Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9

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Much about the early fifteenth-century manuscript Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria J.II.9 remains an enigma. Visually the most profligate of "ars subtilior" sources, its precise origins and dating are shrouded in mystery. Its singular agglomeration of otherwise incompatible kinds of music is baffling, and the tantalizing beauty of its enormous repertory has barely been explored. Its historiographical position at the periphery of late medieval music history seems maddeningly incongruous with the sheer sophistication and perplexing quantity of the music (and texts) it contains. In short, it seems fair to say that any convincing solution to the riddle posed by the Turin codex has the potential to reshape substantially our map of European music history at one of its most stirring moments.

On 159 parchment folios cast in the extravagant, very large folio format reserved for the most conspicuous of late medieval *de luxe* manuscripts, the lavishly illuminated codex transmits a monumental collection of music, containing no less than 334 monophonic and polyphonic entries.[1] Its repertoire covers an exceptional range of genres, from chant for the Office and the Mass

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For a listing of the abbreviations used for manuscripts, etc., see the beginning of the Works Cited.

[1] For full details on the physical makeup of the manuscript, see the two recent codicological studies by Widaman, Wathey, and Leech-Wilkinson, "Structure and Copying of Torino J.II.9";

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to polyphonic Mass movements, polytextual motets in Latin and French, and French *formes fixes* settings. Unusually for the period, all its pieces are transmitted anonymously, and even more astounding is the fact that not a single musical concordance has as yet been identified. Adding a touch of drama, the codex survived almost completely intact a catastrophic fire that ravaged the Turin library in 1904, although it remains visibly scorched and slightly shrunk as a result. Its old binding was destroyed, too, and a fifteenth-century parchment flyleaf (fol. [A]) that covered the opening folio 1r temporarily lost; it has since been recovered. Two restorations carried out during the twentieth century now ensure its continued preservation for the future.[2]

The manuscript's primary corpus consists of a preplanned, through-copied collection arranged in five discrete fascicles. Fascicle I (fols. 1r–28r) is devoted to liturgical monophony; it contains a rhymed Office and a Mass for St. Hilarion, a fourth-century hermit associated with Palestine, Egypt, Italy, and Cyprus, followed by a rhymed Office for St. Anne, the grandmother of Christ, and three full cycles of the Mass Ordinary alongside three sets of Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus melodies. Fascicle II (fols. 29r–57r) transmits seven polyphonic Gloria-Credo pairs, alongside three individual Glorias. Fascicle III (fols. 59r–97r) is a collection of forty-one three- and four-voice polytextual motets, thirty-three with Latin and eight with French upper-voice texts. The two final fascicles are devoted to polyphonic songs in the French *formes fixes*—102 ballades in Fascicle IV (fols. 98r–139v), and twenty-one virelais alongside forty-three rondeaux in Fascicle V (fols. 143r–158v). All this music is of remarkable stylistic homogeneity, resembling most closely compositional practices found in northern France and the Low Countries in the early decades of the fifteenth century, notably Cambrai.[3]

The secondary corpus consists of the flyleaf already mentioned (fol. [A]) and an added Mass cycle. The flyleaf contains a synoptic version of a bull issued by (Anti-)Pope John XXIII in 1413 sanctioning the text of the Office for St. Hilarion which opens the codex. It also indicates that the Office was com-

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and by Kügle, "Some Notes on the Structure of the Manuscript." These studies supersede the earlier, short codicological descriptions given in Hoppin, "Cypriot-French Repertory," and Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I." The manuscript's closest codicological cognates are the Italian codices Chantilly, Squarcialupi, and Cividale A, although the French manuscript Machaut E and the English Old Hall manuscript also spring to mind. On Chantilly, see, most recently, *Codex Chantilly*, ed. Plumley and Stone. On Squarcialupi, see *Il codice Squarcialupi*, ed. Gallo; also Haar and Nádas, "Antonio Squarcialupi." On the set of fragments dubbed Cividale A, see, most recently, Strohm, "Diplomatic Relationships between Chantilly and Cividale." For succinct information on F-Pn fr. 9221 (Machaut E), see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 92–94. On Old Hall, see Bent, "Old Hall Manuscript."

[2] See Giaccaria, "Il codice franco-cipriota J.II.9."

[3] On the homogeneity of the repertoire, see, among others, Leech-Wilkinson, "Cyprus Songs"; Bent, "Some Aspects of the Motets in the Cyprus Manuscript," 367. Regarding stylistic links with Cambrai, see Kügle, "Repertory of Torino J.II.9," 156.

missioned by King Janus of Cyprus (r. 1398–1432), and was probably prepared as an immediate afterthought or, perhaps, a certificate of authenticity in relatively close chronological proximity to the primary copying stage.[4] The other added item is a four-movement cyclic tenor Mass (without Agnus Dei), one of the earliest cycles to have come down to us. It was inserted by an ostensibly Savoyard hand between Fascicles IV and V (fols. 139v–141v), most likely at a few years' distance from the main corpus, and quite possibly in Savoy, where the codex was recently traced in an inventory of books kept at Chambéry castle and dated 1498.[5] This suggests that the manuscript reached Savoy relatively early—no doubt within the fifteenth century—and that it was handed down among the possessions of the ducal family which, incidentally, included some of the greatest bibliophiles of their times. In 1723, the holdings of the palace library were merged with those of the Library of the University of Turin, which evolved into today's Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. The books transferred at the time demonstrably included our codex, and it has remained in that library's custody ever since.[6]

The history of musicological scholarship on codex J.II.9 is a checkered one. The manuscript was put on the map by Heinrich Besseler in his "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters" of 1925, but the first scholar seriously to engage with the codex in all its complexity was undoubtedly Richard H. Hoppin. In the 1950s and 1960s, Hoppin wrote a series of studies on the manuscript and its repertory, and made the entire corpus accessible through modern editions.[7] A conference organized in 1992 by Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (soon followed by a facsimile edition) gave new impetus to the study of the manuscript.[8] Nonetheless, the place of the Turin codex in the history of fifteenth-century music remains unclear. The anonymity and complexity of its repertory have long militated against its making serious inroads into the repertoire of early-music groups, and the continued isolation of its repertory continues to mystify musicologists who cannot convincingly insert it into any historical narrative.[9]

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[4] Kügle, "Some Notes on the Structure of the Manuscript," 28, 33.

[5] For discussions of this Mass cycle, see Hoppin, "Cypriot-French Repertory," 121–25; Burstyn, "Compositional Technique." The hypothesis of the Savoyard provenance of the hand that copied the later addition into the codex was first proposed by Reinhard Strohm; see his "European Politics," 317. It has since been widely accepted, although it rests, *prima facie*, on slender evidence indeed (Strohm simply finds "the calligraphy of the added cyclic Mass . . . perfectly compatible with a Savoy origin after 1434" without, however, giving any further reasons for his assertion). The present inquiry offers no grounds to doubt Strohm's view. For the 1498 inventory, see Giaccaria, "Il codice franco-cipriota," 12.

[6] See Data, "Savoy Ducal Library," 90–91 (incl. n. 34); idem, "Anna di Cipro," 20–21; Giaccaria, "I fondi medievali."

[7] Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I," 209–18; Hoppin, "Motets of the Early Fifteenth Century"; idem, "Fifteenth-Century 'Christmas Oratorio' "; idem, "Cypriot-French Repertory"; idem, "Exultantes collaudemus"; and *Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino*; *Cypriot Plainchant*, ed. Hoppin.

[8] The proceedings of the Paphos conference were published in Günther and Finscher, eds., *Cypriot-French Repertory of Manuscript Torino J.II.9: Report*. For the facsimile edition of the ms., see *Il codice J.II.9*.

Moreover, the origins and dating of Turin J.II.9 are contested territory. The "orthodox" view was first articulated by Heinrich Besseler in 1925. He claimed that the manuscript could have originated only at or near the Lusignan court of Cyprus between 1413 and 1434, and suggested that it was brought to Savoy by Anne of Lusignan.[10] Besseler grounded his theory on the date of 1413 provided by the papal bull reproduced on the flyleaf of the codex (fol. [A]), which he took as a *terminus post quem*. He also drew on stylistic considerations: in his mind, the Turin manuscript's repertoire was incompatible with the style of Du Fay and hence would have to be earlier. The fact that King Janus's daughter, Anne of Lusignan, was married to the Savoyard heir, Louis, in the same year offered a convenient reason for Besseler to hypothesize that the codex must have been produced in Cyprus and brought to Savoy ready-made by Anne. Besseler did not, however, offer any concrete evidence to support the latter claim; rather, his own codicological description of the codex suggests a link to Italy, yet he did not pursue the matter any further. Despite these inconsistencies, Besseler's story struck a sympathetic chord among the scholarly community. Richard H. Hoppin later went so far as to cast the manuscript as the "final monument" of the "French cultural—and political—domination" of the Mediterranean island, suppressing any of the links to Italy signaled by Besseler. In line with the prevailing paradigm of a linear progression of musical styles through history, Hoppin also significantly narrowed the time window, both for the creation of the repertory and the copying of the manuscript, to the years between ca. 1413 and 1420. At the same time, he cautioned against giving too much credence to Besseler's hypothesis regarding the transfer of the book from Cyprus to Savoy, which he found was made "without adducing positive proof."[11]

More recently, Margaret Bent (on stylistic grounds) as well as Giulio Cattin and I (on the strength of paleographic and art-historical evidence) have cast doubts on the exclusively "Cypriot-French" hypothesis. Independently of each other, we argued the possibility of northern Italian influence (Bent) or provenance (Cattin and Kügle).[12] I proposed a possible copying dating as late as the mid-1430s for the manuscript, allowing for the gradual accretion of the repertory throughout the 1410s into the 1430s. I also introduced the singer Jean Hanelle, chapel master to the King of Cyprus in 1434 and 1436, as a potential player in the genesis of both the manuscript and its repertory. Hanelle was one of the two *petits vicaires* from Cambrai who arrived in Cyprus in the retinue of Charlotte of Bourbon in 1411; the other was Gilet Velut, familiar from the Oxford manuscript (GB-Ob Canon. Misc. 213).[13] Unlike Velut, who may have returned to the European mainland after a few years in Cyprus, Hanelle apparently remained at the Lusignan court, in charge of the royal music.[14] Therefore, a great deal of his works (and, perhaps, some of Velut's) might be concealed among the several hundred anonymous compositions in codex J.II.9. If Hanelle was also directly involved in the copying of the manuscript, codex J.II.9 would not only transmit a kind of Hanelle (and possibly Velut) *opera selecta*, but also a significant number of the former's in full or partial autograph. The "revisionist" view not only fundamentally redefined the historiographical position of codex J.II.9, removing the codex from its awkward position at the "periphery" of European music history, but also—if proven correct—provides us with an unparalleled opportunity to study the condensed, long-term output of a single singer-composer (or at most a small but well-defined group of singer-composers). In this interpretation, the codex offers us a quasi-single-author collection that quantitatively approaches or exceeds the oeuvre of such famous figures in fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century music history as Guillaume de Machaut and Guillaume Du Fay. But like the "orthodox" view, this, too, remains a hypothesis.

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[9] For examples of recent work on the repertory of codex J.II.9, see Moll, "Structural Determinants," passim; Allsen, "Style and Intertextuality," 39–76; Anderson, "Symbols of Saints," 400–448; Leach, "Grafting the Rose"; and Schwindt, "Musikalischer Mai." For a new edition, see *Le codex de Chypre*, ed. Beaupain, Schiassi, and Picazos.

[10] "Da der Turiner Kodex weder in seinem Repertoire noch stilistisch eine Berührung mit der Musik dieser Jahre [1434 and 1451] zeigt, kann er nur in Zypern zwischen 1413 und 1434 entstanden und mit Anna nach Savoyen gekommen sein." Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I," 210. The Lusignans hailed from the Poitou region of France. Active crusaders, they acquired the crown of Jerusalem in 1186 and that of Cyprus in 1192. After the fall of Acre and the end of Crusader rule in the Holy Land (1291), they retained the title of Kings of Jerusalem and continued to rule Cyprus until 1489, when the island became a Venetian colony.

[11] Hoppin, "Cypriot-French Repertory," 92–93.

Despite all efforts, the manuscript's music remains stubbornly isolated from other contemporaneous sources, even though textual allusions increasingly link the codex to other collections and repertoires. Indeed, our knowledge of textual references connecting the Turin codex to the European continent—notably northwestern Europe, and France in particular—has grown considerably in recent years, and probably will keep increasing.[15] These allusions parallel similar webs of textual references in stylistically comparable music (and texts) and thus place the Turin composers' (or composer's) practices within what was clearly a widespread poetic-musical habitus.[16] The apparent stylistic hiatus between the "revisionist" dating and other contemporaneous sources from northern Italy, nevertheless, raises questions, as does the absence of any Italian-texted music in it. Whereas the inclusion of music from France or in the French style was commonplace in sources from northern and central Italy in the early Quattrocento, the complete absence of any settings with texts in the local vernacular in codex J.II.9 does seem unusual. The manuscript itself, however, provides a vital key to unlocking its musical and other secrets in the coat of arms displayed no less than four times on the opening folio of the codex (fol. 1r).

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[12] Bent, "Some Aspects of the Motets," 359–61 and passim; Cattin, "Offices," 268–69; Kügle, "Repertory of Torino J.II.9," 174–77.

[13] This identification was proposed by Hoppin, "Cypriot-French Repertory," 89.

[14] Velut moved probably to northeastern Italy in the first instance, where he left traces in the form of the five pieces ascribed to him in GB-Ob Canon. Misc. 213: one Latin-texted motet and four French-texted polyphonic chanson settings. These pieces appear in Gatherings V and VII, both of which are part of the earliest layer of the manuscript, and were dated by David Fallows into the late 1420s and early 1430s. See *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, ed. Fallows, 19–20. Furthermore, a Gloria, a Credo, and a motet ascribed to Velut appear in I-Bc Q15, copied ca. 1420–25 in Padua (Stage I) and ca. 1430–35 in Vicenza (Stages II and III). On the provenance and dating of that manuscript, see, most recently, Bent's introductory study in *Bologna Q15*, in particular 1–4. The motet from I-Bc Q15 is also found in the section copied by Johannes Lupi ("Trent 87_1") of I-TRmp 87 (1374), dated ca. 1433–45 and believed to originate in the orbit of the Habsburg courts in Innsbruck and Graz, with possible links to Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, Bozen (Bolzano), and the Council of Basle. See Strohm, "Trienter Codices," 803–4; idem, "Zur Entstehung"; Wright, *Related Parts*; idem, "On the Origins."

This one clue opens a number of investigative pathways that I will trace in what follows. First, however, I shall reassess some of the evidence that led to the establishment of the "orthodox" view, focusing on court culture and book production in Lusignan Cyprus. In a next step, I will reveal the provenance of the crest on fol. 1r of the codex and trace the cultural, political, and religious circumstances of the family in question. This will permit a thorough geographic and cultural repositioning of the codex and its music. In closing, I will reconsider the consequences of these findings for the chronology of early fifteenth-century music and for our understanding of the cultural work performed by luxury manuscripts—musical and otherwise. I shall also offer some thoughts on how to address the remaining gaps in the manuscript's early history.

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[15] Several of these links were already identified by Besseler and Hoppin; see Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I," 211–12; Hoppin, "Cypriot-French Repertory," 94–103. See also Kügle, "Repertory of Torino J.II.9," 155–70, where a number of new correspondences are identified and the stylistic similarity of the repertoire to that of northern France and Cambrai, ca. 1410, is argued; Facchin, "Some Remarks about the Polyphonic Mass Movements," who sees the closest similarities "in those compositions, largely of French origin, which enjoyed wide circulation in the Po Valley area of Northern Italy around the end of the Trecento and beginning of the Quattrocento" (336); Bent, "Some Aspects of the Motets," who sees the closest kin of the motets in the works of Ciconia (361); Ziino, "On the Poetic and Musical Form of Six Ballades," who points out similarities to Machaut and his followers; and Leech-Wilkinson, "Cyprus Songs," who stresses the homogeneity of the songs and their similarity with pieces by Lebertoul and Loqueville, active at Cambrai cathedral in 1409–10 and 1413–18, respectively (407). See also the studies by Perkins, "At the Intersection of Social History and Musical Style"; Günther, "Some Polymetric Songs"; and Newes, "Bitextual Ballade." For more recent discoveries, see in particular Anderson, "Symbols of Saints," 400–448; Leach, "Grafting the Rose," 195–219; Schwindt, "Musikalischer Mai." Also Allsen, "Style and Intertextuality," 39–76, on the motets; Moll, "Structural Determinants," passim, on the (polyphonic) Mass settings.

[16] See, for example, Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late *Ars Nova*."

Court Culture and Book Production in Cyprus in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries

Two recent, independent codicological studies confirmed what Besseler had already noted, but Hoppin then dismissed: that the bulk of the texts of the primary corpus was copied by a team of Italian, or at least Italian-trained, scribes. The latter copied all the Latin and some of the French texts in Fascicles I through IV.[17] A seemingly peninsular hand also notated the plainchant in Fascicle I. Small corrections and amendments throughout the manuscript in what appears to be a single corrector's hand suggest that the Italians were working under the supervision of one principal scribe whose main contributions include all text and music of Fascicle V and much of Fascicle IV as well as, above all, the musical notation of *all* the polyphony. This hand was clearly northern-trained, as is visible from its angular ductus, its extended serifs, and the comparatively narrow and compressed spacing of the letters within a given word along the vertical axis. The principal scribe was also a specialist in the arcana of complex mensural notation; moreover, he was an experienced calligrapher, and probably also a seasoned manager capable of inspiring confidence in the patron to entrust him with the overall responsibility for such a complex and undoubtedly very costly project. Once all texts and most music were entered, the codex was illuminated by one, possibly two artists, perhaps of a somewhat conservative bent, proficient in the style prevalent in early Quattrocento Italy in the region from Lombardy via the Veneto to Emilia-Romagna.[18] Could such a set of artists have been found in early fifteenth-century Cyprus?

Cyprus came under Lusignan rule in the late twelfth century, following almost a millennium of being part of the East Roman (Byzantine) Empire. The resident population of the island during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries was overwhelmingly Greek Orthodox, but included Latin Christian colonists and traders from mainland Europe, in particular Italy and France, alongside other groups. Although Greek was by far the most widely used means of oral communication, the languages spoken on Cyprus in late medieval times therefore included Greek, Latin, French, and Italian, but also at least a smattering of Arabic and other idioms current in the eastern Mediterranean such as Armenian or Turkish.[19] Both Orthodox and Latin monasteries and cathedrals maintained *studia* under Lusignan rule; the Latin schools, notably those of the four cathedrals in Nicosia, Famagusta, Limassol, and Paphos as well as those maintained by the Franciscan and Dominican orders, were of sufficient quality to prepare their best students for admission to Continental universities. Latin students most frequently went to Italy (Padua in the first instance), while Greeks aspiring to a higher education had to make their way to Constantinople. Scribes as well as authors of texts were mostly drawn from the ranks of court and church bureaucrats and functionaries, many of whom were fluent in both Greek and Latin, these being the two languages in which legal contracts and official documents were composed. Outside administrative practice, the "Frankish" vernaculars—French and, increasingly, Italian—played a highly significant role in Lusignan court culture. Both Romance languages were appreciated and cultivated, although their local spoken (as opposed to literary) versions tended strongly to be hybridized, sometimes causing comprehension difficulties with Continental visitors who were unused to the Cypriot idiolects.[20]

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[17] Widaman, Wathey, and Leech-Wilkinson, "Structure and Copying of Torino J.II.9," view the owner(s) of the Italianate text scripts as "probably" a single individual. For the contrasting view, see Kügle, "Some Notes on the Structure of the Manuscript."

[18] Kügle, "Some Notes on the Structure of the Manuscript," 33.

[19] For what follows, see Grivaud, "Literature in Cyprus."

Indigenous literary production in Lusignan Cyprus focused on chronicles in French and Greek as well as legal and religious texts. Direct royal patronage, however, was typically bestowed on famous personalities active abroad, on the European and Asian mainland. Thus Thomas Aquinas, around 1267, was commissioned to write his *De regno* for the young Hugh II (1253–1267)[21] or, perhaps, his successor, Hugh III (1235–1284; r. 1267–84). King Hugh IV (1295–1359; r. 1324–59) extended a commission to Boccaccio (ca. 1350), but also received praise poems from erudite Byzantines.[22] Taken together with the contacts between Peter I (r. 1359–69) and Guillaume de Machaut, possibly also Francesco Landini, this indicates an active interest in both Italian and French vernaculars (and the related music, one would surmise), in addition to Greek and Latin.[23] The political and cultural links to the Italian peninsula and, in particular, to the Republic of Venice no doubt intensified as the influence of Venice on the Lusignan court as well as on the economy of the kingdom grew steadily in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[24]

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[20] As cited in ibid., 223. The concept of "Frankish" obviously raises questions to what extent French, Italian, and Latin were even seen as different languages rather than variants of each other by contemporaneous observers, at least as long as they were not "Franks" themselves.

[21] Hugh II became King at two months of age; first his mother and, from 1261, his cousin (later Hugh III) served as regents on his behalf.

[22] Grivaud, "Literature in Cyprus," 227.

[23] For a synopsis regarding Machaut, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 46–48. Machaut's complainte *Mon cuer, m'amour, ma dame souvereinne* and his *Dit de la Marguerite* are assumed to have been commissioned directly by Peter, whereas the *Prise d'Alexandre* appears to have been commissioned in his commemoration. Contact with Francesco Landini, including the possibility of Peter bestowing a laurel wreath on the poet-musician, in Venice in the 1360s would certainly fit this pattern, although the ceremony is not undisputed. See Villani, *Liber de civitatis*, ed. Galletti, 35 (or, in the recent edition by Giuliano Tanturli, 152), and Li Gotti, "Una pretesa incoronazione," 91–97. Currently, scholars think a stay of Landini in the Veneto during the 1360s plausible, enabling direct contact between the Cypriot monarch and the Florentine musician. There is, however, no direct evidence of such an encounter, let alone the crowning ceremony. See Fischer and D'Agostino, "Landini" (including further references); also Nádas and Ziino, "Two Newly Discovered Leaves," 6 (with reference to Fiori, *Landini*, 28–31).

In the visual arts, too, recent research revealed a much more multilayered image of late medieval island culture, where a multitude of cultural groups (Greek, Italian, French, but also Armenian, Turkish, and Arabic) were dynamically influencing each other—a view quite different from the traditional one of two monolithic groups (Frankish and Greek) at loggerheads with each other.[25] Latin patronage on the local level routinely extended to Orthodox institutions and artists, resulting in a hybridized style that typically combined Latin surface elements with a foundational layer grounded in Orthodox artistic or architectural conventions. One would thus expect significant traces of Greek influence in the hands and in particular the illuminations of codex J.II.9, if indeed it were copied in Cyprus. These, however, are nowhere to be noted. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that illuminations of demonstrably Cypriot origin from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries have not yet been discovered; the likelihood is that they never existed.

Only three illuminated manuscripts (potentially) from Cyprus survive; all are dated at least a century earlier than manuscript J.II.9, around 1300. They include the legal codex F-Pn gr. 1391; the so-called "Hamilton Psalter," Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 9, once owned by Queen Charlotte of Cyprus, Anne of Lusignan's niece; and an illuminated Gospel dated 1304/5, now Additional MS 22506 of the British Library in London.[26] The illuminations of F-Pn gr. 1391—the only book where Cypriot origin is secure—again exhibit a noticeable mixture of Greek and Frankish elements. The illuminations of the other two manuscripts display similar hybrid features but were probably produced elsewhere in the Byzantine world, possibly Constantinople; the books either came to Cyprus with their owners (Hamilton Psalter) or were copied by a scribe of Cypriot origin who in all likelihood was working off the island (Additional MS 22506). They cannot convincingly be assigned Cypriot provenance.[27]

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[24] A striking example of Venice pulling strings behind the scenes is provided by the controversy surrounding the payment of Anne of Lusignan's dowry to the Savoyard emissaries who had come to Cyprus in autumn 1433 to conclude the marriage by proxy and accompany the bride to Savoy. While the Savoyards insisted on payment of the full amount, contracted in the amount of 12,000 ducats, the King (King John II, Anne's brother, 1414–1458, r. 1432–58) felt able to pay no more than 10,000 ducats. The resulting impasse was resolved through the good offices of the Venetian Lodovico Correr ("Loys Corrayre") who extended a loan covering the required sum in full. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre,* 19–20.—As we shall see, the strengthening of Venetian ties with Savoy via the Lusignan marriage was of vital importance to maintaining the anti-Visconti alliance led by Venice on *terraferma* at the time.

[25] Weyl Carr, "Art," 286. This was, of course, the default view espoused by Besseler and, in particular, Hoppin.

[26] Ibid., 309–10.

[27] Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts,* 127–32 and 134–37; Havice, "Marginal Miniatures," 79–142.

Hybridity may also be observed in two examples of early fifteenth-century visual art demonstrably produced in Cyprus and indeed contemporaneous with our manuscript, or at least its repertory: The royal chapel of Pyrga, dedicated in 1421 to the Passion of Christ (*not* St. Catherine, as frequently seen in the literature), and the icon of the Panagia Ieroskipiotissa at St. Paraskeve, Yeroskipou, produced for an unknown Latin patron. Both are again shaped by the Byzantine tradition, exhibiting only minor Latin influence, all of it on the surface level.[28] All this makes the phenomenon of codex J.II.9 and its miniatures an ever more enigmatic affair. Surely, the accumulated evidence of art production in general and of manuscript making in particular in Cyprus during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries makes the physical genesis of codex J.II.9 in Cyprus a very unlikely proposal indeed. On the other hand, any illuminated books required by Cypriot patrons, certainly by the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, may well have been commissioned or purchased on either the European or the Asian mainland and imported to Cyprus.

Aside from the Turin codex, scholars have linked two more books to Anne of Lusignan.[29] Both volumes appear in the 1498 inventory of Chambéry castle, where codex J.II.9 also was listed. The first manuscript is F-Pn lat. 8044, a copy of Lucan's *Pharsalia* that carries the arms of Jerusalem and Lusignan on its opening folio, offering compelling evidence of Lusignan ownership. This volume is dated around 1370–80, and its illuminations are ascribed to the famous Niccolò da Bologna. We may conclude that the codex was indeed produced in Italy, thereby confirming the hypothesis that luxury manuscripts were imported to Cyprus rather than being produced locally at that time. The other book is B-Br 10175, a copy of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* prepared in Acre (Palestine) in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Given the subject matter and the cultural and educational patterns prevailing among members of the late medieval aristocracy, F-Pn lat. 8044 was probably acquired for one of the males in the Lusignan family. Good candidates might be the late fourteenth-century Lusignan rulers or their male offspring, notably Peter II (r. 1369–82) who acceded the throne at the tender age of about twelve, or Peter's uncle, James I (r. 1382–98). By the same token, F-Pn lat. 8044 once more throws into stark relief the close and growing cultural relationship between the eastern Mediterranean island and northern Italy. Given its historical and martial subject matter as well its language, this book was more likely than not also handed down in the male line, making Anne a weak candidate for ownership. Furthermore, Anne was by no means the only member of the Lusignan clan residing in Savoy during the fifteenth century. Anne's uncle, cardinal Hugh of Lusignan (d. Geneva, 1442), for example, makes an equally plausible potential owner of this volume, as would his nephew, cardinal Lancelot de Lusignan. Both died in Savoy and, without legal offspring, any precious heirlooms or possessions of theirs would quite likely have remained there in the first instance. Furthermore, connections between Savoy and Cyprus by no means ended with the marriage of Anne of Lusignan to Louis of Savoy. On the contrary, Anne and Louis's second son, Louis, count of Geneva, married Anne's niece, Charlotte of Cyprus, in 1459, opening up an additional channel of transmission that might explain how these books reached the Alpine duchy.

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[28] Weyl Carr, "Art," 325–26. See also the color images of the Pyrga frescoes (including the Lusignan coat of arms) in Simard, "Manuscript Torino J.II.9."

[29] Data, "Anna di Cipro," 18–19. See also Edmunds, "Catalogue des manuscrits savoyards," 193–218 (in particular, 196 and 200); idem, "Medieval Library of Savoy," *Scriptorium* 24 (1970): 318–27; 25 (1971): 253–84 and 26 (1972): 269–93; in particular 24 (1970): 324, and 26 (1972): 272 and 279. For a reproduction of the opening folio 1r of F-Pn lat. 8044, see Bagliani, *Les manuscrits enluminés*, Plate XXXVI. For a reproduction of fol. 20r of B-Br 10175, see ibid., Plate VII.

B-Br 10175 in turn exhibits the coat of arms of the Perier family of Aix-en-Provence, wealthy book collectors who owned the manuscript in the late fifteenth century. It also contains an exlibris by Phébus de Lusignan, an illegitimate son of King Janus and, hence, half-brother of Anne. Given its age and distinguished provenance from the former Kingdom of Jerusalem to which the Lusignan (and later Savoy) maintained claim, the volume evidently constituted a family heirloom until it was sold or given away to the Perier before later (re-)entering the Savoy collection. It remains unclear, then, how and when precisely either of these books made their way to Savoy, but any direct link with Anne of Lusignan must be considered tenuous at best.[30]

In a nutshell, the one illuminated book that confidently can be assigned Lusignan ownership in the late fourteenth century, F-Pn lat. 8044, was produced in Italy, and there are no other specimens of any illuminated manuscripts produced in Cyprus either during that period or in the early fifteenth century. Meanwhile, all early fifteenth-century Lusignan visual art created in Cyprus shows distinct Byzantine influence. Given the lack of positive evidence in support of Besseler's account of Anne de Lusignan carrying codex J.II.9 with her to Savoy and also, in contrast, the weight of the art-historical evidence that identifies Cypriot art through a hybrid Greco-Latin style, the "orthodox" view about the codex is no longer sustainable. If, as Besseler ventured, the codex were indeed produced in Cyprus, it should include some visible Greek influence. That, however, is nowhere to be found. Yet in the face of all the objections put forth by Bent, Cattin, and myself, the old narrative persists. Might it be accounted for as a reflection of our own, collective unconscious longings? Admittedly, the Orientalist vision of the exotic Lusignan princess bringing a decadent gift of old-fashioned music to sober Savoy (and thus affirming the supremacy of French culture) sounds alluring. Yet the iconographical and paleographic evidence of the codex itself points towards a different story. The manuscript could, in effect, plausibly have been commissioned in Italy for the court of Cyprus or someone with a connection to it. The most likely candidate would be the owner of the crest. Such an alternative reading of Turin J.II.9 not only situates this singular collection in manuscript-rich Italy, but, in the process, also upsets tidy linear chronologies, and anachronistic notions, of "national" styles.

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[30] See also Debae, "La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche," in particular, 153–54. The opposing view is taken by Data, but without giving any rationale; see her "Anna di Cipro," 18–19.

Identifying the Coat of Arms: Brescia and the Avogadro

Like many medieval codices, the primary corpus of codex J.II.9 suggests a sudden rupture in the intended course of events: No foliation was added (the two present foliations are of modern date), and there appears to have been no index. Nor are there any traces of wear, indicating that the manuscript never was put to use; but if the production process seems to have come to a halt abruptly, this nonetheless occurred very close to the intended finish. A binding *had* been provided by 1498, as attested to by the description of the volume in the inventory of "Liures estans au chastel de Chambery et en la Garde Roube basse" drawn up by 25 October of that year by Amyé de Challes, *maistre d'oustel*, and Jehan Vulliod, treasurer to the recently installed eighth Duke of Savoy, Philibert II (1480–1504). But it is unclear when precisely during the fifteenth century the binding was added to the manuscript, or where.[31]

Bound or unbound: As it would have stood at the end of the primary copying phase, codex J.II.9 provided a comprehensive repertoire fit for a court or some similar association of nobles of the highest social standing, suitable for devotional and recreational use alike. It also gave clear primacy to the liturgical genres, first and foremost the most venerable of all, plainchant, followed by polyphonic Mass settings, then motets; the secular genres were assigned the lower ranks in the internal hierarchy, with the ballades taking pride of place over the rondeaux and virelais. The same could be said about the linguistic registers, which shift downward from the liturgical language (Latin) to the vernacular (French) toward the end of the motet fascicle. All this gives the codex a distinctly devotional flavor, its extensive collection of French *formes fixes* songs notwithstanding.[32]

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[31] Vayra, "Le lettere," 34, reproduces the description in the 1498 inventory as follows: ". . . vng liure de parchemin à grant volume escript à la main en prose et glose en latin à une histoire, commençant: *Johannes episcopus seruus seruorum etc.*, couuert de postz et peau rouge." The codex had thus been bound with wooden plates ("postz") and red leather.

[32] For a recent detailed exploration of the permeability of the realms of the "secular" and the "sacred" in the case of "secular" song texts of the late medieval period, see Robertson, "Man with the Pale Face," in particular Robertson's reading of the ballade *Se la face ay pale* (390–409). I alluded to the possibility of a localized "spiritual" reading of a "secular" song, using the rondeau *Rose sans per* in codex I-IVc 115 as an example, in *Manuscript*

Considered as a whole, the codex thus would have been an exceptional manuscript, extravagantly combining plainchant and mensural polyphony, sacred and secular music in a single volume. It stood out as a visually exquisite *objet d'art* through the quality of its scribal workmanship and musical contents and bore eloquent testimony to the refined tastes, dedication to matters spiritual, and financial clout of its patron(s). Owning, or, even more, giving away such a treasure would indubitably have boosted anyone's social prestige or ambitions.[33]

The patron's (or patrons') identity would have been discreetly but forcefully communicated by the four identical coats of arms displayed in the margins of the opening folio 1r. Unusually, these are arranged in the pattern of a cross. Although partially burnt or scorched at present, the four crests remain clearly visible at the center of the top, bottom, right-hand and left-hand margins. They are fully integrated into the decorative pattern of the margin, and their pigments precisely match those of their surroundings, providing incontrovertible evidence that they are part of the primary design of the manuscript and, hence, were not added by a later, secondary owner. The crests are held up by four angels, whose cloaks and wings pick up the colors of the coat of arms—*or* (gold) and *gules* (red)—while adding the lapislazuli blue associated with the Holy Virgin; see Figs. 1a and 1b, which show the bottom margin of the page, with the angel holding the shield.

The crest itself consists of three red, double-crenellated lines running diagonally from top left to bottom right on a background of gold. The simple yet elegant design distinguishes it against the more fanciful compositions typically found in northern Europe, suggesting—again—Italy as the most likely place of origin. A systematic search through the heraldic catalogues of the peninsula reveals that the coat of arms belonged to the Avogadro family of Brescia and, from 1438, Venice.[34]

This identification is confirmed by codex C.II.25 of the Biblioteca Civica Queriniana at Brescia, a "Libro di privilegi" from the early sixteenth century containing copies of documents dating from 1427 to 1525 which specify or reconfirm a long list of extraordinary privileges, including sweeping tax exemptions, lucrative enfiefments in the environs of Brescia, and accession to the Venetian patriciate—rewards the Avogadro family acquired from Doge

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Ivrea, 51 and 73. Based on such lines of reasoning and Robertson's recent work, it is quite easy to allow for devotional readings of most of the song texts in the Turin manuscript without in any way precluding their simultaneously functioning as refined courtly entertainment or social ritual.

[33] For a recent illuminating study on the implications of giving and receiving gifts in late medieval and early modern times in general, and of a music book specifically, see Shephard, "Constructing Identities."

[34] Spreti, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana*, 1:454. Also Crollalanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, 1:73 (s.v. "Avogadro di Brescia," "Avogadro di Venezia"); *Armoiries des familles,* Plate XCIV (s.v. "Avogadro Venise").

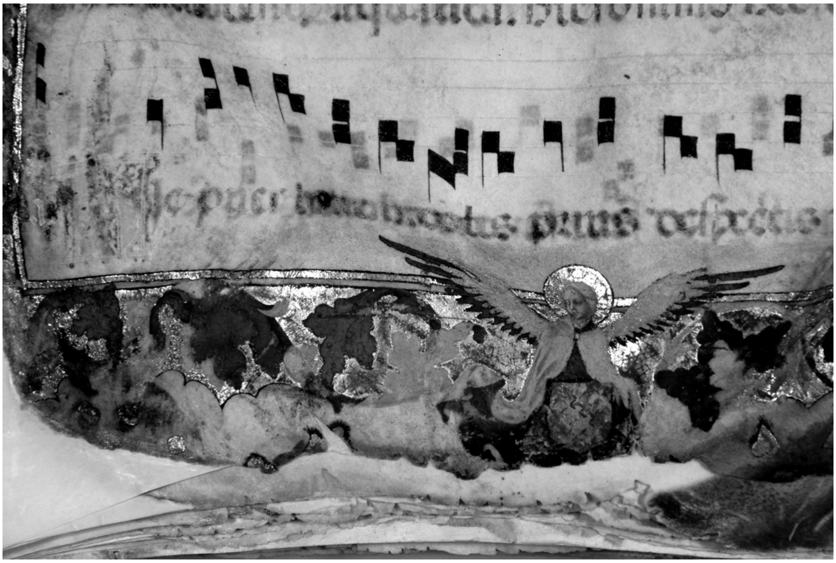

Figure 1a I-Tn J.II.9, fol. 1r. Bottom margin, showing angel holding the Avogadro coat of arms. Used by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.

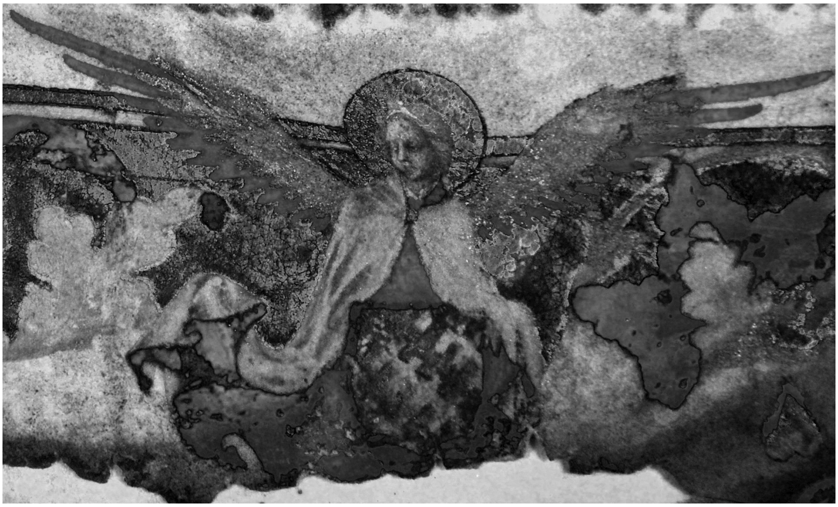

Figure 1b I-Tn J.II.9, fol. 1r. Bottom margin, detail.

Francesco Foscari (r. 1423–57) and the Senate in recognition of their extraordinary merits for the Most Serene Republic in the years following 1426 (see Figs. 2a and 2b, which show the same Avogadro coat of arms).[35] To account for such prodigal gifts, a brief excursus into Brescian history is required.

Late medieval Brescia was the centripetal focus of competing greater powers.[36] After the Scaligeri of Verona, Brescia came under the rule of the Visconti of Milan in the fourteenth century. Following the sudden death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1402), the city was pawned by Gian Galeazzo's widow to Pandolfo III Malatesta, who ruled the city in virtual independence from 1404 to 1421. Meanwhile, Venice was in the ascendancy, both in the Levant—notably Greece and Cyprus—and on *terraferma*. When Brescia reverted to Milan in 1421, Venice took advantage of the unpopularity of the Visconti to bring Brescia under her control; the Brescians, upon the advice of Pietro Avogadro, opened the city gates to the Venetian army, handing over Brescia without spilling a drop of blood in 1426. Intermittent attempts at reconquest by Milan culminated in the 1438–40 siege of Brescia, where Pietro, together with his wife, Brigida (Brayda), again distinguished himself.[37] The matter was settled for good at Ferrara in 1440. Brescia remained Venetian until the end of

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[35] Mention must be made at this point that both Spreti and Crollalanza give the colors of the Avogadro coat of arms as *argent* (silver) and *gules* (red), not *or* (gold) and *gules* (red) as found in I-Tn J.II.9 and I-BRq C.II.25. The *Armoiries des familles* in turn lists as many as seven variants of the crest, including the version of codex J.II.9, the version given by Spreti and Crollalanza (designated in the *Armoiries* as "Avogadro Venise") and color-inverted versions where the shield is red and the stripes are silver. However, the early sixteenth-century coat of arms depicted in I-BRq C.II.25 demonstrates unequivocally that, at least by 1500, the "official" version of the coat of arms of the Avogadro of Brescia was exactly the same as the one used in Turin J.II.9. The shield with the lesser metal (silver) probably originated with the cadet Venetian line; the two lines, however, never really separated and eventually merged with the extinction of the Avogadro male line in Brescia around 1800, accounting for the conflation of the two crests in later centuries and in the heraldic dictionaries available. The conflation of the two crests is confirmed by the fact that the *or* (golden) portions of the crest in I-BRq C.II.25 were painted over with what was presumably silver that is now so tarnished as to appear almost black (silver sulfide or silver oxide). The original gold color is, however, clearly visible underneath. Crollalanza, incidentally, mentions no fewer than twelve families of the name Avogadro. All hail from northern Italy, but each sports distinctly different crests, thereby excluding a confusion with another house of the same name from another city. The famous physicist, Amedeo Avogadro, count of Ceretto and Quaregna (1776–1856), descended from the Avogadro of Vercelli and Turin. See Spreti, *Enciclopedia* 1:450–54; Crollalanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, 1:73; *Armoiries des familles*, Plates XCIII–XCIV.

[36] For this and much of what follows concerning the history of Brescia, see *Storia di Brescia*. This multiauthored, detailed, and well-footnoted work remains the standard reference on Brescian history, its age notwithstanding. Of particular relevance for this study are vol. 1:856–76 and 1064–1124; vol. 2:3–171 and 397–436.

[37] A rather large street in the old town of Brescia is named after Brigida today, keeping her memory alive. By contrast, her husband seems largely excised from public consciousness except for those interested in local history, despite his enormous impact on the course of developments in Brescia. For more on Brigida Avogadro, see Conti, "Brayda Advocatorum."

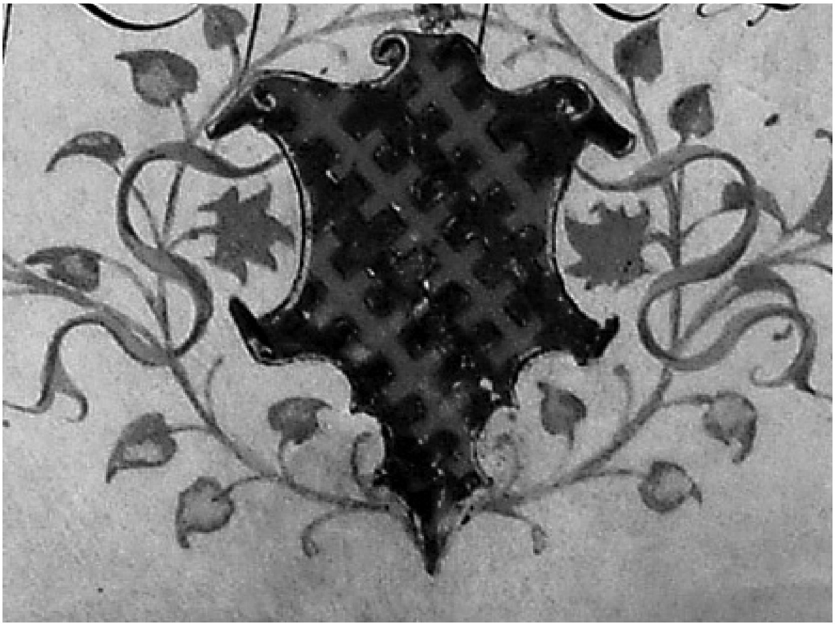

Figure 2a I-BRq C.II.25, fol. [1r]. Bottom margin, showing the Avogadro coat of arms. Used by permission of the Biblioteca Civica Queriniana di Brescia.

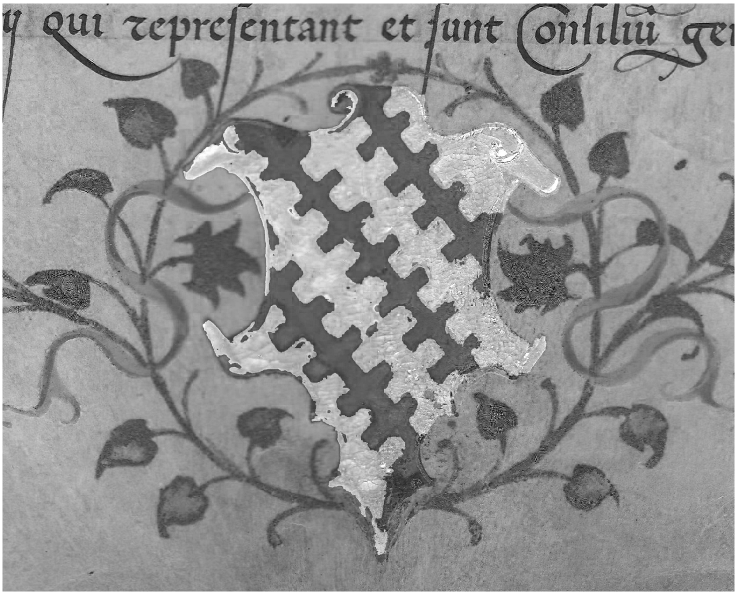
qui repreſentant et ſunt Conſiliū ge

Figure 2b The Avogadro coat of arms from fol. [1r]. Digital reconstruction of original appearance.

the Republic during the Napoleonic Wars (1797) and entered a period of renewed prosperity that lasted until the end of the fifteenth century.[38]

Brescia was thus a cornerstone of Venetian expansionism, and the Avogadro, already since the twelfth century among the leading clans in the city, played a decisive role in securing Brescia for the Venetians. Who, then, was Pietro Avogadro? To answer this question, the archives and libraries in Brescia, Bergamo, and Venice provide copious and indispensable documentary evidence. The most interesting document for the present purposes, recording many details of Pietro's formative years, is provided by Antonio Cornazzano's *Vita di Pietro Avogadro*, an extended biography in Italian rhymed tercets composed in the late 1460s or early 1470s. Not (yet) available in a modern edition, its only source is Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, ms. B.VII.13.[39] While Cornazzano's *Vita* undoubtedly offers a somewhat embellished account (as most commissioned biographies do), it is precisely this subjective quality that may permit the reconstruction of what mattered most to Pietro Avogadro (or at least what Cornazzano *thought* mattered most to him and his clan) near the end of his life. Pietro's father, the *Vita* tells us, sent the boy, who must have been born around 1385, away from Brescia, fearing for his son's life. The young Pietro went first to the court of the Gonzaga at Mantua, then to that of the Carrara in Padua where he spent the formative years of his youth. When Brescia fell to Pandolfo Malatesta in 1404, Pietro returned home, and became a much-appreciated courtier and familiar of Pandolfo's, about whose musical interests and patronage in Brescia we are well informed through the work of Allan Atlas.[40] After Malatesta relinquished Brescia to Filippo Maria Visconti in 1421, a cautious rapprochement between the young Duke and the—by then—middle-aged Avogadro quickly gave way to renewed mutual suspicions, leading Pietro once more into exile and prompting his momentous decision to stake his and his family's life, and Brescia's fate, on the allegiance to Venice. After detailing the successful handover of 1426, Cornazzano's *Vita* climaxes with the dramatic events of 1438–40.

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[38] On that period and beyond, see the recent study by Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*.

[39] Zancani suggests a date "tra il 1466 e il 1470"; see his "Un recupero Quattrocentesco," 158. For a detailed biography of Cornazzano, by Crevatin, see the introductory material in Cornazzano, *Vita di Bartolomeo Colleoni*, xliii–xlvi. Active first in Milan, then Venice, Brescia, and, eventually, Ferrara, Cornazzano (ca. 1432–84) is known to Italianists as a typical representative of late Quattrocento humanist court poetry. Dance historians and musicologists recognize him as the author of one of the earliest dance treatises, the *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, written at the court of Duke Francesco Sforza in Milan, 1454–55, and dedicated to the Duke's daughter, Ippolita.

[40] Atlas, "Pandolfo III Malatesta," 38–92; idem, "On the Identity of Some Musicians." Although some details of Atlas's interpretations have been superseded by more recent research, these two texts still provide the best overview of the musical development of the Malatesta court in Brescia. For a recent general assessment, see the essays in Bonfiglio-Dosio and Falconi, *La signoria di Pandolfo III*; in particular Bonfiglio-Dosio, "La vita a corte," 155–73. See also the discussion of the Latin ballade *Ore Pandulfum modulari dulci* by Anne Stone in *Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24*, Commentary volume, 75–78. The patronage extended to the young Du Fay by Pandolfo's relative Carlo in Rimini in the early 1420s is well known; see Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices," 124–26. Also, more recently, Bent, "Petrarch," where she highlights the role played by Carlo's clerical brother Pandolfo, bishop of Brescia (1413–18) and later archbishop of Patras (1424–41). For a distinguished singer-composer active at Brescia and Padua during the Malatesta period and possibly beyond, see idem, "Marchion de Civilibus."

Pietro Avogadro died well into his eighties, a stupendously wealthy man, on 30 September 1473. His testament stipulates that he be buried in the "Cappella Magna" of his parish church, S. Agata, in Brescia, which the family endowed in the later years of his life. While not exclusive to the Avogadro, this space undoubtedly served, at least to a very significant extent, as the family (burial) chapel.[41] Earlier, on 20 April 1442, junior family members endowed a reformed Franciscan convent, S. Maria degli Angeli, in Gardone (Val Trompia), a nearby village within the confines of the Avogadro fief, Lumezzane. This was done in collaboration with the very powerful Franciscan preacher, Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), who on various occasions, first in 1421–22, and then again in 1436, and 1442, visited Brescia, each time founding a new monastery either in the city itself (1422: S. Apollonio) or in the vicinity (1438: Aguzzane; 1442: Gardone).[42]

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[41] A copy of the testament dated 30 September 1473 survives in Archivio di Stato Brescia, inv. 54: Archivio Avogadro-Calzaveglia-Fenaroli, busta 11: Testamenti, [filza 2a,] fols. 210r–215v. The architecturally unusual enlargement of the apse of the church of S. Agata, dubbed in contemporary documents the "Cappella Magna" (now usually referred to in the literature as the "presbiterio") was a pet project of Giovanni Navio d'Asola (d. 1456), provost of S. Agata since 1415, and canon of Brescia cathedral by 1427. One of the most powerful clerics in Brescia during his lifetime, Navio d'Asola distinguished himself during the siege of Brescia 1438–40, further strengthening the bonds with the Avogadro and with Venice, although these almost certainly predated 1438. The extension of the apse was finally approved on 13 April 1458, after Navio d'Asola's death. In the following years, a member of the (formerly rival) noble family of the Martinengo who had married an Avogadro daughter (1471), and the Avogadro themselves (ca. 1475?) made donations contributing to the decoration of the outside (Martinengo) and the inside (Avogadro) of the Cappella Magna, thus completing Navio d'Asola's wish. Unsurprisingly, the Avogadro burial site took the place of honor at the very center of the new Cappella, flanked by the parish priests and provosts, thereby underscoring the family's prominence as *primi inter pares* among the parishioners as well as their close ties with the top echelons of the local ecclesiastical establishment. The interior decoration paid for by the Avogadro was painted over in the sixteenth century, but the frescoes are now partially visible again thanks to restoration works performed in 1963. For a general historical overview, see Vannini, "Cenni di storia e d'arte," in particular 20–25 and 41–43. On the frescoes, see Panazza, "Gli affreschi." See also Volta, "Per una cronaca"; and [Anonymous], "I prevosti di S. Agata," in particular, 259–60.

[42] Sevesi, "I vicari e i ministri." For a general overview of Bernardino's life, see Pacetti, "Cronologia Bernardiana." On aspects of Bernardino's views from a more general perspective, see Polecritti, *Preaching Peace*; Rocke, "Sodomites"; Origo, *World of San Bernardino.* Bernardino's charisma as a preacher must have been tremendous, to judge by its pervasive and frequently dramatic effects on his listeners, making him one of the spearheads of fifteenth-century ecclesiastical reform. Pope Nicholas V canonized Bernardino on Pentecost Sunday, 24 May 1450, just six years and a few days after his death on 20 May 1444, making his one of the quickest canonization proceedings in Church history.

Another pious undertaking of those years must have been the decoration of the family palace in nearby Zanano, where the endowment of the Gardone foundation was notarized. Remnants of mid-fifteenth-century frescoes are still visible there today, showing the Virgin with the Christ child, flanked by a female saint (probably Agatha) and an elderly man dressed as an abbot (Anthony the Great).[43] Still insufficiently researched, these frescoes were likely put up to adorn either a private oratory or small chapel inside the palace; in 1474, the decoration was complemented by a fresco of another elderly saint and prominent ascetic associated with the eastern Mediterranean, Jerome.

Even before that, the Avogadro enjoyed rights of collation at the church of S. Marco in Brescia; built right next to one of the Avogadro family dwellings in Brescia, this small church, still in existence today, seems *de facto* to have functioned as a kind of family chapel. Constructed either directly in response to the events of 1426 in 1427 (Lechi), or dating back to the second half of the thirteenth century (Lonati), the church indubitably acquired special significance for Brescia as the one sacred space in town dedicated to the patron saint of Venice in the years from 1426 onward. Indeed, the church played a highly significant role in the ritual reaffirmation of Venetian domination celebrated in Brescia each year in conjunction with the evangelist's feast on 25 April.[44]

These artifacts reflect a clearly defined history of ecclesiastical endowments among the Avogadro during the fifteenth century, perhaps even earlier. Avogadro patronage of the reformed Franciscans, as exhibited in the 1442 foundation at Gardone (Val Trompia) stands in some contrast, however, to the earlier, strong association of the family with the Dominicans. Pietro's thirteenth-century ancestor Bartolomeo (1174–1258), a canon lawyer and familiar of Ugolino de' Conti (later Pope Gregory IX, r. 1227–41), was said personally to have hosted St. Dominic (d. 1221). During Pietro's lifetime, Giacomo Avogadro (d. 1418) was a prominent member of the Order of Preachers, publishing in theology and jurisprudence.[45] The Dominicans, of course, were a force to be reckoned with. Like their chief rivals, the Franciscans, they were especially successful and influential in the urban centers of northern Italy, including Brescia. The two orders stood in intense competition with each other (as well as other monastic congregations and the secular clergy) for the resources that wealthy lay people might be prepared to lavish on them. And it is precisely the Dominicans that provide a first decisive link between the repertoire of codex J.II.9 and the Avogadro.

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[43] For more on this palazzo, see Lechi, *Le dimore Bresciane*, 2:351–55.

[44] Ibid., 2:140–44; Lonati, *Catalogo illustrato*, 2:523–25. An Italian-texted fragmentary piece, *Viva viva san marcho glorioso*, in praise of St. Mark and specifically mentioning Brescia ("bresa") is transmitted at the opening of the Brescian section of manuscript I-Bu 2216 (currently dated in the 1430s–40s). It is believed to be related to the siege of Brescia; this claim must, however, be reassessed in light of the present findings, making 1426 the *terminus post quem* for the composition of that piece. See Palumbo-Lavery, "Bologna, Codex Bu," 49; and, recently, Corrigan, "Music Manuscript 2216." Corrigan independently proposed an earlier date (post-1426) for *Viva viva san marcho glorioso*. According to Lonati, *Catalogo illustrato*, 524, S. Marco is referred to as early as 1334 as "ecclesia S. Marci de advocatis" ("the church of S. Marco belonging to the Avogadro"), making it one of the "parrocchie gentilizie" of Brescia where noble families held rights of collation. See also [Fappani], *Enciclopedia Bresciana*, s.v. "Parrocchia, parrocchie."

[45] [Fappani], *Enciclopedia Bresciana*, s.v. "Avogadro Bartolomeo," and "Avogadro Giacomo."

While all religious orders tried to establish a foothold in Cyprus, the Dominicans were by far the most successful among them.[46] The Lusignan court, in particular since the reign of King Hugh IV (r. 1324–59), strongly favored the Dominicans. The Dominican convent at Nicosia, founded around 1260 by King Hugh II (1253–67), was immediately adjacent to the palace. Connected via a footbridge, the royal chapel was housed within its walls.[47] There also were apartments for the king and queen, used annually for a kind of spiritual retreat during Holy Week, as well as two cloisters, connected by a spectacular garden ("un jardin infiniment beau"), the royal necropolis, and, last but not least, the site of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, in exile on Cyprus since the fall of Acre in 1291. All this made the Dominican convent so much more than just one monastery among many in Cyprus; rather, it could be considered the spiritual heart of the island and of the Lusignan monarchy. As such, it also served as a surrogate for those institutions (in particular, the patriarchate and the kingship of Jerusalem inherited by the Lusignans) that formerly were situated in the Holy City of Jerusalem itself, providing a strong point of identification for Cyprus as a proxy for the Holy Land itself.[48]

Also relevant in our context is the Dominican prelate Bartolomeo da Vicenza or da Breganze (ca. 1200–1270).[49] One of the earliest followers of St. Dominic, he was an intimate of both Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54) and King Louis IX of France. Bartolomeo spent time in the Holy Land, where he visited the crusading French monarch. From 1252, he served as bishop of Limassol. He eventually returned to Vicenza as bishop in the late 1250s, where he built the Dominican sanctuary of Santa Corona to house the relics of the Crown of Thorns and of the Holy Cross which had been bestowed on him by Louis IX personally. Even more importantly, Bartolomeo was the founder of an aristocratic military order, the Militia of Christ (Militia Christi, Parma 1233). After the demise of the Militia, seven noblemen from Bologna, Reggio Emilia, Parma, and Modena founded the Order of the Militia of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Ordo Militiae Beatae Mariae Virginis, 1261), also known as the Jubilant Brethren or Knights (*frati* or *cavalieri gaudenti*), as a direct follow-up. Admitting only nobles, clerics, and their servants to their ranks, but including both men *and* women, lay members were permitted to marry and earned their nickname *gaudenti* due to their purported love of pomp and luxury. (Fittingly, Dante put two of the founders in the circle reserved for hypocrites.) Clerics among the members were supposed to take charge of the spiritual tutelage of the lay brethren and sisters; in the absence of a cleric member, another local cleric could be substituted—often, though not necessarily, this was a Dominican. The *cavalieri gaudenti*, then, in essence were an exclusive club of Italian nobles under direct papal protection with a distinct leaning toward the Dominicans. As an organization, the Order existed until the late 1580s, when Pope Sixtus V suppressed it. Its emblem was the Holy Cross, and its main objects of veneration were Christ and the Virgin. With this information in mind, let us now return to codex J.II.9.[50]

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[46] On the role of the religious orders in Cyprus, see Schabel, "Religion," 174–77.

[47] For the location of the court chapel, see Hoppin, *Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino*, 2:xiv; *Cypriot Plainchant*, 17–18; Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 1:70–72 (description of the Dominican convent) and 2:525–38 (description of the royal palace complex). Also perhaps noteworthy in our context is the presence of an organ inside the palace, which elicited the admiration of the Mamluks during their raid on Nicosia in 1426 (ibid., 2:532).

[48] The last four triplum verses of the motet for Hilarion, *Magni patris magna mira/Ovent cyprus palestina*, copied on fols. 74v–75r of codex J.II.9 link Palestine with the Dominican convent(s) in Nicosia explicitly, but by extension anywhere in the world: "Inde tot anachoritas / Heremi clausit latebris / Quot vix claustra iacobitas / Noctis recludunt tenebris" (Therefore [since Hilarion's time, Palestine] harbored so many anchorites in desert hiding-places / as [our] convent [or: convents], in the dark of night, holds [hold] Dominicans ["Jacobites"]). The motetus text in turn emphasizes the propriety of the cult of Hilarion instituted by the Lusignan and closes with a prayer for King Janus and the Dominicans ("huncque gregem") and their missionary work. For full texts and a transcription, see *Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino,* 2:71–74. On the body of St. Hilarion and other relics kept in Cyprus, see Schabel, "Religion," 214–15.

[49] Cattin, "Offices," 255–56n16. For a biography of Bartolomeo da Vicenza, see the entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 6:785–87 (also available online via www.treccani.it, accessed 27 July 2010).

The "Avogadro Codex" in Context

Given the unequivocal identification of the crest, the northern Italian provenance of the manuscript and its association with the Avogadro family can no longer be disputed. However, the new evidence raises a host of fresh questions. What is the link of the Avogadro with Cyprus, if any? On what grounds would the Avogadro be interested in commissioning or owning such a manuscript, and why would they adopt an entire repertoire wholesale? How, when, and where did they become aware of its availability or gain access to it? If they wanted music for some of their endowments, why did they not choose a mixed repertoire similar to the ones found in other contemporary sources from the Veneto region? A closer reading of both the contents and the ordering of the manuscript may provide some answers.

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[50] For detailed information on the *cavalieri*, see Federici, *Istoria de' cavalieri gaudenti* (1787), which remains by far the richest source of information for the present purposes, although much further research would be needed to reconstruct precisely the activities of the *cavalieri* on the local level and to separate fact from fiction in Federici. See also De Stefano, "Le origini dei *Frati Gaudenti*"; Meersseman, "Études"; idem, *Ordo fraternitatis* (in particular, 1262–67); Turley, "Frati gaudenti." The passage in Dante referring to the order is *Inferno* 23, 83–109.

The motet cycle of the central Fascicle III offers crucial evidence in this regard. It exhibits an unusually strong Mariological and Christological orientation: Well over half of the forty-one motets celebrate Mary, or Christ. Kicking off with a piece celebrating Easter, the Christological motets cover the Eucharist (Corpus Christi), the Nativity, the Ascension, and the Transfiguration. A spectacular series of eight motets paraphrasing the O-antiphons of Vespers sung during the last week before Christmas leads up to a second motet for the Nativity, highlighting the physical and spiritual union of Mother and Christ-child in unmatched intensity.[51] At least a dozen more motets are dedicated exclusively to the Virgin, seven of them in Latin and six in French.[52] A motet for Pentecost completes the group of settings celebrating the three highest feasts of the liturgical calendar. Three substitute motets for the Mass liturgy (one for the Sanctus, two for the Deo gratias) complement Fascicle II with its polyphonic Gloria and Credo settings. A motet for the Dedication of a Church, specifically referencing Mary, is also included. Conversely, the only saints honored with a motet are the precursor of Christ, John the Baptist (two compositions), Catherine of Alexandria (also two compositions), and Hilarion (one motet). Taken together, the motet cycle thus provided polyphony for all the major occasions of the liturgical year, paying special emphasis to Marian feasts, feasts related to Christ, and saints John the Baptist, Catherine, and Hilarion.

Fascicle III also contains a motet for the Holy Cross. Such a motet would have acquired exceptional symbolic meaning in Brescia, given that Brescia was (and still is) home to an important relic of the Holy Cross. Moreover, the Brescian citizenry carried a bejeweled Crucifix in battle during the late Middle Ages, the so-called *Croce del Campo* (also: *Croce dell'Orifiamma*); today recognized to be of Lombard workmanship (ca. 1200), this sacred object together with the relic of the True Cross is still part of the treasure of the Holy Crosses kept at Brescia cathedral today.[53] According to a legend documented by the early fifteenth century but undoubtedly older, the two patron saints of Brescia, Faustinus and Jovita (martyred in 120 CE), effectuated a miraculous conversion of the pagan governor of Brescia, one Naimes or Namo, Duke of

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[51] On this group, see Hoppin, "Fifteenth-Century 'Christmas Oratorio.' "

[52] It is possible that the two motets with French texts copied on fols. 95v–96r, traditionally classified as secular, were also meant to be understood as Marian settings, which would bring the number of French-texted motets for the Virgin up to eight. On the allegorical use of *fin'amors* poetry in motets, see, for example, Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims.*

[53] On the relic, the objects associated with it, and their history, see, most recently, Bertelli and Stella, eds., *"M'illumino d'immenso": Brescia, le Sante Croci*; and the essays in *Le Sante Croci.* The Treasure of the Holy Crosses is kept in the left-hand side chapel of the Old Duomo (Cathedral) and is exhibited twice a year, on the last Friday in March and on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September); see Leonardis, ed., *Guide to Brescia*, 62 (with a color photograph of the reliquary). Current research suggests the relic of the Holy Cross might have been donated by Bishop Alberto da Reggio in the 1220s. It is confirmed to have been in Brescia by ca. 1260.

Bavaria, in Carolingian times. Naimes/Namo spontaneously entrusted the piece of the True Cross together with the *Croce del Campo* and the flag accompanying it (*Orifiamma*) which he had received directly from Emperor Charlemagne to the custody of the residents of Brescia, having been convinced of the strength of the Faith in their city. The *Orifiamma*, which no longer survives, was even believed to be the very banner used by Emperor Constantine upon his own conversion, the labarum carrying the first two Greek letters of the word "Christós" (XP). The sign of the Holy Cross, and by extension a Holy Cross motet, would thus have provided powerful markers of Brescian identity in the early Quattrocento, not least against the background of the ongoing conflict with the Visconti, whose serpentine crest (the man-eating *biscione*) in combination with their oppressive politics deftly played into the hands of those who wished to cast the Milanese as devilish (their following the Ambrosian liturgy probably did not help, either). The fact that the Visconti left no stone unturned to discredit the Naimes/Namo legend during their rule over Brescia demonstrates that they were keenly aware of the formidable power of the relics as focal points of anti-Milanese sentiments and armed resistance in Brescia. At least for the pro-Venetian party led by the Avogadro, Brescian resistance against Milan thus became a Holy War of the righteous waged under the sign of the Cross together with their ally, the Republic of Venice.

A secondary layer of symbolism implicit to the Holy Cross motet would have been generated by the relics of the Holy Cross accumulated in the Veneto and beyond during the late Middle Ages. Within living memory, a fragment of the Holy Cross was brought from Cyprus to Venice by Philippe de Mézières and donated to the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista on 23 December 1370. Like the Brescian relic, it is still there today. Additionally taken into account should be the relics of the Crucifixion brought to Vicenza by Bartolomeo da Breganze, and the relic of the Cross of the Penitent Thief kept in Cyprus, not to mention the famous Crucifixion relics of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.[54] The dispersed vestiges of the hallowed event would thus have created a heady symbolic mix joining the Avogadro, Brescia and its cathedral, the Dominican sanctuary of Santa Corona at Vicenza, the City and the Republic of Venice, the kingdoms of Cyprus and of Jerusalem, the Holy Land, and Paris together with the French royal clan descendant of Louis IX in a single associative chain. Adding to this the pedigree of the Brescian relics, which were connected directly to Charlemagne and to his predecessor Constantine, Brescia could see itself rivaling or at least approaching in sanctity even the holiest of cities—Rome, Constantinople, or Jerusalem herself. An allusion to the Holy Cross and, by implication, the *Croce del Campo* and Brescia, now emerges as the single most compelling rationale for arranging the Avogadro coat of arms on fol. 1r in a cruciform pattern. Superimposing the Avogadro crest on the Holy Cross effectively *merges* Brescian and Avogadro identity into an inseparable amalgam, claiming symbolic leadership of the community on a level akin to that of monarchs like Charlemagne or Constantine over their capital cities and empires.

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[54] See Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 402–3. On the Cross of the Penitent Thief at the Benedictine monastery of Stavrovouni, see Schabel, "Religion," 212–14; the relic of the Penitent Thief was kept alongside a nail of the Cross of Christ and a piece of the Holy Cross itself. The Bourbon line of the French royal house, including Anne of Lusignan through her mother Charlotte, descends from the youngest son of Louis IX, founder of the Sainte-Chapelle, thus bringing the association full circle.

There is more staurological and Mariological symbolism to be uncovered in codex J.II.9. The Church of the *cavalieri gaudenti* in Brescia was Santa Maria della Pace. This matches the Marian Dedication motet in the manuscript while underscoring the quest for peace, more pressing than ever during the treacherous years of strife with the perfidious Milanese. While securing and maintaining peace was without doubt the foremost and noblest calling of any true Christian knight, invoking the Cross in Brescia also implied that the cause of the Avogadro—and of Brescia—was righteous and any potential use of violence on their side morally justified. The fact that the Holy Cross motet (no. 10 in the *ordinatio* of the motet fascicle) follows immediately after the motet for the Dedication of a Church and Mary (no. 9) hints not only at the intended place for which the cycle may have been put together (S. Maria della Pace in Brescia) but may also invoke the hidden magical powers of number symbolism (the Roman numeral "x" as a graphic representation of the Cross symbolizing Christ as well as yet another representation of Christ's initial, χ). But leaving aside Santa Maria della Pace, Brescia cathedral offers equally powerful symbolic resonances. Actually a "double cathedral" composed of two adjacent buildings, the primary of the two sanctuaries in the early fifteenth century was Santa Maria Maggiore, also referred to as Santa Maria Rotonda for its shape imitating the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Since the latter Church was built by Constantine and directly associated with both the site of the Crucifixion and the Invention of the Holy Cross by Helena (Constantine's mother), the simple act of entering Santa Maria Maggiore would have offered Brescians an everyday opportunity physically to experience their city as an effigy of the holiest of cities, Jerusalem. Santa Maria Maggiore served as cathedral from 15 August, the feast of the Assumption, which was also the feast of its Dedication, to Pentecost; from Pentecost to 15 August, the liturgy was in turn performed at the secondary cathedral of S. Pietro de dom, dedicated to the Apostle Peter, probably Pietro Avogadro's name patron.[55] The opening motet fascicle in codex J.II.9 begins with a motet celebrating Easter, followed by a second motet for Pentecost, and a third one for the Assumption; the *ordinatio* thus tracks precisely what arguably were the first three of the most important moments in the liturgical year in Brescia, accounting for an organizational structure that otherwise would appear somewhat haphazard.

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[55] The second cathedral of Pietro Avogadro's time no longer stands, having been replaced in the seventeenth century by the Duomo nuovo, now serving as Brescia's cathedral church year-round.

In light of these forceful liturgical and symbolic links with Brescia, the two motets for Catherine are worth further consideration. In the first instance they provide a nod to the patron saint of the Dominican nunnery at Brescia, incorporating the convent of S. Caterina into the symbolic agenda of the manuscript through two invocations of its patron saint. Considered the greatest of virgin saints, second only to Mary herself, Catherine was much admired for her learning and scholarship, a theme that probably appealed to Avogadro sensibilities, given the family's historical involvement with the study and practice of Law. In addition, Catherine was believed to have been born in Cyprus.[56] Yet another reason for the family's affinity for Catherine is illuminated by Cornazzano's *Vita* (I-BRq B.VII.13, fol. 5v). There the comely young virgin is put forward as a paragon of courage in the face of martyrdom, modeling the kind of heroism that Pietro Avogadro had so keenly demonstrated fighting the Milanese. Catherine may also be considered a role model for young or chaste women, whereas Anne, the other female saint aside from the mother of Christ who is given special attention in the manuscript, represents procreative or mature femininity as expressed through motherhood and grandmotherhood. Anne was the grandmother of Christ, the mother of the Virgin, and the great-aunt of the Baptist. Her veneration was experiencing a high-water mark in the late Middle Ages as a patroness of pregnant women, mothers, grandmothers, and families.[57] Paying homage to her in the form of a dedicated rhymed Office adds to the manuscript, next to its Brescian thrust and its pronounced high-aristocratic Christian-knightly flavor, a third thematic accent, emphasizing procreation, kinship, and lineage; all the latter three were defining elements of nobility.

If the three female saints Anne, Mary, and Catherine cover the full spectrum of desirable female gender roles in the later Middle Ages, they find their counterparts in codex J.II.9 in three examples of exemplary masculinity, Christ, John the Baptist, and Hilarion. The emphasis on John the Baptist, the cousin of Christ through the maternal line (his grandmother was the sister of Christ's grandmother, Anne), reinforces the element of kinship, exemplified by the Divine Family. The theme returns in the inordinate attention given not only the Nativity of Christ, but also the celebration of the Nativity of Mary, and, most powerfully, of course, the Office given to Anne in Fascicle I. If Christ and the Baptist represent the desirable traits in males up to the end of adolescence and young adulthood, Hilarion, who—as St. Jerome's *vita* tells us—lived to eighty years of age, provided an outstanding role model for men of fatherly and grandfatherly age. Hilarion was not only a shining example of learning, but also of chastity and heroic asceticism; all these were crucial components of idealized male identity, especially cherished by the military Orders.[58] Furthermore, close readings of the texts of both the motet for Hilarion, *Magni patris/Ovent Cyprus* (I-Tn J.II.9, fols. 74v–75r), and of his Office (I-Tn J.II.9, fols. 1r–14r) reveal features in the life of Hilarion that parallel Pietro Avogadro's personal biography as related through Cornazzano's *Vita*, offering a powerful rationale for Avogadro's otherwise seemingly eccentric adoption of the exotic Hilarion as his protector-saint. Worshipping such a role model through the singular vehicle of the papally sanctioned Office otherwise used exclusively at the royal court of Cyprus no doubt would have added a powerful extra stimulus, underpinning the Avogadro claim to preeminent, quasi-royal status among the ruling families of Brescia—a claim reinforced in the *Vita* by an extensive list of Greek and Roman monarchs whose glory and prestige is cast by Cornazzano on a par with that of "stupendo Piero bressan dignissimo avoghadro" (fol. 6r). The fact that the King of Cyprus was also (titular) King of Jerusalem would have added further luster to the multilayered symbolism that adopting the Lusignan Office would have offered Pietro Avogadro. The coat of arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, made up of five crosses, may have offered one rationale for the subdivision of the manuscript into five fascicles, and its central cross, the so-called cross potent or "Jerusalem cross" would have blended easily with the Holy Cross symbolism characteristic of Brescia.

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[56] See Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 20, 24–25. Also Schabel, "Religion," 214–15.

[57] On this subject, see Anderson, "Symbols of Saints," 322–86. Also worth noting in this context is that Cyprus housed several relics of the grandmother of Christ, including "a large piece" of (presumably) her body at the Benedictine monastery of Stavrovouni, where the aforementioned Cross of the Penitent Thief was also kept. St. Anne's head in turn could be worshipped in the chapel of the commandery of the Knights Hospitaller in Nicosia. See Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 27 and 30. Charlotte of Bourbon had an elder sister named Anne; this indicates that the cult of Anne entered the house of Bourbon well before Charlotte's marriage to Janus and her arrival in Cyprus.

Pietro Avogadro, like young Hilarion, left home as an adolescent, later returning to his birthplace as a transformed man. Like Brescia under the rule of the Visconti must have appeared to an Avogadro, Hilarion's home town, Gaza, was a hotbed of wickedness (at least if we believe Saint Jerome). Their place of exile, Alexandria for Hilarion and Padua for Pietro, counted as a place of supreme learning and a Christian stronghold. Both encountered mentors that decisively shaped the rest of their lives: Anthony Abbot in the case of Hilarion, whereas for Pietro Avogadro, the Carrara court (or perhaps Pandolfo Malatesta) could have fulfilled that function. Both Hilarion and Pietro suffered countless adventures for the defense of true Christendom, and both were cast metaphorically as fathers of their respective homelands—Cyprus in the case of Hilarion, Brescia in the case of Pietro.[59]

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[58] On the association of knighthood, asceticism, and masculinity, see Smith, "Saints in Shining Armor."

[59] This is made explicit in the following lines from an unpublished epitaph for Pietro Avogadro, preserved in I-BGc C.F.1.7, fol. 28v: "Brescia, behold [your] father. He snatched you

The Hymn for Matins *Ordo sanctorum militum* (fols. 3v–4r) specifically mentions a group of "sacred knights" praising Hilarion. These are Hilarion's fellow hermits in the first instance ("heremitarum"), but in both in the Cypriot and a Brescian context, the passage might refer equally to the fighters surrounding King Janus or, alternatively, Pietro Avogadro. The passage also directly links the asceticism of the anachorites with the military virtues and (self-)discipline sought in the ideal Christian knight. The readings in the Mass for Hilarion reinforce the themes of exile and of giving away one's riches, pertinent to Pietro who repeatedly suffered exile but also had come to considerable riches as a result of his bravery. The Epistle, taken from Hebr. 13, 9–16 (fol. 10r), casts Christ's crucifixion outside the walls of Jerusalem as a voluntary exile, and exhorts the listener that prayer and generosity are what truly delights the Lord (fol. 10r). In the Gospel, drawn from Math. 19, 27–29 (fol. 12r), Pietro's namesake Peter inquires with the Lord about the rewards coming to those who abandon everything and follow Christ, whereupon Jesus promises hundred-fold reward and eternal life to those suffering on his behalf. Such words, while generic to Christian teaching, must have resonated profoundly with Pietro Avogadro given his earlier experiences, and he and his family seem to have taken the admonitions to heart, to judge by their copious endowments.

The Office texts, if serendipitously, offer many more passages that fit astonishingly well with what is known of Pietro Avogadro's biography and what we may presume to have been his aspirations, suggesting that adopting the Lusignan court rituals by the Avogadro must have seemed like an unexpected reward furnished by Divine Providence to the upright warrior. In the Office for Saint Anne, too, praise is lavished not only on Anne herself, but also on the parental couple, Joachim and Anne, in whom Pietro Avogadro and his wife could easily have recognized themselves.[60] The ninth and final Lection (fol. 17v) in particular stresses the good and just life the elderly couple was

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from the jaws of the Serpent [Visconti], suffering any [kind of] dangers for you" (Brixia cerne patrem. Qui te de faucibus Anguis / Eripuit pro te cuncta pericula ferens). For the full text, see Appendix A. In the motet, Hilarion is addressed as "father" (pater) in both triplum and motetus. The Responsory *Letare Ciprus florida* for first Vespers in the Office offers another example of Hilarion addressed as father of Cyprus: "Therefore Hilarion / through [your] faith in the holy mother Zion / is truly your father" (Propter quod et Ylarion / fide sancte matris Syon / est tibi pater proprius; fol. 2r).

[60] As would, incidentally, Janus and Charlotte. Janus had his first, childless marriage to Anglesia Visconti (!) annulled, whereas his union with Charlotte was blessed with six children, of whom three (John, Anne, and Mary) survived into adulthood. John was the second-born child and also the second son; an older brother died in childhood, as did a pair of twins that followed. Anne, the fifth child, was conceived only after the death of all these earlier offspring. Given this family history, it is easy to imagine the anxiety experienced by the two parents, not even factoring in the political implications, and to understand their (or Charlotte's) turning to the holy Grandmother for spiritual assistance.

leading. Abundantly blessed with worldly riches like Pietro and his wife, Anne and Joachim gave one third of their wealth to the Church, another third to the poor, and kept only one third for themselves and their kin.

The texts of the two Offices also provide useful connections between the saints of codex J.II.9 and those represented in the frescoes at Zanano and at S. Agata. Anthony the Abbot features prominently in the Office for Hilarion, and the cult of Hilarion may thus have triggered the depiction of Anthony in the later frescoes. Anthony returns in Cornazzano's *Vita* (5v). He immediately precedes Catherine and is extolled for his ascetic lifestyle, the extreme old age he reached, and his renunciation of worldly riches—all qualities that also characterized Hilarion, if to a slightly lesser extent, and which Pietro Avogadro evidently emulated. Jerome, to whom we owe the *vita* of Hilarion, is explicitly mentioned in the hymn *Ordo sanctorum militum* for Matins as well as the sequence *Exultantes collaudemus* (fols. 10v–12r). He also figures prominently in the Office for Anne (fols. 14r–19r); the third Lection openly acknowledges him as the author of a "long and incomparable" text about the childhood of the Mother of God from which the Office is citing copiously. Against this background, the fresco of Saint Jerome in the family palace at Zanano, dated 1474 or about one year after Pietro Avogadro's death and still visible today, once more suggests that the two saints most closely associated with the Turin Offices of Hilarion and Anne, and hence perhaps the two Office liturgies themselves, remained present in the consciousness and quite possibly the devotional practices of the Avogadro clan at the time. Fascicle I of codex J.II.9 contains an extensive plainchant repertory covering not only the two Offices, but also celebrations of Mass year-round. These melodies could have been performed readily by any chaplain available, raising the possibility that at least some of the monophony copied in codex J.II.9 was performed within the inner circles of the Avogadro clan, for example in the chapel at Zanano, for some time, even if codex J.II.9 was not, or no longer, in Avogadro possession. If we hypothesize the existence of copies of some of the polyphony from codex J.II.9 at the Avogadro court, and combine that with the evidence for the cultivation of polyphony evident from the Brescian fascicle of I-Bu 2216, the possibility of occasional performance of some of the polyphony by singers brought in *ad hoc* from other local establishments can also be entertained. Since the Avogadro probably considered the repertoire of codex J.II.9 their exclusive property, shared only with the Kings of Cyprus and perhaps the ducal house of Savoy, this would also explain why none of the pieces was ever copied into another source, leaving aside the possibility that they may not have been of interest any more to potential singer-copyists on stylistic grounds.

Space does not permit a detailed discussion of all the contents of codex J.II.9. Closer scrutiny of the ballades, rondeaux, and virelais as well as the motets is certainly called for and may reveal that a number of pieces explore the ambivalent nature of *fin'amors* as both a refined courtly pastime and a sublimated metaphor for the journey of the soul, thus accommodating social and spiritual needs alike. Taken as a whole, the codex would have provided ample material, both visually and in the form of potential musical performances, for exquisite celebrations of familial or confraternal piety and suitably restrained conviviality in the Avogadro household. Creating an idealized courtly community, the music from the Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem combined with the visual impact of the book that preserved it would have turned their devotions and formal entertainments into textbook examples of late medieval piety and ceremonial, suffused with the mystical glamour of Outremer, thus symbolically and acoustically turning Brescia and its surroundings into an earthly representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, a Holy City at the southern foothills of the Alps, underpinning the political aspirations of the family. Maintaining the symbolic link to the Cypriot royals may also have been the reason for explicitly retaining the textual allusions to King Janus, Cyprus, the Cypriots, and their capital of Nicosia which otherwise could have easily been adapted to the local situation. Together with the French texts of the secular pieces referencing the court and descendants of Saint Louis, they would have suitably glamorized the repertoire while at the same time making its exalted pedigree clearly visible—and, if desired, audible—to anyone consulting the book. The discreetly acknowledged provenance of the repertoire from the (Bourbon-)Lusignan court must have served a social function similar to the label of a modern luxury brand. Often invisible to anyone but the owner, its sheer existence guarantees exclusivity, boosting the owner's status and self-image. All this would have been part of the copying project, made possible through the divinely inspired and sanctioned largesse of the Avogadro.

It remains unclear what, if any, was the exact relationship between the Avogadro and the *cavalieri gaudenti* or the other institutions mentioned above. As demonstrated earlier, the subsequent history of the family's endowments shows a pronounced shift away from the Dominicans, first toward the competing Franciscans, then to an ostensibly private devotional space at Zanano, and eventually a distinguished Brescian parish church. To explain these shifts, we must once again delve into the religious politics of Quattrocento Brescia and Italy. On 23 January 1432 [1431 o.s.], the Procurator of the Militia of the Glorious Virgin Mary leased a house adjacent to the Church of S. Maria della Pace to Donna Orsina de Albertis of Piacenza, abbess of the newly arrived congregation of Benedictine nuns of S. Felice e Fortunato in Brescia, formerly housed in the nearby village of Manerbio.[61] By 1432, then, the Militia was still active at Brescia; at least, it still owned its church, and some real estate nearby. By 1455, however, if not earlier (possibly as early as 1442), the Benedictines had taken over the church and the Militia's possessions. They stayed there until 1797, suggesting that the order had by then ceased to operate in Brescia.[62] How could such a peripety come about? The early 1430s were a time of intense religious fervor and reform under the newly elected pontiff, Eugenius IV (r. 1431–46). The middle years of the decade (1433–36) in particular also were a time of relative political quiet, holding out renewed prospects for an economic and cultural revival in the region around Brescia: The third peace treaty in a row between Milan and Venice was concluded at Ferrara on 8 April 1433, following two earlier treaties of 17 April 1428 and 30 December 1426, both also signed at the Este capital. Open hostilities broke out again at the beginning of 1437, however, ending the lull and eventually leading to the famous siege of Brescia in 1438 and the decisive defeat of the Visconti in its wake.[63]

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[61] Federici, *Istoria de' cavalieri gaudenti*, 2:107 (Documentum CLXIII).

Meanwhile, the position of the Dominicans in Brescia had become tenuous indeed: Not only had they been expelled from the city in 1422 on (alleged) grounds of moral misconduct (although the female convent of St. Catherine persisted), but their repeated persecutions of Bernardino of Siena as a heretic tarnished their image, whereas the Franciscans—thanks to Bernardino's inspired preaching and Pope Eugenius's enthusiastic support—were enjoying one of the highpoints of their history.[64] The *cavalieri gaudenti* appear to have been on the wane, too, in Brescia at least; certainly, the cleric who was meant to take care of S. Maria della Pace and for whose post the Order held the rights of collation, one Tristanus de Miliis, was absent in 1430 and 1432, having left power of attorney to his father, Francesco de Miliis, to look after matters related to his church, if any, implying that the members of the order in Brescia were without spiritual guidance.[65] The absence of Tristanus, evidently a young man from a noble family, might have had many reasons, which may or may not be related to the expulsion of the Dominicans from Brescia. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the local chapter of the *cavalieri* evidently was adrift and probably in serious need of a shot in the arm—spiritually and, quite possibly, financially as well. In such a climate, a striking gesture of the grandest munificence might have been just what was needed to turn the tide, providing an excellent opportunity for a pious but affluent patron to leave his or her mark on the prestigious Order and its church—or, perhaps, even to acquire that church and turn it into a family chapel. I therefore suggest that Pietro Avogadro (and perhaps his wife) commissioned the codex with a view toward precisely that: to make a spectacular endowment, either under the umbrella of the *cavalieri* or in their succession, likely including a family chapel and burial site, inside S. Maria della Pace or at another suitable location, most probably the cathedral. This would have been a fitting expansion of the patronage extended earlier to the small church of S. Marco, now suitably reflecting the newly acquired prominence and wealth of the family.

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[62] Fè d'Ostiani, *Storia, tradizione e arte*, 283–84, gives the tenure of bishop Pietro de Monte (r. 1442–57) as the time frame within which the takeover was completed, providing a *terminus ante quem non* of 1442. The *Storia di Brescia*, 2:108n2, gives 12 February 1455 as the date when reconstruction of the complex, which lacked the enclosure required by the nuns, was approved by the town authorities. According to Paolo Guerrini, the Benedictines renamed their monastery "Santa Maria della Pace"; he mentions a manuscript entitled "Gli annali del Monastero della Pace" which survives among the holdings of I-BRq and is "l'unica o quasi l'unica fonte della sua storia" (the only, or almost the only source of its history). See his "S. Maria della Pace," 227–28.

[63] *Storia di Brescia*, 2:17, 24–25, and 37–41.

[64] Pacetti, "Cronologia Bernardiana," 452, 454, and 457.

[65] The right of collation is purportedly confirmed in 1410 in a codex still held at either the Archivio capitolare or the Biblioteca capitolare, Brescia. See [Fappani], *Enciclopedia Bresciana*, s.v. "Parrocchia, parrocchie." See also Federici, *Istoria de'cavalieri gaudenti*, 1:223. I was unable to verify this claim.

The Avogadro may have been spurred in their intent by the role played by the Visconti in Bernardino's early career: After Bernardino had preached without much success in Padua in 1413 and 1416, the young Filippo Maria Visconti (Pietro Avogadro's nemesis) gave the young Franciscan his first, decisive boost in 1421 by signing over the Ducal Chapel at Pavia and the Church of S. Angelo in Milan to him and his fellow Observants. In that very winter (1421–22), straight from his first brilliant successes and right after Filippo Maria had removed Pandolfo Malatesta from Brescia, Bernardino was "invited" (conceivably following subtle pressure from the Visconti) to preach in Brescia for the first time, resulting in the foundation of the convent of S. Apollonio. The timing of the attack on the Dominicans and their expulsion from Brescia in 1422, following on the heels of Brescia's return to Visconti rule and Bernardino's first visit, hardly seems coincidental under these circumstances. The defeat of the Dominicans would have acquired special piquancy in light of the Franciscan Bernardino's close association with Filippo Maria Visconti and, conversely, that of the Dominicans with the Avogadro. This concatenation of circumstances might quite conceivably, if perhaps unintentionally, have generated a political and spiritual association of Bernardino and the Franciscans with the Visconti, at least in Pietro Avogadro's mind, and perhaps not only there. Against this background, reviving the *cavalieri gaudenti*—and indirectly the Dominicans—in Brescia and using the prestigious and exclusive royal repertoire from the court of Cyprus and Jerusalem along with it, would have been a coup in many ways: it would have sent a powerful anti-Visconti message by boosting the greatest rivals of the very order that the hated Filippo Maria so fervently supported, and it would have bested the Visconti at one of their most favorite games, the patronage of sophisticated French-style polyphony. It would also have been a very pro-Venetian move, given the crucial role that both Cyprus and the cities of the Venetian *terraferma* played in the network of the Dominicans, and vice versa; and it would have fit perfectly not only with the Avogadro tradition of supporting the Dominicans, but also with their knightly and aristocratic identity, and their understandable wish to see their prominent social position adequately reflected in a grand ecclesiastic foundation under their patronage conjoined with an appropriately beautiful and exclusive space.

Giovanni Navio d'Asola, the provost of S. Agata since 1415 and a canon of Brescia cathedral, may have been an important ally or even instigator for the Avogadro family's religious and political ambitions, facilitating potential access to a private space inside one of the two cathedrals, inside S. Agata, or at S. Maria della Pace. Further inspiration might have come from the models of Pandolfo III Malatesta's Brescian court of the 1410s (where Pietro Avogadro was a regular member), on one hand, and the Scrovegni of Padua, on the other: Enrico Scrovegni, who endowed the well-known Arena chapel, besides being a famously wealthy financier, also was a member of the *frati gaudenti*, and Pietro Avogadro undoubtedly knew of the Chapel from his time as a page at the Carrara court. Closer to home and more specifically to music, Avogadro might have wished to emulate Pandolfo Malatesta, whose investment in a chapel—both in the form of singers and a physical space—and pronounced Francophile tastes are well documented.[66]

The religious politics of Brescia and Venice—including but not limited to the (Venetian) Pope's ever stronger support for Bernardino; Bernardino's acquiring support, among others, from the Malatesta (Rimini, 1431) and the Emperor (1433); pressure from the reformed Benedictine nuns under Donna Orsina's leadership in the house next door who perhaps already had cast their eye on the church of S. Maria della Pace; the continued underlying tensions with Milan including the danger of renewed hostilities; resistance from the bishop or members of the cathedral chapter to the Avogadro ambitions; and a possible personal encounter (conversion experience?) with Bernardino himself in 1436 during the latter's third visit to Brescia—must have derailed the project, albeit at an advanced stage, leaving the codex orphaned and in sudden need for rededication. Nothing more specific as to the exact course of events can be said; but it is precisely the absence of any further trace of a planned endowment in conjunction with the subsequent history of the codex, and of Brescia and the Avogadro, that makes a sudden and unexpected reversal the most viable hypothesis.[67] This, of course, as suggested earlier, excludes by no means the adoption or retention of the some of the Lusignan repertory in Avogadro devotional practice divested from the fate of the codex.

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[66] Pandolfo had a private chapel constructed and painted by Gentile da Fabriano in his Brescia city palace, the Broletto. See, e.g., *Storia di Brescia*, 1:874. On his musical patronage, see Atlas, "Pandolfo III Malatesta."

[67] The timing of provost Navio d'Asola's original request to enlarge the apse of S. Agata, declined by the City council in early 1438, might support this reconstruction of the sequence of events. Assuming the failure of a planned family endowment-*cum*-burial site at S. Maria della Pace and perhaps the cathedral, too, by 1436, the Avogadro's parish church might have been an obvious next target to place the family *cappella*, leading to concrete plans by 1438.—While rare, the proposed scenario for codex J.II.9 is not unique. For another case of a luxury manuscript experiencing a sudden reversal of its intended destiny, see Rifkin, "Creation of the Medici Codex."

Jean Hanelle and the Making of Codex J.II.9

Let us now examine the potential role that Jean Hanelle, the chapel master to the King of Cyprus, might have played in the biography of the codex. As reported elsewhere, Hanelle was at the Savoy court at Thonon, on the southern shores of Lake Geneva, on 16 August 1434.[68] That day, he received a gift of money in the sizable amount of ten gold ducats (see Appendix B.1, p. 681). Hanelle then disappears from the record but resurfaces in the summer of 1436, again at Thonon, where he received yet another cash gift, now of six ducats (see Appendix B.2, p. 681). This sum is being recorded as a reimbursement to one Richard de Colombier, a Savoy courtier who advanced the money to Louis, prince of Piedmont. A "sieur Richart"—presumably the same Richard de Colombier—also received the considerable sum of eighteen ducats for a book that he bought ("ung livre achete de luy") in the course of that summer's stay at Lake Geneva. All this appears in a list ("quadam percella papirea") of incidental expenses for luxury items and gifts including gold thread ("fil dor"), two paintings ("deux ymages") of the Virgin Mary, and "[sundry] things" ("de chouses") from Cyprus (for the "prinsesa," Anne). Since Richard de Colombier advanced money to Louis for the cash gift to Hanelle and belonged to the innermost circle (*familia*) around the princely couple, it seems reasonable to assume that his purchase of a book, too, for which he was reimbursed eighteen ducats, was made at the behest and on behalf of the prince.[69]

This presents us with a suggestive concatenation of circumstances. Shortly before Jean Hanelle, on 8 August 1434, Guillaume Du Fay ("guillermus dou fay") was likewise given cash (ten florins). This monetary gift was intended to help cover the expenses of his well-known trip north to visit his mother ("pro suis expensis fiendis eundo ad patriam ipsius causa visitandi eius matrem").[70] It seems conceivable, then, that the ten ducats given Hanelle may have been similarly intended as a parting gift as the summer following the famous wedding between Louis of Savoy and Anne of Lusignan was drawing to a close and travel plans could no longer be postponed.

Du Fay and Hanelle almost certainly knew each other from their days at Cambrai cathedral almost twenty-five years earlier (around 1411), when Hanelle was a *petit vicaire* and Du Fay a choir boy.[71] It is tempting to speculate what their reunion almost a quarter of a century later, at the Savoy court in 1434, might have been like. Since we have no indication that the two men were on inimical terms, there probably was at least some mutual catching up, given their similarly adventurous but also vastly divergent career paths. Furthermore, the well-connected Du Fay may have been a gold mine of information for Hanelle, not least about potential new patrons and employment opportunities.

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[68] Kügle, "Repertory of Torino J.II.9," 170.

[69] Richard de Colombier's wife Guillaumette is recorded as lady-in-waiting of Anne of Lusignan in a personnel roster of the court of Savoy from 1434; see Taverna, *Anna di Cipro*, 68.

[70] My reading of the original document. See Bradley, "Musical Life and Culture at Savoy," 524. The transcription given in Bradley is not entirely correct.

[71] Kügle, "Repertory of Torino J.II.9," 171.

In 1434, Hanelle would have been well in his forties, perhaps fifties: While a *petit vicaire* at Cambrai, he was most likely in his twenties and hence would have been born sometime in the 1380s. Having been appointed to the *scribendaria* at Nicosia cathedral in 1428, indicating that his permanent residence was still in Cyprus at that time, the likelihood is great that he returned to the European continent in autumn 1433 as part of Anne of Lusignan's notoriously outsized retinue, which was troublingly large in the eyes of the Savoyard delegation and included a number of unspecified "gentilzhommes et serviteurs" presumably wishing to leave the island to eke out the rest of their lives in greater peace and prosperity than seemed possible in Cyprus in the mid-1430s.[72] This exodus, taken together with Hanelle's presumptive age, makes it plausible that he may have been looking for new employment, and possibly a safe place to retire. Du Fay, himself just recruited from the papal chapel, would have been an excellent source of advice, not least given his earlier service to the Malatesta. The fact that Pandolfo III Malatesta (d. 1427), the brother of Du Fay's patron Carlo Malatesta da Pesaro, was lord of Brescia earlier, with Pietro Avogadro his esteemed courtier—not to mention the close political contacts that existed between Savoy and Milan, the papacy, and cardinal Hugh of Lusignan (incidentally, the ruling Patriarch of Jerusalem)—would have enabled Du Fay to give Hanelle quite comprehensive guidance to the musical "scene" on the Italian peninsula, especially with regard to potential patrons and employment prospects. Anne's wedding, with its full complement of Europe's highest aristocracy and their servants-in-waiting assembled at the Savoy court, would also have been an excellent opportunity for Hanelle to explore the possibilities for any career moves. While the exact details remain obscure, information traveling along such networks may well have sufficed to prompt the Avogadro to get in touch with Hanelle, or vice versa.

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[72] Ibid., 172. A new document confirming information given there has since come to light (ASV, Registra Supplicationum 228, fol. 101r). I am most grateful to Prof. Alejandro Planchart for sharing this information with me prior to publication. The island of Cyprus had been the victim of a Mamluk attack in 1426, which hastened the economic and political decline of the kingdom. While the Savoyards wanted to accept no more than seven or eight ladies to accompany Anne to Savoy, the bride and her brother, King John II, insisted on taking along twenty-six, among them one seventy-year-old as well as Anne's wet nurse ("nourrisse") who brought along two small children who apparently proved a considerable hindrance ("qui donnent moult d'empechement") during the voyage. Overall, the comparatively large ship chartered by the Savoyards in Venice for the journey carried over sixty people back to the mainland, many more than the number of passengers for which it was intended. In addition, a small group of males (including His Excellency, the bishop of Famagusta) were travelling on a second, much smaller vessel supplied by King John, which apparently was so uncomfortable that it was not deemed suitable for any ladies to travel on. All this suggests acute problems including severe financial shortages at the Lusignan court. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 21–22.

Jean Hanelle fits very well the profile of the northern-trained scribe-in-charge, who must have provided the exemplars and overseen production of the manuscript. He must have had a well-trained hand as a calligrapher; this is suggested by his appointment to the *scribendaria* at Nicosia cathedral in 1428. With his long-term experience as chapel master of the King of Cyprus, he would have been excellently qualified to help establish a chapel and/or set up an endowment of a kind that could make use of a luxury object such as Turin J.II.9 as well as its royal music. He evidently had the entire Lusignan court repertory with him, or at least a significant portion of it, presumably offering to make it available to any patron who desired it besides being able to produce new music or, for that matter, update older repertory, and take care of the day-to-day tasks of a chapel master. Given the Francophile tastes of the Malatesta and the Visconti on which Pietro Avogadro's were honed, this might have seemed quite an appealing package.

The recent suggestion of the unexpectedly late date of Matteo da Perugia's ballade *Pres du soloil deduissant sesbanoye* may help explain the continued appeal of the purportedly "out-dated" Cyprus repertoire in the mid-1430s. *Pres du soloil* was copied as a palimpsest on fol. 16r of the older layer of I-MOe α.M.5.24.[73] This method of copying implies that the piece was intended to replace another one already copied into the collection. That song first had to be painstakingly removed—a considerable inconvenience that suggests that a great deal of importance was given to having the new piece copied precisely where it is found now. If the revised date of 1426 or later is correct, it follows not only that the great "ars subtilior" master Matteo was still alive and well (and composing!) in the mid- to late 1420s, perhaps beyond, but also that he was probably working at the court of Filippo Maria Visconti at that later stage of his career.[74] Even more importantly, it means that new music with French texts and cast in the "old-fashioned," highly complex mensural style that we have come to know as "ars subtilior" was still being created, and certainly savored, at the Visconti court well into the 1420s, possibly longer. We should therefore include Filippo Maria (who died in 1447) and not just his father Gian Galeazzo among the known, indeed the foremost patrons of music in "ars subtilior" style. The circle of potential patrons might also need to be extended to include his wife Mary of Savoy, a sister of Louis of Savoy and therefore sister-in-law of Anne of Lusignan, whom Filippo Maria married in 1427, as well as other nobles or clergy of sufficiently high standing in the Visconti orbit during the 1420s and 1430s.

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[73] For this discovery and what follows, see Stone in *Manuscript Modena Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24*, 102–7.

[74] First found in archival records in the early 1400s, Matteo may have been born during the 1370s, which would put continued activity into the 1420s, even 1430s well within reach of a normal life span. For an up-to-date sketch of Matteo's career, see ibid., 66–69.

A similar case for the continued interest in and even commissioning of new works in the purportedly "outdated" style of the "ars subtilior" during the 1420s can be made for the Malatesta brothers Carlo, ruler of Rimini and Pesaro (d. 1429), and Pandolfo III, the former ruler of Brescia (d. 1427).[75] Du Fay's ballade *Resvellies vous*, composed in 1423 for the wedding of Carlo to the niece of Pope Martin V, Vittoria Colonna, has for quite some time now been heralded as a late (perhaps the latest) piece of "ars subtilior" together with Hugo de Lantins's *Je suy exent* and the compositions of Ugolino of Orvieto.[76] Du Fay's *Mon chier amy* (1427) further stretches the chronological boundaries, as does Malbecque's *Quant de la belle*.[77] In addition, there is now solid evidence that two of the most iconic "ars subtilior" songs, Cordier's *Belle bonne sage* and *Tout par compas*, were composed much later than previously assumed, namely during the 1420s.[78] The recent discussion of repertorial overlaps between the early layer of the Veneto song book GB-Ob 213 (dated in the 1430s) and the repertoire of codex Chantilly pushes the chronological boundaries of the cultivation of "ars subtilior," if not the composition of new works, well into the 1430s, alongside other styles which had emerged in the meantime.[79] The copying of codex J.II.9 as late as the 1430s can therefore no longer be considered eccentric; quite the contrary, it fits exceedingly well and, indeed, reinforces the recent adjustments to the established chronology of "ars subtilior" cultivation and reception in northern Italy.

Recent research on manuscript I-Bc Q15 additionally revealed that interest in "northern" music was pervasive among Italian humanists, in stark contrast to what was taken for granted so far. This makes the copying of a major source of French-style music in northern Italy in the 1420–30s even more plausible, even if it was cast in a somewhat older style than that of the most recent musical developments—and this not despite, but rather precisely *because* of the existence of humanist circles.[80]

The "smoking gun" adduced by Margaret Bent to establish her dating of the second copying phase of I-Bc Q15 in the years around 1433 is a work by Beltrame Ferragut. Ferragut was Matteo da Perugia's successor as master of music at Milan cathedral beginning in 1425. He entered the service of

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[75] For what follows, see Plumley and Stone, "Cordier's Picture-Songs."

[76] See Fallows, "End of the *Ars Subtilior*"; and Atlas, "Gematria."

[77] On *Mon chier amy*, see Atlas, "Dufay's *Mon chier amy*." The composer is currently thought to have been born ca. 1400 and is first documented at the papal court in 1431, although there is the possibility that there may be two Malbecques so that *Quant de la belle* could be a work of the older Malbecque and therefore composed significantly earlier. On the Malbecque "problem," see Fallows in *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, 55.

[78] This suspicion was first voiced by Bent, "Early Use," 223n2.

[79] Plumley and Stone, "Cordier's Picture Songs," 304–10.

[80] Bent in *Bologna Q 15*, 1–4. On humanist trends in Brescia during the early Quattrocento see Atlas, "Pandolfo III Malatesta," 43–44 (including further references). We may now add to this Avogadro patronage of Antonio Cornazzano as well as the presumptive author of the Avogadro epitaph (Appendix A), Giovanni Michele Alberto Carrara (1438–1490).

Niccolò d'Este in Ferrara in 1430, and may well have been responsible for the transfer of I-MOe α.M.5.24 from Milan to the Este capital, thereby throwing into relief Ferrara's role as yet another center that ought to be taken into account when tracing the later history of "ars subtilior" as well as possible cultural exchanges between the cities of the Republic of Venice, the Visconti territories, and the papal states.[81] Every single one of the three peace treaties concluded in 1426, 1428, and 1433 between Milan and Venice with regard to the conquest of Brescia and its consequences was concluded at Ferrara. Niccolò d'Este was one of the most seasoned diplomats of northern Italy of his time, and while no proof in the form of textual allusions or archival documents has yet materialized, we certainly should allow for music, including sophisticated mensural polyphony, having played a significant role at the periphery of such diplomatic encounters. No doubt a Brescian delegation, quite possibly including members of the Avogadro family, would have been present during the peace negotiations.[82]

Both Pandolfo III Malatesta and Niccolò d'Este had undertaken pilgrimages to the Holy Land in their younger years. While Pandolfo's voyage may or may not have led him to the court of Cyprus, Niccolò demonstrably took advantage of his trip to visit the Lusignan king, leaving us an extensive report of the splendors of Janus's court, albeit—unluckily for us—not a word on such trifles as music.[83] If the marquis was not much interested in music at that time in his life, or at least music of the kind that might leave traces in the form of a manuscript, that may have changed drastically with his third marriage (1429) to Rizzarda of Saluzzo; Niccolò's third and last wife came from a Francophile court in the Piedmont region of northwestern Italy at the apogee of its splendor under the peaceful rule of her brother, marquis Lodovico I (r. 1416–75). The timely arrival of Ferragut at the Este court within a year (1430) of her marriage to Niccolò is, to say the least, suggestive; the years after 1429 certainly witnessed a renewed wave of cultural Francophilia at Niccolò's court as well as his accepting French suzerainty.[84] At any rate, the diplomatic contacts between Ferrara, Milan, Saluzzo, Venice, and Brescia may also have played a role in stimulating Avogadro interest in the music from the royal court of the (Bourbon-)Lusignan and their chapel master.

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[81] Besides Ferragut, Ugolino of Orvieto, who also seems to have cultivated a particularly strong interest in the "outdated" "ars subtilior" style, resided at Ferrara from the 1430s onwards. He was archpriest of the cathedral from 1431 to 1448. See Fallows and Blackburn, "Ugolino of Orvieto," in *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40462 (accessed 12 July 2011).

[82] Niccolò III d'Este probably deserves another close look by musicologists at any rate. Born in 1383, he came to rule over the Este territories as early as 1393 following the death of his father, Alberto d'Este, and stayed in power for almost fifty years. He married Gigliola da Carrara, a daughter of Francesco II da Carrara, in 1397 (d. 1416), followed by Parisina Malatesta, daughter of Andrea Malatesta da Cesena, in 1418 (having her executed for adultery allegedly committed with one of Niccolò's illegitimate sons in 1425), and finally Rizzarda of Saluzzo, daughter of Tommaso III of Saluzzo, in 1429. He died in 1441. His marriage alliances alone suffice to show that Niccolò was intimately connected with the ruling elites of Venice, Padua, and Romagna, and indirectly (via Saluzzo) with Savoy and France as well. A mostly adversarial relationship connected him with the Visconti of Milan, but such political enmity by no means excluded cultural exchanges, as illustrated by the case of Ferragut. The great prestige he enjoyed is further highlighted by the choice of his capital city as the location of the Church Council of Ferrara (1438–39) by Eugenius IV (an outbreak of the plague in 1439 led to the premature removal of the Council to Florence, however). For the most comprehensive musicological study of Niccolò's rule so far, see Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, in particular 7–85. Du Fay's song *C'est bien raison de devoir essaucier* is dedicated to Niccolò and was probably written in either 1433 or 1437.

[83] Niccolò III d'Este's trip took place from April to July 1412 (hence, in the immediate aftermath of the arrival of Charlotte of Bourbon and her musicians at the court, including Gilet Velut and Jean Hanelle!) and is well documented through a report written by his chancellor, Luchino dal Campo. The report goes on at length about the skills of a Turkish acrobat, and

The latest research on the "ars subtilior" source *par excellence*, manuscript F-CH 564, decisively reinforces the notion that French-style music in the extremely complex idiom which first developed in French princely circles of the late fourteenth century and that we now call "ars subtilior" was not only eagerly adopted but flourished in northern and central Italy through the first third of the Quattrocento, shifting the epicenter of "ars subtilior" cultivation in the fifteenth century to that region and away from France. In Florence, "ars subtilior" reception extended well into the second third of the Quattrocento, although by then interest in a book such as F-CH 564 may have been fostered more by its antiquarian qualities and the social prestige conveyed by it than by any active musical practice.[85] There is as of yet no consensus on the precise geographical origins and copying dates of the old layer of F-CH 564 nor of the Cordier and index bifolios that now precede it, but there is agreement that all of the primary layer (and probably the later layers of the manuscript, too, the occasional presence of northern hands notwithstanding) originated in Italy—copied either in a place "somewhere between the Veneto and Lombardy" or

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further focuses on the quality of the armaments Janus owned, various sports events and competitions, a luxurious bathing place, and the splendor of the royal gardens. Queen Charlotte of Bourbon is mentioned in passing only, and there is no mention at all of music for entertainment or for the liturgy, nor of the chapel, raising interesting new questions about the role played specifically by the household of the Paris-socialized Queen in the production and consumption of French-style music and court culture as opposed to her apparently somewhat rusticated husband, Janus, who grew up in Genoa, never visited France, and may in fact (at least at the time) have been much more at ease with Italian culture than with the esoteric tastes and habits of his new wife. On Charlotte's sophisticated sociocultural background, see Schwindt, "Musikalischer Mai." For an edition of Niccolò's travelogue, see Ghinassi, "Viaggio a Gerusalemme." The sections concerning Cyprus are republished by Grivaud in *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, vol. 1, *Voyageurs occidentaux à Chypre au XVème siècle*, 41–49. Pandolfo III's trip took place in 1399 and is alluded to in the ballade *Ore Pandulfum modulare dulci*, preserved on fol. 33r of I-MOe α.M.5.24.

[84] Niccolò's ties with France go back to as early as 1414, however, when he visited the French royal court. See Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*.

[85] Codex F-CH 564 was given as a gift to the daughters of the upwardly mobile Florentine banker, Tommaso Spinelli, on 18 July 1461, as witnessed by an inscription on the manuscript's title page. See Plumley and Stone in Introduction to *Codex Chantilly*, 110, 126, 173–78.

in the orbit of the papal chapel of the Pisan obedience, i.e., Pisa, Bologna, Rome, or Florence.[86] Plumley and Stone give a *terminus ante quem non* for the copying of the older layer of the manuscript of 1408–9. The manuscript later made its way (back) to Florence (possibly via the papal court of Martin V in Rome).[87] In Florence, a group of "ars subtilior" songs stemmatically linked to the readings of F-CH 564 was copied into the Florentine compilation I-Fn Panciatichi 26 "no later than the early 1430s" (which is considerably later than hitherto accepted).[88] Regardless of where future scholarship will locate the exact time and place of origin of the primary layer of F-CH 564, it can no longer be disputed that music of the "ars subtilior" was not only highly prized in northern and central Italy, but in fact continued to be received and even commissioned and newly composed there throughout the 1420s and 1430s, and in isolated cases perhaps even the 1440s and beyond.[89] What is more, the Po region emerges as the European hot spot for the cultivation of "ars subtilior," especially during its second, early fifteenth-century phase. Brescia, both geographically and culturally, should be counted in this network.[90]

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[86] See Strohm, "Diplomatic Relationships," in particular 239–43; Plumley and Stone in Introduction to *Codex Chantilly*, 179–82 and passim.

[87] To the suggestions of Plumley and Stone, who assume that the manuscript was transmitted among singers or music enthusiasts in the orbit of the papal court of Martin V until it was acquired by Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti in Rome, I should like to add Eugenius IV (r. 1431–47) as yet another prince of the Church in whose orbit the manuscript might plausibly have originated and eventually come into the possession of its earliest known (Florentine) owner. Eugenius IV's court resided in Florence continuously from 1434–43 (excluding an episode in Ferrara, 1438–39), while Martin V's was resident in Rome from 1420 until Martin's death in 1431. Given the prevalence of northerners in the chapels of both popes, the intervention of a northerner to prepare parts of the index and provide some additional ascriptions to the older layer of F-CH 564 could easily be as late as 1434 or slightly thereafter. What is particularly intriguing is that Plumley and Stone report that the marginal drawings of fols. 25 and 37 were most likely produced in Padua or the Veneto: Eugenius IV (Gabriele Condulmer) was related through his mother to his uncle Angelo Correr, the last pope of the Roman obedience under the name of Gregory XII, and Gregory XII made the future Eugenius IV a cardinal as early as 1408. Strohm, in "Diplomatic Relationships," argues that the fragments assembled under the name *Cividale A* in which Strohm recognizes scribal correspondences with F-CH 564 were copied for Gregory XII's chapel. The format of the two manuscripts is strikingly similar (F-CH 564: 387 by 285 millimetres; *Cividale A*: at least 380 x 265 millimetres). This would easily allow for a scenario where F-CH 564 might have originated in the orbit of Gabriele Condulmer while he was cardinal, reaching Florence with his entourage during one of his sojourns there. Stoessel, "Fifteenth-Century Response," favors Florentine provenance and conjectures a copying date between 1400 and 1415. Since the only time cardinal Condulmer spent significant amounts of time in Florence before 1434 was the approximately one and a half years the *curia* of Martin V spent in Florence in 1419–20 on the Pope's way from Constance to Rome, perhaps this period should be considered the most suitable time window when the old corpus of F-CH 564 might have been copied. Alternatively, other Tuscan cities such as Lucca, where Gregory XII stayed 1408 and where Condulmer was elevated to the cardinalate, would also need to be taken into account.

[88] Plumley and Stone in *Codex Chantilly*, Introduction: 165–73. The chronological boundary proposed by Plumley and Stone should, however, be considered a soft one and can probably be extended a few years further, into at least the second half of the 1430s. Being based exclusively on notational grounds, it unfortunately relies on the treacherous assumption of a homogeneous notational idiom that fails to allow for the simultaneous existence of several notational dialects at a given time and place. Even if we accept that, by the 1440s, certainly the 1450s, black notation was no longer widely used, the 1430s are precisely the decade where the two notational dialects might have most easily coexisted. For black and red notation copied as late as the second half of the fifteenth century, see Fallows, "End of the Ars Subtilior," 25–26; and Bent, "Pietro Emiliani's Chaplain."

We should also not rule out the production of new music, or possible revisions of older, preexisting Lusignan court repertoire in the immediate chronological vicinity of the copying of manuscript J.II.9.[91] Even if this meant updating or creating new pieces in a consciously retrospective cast, it would have been precisely the time-honored quality of the "ars subtilior" style combined with the select aura conveyed by its social pedigree that would have made such pieces attractive and, indeed, coveted—perhaps especially so among relative newcomers to the apex of the social pyramid.[92]

Based on what we know at present of Jean Hanelle's biography, copying of the manuscript could have taken place between autumn 1434 and autumn 1436, a hypothesis that comfortably fits with the lull of 1433–37 in the hostilities with Milan and the hypothesized abandoning of the proposed foundation project. Of course, an earlier presence of Hanelle or of another singer with suitable access to the Lusignan repertoire cannot be ruled out; however, the transition of Brescia into Venetian hands in 1426—the catalyst for the social and material preeminence of the Avogadro—would seem to provide a suitable *terminus ante quem non*. Hanelle would most probably have prepared the codex in Brescia using Brescian, or at least regional, auxiliary text scribes and illuminators. Being the likely composer of at least some, perhaps many or even all of the compositions preserved in J.II.9 including the two Offices, many of the pieces in the codex would indeed survive in full or partial composer's autograph—a most unusual phenomenon for the period concerned, that can, however, now be argued with more confidence than ever.[93]

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[89] For the latter, see Fallows, "End of the Ars Subtilior," 26–36. Fallows presents a group of pieces by the English composer John Bedyngham transmitted in the English source London, British Library R.M. 24.d.2 (copied "just before 1600"!) including a ballade-like textless setting *Vide domine* which he finds directly comparable in style with the ballades from codex J.II.9 and which he dates as late as the 1440s ("no later than 1450"). He also mentions an even later "ars subtilior"–inspired mid-fifteenth century piece composed by John Hothby. Fallows concludes that both Bedyngham and Hothby must have consciously shaped their pieces on "ars subtilior" models, possibly—at least in the case of Hothby—under the influence of Ugolino. As the evidence placing Bedyngham in Italy is weak by Fallows's own admission, *Vide domine* may in fact be a vestige of an independent English branch of (late) "ars subtilior" cultivation flourishing in parallel to the Italian one as late as the mid-fifteenth century.

[90] In this regard, see also the remarks on Antonio da Cividale in Nádas and Ziino, "Two Newly Discovered Leaves," 9–10. The second source of Antonio's *Je sui si las venus pour tant attendre* mentioned on 10n16 is, however, not manuscript J.II.9, but I-Tn T.III.2 (the so-called Boverio codex), fol. 7v.

[91] A codicologically demonstrable case of such a revision is found in the addition of a contratenor to the three-voice Gloria setting on fols. 29v–30r. There are, however, no reasons *a priori* to exclude further revisions of preexisting pieces deemed in need of reworking to fit the requirements of the Avogadro codex, nor—for that matter—the new composition of certain works specifically for the codex. Such a hypothesis might help account for the Italianate features in the motets observed by Bent, "Some Aspects of the Motets." For evidence of an attempted textual revision, see the French-texted motet on fol. 95v.

[92] See also Strohm, "Diplomatic Relationships," 241.

Such a scenario would also neatly account for the absence of any attributions, or, for that matter, concordances. A key motive for compiling the manuscript would have been precisely the preservation of the esoteric and exclusive quality of the royal repertoire from (Bourbon-)Cyprus-and-Jerusalem; therefore, it would not have been sensible, but indeed counterproductive, to dilute it with pieces by other (external) composers. The evidence of I-Bu 2216 and of the other Veneto sources from the early fifteenth-century network overwhelmingly suggests that this could easily have been done, had that been the wish of the Avogadro. Acknowledging individual authorship through attributions in the codex would hardly have been necessary under the circumstances, especially if the plan was to hire Hanelle as chapel master as well. The collectors responsible for the other early Quattrocento manuscripts who gathered music ravenously and over a protracted period of time generated a kind of personal library that often reflected idiosyncratic tastes. By contrast, codex J.II.9 and its music were intended as one element in a complex cultural, economic, and politico-religious *mise-en-scène* where financial largesse together with the exclusivity of the book's appearance and contents would have reflected the fame of the donor, highlighting and, indeed, helping to generate his elite status. Against this background, the acquisition, physical ownership, and exclusive use of two singular Offices and of an esoteric "ars subtilior" repertoire derived directly from the royal house of (Bourbon-)Cyprus and Jerusalem would have been a crucial step for the Avogadro to perform symbolically and ritually their quasi-royal or at least princely aspirations. The codex as an object of considerable financial value, of sumptuous beauty, of exquisite and therefore socially highly restrictive workmanship palpable in its physical presence, along with the unfamiliar sounds of its chant melodies, cryptic yet elegant Latin and French poetry interspersed with Greek vocables—all set in the most prestigious of musical genres—would have enshrined the singular status of Brescia as a most holy city and of the Avogadro as Brescia's first family. Through the ongoing cultural rituals surrounding it, it turned Pietro Avogadro into the secret patriarch of a subalpine effigy of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Paris combined.

In closing, there is one more wrinkle in Hanelle's *vita* to be discussed: The papal documents regarding his appointment to the *scribendaria* at Nicosia cathedral call him a "clericus coniugatus," meaning that he either lived with a concubine or had contracted marriage by 1428. Given the pious nature of the intended Avogadro foundation (and certainly of codex J.II.9) and the fierce Reformist climate of the mid-1430s, such evidence of irregularity may offer yet another possible reason why the project associated with the copying of codex J.II.9 fell through. Hanelle might have suddenly become morally unacceptable or at least unappointable on grounds of canonic Law, even more so should he previously have concealed the matter from his patrons. Under such a scenario, the planned endowment might have turned into a potential scandal, certainly with zealots like Bernardino in the offing and Hanelle around (keeping the repertory might have been another matter entirely). Hanelle might have had to leave town rapidly and in disgrace, and he may have been given the almost finished codex—now useless to the Avogadro—in compensation.

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[93] These findings refine and supersede my earlier speculations on this matter in "Repertory of Torino J.II.9."

In the years around 1435, Hanelle probably spent some time in Milan, or at least a place where the Ambrosian rite was used, either before or after the Brescian episode. The Mass cycle added by a secondary, presumably Savoyard hand on the blank folios fols. 139v–141v of the manuscript does not include an Agnus Dei; however, as stated earlier, there is no reason to assume on codicological grounds that it is incomplete. The most logical explanation for the anomaly, then, is quite simply to posit that the added cycle was conceived for an institution, patron, or patroness that used the Ambrosian rite, as the Ambrosian Mass liturgy eschews the Agnus Dei. The second wife of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti provides a suitable connection: Mary of Savoy, who had married the Duke in 1428, was one of the daughters of Amadeus VIII, and, since 1434, the sister-in-law of Anne of Lusignan. It seems plausible to assume that the cycle might have been written with her (or at least with Milan) in mind, most likely sometime in the mid to late 1430s. It subsequently would have been entered into the codex by a Savoyard admirer or disciple of Hanelle's—if indeed Hanelle is its composer. But he certainly is by far the strongest candidate so far, given the unusual qualities of the cycle and the known set of players and circumstances involved. Perhaps, the Mass cycle was something of a *Probestück* by our chapel master–composer seeking new employment, now trying his hand at the new stylistic device of a cantus-firmus Mass, further extending the trend towards unification evident in his earlier Gloria-Credo pairs. Such a scenario might explain the unusual mixture of cantus-firmus technique with somewhat old-fashioned and repetitive part-writing that critics have long noted.[94]

The need to protect the opening folio of the unbound source during transport or to provide, as it were, a certificate of authenticity for the codex seem reasonable grounds for the copying of the added flyleaf, cut in a shape precisely large enough to cover the writing block including the precious miniature of St. Hilarion on fol. 1r. Access to the text of the bull might have been provided via the papal chancery, or (more likely) via a copy held by Hanelle himself (after all he may have been involved in producing the melodies of Fascicle I, too, the texts of which are specified in the papal document).[95]

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[94] See Burstyn, "Compositional Technique."

Based on what we know about Hanelle, the Avogadro, and Brescia, all this could easily have happened between late summer 1434 and autumn 1436. Once back at Savoy (1436), Hanelle might have counted on being able to offer (or unload) the orphaned manuscript to one of several potential patrons who might have considered acquiring it: the retired Duke, Amadeus VIII; the new regent, Louis, Prince of Piedmont; his wife, Anne of Lusignan; or her uncle, cardinal Hugh of Lusignan. From 1434 to 1439, the aging Amadeus VIII, one of the foremost bibliophiles of his age, lived as a pious hermit at Ripaille castle outside Thonon on the south shore of Lake Geneva, accompanied only by six knights of his newly founded Order of St. Maurice. Louis, meanwhile, was in charge of the day-to-day business of governing. The record mentioned above of a purchase of an otherwise unidentified book for eighteen ducats among a list of other luxury items, appearing together with the gift of six ducats to Hanelle in the course of the summer of 1436 at Thonon, is certainly suggestive given the circumstances. Might the book purchased by the courtier Richart de Colombier on behalf of the prince have been the "Avogadro codex"? It is impossible to say. But it certainly cannot be ruled out.[96]

If northern Italy was a central place for the cultivation of "ars subtilior" in the early fifteenth century, what does this mean for our notion of "Italian" fifteenth-century music? Clearly, fifteenth-century musical identities and preferences were much more multifaceted than until recently imagined, giving patrons a distinct choice between a range of styles and registers even within the relatively narrow and highly circumscribed field of sophisticated mensural polyphony, at least in northern and central Italy. If the same patrons and milieus could enjoy and support the "humanist" reconstruction and reappropriation of texts from the pagan past alongside music in the highly complex style of the "ars subtilior" together with its intricate poetry, the common denominator for such cultural practices can (and should) no longer be captured in an unconsciously essentializing search for "Renaissance" and "italianità" vs. "French," "medieval," and "Scholasticism." It might be more productive to resituate experiencing—and collecting—sophisticated mensural music in a cosmos of refined aesthetic pleasures associated with the knowledge about and the appreciation of the beauty of highly, even extremely convoluted but rationally built structures. These might be obscure ancient texts, complex modern poetry in both the Classical languages and the vernaculars, or the hermetic deep structures and glittering surface layers of contemporaneous musical notations, all accessible to the educated elites of the time both visually in the form of beautifully designed and calligraphed manuscripts, and aurally through the experience of music performed by highly prized specialists typically brought in from northern France and the Low Countries.

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[95] ASV, Registra Lateranensia 172, fols. 134r–138r. See Kügle, "Some Notes on the Structure of the Manuscript," 26n7.

[96] To illustrate the level of book collecting at Savoy during the early to mid-fifteenth century, see the list of books owned by members of the house of Savoy, in Bagliani, *Les manuscrits enluminés*, 219–21, and the essays in the same collection by Edmunds, "Jean Bapteur"; Mongiano, "Le missel de Félix V"; Gardet, "Un livre d'heures"; Bertelli, "Bibliophilie savoyarde"; as well as Savoie, "Portrait de trois princesses de Savoie (XVe–XVIe siècle)," 81–84; and the plates drawn from the *Heures du Duc Louis* (F-Pn lat. 9473), produced for Anne's husband, Louis of Savoy (Plates XXXVII–XLIII).

Beyond aesthetics, the purpose and consequence of collecting and owning books (including music books) and other luxury objects, or of allowing oneself the luxury of maintaining an ensemble of specialized singers large and skilled enough to perform mensural music at one's beck and call, lies in the production of social status through the spectacular accumulation and consumption of cultural capital in the form of ritualized practices, be they of a religious, political, intellectual, rhetorical, poetic, visual, or other performative kind (inasmuch as these categories are not simply aspects of a single field of meaning). As the Avogadro's appropriation of the music from the royal court of Nicosia in the form of an imposing and luxuriously produced volume reveals, the desire to acquire and use such cultural technologies was not primarily a matter of place but first and foremost a question of status. Nor was it limited to music. Yet both as sounding reality in the context of a liturgical or courtly celebration and reified in the form of a beautifully crafted book, the music of the Lusignan court and its visual representation in codex J.II.9, independently and jointly, conveyed and still convey an aura of piety, power, luxury, and glamour—an aura its patrons and owners, makers and performers, viewers and listeners alike desired and savored.

Appendix A Epitaph for Pietro Avogadro (I-BGc C.F.1.7, fol. 128v)

This epitaph was first mentioned in Zancani, "Un recupero," 157–58, but without giving the full text, which is published below for the first time. Zancani ascribed the poem to Giovanni Michele Alberto Carrara (1438–1490), a physician and humanist active in Bergamo and, from ca. 1468–79, in Brescia. For further information on Carrara, see the entry by Gustav Ineichen in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. I have retained the original spellings and punctuation throughout. Abbreviations were resolved and are given in italics.

Epythaphiu*m* in vir*um* illustrem petru*m* advogaru*m*.
[P]Etrus marmorea jacet advogarius Aula
Patricius Venetum mox q*uoque* factus eques

Servitio erripuit patriam. Justum q*ue* senatu*m*
Imposuit s*u*b quo libera. pulchra nitet.
Brixia cerne patrem. Qui te de faucib*us* Anguis
Erripuit. pro te cuncta pericla ferens
Nam ducis Anguigeri c*on*tempsit castra philippi
Pestis et obsidio victa metus q*ue* fauces.
Brixicole qui pace. opibus gaudetis et Auro
Dicite celicole carmina dya patri.
Hic quo vix Latio memoratior fuerat alter
Clarus erit terris. clarior axe poli.

Appendix B Savoy Documents Relating to Jean Hanelle

The two references below were published in abridged form in Bradley, "Musical Life and Culture at Savoy, 1420–1450," 535. The text below gives the full text. I have retained the original spellings and punctuation wherever possible. Abbreviations were resolved. Emphases are by this author.

1. Turin, Archivio di Stato, Inv. 16, n. 79 [Household of duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy], fol. 473v
[16 August 1434, Thonon] **Libravit dicta die Hannelle cantori regis chippri donato per dominum sibi facto videlicet . . . . . . x ducatos auri ad xx**

2. Turin, Archivio di Stato, Inv. 16, n. 81 [Secundus computus nobilis Bartholomei Chabodi thesaurarii sabaudie de anno miiijcxxxvj (24.9.1435–24.9.1436)], fols. 207v–208r
[17 November 1436, Thonon] Allocantur sibi quos diversis suis propriis manibus A dicto thesaurario Realiter habuit et recepit causa et racionibus in quadam percella papirea contenta et descripta Cuius tenor sequitur et est talis: cy sensuyvent les percelles que monseigneur le prince a baillie et preste au tresorier. Premierement a achete a morge de Jacquet de Caus le fil dor pour soie les trailliez que on a donne a monseigneur—v duc. Item achete a thonon deux ymages. une de notre dame. lautre notre dame qui tient notre seingneur en ses bras quant il fut descendu de la croix—ix ducatos. **Item a Richard de Colombier quil me presta pour donne a Hannelle mestre de chappelle du Roy de chippres—vj ducatos.** Item a roura pour ses percelles—xij ducatos [in margin: solucio percellarum lomards messagerie]. **Item a sieur Richart pour ung livre achete de luy—xviij duc.** Item pour de chouses quon ma apporte et a ma pervue (prinsesa) de chippres—ix duc. Quam cedulam reddit una cum littera domini eidem arniex Domino presidente et magistris computorum domini propter hoc directa cum mandato sine difficultate in presenti computo allocandi. Datum thononij die decima septima novembris anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo sexto sigillo domini sigillata et manu Anthonij bolonierij eius secretarii signata viz. . . . . . . Lvij duc. auri

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Abbreviations

ASV	Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano
B-Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België
F-CH	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
I-Bc	Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica
I-Bu	Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria
I-BGc	Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai
I-BRq	Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana
I-Fl	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
I-Fn	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
I-IVc	Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare
I-MOe	Modena, Biblioteca estense
I-Tn	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
I-TRmp	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, Biblioteca

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Abstract

The origins of codex Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria J.II.9 are contested territory. While there can be little dispute that the repertory, a monumental collection of plainchant, polyphonic Mass settings, motets, and songs, is linked to the (Bourbon-)Lusignan court of Cyprus, this articles argues the north Italian origins of the manuscript. The key to solving the puzzle is the coat of arms prominently displayed on fol. 1r of the codex. Once its Brescian provenance is recognized and the relevant family's cultural, political, and religious history and patronage elucidated, the "Avogadro codex" emerges as part of a complex of "ars subtilior" sources including Chantilly, ModA, and Oxford 213, all now believed to have originated in Lombardy, Veneto, Romagna, perhaps Tuscany, or Rome, and either copied or still in use in the 1420–30s. The symbolic make-up of the manuscript reveals connections not only to the Avogadro but also to the cult of the Holy Cross in Brescia. Historical and paleographic evidence points to the possible involvement of Jean Hanelle, chapel master to the King of Cyprus, in the genesis of the manuscript around 1435. Hanelle may also have been responsible for taking the codex from Brescia to Savoy as early as 1436.

Keywords: Avogadro, Brescia, Savoy, Jean Hanelle, Codex Turin J.II.9