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BONFIRE SONGS

Savonarola's Musical Legacy



PATRICK MACEY



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Fra Girolamo Savonarola had a profound effect on the political and moral life of Florence in the 1490s, and his legacy lived on during the century after his execution in 1498, not just in Florence but in Ferrara and beyond the Alps, as far as Paris, Munich, and London. This study reconstructs contexts and musical settings for the popular tradition of sacred *laude* that were sung during the Savonarolan carnivals in 1496, 1497, and 1498. It further examines a broad network of patronage for the courtly tradition of Latin motets that provided elaborate musical settings for Savonarola's meditations on Psalms 30 and 50. The friar's success in Florence can be partially attributed to his adoption of sacred *laude* (and the tunes of bawdy carnival songs) that had been promoted by Lorenzo de' Medici. The texts of the old carnival songs were suppressed, but the music was adapted to *laude* with texts that proclaim the friar's prophecy of castigation and renewal. The citizens could thus internalize Savonarola's message by singing it. Savonarola himself wrote several *lauda* texts, and their musical settings are reconstructed here, as well as those for an underground tradition of *laude* written to venerate him after his execution.

Part II turns to the courtly tradition and the Latin motet. Several Catholic patrons, scattered from Ferrara to France to England, were drawn to the friar's prison meditations on Psalms 30 and 50, and they commissioned elaborate musical settings of the opening words of both. A dozen motets and English verse anthems on the friar's psalm meditations can be traced from composers such as Willaert, Rore, Clemens, Le Jeune, Byrd, Mundy, and Ravenscroft. Savonarola's highly personal texts inspired some of the most moving musical settings of the sixteenth century, in spite of the Church's unfavourable attitude toward the friar's disruptive example, which had set a precedent for Protestant reformers such as Martin Luther.

The book includes a compact disc of performances by the Eastman Capella Antiqua of a number of the works discussed in the text. (For a complete list see back flap.)

Patrick Macey is Associate Professor of Musicology, Eastman School of Music, of the University of Rochester, New York.

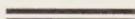
Jacket illustration: Anon., Execution of Savonarola and Two Companions in the Piazza della Signoria, Museo di San Marco, Florence, Scala/Art Resource, New York.

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Bonfire Songs

Savonarola's Musical Legacy



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A portion of Chapter 4 and much of Chapter 5 appeared as 'The Lauda and the Cult of Savonarola' in *Renaissance Quarterly*, volume 45 (1992), and the editors have graciously given permission to reprint the material here.

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During the past several years the members of the Eastman Capella Antiqua have performed much of the music discussed here. The singers who perform on the enclosed compact disc are drawn from this group, and they have my gratitude for their dedication and good will during the long hours of recording, especially Joseph Finetti, Jeffrey Harp, Betsy Hoats, Colleen Liggett, and Elizabeth Phillips. For use of Christ Church in Rochester I thank Father Linwood Garrenton. Charlie Speed, the recording engineer, gave tirelessly of his time and expertise, and it was a delight to work with him and the mastering engineer, Laurie Flannery. My thanks also to the Eastman School of Music for funding a portion of the production costs for the compact disc.

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3. Lorenzo de' Medici, <i>Berricuocoli donne e confortini</i> (carnival song) (a, c, g, l)	1:05
4. Anon., <i>Viva, viva in nostro core</i> (a, g, l)	1:33
5. Filippo Cioni, <i>Viva Cristo e chi li crede</i> (c, a, g)	1:02
6. Girolamo Benivieni, <i>Viva ne' nostri cuori</i> (c, g, l)	1:55
7. Anon., <i>Voi toccate la chiavetta</i> (c, b, g, l)	:56
8. Girolamo Benivieni, <i>Non fu mai el più bel solazzo</i> (c, b)	2:26
9. Girolamo Benivieni, <i>Io vo darti anima mia</i> (a, c)	1:00
10. Fra Girolamo Savonarola, <i>Giesù sommo conforto</i> (c, b, g)	1:18
11. Savonarola, <i>Che fai qui, core?</i> (a, c, g)	:50
12. Savonarola, <i>In su quell'aspro monte</i> (b, g, l; a, c, h)	:58
13. Savonarola, <i>Giesù dolce conforto</i> (c, b, l)	2:33
14. Savonarola, <i>Alma che sì gentile</i> (a, g, j)	2:06
15. Fra Luca Bettini, <i>Ecce quam bonum</i> (c, h)	2:27
16. Fra Benedetto Luschino, <i>La carità è spenta</i> (b; a, c, g, h, l)	1:08
17. Suor Caterina de' Ricci, <i>Da che tu m'hai dimostro</i> (c, b)	3:08
18. Responsory, <i>Ecce quomodo moritur</i> (c, b, g, l)	1:41
19. Fra Serafino Razzi, <i>Vergini deh lasciate</i> (a, c, g, l)	1:01
20. Fra Serafino Razzi, <i>Piangendo i miei peccati</i> (a, c, g)	1:16

Motets

21. Jean Richafort, <i>O quam dulcis/Ecce quam bonum</i> (c, g, h, l)	3:52
22. Philippe Verdelot, <i>Letamini in domino/Ecce quam bonum</i> (a, c, h, g, i, l)	2:41
23. Adrian Willaert, <i>Infelix ego</i> (a, c, d, g, k, l)	8:41
24. Simon Joly, <i>Infelix ego</i> (a, c, g, l)	6:18

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- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 25. | Claude Le Jeune, <i>Tristitia obsedit me</i> (c, d, e, g, l) | 6:07 |
| 26. | Clemens non Papa, <i>Tristitia obsedit me</i> (c, b, g, l) | 7:22 |

English Song, and Verse Anthem

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------|
| 27. | William Hunnis, <i>Ah helples wretch</i> (a, m) | 4:14 |
| 28. | William Mundy, <i>Ah helples wretch</i> (g; c, f, h, l, n) | 4:46 |
| | playing time: | 75:27 |

Eastman Capella Antiqua, Patrick Macey, director

- Betsy Hoats, soprano (a)
- Colleen Liggett, soprano (b)
- Elizabeth Phillips, soprano (c)
- Katia Escalera, mezzo soprano (d)
- Tami Petty, mezzo soprano (e)
- Lloyd Peasley, countertenor (f)
- Jeffrey Harp, tenor (g)
- Brad Peloquin, tenor (h)
- Troy Cook, baritone (i)
- Hugh Russell, baritone (j)
- Nathaniel Webster, baritone (k)
- Joseph Finetti, bass (l)
- Paul O'Dette, lute (m)
- Antonius Bittmann, organ (n)

Engineer: Charlie Speed

Editing: Laurie Flannery

Recorded 19–22 April, 5 May, and 21 June 1997 in Christ Church, Rochester, New York

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AcM</i>	<i>Acta musicologica</i>
AIM	American Institute of Musicology
AGOP	Archivio Generalizio dell'Ordine dei Predicatori, Santa Sabina, Rome
<i>AnMc</i>	<i>Analecta musicologica</i>
<i>AnnM</i>	<i>Annales musicologiques</i>
Ant.	Antinori
BAF	Biblioteca Ariostea, Ferrara
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BMF	Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence
BMLF	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
BMV	Biblioteca Marciana, Venice
BNF	Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence
B.R.	Banco Rari
BRF	Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence
BSL	Biblioteca Statale, Lucca
cc	cantasi come (is sung to [the tune of such and such])
<i>CHM</i>	<i>Collectanea historiae musicae</i>
Conv. Sopp.	Conventi Soppressi
CS	Cappella Sistina
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> (Rome, 1960-)
EECM	Early English Church Music
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i>
ENOS	Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Girolamo Savonarola
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JM</i>	<i>Journal of Musicology</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>LU</i>	<i>Liber usualis missae et officii pro dominicis et festis duplicibus cum cantu Gregoriano</i> (Solesmes, 1896; later edns. include Tournai, 1963)
Magl.	Magliabechiano
<i>MD</i>	<i>Musica disciplina</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Musica and Letters</i>
MMRF	Monuments de la musique renaissance française

MQ	<i>Musical Quarterly</i>
NGD	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> (London, 1980)
Pal.	Palatino
Panc.	Panciaticchiano
PRMA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
RBM	<i>Revue belge de musicologie</i>
RdM	<i>Revue de musicologie</i>
RIM	<i>Rivista italiana di musicologia</i>
RQ	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
STC	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640</i> , ed. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (2nd edn. rev., London, 1986)
TVNM	<i>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis</i>

Abbreviations for Vocal Parts

C	Cantus
S	Superius
A	Altus
M	Medius
CT	Contratenor
T	Tenor
B	Bassus
5	Quintus
6	Sextus

INTRODUCTION

The millennium is in the air, as it was five hundred years ago when Fra Girolamo Savonarola preached to vast Florentine crowds, held spellbound as he shouted with all the vehemence of an Old Testament prophet: 'Behold God's sword over the earth—[it will fall] soon and swiftly!' ('Ecce gladius domini super terram cito et velociter!').¹ Over and over he cried out to his listeners, first in Latin and then in Italian, 'Do penance!' ('Agite poenitentiam—Fate penitenzia!').² Despite such dire warnings, the friar offered hope: after a period of terror and tribulation the Church would emerge renewed, the Turks would be converted to Christianity, peace and brotherly love would prevail, and Christ would return to begin a thousand-year reign on earth. He did not live to see the arrival of the millennium in 1500, however; rather, his fanaticism and intolerance polarized Florence into violently opposed factions and his defiance of the pope's repeated orders to cease preaching eventually resulted in his excommunication. He was arrested and tried for heresy, and finally, on 23 May 1498, he was hanged and burnt at the stake. But the execution could not extinguish the friar's prophetic message; on the contrary, the spectacle electrified Europe, and his followers kept vigilant watch for events that could be seen to fulfil his predictions.³

Savonarola stands as a seminal figure for early modern Europe. His challenges to the existing social, political, and religious order served as one of the catalysts for the turbulent shifts of power that rocked Italy and the rest of Europe in the sixteenth century, from the series of disastrous wars waged by France and the Empire on Italian soil beginning in the 1490s and lasting until the 1550s, to the sack of Rome by Imperial troops in 1527, from the Reformation initiated by Martin Luther in 1517, to the establishment of the last Florentine Republic in the 1520s. For example, in 1494 Savonarola welcomed the French king (and his army) as God's agent for the imminent reform of the Church, and predicted that during the coming tribulations Rome would be singled out above all for God's scourging wrath. The sack

¹ Savonarola delivered his warning in many sermons, especially in Advent 1494 and in 1495; see Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Aggeo*, ed. L. Firpo (ENOS; Rome, 1965), 12, 15; idem, *Prediche sopra i Salmi*, ed. V. Romano (ENOS; Rome, 1969), i, 37, 56, 110, 214, 236.

² See the opening sermon for Advent, 1 Nov. 1494; id., *Prediche sopra Aggeo*, 3–4, 11, 13, 15, 18, 21.

³ The period from the 1490s to 1530 witnessed the rise of numerous prophets in Italy, among whom Savonarola was the most prominent; see O. Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1990).

of the Eternal City several decades later was regarded as fulfilment of his prophecy. In the north, Luther openly admired the friar as a saintly man, and the leaders of the Reformation in Germany and France enshrined him in their books of martyrs as a precursor of Church reform. And in Florence the friar's memory was openly celebrated when the Medici were expelled and the Republic re-established in 1527.

That music played an integral role in Savonarola's programme of reform in Florence has long been accepted, but no study has comprehensively explored the actual repertory of songs, nor examined how music helped to galvanize the Florentine populace in the friar's cause. Even less noticed has been the crucial role that music played in the underground cult of the friar in Dominican convents of nuns and friars, where his memory was venerated with the singing of songs written in his honour.⁴ Nor was it suspected that musical settings of Savonarola's own eleventh-hour meditations on Psalms 50 and 30 (Vulgate numbering) had been composed and sung throughout Europe, from Ferrara to Lyons, Paris, Munich, and London.⁵ In these meditations the friar poured out powerful and highly rhetorical utterances of penitence and sorrow, yet he found ultimate comfort from his suffering by casting himself on God's mercy. Such triumphant affirmation in the face of death and despair elicited the attention and respect of numerous aristocratic patrons, who commissioned musical settings of the friar's meditations that sought to dramatize and capture the anguished tones of this penitent sinner.

Much of the success of Savonarola's programme of political and social reform in Florence can be credited to his charismatic preaching to throngs of up to 14,000 packed into the Duomo. After the arrival of French troops and the expulsion of the Medici from Florence in November 1494, the chronicler Luca Landucci noted that 'Fra Girolamo did his utmost in the pulpit to persuade Florence to adopt a good form of government; he preached in Santa Maria del Fiore every day . . . about state matters, and that we ought to love and fear God, and love the common weal; and that no one must set himself up proudly above the rest. He always favoured the people.'⁶ Another essential element of the friar's success was his mobilization of the city's children and

⁴ The Savonarolan lauda repertory has been initially explored in P. Macey, 'The Lauda and the Cult of Savonarola', *RQ* 45 (1992), 439–83, and id., 'Infiamma il mio cor: Savonarolan Laude by and for Dominican Nuns in Tuscany', in C. A. Monson (ed.), *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor, 1992), 161–89.

⁵ Again this repertory has been initially mapped out in P. Macey, 'Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *JAMS* 36 (1983), 422–52.

⁶ 'Frate Girolamo molto s'afaticava in pergamo, che Firenze pigliassi una buona forma di governo, e predicava in Santa Maria del Fiore ogni giorno . . . tutta volta intorno al fatto dello Stato, e che si dovessi amare e temere Iddio, e amare el bene comune; e che niuno non volessi più levare el capo e farsi grande. Senpre [sic] favoriva el popolo . . .'; L. Landucci, *Diano fiorentino dal 1450 al 1516*, ed. I. Del Badia (Florence, 1883), 92–3; id., *A Florentine Diary from 1450 to 1516*, trans. A. de Rosen Jervis (London, 1927), 76.

adolescents, the *fanciulli*, in carnival celebrations transformed from traditional gaieties into impassioned religious observances. These new carnivals featured the infamous bonfires of vanities, and the revellers sang lively and tuneful *laude* (sacred songs in Italian, and occasionally Latin) as they joined hands and danced round the pyre. Hence one reason for the title of this book. The reference takes on a new twist, however, for when Savonarola's followers (dubbed *Piagnoni*, that is, weepers or 'big blubberers') composed *laude* in his memory they also evoked the bonfire, but now they referred to something quite different: the blaze that consumed the friar at the stake. Furthermore, Savonarola himself wrote two meditations, on Ps. 50 ('Have mercy on me, O God') and Ps. 30 ('In you, Lord, have I hoped'), and these helped him prepare to face the flames. Remarkably, several of the most eminent composers of the sixteenth century chose the opening words of these meditations for extended musical settings as Latin motets that can justifiably be called pre-bonfire songs.⁷

I have chosen to focus Part I on the popular tradition of the Italian lauda in Florence, while Part II treats the art tradition of the Latin motet and its patrons, and expands the geographical range beyond Florence to Ferrara and to centres north of the Alps. As for the lauda, it is designed for public performance, often outdoors or in a large enclosed space such as the Duomo of Florence, and the music reflects this function, with its emphasis on short, tuneful melodies and uncomplicated harmonies for two, three, or sometimes four voices. As Peter Burke has observed, Savonarola reached a vast audience with his message, and even though he was trained in the scholastic tradition, the nature of his preaching—and of the music-making that he promoted—is popular and not overly refined.⁸ The Latin motet on the other hand belongs to the art tradition and its musical style favours complex polyphony for four, five, and even six voices. The voices enter in imitation with the same melody one after the other in turn, and this staggered, overlapping delivery of the text, coupled with rather lengthy melodic phrases, requires skilled singers and the careful attention of the listener who desires to follow the musical discourse. Such music addresses an audience of connoisseurs gathered together in a quiet chamber or chapel. The string quartets of Haydn and Mozart offer an analogy from another century.

Slippage does of course occur between popular and elite repertoires.

⁷ The title of this book may at first glance remind the British reader of Bonfire Night or Guy Fawkes Day, but no connection is intended.

⁸ 'The friars were popular preachers in the sense that they deliberately appealed to the uneducated and often drew large audiences. Savonarola preached to tens of thousands at a time in Florence. Friars often preached in the open air, and men climbed trees or sat on rooftops to hear them. . . . The friars drew on the oral culture of their time. They preached in a colloquial style, making much use of puns, rhymes and alliteration, shouting and gesturing, drawing on folktales to illustrate their message, and composing songs for their congregations to sing'; P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978; Aldershot, rev. 1994), 70.

Departures from the popular style in Part I of this study, for example, appear in the musical settings for Savonarola's *Giesù dolce conforto e sommo bene*, and Caterina de' Ricci's *Da che tu m'hai dimostro tanto amore*, a lauda offered in thanks to the friar for appearing to her in a miraculous vision that healed her from a serious illness. The intimate lyric manner of these laude suggests, and even necessitates, performance within a reasonably small chamber, and the musical style, with its extended phrases, allies these works with an elite tradition. In the art tradition treated in Part II, on the other hand, Philippe Verdelot incorporates Savonarola's popular tune for the lauda *Ecce quam bonum* in his elaborate six-voice motet *Letamini in domino*. The musical style of this motet has direct appeal, with its clipped phrases and repetitive harmonies, and suggests that it functioned as public, possibly even outdoor, music.⁹ Another example of a kind of 'cross-over' in musical style appears in Josquin's setting of Ps. 50, *Miserere mei deus*, composed for Duke Ercole I d'Este, who closely followed and even emulated Savonarola's programme of reforms. Josquin created an intonation for the opening words in a stripped-down musical style that allows the words to emerge clearly, and that may represent his response to Savonarola's call for simplicity in music. Yet this unadorned intonation was later prominently quoted in other motets on the words *Infelix ego* ('Alas wretch that I am'), from Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, by composers such as Adrian Willaert, Cipriano de Rore, and Nicola Vicentino, who created complex settings in the best art tradition.

With regard to the popular repertory of the lauda itself, how does one go about reconstructing the music for pieces performed during Savonarola's time and after his death? While the repertory of Florentine carnival songs has been extensively studied, no similar effort has been undertaken to reconstruct the laude performed during the Savonarolan celebrations in the 1490s.¹⁰ Thousands of boys (and sometimes girls) regularly marched along the traditional processional routes of the city shouting 'Viva Cristo!', singing laude, and generally astonishing the populace with their new-found piety. But what in fact did they sing? I attempt to provide some answers by tracing the shift from the repertory of carnival songs in the 1470s and late 1480s

⁹ Edward E. Lowinsky first pointed to Savonarolan references in motets such as Verdelot's *Letamini in domino*, which quotes the Piagnone motto *Ecce quam bonum*, and in other settings of Ps. 30, *In te domine speravi*, in a set of partbooks copied in Florence in the 1520s; see 'A Newly Discovered Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome', *JAMS* 3 (1950), 173–232; revised in id., *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. B. J. Blackburn (Chicago, 1989), 433–82. H. Colin Slim pointed out other possible references to Savonarola in settings of Ps. 30 from another contemporary set of Florentine partbooks; see *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets* (Chicago, 1972), i. 55–6, 69–73.

¹⁰ I should like to acknowledge the important work of several scholars whose research aided my initial efforts in exploring the lauda repertory, especially the studies by Giulio Cattin, Frank A. D'Accone, and Blake Wilson cited in the bibliography.

under Lorenzo de' Medici, to laude in the time of Savonarola, along the way uncovering new musical settings for laude written by the friar's followers and for laude composed by Savonarola himself. The cult of the friar, with its attendant miracles and attempts by the Church to quash it, flourished right up to the end of the sixteenth century, with new laude venerating him appearing as late as the 1590s. When one listens to the stirring tunes for these laude, and studies their words, one can better understand the fervour and intensity that sustained the followers of the friar during the century after his death.

The lauda first emerged in thirteenth-century Italy along with the new mendicant orders founded by St Francis of Assisi and St Dominic. While some of the early laude for a single voice were preserved in musical notation, in the fifteenth century lauda singing was largely an oral tradition based on tunes familiar to the populace and learnt by ear. Thus recovery of the music can be difficult. Fortunately, Fra Serafino Razzi, a Dominican from Savonarola's convent of San Marco in Florence, collected a large number of settings for fifteenth-century laude and published them in his *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (Venice, 1563) as a means of preserving the music at a time when the oral tradition seemed in danger of dying out. Most of the music in this anthology is simple and tuneful, although it encompasses a wide variety of styles, explained by the fact that the lauda in the fifteenth century was democratic in its adaptation of music from a whole spectrum of secular songs. Many laude feature the instruction 'cantasi come' ('is sung like'), followed by the title of some well-known Italian love song, or French chanson, or even a bawdy carnival song. No matter; the lauda takes its music where it finds it and appropriates it for sacred use, just as Savonarola transformed the festival of carnival itself into a sacred observance. Above all, the music for the lauda represents the ideal espoused by the friar: the setting should be simple and allow the words to be heard clearly.

Part II turns to a different world, that of highly polished art music intended for performance in the privacy of an aristocratic chamber. Savonarola roundly condemned such elitist music, because in his eyes (or ears) it seduced the senses with fleeting external beauty, thus distracting the listener from true internal prayer. Yet his two prison meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 served as the basis for complex musical settings created for patrons in Italy and north of the Alps as well. At the head of this tradition stands the renowned setting of Ps. 50 by Josquin, composed around 1503 for Ercole I d'Este. Josquin probably drew inspiration from aspects of the form and tone of Savonarola's own meditation. Other French composers made settings of Savonarola's tune for the first verse of Ps. 132, *Ecce quam bonum* ('Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'), a

particularly millenarian verse that evoked a vision of the friar's followers in heaven.¹¹

The motets on Savonarola's psalm meditations, *Infelix ego* (on Ps. 50), and *Tristitia obsedit me* (on Ps. 30), as well as his motto, *Ecce quam bonum*, reveal various connections with prominent patrons of the sixteenth century, including King François I of France, two dukes of Ferrara, Ercole I and Ercole II d'Este, and two cardinals, Ippolito II d'Este, famous for building the Villa d'Este, and François de Tournon, trusted counsellor of François I. The major composers of the sixteenth century are featured in this portion of the book, which treats some one dozen musical settings of Savonarola's meditations. The motets on *Infelix ego* by composers such as Willaert, Rore, Lassus, and Byrd, and on *Tristitia obsedit me* by Clemens non Papa and Le Jeune, count among the most beautiful and rhetorically powerful music of the entire sixteenth century. And no wonder, for the friar's intensely personal texts, written on the point of death, were especially well suited to the new musical style introduced by Josquin, a style that sought to capture the listener's attention through rhetorical means and to express the words in a gripping and vivid manner. Savonarola himself would no doubt have disowned these elaborate motets, but ironically, their composers aspired to a level of musical persuasion that seems directly indebted to the intensity of the friar's own rhetorical style.

Aspects of politics and patronage help to explain the commissions for many of these motets. Just as Savonarola himself served as a catalyst for political and religious developments in the sixteenth century, the Este in Ferrara emerge as the primary impetus for a whole series of motets on Savonarola's texts. Duke Ercole II and his brother Cardinal Ippolito II apparently commissioned settings of the friar's psalm meditations, not only because he was a native son of Ferrara and their grandfather, Ercole I, had held him in high esteem, but also because they apparently wished to carry on a Ferrarese musical tradition inaugurated with Josquin's *Miserere mei deus*. Settings of Savonarola's psalm meditations by Willaert, Rore, Vicentino, Le Jeune, and, by extension, Lassus and Simon Joly, can be best understood in the light of patronage that emanated from Ferrara. A second strand of Savonarolan settings on his motto, *Ecce quam bonum*, can be traced to the French court, which had come into close contact with Italy during the Italian wars. In particular, Savonarola's designation of the French king as God's agent of religious reform in Italy caused the French to pay careful attention to the friar's pronouncements and

¹¹ For complete editions of the music for all the laude discussed in this book, along with all the stanzas of text and English translations, as well as editions of the motets not already available in reliable modern editions, including works by Richafort, Verdelot, Willaert, Simon Joly, Le Jeune, Clemens non Papa, and the English works by Hunnis, Mundy, and Ravenscroft, see *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems*, ed. P. Macey (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance; Madison, forthcoming).

to promote his memory, if for no other reason than political expediency. Finally, a third strand emerges in Elizabethan England, which witnessed settings in English translation of the friar's meditation on Ps. 50 (*Ah helples wretch*) by the Protestants William Hunnis, William Mundy, and Thomas Ravenscroft, all in an unadorned musical style that might just have elicited the grudging acceptance of the friar. These composers were conceivably prompted in part by the frequent appearance of Savonarola's meditation in English primers, no less than by Archbishop Cranmer's extraordinary use of the text at his execution. In contrast to the settings in English, William Byrd took possession of the text for English Catholics in his setting of the Latin version, *Infelix ego*, in full-blown polyphonic style for six voices.

The late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed extreme religious turbulence and uncertainty, and produced vivid music expressing the aspirations, supplications, and anxieties of a wide variety of individuals, from the exuberant fanciulli in Florence to the sophisticated Catholic dukes and cardinals of Ferrara and France, to the pious Elizabethans in England. This study seeks to illuminate the astonishing diversity of musical expression in the many different Savonarolan laude and motets by investigating their particular contexts and musical styles, from the rousing tunes of laude sung by the Piagnoni of Florence and then by Tuscan friars and nuns who venerated the friar after his death, to the highly rhetorical Latin motets created for elite patrons in the sixteenth century. While the various laude encapsulate the desires and demands for reform on the part of activists, the motets eloquently express the anguish and despair that Savonarola poured out in the isolation of his prison cell, and ultimately his affirmation of hope.

PART I

*The Popular Tradition:
Secular Song to Lauda*

I

Ecce quam bonum: Savonarola as *Prophet and Reformer*

The story begins in Ferrara, a north-Italian city on the fertile flatlands of the Po River delta, with sober brick buildings shrouding narrow medieval streets. The imposing castello stands guard above the city, anchored by four high towers and surrounded by a moat, and was once inhabited by the ruling Este family. Here in Ferrara Girolamo Savonarola was born on 21 September 1452, the grandson of Michele Savonarola, physician at the Este court, who had been brought there from Padua in the mid-fifteenth century by Marchese Niccolò III d'Este.¹ Michele Savonarola enjoyed renown not only as court physician, but also as lecturer at the University of Ferrara and author of several treatises on medicine. Girolamo came early under his tutelage, for the family wished him to follow his grandfather into the medical profession, which had provided them with their source of wealth. But with the older man's death around 1461, the boy turned to the study of philosophy, for which he demonstrated a special aptitude.²

Young Girolamo probably witnessed the pageantry surrounding the court of Borso d'Este, especially the magnificent receptions for Pope Pius II in 1459 and 1460 as he passed through Ferrara on his way to and from the Council of Mantua.³ More pageantry followed for Borso's elevation to the title of first duke of Ferrara in April 1471, just four months before his death. Then Girolamo witnessed the bloody rise to power of Duke Ercole I d'Este. The succession was disputed by other claimants, and by force of arms Ercole defeated his rival, whose adherents were summarily cut down in the streets.⁴ Later, in the 1490s, Girolamo would develop close contact with Ercole regarding religious reforms and political strategy, as the duke sought advice from the Ferrarese friar, who had become a prophet.

By 1472, when he had reached the age of 20, Girolamo had developed a

¹ On Savonarola's life, see P. Villari, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1887–8); in English as *Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola*, 2 vols., trans. L. Villari (New York, 1890); J. Schnitzer, *Savonarola*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1931); and R. Ridolfi, *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1952); in English as *The Life of Girolamo Savonarola*, trans. C. Grayson (New York, 1959). See also citations in M. Ferrara, *Nuova bibliografia savonaroliana* (Vaduz, 1981).

² Ridolfi, *Vita*, i. 6.

³ Villari, *La storia di Savonarola*, 9–10.

⁴ *Ibid.* 11.

notably sombre view of the world. In his first literary work, written in that year, he expressed his attitude in a canzone titled *De ruina mundi*.⁵ Stanzas 1 and 4 provide the essential picture:

Se non che pur è vero e così credo,
 rettor del mondo, che infinita sia
 tua providenzia; né già mai potria
 creder contra, perché *ab experto* el vedo;
 talor serìa via più che neve fredo,
 vedendo sottosopra volto el mondo
 ed esser spenta al fondo
 ogne virtute e ogne bel costume:
 non trovo un vivo lume,
 né pur ch'è de' soi vizi se vergogni;
 ch'è te nega, ch'è dice che tu sogni.

Felice or mai chi vive di rapina,
 e chi de l'altrui sangue più se pasce,
 chi vedoe spoglia e soi pupilli in fasce
 e chi di povri corre a la ruina!
 Quella anima è gentil e peregrina,
 che per fraude o per forza fa più acquisto,
 chi sprezza il ciel cum Cristo
 e sempre pensa altrui cacciar al fondo;
 colui onora el mondo,
 che ha pien di latrocinii libri e carte
 e chi d'ogne mal far sa meglio l'arte.⁶

Suppose that indeed it is true and thus I believe,
 Saviour of the world, that your providence
 is infinite; and I could never
 believe otherwise, because with experience I see it;
 at times I should be far colder than snow
 seeing the whole world turned upside down
 and all virtue and every good custom
 extinguished from the ground up:
 I do not find a living light,
 nor even anyone who is ashamed of his vices;
 some deny you, some say that you are dreaming.

Happy is now he who lives by robbery,
 and he who feeds on others' blood,
 who robs widows and the wards in their care
 and who drives the poor to ruin!
 That soul is regarded as refined and singular,

⁵ For the complete text, see G. Savonarola, *Poesie*, ed. M. Martelli (ENOS; Rome, 1968), 3-5. On the dating of the canzone, see the discussion of Savonarola's poetry below, Ch. 4.

⁶ Savonarola, *Poesie*, 3-5.

who acquires the most through fraud and through force,
 who scorns heaven and Christ,
 and always thinks how to run others to ground.
 The world honours him
 whose books and records are filled with accounts of robberies,
 and who knows best the art of perpetrating every evil.

This early work gives a clue to Savonarola's ascetic state of mind and his disgust with corruption and political oppression. Another early canzone, titled *De ruina ecclesiae*, expresses similar themes critical of the state of the Church.⁷ These themes played a central role in Savonarola's life, recurring again and again in his sermons delivered at the height of his career in Florence in the 1490s.

By 1472 Savonarola had decided to become a friar in the Dominican order (Pl. 1.1), to the utmost dismay of his parents, who had planned an illustrious career for their son. After fleeing Ferrara, he travelled to Bologna and entered the convent of San Domenico. During the 1470s and 1480s, the young friar was sent to several Dominican houses in Italy, and in 1482 he was appointed lecturer at the convent of San Marco in Florence.⁸ After preaching in convents and smaller churches in Florence for a few years, he was assigned in 1484 to preach the Lenten sermons in Brunelleschi's elegant basilica of San Lorenzo, the parish church of the Medici, but here he met little success. The friar's sermons, hampered by his faltering speech and rough Ferrarese accent, offended the refined ears of the Florentines.⁹ He seems to have ceased preaching until 1486, when he ventured out of Florence to San Gimignano to preach the Lenten cycle.¹⁰ By 1487 he had returned to the convent of San Domenico in Bologna, and there served as master of studies.¹¹ Then in 1490 he was called back to Florence by Lorenzo de' Medici at the urging of the poet Angelo Poliziano. Established at the convent of San Marco, where the Medici had close ties of patronage, and where, half a century earlier, Fra Angelico had painted his celebrated frescos of biblical scenes in each cell, Savonarola was charged with preaching to the populace. For Lent of 1491 he delivered his first cycle of sermons in the Duomo, Santa Maria del Fiore, crowned by Brunelleschi's vast dome, and here he surprised the Florentine populace with the vehemence and power of his preaching.¹² He excoriated corruption in the Church, especially the low moral state of the papal court at Rome and abuses by the clergy, and emissaries were sent by Lorenzo de' Medici on several occasions to request that he moderate his attacks.¹³

By April 1492, when Lorenzo was on his deathbed, the friar visited him

⁷ The incipit is *Vergene casta, ben che indegno figlio*; *ibid.* 6–9.

⁸ Ridolfi, *Vita*, 8–9.

⁹ *Ibid.* 25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 34–5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 37.

¹² *Ibid.* 54–5.

¹³ *Ibid.* 57.



HIERONYMI FERRARIENSIS A DEO
MISSI PROPHETÆ EFFIGIES

PL. 1.1. Fra Bartolommeo, *Portrait of Savonarola*. Museo di San Marco, Florence. Alinari/Art Resource

and offered his benediction.¹⁴ The death of Lorenzo boded ill for Italy, for he was regarded as the essential balance in Italian politics; now that he was gone the floodgates were ready to open on more than half a century of foreign invasions and warfare on Italian soil. The delicate network of alliances between the major Italian powers—Florence, Milan, Naples, Venice, and the papacy—unravelling, and the two realms at opposite ends of the peninsula, Milan and Naples, were especially at odds. Lorenzo's successor, his weak-willed son Piero, broke with the traditional policy of alliance with France, unwisely siding with Naples against Milan and France in the growing dispute over French claims to the Neapolitan throne.

In these uncertain times Savonarola continued to preach to large crowds in the Duomo. He had been warning for several years that the sword of God was hanging over the earth, and would fall soon and swiftly (*Ecce gladius domini super terram cito et velociter*).¹⁵ He also prophesied the coming of a new Cyrus who would reform the Church. It happened that King Charles VIII of France crossed the Alps in the summer of 1494 in order to make good on the Angevin claim to the crown of Naples. He entered Italy at the instigation of Ludovico Sforza of Milan and Giuliano della Rovere, a powerful cardinal and the future Pope Julius II. The latter was arch-enemy of the recently elected pope, Alexander VI (Borgia), and after escaping from imprisonment in Rome he fled to France, where he urged Charles VIII to convene a council to depose the corrupt pope.

The young Piero de' Medici, lacking the diplomatic skills of his father, had initially sided with Naples and against France, but when Charles was encamped with his army near Pisa in late October 1494, after successfully routing the Neapolitan fleet near Genoa, Piero sought to placate the king by venturing outside the city to meet him. At the same time he handed over the keys to two strategic Tuscan fortresses—without first consulting with the Signoria.¹⁶ The mood in the city quickly turned against Piero. On the 5th of November Savonarola was elected along with four other prominent Florentines to visit the king as ambassador, in an attempt to avert a sack of the city. The friar himself later recalled that he revealed his role as a divine prophet to the king, and that he knew Charles had been nominated by God to administer justice in Italy and reform the Church.¹⁷ The king had reportedly been impressed by the friar's devout message, and he was persuaded to spare Florence. Just three days later the citizens, exasperated with Piero's bumbling and high-handed attempts at diplomacy, forced him to flee for his

¹⁴ The legend that Savonarola denied Lorenzo absolution because of his transgressions against Florentine liberty has been refuted by Ridolfi; *ibid.* 75.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 74.

¹⁶ Landucci, *Diario fiorentino*, 70-1 (*A Florentine Diary*, 58).

¹⁷ G. Savonarola, *Compendio di rivelazioni*, ed. A. Crucitti (ENOS; Rome, 1974), 19-20.

life. Then, on the evening of 17 November, the French king and his entire retinue entered Florence in solemn procession amid cries of 'Viva Francia'.¹⁸ By 28 November the king and his troops were safely on their way to southern Italy, to the great relief of the Florentines. The friar gained much credibility with the citizens for the peaceful resolution of this potentially disastrous affair.

With Piero de' Medici removed from the scene, Savonarola carried on his role of prophet. His sermons in the Duomo cried out for penitence, warned of the coming tribulations for Italy, and urged the renovation of the Church. A central tenet of his message was that Florentines should return to the simplicity of life during the early Church, and that they should abandon excess pomp and ceremony in their worship services as well as extravagant display in daily life. He also used the pulpit as a platform to demand reform in the political, social, and religious spheres. First he pushed for reform of the Florentine constitution and the re-establishment of the Republic. His first objective was to help ensure access to political office to all the members of the Great Council of 3,500, power that had been restricted to an elite under the Medici.¹⁹ Next, from the pulpit he supported legislation aimed at social reforms, such as the prohibition of sodomy and gambling. As early as 28 December 1494 the law against sodomy was passed, but the prohibition of gambling had to await passage until February 1497, the height of the Savonarolan influence.²⁰ Less successful was the push for legislation to reform the customs of women and children (*fanciulli*) in terms of dress and conduct. The goal was to deputize *fanciulli* to purge the city of sinners who were an impediment to the realization of God's promises, but this legislation was rejected several times in 1496, and only passed in a highly diluted version in early 1497.²¹ The *fanciulli* did in fact carry out house-to-house searches for worldly items to consign to the bonfire of vanities in 1497, and the friar's opponents cried woe to a city governed by children, asserting that Florence had become the 'laughing-stock of Christendom'.²²

Savonarola also pushed for several kinds of improvement in relief for the poor and other social institutions, including a hospital, the Ospedale del Ceppo, and the dowry fund, called the Monte di Pietà. Intolerance played a strong role in these social reforms. By providing communal funds for the Monte di Pietà, Savonarola hoped that Jewish money-lenders would no longer be needed; from the pulpit he urged the government to pass legislation to establish the Monte di Pietà and to expel the Jews from the city. Both

¹⁸ Landucci, *Diario*, 80.

¹⁹ L. Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence 1494-1545* (Oxford, 1994), 25.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 31. On the prosecution of sodomy in Florence, see M. Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (Oxford, 1996).

²¹ Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 38-40.

²² *Ibid.* 39; the comments cited are those of Piero Parenti and Bartolomeo Cerretani.

measures passed and became law in December 1495. The decree of expulsion was never carried out, however, and it was subsequently repealed in November 1496, because the authorities recognized that financial help from the Jews was necessary to fund the defence of the Republic.²³ Prompted by the friar, the government provided large sums to the confraternity of the Buonomini di S. Martino, designed to assist those from good families who were too ashamed to beg, called the 'shamefaced poor' ('poveri vergognosi').²⁴ The fanciulli were instrumental in collecting alms for these shamefaced poor.

Finally, the friar turned his attention to religious reform, and here he focused attention on the clergy, who had to turn away from their ignorant and venal ways in order to lead lay congregations along the right path of religious observance.²⁵ He was merciless in his castigation of their tepid manner and their misguided concern for raising funds through payments for Masses said in memory of departed souls. He also urged them to concentrate on the inner life of prayer and abandon their emphasis on extravagant ceremonies, including elaborate music and organ-playing, which distracted the faithful from true worship. Finally, he returned the convent of San Marco to a life of strict fasting and prayer, breaking the convent away from the Lombard Congregation, and extending its jurisdiction to include Dominican convents in Pisa and Fiesole in a new Congregation of San Marco.²⁶

Savonarola constantly preached his message of the imminent castigation of Italy, especially Rome, and the subsequent renewal of the Church. By 1494 his prophecies began to take a new turn by appealing to a Florentine millenarian tradition that placed the city at the centre of the movement for renewal as a New Jerusalem, and this provides a further explanation for his ascendancy.²⁷ He spelled out his vision in detail in the *Compendio di rivelazioni*, published in the summer of 1495. Here he foretold a time when Florence would enjoy unprecedented wealth and power.²⁸ Indeed the friar went on to extend promises from the pulpit on numerous occasions: if Florentines followed God's work of reform, they would enjoy far greater wealth than ever, and not just in the afterlife. The *Compendio di rivelazioni*, an extraordinary work, includes the friar's vision of his visit to heaven as Florence's ambassador to the Blessed Virgin. It merits a closer look, for its

²³ Ibid. 35-7.²⁴ Ibid. 32.²⁵ Ibid. 56.²⁶ Ibid. 56-7.

²⁷ D. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970), 67, 76-7; see also G. Brucker, 'Savonarola and Florence: The Intolerable Burden', in G. P. Biasin *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Memory of Arnolfo B. Ferruolo* (Naples, 1985), 119-33.

²⁸ As Weinstein remarks: 'The meaning of . . . Savonarola's mission was becoming increasingly clear to him: Florence was a chosen city; God had elected her to help Him accomplish His great plan of renewal. Soon even this inspiration grew into one more thrilling: not only was Florence a chosen city but *the* chosen city, destined to become the center of a new, more glorious age. And Savonarola had been sent to show her the way.' Ibid.

themes turn up in the lauda texts for the Savonarolan carnival celebrations of 1496, as will be seen in Chapter 3.

Savonarola describes a vision of two crosses, a black one over Rome that signals God's wrath, and a gold one over Jerusalem, signifying God's mercy.²⁹ He goes on to promise that if Florence reforms itself, then the city will become more glorious, more powerful, and more rich than ever before ('sarebbe più gloriosa, più potente, e più ricca che la fusse mai').³⁰ He proceeds to defend the prophecies revealed to him by God through the power of grace.³¹ Finally he arrives at the gates of paradise and meets St Joseph,³² and he sees a triple-tiered crown, the lowest tier with twelve precious green heart-shaped stones, each with a banderole above inscribed with acclamations to the Virgin (these acclamations were later incorporated by Sandro Botticelli in his painting *The Mystic Nativity*),³³ then a second crown with ten of the whitest heart-shaped pearls, and, finally, a third crown with four hearts of red carbuncle and the four verses of the Cantic of Simeon inscribed on the rim of the crown.³⁴ He goes on to describe the intensely bright light, and the singing of the psalm 'Laudate pueri' by little children all dressed in white, with tiny white flowers in their hands and hair.³⁵ As he ascends the steps, he sees the saints, then the Apostles and the Old Testament figures, including King David, who sings and plays the harp,³⁶ and finally the nine choirs of angels singing 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus'. He arrives at a ladder by which he can climb up to the Virgin's throne,³⁷ and he offers a prayer at her feet. She in turn addresses him in Latin, urging Florence to maintain its faith, offer prayers, and remain patient. The friar responds:

'Virgin Mother, these are generalities; please extend your beneficent hand wider.' And then she spoke in the vernacular, with words so obliging and mild, that I was rendered dumbstruck; and it would not be possible for me to refer to them except as a maxim. And she said: 'You will go and make this response to my favoured people, and you will say that it is true that they are sinners and for their iniquity they deserve every misfortune, and above all for the unfaithfulness of many, and to those who don't wish to believe that which you have foretold to them already for many years, seeing that my Son has given them so many signs, they can no longer excuse themselves for not believing. . . . Nevertheless, because of the many prayers offered by the saints in heaven and by the righteous on earth, God has granted me this

²⁹ Savonarola, *Compendio di rivelazioni*, 22.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 23.

³¹ *Ibid.* 37.

³² *Ibid.* 72-4.

³³ In Botticelli's painting (London, National Gallery) twelve angels fly in a circle above the manger, joining hands and holding olive branches from which dangle crowns, and intertwined with the branches are narrow scrolls on which the inscriptions are included; see R. Hatfield, 'Botticelli's Mystic Nativity, Savonarola and the Millennium', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 58 (1995), 89-114.

³⁴ Savonarola, *Compendio di rivelazioni*, 74-8.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 85.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 91.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 102.

power. And so all the graces formerly promised to them by God will be restored, that is, the city of Florence will be more glorious and more powerful and more rich than ever³⁸

And after a few further exchanges with the Virgin Mary, in which she confirms that the renovation will come 'cito et velociter' (soon and swiftly), the friar descends the steps and takes his leave to the strains of Ps. 117, *Confitemini domino quoniam bonus*.³⁹

The vision having ended, Savonarola returns to an account of the themes of his sermons, making a special point of the role of the French king, who has been appointed as the minister of God to carry out the renovation of the Church. He warns that if the king does not fulfil his mission and treat Florence with special regard, then he will suffer many tribulations.⁴⁰

With all these promises for power and glory and riches, not to mention the constant attacks on the corruption in Rome, Pope Alexander VI began to take notice. In July 1495 he wrote to the friar requesting that he come to Rome and present his prophecies in person. The friar responded that he was too ill to travel, but that he would send a copy of his *Compendio di rivelazioni* as soon as it was ready from the printer.⁴¹ The pope appeared content to accept the friar's excuse for not presenting himself in Rome.

In August 1495 Savonarola sent freshly printed copies of the *Compendio* to the pope, to the king of France, and to the duke of Ferrara, Ercole I d'Este.⁴² The latter had already contacted the friar some months earlier, hoping to gain information about the course of future political events and seeking advice about instituting religious and social reforms similar to those in Florence.⁴³ Word of the friar's prophecies and reforms had spread rapidly, and by publishing his prophecies in the *Compendio*, Savonarola expanded his audience beyond Florence to include readers throughout Italy and beyond the Alps; indeed, nine editions quickly appeared, including one in Paris and another in Ulm.⁴⁴

In September 1495, just two months after sending his initial conciliatory brief, Alexander changed his tone completely and took decisive action to silence the friar. This new brief accused Savonarola of disobedience by not

³⁸ 'Virgine Madre, queste sono cose generale: bisogna che la vostra mano benigna sia più larga —. Rispose allora in volgare con parole tanto accomodate e gentile, che mi faceva stupire; né mi sarebbe possibile referirle se non in sentenza. E disse: — Tu andrai e farai questa risposta al popolo mio diletto, e dirai che gli è vero che e' sono peccatori e per le loro iniquità meritano ogni male, e massime per la infidelità di molti, e' quali non vogliono credere quello che tu hai loro preannunziato già tanti anni, avendo el mio Figliuolo dati loro oramai tanti segni, che e' non si possono più escusare del non credere; e, benché il credere sia dono di Dio, nientedimeno, se e' non fusseno cattivi e non avesseno mala mente ma andasseno diritti a Dio, arebbero da lui avuto tale lume, che arebbero creduto ogni cosa. . . . Nientedimeno, per le molte orazione le quale sono state fatte da' beati in cielo e in terra da' i iusti, Dio mi ha data ogni potestà. Orsù tutte le grazie già promesse loro da Dio saranno restituite, cioè la città di Firenze sarà più gloriosa e più potente e più ricca che mai. . .'. Ibid. 110–11.

³⁹ Ibid. 116–18.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 118–19.

⁴¹ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 199–202.

⁴² Ibid. 205.

⁴³ Ibid. 219–20, 249.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 204.

appearing in Rome to explain the ideas espoused in his preaching; it charged him with spreading heretical ideas and false prophecies; furthermore, it claimed that San Marco had obtained its independence from the Lombard Congregation through the 'underhand cunning of perverse friars' (*per la subdola astuzia di alcuni frati perversi*).⁴⁵ The friar was ordered to suspend all preaching, and his case was handed for judgement to the Vicar General of the Lombard Congregation, Fra Sebastiano Maggi.⁴⁶ Savonarola replied at length to the accusations in the papal brief, carefully countering them one by one, and declaring that he never intended any disobedience to the pope.⁴⁷ As a result, Alexander backed down in a conciliatory brief issued in mid-October, but he ordered the friar not to preach any further until such time as he was able to travel to Rome and justify his attempts to predict the future.⁴⁸

The written exchanges between the pope and Savonarola seem mild compared with the fierce words that were flung back and forth by the friar's opponents and adherents during the pamphlet war that raged during these years.⁴⁹ The large numbers of tracts give vivid witness to Savonarola's intense polarization of the city, not just among the various religious communities but among the population at large. Most outspoken among the anti-Savonarolans was a fellow Dominican, Giovanni Caroli of the convent of Santa Maria Novella, but Franciscans and Vallombrosans also joined in the fray with charges that the friar had fomented schism and heresy. The most noted defenders of Savonarola were Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, nephew of the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (d. 1494), himself a supporter of the friar, and Domenico Benivieni, lecturer in Logic at the *Studio* in Pisa and influential member of Marsilio Ficino's circle.⁵⁰ Domenico's brother, Girolamo Benivieni, provided support for the Savonarolan cause in a different manner, by writing texts of new laude for the fanciulli to sing.⁵¹

In February 1496 the Signoria obtained oral permission from the pope allowing Savonarola to return to the pulpit.⁵² Florence witnessed an outpouring of popular piety, and the city was swept with the first large-scale processions by thousands of fanciulli for the celebration of carnival in that year, and rejoicing was heard again near the end of Lent on Palm Sunday. The boys proclaimed Christ as their King and expressed their unity of purpose in newly written sacred songs with simple tunes, called 'laude'. Indeed, one biographer of the friar, once thought to be Fra Pacifico

⁴⁵ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 206; English translation from Ridolfi, *The Life of Savonarola*, 136.

⁴⁶ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 206.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 211.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 214-15.

⁴⁹ For a detailed account of the pamphlet war, see Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 56-99.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 81-2, 90-1 (on G. Pico della Mirandola), and 68-75, 85-6 (on D. Benivieni).

⁵¹ See below, Ch. 3.

⁵² Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 227-8.

Burlamacchi, claims that there was such rejoicing that the populace could not help but weep; hence the name 'Piagnoni', weepers, for the followers of Savonarola.⁵³

Throughout 1496 Florence struggled to survive the effects of political and economic isolation from the rest of Italy, but the city's prospects appeared to improve in April, when Charles VIII, who had retreated to France in the summer of 1495, decided to return and reinforce his garrison in Naples. Florentines hoped that the French would provide some relief from their ills. But the pope, who had formed an anti-French League with other Italian powers, including Naples and Venice, quickly performed an about-face, changing not only his stance against France but also apparently softening his enmity for Savonarola.⁵⁴ He even ventured to offer the friar a cardinal's hat if he would agree to tone down some of his teachings. Savonarola rejected the offer, publicly responding in a sermon to the Signoria on August 20: 'I want no hats, no mitres great or small: I only want the one which Thou gavest to Thy saints: death. A red hat, a hat of blood: that is what I want.'⁵⁵ Following this episode, the pope pointedly avoided any mention of the friar for almost a year, although he did issue a brief on 7 November 1496 that the convents belonging to the Congregation of San Marco were to be united with other Dominican convents in a new Tuscan-Roman Congregation. The 250 friars of San Marco held that the brief was irregular, however, and nothing came of the pope's order.⁵⁶

The French procrastinated, and the political horizon for Florence again darkened in October 1496 with the arrival by sea of Emperor Maximilian and his troops to aid Pisa in its rebellion against Florentine rule. Savonarola preached that the time of tribulation was at hand.⁵⁷ But Florence was aided by a stroke of fortune when in mid-November a sudden storm arose off the coast at Livorno and destroyed most of the emperor's fleet. This was taken as proof of Savonarola's prophecies that if Florence reformed its ways, it would be spared the worst suffering during the period of tribulation. The city surged with new Savonarolan fervour, and the carnival celebrations of February 1497 marked the greatest height of the friar's influence, climaxing with a massive, and now infamous, bonfire of vanities in the Piazza della Signoria. Again the fanciulli sang laude written specially for the occasion by Girolamo Benivieni and others.

Savonarola was in ill health following the carnival of 1497, and he suffered

⁵³ P. Conti (ed.), *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola, scritta da un anonimo del sec. XVI e già attribuita a fra Pacifico Burlamacchi* (Florence, 1937), 128.

⁵⁴ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 244-5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 257-8: 'Io non voglio cappelli, non mitre grande, né piccole. Non voglio, se non quello che tu hai dato ali tuoi santi: la morte. Uno cappello rosso, uno cappello di sangue: questo desidero.' English translation from Ridolfi, *The Life of Savonarola*, 171.

⁵⁶ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 269-71.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 265-6.

a further setback when Charles VIII signed a treaty with Spain in which the French renounced claim to Naples, thus withdrawing the prospect of French military support for the Republic of Florence. Further trouble ensued as Piero de' Medici attempted to attack and re-enter Florence on 27 and 28 April, but he met with no success. Finally, on the 4th of May, the Feast of the Ascension, the Arrabbiati, who were fierce opponents of the Piagnoni, broke into the Duomo at night and placed in the pulpit the skin of a donkey that had died several days earlier along with other filth, and then proceeded to instigate a riot during Savonarola's sermon.⁵⁸ To prevent further outbursts of violence, the Signoria issued a ban on the friar's preaching.

With Charles VIII out of the picture, the pope no longer had to concern himself with the danger of provoking French intervention in defence of Florence, and he too moved to silence Savonarola; on 13 May 1497 he issued a brief that formally excommunicated the friar.⁵⁹ Add to this the disruption of the city's industry and trade, and the spread of famine, and it is not difficult to comprehend the decline in the fortunes of the Piagnoni. In spite of the friar's excommunication, the fanciulli marched in procession on Corpus Christi, 25 May 1497, but they met with a hostile reception from a crowd of youths in their twenties, 'giovani', who were called the Compagnacci. Undoubtedly the fanciulli performed laude and hymns to boost their morale as they marched through the streets of the city, their red crosses in hand.⁶⁰

The tribulations of Florence began to mount. Plague reappeared in the city in June, and Florence subsisted in a miserable state, with widespread food shortages. As it happens, the murder of the pope's son, Juan Borgia, Duke of Gandia, on 20 June 1497 caused a sensation throughout Italy, and Savonarola wrote a letter seeking to console the pope. On the other hand, the friar perceived the murder as another of his prophesied punishments for Rome.⁶¹ On 19 July the pope issued the conditions for revocation of the friar's excommunication: either Savonarola should come to Rome to answer directly for his actions, or he should join the independent Congregation of San Marco to the newly formed Tuscan-Roman Congregation of Dominicans.⁶² Either way the friar would have to submit to the pope. Savonarola held out, offering the excuse that he was too unwell to travel.

⁵⁸ Landucci, *Diario*, 147-8; Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 291-2.

⁵⁹ The brief is printed in Villari, *La Storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, ii, app., pp. xxxix-xl. English translation in Villari, *Life and Times of Savonarola*, ii. 189-90. The brief charged Savonarola with disobedience on several counts: refusal to come to Rome, refusal to suspend preaching, and refusal to unite the Congregation of San Marco to the Tuscan-Roman Congregation. It also accused the friar of spreading harmful doctrines, and concluded by claiming that he was suspected of heresy.

⁶⁰ Landucci, *Diario*, 150-1.

⁶¹ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 305.

⁶² *Ibid.* 307-8.

Medici supporters within the city continued to plot for the return of Piero to power, and on 4 August their plans were uncovered. After a swift trial, five patricians, including the young Lorenzo Tornabuoni, were sentenced to death.⁶³ When Savonarola was asked whether he recommended leniency, his response was cool and interpreted as negative; all five of the accused were summarily executed. This action caused many to harden their attitudes towards the friar, who seemed to lack mercy as well as any interest in the law of appeal, whose passage he had earlier encouraged in 1495.⁶⁴ By September, the Milanese ambassador Somenzi noted that the Florentine government was under the strong control of the 'frateschi', as the Savonarolan party was known, and in October the friar addressed another humble letter to the pope. The months of November and December saw no Advent sermons by Savonarola, as he patiently awaited further word from Rome.

During the winter of 1497-8, while Savonarola continued to await absolution from the papal excommunication, he worked on several tracts, including the *Tractatus de vitae spiritualis perfectione*, the *Triumphus Crucis*, the *Trattato circa il reggimento . . . di Firenze*, and the *Trattato contra li astrologi*. The pope played politics with the city, indicating that absolution for the friar depended on the entrance of Florence into the league against France.⁶⁵ But on 11 February 1498, with the ban of excommunication still in force, Savonarola resumed preaching in the Duomo in preparation for Lent, and he chose texts from the Book of Exodus. The intent was clear: the Florentines should follow Savonarola out through the desert to the promised land, leaving pharaoh (i.e. Alexander) behind.⁶⁶ The pope's ire was roused anew, and on 25 February he threatened to put the entire city under interdict.⁶⁷ He no longer cared whether Florence entered the league of Italian powers against France, but now sought to silence once and for all the friar who had challenged his authority so many times. The Signoria responded to Alexander's demands for obedience with proud disdain, and the Savonarolan carnival went ahead as planned two days later, on 27 February. The carnival celebrations were bedevilled by the Compagnacci, so that the pyre in the Piazza della Signoria had to be lit earlier than planned in order to facilitate evacuation of the piazza and avert a riot. Next the pope forbade the canons to hold services in the Duomo as long as Savonarola continued to preach there, and so on 1 March he moved to San Marco to continue his Lenten cycle on Exodus.⁶⁸

During these times of steadily increasing conflict, the Piagnoni maintained unity and fortified their resolve by singing a motto from the first verse of Ps. 132, *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum* ('Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'). The

⁶³ Landucci, *Diario*, 155-7.

⁶⁴ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, i. 315-16.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 323.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 324-5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 331.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 331-3.

singing of this verse stands out in contemporary accounts of Savonarola's career from 1494 to 1498. Fra Domenico da Pescia, Savonarola's assistant and organizer of the carnival processions of fanciulli, recounts in his confession to the authorities after his arrest in 1498 how angels revealed the song in a vision to their companion, Fra Silvestro Maruffi.

However, already many years ago, our angels appeared to Fra Silvestro (I say angels, because I believed them to be so), and with a braid, or actually a chain of gold, they bound us together, singing, if I remember rightly: *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum*. And they told us that we should remain united together, and to make one heart and one spirit of our three; and that God wanted it thus, and that we should remain united, because the revelations [of Savonarola] themselves did not provide salvation, but rather they were given for the good of the Church.⁶⁹

Pseudo-Burlamacchi narrates the same story, but with the advantage of hindsight he elaborates on it by transforming the chain of gold into rope and chains of fire, 'and through this they understood that their death would have to be through fire'.⁷⁰ He goes on to refer to the singing of *Ecce quam bonum* by the friars of San Marco, who performed it several times each week as they marched in processions around the cloister.⁷¹ The practice may have been under way as early as 1494, when Savonarola's earliest recorded mention of the singing of *Ecce quam bonum* occurs in his sermons on Haggai for Advent of 1494, just after the French army had passed through Florence leaving the city unscathed.⁷²

A glance through the friar's sermons reveals that he made sporadic references to the singing of *Ecce quam bonum* from 1494 to 1497, but in his last cycle of sermons on Exodus in 1498 he urged his followers again and again to sing the verse. Here a growing desperation of tone underlies the repeated call for unity. Already during Lent of 1495 the friar preached that *Ecce quam bonum* should be sung by the faithful while awaiting the tribulations of Italy.⁷³ In the next series of Lenten sermons in 1496, during the climactic final sermon, Savonarola recounted an apocalyptic vision in which St Francis, St Dominic, and other saints hurled all evildoers into the inferno; the few righteous souls who remained then clasped hands and danced, singing *Ecce*

⁶⁹ 'Imperroché, già più anni fa, apparvono gli Angioli di noi tre a Fra Silvestro (dico li Angioli, perché così ho creduto che fussino), et con una cordella o vero catena d'oro ci legorono insieme, cantando, se io bene mi ricordo: *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum*: et dissono che noi stessimo uniti insieme, et facessimo un cuore et un'anima di tre; che Iddio voleva così, et che noi stessimo uniti, perché le revelazioni non salvano, ma sono date per utilità della Chiesa.' Fra Domenico da Pescia's confession was made to Florentine authorities after his arrest on 8 Apr. 1498; transcribed in Villari, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, II, p. ccix.

⁷⁰ Conti, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola*, 102.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 116, 159.

⁷² Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Aggeo*, 215, 221.

⁷³ *Id.*, *Prediche sopra Giobbe*, ed. R. Ridolfi, 2 vols. (ENOS; Rome, 1957), I, 85, 396.

quam bonum.⁷⁴ The Lenten sermon delivered on 11 March 1497 brought forth a similar vision in which the Church had already been renovated and the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem embraced and sang the psalm together.⁷⁵ Clearly this was the song of the saved.

In the last sermons of 1498, the friar quoted the verse no fewer than seventeen times in eleven sermons over the space of little more than a month.⁷⁶ He seems to have turned more and more to this verse as a means of fortifying the spirits of the Piagnoni, and he painted a vision of them dancing a beautiful dance ('un bello ballo') in heaven while they sang *Ecce quam bonum*.⁷⁷ The intensity of feeling for the song and what it stood for is apparent in his sermon of 18 February, in which he defends his doctrine of reform, including brotherly love:

One can also prove through its customs the usefulness of this doctrine. Look at those who have most followed it and for a long time: they always find themselves in better communion with God. I have already said this: that our friars, who continually listen to it and follow it, and who believe it more and more, never experienced such union of their hearts as today, and because they have heard this doctrine, they always sing with great fervour: 'Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' And, on the contrary, look at those who mock it: all of them are evil men. If you were to say: 'O friar, let someone else take over some of this mission', I would reply to you that I don't yet see anyone who comes to take up this work, but I certainly see plenty of nay-sayers. If I were to see any aspirants, I would hold them most dear, so that we might sing 'behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'. Even if he were from another religious faith, we would still embrace him freely, singing as well: 'behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'. But seeing no one who can take over this work, I can't give it up.⁷⁸

Finally, during the last Savonarolan carnival celebration on 27 February 1498, the Piagnoni retreated from the hostile crowd in the Piazza della

⁷⁴ Id., *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, ed. P. Ghiglieri, 3 vols. (ENOS; Rome, 1971-2), iii. 390-1; see also the sermon of 6 Apr., *ibid.* 355. Id., *Prediche sopra Ruth e Michea*, ed. V. Romano, 2 vols. (ENOS; Rome, 1962), i. 409.

⁷⁵ Id., *Prediche sopra Ezechiele*, ed. R. Ridolfi, 2 vols. (ENOS; Rome, 1955), ii. 186-7.

⁷⁶ Id., *Prediche sopra l'Esodo*, ed. P. G. Ricci, 2 vols. (ENOS; Rome, 1955-6), i. 7, 11, 35, 52, 55, 81, 167, 224, 230, 235, 316; ii. 23, 75, 213, 267, 310.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 75.

⁷⁸ 'Provasi ancora per consuetudine l'utilità di questa dottrina. Guarda chi l'ha più usata e più lungo tempo: si truova sempre in miglior grado con Dio. Io dirò pur questo: che e' frati nostri, che continuamente la odono e usano, sempre più la credono, e non furono mai in tanta unione di cuori quanta sono oggi, e dappoi che hanno udita questa dottrina, e' cantano sempre con maggior fervore: *ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum*. E, al contrario, guarda chi la impugna: tutti uomini cattivi. . . se tu dicessi: — o frate, lascia fare un poco questo ufficio a uno altro —, io ti rispondo che io non veggo ancora nessuno che venga a pigliare questa opera, ma ben veggo di molti contraddittori. Se io ne vedesse qualcuno l'arei molto caro: venga pure, che noi lo abbracceremo allegramente, venga pure, che noi canteremo *ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum*. E se l'arà d'un'altra religione, ancora lo abbracceremo volentieri, cantando pure: *ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum*. E però, non vedendo io nessuno che si muova a pigliare questa opera, non la posso lasciare.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra l'Esodo*, *ibid.* i. 52-3, 55-6.



Veduta della Piazza di S. Marco
 1 Chiesa e Convento delle Monache di S. Cabrina 2 Palazzo di S. M. 3 Compagnia dello Scalzo 4 Chiesa di S. Marco de' PP. Domenicani 5 Convento de' aldi PP. 6 Cappella di S. Antonino in d. Chiesa di S. 7 Duochi Sabardi 8 Stalle di S. M. 9 Sorreggio alle Tare 9 Chiesa alla S. Annunziata 10 Spedale di S. Matteo 11 Monache di S. Lucia

Pl. 1. 2 Piazza San Marco in the eighteenth century, from G. Richa, *Notizie storiche delle linee fiorentine* (Florence, 1788), VII. (Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

EX. 1.1. *Ecce quam bonum*, bb. 1–10 (BNF Rossi 395, fos. 3^v–4^r) (CD track 15; see Ex. 5.1)

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major (one flat) and 4/4 time. The first staff contains measures 1 through 5, with lyrics: "Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io - cun - dum ha - bi - ta -". The second staff contains measures 6 through 10, with lyrics: "re fra - tres in u - num." Above the first staff, there are performance markings: a square with a circle inside, a fermata over the first measure, and a circled '5' above the fifth measure. Above the second staff, there is a circled '10' above the tenth measure.

Signoria and regrouped in Piazza San Marco, where they joined hands and danced in a circle, singing *Ecce quam bonum* (Pl. 1.2).⁷⁹ The singing and dancing seem to have given the Piagnoni a preview of the millennium, when the Church would be renovated, the Turks would be baptized, fraternal love would prevail, and Christ would reign on earth. Savonarola would go on to cite the Piagnoni song almost daily in the remainder of his sermons on Exodus.⁸⁰

What was the tune? Several versions of it, all more or less following the same outline, have been preserved in various sources associated with Florence. The most straightforward version of the tune occurs in a manuscript of laude copied after 1522 (Ex. 1.1).⁸¹ A large group of Piagnoni could easily have sung such a tune while marching in procession or dancing in a circle.

On the 9th of March, less than two weeks after the end of carnival, Pope Alexander VI sent another brief to the Signoria ordering them to stop Savonarola from preaching and reiterating his threat to put the city under interdict. On 17 March the Signoria sent representatives to the friar to beg him to stop preaching, at least for the time being, and the friar finally acquiesced after finishing his sermon the next day, the third Sunday of Lent.⁸² Fra Domenico da Pescia continued to preach in San Marco in Savonarola's stead, and it was from the pulpit at the end of March that he took up a challenge from the Franciscan friars to prove the truth of Savonarola's prophecies by undergoing a trial by fire. Had Savonarola retained his place in the pulpit, he would no doubt have avoided such a hazardous confrontation.

⁷⁹ The account is from the Milanese ambassador, Paolo Somenzi; see Villari, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, ii, pp. li–lii.

⁸⁰ Savonarola urges the singing of *Ecce quam bonum* in sermons delivered on 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 15, 17, and 18 Mar. He preached no more after the last date.

⁸¹ The manuscript is a Dominican laudario from Pistoia containing mostly texts for laude, BNF Rossi 395; the source includes just four laude with musical notation, including the music for *Ecce quam bonum* on fos. 3^v–4^r. Edward E. Lowinsky first drew attention to the text and tune of *Ecce quam bonum* in *Letamini in Domino*, a motet by Philippe Verdelot, who worked in Florence in the 1520s. See Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Motet Manuscript'. The various musical settings of the tune will be discussed below in Chs. 5 and 7.

⁸² Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, 341–4; Landucci, *Diario*, 164–5.

Meanwhile the Piagnoni continued to hold processions in the cloister of San Marco and in the piazza in front; Savonarola carried the crucifix and psalms were sung, as Landucci reports in his entries for 26 March and 2 April.⁸³ The singing must have included *Ecce quam bonum*.

Palm Sunday, which fell on 8 April, might have given the Piagnoni occasion for another procession through the city to rouse support for their cause, but the trial by fire was scheduled for Saturday, 7 April, and thus pre-empted plans for such a procession. The preparations for the trial nevertheless provided ample opportunity for other processions and singing of psalms. The friars of San Marco entered the Piazza della Signoria singing verses of Ps. 67, *Exsurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius* ('let God arise; let his enemies be scattered'), and the populace responded with the first verse as a refrain.⁸⁴

During hours of protracted delay while the two sides negotiated over procedure, the crowd waited expectantly and with growing impatience in the piazza. But the trial by fire never took place. A brief thundershower had passed over the square, and finally it grew too late to proceed further. The crowd dispersed, some in a state of anger and others in disappointment.⁸⁵

The next evening, 8 April, the convent of San Marco was attacked by a mob, and a fierce battle ensued in which the armed friars and their partisans defended themselves valiantly. Several died in the struggle, and one follower expired with *Ecce quam bonum* on his lips.⁸⁶ Savonarola surrendered and was led to prison in the Palazzo della Signoria, along with Fra Domenico da Pescia; Fra Silvestro followed a few days later. After all three friars had been tortured over a period of weeks, they signed confessions acknowledging the falseness of Savonarola's prophecies, thus sealing their fate. Savonarola was confined to a small cell in the tower of the Palazzo della Signoria, where he wrote a fervent meditation on Ps. 50 (Vulgate numbering), *Miserere mei deus*; it was completed by 8 May, as noted by Landucci.⁸⁷ The opening words, 'Infelix ego' ('Alas wretch that I am'), reflect the friar's dejected state of mind, yet he decisively rejected the spectre of despair and held out hope for the Lord's mercy. He then commenced another meditation on Ps. 30, *In te domine speravi*, which begins 'Tristitia obsedit me' ('Sadness has besieged me'), but time ran out and it remained a torso.

⁸³ Landucci, *Diario*, 167–8.

⁸⁴ Conti, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola*, 149; Landucci, *Diario*, 168–9.

⁸⁵ Landucci, *Diario*, 169.

⁸⁶ Conti, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola*, 159. The incident was first related by Fra Placido Cinozzi in an account of Savonarola's life sent to Fra Jacopo da Sicilia; see P. Villari (ed.), *Scelta di prediche e scritti di Fra Girolamo Savonarola con nuovi documenti intorno alla sua vita* (Florence, 1898), 6. See also Landucci, *Diario*, 169–71.

⁸⁷ 'Ci fu come frate Girolamo aveva isposto el *Miserere mei* in prigione in Palagio, nell'Alberghetto'; Landucci, *Diario*, 175. Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, and also on Ps. 30, provided texts for a whole group of motets composed for the Este in Ferrara, as well as other patrons north of the Alps; see Part II below.



Pl. 1.3. Anon., Execution of Savonarola in Piazza della Signoria. Museo di San Marco, Florence. Alinari/Art Resource

On the day appointed for the execution, 23 May, the three friars were led out of their prison cells in the Palazzo della Signoria. Fra Silvestro had suffered dreadful fear of approaching death, but while descending the steps he suddenly took heart and glowed with faith, reminding Fra Girolamo and Fra Domenico that they were soon going to a place where they would sing *Ecce quam bonum*.⁸⁸ The friars were brought before the papal envoy, the clergy, and city officials who were to pass judgment and the sentence of execution; all sat on the stone platform running across the front of the palazzo, the *ringhiera* (Pl. 1.3). Landucci notes that the Church authorities performed the ceremony that degraded the three friars from their clerical status before handing them over to the secular arm for punishment:

[They] were robed in all their vestments, which were taken off one by one, with the appropriate words for the degradation, it being constantly affirmed that Fra Girolamo was a heretic and schismatic, and on this account condemned to be burnt; then their faces and hands were shaved, as is customary in this ceremony. When this was completed, they left the friars in the hands of the 'Eight' [the secular authorities], who immediately made the decision that they should be hung and burnt; and they were led straight on to the platform at the foot of the cross. The first to be executed was Fra Silvestro, who was hung to the post and one arm of the cross, and there not being much drop, he suffered for some time, repeating 'Jesu' many times whilst he was hanging, for the rope did not draw tight nor run well. The second was Fra Domenico of Pescia, who also kept saying 'Jesu'; and the third was the *Frate*, called a heretic, who did not speak aloud, but to himself, and so he was hung. This all happened without a word from one of them, which was considered extraordinary, especially by good and thoughtful people, who were much disappointed, as everyone had been expecting some signs, and desired the glory of God, the beginning of righteous life, the renovation of the Church, and the conversion of unbelievers; hence they were not without bitterness and not one of them made an excuse. Many, in fact, fell from their faith. When all three were hung, Fra Girolamo being in the middle, facing the Palazzo, the scaffold was separated from the *ringhiera*, and a fire was made on the circular platform round the cross, upon which gunpowder was put and set alight, so that the said fire burst out with a noise of rockets and cracking. In a few hours they were burnt, their legs and arms gradually dropping off; part of their bodies remaining hanging to the chains, a quantity of stones were thrown to make them fall, as there was a fear of the people getting hold of them; and then the hangman and those whose business it was, hacked down the post and burnt it on the ground, bringing a lot of brushwood, and stirring the fire up over the dead bodies, so that the very least piece was consumed. Then they fetched carts, and accompanied by the mace-bearers,

⁸⁸ 'Et nello scendere le scale del palazzo, fra Silvestro, il quale sino a quell' hora era timidissimo apparso per lo spavento della futura morte, allor quivi, come da un razzo di calore divino percosso, si accese in faccia in modo che pareva che egli era venuto il tempo nel quale e' dovevano stare di buon animo et forti et perseverare, et, da poi che si ha a pigliare la morte, sopportarla allegramente et con forte animo, confortando il servo di Dio fra Girolamo et fra Domenico a perseverare in quella medesima sententia, discacciando di lungi dall'animo ogni paura et tutti i pensieri et cure rimuovere, tenendo per certissimo presto dover andare dove noi canteremo quel salmo: *Ecce quam bonum*.' Conti, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola*, 181.

carried the last bit of dust to the Arno, by the Ponte Vecchio, in order that no remains should be found. Nevertheless, a few good men had so much faith that they gathered some of the floating ashes together, in fear and secrecy, because it was as much as one's life was worth to say a word, so anxious were the authorities to destroy every relic.⁸⁹

The voice of Savonarola and the music of the Piagnoni were silenced for the moment, but in the ensuing years his followers would recoup their strength and continue to press for social and religious reforms, and they would continue to sing laude, including several in veneration of the friar. The authorities in Rome attempted to suppress the activities of the Piagnoni, and in the 1550s the pope even called for a ban on the printing of all of Savonarola's sermons and other writings and branded him an Italian Luther. But before turning to the musical traditions of the Piagnoni in the aftermath of Savonarola's execution it is necessary to examine the musical roots of that tradition in the celebrations of carnival in Florence under Lorenzo de' Medici and during the Savonarolan religious celebrations of the 1490s.

⁸⁹ Landucci, *Diario*, 177–8; English translation from Landucci, *Diary*, trans. A. de Rosen Jervis, 142–3. 'Furono vestiti di tutti i paramenti. e poi cavati a uno a uno, colle parole accomodate al digradare, affermando sempre frate Girolamo eretico e scismatico, per questo essere condannato al fuoco; radendo loro el capo e mani, come si usa al detto digradare. E fatto questo, lasciorono e detti Frati nelle mani degli Otto, e quali feciono immediate el partito che fussino impiccati e arsi; e di fatto furono menati in sul palchetto allo stile della croce. Dove el primo fu frate Silvestro, e fu impiccato al detto stile a uno de' corni della croce; e non avendo molto la tratta, stentò buon pezzo, dicendo *Giesù* molte volte in mentre ch'era impiccato, perchè el capestro non stringeva forte né scorse bene. El secondo fu frate Domenico da Pescia, senpre dicendo *Giesù*; e 'l terzo fu el Frate detto eretico, il quale non parlava forte ma piano, e così fu impiccato. Senza parlare mai niuno di loro, che fu tenuto grande miracolo, massime che ognuno stimava di vedere segni, e ch'egli avessi confessato la verità in quel caso al popolo; massime la buona gente, la quale desiderava la grolia di Dio e 'l principio del ben vivere, la novazione della Chiesa, la conversione degli infedeli: onde non fu senza loro amaritudine: né face scusa veruna, né niuno di loro. Molti caddono dalla lor fede. E come furono impiccati tutti a tre, in mezzo frate Girolamo, e volti verso el Palagio; e finalmente levarono del palchetto della ringhiera, e fattovi el capannuccio in su quello tondo, in sul quale era polvere da bonbarda, e dettono fuoco alla detta polvere, e così s'arse detto capannuccio con fracasso di razzi e scoppietti, e in poche ore furono arsi, in modo che cascava loro le gambe e braccia a poco a poco: e restato parte de busti appiccato alle catene, fu gittato loro molti sassi per fargli cadere, in modo che gli ebbono paura che non fussino tolti dal popolo; e 'l manigoldo, e chi lo aveva a fare, feciono cadere lo stile e ardere in terra, facendo arrecare legne assai: e attizzando sopra detti corpi, feciono consumare ogni cosa e ogni reliquia: dipoi feciono venire carrette e portare ad Arno ogni minima polvere, acciò non fussi trovato di loro niente, accompagnati da mazzieri insino ad Arno, al Ponte Vecchio. E non dimeno fu chi riprese di quei carboni ch'andavano a galla, tanta fede era in alcuni buone genti; ma molto segretamente e anche con paura, perchè non se ne poteva ragionare né dire niente, senza paura della vita, perchè volevano spegnere ogni reliquia di lui.'

Florentine Music in Savonarola's Time

Carnival Song and Lauda under Lorenzo de' Medici

When Savonarola returned to Florence in 1490, he found there a musical life that had continued to thrive during his absence. One part of this musical tradition, the 'art music' of elaborate sacred polyphony in Latin, he did his utmost to quash, but he adopted the more popular repertory of sacred laude and put it to use for reforming the unruly fanciulli in the city, especially at carnival time. This flourishing musical life in Florence owed much to Lorenzo de' Medici (b. 1449). As the dominant cultural and political figure in the city from 1469 until his early death in 1492, he nurtured music and brought it to a remarkably high state. On the one hand he continued the tradition of his predecessors, his grandfather Cosimo il Vecchio and his father Piero, of importing northern singers from Flanders and France to provide elaborate polyphonic music for services in the Baptistery and the Duomo; the most famous of these was Heinrich Isaac, who arrived in late 1484 or 1485.¹ In addition, Lorenzo himself contributed many texts to the native tradition of carnival songs ('canti carnascialeschi') and sacred laude that thrived in the city, as attested by early prints of laude from c.1480, 1486 (NS), and c.1495, in which hundreds of lauda texts are preserved; the last print in fact opens with eight laude by Lorenzo.² The secular tradition can be glimpsed behind this

¹ F. A. D'Accone, 'Heinrich Isaac in Florence: New and Unpublished Documents', *MQ* 49 (1963), 464–83 at 464–7. On Lorenzo as a patron—and performer—of music, see id., 'Lorenzo il Magnifico e la musica', in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence, 1993), 219–48. For a collection of secular music by Isaac and others, see H. M. Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229* (Monuments of Renaissance Music, 7; Chicago, 1983); see also B. J. Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de' Medici, a Lost Isaac Manuscript, and the Venetian Ambassador', in I. Alm, A. McLamore, and C. Reardon (eds.), *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1996), 19–44.

² The titles of the individual prints are: *Laude di Feo Belcari* (c.1480); *Laude fatte e composte da più persone spirituali, A honore dello onnipotente Idio* (1485); and *Laude fatte e composte da più persone spirituali . . . E oltre a quelle già per lo tempo passato furon impresse s'è fatta ora in questa nuova impressione una aggiunta di più d'altrettante* (c.1495). The texts of these three prints, plus a fourth, *Laude vecchie e nuove* (Florence, c.1502–7), have been published in *Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari, di Lorenzo de' Medici, di Francesco d'Albizzo, di Castellano Castellani e di altri composte nelle quattro più antiche raccolte*, ed. G. C. Galletti (Florence, 1863). On the dating of c.1495 for the third item in Galletti's collection, *Laude fatte e composte da più persone spirituali*, see L. de' Medici, *Laude*, ed. B. Toscani (Florence, 1990), 18; and *ibid.* 19

TABLE 2.1. *Carnival songs of Lorenzo de' Medici*

No.	Title and incipit	Rhyme scheme ^a	Music
I. Circa 1474-78			
1	Canzona de' confortini <i>Berricuocoli, donne, e confortini!</i>	XX AAAX	possibly 4vv, Razzi (1563), <i>Madre de' peccatori</i> , fo. 21 ^v
2	Canzona de' cialdoni <i>Giovani siam, maestri molto buoni</i>	XX AAAX	tenor and bassus, BNF B.R. 230, fo. 145 ^r
3	Canzona degli innestatori <i>Donne, noi siam maestri d'innestare</i>	XX AAAX	cantus, BNF B.R. 230, fo. 149 ^v
4	Canzona dello zibetto <i>Donne, quest'è un animal perfetto</i>	XX AAAX	
5	Canzona de' fornai <i>O donne, noi siam giovani fornai</i>	XX AAAX	
6	Canzona delle forese <i>Lasse, in questo carnasiale</i>	xyyx ababbccx	
7	Canzona de' profumi <i>Sian galanti di Valenza</i>	xyyx ababbccx	3vv, Razzi (1563), <i>O</i> <i>maligno e duro core</i> , fo. 68 ^v ; cantus, BNF B.R. 230, fo. 144 ^v
II. Carnival of 1489			
8	Canzona delle cicale <i>Donne, siam, come vedete</i>	xx ababbx	
III. Carnival of 1490			
9	Canzona de' sette pianeti <i>Sette pianeti siam, che l'alte sede</i>	XX ABABBX	
10	Canzona di Bacco e Arianna <i>Quant'è bella giovinezza</i>	xyyx ababbyx	3vv, Razzi (1563), <i>Quant'è</i> <i>grande la bellezza</i> , fo. 10 ^v ; tenor and bassus, BNF B.R. 230, fo. 150 ^r
11	Canzona de' visi addietro <i>Le cose al contrario vanno</i>	xyyx ababbx	cantus, plus tenor fragm., BNF B.R. 230, fo. 151 ^v

^a For poetic forms, see R. Spongano, *Nozioni ed esempi di metrica italiana* (2nd edn., Bologna, 1974; repr. 1986). Letters X and Y indicate the rhyme for the refrain (ripresa); letters A, B, and so forth indicate rhymes for the stanza. Upper-case letters denote eleven-syllable lines; lower case indicates short lines of seven or eight syllables.

extensive sacred façade of printed laude, because many of these laude bear the instruction 'cantasi come' ('is sung to' [the tune of such-and-such]), indicating the appropriate tune for singing the lauda, often based on a well-known love song or carnival song. For example, the print of laude from c. 1495 gives

the text of Lorenzo's lauda *O maligno e duro core*, along with the indication for the tune: 'cantasi come La canzona de' Valenziani'.³ Thus one sings the lauda to the tune of Lorenzo's own carnival song *Sian galanti di Valenza*, known as the Song of the Perfume Makers.

Before exploring the function of the lauda and its repertory in the 1490s and the complete supplantation of carnival songs by the lauda in Savonarolan Florence, a review of the tradition of canti carnascialeschi from the period of Lorenzo de' Medici is necessary to set the stage, because these secular songs provided the music for several of the new laude of the 1490s. In turn, the lauda plays a crucial role in reconstructing the lost music of some carnival songs: several sources for the lauda actually preserve the original musical setting.

Lorenzo de' Medici himself wrote texts for eleven carnival songs (see Table 2.1), and a famous passage in a printed collection of this repertory by Antonfrancesco Grazzini, called 'Il Lasca', draws particular attention to his important role in the history of the genre. In the introduction to this retrospective print, *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate o canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze, dal tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo vecchio de' Medici*, published in Florence in 1559, Il Lasca credits Lorenzo with revitalizing the repertory of carnival songs, both in terms of the musical settings and the texts:

This manner of celebration was founded by Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico, for at first the men of those times were accustomed to donning masks, mimicking the ladies who customarily went about masked during the celebration of the first day of May. And thus disguised as ladies and girls, they sang dance songs. But Lorenzo il Magnifico regarded this manner of singing as always the same, and so he decided to vary it, and not just the tunes but also the themes, and the manner of composing the words. He wrote songs in new poetic metres, and he had music composed for them based on new and different tunes. And the first song, or masking piece, sung in this way was of men who sold berricuocoli and confortini [carnival pastries]; this was composed for three voices by a certain Henry the German [Heinrich Isaac], who was the maestro of San Giovanni [the Baptistery], and a most famous composer in those days.⁴

for the publication date of *Laude vecchie e nuove*. On the lauda tradition in Florence in the 14th and 15th cc., see C. Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1988), and B. Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992).

³ Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 114.

⁴ 'Et questo modo di festeggiare fu trovato dal Magnifico Lorenzo vecchio de Medici, percchioene prima gli huomini di quei tempi usavano il Carnevale, immascherandosi, contraffare le Madonne, solite andar per lo Calendimaggio: e così travestiti a uso di donne e di fanciulle cantavano canzoni a ballo: la qual maniera di cantare, considerato il Magnifico esser sempre la medesima, pensò di variare, e non solamente il canto, ma le invenzioni, e il modo di comporre le parole, facendo canzoni con altri piedi vari e la musica suvi comporre con nuove e diverse arie; e il primo canto o mascherata che si cantasse in questa guisa fu d'huomini che vendevano berricuocoli e confortini, composta a tre voci da un certo Arrigo Tedesco, maestro all'ora della Cappella di San Giovanni e musico in quei tempi riputatissimo.' A. Grazzini (Il Lasca) (ed.), *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate o Canti Carnascialeschi* (Florence, 1559), p. xli.

From this account we learn that Lorenzo had grown tired of hearing the same verse forms and music year after year, and so he wrote poems in new forms and commissioned musical settings for carnival songs. In regard to the observance of carnival, it has been argued that by 1476 Lorenzo managed to suppress the traditional jousts and parades that testified to patrician power in Florence, and instead promoted a new kind of celebration that emphasized the donning of masks, so that the idle 'giovani' (youths in their twenties, whose age rendered them ineligible to hold public office) could mimic the artisan class, and in the process inject a more 'popular' flavour into carnival. In effect the traditional courtly jousting was replaced by contests of wit in the devising of ever more obscene texts, filled with double entendres.⁵

Il Lasca states that the first new music commissioned by Lorenzo was from Heinrich Isaac, for the *Canzona de' confortini*, but this musical setting for three voices from the 1480s does not appear to have survived. On the other hand, the text of the song itself originated during the period 1474–8, based on the reference in the tenth stanza to Sforza Bettini, a close companion of Lorenzo's during these years.⁶ Thus Isaac apparently composed a new musical setting in the 1480s to replace the old one from the 1470s, which now seemed tiresome to Lorenzo.

A vivid illustration of a performance of the song survives in a woodcut from an early Florentine print of carnival songs, the *Canzone per andare in maschera per carnescale* (Pl. 2.1).⁷ Lorenzo stands on the left with a coin-purse hanging from his belt, while a group of five masked singers, two boys and

⁵ P. Orvieto, 'Carnevale e feste fiorentine del tempo di Lorenzo de' Medici', in G. C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo tempo* (Florence, 1992), 103–24. Orvieto challenges Mikhail Bakhtin's classic treatment of carnival as a subversion of political and moral rules, claiming that the youthful Lorenzo in fact used the new carnival festivities and songs to gather the giovani to his side and use them for his own political ends; see M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Bloomington, Ind., 1984; 1st edn. 1968). On Lorenzo de' Medici's cultivation of the giovani for political purposes, see R. C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca, 1991; 1st edn. 1980), 399.

⁶ Lorenzo de' Medici, *Canti carnescaleschi*, ed. P. Orvieto (Rome, 1991), 24–5. A concurring opinion for the origin of the *Canzona de' confortini* in the years 1474–8 is given in L. de' Medici, *Opere*, ed. T. Zanato (Turin, 1992), 358–9. Orvieto's argument is convincing on its own, and does not require a further attempt to support it by citing the now disproven assumption that Isaac arrived in Florence in the years 1474–5, a dating which has been shown to be too early by a decade. Orvieto apparently based his observation on outdated speculation concerning Isaac's arrival in Florence in the mid-1470s in F. Ghisi, *I canti carnescaleschi nelle fonti musicali del XV e XVI secolo* (Florence, 1937), 40–1, based on confusion between his name and that of the organist Isac Argyropoulo. It was not until late 1484 that the composer Heinrich Isaac passed through Innsbruck on his way to Florence, and by July 1485 the Duomo archives record him as a singer; D'Accone, 'Heinrich Isaac in Florence', 464–7. Isaac's three-voice setting of Lorenzo's *Canzona de' confortini* was thus composed some time after this date. Nevertheless, Il Lasca implies that Lorenzo's *canti carnescaleschi* had been performed to old, stereotyped musical settings before Isaac's arrival, and this does not contradict Orvieto's proposed dating of many of Lorenzo's *canti carnescaleschi* to the mid-1470s.

⁷ *Canzone per andare in maschera per carnescale*, facs. with afterword by S. Carrai (Florence, 1992). The print was formerly thought to date from 1485, but it actually appeared only around 1515; see D. E. Rhodes, 'Notes on Early Florentine Printing', *La Bibliofilia*, 84 (1982), 143–62, esp. 157.



Pl. 2.1. Lorenzo de' Medici and carnival singers, from *Canzone per andare in maschera* (c.1515). Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ed.r.276. All rights reserved

three men, perform the Canzona de' confortini for the women who listen from the safety of the windows above. Two of the singers hold up doughnut-shaped carnival pastries, the berricuocoli and confortini. The bawdy flavour and double entendres can be gathered from the opening refrain and first stanza of the song:

Berricuocoli, donne, e confortini!⁸
Se ne volete, i nostri son de' fini.

Non bisogna insegnar come si fanno,
ch'è tempo perso, e 'l tempo è pur gran danno;
e chi lo perde, come molte fanno,
convien che facci poi de' pentolini.⁸

Berricuocoli, ladies, and confortini!
If you want some, ours are among the finest.

There's no need to teach how it's done,
unless time is lost, and wasted time can certainly do great damage;
and he who loses [time], as many do,
must then make little pots.⁹

The singers elaborate on the game in eleven more stanzas. It has been argued that all of Lorenzo's songs of the trades and occupations ('canzoni di arti e mestieri') originated in the years 1474 to 1478 (see Table 2.1, nos. 1-7).¹⁰ These songs feature various trades: in addition to the vendors of berricuocoli, they include the makers of another type of pastry (cialdoni), tree grafters (innestatori), trappers of the ferret-like creature that produces musk (zibetto), bakers (fornai), young women who harvest cucumbers, melons, and beanpods (forese), and makers of perfume (profumi). Youths who were Lorenzo's contemporaries and companions apparently disguised themselves with masks as they imitated or mimicked the activities of the various trades; cloaked in the anonymity of their masks, they exploited every opportunity for double entendres and erotic play in the texts of their songs.

But carnival observances were soon curtailed. In the tragic events of the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478, Lorenzo was wounded and his brother Giuliano assassinated while attending Mass in the Duomo. Carnival and all other

⁸ L. de' Medici, *Canti carnascialeschi*, 59.

⁹ Lost time can refer to the menstrual cycle, and the 'pentolini' indicate the alternative of rear entry; see the commentary on this song in L. de' Medici, *Canti carnascialeschi*, 88, and *Trionfi e canti carnascialeschi toscani del Rinascimento*, ed. R. Brusciagli, 2 vols. (Rome, 1986), 3. The erotic language of carnival songs has been explored in detail by J. Toscan, *Le Carnaval du langage: le lexique érotique de Burchiello à Marino (XV-XVII^e siècles)*, 4 vols. (Lille, 1981).

¹⁰ L. de' Medici, *Canti carnascialeschi*, 25, 105. Zanato, in L. de' Medici, *Opere*, 359, holds a similar position, one that is found persuasive by S. Carrai, 'Momenti e problemi del canto carnascialesco fiorentino', in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence, 1993), 119-29 at 120 n. 4. Orvieto's early dating for Lorenzo's carnival songs is challenged, but not on compelling grounds, by G. Ciappelli, *Carnavale e quaresima: Comportamenti sociali e cultura a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Rome, 1997), 202 n. 24.

public celebrations in Florence were suppressed for a period of ten years, with the aim of eliminating the opportunity for insurrections. Only in 1488 did public festivities resume, as noted by several contemporary observers.¹¹ For the carnival of 1489 Lorenzo prepared a new song, the *Canzona delle cicale* (Song of the Cicadas, a sprightly—but not bawdy—dialogue between young girls and old gossips; Table 2.1, no. 8),¹² and the next year, 1490, marked the summit of Laurentian carnival celebrations. Not only were the bawdy early songs of the trades resurrected (Table 2.1, nos. 1–4 and 6–7), but Lorenzo created three new songs in an entirely different vein (*De' sette pianeti*, *Di Bacco e Arianna*, and *De' visi addietro*; Table 2.1, nos. 9–11).¹³ Unlike the obscene early songs performed by masked performers, these later songs incorporate either philosophical ideas, as in the 'seven planets' and their influence on human actions, or mythological characters such as Bacchus and Ariadne. These dignified figures rode on decorated 'carrì' or floats, accompanied by an entourage who would dance and sing through the streets.¹⁴ One correspondent, Piero da Bibbiena, wrote on 24 February that Lorenzo had written new carnival songs that were 'meravigliose' and the invention was 'nuova e mirabile'.¹⁵ Apparently as Lorenzo's health worsened and the effects of gout became more severe, he turned away from the traditional erotic play of carnival songs in favour of these more philosophical themes under the inspiration of Marsilio Ficino, as in the opening of the song of the seven planets:

Sette pianeti siam, che l'alte sede
lasciam per far del cielo in terra fede.¹⁶

We are the seven planets, who from our lofty seats
come down, in order to instil on earth faith in heaven.¹⁷

Lorenzo also elaborated on the notion of the good and happy life and the effects of fleeting time in the most famous of all his poetic works, the song of Bacchus and Ariadne.

¹¹ L. de' Medici, *Canti carnascialeschi*, 39–40. See also Ciappelli, *Carnevale e quaresima*, 205, who cites conditions of war and epidemic during this period as further reasons for the lack of elaborate carnival observances. On 26 June 1488, however, Piero da Bibbiena wrote to Giovanni Lanfredini, saying that it had been 'più di dieci anni' since they had built 'edifici et trionfi', and now these practices had been revived; *ibid.* 205.

¹² *Ibid.* 40. For an English translation of the song, see L. de' Medici, *Selected Poems and Prose*, ed. J. Thiem (University Park, Pa., 1991), 160–1.

¹³ Dated annotations in the manuscript sources of the songs, as well as contemporary letters, indicate that these last three were written for the carnival of 1490. One manuscript, BNF Magl. VII. 735, presents in order all of the Laurentian carnival songs performed in 1490. Only three songs are missing: the canzone *De' Fornai*, *De' Cicali*, and *De' sette pianeti*. See Orvieto, *Canti*, 22, 54 n. 25; see also M. Martelli, 'Una vacanza letteraria di Lorenzo: il carnevale del 1490', in *id.*, *Studi laurenziani* (Florence, 1965), 38–40.

¹⁴ Orvieto, 'Carnevale e feste fiorentine', 120.

¹⁵ Martelli, 'Una vacanza letteraria', 38.

¹⁶ L. de' Medici, *Canti carnascialeschi*, 83.

¹⁷ For a complete translation into rhymed English, see L. de' Medici, *Selected Poems*, 161–2.

Quant'è bella giovinezza
che si fugge tuttavia:
chi vuol esser lieto, sia,
di doman non c'è certezza.

Quest'è Bacco e Arianna,
belli, e l'un dell'altro ardenti:
perché 'l tempo fugge e inganna,
sempre insieme stan contenti.
Queste ninfe e altre genti
sono allegre tuttavia.
Chi vuol esser lieto, sia,
di doman non c'è certezza.¹⁸

How beautiful is youth,
which slips away nevertheless!
Whoever wishes to be happy, let them,
for there's no certainty for tomorrow.

Here are Bacchus and Ariadne,
lovely and in love with each other;
because time flees and deceives,
they always remain content together.
These nymphs and other people
are happy nevertheless.
Whoever wishes to be happy, let them,
for there's no certainty for tomorrow.¹⁹

The successive stanzas go on to describe the merry satyrs and nymphs who follow in the train of the happy pair, and the final stanza invites the onlookers to join in with music, dancing, and songs to promote happiness and drive away sorrow. The most complete music for this song survives in a collection of laude, the *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali*, edited by Fra Serafino Razzi and printed in Venice in 1563.²⁰ Razzi thus preserved an important portion of the musical repertory from late Quattrocento Florence that would otherwise have been lost.

The music in Razzi's book appears with the text of Lorenzo's lauda addressed to the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Quant'è grande la bellezza* (Table 2.2, no. 4); the poetic form matches that for the song of Bacchus and Ariadne, as can be seen in the refrain and first stanza:

Quant'è grande la bellezza
di te, Vergin santa e pia!
Ciascun laudi te, Maria;
ciascun canti in gran dolcezza.

Colla tua bellezza tanta
la Bellezza innamorasti.
O Bellezza eterna e santa,
di Maria bella infiammastì!
Tu di amor l'Amor legasti,

How great your beauty is,
Virgin, holy and devout!
Let everyone praise you, Mary,
let everyone sing in great sweetness.

Through your great beauty
you made Beauty herself fall in love;
O Beauty eternal and holy,
you lighted up for beautiful Mary!
You united love with Love,

¹⁸ L. de' Medici, *Canti carnascialeschi*, 80.

¹⁹ For a complete rhymed translation in English, see L. de' Medici, *Selected Poems*, 162-4.

²⁰ See Fra Serafino Razzi, *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (Venice, 1563; facs. in *Biblioteca musica bononiensis*, sez. IV, n. 37; Bologna, 1969). Razzi preserves the cantus, tenor, and bassus parts, while only the lower two parts survive in an early Florentine manuscript, BNF Magl. XIX. 141. See W. H. Rubsamen, 'The Music for "Quant'è bella giovinezza" and Other Carnival Songs by Lorenzo de' Medici', in C. S. Singleton (ed.), *Art, Science, and History in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1967), 163-84. The song is also edited in *Florentine Festival Music 1480-1520*, ed. J. J. Gallucci, Jr. (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 40; Madison, 1981), 6-7. For a complete transcription of Razzi's anthology, see M. A. Mancuso, 'Serafino Razzi's *Libro Primo delle Laudi Spirituale* (Venice: Rampazetto for Giunti, 1563): A Critical Edition and Commentary', MA thesis (California State University, Long Beach, 1984).

TABLE 2.2. *Laude of Lorenzo de' Medici*

No. ^a	Incipit	Rhyme scheme	Cantasi come/music
1	<i>Ben arà duro core</i>	xX aBaBBX	
2	<i>Poi che io gustai, Giesù, la tua dolcezza</i>	XxY ABABABCcX	<i>Tanta pietà mi tira e tanto amore</i> music: 4vv, Razzi (1563), <i>Levati su omai</i> , fo. 37 ^v
3	<i>O Dio, o sommo bene, or come fai?</i>	XX ABABBX	La canzona del fagiano
4	<i>Quant'è grande la bellezza</i>	xyyx ababbyx	La canzona delle forese [should be Lorenzo's carnival song, <i>Quant'è bella giovinezza</i>] music: 3vv, Razzi (1563), fo. 10 ^v
5	<i>O maligno e duro core</i>	xyyx ababbccx	La canzona de' Valenziani [profumi] music: 3vv, Razzi, (1563), fo. 68 ^v
6	<i>Peccator', su tutti quanti</i>	xyyx ababbx	La canzona de' visi addietro
7	<i>O peccator, io sono Dio eterno</i>	XX AAAX	La canzona dei fornai
8	<i>Io son quel misero ingrato</i>	xx ababbx	La canzone delle cicale
9	<i>Vieni a me, peccatore</i>	xyyX ababbX	Cantasi a modo proprio composto per Isac [Isaac] e come: <i>Tu m'hai legato, amore</i>

^a The order follows that in Lorenzo de' Medici, *Laude*, ed. B. Toscani (Florence, 1990).

Vergin santa, dolce e pia.
Ciascun laudi te, Maria;
ciascun canti in gran dolcezza.²¹

Virgin holy, sweet and devout.
Let everyone praise you, Mary,
let everyone sing in great sweetness.

The penitential period of Lent, following directly on the heels of carnival, called for religious songs, and the familiar tunes from carnival offered themselves conveniently as ready-made vehicles to carry the substituted sacred themes of the lauda. Five of Lorenzo's laude instruct the singer to adopt musical settings from his own carnival songs (see Table 2.2, nos. 4–8), while one other lauda uses the tune of the carnival song of the pheasant (fagiano; no. 3),²² and two others (nos. 2 and 9) are to be sung to secular tunes. Only the first lauda in Table 2.2 is missing a 'cantasi come' indication.

²¹ L. de' Medici, *Laude*, 84.

²² For the text of the Canzona del fagiano, see Brusciagli, *Trionfi e canti camascialeschi*, 438.

Razzi's print also preserves a three-voice setting of Lorenzo's lauda *O maligno e duro core* (Table 2.2, no. 5), and the music is adopted from his *Canzona de' profumi*, one of his early masking songs for carnival. The carnival song's exuberant tone can be sampled in the refrain, along with the first and last stanzas:

Sian galanti di Valenza
qui per passo capitati,
d'amor già presi e legati
delle donne di Fiorenza.

Son molto gentili e belle
donne nella terra nostra:
voi vincete d'assai quelle,
come il viso di fuor mostra.
Questa gran bellezza vostra
con amore accompagnate;
se non siete innamorate,
e' saria meglio esser senza.

Donne, ciò che abbiamo è vostro,
se d'amor voi siate accese,
metterem l'olio di nostro,
ungeremo a nostre spese.
Abbiam olio del paese,
gelsi, aranci e bengiui:
se vi piace, proviam qui:
fate questa esperienza.²³

*We are dandies from Valence,
just passing through here,
but already we have fallen in love
with the ladies of Florence.

Very sweet and lovely are
the ladies in our own land,
but you outdo them by a long shot,
as your faces clearly show.
This great beauty of yours
you accompany with love;
if you are not in love,
it would be better to forgo beauty.

Ladies, all we have is yours;
if you are fired by love,
we will give you the oil ourselves,
we will perfume you at our expense.
We have the oils of our land,
mulberry, orange, and benzoin:
if you like them, give them a try here,
treat yourselves to this experience.

The double entendres of Lorenzo's early songs of the 'arti e mestieri' infuse the various offers to the ladies by the perfume makers, as they describe, for instance, their long-necked perfume bottles and the soothing ointment they contain. The musical phrases are set off by rests, and the concluding section, the volta, features a contrasting passage in triple metre ('Questa gran bellezza vostra | con amore accompagnate'), a common feature of carnival songs (Ex. 2.1). The music captures the smooth delivery of the French dandies from Valence,²⁴ with the beguiling parallel thirds in the top two voices, and the suave slide up to the melodic peak at the end of the first phrase. Apparently Lorenzo had this lively and engaging musical style in mind when he commissioned composers such as Isaac to create new settings for the old carnival songs from the 1470s, and the song's masterly musical setting may be

²³ L. de' Medici, *Canti camascialeschi*, 62. This barzelletta features standard eight-syllable lines, with a refrain of four lines and a stanza of eight lines.

²⁴ See P. Orvieto's commentary in L. de' Medici, *Canti camascialeschi*, 92: 'I galanti saranno piuttosto di Valence in Francia che di Valenza in Spagna. Toscan (*Le carnaval*, cit., p. 688) cita infatti il *Capitolo della fava* di Mauro, in cui il premio per la "fava più galante" è assegnato ai francesi, esperti in sodomia e famosi appunto per la grossezza dell'attributo virile e per la galanteria con cui sapevano offrirlo alle dame.'

the work of Isaac. What a surprise, then, to see the sprightly music for the Song of the Perfumers supplied with a new text by Lorenzo for his Lenten lauda *O maligno e duro core*:

O maligno, e duro core,
 fonte d'ogni mal concetto,
 che non scoppi a mezzo il petto,
 che non t'apri di dolore.

EX. 2.1. Lorenzo de' Medici, Canzona de' profumi, *Sian galanti di Valenza* (lauda, *O maligno e duro core*, 1563, fo. 68^v) (CD track 1)

5

Cantus

Sian ga - lan - ti di Va - len - za, Qui per pas - so
 O ma - li - gno e du - ro co - re, Fon - te d'o - gni

Tenor

Sian ga - lan - ti di Va - len - za, Qui per pas - so

Bassus

Sian ga - lan - ti di Va - len - za, Qui per pas - so

10

ca - pi - ta - ti, D'a - mor già pre - si e le - ga - ti
 mal con - cet - to, (etc.)

ca - pi - ta - ti, D'a - mor già pre - si e le - ga - ti

ca - pi - ta - ti, D'a - mor già pre - si e le - ga - ti

15

20

Del - le don - ne di Fio - ren - za. Son mol - to gen - ti -
 Voi vin - ce - te d'as -

Del - le don - ne di Fio - ren - za. Son mol - to gen - ti -
 Voi vin - ce - te d'as -

Del - le don - ne di Fio - ren - za. Son mol - to gen - ti -
 Voi vin - ce - te d'as -

Ex. 2.1. (Cont'd)

25

l'e bel - - le, Don - ne nel - la ter - ra no -
sai quel - - le, Co - m'il vi - so di fuor mo -

l'e bel - - le, Don - ne nel - la ter - ra no -
sai quel - - le, Co - m'il vi - so di fuor mo -

l'e bel - - le, Don - ne nel - la ter - ra no -
sai quel - - le, Co - m'il vi - so di fuor mo -

30 35

- stra, Que - sta gran bel - lez - za vo - stra Con a -
- stra: Que - sta gran bel - lez - za vo - stra Con a -

- stra, Que - sta gran bel - lez - za vo - stra Con a -
- stra: Que - sta gran bel - lez - za vo - stra Con a -

- stra, Que - sta gran bel - lez - za vo - stra Con a -
- stra: Que - sta gran bel - lez - za vo - stra Con a -

40

mo - r'ac - com - pa - gna - te; Se non sie - t'in - na - mo - ra - te

mo - r'ac - com - pa - gna - te; Se non sie - t'in - na - mo - ra - te

mo - r'ac - com - pa - gna - te; Se non sie - t'in - na - mo - ra - te

45

E' sa - ri - a me - gl'es - ser sen - - za.

E' sa - ri - a me - gl'es - ser sen - - za.

E' sa - ri - a me - gl'es - ser sen - - za.

Non pigliare alcun conforto,
 O cor mio di pietra dura,
 poi che Gesù dolce è morto
 trema il mondo, il sole oscura,
 escon della sepoltura
 morti, e 'l tempio stracci 'l velo,
 piange omé, la terra, il cielo,
 tu non senti, O duro core.²⁵

O hard and evil heart,
 source of every evil notion,
 you who do not burst out of that breast,
 you who do not open yourself to sorrow.

You don't take any consolation,
 O my heart of stone;
 because sweet Jesus is dead,
 the world trembles, and the sun dims,
 the dead come out of their tombs
 and the temple veil is rent,
 and the earth, the sky, cry alas,
 but you don't hear, O heart of stone.

The radical shift from the revelry and high spirits of carnival to the sackcloth and ashes of Lent could not be more pronounced. And even though the musical notes are the same for both texts, one should adopt a more sombre style of performance for the lauda.

Because Razzi's print of 1563 preserves settings for many other carnival songs, this is the logical place to search for some of these 'original settings' from the 1470s in the attempt to gain a better idea of musical style from this decade. In fact he does transmit a lauda, *Giesù, Giesù, Giesù*, whose music can be traced to a carnival song that must date from the 1470s, the famous Song of the Chimney Sweeps (*Canzona de' spazzacamini*), *Visin, visin, visin*. The text of Feo Belcari's *Giesù, Giesù, Giesù* was printed in the lauda anthology of 1486 with the instruction 'cantasi come Vicin, vicin, vicin, chi vuol spazar camin'.²⁶ The cantus part of the carnival song is preserved in a single leaf from the late fifteenth century, while a full four-voice setting of the song with Belcari's sacred text occurs in a Florentine manuscript from early in the next century (Ex. 2.2). The setting of the lauda in Razzi's print of 1563 presents only the cantus and tenor parts.²⁷

²⁵ L. de' Medici, *Laude*, 87.

²⁶ Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 69.

²⁷ The single leaf with the cantus is BNF B.R. 62, while the four-part setting is in BNF Panc. 27, fo. 45^v; for the two-voice version, see Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 60^r. On a fourth source of the cantus and tenor parts, see J. Jaenecke, 'Eine unbekante Laudensammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts', in L. Finscher (ed.), *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1979), 127-44; music transcribed on p. 143.

Ex. 2.2. Anon., Canzona de' spazzacamini, *Visin, visin, visin* (lauda, *Giesù, Giesù, Giesù*, BNF Panc. 27, fo. 45^v; C and T only, 1563, fo. 60^r) (CD track 2)

C
Vi - sin, vi - sin, vi - sin, Chi vuol spaz - zar ca - min?
Gie - sù, Gie - sù, Gie - sù, O - gnun' chia - mi Gie - sù. (etc.)

T
Vi - sin, vi - sin, vi - sin, Chi vuol spaz - zar ca - min?

A
Vi - sin, vi - sin, vi - sin, Chi vuol spaz - zar ca - min?

B
Vi - sin, vi - sin, vi - sin, Chi vuol spaz - zar ca - - min?

5

Al - li ca - min, si - gno - ra! Chi li nuo - le spaz - za - re, Spaz -
zar den - tre di fuo - ra, Chi gli vuol ben net -

Al - li ca - min, si - gno - ra! Chi li nuo - le spaz - za - re, Spaz -
zar den - tre di fuo - ra, Chi gli vuol ben net -

Al - li ca - min, si - gno - ra! Chi li nuo - le spaz - za - re, Spaz -
zar den - tre di fuo - ra, Chi gli vuol ben net -

Al - li ca - min, si - gno - ra! Chi li nuo - le spaz - za - re, Spaz -
zar den - tre di fuo - ra, Chi gli vuol ben net -

10 15

ta - re: Chi non ci può pa - ga - re, Ci do - ni pa - n'o vin.

ta - re: Chi non ci può pa - ga - re, Ci do - ni pa - n'o vin.

ta - re: Chi non ci può pa - ga - re, Ci do - ni pa - n'o vin.

ta - re: Chi non ci può pa - ga - re, Ci do - ni pa - n'o vin.

Several factors support the hypothesis that the four-voice version of the Canzona de' spazzacamini dates from the 1470s. First, carnival in Florence had been suppressed after 1478, and Feo Belcari died by 1484, four years before Lorenzino reinstated carnival celebrations. Belcari's lauda *Giesù, Giesù*,

Giesù, which adopts the music of a pre-existing carnival song, was in print by 1486. Thus the carnival song must have been current already by 1478, which marks the beginning of a decade-long cessation of celebrations in Florence. This dating is important, for it helps us to determine the kind of musical style of the old carnival songs that Lorenzo wished to replace with new settings by Isaac in the 1480s. The refrain and first two stanzas of the Song of the Chimney Sweeps will give an idea of the lively tone of the text:

2a

Visin, visin, visin,
chi vuol spazzar camin?

Alli camin, signora!
chi li vuole spazzare,
spazzar dentro e di fòra,
chi gli vuol ben nettare:
chi non ci può pagare,
ci doni pane o vin.

Visin, visin, visin,
chi vuol spazzar camin?

Camin che non si spazza
presto s'appizza il foco;
non è cosa dispiazza
quando è in cucina il coco;
e necessario gioco
nostro spazzar camin.²⁸

Neighbours, neighbours, neighbours,
who wants their chimneys swept?

Your chimneys, signora!
who wants them to be swept,
swept inside and out,
who wants them well cleaned,
whoever can't pay us,
just give us some bread or wine.

Neighbours, neighbours, neighbours,
who wants their chimneys swept?

The chimney that's not swept
will soon catch fire,
but it's no great worry
when the cook's in the kitchen;
this game is necessary,
our chimney sweeping.

The short lines of the text, in the form of a ballata minore, conform to a standard rhyme scheme of xx ababbx (lower-case letters indicate short lines of six or seven syllables each). The first two lines, called the ripresa (refrain, xx), are followed by a six-line stanza, consisting of two piedi (abab) and the volta (bx). The setting is extremely simple, and consists essentially of two musical phrases: the music for the ripresa returns slightly varied at the end for the volta, and the contrasting music for the middle section provides the same phrase for each of the piedi. Particularly comical is the end of the ripresa, where the bassus is apparently intended to slide up the octave on 'camin', graphically mimicking the motion of the broom as it sweeps up the chimney. (No glissando is actually notated in the bassus part, but because it leaps up the octave in bar 4—while the other voices remain stationary—the bassus draws attention to itself, and cries out for some sort of embellishment.) The bass line in general moves in a restricted pattern of falling fifths, and thus provides a simple and clear support for the harmony. An archaic aspect of the song is the frequent occurrence

²⁸ C. S. Singleton (ed.), *Canti carnascialeschi del Rinascimento* (Bari, 1936), 90.

of consecutive fifths and octaves caused by the added altus and bassus parts.²⁹

The text of Belcari's lauda *Giesù, Giesù, Giesù* adheres exactly to the form and rhyme scheme of the original carnival song of the Chimney Sweeps, as can be seen from the ripresa and first stanza:

Giesù, Giesù, Giesù,
ognun chiami Giesù.

Chiamate questo nome
col core e colla mente,
e sentirete come,
egli è dolce e clemente,
chi 'l chiama fedelmente,
sente nel cor Giesù.

Jesus, Jesus, Jesus,
let everyone cry out Jesus.

Call this name
with heart and mind,
and experience how
it is sweet and merciful;
whoever calls it faithfully,
feels Jesus in his heart.

2b

In comparison with *Visin, visin, visin*, a restrained yet fervent performance of the lauda is in order (CD track 2 at :44); and the bass should make a clean octave leap at the end of the refrain on 'Giesù', avoiding the slide that was so well suited to the chimney sweeps.

Having established an approximate date for the music of the Song of the Chimney Sweeps, it is clear that the music for at least some of the laude in Razzi's anthology goes back to the 1470s. We can now return to Lorenzo de' Medici's earlier carnival songs from this same decade, and in particular his first song in this genre, the Canzona de' confortini, *Berricuocoli, donne, e confortini* (see p. 37). A careful search through the music for some ninety laude in Razzi's print reveals only one that would provide an appropriate setting for this text. The music would of course work as well for Lorenzo's other four songs of the 'arti e mestieri', all of which have the stereotyped poetic form of XX AAAX (capital letters indicate long lines of eleven syllables each). The sameness of structure for these songs must eventually have caused him to tire of them, owing to the simplicity and repetitiveness of the rhyme scheme and the unvaried hendecasyllabic line lengths (Table 2.1, nos. 1–5).

The musical candidate in Razzi's print, the anonymous lauda *Madre de' peccatori*,³⁰ is similar in musical style to the Song of the Chimney Sweeps, and thus fits the chronological profile for the period of the 1470s. The cantus and tenor voices move exclusively in parallel thirds, and the music unfolds over a version of the Folia bass (Ex. 2.3).³¹ The regularity of the pattern, both of

²⁹ See, for example, the consecutive fifths in the altus and bassus on the second statement of 'visin' (b. 1), and the consecutive octaves in the cantus and altus for the third statement of 'visin' (bb. 1–2).

³⁰ Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 21^v. For a full discussion of the suitability of the music for this lauda for singing Lorenzo de' Medici's Canzona de' confortini, see P. Macey, 'Some New Contrafacta for Canti Carnascialeschi and Laude in Late Quattrocento Florence', in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence, 1993), 143–66 at 154–9.

³¹ On the Folia bass pattern, see O. Gombosi, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Folia', *AcM* 8 (1936), 119–29.

Ex. 2.3. Lorenzo de' Medici, Canzona de' confortini, *Berricuocoli*, bb. 1-12 (cc?: *Madre de' peccatori*, 1563, fo. 21^v) (CD track 3)

5

C
Ma - dre de' pec - ca - to - ri ver - gi - ne pu - ra, So - pra de chor an - ge -
Ber - ri - cuo - co - li, don - ne, e con - for - ti - ni, Se ne vo - le - t'i no -

A
Ber - ri - cuo - co - li, don - ne, e con - for - ti - ni, Se ne vo - le - t'i no -

T
Ber - ri - cuo - co - li, don - ne, e con - for - ti - ni, Se ne vo - le - t'i no -

B
Ber - ri - cuo - co - li, don - ne, e con - for - ti - ni, Se ne vo - le - t'i no -

10

li - c'e - sal - ta - ta, Be - ne - det - ta so - pr'o - gni cre - a - tu - ra,
stri son de' fi - ni. Non bi - so - gn'in - se - gnar co - me si fan - no,

stri son de' fi - ni. Non bi - so - gn'in - se - gnar co - me si fan - no,

stri son de' fi - ni. Non bi - so - gn'in - se - gnar co - me si fan - no,

stri son de' fi - ni. Non bi - so - gn'in - se - gnar co - me si fan - no,

the bass line and the harmonization above, creates the impression of an improvisation that has been written down. Italy of course nurtured a long tradition of improvised music, and much of the musical repertory of the Quattrocento has disappeared because it was created on the spot and not written down. But there are glowing literary accounts of the famous improvisers such as Pietrobono in Ferrara³² and Antonio di Guido in Florence, both of whom must have employed standardized bass patterns like the *Folia* bass as they accompanied themselves on the lute or other string instruments while singing their songs.³³ Whether the music for *Madre de' peccatori* actually served

³² L. Lockwood, 'Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara', *RIM* 10 (1975), 115-33.

³³ J. Haar, 'Improvisatori and their Relationship to Sixteenth-Century Music', in id., *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350-1600* (Berkeley, 1986), 76-99, esp. 84. Further on the unwritten tradition in Italy, see the articles by N. Pirrotta, 'Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy'; 'New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition'; 'The Oral and Written Traditions of Music'; and 'Novelty and Renewal in Italy: 1300-1600', all reprinted in id., *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 51-71, 72-9, 80-112, and 159-74.

for the performance of Lorenzo's Canzona de' confortini cannot be demonstrated with certainty, but it seems likely that the piece at least represents the kind of stereotyped musical setting that Lorenzo wished to replace when, for the revived celebration of carnival in the late 1480s, he wrote texts for songs in new poetic forms and commissioned fresh settings from Isaac and others in the more varied musical style that appears in the Canzona de' profumi and the Canzona of Bacchus and Ariadne, the music for which is transmitted in Razzi's print of 1563.

Razzi's Libro primo (1563) and its Musical Sources

Before turning to a discussion of musical settings for Savonarolan laude it is necessary to establish the primary importance of Fra Serafino Razzi's *Libro primo delle laudi spirituale* (Venice, 1563) as a source for musical settings of Tuscan laude in general, and for Savonarola's laude in particular. While the previous overview of Lorenzo de' Medici's carnival songs and laude merely hinted at the significance of Razzi's anthology for late Quattrocento music, the following discussion will demonstrate this more systematically.

Razzi (1531–1611), a Dominican friar who promoted the veneration of Savonarola, was the first Tuscan editor to collect and publish musical settings for laude. Without his anthology much of the repertory would be lost, because often the performance tradition of the lauda was an oral one, and laude were sung to tunes learned by ear and familiar to everyone, so it was considered unnecessary to write the tunes down.

First, a few words about the origins and function of the lauda. The new mendicant orders of friars—Franciscans and Dominicans—were founded in the early thirteenth century, and they in turn promoted the establishment of religious corporations of laymen, based on the structure of the urban guilds. These lay companies held regular meetings, collected dues, kept track of funds in designated account books, performed acts of charity (distribution of alms, dowries for poor girls, medical services, burials), celebrated religious feasts, and met every evening after work to sing laude.³⁴ The latter practice was seen as a particularly effective means of venerating the Virgin Mary. The lay companies could also assist those who had passed on to the afterlife, specifically, their deceased relatives and patrons who were languishing in purgatory. Saying prayers, offering masses, lighting candles, and singing laude for the dead could provide early release from purgatory, which was regarded as 'a kind of spiritual debtor's prison'.³⁵

³⁴ Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 14–15.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 15.

The earliest singing by *laudesi* companies in Florence is documented in the 1280s.³⁶ Company members gathered on annual feasts and for monthly processions on Sunday after Mass (festal services) and on every week-night after Compline (ferial services); at these latter services, they assembled at their assigned altar in the host church and sang *laude* before an image of the Virgin.³⁷ By the fourteenth century the companies had begun to hire a few semi-professional singers who earned their living as artisans during the day; this small group performed the stanzas of monophonic *laude*, and the rest of the company sang the refrain between stanzas.³⁸ By the mid-fifteenth century most companies had discontinued ferial services, but on festal occasions one could hear polyphonic *laude* for three to four voices—now sung by paid singers only. By around 1470 the *laudesi* companies employed choirs ranging in size from five to eleven performers.³⁹

The *lauda* repertory underwent a wholesale change from monophonic works in the stable poetic form of the *ballata* in the fourteenth century to the fifteenth century, which witnessed a veritable flood of hundreds of new *laude* in a variety of poetic forms and polyphonic musical styles.⁴⁰ The shift to the world of polyphony opened up a wide field for the *lauda*; Blake Wilson has observed that 'the *lauda* of this period exhibited no single form or style, but continually mirrored the varied and changing aspects of the broader musico-poetic world in which it now circulated'.⁴¹ Through the 'cantasi come' tradition that developed in the mid-fifteenth century, *laude* could be sung to the music of Italian secular songs, *strambotti*, the *Siciliana*, and, later, the *canti carnascialeschi*, as well as to music drawn from foreign repertory such as French *chansons*.⁴² In contrast to the music of the French *chanson*, which relied on the written tradition for its transmission, the Italian secular repertory circulated primarily through an oral tradition, which depended on the highly developed memory skills of

³⁶ Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 42. ³⁷ *Ibid.* 60–1.

³⁸ F. A. D'Accone, 'Alcune note sulle compagnie fiorentine dei laudesi durante il Quattrocento', *RIM* 10 (1975), 86–114 at 88, 92, 102; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 65.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 149–50.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 165; for a comprehensive overview of the 15th- and early 16th-c. *lauda* and the secondary literature, see *ibid.* 164–82.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 165.

⁴² *Ibid.* 166. While some of the new musical repertory for the *lauda* drew on French *chansons*, which represented music from the written 'art tradition', the majority of pieces derived from an Italian oral tradition with wide exposure to the lay populace of artisans and merchants. An example of this tradition is the *canta in panca* performed in public piazzas by improvisers such as Antonio di Guido (d. 1486). On the art song tradition of French *chansons*, see R. Nosow, 'Binchois' Songs in the Feo Belcari Manuscript', in A. Kirkman and D. Slavin (eds.), *Binchois Studies* (Oxford, forthcoming). Nosow notes that *laude* with 'cantasi come' indications for *chansons* by the Burgundian composer Gilles Binchois (d. 1460) had a limited distribution and were probably intended for a small group of connoisseurs; my thanks to him for sending a copy of his paper prior to publication. On the popular orientation of the *lauda* in Florence, see W. F. Prizer, '*Laude di popolo, laude di corte*: Some Thoughts on the Style and Function of the Renaissance *Lauda*', in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence, 1993), 167–94.

performers.⁴³ It was only at the end of the fifteenth century that this oral tradition began to be written down.⁴⁴

Razzi's anthology preserves music for many laude that originally served for settings of secular love songs, and he also transmitted a portion of the repertory of Florentine carnival songs, as seen in the first section of this chapter. Some of these songs are preserved independently in manuscripts copied in the early sixteenth century,⁴⁵ but most of the musical sources for carnival songs performed in the late fifteenth century have disappeared—no doubt many were cast onto the bonfires of vanities that blazed during the Savonarolan period. Again, it is only the texts of many carnival songs that survive in printed anthologies, such as the important Florentine publication of c. 1515, *Canzone per andare in maschera* that opens with Lorenzo de' Medici's Canzona delle cicale and includes the Canzona de' profumi and the Canzona di Bacco e Arianna (Table 2.1, nos. 8, 7, and 10).

What can Razzi himself tell us about his musical sources? The title-page of the 1563 print indicates that laude were sung in Florentine churches after Vespers or Compline, and especially by nuns and other devout people.⁴⁶ It provides testimony that the music for many of the laude originated in the late Quattrocento, since Razzi goes on to state that it includes 'the appropriate music and tune for singing each lauda, as it was sung in the old days, and as it is performed in Florence'.⁴⁷ Razzi's assertion is supported by the fact that earlier versions of several of the laude in his collection can be traced to fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sources, including manuscripts of

⁴³ Giulio Cattin doubts whether performers had the ability to apply the oral tradition of 'cantasi come' to adapt the complete polyphonic web of secular songs for singing laude; id. "'Contrafacta" internazionali: musiche europee per laude italiane', in U. Günther and L. Finscher (eds.), *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1984), 411–42 at 436–7. Wilson, on the other hand, cites the existence of choirs of laudes who would have been trained to sing polyphony and adapt it from the oral tradition; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 171 n. 102. Further on the 'cantasi come' tradition, see G. Cattin, 'I "cantasi come" in una stampa di laude della Biblioteca Riccardiana (Ed. r. 196)', *Quadrivium*, 19 (1978), 5–52.

⁴⁴ Pirrotta, 'The Oral and Written Traditions of Music', 75.

⁴⁵ The major manuscript source containing music for carnival songs from Florence is BNF B.R. 230, which is unfortunately preserved in an incomplete and damaged state. Many of the carnival songs from the time of Lorenzo de' Medici are located in the last quarter of the manuscript, and either one or two voices are missing, owing to lost leaves. The present manuscript consists of some 150 folios, but through damage and neglect another fifty or so had been lost by the time the manuscript was rediscovered in the 19th c. See the introduction to the facsimile by F. A. D'Accone, *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 230 (olim Magl. XIX.141)* (Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 4; New York, 1986). Another important source for carnival songs and for the canti dei lanzi (songs imitating the dialect of German soldiers stationed in Italy) is BNF Magl. XIX.121, dating from c. 1500–10; see B. J. Blackburn, 'Two "Carnival Songs" Unmasked: A Commentary on MS Florence Magl. XIX.121', *MD* 35 (1981), 121–78.

⁴⁶ The full title-page is: *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali da diversi eccell. e divoti autori, antichi e moderni composte. Le quali si usano cantare in Firenze nelle Chiese doppo il Vespro ò la Compieta à consolatione e trattenimento de' divoti servi di Dio. Con la propria Musica e modo di cantare ciascuna Laude, come si è usato da gli antichi, et si usa in Firenze. Raccolte dal R. P. Fra Serafino Razzi Fiorentino, dell'ordine de' Frati Predicatori, à contemplatione delle Monache, et altre devote persone. Nuovamente stampate.*

⁴⁷ 'Con la propria musica e modo di cantare ciascuna Laude, come si è usato da gli antichi, et si usa in Firenze'; Razzi. *Libro primo*, title-page.

Florentine carnival songs, as seen above.⁴⁸ And the musical style of the settings for many of the laude suggests their origin in this period. Perhaps something of a decline in the tradition had occurred by the 1560s, for the printer Filippo Giunti remarks in his dedicatory letter to Caterina de' Ricci, a nun at the convent of San Vincenzo in Prato, that the practice of singing laude in the convents is no longer what it once was, and currently the religious, especially nuns, are given to singing lascivious songs that would shock even guests at secular gatherings. One has only to glance at the texts of carnival songs such as *Visin, visin, visin* or *Sian galanti di Valenza* to take Giunti's point. To remedy the situation, Giunti notes that Razzi has collected laude that have been, and still are, sung in Florence, and he has taken the unusual step of supplying the texts with their appropriate musical settings, instead of following the foolish custom ('scioccha maniera') of 'cantasi come' to indicate the tune.⁴⁹

That lauda singing did remain important in Dominican convents emerges when one notes the identity of the authors of lauda texts in Razzi's anthology. The print itself contains ninety-one musical settings for one to four voices (mostly for three voices), and it transmits some 180 lauda texts; the most popular musical settings are provided with up to five or six alternative texts, while others have just a single text. Several of the authors of the laude are well-known Florentines from the Quattrocento, including Lorenzo de' Medici, his mother Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici (d. 1482), her nephew Lorenzo Tornabuoni (d. 1497), and Feo Belcari, but by far the majority of texts in the collection were written by Dominican friars, most of whom were active at Savonarola's convent of San Marco during portions of their careers. The list of nine friars includes Fra Bonifazio Landini (d. 1527),⁵⁰ Fra Angelo Bettini (d. 1562),⁵¹ Fra Giovanni Battiloro,⁵² Fra Marco della Casa (d. 1580),⁵³ Fra Felice da Castelfranco (d. 1571),⁵⁴ Fra Hilario Buoninsegni da Siena,⁵⁵ and Fra Vincenzo Ercolani da Perugia

⁴⁸ Another example, *O Gesù dolce*, occurs in a monophonic version in a manuscript now in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, which contains sacred music copied between 1465 and 1480; see G. Cattin, 'Polifonia quattrocentesca italiana nel codice Washington, Library of Congress, ML 171 J6', *Quadrivium*, 9 (1968), 87-102, esp. 91. Razzi's version occurs in *Libro primo*, fo. 61^v. See also B. Becherini, 'Musica italiana a Firenze nel XV secolo', *RBM* 8 (1954), 109-21, esp. 113, 117-18; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 171-2; and M. Fabbri, 'Laude spirituali di travestimento nella Firenze della Rinascenza', in M. Rosito (ed.), *Arte e religione nella Firenze de' Medici* (Florence, 1980), 145-58.

⁴⁹ Razzi, *Libro primo*, sig. *2^r.

⁵⁰ BMLF San Marco 370, fos. 97^r, 167^r (necrologio of the convent of San Marco).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fos. 101^r, 182^r.

⁵² BNF Pal. 173, fo. 165^v.

⁵³ BMLF San Marco 370, fos. 107^r, 190^v.

⁵⁴ S. Razzi, *Istoria de gli uomini illustri . . . del sacro ordine de gli Predicatori* (Lucca, 1596), 178.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 333.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 121-3. See the introduction to G. di Agresti's edition of S. Razzi, *Vita di Santa Caterina de' Ricci* (Lucca, 1594) (Florence, 1965), p. xciii.

(d. 1586).⁵⁶ One of the more prolific authors of laude in the collection, Fra Niccolò Fabroni (d. 1578), known as 'il Sordino' (the deaf one), took his vows at San Marco in 1542.⁵⁷ Finally, Razzi himself is responsible for the largest number of laude in the print.⁵⁸ Two other friars listed in the print, Bastiano da Poggibonzi and Pierfelice Caiani, were probably also Dominicans associated with San Marco.

While a complete review of the repertory of Razzi's 1563 print is beyond the scope of this study, it will nevertheless be useful to survey the provenance of music in the collection, whose complete contents are listed in Appendix A. Razzi's 180 texts derive from a number of sources. Thirty-six were printed as laude before about 1507; these include texts by fifteenth-century Tuscan poets such as Feo Belcari, Lorenzo de' Medici, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, Gherardo d'Astore, and Francesco d'Albizzo. More than a third of the total lauda texts (sixty-two) were written by Razzi himself in the mid-sixteenth century, while thirteen are by his contemporary Fra Niccolò Fabroni, and thirty-one other texts were written by friars and others associated with San Marco, dating from c.1510 to 1560. Ten of the laude are not in Italian, but are rather traditional Latin texts, such as hymns, antiphons, and psalms. Finally, twenty-six of the texts are by unidentified authors. Almost 60 per cent of the total, some 106 texts in all, are by Razzi, Fabroni, and other friars and writers connected with the convent of San Marco.

The oldest group of laude in Razzi's collection consists of the few that are preserved in fifteenth-century sources, including the Latin laude *Verbum caro factum est* and *Cum autem venissent*, nos. 29 and 68. Another group features the musical style of fifteenth-century Italian songs: the texture is for three voices, with a structural duo between the cantus and tenor, whose syllabic melodies often blossom into a melisma at cadences. To this duo is added a third voice (called contratenor, later referred to as the bassus) that acts as a filler, with frequent leaps and a generally non-melodic character. Razzi groups most of these laude together near the end of his collection. All the texts (except no. 73, *Signor io pur vorrei*) were printed in the Florentine anthologies of c.1480, 1486, c.1495, and c.1502-7, and when one takes their musical style into account it seems likely that Razzi preserves musical settings from the Quattrocento as well. These early laude are as follows:

73. *Signor io pur vorrei*, Autore incerto
 78. *Deh dolce redentore*, Lorenzo Tornabuoni⁵⁹

⁵⁷ BMLF San Marco 370, fos. 112^v, 187^r; Pistoia, Convent of San Domenico, Necrologio, III, fo. 33^v.

⁵⁸ BMLF San Marco 370, fos. 114^v, 200^r.

⁵⁹ Text first published in *Laude vecchie e nuove* (c.1502-7); see Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 241. The music perhaps served for singing Savonarola's lauda *Alma che sì gentile*; see Ch. 4, Ex. 4-5.

79. *Giesù sommo diletto e vero lume*, Feo Belcari
 ['cantasi come *Leggiadra damigella*, e come *Molto m'annoia dello mio messere.*]⁶⁰
80. *Signor Giesù quando sarò io mai*, Autore incerto⁶¹
84. *Conosco ben che pel peccato mio*, Autore incerto
 ['Di Francesco d'Albizo. Questa detta Lauda ha modo proprio fatto per Ser Firenze Prete.']⁶²
85. *O dolce amor Giesù quando sarò*, Autore incerto⁶³
86. *Se tu donassi il core*, Autore incerto
 ['Di Feo Belcari. Cantasi come *Se non ti guardi amore*, e come *Insegnatemi Giesù Cristo.*']⁶⁴
87. *Chi 'l paradiso vuole*, Autore incerto
 ['Lauda di Gherardo d'Astore. Cantasi come *Lassa quanto son io.*']⁶⁵
88. *In nulla si vuol porre*, Autore incerto⁶⁶
89. *Quando ti sguardo in croce*, Autore incerto⁶⁷

Only two of the above laude are attributed in Razzi (nos. 78 and 79), while the early prints of laude provide attributions for three more (nos. 84, 86 and 87). Existing love songs (*Leggiadra damigella*, *Se non ti guardi amore*, and *Lassa quanto son io*) supplied the music for three of the laude, nos. 79, 86, and 87. The musical setting for no. 84, *Conosco ben che pel peccato mio*, was composed especially ("modo proprio") for this text by a priest, Ser Firenze di Lazzero, who was active in laudesi companies in Florence in the 1470s and 1480s.⁶⁸

By the late fifteenth century, laude were sung not only to the music of love songs but also to carnival songs. Adoption of settings from carnival songs represented a widening of the net beyond the realm of courtly love songs to a more bawdy arena, and while Savonarola himself does not seem to have adopted the tunes of these earthy songs for his own laude, we have seen that Lorenzo de' Medici did write laude to be sung to the music of his own carnival songs, and several more were adapted for use during the Savonarolan carnivals in 1496, 1497, and 1498.

The seventeen carnival songs in Razzi's anthology that have been

⁶⁰ First published c.1480; Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 4. The music served for singing Savonarola's lauda *Giesù dolce conforto e sommo bene*; see Ch. 4, Ex. 4.4.

⁶¹ First published c.1495; *ibid.* 153. The music perhaps served for singing Girolamo Benivieni's lauda *Viva ne' nostri cuori*; see Ch. 3, Ex. 3.3.

⁶² First published in 1486 with the heading as given in brackets; *ibid.* 58.

⁶³ First published c.1495; *ibid.* 128.

⁶⁴ First published in 1486; *ibid.* 87.

⁶⁵ First published in 1486; *ibid.* 96.

⁶⁶ First published in 1486; *ibid.* 102.

⁶⁷ First published in c.1495; *ibid.* 125.

⁶⁸ D'Accone, 'Alcune note sulle compagnie fiorentine dei laudesi', 90-1, 100, and 108; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 113, 115, and 176 n. 117. On Ser Firenze's "modo proprio" setting for Savonarola's lauda *Giesù splendor del cielo*, see Ch. 4.

identified so far can be divided into two groups: those probably written before 1494, and those after 1500. The oldest group comprises eight songs, and, with the exception of the four-voice settings of *Berricuocoli, donne* and *Visin, visin, visin*, they are designed for three voices. Razzi often provides only two voices of what must originally have been three-part works, just as he printed only two of the original four voices of *Visin, visin, visin*. One must turn to surviving manuscript sources such as BNF B.R. 230 to recover the full setting for three or four voices. The relatively early age of the carnival songs in this group is also indicated by the texts of the laude, whose authors were active in the late fifteenth century. The carnival songs in the left column below were printed in the *Canzone per andare in maschera* of 1515. Songs marked with an asterisk I have recently proposed as models for laude; the songs are for three voices unless otherwise indicated.

Carnival song	Lauda, 1563, by number
<i>Quant'è bella giovinezza</i> ⁶⁹ Canzona di Bacco e Arianna Lorenzo de' Medici	7. <i>Quant'è grande la bellezza</i> Lorenzo de' Medici
* <i>Berricuocoli donne e confortini</i> ⁷⁰ Canzona de' confortini Lorenzo de' Medici	12. <i>Madre de' peccatori</i> (4vv) Anon.
* <i>Giovani mandati siano</i> ⁷¹ Canto dell'imperatore	13. <i>Chi non ama te Maria</i> (2vv) Girolamo Benivieni
<i>Siamo stati in Fiorenza</i> ⁷² Canzona dell'orso	27. <i>O anima accecata</i> (2vv) modelled on Feo Belcari
<i>Visin, visin, visin</i> (4vv) ⁷³ Canzona degli spazzacamini	34. <i>Giesù, Giesù, Giesù</i> (2vv) Feo Belcari
<i>Sian galanti di Valenza</i> ⁷⁴ Canzona de' profumi Lorenzo de' Medici	39. <i>O maligno e duro core</i> Lorenzo de' Medici
* <i>Franza, Franza, viva Franza</i> ⁷⁵	42. <i>Ogni giorno tu mi di'</i> (2vv) Anon. [Castellano Castellani]

⁶⁹ Gallucci, *Florentine Festival Music*, pp. xiii and 6-7.

⁷⁰ Macey, 'Some New Contrafacta', 156-9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 148-50.

⁷² Ghisi, *I canti carnascialeschi*, 99.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 109-10; facing p. 96 is a facsimile of *Giesù, Giesù, Giesù* from BNF Panc. 27.

⁷⁴ Gallucci, *Florentine Festival Music*, pp. xiii, 4-5.

⁷⁵ Macey, 'Some New Contrafacta', 150-2. The music for Castellano Castellani's lauda *Ogni giorno tu mi di'* occurs as a cantasi come for another of his laude, *Non fu mai più dolce amore*, in BNF Pal. 169, fo. 157^r. Furthermore, the fourth print of laude (c.1502-7) from Galletti's anthology includes Castellani's *Non fu mai più dolce amore* with 'cantasi come *Franza è Franza*'; Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 228. By this chain of associations, the music for *Ogni giorno tu mi di'* can be traced back to the carnival song *Franza, Franza*. Giulio Cattin believed the music for *Franza, Franza* was lost, but perhaps Razzi preserves it in his setting of *Ogni giorno tu mi di'*; see G. Cattin, 'Musiche per le laude di Castellano Castellani', *RIM* 12 (1977), 194.

Viva, viva la ragione

Canzona degli huomini salvaticchi

83. *Viva, viva in oratione*⁷⁶

Anon.

Settings from two of the above carnival songs (which correspond to the laude nos. 42 and 83, and perhaps lauda no. 13 as well) were employed in new laude written for the Savonarolan carnivals in the 1490s (see Ch. 3).

Other carnival songs in Razzi's collection possibly date from after around 1510, since they were not included in the *Canzone per andare in maschera*. One in particular, *Dolor pianto e penitenza*, dates from the 1512 restoration of the Medici in Florence, according to Vasari.⁷⁷ Furthermore, several of the authors of the later group of laude that were adapted to the music of these carnival songs, such as Serafino Razzi, Angelo Bettini, and Bastiano da Poggibonzi, were apparently active after 1520. The nine songs are listed below; again an asterisk indicates songs I have proposed as models for laude. The songs are scored for four voices unless marked otherwise; note that the original carnival songs adapted for laude nos. 30, 38, and 53 were scored for four voices, but Razzi provides only two.

Carnival song

Lauda, 1563, by number

**Pace, guerra, guerra e pace*⁷⁸

Canto del Berlingaccio

Giovan Francesco del Bianco

5. *Molto più guerra che pace*

Simon Pallaio

Donne per elezzione (4vv)⁷⁹

Canto di pastori bacchiatori

Jacopo da Bientina

(music: Bartolomeo degli Organi)

30. *Si pensassi a piacer* (2vv)

Feo Belcari

Caritate amore dei

Canto di lanzi pellegrini

Guglielmo detto il Giuggiola

37. *Spiriti siam sempre* (3vv)⁸⁰

Serafino Razzi

Caritate amore dei (4vv)⁸¹

38. *Povertà, fatiche* (2vv)

Bastiano da Poggibonzi

*Amor che 'n terra ogni timore*⁸²

Canto di fanciulle in casa

Giovambattista dell'Ottonaio

40. *Amor che 'n terra il tuo*

Angelo Bettini

⁷⁶ G. Cattin, 'Le poesie del Savonarola nelle fonti musicali', *Quadrivium*, 12 (1971), 259-80 at 266 n. 19.

⁷⁷ Gallucci, *Florentine Festival Music*, p. xv.

⁷⁸ Macey, 'Some New Contrafacta', 152-3.

⁷⁹ Gallucci, *Florentine Festival Music*, pp. xvii, 63-5.

⁸⁰ BNF Magl. VII.365, fo. 95^v: '*Spiriti siam sempre, come Caritate amore Dei*'.

⁸¹ Apparently there were two distinct musical settings for *Caritate amore Dei*, because this setting is different from the three-voice version used for Razzi's lauda no. 37 above. The four-voice setting is in BNF B.R. 230, fo. 138^v, and in BNF Magl. XIX.121, fo. 11^v. See Gallucci, *Florentine Festival Music*, pp. xix, 99-100; see also Blackburn, 'Two "Carnival Songs" Unmasked', 151.

⁸² Gallucci, *Florentine Festival Music*, pp. xvi, 49-51.

- **Pescatori a lenza siamo*⁸³
Canzona de' pescatori
Michele da Prato
- Tambur, tambur* (4vv)⁸⁴
Anon.
- Dolor, pianto e penitenza*⁸⁵
Carro della morte
Antonio Alamanni
- Dalla più alta stella*⁸⁶
Trionfo della dea Minerva
Agnolo Divizio da Bibbiena
- Ne più bella di queste*⁸⁸
Canto delle dèe
Anon. (music: H. Isaac)
48. *Peccatori Maria noi siamo* (3vv)
Anon.
53. *O mè, o mè quanto* (2vv)
Fra Bonifazio Landini
57. *Dolor, pianto e penitenza*
same as carnival song text
82. *Dalla più alta stella*
?Lorenzo de' Medici⁸⁷
90. *Vergine santa, gloriosa*
Anon.

In addition to these carnival songs, another fifteenth-century secular setting is Poliziano's song for the first of May, *Ben venga maggio*, the music for which appears in Razzi's print as *Ecco 'l Messia* (no. 9), by Lucrezia Tornabuoni.⁸⁹ Savonarola used this music for his lauda *Che fai qui core* (see Ch. 4).

Razzi drew on other sources for his laude; in particular the mid-sixteenth-century villotta provided him with several musical settings. The villotta is a secular song characteristically for three voices, and features the conscious deployment of unpolished popular elements such as full triads in parallel motion. The resulting parallel fifths produce a rustic and charming effect as the voices slide from one harmony to the next.⁹⁰ Razzi adapted five villotte in his anthology of 1563, mostly from *Il terzo libro delle villote alla napolitana* (Venice, 1560).⁹¹

Villotta

Assa buccuccia zuccaro ci tieni
Anon., 1560

Lauda, 1563

58. *Se tua parola Giesù*
Serafino Razzi

⁸³ Macey, 'Some New Contrafacta', 153-4.

⁸⁴ Blackburn, 'Two "Carnival Songs" Unmasked', 151-2, 154-7 (with transcription of the music).

⁸⁵ Gallucci, *Florentine Festival Music*, pp. xiv-xv, 18-19.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, 14-15.

⁸⁷ The attribution occurs in *Laude vecchie e nuove composte da più persone spirituali* (c.1502-7), but the text is not included in the modern edition of Lorenzo's laude; see de' Medici, *Laude*, 19.

⁸⁸ The attribution of the music to Isaac occurs in BNF B.R. 230; see Gallucci, *Florentine Festival Music*, pp. xv, 26-8. None of the manuscript sources for the song can be dated before the early 16th c., but the attribution of the music in B.R. 230, where it is found along with other carnival songs by Lorenzo de' Medici, suggests that this song, one of Isaac's most lovely creations, may have been composed before 1492 while he was in Lorenzo's service.

⁸⁹ Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 15^r. On Poliziano's song, see F. Luisi, 'Ben venga Maggio: Dalla canzone a ballo alla *'Commedia di Maggio'*, in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence, 1993), 195-218.

⁹⁰ For an example of the style, see Razzi's later adaptation of a villotta for his lauda in honour of Savonarola, *Piangendo i miei peccati* (see below, Ex. 5.6).

⁹¹ Three subsequent editions were published, in 1562, 1565, and 1567.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>Gentil signor'affe ch'io mi moro</i> | 59. <i>Signor per la tua fe</i> |
| Anon., 1560 | Serafino Razzi |
| <i>Havea na gallina capelluta</i> ⁹² | 60. <i>O signor mio</i> |
| Anon., 1557 | Serafino Razzi |
| <i>Vorria saper da voi belle Zitelle</i> | 61. <i>Vorria saper da voi</i> |
| Anon., 1560 | Serafino Razzi |
| <i>Tre ciechi siamo</i> ⁹³ | 72. <i>Tre virtù siamo</i> ⁹⁴ |
| G. D. da Nola, 1545 | Serafino Razzi |

It is apparent that Razzi grouped all the laude based on villotte together, while da Nola's similarly styled villanella, *Tre ciechi siamo*, follows them a short distance later in the print.

To sum up the musical sources for Razzi's laude, more than a third of the ninety-one settings can be traced to secular models. Nine laude in fifteenth-century chanson style either relied on love songs as pre-existing models, or were newly composed in this style, as in *Conosco ben che pel peccato mio*, by Ser Firenze. At least seventeen laude originated as carnival songs from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and one was based on Poliziano's song for May Day. Finally, five laude were based on villotte from the mid-sixteenth century.

Razzi's anthology of laude counts as one of the most important musical sources for Florentine music from the late Quattrocento, and it will serve in the next three chapters as a fund for settings of songs for the Savonarolan carnivals of 1496, 1497, and 1498, as well as Savonarola's own laude, and finally for laude composed in veneration of the friar in the sixteenth century. The music in Razzi's print allows the reconstruction—in most cases certain, in others speculative—of an extensive group of laude from each of the above categories.

⁹² *Canzoni alla napolitana* (Rome, 1557).

⁹³ G. D. da Nola, *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana* (Venice, 1545).

⁹⁴ In his extensive manuscript collection of laude, BNF Pal. 173, Razzi notes that the source of his lauda is *Tre ciechi siamo*, but does not name the composer. His comment is transcribed in B. Becherini, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze* (Kassel, 1959), 101. See also F. Ghisi, *I canti carnascialeschi*, 99. Razzi, in his *Libro primo delle laudi spirituale* of 1563, gives the following instruction for this lauda: 'Cantasi come Tre ciechi siamo' (fo. 121').

Laude for Savonarolan Carnivals and Other Celebrations, 1496–1498

Savonarola transformed Lorenzo de' Medici's licentious and extravagant carnival tradition into a religious celebration, primarily through creative channelling of the energy of the *fanciulli* of Florence. Music played a particularly important role in uniting the *fanciulli* behind the friar's cause.

The season of carnival traditionally turned everyday life on its head, and rule-breaking was for a brief period the norm; the revellers focused their activities on three basic areas—food, sex, and violence, all in excess.¹ In the old carnival celebration, the weeks leading up to Lent had commonly been given over to unruly behaviour on the part of the boys, who built huts of brushwood and defended them by throwing stones at rival groups, who in their turn tried to attack the opponents' huts and set them ablaze. Several youths would usually be killed in the fighting each season. Now the *fanciulli* devoted their energies to collecting alms for the poor and doing good works, and they marched in processions singing newly composed *laude*; the astonished citizens of Florence, especially parents, could not help but take note.

Here we shall take a close look at the carnivals of 1496, 1497, and 1498, and the *laude* newly composed for them. For the carnival of 1495, there had been too little time to prepare, and Savonarola had not been able to organize much in the way of a new reformed style of celebration. Nor was there a bonfire of vanities for the jubilant celebration in the following year, on 16 February 1496, but a huge contingent of *fanciulli* did march along the traditional processional route through the city, singing *laude* and shouting 'Viva Cristo', proclaiming Christ as their King. The cries of the *fanciulli* heralded the imminent arrival of the millennium, when Christ would return to reign as king on earth for a thousand years. Some weeks later, the procession for Palm Sunday on 27 March was just as festive. Not until the carnival of 1497 did the *Piagnoni* actually construct and light the famous bonfire of vanities (piled high with cosmetics, wigs, dice, playing cards, musical instruments, etc.), and this marked the pinnacle of their

¹ Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 186.

celebrations in Florence. In the following year the carnival of 1498 also featured a pyre of vanities, but the occasion was hobbled by Savonarola's excommunication, and the festivity was cut short by a hostile crowd in the Piazza della Signoria. The Piagnoni had to retreat to Piazza San Marco, where they continued to dance and sing laude. By now the movement was in steep decline.

In what follows, an attempt will be made to recapture and reconstruct some of the songs and sounds of the Savonarolan carnival celebrations in the late 1490s. Much of the account is based on the testimony of three Florentine witnesses, Luca Landucci, Piero Parenti, and Girolamo Benivieni, as well as the sermons of Savonarola himself. Luca Landucci (c.1444–1516) owned an apothecary's shop at the intersection where the Vigna Nuova and Via della Spada join the central and busy street of the Via Tornabuoni, and he was a careful observer of many of the events that unfolded in Florence.² He was a devout believer in Savonarola's message until the friar's excommunication in 1497, after which he kept a safe distance from Piagnoni activities. Piero Parenti (1450–1518?) was born to a prosperous merchant and his wife, Caterina, who was a member of the wealthy and powerful Strozzi family. Parenti served the Florentine government in various capacities as ambassador and elected official, and initially supported Savonarola for his role in promoting the re-establishment of the Republic.³ Eventually he became disillusioned with the civil and religious strife in the city, which he felt was caused by the fanatical followers of Savonarola, and he became a firm sceptic of the prophetic message of the friar. Girolamo Benivieni (1453–1542), a humanist and friend of the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, lived a remarkably long life in spite of extremely frail health.⁴ He published an extensive body of poetry, including many laude, several of which were written specifically for the Savonarolan festivals.⁵ As an ardent follower of Savonarola, he never missed an opportunity to defend the friar's teachings in tracts and letters, even decades after Savonarola was executed.⁶

² Landucci, *Diario fiorentino*; English: *A Florentine Diary*. For details of Landucci's biography, see *Florentine Diary*, pp. ix–xi.

³ See P. Parenti, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. in part by J. Schnitzer in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Savonarolas*, iv (Leipzig, 1910). A complete edition is under way, of which the first volume has appeared; see P. di Marco Parenti, *Storia fiorentina*, i: 1476–78, 1492–96, ed. A. Matucci (Florence, 1994).

⁴ See C. R. e., *Girolamo Benivieni Fiorentino: cenni sulla vita e sulle opere* (Città di Castello, 1906); see also C. Vasoli, 'Benivieni, Girolamo', *DBI* viii. 550–4; and O. Z. Pugliese, 'Girolamo Benivieni: umanista riformatore (dalla corrispondenza inedita)', *La Bibliofilia*, 72 (1970), 253–88.

⁵ See G. Benivieni, *Commento di Hieronymo Benivieni sopra a più sue canzone et sonetti della Amore e della Bellezza divina* (Florence, 1500), and id., *Opere di Hieronymo Benivieni* (Florence, 1519).

⁶ For a summary of Benivieni's activities in relation to Savonarola, see Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 139–46, 248–51.

Viva Cristo!: *Laude for Carnival, 16 February 1496*

1496 began as an auspicious year for the Savonarolans; their star was in the ascendant. By this time the Florentine government had been re-established on a firm constitutional basis, and Charles VIII seemed on the verge of returning to Italy to reinforce his French troops garrisoned at Naples. Florence stood strong, bolstered by the promise of help from the French king. For the carnival of 1496, the last day of celebration was marked with a solemn morning Mass in the Duomo, at which the fanciulli sang devout laude newly composed for the occasion. After a frugal midday meal, thousands of fanciulli gathered in the Piazza Annunziata and then commenced their procession through the streets, threading their way along the usual processional route, down the Via Larga and Via Tornabuoni, across the Arno River at the Ponte Santa Trinita, back across the river at the Ponte Vecchio, on to the Piazza della Signoria, and finally they reached the Duomo, and they sang new laude as they marched.⁸ In lieu of their usual games of throwing rocks and burning wooden huts, the fanciulli had collected alms for the shamefaced poor, and when they arrived at the Duomo, the alms were offered amidst the singing of more laude. After the offering, the fanciulli returned to the Piazza della Signoria, where, after grouping themselves under the Loggia dei Lanzi and along the Ringhiera (the elevated terrace in front of the Palazzo della Signoria), they performed a *Te Deum* in concert with the city band. The sounds of the sackbuts and shawms penetrated the open air in support of the massed voices of the boys, and according to Parenti they shouted 'Long live Christ crucified! Long live Christ our king, and king of the Florentine people!' ('Viva Cristo crocifisso! Viva Cristo re nostro e del popolo fiorentino!').⁹ Landucci notes that during the procession the fanciulli shouted an acclamation that praised the Virgin Mary as queen of Florence as well: 'Viva Cristo e la Vergine Maria nostra regina!'¹⁰

The organization of this initial Savonarolan celebration of carnival was delegated to the friar's lieutenant, Fra Domenico da Pescia, because during the period from November 1494 to early 1496 Savonarola had been preoccupied with governmental reforms and the establishment of a constitution for the Florentine Republic. He directed Fra Domenico to take on the moral guidance of the city's youth and redirect their destructive energies to more productive ends during the carnival season. Fra Domenico achieved an astonishing success. Landucci estimated that during this first Savonarolan celebration of carnival 6,000 or more boys took part, all of them rather

⁷ Parenti, *Storia fiorentina*, ed. Matucci, 311.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. 312.

¹⁰ Landucci, *Diario*, 124-5.

young, between the ages of 5 and 16.¹¹ He goes on to describe how they marched through the streets singing and carrying olive branches, and that the onlookers were brought to tears, saying 'truly this change is the work of God. These lads are those who will enjoy the good things which the *Frate* promised.' Landucci himself was moved by the spirit with which the alms were offered in the Duomo, saying that

many gold florins were put into the collection plates, but the greater part consisted in copper coins and silver. Some women gave their veil-holders, some their silver spoons, kerchiefs, towels, and many other things. All was given without grudging. It appeared that everyone wished to make an offering, and especially the ladies; it appeared that everyone wished to offer something to Christ and His Mother. I have written these things which are true, and which I saw with my own eyes, and felt with so much emotion; and some of my sons were amongst those blessed and pure-minded troops of boys.¹²

Savonarola relates the events of this carnival in his first sermon of the Lenten cycle on Amos and Zaccaria for 1496, delivered in the Duomo on the day after carnival, on Ash Wednesday, 17 February. In October of the previous year the pope ordered him to stop preaching, and thus the friar had been silent for several months until the Signoria obtained permission for him to resume in Lent of 1496. This sermon thus marks Savonarola's return to the pulpit, and it reveals that he recognized the importance of the fanciulli and of their singing to the Piagnone cause:

And see what fruit prayers bring forth, along with living a good life and preaching, so that the city of Florence, which was accustomed to giving itself up completely to dissolution during carnival time, has this year demonstrated great devotion. And your fanciulli, who used to play the game of stones and sticks and many other crazy things,

¹¹ Ibid. 125. Parenti estimated that only about 4,000 fanciulli took part, still a sizeable number; *Storia fiorentina*, ed. Maticci, 311. Another account of the 1496 carnival events occurs in the lauda manuscript BNF Magl. XXXV.119, which belonged to Bruno di Nicholaio di Matteo Lachi. It is dated 1481 at the opening, but near the end is inscribed 'Giesù Maria 1495' (NS 1496; top of fo. 302'). On fo. 303', a description of the 1496 carnival occurs that agrees substantially with that of Parenti, except that this observer estimates that only 1,700 fanciulli took part, and, contrary to Parenti he notes that for the *Te Deum* in the Piazza della Signoria, the wind-players performed the verses in alternation with the singers.

¹² 'Veramente questa nuova commutazione è opera di Dio. Questi giovanetti son quegli ch'anno a godere le cose buone ch'esso promesse. . . . Vedevasi dato loro ne' bacini molti fiorini d'oro, e la maggior parte grossi e arienti. Chi dato loro veliere, cucchiai d'ariento, fazzoletti, sciugatoi e molte altre cose. Si dava senza avarizia; pareva che ognuno volessi dare ciò che gli aveva, e massime le donne; pareva che ognuno volessi offerire a Cristo e alla sua Madre. Io ò scritte queste cose che sono vere, e io l'ò vedute, e sentito di tal dolcezza, e de' mie' figliuoli furono infalle benedette e pudiche schiere.' Landucci, *Diario*, 125. English trans. from id., *Florentine Diary*, 102. Another description of the carnival celebrations of 1496 is preserved in the diplomatic correspondence of Paolo Somenzi, who served as ambassador to Florence for Ludovico il Moro, duke of Milan, who was himself hostile to Florence. Somenzi's account thus reflects the stance of his master, and this makes it all the more surprising that he estimates the number of participating fanciulli at 10,000, apparently an exaggerated figure. While he makes no mention of singing, he does point out that the boys shouted 'Viva Cristo' as they processed through the streets; see Villari, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, I, pp. cxi-cxii.

TABLE 3.1. 'Viva Cristo' laude, probably for carnival (16 February) and Palm Sunday (27 March) 1496

	Incipit and author	Sources
1	<i>Viva viva in nostro core</i> <i>Cristo re, duce e signore</i> anon.	appended to: Savonarola, <i>Tractato . . . della vita spirituale</i> (c.1498)
2	<i>Viva Cristo e chi li crede</i> Filippo Cioni	BAV Rossi 424 ^a Gondi MS (lost) ^b Anon., <i>Canzona che fa uno Fiorentino</i> (c.1500)
3	<i>Viva Cristo re nostro et la felice</i> <i>Maria regina che in Fiorenza dice</i> anon.	BMF C.262
4	<i>Viva ne nostri cuori, viva o Florentia</i> <i>Viva Cristo el tuo Re: viva la sposa</i> Girolamo Benivieni	BMF C.262 ^c Benivieni, <i>Commento</i> (1500) ^c BMLF San Marco 429 ^b BNF Magl. XXXV.119

^a Attributed to Filippo Cioni.

^b Attributed to Savonarola.

^c Attributed to Girolamo Benivieni.

now have turned to [singing] divine laude and have made a procession on the day of carnival so that I seemed to see those fanciulli and those people who came to welcome the Saviour when he entered Jerusalem riding on an ass's colt. . . you know how many tears were shed when you heard those young voices sing the laude of our Saviour Jesus Christ and of his mother Mary, often shouting in a loud voice all together with great jubilation: 'Long live the Lord Jesus Christ, our King, and our Queen his mother the Virgin Mary!'¹³

Four laude for the carnival of 1496 come to the fore because the words *Viva Cristo* occur in their opening lines; moreover, these laude are preserved in sources with clear Savonarolan associations (see Table 3.1).

The first 'Viva Cristo' lauda, the anonymous *Viva, viva in nostro core*, | *Cristo re, duce e signore* (Table 3.1, no. 1), was probably sung at the carnival celebration of 1496, and the text itself is directly modelled on the openings of three different carnival songs printed in *Canzone per andare in maschera*

¹³ 'E vedete quanto frutto fanno l'orazioni con la buona vita e predicazione, che la città di Firenze, che nel tempo del carnasciale soleva esser tutta dissoluta, a questa volta è stata in gran devozione; e li fanciulli vostri, che solevano fare a' sassi e stili e molte altre pazzie, ora sono rivoltati alle laude divine e hanno fatto una processione il dì di carnasciale, che mi pareva di vedere quelli fanciulli e quel popolo che andorono incontro al Salvatore quando venne in su l'asina e lo asinello in Jerusalem. . . tu sai quante lacrime furono sparse quando si sentivano quelle voci puerile cantare le laude del nostro Salvatore Giesù Cristo e della sua madre Maria, gridando spesso ad alta voce tutti insieme con gran iubilo: Viva il Signor Giesù Cristo Re nostro e la nostra Regina sua madre Vergine Maria!' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, i. 37-9.

per carnesiale (c.1515).¹⁴ It is appended to a print of Savonarola's *Tractato . . . della vita spirituale*, translated by the notary Filippo Cioni.¹⁵ The origin of this source suggests that the lauda was performed at one of the Piagnone celebrations.

The lauda is in the regular form of the barzelletta: after the short refrain of two lines, the five stanzas consist of eight lines, each line having eight syllables; the rhyme scheme is xx ababbccx. The text makes reference to Christ the King and his mother Mary, and to fasting and penitence as agents of reform.

4

Viva, viva in nostro core
Cristo re, duce e signore.

Ciascun purghi l'intelletto,
la memoria e voluntate
dal terrestre e vano affetto:
arda tutto in caritate,
contemplando la bontate
di Giesù, re di Fiorenza;
con digiuni e penitenza
si reformi dentro e fore.

Long live, live in our hearts
Christ the king, leader and lord.

Let everyone purge his mind,
memory, and will
of earthly and vain affections.
Let all burn in charity,
contemplating the goodness
of Jesus, King of Florence.
Through fasting and penitence
let us reform ourselves inside and out.

The music for the lauda survives beyond any reasonable doubt in Razzi's anthology as *Viva, viva in oratione* (Ex. 3.1).¹⁶ Razzi's lauda is also a barzelletta, and the opening lines are so similar in each lauda that it seems unnecessary to require a 'cantasi come' indication.¹⁷ In agreement with its first incarnation as a carnival song (as in *Viva, viva la ragione*), the setting perfectly embodies the style of such songs from the 1480s and 1490s, with its scoring for three voices, lively dotted rhythms and repeated notes, and the shift to triple metre for the final two lines. The fanciulli could easily have memorized the music and performed the stanzas with gusto in the Piazza della Signoria.

The next work is *Viva Cristo e chi li crede*, attributed in the most reliable source to Filippo Cioni, the translator of several of the friar's treatises and cycles of sermons (Table 3.1, no. 2 and App. B, fo. 195^r).¹⁸ The hortatory

¹⁴ The complete text of *Viva, viva in nostro core* is printed with the works of doubtful authenticity in Savonarola, *Poesie*, 45–6. The original carnival songs are: Canzona di ghinea, *Viva, viva la potenza*; Canzona di Firenzuola, *Viva, viva el gran signore*; and La Canzona degli huomini salvatici, *Viva, viva la ragione*, in L. de' Medici, *Canzone per andare in maschera*, ed. Carrai, 20, 37, 39.

¹⁵ Savonarola, *Tractato . . . della vita spirituale* (Florence, c.1498); id., *Poesie*, 132.

¹⁶ Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 136^r. See Cattin, 'Le poesie del Savonarola', 266 n. 19.

¹⁷ In addition, line 5 of the first stanza of each begins with the same word; in *Viva, viva in oratione* it is 'Contemplando che i dannati'.

¹⁸ The attribution to Savonarola in the Gondi manuscript from the mid-16th c. (now lost; R. Ridolfi, *Gli archivi delle famiglie fiorentine* (Florence, 1934), 68) has been rejected by Mario Martelli in favour of Filippo Cioni, to whom it is attributed in the earlier laudario BAV Rossi 424, which belonged to Pandolfo Rucellai (d. 1497), a friar at the

Ex. 3.1. Anon., *Viva, viva in nostro core*, bb. 1–14 (cc: *Viva, viva in oratione*, 1563, fo. 136^v) (CD track 4)

5

C
Vi - va, vi - va in o - ra - tio - ne, Cia - sche - dun' con di - vo -
Vi - va, vi - va in no - stro co - re, Cri - sto re, du - c'e si -

T
Vi - va, vi - va in no - stro co - re, Cri - sto re, du - c'e si -

B
Vi - va, vi - va in no - stro co - re, Cri - sto re, du - c'e si -

10

gio - vane, Chi pen - sas - s'al pa - ra - di -
Dal mon - do sa - ria di - vi -
gno - re, Cia - scun' pur - ghi l'in - tel - let -
Dal ter - re - str'e va - n'ef - fet -

gio - vane, Cia - scun' pur - ghi l'in - tel - let -
Dal ter - re - str'e va - n'ef - fet -

gio - vane, Cia - scun' pur - ghi l'in - tel - let -
Dal ter - re - str'e va - n'ef - fet -

text goes on for thirteen stanzas, and urges Christians to commit themselves to faith in Christ, as seen in the opening stanzas:

Viva Cristo e chi li crede:
su, Fiorenza, all'operare,
ché Giesù vuol coronare
chi morrà per questa fede.

Io mi sento liquefare,
quando sguardo il mio Signore
che per noi sia nato e more
sol per farci in ciel erede.

Long live Christ and he who believes.
Arise, Florence, to the task,
because Jesus wants to crown
those who will die for this faith.

I feel myself melt,
When I look at my Lord
who was born and dies for us,
only to make us heir to heaven.

convent of San Marco; Savonarola, *Poesie*, 229–34, 260–2. Martelli prints *Viva Cristo e chi li crede* with the works of doubtful authenticity, *ibid.* 51–3; for the complete text from BAV Rossi 424, *ibid.* 260–1. The lauda is also appended anonymously to a printed book from the very early 16th c., titled *Canzona che fa uno Fiorentino a Camasciale* (Florence, c.1500), and reprinted as *Canzona d'un Piagnone pel bruciamento delle vanità nel carnevale del 1498*, ed. I. Del Lungo (Florence, 1864). See the discussion below, n. 47.

O Giesù, che cosa brami
da Fiorenza, pien d'amore?
Vien' per grazia nel suo core,
falle noti e tua legami.

O Jesus, what do you desire
from Florence, so full of love?
Come by grace a little into her heart,
make known to her your promises.

What tune might the fanciulli have used for this lauda? The sources provide no specific indications, but the verse form is extremely simple, limited as it is to four-line stanzas rhyming abba, with no refrain. One lauda in Razzi's print of 1563 follows the same verse form as *Viva Cristo e chi li crede*, and has a similar rhyme scheme: *Deh venitene pastori* by Lorenzo de' Medici's mother, Lucrezia.¹⁹ Although no 'cantasi come' indication survives for *Viva Cristo*, a case can be made that the music for *Deh venitene pastori* served for this Piagnone lauda. In the first place, the text and music for Lucrezia de' Medici's lauda were written before 1482, the date of her death. And Razzi's print is the most logical place to turn for Piagnone settings, since it is a prime source of Florentine music from the late Quattrocento, as shown in the previous chapter. In the following chapters it will be demonstrated that it is in fact a central, but disguised, repository for settings of many laude that originally had overtly Savonarolan texts.

Razzi's music for *Deh venitene pastori* is especially well suited for the singing of *Viva Cristo* for several reasons: its tune is restricted to the range of a fifth, the first three phrases are nearly identical, and the central pitches within the phrases are reiterated (Ex. 3.2). The fourth phrase provides a welcome change of pace with its ascent to the peak of the melody, on the fifth degree of the scale, and its shift to hemiola rhythm. The fanciulli could easily have performed the lauda in three-part harmony as given in Razzi's print, since the altus is simply a discant that sings a third higher than the cantus, in almost unbroken parallel motion. The tenor provides harmonic support, and consists of only four notes that leap by fourths or fifths. A simple method of performance suggests itself: the fanciulli could begin by singing the melody alone; then some of them could add the accompanying tenor for the next verse. Finally, they could add the altus discant on top for the following verse. The music is so simple that the added tenor and altus voices could have been improvised, and Razzi probably records a practice that the fanciulli originally learned by ear.

A third 'Viva Cristo' lauda, *Viva Cristo re nostro et la felice | Maria regina che in Fiorenza dice* (Table 3.1, no. 3), is contained in a laudario in the

¹⁹ Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 36'. *Deh venitene pastori* was sung to the music of the secular song *Quando sono in sta cittade*, according to the cantasi come indication in the 1486 print of laude; see Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 73. One other setting in Razzi's print of 1563 could also have served to sing *Viva Cristo e chi li crede*. This is a lauda by Pierfelice Caiani, *Facciam' festa, hor su facciamo* (fo. 113'). Although the text is a barzelledda, with a four-line ripresa and eight-line stanza, only four phrases of music are supplied; the refrain, piedi, and volta are each performed to the same music. These four phrases are brief, the text setting is completely syllabic, and the style is similar to that of *Deh venitene pastori*.

Ex. 3.2. Filippo Cioni, *Viva Cristo e chi li crede* (cc?: *Deh venite pastori*, 1563, fo. 36^v) (CD track 5)

5

A
Deh ve - ni - te - ne pa - sto - ri, A ve - der' Gie -
Vi - va Cri - sto e chi li cre - de, Su Fio - ren - za

C
Deh ve - ni - te - ne pa - sto - ri, A ve - der' Gie -
Vi - va Cri - sto e chi li cre - de, Su Fio - ren - za

T
Deh ve - ni - te - ne pa - sto - ri, A ve - der' Gie -
Vi - va Cri - sto e chi li cre - de, Su Fio - ren - za

10

sù che è na - to, Nel pre - se - pi - o 'gnu - do
all' o - pe - ra - re, Che Gie - sù vuo - le co - ro -

sù che è na - to, Nel pre - se - pi - o 'gnu - do
all' o - pe - ra - re, Che Gie - sù vuo - le co - ro -

sù che è na - to, Nel pre - se - pi - o 'gnu - do
all' o - pe - ra - re, Che Gie - sù vuo - le co - ro -

na - to, Più che l' sol è ri - splen - den - te.
na - re, Chi mor - rà per que - sta fe - de.

na - to, Più che l' sol è ri - splen - den - te.
na - re, Chi mor - rà per que - sta fe - de.

na - to, Più che l' sol è ri - splen - den - te.
na - re, Chi mor - rà per que - sta fe - de.

Marucelliana Library in Florence that holds a rich store of Piagnone texts copied in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries (App. C, fo. 112').²⁰ Several of the laude in the manuscript are by Savonarola himself, and others are by Girolamo Benivieni. The placement of this text among the other laude

²⁰ This lauda seems to have been passed over in the literature on Savonarola, and is not reprinted in any modern edition.

for Savonarolan carnivals indicates that it too was sung in Florence for one of these occasions. The carnival of 1496 is most likely, given that witnesses such as Parenti stressed the frequent shouts of 'Viva Cristo'. The lauda consists of a refrain and four stanzas, and it makes frequent use of enjambment, a device that is a hallmark of laude by Girolamo Benivieni, who may perhaps be the author.²¹

Viva Cristo re nostro et la felice
 Maria regina, che in Fiorenza dice
 più richa, più potente e gloriosa
 che mai fussi hor farai mirabil cosa.

Anchor cipta nel mondo non si truova
 che abbia quel vero lume che tu ai
 se 'l col fragiello el tuo re or' ti pruova
 sappi che in brieve libera sarai
 felice e lieta più che fussi mai
 de' dimmi or' no' sie questa una gran cosa.

Long live Christ our King, and the joyful
 Mary as Queen, who says that Florence
 will be more rich, more powerful, and glorious
 than ever, and now will achieve miraculous things.

There is no other city in the world
 that has this true light that you have,
 and if by flagellation your king reveals it to you now,
 know that in a short time you will be liberated,
 more happy and joyful than you ever were,
 so tell me now if this isn't a grand affair.

The Savonarolan content of the lauda is confirmed in the refrain, where the Virgin's promise that Florence would be made 'more rich, more powerful, and glorious than ever' draws directly on the friar's vision in the *Compendio di rivelazioni*. Savonarola harped on this visionary phrase over and over in his sermons of 1495 and 1496.²²

The regular eleven-syllable lines and rhyme scheme for the refrain (XXYY) and stanzas (ABABBY) mark the text as a ballata, and the form resembles the texts of two laude in the printed books of laude from the 1480s

²¹ *Viva Cristo re nostro* does not, however, appear in editions of Benivieni's poetry published in 1500 and 1519.

²² A close version of the opening phrase of the lauda is quoted in the biography of Savonarola written probably in the 1520s by Pseudo-Burlamacchi, who simply paraphrased much of the account published by Girolamo Benivieni in his *Commento* (Florence, 1500; see below). Pseudo-Burlamacchi says that the crowd sang *Viva Gesù Cristo Re nostro* as they marched in the Palm Sunday procession, and this matches almost exactly the opening line of the anonymous lauda from the Marucelliana laudario, *Viva Cristo re nostro*. See Conti, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola*, 128.

in Florence.²³ A search through extant musical sources, however, has not turned up a musical setting that fits this verse type, not even in Razzi's anthology of 1563.²⁴

The final lauda on 'Viva Cristo' is Girolamo Benivieni's *Viva ne' nostri cuori, viva o Florentia | Viva Cristo el tuo Re* (Table 3.1, no. 4) for Palm Sunday, 27 March 1496, which was celebrated in this year by the Piagnoni with particularly great rejoicing. Savonarola remarked on the success of the reform of the fanciulli in his sermon for Palm Sunday:

Come here, you wise and incredulous ones: does it seem to you that the fanciulli have come to the Lord? Tell me something: when did you ever see the fanciulli attend the sermon in this order? You were never able to prevent them with your laws from playing the game of stones nor to draw them away from other vices, and now see, as if by themselves, through divine instinct, they enter the virtuous path. . . . Doesn't this seem to you a miracle? Doesn't this seem to you the work of God? . . . Tell me, who governs the fanciulli in this work if not Christ? You could well have governed them with your laws, but you have never been able to put curbs on these children. And it was reported to me yesterday, O Florence, that your fanciulli were gathered to make garlands of olive branches in order to have them today for the feast, and they were lined up chorus by chorus, and made garlands and sang laude, so that it seemed to be a paradise. See what work this is, O Florence!²⁵

The friar's evocation of paradise in conjunction with the singing of the fanciulli indicates the great impression they made on the populace. The harmonious singing of the boys created a vision of the future time when the Church would be renovated and the world would rejoice in peace and

²³ Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 18, 51; *Merzé ti chiamo Vergine Maria* (XYYX ABACDE), and *Poiché il tuo cor, Maria è grazioso* (cantasi come: *Plus que je vis le regard gracieus*; ABAB ABABBA). Many other laude in Galletti's edition have a two-line refrain and six-line stanza, again with eleven-syllable lines, XX ABABBX, and these bear the instruction 'cantasi come gli strambotti o vero rispetti'. The strambotto contains eight lines per stanza, and these laude could be sung to music for a strambotto.

²⁴ Razzi's collection, however, contains a setting that could be adapted with two minor alterations to fit the text of *Viva Cristo re nostro. Cristo ver huomo e Dio*, for three voices, is a ballata minore with the following rhyme scheme: xX ABAB bX; Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 47'. The short seven-syllable line for the opening of the refrain as well as the short first line of the volta would require adding a bar of music at the beginning of each of these sections (bb. 1 and 17). Actually, the music for the piedi offers a ready model for this solution (b. 9), since the hendecasyllabic lines for this section require a longer musical phrase. Accordingly, the piedi open with one and a half bars of repeated sonority on F, and the proposed additional bar of music at the beginning of the refrain and volta adopts the same solution.

²⁵ 'Venite qua, voi savi e increduli: parvi che e' fanciulli sieno venuti al Signore? Ditemi un poco: quanto è che non son venuti mai fanciulli alla predica in questa forma? Voi non avete potuto con vostre legge rafrenargli mai da' sassi e correggergli dagli altri vizii, e ora vedete come da sé, per istinto divino, egli entrono nella buona via. . . . Non vi par miracolo questo a voi? Non vi par questa cosa di Dio? . . . Dimmi: chi governa li fanciulli in questa opera se non Cristo? Tu hai ben potuto fare con tue leggi che mai non li hai potuto frenare. E a me fu riferito ieri, Firenze, che li tuoi fanciulli erano insieme a far grillande d'ulivo per averle oggi alla festa ed erano distesi a coro per coro e facevano grillande e cantavano laude, che pareva un paradiso. Vedi che cosa è questa, Firenze!' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, iii. 151–2.

harmony. The children served a double function, since they enacted Savonarola's vision of paradise in the present world, and they provided tangible evidence of the future, after the flagellation and renovation of the Church.²⁶

Savonarola went on to issue brief instructions for the order of the Palm Sunday procession, and he specifically included women and girls, who marched in order after the boys, the clergy, and the laymen. All of them carried red crosses and garlands of olive branches, except for the women, for whom the garlands might seem a sign of levity. All were to pray for the city and the conversion of the wicked.²⁷ The friar closed with a prayer to God, and a rousing invocation that spurred the congregation to shout *Viva Cristo!*²⁸

Viva ne' nostri cuori, viva o Florentia was written, as mentioned above, for Palm Sunday of 1496, and it was published by Benivieni in his *Commento . . . sopra a più sue canzone et sonetti* (Florence, 1500), along with two other laude for the 1497 and 1498 carnival celebrations, *Da che tu ci hai* and *Venite ecco il Signore*, to be discussed below. Benivieni's lengthy introduction to *Viva ne' nostri cuori* paints a particularly vivid picture of the events of that Palm Sunday.²⁹ In his account he repeatedly draws imagery from Savonarola's visions in the *Compendio di rivelazioni*, which had been published in Florence in August 1495. Benivieni notes that the fanciulli were dressed in white, with olive branches and red crosses, and he recalls the friar's vision of the angels descending to earth during the renovation of the Church.³⁰ The angels were sent by God to protect Florence during the flagellation that would be carried out against the rest of the world, Rome above all.

Benivieni's *Viva ne' nostri cuori* is a canzone, a poetic form with mixed line lengths and no refrain. The opening glosses the acclamation 'Viva Cristo re nostro' that was shouted and sung by the populace, and the second tercet reiterates the Virgin's promise to Savonarola in the *Compendio di rivelazioni* that Florence would be 'more rich, more powerful, and more glorious' than ever:

Viva ne' nostri cuori, viva O Florentia
viva Cristo el tuo Re: viva la sposa
sua figlia et madre et tua guida et Regina
Poi che per loro bontà, per loro clementia
più riccha più potente et gloriosa
che mai fussi esser debbi el dì s'appressa:
Ne può tanta promessa
O inextimabil dono esser già vana:

²⁶ See R. C. Trexler, 'Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation in the Renaissance', in *Dependence in Context in Renaissance Florence* (Binghamton, NY, 1994), 259–325; originally published in C. Trinkaus with H. A. Oberman (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), 200–64.

²⁷ Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, iii. 152–3.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 157–8.

²⁹ Benivieni, *Commento . . . sopra a più sue canzone*, fo. cxii'.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fo. cxii'.

perché non lingua humana
el dice no ma la bontà divina.

Long live in our hearts, long live O Florence,
long live Christ your King, long live that spouse,
his daughter and mother and your guide and Queen.

Because through their goodness and their mercy,
the day approaches when you will be
more rich, more powerful, and glorious than ever.

Such promise cannot,
O inestimable gift, be in vain,
because it was not spoken
by the human tongue, no, but by the divine goodness.

The limited distribution of this text, like the other 'Viva Cristo' laude, suggests that it was far too politically pointed to be performed widely in the sixteenth century. Early on it was copied into the laudario now in the Biblioteca Marucelliana (App. C, fo. 113^r) and printed in Benivieni's *Commento* of 1500.³¹ Only much later in the sixteenth century did the canzone resurface in manuscript copies of a biography of Savonarola written by Fra Serafino Razzi, and by this time it was attributed to Savonarola himself.³² Apparently the lauda had been resurrected by Razzi, who mistakenly took it for the work of Savonarola, probably because it contained such a concise statement of his prophecies concerning Florence.

The appearance of this lauda in Razzi's biography of Savonarola in the late sixteenth century suggests that the Piagnoni continued to sing it, and Razzi's anthology of 1563 is the logical place to turn for a suitable musical setting. A thorough search turns up only one lauda whose form approaches that of Benivieni's canzone. *Signor Giesù quando sarò io mai*³³ appears in the print of

³¹ It also appears in Magl. XXXV.119, fo. 302^r, where no attribution is given. The latter manuscript, a lauda anthology, was discussed above in relation to the carnival of 1496; see p. 62, n. 11.

³² BMLF San Marco 429, fo. 209^r. See App. G.

³³ Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 132^r. *Signor Giesù quando sarò io mai*, however, is a ballata mezzana and not a canzone. It has a rhyme scheme of XyX for the refrain, and AbAb CdC for the stanza. The lauda consists of a three-line ripresa, four-line piedi, and three-line volta, and alternates seven- and eleven-syllable lines. The music for the three-line ripresa could simply be repeated for the two opening tercets of Benivieni's canzone.

Signor Giesù quando sarò io mai
grato, e riconoscente,
dell'eccellente don, che dato m'hai.

O vago, o dolce, o amator cortese,
O gratia gratis data,
l'anima mia, che sempre mai t'offese,
di nuovo hai toccata,

La desviata, e piena di peccati,
che era smarrita, e persa,
tù l'hai conversa al regno de' beati.

Ex. 3.3. Girolamo Benivieni, *Viva ne' nostri cuori*, bb. 1-27 (cc?: *Signor Giesù quando sarò*, 1563, fo. 132^v) (CD track 6)

5

C
Si - gnor Gie - sù quan - do sa - rò io ma .
Vi - va ne' no - stri cuo - ri, vi - va o Flo -
Poi - chè per lor' bon - tà per lo - ro cle -

T
Vi - va ne' no - stri cuo - ri, vi - va o Flo -
Poi - chè per lor' bon - tà per lo - ro cle -

B
Vi - va ne' no - stri cuo - ri, vi - va o Flo -
Poi - chè per lor' bon - tà per lo - ro cle -

10

C
- ren - tia, Gra - t'e ri - co - no - scen - te,
Vi - va Cri - sto el tuo Re,
- men - tia, Più ric - cha, più po - ten - te,

T
- ren - tia, Vi - va Cri - sto el tuo Re,
- men - tia, Più ric - cha, più po - ten - te,

B
- ren - tia, Vi - va Cri - sto el tuo Re,
- men - tia, Più ric - cha, più po - ten - te,

15 20

C
Del - l'ec - cel - len - te, Del - l'ec - cel - len - te don che da -
vi - va la spo - sa Sua fi - gli'et ma - d'et tu - a gui -
et glo - ri - o - sa Che mai fus - s'es - ser deb - b'el di

T
vi - va la spo - sa Sua fi - gli'et ma - d'et tu - a gui -
et glo - ri - o - sa Che mai fus - s'es - ser deb - b'el di

B
vi - va la spo - sa Sua fi - gli'et ma - d'et tu - a gui -
et glo - ri - o - sa Che mai fus - s'es - ser deb - b'el di

25

C
- to m'ha - i, O va - g'o dol - ce,
- d'et Re - gi - na, Ne può tan - ta pro - mes - sa
s'ap - pres - sa, Per - chè non lin - g'hu - ma - na

T
- d'et Re - gi - na, Ne può tan - ta pro - mes - sa
s'ap - pres - sa, Per - chè non lin - g'hu - ma - na

B
- d'et Re - gi - na, Ne può tan - ta pro - mes - sa
s'ap - pres - sa, Per - chè non lin - g'hu - ma - na

laude from c.1495,³⁴ so its music was known in Florence by the time Benivieni wrote his text (Ex. 3.3). The metric scheme for *Signor Giesù* works well for Benivieni's canzone, especially because the caesura in line 2, *Viva Cristo el tuo Re | viva la sposa*, fits perfectly with the two distinct phrases provided in Razzi's setting.³⁵ While the closing section of the music for *Signor Giesù* does not form a perfect fit with the end of Benivieni's text, it could have been easily adapted for performance. This Piagnone lauda rose to such prominence in the sixteenth century as a work attributed to Savonarola that it would be surprising if Razzi were to have left no trace of a musical setting.

Carnival and Bonfire of Vanities, 7 February 1497

The carnival celebration in 1497 marked the height of Savonarola's power in Florence, and it was the climactic observance before his excommunication by Pope Alexander VI in May of that year. This carnival culminated in the first Savonarolan bonfire of vanities, accompanied by joyful, almost frenzied, rejoicing by the Piagnoni. Girolamo Benivieni composed another lauda especially for this day, *Da che tu ci hai*, just as he had done for Palm Sunday 1496.³⁶ According to the account in his *Commento*, after the fanciulli had completed their procession through the city, they returned to the Duomo and sang the following lauda. Then they offered their collection of alms for the poor, after which they marched back to the Piazza della Signoria for the bonfire of vanities. Benivieni titled his lauda a 'supplication to God for the promises made by Him to the city of Florence'. The opening refrain and the first of five stanzas take on a strident tone, a departure from the optimism of Benivieni's text from the previous year:

Da che tu ci hai Signore
Giesù per gratia electi
e nostri peccati infiamma hor del tuo amore.

Excita Signor mio
la tua potentia et vieni
monstra che tu se Dio;
Signor perché più peni?

Perché non legghi enfreni
quella insanabil turba
ch'el ben disturba alla città del fiore?

³⁴ Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 153.

³⁵ Some adjustment, however, would be necessary to accommodate Benivieni's last four lines, because the 7 11 7 line lengths in *Signor Giesù* are reversed to 7 11 7 11 in Benivieni's canzone, requiring the repetition of the second and fourth lines of text in the closing section of Benivieni's canzone.

³⁶ Benivieni, *Commento*, fo. cxvi^r.

Since you have chosen us, Lord
 Jesus, through grace
 inflame our hearts now with your love.

Stir up, my Lord,
 your might and come,
 show that you are God;
 Lord, why more sufferings?

Why don't you tie up and put bits
 in the mouth of this incurable mob
 which so disturbs the well-being of the city of flowers?

The lauda calls upon the Lord for several favours: to show Himself and deliver Florence from the disruptions caused by the unbelievers, to grant the good things that He has promised to the faithful Florentines, and to punish the wicked. The tone is markedly vindictive against the unbelievers—the Arrabbiati and especially the Compagnacci—and suggests that these groups were beginning seriously to hinder the activities of the Piagnoni. Indeed Landucci, who remained silent on the carnival celebrations of 1497, relates that during the Corpus Christi procession a few months later in May, one of the Compagnacci grabbed one of the red crosses from the hand of a fanciullo, broke it, and threw it into the Arno.³⁷

The form of Benivieni's lauda is that of the ballata mezzana, similar to the lauda discussed above, *Signor Giesù quando sarò io mai*, which was proposed earlier as a setting for Benivieni's *Viva ne' nostri cuori*. The music of *Signor Giesù* could also have served for Benivieni's new lauda of 1497 (Ex. 3.3).³⁸ Perhaps he decided to rely on the same musical setting in 1497 because the fanciulli had already learned the music, and new words could easily be added.

Turning to the infamous bonfire of vanities, Parenti vividly described the righteous mood that Savonarola fostered in the populace, and the consequent building of the pyre with vanities collected by the fanciulli who—one reads with a chill—went from house to house, searching for worldly items to add to the pyre.

Through loathing and detestation of vanities and games and of all vices and sins, they built in the Piazza della Signoria a round edifice of wood with different levels to a good height shaped like a pyramid, on the summit of which was the figure of Satan, and other demons at the foot of the structure, to which they brought the following items to be burned: paper with lascivious pictures, vanities, such as women's hats,

³⁷ Landucci, *Diario*, 150-1.

³⁸ Benivieni's *Da che tu ci hai Signore* also has a three-line ripresa (xyX) and seven-line stanza (cdcd deX), but several of his lines are shorter in syllable count than *Signor Giesù*. Nevertheless, the third line of Benivieni's ripresa (X) has a similar interior rhyme that refers back to the end of the second line (Benivieni's 'electi', and 'pecti', compared with 'riconoscente', and 'dell'eccelesente' from *Signor Giesù*).

mirrors, wigs, dolls, perfumes, pictures in intarsia, sculptures, cupids, playing cards, dice boards, chess pieces, lutes and other musical instruments, books of diverse poets and other similar things associated with display and luxury. Next they organized themselves, so that from San Marco there departed in procession a multitude of fanciulli, quarter by quarter, each with its own insignia preceding, and they followed the usual route through Florence, and finally they gathered together in the Piazza [della Signoria], where they occupied the Ringhiera and the Loggia of the Signori [dei Lanzi]. There they sang a certain lauda to scorn Carnival, composed in honour and praise of Jesus Christ, King of Florence. Then, the trumpets and winds of the Signoria having sounded, they set fire with lighted torches to the aforesaid edifice, which was filled inside with brushwood and broom. With the greatest happiness they burned everything that was assembled above, and almost all of the citizens were present, and the windows all around were filled with women.³⁹

Parenti went on to marvel at the reform of the fanciulli, but he also grumbled that the burning of vanities was a divisive act, causing the citizens to turn against one another, even within the same family, brother against brother, father against son, husband against wife. For him, Savonarola's exhortations of love and harmony had resulted in a contradictory sowing of strife among the people.

Parenti specifically mentions that the fanciulli sang a lauda in mockery of Carnival, and that it also praised Christ as King of Florence; the lengthy text has in fact been preserved in a print from the early sixteenth century titled *Canzona che fa uno Fiorentino a Carnasciale*.⁴⁰ The work is in the form of a dialogue between the snivelling and cringing figure of Carnival and a virtuous Florentine, and thus Ridolfi referred to it as a 'contrasto'.⁴¹ I believe that Razzi's anthology of 1563 preserves an appropriate musical setting for the contrasto, as will be seen below.

The Florentine accosts Carnival as he prepares to flee to Babylon (Rome), having first piled all his worldly goods on the back of a donkey. He also holds several stones in his hands, for he is ready to engage in the dangerous game

³⁹ 'Che per detestatione et abominatione della vanità et de giuochi et di tutti e vitii et peccati in su la piazza de Signori si facesse di legname a gradi in buona altezza certo tondo edifitio a modo d'una maga o di piramide, su la sommita del quale era la figura di satanas et altri diavoli a pie dell'edifitio, sul quale si portassino per ardere poi carte di pitture lascive, vanità, come sono capegli da donne, specchi, lisci, bambole, profumi, pitture in tavola, sculture, Idii d'amore, carte da giucare, dadi tavolieri, scachieri, liuti et altri musici instrumenti, libri di diversi poeti et simili altre cose a pompa o luxu appartenenti. Appresso s'ordino, che da s. Marco partissino in processione moltitudine di fanciulli, quartiere per quartiere, ciascuno con l'insegna sua innanzi, et fatto per Firenze la cerca, in piazza finalmente si riducessino et occupato la ringhiera et loggia de Signori cantassino certa laude in obrobrio di carnasciale composta [in] honore et laude di Giesù Cristo, re di Firenze. Appresso sonato che hebbono le trombe et i pifferi della Signoria, con fiaccole accese vennano a mettere fuoco nell'edifitio predetto, il quale drento pieno era di scope et di stipa, et con grandissima letitia tutto che sopra adunato v'era arsono, presente quasi tutto il popolo et piene la finestre d'attorno di donne.' Parenti, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. Schnitzer, 159–60.

⁴⁰ It was printed in the 19th c. under a somewhat different title: *Canzona di un Piagnone*, ed. Del Lungo. For a modern edition of the complete text, see Savonarola, *Poesie*, 217–29.

⁴¹ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, ii. 164 n. 53.

of stone-throwing that was common during carnival. In accordance with Parenti's remarks, there are references to Christ as King of Florence in stanzas 5 and 20, and the final stanza (49) refers to the burning and death of Carnival. After the singing of this canzona, a fanfare from the wind instruments announced the lighting of the bonfire. The fanciulli then responded with Savonarola's 'dolce canto', *Ecce quam bonum*, and two more laude followed: *Viva Cristo e chi li crede*, which was a reprise of the lauda from the carnival of 1496, whose text Ridolfi believed was revised in 1497,⁴² and *Voi toccate la chiavetta*, which concluded the observance.

The *contrasto* gives a droll depiction of the harried figure of Carnival, who has become emaciated from all the reforms and fasting; he grouses that he has become like a friar. The stanzas of the *contrasto* begin with an opening quatrain followed by forty-nine stanzas of eight lines each. The opening verses provide an idea of the mixture of moralistic and farcical tones, as the Florentine narrator introduces Carnival.

He who has the vision of the faith,
 pure and clean from sin,
 take a moment to see what happens
 to a crazy person who doesn't believe.⁴³

[1] This was Carnival,
 who carried his brain in his shoes,
 and certain narrow-minded people
 have named him as their chief:
 they have been squeezed
 in Florence, their ugly and
 filthy merchandise has been allocated;
 certainly they have lost all their faith.

[2] Where are you off to, Carnival,
 with your hands full of stones,
 with your bag of games?
 Are you fleeing from the law?
 Don't flee; come on, stop there in your tracks,
 for I want to know the reason.
 Have you ever faced questioning?
 Or have you lost here the faith?

Carnival responds:

[3] Let go of my cloak,
 don't get in my way,
 for the Florentine people
 have prepared a great sentence for me.

⁴² Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, ii. 164 n. 53; see also id., *Gli archivi delle famiglie fiorentine*, 68.

⁴³ The Italian text of the first stanza is: 'Chi ha l'occhio della fede | Puro e netto dal peccato, | Guardi un po' quel ch'è 'ncontrato | A un pazzo che non crede.'

Neither in Greek nor in Latin,
 they have condemned me to the fire
 by their proclamation—are you going to get out of my way soon?
 Crazy is he who doesn't believe.

The Florentine responds:

[4] Where are Jove, Juno, and Mars,
 and beautiful Venus so adorned,
 the silly Bacchus with his horns,
 who usually assist you so much?
 Have no fear for their return,
 you still have many who love them,
 people of all kinds who are unchanged,
 how well they show so little faith.

Carnival responds:

[5] Everyone is prostrate on the ground,
 with red crosses and 'Viva Cristo!'
 They have made such professions [of faith]
 that they have dissipated our efforts.
 Everywhere I see myself scorned
 in favour of a certain great King;
 so, driven by sorrow,
 I'll turn to Rome who believes in me.

The Florentine responds:

[6] Where are your fanciulli,
 and wooden huts, sticks, and stones,
 with many of your other fair amusements?
 Haven't they given you their funds
 for the league of pagans?
 These are certainly strange things;
 they have lost all of your faith.

[7] Look at your emaciated face!
 You resemble an Observant friar!
 You used to be so stylish:
 have you perhaps just come out of a convent?
 You used to be so zealous
 for your faith, and you were seen,
 in order to make a great effect,
 to be burned right down to your feet.

Carnival responds:

[9] Those fanciulli are the death of me;
 they have stolen away all my glory,
 with another sweet story
 they have driven me out of their court;

they don't remember me anymore,
 they all regard me as a derelict;
 even the women have afflicted me,
 denying my own faith.

The Florentine replies that if Carnival goes to Rome, he should take with him this admonition: unless that city mends its ways, it will be destroyed at swordpoint, in accord with Savonarola's prophecies. Carnival convinces the Florentine to accompany him to Rome with promises of the great wealth and splendour that he will find there, but when they arrive, the Florentine sees only wolves and bears⁴⁴ and other assorted riff-raff. The Romans rush up to Carnival but are horrified by his emaciated and shabby state, and want to know what has happened. Carnival replies that the accursed Florentines have almost turned him into a friar, and he describes all the fasting and sweet singing that have replaced the carnival festivities. The Romans listen with mouths agape to Carnival's tale, then howling with laughter they pour scorn on Florence and proceed to hail Carnival as their king. The Florentine escapes in a flash and returns to his friends, where he finds them in the fervour of the living faith. The last stanza of the *contrasto* instructs the *fanciulli* to sing Savonarola's tune for *Ecce quam bonum* again:

Then they took up again a sweet song,
 that *quam bonum et quam iocundum*
habitare fratres in unum,
 everyone united in holy fervour
 to observe fasting because it is proper.
 Burnt and dead is Carnival,
 and of his regal seat
 we have made Lent the inheritor.⁴⁵

Here the verse refers to the familiar tune for the singing of the Piagnone motto, *Ecce quam bonum*. Parenti, in his description, used the plural ('cantassino') to indicate that the 'contrasto' was performed by more than one singer, and this suggests that possibly one choir of the *fanciulli* sang the words of the Florentine, while the figure of Carnival could have been sung either by a smaller group, or even by a solo performer, costumed with a grotesque mask and employing outlandish gestures in the manner of the *commedia dell'arte*. Such gestures would seem to be required by Carnival's tone, with his exaggerated moaning about his plight and pitiful pleas for mercy against the hard yoke imposed by the Piagnoni. A third group of *fanciulli* could have

⁴⁴ The reference to bears must mean the Roman clan of the Orsini; both Lorenzo de' Medici and his son Piero had married Orsini women.

⁴⁵ 'Ripigliossi un dolce canto | Quel *quam bonum et quam iocundum* | *Habitare fratres in unum,* | Tutti uniti in fervor santo. | *Ieiunare per oportunum,* | Arso e morto Carnasciale, | E di sua sedia regale | *Quadragesma femmo erede.*'

sung the stanzas of the Romans, who rush up to Carnival upon his arrival in their city.⁴⁶

In any case the performance of the *contrasto*, with its broad strokes of satire, must have been highly diverting for the *fanciulli*. After taking up the tune for *Ecce quam bonum*, the instructions in the original print indicate that two other laude were performed, *Viva Cristo e chi li crede* and *Voi toccate la chiavetta*, mentioned above. Ridolfi believed that the first of these originated for the carnival of 1496, because its verses were reworked in the later print, *Canzona che fa uno Fiorentino*, so that the original quatrains were run together to form stanzas of eight lines, and the final rhyme at the end of every stanza was changed to 'fede', to accommodate the same rhyme at the end of every stanza in the '*contrasto*'.⁴⁷ The singing of *Viva Cristo* is preceded by this comment:

And because divine love grows through union, there recommenced another great fervour of rejoicing and singing with sweetness and ineffable gladness in this manner:⁴⁸

Viva Cristo e chi li crede!
 su, Fiorenza, all'operare;
 ché Giesù vuol coronare
 chi morrà per questa fede.
 Io mi sento liquefare,
 quando sguardo il mio Signore
 che per noi sia nato e more
 sol per farci in cielo erede.⁴⁹

There follows a closing refrain giving the date for the celebration,⁵⁰ indicating that on 20 February Carnival lifted up his high hat ('lo stαιο'), and a week later on 27 February he lost his kingdom. These dates match those for carnival of 1498, but there are good reasons to believe that the correct date for the performance was 7 February 1497. The accounts of Parenti and Benivieni both clearly state that the lauda in scorn of Carnival was performed at the 1497 festivities, and this must refer to the '*contrasto*' discussed above. Also, the carnival of 1497 witnessed the most elaborate festivities of the three

⁴⁶ Martelli takes the '*contrasto*' to be a kind of play that was acted out by individual characters, not by the *fanciulli*; Savonarola, *Poesie*, 229.

⁴⁷ Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, ii. 164 n. 53. The earlier redaction of *Viva Cristo e chi li crede* in the Gondi manuscript (see above, n. 18) and also in Rossi 424 suggests that the lauda was performed as early as the 1496 observances, and that it was later adapted to fit the rhyme scheme of the *contrasto*. The transmission of *Viva Cristo e chi li crede* reveals significant variants. The lauda as originally written by Filippo Cioni consisted of quatrains, and is transmitted as such in BAV Rossi 424 and the Gondi manuscript.

⁴⁸ 'E per cagione che lo amore divino cresce per la unione, ricominciossi un altro maggior fervore iubilando e cantando con dolcezze e gaudii ineffabili in questo modo.' *Canzona d'un Piagnone*, ed. Del Lungo, 16.

⁴⁹ Six more stanzas follow; see above for the English translation. For the complete version of this later reworking of the lauda, see Savonarola, *Poesie*, 51-3.

⁵⁰ 'Mille quattro nove e sette, | A di venti di febbraio, | Carnasciale alzo lo stαιο; | Perse il regno a di venzette. | Deo gratias. Amen.' *Canzona d'un Piagnone*, ed. Del Lungo, 18.

Savonarolan carnivals, whereas the carnival of 1498 was held under strained circumstances, and there would have been little occasion for the performance of the lengthy 'contrasto' under such conditions.

Given the return appearance in 1497 of the lauda *Viva Cristo e chi li crede*, now slightly altered to fit the stanza and rhyme scheme of the 'contrasto', one could similarly apply to the 'contrasto' the same rousing music from Razzi's anthology that had earlier been suggested for *Viva Cristo*, that is, the setting for *Deh venitene pastori* (Ex. 3.2).

One further lauda appended to the 'contrasto', *Voi toccate la chiavetta*,⁵¹ had appeared in an earlier source in 1497, appended to the *Lamentatio sponsae Christi et exhortatio ad fideles*, an anonymous tract attributed until recently to Savonarola.⁵² The lauda could have been written for the carnival of 1497, and the biting tone renders it eminently suitable for such an occasion. These were the years when the Piagnoni were subjected to fierce taunting and opposition from adversarial groups like the Compagnacci. In the print of c.1500 the lauda consists of nineteen quatrains in the most inflammatory language, indicating the fevered pitch to which the partisanship in Florence had risen.⁵³

7

Voi toccate la chiavetta,
e non siete pecorelle;
ben che abbiate simil pelle,
siete lupi d'altra setta.

Egli è lupo e pare agnello,
pare un pesce ed è scorpione:
se fussi ape il calabrone,
sarà topo il pipistrello.

Gridi al lupo ciascun forte,
ché l'ovile è derelitto:
e chi fa un gran delitto
ha corona; e chi
ben, morte.

You are touching the key,
and you are not part of the flock:
even though you have similar fleece,
you are wolves of the other sect.

He's a wolf who appears as a lamb,
he resembles a fish, and is a scorpion,
if the bee were a hornet
the mouse would be a bat.

Everyone cry 'wolf' out loud,
because the flock is abandoned;
and he who commits a great crime
wears the crown; and he who does
good, suffers death.

⁵¹ For the complete text, see Savonarola, *Poesie*, 47–50, where Martelli lists it with the texts of doubtful authenticity. For Martelli's discussion of the authorship, see *ibid.* 234. The 'chiavetta' refers to the key that Savonarola often mentioned in his sermons, the turning of which would signify the beginning of the renovation of the Church; in particular it referred to Savonarola's desire to convene a general council to depose the corrupt Pope Alexander VI. The key is of course a symbol of the papacy, because Christ gave the keys of the Church to St Peter.

⁵² Savonarola, *Poesie*, 133. See M. Ferrara, 'Indagini savonaroliane', *Memorie Domenicane*, ns 3 (1972), 120–5; see also Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 77.

⁵³ In Savonarola, *Poesie*, 47–50, Martelli prints the lauda in stanzas of eight lines, as it appears appended to the 1497 print of *Lamentatio sponsae Christi*, yet the print of the *Canzona che fa uno Fiorentino a Camasciale* from c.1500 gives it in quatrains, as it appears above.

Ex. 3.4. Anon., *Voi toccate la chivetta* (cc?: *O Maria diana stella*, 1563, fo. 40^v) (CD track 7)

C
O Ma - ri - a, di - a - na stel - la, Che ri -
Voi toc - ca - te la chi - a - vet - ta, E non

A
Voi toc - ca - te la chi - a - vet - ta, E non

T
Voi toc - ca - te la chi - a - vet - ta, E non

B
Voi toc - ca - te la chi - a - vet - ta, E non

5
lu - ci più che 'l so - le, Dir' non pos - so con pa -
sie - te pec - co - rel - le, Ben ch'ab - bia - te si - mil

sie - te pec - co - rel - le, Ben ch'ab - bia - te si - mil

sie - te pec - co - rel - le, Ben ch'ab - bia - te si - mil

sie - te pec - co - rel - le, Ben ch'ab - bia - te si - mil

ro - le, O Ma - ri - a, quan - to sei bel - la.
pel - le, Sie - te lu - pi d'al - tra set - ta.

pel - le, Sie - te lu - pi d'al - tra set - ta.

pel - le, Sie - te lu - pi d'al - tra set - ta.

pel - le, Sie - te lu - pi d'al - tra set - ta.

Viva Cristo! gente eletta;
nel morir fia gran guadagno.
Per Giesù nostro Re magno
sia confusa ogn'altra setta.

Long live Christ! O chosen people,
in death let there be a great reward.
For Jesus, our great King,
let all other sets be confounded.

Razzi's anthology of 1563 contains music that is eminently suitable for singing *Voi toccate la chiavetta*, and this is the four-voice setting for *O Maria diana stella*, which he calls a 'laude antichissima'. The only laude in Razzi's print that are based on quatrains are *Deh venitene pastori* and *O Maria diana stella* and the latter setting works best for *Voi toccate la chiavetta* (Ex. 3.4). The spondaic double stress at the end of each line (*chiavet-ta*, *pecorel-le*, *pel-le*, *set-ta*) is also present in *O Maria diana stella*, a lauda whose poetic metre is marked in the music by two stressed repeated notes at the end of each phrase. The four-voice setting for this lauda would provide an effective foil to the three-voice music from *Deh venitene pastori* for the 'contrasto', and it would bring the festivities to a rousing conclusion as the company sang and danced in a circle around the bonfire of vanities.

'Crazy for Jesus': Other Laude by Girolamo Benivieni

Laude on the theme of 'holy craziness' ('santa pazzia') were probably also performed during the carnival celebrations of 1496 and 1497. By singing crazy songs at the top of their lungs the fanciulli could release boisterous energy and they could articulate in the texts a topsy-turvy view of the world. All of this followed naturally from the traditions of past secular carnivals, but now the content of the texts was of course very different.

Savonarola often called himself crazy ('pazzo') in his sermons, and his prophetic message was regarded as such by many sceptical Florentines. But acting 'pazzo' meant the rejection of the usual desire for worldly gain in favour of the suffering of the Christian life. St Paul himself declared: 'we are fools for Christ's sake' (1 Cor. 4: 10). Because Christianity turns secular values on their head, the 'wise' citizen is the one who only seems 'crazy' in his rejection of the material world. In his sermon of 13 April 1495, the friar cites Christ and his death on the cross as a prime example of this craziness, or foolishness: 'Christ wanted, through the foolishness of the cross, that men should become wise; therefore abandon, you wise ones, human wisdom and come to the foolishness of Christ, to the foolishness of the cross, which is the true wisdom . . . take up this craziness which is true wisdom, even though it seems crazy to you.'⁵⁴ Savonarola returns to this theme many times in his sermons, and on 6 June 1496 he even cites the figure of David, 'who was so wise and was King of Israel; nevertheless when he came before the Ark of the Lord, he put off his regal robes and there in the street he danced like a

⁵⁴ 'Cristo ha voluto, per la stoltizia della croce, che gli uomini diventino savi: lasciate dunque, o savi, la sapienza umana, venite alla stoltizia di Cristo, alla stoltizia della croce, la quale è la vera sapienza. . . . fa' questa pazzia che è vera sapienza, benché a te paia pazzia.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Giobbe*, ii. 280.

buffoon, and the crowd said that he was crazy'.⁵⁵ Pseudo-Burlamacchi specifically remarked on the Palm Sunday celebration of 1496, and he described the singing and dancing of the populace, saying that 'certainly this was a day of wonders, filled by the Lord with exultation and happiness, in which the whole populace became crazy with the love of Jesus'.⁵⁶

A whole series of laude were designed to give voice to this notion of 'pazzia', and the most prominent are three works by Girolamo Benivieni. *Non fu mai el più bel solazzo* is the most familiar, because Mary McCarthy dubbed it 'Crazy for Jesus' when she quoted the refrain and part of the last stanza in her book *The Stones of Florence*.⁵⁷

Non fu mai el più bel solazzo
più giocondo ne maggiore
che per zelo et per amore
di Giesù diventar pazzo.

La pazzia di Giesù sprezza
quel che 'l savio cerca et brama,
stati honor, pompe e ricchezza,
piacer, feste, gloria et fama.
Sempre cerca honora et ama
quel che 'l savio ha in odio tanto,
povertà, dolori et pianto,
el christian perché gl'è pazzo.

[last stanza:]

Come pazzo ogn'huom gridando
Giesù mio la croce prenda
la sua croce et iubilando
sopra lei tutto si extenda.
Nel tuo petto ogn'huomo ascenda
et di lui facci suo nido.
Ognun gridi com'io grido
sempre pazzo, pazzo, pazzo.

Never was there more beautiful solace,
more joyful or more great,
than through zeal and through love
of Jesus to become crazy.

The craziness of Jesus spurns
that which the wise man seeks and desires:
conditions of honour, pomp and riches,
pleasure, celebrations, glory and fame.
Always one seeks honour and loves
that which the wise man hates so much:
poverty, sorrow, and tears,
because the Christian is crazy.

Like crazy let everyone shout
'my Jesus, the cross' and take up
his own cross and rejoicing
extend everything on it.
In Your [Christ's] breast everyone ascends
and in it they make their home.
Everyone cry out, as I cry out,
always crazy, crazy, crazy.

The ending dissolves into a frenetic shout. The music for the twelve stanzas of this barzelletta clearly survives in Razzi's collection of 1563, where it has

⁵⁵ 'David, el quale era così savio e era Re di Israel, e *tamen* quando fe' portare l'arca del Signore, si spogliò le veste regale e là per la via saltava come uno buffone, e la brigata diceva che gli era pazzo.' Id., *Prediche sopra Ruth e Michea*, i. 277.

⁵⁶ 'Certo fu quello un giorno mirabile, fatto dal Signore ripieno di exultatione et letitia, nel quale tutto 'l popolo dello amore di Giesù diventò pazzo.' Conti, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola*, 129.

⁵⁷ The lauda is titled 'Laude dello amore di Iesù Christo chiamata la savia pazerella' in G. Benivieni, *Opere*, fo. 137^r. See also M. McCarthy, *The Stones of Florence* (1st edn. 1956; London, 1972), 125-6.

Ex. 3.5. Girolamo Benivieni, *Non fu mai el più bel solazzo*, bb. 1–7 (cc: *Ogni giorno tu mi di'*, 1563, fo. 75^v) (CD track 8)

C
O - gni gior - no tu mi di', Si - gnor
Che fa tu si mi vor - rò, Far - ti
Non fu mai l' più bel sol - laz - zo, Più gio -
Che per ze - l'et per a - mo - re. Di Gie -

T
Non fu mai l' più bel sol - laz - zo, Più gio -
Che per ze - l'et per a - mo - re. Di Gie -

5
mio do - man fa - rò, Com' un ven - t'il
gra - zia di quel di, Le - va gl'oc - ch'al
con - do ne mag - gio - re, La paz - zia di
sù di - ven tar paz - zo, Sem - pre cer - c'ho -

con - do ne mag - gio - re, La paz - zia di
sù di - ven tar paz - zo, Sem - pre cer - c'ho -

the text *Ogni giorno tu mi di'* (Ex. 3.5).⁵⁸ The clue is provided by a 'cantasi come' indication in a laudario that belonged to the nuns at the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina da Siena in Florence.⁵⁹ The music can be traced back to its origins as a carnival song from the time of Lorenzo de' Medici, *Franza, Franza, viva Franza*.⁶⁰ The end of the refrain (bb. 4–6) sounds a bit odd owing to the swaying half-steps in both voices; in the original carnival song this probably conveyed the suave (or even drunken) tone of the Frenchmen as they offered their services to the ladies. In Benivieni's lauda this swaying motion suitably suggests a loss of equilibrium, or 'craziness'.

Razzi apparently transmitted only two voices of what must originally have been a song for three or four voices; we have seen him adopt a similar procedure for other laude in his collection, for example the Song of the Chimney Sweeps (see Ch. 2). The naked suspended fourths at cadences were no doubt originally covered by an added altus part a fifth above the lowest

⁵⁸ Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 75^v.

⁵⁹ BNF Pal. 169, fo. 157^r. For more information on this manuscript, see App. F. Here the rubric for *Non fu mai più dolce amore* (a text modelled on Benivieni's lauda) is: 'Lalda al crucifisso, cantasi come Ogni giorno tu mi di'. Razzi's two-voice setting for *Ogni giorno* originally served as the music for a secular song probably dating from the late 15th c., *Tu non odi donna no*, as indicated by the 'cantasi come' for *Ogni giorno tu mi di'* in another 16th-c. lauda manuscript that belonged to the Dominican nuns of the convent of San Vincenzo in Prato, BNF Magl. VII.365, fo. 143^r.

⁶⁰ See Macey, 'Some New Contrafacta', 150–2.

voice, for instance, an E at the end of the refrain (b. 5). The cadences would then sound more convincing because the added voice would complete the normal two-part progression of a sixth to an octave (or here, a third to unison) in contrary motion (e.g. in bb. 5–6 an ascent from C# to D in the cantus and a descent from E to D in the altus).

Benivieni's second lauda on the theme of 'pazzia', *Io vo darti anima mia | da che tu saper lo vuoi*, and a third lauda with a similar incipit and subject, *Io vo darti anima mia | un rimedio sol che vale*, are also in barzelletta form.⁶¹ The latter work is headed 'On the craziness of the Christian and its effects' ('Della pazzia del christiano et de suoi effecti'), and the childish language of the text seems designed to appeal to the juvenile fancies of the fanciulli, as in the 'recipe for craziness' provided by the refrain and first stanza.

Io vo darti anima mia
un rimedio sol che vale
quanto ogni altro a ciascun male
che si chiama la pazzia.

To tre oncie al meno di speme,
tre di fede e sei di amore,
due di pianto e poni insieme
tutto al fuoco del timore.
Fa da poi bollir tre hore
premi infine vi agiugni tanto
di humiltà e dolor, quanto
basta a far questa pazzia.

I want to give you, O my soul,
a remedy that should be applied
above all others against any ill,
and one calls it craziness.

Take at least three ounces of hope,
three of faith and six of love,
two of tears and place them together
on the fire of fear.
Let it boil for three hours
stir it at the end and add as much
of humility and sorrow as
suffices to make this craziness.

9

Perhaps the fanciulli sang this lauda to music for another of Girolamo Benivieni's laude, *Chi non ama te Maria*, the only one of his texts to be printed in Razzi's anthology.⁶² This latter work had in turn adopted the music of a carnival song, *Giovani mandati siamo*, as seen in Chapter 2. The music could also have served for Benivieni's *Io vo darti anima mia*; a clue is provided by the identical rhyme for the first and fourth lines of the refrain in each lauda ('Chi non ama te, Maria... via'; 'Io vo darti anima mia... pazzia') (Ex. 3.6).⁶³

⁶¹ Benivieni, *Opere*, fos. 139^r, 146^r.

⁶² Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 23^r.

⁶³ Other sources for 'pazzia' laude include the Dominican laudarios BMF C.262 and BNF Rossi 395. BMF C.262 was mentioned earlier in this chapter with regard to Piagnoni celebrations in 1496. In addition to Benivieni's *Non fu mai el più bel solazzo* (fo. 53^v), it includes the following laude:

fo. 90^v *Alla pazzia, alla pazzia* [sung to the music of *Ben venga maggio*]
fo. 103^v *Verte matta pazzia*
fo. 119^v *Mosso da santa pazzia*
fo. 122^v *Udite nuova pazzia*
fo. 130^r *Alma che cerchi pazzie in fra languide.*

For another 'pazzia' lauda, *Chi non è pazzo, pazzo sia*, see the Dominican laudario from Pistoia BNF Rossi 395, fo. 84^v, a source discussed further in Ch. 5.

Ex. 3.6. Girolamo Benivieni, *Io vo darti anima mia*, bb. 1–14 (cc?: *Chi non ama te Maria*, 1563, fo. 23^v) (CD track 9)

5

C
Chi non a - ma te, Ma - ri - a, E'l tuo fi - gliè sen - za co - re,
Io vo dar - t'a - ni - ma mi - a Un ri - me - dio sol che va - le

T
Io vo dar - t'a - ni - ma mi - a Un ri - me - dio sol che va - le

Chi non va die - tr'al su'a - mo - re, Si con - du - ce fuor di
Quan - t'o - gn'al - tr'a cia - scun ma - le Che si chia - ma la paz -

Quan - t'o - gn'al - tr'a cia - scun ma - le Che si chia - ma la

10

vi - a, Tu, Ma - ri - a, sol sei quel - la Via
zi - a. To tre on - ci'al - men' di spe - me, Tre

paz - zi - a. To tre on - ci'al - men' di spe - me, Tre

The Last Savonarolan Carnival, 27 February 1498

During the winter of 1497–8 Savonarola continued to await absolution from the papal excommunication, in force since May 1497. But on 11 February 1498, with the excommunication still in effect, and Savonarola claiming it was unjustly imposed, and his followers regarding it as null and void, he began to preach again in the Duomo in preparation for Lent. The fury of Alexander VI at this defiance of papal authority knew no bounds, and on 25 February he retaliated with a threat to place all of Florence under interdict. The Signoria ignored the pope's demand for obedience, and the Savonarolan carnival celebration went forward on 27 February.

The chronicles of Landucci, Parenti, Somenzi, and Benivieni provide a vivid account of this last carnival. The Piagnoni faced mounting harassment and opposition from the Compagnacci, as Landucci relates in his diary entry

for the last day of carnival. He notes that the pyre of vanities was constructed in the Piazza della Signoria, and the fanciulli processed through the city as in the previous year. But when they arrived at the Piazza they found dead cats and other rubbish on the pyre, and armed men had to stand guard the night before to prevent the Compagnacci from wrecking it. Landucci makes no mention of any kind of singing or celebration, and only states that the boys arrived in the afternoon and burned the pyre.⁶⁴ Landucci was among the onlookers, but he no longer participated in Piagnoni activities because of Savonarola's excommunication. The pope threatened that anyone who went to hear Savonarola preach would be excommunicated too, so the excommunication functioned like an infectious disease: one could contract it by association.⁶⁵

Parenti's account sounds more like that of an eyewitness, since he gives a vivid impression of the tension in the Piazza, as the crowd gathered around the pyre of vanities:

Because of the tumult being raised in the Piazza, the Signoria, fearing a riot, ordered the pyre to be put to the torch so that it would be burned in good time in scorn [of Carnival], and earlier than it would otherwise have been done. There were not very many left to carry the burning firebrands, because in an instant the Piazza emptied out and it seemed that there was an attempt to avoid a brawl.⁶⁶

Again there is no reference to singing of laude, and it seems unlikely that the lengthy 'contrasto' or other songs could have been performed under such tense circumstances.

Girolamo Benivieni's narrative for the 1498 event is much less literal about the difficulties in the Piazza della Signoria. He focuses on the expected renovation of the church, which was still awaited by the Piagnoni when he published his account in 1500. His comments serve as an introduction to the new lauda that he composed for the 1498 carnival, *Venite, ecco il Signore*, a lengthy canzone with thirteen-line stanzas.⁶⁷ The first stanza announces the arrival of Christ the King in Florence, while the second presents His queen, the Blessed Virgin. The third and fourth stanzas address Florence as the bride of Christ, instructing the citizens to ready themselves for the good things promised by God. The final stanza notes that God's work and his prophet, Savonarola, have been scorned on earth, and urges God to make the unbelievers repent.

⁶⁴ Landucci, *Diario*, 163.

⁶⁵ R. C. Trexler, *The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence under Interdict* (Leiden, 1974), 174–5.

⁶⁶ 'Per il tumulto levatosi in piazza la Signoria, dubitando di scandolo, fuoco mettere fece nel factosi edificio et a buona hora s'arse in vilipendio più presto che altrimenti. Non restorono molti di trarre accesi tizioni, talché in uno momento la piazza si schombro et materia pareva, che si cerchazzi d'appichare mischia.' Parenti, *Istoria fiorentina*, ed. Schnitzer, 232.

⁶⁷ Benivieni, *Commento*, fo. cxvii^v.

Venite, ecco il Signore
 Re d'ogni Re, che viene
 a veder come stia la sua cittate.
 Venite hor si conviene
 le porte del tuo core
 Florentia aprir che ancora tieni serrate.

Venite et adorate
 la gloria di colui
 che infino dal cielo ci regge.
 O sopra ogni altra gregge
 felice sotto un tal pastore per cui
 forza è che ciascun creda
 ch'altri non ci ha come hor ci harebbe in preda.

Come, behold the Lord,
 King of all Kings, who comes
 to see how his city fares.

Come make ready now
 the gates of your heart,
 Florence; open what you still hold shut.

Come and adore
 the glory of Him
 who governs us from up in heaven.
 O you who above every other flock
 are happy under such a shepherd through whose
 power everyone must believe
 that others, who may wish it so, won't have us as prey.

What music might Benivieni have had in mind for the singing of this canzone? The lauda repertory in the prints from c.1480, 1485, and c.1495 includes no examples of the verse form of the canzone, and so these collections, with their 'cantasi come' indications, provide little help in locating the tune for Benivieni's text. Nor does Razzi's anthology of 1563 provide any possible settings. In fact, there is little evidence that the lauda was ever performed, for Benivieni does not actually state that the fanciulli sang it, and we have seen that the celebration of carnival in 1498 was sharply curtailed.

The Milanese ambassador Paolo Somenzi, however, in his dispatch to Ludovico il Moro, describes the carnival procession and then picks up the story where Parenti leaves off. He notes that after the Piagnoni fled the Piazza della Signoria they regrouped in Piazza San Marco and performed a dance in a circle around the Piazza, and here, in the first mention of singing, we learn that they intoned *Ecce quam bonum*. Somenzi also remarks on the tumult in the Piazza della Signoria,

and how guards from the Bargello had to be called in to maintain order.⁶⁸ He explains the lighting of the bonfire of vanities, saying that it was ignited by twelve boys in white who were sent back to the Piazza della Signoria by the Piagnoni. Thus it seems that most of them were not present at the burning of the vanities in this last Savonarolan carnival.⁶⁹

In the face of fierce opposition the festivities of the Piagnoni gradually diminished in scope, until they were left singing only *Ecce quam bonum* in Piazza San Marco. A little over a month later, on 8 April, they would be pushed back behind the walls of the convent, defending San Marco against the assaults of a hostile crowd. Savonarola and his two companions, Fra Domenico and Fra Silvestro, would be arrested and led to prison, and after confessing they would be hanged and burnt in the Piazza della Signoria, the same place where they themselves had burnt bonfires of vanities not long before. The Compagnacci looked on with satisfaction; they had been accused of sodomy by Savonarola, and he had ordered the Signoria to arrest and condemn them to be burnt for their sins. Now, in a new turn, as the three bodies of the friars twisted in the breeze on that May morning, one of the Compagnacci rushed forward with a flaming brand saying he wanted to be the first to put them to the torch, and that he wished to do to Savonarola what the friar had wished to do to him.⁷⁰

The spectacular executions of three friars who had challenged the authority of a corrupt pope had repercussions throughout Europe, as will be seen in Part II of this study. One era was brought to a close and another began to take shape, in which the Piagnoni were to carry on the spirit of 'santa pazzia' as they kept the cult of Savonarola alive, particularly in convents of Dominican friars and nuns. Past carnivals had shown them that the normal order of things could be subverted, and the continued singing of laude on Savonarolan themes helped to fuel their resolve as they continued to work for moral and

⁶⁸ Letter of Paolo Somenzi to Ludovico il Moro, 27 Feb. 1498; transcribed in Villari, *La storia di Savonarola*, ii, pp. li–lii.

⁶⁹ Somenzi's comments are elaborated in a later account by Pseudo-Burlamacchi, who may have embellished the event, or who may have relied on oral narratives by friars from San Marco who related it to him much later. By this account the carnival of 1498 was far more elaborate than any of the other witnesses would lead us to believe. The author states that new laude were sung in front of the tabernacles erected by each of the four quarters of the city in Piazza San Marco before the procession began. Around the pyre of vanities in the Piazza della Signoria, soldiers stood guard to prevent the theft of any of these artworks. Then the bonfire was lit and the instruments played, the bells in the Palazzo della Signoria rang, and the people sang a *Te Deum*. This sounds suspiciously like a conflation of the narratives of Benivieni and others for the celebration of the 1497 carnival; none of the other chroniclers of the 1498 carnival mentions singing or bells or the playing of instruments in the Piazza della Signoria. Perhaps Pseudo-Burlamacchi, who wrote his narrative some decades after the fact, got his sources confused. See Conti, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola*, 133–4.

⁷⁰ J. Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze*, ed. L. Arbib (Florence, 1842), i. 161. For a discussion of Savonarola's denunciation of sodomites and their hostile reactions to the friar, see Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships*, 204–5, 217–23.

social reforms. Before examining their musical activities in more detail, we shall turn to a closer examination of Savonarola's conflicting attitudes towards music; we shall also discuss musical settings for his own laude, which were no doubt also performed during the carnival celebrations of 1496, 1497, and 1498.

4

Savonarola Against and For Music

Savonarola's Sermons against Music

Florence boasted a cathedral choir of international stature during the time of Lorenzo de' Medici, especially after the arrival of Heinrich Isaac in the mid-1480s. Isaac composed motets and masses for the choir of the Duomo in four, five, and even six parts that unfold in wave after wave of glorious melodies, sweeping the listener along in their wake. In his sermons Savonarola lashed out at such elaborate music, and in this he followed in a long tradition, for Christian churchmen through the ages had taken a dim view of complex music, noting that it beguiled the senses and distracted attention from the spirit of Scripture. Even Plato maintained an unfavourable attitude in the *Republic*, where he placed restrictions on the use of music because of its power to lead youthful minds astray. As for St Augustine, he treated music with characteristic ambivalence in his *Confessions*, not wanting to forbid it entirely since it enhanced the beauty of Scripture, yet wary of its ability to stir his senses.

In the twelfth century, when new forms of highly florid polyphony known as organum were introduced at Notre-Dame in Paris, Aelred of Rievaulx issued scathing comments on the ostentatious antics of the performers, who thoroughly distracted the listeners from the spiritual message of the words:

Why that swelling and swooping of the voice? One person sings tenor, another sings duplum, yet another sings triplum. Still another ornaments and trills up and down on the melody. At one moment the voice strains, the next it wanes. . . . Sometimes—it is shameful to say—it is expelled like the neighing of horses. . . . And this ridiculous dissipation is called religious observance.¹

In the fourteenth century, when the development of the notational system for rhythm enabled musicians to create ever more complicated polyphonic textures, Pope John XXII (r. 1316–34), while not forbidding polyphony entirely in church services for major feast-days, nevertheless laid down severe restrictions concerning all elaborate music that obscured the original chant melodies.²

¹ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Mirror of Charity*, trans. E. Connor (Kalamazoo, 1990), 209–10.

² R. F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music* (Collegeville, Minn., 1979), 20–1.

Complaints against ornate music in church commonly surfaced in the fifteenth century as well, and Fra Giovanni Caroli, a contemporary—and later, enemy—of Savonarola, strongly inveighed against polyphonic music in church in 1479:

Neither indeed can the words be adequately made out in that multiplicity of voices or sounds for the spirit to be greatly kindled in God, nor in that gaiety or swiftness of notes can its gravity any longer be preserved, but either the mind wanders away or at any rate dissolves into slumber. Therefore those polyphonies, which are both new and unheard-of and (if we will truly admit it) presumptuous, and so-called discants, lacking all harmony, do not much please.³

Savonarola stood united with Caroli on this issue, although in the 1490s Caroli violently attacked the friar's other ideas.⁴ Savonarola, in his own assault on polyphonic music, grouped it with other religious abuses that merely delight the senses and do nothing to enhance understanding of the words of Scripture. He especially accused the clergy and nuns of employing it for ends that had nothing to do with the enhancement of spiritual life, and enumerated several kinds of abuse. First, he criticized priests who relied on polyphonic music and elaborate ceremonies to lure almsgivers into their churches; secondly, he turned his reforming zeal on convents of nuns, who strayed from the true spiritual life by filling their services with too much music, especially organ-playing; and finally, he excoriated tyrants who, for their own pleasure and to increase their prestige, hired highly trained—and highly paid—singers for polyphonic choirs. In his sermons the friar attacked each of these abuses in turn.

First, Savonarola makes a clear distinction between interior and exterior forms of worship, and delineates the function of music in worship. Interior worship consists of contemplation and mental prayer, while external forms include the sacraments, and other ceremonies and accoutrements that go along with the observance of these rites, such as vestments, altar vessels, tapestries, candles, singing, and organ music. Interior prayer and contemplation constitute the most effective means of worshipping God, and exterior worship functions to help the supplicant focus on the inner state of worship. With regard to music, the friar comes back to the same point on many occasions: *canti figurati* (polyphonic songs) were invented by the devil to seduce the senses, and they destroy the listener's ability to enter into a state of inner contemplation.

³ 'Neque enim in illa multiplicitate vocum aut sonorum satis percipi verba possunt, quibus magnopere in Deum animus inflammetur, nec in illa festivitate aut celeritate notarum potest diutius gravitas ipsa servari, sed vel effluit animus vel certe sompno dissolvitur. Itaque concentus illi novique et inauditi, et si vere profiteri volemus, presumptuosi et ut vocant biscantus omni armonia carentes, haud magnopere placent.' Quoted in S. I. Camporeale, 'Giovanni Caroli e le "Vite Fratrum S. M. Novellae": umanesimo e crisi religiosa (1460-1480)', *Memorie Domenicane*, NS 12 (1981), 141-267 at 262.

⁴ Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 54-5, 59-65.

The majority of Savonarola's criticisms of polyphonic music occur in his cycles of sermons on Haggai during Advent 1494, on the Psalms in early 1495, and on Job during Lent of 1495. During these months he was concerned primarily with reforming the government of the city and forging a new constitution, but he also urged moral and religious reforms. Already by March 1493 the chapel singers of the Baptistery of San Giovanni had been disbanded, for according to the Duomo's records the choir was no longer paid after this date. It has been suggested that Piero de' Medici, the weak son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, succumbed under pressure from Savonarola to disband the choir, and that he sought to win the friar's favour by doing so.⁵ Northern singers in the Baptistery choir scattered from Florence to seek employment elsewhere, and Isaac transferred to the court chapel of the Emperor Maximilian. Thus by 1494 Savonarola's criticisms of *canti figurati* were apparently directed at the remaining Florentine churches and convents where elaborate polyphony was still cultivated.⁶ On the other hand, the Duomo's singers of laude continued to be paid, with the clear implication that the lauda's simple musical style caused it to remain in favour.⁷

In his sermons on Haggai from 1494, Savonarola singled out music and criticized its appeal to the senses and its lack of focus on the inner spirit. At the same time he stressed one of his primary themes, the virtue of simplicity, a virtue identified with the primitive Christian Church:

So that God may always be praised, the praises and divine offices of the Church were created. But we today have converted these divine praises into something secular, with music and songs that delight the sense and the ear but not the spirit; and this is not to the honour of God. Even though these songs may be sweet to the ears, nevertheless they do not stir the soul, nor do they incite it to the enjoyment of divine things, and thus it is necessary to return to that original simplicity. And they should say the offices without so much singing, but only with devotion and with little inflection of the voice and with simplicity. I tell you that these songs of yours today have been invented by ambition and avarice.⁸

A month later Savonarola expanded his criticism of polyphony, claiming that music not only distracts the listener with sweet sounds, but that it is full

⁵ F. A. D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century', *JAMS* 14 (1961), 307–58 at 346.

⁶ *Ibid.* 346.

⁷ F. A. D'Accone, 'Alcune note sulle compagnie fiorentine dei laudesi durante il Quattrocento', *RIM* 10 (1975), 86–114 at 112–13.

⁸ 'Acciò che Dio sia sempre laudato, sono poste le laude e gli officii divini nella Chiesa. Ma noi oggidì abbiamo convertite queste laude divine in cose secolari e in musiche e canti che delectino el senso e l'orecchio e non lo spirito; e questo non è onore di Dio; e benché questi canti siano dolci agli orecchi, *tamen* non infrenano l'anima, né la tengano infrenata al gusto delle cose divine, e però sarebbe di bisogno tornare a quella prima semplicità e che si dicessino gli officii senza [*sic*] tanti cantamenti, ma solo con devozione e con poca flessione di voce e semplicemente. Io ti dico che questi vostri canti d'oggi sono stati trovati da ambizione e avarizia.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Aggeo*, 115; delivered 30 Nov. 1494.

of lasciviousness. Again he calls for worship to be carried out with simplicity and devotion.⁹

In late January 1495, in his sermons on the Psalms, the friar returned to this theme, accusing polyphony of lasciviousness, and advocating inner prayer, noting that the primitive Church emphasized this form of worship. He again criticizes polyphonic music and organ-playing, and here he introduces the devil into the argument, saying that he invented these things to destroy the possibility of mental prayer.¹⁰

Then in early April Savonarola attacked the clergy who promoted polyphonic music in church, saying, 'go see the churches, filled with tapestries and *canti figurati*. . . today the ark stands with the idol and the idol together with the ark'.¹¹ And later in the same sermon he continued:

benefices are expanded, and divine worship involves today so many priests, and everyone wants to have a priest in his house and to enjoy the belongings of Christ and the poor, and to employ so many *canti figurati*. These are the honours that they carry out in divine worship: to cultivate things that delight the sense and the exterior; but interior worship appears to be regarded with no respect at all.¹²

With the mention of benefices, Savonarola turned to an area in which abuses occurred: with the expanding number of priests and friars there was increased competition for funds from almsgivers, and music served to lure them into the churches. Just a week later, on 10 April, he noted that the clergy were preoccupied with saying several votive Masses per day in each church in order to maintain their benefices, and that this obsession with money caused them to become like vendors. They sold candles and offices, and sang Masses, all for remuneration. The friar advocated that instead of attending services in several churches during the week, people should attend Mass only once a week in their own parish, and that the service should last three hours and be celebrated with singing and devotion. He goes on:

And from now on if you don't come to my church, it doesn't bother me.—'But then you won't get any alms.'—That doesn't trouble me, because when I needed them it was only necessary that I turn to you. Look how we have made a business of the Church and how one hawks tapers and candles and offices, and sings Masses, and

⁹ Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Aggeo*, 417. Sermon of 28 Dec. 1494.

¹⁰ 'E però il diavolo dà più noia in questo esercizio che in alcuno altro; e però ha cominciato il demonio, per tòrre via l'orazione mentale, la quale tiene l'anima elevata e in contemplazione, a introdurre canti figurati e organi, che non diletano se non il senso e de' quali non esce frutto alcuno.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra i Salmi*, i. 89-90.

¹¹ 'Va' nelle chiese, piene di drappelloni e di canti figurati, . . . oggi l'arca con l'idolo e l'idolo con l'arca insieme.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Giobbe*, ii. 129.

¹² '[S]ono dilatati e' beneficii, e il culto divino è oggi fare assai preti, e ognuno vuole il prete in casa e godersi della roba di Cristo e de' poverelli, e indurre assai canti figurati. Questi sono gli onori che si fanno nel culto divino: far cose che diletino il senso e l'esteriore; ma del culto interiore non pare che se ne faccia stima alcuna.' Ibid. 131.

angles after money, and pulls and takes, pulls and takes, so that it's nothing more than robbery.¹³

Savonarola devoted special energy to the reform of orders of nuns, and several convents were under the supervision of San Marco, including Santa Lucia, close by in the Via San Gallo.¹⁴ Nuns were the focus of special criticism from the friar for their excessive cultivation of polyphonic music and organ-playing. In his first sermon on Haggai, delivered on 1 November 1494, the friar cried out that the populace should do penance, and threatened that the scourging sword of the Lord would soon descend on the city: *Ecce gladius domini super terram cito et velociter*. He commanded the various segments of society to reform their ways—priests, monks, nuns, friars, merchants, the wealthy, and secular women each were addressed in turn—and when he came to the nuns he told them:

O nuns, you too should give up your non-essential things, give up your practice of simony when you accept novices who come to stay in your convents, give up so much display and so much pomp when you consecrate your novices, give up your *canti figurati*, and weep, I say, rather for your defects and sins, because I say to you that soon a time is coming to weep rather than to sing and to celebrate, because God will punish you if you don't change your life and habits. If you don't change, don't be surprised if utter destruction comes and if everything is in danger of collapsing.¹⁵

In the following spring, on 8 May 1495, Savonarola visited the convent of the Benedictine nuns of the Murate, the largest and most wealthy convent of cloistered nuns in the city. Two days later in his sermon in the Duomo, he referred to this visit:

I was with the [nuns of the] Murate last Friday. . . . I preached to them of the light that they should have, that is, the supernatural light and of what it does. . . . If they are cloistered, they ought to live up to their name. And I say that it is a terrible thing to open their doors to *signori* who come to them. I myself know who among them are the courtesans, who are like a swollen blister, and I told them that this *canto*

¹³ 'E da ora innanzi non venire alla mia chiesa, ché non me ne curo. —Or non arai limosine.— Non mi dà noia, perché quando ne vorrò e ne arò bisogno verrò a voi. Ché abbiamo fatto bottega della chiesa e tuttavia si suona a moccoli e candele e uffici, e canta messe e uccella a danari e tira e tieni, tira e tieni, non si fa altro che rapinare.' Ibid. 446.

¹⁴ On convents in Florence, see R. C. Trexler, 'Celibacy in the Renaissance: The Nuns of Florence', in *Dependence in Context in Renaissance Florence* (Binghamton, NY, 1994), 343–72; on Savonarola's importance for reforming Dominican convents, see G. di Agresti, *Sviluppi della riforma monastica savonaroliana* (Florence, 1980), and Macey, 'Infiama il mio cor'.

¹⁵ 'O monache, lasciate ancora voi le vostre superfluità, lasciate le vostre simonie quando accettate le monache che venghino a star ne' vostri monasteri, lasciate tanti apparati e tante pompe quando si sagramo le vostre monache, lasciate e' canti figurati, piagnete, dico, più presto e' vostri difetti e vostri errori, perché vi dico ch'el viene più presto tempo da piagnere che da cantare e da far feste, perché Dio vi punirà, se non mutate vita e costumi. Se non lo farete, non vi maravigliate poi se viene lo estermio e se pericolerà ogni cosa.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Aggeo*, 19.

figurato was invented by Satan and that they should throw away these books of songs and organs.¹⁶

One suspects that the friar's criticism had been aroused partly by the performance of secular songs in the convent, including perhaps French chansons, which circulated widely in Italian manuscripts during this period, and whose texts espoused the ideals of courtly—and not so courtly—love. The setting provides the clue, since Savonarola refers to the public visiting room of the convent, where the *signori* were permitted to enter; this would be a likely venue for the performance of French chansons as well as Italian songs.¹⁷

Savonarola singled out nuns twice more for criticism regarding their cultivation of music, and especially organ-playing. On 5 July 1495 he again referred to *canti figurati* and organs as invented by the devil.

The devil, under the guise of doing good, began to show the religious persons how to build beautiful churches, and conduct beautiful ceremonies, and give themselves to *canti figurati*; and all day to sing, sing, sing, so that nothing was left of the spirit; and thus the nuns all day with their organs, organs, organs, and there was nothing left: and in this way blight exterminated the greenery of the prayers and of the spirit.¹⁸

Finally Savonarola criticized the use of music in his attack on tyrants. In five sermons delivered in February and March of 1496, he explored all the evils that stem from the rule of a tyrant. The object of his remarks was clearly the exiled Piero de' Medici, who was plotting to invade Florence and re-establish his rule. But even in the previous year Savonarola had made a general reference to the leaders of Italy in his sermon of 12 July 1495: 'Woe to you, wealthy of Italy . . . leaders of the people . . . you sleep in ivory beds. . . . In order to serve God you sing to the sound of the psaltery, that is, you attend the beautiful vespers services, with organs and ceremonies.'¹⁹ On

¹⁶ 'Io fui alle Murate venerdì passato. . . . Io gli ho predicato del lume che bisogna avere, cioè del lume sopra naturale e di quello che e' fa; . . . se sono murate, debbono stare come hanno il nome. E dico che questa è una cosa pessima ad aprire ai signori che vi vadino. Io so ancora io chi sono e' cortigiani, che sono come una galla leggiere e ho detto loro che quello canto figurato l'ha trovato Satanasso e che le gettino via questi libri di canti e organi.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra i Salmi*, i. 181–2.

¹⁷ Craig Monson has shown how a keyboard manuscript that belonged to a convent in Bologna in the mid-1500s contains, among other pieces, music for lascivious French chansons; C. Monson, 'Elena Malvezzi's Keyboard Manuscript: A New Sixteenth-Century Source', *EMH* 9 (1989), 73–128. Convents continued to foster musical activity well into the 17th and 18th cc., when nuns in Bologna and especially Milan garnered recognition throughout Europe for their accomplishments not only as performers but also as published composers; see the excellent studies by C. A. Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley, 1995), and R. L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford, 1996).

¹⁸ 'Il diavolo . . . sotto specie di bene cominciò a indurre li religiosi a edificare belle chiese, e belle cerimonie, e darsi alli canti figurati; e tutto di canta, canta, canta e poi non ci è nulla di spirito; così le monache tutto di organi, organi, organi e poi non ci è nulla: e in questo modo l'eruca ha tolto via il verde delle orazioni e dello spirito.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra i Salmi*, ii. 114–15. Almost a year later, on 10 Apr. 1496, the friar returned to his criticism of the nuns' cultivation of polyphonic music; id., *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, iii. 391.

¹⁹ 'Guai a voi, ricchi della Italia . . . capi de' popoli . . . voi dormite ne' letti eburnei . . . per servire a Dio voi cantate alla voce del salterio, cioè andate alli belli vesperi, organi e cerimonie.' (Here Savonarola paraphrases the prophet Amos.) Id., *Prediche sopra i Salmi*, ii. 139.

24 February 1496 the criticisms became more specific, and now the tyrant and his chapel of singers came under direct attack: 'The tyrant sometimes maintains in church, not for the honour of God but for his own pleasure, rascally singers who—their bellies filled with plenty of wine—come to sing the Mass to Christ, and then pays them with funds from the commune.'²⁰ The Medici clearly recognized that a renowned polyphonic choir would bring credit to Florence, and they cleverly worked this to their advantage by permitting their singers to perform in the main churches of the city.²¹ The very next day the friar continued to enumerate the wicked deeds of the tyrant, but here the employment of a chapel of singers merely counts as one of the lesser evils:

He gives to foreign princes the money of the commune for his own ends; he instigates war against the commune; if you attain victory, he impedes it in order to keep the people poor; he employs singers at the expense of the commune for his own pleasure; he has knaves and assassins on the payroll because they defend him. . . . The tyrant holds banquets in his house, and with his henchmen and ruffians he leads women there to satisfy his lust; he goes in the night to the houses of impoverished girls, and they must open up for him.²²

A few days later, on 28 February, the friar returned to the evils of elaborate polyphonic music in church and criticized the drunken choir of singers.²³ The most cutting of all his comments on polyphonic music was delivered in a sermon just a week later, on 5 March 1496:

The Lord doesn't want these things [elaborate music on feast-days]; rather he says: 'Remove from me the uproar of your songs, I will not listen to the songs of your lyre.'²⁴ God says: 'take away your beautiful *canti figurati*'. These *signori* have chapels of singers who appear to be in a regular uproar (as the prophet says here), because there

²⁰ 'Il tiranno tiene nelle chiese alcuna volta, non per onore di Dio ma per suo piacere, cantori imbriaconi che, come sono ben pieni di vino, vanno a cantare la messa a Cristo, e pagali delli danari del commune.' Id., *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, i. 222.

²¹ D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni', 348.

²² 'Dà alli principi di fuora e' danari del comune per sua utilità; fa muovere guerra al comune; se tu hai avere vittoria, e' la 'mpedisce per tenere il populo magro; tiene cantori alle spese del commune per suo piacere; nutrisce e' rubaldi e gli assassini perché lo difendino. . . . Il tiranno fa conviti in casa sua, e con sua satelliti e ruffiani fa condurre donne per saziare la sua libidine; va la notte a casa le poverelle fanciulle e bisogna che li sia aperto.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, i. 240-2.

²³ 'El Signore dice:— Ecco, li vostri peccati e le vostre iniquità hanno provocato l'ira mia. Voi credete placarmi per andare a messe, fare organi e paramenti e altre cerimonie: voi non farete nulla—. . . Venite, capi della Chiesa, venite preti, venite frati, venite secolari. Venga ognuno, venite cantori (quelli, dico, che beano prima molto bene e poi cantano la messa), su, venite ognuno, facciamo una bella festa d'organi, di drappelloni, di cerimonie: queste non vagliano nulla senza quel di dentro.' (The Lord says: 'Behold, your sins and your iniquities have provoked my wrath. You think you can placate me with going to Mass, with organ music and vestments and other ceremonies: that does nothing.' . . . Come here, leaders of the Church, come here priests, come here friars, come here seculars. Come here everybody, come here singers (those, I say, who first drink plenty and then sing Mass), come on, come here everyone, let's have a beautiful feast of organs, of draperies, of ceremonies: these things don't mean a thing without that special something inside.) Ibid. 330. Also cited by D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni', 348.

²⁴ 'Aufer a me tumultum carminum tuorum et cantica lyrae tuae non audiam' (Amos 5: 23).

stands a singer with a big voice who appears to be a calf and the others cry out around him like dogs, and one can't make out a word they are saying. Give up these *canti figurati*, and sing the plainchant ordained by the Church. You wish to play organs too; you go to church to hear organs. God says: 'I don't listen to your organs.' You still don't want to understand.²⁵

The ludicrous yet scathing image of these musicians howling like dogs clearly indicates one of Savonarola's major objections to polyphonic singing: the music obliterated the words, which were the essential element, placing all the emphasis on the beautiful—or not so beautiful to the ears of the friar—melodies.

Yet Savonarola did not wish to exclude music entirely from church. In his sermon of 7 March he addressed the fanciulli who were packed into the Duomo on tiers of risers, and he acknowledged their singing of laude, but noted that it would also be nice if they would sing in plainchant the hymns of the Church, such as *Ave maris stella* or *Veni creator Spiritus*, saying that if they did, he himself might also be inspired to join in the singing.²⁶ This brings us to the kinds of music that Savonarola did deem acceptable for use in religious ceremonies.

Savonarola's Laude and their Musical Settings

The Piagnoni, in addition to singing laude based on carnival songs and other laude by well-known Tuscan poets in the 1490s, performed laude written by Savonarola himself.²⁷ The friar wrote texts for a dozen laude (see Table 4.1), and musical settings are recoverable for at least five of these, *Giesù dolce conforto e sommo bene*, *Giesù sommo conforto*, *Che fai qui core*, *In su quell'aspro monte*, and *Alma che sì gentile*. He also wrote three sonnets, but these are not strophic poetry, nor did they circulate in manuscript collections of laude, so they were probably not intended for singing.

²⁵ 'Il Signore non vuole queste cose, ma dice: Aufer a me tumultum carminum tuorum et cantica lyrae tuae non audiam; dice Dio: lieva via quelli tuoi belli canti figurati. Egli hanno questi signori le cappelle de' cantori che bene pare proprio uno tumulto (come dice qui el profeta), perché vi sta là un cantore con una voce grossa che pare un vitello e li altri gli cridono attorno come cani e non s'intende cosa che dichino. Lasciate andare e' canti figurati, e cantate e' canti fermi ordinati dalla Chiesa. Voi volete pur sonare organi; voi andate alla chiesa per udire organi. Dice Dio: —Io non odo e' vostri organi —. Voi non volete ancora intendere.' Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, ii. 23. Also cited in D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni', 348. The friar continued to worry away at the subject of frivolous external activities such as music in his next two sermons of 6 and 7 Mar.: *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, ii. 54, 79.

²⁶ 'Ora a voi, fanciugli [sic], parliamo un poco. Ascoltate me: voi cantate qua delle laude la mattina e sta bene; ma io vorrei ancora che voi cantassi qualche volta de' canti della Chiesa come è *Ave maris stella*, o *Veni creator Spiritus*, e non saria anche male nessuno che il popolo rispondesse; e quando io vengo in pergamo, se io trovassi che voi cantassi quella *Ave maris stella*, canterei forse ancor io; non dico già che voi la cominciate per questo, ma parlo così, quando venissi a caso ch'io venissi e voi l'avessi cominciata.' Ibid. 80.

²⁷ Printed in Savonarola, *Poesie*. Martelli lists most of the manuscript sources for each lauda. One should add BNF Magl. VII.365, a 16th-c. laudario from the convent of San Vincenzo in Prato, as a source for *Giesù sommo conforto*, *Che fai qui core*, and *Giesù splendor del cielo*. See Macey, 'Infiama il mio cor', 176–7; see also App. E.

TABLE 4.1. *Poetry of Savonarola*

Complete edition in Savonarola, *Poesie*, ed. Martelli. The term 'lauda' encompasses diverse forms of poetry, including canzoni, but sonnets are rare. The ballata and canzone are strophic forms that originated as popular poetry. See Spongano, *Nozioni ed esempi*.

CANZONI

- 1 *Se non che pur è vero e così credo*
(modelled on various poems of Petrarch; see Savonarola, *Poesie*, 205)
- 2 *Vergene casta, ben che indegno figlio*
- 3 *Anima bella, che le membre sante*
- 4 *Giesù dolce conforto e sommo bene*
(modelled on Feo Belcari)
- 5 *Quando el suave mio fido conforto*
(modelled on Petrarch, *Rime*, no. 359)
- 6 *Giesù splendor del cielo e vivo lume*

SONNETS

- 7 *Questa Aquila gentil che se disparte*
(modelled on Petrarch, *Rime*, no. 31)
- 8 *Questa celeste e gloriosa Dona*
(modelled on Petrarch, *Trionfo della Morte*)
- 9 *Salve, Regina, virgo gloriosa*
(modelled on Petrarch, 'Vergine bella')

LAUDE

- 10 *Onnipotente Iddio*
- 11 *Giesù sommo conforto*
(modelled on anon. lauda, 'Vergine tu mi fai')
- 12 *Che fai qui core?*
(modelled on music for Poliziano's 'Ben venga maggio')
- 13 *In su quell'aspro monte*
(modelled on Bianco Gesuato, 'In su quell'alto monte')
- 14 *Alma che sì gentile*
(modelled on Gherardo d'Astore, 'Alma che sì gentile')
- 15 *Gloria, laude et honore*
(translation of Latin hymn)

All the extant musical settings for Savonarola's laude survive in Razzi's *Libro primo delle laude spirituali* (Venice, 1563), but this has gone undetected, because, with the exception of *Giesù sommo conforto*, the texts printed by Razzi are not those for Savonarola's laude; he did not dare to include the friar's texts, no doubt because he feared the Church authorities would deny him permission to publish them. Savonarola's reputation was at low ebb among the Italian Church hierarchy in the late 1550s—the pope, it will be recalled, had denounced him as an Italian Luther—especially in the light of the rampant defections of Protestants in the north, many of whom had been

TABLE 4.2. *Laude misattributed to Savonarola in nineteenth-century editions*

<i>Tutto se', dolce Dio, signore etemo</i> ^{a, b} (Feo Belcari)
<i>Guidami tu, guidami tu</i> ^c (before 1448)
<i>Vergine, tu mi fai</i> ^a (before 1458)
<i>O anima accecata, che non truovi riposo</i> ^a (Feo Belcari)
<i>Giù per la mala via</i> ^a (Feo Belcari)
<i>Ben venga amor</i> ^a (Feo Belcari)
<i>Ora mai sono in età</i> ^a (Feo Belcari)
<i>Ecco el Messia</i> ^a (Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici)
<i>Viva ne' nostri cuori, viva o Fiorenza</i> ^b (Girolamo Benivieni)
<i>Viva, viva in nostro core</i> ^b
<i>Funde preces in coelis</i> ^b
<i>Omè, omè, quanto misero se'</i> ^c

^a Attributed by Cesare Guasti and Carlo Capponi (eds.), *Poesie di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, 1862.

^b Attributed by Audin de Rians (ed.), *Poesie di Ieronimo Savonarola*, 1847.

^c Attributed by Bartolomeo Aquarone, *Vita di fra Jeronimo Savonarola*, 1857.

inspired by Savonarola's attacks on the papacy and general questioning of papal authority. So Razzi printed instead the texts of the non-controversial poets that had served as models for Savonarola. In order to recover musical settings for the friar's laude, one must turn to the 'cantasi come' tradition to match Razzi's music with Savonarola's texts (see Table 4.3 below).

A dozen other laude have been assigned to Savonarola over the centuries, many of them in nineteenth-century editions, including an important one from 1862 by Cesare Guasti and Carlo Capponi.²⁸ Finally in 1968 a critical edition of Savonarola's poetry was completed by Mario Martelli, and he painstakingly demonstrated that these texts belong to the group of misattributed works (see Table 4.2).

Savonarola wrote most of his poetic texts as a young man; the earliest dates given for individual works are 1472, 1474, and 1484 in an autograph manuscript, the Codice Borromeo, which contains his notes for sermons and copies of his own laude, as well as laude by other authors.²⁹ Giulio Cattin

²⁸ See e.g. *Poesie di Ieronimo Savonarola*, ed. A. de Rians (Florence, 1847); and *Poesie di Fra Girolamo Savonarola tratte dall'autografo*, ed. C. Guasti and C. Capponi (Florence, 1862).

²⁹ The Codice Borromeo in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, S.P.II.5, served as the basis for the edition of Savonarola's poetry by Guasti and Capponi in 1862, and they believed that all the poetry in the codex was the work of Savonarola, thus explaining their inclusion of several texts now regarded as misattributions. When Martelli came to edit Savonarola's poetry (*Savonarola, Poesie*), the autograph manuscript could not be found, and so he had to rely on the redaction of the texts published by Guasti and Capponi. It was only after the publication of Martelli's edition that Giulio Cattin relocated the Codice Borromeo in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana and published its contents. For a complete edition of the codex and extensive commentary, see G. Cattin (ed.), *Il primo Savonarola: Poesie e prediche autografe dal Codice Borromeo* (Florence, 1973).

demonstrated that the Codex was written from 1483 to 1485 during the friar's first years in Florence, thus providing evidence for early dating for most of the laude by Savonarola. They occur in the following order, with the dates indicated in the Codex itself:

Onnipotente Iddio

- 1472 Se non che pure è vero e così credo
 1475 Vergene casta, ben che indegno figlio
 Quando el suave mio fido conforto
 Questa Aquila gentil che se disparte
 Questa celeste e gloriosa Dona
 Salve Regina virgo gloriosa
 Giesù sommo conforto
 Che fai qui core
 Giesù splendor del cielo
 In su quell'aspro monte
 1484 Giesù dolce conforto e sommo bene

Only three of Savonarola's authenticated texts are missing from the Codice Borromeo: his canzone in honour of Beata Caterina de' Vegri, *Anima bella che le membre sante*, as well as *Alma che sì gentile* and his translation of the Latin hymn for Palm Sunday, *Gloria, laude et honore*. Savonarola relied on existing texts as models for many of his opening lines, as well as for rhyme schemes and formal and metric layouts. In fact, Martelli, the editor of the friar's poetry, has shown that he turned to a pre-existing model in almost every instance, whether the poetry of Petrarch or the laude of Feo Belcari and Gherardo d'Astore.³⁰ The existence of these models, several of which survive with musical settings in Razzi's lauda anthology of 1563, allows the recovery of musical settings for Savonarola's own laude.

A brief examination of Savonarola's laude will provide an idea of the poetic content and the musical styles that rendered many of them suitable for performance by untrained singers such as the fanciulli. Savonarola's most famous and often set text, *Giesù sommo conforto*, occurs in four different musical settings scattered in printed books throughout the sixteenth century.³¹ It is the only text by Savonarola that Razzi included in his print of 1563. The heading, 'Laude al crocifisso', indicates its suitability for performance before an image of the crucifix. The opening stanza and the last three stanzas (8, 9, and 10) illustrate the fervent tone:

Giesù, sommo conforto,
 tu se' tutto el mio amore
 e 'l mio beato porto
 e santo redentore.

Jesu, highest solace,
 you are all my love,
 and my blessed refuge
 and holy redeemer.

³⁰ Savonarola, *Poesie*, 198–214, esp. 212.

³¹ Cattin, 'Le poesie del Savonarola', 267.

O gran bontà, dolce pietà,
felice quel che teco unito sta!

O Croce, fammi loco
e le mie membra prendi,
che del tuo santo foco
el cor e l'alma accendi.

O gran bontà, dolce pietà,
felice quel che teco unito sta!

Infiamma el mio cor tanto
del tuo amor divino,
sì ch'arda dentro tanto,
che para un serafino.

O gran bontà, dolce pietà,
felice quel che teco unito sta!

La Croce e 'l crucifisso
sia nel mio cor scolpito,
ed io sia sempre affisso
in gloria, ove egli è ito.

O gran bontà, dolce pietà,
felice quel che teco unito sta!

O great goodness, sweet mercy,
happy the one united with you!

O Cross, make a place for me
and take my limbs,
so that my heart and soul may
burn with your holy fire.

O great goodness, etc.

Inflame my whole heart
with your divine love,
so it burns inwardly so much
that it resembles a [fiery] seraph.

O great goodness, etc.

Let the cross and the crucified
be engraved in my heart,
that I may always be affixed
in glory, where he has gone.

O great goodness, etc.³²

The text does not fall into any of the standard poetic forms of the period, and consists simply of an opening four-line stanza of seven-syllable lines followed by a two-line refrain ('O gran bontà . . .').

The four extant musical settings of Savonarola's text include those by Paolo Scotto (1508), the anonymous setting published by Razzi (1563), Giovanni Animuccia (1563), and Simone Verovio's setting in *Diletto spirituale* (1586). The four-voice version by Paolo Scotto appeared in Petrucci's *Laude libro secondo* (Venice, 1508),³³ but the original tune that was sung in Florence in the late fifteenth century seems to have been printed only later by Razzi in his three-voice setting in the *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (see Table 4.3).³⁴ The musical style resembles that of *Deh venitene pastori* (Ex. 3.2),

³² Savonarola, *Poesie*, 32-4.

³³ Modern edition in K. Jeppesen, *Die mehrstimmige italienische Lauda um 1500* (Leipzig, 1935), 37. In Petrucci's 1508 edition of laude he is called Paulus Scotus. Six of his secular songs were published by Petrucci in *Frottole libro septimo* and *octavo* (1507³ and 1507⁴). The music theorists Pietro Aaron and Giovanni Sparato were friends of his, and he was related to the Scotto publishing family that rose to prominence in Venice in the mid-16th c. See B. J. Blackburn, E. E. Lowinsky, and C. A. Miller (eds.), *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), 1013-14. My thanks to Bonnie Blackburn for this reference.

³⁴ According to Mario Fabbri, *Giesù sommo conforto* was performed to the music for *Venite o donne a festa | insiem con noi sul prato*, which he calls a carnival song; however he cites no source, and I have been unable to trace the latter text; see Fabbri, 'Laude di travestimento', 152. Savonarola possibly modelled his lauda on an earlier anonymous work, *Vergine tu mi fai*, as suggested by the similarity of the poetic structures and especially the refrain, which in the latter is: 'Che carità, che gran pietà | mi mostra sempre tua gran deità'. *Vergine tu mi fai* itself was sung to the music of the secular song *Angiola, tu mi fai | cantando a te venire*; see Cattin, 'Le poesie del Savonarola', 269. The music of this latter song is perhaps preserved in the three-voice setting for Savonarola's *Giesù sommo conforto* in Razzi's anthology.

Ex. 4.1. Savonarola, *Giesù sommo conforto*: (a) 1563, fo. 3^v (CD track 10); (b) Giovanni Animuccia (Rome, 1563), bb. 1-6

(a)

A

Gie - sù som - mo con - for - to, Tu
E'l mio be - a - to por - to, E

C

Gie - sù som - mo con - for - to, Tu
E'l mio be - a - to por - to, E

T

Gie - sù som - mo con - for - to, Tu
E'l mio be - a - to por - to, E

5

se' tut - to'l m'a - mo - re, O gran bon - tà, dol -
san - to re - den - to - re,

se' tut - to'l m'a - mo - re, O gran bon - tà, dol -
san - to re - den - to - re,

se' tut - to'l m'a - mo - re, O gran bon - tà, dol -
san - to re - den - to - re,

10

ce pie - tà, Fe - li - ce quel che te - c'u - ni - to stà.

ce pie - tà, Fe - li - ce quel che te - c'u - ni - to stà.

ce pie - tà, Fe - li - ce quel che te - c'u - ni - to stà.

(b)

C

Gie - sù som - mo con - for - to, Tu sei tut - to'l
E'l mio be - a - to por - to, E san - to re -

A

Gie - sù som - mo con - for - to, Tu sei tut - to'l
E'l mio be - a - to por - to, E san - to re -

T

Gie - sù som - mo con - for - to, Tu sei tut - to'l
E'l mio be - a - to por - to, E san - to re -

B

Gie - sù som - mo con - for - to, Tu sei tut - to'l
E'l mio be - a - to por - to, E san - to re -

TABLE 4.3. *Music for Savonarola's laude in Serafino Razzi, Libro primo delle laudi spirituali (Venice, 1563)*

Fo.	Text and author in Razzi	Text by Savonarola
3 ^v	<i>Giesù sommo conforto</i> Fra Girolamo Savonarola	<i>Giesù sommo conforto</i>
15 ^v	<i>Ecco 'l Messia</i> (first setting) Mad. Lucrezia de' Medici	<i>Che fai qui core?</i>
80 ^v	<i>In su quell'alto monte</i> d'Autore incerto [Bianco Gesuato]	<i>In su quell'aspro monte</i>
130 ^v	<i>Deh dolce Redentore</i> ^d Lorenzo Tornabuoni	<i>Alma che sì gentile</i>
131 ^v	<i>Giesù sommo diletto e vero lume</i> d'Autore incerto [Feo Belcari]	<i>Giesù dolce conforto e sommo bene</i>

^d A possible setting for Savonarola's lauda; circumstantial evidence only.

because the tune occurs in the middle voice (labelled cantus), while the altus provides a discant above, mostly in parallel thirds, and the tenor supplies harmonic support (Ex. 4.1(a) and Pl. 4.1). The discant in the altus could easily have been improvised by the fanciulli above the tune in the cantus, and Razzi has probably preserved in writing what was essentially an oral practice.

Giovanni Animuccia's four-voice setting of *Giesù sommo conforto* features a tune similar to Razzi's cantus, and it was printed in the same year in his *Primo libro delle laudi* (Ex. 4.1(b)).³⁵ In fact Razzi made the claim in one of his later manuscript collections of laude (BNF Pal. 173) that his anthology of 1563 had spurred Animuccia to produce his own volume.³⁶ Animuccia places the tune in the top sounding voice, with no discant above it. Both men were trained in Florence, and apparently incorporated a tune that had been in use since the time of Savonarola.

The setting of *Giesù sommo conforto* for three high voices by Simone Verovio in his anthology called *Diletto spirituale* (Rome, 1586) does not feature the tune used by Razzi and Animuccia.³⁷ In fact, this setting is the most contrapuntal of the group, with several brief imitative entries among the parts, and it would require trained singers for an effective performance.

In a style similar to Razzi's version of *Giesù sommo conforto* is the setting for Savonarola's *Che fai qui core*, which draws on the music for *Ecco 'l Messia* in

³⁵ G. Animuccia, *Il primo libro delle laudi* (Rome, 1563), p. xiii.

³⁶ Razzi's comment is transcribed in Becherini, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali*, 99.

³⁷ Simone Verovio, *Diletto spirituale* (Rome, 1586), fo. 12^v; facs. in Biblioteca musica bononiensis, sez. IV, n. 38a (Bologna, 1971). Verovio provides a keyboard intabulation and a separate intabulation for lute on the facing page (fo. 13^v).

CANTATA

Musical notation for the first system, including a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

Musical notation for the second system, including a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

Musical notation for the third system, including a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

Musical notation for the fourth system, including a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

Musical notation for the fifth system, including a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

Musical notation for the sixth system, including a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

Musical notation for the seventh system, including a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

Tutte le seguenti Canto si cantano come è notato qui sopra

Libretto di Felice Scacchi
Messa da Ferrara

Giesù sommo conforto
Tu te tutto l'mio amore,
E il mio beato porto,
E fante redentore:

O gran beato conforto
O gran beato conforto
O gran beato conforto
O gran beato conforto

Tha l'anima, e'l cor inchinito,
E tu te in croce fido
O gran beato
O gran beato

Giesù qual forza ha spinto,
L'innimela tua bontà
L'innimela tua bontà
L'innimela tua bontà

E ma non fui feracite
Ti fu per me pagato
Sei l'aria un'ora
O prete bontà

Canta tu l'aria un'ora
Canta tu l'aria un'ora
Canta tu l'aria un'ora
Canta tu l'aria un'ora

Dei ti regni per sempre,
Canta tu l'aria un'ora
Canta tu l'aria un'ora
Canta tu l'aria un'ora

Grati tu l'aria un'ora
Grati tu l'aria un'ora
Grati tu l'aria un'ora
Grati tu l'aria un'ora

La croce, e il crocifisso
Sia nel mio cor colpito,
Et io sia sempre affiso
In gloria, ote glieto,
O prete bontà
Il fine.

Lauda al proprio Angelo di
Fra Serafino Razzi.

Angelo mio diletto
Canta tu l'aria un'ora
Canta tu l'aria un'ora
Canta tu l'aria un'ora

Per guardia in ogni lato
O gran bontà, dolce pietà
Feltice quel che a Giesù unito ha,
Canta tu l'aria un'ora

Accio che col tor mondo
Siam pur sempre uniti
Fammi fuggite il turbo,
E le tue parole, e forze

Accio che col tor mondo
Duri fino alla morte,
Fammi fuggite il turbo,
E le tue parole, e forze

In ogni aduere fide
In ogni aduere fide
In ogni aduere fide
In ogni aduere fide

Angelo mio diletto
Angelo mio diletto
Angelo mio diletto
Angelo mio diletto

Accio che al fin fiero
Teco me s'ingangi in cielo,
Canta tu l'aria un'ora
Canta tu l'aria un'ora

Chè tu conosci a vita
E perchè in quella io uada
Non far di me parlar
Spemato, attendi alla carma,
Canta tu l'aria un'ora

E alla tua dolce memoria
Che è tutto l'mio desio,
O Venghi fante o verde pianta
Feltice chi di te fa uella e causa
Tu te dolce Maria
Ogni parte a cantore

Ex. 4.2. Savonarola, *Che fai qui core*, bb. 1–9 (cc: *Ecco 'l Messia*, 1563, fo. 15^v) (CD track 11)

The image shows a musical score for three voices (A, C, T) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Che fai qui co - re, che fai qui co - re? Van' al tuo dol - ce a - mo - re. L'a - mo - r'è - Gie - sù Cri - Fa - lie - t'o - gne - sù cor tri -". The score is in G major and 4/4 time. The piano part is in the right hand, and the vocal parts are in the left hand. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Razzi's anthology (Table 4.3); the tune again occurs in the cantus part in the middle of the texture, with an altus discant above and supporting tenor below. The music can be traced back to the famous song for May Day by Angelo Poliziano, *Ben venga maggio*.³⁸ While the text for *Che fai qui core* is nowhere to be found in the print of 1563, the text and music do in fact appear together in Razzi's manuscript biography of Savonarola, written in the 1580s. A copy of the biography with musical settings appended is preserved in BMLF San Marco 429.³⁹ The manuscript transmits only the music for the cantus part of *Che fai qui core*, and this matches the cantus for *Ecco 'l Messia* in the 1563 publication (see Ex. 4.2). It seems likely, given Razzi's Piagnone sentiments, that had the Church not taken such a negative view of Savonarola in the mid-sixteenth century, he would have included the text for *Che fai qui core* in his anthology. The hortatory tone of the lauda is captured in the refrain and the first of ten stanzas.

³⁸ On the original secular text of Poliziano's *Ben venga maggio*, see Luisi, 'Ben venga Maggio'.

³⁹ BMLF San Marco 429, fo. 215^v. For another copy of Razzi's biography that includes musical settings of Savonarola's laude, including *Che fai qui core*, see BSL MS 2415, fo. 281^r. Eugenia Levi pointed out that *Che fai qui core* was performed to Razzi's music for *Ecco 'l Messia*, but she did not cite any sources; see Levi, *Lirica italiana antica: novissima scelta di rime dei secoli xiii, xiiii, xv* (Florence, 1905), p. xxx.

Che fai qui, core?
 Che fai qui, core?
 Vane al tuo dolce amore.

L'amor è Giesù Cristo,
 che dolcemente infiamma,
 fa lieto ogne cor tristo,
 che Lui suspira e brama.
 Chi puramente l'ama
 si spoglia d'ogne errore.
 Che fai qui, core?, etc.

What are you doing here, heart?
 What are you doing here, heart?
 Go to your sweet love.

That love is Jesus Christ,
 which sweetly inflames;
 [it] makes happy every sorrowful heart
 that sighs for and desires him.
 Whoever loves him chastely
 rids himself of every error.

11

Savonarola's next lauda, *In su quell'aspro monte*, has the simplest poetic form and musical setting of all his works; he modelled it on Bianco Gesuato's *In su quell'alto monte* (Table 4.3).⁴⁰ Lacking a refrain, the lauda consists of nothing more than a string of couplets, each sung to the same music. Martelli notes that for *In su quell'aspro monte* the friar must have had the first couplet of Gesuato's lauda in mind, since he adopted the first line and the unusual metre. The initial couplet of Gesuato's lauda is: 'In su quell'alto monte | v'è la fontana, che trabocch'ella'.⁴¹ Savonarola's lauda recounts the life of St Mary Magdalene.

In su quell'aspro monte
 dove contempla la Magdalena,

Andian con dolci canti
 e con la mente sant'e serena,

Cantando gloria a Dio,
 che tutta l'ha di grazia piena.

Con li celesti cori
 la dolce sposa in alto mena.

Mirate, peccatori,
 quella che fu già tanto terrena:

Maria santa vi mostra
 di gran pietade un'alta vena.

In melodie celeste
 fu tutta mutate la sua pena,

E del superno Sposo
 e fatta sposa dolce e amena.

In l'aria sta sospesa
 ne la dolce faccia nazarena;

Up to that harsh mountain,
 where the Magdalen contemplates,

Let us go with sweet songs
 and with pious and serene mind,

Singing glory to God,
 completely filled with grace.

With the heavenly choirs
 the sweet bride guides us up.

Look, sinners,
 she who was so worldly:

Holy Mary shows you
 a lofty spirit of great piety.

By celestial melodies
 her pain was completely changed,

And by the celestial Spouse
 she was made a sweet and pleasing spouse.

She hangs suspended in air
 before the sweet face of the Nazarene [Jesus];

12

⁴⁰ Savonarola, *Poesie*, 38–9. Gesuato's *In su quell'alto monte* was sung to the music for the secular song *In su quel monte chiara | vi surge la fontanella*, according to the cantasi come indication in the Florentine print of 1486; see Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 104.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 158–9. The first line of seven syllables is unexceptional; the second line, however, is not eleven syllables, but rather two groups of five syllables each. Martelli calls this metre 'squisito nella sua dissonanza' (159).

Ex. 4.3. Savonarola, *In su quell'aspro monte* (cc: *In su quell'alto monte*, 1563, fo. 80^v) (CD track 12)

C
In su quel - l'al - to mon - te, In su quel - l'al - to
In su quel - l'a - spro mon - te, In su quel - l'a - spro

T
In su quel - l'a - spro mon - te, In su quel - l'a -

B
In su quel - l'a - spro mon - te, In su quel - l'a -

5
mon - te, V'è la fon - ta - na che tre boc - che
mon - te, Do - ve con - tem - pla la Ma - gda - le -

spro mon - te, Do - ve con - tem - pla la Ma - gda - le -

spro mon - te, Do - ve con - tem - pla la Ma - gda - le -

10
l'ha, V'è la fon - ta - na che tre boc - che l'ha.
na, Do - ve con - tem - pla la Ma - gda - le - na.

na, Do - ve con - tem - pla la Ma - gda - le - na.

na, Do - ve con - tem - pla la Ma - gda - le - na.

Tutto il suo cuor arde
e ne l'amor non si raffrena.

Her entire heart burns
and she doesn't restrain her love.⁴²

St Mary Magdalene, the first female hermit, was also the patron saint of the Dominican order. According to legend, she emerged daily from a cave

⁴² Savonarola, *Poesie*, 38. Nine stanzas follow.

to take communion as her only sustenance. Another of Savonarola's laude, *Giesù splendor del cielo e vivo lume* (see below), consists of the prayer of the Magdalen at the foot of the cross, and both laude are found consistently in anthologies that belonged, appropriately, to convents of Dominican nuns.

The poetic content and short couplets of *In su quell'aspro monte* indicate that it was designed to be sung while marching. The musical setting itself creates particular interest because the immediate repetition of each line suggests the manner of performance (Ex. 4.3). Soloists should first sing phrase 1, and then the group of the fanciulli responds with the same text and music; phrase 2 repeats the pattern. It would only be necessary for the soloists to memorize the text, or read it from a written sheet of paper, and the fanciulli could simply respond by ear. This 'call and response' pattern can be found in many oral cultures, from the singing of chant in the early days of the Christian Church to performances of gospel hymns in African-American churches today. In fact laude like *In su quell'aspro monte* are comparable to contemporary American gospel music, with its clear beat, direct melody, and ecstatic repetitions. The musical style is simple in the extreme, with limited melodic ranges, short phrases, and regular rhythms in all parts, so that the fanciulli in large groups would have found it easy and stirring to sing out verse after verse in resonant voices, responding to the call of the lauda to go 'up to that harsh mountain' as they processed through the streets of Florence.

Savonarola based another lauda, *Giesù dolce conforto e sommo bene*, on a pre-existing work with a similar incipit, *Giesù sommo diletto e vero lume*, by Feo Belcari, who died in 1485 (Table 4.3).⁴³ The friar composed it in 1484, two years after his first arrival in Florence, as a prayer for the Church upon the accession of Pope Innocent VIII. His lauda reproduces the identical poetic form of Belcari's work, a ballata mezzana that features alternating lines of eleven and seven syllables; the ballata mezzana has a three-line ripresa, instead of four as in the ballata grande. The ripresa and first stanza of Belcari's lauda illustrate the form.

Giesù, sommo diletto e vero lume
d'ogni purgato core,
fammi annegar nel tuo perfetto amore.

Se tanto dolci son, di te cercando,
le lacrime e i sospiri,
quanta dolcezza arò po', te trovando
e 'mpiendo e mie' desiri?

⁴³ Ibid. 13–15. Belcari's *Giesù sommo diletto e vero lume* could be sung to music for two different secular songs, *Leggiadra damigella* and *Molto m'annoia dello mio messere*; see Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 4. It is not clear whether the three-voice setting transmitted by Razzi for Belcari's lauda preserves the music for either of these secular songs.

Giesù, li mie' martiri non son grievi,
 ma gaudiosi e lievi,
 sperando fruir te, 'nfinito amore.⁴⁴

Savonarola adheres to his model fairly closely: the poetic form is the same and he retains several words from Belcari's refrain, including the two that rhyme in lines two and three.

13

Giesù, dolce conforto e sommo bene
 d'ogni affannato core,
 risguarda Roma cum perfetto amore.

Deh! mira cum pietade in che procella
 si trova la tua Sposa
 e quanto sangue, oimè! tra noi s'aspetta,
 se la tua man pietosa,
 che di perdonar sempre se diletta,
 non la riduce a quella
 pace, che fu quand'era poverella.

Jesus, sweet comfort and highest good
 of every troubled heart,
 look upon Rome with perfect love.

Ah! regard with mercy the tempest
 in which your spouse finds herself
 and what blood, alas! will befall us,
 if your merciful hand,
 which always delights in granting pardon,
 does not bring her (your Church) back
 to that peace that reigned when she was poor.⁴⁵

The subsequent stanzas also focus on the friar's standard themes of the corruption of the present-day Church and the need for it to return to the state of poverty and purity that characterized its earliest days.

Razzi transmits a musical setting for Belcari's *Giesù sommo diletto* in a style that strongly points to the late fifteenth century (Ex. 4.4). The texture for three voices follows a clear hierarchy typical of secular songs in the fifteenth century: the cantus and tenor have a musically self-sufficient duet that could be sung on its own, and the bassus provides harmonic filler, its leaping line often lacking a clear melodic profile. The long arching phrases of the cantus and tenor are reminiscent of the French chanson of the period. Compared with the three laude of Savonarola discussed above, the lyrical phrases of *Giesù dolce conforto e sommo bene* are best suited to a small

⁴⁴ Savonarola, *Poesie*, 211.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 13. Six more stanzas follow. The last rhyme of Savonarola's stanzas (e.g. 'poverella') does not correspond with any of the rhymes of the ripresa, and this anomaly apparently caused Martelli to consider the text a canzone and not a ballata.

Ex. 4.4. Savonarola, *Giesù dolce conforto*, bb. 1–22 (cc: *Giesù sommo diletto*, 1563, fo. 131^v) (CID track 13)

5

C
 Gie - sù som - mo di - let - to e ve - ro
 Gie - sù dol - ce con - for - to e som - mo

T
 Gie - sù dol - ce con - for - to e som - mo

B
 Gie - sù dol - ce con - for - to e som - mo

10

lu - me, D'o - gni pur - ga - to co - re,
 be - ne, D'o - gn'af - fa - na - to co - re,

be - ne, D'o - gn'af - fa - na - to co - re,

be - ne, D'o - gn'af - fa - na - to co - re,

15

Fam - mi an - ne - gar nel tuo per - fet - to a - mo.
 Ri - sguar - da Ro - ma cum per - fet - to a - mo.

Ri - sguar - da Ro - ma cum per - fet - to a - mo.

Ri - sguar - da Ro - ma cum per - fet - to a - mo.

20

re, Se tan - to dol
 re, Quan - ta dol - cez -
 Deh! mi - ra cum
 E quan - to san -

re, Deh! mi - ra cum
 E quan - to san -

re, Deh! mi - ra cum
 E quan - to san -

group of experienced singers (*laudesi*) in a quiet, enclosed space, such as a monastic chamber or even the sanctuary of the Duomo. The lauda would make little effect if attempted by marching groups of fanciulli, and its more sophisticated musical style would probably place it beyond their singing abilities in any case.

One melodic motif immediately draws the listener's attention. The first few notes of the tune for *Ecce quam bonum* (see above, Ex. 1.1) appear in the cantus at the beginning of *Giesù dolce conforto*, and then prominently again in the bassus, echoed by the cantus, at the opening of the stanza ('Deh! mira cum pietade', bb. 19 and 20). The lauda's tune conceivably provided the starting-point for Savonarola's motto; the setting for Belcari's lauda was certainly in existence by 1484, when the friar adapted it for his own lauda, and the music could have come to mind when the tune for *Ecce quam bonum* was created, perhaps by Fra Silvestro Maruffi, according to the story of the angelic revelation narrated in Chapter 1. Further musical sources for the tune in laude composed in veneration of Savonarola will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the case of *Giesù dolce conforto*, as for *Che fai qui core*, it seems likely that Razzi would have supplied Savonarola's text in his 1563 anthology, but the Church's implicit ban on Savonarola's writings probably discouraged him from doing so.

A comparably sophisticated musical setting perhaps survives for Savonarola's *Alma che sì gentile*. The evidence provided by the sources is insufficient, however, to determine an unequivocal musical setting from Razzi's publication of 1563. The friar modelled his work on Gherardo d'Astore's *Alma, che sì gentile, | ti fe' per grazia l'eterno Signore*.⁴⁶ No setting for d'Astore's lauda occurs in Razzi's *Libro primo*, so a more circuitous route must be taken to determine the source for a possible 'cantasi come'. An early printed source states that d'Astore's lauda had its own tune, and that it could also be sung to the tune of *O benigno signore*, and this latter title provides an important clue that will be explored below.⁴⁷

The few sources for Savonarola's own version of *Alma che sì gentile* provide no indication of the original music; only one, BAV Rossi 424, has 'cantasi come' at the end, tantalizingly followed by a blank space where the title of the tune should have been supplied (App. B, fo. 192^v; App. C, fo. 109^r; and App. G, fo. 218^r). Apparently the scribe did not have the information at hand, yet this is curious because the laudario was used at San Marco, and

⁴⁶ Savonarola, *Poesie*, 212–14.

⁴⁷ 'La detta lauda ha modo proprio, e puossi cantare come *O benigno signore*'; Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 96. In fact, d'Astore's lauda could be sung to a number of tunes, in addition to its own, as indicated by these additional incipits from 15th-c. manuscripts of laude: '*Alma che sì gentile, cantasi come O rosa mia gentile et come Non à lo cor gentile*' (BAV Chigi L.VII.266 fo. 291^r), and BAV Barb. lat. 3711, fo. 36^r; the latter provides a variant title, *Dona lo cor gentile*; and '*Alma che sì gentile, come Più bel viso che 'l sole*' (BNF Magl. C.VII.30, fo. 65^r).

bears the name of Fra Pandolfo Rucellai, who joined the convent in 1495 and died in 1497.

Following up further clues, *Signore soccorri aita*, attributed to Lorenzo Tornabuoni, is another lauda with the identical poetic structure to d'Astore's and Savonarola's versions of *Alma che sì gentile*, and according to 'cantasi come' indications it could be sung to the music for *O benigno signore* and *O dolce redentore*.⁴⁸ The extended chain of connections for these texts can perhaps lead to a suitable musical setting for Savonarola's *Alma che sì gentile*. The crucial link is *O benigno signore*, mentioned earlier as a 'cantasi come' for d'Astore's lauda. *Signore soccorri aita* can be performed to the music for two different laude, *O benigno signore* and *O dolce redentore*, and *Alma che sì gentile* can also be sung to the music for *O benigno signore*. By analogy with the 'cantasi come' instructions for *Signore soccorri aita*, one should be able to employ the music of *O dolce redentore* to sing *Alma che sì gentile*.

Razzi's anthology of 1563 preserves a setting of *O dolce redentore* (with a slightly varied title, *Deh dolce redentore*), attributed to Lorenzo Tornabuoni.⁴⁹ The setting fits *Alma che sì gentile* perfectly (Ex. 4.5). Both laude are in the form of the ballata grande, with a four-line refrain and eight-line stanza, and both have the same pattern of alternating seven- and eleven-syllable lines. The lauda attributed to Tornabuoni is as follows:

Deh dolce redentore,
Giesù soccorri a me già lasso, e vinto,
nel cieco laberinto
del mondo vano, 'e scòrs'in tant'errore.

S'io non sento Giesù quel caldo vento,
del tuo spirito santo,
tanto ostinato il duro core è drento,
ch'io non mi so dar vanto,
poter spiegar alquanto,
la cieca mente mia dal camin torto,

⁴⁸ BNF J.VIII.5, p. 510; *Signore soccorri aita* is appended to this late 16th-c. copy of Fra Serafino Razzi's biography of Savonarola. Some earlier sources for the lauda are: BAV Rossi 424, fo. 201' (modern numbering, here with the varied title *Iesù soccorri aita*, and 'cantasi come *O rosa mia gentile et come O donna del mio core*'); BNF Magl. VII.365, fo. 2', with the sole attribution to Lorenzo Tornabuoni; and BNF Rossi 395, fo. 61' (original numbering), with the indication 'Cantasi a modo proprio. L'Autore non si sa'. The 'modo proprio' apparently refers to a new four-voice setting in Razzi (1563, fo. 18'), composed by Bartolomeo degli Organi (1474–1539); see *Collected Works of Alessandro Coppini, Bartolomeo degli Organi, Giovanni Serragli*, ed. F. A. D'Accone (Music of the Florentine Renaissance; Rome, 1967), ii. 118. Bartolomeo's setting probably dates from around 1497, the year Lorenzo Tornabuoni was executed for his role in the plot to help Piero de' Medici retake control of Florence (see Ch. 1), and it does not work especially well for the earlier laude on *Alma che sì gentile* by d'Astore and Savonarola. These laude (and, initially, Tornabuoni's own lauda) were sung to the music of older secular songs such as *O rosa mia gentile*, a text by Leonardo Giustiniani.

⁴⁹ Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 130'. The text is also printed, with no attribution, in Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 241, from the print of laude dated c.1502–7.

Ex. 4.5. Savonarola, *Alma che sì gentile*, bb. 1–19 (cc?: *Deh dolce Redentore*, 1563, fo. 130^v) (CD track 14)

5

C
Deh dol - ce Re - den - to - re, Gie - sù soc - cor - r'a
Al - ma, che sì gen - ti - le, Sei per a - mor del

T
Al - ma, che sì gen - ti - le, Sei per a - mor del

B
Al - ma, che sì gen - ti - le, Sei per a - mor del

10

me gia las - s'e vin - to Nel cie - co la - be -
Pa - dre mio cre - a - ta, E da me tan - t'a -

Pa - dre mio cre - a - ta, E da me tan - t'a -

Pa - dre mio cre - a - ta, E da me tan - t'a -

15

rin - to, Del mon - do va - n'e scor - s'in
ma - ta, Ri - sguar - d'il pet - to mio col

ma - ta Ri - sguar - d'il pet - to mio col

ma - ta Ri - sguar - d'il pet - to mio col

tu che sei fido porto,
libera me sommerso peccatore.

Savonarola's own lauda follows the same formal and metric scheme, with a four-line refrain and eight-line stanzas:

Alma, che sì gentile
sei per amor del Padre mio creata,

e da me tanto amata,
risguarda il petto mio col cor umile.

L'amor ti vinca e la pietà ti mova:
deh! lassa il tuo peccato,
poi che senza me pace non si trova,
spirito mio beato.

Bevi dal mio costato
el dolce prezzo de l'eterna vita:
la carità t'invita
a l'alto ciel di loco basso e vile.⁵⁰

[Jesus speaks:]

Soul, you who were so kindly
created through my Father's love,
and so loved by me,
look upon my breast with a humble heart.

Love overcomes you and compassion moves you:
Ah! give up your sinning,
for without me one finds no peace.
O blessed spirit of mine,
drink from my side
the sweet price of eternal life:
charity invites you
to lofty heaven from your place so low and vile.

The musical style of *Deh dolce redentore* points to an origin in the late fifteenth century. The strictly chordal scoring, and the shift to triple metre at bar 12, suggest the style of Italian secular songs from the period of Lorenzo de' Medici. The music for *Deh dolce redentore* probably served as one of a group of acceptable settings for Savonarola's *Alma che sì gentile*.

Evidence in lauda manuscripts confirms that music was once extant for another lauda by Savonarola, *Giesù splendor del cielo et vivo lume*. Dominican nuns were still copying this text in the late sixteenth century, and Razzi included it in his manuscript biography of Savonarola as well.⁵¹ *Giesù splendor del cielo* allows the singer to identify herself directly with Mary Magdalene, rendering the text especially appropriate for performance by nuns. This is made explicit in the heading and the first stanza, which describes the scene as the Magdalen kneels weeping at Christ's feet.

Lauda meditativa di Giesù Cristo quando che Sancta Maria Magdalena piangeva a piedi Giesù. Composta dal propheta Hieronymo ferrarese.

⁵⁰ Savonarola, *Poesie*, 40–1. Three more stanzas follow.

⁵¹ BMLF San Marco 429, fo. 212^v.

Giesù, splendor del cielo e vivo lume,
 amor felice e santo,
 d'ogni suave pianto
 e d'ogni grazia fonte e largo fiume,
 infiamma il mio cor tanto,
 ch'io pianga ai santi piedi cum Maria
 e sempre in te sospeso e fisso stia.

Meditative Lauda to Jesus Christ, while Mary Magdalene was weeping at the feet of Jesus. Written by the prophet Girolamo of Ferrara.

Jesus, splendour of heaven and living light,
 happy and blessed love,
 the font and wide river
 of all gentle tears and grace,
 inflame my heart so much,
 that I may weep at your holy feet with Mary
 and remain always suspended and fixed in you.⁵²

Savonarola's text is a rather short-winded canzone of only seven lines per stanza. Evidence concerning the musical setting survives in the Florentine laudario from the convent of San Marco, BAV Rossi 424. Here we find that a special setting (modo proprio) was composed by Ser Firenze, a priest employed as a tenor in laudesi companies in Florence in the 1470s and 1480s, including S. Pietro Martire and S. Zanobi.⁵³ Unfortunately, his music does not seem to have survived.⁵⁴

Numerous other indications in Dominican lauda anthologies from the sixteenth century provide evidence of the popularity of *Giesù splendor del cielo* among nuns and friars in Tuscany, and it would seem logical for Razzi to

⁵² From Fra Benedetto Luschino, *Fasciculus mirrhæ*, BNF Magl. XXXV.90, fo. 266^v. Six more stanzas follow. For an edition of the lauda see Savonarola, *Poesie*, 19–21.

⁵³ 'Lauda di sancta maria magdalena a pie di christo facta da decte fra hieronymo; ha modo proprio facta da ser firenze [sic] prete', *Giesù splendor del cielo* ('Lauda of Saint Mary Magdalene at the feet of Christ, written by Fra Hieronymus; it has its own setting composed by Ser Firenze, priest'), BAV Rossi 424, fo. 202^v. Ser Firenze is mentioned in early sources as the author of three lauda texts, sung to the music of two well-known French chansons, *De tous biens pleine*, by Hayne van Ghizeghem, and *Le serviteur*, attributed to Dufay, as well as to the Italian song *Questo mostrarsi*, by Heinrich Isaac. They are: 'Lauda di ser firenze cantasi come de tu ben pleni', *Di tutto bene se forte eterno idio*, BRF Ed.r. 196, fo. 82; 'Di ser firenze cantasi come le servitur', *Servi tuo maria vengono a te*, Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 228; 'Di Ser Firenze cantasi come questo mostrarsi adirato di fore', *Ben chadirato si mostril signore*, *ibid.*, 238. On Ser Firenze, see D'Accone, 'Alcune note sulle compagnie', 90, 100, 108.

⁵⁴ One can form an idea of Ser Firenze's musical style because the laudario BAV Rossi 424 includes a further indication that he composed the music for a lauda by Francesco D'Albizzo, *Conosco ben che pel peccato mio*, the music and text of which are found in Razzi's print of 1563. BAV Rossi 424 has the heading: 'Composta da Francesco dalbizzo et ha modo proprio molto bello facta da ser firenze prete. *Conosco ben che pel peccato mio*', fo. 203^v. For the music, see Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 138^r. Ser Firenze's three-voice setting typifies the style of Italian songs of the late 15th c., with its extended lyric phrases in the duo between the cantus and tenor, and the more disjunct line of the bass voice, which provides harmonic filler. See also F. Ghisi, 'Strambotti e laude nel travestimento spirituale della poesia musicale del Quattrocento', *CHM* 1 (1953), 45–78, esp. 70, where Ghisi cites Ser Firenze's musical setting from Razzi's print.

have preserved a musical setting for this lauda.⁵⁵ Yet a search through his three collections of laude has failed to uncover any clearly usable settings. Beyond the 1563 collection, there are none in his manuscript anthology, BNF Pal. 173, or his *Santuario di laudi* (Florence, 1609).⁵⁶ At present the musical setting for this widely distributed lauda is hidden, and will perhaps remain unrecoverable.

One final lauda by Savonarola, *Gloria, laude et honore*, is simply an Italian translation from the Latin hymn for Palm Sunday, *Gloria, laus et honor*, and was probably performed for the celebrations on that day in 1496.⁵⁷ In the liturgy one sings the hymn after the palms have been blessed and before Mass begins.⁵⁸ Savonarola's translation adheres closely to the original Latin, and perhaps the fanciulli sang this translation to the traditional chant melody. In any case the unusually long poetic lines do not fall into any of the normal Italian verse patterns, and none of the laude in Razzi's collection of 1563 provides an appropriate setting. The opening couplet addresses Christ as king, and this must have accorded well with the cries of 'Viva Cristo re nostro' in the 1496 celebrations:

Gloria, laude e onore sia a te, re Cristo redentore,
a cui la puerile bellezza cantò l'osanna pio.

Glory, praise and honour be to You, Christ Redeemer-King,
to whom beautiful children sang the devout Hosanna.

Razzi's anthology clearly preserves the music for four of Savonarola's laude, and probably for one more as well, but Church disapproval of the reforming friar hindered Razzi from printing the texts, with the sole exception of *Giesù sommo conforto*. Settings for four of Savonarola's canzoni, as well as for *Omnipotente Iddio* and *Giesù splendor del cielo*, have so far eluded discovery, but Razzi's print conceals still more music for several laude written in veneration of Savonarola, and these will be explored in the following chapter.

⁵⁵ A Dominican laudario from Pistoia that belonged to Fra Leone Forteguerra in the mid-16th c. contains two new laude with 'cantasi come' indications for the music for *Giesù splendor del cielo*. The first of these, *Sposa amoroso che Giesù amate*, bears the heading 'Lauda del sacratissimo sacramento di F.N.F. [Fra Niccolò Fabroni] cantasi come *Giesù splendor del cielo*'; this lauda is followed by *Giesù splendor patern'et vero Dio* (a text clearly modelled on Savonarola's lauda), with the heading, 'Lauda in honor del sacratissimo sacramento di F.N.F. cantasi come la precedente'; see BNF Rossi 395, fos. 187^r, 189^r. Savonarola's lauda also occupies a place of honour on the opening folio of the laudario from San Vincenzo in Prato, BNF Magl. VII.365, and it occurs as well in a later 16th-c. laudario that probably belonged to the Dominican nuns at the convent of Santa Caterina da Siena in Florence, BNF Pal. 169, fo. 47^v; on fo. 4^v is another occurrence of *Giesù splendor superno [patern'] et vero dio*. See App. D, E, F.

⁵⁶ Music that could possibly serve as an alternative setting for Savonarola's *Giesù splendor del cielo* is the setting for *Signor Giesù quando sarò io mai* from Razzi's anthology of 1563 (see Ex. 3.3). As for Razzi's later lauda collections, BNF Pal. 173 and the *Santuario di Laudi*, most of their settings are borrowed from the anthology of 1563, and so these sources do not provide a significant new fund of music.

⁵⁷ For the complete text, see Savonarola, *Poesie*, 235. It occurs in BNF Magl. XXXV.205, fo. 74^r, and in a print of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 30 published in Florence in 1499; *ibid.* 125-6, 132-3.

⁵⁸ LU 588.

Laude by Piagnoni in Veneration of Savonarola

The Piagnoni in the Sixteenth Century

Travellers in Florence around the year 1500 who happened on Piazza San Marco towards evening might well have caught the muffled strains of *Ecce quam bonum* drifting over the walls of the convent of San Marco (Pl. 1.2). No longer would one hear that in public places, least of all at carnival; the fanciulli no longer processed through Florence. Now, in the aftermath of Savonarola's execution, his revolutionary movement had gone underground and his adherents had retreated from the streets to the relative safety of the cloister. To some observers hell seemed to have opened in the city, and murder and open gambling had again taken over the streets.¹ If our travellers continued on their way, in a neighbouring street they would have heard the same words, *Ecce quam bonum*, sung in an earthier locale that gave a new twist to the words 'habitare in unum': the song now echoed from the windows of the reopened and thriving brothels!² This scenario suggests something of the opposition between the push by the Piagnoni for spiritual and social reform on the one hand, and the mocking rejection of the movement and attempted suppression of its adherents on the other.³ It provides a context for the role of the friar's followers in the promotion of lauda-singing in the sixteenth century. In fact the performance of laude helped to sustain the spirit of Savonarolan reformers well into the 1590s, and it rallied the embattled Piagnoni, for whom music functioned as a powerful symbol of both social and religious unity, and as a force to subvert the established order.

¹ 'Pareva aperto l'inferno; e tristo a quello che riprendeva e vizii.' Landucci made this observation in his diary on 26 June 1498, a little over a month after Savonarola's execution; *Diario*, 180–1.

² The report comes from Simone Filipepi, brother of Sandro Botticelli: 'Cantavasi ancora in Fiorenza, in dispregio di f. Girolamo: *Ecce quam bonum* ecc., perché egli usava molto spesso insieme a' suoi frati; et cantavansi insino al postribolo delle meretrici: né mai ci si fece provisione per chi reggeva.' Villari, *Scelta di prediche e scritti di fra Girolamo Savonarola*, 496. Filipepi also noted that one of the newly elected officials of the Dieci had turned to a colleague and remarked that now that Fra Girolamo was dead: 'E' si potrà pure hora sodomitare'; *ibid.*, 507.

³ It might be thought that the convent of San Marco would have been closed altogether by the Florentine authorities in the wake of Savonarola's execution, but they learned that the convent had attracted such a large following of the populace, who had defected from their own parish churches, that San Marco in fact was still too powerful and wealthy to close down. See Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 53.

A few relatively neglected aspects of the lauda's history in the sixteenth century will be addressed in this chapter. The first concerns the printed and manuscript sources for laude in honour of Savonarola, including Razzi's anthology of laude printed in 1563. Included among these sources is a manuscript biography of Savonarola written by Razzi in the 1580s, as he prepared the case for the canonization of the friar, which he hoped to accomplish by the jubilee year in 1600. Several copies of this work contain lauda texts, and some include music for laude composed by Razzi himself in honour of Savonarola. Through study of the above sources many of the musical settings for Savonarolan laude can be reconstructed. Secondly, convents of Dominican nuns and friars in Tuscany produced a thriving culture that included music, and the composition and performance of laude played an important role in their devotional lives, especially those of Dominican nuns.⁴

One lauda in particular stands out in the contemporary accounts. 'Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum', the opening verse of Ps. 132, sung day after day as the motto of the Piagnoni during Savonarola's last years in Florence, continued to be sung by the friars of San Marco after Savonarola's execution, even when their Dominican superiors forbade it in a decree of 1499. Two new injunctions had to be issued in 1502.⁵ Several laude, written to honour Savonarola after his execution, quote the verse, and one lauda by Fra Luca Bettini clearly expresses a millenarian vision of Christian brotherhood, a vision that would nourish the Piagnoni throughout the sixteenth century.⁶

The Piagnoni clung to the friar's memory after his execution. Indeed, Savonarola's status was raised to that of martyr as well as prophet, and his adherents continued to await the fulfilment of his apocalyptic prophecies regarding the chastisement of Italy and the imminent renovation of the Church. The Medici had regained control of Florence in 1512, and the city was closely bound to Rome by the election in 1513 of Giovanni de' Medici, son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, as Pope Leo X. The old carnival revelries of the Medici returned as well, and the Piagnoni now routinely referred to Florence as Sodom and Gomorrah.⁷ But the Piagnoni stubbornly

⁴ Agresti, *Sviluppi della riforma monastica*, 18–28, et passim.

⁵ A. Gherardi, *Nuovi documenti e studi intorno a Girolamo Savonarola* (Florence, 1887), 335.

⁶ The laude in honour of Savonarola are *Ciascun faccia festa e canti* and *O martir glorioso*; see M. Ferrara, 'Antiche poesie in memoria del Savonarola', *Memorie Domenicane*, 43 (1926), 215–53 at 223, 232. For *Ecce quam bonum*, by Fra Luca Bettini, see below. Two other Piagnone laude that quote the verse in Italian, but make no specific mention of Savonarola, are *Quanto fia lieto e giocondo*, by Castellano Castellani; see Cattin, 'Musiche per le laude di Castellano Castellani', 201; and *Ecco quanto che gli è dolce et giocondo*. The latter work occurs in a laudario whose contents indicate that it belonged to Dominican nuns in the 16th c., BRF 2979, fo. 65'. The unusual form of this poem, with its lack of an opening refrain and mixture of seven- and eleven-syllable lines, makes it almost certain that it was sung to the music for a lauda in Razzi's anthology of 1563, *Lo fraticello si leva per tempo* (*Libro primo*, fo. 109').

⁷ Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 240–1.

held out, and believed they witnessed the fulfilment of one of Savonarola's prophecies when Rome was sacked in 1527 by the troops of Emperor Charles V, while another Medici pope, Clement VII, fled through a secret passage to the safety of the Castel Sant'Angelo. For the Piagnoni, the sack came as confirmation of the friar's prediction that Rome, above all, would be scourged.⁸

Florentines seized the day by once again expelling the Medici and briefly reinstating the Republic from 1527 to 1530. The memory of Savonarola returned to favour, Christ was again elected King of the city, and the old patriotic and religious fervour of the 1490s was rekindled.⁹ But with the collapse of the Republic to the besieging forces of Charles V and the restoration of Medici rule, the Piagnoni were again forced to retreat underground, and the most active friars from San Marco were silenced. A new papal attitude of censure appears in a bull issued on 27 October 1530 by Clement VII, who accused the friars of San Marco of fomenting the Florentines to rebel against the papacy and the Church, comparable to Luther's incitement of heresy in Germany.¹⁰ The Piagnoni gradually abandoned their commitment to the re-establishment of the Republic, seeing it as a lost cause, but they continued to maintain institutions that promoted social justice, such as the Ospedale del Ceppo and the dowry fund of the Monte di Pietà,¹¹ and they persevered in their message of religious reform. Indeed, in 1534 the Piagnone Bartolomeo Rinuccini proposed the establishment of a new order of priests to promulgate reforms advocated by Savonarola.¹²

The friar's ideas, however, were still perceived as a threat to the established order, and both state and Church pursued sanctions against them. The Medici in the era from 1512 to 1527 had attempted to seek consensus and incorporate the Piagnoni into affairs of governance, but in 1537 Cosimo de' Medici entered the scene as the first duke of Tuscany, and he took firm steps to suppress systematically all remnants of past Republican sentiment. In 1545 he accused the friars of San Marco of meddling in politics, and he expelled all of them briefly from the city.¹³ He further claimed that Savonarola had been executed for heresy, and that Luther hailed him not only as a martyr but as a precursor.¹⁴ On the ecclesiastical front, a watershed for the Piagnoni

⁸ Schnitzer, *Savonarola*, ii. 481.

⁹ C. Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic* (London, 1925), 60-2, 141, 201-2.

¹⁰ Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 401. Some of the more radical Piagnoni had in fact hailed Luther's break with Rome in 1517, but the more conservative, such as Girolamo Benivieni and Giovanfrancesco Pico, rejected the Lutheran movement; *ibid.* 165.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 396-9.

¹² *Ibid.* 417.

¹³ A. Amati, 'Cosimo Primo e i frati di San Marco', *Archivio storico italiano*, 81 (1923), 225-77 at 242-6.

¹⁴ Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 436.

occurred over a decade later in 1559 when the fanatical Pope Paul IV condemned Savonarola as an Italian Luther, and attempted to place his writings on the Index.¹⁵ He was unsuccessful, and although the Dominicans won this particular battle, they apparently lost the war that the Church was waging against the cult of the friar. While only about a dozen sermons and *Della verità profetica* were actually placed on the Index,¹⁶ in practice a ban on the printing of all Savonarola's writings went into effect. Up to this time presses in Venice and other European centres of printing had issued a steady stream of the friar's writings, but after 1559 the flow dried up completely.¹⁷

Various documents from the sixteenth century, including manuscript biographies of the friar and collections of Savonarolan laude, bear witness that the Church could not stamp out all activities of the Piagnoni. In particular, the cult of the friar flourished in Dominican convents in Tuscany, especially at San Marco in Florence and at San Vincenzo in Prato. The latter had been founded by Dominican nuns in 1503 under the direct influence of Savonarolan reformist ideals of strict poverty and intensive prayer and meditation.¹⁸ This was the convent of Caterina de' Ricci (1522–90), especially noted for her veneration of Savonarola. As late as 26 August 1583, Archbishop Alessandro de' Medici wrote a heated letter to Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici enumerating a whole catalogue of Piagnone activities:

The matter is thus. Through the obstinacy of the friars of San Marco the memory of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, which was extinct ten or twelve years ago—those who knew him having died—now resurges, teems, and flourishes more than ever. His follies are disseminated among the friars, among the nuns, and among the laity, and the young ones carry out the most presumptuous things. Secretly they celebrate his office, as for a martyr, and they conserve his relics as if he were a saint, even the instruments with which he was hung, the irons which suspended him, the habits, the cowls, the bones that were left after the fire, the ashes, the hairshirt. They preserve wine blessed by him, and they give it to the sick, and keep track of the miracles. They fashion his image in bronze, gold, cameo, and in print, and— even worse—they inscribe it with martyr, prophet, and virgin and doctor. I have in the past, by my office, thwarted many of these things, and I have had the printing plates destroyed. As for a certain Fra Bernardo da Castiglione, who was the author and who had them printed, I ordered him removed from San Marco,

¹⁵ Ridolfi, *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*, ii. 53–4.

¹⁶ Schnitzer, *Savonarola*, ii. 455–7, 461.

¹⁷ Essentially, no Venetian prints of Savonarola's works seem to have been issued after 1556, but the *Confessionale* was printed in Pavia, Piacenza, Brescia, Turin, and Genoa in 1567, 1571, 1574, 1576, 1579, 1581, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1595, and 1598; in 1592 and 1596 it was also issued in Venice. See L. Giovannozzi, *Contributo alla bibliografia delle opere del Savonarola: Edizioni dei sec. XV e XVI* (Florence, 1953), 28–33. In the north, on the other hand, the presses in Nuremberg and Antwerp continued to publish Savonarola's works.

¹⁸ Agresti, *Sviluppi*, 14.

TABLE 5.1. *Laude in honour of Savonarola*

A. Musical settings preserved in Serafino Razzi, *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (Venice, 1563)

	Model, 1563	Savonarolan text
fo. 16 ^r	<i>Ecco 'l Messia</i> (2nd setting) Mad. Lucrezia de' Medici	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i> Fra Luca Bettini
fo. 44 ^v	<i>La carità è spenta</i> d'Autore incerto	<i>La carità è spenta</i> Fra Benedetto Luschino
fo. 32 ^v	<i>Da che tu m'hai Iddio il cor</i> Feo Belcari	<i>Eterno dio che per voler</i> Fra Benedetto Luschino
fo. 32 ^v	<i>Da che tu m'hai Iddio il cor</i> Feo Belcari	<i>Da che tu m'hai dimostro</i> Suor Caterina de' Ricci
fo. 45 ^v	<i>Ecce quomodo moritur iustus</i> liturgical text	Responsory, Holy Saturday
fo. 116 ^v	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	Ps. 132: 1

B. Laude copied with music in Razzi, *Vita of Savonarola*, BMLF San Marco 429

Model	Savonarolan text
untraced	<i>Vergini deh lasciate</i> Fra Serafino Razzi
<i>Occhi miei oscurati</i> G. D. da Nola, <i>Il primo libro delle villanelle</i> (Venice, 1567)	<i>Piangendo i miei peccati</i> Fra Serafino Razzi

C. Other laude in honour of Savonarola

Model for text	Savonarolan text
<i>Peccator, su, tutti quanti</i> Lorenzo de' Medici Music: BNF B.R. 230 (fragm.): Canzona de' visi addietro, <i>Le cose al contrario vanno</i>	<i>Ciascheduno esulti, e canti</i> anon., BNF VII.137
music not traced	<i>Ciascun faccia festa e canti</i> anon., BNF Magl. VII.1179
music not traced	<i>Ognun gridi: Turco, Turco!</i> anon., BNF Magl. VII.1179
music not traced	<i>State allegri, buon piagnoni</i> anon., BNF Magl. VII.1179
music not traced	<i>O martir glorioso</i> anon., BNF Magl. VII.1179

TABLE 5.1. (Cont'd)

1563: <i>O maligno e duro core</i> [?] Lorenzo de' Medici	<i>O propheti o martir' forti</i> anon., BNF Pal. 169
1563: <i>Chi non ama te Maria</i> [?] Girolamo Benivieni	<i>Oggi torna alla memoria</i> anon., BNF Pal. 169
music: possibly same as <i>Vergini</i> <i>deh lasciate</i> , B. above	<i>O fonte di bontà che d'alta</i> anon., BNF Pal. 169

and he was sent to Viterbo where he died. I have prevented [Savonarola's] image from being painted in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella among the saints of the Order; I have ordered that the summary of his life and his miracles not be printed; I have instilled fear in the friars, and I have ordered their superiors to reprimand them and warn them and have them do penance.¹⁹

A prime target of the archbishop's wrath was the convent of San Vincenzo in Prato, about which he complained in another letter just a few months later.²⁰ The nuns at San Vincenzo in fact regularly celebrated a secret office on Savonarola's feast-day of 23 May, and laude with texts in honour of Savonarola played a part in preparation for the office, including a lauda, written by Fra Serafino Razzi, that they sang on their way to Matins, as will be seen below.²¹

Savonarola's message permanently affected the course of many lives. The biographies of four Dominicans—Luca Bettini, Benedetto Luschino, Caterina de' Ricci, and Serafino Razzi—suggest how that influence led them to compose commemorative laude. These and other laude that celebrate Savonarola's memory are listed in Table 5.1.

¹⁹ 'Il caso è questo: che per l'ostinatione de i Frati di San Marco, la memoria di Fra Girolamo Savonarola, che era dieci o dodici anni fa estinta (sendo morti quelli che conosciuto l'havevono), resurge, pullula, et è più in fiore che mai stata sia: si semina le sue pazzie fra i frati, fra le monache, fra i secolari; et nella gioventù fanno cose prosuntuosissime: occultamente gli fanno l'Offitio, come a martire; conservono le sue reliquie come se santo fussi; insino a quello stilo dove fu appiccato, i ferri che lo sostengono, li abiti, i cappucci, le ossa che avanzarono al fuoco, le ceneri, il cilicio; conservono vino benedetto da lui, lo danno alli infermi, ne contono miracoli; le sue imagini fanno in bronzo, in oro, in cammei, in stampa; et, quello che è peggio, li fanno iscrizioni di Martire, Profeta et Vergine et Dottore. Io mi sono per l'addietro, per l'offitio mio, attraversato a molte di queste cose; ho fatto rompere le stampe; un fra Bernardo da Castiglione, che ne era stato autore, et le haveva fatte fare, lo feci levare di San Marco, et fu messo in Viterbo, dove si è morto. Ho impedito che la sua imagine non sia dipinta nel chiostro di Santa Maria Novella in fra i Santi dell'Ordine; che il sommario della sua vita et suoi miracoli, ho fatto che non sia stampato; ho messo paura a i frati, gli ho fatti reprendere et ammonire et penitentiare da i loro superiori.' C. Guasti, *L'Officio proprio per Fra Girolamo Savonarola* (Prato, 1863), 26–8. The letter is dated 26 Aug. 1583. My thanks to Massimo Ossi for help with the translation of this passage and the other Italian texts below.

²⁰ 'Le imagini . . . erano uscite o da i frati o dalle monache di San Vincenzo di Prato, dove è tutto il ristretto delle cose del Frate'; letter to Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici, 20 Oct. 1583; *ibid.* 29.

²¹ The manuscript chronicle of the convent of San Vincenzo reveals that the 23rd of May was celebrated as a solemn feast throughout the 16th c.; *ibid.* 16.

Fra Luca Bettini, Ecce quam bonum

Luca Bettini was born in 1489 as the eldest of five sons, all of whom eventually entered the Dominican order.²² As a fanciullo, he almost certainly sang laude in the Savonarolan processions for carnival and listened to the friar preach in the Duomo. In 1505 he entered the convent of San Marco, and in 1516 he wrote a defence of the friar's doctrines when a Florentine synod threatened to condemn them as heretical.²³ One year later he was elected Prior of San Marco, but was prevented from taking office by his Dominican superiors. In 1526 he was expelled from the congregation for his advocacy of Savonarola's teachings, and he fled to Mirandola to the court of the staunch Piagnone Giovanfrancesco Pico, nephew of the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Bettini died not long thereafter, in 1527.

In memory of Savonarola, Bettini composed a lauda on *Ecce quam bonum*. It survives in several manuscripts, many of which belonged to Dominican convents, and goes on at length, for no fewer than twenty-two stanzas.²⁴ The opening refrain and the conclusion of each of the stanzas feature the Piagnone verse from Ps. 132:

15

*Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum
habitare fratres in unum.*

In quanto è gran dolcezza
a fare a tutti un core,
con iubilo e prontezza
donarlo al salvatore,
e con un gran fervore
cantare *ecce quam bonum*.

*Behold how good and how pleasant it is
for brethren to dwell together in unity.*

What great sweetness it is
for everyone to be of one heart,
with rejoicing and readiness
to offer it to the Saviour,
and with a great fervour
to sing *Behold how good it is*.

Subsequent stanzas of Bettini's lauda urge the believers to march on in search of Jesus, singing as they go. On the way, the marchers see the Blessed Virgin in heaven, the angel legions, and the apostles. When they come to the martyrs in stanza 15, they see Savonarola and his two companions, who lean over the clouds and urge them onwards:

Fu molto rallegrato
vedendovi costoro,
avendo in me pensato
d'andarmene tra loro

I was greatly cheered
when I saw them,
having thought to myself
that I should like to join them

²² A. Giorgetti, 'Fra Luca Bettini e la sua difesa del Savonarola', *Archivio storico italiano*, 77 (1919), 164-231, biographical sketch, 197-200.

²³ Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 292-300.

²⁴ The earliest version seems to be that in the laudario in the Biblioteca Marcelliana, BMF C. 262, fo. 56^v (see App. C). The only attribution of the lauda to Bettini occurs in a laudario (BAV Ferrajoli 84, fo. 19^v) whose contents and diction reveal that it originated in a Dominican convent in Tuscany before 1559, and thus the source seems reliable; see F. Carboni and A. Ziino, 'Laudi musicali del XVI secolo: il manoscritto Ferrajoli 84 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', *Cultura neolatina*, 33 (1973), 273-329 at 274.

e entrare in quel' choro
a fare *ecce quam bonum*.

and enter that [heavenly] choir
to sing: *Behold how good it is*.

At the end, in stanzas 21 and 22, they dance a *ballo*, hearts aflame with joy, as they celebrate the millenarian vision of Savonarola and dissolve in repeated cries of 'amore':

Non voglio altro che fuoco,
che oggi noi chieggiamo,
che ci arda in questo loco
che non ci'è ne avveggiamo,
mentre che noi cantiamo
in ballo *ecce quam bonum*.

Ecce quam bonum . . .

Amor, Giesù, vorrei,
amore, amore, amore,
amor desiderei,
amor che ci arda el cuore,
amor, Giesù, amore,
amore, *ecce quam bonum*.

Ecce quam bonum . . .

I want nothing other than fire,
which today we ask for,
so that it burns us in this place,
so that not one of us doesn't feel it,
while we sing
this dance: *Behold how good it is*.

Behold how good it is . . .

Love, Jesu, is what I should like,
love, love, love,
I long for love,
love so that it burns the heart,
love, Jesu, love,
love, *Behold how good it is*.

The underground character of Bettini's lauda is apparent from the fact that it circulated only in Dominican lauda manuscripts in the sixteenth century, and when Guiducci printed it in 1607 in his *Scielta di laudi spirituali*, all the stanzas referring to Savonarola were dropped, leaving only seven of the original twenty-two (see Table 5.2).

One Dominican laudario from the convent of San Vincenzo in Prato states that Bettini's lauda should be sung to the music for *Ecco 'l Messia*.²⁵ Razzi's print of 1563 happens to provide the music for *Ecco 'l Messia* (Table 5.1 and Ex. 5.1(b)), and an even earlier source from Pistoia provides a musical setting of a related text, *Ecco 'l signore* (Ex. 5.1(a)).²⁶ The same tune appears in a decidedly different context, in polyphonic settings of the Piagnone motto 'Ecce quam bonum' in an elaborate musical style that Savonarola detested. These are motets and a mass by the French composers Philippe Verdelot (active in Florence in the 1520s), Jean Richafort, Jean Mouton, and Antonius

²⁵ BNF Magl. VII.365, fo. 119' (App. E). The heading 'Di Giesù, e del suo Natale come Ecco 'l Messia' is curious, since it refers to a lauda for the Nativity, yet Bettini's lauda on 'Ecce quam bonum' has nothing to do with the Nativity; rather it honours Savonarola. The heading was perhaps an attempt to disguise the lauda so that an inquisitor investigating the convent's books would pass over its Savonarolan content unnoticed.

²⁶ BNF Rossi 395, fos. 3^v-4^r. This is a Dominican laudario copied by Fra Leone Forteguerra in Pistoia after 1522. The actual text for Bettini's lauda, *Ecce quam bonum*, can be found on fo. 87^r (old foliation). Inside the front cover is the following inscription: 'Questo libro è ad uso di Fra Leone Forteguerra da Pistoia dell'Ordine de Predicatori figliuolo del Convento di Santo Domenico di Pistoia della Romana Provincia il qual' prese l'habito nel M.D.XXII, alli xii di Settembre a hore una di Notte.' Fra Leone Forteguerra does not appear to be listed in the Necrologio of the Convent of San Domenico in Pistoia; see App. D.

TABLE 5.2. Sources for the lauda text and musical settings of *Ecce quam bonum*A. Tune only, with text *Ecce 'l signore* or *Ecce 'l Messia*

1. BNF Rossi 395, *Ecce 'l Signore*, fo. 3^v
2. *Libro primo delle laudi* (1563), *Ecce 'l Messia*, fo. 16^f

B. Text only for Fra Luca Bettini, *Ecce quam bonum . . . In quanto*

1. BNF Magl VII.365 ('cantasi come *Ecce 'l Messia*'), fo. 119^f
2. BNF Rossi 395, fo. 87^r (old numbering)
3. BMF C.262, fo. 56^r
4. BAV Ferr. 84 ('Lauda di Fra Luca Bettini'), fo. 19^v
5. *Scelta di laudi spirituali* (Florence, 1607) ('Invito alla gloria De Beati'), p. 108 (deletes all stanzas referring to Savonarola)

C. Motets that quote the *Ecce quam bonum* text and tune

1. *Ecce quam bonum*, 4vv, Nicolas Gombert(?)^a
Kassel, MS Mus. 4^o 24, n. 75
2. *O quam dulcis*, 2.p. *Ecce quam bonum*, 4vv, Jean Richafort
1534⁴, *Liber secundus Motetos* (Paris, Attaignant)
3. *Letamini in domino/Ecce quam bonum*, 6vv, Philippe Verdelot
Rome, Vall., MS S¹ 35-40 (olim S. Borr. E.II 55-60)
4. *Ecce quam bonum*, 6vv, Antonius Galli
1568³, *Novi atque Catholici* (Venice, Gardano)

D. Mass based on Gombert(?) motet

Missa Ecce quam bonum, 4vv, Jean Mouton
Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MS 4
Leiden, Gemeente-Archief, MS 1443
Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS C.120
's-Hertogenbosch, Archief, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MS 72C

^a Many attributions in this source are unreliable, and the style of this setting is markedly unlike the known work of Gombert.

Galli (Table 5.2; see also Ch. 7). Previously it had been doubted whether the tune used by these French composers actually replicated the original Savonarolan one, but the discovery of the music for Bettini's lauda on *Ecce quam bonum* shows that they were indeed the same.²⁷

The earliest Florentine source of the tune for *Ecce quam bonum*, in the laudario from Pistoia (BNF Rossi 395; App. D), apparently also preserves the

²⁷ Attention has previously been drawn to the works of these French composers by Edward E. Lowinsky and by Norbert Böker-Heil, the latter of whom has questioned the Savonarolan origin of the tune for *Ecce quam bonum* in Verdelot's work. See the discussion below, Ch. 7.

best version, one that coincides most closely with that used by Richafort in his motet *O quam dulcis* (below, Ex. 7.3). Razzi, on the other hand, transmits it with some curious variants, and these cause it to make a rather poor fit both with the text provided by him, *Ecco 'l Messia*, as well as with the words

Ex. 5.1. Fra Luca Bettini, *Ecce quam bonum*: (a) cc: *Ecco 'l Signore*, BNF Rossi 395, fo. 3^v (CD track 15); (b) cc: *Ecco 'l Messia*, 1563, fo. 16^r, bb. 1–15

(a) □ = ◊

C
Ec - co'l Si - gno - re, ec - co'l Si - gno - re Cia - scun' gli
Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io - cun - dum Ha - bi - ta -

T
Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io - cun - dum

10

C
don' il co - re. Quest' è'l pa -
re fra - tres in u - num. In quan - i'è
Con iu - bi -

T
Ha - bi - ta - re fra - tres in u - num. In quan - i'è
Con iu - bi -

15

C
stor che vie - ne A pa - scer su - o
gran dol - cez - za A fa - r'a tut - l'un
lo e pron - tez - za Do - nar - l'al sal - va -

T
gran dol - cez - za A fa - r'a tut - l'un
lo e pron - tez - za Do - nar - l'al sal - va -

20

C
greg - ge, E por - ta noi la leg -
co - re, E con un gran fer - vo -
to - re.

T
co - re, E con un gran fer - vo -
to - re.

Ex. 5.1. (Cont'd)

25

ge Di spi - ri - t'è d'a - mo - re.
re Can - ta - re ec - ce quam bo - num.

re Can - ta - re ec - ce quam bo - num.

(b) $\diamond = \square$ 5

C Ec - ce quam bo - num, et quam io - cun - dum
T Ec - ce quam bo - num, et quam io - cun - dum

10

E la ma - dre su - a Ma - ri - a.
Ha - bi - ta - re fra - tres in u - num.

Ha - bi - ta - re fra - tres in un - num.

15

Ve - nit' al - me ce - le - ste,
In quan - to e gran dol - cez - za
Con iu - bi - lo e pron - tez - za

In quan - to e gran dol - cez - za
Con iu - bi - lo e pron - tez - za

of *Ecce quam bonum*.²⁸ The inescapable conclusion is that Razzi quietly published a second, unnecessary musical setting for Lucrezia de' Medici's *Ecco*

²⁸ Razzi's melodic flourish on 'Ecco' is followed by a full stop, and then the entire first line is stated. He also disguises the opening of the melody by hurrying through the descending G and F quarter notes in the first measure of the cantus. It is difficult to underlay the words 'Ecce quam bonum' to this opening phrase. In the version from Pistoia, on the other hand, the words for 'Ecce quam bonum' easily fit the notes. One other anomaly is that Razzi provides two different musical settings for *Ecco 'l Messia*, the only lauda in the print for which he does so. Normally the reverse obtains: a single musical setting accommodates several different texts.

'*l Messia* under the guise of providing an alternative tune, when in fact the music was originally used for singing the Piagnone lauda *Ecce quam bonum*. Because Savonarola's tune had been banned on several occasions in the past by Dominican authorities, Razzi could probably not afford to risk printing it openly with the verse from Ps. 132. But later in the print, on fo. 116^v, he does in fact provide a brief, four-voice setting of *Ecce quam bonum*, one that surely has Savonarolan significance even though the music makes no clear reference to the friar's tune (see Table 5.1, A).

Fra Benedetto Luschino, La carità è spenta

Fra Benedetto Luschino, the author of *La carità è spenta*, was also a Piagnone friar from San Marco, and he stands out as one of the more colourful characters in Savonarolan annals.²⁹ Born in 1470, he was trained as a painter of miniatures. As a youth he revelled in the secular pleasures of dancing and hunting until, converted by one of Savonarola's sermons in 1492, he finally decided to change his ways and he became a friar at San Marco in 1495. He energetically defended the convent when it was attacked in April of 1498, and attempted to accompany Savonarola into imprisonment, but was commanded by the friar to stay behind. After Savonarola's execution he openly proclaimed the friar's innocence and was expelled from San Marco. Some years later he apparently returned and was reinstated, but in 1509, in a confrontation with an anti-Savonarolan, he struck a blow that killed his adversary. As punishment his Dominican superiors sentenced him to life imprisonment in the scorpion-filled dungeon beneath the cloister of San Marco.³⁰ Released some time after 1523, the tenacious friar was still fighting for Savonarola's cause in the late 1540s, when he penned another defence.

During his years in prison, Fra Benedetto wrote a dialogue on the teachings of Savonarola, *Vulnera diligentis*, as well as a book of verse, *Fasciculus mirrhæ*, dated 1514.³¹ The lauda *La carità è spenta* is included in the latter work, and it occurs as well in a few other lauda manuscripts that belonged to Dominican convents.³²

²⁹ F. Patetta, 'Fra Benedetto da Firenze compagno ed apologista del Savonarola, al secolo Betuccio Luschino', *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 60 (1925), 623–59. See also D. Weinstein, 'A Lost Letter of Fra Girolamo Savonarola', *RQ* 22 (1969), 1–8. The letter is addressed to Fra Benedetto.

³⁰ Patetta, 'Fra Benedetto', 634.

³¹ BNF Magl. XXXV.90. The manuscript is an autograph by Fra Benedetto, written in a neat cursive hand throughout. In addition to containing much of his poetry, it counts as one of the major manuscript sources for the laude of Savonarola. See Sayonarola, *Poesie*, 123–5.

³² BNF Rossi 395, fo. 158^r; BNF Magl. VII.365, fo. 132^v; and BRF 1413, fo. 237^r. Fra Benedetto's autograph manuscript of *Fasciculus mirrhæ* includes *La carità è spenta* in Book III, fo. 208^r, where it bears the heading 'Lauda della charita extincta et anichillata'. It bears the same heading in BRF 1413, fo. 237^v. V. Marchese, *Scritti vari* (Florence, 1855), 259–60, drew attention to Fra Benedetto's composition of *La carità è spenta*. One of the Savonarolan stanzas of the lauda is cited by Eugenia Levi from another source, BNF Magl. VII.365; see Levi, *Lirica italiana antica*, 308 n. 21.

The short stanzas of *La carità è spenta* chronicle the moral decline after Savonarola's death and beseech the Lord to lend his aid on earth:

16

La carità è spenta,
amor di Dio non c'è.

Tepidità sol regna:
non ce più viva fe.

Non s'ama il ben comune,
ciaschedun'ama se.

Quel dice alla fatica
non s'appartiene a me.

Il piccol' dice al grande
io ne so quanto te.

Chi più argento aduna:
più savio tenuto è.

Quel che più ben far vuole:
rotte le braccia gli è.

Dal capo insino a piedi,
infirmo ciaschun è.

Che deggio dir Signore:
se non gridare, o me?

O me più non si trova
amor, speranza et fe.

Soccorri el gregge tuo:
ch'el pastor più non c'è.

Charity is extinguished,
there is no love of God.

Only tepidity reigns;
there is no more living faith.

No one loves the common good,
each loves only himself.

They say regarding the work:
that has nothing to do with me.

The child says to the adult:
I know just as much as you do.

Whoever earns more money,
is held to be more wise.

Whoever wants to do more
good, his arms are broken.

From head to toe,
everyone is weak.

What must I say Lord,
if not cry out: alas?

Alas, one finds no more
love, hope, and faith.

Assist your flock,
whose shepherd is now gone.

Stanzas 17 to 20 mourn the loss of the prophet Hieronymus (Girolamo Savonarola) and his martyrdom, and they refer to the friar's presence in heaven:

Ohimè, che 'l santo è morto,
ohimè, Signor, ohimè.

Togliestici el propheta,
martir fatto per te.

O propheta Hieronymo,
che 'n paradiso se',

Fra le tue pecorelle
entrato el lupo v'è.

Alas, the saint is dead,
alas, Lord, alas.

Our prophet was taken from us,
and made a martyr for you.

O prophet Hieronymus,
who are in paradise,

The wolf has entered
among your flock.

In Fra Benedetto's autograph copy, the lauda consists of twenty-eight couplets, but when Razzi published it in 1563 (see Table 5.1) he changed the order and scrapped more than half of them altogether, including all those with references to Savonarola. He placed couplet 17 at the end of his version,

Ex. 5.2. Fra Benedetto Luschino, *La carità è spenta* (1563, fo. 44^v) (CD track 16)

C
La ca - ri - tà è spen - ta, la ca - ri -

T
La ca - ri - tà è spen - ta, la ca - ri -

B
La ca - ri - tà è spen - ta, la ca - ri -

5
tà è spen - ta, A - mor di Dio non c'è.

tà è spen - ta, A - mor di Dio non c'è.

tà è spen - ta, A - mor di Dio non c'è.

creating a rather cryptic conclusion. In one manuscript source for the lauda from the convent of San Vincenzo in Prato the heading indicates that the piece commemorates the death of 'fra N.' (cautiously omitting Savonarola's name) and states that it has its own melody.³³ Undoubtedly Razzi transmits Fra Benedetto's original tune from the early sixteenth century; the syncopated rhythms and repeated first line of text are admirably suited to the terse couplets (Ex. 5.2).

Fra Benedetto wrote one other lauda, *Eterno Dio che per voler salvare*, in which he recounted in seven stanzas the life and works of Savonarola, including his trial, torture, and execution.³⁴ While no 'cantasi come' indication is given, the poetic structure consists exclusively of long eleven-syllable lines, with a four-line refrain and eight-line stanza. The form agrees with that of Caterina de' Ricci's lauda to Savonarola, and it could perhaps have been sung to the same music as her lauda, to which we now turn.

³³ The heading is 'Nella morte di fra N. a modo proprio'; BNF Magl. VII.365, fo. 132^v (App. E; see also App. D, fo. 157^v).

³⁴ BNF Magl. XXXV.90, fo. 214^v. The heading is 'Lauda del Beato Hieronymo ferrarese Propheta et Martir del Signore'; the refrain is: 'Eterno Dio che per voler salvare | El peccator tuo verbo carne prese: | Pel tuo Propheta martyr ferrarese: | Ti priego che mi vogli perdonare.'

Suor Caterina de' Ricci, Da che tu m'hai dimostro tanto amore

Caterina de' Ricci's lauda in veneration of Savonarola was composed in gratitude for a cure from a painful and debilitating illness.³⁵ Born to a wealthy Florentine family in 1522, she took her vows at the convent of San Vincenzo in Prato in 1536 at the age of 14 (Pl. 5.1). By 1540 she had been suffering from an internal illness that had confined her to bed for over a year, and by the end of May the pain had prevented her from sleeping for a whole month. On 22 May, the vigil of Savonarola's execution, some of his relics were brought to her, but they provided no relief. In the night she threw them onto the floor in exasperation, but regretting her action, she struggled from her bed, and, as she knelt to recover them, the friar appeared to her. He made the sign of the cross and pronounced the healing words *sana facta es*. She recovered at once.³⁶ During the next two years the friar reportedly appeared to her in more than a dozen visions.

Caterina commemorated her miraculous cure in a lauda. As a model she turned to Feo Belcari's *Da che tu m'hai Iddio il cor' ferito*; she begins *Da che tu m'hai dimostro tanto amore*. The heading specifically names Savonarola and his two Dominican companions.³⁷ The refrain and first stanza provide a glimpse of the vivid imagery of Caterina's vision of the friar, and his fiery glow:

17

Da che tu m'hai dimostro tanto amore,
 Servo di Cristo, con quel dolce sguardo,
 e con quel don che or m'è doppio dardo,
 sempre t'arò nel mezzo del mio core.

Nelli tormenti e pene ero somersa,
 e tu pietosamente subvenisti:
 ogni letizia stava per me persa,
 quando la tua pietade ad me apristi:
 i' ti chiamavo; e tu alfin venisti,
 come piatoso padre ad una figlia,
 con quella faccia lucida e vermiglia,
 che rutilava lucido splendore.

³⁵ See Razzi, *Vita di Santa Caterina de' Ricci*, ed. Agresti. G. di Agresti, *Santa Caterina de' Ricci: testimonianze sull'età giovanile* (Florence, 1963).

Caterina had apparently been suffering from kidney stones, and these passed after her vision of Savonarola. The account is from the *Diario* of Fra Modesto Masi; see Agresti, *Santa Caterina de' Ricci*, 98–9.

³⁷ G. Di Agresti, 'Lauda di Suor Caterina de' Ricci (dicembre 1540?)', in *Caterina de' Ricci: documenti storici, biografici, spirituali* (Florence, 1966), 11–17. The 16th-c. manuscript containing the lauda has been lost and it survives only in printed sources from the 19th c. The introductory heading explains the circumstances of the lauda's composition: 'Composta per ricognoscimento del primo e secondo miracolo fatto dal Signore sopra suor Caterina de' Ricci, mediante le prece delli vittoriosissimi martiri, beato Ieronimo, beato Domenico, beato Silvestro. Cantasi come *Da che tu m'hai, Dio, 'l core*.' (Composed in memory of the first and second miracles performed by the Lord for sister Catherine de' Ricci, by means of the prayers of the most victorious martyrs, blessed Jerome, blessed Dominic, and blessed Sylvester. To be sung to the music for *Da che tu m'hai, Dio, 'l core*.)

LA VITA
DELLA REVERENDA
SERVA DI DIO,

La Madre Suor CATERINA de Ricci, Monaca del
Venerabile Monastero di S. Vincenzio di Prato,

Scritta in tre libri dal P. F. Serafino RAZZI, dottore Teologo
dell'ordine de' Frati Predicatori, e professò del
Conuento di S. Marco di Firenze.

Di *Isabella da*

Verrazano ne *Firenze 1594*.



In Lucca, Per Vincenzio Bufdraghi. 1594.

Since you have shown me such love,
 Servant of Christ, with that sweet glance,
 and with that gift which now is a double dart,
 I will have you always in the centre of my heart.

I was submerged in torments and pain
 and you mercifully came to my aid:
 all joy was lost to me,
 when you revealed to me your mercy.
 I called you, and you finally came,
 like a tender father to a daughter,
 with that shining vermillion face
 that glowed with brilliant reddish light.

The text is a ballata grande, and, as in Belcari's lauda, all the lines contain eleven syllables; thus it requires a setting with lengthy musical phrases. Razzi printed a two-voice setting for Belcari's lauda, and since his anthology of 1563 is dedicated to Caterina de' Ricci, this is the logical place to seek a musical setting (see Table 5.1 and Ex. 5.3). The music is unusual because of the highly florid melodies, in contrast to the rather simple manner of many laude, and in fact it features a curious combination of styles: the opening resembles the melismatic Italian style of the fourteenth century, while the ends of phrases feature descending sequences and suspensions that recall the fifteenth-century French chanson.³⁸

During her half-century of activity at San Vincenzo in Prato, from the 1540s to her death in 1590, Caterina de' Ricci turned the convent into a centre for the cult of Savonarola, and she gathered together a large collection of his writings and relics. Examiners regularly visited San Vincenzo and inspected the convent's books, and at one point Caterina was ordered to remove all the writings of Savonarola; instead she merely cut out offending pages or blacked them out with ink rather than disposing of them entirely.³⁹ According to the convent's chronicle, 23 May was observed as the feast of the three holy martyrs, and novices often took their vows on this day.⁴⁰ After Caterina's death, the convent maintained its devotion to the friar under confessors such as Serafino Razzi. Her own devotion to Savonarola was raised as an objection during the examination of the case for her canonization, but it was pointed out that Savonarola had in fact received a plenary indulgence and a pardon from the Church before his execution, so one could

³⁸ In fact portions of the setting resemble the music for *Madre che festi colui che ti fece*, which is preserved in an early 15th-c. source of laude, BMV IX.145, and this incipit is given as the 'cantasi come' indication for Feo Belcari's lauda *Da che tu m'hai Iddio il cor ferito* in the Florentine print from c.1480; Galletti, *Laude spirituali*, 1. For a discussion and transcription of the music for *Madre che festi*, see Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 173 and 282; see also the list of sources and transcription in Luisi, *Laudario giustiniano* (Venice, 1983), i, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii; ii. 60.

³⁹ Agresti, *Sviluppi*, 90.

⁴⁰ Guasti, *L'Officio proprio*, 15-17.

Ex. 5.3. Suor Caterina de' Ricci, *Da che tu m'hai dimostro*, bb. 1–25 (cc: *Da che tu m'hai Iddio*, 1563, fo. 32^v) (CD track 17)

5

C
Da che tu m'ha' Id - di - o il cor fe - ri -
Da che tu m'ha' di - mo - stro tan - to a - mo -

T
Da che tu m'ha' di - mo - stro tan - to a - mo -

10

to, il cor fe - ri - re, to, Del tu a -
tan - to a - mo - re, Ser - vo di

re, tan - to a - mo - re, Ser - vo di

15 20

mo - re, deh dim - mi, deh dim - mi se ti pia -
Cri - sto, con quel dol - ce, dol - ce sguar - do, con quel dol - ce

Cri - sto, con quel dol - ce, dol - ce sguar - do, con quel dol - ce,

25

sguar - ce, do, Quel che tu sei quant' i - o,
E con quel don che or

dol - ce sguar - do, E con quel don che or

assume that he had been accepted into heaven. Caterina was eventually canonized in 1746.⁴¹

Fra Serafino Razzi, Vergini deh lasciate and Piangendo i miei peccati

Serafino Razzi, the compiler of the 1563 anthology of laude that has figured so importantly in the discussion of Florentine carnival songs and Savonarolan laude, was born in December 1531, and was just ten years younger than

⁴¹ Schnitzer, *Savonarola*, ii. 489–90.

Caterina de' Ricci. After taking the Dominican habit at San Marco in 1549 and professing his solemn vows in 1550, he was accepted by her as a spiritual son in 1551.⁴² He went on to pursue advanced studies in philosophy and theology in Perugia and at the convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, eventually lecturing on logic at San Marco in 1560-1, and on Aristotle in Pistoia from 1562 to 1565. While in Pistoia he published the first of his many books, the *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (1563), and dedicated it to Caterina de' Ricci, as mentioned earlier.

From 1565 to 1572 Razzi served as prior of convents in Fiesole, Orvieto, and Foligno.⁴³ Then he travelled to Dominican convents in the Marches, Romagna, and Lombardy, collecting materials for his book, *Vite de santi e beati Domenicani*, printed in 1577.⁴⁴ Perugia provided a home base from 1572 to 1574, when Razzi moved on to institute reforms in Dominican convents in the Abruzzi, where he remained until 1579, interrupted only in 1578 by a pilgrimage to Provence to visit the tomb of Mary Magdalene, near Marseilles. He stopped to visit Caterina de' Ricci on his return journey.⁴⁵

By 1579 Razzi was again at San Marco, and in 1581 he was elected prior in Città di Castello.⁴⁶ He was again assigned to Perugia from 1582 to 1587, where he found time to write many of his works.⁴⁷ After this period of reflection, he was sent to Dalmatia, and settled at Ragusa (Dubrovnik); one result of this stay was his *Storia di Ragusa* (Lucca, 1595).⁴⁸ He returned to his scholarly duties at Perugia from 1589 to 1590, and then found himself once more at San Marco as lecturer.

In the later years of his career, Razzi was confessor to convents of nuns that had been founded in accord with ideals of reform promoted by Savonarola. Razzi was confessor to the nuns at San Vincenzo in Prato in 1591, just after the death of Caterina de' Ricci;⁴⁹ he remained there until 1595, when he was transferred back to Florence as confessor to the nuns at Santa Lucia, just up the street from San Marco. From 1598 to 1601 he served as confessor to the nuns at another convent of Santa Lucia in Pistoia, and during the jubilee year of 1600 he attended the festivities in Rome, where he continued to work for the canonization of Savonarola. Finally, in 1602 he returned home to San Marco as prior. In 1609, near the end of his life, he published a second book of laude, the *Santuario di laudi*.

⁴² Razzi, *Vita di Santa Caterina de' Ricci*, 57.

⁴³ S. Razzi, *Viaggi in Abruzzo*, ed. B. Carderi (L'Aquila, 1968), 9.

⁴⁴ L. Ferretti, 'Fra Serafino Razzi: appunti biografici', *Il Rosario: Memorie Domenicane*, 20 (1903), 212-13.

⁴⁵ Razzi, *Viaggi*, 14-25; Ferretti, 'Fra Serafino Razzi', 213-15.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 215-16.

⁴⁷ Razzi, *Viaggi*, 9; Ferretti, 'Fra Serafino Razzi', 310-12.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 313-18, 361.

⁴⁹ The remaining chronology of Razzi's life is drawn from Razzi, *Vita di Santa Caterina de' Ricci*, pp. cii-civ.

At his death in 1611, the indefatigable Razzi's long list of publications included more than two dozen books of sermons, theological tracts, biographies of Dominican saints, and of course two books of laude. This is only the tip of the iceberg, however, since he left one hundred works in manuscript, including a large collection of laude with music (BNF Pal. 173), and a biography of Savonarola, completed around 1590, that never received the imprimatur.⁵⁰ Regarding this last work, Pope Clement VIII (Aldobrandini), a Florentine who expressed sympathy regarding the case for Savonarola's canonization, was sent a copy of the biography in 1599, and he passed it along to Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici for an opinion. Not surprisingly, the cardinal responded negatively, and Razzi notes that he 'did not want to allow it to be printed because of the many opponents that the good Father [Savonarola] still had . . . and mostly because the heretics of Germany and England (impudent and iniquitous as they are) numbered him among their false saints'.⁵¹ Razzi himself acted with caution, and avoided naming Savonarola when he published the *Vita di Caterina de' Ricci*; in discussing Caterina's visions of Savonarola, he refers to the friar simply as 'un altro beato', whereas manuscript versions of the biography call him 'beato Jeronimo'.⁵²

Three laude for Savonarola are associated with Razzi. One, *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, occurs in the 1563 print (see Table 5.1 and Ex. 5.4), and at first glance seems nothing more than a liturgical text in Latin, the sixth Responsory for Matins on Holy Saturday. The Savonarolan intent of the piece emerges only when we turn to Razzi's manuscript biography of Savonarola. Having narrated the climactic events of the friar's execution, Razzi goes on to say:

and thus the glorious, holy martyr was consumed [by the flames], as he desired, and as he himself had predicted so many years before. His followers could thence truly sing: 'Behold how the just man dies [*Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*], and no one takes it to heart, and just men are carried off from the earth, and no one ponders it. The just man has been taken from the face of iniquity, and his memory will be in peace.'⁵³

In the biography Razzi quotes only this portion of the responsory, without supplying the liturgical verse. The identical truncated liturgical text occurs in

⁵⁰ For a complete bibliography, see Razzi, *Vita di Santa Caterina de' Ricci*, pp. cv–cxxxv. For a listing of the locations of twenty-three manuscript copies of Razzi's life of Savonarola, *ibid.*, pp. cxxv–cxxvi.

⁵¹ Ferretti, 'Fra Serafino Razzi', 425–6: 'Non voleva che si stampasse per i tanti contraddittori che ancora teneva il buon Padre . . . et massimamente che gli eretici di Germania et dell'Inghilterra (sfacciati che sono et iniqui) lo annoverano tra i loro finti santi.'

⁵² Razzi, *Vita di Santa Caterina de' Ricci*, p. xlix.

⁵³ S. Razzi, 'Vita e morte di Fra Girolamo Savonarola da Ferrara', BNF Conv. Sopp. D.9.922, fo. 273^v: 'e così consumò il glorioso martirio santo, desiderato, e prenunciato da lui stesso tanto tempo avanti, e poterono i suoi devoti allora veracemente cantare: *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde, et viri iusti tolluntur de terra, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis sublatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius.*' Similar wording occurs in another manuscript copy of Razzi's 'Vita', BMLF San Marco 429, fo. 142^r.

EX. 5.4. Anon., *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, bb. 1–12 (1563, fo. 45^v) (CD track 18)

5

C
Ec - ce quo - mo - do mo - ri - tur iu - stus,

A
Ec - ce quo - mo - do mo - ri - tur iu - stus,

T
Ec - ce quo - mo - do mo - ri - tur iu - stus,

B
Ec - ce quo - mo - do mo - ri - tur iu - stus,

10

et ne - mo per - ci - pit cor - de, et vi -

et ne - mo per - ci - pit cor - de, et vi -

et ne - mo per - ci - pit cor - de, et vi -

et ne - mo per - ci - pit cor - de, et vi -

Razzi's 1563 collection. The Savonarolan significance of the lauda becomes clear once it is contextualized in Razzi's biography of the friar.

This new light on *Ecce quomodo moritur* prompts attention to Razzi's placement of it in his anthology. Fra Benedetto's bowdlerized lauda, *La carità è spenta*, precedes *Ecce quomodo moritur*. A Piagnone interpretation of the lauda that follows it, *O anima accecata*, also seems likely.⁵⁴ The latter work is listed by Razzi as by an unknown author, but it is modelled on another lauda of the same title by Feo Belcari, which itself is based on the 'Song of the bear', *Siamo stati in Fiorenza*, a carnival song from the time of Lorenzo de' Medici.⁵⁵ Both *La carità è spenta* and *O anima accecata* function as direct commentary on the bad times after the execution of Savonarola. Razzi in effect constructed a hidden triptych of Savonarolan laude on three adjacent openings in his anthology:

⁵⁴ Savonarola, *Poesie*, 85–96.

⁵⁵ The only other source for Razzi's version of *O anima accecata* is BMLF Conv. Sopp. 161, fo. 1^v; for the carnival song, see Ghisi, *I canti carnascialeschi*, 99.

La carità è spenta (3 voices), fos. 44^v–45^f

Ecce quomodo moritur (4 voices), fos. 45^v–46^f

O anima accecata (2 voices), fos. 46^v–47^f

The solemn chordal harmonies for the prose Latin text, *Ecce quomodo moritur*, resound for just a single verse, a verse calling up a vision of the execution. The sombre musical style and non-strophic setting are reminiscent of the mid-century motet. *Ecce quomodo moritur* is thus the musical centrepiece, flanked by the outer wings of the triptych, which provide multiple stanzas consisting of moral commentary in the wake of the execution. The two pieces are written in lighter textures, with faster rhythms typical of the lauda repertory. All three works were possibly intended to be sung in succession.

In the 1590s, when he was confessor to convents of nuns in Prato and Florence, Razzi composed the texts for two other laude in honour of Savonarola, *Vergini deh lasciate*, and *Piangendo i miei peccati* (see Table 5.1, B, and App. G, fos. 214^f and 217^f). The texts and music seem to have gone unnoticed in manuscript copies of Razzi's biography of Savonarola, while the music was printed with new and uncontroversial texts in the *Santuario di laudi* of 1609.⁵⁶ By 1592, Razzi was serving as confessor to the nuns of San Vincenzo in Prato and he remarks in his biography of Savonarola that he wrote the first lauda, a capitolo of thirteen stanzas, for them to sing as they prepared for Matins on 23 May, the feast of Savonarola. The lauda serves to rouse the sleepy nuns, and call them to the night service, as seen in the first three and last five stanzas:

Vergini deh lasciate i pigri letti,
e venite a lodar nostro Signore
ne' tre martiri a lui cotanto accetti.

Ma recate, preghiamo, un umil cuore
accio pe' meriti di questi suoi santi
empir lo possa del suo casto amore.

Non sia tra noi chi non esulti, e canti
nella festa di questi nostri padri
che soffrir per Giesù tormenti tanti.

⁵⁶ Razzi, 'Vita di Savonarola', BMLF San Marco 429. The tenor and bassus parts for *Vergini deh lasciate* occur on fo. 218^f. One must turn to the *Santuario di laudi* of 1609 (sig. C2^v) for the missing cantus and altus parts. In the latter work, the music is given with a completely new text, *Mente che dorm'in sì gelato sonno*. The music is also found in BNF Pal 173, fos. 3^v–4^v, with the text *Non potevi signor darci più espresso*.

The text of *Piangendo i miei peccati* occurs in BMLF San Marco 429, fo. 214^f; the music for all three voices follows on fo. 215^f. There are, however, missing notes in the parts so that it is again necessary to turn to the 1609 print for a correct version of the music (sig. B2^v). Here the lauda is titled *Della Resurrezione di Nostro Signore*, and has a non-Savonarolan text, *Piangendo il mio maestro, io m'era assisa*. One other copy of Razzi's biography of the friar that contains music for Savonarolan laude is BSL 2415.

Ecco che i sacri corpi consumati
dalle voraci fiamme, dentro al fiume
d'Arno per maggior pena son buttati.

Questo Fiorenza è 'l frutto del gran lume
che pose in te Jeronimo profeta
in te cangiando ogni tuo reo costume.

Meschina, che non mai vedesti lieta
giornata: poiché tanti benefici
ricompensasti con si rea moneta.

Ma voi sorelle ne' divini uficii
andiamo or a pregar, che Dio rilassi
alla nostra città, i suoi maleficii.

E che ridrizzar voglia i nostri passi
verso del ciel col spirto pronto, e destro
dove co' servi suoi Giesù vedrassi.

Virgins, O leave those lazy beds,
and come to praise our Lord
in the three martyrs so favoured by Him.

But bring, we pray you, a humble heart
so that through the merits of these His saints
He will be able to fill it with His chaste love.

There is no one among us who doesn't exult and sing
on the feast of these our fathers
who suffered such torments for Jesus.

Behold the holy bodies consumed
by the hungry flames; into the river
Arno they were cast, according to that harsh penalty.

This, Florence, is the result of the great light
that Hieronymus the prophet revealed to you,
changing every one of your wicked customs.

Wretched city, that has never since seen a happy
day: thus you rewarded so many benefits
with such wicked payment.

But now, you sisters, to the divine offices
let us go to pray, that God may release
our city from its evil deeds.

And let Him redirect our steps
towards heaven with ready spirit, and to His right hand
where one may see Jesus with those servants of His.

The chordal setting provided by Razzi features many repeated notes, and the cantus moves almost exclusively by step (see Ex. 5.5). The simplicity of the

Ex. 5.5. Fra Serafino Razzi, *Vergini deh lasciate* (BMLF San Marco 429, fo. 218^r, T and B only; 1609, CATB) (CD track 19)

5

Ver - gi - ni, deh la - scia - t'i pi - gri let - ti, E ve - ni -

Ver - gi - ni, deh la - scia - t'i pi - gri let - ti, E ve - ni -

Ver - gi - ni, deh la - scia - t'i pi - gri let - ti, E ve - ni -

Ver - gi - ni, deh la - scia - t'i pi - gri let - ti, E ve - ni -

t'a lo - dar no - stro si - gno - re Ne'

t'a lo - dar no - stro si - gno - re Ne'

t'a lo - dar no - stro si - gno - re Ne'

t'a lo - dar no - stro si - gno - re Ne'

10

tre mar - ti - r'a lui co - tan - t'ac - cet - ti.

tre mar - ti - r'a lui co - tan - t'ac - cet - ti.

tre mar - ti - r'a lui co - tan - t'ac - cet - ti.

tre mar - ti - r'a lui co - tan - t'ac - cet - ti.

music, however, allows the singers to focus on the impassioned narrative that recounts Savonarola's suffering and execution at the hands of the Florentines.

Razzi's other lauda, *Piangendo i miei peccati*, also consists of thirteen stanzas that recount Savonarola's life and execution. He wrote it, he says, for the

nuns of Santa Lucia in Florence in 1595, while he was serving as their confessor. The convent was located just north of San Marco in the Via San Gallo, and it had a long history of association with the Piagnoni, dating back to 1495, when Savonarola established it as a reformed convent (Pl. 1.2; Santa Lucia is in the left background, at the far end of the street).⁵⁷ The first stanza sets the stage with a vision; stanzas 2, 3, 7, and 13 provide an overview of the contents:

20

Piangendo i miei peccati, i' m'era assiso
sopra dell'Arno fiume
quand'ecco un chiaro lume
io vidi in quello estinto
onde da dolor vinto alto gridai.

Nuova Gierusalemme che' profeti
uccidì del Signore
in quanto grave errore
misera te, e perduta
sei tu oggi caduta e 'n che gran fallo?

Quel gran servo di Dio che predicato
t'haveva con tanto zelo
il sacrato evangelo,
facendosi gran frutto
misera in pianto, e 'n lutto hai oggi posto.

Bruciati i corpi, e le ceneri loro
in Arno fur gittate
dall'empie gente, e 'ngrate
ma questo ben ne nacque
che divenner' quell'acque più salubri.

Especialmente il nostro monastero
da te chius'e velato
siati raccomandato
e al celeste regno
guidane martir degno, e al paradiso.

Weeping for my sins, I was seated
on the banks of the River Arno,
when behold I saw a bright light
in that life that had been snuffed out,
so that overcome by sorrow I cried aloud:

You, New Jerusalem, who killed
the prophets of the Lord,
in how grave an error,

⁵⁷ Schnitzer, *Savonarola*, ii. 483-5.

Ex. 5.6. Fra Serafino Razzi, *Piangendo i miei peccati* (BMLF San Marco 429, fo. 215') (CD track 20)

C
Pian - gen - do i miei pec - ca - t'io m'e - r'as - si - so So -

T
Pian - gen - do i miei pec - ca - t'io m'e - r'as - si - so So -

B
Pian - gen - do i miei pec - ca - t'io m'e - r'as - si - so So -

5

C
pra del - l'Ar - no fiu - me Quand' ec - co un chia - ro lu - me Io

T
pra del - l'Ar - no fiu - me Quand' ec - co un chia - ro lu - me Io

B
pra del - l'Ar - no fiu - me Quand' ec - co un chia - ro lu - me Io

10

C
vi - d'in quel - l'e - stin - to, On - de da do - lor vin - t'al - to gri - da - i.

T
vi - d'in quel - l'e - stin - to, On - de da do - lor vin - t'al - to gri - da - i.

B
vi - d'in quel - l'e - stin - to, On - de da do - lor vin - t'al - to gri - da - i.

O unfortunate one, and lost
are you today, fallen into such great sin?

That great servant of God who preached
to you with such zeal
the sacred gospel,
creating great results,
miserable one, you have caused him tears and mourning today.

The bodies were burned, and their ashes
 were thrown into the Arno
 by the wicked people, and the ungrateful ones,
 but this good was born of it:
 these waters became more healthful.

Especially our monastery,
 by you enclosed and veiled
 may it be commended to you,
 and to the heavenly realm
 guide it O worthy martyr, and to paradise.

The musical setting (Ex. 5.6) has an interesting history, which Razzi recounts in his manuscript collection of laude, BNF Pal. 173:

Once the author heard the singing of a certain canzonetta for three voices, and this aria seemed to him so pretty and pleased him so much that to make it available to religious persons, he composed for it the preceding lauda of Saint Mary Magdalene [an alternative text, not *Piangendo i miei peccati*], weeping at the sepulchre of our Lord. Not all the parts of the music have been included here, but only the tenor, in order to be more brief, and because there are copies in the convents of Tuscany, and especially in Santa Caterina da Siena in Florence, where the author has a sister. And because there are among these mothers a few good singers of music, he has sent them manuscripts of all his compositions, and other pretty tunes that he has occasionally heard.⁵⁸

Razzi does not name the source for the music beyond specifying a 'certa canzonetta', but in fact he based it on the music of da Nola's secular song *Occhi miei oscurati*, published as the opening piece in *Il primo libro delle villanelle alla napoletana* (Venice, 1567). Razzi's lauda faithfully reproduces the rustic effect of the parallel fifths in da Nola's original. In Chapter 2 it was shown that Razzi had earlier based several other laude on Neapolitan songs in this style in his print of 1563.

Other Laude in Honour of Savonarola

Eight further laude in memory of Savonarola can be found in manuscripts from Florence (Table 5.1, C), but here musical settings are more difficult to uncover. One, *Ciascheduno esulti, e canti*, was apparently performed to the

⁵⁸ 'Sentendo una volta l'autore, cantare a tre voci, certa canzonetta, cotanto vaga gli parve quell'aria, e così grandemente gli piacque, che per farla comune aziandio [sic] a persone religiose, ci compose sopra la precedente laude di santa Maria Maddalena, piangente al sepolcro di nostro Signore. Non vi sono però poste qui tutte le parti della musica, ma solamente il Tenore, per più brevità, e perché ne sono copie per i Monasteri di Toscana, e specialmente in S. Caterina da Siena, in Firenze. Dove l'autore per haverci una sorella carnale, e per essere tra quelle madri, alcune buone cantatrici di musica, mandava di mano tutte le sue composizioni, e le belle arie di canti che gli occorreva talhora di sentire.' BNF Pal. 173, fo. 74^v. Razzi provides only the tenor part of the lauda in Pal. 173, fo. 74^v, with the same non-Savonarolan text, *Piangendo il mio maestro*, as in the *Santuario di laudi* of 1609.

music of Lorenzo de' Medici's carnival song *Le cose al contrario vanno*.⁵⁹ The lauda circulated during the days of the last Florentine Republic, when Savonarola's memory was venerated throughout the city; the heading is dated 1530, and a comment at the end notes that it was found in the piazza of the Baptistery of San Giovanni on 30 June 1530.⁶⁰ The Republic ended in 1530 after the siege by Imperial troops under Charles V, and Florence formally capitulated on 12 August, just six weeks after the date in the manuscript copy of the lauda.⁶¹

The next four laude (Table 5.1, C) are included in a manuscript of Savonarolan poetry consisting mainly of sonnets by Giovanni Terrosi that were not intended for singing.⁶² The first three works in the manuscript, beginning with *Ciascun faccia festa e canti*, are laude in the standard song-form of the barzelletta, with a four-line refrain and eight-line stanzas, while the fourth, *O martir glorioso*, is a ballata with short lines of seven syllables. No 'cantasi come' indications have surfaced for any of these works, nor do their opening lines resemble those of other laude or carnival songs, so their musical settings remain hidden or have been lost.

The last three works in Table 5.1 appear in a laudario that belonged to the convent of Santa Caterina da Siena.⁶³ This convent of nuns occupied the west side of Piazza San Marco, and was founded in 1500 by the Piagnone patrician Camilla Rucellai (see Pl. 1.2; the facade of the convent is in shadow at the far left).⁶⁴ The three laude, *O propheti o martir' forti*, *Oggi torna alla memoria*, and *O fonte di bontà* (App. F, fos. 31^v, 34^r, and 114^v), were possibly performed to musical settings contained in Razzi's anthology of 1563, or in his biography of Savonarola. The first work bears the heading 'Lauda de 3 martiri di yhesu cristo'.⁶⁵ Although there is no 'cantasi come' indication, the music in Razzi's anthology of 1563 for Lorenzo de' Medici's lauda *O maligno e duro core* would work well, since both texts are barzellette (see above, Ex. 2.1). More compelling evidence is provided by the parallel syntax in the opening lines ('O maligno e duro core' and 'O propheti o martir' forti'), suggesting

⁵⁹ For details on the relation of *Ciascheduno esulti, e canti* to the musical setting for Lorenzo de' Medici's carnival song, for which only a fragment of the cantus part survives, see Macey, 'The Lauda and the Cult of Savonarola', 477–8.

⁶⁰ BNF VII.137, fos. 45–8: 'yhs 1530. Laulda chonposta a honore del profeta frate Girolamo Savonarola da Ferrara dell'ordine di sancto Domenicho'. At the end of the lauda: 'Detta lalda trovai ad 30 di giugno 1530 in sulla piazza di san giovanni appie del muriccuolo del bacheriaio'. Other sources are: BNF Magl. VII.365, fo. 37; BNF II.II.407, fo. 203; and BNF Magl. XXXV.205, fos. 187^v–188^r.

⁶¹ Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic*, 320.

⁶² BNF Magl. VII.1179. The contents of the manuscript are edited in Ferrara, 'Antiche poesie in memoria del Savonarola'. On Giovanni Terrosi, see Ridolfi, *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*, ii. 185 n. 18.

⁶³ On the provenance of BNF Pal. 169, see App. F.

⁶⁴ Schnitzer, *Savonarola*, ii. 391.

⁶⁵ The lauda is transmitted in two manuscripts, BNF Pal. 169, fo. 31^v; and BNF II.II.407, fo. 205^r. The end of the first line in Pal. 169 gives 'sancti' instead of the correct 'forti' in BNF II.II.407; the latter rhymes with 'conforti' at the end of the refrain.

that the author had the poetic structure and musical setting of Lorenzo's lauda in mind.

Oggi torna alla memoria, a second lauda in barzelletta form addressed to the three martyrs, directly follows *O propheti* in the manuscript and is titled 'Lauda del beato Jeronimo da ferrara et suo compagni'.⁶⁶ It commemorates the feast of the execution of Savonarola and his two companions, and recounts their struggle in terms of military imagery. Although again there is no 'cantasi come' indication, the music for Girolamo Benivieni's *Chi non ama te Maria* (see above, Ex. 3.6) closely matches the metre and rhyme of *Oggi torna alla memoria*.⁶⁷

O fonte di bontà che d'alta cima bears the rubric 'Capitoli in laude de tre martiri' and is a lengthy narrative poem in terza rima.⁶⁸ Razzi's own four-voice musical setting for his capitolo, *Vergini deh lasciate* (Table 5.1, B), could be applied to this lauda as well. Razzi zealously collected musical settings for laude, and by his own account he sent the nuns at Santa Caterina da Siena new laude and music for singing them. Thus one turns to him as the most likely source for musical settings of texts found in their laudario.

The Significance of Razzi's Libro primo delle laudi

After 1600, with the failure of Razzi's campaign to have Savonarola canonized, devotion to the friar and his companions gradually seems to have subsided. We have seen that the unstated ban on the printing of most of Savonarola's writings after the middle decades of the sixteenth century explains Razzi's omission of specific reference to the friar in his lauda anthology of 1563, except for the token inclusion of *Giesù sommo conforto*. But his print, as we have seen, allows the reconstruction of music for many of Savonarola's own texts and for many of the underground laude that were sung by the Piagnoni during the sixteenth century. The texts of these laude were either suppressed entirely, or else they were revised when they were published by Razzi in 1563 and 1609, and in Guiducci's print of 1607. It is now apparent that a substantial number of the ninety musical settings in the anthology of 1563 have either a direct Savonarolan reference, or can be—and probably were—used for singing Savonarolan texts.⁶⁹ Razzi's manuscript biography of Savonarola also serves as an important source of Razzi's own laude for the friar's feast-day.

Razzi's *Libro primo* itself is a milestone in the history of the lauda, since the only previous publications of laude with music are Petrucci's two volumes

⁶⁶ BNF Pal. 169, fo. 34'. It also follows *O propheti* in BNF II.II.407, fo. 207'.

⁶⁷ Razzi, *Libro primo*, fo. 23'.

⁶⁸ Other sources, in addition to BNF Pal. 169, are AGOP XIV.284 and BMLF Ant. 160.

⁶⁹ The number includes the five laude in honour of Savonarola in Table 5.1, the five proposed settings for Savonarola's own laude from Table 4.3, as well as music for several laude from the Savonarolan celebrations of the 1490s proposed in Ch. 3.

printed in Venice in 1508.⁷⁰ Perhaps Razzi's anthology was published so that it would appear in time for the closing meetings of the Council of Trent, whose members had received proposals for the reform of sacred music in August 1563.⁷¹ The Council in fact mandated only two things in very general terms: sacred music should avoid quoting 'lascivious' tunes, and the words should be intelligible and not obscured by the polyphony. The delegates never addressed the question of sacred music in vernacular languages, thus passing over in silence the musical genres that roughly paralleled the Italian lauda in Protestant lands: Lutheran chorales, and metrical psalms in French and English. Furthermore, Razzi's anthology of course contains many contrafacta of carnival songs and love songs, thus apparently placing many of his laude beyond the bounds of the first guideline. The musical style of the laude, on the other hand, does agree with the second guideline: by avoiding imitative counterpoint, the predominantly three-voice texture in simple chordal style renders the text crystal clear.

Razzi's collection gains further importance because there are very few manuscript sources preserving music for laude in the first half of the sixteenth century. There are, however, numerous manuscript anthologies of lauda texts, many of Dominican provenance, suggesting that as a genre the lauda in Tuscany was kept alive at least in part by Dominicans during the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, the lay confraternities that had previously promoted the singing of laude now experienced repression and disorder under Duke Cosimo de' Medici, who was anxious lest these groups rekindle dangerous Republican sentiments.⁷²

Razzi's anthology not only looks to the Savonarolan past for part of its repertory, it also points the way for other lauda prints. Razzi himself remarked how his own example encouraged a fellow Florentine, Giovanni Animuccia, to publish a collection of laude in Rome in 1563.⁷³ He goes on to point out the many prints of laude that were sponsored by St Philip Neri's order of Oratorians in the 1570s and later.⁷⁴ Neri himself was a native of Florence, and in the 1520s as a boy he had sung laude regularly

⁷⁰ For an edition of these two volumes, the second of which consists of laude by Innocentius Dammonis, see Jeppesen, *Die mehrstimmige italienische Lauda*; see also J. Glixon, 'The Polyphonic Laude of Innocentius Dammonis', *JM* 8 (1990), 19–53.

⁷¹ See K. Weinmann, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik* (Leipzig, 1919), 5; K. G. Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', *MQ* 39 (1953), 576–94 at 578–80; and L. Lockwood, *The Counter Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* (Venice, 1970), 74–9.

⁷² See R. F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1982), and L. Polizzotto, 'Confraternities, Conventicles and Political Dissent: The Case of the Savonarolan "Capi rossi"', *Memorie Domenicane*, 16 (1985), 235–83.

⁷³ BNF Pal. 173; Italian transcribed in Becherini, *Catalogo*, 99.

⁷⁴ Becherini, *Catalogo*, 99. For a complete listing of the lauda prints in Rome in the late 16th c., see G. Rostirolla, 'La musica a Roma al tempo del Baronio: l'oratorio e la produzione laudistica in ambiente romano', in R. de Maio (ed.), *Baronio e l'arte* (Sora, 1985), 571–771; H. E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, i (Chapel Hill, 1977). For information on Neri, see *ibid.* 39–57; see also F. Mompellio, 'San Filippo Neri e la musica "Pescatrice di anime"', *Chigiana*, NS 2, 12 (1965), 3–33.

at the convent of San Marco. He was also an ardent believer in the sanctity of Savonarola, and he kept an image of the friar in his cell. When a papal commission was scrutinizing Savonarola's writings in 1559 in search of heretical ideas, Neri reportedly had a vision of the friar's vindication before the commission announced its findings.⁷⁵ Apparently he did not forget the example of the Piagnoni when he moved to Rome, where he promoted the singing of laude in his devotional exercises.⁷⁶ This had far-reaching historical implications, for the new musical genre of the oratorio appeared in the seventeenth century, and composers like Giacomo Carissimi owed at least a small debt to Neri's sponsorship of humble laude cast in the form of dialogues, between the body and the soul, for example.⁷⁷

Savonarola created a movement hostile to 'high' aristocratic art in general, one that was in particular opposed to the elaborate polyphony that had been imported with the Franco-Flemish singers and composers from the north. In Part II of this study it will be shown that these composers took up the friar's meditations on Pss. 50 and 30, which he wrote in prison just days before his execution, and created some of the most elaborate musical settings of the sixteenth century. The friar's promotion of the lauda, on the other hand, was crucial to his own success during the 1490s, since singing during processions and before and after his riveting sermons fostered direct communal internalization of his message of Christian reform. And music played an important role among Dominican friars and nuns in keeping alive the fervour of community and fraternal/sororal love.

Savonarola had cultivated an already flourishing native Italian tradition of vernacular sacred music that placed emphasis on the word and avoided the flashy musical display of the Franco-Flemish composers, and his trend was followed outside Italy by Reformation leaders—Luther in Germany, Calvin in Switzerland, Archbishop Parker in England—who also recognized the importance of fostering a body of vernacular sacred music, encouraging congregations to sing their new beliefs.

The post-Tridentine Church seems to have taken a similar, though more circuitous and belated route. The Church, in league with secular authority, may have squelched Savonarola's attempted reforms in the arenas of political and social life, but a stubborn underground of Piagnone friars and nuns in Tuscany kept his ideals of religious reform alive. Razzi's *Libro primo delle laudi*

⁷⁵ A. Cistellini, 'San Filippo Neri e la sua patria', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 23 (1969), 54–119 at 68–9.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 65–7. See also A. Morelli, *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*, *AnMc* 27 (1992).

⁷⁷ See *Anima mia che pensi*, from *Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* (Rome, 1577), 39; transcribed and discussed in Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, i. 63, 70–2. Smither cautions against placing undue importance on the lauda's role in the development of the oratorio, however; *ibid.* 74–6.

spirituali of 1563 represented laude that were officially approved for public singing in the post-Tridentine Church. Yet beneath the surface of Razzi's anthology, one can catch a glimpse of the Savonarolan spirit that inspired the writing and collecting of many of the laude, a spirit that casts new light on the significance of the lauda for the Savonarolan movement, and on the history of music during the Counter-Reformation as well.

PART II

*The Art Tradition: Musical Settings
of Savonarola's Meditations on
Psalms 50 and 30*

6

The Reception of Savonarola in the Sixteenth Century

The spectacular circumstances surrounding Savonarola's trial and public execution guaranteed that he would be remembered long after his death. His martyrdom in the cause of church reform provided a shining example to nascent reformers, especially to Lutherans in Germany, while in Florence he was identified with republican ideals against the tyranny of the Medici. The previous chapter revealed how the friar's memory was venerated by Dominican friars and nuns in Tuscany through the preservation of laude written by Savonarola and by the composition of new ones in his honour. The singing of these laude did much to keep the friar's millenarian teachings alive. But he also left a legacy of sermons and Latin meditations on the psalms, and after his execution these were widely printed and distributed in Italy and throughout Europe. In particular, publication of his meditations on Pss. 30 and 50 carried his name to the furthest reaches of Europe, and composers in Italy, France, Germany, and England selected portions of these psalm meditations for complex musical settings as well. Motet texts from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are mostly drawn from the liturgy, such as the Marian antiphons *Salve regina* and *Regina caeli*, or from psalms and common prayers, but the psalm meditations of Savonarola reflect a new kind of text that called to mind recent political and religious events, and that resonated with the suffering and the faith of a famous religious reformer on the eve of his death.¹ This portion of the present study concentrates on religious and political contexts, in addition to factors such as patronage, that help to explain the attraction of Savonarola's psalm meditations for so many composers during the course of the sixteenth century. Brief discussions of musical style in the individual works will reveal the composers' responses—or lack thereof—to prior settings of the same text. The primary patrons include Duke Ercole II d'Este of Ferrara and his brother, Cardinal Ippolito II,

¹ E. E. Lowinsky discusses the texts of motets that comment on religious upheavals in mid-16th-c. Europe in his *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet* (New York, 1946). J. Kerman also draws attention to William Byrd's political motets that address the suffering of Catholics in Elizabethan England; see 'The Elizabethan Motet: A Study of Texts for Music', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962), 273-305.

as well as their French friend and contemporary, Cardinal François de Tournon, and other figures in Bavaria and England.

The Meditations on Psalms 50 and 30

Savonarola's two final meditations on Pss. 50 and 30, written in that order in his prison cell after the torture of the rack had spared only his right arm for signing his confession, became his most famous and frequently printed works; indeed, they spread like wildfire through Europe immediately after his death. By 1500 they had already appeared in some fifteen Latin editions in Italy, including Ferrara, Reggio, Milan, Pavia, and Venice, and in northern European cities such as Augsburg, Magdeburg, Reutlingen, and Antwerp.² Martin Luther even had them published in 1523 at Wittenberg with a favourable preface that begins 'Meditationes sanctas huius sancti viri Hieronymi Savonarolae'.³ Lutherans seem to have been particularly struck by the emphasis on faith over works that the friar professes in the meditation on Ps. 50.⁴ These two meditations continued to be published throughout the sixteenth century in dozens of editions, including translations into Italian, German, French, Flemish, Spanish, and even Swedish. But the largest number appeared in England, where at least twenty-one English-language editions of the meditation on Ps. 50 were issued between 1534 and 1578.⁵

What was it about Savonarola's meditations that so captivated the European imagination? Beyond the notoriety of his execution, the expressive power of his language must have made a strong impact on the reader. In the most abject of tones, the friar expresses the penitent state of a man who has capitulated under torture and denied his own teachings, including the assertion that his prophecies had been sent from God. The opening paragraph of the exposition on Ps. 50 vividly expresses the doomed man's remorse, yet he finds solace in the hope of God's mercy:

23, 24

Infelix ego omnium auxilio destitutus, qui coelum terramque offendi. Quo ibo? quo me vertam? ad quem confugiam? quis mei miserebitur? Ad coelum oculos levare non audeo, quia ei graviter peccavi; in terra refugium non invenio, quia ei scandalum fui. Quid igitur faciam? Desperabo? Absit. Misericors est deus, pius est salvator meus. Solus igitur deus refugium meum; ipse non despiciet opus suum, non repellet

² See the list of sources in G. Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii, ed. M. Ferrara (ENOS; Rome, 1976), 343, 361–2, 400, 406.

³ *Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, xii (Weimar, 1897), 248.

⁴ J. Nolte, 'Evangelicae doctrinae purum exemplum: Savonarolas Gefängnismeditationen im Hinblick auf Luthers theologische Anfänge', in *Kontinuität und Umbruch: Theologie und Frömmigkeit in Flugschriften und Kleinliteratur an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1978), 59–92. For a critical view of Nolte's thesis, see D. Weinstein, 'Explaining God's Acts to His People: Savonarola's Spiritual Legacy to the Sixteenth Century', in J. W. O'Malley et al. (eds.), *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation: Essays in Honor of Charles Trinkaus* (Leiden, 1993), 205–25.

⁵ See below, Table 12.1.

imaginem suam. Ad te igitur piissime deus tristis ac moerens venio, quoniam tu solus spes mea, tu solus refugium meum. Quid autem dicam tibi, cum oculos elevare non audeam? Verba doloris effundam, misericordiam tuam implorabo, dicam: *Miserere mei, deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* (Ps. 50: 1).

Alas wretch that I am, destitute of all help, who have offended heaven and earth—where shall I go? Whither shall I turn myself? To whom shall I fly? Who will take pity on me? To heaven I dare not lift up my eyes, for I have deeply sinned against it; on earth I find no refuge, for I have been an offence to it. What therefore shall I do? Shall I despair? Far from it. God is merciful, my Saviour is loving. God alone therefore is my refuge; he will not despise his own work, he will not reject his own image. To you, therefore, most merciful God, I come sad and sorrowful, for you alone are my hope, you alone are my refuge. But what shall I say to you, since I dare not lift up my eyes? I will pour out words of sorrow, I will implore your mercy, I will say: *Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great mercy.*⁶

Savonarola continues on for page after page, providing a gloss for each of the nineteen verses of the Psalm. Even in his final hours he retains his mastery of persuasive language in this opening paragraph, as he pours out a series of parallel rhetorical questions, inexorably leading up to the climactic question, 'Shall I despair?'; but he immediately rejects the possibility.

Savonarola's death prevented the completion of his final work, the meditation on Ps. 30. *In te domine speravi*, which glosses only the first three verses of the psalm. The opening paints a vivid military image of the banner-waving armies of the allegorical foe, Tristitia (Heaviness, or Sadness), against which the friar's allies, Hope and Gladness, defend him.

Tristitia obsedit me, magno et forti exercitu vallavit me, occupavit cor meum, clamoribus et armis die noctuque contra me pugnare non cessat. Amici mei sunt in castris eius et facti sunt mihi inimici. Quaecumque video, quaecumque audio, vexilla tristitiae deferunt. Memoria amicorum me contristat, recordatio filiorum me affligit, consideratio claustrum et cellae me angit, meditatio studiorum meorum dolore me afficit, cogitatio peccatorum vehementer me premit. Sicut enim febre laborantibus omnia dulcia amara videntur, ita mihi omnia in moerorem et tristitiam convertuntur. Magnum profecto onus super cor tristitia haec. Venenum aspidum, pestis perniosa, murmurat contra deum, blasphemare non cessat; ad desperationem hortatur. Infelix ego homo! Quis me de manibus eius sacrilegis liberabit? Si omnia quae video et audio vexilla sequuntur et fortiter contra me pugnant, quis erit protector meus? Quis auxiliabitur mihi? Quo vadam? Quo pacto effugiam? Scio quid faciam. Ad invisibilia me convertam et adducam ea contra visibilia. Et quis erit dux tam excelsi tamque terribilis exercitus? Spes, quae de invisibilibus est. Spes, inquam, contra tristitiam veniet et expugnabit eam. Quis stare poterit contra spem? Audi quid dicit Propheta:

⁶ The Latin is from the print by Laurentius de Rubeis (Ferrara, after 23 May 1498); edition in Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 197–234. The English translation is adapted from Savonarola, *Meditations on Psalm LI and Part of Psalm XXXI in Latin, with an English Translation*, ed. E. H. Perowne (London, 1900), 105–6. For a recent English translation, see G. Savonarola, *Prison Meditations on Psalms 51 & 31*, trans. J. P. Donnelly, SJ (Milwaukee, 1994).

Tu es, domine, spes mea; altissimum posuisti refugium tuum. Quis stabit contra deum? Quis expugnare poterit refugium eius quod est altissimum? Vocabo itaque eam: veniet profecto, nec me confundet. Ecce iam venit, gaudia attulit, pugnare me docuit, dixitque mihi: Clama, ne cesses. Et aio: Quid clamabo? Dic, inquit, confidenter et ex toto corde: In te, domine, speravi; non confundar in aeternum. In iustitia tua libera me. (Ps. 30: 1)

Sadness has besieged me, with a great and strong host she has hedged me in, she has oppressed my heart with clamours, and with weapons day and night she ceases not to fight against me. My friends are in her camp, and have become my enemies. Whatever I see, whatever I hear, carries the banners of Sadness. The memory of my friends makes me melancholy; the remembrance of my children [friars] grieves me; the thought of the cloister and cell tortures me; when I think upon my own studies, it affects me with sadness; thinking about my sins forcibly weighs me down. For just as to those sick with fever everything sweet seems bitter, so to me everything is changed to mourning and to melancholy. Truly a great weight upon the heart is this Sadness, the poison of asps, a deadly pestilence, she murmurs against God, she ceases not to blaspheme, she encourages despair. Unhappy man! Who will deliver me from such unholy hands? If all things which I see and hear follow her banners and fight stoutly against me, who will be my protector? Who will aid me? Where can I go? How shall I escape in some way? I know what to do: I shall turn myself to things unseen, and I shall lead them forth against the things that are seen. And who will be captain of a host so high and so terrible? Hope, which is of things invisible; Hope, I say, will come against Sadness and put her to rout. Who will be able to stand against Hope? Hear what the prophet says: *You, Lord, are my hope; you have placed your refuge on the highest ground.* Who will stand against the Lord? Who will be able to storm his place of refuge which is so high? I will call on Hope, therefore, and she will make haste to come, and will not fail me. Lo, she has come already, she has brought Gladness, she has taught me to fight, and has said to me, *Cry aloud, cease not.* And I say, What shall I cry? Say, she replies, boldly and with all your heart: *In you, Lord, have I hoped; let me never be confounded; in your righteousness deliver me.*⁷

Again Savonarola constructs a series of rhetorical questions, leading skillfully to the triumphant introduction of Hope, his allegorical protector against Sadness. Thus strengthened in his resolve, he can finally summon up the energy to exclaim the opening verse of Ps. 30.

These opening paragraphs from Savonarola's lengthy meditations provided texts for impressive motets composed by many of the most prominent and some lesser-known composers of the sixteenth century. *Infelix ego* was set to music by no fewer than seven composers: Adrian Willaert, Cipriano de Rore, Nicola Vicentino, Simon Joly, Orlande de Lassus, his student Jacob Reiner, and, finally, William Byrd; an English verse translation by William Hunnis was set to music by Hunnis, William Mundy, and Thomas

⁷ The Latin is from Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 237–8. The English translation is adapted from Perowne, 179–81.

TABLE 6.1. *Musical settings of Savonarola's psalm meditations*

No.	Composer	Text	Voices	Ostinato
A. From the Meditation on Ps. 50, <i>Infelix ego</i>				
1	Adrian Willaert	1.p. <i>Infelix ego</i> 2.p. <i>Ad te igitur</i>	6vv	Miserere mei deus
2	Cipriano de Rore	1.p. <i>Infelix ego</i> ^a 2.p. <i>Ad te igitur</i>	6vv	Miserere mei deus
3	Nicola Vicentino	1.p. <i>Infelix ego</i> 2.p. <i>Ad te igitur</i>	6vv	Miserere mei deus
4	Simon Joly	1.p. <i>Infelix ego</i> (cycle of 21 motets)	4vv	none
5	Orlande de Lassus	1.p. <i>Infelix ego</i> 2.p. <i>Solus igitur</i> 3.p. <i>Ad te igitur</i>	6vv 4vv 6vv	none
6	Jacob Reiner	1.p. <i>Infelix ego</i> 2.p. <i>Solus igitur</i> 3.p. <i>Ad te igitur</i>	6vv 4vv 6vv	none
7	William Byrd	1.p. <i>Infelix ego</i> 2.p. <i>Quid igitur</i> 3.p. <i>Ad te igitur</i>	6vv 6vv 6vv	none
B. From the Meditation on Ps. 30, <i>Tristitia obsedit me</i>				
8	Clemens non Papa	1.p. <i>Tristitia</i> ^a 2.p. <i>Quid igitur</i>	4vv	none
9	Claude Le Jeune	1.p. <i>Tristitia</i> 2.p. <i>Vocabo Dominum</i>	5vv	In te domine speravi
C. English settings based on William Hunnis's versification of the Meditation on Ps. 50				
10	William Hunnis	<i>Ah helples wretch</i> (monophonic tune)		
11	William Mundy	<i>Ah helples wretch</i> (countertenor, 5v chorus, organ)		
12	Thomas Ravenscroft	<i>Ah helples wretch</i> (soprano and alto solo, 5v chorus, and viols)		

^a Text shifts to *Infelix ego* at the end of the 1.p.

Ravenscroft (see Table 6.1). *Tristitia obsedit me* served as the text for two motets, one by Clemens non Papa, who also incorporated portions of the text of *Infelix ego*, and the other by Claude Le Jeune. Motets by Josquin des Prez and Palestrina that bear a connection to Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, as well as Lupus Hellinck's setting of the opening of Ps. 30, will also figure in the discussion. Before proceeding with examination of these musical

works and their social contexts, the next chapter will be concerned with settings of Savonarola's favourite psalm verse, *Ecce quam bonum*, by Jean Richafort, Philippe Verdelot, Antonius Galli, and by an anonymous French composer (the attribution to Gombert seems mistaken). The complete roster of composers who set Savonarola's texts to music includes almost all the major figures of the sixteenth century.

Savonarola's Reception in Italy and Germany

The Florentine historians Jacopo Nardi (1476–after 1563) and Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) were strong defenders of Savonarola's reforms, and they recounted in detail the friar's beneficial effects on the populace during the time of his influence on the city. Nardi, a Piagnone who witnessed the Savonarolan carnivals and the execution of the friar, later took a leading role in the rebellion of 1527 that established the last Florentine republic. He was exiled for his activities in 1530. Nardi singled out for particular praise the pious Lenten activities of the citizenry in 1496.⁸ Guicciardini, in his *Storie Fiorentine* completed in 1509, bestowed glowing praise on Savonarola for his improvement of morals in Florence, although he reserved judgement on whether the friar was really a great prophet, or simply a great man ('uno uomo grandissimo').⁹

The high regard for Savonarola in his native city of Ferrara will be explored in Chapter 8, especially through study of poetry written in his honour, and of settings of *Infelix ego* in the 1530s and 1540s by Adrian Willaert and Cipriano de Rore for Duke Ercole II d'Este. Further Ferrarese interest will be revealed in Chapter 10 in the patronage of Vicentino and Palestrina by Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, the brother of Ercole II.

Before exploring further aspects of Savonarola's reception in Italy, we shall turn for a moment to Lutheran Germany. In the North the friar's meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 were taken up by Luther, who had them printed in 1523; he again published the meditation on Ps. 50 along with his own commentary on the psalm in a Strasburg print of 1538.¹⁰ Indeed, certain passages from the meditation on Ps. 50 must have struck Luther as confirming his notion of justification by faith,¹¹ where Savonarola turns briefly to quotations from two other psalms that downplay the importance of good works, and then comments on them:

⁸ 'Si viveva in quel tempo nella nostra città molto cristianamente a comparazione de' tempi passati, e di quei che di poi seguirono.' J. Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze*, ed. A. Gelli (Florence, 1858), i, 79.

⁹ 'Le opere fatte da lui circa l'osservanza de' buoni costumi furono santissime e mirabile, né mai in Firenze fu tanta bontà e religione, quanta a tempo suo.' F. Guicciardini, *Storie Fiorentine dal 1378 al 1509 (Opere, vi)*, ed. R. Palmariocchi (Bari, 1931), 156.

¹⁰ M. Luther, *Enarratio psalmsorum LI Miserere mei Deus et CXXX De profundis clamavi. Adiecta est etiam Savonarolae meditatio in psalmum LI* (Strasburg, 1538).

¹¹ On this point, see Nolte, 'Evangelicae doctrinae', 59–92.

*Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to your name give glory, for your mercy and for your truth's sake. For they got not possession of the land by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them; but your right hand and your arm, and the light of your countenance, because you were pleased with them: that is, not by their own merits or by their own works have they been saved, lest any man should be able to boast, but because it seemed good in your sight.*¹²

Indeed, Luther seems to have taken Ps. 50 itself as a touchstone for his theology, focusing especially on some of the later portions, including verses 16 and 17:

16. Quoniam si voluisses
sacrificium, dedissem,
utique holocaustis
non delectaberis.

17. Sacrificium deo
spiritus contribulatus,
cor contritum et humiliatum,
deus, non despicias.

For if you had desired
sacrifice, I would indeed have given it;
with burnt offerings
you will not be delighted.

A sacrifice to God
is an afflicted spirit;
a contrite and humbled heart,
O God, you will not despise.

In his own commentary on Ps. 50, published in 1538, Luther finds the essential tenets of his religious faith in this psalm. 'It ought to be recognized that in many ways this Psalm is not only necessary but also useful: it contains indeed the doctrine of the chief principles of our Religion, of penitence, of sin, of grace, of justification, and also regarding the form of worship that we ought to carry out before God.'¹³ The emphasis is on the interior spiritual life and the penitence of the individual, and this accords with the approach of Savonarola as well.

Lutheran interest in Savonarola resulted in the first published biography of the friar in any language, by Cyriacus Spangenberg (1528–1604), a Lutheran theologian, historian, hymnodist, and son of the music theorist Johann Spangenberg. He attended lectures by Melanchthon and Luther at the University of Wittenberg, and he later wrote the *Historia vom Leben, Lere und Tode Hieronimi Savonarole* (Wittenberg, 1556).¹⁴ Savonarola also appeared in the *Historien der Martyrem* (Strasburg, 1554–8), a martyrology by the Lutheran

¹² 'Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam super misericordia tua et veritate tua [Ps. 113, pt. 2: 1–2]. Nec enim in gladio suo possederunt terram, et brachium eorum non salvavit eos, sed dextera tua et brachium tuum et illuminatio vultus tui, quoniam complacuisti in eis [Ps. 43: 3]: idest, non ex meritis eorum, non ex operibus eorum salvati sunt, ne quis gloriari possit, sed quoniam ita placitum est coram te.' Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 200.

¹³ 'Est autem multis modis huius Psalmi cognito tum necessaria tum utilis: Continet enim doctrinam de praecipuis nostra Religionis capitibus, de Poenitentia, de Peccato, de Gratia, et Justificatione, Item de Cultu quem nos Deo praestare debemus.' Quoted in L. Whitehead, 'A poena et culpa: Penitence, Confidence and the *Miserere* in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*', *Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1990), 287–99 at 293.

¹⁴ See A. G. Dickens, 'Contemporary Historians of the German Reformation', in *Reformation Studies* (London, 1982), 509–35 at 520. Manuscript biographies of Savonarola had been written earlier in Italy by Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola and by Pseudo-Burlamacchi, and later by Fra Serafino Razzi, but none reached print during the 16th c.

superintendent of Ulm, Ludovicus Rabus (1524–92). Rabus quotes extensively from Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 50 and 30, and devotes some thirty-five folios to his account of the friar's life and teachings. Only Luther receives more extensive treatment.¹⁵

Luther's favourable treatment of Savonarola hardly enhanced the friar's reputation in Italy in the decades following the 1530 restoration of the Medici in Florence. For instance, Benvenuto Cellini relates in his autobiography an incident from 1538, after Pope Paul III had imprisoned him in the Castel Sant'Angelo. A Carmelite friar accused of Lutheranism had been placed in the same cell, and Cellini claims that this friar sought to tempt him by reading aloud the sermons of Savonarola.¹⁶

A decade later, in 1548, there was a *furore* over a lengthy and celebrated discourse against the doctrines and prophecies of Savonarola published by Ambrogio Catarino, a Dominican educated at San Marco in Florence who was himself a former Piagnone, but had now changed sides.¹⁷ Pope Paul III maintained a conciliatory position, and remained open during the 1530s and 1540s to the possibility of reconciliation with reformers in the North. He seems to have taken a rather mild view of the potential dangers of Savonarola's writings, but a crucial negative stance was adopted by the Jesuit founding father, Ignatius of Loyola, who wrote in 1549 that although Savonarola had been 'a man of great and exceptional gifts', he had nevertheless been led astray by the devil, which caused him to proclaim false prophecies. Loyola's secretary, Juan Polanco, stated further in 1553 that:

Father Ignatius does not want the works of Savonarola read . . . not because some of his books are not good, but because the author is an object of controversy—some people claim that he is a saint, others say that he was justly executed, and the latter is the more common opinion.¹⁸

Finally the tide had turned completely by the time the irascible and uncompromising Pope Paul IV (r. 1555–9) ascended the papal throne. There was no longer any real hope of reconciliation with the North, and the Catholic Reformation was getting up a full head of steam. Paul IV subjected Savonarola's writings to examination by the Inquisition and they were found to contain heresy; the pope, as had his predecessor Clement VII some decades earlier, openly denounced the friar as another Martin Luther and called for the complete prohibition of his works.¹⁹ As a result, many of the

¹⁵ Dickens, 'Contemporary Historians', 523–4. See L. Rabus, *Historien der heyligen Aussenwoelten Gottes Zeugen, Bekennern und Martyrem* (Strasburg, 1554–8). Savonarola is treated in Pt. 4, fos. ccdlv–ccclxxix.

¹⁶ B. Cellini, *Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, trans. J. A. Symonds (New York, 1975), 244.

¹⁷ Ambrogio Catarino Politi, *Discorso contro la dottrina e la profezia di fra Girolamo Savonarola* (Venice, 1548).

¹⁸ J. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 262.

¹⁹ 'Questo, questo sì . . . è un altro Martino Lutero! La dottrina di costui è mortifera! E che fate voi, a che avete l'occhio, reverendissimi monsignori, a che attendete? Non vedete che bisogna proibire al tutto questa mortal dottrina?' Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, ii. 54.

friar's sermons—though not the psalm meditations—were placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1559.²⁰

But Savonarola also had his Italian defenders. Among these were Antonfrancesco Doni, the Florentine composer and author of the *Dialogo della musica* (Venice, 1544), who gave passing mention to a passage from one of Savonarola's sermons in the *Dialogo*, and in 1557 issued perhaps the first printed bibliography of Italian literature, *La libreria*, where he included a glowing account of the friar's beneficial effects on Florence.²¹ Along with many printed volumes of Savonarola's sermons, Doni lists the meditations on Pss. 30 and 50 in his bibliography.

In 1548 the humanist poet Marcantonio Flaminio (1498–1550), an associate of the reform-minded Cardinal Reginald Pole, published an epigram expressing the strong sympathy of Italian evangelists for Savonarola's efforts at religious reform:

De Hieronymo Savonarola

Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme, pascitur artus,
Religio sanctas dilaniata comas
flevit, et O, dixit, crudeles parcite flammae,
parcite, sunt isto viscera nostra rogo.

While the fierce flame, Girolamo, was fed by your limbs,
Religion, having torn her sacred hair,
wept, and said, 'O cruel flames spare him,
spare him, our very flesh is on the pyre.'²²

And as late as 1566 a prominent Dominican theologian, Fra Sisto of Siena (1520–69), published his celebrated study of Scripture, *Bibliotheca Sancta*, which included a paragraph on Savonarola's writings in Book 4, alongside other important Catholic interpreters of the Bible. Fra Sisto himself was originally a member of the Franciscan order, but he had been convicted of heresy and condemned to death around 1550. Michele Ghislieri, the Dominican inquisitor who was elected as Pope Pius V in 1566, interceded on his behalf, and then persuaded him to recant and join the Dominican order in 1551.²³ Given his early experience of condemnation by the Inquisition, one notes with interest that Fra Sisto singled out the psalm meditations for special mention at the end of his entry on Savonarola:

²⁰ Schnitzer, *Savonarola*, ii. 455–7, 461.

²¹ 'Girolamo Savonarola fu huomo di grande eloquenza da fare ogni gran cosa et mettere ad effetto ogni gran disegno: frate famosissimo et dottissimo, faceva la città di Fiorenza volgere a suo modo, come meglio si dirà nella sua vita. L'opere sue furon tali che viveranno.' *La Libreria* (Venice, 1557), 60–1. See A. Einstein, 'The "Dialogo della Musica" of Messer Antonio Francesco Doni', *ML* 15 (1934), 244–53; J. Haar, 'Notes on the "Dialogo della Musica" of Antonfrancesco Doni', *ML* 47 (1966), 198–224; and id., 'The Libreria of Antonfrancesco Doni', *MD* 24 (1970), 101–23.

²² M. Flaminio, *Carminum Libri II* (Venice, 1548), no. 14. See also C. Maddison, *Marcantonio Flaminio: Poet, Humanist, and Reformer* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1965).

²³ *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), xiii. 275.

Finally, on the day before he was led to his death, he wrote, while experiencing the dreadful terrors of imprisonment and the shortness of time before his imminent execution, meditations in Latin discourse on Psalms thirty-one [*sic*] and fifty, in living words, in thoughts endowed with life and with a most blazing fervour of spirit: thus the first, in which hope and desperation are expressed in lamentation, begins: *Tristitia obsedit me, etc.* and the latter indeed begins, *Infelix ego homo, etc.*²⁴

Fra Sisto provides eloquent testimony to the fascination that Savonarola's meditations continued to exert on mid-sixteenth-century readers, Catholic and Protestant alike.

Savonarola's Psalm Meditations in France and England

French kings from Charles VIII to François I took notice of Savonarola as a saintly prophet who could smooth the way for their claims to Italian territory. As we shall see in a later chapter, the sister of François, Marguerite d'Angoulême, was apparently converted to Savonarola's teachings in the 1520s. Little evidence survives, however, to indicate French interest in Savonarola's meditations on the psalms in the early decades of the sixteenth century, since they appeared in just a single Latin edition in Paris around 1510.²⁵ The meditations achieved greater visibility in France in the 1530s and 1540s, with a series of publications of them in Lyons, and later in the century French translations by Huguenots began to appear.

The earliest French translation of the meditation on Ps. 50 appears in a manuscript of 1543 prepared for a Mme Marie de Loynes by her nephew, a certain 'J.M.', who addresses her as 'tres honorée dame Madame Marie de Loynes, Vicechancellière de France'. She is probably to be identified as Marie Le Crec, who married Antoine de Loynes, secretary to king François I. Her interest in Savonarola's meditation apparently reflects that of other aristocratic Frenchwomen such as Marguerite d'Angoulême.²⁶

Lyons, as a centre of printing, produced the greatest number of editions of Savonarola's meditations on the Psalms in the 1530s and 1540s. Sebastian Gryphius issued copies of the Latin meditations in 1531, 1534, 1536, and

²⁴ 'Denique pridie, quam duceretur ad mortem, scripsit inter metuendos carceris horrores, et imminenti supplicii angustias Latino sermone in Psalmum trigesimum primum et in quinquagesimum meditationes, vivis verbis, animatis sententiis, et Spiritus fervore flagrantissimas: harum prior, in qua spei ac desperationis lucta exprimitur, incipit: *Tristitia obsedit me, etc.* posterior vero incipit, *Infelix ego homo, etc.*' Fr. Sixtus Senensis, OP, *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Venice, 1566), 381-2. The volume went through multiple editions, including Venice (1574), Lyons (1575), Frankfurt (1575), Cologne (1586), Paris (1610), Cologne (1626), and Naples (1742).

²⁵ *Expositiones in psalmos* (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1510), fos. 2^r-16^r and 30^r-39^v. See Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 363-4, 408.

²⁶ The manuscript is now at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., MS Plimpton collection P 768, and bears the following title: 'Meditation tres devote sur le Pseaulme LI. premièrement faicte en Latin par religieuse personne F. Hieros. de Ferrare, et depuis mise en francoys, servant a toute personne qui s'ayme repentir d'avoir offensé son Dieu. MD.XLIII'. On Marie Le Crec, see H. Michaud, *La Grande Chancellerie et les écritures royales au seizième siècle* (Paris, 1967), 181. I am grateful to Natalie Zemon Davis and Mme M.-N. Baudouin-Matuszek for this reference.

1538, while another edition was published by Stephan Dolet in 1537. Two more appeared in 1540 and 1546, from the presses of Theobaldus Paganus and Gryphius respectively.²⁷

The 1550s, by contrast, constituted a watershed in the publication of Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 30 and 50. Pope Paul IV ordered the Inquisition to examine the friar's writings, and by 1559 some of the sermons had been placed on the Index. In fact after the spate of publications of Savonarola's meditations, sermons, and other devotional writings in the 1530s and 1540s, a damper seems to have been applied and the number of editions dropped sharply in France and elsewhere. The last Continental printing appeared in 1551, and a decade elapsed before new editions began to appear in the 1560s, now from Lutheran presses and mostly in German translation.²⁸

As mentioned above, Lutherans such as Spangenberg and Rabus promoted Savonarola's memory in printed biographical accounts in the 1550s, and at the same time sympathetic accounts of Savonarola's life began to appear in Huguenot writings such as the 1554 martyrology of Jean Calvin's friend Jean Crespin (c.1520–72).²⁹ Théodore de Bèze (Beza) (1519–1605), Calvin's chief assistant and his successor at Geneva, paid tribute to Savonarola in his *Icones*, where he includes a woodcut showing the friar in profile, praises his piety and zeal, and condemns Pope Alexander VI for the unjust execution of the friar.³⁰ Beza appends Marcantonio Flamino's ode to Savonarola, mentioned above, at the end of the entry.

In the closing decades of the century another Huguenot, the nobleman Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, published French translations of Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 30 and 50 (Paris, 1584). These were the first French translations to be printed, and they were appropriately appended to a new edition of Mornay's enormously popular *Discours de la vie et de la mort*, first published in Lausanne in 1576.³¹ Savonarola's meditations were clearly

²⁷ Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 365–7, 409–10.

²⁸ For the meditation on Ps. 50, editions in German were issued in Leipzig, 1561; Nuremberg, 1562 and 1576; Germany (n.p.), c.1580; Leipzig, c.1580; and Nuremberg, 1581; one edition in Latin appeared in Tübingen in 1563. Only two editions of the meditation on Ps. 30 appeared in Germany after 1560: Tübingen, 1563 (Latin), and Nuremberg, 1580 (German). See Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 367–8, 410.

²⁹ J. Crespin, *Le Livre des martyrs* (Geneva, 1554).

³⁰ T. Beza, *Icones id est Verae imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium* (Geneva, 1580), sig. Biiii.

³¹ The volume also appeared in an English translation in London in 1576. The complete title-page of the 1584 edition (copy in Geneva, Bibliothèque Municipale) is: *Discours de la vie et de la mort. Par P. de Mornay Gentil-homme Francois. Reueu & augmenté; Auquel est adiousté les méditations de I. Savonarole sur les Pseaumes traduits par iceluy de Momay* (Paris; Guillaume Auvray, 1584).

Mornay's translation of the meditation begins with a new title-page that again names Savonarola as the author: *Exposition et Meditation sur le Psalme LI. de H. Savonarole de Ferrare, qu'il mit en lumiere peu avant sa mort* (fo. 85^r). The translation begins: 'Moy miserable, destitué tout secours, qui ay offensé ciel et terre'. The meditation on Ps. 30 begins on fo. 124^r: *Meditation du mesme H. Savonarole, sur le Psalme, l'ay esperé en toy Seigneur: laquelle il ne sceut acheuer estant prevenu de mort*. The first line begins: 'Tristesse m'a assiégué, elle m'a environné d'une grande armee, elle a saisi mon coeur de clameurs, et iour et nuict ne cesse de combattre contre moy'. For a brief discussion of these

familiar to Huguenots by the 1580s, and they must have been known even earlier from the many Latin publications already available.

Another translation of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 by Simon Goulart (1543–1628), a prolific Huguenot author and historian, appeared in a volume from 1591 that included du Plessis-Mornay's *Méditations Chrestiennes*.³² The industrious Goulart is known to music historians for his adaptations of religious texts to secular chansons of Orlande de Lassus to make them suitable for use in Huguenot homes.³³

With the adoption of Savonarola's writings by Protestants in the 1580s, the pendulum gave another swing, and French Catholics took up defence of the friar. Some years after Mornay's translations of Savonarola's meditations, Paul Du Mont, a Catholic working in Douai, published a French translation of Savonarola's *Della verità della fede Christiana*.³⁴ In his introduction Du Mont attacked the writings of the Huguenot Mornay,³⁵ one of whose treatises, *De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne*, bore a title deceptively close to Savonarola's *Della verità della fede Christiana*, and directly spurred Du Mont into translating the volume by Savonarola as a statement of the orthodox Catholic position. This shift of the Catholic attitude with regard to Savonarola's writings required some justification on Du Mont's part. He defended Savonarola's orthodoxy and the renewed Catholic interest in his writings by pointing to the great learning of the friar, and to the positive testimony of earlier writers such as the Frenchman Philippe de Commynes and the Italians Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, Jacopo Nardi, and Francesco Guicciardini, among others.³⁶ All these authorities testified to the virtuousness of Savonarola's life. Du Mont goes on to explain the execution of the friar as the unfortunate result of political affairs: he became embroiled in the

translations, see T. C. Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France, c.1570–1613* (Cambridge, 1969), 21, 29 n. 2. For a study of Mornay's *Discours* along with a modern edition (not including his translations of Savonarola's meditations), see M. Richter, *Il 'Discours de la vie et de la mort' di Philippe du Plessis-Mornay* (Milan, 1964). On Mornay, see R. Patry, *Philippe du Plessis Mornay: un huguenot homme d'État (1549–1623)* (Paris, 1933).

³² Goulart's translation appears on p. 229 of the *Méditations Chrestiennes* ([Geneva]: Iaques Chouët, 1591): *Méditation sur le Pseume LI. faite en latin par Ierosme Savonarole de Ferrare, & nouvellement traduite en françois par S. G. S.* It begins: 'Moy miserable, abandonné de tous, bandé contre le ciel & la terre, ou irai-je?' See Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France*, 21.

³³ The editions include: *Le Trésor de Musique d'Orlande de Lassus* (Geneva, 1576), *Meslanges des Pseaumes et cantiques a trois parties, recueillies de la Musique d'Orlande de Lassus et autres excellens Musiciens de nostre temps* (Geneva, 1577), and an adaptation of Guillaume Boni's *Sonets de P. de Ronsard as Sonets chrestiens* (Geneva, 1579).

³⁴ The Latin title of Savonarola's work is *Triumphus crucis, de veritate fidei*. P. Du Mont, *La Verité de la foy* (Douai, 1588).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. a6': 'Mais le zele de ce faire s'est accru et redoublé en mon endroit, quand i'ay veu puis quelques trois à quatre ans, que lon a imprimé, et reimprimé plusieurs fois en langue Françoisé un livre portant quasi pareil titre [sic], *De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne*, composé par un Philippe de Mornay, lequel ia passez plusieurs ans a monsté quel il est, tant par ses oeuvres, comme par un livre qu'il a divulgué de l'an 1579 intitulé, *Traicté de l'Eglise*, plein d'heresie et de mauvaise doctrine.'

³⁶ Although Guicciardini's *Storie Fiorentine* remained in manuscript until the 19th c., Du Mont would have known the *Storia d'Italia*, which was published in 1561.

conflict between France and the papacy, and his support for King Charles VIII and French intervention in Italy had provoked the pope's implacable enmity. Thus there was nothing inherent in Savonarola's spiritual writings that could give cause for offence to church authorities.³⁷

In addition to the prose translations of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 by Huguenots such as Mornay and Goulart, further Catholic interest appears in a translation of the meditation into French verse in 1588 by Pierre Tamisier (d. 1591).³⁸ Tamisier was a member of the Parlement of Paris and president of elections of the Mâconnais.³⁹ He opens the volume with his own translations of the seven penitential psalms, followed by Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50; as in the translations of Mornay and Goulart, Tamisier openly states the friar's name on the title-page.⁴⁰

Terence Cave has observed that the emphasis on interior meditation encouraged in works like Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* raised problems for the Catholic Church, because this could lead to undue stress on the importance of faith and on the individual's relationship to God, and thus resemble doctrines espoused by the Reformation.⁴¹ The meditations of Savonarola ran the risk of the same danger; his meditation on Ps. 50, as mentioned above, seems in particular to promote the doctrine of justification by faith. Cave points out that both Calvinists and Catholic reformers (illuminists) could look back to Savonarola, and that 'due to [his] dislike of the external apparatus of religion, and to his doctrine of faith . . . [they] could see him as a precursor of their theories'.⁴² Thus Savonarola's meditations could appeal to both religious camps, and Cave in fact refers to a parallel devotional tradition in both Protestant and Catholic circles that supported private meditation.⁴³

Against these shifting sands of Savonarolan reception in the sixteenth century, it was Catholic sympathies that inspired a French composer, Simon

³⁷ Du Mont, *La Verité de la foy*, sig. a7'.

³⁸ Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France*, 21, 80.

³⁹ *Biographie universelle*, nouvelle éd., ed. Joseph Michaud (Paris, n.d.), xiv, 657.

⁴⁰ P. Tamisier, *Méditations Chrétiennes sur les sept psalmes de la pénitence du Prophète Royal David. Mises en vers françois, sur la prose d'un docte personnage de ce temps par Pierre Tamisier, Président en l'élection de Mâconnais. Plus une méditation sur le Psalme cinquantième Miserere mei Deus, traduit du Latin de F. Hierosme Savonarole, Ferrarois, & mise en vers françois par ledit Tamisier* (Paris: Abel L'angelier, 1588). On fo. 47', where the translation of Savonarola's meditation begins, a new heading appears, and the friar is now referred to as an excellent theologian: *Méditation sur le psalme cinquantième de David. Prise du Latin de l'excellent Theologien F. Hierosme Savonarole Ferrarois, & mise en vers François par Pierre Tamisier Président en l'élection de Mâconnais*. Tamisier's first stanza here follows:

Moy pauvre & miserable, a qui tout secours manque,
qu'un escadron de maux & de miseres flaque,
qui ay indignement ciel & terre offensé,
ou doy-ie me tourner aller & prendre addressé?
qui sera pitoyable à ma griesve destresse?
qui me tiendra la main d'ennuis tant oppressé?

⁴¹ Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France*, 5.

⁴² *Ibid.* 21.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 22.

Joly, to set Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 to music and to dedicate it to Cardinal François de Tournon in 1552 (see Ch. 9). And Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este appears to have been the patron around 1560 of Claude Le Jeune's setting of the meditation on Ps. 30, *Tristitia obsedit me*, although Le Jeune's own Huguenot loyalties would also have made the task an amenable one (see Ch. 10).

England witnessed the widespread printing of Savonarola's meditations after 1530, and Chapter 12 will explore the role of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer in the use and dissemination of the meditations, as well as the poetic adaptation in English of the meditation on Ps. 50 by the Protestant William Hunnis, a member of Queen Elizabeth's chapel. Early English verse anthems by William Mundy and Thomas Ravenscroft adopt Hunnis' text, *Ah helples wretch*, while William Byrd's Latin setting of *Infelix ego* emerges as the last and most elaborate polyphonic setting of Savonarola's meditation. Byrd apparently composed his motet not for a Protestant audience, but for his Roman Catholic patrons during the late 1570s, when persecution of Catholics in England began in earnest.

Musical Echoes of Ecce quam bonum in France and Florence

The reception of Savonarola and his prophecies in early sixteenth-century France, and in Florence during the last Republic (1527–30) forms an essential background for understanding musical settings in France and Florence of texts associated with the friar. Three areas will be explored in this chapter: first, the effect of Savonarola's prophecies on three French kings, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and François I; secondly, settings of Savonarola's text and tune for *Ecce quam bonum* by French composers such as Jean Mouton and Jean Richafort, who were associated with the French royal chapel; and finally, the setting of *Ecce quam bonum* in Florence by another French composer, Philippe Verdelot, *maestro di cappella* of the Florentine Baptistery and Duomo, along with a later related setting by Antonius Galli.

Savonarola favourably impressed the invading French king, Charles VIII (1470–98), who met with the friar outside the walls of Florence before making a grand entry into the city in November 1494 and then continuing on to Naples, where he made good his claim to the throne and established a French garrison. He returned to France in the summer of 1495, narrowly escaping defeat at the hands of allied Italian armies at the battle of Fornovo. When the king was encamped at Pisa in 1494, his adviser, Philippe de Commines, visited the friar and described him as 'homme de sainte vie', claiming that Savonarola had always preached in great favour of the king.¹ He further recounts how Savonarola had preached that the king would return to Italy to reform the Church and expel tyrants, and that God would punish him cruelly if he failed to do so.² Commines maintains the truth of Savonarola's prediction by noting that Charles's son and only heir died in infancy, and that Charles himself died just weeks before Savonarola was executed.³

¹ 'La cause fut qu'il avoit tousjours presché en grant faveur du roy.' P. de Commines, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Calmette (Paris, 1925), iii. 144–5.

² 'Il a tousjours presché publicquement que le roy retourneroit de rechief en Ytallie, pour acomplir ceste commission que Dieu luy avoit donnée, qui estoit de refformer l'Eglise à l'espée et de chasser les tirans d'Ytallie; et que en cas qu'il ne le fist, que Dieu le puniroit cruellement.' Ibid. 309.

³ In fact both of Charles's sons died in infancy, one in Dec. 1495, and the other in Oct. 1496, and Charles died from a head injury after bumping into the low threshold of a doorway at his chateau of Amboise on 7 Apr.; Savonarola was executed in the following month, on 23 May 1498. Ibid. 309–11.

The crucial aspect of Savonarola's teaching concerns his prophecy that the French king would cross the Alps and reform the Church at sword-point. This provided the French with invaluable propaganda for their political designs to dominate the Italian peninsula, starting with Naples. King Louis XII (1462–1515) avidly pursued French expansionism when he was crowned king in 1498, and immediately claimed title to the duchy of Milan through his grandmother, Valentina Visconti.⁴ Louis recognized Savonarola's strategic political importance, and he moved swiftly after his accession to take measures to prevent the friar's execution. But his letter to the Signoria, claiming that the friar was a holy man whose life should be spared, arrived in Florence after the execution had already taken place.⁵ Louis nevertheless went on to capture Milan in 1499 and to depose its Sforza duke, Ludovico il Moro, and he ultimately reached Naples, where Federico of Aragon capitulated to the French as well.

François I (1494–1547) continued to press French claims in Italy; in 1513, two years prior to his accession, the French had been expelled from Milan, and the energetic new king set out in 1515 to win glory for himself and France by recapturing the duchy at the battle of Marignano. Ten years later, he himself was defeated and captured by the forces of Emperor Charles V at Pavia, and he spent a year in captivity in Madrid before obtaining ransom and returning to France. Spain and the Empire, both under the rule of Charles V, now emerged as the dominant force in Italy. Florence, meanwhile, under overwhelming Spanish pressure, had been re-subjected to Medici control in 1512, after holding out as a republic for fourteen years following the execution of Savonarola.⁶ While two Medici popes reigned in Rome, Leo X from 1513 to 1521 and Clement VII from 1523 to 1534, Florence was placed under the influence of Medici pawns such as Cardinal Passerini and the old republican liberties were suspended. The situation changed radically in 1527. After the battle of Pavia in 1525, Imperial armies had remained in Italy, and to punish Clement VII for his alliance, first with the French and then with Italian powers in his attempt to diminish Spanish dominance in Italy, the Imperial armies marched on Rome in May of 1527. Florentines, recognizing that the pope was no longer in a position to dominate the city, rose up and expelled the Medici on the 16th of May, and re-established the Republic.

The citizens of Florence naturally turned to their traditional French pro-

⁴ Giangaleazzo Visconti had declared his daughter Valentina as his successor when in 1380 she married Louis, Duke of Orleans, the son of King Charles V.

⁵ The king's letter was dated 4 June 1498; Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, ii, 25, 233 n. 2.

⁶ The following account is based on J. N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic* (Oxford, 1983), and Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic*. See also Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 314–86, and H. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence, 1502–1519* (Oxford, 1985). On music in Florence, see A. M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals, 1512–1537* (Princeton, 1992).

tectors for assistance in maintaining the Republic. François, after his return home from captivity in Madrid in 1526, sent numerous promises of aid to the city, but the French treasury was strapped for funds and he could offer pitifully little in the way of actual financial support. Finally by June of 1530, when Florence had already been under siege by the Imperial army for eight months, the way appeared clear for François to come to the rescue. In exchange for his release from prison in 1526, he had sent his two sons to Madrid as hostages to Charles V, and in May 1530 he had written to the Signoria promising that once they were released he would help Florence. In June news arrived in the city of the release of the king's sons, and there was rejoicing and the ringing of bells, but the promises of French aid were empty, and the city capitulated to the Imperial army in August. Savonarola's prophecies about the destruction of Rome and a time of tribulation for Florence seemed to be coming true.

A brief survey of attitudes and opinions regarding Savonarola and his prophetic message at the French court in the 1520s provides a vivid picture of the background to French–Florentine interaction in this period. Several incidents are related in a letter written in April 1528, sent from France to the Signoria by a Florentine representative, Giovanni Battista della Palla.⁷ Della Palla travelled to the French court in late 1521, and the next year charges arrived from Florence implicating him in a conspiracy to overthrow the Medici regime, with the result that he spent the years 1523–8 in exile from Florence, mostly in France.⁸ He earned his living by dealing in Italian art and procuring paintings and other art objects for the French court; most interestingly in this context, he served as the agent of François in the purchase around 1521 of a painting by Fra Bartolommeo della Porta known as the 'Dream of Savonarola', a direct indication of interest in the friar at the French court.⁹

Della Palla had been sent by the Signoria to remind François of the truth of Savonarola's prophecies, and of the dire consequences if the French king did not carry out the mission of *renovatio*; according to the friar's writings, if he neglected his duty, he would fall and another ruler would take his place. In his letter of 1528, della Palla reports that when he arrived at the French court in late 1521 he had contact with the sister of François, Marguerite d'Angoulême (also called Marguerite of Navarre), that he gave her Savonarola's writings along with a portrait of the friar, and finally that he converted her to the friar's teachings as she searched for spiritual enlightenment.¹⁰

⁷ The relevant portions of the letter are transcribed and discussed by L. Polizzotto and C. Elam in 'La Unione de' Gigli con Gigli: Two Documents on Florence, France and the Savonarolan Millenarian Tradition', *Rinascimento* 31 (1991), 239–59.

⁸ *Ibid.* 241–2.

⁹ *Ibid.* 252. The painting apparently has not survived.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 251–4.

As the letter continues, della Palla relates a significant incident at the French court in 1524. He was challenged about the veracity of Savonarola's prophecies by Jacques de Chabannes, Seigneur de la Palisse (c.1470–1525), a French noble who had been with Charles VIII during the invasion of Italy in 1494–5.¹¹ Palisse claimed that Savonarola kept changing his predictions, depending on the turn of events. François defused the tension with an ironic anecdote that reveals his scepticism about claims made for the friar's prophecies. He recounted Savonarola's first meeting with Charles VIII at Pisa in 1494. When Charles was informed that a friar had come to speak to him on God's behalf, he supposedly replied: 'Yes, sure, send him in, and I will listen with pleasure, because it's been a long time since I've had any news from those parts.'¹² Della Palla responded by whispering to the king that even if the prophecies were false, other examples from history indicated that popular religious beliefs had facilitated great victories on the part of national leaders.¹³ This apparently had its desired effect, since the king henceforth did not speak lightly about Savonarola, but rather with sincerity. According to della Palla, François even remarked that their discussion was taking place on the eve of the Ascension, the same day that Savonarola had been executed, and he declared that one day they would no doubt celebrate the feast of his martyrdom.¹⁴

Richafort's O quam dulcis and Other French Works

Direct musical evidence in the form of a motet by Jean Richafort suggests that François did in fact celebrate the feast of Savonarola's martyrdom at his court. Richafort (c.1480–c.1547), for whom little documentation survives, served from 1507 as *maître de chapelle* at St-Rombaud in Mechelen, where Margaret of Austria was regent of the Netherlands,¹⁵ and by 1512 at the latest he was living in Paris and singing in the chapel of Queen Anne of Brittany (d. 1514).¹⁶ He was probably in Bologna with the French royal chapel in December 1515, when François I met with Pope Leo X, who bestowed a

¹¹ Polizzotto and Elam, 'La Unione de' Gigli con Gigli', 246.

¹² 'Sì, bene, fatelo venire, che io lo udirò volentieri, perché gli è lungo tempo che io no ricebbi novelle da quelle parte.' Ibid. 259.

¹³ Ibid. 246, 259.

¹⁴ 'Et replicò in francese una ultima cosa dettane accioché la intendessi chi de' circostanti non la havessi bene intesa, cioè che da poi che 'gli era morto in tale giorno proprio di Vigilia della Ascensione del Signore, nel quale il caso pareva che havessi fatto doppio tanti anni che di lui si facessi memoria in tanto celebre luogo et in sì buona et gran compagnia che pareva di piglarlo per uno segno che anchora uno giorno si havessi da celebrare et fare la festa del di del suo martirio'; ibid. 259. It will be recalled that the execution of Savonarola took place on the eve of the Ascension, 23 May 1498.

¹⁵ H. M. Brown, 'Richafort, Jean', *NGD* xv. 839.

¹⁶ R. Sherr, 'The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding their Deaths', *JM* 6 (1988), 60–82, esp. 77–8.

Ex. 7.1. Jean Richafort, *O quam dulcis*, bb. 1–9 (CD track 21)

5

Superius O quam dul -

Altus O quam dul - cis et

Tenor

Bassus

cis et quam be - a -

quam be - a -

O

benefice on the composer. While Richafort possibly continued to serve in the French chapel in the 1520s and 1530s, he does not turn up in the only surviving lists from 1515 and 1533, and there is no documentation for him until the final years of his life, from 1542 to 1547, which he spent as *maître de chapelle* at St-Gilles in Bruges.

Richafort's *O quam dulcis*, printed in Attaignant's *Liber secundus . . . motetos* of 1534, is a motet intended for feasts of several martyrs, as attested by its subtitle *plurimorum martyrum*. The elegantly draped garlands of melody in the opening imitative duo announce the French style of this work (Ex. 7.1). In making it available to a wider public, Attaignant provided for diverse applications by leaving blank spaces with 'n.' where the names of the martyrs and the city of their death should be inserted. The motet was possibly designed for the feast of the execution of Savonarola and his two companions, Fra Domenico da Pescia and Fra Silvestro Marrufi, whose names can be

EX. 7.2. Richafort, *O quam dulcis*, bb. 20–31 (CD track 21 at :35)

20

ta Hie - ro - ni - me Fer - ra - ri - en - sis,

25

ro - ni - me Fer - ra - ri - en - sis,

30

sis, Do - mi - ni - ce, Sil - ve - ster fra - ter

fitted easily in the spaces provided (Ex. 7.2; the name of the city of Florence fits as well). The most persuasive clue for a Savonarolan interpretation of the motet, however, is Richafort's direct quotation of the Piagnone text and tune for *Ecce quam bonum* in the *secunda pars* (Ex. 7.3). The complete text of the motet is:

Ex. 7.3. Richafort, *O quam dulcis*, bb. 88–104 (CD track 21 at 2:49)

Secunda pars 90

95

100

S
Ec - ce quam bo - num
et quam io - cun - dum ha - bi -

A
Ec - ce quam bo - num
et quam io - cun - dum ha -

T
Ec - ce quam bo -
num et quam io - cun - dum

B
Ec - ce quam bo -
num et quam io - cun - dum

ta - re, ha - bi - ta - re fra - tres in u - num, ha - bi -
bi - ta - re, ha - bi - ta - re fra - tres in u - num, ha -
ha - bi - ta - re fra - tres in u - num,
ha - bi - ta - re fra - tres in u - num,

O quam dulcis et *quam* beata,
N. et N. [*Hieronyme Ferrariensis*,
Dominice, Silvester], fraternitas,
O quam gratis et colenda
christianitas,
O urbs N. [*Florentia*], quam felix es
meritis

O how sweet and how blessed,
[Jerome of Ferrara,
Dominic, Sylvester], is brotherly love;
O how pleasing and to be worshipped is
Christianity,
O city [of Florence], how happy you
are,

tantorum martyrum
 inclyta,
 qui per multa penarum genera
 hodie regna meruerunt
 coelestia.

Secunda pars

Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum
 habitare fratres in unum.
 Alleluia.

made famous by the merits of such
 martyrs,
 who through many kinds of suffering
 today have attained the heavenly
 kingdom.

Secunda pars

Behold how good and how pleasant it is
 for brethren to dwell together in unity.
 Alleluia.¹⁷

Richafort's quotation of the Savonarolan tune for *Ecce quam bonum* in canon at the octave between the superius and tenor duplicates almost note for note the version in the laudario Rossi 395 (see above, Ex. 5.1(a)), except that the lauda begins in duple mensuration, while Richafort presents the entire tune in triple time. In fact he simplifies the first section; unlike the lauda, Richafort's motet repeats the music for 'Ecce quam bonum' for the second phrase 'et quam iocundum'. The higher circling figure for 'habitare' occurs exactly as in the lauda (which by now has also shifted to triple time), but Richafort creates a delightful effect of cross-rhythms by adding two entries of the same figure against the beat, in the altus and bassus. After one further echo of 'habitare' in the superius and altus, the quotation concludes with a simplified version of the lauda's phrase for 'fratres in unum'. Here the chordal harmony in all four voices produces a typically French effect of wit and clarity as the voices sing together 'in unity'. At the same time, Richafort cleverly works another statement of the opening motif for 'ecce quam bonum' into the tenor. The light and airy texture, with clear declamation of the words, is quintessentially French.

Several factors support the possibility that *O quam dulcis* was intended for use at Mass in the French royal chapel in the 1520s. Instead of elaborate public celebrations of High Mass with polyphonic settings of the Ordinary (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus dei), François preferred to attend private Low Masses during which the singers in his choir performed motets.¹⁸ *O quam dulcis* occurs in the series of thirteen motet volumes published in 1534 and 1535 by Attaingnant, the royal printer of music, and it has been suggested that these volumes represent the repertory of the royal chapel.¹⁹ The evidence points to composition of *O quam dulcis* some time in the 1520s,

¹⁷ Translation in M. E. Kabis, 'The Works of Jean Richafort, Renaissance Composer (1480?–1548)', Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1957), i. 206. For an edition of Richafort's *O quam dulcis*, see P. Attaingnant, *Treize livres de motets*, ii, ed. A. Smijers (Paris, 1936), 110. The original text was possibly 'O quam dulcis et quam beata'; this balances with 'ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum' in the *secunda pars*, and Richafort's melodic subject works better with 'et quam beata'. Richafort's use of *Ecce quam bonum* was first noticed by Norbert Böker-Heil; see id., *Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot* (Frankfurt am Main, 1967), 411.

¹⁸ J. T. Brobeck, 'Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under Francis I (r. 1515–1547)', *JAMS* 48 (1995), 187–239, esp. 228–36.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 234–5. See also D. Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant: Royal Printer of Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969).

Ex. 7.4. Anon. (Gombert?), *Ecce quam bonum*, bb. 1–9 (Kassel MS 24)

Soprano: Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io -

Alto: Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io -

Tenor: Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io - cun -

Bass: Ec - ce quam

Soprano: cun - dum, et quam io - cun -

Alto: cun - dum, et quam io - cun -

Tenor: dum, et quam io -

Bass: bo - num et quam io - cun -

and to its performance in the royal chapel of François I. The king apparently did indeed act on his comment to della Palla in 1524 that one day the anniversary of Savonarola's execution would be observed with ceremony and celebrated as a feast.

Other works by French composers quote the Savonarolan text and tune for *Ecce quam bonum* (see Table 5.2). A setting for four voices of the complete text for Ps. 132 survives in a German manuscript, Kassel MS 24 (Ex. 7.4), copied after 1550 and with an attribution to Nicolas Gombert (c.1495–c.1560).²⁰ Yet this little motet has a light texture and declamatory melodies typical of the French chanson of the early sixteenth century. Gombert, by contrast, was a Flemish composer in the service of Emperor Charles V, and he favoured dense, melismatic textures that make the words difficult to understand. Two other factors argue against Gombert's authorship: the

²⁰ Kassel, Murhard'sche und Landesbibliothek, MS Mus 4^o 24, no. 75. The work is discussed in Böker-Heil, *Die Motetten von Verdelot*, 74.

unreliability of the source, and chronology. First, many attributions in the Kassel manuscript are demonstrably incorrect. Second, Jean Mouton (c.1459–1522) borrowed the melodies from this motet for a parody mass, appropriately titled *Missa Ecce quam bonum*.²¹ Mouton composed his mass before 1522, but Gombert makes no documented appearance before 1526, and his works began to be printed only in 1529.²² The Kassel setting of *Ecce quam bonum* was most likely composed by an unidentified Frenchman in the early decades of the sixteenth century, someone like Antoine de Févin (c.1470–1512), with whom Mouton had personal contact at the French court.

The opening of the motet follows the general outlines of the Florentine lauda melodies for *Ecce quam bonum* that were discussed earlier (Ex. 5.1(a) and (b)). One difference in the initial form of the tune is that, while the Florentine versions of the lauda provide a passing note on G connecting the opening A with the subsequent F, the Kassel motet repeats the opening A, and then skips directly down to F. This latter form of the tune was also used by Verdelot in Florence (see below), and it apparently represents an accepted variant. The second phrase of the Kassel motet, 'et quam iocundum', relates it especially closely to the original lauda tune, for here the higher register C A B \flat A follows the Florentine version more closely than does Richafort. The continuation, however, at 'habitare' and 'fratres in unum', departs from the Florentine versions, and the motet continues with the remaining verses of Ps. 132.

One wonders whether French musicians heard Savonarola's tune when they were in Italy with François I in the closing months of 1515, or whether the returning armies of Charles VIII or Louis XII brought it back to France even earlier. Jean Mouton, a member of the chapel of Anne of Brittany since at least 1501–2, travelled with François to Italy in 1515.²³ Most plausibly, Mouton received a commission from François himself to compose a mass on *Ecce quam bonum*, since the king was conversant with the Savonarolan imperative that had passed to him through Charles VIII and Louis XII, designating him as God's agent for reform of the Church. Mouton probably composed his *Missa Ecce quam bonum* some time between 1515 and 1522.

Verdelot in Florence: Letamini in domino/Ecce quam bonum

Unlike Richafort and Mouton, Philippe Verdelot (betw. 1470/80 to c.1527) spent most of his professional life in Italy. He is thought to have worked in or around Venice in the early sixteenth century, for according to Vasari a

²¹ The mass is in J. Mouton, *Opera omnia*, ii, ed. A. C. Minor (AIM, 1969), 51–88. See Paul Kast, 'Studien zu den Messen des Jean Mouton' (Frankfurt am Main, 1955), 131–2; Böker-Heil knew the mass as an anonymous work from Leiden, Gemeente-Archief, MS 1443; see id., *Die Motetten von Verdelot*, 411.

²² J. Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert* (Bonn, 1938), 23.

²³ L. Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505–1520', *JAMS* 32 (1979), 191–246.

portrait of Verdelot and a companion named Ubretto was painted in Venice by Sebastiano del Piombo prior to 1511.²⁴ Verdelot was in Florence as early as May 1521,²⁵ and during the early 1520s he served as one of the prime figures in the development of the new genre of the Italian madrigal.²⁶ While in Florence he came in contact with Niccolò Machiavelli, and composed music for poems in two of his plays, *La Clizia* and *La Mandragola*. Verdelot is documented as *maestro di cappella* of the Baptistery from April 1523 to September 1525, and of the cathedral from April 1523 to 28 June 1527, but no documentation survives for him after the latter date.²⁷ Many of his motets and madrigals are preserved in a set of partbooks copied in Florence during 1528 and early 1529, and which are now in the Newberry Library in Chicago.²⁸ H. Colin Slim, in his study of the physical characteristics of the partbooks and their contents, showed that the collection was sent as a gift to King Henry VIII, from whom the Florentines were hoping to receive aid in their struggle against the emperor and the pope. The probable Savonarolan references of several of the motets in the collection indicate the strong favour in which the friar was held during the last Florentine Republic.²⁹

Verdelot's motets are also well represented in another Florentine manuscript copied around 1530; the six partbooks are now in the Vallicelliana Library in Rome. In his study of this source, Edward Lowinsky pointed to several Savonarolan motets, and especially to Verdelot's setting of Savonarola's text and tune *Ecce quam bonum* as a canon for the inner voices of his motet *Letamini in domino*.³⁰ The possibility is strong that Verdelot perished in the plague that ravaged Florence during the years of the last

²⁴ On Verdelot's biography see Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, i. 41–65; for a summary version, id., 'Verdelot, Philippe', *NGD* xix. 631, where the portrait is reproduced. Ubretto is Hubert Naich.

²⁵ R. Sherr, 'Verdelot in Florence, Coppini in Rome, and the Singer "La Fiore"', *JAMS* 37 (1984), 402–11.

²⁶ Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, i. 189–90; I. Fenlon and J. Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1988), 37–46.

²⁷ Slim, 'Verdelot', 631.

²⁸ Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, i. 105 ff. The altus partbook was missing when Slim prepared his edition, so he reconstructed those parts which did not survive in concordant sources. Later the altus partbook was discovered at Oscott College, Sutton Coldfield, and the complete set is now called the Newberry–Oscott Partbooks. See H. C. Slim, 'A Royal Treasure at Sutton Coldfield', *EM* 6 (1978), 57–74, and id., *Ten Altus Parts at Oscott College, Sutton Coldfield*, privately published (n.p., n.d. [1978]).

²⁹ Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, i. 55–6, 69–73.

³⁰ Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript'. For an edition of *Letamini in domino*, see P. Verdelot, *Opera omnia*, ii, ed. A.-M. Bragard (AIM, 1973), 94–7. For a sceptical view concerning the Savonarolan associations of the tune for *Ecce quam bonum*, see Böker-Heil, *Die Motetten von Verdelot*, 72–5, and 411. The latter believed that the tune occurred in a widely distributed geographical area in works by a variety of composers with no direct connection with Florence or Savonarola, including Gombert (but the attribution in Kassel MS 24 is probably incorrect), and thus he questioned whether the melody actually had its origins in Florence. All the motets, however, seem to be of French or Florentine provenance, and Savonarola was indeed well known at the French court. Now that it appears that these composers used the same tune as that in a Piagnone lauda on *Ecce quam bonum* (see Ch. 5), doubts about the Savonarolan origins of the tune as used by Verdelot and the other composers can be laid to rest.

Ex. 7.5. Philippe Verdelot, *Letamini in domino*; canonic inner voices on *Ecce quam bonum*, bb. 6–25 (CD track 22)

10

Quintus Ec - ce quam bo - num

Tenor Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io - cun -

15

et quam io - cun - dum ha

dum ha - bi - ta - re

20 25

bi - ta - re fra - tres in u - num.

fra - tres in u - num.

Florentine Republic from 1527 to 1530, and it has even been suggested that *Letamini in domino* may have been his last work.³¹

Letamini in domino is scored for low voices (two alto parts, two tenor parts, and two bass parts). The four outer voices sing the text from Ps. 31: 11:

22

Letamini in domino et exultate iusti,
et gloriamini omnes recti corde.
Alleluia.

Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye just,
and glory, all ye right of heart.
Alleluia.

The two inner voices (tenor and quintus) sing a canon on *Ecce quam bonum* to a slightly different version of Savonarola's tune than that used by Richafort; both voices start on the unison, and the second voice echoes the first, perhaps an allusion to dwelling together in unity (Ex. 7.5). As mentioned above, the opening of *Ecce quam bonum* in the Kassel manuscript closely resembles the version of the tune employed by Verdelot.

The joyful texts of Pss. 31 and 132 inspired Verdelot to compose one of his most stirring and attractive motets (Ex. 7.6). In keeping with the folk-like tune for *Ecce quam bonum*, the added parts also sing in a simple and direct

³¹ Fenlon and Haar, *Italian Madrigal*, 45.

Ex. 7.7. Verdelot, *Letamini in domino/Ecce quam bonum*, bb. 25–9 (CD track 22 at 1:14)

25

iu - sti, et glo - ri - a - mi - ni o - mnes,
 et glo - ri - a - mi - ni o - mnes, et glo - ri - a - mi -
 num, ec - ce quam bo - num
 ec - ce quam bo - num et quam
 et glo - ri - a - mi - ni o - mnes, et glo - ri -
 et glo - ri - a - mi - ni o - mnes,

the mid-point of the piece on 'gloriamini' (Ex. 7.7, b. 26), where the foundation of the harmony suddenly drops down a step and the two bass parts shift to E_b (the flatted seventh degree). He also prevents the music from settling into a too-rigid pattern by opening with phrases of irregular lengths before shifting to the regular two-bar pattern in bar 6, and he periodically expands or contracts a phrase to make it a full bar longer or shorter. A brief lyric interlude occurs near the end on 'omnes recti corde', during which the two inner voices with the *Ecce quam bonum* canon fall silent and the other four parts descend in a long scalar pattern. After this peaceful respite, the rousing music from the opening returns with new text, 'alleluia', in jubilating repetitions. The motet may appear simple and straightforward on the surface, but Verdelot rises above the mundane repetitive musical material to create a luminous work filled with variety and contrast, both in the harmony as well as in the metric patterns.

Letamini in domino is preserved only in the Vallicelliana partbooks,³² copied by a Florentine monk, Antonio Moro, probably for a member of the important Pucci family, Roberto di Antonio Pucci. Pucci had been imprisoned in Florence in 1527 after the declaration of the Republic, but he subsequently escaped to Rome and sought the protection of Pope Clement VII.³³ The

³² The library's collection dates to the 16th-c. Oratorio of St Philip Neri. The call-number for the partbooks is S' 35-40 (olim S. Borr. E. II. 55-60). On their history and contents, see Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript', *passim*; and Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, i. 55-60.

³³ He was eventually made Bishop of Pistoia and died in 1547 at a ripe old age. See Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, 128-9. For a response to this hypothesis regarding Pucci's ownership of the partbooks, see the revised version of Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript', 482.

Vallcelliana manuscript contains a mixture of motets, some that apparently support the Medici and others related to Savonarola and the Republic,³⁴ as such, they perhaps reflect Pucci's presence in Florence and then Rome during the events of the last Florentine Republic. Verdelot's setting of *Letamini in domino* does not in fact necessarily indicate a personal interest in Savonarola, and it may simply have been composed at the request of a Piagnone patron.³⁵ Whether the partbooks arrived at the Vallcelliana in the sixteenth century during the time of St Philip Neri cannot now be determined, but as Edward Lowinsky has observed, the saint loved music and venerated Savonarola, and he would have provided a good shelter for the partbooks in his library.³⁶

When might Verdelot's setting of *Letamini in domino* have been performed? A likely occasion is the procession and High Mass held by the Florentines on Sunday, 2 June 1527, to celebrate the restoration of the Republic. Departing from the Duomo with the religious companies of the city, there followed the members of the guilds as the procession made its way to the Palazzo della Signoria. There the recently elected Gonfalonier, Neri Capponi, and the Signoria met them in their solemn robes and entered the procession. Passing through the city, they stopped at Savonarola's church of San Marco and at the church of the Annunziata, and finally made their way back to the Duomo where Mass was celebrated.³⁷ Given the newly aroused enthusiasm for Savonarola's memory in the city, the throngs must have sung laude as in

³⁴ The pro-Medici motets are *Gaude felix Florentia* by Costanzo Festa and an anonymous *Mundi Christo redemptori*, while a Republican interpretation has been given to *Florentia tempus est penitentiae*, also by Festa (see below, n. 36). Verdelot's *Letamini in Domino* is clearly a Savonarolan motet, and Lowinsky feels that three other motets have Savonarolan overtones as well: two settings by Verdelot and Lupus Hellinck of the opening verses of Ps. 30, *In te domine speravi*, which served as the subject of Savonarola's final meditation while in prison, and the opening motet of the manuscript, *Jerusalem luge*, attributed here to Lupus Hellinck, but elsewhere to Richafort; Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript', 434–47. In Ch. 10 below I shall offer evidence that one of these motets, Hellinck's *In te Domine speravi*, did indeed have Savonarolan overtones, at least for a subsequent generation of composers.

³⁵ Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, 45, 129.

³⁶ Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript', 453. Another study by Lowinsky, 'The Medici Codex: A Document of Music, Art, and Politics in the Renaissance', *AnnM* 5 (1957), 61–178, includes a discussion of a five-voice motet from the Vallcelliana manuscript, Costanzo Festa's *Florentia tempus est penitentiae* (republished as an Excursus to the revised version of his Vallcelliana article in *Music of the Culture of the Renaissance*). Festa, a member of the papal chapel, probably composed the motet during the years of the last Florentine Republic, from 1527 to 1530; the text names Pope Clement VII and it admonishes Florentines to repent and seek his forgiveness for their rebellious ways. The tenor cantus firmus, 'Florentia, Florentia, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum', is adapted from the Lamentations of Jeremiah ('Jerusalem, Jerusalem convertere . . .') and further emphasizes the theme of repentance. Lowinsky traced later occurrences of this motet in more than half a dozen German sources from the mid-16th c. Beginning with the *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg, 1537) Festa's music appears in a Lutheran milieu with a new text, 'Hierusalem quae occidis prophetas et lapidas eos qui ad te missi sunt' (Matt. 23: 37–9). The work now changes sides: in contrast with its original pro-Medicean text it now scolds Florence (the New Jerusalem) for the execution of prophets, apparently in direct reference to Savonarola. The same text served Piagnone friars in the early 16th c. as the theme for sermons in protest at the friar's execution. For further details, *ibid.* 112–17; and Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 175, 201.

³⁷ For a more detailed account, see Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic*, 62–3; see also Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, 314–86.

Ex. 7.8. Antonius Galli, *Ecce quam bonum*, bb. 1-8

S Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io - cun -
 A Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io - cun -
 T Ec - ce quam bo -
 B Ec - ce quam bo -
 5 dum, et quam io - cun -
 Ec - ce quam bo - num
 dum, et quam io - cun - dum, et quam io -
 Ec - ce
 num, ec - ce quam bo - num et quam io - cun - dum, et quam io -
 num, ec - ce quam bo - num et quam

the old days, and no doubt they performed the 'dolce canto' *Ecce quam bonum* in unison. Verdelot's more elaborate setting of the tune, with the words *Letamini in domino* sounding in the outer voices, would work perfectly in an outdoor setting, especially if the voices were doubled by the civic wind band. One can well imagine this rousing motet making a deep impression on the listeners as the procession from the Duomo halted in the Piazza to join up with the Gonfalonier and the Signoria. It would also have made a

splendid effect in the Duomo itself, during the solemn High Mass, since its repetitive harmonic pattern and fanfare-like melodies would create a majestic and stately sound in the reverberant acoustic under Brunelleschi's vast dome.

While many other settings of the first verse of Ps. 132, and even of the entire psalm, were composed during the sixteenth century, only one other motet explicitly employs the Savonarolan tune. Antonius Galli's six-voice motet, *Ecce quam bonum*, is a complete setting of Ps. 132 that was not published until 1568 in Venice.³⁸ Galli, of either French or Flemish origin, served as choirmaster at St Donatian in Bruges from 1545 to 1550 before moving on to the service of the Habsburg Archduke Maximilian in Austria; he died in 1565.³⁹ His setting is closely modelled on Verdelot's *Letamini in domino*, since it employs an almost identical version of the tune for *Ecce quam bonum*, which sounds in canon at the octave in the quintus and sextus parts (Ex. 7.8). Because of the scant information regarding Galli's training, it is unclear how he might have become familiar with Verdelot's motet, which does not seem to have circulated outside Italy, or indeed even outside the Vallicelliana partbooks. Bruges was, however, the home of Italian merchants and bankers, many of them Republican exiles from Florence, and they might well have introduced the tune to Galli. He might even have learned it from Richafort, who worked in Bruges in the 1540s.

While the Piagnoni in Italy continued to sing Savonarola's tune for *Ecce quam bonum* as a lauda well into the 1560s, as attested by the tune's presence in Serafino Razzi's print of laude from 1563, we see that the text and tune were also cultivated in French and Florentine motets and a mass, all probably dating from the 1520s. In this more elaborate musical guise it too remained in the repertory until the 1560s, as shown by Galli's motet. The tune retained its simple contours in each instance, and so remained clearly audible. Perhaps Savonarola and his followers would not have objected to such new settings, even though draped in moderately elaborate polyphony. A more revolutionary work, notable for its stripping away of extraneous musical ornament, is Josquin des Prez's setting of Ps. 50, *Miserere mei deus*, a motet perhaps inspired by Savonarola's precept of simplicity. The next chapter takes up this work and several related motets, as we return to the friar's native city of Ferrara.

³⁸ *Novi atque Catholici Thesauri Musici, Liber Secundus* (Venice: Gardano, 1568), 215. Galli's motet was first cited in Böker-Heil, *Die Motetten von Verdelot*, 411.

³⁹ M. Steinhardt, 'Galli, Antonius', *NGD* vii. 103.

Savonarola and the Dukes of Ferrara: Musical Reminiscences

Duke Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara (1431–1505) and his grandson Duke Ercole II (1508–59) both commissioned settings of motets with texts related to Savonarola, and the contexts for these motets, as well as their musical style, will be explored here; a fascinating pattern of courtly patronage emerges that involves not only Ferrara but also its ally, France.

Ercole I d'Este and Josquin's Miserere mei deus

Ercole I maintained close correspondence with Savonarola in the 1490s, seeking spiritual and even political guidance from the friar as the French army of Charles VIII marched down the Italian peninsula.¹ Some years later, in 1503, Josquin was hired as *maestro di cappella*, a post that he occupied for only one year, and during his tenure he composed his justly famous setting of Ps. 50, *Miserere mei deus*, at the express request of the duke.² Aspects of Josquin's five-voice setting of *Miserere mei deus* and Savonarola's own equally famous meditation on Ps. 50 suggest striking comparisons between the two works, and raise the possibility that Josquin modelled certain aspects of his motet on Savonarola's work.

As Ercole approached what was to be the final year of his life, he wished to have a setting of Ps. 50 from Josquin's pen. Josquin's oeuvre marks a departure from other composers of his time and earlier, who had limited their choice of motet texts mostly to standard Marian antiphons and other liturgical items or to texts written specially for state occasions. He had earlier written motets on uncommon texts that were apparently intended for patrons

¹ For a recent study, see T. Tuohy, *Herculean Ferrara: Ercole d'Este (1471–1505) and the Invention of the Ducal Capital* (Cambridge, 1996).

² This is according to the poem of Teofilo Folengo, *Opus Merlini Coccaii Poete Mantuani Macaronicorum* (Toscolano, 1521), fo. 196'. For modern editions of Josquin's *Miserere mei deus*, see Josquin des Prez, *Werken*, ed. A. Smijers et al. (Amsterdam, 1921–65), aff. 21, p. 58; and E. E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino* (Monuments of Renaissance Music, 3–5; Chicago, 1968), Music volume, p. 270. See also L. D. Brothers, 'On Music and Meditation in the Renaissance: Contemplative Prayer and Josquin's *Miserere*', *JMR* 12 (1992), 157–87, and P. Macey, 'Josquin and Musical Rhetoric: *Miserere mei deus* and Other Motets', in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. R. Sherr (Oxford, forthcoming).

as they approached the end of their lives, and which can be considered as musical testaments for these patrons. Examples are the prayer *O bone et dulcissime Jesu*, probably for Good King René of Anjou (d. 1480), and *Misericordias domini*, a compilation of psalm verses apparently commissioned by King Louis XI of France (d. 1483). These works feature first-person appeals to the Lord for mercy, especially at the time of death.³ Josquin's *Miserere mei deus* can be viewed in a similar light as a work for the dying Ercole: the resulting motet, a monumental setting of the complete penitential psalm, stands as one of the composer's most mature works. Its notably simple melodic profiles and emphasis on clear projection of the words would perhaps have elicited grudging approval from Savonarola, in spite of the friar's wholesale condemnation of elaborate polyphonic music.

It happens that the only prior polyphonic setting of Ps. 50 had also been composed for Ercole, some twenty years earlier, by his chief composer, Johannes Martini (d. 1497). The setting is preserved in a set of choirbooks for two choirs, copied around 1480 and now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena.⁴ These beautifully illuminated manuscripts contain a collection of psalms for various Offices such as Vespers. Martini's setting occurs as the first psalm of Lauds for Holy Thursday, and the same setting serves for Lauds on Good Friday and Holy Saturday.⁵ His three-voice setting of Ps. 50 served as functional service music, and is typical of the other settings in the choirbooks; the superius carries a paraphrase of the eighth psalm tone, while the two lower voices provide a simple harmonization. The two choirs perform the verses of the psalm in alternation.

The clearly functional nature of Martini's setting can be contrasted with Josquin's much more elaborate composition. Among other factors, Josquin altered the text of the psalm by inserting the opening words 'miserere mei deus' after each of its nineteen verses, thereby creating a refrain. This heightened rhetorical effect of emphasizing the plea for mercy departs from the liturgically prescribed text.

It has been proposed that Ercole commissioned Josquin's *Miserere mei deus* for the Holy Week services of 1504.⁶ Ercole's Passiontide observances were quite elaborate, and they included washing the feet of the poor and a banquet for them, as well as ducal processions and dramatic performances of the Passion.⁷ Further historical circumstances could have played a role in Ercole's

³ Further on these works, see P. Macey, 'Josquin, Good King René, and *O bone et dulcissime Jesu*', in D. Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet* (New York, 1997), 213–42; and id., 'Josquin's *Misericordias Domini* and Louis XI', *EM* 19 (1991), 163–77. For a similar case, see id., 'Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke, and Josquin', *EMH* 15 (1996), 147–212.

⁴ The manuscript sigla are: ModE M.1.11 and M.1.12; see *Census-Catalog of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, comp. University of Illinois Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies, 5 vols. (Neuhausen–Stuttgart, 1979–88), ii, 166.

⁵ ModE M.1.11, fos. 70^v–72^r; ModE M.1.12, fos. 52^v–54^r.

⁶ L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 262.

⁷ Ibid.

commission of a setting of Ps. 50 from Josquin, and here Savonarola is the key figure. Ercole was in sympathy with the friar's teachings of reform, and his interest may have been further aroused because Savonarola was himself a native of Ferrara. As mentioned earlier, the friar rose to political prominence in Florence after the invasion of the French army under King Charles VIII in 1494; Ercole began corresponding with him in the following year, and he closely followed the career of his former subject: from the years 1495 to 1497 almost a dozen letters between the duke and Savonarola have been preserved.⁸ The profoundly religious duke even undertook to emulate Florence by instituting moral reforms in Ferrara, and, driven by concern about how he should respond to the delicate situation caused by the French invasion of Italy, he sought political advice from the prophet as well. Savonarola responded by sending the duke a copy of his *Compendio di rivelazioni* in the summer of 1495.

It has been thought that Ercole abandoned contact with Savonarola after his arrest in 1498, but this was not the case; the duke wrote to the Florentine Signoria seeking the friar's release, but his letter went unanswered.⁹ After the execution, the diarist Bernardino Zambotti noted the distress of the Ferrarese people and of Ercole himself:

The spectacle was very cruel; the good servants of God, with the most wonderful teachings and good example, were shamefully executed without just cause. For in [Savonarola's] many works that one can read, one finds nothing bad, neither against the faith nor heretical, and the Florentine Republic lived in peace and harmony through him. He never wished through his work to have any gain or money, neither for himself nor for his followers. His horrifying and miserable death astonished all good Christians, and especially the Ferrarese and his Excellency our duke, whose letters written in his favour were not accepted by those most cruel Florentines.¹⁰

Perhaps the duke, moved by Savonarola's execution and familiar with his meditation on Ps. 50, asked Josquin to set the same psalm to music in a style that would respect the friar's call for simplicity. Structural similarities between the motet and Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 suggest that Josquin was familiar with the friar's work. The first printed copy of the meditation

⁸ G. Savonarola, *Le lettere di Girolamo Savonarola*, ed. R. Ridolfi (Florence, 1933).

⁹ The letter does not survive, but the Milanese ambassador to Bologna referred to it in a dispatch of 15 Apr. 1498. See L. Chiappini, 'Girolamo Savonarola ed Ercole I d'Este', *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di storia patria*, NS 7/3 (1952), 45-53.

¹⁰ 'Lo quale spectaculo fu molto crudele: che li boni servi de Dio, de grandissima doctrina e boni exempli, si vituperosamente siano morti zenza causa justa, né in sue tante opere che se leze, non se ritrova cosa cativa né contra la fede né hereticha, per la cui opera la Republica fiorentina viveva in pace e unione; né de sua fatica may haveva voluto robba ne dinari né per se né per li soi. De la cui orrenda e misera morte né ha molto rencresciuto a tuti li boni Christiani e maxime à Ferrarixi e a la Excellentia del duca nostro, le cui lettere, scritte a favore suo, non son sta' accepte a' Fiorentini crudelissimi.' B. Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, ed. G. Pardi (*Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 24/7; Bologna, 1933), 281.

Querendā Prīs. F. Hieronymi Savonarolae de Feris.
odis praedicatoris expolitio in ps. L. dū erat i uiculis.



Noscelix ego oium auxilio destitutus: Quin
coeli terraq; ostēdi: Quo ibo: quo me uer-
tā: ad quā confugiā: quis mei miserēbit? Ad
coeli oculos leuare nō audeo: q; ei quierit
peccatū in terra refugiu nō inuenio: sp̄ ei scandalū suū: qd
igē faciat: delphobabit. misericors ē deus. pius ē salua-
tor meus. solus igit deus refugiu meū: ipe non despiciet
op̄ suū: nō repellet imaginē tuā. Ad te igit piissime de-
trifus ac moetes uenio: qm̄ tu solus spes mea: tu solus
refugiu meū. Quid aut dicā tibi: cū oculos eleuā nō
audeam: Verba doloris effunda: Misericordiā tuā mpro-
tabo. Deam.



ISERERE MEI DEVS SECVN-
MAG. MI. TV. Deus q; lucē habitas
inaccessibilē: Deus abicōdit: q; ocu-
lis corporeis uideri nō potes: nec itel-
lectū creato cōprehēdi: nec lingua ho-
minū: seu āgelorū explicari. De-⁹ me-
te incōprehēbilē quero: ite icēstibilē inuoco. Quicqd
es: q; ubiq; es. Scio. n. te summā esse rē: Si tñ es res: & nō
potius omnū rerū causā: tñ & causā: nō inuenio nō-
mē: quomō tuā iestabilē mantelatē nominare quea. Deū
iquā q; es q; quid i te ē. tu es. n. ip̄a sapiētia tua: bonitas
tua: potentia tua: & sūma foelicitas tua. Cū itaq; lis misē-
ricors: qd es nisi ip̄a misericordiarū qd autē sum ego misē-
ip̄a miseria: ecce ergo o misericordiā deus ecce misēria
corā te: qd faciēs o misericordiā: ceite opus tuū. Nū qd

a i

poteris recedere a matua tua: fēt quod opus tuū: misēria
tolle: homines miseros subleuare: Ergo MISERERE
ME. DEVS. De-⁹ iqui misericordiā tolle miseria mea: Tolle
peccata mea: & enī sūt sūma miseria mea. Suble-
ua me misere: ostēde i me op-⁹ tuū: Exerce i me uirtutem
tuā. Abyssus abyssus inuocat: abyssus miseriae inuocat aby-
sus misericordiae: Abyssus peccatoris inuocat abyssus: & gra-
tia: Maior ē abyssus misericordiae q; abyssus miseriae.
Absorbeat ergo abyssus abyssus: Absorbeat abyssus mi-
sericordiae abyssus miseriae. MISERERE. M. D. SE.
M. MI. TVAM. Nō secūdu misericordiā hominū: que
parua ē: S; secūdu tuā: quae magna est: que inimicā ē:
quae incōprehēbilis ē: Quae oia peccata i inimicū ex-
dit: Secūdu illā magna misericordiā tuā: quae sic dilexisti
mūdū: aut filiū tuū unigenitū dāres. Quae maior miseri-
cordiā esse potest: quae maior charitas. Quis de spate pot-
est nō cōsiderē: Deus fact-⁹ ē hō: & p. hominib-⁹ crucifi-
xus ē. Miserere ergo deus secūdu hac misericordiā tuā: &
Qua filiū tuū p. nobis tradidisti: quā p. ipm̄ peccata mū-
di abstulisti: quā p. crucē et-⁹ om̄s hominē illumasti: quā
ca q; i coelis: & quae i terris p. ipm̄ instaurasti: Laua me
dicē in sanguie eius: Illumina me i humilitate ei-⁹. instau-
ra me i reuerentiā eius: MISERERE. M. DEVS. Nō
secūdu parua misericordiā tuā: Parua. n. misericordiā tuā
est: cū hoies a corpora lib-⁹ miseriis subleuās. Magna autē
qñ peccata dimittis: & hoies p. gratiā tuā sup. alacritudīnē
terrae subditolis: Ita dñe miserere me: secūdu hac magna
mi. tuā: ut ad te cōuertas: ut peccata mea deleas: ut p.
gratiā tuā me iustificēs.

E. T. SECVNDVM. M. MVL. M. TV. D. I. N. I. MEAM.

appeared in Ferrara soon after the execution in May of 1498, and here the opening words of the psalm, 'miserere mei deus', return several times, emphasized by boldface capitals (Pl. 8.1). This produces the effect of a refrain as the friar repeats the phrase several times in the initial pages of the meditation. In a similar manner, Josquin creates a refrain, often scored for the full complement of five voices, on the same words after every verse in his setting of Ps. 50. The simple intonation for the phrase (Ex. 8.1) functions as an ostinato subject (*soggetto ostinato*) in the first tenor (Ex. 8.1, b. 19, and Ex. 8.2(a)), and this voice is anticipated by entries of the same subject in the other voices in bars 1, 3, 7, and 9. The *soggetto ostinato* traces a descending

Ex. 8.1. Josquin des Prez, *Miserere mei deus*, bb. 1-26

5

S Mi - se -

A

T1

T2 Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us,

B Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us.

10 15

re - re me - i de - us, se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi -

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us, se - cun - dum

Ex. 8.1. (*Cont'd*)

20

se - ri - cor - di - am tu -
 ma - gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu -
 Mi - se - re - re
 mi - se - re - re
 mi - se - re - re

25

am. et
 am. et se - cun - dum
 me - i de - us,
 me - i de us,
 me - i de - us.

pattern on progressively lower degrees of the octave scale from e' to e , then returns up the scale in faster rhythms in the second part of the motet, and finally descends a fifth from e' to a in the third part (Ex. 8.3). Each time the first tenor sings this phrase, the other voices join in to harmonize the subject and reinforce it, producing an effect analogous to boldface type in a printed text. Here follows the text of the first part of Josquin's motet; square brackets indicate his addition of the refrain to the biblical words.

Ex. 8.2. *Soggetti on Miserere mei deus*: Josquin and related motets: (a) Josquin, *Miserere mei deus*; (b) Willaert, *Infelix ego*; (c) Rore, *Infelix ego*; (d) Vicentino, *Infelix ego*; (e) Palestrina, *Tribularer si nescirem*

(a)

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

(b)

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

(c)

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

(d)

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

(e)

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

Ex. 8.3. Josquin, *Miserere mei deus*, entry pitches of the *soggetto ostinato*, with intervening rests

Prima pars

18 15 12 10 11 14 18 21

Secunda pars

14 12 12 10 16 4 7 18

Tertia pars

13 23 28 15 22

Prima pars

1. Miserere mei deus,
secundum magnam misericordiam tuam,

[MISERERE MEI DEUS.]

et secundum multitudinem
miserationum tuarum
dele iniquitatem meam.

[MISERERE MEI DEUS.]

2. Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea,
et a peccato meo munda me.

[MISERERE MEI DEUS.]

3. Quoniam iniquitatem meam
ego cognosco, et peccatum
meum contra me est semper.

[MISERERE MEI DEUS.]

4. Tibi soli peccavi
et malum coram te feci,
ut justificeris in sermonibus
tuis et vincas
cum judicaris.

[MISERERE MEI DEUS.]

5. Ecce enim in iniquitatibus
conceptus sum, et in peccatis
concepit me mater mea.

[MISERERE MEI DEUS.]

6. Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti,
incerta et occulta
sapientiae tuae
manifestasti mihi.

[MISERERE MEI DEUS.]

7. Asperges me, domine, hysopo
et mundabor,
lavabis me et super nivem
dealbabor.

[MISERERE MEI DEUS.]

Have mercy on me, O God,
according to your great mercy.

[HAVE MERCY ON ME, O GOD.]

And according to the multitude
of your tender mercies
blot out my iniquity.

[HAVE MERCY ON ME, O GOD.]

Wash me yet more from my iniquity,
and cleanse me from my sin.

[HAVE MERCY ON ME, O GOD.]

For I know my iniquity,
and my sin
is always before me.

[HAVE MERCY ON ME, O GOD.]

Against you only have I sinned,
and have done evil before you
that you may be justified
in your words and may overcome
when you are judged.

[HAVE MERCY ON ME, O GOD.]

For behold I was conceived in
iniquities, and in sins
did my mother conceive me.

[HAVE MERCY ON ME, O GOD.]

For behold you have loved truth,
the uncertain and hidden
things of your wisdom you
have made manifest to me.

[HAVE MERCY ON ME, O GOD.]

You shall sprinkle me, Lord, with
hyssop, and I shall be cleansed,
you shall wash me, and I shall be
made whiter than snow.

[HAVE MERCY ON ME, O GOD.]

Duke Ercole was a trained musician who reportedly joined with his choir in singing polyphony in his chapel;¹¹ he may even have stood amidst his singers and intoned the *soggetto ostinato* for 'miserere mei deus'. This device, which emphasizes the voice of the individual penitent within the larger ensemble, was adopted by later composers such as Willaert and Rore in Ferrara, as will be seen below.

Further aspects of Josquin's motet suggest his familiarity with Savonarola's precepts of simplicity and the importance of words over music. First, Josquin

¹¹ On Ercole as a singer, see Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 125, 199.

relies extensively on duets and chordal passages to render the text crystal clear to the listener. Also, the extremely subdued melodic outlines support every nuance of accentuation in the text, and the opening melody is particularly striking in this regard. Josquin strips the melody of all ornament and limits himself to only two notes; the recitation-like pattern for 'miserere mei' is inflected upward by the smallest possible interval, the semitone, on 'deus'. This opening counts as the most austere among all Josquin's motets. It creates an unforgettable impression of the humbled sinner, face lowered to the dust, hardly daring to raise his eyes to God in the supplication for mercy.

Ercole II d'Este and Infelix ego by Willaert and Rore

Later compositions bear witness to a perceived connection between Josquin's *Miserere* and Savonarola's meditation. The reception of Savonarola's memory in Italy and France in the sixteenth century provides a context for musical settings of his meditations by composers at the court of Ferrara in the 1530s and 1540s, as well as for other settings for cardinals from Ferrara and France in the 1550s. Three composers directly associated with Ferrara created musical settings for the opening paragraph of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, *Infelix ego*; the first two are natives of Flanders, Adrian Willaert (c.1490–1562) and Cipriano de Rore (c.1515–65), while the third is an Italian, Nicola Vicentino (1511–c.1576).

A brief review of Ferrara's political position in the early decades of the sixteenth century will set the stage for a discussion of musical settings of Savonarola's texts there.¹² Ferrara controlled the Po River delta and occupied a strategic wedge between competing powers in Italy; the Este had to contend with the Venetian state to the north, the Papal States to the south, Tuscany to the south-west, and Milan to the west, where France and the Empire struggled for control of the Sforza duchy. The Este held Ferrara as a papal fief, but they had also maintained a strong alliance with France since at least the time of Leonello d'Este in the 1430s.¹³ In the early sixteenth century, the status of the Este among the Papal States was elevated by the marriage in 1502 of Ercole's son Alfonso to Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of Pope Alexander VI. After the death of Ercole I in 1505, Alfonso attempted to carry on the brilliant courtly traditions established by his father—in the realm of music, for example, his chapel included the eminent French composers Antoine Brumel as *maestro di cappella* and Jean Lhéritier, a student of Josquin—but the exigencies of politics and war imposed stringent constraints on his finances and temporarily hindered his ability to act as a patron of music, and he was forced to release many of his singers.¹⁴

¹² For a summary of Ferrara's political situation, see Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel', 192–6.

¹³ *Ibid.* 194. ¹⁴ *Ibid.* 210.

In 1508 Ferrara sided with France and Pope Julius II in the League of Cambrai against Venice.¹⁵ After the French victory over Venice at Agnadello in 1509, the pope prudently judged it best to cease hostilities against Venice: the fall of the Serenissima to the French, who already controlled Milan, would have represented for the papacy an intolerable expansion of foreign power in Italy. Alfonso was caught in the shifting sands of Italian diplomacy as Julius ordered him to cease hostilities as well; when he refused, the furious 'papa terribile' responded by excommunicating him and removing Reggio and Modena from Este rule. The duke continued to support the French in the war against Venice, and it was not until the battle of Ravenna in April of 1512 that French victory led finally to the cessation of hostilities. Victory meant little to the decimated French forces, however, for upon their return to France, Milan promptly fell back into the hands of the Empire and the Sforza line was restored. The tide turned again in 1515 as King François I led his army across the Alps to recapture Milan at the battle of Marignano. Alfonso thereby gained leverage against the new pope, Leo X, in his attempt to regain the lost territories of Reggio and Modena, yet despite the aid of French diplomacy at the meeting of François and Leo at Bologna, the duke's bid was unsuccessful.

The 1520s and 1530s were momentous times for Ferrara: Alfonso found himself in favourable circumstances after the defeat and capture of François by Imperial forces in 1525 at Pavia, thus temporarily ending France's attempts to control Milan.¹⁶ The duke allied himself with Charles V, yet this placed him in the unenviable position of supporting the Imperial army that was marching on Rome to take revenge on Pope Clement VII for his support of France. As the pope's vassal, the duke found himself in an impossible predicament. Only after the infamous sack of Rome by the Imperial army in 1527 did Alfonso manage to extract himself from the alliance with Charles V. Thus deprived of allies, he found it expedient to arrange a French wedding for his son Ercole with Renée of France, daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. Any hopes for advantage from this union were dashed, however, when François abandoned Ferrara to its fate in 1529, as he pledged in the Peace of Cambrai to renounce all activity in Italy as a condition of the release of his hostage sons from captivity in Madrid. With the fall of Florence to Imperial forces in the following August, Alfonso again turned his allegiance to Charles V, and in so doing regained Modena and Reggio as Imperial fiefs. The political about-faces required of the Ferrarese duke during these years must have been dizzying, to say the least.

The Este court under Alfonso's son, Duke Ercole II (Pl. 8.2), experienced

¹⁵ See *The New Cambridge Modern History*, i: *The Renaissance 1493-1520*, ed. G. R. Potter (Cambridge, 1957), 360-1.

¹⁶ L. Chiappini, *Gli Estensi* (Milan, 1967), 239-44.

continued political difficulties, as well as strained relations between the duke and his French duchess. The duke's disagreement with his wife arose on two counts, political and religious, as the duchess attempted to promote French interests in Italy while also sheltering Protestants who had fled from the French court. Ferrara was in fact tolerant of religious reform in the 1530s, and the city provided a safe haven for the Italians Bernardino Ochino, Francesco Porto, and Ortensio Lando.¹⁷ French fugitives also sought protection at Renée's court, and in 1535 she received Clément Marot and Lyon Jamet, accused heretics who had fled France in the aftermath of the Affair of the Placards, in which the Catholic Mass was mocked and condemned as a device of the devil. Jean Calvin himself paid Renée a clandestine visit some time in 1535 or 1536.¹⁸ The activity of both Italian and French reformers at Ferrara in the 1530s provides a context for Willaert's setting of Savonarola's *Infelix ego*.

Willaert was established in Ferrara in 1515, but the circumstances of his move to Italy are not known. King François met in December with Pope Leo X in Bologna, and the presence of the singers of his royal chapel opened a fresh supply of Franco-Flemish music and singers to Ferrara and other Italian centres. But already in July 1515 Willaert appeared in Ferrarese pay-lists; he was not, however, listed in Duke Alfonso's chapel, but rather that of his competitive and militarily skilled brother, Cardinal Ippolito I (1479–1520).¹⁹ Willaert, a Fleming who had initially pursued law at the University of Paris and then studied music under Jean Mouton, served Cardinal Ippolito until the latter's death in 1520, when he transferred to the service of Duke Alfonso, where he remained until 1525.²⁰ Then, from 1525 to 1527 he was listed in the service of Alfonso's teen-aged son, Ippolito II (1509–72), who in spite of his youth had succeeded his uncle Ippolito I as Archbishop of Milan.

¹⁷ P. R. Horne, 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation at Ferrara: Antonio Musa Brasavola and Giambattista Cinthio Giraldi', *Italian Studies*, 13 (1958), 62–82 at 66 n. 19; see also P. Simoncelli, 'Savonarolismo e Evangelismo', in *Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento* (Rome, 1979), 1–42.

¹⁸ C. J. Blaisdell, 'Politics and Heresy in Ferrara, 1534–1559', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 6 (1975), 73–9. For a summary of the known facts regarding Calvin's visit to Ferrara, see G. Nugent, 'Anti-Protestant Music for Sixteenth-Century Ferrara', *JAMS* 43 (1990), 228–91 at 242–8.

¹⁹ L. Lockwood, 'Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy, 1515–21', *EMH* 5 (1985), 85–112.

²⁰ Willaert was thus in Ferrara during the planning and installation from 1519 to 1525 of Titian's famous canvases for the Duke's studiolo, known as the 'camerino d'alabastro'. In addition to Titian's famous *Bachus and Ariadne* (now in the National Gallery, London), there were his *Worship of Venus* and *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (now in the Prado, Madrid). It has been suggested that the sheet of music containing an enigmatic canon depicted in the *Andrians* was devised by Willaert himself. On the camerino, see C. Hope, 'The "Camerini d'Alabastro" of Alfonso d'Este', *Burlington Magazine*, 113 (1971), 641–9, 712–21; D. Goodgal, 'The Camerino of Alfonso I d'Este', *Art History*, 1 (1978), 162–90; and J. Shearman, 'Alfonso d'Este's Camerino', in *Il se rendit en Italie.* *Études offertes à André Chastel* (Rome and Paris, 1987), 209–29. See also E. E. Lowinsky, 'Music in Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*: Origin and History of the *Canon per tonos*', in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. B. J. Blackburn (Chicago, 1989), 289–350.



Pl. 8.2. Girolamo da Carpi, *Duke Ercole II d'Este*. Galleria Estense, Modena

The prominent role of Ippolito II in the patronage of musical settings of Savonarola's texts will be examined in Chapter 10.

Willaert moved to Venice in 1527, where he was appointed *maestro di cappella* at the basilica of San Marco; he remained there until his death thirty-five years later. During his tenure he gained a reputation as a prominent teacher by gathering around him many pupils, including Nicola Vicentino, Andrea Gabrieli, and the theorist Gioseffo Zarlino, whose treatises take Willaert's music as the highest example of modern musical art, praised no less for its skilful combinations of contrapuntal lines than for its careful declamation of the individual words of its texts.²¹

Given the proximity of Venice to Ferrara, it is understandable that Willaert continued to maintain relations with the Este court. Testimony is provided by an ode of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, a secretary to Duke Ercole II. The ode is copied in Part II of a manuscript dedicated to the duke, and the poem itself is in honour of Ercole II. It was written by Giraldi at Willaert's request, as the title 'pro Adriano musico' suggests.

Pro Adriano musico

Principum salve decus, et Thaliae,
dux, mihi ut numen merito colende,
quod tibi carmen dicat Adrianus
accipe laetus.

Sic tegat pectus clypeo Minerva,
et tibi aspires Venus, et Iuventa,
ut tuos felix populos gubernes
tempore longo.

For Adrian, musician

Hail, glory of princes, and of Thalia,
Duke, worthy to be revered as a divinity by me,
kindly accept the song that Adrian
dedicates to you.

So may Minerva protect your breast with her shield,
and may Venus and Youth inspire you,
so that you may govern your people in happiness
for a long time.²²

The ode probably accompanied a motet or madrigal by Willaert upon its presentation to Ercole II in the 1530s or 1540s, and provides evidence of continued Este patronage of the composer, even though by this time he was employed in Venice. It is important to document Willaert's continued contact with Ferrara, because his setting of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50,

²¹ L. Lockwood, 'Willaert, Adrian', *NGD* xx. 425.

²² L. G. Giraldi, *Poëmata*, BAF MSS Inediti, Classe I, No. 371; Part II, fo. 41^v. Iuventa, or Youth, is the goddess Hebe.

Infelix ego, a monumental and imposing work for six voices, was most likely composed in the 1530s for Duke Ercole II.

Of Willaert's 173 motets, seventy-eight—almost half—are scored for four voices, leaving fifty-one for five voices, and only thirty-seven for six voices.²³ Most of the six-voice motets were published during his lifetime in two Venetian prints devoted to his works: sixteen appeared in 1542, and another twelve in *Musica nova* of 1559. Five of the remaining motets for six voices did not appear in printed sources in Italy, but they do survive in two Ferrarese court manuscripts copied probably in the 1550s, during the last years of the reign of Ercole II. The manuscripts are now in Modena and Wolfenbüttel: ModE C.314 and W293.²⁴ Willaert's *Infelix ego* is preserved in both, and its presence in these sources, as well as its absence from printed editions in Italy, suggests that it was reserved for exclusive performance at the Estense court.²⁵

Willaert composed six 'state' motets in honour of contemporary statesmen, and, typically for the genre, four of these employ a *soggetto* or cantus firmus on a text different from that of the other voices. All but one of them were apparently composed in the years 1525 to 1532. For example, the five-voice motet *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*, in honour of Duke Francesco II Sforza of Milan, has a *soggetto ostinato* in one voice on the acclamation 'Vivat dux Franciscus Sfortia felix'. Two further works were also dedicated to Francesco, the last duke of Milan, who died in 1535.²⁶ The persons addressed in the other motets include Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici (d. 1535),²⁷ King Ferdinand I of Bohemia (d. 1564),²⁸ and Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (d. 1586).²⁹

²³ Lockwood, 'Willaert', *NGD*, 425.

²⁴ See *Census-Catalog*, ii. 162–3 and iv. 141–2.

²⁵ Other sources for Willaert's *Infelix ego* are the manuscripts Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 30 (destroyed); Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS A.R. 893; and Edinburgh, University Library, MS 64. The motet was never printed in Italy, but it was published in Germany in *Sextus tomus evangeliorum, et piarum sententiarum* (Nuremberg, 1556). It has not yet appeared in A. Willaert, *Opera omnia*, ed. H. Zenck and W. Gerstenberg (AIM, 1950–). The other six-voice motets that appear in the Ferrarese manuscripts are: *Creator omnium, O proles Hispaniae, Regina caeli, and Sancte Francisce*. Three of the four remaining six-voice motets not published in 1542 or 1559, *Beatus Bernardus, Enixa est puerpera*, and *O socii durate*, appeared separately in different prints (1544²², 1540⁷, and 1566¹⁷), and the last, *Nil postquam sacrum*, mentioned by Zarlino, is lost.

²⁶ For editions of *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*, *Victor io salve* (for five voices; *soggetto*: 'Salve sfortiarum maxime dux et imperator'), and *Venator lepores* (for six voices; chant cantus firmus in canon: 'Argentum et aurum', etc.), see Willaert, *Opera omnia*, iii. 78, 90, and iv. 81. See A. Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480–1555* (Utrecht, 1970), 273–6, 283–8. The first two motets employ a version of the *soggetto ostinato* technique called *soggetto cavato*, in which the vowels of the text in the *soggetto* are matched with the same vowels in the hexachord syllables (ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la), thus producing the pitches of the *soggetto*.

²⁷ *Adriacus numero* (five voices; no *soggetto*); Willaert, *Opera omnia*, iii. 35; Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 284–6.

²⁸ *Haud aliter pugnans* (five voices; no *soggetto*); Willaert, *Opera omnia*, iii. 87; Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 283–4.

²⁹ *O socii durate* (six voices; *soggetto cavato*: 'Durate'); Willaert, *Opera omnia*, xiv. 142. This work was apparently composed some time after 1538, which marks Granvelle's appointment as bishop of Arras. Further on Granvelle and Rore's setting of the same text, see Rore, *Opera omnia*, v, pp. xiv–xv.

Ex. 8.4. Adrian Willaert, *Infelix ego*: (a) *soggetto ostinato*; (b) entry pitches (CD track 23)

(a)

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

(b) Prima pars

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

Secunda pars

5 5 5 5 5

5 2.5 2.5 2.5

Willaert's *Infelix ego* stands out for its employment of a *soggetto ostinato*. While it is not a state motet dedicated to a worldly patron, it constitutes a special case because it sets a text by Savonarola that had special resonance at the Este court.³⁰ Five of the voices sing the opening words of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, while the altus intones the words 'miserere mei deus' at regular intervals of time as a *soggetto ostinato*, in a manner that resembles Josquin's motet *Miserere mei deus*. The *soggetto* enters on descending degrees of the scale in the *prima pars*, then on alternately descending and ascending degrees in the *secunda pars*, with six entries in rhythms twice as fast as in the *prima pars*, and then four entries that are twice again as fast (Ex. 8.4).

Evidence survives that Savonarola's memory was kept alive in Ferrara in the 1530s. The same manuscript that contains Giralaldi's ode for Willaert also preserves an encomium of Savonarola in heaven.³¹ Six of the seven stanzas are the work of Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, and apparently Giralaldi later inserted a new stanza of his own (stanza 6).³² The poem is copied in Part III

³⁰ For a not altogether convincing attempt to demonstrate Savonarolan textual and melodic references in other motets and madrigals from Willaert's *Musica nova*, see M. Fromson, 'Themes of Exile in Willaert's *Musica nova*', *JAMS* 47 (1994), 442–87.

³¹ BAF MSS Inediti, Classe I, no. 371, Part III, fo. 10^v. My thanks to Garth Tissol for the translation. See I. Farneti, 'Giovanni Manardo e gli ambienti savonaroliani a Mirandola e Pichiano a Ferrara', *Ferrara viva*, 5 (1965), 233–330 at 301–2; for a facsimile of the page from the manuscript, see *ibid.* 320.

³² Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1469–1533) appended his encomium of Savonarola to the end of his biography of the friar, which circulated widely in manuscript form in the 16th c. Only in the 17th c. was it published, as *Vita R. P. Fratris Hieronymi Savonarolae Ferrariensis ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. J. Quéatif (Paris, 1674). Pico's six-stanza 'hymnum' is printed in G. C. Garfagnini, 'La Vita Savonarolae di Gianfrancesco Pico', *Rinascimento*, 2nd ser. 36 (1996), 49–72 at 71–2.

of the manuscript, a section explicitly dedicated to Ercole II, and it praises Savonarola in strong terms, addressing him as a martyr and prophet in the second stanza, and as doctor in the third. The friar's miracles are referred to in the fifth stanza, and stanza six places him among the heavenly choirs. Giraldi's dedication to Ercole of this section of the manuscript provides strong evidence of interest in—and even veneration of—Savonarola at the Este court during the 1530s and 1540s.⁸ The opening of the poem gives an idea of the classical Latin diction typical of humanistically inspired literary works (the complete text is given in App. H).

In fratrem Hieronymum Savonarolam

Quo te sancte Pater nomine nuncupem?
 vel quae serta feram florida vertici?
 tu victor toties pulvere olympico,
 atque insignis adorea.

To Fra Girolamo Savonarola

By what name should I call you, holy father?
 Or what flowery garlands should I bring for your head?
 You, so often the victor in the dust of the stadium
 And distinguished with glory.

Willaert's *Infelix ego* appears to be a mature work from the 1530s, a period that saw the copying of the encomium of Savonarola by Gianfrancesco Pico and Giraldi. Unlike Willaert's earlier motets, which often feature extended melodic flourishes, in *Infelix ego* the words are set in a restrained, syllabic style, with just one note per syllable. (For the text and translation, see p. 154.) Indeed the melodic lines often feature repeated pitches, highlighting the sound of the words in a chant-like recitation; melodic beauty for its own sake is sacrificed to the clear presentation of the words. The sombre effect perfectly reflects the penitential mood of Savonarola's meditation, and respects to a certain extent the friar's precepts about the avoidance of complexity. The dense six-voice texture does often obscure the words, however, while the soaring line of the superius, which often hovers on high *f''*, can distract the ear from the text by the sheer sensuous beauty of the sound.

The accentuation of the text itself is excellent; for instance, the opening subject aptly places the emphasis on the first syllable of 'ego' with an ascending leap (Ex. 8.5). In the subsequent passage, 'qui coelum terramque offendi' (who have offended heaven and earth), Willaert indicates heaven by supplying the peak pitch *f''* in the superius (b. 16), and follows this with a precipitous leap down the octave for the word earth. In a context where most of the melodic lines move smoothly in repeated notes or in stepwise fashion, such wide leaps stand out all the more and make a strong impression on the listener.

The most striking role in Willaert's motet is taken by the altus voice, which sings only the words 'miserere mei deus' (entry at b. 7). In its first entry, this voice floats above the rest of the singers, as if sounding from another realm; the personification of the penitent sinner creates a sense of expressive urgency. At its second entry in bar 19, the altus still sounds above the other parts, but now it is a step lower; it continues to sink inexorably

Ex. 8.5. Willaert, *Infelix ego*, bb. 1-20 (CD track 23 at :12)

5

S In - fe - lix e - go

A

6 In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um

T In - fe - lix

5 In - fe - lix e - go

B In - fe -

10

o - mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu - tus,

Mi - se - re - re me - i

au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu - tus, qui

e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu -

o - mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu -

lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li -

Ex. 8.5. (Cont'd)

15

qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di,
de - us,
coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di, qui coe - lum ter - ram -
tus, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di, qui
tus, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -
o de - sti - tu - tus, qui coe - lum ter -

20

qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di, quo i - bo?
mi - se - re -
que of - fen - di, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -
coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di,
- di, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di,
ram - que of - fen - di, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que

down the scale with each new entry, until finally it is submerged deep within the music, only to resurface at the very end of the work. Here an especially intense effect occurs because now the rhythms have accelerated so that the *soggetto* 'miserere mei deus' is sung at the same rhythmic speed as the other five voices, who join in with the verse from Ps. 50 to create a dramatic cry for mercy (Ex. 8.6).

Another impressive moment occurs at the crucial passage that marks the turning-point in the friar's text: 'Desperabo? Absit' (Shall I despair? Far from it). Here Willaert shifts from bright C-major sonorities with E \natural to sudden C minor with the addition of E \flat , as the sextus (third voice down from the top) first poses the question that casts a dark shadow over the music (Ex. 8.7, sextus at bb. 59–61). The other voices echo the question, but then

Ex. 8.6. Willaert, *Infelix ego*, conclusion, bb. 168–77 (CD track 23 at 8:03)

170

mi - se - re - re me - i de - us,
mi - se -
mi - se - re - re me - i de - us, mi - se -
de - us, mi - se - re - re me - i, mi - se -
se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am, mi - se - re - re
am, mi - se -

se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi -
re - re me - i de - us, mi - se - re - re
re - re me - i de - us, se - cun - dum ma -
re - re me - i de - us, se - cun - dum ma -
me - i de - us, se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi -
re - re me - i de - us, se - cun - dum ma -

Ex. 8.6. (Cont'd)

175

se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.
 me - i de - us.
 gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.
 gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.
 se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.
 gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

quickly utter an emphatic 'absit' to put the possibility of despair to flight. The bright E \natural sonority returns in the subsequent passage on 'misericors est deus' (bb. 64–70) as the text affirms the Lord's mercy, and then shifts poignantly to E \flat again in bar 71 at 'pius est salvator meus' (CD track 23 at 3:32).

Willaert's compositions, with their dense and continuous polyphonic textures, can at times produce a rather dry and reserved impression, but his *Infelix ego* stands out for its affective setting of the text. Abundant melodic and harmonic details breathe life into the words, making this one of his most moving and rhetorically forceful motets.³³ And this work in particular would aptly address the difficult situation of Ercole II in the 1530s. Religious and political tensions were a constant feature of life at the Este court, exacerbated by the group of French religious refugees who had arrived in 1535. A crisis erupted in the following year over the refusal of the French singer Jehannet de Bouchefort to venerate the crucifix at services on Good Friday. Ercole seized the opportunity of this scandal to banish Bouchefort and Marot, as well as other members of Renée's entourage, and the reform-minded duchess withdrew from court in protest.³⁴ In addition to these strains on his marriage and court life, Ercole had to contend with conflicting political demands from France, the Empire, and the papacy, and these were sufficient to drive him to the brink of despair. Indeed, on 3 July 1537 he wrote to his cousin,

³³ Further on Willaert's musical style, see M. Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley, 1995).

³⁴ The events are narrated in Nugent, 'Anti-Protestant Music', 248–9.

Ex. 8.7. Willaert, *Infelix ego*, bb. 57–64 (CD track 23 at 2:52)

60

Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am? De - spe - re me - i de - us, tur fa - ci - am? De - spe - ra - Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am? fu - i. Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - i. Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am? ra - bo? Ab - sit. Mi - bo? Ab - sit. Mi - se - De - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit. am? De - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit. Mi - De - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit.

Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, complaining that he had been ‘abandonato dal papa, dallo imperatore et dal Re di francia’,³⁵

Settings of *Infelix ego* by two other composers who were affiliated with Willaert can be linked with his setting on the basis of structural and musical similarities. Cipriano de Rore and Nicola Vicentino also scored their motets

³⁵ Nugent, ‘Anti-Protestant Music’, 249.

Ex. 8.8. Cipriano de Rore, *Infelix ego*: (a) *soggetto ostinato*; (b) entry pitches

(a)

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - - us

(b) Prima pars

Secunda pars

for six voices, and all three composers divided the text at the same place, beginning the *secunda pars* at 'Ad te igitur'. Most importantly, all three feature a sixth voice as a *soggetto ostinato* on the opening words of Ps. 50, 'miserere mei deus' (Ex. 8.2(b), (c), and (d)), and this harks back to Josquin's use of a similar *soggetto ostinato* for his own setting of Ps. 50 for Ercole I. While Willaert states the *soggetto* on successively descending and ascending degrees of the scale, as in Josquin's motet, Rore limits himself to alternating statements on E and B (Ex. 8.8), and Vicentino combines the two procedures, alternating between statements on A and E in the *prima pars*, and then ascending the scale in the *secunda pars* (see below, Ex. 10.1).³⁶

No clear documentation has yet been uncovered that would illuminate Cipriano de Rore's early years and training, but recent research reveals that he was born in 1515 or 1516 in Flanders to a prosperous family. Rore's name in fact derives from *rodere*, the Flemish term for harvest, and his family coat of arms consisted appropriately of a pair of crossed scythes.³⁷ Possibly Rore

³⁶ Several other motets use Josquin's *soggetto ostinato* from *Miserere mei deus*, or they use a similar subject for this text, but they appear not to have Savonarolan significance because they do not employ Ps. 50 or any of Savonarola's meditations as the main text. The motets are: Jean Richafort, *Miserere mei* (5vv; in the Vallicelliana manuscript); Jachet Berchem, *Peccantem me quotidie* (6vv; published with Willaert's six-voice motets in 1542); Jacob Vaet, *Mater digna dei* (5vv; 1562); Gioseffo Zarlino, *Miserere omnium* (6vv; 1566). Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina also employed Josquin's *soggetto* in his *Tribularer si nescirem*, and in Ch. 10 this will be discussed in relation to the Ferrarese tradition of motets based on the *soggetto* of *Miserere*. Other composers worked Josquin's *soggetto* into imitative points, including Jacquet of Mantua, *Salvum me fac* and *Dum vastos Adriae*; Clemens non Papa, *Peccantem me quotidie*; Lassus, *Peccantem me quotidie* and *Domine Jesu Christe*; and Vaet, *Miserere mei deus*. For further discussion of these works, see P. Macey, 'Josquin's *Miserere mei Deus*: Context, Structure and Influence', Ph.D. diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 157–80.

³⁷ See the articles by A. Cambier cited in J. A. Owens, 'The Milan Partbooks: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore's Compositional Process', *JAMS* 37 (1984), 270–98 at 279.

studied and worked with Willaert in Venice in the 1530s, but only in 1541 do we find his earliest documented visit to Venice, at which time he appears to have been living in Brescia, where he remained until 1545.³⁸ By April of 1546 he had arrived in Ferrara,³⁹ where he served as *maestro di cappella* until the death of Ercole II in October 1559. His offer of service to the new duke, Alfonso II, was turned down, and subsequently he moved to the court of Margaret of Parma in Brussels. From 1561 to 1563 he worked in Parma for Margaret's husband, Duke Ottavio Farnese. He was elected Willaert's successor as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco in Venice in 1563, but the position did not work out, probably owing to his ill health; he returned to Parma in September 1564, where he died a year later at the approximate age of 49.⁴⁰

Of Rore's seventy-nine authenticated motets (not counting the functional four-voice settings of psalms for Vespers), no fewer than fifty-eight are scored for five voices, marking a shift from the dominance of four-voice textures in the earlier generation of Willaert. Only ten of Rore's motets feature four-voice texture, while five works are scored for six voices and three for seven voices.⁴¹ Rore composed many occasional motets, madrigals, and even a chanson for the Este, including works for Ercole II and his brother Cardinal Ippolito II, as well as Ercole's children, Anna d'Este and prince Alfonso.⁴²

Rore's setting of *Infelix ego* most likely belongs among the private court motets composed for the Este, and like Willaert's, his setting of Savonarola's meditation was probably created for Duke Ercole II.⁴³ Direct modelling on Willaert's motet is apparent in the shape and layout of the *soggetto ostinato*. Rore reproduces Willaert's melodic shape with the descending step on 'mei' (Ex. 8.8), and he preserves the strict segmentation consisting of six bars rest and six bars of the *soggetto* in the *prima pars*; the *secunda pars* alternates rests of five bars and two and a half bars between entries of the *soggetto*, which also alternate between the same durations. Rore, however, introduces significant

³⁸ R. Agee, 'Ruberto Strozzi and the Early Madrigal', *JAMS* 36 (1983), 1–17 at 12–16.

³⁹ Owens, 'The Milan Partbooks', 278–9 n. 13.

⁴⁰ A. H. Johnson, 'Rore, Cipriano de', *NGD* xvi, 185–6.

⁴¹ The remainder of the motets include one three-voice and one eight-voice work, and one for five to seven voices.

⁴² For Ercole II he composed *Labore primus Hercules*, for Ippolito II *O qui populos suscipis* (with a *soggetto ostinato*, 'Gloria regis regum Hippolyte'), for Anna *Hesperiae cum laeta*, and for her departure to France to marry François d'Aumale, Duke of Guise, the chanson *En voz adieux*. For prince Alfonso he wrote *Calami sonum ferentes*, *Volgi il tuo corso*, and *Quando signor lasciaste*. See comments in C. de Rore, *Opera omnia*, ed. B. Meier (AIM, 1959–75), iv, pp. ii–iii; vi, p. xii; and B. Meier, 'Staatskompositionen von Cyprian de Rore', *TVNM* 21 (1969), 90–6; E. E. Lowinsky, 'Cipriano de Rore's Venus Motet: Its Poetic and Pictorial Sources', in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, 575–94; id., 'Calami sonum ferentes: A New Interpretation', *ibid.* 595–626; id., 'Two Motets and Two Madrigals for the Este Family', *ibid.* 627–35.

⁴³ For a modern edition of *Infelix ego*, see Rore, *Opera omnia*, vi, 184–95. The motet has been recorded by The Tallis Scholars on: Cipriano de Rore, *Missa Praeter renam seriem (and Motets)*, Gimell CDGIM 029 (1994).

departures from Willaert's layout. First, he designs a simpler pattern of entrance pitches for the *soggetto* so that it oscillates strictly between the pitches E and B; the entries on B are always at the top of the vocal texture so that they are clearly audible at regular intervals. Willaert forfeits this audibility, since his *soggetto* descends into the inner strands of the texture. Rore also alters the pattern of the rests and diminution of the *soggetto*, so that instead of progressing steadily from six to five to two and a half rests as in Willaert, he shifts back and forth between five and two and a half rests in conjunction with slower and faster statements of the *soggetto* in the *secunda pars*. In this way the high entries on B maintain their weight by virtue of their slower rhythms, until, towards the end, these high entries also speed up and the intervals of rest become shorter; finally no rests at all remain between the last two entries of the *soggetto*. Rore thus creates a more irregular structure than Willaert's, one that helps drive the motet to a dramatic conclusion.

Rore's setting survives in just one source, a posthumous print of his motets issued in 1595, thirty years after the composer's death, thus testifying to the high esteem in which his works were still held.⁴⁴ Especially in the genre of the madrigal, Rore was singled out in the preface to Claudio Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali* (1607) as the founder of the modern style of composing, the *seconda prattica*, in which dissonance and texture were employed freely to express the words. Rore himself recognized the distinctiveness of his style, as reported by the Florentine Giovanni de' Bardi, who noted that:

straining every fiber of his genius, he devoted himself to making the verse and the sound of the words intelligible . . . This great man told me himself, in Venice, that this was the true manner of composing and a different one.⁴⁵

Rore's setting of *Infelix ego* embodies these ideals of text-setting to the highest degree, and reveals him 'straining every fiber of his genius' to wring from his art the most expressive effects. Compared with Willaert's setting, the pacing here is more varied, there are more harmonic surprises, and the more airy textures allow the individual entries of the voices to be heard; consequently, the words emerge more clearly, now from one voice, now from another, in a clamorous cry that sweeps along from one set of entries to the next.

The two motets reveal differences in density of texture from the outset; in Willaert's setting all five of the imitative parts have entered by bar 5, whereas Rore takes twice as much time, so that with his more leisurely approach he allows an extended opening duet in the quintus and bassus to state the words 'infelix ego' over a span of four bars before the superius makes its entry, followed by the tenor in bar 7, which enters simultaneously with the *soggetto*

⁴⁴ Cypriani de Rore *Sacrae cantiones . . . cum quinque, sex et septem vocibus* (Venice, 1595).

⁴⁵ Johnson, 'Rore', 187.

Ex. 8.9. Rore, *Infelix ego*, bb. 1-11

5

S In - fe

A

6

T

5 In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li - o

B In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li -

10

lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu - tus,

Mi - se - re - re me - i de -

In - fe - lix

In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au -

de - sti - tu - tus, in - fe - lix e - go.

o de - sti - tu - tus, qui coe - lum ter -

ostinato in the altus (Ex. 8.9). Only by bar 10, where the sextus finally appears, have all five imitative voices made their respective entries.

The first climactic point of the motet (at 'Desperabo?') provides a superb example of Rore's variety of pacing (Ex. 8.10). The voices enter in an ascending contour that creates the effect of a question, and as the entries proceed from quintus to bassus, the inner parts drive the tension higher with

Ex. 8.10. Rore, *Infelix ego*, bb. 60–9

60

De - spe - ra - bo?

us,

De - spe - ra - bo? Ab -

De - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit. Mi -

ra - bo? Ab - sit. Mi -

De - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit.

65

Ab - sit. Mi - se - ri - cors est de - us.

mi - se - re - re me .

sit. Mi - se - ri - cors est de - us,

- se - ri - cors est de - us, mi - se - ri - cors est

se - ri - cors est de - us, mi - se - ri - cors

Mi - se -

their more rapid rhythms. By contrast, the emphatic denials of despair for the entries on 'absit' brake the rhythmic momentum to a crawl, a profound exhalation before the cascading lines of descending scales on the words 'misericors est deus', that confirm faith in the Lord's mercy. At this point the *soggetto* enters in its high register, imploring mercy with the plea 'miserere mei deus' (b. 67). Everything about this passage—rhythmic pacing, shift from

low to high register, textures, harmony—is more vivid than in Willaert's setting.

Rore accelerates the entries of the *soggetto* as he drives to the conclusion, but his setting in this final segment is again more expansive than Willaert's, lasting twenty-nine bars to the latter's twenty-five, and he squeezes in seven statements of the *soggetto* (in the altus voice) to Willaert's four (Ex. 8.11). The

Ex. 8.11. Rore, *Infelix ego*, bb. 175–94

175

cam: mi - se - re - re me - i

mi - se - re - re me - i de - us,

mi - se - re - re me - i de - us, mi - se - re -

se - re - re me - i de - us,

mi - se - re - re me - i de -

mi - se - re - re

180

de - us se - cun - dum ma -

mi - se - re - re me - i de - us,

re me - i de - us se - cun - dum

mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

us se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi -

me - i de - us se - cun - dum ma - gnam mi -

gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - mi - se - re - re me - i de -
 ma - gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - se - cun - dum ma -
 se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am,
 se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am,

am. mi - se - re - re me - i
 us. mi - se - re - re
 am, mi - se - re - re me - i de - us,
 gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am,
 mi - se - re - re me - i de - us se - cun - dum
 mi - se - re - re me - i de - us se - cun -

de - us,
 me i de - us, mi - se - re - re
 mi - se - re - re me - i de - us,
 mi - se - re - re me - i de - us, mi - se -
 ma - gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu -
 dum me - gnam mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am,

harmony is especially effective here, as Rore prolongs an E-major, then E-minor, sonority from bars 175 to 180, then shifts the harmony to prepare a cadence to G in bar 187, which is deflected by a deceptive move to an E-minor sonority again. The *soggetto* now sounds in various melodic permutations with 'miserere mei deus' in all the parts—always on the pitches E and B—but Rore wrenches the harmony to A with a B \flat semitone above from bars 187 to 193, where the *soggetto* entries sink down to the lower fifth on A (first in the bassus in b. 187). The B \flat sounds a harsh tritone away from the tonal centre of E, creating a desolate effect before the harmony shifts back into its normal channel at bar 194. Given such masterly harmonic strokes, as well as the skilful and varied handling of textures, Rore's *Infelix ego* marks one of the high points of expressive text-setting in the mid-sixteenth-century motet.

Earlier in this chapter, circumstantial evidence from Ferrara in the late 1490s (contact between Ercole I and Savonarola, and the print of Savonarola's meditation in Ferrara in 1498) was cited to suggest that Josquin composed his setting of *Miserere mei deus* with Savonarola's meditation in mind. Willaert and Rore (and Vicentino, as we shall see) make the connection explicit in their settings of *Infelix ego* by juxtaposing Josquin's musical *soggetto* with the text of Savonarola's meditation. All these motets apparently functioned as private music for the Este court. Furthermore, Rore and another composer, Jacquet of Mantua, dedicated to Ercole II several masses that employ a cantus firmus with a text in praise of the duke, recalling Josquin's own *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae* for Ercole I.⁴⁶ Thus a pattern of patronage emerges at the Este court of Ercole II, a pattern in which the duke recalls and builds upon the past glory of his grandfather, Ercole I and his pre-eminent composer, Josquin des Prez. In the case of *Infelix ego*, we find the words of Savonarola's famous meditation on Ps. 50 set to music by court composers. Savonarola was held in high esteem in Ferrara not only because of his Ferrarese origin, but probably because he stood as a symbol of necessary reform of the Church, a need that grew ever more pressing in the 1540s as the Reformation spread in Germany and France. Other reasons for the friar's prominence at Ferrara suggest themselves. The Este, as papal vassals who were required to renew their privileges with every newly elected pope, had long suffered under the vacillating political policies of the papacy. Savonarola could well have stood as a symbol for the questioning of papal authority; and his fate served as an

⁴⁶ A. H. Johnson, 'The Masses of Cipriano de Rore', *JAMS* 6 (1953), 227–39; id., 'A Musical Offering to Hercules II, Duke of Ferrara', in J. LaRue (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York, 1966), 448–54; and P. T. Jackson, 'Two Descendants of Josquin's "Hercules" Mass', *ML* 59 (1978), 188–205.

A mass based directly on Josquin's setting of Ps. 50 is the *Missa Miserere mei deus*, a five-voice parody mass by Johannes Parvus, a copyist in the papal chapel in the mid-16th c. It survives in a single source, the poorly preserved choirbook BAV Cappella Sistina 39, copied by Parvus in the 1560s; on Parvus see M. P. Brauner, 'The Parvus Manuscripts: A Study of Vatican Polyphony, ca. 1535 to 1560', Ph.D. diss. (Brandeis University, 1982).

object lesson on the extremes to which the papacy would go to suppress opposition. Perhaps the major motivation, however, behind the commissioning of these motets on *Infelix ego* is the desire of Ercole II to increase the prestige of his court by fostering new musical creations after the manner of his grandfather, works that developed the Ferrarese legacy left by Josquin and Savonarola.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Two further motets based on Ps. 50 were inspired by Josquin's work, but they were apparently composed independently of Este patronage. The first is Ludwig Senff's setting of the complete psalm, and the second is Loyset Piéton's setting of selected verses: each use a *soggetto ostinato* based on Josquin's example. Senff's setting is preserved in a Munich manuscript dating from 1525–30 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 10), and, in a departure from Josquin's *ostinato*, he derives the *soggetto* directly from the fourth psalm tone. See Macey, 'Josquin's *Miserere mei Deus*', 160–4.

About Loyset Piéton virtually nothing is known except that his works were published by Moderne in Lyons and Gardano in Venice in the 1530s and 1540s. In approximately 1532 Moderne published Piéton's set of seven penitential psalms for four voices, to which he appended the liturgical antiphon *Ne reminiscaris*. (I should like to thank Frank Dobbins for making a copy of the print available to me.) The eight motets are notable as an early instance of a modally ordered set; in addition they represent one of the first polyphonic cycles of the seven penitential psalms. The fourth psalm in the series, *Miserere mei deus*, falls in the centre, and Piéton singles it out for special treatment by employing a *soggetto ostinato* on 'miserere mei deus'. He further emphasizes the *soggetto* by placing it in the superius voice, always on A. Piéton's *soggetto* is also based on a version of the fourth psalm tone. Unfortunately, the loss of a folio from the single surviving altus partbook means that only three voices for this setting of Ps. 50 survive, while the remaining motets in the cycle are complete. See also L. Guillo, 'Les Motets de Layolle et les Psaumes de Piéton: deux nouvelles éditions lyonnaises du seizième siècle', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 32 (1985), 186–91.

Cardinal François de Tournon and Infelix ego by Simon Joly

Lyons holds the key to the cultivation of Savonarola's ideas and writings in France. This cosmopolitan centre of commerce and printing was a hotbed of Savonarolan thought, owing partly to its large community of Florentine exiles, or *fuorusciti*. They plotted incessantly to reinstate the Florentine Republic after its capitulation to the besieging forces of Charles V in 1530 and the emperor's installation of Alessandro de' Medici as hereditary duke. Savonarola's millenarian prophecies fuelled their hopes. With the assassination of Alessandro in 1537 these hopes soared, only to be dashed by the defeat of Filippo Strozzi's hastily organized army at the hands of the new duke, Cosimo I de' Medici. The *fuorusciti* took this as a mere temporary setback, however, and Strozzi's son Piero continued to plot the overthrow of the Medici.

Lyons also provided a home to Fra Santi Pagnini (1470–1536), a Florentine who had taken his vows at San Marco in 1487, and who subsequently became a disciple of Savonarola, embracing the ideals of social reform and equal distribution of goods.¹ Having served several terms as prior of San Marco after Savonarola's execution, by 1526 he had settled in Lyons, where his activities centred on preaching and the fight against the Lutheran heresy, as well as the effort to reform the poor-relief system.² In fact the reforms so improved the condition of the poor in Lyons that by 1539 a commentator could remark that the city seemed 'compared to past times, almost a true monastery and congregation of good brothers'.³ Similar comments had been made about Florence during Savonarola's time. Pagnini's activity in Lyons as well as that of the *fuorusciti* no doubt played a role in the many editions of Savonarola's meditations that were issued there in the 1530s and 1540s.

¹ Fra Santi Pagnini also worked as a scholar of Hebrew and Greek in the attempt to revise the Bible according to the original texts. On his life, see T. M. Centi, 'L'attività letteraria di Santi Pagnini (1470–1536) nel campo delle scienze bibliche', *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 15 (1945), 5–51.

² N. Z. Davis, 'Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1965), 17–64 at 30–3. See also ead., 'Protestantism and the Printing Workers of Lyons: A Study in the Problem of Religion and Social Class During the Reformation', Ph.D. diss. (University of Michigan, 1959).

³ Davis, 'Poor Relief', 62.

Lyons bears the distinction of having produced the first published version of a musical setting of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50. The work, a monumental cycle of twenty-one motets by Simon Joly, was issued by the Beringen brothers under the title *Psalmi quinquagesimi perpulchra, et brevis enodatio, eleganter musicè concinnata* (Lyons, 1552).⁴ Savonarola's name appears nowhere in the print, but the friar's meditation on Ps. 50 was so widely available in published editions that no contemporary could have remained unaware of the author's identity. Joly's work did not come to the attention of the scholarly world until 1961, and little is known of his life except that he was organist in Bourges in 1559, at which time his age was given as 35.⁵ He was thus born c.1524, and was still a young man when he composed his music for Savonarola's meditation. The cycle constitutes Joly's only extant work.

Joly's dedication of the motets to Cardinal François de Tournon (Pl. 9.1) raises intriguing issues; a review of the life of this illustrious statesman will provide some perspective on Joly's work. François de Tournon (c.1489–1562) enjoyed a long and distinguished career as a diplomat and adviser to King François I, and—after the death of François and a period of disgrace—to his successor Henri II.⁶ The Tournon family, from the eponymous town on the Rhône midway between Lyons and Avignon, were vassals of the French crown. François rose quickly in ecclesiastical and royal ranks; after entering the venerable Abbey of St-Antoine de Vienne in 1501, he was appointed Abbot of Ebreuil in 1509, and in 1515 he served as a counsellor to the victorious François at the battle of Marignano, in which French forces defeated those of the Empire and conquered Milan. Installed as Archbishop of Embrun in 1518, by 1519 he was elected Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Chaise-Dieu, one of the wealthiest institutions in central France. During these years he remained with the court in Paris, rather than taking up residence at the sites of his various benefices.

When in 1525 King François I was captured by the forces of Emperor Charles V at the battle of Pavia and Milan reverted to the Empire, Tournon was sent as envoy to Spain to negotiate the king's release. When the king regained his freedom in 1526, Tournon was named Archbishop of Bourges, and continued to remain at court as a valued member of François's private council. By 1530 he had been elevated to the cardinalate, and was sent back

⁴ The complete title-page of the tenor partbook is: *PSALMI/ QVINQUAGESIMI/ PERPVLCHRA, ET/ brevis enodatio, eleganter musicè con-/cinnata, à SIMONE/ IOLIEO, Musi-/ces studiosissi/mo./ */ TENOR./ Cum privilegio Regis ad quinquennium./ LVGDVNI,/ Apud Codefridum & Marcellum Beringos,/ fratres, M. D. LII.*

⁵ F. Lesure, 'Une œuvre inconnue d'un compositeur inconnu: Simon Joly (1552)', *RdM* 47 (1961), 198–9. For a description of the print, see L. Guillo, *Les Éditions musicales de la Renaissance lyonnaise* (Paris, 1991), 258–60. See also F. Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford, 1992), 94, 230, 261. Savonarola's authorship of the opening texts of Joly's cycle has gone unmentioned in these studies.

⁶ The following sketch of Tournon's life is drawn from M. François, *Le Cardinal François de Tournon, homme d'État, diplomate, mécène et humaniste (1489–1562)* (Paris, 1951).

Mons^r d'Améau, depuis
cardinal de Toumon



Pl. 9.1. Anon., *Cardinal François de Toumon*. Musée Condé, Chantilly. Giraudon/Art Resource

to Spain to negotiate a treaty with the emperor and the release of the king's two hostage sons.

In 1533 Cardinal de Tournon made the first of many trips to Italy, and on his way to Rome he stopped in Ferrara to visit his countrywoman Renée de France. In Rome, he negotiated successfully with Pope Clement VII to gain the hand of Catherine de' Medici, the pope's cousin, for François's second son, Henri. After attending the October 1533 meeting between François and Clement VII in Marseilles, where Catherine was presented as Henri's bride, Tournon shuttled to London to reassure Henry VIII regarding the Anglo-French alliance.

In spite of the crippling defeat at Pavia, François had never given up his policy of intervention in Italy. With the victory of the emperor over Tunis in 1535, and the vacancy in Milan left by the death of the childless Duke Francesco II Sforza, French forces invaded Savoy and Piedmont in 1536, hoping ultimately to retake Milan but failing in the end. During the war in Piedmont, in 1536-7, Cardinal de Tournon resided in Lyons, serving the king as lieutenant-governor for the provinces of south-eastern France.

In seeking an explanation for the dedication to Cardinal de Tournon of Simon Joly's musical setting of Savonarola's meditation, several factors emerge. First, Savonarola's meditations on the Psalms were printed in Lyons in the 1530s precisely during the years of Tournon's residence there. Secondly, he was in close personal touch with Filippo Strozzi and other Florentine *fuorusciti*, who continued to seek French help for the re-establishment of the Florentine Republic, and Savonarola held importance for the exiles because of his role in restoring the Republic in the 1490s. Finally, Cardinal de Tournon was in contact with the duke and duchess of Ferrara, Ercole II and Renée, where Willaert and Rore composed settings of the opening of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, *Infelix ego*. The cardinal could easily have become familiar with these motets during one of his numerous visits to Ferrara. And of course, as seen in Chapter 7, the French king himself supported veneration of the friar. These factors help to explain why Tournon would sponsor a musical setting of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50.

Further aspects of Tournon's subsequent career suggest a more specific impetus for Joly's composition. By 1542 Tournon had attained the height of his influence at court, serving as the king's closest adviser, and setting himself as an adamant foe of all reformist tendencies in religious affairs. As supporter of an alliance between François and Charles V against religious reformers in both realms, Tournon ran afoul of religiously tolerant factions at the French court, and he also incurred the enmity of the powerful faction that resolutely resisted any possibility of alliance with the emperor. Upon the death of the king on 31 March 1547, the cardinal was inconsolable, having lost his

protector as well as his close friend. After the funeral, he fell almost immediately into disgrace with the new king, Henri II, who stripped him of most of his offices and benefices. He spent two years in exile from the court, and his whereabouts are difficult to trace.⁷

It happens that the royal printing privilege for Joly's setting of Savonarola's meditation is dated 4 August 1547, a little over two months after the final obsequies of François I.⁸ Joly most likely composed his setting of the meditation during the period of the cardinal's disgrace, from 1547 to 1549, and the text could well have provided Tournon with some consolation. Joly's dedicatory remarks refer to his provision of music for the cardinal's hours of recreation and give a full picture of his aims:

To the most illustrious and in all points most accomplished lord François de Tournon, most reverend cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Simon Joly (wishes) happiness.

Since the learned unanimously acknowledge that music was given to men by the gods so that the most wearisome burden of their labours could be the more easily endured, and that its pleasure might soothe all that troubles the consonance and harmony of the soul, I could not but fall passionately in love with such a study that might engrave upon my eager mind, however arduous the effort, the principles of so excellent an art.

But hardly had my lips touched that sweet cup, hardly, I say, had I greeted Music from her threshold, when lo, I found her, with her modesty abandoned, wantoning bewitched with shameless songs among the French poets (if men of gross salaciousness deserve the name). How ill I took this, how much I desired to find a remedy for an all but incurable sickness, how greatly I grieved to see profaned something which belongs in the divine rites and the placating of the gods, both my judgement upon the matter freely spoken among friends, and such notes as my talent allowed me to compose, once I had embraced the art with some vigour, will bear witness.

But in the labour of my spare moments, as I pondered a certain serious work, yet uncompleted, and also the recreation of your Excellency's leisure, I came across a paraphrase of the 50th Psalm of David—not unpleasing indeed, but very short—, the reading of which I deemed would be so much to the taste of all learned and pious men, that I felt sure that you, who among the sacred college of the cardinals of the Holy and Apostolic See are yourself most holy and most learned, would, far from rejecting so sacred a thing, eagerly devour it.

But in order to supply an agreeable ornament that might add to this little gift dedicated to your Reverence some token of my undying obligation, I set the holy words to music, well aware how much delight your Reverence takes not only in Music but in the whole range of humane studies.

If, therefore, you accept kindly these (songs), which I have composed with you as my Apollo, and which I dedicate to you as my Apollo, they will, under the guardianship of such a divinity, enjoy more than enough protection against captious

⁷ François, *Le Cardinal de Tournon*, 228–35.

⁸ The printing privilege is given on the verso of the title-page, sig. A1^v.

railers, while I, rewarded with an excessive and interest-bearing recompense, shall revere your Reverence for ever.

From the hermitage at Tournon, the first day of May.

Your Reverence's most obedient servant,
Simon Joly⁹

Joly signed his dedication on 1 May 1552 'In heremo Turnocensi', indicating apparently that he was at the famous hermitage just across the Rhône from Tournon, known today as Tain l'Hermitage.¹⁰ To comprehend his comments about the wanton and shameless music of the French chanson, one has only to cast an eye over any number of bawdy texts set to music by a well-known composer such as Clément Janequin. Joly's other remark about the ability of music to relieve worldly cares ('so that the most wearisome burden of their labours could be the more easily endured') takes on enhanced significance, as he presumably addressed the cardinal during the period of his disgrace.

It seems odd that Joly makes no mention of Savonarola in his preface. He does observe that the meditation on Ps. 50 that he chose for his musical setting was quite short, yet Savonarola's complete meditation is in fact very lengthy. Perhaps he knew only a condensed version, one that did not identify Savonarola as the author; such a source, however, has not been identified. In fact, Joly's setting corresponds exactly to the friar's meditation only in the first motet, while the next two motets quote only the openings of Savonarola's text and then they draw on it for a few further phrases. Motets 4 to 7

⁹ 'Illustissimo omnibusque numeris absolutissimo Domino Francisco à Turnone, sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinali Reverendissimo. SIMON IOLIEUS felicitatem.

Cum Musicen à Dhis hominibus datam esse uno ore docti omnes fateantur, quo scilicet transmitti laborum onus molestissimum posset proclivius, et quod animae consonantiam et harmoniam turbat, huiusce voluptatis delinimento sedaretur: non potui non effictim deperire studium, quod quovis improbo labore, praestantissimae artis notiones per avido meo insculperet ingenio. Sed vix suprema labra tam suavi poculo admoveram, vix, inquam, ab ipso limine Musicen salutarem, ecce, eam deplorata pudicitia, cum impudicis cantionibus larvatum inter poetas Gallos (si id nominis mererent improbae salacitatis homines) lascivientem reperio. Quod quàm aegrè tulerim, ac quantum morbo ferre conclamato opem ferri desiderarim, quantumque rem, quae divinis inserenda et numinibus placandis adhibenda esset, prophanatam sim miseratus, meum hac super re liberum inter familiares iudicium, et soni ut licuit per Genium, postquam vividius artem amplexatus sum, concinnati testabuntur. Verum enimvero mihi successivè insudanti, dum operis cuiusdam gravioris nondum summa exculi manu, et otii laxioris tuae Rev. Celsit. rationem habeo, sese Psalmi Davidici quinquagesimi obtulit non ingrata, sed perbrevis Paraphrasis, cuius lectionem ita doctos et pios omnes probaturos censei, ut te, qui sedens inter sacrosanctae sedis Apostolicae piissimos purpuratos, piissimus sis, et doctissimus, tam piam rem avide voraturum (nèdum ablegaturum) affirmarim. Sed ut nonnihil lepidioris gratiae adderem, quod minusculo tuae R. C. dicato meae indissolubilis servitutes quippiam adderet testimonii, piis verbis voces Musicae consonas adtexui: sat gnarus quantum non solum Musices, sed totius Encyclopaedias tuam R. C. teneat oblectatio. Haec igitur quae te Apolline cecini, quae tibi Apollini dico, si blandè receperis, adversus oblatratores tali tutelari divo tecta plus satis habebunt praesidii, atque ego nimio et usurario hostimento compensatus, tuam R. C. perpetuò reverèbor. In heremo Turnocensi, Calend. Maii.

Tuae R. C. observantissimus
Symon Iolieus.

Joly, *Psalmi quinquagesimi*, tenor partbook, sig. Aii^r. I should like to thank Jeremy Noble for providing a translation of Joly's complex humanistic Latin.

¹⁰ The hermitage dates from the 13th c.; the renowned wines from L'Hermitage are still grown on the hillside.

make only fleeting references to Savonarola's meditation, and for the most part they reproduce only the various biblical passages that are quoted by the friar. The eighth motet alludes only to an occasional key word from the meditation, although motet 12, *Clamavi domine*, does reproduce the phrase 'ecce sto bonitatem et benignitatem tuam' from Savonarola's meditation.¹¹

The texts of the later motets of the cycle seem to have been newly written, perhaps by the cardinal or by one of the humanists in his service. Several seem to address his situation during the period of his disgrace. Motet 15 is particularly apt:

My enemies, men of blood, have plotted evil against me; they stir up bile, and they have compelled my desire for vengeance, they have sought out my soul and my blood is entirely moved towards revenge. But you alone are the God of vengeance. Deliver me from blood, O God, the God of my salvation, and my tongue shall extol your justice.¹²

Joly may well have known the textual source for the initial motets of his cycle, yet he may have decided that to name Savonarola openly would invite censure on himself and the cardinal, given the steadily worsening relations between Catholics and Huguenots in France, not to mention the increasingly intolerant position of the Church with regard to Savonarola's teachings and writings. As for the cardinal himself, he must have recognized that Savonarola was the author of much of the text. As noted earlier, he maintained close ties with Ferrara, where Willaert's and Rore's settings of *Infelix ego* were composed, and Lyons had seen frequent printings of Savonarola's Psalm meditations in the 1530s and 1540s. The cardinal's apparent approval of Joly's setting of Savonarola's meditation suggests that the friar's writings were still associated with orthodox Catholic thought in France at this time, and not with the nascent Calvinist movement. Joly completed his setting of Savonarola's meditation just in time, however, for the official Catholic attitude of tolerance towards the friar's writings had turned negative by the 1550s.

The cardinal's exile from court came to an end when Henri II realized that his diplomatic abilities were indispensable, and by 1549 he was sent back to Rome for the election of a new pope and to promote French interests in Italy. By 1552 he had successfully negotiated a treaty in Rome between the papacy, the Empire, and France to cease hostilities over Parma and Mirandola. French prestige reached new heights in Italy, as the Italian princes looked across the Alps for relief from Imperial and papal influence. As one

¹¹ Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 215.

¹² 'Inimici mei viri sanguinum mala adversum me machinati, bilem moverunt et ad vindictam desiderium meum compulerunt quiesierunt animam meam et sanguis meus ad ultionem commotus est. Sed tu solus deus ultionum, libera me de sanguinibus deus deus salutis meae, et exultabit lingua mea iustitiam tuam.' (Ps. 50: 16); Joly, *Psalmi quinquagesimi*, cantus partbook, sig. C'.

sign of the cardinal's new-found favour, he was named Archbishop of Lyons, and he made his ceremonial entry into the city in September 1552. Joly saw his cycle of motets through the press just in time to welcome the cardinal, but ironically it must have represented a memento of his years of disgrace rather than his current triumph. Perhaps Tournon accepted the offering of penitential motets as a reminder of the transience of worldly power.¹³

In estimating the musical quality of Joly's cycle, an immediate problem is that the bassus partbook has disappeared, and only the superius, altus, and tenor partbooks are extant.¹⁴ In addition, it is not possible to compare the style of the motets in the cycle with other compositions by Joly, because the 1552 print constitutes his sole musical legacy. It is not a negligible legacy, however, since a performance of all twenty-one motets would last more than an hour. Each motet concludes with a verse of Ps. 50, so that the entire psalm is covered in the cycle; the final motet comes full circle by concluding its series of invocations to the Lord with a return of the first verse.¹⁵

An outline of the individual motets, showing their lengths and final pitches, is provided in Table 9.1. The most extended in length are the first three; succeeding motets are half as long, and the last one is the shortest of all. The clefs indicate soprano, altus, tenor, (and bassus) voices, except for no. 19, *O sacrum pietatis*, which calls for three soprano voices and probably an altus for the missing bottom voice. The final motet expands the texture to five voices with an added tenor part.

The motets are ordered by mode as indicated in Table 9.1. The first five have a final on A, which serves as a cofinal for the E mode, or Hypophrygian (mode 4).¹⁶ The second group cadences on G, with a B \flat signature, indicating the transposed Hypodorian, or mode 2 (transposed from D to G). The third group shifts to high clefs and a final on D, with a B \natural signature, producing the Dorian, or mode 1, while the last set shifts to a final on F, and returns to normal clefs with a B \flat signature, indicating the Hypolydian, or mode 6. The motets thus represent the three essential tonalities on D (re; also transposed to G with a B \flat signature), E (mi), and F (ut).¹⁷

¹³ Appropriately, Tournon's motto was 'non quae super terram', explained in a dialogue presented before him in 1549: 'Il fault faire selon la devise de Mgr le Cardinal, *Non quae super terram*, c'est-à-dire que nous ne cherchions point les biens qui sont sur terre ains ceux du ciel qui est le commandement de Notre Seigneur'; François, *Le Cardinal de Tournon*, 235.

¹⁴ The superius and altus partbooks are in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, R.És. Vmc 37; the tenor partbook is preserved in the University Library in Prague.

¹⁵ The text of the final motet is: 'O domine iudex meus, O domine princeps meus, O domine rex meus, O domine salvator meus, salva me, et miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.'

¹⁶ The range of the tenor voice determines whether the mode is authentic or plagal. See B. Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, trans. E. S. Beebe (New York, 1988).

¹⁷ These have been called 'ut, re, mi' tonalities in C. C. Judd, 'Modal Types and Ut, Re, Mi Tonalities: Tonal Coherence in Sacred Vocal Polyphony from about 1500', *JAMS* 45 (1992), 428-67.

TABLE 9.1. *Contents of Simon Joly's motet cycle Psalmi quinquagesimi*

No.	Incipit	Bars	Signature	Clefs	Final
Mode 4 (cofinal on A)					
1	Infelix ego	148	B \natural	c1 c3 c4 [f4]	A
2	Misericordia tua	128	B \natural		A
3	Fateor domine	124	B \natural		A
4	Anima mea inter spem	63	B \natural		A
5	Quem obsecro inveniam	76	B \natural		A
Mode 2 (transposed from D to G)					
6	Homo sum domine	60	B \flat		G
7	Pater peccavi in coelum	77	B \flat		G
8	Heu heu heu quam misere	59	B \flat		G
9	Trahe me domine sursum	56	B \flat		G
10	Qui scrutatur es cordium	65	B \flat		G
Mode 1 (untransposed, high clefs)					
11	Iam diu sese vanitatibus	81	B \natural	g2 c2 c3 [c4]	D
12	Clamavi domine	69	B \natural		D
13	Iam promissionis	78	B \natural		D
14	In peccato prostratum	54	B \natural		D
15	Inimici mei viri	56	B \natural		D
Mode 6					
16	Nonne peccatores	62	B \flat	c1 c3 c4 [f4]	F
17	Facessant longe ritus	72	B \flat		F
18	Quia ingemuit anima mea	62	B \flat		F
19	O sacrum pietatis sidus	72	B \flat	c1 c1 c1 [c3]	F
20	Cum fidelibus tua	64	B \flat	c1 c3 c4 [f4]	F
21	O domine iudex (SATTB)	35	B \flat	c1 c3 c4 c4 [f4]	F
	total bars:	1,561			

Although the bassus partbook of Joly's cycle is not extant, the music can be reconstructed fairly accurately because the texture alternates between plain chordal writing and imitative duets. For imitative passages, one can simply duplicate the subject of either the superius or altus parts at the lower octave in the bassus to complete the duo with the tenor. For instance, the superius melody near the opening of the first motet is closely imitated by the altus (Ex. 9.1, b. 6). After a few bars, the tenor enters with the same subject as the superius, and the bassus logically should duplicate the altus, at least for the first five notes. As for chordal passages, these usually require the root of the triad in the bassus, leaving no doubt as to the correct note (text, p. 154).

Joly, with his graceful melodies and lucid texture, reveals himself as a thoroughly competent composer in the best French tradition. He is also

Ex. 9.1. Simon Joly, *Infelix ego*, bb. 1–15 (missing bassus reconstructed) (CD track 24)

The musical score is presented in four staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into three systems, with measure numbers 5, 10, and 15 indicated above the staves.

System 1 (Measures 1-9):

- Soprano: In - fe - lix e - - - go
- Alto: In - fe - lix e - - - go
- Tenor: In - fe - lix e - - - go
- Bass: [In - fe - lix e - - - go]

System 2 (Measures 10-14):

- Soprano: o - mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - - tu -
- Alto: o - mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - - tu
- Tenor: o - mni - um au - xi - li -
- Bass: o - mni - um au - xi - li -

System 3 (Measures 15-19):

- Soprano: tus qui coe - lum ter -
- Alto: tus, de - sti - tu - tus, qui coe - lum
- Tenor: o de - sti - tu - tus, qui coe - lum
- Bass: o de - sti - tu - tus, qui coe - lum ter -]

capable of sensitive projection and dramatization of the penitential text. For instance, at the crux of the struggle in the initial part of Savonarola's text—'Quid igitur faciam? Desperabo? Absit'—where the friar contemplates and rejects the possibility of despair, we have previously seen how these words

Ex. 9.2. Joly, *Infelix ego*, bb. 50–9 (CD track 24 at 2:03)

50

Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am? De - spe - ra

Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am? De - spe -

Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am?

Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am?

55

- bo? Ab - sit. Mi -

- ra - - bo? Ab - sit. Mi - se - ri -

Ab - sit. Mi - se - ri - cors est de -

Ab - sit. Mi - se - ri - cors est de -

called forth the most expressive musical settings in motets by Willaert and Rore. Here Joly also creates the most affective moment in his motet (Ex. 9.2) by shifting to triple time, and employing full-voiced chordal texture for the first question, 'quid igitur faciam?' He then reduces the texture to just the two high voices for 'desperabo?' before the emphatic rejection of despair with the solid long-note response 'absit', where the tenor and bassus are immediately echoed by superius and altus. Finally, each voice enters with an affirmation of the Lord's mercy on 'misericors est deus', with a confident upward leap and then steady repeated notes.

In general, Joly's musical style resembles that of Claudin de Sermisy (c.1490–1562), a composer of the French royal chapel. Features reminiscent of Sermisy's music are the balance between chordal and imitative textures, as well as the restraint of the predominantly stepwise melodic lines, with the exception of passages such as 'qui coelum' in bars 14–15, where the superius leaps up two fourths in succession to evoke the idea of heaven. Finally, Joly

projects the words clearly by providing most syllables with only one note, occasionally adding an expressive melodic extension at the end of a phrase, as at the opening of the motet on 'ego'.

Fittingly, Lyons was the site for the first published musical setting of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50. Several factors—the cosmopolitan environment, the large community of Florentine exiles, the presence of Fra Santi Pagnini, a Florentine social reformer and follower of Savonarola, as well as the new Archbishop, François de Tournon—must have made the city receptive to a musical setting of Savonarola's meditation. We turn our attention next to the patronage of another cardinal, Ippolito II d'Este, a close friend of Cardinal de Tournon, and our discussion will take us back to Italy in the 1550s, and then to events in France. The close contacts between France and the Italian powers produced abundant musical fruit in the sixteenth century, and musical settings of Savonarola's meditations reflect just one part of that rich harvest.

*Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este
and Savonarolan Motets in Italy
and France*

The life of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este (Pl. 10.1), one of the pre-eminent diplomats and patrons of the arts in the sixteenth century, intersected often with that of his friend, Cardinal François de Tournon, since both men worked to represent French interests in Italy. And like his friend, Ippolito apparently commissioned musical settings related to Savonarola's final psalm meditations.¹ Born in 1509 to Duke Alfonso I and Lucrezia Borgia, Ippolito received a princely education at the court of Ferrara and the University of Padua. At the age of 10 he followed in the footsteps of his uncle, Ippolito I, and was appointed Archbishop of Milan. While still an adolescent he enlisted the services of Willaert in Ferrara from 1525 to 1527.

As archbishop of Milan and brother of the duke of Ferrara, Ippolito held political importance for François I as an Italian ally who could promote French claims in Italy, especially regarding Milan. In October 1536 Ippolito was named Archbishop of Lyons, not long after the commencement of the War of Piedmont between France and the Empire, when France invaded Savoy but failed to take advantage of the opportunity to invest Milan. Ippolito was to spend the bulk of the next fourteen years, until 1549, at the French court, with return visits to Ferrara and Rome in 1539–40 and 1544–5.

In 1539, the year after François and Charles V had met and signed a peace treaty at Nice and Aigues-Mortes, Ippolito succeeded in his campaign to be named cardinal. On his return to Rome he received no fewer than three musical homages: a six-voice motet by the papal singer Cristóbal de Morales, and two motets for four voices by Jacquet of Mantua, a composer in the service of Ippolito's cousin, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.²

¹ The following outline of the career of Ippolito II d'Este is based on V. Pacifici, *Ippolito II d'Este Cardinale di Ferrara* (Tivoli, 1920); see also L. Byatt, 'Este, Ippolito', *DBI* xliii. 367–74.

² The motet by Cristóbal de Morales is *Gaude et laetare, Ferrariensis civitas* (cantus firmus: 'Magnificabo nomen tuum in aeternum'); see Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 241–3. The works by Jacquet of Mantua are *O domine Jesu Christe* and *O angele dei*; see Jacquet of Mantua, *Opera omnia*, iv, ed. G. Nugent (AIM, 1982), 15–28.



Pl. 10.1. Taddéo Zuccaro, *Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este* (far left). Villa Farnese, Caprarola. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici del Lazio

Ten years later, upon the death of Pope Paul III in 1549, Ippolito travelled to Rome to attend the papal conclave, and then remained in Italy during the 1550s. As with his campaign to be named cardinal, he undertook strenuous manoeuvres to gain the papal tiara, but the election resulted instead in the elevation of Julius III (r. 1550–55). To make matters worse, Henri II of France had divided the power to negotiate for the French crown in Rome between Ippolito and the French ambassador, thus in effect demoting Ippolito. The cardinal felt discounted and in disgrace, and he retired to Tivoli, the governorship of which had been granted him by the new pope to soothe the loss of the tiara.

In 1552 François de Tournon and other French ministers met with Ippolito in Ferrara and Chioggia to plan a strategy to free Siena from Spanish control. It was on this occasion that Ippolito agreed to cede the Archbishopric of Lyons to François de Tournon in exchange for Tournon's see of Auch. Ippolito was then named lieutenant of Henri II in Siena with a mission to travel to that city and negotiate a peaceful resolution to the dispute over the liberty of the Sienese Republic. The French, still anxious to assert influence in Italian affairs, had come to the assistance of the Sienese, who were attempting to throw off Spanish tyranny. After almost two years' presence in Siena, however, the cardinal's diplomatic efforts failed, and in 1554 he departed in dejection. The city fell to the besieging forces of Charles V soon thereafter, in 1555. During the period of Ippolito's residence in the city, there had been considerable music-making: not only was Nicola Vicentino in the cardinal's service, but the French composer Pierre Sandrin served as his *maestro di cappella* until at least 1561.³

The year 1555 marked another papal conclave, and again Ippolito arduously sought to win the election, apparently going so far as to promise monetary rewards to the other cardinals for their votes. Two printed works were dedicated to Ippolito in the same year, perhaps in an attempt to lend greater lustre to his candidacy. The first was Vicentino's treatise, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*,⁴ and it includes a brief Latin song in honour of his patron:

Musica prisca caput tenebris modo sustulit altis,
dulcibus ut numeris priscis certantia factis,
facta tua, Hyppolite, excelsum super aethera mittat.

³ F. Lesure, 'Un musicien d'Hippolyte d'Este: Pierre Sandrin', *CHM* 2 (1956), 245–50. Sandrin is addressed in a letter of Mar. 1554 with the title 'maitre de chapelle de Monseigneur le cardinal de Ferrare'. When Ippolito departed in defeat from Siena in June of the same year, Sandrin probably accompanied him to Ferrara; *ibid.* 248. Lowinsky points out a hitherto unnoticed record in the documentary appendix to Pacifici's biography of the cardinal, showing that Sandrin was in the service of Ippolito as late as 1561; see Pacifici, *Ippolito II d'Este*, 430, and Lowinsky, 'Calami sonum ferentes: A New Interpretation', 613.

⁴ Facs. edn. with a postface by E. E. Lowinsky (Kassel, 1959). For an English translation, see *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M. R. Maniates (New Haven, 1996).

Ancient music of late has raised her head out of the darkness,
so that, with antique and sweet numbers, to compete with ancient deeds,
your great deeds, Hyppolitus, she might send high above the heavens.⁵

In 1555 the cardinal was further praised as a protector in a large-scale motet for eight voices, *Cum terris cuperent celestia*, by Giovanni Battista Corvo.⁶ The two tenor parts sing a cantus firmus in canon by inversion, and the text is the first antiphon for Vespers on feasts of confessor bishops: 'Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit Deo et inventus est iustus, ut vivat in eternum' (Behold the great priest, who in his days has pleased God and has been just: may he live in eternity).⁷

Such praise of the pleasure-loving Ippolito could not sway the cardinals at the papal conclave, however. The election fell to a fierce reformer, the Neapolitan Gian Pietro Carafa, named Paul IV (r. 1555–9). This is the pope who went on to declare in 1557 that Savonarola was an Italian Luther; the Florentine statesman Averardo Serristori vividly characterized him as 'the man of steel who turns the stones he touches into fire'.⁸ Ippolito too experienced the new pope's wrath: he was charged with simony during the conclave, and the pope even went so far as to level an accusation of sodomy. Friendless and stripped of his benefices, including the governorship of Tivoli, Ippolito was exiled from Rome. In deep disgrace, he retired in September 1555 to live in seclusion in Ferrara, first stopping to visit his beloved natural daughter Renata, wife of Count Ludovico Pico in Mirandola. She died two months later from the after-effects of childbirth, adding to his woes.

⁵ Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fos. 69^v–70^v. The music moves from the diatonic to the chromatic genus in line 2, and then to the enharmonic genus in line 3. For a modern edition of the motet and English translation of the text, see Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted*, 218–22.

⁶ Giovanni Battista Corvo, *Muettorum quinque vocum, liber primus* (Venice, 1555), no. 26. I should like to thank Mary Lewis for making a microfilm of Corvo's work available to me. The text in honour of Ippolito d'Este is:

Cum terris cuperent celestia numina divum
Largiri munus celitus eximium
Hippolitum perquam felici sydere cretum
Estensem Latio progenere poli
Cardine purpureo fultum qui temperet orbem
Hesperium sacra religione pater
Una salus hominum tanto sub principe tuta est
Hunc pro terrestri numine Sena colat.

When the heavenly powers of the gods wished to bestow an exceptional gift on earth from heaven, the skies begot Ippolito d'Este for Latium, formed under a most happy star, that, sustained by a purple hinge [a pun on an empurpled cardinal], he might govern the Western world as a father with holy religion. The united well-being of mankind is safe under so great a prince; let Siena worship him as a god on earth.

My thanks to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for the translation. On Ippolito's patronage, see also G. Radiciotti, *L'arte musicale in Tivoli nei secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII* (Tivoli, 1907), 12; and A. Pughese, 'La cappella musicale del cardinale Ippolito II d'Este', in O. Mischiati and P. Russo (eds.), *La cappella musicale nell'Italia della Controriforma* (Florence, 1993), 381–94.

⁷ *LI* 1176.

⁸ Quoted in E. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527–1800* (Chicago, 1973), 88. The interim papacy of Marcellus II in 1555 lasted only three weeks.

Further humiliation ensued. The cardinal's library in Rome was inspected by the Inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri (the future Pope Pius V), and suspicious books were confiscated and burned, including volumes of Erasmus and Machiavelli, as well as Bibles and Evangelical tracts by reform-minded authors; not even Petrarch's poetry was safe.⁹ Shades of the Florentine bonfires of vanities during Savonarola's carnival celebrations! It is precisely during the late 1550s that proposals were made to place the writings of Savonarola on the Index, and there was even talk in Rome of burning them. As a parallel to these events, Prince Alfonso d'Este, Ippolito's nephew, had purchased the manuscript of Willaert's *Musica nova*, containing motets as well as madrigalian settings of sonnets by Petrarch, and there were negotiations to have the manuscript published in 1558. The Roman authorities wished to inspect the contents, but the Este agents refused, fearing that the manuscript itself, with its Petrarchan texts, would be consigned to the flames.¹⁰ It should be noted that Willaert's setting of *Infelix ego* was not included among the motets in *Musica nova*; in fact in Italy it can only be found in manuscripts from the Este court, and the work seems to have been intended as private court music.

Infelix ego and Motets by Vicentino and Palestrina

What can we learn of the occasion for Nicola Vicentino's setting of *Infelix ego*? A brief sketch of Vicentino's career will fill in some of the background regarding his composition of the work. Born in Vicenza in 1511, Vicentino apparently studied with Willaert in Venice at some point in his youth,¹¹ and he probably spent time in Ferrara in the late 1540s, for he indicates in his treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* that he taught his principles of music to the children of Duke Ercole II, as well as to the duke himself and to his brother, Cardinal Ippolito. The most notable event in Vicentino's life was the famous debate in Rome in 1551 with the Portuguese theorist Vicente Lusitano who disputed Vicentino's avant-garde theories concerning the revival of ancient Greek chromatic and enharmonic music.¹² Cardinal Ippolito presided, but the decision of the judges went against Vicentino. In defence of his ideas, he determined to publish his treatise, and the work took

⁹ Pacifici, *Ippolito II d'Este*, 280–1.

¹⁰ A letter from the Este representative in Rome to Duke Ercole II, dated 26 Oct. 1558, makes the situation clear: 'In altro tempo [sic] havrei acordato il mag.co Viola mandare qua l'originale, ma perché vi sono quei soneti et canzoni del Petrarca dubitarei che mai non si riavesse perché si tratta d'abbrugiare infiniti volumi fra quali il Petrarca... In una congregazione si voleva abbruggiare come eretiche l'opere del Savonarola, si ben ha alcuni defensori'; Pacifici, *Ippolito II d'Este*, 280 n. 2. The 'magnifico Viola' is Francesco della Viola, an Este musician in charge of seeing Willaert's *Musica nova* through the press. See A. Newcomb, 'Editions of Willaert's *Musica Nova*: New Evidence, New Speculations', *JAMS* 26 (1973), 132–45; and J. A. Owens and R. J. Agee, 'La stampa della "Musica nova" di Willaert', *RIM* 24 (1989), 219–305.

¹¹ He calls himself 'del unico Adrian Willaerth discipulo' in 1546 on the title-page of his first book of madrigals; see H. W. Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino* (AIM, 1966), 18.

¹² *Ibid.* 22.

shape in Siena from 1552 to 1554 while he was in Ippolito's service; in 1555 it appeared in print. After this publication scant evidence of Vicentino's activity survives, although he presumably remained in the cardinal's service. When in 1561 he published a description of his new 'arciorgano', on which one could perform the chromatic and enharmonic music discussed in his treatise, he noted his availability for a new position. Ippolito had departed for France in 1561 as papal legate to Catherine de' Medici, and remained there until 1563; by this time Vicentino had been appointed as *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral of Vicenza, his native city.¹³ By 1565 he moved on, probably to Milan, where he is listed at the church of St Thomas in 1570; there he succumbed to plague in 1575 or 1576.¹⁴

Lamentably little of Vicentino's music has been preserved; he published four books of madrigals, but only two are extant, and in the realm of sacred music the rate of survival is even poorer, since only one motet has come down intact. There was originally much more, for the sole surviving partbook from a 1571 print of Vicentino's motets is labelled 'Liber quartus', indicating three previous volumes now lost.

Even Vicentino's setting of *Infelix ego* is incompletely preserved in a manuscript now in Regensburg.¹⁵ Of the original six parts, the superius and quintus have been lost; the remaining four voices permit only a limited evaluation of the motet. Fortunately the altus voice with the *soggetto ostinato* on 'miserere mei deus' is included among the surviving parts, allowing a comparison of its layout with the comparable settings by Willaert and Rore. In fact, Vicentino hews more closely to Josquin's *soggetto* from *Miserere mei deus* than do Willaert and Rore. He does this in three ways. The melodic shape of Vicentino's *soggetto* matches Josquin's, restricted as it is to the semitone above the reciting pitch (Ex. 10.1). As well, the rhythmic profile adheres closely to Josquin's *soggetto*, except that the values in Vicentino's second bar are twice as fast as those of his model. Finally, the irregular number of rests between the entries of the *soggetto* resembles Josquin's layout. While Vicentino's oscillating entries of the *soggetto* on A and E in the *prima pars* reflect Rore's procedure, the *secunda pars* follows Josquin by sounding the *soggetto* on the pitches of the ascending A-major scale. The choice of a scale with three sharps proves Vicentino, not surprisingly, to be a more adventurous harmonist than Josquin or Willaert, or even than Rore. He also preserves the essential interval of the semitone in every statement of the *soggetto*, e.g. A-B \flat -A, B-C-B, C \sharp -D-C \sharp , D-E \flat -D, etc.¹⁶ By contrast, the settings by Josquin

¹³ Ibid. 36.

¹⁴ Ibid. 46-7.

¹⁵ Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS B 223-233. For a modern edition of the four surviving parts, see N. Vicentino, *Opera omnia*, ed. H. W. Kaufmann (AIM, 1963), 155-60.

¹⁶ Although the C \sharp is not explicitly indicated in the written part for the *soggetto*, the C \sharp in the immediately preceding *Sexta vox* sets up this pitch in the *soggetto*.

Ex. 10.2. Vicentino, *Infelix ego*, bb. 1-15 (superius and quintus missing)

5

6 In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi -

A

T In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li -

B In - fe - lix e - go o -

10

- li - o de - sti - tu - tus, au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu -

o de - sti - tu - tus, au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu

mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu -

15

tus qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -

Mi - se - re - re me - i

tus qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di.

tus qui coe - lum ter - ram - que

Cardinal d'Este. He left the cardinal's service by 1561, so this date provides a terminus ante quem for completion of the work. The years of the cardinal's exile and disgrace from 1555 to 1559 provide the most likely time of composition, for a musical performance of Savonarola's penitential meditation in the cardinal's presence would have provided a moment of

consolation, even if a calculatedly risky one in the light of the stormy reactions in Rome to the friar's writings.

Events in Ippolito's subsequent career suggest that he had occasion to commission two other motets based on ostinato subjects, one on 'miserere mei deus', and the other on 'in te domine speravi', from Ps. 30. With the death of the fierce Pope Paul IV in 1559, Ippolito's fortunes took a turn for the better, and he returned to Rome for the new papal conclave; once again he sought the tiara, and once again he lost, this time to Gian'Angelo de' Medici, who took the name Pius IV (r.1559-65). Ippolito retreated to his villa in Tivoli for the summer of 1560, and then came his appointment as papal legate to the French court. On his way to France, he passed through Florence in July of 1561, and the city honoured him with the performance of Alessandro Striggio's famous forty-voice motet, *Ecce beatam lucem*.¹⁸

By contrast, the cardinal received a cool reception in France—the court would brook no papal interference in its affairs. France was caught in the throes of political and religious crisis, caused partly by the unexpected death of Henri II in 1559 from a jousting wound. The widowed Catherine de' Medici now controlled the government, acting as regent for her young sons—François II (who died in 1560), and then Charles IX—and struggled to maintain power against the intrigues of Catholic and Huguenot factions at court. Conscious of the complicated situation, Ippolito managed to gain entry by shrewdly accepting an invitation to dinner from the arch-Huguenot Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Marguerite d'Angoulême and niece of the late François I. After the meal, a defrocked Franciscan friar delivered a sermon sympathetic to the reformers, and the evening concluded with French psalms sung by a children's choir that included Jeanne's son Henri of Navarre, the future Henri IV. In return, some days later the Queen of Navarre visited the cardinal in his lodgings, and there listened, though not without impertinent comments, to a Franciscan friar who preached on orthodox Catholic themes.¹⁹ Ippolito thus paved the way for his acceptance into the council rooms at the French court, but the affair scandalized his superiors in Rome, and the cardinal was commanded to give an explanation for his open attendance at a Huguenot sermon.

Ippolito's two main charges as papal legate were to urge Huguenot officials to attend the Council of Trent, now in its final sessions, and to reconvert to Catholicism Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre and estranged husband of Jeanne d'Albret. Antoine, an unstable and opportunistic character, switched his allegiance from the Huguenot to the Catholic faction and rashly

¹⁸ I. Fenlon and H. Keyte, 'Memorials of Great Skill: A Tale of Five Cities', *EM* 8 (1980), 329-34. For a recording, see *Utopia Triumphans*, Huelgas Ensemble, dir. P. Van Nevel, Sony Classical SK 66 261 (1995).

¹⁹ See the account of the affair in N. L. Roelker, *Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 169-70.

denounced the edict of tolerance for the Huguenots issued by the French court in January 1562. In so doing, he managed to upset Catherine de' Medici's delicately constructed balance of power between opposing religious factions, and set the stage for the first French civil war in the spring of 1562. Ippolito followed the course of the war and was present at the siege of Rouen in the summer, but upon the death of Antoine de Bourbon from a battle wound in November, as well as the general convulsion of the realm in civil war, the cardinal decided to depart from France early in the coming year. With the assassination in February 1563 of François, the Catholic Duke of Guise (husband of Ippolito's niece, Anna d'Este), the cardinal learned that his own life was in danger. The continuation of the war delayed his leaving until April, when peace was finally declared. Suffering continuously from the effects of gout, his diplomatic mission in shambles, his niece's husband assassinated, Ippolito bid France a bitter farewell.

Ill and dejected, he spent the summer of 1563 at his villa in Tivoli, and in 1564 he hired Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525–94) for the summer months.²⁰ By late 1565, as Pius IV lay on his deathbed, Ippolito gamely entered the arena once more in pursuit of the tiara; for the final time it passed him by and was handed to Pope Pius V (Michele Ghislieri; r. 1566–72), the former Inquisitor who had confiscated and burned many of his books in 1558. Again Ippolito was subjected to the charge of simony and his benefices were confiscated; he was forced to attend several papal audiences and beg forgiveness repeatedly before the pope relented and absolved him. To add to his misfortunes, news of Huguenot advances in France reached Rome in the fall of 1567, and the pope blamed Ippolito for the dire situation.

His political ambitions dashed, Ippolito found himself cut off from friends and family, living in exiled disgrace in Tivoli during the final years of his life. He turned his full energies to completing the Villa d'Este, with special focus on laying out terraces for the gardens and planning the fountains.²¹ Music also provided consolation: he again hired the best composer in Rome—Palestrina—to take complete charge of his musical establishment from 1567 to 1571.

Palestrina dedicated his first book of motets for five, six, and seven voices to Ippolito in 1569, and in his preface he pledged that other works would follow.²² Volume two of his motets for five, six, and eight voices appeared in 1572, the year of the cardinal's death, and the new dedicatee was Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua; the third volume of motets (1575) bore a

²⁰ L. Lockwood, 'Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da', *NGD* xiv. 118–37.

²¹ See D. R. Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton, 1960).

²² 'Sequentur hunc, si vita suppetet, et si deus volet, ejusdam generis alii, ex quibus intelligas, beneficia quae in me quotidie confers, apud hominem si nulla alia re insignem, certe quidem non segnem, neque inerti otio deditum collocari.' Complete preface printed in G. P. da Palestrina, *Werke*, i, ed. T. de Witt (Leipzig, 1862) (not paginated).

Ex. 10.3. G. P. da Palestrina, *Tribularer si nescirem*: (a) *soggetto ostinato*; (b) entry pitches

(a)

Mi - se - re - re me - i de - us

(b) Prima pars

8.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5

Secunda pars

8.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5

dedication to Duke Alfonso II d'Este, nephew of Ippolito, and in the preface Palestrina recalled his years of devoted and attentive service to the cardinal.²³

The most important feature of these publications for the discussion at hand is that Palestrina's second volume of motets contains *Tribularer si nescirem*, the only one of his over 350 works in this genre that features a *soggetto ostinato*.²⁴ And he based his subject directly on Josquin's *soggetto* 'miserere mei deus' (Ex. 10.3). Even though his second book of motets bears a dedication to Guglielmo Gonzaga, Palestrina most likely composed his six-voice setting of *Tribularer si nescirem* in the late 1560s while he was in the service of Ippolito. Just as in Vicentino's setting of *Infelix ego*, the motet would aptly address Ippolito's condition of isolation and illness, especially during Palestrina's years of service from 1567 to 1571.

Palestrina turned to the Catholic liturgy for the text of *Tribularer si nescirem*, so only the *soggetto* suggests a possible Savonarolan echo. This is understandable, for by the late 1560s, after repressive years under Counter-Reformation popes, one can imagine that Ippolito would exercise caution regarding further settings of the friar's texts. *Tribularer si nescirem* is a responsory for the Office of Matins on Friday in the first week of Lent.²⁵ The penitential text expresses sentiments similar to those in Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50—the afflicted sinner places hope in the mercy of the Lord—but it is more

²³ 'Cum eorum, quae publice in Ecclesia cani solent, tertium Librum amicorum rogatu in lucem edere decrevissem, te potissimum Serenissimo Princeps delegi, cui eum inscriberem, quasque consecrarem: nam cum multos annos Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Cardinali foelicis recordationis Hippolito quanta potui veneratione ac diligentia inservierim, incredibilem quandam observationem me amplissimo nomini Estensi debere non obscure cognosco.' Palestrina, *Werke*, iii (not paginated).

²⁴ The preface to the *Secundus liber* is printed in Palestrina, *Werke*, ii (not paginated). For a modern edition of *Tribularer si nescirem*, see G. P. da Palestrina, *Le opere complete*, ed. R. Casimiri et al. (Rome, 1939–87), vii. 107.

²⁵ *Liber responsorialis* (1895), 404.

succinct, and, as in all responsories, the text and music for the end of the *prima pars* return at the end of the *secunda pars*.

Tribularer si nescirem
 misericordiam tuam domine.
 Tu dixisti:
 nolo mortem peccatoris
 sed ut magis convertatur et vivat.
 R. Qui Cananeam et publicanum
 vocasti ad penitentiam.

Secunda pars

Secundum multitudinem
 dolorum meorum in corde meo
 consolationes tuae
 laetificaverunt animam meam.
 R. Qui Cananeam et publicanum
 vocasti ad penitentiam.

I would be overcome with affliction
 if I did not know your mercy, Lord.
 You have said:
 I do not desire the death of the sinner
 but only that he be converted and live.
 R. You who called the Canaanite woman
 and publican to repentance.
Secunda pars
 According to the multitude
 of my sorrows in my heart
 your consolations
 have made my soul rejoice.
 R. You who called the Canaanite woman
 and publican to repentance.

Palestrina places the *soggetto ostinato* on 'miserere mei deus' in the second altus (sextus), and he restricts the starting pitches to the range of a fifth on ascending and descending degrees of the scale from D to A in the *prima pars* (Ex. 10.3), retracing the same arched shape for the *secunda pars*. The rests between statements, strict and unvarying, allow for none of the dramatic acceleration that occurred in the concluding sections of the settings of *Infelix ego* by Willaert, Rore, and Vicentino. In fact the *soggetto* is difficult to hear, because Palestrina buries it in the middle of the texture, and it emerges just once during its highest statement on A in bars 46–9. The texture is more consistently imitative than in the motets of Willaert, Rore, and Vicentino, and Palestrina weaves a richly textured web of sound that moves purposefully through each new imitative subject before cadencing and carrying on with a new subject, sweeping the listener along from one luxuriant sonority to the next (Ex. 10.4). The melodic flourish in the superius (bb. 6–8) is reminiscent of the style of French composers such as Richafort and Joly.

Palestrina's motet marks the end of a tradition of Ferrarese motets inspired by or based on Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, including Josquin's *Miserere mei deus* and settings of *Infelix ego* by Willaert, Rore, and Vicentino. We turn next to a different *soggetto* drawn from Lupus Hellinck's setting of Ps. 30, *In te domine speravi*. This motet possibly originated in Ferrara, and, similarly to Josquin's *Miserere*, it provided a *soggetto ostinato* for Claude Le Jeune in his setting of words from Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 30, *Tristitia obsedit me*.

Tristitia obsedit me and Motets by Hellinck and Jeune

New biographical information on the Flemish composer Lupus Hellinck (c.1493–1541) has recently surfaced, opening the way for a re-evaluation of

5

S Tri - bu - la - rer, si ne - sci - rem, si ne - sci -

A Tri - bu - la - rer, si ne - sci -

6

T

5

B

10

S rem.

A rem, tri - bu - la - rer, si

6 Mi - se -

T

5 Tri - bu - la - rer, si ne - sci -

B Tri - bu - la - rer, si ne - sci -

S si ne - sci - rem.

A ne - sci - rem, tri - bu - la -

6 re - re nite - i de - us,

T Tri - bu - la - rer, si

5 rem, tri - bu - la - rer, si ne - sci

B rem, si ne - sci -

his five-voice setting of the opening verses of Ps. 30, *In te domine speravi*, in terms of its possible reference to Savonarola's meditation on the same psalm. First it is necessary to clear up some confusion regarding the identity of several composers named 'Lupus', known collectively as the 'wolf pack'.²⁶ These include Lupus Hellinck of Bruges, Johannes Lupi of Cambrai, and a composer who is named 'Lupus', hitherto regarded as a separate individual and dubbed by modern scholars as the 'Italian Lupus'.

Several motets ascribed to 'Lupus' in sources that originated in Italy around 1520 have given rise to the notion of an 'Italian Lupus'. Because of the two other composers who bear the name Lupus or Lupi, confusion has arisen about the correct attributions of motets in various sources. Bonnie J. Blackburn convincingly established the attributions of individual motets to either Lupus Hellinck or Johannes Lupi, and she also believed that a third composer was the 'Italian Lupus'. But there was in fact a musician, referred to variously as 'Lupo francese' and 'Lupo fiammengo', who was at Ferrara in 1518 and 1519 in the service of Sigismondo d'Este (1480–1524), the youngest son of Ercole I.²⁷ New documents in the Vatican indicate that this hypothetical Italian Lupus is almost certainly Lupus Hellinck himself.

Hellinck is first mentioned in 1506 as a choirboy at St Donatian in Bruges. After his voice changed in 1511 he was granted permission to further his education at the expense of the Chapter, whereupon he disappeared from the church records until 1513, when he was listed as a cleric at St Donatian.²⁸ In 1515 he was again missing from the church records, and by the time he returned in 1519 he had been ordained a priest. Two Vatican documents uncovered by Richard Sherr cast light on Hellinck's whereabouts during the four-year gap from 1515 to 1519. In April 1518 'Lupus Hellinck' (or Hellinck), listed as a member of the household of Pope Leo X, requested permission for priestly ordination, after which he wished to depart from Rome.²⁹ In these documents, Hellinck is described as 24 years old, placing his birthdate in 1493 or 1494. Shortly thereafter, from June 1518 to April 1519, a certain 'Lupo cantore' was in the service of Sigismondo d'Este in Ferrara (called both 'Lupo francese' and 'Lupo fiammengo', according to Sherr), and finally by October 1519 Hellinck was readmitted to the chapter of St Donatian in Bruges, where he remained until his death.

²⁶ G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (rev. edn., New York, 1959), 305–7.

²⁷ B. J. Blackburn, 'The Lupus Problem', Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 1970). The 'Italian Lupus' was thought to be a northerner whose works appear solely in Italian sources; *ibid.* 29–42. See also Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel', 198 n. 21, 199 n. 23, where the records of Lupus' service under Sigismondo are first reported.

²⁸ Blackburn, 'The Lupus Problem', 44–7.

²⁹ R. Sherr (ed.), *Selections from Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19: Rusconi Codex* (The Sixteenth-Century Motet, 6; New York, 1989), pp. xi–xii. This information seems to corroborate, at least in part, Vincenzo Galilei's famous list of composers who were present in Rome for the coronation of Pope Leo X. While Lupus was not in Rome in 1513, we now know he was there by 1518 at the latest and perhaps as early as 1515. For Galilei's list, see E. E. Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript', 437.

The series of dates provided by this new documentation, placing Hellinck first in Rome and then almost certainly in Ferrara, makes it superfluous to posit a third composer, an Italian Lupus. Furthermore, a close examination of the eight motets attributed to the Italian Lupus by Blackburn reveals that they are not far removed in style from motets securely attributed to Lupus Hellinck.³⁰ While the motets attributed to the Italian Lupus are uneven in quality and somewhat more melismatic than those securely attributed to Hellinck, in both groups one finds clear and succinct imitative subjects, as well as a fondness for ostinato formations and wholesale repetitions of music. The motets by the Italian Lupus may thus merely represent an early stage in the development of Hellinck's style.

Four of these early motets hitherto attributed to the Italian Lupus survive in just one source, Bologna Q19, a manuscript choirbook from around 1520 whose repertory includes compositions by many composers associated either directly or indirectly with the court of Ferrara, including Jean Mouton, Jacquet of Mantua, Willaert, Brumel, Maistre Jhan, Lhéritier, and Josquin.³¹ Two of the motets are particularly interesting because of their texts. The first, *Miserere mei deus* for five voices, is based on a melange of psalm verses, and its text calls to mind the famous setting of Ps. 50 by Josquin. The second motet, *Miserere mei domine*, draws its text from the second verse of Ps. 6:

Miserere mei domine,	Have mercy on me, O Lord,
quoniam infirmus sum,	for I am weak:
sana me domine,	heal me, O Lord,
quoniam conturbata sunt	for my bones
omnia ossa mea.	are troubled.

The opening imitative subject quotes the streamlined melody from Josquin's *Miserere*—music that was of course very familiar, especially in Ferrara. The six voices enter with the subject in imitation, so that the melody appears on B or E in each of the first seven bars. The text is well suited to the plight of a patron such as Sigismondo d'Este, stricken as he was with venereal disease and doomed to an early death.³²

One other motet, this one specifically attributed to Lupus Hellinck, may have Savonarolan overtones. *In te domine speravi*, a setting of the first five

³⁰ The eight motets by Lupus and modern editions are: *Esto nobis domine turris fortitudinis*, in Lowinsky (ed.), *The Medici Codex of 1518*, Music vol., 394; *In nomine Jesu*, *In convertendo*, *Miserere mei deus*, *Miserere mei domine*, all in Bologna Q19, all except *In convertendo* edited in Sherr, *Selections from Bologna . . .* Q 19, vii. 67, 77, 83; for *In convertendo*, see Attaignant, *Treize livres de motets*, ix. 37; *Postquam consummati sunt*, in *Motetti della Corona*, ii (Fossombrone, 1519), ed. in Attaignant, *Treize livres*, i. 183; *O spem non similem*, in the Vallicelliana partbooks; and *Deus cantium novum*, in Bologna Q20, in M. Lewis (ed.), *The Bughat Motet Anthologies (The Sixteenth-Century Motet*, 14; New York, 1995), 12.

³¹ On composers in Bologna Q19, see Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel', 234–41. See also R. Nosow, 'The Dating and Provenance of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19', *JM* 9 (1991), 92–108.

³² Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel', 198.

verses of Ps. 30, is preserved in some twenty-four sources, and stands out as one of Hellinck's most widely distributed motets.³³ Perhaps significantly, it makes its first appearance in the Vallicelliana partbooks, copied in Florence between 1527 and 1530; it will be recalled that this source also contains Verdelot's *Laetamini in domino*, which quotes Savonarola's tune *Ecce quam bonum*. Hellinck's motet went on to appear in two French publications, first in Lyons in 1532, then Paris in 1535.³⁴ In addition to its wide distribution, the motet served as the model for no fewer than four parody masses, including works by Gheerkin, Loyset Piéton, Palestrina, and Hellinck himself.³⁵

Given Hellinck's activity in Ferrara, the possibility arises that he composed *In te domine speravi* under the influence of the Este, either during his service at the court in 1518 or 1519, or some time within the decade after his return to Bruges. In any case he created it before 1530, when it was copied into the Vallicelliana partbooks. The opening subject (Ex. 10.5), with its repeated notes and double descent, suggests an origin in chant, and in fact it closely resembles the solemn tone for Lessons at Matins.³⁶ Hellinck's subject has the effect of a clarion call, as it enters in all five voices in succession, and this effect was put to good use a few decades later, when Claude Le Jeune turned Hellinck's melody into a *sogetto ostinato* in his musical setting of portions of the opening paragraph of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 30, *Tristitia obsedit me* (on the text, see below) (Ex. 10.6).³⁷ Le Jeune places Hellinck's theme in a relatively high register in the quintus (second superius), always starting on the pitch *c''*, while the other four voices sing the words of Savonarola's meditation. In this sense, Le Jeune seems to be making an explicit, after-the-fact association between the opening subject of Hellinck's motet and

³³ The work is edited in Attaingnant, *Treize livres*, ix. 55. Sources are listed in Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript', 470–1. Hellinck's *In te domine speravi* even received prominent mention in a Flemish–French conversation manual published in 1543. The participants in the dialogue, having just attended Mass at Notre-Dame du Sablon in Brussels, are listening to a performance of Hellinck's motet by the singers of Emperor Charles V's chapel; one of them pronounces it a 'fine motet'. Translated into English in Blackburn, 'The Lupus Problem', 5–6. Originally cited in R. Lenaerts, *Het nederlands polyfonies lied in de zestiende eeuw* (Mechelen, 1933), 155–9; also quoted in English in R. C. Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500', *JAMS* 49 (1996), 409–79 at 409.

³⁴ *Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus* (Lyons: Moderne, 1532) and *Liber nonus, XVIII . . . psalmos* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1535).

³⁵ Gheerkin's *Missa In te domine speravi* is in 's-Hertogenbosch MS 74; Piéton's five-voice setting is in BAV CS 19; Hellinck's four-voice mass is in: Cambrai 20, Cambrai 124 ('Et resurrexit' only); Montserrat 776, and 1568¹; see Blackburn, 'The Lupus Problem', 398. Palestrina's six-voice setting was published posthumously in his *Missarum liber nonus* (Venice, 1599).

³⁶ LU 120; the same melody occurs for the text *In te domine speravi* near the end of two *Te Deum* settings by Jacobus de Kerle, but departs from Hellinck's melody at 'non confundar in aeternum'. De Kerle was possibly quoting the chant tone from Matins, rather than Hellinck's motet.

³⁷ Le Jeune's setting of *Tristitia obsedit me* was printed posthumously in *Second livre des meslanges* (Paris, 1612). The motet has been recorded on Claude Le Jeune, *Motets Latins*, Ensemble Jacques Moderne, dir. Jean-Pierre Ouvrard, Musica Nova, MN7 (1991), and on Claude Le Jeune, *Missa Ad Placitum*, Ensemble Clément Janequin, Harmonia Mundi France, HMC 901607 (1997).

Ex. 10.5. (Cont'd)

10

In te, do - mi - ne, spe - ra - vi, non con - fun -
 num. non
 non con - fun -
 dar in ae - ter - num.
 mi - ne, spe - ra - vi, in te, do -

Ex. 10.6. Claude Le Jeune, *Tristitia obsedit me*: (a) *soggetto ostinato*; (b) entry pitches

(a)

In te, do - mi - ne, spe - ra - vi

(b) Prima pars

Secunda pars

(final statement)

In te, do - mi - ne, spe -

ra - vi non con - fun - dar in ae - ter - num.

Josquin's ostinato subject from his setting of *Miserere mei deus* with Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, thus linking Josquin's motet with the friar's text.

A closer look at Le Jeune's procedure in *Tristitia obsedit me* makes clear that his motet does in fact borrow its ostinato subject directly from Hellinck's *In te domine speravi*. The quintus sings the *soggetto* four times in the *prima pars*, in a version that follows Hellinck's opening subject, but in augmented rhythmic values (Ex. 10.6). The *secunda pars* contains ten statements of the *soggetto* in faster rhythms that now exactly match those of the model, and the final statement confirms the borrowing by quoting the continuation of Hellinck's phrase 'non confundar in aeternum', again reproducing the same pitches and rhythms up to the word 'in'; the final three notes of Le Jeune's *soggetto* depart from Hellinck's model in order to facilitate the closing cadence.

Unlike the *soggetto ostinato* in motets on *Infelix ego* by Willaert, Rore, and Vicentino, where it can be heard clearly at some points but then is submerged for other entries, Le Jeune's *soggetto* is audible at every entry. Two factors account for this: it always enters in the quintus voice on the same pitch in a relatively high register, and the superius often retreats into the background at this point, either by resting or by descending to a lower register.

Noteworthy in Le Jeune's layout of the *soggetto* is the unvarying length in the alternation of rests and sung statements; the absolute strictness of the pattern resembles Palestrina's procedure in *Tribularer si nescirem*. In the *prima pars*, six bars of rest alternate with another six bars of the *soggetto*, while in the *secunda pars* both these values are halved. Perhaps significantly, Josquin's own *soggetto* for *Miserere mei deus* is also six bars in length, as are the *soggetti* on 'miserere mei deus' of Willaert, Rore, and Palestrina; only Vicentino's *soggetto*, with four bars, is shorter.

When might Le Jeune have composed his setting of *Tristitia obsedit me*? It is difficult to date many of his works, because very little is known about his life until 1570, when he was active in Jean-Antoine de Baif's Academy of Poetry and Music in Paris. We do know he was born in Valenciennes between 1528 and 1530, some twenty miles west of Mons, where his famous contemporary, Orlande de Lassus, was born about the same time.³⁹ Around 1560 he appears to have converted to the Huguenot faith. By the time he died in Paris in 1600 he had established himself as the most accomplished French composer from the second half of the century; the quality of his work bears favourable comparison with that of Lassus and Palestrina. The bulk of

³⁹ Biographical details are provided in D. P. Walker and F. Lesure, 'Claude Le Jeune and *Musique Mesurée*', *MD* 3 (1949), 151-70.

his oeuvre is devoted to French-texted music, including settings of *vers mesuré* from his years with Baif's Academy in the 1570s, as well as settings of French psalms from the Huguenot Psalter, ranging from simple harmonizations for three voices of all 150 psalms to complex settings scored for as many as seven voices, the latter published just before his death in the *Dodecacorde* of 1598. In the realm of Latin sacred music, Le Jeune's production is comparatively small, apparently because of his allegiance to the Huguenot faith. Only one setting each of the Mass and the Magnificat survive, as well as some eleven motets: the latter works appeared in two publications, the *Livre de mélanges* (Antwerp, 1585) and the posthumous *Second livre des meslanges* (Paris, 1612).⁴⁰ The sole source for *Tristitia obsedit me* is the 1612 print, so it offers no help in the attempt to determine a date of composition.

The remainder of Le Jeune's biography and publication history provides precious few clues. He first appeared in print with three chansons in anthologies published by Phalèse in Louvain in 1552, and their rather dense contrapuntal style attests to his early compositional activity in the Low Countries.⁴¹ Only in 1564 did he surface in a publication devoted entirely to his own works, the *Dix Pseaumes de David*, and by this time he was securely established in Paris as an adherent of the Huguenot camp. These psalms are settings of translations by the prominent Huguenot Theodore de Bèze, and their musical style is modest, with much chordal writing and clear declamation of the words.⁴² The 1564 book also includes an impressive *chanson spirituelle*, *Mais qui es tu*, in the form of a seven-voice dialogue in which the faithful Huguenot (the four low voices) asks questions of Religion (the three high voices). The dedication reveals Le Jeune's Huguenot loyalty: he offers it to François de la Noue and Charles de Téligny, noblemen who fought on the Huguenot side in the long series of French wars of religion that commenced in 1562.⁴³ In the dedicatory preface, Le Jeune remarks that his work appears after the 'dark and distressing times that we have seen during the past troubles', referring to the first civil war, and he goes on to say that now, after the Edict of Amboise has produced a truce between the warring sides, there is a 'more serene and calm atmosphere'.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ One three-voice work, *Nigra sum*, appeared relatively early in *Modulorum temis vocibus . . . volumen primum* (Paris, 1565). The superior partbook now appears to be lost.

⁴¹ See K. J. Levy, 'The Chansons of Claude Le Jeune', Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 1955), 42–56; a fourth chanson is spuriously attributed to Le Jeune in the edition of 1552.

⁴² The *Dix Pseaumes* are edited in N. Labelle, *Les Différents Styles de la musique religieuse en France: le psaume de 1539 à 1572* (Henryville, Pa., 1981), iii, 43–167.

⁴³ Téligny was the future son-in-law of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the Protestant whose attempted assassination set off the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of Huguenots in 1572.

⁴⁴ Walker and Lesure, 'Claude Le Jeune', 152.

Given Le Jeune's Huguenot beliefs and the unstable political situation in France, it is perhaps understandable that after the *Dix Pseaumes* of 1564 his music did not appear again for twenty years in any volumes devoted entirely to his own music until his *Mélanges* of 1585. By this time he had been employed for several years in royal service, and he had obtained a royal patent for printing his music. Apart from his activities in Paris with the Academy of Baïf in the 1570s, he can be traced to the service of François d'Anjou, the youngest son of Catherine de' Medici, from around 1579 until the duke's death in 1584.⁴⁵ In the 1590s he was in the service of the new king, Henri IV, as 'maistre compositeur ordinaire de la musique de nostre chambre', where he remained until his death. The bulk of his music appeared in posthumous publications.

Circumstantial evidence points to Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este as a possible patron for Le Jeune's setting of *Tristitia obsedit me*. The special nature of Le Jeune's Savonarolan text, the strong association of Savonarola with Ferrara, and the particular structure of the motet, with its *soggetto ostinato*, all suggest that it was composed for Ippolito, who apparently followed a Ferrarese tradition cultivated by his brother, Duke Ercole II, when he commissioned a similar setting of Savonarola's *Infelix ego* from Vicentino; Palestrina's similar use of Josquin's *soggetto* from *Miserere mei deus* in his *Tribularer si nescirem* points to Ippolito's patronage as well.

But where might Le Jeune have encountered the cardinal? An Italian journey has been proposed for the composer, given his arrangements of some forty-three Italian villanellas and canzonettas. Many of the original Italian models on which Le Jeune based his settings were published in Italy in the mid-1550s, while others only reached print in the 1580s, suggesting that he perhaps had access to these later works in manuscript form.⁴⁶ Although no documentary evidence has been found, the period of the 1550s has been suggested as a likely time for the young composer to have visited Italy.⁴⁷ While contact with the great teacher Willaert at Venice is plausible, since among other things Le Jeune made a very close French adaptation of that master's dialogue for seven voices, '*Quando nascet amor*',⁴⁸ one could also hazard the guess that Le Jeune was present in Italy in the 1550s as a member of Ippolito's retinue, during the cardinal's appointment as lieutenant to Henri II in Siena. We know that several French singers were in the cardinal's

⁴⁵ On François d'Anjou, see M. P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1986).

⁴⁶ See I. His, 'Les Modèles italiens de Claude Le Jeune', *RdM* 77 (1991), 25–58; see also ead., 'Italianism and Claude Le Jeune', *EMH* 13 (1994), 149–70.

⁴⁷ The reasons are summarized in Levy, 'Chansons of Claude Le Jeune', 57–9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 58–9. See also R. Freedman, 'Claude Le Jeune, Adrian Willaert and the Art of Musical Translation', *EMH* 13 (1994), 123–48.

service, including his *maestro di cappella* Pierre Sandrin.⁴⁹ And in 1555, when Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua expressed a wish to have one of these singers at his court, the cardinal responded that he would send two 'cantoretti Francesi' (little French singers—possibly one of the earliest references to the castrato voice) so the duke could decide which one he preferred.⁵⁰

Yet contact between Le Jeune and the cardinal could also have occurred somewhat later, during Ippolito's residence in France as papal legate from 1561 to 1563. Given the cardinal's love for music, he could have been aware of the talented young Le Jeune, and he was conveniently in touch with Huguenots at the French court, as his contact with the Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, attests. Ippolito might well have commissioned *Tristitia obsedit me* from Le Jeune during this period in France.

Le Jeune's motet stands out among his works for its *soggetto ostinato* on 'In te domine speravi'. The text in the other voices is a condensed version of the opening of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 30; after quoting the opening of the friar's meditation, Le Jeune omits the rest and skips ahead to the conclusion of Savonarola's second paragraph for his *secunda pars*:

Tristitia obsedit me,
magno et forti exercitu
vallavit me,
occupavit cor meum
clamoribus et armis
die noctuque contra me
pugnare non cessat.

Secunda pars

Vocabo dominum,
veniet profecto,
nec me confundet.
Ecce jam venit,
gaudium attulit,
pugnare me docuit,
dixitque mihi:
Clama ne cesses.
Et aio: Quid clamabo?
Dic, inquit,
confidenter et ex toto corde:

Sadness has besieged me,
with a great and strong host
she has hedged me in,
she has oppressed my heart
with clamours, and with weapons
day and night she ceases not
to fight against me.

Secunda pars

I shall call the Lord,
and he will make haste to come,
and will not fail me.
Lo, he has come already;
he has brought Gladness;
he has taught me to fight
and has said to me,
Cry aloud, cease not;
and I say, What shall I cry?
Say, he replies,
boldly and with all your heart:

⁴⁹ Lesure, 'Un musicien d'Hippolyte d'Este', 247.

⁵⁰ The cardinal's letter is dated 9 Nov. 1555. 'Cantoretto' is an unusual term and could refer to a boy soprano, but it has been suggested as an early reference to a castrato because the cardinal wrote a similar letter to the Mantuan duke (2 June 1563) in which he specifically offered to send two 'cantori castrati' so that the duke could choose the one whose voice pleased him most. See R. Sherr, 'Guglielmo Gonzaga and the Castrati', *RQ* 33 (1980), 33–56; and A. Bertolotti, *Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII* (Milan, 1890; repr. Geneva, 1978), 159.

Ex. 10.7. (Cont'd)

45

pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat,
 te, do - mi - ne, spe -
 re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non
 sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non
 pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat,
 pu - gna - re non ces - sat, non ces - sat.
 ra - vi.
 ces - sat, non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat.
 ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, non ces - sat.
 pu - gna - re non ces - sat, non ces - sat.

ogy based on style. But one can turn to the seven-voice dialogue; *Mais qui es tu*, appended to the French psalms, reveals Le Jeune as an accomplished composer by this time. The skilled handling of imitative entries coupled with the smooth and affective harmonic writing indicate complete mastery.⁵²

In addition, one can establish stylistic norms for the late 1550s and early 1560s by looking at the work of Le Jeune's contemporary, Lassus, whose music was widely printed in France. In fact two volumes of Lassus's motets

⁵² For an edition of the piece, see H. Expert (ed.), Claude Le Jeune, *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde (IX–XII), Pseaumes des Meslanges de 1612, Dialogue à sept parties (1564)* (MMRF 8; Paris, 1928), 77; for a recording, see Claude Le Jeune, *Meslanges*, Ensemble Clément Janequin, Harmonia Mundi France, HMC 1182 (1985).

were published by Le Roy and Ballard in Paris as early as 1564 and 1565. The latter includes the famous motet *Timor et tremor*, which embodies the Italianate tendency to paint a vivid picture for the listener. During the 1560s in particular Italianate word-painting, or madrigalism, swept through France in the genre of the French chanson.⁵³ The conclusion of Lassus's *Timor et tremor*, on the words 'non confundar', bears comparison with a similar text concerning struggle at the end of the *prima pars* in Le Jeune's motet. Lassus sets the words to stormy shifting accents and vertiginous descending thirds that threaten to run the ensemble onto the rocks. Comparable is Le Jeune's setting of the words 'pugnare non cessat' ([she] ceases not to fight [against me]), which features similar unstable harmonies, strong leaps, and emphatic repeated notes that bring to life a small-scale battle scene (Ex. 10.7).

Other portions of Le Jeune's *Tristitia obsedit me* employ vivid word-painting. The melodic lines at the opening of the motet leap upward to long held notes that fall away through dissonant passing notes, creating a sense of painful friction as the voices press past one another (Ex. 10.8). In the *secunda pars* a wonderfully dramatic moment marks the arrival of the Lord, who brings Gladness in his train ('Ecce jam venit, gaudium attulit', CD track 25 at 3:38). Here the lines move more swiftly, with joyous ascending melismas for 'gaudium'. Next, the Lord teaches the besieged supplicant to fight ('pugnare me docuit'), telling him to cry out without ceasing ('clama ne cesses'); Le Jeune arrests the listener's attention by writing wide leaps up to high registers as well as long note-values (CD track 25 at 4:30). The supplicant asks further what he should exclaim ('Et aio: Quid clamabo?'), and here the music is marvellously expressive, as the harmony oscillates in a hesitating manner between third-related sonorities on F and A, and the superius ascends plaintively to its highest pitch (CD track 25 at 4:51). Finally, at the end of the motet all the voices (except the tenor) intone the melody of the *soggetto*, as they enter one by one with the opening words of Ps. 30 (CD track 25 at 5:24). Le Jeune's setting is a superbly dramatic evocation of Savonarola's desperate state of mind. His vivid musical tableau employs madrigalistic devices found in other works from the late 1550s and early 1560s, and, coupled with the biographical considerations mentioned earlier, suggests an origin for *Tristitia obsedit me* in the same time period.

A further association between Ippolito and Hellinck's and Le Jeune's motets is suggested by Palestrina's adoption of Hellinck's motet as a model for a parody mass, the *Missa In te domine speravi* for six voices, published posthumously in 1599. The cardinal thus emerges as one of the most active of all the sixteenth-century agents who commissioned musical settings of texts written, or inspired, by Savonarola. In the first group are Vicentino's

⁵³ Levy, 'The Chansons of Claude Le Jeune', 191–200.

Ex. 10.8. Le Jeune, *Tristitia obsedit me*, bb. 1-13 (CD track 25)

5

S
Tri - sti - ti - a ob -

5

A
Tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me, ob - se - dit

T
Tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me,

B
Tri - sti - ti - a

se - dit me, ob - se - dit me, tri - sti -

In te, do - mi -

me, tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit

ob - se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a ob -

ob - se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a ob -

10

- ti - a ob - se - dit me,

ne, spe - ra - vi,

me, ob - se - dit me, ma - gno et

se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me, ma -

se - dit me, ma - gno et for - ti ex -

Infelix ego and Le Jeune's *Tristitia obsedit me*, and in the second are Palestrina's *Tribularer si nescirem*, with its *soggetto ostinato* on 'miserere mei deus', and perhaps also his parody mass on Hellinck's motet, *In te domine speravi*.⁵⁴ Thus we can trace a Ferrarese tradition of works that combine Josquin's *soggetto ostinato* on 'miserere mei deus' with a Savonarolan text in motets by Willaert, Rore, Vicentino, and, less directly, Palestrina, as well as a possible extension of that tradition in Le Jeune's *Tristitia obsedit me*. The series begins with Josquin's *Miserere mei deus* for Duke Ercole I d'Este from around 1503, and extends through the 1560s, with Palestrina's and Le Jeune's compositions for his grandson, Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este. No doubt an element of competition or rivalry existed between Ippolito and his brother, Duke Ercole II, who earlier had apparently commissioned Savonarolan motets from Willaert and Rore. These two brothers, while building on the legacy left by their grandfather, must also have relied on performances of these penitential motets—with their contemplation of the possibility of despair and eventual embracing of hope—to help sustain their spirits in times of tribulation. While Ercole II struggled against the political embarrassment caused by the suspected heresy of his wife Renée and her French court, and was vulnerable to the changing policies of the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, Cardinal Ippolito experienced severe turns of Fortune's wheel, from high papal favour to utter disgrace and exile. What better way to soothe their minds than by listening to performances of Savonarolan motets in the privacy of their chambers? These settings, however, do not mark the end of musical compositions based on Savonarola's texts. Other composers outside the Este orbit in the Low Countries, Germany, and England also took up Savonarola's meditations, as we shall see in the final two chapters.

⁵⁴ The question of Palestrina's choice of models for parody masses requires further investigation that is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that of his twenty-five masses based on motets by other composers, no fewer than twelve of the motets were published by Moderne in Lyons by 1532, and then two more were published there in 1538 and 1542, making a total of fourteen. Recalling that Ippolito was Archbishop of Lyons from 1536 to 1552, and that he was steeped in French culture, we might look to him as a stimulus for Palestrina's choice of models. One should note, however, that already in 1554 in his first book of masses, Palestrina had published three works based on models from Lyons, a decade before he had any documented contact with Ippolito. Nevertheless, Ippolito was very active as a patron in Rome in 1550 and 1551, and Palestrina could hardly have avoided coming into contact with this Maecenas of music. For an analytical investigation of the masses, see Q. W. Quereau, 'Palestrina and the Motetti del Fiore of Jacques Moderne: A Study of Borrowing Procedures in Fourteen Parody Masses', Ph.D. diss. (Yale University, 1974).

II

Motets on Savonarola's Psalm Meditations in the Low Countries and Germany

Beyond the Ferrarese–French tradition of musical settings for portions of Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 30 and 50, three further motets from the Low Countries and Germany attest to interest in the friar's last writings. Clemens non Papa, Orlande de Lassus, and Jacob Reiner each contributed a motet to the tradition, with Clemens drawing on both meditations on Pss. 30 and 50, and Lassus and Reiner choosing just the meditation on Ps. 50. Here it is necessary to return to the 1540s in order to examine the setting of Savonarola's texts by Clemens, a setting that apparently arose independently of the Ferrarese–French tradition.

Clemens non Papa, Tristitia obsedit me

Clemens non Papa, a prolific composer of motets who was employed at Bruges and other localities in the Low Countries, set to music the opening of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 30, *Tristitia obsedit me*, and then continued in the same motet with the opening of the meditation on Ps. 50, *Infelix ego*. The only other musical setting of portions of the meditation on Ps. 30 is Claude Le Jeune's motet *Tristitia obsedit me*, discussed in the previous chapter. Clemens must have composed his *Tristitia obsedit me* at least a decade before Le Jeune made his own setting, and the different disposition of voices—Clemens uses only four voices and has no *soggetto ostinato*—as well as striking dissimilarities in the selection of phrases from Savonarola's text suggest that Le Jeune was either unaware of, or at least uninfluenced by, Clemens's motet.

Jacob Clement, known as Clemens non Papa (c.1510–c.1556) made his debut as a composer with a chanson published in Paris in 1536, suggesting early activity in France.¹ The sobriquet 'non Papa' (not the Pope) first appears

¹ *Le départir est sans département* is anonymous in a collection published in Paris by Attaignant in 1536, but it is subsequently attributed to 'Jaques Clément' in another collection by the same publisher from 1538. See K. P. Bernet Kempers, 'Bibliography of the Sacred Works of Jacobus Clemens non Papa: A Classified List with a Notice on his Life', *MD* 18 (1964), 85–150 at 88.

in 1545 in sources of the composer's music.² On first impression this seems a mere jest, since Pope Clement VII had died more than a decade earlier, in 1534. This Medici pope, however, had a reputation as a skilled musician,³ and Clemens, who had not yet established a reputation in print as a composer, may have intended to distinguish his name from that of a pontiff so despised by religious reformers in the north.⁴

The life of Clemens is only sketchily documented, and even that is limited to a period covering just over a decade, from 1544 to 1555–6. The earliest evidence places him as a priest and succentor at St Donatian in Bruges in 1544, where such illustrious musicians as Antoine Busnoys and Jacob Obrecht had been employed in the late fifteenth century, and where Lupus Hellinck, discussed in the previous chapter, worked until his death in 1541. Clemens served as Hellinck's near successor, but lasted little more than a year before moving to the service of Philippe de Croy, a prominent general of Emperor Charles V.⁵ After Croy's death in 1549, Clemens spent a few months in 1550 in the employ of the Marian brotherhood at 's-Hertogenbosch. His whereabouts after that are unknown, but many of his works are preserved in sources in Leiden, suggesting a connection with that city. By 1555 or 1556 he had died.⁶

Clemens composed a large number of motets, more than 230, many of them addressed to saints and to the Blessed Virgin; these place him in the mainstream of orthodox Catholic belief. He did, however, compose several motets whose texts stand out for their warnings of coming tribulation and their castigation of Babylon, the common name for the corrupt Church at Rome.⁷ One should note that Flanders witnessed savage persecution of reformers in 1544 and 1545, and the composition of motets apparently sympathetic to reform may help to explain Clemens's departure from St Donatian in 1545 after only one year there.⁸ Perhaps he nurtured sympathy

² See the group of chansons by Clemens printed by Tielman Susato, *Huïtiesme livre des chansons* (Antwerp, 1545); see Bernet Kempers, 'Bibliography', 87.

³ See the contemporary accounts of the Venetians Marino Sanuto and Antonio Soriano cited in Cummings, *The Politicized Muse*, 75.

⁴ Another Medici pope, Leo X (r. 1513–21), inspired a similar ploy on the part of a composer named Leo non Papa whose compositions appear in German prints of the 1560s, long after this pope's death. Leo X did in fact possess some skill as a composer; see André Pirro, 'Leo X and Music', *MQ* 21 (1935), 1–16. He was of course the object of hatred and the butt of pamphleteers' jokes in the Protestant north, for Luther had defied him in 1517, and his cousin Clement VII, no less despised, had been in power in 1527 when the Imperial army and its large contingent of Lutherans sacked Rome.

⁵ This is suggested by mention of Clemens in a history of the Croy family and the appearance of four state motets dedicated to Charles V and his councillors, including one on the death in 1549 of Philippe de Croy, *Quam moesta dies*. See Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 190–203.

⁶ In 1558 Jacob Vaet published a lament for Clemens; see Bernet Kempers, 'Bibliography', 91.

⁷ See e.g. *Vae tibi Babylon*.

⁸ On the persecutions, see A. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London, 1990), 91. On Clemens's choice of motet texts, see Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art*, 115–21. After commenting on a series of Clemens's deeply personal motet texts and others that refer to Jerusalem ('the symbol of the New Gospel', 117),

for the Reformation, or he worked for a patron who harboured such sympathies and commissioned motets with reformist texts.⁹

One motet that may have roused the ire of Church authorities is *Tristitia obsedit me*, first printed by Susato in Antwerp in 1553.¹⁰ Both Clemens and his patrons in the Low Countries had ready access to Savonarola's psalm meditations, for the original Latin versions were printed in numerous editions in Antwerp (c. 1500, 1502, 1535, 1536, and 1542) and in Flemish translations in Antwerp and Delft (1529, c. 1535, and 1543).¹¹ Clemens must have composed *Tristitia obsedit me* in full awareness that Savonarola was the author of the text.

In his setting, Clemens draws on various passages from the opening of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 30, and then he shifts unexpectedly to the meditation on Ps. 50, *Infelix ego*, at the end of the *prima pars*. In fact his choice of text, with the exception of the opening three words, differs completely from Claude Le Jeune's motet of the same title. In the following, ellipses indicate omissions from the original meditations of Savonarola:

Tristitia obsedit me . . .	Sadness has besieged me . . .
Amici mei sunt in castris eius et facti sunt mihi inimici.	My friends are in her camp, and have become my enemies.
Quaecumque video, quaecumque audio, vexilla tristitiae deferunt.	Whatever I see, whatever I hear, carries the banners of Sadness.
Memoria amicorum me contristat . . .	The memory of friends makes me melancholy . . .
cogitatio peccatorum me premit . . .	thinking about my sins forcibly weighs me down. . . .
Infelix ego . . .	Alas wretch that I am . . .
quì coelum terramque offendi.	who have offended heaven and earth.

Lowinsky states 'all in all, this certainly is not the language spoken by a man who feels sure and safe or has inner peace because he believes in the promises of his Church. It is rather the stirring language adopted by a sincere and restless seeker of God. All these texts, instead of dealing with the great intermediary between God and man, the Church, speak of the immediate relation between God and the human soul, a main theme of reformatory thinking': *ibid.* 118–19.

⁹ Repression caused many sympathizers of reform to withdraw into themselves, where they could maintain their beliefs yet avoid persecution by still carrying out the external forms of orthodox worship; those who practised dissimulation in this manner were labelled Nicodemites by Jean Calvin. See W. J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (New York and Oxford, 1988), 216. See also C. Ginzburg, *Il Nicodemismo: simulazione e dissimulazione nell'Europa del '500* (Turin, 1970), and P. Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

¹⁰ *Liber primus ecclesiasticarum cantionum* (Antwerp: Susato, 1553). The only other sources are also prints: by Scotto (Venice, 1554) and Montanus and Neuber (Nuremberg, 1556); the latter volume includes Willaert's *Infelix ego*. For a modern edition of *Tristitia obsedit me*, see J. Clemens non Papa, *Opera omnia*, xii, ed. K. P. Bernet Kempers (AIM, 1965), 35. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art*, 116, drew attention to Clemens's text and referred to it as spoken by 'Dying Man'.

¹¹ Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 362–7, 407–10.

Secunda pars

Quid igitur faciam?
 Desperabo? Absit.
 Misericors est deus,
 pius est salvator meus. . . .
 Ad te igitur,
 piissime deus,
 tristis ac moerens venio . . .
 [en quaeso:]
 Miserere mei deus,
 secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.

Secunda pars

What therefore shall I do?
 Shall I despair? Far from it.
 God is merciful,
 my Saviour is loving. . . .
 To you, therefore,
 most merciful God,
 I come sad and sorrowful . . .
 [behold I say:]
 Have mercy upon me, O God,
 according to your great mercy.

In addition to its idiosyncratic selection of phrases from Savonarola's two meditations, Clemens's motet stands apart from other settings of Savonarola's texts by its scoring for four voices (with the exception of Simon Joly's cycle on *Infelix ego*), and by the absence of a *soggetto ostinato*. These features suggest that Clemens composed his motet without knowledge of the settings of *Infelix ego* by Willaert and Rore in Ferrara.

Clemens's musical style stands apart as well. He combines obsessive repetitions of the words, dissonant suspensions in almost every bar, and a continuous stream of overlapping imitative entries to create a dense and clamorous texture that barely allows the singers time to catch a breath. *Tristitia obsedit me* opens with close imitative entries that clash plangently in a chain of suspensions (Ex. 11.1). In fact already in the second bar the superius enters on a dissonance against the held D in the altus, setting the tone for the unrelieved mood of struggle in the first forty bars. Occasional chordal passages stem the flow of counterpoint, but for most of the motet Clemens obsessively repeats phrases of text in an apparent desire to wring every drop of expression from one melody before proceeding to the next. Especially haunting are the

EX. 11.1. Clemens non Papa, *Tristitia obsedit me*, bb. 1-15 (CD track 26)

Ex. 11.1. (*Cont'd*)

5

dit me, tri - sti -
tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me, ob -
se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a ob -
Tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit

10

ti - a ob - se - dit me, ob - se -
se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit
se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me,
me, ob - se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a

15

dit me, ob - se - dit me, a -
me, ob - se -
ob - se -
ob - se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a ob - se -

multiple statements of 'et facti sunt mihi' (bb. 29–36; CD track 26 at 1:08), where the voices enter in close succession no fewer than ten times before finally expanding into a melismatic flourish on 'inimici'.

Clemens saves the most dramatic music in the piece for the *secunda pars*, which opens with the rhetorical question 'quid igitur faciam?', repeated

Ex. 11.2. Clemens non Papa, *Tristitia obsedit me*, bars 102–27 (CD track 26 at 4:00)

Secunda pars

105

S Quid i - gi - tur fa -

A Quid i - gi - tur

T Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am? fa -

B Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am? fa - ci -

110

S - ci - am? Quid i - gi -

A fa - ci - am? Quid i - gi - tur fa -

T - ci - am? Quid i - gi - tur fa -

B am? Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am?

115

S tur fa - ci - am? De - spe - ra - bo?

A - ci - am? De - spe - ra - bo? De -

T ci - am? De - spe - ra - bo? De -

B De - spe - ra - bo?

deus' (bb. 125–7), which unfolds into a poignant cascade on 'pius est salvator meus' as each voice descends in turn.

Clemens's motet stands as an extravagantly rhetorical expression of Savonarola's two meditations, with far more repetition of text and ostinato-like melodies than any other of the settings considered so far. Only William Byrd's *Infelix ego*, composed some thirty years later, surpasses it in textual repetition and musical intensity.

Lassus and Reiner, Infelix ego

Turning to the next generation of composers who set Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 to music, Orlande de Lassus (c.1530–94) published his six-voice setting of *Infelix ego* in his *Sacrae cantiones . . . liber quartus* (Venice, 1566), and it was soon reprinted in Germany, Italy, and France.¹² Lassus's cosmopolitan early career centres on the major cities of Italy, including Milan, Naples, and Rome. Born in Mons in the county of Hainaut in southern Belgium,¹³ he was taken by Ferrante Gonzaga to Italy as a boy in 1544, and visited Mantua and Sicily before settling in Milan during the years 1546 to 1549, where Ferrante served as governor for Charles V. After spending a few years in Naples, he then moved to Rome, where he was appointed *maestro di cappella* at San Giovanni in Laterano in 1553. In 1554 he left Italy and travelled north to Antwerp, where his first printed works were issued in 1555, and where he most likely became acquainted with Clemens's *Tristitia obsedit me*; his motets in general exhibit familiarity with the work of the older master. By 1556 he received an appointment to the chapel of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, at whose court in Munich he spent the remainder of his life.¹⁴

How did Lassus come to set the text of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 to music? Duke Albrecht, famed for his patronage of music, maintained close relations with the court of Ferrara, and his familiarity with musical repertory from the Este court may have inspired him to request a setting of *Infelix ego* from Lassus. Albrecht had earlier commissioned a splendidly illuminated

¹² In keeping with Lassus's stature as the most-published composer of the 16th c., *Infelix ego* appeared in seven editions during his lifetime: *Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) sex et octo vocum . . . liber quartus* (Venice: Gardano, 1566; reprinted 1569, 1579, 1593). Other editions are: *Selectissimae cantiones* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1568), *Moduli sex septem et duodecim vocum* (Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1573; repr. La Rochelle: Haultin, 1576). A modern edition is in O. de Lassus, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. F. X. Haberl and A. Sandberger (Leipzig, 1894–1926), xiii. 95. A new edition in modern clefs is: Orlando di Lasso, *The Complete Motets*, 5, ed. P. Bergquist (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 109; Madison, 1997). For a recording, see Lassus, *Masses for Five voices, Infelix ego*, Oxford Camerata, dir. J. Summerly, Naxos 8.550842 (1993).

¹³ Mons lies just east of Josquin's retirement town of Condé-sur-l'Escaut, which itself is just down-river from Valenciennes, birthplace of Claude Le Jeune. Thus the County of Hainaut was home to several of the most accomplished composers of the Renaissance.

¹⁴ Biographical information based on J. Haar, 'Lassus, Orlande de', *NGD* x. 480–92.

choirbook containing nothing but motets by Cipriano de Rore, including works in honour of Duke Ercole II and Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este.¹⁵ And the Bavarian duke was no doubt familiar with Willaert's setting of *Infelix ego*, which had first appeared in print in Munich in 1556. Given his intense interest in Rore's music, he probably also knew the latter's setting of *Infelix ego*, although it was not included with the composer's other motets in the Munich choirbook.

Unlike the three composers for the Este—Willaert, Rore, and Vicentino—Lassus divides his six-voice setting of *Infelix ego* into three sections instead of two, with the middle section reduced to four voices:

1a pars: Infelix ego	6vv
2a pars: Solus igitur	4vv
3a pars: Ad te igitur	6vv

Yet he must have known Willaert's *Infelix ego*, for he apparently modelled parts of it on the older master's work. First, he looks to Willaert for his setting of 'qui coelum terramque offendi', near the beginning of the motet (Ex. 11.3; cf. Ex. 8.5). Reminiscent of Willaert's *superius*, Lassus writes descending octave leaps to illustrate the move from heaven to earth at 'coelum terramque' for the altus and bassus in bars 13–14. Further on he follows Willaert in other details. At the crucial passage that marks the turning-point in the text, 'desperabo? Absit', Lassus creates a pattern of six entries in interlocking thirds for 'desperabo' that echoes Willaert's descending fourths, yet there are only five distinct entries for 'absit', as in Willaert's motet (Ex. 11.4; cf. Ex. 8.7).¹⁶

On the other hand, Lassus departs from Willaert's example by applying a more iridescent harmonic palette in his setting of *Infelix ego*, and his colours are more vivid even than Rore's. Whereas Willaert applied harmonic colour sparingly in his *Infelix ego*, saving the E \flat for the dramatic entry of 'Desperabo', Lassus packs his motet with sudden shifts to foreign pitches. First, he selects the Phrygian mode on E, which includes no flats or sharps in the signature, but he frequently darkens the harmony with B \flat , as well as the brighter pitches of F \sharp , C \sharp , and G \sharp .¹⁷ Already in the opening bars he creates a sombre mood

¹⁵ The motets are *Labore primus Hercules* and *O qui populos suscipis*, the latter with the *soggetto ostinato* 'Gloria regis regum Hippolyte'; both are edited in Rore, *Opera omnia*, vi. 53 and 70. On the Munich choirbook, see J. A. Owens, 'An Illuminated Manuscript of Motets by Cipriano de Rore (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. B)', Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 1979).

¹⁶ Willaert composes five distinct entries for the denial of despair, 'absit', with a syncope suspension for the fourth entry in the second tenor (bb, 63–4). Because Lassus decided to forgo the use of a *soggetto ostinato* as his sixth voice, one might expect to hear six full entries of 'absit' in his setting; there are in fact six distinctly audible entries of the immediately preceding 'desperabo'. But Lassus follows Willaert's pattern of entries almost exactly; by doubling the first, third, and fifth entries, he creates only five statements of 'absit', with a syncope suspension on the fourth entry.

¹⁷ Sudden shifts to darker B \flat (and G minor) harmonies occur on 'offendi' (b. 15), 'quo me vertam' (b. 19), 'levare' (b. 31), and 'Desperabo' (b. 56). Seth Calvisius classifies the motet as mode 4, or Hypophrygian, in his *Musicae* (Nuremberg, 1610), sig. Eii'. Willaert uses E \flat only in passing at bb. 5, 6, 11, 30, and 32.

EX. 11.3. Orlande de Lassus, *Infelix ego*, bb. 1-20

S
A
5
T
6
B

In - fe - lix,

In .

In -

In - fe - lix e - go, in - fe - lix

In - fe - lix e -

In - fe - lix e - go,

5

in - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li -

fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi -

- fe - lix e - go o - mni - um

e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li - o

go o - mni - um au - xi - li - o, o - mni - um

in - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au -

10

o de - sti - tu - tus, qui

- li - o de - sti - tu - tus, qui coe - lum,

au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu - tus, qui coe -

de - sti - tu - tus, au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu - us,

au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu - tus, qui

xi - li - o de - sti - tu - tus, qui coe -

Ex. 11.3. (Cont'd)

15

coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di, quo
 qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -
 lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di, quo
 qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -
 coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di.
 lum ter - ram - que of - fen - di.

20

i - bo? quo i - bo? quo me
 di, quo i - bo? quo me
 i - bo? quo i - bo? quo me ver -
 di, quo i - bo? quo me ver - tam?
 quo i - bo? quo me ver - tam?
 quo i - bo? quo me ver - tam?

with harmonies that sink by thirds from E to C to A and back (see Ex. 11.3). After establishing a strong $F\sharp$ in the bassus in bar 6, he jolts the listener with the sudden inflection up to $F\sharp$ in the superius in the next bar. The unexpected juxtapositions of chromatically related pitches keep the music in a state of harmonic flux. A shadow falls over the harmony as early as bar 15, with the intrusion of $B\flat$ in the bassus to express 'offendi' (I have offended; Ex. 11.3). Two bars later the harmony swerves back to $B\sharp$ in the bassus and

then superius as the melodic line presses up to C, imparting a sharp edge to the question 'quo ibo?' (where shall I go?). Here Lassus emulates Rore, who creates the identical effect by adding C \sharp and F \sharp for the same question at bars 21–2 of his *Infelix ego*.

For further flashes of harmonic colour one can turn to the music after the climactic moment at 'Desperabo? Absit', where Lassus steps up the intensity

Ex. 11.4. Lassus, *Infelix ego*, bb. 50–65

50

Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am?

Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am?

Quid i - gi - tur, quid i - gi -

i. Quid i - gi - tur fa -

i. Quid i - gi - tur fa - ci -

fu - i. Quid i - gi - tur

55

De - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit,

De - spe - ra - bo?

tur fa - ci - am? De - spe - ra - bo? Ab -

ci - am? De - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit,

am? De - spe - ra - bo?

fa - ci - am? De - spe - ra - bo?

EX. 11.4. (Cont'd)

60

ab - sit. pi - us est,
 Ab - sit. Mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, pi -
 sit. Mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, pi -
 ab - sit. Mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, pi -
 Ab - sit. pi -
 Ab - sit. Mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, pi -

65

pi - us est sal - va - tor me - us,
 - us est sal - va - tor me - us, sal - va - tor me - us.
 - us est sal - va - tor me - us.
 - us est sal - va - tor me - us.
 - us est sal - va - tor me - us.
 - us est sal - va - tor me - us.
 - us est sal - va - tor me - us.

of the added foreign tones by writing a direct cross-relation in different voices and on adjacent beats at 'misericors' (Ex. 11.4). Here the juxtaposition of C \sharp in the altus against C \natural in the quintus (b. 58) creates a burst of light as the harmony drops from a C-major sonority to one a third away on A major, creating an effect of emphatic affirmation of the Lord's mercy. The same cross-relation is reversed in bar 64, producing a poignant descent to the cadence.

Ex. 11.5. (Cont'd)

145

mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

cor - di - am tu - am, mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

mi - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

direction with an expressive cross-relation from $F\sharp$ to $F\flat$ between the tenor and altus in bar 143, causing a rapid shift of harmonic colour from bright D major to dark D minor.

Lassus departs from the motets of Willaert and Rore in two other significant ways. First, he uses chordal textures more extensively, often in smooth passages of parallel triads in first inversion, known as fauxbourdon. While only selected passages in the *prima pars* declaim the words chordally,¹⁸ the *tertia pars* of the motet is conceived almost entirely in chordal terms. The second and even more important departure is that Lassus breaks up the chordal texture into a shifting pattern of passages for reduced numbers of voices, so that full sections with all six voices are thrown into relief by thinner textures for a trio or quartet. The reduction of voices means that each voice delivers only a portion of the text. This departs significantly from the style of Willaert and Rore, who consistently provide complete versions of the text in all voices. Alfred Einstein has characterized this procedure in the late-sixteenth-century Italian madrigal as 'symphonic', in an analogy with the symphony orchestra, because each part contributes only a portion of the overall musical and textual fabric and does not form a complete and self-contained melody on its own.¹⁹ The fragmentation of the parts in Lassus's setting of *Infelix ego* stands apart from his general procedure in other motets, and allows him to cast the words into much sharper relief. A particularly

¹⁸ 'Ad quem confugiam?' in fauxbourdon (bb. 21-4); 'miseribitur' (bb. 26-8); 'non invenio' (bb. 44-5); 'misericors' (bb. 58-9).

¹⁹ A. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton, 1949), ii. 620.

EX. 11.6. Lassus, *Infelix ego*, bb. 95–103

Tertia pars
95

S Ad te i - gi - tur

A Ad te i - gi - tur

S Ad te i - gi - tur, pi - is -

T Ad te i - gi - tur, ad te i - gi - tur, pi - is - si -

B Ad te i - gi - tur, pi - is -

100

tri - stis ac moe - rens ve -

tri - stis ac moe - rens ve - ni - o,

si - me de - us, quo

me de - us, tri - stis ac moe - rens

si - me de - us, quo -

si - me de - us,

effective instance occurs at the beginning of the *tertia pars*, where all six voices sing 'Ad te igitur' (to you therefore) in full-throated harmony, followed by the lower four voices for 'piissime Deus' (most merciful God; Ex. 11.6). This reduced scoring produces a hushed effect of reverence as the singers refer directly to God's mercy, followed by a trio of higher voices on 'tristis ac moerens venio' (I come sad and sorrowful).

Ex. 11.7. Jacob Reiner, *Infelix ego*, bb. 1-8

S
In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um

5
In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um

A
In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti -

6
In - fe - lix e - go o - mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu -

T
Au - xi - li - o de - sti -

B
Au - xi - li - o de - sti -

5
qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -

qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -

tu - tus, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -

tus, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -

tu - tus, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -

tu - tus, qui coe - lum ter - ram - que of - fen -

In terms of length, Lassus takes the prize for the most concise setting of *Infelix ego* so far (but see Reiner's setting, discussed below). At 145 bars, his motet is a good deal more succinct than the versions of Willaert, Rore, and Vicentino, which stand at 177, 203, and 183 bars, respectively; Clemens requires 183 bars as well to cover his conflated version of Savonarola's two meditations. Lassus avoids repetition of phrases except at ends of sections; instead, he relies on dramatic contrasts of texture and harmonic colour to

EX. 11.8. Reiner, *Infelix ego*, bb. 37-41

40

i, quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am de - spe - ra - bo? mi - se -
 fu - i, quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am de - spe - ra - bo? mi - se -
 i, quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am de - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit, mi -
 i, quid i - gi - tur fa - ci - am de - spe - ra - bo? Ab - sit, mi - se - ri -
 fu - i, Ab - sit, mi
 i, Ab - sit, mi

express the words more directly.²⁰ His *Infelix ego* stands apart from all previous settings by its masterly use of musical chiaroscuro, both through sudden shifts from bright to dark harmonies and through fragmenting the text into modules of varying vocal density so that the voices seem to fairly cry out some of the phrases, and then fall to a whisper for others. The dynamics of loud and soft are built into the score. Such mercurial changes capture the constantly shifting state of mind of the sinner, repentant and on the brink of despair, yet nevertheless searching for words to plead for mercy.

One other setting of *Infelix ego*, also for six voices, was composed by Jacob Reiner (c.1560–1606), a student of Lassus from 1574 to 1575.²¹ His motet, published in 1600 in Munich,²² owes much to the model of Lassus: he divides the text into three sections at the same places, also with a quartet of voices for the *secunda pars*, and like Lassus he does not employ a *soggetto ostinato*. Reiner goes even further than his teacher in his almost exclusive reliance on chordal texture; indeed, only a single passage of imitation can be found in the entire motet, at the opening of the *secunda pars*. And, like Lassus, Reiner divides the text among high and low groups of voices, so that no

²⁰ Einstein's insightful discussion of Lassus's madrigal style also applies to his motets: 'for every possible symbol of expression he has at his disposal a ready-made formula, and he has only to utilize it. What distinguishes him is the plasticity and forcefulness with which he uses them. And essential to forcefulness is brevity. Compared with Willaert or Rore, Lasso is, as it were, impatient: he aims to exhaust the musical possibilities of a text quickly and energetically.' *The Italian Madrigal*, 486.

²¹ O. Dresler, 'Jakob Reiner', *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, 3 (1871), 97–114.

²² Jacob Reiner, *Liber mottetarum sive cantionum sacrarum sex et octo vocum* (Munich, 1600).

single part carries the complete text, as, for example, in the opening bars (Ex. 11.7).

One of the hallmarks of Lassus's music is its force and concision; almost all repetitions of text are trimmed away, so that the text is delivered as directly and with as much contrast between phrases as possible. Reiner clearly values brevity as well, so much so that he risks the danger of perfunctoriness; with only 114 bars compared with Lassus's 145, he rushes through crucial passages such as 'Desperabo? Absit' so swiftly that he risks trivializing the text (Ex. 11.8).

Since Reiner seems to have worked from Lassus's setting directly, one wonders whether he was aware that Savonarola had written the text; Lassus would certainly have been able to point out the origin of the text to his student. Reiner spent most of his career as master of music at a provincial Benedictine monastery at Weingarten in Württemberg, north of Lake Constance, where there is not likely to have been much sympathy for Savonarola's writings. The friar's meditation did, however, continue to be printed in Germany in the latter part of the sixteenth century, mostly in Lutheran circles, including German translations in 1561, 1562, 1576, c.1580, and 1581, as well as a Latin edition from Tübingen (to the north-west of Weingarten) in 1563. It thus seems likely that the source of the text was known to Reiner, but it is hard to imagine his employers, Benedictines in Counter-Reformation Germany, countenancing a musical setting of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, and they most likely remained unaware of the source of the text. But if Catholic Germany in the late sixteenth century seems an unfriendly host for musical settings of Savonarola's meditations, the opposite was true in Protestant England, as the final chapter will show.

Savonarola's Psalm Meditations in England

Archbishop Cranmer and Savonarola's Meditation on Psalm 50

Savonarola's final meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 circulated widely in England, especially as attachments to the new English primers published in the 1530s and 1540s, and it has been suggested that Luther's favourable reception of the meditations in Germany helped to pave the way for their widespread acceptance in Protestant England.¹ Just a single independent print of the Latin meditation on Ps. 30 had been issued by Wynkyn de Worde, possibly as early as 1500 (see Table 12.1, no. 1), and only in 1534, when Henry VIII made the break with Rome and the primer was permitted to be published in English, did the first edition of the meditation on Ps. 50 appear, as an item with its own title-page bound in at the end of the primer. This primer was printed by John Byddell for William Marshall and bears the title: *A prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers & godly meditations, very necessary for all people that vnderstonde not the Latyne tongue* (Table 12.1, no. 2). Savonarola's meditation occurs at the end of the primer with the following title: *An exposition after the manner of a contemplacyon vpon y^e .li. psalme, called Miserere mei Deus*.

Marshall, who apparently made the translation, was himself known as a strong adherent of religious reform. In fact, the publication of the primer in 1534 represents an about-face in official English policy, for as recently as 1530 King Henry VIII had taken steps to suppress heretical books, including a primer printed c.1530 in Antwerp.² But by 1533 the situation in England had changed completely: Henry had secretly married Anne Boleyn in January, and with the appointment of Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) as archbishop of Canterbury, Henry found a willing instrument to carry out his design to divorce Catherine of Aragon. Cranmer presided at the trial, and handed down the decision favourable to the king in May of 1533.³ Sir Thomas More

¹ C. C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529–1545)* (Philadelphia, 1953), 285. For a comprehensive bibliography of English Primers, see E. Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis or Sarum and York Primers* (London, 1901). See also H. C. White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Madison, 1951).

² Butterworth, *English Primers*, 13–21.

³ J. Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1962), 50–63.

TABLE 12.1. *Savonarola's meditations on Psalms 50 and 30 printed for the English market*

No.	Title	STC no.
1	<i>Expositio vel meditatio fratris Hieronimi savonarole . . . in psalmum In te domine speravi</i> (London: Wynkyn de Worde, c.1500?) Savonarola, Meditation on Ps. 30	21798
2	<i>A prymer in Englyshe</i> (J. Byddell) [1534] issued with Savonarola, Meditation on Ps. 50	15986 21789.3
3	<i>A primer in Englysshe</i> (T. Godfray) [1535?] with Savonarola, Meditation on Ps. 50	15988a 21789.4
4	<i>Prayers of the Byble</i> (R. Redman) [1535?] includes Savonarola, Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30; names Savonarola on title-page	20200.3
5	<i>A goodly prymer in englyshe</i> (J. Byddell, 1535) with Savonarola, Meditation on Ps. 50	15988 21798.5
6	<i>This prymer</i> (English and Latin) (J. Gough, 1536) with Savonarola, Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30	15992 21789.5, 21799
7	<i>Thys prymer</i> (English and Latin) (Rouen, 1536) with Savonarola, Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30; names 'Hierom of Ferrarye' on title-page	15993 21789.6
8	<i>This prymer</i> (English and Latin) [R. Redman, 1537?] with Savonarola, Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30; names 'Hierom of Ferrarye' on title-page	15997 21789.7
9	<i>A goodly prymer in Englysshe</i> [T. Gibson, 1538?] with Savonarola, Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 in both English and Latin	15998
10	<i>An expositiōn vpon the .li. psalme, made by Hierom of Ferrarye</i> (Paris, 1538)	21790
11	<i>Thys prymer</i> (English and Latin) [Rouen] (1538) with Savonarola, Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30; names 'Hierom of Ferrarye'	16007 21790.5
12	<i>Thys prymer</i> (English and Latin) [R. Redman] (1538) with Savonarola, Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30; names 'Hierom of Ferrarye'	16008 21792
13	<i>Thys prymer</i> (English and Latin) [Rouen] (1538) with Savonarola, Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30; names 'Hierom of Ferrarye'	16008.3 21791
14	<i>Certeine prayers</i> [Antwerp] (1538) with Savonarola, Meditation on Ps. 50	20193
15	<i>The primer in Englysshe and Latyn . . . with the exposition of Misereere and In te domine speravi</i> (J. Mayler) [1540?] Savonarola not named on t.p.; Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30	16018
16	<i>The prymer in Englysshe and Latyn . . . with the exposition of Misereere and In te domine speravi</i> (T. Petyt, 1541) Savonarola not named on t.p.; Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30	16020
17	<i>A prymer of Salisbery vse, in Englyshe and Latyn. The exposycion</i> [of Savonarola] (R. Toye) [1542?] Savonarola not named on t.p.; Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30	16021
18	<i>The prymer in Englyshe, and Latyn . . . and also the exposycion</i> [of Savonarola] (W. Bonham, 1542) Savonarola not named on t.p.; Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30	16026

(Cont'd)

TABLE 12.1. (*Cont'd*)

No.	Title	STC no.
19	<i>The prymer in Englysh and latyn . . . with the exposicyon</i> [of Savonarola] (T. Petyt, 1543) Savonarola not named on t.p.; Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30	16028.5
20	<i>An other meditation</i> (Ps. 30) [Emden, 1555?]	21799.2
21	<i>An exposicyon vpon the .li. psalme made by Hierom of Fenarye</i> (T. Marshe) [1558]	21796
22	<i>A pithie exposition upon the .51. Psalme intituled, Miserere mei Deus, etc. Also a godly meditation, upon the .31. Psalme, intituled, In te Domine speravi. Now newly augmented and amended, by A. Fleming</i> (T. Dawson, 1578) Savonarola not named on t.p.; Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30	21797

and Bishop John Fisher were beheaded in the following July for maintaining allegiance to the pope and refusing to swear the oath that recognized the new order of royal succession resulting from Henry's divorce and remarriage.⁴ When Parliament passed an act declaring Henry the Supreme Head of the Church of England in November of 1534, the break with Rome was complete. Yet the Mass in Latin continued to be celebrated, and Henry himself opposed departures from Catholic doctrine, so long as he kept his new title.

To understand some of the complex problems with regard to religious reform in England, one must look to Henry's secular and religious leaders, Thomas Cromwell, the Secretary of State, and Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, both of whom were sympathetic to the Lutherans. While Cromwell favoured an alliance with the Protestant princes against the emperor Charles V and King François I for political reasons, Cranmer in particular seems to have had strong spiritual leanings towards Lutheranism. He had the opportunity to become acquainted with Lutheran doctrine in 1532 while serving in Regensburg as ambassador to the emperor. In Germany he paid visits to Nuremberg, and this probably led to the initial steps of his interest in Lutheran beliefs, and eventually to his secret marriage to a Lutheran, in spite of the fact that he was an ordained priest.⁵

In the light of the events of 1533 and 1534, it is not surprising that the first sanctioned English primer appeared in 1534. This primer provides clear indications of Lutheran background, for among the materials translated by William Marshall were two of Luther's sermons, portions of his *Betbüchlein*, and features of his *Kleiner Katechismus*, including prayers and graces.⁶ Furthermore, Luther's recognition of Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 50 and 30,

⁴ Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer*, 72-6.

⁵ *Ibid.* 45-7.

⁶ Butterworth, *English Primers*, 50, 279-84.

previously noted, helps to explain the inclusion of the meditation on Ps. 50 in Marshall's primer. Not only did Luther provide a laudatory preface to the print of Savonarola's meditations in 1523, but he returned to it some years later by including it along with his own meditation on Ps. 50, the *Enarratio psalmorum LI Miserere mei Deus*, published in Strasburg in 1538. And in the meantime, both of Savonarola's meditations had appeared in 1531 in the *Precationes biblicae*, compiled by the Lutheran Otto Brunfels and published in Antwerp by Martin de Keyser. That the English reformers knew this publication is clearly indicated by the translation of much of it in Robert Redman's *Prayers of the Byble*, published c.1535 (Table 12.1, no. 4).⁷ Here Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 are named on the title-page, along with explicit identification of the friar: 'made by the freer Hierom Savonarole of Ferrarie'. Table 12.1 provides a complete list of Savonarola's meditations published in England, or printed on the Continent for the English market. Initially, with the exception of the first item by Wynkyn de Worde, the friar was not named as author of the meditations, but when they were issued by Redman and other printers from 1535 to 1538 (nos. 4, 7, 8, and 10-13), Savonarola's name was added. After this the meditations were again issued without mention of the author, perhaps owing to the religious reaction that had set in by 1540. By this time Henry VIII had turned away from prospects of an alliance with the Protestant princes, an alliance that had been heavily promoted by Cromwell. As part of this plan he had imported from the Continent in late 1539 his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, whose father leaned towards Protestantism. Even though Henry found Anne insufficiently attractive, they were nevertheless hastily wed in January 1540; just as quickly, Henry filed for divorce and pensioned her off. With these political shifts, Cromwell's policy was discredited, he was accused of treason, and subsequently executed in June of 1540.⁸

Finally in 1545 the standardized primer of Henry VIII made its appearance, and henceforth the psalm meditations of Savonarola disappeared from the primer altogether.⁹ Only a few publications of the meditations appeared after 1543, one on Ps. 30 apparently made by Protestants in exile in Holland (Emden, 1555?), another on Ps. 50 in 1558, and finally Abraham Fleming's revised translation of both, which appeared in 1578 during the reign of

⁷ The complete title is: *Prayers of the Byble taken out of the olde testament and the newe, as olde holy fathers bothe men and women were wont to pray in tyme of tribulation devyded in vi. partes. An expositoryon upon the psalme of Miserere and upon the Psalme In te domine speravi made by the freer Hierom Savonarole of Ferrarie with dyvers other good meditations very necessarie for al good true christen people.* Savonarola's meditations make up parts 5 and 6, while part 1 is drawn directly from Brunfels's 1531 *Precationes biblicae*, parts 2 and 3 are the Pater noster and Creed in English, and part 4, 'A consolation for troubled consciences', is a translation of the *Tessaradecas Consolatoria* by Luther; Butterworth, *English Primers*, 79-84.

⁸ Butterworth, *English Primers*, 200-1.

⁹ The full title of Henry's primer is: *The primer, set forth by the kynges maiestie and his clergie, to be taught lered, & read: and none other to be used throughout all his dominions* (R. Grafton, 1545); STC 16034.

Elizabeth (Table 12.1, nos. 20, 21, and 22). When religious reformers took the upper hand during the reign of the adolescent King Edward VI from 1547 to 1553, the friar's meditations on the psalms ceased to be printed in England.

Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 probably came to England via Lutheran contacts in the 1530s,¹⁰ and the Lutheran sympathies of Archbishop Cranmer in particular may have encouraged their inclusion in English primers. There is fascinating and little-noticed evidence that Cranmer was indeed intimately familiar with Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, just as were his Catholic contemporaries, Cardinals François de Tournon and Ippolito II d'Este.

Cranmer had weathered the frequent storms that had sent so many of Henry VIII's ministers to the scaffold, and he continued to hold office under Henry's successor, Edward VI. But upon Edward's death in 1553, the Catholic Queen Mary ascended the throne and Cranmer came to grief.¹¹ Not only had he presided over the divorce proceedings of Mary's mother, Catherine of Aragon, some twenty years earlier, but he had also acceded to Edward's wish to bar the princesses Mary and Elizabeth from the succession in favour of his cousin, Lady Jane Grey. Mary of course had managed to raise enough support to gain the crown, and she sent Lady Jane to the scaffold.

Under the Catholic restoration, Cranmer was tried first for treason to the crown in late 1553, and then, instead of immediate execution, Mary decided to set an example by ordering another trial for heresy at an arranged disputation in Oxford intended to discredit the ideas of the reformers. Cranmer was found guilty in the spring of 1554, but Mary was unable to have him burned because Parliament had suspended the practice under Edward in 1547, and it failed to re-enact a bill for burning heretics in 1554. Mary had to wait until later that year for the arrival of the papal legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole, before she felt it safe to declare papal supremacy in England. With the pope's authority re-established, heretics could be sent to the court of the papal legate and burnings could resume. After more than a year in an Oxford prison, Cranmer underwent another trial on charges of heresy before the pope's commissioners and in the fall of 1555 he was once again found guilty. But apparently the prospect of the stake prompted him in January of 1556 to write out the first of a series of six recantations declaring his obedience to the pope and allegiance to the Catholic Church. At this point, Spanish friars in Oxford were ministering to Cranmer, encouraging him in his repentance, and it was deigned that all the recantations would be collected and printed after his execution.

¹⁰ Butterworth, *English Primers*, 284-5.

¹¹ The following sketch of events at the end of Cranmer's life is based on Ridley, *Cranmer*, 349-411.

The most extraordinary and famous incident from the story of Cranmer's execution involves the speech that he wrote out on 18 March, which he planned to deliver on the scaffold three days later. This was also given to the Spanish friars to be printed with the recantations, which in fact were published a few days after the execution. The speech as printed contains this closing recantation:

And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did; and that is, setting abroad untrue books and writings, contrary to the truth of God's word; which now I renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous, and for none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them, or else my conscience is not discharged; for they be the books which I wrote against the Sacrament of the Altar sith the death of King Henry VIII. But whatsoever I wrote then, now is time and place to say truth; wherefore, renouncing all those books, and whatsoever in them is contained, I say and believe that our Saviour Christ Jesu is really and substantially contained in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of bread and wine.¹²

This is not the version that Cranmer actually delivered, however, for on 20 March, the night before the execution, he had another change of heart and wrote out a new ending for the speech, an ending that repudiated his recantations. Hundreds of onlookers witnessed this remarkable about-face, and it found its way into print several years later in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1563), more widely known as his 'Book of Martyrs'. Here follows the version that Cranmer actually spoke:

And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I did or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers, which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore: for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.¹³

Cranmer was then silenced and pulled down from the stage and led away to the stake. He did indeed extend the offending hand into the fire, as he vowed, leaving it there steadfastly until the flames had burned it.

While attention has focused on the famous conclusion to Cranmer's scaffold speech, his opening words deserve closer study, for here he

¹² The complete speech is reproduced in Ridley, *Cranmer*, 401–2.

¹³ *The Work of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. G. E. Duffield (Philadelphia, 1965), 337–8.

incorporated a portion of the opening of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 into his own exordium. The speech begins:

O Father of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both; three Persons, and one God; have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner.

I have offended both heaven and earth, more grievously than any tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither should I flee for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no refuge or succour. What shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid. O good God, thou art merciful, and refuseth none that cometh unto Thee for succour. To Thee, therefore, do I run; to Thee do I humble myself; saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy.¹⁴

The similarity to Savonarola's meditation is clear when one compares the passage in the second paragraph above with the following version of Savonarola's meditation from the Paris print of 1538 (Table 12.1, no. 10):

Alas wretche that I am, comfortlesse and forsaken of all men which have offended both heven and earth. Whether shall I go? or whether shall I turne me? To whom shall I flye for socoure? Who shall have pytye or compassyon on me? Unto heven dare I not lifte up myne eyes, for I have grevously synned agaynst it. And in the earthe can I fynde no place of defence, for I have bene noysom unto it. What shall I nowe do? Shall I despayre? God forbyd. Full mercyfull is god, and my saviour is meke and lovyng, therefore only God is my refuge he wyll not despise his creature neither forsake his owne ymage. Unto thee therefore most meke and mercifull god come I all sad and sorowfull for thou onely art my hope, and thou art onely the toure [tower] of my defence. But what shall I say unto thee, syth I dare not lyft up myne eyes? I wyll poure oute the words of sorowe, I wyll hartelye beseeche thee for mercye and wyll saye: Have mercy upon me (oh god) accordyng to thy greate mercye.

Cranmer clearly paraphrased portions of Savonarola's meditation and he even reproduced some of the phrases verbatim.

A recent study by Lydia Whitehead on the function of Ps. 50 in sixteenth-century criminal justice proceedings reveals how the *Miserere* was traditionally recited by condemned persons on the scaffold before execution.¹⁵ The opening lines came to be known as the 'neck verse', and Foxe in his *Actes and Monuments* makes special mention of the recitation or singing of the *Miserere* by the English Protestant martyrs, either on the scaffold or as they marched to it.¹⁶ As interpreted by Whitehead, the Protestant reading of the psalm supplants the normal Catholic meaning and emphasizes consolation at the time of death, not penitence as in the Catholic tradition; she goes on to observe:

¹⁴ *The Work of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. G. E. Duffield (Philadelphia, 1965), 334.

¹⁵ Whitehead, 'A poena et culpa: Penitence, Confidence and the *Miserere*', 287–99.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 288–9.

It is in this developing interpretative tradition that Foxe registers the Psalm's place in the martyrs' art of dying. English Protestantism, in Foxe's history, is an oppositional force: it is born of and finds its definition in persecution. A final sanction is given in the deaths of its martyrs. It is a suffering faith, in imitation of its suffering God. In distinguishing itself from the Catholic orthodoxy, which also embraces suffering, Protestantism subverts and redefines Catholic rituals of persecution. The relationship between the art of execution and the art of dying is further complicated: words and actions intended to humiliate are reinterpreted by the martyrs as signs of the new faith. The seizure of symbolic initiative, in the famous cases of Latimer and Cranmer, serves to claim the fire as a central element in the Protestant iconography. The *Miserere* can be seen to undergo a similar transformation and hold a similar place.¹⁷

It now appears that this subverting of the Catholic attempt to humble the heretic is taken a step further by Cranmer as he quotes Savonarola's own meditation on Ps. 50 rather than the psalm itself, before being led to the scaffold. An observation and a question arise on this point. First, the parallel of Cranmer's situation with that of Savonarola is clear, and must have been so to Cranmer himself: both reformers were condemned to be burnt at the stake, and one composed a meditation on Ps. 50 shortly before his execution, while the other used this same meditation as a starting-point for his own final speech on the scaffold. As for the question: did the Spanish friars and other Englishmen ministering to Cranmer before the execution recognize the source of the opening of Cranmer's speech when they were handed a written copy of it three days before the execution? For several reasons, I believe that they did not. First, Savonarola's meditation had not been printed in England for more than a decade, and the Spanish friars could in any case not be expected to recognize an English translation. Second, Cranmer disguises the quotation somewhat by omitting the first phrase, and he commences with a different opening sentence before continuing with the second phrase from the friar's meditation.¹⁸

Was Cranmer introducing a hint of his Lutheran sympathies into his speech by quoting the meditation? It would certainly not have met with approval by the authorities in Rome, where, the year after Cranmer's execution, Savonarola was labelled by the pope as an Italian Luther.

Hunnis and Savonarola's Meditation on Psalm 50

Further evidence of Protestant interest in Savonarola's meditation has apparently gone unnoticed in two poetic adaptations by William Hunnis (c.1530–97), an avowed Protestant. Hunnis enjoyed the patronage of Sir William

¹⁷ Ibid. 294.

¹⁸ No commentators to my knowledge have remarked on the similarity of Cranmer's prayer to Savonarola's meditation.

Herbert, the powerful Protestant Earl of Pembroke, before entering the Chapel Royal of Edward VI some time between 1550 and 1553.¹⁹ He continued in the Chapel under Queen Mary, but his involvement in a plot against her in 1556 resulted in his imprisonment in the Tower, where he apparently spent the next two years. When Elizabeth came to the throne late in 1558, she released Mary's prisoners, including Hunnis. He resumed his position as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and in 1566 succeeded Richard Edwards as Master of the Children, a post that he occupied until his death some thirty years later.

Hunnis wrote plays for the children of the Chapel, as well as a good deal of poetry. His first efforts were published in 1550 when he was still a young man in the service of William Herbert. The collection, titled *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawn furth into Englysh meter* (London, 1550; STC 2727), includes poetic versions of the following psalms (in the Protestant numbering): 51, 56, 57, 113, 117, and 145, along with the Cantic of Zachary (*Benedictus dominus deus*), the Song of the Children in the Fiery Furnace (*Benedicite omnia opera*), and the 'Thanksgiving to God for delivery from adversity (Ecclesiastus the laste)'. Most interesting for our purposes is that Hunnis concludes his book by returning to the same psalm that opened it, now in a poetic version that incorporates lines from Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50. The italic portions correspond with the translation of Savonarola's meditation that had been available in England since 1534.

The complaynt of a synner

*Alas wretched synner that I am
comfortles and of men forsaken
a synner into the worlde I came
from whence I knowe I shal be taken
yet of my synfull lyfe amendynge
to thee I crye O Lorde swete Jesus
Miserere mei deus.*

*I have offended both heaven and earth
nowe whether shall I go or turne me
I have transgressed from my byrthe
the lawes of god and that grevouslye
to whome shulde I for succour flye
but unto thee o lorde swete Jesus
Miserere mei deus.*

*To heaven I dare not lyft up mine eyes
I have so sore synned against it
yet lorde thy servaunt do not despise*

¹⁹ The following biographical information on Hunnis is based on C. C. Stopes, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal* (Louvain, 1910).

whiche wyllngly doth nowe repent it
 al sinnes hast thou forgeven & graunted
 to him in faith that doth cry thus
 Miserere mei deus.

*In earth I fynde no place of defence
 I have ben so noysome unto it
 Shall I dispaire in this my offence
 then am I dampned God forbyd it
 my soule shal cry in the lordes presence
 evermore continuallye thus
 Miserere mei deus.*

*Mercy is with god my savyour
 and he onlye shal be my refuge
 he wyll not dispice his creatoure
 ne yet forsake his owne ymage
 but gyveth increase of knowledge
 to hym that in fayth doth stil cry thus
 Miserere mei deus.*

Protestants such as Hunnis did indeed keep Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 alive during the reign of Edward VI (as did Cranmer in the following reign of Queen Mary), but in a modified form and with no overt mention of the friar. Even though the meditation ceased to be printed under Edward, it seems to have entered the consciousness of English reformers, so that Cranmer was not alone in his familiarity with it.

Hunnis endured great suffering during his confinement in the Tower, and when he emerged in 1558 his hair had turned white. Savonarola's meditation perhaps provided him with comfort during this period; in any case he returned to it later in his 1583 publication *The poore Widowes Mite* (London, 1583), a series of poetic meditations on Ps. 50 and the Lord's Prayer, all dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.²⁰

The poore Widowes Mite opens with the meditation on Ps. 50, and Hunnis draws directly on phrases from Savonarola's meditation, just as he had in 1550. Even more interesting for our purposes is that he provides a tune for singing the meditation, and later both William Mundy and Thomas Ravenscroft adapted the text (but not the tune) for new musical settings. The opening of Hunnis's work draws directly on Savonarola's meditation (indicated below by italics), and subsequent sections of the lengthy poem do so as

²⁰ The book was 'newlie printed' in 1583 by Henrie Denham, but was probably first issued some time before 1577 (Stopes, *Hunnis*, 211). The volume is bound in with several other writings of Hunnis, all continuously paginated, including his *Seven Sobs of a Sorowfull Soule for Sinne*, a set of extended poetic meditations on each of the seven penitential psalms, including Ps. 50, and comparable to Savonarola's prose meditations on Pss. 50 and 30. The print includes the *Handfull of honisuckles* and a *Dialog between Christ and a sinner*, STC 13975.

well; now he has turned from the seven-line stanzas of the 1550 version to couplets in 'fourteeners' (8 + 6 syllables).²¹

27

*Ah helpes wretch! what shall I doo?
or which way shall I ronne?*
The earth bewraies, & heven records
the sins that I have donne.
The gates of hell wide open stand,
for to receive me in,
And fearefull feends all readie be,
to torment me for sin.
*Alas, where shall I succour find?
the earth dooth me denie,
And to the sacred heavens above,
I dare not lift mine eie.*
If heaven and earth shall witnesse be,
against my soule for sin,
Untimelie birth (alas) for me
much better then had bin.
And now despaire approacheth fast,
with bloodie murdering knife,
And willeth me to end my greefes,
by shortning of my life.
*Shall I despaire? Thou God forbid,
for mercie more is thine,*
Than if the sinnes of all the world
were linked now with mine.
*Despise not then, most loving Lord,
the image of thy face,*
Which thou hast wrought and dearlie bought
with goodnesse of thy grace.
And since thy bloudie price is paid,
and bitter paines all past;
*Receive my plaints, accept my spirit,
and mercie grant at last:*
So shall my soule reioice, reioice,
and still for mercie crie,
Peccavi, Peccavi,
miserere mei.

Each of the seven meditations consists of sixteen couplets plus a closing refrain ('So shall my soule reioice', sometimes slightly varied). Hunnis provides a simple tune to be repeated for every quatrain, so that one sings the complete tune nine times for each meditation (see Ex. 12.1). The tune, in the

²¹ The verse form is known as Common Metre, and is dubbed 'Drab Age Verse' by C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954).

Ex. 12.1. William Hunnis, *Ah helples wretch* (from *The poore Widowes Mite*, 1583) (CD track 27)

Ah help - les wretch! what shall I doo? or which way shall I ronne?

The earth be - wraies, & heven re - cords the sins that I have donne.

minor mode on G, has a narrow range of a minor sixth and moves mostly by step; the peak D occurs appropriately on 'heven'. Elizabethan singers were no doubt capable of improvising an accompaniment on the lute.

Here, finally, after all the elaborate polyphonic settings of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50, we find a simple tune that agrees with the friar's own precepts about proper sacred music; the tune is no more complex than the music for an Italian lauda, and not surprisingly it was composed by a Protestant. The solo melody places emphasis on the individual, not on the more diffuse group of singers in a polyphonic ensemble. Significantly, Hunnis transformed Savonarola's original prose meditation into poetry, thus rendering it suitable for a tune with regular phrases.

Mundy and Ravenscroft: Two English Verse Anthems

Hunnis's poetic reworking of Savonarola's meditation was further adapted by William Mundy (c.1529–1591) in his setting of *Ah helples wretch*, which stands as one of the earliest examples of a new genre, the English verse anthem.²² Mundy joined the Chapel Royal in 1563 after several years as vicar-choral at St Paul's Cathedral; as a colleague of Hunnis in the Chapel Royal, he most likely had access to the latter's poetic works in manuscript versions before they appeared in print. Just as Hunnis gives an unaccompanied tune for the text of *Ah helples wretch*, Mundy places the focus on the solo voice, with unadorned melodic phrases that provide only one note per syllable; a restrained organ accompaniment supports the voice, and a five-part chorus inserts brief responses at the end of the verses.²³ Mundy's *Ah helples wretch*

²² William Byrd also based three of his early verse anthems on the work of Hunnis, and for one of them, *Alack, when I look back*, he even modelled the music on Hunnis's polyphonic setting. The other two anthems are *Let us be glad* (music not extant) and *Thou God that guid'st*. See C. Monson, 'Authenticity and Chronology in Byrd's Church Anthems', *JAMS* 35 (1982), 280–305 at 295–300.

²³ For a listing and discussion of Mundy's anthems, see P. le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (London, 1967), 209–17, esp. 216. For a modern edition of *Ah helples wretch*, see *The Treasury of English Church Music*, ed. P. le Huray (London, 1965), ii. 28–32. The anthem is recorded on *Cathedral Music by William Mundy*, The Sixteen, dir. H. Christophers, Hyperion, CDA 66319 (1989).

Ex. 12.2. William Mundy, *Ah helpes wretch*, bb. 1–18 (CD track 28)

5

Countertenor

Organ

Ah help - les
If heav'n and

10

wretch what shall I doe, or which way shall I goe or runne?
earth shall wit-nesse be a - gainst my err - ing soule for sin,

15

The earth be - wrayes the heav'ns re - cord the wick - ed - nes that
Un - time - ly birth a - las for me a great deale bet - ter

I have done, have mer - cy Lord for Christ thy Sonne.
had it been than heav'n to loose and hell to win.

(Ex. 12.2) has been singled out for comment by scholars because it is an early verse anthem, composed probably in the 1570s, but the Savonarolan origin of the text seems to have gone undetected.²⁴ Perhaps not coincidentally, the only edition of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 to appear during Elizabeth's

²⁴ See, for example, J. Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text, 1549–1660', *JRMA* 117 (1992), 62–85.

reign was issued in 1578, approximately coinciding with two other events, the publication by Hunnis of his poetic adaptation of the meditation in the earliest presumed edition of *The poore Widowes mite* and, possibly, Mundy's setting of it as a verse anthem.

Mundy adapts couplets from Hunnis's meditation, giving preference to those based directly on Savonarola's meditation, and converting the couplets from 'fourteeners' to eight syllables per line in steady iambic tetrameter. The italicized portions below indicate lines borrowed from Hunnis; after each pair of his couplets, a new line of added poetry is sung first by the soloist, then echoed by the five-part chorus.

[Solo verse A1:]

*Ah helpes wretch what shall I doe,
or which way shall I goe or runne?
The earth bewrayes the heavens record
the wickednes that I have done.*

Have mercy, Lord, for Christ thy Sonne,

[Chorus:]

Have mercy, Lord, for Christ thy Sonne.

[Solo verse continued:]

*Alas where shall I succour find,
both heaven and earth doth me deny,
So that unto the heavens above*

I dare not once lift up mine eye
For I have sinned so grievously,

[Chorus:]

I dare not once lift up mine eye
For I have sinned so grievously.

[Solo verse A2:]

*If heaven and earth shall witness be
against my erring soule for sin,
Untimely birth alas for me
a great deale better had it been*

Than heaven to loose and hell to win,

[Chorus:]

Than heaven to loose and hell to win.

[Solo verse continued:]

*Shall I despaire, thou God forbid,
I know that mercy more is thine,
Than if the sins of all the world
were knjt and linked unto mine,*

Wherefore my soul doe not repine,

[Chorus:]

Were knit and linked unto mine,
wherefore my soul doe not repine.

[Solo verse B, triple metre:]
Despise not then, most loving Lord [Chorus repeats]
the forme and image of thy face, [Chorus repeats]
Which thou hast wrought and dearly bought [Chorus repeats]
with mercy great goodnesse and grace. [Chorus repeats]
 Accept therefore my humble plaints,
 [Chorus:]
 and grant me rest among thy saints.
 Amen.

The chorus plays an increasingly important role as the anthem unfolds. After echoing just a single phrase of the soloist at the mid-point of stanza A ('Have mercy, Lord, for Christ thy Sonne'), the chorus responds with two phrases of the soloist's text and reaches a climactic melodic peak at the end of the stanza ('I dare not once lift up mine eye | For I have sinned so grievously').

The music for verse A1 repeats for verse A2. Mundy then increases the urgency in the concluding B section by shifting to a faster triple time and juxtaposing solo and chorus at every phrase.²⁵ The chorus only breaks the pattern by venturing a new phrase of its own at the end ('and grant me rest among thy saints') before blossoming into a florid setting of 'Amen' with imitative entries in the lower voices. In stanza A the organ accompaniment prepares each phrase of the singer by first stating the melody in imitation, but Mundy dispenses with these interludes in the B section, and produces a compressed and compelling alternation of the soloist and chorus.

Mundy's anthem is preserved only in posthumous sources: some half a dozen manuscripts from the seventeenth century, and in John Barnard's *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641).²⁶ Early anthems such as Mundy's *Ah helples wretch* were indebted to the English consort song, a genre of chamber music that rose to prominence after 1550 and featured a solo voice accompanied by a consort of viols. Some early anthems feature accompaniments for viols as well, and Mundy perhaps originally scored *Ah helples wretch* accordingly. If so, he designed his anthem for informal performance at court as a kind of pious chamber music—alongside songs such as Hunnis's own *Ah helples wretch*—since viols appeared in the chamber but not in church. Later these string accompaniments were adapted for organ to render the anthems suitable for ecclesiastical use.²⁷

²⁵ The same formal pattern occurs in other early verse anthems; see Richard Farrant (d. 1581), *Whenas we sat in Babylon*, and William Byrd, *Thou God that guid'st*; Monson, 'Authenticity and Chronology in Byrd's Church Anthems', 299.

²⁶ Facsimile with an introduction by J. Morehen (Gregg International Publishers, n.p., 1972). Further on the sources of Mundy's anthem, see *The Sources of English Church Music 1549–1660*, ed. R. T. Daniel and P. le Huray (EECM, suppl. v. 1; London, 1972).

²⁷ For background on the consort song, see P. Brett, 'The English Consort Song, 1570–1625', *PRMA* 88 (1961–2), 73–88; on the early verse anthem, see le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 217–25. Mundy's *Ah helples wretch* survives only with an organ accompaniment, but the shift from accompaniment for viols to an adaptation for

Some decades after Mundy made his setting, a much younger composer, Thomas Ravenscroft (c.1582?–1635), wrote another verse anthem on *Ah helples wretch*. Ravenscroft sang as a boy chorister at St Paul's Cathedral in the 1590s, and after his voice changed he pursued his education at Cambridge, where he received the B.Mus. in 1605.²⁸ He seems to have been active in London theatre and edited several volumes of rounds and catches, and was considered one of the 'moderns' in the composition of verse anthems, as indicated by the inclusion of his *Ah helples wretch* in two manuscript collections belonging to Thomas Myriell, including one titled *Tristitiae remedium* dated 1616.²⁹

Ravenscroft's *Ah helples wretch*, with an accompaniment for viols, consists of only two verses (A1 and A2), making it more succinct than Mundy's. The text of the first verse corresponds to Mundy's, but in the second verse ('If heaven and earth shall witness be') Ravenscroft curiously omits the crux of Savonarola's meditation, 'Shall I despaire', and skips ahead to the closing section of text, 'Despise not then. . .'.³⁰ The first half of the anthem features a soprano solo with a closing choral response, while the second half is intensified by the addition of a solo alto in canonic dialogue with the soprano. The work concludes with a choral response and melismatic 'amen'. Ravenscroft's anthem suggests a parallel with a case seen in the previous chapter: just as Jacob Reiner modelled his setting of *Infelix ego* on Lassus, and the question remains open whether he knew that Savonarola had written the text, so Ravenscroft was no doubt familiar with Mundy's anthem, but one wonders if he recognized the Savonarolan origin of his text.

Byrd, *Infelix ego*

For the crowning musical achievement among all the settings of Savonarola's meditations on the psalms we turn to William Byrd (c.1540–1623) and his six-voice setting of *Infelix ego*, published in the second volume of his *Cantiones sacrae* (1591).³¹ Byrd's monumental setting exceeds in sheer length any of the Savonarolan motets composed by his Continental predecessors;

organ can be traced in William Byrd's verse anthem *Christ rising*; Monson, 'Authenticity and Chronology in Byrd's Church Anthems', 294.

²⁸ D. Mateer, 'Ravenscroft, Thomas', *NGD* xv. 623.

²⁹ See C. Monson, 'Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection: One View of Musical Taste in Jacobean London', *JAMS* 30 (1977), 419–65 at 442. *Tristitiae remedium* is British Library, Add. MSS 29372–7; the other Myriell source is British Library, Add. MS 29427; also Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Ms Mus. f. 11, 12, 13, and 15.

³⁰ For a modern edition, see *Two Sacred Pieces by Thomas Ravenscroft*, ed. W. Shaw (Church Music Society Reprints, 3; Oxford, 1971).

³¹ For a modern edition of *Infelix ego*, see W. Byrd, *Cantiones Sacrae II (1591)*, ed. A. Brown (The Byrd Edition, 3; London, 1981), 180–211. Two recent recordings are: W. Byrd, *The Three Masses, Ave venum corpus, Defecit in dolore, Infelix ego*, The Tallis Scholars, Gimell Records, Byrd 345 (1984); and W. Byrd, *Mass for Four Voices, Mass for Five Voices, Infelix ego*, Oxford Camerata, Naxos 8.550574 (1992). John Harley has shown that Byrd's birthdate should be moved back to 1539/40 from the heretofore accepted date of 1543; see J. Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 1997), 14.

even when compared with the other works in the three volumes of motets that he published in 1575, 1589, and 1591, it stands out as one of the longest by far, matched only by *Tribue domine* (1575) and *Deus venerunt gentes* (1589).³² *Infelix ego* lasts over thirteen minutes in performance and is a test of singers' stamina; that the motet nevertheless enjoyed great popularity is attested by its circulation in numerous Elizabethan manuscripts, many dating from before its publication. In fact the earliest source for *Infelix ego* was copied between 1577 and 1580, the same years that probably saw the first publication of Hunnis's poetic adaptation of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 and William Mundy's setting of it as a verse anthem.³³ The inclusion of many of Byrd's motets in manuscripts alongside English secular songs and other instrumental music suggests that they were often performed at private gatherings of musical amateurs, probably with just one voice per part. They thus constitute a form of vocal chamber music.³⁴

What can one make of Byrd's penchant for composing Latin motets in Protestant England? He was born and raised in London, probably brought up in the Catholic faith, and from c.1550 he was most likely a chorister in the Chapel Royal, first under Edward VI, then under Queen Mary; he retained his allegiance to the Roman Church after Mary's death in 1558, when England reverted to Protestantism under the new queen, Elizabeth.³⁵ Byrd moved north to Lincoln as a young man in 1562 or 1563 to take up the post of organist at the cathedral, and by 1572 he was called back to London to serve in the Chapel Royal as organist alongside the elderly Thomas Tallis. He was to remain in London for the next twenty years, where he observed firsthand the growing persecutions of Catholics that finally peaked during the 1580s. The tone for this decade was set in 1581 by the public execution of the highly respected Jesuit Edmund Campion, a grisly event that spurred Byrd to make his sentiments clear by setting to music a poem written to

³² The average length of Byrd's motets, not counting a few very short works, is 100 to 120 bars; the three longest works are more than twice this length: *Tribue domine*, 285 bars, *Deus venerunt gentes*, 266 bars, and *Infelix ego*, 268 bars.

³³ David Mateer has demonstrated that *Infelix ego* was copied c.1577–80 in a central source for Byrd's music, a surviving contratenor partbook, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus Sch E.423; see Harley, *William Byrd*, 221–4. *Infelix ego* survives in seven different sources as well as two arrangements for lute. The opening twenty-two-bar trio also proved popular, and it is preserved in five other sources and one lute arrangement. See *Cantiones Sacrae II*, 274.

³⁴ The suggestion is made in W. Byrd, *Cantiones Sacrae I* (1589), ed. A. Brown (The Byrd Edition, 2; London, 1988), p. viii.

³⁵ John Harley has made important new discoveries regarding Byrd's early life, including the identity of his parents, Thomas and Margery Byrd, his four sisters, and two older brothers, Symond and John, the latter of whom were choristers of St Paul's c.1550; *William Byrd*, 10–29. The hypothesis that Byrd was a chorister in the Chapel Royal is based on the Latin poem that prefaces the volume of motets (*Cantiones sacrae*) published jointly by Tallis and Byrd in 1575; here Tallis (c.1505–85), who became a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1543, is referred to as Byrd's master. Byrd's apprenticeship with Tallis can thus logically be dated to the period of his adolescence in the 1550s; *ibid.* 18. For the best summary account of Byrd's life and works, see J. Kerman, 'William Byrd', in *The New Grove High Renaissance Masters* (London, 1984), 229–88 (this is a slightly revised version of the same entry in the *NGD*).

protest Campion's death, *Why do I use my paper, ink, and pen?* The seditious nature of the text brought down harsh punishment on the printer, who lost his ears.³⁶ Byrd, however, prudently supplied only the first, non-seditious stanza, along with two other new and inoffensive ones when he later published the song in *Psalms, Sonets and Songs* (1588).³⁷ Of course, anyone who wished to add the remaining stanzas of the original poem could easily have done so.

In the realm of Byrd's Latin motets, the private Catholic message of many of his texts has been explored at length by Joseph Kerman, including the group of 'Jerusalem' motets that compare England to the desolate city that awaits rescue from persecution.³⁸ Philip Brett has revealed further evidence of Byrd's involvement with Catholics in England, and especially with the Jesuits, based on his decision to employ Tridentine Roman texts—and not the traditional Sarum rite of English Catholics—in his settings of Mass Propers for the Church year in the two volumes of *Gradualia*, published in 1605 and 1607.³⁹ And Craig Monson has shown how the biblical phrases emphasized by the Jesuits in religious tracts and in speeches on the scaffold were also set to music by Byrd.⁴⁰

Byrd seems personally to have experienced some of the persecution of English Catholics. Beginning in 1586 his wife Julian was marked down repeatedly for recusancy (refusal to attend services of the Church of England), and a series of crippling fines was levied against the Byrd household, although these were not usually paid.⁴¹ Yet in spite of his recusancy Byrd continued to occupy his post in the Chapel Royal, and other English Catholics as well managed to maintain positions of good standing at court, so long as they steered clear of political plots and were not implicated in attempts to place the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots on the throne. Byrd enjoyed the support of several Catholic nobles, including the dedicatees of several of his books of Latin sacred music: Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (*Cantiones*

³⁶ Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet', 296. Byrd's setting is edited in *The Collected Works of William Byrd*, xii, ed. E. H. Fellowes, rev. P. Brett (London, 1963), 183–9. See W. Allen, *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of Twelve Reverend Priests* (Rheims), 1582). The volume has been published in a modern edition as: *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of Twelve Reverend Priests: Father Edmund Campion & His Companions*, ed. J. H. Pollen, SJ (London, 1908), 26–31 (for full text of *Why do I use my paper, pen and ink?*).

³⁷ This is reminiscent of Serafino Razzi's procedure in his *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (1563), where he furnished bowdlerized texts for laude in honour of Savonarola, such as *La carità è spenta*; see Ch. 5.

³⁸ Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet', 273–308; see also Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981), 40–6.

³⁹ W. Byrd, *Gradualia I (1605): The Marian Masses*, ed. P. Brett (The Byrd Edition, 5; London, 1989), pp. vii–xx; id., *Gradualia I (1605): All Saints and Corpus Christi* (The Byrd Edition, 6a, 1991), pp. vii–xii; id., *Gradualia I (1605): Other Feasts and Devotions* (The Byrd Edition, 6b, 1993), pp. i–xxxiv.

⁴⁰ C. Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet: The Hearing Reopened', in D. Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet* (New York, 1997), 348–74. My thanks to Professor Monson for sharing his work with me prior to publication.

⁴¹ For new documentary material on Byrd's recusancy, and clarification of previously published accounts, see D. Mateer, 'William Byrd's Middlesex Recusancy', *ML* 78 (1997), 1–14.

Sacrae I, 1589), John, the last Lord Lumley (*Cantiones Sacrae II*, 1591), and Sir John Petre, Lord of Writtle (*Gradualia II*, 1607). By 1593 Byrd, perhaps weary of the atmosphere of persecution in London, retired some twenty miles to the north-east of the city to his property in Essex at Stondon Massey, where he was not far from the manor house of Lord Petre at Ingatstone. He did, however, keep a room in London. While the majority of his Latin motets from the publications of 1589 and 1591 appear to have had no specific liturgical function for services in the Catholic rite (Mass or Office), Byrd now set about to provide music for liturgical use. He published three settings of the Ordinary of the Mass between 1593 and 1595, and these were followed a decade later by the two books of *Gradualia*, compact and concentrated musical settings of the Proper texts of the Mass for all the major feasts of the church year.⁴² The Catholic nobles who were Byrd's patrons celebrated Mass secretly in their manor houses, and they did so to the accompaniment of Byrd's music, probably sung by members of their household staff.

The musical style of the *Gradualia*, Byrd's final great project to adorn the Roman Catholic rite, is suited to the rather abstract and 'objective' words of the age-old liturgy, but his motets published in 1589 and 1591 present a very different face. Here Byrd exercised an extraordinary freedom in his choice of texts and supplied them with expansive, expressive, and sometimes anguished musical settings. As Kerman has observed, Byrd's predecessors—men such as Tallis, Sheppard, Robert White, and Robert Parsons—persisted in the English tradition of setting liturgical texts and psalms, even in the 1560s, after the accession of Elizabeth.⁴³ In this regard they appear to have lagged behind trends on the Continent, where already in the late fifteenth century composers such as Josquin had set to music several texts of a personal and non-liturgical nature (see Ch. 8). Subsequent Continental composers, including Clemens non Papa, Willaert, Rore, and Lassus carried on this tradition. Byrd introduced a new kind of motet in England, inspired apparently by these Continental examples. Most of the texts in the 1589 and 1591 *Cantiones sacrae* seem in fact designed to comment on the persecution of fellow Catholics in England. Some refer to the captivity and coming liberation of Jerusalem—the collective body of English Catholics—while others are more personal and focus on the suffering of the individual supplicant. One in particular, *Deus venerunt gentes* (1589), apparently protests the execution of Campion and other Catholic priests.⁴⁴ On the surface, the text consists merely of the opening verses of Ps. 78:

⁴² The Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei) has unchanging texts. The Proper texts (Introit, Gradual, Alleluia, Offertory, and Communion) change content for each Mass.

⁴³ Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet', 273–308. On the primer as a source of motet texts, see P. Macey, review of Ferrabosco, *Opera omnia*, *JAMS* 39 (1986), 654.

⁴⁴ Kerman, *Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, 44.

1. O God, the heathens are come into your inheritance, they have defiled your holy temple: they have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit.

2. They have given the dead bodies of your servants to be meat for the fowls of the air: the flesh of your saints for the beasts of the earth.

3. They have poured out their blood as water, round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.

4. We are become a reproach to our neighbours: a scorn and derision to them that are round about us.

An Elizabethan Catholic could hardly have heard these verses without thinking of the execution of Campion and his companions. They had first been hung by the neck until dead or unconscious, and then their bodies were butchered into quarters and the parts left exposed to the open air, fastened to a gate at Tyburn Hill.⁴⁵

Given these grim times, it comes as no surprise that texts of rejoicing are rare in Byrd's 1589 and 1591 volumes of motets (only three joyful texts occur in each), yet even one of these can be related to the trial of Edmund Campion: when the court announced the sentence of death on Campion and his companions, he reportedly began to sing 'Te deum laudamus' and then the others joined in with 'Haec est dies quam fecit dominus: exultemus et laetemur in illa' (This is the day that the Lord has made; let us rejoice and be glad in it).⁴⁶ Byrd concluded his 1591 collection with a setting of these words, and while the text happens to be liturgical (the Gradual for the Mass at Easter), it is difficult not to hear this joyous music as an evocation of Campion's exultation in the courtroom. With Byrd's strategic placement of *Haec dies*, one can now see how his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1591 opens outward at the end, evoking a vision of the rejoicing martyrs.

Among the large number of non-joyful texts in Byrd's two motet volumes of 1589 and 1591, *Infelix ego* belongs with the personal penitential texts, rather than with those expressing communal suffering, and its text is the most anguished and supplicatory of all. Musically speaking, one is in a world far removed from the straightforward style of the contemporary English verse anthem; rather the music plunges the listener back into the complex and highly emotional sphere of late sixteenth-century Catholic music. Not only is Byrd's setting far longer than any previous version (268 bars compared with the next longest setting, by Rore, at 203 bars), but it also surpasses all previous settings in sheer musical power. We have already seen how Clemens non Papa, in his *Tristitia obsedit me*, repeated phrases of text obsessively in densely woven counterpoint, while Lassus and Le Jeune created highly vivid settings of Savonarola's meditations by means of colourful harmonies and passages of word-painting that bring the text to life. Byrd seeks to intensify the text as well, and in so doing he apparently incorporates elements from the

⁴⁵ R. Simpson, *Edmund Campion, A Biography* (London, 1896), 466.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 436.

styles of his Continental predecessors, especially Clemens and Lassus, as we shall see. Byrd undoubtedly knew at least some of their motets, since he set a few of the unusual texts of Clemens, including *Tristitia et anxietas* and *Vide domine afflictionem nostram*.⁴⁷ Whether he was familiar with their settings of Savonarola's meditations on the psalms is not known; he could have seen Clemens's *Tristitia obsedit me* in Susato's 1553 edition, or Lassus's setting of *Infelix ego* in the Nuremberg print of 1568, both of which were in Lord Lumley's library.⁴⁸

Continental influence, yes, but Byrd also harks back to the tradition of the Tudor votive antiphon, as in Thomas Tallis's six-voice *Gaude gloriosa dei mater*, where florid introductory duos and trios are set in relief against powerful passages for full choir.⁴⁹ *Infelix ego* opens with a texture unlike any of the other motets examined so far in this study; for the first twenty-two bars one hears only a trio for the highest voices (see the beginning in Ex. 12.3). In all the other Savonarolan motets the full complement of voices had entered no later than the tenth bar, usually in a regular series of imitations. Byrd boldly announces his difference from Continental composers as he features this distinctively English approach in his motet, and he provides similar lengthy trios at the opening of the second and third sections. Another feature of Byrd's style, called 'cell' technique by Kerman, allows the creation of more flexible and dramatic textures than was available in the traditional votive antiphon, with its stark juxtaposition of passages for semichoir and those for full choir. For example, after the old-fashioned texture of the lengthy opening trio, Byrd sets Savonarola's next words, 'Quo ibo? Quo me vertam? Ad quem confugiam?' (Where shall I go? Whither shall I turn myself? To whom shall I fly?) in three clipped phrases, shifting quickly from low voices to high for the first two questions, then to the full choir for the third, so that the music captures the mounting tension of the rhetorical pleas. Precedent has been cited for this flexible scoring in the Latin sacred music of the preceding generation of English composers, including Taverner, Sheppard, and Tye.⁵⁰

While Byrd looks to his own native tradition, other musical evidence suggests that he had an eye on Continental trends, especially the music of Clemens and Lassus. The extraordinary amount of text repetition in Byrd's *Infelix ego* recalls Clemens's *Tristitia obsedit me* and other motets by the

⁴⁷ Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet', 300-1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 302. For a recent reconstruction of the complete holdings of Lumley's library, see J. Milsom, 'The Nonsuch Music Library', in C. Banks, A. Searle, and M. Turner (eds.), *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on The British Library Collections, Presented to O.W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday* (London, 1993), 146-82 at 155 and 161.

⁴⁹ Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, 177-80; see also Kerman's discussion of Byrd's earlier motet, *Tribue domine* (109-11), published in 1575, which seems to have served as a textural and procedural model for *Infelix ego*.

⁵⁰ See O. Rees, 'The English Background to Byrd's Motets: Textual and Stylistic Models for *Infelix ego*', in A. Brown and R. Turbet (eds.), *Byrd Studies* (Cambridge, 1992), 24-50, esp. 24-35.

Ex. 12.3. William Byrd, *Infelix ego*, bb. 1-8

Superius
In - fe - lix

Medius
In - fe - lix e - go, o -

Contratenor
In - fe - lix e - go o - mni -

5
e - go o - mni - um au - xi -
- mni - um au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu -
um au - xi - li - o de - sti - tu - tus, au - xi - li -

Netherlandish master. Byrd, however, limits repetition to particular phrases of text in order to produce dramatic climaxes, instead of applying repetition uniformly and indiscriminately to all phrases in the manner of Clemens. The first emphatic passage occurs at the mid-point of the *prima pars*, on the phrase 'ad coelum levare oculos non audeo' (to heaven I dare not lift up my eyes), which Byrd treats as a double point of imitation. He splits off the second subject for 'non audeo' (I dare not) and obsessively he reiterates the descending motif that outlines a diminished fourth; the listener's expectation for closure mounts, but Byrd skilfully leaves the phrase hanging and presses forward (Ex. 12.4). The conclusion of the *prima pars* ('quia ei scandalum fui'; for I have been an offence to it) follows a similar course of text repetitions, and now Byrd supplies a melodic climax on high *f*^m in the superius (b. 90), which he had appropriately prepared with the same high pitch on the word 'coelum' in bar 19.⁵¹

Byrd places the most dramatic portion of Savonarola's text—'Quid igitur faciam? Desperabo? Absit'—at the opening of the *secunda pars*, but curiously the music makes a less striking effect than that of Clemens, Willaert, Rore, or Lassus (Ex. 12.5). Perhaps this is caused by the votive-antiphon style of

⁵¹ Davitt Moroney has drawn attention to a similar use of melodic peaks by Byrd's teacher, Thomas Tallis; see M. D. Moroney, 'Under fower sovereygnes: Thomas Tallis and the Transformation of English Polyphony', Ph.D. diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 1980).

reduced scoring for three voices at the outset of the section, with an expansion to five voices only at 'absit'. The drooping lines for this last word suggest resignation rather than emphatic resolve, although the voices reiterate the word insistently. Intensity increases, however, for the following passage at 'misericors', which introduces the harmonic iridescence of Lassus, as the

Ex. 12.4. Byrd, *Infelix ego*, bb. 44–53

45

S
ad coe - lum le - va - re o - cu - los

M
va - re, ad coe - lum le - va -

CT
au - de - o, au - de - o, ad

6
va - re o - cu - los, ad coe - lum le - va -

T
coe - lum le - va - re o - cu - los non au -

B
au - de - o, non au - de - o, ad coe -

non au - de - o,

re o - cu - los, non au - de - o,

coe - lum le - va - re o - cu - los non

re o - cu - los, non au - de - o, non

de - o, non

lum le - va - re o - cu - los non au - de - o.

Ex. 12.4. (Cont'd)

50

non au - de - o, non au - de - o.

non au - de - o, non au - de - o, non au - de - o.

au - de - o, non au - de - o, non au - de - o, non au - de

au - de - o, non au - de - o, non au - de - o, non au - de -

au - de - o, non au - de - o, non au - de -

non au - de - o, non au - de -

sonorities flicker successively from C major/minor to G major/minor to D major/minor. Until 'misericors' the superius has been completely silent in the *secunda pars*, but Byrd gives it a dramatic entry as it sails straight to the peak pitch of *f*'' on 'deus' in bar 117 (Ex. 12.5). Having once again established this peak, he holds it in reserve until the end of the *secunda pars*, where he repeats the closing phrase 'non repellat imaginem suam' (he will not reject his own image) several times, and the superius attains the peak on the stressed second syllable of 'imaginem' twice in close succession.

After the opening trio in the *tertia pars* on 'tristis ac moerens venio' Byrd proceeds through various other combinations of trios and quartets before bringing in the full ensemble at 'quid autem dicam tibi' (but what shall I say to you; b. 186), and for the phrase 'cum oculos levare non audeo' (since I dare not lift up my eyes?) in bars 200–2 he recalls the emphatic statements of 'non audeo' from the *prima pars* (see Ex. 12.4). He saves his most striking effects, however, for the conclusion. In the text of the meditation, Savonarola prepares the opening words of Ps. 50 with 'misericordiam tuam implorabo, dicam: *Miserere mei deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*' (I will implore your mercy, I will say: *Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great mercy*), and Byrd piles up stretto entries, one voice climbing higher than the next, on a poignant ascending line for 'misericordiam tuam implorabo' which builds to a powerful open-ended cadence on '[et] dicam'. Then

Ex. 12.5. Byrd, *Infelix ego*, bb. 103-18

105

110

silence. The dramatic pause ushers in the words of the psalm 'miserere mei deus' in crystal clear chordal declamation that contrasts starkly with the clamorous polyphony that preceded it (Ex. 12.6). The tone is now humble and restrained; the top voice twice intones 'miserere' with an inflection of the plaintive semitone on 'mei', evoking Josquin's setting of

Ex. 12.5. (Cont'd)

Musical score for Ex. 12.5 (Cont'd), featuring six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: Mi - se - ri - . The second staff has lyrics: sit, ab - sit, ab - sit, Mi - se - ri - . The third staff has lyrics: sit, ab - sit, ab - sit, Mi - se - ri - . The fourth staff has lyrics: sit, ab - sit, ab - sit, Mi - se - ri - cors, . The fifth staff has lyrics: ab - sit, ab - sit, Mi - se - ri - . The bottom staff has lyrics: sit, ab - sit, ab - sit, .

115

Musical score for Ex. 12.5 (Cont'd), featuring six staves. The top staff has lyrics: cors, mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, . The second staff has lyrics: cors, mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, pi - . The third staff has lyrics: cors, mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, pi - us . The fourth staff has lyrics: mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, pi - us est sal - . The fifth staff has lyrics: cors, mi - se - ri - cors est de - us, pi - us . The bottom staff is empty.

the same words in his famed setting of *Miserere mei deus* (cf. Ex. 8.1). Josquin's simple intonation for these words had become a commonplace during the sixteenth century, and it was invoked in numerous Continental motets.⁵² Byrd could even have known Josquin's motet firsthand, for Lumley

⁵² See above, Ch. 8 nn. 36 and 47. Rees drew attention to the resemblance of Byrd's intonation to Josquin's soggetto from *Miserere mei deus* in 'The English Background to Byrd's Motets', 48-9. He also noted that Byrd may have known Willaert's setting of *Infelix ego*, either from the Nuremberg print of 1556, or from a manuscript source, since it had been copied in England in the mid-16th c. (four of its six parts are in Edinburgh University, MS 64).

Ex. 12.6. Byrd, *Infelix ego*, bb. 230–7

230

et di - cam: Mi - se -
 cam, et di - cam: Mi - se -
 di - cam, et di - cam: Mi - se -
 cam, et di - cam:
 cam, et di - cam: Mi - se -
 cam, et di - cam: Mi - se -

235

re - re me - i, mi - se - re - re me - i
 re - re me - i, mi - se - re - re me - i
 re - re me - i, mi - se - re - re me - i de -
 Mi - se - re - re me - i de -
 re - re me - i, mi - se - re - re me - i de -
 re - re me - i, mi - se - re - re me - i

possessed the earliest printed source for it, Petrucci's second volume of *Motetti de la corona* of 1519.⁵³ Byrd scores the words 'miserere mei' first for five voices on D major (with F#), then again in an expanded texture for full choir as the harmony drops to a colourful, third-related sonority on B flat (with F \flat).

Rees goes on to note that Byrd, in another motet on *Miserere mei deus* also published in the 1591 collection, uses Willaert's form of the *sogetto* for *Miserere mei deus*; *ibid.* 36–7 n. 36, and 48 n. 51.

⁵³ See Milsom, 'The Nonsuch Music Library', 160.

Lassus comes to mind, in terms of his treatment of both texture and harmony in the same passage (cf. Ex. 11.5).⁵⁴

Now one hears the most extraordinary series of repetitions of all: the words 'misericordiam tuam' pour out in wave upon wave of imitative entries (Ex. 12.7), and Byrd intensifies the final statement in bars 259–61 by reharmonizing the ascent to the superius high E \flat , bypassing the usual supporting C minor sonority and moving down instead to a wholly unexpected A \flat in the bassus, thus flattening the leading-note for the B flat tonality. The music takes on a tone of desperate pleading as the harmony shifts to this more plangent tone. Up to this point A \flat had been heard only as a fleeting ornamental pitch, and not as the foundation of a strong sonority in the bassus.⁵⁵ This harmonic shock only briefly diverts the superius along the path of its final ascent to the peak f'' (b. 263), after which the music unwinds along a series of falling lines over solid cadential progressions in the bassus. In Kerman's view, Byrd achieved a synthesis by filling the mould of the old votive antiphon—with its alternating duo, trio, and full textures—with music of new expressive power that projects the words in a highly rhetorical manner. Given Byrd's effectiveness in adapting such a variety of musical styles, Kerman justifiably calls the motet one of his 'strangest successes'.⁵⁶

The question how Byrd came to set Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 admits no clear answers, although it was mentioned earlier that he might have seen the Continental music prints containing the setting by Lassus (1568), or the combined setting of *Tristitia obsedit me* and *Infelix ego* by Clemens (1553). He could also have known Savonarola's meditation from the many editions that were attached to English primers from the 1530s and 1540s, or even the English translation from 1578, as listed in Table 12.1.⁵⁷ Both the editions of Continental motets (1553 and 1568) as well as four complete editions of the text of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 were available in Lord John Lumley's library at Nonesuch, one of the largest private libraries in Elizabethan England.⁵⁸ A closer look at events in the lives of Catholic nobles like Lumley and his family can provide a context for Byrd's setting of *Infelix ego*.

Around 1552 Lumley (1534?–1609) married Jane, the daughter of Henry

⁵⁴ Rees has drawn attention to English precedents for homophonic passages with fluctuating harmonies in motets by Tye and Sheppard; see 'The English Background to Byrd's Motets', 41.

⁵⁵ See bars 9, 20, 148, 238, and 256.

⁵⁶ Kerman, *Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, 179.

⁵⁷ Rees compared several textual variants in settings of *Infelix ego* by Willaert, Rore, Vicentino, Lassus, and Byrd, and found that Byrd departed from the others in a few small details that suggested he might have remembered the text from an earlier primer ('The English Background to Byrd's Motets', 36–8). There were, however, great numbers of printed copies of Savonarola's meditation available in England in the late 16th c., and it seems likely that Byrd took his text from a printed source.

⁵⁸ For the editions of the meditation, see S. Jayne and F. R. Johnson, *The Lumley Library (A Catalogue)* (London, 1956), nos. 3344, 716, 758, and 765a.

Ex. 12.7. (Cont'd)

mu - se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

cor - di - am tu - am.

se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

se - ri - cor - di - am tu - am.

which was by this time unfortunately mired in debt.⁵⁹ Lumley himself had also been implicated in the plots of the late 1560s and early 1570s, and was imprisoned in the Tower and other locations during these same years.

Many years earlier, in approximately 1553, the Earl of Arundel's other daughter, Mary, had wed Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; she died just a few years later in 1557 after giving birth to a son, Philip. Thomas Howard, the premier noble of the realm and himself a confirmed Protestant, was beheaded in 1572 for complicity in the Ridolfi conspiracy, in which his ultimate aim was to take Mary Queen of Scots as his wife. His son Philip Howard, named Earl of Arundel in 1580, also met with a harsh fate. Moved by witnessing one of Edmund Campion's disputations in 1581 and also by his Catholic wife, Anne, he eventually converted to Catholicism in 1584. The next year he was captured while attempting to flee England, and he spent the remainder of his life in the Tower. Meanwhile, Mary Queen of Scots had been led to the block in 1587 and the Spanish Armada met defeat in 1588. Apparently while the Armada was in the Channel, the young Arundel led other Catholics in the Tower in twenty-four hours of continuous prayer; he was accused of praying for a Spanish victory, and subsequently tried and convicted for high treason in 1589. Condemned to death, he spent his time in fasting and prayer, not knowing when the sentence might be carried out; as it happens, it never was, and he died in the Tower in 1595 at the age of 38.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ C. W. Warren, 'Music at Nonesuch', *MQ* 54 (1968), 47-57.

⁶⁰ For biographical information on Henry Fitzalan, John Lumley, and Philip Howard, see the appropriate entries in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Howard was canonized in the 20th c.; see C. Kerr, *The Life of the Ven. Philip Howard* (New York, 1926).

Byrd's patron, Lord Lumley, thus witnessed harsh treatment of several members of his family: the disgrace of his father-in-law, Henry Fitzalan; the execution of his brother-in-law, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; and the imprisonment and death sentence handed down on his nephew, Philip Howard. Lumley also experienced punishment for his own suspected involvement in the Ridolfi conspiracy in the early 1570s. It happens that Byrd probably composed *Infelix ego* in the same decade, and it could be seen as addressing the condition of Lord Lumley, who would be a logical patron to commission the setting. When Byrd came to print the motet in 1591, Lumley was the dedicatee of the volume, and he might also have appreciated the aptness of the text of Savonarola's meditation for the condition of his nephew, Philip Howard. Lumley himself, it will be recalled, had no fewer than four editions of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 in his library.

Another factor may also have influenced Byrd's decision to set *Infelix ego* to music. The late 1570s coincide with the time when Hunnis probably first published his poetic adaptation of the meditation, *Ah helples wretch*; Mundy possibly made his setting of this text as a verse anthem at around the same time. Given the Protestant orientation of these composers, might Byrd as a Catholic have taken it on himself to provide his own setting in Latin? His apparent involvement with the Jesuits might seem to discourage this possibility, since they were hostile to Savonarola and his writings; yet in 1588 in Douai, a Jesuit stronghold and a major centre for English Catholic exiles, Paul Du Mont had published a defence of Savonarola's writings. Possibly, in a move that preceded Du Mont's own published defence of Savonarola, Byrd's setting of *Infelix ego* can be viewed as a gesture to take repossession of the text for Catholics in England in the face of Protestant appropriation of it by Hunnis and William Mundy. In a more general sense, the text must have addressed in a profound way the desperate mood of English Catholics, especially in the 1580s, as they appealed to the Lord for mercy during a time of persecution and tribulation.

Yet how ironic that the last flowering of the Latin motet in England should include among its texts the meditation of Savonarola. Byrd's setting sums up and surpasses the work of composers during the preceding century in splendidly complex polyphony that—in spite of its stirring musical rhetoric—would surely have elicited scorn and even fiery denunciation from the uncompromising Ferrarese friar who wrote these words just weeks before he was led to the stake.

EPILOGUE

Savonarola was a necessary text for the sixteenth century, as people of both Catholic and Protestant denominations turned to his writings for solace and guidance in unstable and turbulent times. But in the absolutist seventeenth century, when the flux of religious conflict settled along hardened political lines, Savonarola was no longer a compelling figure. In Italy, the campaign to have the friar canonized in time for the jubilee year of 1600 had met with failure, and in the ensuing decades only isolated prints of his psalm meditations appeared, notably the meditation on Ps. 50, issued in Rome in 1646 in a deluxe edition made possible by a large bequest from the brother of Pope Urban VIII, Antonio Barberini.¹ No biographies of Savonarola by Italian authors were printed in the sixteenth century, not the one by Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, not pseudo-Burlamacchi's, not Serafino Razzi's. Jacques Quétif finally published Pico's biography in Paris in 1674, but the first edition of pseudo-Burlamacchi's biography appeared only in the eighteenth century (Lucca, 1764), during that sceptical era when the memory of Savonarola had almost disappeared or was held in disdain.² As in the sixteenth century, the nineteenth century took up various aspects of the friar's thought, especially for political ends during the Risorgimento, when patriots and historians seeking to unite the states of the Italian peninsula under one flag turned to Savonarola as a symbol of support for the fledgling Republic.³ The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also produced numerous poems and plays in Italian, German, French, Spanish, and English that dramatized the friar's life and his struggle against aristocratic tyranny, including a lengthy dramatic poem by Nicolaus Lenau.

In the realm of music, Charles Villiers Stanford's English opera *Savonarola* received a favourable response at its Hamburg première (sung in German) in April of 1884, but failed to please at Covent Garden a few months later, owing in part to the unfortunate circumstance that it was still sung in German.⁴ In the

¹ The bequest amounted to 500 Scudi; cited in La Croix du Maine, *Bibliothèques françaises* (Paris, 1772), iii. 229; on the edition, see Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 368. Antonio Barberini (1569–1646) should not be confused with his similarly-named nephew.

² *Vita R. P. Fr. Hieronimi Savonarolae Ferrariensis* (Paris, 1674), and *Vita . . . Savonarola* (Lucca, 1764); see Ridolfi, *Vita di Savonarola*, ii. 64.

³ Ridolfi, *Vita*, ii. 64.

⁴ See P. Rodmell, 'A Tale of Two Operas: Stanford's "Savonarola" and "The Canterbury Pilgrims" from Gestation to Production', *ML* 78 (1997), 77–91.

following decade, Ruggero Leoncavallo wrote the libretto for an operatic trilogy to rival Wagner, *Crepusculum* (*I Medici*, *Savonarola*, and *Cesare Borgia*), but he composed music for only the first part, which failed at its première in Milan in 1893.⁵

In the twentieth century, two Italian composers working in Florence invoked Savonarola in their music during the turbulent decade of the 1930s when fascism prevailed under Mussolini. Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco provided extensive incidental music for Rino Alessi's five-act play *Savonarola* (Florence, 1935); just a few years later, in 1939, he emigrated to the United States to escape the oppression of fascism. Especially significant is a composition by one of the most eminent Italian composers of the modern era, Luigi Dallapiccola, whose *Canti di prigionia* (*Songs of Imprisonment*; Florence, 1938–41) were written for chorus, with an unusual instrumentation of two pianos, two harps, and percussion. The work was composed in direct response to Mussolini's newly enacted anti-Semitic laws of 1938,⁶ and it is organized in three movements, each based on the words of a well-known prisoner: 'Mary Stuart's Prayer', 'The Invocation of Boethius', and 'Ghirolamo Savonarola's Farewell' ('Congedo di Ghirolamo Savonarola'). For the third movement Dallapiccola had originally worked on a text by Tommaso Campanella, and then considered one by Socrates, but he finally settled on Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 30, whose words captured perfectly the sentiment of protest that inspired the whole work:⁷ 'Premat mundus, insurgant hostes, nihil timeo, quoniam in te domine speravi, quoniam tu es spes mea, quoniam tu altissimum posuisti refugium tuum' (Let the world press hard upon me and let my enemies attack, I fear nothing, for in you, Lord, I have hoped, for you are my hope, for you have placed your refuge on the summit).⁸ In each movement one hears in the instrumental parts the melody of the *Dies irae* from the Requiem Mass, reminding the listener of the approach of death and the last judgement. Additionally, Dallapiccola was among the first Italian composers to make effective use of Schoenberg's twelve-tone technique, and he incorporates two different tone rows in the *Canti di prigionia*, which is not to say there is anything mechanical about the result. On the contrary, this work, which champions the ideal of liberty in dramatic and profoundly expressive music, stands among Dallapiccola's greatest achievements, and the closing movement shows that Savonarola's words still had the power to stir the creative impulse of a modern composer. But the bitterest irony strikes when we recall that Savonarola himself had called for the expulsion of the

⁵ W. Ashbrook, 'Leoncavallo, Ruggero', *NGD* x. 673. Joseph Rheinberger set a 'Preghiera' attributed to Savonarola in his *Gesänge altitalienische Dichte*, op. 129 (Leipzig, 1912), but the text, 'Tutto sei, dolce dio, signore eterno', is actually a lauda by Feo Belcari.

⁶ L. Dallapiccola, *Dallapiccola on Opera*, trans. R. Shackelford (Toccat Press, n.p., 1987), i. 44–7.

⁷ *Ibid.* 48–9.

⁸ The text is drawn from the second section of the meditation; see Savonarola, *Operette spirituali*, ii. 238.

Jews from Florence; Dallapiccola can hardly have been aware of this particular intolerant side of the friar, and he emphasized rather the heroic struggle against tyranny. The enduring power of Savonarola in western culture is at least in part traceable to the ease with which individuals and groups have interpreted his life and thought in ways that suit their own purposes, whether he is viewed as a political and social reformer who defended the rights of common people against tyrants and sought to improve their lot through government programmes, or as an advocate of an oppressive morality who sought to compel society to conform to narrow puritanical ways, or as a religious reformer who challenged the status quo of the Church and sought to return it to the more spiritual life of its early days. All have validity and all ensure that Savonarola will continue to attract admirers as well as provoke resistance and stimulate controversy.

In terms of the music treated in this book, the paths traced by the musical protagonists follow divergent courses, reflecting the wide appeal that the figure of Savonarola exercised on the imaginations of early modern Europeans. The friar and his followers forged the lauda as an essential tool for urging social and moral reforms. The singing of newly composed laude that bore Savonarola's prophetic message, or that praised the friar after his death, helped to bind his followers together, as they internalized the message in the communal act of singing. The millennial message of renewal was especially embodied in the opening verse of Ps. 132, 'Ecce quam bonum', 'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' The simple tune for this verse was joyously sung by the Piagnoni during their festivals, as they danced in circles around Florence's main piazzas and processed through the streets, investing and literally filling these communal spaces with the sounds of their reforming spirit.

French composers of course also used this popular lauda in elaborate motets and a mass, some of which (such as works by Richafort and Mouton) were no doubt made at the direct behest of King François I, who never ceased to entertain political designs on Italy. These settings can be understood in the context of Savonarola's frequent references to French kings as the Lord's designated reformers of the Church, which offered them ready justification for their frequent military incursions into Italy. In terms of music, the incorporation of the folklike tune for *Ecce quam bonum* into elaborate polyphonic motets represents a melding of popular material with the techniques of high art—an uncommon procedure in the Latin motet of the period.

Other complex musical settings of Latin motets based on Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 were in several cases also inspired by the famous setting of Ps. 50, *Miserere mei deus*, by Josquin des Prez. Here we can perhaps detect Savonarola's influence in Josquin's stripped-down

intonation—one can hardly call it a melody—for the words ‘miserere mei deus’, where the musical focus is on utter humility and unadorned simplicity. Josquin’s austere musical subject returns periodically throughout his motet, always in the same voice (the first tenor), constantly reminding the singers and listeners of the lone voice of the penitent.

It has been pointed out in an earlier chapter that support for church reform was widespread in Italy in the 1540s, when the hope for a reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics still burned brightly. This helps to explain the choice of Savonarola’s texts by Ferrarese patrons, and even how faithful Catholics such as Willaert and Rore came to compose settings of words by a friar who had been accused of heresy and was subsequently burnt at the stake. While figures such as Ercole II and Ippolito II d’Este maintained an active interest in Savonarola as both a saintly figure and a native son of Ferrara, they also carried on an illustrious tradition of courtly patronage begun by their grandfather, Ercole I. The rather small court of Ferrara loomed large indeed on the musical scene during the sixteenth century, for here could be found many of the most eminent composers of the age. Josquin’s imposing setting of *Miserere mei deus* for Ercole I stands as a monument that evoked new musical responses from Willaert, Rore, and Vicentino, as they created a synthesis of Savonarola’s words and the ostinato intonation from Josquin’s *Miserere* in their settings of *Infelix ego*. Palestrina even participated obliquely in the tradition by quoting Josquin’s ostinato subject in his setting of the penitential text *Tribularer si nescirem*, a motet probably composed for Cardinal Ippolito II. The Ferrarese network of Savonarolan motets extends to the work of French composers such as Simon Joly, who composed his setting of *Infelix ego* for Cardinal François de Tournon, a close friend and ally of the Este. And the possibility is good that Claude Le Jeune created his setting of Savonarola’s meditation on Ps. 30, *Tristitia obsedit me*, for the Este as well. Finally, Ferrarese influence extended even to Munich, where Lassus created his setting of *Infelix ego* for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. The duke closely followed musical developments in Ferrara and especially admired the music of Cipriano de Rore, so it seems likely that he commissioned Lassus to compose music for *Infelix ego* in the light of the several settings of that text emanating from the Este court.

The struggle for control of Savonarola’s legacy, especially between Protestants and Catholics in France and England, helps to explain the musical settings of the friar’s meditation on Ps. 50 by English Protestants such as William Hunnis and William Mundy on the one side, and the Catholic William Byrd on the other. The simple and straightforward settings by the English Protestants avoid undue musical complexity, and indeed Hunnis’s tune for *Ah helples wretch* comes closest to capturing Savonarola’s own ideal of simplicity. Byrd, by contrast, gives a highly rhetorical reading of the Latin

text *Infelix ego*, scored in a thick texture for six voices in a style whose melodic repetitions and rhythmic insistency superbly project the words and capture the struggle and anguish of the friar.

Savonarola's meditations and other writings reached a wide reading public through printed editions in the sixteenth century, and now one can see that his message reached listeners and singers²⁸ as well, first through the medium of the Italian lauda, initially filling the public spaces of Florence and then retreating to the private cells of Tuscan convents where Dominican nuns and friars nourished an underground cult of the friar. Secondly, in Latin motets and English anthems, musical settings for Savonarola's final meditation echoed somewhat paradoxically in the luxurious surroundings of secular and ecclesiastical courts, from Ferrara to Paris, Lyons, Antwerp, Munich, and London. A paradoxical context, yes, but nevertheless the patrons at these courts, buffeted by the religious and political tempests of the age, must have sought relief through extended contemplation of the friar's meditations in musical settings that dramatized the struggle to attain hope in the face of adversity.

APPENDIX A

Contents of Serafino Razzi, Libro primo delle laudi spirituali (Venice, 1563)

Alternative texts for each musical setting are not listed.

Text	Author	Folio
1 Lodate fanciulletti	Fra Serafino Razzi	1
2 Vergine bella	Francesco Petrarca	2 ^v
3 Giesù sommo conforto	Girolamo Savonarola	3 ^v
4 Vengh'ogni cor ardenti	Serafino Razzi	5
5 Molto più guerra	Simon Pallaio	6
6 Mai riposo alcun non ha	d'Autore incerto	9
7 Quant'è grande la bellezza	Lorenzo de' Medici	10 ^v
8 Dimmi dolce Maria	d'Autore incerto	12 ^v
9 Ecco 'l Messia (3vv)	Lucrezia de' Medici	15 ^v
10 Ecco 'l Messia (2vv, new music)	Lucrezia de' Medici	16
11 Signor soccorr'aita	[Lorenzo Tornabuoni]	18 ^v
12 Madre de' peccatori	d'Autore incerto	21 ^v
13 Chi non ama te Maria	[Girolamo Benivieni]	23 ^v
14 Stabat mater (2vv)	d'Autore incerto	26 ^v
15 Stabat mater (3vv) (same Cantus as 14)		27
16 Cor maligno, e pien	d'Autore incerto	28 ^v
17 L'agnellino sant'e humile	d'Autore incerto	29 ^v
18 Tu se tutta cortese	Fra Niccolò Fabroni	30 ^v
19 I' sent al cor conforto	Serafino Razzi	31 ^v
20 Da che tu m'hai Iddio	Feo Belcari	32 ^v
21 Deh venitene pastori	Lucrezia de' Medici	36
22 Levati su homai	Gherardo d'Astore	37 ^v
23 O Maria diana stella	d'Autore incerto	40 ^v
24 L'amor a me venendo	Bianco Gesuato	42 ^v
25 La carità è spenta	[Fra Benedetto Luschino]	44 ^v
26 Ecce quomodo moritur	[liturgical responsory]	45 ^v
27 O anima accecata	d'Autore incerto	46 ^v
28 Christo ver' huomo	Feo Belcari	47 ^v
29 Verbum caro factum est	[anon.]	49 ^v
30 Si pensassi a piacer	Feo Belcari	51 ^v

Text	Author	Folio
31 Leviamo i nostri cori	Serafino Razzi	54 ^v
32 Dolce, felice, lieta	Serafino Razzi	56 ^v
33 Che farà tu cor mio	Madonna Battista de Malatesti	58 ^v
34 Giesù, Giesù, Giesù	Feo Belcari	60
35 Crucifixum in carne	[anon.]	61
36 O Giesù dolce	Lionardo Giustiniano	61 ^v
37 Spirti sian sempre gaudenti	Serafino Razzi	63 ^v
38 Povertà, fatiche, stenti	Fra Bastiano da Poggibonzi	67
39 O maligno, e duro core	Lorenzo de' Medici	68 ^v
40 Amor ch'in terra	Fra Angelo Bettini	70 ^v
41 Lodiam col puro core	Fra Hilario Buoninsegni	73 ^v
42 Ogni giorno tu mi di	d'Autore incerto	75 ^v
43 Riposo alcun non trovo	Fra Angelo Bettini	77
44 Già fu presa da te	d'Autore incerto	78 ^v
45 In su quell'alto monte	[Bianco Gesuato]	80 ^v
46 Dolce Dio sommo conforto	Fra Felice da Castelfranco	81 ^v
47 I' mi trovo Giesù	d'Autore incerto	82 ^v
48 Peccatori Maria siamo	d'Autore incerto	86 ^v
49 Ierusalem letare	Fra Giovambattista Battiloro	89 ^v
50 Ave regina celi	[d'Autore incerto]	90 ^v
51 Che faralla, che diralla	d'Autore incerto	92
52 Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis	[litany]	93
53 Ome, ome, quanto misero se	Fra Bonifazio Landini	93 ^v
54 Alma che scarca	d'Autore incerto	95 ^v
55 Iesus dulcis memoria	St Bernard	97
56 Che bella vit'ha 'l mond'	[anon.]	99
57 Dolor, pianto, e penitenza	Castellano Castellani	100 ^v
58 Se tua parola Giesù	Serafino Razzi	102 ^v
59 Signor per la tua fe	Serafino Razzi	104 ^v
60 O Signor mio	Serafino Razzi	106 ^v
61 Vorria saper da voi figli	Serafino Razzi	107 ^v
62 O Vergin santa	Serafino Razzi	108 ^v
63 Stommi qui al monumento	Serafino Razzi	109
64 Lo fraticello si leva	Serafino Razzi	109 ^v
65 Torna, torna al freddo core	Serafino Razzi	110 ^v
66 Vo gir all'hermo per farmi	Serafino Razzi	111 ^v
67 Facciam festa, hor su	Fra Pierfelice Caiani	113
68 Cum autem venissent	d'Autore incerto	115 ^v

Text	Author	Folio
69 Ecce quam bonum [not the Piagnone tune]	[Ps. 132: 1]	116 ^v
70 Giesù mio, Giesù mio	[anon.]	117
71 Herode il volto mio pallido	Serafino Razzi	117 ^v
72 Tre virtù siamo	Serafino Razzi	120 ^v
73 Signore io pur vorrei	d'Autore incerto	121 ^v
74 Dixit dominus domino meo	[Ps. 109; Tone 8]	123
75 Si ch'io la vo seguire	d'Autore incerto	123 ^v
76 Maria vergine bella	[anon.]	124 ^v
77 Ecco care sorelle	Fra Pierfelice Caiani	126 ^v
78 Deh dolce Redentore	Lorenzo Tornabuoni	130 ^v
79 Giesù sommo diletto	[Feo Belcari]	131 ^v
80 Signor Giesù quando sarò	d'Autore incerto	132 ^v
81 Io son Giesù che sopra	d'Autore incerto	133 ^v
82 Dalla più alta stella	[attr. Lorenzo de' Medici]	134 ^v
83 Viva, viva in oratione	d'Autore incerto	136 ^v
84 Conosco bene che pel peccato [music: Ser Firenze, prete]	[Francesco d'Albizzo]	137 ^v
85 O dolce amor Giesù quando	[Bianco Gesuato]	139 ^v
86 Se tu donassi il core	[Feo Belcari]	140 ^v
87 Chi 'l paradiso vuole	[Gherardo d'Astore]	141 ^v
88 In nulla si vuol porre	d'Autore incerto	142 ^v
89 Quando ti sguardo in croce	d'Autore incerto	143 ^v
90 Vergine santa, gloriosa [music: H. Isaac]	d'Autore incerto	144 ^v
91 Laudate sempre sia	d'Autore incerto	145 ^v

APPENDIX B

Lauda in the Concluding Section of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossi 424

207 fos. (original fo. numbers; modern numbering: 216^v fos.); late 15th/early 16th c.; 257 lauda texts. Though not originally prepared for him, the MS was owned by Pandolfo Rucellai (d. 1497), a member of the Florentine patriciate who entered the convent of San Marco in 1495. The MS was still in the convent of San Marco in the late 1590s, when Fra Serafino Razzi cited its folio numbers for Savonarola's laude when he copied them into his 'Vita del P. Savonarola', BMLF San Marco 429 (see App. G). Original folio numbers are listed below to facilitate comparison with San Marco 429. For a complete inventory, using modern foliation, see F. Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano* (Venice, 1983), i. 190-8.

Folio	Incipit	Author
191 ^v	'Lauda composta da Fra Hieronymo da Ferrara de Savonarolj de l'ordine de frati predicatori' <i>Che fai qui core</i>	Savonarola
191 ^v	'Cantasi a ballo'	
191 ^v	<i>O Jesù o dolce Dio</i>	[anon.]
191 ^v	<i>O maligno e duro core</i>	L. de' Medici
	'Cantasi come <i>E galanti di Valenza.</i>	
	La decta lauda fece Lorenzo de Medici'	
192 ^r	<i>Iesù soccorri aita l'alma mia</i>	[Lor. Tornabuoni]
	'Cantasi come <i>O rosa mia gentile, et come O Donna del mio core</i> '	
192 ^v	<i>O Regina del paradiso</i>	[anon.]
	'Cantasi come <i>Miserere ogniuno diti, questi poveri Romiti</i> '	
192 ^v	'Lauda di Fra Hieronymo da Ferrara de Savonarolj'	
	<i>Alma che sì gentile</i>	Savonarola
	'Cantasi come —'	
193 ^r	'Lauda del sopradecto frate Hieronymo da Ferrara'	
	<i>Iesù sommo conforto</i>	Savonarola
	'Cantasi come <i>Vergine tu mi fai</i> '	

Folio	Incipit	Author
193 ^r	'Lauda di sancta Maria Magdalena a pie di Christo facta da decto Fra Hieronymo; ha modo proprio facto da Ser Firençe prete' <i>Iesù splendor del cielo</i>	Savonarola
193 ^v	<i>Iamo ad Maria su ad Maria</i> 'Cantasi come <i>L'amo alla chaccia</i> '	[Anon.]
194 ^r	'Composta per il Tholosano' <i>Dolceza del mio cuore</i> 'Cantasi come <i>Che deggio ma più fare</i> '	G. Tolosani
194 ^r	<i>Deh volgi li occhi tua pietosi</i> 'Composta da ———'	[anon.]
194 ^v	<i>Conosco ben che pel peccato mio</i> 'Composta da Francesco Dalbizo. Et ha modo proprio molto bello facto da Ser Firençe prete'	F. D'Albizzo
194 ^v	<i>Se non che pure e vero così credo</i> 'La preducta laude compose Fra Hieronymo da Ferrara innanzi che fussi frate'	Savonarola
195 ^r	<i>Viva christo et chi gli crede</i> 'La prefata laude compose Ser Philippo Cioni notaio fiorentino'	Filippo Cioni
[195 ^v –200 ^r]:	laude by Fra Giovanni Tolosani (1470/1–1549);	
200 ^r –204 ^v :	laude by Castellano Castellani (1461–1519/20);	
204 ^v –206 ^v :	laude by Girolamo Benivieni (1453–1542)]	
207 ^r	'Lauda della fede composta per il Tholosano' <i>Viva Christo et la sua fede</i>	G. Tolosani
207 ^r	'Lauda di F. Hieronimo Savonarola della charita' <i>Omnipotente Idio</i>	Savonarola
207 ^r	<i>Tutto sei dolce idio</i>	[Feo Belcari]
207 ^r	'Lauda di San Vincentio martire et levita per la festa de' giovani. Cantasi come <i>Dalla più alta stella</i> ' <i>Dall'alta et somma luce</i>	G. Tolosani
207 ^v	'La preducta laude compose il Tholosano' [Added in a later hand:] <i>Si chi ti vo seguire</i>	[Anon.]

[Finis]

APPENDIX C

Savonarolan Laude in Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence, MS C.262

158 fos.; late 15th/early 16th c.; 134 lauda texts. An early source for laude by Savonarola and Girolamo Benivieni, as well as the earliest source for Fra Luca Bettini's lauda *Ecce quam bonum* (fo. 56^v), written after the 1498 execution of Savonarola and his two companions.

Folio	Incipit	Author
37 ^r	<i>Onnipotente idio</i>	[Savonarola]
49 ^v	<i>Che fai qui core</i>	Savonarola
51 ^v	<i>Giesù sommo conforto</i>	Savonarola
	'Le sopradette due laude sono di fra Ierolimo da Ferrara'	
53 ^v	<i>Non fu mai più bel solazzo</i>	G. Benivieni
	'La sopradetta lauda fu di Girolamo Benivieni'	
56 ^v	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	[Fra Luca Bettini]
109 ^r	<i>Alma che sì gentile</i>	Savonarola
	'La sopradetta lauda compose frate Ierolimo da Ferrara e priore di sancto Marcho di Firenze e così questa che segue compose in laude di santa Maria Madalena'	
110 ^r	<i>Giesù splendor del cielo</i>	Savonarola
111 ^r	'Lauda de fiorentini al singnore': <i>Da che tu ci ai singnore</i>	[G. Benivieni]
112 ^r	<i>Viva Cristo re nostro et la felice</i>	[anon.]
113 ^r	<i>Viva ne' nostri cori viva o fiorenza</i>	[G. Benivieni]

APPENDIX D

Savonarolan Laude in Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, MS Rossi 395

212 fos. (modern numbering); 289 original folios; thus c.77 fos. are now missing. Original foliation is given below. 178 lauda texts listed in table of contents. The MS belonged to Fra Leone Forteguerra, a Dominican friar who took his vows in 1522 at the convent of San Domenico in Pistoia. Fos. 3^v-7^v (modern numbering) contain music for four laude: *Ecco il signore* (cantus and tenor); *Salve vergin' regina* (cantus, altus, tenor, bassus); *Quant'è grande la bellezza* (cantus and tenor); and *I mi truovo Jesu* (tenor).

On endpaper: 'Questo libro è ad uso di Fra leone Forteguerra da Pistoia dell'Ordine de Predicatori figliuolo del con[ven]to di s[an]to Domenico di Pist[oi]a della Romana Provincia il qual' prese l'habito nel' M.D.XXii alli xii di Settembre [new hand:] a hore una di Notte.'

In a different hand: 'Questo libro è di S[uo]r Lisabetta Tholomei di Santa lucia di Pistoia il quale gli dono il p[adre] fra Leone forteguerra suo cariss[im]o zio. Chi lo accatta si derigni renderlo.'

Folio	Incipit	Author
78 ^v	<i>Giesù sommo conforto</i>	[Savonarola]
87 ^r	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	[Fra Luca Bettini]
138 ^r	'Lauda del Bambino et dell'Amor Cantarsi <i>Ben venga Amore'</i> <i>Che fai qui cuore</i>	[Anon.]
	[modelled on Savonarola's lauda]	
157 ^r	<i>Giesù sommo conforto</i>	[Anon.]
	[modelled on Savonarola's lauda]	
157 ^v	<i>La charità è spenta</i>	[Fra Ben. Luschino]
165 ^v	<i>I vo darti anima mia</i>	[G. Benivieni]
187 ^r	'Lauda del sacratissimo sacramento di F. N. F. Cantasi come <i>Giesu splendor del cielo'</i> <i>Sposa amorose che giesu amate</i>	Fra Niccolò Fabroni
	['cantasi come' based on Savonarola's lauda]	
188 ^v	'Lauda in honor del sacratissimo sacramento di F. N. F. Cantasi come la precedente' <i>Giesù splendor patern'et vero Dio</i>	Fra Niccolò Fabroni

APPENDIX E

Savonarolan Laude in Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Magl. VII.365

178 fos.; 211 lauda texts. Copied after 1549, as confirmed by the inclusion of Fra Serafino Razzi's *Io sento al cor conforto* (fo. 97^v). Razzi states that this is his first lauda, written while he was a novice at San Marco (BNF Pal. 173, fo. 80^v). The MS possibly belonged to Suor Caterina de' Ricci's convent of San Vincenzo in Prato in view of the significant group of six laude in honour of St Vincent, as well as the large number of concordant texts with Serafino Razzi's *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (1563), which itself was dedicated to Caterina de' Ricci.

Title-page, in eighteenth-century hand: 'Del Cavaliere Anton Francesco Marmi comprato questo dì 18 Gennaio 1720/21 per L. 1.13.4'.

Title-page, in sixteenth-century hand, the same as the main hand of the MS: 'Questo è il vago, e fiorito Giardino delle Laudi composte da più, e diversi Autori con la sua tavola e numeri per maggior comodo, e facilità del lettore ecc.' [verso; later hand, larger and less neat than main hand:] 'A uso di S[uo]r Tommasa An[na?]'

Folio	Incipit	Author
1 ^r	'Di Fra Gieronimo Savonarola' <i>Giesù splendor del cielo</i>	Savonarola
37 ^r	'Lauda de tre santi Martiri' <i>Ciascheduno esulti e canti</i>	[anon.]
39 ^v	'Cantasi a modo proprio' <i>In su quell'alto monte</i> [model for Savonarola's <i>In su quell'aspro monte</i>]	[Bianco Gesuato]
119 ^r	'Di Giesù, e del suo Natale come <i>Ecco'l Messia</i> ' <i>Ecce quam bonum, et quam iocundum</i>	[Fra Luca Bettini]
120 ^v	'Come <i>Ben venga amore</i> ' <i>Che fai qui core</i>	[Savonarola]
132 ^v	'Nella morte di fra N. a modo proprio' <i>La carità è spenta</i>	[Fra Benedetto Luschino]
144 ^r	'Dell'amor di Giesù a modo proprio' <i>Giesù sommo conforto</i>	[Savonarola]

APPENDIX F

Savonarolan Laude in Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, MS Pal. 169

180 fos.; eighty lauda texts, numbered 1-67, 98-104, 114-16, plus three unnumbered laude; missing numbers 68-97 and 105-13. Probably copied in the late sixteenth century. Cover inscribed 'S. Cat.na da ssiena', probably indicating that the MS belonged to the convent of nuns at Santa Caterina da Siena, across the piazza from the convent of San Marco in Florence.

Folio	Incipit	Author
31 ^v	'Lauda de 3 martiri di yhu cristo' <i>O propheti, o martiri sancti</i>	[anon.]
34 ^r	'Lauda del beato Jeronimo da ferrara et suo compagni' <i>Oggi torna alla memoria</i>	[anon.]
46 ^r	'Lauda del dolce amor Giesù composta per fra Jeronimo da Ferrara' <i>Jesu sommo conforto</i>	Savonarola
47 ^v	'Lauda del medesimo in Laude di sancta maria magdalena' <i>Jesu splendor del cielo</i>	Savonarola
63 ^r	'Lauda della sancta pazzia' <i>I vo darti anima mia un rimedio sol che vale</i>	[G. Benivieni]
76 ^v	'Lauda di sancta maria magdalena per fra Jeronimo' <i>In su quel aspro monte</i>	Savonarola
77 ^v	'Lauda di fra Jeronimo del dolce amore' <i>Jesu sommo conforto</i> [again]	Savonarola
91 ^v	'Lauda del amor di Giesù' <i>Non fu mai 'l più bel solazzo</i>	[G. Benivieni]
94 ^v	'Lauda della santa pazzia di Giesù' <i>I' vo dirti anima mia da che tu saper lo vuoi</i>	[G. Benivieni]
114 ^v	'Capitoli in laude de tre martiri' <i>O fonte di bonità che d'alta cima</i>	[anon.]
157 ^v	'Lalda [sic] al crucifisso cantasi come Ogni giorno tu mi di' <i>Non fu mai più dolce amore</i>	[anon.]
	[modelled on Benivieni's <i>Non fu mai el più bel solazzo</i>]	

APPENDIX G

Savonarolan Laude in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, San Marco MS 429

The MS is a biography of Savonarola by Fra Serafino Razzi, 'Vita del P. Savonarola'; copying was completed on 9 April 1598 (fo. 219). Razzi's biography occupies fos. 1-219; it is followed by the 'Difensione del padre fra Girolamo scritta dal signor Giovanfrancesco conte della Mirandola' (fos. 223-337) and a smaller fascicle bound in at the end (fos. 338-53), containing Latin poetry in honour of Savonarola.

The list below includes laude copied by Razzi at the end of the biography. Only laude nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, and 10 are by Savonarola, but Razzi's heading suggests that, with the exception of his own two laude, nos. 5 and 8, and no. 7, attributed to St Bridget, all the other laude are by Savonarola (he refers to no. 10 as 'laude settima del beato Ieronimo'). He is, however, mistaken in two cases: no. 1 belongs to Girolamo Benivieni, and no. 3 is by Feo Belcari. Razzi cites specific folio numbers from BAV Rossi 424, his source for laude 2, 4, 6, 7, and 10 (see App. B). Surprisingly, given the nature of this source as a prose biography of Savonarola, Razzi also includes musical notation for the laude marked with an asterisk, nos. 2, 5, 7, and 8.

Folio	Incipit	Author
209 ^v	'D'alcune rime spirituali composte dal servo di Dio fra Girolamo Savonarola; capitolo XV, e ultimo di questo terzo libro'	
209 ^v [1.]	<i>Viva ne nostri cuori</i>	[G. Benivieni]
211 ^r	'Laude al crocifisso'	
*[2.]	<i>Giesù sommo conforto</i> '(Habetur in codice manuscripto Bibliothecae Divi Marci pagina 193)' [see BAV Rossi 424, fo. 193 ^r ; music for cantus only, fo. 209 ^r = 1563, fo. 3 ^v]	[Savonarola]
212 ^r	'Laude ricavata dal suo breviario'	
[3.]	<i>Tutto sei dolce Iddio</i>	[Feo Belcari]
212 ^v	'Una laude in lode di Santa Maria Maddalena ricavata dall' istesso suo breviario scritta di sua propria mano'	

Folio	Incipit	Author
[4.]	<i>Giesù splendor del cielo</i> '(Haec habetur in codice manuscripto Bibliothecae sancti Marci pag. 193, a banco 32)' [see BAV Rossi 424, fo. 193 ^r]	[Savonarola]
214 ^r	'Laude a' tre Martiri composta dall'autore di questa Vita fra Serafino Razzi l'anno 1595 a 21 di Maggio cantasi a tre voci'	
*[5.]	<i>Piangendo i miei peccati</i> [written for nuns of Santa Lucia in Florence; music for cantus, tenor, and bassus, fo. 215 ^r]	Serafino Razzi
215 ^v	'Laude della carità composta dal padre fra Ieronimo Savonarola'	
[6.]	<i>Omnipotente Dio</i> '(Ex libro laudum manuscripto que est in biblioteca divi Marci Florentiae in scanno 31 occidenta li pagina 207.)' [see BAV Rossi 424, fo. 207 ^r]	[Savonarola]
215 ^v	'Laude del beato Ieronimo savonarola ex libro manuscripto prefato pagina 191 ^v ' [see BAV Rossi 424, fo. 191 ^v]	
*[7.]	<i>Che fai qui core</i> [music for cantus only, fo. 216 ^v = 1563, fo. 15 ^v , music for <i>Ecco 'l Messia</i>]	[Savonarola]
217 ^r	'Per isvegliar le suore al mattutino capitolo scritto dall'autor del libro pregatore l'anno 1592'	
*[8.]	<i>Vergini deh lasciate i pigri letti</i> [written for nuns of San Vincenzo in Prato; music for tenor and bassus only, fo. 218 ^r ; music for 4 voices, see <i>Santuario di laudi</i> , 1609]	Serafino Razzi
218 ^r	'Santa Brigida'	
[9.]	<i>E con questo convien</i>	[St Bridget]
218 ^r	'Laude settima del beato Ieronimo ex codice manuscripto praefato pagina 192 ^v ' [see BAV Rossi 424, fo. 192 ^v]	
[10.]	<i>Alma che sì gentile</i>	[Savonarola]

APPENDIX H

Encomium of Savonarola by Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (stanzas 1–5, 7) and Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (stanza 6)

BAF MSS Inediti, Classe I, no. 371, Part III, fo. 10^v

In fr[atrem] Hierony[mum] Savonar[olam]

Quo te sancte Pater nomine nuncupem?
vel quaeserta feram florida vertici?
tu victor toties pulvere olympico,
atque insignis adorea.

An te forte canam lumine splendidum
pendentem medio stipite martyrem?
An vates populis quod babylo niis
praedicis mala secula?

Doctorem ne vocem te sapientiae
qui legis veteris mystica gratiae
confersensa, crucis signa perennia
pandis dux bone signifer?

Qua tu lege tuos, quave modestia
fratres instituis, quo ordine contines,
ipsum te sub jicis legibus arctius,
parens quam prius imperes.

Quid miracula nunc tanta retexerim,
per te quae populis omnipotens pater
et passim inque dies exhibet, ut magis
nos ad sydera provocet?

Salve dive choris addite caelitur,
salve multiplici praedite laurea
aucte et multiplici germine fructuum
caeli dives in horreis.

Sed quid plura rudi pectine molior?
non si grande canam pectinis aurei
carmen sufficiam laudibus: Nunc pater
pectus, quod damus accipe.

To Fra Girolamo Savonarola

By what name should I call you, holy father?
Or what flowery garlands should I bring for your head?
You, so often the victor in the dust of the stadium
And distinguished with glory.

Shall I perhaps sing of you resplendent in light,
A martyr hanging from the middle of the stake?
Or a prophet, in that you foretell
Evil times to the people of Babylon [i.e. Rome]?

Or should I call you a teacher of wisdom,
Who bears the mystical notions of grace
Of the ancient law, who makes known the eternal
Wonders of the cross, O virtuous guide and standard-bearer!

You instruct your brothers with such rules,
With such moderation, and you constrain them with such order,
Yet you subject yourself to more stringent rules,
Obeying before you command.

Why should I not reveal such great miracles,
Which the omnipotent Father displays through you
To the people both everywhere and daily,
The better to summon us to heaven?

Hail divine one, added to the choirs of heaven,
Hail, you who are endowed with many laurels,
And enriched by the manifold fruits of the earth,
Wealthy with the granaries of heaven.

But why should I strum on so crudely?
For even if I should sing a long hymn with a golden plectrum
I should not be adequate to your praises: now, father,
Accept the hearts which we offer.

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22. Philippe Verdelot, *Letamini in domino / Ecce quam bonum*
 23. Adrian Willaert, *Infelix ego*
 24. Simon Joly, *Infelix ego*
 25. Claude Le Jeune, *Tristitia obsedit me*
 26. Clemens non Papa, *Tristitia obsedit me*

English Song and Verse Anthem

27. *William Hunnis, *Ah, helples wretch*
28. +William Mundy, *Ah, helples wretch*

Eastman Capella Antiqua, Patrick Macey, director

*Betsy Hoats, soprano

Colleen Liggett, soprano

Elizabeth Phillips, soprano

Katia Escalera, mezzo soprano

Tami Petty, mezzo soprano

Lloyd Peasley, countertenor

+Jeffrey Harp, tenor

Brad Peloquin, tenor

Troy Cook, baritone

Hugh Russell, baritone

Nathaniel Webster, baritone

Joseph Finetti, bass

*Paul O'Dette, lute

+Antonius Bittmann, organ

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