivulzio most likely had personal contacts with Compère from his time in Milan and even later during the military actions of Charles VIII in Italy,¹⁴⁵ it is not surprising that the 'Galeazescha' could have remained in his memory, being a composition with extraordinary characteristics and a powerful expressive impact.¹⁴⁶ It is quite plausible therefore to think that he was the person behind the copying of this

(Venice: Visentini (tip.), 1879), xiv (1887), col. 252. For more references concerning this point see Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio: Declino, fine, esaltazione', 185–86.

141. In the absence of studies on musical life in Milan in this period we can only speculate on an interest possibly originating during his education at Francesco Sforza's court.

142. Martina Pantarotto, 'Copisti a Milano tra la fine del Quattrocento e l'inizio del Cinquecento: Prime ricerche', *Scripta* 13 (2020), 123–40.

143. See the images (Figg. 2.35, 2.37, 2.38) in Pantarotto's study (Ch. 2) in this volume.

144. Giliola Barbero, 'Nuovi manoscritti di Giovanni Battista Lorenzi copista e segretario milanese', *Aevum*, 84/3 (2010), 695–709; Pantarotto, 'Copisti a Milano'.

145. Compère was in the retinue of Charles VIII in his Italian campaign of 1494–95. Since Trivulzio was at the side of Charles in the battle of Fornovo (6 July 1495) and during his retreat from Italy, he had more occasions to meet Compère again.

146. Of course, it would also be possible to think that he merely continued a memorial tradition already cultivated by Ludovico. As Daniele Filippi has pointed out, other documents suggest that Ludovico cultivated the memory of his brother in the 1490s. Cf. Filippi, 'Operation Libroni', 109. In any case, a re-copying of Compère's cycle in Librone 3 is hardly to be connected with the previous duke.

special work. Whether the copy of the Galeazesca in Librone 3 was meant to be used for memorial services in the cathedral or in a church served by Gaffurius and the Duomo singers or merely to be performed as a kind of celebrative music in main or votive services cannot be established on a documentary basis, but it also seems credible that Trivulzio may even have paid for these services out his own pocket. As usual for persons of his condition, he regularly attended mass and spent money on works of charity.¹⁴⁷ Although very speculative, the idea of a homage to Galeazzo by Trivulzio or his entourage would thus convincingly explain the puzzling (and anachronistic) copying of Compère's 'Galeazescha' at this later time.

The connection of Scribe I to Trivulzio, who was acquainted with the French court, would also allow us to posit alternative channels of acquisition for the repertory of Librone 3. A kind of 'French'-oriented selection in the repertory copied by Scribe I may indeed point to new influences or preferences related to Trivulzio and the French government.¹⁴⁸ From this perspective the addition of the mass ascribed to Prioris, chapel master of the French king, can be evaluated.¹⁴⁹ In relation to this mass it is relevant to point out that Duke Ercole d'Este received a mass by Prioris in June 1503, sent directly from France to Ferrara.¹⁵⁰ Beyond documenting a case of the transfer of music from France to Italy through personal channels, this transaction involves a ruler and collector of music who is indirectly represented

147. Trivulzio used most of his tax revenue collected from his fiefdom of Vigevano for annual alms to monasteries (Arcangeli, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio', 8). Concerning his devotion to the 'Madonna di Lonigo' see Marino Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, la Madonna di Lonigo e la Trivulziana a San Nazaro di Milano', in Sandro Martinelli (ed.), *Aldebaran III: Storia dell'arte* (Verona: Scripta, 2015), 57–86.

148. In this regard it is worth mentioning that also a personality like Trivulzio's nephew Scaramuccia may have played a role in the transfer of music, since he lived between France and Milan from 1500 to 1509. As a brilliant jurist he was in fact employed as councillor by Louis XII in his parliament in Paris. He became bishop of Como in 1508. It is known that he held literary academies with prominent guests. According to Pantarotto, Gaffurius possibly dedicated a copy of *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* to him. Pantarotto, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio', 115.

149. Prioris is documented in this role from at least 1503. For references to Prioris as master of the Royal chapel, see Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', 17. The first document concerning Denis Prieur / Dionisius Prioris as singer, priest, and master of chapel of the duke Louis d'Orléans, king of France (Louis XII) from 1498 to 1515, is dated 1497 (*ibid.*, 14). Paradoxically, even the addition of Coppini's music might be read against a French instead of a Florentine background, since his attachment to the French court is suggested by a letter written by Louis XII in his favour and by the mention of his name (in some variants like Copinet, Copijn) in France. Apparently Coppini served the French court for some time before returning to Florence and Italy. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Jean Michel and "Lucas Wagenrieder": Some New Findings', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 55/2 (2005), 113–52 at 120–21.

150. The letter informs us that Louis had promised the mass to Ercole the summer before and that it was given by Prioris himself. See Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 230. No trace of this mass is found in Ferrarese sources (nor for other masses sent to Ercole cited in documents).

in Librone 3 through the mass of Josquin: it is thus tempting to speculate that the mass sent by Prioris may have been precisely the mass *Je ne demande* that ended up in Librone 3.

After the fall of Ludovico Sforza, Ercole's politics in favour of the French king had made him a faithful ally of Trivulzio. The duke of Ferrara was among the rulers and aristocrats who welcomed Louis XII in Milan in 1499 and he was again present in the city for the king's visit in 1502.¹⁵¹ His long-standing relationship with Trivulzio, documented by a rich correspondence, lasted from the years of Trivulzio's employment by Ercole as head of his troops during the war with Venice (1482–84). He thus was a key figure for Milanese politics and its impact, especially on the north Italian territories.

In the light of the political alliance and close personal bond between Ercole and Trivulzio, the inclusion of Josquin's mass *Hercules dux Ferrariae* in Librone 3 can also be seen in a new light. In fact, instead of appearing as extraneous within the Milanese manuscript, it acquires a specific connotation for its relation with one of Trivulzio's closest allies. This fact opens new possibilities to assess the copying of the mass – especially in relation to the debated issue of the mass's chronology.¹⁵² Moreover, it strongly suggests that the relationship with Ferrara may likewise have been relevant for supplying other music for Librone 3. The idea of acquisition of repertory from Ferrara, however, is not in contradiction with the proposed 'French'-oriented selection of the repertory, which, in consideration of Ercole's political position, may have been the result of mutual sharing of political and cultural allegiances. In any case, the awareness of Ercole's involvement in Milanese politics and support of the French cause gives significant clues at the least for a more conscious reading of the musical transmission of Josquin's mass.

All these things considered, the discovery that the scribe of the Galeazescha and of the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie* as well as of most of the Franco-Flemish repertory in Librone 3 served Trivulzio opens new perspectives: in particular, it encourages further research on the relationships between the new government and the cathedral environment or Gaffurius himself, who, as it seems, promptly aligned himself with a pro-French cultural policy.

151. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 141, 225. Ercole as well as his son-in-law Francesco Gonzaga took part in the parade organized for the triumphal entry of Louis XII in Milan. See Carolyn James, *A Renaissance Marriage: The Political and Personal Alliance of Isabella d'Este and Francesco Gonzaga, 1490–1519* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 103.

152. See n. 103.

Other Motets and Motet Cycles

The part containing motets and other liturgical pieces (e.g. Magnificats, Stabat mater settings) in Librone 3 – the Galeazescha excepted – was copied by Scribe G and by Gaffurius himself. Both copied motets and motet cycles, mostly without giving attributions. There are certainly works by composers other than Gaffurius, probably Franco-Flemish, among them possibly the one or the other of the two anonymous motet cycles *Beata et venerabilis virgo* and *Ave regina caelorum mater*, identified as such by Nolan Gasser.¹⁵³ No concordances outside of the Libroni help to contextualize the works, in part based on Ambrosian texts.¹⁵⁴ The anonymous motet cycle copied by Gaffurius, *Virgo praezellens*, is instead transmitted in other sources.¹⁵⁵ Its inclusion in the manuscript Capp. Sist. 15 from the mid-1490s points to Franco-Flemish authorship, as does the copy in a later source from the Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch. This cycle, based on a Marian prayer, a contrafactum of a Christmas hymn written by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, was also printed by Petrucci in his motet collection *Motetti C* (1504), unfortunately without attribution as well.¹⁵⁶ The Milanese version is closer to the Petrucci print than to Capp. Sist. 15, although a direct dependence cannot be established. In particular, the absence of Petrucci's favoured sign for *sesquialtera* suggests an independent tradition for the cycle, whose first stanza found a durable memory in a sixteenth-century intarsia in the choir of the church of San Domenico in Bologna.¹⁵⁷

Among the pieces copied by Gaffurius – all without attribution – at least two motets can be counted as 'foreign' works: *Salve sancta facies* (fols. 208v–210r) and *Maria salus virginum* (fols. 212v–214r). The first one has a concordance with ascription to Josquin in the later manuscript Bologna Q.20.¹⁵⁸ Even if Josquin's authorship has been discussed and rejected by some scholars and it is dubious at least, its presence in a non-Milanese source mostly containing Franco-Flemish repertory suggests that the piece may represent an 'imported' work. As it does

153. See Nolan Ira Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study' (Ph.D. diss, Stanford University, 2001), 331, 461–74.

154. See MCD, C22a and C23.

155. See MCD, C47a.

156. Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 953. The text was identified by Filippi when working on the Motet Cycle Database (MCD).

157. The intarsia shows a book between musical instruments with this stanza inscribed and provided with music notation. The wooden choir was carved between 1528 and 1530 and between 1541 and 1549 intarsias were made. Considering the chronological frame of the work, it is plausible that text and notation derive from a Petrucci exemplar. I am grateful to Daniele Filippi for drawing my attention to this intarsia and Alessandra Fiori for sending me pictures of it.

158. Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q.20, fols. 76v–77r.

not display Gaffurian mensural usages, an ascription to Gaffurius can be ruled out with certainty.¹⁵⁹ *Maria salus virginum* is transmitted anonymously in Verona 758 and Warsaw 5892, whereas in the Apel Codex the piece is copied twice with an attribution to Conrad Rupsch (ca. 1475–1530).¹⁶⁰ If the concordances suggest that the motet should represent a non-Milanese work, the ascription to Rupsch is rather puzzling. One wonders what relationships should tie the German composer, known for his later activity as composer for the Reformation, and Gaffurius in Milan. The only biographical information we have on the composer is related to his German career and he does not seem to have had direct contacts with Milan or Italy in general. The presence of the motet in the Apel Codex (apparently its earliest source), suggests that the piece had already been composed around 1500, if not earlier. If Rupsch was the composer, the motet would represent an early work by him.¹⁶¹

On the other hand, one should also seriously consider that the attribution in the Apel codex may simply be wrong.¹⁶² In a manuscript where attributions are more than sparing that ascription turns out to be even more striking. Since the two copies of the motet in the Apel codex are identical, one most probably deriving from the other, we have to deal with one single attribution against the anonymous transmission of the other sources. Was Rupsch perhaps the provider of the piece instead of its composer? Given that at this state of research an answer is not

159. Because of the presence in the text of ‘noe noe’ at the end and the F-mode Bonnie Blackburn suggests that the piece might be French (personal communication).

160. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494 (‘Apel Codex’), fols. 115v–116r, 159v–160r; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, MS DCCLVIII, fols. 11v–13r; Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych, MS 5892 (Warsaw 5892), fol. 106v. The Milanese transmission is very close to the Verona MS.

161. Works can travel in unpredictable ways, but one might wonder about the young Rupsch in Italy. The presence of two persons named ‘Corrado Tedesco’ belonging to the Servite Order in the convent of the SS. Annunziata in Florence during the 1480s opens the way to speculation. An identification of one or both of them with Rupsch would easily explain the Milanese transmission – especially in consideration of the long-standing relationship with the musicians active at the Servite cloister. In a presumed Florentine stay Rupsch would indeed have been a young boy. Yet there is no evidence to support such identification and the availability of such a foreign motet in Milan could be explained, obviously, in many different ways. For the documents concerning ‘Corrado’, see D’Accone, ‘A Documentary History of Music’, 188, 212, *ad indicem*.

162. The motet is in fact stylistically close to many motets of the Libroni and could be framed in the notion of a ‘Milanese style’, largely used by Renaissance scholars in relation to the Milanese *motetti missales* and similar motets included in the Libroni. See, for instance, Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet’. A reconsideration of this idea, however, has been put forward particularly by Clare Bokulich, ‘Contextualizing Josquin’s “Ave Maria ... virgo Serena”’, *Journal of Musicology*, 34/2 (2017), 182–240. More recently, in a very thought-provoking contribution Felix Diergarten also questions such a stylistic categorization. See Felix Diergarten, “Gaude Flore Virginali” – Message from the “Black Hole”?, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, 429–55.

possible, we should also consider the option that Gaffurius got the work from outside through a personal channel we are not able to concretely figure out.¹⁶³

A few other Franco-Flemish motets were copied by Scribe J in the blank pages across gatherings after the masses and the motets copied by the other scribes and Gaffurius were already entered. These additions include Mouton's *Sancti dei omnes*, Josquin's *Alma redemptoris mater/Ave regina caelorum*, and Compère's *Ave Maria gratia plena* (2.p. *Sancte Michael ora pro nobis*), as well as a few anonymous works. These attributed pieces, already circulating in Italian sources, were printed by Petrucci in his motet collections between 1502 and 1505 (see Table 5.5). Also in these cases, however, Librone 3's dependence on the prints cannot be established (nor a direct link with Capp. Sist. 15).¹⁶⁴ The proximity to Petrucci of certain readings or details of the Milanese Librone, however, would strongly point to a chronological proximity, even if these works apparently became available to Gaffurius and his scribe at a later point.¹⁶⁵

Finally, Compère's motet *Gaude prole regia* deserves comment. It was found in one of two newly discovered fragments from Librone 3 together with an anonymous Magnificat *quinti toni* already included in Librone 1, both copied by the same hand G and formerly part of the manuscript, as the surviving numbers of the foliation unequivocally suggest.¹⁶⁶ This motet for St Catherine of Alexandria contains a verse highlighting the 'union' of France and Flanders and thus it has been related to the reception in Paris of Philip, duke of Burgundy, in 1501.¹⁶⁷ Why and when this motet was eliminated from the manuscript is an open question: the exclusion of a

163. Interestingly, the motets occupying fols. 208v–218r, including *Maria salus virginum*, are all in an F-mode, pointing to a conscious selection of pieces in the same tonality, even if not thematically related to each other. For some reason Gaffurius was interested in gathering them in Librone 3, unfortunately without giving ascriptions.

164. *Ave Maria* by Compère and *Alma redemptoris* by Josquin, in fact, show significant variants that do not allow the Milanese copy to be traced back to the Roman manuscript.

165. Gloria und Credo *breves* by Compère at fols. 159v–162r were also added by Scribe J when the manuscript had already been bound.

166. The fragments, identified with the numbers 1 and 2 and included in a folder now labelled 3bis, are visible on the GCO, to which I refer for a detailed description. Compère's fragmentary motet is on Fragment 2.

167. The passage alluding to France and Flanders is: 'Te clamant sanctam in caelis / omnis natio fidelis, / Francia cum Flandria'. On the motet in general see Ludwig Finscher, 'Loyset Compère and his Works: VI. The Tenor Motets and Analogous Forms', *Musica Disciplina*, 16 (1962), 93–113 at 101–5. The motet may have been composed for the 25 November 1501 feast of St Catherine of Alexandria, the day in which Duke Philip the Fair, Governor of the Netherlands, was welcomed in Paris (see Joshua Rifkin, Jeffrey Dean, and David Fallows, 'Compère, Loyset, Life', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 4 August 2020)). Among other plausible occasions might also be the treaty of Lyon stipulated between the king of France and duke of Burgundy in April 1503. See Baron John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton and others, *The Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1969), i. 126.

TABLE 5.5. CONCORDANCES BETWEEN LIBRONE 3 AND PETRUCCI

FOLS.	COMPOSER	SCRIBE	TITLE	PETRUCCI PRINT	DERIVED FROM PETRUCCI?
51v–52r	Compère	I	<i>O genitrix</i>	<i>Motetti A</i> (1502)	no
57v–66r	Josquin	I	<i>Missa Ave maris stella</i>	<i>Missarum II</i> (1505)	no
66v–77r	Brumel	I	<i>Missa de dringhs</i>	<i>Missarum diversorum auctorum</i> (1509)	no
135v–141r	Josquin	I	<i>Missa L'homme armé sexti toni</i>	<i>Misse I</i> (1502)	yes
141v–147r	Josquin	I	<i>Missa Hercules Dux</i>	<i>Missarum II</i> (1505)	no
176v–178r	Mouton	J	<i>Sancti dei</i>	<i>Motetti C</i> (1504)	no
178v–189r	Josquin	J	<i>Alma redemptoris/Ave regina</i>	<i>Motetti IV</i> (1505)	no
187v–189r	Compère	J	<i>Ave Maria</i>	<i>Motetti A</i> (1502)	no
201v–203r	Anon.	Gaff.	<i>Virgo praezellens</i> (5 motets)	<i>Motetti C</i> (1504)	no

motet with a specific political allusion might indeed have a political explanation, but of course more casual or material reasons cannot be ruled out. Considering the irregular structure of the gatherings in Librone 3 as well, this finding is a further sign that the genesis of the manuscript and its early life were somewhat troubled.¹⁶⁸

Librone [4]

Due to the damage caused by the 1906 fire, Librone [4] now consists of anonymous fragments: the attributions which may have been on the upper margins of the pages have not survived. The ascriptions can be partly reconstructed in different ways: some works by Gaffurius are identifiable thanks to earlier descriptions of the manuscript or on the basis of the mensural signs, and some motets or motet cycles by Compère, Josquin, and Weerbeke have concordances in other sources.¹⁶⁹ Assuming there was more foreign repertory, it is thus even more difficult to categorize than the other manuscripts.

¹⁶⁸. See Pantarotto in this volume (Ch. 2).

¹⁶⁹. An important resource for this reconstruction are the *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, 9 vols. (Milan: G. Brigola, 1877). Cf. Cassia, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni', 277–85.

As mentioned above, this choirbook has some distinguishing traits. The prevalence (proportionally speaking) of masses in five movements, the predilection to combine motets with mass cycles, the series of Elevation motets, the conspicuous number of motet cycles as well as the occurrence of concordances with the other Libroni: all these aspects make this manuscript – despite its fragmentary condition – very distinctive. The manuscript also stands out also for the presence of one scribe only, apart from Gaffurius.

Focusing first on pieces by Franco-Flemish composers, a certain number of concordances again establish a connection with the Petrucci prints. The anonymous cycle *Gaudeamus omnes* is included in the collection *Motetti C* (1504), whereas the cycles *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur* by Josquin and *Spiritum domini replevit* by Weerbeke were published in *Motetti Libro Quarto* (1505).¹⁷⁰ Librone [4], however, only partially transmits Josquin's and Weerbeke's cycles and therefore its versions can hardly have been the source for Petrucci's work. On the other hand, the readings in Librone [4] do not point to a direct derivation from the Venetian prints (see Table 5.6). Despite the incomplete transmission of Josquin's and Weerbeke's motet cycles in Librone [4] (at least less complete than in Petrucci), one should ponder whether this repertory found a way from Milan to the Venetian publisher, even though no evidence supports this suggestion.¹⁷¹ Certainly, motets by these composers circulated in northern Italy, as other concordances related to the production of these composers suggest, and Petrucci (or Castellanus) had access to different music sources from northern Italy and elsewhere.

Likewise the famous *Ave Maria gratia plena* by Josquin, already printed in *Motetti A* (1502) and transmitted in earlier sources, found a place in Librone [4] as well as some motets by Compère, a few of which have a concordance in Librone 1 or 2. With the exception of one motet ascribed to Giovanni Spataro – whose inclusion raises many questions considering the later controversy that arose between Gaffurius and Spataro himself – all attributable compositions in Librone [4] are related to Franco-Flemish composers with a previous direct connection with Milan.¹⁷² One wonders whether the composers of one or the other of the

170. Cf. Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, nos. 15 and 21.

171. Rifkin argues in a recent study on Josquin that *Vultum tuum* must have been related to Milan. At the conclusion of a long discussion on Josquin and his 'Milanese' works he states that 'Josquin des Prez spent most, and very possibly all, of the years from 1483 or 84 till 1489 in the orbit of the Sforzas, mostly in Milan itself; and in composing motet cycles, he took up a tradition that he found in Milan'. See Rifkin, 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin', 251–88 at 288.

172. As it has to be inferred from a letter by Spataro of August 1517, Spataro and Gaffurius were in correspondence since around 1493. See *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 204. On Spataro's ideas on harmony see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Dispute about Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style', in Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.),

TABLE 5.6. CONCORDANCES BETWEEN LIBRONE [4] AND PETRUCCI

FOLS.	COMPOSER	SCRIBE	TITLE	PETRUCCI PRINT	DERIVED FROM PETRUCCI?
103v–107r	Josquin	J	(From motet cycle <i>Vultum tuum</i>) <i>Ora pro nobis virgo</i> <i>Intemerata virgo</i> <i>O Maria nullam</i> <i>Mente tota</i>	<i>Motetti IV</i> (1505)	no
113v–118r	Anon.	J	(motet cycle) <i>Gaudeamus omnes in domino</i> <i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i> <i>Gaude quia magi dona</i> <i>Gaude quia tui nati</i> <i>Gaude quae post ipsum</i>	<i>Motetti C</i> (1504)	no
118v–120r	Josquin	J	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i>	<i>Motetti A</i> (1502)	no
120v–124r	Weerbeke	J	(motet cycle) <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i> <i>Veni sancte spiritus</i> <i>Beata gens</i> <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	<i>Motetti IV</i> (1505)	no

anonymous cycles hide among them. Recently, Bonnie Blackburn has argued that the selection of the composers represented may have been a conscious choice by Gaffurius to please the French authorities. This hypothesis would be in line with what has emerged in the previous discussion on Librone 3. The large portion of anonymous works – prevalent in comparison with the attributed ones – makes it difficult, however, to properly evaluate the transmission with regard to the composers' selection. By scrutinizing the anonymous cycle *Missus est ab arce patris* Blackburn suggested that it was by a northern composer.¹⁷³ On the basis of the particular style of the composition, based on Agricola's *Si dederò*, she also argued for a Florentine connection, which, in view of what can be gathered from the

Théorie et analyse musicales, 1450–1650: Actes du Colloque international, Louvain-La-Neuve, 23–25 septembre 1999 = *Music Theory and Analysis, 1450–1650: Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain-La-Neuve, 23–25 September 1999* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie; Collège Érasme, 2001), 1–37.

173. Alternatively, Blackburn suggests it might be someone trained by a northern composer. Blackburn, 'Variations on Agricola's *Si dederò*', 204.

previous manuscripts, appears to be a quite plausible assumption.¹⁷⁴ This possible link to Florence would slightly change our understanding of the overall contents of the manuscript, possibly less Milanese than it seems at first sight.

The series of anonymous cycles in this Librone still requires specific study, unfortunately complicated by the material status of the manuscript. As Lynn Halpern Ward first noticed, this manuscript collects the highest number of motet cycles among the Milanese Libroni, and they all lack a clearly identifiable elevation motet.¹⁷⁵ A flexibility in combining motets ad hoc, however, is manifested for instance by the partial transmission of Weerbeke's *Quam pulchra es* as well as in the combination of a Sanctus ascribed to Compère with different motets or sections.¹⁷⁶

A clearer picture of the purpose and the use of Librone [4] would undoubtedly help to better understand its contents and repertory. The distinctive presence of mass-motet cycles (with all five Ordinary movements) and motet cycles raises the question whether these works were meant to be sung in churches different from the cathedral or for specific votive and private services, or whether we can assume for the anonymous cycles a comparable function to those by Compère and Weerbeke in Librone 1. Specifically concerning the series of Elevation motets, the grouping leaves the question open whether those motets were collected to be combined with other motets in cycles or with masses, or even for independent use as sung meditation during the Eucharistic liturgy.¹⁷⁷

Considering that the motet cycles by Compère und Weerbeke were related to religious services of the Sforza family (which members of the ruling family attended or were promoted by the court, etc.), one wonders about the circumstances in which the motets included in Librone [4] might have been sung in French Milan. Even if we can easily assume that Marian motets were constantly performed at Marian services and devotions, the question here is whether the new rulers of Milan tried to encourage the cultivation of some musical practices initiated under the Sforza dukes also outside the main services of the cathedral. In any case, Gaffurius

174. Blackburn, 'Variations on Agricola's *Si dederò*', 209–17.

175. Lynn Halpern Ward, 'The "Motetti Missales" Repertory Reconsidered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39/3 (1986), 491–523.

176. See *GCO-Catalogue*, II.9 and IV.20. On this see Cassia in this volume (Ch. 4, n. 50/51). Recent research has pointed out that the combination of motets in cycles may need to be contextualized in a broader picture and that the peculiar aspects of the Milanese transmission do not necessarily mean that motet cycles were exclusively a Milanese phenomenon. See the 'Introduction' in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*,

177. In the other Libroni a motet meant to be performed during the Canon missae including the ritual of the Elevation of the host is mostly transmitted within motet cycles (*motetti missales*) or parts of them. The moment of the Elevation is marked by a characteristic consonant chordal writing (in long notes provided with fermata signs). On the Milanese Elevation motets and especially on the group of motets copied one after the other in Librone [4] see Pavanello, 'The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound', 33–59.

and his chapel should have represented the main venue to have sacred polyphony performed. Since no information is available, the only clues we have are to be inferred from the scarce documentary evidence. In this regard, the inscription printed on Gaffurius's *Angelicum ac divinum opus musicae* (1508), in which he boasts the title of 'regius musicus', suggests that besides the cultivation of good relationships with the French government the Duomo chapel master must have been involved in musical performances on institutional as well private occasions.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, the idea that some repertory gathered in Librone [4], similarly to Librone 3, might have been directly correlated with the new political establishment or new institutional commitments acquires more weight.¹⁷⁹

A look at the other repertory gathered in the manuscript adds more elements of evaluation. Librone [4] in fact contains a few motets related to specific liturgical feasts or celebrations of saints, namely St Bassianus, St Ambrose, St Ulderic ('Odorico'), all Saints, St John the Evangelist, and St Erasmus.¹⁸⁰ Based on this, Daniele Filippi has proposed that the repertory in Librone [4] may have been gathered to supply the needs of churches such as S. Marcellino, of which Gaffurius was parish priest.¹⁸¹ Alternatively, the manuscript may have been prepared for the sojourn of the Duomo chapel master at S. Maria del Monte in 1506 and for his duties there – among them, notably, the task of building a musical chapel.¹⁸² This proposal is quite convincing and would not exclude the suggestions advanced so far: the Milanese basilica of S. Nazaro in Brolo, for instance, preserved the relics

178. This title disappears in the short period of the Sforza restauration (1512–15). Worth mentioning is that Gaffurius dedicated various copies of his works to French authorities, for instance the autograph copy of *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* now in Lyon to Geoffroy Carles (1460–1516), marquis of Saluzzo and president of the Milanese parliament, or the copy of the same work in Vienna to Jean Grolier, appointed in 1510 treasurer of the Milanese duchy, and also dedicatee of the printed version of 1518. See Pantarotto, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio', 114–15; Élisabeth Pellegrin, 'Les Manuscrits de Geoffroy Carles, président du parlement de Dauphiné et du Sénat de Milan', in Giovanni Mardersteig (ed.), *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, 4 vols. ([Vatican City]: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), iii, 309–27 at 321–24; Davide Stefani, 'Le vite di Gaffurio', 27–48 at 45–46.

179. In this regard it is worth mentioning the document found by Filippi attesting to the celebration of a mass in the Roman rite by the French Cardinal Georges I d'Amboise at the main altar of the Duomo in 1507 (see Filippi, 'Breve guida ai motetti missales', 161), particularly interesting because it mentions the rite in relation to a French prelate – especially in consideration of the masses in five movements prevailing in Librone [4].

180. The motets in question are: *Pontifex urbis* (St Bassianus), *Ambrosi doctor venerande, O pater Olderice, Solemnitas laudabilis* (All Saints), *Verbum dei deo natum* (St John Evangelist), and *Domine Iesu Christe unigenite* (St Erasmus). For the images and foliation, see *GCO*.

181. In his testament of 1512 Gaffurius requested the celebration of four masses in four days within the week at the altar of St Bassianus in the church of San Marcellino, which had been built on his behalf. See Davide Daolmi, 'Iconografia gaffuriana: Con un'appendice sui due testamenti di Gaffurio', in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 143–211 at 183.

182. See Filippi's contribution in this volume (Ch. 1, Appendix 2).

of Ulderic, a saint highly venerated in Milan.¹⁸³ Since this church was the burial place of the Trivulzio family, the inclusion of this motet in Librone [4] is particularly intriguing. It may be just an interesting coincidence that Trivulzio had already planned his funeral monument there in 1504.¹⁸⁴

On the basis of an inscription formerly written inside Librone [4] Filippi further suggested that the manuscript possibly belonged to Gaffurius himself rather than to the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo.¹⁸⁵ This may explain the fact that no records of payments for this manuscript could be found in the archive. Yet, since the making of Librone 3 has left no records either, it is uncertain whether the absence of documentation can be related to the contents and function of the manuscript. In view of the need (or will) to gather suitable repertory for the chapel performing under changed circumstances, it would, however, be plausible to think that financial support for the making of the two younger Libroni came from outside the Duomo, as the involvement of Scribe I in the copying work for Librone 3 would also suggest. This would not contradict the idea of Librone [4] as Gaffurius's personal possession. A sponsorship independent of the Duomo environment would make this even more logical. Also in this perspective, the idea that some repertory of this Librone was connected with duties related to the new government of Milan or to personalities linked to the French authorities, similarly to what was suggested for Librone 3, seems indeed quite persuasive.¹⁸⁶ Specific research on the largely understudied musical life in French-dominated Milan, including a particular inquiry into Gaffurius's activities and personal relationships, emerges as an urgent and essential task.

On the whole, however, also in consideration of the absence of mass cycles by other composers than Gaffurius, the contents of Librone [4] look indeed

183. On the origin of the cult of St Ulderic at San Nazaro and the belief that the body of the saint was buried in the Milanese church see Giorgio Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città e campagna di Milano ne' secoli bassi* (Milan: Francesco Colombo, 1854), i. 611–12.

184. On San Nazaro as burial place of the Trivulzio family and on the construction of the new chapel by Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, see Viganò, 'Leonardo and the Trivulzio Monument', and Viganò, 'Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, la Madonna di Lonigo', esp. 57–58 and the references given there.

185. This inscription is preserved in *Annali: Appendici*, ii. 169.

186. In a recently published article Ferrari reconstructs the history of the publication of Gaffurius's treatise *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, finally dedicated to Jean Grolier, Viscount of Aiguisy and general treasurer of Milan from 1510 to 1512 and again from 1515 until the expulsion of the French in 1521. Grolier, who supported the publication, is explicitly mentioned by Gaffurius as 'patronus (patron)' in the *Apologia Franchini Gafurii Musici adversus Ioannem Spatarium et complices musicos Bononienses* printed in Turin in 1520. Known for his artistic interests, being a passionate bibliophile, numismatist, and collector, Jean Grolier later became ambassador at the court of Clement VII. Apparently Gaffurius frequented his house and the cultural circle hosted in it. See Adam Ferrari, 'Nuovi dedicatari per Franchino Gaffurio: La ricerca del consenso nella Milano di Luigi XII e Francesco I', *ACME*, 72/1 (2019), 111–20.

particularly Milanese, with music apt for certain important feasts and celebrations, and motets easily usable in different liturgical and devotional contexts. The idea that the manuscript was Gaffurius's personal property or was made for his personal use rather than for the Duomo chapel as an institution in the end agrees quite well the mixed contents of the source, unique among the Libroni also for the inclusion, at the beginning and at the end, of two Italian laude.

Final Remarks

Despite being usually considered almost as a homogeneous corpus produced under Gaffurius's tenure, the four Libroni – each with its particular arrangement and repertory – seem to tell us different stories, embodying distinct moments of a musical history of which we still know very little. Particularly between the first two Libroni and the later ones much seems to have happened, and changed, in Milan: under French domination the ducal chapel no longer existed (at least, surely not in its previous shape). Even if we are not able to concretely figure out how this fact may have affected the Duomo chapel and its performances, as well as the duties of Gaffurius himself, the later Libroni originated within a different politico-cultural constellation and new spheres of influence, whose musical relevance is hard to determine but should not be overlooked.

The enquiry attempted in this chapter has highlighted possible channels for the exchange and acquisition of music, enlarging our view of the musical networking involving Gaffurius and the Duomo environment. If there are reasons to believe that external repertory may have arrived preferably via the court, or by means of (Franco-Flemish) court singers, the paths of its acquisition and the criteria of selection still remain unclear. In certain cases, however, the agency of the different scribes may have contributed to make certain compositions available. In this regard, even the role of Gaffurius does not appear entirely self-evident, since music surely available to him – and notably mentioned in his treatises – found no place in the Duomo manuscripts.¹⁸⁷ With all the possible uncertainties, the contents of the manuscripts do point to some conscious choices and criteria for selection, especially by contrast with all the music and the contemporary composers that the Libroni do not include (from Caron, Faugues, or Ockeghem to De Orto, Ghiselin, or La Rue).¹⁸⁸ As underlined above, the repertory selected and the concordances

187. Notably in his treatise *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (ca. 1482), where Gaffurius discusses passages from various works and notably masses, which he evidently knew well. Among the composers mentioned we find Basiron, Busnoys, De Quadris, Domarto, Faugues, and Ockeghem. See Miller, 'Early Gaffuriana', 375.

188. Despite the presence of Isabella of Aragon in Milan from 1489, for instance, there are barely repertorial connections with the Neapolitan environment/Aragonese court – the only exception

suggest a network of personal channels that often seem to be consonant with the political vicissitudes of the duchy.

Considering the Libroni as a whole, however, and their function within the services of a major church institution with specific duties and purposes, it clearly emerges that the making of the manuscripts was ultimately linked to their practical use, with a side interest in preserving older repertory. So, if we are not able to explain in detail why some pieces found a place in the manuscripts and others not, we must also be aware that not much is known about the ceremonies in the Milanese cathedral, or what was sung and when within the walls of a church permanently under construction. In this sense our detailed examination of the copying project represents a useful way to broaden our understanding and our hermeneutic reading of these sources. In other words, it is a way of more consciously reopening Gaffurius's Libroni, trying to recover the value of these manuscripts as testimonies of musical, cultural, social, and institutional history.

being the mass of *Tinctoris* (of which, however, we do not know origin or provenance; as said, it may have been acquired via Ferrara). Just a few concordances with regard to masses connect the Libroni with the papal environment of the 1480s and 1490s in spite of the several known personal connections which might have favoured the transfer of repertory (as in the case of Weerbeke's long stay in Rome in the 1480s and his return there at the end of the century).

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