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Title

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Publication Date

2025-04-01

Undergraduate

Vienna 18832 and Duo Music in the Early Sixteenth Century

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Spring 2025

Vienna 18832 is an unusual pair of partbooks. Its format, repertoire, and physical characteristics set it apart from other early sixteenth-century music manuscripts, making it difficult to situate within conventional narratives of musical activity from the period. While heraldry clarifies the provenance of the books, their purpose and use remain elusive. The manuscripts' paratext reveals remarkably little; all but one of the eighty-nine pieces are unattributed, voice parts are unnamed, pieces are untitled, and both partbooks are almost entirely without text. Indeed, it is the questions that emerge from the absence of information that drive this project. Beginning with a close study of this distinctive pair of partbooks, I explore how the form and contents of Vienna 18832 reveal practices of music collection, dissemination, and its functions in the early sixteenth century. Moving outward, I examine the frameworks through which we interpret sources that fall outside established repertorial and material contexts.

Produced in Petrus Alamire's workshop in the Low Countries, the partbooks that make up Vienna 18832 contain only pieces for two voices—a repertoire that is not collected in any other manuscript by Alamire. Of the more than fifty complete manuscripts and ten fragments that survive from the workshop, Vienna 18832 is also one of only five extant sets of partbooks. Unlike the more prevalent choirbook format, in which all voice parts appear together on a single opening, these partbooks copy each voice into a separate book, setting apart the manuscript from most of its contemporaries both by repertoire and format.

This project operates on multiple levels of scrutiny, all relating to the ambiguities around the production and use of Vienna 18832. Questions of structure drive a close examination of the manuscript's physical features. The partbook format, coupled with the plain appearance, prompts an analysis of the musical material it preserves, raising questions of genre and classification. In attempting to situate the partbooks in relation to other sixteenth-century sources, I turn to

concordances and address historiographical issues that have prevented the study of Vienna 18832 and its repertoire on its own terms. At the broadest level, this paper argues for the importance of studying anomalous sources—those that are often sidelined in favor of more conventional materials—as essential to a fuller picture of musical activity in the early sixteenth century.

Vienna 18832: An Overview

Heading the first piece in both partbooks is the coat of arms of the Fuggers, the prominent banking family of Augsburg. The set is believed to have been sent to Augsburg for Raimund Fugger the Elder, who arrived in the city in 1521.¹ This would not be the first connection between Alamire and the Fuggers: Alamire had produced eight other manuscripts for the family between 1515 and 1535.² Raimund the Elder's initials are painted on another set of partbooks, Vienna 15941, prepared by Alamire's workshop around the same time as Vienna 18832 and sent to the same destination. This connection places the manuscript between 1521 and 1535, restricted by Raimund's arrival in Augsburg on one end and Petrus Alamire's retirement on the other. Herbert Kellman has further argued that Vienna 18832 is related to Vienna 4809 and Vienna 11778, allowing him to date it more precisely to ca. 1521–25.³

¹ While there has been general agreement about the recipient of Vienna 18832, the partbooks are surprisingly absent from the 1566 catalogue of Raimund Fugger the Younger's library, the bulk of which he had inherited from his father. Still, there is little doubt that Vienna 18832 belonged to the Fuggers since it was acquired as part of their library by Emperor Ferdinand III and brought to Vienna in 1656. Given that other Alamire manuscripts are also missing from the catalogue, the absence of Vienna 18832 is almost certainly an oversight rather than a challenge to its believed provenance. Honey Meconi, "Range, Repertoire, and Recipient in the Alamire Manuscripts," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 11 (2019): 97–112. For a full catalog of the inventory owned by Raimund Fugger the Younger, see Richard Schaal, "Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger d. J. Ein Beitrag Zur Musiküberlieferung Des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 29 (1957): 126–137.

² Honey Meconi, "The Unknown Alamire: Lost Manuscripts Reclaimed," *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 71 (2017): 33–84, at 47. The earliest gatherings in Vienna 11883 date to ca. 1475, however, the manuscript does not appear to have been assembled and sent to the Fugger before 1515.

³ Kellman, "Josquin and the Court of Netherlands and France," in *Josquin des Prez, Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, eds. E. Lowinsky and B. Blackburn (London, 1976), 181–216, at 204.



Figure 1. Coat of arms of the Fugger family.
Vienna 18832, lower voice partbook, fol. 7v.
Source: ÖNB Vienna / DIAMM, University of Oxford.

Even though there seems to have been no tradition of decorating beyond the opening folios in any of the paper manuscripts sent to the Fuggers, there is sufficient space left for initials on the first folio of nearly every gathering in both the choirbooks and partbooks. In a few instances, these spaces were filled in with calligraphed initials, but more often they are left blank. The staves in Vienna 18832 must have been drawn before the manuscript was planned as they are standard across the pages and do not correspond to the length of the pieces. As such, the consistent space left for initials is not unusual, but the fact that those spaces were left unused in not just one but all eight paper manuscripts (excluding Vienna 11883 as its structure is too unique to fit into a general description) points to a larger pattern. It is likely that these manuscripts were made without a recipient in mind and were not customized until they were being prepared for delivered to the Fuggers. However, even if that were the case, Fugger's coat of arms was included in only four manuscripts, leaving the other five manuscripts—despite being part of the Fugger collection—without any personalized insignia. Perhaps this is because the partbooks were likely purchased and

sent to Augsburg at once, so there was not a need to restate in each book that it belonged to the Fuggers.



Figure 2. Space for an initial that is left unused.
Vienna 18832, upper voice partbook, fol. 11v.
Source: ÖNB Vienna / DIAMM, University of Oxford.

Even among the five sets of Alamire partbooks that survive, Vienna 18832 is the smallest: the two books each measure at 138mm by 203mm, compact enough to be held open in one hand. They are bound in leather, clean in appearance, and have few signs of use, no more than mild coloration on the top and bottom corners where one would turn the pages when holding the book in one hand. The pages must have been turned a number of times for the marks to appear, though the books were seemingly not used heavily as they have no sign of wear otherwise. As for how the pair would have been used, the format draws attention: while choirbooks are known to have been used by a group of singers gathered around a single book, Vienna 18832 implies use by a pair of individuals. That said, the motivation behind copying music into partbooks as opposed to a choirbook remains a central question regarding the books' function. Partbook format was the first instance of separating voices of a single piece into multiple books, and even though it had become common across printed music books by the 1520s, it was rare among manuscripts. Before

considering the repertoire to answer that question, we can infer from its format that Vienna 18832 allowed to achieve something choirbooks could not: allow individuals to stand apart when performing.

Vienna 18832 suggests a conscious engagement with the visual layout of printed sources: in addition to the partbook format, the page layout and staves are consistent across folios, where room is left for smaller initials that printed partbooks often have but not for elaborate calligraphy that is typically found in manuscripts. While such features do not collapse the distinction between manuscript and print, and Vienna 18832 should still very much be considered alongside manuscripts, they prompt questions that manuscripts alone would not typically raise. Looking at Vienna 18832, it is inevitable to ask how the book's appearance might have been informed by printed sources, which motivates its study as a physical object.

Anyone familiar with the work of Alamire's scriptorium will recognize its lavishly illuminated manuscripts produced in the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Most of its productions are decorated with painted marginalia, highly detailed miniatures, and calligraphic initials often adorned by caricatures and grotesques. However, the nine manuscripts owned by the Fugger family are noticeably less elaborate.⁴ All nine are made of paper rather than the parchment typically used in the Alamire scriptorium, which accords with the exceptionally light degree of illumination—at least by the standards of Alamire. While all other Alamire manuscripts dedicated to rulers and families are lavishly illuminated, none of the Fugger manuscripts contain any decoration beyond initials or coat of arms on the opening folios. Even the decorations that do appear, including the coats of arms, are painted using watercolor as opposed to more robust paints and gold leaf, further suggesting an intent to economize. This is interesting because we have long

⁴ Alamire manuscript owned by the Fuggers are Vienna manuscripts 4809, 4810, 9814, 11778, 11883, 15941, 18746, 18825, 18832.

seen a split in the Alamire manuscripts between their lavish appearance and their poor musical readings—suggesting that their sumptuous appearance compensated for the flaws in notation. Vienna 18832, on the other hand, is both plain and musically not more accurate than other sources from the scriptorium.

The errors in musical readings must have been noticed by the scriptorium before the books were delivered to Augsburg as frequent corrections appear by a different and later hand—one that still belongs to the Alamire scriptorium as it is found across other paper manuscripts from the workshop—often extending into the margins of the pages and demonstrating poor planning ahead. The two watermarks in the manuscript also suggest that there could be a gap between the initial production of the partbooks and their purchase and subsequent correction. Though their exact provenances are unknown, both the Gothic P letter and the pot surmounted by flower resemble papers produced between 1494 and 1510 in the Low Countries, and they could have been acquired and put into use by Alamire before 1521.⁵ Unfortunately, layers of scribal activity in Vienna 18832 are not always easy to distinguish, as the hands within the scriptorium often resemble one another, but this is all the more reason to consider the repertoire in the manuscript, both alongside and against its physical features.

Repertoire and Genre

Vienna 18832's exclusive focus on two-voice music makes the manuscript an invaluable source for understanding the limits of repertorial practices of the period. Most of the identifiable pieces are extracted from larger works—mass cycles and magnificats—found in complete form in

⁵ Herbert Kellman and Eric Jas, eds., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts* (Ghent: Ludion, 1999), 164. The closest resemblances of the Gothic P and pot surmounted by flower are reproduced in Briquet Online (www.briquet-online.at) as #8652 and #12624-30, respectively.

other Alamire manuscripts.⁶ The books contain forty-six sections from masses by Franco-Flemish composers, nine excerpted magnificat settings, and two motets, among other unidentified pieces. The unidentified pieces are probably also excerpts from larger works, but a lack of surviving concordances prevents identification. While these larger works make up the standard repertoire of the period, the compilation of two-voice sections extracted from them is not encountered in any earlier source.⁷ The genre of two-voice music was *sui generis* at the time and serves as yet another point of difference between the manuscript and its contemporaries in the Alamire scriptorium.

The order of pieces at the beginning of the partbooks is noteworthy as duos are grouped by sections of the mass rather than by which mass they belong to. For instance, the Agnus Dei II from Josquin's *Missa Pange lingua*, *Missa La sol fa re mi*, and *Missa Gaudeamus* appear consecutively, followed by the Benedictus from his *Missa Pange lingua* and *Missa Gaudeamus*. This suggests a deliberate organizational logic, though one that is not maintained throughout. Elsewhere in the manuscript, duos from the same mass tend to be copied together. The layout of individual gatherings confirm that the manuscript was likely not planned through completion when the duos were being copied on individual gatherings. At the end of every gathering, there are ruled pages that were left blank, as though each booklet was to form a self-contained source and there was no music left to fill its pages, but each subsequent gathering contains more duos. Comparing the contents of Vienna 18832 against its concordances in other Alamire manuscripts offers clarity on blank pages. Every gathering corresponds to a number of sources from the workshop in terms of repertoire. While it is unlikely for the duos to have been copied directly from those manuscripts—the pieces are often not in the same order, and a number of unidentified pieces are copied between

⁶ See Appendix A for the concordances between Vienna 18832, other manuscripts, and prints that predate the production of the duo partbooks.

⁷ There are instances of copying small sections of two-part excerpts into manuscripts, but no earlier large collection is dedicated to the two-part repertoire.

the concordances—they could all have drawn from common exemplars in the scriptorium. The first and last gatherings, for example, both relate to Brussels IV.922 and Vienna 4809; it is plausible they were copied in succession, even if they were not bound adjacently. Approaching Vienna 18832 at the level of individual gatherings rather than as a finished whole enables a more precise mapping of its contents onto other sources.

Notably, both identified and unidentified pieces appear in clusters: for instance, sixteen of the first nineteen works are traceable to other Alamire choirbooks, whereas sixteen of the twenty-one pieces copied between folios 57v and 78r remain unidentified.⁸ There are thirty-one unidentified pieces in total, accounting for more than a third of Vienna 18832. These pieces are varied in range and length, similar to the identified duos in the partbooks. All but five are found in the second and fourth gatherings; this organization suggests that had their exemplars survived, we would find other Alamire sources of notable repertorial overlap with the gatherings. Although the final order of the five gatherings in Vienna 18832 does not reflect a broader plan of structuring the partbooks by content, the clusters of pieces do point to how the manuscript was assembled: each gathering was copied perhaps without a clear idea of the role it would play within the larger end product. In the absence of an overarching structure in the partbooks, the emphasis remains on grouping pieces for their two-part texture, raising questions of intended function.

The majority of the duo repertoire is transmitted in printed sources from the mid- and late-sixteenth century. With little identifying information in Vienna 18832 to go on, scholars relied on these printed sources to understand Alamire's unusual duo partbooks. The first to carry out research on the set was Leopold Nowak in 1931, who categorized the pieces as "bicinia" based on the use

⁸ Appendix A provides a detailed contents list for Vienna 18832, indicating the locations of unidentified works in the manuscript.

of the term in later printed partbooks that contained music for two voices.⁹ But in these later printed sources, *bicinia* were rarely excerpts from larger works and more often self-contained pieces. Following Nowak's lead, Vienna 18832 came to be known familiarly as the Fugger *Bicinia* Collection or the *Bicinia* Manuscript. Herbert Kellman's 1999 catalogue of Alamire manuscripts listed titles and attributions for fifty-seven pieces (based on concordant sources, since Vienna 18832 includes only one attribution), and Eric Jas' accompanying commentary gathered the preceding research on the collection.¹⁰ Because of the absence of text and the music's scalar motion, Dietrich Kämper suggested that the partbooks were intended for instrumental performance within the Fugger House.¹¹ No documentation survives on the use of Vienna 18832 by the Fuggers, and the identified repertoire points us away from thinking the manuscript was produced with instrumental performance in mind.

Although duos have been largely transmitted in prints throughout the sixteenth century, the source containing the most concordances with Alamire's duo partbooks is another manuscript, held today at the Bavarian State Library in Munich under the call number 260.¹² Much like Vienna 18832, Munich 260 contains little paratextual information to reveal details about its scribe, recipient, or exact date of production. An *ex libris* stamp indicates that the manuscript was in the Munich Hofbibliothek by 1618.¹³ Marie Louise Martinez-Göllner has suggested that it may have

⁹ Leopold Nowak, "Eine Bicienhandschrift der Wiener Nationalbibliothek," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 32 (1931): 99–102, at 99.

¹⁰ Herbert Kellman and Eric Jas, eds., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts* (Ghent: Ludion, 1999), 164–65.

¹¹ For a more detailed discussion of Dietrich Kämper's arguments for the instrumental origin of the pieces, which were supported by Leopold Nowak and Herbert Kellman in their respective 1948 and 1999 works, see Andrea Bornstein, "Two-Part Didactic Music in Printed Italian Collections of the Renaissance and Baroque (1521–1744)" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2001). Original work by Kämper is "Das Lehr- und Instrumentalduo um 1500 in Italien," *Die Musikforschung* 18 (1965): 242–53.

¹² Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 260.

¹³ Bruce Bellingham and Edward G. Evans, eds., *Sixteenth-Century Bicinia: A Complete Edition of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 260* (A-R Editions, 1974), ix.

entered the library in 1585 as part of Johann Heinrich Herwart's collection in Augsburg, based on repertorial similarities with other manuscripts known to have belonged to Herwart and the timeline of his collection's acquisition.¹⁴ This raises an intriguing parallel with Vienna 18832, which was also sent to Augsburg, specifically to the Fuggers. While a direct connection between the two manuscripts in Augsburg seems unlikely given that the Herwart and Fugger families each built their own collections, the likely shared location is noteworthy for the circulation and function of duo music in Augsburg in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁵

Besides a shared connection with Augsburg, Vienna 18832 and Munich 260 are also the only known manuscripts from the early sixteenth century dedicated exclusively to duos, and they share twenty-three pieces. The substantial overlap in repertoire suggests a common source, yet their relationship is more complex than direct transmission from one manuscript to the other. In understanding how the two sources are related, scholars have examined the manuscripts' physical appearance. Because these investigations have unfolded roughly over the course of a century, much requires revision, and consolidating ideas can provide an improved understanding of the manuscripts' relationship.

Munich 260

Munich 260 is a manuscript in choirbook format that contains 101 duos including one that is copied twice. Using concordant sources to establish a bounded time frame, Bruce Bellingham and Edward Evans identified 1539 as the *terminus post quem* based on the publication date of

¹⁴ Marie L. Martinez-Göllner, "Die Augsburger Bibliothek Herwart Und Ihre Lautentabulaturen: Ein Musikbestand Der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek Aus Dem 16. Jahrhundert," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 16, no. 1/2 (1969): 29–48, on 29.

¹⁵ Colin Slim, "The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart," *Annales Musicologiques* Vol.7 (1964): 67–109. About Herwart as a musical patron, see JoAnn Taricani, "A Renaissance Bibliophile as Musical Patron: The Evidence of the Herwart Sketchbooks," *Notes* 49, no. 4 (June 1993): 1357–1389.

Gardano's *Canzoni francese a due voci*, which contains the earliest known appearances of twenty-six pieces by Gardano himself found in Munich 260.¹⁶ Finding no concordances with music first published after 1550, they proposed that date as the *terminus ante quem*. This placed Munich 260 at least a few years and at most about two decades after Vienna 18832, apparently making it impossible for it to have served as an exemplar for Alamire's duo partbooks. The other way around was also impossible, because Munich 260 includes texts for many of its contents, which Vienna 18832 does not.

In 2019 Martin Ham turned to Munich 260 once more in the context of scribal practices following Alamire's retirement in 1535, proposing Tylman Susato be understood as an "inheritor of Alamire's mantle."¹⁷ He suggested that Susato himself may have been the main scribe of Munich 260. Susato had been associated with the Confraternity of Our Lady in Antwerp in the 1530s, at the same time as the organist Antoine Barbe. Only four pieces in Munich 260 bear attributions, and two of them are to Barbe. Ham deduced that the association with this otherwise obscure musician was evidence that Susato should be identified as the manuscript's main music hand.

Ham also narrowed down the dating to around 1540–44 based on concordances with later prints by Susato, albeit acknowledging that "there is reason to disagree with dating MunBS 260 from printed concordances."¹⁸ I share Ham's desire to narrow the dating of Munich 260 and to identify its scribe—questions whose answers could offer much-needed context for one of only two surviving duo manuscripts. But his proposal ultimately rests on circumstantial evidence. The connection to Barbe, while suggestive, offers too weak a basis for attributing the manuscript's

¹⁶ Bellingham and Evans, "Preface," *Sixteenth-Century Bicinia*, ix–x.

¹⁷ Martin Ham, "Joining the Dots: Tylman Susato and Manuscript Production after Alamire," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 11, no. 1–2 (January 2019): 135–59, at 135.

¹⁸ Ham, "Joining the Dots," 144.

main hand to Susato, especially in the absence of any supporting clues and archival documentation. Unfortunately, Ham's proposal leaves us at a deadlock: it has never been more evident that Munich 260 is related to Vienna 18832, yet the workings of this relationship remain as obscure as ever. To move forward, we must look elsewhere.

Much of what has been written about Munich 260 has been speculative. Yet, over time, layers of conjecture have been stacked upon one another, each accepting its predecessor with greater certainty than originally warranted. This has led to a misguided picture of what we know about Munich 260 when, in reality, we can be confident about very little of that knowledge. The uncertainty begins at the level of dating the manuscript. It is ultimately a firm answer to this question that would provide a means for exploring what came before and after it. But narrowing in on a date without improvement to the level of certainty only forecloses potentially fruitful lines of inquiry. Instead, if we consider what we really *know* about Munich 260, a different picture emerges and brings clarity to the looming question of dating: the manuscript has multiple sections that appear to be copied at different times. Recognizing these internal divisions opens a path toward recontextualizing Munich 260 not as a fixed object, but as a manuscript shaped by multiple moments of compilation.

Structure, Paper, and Watermarks

Like Vienna 18832, Munich 260 is a paper manuscript. It is comprised of twelve gatherings, with the first and last two containing blank pages and functioning as covers at both ends of the book.¹⁹ The gatherings resemble most other manuscripts from the period: they are four to eight folios in length and uniform in dimension. The divisions and joins between them do not

¹⁹ The music-bearing gatherings are numbered 1–9 in Appendix B, while the three blank gatherings are identified as I–III.

suggest that Munich 260 is what Charles Hamm has termed a “fascicle manuscript” where gatherings are self-contained and not originally planned as sections of the same book; it is clear that they were intended to form one cohesive choirbook.²⁰ But even when the gatherings in Munich 260 appear to be intentionally assembled, the larger structure they form is unusual and telling of how the manuscript was produced. When the manuscript was rebound in 1980 the outer folios of most gatherings were repaired or reinforced. This initially proves challenging in observing the separation points between gatherings, but contextual clues such as watermarks and countermark patterns are consistent across the manuscript and offer a clear picture of the overall structure.

Three types of watermarks appear in Munich 260, though the duos are copied on two stocks of paper. Music Gatherings 1–7 (folios 5–57) contain a Gothic P letter watermark with four-petaled flowers, best resembling Briquet 8615–46 that were most common in the last two decades of the fifteenth century but appear as late as the 1540s.²¹ While the Gothic P does not suggest a precise date for when the paper was produced, it does not rule out the possibility that the paper can be rather early relative to our previous understanding of when the manuscript was copied. Music Gathering 8 (folios 58–65) features a single-handled jug with a lid decorated by three flowers.²² This is the only known example of this particular watermark, though jugs with decorated lids are common in Northern France and the Low Countries in the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Some examples are found in products of the Alamire scriptorium, including in Vienna 18832. Such little progress on dating through the watermarks might seem disappointing, but it is in fact helpful in reminding that watermarks alone are not a strictly limiting factor in situating Munich 260 in a time and place. Moreover, the positioning of watermarks on the pages carries

²⁰ Charles Hamm, “Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era,” in *Sources and Circulation of Renaissance Music*, A Library of Essays on Renaissance Music, ed. Mary S. Lewis (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 4–5.

²¹ This is different from the Gothic P letter found in Vienna 18832, which best resembles Briquet 8652.

²² See Appendix B for the complete contents and structural layout of Munich 260.

important implications on the divisions between gatherings. Excluding the folios that were individually inserted and attached to the outmost folios of gatherings (this occurs twice, on folios 37 and 44), there are no countermarks in the manuscript; the watermarks fall on one of the two sides of each paper sheet and conveniently confirm the midpoint and total number of folios in each gathering.

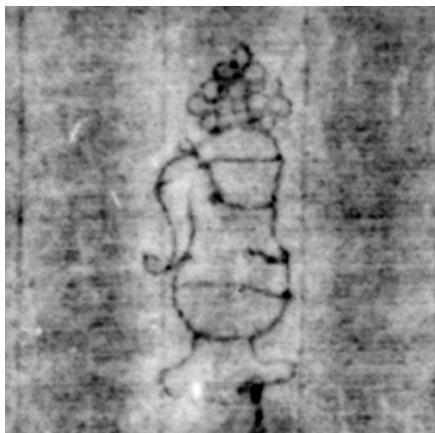


Figure 3. Jug with lid decorated by three flowers.
Munich 260, fol. 65.
Source: Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem

The third paper stock begins with folio 66 after the last duo ends on folio 65r, as shown in Appendix B. It bears a new watermark: a crowned coat of arms with a flower (identified as Briquet 1048) for which the earliest record comes from Bruges in 1526. Its close resemblances are found until 1549, predominantly in Northern France and the Low Countries.²³ Despite the remarkably later dating, Briquet 1048 comes from the same region as to the other two watermarks in Munich 260 and is perhaps the most revealing about the manuscript.

The transition to the third paper stock is noteworthy not only because of its later dating but also because it marks the end of the main musical contents. That a new gathering with staves was

²³ Identified as #1048 on “Briquet Online,” www.briquet-online.at/loadRepWmark.php?rep=briquet&refnr=1048.

added suggests an intention to copy more music. Even more importantly, the blank gatherings at both ends of the book (fols. 1–4 at the beginning, and fols. 74–89 at the end) are made from the same paper as this final staved gathering. So, not only was more music to be added after folio 65r, but that was to definitely mark the end of the manuscript. Eventually, the plan to add more music was left unrealized as the only pieces on Music Gathering 9 are four, four-part German hymns copied by a significantly later hand. While these later additions are not directly relevant to the discussion of duo music, they confirm that the book was used later in the sixteenth century in a German-speaking region—likely Augsburg, especially if the manuscript belonged to Johann Heinrich Herwart as believed.

Scribes:	Various scribes (fols. 5v–49r; fol. 50v is by a different hand)							Scribe II		Later hand (fols. 65v–69r)		
Papers:	Paper III	Paper I							Paper II	Paper III		
Gatherings:	Blank I	Gath. 1	Gath. 2	Gath. 3	Gath. 4	Gath. 5	Gath. 6	Gath. 7	Gath. 8	Gath. 9	Blank II	Blank III

Figure 4. Structure of Munich 260.

While we can safely situate the addition of Music Gathering 9 and the blank cover gatherings in post-1526 based on the paper used, there is no reason to assume the same for the rest of the book as all other papers were in production at the end of the fifteenth century. The third paper stock that begins on folio 66 contrasts the remainder of the book both by dating and content that it suggests a second separation point between the sections of Munich 260. Until now, this has been disregarded in literature as the pages that follow this separation point are not part of the main contents—that is, the duos—of the manuscript.

Scribal Hands

The prevailing view holds that the duos in Munich 260 were copied by two scribes, with the transition between them occurring on folio 50v.²⁴ But rather than a distinction between the presumed first and second hands, the main evidence for this division is the incomplete duo, *De mon triste desplaisir a vous belle*, which appears to have been intended for folios 49v–50r. The upper voice is present on folio 49v, but folio 50r—where the lower voice would be expected—remains blank. This coincides with the point at which the presumed second scribe takes over the manuscript, yet notably, does not complete the missing lower voice of the piece. The incomplete duo is more than an anomaly; it suggests that the scribe may have lacked access to the music to complete the duo. In fact, *De mon triste desplaisir a vous belle* is the only incomplete piece in Munich 260, raising the likelihood that the manuscript was set aside for a period before being resumed by another scribe when the exemplar for the incomplete duo was no longer available. This strengthens the idea that Munich 260 was copied in multiple stages at different times and under varying circumstances.

In light of the various separation points in Munich 260, our understanding of the manuscript looks like the following: a first scribe copies up to folio 50v on a single stock of paper, after which the second scribe takes over, transitioning to the second stock of paper on folio 66. It is at this point that the repertoire shifts from largely sacred settings to secular French songs. Then, there is a break before a final staved gathering from a third paper stock is added, but no additional duos are copied on the new paper. However, while the shift from the first to the second scribe at folio 50v has been widely acknowledged, an important detail is overlooked. The hand that copies the upper voice of *De mon triste desplaisir a vous belle* is not the same as any other hand in the

²⁴ I disregard the four German hymns at the end of the manuscript as they are significantly later additions that prove irrelevant to questions of dating Munich 260.

manuscript. In addition to the visible differences in the clefs, noteheads on folio 49v are not as round as those in the first half, and overall, the script is not as thin as in the second half—especially visible in the note stems. The new scribe on folio 49v is short-lasting and implies, in line with the incomplete piece it copies, that it is likely part of a plan that was not fully carried out.

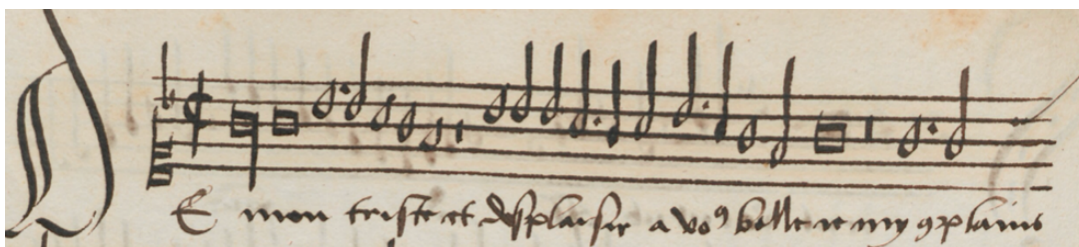


Figure 5. Opening of *De mon triste deslaiser a vous belle*.

Munich 260, fol. 49v.

Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

A natural next step is to look at what precedes the very brief work of the new scribe. Besides the assumption that the manuscript was copied by a single scribe until folio 50v (which we can now revise as being until folio 49r because of the new scribe on that page), little has been said on the first half of Munich 260. Before considering Martin Ham's suggestion that this scribe may be Susato, it is worth questioning whether the first scribe is, in fact, a single individual.²⁵ Variations in text and music hands are observed throughout the first half; while I do not record individual scribes' works, a notable example can be observed in the duos on folios 43v–44r and 44v–45r, where the upper voices of both pieces belong to a one hand while their lower voices belong to another. Thus, we can move forward with the assumption that more than one scribe was involved

²⁵ Ham, "Joining the Dots," 135–59.

in the making of the first half, as opposed to a single person—who was presumably Susato, according to Ham.

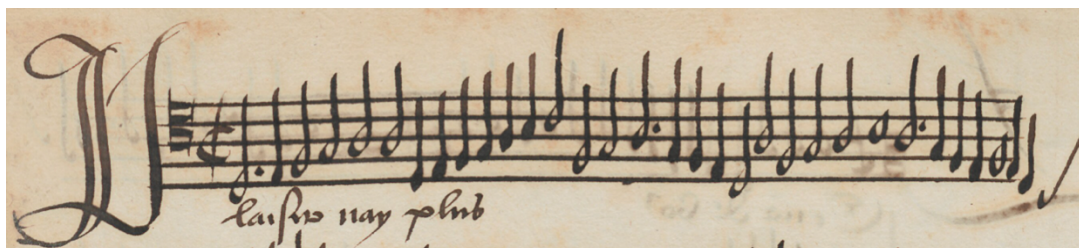


Figure 6. Opening of the lower voice in *Plaisir n'ai plus mais vis en desconfort*.
Munich 260, fol. 45r.
Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

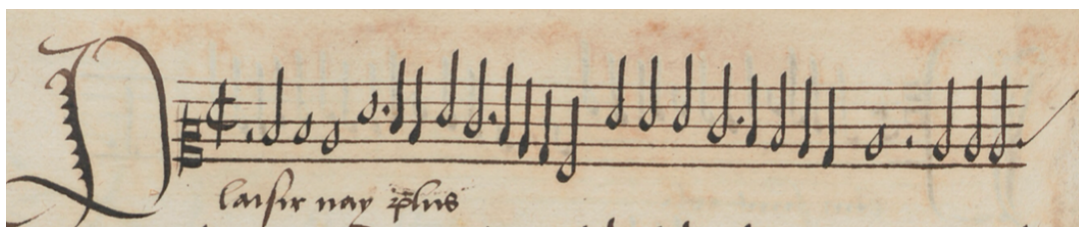


Figure 7. Opening of the upper voice in *Plaisir n'ai plus mais vis en desconfort*.
Munich 260, fol. 44v.
Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Folio 50r is a significant point of separation between manuscript sections, not just due to scribal changes but because from this point onwards, the book and its contents become much more homogenous. The music hand between folios 50v to 65r remains consistent, and so is the repertoire. If we isolate these fifteen folios from the rest of the manuscript, they can point to possibilities that we would not consider under the assumption that Munich 260 is large choirbook copied in one continuous effort.

Repertoire

Perhaps the most pressing way to think of Munich 260 in sections is by considering its musical contents. The first section is dominated by sacred repertoire, mainly duos excerpted from mass and magnificat settings. This is the section that shares the most in common with Vienna 18832. The second section entirely consists of French songs, and a third section at the end of the

book contains only four German hymns, apparently added later. Not coincidentally, the repertorial shift coincides with the scribal change on folio 50v. Since all but one of the songs in second section appear in Gardano's *Canzoni francese a due voci*, they may well have been copied directly from that book, first published in 1539. Interestingly, the order of the pieces between Gardano's print and Munich 260 are not identical but nonetheless confirm the relationship between two sources. The scribe begins by copying the first eight pieces from Gardano's book in the same order. The ninth piece is inserted to a spot in the first half of Munich 260, on folios 45v–46r, but by a different hand than that in the second section of the manuscript. This hand is closer to the one that copies most of the music in the first section, but not identical. Possibly, folios 45v–46r were skipped by accident, only to be noticed while Gardano's pieces were being copied into the manuscript and filled later. There is not an apparent reason to specifically select the ninth piece from *Canzoni francese a due voci* to fill this gap; it may just be a coincidence that the empty ruled opening was found after the first eight Gardano pieces were already copied. Regardless of its reasoning, it initially seems unusual to encounter a French song in the first half of the manuscript, but there are other outliers, too, such as five consecutive French songs between folios 44v–47r in Music Gathering 6.

In many ways, Music Gathering 6 (folios 44–51) is an unusual join between the two sections of Munich 260. It is where the scribe changes, and the repertoire is strange. There are sacred pieces, French songs, and one Dutch song (in addition to two others on folios 39v–41r). It almost explicitly functions as a transition from the sacred to the French repertoire. As unusual as this gathering might seem in relation to what precedes and succeeds it, some context helps put it into perspective. Remembering that Munich 260 is an intentional compilation of duo music rather than a specific language or style of repertoire, there is little reason to be surprised by finding sacred

pieces mixed with French and Dutch secular songs. It is not so much the type or language of repertoire that stands out in this gathering but its positioning in the manuscript, between two sections that otherwise have a more apparent divide.

Still, the French song that opens the manuscript obviously falls outside of Music Gathering 6 and stands out from the remainder of the French pieces due to its location in the book. It is not from Gardano's 1539 print of *Canzoni francese a due voci* or its later editions, so there is no reason to assume it comes from the sources that were exemplars to the second section of the book. In fact, this song is most likely not related to Gardano at all as it is copied by the hand that copies many subsequent duos in the first section that come before any of Gardano's pieces in Munich 260. Instead, the French opening song signifies something else: that from the onset, Munich 260 was expected to include a combination of French songs with sacred repertoire. This makes the standalone French opener seem not as out of the ordinary or significant, given that its scribe would likely not have known that Gardano's French pieces would later make their way into the manuscript.

Attributions to Antoine Barbe

Only four pieces in Munich 260 bear attributions. All come rather early in the book, and Ham notes that these pieces might be related, since their texts all come from verses from Marian sequences.²⁶ It may be that all pieces came from the same source, though I hope to raise another question about how securely we can trust the attributions. Antoine Barbe, the recipient of the first two attributions on folios 6v and 8v, was the organist at the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp between 1527 and 1562. Barbe's surviving output is very small, leading Ham to argue that he did

²⁶ Ham, "Joining the Dots," 140.

not have much of a reputation beyond Antwerp. His music is mostly printed by Susato—not surprising given their overlapping presence in Antwerp—although his two songs in Munich 260 do not appear in any of his prints. Ham also notes that Jacques Moderne printed Barbe’s music in Lyon, and that two other songs are attributed to him in Munich 1508, which was also copied in Lyon.²⁷ This suggests that, *Pace* Ham, Barbe was not just a local figure, complicating how we interpret the attributions to him in Munich 260. The presence of Barbe’s music in prints from Lyon decreases the importance of his potential relationship with Susato and, by extension, to the creation of Munich 260.

Nonetheless, the idea to attribute the songs to Barbe must have come from somewhere, and the point at which this decision was made is important in determining how much we can trust these attributions. The hands that write the two “Barbe”s are not the same. Furthermore, they are different from the hands that copy the text underlay for those two songs. In contrast, the other two attributions in the book to Mouton and Josquin seem to be written by the same hand as the that of the text in their respective pieces. It is possible that the “Barbe” attributions were added in later—which *could* really be due to contact with him in Antwerp, but we cannot claim that with confidence—and are not as secure as we might like to believe. If these are later attributions, there is no evidence left that suggests the first section of Munich 260 is from post-1539 or linked to Antwerp.

²⁷ *Ibid.* John Milsom shows that Munich 1508 is from Lyon in “Printed Music Papers: Research Opportunities and Challenges,” in *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe*, by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald, (London: Routledge, 2021), 41–62, at 55.

A New Dating

Evidence within the manuscript itself complicates the view that it was assembled all at once, pointing instead to a more fragmented, gradual process of compilation. The identified pieces in the first section are predominantly from the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth century. If the two pieces are correctly attributed to Barbe, they would be the latest repertoire, but when there is reasonable doubt surrounding the security of those attributions, the remainder of the first section seems like it could be from earlier in the sixteenth-century. If, as Ham suggests, Munich 260 dates to the 1540s, then the repertoire in the first half would already have been about three to five decades old—a temporal gap that is difficult to reconcile with the idea of a duo manuscript in choirbook format that was assembled without a demonstrated need or tradition.

How early could the first section be? Accounting even for the slim possibility that Antoine Barbe was in contact with Munich 260 in Antwerp, we can accept the composer's initial appointment year as *maître de musique* of the choir school of the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp, 1527, as the new *terminus post quem* for the manuscript.²⁸ The second section must still be copied after 1539. This places Munich 260 within the first half of the sixteenth century, but in a manner that is flexible to testing new ideas about the relationship of the manuscript to other sources, especially to Vienna 18832.

The possibility of an earlier dating for the first half of Munich 260 has several implications on the circulation of duo music in the early sixteenth century. Firstly, it increases the likelihood that Munich 260 shared a common exemplar with Vienna 18832—while musical readings prove possible for Munich 260 to have been a direct source for Vienna 18832, it is unlikely for the

²⁸ Frank Dobbins, "Barbe, Antoine (i)." *Grove Music Online*. 2001.

choirbook to have been used as an exemplar in the Alamire scriptorium. Another probability is that both manuscripts were copied from a common source that has since been lost, though given the connection of Vienna 18832 to other Alamire manuscripts where the duos are found within their larger works, a common exemplar to Munich 260 and Vienna 18832 would likely have to come from the Alamire workshop. Taken together, these possibilities point to a previously unrecognized moment in the 1520s and 30s, when the production of duo manuscripts in the Low Countries was being shaped by the repertoire circulating within the Alamire scriptorium, and later around mid-century by the printed duo collections found across the continent.

Duos in Print

Two manuscripts are an insufficient sample size to understand the function of duo music in the early sixteenth century, but their comparison leads us to the next step: considering the other duo volumes from the period—all prints—in light of what they might reveal about Vienna 18832. Even though prints are not directly comparable to manuscripts, having different methods of production and dissemination, printed duo sources can help us understand that preserved in Vienna 18832. In the 1520s, music printing in the Low Countries was still in its early stages, yet French and Italian prints were already circulating there.²⁹ More than half of the identified repertoire in Vienna 18832 is found in Italian prints that predate Alamire's duo partbooks. The scriptorium must have been familiar with the layout of printed partbooks—plain, clean, and with little excess information or decoration—that they produced manuscript counterparts of similar size and format.

²⁹ Stanley Boorman. "Thoughts on the Popularity of Printed Music in 16th-Century Italy." *Fontes artis musicae* 48, no. 2 (2001): 129–144. On the history of music printing in the Low Countries during the time of Alamire, see Robert Lee Weaver, *Waelrant and Laet: Music Publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Warren, Mich: Harmonie Park Press, 1995), 36.

Although printed partbooks are comparable to Vienna 18832 in physical appearance, one of the main reasons to distinguish them is repertoire. The majority of partbooks, including all of those printed by Antico, Giunta, and Petrucci that contain concordances with Vienna 18832, are not limited to two voices. Those prints contain a different repertoire where duos are the exception among many pieces for more voices. In terms of dedicated duo volumes, the earliest example is Eustachio Romano's *Musica duorum*, published by Johannes Jacobi in 1521 (at the earlier end of Kellman's proposed dating for Vienna 18832). *Musica duorum* is analogous to Vienna 18832 in that all forty-five of its pieces are untitled and untexted, and the dimensions of the books appear close to Alamire's duo partbooks. However, the musical contents diverge. *Musica duorum* consists solely of Romano's own compositions. The dedication page of the print tells us that Romano intended these to carry a didactic function, stating that they are exercises for beginners, particularly for the use of Giovanni Maria de' Ciocchi del Monte (the future Pope Julius III).³⁰ This is opposed to the Franco-Flemish repertoire from which Vienna 18832 draws.

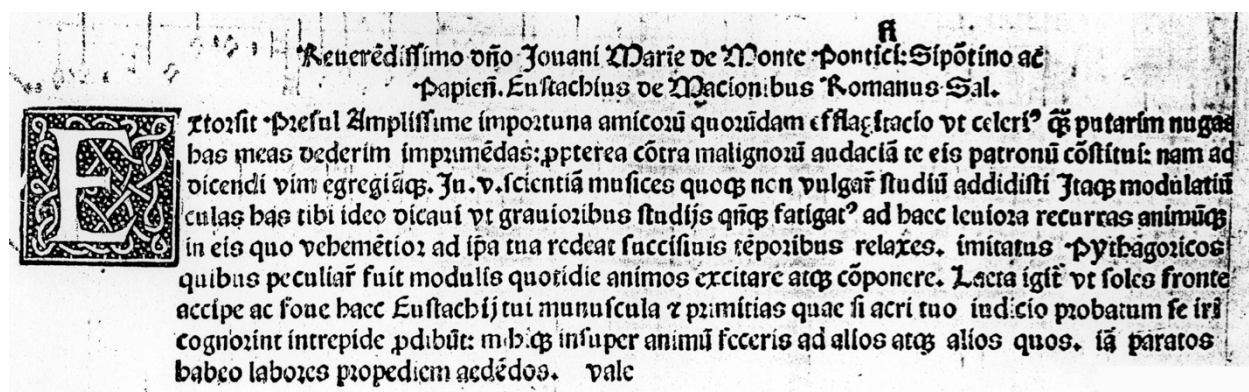


Figure 8. The dedication page of *Musica duorum*.
Source: International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP).

³⁰ This is based on the translation of the dedication in Howard Mayer Brown and Edward E. Lowinsky, *Eustachio Romano: Musica duorum: Rome, 1521*, MRM 6 (1975), 5–6. The piece at the bottom of folios 2v–3r is an exception, though it appears to be copied by hand on the blank staves after the book was printed. The only surviving copy of Jacobi's print is Vienna SA.77.C.31.

Romano's volume fits more convincingly as an earlier example to a context that became well-established during the mid-century: the Italian didactic duo tradition we know from the surge of duo volumes printed in Rome and Venice in the 1540s and 50s. Andrea Bornstein points out that Romano's print is separated from the main corpus of Italian didactic duo collections by nearly two decades, though that gap is largely explained by the Sack of Rome in 1527 that halted printing activity in the city as the presses were destroyed.³¹ Romano's *Musica duorum* can be treated as an early example of the Italian didactic duo tradition rather than as a source related to Vienna 18832. The latter carries no trace of the pedagogical function that Italian didactic duos, including *Musica duorum*, fulfilled.

Another printed duo collection we have encountered, Antonio Gardano's *Canzoni francese a due voci* (1539), is worth revisiting to highlight that it does not belong to the tradition of compiled duo collections like Vienna 18832. Although it shares repertoire with Munich 260—a manuscript clearly linked to Vienna 18832 through the contents of its first section—Gardano's print contains his own compositions. In this way, it more closely resembles Romano's print than Vienna 18832. Like *Musica duorum*, *Canzoni francese a due voci* provides insight into its function through its paratext: the cover states, *Buone da cantare et sonare* ("Good to sing and play"). Given that Munich 260 draws directly from Gardano's print, it is plausible to expect a similar function for the manuscript, though its choirbook format suggests that vocal performance is a stronger possibility. However, extending this assumption to Vienna 18832 would be unwarranted; while Munich 260 links Vienna 18832 and *Canzoni francese a due voci* within a single manuscript, it does not necessarily imply direct interpolation between the two sources.

³¹ Bornstein, "Two-Part Didactic Music," 13. About the impact of the sack on the printing activities in Rome, see Iain Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London: The British Library, 1995), 38–39.

Function

The physical and chronological similarities of Vienna 18832 with printed sources like Romano's *Musica duorum* from 1521 have led to the assumption that Alamire's partbooks, too, were didactic books. Such prints, far more numerous than manuscripts, not only dominated the narrative on Vienna 18832 but also formed the basis for the history of duo music. As the only known manuscript of its kind, Vienna 18832 has been interpreted through a lens shaped by materials that postdate its production, specifically when it is understood to be a collection of "bicinia." The problem is, the term "bicinia" is not found before 1540 when Jan z Lublina used it in his *Tabulatura*, a manuscript of organ tablature (now known by shelfmark Kraków 1719).³² The first publication explicitly dedicated to bicinia was Balthazar Resinarius's 80 *bicinia sacra* of 1543.³³ By the time theorist and composer Heinrich Christoph Koch was writing in 1802, "bicinium" had simply become "a composition for two parts," but in the sixteenth century, the term had geographic and functional implications.³⁴ Bruce Bellingham has traced the use of printed bicinia collections within the Lutheran education system in the last third of the sixteenth century, concluding that "bicinia" generally served a pedagogical function, allowing students to practice exercises in sight singing, hexachord mutation, and intervals in reduced texture.³⁵

Despite the historical specificity of Bellingham's work and the late date of Lublina's print, scholars have applied the term "bicinia" broadly to all collections of two-part music, often without consideration for language, repertoire, publication date, or mode of transmission. This indiscriminate labeling has meant that earlier sources have been cast in light of later generic

³² Bruce A. Bellingham, "Bicinium," in *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

³³ Bornstein, "Two-Part Didactic Music," 96.

³⁴ Heinrich C. Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt: Hermann, 1802; facsimile edition, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), 384–85.

³⁵ Bruce A. Bellingham, "The Bicinium in the Lutheran Latin Schools During the Reformation Period" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1971), 265–66.

categories, when, as is the case with Vienna 18832, they are not such a good fit. In discussing these partbooks, I have refrained from using the term “bicinia” in the hopes that removing the limiting pedagogical and theological context for the manuscripts can allow for a different perspective on the role they played in the hands of the Fuggers and within the larger picture of manuscript culture of the early sixteenth century. Instead, referring to the pieces as “duos” indicates that they are for two parts without any functional implications.

In addition to predating the earliest bicinia collection by roughly two decades, Vienna 18832 shows no connection to the Lutheran education system. Indeed, the Edict of Worms issued on 26 May 1521 banned Martin Luther’s writings in the Low Countries, so it is exceedingly unlikely that the partbooks were made for a Lutheran purpose.³⁶ Even in Germany, the Lutheran education system was in its early stages. As Bellingham demonstrates, the Lutheran bicinia tradition flourished in the 1540s, several decades after Vienna 18832 was copied and sent to Augsburg. Moreover, the Fuggers themselves remained committed to the Roman Catholic church and did not convert to Lutheranism.³⁷ Instead, the manuscript form, Franco-Flemish repertoire, and origins in the Alamire scriptorium all point to a different context for Vienna 18832.

The Fuggers’ acquisition of various Alamire manuscripts in diverse formats, repertoire, and number of voices suggests they may not have intended to use them all for performance, but were instead more interested in collecting these sources. Raimund Fugger the Elder’s extensive collection of music books, comprising both manuscripts and prints of vocal and instrumental music, presents him more as a collector than a practicing musician. Within the collection, there does not seem to be a focus on any specific genre or texture that could point to Raimund’s taste or

³⁶ Theodor Dieter, “Another Quincentennial: The Diet and Edict of Worms (1521),” *Lutheran Quarterly* 35 (2021): 1–17, at 6.

³⁷ Elizabeth S. Lott and Brian Alexander Pavlac, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2019), 293.

skills as a performer. While other members of the family, namely Georg and Octavianus Secundus Fugger left behind books of lute tablatures that they copied and studied, there are no records pertaining to the use of sources from Raimund the Elder's collection by any member of the family.³⁸ A similar situation applies to Raimund the Younger's instrument collection, which was the largest documented collection of the sixteenth century and the largest lute collection in history. Douglas Smith suggests that we do not know specifically who used these instruments, unlike those owned by other Fuggers who studied music.³⁹

As a wealthy family, the Fuggers may have viewed Alamire's manuscripts as collectible objects rather than functional musical sources, purchasing many and treating them as a marker of their wealth. While the Alamire manuscripts owned by the Fuggers are unlike the lavish choirbooks gifted to noble patrons, they are still considerably valuable objects of their time, as understood from how well the activities and outputs of their scriptorium are documented compared to that of other scribes. In response to the Fuggers' interest in acquiring multiple manuscripts, Alamire may have approached the commission as a commercial endeavor, producing manuscripts quickly and with less decoration or functional specificity. This reframes Vienna 18832 as a collectible object valued despite its lack of decoration, as opposed to a manuscript intended for performance in the Fugger household. The absence of text in the partbooks, then, should not be interpreted as a sign of intended instrumental use, but rather as evidence of the various roles music manuscripts could play in the early sixteenth century—in this case, functioning as artifacts that gain value from being part of a collection.

³⁸ Douglas Alton Smith, "The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymund Fugger," *The Galpin Society Journal* 33 (March 1980): 36–44. The lute tablatures used by Georg and Octavianus Secundus Fugger are Vienna 18790 and 18821, respectively.

³⁹ Smith, "The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymund Fugger," 36.

Historiography

Once we recognize that among early sixteenth-century musical sources Vienna 18832 constitutes a category of its own, we can situate it within broader conversations about manuscript culture in the early stages of music printing. Chronologically Vienna 18832 belongs to a time when manuscripts were valued as objects specifically due to their medium. While printed music books were rapidly gaining popularity and redefining the norms of book-making and transmission, as well as the dissemination of musical repertoire, purchasing manuscripts as opposed to prints meant that the medium was favored for its handmade nature with what must have been little concern for the price. Alamire's partbooks are chronologically late enough that their makers would have had access to printed materials, and so the choice to purchase manuscripts was exactly that—a choice.

Attributions Reconsidered

Among the most striking features of Vienna 18832 and its counterpart, Munich 260, is the absence of attributions. Across the two books, only five pieces name their composer, and most works are identifiable only through concordant sources. This is surprising because it has long made it challenging to identify the repertoire in Vienna 18832, but had we been able otherwise locate the origins of the duos, we would have likely been less concerned about the lack of attributions. Taking a step back and looking at other manuscripts from the period, we find that the absence of composers' names from sources is not a situation unique to Vienna 18832 and Munich 260. Zoe Saunders has shown that anonymity in Alamire manuscripts is a byproduct of scribal practices, and that the only pattern among the outputs of the scriptorium is the regularity in ascriptions in earlier manuscripts (produced before 1518) and irregularity in the later ones.⁴⁰ On the basis that

⁴⁰ Zoe Saunders, "Anonymity and Ascription in the Alamire Manuscripts," *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 67 (2013): 247–81.

ascriptions across other Alamire partbooks are haphazard at best and that Vienna 18832 reminds more closely of those sources than prints, the absence of composers' names from Vienna 18832 can be viewed as the immediate influence of other Alamire manuscripts and the workshop's practices.

A similar case can be made for the absence of text and the names of pieces from Vienna 18832; this way, the manuscript puts less emphasis on its contents and does not present itself as a book made with the intention to disseminate repertoire for performance purposes. Instead, it aims to bring together pieces and excerpts of pieces that have the same number of voices, with the identifying information of the repertoire carrying less weight than its texture. Perhaps because many of the duos in Vienna 18832 are excerpts (although that is impossible to tell by just looking at the partbooks) it is not so suitable to give them the titles of complete, much larger works. This helps bring together the otherwise disparate strands of the manuscript's physical features and musical material. These features coexist in one source precisely because Vienna 18832 is less part of an established tradition than other duo sources, and does not need to conform to the kinds of manuscripts that came before it, nor is it obligated to serve a specific performance function in the hands of its recipients. As a result, there is less pressure on how the partbooks present themselves, both visually and in terms of content. While this leaves less explicit information to interpret, it invites a broader reconsideration of what a manuscript could be and the roles it could have played in the early sixteenth century.

Conclusions

What has long made Vienna 18832 difficult to interpret is precisely what makes it valuable: it pushes against conventional classifications and challenges us to rethink how we approach

sources that establish their own context. The granular details of the manuscripts are not ends in themselves but clues to the broader discussions on how musical sources were produced and used. These details must inform, not eclipse, the larger picture. For Vienna 18832, that picture looks markedly different from the one put forward several decades ago. Rather than subsuming the manuscript under categories that emerged later—whether instrumental, didactic, or otherwise—we must take seriously the possibility that it represents a different style and genre of music altogether. As such, this pair of partbooks warrants a study on its own terms, rather than being interpreted through the lens of more familiar sixteenth-century sources. Doing so shifts our focus to the motivations of those who assembled a collection dedicated entirely to duo music and others who purchased and consumed this music that emerged as a genre of its own in the decades that followed. Ultimately, studying manuscripts from the early sixteenth century is reading material evidence for what it reveals not only about the musical activity from the period, but about the people who made, collected, and engaged with them. When we let the books speak before the frameworks, we find a more varied and still largely unexplored picture of musical life during the Renaissance that once had room for outliers like Vienna 18832.

Manuscript Sigla

Annaberg 1248	Annaberg, Bibliothek der Annenkirche, MS 1248
Barcelona 5	Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català, MS 5
Barcelona 454	Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, M454
Bartfa 22	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MS 22
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Berlin 40091	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus. 40091
Berlin 40634	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, MS Mus. 40634
Bologna Q19	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q19
Brussels IV.922	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV.922
Brussels 215–216	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, MS 215–216
Brussels 6428	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, MS 6428
Brussels 9126	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9126
Brussels 15075	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, MS 15075
Budapest 8	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MS 8a–d
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Cambrai 18	Cambrai, Le Labo, MS 18
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Coimbra 2	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.2
Copenhagen 1848-2	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny kongelige Samling, MS 1848°2
's-Hertogenbosch 153	's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MS 153
's-Hertogenbosch 155	's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MS 155
Jena 2	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 2
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Leipzig 51	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Thomaskirche 51
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London 4911	London, British Library, MS 4911
Mechelen s.s.	Mechelen, Stadsarchief van Mechelen, s.s.
Milan 2267	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, MS 2267
Milan 46	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS E.46 Inf.
Modena 4	Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare di Modena, MS Mus. IV
Montserrat 773	Montserrat, Monasterio de Santa Maria, MS 773
Munich 239	Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 2° Art. 239
Munich 260	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 260
Munich 510	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 510
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Rostock 71/3	Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Mus. Saex. XVI–71/3(1–2)
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Stuttgart 46	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Mus. I 2° 46

Toledo 9	Toledo, Archivio y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana, Ms. 9
Toledo 16	Toledo, Archivio y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana, Ms. 16
Toledo 19	Toledo, Archivio y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana, Ms. 19
Toledo 27	Toledo, Archivio y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana, Ms. 27
Uppsala 76b	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76b
Uppsala 76c	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76c
Vatican XII.2	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Giulia XII.2
Vatican 16	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Sistina 16
Vatican 23	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Sistina 23
Vatican 26	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Sistina 26
Vatican 34	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Sistina 34
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Vatican 41	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Sistina 41
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Vatican 160	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Sistina 160
Vatican 234	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C.VIII.234
Vatican 1980	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1980
Vatican 1982	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1982
Verona 756	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLVI
Vienna 1783	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 1783
Vienna 4809	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 4809
Vienna 4810	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 4810

Vienna 9814	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 9814
Vienna 11778	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 11778
Vienna 11883	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 11883
Vienna 15495	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 15495
Vienna 15497	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 15497
Vienna 15941	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 15941
Vienna 18746	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 18746
Vienna 18790	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 18790
Vienna 18821	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 18821
Vienna 18825	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 18825
Vienna 18832	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 18832

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Appendix A Vienna 18832

Foliation follows the upper voice partbook.

Gath.	Folio	Piece	Attribution	Voice Parts in Full Work*	In Munich 260	Concordances with Alamire Manuscripts
Blank gathering I	1r–6v	<i>blank</i>				
	7r	<i>blank</i>				
Gathering I	7v–8v	Missa Malheur me bat: Benedictus	[Agricola]	S-CT	Yes	Brussels 9126; Vienna 1783
	8v–9v	Missa Pange lingua: Pleni sunt caeli	[Josquin]	S-A	Yes	Brussels IV.922; Jena 21; Vienna 4809
	9v–10r	Missa Pange lingua: Agnus Dei II		S-A	Yes	Brussels IV.922; Jena 21; Vienna 4809
	10r–10v	Missa La sol fa re mi: Agnus Dei II	[Josquin]	S-A		Vienna 11778
	10v–11r	Missa Gaudeamus: Agnus Dei II	[Josquin]	S-S		
	11r–11v	Missa Pange lingua: Benedictus	[Josquin]	T-B	Yes	Brussels IV.922; Jena 21; Vienna 4809
	11v–12r	Missa Gaudeamus: Benedictus	[Josquin]	T-B		Vienna 11778
	12r–12v	Missa Malheur me bat: Et resurrexit	[Agricola]	CT-B		Brussels 9126; Vienna 1783
	13r	Missa Ista est speciosa: Pleni sunt caeli	[La Rue]		Yes	Brussels 6428, 15075; Jena 2, 4; Vienna 15497; Vatican 34
	13v–14r	Magnificat quarti toni: Esurientes implevit bonis	[Agricola]	S-CT	Yes	
	14r–14v	Missa Feria: Agnus Dei II	[La Rue]	D-C	Yes	Brussels 15075; Jena 5; Vatican 34; Mechelen s.s.; Montserrat 773
	14v–15r	Missa Salve diva parens: Credo - Qui cum patre	[Obrecht]			Verona 756; Vienna 15495
	15r–15v	Unidentified				
	15v–16r	Magnificat: Esurientes			Yes	
	16v–22v	<i>blank staves</i>				
Gathering 2	23r	<i>blank</i>				
	23v–24r	Unidentified	[Févin]			
	24v–25r	Missa Mente tota tibi: Agnus Dei II		S-A		Jena 3; Vienna 15495
	25r–25v	Missa Mente tota tibi: Benedictus		S-T	Yes	Jena 3; Vienna 15495
	25v–26r	Unidentified				
	26r–26v	Missa Mente tota tibi: Pleni sunt caeli	[Févin]	A-B	Yes	Jena 3; Vienna 15495
	26v–27r	Unidentified				
	27r	Unidentified				
	27r–27v	Unidentified				
	27v	Unidentified				
	28r	Missa Ad placitum: Pleni sunt caeli	[Févin]		Yes	Vienna 4810
	28v	Missa Ad placitum: Benedictus			Yes	Vienna 4810
	29r–29v	Magnificat primi toni: Sicut locutus			Yes	
	29v	Omnes qui pie volunt				
	30r	Unidentified				
	30r–30v	Missa Septem doloribus (à 5): Pleni sunt caeli	[La Rue]	D-C		Brussels 215-216, 6428, 15075; Jena 4; Vatican 36
	31r–31v	Missa In Mynen zyn: Domine Deus	[Agricola]	S-CT		Brussels 9126; Vatican 234
	31v–32r	Missa Feria: Pleni sunt caeli	[Févin] [Gasconne]	A-B		s-Hertogenbosch 153; Jena 2, 4
	32v	Missa Feria: Agnus Dei II		S-A		s-Hertogenbosch 153; Jena 2, 4
	33r	Magnificat Septimi toni: Fecit potentiam	[Compère]	S-T		Jena 20
	33v–34r	Magnificat Septimi toni: Esurientes		CT-B		
	34r–34v	Unidentified				
	34v–36r	Unidentified				
	36v–37r	Missa Fors seullement: Benedictus	[Obrecht]			
	37v	Unidentified				
	38r–38v	<i>blank staves</i>				
Gathering 3	39r	<i>blank</i>				
	39v–40r	Missa Je ne serai plus: Benedictus	[Obrecht]		Yes	
	40r–40v	Num stultum est mortem	[La Rue]		Yes	
	41r	Unidentified				
	41v–42r	Benedictus, unidentified Mass	[Ferrara] [Brumel]		Yes	
	42r–43r	Agnus Dei			Yes; twice	
	43r–44r	Unidentified				
	44r–45r	Benedictus			Yes	
	45r	Unidentified, Magnificat Secundi toni				
	45v	Unidentified, Magnificat Secundi toni				
	46r–46v	Magnificat Secundi Toni: Esurientes	[Benito] [Brumel]	A-B		
	46v–47r	Missa Ein frölich Wesen: Pleni sunt caeli	[Isaac]	D-A		Verona 756
	47v–48r	Unidentified				
	48v	Missa Je n'ai deul: Benedictus	[Brumel]	T-B		
	48v–49r	Unidentified				
	49v–52v	<i>blank staves</i>				

Gath.	Folio	Concordances with Other Manuscripts	Concordances with Pre-dating prints
Blank gathering I	1r–6v	<i>blank</i>	
Gathering I	7r	<i>blank</i>	
	7v–8v		Petrucchi 1504
	8v–9v	Budapest 8; Leipzig 49; Milan 46; Munich 510; Regensburg C 100; Rostock 49, 71/3; Toledo 16; Vatican XII.2, 16, 26, 1980, 1982	
	9v–10r	Leipzig 49; Milan 46; Munich 510; Toledo 16; Vatican XII.2	
	10r–10v	Berlin 40091; Jena 32; Paris 851; Regensburg C 100, 220-222; Stuttgart 44; Toledo 19; Vatican 26, 41	Petrucchi 1502, 1516; Giunta, Pasoti, Dorico 1526
	10v–11r	Cambrai 18; Regensburg 220-222; Stuttgart 46; Toledo 27; Vatican 23	Petrucchi 1502, 1516; Giunta, Pasoti, Dorico 1526
	11r–11v	Leipzig 49; Milan 46; Munich 510; Regensburg C 100; Rostock 49, 71/3; Toledo 16; Vatican XII.2, 16, 26, 1980, 1982	
	11v–12r	Cambrai 18; Jena 32; Regensburg 220-222; Stuttgart 46; Toledo 27; Vatican 23	
	12r–12v		Petrucchi 1504
	13r		
	13v–14r	Annaberg 1248; Berlin 40021; Segovia s.s.	
	14r–14v		
	14v–15r	Barcelona 5; Leipzig 1494; Linz 529; London 4911; Vatican 51	Petrucchi 1503
	15r–15v		
	15v–16r		
	16v–22v	<i>blank staves</i>	
Gathering 2	23r	<i>blank</i>	
	23v–24r		
	24v–25r	Barcelona 454; Upssala 76b, 76c; Vatican XII.2; Vatican 16	Petrucchi 1515; Antico 1516
	25r–25v	Barcelona 454; Upssala 76b, 76c; Vatican XII.2; Vatican 16	Petrucchi 1515; Antico 1516
	25v–26r		
	26r–26v	Barcelona 454; Upssala 76b, 76c; Vatican XII.2; Vatican 16	Petrucchi 1515; Antico 1516
	26v–27r		
	27r		
	27r–27v		
	27v		
	28r	Bologna Q19	
	28v	Bologna Q19	
	29r–29v		
	29v		
	30r		
	30r–30v		
	31r–31v		
	31v–32r	Cambrai 4; Stuttgart 44; Uppsala 76b, 76c; Vatican 16, 1982	Antico 1516
	32v	Cambrai 4; Stuttgart 44; Uppsala 76b, 76c; Vatican 16, 1982	Antico 1516
	33r	Bartfâ 22	
	33v–34r		
	34r–34v		
	34v–36r		
	36v–37r	Munich 239	
	37v		
	38r–38v	<i>blank staves</i>	
Gathering 3	39r	<i>blank</i>	
	39v–40r	Berlin 40021	
	40r–40v		
	41r		
	41v–42r		
	42r–43r		
	43r–44r		
	44r–45r		
	45r		
	45v		
	46r–46v	Barcelona 454; Copenhagen 1848-2; Kassel 9; Vatican 44	
	46v–47r	Basel F.IX.25; Berlin 40634	
	47v–48r		
	48v	St. Gall 462	Petrucchi 1503
	48v–49r		
	49v–52v	<i>blank staves</i>	

Gath.	Folio	Piece	Attribution	Voice Parts in Full Work	In Munich 260	Concordances with Alamire Manuscripts
Gathering 4	53r	<i>blank</i>				
	53v–54r	Unidentified				
	54r–54v	Missa Sancta Trinitas: Pleni sunt caeli	[Févin] [Mouton]	S-A		Coimbra 2; 's-Hertogenbosch 155; Vatican 160; Vienna 15497
	54v–55r					
	55r–55v	Missa Sancta Trinitas: Crucifixus	[Févin] [Mouton]	T-B		Coimbra 2; 's-Hertogenbosch 155; Vatican 160; Vienna 15497
	55v–56r	Unidentified				
	56r–56v	Missa Sancta Trinitas: Et resurrexit	[Févin] [Mouton]	S-A	Yes	Coimbra 2; 's-Hertogenbosch 155; Vatican 160; Vienna 15497
	56v–57r	Missa Sancta Trinitas: Agnus Dei II		S-A		Coimbra 2; 's-Hertogenbosch 155; Vatican 160; Vienna 15497
	57r–57v	Missa Sancta Trinitas: Benedictus		T-B		Coimbra 2; 's-Hertogenbosch 155; Vatican 160; Vienna 15497
	57v–58r	Unidentified				
	58r–58v	Unidentified				
	59r	Missa Pourquoi non: Pleni sunt caeli	[Gascogne]		Yes	
	59v	Missa Auditorium meum: Benedictus				
	60r	Missa Auditorium meum: Agnus Dei II				
	60r–60v	Missa Wohlauf: Gloria	[Isaac]			
	61r–61v	Unidentified				
	61v–62r	Missa Sine nomine: Benedictus	[Brumel]	T-B		Vienna 1783
	62v–63r	Unidentified				
	63r–63v	Unidentified				
	63v–64r	Unidentified				
	64v–65r	Magnificat quarti toni: Esurientes implevit bonis	[La Rue]	T-B		Jena 20
	65r–65v	Unidentified				
	65v–66r	Unidentified				
	66v–67r	Unidentified				
	67r	Missa du bon du coeur: Crucifixus	[Vinders] [Bauldeweyn]			
	67v–68r	Unidentified				
	68v–69r	Unidentified				
	69v	Unidentified				
	70r–70v	Unidentified				
	70v–76v	<i>blank staves</i>				
Gathering 5	77r	<i>blank</i>				
	77v–78r	Sicut cervus, Requiem Mass			Yes	
	78r–78v	Missa Si dederò: Pleni sunt caeli	[Divitis]	S-CT	Yes	Jena 7
	78v–79r	Agnus Dei			Yes; twice	
	79r–79v	Missa pro fidelibus defunctis (Requiem): Sicut cervus	[Divitis] [Févin]	T-B		Brussels IV.922; Jena 5; Vienna 15497
	80r–80v	Missa pro fidelibus defunctis (Requiem): Virga tua		S-A		Brussels IV.922; Jena 5; Vienna 15497
	80v–81r	Missa Je n'ai deul: Qui venit	[Brumel]	S-A		
	81r–81v	Missa Je n'ai deul: Pleni sunt caeli		S-A		
	81v–82v	Missa Malheur me bat: Agnus Dei II	[Josquin]	A-T	Yes	Brussels 9126; Jena 3; Vienna 4809
	83r–84v	<i>blank staves</i>				
Blank gathering II	85r–91v	<i>blank</i>				

*Based on available critical editions.

Gath.	Folio	Concordances with Other Manuscripts	Concordances with Pre-dating prints
Gathering 4	53r	<i>blank</i>	
	53v–54r		
	54r–54v		Petrucchi 1515
	54v–55r		
	55r–55v		Petrucchi 1515
	55v–56r		
	56r–56v		Petrucchi 1515
	56v–57r		Petrucchi 1515
	57r–57v		Petrucchi 1515
	57v–58r		
	58r–58v		
	59r	Cividale del Friuli 53	
	59v		
	60r		
	60r–60v	Munich 3154; Segovia s.s.	
	61r–61v		
	61v–62r	Jena 32, Milan 2267	
	62v–63r		
	63r–63v		
	63v–64r		
	64v–65r		
	65r–65v		
	65v–66r		
	66v–67r		
	67r		
	67v–68r		
	68v–69r		
	69v		
	70r–70v		
	70v–76v	<i>blank staves</i>	
Gathering 5	77r	<i>blank</i>	
	77v–78r		
	78r–78v		
	78v–79r		
	79r–79v		
	80r–80v		
	80v–81r	St. Gall 462	Petrucchi 1503
	81r–81v	St. Gall 462	Petrucchi 1503
	81v–82v	Basel F.IX.25; Leipzig 51; London 4911; Modena 4; Regensburg 220-222; Toledo 9; Vatican 23	Petrucchi 1505, 1515 (twice); Giunta, Pasoti, Dorico 1526
Blank gathering II	83r–84v	<i>blank staves</i>	
	85r–91v	<i>blank</i>	

Appendix B
Munich 260

Gath.	Folio	Piece	Attribution	Upper Voice Text	Lower Voice Text	Language
Blank gathering I	1r–4v	<i>blank</i>				
Gathering 1 (ff. 5–12)	5r	<i>blank</i>				
	5v–6r	Se dire ie losoye dont me vient le souffrir		Complete	Complete	French
	6v–7r	Summi regis sponsa digna cunctis	Barbe (6v)	Complete	Complete	Latin
	7v–8r	Salvatoris mater pia mundi huius spes		Complete	Complete	Latin
	7v–8r	In carne vale		Untexted	Untexted	Latin
	8v–9r	Inter spinas flos fuisti sic flos flori	Barbe (8v)	Complete	Complete	Latin
	9v–10r	Salvatoris mater pia mundi huius spes		Complete	Complete	Latin
	9v–10r	Ave virgo virginum ave lumen luminum		Complete	Complete	Latin
	10v–11r	Benedicta es: Per illud ave prolatum et tuum		Complete	Complete	Latin
	10v–11r	Missa Pourquoi non: Pleni sunt caeli	[Gascogne]	Complete	Complete	Latin
	11v–12r	Missa O intemerata virgo: Benedictus		Complete	Complete	Latin
	11v–12r	Missa O intemerata virgo: Crucifixus		Complete	Complete	Latin
	12v–13r	Missa O intemerata virgo: Agnus Dei		Complete	Complete	Latin
	12v–13r	Missa Venerabili Sacramento: Benedictus	[Prioris]	Complete	Complete	Latin
Gathering 2 (ff. 13–20)	13v–14r	Missa Verbum bonum et suave: Domine fili	Mouton (14r)	Complete	Complete	Latin
	13v–14r	Missa Verbum bonum et suave: Crucifixus		Complete	Complete	Latin
	14v–15r	Missa Verbum bonum et suave: Pleni sunt caeli		Complete	Complete	Latin
	14v–15r	Missa Verbum bonum et suave: Agnus Dei II		Complete	Complete	Latin
	15v–16r	Missa Venerabili Sacramento: Pleni sunt caeli	[Prioris]	Complete	Complete	Latin
	15v–16r	Missa Venerabili Sacramento: Agnus Dei II		Complete	Complete	Latin
	16v–17r	Missa Pange lingua: Pleni sunt caeli	Josquin (16v)	Complete	Complete	Latin
	17v–18r	Missa Pange lingua: Benedictus		Complete	Complete	Latin
	17v–18r	Missa Pange lingua: Agnus Dei II		Complete	Complete	Latin
	18v–19r	Pleni sunt caeli		Complete	Complete	Latin
	18v–19r	Agnus Dei		Complete	Complete	Latin
	19v–20r	Missa Pourquoi non: Crucifixus	[Gascogne]	Complete	Complete	Latin
	19v–20r	Missa Pourquoi non: Agnus Dei II		Complete	Complete	Latin
	20v–21r	Missa Dites-moi m'avés pensé: Pleni sunt caeli	[Févin]	Complete	Complete	Latin
	20v–21r	Missa Dites-moi m'avés pensé: Benedictus		Complete	Complete	Latin
	21v–22r	Missa Dites-moi m'avés pensé: Agnus Dei II		Complete	Complete	Latin
	21v–22r	Missa Alma Redemptoris Mater: Benedictus	[Mouton]	Complete	Complete	Latin
	22v–23r	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria		Complete	Complete	Latin
	22v–23r	Pleni sunt caeli		Complete	Complete	Latin
Gathering 3 (ff. 21–28)	23v–24r	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis	[Rein]	Complete	Complete	Latin
	23v–24r	Agnus Dei		Complete	Complete	Latin
	24v–25r	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria		Complete	Complete	Latin
	24v–25r	Missa Es hat ein Sinn: Domine Deus agnus Dei	[Gascogne]	Complete	Complete	Latin
	25v–26r	Missa Es hat ein Sinn: Crucifixus		Complete	Complete	Latin
	25v–26r	Missa Es hat ein Sinn: Et resurrexit tertia die		Complete	Complete	Latin
	26v–27r	Missa Es hat ein Sinn: Pleni sunt caeli		Complete	Complete	Latin
	26v–27r	Missa Es hat ein Sinn: Agnus Dei II		Complete	Complete	Latin
	27v–28r	Verbum caro: In principio erat verbum	[Josquin] [Appelenzer]	Complete	Complete	Latin
	28v–29r	Qui edunt me adhuc esurient et qui bibunt		Complete	Complete	Latin
	28v–29r	Missa Sancta Trinitas: Et resurrexit	[Févin] [Mouton]	Complete	Complete	Latin
Gathering 4 (ff. 29–36)	29v–30r	Missa Malheur me bat: Benedictus	[Agricola]	Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	30v–31r	Missa Feria: Agnus Dei II	[La Rue]	Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	30v–31r	Magnificat Quarti Toni: Esurientes		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	31v–32r	Missa Je ne seray plus: Sanctus		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	32v–33r	Le renvoye	[La Rue] [Compere]	Incipit	Incipit	French

Gath.	Folio	Piece	Attribution	Upper Voice Text	Lower Voice Text	Language
Gathering 4 (cont'd) *f. 37 is separated	33v–34r	Agnus Dei = Benedictus, Dominus dissipat consilia gentium	[Brumel] [Jean of Ferrara]	Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	34v–35r	Benedictus qui venit in nomine		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	35v–36r	Agnus Dei		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	35v–36r	Agnus Dei		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	36v–37r*	Missa Si dedero: Pleni sunt caeli	[Divitis]	Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	36v–37r*	Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	37v*–38r	Missa Malheur me bat: Agnus Dei	[Josquin]	Incipit	Incipit	Latin
Gathering 5 (ff. 38–43)	38v–39r	Missa Mente tota tibi: Benedictus	[Févin]	Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	38v–39r	Missa Mente tota tibi: Pleni sunt caeli		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	39v–40r	In mynem zin heb ic vercooren		Incipit	Incipit	Dutch
	40v–41r	Ryc god wien sal ic claghen		Incipit	Incipit	Dutch
	41v–42r	Agnus Dei		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	42v–43r	Agnus Dei		Complete	Complete	Latin
	42v–43r	Agnus Dei		Complete	Complete	Latin
	43v–44r	Missa Ista est speciosa (à 5): Pleni sunt caeli	[La Rue]	Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	43v–44r	Magnificat quarti toni: Et exultavit	[Brumel] [Agricola]	Incipit	Incipit	Latin
Gathering 6 (ff. 44–51)	44v–45r	Plaisir n'ai plus mais vis en desconfort		Incipit	Incipit	French
	44v–45r	Jouissance vous donnerai, mon ami		Incipit	Incipit	French
	45v–46r	Le coeur de vous ma présence désire		Incipit	Incipit	French
	45v–46r	Le contente est riche en ce monde		Incipit	Incipit	French
	46v–47r	Ami, souffre que ie vous aime		Incipit	Incipit	French
	46v–47r	Unidentified, "duo"		Untexted	Untexted	
	47v–48r	Ick seck adieu wy twe wy moeten scheiden		Incipit	Incipit	Dutch
	48v–49r	Magnificat primi toni: Sicut locutus est		Incipit	Incipit	Latin
	49v	De mon triste desplaisir a vous belle (upper voice only)		Incipit		French
	50r	<i>blank</i>				
	50v–51r	Amour partes je vous donne la chasce	[Le Heurteur]	Complete	Incipit	French
	50v–51r	D'amour je suis desherite et plaindre	[Sermisy]	Complete	Incipit	French
	51v–52r	Content desir qui cause ma douleur	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	51v–52r	Ces facheux sont qui maldisant daymer	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
Gathering 7 (ff. 52–57)	52v–53r	De mon ami je suis absente las quand sera	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	52v–53r	Vivre ne puis content sans sa présence	[Gardano] [Sermisy]	Complete	Incipit	French
	53v–54r	Disant hellas fortune hellas grief	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	53v–54r	Se j'ai eu du mal ou du bien dieu	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	54v–55r	La fortune de toi je fais mes plaintes	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	54v–55r	Une sans plus je veux aymer	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	55v–56r	Si mon malheur my continue je ne seay pas	[Peletier] [Sermisy]	Incipit	Complete	French
	55v–56r	Souvent amour me livre grand tourment	[Peletier]	Incipit	Complete	French
	56v–57r	Ta bonne grace et maintien gracieux	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	56v–57r	Il me convient en tous temps et saison	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	57v–58r	Mon petit coeur n'est point a moi	[Le Heurteur] [Sermisy]	Complete	Incipit	French
	57v–58r	Las voules vous que une personne chante	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
Gathering 8 (ff. 58–65)	58v–59r	Robin viendra tu a la veille sy tuy	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	58v–59r	Naurage jamais resconfort	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	59v–60r	Entre vous gentils galans qui demenes	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	59v–60r	De jour en jour tu me fais consumer	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	60v–61r	My larez vous tousiours languir mon bien		Complete	Incipit	French
	60v–61r	Aye pitie du grant mal que iendure	[Sermisy]	Complete	Incipit	French
	61v–62r	Qui la voudra souhaite que ie meure	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	61v–62r	Grace vertu beaulte bonte noblesse	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	62v–63r	Or vrai dieu quil est enuieulx celuy	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	62v–63r	Jouissance vous donnerai, mon ami	[Gardano]	Complete	Incipit	French
	63v–64r	Lon ma donne le bruit et renommee		Incipit	Incipit	French
	64v–65r	Puisque j'ai mis tout mon entendement		Complete	Complete	French
	65v–66r	Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ		4 parts, complete text		German

Gath.	Folio	Piece	Attribution	Upper Voice Text	Lower Voice Text	Language
Gathering 9 (ff. 66–73)	66v–67r	Gelobet seist Du, Jesu Christ, dass Du Mensch		4 parts, complete text		German
	67v–68r	Gelobet seist Du, Jesu Christ, dass Du Mensch		4 parts, complete text		German
	68v–69r	In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr, hilf		4 parts, complete text		German
	69v–73v	<i>blank staves</i>				
Blank gathering II	74r–81v	<i>blank</i>				
Blank gathering III	82r–89v	<i>blank</i>				