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READING THEORISTS FOR  
RECOVERING 'GHOST' REPERTORIES.  
TINCTORIS, GAFFURIO AND THE NEAPOLITAN CONTEXT \*

In 1478 the Italian theorist Franchino Gaffurio moved to Naples. The two-year stay at the local Aragonese court was essential for his education for he had the opportunity to meet Johannes Tinctoris, who by that time had completed many of his known treatises. It has long been recognized that Tinctoris deeply influenced Gaffurio's thoughts on several controversial topics, such as proportions and mensuration signs, and the mensural treatment of counterpoint.<sup>1</sup>

Echoes, and even literal quotations, of Tinctoris' statements and criticisms resound in Gaffurio's famous *Practica musicae* in four books (Milan, 1496), and – even more strongly – in his two earlier versions of single books of the *Practica* (book 2: *Musices practicabilis libellus*; book 4: *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum*), compiled as independent treatises soon after his departure from Naples, in the early 1480s. Many years

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<sup>1</sup> On this subject see: F. ALBERTO GALLO, *Le traduzioni dal Greco per Franchino Gaffurio*, «*Acta Musicologica*», XXXV, 1963, pp. 172-174; ID., *Citazioni da un trattato di Dufay*, «*Collectanea Historiae Musicae*», IV, 1966, pp. 149-152; ID., Introd. to FRANCHINI GAFURI, *Extractus parvus musice*, Bologna, 1969 («AMIS», 4), pp. 7-9; CLEMENT MILLER, *Gaffurius's Practica Musicae: Origin and Contents*, «*Musica Disciplina*», XXII, 1968, pp. 105-128; ID., *Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions*, «*The Musical Quarterly*», LVI, 1970, pp. 367-388; ID., Francesco Zambecchieri and a Musical Friend, «*Renaissance Quarterly*», XXV, 1972, pp. 426-428; ID., Introd. to FRANCHINUS GAFFURIUS, *Practica musicae*, American Institute of Musicology, 1968 («*Musicological Studies and Documents*» [MSD], 20); ID., Introd. to FRANCHINUS GAFFURIUS, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, A.I.M., 1977 («MSD», 33); ALLAN ATLAS, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985; BONNIE J. BLACKBURN, *A Lost Guide to Tinctoris's Teachings Recovered*, «*Early Music History*», I, 1981, pp. 29-116; EAD., *Did Ockeghem listen to Tinctoris?*, in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XL<sup>e</sup> Colloque international d'études humanistes*, Tours, 3-8 févr. 1997, ed. by Philippe Védrine, Paris, Klincksieck, 1998, pp. 597-640; GIANLUCA D'AGOSTINO, *Per chi scrivevano i teorici? Tinctoris, Gaffurio e la loro visione della polifonia mensurale*, Ph.D. diss., University of Rome "La Sapienza", 2001.

later, his biographer Pantaleone Malegolo reported that, while in Naples, Gaffurio discussed matters of theory with Tinctoris, Bernardus Ycart, Guillielmus Guarnerius, and other «clarissimis musicis».<sup>2</sup> Further evidence of this apprenticeship can be traced in a lost exchange of pedagogical motets with Tinctoris, whose story has been fully investigated by Bonnie Blackburn. And finally, it was at Naples that Gaffurio gave to the press his first major treatise, the *Theoricum opus musicae disciplinae* (Naples, Francesco di Dino, 1480), a work dealing with music speculations rather than practice.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, Tinctoris' criticism and his attempt to reform the mensural system, if unsuccessful in the end,<sup>4</sup> had an impact that went beyond Gaffurio alone, and certainly influenced several other later writers. I am thinking especially of the Renaissance musicians involved with the famous *Correspondence* (Spataro, Del Lago, Aaron, da Legge), but also, for instance, of the compilers of sources such as MSS. Perugia 1013 and Bologna A 71,<sup>5</sup> and a small fraction of the *Cancionero musical de Segovia* (fols. 200-205v),<sup>6</sup> where a particular interest in proportions and

<sup>2</sup> This biography is found at the end of Gaffurio's manuscript copy of his *Liber de harmonia instrumentalis* of 1497 (Ms. Lodi, Biblioteca Comunale, XXVIII A 9, fols. 5-130, revised for the press as *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, Milan, 1514), and then in the printed version of the treatise (Milan, Gottardo Ponzio, 1518). The relevant passage is: «Ibi Philippini Bononi, regii scribae municipis et aequalis sui, hortatu, in musica meditatione exercitatus, tantum praestitit ut iam cum Ioanne Tinctoris, Gulielmo Guarnerii, Bernardo Ycart et compluribus aliis clarissimis musicis acutissime disserere non dubitaret. *Theoricam* tunc subtilissimum opus contexit».

<sup>3</sup> See the facsimile edition: FRANCHINO GAFFURIO, *Theoricum opus musice discipline*, ed. by Cesario Ruini, Lucca, LIM, 1996.

<sup>4</sup> See B. BLACKBURN, *Did Ockeghem* cit. See the severe remarks by Spataro in the letter to Del Lago, Jan. 1529: «io comprendo che la fatica e la spesa seria getata via, perché intra musici et cantori non se osservano li canoni et regolari precepti da la docta antiquità ordinati. V.E. vede bene che a tempi nostri li signi ordinati da li antiqui sono tenuti in poco pretio et existimatione, e che solo ... usano questo signo ♭ e de le proportione solo uxano la sesquialtera» (see *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. by Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward Lowinsky and Clement A. Miller, Oxford, Clarendon, 1991, p. 336) (hereafter *A Correspondence*). And also Gioseffo Zarlino (*Le Istituzioni armoniche*, Venice, 1561, III: 71): «... gli antichi ... davano opera a simili cose, per mostrare di non essere ignoranti di quella Theorica, che da alcuni otiosi Speculatori de quei tempi era stato posta in uso ... Et di ciò fanno fede molti libri composti da diversi autori, che non trattano se non di circoli et semicircoli, puntati et non puntati, interi et tagliati ... nei quali si vedono ... tante altre cose strane, che paiono alle volte libri di uno intricato mercatante ... Et se bene vive ancora honorevolmente il nome di alcuni Musici appresso di noi, non si hanno però acquistato riputatione alcuna con tali chimere, ma con le buone harmonie, et harmoniosi concerti, i quali si odeno nelle loro compositioni».

<sup>5</sup> Description in BLACKBURN, *A Lost Guide* cit.

<sup>6</sup> See HIGINIO ANGLÈS, *Un manuscrit inconnu avec polyphonie du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle conservé à la Cathédrale de Ségovia (Espagne)*, «Acta Musicologica», VIII, 1936, pp. 6-17. The provenance of this source is now much disputed. Reinhard Strohm (*Music in Late Medieval Bruges*,

other features of the mensural system is displayed. Additionally, one may recall some late followers of Tinctoris who flourished on Neapolitan soil, such as Giovantomaso Cimello (ca. 1510-79), whose treatise conventionally called *Della perfettione delle 4 note maggiori* still praises Tinctoris as a valuable authority:<sup>7</sup>

E quel molto Reverendo Giovanni Tintorisi, Cappellano e Maestro di Capella del Re Ferrante d'Aragona Re di Napoli e di Sicilia, a cui ho più creduto ch'a tutti altri autori di Musica, scrisse numerando le note quattro perfette ...

Table 1 shows a list of references to the repertory mentioned by Tinctoris and repeated by Gaffurio and later theorists:

TABLE 1

Theoretical references to the repertory, stemming from Tinctoris

Composers and works	Theoretical citation and his Rationale
1 - G. Dufay <i>Missa de Sancto Anthonio de Padua</i>	> <b>Tinctoris, <i>Proportionale musices</i>:</b> Condemns the sign O3; approves minim equivalence in major and minor prolongation (Gloria, Credo) +
	> <b>Gaffurio, <i>Tractatus practicabilium proportionum</i></b> (i: Credo 'Qui cum patre'; v: Gloria 'Tu solus', Credo 'Et expecto')

Oxford, Clarendon, 1990, pp. 143-144), suggested Naples, in the light of its possible links to Tinctoris. More recently, Joshua Rifkin argued that the music in this fascicle to come «not from Italy but from somewhere much to the north, where, as manuscripts from Ghent and the region of Cambrai remind us, Tinctoris's theoretical writings remained far from unknown»: see JOSHUA RIFKIN, *Busnoys and Italy*, in *Antoine Busnoys. Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. By Paula Higgins, Oxford, Clarendon, 1999, pp. 521-538.

<sup>7</sup> Ms. Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, B 57 (fol. 6v). On Cimello see: DONNA G. CARDAMONE, *The Canzone Villanesca alla napolitana and Related Forms*, 2 vols, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, UMI Research Press, 1981, I, pp. 105-110; GIOVANTOMASO CIMELLO, *The Collected Works: Canzone villanesche al modo napolitano* (1545), ed. by D. G. Cardamone; ID., *Libro primo de canti a quattro voci* (1548), ed. by James Haar, Middleton, A-R Editions, 2001 («Recent Research in the Music of the Renaissance», 126); D. G. CARDAMONE and JAMES HAAR, *Cimello, Giovanthomaso*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, New York, Grove's Dictionaries, 2000 (hereafter NG II), vol. 5, p. 858; J. HAAR, *Lessons in Theory from a Sixteenth-Century Composer*, in ID., *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 149-175, ID., *Giovanthomaso Cimello as Madrigalist*, «Studi Musicali», XXII, 1993, pp. 23-59, then in ID., *The Science and Art* cit., pp. 239-267. Cimello's pedagogical bent, and his direct knowledge of Tinctoris and Gaffurio, is also displayed in the notation of several madrigals from his *Libro primo de canti* (1548).

- Gaffurio, *Practica musicae* (IV.v: 'Tu solus', 'Et expecto')
- Perugia 1013 (fol. 93: 'Qui cum patre'; fols. 96v-97: 'Domine Deus')
- G. Spataro, *Tractato de musica* (1531) (xv-xvi: Gloria 'Tu solus', xxxi: Credo)
- Spataro, letter n° 48 to Aaron, Dec. 1532<sup>8</sup> (Introitus, Gloria: concerning ligatures)
  
- Tinctoris, *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum:*  
Modal type of the piece  
+
- Del Lago, letter n° 71 to G. da Legge, Febr. 1520
- Aaron, *Trattato della natura et cognizione di tutti gli tuoni* (iii)
  
- Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices:*  
Against mensuration signs used as proportions  
+
- Gaffurio, *Musices practicabilis libellus* (viii)
- Gaffurio, *Tractatus pract. proportionum* (iii, iv)
- Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*: Forbidden dissonance
  
- Tinctoris, *Liber imperfectionum notarum:*  
A note perfected or augmented by a dot cannot be imperfected  
+
- Gaffurio, *Musices pract. libellus* (xii)
- del Lago, letter n° 70 to G. da Legge, Feb. 1520<sup>9</sup>
  
- Tinctoris, *Liber imperfectionum notarum:*  
A note perfected or augmented by a dot cannot be imperfected  
+
- Gaffurio, *Musices pract. libellus* (xii)

<sup>8</sup> See *A Correspondence* cit., pp. 574-608.

<sup>9</sup> *A Correspondence* cit., pp. 763-765.

**6 - Ockeghem**  
*L'autre d'antan*

- **del Lago**, letter n° 70 to G. da Legge, Feb. 1520

**7 - A. Busnoys**  
*Missa L'homme armé*

- **Tinctoris, Proportionale musices:**  
 Mistakenly use the sign O3

+

- **Gaffurio, Tractatus pract. proportionum** (iii)
- **Gaffurio, Practica musicae** (IV.iii)

**8 - Busnoys**  
*«Animadvertere» (= Gaude caelstis domina?)*

- **Tinctoris, Proportionale musices:**  
 Condemns major prolation as a augmentation sign, and the sign O2

+

- **Gaffurio, Tractatus pract. proportionum** (iv-v)
- **Gaffurio, Practica musicae** (IV.v)

**9 - Busnoys**  
*Je ne demande*

- **Tinctoris, Proportionale musices:**  
 Redundant coloration with figure 3

+

- **Gaffurio, Tractatus pract. proportionum** (v):  
 («in Sanctus de Missa l'homearmé»)

- **Gaffurio, Practica musicae** (IV.v)

**10 - F. Caron**  
*Helas que pourra devenir*

- **Tinctoris, Liber de arte contrapuncti:**  
 False concords<sup>10</sup>

+

- **Aaron, Trattato** (vi): Polyphonic example of mode 6

**11 - J. Regis**  
*Clangat plebs flores*

- **Tinctoris, Liber de arte contrapuncti:**  
 False concords

+

- **Aaron, Trattato** (vi): Polyphonic example of mode 5

- **Tinctoris, Liber de arte contrapuncti:**  
 Praise of 'varietas'

+

- **Aaron, Trattato** (iv): Polyphonic example of mode 1<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> On this example and the following one see MARGARET BENT, *On False Concords in Late Fifteenth-Century Music*, in *Théorie et analyse musicales, 1450-1650*, ed. by Anne-Emma-nuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn, Louvain-la-Neuve, Brulet, 2001, pp. 89-103.

<sup>11</sup> But here Aaron is mistaken: the piece is in the second mode. The inclusion of *Clangat plebs* in Petrucci's print *Motetti a 5 libro primo* (1508), an anthology devoted to a repertory

## 12 - G. Faugues

*Missa Vinus vina*

## 13 - Eloy d'Amerval

*Missa Dixerunt discipuli*> Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices*:

+

- > Gaffurio, *Tractatus pract. proportionum*: (v): «Vinus-na-num»
- > Tinctoris, *Liber contrapuncti* (III.viii): Praise of 'varietas'

> Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices*:

Correct use of rests as indicative of 'modus'

+

- > Gaffurio, *Musices pract. libellus* (vii)
- > del Lago, letter n° 63 to Aaron, Aug. 1539
- > Aaron, answer to del Lago, letter n° 64, Oct. 1539<sup>12</sup>
- > G. da Legge, letter n° 75 to del Lago, Dec. 1523<sup>13</sup>

Of course, not all of the theorists were influenced by Tinctoris to the same degree. Some of them repeated his remarks about the pieces and even his wordings, as did Gaffurio and Giovanni del Lago for pieces 4 and 5 in Table 1. Here Tinctoris had criticized Domarto and Barbingant in his *Liber de imperfectione notarum* as examples of infraction of the rule that a note perfected or augmented by a dot cannot be imperfected. Gaffurio echoes this remark in his *Musices practicabilis libellus*, simply by replacing the music examples with a precise verbal description of them. Years later, the same question will be resumed by Del Lago, who will not hesitate to employ the same old examples:

Tinctoris, *Liber de imperfectione notarum* (I, "Duodecima regula generalis"):

Nota vero cui punctus perfectionis vel augmentationis apponitur numquam imperfectetur. Et ratio est: Perfectio et imperfectio contraria sunt... additio et abstractio sint contraria... impossibile est unam et eandem notam augmentari simul et imperfecti... Forte dicent aliqui: Tinctoris nimium praesumit asserendo notam augmentatam imperfecti non posse, quom de **Domarto in tenore Patrem**

considerably later, may be due to the reputation it enjoyed among the theorists, starting just from Tinctoris' praise.

<sup>12</sup> See *A Correspondence* cit., pp. 712-725.

<sup>13</sup> *A Correspondence* cit., pp. 791-792.

**quinti toni irregularis, et Barbincant in tenore cantilenae Lomme bany contrarium fecerint ... [mus. ex.] Quibus respondeo licet Busnoys aliquique complures illos imitati fuerint ...**

Gaffurio, *Musices practicabilis libellus* (12, “De puncto”):

Insper est notandum quod notula cui punctus perfectionis fuerit appositus numquam potest imperfici ... quia perfectio et imperfectio sunt contraria et contraria apud philosophum ... non possunt simul stare in eodem subiecto. Licet **Domarto in tenore Patrem quinti toni irregularis, et Barbincant in tenore cantilenae Lommebani**: nam longam in modo minori perfecto punto perfectionis punctatam ab una semibrevi a parte post imperficiunt. Quos Busnoys aliquique complures imitati sunt ...

Del Lago’s letter:

Io [!] ho trovato che **Domarto**, compositore antico, in una sua **Gloria [!] del quinto tuono irregolare** nel tenore à segnato il punto appresso la lunga posta nel tempo perfetto, il quale lo fa imperfetto dalla semibreve immediate seguente. **Et Barbincant**, nel tenore d’una sua canzone **L’omme bani**, ha posto similmente il punto appresso la lunga nel modo perfetto, il qual punto da loro è stato considerato come simile in virtù et essentia alla nota breve, la qual cosa è falsissima ...

Other early-sixteenth-century theorists, however, began to approach the music examples from other perspectives than their notation. Pietro Aaron, for instance, cites examples 9-10-11, ascribing them to modal categories.<sup>14</sup> Finally, Tinctoris stood for a while as a source of information on the musical past (the «antichi musici» before Josquin, authors of «cantilene antiche») for theorists such as Adrian Petit Coclito, Sebald Heyden, and Pietro Gaetano.<sup>15</sup>

My main concern here, however, is on the specific way the young Gaffurio received and reacted to the citations of Tinctoris, sometimes clarifying them and often adding new pieces. This article will concentrate on the nature and origins of various works Gaffurio cites; it will show

<sup>14</sup> See on this CRISTLE COLLINS JUDD, *Reading Aron Reading Petrucci: The Music Examples of the Trattato della natura et cognizione di tutti gli tuoni* (1525), «Early Music History», XIV, 1995, pp. 121-152, then in EAD., *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

<sup>15</sup> See on this JESSIE ANN OWENS, *Music Historiography and the Definition of “Renaissance”*, «Notes», 2nd Ser., XLVII, 1990, pp. 305-330.

that Gaffurio's quotations give us access to a polyphonic repertory that is wider chronologically and more locally oriented than the ubiquitous Franco-Flemish one cited by Tinctoris.

Let us start with two well-known citations from Tinctoris, which remain problematic. The first is number 8 of Table 1, a motet by Busnoys that the *Proportionale* apparently calls *Animadvertere*:

*Proportionale* (III.iv):

The only composer who disagrees with each of these three points is Busnoys who, having already indicated his hemiolas by the filling in of the notes, then adds the figure 3s under them, as can be seen in this motet of his *Animadvertere* ...<sup>16</sup>

Tinctoris deplores the use of coloration plus the Figure 3 to signal sesquialtera, being, he says, redundant for writers and misleading for singers. No motets survive with such a incipit, but the few notes transcribed in the *Proportionale* led Rob Wegman to identify the piece with the motet *Gaude caelstis domina*, anonymously transmitted in Ms. Capella Sistina 15 (fols. 242v-245).<sup>17</sup> And yet this source gives the passage in coloration without the characteristic Figure 3, that was the target of Tinctoris' criticism. Then there is the question of the title: the verb «animadvertere», meaning 'to animadvert, to notice', is often found in the author's Latin, but in this context can hardly be the title of a work. One must conclude, as Wegman does, that this is a case where: a) either something went wrong in the process of copying from Tinctoris' originals; or b) the composition mentioned by the theorist survives in a form different from what he describes. After all, all the copies of Tinctoris' treatises show several instances of scribal corruptions and discrepancies with the musical sources.

Writing his own treatise on proportions, Gaffurio must have been as puzzled by the citation of Busnoys' motet as we are today. Being unable

<sup>16</sup> The original texts reads: «Ab hiis vero tribus pariter articulis Busnois unicus dissidet, qui suas emyolias etiam per impletionem notarum designatas suppositione istius cyphre 3 iterum et iterum signat, ut patet in isto moteto suo *animadvertere*».

<sup>17</sup> See ROB WEGMAN, *Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Antoine Busnoys*, in *Antoine Busnoys* cit., pp. 175-214 (edition on pp. 205-214); see also ID., *Another Mass by Busnoys?*, «Music and Letters», LXXI, 1990, pp. 4-5. The same section of the Vatican source which transmits *Gaude caelstis* could possibly conceal other pieces by Busnoys (e.g. the motet *O pulcherrima mulierum*).

to identify the piece, he looked for another example of redundant coloration in Busnoys that he could refer to by name: and promptly found one in the *Sanctus* of his famous *Missa l'homme armé*. (See Table 2, Example 1):

TABLE 2

Gaffurio's own citations from the *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum*<sup>18</sup>

Ex. 1. *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum*, fol. 18:

Inde **Tinctoris** contumeliose reprehendit **Busnoys** qui in contratenore acuto sui *Sanctus de Missa l'ome arme* notulis plenis sexualteratis preposuit ziphram ternarij numeri ex qua sexualteram ipsam considerare solet hoc modo: ...

It is interesting here that Gaffurio seems convinced that Tinctoris was really referring to Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé*. Also notable is the strong emphasis of his wordings and expressions (which I have underlined).

Incidentally, this redundant coloration (*minor color* + Figure 3) appears elsewhere in Busnoys' output:<sup>19</sup> most remarkable is its appearance in a four-voice *Magnificat octavi toni* that has been convincingly attributed to him by Richard Taruskin.<sup>20</sup> The relevant passage occurs at the *Cantus* on the words «*Esurientes implevit bonis*» («He filled poors with goods»), where a skilled music mirroring of words – much in the spirit of

<sup>18</sup> Unique source: Ms. Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, A 69: see RISM B, III<sup>6</sup> *The Theory of Music. VI: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500. Addenda, Corrigenda. Descriptive Catalogue* by Christian Meyer *et alii*, München, 2003, pp. 453-455.

<sup>19</sup> Besides the *Missa L'homme armé* (*Sanctus*, measures 29-30, and *Osanna*, measure 14), one may quote: *Victimae paschali laudes* (measures 11, 35), *Regina celi letare I* (measures 41-42), and *Magnificat octavi toni* («*Esurientes*»); as well as other unattributed works which bear some more Busnoys' ‘fingerprints’: see for instance the motet *Incomprehensibilia firme / Praeter rerum* (Ms. Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, 755, fols. 101v-104) on which see ROB WEGMAN, *Another Mass by Busnoys?* cit., and ID., *Mensural Intertextuality*. See also the notes of the recording by The Binchois Consort (dir. A. Kirkman): *A Marriage of England and Burgundy* (Hyperion CDA67129). Charles Hamm (*A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1964, p. 52) noticed that this feature occurs often in English music (Power, Dunstable, Bedyngham) and called it «English figure». It is doubtful whether this is the same as the «error anglorum» criticized by Tinctoris in the *Proportionale musices* (III.ii).

<sup>20</sup> See ANTOINE BUSNOYS, *Collected Works: The Latin-Texted Works*, ed. by Richard Taruskin, 2 vols., New York, The Broude Trust, 1990, Commentary volume, pp. 90-94. Its sources are: Mss. Milan 2269 (fols. 17v-20) and S. Pietro B 80 (fols. 219v-224). See also RICHARD TARUSKIN, *Text and Act. Essays on Music and Performance*, New York-Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 161.

the learned Busnoys – is achieved through the correspondence of the verb «implevit» (to fill in) with the *impletio notarum* (coloration of the notes):

Ex. mus. 1. Busnoys, *Magnificat octavi toni*

The musical score for Example 1 consists of four staves. The top staff is labeled 'D' and has a soprano vocal line. The second staff is labeled 'Ct' and has an alto vocal line. The third staff is labeled 'Tenor' and has a tenor vocal line. The bottom staff is labeled 'Barritonans' and has a basso continuo line. The vocal parts sing the Latin text 'E-suri-en-tes im-ple-vit bo-nis'. The instrumental part (Barritonans) provides harmonic support with sustained notes and rhythmic patterns. The score is in common time, with various clefs (G, F, C) and key signatures.

A more complicated case is Example 12 of Table 1, Faugues' Mass *Vinnus vina*. This is a work that Tinctoris seems again to misspell, calling it shortly «Vinus» or «Unius», in the two occasions he cites it: in the *Proportionale*, where he comments on the simultaneous use of C and ♭, and at the end of the *Liber contrapuncti*, praising it for its variety. Here again neither the title nor the musical passage cited match exactly the version of the Mass as it is transmitted in the only surviving source, Ms. Cappella Sistina 51 (fols. 68v-81), without attribution but written soon after the *Missa La basse danse* by Faugues. Faugues's editor, George Schuetze, rejected the authorship on stylistic grounds; whereas Wegman more recently supported it and suggested that Tinc-

toris was indeed talking about the Vatican Mass, but knew it in a different notational form.<sup>21</sup>

As for Gaffurio, he not only listed Faugues' Mass but cited it with the fuller title, *Vinnus-vina-vinum*. This title, based on a pun, derives from a strophe of a medieval drinking song in the *Carmina burana* (titled: *Meum est propositum in taberna mori*),<sup>22</sup> which enjoyed some popularity in Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Notoriously, Orlando di Lasso wrote a 4-voice setting of the same funny poem beginning

Fertur in conviviis / vinus vina vinum. / Masculinum displicet / atque femininum; / sed in neutro genere / vinum est divinum, / loqui facit clericum / optimum latinum.<sup>23</sup>

This time, however, Gaffurio differs from Tinctoris, who had remarked on Faugues's use of ♫ to indicate dupla proportion, since the Italian criticized the Mass as an example of sesquialtera proportion between major and minor prolation. And yet no signs of major prolation or of sesquialtera on the semibreve level occur in the Vatican copy of *Vinnus vina* either. Hence Wegman suggested that Gaffurio remembered incorrectly Tinctoris's comments on the Mass, without knowing the work well enough. This may be possible, but I do not think it is a question of Faugues's work being too old (or even forgotten) at the time when Gaffurio was writing. As it happens, a look at the whole citation from Gaffurio's *Tractatus proportionum* shows that several other composers are mentioned, all of them older than Faugues. And more important, they are added totally independently from Tinctoris, proving that Gaffurio was a careful reader, eager to show his mastery of those complicated theories through a number of original and appropriate examples.

<sup>21</sup> See GEORGE C. SCHUETZE, *An Introduction to Faugues*, New York, Institute of Medieval Music, 1960, pp. 5-7, and *Collected Works of Faugues*, ed. by G. C. Schuetze, New York, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1953, pp. 47-84; ROB WEGMAN, *Guillaume Faugues and the Anonymous Masses Au Chant de L'Alouete and Vinnus Vina*, «Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis» (hereafter *TVNM*), XLI, 1991, pp. 27-64.

<sup>22</sup> *Carmina Burana*, ed. by O. Schumann und B. Bischoff, I. Band: Text, 3. *Die Trink- und Spielerlieder*, Heidelberg, 1970, pp. 19-21.

<sup>23</sup> Louvain, 1564. See BERNHOLD SCHMID, *Lasso's "Fertur in conviviis": on the history of its text and transmission*, in *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, ed. by Peter Bergquist, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 116-131, and ORLANDO DI LASSO, *The Complete Motets, XVII: Motets from Printed Anthologies and Manuscripts, 1555-1569*, ed. by P. Bergquist, Midleton, A-R Editions, 1999 («RRMR», 115), pp. xix, 71-78.

TABLE 2

Ex. 2. *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum*, fols. 19r-v:

Multi item, ut **Joannes de Quadris** in motetto *Gaudet ecclesia*, et **Bartholomeus de Brolys**, et **Faugus** in *Missa Vinus-na-num*, et **Joannes Fede** in motetto *O Lumen ecclesiae* pro S. Dominico, sexqualteram signant proportionem signo ipso quo maior prolatio consideratur, uidelicet signo temporis perfecti uel imperfecti cum puncto hoc modo  $\odot \text{C}$ , nullam statuentes differentiam inter prolationem et proportionem, quod intollerabile est. Nam sexqualtera proportio tres minimas duabus coequat: prolatio autem maior non, sed tres minimas ... et hoc optime considerauit **Guigielmus dufay** in suo *Et in terra pax* et in *Patrem de Missa S. Antonij* in cantu “Et unam sanctam catholicam”: ubi prolationem maiorem et tempus imperfectum signauit ibi enim tres minimae pro singula semibreui recto ualore et quantitate pronuntiantur. Idemque consideratur recte in quondam “Et in terra pax” de *Missa philippon de bourges*, et **Tinctoris** in quamplurimis compositionibus suis idem ipse constituit ...

The references, albeit lacking music examples, to Bartolomeo Brollo (Veneto, fl. 1420-40) and Johannes de Quadris (Venice, ca. 1410-1456) point to Gaffurio's knowledge of a north Italian repertory similar to that of Ms. Oxford 213 (Veneto, 1428-36).<sup>24</sup> This is the main surviving source for Brollo, with three French and three Latin-Italian songs attributed to him, besides three or four more anonymous pieces that could be his.<sup>25</sup> Gaffurio does not name any specific piece by Brollo, and none of his ascribed works reveals exactly the same notational feature mentioned by the theorist. But his most popular piece, the three-voice rondeau *Entrepris suis par grant lyesse*, appears to be written in major prolation in its two main sources, Ms. Oxford 213 and the much later Ms. Bologna Q16 (possibly from Naples, ca. 1487).<sup>26</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the mensuration of the piece originally owned a proportional meaning.

<sup>24</sup> See DAVID FALLOWS, Intr. to *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Misc. 213*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995 («Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile», 1).

<sup>25</sup> All works edited by Gilbert Reaney in «Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae» (hereafter CMM), 11/5, A.I.M., 1975, pp. 65-83. Ms. Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 90 (fols. 406v-408) attributes a Gloria setting to «Bartholomeus de bruollis venetus», whereas Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., n.a. fr. 4917, and Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., mus. 3224, transmit his song *J'ay grant desir de vostre amour*. The anonymous chanson *Qui est l'amant* (Oxford, fol. 40), written on the page facing *Entrepris suis par grant lyesse*, was also attributed to Brollo by Reaney (ed. CMM 11/4, A.I.M., 1969, p. 54).

<sup>26</sup> On this source see EDWARD PEASE, *A Report on Codex Q16 of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna*, «Musica Disciplina», XX, 1966, pp. 57-94; also SARAH FULLER, *Additional Notes on the 15th-Century Chansonnier Bologna Q16*, «Musica Disciplina», XXIII, 1969, pp. 81-103.

And yet this is precisely how its Tenor was meant in the four-voice Mass *Entrepris suis*, composed on the rondeau model by the Neapolitan-based Vincenet in the early 1470s.<sup>27</sup> Here the Tenor bears the signature O3 in several movements (Kyrie I and III, Et in terra, Et in spiritum), which became an updated way to signal the disused *tempus perfectum cum prolatione perfecta*, where the semibreves are in sesquialtera proportion with those of the other voices written in *tempus perfectum* (O). See the flowing ternary rhythms with syncopations of the beginning:

Ex. mus. 2. Vincenet, *Missa Entrepris*, Kyrie I

Elsewhere in the same Mass (e.g., Patrem), the *prolatio perfecta* of the Tenor is used as a sign of augmentation, a practice that was similarly condemned by Tinctoris and Gaffurio (on which see below). It is tempting to include Vincenet (who died in 1479) among those «clarissimis mu-

<sup>27</sup> Unique source: Ms. Modena, Bibl. Estense, α.M.I.13 (copied under the supervision of Johannes Martini at Ferrara, around 1480). See *The Collected Works of Vincenet*, ed. Bertran E. Davis, Middleton, A-R Editions, 1978 («RRMMAER», 9-10).

sicis» who discussed music theory at the time of Gaffurio's arrival to Naples.

Ms. Oxford 213 also contains (fols. 13v-14) the 4-voice *Magnificat* setting of «Presbyter Johannes de Quadris» (dated 1436), known as one of the earliest and most influential examples of the genre.<sup>28</sup> And yet Gaffurio cites another work by de Quadris, namely the motet *Gaudete ecclesia* for St. Anthony of Padua, which survives without attribution uniquely in Ms. Trent 88 (fols. 15v-17). Here the sign of major prolation C appears in the second part (fols. 16v-17) in all four voices, before a change of mensuration back to O:<sup>29</sup>

Ex. mus. 3. De Quadris, *Gaudete ecclesia*: “*Gracia per hunc*”

<sup>28</sup> Ed. by CHARLES VAN DEN BORREN, *Polypohonia sacra. A Continental Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century*, London, The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1962, pp. 137-145. See also MARGARET BENT, *Pietro Emilian's Chaplain Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi and the Lamentations of Johannes de Quadris in Vicenza*, «Il Saggiatore musicale», II, 1995, pp. 5-16: 12.

<sup>29</sup> See edition by Rudolf von Ficker, in *Sieben Trienter Codices*, Wien, 1933 (repr. Graz, 1960), «Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich», Jg. 40, vol. 76), pp. 72-73. On de Quadris,

Pretty much the same happens in his *Magnificat* setting and in many other works of the period.<sup>30</sup>

To sum up, Gaffurio's references to Brollo and de Quadris are perfectly consistent with the special popularity of their music, which appears to have lasted – quite exceptionally for early-15th-century music – through to the end of the century and beyond: de Quadris' *Lamentationes Jeremie prophete* (ca. 1440), for instance, were printed by Ottaviano Petrucci as late as 1506, and *Entrepris suis* found its way into many 15th century manuscripts.<sup>31</sup>

The last piece mentioned by Gaffurio in this context, Johannes Sohier alias Fedé's<sup>32</sup> 3-voice antiphon setting *O lumen ecclesiae* for St. Dominic, survives uniquely in Ms. Modena, a.X.1.11 (fols. 48v-49), a source compiled for the Este court in Ferrara, before 1448.<sup>33</sup> That this piece is here written in  $\text{C}$  with no signs of major prolation (the only sesquialtera passage is marked with the Figure '3') may be due to the variants in notational details existing from source to source.

Also interesting is Gaffurio's praise of Philippon Basiron (along with Dufay's Mass for St. Anthony of Padua), who now we know to have succeeded Faugues as chaplain in the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges. Here it

see GIULIO CATTIN, *Johannes de Quadris, musicista del secolo XV*, Bologna, 1971; G. CATTIN (ed.), *Johannis de Quadris Opera*, Bologna, 1972; ID., *Uno sconosciuto codice quattrocentesco nell'Archivio Capitolare di Vicenza e le Lamentazioni di Johannes de Quadris*, in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, III, ed. by F. Alberto Gallo, Certaldo, 1970, pp. 281-304; LAURENZ LÜTTEKEN, «*Musici et cantor diu in ecclesia Sancti Marci de Venetiis*. Note biografiche su Johannes de Quadris», *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali*, V-VI, 1989-90, pp. 43-62.

<sup>30</sup> See for instance, Cristoforus de Monte's motet *Plaude decus mundi* for Francesco Foscari doge of Venice in 1423.

<sup>31</sup> See CATTIN, *Uno sconosciuto codice*, p. 302: «È dunque indubbia la straordinaria vitalità di queste musiche [i.e. de Quadris'] ripetutamente trascritte ed eseguite nella liturgia o nelle processioni devozionali del primo Quattrocento fino al Cinquecento inoltrato». On *Entrepris* see also GILBERT REANEY, *The Italian Contribution to the Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213*, in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* cit., III, pp. 451-452. It also appears quoted as «*Interprix*» in a list of fifteenth-century songs found in a Vatican manuscript (Ottob. lat. 251); see FABIO CARBONI and AGOSTINO ZIINO, *Un elenco di composizioni musicali della seconda metà del Quattrocento*, in *Musica Franca. Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, ed. by I. Alm, A. Mclamore, C. Reardon, Stuyvesant, NY, 1996, pp. 425-487.

<sup>32</sup> (1415-77). He was vicar of St. Amé at Douai, a papal singer in 1443-5, then at Ferrara and Mantua 1445-46, again in Rome 1465-66, then at Bourges 1472-74, and finally in Paris 1474.

<sup>33</sup> See CHARLES HAMM and ANNE B. SCOTT, *A Study and Inventory of the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense*, a.X.1.11 (Mod B), «*Musica Disciplina*», XXVI, 1972, pp. 101-143; also LEWIS LOCKWOOD, *La musica a Ferrara nel Rinascimento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1987, pp. 67-80; KANAZAWA MASAKATA, *Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966, I, pp. 159-178 (also edition, II, p. 159). The same source transmits his motet *Magne pater Sancte Dominice* (fol. 52). Four more chansons are attributed to Fedé in several sources: see DAVID FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 691.

seems as if Gaffurio had wanted to update the list of composers made by Tinctoris.<sup>34</sup>

Gaffurio could have known such pieces and their sources even before Naples, in his hometown Lodi, or rather during his first travels to Mantua in 1474-75, or later to Verona, in 1476-77, and Genoa, in 1477-78.<sup>35</sup> At about the same time, he became acquainted with Johannes Godendag or Bonadies, whom he proudly calls in his writings «meus primus magister» and «praeceptor meus».<sup>36</sup> This rather obscure musician is now thought to have introduced Gaffurio to the Englishman John Hothby<sup>37</sup> and the north Italian circle of Carmelite composers represented in Ms. Faenza 117. This source was partly copied by Bonadies himself in 1473-74 around Mantua, Ferrara and Reggio Emilia, and it transmits, besides theoretical writings, vocal pieces by Hothby (9), Ycart (5), Erfordia (5) and Bonadies (1).<sup>38</sup> As can be seen, both places and dates of compilation of Ms. Faenza match the corresponding biographical data of Gaffurio, and it is likely that he knew the source. As proof, Gaffurio cites Hothby's proportional motet *Ora pro nobis* in his *Musices practicabilis libellus* of 1480, criticizing the mensuration signs used to indicate the 'modus'.<sup>39</sup> This remark reflects the influence of Tinctoris, but the men-

<sup>34</sup> Incidentally, Basiron's *Missa L'homme armé* bears the sign of major prolation as augmentation sign in the Credo (Et unam sanctam).

<sup>35</sup> Gaffurio reports that, while in Verona, he taught «publice», and published two treatises called *Musicae institutionis collocutiones* and *Flos musicae*, dedicated to Marquis of Mantua Ludovico III Gonzaga, both lost.

<sup>36</sup> See on this ALESSANDRO CARETTA, LUIGI CREMASCOLI, LUIGI SALAMINA, *Franchino Gaffurio*, Lodi, 1951, pp. 51-52; CLAUDIO GALLICO, *Musica nella ca' Giocosa*, in *Vittorino da Feltre e la sua scuola*, ed. by Nella Giannetto, Florence, Olschki, 1981, pp. 189-198.

<sup>37</sup> Born Oxford? ca. 1430 - d. before 1487: Carmelite friar, theorist and composer, active at Lucca 1467-86. It is likely that Hothby addressed to Bonadies his *Dialogus in arte musice*, on which see JOHANNES HOTHBY, *Tres tractatuli contra Bartolomeum Ramum*, ed. by Albert Seay, A.I.M., 1964 («Corpus Scriptorum de Musica» [CSM], 19); «Hothby, John», in *NG II*, vol. 11, pp. 749-751; A. SEAY, *The Dialogus Johannis Ottobi Anglici in arte musice*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society» (hereafter JAMS), VIII, 1955, pp. 86-100.

<sup>38</sup> On this famous collection see OSCAR MISCHIATI, *Indice descrittivo del manoscritto 117 della Biblioteca Comunale di Faenza*, «L'Organo», XX, 1982, pp. 3-35, and more recently GIULIANO DI BACCO, *De Muri e gli altri. Sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrappunto*, Lucca, LIM, 2001, pp. 87-103; see also RISM B, III<sup>c</sup> *The Theory of Music*. VI, pp. 434-443. A short treatise on proportions by «Jacobus de regio charmelita» (Ms. Faenza, fols. 31v-32) writes proportions as fractions, according to Tinctoris' and Gaffurio's rules.

<sup>39</sup> *Musices practicabilis libellus* (Ms. Cambridge, Mass., Houghton Library 142, fol. 9v): «Hinc errori prefati Othbi patet qui in tenore sui motetti *Ora pro nobis* modum maiorem perfectum, minorem imperfectum et tempus imperfectum hiis signis concludit O22». This remark was echoed by Spataro (letters n° 45, 49 to Aron, 1532, 1533), del Lago (letter to Aaron n° 63, Aug. 1539), and Aaron (answer to del Lago n° 64, Oct. 1539): see Table 1, Ex. 13. The motet *Ora pro nobis* is found in Ms. Faenza 117 (fols. 26v-27), and was edited by ALBERT SEAY (ed.),

tion of Hothby is independent of him, and could well derive from Bonadies. There are two further links between Gaffurio and the Carmelites: 1) according to the above-mentioned Cimello, Gaffurio was choirmaster at the Carmelite church of SS. Annunziata, while in Naples; and 2) a preliminary version of book I of the *Practica musicae*, devoted to plainchant, was copied by a Carmelite friar in Bergamo in 1487.<sup>40</sup>

Let us now look at the following citation (Table 2, Ex. 3), where Gaffurio criticizes Busnoys and Domarto, Bernardus Ycart and Gaspar Weerbeke, plus other unnamed composers, for using the sign of major prolation, instead of fractions or a verbal canon, to indicate augmentation.

TABLE 2

Ex. 3. *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum*, fol. 12v:

Hec enim subdupla proportio nunquam consideratur in cantibus nisi signetur propriis zipheris numeralibus; eius tamen proprietati equipollerent figurae in cantu cum subiacerent huic canoni “Crescit in duplo”, nec aliter posse notulæ ipsae in duplo augeri. Ex quo inexcusabiles errores quamplurimorum reprehendendi sunt: quorum **Busnoys** in *Missa Lome arme*, et **Bernardus Ycart** in *Missa de Amor tu dormi*, et **don Marto** in *Missa spiritus almus*, atque **Gaspar** in *Missa Venusbant*. Alij quoque complures ipsius subduplae proportionis proprietatem sine numeralibus et sine canone constituerunt.

This remark stems from a notorious passage in the *Proportionale* (III.iii) where Tinctoris had blamed Domarto, Busnoys, Ockeghem and lesser composers for the same practice, while praising Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* for the use of the canon «crescit in duplo» to indicate augmentation.<sup>41</sup> However, Ycart is added independently and so is Gaspar van Weerbeke.

*The Musical Works of John Hothby*, A.I.M., 1964 (CMM, 33), pp. 4-7; see also DAVID FALLOWS, *The End of the Ars Subtilior*, «Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis», XX, 1996, pp. 21-40.

<sup>40</sup> See CARETTA-CREMASCOLI-SALAMINA, *Franchino Gaffurio* cit., CLEMENT MILLER, *Gaffurio's Practica musicae*; ANGELO RUSCONI, *Un manoscritto carmelitano di teoria musicale: Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica A. Mai, MAB 21*, «Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra», XX, 1999, pp. 255-299; see also GIULIANO DI BACCO, *De Muris e gli altri*, pp. 41-58.

<sup>41</sup> *Proportionale musices* (III.iii): «Quemquidem de Domarto, si in hoc errore Regis, Caron, Boubert, Faugues, Courbet aliquique plurimi, ut in eorum operibus vidi, sint imitati, non miror, quoniam illos minime litteratos audiverim ... Sed eis fuisse pares in *Missis De plus en plus* et *L'homme armé* Okeghem et Busnoys, quos competenter constat latinitate preditos, non mediocrem pectori nostro admirationem incutit».

Gaffurio himself adopted the canon «crescit in duplo» in several movements of his Masses (e.g., in the Credo of his *Missa De tous biens pleine*, Ms. Milan 2268, fols. 84v-93), as well as in

Although Bernardus Ycart was among the composers Gaffurio had spoken with at Naples, his knowledge of the Spaniard may predate Naples, if, as it seems, before entering the Aragonese court (1476-80), Ycart belonged the same circle of Hothby and Bonadies.<sup>42</sup> Gaffurio cites two now-lost Masses by Ycart based on Italian songs (perhaps, monophonic tunes), while in another reference he merely complains about the notational inaccuracies found in «plurimis cantibus suis». The first Mass, *De amor tu dormi*, is the one cited in the treatise on proportions, but its model is still untraced.<sup>43</sup>

The second, a *Missa Voltate in qua*, is cited in marginal glosses to Gaffurio's earlier writing *Extractus parvus musice*,<sup>44</sup> which defies any secure dating. The title, however, can be confidently identified with *Voltate in qua bella Rosina*, a popular tune used as a bassadanza in a dance treatise of Giovanni Ambrosio da Pesaro (= Guglielmo Ebreo),<sup>45</sup> and then in several *villotte* of the late- 15<sup>th</sup>-century repertory of *frottola*.<sup>46</sup>

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a lost *Missa L'homme armé* of his, as mentioned in his *Apologia... adversus Joannem Spatarium* (Turin, 1520): see *A Correspondence*, p. 818, n. 1. See on this JAMES HAAR, *Palestrina as Histori-cist: The Two 'L'homme armé' Masses*, «Journal of the Royal Musical Association», CXXI, 1996, pp. 191-205: «The use of perfect prolation in the last quarter of the fifteenth century must certainly have been a deliberate bow to the past, perhaps even a slightly precious gesture».

<sup>42</sup> Ycart is witnessed at Naples in 1476-80, and his name figures in a list of «xxxi canturi de la cappella del Signor Re» of October 1480, soon before that of Tinctoris: see ATLAS, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* cit., pp. 77-80, 133-135. Ms. Faenza 117 transmits five out of seven pieces ascribed to Ycart, whereas his presence in Aragonese sources is limited to the one motet *O princeps Pilate* (Ms. Montecassino 871: «Bernardus»). Moreover, the Spaniard is named several times in Hothby's *Dialogus in arte musice* as «tuus Ycart».

<sup>43</sup> DAVID FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, p. 512, suggests a possible identification of this incipit with the Neapolitan *barzelletta* titled *Amor tu non me gabasti* (Mss. Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Pixérécourt, and Literary sources), but the reading of Ms. Bologna A 69 (possibly a non-autograph Gaffurio's source) leaves no doubts on the spelling *Amor tu dormi*.

<sup>44</sup> It is transmitted in Ms. Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Pal. 1158 (ca. 1472-74), autograph of Gaffurio. See Inventory in RISM, B IV<sup>°</sup>, *Manuscrits de musique polyphonique du XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles: Italie*, ed. by Nanie Bridgman, Munich, 1991, pp. 323-324, and *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, A.I.M., 1979-88, III, pp. 37-38, and IV, p. 464. See also Franchini Gafurii *Extractus parvus musice* cit.; DAVID CRAWFORD, *Sixteenth-Century Choirbooks in the Archivio Capitolare at Casal Monferrato*, A.I.M., 1975 («RMS», 2), p. 23.

<sup>45</sup> *De practica seu arte tripudii vulgare opusculum*: Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., it. 476 (ca. 1474). See F. ALBERTO GALLO, *Il ballare lombardo (ca. 1435-75)*, «Studi Musicali», VIII, 1979, pp. 61-84; A. WILLIAM SMITH, *Fifteenth-century Dance and Music: Twelve Transcribed Italian Treatises and Collections in the Tradition of Domenico da Piacenza*, 2 vols, Stuyvesant NY, Pendragon, 1995.

<sup>46</sup> See KNUD JEPPESEN, *La Frottola*, III, Copenhagen, Hansen, 1970, pp. 32-35; *Frottola Libro Nono* (Ottaviano Petrucci, Venice 1508, but 1509), ed. by Franco Facchin, Padua, Cleup Edizioni, 1999, p. 55; CLAUDIO GALLICO, *Rimeria musicale popolare italiana nel Rinascimento*, Lucca, LIM, 1996, pp. 69, 87; DAVID FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs* cit., p. 568.

Ex. mus. 4. From Ludovico Fogliani's Frottola, *Fortuna d'un gran tempo / Che fa la ramanzia / E si son, lassame essere / Dagdun dagdun vetusta*

C  
O tu non sai quel che di - ce la ma - la ve - chia? "Vol - te - te in qua

A  
8 Pas - san - do per u - na re - zo - la de que-sta ter - la

T  
8 Mal - ga - ri - ton to pa - re te do -

B  
chia - chie-re e fo - le chia-chie-re e fo-le e chia-chie-re e chia-chie - re e fo - le e chia-chie-re e fo-le

e doh, bel - la Ro - si - na!" La tra - di - to - ra la vol ch'io mo - ra

sar - to - rel - la la pas - sa po': hor sù, to - re - la mo!

man - da py - ran - na, pzi - ran - na mi le - va la

e fo - le e chia - chie - re e fo - le chia - chie - re e fo - le e fo - le e

The origin and circulation of this tune seem to have been limited to northern Italy, and on this ground it is more likely that Gaffurio added the glosses to the *Extractus* not «at Naples between 1478 and 1480», as Clement Miller stated,<sup>47</sup> but while in the North.

The reference to Gaspar Weerbeke in the same place points definitely to the Sforza Court of Milan, where this composer was employed, for his first phase of activity, between 1472 and 1480, before leaving for Rome.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See C. MILLER, *Early Gaffuriana*, pp. 372-373.

<sup>48</sup> Born ca. 1445 - d. after 1516. At Milan in 1471-80, then at the Papal chapel in 1480-89, and back to Milan until 1493, then at Bruges until 1498 and back to Rome in 1500-1509. See GERHARD CROLL - A. LINDMAYR-BRANDL, Weerbeke, Gaspar van, in *New Grove II*, vol. 27, pp. 207-210; GASPAR VAN WEERBEKE, *Collected Works*, ed. by G. Croll et alii, CMM, 106, Part III: *The Motet Cycles*, ed. by A. Lindmayer-Brandl, A.I.M., 1998. See also ERIC F. FIEDLER, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke*, Tutzing, 1997. The *Missa Venus bant* was first printed by Ottaviano Petrucci in *Misse Gaspar* 1507. Several polyphonic settings of the song *O venus bant* are known, among which one by Agricola and one by Weerbeke or Josquin: see JAAP VAN BEN-

Gaffurio evidently knew well his music even before his own arrival at Milan in January 1484, and certainly before his activity as supervisor of the copying of the *Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo*. This is possibly an indication of the circulation of Weerbeke's early output throughout Lombardy (after all, Gaspar soon became one of the leading composers in Milan); and in any case this provides a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the Mass *O venus bant*,<sup>49</sup> whose Tenor is consistently written in major prolation as a sign of augmentation.

A further reference to Weerbeke is found later in Gaffurio's treatise, where he touches upon the complicated question of the perfection of *sesquialtera*, well before that it became the favourite subject of his heated dispute with Spataro. (See Table 2, Ex. 4):

TABLE 2

Ex. 4. *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum*, fol. 22:

Ex quo aperte deprehenditur error et abusio quamplurimorum compositorum ignoranter uel inaduertenter procedentium, qui in suis compositionibus notulas imperfectas et pausas in sexqualtera proportione perficiunt. Illas enim uolunt augeri, quas ipsa proportio arythmetica dictante cogit diminui. Quorum **Jo. martini dulcissimus compositor** in *missa de Jo ne tengo quanto te* pluries eundem commisit errorem, et in alijs compositionibus suis; et **philippon de Borges** in sua *missa tetrardi plagis* eodem sepius errore processit; et **Busnoys famosissimus** compositor in multis compositionibus suis, atque **Bernardus ycart** in plurimus cantibus suis; item **okegem** in nonnullis Missis et cantilenis suis, et **Egidius** in *missa Veni Sancte Spiritus*, necnon et **Gaspar** ille dulcissonus compositor in *motettis suis ducalibus* sepiissime eundem errorem pertractarunt ...

«Egidius» could be identified with Egidius [Gilet] Cosse, a Cleric of Cambrai and singer in the chapel of Galeazzo Sforza at the time of Weerbeke and Compère: he annually held a provision from a church in Lodi and may have been well known to Gaffurio.<sup>50</sup>

Most remarkable is the final reference to the well-known group of

THEM, *O Venus bant: the lover in two minds*, in *Liber amicorum Chris Maas*, ed. by R. Wegman and E. Vetter, Amsterdam, 1987, pp. 26-34.

<sup>49</sup> Already Fiedler had proposed such an early date of composition for both Weerbeke's Masses *O Venus bant* and *Ave regina caelorum* (copied in Ms. Milan 2268, fols. 160v-176) noting their similarities in style. *O Venus bant* is attested in no fewer than nine sources (among which: Cappella Sistina 51, Modena α.M.1.13, Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, 755) but not in the Milanese codices.

<sup>50</sup> Full documentation in PAUL and LORA MERKLEY, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1999.

*mottetti missales* or substitution masses, pieces that Weerbeke and others (notably Compère) created especially for duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza's chapel, hence possibly called by Gaffurio «ducalibus».<sup>51</sup> The label «dulcissonus» used by Gaffurio seems appropriate to designate the particularly euphonic contrapuntal style of Weerbeke's music and, possibly, the characteristic four-voice homophonic passages in his “italian” motets.

Ex. mus. 5. Weerbeke's, *Ave mundi domina: Quem terra, Pontus, aethera* (n. 6)

<sup>51</sup> Of Weerbeke's three cycles of *mottetti missales*, two appear in Ms. Milan 2269 (Librone I: 1485-90): *Ave Mundi Domina* (fols. 126v-134) and *Quam pulchra es* (fols. 134-143), and one in Ms. Milan 2266 (Librone IV, fols. 120v-125): *Spiritus Domini replevit* (already printed by Petracci in *Motetti libro quarto*, 1505). On the Gaffurio choirbooks see KNUD JEPPESEN, *Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano*, «Acta Musicologica», III, 1931, pp. 14-28; CLAUDIO SARTORI, *La cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano. Catalogo delle musiche dell'Archivio*, Milan, 1957, pp. 43-56; THOMAS NOBLITT, *The Ambrosian Motetti Missales Repertory*, «Musica Disciplina», XXII, 1968, pp. 77-104; LYNN H. WARD, *The Motetti Missales Repertory Reconsidered*, «JAMS», XXXIX, 1986, pp. 491-523; MERKLEY, *Music and Patronage*, pp. 321-357; most recently JOSHUA RIFKIN, *Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: dating Josquin's Ave Maria ... virgo serena*, «JAMS», LVI, 2003, pp. 239-350.

Also notable is the mention of Martini's Mass *Io ne tengo quanto a te (de ste frasche fronde)*.<sup>52</sup> Gaffurio may have met Martini during his short stay at Milan and Mantua in February 1474. It has gone unnoticed so far that a *barzelletta* with the same incipit (*Io inde tegno quanto a tte*) is found in a famous collection of Neapolitan poetry from the Aragonese court, the «Cansonero di Giovanni Cantelmo» Conte di Popoli (ms. Paris., Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. it. 1035), datable around 1468.<sup>53</sup> This source is known to musicologists (since its use by Isabel Pope in her edition of the manuscript Montecassino 871)<sup>54</sup> and it transmits several other poems whose musical settings survive in polyphonic sources of Aragonese provenance.<sup>55</sup>

Ms. Paris 1035 attributes the poem *Io inde tegno* to «Coletta», possibly the little-known poet Coletta di Amendolea who wrote *barzellette* and *strambotti* in a very popular tone, full of dialectal and proverbial

<sup>52</sup> Sources: Ms. Modena, α.M.1.13 and Milan 2268 (Librone 2, ca. 1492: missing Kyrie and Agnus); on its hypothetical model see J. PETER BURKHOLDER, *Johannes Martini and the Imitation Mass of the Late Fifteenth Century*, «JAMS», XXXVIII, 1985, pp. 470-523: 487-497; see also L. LOCKWOOD, *La musica a Ferrara* cit., pp. 288-296, who tries to link this Mass to the May-day feasts at the Este court. The mass *Io ne tengo quanto te* was edited by Luigi Migliavacca, in *Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense*, XII, Milan, Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1958-69; and more recently in JOHANNES MARTINI, *Masses*, ed. by Murray Steib and Elaine Moohan, Middleton, A-R Editions, 1999 («RRMMAER», 34) pp. 167-211. On Martini see the entry in *NG II*, vol. 15, pp. 926-928. Born in Brabant, 1430-40 - d. 1497: after being to Antwerp, Bruxelles and Constance, he was active at Ferrara from 1473 to 1497, shortly at Milan and Mantua in 1474, then to Buda in 1486, Rome in 1487-88.

<sup>53</sup> Cantelmo died in 1478. Ms. Paris 1035 passed from his private collection to the Library of Ferrante of Aragon. A first diplomatic edition of the source was provided by MARIO MANDALARI, *Rimatori napoletani del Quattrocento*, Caserta, 1885, followed by a new edition by ANTONIO ALTAMURA, *Rimatori napoletani del Quattrocento*, Naples, 1962. Several of its texts – including *Io inde tegno quanto a tte* – were again edited in a more reliable edition by Maria Corti (ed.), PIETRO JACOPO DE JENNARO, *Rime e lettere*, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1956, pp. xx-xxvi, 3-12.

<sup>54</sup> ISABEL POPE and MASAKATA KANAZAWA (eds.), *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871. A Neapolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1978.

<sup>55</sup> These are: *Ben foll' è chi vole amare* (given as *Foll'è chi vole amare* in mus. Ms. Perugia 431, on which see GIUSEPPE DONATO, *Di una pretesa siciliana: Foll'è chi vole amare, unicum del ms. Perugia 431 (G 20)*, in *Fausto Torrefranca: l'uomo, il suo tempo, la sua opera*, ed. by Giuseppe Ferraro and Annunziato Pugliese, Vibo Valentia, Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale Calabrese, 1993, pp. 105-119); *O rosa bella; La vida de Colin; Core volenteruso dura dura; O vos homines qui transitis* (P. Oriola), *Amor tu non me gabbasti*. Another source of Neapolitan poetry with musical concordances (e.g. the «canzone de canto» *O tempo bono* by Francesco Galeota) is Ms. Vat. lat. 10656 from the Vatican Library, on which see: GIOVANNI B. BRONZINI, *Serventesi, barzellette, strambotti del Quattrocento dal codice Vat. lat. 10656*, «Lares», XLV, 1979, pp. 73-96, 251-262, 385-394; XLVI, 1980, pp. 43-53, 219-237. On these concordances see GIULIO CATTIN, *Nomi di rimatori per la polifonia profana italiana del secondo Quattrocento*, «Rivista Italiana di Musicologia», XXV, 1990, pp. 209-311, and more recently and accurately DAVID FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs* cit.

traits, in expressive opposition to the traditional lyric poetry modelled on Petrarch cultivated at Naples and in many other fifteenth-century Italian courts (according to a trend largely imported from Tuscany).

Interestingly enough, the poem *Io inde tegno* by Coletta – despite its rather odd language – is a lament against a woman, and the first of a series of related poems (a Literary *tenzone*) written in response to Coletta by his more illustrious Neapolitan colleagues Francesco Galeota and Pietro Jacopo de Jennaro. Their metrical schemes of eight-syllable lines in trochaic meter, consist – customarily – of a four-line ripresa plus several eight-line stanzas (rhyme scheme: xyyx. ababyyx). Thus Coletta starts with:

Io inde tegno, quanto a tte,  
De 'ste frasche, frunde e rame,  
E chi m'ame e chi non m'ame,  
Dimme, chi me se dà a mme?

(plus five stanzas and a strambotto titled *Critte trovar argento e trovai ramo*). Galeotta replies:

Chi se tene, fermo sta,  
Non se rende per pagura,  
E se ài mala ventura,  
Dimme, a me che se dà?

(plus five stanzas and another strambotto).

And Coletta replies in turn:

Io sto forte più che muro,  
E non tempo le toi imprese,  
E che tu si descortese,  
Dimme, e io che me 'ne curo? (...)

Then, also Pietro Jacopo de Jennaro wants to enter the dispute:

Guardase ben che non sa,  
De li dui loro perché,  
Che l'un fa: "che sa dà 'me",  
E l'altro "a me che me se dà"? (...)

Finally, Galeota (this only possibly, since the poem does not immediately follow the previous ones in the source) adds a new reply:

Io me trovo fast'achi  
In travaglio e in tempesta,

De veder la nova festa  
Dimme, che me se dà a mmi? (...)

If the Literary source of *Io ne tengo* is indeed Neapolitan, Martini could have known it in one of the several occasions of cultural exchanges between the courts of Naples and Ferrara, especially after the 1473 wedding of Ercole d'Este and Eleonora d'Aragona, and the consequent many travels and embassies from one court to the other.<sup>56</sup>

Needless to say, all of Gaffurio's references to the Sforza and Este repertoires are made independently of Tinctoris, whose silence on these famous North-Italian-based contemporaries could be explained as a deliberate choice, due perhaps to political reasons.<sup>57</sup> Gaffurio, in this sense, appears much more 'ecumenical', so to speak. Nonetheless, he will never forget his formative years at Naples and the debt of gratitude he owed Tinctoris. This appears in the following passage from his treatise, where two Neapolitan composers, Tinctoris and the little-known Guarnerius,<sup>58</sup> are praised above all other composers for their perfect understanding of the sesquialtera:

TABLE 2

*Ex. 5. Tractatus practicabilium proportionum*, fols. 20-20v:

O puerilis ignorantia: nullam nempe inter diminutionem et imperfectionem differentiam sentiunt. Diminutio namque fit proportionabiliter uel canonice diuersis modis, ut in duplo uel triplo uel quadruplo et deinceps. Imperfectio autem per abstractionem tertiae partis propinquae uel etiam tertiae partis remotae ... Ut

<sup>56</sup> See on this L. LOCKWOOD, *La musica a Ferrara*, and FRANCESCO LUISI, *Contributi minimi ma integranti*, in *Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin*, ed. by F. Luisi, Rome, Torre d'Orfeo, 1990, pp. 29-36. Another possible occasion of contacts is the travel of Pietro Jacopo de Jenaro to Ferrara in 1471-72. Such connections between Ferrara and Naples might also explain why Martini was known in Spain, as testified by the appearance of his name in a treatise from Seville of 1480 (Ms. Escorial C.III.23).

<sup>57</sup> See the cautious but legitimate hypothesis by PATRICK MACEY, *Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin*, «Early Music History», XV, 1996, pp. 147-212 (n. 39): «The strained relations between Naples and Milan probably explain the absence in Tinctoris's theoretical writings of the names of composers in Galeazzo's chapel... No doubt it would have been impolitic for Tinctoris to list musicians in the service of the rival Milanese duke, who avidly pirated singers from the Neapolitan chapel».

<sup>58</sup> In Savoy in 1473, then at Rome between 1474-76 and again in 1479-83; at Naples in 1476-79, but with no archival evidence. See MARIE-THERÈSE BOUQUET, *La cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1450 al 1500*, «Rivista Italiana di Musicologia», III, 1968, pp. 233-285: 266. A «Gerardus Garnerii» is listed in a Vatican document of August 1474: see ADALBERTH ROTH, *Primus in Petri aede sextus perpetuae harmoniae cantores introduxit: alcune osservazioni sul patronato musicale di Sisto IV*, in *Un pontificato ed una città. Sisto IV (1471-1484)*, ed. by M. MIGLIO *et alii*, Città del Vaticano, 1986, pp. 217-241: 226, n. 26.

constituit **Tinctoris** in tenore “Osanna” de *Missa helas*, et in Motetto *Ante Pater rerum ad regem ungarie*; et Guglielmus guarnerij optimus contrapunctista in *Missa Moro perche non hai fede* [= line crossed out], et alij complures huius discipline peritissimi ...

All three works mentioned by Gaffurio appear to be lost, including Guarnerius' Mass based on Johannes Cornago's *cancion Moro perché non hai [dai?] fede*:<sup>59</sup> and this is certainly a major loss for our understanding of Aragonese music and its contribution to the early history of Imitation Mass.

A further reference to Guarnerius is found in Gaffurio's earlier version of the *Theoricum opus* titled *Theoriae musicae tractatus* and transmitted in his autograph manuscript now British Library, Hirsch, IV.1441 (ca. 1479), dedicated to Don Antonio de Guevara, Count of Potenza.<sup>60</sup> This latter is also known as the first patron of the teenage Serafino Aquilano while in Naples in 1478, that is before his affiliation with Cardinal Ascanio Sforza (and, of course, to «Josquin, his fellow musician of Ascanio ...»).<sup>61</sup>

In the *Theoriae musicae tractatus* Gaffurio recalled that in the service of the Count of Potenza there were

Gulielmum, inter musicos praestantissimum, et Franciscum Zambecharium, in omni disciplinarum genere quasi lumen aut sidus virtutum splendore solis in morem, ceteros omnes doctrina et virtute claros occupantem.

<sup>59</sup> Cornago was active at the Aragonese court from 1453 to 1475. One of his settings (*Yerra con poco saber*) on a spanish poem by the poet Pere Toroella, who resided at Naples in 1456-58 in the service of Prince Carlo de Viana. Cornago also composed one of the earliest example of a cyclic cantus-firmus mass based on a popular melody, the *Missa 'Mapamundi'*: see JOHANNES CORNAGO, *Complete Works*, ed. by Rebecca L. Gerber, Middleton, A-R Editions, 1984 («RRMMAER», 15).

<sup>60</sup> According to the writer Tristano Caracciolo (*De varietate fortunae* ca. 1509) de Guevara was a man of letters as well as a music lover: see MARIO SANTORO, *Tristano Caracciolo e la cultura napoletana della Rinascenza*, Naples, 1957, and GIULIANA VITALE, *Modelli culturali nobiliari a Napoli tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, «Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane», CV, 1987, pp. 27-103.

<sup>61</sup> This is testified by the well-known passage of Vincenzo Calmeta's *Vita del facondo poeta vulgare Serafino Aquilano* (1504: Calmeta was the secretary of Beatrice d'Este, wife of Ludovico Sforza): «Era questo conte notabile principe ... sul fiore di la gioventute ... ad ogni virtute tanto inclinato ... Tra questa laudabile palestra ... se dede Serafino alla musica, sotto la eruditione d'uno Gulielmo Fiammengo, in quello tempo musico famosissimo. Fece in pochi anni tal profitto che a ciascuno altro musico italiano nel componere canti tolse la palma...». On Serafino-Josquin-Ascanio, see the classic study by EDWARD LOWINSKY, *Ascanio Sforza' Life. A Key to Josquin's Biography and an Aid to the Chronology of his Works*, in *Josquin des Prez*, Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference, New York, 21-5 June 1971, ed. by E. Lowinsky, London, Oxford University Press, 1976, pp. 31-75.

But in the prohemium of the printed version of the *Theoricum opus*, dedicated to the knight Guido Antonio Arcimboldi, the theorist replaces the names of Guarnerius and Zambeccari with those of two singers possibly more familiar to Arcimboldi:<sup>62</sup>

Eliseum ipsum et Antonium Pangulfum musicos praestantissimos in omni disciplinarum genere quasi lumina aut sidera virtutum splendore solis in morem, ceteros omnes doctrina et virtute claros occupantes.

Eventually, the names of Tinctoris and Guarnerius, again associated, will earn again the best tribute in the printed version of the *Practica musicae*, in the third book devoted to counterpoint: where they head a list of composers truly famous as «immortal Gods»:

There has been instituted a very famous procedure in counterpoint, in which the notes of the bass move in tenths with those of the superius, the tenor moving in concord with both other parts. Tinctoris, **Gulielmus guarnerii**, Iusquin despret, Gaspar, Alexander agricola, Loyset, Obrech, Brumel, Isaac and other very agreeable composers follow this procedure quite frequently, in their songs.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> See on this CLEMENT MILLER, *Francesco Zambeccari* cit.; more recently CARLO GALLANO, *Gaffurio, il conte di Potenza e la prima dedicatoria inedita del Theoricum opus*, in *Medioevo Mezzogiorno Mediterraneo. Studi in onore di Mario Del Treppo*, ed. by G. Rossetti and G. Vito-  
lo, 2 vols, Naples, 1999, II, pp. 271-302; also CESARINO RUINI, Introd. to GAFFURIO, *Theoricum opus*.

<sup>63</sup> «Est et celeberrimus quidam in contrapuncto processus notularum videlicet Baritonantis ad cantus notulas institutus consimilibus notulis per decimam invicem procedentibus, tenore ad singulos concorditer commeante: quem Tinctoris, **Gulielmus guarnerii**, Iusquin de-  
spret, Gaspar, Alexander agricola, Loyset, Obrech, Brumel, Isaac ac reliqui Iucundissimi com-  
positores in suis cantilenis saepius observarunt».