

**The Neapolitan Presentation Manuscripts  
of Tinctoris's Music Theory:  
Valencia 835 and Bologna 2573**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of

Birmingham City University

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2015

The Faculty of Arts, Design and Media, Birmingham City University

(Birmingham Conservatoire)



## **Abstract**

Despite the scholarly attention that has rightly been paid to Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica, MS 835, and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2573, as crucially important textual sources for Tinctoris's music theory, insufficient regard has so far been given to these two Neapolitan presentation manuscripts as historical artefacts that encode information about the priorities and concerns of those who brought them into existence. This thesis presents the first complete physical descriptions of these manuscripts, and employs detailed palaeographical, iconographical, and historical analysis to establish the likely circumstances of, and reasons for, their production. In the course of proposing identifications of the scribes and artists involved, analysing in fine detail their sequences of preparation, considering the organisational structure articulated by the decorated initials, interpreting the iconography of the portrait miniature on the frontispiece of Valencia 835, and marshalling complex heraldic evidence, many other Neapolitan manuscripts are brought into discussion. By analysing and contextualising Valencia 835 and Bologna 2573, therefore, the thesis functions also as a significant contribution to anglophone scholarship on the wider output of the Neapolitan scriptorium in the late fifteenth century.

A newly enriched account is proposed of Tinctoris's arrival and period of employment in Naples, and of his and the wider court's involvement in the preparation of music theory manuscripts as instruments of political expression. This thesis, therefore, offers a re-appraisal of the genesis and later history of these two high-value music theory manuscripts. By presenting detailed codicological analysis and using it to construct and reshape historical narratives, it also provides a firm basis for future scholarly investigation into Tinctoris and music theory within the intellectual, cultural, and political climate of late fifteenth-century Italy.



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## **i | Acknowledgements**

I should like initially to acknowledge the support I have received from the Arts & Humanities Research Council during the preparation of this thesis, as provided through a studentship by attachment to the research project ‘The Complete Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris: A New Digital Edition’ at Birmingham Conservatoire, under the auspices of Professor Ronald Woodley, Dr Jeffrey J. Dean, and David Lewis. Likewise, I wish to record thanks to Birmingham Conservatoire for its support in respect of the costs involved in my research in the field, and in obtaining images of many manuscripts and documents that have been central to my work.

To continue a veritable litany of thanks, I can only fail to emphasise sufficiently the influence of the late David Trendell on my interest in, and desire to study, music and musical culture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. David’s infectious enthusiasm for, and passionate engagement with, both the study and performance of such repertory was deeply inspirational, and I am very grateful to have known him as a teacher and colleague.

In respect of my desire to engage in the preparation of a study such as this, I should like to thank Professor David D’Avray and Dr Marigold Anne Norbye for their patient instruction in techniques and strategies of codicology, palaeography, and diplomatic. To Dr Margaret Bent are also due thanks for her fair welcome to several years of stimulating and convivial evenings at All Souls College, Oxford, during which were spent many hours singing from and discussing facsimiles of music both directly and indirectly concerning the present research.

During the initial stages of my PhD study, and with support from the funding bodies named in the first paragraph above, I have had the significant advantages of tuition in Latin by Dr Debby Banham, in iconography, iconology, and the manifold opportunities for the degradation of pigment, by Dr Paul Taylor, in the analysis of leather bookbindings by Carlo Dumontet, in digital image restoration techniques by Dr Julia Craig-McFeely, and in issues related to incunabula by Dr Raphaële Mouren. For the benefit derived from these opportunities, I am grateful.

Meaningful thanks are due also to the librarians of the Biblioteca Histórica of the Universitat de València, the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna, the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III of Naples, the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica of Bologna, the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, the Biblioteca Statale Monumento Nazionale, Badia, Cava dei Tirreni, the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels, the British Library, the Warburg Institute, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum for their kind provision of physical access to some of their most splendid collection items, their understanding of my occasional need to use specialised techniques of physical interrogation of manuscripts, and their readiness to assist in the provision of digital images. Special mention must go to the staff of the University of London's Palaeography and Book Studies collection in the Special Collections Reading Room at Senate House in London for their unwavering support and maintenance of the availability of material vital to my work on an ongoing basis and in enduringly comfortable conditions of access.

Without the indefatigable encouragement, dedicated support, and sage advice of Professor Ronald Woodley and Dr Jeffrey J. Dean, I should never have begun, let alone completed this thesis. It would be prohibitive, in what follows, to detail every instance in which their authoritative voices might be heard in secondary counsel to what I assert. If I have failed in my honest attempt to credit locally their own ideas in often (and always productively) concurrent investigations of the same manuscripts, then I must apologise unreservedly.

I truly believe that the creation by Woodley and Dean, along with David Lewis, of the new digital edition of Tinctoris's music theory, represents a vital and lasting contribution to the discipline, which provides newly enhanced opportunities not only for those working directly on the study of Tinctoris, but also for scholars of the broader musical culture of the later fifteenth century. In the following physical and contextual study of two of the principal contemporary manuscript witnesses to the texts provided in the edition, I hope to have built on the solid foundations of the project, and also to have provided stimuli for further research both within the musicological discipline, and also within those of the codicological, historical, palaeographical, and iconographical studies of the Neapolitan manuscripts with which I engage.



## ii | Preface

### *Reading the Text and Using the DVD of Images*

This thesis is designed to function both as a print and as an electronic document in .pdf format. Throughout the main text, references are made to images in the format ‘Image *n*’, contained in round brackets, and including a hyperlink, e.g. (Image 1). The numbering is continuous throughout the document. Readers of the thesis in print form are invited to view these images by using the DVD that is mounted in the rear inside cover; the relevant images are contained in the /Images folder. Readers in .pdf format are invited to ensure they open the main text .pdf directly from the disc, and to keep the disc in their computer while navigating the document, in order that they may use the hyperlinks provided to link directly to the image files. Alternatively, readers may wish to make and use a local copy of the entire file structure. Captions and copyright information for each image are presented in a .txt file, in the same directory, that shares the numbering of the image file to which it refers. An exception to the above system is the inclusion, in the separate directory /Complete Facsimiles, on the DVD of complete .pdf facsimiles of the two manuscripts that form the focus of the thesis: Valencia 835 and Bologna 2573.

I have adopted the approach described above since the thesis makes reference to an unusually wide variety and quantity of visual material, and the benefits of being able to scale high-resolution images at will is of particular benefit in supporting much of the detailed palaeographical and iconographical work that follows.

### *Currency and Measurements*

The standard unit of currency at Naples in the late fifteenth century was the ducat.<sup>1</sup> One ducat equalled five *tari*,<sup>2</sup> and one *tari* twenty *grani*. One *grano* was worth ‘1/600 of an ounce of gold’. The Neapolitan ducat was roughly equal to the Venetian, and to the Milanese and Florentine florin. By 1491 there was an increased discrepancy between

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<sup>1</sup> The information in this section is based on Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. x; and Eleni Sakellariou, *Southern Italy in the Late Middle Ages: Demographic, Institutional and Economic Change in the Kingdom of Naples, c.1440–c.1530* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 492–493.

<sup>2</sup> The noun *tari* is invariable.

gold ducats and those ‘paid in money of account’; the latter being worth 15 per cent less than the former.

Cloth at Naples was usually measured in terms of the *canna* (plural: *canne*), which was equal to eight *palmi* (sing. *palmo*) or approximately 2.1 metres.

### *Language and Translations*

The official administrative language of the Aragonese court in the fifteenth century was a ‘hybrid’ dialect that ‘nobilitated spoken Neapolitan by diffusing it with lexical and syntactic elements borrowed from Tuscan and church Latin’.<sup>3</sup> It is often referred to as *Napoletano misto*.<sup>4</sup> In addition to being the official court language, it was used for poems, chronicles, and treatises.<sup>5</sup> I have provided translations where it seemed most appropriate or necessary, and unless otherwise indicated they are my own. Space constraints, however, have meant that the thesis does presume a certain working knowledge of Latin, Italian, and French on the part of the reader, especially for some of the more extended quotations.

### *Referencing*

Full bibliographical information is given at the first appearance of a book or an article in each chapter, and thereafter short titles are offered. In the case of online material, the full URL is given, with a hyperlink, again only in the first occurrence. Where print material is available online in scanned .pdf format, the footnotes make reference to the print material, and links to the online version are given only in the Bibliography. The manuscript sigla employed throughout are (except in the case of books whose present whereabouts are unknown) composed of a country abbreviation, a city abbreviation, and an institution abbreviation, as used by RISM, whose database of sigla is searchable at <http://www.rism.info/en/sigla.html#c2487>. These sigla are listed and expanded in the appropriate section at the end of the thesis. Where a complete set of images is available

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<sup>3</sup> Nancy L. Canepa, *From Court to Forest: Giambattista Basile's Lo Cunto De Li Cunti and the Birth of the Literary Fairytale* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 64.

<sup>4</sup> Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 142.

<sup>5</sup> See Benedetto Croce, *Saggi sulla letteratura italiana del seicento* (Bari: G. Laterza & figli, 1911), 25–28.

online for a particular codex, the URL is given in this section. References to partial reproductions are made in footnotes to the main text.

### *Abbreviations*

**DMB:** Tammara De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, 4 vols. (Milan: Hoepli, 1947–1952); 2 suppl. vols., with Denise Bloch, Charles Astruc, Jacques Monfrin, and José Ruyschaert (Verona: Valdonega, 1969).

**TCTW:** Ronald Woodley, Jeffrey J. Dean, and David Lewis, eds., *Johannes Tinctoris: Complete Theoretical Works*. <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/> (2013–[ongoing]).

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## Chapter 1 | Introduction

In the early 1470s, the music theorist, composer, singer, and legal advisor, Johannes Tinctoris (c.1430/35–1511) journeyed south from Chartres, where he had taught the cathedral choirboys probably in the late 1460s, to Naples, where he spent the following two decades in the service of the Aragonese court under King Ferrante I (r. 1458–1494).<sup>1</sup> By road, the journey would have been one of more than 1,600 kilometres, which might at best have been completed with a month's travel on horseback.<sup>2</sup> This would have been a good option if Tinctoris had business to carry out in any of the important centres on the way, which would have included Lyon, Turin, Genoa, Florence, and Rome. However, travel by sea was considered to be safer, and certainly faster, than a journey by land, and there were well-established sea routes connecting Italy with northern Europe.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore not inconceivable that Tinctoris made his journey under sail, probably from Marseille, Nice, or Genoa, and entered the Bay of Naples to be greeted with a similar view to that vividly shown in the famous *Tavola Strozzi* (1472–1473, [Image 1](#)). His first sight of the *Molo Grande* and the *Torre di S. Vincenzo* protecting the massive fortification of the Castelnuovo, giving way to the chaotic crowding of church bell towers and the roofs of imposing halls over the intricate narrow medieval street-plan below, cannot have failed to impress.<sup>4</sup> Though the city's buildings were hemmed in from the sea by great crenellated walls, on the skyline above the city Tinctoris would have seen the tree-lined hills rising steeply to the *Castello Sant'Elmo*

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<sup>1</sup> Tinctoris reveals that he taught at Chartres in *De inventione et usu musicae*: 'sub porticu dextra insignis ecclesie Carnotensis, cuius pueros musicam tunc docebam' (II.xx.26–7 in *TCTW*), which is translated there as 'Beneath the right-hand porch of the distinguished church of Chartres, whose boys I then taught music'. I shall investigate the circumstances and dating of Tinctoris's arrival at Naples in Chapter 3.

<sup>2</sup> Naturally, Tinctoris's journey may have incorporated stops in any of the major towns and cities he passed, which would only have extended the time taken. For estimates of journey times on horseback, see Marjorie Nice Boyer, 'A Day's Journey in Mediaeval France', *Speculum*, 26/4 (1951), 597–608.

<sup>3</sup> Fotini Kondyli, 'The Logistics of a Union: The Travelling Arrangements and the Journey to Venice', in Fotini Kondyli, Vera Andriopoulou, Eirini Panou, and Mary B. Cunningham, eds. *Sylvester Syropoulos on Politics and Culture in the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean*, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 135–154, at 136–137.

<sup>4</sup> On the *Tavola Strozzi*, see Giulio Pane, *La Tavola Strozzi tra Napoli e Firenze* (Naples: Grimaldi & C. Editori, 2009). For an account of galleys being sent from Naples to Nice in order to facilitate Prince Federico's journey home from Burgundy, see Section 3.1.

(or *Castello di Belforte e Certosa*), giving way to the looming threat of Vesuvius to the east.

To the right of the Castelnuovo is shown, in the *Tavola Strozzi*, the church and monastery of S. Maria di Monteoliveto ([Image 2](#); now Sant'Anna dei Lombardi), an extensive development whose construction began in 1411 with the financial support of King Ferrante's father and predecessor, King Alfonso I, and which was enduringly important to the Aragonese royal court. Though the interior of the church has since sustained substantial adjustment, the exterior is still recognisable from the *Tavola Strozzi*, with the church's large west doors set in an archway, and approached with a set of steps.<sup>5</sup> Further to the right of the painting is the church of S. Domenico Maggiore ([Image 3](#)), which again is recognisable by its polygonal apse (though this has lost its dome since the fifteenth century; see [Image 4](#)), tall nave, and bell tower.<sup>6</sup> In the ornate sacristy of this church, high on balconies, lie thirty-eight sarcophagi that include the remains of King Alfonso I (1396–1458), King Ferrante I (1423–1494), King Ferrante II (1469–1496), in addition to the last-named king's daughter Isabella of Aragon (1488–1524) and consort Giovanna IV (1479–1518) ([Image 5](#)), plus many other identified and unidentified Neapolitan royals and aristocrats.<sup>7</sup> An entry of 29 December 1506 by the chronicler Notar Giacomo describes how King Ferrante I's daughter, Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), let out a great cry after having seen the damage done to her father's sarcophagus by a recent fire:

Alcuni dicevano de si et alcuni de non cheli cadaveri delli serenissimi Re Alfonso primo Re ferrando primo et Re ferrando secundo quali stavano sublevati in alto allato delo altare mayore fossero abrusiati. dove la matina. venne indicta ecclesia la serenissima Regina Beatrice de aragonia de ungaria regina. depo venne la Serenissima Regina matre. depo la illustrissima Duchessa de Milano et ricordandonosse fecero uno grandissimo ululato.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Pane, *Tavola Strozzi*, 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>7</sup> See *Le Arche dei Re Aragonesi* (Naples: Elio de Rosa, 1991); and Gino Fornaciari, 'Le mummie Aragonesi in San Domenico Maggiore di Napoli', in *Medicina nei Secoli Arte e Scienza*, 18/3 (2006), 843–864. Note that the remains of Giovanni of Aragon, whose tomb is at S. Domenico Maggiore, belong not to Ferrante I's son of the same name, but to the son (1566–1571) of Antonio IV, Duke of Montalto.

<sup>8</sup> See Paolo Garzilli, *Cronica di Napoli di notar Giacomo* (Naples: Stamperia Reale, 1845), 296.

Princess Beatrice, the fifth child of Ferrante and his first queen consort, Isabella of Clermont, would have been around fifteen years of age when Tinctoris arrived in Naples. He began his long relationship with her by becoming her music tutor, and perhaps even entered her musical retinue before that of the king.<sup>9</sup> She was described as tall and slender, with long blonde hair and noble, pale hands, as being eloquent, with a melodious voice, and she was known for her charm and for her affability.<sup>10</sup> In 1476, Beatrice married Matthias Corvinus, the King of Hungary, before setting off on her own journey, from Naples to Buda, which took three months. It was a dangerous journey, during which scouts had to be despatched each day in order to ascertain that the planned route for the following day's ride was safe. As the young queen and her retinue travelled through Croatia, they saw fires, devastation, and dead bodies lining the way.<sup>11</sup> Tinctoris, however, remained at Naples, in the service of King Ferrante, after having had perhaps four years of direct contact with Beatrice. If Tinctoris owed his introduction to Ferrante's court to her, that might well explain his continuing expressions of goodwill after she left Naples, as shall be explained later.

Yet another voyager to Naples was the Bohemian scribe Venceslaus Crispus, who, as shall be seen, was central to the production of the two manuscripts under consideration. He was probably from the fifteenth-century equivalent of modern-day Ostrov, in the Karlovarský kraj/Carlsbad region of the Czech Republic, and must have arrived in Naples at least by 1477.<sup>12</sup> He might well have arrived earlier, perhaps even around the same time as Tinctoris.

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<sup>9</sup> See Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, i (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 17–18; Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 71–72; and Ronald Woodley, 'The First Printed Musical Dictionary', review of Cecilia Panti, ed., *Johannes Tinctoris: Diffinitorium musicae: Un dizionario di musica per Beatrice d'Aragona* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2004), *Early Music*, 34/3 (2006), 479–481.

<sup>10</sup> See Joanne Sabadino degli Arienti, *Gynevera de la clare donne*, ed. Corrado Ricci and A. Bacchi della Lega (Bologna: Romagnoli dall'Acqua, 1888), 402; and Philippus Bergomentis, *De claris et selectis mulieribus* (Ferrara, 1497), 59 and 154.

<sup>11</sup> Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum ungaricum decades* (Frankfurt: Apud Andream Wechelum, 1581), 513; and Marcus Tanner, *The Raven King: Matthias Corvinus and the Fate of his Lost Library* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 10.

<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm Rolf, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1910), 165. His rendering of Ostrov is Schlackenwert, Karlsbad.

About 200 years before Tintoris arrived in Naples, between 1272 and 1274, Thomas Aquinas occupied a cell in the monastery that is attached to San Domenico Maggiore, which has been preserved to this day ([Image 6](#)). Aquinas was a member of the Order of Friars Preachers, otherwise known as the Dominicans, which was ‘the first religious order to make devotion to study one of its main objectives’.<sup>13</sup> As shall be seen, Aquinas was an important religious and philosophical figure in the wider intellectual climate at Naples in the late fifteenth century; indeed, some of the craftsmen and artists who were involved with the manuscripts on which the present research is focused were heavily involved with the creation of an *opera omnia* of Aquinas’s writings. Soon after the turn of the sixteenth century, the scribe Venceslaus Crispus copied a collectary for the very monastery in which Aquinas had lived.

The *Tavola Strozzi* depicts the triumphal re-entry of the Aragonese fleet into Naples after the battle of Ischia in 1465, a victory that marked the end of an extremely testing time for the Neapolitan court, after King Alfonso I died on 27 June 1458 without a legitimate son.<sup>14</sup> His dominions were divided between his brother, who succeeded him as King Juan II of Aragon, Sardinia, and Sicily, and his illegitimate son Ferrante, who inherited Naples. Pope Calixtus III declared Ferrante ineligible to inherit the Kingdom on account of his bastardy, which led Ferrante immediately to convoke a parliament at Capua, forty kilometres north of Naples. This assembly of Neapolitan barons called on the pope to recognise Ferrante as king, but Calixtus refused, preferring the claim of René d’Anjou, whom Alfonso had defeated in 1442, and it was not until the pope’s early death, on 6 August 1458, that Ferrante’s fortunes began to change. Pope Pius II was elected in the same month, and immediately recognised Ferrante’s claim to the throne, having previously been a ‘reasonably close acquaintance’ of Alfonso.<sup>15</sup> Pius II

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<sup>13</sup> Jan A. Aertsen, ‘Aquinas’s Philosophy in its Historical Setting’, in Norman Kretzmann and Eleonore Stump, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 12–37, at 12.

<sup>14</sup> Curiously, there is some confusion in the literature regarding Alfonso’s date of death. It is given as July 1458 in Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 24, and as 7 June 1458 in D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 402.

<sup>15</sup> Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 24.



concluded a treaty with Ferrante on 17 October 1458, in which the pope undertook ‘to remove the censures inflicted’ by Calixtus III, and ‘to grant him the right of succession and investiture’.<sup>16</sup> On 10 November the pope published a bull investing Ferrante with the kingdom, and the coronation ensued in the following month.

The Angevin claim to the throne had not relented, though, and René’s son Jean arrived in Naples in October 1459 with twenty-four galleys. Many powerful barons, ‘for many of whom the Aragonese rulers had never been anything more than illegitimate usurpers’, sided with the aggressors, rebelling against Ferrante.<sup>17</sup> In early 1460, a military force comprising Neapolitan, Milanese, and papal troops mobilised against the Angevins, and despite initial success, an unsuccessful surprise attack on the enemy encampment at Sarno, fifteen kilometres west of Vesuvius, led to most of Ferrante’s troops being captured. Thanks to the Angevin forces’ failure to follow up swiftly on their victory, and to increased support from his allies, Ferrante’s arduous campaign fared increasingly well. At the Battle of Troia in 1463, Jean of Anjou’s forces suffered a significant defeat, which triggered the making of peace treaties first with the Prince of Taranto, a kingpin of Neapolitan resistance, and then with other barons. The war concluded with the naval battle off the island of Ischia, in the Bay of Naples, on 7 July 1465, when Ferrante’s ships were joined by those of Ferrante’s uncle, King Juan II of Aragon, the aftermath of which is depicted in the *Tavola Strozzi*.

It would be unrealistic to suggest that the human activity in the scene greeting Tinctoris on arrival at Naples might have been quite as celebratory. However, in the painting we see numerous invaluable representations of Neapolitan cityfolk on the *Molo Grande*, the city’s wide dock. These images give a rare and quite specific account of the typical appearance of the people Tinctoris might have seen while conducting business around the city. Some are busy folding away the ships’ sails, some are unloading and carrying cargo from the ships, others are on horseback, and many more are clearly engaged with the spectacle of the returning fleet. The majority of them wear capes and hats in various shades of red and brown, while one on horseback is picked out in a green tunic.

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<sup>16</sup> Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, iii (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1894), 26.

<sup>17</sup> Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 4.

Courtiers, dressed in red and blue, look out to sea from the arched windows of the double *loggia* of the Castelnuovo, which survives today as it is shown on the left side of the building in the *Tavola Strozzi* ([Image 7](#)). One of these figures, in the middle of the three windows on the main face of the structure, conceivably represents King Ferrante I, who is dressed in yellow or gold with a red hat. He appears to be carrying a staff, and before him is hanging a red and gold tapestry. At least one courtier appears at each of the other nine windows of the *loggia*, while further figures appear at the windows of the Barons' Hall and the terrace below. Three of the windows of the Barons' Hall are dressed with tapestries; this could be interpreted as suggestions that those figures represent senior courtiers or minor royals. These figures, therefore, give some idea of the appearance of the Neapolitans with whom Tinctoris may have associated at the Castelnuovo and beyond after his arrival in Naples.

As he entered the Castelnuovo through the imposing triumphal arch ([Image 8](#)) commissioned by King Alfonso I, who had died some twelve years earlier, Tinctoris would soon have been greeted by the sight, diagonally across the expanse of courtyard, just to the right of the wide staircase ([Image 9](#)) leading up to the Barons' Hall, of the entrance to the Cappella Palatina ([Image 10](#)), which would be of central importance to his work over the coming twenty-or-so years. Having been under reconstruction since 1469, after significant damage caused by an earthquake of 1459, the chapel was most likely still largely a building site on Tinctoris's arrival, since it was not finished until 1474.<sup>18</sup> The reconstruction is shown in progress in a miniature by the Neapolitan court artist Nardo Rapicano in a copy of Giuniano Maio's *De Maiestate* (F-Pn lat. 1711, fol. 43r, [Image 11](#)).

The walls of the chapel had been decorated lavishly in the fourteenth century by Giotto or by members of his workshop. These were largely destroyed, probably during an earthquake, though some fragments remain ([Image 12](#)). In a letter of 20 March 1524 from Pietro Summonte (1463–1526) to Marcantonio Michiel (1484–1552), the interior of the chapel is described as follows:

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<sup>18</sup> On the reconstruction of the chapel, see Riccardo Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo, reggia angioina ed aragonese* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1964), 149–150.

Dentro la cappella del Castelnuovo era pintato per tutte le mura, per mano di Iocto, lo Testamento vecchio e nuovo, di un buon lavoro. Poi, ad tempo del re Ferrando vecchio, un suo consigliere, poco bon iodice di cose simili, extimandole poco, fe' dar nuova tunica ad tutte quelle mura: lo che dispiacque e dispiace anco oggi ad tutti quelli che hanno alcun iudicio.<sup>19</sup>

The Cappella Palatina's marble portal was executed by Andrea dell'Aquila. For the church of San Pietro Martire, which is just one kilometre away from the Castelnuovo, and is shown in the *Tavola Strozzi*, Niccolò Antonio Colantonio (c.1420–1460) painted his polyptich *San Vincenzo Ferrer e sue storie*, which is now in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples.<sup>20</sup> One of the panels of this work ([Image 13](#)) has been identified as showing the interior of the Cappella Palatina, including representations of King Ferrante I's first wife, Isabella di Chiaromonte, and two of their six children, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, and Eleonora d'Aragona (1450–1493).<sup>21</sup>

It was not only the physical structure of the chapel that was being renovated in the years leading up to Tinctoris's arrival in Naples. The choir of the Neapolitan chapel royal had been composed largely of Spaniards at the end of King Alfonso I's reign, and there is no evidence to contradict the assumption that Ferrante I was unconcerned with recruitment in the years before his aforementioned victory in 1465.<sup>22</sup> From the end of that year, however, there was a clear drive to recruit from the pool of highly talented and prized singers who were being trained in France and the Low Countries. This initiative, as part of which Tinctoris's own recruitment must have been seen as a significant achievement, continued through the first half of the 1470s.

Perhaps within the colossal walls of the Castelnuovo, or elsewhere in Naples, in the first decade following his arrival in Naples, Tinctoris wrote twelve music-theoretical treatises that deal with a broad conspectus of mensural notational and compositional matters, and which are noted for the author's technical and aesthetic criticism of works by composers including Ockeghem, Busnoys, and Regis. The earliest explains the usage

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<sup>19</sup> Michael Viktor Schwarz and Pia Theis, *Giottus pictor*, i (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 375.

<sup>20</sup> See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 12–13. For a reproduction, see Roberto Pane, *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, i (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1977), fig. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Pane, *Il Rinascimento*, 73.

<sup>22</sup> Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 35–39.

of the Guidonian hand (*Expositio manus*, c.1472–73), while a number of treatises were written in the period 1472–1475; these address the use and abuse of proportion in mensural notation (*Proportionale musices*), provide a ‘courtly sourcebook’<sup>23</sup> of quotations concerning the history and meaning of music (*Complexus effectuum musices*), give a glossary of musical terms (*Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*), address the imperfection of note-values (*Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*), explain rules concerning note-values at several levels of hierarchy in addition to rests and ligatures (*Tractatus de regulari valore notarum* and *Tractatus de notis et pausis*), and treat alteration and the use of dots (*Tractatus alterationum* and *Scriptum super punctis musicalibus*). Tinctoris’s three most substantial treatises were written later in the decade: the *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, which was completed on 6 November 1476, and which gives a thorough treatment of the system of modes, the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, which was completed on 11 October 1477, and comprises a thorough account of the treatment of consonance and dissonance in counterpoint, and *De inventione et usu musice*, begun in the early 1480s, a broadly conceived discourse on the origin, development, and current practice of music, the complete version of which has not survived. During the 1470s, Tinctoris’s music-theoretical writing was carried out against the backdrop of an increase of interest in music theory in Naples, with the arrival of Franchinus Gaffurius and Bernhard Ycart.<sup>24</sup>

Nine of Tinctoris’s treatises form the contents of each of two splendidly produced manuscript books that were made at the court of Naples during or shortly after Tinctoris’s period of employment there. These are Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica, MS 835 [*olim* 844], and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2573 (henceforth referred to as **V** and **BU**, respectively).<sup>25</sup> They are each bound in

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<sup>23</sup> Ronald Woodley, *Johannes Tinctoris: Biographical Outline*, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/Tinctoris/BiographicalOutline> (2013).

<sup>24</sup> Gianluca d’Agostino, ‘La musica, la cappella e il cerimoniale alla corte aragonese di Napoli’, in *Cappelle musicali fra corte, Stato e Chiesa nell’Italia del Rinascimento: atti del convegno internazionale, Camaiore, 21–23 ottobre 2005*, ed. Franco Piperno, Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, and Andrea Chegai (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 153–180, at 170.

<sup>25</sup> While it is acknowledged that the siglum **BU** is widely used in musicological literature to refer to I-Bu 2216, it is adopted in the present thesis in line with its well-established use for I-Bu 2573 within Tinctoris studies.

morocco leather, that of **V** with gold tooling, and that of **BU** with blind tooling. They each feature gold illumination and extensive fine painted floral decoration. **V** opens, on fol. 2r ([Image 14](#)), with a lavish frontispiece that frames not only the beginning of the first treatise, *Expositio manus*, but also a beautifully executed miniature showing a figure, presumably Tinctoris himself, sitting at a desk, reading and possibly following with his fingers an open book of musical notation.<sup>26</sup> He is depicted in a small room, perhaps a *loggia* or *studiolo*, with arched windows looking out over a view with an ornate wall in the foreground, followed by several elegantly kept trees, the spires and towers of buildings, and a background of hills and sky rendered delicately in blue. The miniature will receive extensive examination later in this thesis. **BU** opens rather differently, but no less intriguingly, with a three-part motet by Tinctoris, *Virgo Dei throno digna*:

Virgo Dei throno digna,  
 Spes unica musicorum,  
 Devote plebi cantorum  
 Esto clemens et benigna.

*O Virgin, worthy of the throne of God,  
 Sole hope of musicians,  
 To the devoted community of singers,  
 Be gentle and kind.*

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147 Mus. (henceforth referred to as **Br1**) includes the same nine treatises as **V** and **BU**, followed by the *Diffinitorium musice* and the *Complexus effectuum musices*, though the latter text is incomplete due to later damage to the manuscript. It was not produced to the same standards as **V** and **BU**, featuring neither illumination nor elaborate painted initials, and was probably written by a northern European musician working with the royal chapel at Naples, rather than by any of the professional scribes of the court scriptorium.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Adam Whittaker, 'Musical Exemplarity in the Notational Treatises of Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435–1511)' (PhD dissertation, Birmingham City University (Birmingham Conservatoire), 2015), 20–24.

<sup>27</sup> Woodley, *Biographical Outline*.

Where might **V** and **BU** have been kept in the Castelnuovo? The precise location of the royal library within the Castelnuovo is not known, but thankfully it is possible to glean some information from several accounts written by visitors to the court. The Genoan Adam di Montaldo (c.1440/50–1494) tells of King Alfonso I ascending to the library, high in the building, in order to fetch a book that is to be read aloud after a meal, in the short biography of his that forms part of a 1457 oration addressed to Pope Calixtus III.<sup>28</sup>

Sumpto autem prandio se retrahit in eminentiori castelli loco unde paululum moratus bibliothecam librorum omnium uoluminibus singularem redit more prae habito audiundi legi a doctissimo uiro quodam, imperat quicquam lectionis dari.<sup>29</sup>

*The meal having been eaten, he retires to a high place in the castle, whence, having lingered briefly in the library of volumes of all books, he returns, customarily bearing one [book] that is to be heard read aloud by a certain most learned man. He [Alfonso] dictates which reading is given.*

That the library was situated on an upper floor of the Castelnuovo is supported by the influential Florentine humanist book-dealer (*cartolaio*), Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–1498), who relates an encounter there between Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459), who was also a Florentine humanist and a diplomat, and King Alfonso I. The library apparently looked out over the sea:

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<sup>28</sup> On Montaldo, see Guido De Blasi, ‘Montaldo, Adamo’, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 75 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2011), 764 (also available at [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/adamo-montaldo\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/adamo-montaldo_(Dizionario-Biografico))); and Michael Lapidge, Gian Carlo Garfagnini, and Claudio Leonardi, *Compendium auctorum latinorum medii aevi (500–1500)*, i (Florence: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000), 29.

<sup>29</sup> V-CVbav Vat. lat. 3567, fol. 1r, transcribed in *DMB*, i. 225–227, and discussed in *ibid.*, 3 and 28, n. 30. On the manuscript, see Alfons M. Stickler, *Fifth Centenary of the Vatican Library, 1475–1975: Catalogue of the Exhibition* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1975), 15–16, no. 31; Alfons M. Stickler, *Legature papali da Eugenio IV a Paolo VI: catalogo della mostra con 211 tavole della quali 35 a colori* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1977), 6, no. 8; and L. Capoduro, ‘L’edizione romana del *De orthographia* di Giovanni Tortelli (Hain 15563) e Adamo da Montaldo’, in Massimo Miglio, ed., *Scrittura biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento II* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1983), 37–56. See also Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 57.

Finita la disputazione, nella libreria è una finestra che guarda inverso la marina, la maestà del Re n'andò a quella finestra e posesi a sedere secondo la sua consuetudine.<sup>30</sup>

*Having finished the disputation, in the library, where there is a window that looks out over the sea, his Majesty the King walked over to this window and the seats, in accordance with his custom.*

These two descriptions, of course, relate to the library under King Alfonso I's reign, and hence on their own alone cannot be said with any certainty to describe the library as it may have been during Tinctoris's time at the Neapolitan court. Fortunately, though, the Venetian Marino Sanuto (1466–1536) also described the Castelnuovo's library in his chronicle of Charles VIII of France's 'French Expedition' into Italy of 1494–1495, and therefore just after Ferrante I's death, during the short reign (25 January 1494 – 18 December 1495) of Alfonso II:<sup>31</sup>

La libreria dil Re era in una camera sopra la marina, dove era assà copia de libri, in carta bona, scritti a penna, et coverti di seda et d'oro, con li zoli d'argento indorati, benissimo aminiati, et in ogni facultà.<sup>32</sup>

*The King's library was in a room looking over the sea, where there were many copies of books, on good paper, written in pen, and bound in silk and gold, with gilded silver suns, very well miniatures, and on every subject.*

From this, I believe it is reasonable to suppose that the library remained in the same elevated position, with the remarkable sea views that still may be enjoyed from parts of the Castelnuovo, for the duration of King Ferrante I's reign, and therefore throughout Tinctoris's time at the court.

The Neapolitan bibliographer Tammara De Marinis, in his mid-twentieth-century study of the library of the Aragonese kings of Naples, seems to have taken a later part of the continuation of Sanuto's description, as quoted below, to be a description of a *studio*

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<sup>30</sup> Lodovico Frati, ed., *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV, scritte da V. da Bisticci, rivedute sui manoscritti da L. Frati*, ii (Bologna: Romagnoli-dall'Acqua, 1893), 175.

<sup>31</sup> On the 'French Expedition', see Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, ii (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1978), 448–507.

<sup>32</sup> Rinaldo Fulin, ed., *La spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia, raccontata da Marino Sanuto* (Venice: Tipografia del Commercio di Marco Visentini, 1883), 239.

situated also within the Castelnuovo.<sup>33</sup> Though this is sorely tempting, my reading of the passage is such that I believe the studio described was in fact in the Castel Capuano:

Ma lassiamo questo, et di ornamenti di Castel di Capuana, dove habitava re Alphonso, in vita dil padre, alcuna cosa scriviamo. Prima una camera ornate di depenture, ne la qual era uno organo, con li fianti di uno legno ditto ferulla. Et di questa se intra in un'altra più ornata di pitture, con uno organo di camera, con li canoni di carta, uno canon dorato et l'altro paonazo, che sonava par excellentia. Poi un'altra con tavole piene di lavori di porzelane, cosa dignissima. Poi se intra in una cortisella, dove era un satyro di marmoro abrazava uno puto ignudo con lascivia; el qual puto stava con la faza chinata con vergogna, assà bello et antico. Item una altra fegura antica, trovata a Gaeta nel cavar di fossi dil castello. Poi se intra in una camera a pepiano, granda, ornata di veludo pelo de lion, et cussì el letto con uno fioron d'oro, con l'arma in testa, da lato et in mezo. Poi in una, ornata di veludo verde a torno, con il letto ut supra. Una altra di ormesin vergado, similiter il letto: una di tabì intorno una ferza beretina et una negra a la divisa, et uno studio tutto intorno et di sopra lavorato di tarsia; sopra la tavola uno bellissimo tapedo damaschin, sopra el qual era 4 libri coperti di seda, con li zoli et cantoni d'ariento, zoè la Bibia, Tito Livio et Petrarca, uno caramal grandio, tutto d'ariento, do candellieri de diaspro, et la ymagine dil re don Ferando vechio, di bronzo.<sup>34</sup>

And so it is in the previously described library in the Castelnuovo that we might, as an initial point of departure, imagine these two sumptuous manuscripts, **V** and **BU**, with the strong Neapolitan sunlight streaming in through the windows overlooking the Bay of Naples, making the illumination truly worthy of its name, surrounded by exquisitely made volumes of the greatest writers of then recent times and of antiquity, being prized by members of royalty and marvelled at by their visitors. These remarkable objects were no mere workaday compendia of arcane technical detail, but rather finely wrought celebrations of the intellectual weight of their contents and the cultural aesthetics that lay behind and beyond them.

## 1.1 | Research Questions

In modern times, the great textual value of **V** and **BU** as sources of the music-theoretical writings of Tinctoris has been recognised to a surprisingly slight degree, especially given the importance attached to his treatises in the musicological literature, certainly

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<sup>33</sup> *DMB*, i. 175.

<sup>34</sup> Fulin, *La spedizione di Carlo VIII*, 239.



until the recent and ongoing publication of *TCTW*.<sup>35</sup> As material objects and historical artefacts in their own right, however, they have received barely any scholarly attention at all. **V** has fared slightly better in this regard, having aroused the interests of musicologists, whose focus has largely been on what the codex can reveal about Tinctoris, and of art historians, who have tended to treat the manuscript purely as an example of a certain artist's work. **BU**, however, has received virtually no such critical attention. It is therefore my aim in this dissertation to build upon, to extend, and to develop the work that has already been done on certain aspects of the physical manufacture of **V**: the painters who decorated it, the scribe(s) who wrote the text and the musical notation, the binders who turned the individual quires into a complete book; and on those who stood behind the manufacture of the book, who caused it to be produced, and in whose lives it had meaning as an object to be given, owned, and shown off. In the course of doing so, and building upon a synthesis and development of my understanding of **V**, I wish to ask the very same questions of **BU**, a manuscript nearly as impressively produced as its sister codex, in an attempt to develop a sense of the relationship of the two books not only to each other, but also to the wider bibliophilic and intellectual climate of the place and time in which they were produced.

In order to address this topic, I wish to articulate the following two central research questions:

1. Who were the manufacturers of the codices **V** and **BU**, and how did their work organise, frame, and contextualise Tinctoris's treatises both internally and within the wider output of the Neapolitan court scriptorium?

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<sup>35</sup> Albert Seay published the first volume of his critical edition of Tinctoris's treatises in 1975 for the American Musicological Society (*Johannis Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, 2 vols. plus iia in 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975–1978)). While vol. ii (1975) purports to present editions of *De arte contrapuncti*, *Proportionale musices*, and the *Complexus effectuum musices*, the second of these treatises was omitted, necessitating its publication in 1978 as vol. iia. Seay's editions, and the series of translations he published subsequently, contain inaccuracies that require the exercise of some caution in their use. This narrative forms some of the background to the need for *TCTW*, the digital edition spearheaded by Ronald Woodley, which is the primary output of the AHRC-funded project to which my PhD research is attached. Its publication is ongoing at [www.earlymusictheory.org](http://www.earlymusictheory.org).

2. What is the meaning and significance of the fact that such lavishly produced volumes of Tinctoris's theoretical works as **V** and **BU** were commissioned?

Answering the first question will involve establishing, as far as is possible, the identities of the scribes, miniaturists, painters, binders, and librarians who were involved in the production of **V** and **BU**. I need to know how and when they were paid for different stages of the production of such manuscripts and how different types of craftsman interacted and were organised to complete such projects. I shall need to analyse the manner in which the decoration organises and makes sense of the music-theoretical treatises, and how such strategies might differ between the two manuscripts. I shall need to make comparison of the script, decoration, physical structure, and bindings of these two codices with others produced at the Neapolitan court scriptorium. This will go hand-in-hand with a survey of the other types of book that the court scriptorium produced, and what was the resultant make-up of the royal library's collection.

The second question may be split into two parts: (a) who were the individuals behind the commissioning of the manuscripts, and (b) what reasons did they have for bringing about their production? To answer (a) will involve taking account of the heraldic and other dedicatory evidence and combining it with historical research into the commissioners' biographies, that of Tinctoris, and diplomatic relations between the Neapolitan court and other royal and aristocratic courts. This research will lead to the possibility of answering (b), in the course of which it will be necessary to ask what were the production values of many other manuscript books made at Naples.

The present research is intentionally focused in detail on **V** and **BU**, in order to provide a comprehensive physical and contextual study of two of the principal textual sources that form the basis of the editions published by the wider research project 'The Complete Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris: A New Digital Edition', as part of which this research is funded. Such a symbiotic approach is akin to what is common practice for STEM research groups, where concurrent research projects develop different facets of a common topic, and as a result inform and strengthen mutually the evidential basis of the whole output. A consequence of the intention in this thesis to return to first principles in answering many of the questions it poses is the necessity to present a significant amount

of data derived from physical inspection and analysis of the manuscripts **V** and **BU**. A particular benefit of this is the opportunity it gives, both within the thesis and for future research, for direct and specific comparison with many other manuscripts produced at the court of Naples, and further afield, in the later fifteenth century. Building step-by-step from the specific to the general, this approach is aimed to facilitate the historical and cultural contextualisation of the Neapolitan presentation manuscripts of Tinctoris's music theory in a field that is notoriously lacking in documentary evidence. In doing so it is intended, through the many codicological comparisons made, to contribute meaningfully to the multi-disciplinary study of the wider Neapolitan manuscript complexes, and to the broader modern understanding of the intellectual, political and cultural climate in which they were produced.

## 1.2 | Research Context

Most scholarly activity concerning the physicality of **V** has been focused on its frontispiece (fol. 2r, [Image 14](#)) and, although the importance of the portrait miniature ([Image 15](#)) has been noted many times, most of this activity has been concerned with the armorial escutcheon that appears in the lower half of the design ([Image 16](#)). Gutiérrez del Caño noted in his 1913 catalogue of manuscripts in Valencia's university library that the escutcheon is that of the sovereigns of Naples, supported by four angels (*ángeles*).<sup>36</sup> De Marinis categorised the escutcheon as number 15 ([Image 17](#)) in his typology of variants of Aragonese arms.<sup>37</sup> He observed nineteen types of Aragonese coats of arms in codices of the period 1442–1500, of which Types 10–15 are arms of King Ferrante I.<sup>38</sup> The implication was, therefore, that De Marinis identified the manuscript as having been commissioned by and prepared for Ferrante I. De Marinis attributed the portrait miniature on the frontispiece of **V** to the Neapolitan artist Cristoforo Majorana.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> D. Marcelino Gutiérrez del Caño, *Catálogo de los manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia*, 3 vols. (Valencia: Librería Maragat, 1913), iii, 235.

<sup>37</sup> *DMB*, ii. 164.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 150–155.

The American musicologist Leeman L. Perkins, in his introduction to the 1979 edition of the *Mellon Chansonnier* (US-NH 91) that he published collaboratively with the philologist Howard Garey, supported De Marinis's views on V, opining that 'the style of its decoration points to Naples as its place of origin, and the presence of the arms and emblems of the house of Aragon on the frontispiece provides compelling evidence that it was prepared for King Ferrante, the theorist's principal patron.'<sup>40</sup> This position was to be echoed by Allan Atlas in his 1985 monograph on musical life at the Neapolitan court.<sup>41</sup> Perkins adopted De Marinis's attribution of the decoration of V to Majorana, and attempted to substantiate the case by way of comparison with a similar portrait miniature (fol. 1r, [Image 18](#)) on the frontispiece of *E-VAu* 389 [*olim* 817], a copy of Aulus Gellius's *Noctes atticae* 'for which there are records of payment to Majorana'.<sup>42</sup> Perkins asserted that 'Gellius is clad in a robe of the same mauve color as that worn by Tinctoris', that he 'is seated in a similar attitude at a small table that forms like angles with chair and walls, and he is discovered on a closed terrace that is very much the same with the opening to the sea divided by columns into three arched bays, the wall surface below done in a series of recessed panels, the floor tiled in contrasting colours, and the same curtained opening giving to the left'. Finally, he ventured that 'a significant resemblance is also discernible in the ornamental cornice crowning the page and in the position, expression, and general appearance of the *putti* supporting the Aragonese escutcheon below'.<sup>43</sup>

Perkins found similarities between the secondary decoration of V and that of the three codices *F-Pn* lat. 495 (fol. 1r, [Image 19](#)), *F-Pn* lat. 674, and *F-Pn* lat. 6525, all of which are copies of Aquinas texts, and whose decoration was ascribed by De Marinis to Matteo Felice on the basis of court payments.<sup>44</sup> He stated that 'the capital letters selected for special elaboration are treated in one of three distinct manners according to the importance of the textual division they initiate', and that 'illumination in the true sense is reserved for the most significant', before describing the three levels of capital

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<sup>40</sup> Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, i. 22.

<sup>41</sup> Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 116.

<sup>42</sup> Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, i. 22.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

decoration in some detail. The author's position emerges that the portrait miniature in **V** is by Majorana and the rest of the decoration is by Felice. In Ronald Woodley's 1982 DPhil dissertation, a critical edition, translation, and study of Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices*,<sup>45</sup> he asserted a revision, on the advice of Albinia de la Mare, to Perkins's attribution of the decoration of **V** to Cristoforo Majorana and Matteo Felice. The *putti* on the frontispiece of this manuscript, we learn, are unmistakably the work of Cola Rapicano.<sup>46</sup>

In 1997, the Dresden-based manuscript librarian Thomas Haffner published a study of the library of King Ferrante's son, Giovanni of Aragon (1456–1485), that includes a catalogue-type entry on **V**.<sup>47</sup> He described the arms as a *Roßstirnschild*, or horse-head shield,<sup>48</sup> with three red pales in fields 1 and 4, surmounted by a brown-golden lily-crown. Importantly, Haffner noticed that the area of blue around the crown shows signs of overpainting, noting that the arms of the upper *putti* seem somewhat distorted, as though they originally supported something other than the Aragonese arms, and suggested that the escutcheon originally was surmounted by a red cardinal's hat. Haffner nevertheless acknowledged, that, even using special lighting, no outline of a hat may be seen today.

The catalogue of an exhibition of manuscripts which took place at the Castelnuovo in Naples in 1998, edited by the art historian Gennaro Toscano, features an entry on **V** that dates it as c.1483.<sup>49</sup> Toscano ascribed the miniatures ('miniado da Nardo Rapicano') of **V** and of *E-VAu* 389 to Nardo Rapicano, noting that the design of the frontispiece is after the model introduced to Naples by Gaspare da Padova.<sup>50</sup> This was a major revision of De Marinis's and Perkins's ascriptions. De Marinis had acknowledged the existence

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<sup>45</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'The *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1982).

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Haffner, *Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Giovanni d'Aragona (1456–1485): illuminierte Handschriften und Inkunabeln für einen humanistischen Bibliophilen zwischen Neapel und Rom* (Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert Verlag, 1997), 315–319.

<sup>48</sup> *Roßstirn* is a term for a late-medieval armoured head covering for horses. See Heinrich Otte, *Archäologisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1877), 202.

<sup>49</sup> Gennaro Toscano, *La Biblioteca reale di Napoli al tempo della dinastia aragonese* (Valencia: Generalitat Valencia, 1998), 608–609.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

of (Leo)Nardo, but not in relation to V.<sup>51</sup> Toscano adopted Haffner's theory that V and E-VAu 389 were prepared for Giovanni (on whose bibliophilia Haffner contributes a chapter to the volume). De Marinis was the first to draw attention to the representation of a figure on fol. 164v, which he identified as the Virgin Mary.<sup>52</sup> Haffner described the image as a portrait of a veiled woman in a round frame of 75mm diameter with the unreadable remains of an inscription to the Virgin Mary. Haffner echoed Woodley's original suggestion that, in light of the *elogium* preceding, the image could be interpreted as a personification of music.<sup>53</sup>

Haffner's discovery concerning the overpainting on the frontispiece of V enabled Woodley to make the observation, first in 2005, that if V was made for Giovanni while he was a cardinal, then the manuscript must have been produced between his election as such in December 1477 and his death in October 1485.<sup>54</sup> Later, in 2013, Woodley proposed a significant revision to Haffner's theory.<sup>55</sup> He observed that if there truly had been a cardinal's red hat on the frontispiece before the overpainting, then one would expect there to have been 'the incorporation of red *fiocchi* or series of knotted tassels that conventionally hang down from either side of the hat'.

Based on the conclusion that the overpainted image was Giovanni's grey prothonotary's hat, which would have signified an office and title that Giovanni held before becoming cardinal, Woodley proceeds to date the production of V to 'between the last few months of 1477 and the first few of 1478', the *terminus ante quem* being based on the completion of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and the *terminus post quem* being informed by Giovanni's presentation with the red hat associated with his cardinalate on

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<sup>51</sup> DMB, ii. 149.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., iv. 246.

<sup>53</sup> Woodley, 'Proportionale', 127; and Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 318.

<sup>54</sup> See Ronald Woodley, 'Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147: The Cultivation of Johannes Tinctoris as Music Theorist in the Nineteenth Century', in Barbara Haggh and Frédéric Billiet, eds., *Ars musica septentrionalis: De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical à l'historiographie*, proceedings of the international conference of the Association Ad Fugam with the University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV): Douai and Cambrai, 24–26 November 2005 (Paris: University of Paris-Sorbonne, 2011), 121–158.

<sup>55</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'The Dating and Provenance of Valencia 835: A Suggested Revision'. <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/Articles/DatingAndProvenanceOfValencia835> (2013).

25 January 1478 in the Duomo in Naples. If this dating is accurate, then it means that **V** becomes the ‘earliest datable source for the main corpus of Tinctoris’s pedagogical treatises’. Woodley underlines the importance of establishing the ‘palaeographical and contextual relationship with **V**’ of **BU**, a task which the present thesis sets out to fulfil.

The attention that has been paid to the decoration of **BU** is largely in Woodley’s 1982 DPhil dissertation.<sup>56</sup> He described it as being ‘similar in some ways to **V**, particularly with regard to the secondary initials and paraps (which may support Perkins’s belief that Crispus was responsible for these).’<sup>57</sup> He saw a greater emphasis on floral sprays in the border decoration of **BU** than in **V**, ‘sprouting from vertical, left-border strips into the top and bottom margins.’ He gave the example of fols. 152v–153r ([Image 20](#)) as an example of the ‘occasional bizarre and complex relationship between the shape of the written block and the decoration’, contending that this ‘demonstrates a high degree of sophistication and co-operation in the production of the manuscript’. Finally, Woodley noted ‘striking similarities’ with *E-E* a.I.7, an ‘undated Neapolitan *Ordo ad Cathecuminum faciendum* now in the Escorial library.’<sup>58</sup> There is clearly more research to be carried out in this area, developing and extending both the research on the decoration of **V** discussed above and Woodley’s initial description.

The question of the identity of the commissioner or intended recipient of **BU** has, to date, received somewhat less attention. Woodley first suggested in 1982 that the manuscript may have been prepared for Ferrante’s daughter, Princess Beatrice of Aragon, who later became Queen of Hungary.<sup>59</sup> He suggested that the manuscript might have been intended as a gift expressing support ‘from either Tinctoris or the Neapolitan

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<sup>56</sup> Woodley, ‘*Proportionale*’, 136.

<sup>57</sup> Paraps, in this context, are graphical marks that are primarily used to show the beginnings of units of meaning in running text, and so function in rough equivalence to the spatial separation seen in modern paragraph formatting. For a fuller discussion, see p. 220.

<sup>58</sup> For reproductions, see *DMB*, suppl. vol. ii. plate 65; and also Mercedes López-Mayán, ‘Entre Roma y Nápoles: El pontifical a.I.7 de El Escorial y la miniatura italiana del Renacimiento’, *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, 16 (2012), 110–120, at 108–118. In the latter article, the artist of the El Escorial manuscript was tentatively identified as Nardo Rapicano, and the black-and-white reproductions show some similarity with those of **BU**. See also, however, Paul Needham, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbinding, 400–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 116: Needham wrote that the binding of *E-E* a.I.7 is apparently Roman and is almost identical to the ‘Della Rovere’ missal in Turin.

<sup>59</sup> Woodley, ‘*Proportionale*’, 136.

court', in the wake of the political difficulties she encountered following her husband King Matthias Corvinus's death in 1490. In Woodley's interpretation, the '*throno digna*' in the title of Tinctoris's motet *Virgo dei throno digna*, which appears 'rather unexpectedly at the head of the manuscript', is meant as a 'gesture of support for her retention of the throne', thereby forming a double dedication to Beatrice and the Virgin Mary.<sup>60</sup> Woodley rejects the idea that **BU** was simply a betrothal gift to Beatrice on palaeographical and dating grounds. He suggests that the manuscript could alternatively have been a sympathetic gesture 'prepared for Beatrice's return to Naples in 1500'. Woodley later wrote that 'various textual details' in **BU** suggested to him that 'the treatises have been lightly re-edited in places, probably after Tinctoris's departure from the Aragonese court (seemingly in the early 1490s), or even as a presentation to Beatrice on her return from Buda to Naples in 1500'.<sup>61</sup> Many questions remain – did Beatrice maintain her own private library at Buda or were her collections integrated with the main Corvinian library? Do any other artefacts survive that might have been sent as expressions of political solidarity or sympathy, in the same way that **BU** might have been? Of relevance to the relationship between Tinctoris and Beatrice of Aragon is the inclusion in Perkins and Garey's *The Mellon Chansonnier* of a transcription and translation of a letter sent by Peter Váradi, Archbishop of Kalocsa, to Beatrice of Aragon in 1493.<sup>62</sup> The letter refers obliquely to her troubled political position in Hungary, after the death of her husband Matthias Corvinus, and to Tinctoris himself.

The script of **V** has previously been researched much more thoroughly than that of **BU**. Dating the former codex c.1480, De Marinis described the script simply as 'gotica' and,

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<sup>60</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'Bologna 2573 and the Naples–Hungary Axis', paper given at the international conference 'Johannes Tinctoris and Music Theory in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', Chancellor's Hall, Senate House, University of London, 9 October 2014. Perkins noted in *Mellon Chansonnier*, i. 19, a similarity between the 'initial salutation' of this motet and the opening dedication of *De inventione et usu musicae*: 'apud divam Beatricem Aragoniam: Ungarorum ac Bohemorum reginam celo simillimam: in qua musicorum unicam spem ac rationem hucusque posui'. Trans.: 'with the divine Beatrice of Aragon, queen of the Hungarians and Bohemians and most similar to heaven[']s queen], in whom I have placed hitherto the unique hope and concern for musicians'.

<sup>61</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147: The Cultivation of Johannes Tinctoris as Music Theorist in the Nineteenth Century', <http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris>: Related Articles & Papers (2007), para. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonnier*, i. 18 and 33.



despite offering summaries of the various scribes at work at the Neapolitan court in the fifteenth century, in addition to making attributions of many manuscripts to them, did not offer an opinion of the identity of the scribe of **V**. There is no separate entry for **BU** in De Marinis's catalogue, though he does refer to the book towards the end of **V**'s entry, making no reference to the script. Perkins was the first to nominate Venceslaus Crispus as the potential scribe of **V**.<sup>63</sup> He was led to the suggestion by the similarity he saw between the (non-frontispiece) decoration of three Neapolitan copies of the writings of Thomas Aquinas, *F-Pn* lat. 495, 652, and 674. The first two of these manuscripts are signed by Crispus, and Perkins considered the third, which is unsigned, also to be his work. Though he states that 'the Gothic script of the late fifteenth-century [*sic*] is generally so highly stylised that it defies the identification of individual hands', he attributes the copying of the text to Crispus, observing that his hand 'displays a few mildly characteristic traits'; in particular that 'he makes frequent use of a rather elegant paragraph sign in either red or blue and employs a fine line slanted off to the right to a considerable number of different ends: to close an *a* or an *e*, to distinguish an *i*, to break a word at the end of a line (occasionally with the stroke doubled), and even to provide a decorative flourish for a final *s*.'<sup>64</sup>

Perkins offers evidence in support of Crispus's identification as the scribe of **V** according to national trends in the structuring of quires. Based on the Danish musicologist Knud Jeppesen's work on Franco-Burgundian manuscripts, he asserts that 'the primary northern sources for the chanson repertory of the Burgundian court ... all consist of quaterns'.<sup>65</sup> And from this, as though by logical extrapolation, 'North of the Alps, the basic constituent unit in the making of books was ordinarily the quatern'.<sup>66</sup> This argument is used in support of the 'Bohemian' Crispus being the scribe. Given that, as stated above, all we know of Crispus's life outside of his Neapolitan scribal career is that he was probably born near the modern-day town of Ostrov, in the Karlovarský kraj (Carlsbad) region of the Czech Republic, I do not consider Burgundian

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 24–26.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 26. See also Knud Jeppesen, *Der Kopenhager Chansonier* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, and Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927).

<sup>66</sup> Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonier*, i. 26.

quiring practices to be of relevance to an attribution to Crispus.<sup>67</sup> Perkins goes on again to employ Jeppesen's work, this time in support of quinterns being characteristic of Italian book manufacture.<sup>68</sup> He combines Jeppesen's opinion that Florentine manuscripts were generally structured in quinterns with his own observations of the Neapolitan *Cedole* records (to be described here shortly) to conclude that Italians always used quinterns. While there may possibly be some such correlation, it does seem insufficiently precise to refer the reader to all 971 documents transcribed by De Marinis, in addition to the hundreds of pages of translations by Barone, without providing specific examples.<sup>69</sup> Distinctions between northern European and Italian quiring practices may exist but there is certainly no concrete basis for such a generalisation presented here. The topic warrants further investigation.

Ronald Woodley agreed with Perkins and Garey, in 1982, that Venceslaus Crispus was the scribe of **V**.<sup>70</sup> He described the script as *textualis rotunda sine pedibus*, and wrote that Crispus was 'a Bohemian scribe working at Naples from c.1480 to the early years of the sixteenth century'.<sup>71</sup> He proposed that, based on a comparison of the script of **V** with plates of some of Crispus's signed and dated manuscripts, 'Perkins's dating may be further refined to the period 1485–9, perhaps nearer the latter end', though, as mentioned above, and as will be described fully in Chapter 3, Woodley was later to revise this dating.<sup>72</sup> Woodley described the script of **BU** similarly as *textualis rotunda sine pedibus* and proposed Crispus as the scribe, but at 'a slightly later period of his career'.<sup>73</sup> Haffner simply described the script as '*Gotica rotunda*'.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> See Wilhelm Rolf, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1910), 165.

<sup>68</sup> Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonier*, i. 26. See Knud Jeppesen, 'The Manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 230: An attempt at a Diplomatic Reconstruction', in Jan LaRue, ed., *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 440–447.

<sup>69</sup> See Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonier*, i. 26, nn. 171–172.

<sup>70</sup> Woodley, 'Proportionale', 123–138. See also Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonier*, 22–26.

<sup>71</sup> Woodley, 'Proportionale', 130.

<sup>72</sup> The reproductions Woodley consulted were *DMB*, iii. 29, iv. 158, 204, 237, 238, and 241; and also ii. 158; Woodley, 'Proportionale', 130.

<sup>73</sup> Woodley, 'Proportionale', 132.

<sup>74</sup> Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 315–319.

Just as is the case with the script, the binding of **BU** has previously received far less scholarly attention than that of **V**. Gutiérrez del Caño's description of the binding of **V** is of morocco leather (*tafilete*) with gold tooling (*dorados*), gilt edges to the book block, and lacking clasps (*broches*).<sup>75</sup> When De Marinis saw the codex, he described it as consisting of boards covered with morocco leather, with tooling in gold and black tint.<sup>76</sup> Toscano's 1998 catalogue was the first publication to relate that the binding of **V** had been restored, conserving the original leather on boards, with blind- and gold-tooling,<sup>77</sup> but it was not until the publication in 2003 of *Els vestits del saber* by the University of Valencia, a book that focuses on the *Mudéjar* bindings in their library, that any detailed description of the binding of **V** was made.<sup>78</sup> It records the fact that the binding was restored in 1972. The original binding is described as being of gold-tooled red morocco leather, which has subsequently been removed from the boards. The spine is finished with four double cords and the book edges are gilt, while marks are left from four clasps that are now lacking. The description provides the first published measurements of the binding (280 × 205 × 50), before evaluating briefly the design of the tooling, and asserting that the binding of **V** undoubtedly comes from the same family as that of *E-VAu* 56 [*olim* 857], a 1482 copy of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Originum sive antiquitatum Romanorum*, and *E-VAu* 380 [*olim* 849], a c.1491 copy of Aquinas, *Aurea expositio sancti Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios*. Finally, the description states that the decorative structure of the binding of **V** is comparable with that of *F-Pn* lat. 3063, a copy of Duns Scotus, *Super secundo Libro Sententiarum*.

De Marinis wrote that **BU** is bound in original fifteenth-century brown morocco leather, in a manner consistent with a Neapolitan provenance.<sup>79</sup> He noted a similarity between the binding of **BU** and that of *V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 10682, a volume of the mercantile

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<sup>75</sup> Gutiérrez del Caño, *Catálogo*, iii. 235.

<sup>76</sup> *DMB*, ii. 174.

<sup>77</sup> Toscano, *Biblioteca reale*, 608–609.

<sup>78</sup> María Isabel Álvaro Zamora, María Luz Mandingorra Llavata, and Donatella Giansante, *Els vestits del saber: enquadernacions mudèjars a la Universitat de València* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003), 146–147.

<sup>79</sup> See Tammamo De Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli xv e xvi: notizie ed elenchi*, 3 vols. (Firenze: Alinari, 1960), i. 24, no. 211.

correspondence of the Sienese banker Giacomo Spannocchi, who worked in Naples in the fifteenth century.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to the work already discussed, which relates directly to **V** and **BU**, there are several publications that will be of great importance to the present study because of their transmission of documentary records that are no longer extant. These fall into two groups, both relating to activities at the court of Naples in the late fifteenth century. The first group is known as the *Cedole di tesoreria*, or the general records of the Aragonese treasury.<sup>81</sup> These basic records of expenditure relate to a wide variety of courtly activities, including the payment of scribes and illuminators. The second group of records consists of the *Registri Curiae* of the Neapolitan chancery. These record details of communications produced in the course of running the court, as opposed to those produced in judicial proceedings or matters of foreign affairs.<sup>82</sup> Sadly, these important records of proceedings at the Aragonese court suffered a fateful destiny. During World War II, Riccardo Filangieri, Director of the Naples State Archives (1934–1956), had the most valuable documents moved to the Villa Montesano, near San Paolo Belsito, just over thirty kilometres west of Naples. With the aim of preventing damage from air-strikes, some 30,000 books and 50,000 documents were transferred and stored mostly in 866 cases. The strategy failed, however, since on 28 September 1943 three German soldiers arrived at the Villa ‘in search of calves’.<sup>83</sup> Despite urgent negotiations made by Filangieri and his staff with the local German commander, two days later the archival collection was deliberately and knowingly set alight using paper, straw, and gunpowder. Eleven cases of notarial registers and ninety-seven cases of the Farnese archives were saved, but a vast quantity of material, relating not just to Naples but to many European

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<sup>80</sup> De Marinis, *Legatura*, i. 9. See Fabio Carboni, *Incipitario della lirica italiana dei secoli XV – XX*, 3 vols. in 4, (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982–1988), ii. 477, no. 8819. This states that fol. 115v includes the lyric ‘Io sono orso humile et superbo’.

<sup>81</sup> See *DMB*, ii. 227.

<sup>82</sup> Nicola Barone, ‘Notizie storiche raccolte dai *Registri Curiae* della cancelleria aragonese’, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 13 (1888), 745.

<sup>83</sup> See Riccardo Filangieri, ‘Report on the Destruction by the Germans, September 30, 1943, of the Depository of Priceless Historical Records of the Naples State Archives’, *The American Archivist*, 7 (1944), 252–255.

centres of administration, was destroyed. These included virtually all of the late fifteenth-century treasury and chancery records from the Aragonese court of Naples.

Thankfully, some transcriptions of the Neapolitan documentary records were made before the latter's destruction. The first historian to transcribe the material was Nicola Barone, erstwhile archivist of the Neapolitan State Archives. He published, in 1884 and 1885, 'Le cedole di tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dell'anno 1460 al 1504', which appeared in the periodical *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* and, on the chancery records, 'Notizie storiche raccolte dai Registri Curiae della cancelleria aragonese', in 1888 and 1889.<sup>84</sup> Barone's work has been invaluable to historians of Naples; the only slight shame is that his transcriptions were not literal, but rather they were translated from the Neapolitan court dialect, *Napoletano misto*, and Latin, into conventional Italian. Additionally, De Marinis's archival work for *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona* was complete before the destruction of the records, and so it also forms a vital resource for this study. It includes transcriptions of all 971 records in the *Cedole* which concerned the manufacture and procurement of books at the court. His summaries of the lives and activities of the court scribes are a crucial starting-point for my work.

Not quite all of the records were moved to the Villa Montesano, and hence those that were not escaped destruction. The surviving records remained at Naples and have received significant study since. Jole Mazzoleni, while a member of staff at the Archivio di Stato, published in 1974 *Le fonti documentarie e bibliografiche dal sec. X al sec. XX conservate presso l'Archivio di stato di Napoli*, an inventory of the Naples State Archives.<sup>85</sup> The surviving records were subsequently transcribed and published in the second series, *Testi e documenti di storia napoletana*, of *Fonti aragonesi*: Volume 9, edited by Bianca Mazzoleni and published in 1978, contains the 'Registro IV della

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<sup>84</sup> Nicola Barone, 'Notizie storiche raccolte dai *Registri Curiae* della cancelleria aragonese', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 13 (1888), 745–771; 14 (1889), 5–16, 177–203, 397–409; 15 (1890), 209–232, 451–471, 703–723; and 'Le cedole di tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dell'anno 1460 al 1504', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 9 (1884), 4–34, 205–248, 387–429, 601–637; 10 (1885), 5–47.

<sup>85</sup> Jole Mazzoleni, *Le fonti documentarie e bibliografiche dal sec. X al sec. XX conservate presso l'Archivio di stato di Napoli*, 2 vols. (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1974–1978).

Tesoreria Generale (1487)'.<sup>86</sup> Volume 10, edited by Anna Maria Compagna and published in 1979, contains transcriptions of fragments from the *Cedole* of the treasury from the period 1438–1474.<sup>87</sup> Volume 13, edited by Claudia Vultaggio and published in 1990, contains some of the register 'Curie summarie' from the period 1463–1499.<sup>88</sup>

A book entitled *Musica Tinctoris* appears in an inventory of a consignment possibly made from the Neapolitan court to Lorenzo de Medici that is included in *DMB* as 'Inventario B'.<sup>89</sup> The volume is listed under the heading 'Musici', in addition to four other items: *Musica Boetii*, *Musica Isidori*, *Liber diversarum cantionum*, and *Musica Lippi*. The inventory was transcribed, presumably from the original, in 1508–1513, by the humanist Fabio Vigile di Spoleto, and entitled *Index regalium codicum Alfonsi Regis: ad Laurentium Medicem, ex neapolitana eius bibliotheca transmissus: hoc ordine*, in V-CVbav Vat. lat. 7134 (fols. 255r–259r), a collection of inventories of the Vatican and other libraries.<sup>90</sup> Perkins, in the course of describing the increased contact between Florentine and Neapolitan artists and humanists during the decade of political stability between the two cities following the peace treaty of 13 March 1480, suggests that the date of the consignment of books is unknown,<sup>91</sup> but was probably within that decade.<sup>92</sup> Atlas, in 1985, agreed with the latter assumption, suggesting that earlier rather than later in the 1480s was most likely.<sup>93</sup> He also points out that 'Alfonsi Regis' in the title of the inventory must be wrong, since neither Alfonso I nor II could have made the consignment. The former king died in 1458 and the latter did not accede to the throne

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<sup>86</sup> Bianca Mazzoleni, ed., *Fabrica del Castello di Crotona (1485); Libro de fuste di Policastro (1486); Registro IV della Tesoreria Generale (1487); Concessione di sale ai Monasteri (1497–1498)*, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana, Serie II, Fonti aragonesi, 9 (Naples: L'Accademia, 1978).

<sup>87</sup> Anna Maria Compagna Perrone Capano, ed., *Frammenti di cedole della Tesoreria (1438–74): Albarani della Tesoreria (1414–88)*, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana, Serie II, Fonti aragonesi, 10 (Naples: L'Accademia, 1979).

<sup>88</sup> Claudia Vultaggio, ed., *Frammenti dei registri 'Curie summarie' degli anni 1463–1499*, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana, Serie II, Fonti aragonesi, 13 (Naples: L'Accademia, 1990).

<sup>89</sup> *DMB*, ii. 193–200.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> It should be noted that we do not know whether or not the consignment was in fact ever made at all. See Section 4.8.

<sup>92</sup> Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonier*, i. 30. On the renewal of political and artistic flux between the two cities, see also George L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1481–1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 1–17.

<sup>93</sup> Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 117.

until 1494, and therefore after Lorenzo de' Medici's death in 1492. The books must have been sent either by King Ferrante I or possibly by Alfonso II before his accession, while he was still Duke of Calabria. De Marinis's reasoning for the reference to Alfonso is that the library continued to be referred to in the name of Alfonso I even after his death and during the reign of Ferrante.<sup>94</sup> This consignment of books demonstrates that there must have been a wealth of books in the Neapolitan royal library if 461 could be sent to Florence, probably as a loan. That musical books formed only one per cent of the total number could be interpreted in several ways. We do not know the specific reason for the consignment, and hence it may not represent a cross-section of the content of the Neapolitan library. If it does, however, then the relatively small musical component may simply reflect the smaller number of musical texts that were available or considered suitable to be included in the collection.

### **1.3 | Methodology**

At the heart of this study are detailed descriptions of each of the two manuscripts, **V** and **BU**; these appear as Chapters 2 and 4. The descriptions are based on physical inspections of the codices made in the respective libraries in Valencia and Bologna. Each description gives a list of the contents of the manuscript, including the incipit and explicit, and the published editions of each item. The materials used in the make-up of the manuscripts are described, with their dimensions. Foliation, collation, and details of ruling, pricking, quire signatures, and catchwords are all documented, along with lists of miniatures and illustrations, major decorated initials, and summary accounts of decorative features of a lower order. Importantly, each description includes a synoptic presentation of the physical structure, decoration, and textual context, which is an important tool for understanding the analysis of the manner in which the texts are structured by the decorational and other features later in the manuscript. In order to facilitate such discussion, I refer to decorated initials as being of one of three classes:

- Class 1 (I1): Polychrome painted initials
- Class 2 (I2): 4-line bichrome initials with pen flourishing

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<sup>94</sup> *DMB*, ii. 193.

- Class 3 (I3): 2-line bichrome initials with pen flourishing

Chapters 2 and 4 provide opportunity for analysis of the bindings of **V** and **BU**. In the absence of any previous detailed analysis of the individual stamps used in late fifteenth-century gold tooling, I assign each individual stamp used on the bindings a letter, e.g. ‘Stamp A’, to enable comparison with other incidences of its use. Chapter 2 presents new information about the restoration of the binding of **V** including documentary material and photographs kindly made available by the library. In Chapter 4, I present detailed physical analysis of the paper flyleaves of **BU**, including an account, with measurements and photographs, of a hitherto undocumented watermark.

Methodologically, these descriptions provide a solid basis for the extended analytical work that is reported in later chapters; the latter is then used to engender broader contextualisation and to extrapolate historical narrative. Each description is followed by a chapter that deals largely with issues surrounding that particular manuscript; these chapters (3 and 5) essentially make the journey from codicological analysis to historical and cultural contextualisation. Chapters 6 and 7 each deal with both **V** and **BU** simultaneously, thereby allowing the creation of new knowledge about the manuscripts by the process of comparison: in Chapter 6, comparison of the execution of the decoration, and in Chapter 7, comparison of the execution of the verbal and music texts. Naturally, these comparisons are also brought into the more general context of the Neapolitan court complex.

In Chapter 3, I begin by situating Tinctoris’s arrival at the court of Naples in the context of its diplomatic exchanges with the Burgundian court of Charles the Bold, which are largely articulated by communications regarding the marriage proposals of Prince Federico of Aragon (1452–1504). I proceed to consider the circumstances surrounding the production of **V**, focusing on the problematic question of the manuscript’s likely commissioner. This involves detailed discussion of the heraldry of the arms of the frontispiece, including the results of my first-hand inspection of the manuscript, and extends to comparison with a large number of contemporary Neapolitan manuscript frontispieces. This leads to an introduction to the late fifteenth-century attempt by the Neapolitan scriptorium to create a complete set of volumes of the works of Aquinas, a



series that is later shown to be of direct relevance to the production of **V** and **BU**. The chapter ends with a synthesis of a wide variety of secondary literature, using which I construct a newly detailed narrative of the history of **V** from beginning of the sixteenth century to the present day.

In Chapter 5, I make detailed palaeographical comparison of the script and hand(s) used in **V** and **BU**, with detailed reference to several scribes and a number of relevant manuscripts, before presenting my views on the identity of the main text scribe and setting out the resultant impact of the potential dating of each manuscript. In the course of this, I use documentary records to expose some of the working practices of scribes at the Neapolitan court. I proceed to consider what implications my new dating of the script of **BU** might have in terms of Woodley's opinion that the manuscript was prepared for Beatrice of Aragon. This is articulated through a synthesis of a variety of disparate historiographical literature (resulting in Beatrice's probably most up-to-date, fully-referenced anglophone biography), which is used to contextualise the preparation of certain other manuscript gifts for Beatrice by the Neapolitan court.

Chapter 6 focuses on the decoration of **V** and **BU**. It begins with a discussion of the portrait miniature on the frontispiece of **V**, considering the implications of its iconography in terms of other Neapolitan portrait miniatures and documentary accounts of the robes of court musicians, and makes new, though tentative, suggestion of the involvement of Tinctoris with the Order of the Ermine. Analysis is then presented of the manner in which the hierarchies of decorated initials function differently in **V** and **BU**, showing how the styles of execution of such secondary decoration in the two manuscripts may be aligned with other groups of manuscripts decorated by Neapolitan court artists and miniaturists. The chapter ends with a discussion of the artists who may have been responsible for the decoration of the manuscripts, making detailed stylistic observations, and ultimately approaching the possibility or otherwise of making meaningful assertions on the ascription of the work to individuals or their workshops.

Chapter 7 assesses the textual relationship between **V** and **BU**, by way of a synopsis of current scholarship and a sample textual comparison that identifies and details several categories of textual difference, and identifies the presence in both manuscripts of the

activity of a textual corrector. The music notation in each manuscript is discussed, marshalling and highlighting conflicting palaeographical and textual evidence concerning the number and identity of those who entered this notation. Finally, detailed attention is paid to the scribe's or the scribes' complex use of orientation marks and guide letters, leading to a proposal of the general order of scribal composition in **V** and **BU**, and potentially other such late fifteenth-century Neapolitan manuscripts.

Chapter 8 is offered as a conclusion, drawing together the assertions and suggestions made in the body of the thesis, connecting the threads of narrative, and signalling potentially fruitful avenues for development in future scholarship.

## Chapter 2 | Description of Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica, MS 835<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 | Heading

1. Pressmark: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica, MS 835 [olim 844].
2. Title: *Opus musices Joannis Tinctoris*.<sup>2</sup>
3. Language: Latin.
4. Date and origin: Late 1477–1484. 1477–1478 (Woodley).<sup>3</sup> c.1483 (Haffner).<sup>4</sup> c.1480-1487 (Perkins and Garey).<sup>5</sup> Naples.

### 2.2 | Contents

- i. Front pastedown features modern pencil markings:

‘g. c. | 2279’, Gutiérrez del Caño’s catalogue number.<sup>6</sup>

‘M | 835’, the codex’s current shelfmark.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the first complete, detailed physical description. Previous partial descriptions include D. Marcelino Gutiérrez del Caño, *Catálogo de los manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia*, 3 vols. (Valencia: Librería Maragat, 1913), iii. 234–235; *DMB*, ii. 164–165; Ronald Woodley, ‘The *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study’ (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1982), 123–131; Gennaro Toscano, *La Biblioteca reale di Napoli al tempo della dinastia aragonese* (Valencia: Generalitat Valencia, 1998), 608–609; ‘Biblioteca Històrica MS 835’, in *Trobes. Catalèg de la biblioteca*, <http://trobes.uv.es/record=b1900779> (n.d.); and Europeana Regia, ‘Johannes Tinctoris: Opus musices’, in *Library of the Aragonese Kings of Naples*, <http://www.europeana-regia.eu/en/manuscripts/valencia-universitat-valencia-biblioteca-historica-bh-ms-835/en> (22 December 2011).

<sup>2</sup> This title is that listed in Universitat de València, ‘Biblioteca Històrica MS 835’, and is presumably based on Fortunatus’s first sentence on fol. 1r.

<sup>3</sup> Ronald Woodley, ‘The Dating and Provenance of Valencia 835: A Suggested Revision’, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/Articles/DatingAndProvenanceOfValencia835> (December 2013, latest revision June 2014).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Haffner, *Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Giovanni d’Aragona (1456–1485): illuminierte Handschriften und Inkunabeln für einen humanistischen Bibliophilen zwischen Neapel und Rom* (Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert Verlag, 1997), 315.

<sup>5</sup> Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonier*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), i. 22–27.

<sup>6</sup> Gutiérrez del Caño, *Catálogo*, iii. 234–235.

- ii. Blank parchment flyleaf (270 × 189mm).
1. Fol. 1r. Incipit: ‘In hoc libro musicae continentur varii | tractatus numero novem’. A table of contents written in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century cursive hand. Lower down the page is the inscription, ‘Es de .s.miguel delos Reyes’, which is written in a mid sixteenth-century hand, followed by ‘y de la libreria’ in a late sixteenth-century hand. Also, in pencil in the bottom right-hand corner, ‘M · 835’.
2. Fol. 1v. Incipit: ‘Fortunati Ferrariensis. monachi montisolivetani | elogium vel inscriptio ad opus musices Joannis tinctoris.’ Explicit: ‘Te videt in facie cernere quisquis amat.’ An *elogium* to Tinctoris and his works by the Olivetan monk Fortunatus.
3. Fol. 1v. Main table of contents: ‘Ioannis Tinctoris clarissimi musicorum principis opus | quod presens librorum complexus ordinatissime perficit. | Expositio musicalis manus. Liber Primus | De natura et proprietate tonorum. [Liber] secundus | De notis et pausis musicalibus: [Liber] Tertius | De regulari valore notarum: [Liber] Quartus | De imperfectione notarum. [Liber] Quintus | De alteratione notarum: [Liber] Sextus. | De punctis musicalibus. [Liber] Septimus. | De arte et formatione contrapuncti. [Liber] Octavus | Proportionale musices. [Liber] Nonus.’
4. Fols. 2r–14v. *Expositio manus*. Incipit: ‘OPTIM|IS MO|RIBUS AC P|LERI|SQUE | INGE|NUIS | ARTI|BUS ORNATISSIM|O ADOLESCENTI | Joanni de Lotinis. Ioannes Tinctoris inter musice pro|fessores minimus. fraternam benivolentiam :.’ Explicit: ‘Quo fit. ut sine ma|nus cognitione neminem in ipsa musica preclarum contin|gat evadere:.’ Published editions:
  - a. Albert Seay, ed., *Johannis Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, 2 vols. plus iia in 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975–1978), i. 31–57.
  - b. [http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/expositio\\_manus/expositio\\_manus.html](http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/expositio_manus/expositio_manus.html).

- c. Ronald Woodley, Jeffrey J. Dean, and David Lewis, eds., *Johannes Tinctoris: Complete Theoretical Works* (Hereafter *TCTW*), <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/> (forthcoming).
5. Fols. 15r–15v. Table of contents for *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*. Incipit: ‘Catalogus capitulorum in hoc libro de natura et proprietate tonorum ordinatim contentorum.’ Explicit: ‘Interpretatio quarundam [c]oniunctionum secundum communioem | loquendi modum.’
6. Fols. 16r–43r. *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*. Incipit: ‘Ioannis Tinctoris Musici clarissimi in naturas et proprietates tonorum musicalium: proemium incipit.’ Explicit: ‘Finit liber de natura | et proprietate tonorum.’ Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera Theoretica*, i. 65–104.
  - b. *TCTW* (forthcoming).
7. Fols. 44r–47v. *Tractatus de notis et pausis*. Incipit: ‘Prologus in tractatum de notis et pausis incipit feliciter.’ Explicit: ‘Finit tractatulus de | notis et pausis musicalibus’. Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 109–120.
  - b. *TCTW*, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/denotisetpausis>.
8. Fols. 47v–55r. *Tractatus de regulari valore notarum*. Incipit: ‘nunc | vero de regulari valore | notarum earundem incipit prologus.’ Explicit: ‘Finit tractatus de regulari valore notarum musicalium’. Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 125–138.
  - b. *TCTW*, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deregularivalorenotarum>.

9. Fols. 55r–66v. *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*. Incipit: ‘nunc de imperfectione earundem notarum | tractatus incipit:’. Explicit: ‘Finit tractatus de imperfectione notarum musicalium’. Published editions:
    - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 143–167.
    - b. TCTW, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deimperfectionenotarum>.
  10. Fols. 66v–70r. *Tractatus alterationum*. Incipit: ‘nunc de alteratione earundem incipit:’. Explicit: ‘Namque tunc | reprehensione dignum menie [recte: *meme*] existimabo ac eum preceptorem | auctentissimum hic et ubique predicabo:.’
    - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 173–179.
    - b. [http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tractatus\\_alterationum/tractatus\\_alterationum.html](http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tractatus_alterationum/tractatus_alterationum.html).
    - c. TCTW, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/dealterationenotarum>.
  11. Fols. 70v–77r. *Scriptum super punctis musicalibus*. Incipit: ‘Incipit prologus in librum de punctis musicalibus.’ Explicit: ‘eis profecto levis|sime parcam: | Finis’. Published editions:
    - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 185–198.
    - b. TCTW, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/depunctis>.
  12. Fols. 77v–79r. Table of contents of *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Incipit: ‘Catalogus capitulorum in sequenti tractatu qui est de | arte contrapuncti contentorum.’ Explicit: ‘in utroque conse|quendam plurimum commendatur:’.
- a. Gianluca D’Agostino, ed., *Johannes Tinctoris: Proportionale musices; Liber de arte contrapuncti* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2008), 130–137.

- b. TCTW,  
<http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deartecontrapuncti>.
- 13. Fols. 79v–144r. *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Incipit: ‘Liber de arte contrapuncti a magistro Joanne tinctoris | iurisconsulto’. Explicit: ‘Dii tibi qui referunt si pia facta vident:.’. Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, ii. 11–157.
  - b. D’Agostino, *Proportionale musices; Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 136–381.
  - c. TCTW,  
<http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deartecontrapuncti>.
- 14. Fols. 144v–163v. *Proportionale musices*. Incipit: ‘Prologus de vocum proportionibus ad ferdinandum regem.’ Explicit: ‘Quo et in presenti et in futuro seculo be|ne beate que vivere possit:.’ Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, iia. 11–157.
  - b. D’Agostino, *Proportionale musices; Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 24–101.
  - c. TCTW (forthcoming).
- 15. Fol. 164r. Elogium. Incipit: ‘Fortunati ferrariensis. monachi Montisolivetani. Elogium | ad opus musices Joannis Tinctoris.’ Explicit: ‘Facta etiam nostra es: ante tonantis eras.’
- iii. Blank parchment flyleaf.
- iv. Blank parchment flyleaf. Verso pasted to binding, probably during restoration.

## 2.3 | Make-up of the Manuscript

1. Foliation: ii + 164 + ii. Modern arabic foliation in pencil.

The front flyleaves are formed from a rather yellow bifolium of stiff sheepskin parchment, the first recto (flesh-side) of which is pasted to the binding. The bifolium is folded underneath at the hinge.

Fol. 1v shows the characteristic fine grain of the hair-side of calfskin parchment, with numerous shallow follicle pits that are close together and evenly distributed. The codex begins hair-side, in order that the frontispiece may be executed on the perfectly smooth ivory-coloured surface of the flesh-side parchment. Thereafter, the expected pattern of hair-side facing hair-side and flesh-side facing flesh-side is followed, according to Gregory's Law, so-named after Caspar René Gregory, the scholar who first noticed this phenomenon in 1879.<sup>7</sup> This parchment was evidently selected rather for its smoothness than for its lack of imperfections, since there are several places where the outer edge of the folio has a semicircular hole that has been squared with a small additional piece of parchment; for example, fols. 4 and 60.

2. Materials: Sheepskin parchment, calfskin parchment, goatskin and Roan leather, paint, ink, and gold leaf.
3. Dimensions of leaves: Front flyleaf: 270 × 189 mm. Fol. 2: 272 × 190 mm.
4. Dimensions of written space: One column, 172 × 105 mm (fol. 2v).
5. Ruling and pricking: On each side, left and right, front and back, of most parchment bifolia, before their formation into quires, was drawn a pair of parallel vertical lines in plummet, extending to the top and bottom edges, thereby marking off the left- and right-hand extent of the writing block on each resultant page. It is possible to deduce that the ruling was executed on the bifolia since on some, the top line was drawn across both pages. For example, on fol. 2v

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<sup>7</sup> Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago: American Library Association; London: British Library, 1991), 213.



the top line is seen to extend into the gutter, only to appear again on its conjugate pair, fol. 9r. This does not happen at all in quire 3. The top line does not extend beyond the outer edges of the writing block. The remaining horizontal rulings were executed last.

6. Number of lines per page/column: 36
7. Collation and arrangement of sheets: i, ii, 1<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–10), 2<sup>4</sup> + 1 (fols. 11–15), 3–5<sup>8</sup> (fols. 16–39), 6<sup>4</sup> (fols. 40–43), 7–20<sup>8</sup> (fols. 44–155), 21<sup>8</sup> + 1 (fols. 156–164), iii, iv.
8. Quire signatures: Trimming has resulted in the loss of the majority of the quire signatures in this codex. The traces that remain are listed below in Table 1.

**Table 1 | Quire signatures in V**

Quire	Folio	Quire Signature
2	11r	Loop
3	18r	Mark
4	24r	Top of ascender
4	25r	Top of ascender
4	27r	Top of ascender
5	32r	C1
5	33r	C2
5	34r	C3
5	35r	C4
6	40r	Top of ascender
6	41r	D2
7	45r	Top of ascender
8	53r	Top of ascender with hook
10	70r	Possibly top of ascender
10	71r	Possibly top of ascender
10	72r	Possibly top of ascender
11	77r	Ascender
13	95r	L4? 1e?
14	104r	Top of ascender
20	148r	Tops of two ascenders, 1st with hook
20	149r	Tops of two ascenders, 1st with hook (S?)

9. Catchwords: These are listed below in Table 2.

**Table 2 | Catchwords in V**

Quire	Folio	Catchword
1	9v	Re in.
2	-	-
3	23v	.ac septimus:
4	31v	Quando autem.
5	39v	.de finibus.
6	43v	·:corporibus:
7	51v	·:De quarta:
8	59v	undecima:
9	67v	·:tertia:
10	75v	·:Supervacuum
11	83v	·:Quomodo sextam:
12	91v	·:_____decimam: <sup>8</sup>
13	99v	·:Quomodo duode[cimam] <sup>9</sup>
14	107v	·:duodecima
15	115v	·:quinque aut sex:
16	123v	-
17	131v	·:De admissionem: <sup>10</sup>
18	139v	·:De secunda:
19	147v	·:quadrupla:
20	155v	·:De dupla:

## 2.4 | Handwriting

1. Script used for text: Gothic rotunda
2. Scribe: Venceslaus Crispus. See Chapter 5.
3. Corrections and marginal notes: The marginal notes on fol. 51r are in the same (sixteenth-century?) hand as the note on fol. 1r, and hence were probably made

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<sup>8</sup> The catchword on fol. 91v presents an interesting case: there is clearly an erasure before the catchword 'decimam'. What appears to have happened is that in the planning stage, or during the copying of the manuscript, the correct catchword 'Quomodo decimam' was inscribed. Later, some confusion must have arisen on account of the subheadings being given in rubric and marked with a paraph, but at the end of the first line of the texts to which they refer. In this case, the leftmost word on the top line of fol. 92 is 'Decimam', while the heading to its right reads 'Quomodo decimam'. At some stage in the process, Crispus saw the word 'decimam', assumed the addition of 'quomodo' in the catchword was an error, and consequently erased it.

<sup>9</sup> The word is incomplete due to trimming.

<sup>10</sup> It is noteworthy that this catchword refers not to the very first word of the next quire, since fol. 132r features the continuation of the motet *Beatissima Beatrix*, but rather to the first word of fol. 132v, which is the first word of the main text in Quire 18. This observation would support the theory that the musical notation and underlay were added to the manuscript after the main text; indeed, it would suggest that this order of execution was deliberately planned.

on the manuscript's accession to the library of S. Miguel de los Reyes. For discussion of corrections, see Chapter 7.

## 2.5 | Decoration

### 1. Miniatures/inhabited initials:

- a. Fol. 2r: Portrait miniature of the author, Johannes Tinctoris, sitting at a desk, that also functions as the inhabited initial of 'Optimis'. Executed by Nardo Rapicano. For description and discussion, see Chapters 3 and 6.

### 2. Class 1 (I1) initials: Mostly 6- or 7-line. Used to denote the beginnings of treatises and their subdivision into books.

- a. Fol. 2v. 6-line initial of 'MANus' with painted decoration. The vertical extent of this decoration totals 15 lines. The initial marks the beginning of the first chapter of *Expositio manus*. All subsequent Class 1 initials are in the same style.
- b. Fol. 16r. 8-line initial of 'Prestantissimis'. Marks beginning of *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*. Decoration in left margin extends above top line and below bottom line of writing block.
- c. Fol. 43v. 6-line initial of 'Egregio'. Marks beginning of *De notis et pausis*. 18-line marginal extension.
- d. Fol. 48r. 6-line initial of 'Cogitanti'. Marks beginning of *De regulari valore notarum*. 18-line marginal extension.
- e. Fol. 55r. 6-line initial of 'Artis'. Marks beginning of Book 1 of *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*. 14-line marginal extension. Does not feature flowers.
- f. Fol. 61r. 6-line initial of 'Tractato'. Marks beginning of Book 2 of *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*. 17-line marginal extension.

- g. Fol. 67r. 7-line initial of 'Sanctissimo'. Marks beginning of *Tractatus alterationum*. 18-line marginal extension, passing beyond top line. Does not feature flowers.
- h. Fol. 70v. 7-line initial of 'Cum'. Marks beginning of *Super punctis musicalibus*. 18-line marginal extension, passing beyond top line. Does not feature flowers.
- i. Fol. 79v. 7-line initial of 'Sacratissimo'. Marks beginning of *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. 17-line marginal extension, passing beyond top line. Does not feature flowers.
- j. Fol. 80v. 6-line initial of 'Contrapuncto'. Marks beginning of Book 1 of *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. 17-line marginal extension.
- k. Fol. 116r. 6-line initial of 'Postquam'. Marks beginning of Book 2 of *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. 20-line marginal extension.
- l. Fol. 139v. 6-line initial of 'Quoniam'. Marks beginning of Book 3 of *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. 17-line marginal extension.
- m. Fol. 144v. 7-line initial of 'Sacratissimo'. Marks beginning of *Proportionale musices*. 17-line marginal extension.
- n. Fol. 156r. 6-line initial of 'Quinimmo'. Marks beginning of Book 2 of *Proportionale musices*. 19-line marginal extension. Distinctive interlacing knotwork.
- o. Fol. 157r. 6-line initial of 'Submultiplex'. Marks beginning of Chapter 6, Book 2, of *Proportionale musices*.<sup>11</sup> 15-line marginal extension, extending below bottom line.

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<sup>11</sup> The assignment of a Class 1 initial to the beginning of this chapter is anomalous. The beginning of Book 3 on the following verso is where this class of initial would have been expected. The choice of hair-side in preference to flesh-side is also unexpected.

3. Class 2 Initials: 211 initials, usually 4-line, though very occasionally 2- or 3-line due to local space constraints. Used to denote the beginnings of chapters, and therefore one hierarchical level down from Class 1 initials. In each Class 2 initial, the letter shape is rendered in shell gold or blue ink, and ornamented with penwork tracery in violet or red ink, respectively. The initials alternate between blue and gold lettering, with the appropriate secondary colour. A few Class 2 initials are rendered with a red letter-form and blue tracery. The tracery describes a square around the initial and then extends into the left margin, sometimes filling it and passing the writing block at both top and bottom.
4. Class 3 Initials: 339 2-line initials. Used mainly to itemise rules, ‘methods’, and other technical categories such as intervals and proportions in lists within chapters. Also used to restart the main text following interruption by a diagram, to mark the beginnings of paratexts such as the two *elogia*, to mark the beginning of the underlay of musical examples, and occasionally to mark the beginning of rubrics before the beginning of works, whose text is marked by an initial of a higher class, e.g. fol. 16r. Alternating combinations of red letter with blue ink tracery and blue with red. The tracery is limited to describing the square surrounding the letter shape and features only very slight extension into the left margin.
5. Paraphs: Alternating red and blue ink. Used to mark beginnings of chapter titles in tables of contents, before rubrics that announce the titles of chapters, before list items in running text, to mark the beginnings of new units of meaning (roughly equivalent to the modern concept of paragraph separation), and to begin the underlay of musical examples.
6. Other illustrations:
  - a. Fol. 2r. Frontispiece. See Chapters 3 and 6, especially 6.1.
  - b. Fol. 3v. Painted life-like illustration of the Guidonian hand. The flesh is rendered in off-white, with contour developed using a darker shade. The sleeve is represented as being of a similar shade and weight of fabric to

that of the robe Tinctoris wears in the portrait miniature, and I therefore suggest that it is intended to be Tinctoris's hand that is depicted here. It differs from that painting since the sleeve endings lack the ermine trim, and the cuff of the undergarment is revealed to be of a green colour. The illustration features the gradated background shading in blue that is characteristic of the work of Nardo Rapicano.

- c. Fol. 164v. Faded ink drawing of the head and shoulders of an androgynous figure in profile wearing a red hood. A band encircles the portrait, placing it in the iconographical tradition of the Italian renaissance medal.

Within the circular band is discernible, using a 10x magnifying glass and a torch, traces of the lettering of an inscription. Traces of an ascender are visible at 8 o'clock, followed clockwise by a very faint O at 11 o'clock, and then a more definite A at 12 o'clock. It is tempting to see a right-hand diagonal ascender to the right of 12 o'clock, but I believe that is a false impression given by the co-incidental alignment of hair follicles. followed immediately by an N, then ES just before 1 o'clock. If the inscription is balanced on the right side then there should be a total of 27 letters and spaces. Since the shoulders of the figure are superimposed on the band, it is extremely unlikely that any lettering was imposed on the lower portion of the circle.

\_ \_ I \_ \_ \_ \_ O \_ \_ \_ \_ A N \_ E S \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

It is therefore possible to imagine the word IOHANNES beginning at space 12. Sadly, the use of ultraviolet light is of no assistance in reading this faded ink.

The style of the majuscule lettering is imitative of that used for inscriptions on medals from the mid-fifteenth century. Working in the 1450s and 1460s, Felice Feliciano (1433–1479) was a key figure in the

revival of these classical inscriptional capitals, to be followed swiftly by the painter Mantegna.<sup>12</sup>

It is most likely that this is a second, possibly sixteenth-century portrait of Tinctoris. It was almost certainly not part of the original design of the manuscript, and is definitely not the work of Nardo Rapicano.

## 2.6 | Synoptic Presentation of Physical Structure, Decoration, and Textual Content

Table 3, below, is a synoptic presentation of the physical structure, decoration, and textual content of **V**, which is intended to assist in visualising the interaction between these elements within the manuscript.

I1: Class 1 initial. I2: Class 2 initial. I3: Class 3 initial. PD: painted decoration. ID: inked decoration.

*n*: height in text lines. FP: full page. HP: half page.

R: red. B: blue. G: gold. P: polychrome.

C*n*: chapter *n*. B*n*: book *n*. U: text underlay of musical example. ToC: table of contents.

Shading is intended to aid the visualisation of divisions between quires.

**Table 3 | Synoptic Presentation of Physical Structure, Decoration, and Textual Content of V**

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
1	1	1	r	h	-	-		-
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	<i>Elogium 1/ToC</i>
	2	2	r	f	PD I3 I3	FP 1 2	P G P	<i>Expositio manus</i>
			v	h	I1	6	P	C1
	3	3	r	h	I2	4	G	C2
			v	f	PD	FP	P	

<sup>12</sup> See Jason Dewinetz, *Alphabetum romanum: Letterforms of Felice Feliciano c. 1460, Verona* (Vernon: Greenboathouse Press, 2010).

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
	4	4	r	f	I3	2	B	
			v	h	I2	4	B	C3
	5	5	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I3	2	R	
	6	6	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	I2	4	G	C4
	7	7	r	h	I3	4	B	C5
			v	f	-	-	-	
	8	8	r	f	I3	4	B	C6
			v	h	-	-	-	
2	1	11	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
	2	12	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	3	13	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
	4	14	r	f	I2	4	B	C8
			v	h	I2	4	G	C9
	5	15	r	h	I3	2	B	ToC: <i>Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum</i>
			v	f	-	-	-	
3	1	16	r	f	I3 I1	2 8	G P	<i>Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum</i>
			v	h	-	-	-	
	2	17	r	h	I2	4	B	C1
			v	f	-	-	-	
	3	18	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	4	19	r	h	I2	4	G	C2
			v	f	-	-	-	
	5	20	r	f	I2	4	B	C3
					I2	3	G	C4
					I2	3	B	C5
			v	h	I2	3	B	C6
	6	21	v	h	I2	3	G	C7
					I2	3	B	C8
	7	22	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
	8	23	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
			r	h	I2	3	B	C9
			v	f	I2	4	G	C10
4	1	24	r	f	I2	4	B	C13
			v	h	I2	4	G	C14
	2	25	r	h	I2	4	B	C15
			v	f	I2	4	G	C16
	3	26	r	f	I3 I3 I2	2 2 4	R R B	U U C17
			v	h	I2	4	R	C18
	4	27	r	h	I2	4	G	C19
			v	f	I2	4	B	C20



Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
	5	28	r	f	I2	4	G	C21
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C22 C23
	6	29	r	h	I2	4	B	C24
			v	f	I2	4	G	C25
	7	30	r	f	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C26 C27
			v	h	I2	4	B	C28
	8	31	r	h	I2	4	G	C29
			v	f	I2	4	B	C30
5	1	32	r	f	-	-	-	-
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C31 C32
	2	33	r	h	I2	4	G	C33
			v	f	I2	4	B	C34
	3	34	r	f	I2	4	G	C35
			v	h	I2	4	B	C36
	4	35	r	h	-	-	-	-
			v	f	I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	G B G	C37 C38 C39
	5	36	r	f	I2	4	G	C40
			v	h	I2	4	G	C41
	6	37	r	h	I2	4	B	C42
			v	f	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C43 C44
	7	38	r	f	-	-	-	-
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C45 C46
	8	39	r	h	-	-	-	-
			v	f	I2	4	G	C47
6	1	40	r	f	I2	4	B	C48
			v	h	-	-	-	-
	2	41	r	h	I2	4	G	C49
			v	f	I2	4	B	C50
	3	42	r	f	-	-	-	-
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C51 Conclusion
	4	43	r	h	-	-	-	-
			v	f	I1 I2 I2	6 4 4	P G B	<i>De notis et pausis</i> C1 C2
7	1	44	r	f	I2 I2 I2 I2	4 4 4 4	G B G B	C3 C4 C5 C6
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C7 C8
	2	45	r	h	I2 I2 I3 I3 I3 I3 I3	4 4 2 2 2 2 2	B G R B R B R	C9 C10 - Rule 1 - Rule 2 - Rule 3 - Rule 4 - Rule 5
					I3 I3 I2	2 2 4	R B G	- Rule 6 - Rule 7 C11

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
					I2 I3	4 2	B R	C12 - Rule 1
	3	46	r	f	I3 I2 I2	2 4 4	B G B	- Rule 2 C13 C14
					I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	G B G	C15 [Book 2] C1 C2
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C16 C17
					I2 I2	4 4	G B	C18 C19
	4	47	r	h	I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	B G B	C3 C4 C5
			v	f	I2	4	G	Conclusion
	5	48	r	f	I1 I2	6 4	P B	<i>De regulari valore notarum</i> C1
			v	h	I2	4	G	C2
	6	49	r	h	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C3 C4
					I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	B G B	C5 C6 C7
			v	f	I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	B G B	C8 C9 C10
					I2 I2	4 4	B G	C11 C12
	7	50	r	f	I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	G B G	C13 C14 C15
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C16 C17
	8	51	r	h	I3 I3 I2 I2	2 2 4 4	B R B G	C18 C19 C20 C21
					I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	B G B	C22 C23 C24 <sup>13</sup> C26
			v	f	I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	B G B	C25 C26 C27
					I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	G B G	C28 C29 C30
8	1	52	r	f	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C31 C32
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C33 C34
	2	53	r	h	I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	B G B	C35 C36 C37
			v	f	I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	G B G	C38 C39 C40
	3	54	r	f	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C41 C42
			v	h	I2 I2 I2	4 4 4	G B G	C43 C44 C45
	4	55	r	h	I1 I2	6 4	P B	<i>Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium</i> B1: Prologue C1

<sup>13</sup> Chapter 25 of *Tractatus de regulari valore notarum* is missing completely in **V**. On fol. 53r, the text jumps straight from Chapter 24 to 26. The chapter is present, in its correct place, on fol. 58v of **Bu**. This may not have any meaningful textual implications, since even if the exemplar for **V** were correct, the content is sufficiently repetitive that such an omission would be understandable on the scribe's part.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
			v	f	-	-	-	-
			r	f	-	-	-	-
	5	56	v	h	I2 I2 I3	4 3 2	G B R	C2 C3 - Rule 1
	6	57	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 2 - Rule 3
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 4 - Rule 5
	7	58	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 6 - Rule 7
			v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 8 - Rule 9 'part a'
	8	59	r	h	I3 <sup>14</sup>	2	B	- Rule 9 'part b'
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Rule 10
9	1	60	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 11 - Rule 12
			v	h	-	-	-	-
	2	61	r	h	I3 I1 I2	2 6 4	B P G	- Rule 13 B2: C1 C2
			v	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B B R	- a - b - c
	3	62	r	f	I2 I3 I3	4 2 2	B R B	C3 - Method 1 - Method 2
			v	h	I3 I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2 2	R B R B R	- Method 3 - Method 4 - Method 5 - Method 6 - Method 7
	4	63	r	h	I3 I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2 2	R B R B R	- Method 8 - Method 9 - Method 10 - Method 11 - Method 12
			v	f	I3 I3 I3 I2	2 2 2 4	R B R G	- Method 13 - Method 14 - Method 15 C4
	5	64	r	f	I3 I3 I2 I3	2 2 4 2	B R B R	- perfect tempus - major prolation C5 - Method 1
			v	h	I3 I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2 2	R B R B R	- Method 2 - Method 3 - Method 4 - Method 5 - Method 6

<sup>14</sup> This is a rare moment where the strict hierarchy is not observed. Simply because the rule is long, an I3 is employed, while it has previously been used only to signify the beginning of a new rule.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
	6	65	r	h	I3	2	B	C6 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Method 7</li><li>- Major prolation</li><li>- 3 methods</li><li>- Method 1</li></ul>
					I2	4	G	
					I3	2	B	
					I3	2	R	
			I3	2	B			
			v	f	I3	2	B	C7 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Method 2</li><li>- Method 3</li></ul> C8 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Sign 1</li></ul>
	I3	2			R			
	I2	4			B			
	I2	4			G			
	7	66	r	f	I3	2	B	- Sign 2
v			h	I3	2	R	- Sign 3	
8	67	r	h	I3	4	B	Conclusion	
								I3
		v	f	I3	2	R	<i>Tractatus alterationum</i> Prologue C1 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Rule 1</li></ul>	
								I3
10	1	68	r	f	I3	2	B	- Rule 3
					I3	2	R	- Rule 4
			v	h	I3	2	B	- Rule 5
					I3	2	R	- Rule 6
	2	69	r	h	I3	2	B	- Rule 7
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Rule 8
					I2	4	G	C2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Breve</li></ul>
					I3	2	R	
	3	70	r	f	I3	2	B	- Semibreve
					I3	2	R	- Minim
			v	h	I2	4	G	Conclusion
	4	71	r	h	I1	7	P	<i>Super punctis musicalibus</i> Prologue C1 C2
			v	f	I2	4	G	
	5	72	r	f	I2	4	B	C3
					I2	4	G	
			v	h	I2	4	B	C5
					I2	3	G	
	6	73	r	h	I3	2	R	C7 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- imperfect</li></ul>
					I2	4	B	
			v	f	I3	2	R	C8 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- b</li><li>- c</li></ul>
					I3	2	B	
	7	74	r	f	I2	4	B	C9 <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- a</li><li>- b</li></ul>
					I3	2	R	
			v	h	I3	2	B	
					I2	4	G	
	8	75	r	h	I2	4	B	C11

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
11					I3	2	R	- a
					I3	2	B	- b
			v	f	I2	4	G	C14
					I2	4	B	C15
	1	76	r	f	I2	4	G	C16
					I3 <sup>15</sup>	2	B	C17
			v	h	I2	4	B	C18
					I2	4	G	C19
	2	77	r	h	I2	4	B	C20
			v	f	I3	2	B	ToC for <i>Liber de arte contrapuncti</i>
	3	78	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	4	79	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I1	7	P	<i>Liber de arte contrapuncti</i>
	5	80	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	I1	6	P	<b>B1:</b> C1
	6	81			I2	4	G	C2
			r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
			r	f	-	-	-	
	7	82	v	h	-	-	-	
			r	h	-	-	-	
12	1	84	r	f	I2	4	B	C3
			v	h	I2	4	B	
			r	f	I3	2	B	- Unison
					I3	2	R	- Third
					I3	2	B	- Fifth
			r	h	I3	2	R	- Sixth
	2	85	v	f	I3	2	R	- Octave
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
					I3	2	B	- Third below unison
					I3	2	R	- Other thirds
	3	86	r	f	I3	2	B	- Fifth
					I3	2	R	- Sixth
			v	h	I3	2	B	- Octave
					I2	4	B	- Tenth
	4	87	r	h	I2	4	G	C5
			v	f	I3	2	B	C6
					I3	2	R	- Unison
			r	f	I3	2	B	- Third
					I3	2	R	- Fifth
					I3	2	B	- Sixth
	5	88	r	h	I3	2	B	- Octave
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Tenth
					I3	2	R	- Twelfth
					I3	2	B	- Unison
					I3	2	R	- Third
					I3	2	B	- Other fifth

<sup>15</sup> I3 used for Chapter level because Chapter 16 was short.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
					I3	2	R	- Sixth
	6	89	r	h	I3	2	B	- Octave
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
					I3	2	B	- Twelfth
			v	f	I2	4	G	C7
	7	90	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	I3	2	R	- Sixth
	8	91	r	h	I3	2	B	- Fifth
					I3	2	R	- Sixth
					I3	2	B	- Octave
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
					I3	2	B	- Twelfth
			v	f	I3	2	B	- Sixth
					I3	2	R	- Fifth
					I3	2	B	- Sixth
					I3	2	R	- Octave
13	1	92	r	f	I3	2	B	- Tenth
					I3	2	R	- Twelfth
					I2	4	B	C8
			v	h	I3	2	B	- Third
	2	93	r	h	I3	2	R	- Fifth
					I3	2	B	- Sixth
					I3	2	R	- Octave
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
			v	f	I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
	3	94	r	f	I3	2	B	- Third
					I3	2	R	- Fifth
					I3	2	B	- Sixth
			v	h	I2	4	G	C9
	4	95	r	h	I3	2	R	- Octave
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
					I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	B	- Seventeenth
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
					I3	2	B	- Fifth
	5	96	r	f	I3	2	B	- Sixth
					I3	2	R	- Octave
					I3	2	B	- Tenth
			v	h	I3	2	R	- Twelfth
	6	97	r	h	I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
	7	98	r	f	I2	4	B	C10
			v	h	I2	4	G	C11
			r	f	I3	2	B	- Tenth
			v	h	I3	2	R	- Twelfth

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
14	8	99			I3	2	R	- Octave
					I3	2	B	- Tenth
					I3	2	B	- Twelfth
			r	h	I3	2	B	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Nineteenth
					I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Sixth
					I3	2	B	- Octave
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
	1	100	r	f	I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
	2	101	v	h	I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
	3	102	r	f	I2	4	B	- Nineteenth
					I3	2	R	C12
	4	103	r	h	-	-	-	
					-	-	-	
	5	104	r	f	I3	2	B	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	R	- Twelfth
	6	105	v	h	I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
	7	106	r	f	I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
					I3	2	R	
	8	107	r	h	I3	2	B	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	R	- Fifteenth
	9	108	v	f	I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
					I3	2	R	
	10	109	r	h	I3	2	B	- Nineteenth
					I3	2	R	- Twentieth
	11	110	v	f	I3	2	B	- Twenty-second
					I3	2	R	- Seventeenth

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
15	1	108	r	f	I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
			v	h	I3	2	B	- Nineteenth
					I3	2	R	- Twentieth
	I3	2			B	- Twenty-second		
	I2	4			G	C15		
	2	109	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I2	4	B	C16
	3	110	r	f	I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
			v	h	I3	2	B	- Nineteenth
					I3	2	R	- Twentieth
	I3	2			B	- Twenty-second		
	I3	2			R	- Nineteenth		
	4	111	r	h	I3	2	B	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	R	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	B	- Seventeenth
					I3	2	B	- Nineteenth
			I3	2	R	Twentieth		
							- Twenty-second	
	v	f	I3	2	B	- Twenty-second		
			I2	4	G	C17		
	5	112	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	6	113	r	h	I3	2	B	- Twentieth
					I3	2	R	- Nineteenth
					I3	2	B	- Twentieth
			v	f	I3	2	B	- Twenty-second
I3					2	R	- Twentieth	
I3					2	B	- Nineteenth	
7	114	r	f	I3	2	R	- Twentieth	
				I2	4	B	C18	
		v	h	I3	2	B	- Seventeenth	
				I3	2	R	- Nineteenth	
				I3	2	B	- Twentieth	
8	115	r	h	I3	2	B	- Twentieth	
				I3	2	R	- Nineteenth	
				I3	2	B	- Twentieth	
		I3	2	R	Twenty-second			
v	f	I2	4	G	C19			
16	1	116	r	f	I1	6	P	B2: C1
			v	h	-	-	-	
	2	117	r	h	I2	4	B	C2
			v	f	I2	4	G	C3
	3	118	r	f	I2	4	B	C4
					I2	4	G	C5
			v	h	I2	4	B	C6
					I2	4	G	C7a



Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
	4	119	r	h	I2	4	B	C7b <sup>16</sup>
			v	f	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C8 C9
	5	120	r	f	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C10 C11
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C12 C13
	6	121	r	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C14 C15
			v	f	I2	4	G	C16
	7	122	r	f	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C17 C18
			v	h	I2	4	B	C19
	8	123	r	h	v	4	G	C20
			v	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	R B R	U U U
	17	1	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	I2 I3 I3	4 2 2	B R B	C21 U U
		2	r	h	I3	2	B	U
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
		3	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	G R	C22 U
		4	r	h	-	-	-	-
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	R B	U U
		5	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C23 U
		6	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
			v	f	-	-	-	-
		7	r	f	I2 I3	4 2	G R	C24 U
			v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
		8	r	h	I3	2	B	U
			v	f	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C25 U
18	1	132	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B <sup>17</sup> R	U U
			v	h	I2 PD	4 FP	G P	C26
	2	133	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U

<sup>16</sup> Chapter 7 is not labelled ‘a’ and ‘b’ in **V**, where the chapter number 7 is simply repeated. I have adopted this designation from Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, ii. 95–96.

<sup>17</sup> Lacks tracery.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
	3	134	r	f	I3	2	B <sup>18</sup>	U
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C27 U
	4	135	r	h	I3	2	B	U
			v	f	I2 I3	4 2	G B	C28 U
	5	136	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C29 C30
	6	137	r	h	I2 I2	4 4	B G	C31 C32
			v	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	R B R	U U U
	7	138	r	f	I2	4	B	C33
			v	h	I2	4	G	C34
	8	139	r	h	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	U U U
			v	f	I1	6	M	<b>B3:</b> C1
19	1	140	r	f	I2 I3 I3 I3	4 2 2 2	B R B R	C2 U U U
			v	h	I2	4	G	C3
	2	141	r	h	I2	4	B	C4
			v	f	I2 I3	4 2	G R	C5 U
	3	142	r	f	I3 I2	2 4	B B	U C6
			v	h	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	U U U
	4	143	r	h	I2	4	G	C7
			v	f	I2	4	B	C8
	5	144	r	f	I2	4	G	C9
			v	h	I1	7	M	<i>Proportionale musices:</i> Prologue
	6	145	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I2 I2	4 4	B G	<b>B1:</b> C1 C2
	7	146	r	f	I2	4	B	C3
			v	h	I2	4	G	C4
	8	147	r	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C5 - Dupla
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Tripla
20	1	148	r	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Quadrupla - Quintupla - Sextupla
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	G R	C6 - Sesquialtera
	2	149	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	

<sup>18</sup> Lacks tracery.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
	3	150	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	4	151	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	R B R	- Sesquiertia - Sesquiquarta - Sesquiquinta
			r	f	I3 I2	2 4	B B	- Sesquioctava
	5	152	v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	C7 - Superbipartientiter tias - Superbipartientiqu intas
			r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Supertripartientiqu artas - Supertripartientiqu intas
	6	153	v	f	I3 I2 I3	2 4 2	B G R	- Superquadripartie ntiquintas C8 - Duplasesquialtera
			r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Duplasesquitertia - Duplasequiquarta
	7	154	v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Duplasesquiquinta - Duplasequioctava
			r	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C9 - Duplasuperbiparti entitertias
	8	155	v	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Duplasuperbiparti entiquintas - Duplasupertriparti entiquartas - Duplasupertriparti entiquintas
	21	1	156	h	I3 I1	2 6	B M	- Duplasuperquadri partientiquintas B2: C1
					I2 I3 I2 I3 I2 I3	4 2 4 2 4 2	G R B R G B	C2 C3 C4 - Subdupla - Subsesquialtera - Subsuperbipartient i
					I3 I2 I3 I1	2 4 2 6	R B R M	- Subsuperbipartient itertias C5 - Subduplasesquialt era C6
					I2 I3 I2 I2	4 2 4 4	G R B G	C7 - Subduplasuperbip artientitertias B3:C1 C2
					-	-	-	
					-	-	-	
					-	-	-	

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour of Letter	
			v	f	I2	4	B	C3
	5	160	r	f	I2	3	G	C4
			v	h	-	-	-	
	6	161	r	h	I2	4	B	C5
			v	f	-	-	-	
	7	162	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	I2	4	G	C6
	8	163	r	h	I2	4	B	C7
			v	f	I2	4	G	C8
	9	164	r	f	I3	2	B	<i>Elogium 2</i>
			v	h	ID	HP	M	

## 2.7 | Binding

Front cover: 280 × 193 mm. Back cover: 284 × 193 mm. Spine: 277 × 53 mm. Double cords: 53 × 12 × 8 mm (each). The original morocco leather of the binding of **V** is made of red-brown dyed goatskin. Using 10 × magnification and a light source, it is possible to see the characteristic texture of goatskin, which is identified by ridges and furrows in the grain and deep hair pits in groups. This particular leather has quite a bold grain, with pronounced ridges and furrows.<sup>19</sup>

The binding was restored by the University of Valencia in 1971 or 1972.<sup>20</sup> Despite this fact being reported in the secondary literature, there is little published information concerning the circumstances surrounding and reasons behind the restoration.<sup>21</sup> At the Biblioteca Històrica in Valencia, I was able to obtain a copy of the unpublished typescript of a presentation made by Srta. D<sup>a</sup> María del Pilar Gómez Gómez [*sic*], Director of the library of the University of Valencia, to the bank Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Valencia, on 22 February 1971, that is essentially a funding

<sup>19</sup> On the identification of binding leathers, see Ralph B. Bryan, ed., *Hide and Leather and Shoes Encyclopedia* (Chicago: Hide and Leather Publishing Company, 1941); Matt T. Roberts and Don Etherington, *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1982); and Federico Macchi and Livio Macchi, *Dizionario illustrato della legatura* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2002).

<sup>20</sup> Given as 1972 in María Isabel Álvaro Zamora, María Luz Mandingorra Llavata, and Donatella Giansante, *Els vestits del saber: enquadernacions mudèjars a la Universitat de València* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003), 146; and 1971 in Universitat de València, 'Biblioteca Històrica MS 835'.

<sup>21</sup> On the restoration project, see also María Cruz Cabeza Sánchez-Albornoz, *La Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2000), 47, 144, and 148.

application for the restoration works, and that includes details of the condition of the manuscripts as at that time. It is entitled ‘Restauración y encuadernación de los códices existentes en la Biblioteca de la Universidad’.<sup>22</sup> The document reveals that the fifteenth-century manuscripts held by the library were in such a poor state of conservation that they would not survive more than a few more years, due to the efforts of moths and other book-eating insects that favour Valencia’s climate. These pests had been eating the cardboard cartons in which the books were kept, the wooden boards of the bindings, and the books’ stitching, resulting in the fact that the spines of the majority of the manuscripts had been destroyed, which fate looks to have befallen **V**, since there is not obviously any original material left on the spine as part of the restored binding. The original leather bindings had either disintegrated or had become detached from the books they were intended to protect, and the quires had become unstitched and separated from one another. Fortunately, however, the infestation had not yet affected the main parchment body of the manuscripts. Two bookbinding restorers, Ramón Chuliá and Miguel Aguilar, had been commissioned to make exemplary restorations of a few (unspecified) codices. Since their example restorations were of similar quality, but his fees were lower, the latter was nominated for the contract. Aguilar was trained in the latest conservation techniques, and to apply chemical treatment to the books in order to prevent further outbreaks of insect-bibliophagy. Regrettably, no photographs were taken by the restorers of **V** before or during its restoration.<sup>23</sup> The Biblioteca Històrica has, however, supplied photographs of the pre-restoration bindings of other Neapolitan manuscripts of a similar age to **V**: *E-VAu 44* [*olim* 789] ([Image 21](#)), *E-VAu 47* [*olim* 750] ([Image 22](#)), *E-VAu 56* [*olim* 857] ([Image 23](#)), *E-VAu 380* [*olim* 849] ([Image 24](#)), *E-VAu 389* [*olim* 817] ([Image 25](#)), and *E-VAu 847* [*olim* 770] ([Image 26](#)).

Despite the lack of documentation concerning the restoration specifically of **V**, it is possible to infer a useful amount of information based on physical examination of the

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<sup>22</sup> María del Pilar Gómez Gómez, ‘Restauración y encuadernación de los códices existentes en la Biblioteca de la Universidad’, unpublished letter to Caja de Ahorres y Monte de Piedad de Valencia, 22 February 1971.

<sup>23</sup> I am grateful to Gonzalo Aguilar of Encuadernaciones Aguilar ([www.encuadernacionesaguilar.com](http://www.encuadernacionesaguilar.com)), for confirming that his company does not hold photographs or records of the manuscript.

binding as it survives today. It is clear that the original leather was in fairly poor condition before restoration, and was removed completely before being glued on top of the new leather over new wooden boards. There are large areas of the original leather that do not survive at all, including the entire spine ([Image 27](#)), the areas where two clasps were originally situated on the front cover ([Image 28](#)) and a significant area of damage on the rear cover ([Image 29](#)). The modern leather is identifiable from its grain pattern as Roan, which was a superior grade of sheepskin often coloured and finished to imitate goatskin and morocco leather, and widely used from the nineteenth century onwards.

The gold-tooled centrepiece of **V**, created with a single stamp (Stamp A, 55 × 45 mm, [Image 30](#)), is formed of densely interlacing lines that combine to describe a diamond shape. This diamond shape is reflected in a pair of blind-tooled fillets, 3 mm apart, that crosses itself above and below the vertices of the centrepiece to form two smaller diamonds ([Image 31](#)). This structure establishes a larger rectangular compartment, in each of the four triangular corner compartments of which there is a blind-tooled fleuron tinted with black ink. These are created with a single stamp (Stamp B, 8 mm in diameter, [Image 32](#)). The central rectangular area is surrounded by twelve gold-tooled impressions of another single stamp (Stamp C, 33 × 28 mm, [Image 33](#)) that is formed, like Stamp A, of a parallel pair of interlacing lines that describe the external rectangular profile and also form a cross through the centre. Around each Stamp C is a frame created with a pair of blind-tooled fillets, 3 mm apart. These interlace with each other, with the central blind-tooled diamond, and with an external rectangular frame, again blind-tooled, to create an integrated structure that encloses completely and is seemingly generated by the geometric pattern established by the gold-tooled stamps ([Image 34](#)). On each of the inner two sides of the four corner-impressions of Stamp C, between the interlaced blind-tooled fillet pairs, is a pair of impressions of Stamp D (16 × 5 mm, [Image 35](#)) with black tint; there is therefore a total of sixteen incidences of this shape. The entire design is enclosed in a large rectangular frame created by a pair of gold-tooled fillets, inside each corner of which there is one impression of Stamp B in black tint. The back cover features the same design.

Stamps B and C are also used prolifically on the binding of *E-VAu 44* [*olim* 789] ([Image 36](#)), a copy of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, XI–XVI, dated 1476–1488. *E-VAu 47* [*olim* 750] ([Image 37](#)), a copy of Aquinas's *Quaestiones disputate*, dated c.1481, and *E-VAu 390* [*olim* 838] ([Image 38](#)), a copy of Albertus Magnus's *De mirabili scientia Dei*, dated c.1484, also use Stamps B and C. Though the original leather of the latter manuscript is dyed brown, the grain of that of all three of these manuscripts matches that of **V**. Other bindings that I have been unable to consult in person, but that also appear to feature Stamps B and C, include the Drouot Aquinas Manuscript ([Image 39](#)), a 1486 copy of Aquinas's *Catena aurea super Joannem*, and *F-LO 8* ([Image 40](#)), a copy of Aquinas's *Super Secundum Sententiarum*.<sup>24</sup> *F-LO 8* was copied, like **V**, by Venceslaus Crispus, and is datable to 1489 by the scribal colophon.

The binding of **V** originally featured four clasps in the same orientation as those that survive on **BU**; that is to say with one clasp on each of the upper and lower edges, and two on the fore-edge of the book. As is usual in Italian bindings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these four clasps were attached to the front cover, and the catches to the rear.<sup>25</sup> It is most probable that the clasps had become detached well in advance of the binding's restoration, since they were not incorporated into it. There is significant loss of the original leather in the areas where the fore-edge clasps were affixed, while there is minimal damage to the areas where the top and bottom clasps were affixed. In the latter places, it is possible to see three holes, in a triangular orientation, by means of which each clasp was secured to the cover. The back cover shows little damage caused by the removal of the catches from the rear cover. The only evidence of their presence is the two small holes by means of which each one was attached to the cover.

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<sup>24</sup> See *DMB*, i. 64, no.11; and ii. 158.

<sup>25</sup> English and French bindings generally featured only two clasps, with the catch on the rear cover. German bindings and those from the Low Countries had the catches on the front cover. See Roberts and Etherington, *Bookbinding*, 55.

## 2.8 | Provenance<sup>26</sup>

V was produced in Naples for a member of the Aragonese royal family; possibly for Giovanni of Aragon.<sup>27</sup> It entered the main Neapolitan royal library, probably after 1485, and was transported as part of that collection to the island of Ischia on 10 August 1501. It was taken by Federico of Aragon and his consort Isabella del Balzo to Tours in 1502, and then by Isabella, after Federico's death, first to Gazzuolo, near Mantua, in 1507, and then to Ferrara, in 1508. It was then sent by Isabella from Ferrara to Valencia in 1527, at the request of Fernando of Aragon. On Fernando's death, in 1550, the manuscript was bequeathed to the Hieronymite monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia. Finally, it was passed to the Universitat de València in 1825 after the suppression of the monastery.

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<sup>26</sup> I use the term 'provenance' in the art- and book-historical sense, i.e. origin and subsequent traceable history, as defined in David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 1994), 1.

<sup>27</sup> This paragraph is a short summary of the narrative presented in Chapter 3.8, where discussion and full references are to be found.



### Chapter 3 | Federico, Giovanni, and Alfonso of Aragon, and V

When Tinctoris arrived at Naples in the early 1470s, he was approaching forty years of age. King Ferrante was approximately ten years his senior, while the king's elder children Alfonso, Duke of Calabria (1448–1495), Princess Eleonora (1450–1493), and Prince Federico (1452–1504) were in their early to mid-twenties. Giovanni (1456–1485), who had already been a prothonotary apostolic for almost ten years, and Princess Beatrice (1457–1508), were in their teens, while Francesco (1461–1486) was the youngest of Ferrante's offspring. In this chapter, I wish to focus first on the demonstrable relationship between Tinctoris and Federico, who was at the centre of political discourse between Naples and northern Europe in the 1470s, and whose contact with the Burgundian court of Charles the Bold may provide a context for Tinctoris's arrival in Naples. Second, I wish to explore the possible links between Giovanni, Alfonso, and Tinctoris, through their potential commissioning of **V**. Later, in Chapter 5, I shall explore the theorist's relationship with Beatrice through a discussion of **BU**.

#### 3.1 | Tinctoris's Arrival at Naples, and Federico

It has not escaped scholarly attention that the arrival of Tinctoris, a northern European, at Naples occurred just at the time, in the early 1470s, when relations between Ferrante and the court of Charles II Capet de Valois-Bourgonne, Duke of Burgundy (hereafter Charles the Bold), were subject to significant improvement.<sup>1</sup> Ferrante had feared aggression from France following Louis XI's pretensions to Catalonia, and hence

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<sup>1</sup> See Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), i. 21; Ronald Woodley, 'The *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1982), 32–35; Ronald Woodley, 'Renaissance Music Theory as Literature: On Reading the *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris', *Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1987), 209–220, at 213–214; and Ronald Woodley, 'Tinctoris's Italian Translation of the Golden Fleece Statutes: A Text and a (Possible) Context', *Early Music Theory*, 8 (1988), 173–244. The standard work on Ferrante and his political activity remains Ernesto Pontieri, *Per la storia del regno di Ferrante I d'Aragona re di Napoli* (Naples: Morano, 1947; 2nd edn. Naples, 1969). The following paragraphs are partly based on these accounts, though some of the historical detail is considerably revised and updated as indicated, largely due to the prodigious archival work published in Richard J. Walsh, *Charles the Bold and Italy 1467–1477: Politics and Personnel* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005).

sought amity and alliance with Burgundy, as England and Aragon had recently done.<sup>2</sup> This desire acted as a catalyst for increased political (and, as shall be seen, cultural) interaction between the two courts that surely provided the latitude for Tinctoris's move to Naples. Since a significant amount of historical detail has emerged following the last published discussions of the political situation in relation to Tinctoris, I shall proceed to synthesise the currently understood sequence of events and re-evaluate its significance for our understanding of the early background to the production of *V*.

Georges Chastellain (c.1405/15–1475), official chronicler of the house of Burgundy and of the Order of the Golden Fleece, recorded that one of Ferrante's ambassadors attended a chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Bruges in 1468.<sup>3</sup> Held in May, it was the eleventh chapter of the order, but the very first of the reign of Charles the Bold, at which he asserted his dominance strongly.<sup>4</sup> On 15 January 1469, a Neapolitan ambassador was 'among the dignitaries present at the formal submission to the duke of the delegates of the city of Ghent at Brussels'.<sup>5</sup> Also in 1469, a Burgundian 'poursuivant' visited Naples in the late summer,<sup>6</sup> while one of his Neapolitan counterparts was at the court of Charles the Bold.<sup>7</sup> During 1469 and 1470, tensions increased between Burgundy and France, and so Charles sought further to advance Burgundian relations with Naples; an attempt was made to arrange a meeting between him and Ferrante.<sup>8</sup> The Neapolitan ambassador Francesco Bertini, Bishop of Andria and

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<sup>2</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 6–7.

<sup>3</sup> The record is lost, but is fortunately related in the chronicles written by Chastellain's younger colleague and eventual successor, the musician and poet Jean Molinet (1435–1507). See Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, ed. Georges Doutrepont and Omer Jodogne, 3 vols. (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935–1937), i. 171, cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 48, n. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 383.

<sup>5</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 196–197. Woodley asserts (in 'Renaissance Music Theory', 213, citing Herman vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Charles, duc de Bourgogne, Marguérite d'York et Marie de Bourgogne (1457–1477)* (Brussels: M. Lamertin, 1936), 17) that this ambassador was Francesco Bertini, but according to Walsh, *ibid.*, this ambassador cannot in fact be identified securely.

<sup>6</sup> Bianca Mazzoleni, ed., *Frammento del 'quaternus sigilli pendentis' di Alfonso I, 1452-1453; Il registro 'sigillorum summarie magni sigilli XLVI' (1469-1470)*, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana, Serie II, Fonti aragonesi, 3 (Naples: L'Accademia, 1963), 45, no. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Brussels, Archives de l'État en Belgique, 1924, fol. 204v ('Messire Jehan Durmont'), cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 48, n. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 9.

later Capaccio, was first recorded as being present at the court of Charles the Bold in a ‘procuration dated 4 August 1470 empowering him to conclude an alliance with the duke’.<sup>9</sup> Bertini was evidently a wise choice of Ferrante’s, since he was described by Charles’s close advisor Guillaume de Rochefort as ‘an expert operator (“un gran pratico”)’.<sup>10</sup> As part of the customary exchanges of gifts, and presumably with other diplomatic instructions, Ferrante sent a gift of horses to the Burgundian court with a certain Messer Antonello in mid-1470.<sup>11</sup> On 15 February 1471, the alliance was signed at Arras by representatives of Ferrante (Francesco Bertini) and Charles (Guillaume Hugonet and Guy de Brimeau). The alliance was ‘ratified by Charles at Abbeville on 15 August, and proclaimed at Saint-Omer and at Naples on 1 November, to be published elsewhere in the duke’s lands later that month.’<sup>12</sup>

Intimately connected with the above sequence of events was Prince Federico of Aragon’s ultimately unsuccessful attempt to win the hand in marriage of Marie Capet de Valois-Bourgogne (1457–1482), Duchess of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold. This narrative begins in 1470, when Ferrante had spoken of such a prospect; discussion continued in 1471 following the alliance.<sup>13</sup> Ferrante was keen to present his twenty-year-old son in a favourable light to Burgundian ambassadors who arrived at Naples in February 1472, and he is reported to have clothed him ‘sumptuously’ and showered ‘honours upon him in the ambassadors’ presence’.<sup>14</sup> Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, gave a banquet for the ambassadors at which ‘suavissimi cantus’ were heard.<sup>15</sup> The ambassadors are recorded as passing through Rome on their return from Naples in

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<sup>9</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 196.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>11</sup> Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, 2100, a letter of 10 July 1470 from Rodolfo Gonzaga to his mother, Marchioness Barbara of Mantua; cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 48, n. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 9. This new information on the signing of the alliance came about with the discovery of Archives départementales du Nord, Lille, Série B, 334 (Trésor des Chartes)/16206 by W. Schulz in the late 1970s; see the discussion in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 48, n. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 302–325.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 303.

<sup>15</sup> Giovanni Pontano, *I trattati delle virtù sociali*, ed. Francesco Tateo (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1965), 153–154.

March 1472.<sup>16</sup> Woodley suggests that it is ‘highly likely’ that Tinctoris arrived with these ambassadors in 1472, ‘having been recruited either from the periphery of Charles’s court (any specific connections with Burgundy at this time being elusive, though plausible), or else approached while still master of the choristers at Chartres Cathedral’.<sup>17</sup> This remains the most likely scenario, and in order further to understand the context of Tinctoris’s arrival at Naples and his first few years of work there, I would like to consider two further journeys made between the Aragonese and Burgundian courts.

When Marie of Burgundy’s hand was offered to Duke Nicholas of Anjou in the summer of 1472, Federico’s marriage prospects looked bleak. Charles the Bold, seeking to ameliorate tensions surrounding the ongoing Neapolitan rivalry with Anjou, sent a further team of ambassadors to Naples in October 1472 and, in a parallel to Tinctoris’s putative recent arrival in the city from the north, and subsequent tuition of Beatrice, left two ‘young men to teach Federico French’.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps it is too fanciful to wonder if a lost document relating to the previous diplomatic mission from Burgundy might have referred to a man ‘left to teach Beatrice music’, but the evidence certainly demonstrates that the education of the young Neapolitan princes and princesses was valued for more than simply its intrinsic benefit to the individuals. Their education was an investment in their marketability on the international political stage as suitors and suitees, the success of whose betrothal was important to the political fortunes of the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples. Tinctoris’s tuition was therefore something that would have been valued politically by Ferrante and by those foreign rulers and diplomats who knew about it. It would not be unreasonable to assume, given the provision of Federico with two Burgundian teachers of French by Charles the Bold, that foreign courts would have had knowledge of which prince or princess was being taught by whom at Naples; after all, without such knowledge, how might they have known that those tutors would have been required or indeed welcomed? It is likely, therefore, that Matthias Corvinus and his

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<sup>16</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 101.

<sup>17</sup> Woodley, ‘Renaissance Music Theory’, 213.

<sup>18</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 303. See the Neapolitan dispatches by the Venetian ambassador in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MV 8170/V–VI, and the Milanese ambassador in Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, 224–225.

court at Buda, in advance of his marriage to Beatrice in 1476, would have had knowledge of Tinctoris's tuition of her, and would have accorded such knowledge of her education by such a famous 'prince among musicians' its due significance.

While Federico's marriage prospects were hanging in the balance, on 17 May 1473 he and Giovanni received Sigismondo d'Este at the gates of Naples, since the latter had come to take their sister Eleonora to Ferrara to marry Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara; the marriage took place on 3 July 1473.<sup>19</sup> Federico eventually set off for Mechelen on 26 October 1474, with authorisation to make unlimited financial and military offers in order to secure the marriage with Marie.<sup>20</sup> The voyage was chronicled by Notar Giacomo:

Die xxvi. octobris 1474. Lo illustre Signore Don federico de Aragonia figliolo legitimo et naturale de re ferrando se parti da napoli per andare inburgugna et portava la imprese de Armellina alo illustre Ciarlles Duca de burgugna. et con lui andaro multi Signori dell Regno homini valentissimi et experti in le arme et tra li altri nce fo lo Conte Cola decampo brascio Lo Signore Camillo pandone.<sup>21</sup>

*On 26 October, 1474, the illustrious lord Don Federico of Aragon, legitimate and natural son of King Ferrante, left Naples for Burgundy, and took the imprese of the Ermine to the illustrious Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and with him went many lords of the realm, most learned men, and experts in arms. And among the others were the Count Cola of Campobasso<sup>22</sup> and Lord Camillo Pandone.*

Considerably more detail concerning Federico's extensive entourage is afforded in a list drawn up by Ettore Spina, who describes himself as *apresentatore* in the 'Lista de quelli

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<sup>19</sup> See Thomas Haffner, *Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Giovanni d'Aragona (1456–1485): illuminierte Handschriften und Inkunabeln für einen humanistischen Bibliophilen zwischen Neapel und Rom* (Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert Verlag, 1997), 10; and Luigi Volpicella, ed., 'Regis Ferdinandi primi instructionum liber (10 maggio 1486 – 10 maggio 1488)', in *Società napoletana di storia patria: Monumenti storici, serie seconda: Documenti*, 24 (Naples: Pierro, 1916), 40.

<sup>20</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 307.

<sup>21</sup> Paolo Garzilli, *Cronica di Napoli di notar Giacomo* (Naples: Stamperia Reale, 1845), 128.

<sup>22</sup> Cola di Monforte, Count of Campobasso. See Francesco Storti, 'Monforte, Cola di', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cola-di-monforte\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cola-di-monforte_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (2011).

vennero con lo *Illustrimo Domino* Federico de Aragonia' (Images [41](#) and [42](#)).<sup>23</sup> Though this list shows that Tinctoris did not join the party, from a musical perspective it is interesting to note the presence of trumpeters (*conparino trombeto*) and drummers (*li tre tamborini*). Federico took with him an entourage of more than 500 people (a third of whom were personal attendants to the prince), 150 horses, and 35 pack-mules.<sup>24</sup> Among this retinue were the writer Elisio Calenzio and Federico's tutor and secretary, Angelo Cato, in addition to some pipers and trumpeters who were hired at Ferrara. The full list is as follows (original orthography):

Lo *Illustrimo Domino* Federicho Porta, Mulli da cariaio, Lo signore messer Camillo Camerlengo,<sup>25</sup> Berligeri Caraffa magiordomo,<sup>26</sup> Don Johanne pro guarda roba, Carlo Cossa camarero, Francescsio Origlia tringiante, Johanne Antonio di Falchoni cofier, Raffaele di Falchoni, Louiscio Calenda sacrettario,<sup>27</sup> Don Johanne Olzina thesaurerio,<sup>28</sup> Troillo Carrezollo scrivano de racione, *Don* Angello de Suprino medico, Johanne Antonio d'Aquavia,<sup>29</sup> Lo chavalarizo, Colantono del Tufo camarer d'areni, Carrafiello Refioster magior, Angilberto, Paulo Gaeta sopra cochio, Otaviano de Loffreda cofsiaro, Belardindeto Botiger maggiore, Lier Petro afingentatore, Teraldo Musto maggiore, Mateo ufsiere, Petrucio e Belardino da Capua, Rafaele Justo e Johannello aiutanti (Notandum quod li omnes soprascripti stant apud personane *Illustrimo Domino* Federici ex.).<sup>30</sup> Don Lois Lefasardo, Perotta Johan Lapati, Antonello de Rocha, Angello Saruagio, Antonio de Lipace, Thomaso Grecho, Mastro Jacobo e Mastro de sala, Abbate Michele et Domino Antonio Capelani, Mastro Ruberto confessor, Lo compratore, Mariota da Ubio, Antonio de lo Reposto, Antonio de Tarante, Antonio de Leccia, Gasparo Julliano e

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<sup>23</sup> I am grateful to Paola Milone of the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria for her help in locating and arranging photography of this document, that library's XXVI C 5, fasc.VI, no. 11, fols. 11r–12r. See also Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 307–308, 335.

<sup>24</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 307.

<sup>25</sup> Camillo Pandone, Federico's chamberlain.

<sup>26</sup> Berlingerio Carafa, Federico's major-domo.

<sup>27</sup> Elisio Calenzio, Federico's secretary and tutor, also known as Luigi Gallucci. He gave an account of the expedition in *V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 3367. See Simona Foà, 'Galluci, Luigi', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-gallucci\\_\(Dizionario\\_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-gallucci_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) (1998).

<sup>28</sup> Giovanni Olzina, treasurer.

<sup>29</sup> Giulio Acquaviva, Duke of Atri (c.1425–1481).

<sup>30</sup> That is, the foregoing members of the retinue were Federico's personal attendants.

Nardo, Apolonio e lo Burgognone, Antoneto mastro de stala, Lo Corso e lo Barbero, Donato da Milano, Lacharino Pietro da Sonzino, Conparino trombeto, Li tre tamborini, Li sarturi, Lo sabbatiero, Lo Maniero e Diecho, Consalveto Johanne Picenino, Li stafieri, Li meneschalchi, Li antegadori, Li cochi, Lo S. Conte Julio, Jacobo Conto,<sup>31</sup> Lo barone de la Torella, Lo S. Julio d'Attavilla,<sup>32</sup> Lo conte Albericho, Colantonio de l'Oliveto, Antonello de Campo basco, Atorre Spina, Antonello Vairolla, Johanne da Turco, Francesco Rusco, Benardino Botta Pianola, Margareso, Johanne de Samivia, Pietro Paulo, Jacobo Scorticha, Francesco Ferrara, Michele de Saragosa, Johanne de Pezolo, Francesco Sciano, Bianco de Strasi, Bianco Camullo, Perotta Olivero.

The voyage was announced earlier that month in a letter to the Marquis of Mantua, which was sent on 3 October 1474 by Galeotto Carrafa, a Mantuan representative at Naples:

The said Illustrious Lord will bear the *enpresa de lo Armellino*, of which the majesty of the Lord King was the founder, and which he will bear to the Duke of Burgundy, because the duke sent his own, that is, of the Fleece, to his aforesaid Majesty by one of his bastard brothers.<sup>33</sup>

Ferrante had been elected to the Order of the Golden Fleece in May 1473, but had been waiting some considerable time for the delivery of the insignia of the order by Charles's half-brother Antoine of Burgundy.<sup>34</sup> On 11 July 1474, Antonio Cincinello wrote to Ferrante from Milan informing him of Antoine's intended journey, having read of it in letters written by Francesco Bertini from the Burgundian court.<sup>35</sup> Antoine left Mechelen on 13 July 1474, but it took nine months before he arrived at Naples and delivered the insignia.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Conti, a 'renowned captain'. See Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 307.

<sup>32</sup> Giulio d'Altavilla.

<sup>33</sup> Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Esteri, XXIV, 3; published in Pontieri, *Per la storia*, 69–70; translated in Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, 404.

<sup>34</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 304; and Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, 389.

<sup>35</sup> Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, 226; cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 334.

<sup>36</sup> See Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Série B, 2105/67, 598; cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 334.

Federico was not overly enamoured with the prospect of his journey to Burgundy, which was to take him via Rome, Urbino, Florence, Ferrara, Venice, Milan, and Piedmont, as is clear from a letter written at Turin to the Duke of Milan on 11 February 1475 by Antonio d'Appiano, the Milanese ambassador to the court of Savoy.<sup>37</sup> King Ferrante had let it be known by Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, who wrote to the marquis of Mantua from Rome on 7 November 1474 that 'even though [Ferrante] had perhaps more love for Federico than for his other sons, nonetheless he could not provide him with such "*stato*" in Italy itself as he would have wished and that, therefore, he was having to send him away to seek his fortune'.<sup>38</sup> Federico's suspicion was that his brother Alfonso had encouraged the quest for Marie's hand as a means of ensuring he left Naples, where the former enjoyed much more popularity than the latter.<sup>39</sup>

Federico arrived in Milan in late January 1475 and proceeded over the Alps during the dangerous late winter months; this, and the fact that the Swiss were by then at war with Burgundy, ensured a long and difficult journey during which the party narrowly avoided ambush.<sup>40</sup> He eventually met Charles at Pont-à-Mousson on 26 September 1475, after a journey of eleven months. Despite offering Charles 1,800,000 scudi, Federico's marriage proposal was not successful; he was unwilling to give the hand of his only daughter and heiress to this 'unmanly hedonist'.<sup>41</sup> Also, the conclusion of an alliance with Milan in January 1475 gave Charles an Italian ally other than Ferrante. It was not until the beginning of June 1476 that five galleys were sent from Naples to Nice in

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<sup>37</sup> Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, 495; cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 335.

<sup>38</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 308. The letter is Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, 845; cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 335.

<sup>39</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 308. See Sacramoro to the Duke of Milan, Rome, 5 November 1474 (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, 76); from Milan, 8 February 1476 (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, 80); and from Foligno, 7 October 1476 (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, 82).

<sup>40</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 309.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 313. See Ernesto Sestan, *Carteggi diplomatici fra Milano sforzesca e la Borgogna*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1985–1987), ii. no. 601.



order to bring Federico home in order for him to participate in his sister Beatrice's wedding.<sup>42</sup>

Federico finally departed Burgundy on 21 June 1476, but the journey to Naples was to be delayed by yet more negotiation, this time with Louis XI of France at Lyon, over the possibility of a marriage to a sister of the Duke of Savoy. After spending a few days at the court of King René (1409–1480), he sailed, probably from Marseille, back to Naples.<sup>43</sup> Notar Giacomo relates that Federico arrived back at Naples from his trip to Burgundy on Monday 21 October 1476, at 10 p.m.: 'Adi XXI del mese de ottobre dello anno M CCCCLXXVI de lunedì ale. 22 hore intro inla Cita de napoli lo illustre Signore Don federico de aragonia quale veneva dala burgugna'.<sup>44</sup>

Federico's expedition to Burgundy had placed Naples under considerable financial strain, particularly since Ferrante was simultaneously having to make the wedding preparations for Beatrice.<sup>45</sup> Letters sent by Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene to the Marquis on 1 October and 13 November 1474 attest to the fact that Ferrante was committed to supporting Federico's venture even to the short-term detriment of Naples.<sup>46</sup> This strain soon manifested itself in the young princes becoming involved in courting Florentine bankers. On 16 February 1476, Giovanni and Alfonso attended a banquet held in Naples by the Florentine wool merchant and banker Benedetto Salutati, who was said to have 'a penchant for magnificence on the occasion of festivities'.<sup>47</sup> Relations between Naples and the Florentine bankers were in good health at this time, and the latter would go on

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<sup>42</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 318–319.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 321.

<sup>44</sup> Garzilli, *Cronica di Napoli*, 132.

<sup>45</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 307.

<sup>46</sup> Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, 845; cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 334.

<sup>47</sup> See Giuseppe Blandamura, *Un figlio di re su la cattedra di S. Cattaldo* (Cava de' Tirreni: Badia di Cava, 1936), 55; Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 12; and Kornelia Imesh, 'The Spiritual and Civic Meaning of Pollaiuolo's Berlin Annunciation', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 25, (1999), 41–85, at 50.

to offer financial assistance during the Turkish attack on Otranto in 1480–1481 and the barons’ rebellion in 1486.<sup>48</sup>

Neapolitan political and cultural exchanges with the Burgundian court in the 1470s therefore provide not only a convincing context for Tinctoris’s arrival at Naples, perhaps in 1472, but also show an important ongoing relationship between the two political centres into the later years of the decade. From this one might infer that Ferrante and his advisors valued the northern European Tinctoris’s presence at court even more highly than they otherwise might. Evidence of this is indeed found in Tinctoris’s translation from Burgundian French into Italian of the statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece for King Ferrante, which was copied by Joanmarco Cinico in 1476 or 1477 and survives as *I-Nn* XIV.D.20 (fols. 4v–5r, [Image 43](#)).<sup>49</sup> The following appears on fol. 1r ([Image 44](#)):

Qva seguitano tutti li articuli et ordinatione | dellordine del Toson doro: Del  
quale lo pri|mo fundatore fu lo Serenissimo Principe Philippo ducha de  
borgogna: Li quali articuli Iohannes | Tinctoris doctissimo et clarissimo musico  
per mandato | de la Sacra Regia Maiesta ha traducti de lingua de borgogna in  
lingua Italiana.

*Here follow all the articles and ordinations of the Order of the Golden Fleece,  
of which the initial founder was the most serene Prince Philip, Duke of  
Burgundy. The most learned and renowned musician Iohannes Tinctoris has  
translated the same articles, by order of His Sacred Royal Majesty, from the  
Burgundian to the Italian language.*

Tinctoris’s translation of the statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece is surely the most explicit symbol of Tinctoris’s involvement in diplomacy on the Naples-Burgundy axis and his rapid rise during the mid-1470s to considerable recognition in the Neapolitan political and intellectual milieu.

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<sup>48</sup> David Abulafia, ‘The Crown and the Economy under Ferrante I of Naples (1458–94)’, in Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham, eds., *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (London: Hambledon, 1990), 125–146, at 135.

<sup>49</sup> See Woodley, ‘Tinctoris’s Italian Translation’, 173–179.

### 3.2 | Commissioning of V

Having explored the historical context of Tinctoris's arrival in Naples and the ongoing political and cultural exchanges with northern Europe through the later 1470s, and arrived at an understanding of the theorist's recognition at court as symbolised in his translation of the statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece, I now wish to consider the circumstances surrounding the production of **V**, which is thought to have been produced in those years, or else in the early 1480s. In order to understand this properly, it will be necessary to deal first with the somewhat complex question of assessing who commissioned the manuscript, or at least for whom it was made, and when the production was completed. The evidence for this falls into two categories: (a) textual evidence, using which it is possible to establish a *terminus post quem*; (b) heraldic evidence, from which it is possible to establish a *terminus ante quem* and also consequently to confirm the identity of the commissioner. The argument I make in this chapter interrogates the proposal first made by Ronald Woodley in 2013 that the manuscript was completed in 'a period between the last few months of 1477 and the first few of 1478' for Giovanni of Aragon.<sup>50</sup> Woodley writes that 'the case presented in [his] essay can hardly be regarded yet as definitive', and so I believe it is important to the present thesis and to future scholarship to investigate all possible conclusions based on the available evidence. Before doing so, however, it will be profitable briefly to sketch the outline of Giovanni's early biography.

Giovanni of Aragon was created prothonotary apostolic on 12 July 1465, at the age of nine, from which date the emblem of the grey prothonotary's hat was correctly to be applied to the frontispieces of his own commissioned manuscripts, along with the

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<sup>50</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'The Dating and Provenance of Valencia 835: A Suggested Revision', <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/Articles/DatingAndProvenanceOfValencia835> (December 2013, revised June 2014). See also Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 315–319.

Aragonese arms.<sup>51</sup> In the same year he was made abbot *in commendam* or *commendatario* of the Badia di Cava monastery near Salerno, fifty kilometres south-west of Naples, a post he would retain until his death in 1485.<sup>52</sup> In this position, Giovanni would have been entitled to a portion of the revenue of the monastery without fulfilling any of the duties of an abbot. During the late 1460s and early 1470s, he swiftly gained similar positions at the Abbey of Montevergine (1467), the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino, where he was also made Prothonotary (30 August 1471), the Cistercian monastery of Jesús de Nazareth, Montearagón, Huesca (16 November 1472), the Benedictine monastery of S. Benedetto, Salerno (10 May 1475), and the Benedictine monasteries of S. Lorenzo in Aversa and S. Maria de Pomposa, diocese of Ferrara. He also must have gained the position of abbot *in commendam* of the abbey of Mileto at some point in this period, before he renounced it on 18 March 1481. He was created deacon at Montecassino in 1473 by Cardinal Giovanni Borgia.<sup>53</sup>

Giovanni's copy of Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (F-Pn Rés.H.35) was printed on 15 May 1476 in Rome, by Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, almost exactly two months after the 16 February banquet with his brothers and the Florentine bankers (mentioned above, towards the end of Section 3.1). It must have been decorated before his creation as cardinal, since it bears the prothonotary's hat with no overpainting. If Giovanni had a sense (as I imagine he did) of his impending cardinalate, then this text would have been an entirely apposite choice, given that it was the first full-length historical narrative written from a Christian point of view.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> This biographical account is based on Salvador Miranda, 'Aragona, Giovanni d'', in *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church*, <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1477.htm#Aragona> (n.d.); and Albinia de la Mare, 'The Florentine Scribes of Cardinal Giovanni of Aragona', in Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli, eds., *Il libro e il testo, atti del convegno internazionale, Urbino, 20–23 settembre 1982* (Urbino: Università degli studi di Urbino, 1984), 245–293, at 245–250. As prothonotary apostolic, Giovanni was a high-ranking official of the papal curia. It was common for incumbents of this office to be promoted directly to that of cardinal. See Johann Peter Kirsch, 'Prothonotary Apostolic' in C. G. Herbermann, Edward A. Pace, Condé B. Pallen, Thomas J. Shahan, and John J. Wynne, eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 12 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911). Available at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12503a.htm>.

<sup>52</sup> De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 245.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Glenn F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius* (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1977), 1.

On 10 November 1477, Giovanni was appointed as administrator of the see of Taranto, a post that he occupied until his death, and which brought him an income of between 1300 and 1700 ducats per annum.<sup>55</sup> He was created cardinal deacon of S. Adriano in Foro, Rome, on 10 December 1477. Stefano Infessura (c.1435–1500), the humanist historian and lawyer, wrote ‘eodem anno et mense de decembre lo papa fece cardinali lo figlio de re Ferrante’.<sup>56</sup>

Giovanni was presented with the red cardinal’s hat on 25 January 1478 in the Duomo of Naples by the Papal legate Giovanni Paolo Vassalli, Bishop of Aversa. The ceremony is described by Notar Giacomo:

Adi xxv. de iennaro. 1478. die dominico hora vicesima in lo archiepiscopato de napoli per lo Reuerendo Monsignor Ioan paulo vaxallo Episcopo de auersa fo celebrata la messa presenti la Maesta del Signore Re. et Regina et Don Ioanne de aragonia doue fo intitulado Cardinale. lo cappello ncelo porto Messere francisco scannasorece ientilomo deportanoua doue venne accompagnato dala sua casa da piu signori et gentilomini con dicto cappello loquale arriuato inlo altamare maiore lo posse sopra dequillo et lecta la bolla del collegio de roma lo predicto cardinale. se soctoscripse ad quella. doue lo Episcopo li posse el cappello intesta. et per poco spacio messer francisco nce lo leuo et si lo posse sopra lo altare et fornita la messa. quello lo piglio dicto messere francisco etsi lo porto in mano allo porta dello archiepiscopato et al caualcare lo predicto don Ioanne selo posse intesta.<sup>57</sup>

*On Sunday, the 25th of January 1478, at the 20th hour, Mass was celebrated in the cathedral of Naples by the Revd Msgr Giovanni Paolo Vassalli, bishop of Aversa, in the presence of their Majesties the king and queen and Don Giovanni d’Aragona, where he received the title of Cardinal. Messer Francesco Scannasorece brought the hat there, a gentleman of Portanova, whence he came from his house with the said hat accompanied by many lords and gentlemen. When he had arrived at the high altar, he put it upon it, and when the bull of the College of Rome had been read, the aforesaid Cardinal signed it, whereupon the Bishop placed the hat upon his head. And after a small space of time Messer Francesco removed it and put it upon the altar; and when Mass was finished, the said Messer Francesco took it and brought it by hand to the door of the cathedral, and the aforesaid Don Giovanni, on horseback, put it on his own head.*<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> See Miranda, ‘Aragona, Giovanni d’; and Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 13.

<sup>56</sup> Oreste Tommasini, *Diario della Città di Roma di Stefano Infessura* (Rome: Forzani e C. Tipografi del Senato, 1890), 83.

<sup>57</sup> Transcribed in Paolo Garzilli, *Cronica di Napoli di notar Giacomo* (Naples: Stamperia reale, 1845), 140–141.

<sup>58</sup> Woodley’s translation from ‘Dating and Provenance’.

The task of establishing a *terminus post quem* for **V** is relatively simple, since it includes the complete text of Tinctoris's treatise *Liber de arte contrapuncti* on fols. 77v–144r. This treatise is dated on fol. 101r of **Br1** to 11 October 1477 ([Image 45](#)):

Liber tercius et vltimus de | arte contrapuncti feliciter ex|plicit Quem totum  
magister io|annes tinctoris (Vt prefertur) | iurisconsultus atque musicus |  
illu|strissimi regis sicilie capel|lanus, neapoli incepit absol|vit que Anno domini  
1477°. men|sis octobris die Vndecima | Deum orate pro eo.

As Woodley observes, we can therefore be confident that **V** must have been completed after this date. That is not to say that production of the manuscript did not start before then, since many of the other texts had been completed during the previous few years. Indeed, as shall be seen, it is possible that the manuscript was completed very soon after this date.

The task of establishing a *terminus ante quem* is considerably more complex. The frontispiece of **V** (fol. 2r) features, at its base, an escutcheon bearing the arms of the Aragonese kings of Naples ([Image 46](#)). The claims of the Aragonese kings to the kingdoms of Hungary, Anjou, and Jerusalem are reflected in the manner in which the arms are quartered.<sup>59</sup> The first and fourth quarters represent the House of Aragon, consisting of a 'paly of seven or and gules' (four golden pales and three red in each quarter, alternating gold–red).<sup>60</sup> The second and third quarters are each split into three. The leftmost section of each represents Hungary, consisting of 'barry argent and gules' (six horizontal red bars and six silver, though the representation in the third quarter is curtailed).<sup>61</sup> The middle section of each of the second and third quarters represents Anjou, consisting of 'Azure semé-de-lis'. This is shown by a blue field with several golden fleurs-de-lis (indicating *France ancienne*), differenced with a label of 'three points or' (three small golden circles, specifying Anjou).<sup>62</sup> Jerusalem is represented in the rightmost section of each of the second and third quarters, consisting of 'argent a

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<sup>59</sup> See *DMB*, i. 130.

<sup>60</sup> See description of the Aragonese arms in Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage*, xiv: *Italy (III): South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 432.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 433.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 431.

cross potent or' (a gold cross with a crossbar at each end, on a silver field).<sup>63</sup> The arms of Hungary, Anjou, and Jerusalem are therefore impaled with each other on the arms of Aragon, an arrangement that was included on the arms of the Aragonese Kings of Naples from the reign of Alfonso I.

The escutcheon is surmounted by a five-pointed golden crown, which emblem indicates ownership of the manuscript by the reigning king, i.e. Ferrante I. On the basis of this evidence, it might be concluded that the manuscript was executed for Ferrante. This was, indeed, the prevailing scholarly opinion, until Thomas Haffner noticed that there is an area of disturbance to the blue painted surface around the crown, and that the arms of the two uppermost *putti* seem distended, as though they had previously supported an emblem other than the crown.<sup>64</sup> Haffner's suggestion was that V had originally belonged to and been commissioned by Giovanni of Aragon, and that the manuscript had accordingly been decorated with a red cardinal's hat (he was made cardinal on 10 December 1477) that was subsequently overpainted after his death in 1485, as was the case for several other of his manuscripts.

Woodley argued in 2013, however, that if there truly had been a cardinal's red hat on the frontispiece of V before the overpainting, then one would expect there to have been 'the incorporation of red *fiocchi* or series of knotted tassels that conventionally hang down from either side of the hat'.<sup>65</sup> The incorporation of these tassels into the design is exemplified in Woodley's article using *E-VAu* 390, which indeed features a cardinal's red hat on the frontispiece with the expected red tassels falling behind the escutcheon. Woodley also cites the example of *F-R A* 13, a 1485 copy of Leonardo Nogarola's *Tractatus de mundi eternitate*, which was dedicated to Giovanni, and whose frontispiece also features the red cardinal's hat (fol. 3r, [Image 47](#)). Woodley notes that the 'overpainting is restricted to the immediate area of the crown, perhaps with a little re-contouring or touching-up of the *putti*'s rearmost arms'. He reports that there are no signs of 'interference or repainting' in the decorative gold ribbons that hang to either

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 433.

<sup>64</sup> Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 315–319.

<sup>65</sup> Woodley, 'Dating and Provenance'.

side of the escutcheon, falling behind the *putti*, apart from a small, possibly accidental ‘patch’ of repainting ‘between the arms of the upper right *putto*’.<sup>66</sup>

Woodley also points out that there is slight coloration of the verso of the repainted area behind the crown, which ‘is of a greyish hue, similar to that corresponding to the predominantly grey and blue tones of the second and third quarters of the arms’. This is in contrast, he says, to the ‘leaching of the red pigment from the ground of the red and gold Aragonese *pali*, and from the *putti*’s wings’.<sup>67</sup> This grey hue leads Woodley to propose that in fact the overpainting replaced what originally was Giovanni’s grey prothonotary’s hat, which would have been his heraldic emblem between becoming apostolic prothonotary on 12 July 1465, at the age of nine, and becoming cardinal in December 1477. He gives the frontispieces of *E-VAu* 847 [*olim* 770] (fol. 2r, [Image 48](#)), a copy of Thomas Aquinas’s *De ente et essentia*, of c.1472, and of *F-Pn* lat. 6292 (fol. 1r, [Image 49](#)), a copy of Porphyry’s *Isagoge ad cathegorias Aristotelis* from c.1473, as extant examples of the use of the heraldic symbol.<sup>68</sup>

Woodley states that ‘returning once again to the show-through on fol. 2 verso of **V**, it is not impossible to discern a slight contour in the staining of the overpainted area above the escutcheon that might well indicate the ghost of the shape of ... a prothonotary’s hat, and the colouring of the stain is certainly at least consistent with the notion that this could indeed have been the underlying depiction.’ On first-hand physical inspection of the folio in Valencia, this contour is indeed visible. Using only ambient transmitted and reflected light, gently manipulating the parchment while looking at the verso from certain angles, it is possible to see much more distinctly the shape of the prothonotary’s hat to which Woodley refers. The librarians of the Biblioteca Histórica very kindly agreed to make photographs of the verso ([Image 50](#)) and recto ([Image 51](#)) of fol. 2 of **V** using transmitted white light, in an attempt to document this phenomenon, but sadly these photographs show that the physical manipulation I applied is necessary to achieve

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> See *ibid.*, figure 5.

<sup>68</sup> See Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 339–341.



the required angle of incidence in order to provide a stronger image of the shape of the hat, and so replication using still photography is difficult.<sup>69</sup>

I am convinced that none or very little of the original paint remains beneath the surface of the newer layer, since torchlight transmitted from the verso and viewed from the recto, or vice versa, reveals the same shape of the prothonotary's hat (as marked in Image 52), here caused by the overpainter scratching away the surface of the parchment, making it thinner, and hence transmitting more light. If there were a residual layer of paint beneath the surface of the overpainting then I would expect it to interfere with the transmission of light. The feint, yet seemingly dark, shape of the hat noticed by Woodley on the verso is almost certainly a discoloration caused by the particular pigment used to paint the hat, which has permeated through the parchment and hence has avoided being scratched away.<sup>70</sup> In Images 50 and 51 (above), it is just possible to see dark lines where the golden bands originally were attached to the prothonotary's hat, which indicates they were simply overpainted rather than scratched away first. I have marked these in yellow, in addition to the remainder of the cascading bands or ribbons, in Image 52 (above).

Discoloured patches on the obverse of quarters 2 and 3 of the escutcheon suggest that the hat was painted with the same or a similar pigment. On first-hand visual inspection, the fields of the leftmost and rightmost sectors of quarters 2 and 3, which appear in the digital photographs to be grey, were revealed to have been made with a dark silver metallic paint. This is particularly obvious using torchlight and 10 × magnification. Likewise the light silver pales and the gold fleurs-de-lys, not to mention the gold crown, shine rather brightly under illumination and magnification. I have inspected both recto

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<sup>69</sup> It may be possible in the future to document this using videography.

<sup>70</sup> There are currently indications that it may be possible in the future to employ multispectral imaging and Raman spectroscopy in order to make reliable identifications or distinctions between such specific pigments. This has not been possible within the confines of the present study.

and verso of the overpainted area with ultraviolet light, which did not reveal anything new.<sup>71</sup>

In order to provide a comparison and to check my physical analysis of **V**, I have also examined *GB-Lbl* Harl. 3485, a Florentine copy of Plutarch's *Lives* that is dated to 1470 in its colophon on fol. 428r: 'Anno dominicae incarnationis | M<sup>o</sup>.CCCC<sup>o</sup>.Lxx<sup>o</sup>. et viia. decembris. opus | hoc consumatum est: die autem ueneris | summo mane. Laus et glo|ria sit omnipotenti yhesu christo per infinita secula (Image 53).<sup>72</sup> On the following verso is the 'Omnium rerum' scribe's 'signature' 'OMNIUM RERUM | VICISSI|TUDO | EST'.<sup>73</sup> The manuscript is identifiable as having been prepared for Giovanni on account of the inscription 'cardenale' on the front flyleaf. Using transmitted light, the same dark shape of the prothonotary's hat as in **V** is very definitely visible on the verso of the frontispiece of this manuscript (fol. 3), and there is bleed-through onto the verso of the pigment used for the hat that is visible even without transmitted light.<sup>74</sup> The bleed-through is of the same shade and intensity as that created by the painting of quarters 1 and 4 of the Aragonese arms, which is rendered in a half-rounded escutcheon. The escutcheon is surmounted by a five-point lily crown that is somewhat ill-defined, and has none of the subtlety of the rest of the decoration. It is enclosed in a dark blue circle, the pigment of which is less vibrant than that of the Florentine hybrid *bianchi girari* decoration, which is attributable to Mariano del Buono (c.1433–1504).<sup>75</sup> There is a circular gold band around the blue circle within a laurel wreath that is supported by 4 *putti*. Importantly, in the miniature to the right of the escutcheon, which depicts

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<sup>71</sup> It should be noted that the only ultraviolet lamp I had access to in the Biblioteca Histórica was rather low-powered, and it was not possible to work in an otherwise completely dark environment.

<sup>72</sup> For a description, see 'Harley 3485', in British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=4291&CollID=8&NStar=3485> (n.d.).

<sup>73</sup> There are twenty-four extant manuscripts with this motto written by the same scribe. See De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 262–263; and Albinia de la Mare, 'New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence', in Annarosa Garzelli, ed., *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440–1525: un primo censimento*, 2 vols. (Florence: Giunta Regionale Toscana, 1985), i. 395–574, at 522.

<sup>74</sup> The presence of these traces was first noted in Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 195.

<sup>75</sup> See 'Harley 3485', n. 13.

Eumenes of Cardia, dressed in green, being strangled by one of his guards, dressed in red, the bars of the prison are executed in the same pigment as the prothonotary's hat. This is shown by a perfect match between the shade and intensity of the bleed-through. Using torchlight transmitted from the verso to the recto, it is possible to observe a greater degree of increase in opacity in the undisturbed black pigment of the prison bars than in the partially erased and overpainted prothonotary's hat. This evidence increases my confidence in my observations of V.

On the basis of this evidence, it would seem likely that Giovanni was indeed the commissioner of V, and that the manuscript was finished between the completion of *Liber de arte contrapuncti* on 11 October 1477 and some time shortly after Giovanni became cardinal, perhaps in the first few months of 1478. However, there are certain discrepancies that mean that it is not currently possible to establish this as fact, as will be outlined in sections 3.3–3.5 below. By way of preparation for the ensuing discussions, the following Table 4 lists the contents of Giovanni's library in approximate chronological order, detailing where appropriate the original and surviving heraldic surmountings, and providing references to catalogue entries and links to images where possible.

**Table 4 | Manuscripts of the Library of Giovanni of Aragon**

Date in **bold**: date given in MS.

CH: Cardinal's hat

PH: Prothonotary's hat

LC: Lily crown

Date	Siglum	Author	Escutcheon	Surmounting		Image	Cat. <sup>76</sup>
				Original	Surviving		
C12th	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6637	Boethius	-	-	-	-	A.13/2 0
c.1472–8	<i>E-VAsmr</i>	Cicero	?	-	PH (?)	-	A.21
<b>19.7.1467</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> lat.	<i>Rosarium</i>	-	-	-	? <sup>77</sup>	A.32

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<sup>76</sup> Catalogue number in Haffner, *Bibliothek* / Catalogue number in De La Mare, 'Florentine Scribes'.

Date	Siglum	Author	Escutcheon	Surmounting		Image	Cat. <sup>76</sup>
				Original	Surviving		
	18524	<i>grammaticae</i>					
<b>13.12.1468</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.C.424 (1)	Jerome	-	-	-	-	B6
<b>13.12.1468</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.C.424 (2)	Jerome	-	-	-	-	B6
<b>2.9.1469</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 7524	Valla	Half- rounded	?	?	-	A.29/2 1
1470	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 3485	Plutarch	Half- rounded	-	LC	-	A.5/14
<b>1470</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.Z.120	Cicero	Half- rounded	-	PH (No fiocchi)	-	B.1
c.1470	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6295	Aristotle	-	-	-	-	A11/18
c.1470–75 <sup>78</sup>	<i>E-VAu</i> 759	Joannes de Angelis	Half- rounded	-	PH? <sup>79</sup> (?)	-	A.44
<b>1471</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.E.15	Cicero	Half- rounded/	-	PH (no fiocchi)	<a href="#">Image 54</a>	B2
<b>10.12.1472</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.G.YC .212	Aelius Donatus	Half- rounded	-	PH (no fiocchi)	-	B3
c.1472	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 7549	Priscian, translated by George of Trebizond	Half- rounded	-	PH (with grey tassels)	<a href="#">Image 55</a>	A.30
c.1472	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 8374	Malvezzi	Half- rounded	-	PH (with grey tassels)	<a href="#">Image 56</a>	A.31/2 2
c.1472	<i>E-VAu</i> 847	Aquinas	Half- rounded	-	PH (no fiocchi)	<a href="#">Image 57</a>	A.45
c.1472	<i>A-Wn</i> 32	Servius	Circular <sup>80</sup>	-	PH (no fiocchi)	<a href="#">Image 58</a>	A23/26

<sup>77</sup> See Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, 7 vols. (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1974), iii. 611, and plate CLXXXIV.

<sup>78</sup> Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 338.

<sup>79</sup> This manuscript is reported as featuring a red cardinal's hat in Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 338, and as having a black prothonotary's hat in De La Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 275, where it is listed under its old shelfmark, 775.

<sup>80</sup> Haffner (*Bibliothek*, 284) describes the escutcheon as half-round (*halbrunder*).

Date	Siglum	Author	Escutcheon	Surmounting		Image	Cat. <sup>76</sup>
				Original	Surviving		
<b>1473</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.D.184 2	Janduno	Half- rounded	-	PH (no fiocchi)	-	B9
c.1473	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6292	Porphyry	Half- rounded	-	PH (grey fiocchi)	<a href="#">Image 59</a>	A10
<b>1474</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.G.YC .373	Ovid	Half- rounded	-	PH (with fiocchi)	-	B4
<b>1474</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.G.YC .374	Ovid	-	-	-	-	B4
<b>6.6.1475</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.A.142 4	(Frater) Petrus Niger (Dominican)	-	-	-	-	A10
c.1475	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6324	Aristotle	-	-	-	-	A12/19
< 1477	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6922	Aristotle	?	-	PH <sup>81</sup>	-	-/17
< 1477	<i>A-Wn</i> 34	Caesar	Half- rounded	PH	LC (no fiocchi)	<a href="#">Image 60</a>	A24
1475–77	<i>I-AGI</i> 1	Iustinus	Half- rounded	PH	LC (no fiocchi)	<a href="#">Image 61</a>	A1
1475–77	<i>I-AGI</i> 2 <sup>82</sup>	Florus	? <sup>83</sup>	Probably PH <sup>84</sup>	LC (?)	-	A1
<b>15.5.1476</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.H.35	Eusebius	Half- rounded	-	PH (no fiocchi <sup>85</sup> )	-	B7/53 <sup>86</sup>
<b>25.6.1477</b>	<i>D-B</i> lat. fol. 28	Suetonius	Half- rounded	-	LC (no fiocchi)	<a href="#">Image 62</a>	A2/1
<b>26.7.1477</b>	<i>GB-Gu</i> Hunterian	Duns Scotus	Half- rounded	-	CH (red/silver fiocchi)	<a href="#">Image 63</a>	B11

<sup>81</sup> De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 273.

<sup>82</sup> See Angela Daneu Lattanzi, 'Di alcuni codici miniati attribuibili a Matteo Felice e bottega (e qualche altro codice della scuola napoletana del Quattrocento)', *La bibliofilia*, 75 (1973), 1–43, at 37–39, no. 10; Angela Daneu Lattanzi, *I manoscritti ed incunaboli miniati della Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1965; and Palermo: Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti di Palermo, 1984), ii. 53–55.

<sup>83</sup> Lattanzi, 'Alcuni codici miniati', 37, reports a Type 11 arms with the mottoes 'bien elir and 'Extremos Aborriser'.

<sup>84</sup> Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 153.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 351.

<sup>86</sup> Haffner and De la Mare appear to be referring to different books.

Date	Siglum	Author	Escutcheon	Surmounting		Image	Cat. <sup>76</sup>
				Original	Surviving		
	By.2.3						
1477. <sup>87</sup>	<i>E-E</i> s.ii.19	Virgil	Half-rounded	-	LC	<a href="#">Image 64</a>	A3/2
<b>1477/8</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.D.27 (1–4)	Duns Scotus	Half-rounded	-	CH (no fiocchi)	-	B12
1478	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 3699	Josephus	Oval	CH <sup>88</sup>	LC	<a href="#">Image 65</a>	A6/15
<sup>89</sup>	<i>I-Mborletti</i>	Livy	Square flag	-	LC	<a href="#">Image 66</a>	A16/32
1478	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 4833	Mela	Half-rounded	-	LC	<a href="#">Image 67</a>	A9
<b>1479</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 16032	Josephus	Removed	Removed	Removed	-	A15/30
<b>12.1.1479</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.R.91	Albertus Magnus	?	-	CH	-	B13
<b>11.6.1479</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.H.63	Platina	?	-	CH	-	B8
c.1480	<i>E-VAu</i> 388	Aristotle	Oval	-	LC	<a href="#">Image 68</a>	A19/31
<b>30.12.1480</b>	<i>CH-Bgünther</i>	Aquinas	Round	-	LC	<a href="#">Image 69</a>	-/-
1480–1485	<i>A-Wn</i> 49	Tacitus	Horse-head	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 70</a>	A25/23
<b>8.12.1481</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.H.145	Massarius de Cora	-	-	-	-	B14
<b>21.8.1482</b>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 4965	Eusebius	Pointed oval	CH <sup>90</sup>	LC	<a href="#">Image 71</a>	A26/16
<b>18.6.1482</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> Rés.Z.185	Valerius Maximus	?	-	CH	-	B5
<b>1482</b>	<i>E-VAu</i> 292	Quintilian	Mixed Half-rounded/Ho	? <sup>91</sup>	LC	<a href="#">Image 72</a>	A18/9

<sup>87</sup> Gennaro Toscano, *La Biblioteca reale di Napoli al tempo della dinastia aragonese* (Valencia: Generalitat Valencia, 1998), 494.

<sup>88</sup> As reported in De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 272.

<sup>89</sup> No date estimated in Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 239–247.

<sup>90</sup> Inspected February 2015. See De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 273.

<sup>91</sup> Haffner (*Bibliothek*, 251) presumes there is an overpainted cardinal's hat.

Date	Siglum	Author	Escutcheon	Surmounting		Image	Cat. <sup>76</sup>
				Original	Surviving		
			horsehead				
<b>4.5.1483</b>	<i>GB-Ob</i> Auct. F.1.18	Ovid	-	-	-	-	A8/6
<b>1483</b>	<i>F-Pm</i> inc. 3619(1)	Capréolus	Horse-head	-	CH	-	A15
c.1483	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 8016	Ovid	Pointed oval	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 73</a>	A14
c.1483	<i>E-VAu</i> 389	Gellius	Half- rounded	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 74</a>	A20
<b>17.2.1484</b>	<i>E-VAu</i> 395	Aquinas	Horse-head	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 75</a>	A43/10
<b>2.9.1484</b>	<i>F-LO</i> 7	Aquinas	-	-	-	-	A38/3
<b>2.9.1484</b>	<i>I-Nn</i> VII.B.4	Aquinas	Oval	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 76</a>	A39/4
<b>1484</b>	<i>E-VAu</i> 51	Seneca	Horse-head	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 77</a>	A17/11
<b>1484</b>	<i>GB-Cu</i> Gg.3.22	Bonaventure	Horse-head	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 78</a>	A36
<b>1484</b>	<i>E-E</i> t.ii.5	Horace	Horse-head	-	LC	<a href="#">Image 79</a>	A4
c.1484	<i>E-VAu</i> 390	Albertus Magnus	Horse-head	-	CH	<a href="#">Image 80</a>	A42/24
c.1484	<i>GB-Cu</i> Gg.3.23	Bonaventure	Horse-head	CH	LC	-	A37
c.1485	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 1659	Ciprian	Rectangular	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 81</a>	A27/29
c.1485	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 2231(1)	Gregory the Great	Oval	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 82</a>	A28(1) /7
c.1485	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 2231(2)	Gregory the Great	-	-	-	-	A28(2) /7
<b>1485</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 2231(3)	Gregory the Great	-	-	-	-	A28(3) /7
1485	<i>US-NYpl</i> 20	Valerius Maximus	Globe	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 83</a>	A7/28
<b>13.4.1485</b>	F-R A 13	Nogarola	Half- rounded	-	CH	<a href="#">Image 84</a>	A33/27
<b>18.11.1486</b>	Drouot Aquinas MS	Aquinas	?	?	?	-	-/8
<b>1486</b>	<i>F-Pn</i>	Aquinas	-	-	-	-	A40/5

Date	Siglum	Author	Escutcheon	Surmounting		Image	Cat. <sup>76</sup>
				Original	Surviving		
	Smith- Lesouëf 14						
1487	A-Wn 3	Strabo	Oval	CH	LC	<a href="#">Image 85</a>	A22/12

### 3.3 | Shape of the Escutcheon

The first discrepancy concerns the shape of the escutcheon in **V**, and requires a little initial regression to De Marinis's work on the categorisation of the various types of Aragonese arms. He categorised the escutcheon on the frontispiece of **V** as number 15 ([Image 86](#)) in his typology.<sup>92</sup> This was presumably on the basis that it features the appropriate heraldic design, and, though he does not say so, the distinctive Italian 'horse-head' shape of escutcheon and, importantly, the fact that it is surmounted by a five-pointed golden 'lily' crown. However, if one focuses on the shape of the escutcheons, that of **V** is less like the squat example in De Marinis's type 15, with its eight points and curved sides of fairly equal length, and more like his type 16, with its taller and more slender shape, eleven points, and long straight sides. Although the shape of the escutcheon of **V** is not an exact copy of De Marinis's example of type 16, which features on the frontispiece of *E-VAu* 390 (fol. 7r, [Image 87](#)) since it has only ten points, and the sides, though long, are slightly curved, I would suggest that it is certainly more similar to this type than any other. The reason for De Marinis's choice of type 15 must have been the surmounting of the escutcheon with a crown, rather than the red cardinal's hat featured in *E-VAu* 390, which identifies the codex, a copy of Albertus Magnus's *Summa theologie, sive De mirabili scientia Dei*, of c.1484, as having been prepared for Giovanni. As has been shown, the presence of the crown can be misleading. Indeed, considering Haffner's observation that there had been overpainting above the escutcheon of **V**, and his conclusion that there must originally have been a red cardinal's hat where there is now a golden lily-crown, this observation concerning the shape of the escutcheon makes perfect sense.

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<sup>92</sup> *DMB*, ii. 164.



The shape of the escutcheons in Woodley's examples is dissimilar to that of **V**. They take a half-rounded form, as opposed to the horse-head form observed in **V**. The earliest occurrence of a horse-head escutcheon in dated books associated with Giovanni is on the painted frontispiece to the incunable *F-Pm* inc. 361(1), a 1483 Venetian impression, by Octavianus Scotus, of the first book of the Dominican Johannes Capreolus (c.1380–1444), *Defensiones theologiae Thomae Aquinatis in quattuor libros Sententiarum*.<sup>93</sup> Haffner suggests that the decoration may have been carried out by Gioacchino di Giovanni de Gigantibus.<sup>94</sup> Within Giovanni's library (for the full contents of which, see Table 4 above), there are four securely datable examples that were made during the following year, 1484:

1. *E-VAu* 395 ([Image 88](#)): Aquinas, *Summa theologiae, prima pars secundae partis*, copied in gothic rotunda script in Naples by Venceslaus Crispus and completed on 17 February 1484, as part of the major Aquinas series.<sup>95</sup>
2. *E-VAu* 51 ([Image 89](#)): Seneca, *Tragoediae*, copied in humanistic script in Florence by Antonio Sinibaldi and completed on 5 June 1484, before being decorated in Naples by Cristoforo Majorana or in the Rapicano workshop.
3. *GB-Cu* Gg.3.22 ([Image 90](#)): Bonaventure, *Super quarto libro Sententiarum*, copied in gothic rotunda script in Florence and decorated in Naples, possibly by Matteo Felice.

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<sup>93</sup> I have not been able to establish why the prothonotary's hats on the incunabula were not overpainted with lily crowns on accession to the royal library upon Giovanni's death.

<sup>94</sup> Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 361. See also Marie Léontine Catherine Pellechet and Marie Louis Polain, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1897–1909), ii. 346, no. 3234; and Denise Hillard, *Catalogues régionaux des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vi: *Bibliothèque Mazarine* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres; Bordeaux: Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne, 1989), 164, no. 566.

<sup>95</sup> Colophon (fol. 309): 'Beati Thome Aquinatis etiam hanc primam secunde partis theologie sue summe, item incliti Joannis de Aragonia, Ferdinandi Sicilie regis filii, sancte romane ecclesie cardinalis, sumptu liberalissimo, Venceslaus Crispus Slagenverdiensis, natione magis quam religione bohemus, exaratam absolvit XVI kalendas martii anno legis gratie millesimo CCCCLXXXIII.' See Jean Destrez and Marie Dominique Chenu, 'Une collection manuscrite des oeuvres complètes de S. Thomas d'Aquin par le roi Aragonais de Naples, 1480–1493', *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 23 (1953), 309–326, at 320–321.

4. *E-E t.ii.5 (Image 91)*: Horace, *Odorum libri V, Carmen saeculare, Ars poetica, Epistolarum libri II* and *Sermonum libri II*, copied in humanistic script in Florence by Antonio Sinibaldi and decorated in Naples, possibly by Cristoforo Majorana.

Two further examples may tentatively be dated to the same year:

1. *E-VAu 390 (Image 92)*: Albertus Magnus, *Summa theologiae sive De mirabili scientia Dei. Liber I*, copied in gothic rotunda script and decorated in Naples, possibly by Nardo Rapicano.<sup>96</sup>
2. *GB-Cu Gg.3.23*. Bonaventure, *Super secundo libro Sententiarum*, copied in gothic rotunda in Florence.

The final extant example of a manuscript directly associated with Giovanni that features the horse-head escutcheon is *A-Wn 49 (Image 93)*, a copy, made in Naples in humanistic script by Gianrinaldo Mennio, of Tacitus, *Annales XI–XVI, Historia I–V, Germania*, and *Dialogus de oratoribus*. The codex may be dated to the period 1480–1485.<sup>97</sup>

This evidence weighs against a dating of **V** to 1477–1478, since no dated manuscripts of Giovanni's feature the horse-head escutcheon before the 1483 example, and there is a concentration of dated and datable manuscripts meeting the criteria in 1484.

There is strong evidence that *F-Pn lat. 2082*, a copy of Augustine's *Contra Faustum*, which was puzzlingly excluded from Haffner's catalogue, was decorated for Giovanni with the lily crown and a horse-head escutcheon, probably in late 1476 or early 1477 (*Image 94*).<sup>98</sup> It is undated, but may correspond with a manuscript mentioned in a letter from Giovanni to the scribe Sinibaldi in Florence (*Image 95*):

Iohannes de aragonia Regius filius *et cetera* | Antonio. Per vna vestra de. xxvij.  
del passato havimo visto quanto | ne scriviti. ve respondimo essendo lo agostino  
secundo ne scriviti om -| nino lo volimo et molto ne piace la mostra ne

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<sup>96</sup> See *DMB*, i. 66 and 91; and De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 274.

<sup>97</sup> Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 289.

<sup>98</sup> See De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 280, no. 43.

mandassino: ma | *per piu nostra* contenteça ve pregamo ce lo mandate equa :  
che vendendolo | e non ne piacesse ve lo remanderiamo et ve furiamo satisfacere  
de | ogni spesa et interesse gli hauessi posto, tamen credimo ne piacera | et non  
bisognera rimandarvelo. Si che fate lo habiamo prima ad vedere | Del venire  
vostro equa, come\_piu [?] presto tanto meglio. *Datum Neapoli* | .xv. Julij.  
MccccLxxvi; Johannes.

Giovanni of Aragon, son of the King, et cetera. Antonio, we have seen what you have written in your letter of the 27th of last month. We are replying because we want the entire second Augustine and would very much like you to send it to show it to us, but it would be better for us if you sent it here, because if on seeing it we didn't like it we would send it back, repaying any expenses and interests you may have incurred, though we believe we will like it and there will be no need to send it back, so make sure we can see it before you come here, the sooner the better. Dated at Naples, 15 July, 1476.

The manuscript referred to here by Giovanni was evidently completed well before the date of the letter, 15 July 1476, since Giovanni implies that Sinibaldi had previously told him that it was available.<sup>99</sup> If the codex referred to in the letter is indeed *F-Pn* lat. 2082, then I would expect it to have been executed with the prothonotary's hat surmounting the Aragonese arms, since Giovanni was made cardinal only in December of the year following the date of the letter. On close inspection of the area around the lily crown on the frontispiece, however, there is no suggestion of overpainting; neither is there any unexpected bleed-through on the verso ([Image 96](#)). This, therefore, may suggest that it was possible for manuscripts prepared for Giovanni to feature simply the lily crown, whether he was Prothonotary or Cardinal, and hence casts doubt on the reliability of using the supposed overpainting on the frontispiece of **V** as strong evidence on which to base a dating. Albinia De la Mare did not believe that the manuscript was written by Sinibaldi, unlike De Marinis, but rather she believed it was written by another Florentine scribe and perhaps Neri di Filippo Rinuccini (1435–1506), who is believed to have been the 'Omnium rerum' scribe.<sup>100</sup> It is still perfectly possible, however, that the manuscript was that referred to in the letter, and that Sinibaldi, being a close contact of Giovanni's, was acting as his agent. Compellingly, if the manuscript was bought by Giovanni in the months following the July 1476 letter, then completion

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> On the 'Omnium rerum' scribe, see p. 78.

of the decoration of the frontispiece at Naples would most likely have taken place later that year or in early 1477, thereby suggesting that it is by no means possible to prove Woodley's theory without further physical analysis, possibly including radiography and spectroscopy.

The horse-head escutcheon is found in fifteen codices decorated for King Ferrante dating from c.1467 (*E-VAu* 890, a Dominican breviary) to c. 1491 (*E-VAu* 380, part of the Aquinas series), and one decorated for Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, a copy of Macrobius dated 1472, as detailed in Table 5 below. It is just possible to discern a lack of incidences of the use of the horsehead escutcheon by Ferrante in the period during the 1480s when it is being used by Cardinal Giovanni, which may be of significance for future research. It is difficult to be certain of this, however, due to the imprecision of the dating of the majority of the books.

**Table 5 | Manuscripts Decorated for Members of the Neapolitan Royal Family other than Cardinal Giovanni that Feature a Horse-Head Escutcheon**

LC: Lily crown

Date	Siglum	Content	Commissioner	Arms	Surmounting	Artist(s)	Scribe (script)
c.1467	<i>E-VAu</i> 890	Dominican Breviary	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	Rapicano	
>1470	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 2347	Bede	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	M. of I. de Chiaromonte/ ws of Matteo Felice?	Crispus
<b>1472</b>	<i>E-VAu</i> 55	Macrobius	Alfonso	Aragon	Coronet	Majorana	Mennio
c.1473	<i>E-VAu</i> 408	Valla	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	C. Rapicano	Luni
c.1473	<i>E-VAu</i> 692	Quintilian	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	C. Rapicano	Luni
>1474	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 8078	Calurnio	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	Gioacchino di Giovanni	?
1475–99	<i>E-VAu</i> 774	Brancati	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	?	?
1476/7	<i>I-Nn</i> XIV.D.20	Tinctoris: Statutes of the Order of the	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	?	Cinico

Date	Siglum	Content	Commissi oner	Arms	Surmounting	Artist(s)	Scribe (script)
		Golden Fleece					
1478	<i>GB-Mr</i> lat. 53	Prolianus	Ferrante <sup>101</sup>	Aragon	LC	Gigantibus?	? (humanist)
1479	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6793	Aristotle	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	Gioacchino di Giovanni	? (humanist)
c.1480	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 3063	Duns Scotus	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	N. Rapicano	Luni
<b>1481</b>	<i>E-VAu</i> 892	Augustine	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	?	Spera/Bran calupo (humanist)
c.1481	<i>E-VAu</i> 758	Aesop	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	Majorana	? (humanist)
1480– 93	<i>E-VAu</i> 53	Aquinas	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	Felice	Crispus (rotunda)
1489	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 495	Aquinas	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	Felice	Crispus (rotunda)
c.1490	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 7810	Filelfo	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	N. Rapicano	Lunensis
c.1491	<i>E-VAu</i> 380	Aquinas	Ferrante	Aragon	LC	Felice	Crispus (rotunda)

### 3.4 | Gold Bands

The second discrepancy concerns the surviving yellow-gold bands that fall from whatever heraldic symbol originally surmounted the escutcheon in **V** and behind the *putti*. These bands must have been heraldically appropriate to the original symbol, and they do not appear to be appropriate to the prothonotary's hat, for the following reasons. There are eighteen extant manuscripts and incunabula from Giovanni's library that still

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<sup>101</sup> It was reported in a blog post in 2012, written by John Hodgson of the John Rylands Library, that Andrew Phillips, then a student on the MA in Medieval Studies course, had identified the codex as having belonged to Giovanni by the coat of arms on the frontispiece. From the digital images, the arms appears to be that of the House of Aragon surmounted by a lily crown, and there quite clearly has been no overpainting, since the paint surface is cracking to the same extent in all relevant areas. I see no evidence for this having been prepared for anyone other than Ferrante I and the main Neapolitan royal library. See John Hodgson, 'Christianus Prolianus's *Astronomia* manuscript now digitised', in *John Rylands Library Special Collections Blog*, <https://rylandscollections.wordpress.com/2012/05/19/christianus-prolianus-astronomia-manuscript-now-digitised/> (19 May 2012).

feature, or can be said confidently to have once featured, a prothonotary's hat. Of these, nine books (*F-Pn* Rés.Z.120, *F-Pn* Rés.E.15, *F-Pn* Rés.G.YC.212, *E-VAu* 847, *A-Wn* 32, *F-Pn* Rés.D.1842, *A-Wn* 34, *I-AGI* 1, and *F-Pn* Rés.H.35) do not feature any kind of *fiocchi*, while four books (*F-Pn* lat. 7549 ([Image 97](#)), *F-Pn* lat. 8374 ([Image 98](#)), *F-Pn* lat. 6292 ([Image 99](#)), and *F-Pn* Rés.G.YC.373<sup>102</sup>) feature grey *fiocchi* in a similar style to those found in association with cardinal's hats. I have been unable to obtain images of or to inspect first-hand *E-Vasmr*, *E-VAu* 759, *F-Pn* lat. 6922, *F-Pn* lat. 7524, and *I-AGI* 2. In short, there is no evidence for the combination of gold bands with the prothonotary's hat as proposed by Woodley. This further weakens the case for a positive identification of Giovanni as the commissioner and/or recipient of **V**.

There are three extant manuscripts from Giovanni's library that feature a cardinal's hat that has not been overpainted: *GB-Gu* Hunterian. By.2.3, *E-VAu* 390, *F-R* A 13. These all feature the expected *fiocchi*, and no gold bands. It has not been possible, within the confines of the present research, to inspect the surviving cardinal's hats on the frontispieces of the incunabula *F-Pn* Rés.D.27 (1–4), *F-Pn* Rés.R.91, *F-Pn* Rés.H.63, *F-Pn* Rés.Z.185, *F-Pm* inc. 3619, but Haffner's descriptions do not relate the presence of gold bands. To my knowledge, therefore, there are no known examples of either a prothonotary's or a cardinal's hat being associated with hanging gold bands such as are seen on the frontispiece of **V**. This must be interpreted as an indication that perhaps some other heraldic device was originally painted there.

### 3.5 | The Inscription 'Cardenale'

The third discrepancy concerns the ten manuscripts that are identifiable as having belonged to Giovanni by the inscription 'cardenale', as detailed below in Table 6. These inscriptions were most likely made after Giovanni's death, on accession to the main royal library. The absence of such an inscription in **V** is evidence weighing against it having been prepared for Giovanni.

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<sup>102</sup> These *fiocchi* are described in Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 346, but the colour is not specified.

**Table 6 | Manuscripts with the Inscription ‘cardenale’**

(–): Erasure

Date	Siglum	Location	Inscription
<b>1470</b>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 3485	fol. 1 (flyleaf)	card (–) ale
1478	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 3699	front flyleaf recto	card (–)
<b>21.8.1482</b>	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 4965	front flyleaf	card (–)
1471– 1477 <sup>103</sup>	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6922	front pastedown	cardenale
c.1470	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6295	‘beginning’ <sup>104</sup>	cardenale
c.1475	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6324	front flyleaf recto	cardenale ( <a href="#">Image 100</a> )
C12th	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6637	front flyleaf recto	cardenale ( <a href="#">Image 101</a> )
<b>2.9.1469</b>	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 7524	front flyleaf	cardenale
c.1472	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 8374	front flyleaf recto	cardenale ( <a href="#">Image 102</a> )
1480–85	<i>A-Wn</i> 49	front pastedown	card (–)

### 3.6 | Other Potential Recipients

After providing examples of those manuscripts that clearly show the red cardinal’s hat having been overpainted and erased, Woodley considers the possibility that other heraldic devices might have been placed above the escutcheon in **V**. He discounts Ferrante’s daughter, Beatrice, and focuses instead on his son Alfonso (1448–1495), Duke of Calabria, later King Alfonso II after Ferrante I’s death in 1494, some of whose manuscripts feature the ducal coronet as a heraldic device. Since Alfonso was ‘a particularly energetic and generous cultural patron, with credentials for, and apparently genuine personal interests in, the support of the Neapolitan court’s literary, artistic and architectural ambitions’,<sup>105</sup> Woodley sees him as a perfectly viable, indeed attractive, candidate as commissioner of **V**, especially given the two *elogia* by Frater Fortunatus Ferrariensis, a monk of the Monteolivetan order, which appear on fols. 1v and 164r of that manuscript. Indeed, Alfonso could convincingly be linked with the Monteolivetan order through his association with the church of S. Maria de Monteoliveto (now S. Anna dei Lombardi).<sup>106</sup> Woodley asserts, however, that his analysis of manuscripts associated with Alfonso, which are reproduced in De Marinis’s and Toscano’s publications, shows that ‘the coronet was depicted only in association with the personal

<sup>103</sup> De la Mare, ‘Florentine Scribes’, 273.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Woodley, ‘Dating and Provenance’.

<sup>106</sup> See George L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples 1485–1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 109–110.

arms of the Duke of Calabria, quartered into Aragonese pali (2 and 3, or 1 and 4) and large cross of Jerusalem on a grey ground (1 and 4, or 2 and 3 respectively)', and therefore that Alfonso probably was not the commissioner of **V**.<sup>107</sup> He states that 'if future research ... can demonstrate that Alfonso's arms, while he was Duke of Calabria, did sometimes combine the coronet with the full Aragonese escutcheon as seen in **V**, as an alternative to the escutcheon proper to the Dukedom, the question of attribution to him rather than Giovanni should certainly be reopened'. I therefore wish to investigate whether or not this combination existed.

I have found twelve extant manuscripts that may be associated with Alfonso, none of which features the full Aragonese arms in combination with the coronet. These are detailed in Table 7 below. On this basis, it is tempting to conclude, like Woodley, that the only viable candidate for the commissioner of **V** is Giovanni. However, one possible scenario exists that could provide a narrative for an ascription of **V** to Alfonso. The pigments used for the escutcheon bearing the Aragonese arms, and the lily crown that surmounts it, look more vibrant than many areas of the rest of the frontispiece, and the execution is certainly more vivid and bold than the delicate rendering of the *putti*. This could be explained simply by the effect of the use of gold and the obvious difference in priority when the artist or artists were engaged in figurative as opposed to heraldic decoration. But given the fact that we may be almost certain that some overpainting of the surmounting occurred, it is not too fanciful at least to consider the possibility that the escutcheon was also overpainted, perhaps in preparation for, or after, Alfonso's coronation as King of Naples on 8 May 1494. If the manuscript had been prepared in the few years following Tinctoris's completion of *Liber de arte contrapuncti* on 11 October 1477 and then adjusted some 17 years later, this could easily account for the difference in vibrancy and vividness of the potentially refashioned areas. In this scenario, the arms of the Duke of Calabria on a horsehead escutcheon were painted initially, surmounted by a ducal coronet, as in *E-VAu* 55 ([Image 103](#)), before the later repainting. There are, however, several problems with this theory. In Alfonso's collection of books, there do not seem to be any examples of similar adjustments, unlike

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<sup>107</sup> See also Toscano, *Biblioteca reale*, 251–276.



in Giovanni's rather larger collection. It is curious that no manuscripts of Alfonso's survive from 1488 until his coronation in 1494; this could have been related to the political and economic disturbances of the late 1480s, which included the 1486 barons' revolt. Until such a time as scientific methods of profiling individual pigments are available to be deployed on location in Valencia at a manageable cost, however, there is simply not enough evidence to prove the validity of this theory. At the current time the evidence still points to Giovanni as the codex's probable commissioner, and it is on this basis that I shall proceed.

### Table 7 | Manuscripts of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria

C: coronet

DoC: Duke of Calabria

HH: horse-head

M: Milan

N: Naples

R: Rome

Date	Siglum	Content	Arms	Surmounting	Artist	Scribe
c.1465	<i>E-VAu</i> 891	Virgil	DoC	C	Maestro of Ippolita Sforza (M)	Humanistic (M)
Arms Decorated c. 1465	<i>E-VAu</i> 768	Virgil	DoC	C	Majorana (N)	Humanistic (M)
c.1470–80	<i>E-VAu</i> 691	Pliny	Doc/HH	C	Majorana/Todeschini (N)	Humanistic (N)
1471	<i>E-VAu</i> 765		DoC/Semi-round	C		
1472	<i>E-VAu</i> 55	Macrobius	DoC	C	Majorana (N)	Mennio (N)
c. 1475	<i>E-VAu</i> 833	Pontano	DoC/HH	C	Majorana (N)	Mennio (N)
c. 1475	<i>E-VAu</i> 836	Josephus	DoC/O	C	Gaspere da Padova (R)	Bartolomeo Sanvito (R)
? c.1475	<i>E-VAu</i> 52	Pontano	DoC/Mixed O & HH	C	Majorana (N)	Mennio (N)
c. 1479	<i>E-VAu</i> 384	Livy	Doc/Semi-round	C	Gerardo di Giovanni di Miniato (F)	Piero Strozzi (F)
c.1480	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6309	Aristotle	DoC/Semi-round	C	Francesco Rosselli (F)	Humanistic (F)
c. 1488	<i>E-VAu</i> 54	Columella	DoC	-	WS of Francesco Antonio del Chierico (F)	Gianfrancesco Marzi da San Gimignano (F)
c. 1488	<i>E-VAu</i> 731	Xenophon	DoC	-	WS of Francesco Antonio del Chierico (F)	Piero Strozzi (F)

In order further to interrogate the theory that **V** was completed between the last few months of 1477 and the first few of 1478, it will be useful to identify how long it might take to produce such a volume. This, however, is rather a complex question. Even though I am confident, as I shall outline in Chapter 5, to ascribe the writing of **V** and **BU** to the work of Venceslaus Crispus, a statistical analysis, based on the evidence of payment records and of the likely commissioning and completion dates of individual manuscripts, may well be flawed, since I cannot be sure that he was not working concurrently on multiple manuscripts, and there is little surviving evidence of Neapolitan royal commissioners setting deadlines for the completion of jobs of scribal work.<sup>108</sup> With these cautionary precepts in mind, however, it will be instructive to consider some examples of data concerning the speed of execution of manuscripts produced for Giovanni.

The first extant manuscript executed by the Flemish scribe Johannes de Guerne<sup>109</sup> is a copy of *Catena aurea super Iohannem* written in gothic rotunda, and one of two Neapolitan copies of the works of Thomas Aquinas currently to be in private hands. I refer to this manuscript, whose precise whereabouts are unknown, as the Drouot

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<sup>108</sup> See Jan Peter Gumbert, 'The Speed of Scribes', in Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio, eds., *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1995), 57–69. See also Eef A. Overgaauw, 'Fast or Slow, Professional or Monastic: The Writing Speed of some Late-Medieval Scribes', *Scriptorium*, 49 (1995), 211–227.

<sup>109</sup> For more on De Guerne, see Chapter 5.

Aquinas Manuscript.<sup>110</sup> The book's unusually long and informative colophon confirms that it was written in Naples and completed there on 18 November 1486 by De Guerne at the expense of Cardinal Giovanni. Poignantly, it also states that Giovanni had been sent by King Ferrante to the Pope in Rome, where he died in September 1485:

Beati Thome Aquinatis continuum in duos evangelistas per me Johannem de Guerne Flamingum, exscriptum finitumque Neapoli regnante felicissimo rege Ferdinando, anno Domini natalis millesimo quatercentesimo octogesimo sexto, decimo octavo, die novembris, sumptu illustrissimi Domini Joannis de Aragonia eiusdem Ferdinandi regis filii, sancte romane ecclesie cardinalis presbiteri, qui dum Romam a patre ad pontificem maximum missus esset vitam cum morte finivit dicto millesimo anno LXXXV mense septembris.<sup>111</sup>

In fact Giovanni died on 16 or 17 October 1485, rather than in September; there are many possible reasons for this discrepancy, which are not of great consequence here. He died of the plague in Rome after, as De Guerne relates, having been sent there by his father to ask Pope Innocent VIII for help with his war against the barons.<sup>112</sup> Giovanni must therefore have commissioned the manuscript in the months leading up to his death; indeed, he is recorded as having been in Naples in July 1485.<sup>113</sup> The production of the

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<sup>110</sup> The Drouot Aquinas Manuscript features as no. 22 in the 1508 inventory: 'Sanctus Thomas super Johannem couvert de cuyr rouge, à ouvraige doré, guarney de deux fermaus de cuyvre' (Jean Achille Deville, *Comptes de dépenses de la construction du château de Gaillon, publiés d'après les registres manuscrits des trésoriers du cardinal d'Amboise par A. Deville* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1850), 553). The codex left the Chateau de Gaillon for the monastery of Bourbon-lès-Gaillon after the end of the sixteenth century, before disappearing during the French revolution and appearing during the nineteenth century in the collection of M. Bourdin at Rouen, and passing from his collection to that of Charles Lormier (1901, no. 16) (Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 332). It was sold as lot 48 in a sale at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on 19 May 1976 (Antoine Ader, Jean-Louis Picard, Jacques Tajan, Claude Guérin, and Etienne Ader, *Manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIIe siècle: Vente à Paris, Drouot Rive gauche, 19 mai 1976* (Paris: Claude Guérin, 1976), no. 48). The copy of the sale catalogue that was sent by a member of staff at the Bibliothèque nationale de France to Albinia C. de la Mare on 24 June 1976, and which subsequently entered the library of the Warburg Institute, features a pencil annotation that the manuscript was 'bought by Schilter', or 'Schiller', at that sale. Christopher De Hamel, in *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon, 1986), 226–227, described it as being in a private collection in France. The manuscript's precise current location is unknown. See also *DMB*, ii. 161–162; and De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 271, no. 8. Described in Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 331–332.

<sup>111</sup> Transcription in Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 332. Also transcribed in De La Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 271, no. 8. See *DMB*, ii. 161.

<sup>112</sup> De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 246.

<sup>113</sup> On Giovanni's movements in 1485 see De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 246; and *DMB*, ii. 312, docs. 963 and 964.

manuscript must therefore have taken around 17 months from initial commission to completion of the text on 18 November 1486, followed by a period of decoration and then binding. A reasonable estimate for the total period of manufacture might be set at around 20 months. On this basis, if **V** were completed between the last few months of 1477 and the first few of 1478 then it could be expected to have been commissioned in early 1476. However, De Guerne was nowhere near as prolific a scribe as Crispus, and it could be inferred that Crispus was given so much work precisely because he was able to work quickly.

Certainly, we know that scribal speed was something of which to be proud from the case of Joanmarco Cinico, who worked in a fine humanistic script, was a pupil of the Florentine scribe Pietro Strozzi (b. 1416), and was a correspondent and evidently a friend of Tinctoris.<sup>114</sup> Cinico was renowned for his speed of copying and came to describe himself as ‘Velox’, which first appears in *E-VAu* 781, a 1468 copy of Pontano’s *De Principe*, wherein he describes himself as Joannes M. Velox Parmensis.<sup>115</sup> In the colophon to his 1465 copy of Pliny’s *Historia naturalis* (*I-Nn* V.I.3), Cinico relates that he completed the copying of its 635 folios in 120 days – a rate of five folios per day.<sup>116</sup> He completed his copy of Facio’s *De humanae vitae felicitate dialogus* (*I-Fl* Strozz. 109) in fifty-two hours, and the thirty-eight folios of his copy of

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<sup>114</sup> See Ronald Woodley, ‘Tinctoris’s Italian Translation of the Golden Fleece Statutes: A Text and a (Possible) Context’, *Early Music History*, 8 (1988), 173–244; Ronald Woodley, ‘The Printing and Scope of Tinctoris’s Fragmentary Treatise *De inventione et usu musice*’, *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 239–268, at 141–242; and Berthold Louis Ullmann, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960), 126.

<sup>115</sup> *DMB*, i. 47.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Joannes Marcus clarissimi et virtute et nobilitate viri Petri Strozae Florentini discipulus Marcique Rotae magni viri equidem florentini amantissimus Parmae oriundus prestantissimo liberalitate viro domino Gherardo siculi regni Prothonotario benemerito in XX ac centum dies Juvante Deo Tranquille transcripsit. Panhormi anno salutis 1465 ultima Julij valeasque legis Marcique Rotae memineris obsecro’. See *ibid.*, 46.

Albertus Magnus's *Arte di ben morire* in fifty-three hours.<sup>117</sup> However, I have no evidence to suggest that Crispus was capable of copying at anything like those rates.

In addition to the probability that Crispus worked more quickly than De Guerne, the Drouot Aquinas Manuscript is in several senses significantly larger than **V**, and hence would have taken longer to produce even at the same rate of work. Its parchment folios measure 370 × 263 mm as opposed to **V**'s 272 × 190 mm, while the dimensions of the writing block are respectively 232 × 153 mm and 172 × 105 mm, and the Drouot Aquinas Manuscript consists of 181 folios, which is slightly more than the 164 of **V**. At this stage, therefore, the estimate for the total production time of **V** might be reduced from twenty months to between twelve and fifteen months, bringing the estimated date of commission to late 1476.

Documentary evidence presented below (pp. 161–162), concerning the carefully planned and non-sequential execution of the quires constituting *F-Pn* lat. 2368, demonstrates that it is perfectly possible that work on **V** was taking place well before the completion of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* on 11 October 1477, and that different quires were in production at different times. The *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* is dated in **Br1**, on fol. 28r ([Image 104](#)), as having been completed on 6 November 1476:

Explicit liber de natura et proprietate tonorum, a magistro Joanne Tinctoris | ut predictum est compositus. quem quom | capellanus regis esset neapolis | incepit et complevit. Anno | 1476 die 6 novembris | Quoquidem anno | 15. novembris di|va beatrix ara|gonia Ungaro|rum regina | coronata | fuit – | Deo | gratias.

There is only one case in **V**, as shown in Table 8 below, where an individual treatise is copied into a discrete group of quires (*Expositio manus* into quires 1 and 2), and the rest of the works are seemingly copied in sequence, beginning with the *Liber de natura et*

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 47, no. 11. The Magnus manuscript is last recorded in the collection of C. W. Dyson Perrin in Davenham. See George F. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), 189–190, plate LXXV, *DMB*, i. 50, no. 52, where the colophon is given as 'Finisce lo tractato dell'arte del ben morire. Laus Deo. Amen. Joannes Marcus Cynicus Christi et honestatis famulus tribus et quinquaginta horis exscripsit'. See also Woodley, 'Tinctoris's Italian Translation', 175–176, n. 8, where the manuscript is described as having thirty-six folios rather than the thirty-eight given in *DMB*.

*proprietate tonorum*. If the manuscript was indeed prepared for Giovanni, and was completed in December 1477, necessitating the adjustment from the prothonotary's hat to the five-pointed lily crown after the news of his cardinalate broke, then the copying of the manuscript will have begun no earlier than November 1476. This would fit with my twelve- to fifteen-month estimate for the total production time for the manuscript. If the contrary evidence of the horse-head escutcheon means that the dating of the manuscript is as late as 1483–1484, then the production of the manuscript will have been started in 1482 or 1483.

**Table 8: Titles and Dates of Treatises in V**

Treatise Title	Date	Quire(s)
<i>Expositio manus</i>	c.1472–1473	1–2
<i>Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum</i>	Completed 6 November 1476	3–21
<i>Tractatus de notis et pausis</i>	Before 1475	
<i>Tractatus de regulari valore notarum</i>	Before 1475	
<i>Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium</i>	Before 1475	
<i>Tractatus alterationum</i>	Before 1475	
<i>Scriptum super punctis musicalibus</i>	Before 1475	
<i>Liber de arte contrapuncti</i>	Completed 11 October 1477	
<i>Proportionale musices</i>	Before 1475	

Why was the adjustment, however, made from the prothonotary's hat to the lily crown rather than to the cardinal's hat, if it occurred as a reaction to the news of Giovanni's cardinalate? In order to provide some context for this, a brief digression to consider the incunable *GB-Gu* Hunterian By.2.3 is necessary. This copy of Duns Scotus's *Questiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, is dated 26 July 1477, more than four months before the consistory that made Giovanni cardinal.<sup>118</sup> It was edited by Thomas Penketh and Bartholomaeus Bellatus, and printed in Venice by Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen de Gherretzem. Its frontispiece features the full Aragonese arms surmounted by what appears to be a cardinal's hat, including tassels. It seems perfectly reasonable to suppose that by the time the book had been sold to Giovanni and he had sent it to be decorated in Naples, his creation as cardinal had been

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<sup>118</sup> See Haffner, *Bibliothek*, 256–257; and 'Duns Scotus, Johannes: In primum librum Sententiarum', in *Glasgow Incunabula Project*, <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/incunabula/a-zofauthors-a-j/dunsscotusjohannesinprimumlibrumsententiarumvenice1477/#d.en.195010> (n.d.), Julie Gardham, *Book of the Month: John Duns Scotus, Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum*, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/jan2008.html> (2008).

announced, that being a period of only a few months. What is perplexing, however, is that, like the wings of the two supporting *putti*, the hat appears to be painted in a combination of red and silver rather than the pure red one would expect. Silver paint tarnishes, of course, with time, and indeed Julie Gardham, Senior Assistant Librarian at the University of Glasgow Library, has written of this frontispiece that ‘the silver has oxidised and tarnished over the years to a greyish black that does not reflect its original brilliance’.<sup>119</sup> This does not, however, explain the use of silver pigment. It is possible that the red pigment used had a silver base, and degradation over time has resulted in the silver appearance. It is also just possible that the manuscript was purchased and the decoration begun before 10 December, silver was initially used to render the prothonotary’s hat, and then an attempt at overpainting was made using red paint, which was unsuccessful, forcing the artist (possibly Matteo Felice) to extend the not-unattractive, but heraldically dubious combination of silver and red to the rest of the emblem and *putti*.

Whichever of these possibilities was in fact the case for *GB-Gu* Hunterian By.2.3, considering the problem does raise important questions for the history of **V**. Woodley writes that **V** ‘must have been commissioned, planned in both principle and detail, and its execution commenced, very soon after – or even, indeed, some time before – the completion of the counterpoint treatise in October 1477, destined primarily for the collection of Giovanni d’Aragona while he was still prothonotary apostolic. Then, at some point after news of the cardinalate broke – it is simply not possible to say how soon or long after – the heraldic inaccuracy led to the alterations that we see in the manuscript today.’<sup>120</sup> But if the alteration was made in 1477 or 1478 rather than after Giovanni’s death in 1485, why was the alteration made to a five-pointed lily crown rather than to a red cardinal’s hat? An example of a manuscript where the lily crown is used as an alternative to the prothonotary’s hat is *D-B* lat. fol. 28 ([Image 105](#)), which shows no sign of overpainting. It is a copy of Suetonius, *De vita XII Caesarum* and *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, that was dated 25 June 1477 at Naples, and hence was completed just a month before *GB-Gu* Hunterian By.2.3 was printed.

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<sup>119</sup> Gardham, *Book of the Month*.

<sup>120</sup> Woodley, ‘Dating and Provenance’.

Woodley states that ‘other manuscripts attest to [the use of the lily crown] by Giovanni as a valid alternative’ to the cardinal’s hat. I have found three manuscripts that support this statement strongly, first by being securely dated in their texts to after Giovanni’s cardinalate, and second by bearing no sign of overpainting, thereby suggesting that the lily crown was indeed used originally as a true alternative to the cardinal’s hat. *CH-Bgünther* ([Image 106](#)), completed on 30 December 1480, is a copy of Aquinas’s *Quaestiones de potentia dei* and *Quaestiones de malo*, while *E-VAu* 292 ([Image 107](#)), dated 1482, is a volume of Quintilian, and *E-E t.ii.5* ([Image 108](#)), a volume of Horace, is dated 1484. It is therefore possible that the alteration of **V** was indeed an overpainting of the prothonotary’s hat with the lily crown in 1477 or 1478. The example of *GB-Gu* Hunterian By.2.3 suggests that it is possible that there were indeed short-notice adjustments being made to Giovanni’s books at the time.

### 3.7 | The Neapolitan Aquinas Complex

I have mentioned above several manuscript copies of the works of Thomas Aquinas that were made for Giovanni, and I now wish to demonstrate how the series to which these codices belong forms an important and central part of Neapolitan manuscript production, and provides a means of contextualising the production of **V** within Giovanni’s book commissioning and collecting activities. This series, which may easily be interpreted as the result of an attempt to produce an ‘opera omnia’, represents the majority of manuscripts written in rotunda script at Naples in the late fifteenth century. There is a total of sixteen surviving volumes of Aquinas in rotunda script, as detailed in the ‘Scholastic’ section of Table 9 below, which also makes a full listing of other types of manuscript executed in rotunda script, 1450–1508. The Aquinas manuscripts are all of imposing height, width, and extent, and feature lavish decoration and illumination by Neapolitan artists including Cola and Nardo Rapicano and Matteo Felice.

**Table 9 | Manuscripts in Rotunda Script Made in Naples, 1450–1508**

[S]: Scribal colophon

#### *Liturgical and Musical*

Signum	Text	Date	Scribe	Artist
<i>E-VAu</i> 890	Breviary	c.1467		C. Rapicano, Majorana
<i>E-VAu</i> 887	Breviary	c.1475		Felice



Siglum	Text	Date	Scribe	Artist
<i>I-Nn</i> I.B.57	Breviary	1480	?	Majorana <sup>121</sup>
<i>GB-Cfm</i> Marl. 10	Missal	1488	?	?
<i>E-VAu</i> 391	Vespéral	c.1491	?	Majorana
<i>I-Nn</i> XV.AA.18 <sup>122</sup>	Antiphonary	1450–1475 <sup>123</sup>	?	Master of the Suffrages
<i>I-Nn</i> XV.AA.19 <sup>124</sup>	Gradual	1450–1475 <sup>125</sup>	?	Unidentified
<i>I-Nn</i> XV.AA.6 <sup>126</sup>	Antiphonary	1450–1475 <sup>127</sup>	?	
<i>I-Nn</i> I.B.23 <sup>128</sup>	Breviary	End of C15th. <sup>129</sup>	?	Unidentified
<i>I-Nn</i> I.B.26 <sup>130</sup>	Hours of BVM	1490–1500 <sup>131</sup>	?	
<i>I-Nn</i> XIV.D.28	Collectary	1506	Crispus [S]	
<i>I-Nn</i> XV.AA.17 <sup>132</sup>	Antiphonary	Early C16th	?	
<i>I-Nn</i> XV.AA.5 <sup>133</sup>	Antiphonary	Early C16th	?	Various unidentified.
<i>I-Nn</i> XV.A.16 <sup>134</sup>	Antiphonary	Early C16th	?	Unidentified

### Scholastic

Siglum	Author	Text	Date	Scribe	Artist
[Lost]	Aquinas	<i>Comento al vangelo di S. Matteo</i>	1478?	Crispus [attrib. De Marinis]	
[Lost] <sup>135</sup>	Aquinas	<i>Secunda secundae</i>	1480	Crispus [attrib. De	C. Rapicano. <sup>136</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Antonella Putaturo Murano, *Miniature napoletane del rinascimento* (Naples: Libreria scientifica editrice, 1973), 65.

<sup>122</sup> Murano, *Miniature*, 76, pl. XLIVc–d and XLV; Gennaro Toscano, *Les rois bibliophiles: enlumineurs à la cour d'Aragon à Naples (1442–1495); les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (PhD dissertation, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1992), 291 (also pl. 105). See also Virginia Brown, 'A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (III)', *Mediaeval Studies*, 56 (1994), 299–350, at 318 and 328, concerning some fragments found in the binding.

<sup>123</sup> Murano, *Miniature*, 77.

<sup>124</sup> Produced at the Monteolivetan monastery in Naples. 570 × 400 mm, 223 fols. See *ibid.*, 75.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> Produced at the Monteolivetan monastery in Naples. 154 fols, 640 × 450 mm. See *ibid.*, 76 and pl. XLIVa.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>128</sup> 381 fols., 293 × 208 mm. See *ibid.*, 70, and pl. XXXIV and XXXVb.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>130</sup> 186 fols. 275 × 190 mm. One column of gothic script. Produced at the Monteolivetan monastery. See *Ibid.*, 74–75, pl. XXXIX–XLIII.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>132</sup> Produced at the Monteolivetan monastery in Naples. Decoration includes musical instruments. 134 fols. 615 × 450 mm. See *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>133</sup> 665 × 460 mm, 105 fols. Contains chant notation (the end of a four-line stave is just visible in Murano's plate XLIVd, a detail of fol. 35v).

<sup>134</sup> Produced at the Monteolivetan monastery in Naples. 625 × 490 mm, 77 fols. See Vito Fornari, *Notizie della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples: Detken, 1874), 78–79; Raffaele Arnese, *I codici notati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1967), 184, n. 62; Guerriera Guerrieri, *Mostra bibliografica per la storia della Chiesa in Campania e in Calabria: Anno Santo 1950* (Naples: Biblioteca Nazionale, 1950), 45; and Murano, *Miniature*, 78.

Signum	Author	Text	Date	Scribe	Artist
				Marinis]	
CH-Bgünther	Aquinas	<i>Quaestiones de potentia dei. Quaestiones de malo.</i>	30 Dec 1480	Burdegalensis <sup>137</sup>	Felice
E-VAu 47 <sup>138</sup>	Aquinas	<i>Quaestiones disputatae de spiritualibus creaturis, de anima, de unione verbi incarnati, de virtutibus.</i>	c.1481 <sup>139</sup>	Unsigned	C. Rapicano
[Lost]	Aquinas	<i>Prima pars summae</i>	1483	Crispus [S]	?
E-VAu 395	Aquinas	<i>Summa theologiae; Prima secundae</i>	14 Feb 1484	Crispus [S]	Majorana <sup>140</sup>
F-LO 7	Aquinas	<i>Super primo libro Sententiarum</i>	2 Sep 1484	Crispus [S]	N. Rapicano
I-Nn VII.B.4	Aquinas	<i>Super Sententiarum</i>	2 Sep 1484	Burdegalensis	C. Rapicano
E-VAu 390	Albertus Magnus	<i>Summa theologiae sive De mirabili scientia Dei</i>	c.1484	?	
Drouot Aquinas Manuscript <sup>141</sup>	Aquinas	<i>Catena aurea Super Lucam et Iohannem</i>	1486	De Guerne	?
F-PN Smith-Lesouëf 14	Aquinas	<i>Super tertium Sententiarum</i>	1486	Crispus [S]	?
[Lost]	Aquinas	<i>Sopra lo secundo de lo maestro de le sentencie</i>	1488	Crispus	
F-PN lat. 495	Aquinas	<i>Expositio litteralis in Isaïam</i>	1489	Crispus [S]	Felice
F-LO 8	Aquinas	<i>Super secundo libro Sententiarum</i>	1489	Crispus [S]	Majorana
[Lost] <sup>142</sup>	Aquinas	<i>Sopra lo psalmista</i>	1491	Crispus	?
F-G 344 <sup>143</sup>	Aquinas	<i>Explanatio in metaphysicam</i>	14 Oct	Crispus [S]	?

<sup>135</sup> See *DMB*, i. 63; and Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona in Napoli* (Rocca S. Casciano: Licino Cappelli, 1897), LXIII, n. 8.

<sup>136</sup> Possibly the codex whose decoration Cola Rapicano finished in November 1480. See *DMB*, i. 63; and ii. 269–270, doc. 566.

<sup>137</sup> My attribution in Chapter 5.1.

<sup>138</sup> No. 17 in 1508 inventory: 'Diversa opera sancti Thome de malo, couvert de cuyr violet, garny de fermaus de loton, en façon de coquille'. No colophon. Undated. See *DMB*, i. 147, no. 10, ii. 163; ii. 269–270, fig. 239; and doc. 566, of 30 November 1480. See also Destrez and Chenu, 'Collection', 322.

<sup>139</sup> See *DMB*, ii. 269–270, doc. 566.

<sup>140</sup> See De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 271.

<sup>141</sup> See *DMB*, i. 66.

<sup>142</sup> Evidence of this manuscript survives solely in a *Cedole* record of 15 February 1491. De Marinis's transcription (*DMB*, ii. 291, doc. 760) reads 'Al detto, dicto di, VIII ducati, II tari, X grani li sonno comandati donare per lo scrivere ha facto cio e in corregere et addicione de quaterni XXXIII del opera de sancto Thomase sopra lo psalmista de foglio reale a raho de I tari, V grani lo quaterno quali li ha consignati.'

Siglum	Author	Text	Date	Scribe	Artist
		<i>Aristotelis</i>	1491		
[Lost] <sup>144</sup>	Aquinas	<i>Sopra le epistole de S. Paulo ad Galatas</i>	1491	Crispus [S]	Matteo Felice. <sup>145</sup>
[Lost]	Aquinas	<i>Sopra le epistole de sancto Paulo</i>	1491	De Guerne	?
[Lost] <sup>146</sup>	Aquinas	<i>Tractatus de reprobatione vitiorum</i>	1492	Crispus	?
<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 674	Aquinas	<i>Expositio in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos</i>	1492	Crispus [attrib. De Marinis]	Matteo Felice. <sup>147</sup>
<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 6525	Aquinas	<i>Commentaria in libros Aristotelis De celo et mundo et super libros De generatione et corruptione</i>	1493	Crispus [S]	Matteo Felice. <sup>148</sup>
<i>V-CVbav</i> Ross. 292	Aquinas	<i>In evangelium S. Joannis</i>	1493	Crispus [S]	?
[Lost].	Alexander of Hales	<i>Summa in Sentenciis</i>	1493	De Guerne	?
<i>F-LO</i> 5	Aquinas	<i>Catena aurea in Matthaeum, Super Marcum</i>	n.d	Crispus. <sup>149</sup>	N. Rapicano
[Location]	Aquinas	<i>Quodlibeta</i>	n.d	Attrib. Crispus. <sup>151</sup>	?

<sup>143</sup> Colophon: ‘Beati Thome Aquinatis, ex religio|sa predicatorum familia tam philo|sophice discipline quam theologicæ | ueritatis professoris explana|tionem quam cernis in aristo|telis metaphysicam inclutus | Ferdinandus dei clementia | rex semper inuictus sue bi|bliothecæ apposuit abso|lutam Venceslao Crispo | bohemo scriptore. Anno reparationis humane millesimo | CCCCLXXXI. XVI Kalendas | Novembris’. Documentary evidence of this manuscript survives in two *Cedole* entries of 15 February 1491. De Marinis’s transcription of the first reads ‘A Vincilao de Boemia scriptore XI ducati, I tarì quali li sonno comandati donare per lo scrivere ha facto de septe quaterni de foglio reale bolugnese de lictera moderna sopra la methafisica de Aristotile a raho de VIII tarì lo quaterno et quelli ha consignati a XI del presente’, and the second ‘Al dicto, dicto di, VI ducati, II tarì quali li sonno comandati donare per lo prezo de quattro quaterni de scripti de volume reale de lictera moderna de lopera de sancto Thomaso sopra la Methafisica a raho de VIII tarì lo quaterno q quilli ha consignati ut supra a XVIII de decembro proximo paxato 1490’ (*DMB*, ii. 291, docs. 759 and 761). Also doc. 768. See *DMB*, i. 64, no. 14, which is superseded by suppl. vol. i. 90 (where a facsimile of the colophon is provided); and Hyacinthe-François Dondaine and Hugues Vincent Shooner, *Codices manuscripti operum Thomae de Aquino*, 3 vols. (Rome: Commissio Leonina, 1967–1985), ii. 29, no. 1071.

<sup>144</sup> ‘Venceslaus Crispus Bohemus exscripsit’. See Omont, *Catalogue*, 18, and *DMB*, i. 64.

<sup>145</sup> *DMB*, ii. 291–292, doc. 763 shows that Matteo Felice decorated a codex with this title in March 1491.

<sup>146</sup> Evidence of this manuscript survives solely in a *Cedole* entry of 5 December 1492. De Marinis’s transcription reads ‘A Joan Marco Cinico scriptore del señor Re a di V decembris XI ducati, III tarì, X grani in dieci ducati in oro scarsi a XI carlini et mezo lo ducato doro, lo resto in moneta; a lo quale lo dicto señor li commanda dare per altri tanti a bistracti a Lanczilloto de Boemia scriptore per la scriptura de quattordicy quinterni et cinque carte de volume comune piczolo de lictera moderna a pacto facto quale tracta De reprobacione viciorum, et quilli ha consignati in la libreria de Soa maestà in potire de Baltassaro Scarigla a IIII de novembro proxime paxato’ (*DMB*, ii. 303, doc. 879).

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 300, doc. 847.

<sup>149</sup> Attributed by De Marinis (Ibid., i. 64; and ii. 161).

Signum	Author	Text	Date	Scribe	Artist
unknown] <sup>150</sup>					
E-VAu 53	Aquinas	<i>Catena aurea in Marcum</i>	n.d.	Attrib. Crispus.	Matteo Felice
E-VAu 380	Aquinas	<i>Aurea expositio sancti Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios</i>	n.d.	Attrib. Crispus.	Matteo Felice
I-Nn XIII.A.18 <sup>152</sup>	Thomas of Strasbourg	<i>In quartum librum Sententiarum secundum Thomam de Argentina</i>	Before 1485. <sup>153</sup>	Cursive gothic	Tedeschino

### Patristic

Signum	Author	Text	Date	Scribe	Artist
US-BEb UCB 9	Jerome	<i>Vitae Patrum</i>	1474	Della Monaca	C. Rapicano
F-Pn lat. 2368	Bede	<i>Expositio in Apocalipsim</i>	1480	Crispus [S]	
I-MC 405	Usuardus	<i>Martyrologium</i>	1486	Crispus [S]	?
F-Pn lat. 2347	Bede	<i>Expositio in Parabolas Salomonis</i>	n.d.	Crispus [S]	?

### Other

Signum	Author	Text	Date	Scribe	Artist
I-Nn XIII.F.24 <sup>154</sup>		<i>Vita di S. Giovanni Battista</i>	1490–1500. <sup>155</sup>	Humanistic	?

## 3.8 | Later History of V

After King Ferrante I's death in 1494, King Charles VIII of France invaded Italy, initially facing little opposition, and taking Naples in 1495, only for his gains to be lost almost immediately through the actions of the League of Venice. It was during this conflict, in 1495, that some of the books of the Neapolitan royal library, in addition to tapestries, paintings, and sculptures in marble and porphyry, were seized by King Charles for the French royal library.<sup>156</sup> Reportedly, 1140 books were looted (*'unze cent*

<sup>151</sup> Attributed by Mazzatinti, loc. cit.

<sup>150</sup> Last recorded in the collection of M. Bourdin of Rouen. See *DMB*, i. 64 and ii. 159. Also Omont, *Catalogue*, 4, and Mazzatinti, *Biblioteca*, 180, no. 608.

<sup>152</sup> See Murano, *Miniature*, 71, and pl. XXXVa.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 68, pl. XXIX a–d.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> See Ludovic Lalanne, 'Transport d'oeuvres d'art de Naples au château d'Amboise en 1495', *Archives de l'art français*, 2 (1852–1853), 305–306.

*quarante livres de toutes sortes apportés de Napples*'), but **V** was not one of them, and hence it remained in Naples.<sup>157</sup>

Several of the Aquinas manuscripts formed part of a sale (which did not include **V**) of 28 manuscripts in 1501 by Federico III, the last Aragonese King of Naples, who was exiled to France, to Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, who kept his extensive collections at the Château de Gaillon near Rouen, of which city he was Archbishop.<sup>158</sup> These volumes are detailed in an inventory of 1508, and were owned successively by the subsequent archbishops of Rouen, Cardinal Charles II de Bourbon-Vendôme (1550–1590) and Cardinal Charles III de Bourbon-Vendôme (1562–1594). The latter left part of the archiepiscopal library to the Jesuits of the Collège de Clermont, and the other part to his nephew, the king of France.

The Treaty of Granada, an agreement between King Louis XII of France and King Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain that they would invade Naples and divide it between them, was signed on 11 November 1500.<sup>159</sup> Federico I of Naples consequently sent his eleven-year old son and heir, Fernando of Aragon, Duke of Calabria (1488–1550), to Taranto, 300 kilometres west of Naples, on the south coast of Italy. Observing the worrying progress of the French troops in the northern Italian provinces, Federico fled to the Castello Aragonese on the island of Ischia, just beyond the bay of Naples, in September 1501, with his consort, Isabella del Balzo, his eldest daughter Charlotte (c.1479/1480–1506), and his three other young children.<sup>160</sup> Their possessions, including the collections of the royal library, were evidently sent ahead, since on 10 August 1501, an entry in the account book of the royal household records a payment made to Federico del Tuffo, who was responsible for transporting twenty-one cases of books, explicitly

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<sup>157</sup> 'Declaration des ... livres en latin et en francais, italien, grec et esbrieu appartenant a la Royne Duchesse Anna di Bretagna', 7 September 1498, transcribed in *DMB*, i. 200, n. 8. Quoted in Paolo Cherchi and Teresa de Robertis, 'Un inventario della biblioteca aragonese', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 33 (1990), 109–347, at 109.

<sup>158</sup> See Gennaro Toscano, 'Rinascimento in Normandia: i codici della biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona acquistati da Georges d'Amboise', *Chroniques italiennes*, 29 (1992), 77–87.

<sup>159</sup> Michael Edward Mallett and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494–1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow: Pearson, 2012), 58.

<sup>160</sup> William M. McMurry, 'Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, and the Estensi: A Relationship Honored in Music', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 8/3 (1977), 17–30, at 20.

including **V**, from the library from the marina on Ischia to the castle: ‘la portatura de XXI casse di libri de la libreria, da la marina de Hischia al castello de dicta terra’.<sup>161</sup> At some point in 1501 or 1502, while the royal library was on Ischia, a complete inventory was made by Joanne Antonio de Costanzo, who was in charge of the library at that time, and was completed by, and received in ‘Lione’ on, 28 October 1502.<sup>162</sup>

Having recently returned to Naples from Hungary, Beatrice of Aragon also joined them on the island, along with Isabella of Aragon, widow of the Duke of Milan (1470–1524).<sup>163</sup> Federico, turning from the King of Spain, who had betrayed him, appealed to King Louis XII of France to leave him the Kingdom of Naples. Louis would not agree to that, but instead offered Federico the Duchy of Anjou, in addition to financial compensation, should he surrender his kingdom. Federico accepted, and set sail for France on 6 September 1502. Isabella del Balzo and the rest of the royal family joined him in Tours by the end of 1502.<sup>164</sup> The royal library, including **V**, was sent by sea to the port of Marseille, and then overland to Tours. It may have been on this leg of the books’ journey that more than 100 suffered water damage, which resulted in their subsequent sale at Ferrara (see below).

While Federico and the other members of the Aragonese family were on Ischia, the Spanish army, led by Gonzalo of Cordoba, landed at Tropea in July 1501, and took the regions of Calabria and Puglia – a significant proportion of southern Italy – in no more than a month. At Taranto, where Fernando of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, was being protected, Cordoba’s troops met with stiff resistance and laid siege to the town.<sup>165</sup> Terms were negotiated by the Count of Potenza, who was in charge of the Neapolitan

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<sup>161</sup> The account book is *E-Mah* 562B, fol. 4r. Del Tuffo’s name appears also on fols. 3v, 41v, 61r, and 68v. See Santiago López-Ríos, ‘A New Inventory of the Royal Aragonese Library of Naples’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 65 (2002), 201–243, at 202.

<sup>162</sup> This is known due to an entry ‘in a list of the possessions of the Aragonese dynasty of Naples, compiled in Ferrara on 10 May 1529’: ‘lo inventario de tutti li libri del Re che restarno in poter de Joanne Antonio de Costanzo in Ischia, receputo in Lione a 28 de ottubro 1502’. Quoted in López-Ríos, ‘A New Inventory’, 202. See Giuseppe M. March, ‘Alcuni inventari di Casa d’Aragona compilati in Ferrara nel secolo XVI’, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 60 (1935), 287–333, at 321.

<sup>163</sup> Beatrice arrived on the evening of Monday 16 March, 1501. See Albert de Berzevitz, *Béatrice, Reine de Hongrie (1457–1508)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion 1911–1912), i. 250–251.

<sup>164</sup> McMurry, ‘Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria’, 20.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

troops, which were meant to secure Fernando's safe passage to France, and Taranto was surrendered accordingly on 1 March 1502. Due to intervention by the Spanish king, however, Fernando was captured at Bitonto and sent into exile in Spain.<sup>166</sup> Upon arrival at the Spanish court in 1502, he was not imprisoned, but rather he was permitted free movement within the court under close supervision – a state of affairs that continued for a decade.

Meanwhile, after Federico's death by fever at Tours, on 9 November 1504, the French King Louis XII failed to pay the arranged annual allowance to his widow Isabella del Balzo, placing her and her children in severe financial difficulties.<sup>167</sup> It was as a result of these difficulties that she sold a number of books, gems, and other valuable goods, to Cardinal Georges Amboise.<sup>168</sup> A 1508 inventory, entitled *Aultre librairie achaptée par mon dit seigneur, du roy Frédéric*, lists 138 manuscripts, including works by Augustine, Aquinas, Athanasius, Quintilian, Bede, Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, Gregory, Ovid, Livy, Plutarch, Virgil, Plato, and Aristotle.<sup>169</sup> Written by Jacques de Castignolles, it also lists chandeliers, silverware, coral, and a *gibeciere*, among other valuable items.<sup>170</sup> Yet again, V escaped this sale. In 1505, by way of an article of the Treaty of Blois, the Spanish King Ferdinand the Catholic sought the expulsion of the remaining Neapolitan royals from Anjou by the French king, with the intention that they should resettle in Spain.<sup>171</sup> Rather than accepting the Spanish king's offer of domicile, in 1507 Isabella moved to Gazzuolo, near Mantua, to join her sister Antonia.<sup>172</sup> In May 1508, Isabella found sanctuary at the court of Ferrara under Alfonso I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara (r. 1505–1534),<sup>173</sup> living in the Palazzo di San Francesco.<sup>174</sup> Federico del Tuffo, who had remained with Isabella since Federico's death, organised the transportation of Isabella's

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> The inventory is published in Jean Achille Deville, *Comptes de dépenses de la construction du château de Gaillon, publiés d'après les registres manuscrits des trésoriers du cardinal d'Amboise par A. Deville* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1850), 552–559. See also Gennaro Toscano, 'Rinascimento in Normandia', 77–87.

<sup>170</sup> Deville, *Comptes de dépenses*, 559.

<sup>171</sup> McMurtry, 'Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria', 21.

<sup>172</sup> López-Ríos, 'A New Inventory', 201.

<sup>173</sup> McMurtry, 'Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria', 21; and López-Ríos, 'A New Inventory', 204.

<sup>174</sup> López-Ríos, 'A New Inventory', 201.

possessions from Gazzuolo to Ferrara.<sup>175</sup> In September 1508, shortly after Isabella arrived in Ferrara, Calcagnini delivered a Latin oration at the memorial service held in Ferrara for Beatrice of Aragon, Isabella's sister in law.<sup>176</sup>

By 1512, Fernando had gained the trust of Ferdinand the Catholic, who left him as 'viceroy in Barcelona', while he travelled to Italy. Fernando took the opportunity to hatch a plan to escape to France to rejoin the other Aragonese royal family. The Spanish king returned sooner than expected, though, discovered the plot, and imprisoned Fernando in Játiva on 4 November 1512, where he remained for eleven years until his release on 13 December 1523.<sup>177</sup> Fernando was made vice-regent of Valencia by Emperor Charles V in 1526.<sup>178</sup>

Shortly before Fernando's release, on 4 July 1523, Isabella del Balzo sold more than 100 of the remaining books of the Neapolitan royal library to the 'humanist and book collector' Celio Calcagnini (1479–1541).<sup>179</sup> This is recorded in *E-Mah* 562b, fols. 17r–29r, an inventory compiled by Federico del Tuffo, who at that time held the title 'guardaroba minore'. This 1523 inventory was, at least in part, based on that made at Ischia in 1501 or 1502 (see above); after the 126th entry is recorded 'Li sopra scripti centi vinti sei volumi de libri sonno noctati a lo inventario grande fate in Isca'.<sup>180</sup> At the end of the inventory is a passage that states the reason for the sale, that 'most of the books were in poor condition due to water damage incurred when they were transported from Ischia to Marseille and then from Marseille to Ferrara':

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<sup>175</sup> Letter of Isabella del Balzo to Francesco Gonzaga, January 1508, in Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, 803, fol. 54. Cited in López-Ríos, 'A New Inventory', 202.

<sup>176</sup> López-Ríos, 'A New Inventory', 209.

<sup>177</sup> McMurry, 'Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria', 23.

<sup>178</sup> See Woodley, 'Proportionale', 130; and Jerry Call, Charles Hamm, and Herbert Kellman, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 vols. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler Verlag, 1979–1988) iv. 3.

<sup>179</sup> López-Ríos, 'A New Inventory', 201. Though López-Ríos's article states that the inventory was 'newly found' in 2002, the Calcagnini sale was discussed, including the information about water damage in transit (see below), in Toribio del Campillo, 'El Cancionero de Pedro Marcuello', in Juan Valera, ed., *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo en el año vigésimo de su profesorado*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1899), i. 758.

<sup>180</sup> López-Ríos, 'A New Inventory', 201 and 238.



Tucti li predicti centi trenta dui volumi de libri son stati venducti al predicto micer Celio Calcagnino per lo predicto precio de lire cento cinquanta, de acordo, per causa che la maior parte de dicti libri erano guasti per causa se bagnarno quando forno portati da Ischa in Marcerglia et de Marciglia in Ferrara et ancora a multi erano cadutte le lettere per la lore antiquita. De le quale lire cento cinquanta lo dicto Federico del Tuffo se ne fara introito et ne dara conto. Et per che de tale ordine et venditione el dicto Federico non & mandato alcuno de Vostra Maesta piazza ad quella signarli lo presente memoriale, lo quale li sia sufficiente cautella a lo rendere de soi conti.<sup>181</sup>

There are two musical books listed in the 1523 transaction: one volume of Isidore (no. 107 in López-Ríos's catalogue), 'Isidori musica, in membrana, de lettera antiqua, in quarto de foglio. La prima carta e caduca e rotta per antiquitai, figurato secondo la materia. Rosicato a lo spino sopra la coperta. Coperto russo stampato, con doe ciappe et cinta de seti nigro', and one of Boethius (no. 108), 'Musica Boetii, de lettera bastarda, a colonelli, in forma bastarda. Coperto russo con quattro ciappe et cinti nigri'.<sup>182</sup>

In 1527, Isabella del Balzo sent 306 books, including **V**, from Ferrara to Fernando in Valencia.<sup>183</sup> The consignment, which also included arms, furnishings, jewellery, and cloth, is documented in an inventory written that year.<sup>184</sup> Dated 1 October 1527, the document was drawn up by order of Isabella and Fernando, and in the presence of Fernando's envoy Hieronimo Furnari (Girolamo Fornari), and Cola de Gervasiis and Rinaldo Ottavante, Isabella's *guardarrobba* and *scrivano de ratione*, respectively:

Inventario de robbe de la guardarrobba de lo illustrissimo signore Don Ferrante de Aragona Duca de Callabria, le quali per ordine de la serenissima signora Regina Ysabella, matre de lo preditto illustrissimo signore, et per ordine de lo preditto illustrissimo signore ordinando al magnifico Messer Hieronimo Furnari creato de sua signoria, lo quale lo have mandato da Valencia alla predetta signora Regina con ordine et instructione la quale guardarrobba per servitio de sua signoria sia consignata ad Cola de Gervasiis, guardarrobba de la predetta signora Regina. Le quale robbe se comenzano a consignare pr< >rara a me Cola preditto con interventione et per mano del magnifico Messer Rinaldo Ottavante fiorentino, scrivano de ratione de casa de la preditta signora Regina. Le quale robbe erano in potere del magnifico Messer Federico del Tufo guardarrobba maggiore. Incomenzando al primo de ottobre 1527.

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<sup>181</sup> Transcribed in *ibid.*, 239–240.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

<sup>183</sup> Cherchi and De Robertis, 'Inventario', 109–347.

<sup>184</sup> *E-VAu* 947, fols. 62r–135r.

From this introduction we learn that Del Tuffo had, by 1527, been promoted to ‘*guardaroba maggiore*’.<sup>185</sup> The inventory divides the books first into two groups; one group of books written in Latin, of which there are 229 items, and the other of books in the vernacular, of which there are 77. The vernacular books are divided into sub-categories of theology (with a different section for printed theological books), philosophy, history, and poetry, while the Latin books are subcategorised into theology, grammar, oratory, poetry, history, astrology and cosmography, cosmography and geometry, philosophy, printed books, and music. There are four books in the music section, of which **V** appears first, as no. 214. It is followed by three books of polyphonic music: a collection of settings of the Salve Regina (no. 215), a book of motets (no. 216), and a book of masses (no. 217).

The entry concerning **V** begins on fol. 111v. It reads:

Elogium seu instrutio Fortunati Ferrariensis in arte musices Iohannis Temptioris, de volume de foglio commune, scripto de littera formata in carta bergamena. Miniato nella prima fazata de uno casamento (fol. 112r) con la imagine de David sonando la baldosa et con la imagine de lo auctore et altre imagine, et con le arme aragonie reale. Comenza de littere maiuscole formate *Optimis moribus ac plerique ingenuis artibus ornatissimo*, et in fine facta etiam *facta nostra es antitonatis eras*. Coperto de coiro rosso stampato de gruppi [bands] de oro, senza chiudende. Signato Tintoris primo; notato alo imballaturo a ff. 100, partita 3<sup>a</sup>.

The fact that **V** is described as ‘signato Tintoris primo’ is of great interest. It would appear to suggest that at some stage there had been at least one more volume of Tintoris in the royal library, or indeed perhaps in that of Giovanni of Aragon.<sup>186</sup> The fact that **V** no longer features the marking may easily be explained by the modern restoration of the binding. **BU** does not present a particularly good candidate for being the ‘other’ Tintoris volume from either library, first because it retains its original binding and bears no sign of being labelled as part of a series of volumes, and second because it differs significantly in size from **V**. Third, it would be somewhat unexpected for the scriptorium to produce ‘Tintoris 1’ and ‘Tintoris 2’ where both volumes

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<sup>185</sup> López-Ríos, ‘A New Inventory’, 202; and Cherchi and De Robertis, 135. The 1501/1502 Ischian inventory was in Ferrara until at least 1529, but is now lost.

<sup>186</sup> Ronald Woodley has speculated about the existence of a companion volume to **V**, based on the wording of its index page. See ‘*Proportionale*’, 125; and ‘Printing and Scope’, 254.

contain the same texts. Other authors' works are similarly described in the 1527 inventory; the manuscripts of Aquinas are ordered as set out below in Table 10.

**Table 10 | Aquinas Manuscripts in the 1527 Inventory**

Volume Description	Inventory Number	Imballaturo Part	Text	Modern Shelfmark
'Signato Thome 1'	49	1	<i>Questiones disputatae</i>	E-VAu 47
'Signato Thome 2'	50	3a	<i>De regno ad regem Cypri</i>	E-VAu 840
'Signato Thome 3'	51	4a	<i>Aurea expositio sancti Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios</i>	E-VAu 380
'Signato Thome 4'	52	4a	<i>De regimine principum</i>	E-VAu 759
'Signato Thome 5'	53	4a	<i>De ente et essentia</i>	E-VAu 847

The 1527 inventory is organised as one might expect the books to have been arranged in a library, and hence the music books are numbered consecutively within it. This method of organisation was not, however, reflected in the manner in which the books were actually transported to Valencia. The *imballaturo*, which is referred to at the end of the description of **V**, relates to another document: a packing list for the consignment, which is now lost. We learn from the entry on **V** that it was included in part 3a. The codex was therefore packed with 60 other items: 177, 208, 158, 18C, 254, 27, 33, 173, 137, 175, 4, 261, 118, 17, 169, 3, 3 (no. 4), 8, 168, 104, 111, 76, 135, 170, 129, 88, 43, 253, 50, 214, 80, 265, 241, 300, 302, 294, 181, 164, 42, 67, 235, 60, 54, 84, 100, 72, 144, 186, 297, 225, 98, 269, 40, 183, 86, 245, 73, 233, 153, and 221.

I give the following full citations relating to the three books of polyphonic music in the 1527 inventory as an aid to the future identification of these apparently significant volumes, that have been hitherto unknown to musicologists. The entry describing the collection of settings of the *Salve Regina* (no. 215) is as follows:

Et piú uno libro de canto figurato, de foglio comune scripto et notato in carta bergamena. Al comenzamento *Salve regina*, et in fine *sicut erat tacet*. Coperto de velluto vecchio negro, con 4 chiudende de ottone. Videlicet. Signato Salve II; notato alo imballaturo a ff. 227, partita 4<sup>a</sup>.

The entry concerning the book of motets (no. 216) reads:

Piú un altro libro de canto figurato de volume de foglio comune, scripto et notato canzoni et muttetti alla francese in carta bergamena. Comenza *Etous biene est ma maistituisse*, et in fine *contra puis que si bien meste advenu*.

Coperto de velluto negro con 12 coquiglie de rame che serveno per cantuni et per chiudende. Signato Mottetti 3; notato alo imballaturo a ff. 227, partita 2<sup>a</sup>.

The book of masses (no. 217) was described as follows:

Et piú uno libro de canto figurato de messe, de foglio regale, scripto et notato in carta bambacina. Comenza *Sequitur tabula istius libri*, et in fine *contra sermone blando*. Coperto de coiro rosso, con 4 chiudende. Signato Messale 24; notato alo imballaturo a ff. 193, partita 4<sup>a</sup>.

On the death of Fernando of Aragon in 1550, **V** was bequeathed, along with 794 other books, to the Hieronymite monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia.<sup>187</sup> When the monastery was suppressed in 1825, **V** was one of 235 manuscripts that passed to the Valencia University Library, where it remains.

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<sup>187</sup> McMurry, 'Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria', 25.

## Chapter 4 | Description of Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2573

### 4.1 | Heading

1. Pressmark: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2573.
2. Title: *IO. TINCTORIUS* [sic]: *EXPLANATIO MUSICALIS*.<sup>1</sup>
3. Language: Latin.
4. Date and origin: c.1486–1488. Early 1490s.<sup>2</sup> Naples.

### 4.2 | Contents

- i. Original paper pastedown. Features a pinned- and pasted-in patch of leather with the inscription in blue ink, in a sixteenth-, seventeenth-, or possibly eighteenth-century hand ‘Jo: Tinctoris | Music: discipl: | Libri IX. | M–9:’, which is probably a library shelfmark, and ‘[in ink] 2573 | [in print] EX BIB.S.SALVATORIS | [in ink] 178’, an ex-libris label of the Biblioteca di San Salvatore, Bologna, where the manuscript’s shelfmark was 178.
  - ii. Blank.
1. Fol. 1r. Stamp: ‘R.BIBLIOTECA DELL’UNIVERSITA | DI BOLOGNA=MANOSCRITTI–| No. [handwritten in black ink] 2573’
  2. Fols. 1v–2r. Three-part motet *Virgo Dei throno digna*. Rubric at head of fol. 1v: ‘Joannes tinctoris’. Text underlay as rendered in all three parts: ‘Virgo dei throno digna. spes | unica musicorum. devote plebi | cantorum. esto clemens | et benigna.’ Clefs: C2 [*Superius*], C4 (Tenor.), F4 (Contratenor). White void mensural notation. Concordances:
    - a. *US-NH* 91, fols. 80v–81r.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is the title stamped in gold on the spine of the binding, probably during the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Ronald Woodley, *Johannes Tinctoris: Biographical Outline*, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/Tinctoris/BiographicalOutline> (2013).

<sup>3</sup> Melin (*Opera omnia*, xii–xiii) gives the wrong folio numbers for this concordance.

- b. *I-Fn* Banco rari 229, fols. 19v–20r.
- c. *PL-Kj* Mus. 40098, no. 259.
- d. *D-Mu* 8° 322, no. 6, fols. 6r–6v.<sup>4</sup>
- e. *CH-SGs* 463, fol. 7r. Incomplete: superius only.
- f. Ottaviano Petrucci, printer, *Motetti A* (Venice: Petrucci, 1502<sup>1</sup>, repr. 1505), fols. 49v–50r.

Published editions:

- a. Johannes Wolf, *Sing- und Spielmusik aus älterer Zeit* (Leipzig: Quelle, 1926), no. 15.
  - b. William Melin, ed., *Johanni [sic] Tinctoris Opera omnia* (*Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 18; n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1976), 126–128.
  - c. Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), i. 195.
3. Fol. 2v. Main table of contents: ‘*Librorum musicalis discipline quos presens | volumen complectitur: titularis ordo hic est. | Explanatio manus musicalis: | De tonorum musicalium natura et proprietate: | De notis et pausis musicalibus: | De regulari ualore notarum: | De imperfectione notarum: | De punctis musicalibus: | De arte contrapuncti: | Proportionale musices:’*. Features a (probably nineteenth-century) stamp of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in red ink.
  4. Fols. 3r–17v. *Expositio manus*. Incipit: ‘*Joannis Tinctoris musices professoris clarissimi in | explanationem musicalis manus proemium incipit:’*. Explicit: ‘*Quo fit. ut sine manus cognitione | neminem in ipsa musica preclarum contingat evaldere:’* Published editions:

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<sup>4</sup> Melin, *ibid.*, gives this erroneously as no. 7.

- a. Albert Seay, ed., *Johannis Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, 2 vols. plus iia in 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975–1978), i. 31–57.
  - b. Ronald Woodley, ed.,  
[http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/expositio\\_manus/expositio\\_manus.html](http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/expositio_manus/expositio_manus.html).
  - c. Ronald Woodley, Jeffrey J. Dean, and David Lewis, eds., *Johannes Tinctoris: Complete Theoretical Works* (Hereafter *TCTW*),  
<http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/> (forthcoming).
5. Fols. 17v–18v. Table of contents for *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*. Incipit: ‘Catalogus capitulorum in hoc libro de natura | et proprietate tonorum. ordinatim contentorum.’
6. Fols. 19r–46v. *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*. Incipit: ‘Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum a magistro | Joanne tinctoris legum artium *que* professore compositus. | feliciter incipit :’. Explicit: ‘Finit liber de natura | et proprietate tonorum.’ Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 65–104.
  - b. *TCTW* (forthcoming).
7. Fols. 47r–52r. *Tractatus de notis et pausis*. Incipit: ‘Incipit prologus in librum de notis et pausis.’ Explicit: ‘Finit tractatulus de notis | et pausis musicalibus.’ Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 109–120.
  - b. *TCTW*, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/denotisetpausis>.
8. Fols. 52v–60v. *Tractatus de regulari valore notarum*. Incipit: ‘Joannis tinctoris musici clarissimi in tractatum | de regulari valore notarum prologus incipit:’. Explicit: ‘Finit tractatus de regulari valore notarum musicalium.’ Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 125–138.

- b. *TCTW*,  
<http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deregularivalorenotarum>.
9. Fols. 60v–75r *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*. Incipit: ‘nunc de imperfectione earundem notarum | tractatus incipit:’. Explicit: ‘Finit tractatus de imperfectione notarum musicalium’. Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 143–167.
  - b. *TCTW*,  
<http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deimperfectionenotarum>.
10. Fols. 75r–79r. *Tractatus alterationum*. Incipit: ‘nunc de alteratione earundem incipit:’. Explicit: ‘Scriptum de imperfectione notarum musicalium explicit:’.
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 173–179.
  - b. [http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tractatus\\_alterationum/tractatus\\_alterationum.html](http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tractatus_alterationum/tractatus_alterationum.html).
  - c. *TCTW*,  
<http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/dealterationenotarum>.
11. Fols. 79r–87r. *Scriptum super punctis musicalibus*. Incipit: ‘Nunc | de punctis musicalibus: prologus incipit:’. Explicit: ‘Et hec depunctis mihi scripsisse sufficit in | quoquidem scripto si aliquos punxerim. par|cant mihi precorum quoniam si me circa aliquid | errasse invenerint et pungere uoluerint | eis profecto levissime parcam: | Finit’. Published editions:
  - a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, i. 185–198.
  - b. *TCTW*, <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/depunctis>.
12. Fols. 87v–89v. Table of contents for *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Incipit: ‘Tabula capitulorum hoc in libro de arte contrapuncti contentorum :’. Explicit: ‘Operis



conclusio in qua assiduitas tam componendi quam super librum cavendi ad artem in utroque consequendam plurimum commendatur: Ca. ix.’.

- a. Gianluca D’Agostino, ed., *Johannes Tinctoris: Proportionale musices; Liber de arte contrapuncti* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2008), 130–137.

- b. TCTW,  
<http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deartecontrapuncti>.

13. Fols. 89v–166r. *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Incipit: Prologus: Sacratissimo gloriosissimo que principi | Ferdinando dei gratia Hierusalem ac | sicilie regi Joannes tinctoris. in ter musicos eius minimus: observantiam immortalem.’ Explicit: ‘O referant grates. quoniam non possumus ipsi | Dii tibi referunt si pia facta vident.’ Published editions:

- a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, ii. 11–157.
- b. D’Agostino *Proportionale musices; Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 136–381.
- c. TCTW,  
<http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deartecontrapuncti>.

14. Fols. 167r–190v. *Proportionale musices*. Incipit: ‘Joannis Tinctoris. musice professoris: Proportionale | musices: incipit.’ Explicit: ‘Quo et in presenti et in futuro | seculo bene. beateque vivere possit. A M E N. finis.’ Published editions:

- a. Seay, *Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, iia. 11–157.
- b. D’Agostino, *Proportionale musices; Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 24–101.
- c. TCTW (forthcoming).

### 4.3 | Make-up of the manuscript

1. Foliation: i + 190 + i. Modern arabic foliation in black ink.

The front flyleaf (235 × 168 mm) is formed of a paper bifolium sewn into the stitching block, the first recto of which is pasted to the binding. The chainlines of the paper are rather indistinct, though it is possible to discern intermittent vertical chainlines at a distance of 125 mm, in exactly the same disposition as those on the rear flyleaf, which are much clearer. This leaf also features vertical lines that do not appear to be chainlines, but rather impressions left by the paper at some point having been folded; they are at distances (working left to right on the recto) of 43, 42, 42, and 38 mm.

The rear flyleaf (235 × 166 mm) is also formed of a paper bifolium sewn into the stitching block, the second verso of which is pasted to the binding. The paper features vertical chainlines at a distance of 42 mm and a single watermark of the letter P in a circle surmounted by a six-pointed star. Since this is a new discovery, I shall proceed to document the watermark in some detail and reflect upon its significance for the dating of **BU**. [Image 109](#) and [Image 110](#) (close-up) are photographs I took with a hand-held camera of the watermark illuminated using a fibre-optic light sheet, and viewed from the recto, in order that the letter P is in its correct orientation. I was kindly permitted to use the University of Bologna's 'Mondo Nuovo' multispectral imaging machine ([Images 111](#) and [112](#)) to create images using raked ultra-violet ([Image 113](#)) and infra-red light ([Image 114](#)). These images reveal small additional details of the contour of the impressions left by the watermark.<sup>5</sup> Detailed measurements of the watermark are given in [Image 115](#). There is a total of twenty-eight wire lines within the circle.

The only other watermarks I have found that are composed of a letter P in a circle, surmounted by a star, are in copies of Ognibene da Lonigo's commentary on Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which was printed in Venice by Nicolaus Battibovis and

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<sup>5</sup> It has not proven possible to obtain beta- or electron-radiographs of this watermark.

which bears the publication date 13 May 1486. I have inspected copies in Dublin (*IRL-Dtc* TT.dd.49) and London (*GB-Lbl* IB.22719).<sup>6</sup> The Dublin copy indeed features a watermark that is similar to that of **BU**, but the styles of the letter ‘P’ and the star are quite different. [Image 116](#) shows fol. y vi<sup>r</sup> with transmitted natural light, while [Image 117](#) is the same image after digital manipulation to enhance the clarity of the shape of the watermark and includes measurements.<sup>7</sup>

Nicolaus Battibovis used his brother Antonius’s workshop to print this book,<sup>8</sup> which was his only work, and so I have also inspected the following books printed by Antonius, but have not found further examples of similar watermarks:

- a. Ovid: *Fasti* with the commentary of Paulus Marsus, printed at Venice on 27 August 1485. *GB-Lbl* IB.22715.<sup>9</sup>
- b. Persius: *Satyrae* with the commentary of Bartholomaeus Fontius, printed at Venice on 17 September 1485. *GB-Lbl* IB.22717.
- c. Tibullus: *Elegiae, sive Carmina* with the commentary of Bernardinus Cyllenius, printed at Venice on 3 March 1485. *GB-Lbl* IB.22713.

There are no matches for the watermark in Briquet, *Les filigranes*, or Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Buchstabe P*.<sup>10</sup> The latter collection, despite being a three-

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<sup>6</sup> For a full list of the current locations of surviving copies of this imprint, see ‘Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus. Pharsalia. Comm: Omnibonus Leonicensis’, in British Library, *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, <http://istc.bl.uk/search/search.html?operation=record&rsid=250854&q=10> (n.d.). On the Dublin copy, see Thomas K. Abbott, *Catalogue of Fifteenth-Century Books in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co., Ltd., 1905), no. 345. Note that Abbott’s catalogue gives the wrong shelfmark.

<sup>7</sup> The result of a colour level adjustment using GIMP. Regrettably, similar enhancement techniques applied to the **BU** watermark do not yield such useful results.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus: Pharsalia’ (Venice: Nicolaus Battibovis, 13 May 1486), University of Otago Library, <http://www.otago.ac.nz/library/treasures/incunabula/details.php?item=17> (n.d.).

<sup>9</sup> ‘Ovidius Naso, Publius: Fasti. Comm: Paulus Marsus’, in British Library, *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, <http://istc.bl.uk/search/search.html?operation=record&rsid=252031&q=1> (n.d.).

<sup>10</sup> Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968); and Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Buchstabe P*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977).

volume set of watermarks of the letter P sadly is predominantly composed of gothic letters P, with very few roman Ps, very few in circles, and none of which are similar to the example on **BU**'s rear flyleaf. Nicola Barone's publication on watermarks in the Neapolitan archives also yields no matches.<sup>11</sup> Searches of the comprehensive Bernstein *Memory of Paper* website, which indexes approximately 200,000 data records, across twenty-eight databases, have not been of help.<sup>12</sup> I have also consulted the *Wasserzeichen des Mittelalters* database and *Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries*, to no avail.<sup>13</sup> I must therefore conclude that until a match for this watermark is found, it will not be possible to use it as evidence for the dating of **BU**.

2. Materials: Leather, bronze, parchment, paper, ink, paint, and gold.
3. Dimensions of parchment leaves: 165–170 mm from quire fold, varying through the codex. Height: 235 ± 1 mm.
4. Dimensions of written space: One column, 154 × 102 mm.
5. Ruling and pricking: One pair of vertical lines was first ruled in plummet to describe the left- and right-hand extent of the written space. The inner vertical line is 22 mm from the gutter, while the outer line is 44 mm from the outer edge of the folio. Following that, a further pair of horizontal lines was ruled to describe the upper and lower extent of the written space, the upper marginal space being 27 mm and the lower 54 mm. No evidence of pricking is visible, despite the fact that the binding is fairly loose.
6. Number of lines per page/column: Thirty-two horizontal lines are ruled at 5 mm intervals in plummet within the written space on each page. Both the textual script and the ink-ruling of musical staves follow these guidelines.

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<sup>11</sup> Nicola Barone, 'Le filigrane delle antiche cartiere nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato in Napoli dal XIII al XV secolo', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 14 (1889), 69–96.

<sup>12</sup> Bernstein, *The Memory of Paper*,  
[http://www.memoryofpaper.eu:8080/BernsteinPortal/appl\\_start\\_disp#](http://www.memoryofpaper.eu:8080/BernsteinPortal/appl_start_disp#), (n.d.).

<sup>13</sup> *Wasserzeichen des Mittelalters* <http://www.wzma.at/> (n.d.), *Watermarks in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, Koninklijke Bibliotheek <http://watermark.kb.nl/> (n.d.).

7. Collation and arrangement of sheets: i, 1<sup>2</sup> (fols. 1–2), 2<sup>8</sup>–19<sup>8</sup> (fols. 3–146), 20<sup>10</sup> (fols. 147–156), 21<sup>10</sup> (fols. 157–166), 22<sup>8</sup>–24<sup>8</sup> (fols. 167–190), ii.
8. Quire signatures: There are few quire signatures that survive completely intact in this manuscript, due to trimming. The remaining evidence, as shown below in Table 11, shows a continuous alphabetic sequence a–y for quires 2–21, with a numeral following the letter to identify the folio’s position within the quire. I believe that a new sequence began in quire 22, based on the remaining c''' signature on fol. 184r. Since the *Proportionale musices* begins where the sequence changes, and unusually is preceded by a blank page, it is conceivable that this final section of the codex was prepared separately. It is significant that quires 20 and 21 are quinterns, following a long run of quaterns from the beginning of the codex. This indeed suggests a structural division between quires 22–4, which restart in quaterns, and the preceding quires.

**Table 11 | Quire Signatures in BU**

Quire	Folio	Quire Signature
1	-	-
3	12r	vertical stroke
3	13r	b3 (partial)
3	14r	b4
5	29r	d3
5	30r	d4 (partial)
6	36r	e2
6	37r	e3
6	38r	e4
7	44r	trace (f2)
7	45r	loop (f3)
7	46r	f4
8	51r	g1 (partial)
8	52r	g2
8	54r	g4
9	60r	h2
9	62r	h4 (partial)
10	69r	i3
10	70r	i4
11	75r	k1
11	76r	k2
11	77r	k3
11	78r	k4
12	85r	l3
12	86r	l4
13	91r	m1
13	92r	m2 (partial)
13	93r	m3

Quire	Folio	Quire Signature
13	94r	trace (m4)
14	99r	n1
14	100r	n2
14	101r	n3
14	102r	n4 (partial)
15	107r	trace (o1)
15	109r	trace (o3)
19	139r	trace (r1)
19	140r	trace (r2)
19	141r	trace (r3)
19	142r	trace (r4)
20	149r	trace (s3)
20	150r	s3 (partial)
20	151r	s5 (partial)
21	159r	v3
21	160r	v4 (partial)
21	161r	v5 (partial)
23	178r	top of a loop (b""?)
24	184r	c"
24	185r	c (""?)
24	186r	c (""?)

9. Catchwords: Catchwords are found on the left side of the verso before the beginning of the next quire, beneath the final word of the folio, at 90 degrees to the rest of the text and facing away from the spine. They are as described in the following Table 12.

**Table 12 | Catchwords in BU**

Quire	Folio	Catchword
1	10v	Porto
2	18v	liber.
3	26v	de formatione
4	34v	Exempla
5	42v	De finibus
6	50v	Salve
7	58v	minori <sup>14</sup>
8	66v	Si vero punctus.
9	74v	dicta sufficient
10	82v	exemplum de puncto.
11	90v	vn de quem admodum
12	98v	.tenor:
13	106v	quomodo terciamdecimam
14	114v	imperfecta vocatur.
15	122v	Quomodo vicesi(mam)
16	130v	.constat.
17	138v	.ex mixtur(a)
18	146v	.brevium et.
19	156v	ut cetera.
20	166v	-

<sup>14</sup> Here it appears a previous catchword has been scratched out and overwritten.

21	174v	hec <i>autem</i> pro(portio)
22	182v	Item non(ulla)
23	190	-

#### 4.4 | Handwriting

1. Script used for text: Gothic rotunda. The height of regular letters is consistently 2.5 mm throughout.
2. Scribe: Venceslaus Crispus. See Chapter 5.
3. Amendments and corrections: See Chapter 7.

#### 4.5 | Decoration

1. Class 1 initials (I1): Used to mark the beginnings of treatises and books within treatises. In general, though with exceptions detailed below, the marginal extensions for I1 initials that mark the beginnings of treatises are more elaborate. As in **V**, Class 1 initials are mostly either 6- or 7-line, though in **BU** they may also be 4- or 5-line due to local constraints.
  - a. Fol. 3r. Space left for incomplete 8-line initial of ‘Moribus’. The initial was probably intended to form part of a full-border painted frontispiece, hence its being left until the final stages of production. The reasons for which the frontispiece was never decorated are unclear, but if circumstances did not permit the perhaps lengthy period of time required to paint a frontispiece or, indeed, if the heraldic requirements of the design became unclear, then it may have been thought appropriate to include the motet at the beginning to function as a (perhaps temporary) substitute for a frontispiece.<sup>15</sup> The fact that the motet is written on a discrete bifolium rather than appearing at the beginning of a regular quire supports this theory.

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<sup>15</sup> This idea was first suggested in Ronald Woodley, ‘Bologna 2573 and the Naples–Hungary Axis’, paper given at the international conference ‘Johannes Tinctoris and Music Theory in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance’, Chancellor’s Hall, Senate House, University of London, 9 October 2014.

- b. Fol. 19r. 4-line initial of 'Prestantissimus'. Marks beginning of *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*. The fundamental letter form is described in purple and detailed with white tracery. The interior of the lobe is filled with a gold band around a blue infilling decorated with white tracery. At the midpoint of the top of the lobe is a red oval, and at the midpoint of the base of the lobe is a blue oval. These prefigure the alternation of red and blue in the lower-order initials and paraph marks that follow throughout the codex. From the ovals appear foliate sprouts in green and blue. The initial, and the full-length vertical extension in the left margin, have a brown background and are surrounded by a border created with a single line of black ink. The vertical extension is headed, footed and bisected by blue and green mouldings. The right-hand division of the upper sector and the left-hand division of the lower sector of the vertical extension are coloured purple and blue, respectively. These mirror the purple and blue used in the main letter form. From the top of the vertical extension extends a vine featuring a purple and a blue flower, two red berries, green foliage, and twenty-four black bezants with bristles. The equivalent vine at the base of the design features a blue flower, five red berries, the same green foliage, and thirty-six black bezants with bristles.
- c. Fol. 20r. 6-line initial of 'SECundum'. Marks the beginning of Chapter 1 of *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*. The main painted area is in the same style as the previous initial, but the marginal extension is much simpler, being a stylised development of the 'black bezant' motif in black ink.
- d. Fol. 47r. 6-line initial of 'EGregio'. Marks the beginning of *De notis et pausis*. The decoration, which is in the more elaborate style of fol. 19r, in the left margin extends above the top line and below the bottom line of the writing block.



- e. Fol. 52v. 6-line initial of 'Cogitanti' Marks the beginning of *De regulari valore notarum*. Decoration, in the more elaborate style, in left margin extends above top line and below bottom line of writing block.
  
- f. Fol. 61r. 6-line initial of 'ARTIS' Marks the beginning of *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*. Decoration, in the more elaborate style, in left margin extends above top line and below bottom line of writing block.
  
- g. Fol. 68v. 5-line initial of 'Tractato' Marks the beginning of Book 2 of *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*. The centre of the initial is notable for the artist's choice of red, possibly influenced by the amount of rubric of the page and the red pen-flourishing of the I2 initial. Decoration, in the more elaborate style, in left margin extends above top line and below bottom line of writing block.
  
- h. Fol. 75r. 6-line initial of 'Sanctissimo' Marks the beginning of *Tractatus alterationum*. Decoration, in the more elaborate style, in left margin extends above top line and below bottom line of writing block. Includes some stylised bristly bezants in the simpler style.
  
- i. Fol. 79r. 6-line initial of 'Cum'. Marks beginning of *Super punctis musicalibus*. Decoration, in the more elaborate style, in left margin extends above top line and below bottom line of writing block. The centre of the initial is notable for the artist's choice of green and the flowers depicted in the tracery thereupon.
  
- j. Fol. 89v. 7-line initial of 'SACRATISSIMO'. Marks beginning of *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Decoration, in the more elaborate style, in left margin extends above top line and below bottom line of writing block.
  
- k. Fol. 133v. 6-line initial of 'Postquam'. Marks beginning of Book 2 of *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and hence the 18-line marginal decoration is in the simpler style.

- l. Fol. 160r. 6-line initial of 'Quoniam'. Marks beginning of Book 3 of *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. 15-line decoration in the simpler style.
  - m. Fol. 167r. 6-line initial of 'Sacratisimo'. While the initial itself is in the same style as previous examples, the marginal extension is here developed into a border decoration that fully encloses the writing block. While forming a continuous loop that never terminates in a floral spray, there are thirty-one bezants with black centres, white petal-like surroundings, and black bristles, in addition to one red flower in each corner and a further arrangement of four – two red and two blue – at the base of the design.
  - n. Fol. 168r. 6-line initial of 'Proportio'. Marks beginning of Book 1 of *Proportionale musices*.
  - o. Fol. 180v. 6-line initial of 'Quinimmo'. Marks beginning of Book 2 of *Proportionale musices*. The centre of the lobe of the initial is decorated in a deep red paint with a distinctive brushwork design that occupies a middle ground between foliate extension and the more abstract style of tracery elaboration.
  - p. Fol. 182r. 6-line initial of 'Tractato'. Unusually, though this initial marks the beginning of Book 3 of *Proportionale musices*, it is accorded a marginal extension that terminates in vine flourishes above and below the writing block, which is otherwise reserved for the beginnings of treatises.
2. Class 2 initials: 221 initials, usually 4-line, though very occasionally 2- or 3-line due to local space constraints. Used to denote the beginnings of chapters, and therefore one hierarchical level down from Class 1 initials. In each Class 2 initial, the letter shape is rendered in gold or in blue ink, and ornamented with penwork tracery in, respectively, dark-violet or red ink. The initials alternate between blue and gold lettering, with the appropriate secondary colour. The tracery describes a square around the initial and then extends

into the left margin, sometimes filling it and passing the writing block at both top and bottom. Unlike in **V**, the decorator never uses red as the primary colour for I2s.

3. Class 3 initials: 331 initials. 2-line initials. Used mainly to itemise rules, ‘methods’, and other technical categories such as intervals and proportions in lists within chapters. Alternating combinations of red letter with blue ink tracery and blue with red. The tracery is limited to describing the square surrounding the letter shape and features only very slight extension into the left margin. Also used to mark the beginning of the underlay of musical examples.
4. Paraphs: Alternating red and blue ink. Used to mark beginnings of chapter titles in tables of contents, before rubrics that announce the titles of chapters, before list items in running text, to mark the beginnings of new units of meaning (roughly equivalent to the modern concept of paragraph separation), and to begin the underlay of musical examples.
  - a. Other illustrations:

Fol. 4r: Full-page painted illustration ([Image 118](#)) of a left hand with a purple sleeve covering a dark blue undergarment.<sup>16</sup> The blue shading to the left of the hand is a stylistic marker of the work of Nardo Rapicano. It is painted fleshside as expected, since this provides the smoother surface for the application of paint.

#### **4.6 | Synoptic Presentation of Physical Structure, Decoration, and Textual Content of BU**

The following Table 13 provides a means of visualising the relationships between the physical structure, the textual content, and the decorative structure of the manuscripts with an ease that is difficult to achieve otherwise.

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<sup>16</sup> The colour of the sleeve is possibly intended to represent pavonazzo fabric; see Chapter 6.1.

**Table 13 | Synoptic Presentation of Physical Structure, Decoration, and Textual Content of BU**

I1: Class 1 initial. I2: Class 2 initial. I3: Class 3 initial. PD: painted decoration. ID: inked decoration.

*n*: height in text lines. FP: full page. HP: half page.

R: red. B: blue. G: gold. P: polychrome. Unf: unfinished

C*n*: chapter *n*. B*n*: book *n*. U: text underlay of musical example. ToC: table of contents.

Shading is intended to aid the visualisation of divisions between quires.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
1	1	1	R	F	-	-	-	
			V	H	I3	2	B	<b>Motet: <i>Virgo Dei throno digna</i></b>
	2	2	R	H	I3	2	B	
			v	F	I3	2	B	ToC
2	1	3	r	F	I1 I2	8 4	Unf P	<b><i>Expositio manus</i></b> C1
			v	H	-	-	-	
	2	4	r	H	I2	4	G	C2
			v	F	PD	FP	P	
	3	5	r	F	-	-	-	
			v	H	-	-	-	
	4	6	r	H	I2	4	G	C3
			v	F	-	-	-	
	5	7	r	F	-	-	-	
			v	H	-	-	-	
	6	8	r	H	I2	4	B	C4
			v	F	-	-	-	
	7	9	r	F	I2	4	G	C5
			v	H	I2	4	B	C6
	8	10	r	H	-	-	-	
			v	F	-	-	-	
3	1	11	r	F	I3	2	B	- second section
			v	H	-	-	-	
	2	12	r	H	I2	4	G	C7
			v	F	-	-	-	
	3	13	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	4	14	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
	5	15	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	6	16	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I2	4	B	C8
	7	17	r	f	-	-	-	

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
4			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	B <sup>17</sup> R	C9 ToC: <i>Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum</i>
			r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
	8	18	r	f	I1	4	P	<i>Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum</i>
			v	h	-	-	-	
	2	20	r	h	I1	6	P	C1
			v	f	-	-	-	
	3	21	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	4	22	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C2 - Secunda ex semitonio et ditono
					I3	2	B	- Tercia ex ditono et semitonio
	5	23	r	f	I3	2	Unf <sup>18</sup>	- Species vero diapente quatuor inveniuntur
					I3	2	B	- Secunda ex secunda specie diatessaron et tono
					I3	2	R	- Tercia ex tritono et semitonio
			v	h	I3 I2 I2	2 4 3	R G B	- Quarta ex tertia specie diatessaron et tono C3 <sup>19</sup> C4
	6	24	r	h	I2 I2	3 4	B G	C5 C6

<sup>17</sup> Here, the I2 alternation B-G-B-G is broken.

<sup>18</sup> Here, space is left for an I3 initial, but only a paraph is inserted, resulting in the word 'Species' lacking its initial letter completely. This is evidence that the paraphs were inserted after all the text and music examples had been finished. Certainly, the text corrector is unlikely to have allowed such a mistake as the complete omission of the first letter of a word, such is his attention to detail. My interpretation is that the decorator had such difficulty squeezing in the previous initial 'Tercia' on fol. 22v that he decided an I3 'S' was simply not viable in the space left for it without impinging on the music example. It would appear that the decorator may have extended the top staff line to meet the paraph in an attempt to integrate the two elements. Interestingly, the blue-red I3 sequence continues as though the I3 initial had been executed.

<sup>19</sup> The 'Capitulum III' rubric is omitted.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
					I2	3	B	C7
			v	f	I2	3	B	C8
	7	25	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	8	26	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
5	1	27	r	f	I2	4	B	C9
					I2	4	G	C10
					I2	4	B	C11
			v	h	I2	4	B	C12
	2	28	r	h	I2	4	G	C13
			v	f	I2	4	B	C14
	3	29	r	f	I2	4	G	C15
			v	h	I2	4	B	C16
	4	30	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I2	4	G	C17
	5	31			I2	4	B	C18
			r	f	I2	4	G	C19
	6	32	v	h	I2	4	B	C20
			r	h	I2	4	G	C21
	7	33	v	f	I2	4	B	C22
			r	h	I2	4	G	C23
	8	34	v	f	I2	4	B	C24
			r	h	I2	4	G	C25
					I2	4	B	C26
			v	f	I2	4	B	C27
6	1	35	r	f	I2	4	G	C28
			v	h	I2	4	B	C29
	2	36	r	h	I2	4	B	C30
			v	f	-	-	-	
	3	37	r	f	I2	4	G	C31
			v	h	I2	4	G	C32
	4	38			I2	4	B	C33
			r	h	I2	4	G	C34
	5	39	v	f	I2	4	B	C35
			r	h	-	-	-	
	6	40	v	h	I2	4	B	C36
			r	f	I2	4	G	C37
	7	41			I2	4	G	C38
			r	h	I2	4	B	C39
	8	42	v	f	I2	4	G	C40
			r	h	I2	4	G	C41
7	1	43	v	h	I2	4	B	C42
			r	f	I2	4	G	C43
	2	44			I2	4	B	C44
			r	h	I2	4	G	C45
	3	45	v	f	I2	4	B	C46
			r	h	I2	4	G	C47
	4	46	v	h	I2	4	B	C48
			r	f	I2	4	G	C49
	5	47			I2	4	B	C50
			r	h	I2	4	G	C51
					I1	6	P	C52
			v	f	I2	4	B	C53

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
					I2	4	B	C4
	6	48	r	h	I2	4	B	C5
					I2	4	G	C6
					I2	4	B	C7
			v	f	I2	4	B	C8
	7	49	r	f	I2	4	B	C9
					I2	4	G	C10
					I3	2	B	- Rule 1
					I3	2	R	- Rule 2
					I3	2	B	- Rule 3
					I3	2	R	- Rule 4
			v	h	I3	2	R	- Rule 5
					I3	2	B	- Rule 6
					I3	2	R	- Rule 7
					I2	4	B	C11
	8	50	r	h	I2	4	G	C12
					I3	2	B	- Rule 1
					I3	2	R	- Rule 2
8	1	51	r	f	I2	4	G	<b>B2:</b> C1
					I2	4	B	C2
			v	h	I2	4	B	C3
	2	52	r	h	I2	4	G	C4
					I2	4	B	C5
	3	53	r	h	I2	4	G	Conclusion
					I1	6	P	<i>De regulari valore notarum</i>
	4	54	r	f	I2	4	B	C1
					I2	4	G	C2
	5	55	r	h	I2	4	G	C3
					I2	4	B	C4
	6	56	r	f	I2	4	G	C5
					I2	4	B	C6
	7	57	r	h	I2	4	G	C7
					I2	4	B	C8
	8	58	r	f	I2	4	G	C9
					I2	4	B	C10
	9	59	r	h	I2	4	G	C11
					I2	4	B	C12
	10	60	r	f	I2	4	G	C13
					I2	4	B	C14

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
9	8	58	v	h	I2 I2	4 3	G B	C21 C22
			r	h	I2 I2	4 3	G B	C23 C24
			v	f	I2 I2	4 3	G B	C25 C26
	1	59	r	f	I2 I2/3	4 2	G B	C27 C28
			v	h	I2	4	B	C29
	2	60	r	h	I2 I2	4 3	G B	C30 C31
			v	f	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C32 C33
10	3	61	r	f	I1 I2	6 4	P G	<i>Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium</i> <b>B1</b> : Prologue C1
			v	h	-	-	-	
	4	62	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I2	4	B	C2
	5	63	r	f	I2 I3 I3	4 2 2	G B R	C3 - Rule 1 - Rule 2
			v	h	I3	2	R/Unf <sup>20</sup>	- Rule 3
	6	64	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 4 - Rule 5
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 6 - Rule 7
	7	65	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 8 - Rule 9 'part a'
			v	h	-	-	-	
	8	66	r	h	I3	2	B	- Rule 9 'part a'
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 10 - Rule 11
	1	67	r	f	I3	2	B	- Rule 12
			v	h	-	-	-	
	2	68	r	h	I3	2	R	- Rule 13
			v	f	I1	5	P	<b>B2</b> : C1

<sup>20</sup> The decorator has completed the red letter form T, but has not begun the blue tracery. Since the initial is unfinished, the small guide letter t remains to the right.



Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
					I2 I3	4 2	B R	C2 - a
	3	69	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- b - c
			v	h	I2 I3 I3 I3 I3	4 2 2 2 2	B R B R B	C3 - Method 1 - Method 2 - Method 3 - Method 4
	4	70	r	h	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	B R B R	- Method 5 - Method 6 - Method 7 - Method 8
			v	f	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	R B R B	- Method 9 - Method 10 - Method 11 - Method 12
	5	71	r	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Method 13 - Method 14 - Method 15
			v	h	I2 I3 I3	4 2 2	B R B	C4 - perfect tempus - major prolation
	6	72	r	h	I2 I3 I3 I3 I3	4 2 2 2 2	G B R B R	C5 - Method 1 - Method 2 - Method 3 - Method 4
			v	f	I3 I3 I3 I2	2 2 2 2	R B R B	- Method 5 - Method 6

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
								- Method 7 C6
	7	73	r	f	I3 I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2 2	B R B R B	- Major prolation - 3 methods - Method 1 - Method 2 - Method 3
			v	h	I2 I2 I3	4 4 2	G B R	C7 C8 - Sign 1
	8	74	r	h	I3	2	B	- Sign 2
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Sign 3 Conclusion
	11	75	r	f	I1	6	P	<b>Tractatus alterationum:</b> Prologue
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C1 - Rule 1
		76	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 2 - Rule 3
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Rule 4
		77	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Rule 5 - Rule 6
			v	h	I3	2	R	- Rule 7
		78	r	h	I3 I2	2 4	B G	- Rule 8 C2
			v	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	R B R	- Breve - Semibreve - Minim
		79	r	f	I2 I1 I2	4 6 3	G P B	C3 (conclusion) <b>Super punctis musicalibus</b> Prologue C1
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C2 C3
	6	80	r	h	I2	4	B	C4
			v	f	I2	4	G	C5

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
					I2	4	B	C6
	7	81	r	f	I2	4	G	- imperfect <sup>21</sup>
					I2	4	B	C7
			v	h	I2	4	B	- a <sup>22</sup>
					I3	2	R	- b
					I3	2	B	- c
	8	82	r	h	I2	4	G	C8
					I3	2	B	- a
			v	f	I3	2	B	- b
					I3	2	R	- c
12	1	83	r	f	I3	2	B	- a
					I3	2	R	- b
			v	h	I3	2	B	- c
					I2	4	B	C10
	2	84	r	h	I2	4	B	- a
					I3	2	R	C11
			v	f	I2	4	G	C12
					I2	4	B	C13
	3	85	r	f	I3	2	B	- a
					I2	4	G	- b
			v	h	I3	2	B	C14
					I2	4	B	C15
	4	86	r	h	I3	2	B	C16
					I3	2	G	C17
			v	f	I3	2	B	C18
					I2	4	B	C19
	5	87	r	f	I2	4	G	C20
					-	-	-	ToC for <i>Liber de arte contrapuncti</i>
			v	h	-	-	-	
					-	-	-	
	6	88	r	h	-	-	-	
					-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
					-	-	-	
	7	89	r	h	-	-	-	
					-	-	-	
			v	f	I1	7	P	<i>Liber de arte contrapuncti</i>
					-	-	-	
13	1	91	r	f	-	-	-	
					I2	4	G	B1: C1
					I3	2	B	C2

<sup>21</sup> I3 expected here, while I2 is supplied.

<sup>22</sup> I3 expected here, while I2 is supplied.

<sup>23</sup> Lacks pen flourishing.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
14			v	h	-	-	-	
	2	92	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
	3	93	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	I2 <sup>24</sup>	3	B	C3
	4	94	r	h	I3	2	B	- Unison
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Third - Fifth
	5	95	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Sixth - Octave
			v	h	I2	4	B	C4
	6	96	r	h	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Unison - Third - Fifth
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Sixth - Octave
	7	97	r	f	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	R B R B	- Tenth - Third below unison - Other thirds - Fifth
			v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Sixth - Octave
	8	98	r	h	I3 I2	2 4	B G	- Tenth C5
			v	f	-	-	-	
	1	99	r	f	I2	4	G	C6
			v	h	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	B R B R	- Unison - Third - Fifth

<sup>24</sup> Though this is only a three-line initial due to space restrictions, I have categorised it as I2 because of the fact that the pen flourishing extends almost the full border height, and the initial marks the beginning of a chapter.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text		
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)			
								- Sixth		
	2	100	r	h	I3	2	B	- Octave		
					I3	2	R	- Tenth		
					I3	2	B	- Twelfth		
			v	f	I3	2	B	- Unison		
	I3	2			R	- Third				
	I3	2			B	- Other fifth				
	I3	2			R	- Sixth				
	3	101	r	f	I3	2	R	- Octave		
					I3	2	B	- Tenth		
			I3	2	R	- Twelfth				
	v	h	I2	4	B	C7				
			r	h	-	-	-			
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Sixth		
	5	103	r	f	I3	2	B	- Fifth		
					I3	2	R	- Sixth		
					I3	2	B	- Octave		
					I3	2	R	- Tenth		
	v	h	I3	2	B	- Twelfth				
			I3	2	R	- Sixth				
			6	104	r	h	I3	2	B	- Fifth
							I3	2	R	- Sixth
	I3	2					B	- Octave		
	I3	2					R	- Tenth		
	v	f	I3	2	R	- Twelfth				
			I2	4	B	C8				
	7	105	r	f	I3	2	B	- Third		
					I3	2	R	- Fifth		
					I3	2	B	- Sixth		

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
			v	h	I3	2	B	- Octave
					I3	2	R	- Tenth
					I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
	8	106	r	h	I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	R	- Third
15		107	r	f	I3	2	B	- Fifth
					I3	2	R	- Seventh
			v	h	I3	2	B	- Ninth
					I3	2	R	- Eleventh
	2	108	r	h	I3	2	B	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	R	- Fifteenth
			v	f	I3	2	B	- Seventeenth
					I3	2	R	- Nineteenth
	3	109	r	f	I3	2	B	- Twentieth
					I3	2	R	- Twenty-first
					I3	2	B	- Twenty-third
					I3	2	R	- Twenty-fifth

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
	4	110	v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Twelfth - Fifteenth
			r	h	I3 I3 I2	2 2 4	R B G	- Seventeenth - Tenth C10
			v	f	-	-	-	
	5	111	r	f	I2	4	G	C11
			v	h	-	-	-	-
	6	112	r	h	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	B R B R	- Twelfth - Sixth - Octave - Tenth
			v	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	R B R	- Twelfth - Thirteenth - Fifteenth
	7	113	r	f	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	B R B R	- Seventeenth - Nineteenth - Twelfth - Sixth
			v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Octave - Tenth
	8	114	r	h	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	B R B R	- Twelfth - Thirteenth - Fifteenth - Seventeenth
			v	f	I3 I2	2 4	R B	- Nineteenth C12
16	1	115	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	2	116	r	h	I3	2	B	- Thirteenth
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	R B	- Twelfth

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth - Fifteenth
	3	117	r	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Seventeenth - Nineteenth - Thirteenth
			v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Twelfth - Thirteenth
	4	118	r	h	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	R B R	- Fifteenth - Seventeenth - Nineteenth
			v	f	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C13 - Tenth
	5	119	r	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Twelfth - Thirteenth - Fifteenth
			v	h	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Seventeenth - Nineteenth - Twentieth
	6	120	r	h	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Twenty-second - Fifteenth - Twelfth
			v	f	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	B R B R	- Thirteenth - Fifteenth - Seventeenth - Nineteenth
	7	121	r	f	I3 I3 I2	2 2 4	B R G	- Twentieth - Twenty-second
			v	h	I3	2	R	C14 - Seventeenth



Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
	8	122	r	h	I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
17	1	123	r	f	I3	2	B	- Twenty-second
					I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
					I3	2	B	- Twelfth
			v	h	I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
	2	124	r	h	I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
					I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
					I3	2	B	- Seventeenth
			v	f	I2	4	B	- Nineteenth
	3	125	r	h	I2	4	R	- Twentieth
					I2	4	B	- Twenty-second
					I2	4	B	C15
			v	f	I2	4	G	C16
	4	126	r	h	I3	2	B	- Twelfth
					I3	2	R	- Thirteenth
					I3	2	B	- Fifteenth
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Seventeenth
	5	127	r	f	I3	2	B	- Nineteenth
					I3	2	R	- Twentieth
					I3	2	B	- Twenty-second
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Nineteenth

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
			v	h	I3 I3 I2	2 2 4	B R B	- Twentieth - Twenty-second C17
	6	128	r v	h f	- -	- -	- -	
			r	f	-	-	-	
	7	129	v	h	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	B R B R	- Seventeenth - Nineteenth - Twentieth - Twenty-second
	8	130	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Seventeenth - Nineteenth
			v	f	I3 I3 I2	2 2 4	B R B	- Twentieth - Twenty-second C18
	18		r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Seventeenth - Nineteenth
	1	131	v	h	I3 I3 I3 I3	2 2 2 2	B R B R	- Twentieth - Twenty-second - Seventeenth - Nineteenth
	2	132	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Twentieth - Twenty-second
			v	f	I2	4	B	C19
	3	133	r v	f h	- I1	- 6	- P	
	4	134	r v	h f	I2 -	4 -	G -	B2: C1 C2
			r	f	I2	4	G	C3
	5	135	v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C4 C5
	6	136	r	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C6 C7a
			v	f	I2	4	B	C7b
	7	137	r v	f h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C8 C9
			v	h	I2	4	B	C10
	8	138	r	h	I2	4	G	C11

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
			v	f	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C12 C13
19	1	139	r	f	I2	4	B	C14
			v	h	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C15 C16
	2	140	r	h	I2	4	G	C17
			v	f	I2	4	B	C18
	3	141	r	f	I2	4	G	C19
			v	h	-	-	-	
	4	142	r	h	I2	4	G	C20
			v	f	-	-	-	
	5	143	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	I2	4	B	C21
	6	144	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
	7	145	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	8	146	r	h	I2	4	G	C22
			v	f	-	-	-	
20	1	147	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	2	148	r	h	I2	4	G	C23
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B G	U U
	3	149	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	4	150	r	h	I2	4	G	C24
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B G	U U
	5	151	r	f	I3 I2	2 4	B <sup>25</sup> G	U C25
			v	h	I3	2	B	U
	6	152	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
			v	f	PD I2	HP 4	P B	C26
	7	153	r	f	PD	HP	P	
			v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
	8	154	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I2 I3	2 2	B R	C27 U
	9	155	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R <sup>26</sup>	C28 U
	10	156	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B B	U U
			v	f	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C29 C30

<sup>25</sup> Executed in a different shade of blue and lacks red tracery, probably on account of the artist's desire not to interfere with the blue tracery associated with the I2 beneath.

<sup>26</sup> Lacks blue tracery, probably on account of the artist's desire not to interfere with the red tracery associated with the I2 above. See also fol. 171v.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
21	1	157	r	f	I2	4	G	C31
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R <sup>27</sup>	C32 U
	2	158	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
			v	f	I2	4	B	C33
	3	159	r	f	I2	4	G	C34
			v	h	I3 I3	2 2	R B	U U
					I3	2	R	U
	4	160	r	h	I1	6	P	<b>B3:</b> C1
			v	f	I2	4	B	C2
	5	161	r	f	I2	4	G	C3
			v	h	I2	4	B	C4
	6	162	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I2	4	B	C5
	7	163	r	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	U U U
			v	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	C6 U
	8	164	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	B R	U U
			v	f	I2 I2	4 4	G B	C7 C8
	9	165	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	I2	4	B	C9
	10	166	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	
22	1	167	r	f	I1	6	P	<i>Proportionale musices:</i> Prologue
			v	h	-	-	-	
	2	168	r	h	I1 I2	6 3	P B	<b>B1:</b> C1 C2
			v	f	-	-	-	
	3	169	r	f	I2	4	G	C3
			v	h	I2	4	B	C4
	4	170	r	h	I2 I3	4 2	G B	C5 - Dupla
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Tripla
	5	171	r	f	I3 I3 I3	2 2 2	B R B	- Quadrupla - Quintupla - Sextupla
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C6 - Sesquialtera
	6	172	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	-	-	-	

<sup>27</sup> Contrary to the two examples above, here blue and red tracery are combined.

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
	7	173	r	f	-	-	-	
			v	h	-	-	-	
	8	174	r	h	-	-	-	
			v	f	I3	2	R	- Sesquiertia
23	1	175	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Sesquiquarta - Sesquiquinta
			v	h	I3	2	R	- Sesquioctava
	2	176	r	h	I2 I3	4 2	G B	C7 - Superbipartienster tias
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Superbipartiensqui ntas - Supertripartiensqu artas
	3	177	r	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Supertripartiensqu intas - Superquadripartie nsquintas
			v	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R	C8 - Duplasesquialtera
	4	178	r	h	I3 I3	2 2	R B	- Duplasesquiertia - Duplasequiquarta
			v	f	I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Duplasesquiquinta - Duplasequioctava
	5	179	r	f	I2	4	G	C9
			v	h	I3	2	R	- Duplasuperbiparti enstertias
					I3 I3	2 2	B R	- Duplasuperbiparti ensquintas - Duplasupertriparti ensquartas
	6	180	r	h	I2 I3	4 2	B R	- Duplasupertriparti ensquintas
			v	f	I1	6	P	- Duplasuperquadri partiensquintas B2: C1

Quire	Foliation		Recto/ Verso	Hair/ Flesh	Decoration			Text
	Quire	Running			Descr.	Size	Colour (of Letter)	
					I2 I3	4 2	B R	C2 - Subdupla
	7	181	r	f	I2 I3 I2 I3 I3	4 2 4 2 2	G R B R B	C3 - Subsesquialtera  C4 - Subsuperbipartien s  - Subsuperbipartien stertias
					I2 I3 I2	4 2 4	G R B	C5 - Subduplasesquialt era  C6
			r	h	I2 I3 I1 I2	4 2 6 4	G R P B	C7 - Subduplasuperbip artienstertias  B3:C1 C2
					-	-	-	
	24	1	183	r	f	-	-	-
				v	h	-	-	-
		2	184	r	h	-	-	-
				v	f	-	-	-
		3	185	r	f	I3	4	B
				v	h	-	-	-
		4	186	r	h	I3	4	G
				v	f	-	-	-
		5	187	r	f	I3	4	G
				v	h	-	-	-
		6	188	r	h	-	-	-
				v	f	-	-	-
		7	189	r	f	I3	4	B
				v	h	I3	4	G
		8	190	r	h	-	-	-
				v	f	I3	4	B

## 4.7 | Binding

**BU** features a well-preserved (apart from the spine – see below) original fifteenth-century Neapolitan binding (245 × 175 mm) in brown morocco leather ([Image 119](#)).<sup>28</sup> Detailed measurements are given in [Image 120](#). Gold tooling has been applied to the leather to create a pattern of concentric knotwork rectangles framing a central rosette. The pattern is identical on both the front and the back covers. As in my analysis of **V**, I shall assign an alphabetic label to each stamp I believe I can identify, in order to facilitate discussion of multiple uses of the same stamp in this design and in others. The centrepiece is formed around what I believe to be a single Stamp E: a circle formed from knotwork ([Image 121](#)). It leaves four compartments surrounding the very centre of the design, which are punctuated with a point tool. Surrounding the impression of Stamp E are twenty-one fleurons (Stamp F, [Image 122](#)). Completing the centrepiece is a full circle of points with sixteen evenly distributed radial extensions of two points. An 88 × 99 mm (fullest extent) panel is formed by four parallel blind fillets, within which is a gold-tooled border created with a knotwork Stamp G ([Image 123](#)). The same stamp is used to create four cornices ([Image 124](#)), each of which encloses another use of the fleuron Stamp F. A further panel (134 × 207 mm at fullest extent) is again denoted using four parallel blind fillets and entirely filled with knotwork using Stamp H ([Image 125](#)). The knotwork is decorated with a total of thirty uses of fleuron Stamp F in the upper and lower sections. The outer panel (175 × 207 mm at fullest extent) is yet again outlined by four parallel blind fillets and infilled with a continuous strip of knotwork (Stamp H) decorated with fleurons (Stamp F). The very edge of the binding is marked with another set of four parallel blind fillets that connect diagonally with the inner panel in each of the four corners ([Image 126](#)).

Four brown morocco leather straps are attached to the back cover, which terminate in bronze clasps on the front. Only the upper and the lower are able to be fastened today. That the spine is not original may be observed in the clumsy cross-hatching of four of

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<sup>28</sup> In order to check that I am correct in identifying the style of this binding as specifically Neapolitan, I have made comparison of the 545 plates featuring Italian bindings in Tammara De Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli xv e xvi: notizie ed elenchi*, 3 vols. (Florence: Alinari, 1960). It became clear that the patterns of gold tooling used in **BU** are almost certainly of Neapolitan origin.

the panels and the difference in shade of tan compared with the front and back covers. It probably dates from after 1800. The lettering on the spine ([Image 127](#)) is plainly not original, on account of the letter forms and the brilliance of the gold.

The general design of the binding of **BU** fits clearly into a genre that was well established at Naples in the fifteenth century. At least thirty-two of the bindings featured in *Els vestits del Saber*<sup>29</sup> share the use of multiple fillets to divide the space into panels that are then decorated with some form of knotwork; these bindings, very few of which are securely datable, were in production from the mid-1440s until the end of the fifteenth century. Seventeen of these also have a rosette-type centrepiece, though this observation does not allow further refinement in terms of dating. What does allow such refinement, however, is the observation that the earlier bindings were ‘busier’, having fewer concentric panels, with more of the surface covered with tooling, and hence more space in the design. The later designs (twelve of the thirty-two, c.1470–1500) show an increase in the number of panels to three, and the introduction of more space, as seen in **BU**. Seven of these also share similar stamps with **BU** and feature a rosette centrepiece with radial extensions:<sup>30</sup>

1. E-VAu 893: Jerome, *In Duodecim Prophetas*, 1442–1490 ([Image 128](#)).
2. E-VAu 771: Lionardo D’Arezzo, *Istoria dei Gotti*, 1442–1490 ([Image 129](#)).
3. E-VAu 614: Caius Julius Solinus, *De situ Orbis terrarum*, 1474–1490 ([Image 130](#)).
4. E-VAu 843, Ambrose, *De Officiis*, 1471 ([Image 131](#)).
5. E-VAu 842, Paulinus of Nola, *Epistolae*, 1471–1490 ([Image 132](#)).
6. E-VAu 765, Cornelius Nepos, *De viris illustribus*, 1472 ([Image 133](#)).
7. E-VAu 731, Xenophons, *Liber de Cyropaedia*, c.1476 ([Image 134](#)).

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<sup>29</sup> Ma. Isabel Álvaro Zamora, Ma. Luz Mandingorra Llavata, and Donatella Giansante, *Els vestits del saber: enquadernacions mudèjars a la Universitat de València* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003).

<sup>30</sup> The dates given in the following list are those of the bindings proposed in Zamora, Llavata, and Giansante, *Els vestits del saber*.



Seen side by side, the similarity of design between these seven bindings and that of **BU** is quite striking. It is possible additionally to identify specific details that link subsets of this group even more closely with **BU**. *E-VAu* 771, 614, 842, and 731 all have sixteen radial extensions emanating from their rosette centrepieces, just as does **BU**. I believe it may be possible to identify Stamp E with that used for the centrepiece of *E-VAu* 843, and likewise Stamps G and H for the execution of the subsidiary knotwork. It is noteworthy that the two bindings are of very similar size, **BU** being  $245 \times 175$  mm and *E-VAu* 843 measuring  $265 \times 185$  mm. I also suspect that stamps E, G, and H may have been used in the tooling of *E-VAu* 842, and Stamp G in *E-VAu* 893. In order to make a positive identification, however, I would need to take accurate measurements, and this is not something which has proved possible within the constraints of the present thesis. I do not believe that there is sufficient evidence for the suggested dates of bindings in *El's Vestits del Saber* to offer more than a corroboration, given a consideration of those bindings I have identified as similar, that the binding of **BU** was designed and made during the late fifteenth century at Naples.

#### 4.8 | Provenance

**BU** was possibly sent from Naples to Lorenzo de Medici at Florence in the early 1490s. More probably, it was sent to Beatrice of Aragon in Hungary in the late 1480s. It may have been in Venice in the sixteenth century, before entering the Augustinian monastery of San Salvatore in Bologna. It was confiscated from San Salvatore by French revolutionary armies in 1796, then deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, before being returned to Bologna on 28 October 1815, to the university library where it remains.

## Chapter 5 | Production and Later History of BU

In this chapter, I begin by comparing the script and hand(s) used in **V** and **BU**. I assert that Venceslaus Crispus was almost certainly the scribe of the two Tinctoris manuscripts under consideration, and spend some time looking in detail at the changes in his hand between the late 1470s and early 1490s. I use this analysis to support a dating of **V** to the later 1470s or early 1480s that supports the heraldic evidence set out in Chapter 3, and to propose a dating of **BU** to c.1486–1488. I also place the manuscripts in the wider context of contemporary Neapolitan manuscript production, by exploring the output and working practices of those scribes who worked in rotunda script. I proceed to interrogate and develop Woodley's suggestions that **BU** may have been prepared as a vehicle of political support to Beatrice, and then to chart the book's subsequent history.

### 5.1 | Script and Scribes

Both **V** and **BU** are written in rotunda script, the form of gothic textualis that was prevalent in southern Europe, and in particular Italy, from approximately the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Developed at the University of Bologna, it was in general more rounded than the spiky northern european gothic textualis, in whose strictest forms no rounded strokes were used at all.<sup>2</sup> In rotunda, letters such as b, c, d, e, h, o, p, q, and round s were formed with rounded bows, while the letters a and g were much more angular. The script is characterised by a general broadness of letter form in contrast with the verticality of northern textualis, which difference has been likened to the 'high, narrow spaces' of northern European gothic architecture versus the 'low and wide' nature of that of Italy.<sup>3</sup> Yet, paradoxically, rotunda is also characterised, like transalpine gothic scripts, by a horizontal compression resulting from numerous fusions, in which two adjacent letters share overlapping strokes.<sup>4</sup> Unlike northern textualis, no feature is

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<sup>1</sup> Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 102–103.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 130.

<sup>3</sup> Derolez, *Palaeography*, 102.

<sup>4</sup> Technically, these are not 'genuine' fusions, in which two letters share a common stroke, as in northern textualis. See *Ibid.*, 108–109.

made of consistently similar execution of minims and of the feet of letters at the baseline.<sup>5</sup>

It can be difficult to make comparisons between different rotunda hands, since the ‘shape of the individual letters ... is mostly strictly fixed’.<sup>6</sup> This is in contrast with northern textualis, where uniformity is achieved by a consistently straight execution of the minims. In rotunda, the style is ‘largely determined by the circular and semi-circular shapes of letters, parts of letters and abbreviation signs’. With this in mind, I shall make a comparison of the hands of **V** and **BU**, before situating them in the wider context of rotunda manuscript production at the court of Naples in the late fifteenth century.

The overall impression of the hands in **V** and **BU** is that the execution is slightly more spiky and more angular than one might expect in a ‘typical’ Italian rotunda script. In each, the shape of the letter g is rather distinctive: e.g. **V**, fol. 3r, line 4, ‘grece’ ([Image 135](#)), and **BU**, fol. 21v, line 8, ‘rigide’ ([Image 136](#)). The right section of both lobes is formed in a single vertical stroke, lending the letter a fairly straight back, while an upper horizontal stroke closes the upper lobe, and the lower lobe is closed with a hairline stroke. The shape of the letter e is also quite angular, with the final stroke being a hairline: e.g. **V**, fol. 3r, line 6, ‘acceperunt’ ([Image 137](#)), and **BU**, fol. 21v, line 4, ‘alie’ ([Image 138](#)). One of the most striking similarities between **V** and **BU**, which might be considered an indicative marker of a single scribe’s work, is the slanting nature of the colons: e.g. **V**, fol. 3r, ends of lines 4 and 6 ([Image 139](#)), and **BU**, fol. 3v, lines 15, 18, and 19 ([Image 140](#)). The letter x is quite distinctive in both manuscripts, being composed of two or three strokes, with the right half coming close to the appearance of letter c, and a curved hairline extension below the baseline on the left side, e.g. **V**, fol. 44r, line 3, ‘Maxima’ ([Image 141](#)), and **BU**, fol. 97v, line 18, ‘sextam’ ([Image 142](#)). An important difference between the two hands is that in **V**, when writing the letter p, the scribe does not allow the stroke that defines the base of the lobe to cross the ascender, e.g. fol. 3r, line 10, ‘proposuimus’ ([Image 143](#)) whereas the scribe of **BU** often does, e.g. fol. 21v, line 21, ‘preferunt’ ([Image 144](#)).

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 104.

The first line of script on each page of both **V** and **BU** begins always below the top line. In Images [145](#) (**V**, fol. 44r) and [146](#) (**BU**, fol. 22r), the top lines are indicated with a superimposed dotted red line. Early medieval scribes began their writing above the top line of the page, a practice that changed during the thirteenth century, leading to later medieval manuscript pages being started below the top line, as in **V** and **BU**.<sup>7</sup> As Derolez writes, ‘the text column is thus delimited on all four sides by a straight line, in conformity with the “Gothic” preference for enclosed areas.’ But in late fifteenth-century Italy, things were yet again beginning to change. At the turn of the *quattrocento*, Florentine scholars such as Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) and Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) began to imitate the smooth and clearly legible script of Carolingian minuscule.<sup>8</sup> The latter had begun to develop in France in the late eighth century, achieving maturity and great popularity (by virtue of Charlemagne’s empire) during the ninth century, and mutating into Gothic script during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. In the course of the fifteenth century, this humanistic script (or ‘*littera antiqua*’) grew in popularity across Italy, to the extent that by Tinctoris’s time in Naples it was the script of choice for the majority of manuscripts. Importantly, in these humanistic manuscripts, scribes reverted to beginning to write above the top line. This practice is easily seen in *E-VAu* 389, a copy of Aulus Gellius’s *Noctes atticae*, which in other respects is close in its production to **V**.<sup>9</sup> In [Image 147](#) can just be seen the hard-point ruling of the text block at the upper outer corner of fol. 19v. For clarity, the rulings are shown with superimposed red dotted lines in [Image 148](#). Hard-point ruling, having been the norm until the twelfth century, was another reintroduction made by the early humanists.<sup>10</sup> The facts that the writing blocks of **V** and **Bu** begin below the top

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<sup>7</sup> See Neil R. Ker, ‘From “Above Top Line” to “Below Top Line”: A Change in Scribal Practice’, *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 13–16, and Derolez, *Palaeography*, 39.

<sup>8</sup> Derolez, *Palaeography*, 176; and Berthold Louis Ullmann, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960), 11.

<sup>9</sup> Nardo Rapicano was the artist responsible for the decoration of the frontispieces of both **V** and *E-VAu* 389, which feature similar author portraits; see Chapter 6. Also, Toscano’s dating of the latter manuscript is c.1483, suggesting its production was roughly contemporaneous with **V**. See Gennaro Toscano, ed., *La Biblioteca reale di Napoli al tempo della dinastia aragonese* (Valencia: Generalitat Valencia, 1998).

<sup>10</sup> Derolez, *Palaeography*, 34–37.

line, and that their writing blocks are delineated in plummet, therefore, suggest a taxonomic distinction between these manuscripts of music theory and the humanist books that were being created in Naples at the same time.

What might be the identity of the scribe(s) of **V** and **BU**? I have found thirty-one scribes who worked at the court of Naples in the late fifteenth century; these are listed below in Table 14, which shows their approximate period of activity and the total number of manuscripts they are known to have produced.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 14: Scribes at the Court of Naples in the Late Fifteenth Century**

Scribe	Approximate Period of Activity	No. of Known Manuscripts
Joanmarco Cinico	c.1450–1498	71
Fratre Albano	1461	0
Callisto Camerete	1464–1474	1
Tommaso de Venia	1465–1471	5
Giovan Rinaldo Mennio	1465–1497	26
Oddo Quarto	1466–1474	2
Fratre Domenico de Modo	1466–1467	4
Fratre Minico de Croffo	1467	1
Antonio Sinibaldi	1469–1491	33
Don Matteo de Lauro	1469	1
Nicola Vallers	1470–1477	3
Pietro Ippolito Lunense	1472–1493	19
Francesco Spera	1472–1481	4
Gioacchino di Giovanni de Gigantibus	1472–1481	7
Adreuccio della Monaca	1473	1
Matteo de Riso	1474	1
Giovanni Francese	1480	0
Jean de Bruges	c.1480–1481	1
Rodolfo Brancalupo	c.1480–1481	5
Venceslaus Crispus	1480–1506	25
Giovan Matteo di Capri	1480–1488	6
Petro de Abbatis Burdegalensis	1481–1490	3
Francesco da Pavia	1481–1497	4
Johannes de Guerne	1486–1497	5
Bartolomeo Simone	1487	1
Cristoforo di Castelforte	1487–1488	2
Clemente Genovesi	1487	2
D. Donato de Andria	1489–1492	1
Giovan Matteo de Russis	1489–1492	4
Silvestro de Tumulo	1492	1
Mariano Volpe	1492	1

I have found evidence that four of these thirty-one scribes produced manuscripts in rotunda script: Andreuccio della Monaca, Johannes de Guerne, Petrus de Abbatis Burdegalensis, and Venceslaus Crispus. This is contrary to Bischoff's assertion that

<sup>11</sup> These data are based on those contained in *DMB*.

Crispus was the only Neapolitan court scribe to write in the script.<sup>12</sup> It therefore remains to consider the work of each in turn.

The first, Andreuccio della Monaca, of Cava dei Tirreni, worked in Naples between November 1473 and April 1474.<sup>13</sup> There is only one manuscript that is attributable to him: *US-BEb* UCB 9 ([Image 149](#)). This parchment codex is a copy of a translation to the vernacular by Domenico Cavalcato of St Jerome's *Vitae Patrum* that Della Monaca produced for one of King Ferrante's mistresses, Giovannella Caracciolo, Duchess of Termoli. The scribe was paid 6 ducats on 5 November 1473 for the first consignment of quires of the codex:

A donno Andreutxo de la Cava en accorrimet del que ha daver per hun libre entitullat vite patrum: lo qual scriv per la illustrissima duquessa de Termini [*sic*] duc. 6.<sup>14</sup>

The remaining sixteen quinterns were then paid for on 4 February 1474, when Della Monaca received a further 14 ducats and 2 tarì:

A Dominico Andriutxo de la Monacha scriptor a compliment de XIII ducats, II terins, deu haver per lo scrivere de XVI quinterns ha scrits a la moderna hun libre de pregame de forma bolyunes a initulat Vita patrum en vulgar per la illustre dona Johanna duquessa de termoli com la restant quantitate haia aguda a V de nohembre propassat. Duc.8, tr. 2.<sup>15</sup>

It is from the latter record that the manuscript is securely identifiable as the work of Della Monaca, since his work is described as being in 'a la moderna' – that is, gothic as opposed to 'a l'antica' humanistic – script. The record also shows that the manuscript was considered to be in Bolognese format (*forma bolynesa* ['bolyunes' above]); the extant folios measure 314 × 218 mm, so slightly larger than **V** (272 × 190 mm) and significantly larger than **BU** (235 × 167 mm).

The overall impression of Della Monaca's work is that it is slightly more rounded and less angular and spiky than the Tinctoris examples. The colons are straight rather than slanted, e.g. fol. 1v, line 33, after 'dedio' ([Image 150](#)), and the letter g is much less

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<sup>12</sup> Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 63.

<sup>13</sup> *DMB*, i. 69.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 261, doc. 488.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 503.

angular, taking the form of figure 8. This is a more rapid ductus, e.g. fol. 1v, line 33, ‘egipciaca’ ([Image 151](#)), wherein the lower lobe is closed with a full rather than a hairline stroke. The letter e is slightly more rounded, especially in the open lower bow, e.g. fol. 1v, line 7, ‘de mele’, and line 8, ‘dentissimo’ ([Image 152](#)). The letter a is much more rounded and is most often single- rather than double-compartment, e.g. fol. 1v, lines 1–3, various ([Image 153](#)). Also, unlike the scribe(s) of **V** and **BU**, Della Monaca uses predominantly uncial d, and does so in the middle of words, not just at the their beginnings, e.g. fol. 1v, line 23, ‘da dio’, and line 24, ‘havendo’ ([Image 154](#)). On this basis, I am confident that Della Monaca was not responsible for the execution of **V** or **BU**.

Mention in the Neapolitan court records of the Flemish Johannes de Guerne was first made on 1 April 1486, when he received a payment of 16 ducats, 3 tarì, and 7 grani as his wage for the months of December and January 1485:

A Joanne Ferrando scriptore XVI ducati, III tarì, VII grani li quali li sonno comandati donare per la provisione sua del mese de dicembre et jennaro proximi passati.<sup>16</sup>

He may be identified as the scribe of four manuscripts. The first, De Guerne’s only signed and only extant manuscript, is the Drouot Aquinas Manuscript, a 1486 copy of Aquinas’s *Catena aurea super Iohannem* now in private hands and hence unavailable for palaeographical comparison. The second was a now-lost copy of Albertus Magnus’s *De mirabili scientia* in ‘lectera moderna’ and ‘forma maggiore’ for the royal library. On 7 February 1488, he received a payment of 12 ducats for having completed and delivered six quinterns to the royal librarian Baldassare Scariglia:

A Joan de Frandes scriptore de lo Senyor Rey XII ducati li quali sonno comandati donare per lo scrivere have facto de sei quinterni de carta de pergameno de lectera moderna de uno libro intitulato Alberto Magnio de mirabili sciencia dei, li quali have consignati a la libreria de Sua Maiestà in potere de Batassario Scariglia che tene in governo la dicta libreria.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 285, doc. 673.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 286, doc. 686.

On the same day he was given four ducats to purchase eight quinterns of parchment in order to complete the manuscript:

A lo dicto Joan de Frandres quactro ducati li quali li sonno comandati donare per comparare octo quinterni de pergameno per complire et fornire de scrivere lo dicto libro et quilli scripte seranno deve consignare in dicta libreria.<sup>18</sup>

He then received, on 4 June 1488, 10 ducats for delivering five of the remaining quinterns to the library:

A Joan de Ferrandecto scriptore X ducati li quali li sonno comandati donare per lo scrivere de cinque quinterni che have scripti de carta de pergameno de forma maggiore de uno libro intitulado Alberto Magno de mirabili sciencia dei, a raho de II ducati lo quinterno e quilli have consignati a Baldaxarro Scariglia in la libreria del senyor Rey.<sup>19</sup>

These records suggest that Neapolitan court scribes were responsible for sourcing their own parchment from *cartolaii*, presumably in the city of Naples itself, and that such materials were not ordered centrally by librarians such as Scariglio, who otherwise seem to have been responsible for receiving deliveries of quires in contribution to as-yet-incomplete manuscript books. The implication of this is that the librarians may well have played an important part in planning and co-ordinating the various craftsmen involved in the production of a finished book. That Giovanni of Aragon wrote directly to the scribe Sinibaldi in 1476 concerning the completion of a volume of Augustine could indicate that the luxury of such an organisational structure may have been afforded only to the king, commissioning centrally via the royal library.<sup>20</sup>

Evidence of the existence of De Guerne's copy of Aquinas's *Super epistolas S. Pauli* survives solely in the following record of 11 February 1491:

A Joan de Frandanes scriptore XVII ducati, III tarì quali li sonno comandati donare per lo scrivere ha facto de undici quaterni ha scripti del opera de sancto Thomase de Aquino sopra le epistole de sancto Paulo de foglio de carta reale de

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., doc. 687.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 287, doc. 707.

<sup>20</sup> On Giovanni's letter, see Chapter 3.3.



lictera moderna a raho de VIII tarì lo quaterno et quelli ha consignati in dicta  
libraria a 10 del presente.<sup>21</sup>

A series of nine *Cedole* records, made during the period 15 February 1492 – 1 March 1493, shows how completed quires of a copy of Alexander of Hales, *Summa in Sentenciis*, which is now lost, were again deposited in the royal library on completion by the scribe, presumably in advance of checking and decoration prior to binding.<sup>22</sup>

Despite there being no available material for comparison of De Guerne's hand with **V** and **BU**, the fact that he is recorded as having been at court between very late 1485 and July 1497<sup>23</sup> suggests that it is highly unlikely he was responsible for the execution of **V**, given the evidence for dating set out in Chapter 3. It is feasible that, from this perspective, he could have executed **BU**, but the strength of the following palaeographical evidence, which links these two manuscripts with Venceslaus Crispus, is sufficient ultimately to consider De Guerne's involvement as highly unlikely.

Very little is known of the life of the Neapolitan court scribe Venceslaus Crispus before he arrived at Naples. His use in later life of the self-descriptors 'Slagenverdiensis' and 'boemus' suggests that he was probably born in the fifteenth-century equivalent of modern-day Ostrov, in the Karlovarský kraj/Carlsbad region of the Czech Republic.<sup>24</sup> In the colophon of *F-LO* 7 (fol. 216r – see below), he described himself as 'natione magis

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<sup>21</sup> *DMB*, ii. 291, doc. 758.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, docs. 793, 810, 824, 852, 871, 891, 904, 910, and 920.

<sup>23</sup> He received cloth on 28 July 1497. See *ibid.*, 310, doc. 947.

<sup>24</sup> Wilhelm Rolfs, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1910), 165. Rolfs's rendering of Ostrov is 'Schlackenwert, Karlsbad'.

quam religione Bohemo', which implies that he was not a Utraquist. On account of his probable Czech birth, his original name may have been rendered as Václav.<sup>25</sup>

The earliest surviving signed example of Crispus's work is his 1480 copy of Bede's *Expositio in apocalipsim*, *F-Pn* lat. 2368. The colophon, on fol. 68v, reads: 'Venceslaus Crispus | natione Bohemus | e Longobardorum exem|plaribus transscripsit. Anno M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> LXXX<sup>o</sup>' ([Image 155](#)). The general similarities between Crispus's hand in *F-Pn* lat. 2368 and those of **V** and **BU** are quite apparent. Here are found the same slanted colons, e.g. fol. 2v, line 14, following 'ait' ([Image 156](#)), and the same angular g with the right section of both lobes formed in a single vertical stroke, an upper horizontal stroke closing the upper lobe, and a hairline stroke closing the upper lobe, e.g. fol. 2v, line 14, 'Augustinus' ([Image 157](#)). Also similar is the angular two-compartment a (e.g. fol. 2v, line 4 'regulas', [Image 158](#)), the upper compartment of which is closed with a curved hairline and the lower lobe extended in a distinctive fashion. The lobe of the e is angular and closed with a hairline stroke, e.g. fol. 2v, line 18, 'Nostre' ([Image 159](#)), while the bow is more rounded than would be expected by the generally spiky character of the hand. These similarities form a preliminary indication that Crispus was the scribe of **V** and **BU**. Finally, the stroke that defines the base of the lobe of Crispus's letter p in *F-Pn* lat. 2368, e.g. fol. 2r, line 17, 'prepositis' ([Image 160](#)), does not cross the ascender. This is a feature of **V** that is not present in **BU**, and is a precursory indication that **V**, as suggested by the heraldic and other characteristics discussed in Chapter 3, is of a slightly earlier date than *F-Pn* lat. 2368, which was signed in 1480, while **BU** is of a considerably later date. This has the important consequence that **V** may be considered the earliest extant example of Crispus's work.

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<sup>25</sup> Another scribe with the name 'Crispus' was working about 100 years earlier, and supplied the following colophon to *CZ-Pu* IX.A.9, a copy of Gregory I's *Moralia super Job*, books 19–35: 'Explicit liber moralium beati Gregorii papae a. d. 1385 die X mensis Novembris per manus Johannis preyteri dicti Crispus de Zrucz'. See Josepho Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis pragensis asservantur*, 2 vols. (Prague: Sumptibus regiae societatis scientiarum bohemicarum, 1906), ii. no. 1674; and *DMB*, i. 63. I believe Zrucz to be modern-day Zruč nad Sázavou, a small town in the Central Bohemian Region of the Czech Republic, in the Kutná Hora District, slightly more than 200 kilometres south-east of Venceslaus's birthplace. A much later 'Wenceslaus Crispus', curate, occurs in a list of ten members of an examination class in the University of Prague on 10 March 1564. See *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae universitatis Pragensis: ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*, 2 vols. (Prague: Joan. Nep. Gerzabek, 1832), ii. 378.

During the 1480s and 1490s, Crispus was heavily involved in the production of a major series of copies of the works of Thomas Aquinas, as discussed above in Section 3.7. It would seem that a serious attempt was being made to produce an ‘opera omnia’; indeed, manuscripts of Aquinas comprise the majority of manuscripts written in rotunda script at Naples in the late fifteenth century. Eighteen volumes survive, of which sixteen are written in rotunda (as listed in Table 9 above) and two in humanist script.

The earliest manuscript associable with Crispus was the first in this series of Aquinas manuscripts – a copy of his commentary on St Matthew’s Gospel. Evidence of this survives solely in an inventory of 1508, and the manuscript does not survive.<sup>26</sup> It is likely that Crispus or one of his colleagues executed the second volume of the Aquinas series in the same year, since a treasury record made on 30 November 1480 relates in detail payments made to Cola Rapicano for decorating a newly made copy of Aquinas’s *Secunda secundae*: ‘Et dall altra parte deve havere per unaltra minia ha lavorata in lo principio de un altro libro intitulado lo Secundo volumo de la secunda secunde de lo beato sancto Thomase, novamente scripto in pergameno de foglio reale’.<sup>27</sup> Cola Rapicano is paid for painting a miniature on the frontispiece (*principio*) of this parchment codex ‘de foglio reale’ (the large-scale format common to the Neapolitan Aquinas complex), a large gothic capital D, and lower down on the page a *codecta*, which perhaps was a brief decorated continuation of the text. At the foot of the page were the arms of King Ferrante I with two *spiritilli* (which I take to be equivalent to *putti*) and *fiori*, or decorative bands of gold. This codex is sadly lost.

In addition to being the date of the earliest signed manuscript executed by Crispus, 1480 is the year in which the scribe first appears in the Neapolitan chancery records. On 3 September, an allowance was made by Francisco Coppula for Crispus to be given court robes worth 7 ducats, 2 tarì, and 12 grani for his scribal work:

Pro Vincilao de Boemia. Misser Francisco Coppula donau a Vincilao de Boemia scriptor la valuta de set ducats, dos terins doge grans en drap ho altres robes de la cort pro rata de quinze ducats quatre grans li son deguts per scrivere.

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<sup>26</sup> *DMB*, i. 63.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 269–270, doc. 566.

Scripta a III de settembre 1480. El vestro Pasqual Diaz Garlon. 5 septembris  
fuit expeditum prout in libro.<sup>28</sup>

Two days later, this was described by Pasquale Diaz Garlon specifically as 2 canne and 2  $\frac{3}{4}$  palmi of cloth from Bruges in mixed colours (*misco colore de brugia*):

A Vincilao de Boemia scriptore la valuta de duc. 7, tr. 2, gr. 12 in le infrascripte  
robbe in cuncto de sua provisione a di 5 settembre 1480: Misco colore de  
brugia ca. 2, pa. 2  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cautela de mosser Pasquale 3 dicto.<sup>29</sup>

It was also in 1480 that the fourth scribe who worked in rotunda script at Naples, Petro de Abbatis Burdegalensis, first appears in the documentary records, a scribe with whom, as I shall demonstrate, Crispus had a close working relationship. On 3 September, the same day as the above-described distribution to Crispus, Burdegalensis is described simply as ‘Petro Frances scriptor’ and was allocated, again by Francisco Coppola, cloth or court robes to the value of 8 ducats, 4 tarì, and 2 grani, in payment for his scribal work. On 7 September 1480, Paqual Diaz Garlon records the supplying of the appointed value of cloth and specifies 2 canne and 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  panni of ‘imperiale’ cloth from Barcelona:

A Petro Francese scriptore la valuta de duc. VIII, tr. IIII, gr. XI in linfrascripte  
robbe a di 7 dicto: Imperiale de Barcellona ca. II, pa. VI  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cautela de  
monsser Pasquale 3 dicto.<sup>30</sup>

I surmise from these records that Burdegalensis was being paid a slightly higher salary than Crispus: 17 ducats and 4 tarì as opposed to 15 ducats and 4 grani, respectively. If the salaries can be assumed to be annual, then the specific payments mentioned above represent half-yearly distributions. It should be noted that these fees were in addition to discrete payments for specific jobs of work. For comparison, the artist Cola Rapicano received a distribution of more than 35 ducats’ worth of several types of cloth later that year.<sup>31</sup>

On 3 March 1481, Burdegalensis received payment of 11 ducats, 3 tarì, and 10 grani for nine quaterns of *La quistione de veritate*:

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 267, doc. 543.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 268, doc. 549.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., doc. 551.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 269, docs. 562–563.

A Pietro Francese è data la somma di undici ducati 3 t. e 10 grana per iscrivere in nove quaderni di forma reale un libro intitolato la quistione de veritate di SANTO TOMMASO D'AQUINO.<sup>32</sup>

About a month later, on 2 April, he received a further payment of 7 ducats and 4 tarì for six more quaterns of the same text:

Si assegna a Pietro Burdeo, Francese, la somma di 7 duc. 4 t. per avere scritto in sei quaderni di pergamene di forma reale un libro nominato le Costiune de veritat de Sancto Tommaso.<sup>33</sup>

Burdegalensis's 1490 copy of Cassianus's *De institutis coenobiorum*, *F-Pn* lat. 2129, was made for Matthias Corvinus. The colophon on fol. 123v reads: 'Divi Matthe Inuictis|simi Ungarie et Boe|mie Regis impensa opus | a Petro de abbatis Bur|degalensi cive scriptum.' ([Image 161](#)).

On 8 February 1481, Francisco Coppola authorised payment to Crispus of 5 ducats and 3 tarì for having copied four quinterns of 'Beda supra li Evangelie' (*F-Pn* lat. 2368) for the royal library.<sup>34</sup> The record specifies that the library was run by Joan Branchato:

Pro Vincilao de Buhemia. Misser Francisco Copula donate a Vincilao de Bohemia scriptore del Senyor Rey in panno o altre robbe de la corte la valuta de ducati cinque e tarì tre dico duc. 5 tr. 3 et sono per scrivere ha facto de quattro quinterni de pergameno de forma reale de uno libro intitolato Beda supra li Evangelie, consignati in la regia libreria in potere de misser Joan Branchato librero mayore del dicto signore. Scrita a VIII de febraro 1481. El vestro Pasqual Diaz Garlon.<sup>35</sup>

Two days later, Pasqual Diaz Garlon recorded that 1 canna and 3¼ palmi of cloth from London would be supplied to the scribe: '10 februarii canna 1, palmi 3¼ londres del ipso per duc. 5, tar. 3'.<sup>36</sup> The next day, on 9 February 1481, a further payment was made to Crispus for four quaterns for the same codex, this consisting of 10¼ palmi of mixed colours of velvet (*velleri*):

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<sup>32</sup> Nicola Barone, 'Le cedole di tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dell'anno 1460 al 1504', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 9 (1884), 4–34, 205–248, 387–429, 601–637, at 411.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 413.

<sup>34</sup> See *DMB*, i. 63.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 271, doc. 574.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

Al dicto conte per polisa de misser Paschale delli VIII del presente a Vincilao de Boemia scriptore del señor Re la valuta de duc. V, tarì III e sono per lo scrivere ha fatto de quactro quaterni de pergameno di forma reale di uno libro nominato Beda sopra li Evangelii consignati in la regia libraria in potere de mastro Johan Branchato librero maiore del dicto senore palmi X¼ de londres misto velleri del n. 269 281.<sup>37</sup>

Seven days later, he received 6 ducats and 1 tarì (not in cloth) for four more quinterns, and then again 7 ducats, 2 tarì, and 12 grani, on 30 February, for a further four quinterns, all of the same book. Finally, on 18 April, Crispus received 7 ducats for five quaterns of the text. The codex was seemingly constructed of 5 quaterns and 12 quinterns of parchment in ‘forma reale’. It is notable that Crispus received four separate payments for quaterns and quinterns, and that the number of quires in each payment for quinterns was even and consistent. This suggests methodical planning of which size of quire to use, and potentially an order of execution that followed not the order of the text, but an order dictated by the planned physical structure of the manuscript.<sup>38</sup>

Crispus signed and dated (fol. 307v, [Image 162](#)) his copy of Aquinas’s *Super primo libro Sententiarum*, which he made for Giovanni of Aragon, and which survives as *E-VAu 395 [olim 794]*, on 14 February 1484. The majority of the scribal markers remain consistent with the earlier manuscripts, although some – perhaps half – of the descenders of the letters p begin to be crossed (fol. 10r, [Image 163](#)). Several months later, on Thursday 2 September 1484, Crispus completed his copy of Aquinas’s *Super primo libro Sententiarum* (*F-LO 7*), for Cardinal Giovanni (fol. 7, [Image 164](#)).<sup>39</sup> On the very same day, Burdegalensis also completed his single surviving contribution to the

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., doc. 576.

<sup>38</sup> It would be instructive in future research to make a physical examination of *F-Pn* lat. 2368 with reference to these records.

<sup>39</sup> No. 7 in the 1508 inventory (Jean Achille Deville, *Comptes de dépenses de la construction du château de Gaillon, publiés d’après les registres manuscrits des trésoriers du cardinal d’Amboise par A. Deville* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1850), 552–559): ‘Thomas, super primo Sententiarum, couvert de cuyr noir, à ouvrage doré, garny de fermaus de loton’. See *DMB*, ii. 158; Jean Destrez and Marie Dominique Chenu, ‘Une collection manuscrite des oeuvres complètes de S. Thomas d’Aquin par le roi Aragonais de Naples, 1480–1493’, *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 23 (1953), 309–326, at 318–319; and Albinia de la Mare, ‘The Florentine Scribes of Cardinal Giovanni of Aragona’, in Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli, eds., *Il libro e il testo, atti del convegno internazionale, Urbino, 20–23 settembre 1982* (Urbino: Università degli studi di Urbino, 1984), 245–293, at 269.

Aquinas complex with *Super quarto libro Sententiarum* (*I-Nn* VII.B.4), which was also made at Giovanni's expense.<sup>40</sup> Not only were these two Aquinas manuscripts completed at the same time, but the colophons that so usefully provide this information are strikingly similar in syntax – in fact, beyond the titles of the two different books and the names of the scribes, the two colophons are virtually identical. These passages of similarity are indicated here in bold:

*F-LO* 7, fol. 216r: Beati Thome Aquinatis hoc in primum |  
sententiarum.scriptum: | **inclytus Joannes de Aragonia: Ferdinandi Regis |**  
**filius: Sancte Romane. ecclesie Cardinalis. | Presbiter. suo proprio sumptu:**  
**| scriptore** Venceslao Crispo | Slagenverdiensi. natione | magis quam religione  
Bohemio: **fecit Anno salutis | Millesimo. CCCC. Lxxxiii<sup>o</sup>. quarto Nonas.**  
**Septembris.** ([Image 165](#)).

*I-Nn* VII.B.4, fol. 423r: Thome Aquinatis hoc in quartum sententiarum |  
scriptum **Inclytus Joannes de aragonia ferdinandi Regis filius. Sancte.**  
**Romane Ecclesie | cardinalis presbiter. suo proprio sumptu. scriptore** Petro  
Burdegalensi **fecit: anno salutis | Millesimo cccc. lxxxiiij. iiij nonas.**  
**Septembris.** ([Image 166](#)).

This suggests that 2 September 1484 saw some kind of deadline towards which Crispus and Burdegalensis were working together – perhaps they needed to pass both manuscripts to the Rapicano workshop for decoration (the decoration of *F-LO* 7 is attributed to Nardo<sup>41</sup> and that of *I-Nn* VII.B.4 to Cola<sup>42</sup>). It is also just conceivable that the colophons were written after the completion of the manuscripts, and that they therefore were about to present the finished codices to Cardinal Giovanni.

Burdegalensis used a very distinctive formation of the majuscule letter a with a flamboyant extension to the top of the upright, which is useful as a marker to distinguish his work from that of Crispus, e.g. fol. 423r, column 2, line 7 ([Image 167](#)). Likewise, he does not share Crispus's slanted colon, angular g with hairline closure of

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<sup>40</sup> No. 10 in the 1508 inventory: 'Thomas, super quarto Sententiarum, couvert de cuyr vert, guarny de fermetures en loton'. See *DMB*, ii. 159 and iv. plate 243; and De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 269–270.

<sup>41</sup> Gennaro Toscano, 'La libreria del castello di Gaillon: les manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne acquis par le cardinal Georges d'Amboise', in *Léonard de Vinci entre France et Italie: Miroir profond et sombre: actes du colloque international de l'Université de Caen, 3–4 octobre 1996* (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 1999), 275–290, at 288.

<sup>42</sup> De la Mare, 'Florentine Scribes', 270.

lower lobe, or overall spiky appearance. I am therefore confident, having discounted all of the other Neapolitan scribes working in rotunda script, that Crispus was indeed the scribe of **V** and **BU**. What remains is to explore the rest of Crispus's work, and to see if it is possible to make any judgements concerning where the two manuscripts might fit into the chronology.

*CH-Bgünther* (fol. 1r, [Image 168](#) and fol. 177r, [Image 169](#)), a copy of Aquinas, *Quaestiones de potentia dei. Quaestiones de malo*, was completed on 30 December 1480, as revealed in the colophon on fol. 376v: 'Questiones de malo beati Thome de Aquino ordinis predicatorum Expliciunt feliciter Anno a Jhesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo et octagesimo die xxx<sup>o</sup> Decembris'.<sup>43</sup> It has been ascribed to Crispus by Dr. Jörn Günther Antiquariats und Verwaltungs AG, but I am fairly certain that it is attributable securely to Burdegalensis. The general quality of the script of *CH-Bgünther* is more rounded and less spiky than that of Crispus, and more similar to the slightly vertically compressed feel of Burdegalensis's hand. More specifically, Burdegalensis's rather expressive majuscule a is present in *CH-Bgünther*, e.g. fol. 177r, line 31, 'Augustus' ([Image 170](#)). Burdegalensis uses a particularly distinctive formation of the letter y, e.g. *I-Nn* VII.B.4, fol. 423r, colophon ([Image 171](#)), whose very straight diagonal descender is also evident in *CH-Bgünther*, e.g. fol. 177r, line 28, 'Dionysius' ([Image 172](#)). It is quite different to Crispus's y, which features a characteristically curved descender, e.g. *F-Pn* lat. 2368, fol. 1v, line 16, 'Tychonii' ([Image 173](#)). Furthermore, the colons in *CH-Bgünther* are straight, unlike Crispus's, and, again unlike Crispus, Burdegalensis occasionally uses line-fillers instead of hyphenating words at the ends of lines; see various examples on fol. 177r ([Image 174](#)). On this basis, I am confident that *CH-Bgünther* is the work of Burdegalensis. The importance of this to my work on **V** and **BU** is that an understanding of the kinds of markers that can serve to differentiate one scribe's hand from that of another, when they are working in a fairly

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<sup>43</sup> No. 6 in the 1508 inventory: 'Questiones sancti Thome de malo, couvert de cuyr rouge, à fermaus de cuyvre'. See Destrez and Chenu, 'Collection', 321. At the time of submission of this thesis the manuscript was on public sale in Basel at Dr. Jörn Günther Antiquariats und Verwaltungs AG ([www.guenther-rarebooks.com](http://www.guenther-rarebooks.com)). The list price was €535,000. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Helen C. Wüstefeld, Senior Researcher at the company, for her help and advice. The colophon is given as transcribed in the sale description supplied by Wüstefeld.



generic script, enables me to be more confident about judging the difference between changes in Crispus's work and that of another scribe.

Returning to Crispus's career, the aforementioned manuscript *F-LO* 7, completed in 1484 for Giovanni, formed the first of four volumes of Aquinas's *Commentary on the Sentences*. The next to be completed was, curiously, the third volume: *F-Pn* Smith-Lesouëf 14, *Super tertium Sententiarum*, in 1486:

Absolutum est hoc egregium opus beati Thome de aquino in tertium magistri sententiarum | librum: scriptoreque Venceslao Crispo | Bohemo Anno post christi nativitatem | Millesimo. CCCC. LXXXVI<sup>o</sup>. parum tamen felici. | impensa inclyti Joannis de Aragonia | Romane ecclesie Cardinalis. exaratum' (fol. 265v, [Image 175](#)).

Crispus evidently received the commission for this volume before Giovanni's death in 1485, completing it some time in the following year. It is in this manuscript that one of the most useful markers of change in Crispus's hand can be observed: the gradual extension in length and flamboyancy of some of his descenders. For example, see how the *-um* abbreviation mark on fol. 6r, column 1, line 20, 'eorum', descends to just above the top line of the script below, and then sweeps away to the right ([Image 176](#)). Ferrante apparently wanted the *Sentences* series to be completed, since he is recorded in Crispus's 1489 colophon to the second volume (the third to be produced), *F-LO* 8, as having commissioned it: 'Angelici doctoris beati thome aquinatis | celeberrimum opus in | secundum magistri sententiarum librum sumptu | ferdinandi regis exaratum anno salutis. | Millesimo. cccc.lxxxix.<sup>o</sup> | Venceslao crispo natione bohemo scriptore. Finit.' (fol. 288r, [Image 177](#)).<sup>44</sup> The fourth volume is now lost.<sup>45</sup>

Let us now turn to the scribal markers that are most indicative in situating **V** and **BU** in the chronology of Crispus's work. The letter y is used infrequently in Latin, since it

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<sup>44</sup> No. 8 in the 1508 inventory: 'Thomas, super secundo Sententiarum, couvert de cuyr rouge, à ouvrage doré, guarny de fermaus de loton'.

<sup>45</sup> It was last recorded in a 1798 inventory of books at the Chartreuse de Louviers. See Henri Auguste Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, ii: Rouen (suite et fin), Dieppe, Eu, Fécamp, Elbeuf, Gournay en Bray, Le Havre, Neufchâtel en Bray, Bernay, Conches, Gisors, Louviers, Verneuil, Evreux, Alençon, Montivilliers (Paris: Librairie E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1888), 157. The fourth volume of Aquinas's commentary on the *Sentences* cannot be *I-Nn* VII.B.4, since this manuscript is listed among the possessions of Constance d'Avalos in 1541. See Toscano, *Biblioteca reale*, no. 43.

occurs mainly in Greek loanwords and place names, and hence it is not immediately perceptible as a scribal marker. In *F-Pn* lat. 2368 (1480), fol. 1v, line 16, ‘Tychonii’ ([Image 178](#)), the descender has a slight curve to the right that is also visible in *E-VAu* 395 (14 February 1484), e.g. fol. 10v, column 1, line 48, ‘physi’ ([Image 179](#)). In *F-LO* 7 (2 September 1484), the curvature to the right becomes more pronounced, e.g. fol. 7v, column 1, line 42, ‘mysterijs’ ([Image 180](#)). In *F-Pn* Smith-Lesouëf 14 (1486) fol. 10r, line 43, ‘Tyro’ ([Image 181](#)), the descender of the letter y shares with the *-um* abbreviation mark a slight curve to the left followed by a pronounced hook-like curve to the right. This tendency to curve to the left and then to the right is characteristic of the execution of the letter y in **BU**, e.g. fol. 3r, line 28, ‘physicos’ ([Image 182](#)), fol. 92r, line 16, ‘Dytonus’ ([Image 183](#)), and fol. 95v, line 13, ‘dya’ and ‘y’ ([Image 184](#)). In **V**, e.g. fol. 2v, line 12, ‘physicos’ ([Image 185](#)), fol. 81v, line 8, ‘Dytonus’ ([Image 186](#)), and fol. 84v, line 3, ‘dya’ and ‘y’ ([Image 187](#)), this tendency is nascent but not as developed as in **BU**, which is consistent with **V**’s earlier date.

*F-Pn* lat. 495 is a 1489 copy of Aquinas’s *Expositio litteralis in Isaia* (fol. 1r, [Image 188](#)). The colophon reads: ‘Scriptore venceslao crispo Bohemo | Slagenuerdiensi: re|gio sumptu. Neapolis. | feliciter absolutum. | Anno nostre salutis | *Millesimo. CCCC. Lxxxix.*’ (fol. 188r, [Image 189](#)). In [Image 190](#), which shows fol. 5v, column 1, lines 1–13, may be observed a further development of Crispus’s extension of descenders and now ascenders. In lines 2, ‘-tens’, 6, ‘-bus’, and 13 ‘stantes’, the terminal s receives a diagonal hairline extension in the top right that mirrors the long hairline diacritic marks and hyphens used liberally in these examples and throughout the manuscript. In line 4, ‘alijs’, the descender of the j actually touches the ascender of the r on the next line, as does the x in ‘dixit’, line 11. Also, in *F-Pn* lat. 495, the descender of the y is fairly straight and extends to the top of the script on the line below, e.g. fol. 1v, column 1, line 15, ‘myste-’ ([Image 191](#)). In *F-LO* 8 (1489) the same form is used, e.g. fol. 13r, column 1, line 3, ‘physicorum’ ([Image 192](#)).

The same form of y is used in *F-G* 344, Crispus’s 1491 copy of Aquinas’s *Explanatio in metaphysicam Aristotelis* (fol. 1r, [Image 193](#)), e.g. fol. 1v, column 1, line 46, ‘Metaphysica’ ([Image 194](#)). Also, the descenders quite regularly, and with some virtuosity, join the letters on the line beneath. In [Image 195](#), which shows fol. 4r,

column 2, lines 16–29, note the *–um* abbreviation sign that descends to meet the script on the line below, and the several other indicated examples of the extended descenders of the letters x and j that do the same. The later form of y is also used in *F-Pn* lat. 6525 (1493), fol. 1r, column 2, line 47 ([Image 196](#)).

On the basis of this general shift in Crispus’s approach to his descenders and other lines like serifs and hyphens from shorter and less expressive in 1480, increasing in extension and curvature towards the mid-1480s, and then ultimately becoming quite straight, though at a 45-degree angle, into the 1490s, I believe that the script of **BU** can be dated within Crispus’s output to c.1486–1488.

## 5.2 | Beatrice of Aragon

I will proceed to consider what implications this new dating of the script of **BU** might have in terms of Woodley’s opinion that the manuscript was prepared for Beatrice of Aragon.<sup>46</sup>

Beatrice of Aragon was born in Naples, probably in the Castel Capuano, on 14 November 1457 to Ferrante, then Duke of Calabria, and Isabella. She was described as tall and slender, with long blonde hair and noble, pale hands.<sup>47</sup> A marble sculpture of her likeness, probably at the age of no more than twelve, was created by Francesco Laurana in the early 1470s, with the inscription ‘Diva Beatrix Aragonia’ ([Image 197](#)), and now forms part of The Frick Collection in New York. Perhaps ten years later she was represented again by Laurana ([Image 198](#)) in a coloured-marble bust now in the

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<sup>46</sup> Ronald Woodley, ‘Bologna 2573 and the Naples–Hungary Axis’, paper given at international conference ‘Johannes Tinctoris and Music Theory in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance’, Chancellor’s Hall, Senate House, University of London, 9 October 2014.

<sup>47</sup> See Joanne Sabadino degli Arienti, *Gynevera de la clare donne*, ed. Corrado Ricci and A. Bacchi della Lega (Bologna: Romagnoli dall’Acqua, 1888), 402; and Philippus Bergomentis, *De claris et selectis mulieribus* (Ferrara, 1497), 59 and 154.

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>48</sup> As Queen of Hungary, she was later depicted opposite her husband King Matthias Corvinus ([Image 201](#)) in a marble and jade relief by Giovanni Cristoforo Romano (c.1465–1512) that is now in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum in Budapest.

In Joanne Sabadino degli Arienti's *Gynevra de le clare donne*, Beatrice is described as follows:

Et de Beatrice ... regina de Hungaria, saputo haverei de la sua honestate, de la gratiosità de le parole, de la religione, del timore de Dio, de la liberalità usata cum prudentia et discretione, et del suo bel modo in parlare latino; et lo effectuale amore mostra a quilli che hano egregii exercitii; et cum quanta callidità et prudentia se porta, bisognando infra quelle barbare gente, per la morte de la regia maiestà del marito, che fìa degna de grandissima laude.<sup>49</sup>

*And concerning Beatrice ... Queen of Hungary, I should have learned of her dignity, of the graciousness of her words, of her devotion, of her fear of God, of her generosity, employed with prudence and discretion, and of her fine way of speaking Latin, and the practical affection she shows to those who have applied themselves notably, and with what astuteness and prudence she comported herself, having to be among those barbarous people, at the death of his royal majesty her husband, which should make her worthy of the greatest praise.*

As shall be seen, this passage neatly encapsulates Beatrice's journey from her idyllic early courtly life, through her patronage of Tintoris, to the difficulties she experienced in Buda in her later life. The narrative must begin, however, back in Naples. At the age of six, in 1463, Beatrice was promised in marriage to the four-year-old Giovanni Battista Marzano.<sup>50</sup> On 7 September, a marriage ceremony *per verba* was held near the Torre di Francolisi. In 1464, the *Cedole* recorded payments of 324 ducats for the

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<sup>48</sup> Albert de Berzevicyz, in *Béatrice, Reine de Hongrie (1457–1508)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion 1911–1912), i. 84, is almost certain that this is Beatrice, though the identification is not secure. Laurana was also responsible for a white marble sculpture of the Madonna and Child that once surmounted the portal to the Capella Palatina (at least it did in 1964: see the image in Riccardo Filangieri, *Castel nuovo, reggia angioina ed aragonese di Napoli* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1964), 139). The sculpture has subsequently suffered damage and is now situated as an exhibit in the chapel's sacristy ([Image 199](#)). The remainder of the portal, by Andrea dell'Aquila, is still in place ([Image 200](#)). Aquila's work is wrongly ascribed to Laurana in Berzevicyz, *Béatrice*, i. 85. On Laurana, see also Wilhelm Rolfs, *Franz Laurana* (Berlin: R. Bong, 1907).

<sup>49</sup> Degli Arienti, *Gynevra*, 401–402. See also Margaret Ann Franklin, *Boccaccio's Heroines: Power and Virtue in Renaissance Society* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 126.

<sup>50</sup> Berzevicyz, *Béatrice*, i. 25.

purchase for Beatrice of long robes and coats of brocade and crimson damask, garments in red plush and violet cloth in addition to white and green damask, and in perfumed cotton, felt hats, long gloves in many colours, plush shoes, gold and silver belts, mirrors, and jewellery.<sup>51</sup> The figure of 324 ducats also includes payments to Beatrice's nanny, Nardella di Nola, and a servant (*esclave*). Ultimately, Marzano was imprisoned and executed by order of King Ferrante.<sup>52</sup>

Beatrice was probably fifteen or sixteen years of age when Tinctoris arrived in Naples, and there is strong evidence that he very soon began to teach her music. In the prologue to the *Diffinitorium musice*, Tinctoris dedicates this 'little work' (opusculum) to her, explaining that such is the custom of preceptors (preceptoribus). This provides a very strong indication that he was Beatrice's tutor in music ([Image 202](#)):<sup>53</sup>

Johannes tinctoris ad illu|strissimam virginem et dominam | *Dominam*  
Beatricem de aragonia | *Diffinitorium musice felici|ter incipit Prologus:-* |  
Prudentissime virgine | ac illustrissime domine | domine beatrici de a|ragonia ·  
serenissi|mi principis divi | Ferdinandi dei gratia | regis sicilie iherusalem et  
ungarie | probissime filie. Johannes tinctorum | eorum qui musicam profitentur  
infi|mus voluntariam ac perpetuam | servitutem Moris est cuiuslibet | scientie  
preceptoribus inclita virgo | dum ingeniorum suorum excercitia<sup>54</sup> | litteris  
mandant aut ea viris | illustribus aut claris dirigere | mulieribus.<sup>55</sup>

*The dictionary of music of Johannes Tinctoris, to the most illustrious virgin and lady Beatrice of Aragon, begins auspiciously. Prologue: Johannes Tinctoris, least among those who practise music, offers this in perpetual service to the most prudent and most illustrious virgin lady Beatrice of Aragon, most worthy child of the most serene divine prince Ferdinand, by the grace of God King of Sicily, Jersusalem and Hungary. It is the custom of preceptors of every*

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>53</sup> Acknowledged in Ronald Woodley, 'Iohannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34/2 (1981), 217–248, at 233. See also Ronald Woodley, 'The First Printed Musical Dictionary', review of Cecilia Panti, ed., *Johannes Tinctoris: Diffinitorium musice: Un dizionario di musica per Beatrice d'Aragona* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2004), *Early Music*, 34/3 (2006), 479–481, at 479.

<sup>54</sup> Transcribed as, or silently corrected to, 'exercitia' in Panti, *Diffinitorium musice*, 2.

<sup>55</sup> Transcribed from **Br1**, fol. 117r.

*discipline, O illustrious virgin, to dedicate to illustrious men or to famous women those efforts of their talents which they commit to writing.*<sup>56</sup>

Tinctoris here refers to Beatrice as ‘virgo’, and goes on to make reference to her, later in the prologue, as ‘regia proles’ (royal offspring), terms which do not convey any sense of the princess’s engagement and subsequent marriage around 1476 to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary.<sup>57</sup> It is evident that Beatrice was considered not simply as royal offspring well in advance of the nuptials themselves; in a letter to the Archbishop of Bari dated in late 1475, Alfonso wrote of his pleasure at the impending Neapolito-Hungarian marriage, speaking of Beatrice as queen, while addressing Matthias as his brother-in-law and assuring him of his brotherly esteem.<sup>58</sup> For her part, Beatrice wrote a letter in Latin to the Pope on 30 July 1475, signing herself Queen of Hungary,<sup>59</sup> suggesting that Tinctoris’s descriptions were written before even that earlier date. Furthermore, Ferrante gave his consent to the engagement on 5 September 1474 (see below).<sup>60</sup> It is therefore most likely that Tinctoris began to teach Beatrice very soon after his probable arrival in 1472 at Naples, and then wrote the dedication to the *Diffinitorium musice* quite possibly before the engagement was agreed on 5 September 1474, and in any case almost certainly not after the date of Beatrice’s letter in 1475. Evidence is found towards the end of the dedication of the *Diffinitorium musice* that it was probably written fairly late in the period before Beatrice was styled Queen of Hungary. Tinctoris suggests boastfully that his work is probably to be judged by Beatrice as superior to that of other musicians, thereby implying that she was likely to have known several other of his texts by the time of writing, rather than just this one:

Tamen | si in theoria musices pariter et | praxi omnes nostri temporis cantores |  
excedam aut excedar ab aliquo | tue ceterorumque in ipsa arte peritis|simorum  
perspicientie discurrendum | relinquo.<sup>61</sup>

*Whether I might excel all singers of our time in the theory of music as well as  
the practice or be excelled by anyone, I leave to be discussed by your  
knowledge and that of others most skilled in the art.*

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<sup>56</sup> Translated with some reference to the Italian translation in Panti, *Diffinitorium musice*, 2.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., xxxi.

<sup>58</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 95–96.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 87. The letter is *I-Vsm X CLXXV*, fol. 91.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>61</sup> Transcribed from **Br1**, fol. 117v.

Tinctoris dedicated two other of his treatises to Beatrice: the *Complexus effectuum musices* and *Tractatus de regulari valore notarum*. The dedication of the former is as follows ([Image 203](#)):

Complexus effectuum musi|ces editus a magistro Johanne | tinctoris in legibus  
licentiate re|gis que sicilie capellano. Prologus. | Illustrissime domine bea|trici  
de aragonia | regis sicilie, iherusa|lem et ungarie pro|bissime filie Johan|nes  
tinctoris inter | legum artiumque mathematicarum | professores minimus  
immortalem ser|vitutem Scienti mihi beatissimam | beatrix quam ardenti  
quamque vehemen|ti studio ingenue arti musices | operam impendas occurrerit  
quos|dam ingentes effectus ipsius | compendiose tue celsitudini exponere.<sup>62</sup>

*The Compass of the Effects of Music: Set forth by Master Johannes Tinctoris, licentiate in laws and chaplain of the king of Sicily. Prologue. To the most illustrious lady Beatrice of Aragon, most virtuous daughter of the King of Sicily, Jerusalem and Hungary, Johannes Tinctoris, the most humble of all the teachers of law and of the mathematical arts, sends vows of perpetual servitude. It occurs to me, most blessed Beatrice, since I know with what zeal and enthusiasm you are dedicated to the art of music, to explain in brief some of its extraordinary effects.*

The treatise *De regulari valore notarum* begins:<sup>63</sup>

TRACTATUS DE REGULARI VALORE NOTARUM EDITUS A MAGISTRO JOANNE  
TINCTORIS IN LEGIBUS LICENTIATO REGISQUE SICILIE CAPELLANO. *Incipit  
Prologus.* Cogitanti mihi, illustrissima domina, rationi maxime consentaneum  
laudem et gloriam studiorum ab his qui ea intelligunt diliguntque expetere, in  
mentem venit hoc opusculum, *De regulari valore notarum* inscriptum, tue  
celsitudini dedicare, expetens si in eo aliquid studii laude gloriaque dignum  
inveniat, id tua existimatione, quom intellectu prestantissimo ac bonarum  
artium dilectione ferventissima viros nedum feminas omnes excedas, mihi  
attributum fore. Precor igitur ingenti cordis affectu, quamvis hoc innata quadam  
sciendi cupiditate facturam te non dubitem, ut quom opusculum ipsum in  
manibus habueris, accuratissime perlegas; ac si in eo me libero homine digna  
precepisse inveneris, apud teipsam amore sanctissimo quo erga scientiarum  
ingenuarum studiosos affici consueveris, perquam gratiosum efficere digneris.  
Nanque tunc operam meam huic studiorum generi impensam digne censebo,  
dum ex eo gratiam tam celebris, tam illustris, tanque prudentis domine regie  
filie consequutus fuero.

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<sup>62</sup> Transcribed from **Br1**, fol. 125r.

<sup>63</sup> The following edition and translation is from *TCTW*.

*A TREATISE ON THE REGULAR VALUE OF NOTES: SET FORTH BY MASTER JOHANNES TINCTORIS, LICENTIATE IN LAWS AND CHAPLAIN OF THE KING OF SICILY. Here begins the Prologue. As I was thinking, most illustrious lady, that it is in the highest accordance with reason to desire praise and renown for one's studies from those who understand and love them, it came to mind to dedicate this little work entitled On the regular value of notes to your Highness, desiring that, if anything studious in it be found worthy of praise and renown, this might be attributed to me by your esteem, since you excel all men not to mention women in most outstanding intellect and most fervent love of the fine arts. I beg, therefore, with the enormous affection of my heart, although I do not doubt that you will do this with an innate desire of knowledge, that, when you have this little work in your hands, you will read it through most carefully; and if you find me to have taught in it matters worthy of a gentleman, that you will deign to bestow your highest favour upon me, with the most holy love by which you have been accustomed to be drawn towards students of the liberal sciences. For then I shall count my effort on this kind of studies worthily expended, so long as out of it I shall have obtained the grace of so celebrated, so illustrious, and knowledgeable a royal princess.*

The treatise ends:

*Accipe iam precor, beatissima Beatrix, hoc tui Tinctoris opusculum, quod quia De regulari valore notarum sit inscriptum, quadam rationi consona proportione, tue celsitudini, valore virtutum inestimabili, quo nihil dignius est, institute, non modo dedicandum sed et donandum censuit, firmissime sperans, quom ipsi proceres sapientes atque prudentes, quorum ipsa princeps es, potius animum donantis quam donum spectare soleant, quod si magnitudinem amoris quo ille tue ingenti glorie afficitur inspicias, parvitatem sui muneris profecto non contemnes.*

*Now accept, I pray, most blessed Beatrice, this little work of your Tinctoris, which, because it is entitled On the regular value of notes, he thought, in a proportion consonant to reason, must be not only dedicated but also presented to your Highness, educated in the inestimable value of the virtues, than which nothing is more worthy, most firmly hoping, since those wise and prudent princes, of whom you yourself are are foremost, are accustomed to regard more the spirit of the giver than the gift, that if you examine the greatness of the love by which he is drawn to your immense renown, you will by no means despise the slighness of his offering.*

Tinctoris was certainly not, however, Beatrice's only teacher. The earliest record of Beatrice's studies was made on 30 March 1465, when she received a book on grammar



and an exercise book.<sup>64</sup> Beatrice's instructor from spring 1467 until she was aged seventeen was Abbot Antonio de Sarcellis, *provincial* at the Carmelite convent of Camine Maggiore, as recorded in 1471.<sup>65</sup> He was recorded initially as Beatrice's 'maestro di grammatica', then 'maestro di rettorica', and later more generally 'maestro della illustrissima donna Beatrice'.<sup>66</sup>

According to the apparently somewhat idealised account of Beatrice's biography by the Italian humanist Antonio Bonfini (1434–1503), life seemed perfect to her during her youth at Naples, since she spent much of her time at study. She rose at dawn, and began the day with religious devotions. She received lessons from teachers of various subjects, in the company of her brothers, and noted discussions that they had with each other after the lessons, perhaps in imitation of those held by the king and his senior courtiers. Following these lessons would be time spent with the king, and visits to weaving and dyeing workshops under the supervision of her governess. From 9 a.m. she would be engrossed in intellectual and religious studies, spending a good part of the day reading the lives of the saints. Later, she would walk under the portico or in the gardens of the Castelnuovo, where Ferrante had arranged religious artworks (presumably works of sculpture). Before dinner, she engaged in more prayer, and afterwards she would always follow a reading or a conversation on morals or some other instructive subject, before apparently she slept well.<sup>67</sup>

Beatrice received a parchment copy of Cicero, *De senectute*, at the age of ten years.<sup>68</sup> Other works of the same author she was given included *De officiis* ('Si danno 20 duc. a Giov. Marco scrittore della libreria del Re pel costo di due libri nominati *Tullii de*

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<sup>64</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 48. The *Cedole* record is referred to by Berzeviczy but was not transcribed, to my knowledge, before the destruction of the records.

<sup>65</sup> Gaetano Filangieri, 'Estratti di Schede Notarili', in *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie delle province napoletane*, iii (Naples: Tipografica dell'Accademia Reale delle Scienze, 1888), 1–548, at 326. Cited in Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 49.

<sup>66</sup> Barone in 'Cedole', 214–216, relates that 'Abate Antonio' was her 'maestro di grammatica' in December 1467, and again in May 1468, with a monthly honorarium of 6 ducats. In November 1470, Sarcellis (spelt Sarsellis) is again mentioned as Beatrice's *maestro* (ibid., 231). Berzeviczy relates that in fact the appointment was first recorded in the spring of that year, and makes reference to untranscribed and hence unrecoverable *Cedole* records in *Béatrice*, i. 48.

<sup>67</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 35–36.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 49.

*officiis et epistolis* scritti con lettera antica in pergamena, coverti di cuoio leonato con lettere maiuscole d'oro. Questi libri si donano alla Ill.<sup>ma</sup> d. Beatrice d'Aragona')<sup>69</sup> and *Epistolarum liber*, in addition to works of Virgil.<sup>70</sup>

The thirteen-year-old Beatrice received 1 ducat and 10 grani on 8 February 1470 for some quaterns of parchment to insert in one of her books: 'Ala illustrissima donna Beatrix de Arago filla del Senyor Rey graciosament, e son per afigir certs quaherns de pregami en hun seu libre duc. 1, gr. 10.'<sup>71</sup> On 10 January the following year, she received 3 ducats to purchase a book: 'Ala illustrissima dona Beatrix darago filla del Senyor Rey per comprarse hun libre'.<sup>72</sup> Then, on 13 August 1473, she received 2 ducats for a printed book of Roberto Caracciolo bound in boards covered in vermilion leather: 'Ala illustrissima dona Beatrix darago filla del Senyor Rey per pagar lo preu de hun libre de stampa de paper cubert de taules ab cuyro vermell en lo qual son scrites les pedriques de frare Ruberto de Lexte e per sa Senyoria a Sabatino de Nola duc. 2'.<sup>73</sup>

On 13 November 1471, Aniello de Leve was paid for 4 canni and 6 palmi of gold *frisso* to make clothes for Beatrice for a day's hunting at Astroni: 'Si danno 6 duc. 3 tarì e 5 granna a maestro Aniello de leve pel prezzo di 4 canne, 6 palmi di *frisso* color di oro a ragione di 2 d. ed un tarì la canna, del quale furono tagliati due vestiti, l'uno per l'illustrissima D.<sup>a</sup> Eleonora e l'altro per D.<sup>a</sup> Beatrice il giorno della caccia agli Astroni'.<sup>74</sup> Astroni is a large extinct volcanic crater in the volcanic Campi Flegrei area, ten kilometres west of the Castelnuovo, which is covered in forest and richly populated with wildlife ([Image 204](#)). It was the principal royal hunting ground from the reign of Alfonso I. Beatrice's hunting activities began at the age of eleven, and she was probably involved largely in falconry; indeed, after she had become Queen of Hungary, she was

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<sup>69</sup> Barone, 'Cedole', 244.

<sup>70</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 50.

<sup>71</sup> *DMB*, ii. 252, doc. 299.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 253, doc. 340.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 260–261, doc. 470. Paraphrased in Barone, 'Cedole', 390.

<sup>74</sup> Barone, 'Cedole', 237.

recorded as having asked her sister Eleonora's husband, Ercole d'Este, for well-trained falcons, in order that she might enjoy Italian-style hunting.<sup>75</sup>

On 1 April 1472, Pietro Bernart was paid 140 ducats, 2 tarì, and 19.5 grani for bridal clothing and other items (*corredo*): 'A Pietro Bernart si danno 140 d. 2 t. e 19 grana ½ pel corredo di D.<sup>a</sup> Eleonora e D.<sup>a</sup> Beatrice d'Aragona'.<sup>76</sup> In 1473, around the time of Eleonora's marriage in July, Beatrice's court was apparently enlarged to that befitting a young princess. In the *Cedole*, from 6 June 1473 onwards, entries concerning 'la spesa della casa della ill. Donna Beatrix' became common.<sup>77</sup> Payments were made for domestic accoutrements such as a sideboard, a washbasin, chandeliers, table furniture, chests, bedding, chapel ornaments, saddles and harnesses for horses, cooking utensils, in addition, of course, to clothing and other finery. The annual expenditure for Beatrice's house was notionally fixed at 1,000 ducats, though the actual total value of the disbursements made significantly exceeded the figure. Records of 1474 indicate a considerable personal retinue, including: a court intendant, Lucido di Sangro; a private tutor, Antonio de Sarcellis; a doctor, Messer Christofano Dartaldo, who was a professor in the faculty of medicine at the University of Naples; a secretary and accountant, Bartolommeo Loret; a cook, an assistant cook and a cook in chief, a master baker, a buyer, a *sommelier*, a *maître d'hôtel*, a *maestro di sala*, a porter, an equerry, an *échanson* (cupbearer), two laundresses, a muletier, and many other generic domestic staff.<sup>78</sup> In 1474, Beatrice's horses consumed 573 *tomoles*, or just less than 30,000 litres, of oats.<sup>79</sup>

On 4 February 1474, Beatrice was given a deck of *Trionfi* playing cards, the predecessors of tarot cards: 'Paolo de Paris riceve 3 tarì per altrettanti spesi in un gioco di carte detto trionfi, donato all ill.<sup>a</sup> D. Beatrice d'Aragona, figlia del Re.'<sup>80</sup> No doubt, since these card games reflected the practice of fifteenth-century triumphs, or lavish and

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<sup>75</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 75.

<sup>76</sup> Barone, 'Cedole', 240.

<sup>77</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 67.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 68. I have reproduced Berzeviczy's translation of these job titles here, since the original text of the record does not survive even in transcription.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Barone, 'Cedole', 395. Berzeviczy's partial transcription of the original record is: 'hun joch de cartes dit trihumfes' in *Béatrice*, i. 77.

spectacular celebratory parades, which were especially popular in Italy, the gift was made to the sixteen-year old princess in connection with the prospective celebrations which the royal family hoped would ensue after the wedding proposal that was about to be made.<sup>81</sup>

In the spring of 1474, Matthias sent his ambassadors Miklós Bánfi and György Handó to Naples in order to seek Beatrice's hand in marriage.<sup>82</sup> Ferrante responded by sending a letter of 5 September 1474 agreeing to the proposal. Matthias then received Ferrante's ambassadors, led by his envoy, the Archbishop of Bari, on 2 February 1475 at Wrocław, where the Neapolitan dignitaries, who bore lavish gifts on Beatrice's behalf including ornate clothing, were treated to a feast lasting several days.<sup>83</sup> The marriage contract was concluded *per verba de futuro* at Naples in June 1475, and the dowry established by Matthias's representatives Albert Vetési, Bishop of Veszprém, János Laki Thuz, Ban of Slovenia, and Francesco Fontana.<sup>84</sup> Notar Giacomo recorded:

Adi xx de iugno dicti anni intro in la Cita de napoli lo Oratore del serenissimo Re Macthias Re de vngaria per causa del matrimonio che se hauea da contrahere conla illustrissima Madamma Beatrice de aragonia figliola legitima et naturale del serenissimo Re ferrando loquale ambasciatore alli xxiii decto si la inguadio in la Sala del castello nouo.<sup>85</sup>

Adi. vii. de sectembro anni m cccclxxvi. de sabato ale decesepte ore intraro in la Cita de napoli li oratori del serenissimo Re Macthias Re de hungaria per portare in vngaria la illustrissima Madamma Beatrice de aragonia Consorte dedicto Re.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> On *trionfi*, see Robert M. Place, *The Fool's Journey: The History, Art, and Symbolism of the Tarot* (New York: Talarus Publications, 2010), 16–18.

<sup>82</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 93.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 95; and Orsolya Réthelyi, 'King Matthias on the Marriage Market', in Péter Farbaký, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, and András Végh, eds., *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490* (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 247–250, at 249.

<sup>84</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 95, and 107–108. Réthelyi, 'Marriage Market', 249, gives the month incorrectly as June.

<sup>85</sup> Paolo Garzilli, *Cronica di Napoli di notar Giacomo* (Naples: Stamperia reale, 1845), 129.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 130.

Matthias postponed the wedding itself until 1476, on account of his Turkish campaign.<sup>87</sup> In May 1475, preparations began in earnest at Buda for the forthcoming delegation to Naples; perhaps a thousand ecclesiastical and aristocratic representatives were assembled, at a cost of 20,000 florins, to be led by Rudolpf von Rudesheim, Bishop of Wrocław. Back in Naples, preparations were also under way: in April 1476, the Florentine Salutati bank, whose officials had earlier that year been entertained by Giovanni and Alfonso,<sup>88</sup> was involved in the payment of 156 ducats for gold and silver braid ('oro et argento tirato') that was supplied by Antonio Gallo, a goldsmith, for the production of Beatrice's wedding jewellery.<sup>89</sup>

Tinctoris, meanwhile, had most likely been involved in the preparation of a wedding gift for Beatrice: The *Mellon Chansonier* (US-NH 91).<sup>90</sup> The manuscript largely features chansons by composers associated with the Burgundian court, including three by Johannes Ockeghem, one by Johannes Regis, sixteen by Antoine Busnois, three by Frémin le Caron, one by Gilles Binchois, and four by Guillaume Dufay. That these composers were of fundamental importance to Tinctoris may be seen clearly in the following famous passage from the prologue to *De arte contrapuncti*:

I know not whether by the strength of some heavenly inspiration or by the force of hard practice, countless composers flourish, such as Johannes Ockeghem,

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<sup>87</sup> Réthelyi, 'Marriage Market', 249, Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 99. For relevant diplomatic correspondence see Richard J. Walsh, *Charles the Bold and Italy 1467–1477: Politics and Personnel* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 319. The pertinent letters are Perotto de Vesach to the Duke of Ferrara, Naples, 1 June 1476 (Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria, estro: Carteggi degli ambasciatori, Napoli, 1, 161), pub. in Ernesto Sestan, *Carteggi diplomatici fra Milano sforzesca e la Borgogna*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1985–1987), ii. nos. 604, 607–608, and 613; and Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, ed. Georges Doutrepoint and Omer Jodogne, 3 vols. (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935–1937), i. 164. All cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 338, n. 144.

<sup>88</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>89</sup> See Alfonso Silvestri, 'Sull'attività bancaria napoletana durante il periodo aragonese. Notizie e documenti', *Bollettino dell'Archivio storico del Banco di Napoli* 2/6 (1953), 30–120, at 105, and Thomas Haffner, *Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Giovanni d'Aragona (1456–1485): illuminierte Handschriften und Inkunabeln für einen humanistischen Bibliophilen zwischen Neapel und Rom* (Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert Verlag, 1997), 12. On the wedding of Beatrice and Matthias, also see Volker Honemann, 'The Marriage of Matthias Corvinus to Beatrice of Aragón (1476) in Urban and Court Historiography', in Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald, and Arjo Vanderjagt, eds., *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450–1650*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2003–2005), ii. 213–226.

<sup>90</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'Bologna 2573'.

Johannes Regis, Antoine Busnoys, Frémin le Caron, Guillaume Faugues, who pride themselves on having as their teachers in this divine art the recently deceased John Dunstaple, Gilles Binchois, Guillaume du Faÿ. Nearly all the works of them all breathe such sweetness that (at least in my opinion) they should be considered worthy not only of men and heroes but even of the immortal gods. Indeed too, I never hear, never study them without coming away happier and more learned.<sup>91</sup>

Only a few months later than the presumed presentation of the *Mellon Chansonnier* to Beatrice, Tinctoris completed his *De natura et proprietate tonorum* (6 November 1476), which he dedicated to Ockeghem and Busnois. Tinctoris's ties to Guillaume Dufay were strong, since they probably had contact at Cambrai Cathedral.<sup>92</sup> Barbingant's *L'homme banny*, whose tenor Tinctoris cites in *De imperfectione notarum*, is included in the *Chansonnier*. Along with Dufay, Binchois, Ockeghem, Busnois, Regis, and Caron, the composer Robert Morton, three of whose chansons appear in the *Mellon Chansonnier*, is mentioned in chapter 19 of the *Complexus effectuum musices*, which, as mentioned above, was dedicated to Beatrice.

It is evident that Tinctoris's presumed wedding gift to Beatrice was saturated with music that he knew intimately and held in high regard, despite occasional technical criticisms, written by composers with whom he shared a common heritage, and some of whom he knew personally. It is quite reasonable to assume that Tinctoris would have shared this music with Beatrice during his tutelage, and that this anthology was intended to serve as a personal reminder of the time they had spent together and as a profitable tool for her continued musical edification.

Tinctoris made his dedication of the manuscript to Beatrice in a surprising variety of ways. His choice of the opening chanson, Busnoys's *Bel Acueil* (fols. 1v–2r, [Image 205](#)) was clearly made in order to allow the initial letters of the first two words of the text to articulate her initials, as observed by Vivian S. Ramalingam and reported by Perkins.<sup>93</sup> I make the further observation that while the decoration of the initial B of 'Bel' in the

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<sup>91</sup> *TCTW*.

<sup>92</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'Johannes Tinctoris: Biographical Outline', <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/Tinctoris/BiographicalOutline> (2013).

<sup>93</sup> Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), i. 31.

superius part and the initials C and T of the voice designations ‘Contratenor’ and ‘Tenor’ are executed as expected and as continued in the remainder of the manuscript, the decorated letter form of the majuscule T is in fact not dissimilar to that of the minuscule a, and hence it is possible in a way to read B–a across the top of the opening.

Jaap van Benthem made the acute observation that the compositions in the manuscript are ordered in three groups of nineteen pieces, each ending with a reference to Beatrice.<sup>94</sup> In the opening chanson, ‘the allegorical figure of Bel Accueil ... offer[s] a “fair welcome” to the recipient of the manuscript: “Bel Accueil, le sergent d’Amours, en bien soit faire ses esloys...” (Fair Welcome, the servant of Love, knows how to turn his deeds to good account).’<sup>95</sup> The nineteenth and fifty-seventh pieces are Tinctoris’s own compositions, which I shall address below, while the thirty-eighth makes reference again to Bel Accueil and newly to Bien Amer, a further articulation of Beatrice’s initials through *Roman de la Rose* imagery: ‘Enfermé suis je en la tour de Bel Accueil par Bien Amer’ (I am imprisoned in the tower of Fair Welcome by Well-Loving).

Tinctoris included two of his own compositions in the Chansonnier, which appear to stand apart from the rest of the collection as ostensibly sacred motets, as opposed to secular chansons.<sup>96</sup> The first, *O virgo miserere mei*, appears on fols. 24v–25r ([Image 206](#)), and is unique to the manuscript. At the head of the verso is inscribed the dedication ‘Beatissime virgini · domine beatrici de Aragonia. | Jo. tinctoris’ (To the most blessed maiden, Lady Beatrice of Aragon. Johannes Tinctoris). I have newly identified the text set as the elegiac couplet 81–82 from the twelfth epistolary poem in Ovid’s *Heroides*, in which the sorceress Medea writes to Jason on the eve of her slaughter of their children, quoting retrospectively his words to her:

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<sup>94</sup> Jaap van Benthem, ‘Concerning Johannes Tinctoris and the Preparation of the Princess’s Chansonnier’, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 32 (1982), 24–9, at 26.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Van Benthem, *ibid.*, demonstrates some convincing gematrical analysis that shows the encoding of both Beatrice’s and Tinctoris’s names in these two compositions. It is not necessary to rehearse his findings here.

O virgo miserere mei miserere meorum.  
Effice me meritis tempus in omne tuum.<sup>97</sup>

*O maiden, have pity on me, and have pity on my companions [or works].  
Make me, by your grace, yours forever.*

I believe that Tinctoris selected this text in order to implore of Beatrice that she keep in fond memory not just him, but also his companions in two senses: his compatriot composers, with whose works she has become familiar in her lessons with him, and also their compositions, which have been companion to him in his employment far from his homeland in Naples, and also are being offered newly as companions for her in her new home in distant Buda. This possibility is underlined by the fact that ‘meorum’ means only ‘mine’. Since *what* or *who* of mine is not implicit in the isolated distich, Tinctoris may equally have been employing the text to make reference to ‘my companions’, ‘my people’, or ‘my works’, theoretical and musical.

Since *O virgo miserere mei* is addressed to Beatrice as *virgo*, it must have been composed and dedicated to her before she began to be styled Queen of Hungary. It was therefore included in the *Mellon Chansonnier* as a piece already dedicated to her, which can only have served to heighten its significance.

The second of Tinctoris’s compositions in the *Mellon Chansonnier* is *Virgo Dei throno digna*, the very final item in the manuscript, on fols. 80v–81r ([Image 207](#)):

Virgo Dei throno digna,  
Spes unica musicorum,  
Devote plebi cantorum  
Esto clemens et benigna.

*O Virgin, worthy of the throne of God,  
Sole hope of musicians,  
To the devoted community of singers,  
Be gentle and kind.*

If the text of this motet was pre-existent when Tinctoris made his setting, then I have been unable to discover the source. It is clear, though, how the first line of the text may be interpreted as making reference to Beatrice’s taking up of the Hungarian throne, and

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<sup>97</sup> My transcription from US-NH 91, fol. 24v.



likewise, in the second line, how Tinctoris would have wanted to express Beatrice's value as a past, present, and hopefully future patron, or 'sole hope' of musicians. The phrase 'Spes unica' is, as Woodley observes, derived from the hymn *Vexilla Regis*.<sup>98</sup> I read the third line in parallel with the 'companions' referred to in *O virgo miserere mei*; in presenting this anthology of compositions of his compatriots, Tinctoris is mythologising the 'devoted community of singers' (of course, at this time the roles of singer and composer were by no means discrete) of which he is part, and imploring that Beatrice hold them all in memory and grace in her new position of power.

As for the final line of the motet, it is telling that there exists a *Missa Clemens et benigna* by Frémin le Caron who, as I have demonstrated above, features not only in the Chansonnier but also in Tinctoris's treatises. 'Clemens et benigna' is a 'Marian "Osanna" trope' which is attested in Neapolitan manuscripts.<sup>99</sup> The mass paraphrases Caron's own chanson *Se brief puyt ma dame voir*, which contains the text [At the sight of my lady] 'Certes, mon dueil chancillera ... Leysse en main prendra m'avoir' (My grief will certainly waver ... Joy will then take my being in hand).<sup>100</sup> It is just possible, then, that the text of this motet was composed by Tinctoris in order to make reference to Caron's chanson text via the medium of his mass; the chanson text would surely express just the kind of sentiment with which Tinctoris's gift is so vividly imbued.

Also prepared as a wedding gift for Beatrice was *I-PAp* G.G.III. 170.1654, Diomedes Carafa's *De institutione vivendi*, which features on its frontispiece (fol. 4r, [Image 208](#)) a miniature depicting the presentation of the manuscript to Beatrice as the book's dedicatee, the day after her service of marriage and coronation in Naples. Carafa (c.1406–1487) was a close diplomatic and military aide of both Alfonso I and Ferrante, eventually becoming the latter's chief financial administrator.<sup>101</sup> The manuscript is

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<sup>98</sup> Woodley, 'Bologna 2573'.

<sup>99</sup> Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 222. The melody is edited in Joseph Pothier, *Cantus Mariales* (Paris: Poussielgue, 1903), 21–22, while the text is edited in Clemens Blume and Henry Marriott Bannister, eds., *Analecta hymnica medii aevii*, xlvii: *Tropi graduales* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1906), 350–351.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 224–225.

<sup>101</sup> Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 142.

smaller than **BU** (120 × 170 mm in comparison to **BU**'s 165–170 × 235±1 mm), and was written by Cinico ('Iohannes Marcus Cynicus exscripsit') in 'golden letters on parchment painted violet and green'.<sup>102</sup> Carafa composed the book in *napoletano misto*, but presented it to Beatrice in Latin translation, possibly in order that Matthias would also be able to read it.

At the base of the frontispiece of *I-PAp* G.G.III. 170.1654 is King Matthias's coat of arms combined with the arms of the House of Aragon in one achievement, thereby producing Beatrice's personal arms as Queen of Hungary.<sup>103</sup> The combined arms appear on documents that Beatrice signed and sealed personally, while Matthias's documents were marked only with his own arms.<sup>104</sup> The practice was employed by the royal couple's predecessors and successors; the Hungarian kings' arms did not feature their consorts' arms, while the two were combined to form hers. Beatrice's arms are described by Csapodi as follows: 'the dexter half of the divided escutcheon was occupied by the royal coat of arms with the raven of the Hunyadis in the fesse point, while the sinister side bore the coat of arms of the Aragonese'.<sup>105</sup> This provides evidence that Beatrice had her own collection of books at Buda, which was distinct from the main royal collection of Corvinus.

A third evident wedding gift to Beatrice was *I-Nn* VI.E.40, a large parchment codex featuring a cycle of six anonymous masses on the *L'homme armé* melody, which was almost certainly prepared at, and sent from, the Burgundian court.<sup>106</sup> On fol. 69v is an anonymous Latin poem that dedicates the book to Beatrice, which is written in elegiac couplets and which refers to her as 'regi nupta':

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<sup>102</sup> Csaba Csapodi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana: The Library of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969), 64; and Marcus Tanner, *The Raven King: Matthias Corvinus and the Fate of his Lost Library* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 88–89, and Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 120

<sup>103</sup> Csapodi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, 17.

<sup>104</sup> An example of a document signed and sealed by Beatrice is Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár. Diplomacy Dept., DL 24768 ([Image 209](#)). For the seals of Matthias, see Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz, *Mátyás király pecsétjei* (Budapest: Franklin Ny, 1932), 5–19.

<sup>105</sup> Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 94.

<sup>106</sup> See Judith Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40* (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1968), and particularly Woodley, 'Tinctoris's Italian Translation', 178–187.

Ad serenissimam | Ungarie Reginam | Regia progenies et regi nupta beatrix |  
 Qua sub sole viget nulla probanda magis: | Te tua virtutum series lustrata per  
 orbem | Nunciat. ut nostris sis quoque nota locis: Tu modo divinos cultus  
 regionibus istis | Extollens: cantus aducis ipsa modos: | O pietas miranda nimis  
 laudanda *que* maius | Hoc regina tibi quod decus esse potest: Rex hostes fidei  
 vincit: Regina colendo | Magnificat sanctam sublevat atque fidem: Quam bene  
 concordii iunxerunt numina lecto | Quos natura facit moribus esse pares: Hinc  
 licet ignotus dominam te munere tantam | Ausus adire fui servulus ipse tuus: |  
 Charolus hoc princeps quondam gaudere solebat | Conveniet: certum est:  
 moribus idque tuis: | Hoc capias igitur quaeso videas *que* libenter. | Munus ab  
 ignoto saepe piacere solet: | Iam valeas foelix cum caro coniuge semper |  
 Augeat in nostram fortis uterque fidem. (*Image 210*)

Matthias's wedding delegation left Buda in mid-June 1476, meeting the Moravian, Bohemian, and Silesian envoys at the Italian border before arriving at Venice at the beginning of August.<sup>107</sup>

Adi XV de sectembro dicti anni 1476. ad hore XX. essendo ordinato ala piazza della Incoronata vno catafalcho reale per la coronacione de dicta serenissima Signora deodomenica. alaquale coronacione era venuto per legato lo Reuerendissimo Monsignore Oliuiero carrafa Cardinale Neapolitano doue innanzi se erano facte piu feste giostre et imprese. venne dal castello nouo lo serenissimo Re ferrando ad caualllo conla corona intesta et per la via si gictaua moneta de argento et arriuò al catafalcho doue sequio la messa et la coronacione dedicta regina et depo quella dicta per dicto cardinale. sequio la collacione et poy le giostre et per piu di dapo douelafioentina nazione fe li secte triumphu del petrarcha et girandole.<sup>108</sup>

On 18 September, Beatrice was led in procession through the streets of Naples before setting off on her long journey to Buda, accompanied by her fifteen-year-old brother Francesco. This is described by Notar Giacomo:

Adi XVIII de sectembro M CCCCLXXVI. indie Mercurii se partio dala Cita de napoli la Serenissima Madamma Beatrice de aragonia figliola del Serenissimo re ferrando de napoli Regina de vngaria et andaua ad marito allo Serenissimo Re Macthias Re de vngaria doue qualla ando conla corona accompagniata perlo predicto suo genitore per tucti li segi de napoli et li baroni del regno et questo ad hore vinte con laquale nce ando lo illustre Signore Don francisco de aragonia suo fratello carnale. doue ali dui de octubre eiusdem anni con quactro galee del

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<sup>107</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 112.

<sup>108</sup> Garzilli, *Notar Giacomo*, 131.

predicto re ferrando. et altri nauilii se inbarco in Manfridonia et dalla Senne ando in vngaria.<sup>109</sup>

*On Wednesday the 18th day of September 1476, the most serene madam Beatrice of Aragon, Queen of Hungary, daughter of the most serene King Ferrante, left the city of Naples and went to her husband the most serene King Matthias of Hungary with her crown and accompanied by her aforesaid parents and the barons of the kingdom through all the streets of Naples. And at eight o'clock she left with her illustrious blood brother Lord Francesco. On the 2nd of October the same year, she embarked with four of Ferrante's ships and other vessels at Manfredonia and travelled to Hungary by way of Senj.*

There are several pieces of contextual evidence which suggest that Beatrice might not have been entirely enthusiastic about the prospect of travelling to and living in Hungary, despite the benefits of her queenship. On 20 June 1476, Giovanni Pietro Panigarola, the Milanese ambassador to the Burgundian court, met Federico just before he was to leave France. The prince complained of 'the malignity of his stars, which had condemned him ... to travel to such a wild place as Hungary without even returning first to Naples'.<sup>110</sup> After he returned to Naples, Federico then requested not to 'be sent away with his sister to the wilds of Hungary' and was granted his request with the aid of the Duke of Urbino, as we learn in a letter from Sacramoro of Rimini to the Duke of Milan, from Foligno, 7 October 1476.<sup>111</sup>

In September 1476, Matthias's escort of noblemen and high-ranking clergymen, with around 800 horses, arrived in Naples to take Beatrice to Hungary.<sup>112</sup> As was customary, the wedding was made by proxy.<sup>113</sup> Matthias was represented by his cousin, János Dengelegi Pongrác, Voivode of Transylvania.<sup>114</sup> Before Beatrice left Naples, the large dowry of 200,000 gold pieces was paid: 170,000 in coin and 30,000 in jewels.<sup>115</sup> The 900-mile journey from Naples to Buda took Beatrice and her retinue three months. That it was a dangerous journey is evidenced by Bonfini's account, which describes how

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>110</sup> Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 319. See Sestan, *Carteggi*, ii. no. 582.

<sup>111</sup> Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, 82, cited in Walsh, *Charles the Bold*, 339.

<sup>112</sup> Réthelyi, 'Marriage Market', 249.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, i. 108.

scouts had to be despatched each day in order to ascertain that the planned route for the following day's ride was safe. He relates how the party saw fires, devastation, and dead bodies lining the route as they travelled through Croatia.<sup>116</sup> The wedding party was received at Ptuj by Ersébert Szilágyi,<sup>117</sup> Matthias's mother, before continuing to meet Matthias at Székesfehérvár, 70 kilometres south-west of Buda. On 10 December, Matthias met Beatrice in a field a mile from Székesfehérvár in order to enjoy the spectacle of a tournament.<sup>118</sup>

Beatrice was crowned Queen of Hungary on 12 December 1476, in a service at Székesfehérvár celebrated by the Bishop of Veszprém.<sup>119</sup> Later that day, a twenty-four-course banquet was held, at which Alfonso sat to the right of the royal couple, next to Matthias, with the Italian ambassadors further to Alfonso's right and the Bohemian and Hungarian dignitaries to Beatrice's left (the seating arrangement that was replicated at most of the ensuing banquets); this feast was followed by a tournament and dancing.<sup>120</sup>

On the occasion of Beatrice's coronation, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, was made a member of the Society of the Dragon.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum ungaricum decades* (Frankfurt: Apud Andream Wechelum, 1581), 513; and Tanner, *The Raven King*, 10.

<sup>117</sup> Réthelyi, 'Marriage Market', 249.

<sup>118</sup> András Kubinyi, 'Courtiers and Court Life in the Time of Matthias Corvinus', in Péter Farbak, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, and András Végh, eds., *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490* (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 21–33, at 26.

<sup>119</sup> Réthelyi, 'Marriage Market', 249.

<sup>120</sup> Kubinyi, 'Courtiers', 26–27.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 31, citing Gunhild Roth, ed. and trans., *Peter Eschenloer: Geschichte der Stadt Breslau* vol. II (Münster: Waxmann, 2003), 996. The Society of the Dragon was founded in 1408 by the Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund von Luxembourg. It was not a knightly order, but rather was 'the first order of its type to be conceived of in purely political terms, without even a gesture in the direction of the chivalrous ideology that had underlain all of the earlier foundations' (D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 348–55, at 351). Matthias struggled with opposition from those barons who were members of the Society, just as did Ferrante with the baronial members of the Order of the Ermine; both kings, to some extent, used the formal structure of these quasi-chivalric orders to mitigate such opposition. Prince Christopher of Bavaria, Prince Hinko of Poděbrady, 'two Boskovices', Mikuláš Kropáč Boskovice, and Mikuláš Lužický joined Alfonso in being made members on 12 December 1476 (Kubinyi, 'Courtiers', 31).

The Queen, her retinue, and her escort then set off for Buda in procession, before again being received, a mile from Buda, by Hungarian and Bohemian dignitaries who had already attended the coronation.<sup>122</sup> There then followed a tournament outside the city walls, before the procession re-formed and entered Buda on 15 December.<sup>123</sup> Members of the royal families, including the Aragonese Alfonso, Federico, and Giovanni, and courtiers, went first, followed by the clergy and city guilds, then ‘67 trumpeters and drummers on horseback in almost identical red damask cloaks’.<sup>124</sup> There then followed ‘the King’s pages and gentlemen of the chamber’, ‘foreign ambassadors and notables’, and finally the king and queen themselves, mounted on horses, while ladies-in-waiting and Ersébert Szilágyi travelled in gilt coaches.<sup>125</sup> A dinner was held for Beatrice on 19 December, followed by dancing and an evening tournament, and there was yet another joust the following day.<sup>126</sup>

The royal wedding finally took place at the Church of Our Lady, Buda, on Sunday 22 December 1476, and was presided over by Gabriele Rangoni, Bishop of Eger.<sup>127</sup> There was then a procession to the royal palace, where a wedding banquet was held in the great hall, followed by gift-giving and speeches, after which ‘14 men bearing crutches and dressed as court fools ... “tussled” with each other without lances and shields, to everyone’s mirth’.<sup>128</sup> There were daily banquets and almost daily tournaments during the snowy conditions, day or night, until 12 January 1477, the latter being watched either from a ‘gilded’ sleigh, or else from behind windows, from one of which Beatrice apparently turned away at the beginning of one of the fights.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Listed in Kubinyi, ‘Courtiers’, 24.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 24–26.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>127</sup> Réthelyi, ‘Marriage Market’, 249.

<sup>128</sup> Kubinyi, ‘Courtiers’, 26–27.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

Little ‘more than the foundation walls’ survive of the Royal Palace of Buda.<sup>130</sup>

Twentieth- and twenty-first-century archaeological work has yielded little certain evidence of the architecture of Beatrice’s time there, beyond the in-situ rim of a draw-well or fountain in the ‘south walled garden’, which features the arms of Matthias and Beatrice.<sup>131</sup> There is one contemporary (c.1470–1490) visual representation of the palace: a woodcut by Michael Wolgemuth and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, which was made for Hartmann Schedel’s *Liber cronicarum* (F-Pn Rés.G.504, fol. 139r), published at Nuremberg by Anton Koberger in 1493 ([Image 211](#)).

Some fifty kilometres north of Buda today lie the reconstructed ruins of the Royal Palace of Visegrád. Originally a fourteenth-century establishment, the palace was subject to extensive reconstruction by Matthias, beginning in the late 1470s, soon after his marriage to Beatrice.<sup>132</sup> Facing the courtyard in the western wing of the rebuilt palace is a two-tiered portico, at the foot of a column of which is Beatrice’s coat of arms.<sup>133</sup> Her arms also featured on one of two large consoles supporting the organ balcony in the palace chapel. The other, naturally, featured Matthias’s arms.<sup>134</sup>

Beatrice was not seen to integrate well into her new life in Hungary. She hardly ever visited the eastern reaches of her domain, spending the majority of her time in Buda, Vienna, and other towns of the Austrian region; visits to the countryside were on account of hunting rather than engaging with those of her subjects who lived there.<sup>135</sup> At court in Buda, she did not associate with ladies of the Hungarian nobility, preferring to keep the company of Italian soldiers and priests. She did, however, interact with the Austrian noblewomen when she was at Vienna and Pozsony, and it would later be in

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<sup>130</sup> Károly Magyar, ‘Towards a Reconstruction of Matthias-Era Residences’, in Péter Farbaky, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, and András Végh, eds., *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490* (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 89–99, at 89.

<sup>131</sup> I presume these arms are in one achievement. *Ibid.*, 89, 92, and 97, n. 2.

<sup>132</sup> Gergely Buzás, ‘The Royal Palace of Visegrád in the Time of King Matthias’, in Péter Farbaky, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, and András Végh, eds. *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490* (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 324–344, at 324.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

<sup>135</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, ii. 52–53.

this company that she sought refuge after Matthias's death.<sup>136</sup> After Beatrice's arrival, noted Bonfini, Matthias introduced Italian ways into the traditional customs of his people, discouraging the wearing of rustic costume and trying to construct around his queen a 'second Italy'.<sup>137</sup> Italian modes of dress and hairstyles were introduced at court, in addition to the foreign custom of the shaving of beards, while cultural artefacts, foodstuffs, and more, were imported from Beatrice's homeland, and those in charge of the Hungarian kingdom's finances were increasingly often of Italian origin.<sup>138</sup> To the Ferrarese, wrote her sister, Eleonora, in 1487, Hungary seemed like 'a second homeland'.<sup>139</sup>

Naples was evidently still engaged with the political fortunes of Matthias, since after the Hungarian king took the city of Vienna on 1 June 1485, celebratory performances of the *Te Deum* were held not only in the cathedral church of that city but also by Ferrante and the whole court at Naples.<sup>140</sup> By 1486, after nine years of marriage, Beatrice and Matthias had failed to produce a child.<sup>141</sup> There is some later evidence, from Orso Orsini, Bishop of Teano, that Beatrice had in fact conceived, only for the pregnancy to be terminated: 'ex Rege Mathia concepisse et abortum fecisse'.<sup>142</sup> On 4 January 1487, Beatrice wrote from Vienna to Eleonora, thanking her for her goodwill on the subject and, with a certain despondency, confirming that she remained childless:

Regratiamo ancora Vostra Signoria de lo amore ne monstra per pigliare pensiero et ordene con quello prehite de lo nostro ingravidare. Aspectamolo, et per nui non se mancarà ad fare tucti quilli remedii per havere deli figlioli, puro tucto remectemo ala dispositione divina.<sup>143</sup>

*I thank you again, your ladyship, for the love you have shown in thinking of and sympathising with our lack of becoming pregnant. I have been diligently*

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 56–9.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 3–5.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>142</sup> *I-Vnm* Lat. X. 178, doc. 77, cited in Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, ii. 8.

<sup>143</sup> Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria ducale estense, Carteggio principi esteri: Boemia e Ungheria, b. 1623/2, ed. in Enrica Guerra, *Il carteggio tra Beatrice d'Aragona e gli Estensi, 1476–1508* (Rome: Aracne, 2010), 96.



*waiting, and for us I have not neglected to do all that which could lead to my having children; I must simply place my trust in the will of God.*

The continuing lack of an heir to Matthias was of grave concern to the couple and their supporters, not least since the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III's son, Maximilian, would have a claim to the Hungarian throne, should Matthias die without an heir.<sup>144</sup> Realising the gravity of the situation, Matthias planned for his illegitimate son János, born in 1473, to succeed him, and set about providing him with income and land, in the clear belief that rights of succession could be accorded not only to his legitimate but also to his illegitimate progeny.<sup>145</sup> There was explicit precedent for this, for earlier fifteenth-century kings of Hungary had reached the throne by a variety of routes other than direct primogeniture.<sup>146</sup> King Sigismund of Luxembourg nominated his son-in-law, Albert of Hapsburg, as his successor to the throne; Albert was crowned on 1 January 1438.<sup>147</sup> After Albert's death in 1439, the royal council appointed Wladislas I of Poland 'without waiting to see whether Albert's pregnant widow would be delivered of a boy'.<sup>148</sup> A boy was indeed born, who was to become Ladislas V; on Wladislas I's death without heir in 1444, the royal council elected governors, ultimately including John Hunyadi, to rule during Ladislas's minority.<sup>149</sup> Matthias himself only came to the throne after Ladislas's childless death in 1457, having been elected by the royal council on account of being the son of Hunyadi, 'although he had no royal blood in him'.<sup>150</sup>

Beatrice believed that Barbara,<sup>151</sup> János's mother, had caused her apparent sterility through witchcraft, taking the matter to the papal legate; Barbara was ultimately exiled from Buda.<sup>152</sup> From the mid-1480s, it became clear that Beatrice was resistant to the idea of János becoming king, even though her own father's illegitimate children were

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<sup>144</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, ii. 9.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>146</sup> Martyn Rady, *Customary Law in Hungary: Courts, Texts, and the Tripartitum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 76.

<sup>147</sup> Christopher Allmand, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vii: c.1415–c.1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 355.

<sup>148</sup> Rady, *Customary Law*, 76.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> A 1494 report by the Bishop of Teano makes reference to 'Barbara illius regis concubina'. See Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, ii. 10.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

treated almost on a level footing with the legitimate ones, and Ferrante was himself the bastard son of Alfonso the Magnanimous.<sup>153</sup> This resistance, behind which lay Beatrice's own political ambition, and which was opposed by Matthias's mother Ersébert Szilágyi, was a major cause for the unpopularity that the queen encountered increasingly towards Matthias's death on 6 April 1490.<sup>154</sup>

Adding to Beatrice's woes was her evident grief after the death of her brother Giovanni in October 1485. Berzeviczy's translation of a letter of hers to Eleonora written at Buda on 8 March 1486 begins as follows: 'Au milieu de la désolation où nous a plongée la mort de notre frère commun de béate mémoire'.<sup>155</sup> In the summer of 1486, her reader Hieronimo Forte de Thezamo died,<sup>156</sup> and then on 26 October 1486 her youngest brother Francesco, who had travelled with her to Buda and subsequently returned to Naples, also died at the age of 24.<sup>157</sup>

From the beginning of 1486, Beatrice was obviously very concerned about the revolting barons in Naples, since she asked repeatedly after King Ferrante in her regular correspondence with Ferrara.<sup>158</sup> She wrote to Eleonora on 2 May 1486, expressing her conviction that

Nui cognoscemo che omne dì prosperando le cose in favore dela paterna Maesta procede dala divina providenciam perché non vole comportare che tanta iniquità et malignità de baroni rebelli quali, senza causa, haveno macchinato che Nostro Signore Dio, como iusto iudice, darà tanta victoria ad esso Signore Re, nostro patre, che castigarà dicti baroni et tucti li soi inimici, et la ambitione et malignità del Pontefice et deli cardinali non andarà senza punitione.<sup>159</sup>

*We believe that every day things get better for his Majesty our father, proceeding from divine providence, because he does not want to be involved with such iniquity and malignity of the rebellious barons. I have the belief that our Lord God, as just judge, will give such victory to the Lord King, our father, and will castigate the said barons and all of his enemies, and that the ambition and malignity of the Pope and of the cardinals will not go without punishment.*

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<sup>153</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, ii. 10–11.

<sup>154</sup> Réthelyi, 'Marriage Market', 249.

<sup>155</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, ii. 20–23.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 34–35.

<sup>158</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, ii. 36.

<sup>159</sup> Guerra, *Il carteggio*, 74.

Beatrice also wrote to the Pope, criticising his position with regard to the barons' revolt, and she was similarly critical of the Venetian position. She lobbied for assistance for her father from both Ferrara and Milan. From March to September 1486, King Matthias sent cavalry in support of Ferrante's war.<sup>160</sup>

From April 1486, Beatrice suffered with rheumatism, which was to worsen in the winter of 1487–1488. Adding to her ill health was her bereavement at the death of Ferrante's close aide and chief financial administrator Diomede Carafa, at the Castel dell'Ovo in Naples, on 17 May 1487.<sup>161</sup> There was also mounting anti-Italian sentiment at the Hungarian court. The Ferrarese ambassador Jacopo Trotti noted on 3 September 1487 that Matthias would no longer grant ecclesiastical benefices to non-Hungarians, since 'he did not want to see so many Italians around him'.<sup>162</sup> Two years earlier, the same individual had understood that the Hungarian king did not want his illegitimate son to marry a Neapolitan princess, because such people 'are always taking and demanding'.<sup>163</sup> At the beginning of April 1488, Beatrice wrote to Eleonora to say that she was not well and that she was confined in Vienna with Ippolito at her side.<sup>164</sup> Continuing in this bleak vein, August 1488 saw the death of Ippolita Maria Sforza, wife of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria.<sup>165</sup> Desperate to avoid the union of János with Bianca Maria Sforza (1472–1510), Beatrice attempted unsuccessfully to unite her instead with Ippolita and Alfonso's young son Ferrante (who would become king of Naples as Ferrante II).<sup>166</sup> In September 1488, on the advice of her Viennese doctor, she retreated for fifteen days to the curative thermal springs at Baden bei Wien, twenty-six kilometres south of Vienna.

After many months of delay on account of his illness and unfitness for travel, on 16 June 1487 Eleonora and the Ferrarese court finally sent to Hungary the young Ippolito d'Este, whom Beatrice wished to make Archbishop of Esztergom, again partly to shore

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<sup>160</sup> Berzeviczy, *Béatrice*, ii. 40–41.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 97–98.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

up her political position.<sup>167</sup> Interesting evidence concerning modalities of travel at this time is that in a letter of 4 January 1487, Eleonora gave Beatrice and Matthias the choice of whether Ippolito should travel by land or by sea, according to their better understanding of the relative security of each option at the time. He eventually sailed from Ferrara, stopping briefly at Chioggia before sailing across the Adriatic and arriving at the beginning of July 1487 at the Croatian port of Senj, from where Buda was a 500-kilometre journey over land.<sup>168</sup>

The arrival of Ippolito at Buda in 1487 would undoubtedly have been welcomed enthusiastically by Beatrice. The prospect of the marriage of János to Bianca Maria Sforza, which was agreed in principle at Milan on 25 November 1487 would, however, have been of grave consequence to Beatrice, since it meant that the powerful Milanese had a strong interest in his claim to the Hungarian throne.<sup>169</sup> This forms a compelling reason for which **BU** could have been sent by Tinctoris and the Neapolitan court as a gesture of support. Ultimately, through Matthias's hesitation and, no doubt, Beatrice's constant attempts to destabilise the process, the marriage never took place; Bianca Maria Sforza married Maximilian, King of Rome, and future Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>170</sup>

In 1488, Beatrice devised another plan: she would attempt to have written into law that since she had been crowned Queen of Hungary she would remain so until the end of her life, and that if Matthias should die without an heir then she should govern as the head of the royal council. She would be required to remarry, and her husband would become King of Hungary by marriage.<sup>171</sup> This was met with serious discontent by Matthias, between whom and Beatrice violent disputes were recounted in diplomatic reports.<sup>172</sup> Matthias appealed to Ferrante on account of his daughter's pretensions, but the Neapolitan king privately supported Beatrice's proposals. Matthias said to the papal legate that Ferrante must be out of his mind, especially given the support that the

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 30–36.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 36–37.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 93–95.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 106–107.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 107–109.

Hungarian crown had lent to Naples during the barons' revolt; eventually Matthias came to the conclusion that Ferrante must have been behind Beatrice's ideas.<sup>173</sup>

Ferrante sent his envoy Pietro Ranzano, Bishop of Lucera, to Vienna during the summer of 1488, ostensibly to offer support of the Sforza marriage.<sup>174</sup> Ranzano even gave a public address in which he expressed the support of Beatrice for the marriage of János to Bianca Maria.<sup>175</sup> Privately, however, Ranzano was tasked with trying to discourage Matthias from seeking János to be his heir.<sup>176</sup> He wrote a report on 27 September 1488 that gives evidence that he was in support of Beatrice's plan.

Matthias then sought help from Alfonso, Duke of Calabria. In the spring of 1489, he sent Antal Sánkfalvi, Provost of Pozsony, to Naples in order secretly to inform him of the situation with Beatrice.<sup>177</sup> Matthias said to Alfonso that he had done, and he would continue to do, everything possible to please Ferrante, but that when it came to things to which it was not in his power to agree, or even that were absolutely impossible, he could not be blamed for having to refuse. He stated that he did not think that Ferrante or Alfonso were behind Beatrice's plans, but rather that she was acting unilaterally. Matthias said that Beatrice was, if not overtly, then at least secretly, aspiring to something that it was not in his power to achieve. Beatrice desired, said Matthias, that after his death, should he die before her, she should succeed him to the throne and take the reins of government. This was, he said, not something he could promise, even if he wanted to or could propose it to his subjects, if he did not want to cause in them eternal hatred against him and Beatrice. The Hungarian people, he said, would rather fight to the last man than bow to government by a woman. He added with regret that in all frankness Beatrice was not liked by his subjects, but that ultimately he could not make them like her, and she had not tried to win their affection. That was why, in particular, he could not do what she desired. But, he said, she would not back down, and annoyed him night and day with her continual complaints, recriminations, and tears. It was just a

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 104–105.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 109.

year before Matthias died, after a long period of ill health, on 6 April 1490.<sup>178</sup> During that time, Beatrice's resolve that János should not accede to the throne had not weakened. Space does not permit the consideration here of the fascinating course of events after Matthias's death, for it is in the dramatic and emotionally charged events of 1486–1490 that I propose a context for the manufacture of **BU** and its presentation to Beatrice.

I believe Woodley was correct to suggest in 1982 that **BU** was dedicated to Beatrice.<sup>179</sup> Like the *Mellon Chansonnier*, which, as I have articulated above, was almost certainly one of several wedding gifts to Beatrice, **BU** features the motet *Virgo dei throno digna*, employing it to evoke similar associated sentiments in a new context. Here, in **BU**, the motet is included at the very opening of the manuscript, functioning as a dedicatory frontispiece (fols. 1v–2r, [Image 212](#)). Note how, in the Contratenor part, the hand that shows the singer where the part continues as he moves from verso to recto is designed such that it falls within the verbal phrase 'spes unica musicorum' (sole hope of musicians), and points directly at the word 'musicorum'. In this way, the designer of the manuscript, who quite conceivably could have been Tinctoris, in conjunction with the scribe(s) and decorator(s), underlines the dedicatory message to Beatrice.

The size of **BU** also is strong supporting evidence for the dedication. It is much smaller than the large royal format manuscripts of, for example, the Neapolitan Aquinas series, and it is smaller than **V**, which occupies a middle ground befitting personal ownership by a male royal figure. **BU** is clearly not a pocket book, in the manner of a book of hours, but is of comparative size to that of *D-W 39*. Aug. 4<sup>o</sup> (192.5 × 130 mm), an undated Florentine psalter that is one of the seven manuscripts to feature Beatrice's personal arms on the frontispiece (fol. 13r, [Image 213](#)). Surrounding the arms in Cherico's design are several Neapolitan *imprese*, including the ermine. **BU** is just the right size to feature in Beatrice's personal collection.

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<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>179</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'The *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1982), 136.

The fact that *Virgo dei throno digna* appears on a discrete bifolium at the beginning of the manuscript implies that it did not form part of the original conception of the contents of the manuscript. As I outlined in Chapter 1, Woodley suggested that the manuscript might have been intended as a gift expressing support ‘from either Tinctoris or the Neapolitan court’, in the wake of the political difficulties Beatrice encountered following Matthias’s death in 1490. In Woodley’s interpretation, the ‘*throno digna*’ in the title of Tinctoris’s motet *Virgo dei throno digna*, which appears ‘rather unexpectedly at the head of the manuscript’, is meant as a ‘gesture of support for her retention of the throne’, thereby forming a double dedication to Beatrice and the Virgin Mary. I believe this is basically tenable, although as I have demonstrated above, I believe the palaeographical evidence points to a date of c.1486–1488 for **BU**. This revised dating allows for a re-adjustment of the interpretation of the political context for the production of the manuscript. It is obvious that 1486 and 1487 were troublesome years for Beatrice. Pressure to produce an heir to Matthias was mounting seriously, and she may have experienced some form of pregnancy termination. She was under the threat of Matthias’s attempts to align his illegitimate son János as his heir. She had suffered serial bereavements following the deaths of her brothers Francesco and Giovanni, and her sister-in-law Ippolita Maria Sforza, in addition to Hieronimo Forte de Thezamo and Diomede Carafa; she was evidently also concerned for Ferrante and Alfonso during the barons’ revolt. Added to her ongoing battle with rheumatism, it would be perfectly understandable for Tinctoris and the Neapolitan court to wish to send a personal gesture of support and goodwill.

It is conceivable that the initial proposal was made in late 1486 or 1487, followed by the production and decoration of the manuscript, which would have taken several months. It seems likely to me that when Beatrice’s political situation started to look very uncertain in late 1487, and news reached Naples, probably during 1488, that she had decided to aim to continue after Matthias’s death as governing Queen of Hungary, the manuscript was essentially complete, but the originally planned frontispiece had not yet been executed. Sensing the newly strained relations between Matthias and Beatrice, it was felt at Naples that the time was right to send the manuscript, and it was realised that the potential double meaning of the motet could be exploited, especially since it had already

been used in the *Mellon Chansonnier*, and it was written out and inserted at the beginning of the manuscript before it was sent to Hungary, in support of Beatrice's quite audacious political bid.

The use of the motet as a dedicatory frontispiece also permitted the creators of **BU** to send the political message they desired without needing to incorporate Beatrice's coat of arms which, as I have stated above, at this stage included that of Matthias; it would have been a rather confused message to send a manuscript incorporating references to Matthias's kingship when it was Beatrice's maintenance of the throne after his death that was the sentiment intended to be expressed.<sup>180</sup>

I have established the political context within which **BU** may have been sent as a gift of support to Beatrice. But what context did the book inhabit within Beatrice's personal collection of books? That she did indeed maintain a personal collection is evidenced by the decoration of a group of seven books with her personal arms (Aragon and Hungary combined in one achievement). The first of these is a 1483–1484 copy of Agathias, *De bello Gothorum et aliis peregrinis historiis* (*H-Bn* cod. lat. 413), at the head of the frontispiece of which (fol. 1r, [Image 214](#)) is a portrait of the queen herself. The Italian humanist Cristoforo Persona translated this work by the Byzantine poet and historian, and had several copies made, one of which was dedicated to Matthias (*D-Mbs* Clm 294, fol. 2r, [Image 215](#)), and this one to Beatrice. The second is *H-Bn* cod. lat. 421. This 1485 manuscript is a copy of Bonfini, *Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali*, the fictional transcript of a symposium on the relative merits of virginity and of married life, in which the players are Beatrice herself, King Matthias, and several figures of authority at court, both humanists and clergy. Bonfini did not actually arrive at Buda until early 1487, from when he was a guest there as reader to Beatrice, and subsequently as translator and chronicler.<sup>181</sup> In writing the *Symposion*, Bonfini therefore drew on the accounts of fellow humanists who had spent time at the court.<sup>182</sup> The frontispiece (fol. 1r, [Image 216](#)) is clearly executed in imitation of the style of Neapolitan court artists,

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<sup>180</sup> Woodley made this point, albeit in support of a subtly different thesis, in 'Bologna 2573'.

<sup>181</sup> Honemann, 'Marriage', 214.

<sup>182</sup> Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 'Bonfini, Antonio: *Symposion*', in *Bibliotheca Corviniana Digitalis*, [www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hub1codlat421.htm](http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hub1codlat421.htm) (n.d.).



but the artist is evidently of exceedingly limited technical means. It features, alongside Beatrice's arms, representations of Ferrante's ermine and Corvinus's eagle emblems, an effort to underline the unity between the couple and their dynasties.

The fourth manuscript is *I-MOe* α.G.3.1 (fol. 2r, [Image 217](#)), a Florentine copy of Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, which was completed on 13 February 1488.<sup>183</sup> Decorated by Gherardo and di Monte Giovanni, on fol. 293v the manuscript ends with 'Explicit liber de vita beati Gregorii pape ad honorem Dei. Atque serenissimi regis Ungarie laudem. Florentiae 1488 13 februarij. MT.'<sup>184</sup> *I-MOe* α.M.1.4 is an undated copy of Origenes, *Homiliae*, in gothic script (fol. 1r, [Image 218](#)) and decorated probably by Francesco Cherico.<sup>185</sup> Also decorated by Cherico is *D-W* 39. Aug. 4°, an undated Florentine Psalter. Surrounding Beatrice's arms on the frontispiece of this manuscript (fol. 13r, [Image 219](#)) are several Neapolitan *imprese*, including the ermine. The seventh and final manuscript bearing Beatrice's arms is *A-Wn* 44, a copy of Regiomontanus's *Epitome Almagesti*, whose frontispiece features a portrait of a woman, most probably Beatrice (fol. 1r, [Image 220](#)).<sup>186</sup> This group of manuscripts, whose ownership by Beatrice at Buda is demonstrated by the presence of her personal arms, provides a context for her later ownership of **BU**.

I have suggested that **BU** was probably produced for, dedicated, and sent to Beatrice in the late 1480s by the Neapolitan court, in support of her bid to remain queen after Matthias's death. I have also proposed that the manuscript is likely to have entered her personal library, and I have given details of some of the volumes that formed the rest of her collection. I will now proceed to consider the somewhat difficult question of what happened to the volume after it left Beatrice's ownership.

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<sup>183</sup> Paola Di Pietro, 'Modena, Biblioteca Estense - Universitaria, Estense, Lat. 449 = alfa.G.3.1', in *Manus Online*, [manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac\\_SchedaScheda.php?ID=0000166400](http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=0000166400) (19 May 2010).

<sup>184</sup> Csapodi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, 58.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 170. See also the online catalogue record at [http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac\\_SchedaScheda.php?ID=166405](http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=166405).

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 290.

### 5.3 | Later History

It has been known to modern scholarship for some time, as described in Chapter 1.2, that a book entitled *Musica Tinctoris* may have been loaned from the Neapolitan court to Lorenzo de Medici, perhaps at some time in the early 1490s. Ronald Woodley first proposed that this volume ‘may perhaps be identifiable’ as **BU**,<sup>187</sup> a suggestion that was echoed by Gianluca d’Agostino.<sup>188</sup> In a sense, this is a straightforward assumption, given the better-established provenance of **V** and **Br1**; yet to make such an assumption seems at once tempting and somewhat fanciful. In what follows, I shall set out what is known and what is not known about the potential consignment, and show that I believe it is possible but by no means certain that **BU** was the *Musica Tinctoris*.

If the consignment of 461 books from Naples to Florence was ever made, then it will have formed a very significant, if temporary, part of an increase in Lorenzo’s collection. He had inherited 200 books from his father and grandfather, and he owned 1000 at his death in 1492.<sup>189</sup> *Musica Tinctoris* appears under the heading ‘Musici’, alongside four other items: *Musica Boetii*, *Musica Isidori*, *Liber diversarum cantionum*, and *Musica Lippi*,<sup>190</sup> in the inventory ‘Index regalium codicum Alfonsi Regis: ad Laurentium

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<sup>187</sup> Woodley, ‘*Proportionale*’, 137.

<sup>188</sup> Gianluca d’Agostino, ‘La musica, la cappella e il cerimoniale alla corte aragonese di Napoli’, in Franco Piperno, Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, and Andrea Chegai, eds., *Cappelle musicali fra corte, Stato e Chiesa nell’Italia del Rinascimento: atti del convegno internazionale, Camaiore, 21–23 ottobre 2005* (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 153–180, at 176. D’Agostino subsequently back-tracked somewhat from this suggestion, stating in his *Proportionale musices; Liber de arte contrapuncti* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2008), LVI, that it is difficult to identify **BU** with the *Musica Tinctoris*.

<sup>189</sup> Richard Stapleford, *Lorenzo de’ Medici at Home: The Inventory of the Palazzo Medici in 1492* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 9. See also Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de’ Medici* (New York and London: Garland, 1984); and Judith Hook, *Lorenzo de’ Medici: An Historical Biography* (London: H. Hamilton 1984), 127.

<sup>190</sup> F. Alberto Gallo, in *Music in the Castle: Troubadours, Books, and Orators in Italian Courts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Anna Herklotz and Kathryn Krug (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 90; and later D’Agostino, in ‘La Musica’, 176, assert that the *Musica Lippi* may have been a copy of Aurelio Brandolini’s *Libellum de laudibus musicae et Petroboni ferrariensis ad summam maiestatem regis Ferdinandi*, of which the original is lost, but which was copied into and survives in *I-Lc* 525, fols. 175v–184r. See Evan A. MacCarthy, ‘Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 5/1 (April 2013), 41–67, at 34.

Medicem, ex neapolitana eius bibliotheca transmissus: hoc ordine', which is on fols. 255r–259r of *V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 7134 (hereafter *Inventario B*).<sup>191</sup>

The date of the transfer is uncertain. Lorenzo came to power in Florence on 2 December 1469, well after Ferrante's accession to the throne on 27 June 1458, and died on 9 April 1492, before the death on 25 January 1494 of the Neapolitan King. The transfer must therefore without doubt have taken place during the reign of Ferrante. The most convincing explanation for the reference to King Alfonso in the title description of the inventory is that offered by De Marinis: the Neapolitan library continued to be known in Alfonso I's name after the accession of Ferrante.<sup>192</sup> This is quite understandable, since Alfonso established the library as one of the more important collections in the world both in terms of developing its holdings and in terms of promoting its perception as a cradle of learning. It remains, however, to assign a suggested date for the transfer.

The inventory was transcribed in 1508–1513 by Fabio Vigile (or Vigili) di Spoleto, who encountered it while making an inventory of Greek books in Rome when the Medicean collections were in that city. De Marinis, having made the first modern transcription of Vigile's copy, attempted to trace the original document in Florence without success.<sup>193</sup> A comparison of De Marinis's facsimile of one page of Vigile's copy ([Image 221](#)) with his transcription suggests that it is unlikely that additional information would be gained by obtaining an image or images of the folio or folios of *V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 7134 that show the 'Musici' section. Ida Giovanna Rao's publication *L'inventario di Fabio Vigili della Medicea privata (Vat. Lat. 7134)*<sup>194</sup> is a transcription of inventory no. 4, which

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<sup>191</sup> Transcribed in *DMB*, ii. 193–200. An *Isidori musica* and a *Musica Boetii* also appear in the 1523 inventory of water-damaged books of the Neapolitan royal library sold by Isabella del Balzo to the Ferrarese Celio Calcagnini in that year. See Chapter 3, and Santiago López-Ríos, 'A New Inventory of the Royal Aragonese Library of Naples', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 65 (2002), 201–243, at 201–234.

<sup>192</sup> *DMB*, ii. 193

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 193–200. It is noteworthy that Allan Atlas misquotes De Marinis on the dates of Vigile di Spoleto's transcription in *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 117.

<sup>194</sup> Ida Giovanna Rao, *L'inventario di Fabio Vigili della Medicea privata (Vat. lat. 7134)* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2012).

precedes the one in question (corresponding to De Marinis's 'Inventario B', no. 5).<sup>195</sup>

The following list of contents is taken from Rao's description of the manuscript and includes the incipit and explicit of 'Index regalium codicum Alfonsi Regis'.

1. Fols. 2r–117v. Incipit: Bibliotheca latina. In primo scamno supra. Explicit: Finis noni scamni sub et supra et sic totius Pontificiae bibliothecae, tam graecae quam latinae.
2. Fol. 118r. *Omissa quaedam, quae quom primum bibliothecam percurrerem in ea non erant.*
3. Fols. 123r–172v. Incipit: In secretiori Pontificia bibliotheca. Intus in iiii<sup>o</sup> scamno supra. Explicit: Finis quarti scamni supra et infra. Et sic interioris Pontificiae bibliothecae quae primo obiicitur.
4. Fols. 172v–209r. Incipit: In intima et ultima parte Pontificiae interioris bibliotheca, ubi pretiosiores sunt libri. Explicit: Finis totius Pontificiae bibliothecae tam graecae quam latinae, tam intra et intime quam extra, omnium videlicet librorum qui in catenis sunt, praeter eos tantum qui in armariis aut capsis includuntur, et eos qui in intima bibliotheca super scabellis parieti adhaerent, greci ut plurimum et imperfecti. Deo gratias.
5. Fols. 209–254v. *Mediceae domus Bibliothecae latina quae modo est apud Reverendissimum Cardinalem de medicis.* Incipit: In primo armario. Distinctione prima. Explicit: Qui apud Panormium Sicilae civitatem obit anno Domini i342 [*sic*].
6. Fols. 255r–259v. Incipit: Index Regalium codicum Alfonsi regis ad Laurentium Medicem ex Neapolitana eius bibliotheca transmiss(orum) hoc ordine. Explicit: Libri aut(em) materno sermone ta(m) italico q(uam) gallico ibidem notati: Sunt alibi suo loco [inter...] vernaculos scripti.

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<sup>195</sup> This inventory features a 'Liber cantus plani cum notis suis' (no. 238). transcribed in Rao, *L'inventario*, 28.

It should be noted that Rao's transcription and expansion of the description of the transfer, in no. 6 above, should be preferred to that of De Marinis, since the latter's silent expansions of abbreviations introduce potentially misleading grammatical errors.

The evidence presented in the Vigile inventory leads to questions as to whether or not the *Musica Tinctoris* could have been BU, and whether or not it ever reached Florence. To address these questions, it is first necessary to consider the five other contemporary Medicean inventories of which I am aware.

'Ricordi di libri imprestatì dal 1480 al 1494' is a record of books lent from the Medici library covering the period 6 September 1480 to 15 July 1494.<sup>196</sup> It includes around fifty entries, none of which relates to musical codices. 'Libro d'inventario', a 1492 inventory of Lorenzo's estate, survives as Florence, Palazzo Medici, Mediceo Avanti Principato, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, filza 165. It is a 1512 copy of the original document, commissioned by Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici, and made by the priest Simone di Stagio dalle Pozze.<sup>197</sup> It was carried out after Lorenzo's death in 1492, and did not include the contents of his library.<sup>198</sup> This was possibly on account of the fact that Lorenzo had been reconstructing the building that housed his library at the time of his death, a project that was not taken up again until 1524, when Lorenzo's nephew Pope Clement VII commissioned Michelangelo to construct the building at San Lorenzo that ultimately became the Biblioteca Laurenziana.<sup>199</sup> At the bottom of fol. 61v of the inventory, the scribe wrote the heading for the library on the fourth floor of the Palazzo Medici, but left the remainder of the folio blank.<sup>200</sup> Stapleford writes that it is as though

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<sup>196</sup> Transcribed in Marcello del Piazzo, *Protocolli del carteggio di Lorenzo il Magnifico per gli anni 1472-4, 1477-92* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1956), 226-229, 445-449, and 490-493. An incomplete transcription is in Enea Piccolomini, 'Intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della Libreria Medicea privata', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 20 (1874), 51-94; 21 (1875), 282-296, at 282-291.

<sup>197</sup> 'Questo libro d'inventarii è chopiato da un altro inventario, el quale fu fatto alla morte del Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici; chopiato per me prete Simone di Stagio dalle Pozze, oggi questo 23 di dicembre 1512, per chommissione di Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici'. Transcribed in Piccolomini, 'Intorno alle condizioni', 291.

<sup>198</sup> Stapleford, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, 1-9.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 13, 15, 22, and 38.

‘the scribe had been unable to enter the room’.<sup>201</sup> It may have been the case, however, that the 1492 inventory did not contain an account of the library because a separate such list had already been drawn up.

Another 1492 inventory, ‘Note di libri, estratte da un inventario dei beni mobili ed immobili di casa Medici, compilato alla morte di Lorenzo il Magnifico’, includes some books of Lorenzo’s, including devotional books and Italian literature, but no musical volumes.<sup>202</sup> ‘Inventarium librorum qui inventi sunt in ecclesia Sancti Laurentii Florentie, confectum die xxij octobris in domo Petri de Medicis scriptum per fratrem Robertum de Gagliano supradictum et exemplatum per me Franciscum Raynaldi, notarium florentinum’ was compiled on 22 October 1495.<sup>203</sup> It includes no. 874: ‘Libro di canto, in membranis’.<sup>204</sup> ‘Inventarium librorum qui erant in Domus Petri, actum in praedicta Petri de Medicis, die xxxj octobris 1495’ was made on 31 October 1495, following Lorenzo’s son Piero’s expulsion from Florence on 9 November 1494.<sup>205</sup> It includes no. 590: ‘Liber in musica vulgaris in membranis. – Vulgare’.<sup>206</sup>

There are several references to musical books in the Medici library made in the inventories discussed above, none of which are identifiable with the *Tinctoris* volume. To my knowledge, therefore, there is no record of *Musica Tinctoris* in any surviving inventory of the Medici library other than that in *V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 7134. In order to establish what may have become of *Musica Tinctoris*, if it ever reached Florence, it is necessary to consider the general history of the Medicean library around the turn of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>202</sup> Transcribed in Piccolomini, ‘Intorno alle condizioni’, 292–296.

<sup>203</sup> Transcribed in *ibid.*, 86–89.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>205</sup> Transcribed in *ibid.*, 51–82. See also Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *La Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cenni Storici* (Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1974); and Edmund Boleslaw Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 160. Fryde notes that a reference to a list of Medicean books is made in this inventory (on p. 77 of Piccolomini’s transcription, *loc. cit.*): ‘No. 595: “Inventarium librorum domus Medicorum in membranis”’, but this document does not appear to survive.

<sup>206</sup> Piccolomini, ‘Intorno alle condizioni’, 76.

After the expulsion of the Medici from Florence in 1494, the private library collection was deposited in the library of the Dominican monastery of San Marco in Florence at the request of the Florentine government, where it was maintained as a discrete collection until 1508. In that year, it was sent to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici at Rome, where Fabio Vigili made his transcription of the earlier 'Inventario B' which mentions *Musica Tinctoris*.<sup>207</sup> The Medici library was returned to Florence by Pope Clement VII in 1524.<sup>208</sup> Baccio Baldini, who was appointed keeper in 1555, 'unfortunately rebound all the manuscripts, thus obliterating much evidence about earlier owners and previous cataloguing schemes, including most of the serial numbers that Vigili inserted into the Greek manuscripts listed by him between 1508 and 1510'.<sup>209</sup> Therefore, if **BU** is indeed to be identified with Lorenzo's *Musica Tinctoris*, then it must have left Florence before 1555, having escaped Baldini's rebinding.

Is it possible that the patch of leather with the inscription 'Jo: Tinctoris | Music: discus: | Libri IX. | M-9' is in fact one of Vigili's serial numbers? A copy of *Harmonics* by the Byzantine scholar and music theorist Manuel Bryennius (fl. Constantinople, c.1300), which survives as *I-Fl* Plut.28.11, features, pinned to the front cover of its sixteenth-century binding, a similar parchment label ([Image 222](#)). In a script that is conceivably of a similar date to that of the **BU** label is written 'Manuel Brienij musica.' beneath a rendering of the same in Greek. Similar labels are found pinned to the sixteenth-century bindings of two other Medicean music manuscripts: *I-Fl* Plut.13.05 (Augustine's *De musica libri VI*, [Image 223](#)), *I-Fl* Plut.29.16 (Augustine's *De musica libri VI*, [Image 224](#)).

The same labelling strategy was used on the cover of *I-Fl* Plut.29.48 ([Image 225](#)), a fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century manuscript that contains Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices* on fols. 8r–21r (fol. 8r, [Image 226](#)), in addition to anonymous music-theoretical works and some of those by Guido d'Arezzo and Aurelianus. At one stage, this manuscript featured a parchment label pinned to the cover, though this is now missing. It is tempting to postulate, as did MacCarthy, that the *Musica Tinctoris* may have been a

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<sup>207</sup> Fryde, *Humanism*, 165.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

source for this copy.<sup>210</sup> A cursory comparison of the textual relationship and mise-en-page of **BU** and *I-Fl* Plut.29.48 leads me to believe, however, that it is rather unlikely that **BU** was a source for the Florentine copy.<sup>211</sup> Further investigation of the Medici library's codices from this period reveals that such labelling was not restricted to music books. Manuscripts of Aquinas (e.g. *I-Fl* Plut.20.18, [Image 227](#)) and others also featured these labels.

It may be possible to identify specific manuscripts that feature in 'Inventario B' and remain in the Medici collection today. The section before 'Musici' in the inventory is 'Dialectici'. Of these, no. 66, *Logica Petri hispani*, is possibly identifiable with either *I-Fl* Plut.71.28 (Petrus Hispanus, *Logica Petri Hispani cum expositione Chellini*, [Image 228](#)), *I-Fl* Plut.71.34 (Petrus Hispanus, *Logica magistri Petri*, [Image 229](#)), or possibly *I-Fl* Plut.71.33, which opens with *E dialectica magistri Petri Hispani*<sup>212</sup> ([Image 230](#)).<sup>213</sup> Note that the shape of the label in the latter manuscript is even more reminiscent of the shape of the label in **BU**.

Space does not permit me to offer a full census of 'Inventario B' in relation to the surviving manuscripts in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, but the foregoing examples lead me to believe that the following is a reasonable scenario in support of **BU** being identifiable with the *Musica Tinctoris*. Before the rebinding of the collection by Baldini after 1555, each manuscript had, like **BU**, a small parchment label identifying the contents, mounted on the inside cover. Since the rebinding was at least in part on account of the impending public opening of the Medici library to the public on 11 June 1571,<sup>214</sup> which necessitated the addition of chains to the new bindings, it proved logical to preserve the parchment labels and affix them to the front cover, so as to aid identification in the new physical disposition of the manuscripts in the library. The fact

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<sup>210</sup> MacCarthy, 'Neapolitan *Eruditi*', 34.

<sup>211</sup> This manuscript is described briefly in Woodley, '*Proportionale*', 140.

<sup>212</sup> As described in the table of contents; the entirety of the text proper is in Greek.

<sup>213</sup> Much further work would be necessary to make such an identification, including the gathering of any evidence that these manuscripts might bear marks of Neapolitan ownership. It must also be borne in mind that it is equally possible to make putative identifications of manuscripts which feature in the 'Inventario B' and which feature in later Neapolitan inventories; this topic would benefit, in the future, from an involved study of its own.

<sup>214</sup> Fryde, *Humanism*, 162.



that **BU** escaped this modification implies that it left the Medici library some time before or during the period 1555–1571. The evidence here presented is by no means incontrovertible, but it does provide a reasonable explanation of the presence of the item ‘Musica Tinctoris’ in ‘Inventario B’, and the current presence of such a similar label in **BU** to those found still in the Medici collections.<sup>215</sup>

Another interpretation of the later history of **BU** arises from private correspondence between Bonnie Blackburn and Ronald Woodley in 2012, which centred on circumstantial evidence that the manuscript may have been in Venice before, at some time during the (presumably late) sixteenth century, entering the library of the monastery of San Salvatore in Bologna.<sup>216</sup> In an inventory entry made on 1 May 1535 after the death of Pietro da Piombino, a singer at the Basilica di San Marco, Venice, is recorded ‘Tintoris de musica scritto a pena’.<sup>217</sup> It is just possible that this entry may refer to **BU**. In the early sixteenth century, Pellegrino Fabretti, prior of the Augustinian monastery of San Salvatore in Bologna, personally acquired from the Bishop of Torcello in Venice a number of sacred, Hebrew, and Greek manuscripts and printed books.<sup>218</sup> Fabretti endowed the library of San Salvatore with 659 books through such acquisitions, though it is unclear what proportion of these were obtained from the

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<sup>215</sup> These possibilities do not account for the fact that the ‘M–9’ classification on the **BU** label does not have an equivalent in the Medicean labels, and that there are differences in ink colour and script. Further research is required in Bologna to establish whether or not any other ex-San Salvatore manuscripts feature similar labels to that of **BU**.

<sup>216</sup> Woodley, ‘Bologna 2573’. See also Oscar Mischiati, *La prassi musicale presso i Canonici regolari del Ss. Salvatore nei secoli XVI e XVII e I manoscritti polifonici della Biblioteca musicale ‘G. B. Martini’ di Bologna* (Rome: Torre d’Orfeo, 1985); and Massimo Fornasari, Marco Poli, and Adelfo Zaccanti, *La chiesa e la biblioteca del SS. Salvatore in Bologna: centro spirituale e luogo di cultura* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1995).

<sup>217</sup> The inventory was recorded in Venice, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria inferior, busta 36. The entry also lists ‘Franchino de Musica ligado in choro [cuoio]’ and ‘un libro a pena di musica’. Transcribed in Gastone Vio, ‘La diffusione degli musicali nelle case dei nobili, cittadini e popolani nel XVI secolo a Venezia’, in Stefano Toffolo, ed., *Strumenti musicali a Venezia nella storia e nell’arte dal XIV al XVIII secolo* (Cremona: Editrice Turrus, 1995), 45–67, at 63. The mention of Tinctoris in this inventory entry was first noted by Bonnie Blackburn in private correspondence with Ronald Woodley, who in turn suggested that the volume may have been **BU** in Woodley, ‘Bologna 2573’.

<sup>218</sup> See Giovanni Grisostomo Trombelli, *Memorie istoriche concernenti le due canoniche di S. Maria di Reno et di S. Salvatore insieme unite* (Bologna: G. Corciolani, 1752), 101, and Fornasari, Poli, and Zaccanti, *La chiesa*, 16–17.

aforementioned bishop.<sup>219</sup> This avenue of research is very promising, and invites such documentary research in both Venice and Bologna as has not been possible within the constraints of the present research. **BU** was confiscated from San Salvatore by French revolutionary armies in 1796. It was deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris before being returned to Bologna on 28 October 1815, this time to the university library.

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 17.

## Chapter 6 | Decoration

The frontispiece of **V** is justly recognised for both its inclusion of the valuable miniature that is possibly a portrait of Tinctoris, and for the quality of its execution.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, I first consider what is the likelihood of the portrait actually being of Tinctoris himself, and whether or not the representation could be held to be a realistic likeness, making comparison with other iconographically similar portraits in a range of Neapolitan manuscripts and other works of art. Second, I discuss the robes worn in the miniature, with reference to both a valuable wardrobe account from the *Cedole* that records distributions of cloth to the royal chapel, and an intriguing description of the robes worn by members of the Order of the Ermine, the knightly order established by King Ferrante.

Third, I analyse the manner in which the hierarchies of decorated initials function differently in **V** and **BU**, before showing how the styles of execution of such secondary decoration in the two manuscripts may be aligned with other groups of manuscripts decorated by Neapolitan court artists and miniaturists.

Fourth, I take as a starting point Gennaro Toscano's identification of Nardo Rapicano as the artist responsible for the execution of the frontispiece of **V**, placing it in the context of his other work, before asking whether he can also be considered responsible for the execution of the decorated initials. Finally, I approach the difficult question of making an attempt at attributing the decoration of **BU**, in addition to considering what a comparison between **BU** and **V** may tell of the order of execution of different decorational components by, and the possible identities of, the contributing artists and scribes.

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<sup>1</sup> This recognition is made in much of the literature that considers the frontispiece of **V**. For example, see Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonier*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), i. 22–24, and Ronald Woodley, 'The Dating and Provenance of Valencia 835: A Suggested Revision', <http://www.earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/Articles/DatingAndProvenanceOfValencia835> (December 2013, revised June 2014).

## 6.1 | Portrait Miniature

The frontispiece of **V** features what has been assumed to be a portrait of Tinctoris himself,<sup>2</sup> sitting at a desk with a music manuscript open in front of him, in a room with views of trees and buildings – perhaps a room in the Castelnuovo ([Image 231](#)). He wears a purple robe, a blue undergarment and footwear, and a darker-blue hat. Can we safely assume that this miniature represents the author of the texts it accompanies? The figure does not appear to be writing, and there are no writing implements in view. Could this even be the portrait of a dedicatee, depicted reading the very codex in which the miniature is painted, as an articulation of his erudition? As Rob Wegman has noted, Tinctoris says in the prologue to the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* that he neither hears nor, crucially, inspects (‘considero’), the works of great composers without coming away more cheerful and more learned.<sup>3</sup> This acknowledgement that an individual could silently read and digest polyphonic music provides an explanation for the absence of any other musicians in the miniature and the lack of any visual indication that the figure reading the music manuscript is singing, yet it does not necessarily mean that the portrait is actually of Tinctoris.

I have found twenty other extant manuscripts that can be shown to originate in Naples in the second half of the fifteenth century and that feature an iconographically similar miniature on the frontispiece – of a figure sitting at a desk, reading or writing a manuscript.<sup>4</sup> Of these, sixteen may confidently be described as portraits of the author of the text, since those authors, all of whom were long dead at the time of painting, are identified by their monastic habits and tonsured heads, e.g. Aquinas in *F-LO* 7 (fol. 7r, [Image 232](#)) and Albertus Magnus in *E-VAu* 390 (fol. 7r, [Image 233](#)). Each of these authors is depicted wearing the Dominican habit of a black *cappa* over a white tunic, while Duns Scotus wears his brown Franciscan habit in *F-Pn* lat. 3063 (fol. 1r, [Image 234](#)). In fourteen of these cases, the argument is undeniably strengthened by the fact

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<sup>2</sup> Rob C. Wegman, ‘Johannes Tinctoris and the “New Art”’, *Music & Letters*, 84/2 (2003), 171–188, at 174.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, ‘Tinctoris on the Great Composers’, in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5/2 (1996), 193–199.

<sup>4</sup> That is, as observed in Woodley, ‘Dating and Provenance’, ‘after the iconographical manner of St Jerome’.

that the figures are holding quills and are obviously engaged in either writing or copying.

Two of the sixteen figures that are easily identifiable as authors, in the same manner as the figure on the frontispiece of **V**, are not shown to be writing, but rather they appear to be reading. In *GB-Lbl* Add. 14781, a copy made in 1480 of Augustine, *Expositio psalmorum Davidis*, the author is shown in his Bishop's robes, and appears to be comparing two books;<sup>5</sup> this is similarly the case in *F-Pn* lat. 6525, an Aquinas manuscript of 1492 or 1493 (fol. 1r, [Image 235](#)). These two examples, which clearly communicate authorship, without showing the author actually in the process of writing, suggest that it is possible that the figure on the frontispiece of **V** indeed represents Tinctoris.

Other than the **V** miniature, only three of the twenty-one examples involving a desk and a book show figures in fifteenth-century court robes. Vincent of Beauvais, the thirteenth-century Dominican friar, is, curiously, one of them, and his robes are remarkably close in appearance to those of Tinctoris (*E-VAu* 381, fol. 1r, [Image 236](#)).<sup>6</sup> The portrait of the second-century scholar Aulus Gellius in *E-VAu* 389, a copy of his *Noctes atticae* of c.1483 (fol. 19r, [Image 237](#)), shows the author in robes that, again, are remarkably similar to Tinctoris's, in a painting that also replicates the tall arches looking out over a delicately rendered landscape, the chequered flooring, and the marble columns seen in the **V** miniature. The humanist scholar Lorenzo Valla died in 1457, around fifteen years before *E-VAu* 408, a copy of his *Elegantiae latinae linguae*, was completed. He worked at the court of Ferrante's predecessor, King Alfonso, to whom he was private Latin secretary. Valla, like Tinctoris, reads in the miniature, but does not write, and is dressed in court robes (fol. 45r, [Image 238](#)).

How may we account for the fact that these four individuals – Gellius the second-century scholar, Vincent the thirteenth-century Dominican friar, Valla the earlier fifteenth-century humanist, and Tinctoris the later fifteenth-century music theorist – are

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<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain a photograph of this miniature.

<sup>6</sup> This manuscript is also linked with **V** by virtue of the stamps used on its binding; see Chapter 2.7.

all dressed in ostensibly similar court robes? There was clearly an effort on the part of those who planned and executed the manuscripts to align the works of fifteenth-century Neapolitan erudites like Tinctoris and Valla with great authors of medieval and classical texts. *Noctes atticae* comprises a sequence of notes, quotations, and ruminations on many and various classical texts, and indeed personal recollections, written during the long winter nights spent by Gellius in Athens, and was supposedly compiled for the edification and education of his children. Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* is a world history of great length: E-VAu 381 runs to 300 folios and comprises only books 17–21. It includes a great deal of secular as well as sacred history, and features extracts from Cicero, Ovid, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Jerome. Robert Ralph Bolgar described Valla's *Elegantiae latinae linguae* as 'the Bible of the later Humanists',<sup>7</sup> which attests to its significance as a critical examination of Latin grammar, style, and rhetoric. E-VAu 408 was produced in the early 1470s, just after the work had been printed and had begun to circulate in large numbers. It is telling that we find Tinctoris's theoretical works so clearly linked with these three texts that clearly were very much in the spirit of the intellectual climate in late fifteenth-century Naples. Perhaps it might provide a basis for understanding the wider cultural and intellectual significance of Tinctoris's work beyond its purely musical implications.

If it can be considered likely that the **V** miniature was intended to represent Tinctoris, to what extent can we expect the portrait to be a realistic likeness? I shall investigate this by making comparison of the various representations of surely one of the most recognisable individuals of the day – King Ferrante.

Ferrante's physical appearance was described verbally in the following passage:

Fu il re Ferrante di mediocre statura, con testa grande, con bella, e lunga  
Zazzera di color castagno, buono di faccia, e pieno, di bel fronte, di  
proporzionata vita, fu assai robusto.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ralph R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 270.

<sup>8</sup> Giovanni Antonio Summonte, *Historia della città e regno di Napoli 1601–43*, iv (Naples: R. Gessari, 1748); quoted in George L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485–1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 27.

*Ferrante was of modest stature, with a large head, and with a long, handsome, chestnut-coloured mop of hair. His face was full and handsome, and his very pronounced forehead was of lively proportion.*

This description is borne out in the life-size marble bust attributed to Domenico Gagini that is currently in the Musée du Louvre (Images [239](#), [240](#), and [241](#)), which seemingly represents Ferrante at his youngest, possibly having been made c.1465–1470.<sup>9</sup> Probably later are two medallions by Girolamo Liparolo, the royal die and seal engraver, and a coronato (Image [242](#)), in which Ferrante's nose appears more pronounced.<sup>10</sup> Though executed in a rather rudimentary fashion, the representation of Ferrante in Melchionne Ferraiolo's chronicle (*US-NYpm* 801, Image [243](#)) is valuable since Ferrante is named, and the date of the event depicted – the king's 1486 triumph following the barons' revolt – is also clearly stated. The king's nose is again more pronounced than in the Gagini bust.

Two representations of King Ferrante appear in *F-Pn* lat. 12947, a copy of Andreas Contrarius, *Objurgatio in calumniatorem Platonis*, which may be dated to 1471 on the basis of payment records, as may similarly the decoration be ascribed to the work of Cola Rapicano.<sup>11</sup> The first representation, on fol. 2r, (Image [244](#)) is executed in ink with gold highlighting on mauve ink-washed parchment, showing Ferrante on horseback. The second miniature shows the king in profile (fol. 3r, Image [245](#)). In *I-Nn* I.B.57, a breviary prepared for Ferrante, the king is similarly represented with seeming realism (fol. 11r, Image [246](#)).

An apparent problem is found in considering the representations of Ferrante in a series of miniatures in Giovan Matteo de Russis's 1492 copy of Giuniano Maio's *De Maiestate* (*F-Pn* ital. 1711). In some of these miniatures by, as I shall discuss later, the same artist as the frontispiece of **V**, Nardo Rapicano, Ferrante is represented with a more generic rounded head (Fol. 10v, Image [247](#)) that is not dissimilar to those of the soldiers depicted behind him. On fol. 21v (Image [248](#)), however, Nardo has made more

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<sup>9</sup> Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 27–28.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Gennaro Toscano, *Les rois bibliophiles: enlumineurs à la cour d'Aragon à Naples (1442–1495); les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (PhD dissertation, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1992), 300.

of an attempt at representing Ferrante's facial features, and even more so on fol. 19r (Image 249). On fol. 58r (Image 250), even though the representation of the king's head is not as detailed as in other miniatures, the profile rendered is quite reminiscent of the Gagini bust discussed above.

The evidence so far discussed would suggest that there were often successful attempts at realistic portraiture in Nardo's work and in the work of the Neapolitan miniaturists in general. Though this was not always the case, generic representations of heads and facial features tend to be recognisable by a more rounded and less detailed execution that is visible in the non-featured characters in many of the examples of miniatures given so far and later in this chapter. In V, the figure has a delicately rendered 'button nose', a slight chin and brow, with fairly deep-set eyes. The tuft of hair at the base of the rear of his hat rather suggests that the hat is worn tightly and is holding in a generous quantity of thick hair. In short, I believe that it is likely that we are looking at a well-defined representation as opposed to a generic one, and hence that we are indeed presented with a likeness of Tinctoris himself.<sup>12</sup>

In interpreting the significance or otherwise of the robes worn by Tinctoris in the V miniature, an important documentary reference to consider is a *Cedole* entry of 25 October 1480, a chapel wardrobe account which mentions cloth given to him: 'A Ioan Tintoris. Firenza paonaczo de grana sbagnato. canna 3 pal. 6.'<sup>13</sup> It is immediately evident that this refers to Florentine cloth, but what of *paonaczo de grana sbagnato*?

Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether the term *paonaczo* (variant spellings include *pavonazzo*, *paonazzo*, *paonazo*, *pagonazzo*, *paonaczo*, and *paonacza*) may have referred

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<sup>12</sup> Another factor concerning Tinctoris's appearance is the line in the eulogy of Frater Fortunatus, which relates that Tinctoris was 'Belgian by birth, but in looks and language a Latin' (Woodley, '*Proportionale*', i. 125). Woodley suggests this could possibly imply that 'after his years in Naples he may have acquired a certain Mediterranean swarthinness of complexion, rather than that of a pale northerner, as well as local linguistic proficiency. Whether it means that Fortunatus also regarded his more general appearance as 'Latin', it is hard to say.' (Personal communication, October 2015).

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Edmond vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX siècle*, iv (Brussels: G. A. van Trigt, 1867–1888; repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 28–30; and Ronald Woodley, 'Iohannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34/2 (1981), 217–248, at 244–245. The document is now lost.



specifically to the ‘deep, rich blue-violet’ colouring of the body of the peacock (*pavone*), or that of the peahen, ‘a brownish tint of red’.<sup>14</sup> It would therefore seem likely that the term could describe a range of colours between blue and red. Evidence for this is provided by records that use the term in conjunction with qualifiers to describe the particular shade of *pavonazzo*. A quantity of *zambelotto* (a plain woollen cloth) *pavonazzo*, which was given in 1504 to the Venetian *Signoria* by the sultan of Turkey, was described as ‘piu scuro’ than another, while in the same consignment was ‘paonazo con fojani turchini’, which presumably featured a pattern of leaves in a Turkish style.<sup>15</sup> The late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Venetian historian Marin Sanudo recorded the price of ‘paonazzo morello’,<sup>16</sup> thereby demonstrating quite clearly the potential for variant shades, while the prolific Venetian writer Lodovico Dolce (1508–1568), in his 1565 *Dialogo dei colori*, linked *pavonazzo* more specifically to ‘purpura violata’.<sup>17</sup> Stella Mary Newton writes that a bearded man in Titian’s *Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple* is probably wearing *pavonazzo* velvet ([Image 251](#)).<sup>18</sup> As the corpse of Pope Leo X lay in state in 1521, his face was described as ‘come paonazo scuro che era segno di veneno’ (like dark *pavonazzo*, which was a sign of poisoning).<sup>19</sup>

A convincing interpretation of the reasons behind the confusion over the definition of *pavonazzo* is advanced by Jacqueline Herald.<sup>20</sup> In 1464, Pope Paul II declared the dyestuff known as ‘*chermisi*’ to be ‘*purpura cardinalizia*’ (the cardinals’ purple). *Chermisi* (crimson, similarly derived from the Greek *kermes*) was, however, a high-quality red dye, imported from the East, which produced a red tending towards the

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<sup>14</sup> Jacqueline Herald, in *Renaissance Dress in Italy, 1400–1500* (London: Bell & Hyman, 1981), 224, asserts that the colour is that of the peahen, while Carole Collier Frick, in *Dressing Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 310; and Stella Mary Newton, in *The Dress of the Venetians, 1495–1525* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1988), 18–21, both prefer the colour as that of the peacock. See also Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 138.

<sup>15</sup> Newton, *Dress of the Venetians*, 18–21.

<sup>16</sup> Marin Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero la città di Venetia (1493–1530)*, ed. Angelo Caracciolo Arico (Milan: Cisalpino, La Goliardica, 1980), 58.

<sup>17</sup> Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo dei colori* (Lanciano: G. Carabba, 1913), 22–23. See Newton, *Dress of the Venetians*, 19.

<sup>18</sup> Newton, *Dress of the Venetians*, 178.

<sup>19</sup> Sanudo, *De origine*, 236. See also Newton, *Dress of the Venetians*, 20 and 158.

<sup>20</sup> Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy*, 91.

orange end of the spectrum, and was used for silk velvets and wool.<sup>21</sup> Herald attributes this inconsistency to the decline in the use of purple murex, ‘especially after the fall of Constantinople [in 1453], the last bastion of medieval purple dyeing’.<sup>22</sup> If this is the case, the apparent imprecision of the terminology may be due to the fact that *pavonazzo* maintained its symbolic meaning(s), and continued to be made using high-quality dyes, while the actual colour changed due to the changing availability of dyestuffs and expertise.

The use of *chermisi* to make *pavonazzo* took place in both Florence and Venice, where it was known as *cremesino*. Though the regulations controlling the activities of dyers in Florence and Venice were largely similar, they did differ in that in Florence *pavonazzo* was also made using *grana*, a red dye that was less expensive than *chermisi*, and hence was considered inferior. Its name derives from the fact that it was made from mediterranean shield lice, whose dried bodies had the appearance of kernels of grain.<sup>23</sup> Though it was less highly prized than *chermisi*, *grana* still made valuable cloth. Indeed, ‘The most expensive woollens imported into Rome – those dyed with *grana* – were almost exclusively of Florentine origin. A bolt of wool cloth dyed with *grana* fetched the considerable price of 70 florins, whereas a bolt without *grana* sold for between 27 and 45 florins.’<sup>24</sup>

The distribution of cloth to Tinctoris may therefore be understood to be washed (*sbagnato*) Florentine *pavonazzo* cloth dyed with *grana* – an expensive product that imparted a red colour. The changing shades of *pavonazzo* from purple to red during the fifteenth century, as described above, may provide an explanation for the fact that the robes we see Tinctoris wearing in the V miniature are of a more purple hue; if the priority of the artist was to portray him in the most favourable light, then the representation of his robes being of the older purple shade would be logical, even if the

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<sup>21</sup> Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 305 and 310.

<sup>22</sup> Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy*, 91.

<sup>23</sup> Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 310. See also Hidetoshi Hoshino, *L’Arte della Lana in Firenze nel basso medioevo* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1980), 251 and 286.

<sup>24</sup> Philip Jacks and William Caferro, *The Spinelli of Florence: Fortunes of a Renaissance Merchant Family* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 58. See also Richard Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: A Social and Economic History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980), 37.

robes he was actually supplied with were of the newer, redder, cloth made with *grana* dye.

Another possible approach to the interpretation of Tinctoris's robes in the **V** portrait is concerned with a statute of the Order of the Ermine, the knightly order that King Ferrante created in 1465 – the year in which he regained the Kingdom of Naples after several years of political turmoil and warring over his claim to the throne. The history of the activities of the Order is not at all well documented, hence its relevance to Neapolitan musical, artistic, and liturgical culture has never, to my knowledge, been explored. But the statutes of the order do survive, in two copies – one in Italian and one in Latin – and it is in these statutes that I have discovered an interesting potential connection with the Tinctoris portrait.

The earlier manuscript is the less well known of the two. Written in Italian, it was transcribed and published first partially in 1788 by the abbot Di Blasi, and then later in full by Giuseppe Maria Fusco.<sup>25</sup> The manuscript itself, however, has been reported in all of the modern secondary literature to be lost or untraceable. I am therefore pleased to confirm, following communication with the Biblioteca Statale Monumento Nazionale, Badia, Cava dei Tirreni, that the manuscript is currently held there as *I-CDTb* Cav. 64 (fol. 1r, [Image 252](#)).

The later Latin copy, *GB-Lbl* Add. 28628, was issued in the Castelnuovo on 15 April 1487, and features an autograph signature of King Ferrante.<sup>26</sup> The manuscript features a visual representation of the collar of the order, incorporating an *impresa* of the ermine with the motto 'decorum'. The arms featured on fol. 1v combine that of Ferrante and of the Orsini, a prominent Neapolitan family. An anonymous diarist wrote, in 1487, that:

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<sup>25</sup> Giuseppe Maria Fusco, *Intorno all'Ordine dell'Armellino da Re Ferdinando I. d'Aragona all'Archangelo S. Michele dedicato* (Naples: Banzoli, 1844).

<sup>26</sup> *Catalogue of the first portion of ... books and manuscripts of the late Mr. Joseph Lilley ... Messrs Sotheby ... 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1871* (London: Dryden Press, 1871), 112. An edition of the text was published in Tammara De Marinis and Alessandro Perosa, *Nuovi documenti per la storia del Rinascimento* (Florence: Olschki, 1970).

Eodem anno, il Signor Virginio Ursino pigliò la impresa del signor Re l'Armellino, e quello de casa de Aragona.<sup>27</sup>

*In the same year, Signor Virginio Ursino received the impresa of the Lord King, the ermine, and that of the House of Aragon.*<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, there is evidence in the *Cedole* that a standard featuring Ferrante's arms and *imprese* was sent to the same Virginio Orsini in 1487. The following record was made on 11 February of that year:

Si consegna al tesoriere Giov. Antonio Poderico uno stendardi di tafeta circondato di un friso d'oro a modo d'interlaccio massiccio, con le armi del Re poste in mezzo e piu su con le sue divise cioe tre segie de foco, quattro manti di diamanti, quattro lacci di Salamone, tre gerbe di miglio, e li libri, e col resto del campo seminato de fiamma de foeo tucto facto de bactaria di fuoco e cinto di frangia d'oro. Questo stendardo deve inviarsi a Roma a Virginio Orsini.<sup>29</sup>

*Delivered to the treasurer Giovanni Antonio Poderico is a standard of taffeta, surrounded with a golden frieze, in a heavy interlaced style, with the arms of the king placed in the middle, and above his devices, namely three flaming chairs, four mountains of diamonds, four lacci of Solomon, three sheaves of grain, and the books, and the rest of the field sown with the flames of fire together with bactaria of fire and the garter fringed with gold. This standard must be sent to Rome to Virginio Orsini.*

It seems evident from these records that the latter individual became a member of the Order in 1487, and that the copy of the statutes was produced in connection with the ordination.

Chapter eight of the statutes of the Order of the Ermine describes the robes that are to be worn by its members:

Erit autem predicta clamis seu pallium huius ordinis | quo ipsius ordinis milites exornantur scissum & la|tere dextro apertum ex citino raso carmesino usque | ad talos demissum eritque armineis suffultum pel|libus: clausumque iuxta collum. Vestis uero interi|or sub clamide erit serica albi coloris & talaris.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Quoted in Fusco, *Intorno all'Ordine*, 26.

<sup>28</sup> Translation from Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, 404.

<sup>29</sup> Nicola Barone, 'Le cedole di tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dell'anno 1460 al 1504', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 9 (1884), 629. See also Leah Ruth Clark, 'Value and Symbolic Practices: Objects, Exchanges, and Associations in the Italian Courts (1450–1500)' (PhD dissertation, McGill University, 2009), 292.

<sup>30</sup> *GB-Lbl Add.* 28628, fol. 5v.

*The aforementioned clamis or cloak of this order, with which knights of the order themselves are equipped, shall be divided and open on the right side. It shall be of shaved carmine satin, falling all the way to the heels, and it shall be trimmed with the skins of ermines, and closed at the neck. The under-garment beneath the clamis shall be of white silk, and shall reach to the ankles.*

This description of the robes of the Order is therefore remarkably similar to the clothing worn by Tinctoris on the frontispiece of **V**. The cloak is described in the statute as being of the colour carmine. The colour carmine is sufficiently similar to that of Tinctoris's robe,<sup>31</sup> allowing for more than 500 years of fading, the limitations of photographic reproduction, and natural variation in pigment, to assert that the robe is indeed of the colour carmine. Whether or not it is made of shaved satin is, of course, extremely difficult to tell. The cloak is not 'divided and open at the right side', but it does fall to the heels, as stipulated, and it is clearly trimmed with ermine. Unlike the fur of the representations of living ermines in *imprese*, this fur has black spots. It was traditional for furriers to sew the black tails of ermines to their pelts, which are otherwise pure white, when creating linings and trim for stately robes.<sup>32</sup> Tinctoris does not appear, though, in the **V** miniature, to be wearing an under-garment of white silk, as required in the statute, but rather he appears to wear one of a blue material.

This fact – that Tinctoris is represented in what may be interpreted as a combination of robes that is very similar to, but not precisely the same as, that described in the statute – is consonant with the unlikeliness that he would have been eligible actually to have been made a knight of such an Order. No fifteenth-century lists of the Order's membership survive, but a reconstructed list was made by Aniello Pacca and augmented by Giuseppe Maria Fusco in the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> All of the members of the list were members of principal princely and baronial families, and so there is no evidence that the Order ever included a member below the rank of baron; most were princes, dukes, and counts.

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<sup>31</sup> Defined as cyan = 0, magenta = 94, yellow = 60, black = 24 in Rosa Gallego and Juan Carlos Sanz, *Guía de coloraciones* (Madrid: H. Blume, 2005), 243.

<sup>32</sup> William Berry, *Encyclopaedia Heraldica*, i (London: Sherwood, Gilber, and Piper, 1828), 200.

<sup>33</sup> Fusco, *Intorno all'Ordine*, 26–27.

If one continues to entertain the possibility that there was some connection between Tinctoris and the Order of the Ermine, then the most likely position that he might have held is that of canon to the Order. The relevant chapter nineteen of the statutes is given as follows:

Item ordinamus novem canonicos in novem ordinum | angelorum honorem per  
superiorem ordinis esse deputandos *et* eligendos: qui in templo congregationis  
ipsius singulis ebdomadis semel officium divinum quam [recte: quod] |  
maio<sup>r</sup>em missam appellant devotissime celebrent die | simili qua festum dicti  
Michaelis archangeli vigesimo | nono Septembris eo anno fuerit celebratum.<sup>34</sup>

*We ordain that nine canons, in honour of the nine orders of angels, are to be  
allotted and chosen by the sovereign of the order, who should celebrate most  
devoutly in the chapel of the order itself, once every week, the divine office  
which they call high mass on the same day on which the feast of the said  
Michael the Archangel, on the 29th of September, has been celebrated that  
year.*

Around 1495, Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, reported in his catalogue of illustrious contemporary individuals that Tinctoris was ‘patria brabantinus, ex civitate nivellensi oriundus, et in ecclesia eiusdem urbis canonicus’ (*Brabantine by birth, originating from the commune of Nivelles, and canon in the church of the same city*).<sup>35</sup> Ronald Woodley has recently shown that this was indeed the case – Tinctoris gained a prebendary canonry at St Gertrude’s Church, Nivelles, in the diocese of Liège from 1488 or 1489, and held it until his death in 1511.<sup>36</sup> In 1490, Tinctoris made a supplication to the pope, ‘requesting that he be accorded the title and privileges of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law in recognition of his earlier legal studies and experience’, while in 1502, he personally resigned at Rome a benefice that he held at the church of St George in the ‘old market’ in Naples.<sup>37</sup> There is therefore some evidence of Tinctoris holding canonries elsewhere, which makes more plausible the suggestion that he might have been one of the nine canons of the Order of the Ermine.

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<sup>34</sup> *GB-Lbl* Add. 28628, fol. 9r–9v.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted from Ronald Woodley, ‘Tinctoris and Nivelles: The Obit Evidence’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 1 (2009), 110–121 at 110.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 110–112.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

Additionally, mainly as a result of Marlène Britta's work on the Orléans Cathedral records, there are renewed suspicions that Tinctoris may have been an ordained priest.<sup>38</sup>

Any suggestion of Tinctoris's involvement with the Order of the Ermine must at this stage be treated with great caution, since no documentary evidence to support it has so far come to light. There is, however, at least a conceivable possibility of such a connection, as I have set out above, that warrants further research.

## 6.2 | Hierarchy of Initials

Moving away from considerations of iconography and portraiture, I shall now approach the secondary decoration of **V** and **BU** – the various strategies employed to organise the textual content of each manuscript by visual means. This discussion will focus on the hierarchy of decorated initials as expressed by their respective size, the media used in their execution, and the extent of their marginal extension and elaboration.

Probably having been copied from the same exemplar, **V** and **BU** each contain the same nine treatises in the same order. **V** is the larger manuscript, each parchment folio measuring  $272 \times 190$  mm, while **BU**'s folios are smaller at  $235 \times 168$  mm, and consequently **V** runs to 164 and **BU** to 190 folios. This physical disparity means that the mise-en-page of each manuscript is different, and while they both articulate essentially the same textual content, that content is presented in subtly different ways. One of the most evident ways in which this finds expression is in by far the most abundant type of visual decoration; that of the initials which, like other manuscripts of the period, are organised in a hierarchy that reflects the structure of the texts presented, and imposes order on them in the eyes of the reader. The nature of these music-theoretical texts, with Tinctoris's characteristically exhaustive lists of intervals and proportions, results in a huge number of initials that form part of a carefully organised system that is highly structured, but is still flexible enough to adjust to local space constraints.

Each decorated initial assumes its place in the hierarchy with reference to two factors: its height, expressed by an equivalent number of text lines, and the media used to

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<sup>38</sup> Marlène Britta, 'La vie musicale à Orléans de la fin de la guerre de Cent Ans à la Saint-Barthélemy', in David Rivaud, Marie-Luce Demonet, and Philippe Vendrix, eds., *Orléans, une ville de la Renaissance* (Orléans: Ville d'Orléans, 2009), 120–131, at 123–125.

execute it – polychrome painted decoration or penwork tracery. In both **V** and **BU** it is possible to define three hierarchical levels of decorated initial that I call Classes 1, 2, and 3.<sup>39</sup> Before addressing those, however, I would like to draw attention to the smallest organisational decorative element – the paraph. These marks, executed alternately in red and blue ink, are used to mark the beginnings of chapter titles in tables of contents, for rubrics that announce the titles of chapters, for list items in running text, to mark the beginnings of new units of meaning (so roughly equivalent to the modern concept of paragraph separation), and to begin the underlay of musical examples. In the second chapter of the *Expositio manus*, Tinctoris lists the locations on the hand where notes are to be referenced. A paraph clarifies the beginning of each item in the list in both manuscripts. Note, however, how in **V**, fol. 3r ([Image 253](#)), the earlier manuscript, the list is given in running text, whereas in the later version, **BU**, fol. 4r ([Image 254](#)) each list item is afforded a new line, resulting in greater clarity for the reader. In a sense, the paraphs are playing a greater role in articulating the structure of the theoretical text in **V**, but without doubt there is a successful attempt in **BU** to enhance the clarity of the text, and the paraphs still play an important part in that process. This is the first example of several where I believe an enhanced clarity of articulation through mise-en-page has been achieved in **BU**.

Class 3 decorated initials are generally 2-line, executed in red or blue ink with blue or red tracery. There are 339 such initials in **V** (e.g. fol. 57r, [Image 255](#)) and 331 in **BU** (e.g. fol. 23v, [Image 256](#)). They are used mainly to itemise rules, ‘methods’, and other technical categories such as intervals and proportions in lists within chapters. They are also used to restart the main text following interruption by a diagram, to mark the beginnings of paratexts such as the two *elogia* in **V**, to mark the beginning of the underlay of musical examples, and occasionally to mark the beginning of rubrics before the beginning of works, whose text is marked by an initial of a higher class. The tracery is limited to describing the square surrounding the letter shape and features only very slight extension into the left margin.

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<sup>39</sup> See Chapters 2.5, 2.6, 4.5, and 4.6 for detailed listings of these initials.



In chapter 2 of the *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, the second treatise in each manuscript, Tinctoris again lists sequences of types of interval. In **BU**, the later manuscript, fols. 22v–23r ([Image 257](#)), Class 3 initials are used to alert the reader to the list items. This frees the paraph to be used to demarcate units of meaning in the text within each music-theoretical example given. Though **V** does of course feature many Class 3 initials, the hierarchical subtlety found in chapter 2 of the *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* in **BU** is not made in the earlier manuscript, e.g. fols. 19r ([Image 258](#)) and 19v ([Image 259](#)). Paraphs are used both for the beginnings of examples and for units of meaning within them. This, therefore, is a second example of the organising power of visual decoration being exploited to a greater degree in **BU** than in **V**.

There are 211 Class 2 initials in **V** (e.g. fol. 3r, [Image 260](#)), and 221 in **BU** (e.g. fol. 22v, [Image 261](#)). They are usually 4-line, though very occasionally 2- or 3-line due to local space constraints. They are used to denote the beginnings of chapters, and are therefore one hierarchical level down from Class 1 initials, which denote the beginnings of treatises and their subdivision into books. In each Class 2 initial, the letter shape is rendered in shell gold or blue ink, and ornamented with penwork tracery in, respectively, violet or red ink. The initials alternate between blue and gold lettering, with the appropriate secondary colour. A few Class 2 initials in **V** are rendered with a red letter-form and blue tracery; this does not occur in **BU**, where the distinction between Class 2 as blue or gold and Class 3 as red or blue is maintained. The tracery describes a square around the initial and then extends into the left margin, sometimes filling it and extending beyond the writing block at both top and bottom.

Class 1 initials are used to mark the beginnings of treatises and books within treatises; they are generally 6- or 7-line, and lavishly executed in polychrome paint. At the beginning of the second treatise, the *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, though there are obvious differences in the style of the decoration, the essential structure is the same in **V** (fol. 16r, [Image 262](#)) and **BU** (fol. 19r, [Image 263](#)): a Class 1 initial with marginal extensions extending beyond the top and bottom of the writing block. A difference occurs at the beginning of chapter 1 of the treatise, where in **V** the usual Class 2 initial is used (fol. 17r, [Image 264](#)), but in **BU** a subordinate type of Class 1 initial is introduced (fol. 20r, [Image 265](#)), which, as I shall demonstrate, is later used to

provide a clearer and more subtly defined organisational structure than was achieved in **V**, the earlier manuscript.

At the beginning of the third treatise, *De notis et pausis*, the initial decoration used in **V** changes to a less elaborate version of the previous Class 1 initial that began a treatise, but at the same organisational level (fol. 43v, [Image 266](#)). By contrast, in **BU**, just as at the beginning of the previous treatise in the manuscript, a full-scale Class 1 initial is used (fol. 47r, [Image 267](#)). A distinction has been set up in **BU** that will allow the more complex treatises later in the codex, which have subdivisions into books, to be articulated more clearly by the hierarchy of initials.

For the beginning of the fourth (*De regulari valore notarum*: **V**, fol. 48r, [Image 268](#); **BU** fol. 52v, [Image 269](#)) and fifth treatises (*Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*: **V**, fol. 55r, [Image 270](#); **BU**, fol. 61r, [Image 271](#)), the prevalent pattern is maintained, but an apparent anomaly occurs in **BU** at the beginning of book 2 of the *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*, where a full-scale Class 1 initial is used in place of the expected less elaborate version (fol. 68v, [Image 272](#)). However, where Class 1 initials in **BU** up to this point have been almost always 6-line, in the planning of this page there was clearly concern over the amount of material to be presented in such a busy layout with two musical examples. There is evidence elsewhere in **BU** of musical examples causing layout problems that caused portions of the main text to require erasure and recompletion in an abbreviated format. So here the decorator was left with only a five-line space for the initial; this may have influenced his decision to use the more elaborate marginal extensions at this point. I have the impression that in the decision-making process for the mise-en-page of these treatises there was a flexible balance between following rigidly hierarchical structures and being sensitive to the visual balance of the page in question. The large amount of textual rubric on fol. 68v of **BU** has been mirrored by the artist in his use of red in the middle of the initial T and in both foliate vines at the head and foot of the page.

The initials that begin the sixth and seventh treatises follow the expected pattern, as does the eighth, the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, until in **V**, the beginning of chapter 1 is decorated with a Class 1 initial (fol. 80v, [Image 273](#)). This is the only point in **V** – apart

from one example in the first treatise, where it is unremarkable since it follows the frontispiece directly – where a Class 1 initial is used for any reason other than to denote the beginning of a treatise or a book. It would appear that special significance has been given to this work in **V**, but not in **BU**, where the work receives the standard Class 2 initial. If, as discussed in Chapter 3, **V** was produced in late 1477 or 1478, very soon after the completion of this very treatise on 11 October 1477 (a date obtainable from **Br1**),<sup>40</sup> then the fact that opportunity was taken in the hierarchy of initial decoration to herald the beginning of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, whose recent completion may have occasioned the very production of the codex, would make a good deal of sense.

It is in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and in the final treatise, the *Proportionale musices*, that the elegance of the decorative planning in **BU** comes to the fore, since they each divide into three books. At the beginning of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (fol. 89v, [Image 274](#)), and at the beginnings of its second (fol. 133v, [Image 275](#)) and third (fol. 160r, [Image 276](#)) books, may be seen the utility of the implementation of two orders of Class 1 initial in **BU** – to express clearly the hierarchical distinction between treatise and book. This is a subtlety unachieved in the decoration of the earlier manuscript **V**.

A feature is made in **BU** of the final treatise, the *Proportionale musices*, whose opening Class 1 initial has a marginal extension that surrounds the entire text block (fol. 167r, [Image 277](#)). Note that the red–blue alternation seen at so many decorative levels is here mirrored in the quartet of flowers at the foot of the design. Additionally, in **BU** the less-elaborate form of Class 1 initial (fol. 168r, [Image 278](#)) is used to mark the beginning of chapter 1 of the final treatise, soon after the beginning, as a special emphasis, just as had been done, albeit within a slightly less refined system, in **V** to mark the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*.

At the beginning of book 2, **V** features its usual Class 1 initial (fol. 156r, [Image 279](#)), while **BU** uses the less elaborate Class 1 as expected (fol. 180v, [Image 280](#)). At the beginning of the third book of *De arte contrapuncti* in **V**, there should be a Class 1

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<sup>40</sup> Woodley, ‘Dating and Provenance’.

initial of ‘Tractato’ halfway down fol. 157v, but instead there is only a Class 2 ([Image 281](#)). The Class 1 initial is found, somewhat bizarrely, on the previous recto ([Image 282](#)), forming the initial of chapter 6 of book 2. My only explanation for this is that it was judged that there simply was not room for a Class 1 initial in its proper place, given that these and the following pages are all very busy, and feature music examples, so a compromise was found of putting the major initial as close as possible to where it should be. This was not a problem in **BU**, where a fully-elaborated Class 1 initial features as a flourish to mark the beginning of the final section of the manuscript book.

This type of decoration is neither pure adornment nor a dogged, predictable, and benign addition to the verbal text. As shown by the differences in articulation achieved in the decoration of the initials in **V** and **BU**, the decisions made by those who planned and executed the decoration have meaningful consequences for the understanding of the text by the reader. Given the complexities of the art-stylistic analysis that follows, I should hope that the observations above of the functional decisions made by planners and artists might lead to further research into the relationships between these manuscripts and others made at Naples in Tinctoris’s time there in the late fifteenth century.

### 6.3 | Miniaturists and Artists

Having analysed the organisational functions of the initials, I shall now progress to consider their style and which artists may have been responsible for their execution. Gennaro Toscano has attributed the decoration of the frontispiece of **V** to Nardo Rapicano,<sup>41</sup> who was active at Naples during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>42</sup> He was presumably either the son or the brother of Cola Rapicano, after whose death we find the first records of payments to Nardo in his own name.<sup>43</sup> In order to engage with this attribution, it is necessary first to confront the fact that there is only one securely attributable example of the artist’s work: *F-Pn* ital. 1711, the aforementioned

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<sup>41</sup> Gennaro Toscano, *La Biblioteca reale di Napoli al tempo della dinastia aragonese* (Valencia: Generalitat Valencia, 1998), 396–397, at 608–609.

<sup>42</sup> Gennaro Toscano, ‘Nardo Rapicano’, in Milvia Bollati, ed., *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani* (Milan: Bonnard, 2004), 896–899.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 893–896.

copy by Giovan Matteo de Russis of Maio's *De Maiestate*. The attribution is made possible by the following *Cedole* record of 2 April 1493:

A Nardo Rapicano miniatore a di II de aprile 1493. XV ducati, IIII tarì XV grani a lo quale lo señore Re li comanda dare cioè III tarì per uno principio istoriato che ha facto in uno libro che ha composto mastro Juliano de Magio de laudi de soa Maestà in vulgare; XV ducati per trenta istorie che ha facte in dicto libro che ciaschuna e uno quatro dinto multe figure, et XV grani per vinti una lictera perusina facte in dicta libro, quale libro ha consignato in la libreria de Soa Maestà in potere de Baltassarro Scariglia a XXIII de febraro proximo paxato.<sup>44</sup>

Nardo's thirty miniatures in this manuscript depict significant events in Ferrante's life and demarcate the beginning of each chapter of the book. The miniature on fol. 10v ([Image 283](#)) shows Ferrante pardoning Marino Marzano (c.1400–1489), who had previously attempted to assassinate the king. It demonstrates the rounded heads that are evident in Nardo's figurative work – one of the markers of his style that has been identified by Toscano also in the frontispiece of *I-Nn* I.B.57.<sup>45</sup> The characteristic is very clear in the miniature on fol. 27r of *F-Pn* ital. 1711 ([Image 284](#)), which shows Ferrante giving a sword and crown to Antonio Todeschini Piccolomini (c.1435–1493), Duke of Amalfi. In the frontispiece of **V**, Tinctoris's head ([Image 285](#)) and those of the angels ([Image 286](#)) certainly exhibit this roundness, as do those of the *putti* ([Image 287](#)). By comparison, the representation of heads by Cristoforo Majorana, for whose work the frontispiece of **V** has been mistaken,<sup>46</sup> is somewhat different; in Majorana's work is a constant presence of grumpy (*imbronciati*) *putti* and a nervous and expressionistic quality to the other figures.<sup>47</sup> For example, see the frontispiece (fol. 1r, [Image 288](#)) of *E-VAu* 758, a copy of Aesop, *Vita* and *Fabulae*, that is securely attributable to Majorana's work of 1481.<sup>48</sup> With magnification of fol. 1r ([Image 289](#)), it may be seen how Majorana's *putti* have squarer, more thick-set heads, and heavier, more muscular bodies and, as Toscano suggests, grumpier expressions than those of Nardo on the frontispiece

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<sup>44</sup> *DMB*, ii. 306.

<sup>45</sup> Toscano, *Biblioteca reale*, 397.

<sup>46</sup> *DMB*, i. 150–155.

<sup>47</sup> Toscano, *Biblioteca reale*, 396–397.

<sup>48</sup> Toscano, 'Nardo Rapicano', 718.

of **V**. There, the *putti*'s lithe bodies are rendered delicately, while their rounded heads have faces bearing apparently pious expressions.

The miniature on fol. 26r of *F-Pn* ital. 1711 ([Image 290](#)) shows Ferrante under a canopy, presenting a written document to Jean II of Anjou, in the presence of several Neapolitan courtiers. Through the windows we see the spires of churches against the hilly skyline of Naples ([Image 291](#)), rendered just as delicately in light blue as they are in **V** ([Image 292](#)), in a distinctive yet abstract and suggestive style. Nardo's gradient blue shading is also clearly evident in the marginal decoration of fol. 10v of *F-Pn* ital. 1711 ([Image 293](#)), which may be compared with [Image 294](#), a detail from the right side of the **V** design. While this shading is part of the style of the workshop of Cola Rapicano, in which both Nardo and Majorana trained, it is again evident, by comparison with fol. 1r of *E-VAu* 758 ([Image 295](#)), that the latter artist's execution of the feature is markedly more coarse, lacking the carefully refined control of gradient seen in Nardo's work.

The sense of local specificity that may be appreciated in the **V** miniature is highlighted by the rendering of the islands out to sea in the Bay of Naples in the second miniature on fol. 52v of *F-Pn* ital. 1711 ([Image 296](#)). In the foreground are seen the unmistakable fortifications of the Castelnuovo; a comparison with [Image 297](#), a photograph taken in September 2012, gives a remarkable sense both of Nardo's fairly literal depiction of what was an iconic building in then-contemporary art,<sup>49</sup> and of historical continuity to the present day. A further appreciation of Nardo's concern for replicating the architectural reality of the locations he was required to depict may be gained by comparing his miniature of the medieval city of Rhodes (*F-Pn* ital. 1711, fol. 12v, [Image 299](#)), which is both a reasonably accurate representation of the architecture of the city, and is executed with a rather different style and using a paler palette, further to enhance the local specificity. While I cannot assert that Tinctoris is represented in a room that looks exactly as it once did, I do believe there is a certain formal similarity between the arches that give on to the city skyline beyond in the miniature, and the

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<sup>49</sup> See, for example, the depiction of the Castelnuovo in the Olivetan Giovanni da Verona's early sixteenth-century intarsia panel in the sacristy of S. Anna dei Lombardi, Naples ([Image 298](#)).

galleries on the west and south fronts of the building. These galleries, on the top floor of the Castelnuovo, consisted of open arches, which from the south front provide views out to sea, and in modern times have been glazed (Images 300, 301, 302, and 303). From the gallery on the west front would have been seen the hills and church spires of the Tintoris miniature; they were restored during the twentieth century and currently are not accessible by members of the public (Image 304).<sup>50</sup>

Toscano observes that the lips of Nardo's *putti* and other figures are characterised by a light brushstroke in reddish-brown tones.<sup>51</sup> This is evident in three manuscripts that he ascribes to Nardo: *F-Pn* lat. 7810 (fol. 5r, Image 305), a copy of Francesco Filelfo, *Orationes*,<sup>52</sup> *E-VAu* 389 (fol. 19r, Image 306), a copy of Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, and the aforementioned breviary, *I-Nn* I.B.57.<sup>53</sup> The lips of Majorana's *putti*, e.g. on fol. 1r of *E-VAu* 758 (Image 307), are quite clearly executed with the dark brown that is used to render the other facial features. This marker, the light brushstroke below the mouths of the *putti*, is evident in **V** (Image 308). I contend that this and the other features described here suggest that the frontispiece of **V** should indeed be considered most probably the work of Nardo Rapicano.

The style of Nardo's twenty-one Perugian letters ('vinti una lictera perusina facte in dicta libro', above) in *F-Pn* ital. 1711 (e.g. fol. 16r, Image 309), however, is clearly different from the polychrome painted initials in **V**. The main letter-forms in the decorated letters of the former manuscript are rendered in shell gold, and the background consists of blue and red sections with white tracery. They extend only to two text-lines in height, just as in *F-Pn* lat. 3063, where the same style is combined with a hierarchically superior level of initial decoration in the *bianchi girari* style (e.g. fol. 9v, Image 310) that was also used by many Neapolitan artists; this combination is also found in *F-Pn* lat. 3147, while in *F-Pn* lat. 7810 (e.g. fol. 75r, Image 311), Nardo again

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<sup>50</sup> See Riccardo Filangieri, *Castel nuovo, reggia angioina ed aragonese di Napoli* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1964), 49–50.

<sup>51</sup> Toscano, *Biblioteca reale*, 397.

<sup>52</sup> Toscano, *Les rois bibliophiles*, ii. 450, no. 31.

<sup>53</sup> The frontispiece, fol. 11r, of *I-Nn* I.B.57 is reproduced in Antonella Putaturo Murano, *Miniature napoletane del rinascimento* (Naples: Libreria scientifica editrice, 1973), plate XXIII. The feature is also exhibited in Nardo's execution of the figures in Maio's *De Maiestate* and the two manuscripts of Scotus, *F-Pn* lat. 3063 and *F-Pn* lat. 3147.

employs the *bianchi girari* style. The basic design of the decorated initials found in *F-Pn* ital. 1711 is also found in Majorana's work, e.g. *E-VAu* 758, fol. 75v ([Image 312](#)), though, as with the execution of his *putti*, this artist's work is less refined than that of Nardo. A similar, though simpler, approach is found in Nardo's *E-VAu* 389, with the basic letter form in shell gold, on a background of blue (e.g. fol. 77v, [Image 313](#)) or red (e.g. 76v, [Image 314](#)) with white tracery, or indeed blueish green with green tracery (e.g. fol. 67v, [Image 315](#)).

By contrast, the fundamental letter form of the 6-line painted initial of 'MANus' on fol. 2v of **V** ([Image 316](#)) is described in purple, offset with a lighter shade, which is in turn detailed with a small amount of white tracery. The letter shape is rounded, and from the midpoint of the top of the arch springs an elaboration, in blue on the left, terminating in a purple sprout, and in green on the right, terminating in a blue sprout. These basic colours are refined, like the purple body of the letter, by pointing in a lighter shade and with light tracery. The decoration is continued with a green crossing at the midpoint of the central ascender, and with sprouting extensions to the feet of the letter. This is set against a background of shell gold and surrounded with a border formed of a pair of parallel lines in black ink. From the initial, and into the left border, extends a vine featuring a blue flower with a yellow centre, two white flowers tipped with purple, eight round brown fruits, twenty-one bezants with golden centres and black bristles, in addition to several green leaves. Was Nardo responsible for this?

The inhabited initial on the frontispiece of Crispus's signed copy of Aquinas's *Super primo libro Sententiarum* (*F-LO* 7, fol. 7r, [Image 317](#)) is of vital importance in ascertaining Nardo's style of execution of polychrome decoration, since it combines such work in direct combination with the readily identifiable style of his miniature painting, with delicate blue shaded rendering of the sky, tall and slender arches, and highly detailed rendering of the figure's robe, as seen in **V**. It becomes clear that Nardo's execution of the polychrome vine decoration is noticeably more refined than that seen in **V**; his skill at shading and his use of fine lines to add contour to the shapes he describes is quite superior. The importance of *F-LO* 7 to the present argument is that Nardo evidently was not responsible for the decoration of the remainder of the initials in the manuscript. On fol. 12r ([Image 318](#)) is seen a quite different execution to Nardo's



polychrome vine decoration on the frontispiece. Stylistically and compositionally, this second hand is a match for the decorated initials of **V**. What remains is, therefore, to ascertain the identity of the second decorator.

On the basis of a census of the Neapolitan Aquinas complex and other contemporary manuscripts, I believe this second artist, who was responsible for the majority of the initials in *F-LO 7*, and by extension for those in **V**, was Matteo Felice, who was active at Naples between 1467 and 1493.<sup>54</sup> The key to this identification is found in the decoration of Crispus's copy of Aquinas, *Expositio litteralis in Isaiam* (*F-Pn* lat. 495), which is securely attributable to Felice on the basis of a *Cedole* record of 7 August 1492.<sup>55</sup> The miniature on the frontispiece (fol. 1r, [Image 319](#)) shows Felice's heavier, more vertically compressed style, in comparison to Nardo Rapicano, while the *bianchi girari* border decoration is highly detailed and arguably more successful than the miniature work. On fol. 2r ([Image 320](#)) is a decorated initial that is strikingly similar in details of its composition to that on fol. 16r of **V** ([Image 321](#)). In each case, the upper vine decoration on the top of the letter form is centred on a green circular feature, and to the left is rendered in blue with white highlighting, terminating in a purple flourish, while to the right the same construction is executed first in green, then in blue. In both examples, the marginal vine-decoration extension begins at the vertical midpoint of the rectangular space of the letter decoration with a blue flower with three petals and a gold centre. The supporting green vines are highlighted in a lighter green and a yellow-gold shade, while the gold bezants with black bristles are very close in execution. The five-petal marginal purple and pink flowers with gold centres, above and below the decorated letter, are also a formal and gestural match if not quite identical in shade and highlighting. These similarities, allied with the rather less refined execution than Nardo of the generic decorative style by Felice, suggest strongly that the latter artist was responsible for the polychrome decorated initials in **V**.

Felice's polychrome initials are also evident in:

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<sup>54</sup> Felice was first proposed as having executed the initial decoration in **V** in Perkins and Garey, *Mellon Chansonier*, i. 22–24, reporting work by Mirella Levi d'Ancona.

<sup>55</sup> *DMB*, ii. 300, doc. 847.

- *F-LO* 8, Crispus's 1489 copy of Aquinas, *Super secundo libro Sententiarum*, e.g. fol. 25v ([Image 322](#)), as is his vertically compressed miniature style on the frontispiece (fol. 12r, [Image 323](#)).
- *F-Pn* lat. 674, Crispus's 1492 copy of Aquinas, *Expositio in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, e.g. fol. 23r ([Image 324](#)), in which manuscript the same artist was also responsible for the frontispiece (fol. 1r, [Image 325](#)).<sup>56</sup>
- *E-VAu* 380, Crispus's undated copy of Aquinas, *Aurea expositio sancti Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios*, e.g. fol. 3r ([Image 326](#)), in which manuscript the same artist was also responsible for the frontispiece (fol. 1r, [Image 327](#)).

Felice's style is also perceptible in parts of *F-Pn* lat. 6525, e.g. fol. 93v ([Image 328](#)); I am unsure who might have been responsible for the frontispiece (fol. 1r, [Image 329](#)).

It is particularly interesting that *F-LO* 7 and **V** were each written by Crispus and feature frontispieces by Nardo and polychrome initials by Felice. The former manuscript is dated 2 September 1484, which is one more small piece of evidence pointing to a slightly later dating of **V**, to the early 1480s rather than the late 1470s. The codex *F-Pn* Smith-Lesouëf 14 (1486) was written by Crispus and has initials by Felice, but no frontispiece.

Woodley first noted the similarities between the decoration of **BU** and *E-E* a.I.7, an *Ordo ad Cathecuminum faciendum*, in 1982.<sup>57</sup> In 2012, López-Mayán published a paper in which she suggested, tantalisingly, some similarities between the execution of the miniatures in the latter manuscript (e.g. fol. 110r, [Image 330](#)) and Nardo's style in the Maio manuscript *F-Pn* ital. 1711.<sup>58</sup> She chose, ultimately, not to make a firm ascription, which I believe was correct, since while there are indeed similarities in the use of perspective, the miniatures in the historiated initials do not exhibit the refined detail and sensitive shading shown in Nardo's identifiable work. The important link between the

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<sup>56</sup> See *ibid.*, 303, doc. 879.

<sup>57</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'The *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1982), 136.

<sup>58</sup> Mercedes López-Mayán, 'Entre Roma y Nápoles: El pontifical a.I.7 del Escorial y la miniatura italiana del Renacimiento', *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, 16 (2012), 110–120.

decoration of **BU** and *E-E* a.I.7 is the presence in the marginal extensions of Class 1 initials in each manuscript of distinctive thick bands created from dark parallel lines with solid in-filling in various colours (e.g. **BU**, fol. 47r, [Image 331](#), and fol. 167r, [Image 332](#), and the *E-E* a.I.7 example above). In the case of *E-E* a.I.7, I feel that the style of the floral marginal decoration, and in particular the bezants, suggests strongly the hand of Felice. The same cannot be said, sadly, of **BU**. In *E-VAu* 53, Crispus's undated copy of *Catena aurea in Marcum*, I have found some usage of the bi-chrome bands in some of the richest and most lavishly executed initial decoration in any Neapolitan manuscript, e.g. fol. 23v ([Images 333](#) and [334](#)).

The striking and bold introduction of a decorative feature formed of four triangular shapes on fols. 152v–153r of **BU** ([Image 335](#)) and, at the same point in the text, fols. 132v–133r of **V**, is both remarkable and, to my knowledge, unique to these two manuscripts of the Neapolitan complex. The strategy of triangulating or tapering the text outline was very commonly adopted in order to fulfil the priority of ensuring that the text reached the bottom of the page, and here one might imagine the intention was to enable the presentation of the motet *Martine presul inclyte superis* on the succeeding single opening (**BU** fols. 153v–154r, [Image 336](#)). The extent of the decorative infilling is, however, here quite unprecedented. I suspect that the decision to colour one of the triangles red on **BU**, fol. 153r was formally to reflect the extensive rubricated text at the head of the facing page; otherwise the expectation would be a symmetrical alternation of blue and green.

Since **BU**, *F-Pn* ital. 1711, and *E-VAu* 53 are the only Neapolitan manuscripts to feature the distinctive bands in the marginal decoration, and the triangular feature appears only in **V** and **BU**, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to suggest an attribution to a single artist, unless further evidence should come to light. I am fairly sure that the decoration lacks the refinement that would enable the proposal of Nardo as a candidate, and hence Felice would be the most obvious suggestion, but the divergence between the style of his securely attributable work and some aspects of the decoration of **BU** are too great to assert this with any conviction.

Turning to a consideration of the style of the pen-flourished Class 2 initials, it is first necessary to point out that while there is a slight difference in feel between the execution in **V** and **BU**, there is essentially the same approach in form and in the various components that make up the design. Taking the decoration of the letter *a* as an example, see the similarity between fol. 26r of **V** ([Image 337](#)) and fol. 156v of **BU** ([Image 338](#)). The style is the same in *F-LO* 7 (e.g. fol. 8r, [Image 339](#)), in which the frontispiece was decorated by Nardo, and the polychrome initials by Felice. In *E-VAu* 390, Crispus's c.1484 copy of Albertus Magnus, *De mirabili scientia Dei* (e.g. fol. 114r, [Image 340](#)), yet again is seen the same style of pen-flourished decoration. In this manuscript, the frontispiece ([Image 341](#)) is seemingly by Nardo, while the polychrome initials are possibly by Majorana or Felice. In *E-VAu* 395, Crispus's 1484 copy of *Prima pars secunde partis Summe Theologie* (e.g. fol. 10v, [Image 342](#)), the style of pen-flourished initial is yet again the same, though the only artist working on the manuscript was Cristoforo Majorana (see the frontispiece, fol. 10r, [Image 343](#)). The evident ubiquity of style of the red, blue, and green pen-flourished initials in Crispus's output, when considered in the light of perceptible differences in style of the miniaturists within the same corpus, seems to suggest that it was in fact the scribe himself who was responsible for the execution of these intricate decorative features. That is, at least, all that I can assert on the basis of stylistic analysis. In the following chapter I shall present some evidence, in discussing the order of execution of various components of the manuscripts, that will provide an opportunity to interrogate further the potential involvement of Crispus in the pen-flourished decoration.

In summary, I believe that the frontispiece of **V** presents a realistic portrait of Tinctoris, and that there may be significance in his presentation in *pavonazzo* or carmine robes, trimmed with ermine. They are quite likely to represent the robes he was entitled to wear as a member of the royal chapel, and there is a chance that they may have had the additional meaning of identifying involvement with the Order of the Ermine, perhaps as a canon thereof.

It is possible to assert that an attempt was made in **BU** to achieve a clearer presentation of the treatises than in **V**, through a revision of the manner in which different levels of initial decoration were used to articulate the technical and didactic structure of the texts.

This was perhaps because the book was destined for the library of Beatrice of Aragon, Queen of Hungary, whom Tinctoris had taught, and who had the potential to use the volume for true musical edification and self-instruction, in addition to its status as an outward demonstration of erudition and taste through ownership and probable display of the manuscript.

The frontispiece of **V** was executed by Nardo Rapicano, and its polychrome decorated initials were painted by Matteo Felice. The painted decoration of **BU** was possibly also contributed by Felice, and if it was not, then it was certainly executed by an artist whose style owed much to his work. If this is the case, then it is probable that the artist responsible was someone who has not yet been able to be identified by reference to court payment records. On stylistic grounds, it is most likely that the pen-flourished decoration in both **V** and **BU** was executed by the scribe Venceslaus Crispus, though this is a question that will be more fully addressed in the following chapter.

Comparison of the **V** miniature and other decorative elements of both **V** and **BU** can certainly tell us much about the priorities of those who planned and produced them, particularly when made with a wide selection of contemporary Neapolitan manuscripts. Indeed, I hope that such analysis may allow the potential for new avenues of research into that wider corpus of manuscripts, of which many questions of iconographical meaning and structural articulation through decoration remain to be asked.

## Chapter 7 | Textual Relationships, Music Notation, the Corrector, and the Order of Scribal Composition

This chapter begins with a brief exposition of the current scholarly opinion with regard to the textual relationship between **V** and **BU**. It continues with a sample textual comparison of the manuscripts that identifies and details several categories of textual difference, and identifies the presence in both manuscripts of the activity of a corrector who amended Crispus's work after its completion. There follows a detailed analysis of salient features of the music notation in each manuscript, which highlights and marshals some conflicting evidence concerning the number and identity of those who entered this notation. Towards the end of the chapter, attention is paid to Crispus's complex use of orientation marks and guide letters, which provides evidence for a summary proposal of the order of composition of the various scribal and artistic components of the manuscripts.

### 7.1 | Textual Relationships

Ronald Woodley stated in his 1982 edition of the *Proportionale musices* that, based only on the evidence presented by the texts of that single treatise, it was likely both that **V** 'was not the direct model for' **BU**, and that the 'two sources were not copied from the same exemplar'.<sup>1</sup> The evidence presented for this textual relationship included the observation that, in the *Proportionale*, **V** contains 'over twenty-five unique deviations from the accepted reading ... [of which] approximately half are grammatical slips which could easily have been corrected subsequently ... if the manuscript were the sole exemplar for' **BU**.<sup>2</sup> The other half of the deviations in **V**, allied with 'a large number of anomalous, unique readings' in **BU**, are such that a 'direct and physical relationship' between **V** and **BU** 'is not feasible'.<sup>3</sup> Woodley also suggested that **Br1**, despite its 'remarkable' textual accuracy, was probably not a direct exemplar for **V** or **BU**, citing the misreading 'visitata' (**Br1**, fol. 103, column 2, line 19) for 'usitata', as it is correctly given in **V** (fol. 147v, line 2) and **BU** (fol. 170r, line 23), and the unique inclusion of

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'The *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1982), 150.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

‘etiam’ in **Br1**, fol. 101v, column 1, line 23, and a ‘rare omission’ in **Br1** later in the treatise.<sup>4</sup> **V** and **BU** were, according to Woodley, not created with sole reference to one single exemplar.

As well as presenting a new authoritative edition and translation of Tinctoris’s theoretical works, *TCTW* has the distinct advantage of recording many textual variants that are accessible from the main edition. My understanding of the general position of the editors, as it currently stands, is that **V**, **BU**, and **Br** are all essentially independent copies of at least one mutually shared exemplar, which is probably to be expected, given the close chronological and geographical relationship of the manuscripts, and of Tinctoris, to their production. The punctuation in **V** and **BU** is sometimes, though certainly not always, strikingly similar. Where this similarity does occur, it is very likely that both sources transmit directly the textual reading of a common exemplar, but importantly, the sections that are divergent imply that there is no direct textual dependence of **BU** upon **V**. This underlines Woodley’s earlier observations of the many independent errors in **V** and **BU** that argue against textual interdependence.

Accepting the existence of at least one mutually shared exemplar for **V** and **BU**, a significant question for future research is how many intermediary manuscripts it is possible or necessary to propose in order to arrive at an acceptable filiation of these codices. Woodley’s current position is that ‘the evidence adduced from the *Proportionale musices* does not map entirely consistently onto the evidence that the online edition [*TCTW*] has so far thrown up from some of the other treatises. After all, the *Proportionale* had been around for several years longer than, for example, the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, and may well have existed in several more copies than the latter, even within the circle of the Neapolitan court in the 1480s. So it may be that the overall filiation relationships are even more complicated than we might instinctively imagine.’<sup>5</sup>

There is some anecdotal evidence that the scribe of **Br1** may have made reference to **BU** as a secondary exemplar. At the end of the *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium* in **BU** (fol. 74v, [Image 344](#)), the scribe began the conclusion on the last line

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>5</sup> Ronald Woodley (private communication, November 2015).

of the page and, apparently wishing to preserve the integrity of the mise-en-page, elected to indent the ‘Operis conclusio’ rubric in line 17, rather than to allow the Class 3 2-line initial to drop down below the base line. There is seemingly no apparent explanation for the fact that indentation of the same rubric also appears in exactly the same textual position in **Br1** (fol. 44r, column 2, line 1, [Image 345](#)), other than that the scribe of **Br1** made reference to **BU** at this point, perhaps because the latter manuscript was more clear in its presentation of the preceding musical examples. Evidence contrary to this suggestion, however, includes the indentation of ‘Operis conclusio’ in **Br1** at the end of *Scriptum super punctis musicalibus* (fol. 51v, [Image 346](#)), while **BU** lacks such indentation in the equivalent place. It is possible, therefore, that the apparent correspondence of indentation between **BU** and **Br1** at the end of the *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium* is in reality mere coincidence. It is evident that **Br1** used an independent exemplar – perhaps one separate from that used for **V** and/or **BU**, or perhaps the same one with subsequent annotations – on account of the inclusion of the completion dates of the *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* and the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, in addition to generally more prolix forms of the treatise titles.

The musical example in chapter 30 of *De regulari valore notarum* is very different in **V** (fol. 54r, [Image 347](#)) from that in **BU** (fol. 60r, [Image 348](#)), **Br1** (fol. 35v, [Image 349](#)), and *B-Gu* 70 (fol. 168v, [Image 350](#)).<sup>6</sup> Apart from an erroneous third note in *B-Gu* 70, where a longa f is given instead of a c, all of the three later sources agree on a completely different reading from that of **V**. This suggests a revision by Tinctoris in the years following the production of **V**, the earliest surviving source, that was entered into the exemplar(s), resulting in its faithful transmission into the later surviving manuscripts. This example further underlines the independence of **V** and **BU** as textual witnesses.

It is evident that no simple textual filiation of **V**, **Br1**, and **BU** may be achieved, and that an attempt at a complete textual analysis of the two manuscripts under consideration in the present thesis would be disproportionate. I therefore intend, in what

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<sup>6</sup> This last-named manuscript source of Tinctoris’s music theory was written in Zeeland in Holland, between 1503 and 1504, and contains Tinctoris’s *Complexus*, *De notis*, *De alteratione*, *De punctis*, *De imperfectione*, and *Proportionale*.



follows, to present merely a sample comparison of the textual relationship between **V** and **BU** in the prologue and the opening four chapters of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. The sample therefore comprises fifteen folios of **V** (79v–86v) and eighteen of **BU** (89v–98r).<sup>7</sup> This comparison is not intended to advance any general filiatory evidence, but rather to provide a point of departure for some further observations later in the chapter, which bring to light the roles in the production of **V** and **BU** of those who corrected the manuscripts, and of those who were potentially responsible for notating the musical examples and their associated textual labels.

The data presented in the following tables, and which underlie the associated analyses, are based largely on the source transcriptions and editions at *TCTW*, with additional checking and the inclusion of line numbers for ease of reference to the digital images presented on the DVD accompanying this thesis. Text line numbers refer to the number of lines of main text and rubric headings that are entered on each page, rather than the absolute ruled line number. The line numbers quoted indicate where the quoted text begins; in several cases, the text then continues to the following line. Text indicated in round brackets is the original entry, which was then corrected to the final version. Asterisks following variants indicate that they are shared with **Br1**.

In **V**, fol. 79v, the title given at the beginning of the treatise is ‘Liber de arte contrapuncti a magistro Joanne tinctoris iurisconsulto ac musico. serenissimi que regis sicilie capellano compositus feliciter incipit’, whereas in **BU**, fol. 89v, it is omitted at this point.<sup>8</sup> Other omissions and substitutions of words, as presented below in Table 15, are almost entirely due to the varying amounts of space available to Crispus before the beginning of a musical example. In total, there are nine strategies used. ‘Ut hic vides’ and ‘ut patet impresenti exemplo’, are each seen only in four examples in **V**, while ‘ut probatur. in presentibus exemplis’ and ‘ut patet insequentibus’ each occur once only in

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<sup>7</sup> This sample was chosen because it represents an equivalent amount of text from each manuscript, for which comparative data was already available on *TCTW* for cross-checking, and because the types and numbers of variants were seen, in the course of analysis, to be fairly consistent within it.

<sup>8</sup> The title is, however, incorporated into the heading of the table of contents in **BU**, fol. 87v: ‘Tabula capitulorum hoc in libro de arte contrapuncti contentorum’. The equivalent title in **V**, fol. 77v, is ‘Catalogus capitulorum in sequenti tractatu qui est de arte contrapuncti contentorum’.

**BU**. The remainder feature in both manuscripts: more common in **V** is ‘ut hic patet’ (six examples in **V**; one in **BU**), while more common in **BU** are ‘ut hic’ (one example in **V**; three in **BU**), and ‘ut patet insequenti exemplo’ (two examples in **V**; four in **BU**). ‘Ut hic probatur’ and, ‘ut probatur in hoc exemplo’ are each used once in these samples of **V** and **BU**.

**Table 15 | Omission and Substitution of Words**

<b>V</b>			<b>BU</b>		
<b>Folio</b>	<b>Line</b>	<b>Text</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Line</b>	<b>Text</b>
82v	8	Diapente	93r	-	-
82v	8	Quinta	93r	-	-
83r	9	ac divisiones	93v	31	-
83r	16	ut hic vides	94r	6	ut hic -
83v	3	ut hic -	94r	24	ut probatur in hoc exemplo
83v	7	ut probatur in hoc exemplo	94v	11	ut hic patet
83v	35	ut patet insequenti exemplo	95r	4	ut hic
84r	5	ut hic patet	95r	9	ut hic
84r	14	ut hic patet	95r	18	ut patet in hoc exemplo
84r	19	ut hic vides	95v	5	ut hic
84r	25	ut hic patet*	95v	31	ut patet insequenti exemplo
84r	36	ut hic patet	96r	15	ut patet in hoc exemplo
85r	6	eum*	96r	21	-
85r	13	ut patet impresenti exemplo	96r	25	ut patet in sequenti exemplo
85r	19	ut patet impresenti exemplo	96v	5	ut patet in hoc exemplo
85r	28	ut hic vides	96v	9	ut patet insequenti exemplo
85v	5	ut patet insequenti exemplo	96v	13	ut patet in hoc exemplo
85v	11	ut patet in presenti exemplo	96v	17	ut patet insequenti exemplo
85v	22	Hoc	97r	13	-
85v	23	ut hic patet	97r	13	ut probatur. in presentibus exemplis
86r	6	ut hic probatur	97r	25	ut patet insequentibus
86r	21	ut hic patet	97v	15	ut patet in hoc exemplo
86r	25	ut hic vides	97v	19	ut patet in hoc exemplo
86r	32	ut patet impresenti exemplo	97v	25	ut hic probatur

By far the most frequent textual difference between **V** and **BU** is the differing use by the scribe of the letters t and c in words such as ‘tertia’ / ‘tercia’, as shown below in Table 16. In **V**, Crispus almost always uses t, while in **BU** the preference is for c. In the latter manuscript, the corrector, whose role and identity will be explored below, has in many cases amended the c to a t. It is interesting that in most cases the reading given in **BU**, whether corrected or uncorrected, agrees with **Br1**. As suggested above, it is likely that some reference to **BU** was made in the copying of **Br1**.

**Table 16 | Substitution of c and t**

V			BU		
Folio	Line	Text	Folio	Line	Text
81r	8	Boetii	91v	11	boecii
81r	18	sesquiertia (sesquitercia)	91v	22	sesquitercia
81r	18	proportione	91v	22	proporcione
81r	25	Tercias	91v	28	tertias (tercias)
81r	27	Recentiores	91v	31	Recenciores
81v	33	Noticiam	92v	9	notitiam (noticiam)
82r	26	Tertiam	93r	9	terciam
82v	3	eruditio	93r	23	erudicio
82v	5	Tertia	93r	25	tercia
82v	6	Tertia	93r	26	tercia
82v	17	tertiadecima	93v	4	terciadecima
82v	31	Tertia	93v	19	tercia (tercia*)
82v	32	Tertio	93v	20	tercio*
83r	29	tertiam	94r	20	tertiam (terciam*)
83v	4	tertiam	94v	1	terciam*
83v	4	tertiam	94v	1	tertiam (terciam*)
83v	9	tertiam	94v	4	tertiam (terciam*)
83v	16	tertia	94v	10	tertia (tercia*)
83v	23	tertiam	94v	16	terciam*
83v	24	tertiam	94v	17	terciam*
84r	15	tertia	95v	1	tercia*
84r	23	tertia	95v	9	tercia*
84v	6	tertia	95v	15	tertia (tercia*)
84v	11	iniciales (iniciales*)	95v	21	iniciales (iniciales*)
84v	12	iniciales (iniciales*)	95v	22	iniciales (iniciales*)
84v	19	initialibus	95v	29	initialibus (inicialibus*)
84v	32	tertia	96r	9	tertia (tercia*)
84v	33	tertiam	96r	10	tertiam (terciam*)
84v	34	tertia	96r	11	tercia* (terciam)
84v	35	tertia	96r	12	tercia*
85r	1	tertiam	96r	16	terciam*
85r	1	Tertia	96r	16	Tercia*
85r	6	tertia	96r	21	tertia (tercia*)
85r	6	tertiam	96r	21	tertiam (terciam*)
85r	21	tertiam	96v	6	tertiam (terciam*)
85v	2	tertia	96v	11	tertia (tercia*)
85v	7	tertia	96v	15	tertia (tercia*)
85v	14	tertiam	97r	3	terciam*
85v	18	tertia	97r	7	tercia
85v	19	tertia	97r	9	tertia (tercia*)
85v	24	tertiam	97r	16	terciam*
85v	24	tertiam	97r	17	terciam*
85v	28	tertia	97r	21	tercia*
85v	28	tertiam	97r	22	terciam*
86r	2	tertia	97r	23	tercia*
86r	9	tertiam	97v	5	tertiam (terciam*)
86r	17	tertiam	97v	14	tertiam (terciam*)
86r	23	tertia	97v	17	tertia (tercia*)
86r	27	tertia	97v	21	tertia (tercia*)
86v	2	tertiam	98r	3	terciam*

While the first letter of ‘Hierusalem’ is minuscule in **V**, fol. 79v, line 5, it is majuscule in **BU**, fol. 89v, fol. 89v, line 20. The opposite treatment is seen in the rendition of the

composers' names later in the prologue. A listing of these differences follows in Table 17.

**Table 17 | Capitalisation of Names**

V			BU		
Folio	Line	Text	Folio	Line	Text
79v	5	hierusalem	89v	20	Hierusalem
80r	29	Okeghem	90v	24	okehem
80r	30	Regis	90v	24	regis
80r	30	Busnois	90v	24	busnois
80r	30	Caron	90v	25	caron
80r	30	Guillermus	90v	25	guillermus
80r	30	Faugues	90v	25	faugues
80r	31	Dunstaple	90v	26	dumstaple
80r	32	Binchois	90v	26	binchois
80r	32	Guillermum	90v	27	guillermum
80r	32	Dufai	90v	27	du_fai

In two examples, an h before a vowel is present in a word in **V** where it is omitted in **BU** (**V**, fol. 79v, line 8, 'hapud' ≠ **BU**, fol. 80v, line 24, 'apud'; **V**, fol. 80r, line 16, 'nichomacus' ≠ **BU**, fol. 90v, line 9, 'nicomacus'. In **Br1**, the h is often inserted where it is absent in **V** and **BU**, e.g. 'diapente' in **V** and **BU** uniformly becomes 'diapenthe' in **Br1**. In Table 17, above, it may be seen that the g preceding the h in 'Okeghem' is omitted in **BU**.

In **V**, fol. 79v, line 36, 'siderum' is rendered with an i, whereas a y is used in the same word in **BU**, fol. 89v, line 24. This does not seem to be a meaningful difference between the two manuscripts, however, since the opposite is true of 'stylum' in **V**, fol. 80v, line 6, and 'stilum' in **BU**, fol. 91r, line 4.

Table 18, below, details the differing usage of repeated letters, and the substitution of m and n in **V** and **BU**. There are four examples where in one manuscript a letter is repeated, while it is not in the other, and three examples where an m is used in place of an n in one of the manuscripts. Where a double m or an n is used in place of a single m, this almost certainly represents the presence or absence of tittles in the exemplar(s). In the case of *commentatori* and *tantummodo*, the double m is simply correct. In **Br1**, the use of the letter m in words like *verumtamen* appears to have been a stylistic decision

that ‘reflects the etymology more clearly than the equally correct and classical “n” that seems to have been Tinctoris’s preference’.<sup>9</sup>

**Table 18 | Repeated Letters and Substitution of m and n**

V			BU		
Folio	Line	Text	Folio	Line	Text
80r	7	comentatori	90r	31	commentatori
80r	31	Dunstaple	90v	26	dumstaple
80r	35	herroibus	90v	30	heroibus
80r	35	immortalibus*	90v	30	inmortalibus
82r	34	reicere	93r	18	reiicere
83r	24	Veruntamen	94r	15	Veruntamen (Verumtamen*)
83v	10	tantumodo	94v	5	tantummodo*

There are several variations of the endings of verbs and nouns between **V** and **BU**, as detailed in Table 19, below, though they are not of significance since one form is simply an error.

**Table 19 | Variations to the Endings of Verbs and Nouns**

V			BU		
Folio	Line	Text	Folio	Line	Text
80r	21	dicuntur	90v	15	dicunt
80r	29	Joanne	90v	24	Joannes
80r	29	Joannes	90v	24	Joannem
83v	2nd mus. ex.	Exemplum	94v	1st mus. ex.	Exempla*
84r	20	imperfect (imperfectus*)	95v	7	imperfectus
84v	2	Alamira	95v	12	Alamire
84v	22	inferiori-	95v	30	inferioribus
85v	16	descendentem*	97r	6	descendente

There are six further miscellaneous textual variations, most of which are errors in one manuscript. The majority of these are errors in **BU**, while the final example in the following Table 20 is an error in **V**:

**Table 20 | Miscellaneous Textual Variations**

V			BU		
Folio	Line	Text	Folio	Line	Text
79v	17	hucusque	90r	2	huiusque
79v	35	eorum que	90r	22	eorum
81r	33	.xxii.	92r	6	vigintidue
82r	5	quoniam	92v	18	quin
82v	4	mens	93r	24	meus
83r	3	tonorem	93v	25	tenorem*

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<sup>9</sup> Jeffrey J. Dean (personal communication, November 2015).

Based on this sample textual analysis, there are no major indicators that **V** and **BU** did not share a common exemplar. The textual variants presented above are largely explicable as local decisions or errors made by Crispus *currente calamo*.

## 7.2 | Music Notation

The black full chant notation in **V** is executed with particular precision (e.g. fol. 33r, [Image 351](#)). The squareness of the breves is consistent, as is the lozenge shape of the semibreves, and the stems are generally straight and true, while the spacing between the note groupings is evenly judged. The notation bears a striking resemblance to that contained in *I-Nn* XIV.D.28, (e.g. fols. 202v–203r, [Image 352](#)), a collectary that was written for the convent of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples and was signed on fol. 278r ([Image 353](#)) by Crispus in 1506:<sup>10</sup>

Hunc collectarij codicem conven|tus fratrum predicatorum sancti | dominici  
neapolis: suis profuturum | usibus perfecit. scriptore Venceslao | crispo. anno  
christiane salutis M<sup>o</sup>. | D. vi<sup>o</sup>. castigatumque celebri suo | choro dicatum  
apposuit. dili|genti cura fratris timothei acropolitani.

*This book of the Collectary of the convent of the Friars Preachers of Saint  
Dominic of Naples was completed for their uses in the future by the scribe  
Venceslaus Crispus in the year of Christian salvation 1506 and corrected with  
the diligent care of Brother Timothy Acropolitanus, [who] dedicated it to their  
famous choir [and] placed it [there].*

The similarity of execution is sufficiently convincing to support the adoption of a working hypothesis that Crispus was the scribe of the chant notation in **V**. The chant notation in **BU** (e.g. fol. 25v, [Image 354](#)), also appears to be of a sufficient quality of execution and similar general appearance to be considered that of Crispus.

The void mensural polyphonic notation in **V** exhibits little of the precision that characterises the chant notation earlier in the manuscript. To take but one example from fol. 69r of **V** ([Image 355](#)), the heads and particularly the stems of the first six notes are not vertically true, but rather are skewed by varying degrees to the right. This infelicity is compounded by the fact that the final ten notes are significantly more vertically true, which creates an inconsistency of appearance. The scribe of the mensural music in **V**

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<sup>10</sup> See *DMB*, i. 64.

certainly took more care over the execution of the notation in the more extended examples, such as the motet *Katerina sponsa Dei* (**V**, fol. 135r, [Image 356](#)), though it still lacks the clarity and precision of execution seen in the monophonic examples. Is it possible that this may point to the involvement of a new scribe – a specialist musician – who was responsible for the entry of the polyphonic mensural notation?

Evidence for this would initially appear to include a difference in the construction of f-clefs in **V** between the chant and the mensural notation. On, for example, fol. 23r ([Image 357](#)), the f-clef on the upper staff is constructed from what appears as a podatus with the stem on the left side, like the c-clef on the stave below, with the addition of a virga to the left. On fol. 127v ([Image 358](#)), it may be seen that in the mensural examples, lozenge shapes are used to construct the rightmost component of the f-clef, and the c-clef is void. In the chant examples in **BU**, however, this distinction is not present, e.g. fol. 24v ([Image 359](#)), where the lozenge form of f-clef is used in the chant notation. Three variants of the lozenge f-clef are found in the mensural notation of **BU**. The first, and most common, has full lozenges in addition to vertical lines that extend upwards from the tip of the upper lozenge and downwards from the tip of the lower lozenge, giving them the appearance of semiminimas (e.g. fol. 145v, [Image 360](#)). Neither the second nor the third variants have vertical linear extensions, while the former features void lozenge shapes (e.g. fol. 67r, [Image 361](#)), and the latter full lozenges (e.g. fol. 86v, [Image 362](#)).

The emergent sense that what may appear at first to be meaningful distinctions in the execution of f-clefs in these manuscripts are in fact simply variants within Crispus's scribal practice is confirmed with reference to *I-Nn* XIV.D.28. On fol. 98v, the lozenge type of f-clef is used uniformly, while from fol. 99r onwards the virga-plus-c-clef type appears ([Image 363](#)). On fol. 159r ([Image 364](#)), the lozenge type reappears. This evidence suggests that, despite initial appearances, the scribe of both the chant and the mensural notation in **V** and **BU** was in fact Crispus.

The majuscule letter G used to create the g-clefs in the chant notation of **V** (fol. 42r, [Image 365](#)) is insufficiently distinct in form from that used in the polyphonic mensural notation in the same manuscript (e.g. fol. 122v, [Image 366](#)) to support the notion of

execution by different scribes. Though the latter features more vertical compression and is more rounded, and the stroke that attempts to close the bowl curls inwards where that of the former does not, this difference is perfectly understandable within the bounds of a hand that encompasses a range of variation. The form of majuscule letter G used in the main text of **V** (e.g. fol. 67r, [Image 367](#)) similarly lacks the vertical compression visible in the above example from the polyphonic notation, but further comparison with, for example, the range of G-clefs on fol. 102v of **V** ([Image 368](#)) suggests that, again, the differing forms occur within the same hand. It is worth noting that there are two types of majuscule G used in the main text of **BU**: the first is in Crispus's usual form, of which several examples are found on fol. 3v ([Image 369](#)), while the second is an unusual and more elaborate form (fol. 110r, [Image 370](#)). The g-clefs in the mensural examples (fol. 148v, example 1, [Image 371](#)) are usually of Crispus's usual rounded form. There are no g-clefs in *I-Nn* XIV.D.28 for comparison, but in the main text there is an example of a different form of rounded letter G on fol. 8r ([Image 372](#)). Here, the left curve of the letter is broken in an ornamental fashion that is consistent with the execution of other rounded majuscules in the manuscript. On fol. 11v, a rounded C in line 5 may be seen in juxtaposition with a double-stroked version on fol. 12r, line 10. It is clear that a good deal of variation in the execution of majuscules features in Crispus's work; this adds weight to the argument that Crispus was the scribe of all of the musical notation in **V** and **BU**.

The distinction in the quality of execution of the chant and the polyphonic notation seen in **V** is, however, not evident in **BU**. In the latter manuscript, the execution of the notation of the chant on fols. 48v–49r ([Image 373](#)) does not have the same sense of superiority when compared with the polyphonic notation on fol. 133r ([Image 374](#)), as was seen above in a similar comparison within **V**. The mensural notation in **BU**, for example in the motet *Katerina sponsa Dei* (fol. 155r, [Image 375](#)), seems comparatively more assured than that in **V** (fol. 135r, [Image 376](#)), with straighter and more vertically true note stems and greater consistency in note spacing. There are convincing similarities, though: the execution of the fusa is strikingly similar in each example, featuring a hook that sharply returns to and meets the stem. Note also, in this example,



the similarity in form of the custos, which features a hairline flourish that is perfectly characteristic of Crispus's hand.

That Crispus was perfectly capable of inconsistency when writing chant notation is demonstrated by a comparison of the incipits that feature in fols. 99r–158r of *I-Nn* XIV.D.28. On the opening fols. 137v–138r ([Image 377](#)), the chant notation is relatively precise – not at an elevated calligraphic level, but perfectly well executed – while on the opening fols. 101v–102r ([Image 378](#)), the notation is remarkably inelegant.

I believe that it is most probable that the entirety of the music notation in both **V** and **BU** was executed by Crispus. The apparent problems I have highlighted in some detail above, concerning the dissonance between the execution of the chant and the polyphonic music examples in **V**, were probably due to two main factors. First, the use of a different pen, and possibly the execution of the two types of notation in different campaigns of writing, and second, relative inexperience at writing complex mensural polyphony. The fact that, as I have demonstrated earlier in this thesis, **BU** was probably produced around ten years later than **V** allows easily for the increase in assuredness of the execution of the polyphonic notation. Although it contains only chant and no polyphonic notation, the existence of Crispus's signed 1506 collectary *I-Nn* XIV.D.28 demonstrates that the scribe had a long and ongoing career in the production of music manuscripts after the manufacture of **V**, into which his increase in confidence with this complex and specialist musical notation may be seen to fit comfortably.

Given that Crispus may now be considered active as a scribe of complex mensural polyphony at the Neapolitan court in the late fifteenth century, it is profitable to note an example of a musical manuscript whose notation shares general similarity with Crispus's, but whose execution is almost certainly attributable to another (as yet unidentified) scribe: The *Mellon Chansonnier* (*US-NH* 91). The fusa is seldom required by the notation of the chansons in this manuscript, but when it is, it betrays a different execution than that seen in **V** and **BU** (e.g. *US-NH* 91, fol. 79v, [Image 379](#)), the tails consisting of simple strokes as opposed to Crispus's hooked tails, which sharply rejoin the stem. The size of the noteheads relative to the staff lines is also different; in *US-NH* 91, the noteheads often are so large that when they are situated on a line they frequently

touch the lines above and below. In **V** and **BU**, by contrast, the noteheads only extend to the midpoint above and below the line on which they lie. Furthermore, although the repertory of clefs is similar to those featured in **V** and **BU**, g-clefs occur in both majuscule (e.g. fol. 3v, [Image 380](#)) and minuscule (e.g. fol. 5v, [Image 381](#)) versions. Despite these differences, which indicate that the notation was not made by Crispus, the general resemblance of the notation would permit the possibility of all three manuscripts being examples of something approaching a notational house style that was in use for musical manuscripts produced for, and in association with, the Neapolitan royal court.<sup>11</sup> By no means is it suggested that such a defined music-notational style and aesthetic existed in Naples as was to develop at the turn of the sixteenth century at the Burgundian court under the auspices of the scribe Petrus Alamire (c.1470–1536) and his workshop.<sup>12</sup> Future research could, however, profitably be carried out on the extant Neapolitan musical sources and their scribes, in order to examine notational characteristics pertaining to individual scribes and to any identifiable house-stylistic practices.

### 7.3 | Text Corrector

I have made several references above to the fact that in both **V** and **BU** – albeit more frequently in the latter manuscript – corrections were made to the text. These corrections fall into two categories:

- Crispus correcting himself in the course of writing. Here, the scribe made a mistake, before erasing the ink, inserting the revised entry, and moving on to the next word.
- Corrections after the main writing was finished.

That the hand of the corrector is not identifiable with Crispus is suggested by several pieces of evidence. On fol. 103r of **BU** ([Image 382](#)), it appears that insufficient room

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<sup>11</sup> *US-NH 91* was almost certainly compiled in 1475–1476 as a wedding gift for Beatrice, making Crispus's involvement in the production of the manuscript unlikely since there is no record of him as early as this in Naples.

<sup>12</sup> See Herbert Kellman, ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535* (Ghent: Ludion, 1999).

was left by Crispus for the third music example. It was necessary for the corrector later to erase Crispus's text across an area including the final words of lines 2–6 of this paragraph, and to re-enter it in a highly abbreviated form in order to create the required space. Despite his otherwise successful abbreviations, the corrector was forced to omit the first syllable of 'simplici' in the fifth line of the correction. Although the corrector has made some attempt to assimilate his script with that of the main text, the execution is plainly inferior, with a somewhat wavering delineation of the upper x-height. Crispus infrequently uses the uncial form of the letter d in **BU**, and when he does (e.g. fol. 3r, line 16, 'difficiliora', [Image 383](#)), it is rendered with a shaft that is virtually horizontal. In the corrector's intervention on fol. 103r, the uncial d is used twice, and the shaft has a tendency to the diagonal rather than the horizontal. The proximity of the first o and the l in 'solo' is also rather inelegant, and uncharacteristic of Crispus's work.

Further apparent evidence that the corrector of **BU** was not Crispus is found on fol. 135r ([Image 384](#)). In line 4, the abbreviation for 'quod' is written over an erasure and separated from the surrounding words using vertical hairlines. The abbreviation mark over the letters 'qd' is quite different from that used at the end of line 6, being longer and having none of the downwards curvature seen in the latter example. Importantly, in line 8 of the same example, Crispus uses the 'q,' abbreviation for 'quod', which is much more common in the manuscript. The fact that the corrector chose to imitate the exemplary abbreviation that was closest in position to his correction, rather than the more common version, demonstrates his distinction from Crispus. Indeed, Crispus's more usual 'quod' abbreviation would have fitted the available space for the correction with far greater ease. Additionally, on fol. 137r, the letter form of the 'e' in the marginal insertion 'ī ela' ([Image 385](#)) is not one I have encountered anywhere in Crispus's output. As opposed to Crispus's usual e, with a curved back and a lobe closed with a diagonal hairline, this letter form features a straight back and a horizontal closure of the lobe with practically a full-thickness stroke. This would appear to be evidence that the corrector of **BU** was not Crispus.

This evidence, however, may not be as strong as it initially appears. Returning to the example on fol. 103r of **BU** ([Image 386](#)), it is tempting to assume that since the main-text correction was necessitated by the lack of space left by Crispus for the musical

example, the corrector may be identifiable with the music notator, i.e. Crispus. This would appear to be borne out by the fact that the same pen is used for the corrected text as is used for the c-clef. My assessment of the balance of probability is that the differences seen between Crispus's main text and the corrections made later may, yet again, often be attributable to the use of a different pen, which can have profound implications on the execution of individual letters. There is, in short, no incontestable evidence that Crispus was not responsible for all of the textual and musical script in both **V** and **BU**.<sup>13</sup> Finally, it is interesting to note that on 12 April 1482, Crispus ('Lancilao Boemio') was paid for the correction, and the enlargement by a quire, of a missal belonging to Ferrante's first consort, Isabella of Clermont, who had died seven years earlier. It was later sold to the king by the friars of the convent of S. Pietro Martire. This is a rare example of specific evidence concerning the correction of such a manuscript:

A mastro Lancilao Boemio scriptore per la correittura de uno messale che de presente ha comparato lo predicto senyor dal monastero del sancto Pietro Martire che fo dela serenissima regina soa matre et per scriptura de uno quinterno che ce mancava in tucto duc. V, tr. 4.<sup>14</sup>

I shall proceed to consider what evidence may be adduced concerning Crispus's order of composition of the various scribal elements in these manuscripts.

#### **7.4 | Orientation Marks and Guide Letters**

In both **V** and **BU**, it is evident that Crispus lightly inscribed guide letters and orientation marks in order to demarcate the intended nature and position of various features later in the process of composition of the manuscripts. In **V**, the first clearly visible guide letter for a decorated Class 2 initial appears on fol. 14v ([Image 387](#)), where the guide d of 'denique' shows through the pen-flourishing. An example of a guide letter p for a Class 3 initial occurs on fol. 16r of **V** ([Image 388](#)). In **BU**, the first, and possibly the clearest, example of a guide letter, here for a Class 1 initial, is on fol. 3r ([Image 389](#)), where the fact that the intended decoration was never completed

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<sup>13</sup> Further evidence concerning Crispus's multi-layered working methods will be presented in the following section.

<sup>14</sup> *DMB*, ii. 283, doc. 656.

enables the small guide letter m to be seen. Comparison with the hyphen-like strokes to the right of the writing block, in addition to the descender of an i in [Image 390](#), an example taken from the same page, would appear to suggest that all of these features were executed by Crispus with the same batch of ink, but the guide letter was probably made using a fine pen, while the linear marks could be made using the edge of his main pen. Just as in **V**, Class 2 and 3 initials also were indicated with guide letters in **BU**: e.g. the long s behind each example on fol. 22v ([Image 391](#)).

In the course of entering the main text, Crispus also left orientation marks for the later insertion of paraphs. These orientation marks take the form of double diagonal parallel strokes, executed with the edge of his pen, in the midpoint of the line. In the majority of cases in **V**, the paraphs were later inserted to cover the orientation marks, though they are often still visible (e.g. fol. 3r, [Image 392](#)), especially when Crispus neglected to enter the paraph at that later stage of composition, e.g. **V**, fol. 27r ([Image 393](#)). The latter example forms evidence that the red and the blue paraphs were entered in independent stages, since the omission here is presumably of a red paraph; In **BU**, the paraphs were inserted to the right of the orientation mark (e.g. fol. 5r, [Image 394](#)).

If Crispus, during the first stage of execution of the main text, reached a point where he needed to insert a significant amount of red body text, then he changed to his red pen at that point and continued in red. This is shown by the fact that on fol. 29r of **V** ([Image 395](#)), the orientation mark for the blue paraph before 'Quod' may just be seen to have been made using the side of the red pen to which he had switched. If, however he reached a point where a single red letter was to be inserted, he did not expend the time taken to change pen, but rather inserted a guide letter and made orientation marks to indicate where he should insert the letter on a later pass. This is shown in an example from **V** (fol. 5r, [Image 396](#)), where it may be seen how a small guide letter A is inserted before the space left for the red letter, followed by a vertical stroke defining the lateral extent of the letter, in advance of the appearance of the orientation marks for the following paraph. In the line below, the same marking procedure is clearly evident for the red letter C. I see no palaeographical indication that the red letter forms subsequently entered should be considered to be in a hand other than that of Crispus.

A different strategy may be seen, however, on fol. 4r of **V** ([Image 397](#)), where red ink is used to express the note on the Guidonian hand, while black ink is used to indicate whether that note is found at a line or a space. There is a certain regularity to the entry of the black text: see how, as Crispus estimates the space he needs to leave for the later insertions, the distances moved away from the left rule increase by increments that mean the first letters of ‘linea’ and ‘spacium’ tend to be aligned with one of the letters in the word above. When he then inserted the red text, the priority was to achieve a uniform vertical alignment of paraps (though it was not entirely successful), which ultimately resulted in the tell-tale gaps between the red and black text in the final two entries in the second column.

Guide letters also appear for the decorated initials at the beginning of the underlaid texts to musical examples. At the beginning of the contratenor part to the motet *Katerina sponsa Dei* on fol. 135r of **V** ([Image 398](#)), the decorated initial has not been completed. This reveals a guide letter that is executed in the same fine pen as the orientation marks that feature at the left rule on the same line, indicating where the underlaid text should be entered; these orientation marks take the form of double vertical strokes, and are also visible at the beginnings of the other lines of text underlay on the same page ([Image 399](#)). The same lack of decoration, and presence of a guide letter, is observable in the contratenor part of *Martine presul* in **BU** (fol. 154r, [Image 400](#)), though the orientation marks used in **BU**, as seen at the beginning of the line of underlay in question, take the form of dots rather than vertical strokes as in **V**. In this case, it is difficult to assert whether or not the orientation marks were made with the same pen as the guide letters.

The equivalent appearance of the guide letters in the main text and those in the underlay of the musical examples makes it possible to assert that Crispus was the scribe of the latter text. Where a red exemplum label was required for a music example, Crispus usually left an orientation mark during the first (black) phase of his work, e.g. **V**, fol. 70r ([Image 401](#)), just as he did when he needed to mark space for the later insertion of rubric material in the main text.

In the first musical example on fol. 20r of **V** ([Image 402](#)), it may be seen how the black ink used for the label ‘Exemplum primi toni’ matches the ink used for the black full

chant notation, but does not match the black ink used for the main text. Further, it is clear that the descender of the black p in 'primi' overwrites the red s in 'secundi' below. On this basis, it is possible to assert that the chant notation and the black exemplum labels in **V** were entered by the same person, at a later stage of composition than the entry of both the black and red elements of the main text. Additionally, in this example, the red of the paraph before the black exemplum label is more intense than that of the rubric text below, yet less rich a shade than the running title at the top of the page ([Image 403](#)). This would suggest that there were at least three points in time at which red ink was used: for the main text, for the paraphs associated with the black exemplum texts, and for the running titles.

An interesting example of the sequence of execution of red exemplum labels occurs on fol. 24r of **V** ([Image 404](#)), where the first downward stem of the second black ligature may be seen to cross the surface of the blue paraph, before being overwritten, as expected, by the red of the exemplum label. In this case, it could be simply that Crispus accidentally inserted the paraph when he was implementing those for the main text.

On fol. 28v of **V** ([Image 405](#)), the emergent pattern of composition is made evident rather succinctly. The rubric 'A quo tonus' was entered before the paraphs, and hence the horizontal arm of the blue paraph overwrites the top of the shaft of the rubric A. The chant notation and the black exemplum label were entered at a still later stage, since the downward tail of the longa f overwrites the horizontal shaft of the red paraph, and the diagonal descender of the x in the black label 'Exemplo' overwrites the horizontal shaft of the blue paraph.

The shade of the ink of the musical notation on fols. 131v ([Image 406](#)) and 132r ([Image 407](#)) of **V** is plainly and consistently less intense than that of the text underlay. That the latter is in turn less intense than the ink of the main text demonstrates that the effect has not been created simply through some anomaly of the parchment writing surface. This need not point to the activity of another scribe, but rather to Crispus working at a different stage of production.

There is evidence on fol. 26r of **V** ([Image 408](#)) that Class 3 initials were executed by Crispus after the insertion of the text underlay to the chant, since the red ink of the

initial N appears to overwrite the black letter o succeeding it. Likewise, on fol. 33r of **V** ([Image 409](#)), the turquoise pen-flourishing is seen to overwrite stave line 1 and meet elegantly the end of stave line 2, even though the stave line transgresses the left rule.

The complex strategies adopted by Crispus in the composition of these manuscripts suggest a process involving many stages, each of which was targeted to a particular type of inscription. This would serve to increase the efficiency of production, since it would reduce the amount of time spent changing between pens and colours of ink. The resultant differences in intensity of ink and in certain palaeographical details can lead to the impression that multiple individuals were involved in the copying of the manuscript, but I believe that in fact these artefacts were more likely to have been the result of this multi-layered methodology.

### 7.5 | Stages of Composition

The following is a schematic outline of my understanding of Crispus's sequence of composition of the various scribal elements of **V** and **BU**:

1. Black main text, significant sections of red main text
2. Incidental red letters in main text
3. Red and blue paraphs
4. Red stave lines, black chant notation, black exemplum labels, chant underlay
5. Polyphonic music notation
6. Underlay of polyphonic music notation
7. Red exemplum labels
8. Pen-flourished initials

### 7.6 | Summary

There is no direct textual dependence of **BU** on **V**. These two manuscripts, in addition to **Br1**, were probably made with reference to at least one, and more likely two or more exemplars, one of which is likely to have been Tinctoris's fair copy. As shown in the sample textual comparison of **V** and **BU**, there are several categories of minor variation that are in general attributable to local scribal preference, strategy, or error. Despite some apparent dissimilarities in the scribal execution of **V** and **BU**, not least including variation in the calligraphic quality and other specifics of the musical notation, close



reading of these sources in combination with other examples of the scribe's work enables Crispus to be identified as the sole musical and textual scribe. Crispus may also be held to have made the textual corrections, some examples of which are listed in the above textual comparison, again despite initial indications to the contrary. Having established Crispus as the sole scribe, it has been possible to use evidence including orientation marks and guide letters to build a narrative of the many stages of composition of these complex manuscripts. On first impressions, the artefacts of such a multi-layered process of composition as Crispus's can appear to be the work of more than one scribe. On closer examination, the multifaceted intricacy of the work of this prodigiously talented scribe is revealed; a scribe whose employment in the manufacture of these manuscripts underlines the importance that was attached to their production at the Neapolitan court in the late fifteenth century.

## Chapter 8 | Conclusion

Fundamentally, this thesis is focused on establishing, on the balance of probabilities, the most likely circumstances surrounding the production and the later histories of **V** and **BU**. It is intended to be complementary to, and supportive of, the recent and ongoing production of the digital edition *Johannes Tinctoris: Complete Theoretical Works* (TCTW), which has been the primary output of the AHRC-funded research project ‘The Complete Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris: A New Digital Edition’ at Birmingham Conservatoire, to which my PhD studentship has been attached. Certain of the conclusions that I have reached – for example, naming Venceslaus Crispus as scribe of the two manuscripts – are by no means new proposals. My intention here has been, while respecting the scholarly work that has been done before, to take advantage of the rather special circumstances of a PhD research project, which have afforded the opportunity to return to first principles and to work through the reasoning for each conclusion that I have drawn. I have laid out arguments that engage with a large number of contemporary Neapolitan manuscripts, many of which have never before received significant attention, certainly not in published anglophone scholarship. In the course of marshalling and engaging with the evidence for and against the involvement of various scribes and artists, I have brought into the discussion, and made observations on, a fascinating series of interactions between craftsmen that are interconnected in a captivating manner with the complex priorities of international politics, the subtle and seductive art of late fifteenth-century polyphony, and Tinctoris’s abstract articulations of the minutiae of notational complexity.

The production of presentation manuscripts such as **V** and **BU** was a truly complex process, as is amply demonstrated, for example, by my findings in Chapter 7 regarding the many layers of Crispus’s scribal execution. The recent purchase by the J. Paul Getty Museum of a leaf from an early fifteenth-century book of hours with unfinished miniatures ([Image 410](#)) opens a further truly remarkable window on the intricacy of process that was involved in the creation of fine artworks such as feature prominently in

the corpus of manuscripts I have discussed.<sup>1</sup> It is through careful analysis of the detail of these processes that one can build from the specific to the general and from the microscopic to the macroscopic, enabling the construction of engaging historical narratives by first establishing through considered analysis of the available evidence the specific manner in which manuscripts were brought into being. It is not always possible for palaeographers and art historians to show their working considerations in full, such are the constrictions of material intended for publication, but in the present study I have taken the opportunity to do so – where else, after all, might this be possible other than in a PhD thesis?

The potential for the material presented here to lead to the opportunity for further research is plentiful. There are many and varied connections to be made between manuscripts produced at the royal court of Naples in the fifteenth century, and there has only been opportunity within the bounds of the present research to delve a little into those manuscripts and craftsmen who were closest to **V** and **BU**. What follows is a brief narrative summary of the conclusions that I have been able to draw, accompanied by identifications of some specific areas of potential for further research.

Having left his employment at Chartres Cathedral, Tinctoris probably journeyed south to Naples in 1472 in the company of ambassadors sent from the court of Charles the Bold, during a period of renewed political discourse between Naples and Burgundy on account of Prince Federico's potential marriage. After Tinctoris had arrived, he quickly assumed responsibility at court, being entrusted with the preparation of a translation of the statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece. As reconstruction of the chapel continued, he soon began to teach music to the young Princess Beatrice, who surely learned in those lessons of the music of Tinctoris's compatriots from the Low Countries, northern France, the Loire Valley, and the Burgundian court: Ockeghem, Busnois, Dufay, Barbingant, Binchois, Ockeghem, Busnois, Regis, Caron, and Morton. Beatrice's sister, Princess Eleonora, married Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara on 3 July 1473, and it was three years later that Beatrice was herself married to Matthias

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Morrison, 'Medieval Mysteries: Considering a Recent Acquisition' <http://blogs.getty.edu/iris/medieval-mysteries-considering-a-recent-acquisition/> (2015).

Corvinus, King of Hungary. It is highly likely that Tinctoris was involved in the preparation of a splendid wedding gift for the bride: The *Mellon Chansonnier*, a manuscript that features chansons by composers including Tinctoris's aforementioned associates, and has encoded within it several means of dedication to Beatrice.

The lavishly executed presentation manuscript **V** is the earliest extant source of Tinctoris's music-theoretical works. It was written in rotunda script by Venceslaus Crispus, and features polychrome painted decorated initials by Matteo Felice. The frontispiece of **V** features a portrait miniature, painted by Nardo Rapicano, that is probably a fair likeness of Tinctoris. By comparison with other Neapolitan manuscripts, the employment of this iconography – the author at his desk, after the manner of St Jerome – situates the manuscript, the texts it presents, and Tinctoris himself in the favourable context of many significant works, most particularly those of Gellius, Vincent of Beauvais, and Valla, underlining the importance of Tinctoris's music theory in the wider intellectual climate of late fifteenth-century Naples. The robes in which Tinctoris is depicted may be those typical of the royal chapel or may perhaps identify his potential involvement with the Order of the Ermine, possibly as canon. Much further work is required in this area, including comprehensive study of the *Cedole* records relating to the apportioning of cloth to courtiers, and further documentary research into the liturgical and musical activities of the Order of the Ermine. I suspect that very profitable future research may be carried out in this regard in the Archivio di Stato di Napoli.

It is likely that **V** was commissioned by Giovanni of Aragon, and that the manuscript was finished between Tinctoris's completion of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* on 11 October 1477 and some time shortly after Giovanni became cardinal, perhaps in the first few months of 1478. This is not certain, however, since the gold bands that fall around the escutcheon on the frontispiece are not consistent with either a prothonotary's or a cardinal's hat having been initially painted. Further, the manuscript does not feature the inscription 'cardenale', unlike many of the codices prepared for Giovanni, and the horse-head shape of the escutcheon points to a date of completion c. 1483. Further work is necessary here, including, critically, the use of beta- or electron-radiography in order to obtain a clearer picture of what may lie beneath the extant paint surface, and also the

employment of pigment spectroscopy in order to make accurate comparison between areas of paint and ink. If it were to become possible to be certain of the essential details surrounding the commissioning of **V**, then a far more detailed and a much richer historical analysis would be made feasible, situating the manuscript within the bibliophilic activities of the commissioner – we cannot yet entirely rule out Giovanni's elder brother and future king, Alfonso – and potentially drawing more significant conclusions with regard to the early life of Tinctoris's treatises at the court of Naples and beyond.

On the basis of palaeographical analysis, the manufacture of **BU** may be dated to c.1486–1488. It was most likely produced to be sent to Beatrice as a gesture of support by the Neapolitan court following what were for her the politically and personally tumultuous years 1486 and 1487, during which she made her bid to remain queen in the event of King Matthias's death. The inclusion of the motet *Virgo Dei throno digna* as a dedicatory frontispiece to the manuscript would have resonated readily with Beatrice, since Tinctoris had already apparently used it as a medium of dedication in the *Mellon Chansonnier*. In **BU**, which very likely entered Beatrice's personal library, the text may be understood to express Beatrice's value as 'sole hope of musicians' (*spes unica musicorum*); while the 'devoted community of singers' (*devote plebi cantorum*) may refer not only to the musicians of the Neapolitan court, but also to the composers of the music that may be inferred to have been of great importance, and perhaps of comfort, to the queen in her often problematic situation far from home, in the comparative wilds of Hungary.

At some point in the later 1480s or early 1490s, probably after the death of Cardinal Giovanni in 1485, **V** entered the main Neapolitan royal library. After the signing of the Treaty of Granada in 1500, the manuscript was sent, along with the other remaining collections of the royal library, to the Castello Aragonese on Ischia, where it was joined by Beatrice. It remained on the island until 1502, when it was sent by sea to Marseille and then by land to Tours, to where Federico and his consort Isabella del Balzo, Beatrice, and the remaining members of the Aragonese royal family also travelled in the same year, after Federico's receiving the Duchy of Anjou. After Federico's death in 1504, his widow Isabella eventually found domicile in Ferrara, where **V** was transported

in 1508. Fernando of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, having been in exile in Spain since 1502, and imprisoned there since 1512, was eventually released in 1523. Following his appointment as vice-regent of Valencia in 1526, Fernando ordered the consignment of the remaining Neapolitan treasures, including **V**, from Ferrara to him. After Fernando's death in 1550, **V** formed part of the collections of the Hieronymite monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia before passing to the Valencia University Library after the suppression of the monastery in 1825.

The later history of **BU** is much less certain than that of **V**. It is possible that the volume is identifiable with the *Musica Tinctoris* that may have been lent to Lorenzo de' Medici, but the absence of any evidence for the date of the potential transfer to Florence, and the lack of any further trace of such a manuscript in Medicean inventories, leads to a rather unfortunate dead end, barring the emergence of any further documentary evidence. The alternative possibility, that **BU** came to Bologna via Venice, is a line of enquiry that must, I believe, be taken seriously. The potential for documentary research in Venice and Bologna to produce new evidence for the later history of this manuscript may just be the key to finding still more evidence of its earlier history, and such evidence would certainly be welcome; this is a manuscript whose secrets are, I believe, only just beginning to be unlocked.

The specific details of production of Tinctoris's presentation manuscripts **V** and **BU** that have been interrogated in this thesis are offered in support of a broader view that I hope to continue to develop in the future: the signs are that music theory, both as practical reference material and as works of literature, occupied a far more significant position in the cultural and intellectual climate of the late fifteenth century than has often been understood in modern scholarship. This is evidently true at Naples, as articulated by the high-value production of **V** and **BU** by the leading craftsmen of their day – those who were entrusted with the creation of an *opera omnia* of Aquinas, who was surely one of the most powerfully symbolic of Neapolitan erudites. But was Naples a special case? After all, this was the city that witnessed important music-theoretical publications not only by Tinctoris but also by Gaffurius, and where discussions between those two theoreticians and Gulielmus Guarnerius and Bernhard Ycart took place. There is potential for much further work on the patterns of dissemination of music-theoretical

literature across Europe, tracing not only manuscript circulation and transmission, but the effect of printing on the spread of such material. This must be brought into dialogue with such documentary sources as the correspondence of Giovanni Spataro (1458–1541) with Giovanni del Lago and Pietro Aaron.<sup>2</sup> For Spataro, ‘Tinctoris was crazy and thought he knew a lot more than he really did, as his works show’.<sup>3</sup> Still further work is required on Tinctoris’s own compositions; to what extent do they mirror, or contradict, the precepts of his theoretical writings? Were they regarded as qualitatively on a par with the output of his major northern European contemporaries? The inclusion of the *Missa L’homme armé* in *V-CVbav* Capp. Sist. 35 alongside Ockeghem, Obrecht, Isaac, Josquin, and others would certainly suggest so.

**V** and **BU** are rich repositories not only of Tinctoris’s music theory, but also of ingrained detail of the priorities and concerns of those who, directly and indirectly, brought them into existence. Where documentary evidence has been lost, or never existed, it is through interrogating such manuscripts as these at a fine level as historical artefacts that intriguing and important windows may be opened on the wider cultural, intellectual, and political nature of the world to which they belonged.

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<sup>2</sup> See Bonnie J Blackburn, *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

## Sigla

- A-Wn* 3: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 3.
- A-Wn* 32: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 32.
- A-Wn* 34: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 34.
- A-Wn* 44: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 44.
- A-Wn* 49: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 49.
- B-Br* II 4147 mus.: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147 Mus.
- B-Gu* 70: Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek MS 70.
- CH-Bgünther*: Basel, Dr Jörn Günther Rare Books AG.
- CH-SGs* 463: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 463.
- CZ-Pu* IX.A.9: Prague, University Library, MS ix.a.9.
- D-B* lat. fol. 28: Berlin Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. fol. 28.
- D-Mbs* Clm 294: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 294.
- D-Mu* 8° 322: Munich, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 8° 322 [*olim* Cim. 44a].
- D-W* 39. Aug. 4°: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 39. Aug. 4°:
- <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/39-aug-4f/start.htm>
- E-E* a.I.7: Escorial, Palacio Real, Monasterio de S. Lorenzo, MS a.I.7.
- E-E* s.ii.19: Escorial, Palacio Real, Monasterio de S. Lorenzo, MS s.ii.19.
- E-E* t.ii.5: Escorial, Palacio Real, Monasterio de S. Lorenzo, MS t.ii.5.
- E-Mah* 562b: Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Códices, MS 562b.
- E-VAsmr*: Valencia, San Miguel de los Reyes, *sine numero*. Lost.
- E-VAu* 44: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 44 [*olim* 789]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0044](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0044)
- E-VAu* 47: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 47 [*olim* 750]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0047](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0047)
- E-VAu* 51: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 51 [*olim* 818]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0051](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0051)



- E-VAu* 53: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 53 [*olim* 807]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0053](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0053)
- E-VAu* 55: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 55 [*olim* 848]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0055](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0055)
- E-VAu* 56: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 56 [*olim* 857]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0056](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0056)
- E-VAu* 292: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 292 [*olim* 738]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0292](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0292)
- E-VAu* 380: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 380 [*olim* 849]:
- [http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv\\_ms\\_0380](http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0380)
- E-VAu* 381: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 381 [*olim* 850]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0381](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0381)
- E-VAu* 384: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 384 [*olim* 763]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0384](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0384)
- E-VAu* 388: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 388 [*olim* 828]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0388](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0388)
- E-VAu* 389: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 389 [*olim* 817]:
- [http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv\\_ms\\_0389](http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0389)
- E-VAu* 390: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 390 [*olim* 838]:
- [http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv\\_ms\\_0390](http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0390)
- E-VAu* 391: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 391 [*olim* 815]:
- [http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv\\_ms\\_0391](http://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0391)
- E-VAu* 395: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 395 [*olim* 794]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0395](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0395)
- E-VAu* 408: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 408 [*olim* 408]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0408](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0408)
- E-VAu* 614: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 614 [*olim* 835]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0614](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0614)
- E-VAu* 731: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 731 [*olim* 741]:
- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0731](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0731)

*E-VAu* 758: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 758 [*olim* 758]:

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0758](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0758)

*E-VAu* 759: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 759 [*olim* 775].<sup>1</sup>

*E-VAu* 765: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 765 [*olim* 765]:

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0765](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0765)

*E-VAu* 771: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 771 [*olim* 833]:

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0771](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0771)

*E-VAu* 774: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 774 [*olim* 808]:

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0774](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0774)

*E-VAu* 781: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 781 [*olim* 854]:

- [http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv\\_ms\\_0781](http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0781)

*E-VAu* 835: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 835 [*olim* 844]:

- [http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv\\_ms\\_0835](http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0835)

*E-VAu* 840: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 840 [*olim* 846]:

- [http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv\\_ms\\_0840](http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0840)

*E-VAu* 842: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 842 [*olim* 782]:

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0842](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0842)

*E-VAu* 843: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 843 [*olim* ?].<sup>2</sup>

*E-VAu* 847: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 847 [*olim* 770]:

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0847](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0847)

*E-VAu* 887: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 887 [*olim* 662]:

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0887](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0887)

*E-VAu* 890: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 890 [*olim* 726]:

- [http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv\\_ms\\_0890](http://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0890)

*E-VAu* 892: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 892 [*olim* 730]:

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0892](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0892)

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<sup>1</sup> Images of this manuscript are not available.

<sup>2</sup> Images of this manuscript are not available.

*E-VAu* 893: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 893 [*olim* 773]

- [http://roderic.uv.es/uv\\_ms\\_0893](http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0893)

*E-VAu* 947: Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Histórica, MS 947.<sup>3</sup>

*F-G* 344: Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 344 [*olim* 80]:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b56000008h>

*F-LO* 5: Louviers, Médiathèque Boris Vian (formerly Bibliothèque municipale), MS 5:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454014q>

*F-LO* 7: Louviers, Médiathèque Boris Vian (formerly Bibliothèque municipale), MS 7:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84540154>

*F-LO* 8: Louviers, Médiathèque Boris Vian (formerly Bibliothèque municipale), MS 8:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454016j>

*F-Pm* inc. 3619(1): Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 3619(1).

*F-Pn* ital. 1711: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Italienne 1711:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438678d>

*F-Pn* lat. 495: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 495:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84467918>

*F-Pn* lat. 674: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 674:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8446786z>

*F-Pn* lat. 771: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 771:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452656h>

*F-Pn* lat. 1659: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 1659:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84467896>

*F-Pn* lat. 2082: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 2082:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447063v>

*F-Pn* lat. 2129: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 2129:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000027b>

*F-Pn* lat. 2231(1): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 2231(1):

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447062f>

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<sup>3</sup> Images of this manuscript are not available.

*F-Pn* lat. 2231(2): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 2231(2):

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447065p>

*F-Pn* lat. 2231(3): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 2231(3):

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84470663>

*F-Pn* lat. 2347: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 2347:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8446957x>

*F-Pn* lat. 2368: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 2368:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84469538>

*F-Pn* lat. 3063: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 3063:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8446954p>

*F-Pn* lat. 3147: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 3147:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8446959r>

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- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8468315p>

*F-Pn* lat. 6292: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6292:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447068x>

*F-Pn* lat. 6295: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6295.<sup>4</sup>

*F-Pn* lat. 6309: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6309:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447071d>

*F-Pn* lat. 6324: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6324:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8490181b>

*F-Pn* lat. 6525: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6525:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84470611>

*F-Pn* lat. 6637: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6637:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84527704>

*F-Pn* lat. 6793: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6793:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447060m>

*F-Pn* lat. 6922: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6922.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Images of this manuscript are not available.

*F-Pn* lat. 7524: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 7524.<sup>6</sup>

*F-Pn* lat. 7549: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 7549.<sup>7</sup>

*F-Pn* lat. 7810: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 7810:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447104b>

*F-Pn* lat. 8016: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 8016:

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*F-Pn* lat. 8078: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 8078:

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*F-Pn* lat. 8374: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 8374:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84901835>

*F-Pn* lat. 12947: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 12947:

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*F-Pn* lat. 16032: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 16032:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447105r>

*F-Pn* lat. 17842: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 17842:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454694t>

*F-Pn* lat. 18524: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 18524.<sup>8</sup>

*F-Pn* Rés.A.1424: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. A. 1424.

*F-Pn* Rés.C.424 (1): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. C. 424 (1).

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*F-Pn* Rés.E.15: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. E. 15.

*F-Pn* Rés.G.504: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. G. 504.

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2200022x>

*F-Pn* Rés.G.YC.212: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. g. Yc. 212.

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<sup>5</sup> Images of this manuscript are not available.

<sup>6</sup> Images of this manuscript are not available.

<sup>7</sup> Images of this manuscript are not available.

<sup>8</sup> Images of this manuscript are not available.

*F-Pn* Rés.G.YC.373: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. g. Yc. 373.  
*F-Pn* Rés.G.YC.374: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. g. Yc. 374.  
*F-Pn* Rés.H.35: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. H. 35.  
*F-Pn* Rés.H.63: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. H. 63.  
*F-Pn* Rés.H.145: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. H. 145.  
*F-Pn* Rés.R.91: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. R. 91.  
*F-Pn* Rés.Z.120: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Z. 120.  
*F-Pn* Rés.Z.185: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Z. 185.  
*F-Pn* Smith-Lesouëf 14: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Smith-Lesouëf 14  
 [olim Nogent-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque Smith-Lesouëf lat. 14.]:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8478958s>

*F-R* A 13: Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS A 13:

- <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84540139>

*GB-Cfm* Marl. 10: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS Marlay 10.  
*GB-Cu* Gg.3.22: Cambridge, University Library, Gg.3.22.  
*GB-Cu* Gg.3.23: Cambridge, University Library, Gg.3.23.  
*GB-Gu* Hunterian By.2.3: Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, Hunterian By.2.3.  
*GB-Lbl* Add. 14781: London, British Library, Additional MS 14781.  
*GB-Lbl* Add. 15270: London, British Library, Additional MS 15270.  
*GB-Lbl* Add. 15273: London, British Library, Additional MS 15273.  
*GB-Lbl* Add. 28628: London, British Library, Additional MS 28628.  
*GB-Lbl* Harl. 3485: London, British Library, MS Harley 3485.  
*GB-Lbl* Harl. 3699: London, British Library, MS Harley 3699.  
*GB-Lbl* Harl. 4965: London, British Library, MS Harley 4965.  
*GB-Lbl* IB.22713: London, British Library, IB.22713.<sup>9</sup>  
*GB-Lbl* IB.22715: London, British Library, IB.22715.<sup>10</sup>  
*GB-Lbl* IB.22717: London, British Library, IB.22717.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> UIN: BLL01003635453

<sup>10</sup> UIN: BLL01002734871

<sup>11</sup> UIN: BLL01002878009

*GB-Lbl* IB.22719: London, British Library, IB.22719.

*GB-Mr* lat. 53: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 53.

- <http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/s/kxx6sp>

*GB-Ob* Auct. F.1.18: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.1.18.

*H-Bn* cod. lat. 413: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MS Cod. Lat. 413:

- <http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hub1codlat413.htm>

*H-Bn* cod. lat. 421: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MS Cod. Lat. 421:

- <http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hub1codlat421.htm>

*I-AGI* 1: Agira, Biblioteca Comunale Pietro Mineo, MS 1.

*I-AGI* 2: Agira, Biblioteca Comunale Pietro Mineo, MS 2.

*I-BU* 2216: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216.

*I-BU* 2573: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2573.

*I-CDTb* Cav. 64: Cava dei Tirreni, Biblioteca statale del monumento nazionale Badia di Cava, Codex Cavensis 64.

*I-Fn* Banco rari 229: Florence, Biblioteca nazionale Centrale, MS Banco rari 229 [*olim* Magliabechi XIX.59].

*I-Fl* Plut.13.05: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut.13.05.

- [http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Ateca.bmlonline.it%3A21%3AXXXX%3APlutei%3AIT%253AFI0100\\_Plutei\\_13.05\\_0008](http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Ateca.bmlonline.it%3A21%3AXXXX%3APlutei%3AIT%253AFI0100_Plutei_13.05_0008)

*I-Fl* Plut.20.18: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut.20.18.

- <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000264870&keywords=PLUT.20.18#page/1/mode/1up>

*I-Fl* Plut.28.11: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut.28.11.

- <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000325413>

*I-Fl* Plut.29.48: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut.29.48.

- <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000620728&keywords=PLUT.29.48#page/1/mode/1up>

*I-Fl* Plut.71.28: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut.71.28.

- <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000854265&keywords=Plut.71.28#page/3/mode/1up>

*I-Fl* Plut.71.33: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut.71.33.

- <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000871980&keywords=Plut.71.33#page/1/mode/1up>

*I-Fl* Plut.71.34: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut.71.34.

- <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000856206&keywords=Plut.71.34#page/1/mode/1up>

*I-Fl* Strozz. 109: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Stroziano 109.

*I-Lc* 525: Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile, MS 525.

*I-Mborletti*: Milan, Borletti collection, *sine numero* (Private)

*I-MC* 405: Montecassino, Monumento nazionale di Montecassino, MS 405.

*I-MC* N 871: Montecassino, Monumento nazionale di Montecassino, MS N 871.

*I-MOe* α.G.3.1: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.G.3.1.

*I-MOe* α.M.1.4: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.M.1.4.

*I-Nn* I.B.23: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS I.B.23.

*I-Nn* I.B.26: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS I.B.26.

*I-Nn* I.B.57: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS I.B.57.

*I-Nn* V.I.3: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS V.I.3.

*I-Nn* VI.E.40: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS VI.E.40.

*I-Nn* VII.B.4: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS VII.B.4.

*I-Nn* XIII.A.18: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XIII.A.18.

*I-Nn* XIII.F.24: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XIII.F.24.

*I-Nn* XIV.D.20: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XIV.D.20.

*I-Nn* XIV.D.28: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XIV.D.28.

*I-Nn* XV.A.16: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XV.AA.16.

*I-Nn* XV.AA.5: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XV.AA.5.

*I-Nn* XV.AA.6: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XV.AA.6.

*I-Nn* XV.AA.17: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XV.AA.17.

*I-Nn* XV.AA.18: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XV.AA.18.

*I-Nn* XV.AA.19: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XV.AA.19.

*I-PAp* G.G.III. 170.1654: Parma, Biblioteca Nazionale Palatina, G.G.III. 170.1654.

*I-Vnm* Lat. X. 178: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. X. 178.



- I-Vsm* X CLXXV: Venice, Procuratoria di San Marco, Archivio, MS X CLXXV (In Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, Biblioteca).
- IRL-Dtc* TT.dd.49: Dublin, Trinity College Library, TT.dd.49.
- PL-Kj* Mus. 40098: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS Mus. 40098 [*olim* Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, MS 40098].
- US-BEb* UCB 9: Berkeley, CA, University of California, The Bancroft Library, UCB 9 [*olim* MS BR1705.A2H6, *olim* MAR 40].
- US-NH* 91: New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 91:
- <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3522414>
- US-NYpl* 20: New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, MS 20.
- US-NYpm* 801: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 801.
- V-CVbav* Ross. 292: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossiani 292.
- V-CVbav* Capp. Sist. 35: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina MS 35.
- V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 3367: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vaticani Latini 3367.
- V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 3567: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vaticani Latini 3567.
- V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 7134: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vaticani Latini 7134.
- V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 10682: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vaticani Latini 10682.

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