

Galeascha

Loco Introiti

Ave virgo gloriosa celi ubar mundi rosa celibatus lilium  
ue gemma preiosa super omnes speciosissima flores ortus egri gratia puritatis  
fons signatus dñs flumina græ Que regni dicuntur miscere virgo mater gratia  
reus ergo fac regina o virgo pura quod regem ut tuum relateris  
debetis o virgo pura pro nobis dulciter ora.

# Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy

Edited by Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello

Ave virgo gloriosa celi ubar mundi rosa sup omnes speciosissima flores ortus  
virgo mater gratia  
apud regem ut tuum o virgo pura pro nobis dulciter ora.  
Celi ubar mundi rosa Ave gemma preiosa virginele gaudium puritatis fons signatus  
Que regni dicuntur miscere reus ergo fac regina o virgo pura relateris debetis pro nobis dulciter ora.



# Schola Cantorum Basiliensis

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# Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy

Edited by Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello

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### 3 Where Devotion and Liturgy Meet: Reassessing the Milanese Roots of the *Motetti missales*

Daniele V. Filippi

In a recent article I attempted to reassess the *motetti missales* and to explain their interaction with the liturgy by advancing what I called the “low Mass hypothesis”.<sup>1</sup> Briefly explained, I suggested, building upon previous scholarship, that the *motetti missales* were meant to be performed consecutively during votive low Masses. Furthermore, striving to consider the *motetti missales* neither as a mere problem of style nor as a one-off phenomenon exclusively connected with the microcosm of Galeazzo Maria Sforza’s chapel, I contended that the *missales* should be studied against the background of contemporary liturgical spirituality and in parallel with other ways of attending Mass – of praying, meditating, and singing during Mass – in the late Middle Ages and the early modern era. In the present essay I provide further Milanese background for the low Mass hypothesis and explore certain aspects of devotional and liturgical life in Sforza Milan that in my opinion are part of what made the *motetti missales* possible. I touch upon three main points: the piety and spirituality of the Sforza family, the Mass in early modern Milan, and the concordances for motet texts in contemporary Milanese books.

#### 1 *Pietas sforzesca*

The ideal way to start would be by exploring in detail the practical spirituality of the Sforza dynasty, that is, the books, the texts, the objects, the places and practices, in sum the material circumstances that expressed and shaped their religious experience. As no such comprehensive study has been undertaken before and the relevant information is scattered among a plethora of archival documents and a heterogeneous interdisciplinary literature, what I can offer here is no more than a preliminary survey.<sup>2</sup>

I wish to thank the members of the Motet Cycles Research team for sharing their insights, as well as Edoardo Rossetti for providing valuable information and bibliography. I am also grateful to the staff of all the Milanese libraries and archives where I have conducted research for this chapter.

- 1 See Daniele V. Filippi, “‘Audire missam non est verba missae intelligere...’: The Low Mass and the *Motetti missales* in Sforza Milan”, in: *JAF* 9 (2017), 11–32.
- 2 Among other things, I will not touch here upon the subject of relics: see Marco Albertario, “La cappella e l’ancona delle reliquie nel Castello di Pavia (1470–1476)”, in *Museo in Rivista* –



In May 1467, while the young Duke Galeazzo Maria (1444–1476) was engaged in a military campaign, his mother Bianca Maria (1425–1468), the widow of Francesco Sforza (1401–1466), recommended him in a letter

che voglia guardare la persona da li pericoli e diportarti bene con quelle gente darne e così ad havere spetiale devotione verso dio e suoy sancti dal quale procede ogni felicità e bene come tu say perciò che facendo queste tre cose non solamente conservaray el stato ma l'augmentaray.<sup>3</sup>

to defend yourself from dangers and acquit yourself well among the military, as well as to have special devotion towards God and his saints, from Whom every good and happiness arises, as you know; because by doing these three things you will not only maintain your dominion, but you will increase it.

It is important to understand that, in spite of the personal inclinations and moral behaviour of the individual members of the dynasty, devotion and religious practice were objective parts of their lives and of their ways of fulfilling the role of rulers. The dukes confessed and attended Mass, listened to preachers, participated in processions and in public liturgies on the main feasts, and of course sponsored charitable works.<sup>4</sup> The Sforza women often visited religious houses: thanks to a special privilege obtained from Pope Pius II, Bianca Maria was allowed to visit convents and monasteries accompanied by her children, her mother, and a confessor; she was also entitled to use a portable altar to hear Mass during her travels.<sup>5</sup> Her daughter-in-law, Bona of Savoy (1449–1503), was a frequent visitor both of the Observant Franciscans' monastery of S. Maria Annunziata and of the Poor Clares' convent in Abbiategrasso. A correspondent reported to Bona's son, Gian Galeazzo (1469–1494), in 1481:

*Notiziario dei Musei Civici di Pavia* 3 (2003), 49–116. For the ownership, use, and donation of liturgical vessels, see Paola Venturelli, "Il Tesoro: Dal Duomo al Museo del Duomo", in: Giulia Benati (ed.), *Milano: Museo e tesoro del Duomo. Catalogo generale*, Milan: Silvana Editoriale and Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano 2017, 68–79: 77 nn. 28 and 36.

3 Archivio di Stato di Milano (hereafter ASMi), Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco (hereafter VS) 1459, 312. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

4 Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1994; Caterina Santoro, *Gli Sforza*, Milan: TEA 1994.

5 Maria Nadia Covini, "Entre dévotion et politique: Patronage et mécénat religieux de Bianca Maria Visconti, duchesse de Milan", in: Murielle Gaudé-Ferragu and Cécile Vincent-Cassy (eds.), *"La dame de cœur": Patronage et mécénat religieux des femmes de pouvoir dans l'Europe des XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2016, 255–267: 264. The young Galeazzo Maria obtained the same privilege in 1459. See Elisabetta Canobbio and Beatrice Del Bo (eds.), *"Beatissime Pater": Documenti relativi alle diocesi del Ducato di Milano. I registra supplicationum di Pio II (1458–1464)*, Milan: Unicopli 2007 (Materiali di storia ecclesiastica lombarda, secoli XIV–XVI 9), no. 450.

Sua signoria con le sue done monta in careta acompagnata dalli cortexani, anda a disnare al monastero delle done de Sancta Clara, qui in Abbià, et dopo disnare con grandissima devotione fessi cantare lo vespero et nona et per suo piacere se mise lo abbito de loro monache et così stete uno pocho.<sup>6</sup>

Her Ladyship with her ladies-in-waiting got on the carriage and went to lunch at the convent of the Poor Clares, here in Abbiate, escorted by the courtesans. After lunch she had Vespers and None sung with great devotion and for pleasure she wore the habit of the nuns, and so she stayed for a while.

The Mass at the castle in Milan (or wherever the itinerant court stayed) was part of the daily routine, and Duke Galeazzo made sure that the chaplains did their duty in celebrating Masses each day at the altars of his favourite saints (“celebrare ogni dì mesa ali altar d’alcuni sancti nostri devoti”).<sup>7</sup> In his will of 13 November 1471 Galeazzo ordered the celebration of Masses and offices, a daily office of the Dead, and a special series of Masses (the so-called trental of St. Gregory) after his death (“messe et officii divini, et ogni dì l’officio de morti, etc., et messe de Sancto Gregorio”).<sup>8</sup>

Two final examples of Sforza personal practices of piety regard Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508). A painting currently at the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan and dated to ca. 1488 shows an ailing Ludovico in a tester bed, invoking healing from the Blessed Virgin and the Child Jesus: it is in all likelihood an *ex voto*, possibly commissioned after a serious illness in 1487–1488 (see Fig. 3.1).<sup>9</sup> Years later, Ludovico increasingly turned to religion, after the premature death of his beloved wife Beatrice d’Este (1497). He reportedly went each day to hear Mass at S. Maria delle Grazie, where Beatrice was buried, and to pray on her tomb.<sup>10</sup>

6 ASMi, VS 1463, 207. For the Annunziata, where Bona attended offices and visited her confessor, see also *ibid.*, 218, 220, 221, 223–225. See also Teresa Mangione, “Le Clarisse e la Signora: Politica e devozione di Bona di Savoia”, in: Pierluigi De Vecchi and Giulio Bora (eds.), *Rinascimento ritrovato: La Chiesa e il Convento di Santa Maria Annunziata ad Abbiategrasso*, Milan: Skira 2007, 263–279; Mario Cominicini, “La storia”, in: Mario Cominicini (ed.), *Il convento dell’Annunziata di Abbiategrasso*, Abbiategrasso: Società Storica Abbiatese 2006, 7–106: 29, and the relevant items in the documentary appendix.

7 ASMi, VS 904, s.f., letter of 4 April 1472. Also Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS Arch. B7 a, fol. 195v. The daily sung Mass at the castle (ca. 1480) is described in ASMi, Atti di Governo, Parte Antica, Potenze sovrane post 1535 124, 163, and Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Turnhout: Brepols 1999 (Studi sulla Storia della Musica in Lombardia 3), 162.

8 ASMi, Notarile 1580; Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 99. For the trental, see Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols., New York: Benziger 1951, vol. 1, 130.

9 See the entry in the museum’s online catalogue: <http://www.museopoldipezzoli.it/sites/local.poldipezzoli/files/1636.pdf>

10 Antonella Grati and Arturo Pacini (eds.), *Carteggio degli oratori mantovani alla corte sforzesca (1450–1500)*, vol. 15: 1495–1498, Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici 2003, 148–152, letter 52 of 19 February 1497.



Fig. 3.1: Circle of Bernardino Butinone, *Ludovico il Moro in bed praying to the Madonna and Child*, ca. 1488. Tempera on panel, 50x56.8 cm. Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli, no. inv. 1636 (© Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milano – Foto Malcangi)

He fasted and communicated, and the day after communicating he made a retreat, refraining from state affairs.<sup>11</sup> As he himself relates,

in specialità doppo la morte de la bona memoria de la illustrissima nostra consorte [...] ultra molte orazioni diceva più officij e grandi e de nostra donna e de altri, odendo ogni dì due e tre messe, et frequentando cesie, et consuetudini de boni religiosi.<sup>12</sup>

especially after the death of our most illustrious wife of good memory, besides many prayers I have been reciting several offices (the long one, that of Our Lady, and others), hearing two or three Masses a day, visiting churches and associating with good religious.

Let us now consider the books, the devotional and liturgical books owned and commissioned by the Sforzas. The various members of the family possessed books of hours (see Table 3.1). The most famous include the Hours of Bianca Maria, Galeazzo's "Black Hours", his "Great Hours", and the Hours of Bona.

<sup>11</sup> Alessandro Ballarin, *Leonardo a Milano: Problemi di leonardismo milanese tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento. Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio prima della Pala Casio*, 4 vols., Verona: Edizioni dell'Aurora 2010, vol. 1, 506.

<sup>12</sup> Letter of Ludovico to Celso Maffei of ca. 1499–1500, quoted *ibid.*, 505.

Table 3.1: Sforza books of hours

Manuscript name	Owner	Current location
[book of hours]	Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS S.P. 13
<i>Great Hours of Galeazzo Sforza</i>	Galeazzo Maria Sforza	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Nr. 1856 <sup>a</sup>
[book of hours]	Galeazzo Maria Sforza (?)	Tournus, Hôtel-Dieu – Musée Greuze
<i>Sforza Hours/ Hours of Bona Sforza</i>	Bona of Savoy	London, British Library, Add. MS 34294 <sup>b</sup>
[book of hours]	Bona of Savoy	private collection <sup>c</sup>
[book of hours]	Ascanio Maria Sforza	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 14
[book of hours]	Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza (?)	Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS A.70
[book of hours]	Francesco Maria Sforza	London, British Library, Add. MS 63493

<sup>a</sup> Facsimiles: Ottokar Smital (ed.), *Das schwarze Gebetbuch des Herzogs Galeazzo Maria Sforza*, Vienna: Österreichische Staatsbücherei 1930; Ulrike Jenni and Dagmar Thoss (eds.), *Das schwarze Gebetbuch: Codex Nr. 1856 der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag 1982.

<sup>b</sup> Facsimile online: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_34294](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_34294).

<sup>c</sup> This extremely interesting (and, alas, currently inaccessible) book is known only through Edith W. Kirsch, “An Unpublished Book of Hours of Bona of Savoy, Duchess of Milan”, in: Giorgio Bonsanti and Klaus Bergdolt (eds.), *Opere e giorni: Studi su mille anni di arte europea dedicati a Max Seidel*, Venice: Marsilio 2001, 395–402. Remarkably, in a bifolium added at the end of the manuscript Bona is portrayed as a widow, kneeling in prayer in front of the crucified Christ (*ibid.*, 401 and fig. 7).

Given the relative rarity of Ambrosian hours, it is no surprise that all these books followed the use of Rome.<sup>13</sup>

13 On Milanese books of hours, see Christine Seidel, “Livres d’heures lombards à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: A propos de quelques modèles septentrionaux”, in: Frédéric Elsig and Claudia Gaggera (eds.), *Cultura oltremontana in Lombardia al tempo degli Sforza (1450–1535)*, Rome: Viella 2014, 183–210, and the literature cited there. Unfortunately, most studies on the subject focus exclusively on issues of illumination and decoration, without taking into consideration the textual contents and the corresponding devotional practices. An exception is Francesca Manzari, “Italian Books of Hours and Prayer Books in the Fourteenth Century”, in: Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow (eds.), *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, London: Harvey Miller 2013 (Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History), 153–209, but it concentrates on the period ca. 1300–ca. 1450 (it discusses, among other things,



Fig. 3.2: Beginning of the litany of the BVM in the prayer book of Isabella d'Aragona. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 2144, fols. 8v–9r (© Comune di Milano – all rights reserved)

Besides the hours, the Sforzas owned other spiritual books, belonging to a diverse range of types: prayer books such as the one presented by the friar Battista Vastamilio to Gian Galeazzo (Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, MS AD.IX.I) and the one copied for his wife Isabella d'Aragona (1470–1524) (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 2144; see Fig. 3.2); edifying books such as the *Liber Iesus*, part of a diptych for the education of the young Massimiliano Sforza (1493–1530) (Trivulziana, MS 2163);<sup>14</sup> and spiritual miscellanies, such as the lavishly illuminated *Leggendario Sforza-Savoia*, created for Galeazzo and Bona in 1476 (Turin, Biblioteca Reale, MS Varia 124).<sup>15</sup>

the hours of the Visconti family, and includes in an appendix a useful list of early Italian hours).

- 14 Facsimile editions: *Libri per una educazione rinascimentale: Grammatica del Donato. Liber Iesus*, ed. Giulia Bologna, Milan: Comune di Milano 1980; *La Grammatica Sforza: Due libri per l'educazione di un principe*, ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, Modena: Panini 2016.
- 15 Facsimile editions: *Il codice Varia 124 della Biblioteca reale di Torino miniato da Cristoforo De Predis (Milano, 1476)*, ed. Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone, 2 vols., Turin: U. Allemandi and Istituto bancario San Paolo di Torino 1987; *Il leggendario Sforza-Savoia: Ms. Varia 124 della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, ed. Pier Luigi Mulas, 2 vols., Modena: Panini 2013. See also Cristina Santarelli, "Riflessi della Milano musicale sforzesca nel codice Varia 124 della Bi-

As for liturgical books, the available information is unfortunately scant. We know from previous studies that Galeazzo had an active interest in the configuration and the public impact of rituals. As Paul and Lora Merkley have shown, Galeazzo wanted to examine in advance the texts for certain rituals,<sup>16</sup> and in 1473 he requested from the court of Naples the special prayers used there during Mass in time of war or after a victory.<sup>17</sup> There is, however, no trace of any “customised” liturgical books clearly reflecting use in a Sforza chapel or direct influence from the dukes. The only partial exceptions are an Ambrosian missal, presented by Bianca Maria to the Duomo in 1459,<sup>18</sup> and another, earlier, Ambrosian missal, with the names of Bianca Maria and her mother Agnese Del Maino (d. 1465) inserted into Mass prayers, and probably meant for a private court chapel or for a chantry in a Milanese church (see Fig. 3.3).<sup>19</sup> The magnificent *Messale Arcimboldi* (Biblioteca del Capitolo Metropolitano di Milano, MS D.1.13) famously contains a full-page illumination with the solemn investiture of Ludovico il Moro in 1495 (see Fig. 3.4): interdisciplinary research has shown, however, that the luxury missal was commissioned by Archbishop Guido Antonio Arcimboldi, not by Ludovico, and that its text faithfully reproduces that of the missal printed by Zarotto in 1488.<sup>20</sup>

biblioteca Reale di Torino”, in: *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 33, nos. 1–2 (2008), 30–37.

16 E.g. for the feast of St. George and the blessing of the standards: see Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 218–224 and the documents in ASMi, VS 1606 and Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS Arch. B7 a, fol. 80r.

17 See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 224–228, and ASMi, Registri delle missive IIIA, fols. 41v–42r.

18 Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS A.257.inf. The manuscript has been discussed in the context of *motetti missales* scholarship in Saskia Rolsma, “De onthulling van het missaal: Een onderzoek naar de functie van Motetti missales”, in: R. E. V. Stuip (ed.), *Meer dan muziek alleen: In memoriam Kees Vellekoop*, Hilversum: Verloren 2004, 291–305. Bianca Maria also gave a missal to the Basilica of St. Anthony in Padua (Biblioteca Antoniana, Scaff. IV, MS 78), as part of a votive donation on the occasion of her son Ludovico’s recovering from illness in 1461: see Michele Caffi, “Bianca Maria Visconte-Sforza [sic] Duchessa di Milano a Sant’Antonio di Padova”, in: *ASL*, Series 2, 3/2 (June 1886), 400–413; Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: C.N.R.S. 1955, 387; Giuseppe Abate and Giovanni Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 2 vols., Vicenza: N. Pozza 1975, vol. 1, 87–88 (with plate XXVII) and vol. 2, 751–753 (with plates 147–152); and the relevant record (with a digital reproduction of the Abate-Luisetto catalogue) at <http://www.nuovabibliotecamanoscritta.it>.

19 Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 513.

20 See in particular Pierluigi Mulas, “Cum apparatu ac triumpho quo pagina in hac licet aspicere’: L’investitura ducale di Ludovico Sforza, il messale Arcimboldi e alcuni problemi di miniatura lombarda”, in: *Artes* 2 (1994), 5–38, and Cristina Romano, “Matteo da Milano e

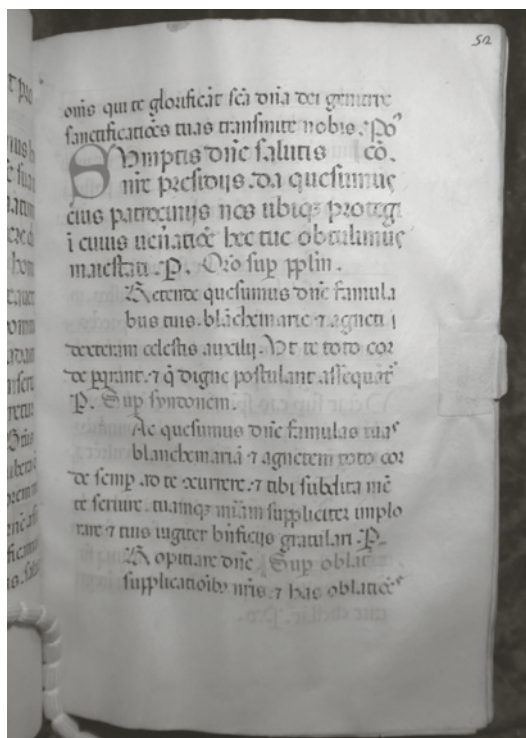


Fig. 3.3: Ambrosian missal with the names of Bianca Maria and her mother Agnese inserted into a prayer during Mass. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 513, fol. 52r (© Comune di Milano – all rights reserved)

An interesting case is that of the Franciscan Observant Monastery of S. Maria Annunziata in Abbiategrasso: in 1473 Duke Galeazzo paid for a full set of liturgical books for this monastery, including a Psalter, four Graduals, antiphonaries, lectionaries, missals, plus chalices and vestments (see Fig. 3.5).<sup>21</sup> The monastery had been founded by the same Galeazzo a few years before, fulfilling a vow.<sup>22</sup> Abbiate Castle was clearly one of Galeazzo's favourite residences, especially in times when pestilence threatened Milan; not by chance he chose it as the place for his first child's birth.<sup>23</sup> Actually, Galeazzo had donated the land and stronghold of Abbiate to Bona as a wedding present; as we have seen, after

il Messale Arcimboldi: Problematiche e spunti di riflessione", in: *Libri & Documenti* 32–33 (2006–2007), 9–33.

21 Evelyn S. Welch, "Sight, Sound and Ceremony in the Chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza", in: *EMH* 12 (1993), 151–190: 173; Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 176. See now De Vecchi and Bora (eds.), *Rinascimento ritrovato*, and Cominichini, "La storia", 22 and the relevant items in the documentary appendix.

22 See Francesca I. M. Vaglianti, "Abbiategrasso, culla di stirpe ducale", in: De Vecchi and Bora (eds.), *Rinascimento ritrovato*, 233–254; Cominichini, "La storia".

23 Gian Galeazzo was born there in June 1469. See Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court*, 79; Cominichini, "La storia", 12.



Fig. 3.4: Full-page illumination with the investiture of Ludovico il Moro (1495) in the *Messale Arcimboldi*. Biblioteca del Capitolo Metropolitano di Milano, MS D.1.13 (© Biblioteca del Capitolo Metropolitano del Duomo di Milano)

Galeazzo's death and Ludovico's coup, the widow duchess stayed there and repeatedly attended offices both at S. Chiara and at the Annunziata.

From a document published by the Merkleys we know that there was a circulation of liturgical books between certain religious houses and the ducal chapel. In March 1473 the Augustinian nuns of another Annunziata con-



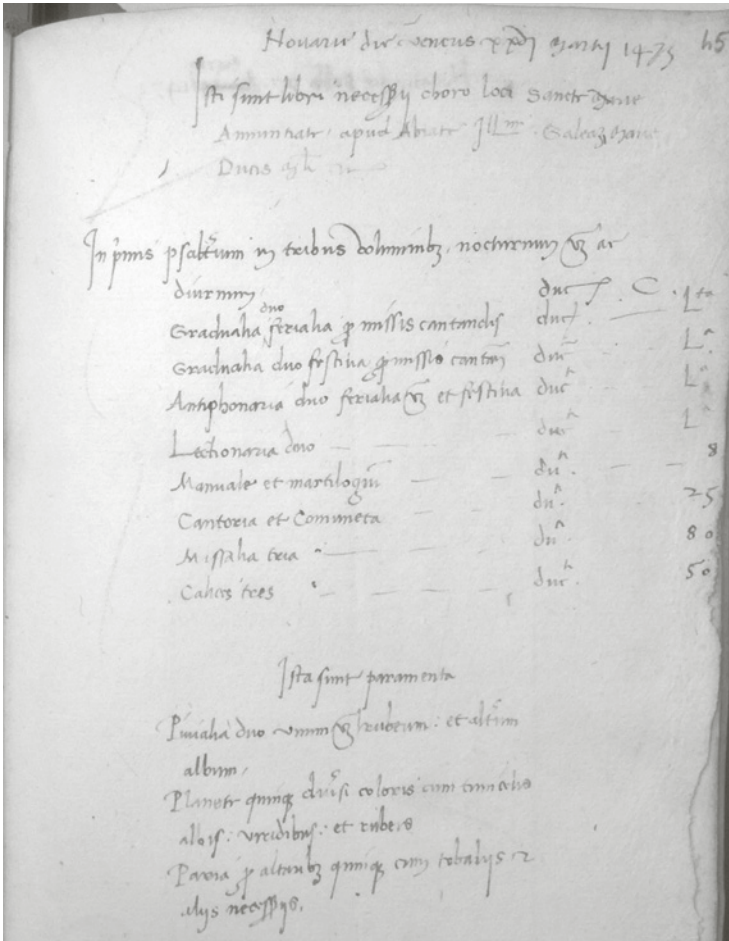


Fig. 3.5: Document of 26 March 1473 detailing the liturgical books and vestments for the Monastery of S. Maria Annunziata in Abbiategrosso which Duke Galeazzo was to pay for. ASMi, Registri delle missive 111a, fol. 45r

vent, the one of Porta Nuova in Milan, pressed on the duke's librarian in order to have back a book he had given to the singers, and without which the nuns "cannot sing".<sup>24</sup>

To conclude and recapitulate this brief discussion of Sforza liturgical and devotional books, it is worth considering the inventory of Bona's books com-

<sup>24</sup> Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 228, 344. The Annunziata of Porta Nuova was under the rule of the Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran. See <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/archivi/soggetti-produttori/ente/MIDB000384/>.

piled at her death in Fossano (Duchy of Savoy) in 1503.<sup>25</sup> Apart from generic items, whose contents is not detailed in the list, and a few secular books, the inventory contains exclusively spiritual books. At least four are hours (*ufficioli*, lit. little offices):

uno ufficiolo in pergamina vechio coperto de coyro	an old little office in parchment, covered in leather
uno ufficiolo piccolo in pergamin coperto de satin negro scritto a man dorato intorno con le serrature dargento dorate	a little office in parchment, covered in black satin, handwritten, with gilded edges and gilded silver clasps
uno ufficiolo in pergamina la mita latin e la mita franzos	a little office in parchment, half in Latin and half in French
uno ufficiolo de nostra dona in pergamin historiato	a little office of Our Lady in parchment, illuminated

There is one “parchment missal, handwritten in big ancient letters, covered in red leather” (“uno missal de pergamin scritto a man de grosse [ette]re antiche coperto de rosso coyro”), a “litany covered in white cloth” (“una letanya coperta de tella bianca”), and numerous books of prayers (“de oration”, including a set of “seven small books covered in green silk”), some of which Marian (“de oration de nostra dona”), a paper book with “le laude de nostra dona”. Additionally, there is a book with the seven penitential Psalms (“de sette salmi”), and books of the gospels (“de evangelii”), of the miracles of Our Lady (“de miraculi de nostra dona”), of the prophets (“de prophete”), of St. Catherine (“de S.ta Chaterina”), and of the popular “Avenging of the Saviour” (“de la vendetta de nostro signore”).<sup>26</sup>

It is not easy to identify the main geographical foci of Sforza piety, given the entanglement of political and religious power of the time and the fact that the ruling family extended its patronage to virtually all the religious houses in the duchy.<sup>27</sup> The Sforza family’s connections with certain religious orders and

25 This revealing document is published in Theodor Gottlieb, *Die Ambraser Handschriften: 1. Büchersammlung Kaiser Maximilians I.*, Leipzig: Spirgatis 1900, appendix I, 123–125.

26 The apocryphal account of Jerusalem’s fall as God’s punishment of the Jews for the death of Christ (see for instance <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anfo8.vii.xxiv.html>).

27 See Francesco Somaini, “La chiesa ambrosiana e l’eredità sforzesca”, in: Alberto Rocca and Paola Vismara (eds.), *Prima di Carlo Borromeo: Istituzioni, religione e società agli inizi del Cinquecento*, Milan and Rome: Biblioteca Ambrosiana and Bulzoni 2012 (Studia Borromaica 26), 17–70. For the extensive religious and devotional patronage of Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza, see especially Covini, “Entre dévotion et politique”. The posthumous lists of Bianca Maria’s donations to numerous churches and monasteries (preserved in ASMi, VS 1460, 169–170 and 173) are particularly telling. For the period of Francesco, esp. the

monasteries, especially with the Observant Franciscans and Dominicans, were surely relevant.<sup>28</sup> Besides the private chapels in the different castles, a topography of Sforza piety should at least include:

- The churches and monasteries whose construction the Sforzas helped finance, such as S. Maria Incoronata,<sup>29</sup> S. Maria della Consolazione (or “del Castello”),<sup>30</sup> S. Maria presso S. Satiro,<sup>31</sup> and S. Maria della Pace in Milan,<sup>32</sup> or S. Maria delle Grazie in Vigevano,<sup>33</sup> and those that the Sforzas supported, sometimes by sponsoring major works, such as S. Maria dei Miracoli presso S. Celso, where Galeazzo had a ducal chapel decorated with a picture of himself with his wife Bona and their children in 1473,<sup>34</sup> and the

1450s, see Caterina Santoro, *I registri delle lettere ducali del periodo sforzesco*, Milan: Castello Sforzesco 1961, Registro 8.

- 28 See, for instance, Somaini, “La chiesa ambrosiana e l’eredità sforzesca” and Sara Fasoli, *Perseveranti nella regolare osservanza: I predicatori osservanti nel Ducato di Milano (sec. XV–XVI)*, Milan: Biblioteca francescana 2011. For Bianca Maria’s sponsorship of observant convents and monasteries, see Evelyn S. Welch, “Women as Patrons and Clients in the Courts of Quattrocento Italy”, in: Letizia Panizza (ed.), *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*, Oxford: Legenda 2000, 18–34, esp. 26–29, and Edoardo Rossetti, “Una questione di famiglie: Lo sviluppo dell’osservanza francescana e l’aristocrazia milanese (1476–1516)”, in: Letizia Pellegrini and Gian Maria Varanini (eds.), *Fratres de familia: Gli insediamenti dell’Osservanza minoritica nella penisola italiana (sec. XIV–XV) = Quaderni di storia religiosa* 18 (2011), 101–165: 117–118. For the serial foundation of Observant Franciscan houses in the 1460s–1470s, see *ibid.*, 108. See also Cominichini, “La storia”, 14.
- 29 See Maria Teresa Fiorio, *Le chiese di Milano*, new edn., Milan: Electa 2006, 146–149. For this and all the following examples see also Luciano Patetta, *L’architettura del Quattrocento a Milano*, Milan: CittàStudi 1987.
- 30 See, for instance, Fiorio, *Le chiese di Milano*, 82. ASMi, Archivio generale del Fondo di Religione 648 preserves copies of concessions and letters by Gian Galeazzo from the 1480s and 1490s regarding the construction and management of the church.
- 31 See Patrick Boucheron, *Le Pouvoir de bâtir: Urbanisme et politique éditairiale à Milan (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Rome: École française de Rome 1998, 141–142.
- 32 See Fiorio, *Le chiese di Milano*, 240. S. Maria della Pace was under the rule of Amadeus de Silva’s reformed Franciscans: on the relationship between the Sforzas and de Silva see Covini, “Entre dévotion et politique”, 262–263.
- 33 For instance, ASMi, Registri delle missive 125, fol. 320r (or 257r in a more recent foliation): letter of Galeazzo to the provincial vicar of the Minorites, 20 August 1476, concerning the imminent inauguration of the convent; Carlo Stefano Brambilla, *La chiesa di Vigevano*, Milan: Nella stampa delli fratelli Camagni vicini alla Rosa [1669], 101; Rossetti, “Una questione di famiglie”, 107, and the literature quoted there.
- 34 See Boucheron, *Le Pouvoir de bâtir*, 144–145. See also Christine Suzanne Getz, *Mary, Music, and Meditation: Sacred Conversations in Post-Tridentine Milan*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 2013, 7, 19, and Luigi Prosdocimi, *Il diritto ecclesiastico dello Stato di Milano: Dall’inizio della signoria viscontea al periodo tridentino (sec. XIII–XVI)*, Milan: Edizioni de l’Arte 1941, 253–254.

- Dominicans' S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan, which Ludovico wanted to turn into a dynastic burial place;<sup>35</sup>
- the churches and shrines that the dukes visited, inside and outside Milan: from S. Maria del Monte, near Varese,<sup>36</sup> to the Dominicans' S. Eustorgio; from S. Ambrogio ad Nemus, for which Ludovico commissioned the famous altarpiece known as *Pala Sforzesca*, now at the Pinacoteca di Brera,<sup>37</sup> to S. Stefano in Milan (at least until 1476, when Galeazzo was stabbed to death in this church), and to churches in such cities as Cremona, Monza, Pavia, and Vigevano;
  - and of course the ducal church of S. Maria della Scala in Milan<sup>38</sup> and the Certosa of Pavia, that the Sforzas “inherited” from the Visconti.<sup>39</sup>

35 See Fiorio, *Le chiese di Milano*, 83–99; Boucheron, *Le Pouvoir de bâtir*, 591–596; and Girolamo Gattico, *Descrizione succinta e vera delle cose spettanti alla Chiesa e convento di Santa Maria delle Grazie e di Santa Maria della Rosa e suo luogo, et altre loro aderenze in Milano dell'Ordine de' Predicatori con due tavole in fine*, ed. Elisabetta Erminia Bellagente, Milan: Ente raccolta vinciana, Castello sforzesco 2004. After the death of Beatrice d'Este in 1497, Ludovico il Moro donated to the church a rich set of liturgical vestments and vessels: see Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 364–367. A printed version of Ludovico's will, together with other materials connected with the Grazie, is in ASMi, Archivio generale del Fondo di Religione 1398.

36 See, for instance, Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 363–364 and ASMi, Registri delle missive 111a, fol. 360r.

37 See <http://pinacotecabrera.org/en/collezione-online/opere/virgin-and-child-enthroned/>. Laura Baini, “Le commissioni dinastiche: La pala per Sant'Ambrogio ad Nemus”, in: Luisa Giordano (ed.), *Ludovicus Dux*, Vigevano: Diakronia 1995, 158–167; Nadia Covini, “Feste e cerimonie milanesi tra città e corte: Appunti dai carteggi mantovani”, in: *Ludica* 7 (2001), 122–150: 125; Ballarin, *Leonardo a Milano*, vol. 1, 477–478. For other pictorial self-representations of the Sforzas in sacred contexts, see the case of the organ doors of the Duomo (discussed below) and that of the ducal chapel at the Annunziata in Abbiategrasso. According to an anonymous 16th-century chronicler, “supradictus Dux curavit eam pingi ut etiam ipse genuflexus ante imaginem Virginis Marie presentaretur a S. Caterina et ducissa a S. Bernardino ac alios duos duces vel saltem de suo sanguine per SS. Ioseph et Franciscum” (“the above mentioned duke [*i.e.* Galeazzo] saw to it that [the chapel] was frescoed, and that he himself was [portrayed] kneeling in front of the image of the Virgin Mary, introduced to her by St. Catherine, and the duchess by St. Bernardine, and other two dukes, or at least [two of] his descendants, by St. Joseph and St. Francis”; see Cominichini, *Il convento dell'Annunziata*, appendix II).

38 See Paola Meroni, “Santa Maria della Scala: Un aspetto della politica ecclesiastica dei duchi di Milano”, in: *ASL* 115 (1989), 37–89.

39 See the section on the Certosa in the entry “Pavia”, in: *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Colum P. Hourihane, 6 vols., New York: Oxford University Press 2012, 2:605–607 and the literature listed there.

The idea of establishing and exhibiting a continuity with the religious patronage of their predecessors, the Visconti, is surely a defining trait of Sforza policies in this field.<sup>40</sup> Bianca Maria, the legitimated daughter of Filippo Maria Visconti (1392–1447) who became the influential wife of Francesco Sforza, was a pivotal figure in this process.<sup>41</sup> This is apparent, for instance, in the important ambit of chantries and foundations. The Visconti started a tradition: in particular, Filippo Maria founded chantries in a series of churches in Milan and in other cities in the Duchy in the 1430s.<sup>42</sup> In 1459 Bianca Maria obtained from Pope Pius II that the continuity of these dynastic chantries would be maintained in spite of the technicalities of the succession.<sup>43</sup> In a letter of 10 July 1476 to the archpriest of S. Maria del Monte, near Varese, regarding the chantries founded there by the Visconti, Galeazzo explicitly claims this dynastic continuity and the responsibilities therewith associated:

Per certa via ne è pur venuto ad noticia che li capellani che sono deputate [*sic*] ale capelle fondate et dotate per li Illustrissimi Signori Vesconti nostri precessori [*sic*] in quella chiesa de sancta maria del monte non fano el debito suo in celledrare le messe et li divini officij, La qualcosa ad nuy è molto molesta, parendone che ad nuy seguira graveza quoniam *nuy siamo sucessori delli signori Vesconti* non gli facessemo provisione, el perché vi dicemo che debiati admonire per nostra parte dicti capellani ad fare le soe residentie et attender alli officii però ch'èl debito suo.<sup>44</sup>

In some way we have come to know that the chaplains in charge of the chantries founded and endowed in that church of S. Maria del Monte by the most Illustrious Lords Visconti, our predecessors, do not fulfil their duty in celebrating Masses and divine offices. This we find very annoying, thinking that, *being the successors of the Lords Visconti*, we will suffer damage if we will not take care of that. Therefore we order you to admonish the said chaplains on our behalf that they must reside there and attend to the offices according to their duty.

40 See Boucheron, *Le Pouvoir de bâtir*, 129–145.

41 See Covini, “Entre dévotion et politique”, 255–256.

42 See Stefania Buganza, “Note su Filippo Maria Visconti committente d’arte”, in: Federica Cengarle and Maria Nadia Covini (eds.), *Il ducato di Filippo Maria Visconti, 1412–1447: Economia, politica, cultura*, Florence: Firenze University Press 2015, 247–284, esp. 299–305; Elisabetta Canobbio, “*Christianissimus princeps*: Note sulla politica ecclesiastica di Filippo Maria Visconti”, *ibid.*, 285–318; Monica Visioli, “Le cappellanie fondate da Filippo Maria Visconti a Cremona e nel ducato (1434): Dotazione e corredo liturgico”, in: *ASL 140* (2014), 351–373. Interestingly, according to Buganza (304) and Visioli (361–362) the primary character of Filippo Maria’s foundations project was Marian: the cult of the Virgin presented itself as a princely devotion, as opposed, for instance, to the “municipal” cult of St. Ambrose in Milan.

43 See Agostino Bassanini, *Libro economale di tutti li iuspatronati fondati, & dotati dalli signori duchi di Milano*, n.p., n.d. [ca. 1651], 41; Buganza, “Note su Filippo Maria Visconti”, 305; Visioli, “Le cappellanie fondate da Filippo Maria Visconti”, 356.

44 ASMi, Registri delle missive 125, fol. 234v (or 201v). Italics mine. The document is mentioned in Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court*, 78.

Surprisingly, and at the same time frustratingly, in spite of the Visconti tradition and of the continuity actively sought by Bianca Maria and Galeazzo, we do not have any comparable new enterprise until the time of Francesco II Sforza (1495–1535). After the restoration of Sforza rule that followed the French domination, he founded four chantries, two at the Duomo and one each at S. Ambrogio and S. Gottardo (1524), and established ducal chapels, staffed with chaplains and singers, at S. Maria della Scala in Milan and at S. Ambrogio in Vigevano (1530).<sup>45</sup> In the intervening period, the one that concerns us, we have only sparse traces of Sforza “liturgical patronage” in Milanese churches, apart from S. Maria delle Grazie. In the accurate retrospective documents we have from later periods there is no evidence of chantries founded either by Galeazzo (with one possible exception), Gian Galeazzo, or Ludovico. Table 3.2 lists the ducal chantries in Milanese churches, mainly based on Agostino Bassanini’s *Libro economale di tutti li iuspatronati fondati, & dotati dalli signori duchi di Milano* (ca. 1651) and on documents from the historical archive of the Diocese of Milan (Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano, hereafter ASDMi), notably Fondo Visite Pastorali, Metropolitana, XLIX, 13. Chantries in other churches and cities of the duchy and related territories (not listed in the table) included those at S. Maria del Monte near Varese, at the Duomo of Cremona, and in churches in Abbiategrasso, Binasco, Cremona, Cusago, Delebio, Lodi, Lucca, Monza, Pavia, Piacenza, and Soncino. As the table shows, the only foundations (at least the only lasting ones, as all the extant documents date from the post-Sforza period) seem to be those promoted by Bona at S. Salvatore and at the altar of St. Agnes in the Duomo.<sup>46</sup>

Let us now focus on the Duomo. Among the main open questions concerning the *motetti missales* is the one regarding the transfer of music from the ducal chapel to the cathedral. Why do we find this Sforza-related repertory copied in a set of manuscripts that are inherently associated with the Duomo? The project of the so-called Libroni, promoted and supervised by Franchinus Gaffurius, had an unmistakably Duomo-related character, made manifest in the

45 Christine Getz, “The Sforza Restoration and the Founding of the Ducal Chapels at Santa Maria della Scala in Milan and Sant’Ambrogio in Vigevano”, in: *EMH* 17 (1998), 109–159. At 127–128 Getz describes the special observances and prayers for the duke held daily at S. Ambrogio in Vigevano: they included the singing of *Salve Regina*, *Da pacem Domine*, and litanies.

46 According to a document from the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo (see the table), in August 1480 Bona asked the board of that institution to reinstate an unnamed priest as chaplain “at the altar of the most illustrious prince Galeazzo Maria, former duke of Milan”, so that the priest could celebrate Mass there, “as he used to since a certain time”. It is not clear which altar is meant (possibly that of St. Joseph, on which see below), and when and by whom the chantry had been instituted.

Table 3.2: Ducal chantries in Milanese churches

CHURCH	ALTAR/TITLE ASDMi, Visite Pastorali, Metropolitana, XLIX, 13	other sources/notes	FOUNDER
Duomo	sotto il titolo della Passione dominicale	Bassanini, 156: altar of the Passion, title of S. Galdino	Francesco II, 1524
	sotto il titolo delle Beata Virgine Maria dell'Arboro		Francesco II, 1524
		ASDMi, V.P., Metrop. XLIX, 26, fol. 3r (etc.): altar of St. Agnes	Bona
		AVFDMi, AS, Ordinanze Capitolari, 3, fol. 169r (3 August 1480): "ad altare Illustrissimi Principis Galeaz Marie ollim [ <i>sic</i> ] ducis nostri Mediolani"	Galeazzo Maria (?)
Scurolo di S. Ambrogio	sotto il titolo di S. Ambrogio		Francesco II, 1524
S. Gottardo	sotto il titolo de S. Gottardo		Francesco II, 1524
S. Nazaro in Brolo	sotto il titolo di S. Maria della Fiorana [or Floriania]		Bernabò Visconti, 1370
S. Maria presso S. Celso		Bassanini, 181: five chantries	Filippo Maria Visconti, 1430s
S. Sebastiano	sotto il titolo de S. Sebastiano		?
S. Maria Podone, oratory of S. Maria Annunziata	sotto il titolo della Annunziata		Filippo Maria Visconti, 1434
S. Bartolomeo	sotto il titolo di S. Agnexa		Filippo Maria Visconti
S. Maria della Scala (originally at S. Giovanni alla Vepra)		Bassanini, 140: two chantries	?
S. Salvatore (originally in S. Tecla)	sotto il titolo del Sacro Chiodo	Bassanini 177: "intitolata S. Claudio"; ASDMi, V.P., Metrop. XXXVII: "Ad altare Sancti Claudii et onus duarum missarum ex legato ducissae Bonae"; Buganza, "I Visconti e l'aristocrazia milanese", 141–142, n. 72	Galeazzo II Visconti and Bianca di Savoia; then Bona
S. Giovanni in Conca	sotto il titolo di S. Giovanni Evangelista		?
S. Satiro	sotto il titolo de S. Barbara	Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, "Per la storia artistica della chiesa di S. Satiro in Milano", in: <i>ASL</i> 32/5 (1905), 140–151: 146	Bianca Maria (?)
S. Giorgio in Palazzo	sotto il titolo de S. Georgio	Bassanini, 195: "altar maggiore"	Filippo Maria Visconti
S. Cristoforo		Covini, "Feste e cerimonie milanesi", 125	Gian Galeazzo and Giovanni Maria Visconti

parchment index of Librone 1, which bears the inscription “Liber capelle ecclesie maioris Mediolani” (Book of the chapel of the main church of Milan), and in the illumination at fol. 2vA (see Fig. 3.6). If, on the one hand, the documents do not help us explain in a completely straightforward way this transfer, on the other hand we have abundant evidence that the relationship between the Sforzas and the Metropolitan church was rich and strong.



Fig. 3.6: Decorated initial with the emblem of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo from Librone 1, fol. 2vA (detail) (© Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano)

To begin with, the Sforzas were the main institutional partners for the Veneranda Fabbrica, the body in charge of the ongoing construction and maintenance of the cathedral (again, started by the Visconti).<sup>47</sup> The dukes often visited the Duomo and attended celebrations there. In a document of 9 September 1468 we read that on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary Galeazzo and Bona went to the Duomo, and each heard Mass at a different altar:

Heri che fu el zorno de Nostra Donna, andoe in dommo cum gran pompa e gran cerimonie. Sua excellentia audi la messa a lo altare de san Zorzo e la illustrissima domina a quello de santa Maria da l'altro canto dela giesia.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See for instance Prosdocimi, *Il diritto ecclesiastico dello Stato di Milano*, 247–253 and Boucheron, *Le Pouvoir de bâtir*, 177–197.

<sup>48</sup> Letter by Marsilio Andreasi to the Marchioness of Mantua, Barbara di Brandeburgo, Milan, 9 September 1468, in Maria Nadia Covini (ed.), *Carteggio degli oratori mantovani alla corte sforzesca (1450–1500)*, vol. 8: 1468–1471, Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali-Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici 2000, 92.



Yesterday, the feast of Our Lady, [Duke Galeazzo] went to the Duomo with great pomp and ceremonies. His Excellency heard Mass at the altar of St. George, and the most illustrious Lady at that of St. Mary on the other side of the church.

The Sforza held dynastically relevant ceremonies in (or sometimes in front of) the Duomo, at times with lavish apparati: such was the case for the investiture of Ludovico in 1495 (see Fig. 3.4 above) and the wedding by proxy of Bianca Maria Sforza (1472–1510), daughter of Galeazzo and Bona, to Emperor Maximilian of Habsburg in 1493.<sup>49</sup> The latter occasion is described in a letter by Beatrice d'Este to her sister Isabella as follows:

Ne li dui extremi canti del coro erano facti doi lochi eminenti, l'uno per li cantori, l'altro per li trombetti, tra el mezo de li quali erano collocati tutti li doctores, juristi et de medicina [...] Vene el Reverendissimo Arcivescovo de Mediolano parato cum li ordinari, et comenzò a celebrare la missa cum grandissime solemnitade de soni de trombe, pifferi et organi et canti de la capella, li quali nel celebrare de la missa se accomodavano al tempo suo.<sup>50</sup>

In the two extreme corners of the choir were constructed two high stands, one for the singers, and the other for the trumpeters, in the middle of which were gathered all the doctors, both of law and of medicine [...] The most Reverend Archbishop of Milan, accompanied by the ordinary clergy, began to celebrate the Mass with the greatest ceremony and solemnity and with the sounds of trumpets, pifferi, and organ and singing of the cappella, who accommodated themselves to his pace in celebrating the Mass.

The Sforza dynasty also held funerals, burials, and anniversaries in the Duomo.<sup>51</sup> At the death of Francesco in 1466, for instance, the corpse was exposed in the church and the *custodi* of the church performed a vigil “in dire molti officii et pregare per la benedeta anima” (“by reciting many offices and praying for the dear departed”).<sup>52</sup>

Certain altars were especially important for Sforza observances.<sup>53</sup> A ducal altar was presumably placed right in the centre of the ambulatory, underneath the *raza*, the radiant sun symbol of the Visconti and Sforza that is still visible in the central window of the apse. The altar of St. Joseph, where the anniver-

49 See Mulas, “Cum aparatu ac triumpho”.

50 Text and translation from William F. Prizer, “Music at the Court of the Sforza: The Birth and Death of a Musical Center”, in: *MD* 43 (1989), 141–193: 176.

51 For the hanging sarcophagi of the Sforzas in the Duomo see Evelyn S. Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, New Haven: Yale University Press 1995, 53, and especially Stefania Buganza, “I Visconti e l'aristocrazia milanese tra Tre e primo Quattrocento: Gli spazi sacri”, in: Letizia Arcangeli et al. (eds.), *Famiglie e spazi sacri nella Lombardia del Rinascimento*, Milan: Scalpenti, 2015, 129–167: 145–146, n. 94.

52 ASMi, VS 1458, 278. For Francesco's anniversaries, see *ibid.*, 280–282.

53 See especially Giovanni Battista Sannazzaro, “Altari”, in: Giulia Benati and Anna Maria Roda (eds.), *Il duomo di Milano: Dizionario storico artistico e religioso*, Milan: NED 2001, 14–25.

saries of Galeazzo's entry in Milan were celebrated during his rule, the altar of St. Theodore, and that of St. George were also important.<sup>54</sup> The instructions for the bestowal of ducal insignia on Gian Galeazzo in 1478 specify that the cortège should reach the altar of St. George where

si celebrerà la messa in parole, secondo se faceva al tempo della bona memoria del Sig.re duca Galeazo, et se benedirano li standardi more solito.<sup>55</sup>

a "Mass in words" [*scil.* a low Mass] will be celebrated, as it was customary at the time of Duke Galeazzo of blessed memory, and the standards will be blessed as usual.

The dukes were involved in artistic patronage for the Duomo. On a larger scale, as already mentioned, they acted as institutional partners of the Veneranda Fabbrica (for instance in the case of the construction of the dome lantern under Ludovico).<sup>56</sup> On a smaller scale they focused on the decoration of their favourite altars.<sup>57</sup> In November 1471 an ailing Galeazzo decided to sponsor a new chapel in the Duomo "in honour of seven saints"<sup>58</sup> and ordered two Milanese goldsmiths

che ne fabbrichino ymagine sette de sancti de quelli habiamo in devozione per metterli ne la capella facemo fare de presente nella chiesa del domo di Milano quali volemo siano forniti ala proxima festa di natale tuti d'argento fino.<sup>59</sup>

to craft the statues of seven saints of whom we are devotees, to be put in the chapel we are setting up in the Duomo of Milan; we want them ready by the coming feast of Christmas, all in fine silver.

Unfortunately the extant documents do not give us clues as to the identity of the seven saints, and it is difficult to locate the altar in question.<sup>60</sup> Inscript-

54 On the feast of St. Joseph Galeazzo had officially entered Milan in 1466 as the new duke. On the significance of this feast, see Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court*, 66–68. For the "ducal" altar of St. Joseph, see Federico Maria Giani, "Ricerche per l'altare di San Giuseppe nel Duomo di Milano", in: *Concorso: Arti e lettere* 7 (2015), 5–65, esp. 8–12 (<http://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/concorso/article/view/6419>). For St. George's day, see Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 221–222; Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court*, 214–219. St. Theodore's day (26 May) was the date of Ludovico's investiture; see Luisa Giordano, "Le commissioni dinastiche: La cappella di San Teodoro", in: Giordano (ed.), *Ludovicus Dux*, 168–171.

55 ASMi, VS 1464, 306. For the altar of St. George, see also Maria Teresa Fiorio, "Tra Quattro e Cinquecento", in: Benati and Roda (eds.), *Il duomo di Milano*, 42–46: 43.

56 Boucheron, *Le Pouvoir de bâtir*, 256–257; Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, 54.

57 See Sannazzaro, "Altari", 18–19; Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, 53–54.

58 See ASMi, VS 902, s.f., letter to Antonio Anguissola of 13 November 1471: "Havemo deliberato [...] far una capella nella chiesa del domo di Milano in honore de sette santi". First mentioned in Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court*, 314, n. 113.

59 ASMi, VS 902, letter to Anguissola of 20 November 1471.

60 It is to be noted that the altars of the Duomo repeatedly underwent transformations in the early modern era, especially under Archbishop Carlo Borromeo during 1565–1584. For the dismantlement and reconfiguration of the ducal altar of St. Joseph, see again Giani, "Ricerche per l'altare di San Giuseppe", esp. 20.

tions and images of members of the ruling dynasty were scattered around the Duomo, from the ambulatory to the doors of the organ:<sup>61</sup>

Facta propositione quod organa vetera, noviter reconstructa, devastabuntur ob pulverem, nisi cito claudantur cum antis suis, prout requiritur, ordinatum fuit quod dictae antae cito ordinentur, et super eis depingatur Annuntiatio gloriosissimae virginis Mariae intus, et extra imagines illustrissimi domini Johannis Galeazii Mariae ducis Mediolani, et illustrissimi domini Ludovici Mariae patruui supra, quae exequantur per dominum Filippum Citadinum.<sup>62</sup>

It was pointed out that the old organ, recently restored, will be damaged by dust unless it will be soon properly closed with its own doors. It was decided that the said doors be ordered quickly and that they be painted with the Annunciation of the most glorious Virgin Mary on the inside, and on the outside with the effigies of the most illustrious Lord Gian Galeazzo Maria, duke of Milan, and of the most illustrious Lord Ludovico Maria, his uncle. Mister Filippo Cittadini will take care of that.

Surprisingly enough, however, even for the Duomo there is almost no trace of new Sforza chantries or foundations until the time of Francesco II (see Table 3.2 above).

As we have seen in the case of the “imperial” wedding of 1495, sometimes the ducal chapel performed in the Duomo. One such occasion was Gian Galeazzo’s wedding with Isabella d’Aragona in February 1489. The bishop of Piacenza, Fabrizio Marliani,

cominciò la messa *istituita ab ecclesia super sponsum et sponsam* in parole al modo ducale con li ordinarii del Domo et li cantori de la capela, che fecero una melodia angelica.<sup>63</sup> began the Mass established by the Church for marriage, in words in the ducal manner with the *ordinarii* of the Duomo and the singers of the chapel, who sang an angelic melody.

A passage from another account of the ceremony mentions the presence of both the Franco-Flemish ducal singers and the *trombetti*: “hinc cantoribus gallicis, il-

61 See Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, 53–54. Three slabs of marble with Sforza devices currently in the museum of the Duomo are catalogued and reproduced in Benati (ed.), *Milano: Museo e tesoro del Duomo*, 234–237 (catalogue nos. 162–164). See also two statues with Sforza shields (ibid., 242–243, cat. nos. 170–171) and a statue of a young warrior conjecturally identified as Galeazzo (247–248, cat. no. 176).

62 Resolution of the board of the Veneranda Fabbrica, 7 July 1491. *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall’origine fino al presente*, vol. 3, Milan: G. Brigola 1880, 69. See also Damiano Muoni, “Gli Antignati [*sic*] organari insigni colla serie dei maestri di cappella del Duomo di Milano”, in: *ASL*, Series 1, 10/2 (June 1883), 188–221: 197.

63 Text and translation in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 317 and 356. The Merkleys give the source as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS ital. 1610, but I have consulted a microfilm of MS ital. 1592 (deposited at ASMi) which contains the same account *verbatim* at fols. 209–218. See also Paul A. Merkley, “Ludovico Sforza as an ‘Emerging Prince’: Networks of Musical Patronage in Milan”, in: Paul A. Merkley (ed.), *Music and Patronage*, Farnham: Ashgate 2012, 255–270: 266.

linc tubicinum concentu choro exultante” (“while the choir jubilated with the French singers on one side and the trumpeters on the other”).<sup>64</sup> As I have explained more in detail elsewhere, “messa [...] in parole” indicates a low Mass. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the “messa in parole” is presented as a ducal tradition (compare this quotation and the one from 1478 discussed above). The “melodia angelica”, as already suggested by the Merkleys, could indeed have been a cycle of *motetti missales*.<sup>65</sup>

The ducal singers performed not only in the ducal chapels or in the Duomo. They were supposed to follow the duke in his frequent travels, and were summoned from Milan or sent to an assigned destination with peremptory orders. Such an order, cited only in passing by the Merkleys,<sup>66</sup> deserves to be read in full. In a letter to his chapel master Antonio Guinati of 4 June 1473 (see Fig. 3.7), Galeazzo writes:

Domenica proxima, quo die festum Pentecostes agetur, volumus in Ecclesia Sancti Spiritus que est apud portam Vercelinam a cantoribus nostris missam celebrari, que *ut commodius a populus possit audiri* vobis iniungimus ut eam ad altare quod est in primo aditu ecclesie extra chorum cantari faciatis.<sup>67</sup>

Next Sunday [6 June], the feast of Pentecost, we want our singers to celebrate a Mass in the Church of S. Spirito, near Porta Vercellina, and *in order for the people to hear it more easily* we command you to have it sung at the altar right at the entrance of the church, outside the choir.

The church of S. Spirito, not far from the Castle, was under the rule of the order of the Umiliati.<sup>68</sup> The popular Pentecost celebration there consisted of a three-day festival, including stately liturgies and secular entertainment, and was observed by the Sforza dukes, from Francesco to Ludovico il Moro.<sup>69</sup> That year, Galeazzo would not be personally present. Remarkably, however, he wanted his

64 Stefano Dolcino, *Nuptiae illustrissimi Ducis Mediolani*, Milan: Zarotto 1489, § De Pontificali Missa (available online at <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz347809669>).

65 For all these aspects, see Filippi, “Audire missam”, esp. 24–27.

66 Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 98.

67 Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS Arch. B7 a, fol. 187r (italics mine).

68 See Serviliano Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano ornata con molti disegni in rame delle fabbriche più cospicue*, vol. 4, Milan: G. Cairoli 1751, 403–404. According to a document from the time of Carlo Borromeo, the church, later demolished, had “una nave longa sola, con l’altare maggiore, et dui altri in due capelle o vero nicie, una per parte” (“one long nave only, with the main altar, and two other altars in two chapels or niches, one on each side”; ASDMi, Visite Pastorali, S. Francesco di Paola VI, 32).

69 Covini, “Feste e cerimonie milanesi”, 124–125. A letter from ambassador Trotti to his master, the duke of Ferrara, of 10 June 1492 reports that during that year’s festivities Ludovico and Beatrice attended “una solemne missa cantata a Sancto Spirito de li frati bianchi fora de porta Zobia” (“a solemn Mass sung at S. Spirito of the White Friars at Porta Giovia”); see Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Ludovico il Moro*, vol. 1, 2nd edn., Milan: Hoepli 1929, 385–386.

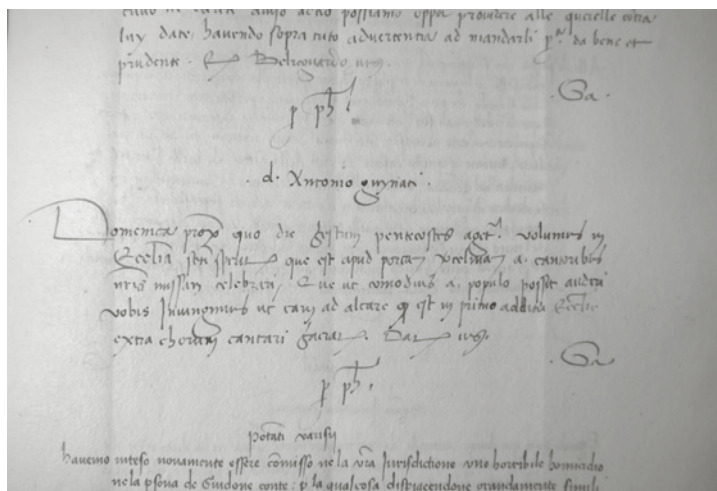


Fig. 3.7: Fair copy of a letter from Duke Galeazzo to his chapel master Antonio Guinati of 4 June 1473 specifying the location of the singers so people could hear them. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS Arch. B7 a, fol. 187r (detail) (© Comune di Milano – all rights reserved)

singers to represent him in an audible way. As mentioned above, Galeazzo repeatedly demonstrated an interest in the configuration and public impact of rituals: as we see in this case, the singers of his chapel played a significant role in all this.

## 2 The Mass in Milan

Having outlined some aspects of Sforza piety, I will now briefly focus on the Mass in Milan, offering further, and unequivocally “local”, evidence for the low Mass hypothesis.

What we may call Milan’s liturgical industry worked according to a complex organisation that is similar to what has been described for other places.<sup>70</sup> Each church had an intricate system of observances, in which the charges of chantries and annual commemorations intersected with the regular calendar and with special events. Masses were celebrated each day at different altars by different and differently chosen and remunerated priests, for different intentions and following different formularies.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See also the chapter by Robert Nosow in the present volume.

<sup>71</sup> My discussion is based on documents preserved at ASMi (Fondo di Religione), ASDMi, at the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, and at the Archivio dei Luoghi Pii Elemosinieri, Milan.

A document in ASDMi, *Visite Pastorali S. Babila XVI* contains a set of rules for coordinating the celebration of Masses at different altars at S. Babila, an important church not far from the Duomo. According to the rules, on feast days Masses are to be celebrated as follows: one during Matins; one that should end immediately before the Gospel of the main conventual (or chapter) Mass; one or two starting after the sermon, or, if there is no sermon, starting immediately after the Elevation of the main Mass; and the rest consecutively afterwards. A special rule prescribes Masses should not be celebrated at the adjacent oratories of S. Romano and S. Marta during the sermon, so as not to distract the faithful from it. It is worth noticing that the Gospel, the sermon, and the Elevation of the main conventual Mass are taken as reference points. In most late medieval and early modern methods for hearing the Mass, the Gospel, the sermon, and the Elevation are precisely the only crucial foci of the ritual during which the attention of all the faithful must converge.<sup>72</sup> Correspondingly, the S. Babila rules essentially prescribe that no celebration at a side altar should impinge on those crucial moments of the main Mass.

ASDMi preserves tables from several churches, including S. Ambrogio and the Duomo, that list the different Masses and annual commemorations to be celebrated at the different altars, including information on the funding and titularity of each foundation. The ducal chantries are also mentioned, as in the following example:

Ad Altare depositionis sancti Ambrosij in scurolo, Missa titularis quotidiana, dicitur de iure patronatus camere ducalis, cum onere interessendi officijs [~~crossed out~~] divinis in choro cum Canonicis [...].<sup>73</sup>

A daily Mass is said at the altar of the deposition of St. Ambrose in the crypt, according to the right of patronage of the ducal chamber, with the charge of participating in choir in the divine service with the Canons [there follows information on the sources of income for the chantry].

Another document from the same archive (Metropolitana XXIV, 20, table of Masses to be celebrated at the Duomo, subdivided by altars; see Fig. 8a and b), mentions the weekly Mass to be celebrated at the altar of St. Agnes according to the foundation of Duchess Bona (“ex fondatione Bonae Ducissae”), and “two daily titular chantries according to the foundation of Francesco II Sforza, duke of Milan” with the charge of participating in choir in the chapter service (see

<sup>72</sup> See Filippi, “Audire missam”, 19–21.

<sup>73</sup> ASDMi, *Visite Pastorali, S. Ambrogio XXI*, 11: “Missae perpetuo celebrandae in sacello, quod dicunt lo scurolo et alijs capellis in ecclesia sancti Ambrosij maioris Mediolani”.

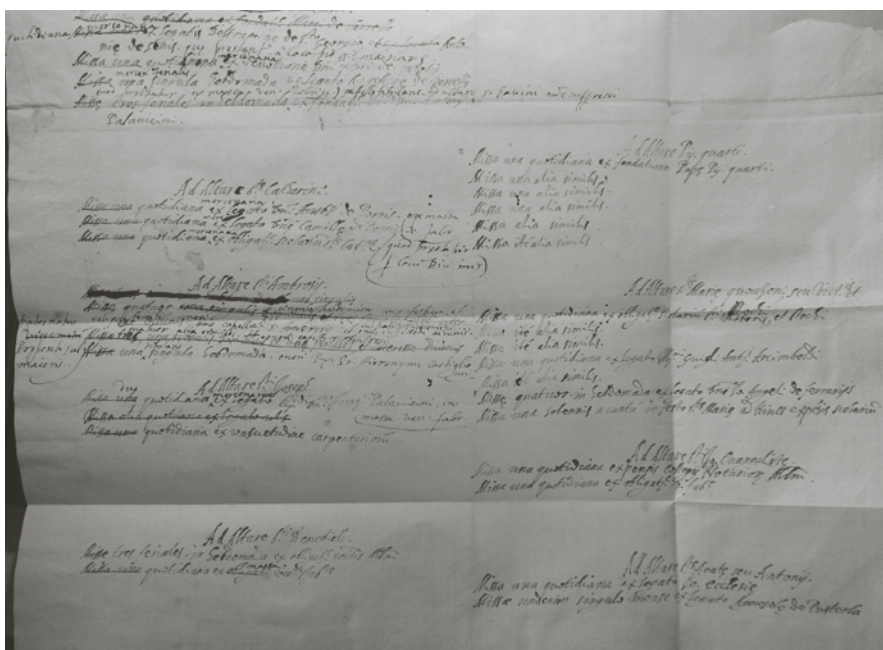
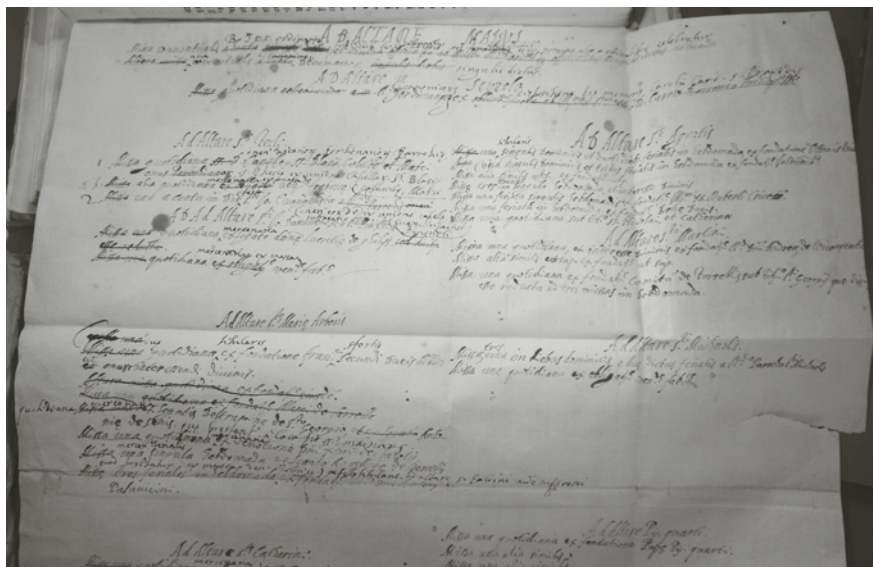


Fig. 3.8a and b: ASDMi, Visite Pastorali, Metropolitana XXIV, 20: table of Masses to be celebrated at the Duomo, subdivided by altars

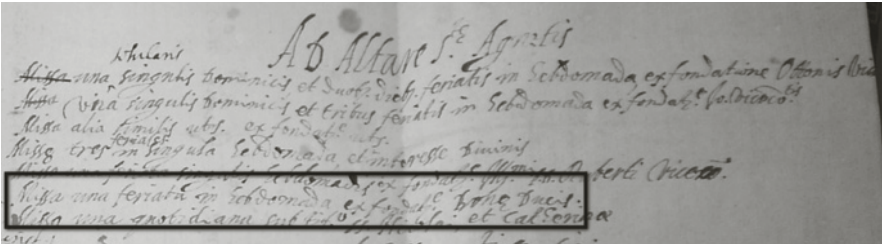


Fig. 3.8c: Detail of Fig. 3.8a. Mention of the weekly Mass to be celebrated at the altar of St. Agnes according to the foundation of Duchess Bona (“*Missa una feriata in hebdomada ex fondatione Bonae Ducissae*”; highlighted here in the black frame)

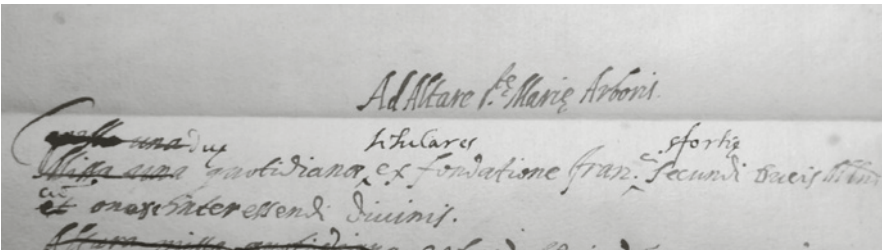


Fig. 3.8d: Detail of Fig. 3.8b. Mention of the two daily titular chantries founded by Francesco II Sforza at the altar of the Madonna dell’Albero, with the charge of participating in choir in the chapter service (“*Capellae duae quotidianae titulares ex fondatione Francisci Secundi Ducis Mediolani cum onere interessendi divinis*”)

Fig. 3.8c and d, respectively).<sup>74</sup> All these are later documents, dating from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they include a good amount of fifteenth-century foundations and patently reflect *longue durée* uses.

Turning now to the constituents of the low Mass hypothesis, it is clear, both from documents related with the Masses and chantries and from Sforza papers, that the distinction between low and high Masses was well established in Milan – it was part of the system. The documents use the terms *missa (a)bassa*, *missa voce submissa*, *missa in parole* (as we have seen above), or simply *missa* as opposed to *missa in canto*. Besides the documents mentioned above regarding the ducal tradition of low Masses at the Duomo, it is worth quoting a passage from a letter detailing the bequest of Ludovico il Moro to S. Maria delle Grazie in 1497. Certain vestments donated by the duke

<sup>74</sup> In these documents, “*missa titularis*” designates a Mass celebrated by the incumbent of the chantry; a “*missa mercenaria*”, on the other hand, was subcontracted, so to speak, to another priest. The incumbents of the ducal chantries at the Duomo are listed, for instance, in another table (ASDMi, Visite Pastorali, Metropolitana XLIX, 27).



se hano adoperare le feste com[anda]te cioè de apostoli *alla messa bassa* quando lo illustrissimo signore nostro va ad oldirla ad Santa Maria delle Grazie.<sup>75</sup>

must be used on the days of obligation, that is [the feasts] of the Apostles *at the low Mass*, when the most illustrious Lord goes hear it at S. Maria delle Grazie.

A bequest from Giovanni Giacomo Cavagni to the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo of 1516 orders two sets of one high Mass and four low Masses be celebrated each year:

[...] col carico di far celebrare in esso Duomo una messa grande ed altre messe 4 basse ogni anno sino in perpetuo nel giorno della Festa ed all'Altare di S. Ambrogio, come anche altra Messa grande ad altre messe 4 basse nella Festa di ciascun anno ed all'Altare di Santa Caterina.<sup>76</sup>

[...] with the charge of celebrating in the said Duomo one high Mass and other four low Masses each year on the feast and at the altar of St. Ambrose, as well as another high Mass and other four low Masses each year on the feast and at the altar of St. Catherine.

Combinations of high and low Masses are found in numerous other documents, with such formulae as “tredecim misse ex quibus saltem una in incantu [*sic*]” (“thirteen Masses, at least one of which sung”).<sup>77</sup> Similarly, there is no doubt that votive Masses were widely used in Milan, and that there was a certain flexibility in the choice and combination of formularies. The will of Petrus de Arsago (28 May 1474), for instance, requires the celebration of a daily votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin with a prayer *pro defuncto* at the Duomo; on feast days, instead, the will requires the proper Mass to be celebrated, with a collect of the Blessed Virgin:

Missa una singulo die celebranda de Beatissima Virgine Maria cum oratione pro defuncto, preterquam diebus festivis, in quibus dicatur Missa de die cum oratione Beatissime Virginis Mariae, pro Domino Jo. Petro de Arsago.<sup>78</sup>

In other wills, the request is for a Mass of the Holy Spirit, as in this case (will of Giovanni Ambrogio Porro, 26 March 1516):

Missa una magna Spiritus Sancti singulo die celebranda in cantu, cum quatuor Presbiteris et quatuor Clericis immediate post Missam magnam ad altare sancti Gothardi in dicta Maiori Ecclesia seu sancte Catherine de Senis.<sup>79</sup>

75 ASMi, Registri delle missive 206b, fol. 227v. Italics mine (I amend the transcription already given in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 365–367).

76 Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, Archivio Storico (hereafter AVFDMi, AS) 57, Capo VI, 4, fasc. 15.

77 AVFDMi, AS 56, capo VI, I, 1, s.f.

78 AVFDMi, AS 56, capo VI, I, 2, fol. 2

79 AVFDMi, AS 56, capo VI, I, 2, fol. 5.

A solemn sung Mass of the Holy Spirit is to be celebrated each day, with four priests and four servers, immediately after the main Mass, at the altar of St. Gotthard in the said Duomo, or at that of St. Catherine of Siena.

Many distinct elements interact in the configuration of these observances. Such material aspects as the choice of a certain church and altar, and of the appropriate liturgical performers and implements, enter into play. But even the textual shape of the liturgy depends on multiple factors, including the choice of a main formulary and the ad libitum addition of prayers according to the intention of the testator or the one who pays for the Mass.<sup>80</sup> For instance, a Mass of the Holy Spirit with the addition of specially crafted prayers for the new duke was used for the investiture of Ludovico il Moro in 1495.<sup>81</sup>

Finally, the impressive *Sermo de Missa* (Sermon on the Mass, 1490) by the Minorite Bernardino de' Busti, active and influential in Milan in our period, confirms that attending Mass was not considered to be a primarily intellectual act.<sup>82</sup> To be able to perceive and understand the words of the priest was recommended, but not essential in order to fulfil the precept and to obtain the so-called “fruits



Fig. 3.9: Murder of Duke Galeazzo Sforza, from the title page of *Lamento del duca Galeazzo Maria, duca di Milano. Quando fu morto nella chiesa di Santo Stefano da Giovan'Andrea da Lampognano* (Florence 1568)

80 See also Nosow's chapter in the present volume.

81 See the documents edited in the appendix of Mulas, “Cum aparatu ac triumpho”.

82 See Bernardino de' Busti, *Rosarium sermonum per quadragesimam, ac in omnibus diebus, tam dominicis, quam festis per annum. Necnon de vnaqua materia praedicabilium*, 3 vols., Brescia: P. M. Marchetti 1588, vol. 2, 363–385, esp. 382–385. Busti's sermon offers further evidence on many of the topics I have discussed in this section.

of the Mass". The fruits of the Mass, as we gather from the same sermon as well as from other texts in contemporary Milanese manuscripts,<sup>83</sup> consisted both of spiritual benefits (for the attending faithful and/or for the souls for which the Mass was offered) and of material benefits, such as being preserved from sudden death on the day when one hears Mass (quite a useful thing if one is permanently at risk of assassination at the hands of aspiring tyrannicides: unless they act before Mass, as it happened to Galeazzo at S. Stefano in December 1476; see Figure 3.9).

\* \* \*

The rich archival materials preserved at the historical diocesan archive, at the State archive, and at the archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica unequivocally demonstrate that Milan was fully part of the world I have described in "Audire missam" – a world in which the experience of liturgy was characterised by multiple layers, by a well-regulated alternation of low and high Masses, by a certain flexibility in the combination of formularies, and by different forms of attention and participation on the part of the faithful for what they reveal as to the circulation, reworking, and performance of such texts.

### 3 Motet Texts in Contemporary Milanese Books

Even though some of the texts used for the *motetti missales* and other motet cycles are found in Milanese liturgical books, many texts are instead included in para- or extra-liturgical books, notably in books of hours, confraternity books, and prayer books or devotional miscellanies.<sup>84</sup> I will examine here four examples that I consider especially noteworthy for what they reveal as to the circulation, reworking, and performance of such texts.

#### a. *Gaude virgo mater Christi*

The text of the rhymed prayer *Gaude virgo mater Christi*, set in the motet cycle *Gaudeamus omnes* (included in Gaffurius's fourth codex and in Petrucci's *Motetti C*), has partial concordances in Milan-related books that belong to all the aforementioned categories. We find it in a book of hours, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS +.3.sup (from Cremona?, 15th–16th century), within a "varia" section (from fol. 74r); in a confraternity book, Biblioteca Trivulziana MS 417 (probably for the Disciplini of S. Marta, late 15th century), repeatedly copied within offices for Ad-

83 See Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MSS Trotti 562 and Y.28.sup.

84 See Filippi, "Audire missam", 28–29 and the rich information on texts included in the Motet Cycles Database (<http://www.motetcycles.ch>).

vent, Christmas, and Easter (from fols. 4r, 26v, 38v, etc.; see Fig. 3.10); in the devotional miscellany by Giovanni Dazio or de Daziis, Biblioteca Trivulziana MS 92 (dated 1490), at fols. 83v–84r. Additionally, we find the prayer in a book of sermons, the *Mariale* by Bernardino de' Busti (1492–1493), within a *Sermo de septem gaudiis Beate Virginis* (Sermon on the seven joys of the Blessed Virgin): de' Busti uses it to summarise the seven joys of Mary and to introduce his detailed discussion of the same (“Canticum continens 7 gaudia de quibus agitur praesenti sermone”); see Fig. 3.11.<sup>85</sup> *Gaude virgo* is thus an emblematic example of how the texts set in contemporary motets and motet cycles circulated on the borders of liturgy and were part of a rich and diverse range of individual and collective devotions.

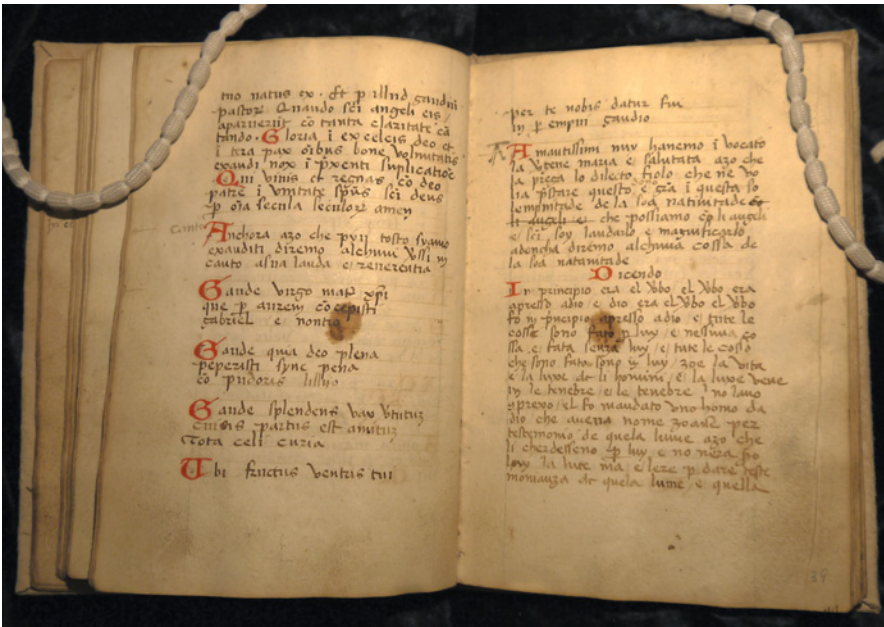


Fig. 3.10: *Gaude virgo mater Christi* from a confraternity prayer book. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 417, fols. 38v–39r (© Comune di Milano – all rights reserved)

### b. *Ave virgo gloriosa*

Loyset Compère’s cycle *Ave virgo gloriosa* (which in Librone 3 has the famous rubric [Missa] *Galeazescha*) is a complex compilation of mainly Marian texts. The only partial Milanese concordance I have found so far is in Trivulziana MS 418 (fols. 21v–25r), which belongs to the same set of confraternal booklets

<sup>85</sup> I consulted the edition of the *Mariale seu sermones de beatissima virgine Maria* included as vol. 3 in Busti, *Rosarium sermonum*, at 850–852.

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## Decima Pars

inflammari incendio, quæ filium paternæ dilectionis cum gaudio sancti spiritus mox erat conceptura, neque enim nisi in deuotissimo, atque purissimo corde tanta se capere poterat dulcedinis, & alacritatis affluentia, hæc ille. Sed de his omnibus gaudijs pro nunc prætermittamus loqui. Et iterum de gaudio eiusdem virginis, quando filium amissum, quem per triduum cum maximo dolore quaererat in templo inuenit. Credendum est enim quod summopere exultauit: unde cum maximo gaudio dicebat vicinis suis illud Cantic. tertio. Inueni quem diligit anima mea; tenebo illum, nec dimittam. Pertransibo etiam gaudium quod habuit ipsa benedictissima virgo ex eo quod ipsa sola est electa mater filij Dei. Item non referam eius exultationem, quam continue habebat ex consideratione, quod per eius filium tota humana natura liberata est ab æterna damnatione. Si enim gaudium magnum est angelis super vno peccatore poenitentiam agente Luc. decimoquinto, & Matth. decimo octauo, & capitul. quia tua. distinct & 23. quæst. 4. §. ex his. Quanto magis ipsa exultare debebat de tota humana natura per sui ventris fructum reconciliata. Quantum etiam lætari debebat, cum videret se suis se caulam restaurationis angelicæ mediante filio suo. De quo dicitur Coloss. 3. Pacificans per sanguinem suum, quæ in cælis sunt, & quæ in terris & cæter. Solum autem in hoc sermone de gaudijs illis differemus, de quibus cõmuniter ab ecclesia laudatur, quæ in his canticis describuntur cum ei canitur. Gaude virgo mater Christi, quæ per aurem concepisti Gabriele nuncio: Gaude quia Deo plena, peperisti sine pœna cum pudoris lilio. Gaude quia Magi dona, tuo nato ferunt bona, quem tenes in gremio. Gaude quia iuxta legem, obtulisti mundi regem, in templi sacrario. Gaude quia tui nati, quem dolebas mortem pati, fulget resurrectio. Gaude Christo ascendente, qui in cælis te vidente, motus, tur proprio. Gaude virgo, quia misit, Paraclytum, quem promisit sanctorum collegio. Gaude quæ post ipsum gaudis, & est honor tibi grandis, in

cæli palatio. Vbi fructus ventris tui, per te nobis detur frui, in perenni gaudio. Amen. Istorum autem gaudiorum primum dicitur salutationis, sive conceptionis, secundum parturitionis, tertium adorationis, sive oblationis, quartum præsentationis, quantum resurrectionis, & ascensionis, sextum missionis, sive receptionis, septimum vero appellatur assumptionis.

P A R S P R I M A  
huius sermonis: de primo gaudio  
beatæ virginis, quod dicitur  
tur salutationis, sive  
conceptionis.

**S**I aliquis magnus imperator destina-  
ret vnum de suis principalibus  
secretarijs, & ambasciatoribus ad ali-  
quam pauperulam iuuenem ad accipien-  
dam eam in sponsam dilectam ipsius im-  
peratoris; certe indicibiliter ex hoc illa  
gauderet. Quantum ergo gaudium pu-  
tandum est habuisse sacratissimam virgi-  
nem, cum ei cœlestis paranympus Gab-  
riel genuflexus coram illa tanquam do-  
mina sua, reuerenter decantauit ex parte  
cœlestis imperatoris & dixit. Ave gratia  
plena dominus tecum. Quis enarrare  
sufficiat, quanta suauitas, & exultatio  
non solum mentem, sed etiam corpus ip-  
sius virginis intrauerit, cum ipsa virgo di-  
cens. Ecce ancilla domini & c. felicitatem  
æternam in vtero suo claudit, & incarnari  
fecit. Sed de hac cõsolatione dixi in qua-  
ra parte principali huius operis, sermo-  
ne 2. parte 3. Nunquid enim non sum-  
mopere exultare debebat, quæ nõ solum  
se gratia plenam, sed etiam in ea stabili-  
tam, & confirmatã cognoscebat, & secunda  
de immarcescibili gloria sua facta erat.  
Atque se non solum matrem creatoris  
factam esse videbat, atque sponsam æter-  
ni patris, sed & totius mundi dominam  
& angelorum reginam. Et ideo Augustini-  
nus in sermone natiuitatis eius inquit.  
Gratulare beata virgo, Christus rex ex so-  
lio suo venit in vtero tuo. Ex sinu pa-  
tris in vterum dignatus est descendere  
matris & c. Ipsa quoque benedicta virgo  
alios

Canticũ cõ-  
tinens 7. gau-  
dia de quibus  
æquitur præ-  
sentis sermo-  
nis.

Fig. 3.II: *Gaude virgo mater Christi* in Bernardino de' Busti, *Mariale seu sermones de beatissima virgine Maria*, vol. 3 of his *Rosarium sermonum* (Brescia: P. M. Marchetti 1588), p. 852: the prayer is introduced towards the end of the introduction to his *Sermo de septem gaudijs Beate Virginis* (bottom of the left-hand column)

as MS 417. Several stanzas of *Ave decus virginale* (the *loco Credo* motet in the cycle) are included within a longer Marian prayer (apparently a compilation from various hymns and sequences):<sup>86</sup>

**Trivulziana 418**

Ave virgo sanctissima  
super omnes exaltata  
mater dey gloriosa  
mater misericordie.

[... 13 stanzas ...]

O domina purissima  
de laudanda dignissima  
fac nos dignis te laudare  
venerare et amare.

O domina deo cara  
stupe dicens et preclara  
set meritis preclarior  
moribus quam nobilior.

[... 3 stanzas ...]

O domina dominarum  
regina reginarum  
propter tuam pietatem  
pelle nostram paupertatem.

[... 2 stanzas ...]

O preclara stella maris  
que con deo genis [*sic*]  
nos ad portum fac venire  
non sinas nos perire.  
[etc.]

**Compère, [*Missa*] *Galeazescha*, motet *loco Credo*,  
Librone 3, fols. 127v–128r**

Ave decus virginale  
templum dei speciale  
per te fiat veniale  
omne quod committimus.

O domina piissima  
omni laude dignissima  
fac nos digne te laudare  
venerari et amare.

O domina deo cara  
stirpe decens et preclara  
sed meritis preclarior.

O domina dominarum  
o regina reginarum  
propter tuam pietatem  
pelle nostram paupertatem.

O preclara stella maris  
que cum deo gloriaris  
nos ad portum fac venire  
nunquam sinas nos perire.

**c. *Ave Domine Jesu Christe***

Similarly, for the *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* cycle of *motetti missales* (Librone 1, fols. 162v–170r), attributed to Compère by Ludwig Finscher, the Milanese concordances are in Trivulziana MS 417, in the same Advent office mentioned above.<sup>87</sup> The texts of the first four motets in the cycle derive for the most part

<sup>86</sup> In this and the following, as well as in other long quotations from 15th-century Milanese manuscripts, I reproduce the idiosyncratic spellings and readings of the original, without any attempt at standardisation and emendation.

<sup>87</sup> For the debate about this attribution, see the Introduction to the present volume.

from one and the same prayer, starting with the words “Ave domine Jesu Christe verbum patris”. In MS 417 the prayer occurs twice, with the incipit “Ave yhesu christe / verbum patris”, starting from fols. 21v and 32v.<sup>88</sup>

Trivulziana 417, fols. 21v–22r	<i>Ave Domine Jesu Christe</i> , first four motets, Librone 1, fols. 162v–166r
Ave yhesu christe / verbum patris illius virginis / agnus dey salus mundi / hostia sachra verbum caro / fons pietatis.	LOCO INTROITUS Ave domine Jesu Christe / verbum Patris filius virginis / agnus Dei salus mundi / hostia sacra verbum caro / fons pietatis.
Ave yhesu christe / laus angelorum gloria sanctorum / vixio pacis deytas integra / verus homo flos fructus / virginis matris.	LOCO GLORIA Ave domine Jesu Christe / laus angelorum gloria sanctorum / visio pacis deitas integra flos et fructus / virginis matris.
Ave yhesu christe / splendor patris princes pacis / ianua celli panis vivus / virginis partus vax deitatis.	Ave domine Jesu Christe / splendor patris princeps pacis / ianua celi panis vivus / virginis partus vas deitatis.
Ave yhesu christe / lumen celli pretium mundi / gaudium nostrum panis cordis / jubilus [illegible] sponsus virginitatis.	LOCO PATREM Ave domine Jesu Christe / lumen celi principium mundi / gaudium nostrum angelorum panis / iubilus cordis rex et sponsus virginitatis.
	Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster et propter gloriam nominis tui libera nos.
Ave yhesu christe / vya dulcis veritas vera / premium nostrum caritas summa / fons amoris pax dulcedo / reparatio nostra vitta perhemgnis. Amen.	LOCO OFFERTORII Ave domine Jesu Christe / vita dulcis et mitis premium nostrum caritas summa / fons amoris pax dulcedo / requies nostra vita perennis.
	Verbum Patris hodie / processit de virgine virtutes angelice / cum canoro iubilo benedicamus Domino.
	Sancte Augustine, ora pro nobis.

88 The same incipit as in the motet cycle (“Ave Domine Jesu Christe, verbum Patris”) is recorded, for instance, in French books of hours, in which the text is often included as an Elevation prayer: see Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400–1600*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 192–193. See also Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d’heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols., Paris: n.p. 1927, *ad indicem*. Prayers of this kind often present many variants in their manifold manuscript tradition (see the section on *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* in Eva Ferro’s chapter in the present volume).

In a manuscript of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana dated 1469 we have a compilation of prayers to be recited at the Elevation with interesting points of contact with the texts used in the cycle (here in bold), including the motet *ad Elevationem* (Ambrosiana MS Y.26.sup, fol. 200r, “Oratio in elevatione corpus [*sic*] domini”):<sup>89</sup>

Deus meus et dominus meus.

**Adoramus te christe et benedicimus tibi quia per sanctam crucem tua redemisti mundum**, mixerere nobis.

**Ave salus mundi, verbum patris, hostia sacra, vera viva caro deita[s] integra** verus homo corpus domini nostri iesu christi qui me plasmasti, mixerere mei. **Ave sanguis** prexiosi domini nostri yhesu christi qui pro peccatis nostris **effusus fuisti**, salva nos in vitam eternam amen.

**Vixio** corporis et sangui[ni]s domini nri iesu xi proficiat in invitam [*sic*] eternam.

Ave verum corpus natum de maria virgine, vere passus immolatum in + pro homine, cuius latus perforatum vere fluxit sanguine esto domine nobis preghustatum mortis in examine, o clemens o pie yhu filii marie, mixerere mei, aiutor [*sic*] et protector et defensor sis mihi domine benignissime clementissime et mixericordissime amen.

Domine yhu xpe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem de gloriose virginis utero assumpsisti et eundem sanguinem de sacratissimo latere tuo in ara + pro salute nostra effudisti [...]

Another fifteenth-century manuscript from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (+.27.sup) contains comparable Elevation prayers, some of them provided with indulgences (from fol. 163v). Interestingly, this miscellany, mainly dedicated to meditations on the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, includes sequences and prayers, some of which were used as texts for motets or motet cycles. At fol. 137r we find a prayer to the Virgin, starting with “Fluat scintilla”, that encapsulates the text *Mater digna Dei* set by Gaspar van Weerbeke; the motet, which is possibly part of a three-motet short cycle, is copied in Librone 1 (fols. 115v–116r).<sup>90</sup> At fol. 166v there is the prayer *O bone Iesu, illumina oculos meos*, set in a motet printed in Petrucci’s *Motetti de la Corona*, book 3 (1519) and usually attributed to Compère. Finally, the last text copied in the manuscript, from fol. 167v, is the sequence *Gaude flore virginali* (three stanzas), set by an anonymous composer as a cycle of *motetti missales* in Munich 3154.

89 See again Ferro’s chapter in this volume. A similar text is discussed in Adolph Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung 1902, 22. See also Agnese Pavanello, “The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context”, in: *JAF* 9 (2017), 33–59.

90 For additional information on the dissemination of this text, see Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Motets*, ed. Agnese Pavanello in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Collected Works, vol. 4, Middleton, Wis.: American Institute of Musicology 2010 (CMM 106/4), xlvi.



Even though the two Ambrosiana manuscripts just discussed are not demonstrably Milanese, quasi-metrical prayers such as those set in *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* are known to have been used in Milan for Eucharistic devotion at least from the late thirteenth century. The very words that Gaffurius set in the second part of his motet *Quando venit ergo – Ave corpus Jesu Christi* (Librone 1, fols. 71v–72r) and in *Ave verum corpus factum* (Librone 2, fols. 134v–135r) were already recommended as a prayer for the Elevation of the chalice in Milanese writer Bonvesin de la Riva's (ca. 1240–ca. 1313/1315) poem *Vita scolastica*: “Christi sanguis, ave, celi sanctissime potus. / Unda salutaris crimina nostra lavans.”<sup>91</sup> Milan surely partook of the widespread late medieval culture of devotion to the Elevation.<sup>92</sup> The textual style of Elevation motets in the Libroni (within and without the *motetti missales*) is clearly in line with the litanic-like and cento-like fashion of the most popular Elevation prayers. Once again, we find these prayers not in liturgical books, but in books of hours and devotional miscellanies.

#### d. *Patris sapientia*

The hymn *Patris sapientia* was set as a motet cycle both by an anonymous composer (in D-Mbs 3154, with the incipit *Natus sapientia* and *motetti missales*-like *loco* rubrics) and by Compère (in Petrucci's *Motetti B* of 1503, with the title *Officium de cruce*). The hymn forms the substantial part of the so-called Short Office of the Cross, a widespread devotional office whose individual “hours” consist of one hymn stanza each, accompanied by just some versicles, an antiphon and a collect.<sup>93</sup> In the version of Matins of the Short Office of the Cross (from the *Hours of Bona Sforza*, British Library, Add. MS 34294, fols. 13r–15v):

91 The first motet by Gaffurius sets only the first of the two lines. See Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325*, University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press 2005, 260–261. Bonvesin's *Vita scolastica* was widely read and copied (and later printed) until at least the mid-16th century. The entire passage on how to attend Mass is worth reading, and, in spite of its early date, fully resonates with what I have described in section 2 above: see *ibid.*, 255 and Bonvesinus de Ripa, *Vita scolastica*, ed. Anezka Vidmanová-Schmidtová, Leipzig: Teubner 1969, now online at [http://www.alim.dfl.univr.it/alim/letteratura.nsf/\(cercaVolumi\)/777A9C9557A9FB01C-1256CE9007AC737?OpenDocument](http://www.alim.dfl.univr.it/alim/letteratura.nsf/(cercaVolumi)/777A9C9557A9FB01C-1256CE9007AC737?OpenDocument), vv. 321–420.

92 See Pavanello, “Elevation as Liturgical Climax”.

93 Susan Boynton, “From Book to Song: Texts Accompanying the Man of Sorrows in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries”, in: Catherine R. Puglisi and William L. Barcham (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Man of Sorrows*, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications 2013, 117–146: 122.

- V/ Domine labia mea aperies.  
 R/ Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.  
 V/ Deus in adiutorium meum intende.  
 R/ Domine ad adiuvandum me festina.  
 Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto [...] Amen. Alleluia.
- Hy Patris sapientia, veritas divina  
 Deus homo captus est hora matutina.  
 A notis discipulis cito derelictus  
 a iudeis traditus venditus et afflictus.
- Ant Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi  
 quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.
- V/ Domine exaudi orationem meam.  
 R/ Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
- Oro Domine Iesu Christe fili Dei vivi, pone passionem, crucem et mortem tuam  
 inter iudicium tuum et animam meam nunc et in hora mortis mee et mihi largiri  
 digneris gratiam et misericordiam vivis et defunctis requiem et veniam ecclesie  
 tue pacem et concordiam et nobis peccatoribus vitam et gratiam sempiternam.  
 Qui vivis et regnas [...] Amen.
- V/ Domine exaudi orationem meam.  
 R/ Et clamor meus ad te veniat.  
 V/ Benedicamus Domino.  
 R/ Deo gratias.

The Short Office appears in many Milanese books of hours and prayer miscellanies, and we find it also in Trivulziana MS 416 (again from the set of manuscripts for the Disciplini of S. Marta), at fols. 60v–66v. What is especially interesting in MS 416 is that the detailed rubrics indicate quite clearly (in spite of their shaky spelling) that the members of that Milanese confraternity celebrated the different “hours” successively, without interruption. The office is introduced with these words: “faremo memoria de quele devotissime sette hore ordinate dala sancta mater giexa” (“we will commemorate the most devout seven hours according to the order of the Holy Mother Church”). Between Matins and Prime the manuscript has the following rubric (fols. 61r–61v):

Anchora dilectissimi in christo yhesu per melio honorare laudare et magnificare la sanctissima croce per hognia [*sic*] hora diramo una volta quelle [*sic*] principale devotissima oratione del pater et de lave maria faciendo la desipilla [*sic*].

Dearest [brothers] in Christ Jesus, in order to better honour and glorify the most holy Cross for each hour we will now recite the devout prayer of Pater noster and Ave Maria while taking the discipline.

After Compline and some additional prayers, there is another remarkable rubric (fol. 66v):

Dilectissimi [...] noy avemo dicto alcune laude per reverentia de la sanctissima croce et anchora avemo facto memoria delo officio de la sanctissima croce ordinato da la sancta matra giexa in parole et avemo domandate de molte gratie et per esere più tosto exaudito a soa lauda et a sua reverentia diremo anchora alcuna cossa in canto [...]

Dearest [brothers] [...] we have recited some *laude* for the reverence of the most holy Cross, and we have made the commemoration of the Office of the Most Holy Cross according to the orders of the Holy Mother Church, and we have asked many graces; in order [for our prayers] to be answered more quickly let us now sing some other prayer in praise and reverence of the Cross [...]

It is fair to conclude, based on these rubrics, that the Disciplini gathered in their oratory and recited the whole Office of the Cross uninterruptedly, from Matins to Compline. Whereas the performance of motet cycles is not particularly likely in the specific context of this Milanese confraternity, this example is extremely telling as to the possible function of such non-*missales* cycles as those that set the hymn *Patris sapientia*. If the Short Office of the Cross could be performed consecutively, by a confraternity or by any more or less select group of devout, then a motet cycle setting the main textual ingredients of the Office might easily be incorporated in such a “continuous” devotional exercise, or even substitute for it.<sup>94</sup>

\* \* \*

Besides these four examples, another new finding demonstrates the importance of a systematic survey of devotional books for a better understanding of late medieval and early modern motets. It has been repeatedly said that the text of Josquin’s *Ave Maria ... Virgo serena* was to be found only in transalpine sources – a delicate point, needless to say, in the debate about Josquin, his presence in Milan, and all the related problems of style and chronology.<sup>95</sup> However, in the book of hours Trivulziana 475 (Milan, second half of the fifteenth cen-

94 Notice that Compère’s cycle also includes the antiphon *Adoramus te Christe*. The case of MS 416 shows that the “uninterrupted narrative” observed by Boynton in Compère’s cycle was not an exclusive prerogative of the cycle itself, but rather was to some extent part of ordinary ways of praying and experiencing the Short Office (see Boynton, “From Book to Song”, 133). For a thorough discussion of the relationship between devotional offices and motet cycles, see the chapter by Fañch Thoraval in the present volume.

95 See Bonnie J. Blackburn, “For Whom Do the Singers Sing?”, in: *EM* 25 (1997), 593–609: 603: “This text [...] appears almost exclusively in French books of hours”; Joshua Rifkin, “Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin’s *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*”, in: *JAMS* 56 (2003), 239–350: 274–275; NJE 23, ed. Elders, Critical Commentary, 92: “This poem, which has its origin in the 14th century, is found in French and German books of hours” (with reference to Franz Joseph Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. 2: *Marienlieder*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder 1854, 5).

tury) we find the five stanzas starting with *Ave cuius conceptio* that form the central and main part of Josquin's text (from fol. 130v); see Figure 3.12.<sup>96</sup> Pending further research, this finding proves that the prayer on which the momentous motet was based did circulate in late fifteenth-century Milan.<sup>97</sup>

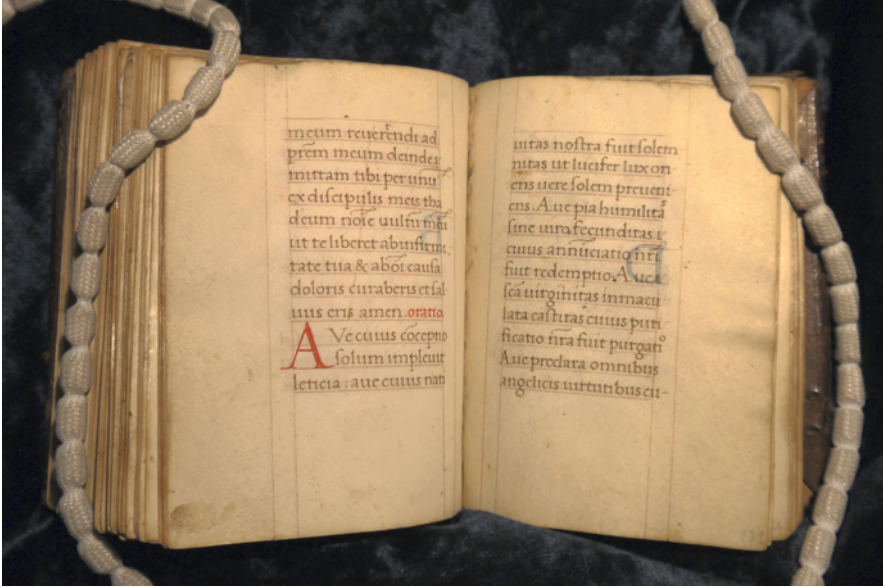


Fig. 3.12: *Ave cuius conceptio* in a Milanese book of hours of the late fifteenth century. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 475, fols. 130v–131r (© Comune di Milano – all rights reserved)

96 For a description of the manuscript, see for instance Giulia Bologna (ed.), *Milano e gli Sforza: Gian Galeazzo Maria e Ludovico il Moro (1476–1499): Biblioteca Trivulziana – Castello sforzesco, Milano, 28 febbraio–20 marzo 1983*, Milan: Rizzoli 1983, 64. Apart from a major variant in the first stanza (in which the copyist also skipped two lines), the text is very close to the one set by Josquin.

97 As Agnese Pavanello kindly pointed out to me, M. Jennifer Bloxam, “La contenance italienne: The Motets on *Beata es Maria* by Compère, Obrecht and Brumel”, in: *EMH* 11 (1992), 39–89: 86 n. 98, noticed the presence of *Ave cuius conceptio* in the French hours Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS S.P.II.162. Based on the book's current location at the Ambrosiana, Bloxam conjectured that it might have circulated in Milan in the late 15th century. As the library records show, however, the book was donated to the Ambrosiana only in the 20th century, and it apparently has no previous Milanese connection.

## Conclusions

The spirituality of fifteenth-century Milan is a decidedly understudied subject. The extensive historical literature about the Sforzas insists mainly on the working of institutions, the concept of power, the political, economical, and military aspects. In this literature, religious facts are often reduced to their political dimension. Given the dearth of specific studies, and in spite of the important work done by scholars from various disciplines, it is not easy to enter that world and get an idea of the material and spiritual culture that produced the repertory we are interested in and that made the conception of the *motetti missales* possible. At the start of my research, the existing literature on other areas of Europe, such as the old but invaluable book by Adolph Franz on the Mass in the German Middle Ages or the much more recent one by Eamon Duffy on “traditional religion” in pre-Reformation England, provided me with a thought-provoking but somewhat distant background.<sup>98</sup> After perusing a wide range of Milanese documents and manuscripts, however, I now believe that what such authors as Franz and Duffy describe was in fact a pan-European spirituality, at least in its general traits, and that Milan fully partook in it. I allude in particular to such aspects as the continuity between “popular” and “official” elements in religious life, and the overlap between individual and collective devotion, and between devotion and liturgy. If we focus exclusively on liturgical books, things may seem neatly separated. But once we start reading prayer books and archival documents, we clearly perceive this continuity, and the existence of distinct but overlapping and interacting layers. In other words, we come to realise that, contrary to what compartmented views of devotion and liturgy might suggest, many elements bound together the private experience of devotion and the public experience of liturgy.<sup>99</sup> A clear example regards the prayers to be recited at the Elevation, at the Agnus Dei, and before or after Communion, which we find copied in spiritual miscellanies. They appear in these handwritten sources shoulder to shoulder with devotional offices, with songs in Latin and in Italian, and with extra-liturgical prayers, some of which are apparently more similar to spells than to the official prayers of the Church – but, again, Duffy has written

98 Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580*, 2nd edn., New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2005.

99 See Boynton, “From Book to Song”, 118; Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*, 6 and *passim*; Giacomo Baroffio, “Testo e musica nei libri d’ore”, in: *RIM* 34 (2011), 19–77: 21.

illuminating pages on how misleading it is to try to separate these interwoven layers in the fabric of late medieval piety.<sup>100</sup>

Contemporary motets and motet cycles seem to inhabit these same spaces “between devotion and liturgy”. And here I come back to the low Mass hypothesis. As I have explained in detail in “Audire missam”, the Mass had an objective character, the character of an action that produced spiritual and material “fruits”, or benefits.<sup>101</sup> In order to obtain these benefits, the faithful (dukes included) did not need to hear the words of the priest, provided that they directed their attention to God and to the grace they wanted to obtain through the Mass, by meditating on pious things and performing interior acts of virtue. Many different “methods for hearing the Mass” were recommended and circulated; often they consisted in meditations on the Passion of Christ, only roughly, if at all, synchronised with the actions of the priest at the altar. Different layers of prayer, meditation, and even song were superimposed. The main exception was the Elevation of the consecrated Host, the climax of the celebration, to which all the faithful were recommended to pay attention and for which specific prayers were often provided. The low Mass was frequently read in a low voice, and the faithful heard hardly anything of its words: thus, it was the ideal situation for that superimposition of layers. The performance of a *motetti missales* cycle during a low Mass was, then, just another form of devout meditation, similar in substance to the practices suggested in many early modern treatises and booklets. We do not possess circumstantiated and incontrovertible evidence regarding the use of the *motetti missales*. These special cycles might have resonated on such different occasions as private or semi-private Masses at the castle, annual commemorations at Sforza altars, and solemn dynastic celebrations at the Duomo. Surely, the *motetti missales* accommodated the need of having a path for prayer and reflection during Mass. In line with a deep-rooted devotional culture, they expressed special homage to the Real Presence of Christ during the Elevation of the Host. Textually, they combined prayers of different kinds, taking advantage of a rich and varied tradition, whose different components are well attested in Milanese books. The musical design of the *motetti missales* pleased the tastes of the rulers, showcased the distinctive role of the ducal chapel, and constituted the sonic interface between the interior space of devotion and the exterior one of liturgy.

<sup>100</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 266–298.

<sup>101</sup> Filippi, “Audire missam”, esp. 16–17 and 30.