

Blake Wilson

*HORA MAI SONO IN ETÀ:*  
SAVONAROLA AND MUSIC IN LAURENTIAN FLORENCE

Savonarola's ascent to prominence in Florence seems to have begun, appropriately, on Ascension Day in 1491, the date of the first recorded outcry against him<sup>1</sup>. From this point on he appears increasingly to be a historical figure who acted, rather than was acted upon, and in whose adroit manipulation of the city's patron-client networks in pursuit of his millenarian vision of reform he resembles the *gran maestro* Lorenzo. He seems equally the activist with respect to music and poetry: the composition of laude in the Florentine tradition, the organization of the singing fanciulli, the diatribes against polyphony, and the sumptuary laws and *bruciate* in which, we are told by contemporary witnesses, scores of musical instruments and music books perished. All of this appears to flow from the inspired persona of the friar, and to continue beyond his life in the writing and lauda-composing activities of his *Piagnoni*. But what of Savonarola's apprenticeship in the ways of a city so different from his native Ferrara? The closer one looks at the Savonarola of the 1490s, the more one is struck by a *fiorentinità* that must have been acquired during his earlier years in Laurentian Florence. Indeed, beginning with the seminal work of Weinstein, and continuing with the studies of Trexler and Polizzotto, scholars have increasingly emphasized the Florentine antecedents of Savonarola's programmes. During Savonarola's first residence in the city, 1482-87, it is likely that the obscure friar, a reader at San Marco and still inexpert in his preaching, was more a student of the city, observing its habits and character, inevitably gathering a very Dominican repertoire of preaching exempla grounded in local customs and institutions.

The musical life of the city during the 1480s could not have failed to make an impression upon a young man who had grown up in the Ferrara of

1. L. Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation, The Savonarolan Movement in Florence 1494-1545*, Oxford 1994, p. 56.

Duke Ercole D'Este I, and who himself probably studied music and played the lute<sup>2</sup>. Between his arrival in Florence in 1482 and his temporary departure in 1487 to head the Dominican studium in Bologna, Savonarola witnessed a critical period in Florentine music. The passing of an older generation of poet/musicians strongly tied to local Florentine traditions was marked by the deaths of Antonio Squarcialupi in 1480, the great lauda poet Feo Belcari in 1484, and the famous improvisatory singer Antonio di Guido in 1486. Though Florence, and the private Lorenzo in particular would continue to nurture and cherish the *cantimpanca* tradition, the public Lorenzo's sense of both civic pride and personal *magnificenza* required the fashionable adornment of polyphonic music on a scale comparable to his rival patrons in Naples, Milan, and Ferrara<sup>3</sup>. What Savonarola watched and heard during this period surely informed his later tirades against *canti figurati*. By 1478 novices in the city's leading ecclesiastical chapels were receiving instruction in the "reading, writing, and performing of polyphony", and at Lorenzo's behest northern musicians entered the city in unprecedented numbers during the 1480s as the chapels at the Cathedral, Baptistry, and Santissima Annunziata were reorganized and dramatically expanded on the model of the other Italian courts<sup>4</sup>. Heinrich Isaac arrived by 1485 as the jewel in the crown, and when Savonarola left in 1487 these chapels were already among the largest and best in Italy. There was an attendant rise in the taste for French secular polyphony, as well. Of the relatively large number of late fifteenth-century chansonniers of Florentine provenance, three of the earliest extant collections – BNF, Mgl. XIX.176 (F176), Biblioteca Riccardiana 2356 (R2356), and Paris, BN, f. Frç., Ms. 15123 (Pix) – are probably datable to the 1480s<sup>5</sup>. These, at least, are the ones that survived the *brucciamento* of the 1490s.

Apparently the taste for northern song in Florence at this time was not confined to elite circles, for this repertory passed immediately into the venerable Florentine lauda tradition where French titles are cited frequently as *cantasi come* sources for the lauda texts<sup>6</sup>. Earlier Florentine *cantasi come*

2. L. Parigi, *Laurentiana, Lorenzo dei Medici cultore della musica*, Firenze 1954, pp. 89, 90 nota 141.

3. The best current study of Lorenzo's music patronage is F. D'Accone, *Lorenzo and Music*, in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo*, ed. G. C. Garfagnini, Firenze 1994, pp. 259-290.

4. D'Accone, *Lorenzo and Music* cit., pp. 282-284.

5. D. Fallows, *The Songs of Guillaume Dufay: critical commentary to the revision of Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser. 1, vol. VI*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 47, [n.p.] 1995, p. 5.

6. The most thorough list, which incorporates some recently-discovered titles, is B. Wilson, *Song collections in Renaissance Florence: the "cantasi come" tradition and its manuscript sources*, "Recercare", 10, 1998, pp. 86-88.

manuscripts like the older layers of Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Rossi 424 (Rs424) contain no such foreign titles, but they are well established in the lauda repertory by 1486, when the first of the “Galletti” prints (Gall<sup>2</sup>) appeared. I have recently examined all of the Florentine *cantasi come* sources I could locate – some 57 manuscripts and early prints in addition to the four Galletti prints (Gall<sup>1-4</sup>). One of these, R2896, is a unique source for three new foreign titles, the anonymous *Galans et bons compagnons*, and two songs by Bedyngnam, *Myn hertis lust* and *So ys imprentid*, which appear here with their alternative French texts, *Grant temps* and *Pour une suis desconforté*, respectively. The evidence in these sources all support the notion that the music of these northern songs *in some form* was part of not just an elite sub-tradition of lauda singing, but a broader, more popular one: many of these titles appear throughout most of the *cantasi come* sources of this period, and, as I hope to show, these sources were widely used. These chanson titles often rub shoulders with secular Italian titles as alternative *cantasi come* sources for a given lauda text (for example, Francesco d’Albizo’s *Ogni piacere l’ho amando te* could be sung to the music of Bedyngnam’s *Mon seul plaisir* or *Madre che festi*), or like *J’ay pris amours* they might be utilized as a source for up to three or four different laude. Yet the consistent link across two or more sources between some lauda texts and their foreign *cantasi come* title – eg, the music of Dufay’s *Seigneur Leon* is always assigned to Belcari’s *Signor Gesù* – also indicates a well-established manner of singing that lauda text. Certainly the evidence of the Galletti prints, which we have relied upon too exclusively, needs to be placed in the larger context of these other sources.

The number of these sources, which vary from commercial prints to informal private anthologies, coupled with the assumption that the readers would already know or have access to the music, points to a widespread practice. This practice, moreover, is one Savonarola came to know well. Given his eventual interest in popular devotion and use of lauda singing, it is no surprise that by 1483 he had begun copying down Florentine lauda texts as well as composing his own, and these indicate that he already knew the repertory and its *cantasi come* traditions well by this time. The eight laude he recorded between 1483 and 1485 in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P.II.5 (Codex Borromeo; CB) by Belcari and other Florentines, including *Ben venga amore*, *Giù per la mala via*, and *Hora mai che sono in età* are among the most widely disseminated in late fifteenth-century *cantasi come* sources, and most have fairly stable links to secular polyphonic models

(Table 1). Foreign titles are entirely absent from the *cantasi come* links to laude copied by Savonarola, but this repertory could not have escaped his notice. The highest concentration by far of French titles is in a related group of sources: the manuscript collections R2896, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi L.VII.266 (Ch266), and Belcari's autograph BNF, Mgl. VII.690 (M690) which must predate his death in 1484, and in the earliest Galletti print of 1486 (Gall<sup>2</sup>) and its related print sources, which means that these northern songs had settled broadly into the *cantasi come* tradition by the time Savonarola became involved with it. Though there is not time here to fully argue the case for laude sung to French polyphony, I would like to offer several observations<sup>7</sup>: 1) Polyphonic settings of the French titles from the *cantasi come* sources are also strikingly well represented in the earliest Florentine chansonniers; 2) three of the new French titles from R2896 turn up in the early Florentine chansonnier, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms 78.C.28 (BerK) from the 1460s, which now means that of the 33 recognizable titles in this manuscript, 19 turn up in early Florentine chansonniers, and ten in *cantasi come* sources, strengthening the argument for both the Florentine provenance of BerK and the likelihood that the laude were sung polyphonically<sup>8</sup>; 3) the absence of French texts, or at least credible French texts from many of the chansons found in Florentine sources suggests not only the possibility of instrumental performance, but re-fitting with lauda texts.

Exactly what Savonarola thought at this time about the infiltration of northern music, even to the depths of popular devotional singing, we don't really know, though his aversion to it might be inferred from the complete exclusion of foreign titles from all Savonarolan lauda sources, including the Borromeo Codex, the last layer of Rs424, and all subsequent *piagnoni* sources. However, it is this northern influx that probably forms the background for the comments of another great Dominican in Florence around this time, Giovanni Caroli. The learned and respected Caroli was a friar of the conventual Dominican order at Santa Maria Novella when he composed his *Vite fratrum* during the late 1470s. At the heart of Caroli's *Vite* was a critique of Florentine civic life in which the decadent Medicean society was contrasted

7. This question is discussed more fully in Wilson, *Song collections in renaissance Florence* cit., pp. 92-94.

8. For an index of BerK, and persuasive arguments about its date and provenance, see D. Fallows, *Polyphonic Song in the Florence of Lorenzo's youth ossia: the provenance of the manuscript Berlin 78.C.28: Naples or Florence?*, in *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, ed. P. Gargiulo, Firenze 1993, pp. 47-61.

with the vanished past of the Florentine commune. A symptom of this decline is the impoverishment of religious life; confraternities once fostered a serious Christian life, but in Caroli's day,

With the help from those groups of men which we call confraternities, and their continual singing of psalms, whose verses have become so popular, alas they even sing psalms in taverns and restaurants almost contemptuously for enjoyment. [...] Praising in their new inventions and in the unheard-of combinations of music, by their own judgement making melodies and harmonies, they think that they have obtained the greatest glory among the people based on how they have sung. However, if they were doing those things with good character and faith and not through the arrogance of the world, then perhaps I would come forward praising them in some part<sup>9</sup>.

It is not difficult to imagine that the "new inventions" and "unheard-of combinations of music" Caroli had heard by 1479 were the more complicated styles of secular polyphony that were invading the lauda repertory at just this time. Caroli reserves his strongest language for the damaging effect of *cantus figuratus* on the liturgy. In language that deftly weaves Augustinian precepts and rhetorical notions of decorum, he laments the loss of the *gravitas*, *dignitas*, and *devotio* of gregorian chant, a displacement that was no doubt the direct result of the shift of emphasis in the choir schools' curricula at just this time towards training in polyphony:

It would have been much better to cling to the tracks of the holy Father, to faithfully rely upon the firm and entirely serious and solid song for praises to the divine, lest our mind shall wander through insolence and frivolity [...] to flow out and sink by means of that lightweight and infirm figured song which provides no spiritual nourishment. [...]

For nothing in that multiplication of voices and sounds can be sufficiently understood, not even the words of the songs, through which the mind may become especially inflamed with the love of God, nor can dignity itself be preserved for long in that gaiety or with the quickness of the notes. Rather the mind either wanders or it is certainly dissolved in reverie. And so if we want to speak the truth, the so-called biscantus, presumptuous and lacking all harmony, is not very pleasing. Rather indeed I hate them, and very truly curse them when they seem to extend to feminine silliness rather than to the dignity of excellent men<sup>10</sup>.

9. S. Camporeale, *Giovanni Caroli e le "Vitae fratrum S. M. Novellae": Umanesimo e crisi religiosa, 1460-80*, "Memorie domenicane", n.s., 12, 1981, pp. 228-229 (discussion), 260-261 (text).

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262. This passage is discussed further in Id., *Humanism and the religious crisis of the late quattrocento: Giovanni Caroli, O.P. and the "Liber dierum lucensium"*, in *Christianity and the Renaissance: image and religious imagination in the Quattrocento*, eds. T. Verdon and J. Henderson, Syracuse, N.Y., 1990, pp. 456-457; and P. Macey, *Bonfire songs: Savonarola's musical legacy*, Oxford 1998, p. 92.

This is not a condemnation of all styles of polyphony, but refers to a very particular style: the liturgical context, the multiplicity of voices and sounds, the swift notes, the obscuring of the text, all clearly allude to performances of Franco-Flemish polyphony to be heard in the major churches with increasing frequency and volume in Caroli's day. The *Vite fratrum* is ostensibly a series of biographies of great Florentine Dominicans, and despite the later hostility between Caroli and Savonarola, it seems very likely that Savonarola would have read the recently-completed *Vite*, and read sympathetically its underlying critique of the decadence of Florentine society, of the need for civic religious renewal through a return to austerity and simplicity, and of the vital role the mendicant orders would play in that renewal. Indeed, Savonarola's devastating diatribes against polyphony in the 1490s were couched in the same millenarian critique of *luxuria* and decadence, and aimed at precisely the same liturgical environment – the purity of plainchant is preferable to the chaotic rabble and unwarranted ornament of *cantus figuratus*, which charms the ears and senses, and obscures the text<sup>11</sup>.

Caroli's critique of confraternal singing is among the precious few accounts we have of what the city's lauda chapels might have been singing at this time, and their adoption of newer polyphonic repertory is also suggested by contemporary shifts in performing forces: at least five of the city's laudesi companies had begun to beef up their choirs in the 1460s to around eight or nine *sovrani* and *tenoristi*, and maintained chapels of nine to twelve singers through the 1490s at a time when the polyphonic chapels in the major churches had been disbanded. However, we have not a single extant laudario or piece of music that can be securely linked to all this polyphonic laudesi activity, nor even records of expenses relating to laudarios, which surface much more frequently in the sparser trecento records of these same companies. So just what polyphonic repertory *were* they singing? In the absence of more unequivocal evidence, the inescapable conclusion, it seems, is that the city's lauda choirs were performing the *cantasi come* repertoire. This institutional context would explain the broad diffusion of a core repertory of lauda texts, the consistency of their *cantasi come* links, and even the whole *premise* of this practice – that somehow the music was familiar enough, sung often enough and by enough people, that one only need say of a given lauda text, "sing it like ...". A hint as to what might have constituted this core repertory of texts comes, once again, from looking beyond

11. Macey, *Bonfire songs* cit., pp. 91-98.

the Galletti prints to the other printed sources (Table 2). A group of these – the only real group among all the *cantasi come* sources – preserve the contents of Gall<sup>2</sup> (the oldest print of 1486) in its entirety and in the same order, but with identical interpolations from Gall<sup>1</sup> (group A). A few of these prints (group B) contain exactly this, but with the appendage of Gall<sup>3</sup> and/or Gall<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, parts of two large manuscript collections, R 2896 and the older, pre-1480 layers of Rs424, and three smaller manuscripts CN75.1, LR121, and M1163 (group C), contain long runs of laude that mingle Gall<sup>1</sup> and Gall<sup>2</sup> laude in a sequence identical to one another, and similar to the non-Galletti sources. This all suggests a source tradition that pre-dates, and to some extent differs from, the Galletti prints. More to the point of confraternity usage, the repertory these sources have in common – Gall<sup>2</sup> and the selections from Gall<sup>1</sup> – contain the only repertory of the four Galletti prints that looks appropriate for the para-liturgical services of confraternities, that is, laude for the proper of the time and the proper of the saints, as opposed to the more private devotional character of the texts found in the rest of the Galletti prints. It is just here, as well, that one finds the greatest concentration of foreign, particularly French titles among the *cantasi come* models, which well may constitute the “new inventions and ... unheard-of combinations” in the confraternal singing heard by Caroli. That none have survived as explicitly designated laudesi service books may be explained by the fact that as paper manuscripts or prints devoid of miniatures and musical notation, confraternity laudarios of this kind would have been used up and eventually set aside as new poetry and musical models came into fashion in the early sixteenth century, or were privately owned by individual confraternity members.

The connection between this *cantasi come* repertoire and the confraternities is supported by two other observations. First, some of the lauda poets in this tradition were associated with the laudesi confraternities. Feo Belcari served as an officer for the Company of San Zanobi at the Cathedral, and Ser Firenze, Berto delle Feste, and Cristofano da Miniato all sang for that same company. What little we know about Ser Firenze suggests a type of musician capable of bridging the worlds of confraternity singing and polyphonic *cantasi come* models: he was a *tenorista* for the companies of San Piero Martire at Santa Maria Novella (1471-80) and San Zanobi (1483), and a lauda instructor of the novices at Santissima Annunziata in the early 1480s. He also penned laude that drew on the music of leading polyphonic composers, and is credited with the composition of several *modo proprio* settings for lauda

texts, one of them being Savonarola's *Jesù splendor del cielo*<sup>12</sup>. And finally, the performing forces of the laudesi chapels were compatible with the requirements of the polyphonic settings called for by the *cantasi come* rubrics. Leaving aside for the moment the knotty problem of the French pieces, the traceable polyphonic settings tend to be Italian secular songs in two- or three-part homophonic textures, and with a less fixed polyphonic fabric that lends itself to a more flexible performance practice – that is, many of these pieces could be performed in one-, two-, or three-part versions with or without instrumental accompaniment, or to improvised tenor parts according to a Florentine practice dating back to the trecento. The popular barzelletta *Hora mai che fora son* (discussed below) is certainly such a piece. It is also possible that the more fixed settings of this kind were simply memorized by Florentine singers who performed these pieces regularly in confraternity settings; such repertory would include what we know of the Laurentian carnival song repertory like *Vicin, vicin, vicin* or *Ben venga maggio*, or the two-part settings in north Italian sources of Giustiniani's Venetian laude like *Madre che festi* and *O Jesù dolce*, which are ubiquitous in the Florentine *cantasi come* sources. The two- and three-part laude in Serafino Razzi's retrospective collection of 1563 (which also preserves music from both the Carnival song and Venetian repertoires) belong more or less to this same tradition. At the same time that Razzi's notated laude represent the deterioration of improvised and memorized performance practices, they nevertheless preserve traces of that older practice, just as they preserve the memory of the late fifteenth-century Dominican friar. The configurations of the late fifteenth-century lauda chapels (typically three or four *tenoristi* to five or six *sovran*i – seem well-suited to two- and three-part singing, but problematic, even in a treble-dominated repertoire, in terms of balance for four-part singing, which would tend to pit solo singers on the lower three parts against five or six *sovran*i who were just as often adults as *fanciulli*<sup>13</sup>. Surely it was this local practice of polyphonic devotional singing that Savonarola found not only acceptable, but useful in his promulgation of the singing *fanciulli*; its virtues were just those lacking in northern polyphony: clearly declaimed texts, a flexible musical texture easily adapted to multiple texts, and clear musical textures that were easily me-

12. Wilson, *Song collections in Renaissance Florence* cit., p. 23.

13. When the singer/composer Jachetto di Marvilla corresponded with Lorenzo de' Medici in 1468 offering to recruit singers for the chapel of San Giovanni, it is clear that even in this context three- rather than four-part singing was the norm. F. D'Accone, *The singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th century*, "Journal of the American Musicological Society", 14, 1961, p. 324.



morized, and easily projected even in unfavorable acoustical environments like outdoor processions.

Ser Firenze's setting of Savonarola's *Jesù splendor del cielo* was probably composed during Savonarola's first stay (when the friar copied this lauda into CB) since there is no record of Ser Firenze after 1483. How might this have come about? It seems inevitable that either by natural inclination or networking strategy Savonarola would have been drawn to the large popular devotional culture of the lauda poets and confraternities. The lauda poet, singer, and brassworker Cristofano di Miniato had been involved in the Florentine scene since at least 1456 when he was recorded as a singer for the Company of San Zanobi, but clearly had been enlisted to Savonarola's cause by the time Cristofano was a guardian of the youth confraternity of San Giovanni Evangelista in the 1490s<sup>14</sup>.

Especially intriguing and elusive is the figure of Francesco degli Albizzi (d'Albizo). After Belcari he was the most prolific lauda poet in Laurentian Florence, and his *cantasi come* models, like Belcari's, often drew on a more cosmopolitan repertory of French and Italian polyphony from sources found outside Florence. For one so prominent the biographical information is remarkably scant: geneological records tell us only that he was married, and in 1483 lost a child who was laid to rest in the family church of San Pier Maggiore<sup>15</sup>. But he belonged to a family that heavily supported Savonarola in the 1490s, and Francesco himself is recorded for the first time as an elected public official in 1495<sup>16</sup>. He is the author of several laude (discussed below) that can be linked to the singing fanciulli of the Florentine youth confraternities, possibly to the specific environment of San Marco.

Perhaps most illustrative of how these lay devotional channels might work is the case of Pandolfo Ruccellai. He was the central figure in a what Polizzotto has described as "a particularly important [cultural & social] network ... with close business, political, and social ties which pre-dated Savonarola's advent", a network of the kind that was often incorporated intact into the Savonarolan movement<sup>17</sup>. Pandolfo himself was a member of Savo-

14. R. Trexler, *Ritual in Florence: adolescence and salvation in the Renaissance*, in *The Pursuit of holiness in late medieval renaissance religion*, ed. C. Trinkaus and H. Oberman, Leiden 1974, p. 215.

15. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Poligrafo Gargano, busta 48, f. 53. Savonarola.

16. D. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: prophecy and patriotism in the Renaissance*, Princeton 1970, p. 258, nota 32; Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation* cit., p. 446. An entry in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Poligrafo Gargano, busta 47, f. 29 reads: "Albizzi giustificano a papa Alessandro VI Fra Girolamo".

17. Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation* cit., pp. 19-20.

Father Luca (1382-1458) : m. 1425, Franc° 572

of 8 children. So:

b. after 1430 - d. after 1495 (DBI, ii, 26)

narola's embassy to Charles VIII in 1494<sup>18</sup>, and was a conduit of Piagnoni influence in the city's hospitals and confraternities to which he contributed money and leadership<sup>19</sup>. In 1496 he became a friar of San Marco, and as Fra Santi distinguished himself as a Hebraicist and Biblical translator before his death in 1497<sup>20</sup>. This must be the same Pandolfo Rucellai who was the owner of Rs424, one of the oldest, largest, and richest *cantasi come* sources from late fifteenth-century Florence. He was probably responsible at least for the compilation of the later, clearly Savonarolan section of the manuscript, and a remarkable fourteen of the sixteen laude in Savonarola's Borromeo Codex are found also in Rs424<sup>21</sup>. No other source comes close to having this many concordances with Savonarola's own collection. Rs424 appears, then, to be a central *cantasi come* source traceable to Savonarola's immediate circle, which signifies a connection between the two men forged probably during Savonarola's first stay, and in an early Savonarolan environment where lay devotion, lauda singing, and religious reform intersected.

Perhaps the strongest antecedents for Savonarola's later musical programmes are to be found in the city's youth confraternities, which tended to combine social reform and lauda singing. Indeed, there had been singing *fanciulli* active at San Marco for decades before Savonarola's arrival there. The Compagnia della Purificazione della Vergine e di San Zanobi was founded in 1427 at San Marco, the same year the convent's feeble "chonpagnia delle laulde di San Marcho" was last mentioned in the city's tax records<sup>22</sup>. After the Medici return in 1432, a series of events quickly established the Purification, along with the city's other proliferating youth confraternities, as the "public image of youth in the life of the city"<sup>23</sup>. In 1435, Ambrogio Traversari addressed two letters to Pope Eugene IV (who the next year established a *schola puerorum* at the Cathedral to train boy singers) in which he describes the character and activities of the youth confraternities, including their lauda singing ("vel psalmos recitant, vel hymnos pariter concinunt")<sup>24</sup>. The

18. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence* cit., p. 115, nota 13.

19. Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation* cit., pp. 32, 35.

20. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence* cit., p. 110.

21. The Savonarolan laude in Rossi 424 are indexed in Macey, *Bonfire Songs* cit., pp. 312-313. The manuscript was in the San Marco library until at least the late 1590s, but it was probably Rucellai who brought it with him when he joined the convent in 1495.

22. B. Wilson, *Music and merchants: the laudesi companies of republican Florence*, Oxford 1992, p. 107.

23. Trexler, *Ritual in Florence* cit., p. 223.

24. Both letters are edited and discussed in K. Eisenbichler, *Il ruolo delle confraternite nell'educazione dei fanciulli: il caso di Firenze*, in *L'Educazione e la formazione intellettuale nell'età del-*

companies were subsequently reorganized and limited in number to four by Eugene IV in 1442, and by Archbishop Antoninus in 1446, during which period the Purification moved into the magnificent new oratory built for them by Cosimo de' Medici. The governing board of the four official youth confraternities was to consist of the lay custodians of each group, the abbot of the *Badia Fiorentina*, and the prior of San Marco. The latter position was occupied by Antoninus in 1442, and eventually by Savonarola in 1491.

The lauda singing of the Purification boys was a central activity, practiced both in the private context of oratory services and *sacre rappresentazioni*, and in the more public arena of city-wide processions<sup>25</sup>. In 1445, a year after occupying their new oratory, the company recorded expenses for a new laudario, and thereafter regularly celebrated with organists and singers the feasts of St. Mark, Sts. Damian and Cosmus, St. Zenobius, and the Purification<sup>26</sup>. The company's titular link to the Purification, as well as its adoption of St. Zenobius as their primary patron saint, suggest a strong link to the center of civic devotion in Florence, the recently completed Cathedral. The Purification had since 1416 been the principal feast at Santa Maria del Fiore, and the cathedral's lavish Zenobius chapel, the focal point of his cult, was dedicated in 1439 with the solemn translation of the relics of the city's first bishop. The company's devotion to Zenobius and the Virgin was celebrated in an altar painting commissioned from Benozzo Gozzoli in 1461, but the particular significance of Zenobius to the company is revealed in the predella, one panel of which depicts Zenobius performing his signature miracle, the revival of a dead child in Borgo degli Albizzi<sup>27</sup>. It is clear, in fact, from

*l'Umanesimo*. Atti del II convegno internazionale, 1990, Milan 1992, p. 110, and translated in Trexler, *Ritual in Florence* cit., pp. 209-210.

25. One witness to the 1455 San Giovanni processions identified the youth companies, including the Purification, observing that "the *fanciulli* were all dressed in white with the red cross on their shoulders, [and] went singing and psalmonizing with great melody"; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. C.4.895, f. 170v (Priorista of Paolo di Matteo Pietrobuono), cited in Trexler, *Ritual in Florence* cit., p. 223, where he describes these as the "seeds of the great Savonarolan processions of the 1490s". The theatrical activities of the Purification are discussed in N. Newbigin, *The Word made flesh: the "Rappresentazioni" of mysteries and miracles in fifteenth-century Florence*, in *Christianity and the Renaissance* cit., pp. 362-368.

26. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Compagnie religiose soppresse da P. Leopoldo, vol. 1654, nos. 29-30, *passim*.

27. The Purification altarpiece is reproduced and discussed in D. C. Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, New Haven 1996, pp. 112-119. The altarpiece is in the National Gallery in London, and the St. Zenobius predella is in the Gemäldegalerie of the Berlin Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. For a more detailed discussion of the cult of Zenobius as revealed in music, art, liturgy, and literature, see B. Wilson, *Music, art, and devotion: the cult of St. Zenobius at the Florentine cathedral during the early renaissance*, in *Cantate domino: musica nei secoli per il Duomo di Firenze*, Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Florence, 23-25 May, 1997, in press.

the large body of Zenobian images, devotional and liturgical texts, and vitae that had accumulated by the mid fifteenth century that Zenobius had become a potent local symbol of revival – revival of the the city's moral fabric in general, and the revival of its youth in particular. It is in this sense that he was an apt patron saint for a Florentine youth confraternity, and Zenobius' exalted status in the city's fifteenth-century pantheon of saints did not escape Savonarola, who years later called upon Zenobius to intercede with God for the Florentines<sup>28</sup>.

The vigorous Florentine culture of confraternal devotion, lauda singing, and pious youth into which Savonarola stepped in the early 1480s provide a context for considering the only extant text with music we have from Savonarola's hand. Among the texts Savonarola copied into the Borromeo Codex during 1483-1485 is the ubiquitous Belcari lauda *Hora mai sono in età*, along with a version of the cantus melody (Ex. 1). Belcari's text is modeled upon a secular barzetta, *Hora mai che fora son*, which along with its musical setting seems to have originated in the area of Naples just after mid-century. The latter is preserved in the Neapolitan manuscript El Escorial, Biblioteca Monasterio, Ms. IV.a.24 (EscB, copied in the 1460s) in a four-part setting, and shortly thereafter the text and some version of this polyphonic setting came to Florence, perhaps along diplomatic channels and in the company of other secular polyphonic works from this region that made their way into Florentine polyphonic and *cantasi come* sources. This work enjoyed widespread popularity, but nowhere as in Florence, where it passed into the early *cantasi come* sources (see Table 3), including two that predate Savonarola's arrival: the older layer of Pandolfo Rucellai's laudario, Rs424, and the autograph *zibaldone* of the Florentine improvisatory singer Filippo Scarlatti, which he compiled during 1467-81<sup>29</sup>. Seven of the eight Galletti references to this work are in the earliest print, and so it appears that Belcari's lauda and its related texts were widely sung in the 1480s, if not sooner, and that the barzetta music had become strongly associated with Belcari's text. But the association of the music with its original secular text had not been forgotten, for *Ora mai che fora son* is cited as a *cantasi come* source for two different texts in Gall<sup>2</sup>, and in seven different sources as the model for *Hora mai sono*

28. He mentions Zanobi, the Baptist, and Antonino as saints who would intercede with God for Florentines; G. Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Ezechiele*, a cura di R. Ridolfi, Rome 1955, I, p. 223; Id., *Prediche sopra Esodo*, a cura di P. G. Ricci, Rome 1955-1956, I, p. 222; cited in Trexler, *Public Life* cit., p. 67, and nota 100.

29. Formerly Firenze, Biblioteca Venturi Ginori Lisci, 3, and now Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acquisti e doni 759.

*in età*. In other words, the melody had a simultaneous association with two different but related texts, a unique situation that is due in large part to the significance of the texts and their themes within the increasingly politicized devotional environment of the *fanciulli* in late quattrocento Florence.

The well-known barzelletta text (see App. 1) tells the story of a girl who was made a nun against her will, and who has left the convent and wants to burn her *tonica* and never go back. Belcari's text (see App. 1), *Oramai sono in età* is a textbook case of *damnatio memoriae*- "Now that I am old enough, I want to serve Jesus; I no longer wish to stay in the world, because it is full of vanity"<sup>30</sup>. This good little *fanciulla* goes on to say that she wants to spend the rest of her years living a pure life, "saying psalms and singing laude", and in the final stanzas she bids farewell to her natural family and friends who are now being replaced by her new, spiritual family. The one song stands for rejection of the monastic life, the other embraces it, or put another way, these two songs represent the dichotomy between the active and contemplative life, about which Savonarola himself felt so much ambivalence<sup>31</sup>. These two texts also derived their Florentine popularity from their resonance with the city's youth confraternities, which were the intersection of city-wide concerns about both the pious education of youth and the fear that boys, in particular, would be recruited from the confraternities into the religious life of the host convent. The youth confraternities had arisen, to oversimplify Trexler's complex arguments, to "avoid the lasciviousness of Carnival and other feasts"<sup>32</sup>, and to provide what Florentine family and society were perceived as failing to provide - an education in pious morality for the city's youth. *Ora mai sono in età* could almost have been the theme song for such groups, and perhaps it was. From his very arrival at San Marco, Savonarola could hardly have avoided contact with the Company of the Purification, which was under the convent's supervision. Chances are that their repertory included the Belcari lauda and its melody, and

30. The original barzelletta text is edited by A. Ive, *Poesie popolari: tratte da un Ms. della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi*, "Giornale storico della letteratura italiana", 2, 1883, pp. 153-155, and is reproduced with an English translation in E. Southern, *A Prima ballerina of the fifteenth century*, in *Music and context: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. A. Shapiro, Cambridge, Mass. 1985, pp. 195-197. Belcari's lauda text is edited in G. Savonarola, *Poesie*, a cura di M. Martelli, Rome 1968, pp. 108-110.

31. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence* cit., p. 78.

32. Trexler, *Ritual in Florence* cit., p. 219. Trexler goes on to discuss the difficulty the guardians of these companies experienced in trying to hold the boys' attention during these feast days, particularly as they "yearned for the customary street diversions"; surely this is the primary context for those many laude with *cantasi come* links to the music of carnival songs.

that Savonarola came to know it in this context. From 1428-1455, and after 1466, Belcari had been a member and governor of the men's confraternity, the Buca di San Girolamo, which directly administered the Purification<sup>33</sup>. During this period Belcari would have worked closely with the purse-maker Piero di Mariano Muzi, another governor of San Girolamo, who also succeeded his father by 1453 as governor of the Purification, and was author of one of its *sacre rappresentazioni*<sup>34</sup>. Piero was also directly involved in the creation and performance of musical settings of laude, for in Ch266, a private laudario copied during Piero's years at San Marco, the *Te Deum laudamus* was to be sung "nel modo di Piero di Mariano" (f. 28r)<sup>35</sup>. Piero was the author of a text modeled on Belcari's *Hora mai sono in età*, the lauda *Deh sappiatevi guardare da cattive compagnie*, which appears in Gall<sup>2</sup> with two thematically related *cantasi come* models: *Ora mai sono in età*, and *Deh sappiatevi ghuardare garzon di non tor moglie* (see Table 3). Thus Piero's text exhorting fanciulli to avoid bad company could be sung either to a melody that meant "I want to leave the world and serve Jesus" or a melody that meant "young man don't get married". These texts mark the transfer and re-interpretation of the theme of youthful ascetic retreat from the feminine environment of the convent to the masculine world of the youth confraternities. Several of the other lauda texts listed in table 3 are addressed to male youth in the same terms: d'Albizzo's *Giovanetti con fervore* and *Infiammate il vostro cor* both exhort *fanciulli* to flee the world and seek holy places, while Ser Michele's *Mondo me non harai tu* clearly echos the language of both *Hora mai* poems (though within the feminine environment of the original barzelletta) with its refrain: "statti che voglio essere monica e contenta a una sol tonica ..." Most of these pieces appear to be part of a repertory that originated in and for the youth confraternities and their singing fanciulli, perhaps within the Purification itself, and which predated Savonarola's advent, but were readily appropriated by the Savonarolan movement. They must have sounded like recruiting propaganda for the religious life in

33. R. Nosow, *Binchois' songs in the Feo Belcari manuscript*, in *Binchois studies*, ed. A. Kirkman and D. Slavin, Oxford 2000; Trexler, *Ritual in Florence* cit., p. 212. I am extremely grateful to Mr. Nosow for allowing me to see an early version of his article.

34. Trexler, *Ritual in Florence* cit., pp. 213, 223. Piero's involvement in the Purification's *sacre rappresentazioni*, particularly as author of the *Festa del vitello sagginato*, is discussed in Newbigen, *The word made flesh* cit., pp. 363-364. + Newbigen - Fo, I 30...

35. Ch266 is indexed in F. Luisi, *Laudario giustiniano*, 2 vols., Venice 1983, I, pp. 198-204. See also F. Luisi, *Minima fiorentina: sonetti a mente, canzoni a ballo e cantimpanca nel Quattrocento*, in *Musica Franca: Essays in honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, a cura di I. Alm, A. McLamore, and C. Reardon, Stuyvesant, N.Y., 1996, p. 93.

the 1490s as increasing numbers of boys from the Company of the Purification, to the chagrin of many parents, chose to move beyond the pious life of the confraternity into the religious life of San Marco<sup>36</sup>.

*Hora mai* and its related texts disappeared from mainstream *cantasi come* repertory by the early sixteenth century, but it did enjoy a specialized afterlife in *cantasi come* sources from Piagnoni convents of Dominican nuns where its significance as a song about monastic retreat had been ritualized. In Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Rossi-Cassigoli 395, a laudario from the Dominican convent of San Domenico in Pistoia, *Ora mai sono in età* carried a special rubric: “per l’entrata del Monastero: lauda da cantarsi per quelle o da quelle che vogliono esser monache”, and immediately preceding was the lauda *Ogni cosa ’l mond’è vana*, to be sung to tune of *Hora mai che sono in età* during the vesting ceremony, “nel vestirsi monacha”.

Belcari’s lauda appears as a *cantasi come* indication in one other Piagnoni manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mgl. VII.365), where it is linked to a thoroughly uncontroversial lauda in honor of St. Agnes, *L’Agnellia santo, e humile*<sup>37</sup>. The features of this collection already pointed out by Patrick Macey – the unusually large number of laude by Serafino Razzi, and its many concordances with Razzi’s famous 1563 print<sup>38</sup> – led to a search there for this text, and there I found not only the text but another polyphonic setting of the Neapolitan tune copied down by Savonarola seventy or more years before (see Ex. 2)<sup>39</sup>. This is one more example of what Macey has shown us already to be true of many other pieces in Razzi’s print – intensely Savonarolan music circulating under the cover of an innocuous text. But here we have the opportunity of comparing melodies and settings that now span a century of time, and which together tell us something of the musical tradition into which Savonarola dipped. In ex. 3, the oldest, EscB version has been reduced to its cantus-tenor framework (version B) for the sake of comparison with the others, and this and the version from an Italian manuscript now in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale, Ms lat. 16664; version C) have nearly identical tenor lines. In the Razzi version (D), a more expanded version of

36. Trexler, *Ritual in Florence* cit., p. 214.

37. On these Piagnoni laudarios in relationship to their Dominican convents, P. Macey, “*Infiamma il mio cor*”: Savonarolan “laude” by and for Dominican nuns in Tuscany”, in *The Crannied wall: women, religion, and the arts in early modern Europe*, ed. C. Monson, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1992, pp. 161-189, and Id., *Bonfire songs* cit., 118-149.

38. Macey, “*Infiamma il mio cor*” cit., pp. 176-177.

39. S. Razzi, *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali*, Venezia 1563 (rist. anastatica, Bologna 1969), ff. 31v-32r.

the melody has been fitted with a tenor that is quite similar to the others in the first six measures, and essentially new thereafter, which suggests that this is a later arrangement carried out with some kind of knowledge – and perhaps only a faded memory – of the older tenor part. The relationship between the melodies is more complex. In the first phrase, the Razzi and Paris versions share both the initial stepwise ascent through *g* to *a*, as distinct from the triadic approach of the CB (version A) and EscB versions, and the hyper-extension of the cadence in measures 5-6, but in measure 4 the Razzi and CB versions agree significantly on a melodic highpoint of *c* rather than *d*. In the second phrase, the Razzi version departs significantly from other versions in measure eight, but in measure nine (as well as in measure fifteen) it is the CB version that stands alone while the Razzi cantus agrees with the Paris and EscB melodies in a distinctive melodic leap of a third. In the final phrase, the Razzi version once again stands out for its embellished melody in measure twelve, and a more extended cadence in measure sixteen (a repetition of that in measure ten). Perhaps more could be said about the relationship between these versions, but the point is the futility of searching for an “authoritative” or “corrupt” version here – there is no musical *auctor* or auctorial intent. This music does not inhabit the world of *cantus figuratus*, but probably existed primarily – even in its Escorial version – as a flexible cantus-tenor framework to which different texts and counterpoint could be adapted without disturbing the essential character of the melody.

The high degree of similarity between the versions of this melody is remarkable given the wide circulation and varying uses to which it was put – this is a melody with a strong identity, capable of bearing the accumulated meanings of multiple texts heaped upon it during a century of use. This unique complex of *Hora mai* settings offers a rare glimpse into the sound world of the Florentine devotional singing that Savonarola had encountered some 80 years before Razzi’s print.

The lauda may in some way mirror Savonarola’s voyage through the late quattrocento world of Florentine music and devotion, during which he borrowed and recorded in the 1480s, martialed and implemented in the 1490s, and outlived his own lifetime, as it were, through the memorializing movement of the *piagnoni*. Like the melody and its bipolar texts, Savonarola lived at the threshold between retreat and activism, and at the nexus of Savonarola’s Florentine career, one can imagine Savonarola and Lorenzo meeting, and agreeing on the melody but preferring different texts.



## Abbreviations

*Manuscripts*

- A160 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Antinori 160  
 CB Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.PII.5 (Codex Borromeo)  
 Ch266 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi L.VII.266  
 CN75.1 Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 75.1 Case: 5.34  
 Cors.D3 Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, MS 43.D.3  
 CS1544 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Conventi soppressi C.2.1544  
 CS1545 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Conventi soppressi G.8.1545  
 Frul.29 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS Frullani 29  
 Gamb16 Rimini, Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga, MS 4.A.II.16  
 Gamb206 Rimini, Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga, MS D.IV.206  
 LA480 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 480  
 LAD759 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Acquisti e Doni 759  
 (Filippo Scarlatti autograph)  
 LCS161 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conventi Soppressi 161  
 LR121 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Rediano 121  
 M30 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mgl. VII.30  
 M365 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mgl. VII.365  
 M367 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mgl. VII.367  
 M690 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mgl. VII.690  
 M744 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mgl. VII.744  
 M1163 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mgl. VII.1163  
 Pal169 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino 169  
 Pier.480 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.480  
 R1413 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1413  
 R1502 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1502  
 R2829 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2829  
 R2894 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2894  
 R2896 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2896  
 R2929 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2929  
 RA2274 Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 2274  
 RC395 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Rossi-Cassigoli 395  
 Rs424 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossi 424  
 VB3711 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barberini lat. 3711

*Printed Sources*

- Cas794 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc. 794  
 Gall Galletti, Gustavo C. (ed.), *Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari* [et al.] *comprese nelle quattro più antiche raccolte* (Firenze, Molini e Cecchi, 1863)

- Gall<sup>1</sup> *Laude spirituale di Feo Belcari* [et al.] (Firenze, Bartolomeo di' Libri, ca.1490)
- Gall<sup>2</sup> *Laude facte e composte da più persone spirituali* (Firenze, Francesco Bonaccorsi, 1485/6)
- Gall<sup>3</sup> *Laude facte e composte da più persone spirituali* (Firenze, Antonio Miscomini/Bartolomeo de' Libri, ca. 1495)
- Gall<sup>4</sup> *Laude Vecchie e Nuove* (Firenze, a petizione di Ser Piero Pacini da Pescia), [c.1502-8]
- Inc.34 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Inc. F.A.5.34
- Pal117 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino E.6.4.117
- Pal119 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino E.6.4.119
- Pal120 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino E.6.4.120
- R193 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ed. Rari 193
- R196 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ed. Rari 196

*Related Musical Sources*

- BerK Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.C.28
- EscB El Escorial, Biblioteca Monasterio, MS IV.a.24
- F176 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mgl. XIX.176
- Par16664 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 16664
- Pix Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f.frç., MS 15123 (Pixérécourt Chansonnier)
- R2356 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2356
- Razzi1563 Fra Serafino Razzi, *Libro Primo delle Laudi Spirituali* (Venice, ad instantia de' Giunti di Firenze, 1563)

Table 1: Laude in Codex Borromeo. Column "source": brackets indicate lauda with no *cantasi come* source

lauda	cantasi come	source	<i>cantasi come</i> source for:	Razzi text
SAVONAROLA AS AUTHOR				
Alma che si gentile	O benigno signore O rosa mia gentile Non à lo cor gentile modo proprio Più bel viso che'l sole Vergine tu mi fai Ben venga amore a ballo Ben venga maggio	Gall <sup>2</sup> Ch266, CS1544, [Rs424], VB3711 Ch266, CS1544, Gall <sup>1</sup> , VB3711 Gall <sup>2</sup> M30 Rs424, Razzi1563 M365, RC395 Rs424 LCS161	Ave fonte d'amore Rallegrati Maria Ecco l're forte	Deh dolce redentore  Ecco 'l Messia
Jesus dolce conforto et sommo Jesus sommo conforto	Vergene tu mi fai  modo proprio modo proprio (Ser Firenze) In su quell'alto monte	LCS161, M365, Pall169, PM480, RC395, Rs424 Gall <sup>1</sup> , M365, Razzi1563 [A160, M365], Rs424 Gall <sup>2</sup> , [Pall69], Razzi1563 [Rs424] [Rs424]	Nuov' angiolettin terra Jesus, sommo conforto Spos'amorose	Jesus, sommo diletto Jesus, sommo conforto  In su quell'alto monte
SAVONAROLA AS COLLECTOR				
Ben venga amore (Belcari) Ecco il Messia (L. de' Medici) Giù per la mala via (Belcari)	Ben venga Maggio Ben venga Maggio Giù per la villa lunga	Gall <sup>2</sup> , M690, Rs424 Gall <sup>2</sup> , [Rs424] Gall <sup>2</sup> , M367, M690, R196, R1413, Rs424		Ecco 'l Messia Ecco 'l Messia
Guidami tu, guidami tu	La madre tornò dal santo ballo Date beccare al gallo donne Hora mai che fora son Siamo stati in Firenze si canta a ballo Quando Isaac ascende Angiola tu mi fai (Ser Chele)	Gall <sup>2</sup> LA480 Rs424, etc. [See below] [Rs424], M744, Gall <sup>2</sup> , R196, Gall <sup>2</sup> , [Rs424, Ch266] Gall <sup>2</sup>	Guid'am'amore  O Gesù piccolino	L'Agnellin sant'e humile O anima accecata
Vergene tu mi fai (Ser Chele)		Ch266, Rs424, [R1502]	Che fai qui core Jesus sommo conforto La gloria beata	Ecco 'l Messia Jesus sommo conforto
	Jesus sommo conforto	LCS161		

Table 2: Related *Cantasi Come* SourcesGroup A =Gall<sup>2</sup> + interpolations from Gall<sup>1</sup>

- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino E.6.4.117 (Pal117)
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino E.6.4.119 (Pal119)
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ed. Rari 193, part II (R193)
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ed. Rari 196, part II (R196)
- Rimini, Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga, MS D.IV.206 (Gamb206)

Group B =Group A + Gall<sup>3/4</sup>

- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino E.6.4.120 (Pal120) [+Gall<sup>3-4</sup>]
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Inc. A.5.34 (Inc34) [+Gall<sup>3</sup>]
- Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc. 794(Cas794) [+Gall<sup>3-4</sup>]

## Group C: Related Manuscript Sources

- Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 75.1 Case: 5:34 (CN75.1)
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Mgl VII.1163 (M1163)
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Rediano 121 (LR121)
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2896 (R2896)
- Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossi 424 (Rs424)

Table 3: Hora mai che fora son/Hora mai sono in età in Florentine sources (\*=with music)  
[nb. all Gall<sup>2</sup> laude also found in Pal117, Pal119, Pal120, R193, and Inc.34]

<i>lauda</i>	<i>author</i>	<i>cantasi come</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>subject</i>
Chi si vuol col cor unire	d' Albizo	Hora mai sono in età	Gall2, Gamb206, RC395	St. Paul
Deh sappiatevi guardare	Piero di Mar.	Hora mai sono in età	Ch266, Gall2, [R1502]	guardare da cattive compagnie
Deh vogliate contemplare	d' Albizo	Hora mai sono in età	Gall2	St. Francis- "Pe' frati di Fiesole"
Giovanetti con fervore	d' Albizo	Hora mai sono in età	CS1544, Gall2, R196, VB3711	lasciate il mondo scuro... abitate i luoghi santi
Hora mai non vo restare	Fra Pietro	Hora mai sono in età	Gall3	vecchio sono... vo' far pulito... lascio il mondo
Hora mai sono in età	Belcari	Hora mai che fora son	Cors.D3, Frul.29, Gall2, Gamb16, LA480, LAD759, M690, R196	Lauda del Monastero (M690)
Hora mai sono in età	Belcari	modo proprio	*CB, *Par16664, RC395	per quelle che vogliono esser monache
Hora mai sono in età	Belcari	c.c. not entered	M367, R1502, R2829, Rs424	
Infiammate il vostro core	d' Albizo	Hora mai sono in età	Gall2, Gamb206	St. Bernard... giovanetti... fuggi' l' mondo
L' Agniello santo e humile	anon	Hora mai sono in età	M365, *Razzi1563	Sant' Agnese
Mondo me non harai tu	M. Chelli	Hora mai che fora sono	Gall2, Gamb16	... statti che voglio essere monica, e contenta a una sol tonica ...
Mondo me non harai tu	M. Chelli	Hora mai sono in età	RA2274	
Ogni cosa 'l mond' è vana	anon	Hora mai	RC395	nel vestirsi monaca
Quanto e stolto cieco ingrato	Castellani	Hora mai sono in età		[cultivate the soul, not the body]
Temo non poter portare	Belcari	Hora mai sono in età	Gall1, R1413, CS1545, Pal117, R196	[sono] lacrimoso, afflito e stanco... farmi vivo


187. *2. cantata*

Hora mai sono in età  
 a referir a ytu  
 Al mudo è un far più  
 l'ordi e puen di vanità  
 Questo mudo è puen di vanità  
 Puen di vanità e puen di fraude  
 io no spondria ista ani  
 in du p'falon e adu l'audi  
 di mio core e loro e guide  
 l'ordi uede il uen lume  
 no fuge il mal costume  
 e no fura usque uen.  
 Ho fura al mio segno  
 che me fo fite a se  
 Vaghe a me el saluatore  
 che mori i croce pue  
 Iesu me che se di te  
 Me met per se con sposa  
 Me finge per igum croce  
 Me amado per te

El monastero e la uada  
 che tuu saluo cyroba forada  
 Se ytu el cor mi uede  
 Ho bisogno per parole  
 Dio qui al sefo duale  
 Questo mudo duu ytu  
 Tero per fare uen  
 Co letia uen  
 Tuo uenue ha letia uen  
 Mudo uenue duu uen  
 Chi è long uen  
 Duu uen fite a se  
 Sente per me  
 Iubilo d'amar  
 Dio qui de  
 Tero per me  
 El mio padre fil  
 E ytu delogo me  
 La mia uenue al me  
 El uenue me


Ex. 1. *Hora mai sono in età*, Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, S.P. II, 5, f. 187 (Codex Borromeo).

*CANTUS* *A due voci*



L'agnellin sant'e humile, qual Agnesa in braccio tie ne,  
 ch'altro e che'l sommo bene, che per noi fatt'e humi le, O di-  
 letta e cara sposa di Giesù uer b'incarna to, us supra.

*TENOR*



L'agnellin sant'e humile, qual Agnesa in braecio tie ne, ch'altro e che'l sommo  
 be ne, che per noi fatt'e humile, O diletta e cara  
 sposa di Giesù uer b'incarna to, da capo.

*Le seguenti Lodi si possono cantare in sulla medesima Aria.*

Ex. 2. S. Razzi, *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali*, "L'Agnellin sant'e humile".

A. CB  
 O - ra - mai nos in e - ta - chri - ste - ve - ra a - la - mi

B. Esc B  
 O - ra - may che fo - ra nos nos nos - so - ve - me - pa - no - ra - ca - Ar -

C. Paris 16664  
 O - ra - mai nos in e - ta - chri - ste - ve - ra a - la - mi

D. Razzi 1563  
 La - gra - ti - no - ra - ra - tu - ni - la - coal - A - po - sa - in - nos - con - te - ne - chri -

CB  
 al - no - do - nos - ve - rat - pau - per - che - pan - de - va - ri - ta

Esc B  
 na - li - ni - la - to - ni - che - A - cho - re - la - ve - no - ra - pa -

C. Paris  
 al - no - do - nos - ve - rat - pau - per - che - pan - de - va - ri - ta

D. Razzi  
 no - ra - chri - ste - ve - ra - no - ra - che - per - dei - fas - tu - no - ra -

CB  
 Que - ro - no - do - pa - pan - de - gas - ni - pan - de - va - ri - ta - pan - de -

Esc B  
 no - ra - in - que - so - no - ra - no - ra - so - no - ra - no - ra - no - ra - per - du - ta

C. Paris  
 que - ro - no - do - pa - pan - de - gas - ni - pan - de - va - ri - ta - pan - de -

D. Razzi  
 do - let - tax - ca - ra - spo - ra - di - Quo - ni - ver - bi - cat - na - ra -

Ex. 3. *Hora mai*, music in 4 versions (CB, EscB, Paris, MS Lat. 16664, Razzi1563).



## Appendix

Anon., *Hora mai che fora son*,  
ed. A. Ive

Ora may che fora son  
Non uolio esser monica  
Arsa li sia tonicha  
A chi se la uestera più.

Staua in quello monastero  
como una cosa perduta  
senza refrigerio alcuno  
non uedea ne era ueduta

Ora may che ne son insuta  
Non uolio esser piu monicha  
Arsa li sia tonicha  
A chi se la uestera più.

Sorela mia tu ay rasone  
e ben dici la uerita  
ch'el non e pezor presone  
che perder la liberta

in poter de quei frati  
se piu ci stava era morta  
quando batiaõ a la porta  
apri che fra piero son.

Quando uano per la via  
domandando la carita  
cum la uoce humile e pia  
dati del pane ay fra

tanto ne azo pietado  
e uoriali con piacere

Feo Belcari, *Hora mai sono in età*,  
ed. M. Martelli

Ora mai sono in età  
ch'i'vo' servire a Iesù,  
al mondo non vo' star più,  
perché è pien di vanità.

I. Questo mondo è pien d'in-  
ganni,

pien di vizi e pien di fraude:  
i' vo' spendere miei anni  
in dir psalmi e cantar laude;  
el mio cor è lieto e gaude,  
perché veggio el vero luume;  
vo' fuggire el mal costume,  
vo' servar verginità.

II. Vo' servire al mio Signore,  
che mi fe' simile a sé;  
vo' amare el Salvatore,  
che morì in croce per me.  
Iesù mio, ch'è Re de' Re,  
mi vuol far sua cara sposa:  
i' sare' ingrata e ritrosa,  
non amando sua bontà.

III. El munistero è la rocca,  
che tien salvo ognun, se vuole;  
se Iesù el cor mi tocca,  
non bisogna più parole.  
Quanto più al senso duole  
Questa mia santa partita,  
tanto più sarò unita  
con l'eterna Trinità.

mi che habiamo absoluere  
non me acolierano piu.

Sorela mia poy che noy siamo  
suti fora de quello inferno  
demozi festa e godiamo  
bona uita bon governo

se scampasse in eterno  
Non uolio esser ...

E fazando tal vita  
non e melior paradiso  
ben amata e ben servita  
Cum solazo zozza e riso

lo zurato e improrneso  
Non uolio esser ...

Sorela mia uo che te dica  
preti oy frati oy seculari  
chi me uolia per amicha  
se conuen che habia dinari

che me uolio maritare  
Non nolio esser ...

Sorda mia uolio uenire  
ala casa doue stay  
uolio usire de tanti guai  
e pensarme de galdere

uolio stare al mio piacere  
Solazar a la mia uolia  
che sia morta de una dolia  
Mader mia soy zoueneta

IV. Tre nimici ha l'alma nostra,  
mondo, carne e demon rio:

chi con lor vince la giostra  
diventa figliuol di Dio.  
Sentirò poi nel cor mio  
Giubilo d'amor immenso:  
quanto più di Iesù penso,  
più m'accendo in carità.

V. El mio padre e il mio sposo  
è Iesù, dolcezza mia;  
la mia madre e 'l mio riposo  
è la Vergine Maria.  
Più sorelle arò che pria  
E più madre al monistero:  
viverò col cor sincero  
per grazia che Dio mi dà.

VI. O Iesù, somma bellezza,  
o infinita sapienza,  
dammi virtù e fortezza,  
ch'ì' ti segui con prudenza;  
tu se' la divina essenza:  
illumina el mio intelletto  
e infiamma ben l'effetto  
a far la tua volontà.

VII. A Dio padre, a Dio parenti,  
a Dio dico a chi rimane,  
a Dio amiche e cognoscenti,  
a Dio tutte spose umane.  
State in pace e fate sane,  
vo in casa del mio Dio:  
or pregate Iesù pio  
che mi dia stabilità.

questo mondo uolio godere  
piu non uolio essere sozeta  
ne monastero piu seruire  
che durasse sti martire

de leuar de meza note  
prego dio che mala morte  
possa far sen entro più.  
la madre maritare

me uoria se io podesse  
ma sey senza dinari  
non se po cantar le messe  
ora maychi scrisse scrisse

Non uolio esser più monicha  
Arsa li sia tonicha  
A chi se la uestere più.