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**Music and merchants: The laudesi companies of Republican Florence,
ca.1270-1494**

Wilson, Blake McDowell, Ph.D.

Indiana University, 1987

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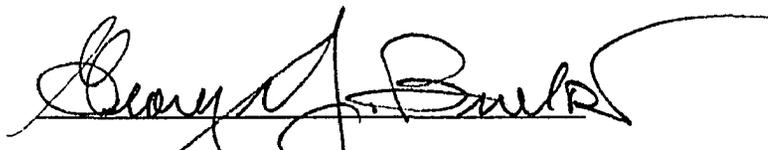
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THE LAUDESII COMPANIES OF REPUBLICAN FLORENCE
ca.1270-1494

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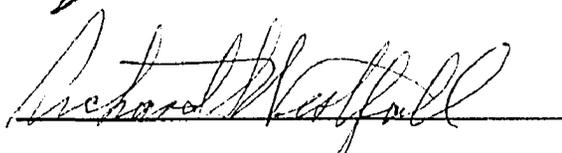
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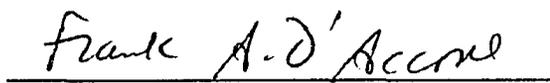


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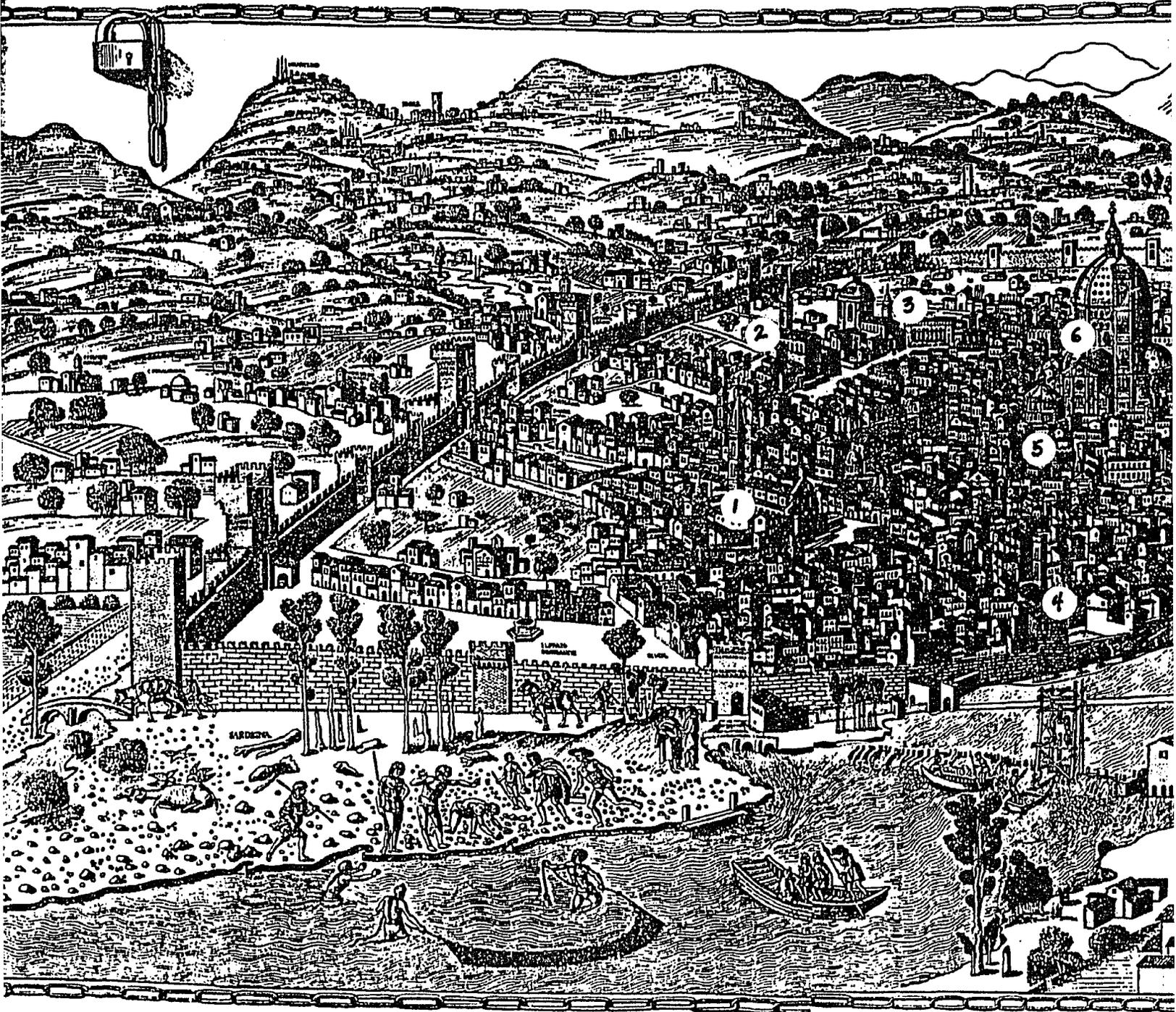
As the last of four children to finish his apprenticeship, I thank my parents for their patience, faith, and tireless support. And finally, there is only one person who has helped me see this through from beginning to end, and she has born the greatest burden of this project. To my wife, Lynn, I owe the most.

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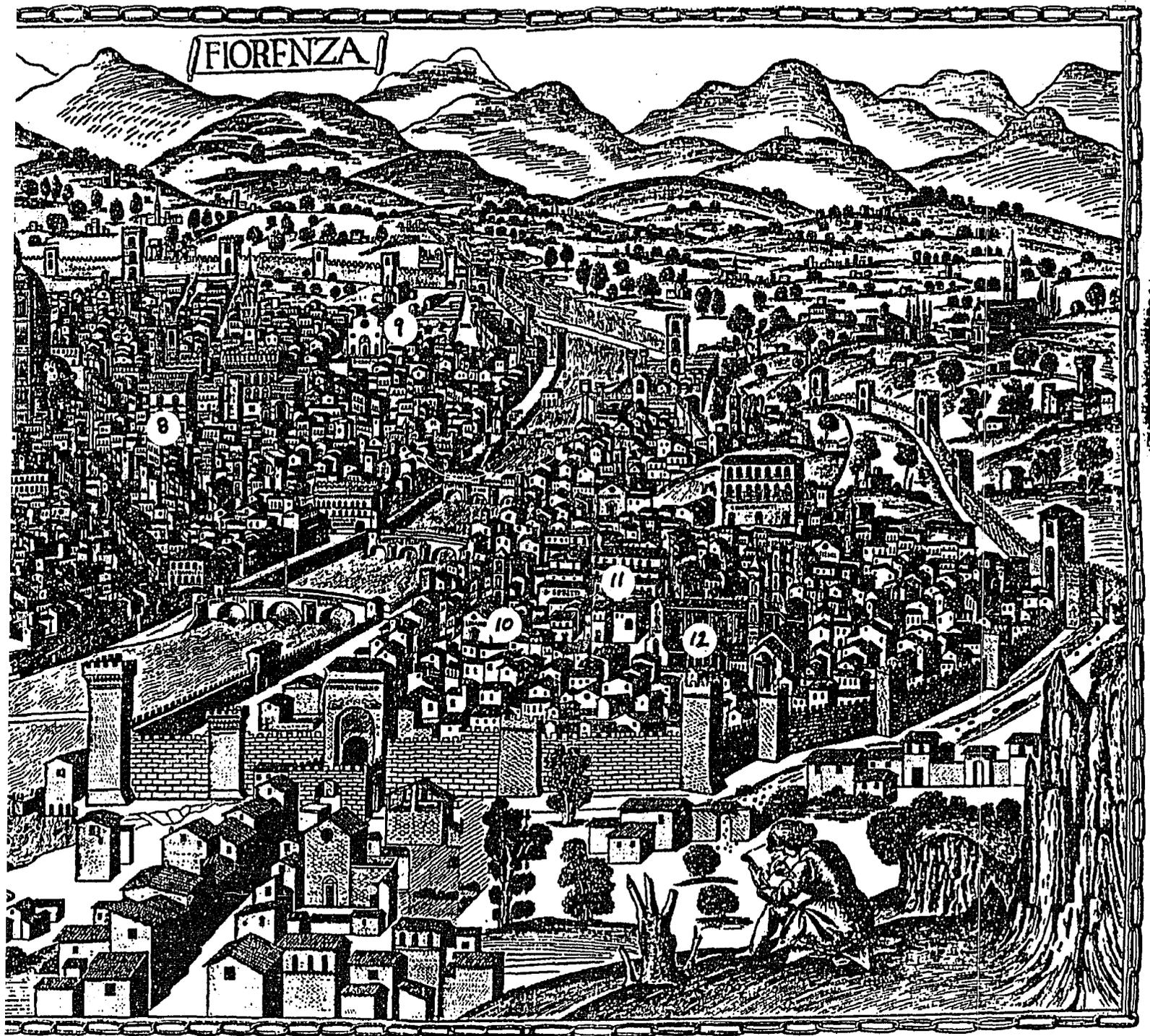
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VEDUTA PROSPETTICA DI



1. Santa Maria Novella, Dominican (Co. of San Piero Martire)
2. San Marco, Dominican (Company of San Marco)
3. Santissima Annunziata, Servite (Company of San Bastiano)
4. Ognissanti, Franciscan (Company of Ognissanti)
5. San Lorenzo, Collegiate (Company of San Lorenzo)
6. Santa Maria del Fiore, Diocesan (Company of San Zanobi)

DI FIRENZE (1470 CIRCA)



7. San Gillo, Sacchite (Co. of San Gillo) [behind Cathedral]
8. Orsanmichel, Lay/Collegiate, 1415 (Co. of Orsanmichele)
9. Santa Croce, Franciscan (Company of Santa Croce)
10. San Frediano, Cistercian (Company of San Frediano)
11. Santo Spirito, Augustinian friars (Co. of Santo Spirito)
12. Santa Maria del Carmine, Carmelite (Co. of Sant' Agnese)

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In varying guises, the lauda¹ has been sung in Italy since the literary foundations of the Italian language in the 13th century. This enduring genre of vernacular religious lyric changed often as it drew continually upon contemporary forms and styles of secular poetry and music. And the latter have contributed to the broad dissemination of the lauda, which at various times has played a part in mass flagellant processions, the civic processions of clerics and laymen, the sacre rappresentazioni of 15th-century Florence, the secretive services of flagellant companies, the liturgical services of friars and reformed Benedictine monks, mendicant sermons, and the private devotions of clerics, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. But in each of these the role of the lauda was marginal, and in only one context does the lauda appear as an undisputed centerpiece--in the liturgical services of the laudesi companies.²

¹From among a host of variant spellings (lauda, laude, laudi, lalda, lalde, lade, lode, etc.; and with respect to the singers: laudese, laudesi, laldese, laudiere, etc.) I have chosen to use throughout this study those versions that appear most often in contemporary Florentine documents: lauda (sing.)/laude (pl.); and laudese (sing.)/laudesi (pl.).

²Current usage favors the term "laudesi confraternities", while the most common contemporary designation was "lauda companies" ("compagnie delle laude"). The term laudese/laudesi appears primarily in the payment records of these organizations whose focus, however, was upon the song (lauda) and not the singers per se (laudesi). The terms "confraternitas", "fraternitas", "congregatione" (and their Italianate forms, "confraternità", "fraternità", and "congregazione") are derived from Latin documents, but I have chosen to substitute in current usage the term "compagnia", which the companies themselves preferred and

The "compagnie delle laude" were groups of laymen (and sometimes women) organized primarily under the auspices of the Dominican, Franciscan, and other mendicant orders to receive religious instruction, provide charitable services for the poor, and above all to conduct their own liturgical services that featured the devotional activity of lauda singing. It is here, as the lyrical core of a lay, vernacular liturgy, that the lauda arose in the 13th century, attained a stable musico-poetic form, and became the dominant insignia of the lay religious activism fostered by the mendicant orders.

The laudesi companies, along with their penitential counterpart, the disciplinati (or flagellant) companies, were the distinctive result of the interaction between the forces of mendicant spirituality, urban piety, and the merchant culture of the early Italian city republics. The companies flourished in the bustling mercantile centers of Tuscany and Umbria, from the late 13th to the late 15th century. One city in particular stands out in the history of the lauda-singing lay companies. During the period when most of the laudesi companies were founded, ca.1270-1340, Florence was the largest city in Europe. The Arno republic excelled in its mercantile activity and in the number and greatness of its mendicant houses, and it was peerless in its zeal for the principles of republican government, of which Florence was to be among the last strongholds in the early 16th

which reflects the dominant model and experience of the mercantile company.

century. These were favorable conditions for the lauda and the laudesi companies, and indeed Florence was a center of lauda composition, and the Florentine companies were the wealthiest, most numerous, and most enduring of their kind. Their history is set mostly in the period during which the above conditions prevailed.

This study is devoted to the history of the Florentine laudesi companies from their founding in the late 13th century to their decline after the expulsion of the Medici in 1494, during which time their traditional practices and institutions remained relatively stable and continuous. This is primarily a documentary study of companies' considerable musical activities, both their general features and practices (Ch.III), and those particular to each company (Ch.IV). The documents upon which this study is based, most of which are contained in the Florentine Archivio di Stato, also reveal a good deal about the conditions and patterns of activity of the numerous Florentine laudesi, who from the early 14th century were an active, free-lancing corps of singers (and instrumentalists) hired by the companies to perform in their services (Ch.V/A,B). The core of this study is necessarily concerned with these professional laudesi, for their names and activities are revealed in conjunction with their contracts and payments recorded in the company account books. There is little trace of the earliest phase of confraternal lauda singing (late 13th century), since, as the company statutes of the period imply, the singers were skilled amateurs drawn from among the

ranks of company membership (Ch.V/A). With the advent of polyphonic laude in the late 14th and early 15th century, the repertory underwent a broad diffusion and was no longer so exclusively associated with the laudesi companies. But to the extent that the musical repertory of the lauda, both monophonic and polyphonic, can be linked to the Florentine companies, this repertory is surveyed in conjunction with what the company documents reveal about shifting patterns of laudesi activity and, ultimately, changes in performance practices (Ch.V/C).

It is an important premise of this study, however, that the lauda singing of the Florentine companies is poorly understood apart from serious consideration of the devotional and social context in which it functioned. In fact, the greatest interest and meaning of the lauda may derive less from the intrinsic qualities of the music itself (which is often the subject of musicological inquiry), though it is not lacking in this regard, than from an appreciation of the lauda as a rich and resonant manifestation of a complex society. It is also the intention of this study, therefore, to explore the vital interaction between mercantile society (Ch.II/A) and mendicant spirituality (Ch.II/B) which shaped the lay companies and laudesi devotion (Ch.II/C), and to discuss the devotional and liturgical setting in which lauda singing took place (Ch.VI). Only in this manner can one properly explain, for example, the shift from amateur to professional laudesi activity around the turn of the 14th century. The companies became the favored recipients of bequests for lauda

services at this time, which legally bound them to the satisfactory fulfillment of the terms of the bequest, and which in turn drew the attention of the business-minded confratelli to the increasingly competitive activity of attracting bequests. To this end able, experienced, and dependable singers were essential. And the bequests to the laudesi companies were motivated by the popularity of the devotion which they sponsored, a popularity that was determined by the relationship between the companies and the society in which they functioned.

However, precisely because the lay companies were so deeply embedded in the guild society of early republican Florence, they were subject to the gradual transformation of that society that began in the late 14th century. From this time it is possible to trace the decline of the lay companies along with the conditions that had been favorable to their formation, from curtailment of their semi-autonomous corporate status (through means such as communal suppression and taxation) through the mid 15th century, to late 15th-century covert control through Medici patronage and infiltration by Medici partisans, to the overt decline of traditional laudesi structures after the Medici expulsion in 1494 (Ch.VII).

* * *

Contemporary scholarship has pursued the subject of the lauda and the laudesi companies along rather diverse paths. The laudesi companies have received much less attention than the genre they spawned, but the lay religious companies, and lay (or

"popular") devotion in general are the focus of a growing body of current studies conducted primarily by social and church historians.³ For many years the most important study of the lay companies during the late medieval and early renaissance periods was that by Gennaro Maria Monti (1927), and though it is still useful, it has been superseded by the three-volume Ordo fraternitatis of the Belgian scholar Gilles Gerard Meersseman (1977). Both are broad surveys in which the Florentine laudesi companies play a small role, but Meersseman, in particular, presents essential material on this topic. The Florentine companies figure more prominently in several recent demographic studies by Ronald Weissman (1982) and John Henderson.⁴ Massimo Papi has devoted a series of articles to the Florentine companies, in particular to a survey of primary sources (1976, "Per un censimento"), and to the relationship between the companies and the mendicant orders (1976, "Le associazione laiche"; 1977). Important background is also provided in the broader studies of lay devotion in the context of Florentine society by Marvin Becker (1974) and Richard Trexler (1972, 1974, 1980).

With the exception of a much older article on the Company of Sant'Agnese by Giuseppe Bacchi (1930-32), the only study devoted exclusively to the Florentine laudesi companies are the two

³For a useful review of the recent literature on "popular religion", see R.W. Scribner, "Interpreting Religion in Early Modern Europe," European Studies Review 13 (1983), 89-105.

⁴John Henderson's Ph.D. dissertation at the Univ. of London has unfortunately been unavailable to me for study, since it has been in preparation for publication.

articles published in Italian periodicals by the American musicologist Frank D'Accone. The first (1970, "Le compagnie") is a survey of the musical practices of the three largest Florentine companies (San Piero Martire, San Zanobi, and Orsanmichele) during the 14th century, and the second (1975) continues the survey of these three companies through the 15th century. To date, these are the only studies to tap the rich archives of the Florentine companies with an eye to their musical practices, and as such they are the essential point of departure for chapter four of this study. To this I have added a similar study of the archival material pertaining to three Oltrarno laudesi companies (Sant' Agnese, Santo Spirito, and San Frediano), and a thorough study of other primary material (laudarios, statutes, letters of indulgence,⁵ and tax reports) related to a total of twelve Florentine laudesi companies.⁶ Taken together, this material provides the basis of the present study, that is, a comprehensive view of the musical activities of the Florentine laudesi companies and singers.

The laudarios of the lay companies are of considerable interest to both literary scholars and musicologists, for they

⁵These first three terms are defined in Ch.III, p.82.

⁶In addition to the six companies mentioned above are the companies of Santa Croce, San Gilio, San Bastiano, San Lorenzo, San Marco, and Ognissanti. To my knowledge, the information on musical activity contained in the Oltrarno company archives, the tax reports, and many of the statutes, is presented here for the first time. The names and locations of the twelve companies are indicated in the frontispiece, a reproduction of a 15th century map of Florence.

transmit the oldest repertory of Italian lyrics set to music, and contain an attractive and extremely varied collection of monophonic melodies ranging from the simple and syllabic to the virtuosic and florid.⁷ Most were copied (for use as service books) in Tuscany and Umbria between the late 13th and late 14th centuries, and with two exceptions the extant collections transmit only the texts of laude that were either recited or sung from memory. The two exceptions are Cortona, Biblioteca comunale, 91 [Cort] (a late 13th-century laudario containing 46 laude with music, which belonged to a Cortonese laudesi company at the Church of San Francesco), and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 18 [Mgl¹] (an early 14th-century laudario containing 88 laude with music, which belonged to the Florentine company of Santo Spirito).⁸

Since Fernando Liuzzi's landmark study, facsimile edition, and transcription of both collections, La lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana (1935), the interest of (primarily Italian) musicologists and literary scholars has steadily increased. The critical edition of the texts in the Cortona manuscript (Cort) has been recently published by several leading literary scholars of the medieval lauda repertory, Giorgio Varanini, Luigi

⁷See exs.1-7, pp.454-459.

⁸The manuscripts and their abbreviations (such as Cort and Mgl¹) that will be used throughout this study are listed on p.380.

Banfi, and Anna Ceruti (1985).⁹ Both collections have been the focus of critical studies carried out in Ph.D. dissertations by Cyrilla Barr (Cort; 1965) and John Henry Grossi (Mgl¹; 1979). Mgl¹ and another Florentine laudario, Mgl² (copied in the late 14th century for the Company of San Gilio), are both richly decorated with illuminations that have been analysed by Vincent Moleta (1978). Agostino Ziino has gathered and published a number of fragments from 14th-century Tuscan laudarios (1978; "Laude e miniature"). All of these contain musical notation and illumination, and were copied in Florentine botteghe, and together they reveal the wealth of the Tuscan laudesi companies, the frequency of musical notation in their more ornate service books, and the importance of Florence as a center of laudesi devotion.

The problem of rhythmic transcription posed by the quadratic notation of the lauda melodies has generated a corpus of studies and theories resembling those surrounding the repertory from which lauda notation is borrowed--late medieval chant. Liuzzi's rigid application of Riemann's principle of Vierhebigkeit to the entire monophonic lauda repertory drew immediate criticism from contemporary scholars (Handschin, 1938; Rokseth, 1939), whose own mensural alternatives, however, have proven to be unacceptable to

⁹The series is presently concerned with laudarios of the Cortona tradition (Vol.I/1,2: Cort; Vol.II: Arezzo, Ms.180), but will eventually include the Florentine collections, as well. Vol.I/2 also includes a review by Giulio Cattin of musicological scholarship on the Cortona melodies (pp.481-517). The preface to Varanini's anthology of 13th-century lauda texts, Laude dugentesche (1972), provides a sound introduction to the early literary and social history of the genre.

succeeding generations.¹⁰ Since that time, scholars and editors have arrayed themselves beneath familiar banners, advocating various types of mensuralism (Monterosso, 1962; Anglès, 1968; Lucchi, 1972, 1974), and accentualism (Canuto, 1957; Terni, 1964; Ernetti¹¹).¹² More recently scholars have taken to using diplomatic transcriptions of the monophonic lauda melodies,¹³ as they have turned their attention to other issues concerning the monophonic repertory. Agostino Ziino has devoted a number of studies to functional relationships between textual and musical forms

¹⁰Liuzzi's principles of transcription are set forth in the introduction to vol.I of La lauda, and they are explained and critiqued in the introduction to Grossi's dissertation, pp.12-15.

¹¹Cattin discusses the forthcoming edition of Cortona laude by Pellegrino Ernetti (Rome, Casa Editrice Edi-Pan) in "Le melodie cortonesi," p.512.

¹²For an overview of the literature on this insoluble topic, the reader is referred to G. Cattin, "Le melodie cortonesi," 481-516. Cattin concludes that musicologists would do better to abandon the "mirage of new editions" and pursue more fruitful lines of inquiry, namely, formal and melodic relations between the lauda and sequence/trope repertory, structural relationships between lauda music and poetry, melodic analysis, and relations among the various laudarios (esp. between those versions of melodies shared by Cort and Mgl¹); Ibid., pp.514-16.

¹³Ziino, *passim*.; Grossi (1979). The mensural transcriptions used in the older general histories and anthologies of H. Besse-ler, Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Wedmark-Potsdam, 1931), p.152; G. Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, 1940), p.238; A.T. Davison and W. Apel, Historical Anthology of Music, vol.I (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p.19; and J. Westrup, "Medieval Song," New Oxford History of Music, Vol.II (London, 1954), pp.266-7; have given way to diplomatic transcriptions in more recent studies: R. Hoppin, Anthology of Medieval Music (New York, 1978), pp.103- 4. Both a mensural and non-mensural, diplo-matic version of a lauda is given by W.T. Marrocco and N. Sandon, eds., The Oxford Anthology of Music: Medieval Music (New York, 1977), p.77. In the examples used in the present study (nos.1-7 in App.13), I have chosen to use diplomatic transcriptions.

(1968), the interrelated issues of contrafacta (1971, "Frammenti"; 1971, "Con humiltà"; 1973) and oral traditions (1975, "Aspetti"), similarities to chant repertory with respect to textual metrics and structure (1975, "Testi religiosi"), and melodic interval structure (1978, "Polifonia 'arcaica'").

Between the lauda repertory of the late 13th/14th century and the polyphonic repertory of the 15th/16th century, there is a striking discontinuity with respect to texts, melodies, and types of sources. The polyphonic repertory has attracted, therefore, a different set of scholars and critical approaches. For many years the primary study of this repertory was Knud Jeppesen's Die Mehrstimmige Italienische Lauda um 1500 (1935), a partial edition (with an introductory survey of the 15th-century polyphonic lauda) of Petrucci's two Venetian lauda prints issued in 1508. While Jeppesen's volume remains the only available edition of the works it contains (notwithstanding the multiple C-clefs), the introductory essay has been superseded by Elisabeth Diederich's recent and thorough study (1986). Surveying the repertory from its beginnings in the late 14th through the mid- 15th century, she bases her study on four main manuscript sources of polyphonic laude (BU, BL, Ven, and Pav),¹⁴ and provides a large appendix of diplomatic transcriptions. Complementing the repertory in this

¹⁴Two of these sources are the subject of Ph.D. dissertations. Elise Cambon's 1975 dissertation at Tulane is a study of Venice, Biblioteca nazionale marciana 7554 (olim IX.145) [Ven], a major 15th-century lauda source; and Janet Palumbo's forthcoming Princeton dissertation, "Bologna 2216: The Source and its Repertory" [BU].

appendix is Giulio Cattin's edition of a rich source of laude (Grey) that stylistically span most of the 15th century (1977, Italian Laude). However, much of the repertory edited by Diederichs and Cattin, and many other works besides, are included in Francesco Luisi's monumental study of the Giustiniani lauda tradition, his two-volume Laudario giustiniano (1983). This is ostensibly an examination of the textual tradition and musical settings associated with the Venetian poet Leonardo Giustiniani (1387/88-1446). But the musical transcriptions in the second volume include most of the known 15th-century polyphonic laude, numerous contrafacta reconstructions based on Florentine cantasi come sources,¹⁵ the many Petrucci laude not included in Jeppesen's edition, and a sampling of late 16th and 17th-century settings. Together with Jeppesen's edition, this is an important contribution to future study of and familiarity with this repertory.

Federico Ghisi initiated study of the vast Florentine contrafacta tradition (cantasi come; travestimento spirituale) in 1953 ("Strambotti e laude"). Only after a quarter century, however, was Ghisi's study continued in several recent articles

¹⁵During most of the 15th and early 16th centuries, the majority of Florentine lauda sources contained only texts accompanied by the rubric "cantasi come" ("is sung like..."), followed by the title of a (often popular Italian) song. This is discussed in more detail in Ch.V, pp.278, 285f. It should be noted here that Luisi's decisions to link a particular lauda text with a particular musical setting on the basis of a cantasi come indication are more or less conjectural; Jonathan Glixon's review of Luisi's study will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Journal of the American Musicological Society.

by Cattin (1977, "Musiche per le laude"; 1978), and Luisi's above mentioned study (dedicated to Cattin).

* * *

A striking feature of this literature on the lauda is its geographical and linguistic confinement. With a few exceptions, the great majority is published by Italian scholars and in Italian publications, some of them unavailable outside Italy. The subject is virtually unknown to English-speaking readers, which is painfully evident in its superficial treatment in general histories and dictionary articles. The lauda occupies a sizable plot in the terrain of Western European music history, but we know far too little to assess its historical importance. Surely we owe more to a tradition that was certainly familiar to Florentine trecento composers, and as long as it remains unfamiliar, we have yet to cross the Alps and discover the full range of musical styles and practices encountered by Dufay, Isaac, and Josquin.

The monophonic repertory remains open to study in ways suggested by Cattin and Ziino.¹⁶ With recent editions of polyphonic laude we are only now in a position to assess the role of this repertory in various developments of 15th-century Italian music: the dissemination of polyphony, the perpetuation of trecento florid and solo singing, the interaction of Italian and Franco-Flemish styles, and the rise of frottola forms and choral styles and practices. There is still no detailed or coherent

¹⁶Above, n.12 and pp.10-11.

study of the repertory during the prolific period between the mid-15th and late 16th century. These are the subjects of future studies.

If the lauda remains unfamiliar to most students of music history, the laudesi companies that fostered the early lauda are virtually unknown. Yet the scrupulous documents of the pious merchants who managed these companies are a valuable source of information concerning the conditions and practices associated with this music. The laudesi companies of republican Florence constitute the most important and well-documented setting for lauda singing. Beyond this, the musical practices of the laudesi are the most well-documented of the medieval vernacular song repertories in Western Europe, and their documents provide a clear picture of the oldest written musical tradition of this society to thrive outside of the elite circles of aristocracy and clergy.

CHAPTER II: SOCIAL SETTING

Throughout the history of Republican Florence, conflict appears to have been both a debilitating and a generative force in that society. The ceaseless clash of factions was a constant source of both private and public misery to Florentines, yet this strife was also transformed in a society that drew vitality from the ebb and flow of a highly politicized environment.

One of the most generative conflicts of this society was, broadly speaking, that between sacred and secular forces, between a church shaped to the needs of a feudal, rural society, and a burgeoning mercantile, urban society that required a fundamental redefinition of religious practice and belief.¹ The urban merchant proposed an entirely new ordo to European society.² While he was neither peasant, knight, nor monk, he nevertheless worked very hard, fought a little, and wanted very much to pray. Having thus pre-empted something of each of the old ordines, he fashioned an urban society suitable to his needs and values. This new ordo was a radical proposition for the existing ecclesiastical structures of parish, monastery, and papal court, and it prompted a rich array of new forms of religious life.

The vita apostolica movements of the 12th century, the well-

¹R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (New York, 1970), pp.274-75.

²M.D. Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society in the 12th Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West, edited and translated by J. Taylor and L.K. Little (Chicago, 1968), pp.225-27; 263-64.

springs of which were urban and laic, indicated the need for an urban redefinition of religious life. Their major theme was evangelical, the exemplary lives of Jesus and the Apostles, and they found fulfillment in the new mendicant orders of the early 13th century--the Franciscans and Dominicans. The friars were both in and of the city, just as Francis, the prototype of a new kind of urban saint, was the son of an Assisi cloth merchant.

The remainder of this study concerns the creative conflict between the church, interpreted through the ideals of mendicant spirituality, and the exigencies of late medieval urban life, for it was out of this encounter that the lay religious company arose. This hybrid institution was the essential expression of the merchant's need to define his religious aspirations in terms that derived from his side of the rood screen and, conversely, to sacramentalize a secular activity that for centuries had been regarded by the church as ignobile. And the friars became the chief agents in the layman's need to strike this bargain.

The lay companies, like the friars and merchants, were a city phenomenon. Their proliferation in central and northern Italy testifies to the urban strength of that area in the 13th century, and their greater number, wealth, and duration in Florence testifies to the singular urban precocity of the Arno Republic. The pious merchants of Florence came to the altars of the mendicant churches to cultivate connections, not with other Florentines for wealth, public office, and family ties, but with Jesus, Mary, and the saints for the assurance of salvation. Com-

mon to both the secular and the sacred arena was the habit of negotiation and the wielding of relationships, and a closer look at lay company activities reveals what they considered to be one of the most effective means of persuasion--song. The lauda of the laudesi companies was deemed strong spiritual currency, for as sung prayer it passed swiftly up the ladder of carefully cultivated sacred connections, from deceased members, through the saints small and great, to Mary and Jesus to join the eternal canto celestiale.

Chanto celestiale
 fu et somm'allegressa
 quando in tanta grandessa
 assunt'è in ciel la madre supernale.

Non si poria contare ad compimento
 lo gaudio grande che fu in paradiso
 quando vi giunse l'aluminamento
 di ihesu colla madre chiaro viso
 con quelle schiere assiso
 d'angeli gloriosi
 et santi virtudiosi
 tutti cantando in voce spiritale.

Or vi pensate qual fue quel canto
 quando vi giunse quel choro tamanto
 et l'allegressa in quella magna corte
 con quelle voce cantando si forte
 entrando per le porte
 delli ciel la regina
 si la turba divina
 tutta li fe canson celestiale.³

³E. Staaf, ed. Le laudario di Pise du Ms. 8521 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal de Paris (Uppsala/Leipzig, 1931), p.195 (no.70, lines 1-20).

A. MERCANTILE SOCIETY

1. Corporate Pluralism

The promotion and protection of mercantile activity was the single strongest impetus behind the late 13th-century consolidation of the Florentine republic.⁴ This interest was made explicit in the pre-requisite for public office-holding--matriculation in one of the merchant guilds. The strongest of the Tuscan city-republics, whether Guelph, like Florence and Lucca, or Ghibelline, like Pisa and Arezzo, were societies in which mercantile institutions and tastes prevailed. And all supported widespread laudesi activity. Daily urban life made an inevitably strong imprint on the religious beliefs and practices of the Florentine laity. The pious merchant was a new kind of Christian, and his novel society demanded and suggested new models for religious organization and expression.

Late medieval Florentine society developed under the assumption that "il bene del comune" (primarily mercantile interests) was to be protected at all costs from the manipulation of special interest groups.⁵ The violence and narrow loyalty of the old noble families was met, in 1293, with the Ordinances of

⁴For an excellent survey of Republican Florence see Gene Brucker, Renaissance Florence (New York, 1969).

⁵Antony Black has noted with respect to medieval European society that "...in several places merchant law (ius mercatorum...) formed the basis for civil codes." Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought From the Twelfth Century to the Present (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), p.56.

Justice, which barred them from public office holding.⁶ But the most effective constraint against the monopolization of political power was the intensely pluralistic nature of this communal society. The church, the guilds, the Guelph party, religious companies, the Merchant Court, ecclesiastical tribunals, courts of feudatories, and the councils of parishes and rural communities, all quasi-public bodies, co-existed in a "loose, complex bundle of immunities, privileges, and liberties."⁷ Likewise, the city government consisted of an amalgam of governing councils. The eight priors, the highest ranking officials, were limited to two-month terms (in isolation from the citizenry), and subject to an elaborate system of scrutiny designed to prevent consolidation of private power bases. This pluralistic order reproduced itself at the more intimate social level of neighborhood (variously defined by parish, gonfalone, and quarter), where the roles of customer, partner, competitor, kinsmen, neighbor, and friend inevitably overlapped.⁸

To the great extent that office-holding was a measure of power in Florence, this was clearly a society in which that power

⁶Ibid, p.133.

⁷M. Becker, Florence in Transition, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1968), vol.II, p. 16.

⁸For an excellent study of neighborhood society in quattrocento Florence, see D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbors and Neighborhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the 15th Century (New York, 1982). The lay companies in their late medieval social context are examined by R. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence (New York, 1982), Ch.I; he describes a typical late medieval Florentine lay company as a "miniature commune" (p.59).

was diffusely distributed, and which at the same time promised its citizens a high degree of mobility and visibility. Even at a time when this corporate pluralism had begun to erode, Buonaccorso Pitti might note in 1419 that he had served that year as an Ufficiale del'onestà, operaio of the cathedral, podestà (captain) of Montepulciano, prior of the Guelph Party, and a captain of Orsanmichele, the most prestigious of the city's laudesi companies.⁹

2. Patronage

Florentine society offered extensive economic opportunity and a high degree of social mobility, but with the attendant condition that the wheel of fortune turned with unprecedented speed. Contemporary chronicles suggest that the constant tensions of conflicting obligations and the chronic insecurity of wealth and social position were the most salient features of Florentine life. Leonbattista Alberti wrote in the early 15th century:

The world is so full of human variety, ...differences of opinion, changes of heart, perversity of customs, ambiguity, diversity, and obscurity of values. The world is amply supplied with fraudulent, false, perfidious, bold, audacious, and rapacious men. Everything in the world is profoundly unsure. One has to be far-seeing, alert, and careful in the face of frauds, traps, betrayals.¹⁰

It was the society in which connections were everything, and

⁹Alberto Bacchi della Lega, ed., Cronica di Buonaccorso Pitti (Bologna, 1903), p.230.

¹⁰Trans. in Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.26., (where this unstable aspect of Florentine society is discussed).

Florence teemed with a ceaseless manipulation of relationships. The advice of the wealthy Florentine merchant Giovanni Morelli to his son was to

Connect yourself by marriage with those who are in power...and if you cannot arrange this, then make him [the man of influence] your friend by speaking well of him, by serving him in whatever way you can...Seek his advice...Show him you trust and friendship; invite him to your house, and act in ways that you think will please him, and will dispose him benevolently toward you. Always keep on good terms with those in power: obey and follow their will and their commands; never speak ill of them and their activities, even if they are evil. Keep silent and do not speak unless in commendation.¹¹

The mediator in this dense and fluctuating web of personal relationships was the patron. A reasonably well-connected man might be variously petitioned by raccomandati (clients) seeking tax relief, a government post, an ecclesiastical benefice, or release from prison.¹² A well-placed friend or relative with legal training might plead (avvocare) a special case in the merchant court or before city officials, and in financial affairs a letter of raccomandazione was essential.¹³ Even guild matriculation turned on personal sponsors, as well as personal and family reputation.¹⁴

Patronage, in turn, functioned quite naturally in this con-

¹¹Giovanni Morelli, Ricordi, ed. V. Branca (Florence, 1955), pp. 81-83. Trans. in Brucker, Renaissance Florence, p.99.

¹²Ibid., pp.99-100; D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbors and Neighborhood, pp.16ff.

¹³Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.22-26.

¹⁴A. Doren, Le arti fiorentine (Florence, 1940), I, pp.130-131.

text as an expression of both private and corporate power. The most enduring testaments to the prestige of successful Florentines remain as the great monuments of art, architecture, and literature spanning the Republican period from Giotto to Michaelangelo. And thereby the business of cultivating the saints as sacred patrons held for Florentines a ready significance.

3. The Active Life

It was a given condition of late 13th and 14th-century Florence that a citizen participated in public life, whether in the structured proceedings of corporations, or the competitive wrangling of marketplace and bottega. The most popular Florentine activities of the time seem to have been talking, calculating, and seeing a great deal of one another, all at once and in the public eye. When 14th-century practice became early 15th-century ideal, one of the great advocates of civic humanism, Coluccio Salutati, proclaimed that so important was active participation in the political life of the community that even monks "cannot live without serving society."¹⁵ Happiness and virtue might now be found not in the perfect life of contemplation and inner peace, but in action and service for the community.¹⁶

¹⁵De Nobilitate legum et medicinae: De Verecundia, ed. E. Garin (Florence, 1947), p.162; D. Herlihy, Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia, p.259, n.60

¹⁶H. Baron, "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 22 (1938), 22-23; and the discussion in G. Holmes, "The Emergence of an Urban Ideology at Florence, ca.1250-1450," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th

This intense and, in Western European civilization, unprecedented exposure of man to man in society inevitably fostered a particular mentality. The daily business of Florentine life was an experience of the concrete, the specific, and the unique. It entailed an appreciation of the possibilities and risks of human relationships, and an education in the full range of strengths, weaknesses, and needs of people in community. Preeminent in Florence, new vernacular traditions in the arts breathed with the spirit of a confident, familiar, and active humanity, a spirit that would contribute greatly to the transformation of lay religious practice and expression.

4. The "Arithmetical Mentality"

In 1303, in one of his many sermons to the Florentines, the popular Dominican preacher Fra Giordano da Pisa once quipped that the Florentine merchant "did nothing day or night but think and calculate".¹⁷ "Arithmetical Florence" was the heartland of late medieval banking and commerce, and formal training in commercial arithmetic was a pre-requisite for advancement in this society.¹⁸ Giovanni Villani, the Florentine chronicler with a Florentine penchant for numbers, estimated in 1345 that 1,000 to 1,200 Flor-

series 23 (1973), 111-134.

¹⁷Quoted in Alexander Murray, Reason and Society in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1985), p.194, from Ch.7 of which I have borrowed the title of this section.

¹⁸Ibid., pp.169-72, 183-4, 198.

entire children were studying abbaco and algorismo.¹⁹ Study in the bottega of a maestro dell'abbaco began at age six or seven in the botteghuzza (primary school), where a boy learned reading and writing with some elementary business correspondence and notarial formulas.²⁰ This was followed by four years of abbaco (secondary school), a more intensive study of mathematics and some more advanced reading in literature. A few proceeded from here to legal studies at a university, but for most the abbaco was the culmination of formal studies. The written legacy of this new arte della mercatantia are the trattati dell'abbaco, pratiche di mercatura,²¹ and the legions of carefully maintained company account books housed in the Florentine state archives.

The impact of this constant arithmetic activity on how people thought and spoke must have been revolutionary, engendering new modes of perception that were increasingly empirical, inductive, and quantitative.²² Alexander Murray suggests the

¹⁹G. Villani, Cronica, ed. F. Dragomanni, 4 vols. (Florence, 1844-1845), book XI, Ch.94.

²⁰Michael Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy (Oxford, 1972), p.86. For more detailed information on the abacus tradition in Florence, the reader is referred to G. Arrighi, "Il Codice L.IV.21 della Biblioteca degl'Intronati di Siena e la 'Bottega dell'Abaco a Santa Trinita' in Firenze," Physis VII (1965), 369ff.; and Warren von Egmont, Physis c.1979-80.

²¹R. Franci and L. Rigatelli, Introduzione all'aritmetica mercantile del medioevo e rinascimento (Urbino, 1982), pp.27-8, 34-5.

²²M. Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death (Princeton, N.J., 1954), p.60; Murray, Reason and Society, pp.183-84.

occurrence of a profound change in human attitudes with the tendency to quantify the value of human beings.²³ Inevitably, the merchant's deeply ingrained mental habits of calculating and negotiating also shaped his religious outlook. A strong motivation for the pious layman to sing or to hear laude was the opportunity to earn spiritual credit against his long-standing penitential debt--indulgences, in precise quantities of days, were available from the "store of supplemental merit and good works on deposit there from the lives of Christ, Mary, and the saints".²⁴ Salvation, no less than other aspects of life, was subject to a quantifying mental habit. According to their own terminology, the laudesi groups were "compagnie", a mercantile term designating any partnership in which "the profit is to be shared".²⁵ "Meritto" was used with reference both to mercantile

²³Ibid., p.186.

²⁴Barbara Rosenwein, and Lester K. Little, "Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities," Past and Present 63 (1974), 24. A list of indulgences granted in 1304 to confraternities in and around Pisa (including 140 days for singing and hearing laude) has been edited by G.G. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitas (Rome, 1977), vol.II, pp.1058-60.

²⁵R. Franci, Introduzione, p.74: "Delle compagnie: Le compagnie non è altro si non comunno sia el guadanio o vero in parte, et il compagno o la parte sie sicondo l'brigo del partecipare al guadanio o alla parditta overo a divisione de capitali o utili o dani come ocore e questo el modo da dividere proporzionatamente. [Dionigi Gori, Libro di arimetrica, 1571].

earnings and spiritual benefits.²⁶ The "compagnie delle laude" were, in this sense, a contrafactum of the secular mercantile world, a sacred business run for the purpose of earning shared spiritual profits.

B. THE FRIARS

The 11th and 12th-century apostolic religious movements, such as the hermits, itinerant preachers, Cathars, Humiliati, and Waldenses, expressed a quickening desire for a lay religious life of greater relevance and participation.²⁷ They drew their vision and authority directly from the New Testament, and their frequent defiance of ecclesiastical authority widened the long-standing rift in medieval culture between clergy and laity.²⁸ Appearing early in the 13th century, the Franciscans and Dominicans proclaimed a rapprochement and assured their survival by submitting their new organizations to church authority. Furthermore, each stepped into the breach from opposing directions: the first Dominicans were Augustinian canons whose spiritual tributaries were the canonical reformers, itinerant preachers,

²⁶Ibid., p.86: "Meritto non vol dire altro si no ragionevolmente vedere quanto una quantità guadagna in uno certo tempo e questo è detto merito sempricie."

²⁷John Trout, "Preaching by the Laity in the 12th Century," Studies in Medieval Culture IV/1 (1973-74), 92-108; Rosenwein, "Social Meaning," 16-18; M.D. Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society, pp.204ff.

²⁸Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Reform of the Liturgy from a Renaissance Perspective," in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. R. Benson and G. Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), p.95.

and the Cathars, while the strictly lay origins of the Franciscans were to be found among the hermits, itinerant preachers, and Waldenses.²⁹ Other orders followed in the new mendicant tradition, and of those to survive their curtailment by the Council of Lyons (1274) were the Carmelites, the Augustinian (or Austin) friars, and the Servites.³⁰

"Wherever there was a town there were friars; and without a town there were no friars."³¹ It was the dense human society of the medieval city that gave meaning to the mendicant ideal of imitatio christi, the imitation of a visible example of ideal human behavior. And what the friars chose to imitate were the more social aspects of Christ's mission, his preaching and his poverty. The Franciscans, "prompted by the violence, glitter, and instability of the emerging municipal oligarchies of Italy", followed their leader's example in selling everything and giving to the poor.³² The Dominicans, the "preaching friars", arose in response to the need for effective preaching in combatting the Cathar heresy in Languedoc.³³ Each would always retain something of their original character, the Franciscans their sympathetic

²⁹Rosenwein, "Social Meaning," 18.

³⁰R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church (New York, 1970), p.329; Richard Emery, "The Friars of the Sack," Speculum 18 (1943), 323-334.

³¹Southern, Western Society and the Church, p.329.

³²Ibid., p.281.

³³The Cathar heresy, which denied the divinity of the incarnate Christ, is discussed in more detail on pp.41ff. of this chapter.

humanity, and the Dominicans their academic discipline, but many similarities between the two orders developed as they engaged in a kind of marketplace competition for their urban clients. Preaching (and therefore learning) was equally indispensable to the Franciscans, who borrowed much of the Dominican model of organization and followed them into the universities, while the Franciscan attitude toward poverty strengthened the urban appeal of the Dominicans as well.³⁴ The religious companies gravitated to the mendicant churches, and display among them a similarity of structure and character that testifies to the shared features of the mendicant orders. The common themes of mendicant spirituality were the promotion of a personal and affective devotion, encouraged through imitation of the most human of divine exempla: Mary, Jesus, and the Saints; the cultivation of this devotional style through vernacular preaching and material renunciation; and the provision of an orthodox framework for the expression of lay piety through skillful adaptations of the secular, urban world. At heart was a new, evangelical spirituality, born of a "vital interaction between traditional faith and new secular values".³⁵

1. The Secular Made Sacred

"The born chaplains of the guilds,"³⁶ the friars seemed to

³⁴Ibid., p.284.

³⁵Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society, p.234; A useful survey of late medieval affective devotion is in Douglas Gray, Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric (London, 1972), pp.18-30.

³⁶Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society, p.226.

take as their credo Paul's statement that "I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."³⁷ In this spirit the friars encouraged the formation of religious corporations, the lay companies, closely modelled on guild structures. Lay brothers met regularly, elected officers, paid dues, provided burial services, sponsored charitable activities and religious festivals, and kept meticulous account books within a format quite familiar to the merchant guildsman. It would not have escaped the friars' notice that the guild structure, as a door to a higher world of secular political and social activity, eminently suited a spiritual re-interpretation.

The friars recognized the importance of the saints in lay devotion, and especially through preaching emphasized the role of the latter as patrons. Effective devotion might influence one who is spiritually well connected to intercede with the powerful on behalf of the weak, or rather, the indebted. In popular devotion spiritual debt was strongly associated with the notion of purgatory, a kind of spiritual debtor's prison.³⁸ A purgatorial sentence was mitigated by acts of spiritual clientage-- prayers, charitable acts, bequests for masses and vigils, processing, burning candles, lauda-singing, etc.--executed on behalf of the dead. The 1446 statutes of the Company of San Piero Martire (the

³⁷I Corinthians 9:22 (King James Version)

³⁸Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, p.290; Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, pp.48-9; N. Davis, "The Study of Popular Religion," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed.C. Trinkaus and H. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), p.328.

laudesi company at the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella) explain that the bequests of the deceased for such spiritual acts (frequently a vigil with lauda singing), were to be carried out "considering above all that these bequests were all made for the cure of souls who were obliged to [endure] some penalty of purgatory".³⁹ In hastening the release of the deceased from purgatory, these commemorative acts functioned moreover to advance and supplicate the dead in their capacity as intercessors.⁴⁰ Thus the interests of the living and the dead alike were recommended ("raccomandati") to the divine court of justice, through intercession of divine lawyers ("avvocati"). A Florentine's concern for the dead was motivated by a vivid image of purgatory as a place of spiritual exile and isolation; geographic exile was the bitter punishment dealt to citizens from Dante to Machiavelli who fell too far into political disfavor. In his Libro di buoni costumi, the 14th-century merchant Paolo da Certaldo advised his readers to

Often say masses for the souls of your dead ones and also for the abandoned souls that have passed out of this life. Imagine that you were in prison and were abandoned by relatives and friends, and no one ever came to visit you and free you from prison--how would

³⁹ASF, Compagnie Soppresse 102, vol.324, Capitoli (mostra 49), f.4r.: "...considerando maximamente che detti lasci sono tuti fatti per rimedio delle anime che fossono obrigate adalcuna pena del purgatorio".

⁴⁰Sharon Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, 1350-1500 (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Calif. Berkeley, 1981), p.330.

you feel? Thus it is for abandoned souls.⁴¹

In secular and sacred arena alike, a social network was essential. The statutes of lay companies typically open with an invocation of divine personages ranging from the universal to local and special patron saints, comprising a carefully graded and well connected chain of sacred relationships. The 1441 statutes of the Company of San Bastiano (the laudesi company at the Servite church of Santissima Annunziata) open in the following manner:

Ever may it be to the praise, glory, and honor of the omnipotent God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, perfect trinity and unity, and of his most glorious Madonna Holy Mary, always our avocata, and of his glorious servant Messer Sancto Philippo, and of the glorious knight and martyr Messer Sancto Sebastiano, and of the devout Messer Sancto Gherardo, all our avocati, and of all the celestial court of paradise. Amen.⁴² [plate 1]

The friars understood, and could re-interpret in spiritual terms the concrete world of the merchant, a society in which one could quickly rise through the assiduous cultivation of carefully chosen relationships, or, through neglect of the same, just as quickly fall into debt, prison, and exile.

2. The Sacred Made Secular

Mendicant spirituality, however, was not merely a response

⁴¹Paolo di Messer Pace da Certaldo, Il libro di buoni costumi, ed. S. Morpurgo (Florence, 1921), pp.101-102. Translation in Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.48

⁴²ASF, Capitoli 6, f.1: "Sempre sia a laude e gloria e honore e reverenza dell'omnipotente iddio padre, figliuolo, et spirito sancto, trinita et unita perfecta, et della sua gloriosissima madre madonna sancta maria nostra sempre avocata, et del suo glorioso servo messer sancto philippo. Et del glorioso cavaliere et martire di cristo messer sancto Sebastiano. Et del divoto messer sancto Gherardo, tutti nostri avvocati di tutta la celestiale corte di paradiso amen..."

to the conditions of secular urban life. Rather, the alignment of the forces of urban piety with ecclesiastical organization, achieved by the friars in the 13th century,⁴³ provided fertile ground for the growth of the new learning that had emanated from the 12th-century cathedral schools. Scholars like Honorius of Autun, Hugh of St. Victor, and Alan of Lille proposed a homogeneous, non-hierarchical cosmos, in which nature, in all its earthly reality, acquired a religious significance and a capacity to lead man to God.⁴⁴ Man, as a microcosm of the divine, acquired a new validity in his natural setting. And it was in light of this humanistic perception of man's dignity that 12th century thinkers, both clerical (the Cistercians and Augustinian Canons) and lay (the apostolic movements), were struck by the central fact of the gospels--that God himself had become man.⁴⁵ Honorius of Autun described this new imago mundi:

The supreme artisan made the universe like a great zither ("citharam") upon which he placed the strings to yield a variety of sounds, for he divided his work in two--into two parts antithetical to each other. Spirit and matter, antithetical in nature yet consonant in existence, resemble a choir of men and boys blending their bass and treble voices...Material things similarly imitate the distinction of choral parts, divided as things are into genera, species, individuals, forms, and numbers; all of these blend harmoniously as they observe with due measure the law implanted within them and so, as it were, emit their proper sound. A harmonious chord is sounded by spirit and body, angel and devil, heaven and hell, fire and water, air and earth, sweet and bitter, soft and hard, and so are all other

⁴³G. Holmes, "The Emergence of an Urban Ideology," 116.

⁴⁴M. Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society, pp.5, 24ff.

⁴⁵Waddell, "The Reform of the Liturgy," pp.90-92.

things harmonized.⁴⁶

The assertion of a dignity and divinity in things created, above all in man, and regardless of, but including, his station in life, had profound implications for the future of lay spirituality. And no one understood these implications better than the friars. 13th-century mendicant scholars developed a theology appropriate to an active and earthly Christian society, which was transmitted to a broad social spectrum through a universal organization of convents, schools, handbooks, and well-trained preachers.⁴⁷ Honorius' 12th-century vision of a resonant harmony between things natural and divine had travelled far by the 14th century, when a lay member of a Florentine laudesi confraternity would perceive his song as a direct contribution to the canto celestiale.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Honorius of Autun, Liber XII quaest. ii (PL, CLXXII, 1179): "Summus namque opifex universitatem quasi magnam citharam condidit, in qua veluti varias chordas ad multiplices sonos reddendos posuit: dum universum suum opus in duo, vel duo sibi contraria distinxit. Spiritus enim et corpus quasi virilis et puerilis chorus gravem et acutum sonum reddunt, dum in natura dissentiunt, in essentia boni conveniunt... Similiter corporalia vocum discrimina imitantur, dum in varia genera, in varias species, in individua, in formas, in numeros separantur: quae omnia concorditer consonant, dum legem sibi insitam quasi tinnulos modulis servant. Reciprocum sonum spiritus et corpus, angelus et diabolus, coelum et infernus, ignis et aqua, aer et terra, dulce et amarum, molle et durum, et sic caetera in hunc modum." Translated in Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society, p.8.

⁴⁷Rosenwein, "Social Meaning," 29ff.; An excellent new study of the subject is Daniel D'Avray, The Preaching of the Friars (Oxford, 1985).

⁴⁸For ex., the following lines of a lauda from a laudario belonging the Company of San Gilio, Mgl² (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Banco Rari 19, olim Magl.II.I.212), f.50v, text ed. by Concetto del Popolo, "Il laudario della Compagnia di Sant'

At the heart of the friars' humanistic spirituality was a deepened concept of repentance and conversion. The friars exhorted their lay audiences to engage in personal prayer, examine their conduct, and practice moral criticism.⁴⁹ Confession became a more frequent and soul-searching sacrament, and conversion no longer meant joining a religious order. It was an invitation to enter into a more active role in the process of salvation, such as previously had been the domain of an ordained clergy acting for the vicarious benefit of the laity. It was a calling befitting a more literate and psychologically aware urban society that sought, and was encouraged to seek, a religious status commensurate with the rank they enjoyed in secular society.

The invitation to enter was literal, as well. Commune and guild subsidized the construction of the great Florentine mendicant churches between ca.1270 and 1320, and immediately lay burial sites and private family chapels were granted in an unprecedented fashion.⁵⁰ The members of laudesi companies passed

Egidio," Studi e problemi di critica testuale 16 (1978), 15:
 O santo Gilio, confessor beato
 pe' nostri morti Gesù Christo humanato
 preghianti che prieghi, dove se' collocato:
 che gli conduca a quella melodia. (vv.55-58)

⁴⁹Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society, pp.284f.; Rosenwein, "Social Meaning," 19.

⁵⁰E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1980), p.xviii; M. Becker, "Aspects of Lay Piety in Early Renaissance Florence," in The Pursuit of Holiness, ed. Trinkaus and Oberman, p.184.

through the choir screens of Dominican Santa Maria Novella and Franciscan Santa Croce to bury their dead and conduct their services at the new chancel altars, which they maintained in their dual capacity as patron and chaplain. As the laudesi at Santa Croce sang their narratives of the lives of Jesus, Mary, and the Saints, Giotto and his followers painted them in the neighboring chapels, endowing their earthly and humane characters with a new range of emotional awareness and moral strength.⁵¹

In Florence, the appeal of the mendicants was strengthened by their initial lack of involvement in traditional social structures. Many of the urban parishes were enmeshed in a web of coveted clerical benefices and the ancient patronage rights of prominent parish families.⁵² Moreover, 14th-century Florentine chroniclers expressed the prevailing sentiment that the ecclesiastical courts and clerical hierarchy were staffed and exploited by the scions of the magnate families.⁵³ The mendicant orders cut across these narrower loyalties of Florentine society, attracting a city-wide following.⁵⁴ The confraternities, whose membership tended to be widespread and socially heterogeneous,

⁵¹M. Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena, p.60.

⁵²G. Brucker, "Urban Parishes and their Clergy in Quattrocento Florence: A Preliminary Sondage," in Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smythe, ed. Andrew Morrogh (Florence, 1985), pp.17-28.

⁵³M. Becker, "Church and State on the Eve of the Renaissance," Speculum 37 (1962), 511-12.

⁵⁴Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 44-46; Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, 1350-1500, pp.114-15, 161.

further strengthened the relationship between the friars and the larger framework of Florentine civic life.⁵⁵

3. The Active Life

While cloistered monks and nuns embodied the ideal of contemplative life, the friars presented the greatest clerical examples of civic participation. Through preaching, mendicancy, and charitable activity, the lives of Francis and Dominic proclaimed from the outset the mendicant ideal of a religious life of activity in the world, and they were quick to tap the active disposition of secular urban life. In a sermon of November, 1305, Fra Giordano da Pisa exhorted Florentines to

...Make use of confession, make use of communion, make use of the church, make use of the Masses, make use of good people, make use of prayers, make use of the sermons...using the above things and the sermons, and especially [you must] read good little books, and other such things.⁵⁶

In the early 15th century, the Dominican preacher San Bernardino reminded Florentines of the citizens' responsibility to care for the poor, the sick, and the aged:

While in his true fatherland in heaven, man may be destined to lead a contemplative life, it is his calling in this world to act and to love.⁵⁷

This disposition was nowhere more strongly evident than among the

⁵⁵Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.44-6.

⁵⁶c. Delcorno, Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare (Florence, 1975), p.67: "Usare la confessione, usare di comunicante, usare la chiesa, usare le messe, usare colle buone persone, usare l'orazione, usare la predicha...usando le dette cose e le prediche, e specialmente di leggere buoni libricciuoli, e l'altre cose."

⁵⁷M. Becker, "Aspects of Lay Piety," p.187.

members of the laudesi companies, who made relatively frequent "use" of the sacraments and sermons, who managed numerous charitable enterprises, and who came every evening of the week to conduct their own liturgical services and to sing that liturgy in their own language.

4. Preaching

No activity was more characteristic of the friars' evangelical ideals and practices than vernacular preaching; it was the ultimate imitatio Christi for a religious sensibility oriented to a loquacious urban society. The widespread and often heretical lay preaching of the 12th century,⁵⁸ coupled with a "most dreadful silence" of the clergy,⁵⁹ pointed to the desperate need for an organized and well-trained corps of preachers. This challenge the friars took upon themselves with spectacular success. By the late 13th century in many Italian cities, a different mendicant order commonly preached every evening of the week, and in the early 14th century an anonymous observer reported that the friars' sermons could be heard "daily, in great numbers".⁶⁰ Throughout the towns and cities of Europe, moreover, the friars often delivered their sermons to large gatherings, either in the large piazzas adjoining their churches, or in their great church

⁵⁸John M. Trout, "Preaching by the Laity in the 12th Century," Studies in Medieval Culture IV (1973-74), 92-108.

⁵⁹Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society, p.244

⁶⁰G. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitas, II, pp.937-42.

halls built for that purpose.⁶¹ Here a primarily lay audience would receive what was for many the "richest and most familiar literary experience of their lives", as preachers sought to capture the ears of their audience through recourse to jokes, riddles, mime, image, popular science and pseudo-science, history, practical technology, and exotic narrative.⁶² With or without such extra-spiritual references, however, the heart of mendicant preaching was a vivid and direct biblical exegesis, from which an attendant laity received an unprecedented and widespread familiarity with the basics of church doctrine.⁶³ During the intense and popular preaching activity of Lent, certain sermon cycles, such as that preached in 1306 by Fra Giordano to Florentines on the third chapter of Genesis, constituted "a kind of school of theology for the laity".⁶⁴

Franciscan and Dominican preaching in trecento Florence each

⁶¹Meersseman, "L'architecture dominicaine," 189; See the appendix of Delcorno, Giordano da Pisa, an index of Fra Giordano's Florentine sermons, with rubrics indicating the piazzas and churches where the sermons were delivered.

⁶²J. Fleming, An Introduction to Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages (Chicago, 1977), pp.122-23.

⁶³Often memorized in youth, these appear to have been the 10 commandments, the 12 articles of faith, the 7 mortal sins, the 5 senses of the body, the 7 works of mercy, the 7 sacraments of the church, the Pater noster, and the Ave Maria. See, for example, the 14th-century statutes of the Florentine youth confraternity (ages 12-18), which required that these items be memorized (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Acquisti e Doni, vol.336, f.6v; Compagnia della Purificazione, associated with the Servite order). The same items recur in the 15th-century statutes of the laudesi company of San Bastiano, also affiliated with the Servite church of Santissima Annunziata (ASF, Capitoli 6, f.4v [1441]).

⁶⁴Delcorno, Giordano da Pisa, p.71.

tended to manifest distinctive characteristics which probably exemplified the range of mendicant preaching in general. The more professorial Dominicans appear as mediators of a Latin, clerical theology, drawing more heavily on classical monastic literature, especially the The Lives of the Holy Fathers and the Dialogues of St. Gregory. Influenced by their lay origins, the Franciscans rejected the scholastic university sermon, and drew on the lives of saints more recent and familiar, above all their charismatic founder.⁶⁵ Contemporary accounts of St. Francis' preaching describe a style less like a preacher than a political orator (contionator).⁶⁶ Through diffusion and mutual influence among the mendicant orders, what emerged by the 14th century was a range of various sermon types, appropriate for different audiences: the Latin sermo modernus, employing scholastic formal logic and complex scriptural concordances, destined for clergy and university students; the less refined vernacular sermon, which exploited the expressive possibilities of the vernacular but retained the basic scheme of the sermo modernus; and the homily, a brief moral and allegorical explication of the day's scripture readings, usually delivered at Mass.⁶⁷ These divi-

⁶⁵C. Delcorno, "Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti," Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: moyen age, new series 89 (1977), 688.

⁶⁶Ibid., 680-81.

⁶⁷Ibid., p.683; D. Lesnick, "Dominican Preaching and the Creation of a Capitalist Ideology in late Medieval Florence," Memorie domenicane, new series 8-9 (1977-78), 219, who notes that the vernacular sermon might be modified according to whether the audience was literate (maiores) or not (minores). More recently,

sions correspond to those outlined in a Florentine Ars predicandi of 1412, which calls "subtilis" those sermons for experts in theology, "devotus" those easily understood, edifying, and shunning elaboration, and "facilis" those for people newly introduced to theology.⁶⁸ The anonymous author especially recommends the "devotus" style as "like the sermons of the saints which are read in church...good for instructing the people".⁶⁹

The devotus style of preaching was probably that most familiar to Florentines, and especially to confraternity members who were neither neophytes nor experts in theology, for devotio was the spiritual state that mendicant vernacular sermons above all aimed to create. According to the great Dominican theologian St. Thomas Aquinas, devotio was the conscious and willed turning of the mind to God, with the intended effect of mingled joy at God's goodness, and sadness at man's inadequacy.⁷⁰ This dichotomy runs deep in the lay spirituality of the time; the lauda stands as the consummate lay expression of the former, while the latter, the focus of disciplinati spirituality, was intended to move the hearer to contrition and penance. Confession invariably followed the friars' sermons (as it often did lauda singing), and thus

Daniel D'Avray has argued that the sermo modernus, which developed at the University of Paris during the 13th century, was easily adapted for routine preaching to the laity; The Preaching of the Friars, p.193.

⁶⁸Baxandall, Painting and Experience, p.150.

⁶⁹Ibid., p.150.

⁷⁰Ibid, p.149, from the Summa Theologica, 2^a-2^{ae}, q.180, aa.1 and 7.

"the seed is sown in preaching, the fruit is harvested in penance".⁷¹

But how did one attain the state of devotio? For Aquinas, it was through contemplation, but for the friar-preacher's lay audience it was through a popularized form of contemplation that depended upon mental imagery, developed and expanded through simile. In his recent study of the subject, Daniel D'Avray has observed two related "mental habits" of mendicant preaching-- the incessant quotation of scripture (which itself relies heavily on imagery), and the use of similitude.⁷² A mendicant sermon typically began with a brief scriptural reference (thema), usually the source of an image or key word, then proceeded to develop distinct levels of meaning through recourse to distinctiones (or divisiones), different senses of a term contained in scripture. Preachers had recourse to alphabetized distinctio collections, wordlists which linked a repertory of key words to scriptures, and made possible the ready amplification of an image or word through simile. For example, a passage from Luke, "Ascendans Jesus in unam naviculum...", called up a four-fold simile, likening the ship to penance (poenitentia), the church (ecclesia), the cross (crucis), and the mind (mentis). This framework of scripture and distinctiones was then further amplified with vivid

⁷¹Humbert of Romans, quoted in Rosenwein, "Social Meaning," 22.

⁷²D'Avray, The Preaching of the Friars, p.235; the following discussion is indebted to this excellent study, principally to pp. 225-59.

narrative material drawn from another genre of mendicant preaching aids, the exemplum. Collections of exempla, based primarily on saints' lives, provided the preacher with his most concrete pulpit material.

In the example cited above may be seen another important element of late medieval popular sermons, a recourse to rhyme and verse. D'Avray noted a tendency "to formulate distinctiones and divisions in what is not far from being a rhymed verse meter", especially in the use of rhymed clusters (often three) such as intellectus-affectus-effectus.⁷³ Wenzel's study of a popular, early 14th-century Franciscan sermon collection reveals the variety of rhetorical and structural functions served by vernacular verse in popular sermons: the articulation of sermon divisions (distinctiones), biblical quotations, liturgical prayers, and a variety of summarizing, mnemonic, and dramatic purposes.⁷⁴

To summarize, the literary tools used by the friars to preach and teach the faith were scripture, and, as suggested by scripture, moralized image, similitude, and narration (exempla), further amplified through a rhetorical and structural use of rhymed verse and word-play. Precisely these "mental habits" may be detected in the laude of the lay religious companies, the members of which constituted the "fixed nucleus" of the friar-

⁷³Ibid., p.248; S. Wenzel, Verses in Sermons: "Fasciculus morum" and its Middle English Poems (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p.75.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp.82-6.

preacher's audience, and for whom these sermons were the "culminating moment" of their meetings.⁷⁵ For example, the refrain and first three strophes of a lauda to the Virgin found in three 14th-century Florentine laudari [plate 2]:

Ave, donna sanctissima,
regina potentissima.

La virtù celestiale
co la gratia supernale
in te, virgo virginale,
discese benignissima.

La nostra redemptione
prese incarnatione
ch'è senza corrutione
in te, donna dolcissima.

Tu se' porta, du se' domo,
di te naque Dio et homo,
arbore con dolce pomo
che sempre sta' florissima.⁷⁶

The lauda proceeds for five more strophes in its narration of the Virgin's Assumption, the end of each stroph presenting a different quality--"purissima", "carissima", "gaudissima", etc. These rhymed key words, typical of the early lauda repertory, sound very much like the rhymed distinctiones of the friars' wordlists.

⁷⁵Delcorno, Fra Giordano, p.71.

⁷⁶Text from Mgl¹, ed. J. Grossi, "The Fourteenth Century Florentine Laudario Magliabechiano II,I,122 (B.R.18): A Transcription and Study," (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1979), p.149; F. Liuzzi, La lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana (Rome, 1935), vol.2, XXXI); also found in Mgl² (plate 2) and Fior (as well as in two other Tuscan laudari, Ars and Aret), all of which date from the 14th century. The text has been emended according to Grossi's notes, p.150. The two versions of this lauda with musical settings (from Cort and Mgl¹) are transcribed in ex.3. A 13th-century lauda using similar epithets is "Rayna possentissima," ed. G. Varanini, Laude dugentesche (Padova, 1972), p.23.

Through the use of simile, the Virgin is likened to a door, a home (line 11), and a tree with a sweet apple (line 13). The didactic nature of many laude texts, and the emphasis on scripture and narrated saints' lives reinforces the impression that many laude looked two ways--towards heaven as sung prayer, and to the confratelli as sung sermon.

The preaching of the friars was also their ambivalent response to a mercantile society. The message of apostolate poverty and a strong condemnation of usury resulted from the unprecedented social and spiritual problems of a cash economy.⁷⁷ Human suffering now seemed to stem from the greed of urban merchants, rather than from the violence of feudal nobility. The remedy proposed by the mendicant preachers was a carità derived from the two-fold Biblical formula: to love God (through the complementary and self-denying practice of penance and praise), and to love one's neighbor. The re-definition of neighborly love in this context of urban greed led to a notion of "charity" familiar to moderns: feeding and clothing the poor, visiting the sick and imprisoned, caring for widows and orphans, and building and managing hospitals. Ministering to the "poveri di Dio" through some combination of these charitable acts was de rigueur for the mendicant-sponsored religious companies. While condemning greed and usury as the dark side of a mercantile society, the friars were also compelled by their urban circumstances to discover the

⁷⁷Rosenwein, "Social Meaning," 24-31; Lesnick, "Dominican Preaching," 242-3.

redeeming qualities of wealth. Dominican and Franciscan theologians provided new theories of social utility that legitimized private wealth and the Christian merchant, much as the Crusades had done for an equally intractable aspect of earlier medieval society, the violence of the Christian knight.⁷⁸ The friars were thus instrumental in both curbing and sanctioning mercantile activity, and thereby rendering it acceptable in the eyes of the church.⁷⁹

In order to repudiate effectively certain aspects of the society to which they ministered, the friars engaged through their preaching in a very Pauline identification with that society. Preaching, commercial bargaining, and legal pleading alike depended upon one's ability to argue and negotiate persuasively.⁸⁰ The friars frequently enlisted commercial and political imagery. In the "bottega della tua conscientia",⁸¹ the merchant is to regard Christ as a bonus negotiator, and to prefer heavenly to earthly riches.⁸² Lent, like a great trade fair,

⁷⁸Rosenwein, "Social Meaning," 26, 29-30.

⁷⁹Lesnick, "Dominican preaching", passim; Chenu, Man, Nature, and Society, p.224.

⁸⁰Rosenwein, "Social Meaning," 23.

⁸¹Florence, Bibl.Riccardiana ms.1301, f.105; a collection of Lenten sermons by the Florentine Dominican preacher Giovanni Dominici (1357-1419); several of the sermons are linked to laude that paraphrase the gospel reading of the day, which served as the scriptural basis of the sermon. See this chapter, p.34, n.91.

⁸²D. D'Avray, "Sermons to the Upper Bourgeoisie by a Thirteenth-Century Franciscan," in Studies in Church History, vol.16, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1979), p.198.

is a good time for making a profit, because spiritual money changers (cambitores) are ready to hear confessions, during which the sinner may profitably exchange base money (sin) for precious money (grace).⁸³ There is an excellent display of the goods (the preaching is frequent), and money is available (vigils, prayers, and fasts, with which the kingdom of heaven is bought). The sinner who dies unrepentent is like the debtor who forfeits in perpetuity his security (his soul) to the usurer (the devil), if he fails to buy it back before the end of the trade fair (death).

Christ might also be advocatus, God the father iudex, and the cross the locus iuris, with notarial angels keeping the Book of Life.⁸⁴ Fra Giordano told Florentines that a man who wished to rule the city well as a signore, must first learn to rule ("signoreggiare") himself, the first of four steps to the perfect signoria of beatitude.⁸⁵

This by no means exhausts the range of imagery used in mendicant sermons, but it does indicate the "mental habit" so readily appropriated by lauda poets. In a long simile based on sea-going merchants, Mary is both "gran mercatantrice" and "navatrice," then she herself becomes the navicella who bears her

⁸³Ibid., pp.204-16.

⁸⁴Ibid., p.198.

⁸⁵Lesnick, "Dominican Preaching," 238-9. On juridical notions in "local" religion, see R.W. Scribner, "Interpreting Religion in Early Modern Europe," European Studies Review 13 (1983), 96.

precious cargo into the world "sens' alcuno rio."⁸⁶ In a lauda bearing the rubric "Della ricordans della morte", the deceased recites a litany of wrongdoing, climaxing with his greed:

Ove son le perle et li botton dell'argento
lo vel della seta che menav'al vento?

and usurious practices:

Non vo chiamare ch'io son chiamato
tu puoi vedere come io sto agiato
ad cui piacesse questo mercato
comperi terre et presti ad usura.⁸⁷

In the passion narrative of the lauda repertory, the betrayal by Judas for thirty silver pieces assumes a special significance:

Trenta denari fu lo merchato
che fece giuda et fue pagato.⁸⁸

The greatest tribute is paid to "holy poverty", the value of which is beyond measure:

tal virtù de amare
non si può contare
tant'è'l suo valore.⁸⁹

Juridical imagery, however, occurs more frequently in the Tuscan lauda repertory. A patron saint is usually referred to as "nostro avvocato", and is perceived as giving divine "consiglio". (One wonders how many pious Florentines perceived the "celestial court" referred to in most company documents as a legal, rather than a princely, court). The politically charged terms balia

⁸⁶E. Staaf, ed., Le laudario de Pise, no.109, lines 173-186.

⁸⁷Ibid., no.48, lines 107-8, 131-4.

⁸⁸Ibid., no.29, lines 7-8; also in the Cortona laudario (ed. Liuzzi, La lauda, vol.I, p.356, lines 7-8).

⁸⁹Staaf, Le laudario, no.62, lines 22-24.

(political authority) and signoria are used often to represent divine power, and a saint might be a gonfalonier (standard-bearer, a high-ranking commune official) of God.⁹⁰

The proximity of lauda and sermon is evident elsewhere, as well. A saint frequently appears in a lauda refrain as an "exemplo" (usually in this modified Latin form), a concept very likely transmitted by mendicant preachers.⁹¹

These thematic links between lauda and sermon suggest the possibility that laude were sung or recited in conjunction with sermons, and that some laude may have been composed for that purpose. A cursory search through Florentine archives for manuscripts containing lauda texts turned up several that closely juxtapose lauda and sermon. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana Ms. 1301 (Florence, 15th century) contains 46 lenten sermons in

⁹⁰E.g., Ibid., n.9, lines 21-22 [Nativity of Christ]:
nato è in questo mondo,
per dar consilglio.

From Mgl², ed. in C. del Popolo, "Il laudario," 19:
Venite a laudare la donna, e pregare
che sempremai ci tenga in sua balia.

Que' son di croce segnati
cherici, laici, frati:
a voi, Madonna, sian racchomandati,
che sempre steano a vostra signoria.

And Ibid., 22:

...Paolo infiammato,
tu de' gonfalonier di Dio beato.

⁹¹E.g., Ibid., no.79:

San Giovanni baptista
exemplo della gente...

"Exempro" is used in the version of this lauda that appears in Mgl¹, ed. Grossi, "The 14thc. Florentine Laudario," no.46 (Liuzzi, La lauda, II, XL). An excellent study is Peter Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," Representations I (1983), 1-25.

the vernacular attributed to Giovanni Dominici. Following a sermon on fasting delivered on the 4th day of Lent, there is entered a lauda "composed for this holy gospel", which paraphrases the reading of the day upon which the sermon is based.⁹² In BN, Magl.II.XI.35 (Florence, 15th century), three sections of approximately equal length are devoted to the "Storia di Barlaam et Iusaphat", a collection of Lenten sermons in the vernacular, and 46 laude of a distinctly penitential cast.⁹³ Two laude by the Franciscan poet Jacopone da Todi were the avowed source of sermon exempla for Bernardino da Siena's Florentine preaching in 1425, and his recorded sermons indicate a familiarity with the repertory of Jacopone laude.⁹⁴ The association between lauda singing, Vespers, and preaching was noted on four different occasions by Luca Dominici, who chronicled the events of the penitential Bianchi processions in Pistoia during 1399-

⁹²See above, n.81; Ricc.1301, f.40r: "lauda fatta per questo sancto vangielo alamore di dio" (based on Matthew, ch.5, re. fasting):

Figliuoli mei dilette
 quando voi digiunate
 fate che voi non siate
 chome y poeti tristi maladetti...

The ms. contents are catalogued in S. Morpurgo, I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze (Rome, 1900), pp.367-369. On the laudesi company performances of Lenten literature (gospels, passions, laments) see Ch.III, pp.118f.

⁹³Florence, BN Magl.II.XI.35; inventory in G. Mazzatinti, Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia (Forli, 1898), XII, pp.80-81.

⁹⁴C. DelCorno, "L'Exemplum nella predicazione di Bernardino da Siena," in Bernardino predicatore nella società del suo tempo, Convegni del centro di studi sulla spirituale medievale, XVI (Todi, 1976), pp.73-107.

1400.⁹⁵

According to the record of his companions, St. Francis himself encouraged this combination of preaching and vernacular praise lyrics ("laudes Domini"). Having just composed his famous "Canticle of Brother Sun" (regarded as part of the earliest lauda tradition⁹⁶), Francis wanted brother Pacifico

...who in the world had been known as the king of verses and who had been a really courtly doctor of singers, to be sent for and given some good and holy friars that they might go through the world preaching and praising God. He said he wanted it that first one of them who knew how to preach should preach to the people and after the sermon they were to sing the praises of God ("cantarent laudes") as minstrels of the Lord.⁹⁷

The 13th-century Franciscan chronicler Salimbene praises a number of friars for being both bonus predicator and bonus cantor.⁹⁸

Perhaps the most provocative circumstantial evidence for the relationship between lauda and sermon is the earliest recorded reference to lauda singing, which attributes the origins in Siena

⁹⁵Luca Dominici, Cronache, ed. G. Gigliotti (Pistoia, 1933, 1939), 2 vols, I, pp.158 ("...e ivi cantorno molte laudi e un bello vespro e predicossi"), 161, 164, 166. Cited in B. Toscani, "Contributi alla storia musicale delle laude dei Bianchi," Studi musicali 9 (1980), 165.

⁹⁶Varanini, Laude dugentesche, p.ix.

⁹⁷R.B. Brook, ed., trans., Scripta Leonis, Rufini, et Angeli: sociorum S. Francisci (Oxford, 1970), pp.164-67 [1246]: "...qui in seculo vocabatur rex versuum et fuit valde curialis doctor cantorum, et dare sibi aliquos fratres bonos et spiritales, ut irent per mundum predicando et laudando Deum. Nam volebat et dicebat, quod prius aliquis illorum predicaret populo, qui sciret predicare, et post predicationem cantarent laudes Domini tanquam ioculatores Domini."

⁹⁸Fra Ognibene di Guido di Adamo Salimbene, Cronica, ed. G. Scalia (Bari, 1966), pp.263ff., 803ff.

of this "mira devotione" to the devotion excited by the preaching of the Dominican Ambrogio Sansedoni (d.1267).⁹⁹ As will become evident in the course of the following chapter, there was rarely an occasion in the various laudesi services when preaching and lauda singing were not closely juxtaposed.

C. THE LAY COMPANIES

The lay religious company of Republican Florence represented the mendicant programme of a more deeply converted laity at its most successful, and also the layman's aspiration to the religious validation of a broader range of human activity at its most eloquent. That the lay company was a point of vital interaction between various social forces is evident in the prismatic array of views brought to the subject by historians of Florence. Martines saw in the companies a possible source of education in statecraft and fulfillment of the administrative ambitions of lower guildsmen.¹⁰⁰ For Weissman the lay company offered to older members a "liminal" escape from and transformation of the conflicting relationships of Florentine society, and a means for younger men to broaden family and neighborhood networks.¹⁰¹ Trexler sees the potential for participation in the

⁹⁹See Ch.III, p.72; doc.4.

¹⁰⁰L. Martines, Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1968), p.53.

¹⁰¹Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.58, 161.

larger ritual life of the city,¹⁰² while others, including Holmes, see a creative encounter between the forces of urban piety and ecclesiastical organization, resulting in new institutions adapted to the active life of the city, and constituting the roots of a humanistic "urban ideology".¹⁰³ The confratelli have also been viewed as recipients of the torch of religious renewal, passed from monk, to canon, to friar, and then to layman by the late 13th century.¹⁰⁴ However much the layman's motives for participation in a religious company varied, clearly the previously passive role of the laity in their formal, public religious ritual was no longer acceptable to the late 13th-century Florentine citizen.¹⁰⁵

In Florence, among the other mercantile cities of central and northern Italy, two distinct types of lay religious company emerged in the second half of the 13th century, and remained the dominant and vital forms of organized lay devotion to the end of the 15th century: the laudesi and the disciplinati. Their early history is linked to the expansion of the mendicant orders,¹⁰⁶ and earlier dates, especially for laudesi companies in Florence

¹⁰²R. Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence (New York, 1980).

¹⁰³G. Holmes, "The Emergence of an Urban Ideology," 111-34.

¹⁰⁴Becker, "Church and State," 511f.; R. Trexler, "Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation in the Renaissance," in The Pursuit of Holiness, ed. Trinkaus and Oberman, 232.

¹⁰⁵G.G. Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.949-50.

¹⁰⁶Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.44.

in 1183 and 1233, are untenable.¹⁰⁷ Lay religious groups of the 11th and 12th century, such as the conversi,¹⁰⁸ the Cluniac confratelli,¹⁰⁹ and the penitential orders,¹¹⁰ provided early models of organized lay devotion, but tended to assume the disciplined and world-renouncing character of the monastic orders with which they were associated.¹¹¹

In fact, the earliest datable laudesi and disciplinati companies appeared in the 1260's, and multiplied rapidly in the following decades, especially in Florence.¹¹² The mistaken assignment of precise dates before mid-13th century to certain

¹⁰⁷The source of these frequently cited dates seems to have been L. Muratori, Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane (Milan, 1751), T.III, Dissert.LXXV: "Delle pie confraternità de' laici;" passed on by E. Betazzi, Notizia di un laudario del secolo XIII (Arezzo, 1890), p.14; A. Tenneroni, Inizii di antichi poesie italiane religiose e morali (Florence, 1909), p.ix; G. Monti, Le confraternite medievali dell'alta e media Italia (Venice, 1927), I, 35-6; Liuzzi, La lauda, I, p.23; C. Barr, "The Popular Hymnody of Medieval Italy," Studies in Medieval Culture 3 (1970), 151-3; and are cited in relevant article in the New Groves Dictionary (London, 1980): J. Stevens, "Lauda spirituale," I. These dates have been refuted in the more recent and authoritative studies of Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.922-3, n.4, p.954; and G. Varanini, Laude dugentesche, p.xiv. See also Ch.IV, n.115.

¹⁰⁸D. Osheim, "Conversion, 'Coversi', and the Christian Life in late Medieval Tuscany," Speculum 58 (1983), 368-90.

¹⁰⁹H. Cowdrey, "Unions and Confraternity with Cluny," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 16 (1965), 152-62.

¹¹⁰Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, I, pp.263-304; B. Bolton, "Innocent III's Treatment of the Humiliati," Studies in Church History, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1971), vol.8, pp.73-82.

¹¹¹M. Becker, Medieval Italy: Constraints and Creativity (Bloomington, Indiana, 1981) pp.136-38.

¹¹²Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.955-6, 976-77.

Florentine laudesi companies stems from the fact that the earliest mendicant-sponsored companies did not practice lauda singing (or ritual scourging), and only after mid-century adopted one of these new specialized devotions.¹¹³ The situation in Florence requires some explanation, for it helps account for the strength and number of the lay companies there.

The earliest mendicant-sponsored lay companies in Florence appear to have been fostered by the order most adept at organization--the Dominicans.¹¹⁴ In 1244, Pope Innocent IV sent the Dominican preacher/inquisitor Peter of Verona (St. Peter Martyr) to Florence to resolve a situation that had grown beyond the control of the Florentine bishop and local inquisitor. The Cathar heresy, which had been brutally crushed in southern France by the Albigensian crusade, was deeply entrenched in Florence, where it enjoyed the support of the local podestà.¹¹⁵ Armed with Dominican eloquence and the authority to grant papal privileges and indulgences to the laity, Peter succeeded in Florence with the same persuasive, non-violent formula that had worked for him during previous campaigns in Lombardy:

The victory of Peter the Martyr...was in a sense the party victory of Guelph over Ghibelline, and was accompanied by the creation of lay confraternities to

¹¹³Ibid., pp.922-23.

¹¹⁴C. del Popolo, "Il laudario," 8, notes the predominance of Dominican saints in the Tuscan lauda repertory (in contrast to the Franciscan predominance in Umbria), and relates this to the strength of the Dominican studio at Santa Maria Novella and of Dominican preachers throughout Tuscany.

¹¹⁵Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.766-70.

combat heresy, whose importance in this regard can hardly be overemphasized. These confraternities, which were founded as a result of the efforts of Peter the Martyr...organized popular religious support behind the banner of the inquisition.¹¹⁶

The establishment of these lay companies in the 1240s was the culmination of a roughly 25-year period beginning with the establishment of the Franciscan and Dominican orders in Florence (ca.1218-1221). During this period these orders carried on a kind of political/devotional propaganda campaign which sought to discredit the imperial Ghibelline cause by linking it to heresy.¹¹⁷

Two types of lay company arose in response to Peter Martyr's preaching. The Societas Fidei, a religious militia of laymen, was mobilized to promote the papal cause of the inquisition (including lobbying for communal legislation and perhaps acting as bodyguards of the Inquisitor and Bishop), and seem to have been disbanded when the Tuscan inquisition passed to the Franciscans at Santa Croce in 1254.¹¹⁸ Companies devoted to the Virgin Mary, unlike the Societas Fidei, were established directly by Peter, and these were undoubtedly the immediate predecessors of the laudesi companies, for whom Marian devotion was central.¹¹⁹ In

¹¹⁶John N. Stephens, "Heresy in Medieval and Renaissance Florence," Past and Present 54 (1972), 29.

¹¹⁷Massimo Papi, "Confraternite ed ordine mendicante a Firenze, aspetti di una ricerca quantitativa," Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, new series, 89 (1977), 725.

¹¹⁸Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.767, 770.

¹¹⁹Stephens, "Heresy," 29; Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.922-32, where it is shown that through the 16th century Peter was claimed in the statutes of the many laudesi companies as their "principalis auctor extiti et inventor."

1329, when the companies of the Misericordia (a hospital), Orsanmichele, and the nine other Florentine laudesi companies petitioned the city, they did so under the collective banner of the "Sotietatis Maioris Beate Marie Virginis de Florentia".¹²⁰ The Mother of God had long been the symbol of the true faith, but now she was promoted as the special patron of the new lay companies, and she remained the dominant devotional theme of laudesi devotion.¹²¹ The champions of Marian devotion among the laity were the Dominican and Franciscan inquisitors, who promoted her divine maternity against a Cathar heresy that denied the divinity of the incarnate Christ, and emphasized her intercessory power with God.¹²²

The early lauda repertory is stamped with this anti-heretical mariolatry:¹²³

Madonna sancta Maria
che n'ai mostrata la via
ore scacia ogne resia
receve ki vol tornare.

Madonna holy Mary
You who have showed us the way
now drive away all heresy (and)
receive who wishes to return.
(IV, 5-8)

Stella chiarita
col grande splendore
gente smarita
traheste d'errore

Bright star
with great splendor,
a lost people
you led out of error.

¹²⁰SMN, vol.311, f.13r. The Misericordia was originally linked with the Marian company that was to become the laudesi at Santa Maria Novella, so that all 11 companies petitioning the city in 1329 were identified with the Marian companies that had adopted lauda singing.

¹²¹Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, 927-32.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Examples are from the late 13th-century Cortona Ms.; references are to Liuzzi, La lauda, vol.1.

(X, 3-4)

Vergene pura parturisti
e depoi partu permansisti
vergene, perke credesti
a Gabriel senza fallanza

Virgin pure, you gave birth
and after childbirth remained
a virgin, because you believed
in Gabriel without error.

(XI, 19-26)

The strongly pedagogical nature of these early texts suggests why papal indulgences were granted both for the singing and the hearing of laude.

Most of the other mendicant orders (the Augustinians, Carmelites, Servites, and Sacchites) had settled in Florence by ca.1260, and new lay companies soon followed.¹²⁴ By the 1270s, changes in the Florentine lay companies fell in step with social, political, and economic changes of the commune. The threat of heresy had subsided by ca.1265, and there commenced a period of fertile alliance (ca.1260-1340's) between the triumphant papal cause of Guelphism and the mercantile interests of the city. During this period of considerable growth, Florentine bankers secured papal accounts, and mercantile activity and trading privileges expanded (notably into the newly-established south Italian kingdom of Charles of Anjou).¹²⁵ The constitutionally anchored guild system was consolidated through communal legislation as "il bene del comune" became defined in terms of this rapid economic expansion. The new wealth of Florence spawned an

¹²⁴M. Papi, "Confraternite ed ordine," 725; A. Benvenuti-Papi, "Ordini Mendicanti e Città: Appunti per un'indagine, il caso di Firenze," Da Dante a Cosimo I, ed. D. Maselli (Pistoia, 1976), p.129.

¹²⁵Brucker, Renaissance Florence, pp.52-4; Becker, Florence in Transition, I, p.28.

unprecedented public building program: work on the new Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore began under the supervision of the guilds, and the Palazzo Vecchio and major mendicant churches were built.¹²⁶ At the end of this period Florence was the largest and wealthiest city in Europe, and at no other time would the causes of church and state identify so easily with one another.

By the 1270s the Marian lay companies had shed their combative nature and were adopting the new and specialized devotions of lauda singing and ritual scourging. The circumstances of this change are considered in the following chapter. But it has been attributed by Meersseman to the general growth of lay religious aspirations, "the fruit of their social and political education acquired in the corporations and urban democracies", and a commensurate need to manifest their piety with "new, more spectacular paraliturgical practices".¹²⁷

The majority of Florentine laudesi companies were established in the two decades after ca.1270. Some were newly founded, others derived from previous Marian companies, but all were devoted to singing the praises of the Mary, Christ, and the Saints. The disciplinati companies arose immediately after the greatest of the late medieval flagellant processions in 1260.¹²⁸ These spontaneous and often disruptive processions were outlawed

¹²⁶R. Goldthwaite, The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History (Baltimore, c.1980), p.2.

¹²⁷Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.589.

¹²⁸Monti, Le confraternite, I, 199-202.

by papal and communal authorities, and lay companies were organized along the broad lines of pre-existent company structures. As with the laudesi companies, some disciplinati groups were transformations of earlier companies (sometimes of laudesi companies, so that lauda singing was retained among the disciplinati), while others were newly founded, especially during the 14th century as this devotion seems to have spread more gradually than lauda singing.¹²⁹ By the mid-14th century, laudesi and disciplinati companies were situated in numerous Florentine churches, and were often affiliated with one another for the purpose of procuring ecclesiastical privileges.¹³⁰

Both types of lay company were organized according to the older, three-fold model of the Marian companies: assisting at Mass, some form of active, participatory devotion, and receiving instruction through sermons. A good deal of mendicant preaching appears to have been directed specifically to the Marian companies (and their successors). Generally they were the exclusive audience of preachers during an evening collatio delivered throughout Lent or the octave of an important feast.¹³¹ At various times throughout the church year, Fra Giordano directed his preaching to the Florentine laudesi companies at Santa Maria

¹²⁹John Henderson, "The Flagellant Movement and Flagellant Confraternities in Central Italy, 1260-1400," Studies in Church History, vol. 15, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1978), 155-6.

¹³⁰Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.963; M. Papi, "Confraternite ed ordini," 728, where he provides a map of the 13th and 14th century lay companies in Florence.

¹³¹Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.940; III, pp.1129-30.

Novella (Dominican), the Cathedral, Orsanmichele (lay), and Santissima Annunziata (Servite).¹³²

The merchant guild structure provided the model of institutional organization: monthly meetings, the payment of dues, the election of officers (captains, chamberlains, and counselors) to short terms of office, provision for the burial of deceased members, social security for members and their families, and charitable activities.¹³³ The guild model also prescribed that the company statutes, especially those concerned with proper behavior, were to be read aloud at the monthly meeting, and that no member may belong to another guild. As with other Florentine institutions of this period, the sacred was inseparable from the secular affairs of the guilds; each had its patron saint, attendant rituals and festivals, and special altars in certain churches. The religious companies adapted the guild model to the spiritual program of the mendicants, who provided a strong liturgical dimension. Members were to attend mass (often assisting) and to hear the sermon, especially during Lent. They were obliged to process and offer candles at specified altars, recite prayers and masses for deceased members, confess and take communion regularly, and conduct private, usually evening, services

¹³²DelCorno, Fra Giordano, pp.71-7.

¹³³Becker, Florence in Transition, II, 11ff.; in general: A. Black, Guilds and Civil Society, where he notes that "...parish confraternities and merchant guilds formed the first cells of many village and urban communities" (p.11); A. Doren, Le arti fiorentini (Florence, 1940); S. Thrupp, "Gilds", Cambridge Economic History (Cambridge, 1963), III, pp.230-80.

in which the special devotional activity of the company (e.g. lauda singing) was embedded in a liturgical framework of readings, prayers, and recited or sung Latin liturgical items. A friar or priest was chosen to serve as a spiritual advisor, and the spiritual benefits of the order (prayers, masses, intra muros burial) were extended to company members.

There were significant differences between *laudesi* and *disciplinati*, however. While both were rooted in mendicant spirituality, each was an institutional distillation of two opposing but complementary currents of that spirituality--praise and penance. St. Thomas had defined the effect of devotion as joy at God's goodness and sadness at man's inadequacy.¹³⁴ The dichotomy ran deep in Florentine spirituality of the time, between the humane art of Giotto and the hieratic works of Orcagna, the heavenly assurances of Domenico Cavalca (1270-1342) and the hell-fire preaching of Jacopo Passavanti (1302-1357), and between the dual loyalty of the city to the gentle Queen of Heaven and the archpenitent John the Baptist.¹³⁵ The dichotomy is rooted in the psalms; the penitential psalms were a part of *disciplinati* liturgy, and in the Vulgate the praise psalms resound with "laudare", often cited as the etymological source of the word "lauda".¹³⁶ To the usually joyful lauda repertory, the *disciplinati* contributed a penitential vision, especially in the lament and passion laude

¹³⁴This chapter, p.40.

¹³⁵M. Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena, p.84.

¹³⁶Varanini, Laude dugentesche, p.ix.

sung by *laudesi* and *disciplinati* alike during Holy Week.

Whereas the gaze of the *laudesi* was fixed on their human and humane saints situated in a celestial court, the *disciplinati* outlook was christo-centric and world-renouncing. Their purpose, as frequently set forth in their statutes, was to "fare memoria della passione del nostro signore Yhesu Christo crocifisso".¹³⁷ Their practices seem closer to the spirit of monasticism; their elaborate services borrowed heavily from the monastic Latin liturgy,¹³⁸ their corporate life was more strict and self-contained, and their secretive services reveal a greater concern with their own inner spiritual development than with public acts of ritual and charity. Clad in hooded garments that concealed their individual identity, members performed "la disciplina" in a self-renouncing and isolating darkness.

The *laudesi* were more public in every respect. The core of their services were the vernacular *laude*, heard and understood by all, and communally addressed to a community of saints. They conducted their worship at the altars of the major churches, the central theaters of public devotion. Their charitable aspect was strong; they distributed alms (often bread or grain) to the poor at regular intervals, and often managed a hospital, a hospice for widows or the elderly, or dowries for poor or orphaned young

¹³⁷E.g. Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.634.

¹³⁸Cyrilla Barr, "Lauda singing and the Tradition of the *Disciplinati Mandato*: A Reconstruction of the two Texts of the Office of *Tenebrae*," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento IV (Certaudo, 1978), 21-44.

women. In this respect, the laudesi companies realized most successfully the friars' urban ministry, which sought to tap the "mental habits" of a merchant society to the broad advantage of that society.

The contrast between laudesi and disciplinati spirituality was reflected in their membership. The disciplinati tended to be more elitist and exclusively male. They drew members from throughout the city, attracting younger and upwardly mobile men primarily from among the patriciate.¹³⁹ The communal rites of the laudesi attracted a more local and heterogeneous segment of Florentine society, the shopkeepers and local tradesmen. The male members were generally older, married heads of households, and wives were usually admitted to non-voting membership. While the artisan/shopkeeper remained the core of laudesi membership, the varying wealth and status of the companies was reflected in the shifting proportions of membership drawn from the outer extremes of the social spectrum. A small company in a working class neighborhood, like the Company of San Frediano, might admit certain numbers of sottoposti (wage earners who subcontracted to the guilds, and were denied the right to form guilds). The membership lists of Orsanmichele or the Company of San Zanobi, on the other hand, show a significant number of prominent Florentine family names, and the high offices in the larger laudesi companies formed a part of the Florentine office-holding network. The officers of Orsanmichele included the chronicler Dino Compagni,

¹³⁹Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.74-5.

Dante's father-in-law, Francesco Barberino, and Franco Sacchetti, and of San Zanobi, Antonio Squarcialupi and the poets Antonio Pucci and Feo Belcari. In the politicized environment of the late 15th century lay company, the greatest of Florentine citizens, Lorenzo de' Medici, held offices in the laudesi companies at the Cathedral, Santa Maria del Carmine, and Santo Spirito.

The items listed in a 1383 inventory of the Cathedral laudesi company of San Zanobi offer perhaps the most revealing testimony to the nature of the relationship between a laudesi company and the society in which it flourished. Among the company's possessions, intended to be born forth in processions and displayed at its altar during special feast days, were a gold star with escutcheons of the 21 guilds, and escutceons bearing the arms of the Company, the Commune, Liberty crowned, the Guelph Party, the King of France, the Church, Pope Urban V, and the "Popolo".¹⁴⁰ The company offered to its members a share of what the wealthiest and most powerful Florentines enjoyed--the opportunity to publicly define their worth and aspirations in terms that embraced the sacred and secular life of the city.

¹⁴⁰SZ, vol.2176, fasc.12, f.45r.

**CHAPTER III: THE FLORENTINE LAUDESİ COMPANIES:
GENERAL FEATURES**

A. ORIGINS AND OVERVIEW

The early history of institutional lauda singing in Florence belongs to the second half of the 13th century. Most of the laudesi companies (and there were at least 12 by the 14th century) were founded in the two decades between 1270 and 1290, and had either developed directly from, or were modelled upon the older Marian congregations established by St. Peter Martyr in 1244-45.

The manner in which lauda singing developed during the years between 1244 and ca.1270 is unclear. The Marian and anti-heretical nature of many early lauda texts suggests that the earliest confraternity laude were composed immediately in the wake of inquisition activity like that of St. Peter Martyr¹, and then became an expanded and specialized devotion as heresy declined in the late 13th century (by ca.1265 in Florence). Two early laude ("orazione") were coupled with papal indulgences, which well may have been a factor in the spread of lauda singing.² The chief agent in the confraternal adoption of this new devotion may have been St. Peter Martyr himself, but the cultivation, and perhaps popularization of the lauda as a musico/poetic form was more

¹See Varanini, Laude dugentesche, passim., and all 13th and 14th-century laudari, in which Marian laude are predominant.

²Ibid., pp.23-27 ("Rayna possentissima"), p.27 ("Vergine gloriosa").

likely fostered by the Franciscans. They were generally more inclined than the Dominicans to borrow from the popular culture in which the lauda certainly arose, and while the Dominicans excelled at teaching and organizing, the medieval friar/lauda poets, such as Jacopone da Todì (ca.1230-1306) and Ugo Panziera (1265-1330), were Franciscans.³

Dramatic changes in the poetic form of the lauda also suggest the rapid development of confraternal lauda singing during the third quarter of the 13th century. The poetic forms of the earliest laude, appearing throughout the 13th century, are extremely varied in form and style, though related by virtue of their lyrical, devotional, and vernacular qualities. These early laude appear to have been composed either for private devotion or for peripheral, sporadic use in confraternity services.⁴ During a formative period in Tuscan poetry, between the 1250s and 1270s, the ballata appeared in the Italian lyric, during which time

...the elementary early lauda meters...were being enriched by ballata forms suited to choral recitation by the new mendicant-inspired confraternities.⁵

The oldest corpus of Italian texts set to music are the laude of

³See Fleming, An Introduction to Franciscan Literature, pp.107-9.

⁴Varanini, pp.xii-xv; 3-41; G. Cattin, Music of the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1986), pp.146-7.

⁵v. Moleta, The Early Poetry of Guittone d'Arezzo (London, 1976), p.9. Not only did the ballata admit choral participation, but in the context of the laudesi companies' liturgical services, its responsorial performance may have been perceived as imitative of the more sophisticated, soloistic liturgical chants. On ballata form, see also Ch.V, n.67.

Cort, the first section of which was compiled sometime between 1260 and 1297 for use by the "Fraternità di Santa Maria delle Laude", associated with the Cortonese church of San Francesco.⁶ A striking feature of its 46 laude is not so much the flexible application of the ballata scheme, but its pervasive application, here and throughout the lauda repertory of the next century. This clearly indicates a widespread, uniform, and institutional practice, the dissemination of which might easily occur through the mobile network of mendicant convents.

Dissemination of the lauda also must have occurred along mercantile channels. Florentine merchants of the upper guilds, frequently officeholders in the laudesi companies, traded and travelled widely, and of necessity communicated often with their representatives who resided in other mercantile centers.⁷ The laudesi companies acted with both the independence of a mercantile compagnie and the motivation of a religious house in lending and borrowing service books among themselves for copying. The Company of San Piero Martire recorded an expense in 1323 for the separation of a fascicle of motets to be sent to the laudesi company of Santa Katerina at the Dominican convent in Pisa, and another in 1337 to retrieve a laudario from Pistoia.⁸ The promi-

⁶Varanini, Laude dugentesche, pp.54-5.

⁷I. Origo, The Merchant of Prato (New York, 1957), pp.98ff.

⁸SMN, vol.292, f.23v: "demo di xxiii d'otobre [1323] per fare aseprare moteti per ma[n]dare a la cho[m]pagnia di sancta chaterina a pisa...L.1 s.2"; f.53r [1337]: "demo per richogliere uno libro di laude ch'era [im]pegnio a pistoia il quale libro si marri [sic] già più tempo...L.1 s.6".

nence of the Florentine mendicant churches, the strength of Florentine commerce, and, related to both, the strength of confraternal life in this city, determined Florence to become and remain the most favored climate for the lauda.

Although we shall probably never know who was responsible for the graft of ballata onto lauda, three candidates are favored, the only known names in an otherwise anonymous late 13th-century repertory: a certain Garzo, and the poets Jacopone da Todi and Guittone d'Arezzo (c.1235-1294).⁹ What these three names do reveal, however, is the characteristic impossibility of distinguishing between lay and clerical initiative in the development of the lauda repertory. Garzo was a layman (possibly a notary), and both Jacopone and Guittone experienced dramatic mid-life conversions (in 1269 and c.1265, respectively) and joined religious orders.¹⁰

The special role of lauda singing in confraternal devotion was prepared by a decree of the Council of Bordeaux (1255), which reveals the church's concern with the place of lay companies within ecclesiastical organization. The Council enumerated the possible duties and functions of the confraternities, including the provision for offices of the dead and vigils. In fact,

⁹The question is examined in Varanini, Laude dugentesche, pp.xxiv-xxxiii.

¹⁰L. Banfi, "Garzo laudese," Giornale italiano di filologia, new series 7 (28) 1976, 137-53; V. Moleta, The Early Poetry of Guittone D'Arezzo, p.9; Jacopone da Todi, Laude, ed. F. Mancini (Rome, 1974), p.345.

evening lauda vigils ("vigilie alle laude"), often performed in commemoration of the dead, became the primary arena of confraternal lauda singing.¹¹

The third quarter of the 13th century emerges in this discussion as a period of vital interaction between the expressive impulses of organized lay devotion, a nascent vernacular lyric, and the forces of ecclesiastical organization. From this encounter, the lauda-ballata quickly developed into the lyrical expression and characteristic insignia of urban confraternal devotion.

The earliest known laudesi company was founded in 1267 at the Dominican church of Camporegio in Siena.¹² The statutes of the company are preserved in a letter from Bishop Tommaso Fusconi to his diocese, in which he announces the founding of the

¹¹Cited in V. Bartholomaeus, Le origini della poesia drammatica (Bologna, 1924), p.197; G.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum (repr.Graz, 1961), XXIII (1225-1268), col.865: "Item de statutis confrateriarum: Item, prohibemus ne aliquis, vel aliqui, comites et confratres alicujus confrateriae, aliqua edant vel statuunt statuta, nisi quae ad fabricam vel luminaria ecclesiae, vel librorum seu aliorum ornamentorum, seu vestimentorum, seu ecclesiae factionem, seu refectioem, pertinere noscantur, vel ad sepulturas vel vigiliis, seu ad aliud officium defunctorum, vel ad publicarum viarum, seu privatarum, seu coenobii exemptioni, vel reparationi pontium, vel custodium parentum aegrorum, vel inimicorum animalium seu pecudum [!], vel ad arcendam ab agris inundationem fluminum vel aquarum, vel ad lupos, vel ad alias pestilentias nocivas profugandas, vel ad eleemosynas colligendas, et relictis seu data a vivis seu a defunctis, quae cum consilio capellani loci, in usus aliquos relictis fuerint, sive data, seu in alios pios usus, si a relinquentibus, vel dantibus non fuerint diffinitum, expendi volumus et mandamus..."

¹²Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, 954-8, 1029-34; Idem., "Nota sull'origine delle Compagnie dei Laudesi (Siena, 1267)," Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia XVII (1963), 395-405. The translations used here are from G. Cattin, Music in the Middle Ages, pp.183-5; the original texts, edited in the above works by Meersseman, are included in App.1 of this study.

company:

Fra Tommaso, by the grace of God humble Bishop of Siena, greets and blesses all who believe in Christ, clerics and lay people of the city and diocese of Siena, to whom this letter may come...

Since, in the house of Dominican brothers at Siena, at Campo Regio, by our will and with our consent a fraternity has been founded in honour of blessed Mary ever virgin and of blessed Dominic our father, because of the devotion of its members and the usefulness and many benefits which we believe may arise from it, with God's help, we decree that this fraternity shall bear the names of blessed Mary and blessed Dominic, and with our authority we confirm its existence, as also we confirm its statutes, authenticating them with our seal...[doc.1] [there follows a 25-day indulgence for participants, then the statutes]

The general format of the statutes was borrowed from the merchant guilds, and was to remain the basic model of laudesi statutes until the 16th century. In order, they prescribe the election of officers (rectors, counsellors, and chamberlains, to six-month terms), the structure of the meetings, and the execution of processions (on twelve designated feast days), prayers (especially the "Pater noster" and the "Ave Maria"), and alms-giving. The principal activity of the meetings is clear:

We ordain that every day, in the evening, at the hour of Compline or a little before, according to the season, a meeting shall take place in the house of the Dominicans at Campo Regio, for the singing and hearing of laude, and that there may be a brief sermon on such occasions, if the prior of the Dominicans thinks it appropriate, especially in Lent...

We further ordain that on the second Sunday of the month, early in the morning, the members of the fraternity shall meet at Campo Regio to listen to laude, and to hear mass and a sermon. For the same purpose and at the same time the members shall meet in the same place every Monday following [the second Sunday] and shall sing a requiem for the souls of dead members of the fraternity and their relatives...[doc.2]

In a characteristic and influential document of the period, the

purpose of the confraternity was confirmed by a letter of indulgence from another Sienese bishop, Bernardo Gallerani, in 1273:

Since, then, beloved children, you continue every day to sing laude to blessed Mary, mother of Christ and ever virgin, and to blessed Dominic (from whom your fraternal community takes its name), and to the whole company of heaven, and since we too wish to share in such wonderful laude..., with the aim of increasing devotion among the faithful who sing praises [laudantes] to the mother of God..., for every day in which, according to statute and your custom, you gather together in peace to raise up your laude to God, we allow you one hundred days' indulgence...[doc.3]

A remarkable contemporary account of Sienese lauda singing was written around 1288 by the Dominican Fra Recuperero d'Arezzo, in his biography of the famous Dominican preacher, beato Ambrogio Sansedoni (d.1268):¹³

In his city of Siena, where he [Sansedoni] usually lived, the fruits of the action of the Holy Spirit are particularly evident, and they have there confraternities [congregationes] of outstanding men, even laymen. Some of them take as their aim the singing of praises [laude] to God; these are sung every day with remarkable devotion in the religious houses (especially and above all among his fellow Dominicans), even by boys, whose keep is paid for and who are trained to sing these laude. This custom has spread from there [Siena] to several other cities... [there follows a brief account of the charitable and disciplinati fraternities also activated at this time]...All of these were begun or redoubled in the time of the aforementioned father [Sansedoni]. [doc.4]

Significant here is the maintenance of a schola of trained boy singers (the Florentine laudesi companies maintained a similar institution), the spread of lauda singing to other cities (with

¹³Meersseman has twice edited and discussed this document, first in "Nota sull'origine," 395, where he gives Sansedoni's death date as 1286, and in Ordo fraternitatis, II, 955-6, where it is 1268. I have chosen to follow the latter, more recent study.

the implication that it originated as a Sienese custom), the prominent role of the Dominicans concerning the institutional aspects of lauda singing, and the proximity of mendicant preaching and lauda singing. Also interesting is the apparent preeminence, in Fra Recuperero's view, of the laudesi over the other types of lay company in the city.

Fra Recuperero's account also points to an essential aspect of lauda singing, that is, its spontaneous origin and rapid dissemination as a vital form of lay devotion. The surviving documents, at least in Florence, shed only a half light on the original character and practice of this "mira devotione", for they date primarily from a period (after the early 14th century) when the inclinations of friars and merchants had combined to steer the devotion into a strong institutional and professional framework. What began as the lyrical expression of amateur company members soon became the specialized activity of professional, free-lancing singers, but the character and function of lauda singing remained essentially devotional.¹⁴ When in 1470 the Company of Santa Croce reaffirmed its commitment to the "ancient custom" of lauda singing on feast days, it was because "through these devotions a great spiritual and temporal utility is generated and acquired."¹⁵ Like other spiritual exercises sanctioned by the church, it was understood to strengthen relationships between

¹⁴This transition from unpaid, in-house singers to paid, free-lancing laudesi is described in more detail in Ch.V, pp.1f.

¹⁵The document is translated in Ch.IV, p.220 [doc.14].

human and divine personalities, to tap the divine nature to the benefit of the human soul ("per rimedio dell'anima").

Something of this early, unrehearsed spirit of the devotion infuses Giovanni Villani's early 14th-century account of how lauda singing arose at Orsanmichele, the greatest of the Florentine laudesi companies:

In that year [1292], on the 3rd of July, there began to be manifested great and sincere miracles in the city of Florence by a figure (figura) of the Virgin Mary painted on a pilaster of the loggia of Orto San Michele, where the grain is sold...but the friars preachers [Dominicans] and minors [Franciscans], out of envy or another reason, do not believe them, wherefore they have fallen into great disgrace with the Florentines...

...out of custom and devotion, a number of laity sang laude before this figure, and the fame of these miracles, for the merits of Our Lady, so increased that people came from all over Tuscany in pilgrimage, just as they come now for all the feasts of Our Lady, bringing various wax images, for great miracles accomplished, wherefore a great part of this loggia, and around this pilaster, is crowded with these wax images...

The remainder of Villani's description alludes to the subsequent prosperity and organization of the Company:

...and since [its membership] was the greater part of the buona gente of Florence, the state of this Company so improved that the many benefits and alms of bequests for the poor amounted to more than 6000 lire, and thus it [the Company] continues to our day, without acquiring any possessions.¹⁶

¹⁶G.Villani, Cronica, ed. F. Dragomanni, (Florence, 1844-1845), Book VII, Ch.CLIV, pp.362ff.: "Nel detto anno, a di 3 del mese di luglio, si cominciarono a dimostrare grandi ed aperti miracoli nella città di Firenze per una figura della Vergine Maria, dipinta in uno pilastro della loggia d'Orto san Michele, dove se vende il grano, sanando infermi e dirizzando attratti e disgombrando imperversati visibilmente in grande quantitate; ma i frati predicatori e minori, per invidia o per altra cagione, non vi davano fede, onde caddono in grande infamia de'fiorentini... ..per usanza e devotione, dinanzi alla detta figura per alquanti

In the late 16th century, by which time the Company of Sant'Agnese had abandoned the ancient devotion altogether, the Company officers gazed over nearly three and a half centuries to recall their institution's origin as a Societas fidei during the era of St. Peter Martyr's Florentine preaching. The following passage from the Company's 1584 statutes refers to the same transition from an activity to an institution, via the receipt of alms and bequests, as that experienced by Orsanmichele:

The venerable and religious Company of the standard entitled Madonna Santa Maria delle Laude et Santa Agnese di Firenze...had its beginning around the year of the Lord 1245, and was called "of the standard" because the men and women who were of this [standard] went about with the sign of a white and red cross on the right shoulder. Whenever there arose the need, they followed the standard of the Sacred Holy Inquisition, to help the Sacred Holy Church in the eradication of heretics and heresy, which at that time had sprung up in this city of Florence. And besides this, because some of them, out of devotion, met in the said church of the Carmine to sing laude spirituale, they took the name "delle laude", and because they received alms and bequests, it was decided that the Captains and officials should meet on certain prescribed days to conduct works of mercy and distribute alms...[doc.65]

Like an elaborate reliquary intended to preserve and celebrate its humble contents, the complex liturgy and administration in which lauda singing gradually became embedded both reveals and

laici vi si cantavano laude, e crebbe tanto la fama de'detti miracoli per li meriti di Nostra Donna, che di tutta Toscana vi venia la gente in peregrinagio, come vengono hoggi per ogni festività di Nostra Donna, recandovi diverse imagini de cera, per grandi miracoli fatti, onde gran parte della detta loggia, e intorno al detto pilastro, se ne empie delle dette imagini de cera; e crebbe tanto lo stato di quella Compagnia, ove era la miglior parte della buona gente di Firenze, che molti benefici e limosine di lasciti fatti e offerte ne seguirono a poveri per uno più di sei mila libre, e così seguita hoggi ai nostri dì, senza acquistare alcuna possessione."

obscures its essential nature.

* * *

The program of the early Marian confraternities founded by St. Peter Martyr was threefold: to assist at Mass, receive instruction by sermon, and honor the Virgin.¹⁷ The Florentine laudesi companies, which were either descended from or modelled upon these earlier congregations, retained this program and adopted lauda singing as a special means of honoring the Virgin. In his Decameron (c.1350-52), Boccaccio alludes to these activities in his satirical depiction of Friar Puccio, a lay member of the Franciscan order, and a "simple-minded man [who] always said his Our Fathers and went to Mass, attended sermons, and never failed to show up when laude were being sung by laymen...".¹⁸

The Societas Sanctissime virginis Marie, founded in 1244 by Peter Martyr at the Florentine Dominican convent, was not a laudesi company at that time.¹⁹ By 1267 the Company had split into two: the Compagnia Maggiore della Vergine assumed administration of the Bigallo hospital,²⁰ while the Societas Sanctae Mariae virginis ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae Novellae remained situ-

¹⁷Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.929.

¹⁸Day 3, 4th story; trans. M. Musa and P. Bondanella (New York, 1982), p.185.

¹⁹A prevalent misconception; see Monti, Le confraternite, I, p.155, and Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.44, n.3. See also discussion in this study, Ch.II, pp.53-6.

²⁰Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.1034, doc.21, and p.923. This company was later joined to another, the Misericordia, and still functions in Florence as a hospital.

ated at the Dominican convent; by 1288 it had become a laudesi company.²¹ The Marian congregations at Santa Maria del Carmine (Carmelite) and Santa Croce (Franciscan) underwent a similar transformation, adopting lauda singing sometime between their foundation in 1245 and 1244 (respectively) and the earliest reference to lauda singing in 1280 and 1282 (respectively).²² The earliest reference to a Florentine laudesi company is that associated with the Servite church of Santissima Annunziata. The Societas beatae Mariae Virginis was founded in 1264 by San Filippo Benizi, and by 1273 had adopted lauda singing and was called the Societas Laudum Ecclesie S. Marie. The Florentine laudesi companies whose documents provide explicit dates of foundation appeared during this same period (ca.1270-90): at the Sacchite convent of San Gilio (Egidio) in 1278, the Cathedral in 1281, and at Orsanmichele in 1291. The company at the Augustinian convent of Santo Spirito, proprietors of the famous laudario B.R.18 (M¹), is first mentioned in 1322. In 1329 there were laudesi companies at the collegiate church of San Lorenzo (where Landini later served as organist) and the other major Dominican convent of San Marco. A company founded at the tiny Cistercian church of San Frediano was not a laudesi company at its founding in 1323, but by ca.1370 had adopted lauda singing. A laudesi company was

²¹Ibid., pp.923-4, p.1042-3, and p.976, where Meersseman asserts that this laudesi company was the first in Florence, but offers no evidence.

²²The histories of the individual companies are documented in Ch.IV.

founded at Ognissanti (Observant Franciscan) in 1336, but few traces of it survive. In sum, all but one Florentine laudesi company arose during the period 1270-1340, and the majority of these were either founded as laudesi, or underwent transformation from an older type of Marian company to a laudesi company, during the first two decades of this period.

On March 30, 1329, the captains of all the laudesi companies in Florence collaborated in a petition to the city concerning the management of bequests.²³ The companies are all listed according to church of affiliation: Orsanmichele, Santa Maria Novella, Santa Croce, Santo Spirito, Santa Maria del Carmine, dei Servi di S. Maria (Santissima Annunziata), Santa Reparata (the old Cathedral), San Lorenzo, Sant'Egidio, and San Marco. The document testifies to the contemporary perception of these companies as a distinct and self-conscious type of lay company with shared interests. Furthermore, these laudesi companies are collectively referred to in the document as the "sotietas Maioris Beate Marie de Florentia", an indication that they were the principal lay guardians of the Florentine cult of the Virgin.

All the known Florentine laudesi companies were founded before the 15th century, most during the period of rapid economic expansion (ca.1270-1340) outlined in the previous chapter (p.57). Disciplinati groups and various charitable and craft

²³There are two extant versions of the document, one in the Orsanmichele records; LaSorsa, La compagnia d'Or San Michele (Trani, 1902), pp.208-9 (partial transcription); the other in the San Piero Martire records, SMN, vol.311, ff.13r-14v.

companies continued to appear in the late 14th and 15th centuries, but the majority of the laudesi companies survived into the 16th century to be regarded as the most ancient and venerable institutions of Florentine lay devotion. Only the company at Ognissanti appears not to have outlived the 14th century. There is no record of the companies at San Gilio and San Marco after 1427, and the San Lorenzo company was suppressed by the city in 1432. The rest of the companies maintained their lauda singing devotions, primarily through bequests, into the early 16th century. Only at the two wealthiest companies, Orsanmichele and San Piero Martire, did the expensive practice of polyphonic lauda singing survive the profound upheaval of those years to be cultivated in the changed world of the Medici principate and the Counter-Reformation.

The lay companies were designed to endure, to provide stability in a society that offered little to the individual. Their resilience was tried by the events of the 1340s--economic contraction brought on by the failure of major Florentine banks, and the Black Death, which struck Florence in the spring of 1348 and swiftly killed two thirds of the largest urban population in Europe. It was in part her size that enabled Florence to stage a recovery that was beyond the crippled means of the other Tuscan cities; it is likely that many of the laudesi companies in a city like Siena suffered the same fate as the monumental expansion of the Sienese Cathedral, which was halted and never resumed.

The construction of the Florentine Cathedral did continue,

and so did the many Florentine lay companies, but they were stretched to their limits to provide relief during and after the Plague. In addition to the difficult task of continuing to satisfy the obligations of bequests (including lauda singing during vigils), the laudesi companies provided their members (and for a modest fee, non-members) the most critical of services at this time--a dignified burial with the proper prayers, masses, candles, and burial paraphernalia.²⁴

The small Company of San Frediano, situated in a working class neighborhood, subsidized burial services by the hundreds during 1348-49, then appears to have collapsed for the next five years. Recovery was underway when debit-credit entries recommenced in 1356, and between 1367 and 1373 the Company purchased the lectern, laudario, and altar paraphernalia required for laudesi devotion. The larger laudesi companies appear to have continued their musical activities without serious disruption. In fact, it was probably during the wake of the Plague that the survival of the lay companies was assured by the bequests of Florentines, many of whom died in a state of extreme guilt and penance. The companies were also favored as executors of testaments, since there was little assurance that individual relatives or friends would survive to oversee the proper execution of a will. The lay companies could always summon from their varied ranks the business and legal acumen for such a potentially complicated

²⁴An excellent study of the subject is Sharon Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, 1350-1500 (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Calif. Berkeley, 1981).

task, and the Florentine merchants, no less careful with their post-mortem investments, had by this time lost some respect for the friars in matters of money. For the companies, bequests became the same vital source of material security that they had long been for ecclesiastical institutions, and it is very likely that the Company of San Frediano wanted to capture a small part of the bequest market when it decided to adopt lauda singing as soon after the Plague as its resources permitted.

B. STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE

1. Documents

What follows is an annotated list of the major types of document owned and maintained by the Florentine laudesi companies.

1. SERVICE BOOKS: Prior to the 15th century, most companies appear to have owned from two to five laudarios, which varied in size, function, and splendor, and at least one of which was noted and illuminated. Only three of Florentine provenance survive (Mgl¹, Mgl², and Fior). The laude are usually indexed, and ordered de tempore and de sanctis, with a section devoted to Marian laude. The more ornate books might include music for the laude (Mgl¹), a complete liturgical calendar (Mgl²), illumination (both), and a collection of polyphonic Latin motets (both). It is unclear what kinds of lauda collections served the companies during the 15th century. In addition, a company usually owned collections of readings: Saints lives, various creeds, prayers,

and liturgical items, and rhymed, vernacular versions of the gospels, laments, and the Passion which were intoned during Lent. The inventories of wealthier companies, like San Piero Martire, indicate other types of service book as well: missals, breviaries, lectionaries, notated processions, and motet collections.²⁵

2. **STATUTES** (statuti, capitoli): This was the charter of a company, which set forth in formal language its purpose, modus operandi, and the scope of its activities. A relatively high number have survived, and they are an important source of information about musical practices. These formal documents required a notary's seal and bishop's approval, were read aloud (in part) at monthly meetings, and were revised two to four times during the Republican period in response to social and political change. They were usually composed in collaboration between the company's prior (a cleric) and the company members.

3. **LETTERS OF INDULGENCE**: Letters of ecclesiastical confirmation which awarded specified numbers of days of indulgence for certain devotional activities (most often processing and lauda singing/hearing). Issued by popes, cardinals, and bishops, and highly prized by the companies, these parchment scrolls were the primary expression of the link between lay company and the church.

²⁵SMN, vol.292, ff.56r-v, 44v; SSP, vol.78, f.44v; vol.1, f.42r; OSM, vol.56, f.3v; vol.12, f.29r; SC, CRS, vol.1373, fasc.3.

4. BOOK OF BEQUESTS (testamenti, lasciti, obblighi): A record of the property (landed or otherwise) willed to the company by deceased members and non-members alike, and the terms of the bequest (which often called for a commemorative lauda service).

5. DELIBERATIONS of the captains (deliberazione, partiti, ricordanze): A record of decisions reached by the captains (usually four to six in number) at their bi-monthly meetings. Subject to their vote were any unusual expenditures or actions, and the election of all other officers (including the musicians) and the fixing of their salaries. Frequently set forth the musicians' contracts, describing obligations, salary, and conditions of service.

6. INCOME AND EXPENSE (entrata e uscita): A general account book, usually maintained by a treasurer (camarlingo), the officer in charge of making, receiving, and recording payments. Primary source of the names and salaries of musicians, and the specific occasions of musical activity.

7. DEBITS AND CREDITS (debitori e creditori): The account book of the company's auditor (sindacho, procuratore), who makes, receives, and records payments involved in the execution of bequests. This provides information similar to no.6.

8. BOOK OF CANDLES (libro del cero): Records the purchase and sale of candles used in company services. A symbol of the lux perpetua and eternal life, candles were an essential component of a religious service, as well as a light source, and they were an important source of revenue for any religious institution.

9. BOOK OF MEMBERS (libro dei uomini, delle donne): A list of the company's living members. There were usually separate books for male and female members, and in the larger companies for the quarters of the city.

10. BOOK OF THE DEAD (libro dei morti): A list of deceased company members, whose names were read aloud at an annual requiem service in their honor.

Of the above, nos.1-3 (and often 4) are formal parchment documents, copied by professional scribes; no.3 is always in Latin; nos.2 and 5 may be either Latin or Italian; nos.5-10 are account books; nos.1-7 all provide information concerning musical activities; and all but no.1 are located primarily in the Florentine Archivio di Stato.

There is a remarkable uniformity in the format of each of these documents, a witness to the strength of guild (account books, statutes), liturgical (service books), and legal (bequests) models, and to the universal organization of the mendicants through which confraternal structure developed. Given the

frequent rotation (every four to six months) and broad social spectrum of the officers who maintained these books, they also reveal a broadly literate society.

2. Laudesi Company Structure

Statutes provide the most comprehensive and idealized portrait of company life. These prescribe the institution of officers, the conduct of members, and the activities and customs of the company.

The highest ranking officers were the captains (capitani, rettori) who were elected by a carefully scrutinized body of voting members (usually 25 to 30 "buoni huomini"). The captains in turn elected six to eight counsellors (consigliore), and two treasurers (camarlinghi) who kept the company account books and held keys to the cash boxes. In the 14th century it became customary to retain a special accountant (sindaco) to manage the expanding business of bequests, and to pay a company notary (notaio). A sacristan (sagrestano) was either selected from among the membership or hired from the host church to prepare for liturgical services. In the 15th century, a lawyer (avvocato) and doctor (medico) were frequently added to the company payroll.

The captains also elected a priest or friar from the host church to serve as the company's spiritual advisor. This "priore" (or choretto), whose authority was confined to doctrinal matters, was required for the administration of the sacraments, especially communion (which members were required to take several

times a year), confession, (which took place every evening at the conclusion of a lauda service), and extreme unction (to sick or dying members).

The officers, together with the voting block of the membership, usually met twice a month to conduct business, either "sotto le volte" (beneath the vaults) of the church, in the refectory, or in a private residence owned by the company or a member. These meetings usually included prayers, readings, and sometimes a Mass conducted at an altar in the residence.

Members were required, above all, to avoid the greatest social vices of the day--violence and usury. Scandalous behavior, such as public drinking, gaming, or fighting, brought correction, and, after a third admonition, expulsion. The company reputation was to be further guarded through secrecy: members were prohibited from fraternizing with expelled members, from divulging company affairs, or from joining another lay company.²⁶ The officers, particularly the captains, commanded obedience and respect. Those seeking admission had to be at least 14 to 16 years old, to be sponsored by an active member, and to be free from scandal. Women appear to have been excluded from administrative affairs, but they were admitted (usually through kinship) to a passive role in the company's cultic life.

The raison d'être of the laudesi company was its active life, which embraced both ceremonial and charitable activities.

²⁶The latter prohibition applied also to members of mercantile compagnie; Origo, The Merchant of Prato, pp.104-5.

Alms (limosine) in the form of food or money, which were often provided by bequests, were distributed on designated feast days to the poor, to widows, and to prisoners. The provision and management of dowries for poor or orphan girls became an increasingly important business during the 15th and 16th centuries. The company offered considerable material benefits: medical care, sick calls from company officers (visitatori) and priest, welfare for poor members and the families of deceased members, burial services for the latter, and a share in the legal and financial security of the company (e.g. short term loans). In exchange, members paid monthly dues of two or three denari, and as much for the candles they were required to offer at liturgical services.²⁷

3. Liturgical Services

The ceremonial life of the laudesi companies provided the framework for the their most characteristic activity. Throughout the Republican period, company statutes describe three primary types of service:

- a. annual, to celebrate designated liturgical feasts (festive)
- b. monthly, on Sunday after Mass, primarily for processing
- c. daily, in the evening, for singing laude (ferial)

²⁷Florentine money was based on both a silver and gold currency. Silver: 1 lire=20 soldi; 1 soldo=12 denari; the gold florin varied in value from 3.1 lire (c.1325), to 3.8 (c.1400), to 6.7 (1500). G. Brucker, Florence: 1138-1737 (London, 1984), p.71. In 1427, the annual rent on a small house was about 3 or 4 florins.

Lauda singing, in varying degrees, was a part of all three services. Liturgical services, involving masses, prayers, and readings, were also conducted at the bi-monthly business meetings, and the semi-annual installation of new officers, and for special requiem services (luminarie) for deceased members. Special laude pro defunctis were probably performed during these requiem services, which were conducted at a company-owned sepulchre in the church. The laudesi companies also maintained a weekly scuola on Sunday afternoons, during which elected teachers (insegnatori) taught and rehearsed laude.

a. Annual Feasts

The laudesi companies celebrated the annual feasts of the liturgical cursus with a vigil service on the eve before the feast, attendance at Mass and preaching the morning of the feast, and, on the most solemn occasions, another vigil that evening.²⁸ The evening vigil, always called a "lauda vigil" ("vigilia alle laude"), involved the singing of laude proper to the feast, the offering of candles, prayers, readings, and a brief sermon by the prior, all performed either at the church altar patronized by the

²⁸"vigilia" could refer either to a vigil in the strict sense (the evening before a feast) or generally to an evening service. A 1288 statute of the Company of Sant'Agnese required that "in tutte le feste di nostra Donna se facesse vigilia due volte; cioè la vigilia dela festa e la sera dela festa"; ed. A. Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini del dugento e dei primi del trecento (Florence, 1954), p.61. In a 1304 letter of indulgence to the Company of San Piero Martire, the evening services are generally referred to as vigils ("...que cum de sero fit, vigilia appellatur..."); see doc.66, lines 11-12.

company, or another selected as more appropriate for the feast. Special liturgical paraphernalia marked the solemnity of the occasion. In 1326, the camarlingo of the Company of San Zanobi was instructed to "prepare the larger lectern, the better altar cloth, and the candlestick with figures" for special feast days.²⁹ Then on the vigils of all the prescribed feasts

...the laude should be sung...that is, everyone should be ordered a choro [on benches before the altar] holding lit candles. And on these evenings the Ave Maria should first be sung...[doc.5]

The members then came forth one-by-one to offer their candles at the altar as the laude were sung. A soloist (or several soloists) sang the strophes from the lectern in alternation with members, who sang the choral refrains. The officers, who were seated near the foot of the lectern, remained kneeling during the singing.³⁰ All of this activity was directed to a devotional image (usually a painting of the Madonna) placed upon the altar. The 1297 statutes of the Company of Orsanmichele required them to

...conduct the solemn vigils of lauda singing before the figure of the virgin, each member present [holding] a lit candle as long as the lauda singing lasts, each evening of the vigils of these feasts... [a list

²⁹SZ, vol.2170, fasc.1, f.9v [1326 statutes]: "XXVIII: Anche ordiniamo che nelle feste scritte qui appresso, nelle loro vigilie et solepnnitade, li carmarlinghi debiano apparecchiare il maggiore leggio et la milliore tovalgia, el ferro colle figure et non in altre solepnnitadi, cioe nella pasqua di natale et di risurrexo et di pentecosta et del corpo di cristo et in tucte le feste della nostra donna et di san filippo et di san cianobi [zanobi] et di san giovanni di giungno et di santa Reparata et d'ogne santi et di san macteo." These statutes are edited by L. Orioli, Le confraternite medievali e il problema della povertà (Rome, 1984), pp.19-43.

³⁰See below, n.78.

follows] [doc.6]

The most important Florentine feasts, like those of the Virgin or St. John the Baptist (the city's patron saint), called forth a city-wide procession. Dressed in robes bearing the company's insignia, members processed with their standard (gonfalone) and holiest images.

These solemn feasts were also the occasion for special decorations in the church, such as those described in the 1485 statutes of the laudesi at Santa Croce:

We desire that on the vigil of the Ascension of Our Lady the [candle] lit star be placed in the middle of the church, and laude are to be sung that evening, according to an ancient and good custom. [doc.7]

Most laudesi companies hired extra singers for feast days, and the wealthier companies of Orsanmichele, San Zanobi, and San Piero Martire, hired instrumentalists as well.

The calendar of annual feasts for a given company was determined by its community of patron saints. Common to all were the major feasts of Christ (Nativity, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost), the Virgin (Nativity, Annunciation, Purification, and Assumption), John the Baptist, All Saints, and the twelve apostles. To this were added local Florentine saints (Santa Reparata and San Zanobi, the first bishop of Florence), saints of the religious order with which the company was affiliated (Dominic, Francis, etc.), and those unique to the company (like Sant'Agnese).³¹

³¹E.g., this chapter, n.29.

Bequests

The annual service of the laudesi companies multiplied during the 14th and 15th centuries as the lay companies became favored recipients of bequests providing for commemorative services. These services were usually celebrated on the anniversary of the benefactor's death, or on the feast of the saint for whom the benefactor was named.³²

The terms of bequests to the laudesi companies specified three types of commemorative service: a lauda vigil, an anniversary meal (pietanza), and an anniversary Mass (rinovale).³³ In the latter two the role of the lay brothers was primarily administrative and supportive. The company arranged the meal for the pietanza, and the company captains joined the clerics of the church in an anniversary meal that was an invocation of the Last Supper, as well as compensation for the clerics' prayers and services on behalf of the deceased. The pietanza also assured the proper execution of the rinovale, which immediately preceded the meal. Company officers also attended the Mass, which included the singing of the penitential psalms by priests or friars, a formal procession with lit candles through the cloister (or to the Baptistery of the Cathedral), and a Requiem or "Gregorian" Mass.

The 1428 statutes of the Cathedral Company of San Zanobi provide a detailed account of a commemorative lauda vigil. The

³²Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, p.349. The relationship between bequests to the laudesi companies and the rise of the professional laudese is discussed in Ch.V, pp.1f.

³³Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, pp.330f.

large lectern was to be placed before the Company altar (dedicated to the Virgin) where the laude were sung, and the candles on the lectern lit. At the sound of a bell, those present recite the Pater Noster and Ave Maria 25 times, and at the sound of 12 bells, the candles are distributed: three to the chaplain of the company, two to the captains and relatives of the deceased, and one each to all others present. The candles are lit as the laude are begun, and the laudesi are to perform those laude "which were composed for the said devotion, and to finish [them] in the accustomed manner". The chaplain, assisted by three priests (with two candles each), then sing the "Dies ire, etc.", after which they announce the individual on whose behalf the vigil is being conducted, and recommend their soul with the "De profundis, etc., et l'oratione". There follows a general confession and announcement of indulgences granted for participation in the vigil, and the service concludes with the Ave Maria and the priest's benediction [doc.8]. Bequests sometimes called for a "rinovale alle laude", on which occasions an anniversary Mass, for which clerics were hired, was interpolated into the lauda vigil service.

14th and 15th-century bequests to the laudesi companies reflected a "mix of ascetic renunciation, profound social concern, and personal immortality."³⁴ Typically, the annual proceeds from a house or farm were to be divided among commemorative services of clerics and laymen, alms for the poor, hospitals, and great civic projects like the Cathedral or new city wall. The desire of

³⁴Becker, Medieval Italy, p.166.

a testator to engage, for his/her money, the broadest, most diverse, and therefore most efficacious network of spiritual benefits, involved company executors in overseeing commemorative services conducted throughout Florentine churches. The will of Orlandino Lapi (d.1387), a wealthy silk merchant from the San Frediano neighborhood, provides for commemorative services by the friars of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, the two great city-wide churches, but also reveals his neighborhood loyalty through generous bequests to the Carmine friars, and to the laudesi companies of the Carmine and Santo Spirito (the two major churches in the Oltrarno). [doc.9] Occasionally a large bequest established a prebend for a chaplaincy in addition to commemorative services, all to be managed by the company.

Bequests to a company often called for a commemorative meal within the company (a collazione), in addition to the lauda vigil. Thus the laymen's lauda vigil and collazione formed a counterpart to the clerical rinovale and pietanze. A bequest to the Company of San Frediano, established in 1415 by frate Giovanni Lozi, provided that

...from this time every year in perpetuity on the first Sunday after the [feast] day of San Frediano, laude are to be sung in the church of San Frediano with a vigil for the soul of the said fra Giovanni. Afterwards, according to custom, chestnuts are to be given out. And in the evening among our company there is to be a collazione for the priests, the lauda singers (laudiere), and the men of the company, at a total cost of around 8 lire. [doc.10]

On August 9, 1377, Chiaro d'Ardinghelli, a wealthy "merchatante [e] devotis[s]imo u[o]mo" of the Company of Sant'Agnese, left to

the Company a farm with buildings, vineyards, and olive orchards, in the region of San Piero a Montecelli, outside the gate of San Frediano. The property generated an annual income of 56 lire, which the Company was to spend annually in the following manner:

L.34 to the friars of Santa Maria del Carmine:

- L.12 for a solemn Mass on March 25, the feast of the Assumption, to be performed at the Annunciation chapel (one of the Company's chapels)
- L.10 for a solemn Mass on Dec.6, the feast day of St. Nicholas, to be performed at the Nicholas chapel
- L.12 for bread and wine, for a pietanza with 8 lbs. of candles, on Dec.8, the feast of the Immaculate Conception

L.22 to the Company of Sant'Agnese:

- L.12 for bread to be distributed to the poor of the neighborhood (gonfalone of the Green Dragon)
- L.6 for a lauda vigil in August
- L.4 to be given to the Company of San Frediano for a lauda vigil in August.³⁵ [doc.11, plate 3]

All the services were to be performed in perpetuity. The two lauda vigils in August commemorated the deceased in the month of his death, a frequent occasion for lauda singing which indicates the strong link between laudesi devotion and the cult of the dead. Chiaro's bequest to the Company of San Frediano (their first recorded bequest for lauda singing after just having adopted the devotion) was a gesture of solidarity to the neighborhood in which he had lived, since the two churches of the Carmine and San Frediano were situated across the Piazza Carmine from one another in Chiaro's neighborhood.

³⁵The above is a paraphrase and conflation from two sources relating information about this bequest: SA, vol.29, ff.2v-3r (transcribed in the appendix as doc.11), and S.A., vol.115, Lasciti e legati, 1377-1510 [1466-1510], f.3v.

When the Company of Sant'Agnese recopied their book of bequests sometime after 1466, a formulaic prescription called for:

Many candles and other things when a vigil is celebrated at our lauda [service].³⁶ [plate 4]

One of the earliest datable lauda bequests was made in 1313 by the silk merchant Michele to the Company of San Zanobi.³⁷ The rent of a house was to provide for the annual distribution of bread to the poor on the morning of the feast of St. Thomas (Dec.21), and a lauda vigil on the feast of St. Michael, his namesake (Sept.29).³⁸

Among the many bequests to the Company of San Piero Martire was one by Francesco Comucci da Castelfiorentino, who requested a rinovale by the friars, and two rinovale alle laude on consecutive evenings (April 15-16), followed by a pietanza. In 1429 the Company spent L.45, s.18, d.4 on altar candles (L.2), a sacristan to furnish the Company altar (L.4). candles "a mano" (L.3 s.10),

³⁶"Tante chandele e altre chose chessi celebriamo alle nostre laude una vigilia."

³⁷This Company met in the Cathedral, and during the 14th century was variously called the "Compagnia della Vergine Maria", "Compagnia di Santa Maria Vergine Annunziata" (1362), "Chompagnia di Santa Liperata [Reparata]" (as late as 1398, although the old Cathedral of Santa Reparata was destroyed in 1375), and, after the new Cathedral, the "Chompagnia di Santa Maria del Fiore" (1399). The first recorded use of the new title of San Zanobi was in 1413 (SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.15r). For the sake of convenience, the company is hereafter referred to as San Zanobi.

³⁸SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.1v [Chele, setaiuolo, 1313]: "...facciano con candele accese le laude e la vigilia predetta."

and cheese, 36 pounds of meat, and 300 eggs (c.L.36).³⁹ In 1439, Mona Paghola, wife of Baldassare di Giovanni Bonni, left 250 florins of the city's funded debt (monte comune), the interest from which was to be spent on an annual rinovale and pietanza by the friars, and

...at the lauda [service] of the Company every year [for] 6 pounds of candles to offer when the laude are sung for the soul of the said Mona Paghola.⁴⁰

In 1421, the Company of San Piero Martire compiled a calendar of bequests under its management, which lists 93 pietanze and/or rinovale to be celebrated during the year.⁴¹ These numerous bequests to the lay company benefitted primarily the Dominican friars at Santa Maria Novella, a situation which suggests the possibility that the lay companies owned property on behalf of the friars, thereby allowing the latter to circumvent vows of poverty prohibiting ownership of goods. However, the bequests of friars to the companies (6 of the 93 to the Company of San Piero Martire) for lauda vigils presents a striking reversal of traditional roles, with the cleric purchasing the

³⁹SMN, vol.290, f.5r.

⁴⁰SMN, vol.306, f.37v [July 2, 1439]: "Alle lalde delle chonpagnia ognianno lib[ri] sei di chandele per arienderce [sic] quando si canta le lalde per per l'anima della detta Mona paghola."

⁴¹SMN, vol.326, 1st folio (without pagination). Lauda vigils and clerical rinovale are not distinguished in the calendar, but the individual bequests are described on the folios following the calendar. The oldest dated bequest was made in 1299, over a third were made by women, and many prominent families of the quarter, such as the Bardi, Strozzi, Tornabuoni, Tornaquinci, and Altoviti, are represented.

efficacious prayer and ritual of the layman.

During the 14th century, the management and fulfillment of bequests gradually became the primary occupation of the laudesi companies, especially with the high death rate from plague and its periodic recurrences after mid-century. It was in the long wake of the plague that the small laudesi company of San Frediano adopted the practice of lauda singing, very likely in an effort to capture a part of the burgeoning bequest market, as well as to become involved in a strong and popular devotion. The Company documents show the purchase, between 1368 and 1373, of lauda paraphernalia--the necessary lectern, candleholders, altar adornments, and an illuminated laudario (including a detailed account of the materials and services purchased in the preparation of the manuscript). The change brought success to the Company, which by this time managed an altar in the small Cistercian church of San Frediano, and could offer lauda vigils and collazione, as well as the management of the more expensive commemorative services of the clergy. In 1377, the bequest of Chiaro d'Ardinghello (who had been a captain of the Company in 1350) for a lauda vigil (above, p.26) was followed by at least nine others during the following century. The ritual capacity of the Company expanded in the early 15th century with the endowment of a chaplaincy at another altar in the church.

Funerals

A company was prepared to respond quickly when a member

died. A burial service was arranged as soon after death as possible, and shop closure and attendance was usually mandatory. The members gathered in the church at the company sepulchre to participate in a Mass, offer candles, and recite "xii pater nostri con ave maria overo co[n] requiem eterna[m]",⁴² while the deceased lay in state, then burial followed immediately. According to their 1333 statutes, the Company of Orsanmichele provided two torches, a golden drappo (for the casket), a cushion of vermillion silk, and candles for this service.⁴³ On the evening of the burial, the company conducted a special lauda vigil, or luminaria, which included a Mass and candle offering. Although company statutes do not specifically call for laude to be sung at this time, the evening vigil was undoubtedly the occasion for the performance of special laude pro defunctis contained in most laudarios.⁴⁴ On the morning after the burial, the company subsidized a requiem Mass, which involved a candle

⁴²A typical formula, from the 1294 statutes of the Company of Orsanmichele; ed. A. Castellani, Nuovi testi fiorentini del dugento (Florence, 1952), p.655.

⁴³LaSorsa, La compagnia, p.202 (Statute XXXII); Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, p.201.

⁴⁴For ex., Mgl2, no.97: "O fratello del nostro core/ ke giace in questo munimento"; the lauda "Chi vuole lo mondo disprezzare" is found in the above ms. (no.99) with the rubric "Lauda di morti", and in the Pisan laudario Ars (Staaf, Le laudario, no.49) with the rubric "Della memoria della morte", and in every other extant Tuscan laudario (including Mgl¹ with music, Liuzzi, La lauda, v.2, no.LXXXVIII). See also Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, Ms.1690, f.48v: "Lauda del fratello morto"; and ASF, Capitoli no.6 (the 1441 statutes of the laudesi company of San Bastiano), where the above lauda ("O fratello nostro, che se morto e sepolto") is included among latin items for the Office of the Dead.

and small cash offering.

Each laudesi company conducted a special annual commemorative service, an ufficio generale, or rinovale generale, on behalf of all deceased members. Like other commemorative services celebrated by a company, this one consisted of an evening lauda vigil and pietanza, followed the next morning by a Mass.⁴⁵ Most laudesi companies celebrated their ufficio on or near the feast of St. Martin (Nov.11), shortly after the official liturgical commemoration of the dead on All Saints Day (Nov.1).⁴⁶

The captains of the Company of Santo Spirito noted in their ricordanze that

On November 11, 1424, the said rinovale and Mass and Office were conducted in the morning above the sepulchre of the Company in front of the chapter, with 4 captains and many guests of the Company present, and then the friars, with large candles, went around the cloister and returned through the great door, and we gave frate Bernardo Gianbollari, sacristan, 5 lire. And on the evening before we conducted a solemn lauda vigil with 6 friars and men [of the Company] with candles in

⁴⁵Lauda no.98 in Mgl², with the rubric "Lauda di morti de la Compagnia" was certainly performed on this particular annual vigil.

⁴⁶The All Saints lauda, "Facciam laude a tuct'i sancti" [plate 5], and the lauda pro defunctis "Chi vuol lo mondo desprezzare" [plate 6] are closely juxtaposed only in the three Florentine laudarios: Mgl¹ (Liuzzi, v.1, LXXXVII and LXXXVIII), Mgl² (102 and 99), and Fior (39 and 42). This suggests a Florentine laudesi practice of performing the latter lauda during the vigils of their ufficio generale. In his study of the miniatures in Mgl¹, V. Moleta questioned the function of this lauda, and assumed its importance in the overall structure of the laudario since the scale of its decoration matches that of the manuscript's elaborate frontispiece; "The Illuminated Laudari Mgl¹ and Mgl²," Scriptorium 32 (1978), 42, plate no.7 (Mgl¹, f.134v).

hand and 3 pounds of new candles...L.1 s.7.⁴⁷ [doc.12]
 According to 1428 statutes, the Company of San Zanobi lighted candles for their ufficio procession during Mass at the elevation of the host (i.e., during the communal meal that united the living and the dead), then recited the de profundis, and the prayers Deus veniem largitor and fidelium Deus. Company members and a large number of clerics then processed to the Company sepulchre near the campanile, across to the Baptistry, then back to the high altar, where candles were offered and the morning service completed.⁴⁸

Patron Saint Feasts

The feast day of a laudesi company's patron saint was usually the grandest of the year. As on other feast days, the companies celebrated both an elaborate morning Mass and a lauda vigil that evening. Following one or the other of these two services, however, the companies then sponsored a large communal meal that honored not the dead, but the company singers. The larger companies hired instrumentalists, usually trombadore and pifferi (many of them municipal employees), to play for these special feste.

In the earliest laudesi statutes (ca.1270-1340) this feast day is not distinguished from others, except to indicate that a

⁴⁷As was often the case in the other laudesi companies, the Santo Spirito ufficio generale was subsidized by a bequest.

⁴⁸SZ, vol.2170, fasc.2 [1428 statutes], ff.48r-49v.

lauda vigil might occur on both the evening before and of the feast.⁴⁹ Throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, however, these special company feasts, usually subsidized by bequests, grew in number and splendor. In the early 14th century The Company of San Piero Martire added to the feast of its martyred Dominican saint two others, the feasts of St. Dominic and St. Thomas Aquinas.⁵⁰ The Companies of Orsanmichele and San Frediano instituted special feasts in conjunction with the consecration of a new altar; the St. Anne altar was established at Orsanmichele through communal subsidy in the mid-14th century, and a bequest established the altar of St. Michael at San Frediano in the early 15th century.⁵¹ The Company of Sant'Agnese traditionally worshipped at the altar and celebrated the special feast of their namesake, but by the 15th century the Company's annual Ascension feast was, like that of the Pentecost at Santo Spirito, a monumental affair that had come to dwarf all other Company activity.⁵²

These patron saint feasts were a company's most public occasion, during which a laudesi company competed with other lay and ecclesiastical institutions in an outward display that testi-

⁴⁹As in a 1293 addition to the statutes of the Company of Sant'Agnese; ed. in Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, p.67.

⁵⁰Canonized in 1323. The name of the "gloriosissimo doctore" first appears in Company invocations in 1325 (SMN, vol.291, f.23r), and on Sept.27 of that year, the Company paid s.9 "...per fare scrivere lauda e'l motetto di sa[n] tomaso..." (vol.292, f.27v).

⁵¹See Ch.IV, pp.134-5, and 213, n.238.

⁵²Ibid., n.202.

fied to the efficacy of the company's most coveted saints and devotions. A banditore, blowing a trumpet draped with a company pennant, heralded the occasion in the public squares of Florence, and for several days before the feast company pennants were displayed outside the church. The area around the company altar was decorated with flowers, painted candles with ornate holders, oil lamps, painted silk and linen hangings for the altar, lectern, and walls, an appropriate painting on the altar, and an array of escutcheons. The ceaseless round of these feasts provided the minor artists and artisans of Florence with a steady market of small commissions.

The more elaborate patron saint feasts were celebrated by the wealthier companies of San Piero Martire and San Zanobi, beginning in the early 14th century. Between 1327 and 1330, the former recorded payments to trombadore (municipal trumpeters) for the feasts of St. Thomas Aquinas (January 28), St. Peter Martyr (April 29), and St. Dominic (August 5).⁵³ For the latter two feasts a special collazione for the laudesi followed a lauda vigil on the evening of the feast. In 1391, San Piero Martire noted a payment

...for wine to be bought [for] the evening of the feast

⁵³SMN, vol.292, ff.33r,38r; F. D'Accone, "Le compagnie dei laudesi in Firenze durante L'Ars Nova," in L'Ars Nova italiana del trecento III, ed. F.A. Gallo (Certaldo, 1970), p.255, n.9. Municipal instrumentalists, trombadore and pifferi, are discussed in Ch.IV, n.22.

of S. Domenico to honor the singers of laude.⁵⁴

All the laudesi companies sponsored a similar honorific meal for the singers, and by the late 14th century San Zanobi and San Piero Martire began hiring trombadore and pifferi to play at the collazione, as well as in conjunction with the services.⁵⁵ In the early 15th century, the feast of San Zanobi, sponsored by the laudesi company at the Cathedral, involved a morning Mass with a procession, a lauda vigil on the evening before and of the feast, and a collazione for the singers after the Mass. The Company hired instrumentalists on all these occasions, and extra singers for the lauda vigils. In 1396, San Zanobi spent L.4 on wine, bread, and other food "to honor the singers on the vigil and the day of San Zanobi".⁵⁶ In 1439, the Company spent L.21 s.13, d.8 for flowers, laurels (for the bell tower), bread, fruit, and other food, and for municipal players ("sonatori di palagio") and extra lauda singers ("più laudesi").⁵⁷ For the 1442 feast, payments to musicians were for trombetti, "when the laurel wreaths are hung on the bell tower", the pifferi di palagio, and

⁵⁴SMN, vol.294, f.108r. The singers honored on these occasions probably included the company members who sang on the refrains (see discussion of scuole this chapter, pp.126f.); all references to the collazione mention a number of singers ("cantatori"), although some companies, like San Frediano, retained only a single singer.

⁵⁵Since these municipal wind players were also frequently hired to fulfill a similar function at weddings, to provide a musical background to a festive meal.

⁵⁶SZ, vol.2171B, fasc.3, f.223v.

⁵⁷SZ, vol.2170, fasc.5K, f.6v. |

singers from the recently formed polyphonic Cathedral choir (the Cantori di San Giovanni).⁵⁸

The 1428 statutes of the Company provide the most detailed picture of events.⁵⁹ Six to eight festaiuoli were elected to supervise the preparation: the various arms of the Company (Ch.II, p.64) were displayed for fifteen days before the feast; eight days prior the Company banner (gonfalone) was hung above the altar of San Zanobi "in the middle of the church";⁶⁰ and the area around the altar was decorated with festive wall hangings. The lauda were to be sung with special reverence during this period. During the feast, roses and violets adorned the escutcheons. At least two each of trombetti, sonatori,⁶¹ and extra laudesi were invited to both lauda vigils, and to the collazione following Mass on the morning of the feast. For both vigils, the large lectern, the "libro grande" (presumably a laudario), an altarcloth, and a large candleholder were situated before the altar of San Zanobi (not the usual Company altar), and

⁵⁸See Ch.IV, n.38.

⁵⁹SZ, vol.2170, fasc.1 [1428 statutes], ff.51r-52r.

⁶⁰See Ch.VI, p.339.

⁶¹This may refer not to pifferi, but to the rebec, vielle, and lute players that the Company usually hired for its special feasts. They generally accompanied laude during the vigil services, but occasionally played in procession as well; SZ, vol.2171, fasc.6C, f.246r [June 1, 1395]: "i spesi a di primo di giugno per fare onore a sonatori quando andanno a procisione [sic] in vino...s.7 d.8; I spesi per dare a berzola [a ribec player] e al puccio quando sonarono andanno a la procisione a di primo di giugno...L. s.10; and 19 pairs of gloves for the procession "...quando ci vene la tavola di santa maria inpianetta [Imprunetta]".

the service was to conclude with the Te Deum and accompanying prayers, recited by the Company chaplain. At morning Mass, a procession and candle offering began in the Company's sacristy (the Cathedral chapter room); the two (and later six) trombetti led a procession that proceeded two by two, with the Company chaplain and prior, officers, and members arranged according to rank, all given various grades of candles reflecting the procession's hierarchy. The statute ends here, but presumably the occasion was similar to Company's monthly processions at Sunday Mass (the offerta), when the procession took place between the Gospel reading and the elevation of the Host, probably as an offertory procession (below, p.108).

Along with the 15th-century expansion of these patron saint feasts, several companies initiated a tradition of including the guest singers ("laudesi invitati") in the feast day meal. By 1446, the Company of Sant'Agnese was pursuing the tradition to its logical extreme by inviting "tutti i chantori delle laude di firenze" to their collazione for the feast of Sant'Agnese (January 21). Because of "certain impediments", the event was postponed a week in 1446, but on January 28th the feast, subsidized by a bequest from Mona Filippa di Grano, included "singing in the church at the chapel of Sant'Agnese", followed by a collazione in the refectory of the Carmine church. On this occasion, the lauda singers of Florence consumed honey, fennel,

puff-pastries, and white wine.⁶² By 1427, a bequest to the Company of San Frediano had established a similar feast, "a tutti i laldieri di firenze", on an annual basis.⁶³

b. Monthly Processions

Although members were required to attend all Sunday Masses and sermons, on a designated Sunday of the month the laudesi companies held a special service in conjunction with Mass called an offerta. Members generally paid several denarii for a candle, then processed with lit candles throughout the church and cloister, two by two, singing laude and offering the candles at a designated altar. The public nature of this occasion is attested to by a 1285 statute of the Company of Sant'Agnese, which provided for the hiring of a banditore to "proclaim our procession on the first Sunday of each month".⁶⁴

Company documents frequently, but not always, indicate the

⁶²SA, vol.24, fasc.XV, f.15v (=340v): "Alla schuola chessi fa per santa agniesa, cioè dove vasi fare in quest'anno dominicha doppo santa agniesa a di 22 di giennaio e non si fa per certi impedimenti fessi ogi questo di dominicha a di 28 di giennaio 1446, c[i]oè la schuola e invitoronsi tutti i chantori delle laude di firenze debbesi ispendere nella chollazione insino in lire sei che chosi lascio Mona filippa di ghrano si spendessi delle sue sustanze avuto rendite fessi doppo desinare chantassi in chiesa alla chappella di santa agniesa e in Rifettoro di frati si fe la chollazione...mele s.12, finochio s.6, 1/4 di lupini s.2 d.8, barile di vino bianco L.3, s.10, berlinghozzi L.2 s.10..."

⁶³See Ch.IV, p.216.

⁶⁴A. Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, p.60: "Anche fue ordinato...che si dovesse bandire la nostra processione la primaia domenica ci ciascheuno mese per Angnello banditore."

performance of lauda during the procession, but the monthly offerta with lauda singing was a type of laudesi service that was at least as old as that described in the 1267 statutes of the Sienese company at San Domenico di Campo Regio:

We ordain that on the second Sunday of the month, at the appropriate time of the morning, the people of the said fraternity ought to meet in Campo Regio for the hearing of laude, mass, and preaching. [doc.2]

These same statutes prescribe processions for twelve major feast days of the year, though not for the monthly Sunday reunion, but the earliest Florentine laudesi statutes indicate that processions with lauda singing had become a tradition by the early 14th century. In 1304, 100 days of indulgence were granted by Cardinal Niccolò da Prato to the laudesi at Santa Maria Novella for gathering every second Sunday of the month to process with lit candles and "offer devout laude" [doc.66, line 9]. A 1291 statute of the Company of Sant'Agnes, which outlines the duties of official lauda instructors ("insegnatori delle laude"), provides an indirect testimony to the presence of lauda singing in the procession:

So that the office of those who are lauda instructors is properly executed, it is decided that those who are lauda instructors have the authority at the evening lauda service, and also at the morning processions, to send in front those singers whom they choose, and to have performed those laude that please them. [doc.17]

In 1312, a laudesi company in Perugia, the "Congregazione della Vergine", met every first Sunday at the Dominican church. Men and women paid two denarii, received a candle, then heard the entire sermon. Following this,

...everyone is to process holding lit candles, through the church, through the cloister, or through the town, devoutly singing a lauda, which at that time is to be started by the cantores precedentes [i.e. those in front]. [doc.18]

Everyone, that is, except the women, who were to "devoutly and quietly remain in the church with their lit candles".

The 1326 statutes of the laudesi company associated with the Florentine Cathedral describe their meeting on the first Sunday of the month:

The rectors ought to arrange with the leaders of the said church [Santa Reparata] that on this morning a solemn Mass should be celebrated in honor of the Blessed Virgin Lady Holy Mary. At this Mass the chamberlains are to burn two candles, which are to be two pounds in weight, one of them new. And after the Gospel which will be sung at this Mass, the rectors are to gather in the cloister or wherever they please those of the Company who will have come that morning...The chamberlains [then] give a candle to each one. Having done this, the rectors then order them two by two, at the front are placed two young men of the said Company who are to carry two large, lit candles. And next after them...are placed several who begin to sing a lauda. And then all the rest are ordered two by two, the counsellors, chamberlains, and rectors...they are [then] to go in procession with the above lit candles in hand, singing and responding [to] the lauda which the foremost singers will begin. And they are to go through the said church, proceeding as far up as the chorus, and here offer the above candles at the altar. When the offerta is finished, everyone should devoutly stand and remain here until the Mass is finished, or at least until the elevation of the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ at the altar. [doc.19]

On the Monday morning following the Sunday procession, all the laudesi companies sponsored a commemorative Mass for the deceased members of the company (not to be confused with the annual ufficio generale). The number and solemnity of the masses varied among the companies, but lauda singing is never mentioned

in connection with this service.

c. Ferial Services

Although lauda singing was clearly a part of a laudesi company's monthly processions, the indulgences for these services were granted principally for processing rather than singing. It is only in the regular evening services of the companies that we find a setting in which the lauda was the undisputed centerpiece. For nearly two centuries, the members of the Florentine laudesi companies met every weeknight around the time of Compline to sing and hear laude. The 1326 statutes of the Company of San Zanobi required the chamberlain to come "every evening to the said church at that time when the office of compline is finished" to prepare for the service; the statute that prescribes the actual service reads as follows:

We ordain and establish that the entire Company is to meet every evening in the aforesaid church of Madonna Santa Reparata to sing laude with the 'Ave Maria' to the honor of God and Our Lady. But those who could not come in the evening to the above church to sing laude ...should say three pater nostri cum Ave maria in honor of God and Our Lady. [doc.21]

This custom of ferial singing around the time of Compline was observed as well by other laudesi companies in central Italy [doc.20a-d]. It was a time (ca.7-8 pm.) that suited the working schedule of merchants and artisans,⁶⁵ and deepened the liturgical

⁶⁵That these services took place on the evenings of the work week is indicated by the description of a lectern in a 1383 inventory of the Company of San Zanobi: "uno leggio vecchio con uno ferro ista in chiesa per dire le laude la sera da lavorare"; SZ, vol.2176, fasc.12, f.45r.

aspect of his devotion by providing a service parallel to the ecclesiastical office of Compline.

Like the feast day services and monthly processions, the ferial services took place at an altar in the host church. The primary focus of laudesi devotion was the altar (sometimes two) which the company managed in the dual role of patron and chaplain. Like a chaplain, the company was responsible for conducting the round of devotions associated with their particular altar. Feast days had to be properly observed and bequests faithfully executed, and both involved the company's own devotions (primarily lauda singing), as well as the recitation of Masses and Offices (for which clergy were hired), and the offering of candles, the weight, number, and quality of which were prescribed by the liturgical solemnity of the occasion.⁶⁶ Like a secular patron, a laudesi company often owned the patronage rights of their altar. They assumed the costs of repairing and decorating the chapel, and the right to display there the company's insignia, the counterpart of a wealthy Florentine family's coat-of-arms. Thus a member might enjoy a measure of the best of two overlapping worlds: the prestige of secular wealth and position, and an active priestly role in the religious life of the city.

The formal procession that attended other laudesi services appears not to have been a part of the ferial services. Rather their character was more contemplative and devotional, influenced, perhaps, by the more serene nature of clerical Compline.

⁶⁶S. Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, pp.80-82.

The focus of devotion was a painting, usually of the Madonna and child, placed upon the company altar for the service.⁶⁷ These paintings were the most important possession of the company, and professional painters were contracted to execute images which the lay brothers hoped their sung devotions would render spiritually efficacious. A few of these devotional images, such as the Madonna of Orsanmichele, attained a miracle-working status, and in turn contributed to the material growth of the company through an increase in bequests, candle sales, and membership. Company inventories list paintings of other patron saints, who were honored at least on patron saint feasts with special laude drawn from the sanctorale section of company laudarios. The images were sometimes locked away in a large wooden tabernacle; an oil lamp burned continuously before it, and it was to be unveiled only on prescribed occasions. The 1284 statutes of the Company of San Gilio required an officer to

...burn two candles every evening when the laude are sung, and to maintain a lamp burning continuously before the picture of the Lady. [doc.22]

For the evening service, the devotional image was carefully unveiled on the company altar in the church; members were to show it reverence, and the laude were to be devoutly sung to it.

A chamberlain or company sacristan was responsible for setting up the ferial service. He adorned the altar with the requisite items: an altar cloth (usually bearing the company insignia), candles, candlesticks, and the image of the Virgin.

⁶⁷On the laudesi altars and paintings, see Ch.VI.

A strict liturgical protocol governed the use of candles, which were probably prepared according to a calendar like that used in 1312 by the laudesi company at the Dominican church of Santa Katerina in Pisa.⁶⁸ The calendar prescribed size and number of candles according to the liturgical solemnity of the feasts, which were ranked "luminare maggiore", "mezzana", or "minore":

Maggiore: six large candles, the tabernacle (containing the image), and altar cloth placed upon altar; all present, men and women, are given a lit candle (Nativity, vigils of Easter, Assumption, and St. Catherine)

Meczana: three large candles, tabernacle, altarcloth; all the lauda singers (who remain kneeling) are given lit candles (vigils of Epiphany, Ascension, Annunciation, Nativity of the Virgin, Pentecost, All Saints, Circumcision, and numerous saints)

Minore: three large candles, tabernacle, altar cloth; no candles among the congregation (octaves of feasts, and many saints)

Feriale: two large candles, tabernacle, altar cloth (weekdays outside the octaves of major feasts)

These officials also arranged benches before the company altar, and a lectern (with candles and candleholders), upon which was placed the laudario for the singers. Thus at San Gilio (1284), the chamberlains were instructed to

...come every evening to the church of San Gilio and prepare the lectern and the book of laude, and other things which are used for the singing of laude, placing two lit candles into the candleholders before the altar, and one [lit candle] with a candle holder before the gonfalone which it is unfurled on the week days during which the laude are sung. [doc.23, lines 1-7]

The preparation of the laudario undoubtedly included marking the laude to be sung that evening, including those proper to the

⁶⁸Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.1054-6.

liturgical season. According to a 1291 statute of the Company of Sant'Agnese, the Company was to

...elect...an official to prepare the laude for the evening [service], and this official is to be called a sacristan. This sacristan is to retain one of the keys to the lectern, and the other key is to remain with the chamberlains. And the said sacristan is to be the chamberlain of the following things, that is: two candles with holders, the libro minore, the altar cloth, the candle holder, the lamp, an inkstand and pen [for recording candle and dues payments], and a chalkboard for writing above the [names of] novices. The chamberlains are obliged to furnish the sacristan with candles at the request of the said sacristan. Also he should locate the laude for the order of the evening [service] and this was decided in order to ease the chamberlains' duties, and to improve the office of lauda singing at the evening [service]. [doc.24]

Laudarios were loosely modelled on ecclesiastical service books both in their organization and variety. The selection of laude for a given service was facilitated by the organization of laudarios into section de tempore and de sanctis,⁶⁹ and by a functional distinction between large laudarios for festive services, and smaller books for ferial use. Most companies owned a large, usually ornate (and often notated) laudario and an equally festive lectern to match, and a small laudario and lectern for ferial use.⁷⁰ The functional difference between festive and

⁶⁹Late 13th and 14th-century laudarios were generally divided into three sections: laude to Mary, laude to Christ (both generally ordered de tempore), and laude to the saints (de sanctis). The contents of Mgl¹ are outlined below, n.74, of Mgl² in Ch.IV, p.227.

⁷⁰For ex., the libro grande and legio grande used by the Company of San Zanobi for their patron saint feast (above, pp.24, 39) and the libro minore just cited with respect to ferial services at Sant'Agnese in 1291. Among 14th-century inventories of San Zanobi are references to "due legii dove si cantano le laude, uno grande e l'altro piccolo" (SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4,

ferial books is revealed in a 1394 inventory of the Company of San Zanobi, which at that time owned

A book with miniatures and gold storiatio[n] for nearly all the feasts, which are all provided with laude, following, as they occur, the stories that are [depicted] above.

Two books of "laude chomuni" for singing throughout the year.⁷¹

The ornate laudario was probably that commissioned by the Company in 1339 ("iscritto di lettere grosse e notato e storiato"), and mentioned in a 1383 inventory as "miniato e notato".⁷² A prior inventory compiled sometime after 1354 listed

...a red leather book of laude, in which are written laude which are sung every evening.⁷³

The large and illuminated festive laudarios were usually the ones to contain musical notation, helpful to the singers who on feast days were performing laude that were proper to the season, and perhaps not sung often enough to be easily memorized. Their

f.20v [ca.1354]); "uno legio grande intarsiato, et due mezani da chantare le laude, Uno ferro grande da pore allegio maggiore lavorato molto maestrevole" (Ibid., f.22r-v; [1394]); "uno leggio vecchio con uno ferro ista in chiesa per dire le laude la sera da lavorare" (SZ, vol.2176, fasc.12, f.45r [1383]). The references in company documents to laudarios almost always distinguish between large and small books, and in 1452 even the modest Company of San Frediano owned "3 libri di lallde, uno grande, uno mezano, uno picholo" (SF, vol.4, f.70r).

⁷¹SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.22v [1394 inventory]:
 "Uno libro miniato e messo ad oro esstoriato quasi di tutte le feste che sono tutto l'an[n]o scrit[t]o di laude sechondo che s'achade alle storie che vi sono.
 "Due libri di laude chomuni da chanta tutto l'anno."

⁷²Translated in Ch.IV, pp.172-3 [plate 7].

⁷³SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.20v: "...uno libro di coiame rosso di laude nel quale sono scritte laude che ssi cantano ogni sera..."

larger size, moreover, accommodated the larger number of singers that the companies hired for special feast days. The elegant and noted manuscript that belonged to the laudesi company at Santo Spirito is, I believe, such a festive laudario.⁷⁴

⁷⁴Mgl¹=Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale B.R.19 (olim Magl.II.I.122); early 14thc. See Ch.IV, pp.188-9. An index at the front of the ms. begins with the heading: "Questa et lla tavola delle laude delle feste maddiore [maggiore] che ssono nell'anno Domini". The 97 laude are then organized in the following manner (based on Grossi, "The Fourteenth Century Florentine Laudario," pp.22-3):

- 1-2 Holy Spirit
- 3 Trinity
- 4-25 Christ
- 26-44 Virgin Mary, I
- 45-82 The Saints, I:
 - Apostles (47-61)
 - Martyrs (62-82)
 - Doctors of the Church (71-73)
 - Confessors (74-82)
- 83-84 Virgin Mary, II
- 85-96 The Saints, II
 - Confessors (85-89)
 - Holy Women (90-95)
 - All Saints (96)
- 97 Pro Defunctis

The ferial books, on the other hand, were smaller, lacked notation and illumination, and contained those laude of the ordinarium ("laude comune"), the music of which was easily memorized through frequent repetition during the year. That none have survived may be explained by their hard use and, relative to the festive laudarios, lack of value beyond their utility.

The actual sequence of events in the evening ferial services is difficult to reconstruct. The chamberlain began setting up the service around time the friars (or priests) completed Compline. The lay service began with the reciting or singing of the Ave Maria, preceded by "a small bell which sounds the Ave Maria at the evening lauda [service]".⁷⁵ The captains or an appointed lauda instructor oversaw the execution of the laude, which throughout the 14th century at least involved a responsorial performance between one or a few soloists singing the strophes from a laudario at the lectern, and the congregation responding on the refrain.⁷⁶ A chalkboard with the "incipits of the laude" was present, probably to announce the order of the service and jog the memories of the congregational singers on the refrains.⁷⁷

⁷⁵SZ, vol.2176, fasc.12, f.46r [1383 inventory]: "una champana piccholetta che suona la sera alle laude l'ave maria."

⁷⁶On the lauda instructors, see this chapter, p.127.

⁷⁷SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.23r [1394 inventory]: "Tre tavole a modo che tavole di giesso, che nell una sono scrite prencipii di laude e nell altra <sono> scritto e perdoni e lle indu[l]gienze della compagnia e quello a che è obrighato ciasschuno dela compagnia..."; f.20v [ca.1354 inventory]: "...una tavola con sette bischeri dove sono scritte le laude che si cantano..."; SPM, vol.292, f.3r [Nov. 1313]: "Spendemo nella tavola del gesso ove sono segnate le laude...s.12"; f.60v [1340]: "demo a far fare

The officers, who sat on separate benches near the foot of the singers' lectern, kneeled throughout the lauda singing.⁷⁸ On ferial days and minor feasts, two or three large altar candles remained lit throughout the lauda singing, and candles were distributed to the congregation only on more important feast days, so that Florentine laudesi practice apparently concurred with the candle calendar used by the Pisan laudesi company of Santa Katerina (above, p.112).

The oldest laudesi statutes (Siena, 1267) allowed for a brief sermon during the evening service, especially during Lent [doc.2, line 5]. Between 1273 and 1283, the Dominican friar Nicola da Milano preached on Wednesday evenings to the Marian congregations of Lombardy, where he delivered his "collazione".⁷⁹ Here, as in the Sunday morning services and during Lent, lauda

vii piuoli per la tavola dele laude e per farchi dipingnere e per le chatenuze chosta in tucto...s.11 d.8". The two references above to boards with 7 pegs may indicate the maximum number of laude sung at an evening service.

⁷⁸This was required by a 1298 statute of the Company of Sant'Agnes (Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, p.72): "Anche ordinario e fermaro, i predicti capitani col predicto loro consillio...che tutti coloro li quali vengono a dire, overo udire, le laude la sera al predicto luogho di Sancta Maria del Charmino, si chom'è usato, debiano stare ginochioni, tanto quanto le laude si dichano, a rendere laude a Dio e ala gloriosa verginie Madonna Santa Maria..."; SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.22v [1394 inventory]: "Quatro panchete la quali si ponghono dina[n]zi allegio et a pie de[i] chapitani quando si dichono le laude per istarvi s'uso ginochioni".

⁷⁹Probably a vernacular descendant of the collatio, an evening spiritual reading preceding Compline in medieval monastic communities; Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, III, pp.1128-30; G. Podhradsky, "Compline," New Dictionary of the Liturgy (London, 1967).

and sermon were closely juxtaposed.⁸⁰

Common to both Compline and the lay ferial services was confession and absolution, which concluded the laudesi services. The 1451 statutes of the Company of San Bastiano (at the Servite church of Santissima Annunziata) requested their religious leader to

...come and remain at the laude every time they are said, and to give confession after the laude, and occasionally...to sing a hymn like Ave Maris Stella, Salve Regina, Te Matrem laudamus, Te Deum laudamus, or other hymns which he must begin. [doc.25]

Confession, the collazione, singing, and especially the concluding Marian antiphons all reflect the Compline liturgy.⁸¹

Lent

During Lent the evening lauda services were transformed by a penitential mood and phenomenal preaching activity. For Florentines, this was the longest and busiest of annual liturgical events; for the 40 days preceding Easter, the pulpits of Florence resounded with exhortations to prayers, fasting, penance, and confession. Citizens flocked to hear the often dramatic public sermons by day, delivered by the most popular preachers in the

⁸⁰The 1312 statutes of the Pisan laudesi company of Sancta Katerina required members to come to the Cathedral on Sunday evenings to hear the sermon and sing laude; Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.1057: "Cap.VIII. Item che ciascuno della compagnia delle laude che iustamente può, debbia venire la domenica da sera a la predica e cantare le laude a Duomo."

⁸¹Following the San Bastiano statutes (1451) are textual incipits for the latin liturgy of Compline, beginning with "Jube domne benedicere"; ASF, Capitoli 6, ff.26f.

major churches and piazzas of the city. In the laudesi companies, lauda singing took place every evening of Lent, and was combined with the Lenten preaching of a friar who was procured to preach at many, if not all, these services. The 1294 statutes of Orsanmichele provided for the hiring of "uno savio predicatore" to preach every Sunday morning and "each day of Lent after Vespers".⁸² Each year the Company of San Zanobi hired a friar to preach during the evenings of Lent.⁸³ These two laudesi companies were the only ones to record payments to lenten preachers during the 14th and 15th centuries. Since they were the only two major companies not associated with a mendicant church, they apparently needed to import the preaching skills of the friars, while the other companies may have made non-cash arrangements with a friar (perhaps their prior) of the church with which they were associated.⁸⁴

⁸²A. Castellani, Nuovi testi fiorentini, p.653. According to DelCorno, preaching took place "dopo mangiare"; Giordano da Pisa, pp.76-8. A fragment of Orsanmichele statutes drawn up in 1329 indicate the time as "dopo compieta [Compline]"; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms.391, ff.4r-v.

⁸³Friars were clearly the preferred preachers during this time, and San Zanobi drew freely from among the various churches and orders in Florence. According to a slightly different version of the Company's 1427 Catasto (tax report), it was paying L.16 per year "Al predichatore che predicha la quaresima"; B.N. Magl. XXXVII, 298, ff.23v-24r. On June 28, 1433, the Company elected as Lenten preacher for the following year "frate antonio pierozzi delosservanza di san domenicho da fiesole", who was to become Archbishop of Florence and St. Antoninus; SZ, vol.2186, fasc.48, f.92v.

⁸⁴Beginning in 1360, the friars at Santa Maria Novella elected an annual Lenten preacher, who then may have served the laudesi company's needs as well. S. Orlandi, Necrologio di Santa Maria Novella (Florence, 1955), II, pp.533f.

During Lent, the musical activity of the laudesi companies intensified along with the preaching. From the early 14th century on, the Florentine companies had hired lauda singers from outside the membership for contracted periods of service lasting three or four months. During Lent these singers either assumed the added duties or extra singers were hired. 15th century records indicate that singers were paid about four times their normal monthly salary, so that their lenten duties must have been considerable.

Although company statutes say little about what these extra duties were, payments to singers consistently mention the singing of the Passion, the lament (of the Virgin), and, by the early 15th century, the Gospels. Passion and lament laude, of which laudarios contain a substantial number, continued to be sung every evening, even in the small Oltrarno company of San Frediano. On March 26, 1441, the captains elected

...two to sing laude in the said church [of S.Frediano] every evening throughout Lent for the devotion of the people.⁸⁵

A fragment of a 14th-century inventory of the Company of San Zanobi provides a glimpse of the scene for Lenten lauda singing:

...one lectern, which is placed in the middle of the church where the laude are sung, with an iron lamp and a square [in] which are placed 4 wooden torchietti and 4 oil lamps, which stands inside to provide light in the evening during Lent.⁸⁶

⁸⁵See Ch.V, p.242 [doc.46].

⁸⁶SZ, vol.2182, fasc.36, f.169 [loose]: "un legio che ssi pone in mezo della chiesa la dove si chanta le laude con una lanterna de ferro e una squadra che ssi pone ongni sera quattro torchietti de'lengnio e quattro lucerne che vi istanno entro per fare lume la sera di quaresima".

While the Passion and lament were popular subjects among lauda poets, Lenten singing in the laudesi companies included a broader repertory of rhymed, vernacular settings. In the records of payments to singers, the terms "passione" and "lamento" are used consistently and in contradistinction to "lauda". The lament was sung only on Holy Friday, while the Passion was sung throughout Lent. Two lengthy settings of the Passion are well represented in Florentine manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries, one attributed to Niccolò Cicerchia (c.1364), and another by Messer Dolcibene, both in ottave rime.⁸⁷ The Florentine manuscript Ricc.1294 (=2760), apparently the property of a 14th-century Florentine Franciscan, is a large miscellany of rhymed, vernacular devotional poetry, preaching aids, and latin, liturgical items. Among its contents is Dolcibene's Passion (ff.57v-60v), two rhymed, vernacular laments,⁸⁸ and among a number of laude one

⁸⁷Cicerchia's setting is dated and discussed by Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena, p.125; several laude are attributed to Dolcibene, see Tenneroni, Inizii, pp.47, 62. Among later rhymed, vernacular settings of the Passion are those by L. Giustinian (c.1387-1446), ed. F. Luisi, Laudario giustiniano (Venice, 1983), I, pp.331-52 (terza rima, in 14 parts); Messer Castellano Castellani (1461-c.1519), ed. A. D'Ancona, Origini del Teatro Italiano (Turin, 1891), I, pp.303-25; and Francesco Corteccia, Passione secondo Giovanni (Firenze, 1527), reportedly composed for use in the services of the "Compagnia di S. Maria delle Laude" (M. Fabbri, "Laude spirituale di travestimento nella Firenze della rinascenza," in Arte e religione nella Firenze de' Medici (Florence, 1980), p.158).

⁸⁸One attributed to Petrarch, "Ave vergine, virgo glorioso" (ff.62r-64r), the other to St. Bernard (ff.70r-74v). In one of Boccaccio's tales in the Decameron (day 7, story 1), the famous lament of St. Bernard was among the "nonsense" given by the friars of Santa Maria Novella to the pious and simple Gianni Lotterighi, who was "often elected leader of the laudesi" and provided the friars with meals and the goods of his wool-weaving

by the Florentine poet Antonio Pucci (1309-1388) "sopra la passione".⁸⁹

The lay companies were as much an heir to this vivid, affective Passion literature as any Florentine, especially to the extent that it was widely propagated by the friars. The long poems on the Passion were probably either intoned (like Passion settings in the Latin liturgy), or sung to improvised melodies with instrumental accompaniment according to an established Florentine practice.⁹⁰ In 1394, the Company of San Piero Martire recorded a payment to Bacio, "che canto il pasio chola viola", and the Company of San Zanobi may have had the same function in mind when in 1406 and 1408 they hired Andrea di Giovanni ("Lampreda") "to play during the preaching of Lent".⁹¹

trade; ed.M. Musa and P. Bondanella, p.418. Among the many versions of the lament, the Stabat mater, attributed to Jacopone da Todi, remained popular during and long after the 15th century, and L. Giustinian's "Donna del paradiso" circulated widely during the 15th century (ed. F. Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, pp.324-7).

⁸⁹"Veggendo ben gesù", ff.12r and 90v. The contents of the manuscript are listed in S. Morpurgo, I manoscritti, pp.356-63.

⁹⁰On the liturgical settings of both the Passion and lament, see F. Ghisi, "Un processionale inedito per la Settimana Santa nell'Opera del Duomo di Firenze," Rivista musicale italiana 55 (1953), 362-9; other relevant studies are cited by F. D'Accone, "Alcune note sulle compagnie fiorentine dei Laudesi durante is quattrocento," Rivista italiana di musicologia 10 (1975), 93, n.37. On the Florentine tradition of accompanied, improvisatory singing (canta in panca), see B. Becherini, "Una canta in panca fiorentino, Antonio di Guido," Rivista musicale italiana 50 (1949), 241-7.

⁹¹Ch.IV, p.183. On the hiring practices of individual laudesi companies during Lent, see Ch.IV, *passim*. (esp. pp.165-6, 183-4, and those pages concerned with the Oltrarno companies, which were particularly active during Lent).

There is no mention of sung Gospels in the laudesi services until the early 15th century, when the practice was probably borrowed from among the friars' preaching strategies in order to augment the solemnity of the lay companies' services. The Gospels referred to here are not the strict Biblical texts sung to liturgical recitation tones, but, like the Passion, rhymed vernacular paraphrases which assumed a variety of popular lyrical forms, including that of the lauda. Passion and Gospels alike were sung throughout Lent, sometimes by the same singer. In 1446, the Company of Sant'Agnese paid one of their regular singers, Romolo di Niccolò di Betto, "because he sings the Gospels and the Passion at the evening lauda service throughout all of Lent".⁹²

At least one Florentine manuscript suggests that laude composed as Gospel paraphrases were sung (or recited) in conjunction with Lenten sermons,⁹³ but again the sources suggest a broader literature than the laude per se. In 1425, the laudesi company at Santo Spirito compiled a fascicle of "46 Gospels for Lent...in [the] vernacular and rhymed, for singing."⁹⁴ These were auditioned in August and September by frate Lorenzo, the church

⁹²SA, vol.24, fasc.XIII, f.17r [April 15, 1446]: "...perchè chanto tutta la quaresima la sera al lauda e vangielli e'l passio".

⁹³See Ch.II, p.34. Also significant in this context is a "libro di laude evangelice..." listed in the 14th-century inventory of a Perugian company at the church of San Domenico; V. Bartholomaeis, Le origini della poesia drammatica (Bologna, 1924), p.235.

⁹⁴SSP, vol.1, f.58v: "A i spese di fare scrivere e'libro di 46 vangeli in volgare e rima da cantare per parte s.20 a frate batista da milano scrittore...L.1."

sacristan, and *Antonio del'Loci, the company laudese, judged to be "beautiful and useful for the lauda service and for retention by the Company", then sewn into "nostro libro grande delle laude" in time for the following Lenten season.⁹⁵ The Franciscan friar's collection mentioned above contains, in addition to Passion, lament, and lauda literature, a collection of "I vangeli dela quaresima in volgare e rima" attributed to Antonio Pucci (ff.1r-113r). These are 81 Gospel paraphrases in the form of sonnets and canzone; one to four of these were linked with a Gospel reading ("sopra el detto vangelio"), which provided the subject of the day's sermon. The circumstances for the composition of one poem is related in a rubric for the 27th day of Lent:

On the day when this Gospel was sung in Santa Croce, Antonio Pucci saw a friar girded with a cord white as milk, whereupon he [Pucci] wrote to him thus ["Dice el Vangelio, se ben mi ricorda"].⁹⁶

A 1466 inventory of the Company of Sant'Agnese included a des-

⁹⁵Ibid., f.42r: "I sopradetti capitani al tempo loro feciono copiare e scrivere uno libr<ic>etto di 46 vangeli della quaresima disposti in volgare e pe[r] rima, che sono cantati del mese d'agosto e di settembre 1425 per frate lorenzo sagrestanno e per antonio deloci, belli e utoli [sic] alle lalde a per retenerli nella compagnia, costano per tre quinterni di carte di cavretto...". The scribe was frate Batista da Milano. The collection is listed in a 1444 inventory as "uno quaderno di charte di pechora suvi scritt'i va[n]gieli de chantare la quaresima..."; vol.78, f.5v. Since the fascicle of Gospels apparently was never sewn into the "libro grande delle laude", the latter may well be a reference to the Company's extant laudario, Mgl¹.

Here and throughout the remainder of this study, the asterisk (*) preceding the name of a musician indicates that they were active at more than one Florentine laudesi company.

⁹⁶Ms. Ricc.1294 [2760], f.10r: "Il di che ssi chantava questo vangelio in Santa Croce, Antonio Pucci vidi a un frate cinto un cordilglo bianco come latte, ond'elle gli scrisse cosi!..."

cription of four parchment laudarios, followed by two more modest books:

one book...in which are written the Gospels in rhyme
 one book...in which is written the Passion of Christ in
 rhyme.⁹⁷

Given the laudesi companies' use of Passion settings, laments, and Gospel paraphrases both within and without the lauda literature, their lenten literary tradition clearly extended beyond what was contained in company laudarios.

The sources discussed above suggest a process whereby lay and clerical religious practices in Florence so nearly approached and resembled one another as to make cross-fertilization inevitable. The desire of the friar-preachers to make their message accessible through sung, vernacular poetry invited the efforts of lay versifiers like Antonio Pucci, and conversely, rendered available to a lay company the liturgical practices of sung Passions and Gospels. Pucci provides a glimpse of a type of Florentine layman who facilitated this cross-fertilization: socially active and literate, he was author of both sensuous love lyrics and Gospel paraphrases (inspired, we are told, by the Franciscan friars of his resident quarter of Santa Croce), a member of the merchant court, and in 1377 he was a captain of the Cathedral

⁹⁷SA, vol.115, ff.164-7; ed. G. Bacchi, "La compagnia di S. Maria delle Laude e di S. Agnese nel Carmine di Firenze," Rivista storica carmelitana III (1931-2), 19:

uno libro...in sul quale è iscritto i vangeli in rima
 uno libro...in sul quale è iscritta la passione di
 cristo in rima.

The inventory was compiled by the Company's longtime secretary, the Florentine painter Neri di Bicci.

laudesi company of San Zanobi.⁹⁸ Certainly there is in this connection between Pucci and the Franciscan friar's Lenten collection at least a hint of the context in which laude were composed and disseminated, as is suggested by the inclusion in Ricc.1294 of two laude by Pucci.

d. The Scuole

Until at least the early 15th century, weekly schools for the teaching of laude were a regular feature of Florentine laudesi organization.⁹⁹ The companies of San Piero Martire, San Zanobi, Orsanmichele, Sant'Agnese, and San Frediano certainly maintained such schools, and it is likely that the other companies did as well.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸Pucci was a trumpeter and bell-ringer for the city in his youth; he later attended the "università della mercanzia", and occasionally served as an ambassador for the commune. He was famous for the agile ottava rima of his love lyrics, and was an improvisatory singer of the Florentine canta in panca tradition. B. Becherini, "Una canta in panca," 241-2; A. Sadun, "Antonio Pucci," Enciclopedia italiana (Rome, 1935), vol.28, p.488. He was described by L. Cellesi as "l'amorosa e cavalleresco cantore... dele belle donne ch'erano in Firenze"; "Documenti per la storia musicale di Firenze," Rivista musicale italiana 35 (1928), 560. He is listed among the captains of San Zanobi in 1377 as "Antonio pucci dalla merchatantia"; SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.16v. Tenneroni, Inizii, lists four laude attributed to Pucci (pp.110, 176, 178, 256), as well as paraphrases of the Pater Noster and Ave Maria (p.17; from Ms. Magl.VII, 373 [1407]).

⁹⁹As in other respects, this laudesi custom is first mentioned in connection with early Sieneese practices; see this chapter, p.72.

¹⁰⁰With the exception of Orsanmichele, all of these companies referred to their patron saint feast as "la festa della schuola", meaning that the celebration took place at the same time and in the same location as the weekly scuola (Sunday, after Mass and midday meal).

The earliest extant statutes of Sant'Agnese (1291) and Orsanmichele (1294) designated the special office of lauda instructors ("insegnatori delle laude"), whose specified duties were the selection of laude and singers for the services, and the supervision of the singing during the services ¹⁰¹. However, there is no explicit reference to a weekly scuola until the early 14th century. In 1326, the Company of San Zanobi drafted the following statute:

...We order and establish that the rectors should see to it that on Sundays the singing of laude is taught to those who did not know them. And therefore [the rectors] have full authority to order whom and how many of the Company should meet on Sunday in the said church to sing, [both] those who know [the laude] to teach, and those who don't know [them] to learn. [doc.31]

The relationship between the "insegnatori" and the scuola was made explicit in the 1333 statutes of the Company of Orsanmichele:

The duty of the governatori of the laude is to arrange and order how the laude are to be sung every evening before the image of Our Lady on the pilaster beneath the loggia, and to conduct the school on Sundays to learn [the laude], and for which reason they are to learn to sing the laude. And they are to sing in the establishment of the Company before the image of Our Lady...[and] the laudesi are to obey these governatori according to the statutes...[doc.32]

The companies of San Zanobi and San Piero Martire retained similar officials in charge of lauda singers and singing.¹⁰² No stat-

¹⁰¹The Sant'Agnese document is translated above, p.107 [doc.17].

¹⁰²Concerning San Zanobi, see Ch.IV, pp.173-4 [doc.36]. SMN, vol. 295, f.152v [1406], indicates that the singers' salaries were determined by the "chapitani dele lalde".

tutes prior to the 15th century survive for the Company of San Piero Martire, but their account books indicate that "la schuola la domenicha" existed as early as 1313.¹⁰³ There are no extant 14th-century documents for the Company of Sant'Agnese, but references after 1444, coupled with the Company's 1291 provision for lauda instructors, suggests that a scuola existed between those dates.¹⁰⁴ In 1428 the Company of San Zanobi drafted the last known statute concerned with the Florentine lauda schools:

We wish it to be considered that the first devotion and reverence undertaken by our ancestors and founders... was the devotion of the singing lauda in honor of God, the ever virgin Mary, and glorious Messer Sancto Zenobio, Florentine pastor. Therefore the captains... are to provide that on all Sundays the laude are to be taught to those of the Company or outside of it who are inclined to such things... And this is always to be done on the said days after None [ca.3 pm.] and after eating in our sacristy [of the Cathedral] and residence.
[doc.33]

The school, in conjunction with a meal, was conducted in the same place as the company business meetings, usually a church sacristy or chapter room equipped with an altar.¹⁰⁵ The question remains as to exactly who attended the laudesi scuole. The companies began hiring salaried singers at about the same time the schools

¹⁰³SMN, vol.292, ff.6r,7v,16v,58r [April 17, 1339]: "...per piombo e maestro per fare racchonciare il ferro dove si pone la vela quando si chanta la schuola la domenicha." vol.295, f.157r.

¹⁰⁴SA, vol.24, fasc.X, f.11v; fasc.XI, f.4r.

¹⁰⁵The 1394 inventory of the Company of San Zanobi lists, among the paintings and altar paraphernalia in the Company's sacristy, the following items (vol.2170, fasc.4, f.22v):

...uno leggio senza piedi ove si chanta le laude alla schuola

Una cissc<r>anna [armchair] a tre serrami dove seghono i chapitani alla schuola.

appear to have been instituted, that is, during the first quarter of the 14th century. Both developments were probably linked to effective attraction and satisfactory fulfillment of the bequests which the companies were just beginning to receive at this time. But among two centuries of detailed accounts and partiti describing the singers' conditions of service, there is no indication that the paid singers ever had anything to do with the schools. It is apparent from the statutes quoted above that both the teachers and the audience of the scuole were company members, which the paid singers rarely were since membership in one company would restrict their freedom to freelance among the other companies (a common practice). Besides, during the republican period, the Florentine laudesi were a concentrated and active pool of singers whose individual periods of activity frequently exceeded fifteen years, so that knowledge of the lauda repertory must have been a condition of employment precluding the need of a scuola solely for that function. The likely purpose of the scuole, then, was to teach the choral refrains of the laude, which in "singing and responding" the members sang in responsorial alternation with the longer and numerous strophes sung by the soloists. The Orsanmichele statute cited above (1333) indicates that the governatori were to know these refrains well enough to teach them to members, and to lead in the performance of the refrains during the services as a part of their obligation to order the singing. This is very likely the meaning of the 1284 statute of the Company of San Gilio, which decreed that those who

came to sing laude in the evening "in singing and responding should obey the captains" [doc 30]. This responsorial situation corresponds with several documents that grant indulgences for the singing and hearing of laude, that is, for singing the refrains and hearing the more spiritually edifying strophes.¹⁰⁶

The scuole may also have been the occasion for teaching laude to young boys. A 14th-century inventory of the Company of San Zanobi lists "a very small book...in which are written laude to teach to boys".¹⁰⁷ The practice is reminiscent of that described in the late 13th-century vita of the Sienese preacher Ambrogio Sansedoni, which relates that laude were sung "even by boys, whose keep is paid for, and who are trained to sing these laude" (above, p.7; doc.4).

After the San Zanobi statute of 1428 cited above, references to the scuole disappear from the Florentine laudesi company documents. The change reflects a larger shift in company practices that took place during the first half of the 15th century. A decline in the traditional forms and practices of the lauda was dictated by waning zeal for the ancient devotion, and by advent of new forms and styles in music and poetry. Monophonic practice began to yield to polyphonic lauda singing, as performing forces

¹⁰⁶Doc.20a; and Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.1058, which documents indulgences granted in 1304 to the Pisan marian companies for singing and hearing laude: "E se si cantassero le laude, chiunque le cantasse u stesse a udire, per ciascuna volta arae di perdono die CXL".

¹⁰⁷SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.20v [ca.1354]: "Uno libricciuolo piccolino coperto di cuoio vermiglio dove sono scritte Laude per insegnare a fanciulli...".

and references to tenore and biscantatore increased towards the middle of the century. The refrain form of the trecento ballata ceased to be an essential poetic (and performance) element of 15th-century lauda repertory, which was now clothed in "frottolesque" forms that did not exclusively employ refrains.¹⁰⁸ This undoubtedly undercut the scuole, which had functioned to teach the refrains, but their disappearance must be linked primarily to the declining interest of the congregation to learn the laude and participate in their performance, and the passing of lauda performance entirely into the hands of paid singers. The single greatest sign of the decline of traditional laudesi devotion was the abandonment of company ferial services during this time. During the second quarter of the 15th century, all but two companies discontinued the ancient practice. It was retained only by the two wealthiest companies: San Piero Martire, which abandoned ferial singing in 1478, and Orsanmichele, the only company to retain it into the 16th century. One of the most truly popular of Florentine devotions had ceased to be truly popular by mid-century. After this time, lauda singing was to be maintained less by the zeal of lay devotion than by the bequests made in perpetuum at a time when that zeal was greater.

¹⁰⁸N. Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music," in Music and Culture in Italy (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp.75-6.

**CHAPTER IV: THE FLORENTINE LAUDESI COMPANIES
PARTICULAR FEATURES**

1. THE COMPANY OF ORSANMICHELE¹

Still located midway between the Cathedral and the palace of the Signoria, the meeting place of the "Compagnia della Madonna d'Or san Michele" from its 13th-century origins was the city's greatest confluence of mercantile sensibility and lay spirituality. There is no better image of this city's passionate and worldly piety than the spontaneous veneration of an image of the Virgin that developed beneath the loggia of a bustling grain market, a veneration which in 1291 assumed the popular institutional form of a laudesi company [see plate 8].² Contemporary references indicate both the fame of this devotion, as well as the envy and resentment of the ecclesiastical institutions, of which Orsanmichele was independent. In one of his sonnets, Guido Cavalcanti wrote of the image:

A figure of My Lady Guido adores
At San Michele in Orto

¹Short for San Michele in Orto, referring to the little church built in 750 near a stretch of land used for market gardening.

²The orto, along with the ancient little church of San Michele, was transformed into a grain and cereal market in 1240 by order of the Commune. In 1284, a loggia of brick pillars with a wooden roof, designed by Arnolfo di Cambio, was erected to protect grain merchants during bad weather, and it was on one of these pillars that the miraculous Madonna delle grazie, attributed to Ugolino da Siena, was painted. L. Artusi and S. Gabrielli, Orsanmichele in Firenze (Florence, 1982), p.3. The Company's 1294 statutes state that it was founded on the feast of San Lorenzo (August 10), 1291; Castellani, Nuovi testi, p.651.

Its fame passes along the far highways and byways;
 But the friars minor [Franciscans] say this is idolatry
 From jealousy, that it is not near their churches.³

And having described the new devotion in some detail, the 14th-century Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani added:

...but the friars preachers (Dominicans) and minors (Franciscans), out of envy or another reason, do not believe them, wherefore they have fallen into great disgrace with the Florentines...⁴

The ambitious building program of the Company for the next two centuries constituted a collective expression of the religious aspirations of the Florentine guilds. Financed by the city and the guilds, a new loggia was begun in 1337 to replace the one destroyed by a fire in 1304. Two upper floors were constructed as a warehouse for grain and corn, and in the new loggia beneath, each of the 21 guilds was assigned a pilaster upon which its patron saint was to be painted.⁵ As Villani indicated, the Company acquired extraordinary wealth through bequests and candle sales, especially during the plague (1348-1349), and in 1349 it

³Translated in R. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," Studies in the Renaissance XIX (1972), 22. G. Cavalcanti, Rime, ed. N. Arnone (Florence, 1881), sonnet XXXI, p.89:

Una figura della Donna mia
 S'adora, Guido, a San Michele in orto
 ...
 La voce va per lontane cammina
 Ma dicon che è idolatra i fra minori
 Per invidia, che non è lor vicina.

⁴The complete description in translated in Ch.III, p.74.

⁵L. Artusi, Orsanmichele, p.4. A number of the frescoes were executed by Jacopo Landini ("Il Casentino"), the father of the Florentine organist/composer Francesco Landini; Ibid., p.49.

commissioned Orcagna (Andrea di Cione) to construct a huge, Gothic tabernacle, in which was placed a painting of the Madonna executed by Bernardo Daddi in 1347 [plate 16]. In the early 1350s, the Commune assumed control of the Company after a scandalous mis-management of finances, and thereafter the Company borsa (the list of members eligible to hold office) was assembled from those of the Parte Guelfa, the seven major guilds (two each), and the fourteen minor guilds (one each).⁶ By 1365, the ritual activity of the Company had nudged the grain market out of the loggia, which was then enclosed by 1380.⁷ Beginning in 1399, the guilds once again placed their patron saints in Orsanmichele, this time commissioning Donatello and his fellow Florentines to fill niches in the outside wall with some of the most famous sculpture of the Italian Renaissance.

The Company's independence from ecclesiastical models was remarkable. There was no consecrated altar until 1344, and the Company relied on portable altars until the altar of St. Anne was

⁶G. Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378 (Princeton, 1962), p.97, n.169; OSM, vol.25, ff.28v-29r. Matteo Villani estimated that the Company received 350,000 florins during the Plague, much of which was required through bequests to be distributed as alms by the captains. Villani noted, however, that the very poor and needy were dead, and that scandal ensued when the captains used the money otherwise, including, presumably, for the Orcagna commission, for which the Company spent 86,000 florins according to Ghiberti; M. Villani, Cronaca, Book I, Ch.7; Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena, p.78.

⁷Artusi, Orsanmichele, pp.4-5. Unless otherwise cited, I am indebted to Dr. Diane Zervas for historical information on Orsanmichele; she is currently preparing a book on the history of the building and the Company.

constructed by decree of the Signorie in the 1340s.⁸ The tabernacle, although it was the object of lauda singing devotions, was not an altar, but originally a kind of booth that was used day and night for the sale of candles.⁹ Like the other lay companies, Orsanmichele hired clergy to say masses, preach, and administer sacraments, but the Company remained outside the church hierarchy until 1415, when it became a collegiate church (although its services and resources continued to be administered by the Company).¹⁰

Similar to other late-medieval corporate entities in Florence, Orsanmichele did not thrive in the 15th-century conditions of increasingly centralized government and weakened popular ritual. But with assets of 14,947 florins in 1427, the Company was still the wealthiest of the city's laudesi companies (see table, p.186), and its numerous bequests in perpetuum assured an enduring ritual life. Orsanmichele remained the epicenter of Florentine laudesi activity through the 16th century, and beyond the scope of this study.

* * *

⁸To honor the expulsion of the tyrannical Duke of Athens on July 26th, 1343 (the feast day of St. Anne, Mother of Mary), and the cult of St. Anne that arose thereafter.

⁹On December 6, 1367, the Company voted to "construct two altars, furnished as is necessary, beside the tabernacle of Our Lady"; OSM, vol.56, f.82v: "Deliberarono I capitani detto di che si faccia fare due altari fornite come bisongnia allato al tabernacholo di nostra donna..." The function of the tabernacle as a booth for candle sales is evident in an early 14thc. miniature [plate 8].

¹⁰Monti, Le confraternite, v.I, p.172.

When the earliest Company statutes were drafted, in 1294 and 1297, Orsanmichele appointed four lauda instructors, but at this time sang laude "before the oratory" (i.e. the pilaster supporting the "figure" of the Virgin) only on feast days.¹¹ By the time new statutes were drafted in 1333, the Company had adopted ferial singing [doc.32, line 3], inspite of the makeshift condition of the loggia. Between the fire of 1304 and the construction of the new loggia in 1337, the pilaster bearing the image of the Madonna (which had escaped destruction) was surrounded by a wooden structure in which the members met, and protected from rain by a tent that was raised during the singing of laude.¹²

A year after the Company drafted its 1333 statutes, the captains recorded the following incident:

...because the governatori of the laude have erased [the names of] certain laudesi of the said Company without the knowledge of the captains of the Company, a scandal was caused among the said laudesi which proved to be embarassing to the captains and to the entire Company...It was [therefore] decided that a book shall be made in which shall be written all the laudesi of the said Company...by name and nickname. The Company notary shall keep that book, and diligently preserve and guard it...and give a copy to the governatori of the laude or to their sacristans. And none of [the names of] the laudese recorded in the said book may be erased or cancelled by a governatori or other official or other person of the said Company, except by the Company notary, and in the presence and at the volition

¹¹Castellani, Nuovi testi, pp.650-673; The relevant documents concerning the loggia and the images are translated in Ch.VI, pp.323-4 [doc.6]; 332-3 [docs.53 & 54].

¹²Davidsohn, Geschichte von Florenz, vol.II, p.II, p.292; Monti, Le confraternite, vol.I, p.167.

of the captains...¹³

Although the exact nature of the "scandal" is not clear, it probably proceeded from the fact that these were paid singers, in which case the document is an early witness to the conflict of interest that arose between company and singer when the latter no longer sang for devotion alone.

Documented payments to musicians beginning in 1361 reveal a flourishing musical establishment. In that year, the Company was paying six singers, "three singers who sing laude every Saturday and Sunday, and on other solemn days...", and "three other singers who sing laude every evening..."¹⁴ In September of that year,

¹³Ed. in G. Biagi, "I capitoli della Compagnia della Madonna d'Or San Michele," Bulletino dell'associazione per la difesa di Firenze antica (1909), 84-5 (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, fondo Antinori 29/66; OSM statutes compiled between 1329 and 1333, and differing somewhat from those edited by La Sorsa, whose source was OSM, vol.474, and which lacks this 1334 addition): "Con ciò sia cosa che per cagione d'alcune rasure fatte per li governatori de le laude di certi laudesi de la detta compagnia senza saputa de capitani de la compagnia, fosse generato alcuno scandalo infra i detti laudesi la quale cosa tornava in vergogna a capitani e a tutta la compagnia...Statuto e ordinato è che si faccia uno libro nel quale si scrivano tutti i laudesi de la detta compagnia...per nomi e soprannomi. Il quale libro debbia scrivere il notaio de la detta compagnia e quello conservare e guardare diligentemente..., e darne copia a governatori de le laude, o alloro sagrestani. E che niuno laudese il quale fosse scritto nel detto libro possa esser reso o cancellato per alcuno governatore o altro ufficiale o altra persona de la detta compagnia, senno per lo notaio de la detta compagnia e in presenza e di volontade de capitani..."

¹⁴OSM, vol.1bis, Libro de registro delle elezione, [5/12-9/14], 1361, f.11v [July, 1361]:
 "Tribus cantoribus qui canunt laudas quolibet die sabati et dominice et alias diebus solempnibus per eorum salario [lacuna] ad rationem [lacuna].
 Tribus alias cantoribus qui canunt quolibet sere laudas per eorum salario [lacuna]."

Francesco magister Iusti and Bartolomeo Antogni were receiving s.10 each per month "for singing laude every month" (probably for feast days), and in November *Nucio di Neri, *Chellino della viuola, and *Niccolò di Lippo were together receiving L.4 per month for singing and playing on feast days.¹⁵ During 1365-1366, shortly after the grain market had been moved out of the loggia, the Company retained nine to ten salaried musicians. For January and February of 1366, Niccolò Lippi, Giovanni Loris, and Lodovicho Mattei received the highest salary of one florin per month as ferial singers; Nucio Neri and Chellino della viuola received s.26 d.8 for feast days; Nuto Tendi, his son Francesco, and Domenico Cecchi (cieco; blind) received s.20 for ferial service; and Domenico's son Cristofano was paid s.15 for unspecified duties.¹⁶ During this period, two families provided a number of singers for the Company: Domenico cieco and his son Francesco, and Nuto Tendi and three sons, Francesco, Juliano, and Piero. In a guild society where professional skills were typically passed

¹⁵Ibid., ff.15v-16r. The latter three are designated as "cantoribus".

¹⁶OSM, vol.4, f.5r [Jan.-Feb. 1366]: "Niccolao Lippi, Johanni Loris, et Lodovicho Mathea, qui cantant laudes de sero coram oratorio... [6 florins at 1 fl. each/mo.] Nuccio nerii et Chellino dela viuola, qui cantant laudes in diebus solempnibus... [L.5 s.6 d.8 at s.26 d.8 each/mo.] Nuto tendis, francescho et filius decte nuti tendi, qui cantant laudes coram dicte oratorio... [L.4 at s.20 each/mo.] domenicho cecchi, qui cantat Laudes coram dicte oratorio...[L.2 at s.20/mo.] Cristofano dominici, qui similiter cantat Laudes...[L.1 s.10 at s.15/mo.]."
1365 payments are published in D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 271, n.74, where three singers at s.20/mo. were paid "ad cane[n]dum quolibet sero..."

from father to son in a master/apprentice relationship, fathers and their sons frequently appeared on the laudesi payrolls.¹⁷

During the 1370's, Orsanmichele paid one florin each to four singers (*Mazze Palmieri, Lodovicho Mattei, Niccolò del Bene, and Niccolò di Lippo), and two instrumentalists (Chellino della viuola, and the organist and priest *Niccolò di Lapo).¹⁸ Niccolò di Lapo was suddenly fired as organist and replaced by Niccolò di Lippo in 1376, when a captains' deliberation stated that the latter was to "play the organ in the appointed place ...beneath the enclosed area where one can play, since it is not proper to play in the tabernacle".¹⁹ This is probably a reference to the construction work on the loggia begun in the previous decade, which by now may have reached a sufficient stage of enclosure to allow the organ (probably a small, portable one) to be moved out

¹⁷Family pattern in laudesi activity are discussed in more detail in Ch.V, pp.248f.

¹⁸The six are listed together as "cantoribus et sonatoribus ad laudes...". D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 271, n.75; OSM, vol.7, f.22v [1370]; vol.464, CRIA 9566, f.15v [1378].

¹⁹OSM, vol.10, f.15v. [July 14, 1376]: "Supradicti capitani ...eligerunt Niccolao lippi de organis cum salaro consuete ad sonandum organem in oratorio in loco deputando...quod fiat expressis sots locus clausus ubi possit sonari cum non sit honestum sonari in tabernaculo." Documents concerning the lives of Niccolò and Giovanni degli Organi are presented and discussed by F. D'Accone, "Giovanni Mazzuoli: A Late Representative of the Italian Ars Nova," L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento (Certaldo, 1968), 23-38. In answer to Prof. D'Accone's question (p.31) as to who served as organist at Orsanmichele between the tenures of father and son, it appears to have been Niccolò di Lippi, who otherwise is recorded among the laudesi between 1361 and 1383. To the scant biography of Niccolò di Lapo Mazzuoli, an organist of some repute, may be added the record of his service as a consigliere for the Company of San Zanobi in 1397; SZ, vol.2171, fasc.6C, f.254r [Sept.].

of the tabernacle, where it previously had been kept and played. In 1378, Niccolò was replaced as organist by his son, Giovanni di Niccolò, or Giovanni [Mazzuoli] degli Organi, whom D'Accone has identified as the Magister Jouannes Horganista de Florentia, whose works were to be entered beneath his miniature in the Squarcialupi Codex.²⁰

The Company regularly paid six or seven singers and two instrumentalists throughout the 1380s. In 1388, *Maestro Luigi di Matteo della viuola replaced Chellino, who had served the Company since at least 1361. Among the 28 salaried employees of the Company that year, the nine "lauldesi" were *Giovanni Giuliano (Ciancha), Maza Palmieri, Niccolò di Lippo, Niccolò di Lapo, *Antonio di Petro, Giovanni di Michele, *Antonio di Giovanni Biffoli, Giovanni di Niccolò "per gli orghani", and Luigi di Matteo della viuola.²¹ On October 30, 1388, the Captains voted to institute a new musical service, for which

...the pifferi and sonatores²² of the said commune,

²⁰Giovanni is first recorded on Oct.27, 1378; OSM, vol.464, CRIA 9566, f.15v.; D'Accone, "Giovanni Mazzuoli: A Late Representative of the Italian Ars Nova," L'Ars nova del trecento, II (Certaldo, 1968), 27, 31-2. Soon after Giovanni began serving, the Company provided 40 gold florins for the purchase of a new pair of organs (Jan.21, 1379; OSM, vol.11, f.26v.). In 1380, Niccolò Lapi was being paid by the Company to officiate in the Cathedral at a chapel under the Company's patronage (the chapel of Ser Piero Machoni); OSM, vol.12, f.12r.

²¹OSM, vol.209, f.6v. [April 2?, 1388], all at L.3 each/mo.

²²pifferi: players of wind instruments in general, including shawms and bombards (ceramelle), pipes (fistule, zuffoli), bagpipes (cornamuse), but also including percussion (tamburini, nacherini, cembalo). Sonatores (suonatores) usually refers to instrumentalists in general, but in this particular context

with their trumpets, bells, and instruments, are obliged to come to the said oratorio on each solemn [feast] day, the solemn vigils of the Virgin Mary, the Paschals [of Christmas and Easter], and every Sunday morning, and to play devoutly and solemnly render mactinatam while the sustaining image of the Mother of God is unveiled.²³

This obligation on the part of the commune's instrumentalists is recorded in the Provvisione of the city, which held authority

probably indicates the other prevalent category of instrumentalists, trombadore: players of brass instruments in general (trombetti) including curved trumpets and sackbuts, as opposed to tubatores, players of the Roman straight trumpet. Zippel, I suonatori della Signoria di Firenze (Trent, 1892); L. Cellesi, "Documenti," passim. Outdoor brass and wind players were numerous in Florence, for they were integral to the civic ceremonial life of the Italian communes; the Florentine city government, as well as the Parte Guelfa and the Merchant Court, employed their own retinues throughout most of the republican period. On the city's instrumentalists, see G. Zippel, I suonatori. The Merchant Court reported in the 1427 catasto a payment of 180 lire per year to six "trombetti e pifferi"; ASF, Catasto vol.291, 1r. Each of the 21 guilds also sponsored a patron saint festival for which brass and/or wind players were hired; in 1427, the calimala (merchant's) guild spent 26 lire a year on two feasts, San Giovanni decollato, and St. Anne, which included "trombetti e pifferi"; ASF, Catasto vol.291, 4r.

²³D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 274: "...quod pifferi et sonatores dicti comunis teneantur et debeant cum eorum tubis, sonis, et instrumentis singulis diebus solemnibus, in vigiliis solemnitatum Virginis Marie, pascalibus et diebus dominicis de mane accedere ad dictum oratorium et ibi dum ymage alme Dei genitrici obstenditur, devote sonare et solemniter mactinatam facere." "Mactinatam" ("maitinate") was a part of the duties of the city musicians in Italian communes, an early morning salutation for the priors, usually played in the piazza before the priors' palazzo; G. Zippel, I suonatore, p.11. In 1416, the Company recorded the feast days, on the vigils and mornings of which the image of the Virgin might be unveiled: Saturday evenings, Sunday mornings, the four principal feasts of the Virgin, Christmas, Easter, the two feasts of St. Michael, the Ascension of Christ, the Visitation of St. Elisabeth, the feast of St. Anne, and for processions; OSM, vol.23, f.4v. [Jan.11, 1416].

over the Company and may have instituted the service.²⁴

There are no Company records of the years between 1389 and 1402, but those following indicate a gradual expansion of the Company's musical establishment. In 1403, the Company was paying three instrumentalists, who from 1405 to 1412 were Giovanni degli Organi, Maestro Luigi della Viuola, and the rebec player *Pagolo di Ser Ambruogio, called Vinci, who served the Company from 1405 to at least 1437 (between his 37th and 69th years).²⁵ For a brief period in 1412-1413, when the lutenist *Jacopo di Lorenzo was hired, the Company's musicians included seven singers, three rebec/vielle players, a lutenist and an organist.²⁶ When Maestro Luigi died in 1413, he was officially replaced by Pagolo in two

²⁴G. Zippel, I suonatori, pp.19-20, n.4, who records a 1452 Provisione indicating that the Orsanmichele service was still part of the instrumentalists' duties: "Item quod sonitores dominationis teneantur et debeant de cetero ire ad sonandum ad Oratorium S.ti Michaelis in orto, in qualibet die in qua ostendetur ibi figura Sanctissime Virginis Marie existens in tabernaculo intra dictum oratorium, gratis idest absque premio propter ea consequendo, et prout continetur in quadam reformatione edita de anno 1388..." The pifferi who played in 1388 may well have included those hired by the city in 1386: Franceschino d'Alessandro, a bombard player, Felice di Simone da Firenze, a cornetto player, and Nanni di Maso da Sesto, a bagpiper, *Ibid.*, p.14. In 1431, the Company was paying a monthly salary to three city pifferi: Giorgio di Giovanni d'Alemagna (bombard and trombone), and the Florentines Santi di Gherardo and Filippo di Francesco, *Ibid.*, p.28; OSM, vol.26, f.29v. In 1432, three boys (Benedetto di Giovanni, *Lorenzo di Giovanni, and *Goro di Maso) were elected to sing instead, "che debano chantare per lo meno 2 ballate (i.e. laude) perchè non ci sono e pifferi", D'Accone, "Alcune note," 103. In 1448, the city trumpeters (tubicines) were required to play for the service; Zippel, I suonatori, p.19, n.4.

²⁵D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 275; For a more detailed profile of Pagolo, see Ch.V, pp.256-7.

²⁶OSM, vol.20, ff.88r-127v [October, 1412 to March, 1413].

capacities. As "excellent player of vielles, rebecs, lutes, and other instruments," Pagolo replaced Maestro Luigi, "vielle player, who in the duration of his life continuously served this company with the song of his vielle in praise and reverence of blessed Mary", as the Company's higher paid stringed instrument player; and Pagolo also replaced Luigi in the service of the Signorie, playing during their meals "with [a] vielle or another instrument."²⁷

Also in 1412, the Company recorded its first payment to a singing master, Bertino di maestro Francesco (s.50) and two "fanciulli biscantatore e laudesi", *Domenico di Salvestro Tati, and *Martino di Vanni Martini (s.25 each), who were to sing on feast days.²⁸ Although it is not certain that this practice continued during the immediate years, in 1436 the Company hired Magistro Benocto de Francia to "retain two boys whom he will teach to sing, and all of whom are to sing on the vigils and days of the customary feasts".²⁹ In 1415, the Company was paying six ferial

²⁷Zippel, I suonatori, pp.22-23: "...optimum sonatorem viole, ribeche, liuti et aliorum instrumentorum..."; "...sonitor viole, qui tempore sue vite dicte societate in laudem et reverentiam beate Marie cum melodia dicte viole continue serviebat..."; "...cum viola vel aliquo instrumento."

²⁸The three are mentioned together in payments between October, 1412 and October, 1413; OSM, vol.20, ff.84v, 158r; vol.21, f.12r.

²⁹OSM, vol.26, f.24v [November 13, 1436]: "Item condusserunt Ministrum Benoctum franciscum ministrum musicum qui retinere debeat duos pueros quos doceat cantare et qui omnis cantent vigiliis et diebus festivis consuetis cum salario florem duorem pro quolibet mensis initiandem die xv presente mensis." How long he served the Company is unclear, since there are no extant documents for 1437 to 1449, but he may be the same "Magistrum

singers at s.50 each: *Nofri di Giovanni, vaiaio, *Vanni di Martino (a 65-year-old resident of the Santa Maria Novella quarter),³⁰ *Vermiglio di Niccolò, *Piero di Niccolò, a wool-carder known as *Ciancha (Giovanni di Giuliani), and *Antonio di Petro; four festive singers: *Bernaba di Cristofano Loci, cimatore (a 58-year old clothcutter living in the Santo Spirito quarter),³¹ *Salvestro di Domenico Tati at s.30 each, and the two biscantatori Salvestro and Domenico, at s.25 each; two "sonatoribus et laudensibus": the rebec player Paolo di Ser Ambruogio at s.60, and the lutenist Jacopo di Lorenzo at s.30; and Giovanni degli Organi at s.60.³² A captains' deliberation of the following year confirmed exactly this configuration of musicians, including the two players "of rebecs or other instruments, for singing and

Benottum de Ferraria" who from December, 1438 to February, 1447 served as the first master of the Cathedral's new polyphonic chapel; D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni...", 310-314. The Company recorded a payment on Feb.14, 1437 to Magistro Benocto, whose name was then crossed out and replaced by Francesco Bartoli, "et 4 suis sotiis cantoribus in ecclesia <.....> pro missa predicta cantande...L.2 s.15"; OSM, vol.26, f.36r. Francesco was also a member of the Cathedral's original polyphonic chapel officially established the following year. Either he and his companions were hired by the Company from among the Cathedral's chant choir, or, given the apparent presence at the Cathedral of both Francesco and Benocto in Feb., 1437, the Cathedral's polyphonic chapel was being informally established nearly two years before its first documented existence on December 9, 1438. Francesco was apparently an organist and a priest, as well, for from February to August of 1436, the organist for the Company was "Ser Francesco Bartoli presbitero, sonatori orghanorem"; Ibid., ff.5r, 16v.

³⁰For a detailed profile of Vanni, see Ch.V, p.258.

³¹See Ch.V, p.253.

³²OSM, vol.22, ff.65v-66r [Jan.31, 1415].

playing in the said oratorio."³³

After 1418, the Company's only extant 15th-century documents are from the years 1431-37, 1450 and 1453, but together with its 1427 Catasto report, they reveal a musical establishment that continued to operate on a larger scale than other Florentine laudesi companies. The long list of financial obligations listed in the Company's 1427 tax report begins with the salaried employees:

To the sacristan who manages the oratory Fl.3 per month
 To 9 chaplains who officiate the oratory L.756...
 To 2 clerics who serve at Mass L.96...
 To 3 ministers who extinguish the tapers L.270...
 To 6 laudesi who sing the laude every day L.180...
 To 6 laudesi who sing the laude on feast days L.144...
 To 2 vielle and lute players L.60...
 To Ser Piero who plays the organ L.66...
 To the Company notary Fl.48 per year...
 To the Company purveyor Fl.48 per year.³⁴

Of particular interest is the organist, Ser Piero, who is certainly Ser Piero di Giovanni degli Organi. Giovanni died on May

³³D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 277: "...capitanei...possunt et utunt eligere, nominare et deputar usque in decem presbiteros seu cappellanos pro celebrandis missis et divinis officiis in oratorio dicte societatis, computato sacrista, duos clericos, sex laudenses pro diebus continuis et quatour pro diebus festivis illis additos, unum sonatorem organorum et duos ribecarum sive alterius instrumenti, ad cane[n]dum et sonandum in dicto oratorio."

³⁴ASF, Catasto vol.291, ff.72r-v:
 Al sagrestano che governa l'oratorio fl.3 il mese...
 A 9 chappellani che uficiano il detto oratorio L.756...
 A due cherici che servono alla messa L.96...
 A tre ministri che spenghono i mocholi...L.270...
 A 6 lauldesi che chantano le laulde ogni di L.180...
 A 6 lauldesi che chantano le laulde il di delle feste L.144
 A due sonatori di viuola e liuto L.60...
 A Ser piero che suona glorghani L.66...
 Al notaio della chonpagnia fl.48 l'anno...
 Al proveditore della chonpagnia fl.48 l'anno...

14, 1426, at which time we know that his son Piero, a notary by profession but also an able organist and composer, had temporarily assumed his father's duties as organist at the Cathedral,³⁵ but this is the first indication that he did the same at Orsanmichele. The next regular organist we hear of at either establishment is Antonio Squarcialupi, who at age 14 assumed the Orsanmichele position in 1430, and in April of 1432 was appointed organist at Santa Maria del Fiore.³⁶

There are several other notable entries in the 1427 report. In a single year, the Company spent more on wax (L.208 for 520 pounds!) than on the salaries of their six ferial singers. Of the 23 patron saint feasts celebrated by the company (St. Michael, St. Anne, and one each for the 21 guilds), only the St. Anne feast warranted special expenses for musicians:

To the friars who sing the laude on the feast of St. Anne L.20...

To the pifferi and trombetti on the feast of St. Anne L.5...³⁷

³⁵D'Accone, "Giovanni Mazzuoli," 37. "Ser Piero di Giovanni Mazzuoli, notaio" is also listed in the San Zanobi company borsa for 1428 (SZ, vol.2170, fasc.1, f.30r); and the death of "Ser Piero di Giovanni degli Orghani" on or shortly before Oct. 5, 1432, is recorded in SZ, vol.2186, fasc.48, f.74v. On Piero's actual date of death (Sept.10, 1430), and his activity as organist and composer, see F. D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," Studi musicali 13 (1984), 10-11, 15-17.

³⁶F. D'Accone, "Antonio Squarcialupi alla luce di documenti inediti," Chigiana 23 (New Series 3, 1966), 11ff., 19.

³⁷ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.73v:
 A frati che chantano le laulde il di di santa anna L.20..
 A pifferi e tronbetti il di della festa di santa anna L.5.
 The selection of friars as lauda singers is interesting. The Company probably sought clerical singers in order to add liturgi-

For the St. Anne feast in 1413, the occasion for an especially splendid celebration was the presence of the Papal singers. Company records show expenses for three commemorative meals, and payments to the singers for several masses and a vespers service, as well as payments for collazione and liturgical services beginning July 16th.³⁸ The L.20 paid to the friars of Santo Spirito was probably for singing the laude that year.

cal solemnity to the occasion, and in general friars were probably more familiar with the lauda repertory than the secular clergy at the Cathedral, with which Orsanmichele (which was a collegiate church by this time) otherwise seems to have had a closer relationship.

³⁸OSM, vol.21, ff.4v-5v [August 31, 1413]:
 A lui detto [Jacopo di bonisi venditore de candele nello oratorio d'orto san michele] i quali pago a trombadori, trombetti, e pifferi del comune di firenze che onorarono la detta festa di santa anna L.cinque...
 A lui detto i quali pago a trombetti et pifferi de[i] capitani della parte guelfa per detta ragione L.una s.tredici...
 A lui detto i quali pago a cantori del papa i quali cantarono alla detta festa e a vespri di santa anna L.ventiquattro...
 A...donzelli de[i] capitani della parte guelfa che ragunarono molti cittadini venissono a offere alla detta festa...L.1 s.10

 A lui detto i quali pago per tre collazioni facce a cantori del papa che honorarono la detta festa de santa anna cioe poconi [e] simiglianti cose L.6 s.diciotto e d.sei...
 ...a uno portatore che arecho reliquie e paramenti da santo spirito in sino al detto oratorio per honorare la detta festa s.5 a frate di santo spirito che honorarono...L.20
 per soma tre di mortina per fare la festa di santo jacopo di santa anna e di sancto lorenzo...L.2 s.14
 ...
 a cantori del papa per alcuna collazione facta a di xvi di luglio quando honorarono e celebrano detto di la messa nel detto oratorio...L.5 s.10 d.6
 per honorare i detti cantori sabato a di xxii di luglio di loro proprio movimento per la messa di nostra donna...L.1 s.11 d.6
 ...
 ...collatione fatta sabato a di xxvii d'agosto a cantori del papa che honorarono detto di la messa si disse nel detto oratorio...
 L.1 s.1 d.6

In 1436-37, the Company was served by six ferial singers: *Maso di Niccolò,³⁹ *Guasparre d'Ugolino Prospero,⁴⁰ *Piero di Nicolo Crinelli, Nencio di Giovanni, pellicciaio (furrier), *Vettorico Bordoni,⁴¹ and *Francesco di Nicolo degli Asini⁴²; four festive singers: *Bartolomeo di Lodovico, *Goro di Maso, *Bernaba di Cristofano, and *Francesco di Bartolo; two ribec players: *Paolo di Ser Ambruogio, and *Prospero di Guasparre d'Ugolino; and the organist (and priest) *Ser Francesco di Bartolo, who was replaced in August, 1436 by Antonio Squarcialupi.⁴³ The other two festive singers (which would bring

³⁹Maso was 60 years old in 1437, and according to his 1427 tax report was a laudese by declared profession and resident of the San Giovanni quarter. For a more detailed profile, see Ch.V, pp.255-6.

⁴⁰Guasparre was the same age as Maso, and lived in the same quarter. He was a glovemaking by trade. See Ch.V, pp.254-5.

⁴¹Vettorico was 54 in 1436; according to his 1427 tax report he lived in the Santa Maria Novella quarter, and made his living by "cloth-burling and lauda singing". See Ch.V, p.258.

⁴²Francesco was 21 in 1436, and at the time of his 1427 tax report he lived with his two younger brothers in the Santa Maria Novella quarter. See Ch.V, p.254.

⁴³Ghoro is the first among a number of singers in Florence to perform with both the lay companies and the Cathedral's new polyphonic choir, the singers of San Giovanni. The Cathedral choir was formed in 1438, two years after Pope Eugene IV consecrated the new Cathedral and instituted a schola for training choir boys, and during the transfer from Ferrara to Florence of the Council for Union between the Greek and Latin Churches; D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 14 (1961), 307-308; A. Seay, "The 15-Century Cappella at Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence," Journal of the American Musicological Society 11 (1958), 45. Ghoro was a festive singer for San Zanobi in 1435 (SZ, vol.2186, fasc.48, f.138r,153v), a festive and ferial singer for Orsanmichele in 1432 and 1437 (OSM, vol.62, f.36r; vol.26, f.4v), and as "Ser Ghoro di Maso" (probably a

the total number to the six indicated in the 1427 catasto) were probably the two boys being trained by Magister Benocto that year. The tax report filed by the Company in 1438 reveals a significant economic decline during these lean years. The cash value of the Company's assets had diminished from nearly 15,000 florins in 1427 to 10,570 in 1438, but the Company continued to maintain its 1427 level of expense for musicians' salaries (about L.450 per year), although significant changes in the complexion of the chapel had taken place during the intervening years. The Company was now paying:

- 1 organist at L.72/year
- 9 laudesi (5 at s.50/mo.; 4 at s.40/mo.) at L.246/year
- 1 master (who sings and teaches 2 boys, at 2 fl./mo.)
ca.L.96/year
- 1 boy in residence, who sings (s.40/mo.) at
L.24/year.⁴⁴

In effect, the Company had discontinued the regular service of all instrumentalists except the organist, cancelled the positions of one ferial and one festive singer, and re-channeled those salaries into the position of the music master.

In 1450, payments were made to Antonio Squarcialupi as

priest), a tenorista among the Cathedral's six singers in 1445-6 (D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 313). On Ser Francesco di Bartolo's connection to the Cathedral, see above, n.29. Squarcialupi's (re-)election to the Orsanmichele organist post is recorded in OSM, vol.26, f.16v, immediately after a payment on July 31 to Marcho Pauli de Prato for a new organ (16r).

- ⁴⁴ASF, Catasto vol.602 (1438), no.1:
- 1 sonattore d'orghano....L.72
- 9 ladesi...L.246
- 1 maestro che diputtato a chantare a cierti tempi ensengniare a 2
fanc[i]ulli....fl.24
- 1 fanciullo in luogo di ministre che chanta...L.24

organist, four Germanic ("della Magna") sonatori (Arrigo di Giovanni, who played the curved trumpet (tromba torta), and the shawm players Niccolò di Giovanni da Basilea, Giovanni di Benedetto da Costanza, and Giovanni d'Arrigo), and twelve singers who were listed without ferial or festive designations (Abram di Francesco, Biagio d'Arrigo sarto (tailor), *Guasparre d'Ugolino, Giuliano de Ser Simone, *Jacopo di Domenico, Marco di Bartolomeo chalzaiuolo, *Noccho d'Alesso, *Piero di Chiovo, *Sandro di Giovanni tessere di drappi (weaver), *Ser Salvatore di Cristofano, *Ulivante di Bartolomeo, and *Paolo di Piero di Chiovo).⁴⁵ Like the other laudesi companies, Orsanmichele had by this time ceased hiring rebec, vielle, and lute players; a 1453 record lists seven ferial singers and the organist Squarcialupi.⁴⁶

During a long lacuna in the Orsanmichele records (1454-1507), it is likely that the Company gradually began hiring larger numbers of singers who by at least the 1470s were designated as tenoristi and sovrani, a change that is documented below with respect to the Companies of San Piero Martire and San Zanobi.⁴⁷ In 1508, the Company was paying an organist (Ser

⁴⁵D'Accone, "Alcune note," 104; the Provvisione concerning the service of the four sonatori with the city are edited in L. Cellesi, "Documenti," 573-75.

⁴⁶D'Accone, "Alcune note," 104.

⁴⁷See this chapter, pp.178-9, 162-3. Contemporary Cathedral records indicated that the term tenorista (tinorista, tenore, tinore) referred to all the lower parts in a polyphonic ensemble, whether two-, three-, or four-part. D'Accone, "Alcune note," 109. The usage probably derives from the original designation of these

Alessandro di Matteo Bastiani), six tenoristi (at s.70/mo.), and nine sovrani (five ferial singers at s.40, and four festive singers at s.20-30)).⁴⁸ Among the ferial sovrani was Bernardo di Benedetto Pagoli, who was to become the well-known composer Bernardo Pisano.⁴⁹ In 1509, the Company was served by another of the city's long line of illustrious organist/composers, Bartolomeo degli Organi. Between 1488 and 1500, he had sung and accompanied laude at the church of Santissima Annunziata, and in 1509 he was organist in three of the leading Florentine musical establishments--Orsanmichele, the Cathedral, and Santissima Annunziata.⁵⁰ From 1515 to 1521, the Company paid a "magister capelle laudensium", Agniolo del Favilla, who also served as chapel master for the Companies of Santo Spirito (1518-1522) and San Zanobi (1512).⁵¹

Documents are lacking for the years between 1529 and 1567. Most of the other laudesi companies suffered a complete disruption of cultic activities during this period of great social and political upheaval, and it is unclear whether Orsanmichele's substantial assets enabled it to function inspite of these con-

parts as tenor, contratenor altus, and contratenor bassus.

⁴⁸D'Accone, "Alcune note," 105.

⁴⁹Idem, "Bernardo Pisano: An Introduction to His Life and Works," Musica disciplina XVII (1963), pp.115-35.

⁵⁰Idem, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance," Analecta musicologica IV (1967), 74-75.

⁵¹Idem, "Alcune note," 105-6.

ditions.⁵² From 1568 to 1593, however, the Company retained an organist, a chapel master, five "cantore delle laude", four to five ferial sovrani, and four festive sovrani.⁵³ That laude continued to be performed during this time there can be no doubt, for in 1569 the Company paid L.153 s.6 d.8 to Ser Jacopo Raphaelis de Campio

...for 230 laude copied by him in the new book of the said oratorio at the rate of s.13 d.4 for each lauda.⁵⁴

Throughout this period, the guildsmen gradually disappeared from the ranks of adult singers, and by 1584 the lower polyphonic parts were sung entirely by clergy. The Company maintained a school for the salaried boy singers; a memoriale of April 29, 1573, outlined the duties of the chapel master (at that time Maestro Stefano d'Antonio Gallacini), who was responsible for the instruction:

[Maestro Stefano]... is required to teach all sovrani who are paid to serve in the chapel, for two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon, in the school set aside for that purpose, [which is] in the house of the [Company's] priest above our meeting room.⁵⁵

⁵²The decline and transformation of the companies during this period is discussed in Ch.VII.

⁵³OSM, vol.31bis, Partiti, 1568-69, ff.51v-52r; vol.32, Partiti, 1569-1570, ff.34r-v; vol.33, Partiti, 1570-1571, f.34v; vol.34, Partiti, 1572-73, ff.34r-v; vol.35, Partiti, 1574-75, ff.34v-35r; vol.38, Partiti, 1583-84, f.34r; vol.42, Partiti, 1589-1593, ff.65v, 93v.

⁵⁴OSM, vol.31bis, f.58v: "...pro laudibus n^o 230 per eum scriptis in libro novo dicti oratorii ad rationem s.13 d.4 pro quolibet lauda..."

⁵⁵OSM, vol.34, f.13 [April 29, 1573]: "[Maestro Stefano]...è tenuto due hore la mattina e due il giorno insegnare a tutti sovrani che sono stipendiati per servizio di

Among the cantori who served the Company between 1568 and 1574 was Bastiano di Tommaso Arditi, the tailor who also served as chapel master for the Company of San Piero Martire from 1557-1580. Perhaps the last of the eminent Florentine musicians to begin their musical careers in the city's laudesi companies was Jacopo Peri (1561-1633), who on November 11, 1572 was listed among the Orsanmichele sovrani.⁵⁶

2. THE COMPANY OF SAN PIERO MARTIRE

The laudesi company associated with the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella was descended from the first of the Florentine Marian congregations founded by Saint Peter Martyr in 1244.⁵⁷ Sometime between 1267 and 1288, the company was transformed from a "Societas Sanctae Mariae Virgine" to a "Compagnia delle laude", and thereafter was rivaled only by Orsanmichele in wealth and the strength of its lauda singing tradition. According to Meersseman, it was the prototype of the other Florentine companies that arose in the 1270s and 1280s.⁵⁸ Among the Decameron's satirical portraits of the 14th-century Florentine religious community, the laudesi company at Santa Maria Novella is singled

essa cappella nella scuola ordinata per dio nella casa del proposto sopra la nostra audientia."

⁵⁶OSM, vol.34, f.34v: "Jacopino di <lacuna> peri...L.3".

⁵⁷Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.923-24.

⁵⁸Ibid., p.976, but there is no evidence that San Piero Martire was a laudesi company before 1288, when others were already in existence.

out by name, presumably because of its familiarity to Boccaccio's storytelling circle.⁵⁹ With the exception of Orsanmichele, the Company of San Piero Martire was the last to abandon ferial lauda singing (in 1478), and the last of the lay companies to abandon the ancient devotion altogether. During the third quarter of the 16th century, responsibility for supporting the lauda singers shifted to the sacristy of Santa Maria Novella.⁶⁰

More so than at other Florentine churches, the powerful Dominican establishment at Santa Maria Novella exerted a relatively strong influence on its laudesi affiliate. The aggressive intellectual climate surrounding its great studium, which produced scores of able preachers, left its mark on the lay company. Officers of the company usually included several friars, who were frequently maestri in grammar or theology, and the company maintained a school for the children of company members which, in 1316, was taught by "Ser Filippo Nardi della gramatica".⁶¹ In 1325, two years after the canonization of Thomas Aquinas, the great Dominican theologian had joined the company's

⁵⁹day 7, story 1

⁶⁰F. D'Accone, "Repertory and Performance Practice in Santa Maria Novella at the Turn of the 17th Century," A Festschrift for Albert Seay, ed. M. Grace (Colorado Springs, Colo., 1982), p.76.

⁶¹SMN, vol.291, f.7v; R. Davidssohn, Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz (Berlin, 1896-1908), IV, p. 430; Monti, Le confraternite, II, pp.156-57. A number of friars received religious education as children in the laudesi company's school. Orlandi, Necrologio I, p.251; and his Il VII centenario della predicazione di San Pietro Martire a Firenze: 1245-1945 (Florence, 1946), p.74. This connection with the company as children undoubtedly contributed to the adult friars' interest in company membership and the bestowing of bequests.

host of patron saints, and on September 27 nine soldi was paid for the copying of a lauda and a motet in honor of Saint Thomas.⁶² The convent's ambitious artistic program, in competition with that of the Franciscans at Santa Croce, may account for the unusual number of painters among the company's membership,⁶³ and for the company's selection in 1285 of the great Sienese painter Duccio di Boninsegna to provide an altar painting.⁶⁴ The friars and lay brothers also enjoyed an unusually close relationship in the matter of bequests. The Company of San Pier Martire received a large number throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, many of which involved only a token payment to the company of one or two lire, while the remainder went primarily to the friars.⁶⁵ The lay company, it appears, was acting in the capacity of a professional executor, managing the proceeds from landed property and perhaps helping the friars sidestep the delicate issue of material ownership by a mendicant order.

* * *

The oldest extant documents referring to the company's lauda singing activity are two letters of indulgence. The first, issued in 1288 by Andreas Mozzi, bishop of Florence, granted 20 days for

⁶²SMN, vol.292, f.27v.

⁶³Davidssohn, Forschungen, IV, p.430; Monti, Le confraternite, I, pp.155-56.

⁶⁴The contract for the painting is edited in Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.1041. This painting, the "Rucellai Madonna" (now in the Uffizi, Florence) is of some historic importance, and is discussed further in Ch.VI, p.326 [plate 17].

⁶⁵SMN, vols. 306, 326, passim.

"gathering in the evening for laude", 40 days for meeting every second Sunday of the month to process with lit candles, and 40 days to hear sermons during the evening in lent.⁶⁶ In 1304, cardinal Nicola da Prato increased the indulgences to 40 days to meet in Santa Maria Novella "every day without interruption, for singing laude in the evening", and 100 days to process (as above) either in the morning or evening and "render devout laude" [doc.66].

A company account book covering the years 1312-1340 preserves the oldest extant record of payments to lauda singers. In 1312, payments were made on three occasions to "fanciulli che cantano", and again in 1330 to "due fanciulli".⁶⁷ Several, probably older, singers are mentioned by name: in 1325 and 1327, "Lore, che canta le laude" (s.10); in 1332, "Masino, righattiere (used clothing dealer), che chanta" (s.10); in 1332 and 1333, Dato Bernardi, "laudese";⁶⁸ and in 1338 and 1340, "Giorgio, che canta". These precious few references nevertheless indicate that from the early 14th century laudesi were paid, that both boys and adults were hired, and that laude were apparently performed by either one, generally older singer, or several boys.

⁶⁶The letter is edited in Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.1042-3. Indulgences are discussed in Ch.II, pp.25-6.

⁶⁷D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 256. In this and a follow-up article ("Alcune note,") D'Accone has published a number of documents pertaining to the musical activities of SPM, SZ, and OSM, which in this chapter will be summarized, and augmented by new primary materials.

⁶⁸SMN, vol. 292, ff.43r,46r. Further documents in D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 257.

There are no extant account books from the years between 1341 and 1389, but a 15th-century debit/credit book records a bequest made in 1376 by Monna Cionella, which stipulated that part of the rent of a farm was to be spent on "the laude of [the] company...for candles and the salary of the laldessi [sic]." ⁶⁹

Documentation resuming in 1390 indicates that the practice of hiring a pair of adult singers had become the norm. From 1390 to 1394, regular monthly payments of s.30 were made to *Lorenzo D'Andrea, lanaiuolo (woolworker), "per chantare le laude", and Lorenzo di Iacopo del Conte, "che canta le laude", ⁷⁰ both of whom also served as treasurers in 1392. ⁷¹ The latter was replaced in 1395 by Ser Niccolò d'Andrea, who was also maestro of the company's school for boys. ⁷² Ser Niccolò was also paid s.30 in 1393 to sing, with the help of another singer, the lament of the Virgin on Good Friday, and L.3 in 1402 to sing the Passion during Lent. ⁷³ Ser Niccolò and Lorenzo d'Andrea both sang at the evening ferial services, but in December of 1395 another pair of singers, *Bartolomeo and Antonio di Lodovico, were hired. ⁷⁴ For the next 20 years the company retained three to five singers, augmenting

⁶⁹SMN, vol.306, f.23r: "Monna Cionella fu di Dante Migliorati donna di bernardi de Giovanni Umberti."

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹SMN, vol.294, f.114v.

⁷²D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 257.

⁷³SMN, vol.294, ff.120v, 181v.

⁷⁴Ibid., 258.

the usual pair of ferial singers for feast day services. In 1399, *Piero di Niccolò, who was a regular laudesi of the company until at least 1424, joined Lorenzo d'Andrea as ferial singer, and in 1400 distributed a payment to the other "singers who sing for the feast of S. Piero Martire."⁷⁵ In December of 1409, five laudesi were paid s.5 each for the feast of All Saints.⁷⁶ During the years 1405-1406, four singers were paid s.35 each: *Filippo di Francesco Antinori (in 1405, a 48-year old resident of the working-class "Green Dragon" district in the quarter of Santo Spirito, who served again in 1411- 1413),⁷⁷ *Vanni di Martino (who served until at least 1425), and the above Piero and Lorenzo.⁷⁸ Two singers, however, remained the maximum for a ferial service; on June 13, 1406, the captains decided that they

....might not elect more than two singers...nor give them for their salary and their labor more than forty soldi per month...⁷⁹

On the same day, they ruled that

...Lorenzo d'Andrea of the parish of San Pagolo of

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶SMN, vol.295, f.178r: "...chantatori che chantorono per la festa di S. Piero Martire".

⁷⁷On Filippo, see Ch.V, p.16. At this time, each of the four quarters of Florence (S. Spirito, S. Croce, S.M. Novella, and S. Giovanni) were sub-divided into four districts with heraldic names (like Green Dragon).

⁷⁸SMN 321:55v

⁷⁹SMN, vol.321, f.58r [June 13, 1406]: "Item che [i] capitani...non possano tenere ne elegere più che due cantatori, con salaro quali cantatori non possano dare ne fare dare per loro salaro ne per loro fatica più che soldi quaranta il mese per uno, e se contro acciò si facesse, non vaglia e non tenga."

Florence [near the church] and Piero di Nicholo of the people of Sancto Friano [=Frediano, a parish across the river in the Santo Spirito quarter] are singers ...for the period of one year [beginning Aug. 1, 1406, at s.40 per month]...with these duties and conditions, that they are to come every evening to the lauda [service] to set up, and every day of a solemn feast to set up the company desk [to receive candle payments], and to sing laude as we ask it, and to do every other thing well and promptly as we ask it and according to custom. [doc.34]

By 1408, Piero had become precentor, for he was receiving a higher salary than the other singers (s.50), and in 1414 was recorded as receiving a payment for "incantare et precantare."⁸⁰ During 1411-1412, the four regular singers were Piero, the wool-carder *Ciancha, *Filippo Antinori, and *Vettorico d'Agniolo Bordoni. The following year, the company re-hired Vanni, along with his son *Martino, and replaced Filippo as a ferial singer with *Maso di Nicholo. In 1414, the company was paying two pairs of father/son singers, Vanni and his son Martino, and *Salvestro di Domenico Tati and his son *Domenico.⁸¹ The latter two were hired specifically to sing on feast days and special vigils (at s.20 per month), while Vanni and his son were designated as ferial singers, so that by this time there seems to have been an official distinction between ferial and festive singers.⁸²

Between 1416 and 1424, the number of salaried singers was again increased, varying now between five and seven. Piero,

⁸⁰SMN, vol.295, ff.170v, 172v (L.7 s.10/3 mos.); vol.321, f.109v.

⁸¹SMN, vol.321, f.110r; vol.296, ff.126v, 127v, 131v, 132r.

⁸²SMN, vol.321, f.110r.

Vanni, and Maso sang the ferial services throughout this period, and for much of it the festive singers were Ciancha, Vettorico Bordoni, and Bartolomeo di Lodovicho (who had sung for the company with his brother in 1395).⁸³

Although company account books do not survive from the years 1425-1454, the names of most of the company singers for this period probably appear in the extant records of the companies of San Zanobi and Orsanmichele, since most of the regular singers at one of these companies eventually sang at one or both of the others [App.12]. This was generally a difficult period for the lay companies; under suspicion of sedition, periodic suppressions by the city had begun in 1419,⁸⁴ and widespread economic contraction contributed to the abandonment of ferial services by most of the laudesi companies, and a levelling off of laudesi salaries and numbers of singers hired.

However, between 1427 and 1447 the Company of San Piero Martire received six bequests, more than any other Florentine laudesi company.⁸⁵ Perhaps because of its relatively strong assets (11,362 florins in 1427; see table, p.186), ferial singing

⁸³SMN, vols.296, 322, passim; esp. vol.296, ff.174v, 175r [April-May, 1417], where payments are recorded for Piero (s.60), Maso (s.35), and Vanni (s.35) for "ogni sera cantando", and Lodovicho (s.30) "la sera delle feste"

⁸⁴See Ch.VII, pp.357f.

⁸⁵ASF, Catasto vol.686, f.46v.; compared to Orsanmichele (4), f.33v.; San Zanobi (1), f.108v.; and Santo Spirito (1), f.25r. No bequests for this period are recorded for the other companies.

at the Company of San Pier Martire continued throughout this period, and the number of ferial singers was to be at least four. The company statutes from the year 1446 describe the current practice:

Again it has been provided that the customary laude sung in the said church of Santa Maria Novella, ought to be sung in the place used and appointed for that purpose, every evening, in the customary devout manner and fashion, by good singers or laudesi, conducted and elected by the said captains. And these laudesi should be at least four [in number], and one laudese or another is to be appointed according to the judgment of the captains, who must every evening set up and put away the lectern, hang the candles, set up the benches, and do all the other things that in the past have been customary. And the said laudesi may have at the most two lire [s.40] a month, according to the will of the captains. And the said laudesi should be re-elected by the said captains twice a year, that is, in July and January, and who does not win a decision by four black beans,⁸⁶ is understood to be cancelled and dismissed. And every evening, [when] the laude are finished, the confession with the usual absolution is to be done by a friar of the convent of Santa Maria Novella, to whom [the confession] will be entrusted by the prior of the said church. And every time the said laudesi are found to be failing in their duty, they may and ought to be corrected or censured by retention of their salary at the discretion of the said captains. [doc.35]

Company documents resuming in 1455 indicate five paid singers that year: three festive singers, *Vanni di Piero Bandella, fornaio (baker), and two boys, *Santi di Giovanni and *Francesco d'Antonio di Ventura, at s.30 per month; and two ferial singers, *Jacopo di Domenico, cieco (blind), and *Antonio

⁸⁶Black(for) and white (against) beans were used by most republican institutions of the period in an effort to assure anonymous and impartial voting procedures.

di Lenso "suo compagno", at s.40 per month.⁸⁷ But from 1455 to 1472, the usual number of singers was six, of whom at least four (in accordance with the 1446 statute) were ferial singers. Beginning in May, 1456, s.40 was paid to Zelone di Piero, *Ulivante di Bartolomeo, Antonio di Lenso, and Nicolo d'Antonio, and s.30 to Vanni and Francesco.⁸⁸ In February, 1459, *Piero di Chiovo began a nine-year tenure with the company, and in January, 1461, the four ferial singers were Zelone, Ulivante, *Piero di Chiovo, and his son Chimenti (whose father, and brother *Pagolo sang together at Orsanmichele and San Zanobi), while lower salaries were recorded for Vanni and a French singer named Verrois.⁸⁹ By 1463, Ulivante had successfully introduced two sons, *Bartolomeo and Giovanni, into the company's retinue of singers, and both sang regularly for the company during the next three years.⁹⁰ During the late 1460s, the number of salaried singers began to fluctuate between six and eight singers. In the first months of 1471, the ferial singers were Vanni di Piero, *Bartolomeo di Giuliano (called "Frizi" or "del Friza"), Giovanni d'Antonio (a furrier), and *Ser Firenze di Lazero (a priest); the festive singers were the boys *Agnolo di Piero and *Tommaso di Manovel-

⁸⁷SMN, vol.298, ff.69r,72v,73v. Probably *Antonio di Senso (Lenso), whose name appears on f.79v (1456), who had sung for the company as a boy in 1422-24, and who sang for the company of San Zanobi in 1456-1459.

⁸⁸SMN, vol.298, f.82r.

⁸⁹SMN, vol.298, ff.90r,98v.,104r. On the singer Verrois, see D'Accone, "Alcune note", 90, n.17.

⁹⁰SMN, vol. 297, ff.36r, 37r, 48v.

lo.⁹¹ But by the following year the corps of salaried singers reached its highest number at eight; Tommaso replaced Giovanni as a ferial singer, and the four festive singers (now at s.20 per month) were *Sano di Giovanni, lanternaio (lantern maker/seller), Giovanni, and the boys *Bernardino di Francesco, and Andreino.⁹² This remained a stable arrangement until 1478, when payments for the three-month period ending in October were made to seven singers--Ser Firenze, Vanni, Frizi, *Santi di Cino, *Domenico di Dono, *Andrea di Cristofano, chalzaiuolo (hosier), and *Jacopo di Marco--at s.20 each per month, indicating that ferial singing had been discontinued.⁹³

Without ferial services, lauda singing had become a much less attractive profession to the moonlighting artisans who had sung in the laudesi companies for nearly two centuries. After 1482, the artisan laudese assumed a more restricted and less lucrative role in small polyphonic choirs dominated by boy singers.⁹⁴ In January, 1483, Pierino, Andrea di Cristofano, Mar-

⁹¹SMN, vol.299, ff.54r-v. Ser Firenze is also mentioned as maestro "che insegna le laude" at SS. Annunziata, during 1480-81 (D'Accone, "Alcune note", p.90, n.22). He also sang for the Company of San Zanobi in 1483, and is listed in Tenneroni, Inizii as the author of two laude (nos. 69, 108).

⁹²D'Accone, "Note..", 90-91. Andreino may have been *Andrea di Cristofano, chalzaiuolo (hosier), who sang for the company in 1478-1485, and for the cos. of S. Agnese (1478), and San Zanobi (1480-1483, 1491).

⁹³SMN, vol.300, f.74r. D'Accone, "Alcune note", 91.

⁹⁴The increase of boy singers (sopranos and altos) at this time is probably related to the recent establishment of a choir school at the Cathedral; see Ch.V, pp.308ff.

iotto, tintore (cloth-dyer), *Duccio di Giovanni, bastiere (maker/seller of pack saddles), *Maruccio di Tommaso, tessitore (weaver), *Raffaello di Marco, and *Raffaello di Domenico were listed as "seven fanciulli who sing the laude,"⁹⁵ but given that at least four of these were in trades, "fanciullo" was apparently used to indicate giovane (young men), as well as boys. From 1482 to the early 1520s, the Company regularly employed seven boys and adults (at s.20 per month), who from the early 1490s were under the direction of the weaver *Piero di Giovanni da San Giorgio (=Pierino, above).⁹⁶

Documents are lacking for the period between the 1520s and the mid-1550s, a period of great political and social upheaval in Florence when the ritual activities of most lay companies were disrupted.⁹⁷ From 1557 to 1580, a smaller group of perhaps two adults and two or three boys was under the direction of the tailor Bastiano di Tommaso, "cantore di laude".⁹⁸ After May,

⁹⁵D'Accone, "Alcune note," 91: "sette fanciulli che cantano le laude".

⁹⁶Ibid., 91-92; Idem, "Repertory and Performance Practice," p.76. Also called Piero di Giovanni Maschalzoni (SMN, vol.301, f.148v). Piero also sang at S.Agnese, Santo Spirito, and Orsanmichele, and San Zanobi where his son Francesco also sang during 1491-93.

⁹⁷See Ch.VII. Since lauda singing continued in this Company during the second half of the 16th century, its relatively substantial resources may have allowed it to maintain the devotion during the first half, when most other companies either temporarily or permanently abandoned it.

⁹⁸D'Accone, "Repertory and Performance Practice," p.76., where relevant documents are also published. Bastiano di Tommaso Arditì also served the Company of Orsanmichele as a tenorista from 1568-74 (p.152, this chapter).

1580, there is no mention of the Company's laudesi. The following December the sacristy of Santa Maria Novella assumed the performance of laude when it began to employ boy singers who, either alone or in pairs, sang laude with organ accompaniment.⁹⁹

It is difficult to assess the more extraordinary aspects of musical performance in the Company of San Pier Martire. 14th-century documents generally do not provide much information about polyphonic practice, the role of instruments, the nature of Lenten singing, and the practice of hiring extra singers. During the 15th century, the Company hired two to four (and usually three) fanciulli to sing on special days--the feast days of Christmas (through Epiphany) and Easter, and the patron saint feasts of San Pier Martire and San Domenico.¹⁰⁰

There are few payments for Lenten singing recorded before ca.1425. In 1393, there were payments to "Bacio...who sings the Passion with the vielle," and maestro Niccolò, who sang the lament of the Virgin on Good Friday,¹⁰¹ and in 1415, L.4 s.13 was paid to the "singers who sing the lament on Holy Friday in Santa

⁹⁹The latest extant Company documents date from the year 1576.

¹⁰⁰D'Accone, "Alcune note," 89, n.8; SMN, vol.297, ff.39v, 62r,74v; vol.298, f.98v; vol.322, f.76r.

¹⁰¹SMN, vol.294, f.120r: "'Bacio di [lacuna] che chanto is pasio chola viola,"; f.120v: "A Nicholo che tiene i fanciulli a legiere e a <...> che gli aiuto il venerdi Santo chantare i'lamento di nostra donna...L.1 s.10; D'Accone, "Le compagnie", 258.

Maria Novella."¹⁰² The documents resuming in 1455 indicate a regular Lenten practice of laying off all but a pair of singers, usually two of the Company's ferial laudesi. From 1456 to 1458, and again in 1461, Ulivante di Bartolomeo and Zelone di Piero were paid 6 lire each for singing the Passion, and in 1463 for singing "the Gospel and the Passion during Lent."¹⁰³ The record of the Passion performance for the following year contains the Company's first explicit reference to polyphonic performance; on March 27th, 6 lire were paid to "Francesco clothcutter...because he "held" (sang) the tenor at the Passion during Lent," and to "Ulivante di Bartolomeo, laudese...to sing the Passion during Lent with the above Francesco."¹⁰⁴ Thereafter, the practice of hiring two Passion singers, often two friars or a friar and a lay singer, is recorded through 1520.¹⁰⁵

The only other clear references to polyphonic singing in the Company documents before 1500, besides that mentioned above, were payments of 1 lire made to two boys and a tenor for singing laude

¹⁰²SMN, vol.296, f.133r: "...chantatori che disono i'lamento venerdi santo i[n] santa maria novella".

¹⁰³SMN, vol.298, ff.80r, 90v, 97v, 104v, 116r: "e vangelo e la passione la quaresima".

¹⁰⁴SMN, vol.297, f.40r [1464]: "...Francesco tessitor di drappi...perchè ten[n]e il tenore alla passione di quaresima"; "...Ulivante di Bartolomeo laudesi...per cantare la passione la quaresima col sopra detto francescho."

¹⁰⁵E.g. frate Bartolomeo di francesco and Pierino in 1485 (SMN, vol.301, f.115r); frate Biagio di Benedetto and frate Domenico d'Antonio in 1492 and 1495 (vol.301, ff.154v, 171r).

during Easter between 1488 and 1490.¹⁰⁶ But since the early 15th century, the Company had been employing singers who in the records of other laudesi companies were designated as "biscantatori", "tinore", and, after ca.1470, "sovrani" (or "chanti").¹⁰⁷ Of the four sovrani and three tinori employed by the Company of San Zanobi in 1481, three of the high voices, Duccio di Giovanni, Maruccio di Tommaso, and Matteo di Giuliano Ardinghelli, and two of the lower voices, Piero da San Giorgio and Andrea Cristofano, also sang for the Company of San Pier Martire between 1480 and 1482.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the two companies were employing identical numbers of (seven) singers at this point. In spite of the Santa Maria Novella friars' indifference to polyphony in the 15th century,¹⁰⁹ the Company probably pursued its own musical course, in step with the other Florentine companies of its kind.

The Company's use of instruments was, on the other hand,

¹⁰⁶SMN, vol.301, ff.133r,137v: "A dua [sic] fanciugli con uno tinore che chantorono le laude per le feste di pascua." Also ff.141v, 143v.

¹⁰⁷E.g., Martino di Vanni Martini and Domenico di Salvestro Tati, who sang together for the Company as ferial singers during 1414-1415, also sang together as festive singers, and "fanciulli biscantatore", at Orsanmichele during 1412-1415. (OSM, vol.21, f.12r). References to Florentine laudesi as "tinore" appeared in the 1440s, when San Piero Martire documents are lacking, but when they resume in 1455, one of the first singers mentioned, Francesco d'Antonio, was later a tinori at the Company of Sant'Agnese. The special designation of a high polyphonic part as "sovrano" or "cantus" first appears in the records of the San Zanobi in 1470 (the records of Orsanmichele are missing for the period 1454-1507).

¹⁰⁸SZ, vol.2176, fasc.13, f.146v.

¹⁰⁹D'Accone, "Repertory and Performance Practice," p.71.

relatively conservative compared to the Companies of San Zanobi and Orsanmichele, which employed instrumentalists for all their services throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. The practice in the Company of San Piero Martire was like that of the other laudesi companies associated with mendicant orders (which San Zanobi and Orsanmichele were not); instrumentalists (suonatori), primarily trombadori (brass players) and/or pifferi (wind players), were always hired for the main patron saint feast of San Piero Martire, and sporadically for other important feasts. The Company usually hired two trombadori for their namesake's feast day, and from 1472 to 1503, four trombadori were paid s.11 each.¹¹⁰ Payments to instrumentalists are occasionally recorded for the feasts of San Domenico, San Tommaso, the Assumption, Christmas, and Easter.¹¹¹ Occasionally players of indoor instruments were hired to play either at the meals ("per la cena") or the services ("alle laude") of feasts. For the feasts of San Piero Martire in 1423 and 1459, rebec players were hired along

¹¹⁰SMN, vol.298, f.117r [1463]; vol.299, f.59r [1472], vol.302, f.92 [1503].

¹¹¹D'Accone, "Le compagnie", 255; SMN, vol.292, f.61v (s.4 to "tro[m]badori per la matina di santa maria adi xii daghosto" [1340]); vol.295, f.185r (L.1 s.2 "per dare a pifferi per la festa della donna daghosto..." [1410]); vol.322, f.66r (s.16 d.6 to "Lionardo tronbetta e compagni..quando sonorono per lla festa di s. Maria se fe a mezo il mese dagosto passato" [1423]); vol.322, f.76r (L.4 "per dare a cantatori e sonatori che cantorono e sonorono tre sere alle laude per lla pasqua della resuresione del nostro signore..." [1421]).

with laudesi and pifferi or trombadori.¹¹² In 1467 "two players of harp and lute" were hired to play "alle laude" during the feast days of Christmas,¹¹³ and for the Company feast in 1487, players of "zufoli" (small flutes) and laudesi were hired to perform "at the supper."¹¹⁴

3. THE COMPANY OF SAN ZANOBI

According to the Company's 1326 statutes, it was founded on the vigil of the feast of St. John the Baptist in 1281.¹¹⁵ During most of the 14th century, the Company, like the old Romanesque cathedral in which it met, was named for the city's oldest patron saint, Santa Reparata. The new cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore having risen up around it, the last of the old cathedral was destroyed in February, 1375,¹¹⁶ and by 1377 the Company was holding

¹¹²SMN, vol.322, f.113r: "...per dando pifferis, sonatoribus ribecarum, captoribus [sic] laudem" [1423]; vol.298, f.91r: "Alla festa di sancto pietro martire L.undici s.10 d.8 per trombetti, festaiuoli, mortina, spago, laudesi, e suoni di ribegha" [1459].

¹¹³SMN, vol.297, f.53v.: "A duo [sic] sonatori darpa e liuto pelle feste di natale alle laude s.xiiii" [1467].

¹¹⁴SMN, vol.301, f.127: L.2 s.4 was paid to four "trombetti" for the feast of San Piero Martire, and s.16 "a sonatori de zufoli et laudesi per la cena" [1487].

¹¹⁵SZ, vol.2170, fasc.1, f.3r. The sources for the legendary (and unlikely) existence of this laudesi company in 1183, and again in 1233, are early Servite chroniclers; the Servites attribute the origin of their order (1233) to seven young noblemen, who were members of a laudesi confraternity at the cathedral. These dates have been refuted by Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.922-23, n.4.

¹¹⁶C. Guasti, Santa Maria del Fiore (Florence, 1887), p.237.

its business meetings in the sacristy of the new church.¹¹⁷ By ca.1420, the Company had shifted its special patronage (and name) to San Zanobi; the cult of the city's first (4th-century) bishop was rejuvenated in 1331, when Giovanni Villani reported that the saint's relics were exhumed with great festivity,¹¹⁸ and by 1337 the Company's primary feast day was in honor of "San Zenobio, nostro padre."¹¹⁹

Although in 1427 the Company's assets were well below those of Orsanmichele and San Piero Martire (see table, p.186), its ritual life, perhaps through association with the Cathedral, was no less splendid. Weissman's analysis of membership during the early 1330s shows that for a laudesi company, a relatively high percentage (40%) of San Zanobi members had family names, and the Company had a strong city-wide appeal (30% of the membership was from outside the immediate quarter of San Giovanni).¹²⁰ Among 15th-century members were the painter Cosimo Roselli (a festai-uoli in 1475), and, from at least 1474, Lorenzo de' Medici,

¹¹⁷SZ, vol.2170, fasc. 1, f.15v.; Orioli, Le confraternite, p.41.

¹¹⁸Cronica, Book X, p.168.

¹¹⁹D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 263-64. On the change of Company name, see Ch.III, n.37.

¹²⁰Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.68. 279 individuals joined the company during the early 1330's. Of the 31% listed by occupation, 5% were sottoposti laborers, 27% independent contractors or middlemen in the production of cloth, 12% barbers, moneylenders, or other providers of local services, 25% local tradesmen or sellers of foodstuffs, 20% sold luxury items or traded in fine arts, 4% bankers, professionals, or major guildsmen, 5% clergy.

followed by several other members of the family.¹²¹ A significant aspect of the Company's membership is what appears to have been an informal school of lauda poets. Of the Florentine authors of laude listed by Tenneroni, concordances are to be found only among members and singers of San Zanobi: Antonio Pucci, a captain in 1377; Cristofano di Miniato, a laudese in 1456; Ser Firenze, a laudese in 1483; Berto delle Feste, a laudese in 1494-95; and the most prolific of Florentine lauda poets, Feo Belcari (1410-1484), a captain in 1435, and member through at least the 1440s.¹²²

The Company of San Zanobi continued its lauda singing devotions until at least 1512, but by 1555 was substituting sung liturgical items. From 1569 to 1593 the Company paid a maestro di cappella, eleven to fourteen singers, and an organist (mostly clergy by ca.1585), and thereafter survived as a "compagnia delle laude" only in name, until its final, Napoleonic suppression in

¹²¹SZ, vol.2170, fasc.5k, f.68v: Cosimo di Lorenzo rossegli dipintore; Ibid., f.64v: Lorenzo di Piero di Cosimo de medici [Dec.28, 1474]; vol.2177, fasc. 19, f.22r, where Lorenzo's son, Piero, is listed as a captain in September, 1491; vol.2170, fasc.5k, f.193r, which notes the entrance of "Pierfrancesco di lorenzo de medici" into the Company in 1505.

¹²²Tenneroni, Inizii; addenda by L. Frati, Archivum romanicum 1 (1917), 441ff. A. Pucci (6 laude), SZ, vol.2170, fasc.1, f.16r; Cristofano di Miniato (1), vol.2171, fasc.6A/3, f.138v (=fra Cristofano da San Miniato, who in 1431 was hired by the Company as Lenten preacher?, vol.2186, fasc.48, f.54v); Ser Firenze (2), vol.2179, fasc.28, f.58r.; Berto delle Feste (1), vol.2171, fasc.5, ff.40r,41r; Feo Belcari (ca.120), vol.2186, fasc.48, ff.152r, 153r. Belcari, a prominent lay religious figure and poet, was the most prolific lauda poet in the Florentine tradition of the travestimento spirituale (a sacred text sung to a borrowed, often secular melody, usually indicated by the rubric "cantasi come..."); see Ch.V, pp.307f.

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* * *

The earliest reference to lauda singing in the Company documents is the record of a bequest made in 1313 by Michele setaiuolo (silk merchant), for a vigil on the feast of St. Michael (September 29) "with lit candles and laude".¹²⁴ The unusually detailed statutes of 1326 describe an active and well-established laudesi program of festive and ferial services, and scuole for teaching laude.¹²⁵ For the ferial services, the cam-arlinghi were obliged to

...come every evening to the said church at the time when the office of compline is finished, and light three candles which are to remain lit until the laude are completed. And they are to prepare the proper lectern, book, and altar cloth, and the other necessary things. And those of the company who gather... in the aforesaid church to sing laude, ought [also] to intercede and say an Ave maria when someone of the company has died, is sick, or is abroad...And they are to do similarly for peace, and no one is to rise or leave before the priest who is giving confession, gives the benediction, and having given the benediction everyone is to say amen. [Doc.26]

By 1333, one of the Company's laudarios, "the most beautiful and grand, with the 'figures'[illumination]",¹²⁶ was in need of

¹²³SZ, vol.2177, fasc.16, 22; vol.2182, fasc.35; vol.2181, fasc.34; vol.2183, fasc.42.

¹²⁴SZ, vol.2170, fasc. 4, f.1v.: "...facciano con candele accese le laude e la vigilia predetta" (financed by the annual rent from several houses left to the Company).

¹²⁵See documents 5,19,20c,21,26,31, and 52.

¹²⁶SZ 2182, fasc.36, f.75v [December, 1333]: "demo a detto maestro che riconcio per charte di bambascia per che rascuighasse il libro delle laude cioè il più bello e maggiore con lle figure".

repair, and in 1339, a committee of three was appointed to oversee the commission of

...a book for singing laude, which should be large, written in large letters, notated, and storiated... and the entire company agrees that the book should be made as beautiful as possible, and it was submitted to the captains to appoint the three best men of the company as officials to make the said book...and to spend whatever is necessary at the expense of the company and others who would like to give some help to make the said book.¹²⁷ [see plate 7]

The first records of salaried singers appear around this time. In 1337, the Company singers were honored with a collazione on the feast of San Zanobi, and in 1345 the first recorded payment was made to "boys who come to sing in the evening."¹²⁸ Talento di Duccio, orafo (goldsmith), received a salary between 1350 and 1352,¹²⁹ and in May, 1351, *Nucio di Neri and *Nicolo di Lippo were hired to sing at the San Zanobi collazione.¹³⁰ In 1352, the Company recorded a contract for two musicians, who were

¹²⁷An ensuing record of expenses by the appointed officials indicates that the book was completed, and was probably the festive laudario listed in the Company's 1394 inventory (Ch.III, p.114).

¹²⁸D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 263-64: L.5 d.1 was spent "per rose a per fiori e per ispago, e per fa[n]faluche e vino e fretta per fare onore a cantatori quando avemo fatta la sschuola il di di sancto zenobio nostro padre"; "...fanciulli che eve[n]gano a cantare la sera".

¹²⁹Ibid., 264. Also, SZ, vol.2182, fasc.36, f.135r. (a payment of s.10 for the feast of the Annunciation, and of 1 florin for his salary, both in 1350). Talento di Duccio, bilanciaio, was a camarlingho in 1359 and 1365, and a captain in 1361 and 1376; vol.2182, fasc.38, ff.21v, 58r, 114r.

¹³⁰SZ, vol.2182, fasc.36, f.136v: s.10 each "per fare onore a cha[n]tatori per san zanobi, demo a nucio e a nicholo cha[n]tatore."

selected by three officials in charge of musical activities:

*Chellino [Benini] della viuola received one florin as "chantatore" on feast days, and Talento di Duccio was paid one and a half florins, presumably (though it is not specified) for the ferial services:

andrea di piero bacchi
andrea di giusto a staio
andrea di donato baciutti
Officials called [to be] in charge of the said singers and singing the laude of the Company at the feasts...

Chellino della viuola singer of the said Company with the salary and rate of one gold florin. And the said Chellino is obliged to come on all the feastedays that the Chamberlains will assign him and write down...on the 25th day of March, 1352.

Also we will note [the assignments of]...Talento Ducci, goldsmith, with the salary and rate of one and a half gold florins, beginning, in the name of God, on the above day. And the said Talento is obliged and ought to come to sing laude at the said Company according to the expressed terms, and if he violates these the captains are not to be obliged to give him any part of his salary. [doc.36]

Chellino's service continued through 1369, and a 1365 document lists the 28 feasts observed by the Company, for which Chellino was to "play the vielle...on the vigils and evenings of feasts" at the rate of one florin per six months.¹³¹

Although documents for the remainder of the century are scarce, it appears the Company continued to hire one ferial and one festive singer, and an extra singer and/or instrumentalist for special feast days. In 1386, *Ciancha (at a higher salary)

¹³¹"...suona la viuola...le vi[gi]llie e lle sere delle feste." The entire document is published in D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 265.

and *Antonio di Gianuzzi (at a lower salary) were recorded as singers for a four-month period,¹³² and payments were made in 1394 to *Maestro Luigi della viuola, and in 1395 to Puccio and the rebec player *Berzolla (Bartolo di Giovanni), both of whom played for the feast of San Zanobi (May 25) and in procession on June 1st.¹³³

Ciancha appears to have continued as the sole ferial singer until 1405, when he was joined by *Nofri di Giovanni, vaiaino, and the Company began to employ two ferial singers.¹³⁴ The pair was replaced the following year by the furrier *Girolamo del Riccho and *Filippo di Francesco Antinori, who sang "la sera" until 1409, when Girolamo was replaced by the tailor Ambruogio di Ser Bartolo.¹³⁵ Beginning in 1414, three ferial singers were being paid s.30 each per month: Ambruogio, and the brothers *Maso do

¹³²Ibid., 266. The singers' salaries were subsidized by a bequest made that same year; SZ, vol.2176, fasc.12, f.28v. (Please note that fascicles 11-20, in vols.2176 and 2177, have been re-numbered 10-19 since Prof. D'Accone conducted his research in the Florentine Archivio di Stato; my fasc. 12 = Prof. D'Accone's fasc.13.)

¹³³SZ 2171, fasc.6C, f.219v, 246r: "Ispesi per dare a berzola e al puccio quando sonarono andano ala procisione [sic] a di primo di giungno..L.1 s.10". The occasion for the procession was the miraculous painting of Santa Maria Impruneta, which was periodically brought to Florence from its suburban residence and carried in procession during times of civic tension; R. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience," 11f.

¹³⁴D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 266.

¹³⁵SZ, vol.2183, fasc.39, f.12r; vol.2178, fasc.23, f.119v., 120v. Salaries fluctuated between s.20 and s.30 per month during this period.

Nicolo and *Vermiglio di Nicolo.¹³⁶

Between 1421 and 1441, the Company generally retained three ferial singers at s.30-60 per month, and two to three festive singers at s.10-15. In 1421, the Company hired *Nofri di Giovanni (s.30), *Bartolomeo di Lodovico (s.45), and *Guasparre d'Ugolino Prosperi, who was paid a precentor's salary of s.60 to prepare for the ferial and festive services.¹³⁷ The 44-year-old Guasparre retained his position with the Company until 1445, shortly after ferial singing was abandoned (1443) and salaries reduced.¹³⁸ *Vettorino d'Agnolo Bordoni was hired as a festive singer in 1423 (s.15), and from 1427 to 1445, he and Guasparre were the Company's highest paid singers.¹³⁹ The 1427 tax report of the Company, in fact, lists only these two singers,¹⁴⁰ although the account books indicate that the Company continued to hire a third

¹³⁶SZ, vol.2178, fasc.23, ff.82r,105v-111v (showing payments through May 15, 1418). Although the Company was continuing to hire extra singers for feast days, it is not clear from the documents whether they were hired on an ad hoc or salaried basis.

¹³⁷SZ, vol.2171, fasc.6A, ff.14v-15v; f.14v [Sept.1, 1421]: "Ghuasparre ugolino prosperi che canta le laude ipar[e]chiare la sera e parecchiare el di della festa al descho, soldi sessanta per ogni mese."

¹³⁸ASF, Catasto vol.81, f.260v.

¹³⁹D'Accone, "Alcune note," 94. See Ch.V, pp.250-1 concerning the laudesi practice of singing in pairs.

¹⁴⁰ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.67r, where among the company's financial obligations are "ghuaspare d'ugholino e antonio d'agnolo [=vettorino d'agnolo] che chantano le laude L.51 l'anno..." (i.e. L.30/yr., or s.50/mo. for Guasparre; L.21/yr., or s.35/mo. for Vettorino).

ferial singer, and two to three festive singers.¹⁴¹ Instrumentalists, also, continued to be hired to play (and sing) in the evening services; *Pagholo di Ser Ambruogio ("Vinci"), was paid seven lire in 1421 "because...he plays the rebec and sings the laude during the evening [service] in Santa Maria del Fiore."¹⁴²

The 1428 statutes of the Company affirmed that "in no manner is the singing of laude every evening, according to ancient custom, to be neglected," but the same statute admits to the Company being under financial strain [doc.37].¹⁴³ Payments to singers between 1427 and 1443 were periodically lowered, then restored, and in 1433, Guasparre's salary was restored (from s.50 to s.60) on the condition that his son come and sing for the price of his fathers's new salary.¹⁴⁴ The Company discontinued ferial singing in 1433, and thereafter no Company singer received more than s.20 per month, except Guasparre, who for the two-year remainder of his service was paid s.30 per month to "prepare the desk and sing laude on the evening of feasts and throughout

¹⁴¹D'Accone, "Alcune note," 94-95.

¹⁴²"...perchè...suona la ribecha e canta le laude la sera in Santa Maria del Fiore." D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 267-68. The sum of 7 lire indicates that Pagholo may have been playing in ferial services during that year, a service he appears to have been performing concurrently at Orsanmichele.

¹⁴³SZ 2170, fasc.2, Statuti, 1428, f.45r. "...Raguardando il bisogno della nostra compagnia la quale è ora asai in bisogno."

¹⁴⁴The son was probably Prospero, who was fourteen at the time, and later a rebec player at Orsanmichele in 1436-37. The document is translated in Ch.V, p.249 [doc.38].

Lent."¹⁴⁵

No stable musical practice is discernible during the years between ca.1445 and 1470. Probably due to the gradual adoption of three, and later four-part polyphonic practice, along with the persistence of one- and two-part singing, numbers of singers varied between three and nine, and boy singers became more common. During the summer of 1445, the Company paid four singers: *Nocho d'Alesso, Ulivante di Matteo, Lorenzo di Piero, and the baker *Vanni di Piero Bandella, who was to serve the Company into the 1470s when he was designated a "tinore".¹⁴⁶ For a three-month term beginning in May, 1446, the Company was served by its first (documented) polyphonic ensemble, the weavers Agniolo di Lucca and *Sandro di Giovanni, and Jacopo d'Arigho, "as their tenor" (per loro tenore).¹⁴⁷ In January, 1451, six "laldessi" were elected: Guasparre d'Ugolino, *Francesco di Bartolomeo, *Jacopo di Domenico (cieco), Antonio di Jacopo, *Piero di Chiovo, and (at s.10) *Pavolo di Piero di Chiovo.¹⁴⁸ A dozen years later, nine singers were on the payroll: Vanni di Piero, Lorenzo d'Antonio, purchatore (wool washer), *Filippino di Francesco Bochi, legniaiuolo (carpenter), Gerardino di Giovanni di Martino, Piero di Chiovo, Piero di Nicolo (a cleric in San Lorenzo), Archangiolo

¹⁴⁵D'Accone, "Alcune note," 96.

¹⁴⁶SZ, vol.2177, fasc.16, ff.69r-v; vol.2177, fasc.17, f.26r.(1470), and vol.2170, fasc.5, f.65r (1475).

¹⁴⁷SZ, vol.2177, fasc.16, f.83r. All three are listed as "lauldesi" for May-July, 1446.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., fasc.18, f.119v.

di Giuliano, Giovanni di Bartolomeo di Michele d'Abrozi, and *Ser Giovanni di Niccolò (a priest in San Lorenzo).¹⁴⁹

From 1470 to 1503, the Company maintained a polyphonic choir of between eight and eleven singers, with three to four singers designated as "tinori" ("tinoriste"), and five to six singers designated as "sovrani" ("sobbrani", "chanti", "fanciulli")¹⁵⁰:

	1470	1475	1480	1481	1491	1495	1503
TINORI	3	5	3	3	4	4	4
SOVRANI	6	6	5	4	5	5	5

It is likely, however, that a similar arrangement obtained during the 1460s, as well, for inspite of the lack of designated voice types during that decade, similar numbers of singers were employed, and several of them were designated polyphonic singers either concurrently at other companies, or after 1470 at San Zanobi.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹SZ, vol.2171, fasc.6A, ff.146v-167v.

¹⁵⁰Similar numbers of singers were employed by the Cathedral's polyphonic choir during this period. The four to five tinoristi hired by the Cathedral choir were varying combinations of one to two altos, tenors, and basses; D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 328-331. Frequently, only tenors and altos were hired, and, when needed for music a quattro voce, the bass part might be provided by a higher voice (often an alto) able to sing well in the lower register; Ibid., 324, 349.

¹⁵¹Of the group of singers cited above for 1463, Vanni was a tinore for the Company in 1470, and 1475; and Filippino di Francesco Bochi was a tinore for the Company of Sant'Agnese in 1466-67; SA, vol.100, f.81v. Of the 15 Company singers between 1467 and 1469, 6 continued into the 1470s as designated polyphonic singers. See App.12, where the complete groups of singers between 1470 and 1503 are also listed.

The tendency to hire boys and young men during this period, already noted with respect to the Company of San Piero Martire (p.163), is evident in a deliberation of the San Zanobi captains on November, 30, 1470:

The said captains...according to the statutes of the said establishment and desiring that it be duly provided, have...brought into the Company numerous singers (moltissimi cantori), and as the better and more qualified [singers] they elect and appoint the following boys as sobbrani and tenori, for the period of one year...to begin on the 1st of the month of December, with the usual salary and as was always customary, that is [sobbrani]: *Thommaso di Manovello, *Bastiano de' Rossi chericho, Angniolo di Francesco tesse pannilini, Neri di ser Baldo Tucci, *Thommaso di Francesco d'Astore, Iachopantonio di [lacuna]; tinori: *Sano di Francesco lanternaio, *Vanni di Piero Bandella, *Sandro di Giovanni purghatore...[doc.39]

In 1481, the Company decided to hire "three tenors and four sopranos with a contralto" at s.20 and s.14, respectively,¹⁵² but for the next two decades nine singers remained the normal size of the laudesi ensemble. The Company's musical activities were only indirectly affected by the political upheavals of the 1490s. After the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492, and the Medici expulsion in 1494, there ensued the austere theocracy of the Dominican reformer Girolamo Savonarola (1494-1498), during which the only polyphonic music to be heard in the Florentine churches were laude.¹⁵³ It was during this period that the Company began to hire the former members of the Cathedral's polyphonic choir;

¹⁵²"...tres tenores et quatuor sovranii cum choltro"; D'Accone, "Alcune note," 100.

¹⁵³D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 346-349; Chap.VII, pp.363-5.

in 1494-1495, the Company's four tinore included the priest Ser Jacopo di Bernaba, who in 1491 was listed with the four adult singers of the Cathedral choir.¹⁵⁴ Both clergy and laity appear among the Company's *laudesi* until January, 1502, when the Company began hiring all its singers from the Cathedral choir. In that month, the Company's four tinore were Ser Giovanfrancesco d'Antonio cappellano (listed as a contralto with the Cathedral choir in December, 1501), Ser Raffaello di Piero cappellano (a Cathedral soprano in 1501), Ser Zanobi di Felice cappellano (a tinore in 1501), and *Ser Lione di Piero cappellano (a soprano in 1501); they were joined the following month by Ser Davit d'Alessandro (a tinore in 1501), and Ser Iacopo di Buonaiuto (a bass in 1501).¹⁵⁵ This arrangement between the Company and the Cathedral resulted from the re-establishment of the Cathedral's polyphonic choir on December 1, 1501,¹⁵⁶ and is alluded to in a Cathedral record of December 29, which outlines the duties of the

¹⁵⁴Seay, "The 15th-Century Cappella," 54. The Company also recorded to payments in 1493 to Alberto chericho, and 1494 to Berto delle feste, one or both of whom may been the Albertus Petri listed among the boy sopranos of the same 1491 Cathedral chapel.

¹⁵⁵SZ, vol.2183, fasc.41, ff.98v (January, 1502), f.99r (Feb., 1502); D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 350, n.203. Although sopranos with the Cathedral choir, Ser Raffaello and Ser Lione must have been singing lower voice parts for the Company to have been listed as tinore in their records. At this time, the Cathedral choir consisted of 2 tenors, 2 altos, 2 basses, and "maestro di cherici di canto figurato", and 7 sopranos (Seay, "The 15th Century Cappella," 55), while the Company choir included 4 to 5 sopranos, and a total of 4 to 6 of the other three parts.

¹⁵⁶D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 349-50.

choir:

...the said chapel is obliged and bound to solemnly sing figural music every Saturday morning [at] the Mass of Our Lady at the chapel located in the said church between the two front doors, and on the evenings of all feast days [to sing] laude at the same chapel, as they have begun to do and as is customary; and [second] Vespers on every feast day; and Mass in the choir on all solemn days in the said manner, that is, in figural music, and on those solemn occasions to sing all those things that seem [fitting] to the Reverend Chapter of Canons of the said church, especially [during] Holy Week all those canti and responsories that are customarily sung as well as any others deemed [necessary] by the aforesaid Reverend Chapter...¹⁵⁷

The chapel referred to was that patronized by the Company of San Zanobi, and traditionally devoted to the Virgin Mary, and the document implies that the Company's practice of hiring Cathedral musicians to sing laude for their evening services had begun shortly before.

Statutes drafted in 1508 express the Company's continuing commitment to "re-elect or dismiss...our laudesi according to their merits or demerits," and to sing the customary laude on the obligatory feast days at the usual Company altar.¹⁵⁸ Like the Cathedral, the Company paid a higher stipend to a maestro di cappella during the early 16th century. Ser Davit d'Alessandro, who appears in the Company records between 1502 and 1512, was elected laudese in 1503 with the option of singing for s.20 per

¹⁵⁷Original document edited by Seay, "The 15th-Century Cappella," 55; trans. by D'Accone in "The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry During the First Half of the 16th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 24 (1971), 3.

¹⁵⁸ASF, Capitoli 154 [1508 statutes], f.16v. For further discussion of these statutes, see Ch.VII, p.369.

month, or singing and teaching laude to the boys for s.40.¹⁵⁹ In 1512, when the Company choir consisted of four tinore and four sopranos, the higher stipend (s.50) was being paid not to a cleric, but to *Agnolo del Favilla, a professional laudese who served as maestro di cappella for the companies of San Zanobi (1491, 1494-1495, 1512), Orsanmichele (1515-1521), and Santo Spirito (1505, 1518-1522).¹⁶⁰ With the declining musical activity of the lay companies, the traditional artisan/laudesi of the past dwindled to a small number of professional lay singers like Agnolo, who could compete with the greater numbers of clergy trained in polyphonic performance.¹⁶¹

As with the Company of San Piero Martire, professional musical activity during Lent is recorded by the Company of San Zanobi only in the 15th century. In 1406 and 1408, the rebec player Lampreda (Andrea di Giovanni) was paid s.30 "to play during the preaching of Lent," a practice that is recorded

¹⁵⁹SZ, vol.2176, fasc.13, f.189r, 3 settembre, 1503: "Ser davite di sandro per s.40 il mese cho[n] incharicho chegli <....> chantare le lalde a fanc[i]ugli e non <...> inseq<gn>ando no[n] <avere> più che s.20 is mese."

¹⁶⁰SZ, vol.2177, fasc.18, f.201v; the eight laudesi paid on April 21, 1512 were Ser davit di sandro prete (s.20), Agniolo del favilla (s.50), *Raffaello di francesco (s.30), and *bastiano di giovanni (s.30) [tinore]; and Batista luciani, Michele di maestro fruosino, pagholo chericho in S. G[iovanni?], and francesco di bochardino [sopranos at s.14]. Agnolo (at a lower salary of s.25) and his son Martino (s.14) were part of the Company retinue in 1505, which included *Sano di Giovanni, lanternaio, *Piero da San Giorgio, Bartolomeo di Sano, Giovanni and Zacharia d'Antonio Minori, and Francesco delaiole (the composer Francesco de Layolle, 1492-c.1540), all at s.25; SZ, vol.2170, fasc.5(K?), f.193r.

¹⁶¹Further discussion in Ch.V, pp.309f.

nowhere else.¹⁶² During the early 15th century the Company paid pairs of clerics to sing the lament on Good Friday and, at other times, to sing the Passion or laude on the same evening.¹⁶³ Beginning in 1433, with the termination of ferial services, the Company's laudesi assumed responsibility for "singing the laude on the evenings of feasts and throughout lent," which probably included the Good Friday services since there are no payments to clergy recorded after this time.¹⁶⁴

Instruments were prominent in the Company's ritual life. From at least the mid-14th century to ca.1430, rebec and vielle players (also favored in the secular music of the time) were regularly hired to play for feast day services, and until ca.1442 they were usually hired for the two most important patron saint feasts of San Zanobi and Santa Reparata (October 8).¹⁶⁵ The

¹⁶²SZ, vol.2183, fasc.39, f.12r: "...per sonare ala predica di quaresima"; vol.2178, fasc.23, f.119v.

¹⁶³SZ vol.2186, fasc.48, f.54v [March 29,1431]: "stanziorono L.1 a Ser simone e Ser lapo preti perchè chantorono le laude in Santa Maria del Fiore venerdi santo..."; Ibid., f.89v [May 25, 1433]: "...a due cherici d'orto samichele grossi otto perchè cantarono [i]l lamento venerdi sancto e'l di delle feste tutta quaresima in sancta liperata [reparata]."; Ibid., f.148r [April 15, 1436]: "...a Ser giuliano prete in santa reparata e a uno chericho che chantorono el passio venerdi santo...[L.1]"

¹⁶⁴On Nov. 8, 1444, L.4 was paid to "*francesco [di bartolomeo] and *iacopo [di domenico, cieco] laudesi...perchè cantorono elamento el venerdi santo...e in detta quaresima chantorono cierte volte el vangielo;" SZ, vol.2177, fasc.16, f.55v.

¹⁶⁵The last recorded payment to an indoor instrument player was on November 25, 1442 to "churado che suona la viuola per santo zanobi prossimo passato la vilia e la sera"; SZ, vol.2177, fasc.16, f.35r. A lutenist was hired on at least one occasion; for the feast of Santa Reparata in 1412, L.1, s.15 was paid to "[*Bernaba di Cristofano] Loci e'l Ciangha e *Jacopo [di Lorenzo]

early 1440s is also the time during which the Company began to regularly hire trombadori and pifferi to play for the feast of San Zanobi; in 1442, payments were made to pifferi di palagio (city employees), four trombadori, and the Cathedral's polyphonic choir, who sang at the evening lauda service.¹⁶⁶

che suona il liuto perchè chantorono la vilia e la sera di Santa Reparata..."; D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 268, n.57.

¹⁶⁶SZ, vol.2177, fasc.16, f.32r [June 3, 1442]: "s.18 per dare a trombetti quando sa picchorono gliallori ala campanile; s.33 per dare a pifferi di palagio; s.4 d.2 per dare a quello dela tromba; <..>12 per dare a cantori di san giovanni <v>en[g]ono alle laude...". The singers were also hired by the Company in 1440 (SZ, vol.2171, fasc.6A, f.49v), 1463, and 1464 (SZ, vol. 2171, fasc.6C, ff.117v, 122v).

THE FLORENTINE LAUDESII COMPANIES

Company	Church	Order	Assets ¹
Orsanmichele	Orsanmichele	lay ²	14,947
S. Piero Martire	Santa Maria Novella	Dominican	11,362
San Zanobi	Cathedral	Diocesan	2,146
*Sant'Agnese	S. Maria del Carmine	Carmelite	593
San Gilio	San Gilio ³	Sacchite	358
*Santo Spirito	Santo Spirito	Augustinian (friars)	285
San Lorenzo	San Lorenzo	Collegiate	123
*San Frediano	San Frediano ⁴	Cistercian	76
San Marco	San Marco	Dominican (observant)	42
San Bastiano	Santissima Annunziata	Servite	
Santa Croce	Santa Croce	Franciscan	
Ognissanti	Ognissanti	Franciscan (observant)	

¹In florins, according the Florentine catasto of 1427.

²Became a collegiate church in 1415.

*Companies located in the Oltrarno.

³Located within the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.

⁴Distinct from San Frediano in Cestello, a larger church in the same quarter.

4. THE COMPANY OF SANTO SPIRITO

The "Compagnia delle laude di Santo Spirito" (also called "della Colomba", or "del Piccione", after the Company's symbol, the dove of the Holy Spirit), was located in the church of the Augustinian friars.¹⁶⁷ The Company is first mentioned in a city Provvisione of July 19, 1322,¹⁶⁸ although it was probably founded during the late 13th century along with most of the other Florentine laudesi companies. None of the Company's pre-15th century records survive, but location probably determined in this period the relatively modest character that this and the other laudesi companies in the Oltrarno certainly possessed in the 15th century.¹⁶⁹ Separated from the other three quarters of the city by the Arno, the quarter of Santo Spirito (which comprised the Oltrarno district) was somewhat removed from the commercial, political, and devotional center of the city, and then, as now,

¹⁶⁷The Augustinian (Austin, Hermit) friars, who by the late 13th century resembled the Dominicans in organization and theology, grew out of bands of Tuscan hermits, who were assigned the rule of St. Augustine by Innocent IV in 1243, then united in 1256 by Alexander IV under the title Hermits of St. Augustine, with the status of mendicant friars. "Augustinians," in New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1967), vol.1, pp.1071-6. The new order had settled in the church of Santo Spirito by 1250; Anna Benvenuti Papi, "Ordini mendicanti e città: Appunti per un'indagine, il caso di Firenze," Da Dante a Cosimo I, ed. D. Maselli (Pistoia, 1976), pp.128-9, n. 13.

¹⁶⁸ASF, Provvisione, XXVI, f.8a [July 19, 1322], where the Company is referred to as "Sotietatis Laudem Sancti Spiritus de Florentia..."

¹⁶⁹See the 1427 Catasto chart on p.186, which is probably a fairly accurate reflection of the companies' pre-15th century fortunes, which were established and perpetuated primarily on the basis of bequests received during the 14th century.

it possessed a strong working class character. Only in the 15th century, as a shrinking political arena compelled the more ambitious Florentines to seek out new power bases, did the membership lists of the Oltrarno companies begin to show the higher proportions of upper guildsmen and prominent family names that had been characteristic of the larger companies, like Orsanmichele, in the 14th century.¹⁷⁰

Oddly enough, the only extant Company document from before 1419 is the early 14th-century laudario Mgl¹, a sumptuously noted and illuminated manuscript that is the sole source of the Florentine monophonic lauda repertory.¹⁷¹ The assumption that

¹⁷⁰For example, the membership lists of Santo Spirito show a rapid growth between 1444 and 1470 (30 new members in 1444), and about four of every five bore prominent Oltrarno family names like Frescobaldi, Ridolfi, Pitti, Corbinelli, Capponi, and Torrigiani; SSP, vol.79, passim. The Florentine architect Michelozzo Michelozzi joined the Company on August 3rd, 1446; Ibid., f.21v. During the latter third of the century, however, the confraternities became the object of Medici influence; Lorenzo de' Medici joined the Company of Santo Spirito on May 10, 1467, Ibid; and on May 14, 1481, the Company elected to membership Lorenzo's son Piero, and Lorenzo di Piero Francesco de Medici, by a vote of 43 to 1; SSP, vol.2, Partiti, 1481-1572, f.4r. The significance of these changes is discussed in Ch.VII, pp.360f.

¹⁷¹Mgl¹: Florence, BN, Banco Rari 18 (olim Magl.II.I.122); Fernando Liuzzi, ed., La Lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana [Rome, 1935], vol.II, with facsimiles, and transcriptions which are unacceptable for their rhythmic interpretations; John Henry Grossi, "The 14th Century Florentine Laudario Magliabechiano II.I.122 (B.R.18): A Transcription and Study," (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1979), with diplomatic transcriptions and introductory study. An edition of texts is forthcoming in series that already includes Cort, edited by Giorgio Varanini, Luigi Banfi, and Anna Ceruti Burgio, Laude cortonesi dal secolo XIII al XV, Vol.I (1,2), II (Florence, 1981-85), (study of the melodies by Giulio Cattin), with facsimiles published in Liuzzi, La Lauda, vol.I. An approximate date of the Mgl¹ (ca.1310-1340) is based on a stylistic analysis of the miniatures, while its assignment to the Company of Santo

that the owners of such a manuscript must have been an institution "of some wealth" is probably true with respect to companies outside Florence, but it must be qualified with respect to the Florentine laudesi.¹⁷² In fact, as the inventories of even the smallest companies reveal, such books were de rigueur for the Florentine companies, and were undoubtedly intended for use on festive occasions.¹⁷³ The two extant Florentine laudari (Mgl¹ and Mgl²), both elegantly decorated, were in fact the possessions of two modest Florentine laudesi companies, and in his study of the miniatures in these two manuscripts, Vincent Moleta observed that

The illustration of laude in the early and mid-fourteenth-century city-states reflects a newly institutionalised phase in the production of laudari, when the lay confraternity books could now be shown to rival Latin service books in their decoration as in their liturgical range.¹⁷⁴

Like the other Florentine lay companies, Santo Spirito was hard hit by the economic contraction and taxation of the early 15th century, but appears to have revived in the 1440s with in-

Spirito is based on a thematic study of texts and miniatures; see Vincent Moleta, "The Illuminated Laudari Mgl¹ and Mgl²," Scriptorium 32 (1978), 29-50; Grossi, pp.17-20; RISM B.IV/1, ed. G. Reaney, p.789; D. Fallow, "Sources," III,7. The New Grove Dictionary (London, 1980). The liturgical organization of Mgl¹ is outlined in Ch.III, n.74.

¹⁷²Grossi, "The Fourteenth Century Florentine Laudario," p.27.

¹⁷³See Ch.III, pp.113f. concerning the acquisition of an illuminated laudario by the small laudesi company of San Frediano. A 1444 inventory of the Company of Santo Spirito lists "dua libri di laude miniati e dipinti"; SSP, vol.78, f.5r.

¹⁷⁴v. Moleta, "The Illuminated Laudari," 30. Mgl²: Florence, B.N. Banco Rari 19 (olim Magl.II.I.212; without music for the laude) belonged to the Company of San Gilio (Egidio), which will be discussed below.

creased membership enrollment. A long list of costumes and properties in a 1444 inventory indicates that by this time the Company's annual "festa della sensione" (during Pentecost) had become an elaborate and spectacular affair.¹⁷⁵ The Company had abandoned ferial services by 1446, but lauda singing continued throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, confined primarily to Lent. In 1598 the "Compagnia del Pippione" (Piccione) was still conducting lauda services during the feast days of Lent, on the strength of a bequest made long before.

* * *

Although records of the Company's professional singing activity do not begin until 1421, the strongest evidence for such activity prior to this date is the Company's laudario. Many of the melodies in this manuscript are remarkable for their florid quality and wide range, especially when compared with the older concordant versions in the late 13th-century Cortona manuscript. Noting the "evident taste for luxuriant melismatic patterns" in this collection, Giulio Cattin has observed that a certain amount of "technical accomplishment" is required in their performance,

¹⁷⁵On the feast, A. D'Ancona, Origini del teatro italiano (Turin, 1891), II, p.186; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.169-73; Trexler, Public Ritual. By 1436 the Company had begun to refer to its "festa della cholomba" as the "festa della sensione" (SSP vol.58, ff.37r-43r [expenses for 1436 and 1437]); the Company's 1427 tax report lists only an annual expense of L.25-30 for the "festa della cholomba" (ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.71v), but the Company was certainly spending much more than this by mid-century, for its production rivaled that of the Company of Sant'Agnese, on which that company spent hundreds of lire annually.

and documents presented in the following chapter will demonstrate the care with which the laudesi companies hired their singers.¹⁷⁶ And technical accomplishment was certainly a requirement for performing the two- and three-part motets included in the latter part of this 14th-century collection. The San Gilio laudario (Mg1²) contains a similar collection, and there are several references to motets in the 14th-century records of the Company of San Piero Martire.¹⁷⁷ The subjects of the texts and their inclusion in festive laudari indicate that these polyphonic, Latin works were reserved for special liturgical occasions, but nevertheless called for trained singers.

In 1421, the Company's first recorded payments were made to *Antonio di Petro, an experienced laudesi who between 1383 and 1417 had sung with the three major companies discussed above. He received s.40 per month "to sing laude every evening in the church of St. Augustine" until June 22, 1424, when he became resident manager of the Company's hospital [Doc.40]. He and his wife took up residence and duties in the hospital, with the condition that Antonio continue singing laude in the evening ferial services without pay for this:

...The Company...elects...[as] new spedalingo Antonio di Petro laudese, who sings the laude with the usual terms and conditions, and he and his wife shall enter and execute well and with love his [new] office...on the condition that from this day forth he ought nor may not request any salary or commission for singing laude [during] the evening [services] in Santo Spirito.

¹⁷⁶Cattin, Music of the Middle Ages, pp.147-50.

¹⁷⁷These motets are discussed in Ch.V, pp.276f.

Whereas he formerly received soldi 40 per month for his labor and compliance, thus he presently is obliged and promises to attend diligently to lauda singing [during] the evening [services] in Santo Spirito as before, and because of the benefice of the said hospital given to him, he is obligated to us not to request a salary...[doc.41]

The ailing Antonio was replaced in 1426 by the 24-year old *Antonio del'Locci, the son of a clothcutter and veteran laudesi *Bernaba di Cristofano Locci.¹⁷⁸ In 1431, the Company recorded a lower salary of s.15 per month to *Domenico di Fruosino.¹⁷⁹ Of particular interest is the Company's reliance upon a single singer for the lauda services during this period, which is clear evidence of the persistence of monophonic singing and repertory into the first half of the 15th century. The Company's 1427 tax report records, along with complaints of chronic debt because of high expenses and unpaid rents from Company property, an annual expense of three to six florins for "un chantatore delle laulde".¹⁸⁰

The same 1427 report also mentions that the Company was

¹⁷⁸SSP, vol.1, ff.28r-v,42r.

¹⁷⁹SSP, vol. 57, f.36v [1431]: "Domenicho di fruosino chanta le lalde debe avere il mese s.15 picciole inchominciando ad [lacuna]". For profile, see Ch.V, p.259.

¹⁸⁰ASF, Catasto, vol.291, f.71v [1427]: "La chonpagnia delle laulde di santo spirito nominata della cholonba...Anno a tenere un chantatore delle laulde alanno fl. 3 in 6...La detta chonpagnia [h]a sempre debito per le grande spese e male rischotere". The Company's own record of its tax report stated "è de vero che sempre sta in debito per troppe spese e per male risquotere la pigione di cativi pagatori [followed by a list of 10 Company debtors]"; SSP vol. 1, f.29r. ASF, Catasto vol.293 [1429], which appears to be a copy of the 1427 reports, records on f.33v: "a uno che chanta le laulde la sera".

spending L.25-35 each year for its traditional "festa della colomba", which was celebrated during the month immediately following Pentecost. This appears to have been the only occasion for which the Company regularly hired instrumentalists, usually pifferi.¹⁸¹

By 1434, the Company was paying two singers, the brothers *Lorenzo and *Francesco di Giovanni, who in that year appear to have been living in the Company hospital along with their father, Giovanni di Lorenzo. On January 17, 1435, the two were paid L.16 for having sung laude from Lent through October of the preceding year, but L.16 was also paid to Don Romualdo, a monk from the neighboring Camaldolese church of San Felice, who very probably trained the boys as biscantatori and sang with them that year.¹⁸² In April, 1435, the boys and their father were dismissed from their hospital duties and privileges, but the two boys continued through 1439 to "sing laude every evening as is customary" at the rate of L.34 per year.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹SSP, vol.1, f.42v [1416], when L.4 was paid to "Bartolo e tre co[m]pagni pifferi per sonar ala festa"; f.2v [1419], L.4 to pifferi for "la festa nostra"; f.58v [May 19-June 19, 1426], when L.4 s.3 was paid to 3 pifferi.

¹⁸²SSP, vol.57, f.41v: "don Romualdo monaco di santo felice deve avere L.16, Lorenzo e Francescho di Giovanni lauldesi per istanziamiento e deliberazione fatta pe[r] capitani ogi questo di xvii di genaio 1434 [1435]...per una quaresima e mesi 6 cantarono le laulde in Sancto Spirito finiti detti 6 mesi a di primo di novembre 1434 cosi deliberono dovesino avere L.16."

¹⁸³SSP, vol.58, ff.16v-17r, 39v, 40r, 75r (re. hospital contract); vol.59, f.6r; Vol.58, f.75r: "Richardo chome ogi questo di primo di Giugno 1435 rimasi dachordo che necio [Lorenzo] e cecherino [Francesco] figliuoli di Giovanni di Lorenzo che dovesino chantare le lade ogni sera chome usanza e debono avere

The Company continued the practice of hiring two singers until at least 1456. In 1442, the Company recorded a payment to *Francesco di Bartolomeo and a companion for having sung during the previous Lent.¹⁸⁴ In 1444 two singers, the carpenter *Luca d'Antonio and *Antonio di Giovanni della Puccia (whose laudesi activities were confined to the Oltrarno) became Company members, and their dues were credited against their salaries as singers.¹⁸⁵ In December, 1445, the Company recorded an agreement with two experienced laudesi, *Nocho d'Alesso and *Ulivante di Bartolomeo, which indicates that the residential agreement between the the Company and its singers continued (though not with respect to the hospital), and that ferial singing had been discontinued by this time:

...beginning [Dicember 1, 1445] Nocho and Ulivante are obliged to come for the next two years to sing laude, and should have for their salary L.36 per year of which they must reckon the rent on a piece of land [with a house] in Gangalandi which brings L.28 per year, and L.5 more from the Company of the Bigallo [a bequest] every year on the 5th of November...and the rest from annual funds of L.3, and they are to sing every Sunday and every obligatory feast day, and the evenings of [the feasts of] St. Augustine and St. Nicholas, and for

lano per loro salario L.30 quatro e ma[n]chando alchuna sera si debe pore loro lo scioperio per erata..." The two boys very likely took holy orders shortly thereafter, for they are not mentioned in any subsequent laudesi records.

¹⁸⁴SSP, vol.59, f.14r [March 21, 1442/1443].

¹⁸⁵ASF, vol.79, f.12r: "Lucha d'antonio de[ve] avere s.v d.vi i quali si gli lasciorono per che cha[n]tassi le lalde e altro non avere appagbate...Antonio di Giovanni della puccia [etc.]" Both are recorded among the membership through 1456, when Antonio is recorded as having died, but it is unclear whether or not the two sang for the Company during the intervening years.

every time they do not sing the said laude they must be docked s.10...and they must be here in the evening at the 23rd hour (ca.7 P.M.)...L.72. [doc.42]

The two singers broke the contract immediately, but during Lent in 1447 they sang for the Company on "all the obligatory feasts of this Lent, Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and all the feasts of Easter", and at the same time were still recorded as tenants of the Company.¹⁸⁶

The Company records from 1447 to 1480 are very scant, and the few recorded payments to singers were made only during Lent. On April 30, 1456, Lorenzo di Piero, dipintore (painter) and Francesco, lanternaio (lantern maker/seller) were paid to sing "alle laude", and on April 26, 1466, the barber *Guelfo di Bartolomeo was mentioned as a singer.¹⁸⁷ But annual lauda singing certainly continued, for in 1465 the Company began levying a "lauda tax" ("l'imposta delle laude") of s.6 on all new members.¹⁸⁸

After a long hiatus, Company documents resuming in 1482 indicate a regular practice of hiring nine to eleven singers for the period of Lent. On April 19, 1482, the Company's ten singers (nine of whom were paid L.2 s.5) were three Santo Spirito "fratini" (novices): Cristofano, Girolamo, and Francesco, and seven

¹⁸⁶SSP, vol.78, ff.22r-v.

¹⁸⁷SSP, vol.60, f.27r (Lorenzo di Piero was paid again in July, 1485, and since he was a member throughout this period, he may have continued to sing, as well). On Guelfo, SSP, vol.61, f.21r.

¹⁸⁸SSP, vol.60, ff.19r-22v; vol.78, f.61v. It is not clear how long past 1466 this "tax" continued.

boys and young men who sang throughout the city's companies: the brothers *Donato and *Matteo di Giuliano Ardinghelli, Jacopo Tot<..>, and four singers (three sovrani and one tinore) borrowed from the Company of San Piero Martire, *Raffaello di Domenico, *Domenico di Dono, and the weavers *Maruccio di Tommaso and *Giovanni di Jacopo (tinore).¹⁸⁹ The three friars and Giovanni di Jacopo were probably the tinore, while the six other boys sang sovrano, for though names were not listed, similar numbers of singers were designated in 1487 ("4 tinore e 6 fanciugli") and 1488 ("5 tinore e 6 fanciugli").¹⁹⁰ In 1483 and 1484, the Company listed nine lay singers for Lent,¹⁹¹ but during the period 1488-1502, payments of L.28-30 were made to four fraticini and two friars (1488), an unspecified number of fraticini and two tinori (1489, 1493-95), or most often simply to the "fraticini".¹⁹² It appears that polyphonic practice among the friars may have developed to the extent that they were competitive with the city's lay singers, and, considering that the Company did not maintain a regular retinue of singers, the friars were probably much easier to engage during the busy Lenten season.

From 1503 to 1522, the Company continued to hire singers

¹⁸⁹SSP, vol.62, f.45r: "A di 19 [d'aprile] L.2 s.5 a fra Girolamo fraticino di santo spirito per lalde chanto ebe deto danari frate lionardi maestro de[i] novizi...[etc.]...A di 19 deto L.2 s.5 a domenicho di dono per le lalde chanto...[etc.]"

¹⁹⁰Ibid., ff.46v-47r.

¹⁹¹SSP, vol.78, v.77r; vol.62, f.46r.

¹⁹²SSP, vol.62, ff.47v-49v.

only during Lent, but was paying less (L.17-23 per year) to a smaller ensemble (two to three tinori, and three to four sovrani). No friars are mentioned, and the group was under the direction of a lay maestro di cappella to whom the payments were made. In 1503, L.21 was paid to the hosier Biagio, three tinori, and four sovrani, for singing laude during all of Lent.¹⁹³

Thereafter the position of maestro alternated between *Agniolo del Favilla (1505, 1518-22) and *Piero di San Giorgio (1506-16), both of whom held this position at other laudesi companies during this period.¹⁹⁴

The Company probably continued throughout the 16th century to hire an ensemble just large enough to sing four-part music. A 1598 memoriale compiled by the Santo Spirito friars listed the obligations for the "Altar of the Holy Sacrament of Matteo Corbionelli": "the Company of the Dove must sing 'laudi in musica' every feast [and Sunday of Lent], and afterwards a Father is to give confession and recommend to God the soul of the said Matteo..."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³SSP, vol.57, f.21r.: "al bi[a]gio cha[l]zaiuolo...per avere cantato le lalde in sancto spirito tuta la quaresima con 3 tinore e 3 canza...L.21."

¹⁹⁴SSP, vol.78, ff.90v-109r; vol.57, ff.23r-24v; vol.62, ff.55v-67r.

¹⁹⁵Doc.55, translated in Ch.VI, p.341.

5. THE COMPANY OF SANT'AGNESE¹⁹⁶

The "Compangnia di Santa Maria del Carmino" was among the oldest of Florentine lay companies. The Company's 1280 statutes are the oldest extant of such documents in Florence, yet these are not the original statutes, but a series of additions (made between 1280 and 1298) to an older document which has not survived.¹⁹⁷ According to 18th-century records of the Carmelite friars predating a disastrous fire in 1771, the entrance to the Company's meeting room bore the inscribed date of the Company's foundation--1268,¹⁹⁸ but this inscription more likely refers to the foundation of the Carmelite church, the first cornerstone of

¹⁹⁶St. Agnes was a widely honored Roman virgin and martyr, whose name is still in the canon of the Mass (January 21st). She has always been regarded as the special patroness of bodily purity. Her cult became associated with the Carmine church when in 1268 the Florentine bishop, Giovanni di Mangiadori, donated a relic of the saint (a foot) to the new church; G. Bacchi, "La compagnia di S. Maria delle laude e di S. Agnese nel Carmine di Firenze," Rivista storica carmelitana II (1930-31), 144. The two Florentine laudari (Mgl¹, with music, and Mgl²) contain a lauda in her honor, "Sancta Agnesa da Dio amata"; ed. in Liuzzi, La lauda, II, no. LXXXV, and Grossi, "The Florentine Laudario," no. 94. See plate 11, depicting a fragment of this lauda from another (lost) laudario.

¹⁹⁷Florence, BN, Magl. VIII.1500, fasc. 9; ed. G. Piccini, Libro degli ordinamenti de la Compagnia di Santa Maria del Carmino (Bologna, 1867); reprint ed., C. Gargioli, Madonna Lionessa: Cantare inedito del secolo XIV (Bologna, 1968), pp. 9-47 (second pagination series). A more accessible and recent edition is Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini (Florence, 1954). Moreover, the addition of new statutes in 1280 presupposes a prior period during which the old ones had become inadequate.

¹⁹⁸Ugo Procacci, "L'incendio della chiesa del Carmine del 1771," Rivista d'arte (1932), 167.

which was laid that year.¹⁹⁹ In fact, the Company's 16th-century statutes recall its origins as a Societas fidei during the era of St. Peter Martyr's Florentine preaching:

The venerable and religious Company of the standard entitled Madonna Santa Maria delle Laude et Santa Agnese di Firenze...had its beginning around the year of the Lord 1245...²⁰⁰

Since construction of the Carmine church began only in 1268, the Company probably did not adopt lauda singing until a (necessary) altar was available in the new church. Bacchi recorded an undated notice from the convent archives which stated that "the Company of S. Agnese began in 1269, beside the walls of the second church."²⁰¹

No Company account books prior to the 15th century have survived, but later records indicate that, like the Company of Santo Spirito, Sant'Agnese was a more modest Oltrarno company,

¹⁹⁹A. Bossi, Ricostruzione grafica delle fasi storiche della chiesa del Carmine (Florence, 1974), Introduction (without pagination). Based on the convent's documents in the ASF, although no evidence is provided for the assertion that the Company of Sant'Agnese was founded in 1264. The Carmelite order originated as an eremetical community of devout pilgrims and holy men living on Mt. Carmel during the 12th-century Latin kingdom of Acre. With the 13th-century decline of this kingdom the Carmelites migrated west, and their original rule, written between 1206 and 1214 by St. Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was modified in 1247 to permit foundations in cities, at which time they began to engage in the mendicant apostolate; J. Smet, "Carmelites," New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1967), vol.3, p.118.

²⁰⁰The complete document [doc.65] is translated and discussed in Ch.III, p.75.

²⁰¹Bacchi, "La Compagnia di S. Maria," II (1930-31), 143: "...nel 1269 ebbe principio allato alle muraglie della seconda chiesa la Società de S. Agnese." (ASF, Conventi Soppressi 113, no. 530, lost?).

reflecting something of that district's parochial and working-class character. Nevertheless, its early 15th-century assets were twice those of Santo Spirito laudesi, and the Company's 15th-century productions of its annual Ascension feast were lavish (L.332 in 1466) and spectacular events that must have been the pride of the quarter and the amazement of the city.²⁰²

During the politically unstable years of the early 16th century, the Company struggled to meet the obligations of its bequests. During the second half of the century, liturgical obligations (including lauda singing) were ceded to the friars, and the Company became a formal neighborhood group devoted to the management of dowries, a hospice for widows, and its annual feast.

* * *

The surviving additions to the Company's statutes (1280-96) reveal an active ritual life centered on lauda singing. Festive and ferial lauda services evidently took place prior to 1280, and the extant statutes prescribe the addition of lauda instructors

²⁰²D'Ancona, Origini, I, 230ff., 272-3, 408-9, 246-53. The latter is a famous first-hand description of the Company's Ascension feast of May 14, 1439, by a Russian bishop who was in Florence for the Church Council. There is a later description by Vasari, Le vite de' piu eccelente pittore, scultori, ed architettore (Florence, 1906), vol.3, pp.197-8, in which he attributes the design of some of the machinery to Brunelleschi. This was the one occasion for which the Company regularly hired trombetti ("sonatore di suoni grossi") and pifferi ("sonatori di suoni sotili"). Polyphonic music was sung from within the "nuvola", an Ascension "cloud" that was suspended above the main altar in the center of the church, for in 1466 a payment was made to the carpenter *Filippo di Francesco "...che fu l'angelo dela tinore della nughola..." (SA, vol.100, f.81v).

to teach laude at the scuola, and direct the singing during the evening services and the morning processions.²⁰³ The last of these statutes (1298) states that

those who come to say [sing] or to hear laude in the evening at...santa Maria del Carmino, as is customary, must remain kneeling until the lauda is said [sung].
[doc.27]

No 14th-century Company document of any kind has survived, with one possible exception. Agostino Ziino has recently assembled and published a collection of trecento laudario fragments, most of which contain musical notation and illumination executed in Florentine botteghe. Among these are several that Ziino argues were once part of a laudario belonging to the Sant'Agnesse laudesi, in particular an elaborate miniature at the head of the lauda "Sancta Agnesa da Dio amata".²⁰⁴ The lower half of the miniature contains two scenes from the Saint's life, while in the upper half she is shown seated on a throne holding a lamb (one of her iconographic symbols), and flanked by two angel musicians playing a vielle and a psaltery [see plate 11].

The next surviving testimony to the Company's musical activities is its 1427 tax report, which lists a number of bequests

²⁰³The relevant documents (nos.17,24, and 27) are translated and discussed in Ch.III, *passim*.

²⁰⁴"Laudi e miniature fiorentine del primo trecento," Studi musicali VII (1978), 61-69, and plate 13 (British Library, Ms. Add. 18196; 30 by 50 cm.). R. Offner attributed another fragment in the collection to the Company (plate 14a); Corpus of Florentine Painting (New York, 1957), Section III, vol.VII, p.56. The same lauda is contained in Mgl¹ (Liuzzi, La lauda, II, pp.384-6; with concordant music) and Mgl² (no.90), but with much simpler decorative schemes.

for lauda vigils made after ca.1370.²⁰⁵ The catasto report provides no details regarding musicians and salaries, the earliest of which appear in Company records of the 1440s.

After ca.1440, the Company records indicate that their musical practices conformed more or less to the larger pattern of Florentine laudesi activity. Ferial services had been abandoned by the 1440s, and two to three singers were hired for feast days (including Lent), until the 1470s, when a larger, polyphonic ensemble of six to seven singers is recorded into the early 16th century. Like the Company of Santo Spirito, Sant'Agnesse differed from the larger companies across the river primarily in that it had less to spend on extra singers and instrumentalists for special feast days, and could maintain only the smallest possible polyphonic ensemble in the late 15th and early 16th century.

The Sant'Agnesse laudesi also resembled their Santo Spirito neighbors in that Lent became an important musical season in the absence of ferial singing, though the former's greater number of bequests for lauda vigils assured a broader range of festive singing. The earliest recorded Company payments were to pairs of singers for singing during Lent: in 1441 to the weaver *Nocho d'Alesso and *Lodovicho di Francesco,²⁰⁶ in 1442 to the furrier

²⁰⁵ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.69r; e.g., see Doc.11, and its translation/discussion in Ch.III, p.94.

²⁰⁶SA vol.24, fasc.3, f.27v [April 15, 1441]: "Al nocho d'alesso e a [Lodovicho di] francesco grossi 8 per loro resto di laude per la quaresima passata...L.4 s.19."

Bruno di Giovanni and Daniello tinore,²⁰⁷ and in 1443 to Nocho and Matteo d'Antonio, who sang the Passion that year.²⁰⁸ During Christmas, 1443, three fanciulli, all brothers, were paid to sing laude.²⁰⁹ For the Lenten season in 1444, the Company hired three singers in what constituted a common ensemble of the time--two boys (probably biscantatori), one named Felone, who also sang the laments, and one Benedetto, who sang the Gospels, and an adult tinore, *Domenico di Fruosino, "who sang tenore throughout Lent, with both of the above two boy singers."²¹⁰

From 1442 to 1450 the Company was served by a father and son, who lived near the Carmine church and apparently sang only

²⁰⁷SA, vol.24, fasc.5, f.101r [March, 1442]: "A spese detto L.4 s.19 ebe Bruno di giovanni pelleci<ciaio> per che nella quaresima presente a chantato le laude cioe chon daniello per tinore e tanto diamo a llui parto a daniello...L.4 s.19." As far as I know, this is the earliest explicit reference to a tinore in the Florentine laudesi documents.

²⁰⁸SA, vol.24, fasc.7, ff.145,152.

²⁰⁹Ibid., fasc.8, f.170r [Dec.24, 1443]: "A tre fanciulli figliuoli di [lacuna] detto di...per che venghono el di delle feste alle laude cioe a cha[n]tarlle aspechi di laude aspechi ...L.1 s.13."

²¹⁰SA, vol.24, fasc.9, f.10r [April 10, 1444]: "A spese di Laude a di detto L.quattro s.otto, e quali paghai e 2 fanc[i]ulietti che chantorono le laude in questa quaresima, l'uno a nome Felone, chi chanto i llamenti, l'altro a nome Benedetto che chanto i vangeli. Died[e] per uno s.44 per uno paio di chalze per chortesia...L.4 s.8

A spese di laude dette L.[lacuna] s.[lacuna], e quali danari paghai a Domenicho di Frosino ch'a chantato tenore tutta la quaresima sopradetta, chon tutte e 2 sopradetti chantore fanc[i]uletti..." A similar group was paid for Lent in 1457: "Vetorio di tesoro sante e l'angiolina, figlu[o]lo d'uno tedesco, e'l figlu[o]lo d'ambruogio delui<..> chalz[ai]uolo devono avere per loro salario dele laude al'ano che seguente per tuta la quaresima pasata per c[i]as[c]huno uno paio di chalze...L.7 s.3." (SA, vol. 114, f.133).

for Sant'Agnese: the weaver Niccolò di Betto, who was 44 in 1442, and his son Romolo, who must have been under 17 when he began singing laude with his father in 1444, since he was not mentioned in Niccolò's 1427 tax report.²¹¹ Niccolò's last recorded payments were through May, 1450, when he was receiving s.30 per month, and when he was apparently continuing the Company's practice of solo singing for the feast days outside of Lent.²¹²

In 1445, the Company recorded the death of the weaver Antonio di Benedetto di Butino (b.1366),²¹³ a laudese who had served the Company in a manner reminiscent of the earliest years of lauda singing:

Antonio di Benedetto di Butino of the parish of Santa Maria di Verzaia...was a great zealot, benefactor, and laudese continuously and resolutely for more than 50 years [without pay], diligent in all Company matters, much honored and well loved by the entire Company.

For this he was honored in the Company's greatest fashion:

...so the captains decided he should be honored, and therefore this day they conducted a grand and honorable lauda vigil with all new things [referring primarily to the candles, of which there were to be over six pounds]. [doc.43]

During the period between ca.1440 and 1475, few of the Sant'Agnese singers are recorded as having sung elsewhere, and

²¹¹SA vol.24, fasc.6, f.123r; fasc.9, f.11v; fasc.10, f.9v; fasc.11, f.4v, 5r; fasc.12, f.12r, fasc.13, f.17r; fasc.14, f.16v.; fasc., et al. ASF, Catasto vol.67, ff.392v-393r.

²¹²SA, vol.114, f.20r: "Nicholo di betto detto nicholo bughani nostro laldese...per salario di mesi sei passati cioe chominciati a di primo di settembre 1449 a ragione di L.una s.dieci [il] mese...L.9" (followed by payments for March-May).

²¹³A detailed profile is provided in Ch.V, pp.252-3.

those few sang primarily in the other Oltrarno companies, a situation in keeping with the more insular nature of that district. Domenico di Fruosino and the carpenter Lucha d'Antonio both sang for Sant'Agnese and Santo Spirito before mid-century, and *Antonio della Puccia and the barber *Ghuelfo di Bartolomeo sang (usually together) for all three Oltrarno companies. They sang at Sant'Agnese in 1466-67 along with *Bernardino di Francesco, who left in 1467 to sing only for the larger companies across the river. All three were to come on the obligatory feast days between the 23rd and 24th hour (ca.7-8 p.m.). Ghuelfo's contract for this tenure sets forth in detail his special duties as precentor, and reveals the level of involvement expected by the more closely knit Oltrarno companies:

Guelfo di Bartolomeo, barber, employee (famiglio) of our Company and singer of laude, shall have as salary ...twenty lire for one year [of service] when the following obligation is fulfilled. And which year begins on November 1, 1466, and shall finish on the said day in 1467. And which obligation is to be this: that the said Guelfo in the said year shall diligently come on every obligatory feast to say [sing] laude in the church of the Carmine of Florence, between the 23rd and 24th hour, to set up the lectern, and also to clear [it] away, and when he is remiss he shall be docked soldi five for each time . And besides singing the laude, he shall diligently attend...[the meetings of] the captains, other officials, or men of the Company, ...and in the event that he does not do [these things] or is remiss through his [own] defect or negligence, whether in singing the laude or meeting [with] the captains, for every day soldi five shall be withheld from his salary. And the syndics in office at the time are to have responsibility for this. And the syndic or chamberlain of the said Company shall pay Guelfo the said salary every two months at the rate due to him, that is, it is agreed the salary will be paid in this way: lire twelve for the meetings of the captains and other officials,...and lire eight to sing laude... [doc.44; plate 12]

After a five-year lacuna, documentation resuming in 1474 indicates that the Company had begun hiring a larger, probably polyphonic ensemble. Five singers were paid during Christmas of 1474: Pietro Pagholo di Giovanni, Cristofano di Cino, the carpenter *Tommaso di Francesco D'Astore (who had been a sovrano at San Zanobi, 1469-70), Matteo d'Antonio Baltotto, and Domenico di Michele ("el Cornachino").²¹⁴ Until ca.1490, the Company continued to hire a small ensemble of four to five singers, with two tinore and two to three sovrani (designated simply as laudesi in Company documents), which indicates that the Company probably clung to an older repertory of two- and three-part music during this period. During the decade of the 1470s, in particular, the Company was hiring a higher percentage of singers from across the Arno, most of them tinori; this was probably a period during which there were too few resident polyphonic singers in that quarter at a time when the companies were beginning to require greater numbers of them. The situation had changed again by ca.1485, after which time few of the Sant'Agnese laudesi are recorded as having sung outside of the quarter.

In 1477, the Company recorded a payment to Betto di Nicho, laldese, who had been born 50 years prior as the oldest son of a former Company laudese, Nicholo di Betto.²¹⁵ Payments during the summer of 1478 were made to *Francesco d'Antonio di Ventura, the

²¹⁴SA, vol.100, f.142r.

²¹⁵SA, vol.125, f.66r [December 22, 1477]; ASF, Catasto vol.67, f.393r, which shows Betto as newly born at the time of the 1427 Catasto.

hosier *Andrea di Cristofano, tinore, Bartolomeo di Lorenzo, tinore, and the painter Agniolo.²¹⁶ For the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24th) in 1479, the Company hired two "lauldese": Antonio di Zanobi del Papa and Francisco d'Antonio di Ventura; and two "che tiene il tinore": the weaver *Giovanni di Jacopo, and *Jacopo di Ser Bartolomeo da Radda.²¹⁷ The latter continued to sing with the Company until the 1490s, an unusual situation in the Oltrarno companies where the more occasional hiring of laudesi did not usually permit the retention of the same singers for sustained periods.

In 1490, the Company began hiring three tinori and two to three "laudiere", perhaps the smallest possible ensemble that would allow the performance of four-part music. From January to June of that year, the Company paid s.15 per month to two laudesi: *Giovambatista di Currado and Antonio di Giovanni, segatore (sawyer), both of whom had been elected the previous year by a group of captains including Piero dei Medici); and three tinoriste: Jacopo da Radda, the weaver Antonio di Giovanni, and Francesco di Batista Befani.²¹⁸ The Company was now spending more on its singers, retaining them for six-month contracts which assured a more reliable group of singers than the previous practice of occasional or one-month hiring. In 1492, the captains decided to create a special "lauda account", setting aside L.47

²¹⁶SA, vol.100, f.144r.

²¹⁷Ibid., f.146r.

²¹⁸SA, vol.4, ff.32r-v.

per year which was to be spent only on the Company's lauda singing.²¹⁹ The last recorded payments for some years were made for a lauda vigil in February, 1494 to three tinoriste: Jacopo da Radda, *Andrea di Fieravante, and Niccolo di Giovanni Maschalzoni (s.4 each); and two laudiere: Donato di Jacopo and Rafaello della Piazza (s.3 each).²²⁰ Payments made later that year for other lauda vigils specify the performance of three laude for each vigil.²²¹

In October, 1494, the Company records cease abruptly, resume tentatively in April, 1498, but show no payments to singers until 1506. The period of silence between October, 1494 and April, 1498 corresponds exactly to the rise and fall of Savonarola, whose censure may well have fallen upon Sant'Agnes for its close ties with the Medici. Since 1469, Lorenzo, and later his sons Piero and Giuliano, and nephew Giulio, had been benefactors and

²¹⁹Ibid., f.48v [no day or month]: "...el ficto che da l'anno alla compagnia nicholo fante ungaro [a Hungarian infantryman!, perhaps a bequest] che da l'anno L.47 debbano andare solamente a conto delle laude, et questo sia l'assegnamento che hanno dette laude et per altri detto ficto non si possa spendere." L.47 would just cover the salaries of five singers at s.15/mo. (L.45 per year); this may have been an effort to deal with the increasing inflation that was rendering bequests more difficult to fulfill under their original terms.

²²⁰SA, vol.125, f.82v. The vigil was probably for Biagio di Zanobi da Peretola, a butcher who in 1418 had left 25 gold florins to the Company for an annual lauda vigil on Candlemas (Feb.2nd); SA, vol.115, f.13r.

²²¹SA, vol.115, f.111v.

honorary members and officers of the Company.²²² On April 17, 1492, the Company spent L.10 for a

...rinovale in fond memory of Lorenzo di Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, in the church of Santa [Maria del Carmine] at the chapel of the Annunciation [one of the two Carmine chapels officiated by the Company].²²³

The records of payments to singers resuming after 1506 are very sparse, undoubtedly owing to "the ruin and great disruption of our company" reported in 1508.²²⁴ In 1506 the Company did not hire their singers individually, as in the past, but contracted Ranato Alberti and his "company of fanciulli" to sing laude on the "obligatory feast days" in order to fulfill bequests.²²⁵ The next recorded payment to a full retinue of singers was on May

²²²Bacchi, "La compagnia di S. Maria," III (1931-32), 119-21. Beginning in 1469, Lorenzo donated 24 bushels of flour every year for distribution to the poor of the Carmine neighborhood, and in 1485 Lorenzo and his male descendants were elected to receive all the benefits with none of the responsibilities of membership: "...item i prefati capitani in detto di ottennero per loro solenne partito e di poi tra i loro ufficiali per tutte fave nere, che furono fave 15 nere, che lorenzo di piero di cosimo de' medici e tutti i discendenti di casa sua per linea masculina siano ed esser debbano esentati e riservati da ogni e qualunque debito che avessimo o potessino per l'avvenire avere degli avi loro et essendo tra che si intendano e che chosi siano netti nello specchio senza pagare cosa alcuna et questo si e fatto, per i meriti e beneficii [che] hanno fatto e ogni di fanno alla nostra Compagnia..." [June 16, 1485]; Ibid., p.120. See also Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.169-73. The Savonarola regime and Medici involvement in Sant'Agnese affairs is discussed more fully in Ch.VII, pp.361f.

²²³SA, vol.4, f.48v: "...rinovale per la buona memoria di Lorenzo di piero di cosimo de' medici, nella chiesa de sancta [maria del Carmine] alla cappella della nunziata." The rinovale was to be offered annually.

²²⁴SA, vol. 115, ff.158ff.; the document is translated and discussed in Ch.VII, p.368.

²²⁵SA, vol.4, f.114r [June 21, 1506].

1st, 1519, to three tinore: Lorenzo d'Antonio di Lucha ("la spata"), Antonio di Tommaso Tavolacino, and Jacopo di Sandro; and three "sobrani": Giovanbatista di Zanobi Brunaci, the weaver Lorenzo di Piero, and Tommaso di Bernardo di Maso.²²⁶ As with the other laudesi companies, Sant'Agnes documents from the early 16th-century are sparse, and the Company struggled throughout this difficult time to fulfill the terms of bequests. Singers were probably hired ad hoc until lauda singing was abandoned altogether later in the century.

6. THE COMPANY OF SAN FREDIANO²²⁷

The small church of San Frediano, from which the Company took its name, stands at the opposite end of the Piazza del Carmine from the great Carmelite church, and was a Cistercian convent from 1236 to 1514.²²⁸ After its suppression in 1783, it was rendered unrecognizable as a church through subjection to other uses, which has led modern scholars to assume that the Company was associated with the nearby church of San Frediano in

²²⁶SA, vol.99, unnumbered folio (verso of penultimate folio): "...<r>hichondo<tto> de[i] laldieri a di primo di magio [1519]..."

²²⁷A 6th-century saint who became an anchorite, and later bishop in Lucca, where he formed a clerical community. Honored for his holiness and miracles.

²²⁸O. Micali and P. Roselli, Le soppressione dei conventi a Firenze (Florence, 1980), p.139.

Cestello.²²⁹

The oldest Company statutes were drafted at the time of its foundation on January 1st, 1324.²³⁰ At this time the Company's general structure was similar to other Florentine lay religious companies, with the difference that this small company was a charitable organization oriented to providing burial services rather than to lauda singing or ritual scourging. Only for the vigil and feast of San Frediano (November 18) were laude sung:

The captains are obliged to honor the feast of Messer Santo Fridiano and his vigil in every way possible, singing laude, and with candles, and with the other things that pertain to a feast. [doc.13]

In the extant Company records of the period between 1333 and the 1370s, there is no mention of lauda singing, and a 1356 inventory lists no laudari or other lauda paraphernalia.²³¹ The members were primarily working class residents of the Carmine, with the exception of the officers, who tended to be wealthy Oltrarno merchants like Chiaro d'Ardinghelli and the silk merchant Orlandino Lapi (both of whom left bequests for lauda vigils to the Oltrarno laudesi companies).²³² The strong local character of the Company is reflected in a 1368 statute, which required that the

²²⁹Ibid., p.141; the latter church was not constructed until ca.1450ff., when it became the convent of the Carmelites of S. Maria degli Angioli. One such attribution is in C.C. Calzolari, San Frediano in Cestello (Florence, 1972).

²³⁰BNF, Palatino 154, f.1r.

²³¹SF, vols. 29 and 88, passim.; vol.39, f.45 (this 1356 inventory lists primarily burial items).

²³²Both are listed as captains of San Frediano in 1350; SF, vol.29, f.29v.

captains reside in the gonfalone of the Green Dragon (the immediate neighborhood).²³³

The Company was overwhelmed by the devastation of the Black Death; on May 18, 1348, the Company buried "38 morti grandi" and "17 picholi". But San Frediano had recovered by ca.1360, and between 1368 and 1373 actually became a laudesi company through the acquisition of a laudario, lectern, and altar paraphernalia. The reasons for this change are worth pausing to consider. The devotion of lauda singing was still strong and popular, and all the more so since the awesome encounter with death during the protracted years of the plague. The experience undoubtedly inspired the lay companies to reaffirm or expand their ritual capacity for commemorating the dead, which had always been central to laudesi devotion. But a lay company was also a business, notwithstanding its religious function, and it was managed by professional businessmen who must have appreciated the nature of bequests, both as a means of assuring a company's survival in a most uncertain world, and as a kind of market in which the many Florentine lay companies competed. A successful merchant and San Frediano leader like Chiaro d'Ardinghelli, who had close ties to the Carmine and the Sant'Agnese laudesi, may well have prompted the Company in this direction, and he certainly provided them with their first recorded bequest for a lauda vigil in 1377 [doc 11]. Thereafter the Company's condition improved as membership increased and more bequests (at least nine

²³³BNF, Ms. Palatino 154, f.8v.

within the following century) were made, although it remained among the city's smallest laudesi companies [see table].²³⁴ The Company of San Frediano was not listed among the laudesi companies that petitioned the city in 1329,²³⁵ but in the 1427 Catasto was referred to as "La chonpagnia delle laulde di san friano."²³⁶ The Company purchased another laudario in 1396,²³⁷ and the numerous expenses for altar repair and decoration in the following decades reveal the expansion of the altar-oriented ritual life characteristic of laudesi devotion. The ritual capacity of the Company was further expanded in 1436, when a bequest from Michele di Simone bottaio (barrelmaker) brought a second chapel under the Company's governance.²³⁸ In 1452, according to an inventory made that year, the Company owned "3 books of laude, one large, one medium, and one small."²³⁹

²³⁴A formal record of the Company's bequests is recorded in a 1488 Memoriale separate from the rest of its ASF archive: ASF, Acquisti e Doni 41, ff.1-9v.

²³⁵See Ch.III, p.78.

²³⁶ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.71r.

²³⁷SF, vol.31, ff.5r, 7v.

²³⁸SF, vol.4, ff.1v-5v. Michele died September 5, 1436; his bequest provided for a chaplaincy at the altar of St. Michael in the church of San Frediano. The chaplain, chosen by the Company, was to say Mass at the altar every day, to help sing high Mass and Vespers in the church, and to celebrate the feast of San Michele (for which instrumentalists were hired). Through another bequest in 1479, the Chapel of the Annunciation also came under the "padronaggio" of the Company; SF, vol.5, f.22r.

²³⁹SF, vol.4, f.70r [December 13, 1452]. Among other items:
 1 paio di feri da legio in 4 pezi
 1 legio per chantare le lalde
 1 ferro pe[r] legio per ongni di per le lalde

The Company recorded the payment of salaries to laudesi throughout most of the 15th century, but appears to have backed away from the practice during the latter third of the century when it undoubtedly could not afford to sustain the larger polyphonic ensembles that had become standard. By the time the Company drafted a new set of statutes in 1565, it had come full circle with respect to lauda singing; just as in its 1324 statutes, the only mention of the devotion was with respect to the feast of San Frediano, with the difference that in the 16th century it was maintained by the obligation of a bequest.²⁴⁰

* * *

With the completion of its new laudario in the spring of 1374, the Company now possessed everything it needed to function as a laudesi company. In November of that year, the Company recorded its first expenses in the execution of a laudesi tradition--a collazione for the singers on the Company's patron saint feast day.²⁴¹ After 1387, the feast day was regularly referred to

1 choregia e uno pionbino pe[r] legio
 3 libri di lallde, uno grande, uno mezano, uno picholo
 4 panche grande da sedere
 1 panchetta da tenere a legio
 1 tovagli[a] da legio chon due san friani e sengni dela
 chompagnia
 1 sachetto di rosso dentrovi mollte iscritture in charta di
 pechora de[i] beni conpero michele bottaio...

²⁴⁰ASF, Acquisti e Doni 42, Capitoli, 1565, f.34v: [In fulfillment of a bequest from Mona Caterina]..."si possa spendere in detta festa [of San Frediano] cioè Cera, Laldieri, bruciate, et colletione, et vino...L.21".

²⁴¹SF, vol.30, f.114r [1374]: "demmo per uno mezzo barile di vino che ssi chonpero per fare onore a chantatori della festa e per frute e per bichieri a di 19 di novembre...L.1 s.13 d.6."

as "la festa della ischuola", which indicates that the Company may have observed another laudesi custom of holding lauda schools on Sundays after Mass.²⁴²

The first reference to a paid singer, however, is an undated payment of 1393 or 1394 to a carpenter named Matteo.²⁴³ During 1395-1400, *Antonio di Jacopo Biffoli, a laudesi at Orsanmichele during this time, served the Company as an officer, but it is not certain that he ever sang for them. The first regular payments to singers began in 1405, and for the next 44 years the Company was served by a single, solo singer, a position whose occupancy changed only once. From 1405 to 1419, Lorenzo di Matteo ("Posserello") sang for the Company's ferial services. In January, 1411, several documents indicate that his salary was raised from L.4 to L.6 per year, and that his duties included setting up for the ferial services:²⁴⁴

Lorenzo di Matteo, called Posserello, who provides the service of lauda [singing], for God and as payment for the service and labor born a la panchio²⁴⁵ of the said laude, which are said [sung] every evening in the church of San Fri[di]ano, for the past period up to the first of January of the said year 1410 [1411], four lire, and for the future [for] performing the said ser-

²⁴²Ibid., f.129v (1387); 131v (1389).

²⁴³Ibid., f.140r: "demo a mateo legnolo...da dire la lade [sic]."; f.143v [1394]: "...cho[m]perai una bacheta dale lade per tener [di]na[n]zi de mateio...s.10"

²⁴⁴SF, vol.31, f.20v [1405]; vol.31, ff.26v, 27r, 29r, 31r, 36r [1419].

²⁴⁵Literally "at the bench", an interesting reference to the Florentine tradition of improvisatory singing; see Becherini, "Una canta in panca fiorentino, Antonio di Guido," Rivista musicale italiana 50 (1949), 241-7.

vice and labor of the said laude...the said Lorenzo is to have every year for the above cause six lire per year beginning...on the first of January 1410 [1411]. [doc.45]

Only on three occasions during this period were payments to other singers recorded: in 1411 and 1412, Nani di Biagio was paid to sing with Matteo (probably for a feast, though no date is specified), and in 1413 *Girolamo del Riccho was receiving a salary.²⁴⁶

The longest tenure as laudesi was served by *Lodovicho di Francesco, who from 1419 to 1449 was paid L.12 per year. Monophonic singing survived longer in the more modest and conservative Oltrarno companies, but longest of all in this small compagnia. The Company's 1427 tax report, which shows its total assets at only 76 florins, lists the following two expenses:

Per year to Francesco laudiere who sings laude in the said church...L.12
Per year for 12 pounds of candles which are used every evening at the lauda [service]...L.6

And the following addition in a 1429 report indicates that the Company celebrated its patron saint feast in the same special manner as the Sant'Agnese laudese:

A collazione for all the laudesi of Florence every year ...L.6²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶SF, vol.88, f.106r; vol.31, f.30r: "Girolamo de riccho peliciaio chanta le laude in san friano per parte di suo salario ...s.20"

²⁴⁷ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.71r [1427]: "Da l'anno a francesco laudiere che chanta le laulde in detta chiesa L. dodici; Spende ogn'anno in libri xii di chandele che facendono ogni sera alle laulde L.sei." Catasto, vol.293, f.31v [1429], adds: "cholazione a tutti i laldieri di firenze ognianno...L.6." The Sant'Agnese feast is discussed in Ch.III, p.105.

As was often the case in the other Oltrarno companies, Lodovicho was not only an employee of the Company, but a member as well, and on several occasions he held the offices of camarlingho (1426, 1428), and sindacho (1426, 1436). Few other singers were hired during Lodovicho's thirty-year tenure. During Lent of 1441, the only time when Lodovicho is recorded as having sung elsewhere (for the Company of Santo Spirito), the Company elected *Nocho d'Alesso and Antonio d'Adamo (the latter's name was crossed out off the contract, however) to sing laude every evening "for the devotion of the people" (and eight lire).²⁴⁸

There is no record of the Company's expenses during the early 1450s, but those for the years 1455-1459 indicate that the Company had discontinued ferial singing, and was now hiring two to three singers for the obligatory feasts and vigils. In 1455 and 1456, the Company was paying L.8 per year each to the barber *Ghuelfo di Bartolomeo and the weaver *Giovanni di Jacopo da Brucianese to sing "every evening of the obligatory feasts."²⁴⁹ On December 21, 1456, the captains recorded a decision to hire two singers (at L.6 per year) to sing with Ghuelfo, who was now receiving L.20 per year as a permanent employee (famiglio) and serving the Company in other capacities.²⁵⁰ As of February 22,

²⁴⁸The contract [doc.46] is translated in Ch.V, p.242.

²⁴⁹SF, vol.4, f.76r [August 10, 1455]

²⁵⁰Ibid., f.82v [December 21, 1456]: "Capitani...nel luogo della loro usata residentia [elect]..ii laudese et a dire et cantare la sera delle feste comandate insieme con guelfo nostro et della decta compagnia laudese nella chiesa di san friano... L.6 per anno."

1457, the three singers were Ghuelfo, Giovanni di Cristiano (a resident of the neighborhood), and *Antonio della Puccia (with whom Ghuelfo would later sing for the Company of Sant'Agnese).²⁵¹ Later that year, the latter two were replaced by the fur dealer Gherardo di Bernardo, and the hosier Pagolo di [Am]bruogio.²⁵² The last singers mentioned in the Company's 15th-century accounts are Ghuelfo (through 1459), and Ambruogio di Piero, coiaio (tanner; 1458-1459).²⁵³

Records for the remainder of the century indicate that the Company continued to fulfill its bequests for lauda vigils, but not a single singer is named. In the face of an increasingly expensive polyphonic practice (with greater numbers of singers involved), the Company appears to have ceased retaining salaried singers, and probably began to hire them ad hoc and as seldom as possible. During the 1460s and 1470s, the Company recorded payments to an organist, and in 1468-69 paid an annual salary of L.8 per year to Piero di Matteo "who plays the organ in San Frediano," but this was probably for accompanying Mass and Vespers.²⁵⁴ In 1495, the Company hired the laudesi of Orsan-

²⁵¹Ibid., f.83r.

²⁵²Ibid., f.86r.

²⁵³SF, vol.110, ff.16r, 17r.

²⁵⁴SF, vol.4, f.108v; vol.110, f.28v: "...che suona gli orghani in san friano." An organist was frequently paid for the feast of San Michele, which involved only Latin liturgical items, and the practice of a "messa chantanto cho[n] gl'orghani" was recorded by the Company as early as 1438; SF, vol.31, f.53v.

michele to sing for one of the Company's obligatory vigils.²⁵⁵ The last recorded references to lauda singing were in 1502, when the an unspecified number of laldieri were paid L.1 s.1 to sing six laude, and in 1503, when Niccolò Scarlatti and a fur seller named Giovanni were paid the same amount to sing six laude "in sul'orghano", both in fulfillment of the same bequest as in 1495.²⁵⁶

* * * * *

7. THE COMPANY OF SANTA CROCE

One would expect the great Florentine Franciscan church to shelter one of the major laudesi companies of the city, but we shall never know the real stature of this Company since most of its documents were destroyed by floods in 1333 and 1557. Even its 1427 tax report is inexplicably absent from among those filed by the other lay religious companies. What remains of its first 350 years of existence are two late 13th-century letters of indulgence, several sets of late 15th- and 16th-century statutes, and an early 16th-century inventory.

²⁵⁵SF, vol.110, f.82r: "A laldieri d'orsamichele e al famiglio di nostra compagnia e al sagrestano di san friano a di 22 [of November] L.2 sono per fare la vigilia a fra giovanni pinzochero di san pagholo chome per suo leghato lascio." The terms of this bequest are discussed in Ch.III, p.93.

²⁵⁶SF, vol.5, ff.116v, 129v. Frank D'Accone has observed that "in sul'organo", soloistic lauda singing with organ accompaniment, was in use at Santissima Annunziata in the 1480s, and at Santa Maria Novella in the late 16th century; "Repertory and Performance Practice," pp.71-136.

Among the oldest lay companies of Florence, the "Compagnie di Santa Maria delle laulde" was founded during the preaching of St. Peter Martyr, for its 1589 statutes recall the drafting of its first set in 1244.²⁵⁷ The first reference to it as a laudesi company is a letter from the General of the Franciscan order, frater Raymundus, dated May 25, 1290, which confers upon the Company a share of the spiritual benefits of the order.²⁵⁸ On February 7, 1296, the bishop of Florence, Francesco Monaldeschi, granted forty days of indulgence to the "Sotietas Sancte Crucis de Florentia" for processing and singing laude in the church of Santa Croce [doc.67, lines 11-12, 20-25; plate 13].

According to the Company's 1470 statutes, it still maintained a strong committment to lauda singing:

...and for the obligatory feasts laude are to be sung in the church of Santa Croce in honor of [the Virgin Mary] our advocate, according to ancient custom..... [Having] considered that through these great devotions a great spiritual and temporal utility is generated and acquired, as many as possible of the captains and fratelli of our company are to take part in these laude... And for the said laude may be spent as much as seems advisable to the said captains and their counsel- lors. [doc.14]

Company members were still receiving a forty-day indulgence "alla nostra cappella", that is, for attending the lauda services. The

²⁵⁷ASF, Capitoli 74 (1589-1634), f.1r.

²⁵⁸ASF, Diplomatico Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, May 25, 1290. (The document is catalogued with the above date, but is actually signed with the date June 8, 1290). Meersseman states that the Company of Santa Croce was founded as a laudesi company before 1278 (Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.977), but in relying upon Davidsohn (Forschungen IV, p.431) he mistakenly cited another lay company of that date, the "Societas Sancta Cruce ad Templum".

men and women of the Company gathered on the feast days of the Virgin, the feasts of Santa Lucia (for the ufficio generale) and Holy Cross, and every second and fourth Sunday of the month, for which occasions the sacristan was to set up the lectern for the laude, the altar, and the benches.²⁵⁹ The Company's special patron saint feast was the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), the special feature of which is related in a 1485 statute concerning lauda singing:

...under the burden of their conscience, [the captains] are obligated to execute the singing of laude on every obligatory feast, to the praise and honor of God and Our Lady, in the church of Santa Croce of Florence. And furthermore, we desire that on the vigil of the Ascension of Our Lady, the flaming star is to be placed in the middle of the church and laude are to be sung on that evening, according to a good and ancient custom. [doc.7]

This large, candlelit star was apparently a permanent fixture in the church, for a 1523 inventory lists "one large star in the middle of the church", as well as "25 angels for the star".²⁶⁰ In 1485, the sindacho, who managed the lauda singing, was constrained to pay the "laldieri" through the general treasurer, and was subject to immediate dismissal if he was remiss in his duties

²⁵⁹Ibid., Cap.X, Cap.VII.

²⁶⁰ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse 1373, fasc.3, f.3v [June 14, 1523]: "una istella grande nel mezo della chiesa..."; f.3r [May 17, 1523]: "25 agnoli per la istella..." Also, an inventory of October, 28, 1521 (Ibid., fasc.2, ff.1-2) lists two parchment laudari: "uno libro di lalde grande", and "uno libro di lalde minore", and 21 other account books; the May, 17, 1523 inventory lists only one laudario: "uno libro dove si dice le lalde miniato d'oro", and "iiii libri da dire l'uficio".

relating to the laude.²⁶¹

The records of another laudesi company provide us with the name of one Santa Croce singer. In 1490, the Company of Sant' Agnese paid a partial salary to one of their tinori, *Giovambattista di Currado, because he had gone "to serve at Santa Croce", scrupulously noting that "he could not be here and there at the same time".²⁶² But within 50 years, the Company had abandoned lauda singing. The Company revised its statutes again in 1538, and citing the dwindling membership, income, devotion, and adequate numbers of singers, decided to provide a dowry of L.25 per year to the daughters of needy members in place of lauda singing.

8. THE COMPANY OF SAN GILIO²⁶³

When the Company of San Gilio was founded in 1278, it was associated with the Romanesque church of the same name. The church was destroyed in 1418, and replaced by a late Gothic

²⁶¹ASF, Capitoli 874, f.15r [1485]: "Cap.VI: E piu vogliamo che detto sindacho sia tenuto diligentemente fare chantare le lalde chome usato, chon pacto che non possa paghare lui proprio danari a laldieri ne altri, ma facci gli paghare al nostro chamarlingho generale. E se detto sindacho manchassi de fare chantare dette lalde s'intenda essere dis<messo>..."

²⁶²SA, vol.4, f.36v [July-December, 1490]: "Giovambattista dicurrado...L.1 s.4...Et la cagione fu perche alcuni mesi lui non ci canto perche serveria a sancta croce et non potea essere et la et qui a un tempo medesimo." His salary indicates that he probably sang for about 5 months at Santa Croce.

²⁶³or Sant'Egidio; St. Giles, possibly a hermit near the mouth of the Rhône in the 6th or 8th century, was a popular medieval patron saint of cripples, beggars, and blacksmiths. The feast of St. Giles is on September 1st. Coulson, The Saints, pp. 332-3.

structure designed by Bicci di Lorenzo, by which time it had been surrounded by the buildings of the great hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.²⁶⁴

The Company was founded under the auspices of a short-lived mendicant order, one of a number that had been established in the wake of the Franciscans and Dominicans, only to be abolished by the Council of Lyons in 1274. The Fratres de Poenitentia Jhesu Christi, or more commonly, the Friars of the Sack (Sacchites), was founded in Provence shortly before 1251; by 1274 there were 76 houses throughout Europe, living under the rule of St. Augustine and constitutions based upon those of the Dominican order.²⁶⁵ It is not known when they came to Florence, but they surely brought with them their Provençal saint, whose name both their church and the laudesi company bore in 1278. The abolished orders which, like the Sack Friars, previously possessed papal approval, were to be dissolved gradually; the remaining friars could live out their lives under their professed rule, but were forbidden to receive new members, acquire new houses or land, alienate existing property, receive non-friars for burial, or to preach or hear confession.²⁶⁶ The Florentine house of the order was still functioning in 1286, but the last known Sack Friar lived at Rouen in

²⁶⁴W. and E. Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz, vol.4, p.5.

²⁶⁵Richard Emery, "The Friars of the Sack," Speculum 18 (1943), 325-26.

²⁶⁶Ibid., 327.

1309.²⁶⁷

That the Company of San Gilio was founded under the wings of an abolished order that could provide neither preachers nor confessors is a witness to the determination of Florentine lay devotion to assume the form of laudesi companies attached to the mendicant orders. The Company certainly outlived the order, for a 1329 petition by lay companies to the city lists San Gilio among the other laudesi companies,²⁶⁸ its surviving laudario (Mgl²) was compiled sometime in the late 14th century, and the Company filed a tax report in 1427.

Besides its laudario and catasto report, the only other extant Company document is a detailed set of statutes drafted in 1284 (with later additions).²⁶⁹ The statutes refer to the usual laudesi activities of festive and ferial lauda vigils, and Sunday morning processions (every second Sunday of the month).²⁷⁰ Several statutes convey the impression that in 1284 their lauda singing was an in-house affair that did not yet involve the hiring of professional singers:

All those who are of the Company who can, ought to come in the evening to San Gilio to sing laude, and those

²⁶⁷Ibid., 331, 328.

²⁶⁸See Ch.III, p.78.

²⁶⁹BNF, Banco Rari 336 (olim Palatino 1172): "Capitoli della Compagnia di S. Gilio...1284"; partially edited in Monti, Le confraternite, II, pp.144-58; complete edition in Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, pp.34-54. The foundation date of the second Sunday in May, 1278, is on f.20v; Ibid., p.43.

²⁷⁰Several relevant documents are translated and discussed in Ch.III, pp.111 [doc.22] and 112 [doc.23].

who cannot [should] say three pater nostri with ave maria. [doc 28]

All those who sing the laude ought in singing to obey the captains...[doc 29]

Also we ordain that each Company member, when they see the candles lit in the evening in church of San Gilio for the singing of laude, ought to enter the said church, and in singing and responding should obey their captains. [doc 30]

Festive and ferial services were distinguished by number and size of candles, and the solemnity of a feast day was further distinguished according to whether candles were "al ferro et al mano" (in candleholders and in hand), or simply "al ferro":

The chamberlains of this Company are obliged to come every evening to the church of San Gilio and prepare the lectern and the book of laude and other things which are used for the singing of laude, placing two lit candles into the candlesticks before the altar, and one [lit candle] with a candlestick before the gonfalone when it is unfurled on the ferial days, [to burn] while the laude are sung. And Christmas, Epiphany, January 1st, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, All Saints, the four feasts of the Virgin, and the feast of San Gilio, and their vigils, should be solemnly conducted al ferro and al mano. The feast days and their vigils which are conducted only al mano are these: the octave of Candlemas [the special feast day of the Company], St. Agnes, St. John the Baptist, the 12 Apostles, St. Zanobi, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Laurence, St. Martin, St. Stephen, St. Sylvester [the day of the Company's ufficio generale], and the second Sunday in May, because the Company was founded on that day. And on these days that are conducted al ferro and al mano, and [also] when it is only al ferro, [the camarlinghi] are to place four candlesticks with four lit cerotti or torchietti [medium-sized candles] on the altar and two before the gonfalone, if it has been unfurled, [to burn] while the laude are sung. [doc 23]

The San Gilio laudesi evidently shared their gonfalone (and probably their indulgences and privileges as well) with another lay company in the church, the Raccomandati di Santa Maria (those

"recommended" to the Divinity through the intercession of their patroness), for one statute prohibited the captains of either company from carrying the gonfalone outside the church except on Candlemas.²⁷¹

As with the Company of Santo Spirito, San Gilio's only extant 14th-century document is a large and elegant laudario, Mg1².²⁷² Compiled between 1360 and 1380, the manuscript contains a calendar (one month to a page, like a Latin service book), an index that divides the laude into groups with rubric titles, 106 laude without music (28 unica), the Te Deum, Salve Regina, a Litany of Saints and Rogations, the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, and, like the Santo Spirito laudario (Mg1¹), a collection of Latin sequences for the major feast days (twelve, all with music,

²⁷¹"Ordiniamo...che i chapitani di racchomandati, chon quegli dele laude, non possano ne debiano portare...il gonfalone di fuori dela chiesa di San Gilio, ma solamente si tragga...fuori per la festa di nostra Donna di febraio..."; Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, p.53. Another statute prohibited the officers and members of the laudesi company from involvement in the services or affairs of the raccomandati without permission from captains or friar of the latter; Ibid., p.47. On the Raccomandati in San Gilio, see A.M. Terruggia, "In quale momento i disciplinati hanno dato origine al loro teatro," Il movimento dei disciplinati nel VII centenario del suo inizio (Perugia, 1965), p.436, where she asserts that the this was a disciplinati company.

²⁷²Mg1²: Florence, Banco Rari 19 (Olim Magl.II.I.212); this unedited manuscript is indexed in A. Bartoli, I manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (Florence, 1879), I, pp.172-96; and in P. D'Ancona, La miniatura fiorentina (Florence, 1914), II, pp.96-99. The miniatures are examined by Vincent Moleta, "The Illuminated Laudari," 43-50; and selected texts are edited by Concetto del Popolo, "Il laudario della Compagnia di Sant'Egidio," 5-26. A physical description of the the manuscript is in RISM B.IV/1, ed. G. Reaney, pp.790-91.

four of them polyphonic).²⁷³ Arranged in generally the same pattern as Mgl¹ (i.e., laude to Christ, the Virgin, then the Saints), the San Gilio laude are grouped by rubric in the index of the manuscript as follows:

Laude del segnore	nos.1-24
Laude della passione del nostro signore gesu cristo	nos.25-34
Laude della vergine maria	nos.35-52
Laude delli appostoli	nos.53-67
Laude di santi martiri	nos.68-75
Laude di santi confessori	nos.76-87
Laude delle sante vergine	nos.88-96
(Misc., without rubric	nos.97-106)

Like the San Frediano laudario compiled at about the same time, this elegant manuscript probably reflects a period of prosperity attained primarily through bequests made in the long wake of the recurrent Black Death.

In 1427, a tax report was filed by "La chonpagnia di sia della vergine maria de[i] rachomandati di san gilio di firenze", apparently the company with which the San Gilio laudesi had shared their gonfalone in 1284. But listed among the Company's annual expenses are the following items:

Expenses for Candlemas, for candles L.10; and for wax used in the laude services L.12; and for two singers L.30; in total L.52...²⁷⁴

²⁷³Moleta, "The Illuminated Laudari," 44, where he notes that the decorative scheme of the miniatures, though incomplete, is more uniform than in Mgl¹. The dating is based on the style of the miniatures, identified with the Camaldolese miniaturist, Don Simone; Ibid., p.46. The Latin sequences are discussed in Ch.V, pp.276f.

²⁷⁴ASF, Catasto, vol.291, f.72r [1427]: "A di spese per la donna del febraio per candele L.10, e per ciera si loghora alle Laulde L.12, e per due cantori L.30, in tutto L.52..."

The amount spent on wax and salaries for the singers indicates that the Company was conducting ferial lauda services, and the Candlemas service had been the special feast of the San Gilio laudesi in 1284. It appears, then, that the raccomandati and laudesi of San Gilio, whose organizational differences were probably not significant to begin with, had merged into a single company sometime between 1284 and 1427. The Company's annual assets were a little over 358 florins, greater than those of Santo Spirito (285 florins) and San Frediano (76 florins), but less than those of Sant'Agnes (593 florins).

After the early 15th century the Company's fortunes are unknown, as are the auspices under which the Company had functioned since the Sack Friars had disappeared from San Gilio.²⁷⁵

9. THE COMPANY OF SAN BASTIANO

When the laudesi company associated with the Florentine Servite church of Santissima Annunziata was founded as a "Societas Beatae Mariae Virginis" in 1263, its host organization had barely moved beyond its own lay origins. The Servants of St. Mary, or Servites, originated in 1233 with seven Florentine cloth merchants who had belonged to a lay company (the Brothers of Penance), but only began to be organized into a religious order

²⁷⁵M. Papi, "Per un censimento..", 114, reports some documents (dated 1431) of the San Gilio raccomandati in the ASF, of which I was regrettably unaware until I had left Florence.

by St. Peter Martyr during his visit to Florence.²⁷⁶ Peter founded a Marian society with the help of the original lay brothers, then organized the latter under the rule of St. Augustine. Papal approval of the order was granted in 1256 by Alexander IV, and in 1274 the Servites averted the suppression for which they were slated by the Council of Lyons through the diplomatic intervention in the Roman Curia of the order's general, (St.) Philip Benizi.

The Company's identity with the Marian society founded by St. Peter Martyr is doubtful, for the Company's 1451 statutes relate its foundation on the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8) 1263.²⁷⁷ The founder of the Company was supposedly St. Philip, and a brief set of Latin statutes, the "Capitula Societatis Beatae Mariae Virginis", are attributed to the newly-founded company.²⁷⁸ These statutes contain no references to lauda singing, but in 1273 St. Philip granted the privileges of the Servite order to the "Societas laudum ecclesie S. Marie conventus Florentini".²⁷⁹

The Company is next mentioned in the 1329 petition to the city from the ten current Florentine laudesi companies, but there

²⁷⁶J.M. Ryska, "Servites," in The New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol.13, p.132. Early Servite chroniclers claim that these seven merchants were members of a laudesi company which met at the Cathedral; see this chapter, n.115.

²⁷⁷ASF, Capitoli 6 [May 2, 1451], f.3v.

²⁷⁸The statutes are edited in Morini and Soulier, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Servorum (Brussels, 1897), I, pp.107-8.

²⁷⁹Davidsohn, Forshcungen, IV, p.430.

is no sign of the Company in the 1427 tax reports. The next, and last, of the Company's extant documents is its 1451 set of statutes, by which time it had assumed the title of the "Compagnia delle Laude della Vergine Maria e di sancto Philippo e di sancto Sebastiano, e di sancto Gherardo", or simply, "San Bastiano".²⁸⁰ The statutes, drafted by "frate mariano lectore in theologia", indicate that laude were sung only feast days: the "feste comandata" (the first and third Sunday of the month), plus Christmas, Lent, Easter, the first day of Pentecost, the four feasts of the Virgin, and the feasts of St. Philip (Benizi) and St. Sebastian. The Company met in their residence on the first and third Sunday of the month at sunrise before Mass. On the first Sunday members recited the "salmi graduali e i penitentiali", a litany, special prayers, and the Benedictus, Te Deum, or Magnificat; and on the third Sunday the Office of the Dead, "with Vespers and laude", psalms, and prayers. On the "extraordinary" feast days, the Matins of the Virgin, then the Te Matrem Laudamus and special prayers were recited in the morning, and in the evening the Vespers of the Virgin with the Ave Maris Stella, Magnificat, and prayers.²⁸¹ A statute dealing with bequests required the officers

...to go and remain at the lauda [service] every time they [the laude] are said...and the correctore [a

²⁸⁰ASF, Capitoli 6 [May 2, 1451], f.2r; on f.3v it is indicated that the name (and patronage) of St. Sebastian was "newly assumed." The decorated title page is reproduced in plate 1.

²⁸¹Most of the Latin liturgical items prescribed here are copied into the back of the manuscript, ff.26r-49r (without music).

friar] is to remain seated in the midst of the Company [and] is authorized to see to any deficiencies in the said laude...[doc.15]

The corectore was to hear confession after the laude were sung in the evening, and then to lead the Company in singing "some hymn, like the Ave Maris Stella, Salve Regina, Te Matrem Laudamus, Te Deum Laudamus, or another hymn..."²⁸² The camarlingho was responsible for payments covering "the salaries of men and boys (singers?) and sonatori, and for [managing the] lauda singing", and four festaiuoli were elected to provide flowers, food, and trombetti for special feast days, above all the Nativity of the Virgin and the feast of St. Sebastian (January 20).²⁸³

These statutes bear the strong stamp of the Servites' fervent devotion to the Virgin, but they are most unique among laudesi statutes of the period for the infusion of disciplinati characteristics: a hierarchical and authoritarian tone, a greater adherence to the Latin liturgy, and a strong penitential cast.²⁸⁴ In fact, the Company had become a disciplinati company by the time it drafted new statutes in 1520-1534,²⁸⁵ and the

²⁸²The complete document [doc.25] is translated and discussed in Ch.III, p.118.

²⁸³Ibid., f.8r: "Item per candelle, falcole, salari d'uomini e fanciulli e sonatori e per fare cantare le laude quello sarà di bissonno."; Cap.IX: "...In fiori a loro mortina, ispagho, bullette, acchattatura di fiaschi, trombetti, e per fare la colecti-one [collazione] a fratelli in trebiano, pane, e meleranze, e per calatura di cera..."

²⁸⁴On the commingling of laudesi and disciplinati spirituality, see Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.58.

²⁸⁵ASF, Capitoli 364 [1520-1534].

lauda singing conducted by the friars at Santissima Annunziata from at least ca.1480 indicates that the Company had probably yielded up the devotion altogether by this time.²⁸⁶

10. THE COMPANY OF SAN LORENZO

Few documents remain from the relatively short history of this laudesi company associated with the great Florentine collegiate church. The earliest is a testament of Neri Baldighieri dated March 4 1313 [1314], which names the "sotietas beate marie virginis laudum que cohadunatur [sic] in ecclesia sa[ncti] laur[entii]."²⁸⁷ In 1329, the Company is listed among the ten Florentine laudesi companies in a petition to the city, and in 1338 the bishop of Florence granted a forty-day indulgence to the "Societas Beati Laurenti Martyris" for hearing Solemn Mass and other Divine Offices, hearing the word of God preached, managing bequests, and for singing laude during the evening in the church of San Lorenzo [doc 68, lines 11-14].²⁸⁸

In 1427, the "Chonpagnia delle Laulde della chiesa di sa[n]

²⁸⁶F. D'Accone, "Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance," Analecta musicologica IV (1967), 49-75.

²⁸⁷ASF, Diplomatico Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, March 4, 1313. The Company is made an alternate recipient of a house.

²⁸⁸The entire document is edited in P.N. Cianfogni, Memorie storiche dell'Ambrosiana R. Basilica di S. Lorenzo di Firenze (Florence, 1804), pp.220-21 (doc.XX [April 6, 1338]), where the only source information given is "dagli Archivi Laurenziano". Cianfogni mentions a similar document issued by 8 bishops in 1347 (p.154).

lorenzo" filed its tax report.²⁸⁹ Its total assets of about 123 florins indicate that the Company had probably always been small, though in 1427 it was not quite the city's smallest laudesi company (San Frediano, 76 florins; San Marco, 42 florins). The catasto document mentions several obligatory rinovale but does not mention laude. A document that appears to be a different version of the 1427 catasto of church properties, however, mentions a bequest to the Company of half a house in the San Lorenzo district, a part of the proceeds of which were to go to "lo Starnina, che canta le Laude".²⁹⁰ From 1422 to 1424, the Company of San Piero Martire retained a ferial singer named Luca Amadei, and nicknamed "Starnino", who was listed as a resident of the San Lorenzo neighborhood.²⁹¹

In the heart of Medici family territory, and on the eve of Cosimo's return and beginning of covert Medici rule, the Company of San Lorenzo was suppressed in 1432 by order of the Florentine Republic. All the Florentine lay companies experienced temporary suppressions during the 15th century, but the San Lorenzo laudesi, probably under more than mere suspicion of harboring seditious or tax-manipulating factions, was forced to turn over its belongings to its host church, and disappeared from among the

²⁸⁹ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.67v.

²⁹⁰BNF, Magl.XXXVII, ms.298; ed. in D. Moreni, Continuazione delle memorie istoriche dell'Ambrosiana Imperiale Basilica di S. Lorenzo di Firenze, 2 vols. (Florence, 1816), II, pp.380-81 (doc.XI).

²⁹¹SMN, vol.322, f.101v, 103v.

Florentine laudesi companies.²⁹²

11. THE COMPANY OF SAN MARCO

Weissman reported that in 1317 the "confraternity of San Marco" was suppressed by the city because it was "on the verge of becoming an unofficial guild of sottoposti wool workers."²⁹³ If this is the same company as the San Marco laudesi listed among the city's laudesi companies in a 1329 petition, then the suppression was only temporary.

A century later the San Marco laudesi are mentioned for the last time in their 1427 tax report under the title of "La compagnia delle laulde di sa[n] marcho", when it was the poorest of the city's laudesi companies with total assets of about 42 florins.²⁹⁴ At that time the Company owned several pieces of land, and "palls, books, and other goods which are lent for the love of God to whomever wants them." Annual, presumably obligatory, expenses were for

...a rinovale every year on the [feast] day of St. Matthew for him who bequeathed the above-mentioned land, and to perform laude in San Marco.²⁹⁵

It is likely that the precarious existence of the Company was

²⁹²Cianfogni, Memorie istoriche, pp.154ff; Moreni, Continuazione, p.33.

²⁹³Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.64-5.

²⁹⁴ASF, Catasto vol.291 [1427], f.70r.

²⁹⁵Ibid., f.70r: "A fare ogn'anno uno rinovale il di di santo matia [sic] per cholui che llascio la sopradetta terra e fare dire le laulde in samarcho."

ended during one of the suppressions that were periodically inflicted on the Florentine lay companies during the 15th century.

12. THE COMPANY OF OGNISSANTI

This is the last of the Florentine laudesi companies the existence of which is reported in primary documents. The sole document is the prologue of an undated laudario transcribed into a Magliabechiano catalogue of the Florentine National Library, where the manuscript (Magl.XXXVI.28) is reported missing since 1883.²⁹⁶ The manuscript is described as containing a liturgical calendar, 160 laude with music, a litany, and various prayers and liturgical versicles from the Roman missal. The prologue is as follows:

This book is of the Company of the laude, which are sung in the Church of the Friars of Ognissanti of Florence of the Order of the Humiliati [the observant branch of the Franciscans], which company was established and begun by the authority and will of Messer Frate Gulielmo, master general of the aforesaid order of the Humiliati, in 1336, on the 21st day of the month of November...²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶Cited in Mazzatinti, Inventarii, v.10, pp.178-9; partially transcribed in B. Becherini, Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della biblioteca nazionale di Firenze (Kassel, 1959), p.90.

²⁹⁷Listed in a manuscript catalogue of the Magliabechiano collection in the Sala Manoscritti of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale as Ms. Magliabechiano XXXVI.28, the prologue is partly transcribed there, and is published also in C. Burney, General History of Music (London, 1782), II, p.327, and Becherini, Catalogo, p.90: "Questo libro è de la Compagnia de Le Laude che si cantano ne la chiesa di Frate d'Ognessanti di Firenze dell'Ordine degli umiliati la quale compagnia fue ordinata et cominciata per auctoritate et voluntade di miser Frate Guilielmo [sic] maestro Generale del sopradecto Ordine degli umiliati nel 1336 a di 21 del mese di Novembre..." More recently edited by Ziino, "Laudi e miniature," 69, where he proposes that the above-

13. OTHER COMPANIES

According to Massimo Papi's research, there were laudesi companies at the churches of Santa Lucia sul Prato and San Pier Gattolini during the 13th century, but the documents he cites do not appear to bear this out.²⁹⁸

On January 28, 1401, the Company of San Zanobi was made the executor of a commemorative bequest by Maestro Agnolo di Nuto "dottore et medicho fisico" to the "compagnia delle laude di S. Giovanni Batista".²⁹⁹ In fact, the company was one of the four Florentine Bianchi companies that were spawned by a great flagellant procession in 1399-1400.³⁰⁰ Penitential laude were an important part of the Bianchi movement, sung originally during their peace processions, and while the Bianchi companies were not laudesi companies, it was probably their association with laude that inspired the mistaken attribution in the above document to a

mentioned laudario may refer to the Sant'Agnesse laudario discussed in his study (62f.). F. Ludwig, Handbuch der Musikgeschichte, 2nd ed., ed. G. Adler (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1930), p.176, asserted (with no evidence I am aware of) that "the Humiliati of Ognissanti" possessed another laudario in the late 14th century--Mgl¹.

²⁹⁸M. Papi, "Confraternite ed ordini mendicanti a Firenze," 728; "Per un censimento..." 115-16.

²⁹⁹SZ vol.1, fasc.4, ff.12v-13r: "...Ancora lascio nel detto testamento alla compagnia delle laude di S. Giovanni Batista, che si raguna nella chiesa di Frati del Marrone di Firenze, la metà di un suo podere." The Company met in the church of the "Celestines", the friars of S. Peter Morone, a small order established in 1274 and devoted to Peter Morone (Celestine V, c.1210-1296).

³⁰⁰Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.50-55.

"compagnia delle laude".³⁰¹ The company of the Blessed Sacrament meeting in Santa Lucia sul Prato was another of the four Bianchi companies, which may account for Papi's above-mentioned attribution as a laudesi company.³⁰²

Finally, a 14th-century laudario of Florentine provenance, containing several unique laude to Sant'Eustachio (but no music), has been attributed to a "Compagnia di Sant'Eustachio" associated with the Benedictine church of S. Ambrogio.³⁰³ It remains unproven, however, that the laudario actually belonged to this company, and that this company was a laudesi group.

³⁰¹For a discussion and edition of Bianchi laude, see Bernard Toscani, Le laude dei Bianchi (Florence, 1979); a critical edition of selected laude from Ms. Vaticano Chigiano L.VII 266. The sources and laude of the Bianchi are discussed further in Ch.V, pp.277f.

³⁰²Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.51, n.30.

³⁰³Ms. Fior= the Cecconi codex in the Florentine Archivio della Curia Arcivescovile; first edited by E. Cecconi, Laudi di una Compagnia fiorentina del secolo XIV fin qui inedite (Florence, 1870); recently discussed, indexed, and collated with five other medieval laudari by R. Bettarini, "Notizia di un Laudario," Studi di filologia italiana 28 (1970), 55-66; see p.56, n.8 concerning the attribution to the Company of Sant'Eustachio, previously made by Cecconi.

CHAPTER V: THE PROFESSIONAL LAUDESE

A. CONDITIONS AND PATTERNS OF ACTIVITY

In Florence, the development of the paid, professional laudese occurred primarily in the 14th century. The earliest Florentine laudesi statutes, from the last two decades of the 13th century, imply that laude were executed at this time by singers chosen from among the company's ranks. The 1284 statutes of the Company of San Gilio concerned with lauda singing do not differentiate between the laudesi and other company members.¹ In 1291, the Company of Sant'Agnese appointed special lauda instructors who officiated at both Sunday processions and evening services, on which occasions they were to

...send in front those singers whom they choose.²

These are certainly not references to paid singers, for they imply more than one or two, and even the larger Companies of San Piero Martire and San Zanobi did not begin employing more than a pair of laudesi until the 15th century.

Nevertheless, in the 14th century, paid professionals who were not members of the companies began to appear, and their appearance, along with liturgically sophisticated service books, a standardized and more technically demanding musical repertory, and the proliferation and elaboration of liturgical services,

¹These documents are translated in Ch.IV, pp.224-5 [docs.28,30].

²Complete statute translated in Ch.III, p.107 [doc.17].

signified the professional development of the Florentine laudesi companies in general. The reasons for this development are various, but may be traced to the rapid development of a popular religious devotion under the management of merchant guildsmen.

The Florentine laudesi companies had built a secure institutional framework for the devotion of lauda singing by the turn of the 14th century. There followed bequests for lauda singing, the earliest recorded in 1313, and these in turn must have engendered an increasingly professional attitude toward the devotion. The 16th-century statutes of the Company of Sant'Agnesa are explicit about the role of bequests in its 13th-century formation:

And besides this, because some of them, out of devotion, met in the said church of the Carmine to sing laude spirituale, they took the name "delle laude", and because they received alms and bequests, it was decided that the Captains and officials should meet on certain prescribed days to conduct works of mercy and distribute alms.³

The satisfactory fulfillment of a bequest was both a religious and a legal matter, and upon it depended the attraction of new bequests, which surely must have been a matter for stiff competition among the city's numerous companies. The establishment of the professional singer was aided by the occasional bequest that provided a salary or alms for a laudese.⁴ The scuole, too, are

³This and similar document are translated in Ch.III, pp.74-4 [doc.65].

⁴In a 1325 bequest to the Company of San Piero Martire, Falchoni Alberti left s.10 to "lore che canta le laude" (SMN, vol.292, f.28r); a 1376 bequest to the same Company by Mona Cionella provided an unspecified amount "alle lalde dela nostra compagnia e resto della rendita [of a farm] per chandele e per salario per laldessi." (SMN, vol.306, f.23r); a 1386 bequest to

perhaps best understood in this environment of increasing professionalization as an attempt to improve the quality of congregational responsorial singing; the scuole appear to have been taught neither by nor for the paid singers, but rather for company members, especially new ones, who were encouraged to learn the refrains.⁵

The professional attitude of the 14th-century laudesi companies was also inherent in the mentality of both members and singers. The great majority matriculated in one or another of the twenty-one Florentine merchant guilds, and of these many were masters of, or apprentices in, a small, independent bottega that performed a specialized function in the highly complex Florentine wool industry.⁶ The success of the system depended upon a high degree of specialization of component functions, high standards of quality, and a rigorous system of quality control.⁷ That lauda

the Company of San Zanobi required that "La compagnia di santa reparata de[v]e ispendere livre dieci e quali danari aves[s]i della pigione delle case di santa crocie feci egli ispendere...e dare a parte a cantatori..." (SZ, vol.2176, fasc.12, v.28v).

⁵See Ch.III, pp.129f.; the paid singer very likely learned the soloistic singing of the lauda strophes not in the scuole, but in the traditional guild system of master/apprentice (often a father/son relationship).

⁶The 26 stages of cloth manufacture, from fleecing to folding, are described in Florence Edler (de Roover), Glossary of Mediaeval Business (Italian Series: 1200-1600), (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp.324-330.

⁷Brucker, Renaissance Florence, p.220: "The Florentine sense of quality was a product of the city's craft tradition and the exceptional skills of her artisans. The industrial and craft guilds had developed a system of quality control to protect their trades; every Florentine realized that the maintenance of high standards benefited the city's economy. This appreciation of

singing should become a specialized and professional activity was a most natural development in this environment.

There is some evidence that lauda singing, like many other activities in Florence lacking guild status and organization,⁸ was nevertheless practiced and regarded as a legitimate profession. At least two singers, *Maso di Niccolò and *Vanni di Martino, listed their profession as "laudese" in their 1427 tax reports, and a third, *Vettorico d'Agniolo Bordoni, listed it as one of two professions.⁹ *Piero di Niccolò served as a captain of the Company of San Frediano in 1441, and his name and profession ("laudese") appear several times at the top of the Company's borsa, followed by other guildsmen [plate 14].¹⁰ During the 15th century, the perception by the Florentine laudesi that they constituted a professional group of sorts must have been reinforced during the annual patron saint feasts of the Sant'Agnesse and San Frediano Companies, when they were all gathered for commemorative meals sponsored by these two laudesi companies.¹¹

quality, and a corresponding disdain for the shoddy and the inferior, became a characteristic feature of the Florentine mentality and mode of perception."

⁸Ibid., pp.58-9.

⁹The 1427 Catasto profiles of these and several other singers are presented below, pp.252-259.

¹⁰SF, fol.4, f.37r [1441]. This same traditional format, by which a guildsmen listed both his name and his guild, was used in the Florentine laudesi companies' contracts with their singers. A singer's official guild title was usually replaced in these documents by his designation as a "laudese", or, less often, "cantore" or "cantatore".

¹¹Ch.III, p.105.

The company officers elected the singers and drafted contracts with them which generally stipulated a monthly salary (including the amount docked for each appointment missed), length of service (usually three or four months), and duties (festive and/or ferial service, sacristan duties) [App.7]. In the 14th century sacristan duties (setting up and clearing away for the services, and supervising attendance and payment of musicians) were performed by a chamberlain or specially appointed sacristan, but in the 15th century a laudesi was paid extra to assume these tasks.¹²

The legal prose of these documents occasionally admit a few statements revealing a Company's concern with the quality of the singer. When the Company of San Frediano elected *Noccho d'Alesso and Antonio d'Adamo to sing during Lent of 1441, the contract stated that

...having elected and arranged for two [singers] to sing laude in the said church every evening throughout Lent, for the devotion of the people, some [of the captains] having seen and heard [them] to their satisfaction, they allocate 8 lire which...are to be given to Antonio d'Alesso and [Antonio d'Adamo]...on the condition that they provide the singing for all of the said Lent. [doc.46]

In 1492, the captains of the Company of Sant'Agnese gave one of their singers a retroactive raise of s.4 per month when they

¹²The difference is apparent, for example, in the two sets of statutes drafted by the Company of San Zanobi (1326, VII [doc.26]; and 1428, XVI [doc.37]). See also App.7, passim. By the early 16th century, the companies had begun hiring a maestro di cappella who was often responsible for finding the other singers, but it is not clear whether or not they were also responsible for the sacristan duties.

decided that his ability was sufficiently improved:

...Giovanni di Francesco, wool weaver in Piazza Santo Spirito, has served as "laudiere" of the said Company for some time at the rate of s.10 per month, and being much improved in his job and singing better, thereby [the captains] have cause to retain him to sing... [doc.47]

In the following year, the same Company granted an official appointment and retroactive pay to a singer who had been serving on probation for six months:

...the captains, seeing that Domenico di Lionardo Tavolaccino has already sung as a laudiere for six months with [the] hope of being hired (condocto), and the above captains understanding that [they would do] well to hire him because he is a good laudiere, by their solemn resolve and by six black beans agree and hire the said Domenico as laudiere on this day at the rate of ten soldi per month, with the usual fines [for absences], and they allocate three lire picciole for the said six months that he sang without having been elected. [doc.48]

In 1518, the captains of Orsanmichele recorded a decision that revealed their concern not just with the qualities of an individual singer, but with the balance of their entire polyphonic ensemble:

[The captains] have considered with respect to the laudesi in the said oratorio [that] there is one tenorista too many relative to the singing of the boys, and that not to reduce [by] one the said tenoristi would require...an increase in the number of boys. The above officials, desiring to promptly reduce an increased expense...deprive of his office Giovanni di Bernardo vocato l'Abbate, at present a tenorista in their said oratorio. [doc.49]

When the Company of Orsanmichele lowered their singers' salaries in 1379, the recorded decision reflects the same concern with professional standards of activity that characterized 14th-century guild activity:

...seeing that those who sing every evening in the oratory...are very well paid, and that such a salary is not merited by such poor work...it was decided that the chamberlain of the said company may not in any manner pay the said laudesi [more than] three lire each per month...[doc.50]

The companies usually appointed several officers to oversee the singing, as in 1351 at the Company of San Zanobi when three were "in charge of the singers, and in charge of lauda singing on the feast days...".¹³

In 14th-century Florence there were at least a dozen active laudesi companies, plus growing numbers of disciplinati companies that occasionally required the services of laudesi (especially during Holy Week), and their liturgical calendars became steadily busier through bequests that continued throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. The continual round of feasts great and small, and especially the ferial singing that was conducted every week-night for over a century and a half in most of these companies, established a strong tradition of lay professional lauda singing, which was to endure into the 16th century through continual adaptation to changing musical practices and styles.

Although the account books of only half of these laudesi companies survive (and these with many lacunae), it is clear that the most active singers freelanced widely.¹⁴ A few were omnipre-

¹³SZ, vol.2182, fasc.36, f.171v [Nov.1, 1351]: "...ufficianti chiamati sopra a detti chantatori e sopra a le feste a fare chantare le laude della detta chonpagnia..." [doc.36]; Concerning similar officials at Orsanmichele and San Piero Martire, see also Ch.III, pp.127-8 and n.102.

¹⁴The activities of these singers are charted (alphabetically, by first name) in Appendix 12.

sent; between 1441 and 1464, the weaver Nocho d'Alesso sang at all six companies for periods of service that ranged from a single season of Lent (in the Oltrarno companies) to at least three years (at OSM and SZ).¹⁵ This freelancing tendency is evident in the earliest records from around the mid-14th century, which survive only for the Companies of San Zanobi and Orsanmichele: both Companies were served by Niccolò di Lippo (1351-1387), Nuccio di Neri (1351-1367), and Chellino Benini della viuola (1352-1383). Many names appear only for a brief period in the records of one company, but these short careers constituted a peripheral activity. The companies were most often served by singers (and instrumentalists) whose period of service to an individual company might vary from several months to many years, but who usually sang for two or more companies, and whose singing careers stretched from their adolescence to their seventies, usually lasting between ten and fifty years. The tenorista Sano di Giovanni (a lampmaker), served the Companies of San Zanobi (1473-1505), San Piero Martire (1472-76), and in 1518 was given a pension by Orsanmichele for a long and faithful tenure:

The above official Signori...assembled in their usual hall...have considered Sano tenorista and singer to be very old and to have sung in the said oratorio 50 years or more, and to be of an advanced age and never to have been remiss in his duties in the said oratorio...decide that the said Giovanni, at present a tenorista in their said oratorio, for the short remainder of his life...is

¹⁵Nocho was apparently a member of the Company of San Frediano in 1442, when he appeared in the Company's borsa (SF, vol.4, f.23v), an indication that he probably resided in the Oltrarno as did most singers who sang for the companies in that quarter of the city; see below, pp.246f.

to be given and paid what is commonly called half pay every month, that is...he shall have for the future two lire each month...and for this support and help the said Sano is not obliged for the future...to sing, or [he may] sing only as much as he wishes. [doc.51]

The woolcarder known as Ciancha (Giovanni di Giuliano) served the same three companies for a 41-year period between 1383 and 1424. The weaver Piero di Giovanni da San Giorgio sang for five companies during a 47-year period between 1474 and 1521, and Francesco d'Antonio di Ventura began singing as a boy for the Company of San Zanobi in 1442, and is last recorded as a tinore for the Company of Sant'Agnese in 1479.

Singers were often in the simultaneous employment of several companies. The companies hired separate sets of singers for festive and ferial services, which were complementary, so that a singer might be engaged for festive services at one company while performing ferial duties at another, and find time to sing for the special patron saint feasts of yet other companies (which occupied unique time slots on the liturgical calendar and often called for extra singers). After ca.1440, by which time most companies had abandoned ferial services (except San Piero Martire and Orsanmichele), free-lancing and shorter terms in the service of individual companies appears to have become more characteristic of Florentine laudesi activity.

The geographic separation and stronger neighborhood character of the Oltrarno companies (Santo Spirito, Sant'Agnese, and San Frediano) were the conditions for the development of distinctive laudesi practices in that part of the city. A number of

laudesi sang, and apparently resided, only in that quarter; the singing activities of Antonio di Giovanni della Pucca (1456-67) and the barber Guelfo di Bartolomeo (1455-67), were confined entirely to the three Oltrarno companies, and those of the carpenter Luca d'Antonio (1444-56), Domenico di Fruosino Paragliasini (1431-45), and Jacopo di Ser Bartolomeo da Radda (1479-93) to the companies of Sant'Agnese and Santo Spirito. The close neighborhood ties in this quarter are evident in the careers of certain singers confined to a single Oltrarno company. Lodovico di Francesco served the Company of San Frediano from 1419 to 1449, where he was also a member and occasionally an officer. The weaver Niccolò di Betto Bugani (1444-1450), and his sons Betto and Romolo, sang only for the Company of Sant'Agnese, as did Antonio di Benedetto di Butino, who was honored at his death in 1445 for having served the Company for over fifty years as a "zealot, benefactor, and laudese". It is also clear from the circumstances of these and other Oltrarno singers that they were generally more involved in the affairs of the companies they served. They tended to reside in the quarter, often renting a house from the Company, to be members, and to serve a company in other capacities as a famiglio.

Some singers appear to have begun singing with an Oltrarno company, and thereafter to have sung only for the larger companies across the river. The goldsmith Bernardino di Francesco is first mentioned in the Sant'Agnese accounts in 1466, but from 1467 to 1475 served as a tinore for the Companies of San Piero

Martire and San Zanobi; and Ulivante di Bartolomeo began at Santo Spirito in 1446, but from 1450 to 1464 is mentioned only in the accounts of the three larger companies across the Arno. It appears, then, that both strong neighborhood ties and the competition for tenure with the larger companies may have allowed only the better and more committed singers to venture outside the Oltrarno.

Most of the Florentine laudesi, and all the company instrumentalists, were active primarily in the larger, city-wide companies in the main part of the city. In comparison, the smaller Oltrarno companies offered fewer services, somewhat lower wages, and probably a closed and parochial aspect to non-residents.¹⁶

A strong family aspect was common to all Florentine laudesi activity. Numerous instances of fathers, sons, and brothers are discernible among the 14th and 15th-century lists of singers, a phenomenon which undoubtedly reflects a close-knit guild society in which specialized trade skills were often a matter of family pride and patrimony. Father/son pairs appear frequently, and it was probably in this form of master/apprentice relationship that laudesi skills were most frequently transmitted. Between 1365 and 1367, the Company of Orsanmichele employed two such pairs: Domenico Cecchi and his son Cristofano, and Nuto Tendi and his son

¹⁶Oltrarno musical practices appear to have been more conservative: monophonic practices survived longer, no instruments of accompaniment were employed, and polyphonic ensembles in the late 15th century were smaller and slower to be established. Once ferial singing was abandoned after about 1440, a particular feature of the Oltrarno companies was their particular, in some cases exclusive, focus on Lenten lauda services.

Francesco performed together as ferial singers; Nuto and another son, Giuliano, sang together for the Company in 1373. Between 1412 and 1414, two fathers, both of whom were singing for the Companies of San Piero Martire and Orsanmichele at that time, introduced their sons to the trade at about the same time in both companies. Vanni di Martino, who had been singing for both companies for about a decade, sang with his son Martino for San Piero Martire (1413-1417; ferial services),¹⁷ and for Orsanmichele (1412-1416; festive services); and Salvestro Tati and his son Domenico sang festive services for both San Piero Martire (1414-1415) and Orsanmichele (1412-1415). The activities of the two families intersected at the Orsanmichele, where between 1412 and 1415 the two sons were paid s.25 per month to sing together as "fanciulli biscantatori e laudesi" for festive services. As in other trades, a son trained in a craft was an asset to his father; when the Company of San Zanobi was cutting back laudesi salaries in 1433, *Guasparre d'Ugolino Prosperi regained his precentor wage under the following condition:

[The captains] allocate to Guasparre d'Ugolino and to his son three lire per month, which [salary] had been reduced to soldi 50 [2½ lire] per month, [and] they agree by a vote of five black beans to reinstate his original wage, that is, lire three per month, if he will bring his son to the laude [services]. [doc.38]

Fathers and sons continued to sing together in the polyphonic ensembles of the late 15th century; at San Zanobi in 1491, Bartolomeo d'Ulivante and Piero da San Giorgio were among the

¹⁷Vanni and two sons were paid in 1415.

Company's four tinori (at s.20 per month), and their sons Ulivante di Bartolomeo and Francesco di Piero were among the five sovrani (at s.14 per month).¹⁸

Pairs of brothers, both as boys and adults, also appear frequently in companies' payments to singers. The boys Francesco and Lorenzo di Giovanni sang for the Company of Santo Spirito during 1434-1439.¹⁹ Matteo and Donato di Giuliano Ardinghelli sang for Santo Spirito in 1482, but during 1479-1485 pursued separate tenures as sovrani in the larger companies. Orsanmichele recorded payments to Bartolomeo and Antonio di Lodovico during 1395-96; this is the only mention of Antonio, while Bartolomeo continued to sing for all the major companies for the next forty-one years.²⁰

¹⁸The Ulivante cited here as a soprano is very likely the grandson of an Ulivante di Bartolomeo who is first recorded as a laudese with the Company of Santo Spirito in 1446. The singing activities of the three possible generations are as follows:

1. Ulivante di Bartolomeo: SSP, 1446; OSM 1450-1453; SPM, 1458-1464 (where he sang with two other sons, Bernardo, in 1461, and Giovanni, in 1464); SZ, 1460
2. Bartolomeo d'Ulivante: SPM, 1463-1466, 1484-1486; SZ, 1491-1495 (tinore)
3. Ulivante di Bartolomeo: SZ, 1491 (fanciullo/sovrano); OSM, 1520-1521 (tinore?)

¹⁹See Ch.IV, p.193; the boys were initially under the supervision of a monk from the nearby Camaldolese church of San Felice, who was probably training them as biscantatori. Neither appears again in Florentine laudesi documents after 1439, so it is possible that they took holy orders around that time. This was very likely the fate a number of boy singers, like the sons of Vanni di Martino and Salvestro Tati (discussed above), and Matteo and Donato Ardinghelli (discussed below), who were quite active laudese as boys, but then suddenly disappeared from the lists of company singers.

²⁰SPM, 1395-96, 1418-24; OSM, 1418, 1436-37; SZ, 1421-22, 1424-36.

The obvious tendency of laudesi to circulate among the companies in pairs was not, however, governed solely by family ties. Pairs of laudese, related or not, some of whom journeyed together among the companies, were the norm during a period stretching from the earliest documents to the 1460s. Nuccio Neri and Niccolò di Lippo sang as a pair for San Zanobi in 1351, then again for Orsanmichele in 1361; Guelfo di Bartolomeo and Antonio della Pucca sang as a pair for the Companies of Sant'Agnesa (1466-67) and San Frediano (1455-56); and Ghuasparre d'Ugolino Prosperi and Vettorino d'Agnolo Bordoni were paired for long tenures at Orsanmichele (1418-36) and San Zanobi (1421-45). Family pairs were merely the most convenient formulation in the manifestation of a broader tendency that ultimately must have been governed by considerations of performance practice.²¹

B. LAUDESII PROFILES FROM THE 1427 CATASTO²²

²¹These considerations are discussed in the third part of this chapter, pp.259f.

²²The Florentine catasto was introduced in 1427 as a system of taxation based upon a detailed register of property owned by Florentine citizens. The head of each household was required to compile a completed list of his assets (real estate, business investments, communal bonds, cash, and loans) and his debts and obligations. His assessment was calculated at 0.5% of the value of his assets, minus his obligations and deductions for dependents (200 florins per each dependent) and living quarters. Thus it was a property, and not an income, tax. In addition, a head tax was levied upon every able-bodied adult male between the ages of 18 and 60 (2 to 6 gold soldi). Officials were also authorized to declare "miserabile" those men and women whom age or infirmity rendered incapable of earning a living. Usually the infirm, aged, minor orphans, and widows, the miserabile were exempt from taxes but not from filing a return. D. Herlihy and C. Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of

The following profiles of individual singers (and one instrumentalist) are offered here not as representatives or types of laudesi activity, but simply as portraits of individuals who filed tax reports in the year 1427. The selection is atypical in that all these individuals were heads of households, the condition for their inclusion in the catasto. Neither is the year typical, for it marked the beginning of a period of economic crisis, engendered by a long and expensive military struggle with Milan (ca.1424-1447), which motivated the introduction of the catasto in 1427.²³ Most of the following laudesi were born during ca.1350-1400, and since none (except no.6) lived long enough to see the introduction into the laudesi companies of three- and four-part polyphonic practice in the 1460s, they all must have been steeped in the monophonic and cantus binatum traditions that prevailed during their lifetime.

1. Antonio di Benedetto di Butino (1377-1445), a master weaver of wool who resided in the Green Dragon district of the Santo Spirito quarter (the Oltrarno).²⁴ Antonio is recorded as a laudesi only for the Company of Sant'Agnese, who honored him at his death with a lauda vigil for having served the company over 50 years as a benefactor and laudesi (without salary). In 1427, Antonio was 50, his wife 38, a son 3, and a daughter 5 months; he owned three houses in the Drago district, and one in the San Giovanni quarter (around the Cathedral). His assets were figured at fl.140, s.18,

1427 (New Haven, 1985), pp.10-20.

²³Brucker, Renaissance Florence, pp.82-4.

²⁴ASF, Catasto vol.67, f.164r; a weaver (tessitore) was usually a master who wove cloth at home from material provided by an entrepreneur who paid him by the piece and who frequently furnished the loom; F. Edler, Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business, p.295.

d.5, and his obligations (including a 200-florin deduction for each person) at fl.810.

2. Bernaba di Cristofano Loci (b.1357), a cloth sheerman who resided in the Nicchio district of the Santo Spirito quarter.²⁵ Bernaba's career as a singer was linked primarily to the commune; in 1404 he was on the city payroll as a "cantor dominorum priorum" at L.4 s.10 per month,²⁶ and he served the Company of Orsanmichele (under commune supervision since ca.1350) during 1403-16 as a ferial singer at s.50 per month, and again in 1436-7 (79-80 years old) as a festive singer at s.40 per month.²⁷ In 1427, Bernaba's wife (45) had just died, and he was supporting his sons Antonio (25) and Pagolo (18). Antonio adopted both of his father's trades, wool-shearing and lauda singing. He sang for the Company of Santo Spirito during 1425-27, and served there as a camarlingo in 1425. Bernaba's assets amounted to fl.188 s.8 d.6, and included a house, and four pieces of cultivated land outside the city walls, and money owed him by 11 parties. His obligations (fl.788 s.10) included rent on a house and bottega near the church of San Felice, and debts owed to 13 parties (among them the laudese Guasparre d'Ugolino Prospero, to whom he owed fl.2 s.13 d.9; see below, no.5).

3. Filippo di Francesco Antinori (b.1357), filed his tax report in the Green Dragon district of the Oltrar-

²⁵Ibid., vol.65, ff.286r-v; a cimatore was usually a small master with a private workshop, and his work was the stage of cloth refinement just prior to dyeing. Edler, Glossary, p.75.

²⁶Gino Corti, "Un musicista fiammingo a Firenze agli inizi del quattrocento," in L'Ars nova italiana del trecento (Certaldo, 1979), 177-79. Also listed in the employment of the Signorie was Antonio di Matteo, "cantor cantilenarum et recitator moralium ad mensam dominorum priorum artium", at L.3 per month.

²⁷In 1412, the Company of San Zanobi recorded a payment to "Loci"; D'Accone, "Le compagnie...", 267-8, n.57. During his first tenure at Orsanmichele, Bernaba at various times sang with Filippo Antinori (below, no.3), the ribec player Pagolo (no.9), the brother of Maso di Niccolo (no.7), and Vanni di Martino and his son Martino (n.11). In 1436-7, he sang with Vettorico d'Agnolo Bordoni (no.12), Francesco di Nicholo (no.4), Maso di Niccolo (no.7), and Guasparre d'Ugolino Prospero and his son Prospero, a ribec player (no.5).

no, though he is listed as residing in "chastelo di pogi bonzi".²⁸ Filippo sang for the Companies of San Piero Martire (1404-6, 1411-13), San Zanobi (1406-11), and Orsanmichele (1404-8), where he also served as a camarlingo in 1404.²⁹ In 1427, Filippo (70) and his wife, Mona Giovanna ((62) were living alone, when his modest assets (fl.1041 s.7, mostly debts owed him, and 4 parcels of land) had apparently enabled him to have long since retired from lauda singing. His obligations, including rent on a house and a single debt, amounted to fl.428 s.11. His taxable assets totaled fl.613, and he was required to pay a tax of fl.13.

4. Francesco di Nicholo degli Asini (b.1415), was blind and, at age 12, the eldest of three brothers (Marco, 11, and Nicholo, 9) living together in the White Lion district of the Santa Maria Novella quarter.³⁰ He sang for the Company of San Zanobi during 1427-30, 1433-36 (where he is usually referred to as Francesco cieco, laldese), and for the ferial services of Orsanmichele during 1436-7.³¹ The three boys lived rent-free with a certain Mona Andrea. Their assets (2/3 of a farm) were valued at fl.470 s.14 d.6, their obligations at fl.600 (i.e., the 200-florin deduction per person), and a note in the margin reads "sostanze nulla".

5. Guasparre d'Ugolino Prospero (b.1377), was a resident of the Vaio district of the San Giovanni quarter.³² He served long terms for the Companies of San Zanobi (1421-45, 1451) and Orsanmichele (1418-37, 1450-53), at both places paired with Vettorino d'Agnolo

²⁸ASF, Catasto vol.67, v.495v; Poggibonsi is a small town between Florence and Siena, at that time under Florentine dominion. Filippo's profession, if he had one besides lauda singing, is not indicated.

²⁹He sang with the other singers on this list at San Piero Martire (nos.11,12,7); San Zanobi (no.9); and Orsanmichele (nos.9,2,11).

³⁰ASF, Catasto vol.77, f.250v.

³¹At San Zanobi, he sang with nos.5,12,9, and 7), and at Orsanmichele with nos.5,12,9,7,and 2)

³²ASF, Catasto vol.81, f.260v; his occupation is listed as "ghuantaio" (=guantiere, glovemaker).

Bordoni (no.12).³³ He performed precentor's duties for the Company of San Zanobi. In 1433, his salary was lowered, then restored on the condition that his son (unnamed) come and sing for the price of his father's salary.³⁴ The son may have been Prospero, who was a rebec player for Orsanmichele in 1436-7, when he was 17-18. But in 1427, Ugolino (50) and his wife, Mona Chaterina (36), had other sons, and daughters, and a another young dependent--in all nine children between the ages of 1 and 15. Their assets were "nulla" and their condition was judged to be "miserabile". Their obligations, including annual rent of fl.6 on a house owned by the Company of San Zanobi, were fl.2317 s.15. When San Zanobi discontinued ferial services in 1433, the reduction of Guasparre's salary from s.60 to s.30 per month must have hit hard.

6. Luca di Giusto (b.1387), a weaver living in the Ferza district of the Santo Spirito quarter.³⁵ Luca is listed only once as a laudese, for the Company of Sant'Agnese in 1465. In 1427, he owned two houses in the parish of San Pier Gattolini, his 38-year-old brother had just died, and the household of 8 included Luca (40), his mother (72), his wife (40), two children (18 and 21), and three grandchildren (1, 3, and 4.5). His obligations totaled fl.2052 s.10.

7. Maso di Nicholo (b.1377), was a laudese by profession, living in the Drago district of the San Giovanni quarter.³⁶ His active career embraced long tenures as a festive and ferial singer for the Company of San Piero Martire (1409-24), a festive singer for San Zanobi (1411-37), and a ferial singer for Orsanmichele (1418+, 1436-7+).³⁷ He was often paired with his brother Ver-

³³Guasparre also sang with nos.9,7, and 4 at San Zanobi; and nos.5,4,2, and 9 at Orsanmichele.

³⁴See Ch.IV, p.176. Guasparre and Vettorino are listed as the two principal laudesi in San Zanobi's 1427 catasto.

³⁵ASF, Catasto vol.66, f.296v.

³⁶ASF, Catasto vol.79, f.523r, where his title is "Maso di Niccholo laldese" (Maso=Tommaso).

³⁷Maso sang at San Piero Martire with nos.11,12, and 3; at San Zanobi with nos.2?,9,5,12, and 4; and at Orsanmichele with nos.5,12,4,2, and 9.

miglio, who also sang for San Zanobi (1411-18), and Orsanmichele (1410-16). In 1427, Maso (50), his wife, Mona Pasqua (42), a son Giacomo (19), and a daughter Giana (8), lived in a rented house on Via degli Armati, near the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. His assets (a fl.26 debt) as against his obligations (fl.926 s.11), solicited the assessment of his condition as "fatto miserabile".

8. Niccolò di Betto Bugani (b.1398), a weaver of woolen cloth, resided in the Green Dragon district (and parish of San Frediano) of the Santo Spirito quarter.³⁸ Nicholo appears only in the records of the Company of Sant'Agnese, between 1444 and 1450. Although the Company hired outside singers during Lent, Niccolò, and his son Romolo, sang for the Company throughout the year, and performed sacristan duties for the lauda services. Niccolò must have introduced Romolo to lauda singing while he was in his early 'teens, for Romolo was not yet born in 1427 when the household comprised Niccolò (29), his mother, Mona Margerita (66), his wife, Laperacina (18), and his son Betto (b.Aug.26, 1427). Betto appeared once as a laudese in the Sant'Agnese accounts fifty years later in 1477, where he is referred to as "Betto di Nicho detto chornachino, laldese". Niccolò and his family shared a house on Via Santo Salvatore with two other parties (whether they owned or rented is unclear); their assets were fl.41 s.10 in debts owed them, and their obligations fl.839. They, too, were pronounced "miserabile".

9. Pagholo di Ser Ambrugio, chiamato Vinci (b.1368), was a full-time, professional instrumentalist who resided in the Drago district of the San Giovanni quarter.³⁹ According to the catasto, he was by official trade a piffero in the employment of the city. However, Pagholo's first recorded activity as a rebec/vielle player is at Orsanmichele, where his long tenure (1405-37+) overlapped with that of Maestro Luigi di Matteo della viuola (1388-1413). Pagholo may have been apprenticed to Luigi, for when the older master died in 1413, Pagholo assumed both of Luigi's official posts as instrumentalist at the meals of the Signorie "cum viola vel aliquo musico instrumento", and at Orsanmichele as

³⁸ASF, Catasto vol.67, ff.392v-393r.

³⁹ASF, Catasto vol.79, f.594v (incomplete); vol.408, f.484r (1430).

"optimum sonatorem viole, ribeche, liuti et aliorum instrumentorum", with the highest salary.⁴⁰ Pagholo was frequently hired by the Company of San Zanobi to play for special feast days, particularly for the feasts of San Zanobi and Santa Reparata, and is occasionally referred to as a singer.⁴¹ Pagholo's 1427 catasto fragment shows that he owned 1.5 houses, which were rented out. In 1430, Pagholo (62) owned, and lived in, a small house in the neighborhood of "Verzaia di Stima", along with his wife (39), and four sons between the ages of 4.5 and 26. His assets (the house) were valued at fl.20, his obligations at fl.1216 (6 deductions, and fl.16 in debts to 3 parties).

10. Piero di Bartolomeo (b.1406), a barber who resided in the Nicchio district of the Santo Spirito quarter, practiced his trade in the Piazza dei Signorie.⁴² As a boy, Piero sang for the Company of San Piero Martire during 1418-19, his only recorded activity as a laudese. Piero rented a house in the parish of San Jacopo, on the Chiasso dei Sapiti, where he lived with his father (65). His assets were negligible, his obligations fl.474 s.8 d.7, and his official fiscal con-

⁴⁰G. Zippel, I suonatori, pp.22-3. The documents published here, including a petition to the city from the Captains of Orsanmichele, again emphasize the official relationship at this time between the two institutions. As for the singer Bernaba di Cristofano (no.2), employment with the city often entailed, or provided, service in the oratory of Orsanmichele. Conversely, employment with Orsanmichele might provide access to a civic position, as appears to have been the case for Pagholo. Civic positions must have been desirable, for they paid reasonably well, entailed benefits, and offered a relatively high degree of job security; see G. Brucker, "Social Welfare in Renaissance Florence," Journal of Modern History 55 (1983), 1-21.

⁴¹Payments to Pagholo were recorded in 1402 ("e chompagnio di pagholo che suona chollui...che sonorono a san giovanni"); 1407-9 ("Vinci piffero e chop[m]pagni"; feasts of S.Z. and Santa Reparata); 1419 (Vinci "e chompagni sonatore e chantatori perchè sonorono per S. Zanobi a le laude"); 1421 ("perchè suona la ribeche e canta le laude la sera in S.M. del Fiore"); 1428-9 ("Vinci laldese"); and 1433 ("...v[i]ene alle lalde la sera di sancta liperata").

During his tenure at Orsanmichele, Pagholo performed with nos.2-5,7,11-12, and at San Zanobi he was concurrently employed with nos.3,4,5,7, and 12.

⁴²ASF, Catasto vol.65, f.428v.

dition "miserabile".

11. Vanni di Martino (b.1351), was a professional laudese living in the Red Lion district of the Santa Maria Novella quarter.⁴³ Vanni served long and regular tenures at the Companies of San Piero Martire (1405-1424+) and Orsanmichele (1403-16).⁴⁴ During 1412-17, he sang with his son Martino at both San Piero Martire (1413-17) and Orsanmichele (1412-16), and in 1415, he sang with two of his sons at San Piero Martire. In 1427, however, Vanni (76) lived alone in a rented house with his wife, Mona Isabetta (70), the daughter of Pagolo di Francesco Guicciardini. "Non ha nulla" was the estimation of his assets, and his obligations were fl.471 s.8 d.9. His fiscal condition was described as "chiaritta miserabile".

12. Vettorino d'Agnolo Bordoni (b.1382), a resident of the White Lion District of the Santa Maria Novella quarter, described his professional activity as "atendo a rivedere (cloth burling) e chantare le laude".⁴⁵ For at least 34 years Vettorino sang regularly for the Companies of San Piero Martire (1411-13, 1417-24+), San Zanobi (1421-45), and Orsanmichele (1418-36).⁴⁶ In 1427, Vettorino (45) rented a small house near the Croce a Trebbio (a cross near the Church of Santa Maria Novella marking the activities of St. Peter Martyr), where he lived with his wife, Mona Taddea (38), and five children between the ages of 1 and 19. His assets amounted to an 8 florin debt owed him, his obligations were fl.1607 L.2.

⁴³Ibid., vol.76, f.396v.

⁴⁴But he never served at San Zanobi; it was unusual for an active laudese like Vanni not to have served all three major companies if he served regularly at one or two of them. During his term at San Piero Martire, he sang with nos.3,7,10, and 12; at Orsanmichele with nos.2,3, and 9.

⁴⁵ASF, Catasto vol.77, f.367v. A riveditore, or burler, removed knots and other irregularities from newly woven cloth. He usually worked in the central workshop of an industrial entrepreneur for day wages. Edler, Glossary, p.251.

⁴⁶He was paired with Guasparre (no.5) for most of his tenure at San Zanobi (esp. 1427-45 as ferial singers) and Orsanmichele. He also sang with nos.3,7, and 11 at San Piero Martire, nos.4,7, and 9 at San Zanobi, and nos.2,4,7, and 9 at Orsanmichele.

13. Domenico di Fruosino Ghumerello (b.1375), a butcher living in the Scala district of the Santo Spirito Quarter.⁴⁷ Domenico sang for the Companies of Santo Spirito (1431) and Sant'Agnesa (during Lent of 1444 and 1445, as a tenore). In both cases, he is among the first singers mentioned in extant account books that begin only a short time before, and since he was 52 in 1427, it is likely that most of his singing activity preceded the above dates. He, and another laudese named Daniello who sang for Sant'Agnesa in 1442, are the earliest adult laudesi referred to in Florentine documents as polyphonic singers (tinore). In 1427, Domenico owned three small houses ("one next to the other"; one in which his family lived, the others for storing wine and straw), and 16 parcels of land cultivated by the family. The assets of his wife, Mona Tessa (48), are listed separately: two half houses in Borgo San Nicholo and a parcel of cultivated land with a "chasellina trista" in the San Stefano parish. Their assets amounted to fl.809 s.4, but a household of 9 (six children and a daughter-in-law between the ages of 6 and 30) and a debt brought their obligations to fl.1850 s.7 d.6. He was assessed a tax of s.18.

C. PERFORMING FORCES AND REPERTORY

From the late 13th to the early 16th century, the performance practices of the Florentine laudesi changed naturally in response to the shifting currents of musical and poetic styles. What follows is a rough sketch of those changes, an attempt at periodization, as suggested by what company documents reveal about varying numbers of singers and instrumentalists. This sketch will include a consideration of the musical repertory associated with the laudesi companies, which is certain with respect to the monophonic lauda, but much less so with respect to

⁴⁷ASF, Catasto vol.64, ff.259v-260r.

the polyphonic repertory.

Keeping in mind that the lines to be drawn here represent broad temporal zones of change, four periods are proposed:

1) The late 13th century, the earliest years of the Florentine laudesi companies, from which time no company account books survive. Monophonic laude were performed primarily by able, and probably unpaid, company members;

2) The 14th century through the first decades of the 15th century, during which monophonic practices prevailed, though probably not to the exclusion of polyphonic singing. The earliest bequests for lauda vigils and the first payments to singers are recorded during this time. Most Florentine laudesi companies employed one or two singers, and by the late 14th century pairs of laudesi had become the norm. The larger companies of Orsanmichele and San Zanobi hired players of instruments that were also favored in the secular music of the time (rebec, vielle, lute, portable organ, and harp), and Orsanmichele hired exceptional numbers of singers throughout this period;

3) ca.1415-1470, a complex period of change during which the numbers of paid singers constantly shifted but gradually increased. The first explicit references to singers of polyphonic music (biscantatori and tenoristi) appear in company records during this time. Between ca.1430-1450, the companies ceased hiring all accompanying instruments except the organ, and they abandoned the ancient ferial services, a sign of waning zeal for traditional laudesi devotion;

4) ca. 1470-16th century, when the companies established small choirs of five to eleven singers (sovrani and tenoristi), adequate for the performance of three- and four-part polyphonic laude.

Woven throughout this overview are several other considerations, that, for their derivation from the larger currents of Florentine musical tradition, transcend while yet shaping the particular traditions of the lauda. They are all related to an "unwritten tradition" of music that held particular sway in Florence during the republican period:⁴⁸ the varying dependence of the lauda repertory upon contrafacta (in this case, the borrowing of melodies to which other, usually secular, texts were originally set), the tendency of the repertory to hover between, partaking of both, oral and written musical traditions, and a resilient tradition of solo song (and the attendant considerations of florid singing, embellishment, improvisation, and instrumental accompaniment).

1. Late 13th century

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, laudesi statutes drafted during the last two decades of the 13th century indicate that the soloistic strophes of laude were performed by company members. These were probably unpaid amateurs who were usually

⁴⁸Eloquently described by Nino Pirrotta in a number of articles, most of them published in Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque (Cambridge, Mass, 1984), nos. 5 ("New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition", and 6 ("The Oral and Written Traditions of Music").

selected, undoubtedly on the basis of their natural vocal ability, by the company officers in charge of lauda singing and teaching. These singers were almost certainly not performing a polyhonic repertory, and since more than one laudese is referred to in a performance situation involving congregational participation in the refrains, it is evident that the soloistic performance of the current monophonic lauda repertory could, and did involve more than a single soloist.⁴⁹

The repertories of the companies during this time probably consisted primarily of the simpler, syllabic and neumatic laude that prevail in the late 13th-century Cortona manuscript (Cort), and among the Marian laude of Mgl¹ (see exs.1,3, and 7). But certainly a tradition of improvised embellishment, crystallized in the florid laude copied down in Mgl¹ during the early 14th century, was developing as an oral tradition during this time, probably under the influence of local, popular, and unwritten vocal practices (see ex.2). Given the early date of the Cortona manuscript, and the frequent references to laudarios in the oldest documents of the Florentine laudesi companies (ca.1312), notated laudarios were probably in use during this time.⁵⁰

⁴⁹In fact, during the 14th and 15th centuries, it was somewhat exceptional for a laudesi company to employ a single soloist, a practice that appears to have been more prevalent in the services of disciplinati companies; see Cyrilla Barr, "Lauda Singing and the Tradition of the Disciplinati Mandato: A Reconstruction of Two Texts of the Office of Tenebrae," in L'Ars nova italiana del trecento (Certaldo, 1978), 21-44.

⁵⁰SMN, vol.292, Uscita, 1312-1340, is the oldest extant Florentine laudesi account book, and among its earliest entries (f.1v [Jan.1, 1313]) is a payment of L.2 s.9 d.6 "per miniare e

2. 14th century-early 15th century

A number of factors having to do with both performing forces and repertory define the identity of this period. With one exception, the Florentine companies hired no more than one or two singers during this time, a practice that continued through the middle of the 15th century in the more conservative Oltrarno companies. The two companies most exposed to the secular, civic ceremonial life of the city, San Zanobi (at the Cathedral) and Orsanmichele (administered by the commune), employed the instruments of accompaniment most commonly associated with late medieval secular music.⁵¹

The musical practice at Orsanmichele was exceptional in every respect; from the earliest record in 1361, the Company retained separate retinues of festive and ferial singers (three each) long before the other companies, and a vielle player for all of the festive services.⁵² However, the presence of three, or

per notare e per leghare i[1] libro de la compangnia". In 1317, the Company recorded an expense for its "libro grande [delle laude]", and its "libro nero dele laude" (perhaps a Lenten collection) was in need of repair; Ibid., ff.9v, 11r.

⁵¹The last explicit references to such instruments (rebec, vielle, lute, and harp) were in 1437 at Orsanmichele (when the company employed two rebec players, *Pagholo di Ser Ambrugio and Prospero di Ghuasparre; there is a lacuna until 1450, when the only instrumentalist was the organist, Antonio Squarcialupi); and in 1442 at San Zanobi (the vielle player Currado).

⁵²After ca.1380 these numbers increased, so that by 1415 there were 6 ferial singers, 4 festive singers, and three salaried instrumentalists (an organist and two vielle/rebec players). As D'Accone has suggested ("Le compagnie," 279) these exceptional numbers may reflect a polyphonic practice, a possibility that is considered below in light of other factors.

even more, singers is still consonant with a monophonic practice; throughout this period most of the Orsanmichele singers also sang for the other companies in pairs, and Orsanmichele may well have been engaging in a competitive bid to out-do the other companies and engage in a ceremonial display appropriate to its station as the city's leading lay devotional institution.

From those instances when the documents allude to the function of indoor instruments, it is clear that they served primarily to accompany the performance of laude. Throughout the 14th century, the Orsanmichele instrumentalists are referred to as "players at the lauda [service] (sonatores ad laudes) in the oratory of the said company," and in 1415 the rebec/vielle player Pagholo di Ser Ambruogio, and the lutenist Jacopo di Lorenzo were paid as "players and laudesi in the said oratory."⁵³ In 1408 the company recorded a payment to Filippo di Ceccho, "piffero and singer of laude".⁵⁴ During the 1360s, the singer Nucio Neri and Chellino della viuola, "who sing laude on feast days", were usually grouped together and paid a special salary, a situation

⁵³OSM, vol.22, f.66r. While the Orsanmichele accounts often listed the singers and instrumentalists separately, just as often no distinction was made, and all were listed together under the heading "laudesi"; e.g. OSM, vol.209, f.6v (1388). Similarly, Pagholo is variously referred to in the San Zanobi records as a "sonatore" and a laudese, and though these designations may in fact indicate discrete activities, they still indicate that an instrumentalist like Pagholo was expected to sing as well.

⁵⁴OSM, vol.213, f.13r. It is unclear whether or not Filippo's playing was independent of his singing. Piffero was used both in the narrow sense of a wind player and in the broader sense of an instrumentalist. See n.53.

which perhaps suggests a common ensemble of the time.⁵⁵ During the Christmas season in 1421, the Company of San Zanobi paid Pagholo to "play the rebec and sing laude during the evening in Santa Maria del Fiore," and two years prior the company recorded another payment to Pagholo "and his fellow instrumentalists and singers because they played for the feast of San Zanobi at the lauda service".⁵⁶

With respect at least to the monophonic repertory of the period, performing ensembles might then vary from one to three or more singers, with or without the participation of an accompanying instrument. All the instruments employed by the laudesi companies were suitable and traditional instruments of accompaniment in the vernacular repertories (both monophonic and polyphonic) of the late Middle Ages, all of them permitting the simultaneous execution of singing and playing.⁵⁷

⁵⁵OSM, vol.4, ff.5r, 33r [1366]; vol.5, f.16r [1367]. In 1352, the Company of San Zanobi hired Chellino as "chantatore dela chonpagnia" to perform on all the feast days which had been "written down on a foglio" (SZ, vol.2182, fasc.36, f.171v, loose); this "foglio" was evidently recopied, and perhaps updated, in 1365, when the contract of "Chellino che suona la viuola" was copied at the head of a long list of feast days for which he was obligated, no doubt, to both play and sing (D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 264-5.

⁵⁶D'Accone, "Le compagnie," 268 [March 25, 1419]: "...e compagni sonatori e chantatori perchè sonorono per S. Zanobi a le laude".

⁵⁷As opposed to the civic pifferi and trombadore, which were part of a different tradition of outdoor ceremonial music and served a quite different function in the activities of the laudesi companies (primarily in heraldry, fanfare, and procession). The two traditions of soft, indoor and loud, outdoor instruments evident in the company services parallels, and is directly related to their secular and civic functions. The

The repertory of the Tuscan lauda⁵⁸ in this period is preserved primarily in confraternity laudarios, that is, in manuscripts structured according to the liturgical needs of the lay company services and devoted exclusively to the performing repertory of the lay companies. Of the five extant sources of Tuscan provenance, three are from Florence (Mgl¹, Mgl², and Fior), and one each from Pisa (Ars) and Lucca (Luc¹).⁵⁹ In addition to

Florentine pifferi and trombadore performed in a freelance capacity for the lay companies and on other occasions such as weddings and the feast days of the guilds, but were sustained primarily by communal positions with the Signorie, the Parte Guelfa, and the Merchant Court. Similarly, the leading instrumentalist (and on one occasion, a singer, Bernaba di Cristofano; see above, no.2) of Orsanmichele also performed for the Signorie. In fact, the practice of instrumental accompaniment of laude may have originated at Orsanmichele through its close connection to the commune after the latter assumed administration of the lay company in the mid-14th century. Luigi di Matteo and Pagholo di Ser Matteo (and possibly Chellino, who preceded them) were obliged by a single contract to play for both institutions, and the practice, as well as the players, appear to have been borrowed by the Company of San Zanobi from Orsanmichele. Because it was the most free of all the lay companies from ecclesiastical influence, Orsanmichele was a likely environment for the grafting of a secular instrumental practice onto laudesi devotional practices. The development itself, whether or not it originated at Orsanmichele, speaks for the fundamentally secular, rather than ecclesiastical, roots of the monophonic lauda repertory. A different view was advanced by Liuzzi, La lauda, I, p.225.

⁵⁸The Umbrian lauda tradition, with its mystical, penitential, and dramatic qualities, is distinct from (though not independent of) the Tuscan tradition, and therefore outside the scope of this study. See V. de Bartholomaeis, Laude drammatiche e rappresentazione sacre (Florence, 1943); A. Fortini, La laude in Assisi e le origini del teatro italiano (Assisi, 1961); G. Varanini, L. Banfi, and A.C. Burgio, Laude cortonesi dal secolo XIII al XV, vols. I¹, I², and II (Florence, 1981), with a study of the melodies by G. Cattin; and on the laude of Jacopone da Todi, R. Bettarini, Jacopone e il Laudario urbinato (Florence, 1969).

⁵⁹The Florentine sources are Mgl¹ (early 14thc.), with music for the laude, illumination, and latin motets, sequences, and hymns (laudesi Company of Santo Spirito); Mgl² (2nd half of

these, a number of loose folios from trecento Tuscan laudarios, most of them bearing music and sumptuous decoration, reveal both the artistic and material wealth of this tradition.⁶⁰

A comparison of these sources reveals a repertory that was compact and uniform in its overall features, but extremely varied with respect to detail. There is a high rate of concordance among the laude preserved in them,⁶¹ and in portions the particular sequence (for liturgical reasons) is identical, but there is

14thc., text only, illumination, latin motets, sequences, and hymns (laudesi Company of San Gilio); and Fior (Florence, Archivio della Curia Archivescovile, without shelfmark; mid-14thc.), text only, no decoration. From Pisa, Ars (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms.8521; 14thc.), with empty staff lines (the music was never copied), illumination; from Lucca, Luc1 (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, ms.93; mid-14thc.), a fragment of a large laudario, with music, a careful script and decorated initials, no illumination.

⁶⁰The folios, scattered throughout European and American art collections, are reproduced, transcribed, and studied in A. Ziino, "Laudi e miniature." The decoration of these laudarios, like that of Mgl¹ and Mgl², were executed primarily in the botteghe of Florentine masters. Most were previously published in R. Offner, Corpus of Florentine Painting, who attributed the miniatures to two different schools of Florentine painting: the bottegga of Pacino di Bonaguida, and that of the Master of the Dominican Effigies (who worked in Santa Maria Novella). Ziino notes the possible involvement of another bottegga, that of the Master of the "Panygeric of Robert of Anjou". The musical notation in all the extant, notated laudarios of this period is quadratic, and non-mensural, like that employed in the large choral chant books of the time; e.g., plates 5, 6, and 11.

⁶¹Concordances between a given laudario and the other major Tuscan and Umbrian sources are listed in Grossi, "The Fourteenth Century Florentine Laudario," passim. (Mgl1); Liuzzi, La lauda, I (Cort) and II (Mgl¹), passim.; and charted in E. Staaf, Le laudario de Pise, pp.XXVII-XXVIII (Ars); R. Bettarini, "Notizia di un Laudario," 61-3 (Fior); A.M. Terruggia, "Aggiunta al laudario frammetato dell'Archivio di Stato di Lucca," Studi e problemi di critica testuale, 12 (1976), 26 (Luc1); and G. Varanini, "Il Manoscritto Trivulziano 535: Laude antiche di Cortona," Studi e problemi di critica testuale 8 (1974), 52-65.

extreme variation in orthography, order and number of strophes, relationship between refrain and strophe, and, where the comparison is possible, the melodies. The situation is similar to that of the other vernacular monophonic repertoires: oral and written traditions "mix", or run "parallel", and there is a tendency to re-use melodic material through contrafacta and recurrent melodic motifs.⁶² But the 14th-century Tuscan lauda repertory evolved in a milieu fundamentally different from the courtly context of the troubadour, trouvère, minnesinger, and cantigas repertoires.⁶³ The competitive urban environment, relatively high literacy of the Tuscan communal populace, bookkeeping habits of merchants, and the regulated, institutional environment of the lay companies all contributed, especially in Florence, to the special strength of a written tradition. The scant documents of the 14th century laudesi companies nevertheless indicate a continual activity of copying, illuminating, and repairing laudarios,⁶⁴ and a remarkably high percentage of the extant Tuscan sources mentioned above contain music. It is clear, moreover, that laudarios were used by

⁶²A. Ziino, Aspetti della tradizione orale nella musica medioevale (Lanciano, 1973), p.9; also publ. in L'Etnomusicologia in Italia, ed. D Carpitella (Palermo, 1975).

⁶³The manuscript tradition of the cantigas, however, like the circumstances under which they were composed and performed, presents a unique situation in comparison to these other vernacular repertoires.

⁶⁴A number of 14th-century Florentine laudesi documents are transcribed in Mirella Levi D'Ancona, Miniatura e miniatori a firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo (Florence, 1962), pp.217-20.

the singers in performance.⁶⁵ The strength of the written tradition is also evident in the relatively low instance of contrafacta,⁶⁶ the high percentage of manuscripts copied at the time the repertory they contained was being performed, and the pervasiveness and formal standardization of the ballata as the poetic model for the lauda.⁶⁷

However, oral traditions among the Florentine laudesi remained strong, both in this century and the next, showing signs of deterioration only in the late 15th century with the advent of printing. Oral transmission and memorization undoubtedly were the

⁶⁵Even in the late 13th century, a carefully prepared service book (laudario) placed upon a lectern was an integral part of lauda services (as it was in Latin liturgical services); see for ex., docs.23 and 24. In 1367, the Company of Orsanmichele recorded a payment to a stationer "per più fogli e charte e una coverta per libro grande de[i] laudesi..."; OSM, vol.56, f.51 [July 7].

⁶⁶See A. Ziino, "Adattamento musicali e tradizione manoscritta nel repertorio laudistico del duecento," in Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga (Milan, 1973). Among the 88 laude of Mgl¹, 8 of the melodies are used for two different texts, whereas among the 160 extant troubadour melodies (and over 1100 poetic texts) "at least 68 of the extant melodies have texts which served as models for other poems"; F.M. Chambers, "Imitation of Form in the Old Provençal Lyric," Romance Philology VI (1937), 104; Ziino, "Aspetti," 10.

⁶⁷Ziino, Strutture strofiche nel laudario di Cortona (Palermo, 1968), p.32; "Adattamenti," 653ff. On the ballata form during this period, see also N. Pirrotta, "Ars Nova and Stil Novo," Music and Culture in Italy, pp.26-38; *Ibid.*, "Ballate e 'soni' secondo un grammatico del trecento," Bolletino del centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani 8 (1962), 42-54; L. Meierhans, Die Ballata (Bern, 1956); B.R. Suchla, Studien zur Provenienz der Trecento Ballata (Göttingen, 1976). The musico/poetic schemes of the monophonic lauda repertory have been classified and analyzed in Liuzzi, La lauda I, pp.42-4 (Cort), pp.88-92 (Mgl¹), and more recently in Grossi, "The Fourteenth Century Florentine Laudario," *passim*. (Mgl¹).

indispensable tools of the singers as the repertory was taught by the old to the young, the veterans to the novices. The melodies were the common fund of the Florentine, even the Tuscan, laudesi companies, easily memorized as they sang them at predictable and recurrent intervals during their long careers. The lauda texts, however, might contain numerous strophes which were selected and re-ordered according to the needs of individual companies and services, so that even in the Florentine tradition texts alone (Fior and Mgl²) were copied down more often than text and melody together (Mgl¹).⁶⁸ The melodies that were copied down have all the earmarks of an oral tradition, and "most likely represent only some of the many melodic versions in circulation at that time."⁶⁹ Three such versions of the lauda for the feast of the Holy Cross, "Ogne homo ad alta boce," feature significant variants in orthography and melody (cadence pitches, ornamental figures, transposition of melodic phrases) (see ex.5). Similar variants are evident among three versions of a lauda on the subject of the Trinity, "Alta trinità beata," with the added difference that the version in Cort is notated a fourth lower than the other two melodies (see ex.7). Two versions (in Cort and Mgl¹) of a lauda for the feast of the Assumption, "Ave donna sanctissima," cadence on different pitches in three out of four lines in the strophe, and reveal significant melodic variants

⁶⁸For a given lauda, the varying number of strophes transmitted in Tuscan laudarios is discussed in Terruggia, "Aggiunta al laudario," 12, 16-17.

⁶⁹Ziino, "Laudi e miniature...", 58.

throughout the soloistic strophe (see ex.3).⁷⁰

The practice of contrafacta, while not as prevalent as in the northern vernacular repertoires nor the 15th-century lauda repertory, was still a notable feature of the trecento lauda, and was surely applied more frequently than the sources suggest.⁷¹

⁷⁰The texts of both of these popular laude are contained in most the major Tuscan and Umbrian sources. For "Ave donna santissima" all sources transmit the first two strophes, but thereafter the number and choice vary significantly: Mgl¹ (8); Luc¹ and Ars (8; but strophes differ from Mgl¹); a second version in Ars (23); Fior (3); Mgl² (53; the final strophe contains the name of the lauda poet, Garzo); and the three Umbrian laudarios Cort, Aret, and Triv appear to transmit the same 21 strophes. See A.M. Terruggia, "Aggiunti," 16-17.

⁷¹The contrafacta issue also raises the difficult, and probably insoluble, question concerning the origin of the lauda melodies. In the fall of 1986, Prof. Michel Huglo kindly spent several hours with me examining the melodies in my film of Mgl¹, and with his vast knowledge of the extant repertory of ecclesiastical chant concluded that there seemed to be little connection between the two musical repertoires. In particular, he noted that the cadence formulas (and their modal implications) were quite different. The secular origins of the lauda repertory is suggested by its reliance upon the popular form of the ballata, the connection of lauda singers and instrumentalists with secular institutions (the commune), and the evident familiarity (and sometimes involvement) of lauda poets with secular poetry: Antonio Puccio, Franco Sacchetti; Garzo was a layman, Jacopone da Todi and Guittone d'Arezzo wrote religious poetry only as adults; and Salimbene documented the evident familiarity of 13th-century Franciscan friars with secular poetry and music, and their disposition to adapt it to sacred purposes. Salimbene de Adam, Cronica, ed. G. Scalia (Bari, 1966), pp.262-3. However, the lauda repertory was in a constant state of flux, and probably evolved, like other lyrical genres, by processes that ranged freely (and mostly) between the poles of strict contrafactum and original composition. Within freely treated poetic and musical structures, singers, poets, scribes, and, if they were distinct, composers, continually adapted, altered, and re-composed what was already familiar to them, a process that must have been closely linked to the manner in which memory functioned. The diversity of these sources with respect to the lauda repertory is suggested by Giulio Cattin's apt description of the melodies:

Close analysis reveals in them an unexpected variety:

The melody of a lauda to St. Anthony of Padua, "Ciascun che fede sente," served the same texts in Cort and Mgl¹, as well as the text of a lauda to St. Andrew, "A tutt'or dobbiam laudare" in Luc¹ (text also in Ars), and the text of a lauda to yet a third saint, "Santo Agostin doctor" (Mgl¹; text also in Fior and Mgl²) (see ex.4). The melodic plasticity of this repertory, evident in all the above examples, was a characteristic feature of a lyrical genre that required that a singer be able to adapt a melody to different texts (either contrafacta or different strophes of the same lauda), and yet allowed him the freedom to nuance his performance according to memory, ability, and taste.⁷²

Apposite to variations in melodic detail in the lauda repertory is a certain amount of melodic stereotype and repetition. Clearly this must have aided memorization of the large repertory

from refined modulations to the flavour of popular song, from simple and austere processional intonations to dance-tunes, from narrative and dramatic chants with insistently repeated notes...to a tone which is sometimes excited, sometimes relaxed, serene, and confident. More technical examination uncovers the presence of echoes of litanic structures, with a single formula constantly repeated from verse to verse both in the refrain and in the couplet. There are also forms parallel to the hymnodic couplet, with no repetition of melodic segments (melodic scheme ABCD); some traces of sequential structure in the melodic equivalence of mutations...; and occasional remnants of troubadour preciousness, along with a frequent occurrence of the modes of ecclesiastical chant (at least in the oldest examples)...Finally, there are some hints of development towards a modern major/minor tonality...[Music of the Middle Ages, p.144]

⁷²Ziino, "Adattamenti," 659; R. Monterosso, "La tradizione melismatica sino all'Ars Nova," in L'Ars nova italiana del trecento (Certaldo, 1970), pp.45, 47-8.

that an active Florentine laudese had to command. This tendency towards melodic economy is evident at all structural levels: in small, ornamental clusters and cadential formulas (usually sung to a single syllable; see ex.6), in the recurrence of a number of intonations,⁷³ and in the borrowing of music for entire lines, refrains, and compositions (contrafactum).

Among the laude in the sanctorale section of the Mgl¹ are a number of highly florid melodies "that must have required considerable virtuosity on the part of the performers."⁷⁴ These virtuosic lauda are quite unlike anything in Cort, and may well have grown out of the interaction between a local, Florentine tradition of florid singing, and the impulse of the prosperous Florentine laudesi companies toward a liturgical splendor that was understood to bring prestige to the company and honor to their sacred patrons.⁷⁵ In several cases in Mgl¹, certain saints, for whom a simpler, syllabic/neumatic lauda already existed, were honored with a second, florid lauda. The two laude to St. Dominic, whose order was particularly strong in Florence, provide a striking contrast between the austere, syllabic "San Domenico Beato", and the much longer and rhapsodic "Allegro

⁷³Ibid., p.657, n.4.

⁷⁴N. Pirrotta, "Ars nova and stil novo," Music and Culture in Italy, p.35. In connection with this repertory, Cattin has credited the singers with a "theory of performance based on technical accomplishment"; Music of the Middle Ages, p.147.

⁷⁵This consonance between artistic splendor and devotion is examined in Ch.VI.

canto, popol cristiano" (see exs. 1 and 2).⁷⁶ St. Augustine was held in special veneration by the friars and lay brothers of Santo Spirito, and the lauda "Gaudiamo tucti quanti" pays multiple honors to the saint by virtue of its new text, its virtuosity, and its derivation from the older lauda, "Sancto Agostin doctor" (see ex.4). The latter originated as a contra-factum of the lauda to St. Anthony, but "Gaudiamo tucti quanti" provided the saint with an essentially new piece through a process of adaptation, or perhaps more accurately, improvisatory singing, which took as its point of departure the incipits and finals of phrases, and the requirements of a different poetic structure.

The florid style is less evident in the older corpus of Cortona melodies cum text that are preserved in Mgl¹, but even here it can be found.⁷⁷ The version of "Ave donna sanctissima" in

⁷⁶One should note also the difference in range: a 9th in "San Domenico", although individual lines are usually contained by a 5th; a 12th in "Allegro canto", with individual lines of an 8ve or greater. Also interesting is the exact repetition of the refrain in the volta (last three lines of the strophe) of "San Domenico", which signalled to the congregation the return of the refrain; in "Allegro canto" the relationship is freer, and suggests, along with the florid nature of the refrain, the possibility that the refrains of these more florid laude were performed by soloists. This may have been the reason for pairs (or in the case of Orsanmichele, three or more) singers in 14th-century Florentine practice. Fior and Mgl² both contain the text of the more traditional "San Domenico"; "Allegro canto" is a unicum, but surely it must have been a part of the repertory at San Piero Martire.

⁷⁷Ten of the laude in Cort and Mgl¹ that share texts are listed in Liuzzi, La lauda, I, p.84; to that list should be added "Alta trinità beata", "Vergene donzella" (the refrains differ), and "Laudiamo la surrectione" (the strophes differ). It seems appropriate to reiterate at this point that Mgl¹ was the property

Mgl¹ reveals several characteristic traits of the Florentine repertory in comparison with the older Cortona version: the expansion of the shorter melismas in the older version (which often fall on important or accented syllables), filling in of thirds ("-ten-", line 2), the addition of figures based on lower neighboring notes ("ce-" in line 3), and a taste for appoggiaturas (both from above, "virtù", line 3; and below, "-ma", line 2).⁷⁸ This impulse toward melodic arabesque is also evident in the Mgl¹ and Burney versions of "Alta trinità beata," while the differences between these two versions (text corruptions aside) reflect how different two performances of the same melody might have been (ex.7).

A comparison of the number of strophes transmitted by these two versions (8 in Mgl¹, 21 in Cort) reveals another significant aspect of the Florentine collection: Mgl¹ (along with Fior) often gives shorter readings than the other sources.⁷⁹ The reduced scope of these poems in Mgl¹ must have been conditioned by the

of a modest Oltrarno company, and what it reveals about the virtousity of its repertory and singers applies in (at least) equal measure to the larger companies of Florence (Sant'Agnese, Orsanmichele, San Zanobi, and San Piero Martire).

⁷⁸Also significant in this comparison is the near identity between the music of the refrains, and the much greater difference between the strophes (esp. line 5), which may indicate congregational participation on the refrain of the Mgl¹ version of this traditional marian lauda. The strophe, on the other hand, shows signs of soloistic variation.

⁷⁹Of the 20 texts shared by Cort and Mgl¹, 19 of the Mgl¹ versions contain fewer strophes; see Liuzzi, La lauda, I, p.84. The Tuscan sources in general (with the exception of Mgl²) appear to contain shorter versions than the Umbrian laudarios, which might indicate a more traditional nature in Umbrian practice.

greater emphasis on music in this collection.⁸⁰ In general, the contrast between the musical practices represented by these two collections suggests a development with an interesting parallel to the much earlier history of responsorial chant. The reduction of strophes, the increased virtuosity of the music, the professionalization of the singer, and the growing distance of the congregation from participation in the singing, all appear to be a vastly accelerated version of the process whereby the responsorial chants of the Office lost their psalm verses, grew in soloistic virtuosity, and became the exclusive provenance of trained singers.

One important aspect of the Florentine laudarios remains to be considered. Both Mgl¹ and Mgl² contain a small collection of monophonic and polyphonic Latin "sequentie".⁸¹ The polyphonic

⁸⁰Pirrota, "Ars nova and stil novo," 35.

⁸¹These pieces follow the laude in the manuscripts, and are in fact a collection of popular hymns and sequences to be sung on major feast days. In neither case do these Latin works appear to have been a part of the collection's original plan; they are in different, although 14th-century, hands. The polyphonic pieces are catalogued in RISM B.IV/1, pp.789-91, and edited in Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monaco, 1976), vol.XII, ed. by K. von Fischer and F.A. Gallo, pp.107, 116-122, 125-128. Facsimiles are published by F.A. Gallo and G. Vecchi in I più antichi monumenti sacri italiani, Monumenta lyrica medii aevi italica, I/1 (Bologna, 1968), plates LXVI-LXXXII. All the Latin works in Mgl² (ff.71r-98r) have been indexed by C. del Popolo, "Il laudario," 11. The polyphonic works are discussed by A. Ziino, "Una ignota testimonianza sulla diffusione del motetto in Italia durante il XIV secolo," Rivista italiana di musicologia 10 (1975), 20-31. The polyphonic motets in Mgl¹ (6) and Mgl² (4) comprise 10 of a total of 16 known motets in Italian trecento sources, most of them in Ars Antiqua style. Moreover, it appears that both Ars and Luc¹ contained similar collections of Latin polyphony.

motets are in two and three parts, in a relatively homorhythmic Ars Antiqua style, and were intended for performance on the most important liturgical feasts. The presence of these motets in lay company laudarios raises the question as to who performed them, for the ars mensura of these works constituted a performing tradition distinct from the improvisatory freedom and rhythmic refinement of the monophonic lauda repertory. The Company of San Piero Martire owned a collection of motets in 1323, at which time it seems more likely that the performers for these works were drawn not from the secular sphere of the laudesi, but from an ecclesiastical institution where training in mensural music was more likely to be available. It well may have been for the performance of these motets that the Company of San Zanobi recorded an expense in 1349 on behalf of the "biscantatori di San Lorenzo,"⁸² and that several companies recorded early 14th-century payments to anonymous fanciulli.⁸³

However, certain changes in the lauda repertory of the late 14th century suggest that the technique of polyphonic performance may have become a part of the lauda singer's art. The most significant change is signalled by several manuscripts which trans-

⁸²SZ, vol.2182, fasc.36, f.130v: "I spese in fare onore a biscantatore di san lorenzo e altri cantatori istavano quando si fecero angnoli...s.vii".

⁸³SPM, vol.292, 1r [Aug.15 (Assumption) 1312]: "ane datto per grano de' fanciulli che cantano questo di"; 1v [Oct.9 (Santa Reparata), Oct.29, 1312]: "a' fanciulli che chantano"; 38r [July 30, 1330]: "due fanciulle che cantano...s.5"; SZ, vol.2182, fasc.36, f.115r [Dec.21, 1345]: "a fa[n]c[i]ulli che e ve[n]gono a cha[n]tare la sera per panno...s.12".

mit lauda repertory in a manner that became characteristic of the repertory in the 15th century. Both of these sources contain only the texts of laude, but they are also accompanied by the rubric "cantasi come" ("is sung like"), followed by the title of another (usually secular) song of similar poetic structure, the tune of which was to be applied to the lauda text.⁸⁴ In both collections, these contrafacta indications link the laude texts with the music of the Florentine polyphonic repertory of the late trecento.⁸⁵

⁸⁴Florence, B.N. Magliabecchiano-Strozziano XXXVIII-130; ed. G. Varanini, Rime sacre (Firenze, 1970), is a private devotional book that belonged to Neri Pagliaresi (c.1350-1406), secretary and confidante to St. Catherine of Siena. It contains, among other devotional texts, 15 laude copied down between c.1380 and 1408, and bearing the rubric "questa si canta come quella che comincia cosi", or "cantasi questa".

Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Chigiano L.VII.266 [Ch 266], is discussed and partly edited by B. Toscani, Le laude dei Bianchi (Florence, 1979); "cantasi come" laude indexed by F. Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, (Venice, 1983) I, pp.198-204. It contains 700 laude copied down by the Florentine Filippo di Lorenzo Benci between c.1448 and 1464, but many of them dating from the time of the Bianchi movement in Florence (1399-1400) in which Filippo's father (a wool merchant) participated.

A third cantasi come source of this period is Riccardiana 2871; G. Corsi, "Madrigali inediti del trecento," Belfagor 14 (1959), 329-40.

The Pagliaresi and Chigiano manuscripts represent the two final surges of lay devotional zeal in Tuscany, both of which made significant contributions to the lauda repertory. The Gesuati (not to be confused with the Jesuits) were established ca.1366 as a lay congregation in Siena by Giovanni Colombini; his mystical and penitential zeal was popularized by his cousin, St.Catherine, and the lauda poets of his circle, chiefly Bianco da Siena. The Bianchi movement was the last of the mass penitential processions that periodically swept Italy during the late Middle Ages. The movement was cut short by an outbreak of the Plague in 1400, but in Florence it spawned four confraternities (see Ch.IV, pp.236-7) and added new impetus to lauda composition.

⁸⁵In Magl.-Strozz. XXXVIII-130, 4 of the 15 secular ballate listed as cantasi come models for the laude, are listed in Von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen musik des Trecento and frühen Quattrocento (Bern, 1956): n.379 (anon., 2²); n.299 (Landini,

Another testimony to polyphonic settings of the lauda repertory, which became standard in the 15th century, is by the Florentine cleric, singer, and composer Andrea Stefani. In an extant autograph manuscript, Stefani noted the titles of six laude he composed at the time of the Bianchi processions in Florence (1399-1400), with the rubric:

All of these are set to music in three parts and copied in a notebook in my hand with all the words...⁸⁶

The existence of a late 14th-century repertory of polyphonic laude in Florence is certain, and also likely given the relation-

2²); n.356 (Andrea di Firenze, 2²); n.210 (Gherardello, 1¹). Of the 31 lauda contrafacta listed in Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XII, p.188, 21 are listed as cantasi come sources in Ch 266, and 10 in Ricc.2871. Of the 25 different secular works (some were used for more than one lauda text), 23 are 2-part (20 ballate, 3 madrigals), 22 are texted in both parts, and 17 are by Landini, 3 by Niccolò da Perugia, and one each by Giovanni da Firenze, Andrea da Firenze, Jacopo da Bologna, Jacopo Pianaiaio, and Guilelmus de Francia. The trecento lauda contrafacta are examined in Corsi, "Madrigali inediti," 329-40; and E. Diederichs, Die Anfänge der mehrstimmige Lauda (Tützing, 1986), pp.48-86.

⁸⁶Florence, Bibl. Marucelliana C.152, f.54v: "Tutte queste sono intonate a tre canti e figurate in su n'un quaderno di mia mano con tutte le parole..."; quoted and discussed in B. Toscani, "Contributi alla storia musicale delle laude dei Bianchi," Studi musicali 9 (1980), 169. As Diederichs has suggested (p.48), the style of Stefani's polyphonic laude, which are not extant, might be deduced from the style of his extant secular works (2 ballate and 1 madrigal, ed. in PMFC X, pp.51-5), especially the simpler, note-against-note style of his ballata "I' senti matutino". Andrea was apparently among the other schoolmasters responsible for organizing brigades for the Bianchi processions in Florence, each of which had two lauda singers in their midst: "Io Andrea sopra detto, vedendo questo ordine dato, fui con tutti i maestri delle scuole e ordinai ch'ogniuno avesse tutti i suo'fanciulli e' garzoni avesson tutti colle veste e che tutti fossero dopo il primo crocifisso e gonfalone, a brigata a brigata, ordinatamente, ...e così ordinai...che in mezzo d'ogni brigata avesse due cantatori di laude, preti o secolari, o monache o secolari femmine."; Maruc.C.152, f.54r.

ship of the lauda repertory with contemporary secular music both before and after this time. However, the difficulty in linking this repertory with the Florentine laudesi companies stems from the increasingly broader context of this repertory. From the late 14th century through the 15th, the lauda loses some of its local, devotional, and strictly confraternal character, and perhaps through its newly acquired polyphonic attire, begins to mirror the stylistic diversity of the broader cultural arena into which it passes.

But it is just within this broader context that we may observe the popular poetry of the lauda associating with the simpler and more "popular" styles of polyphony that were ascendant at this time.⁸⁷ With this we return to the question of the laudesi companies, which D'Accone proposes may have been "the medium through which the democratization of polyphonic performance occurred in Florence during the Ars Nova."⁸⁸ There are good reasons for this supposition. The polyphonic repertory of the Florentine trecento is musically not so far removed from the contemporary lauda repertory as it might seem. Kurt von Fischer has

⁸⁷See two essays by N. Pirrotta, "Music for a Text Attributed to Frederick II," and "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in Music and Culture in Italy, pp.39-71, where he discusses the rise of popular styles of polyphony in Tuscany and the Veneto during the 14thc., and a "growing disaffection among some of the most sophisticated listeners for what I call the scholastic tradition of music, art polyphony" (p.66). On the popular roots of trecento polyphony, see K. von Fishcer, "On the Technique, Origin, and Evolution of Italian Trecento Music," The Musical Quarterly 47 (1961), 41-57.

⁸⁸"Le compagnie," 280.

argued that the polyphonic repertory is rooted in "simple indigenous types of music-making, arising from an originally instrumentally accompanied monody".⁸⁹ The latter practice, as we have seen, was prevalent at Orsanmichele, and to a lesser extent at San Zanobi, during the 14th century. Common to both repertories was a florid style of singing, and a comparison reveals significant similarities in the melodic patterns of the fioritura (see ex.6).⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the polyphonic works selected as models for lauda contrafacta were generally two-part ballate with a relatively simple musical setting, which perhaps testifies to the popular impulse at work in the contrafacta process (see exs.8-10).⁹¹ The reliance of the trecento lauda upon the poetic form of the secular ballata undoubtedly influenced the shift from monophony to polyphony in the late 14th century lauda, for the ballata itself underwent this transformation at that time. The earliest musical settings of ballate by trecento composers were

⁸⁹"On the Technique...", 47; he also notes the "absence of a traditional tenor foundation in early Italian trecento music", "the large role monophony must have played as a starting point for the madrigal [the earliest poetic form in polyphonic setting]" (p.49), and in general "a technique, or rather practice, of polyphony that developed naturally and that exhibits affinities with traits found in traditional Mediterranean folk music (such as drone effects and parallel progressions)." (p.53). Cf. Pirrotta, who also sees in instrumentally accompanied indigenous song the roots of popular polyphony; "New Glimpses...", 63-6.

⁹⁰In ex.6, the melodic patterns of the polyphonic pieces are taken from polyphonic ballate used as lauda contrafacta.

⁹¹G. Cattin, "Contributi alla storia della lauda spirituale," Quadrivium 2 (Bologna, 1958), 49-50; and K. von Fischer, "Quelques remarques sur les relations entre les laudesi et les compositeurs florentins du trecento," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento III (Certaldo, 1970), 251.

monophonic, and only around 1370 did polyphonists begin to apply their art to this most popular of trecento poetic forms. Even after the vogue for polyphonic ballate was in full flower, the literary tradition of the ballata they set remained distinctly more popular than the caccia and madrigal traditions.⁹²

The significant relationships between the musical repertoires of the trecento lauda and secular ballata, above all the contrafacta link, support the likelihood that certain Florentine laudesi companies adopted polyphonic performance in the late 14th century. In particular, the two companies with the closest ties to secular culture, Orsanmichele and San Zanobi, retained a practice of accompanied monody which has been argued by leading scholars to be the basis upon which trecento polyphony developed.

These same two companies emerge in the search for specific ties between the laudesi companies and the Florentine polyphonic repertory. Orsanmichele was distinguished not only by its greater number of singers and regular use of string instruments of accompaniment, but in the regular employment of organists who were a part of the larger Florentine tradition of organist/composers

⁹²F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth Century Poetry Set to Music," Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts (Kassel, 1984), 74-5. Gallo observes that Florentine composers, in contrast to their choice of cacce and madrigal texts, chose ballata texts, mostly anonymous, without literary claims and which were available in large quantities. Moreover, the main literary collections of ballata texts are "manuscripts containing a 'popular' type of repertory [siciliane, and "giullaresco" type poetry]".

exemplified by Francesco Landini.⁹³ Several Florentine composers appear in the membership lists of the Company of San Zanobi: Ser Gherardello (1343f.), and Bonaiuto Corsini (1375, 1387).⁹⁴ The most obvious link between the two milieus was Franco Sacchetti (ca.1330-1400). Like Antonio Pucci, he exhibited a typically Florentine breadth of activity which embraced letters, politics, mercantilism, and lay devotion. His poetry was well known to Florentine composers, and Sacchetti, who was himself a composer, carefully noted the names of composers who set his texts to music.⁹⁵ At least four of his texts set by Florentine composers served also as models for nine lauda contrafacta.⁹⁶ Sacchetti

⁹³On the Orsanmichele organists, see Ch.IV, pp.139f. It is noteworthy that Antonio Squarcialupi, organist at Orsanmichele (and member of San Zanobi) during the second quarter of the 15th century, was owner of the Squarcialupi codex, which is by far the major source of those works that served as models for lauda contrafacta.

⁹⁴K. von Fischer, "Quelques remarques...", 249. Giovanni di Firenze also may have been a San Zanobi member ca.1342-62; Ibid.

⁹⁵F.A. Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition...", 75. Sacchetti wrote canzoni, sonnets, madrigals (14), cacce (2), frottole, capitoli, ballate (18), and canzoni a ballo; R. Scrivano, "Franco Sacchetti," Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico (Turin, 1971), vol.XVI, p.468. On his musical settings, see von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen Musik, pp.77-8; and E. Li Gotti and N. Pirrotta, Il sacchetti e la tecnica musicale (Florence, 1935).

⁹⁶The four texts are the madrigal "Nel mezo già del mar" (set by Niccolò de Perugia; 2²), the music of which served for the lauda "Nel mezo a due ladron" (Ricc.2871, f.61v); the ballata "Non creder, donna" (Landini, 2²), the music of which served 3 laude: "Ciascun che'l regno" (Ricc.2871, f.61r), "Preghian la dolce Vergine" (Ch 266, f.204r), and "Volgi li occhi" (Ibid., 204v); the ballata "Altri n' arà la pena" (Landini, 2²), the music of which also served the lauda "Preghian la dolce Vergine"; and the ballata "Ne te ne altra voglio amar già mai" (Landini; music not extant), the music of which served 4 laude: "Altro che

himself was qualified and motivated to manage the process of polyphonic lauda contrafacta, and he was well placed for their introduction into laudesi worship, for after ca.1380 he was actively involved in the affairs of Orsanmichele. In 1398 he served as a captain, and shortly after this time he designed a vast Biblical programme for the interior decoration of the oratory, which included twelve stained glass windows and the entire vault system.⁹⁷

During the late 14th and early 15th century, the Florentine laudesi companies, diverse in size, wealth, and openness to secular influence, exhibited a similar variety of musical practices. The smaller and conservative Oltrarno companies of San Frediano and Santo Spirito retained the most ancient practice of unaccompanied monody, hiring only a single soloist. Monophonic laude were occasionally performed with the accompaniment of instruments (which also may have provided a simple and/or improvised polyphonic accompaniment) at the Company of San Zanobi, and the Companies of San Piero Martire and San Zanobi regularly hired pairs of singers during this time. By 1415, the oratory of

te non voglio amar già mai" (Ibid., f.74r), "Con sicurtà ritorna, o peccatore" (Ibid., f.203r), "O Signor Jesù, i'to vo cercando" (Ibid., f.206r), and "Come se' da laudar più ch'altrui assai" (Ibid., f.208r).

⁹⁷E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany (Oxford, 1980; 2nd ed.), pp.54-5. Sacchetti was also responsible for the design of the Stabat Mater for the Passion altar, an extremely popular poem for which he composed a vernacular setting, "Stava madre dolorosa, a la croce lagrimosa" (Tenneroni, Inizii, p.246). The Sacchetti family name appears frequently in the Orsanmichele records beginning ca.1367 (OSM, vol.56, ff.37f., passim).

Orsanmichele must have been the preeminent musical establishment of the city with its six ferial singers, four festive singers, rebec player, lutenist, and organist. Certainly it would have been the first Company to adopt a polyphonic practice, which then would have been easily transmitted to the other companies for which the Orsanmichele singers regularly performed.⁹⁸

3. ca.1415-1470

The performing forces of the laudesi companies changed significantly, and at varying rates, during this period. Orsanmichele continued to hire at least six ferial singers and an organist, although it discontinued the use of other accompanying instruments between ca.1430 and 1450. San Zanobi and San Piero Martire both began to hire more than a pair of ferial singers right around 1415. San Zanobi paid three ferial singers during ca.1415-1445, and with the abandonment of ferial services in 1445 then retained five to seven singers during ca.1445-1470. San Piero Martire paid three to four ferial singers during the entire

⁹⁸The pairs of laudesi singing for the Companies of San Zanobi and San Piero Martire during this period may have been performing the polphonic setting suggested by the lauda contra-facta repertory: two-part ballate texted in both parts. Certainly two-part textures with either a vocal or intrumental lower part were possible options at this time. Filippo Villani reported that from the early 14th century pairs of singers performed polyphony at the Florentine Cathedral, and the presence of a cantore and a tenorista there is documented from 1407 until the establishment of a polyphonic chapel in 1438; D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at S. Maria del Fiore in the early Quattrocento," Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronca (Milan, 1973), p.114.

period, with four becoming the norm by 1448.⁹⁹ The performing forces of the insular Oltrarno companies changed more slowly. The Companies of Santo Spirito and San Frediano retained a single laudese until ca.1430 and 1446, respectively. Santo Spirito hired two singers during ca.1430-1456, at which time there is a lacuna in the documents until 1482. San Frediano recorded payments to two to three singers in the late 1450s, after which time the Company ceased to retain salaried singers. The Company of Sant' Agnese employed two to three singers from 1440 (when Company documents commence) throughout the period, and three laudesi had become standard by the 1460s. By 1445 all but two companies had discontinued ferial services, and none were hiring stringed instruments of accompaniment.

These growing numbers are certainly a witness to the acceleration of developments already evident in the late 14th and early years of the 15th century: the penetration of polyphonic practice into the laudesi services, and the establishment of the cantasi come tradition which firmly linked the lauda to a broad range of polyphonic models. The earliest explicit references to polyphonic

⁹⁹The larger laudesi establishments were comparable in numbers to the polyphonic chapel at the Cathedral and Baptistry, which from its founding in 1437 through the following decade retained a maestro di cappella and 3-5 singers. Several members of the Cathedral choir, including the maestro, also served at Orsanmichele during the same period (see Ch.IV, p.143, and n.29), and at least one member of the choir, Ghoro di Maso, sang for both Orsanmichele (1432-7) and San Zanobi (1435-6). However, laudesi and Cathedral choirs must have differed significantly with respect to the types and abilities of singers (the Cathedral hired primarily professionals from Northern Europe), and the repertory they performed.

performance in the laudesi documents come, as it happens, from an Oltrarno company--Sant'Agnese in 1442 (a tenore and a laudese) and 1444 (a tenore and two fanciulli), and slightly later from San Zanobi, in 1446 (a tenore and two laudese).¹⁰⁰ Most, if not all, of the above were secular singers, and certainly the larger companies must have predated an Oltrarno company in the polyphonic performance of laude. In fact, members of the polyphonic chapel established at the Cathedral in 1437 sang for the Companies of Orsanmichele and San Zanobi during the 1430s (above, n.99).

¹⁰⁰See Ch.IV, pp.202-3, 178.

Complementary to the gradual polyphonic conversion of 15th-century laudesi services was the dissemination of the lauda into a broader cultural realm in which polyphony, especially in its simpler forms, was cultivated. Always eclectic in its response to popular tastes, the lauda of this period wore no single form or style, but continually mirrored the varied and changing aspects of the broader musico-poetic world in which it now circulated. In the numerous cantasi come manuscripts of this period,¹⁰¹ there emerged an entirely new and vast repertory of lauda poetry which displayed the diverse poetic schemes of popular 15th-century poetry (barzellette, canzonette, frottole, and related forms), and few concordances with 14th-century laudario

¹⁰¹None of these sources contain music. Among the major cantasi come sources of this period are *Ch 266, *Ricc.2224 (1433), *Mgl.II.VII.4 (C.1453), Ricc.1502, Mgl.367, Mgl.690, *Vaticano Rossiano 424, Mgl.C.VII.30, Ricc. Edizione rari 196 (discussed and indexed by G. Cattin, "I 'cantasi come' in una stampa di laude della Biblioteca Riccardiana (Ed.r.196)," Quadrivium 19 (1978), 5-52). Much of the above cantasi come repertory (507 laude) was issued in a series of four Florentine prints between 1486 and ca.1512, reprinted by G.C. Galletti, Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari, di Lorenzo de'Medici, di Francesco d'Albizzo, di Castellano Castellani e di altri, comprese nelle quattro più antiche raccolte con alcune inedite e con nuovi illustrazioni (Florence, 1864). Galletti¹: Laude di Feo Belcari... [Florence, ca.1490]; Galletti²: Laude fatte e composte da più persone spirituale a onore dello onnipotente Iddio e della Santa Maria e di molti altri Santi o Sante, raccolte ed insieme ridotte da Iacopo di Maestro Luigi de'Morsi cittadino Fiorentino [Florence, 1486]; Galletti³: Laude fatte e composte da più persone spirituale...[Florence, ca.1495]; Galletti⁴: Libro di Laude a petizione di ser Piero Pacini di Pescia [Florence, ca.1502-1508; reprinted in Venice, 1512]. Much of this repertory is indexed in A. D'Ancona, La poesia popolare italiana (2nd ed., Leghorn, 1906; reprint Bologna, 1974), pp.475-495. (The asterisks above indicate those manuscripts discussed and inventoried in F. Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, pp.131-248 passim.)

collections.¹⁰² With this formal and stylistic diversity, the lauda now gained access to an expanded musical field; a lauda might now be "sung like" a variety of popular Italian secular songs, or "la passione", "le stanze d'Abram,"¹⁰³ "a ballo", "I vangeli di quaresima", "Gli strambotti, "al modo di Cicilia,"¹⁰⁴ French chansons,¹⁰⁵ "chanzona tedesca a piacevole modo",

¹⁰²For ex., Luisi has shown that only 3 of the 100 laude in Mg1² turn up in the many 15th-century collections examined by him (i.e., in mss. and prints containing laude related in any way to the Giustinian tradition of laude); Laudario giustiniano, I, pp.135-7. Even those lauda texts in late 14th and early 15th-century sources that were linked through contrafacta to trecento polyphonic music continue to appear only sporadically in early 15th-century sources (Magl.II.VII.4; Ricc.2224, Ricc.2894, Ricc.2929) before disappearing completely by ca.1450. In this respect, Ch 266 is a hybrid, being both a late source of many 14th-century laude, and an early source of laude that survived to appear in the 16th-century collections of Petrucci and Razzi. Its hybrid nature is also revealed in the mixture of newer and older poetic forms.

¹⁰³Presumably the well known Rappresentazione sacra by Feo Belcari, the "Rappresentazione di Abramo e Isac" (1449).

¹⁰⁴Ch 266, f.218v: the lauda "Tu sse' Signore dello paradiso" was to be sung "in the manner of a siciliana". This reference may be added to others examined by Pirrotta in his essay on a genre of unwritten popular song which first surfaced in written tradition in the Veneto during the 14th century, and represented a "vogue of eclectic exoticism that was spreading among professional and semiprofessional singers"; "New Glimpses of An Unwritten Tradition," in Music and Culture in Italy, p.58.

¹⁰⁵These appear throughout this period first in Ch 266, as well as in the late 15th-century prints published by Galletti. The ca.18 chansons which appear in known sources are in the form of the rondeau (quatrain and cinquain), and are well represented in Italian sources: "Cela san plus" (Colinet de Lannoy), "Creature la plus belle", "Il estoit ung bonhome", "J'ay prins amours", "Mon seul plaisir" (Bedingham?), "Se vous scaviés" (Passet/ Cesaris?), "Accueilly m'a la belle au gent atour" (Caron), "Bien viengnant ma tres redoubtée", "Pour prison ni pour maladie", "La serviteur hault guerdonné" (Dufay?), "Seigneur Leon, vous soyés bien venus" (Dufay?), "Va t'en, mon cuer" (Dufay), "De tous biens plaine" (Hayne), "Mon bien m'amour"

"intonata da Bartolomeo organista", "al modo de Benolio cantore" (or another unknown composer), or simply to its own tune ("ha modo proprio").¹⁰⁶ Most of this diverse model repertory does not survive, and in fact may never have been written down.

The cantasi come tradition of this (and the next) period was overwhelmingly Florentine, and its chief poets were the Florentines Feo Belcari (1410-1484), Francesco degli Albizzi, Ser Michele Chelli, Lorenzo de' Medici, and his mother Lucrezia Torna-

(Dufay), "Tout a par moy affin" (Frye/Binchois?), "Puis que je vis", "Jamais tant que je vous revoye" (Binchois). One song with a German text ("Vie sach oit blider dach"), a villancico ("Nunca fué pena mayor"), and a number of popular Latin works (like the ubiquitous "Verbum caro factum est") were also contrafacta sources for 15th-century lauda poets. G. Cattin, "Contrafacta internazionali: musiche europee per laude italiane," in Musik und Text, pp.417-35.

¹⁰⁶A number of musical models for cantasi come laude have been located and catalogued by F. Ghisi, "Strambotti e laude nel travestimento spirituale della poesia musicale del quattrocento," Collectanea Historicae Musicae I (1953), 45-76; and G. Cattin, "I 'cantasi come' in una stampa di laude della Biblioteca Riccardiana (Ed.r. 196)," Quadrivium 19 (1978), 5-52. Cattin's extensive research into the 15thc. lauda contrafacta repertory has led him to the conclusion that during ca.1440-1490 (the "periodo belcariano", for the foremost lauda poet of the time), the relationship between the lauda text and its model was "approximate, if not arbitrary". Apparently, the lauda poet was most interested in the abstract qualities of the music: its melodic beauty, vocality, capacity to convey a particular mood, and often (but not necessarily) its widespread familiarity. In the case of models in a different language, the resemblance of the lauda text to the original model was generally limited to the the refrain, at most, or to such mnemonic devices as certain aspects of rhyme, the incipit of the poem (consisting of the first several words or a line translated strictly into Italian), or often the copying in Italian of certain linguistic sounds in the original. Both immediately prior to this period (in the late 14th and early 15thc. contrafacta) and following it, poets pursued a stricter relationship between lauda and model. "'Contrafacta' internazionali..." p.435; Idem., "Musiche per le laude di Castellano Castellani," Rivista italiana di musicologia XII (1977), 185-6.

buoni de' Medici. But there was another that paralleled, intermingled with, and strongly influenced the Florentine lauda tradition.

The majority of manuscripts that preserve 15th-century laude in musical settings are directly or indirectly traceable to the Veneto.¹⁰⁷ Most of them contain both sacred (liturgical and non-liturgical) and secular works, and appear to have originated in a clerical environment. All of them were copied between ca.1420 and 1500, and together preserve a highly diverse repertory of lauda settings, the style and composition of which span the entire century. The culmination of this written tradition of lauda settings related to the Veneto are the two books of laude issued by the Venetian printer Petrucci in 1507 and 1508. The poet (and musician, though none of his musical compositions is extant) who by far figures most prominently in these laude is the Venetian statesman Leonardo Giustiniani (1387/8-1446). By the time of Giustiniani's death, the strength of the Venetian lauda tradition was such that the Venetian-style laudesi companies, the Scuole Grandi, began seriously to upgrade the standard of music at their

¹⁰⁷Most of this lauda repertory is briefly discussed, catalogued, and provided with musical incipits in P. Damilano, "Fonti musicali della lauda polifonica intorno alla metà del sec. XV," Collectanea Historicae Musicae III (1963), 59-90. These sources are also briefly discussed by F. Ghisi, "Strambotti e laude," 49-67. The most thorough and recent is by E. Diederichs, Die Anfänge; she focuses upon 4 sources: BU, BL, Ven, and Pav, and provides a large appendix of musical transcriptions (pp.281-433).

ceremonies.¹⁰⁸ This admittedly loose bundle of evidence nevertheless points to a strong lauda tradition that developed in the Venetian territory with dramatic speed in the early 15th century, and here warrants some consideration for its impact upon the Florentine tradition.¹⁰⁹

Three of these musical lauda sources definitely originated in the Veneto: Venice, Biblioteca nazionale marciana, Ms. Cl.IX. 145 [Ven] (ca.1420-60);¹¹⁰ Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria,

¹⁰⁸J. Glixon, "Music at the Venetian Scuole Grandi, 1440-1540," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 193-208; and F. Luisi, Laudario Giustiniano, I, pp.413-523. Like the Florentine companies, most of the Venetian scuole were founded during the late 13th and early 14th century, but unlike their Florentine counterparts did not begin to hire professional singers or perform polyphonic works until the 1440s.

¹⁰⁹The primacy of the Venetian lauda (and its chief poet Giustiniani) in the early 15thc., and its importance for the Florentine tradition later in the century, are acknowledged by Cattin, "Contributi alla storia della lauda spirituale," 52-3; and B. Becherini, "Musica italiana a Firenze nel XV secolo," Revue belge de musicologie 8 (1954), 109. Of the 186 laude determined by Luisi to belong to the Giustinian tradition, 42 appear in Ch 266.

¹¹⁰Inventory by G. Cattin, "Il Manoscritto Venet.Marc.It.IX 145," Quadrivium 4 (1960), 1-57; K. Jeppesen, "Ein venezianisches Laudenmanuskript," in Theodor Kroyer Festschrift zum 60.Geburtstag (Regensburg, 1933), pp.69-76. Examined in detail by E.M. Cambon, "The Italian and Latin Lauda of the 15th Century," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane Univ., 1975, music). Transcriptions by Cattin, Laudi Quattrocentesche del Cod. Veneto Marc.It.IX 145 (Bologna, 1958) [Quadrivium, Serie paleografica, 10]; Diederichs, Die Anfänge, pp.281-433, passim; and F. Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, passim. Ven is in two parts: VenI (ca.1450-60), containing works in the early style of Dufay; VenII (ca.1420-40), containing works in the style of "primitive" polyphony. Both sections contain motets, liturgical pieces, and laude. The manuscript is a small (10 by 6.5 cm.) anthology which probably originated in a Franciscan establishment in Venice.

Ms.2216 [Bu] (ca.1440);¹¹¹ and Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Ms.ML171 J6 [Wc] (ca.1460).¹¹² A fourth source, Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms. Aldini 361 [Pav] (c.1470-80), is the only known source to have concordances with the laude in Ven.¹¹³ Two other sources (in addition to Wc) come from Benedictine communities that had come under a reform movement initiated by a Venetian nobleman in the monastery of San Giustina in Padua: Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Ms.N871 [MC]

¹¹¹Inventory by H. Bessler, "The Manuscript Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria 2216," Musica Disciplina 6 (1952), 39; facs. ed. by F.A. Gallo, Il codice musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (Bologna, 1968-1970); studies by F.A. Gallo, "Musiche veneziane del Ms.2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna," Quadrivium 6 (1964), 107-111; J. Palumbo, "Bologna 2216: The Source and its Repertory," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Univ., forthcoming). Transcriptions by Diederichs, Die Anfänge, passim; and Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, passim. Mostly copied before 1440 in vicinity of Venice; remainder copied shortly thereafter in Brescia. Contains mass ordinary sections, motets, French and Italian secular pieces, laude, and misc. liturgical pieces.

¹¹²G. Cattin, "Polofonia quattrocentesca italiana nel Codice Washington, Library of Congress, ML 171 J6," Quadrivium 9 (1968), 87-102; F.A. Gallo, "Cantus planus binatim: Polofonia primitiva in fonti tardive," Quadrivium 7 (1966), 79-89. Transcriptions by Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, n.58. A private manuscript belonging to the Benedictine monk Gianfranco Preottoni, who resided at San Giorgio in Venice (ca.1465), and later at Pavia (1480). Related to VenII, and like Pav, contains a music treatise. The manuscript originated in a Benedictine monastery under the San Giustina reform movement discussed below.

¹¹³G. Cattin, "Le composizioni musicali del Ms. Pavia Aldini 361," in L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento, ed. F.A. Gallo (Cervino, 1968), 1-21 [inventory and transcription]; F. Ghisi, "Di una lauda nel codice pavese Aldini," Essays in musicology, in honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th birthday (Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), 61-4. Transcriptions in Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, passim. Like Ven, a small book (15 by 11 cm.), probably for the private use of a cantor or music instructor. Mostly two-part polyphony.

(ca.1430-80);¹¹⁴ and Capetown, South African Public Library, Grey Collection 3.b.12 [Grey] (ca.1500).¹¹⁵ The provenance of the last source is unknown: Bologna, Civico museo bibliografico musicale, Ms. Q15 [BL] (c.1440).¹¹⁶

Several interesting developments surround the establishment of the Venetian lauda tradition in the early 15th century. The Gesuati (see n.84) had brought their lauda tradition north from Siena in the late 14th century, and their most famous lauda poet, Bianco da Siena, died in Venice in 1412.¹¹⁷ A devotional climate favorable to the lauda developed with the Benedictine reform

¹¹⁴I. Pope and M. Kanazawa, "The Musical Manuscript Montecassino N871," Annuario musical XIX (1966), 123-53; complete transcription and study by Pope and Kanazawa, The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871: A Neapolitan Repertory of the Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1978). From the vicinity of Naples, probably originating at the Benedictine convent of St. Angela di Gaeta. Although probably copied during the 1480s, the retrospective repertory spans the period ca.1430-80. Franco-Flemish latin works, canti carnascialeschi, and laude (mostly 3-part) in the form of strambotti and canzone.

¹¹⁵G. Cattin, "Nuova Fonte Italiana della Polifonia intorno al 1500 (Ms. Cape Town, Grey 3.b.12)," Acta musicologica IX (1973), 165-221. Transcriptions by Cattin, Italian Laude and Latin Unica in Ms. Capetown, Grey 3.b.12 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1977), Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 76; and Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, passim. Copied ca.1500, possibly in the Paduan area, the manuscript contains 85 pieces (only one is monodic) which stylistically span most of the 15th century. A number of lauda texts by Giustinian are set. Many liturgical items (esp. for Holy Week) and lauda unica in 2,3, and 4 parts.

¹¹⁶G. de Van, "Inventory of Manuscript Bologna Liceo Musicale, Q15 (olim 37)," Musica disciplina 2 (1948), 231-57; H. Bessler, "Bologna, Kodex BL," MGG. Transcriptions by Diederichs, Die Anfänge, pp.281-433, passim; and Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, passim. Copied by ca.1440; primarily a liturgical manuscript with secular works and laude copied later into unused portions (usually the bottom of a folio).

¹¹⁷Diederichs, Die Anfänge, p.257.

movement initiated in 1409 by the Venetian nobleman Ludovico Barbo.¹¹⁸ Having begun in the Paduan monastery of San Giustina, the Congregatio Sanctae Iustinae soon included most of the Italian Benedictine establishments. The reform was predicated upon a negative attitude towards polyphony, but soon relaxed in favor of simpler styles of polyphony. This reform impulse attained a much broader influence through Gabriele Condulmer, the Venetian patrician who became Pope Eugene IV in 1431,¹¹⁹ and through Lorenzo Giustiniani, the poet's brother, who served Eugene IV and became the first Patriarch of Venice in 1451.¹²⁰

The poetic forms of this Venetian lauda repertory are those popularized in the elegant and widely-diffused verse of Giustin-

¹¹⁸G. Cattin, "Tradizione e tendenze innovatrici nella normativa e nella pratica liturgico-musicale della Congregazione di S. Giustina," Benedictina 17 (1970), 254-299; Ibid., Italian Laude and Latin Unica, pp.IX-XI; Diederichs, Die Anfänge, pp.255-258. Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, p.526; Barbo was abbot of the monastery beginning in 1408.

¹¹⁹It was this same pope who established and subsidized the polyphonic chapel and chant school for training boy singers at the Florentine Cathedral in 1438, and in whose service Dufay composed his homophonic hymn settings. Significant in this light is Pirrotta's evidence that Padua, and particularly the San Giustina abbey, was an important center in the late 14th century for the cultivation of siciliane and the popularization of polyphony; "New Glimpses...", in Music and Culture in Italy, p.71.

¹²⁰Lorenzo assumed the abbacy of S. Giorgio in Alga in 1408, vacated by Barbo when the latter succeeded to the abbacy of S. Giustina in Padua. Together with Barbo and Condulmer, he is considered one of the three pillars of Venetian spirituality in the 15th century; he later wrote a treatise on monastic life (Doctrina et non puocho utile a quelloro che novamente intrati sono nella religione del vivere religiosamente [Venice, 1494]) which included a chapter on the discipline of lauda singing entitled "Come debano essere facti coloro hi quali sono presenti alle divine laude et che a Dio psalmizano" (Cap.XVII); Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, 527.

iani: the strambotto, capitolo, ode, and frottola, as well as the classical ballata. The majority of the musical settings of this period are in two parts, a fewer number in three, and most are anonymous. The diversity of musical styles reveal the particularly eclectic nature of the lauda at this time: "primitive" organal textures (Ven II), simple note-against-note polyphony, cantilena textures in which the lower part(s), while supportive, are generally texted and singable, and more "modern" works in the style of early Dufay, with a tendency towards repetition of melodic formula, parlando-like tone repetitions at the beginnings of phrases, and a syllabic, homorhythmic declamation.¹²¹ There is relatively little presence of Franco-Flemish style polyphony. The florid tradition of the Italian Ars Nova continues, but is modified, and is most apparent in frequent cadential flourishes which suggest a continuing tradition of vocal improvisation. Evident in much of the repertory, in fact, is the earliest trace of an essentially Italian style of Renaissance polyphony, the "nuovo stile frottolistico,"¹²² which an increasing presence of the Franco-Flemish tradition was gradually prompting from a popular, unwritten state into the written, artistic tradition of the frottola that was to emerge at the end of the century. The new style was characterized by a predilection for syllabic and homorhythmic text treatment, for a monodic texture in which a cantabile superius was sustained by a homophonic support, and a

¹²¹Diederichs, Die Anfänge, pp.251-4.

¹²²Becherini, "Musica italiana," 114.

rhetorical correspondence between the verbal and musical phrase, with clearly marked cadences.¹²³ The style was, in other words, strongly conditioned by the demands of the poetic text. Nevertheless, some of the musical settings show signs of having been borrowed from secular contrafacta models.¹²⁴

A brief tour of the musical settings and manuscript tradition of four Giustiniani laude will serve to demonstrate the character of the repertory during this period. "L'Amor a me venendo", "O Iesù dolce, o infinito amor", "Con desiderio io vo cerchando", and "Madre che festi colui" are among the most widely diffused laude of the 15th and early 16th centuries, and their successive settings serve as an index of changing musical styles. All four laude passed quickly into the Florentine lauda tradition, perhaps even during the poet's lifetime, for they all appear in Ch 266 and the succeeding Florentine cantasi come sources.

¹²³P. Damilano, "Fonti musicali," 74-5; F. Ghisi, "Strambotti e laude," 49, 67; Diederichs, Die Anfänge, p.18. The repertory of 2-part (as well as later 3- and 4-part) settings discussed below is well-represented in the editions by Luisi, Laudario giustineaneo, II; and Cattin, Italian Laude and Latin Unica. A number of 2- and 3-part laude are also edited in Cattin, "Contributi," 57-72, and Idem., "Le composizioni musicali del Ms. Pavia Aldini 361," 9-20.

¹²⁴Cattin observed this with respect to the lauda repertory in Grey: "...texts of versification quite different from the originals forced to music destined to quite another end; new syllables and vowels added to words; words broken in half and started over again..."; Italian Laude and Latin Unica, p.X.

"L'Amor a me venendo" appears in 27 literary sources,¹²⁵ and four musical settings in Ven II (2²), Pav (2²), Petrucci I (Venice, 1508; 4⁴),¹²⁶ and Razzi I (Florence, 1563; 3³).¹²⁷ A particular musical setting was associated with the lauda relatively early in this period, for already in Ch 266 it served as a cantasi come source for another lauda.¹²⁸ In the Florentine cantasi come prints of the late 15th century (Gall¹⁻⁴), "L'amor" appears once with a cantasi come source, and as a cantasi come source for three other laude.¹²⁹ The music for this lauda in Ven II and Pav may well preserve a setting that was generally associated with the text during this period, for the two pieces are essentially the same (see ex.11a). The remarkably conservative, organal texture of Ven II presents a written version of a simple musical style which may have long served as a basis for an improvised and rudimentary polyphony. The more refined version in Pav retains the melodic outline of both parts in Ven II, but

¹²⁵The information on the manuscript tradition of these laude is from Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, tables 33, 35, 37-39, and the four texts are edited in vol.I, pp.291 ("L'amor"), 255 ("O Iesù"), 292-3 ("Con desiderio"), and 260 ("Madre"). The musical settings, including a number of selected contrafacta reconstructions, are edited in vol.II, *passim*.

¹²⁶On the bibliography for this source, see this chapter, n.161.

¹²⁷Bibliography, this chapter, n.156.

¹²⁸"D'amore tutto m'acciando"; Ch 266, ff.293r-v.

¹²⁹"Donna sti mie' lamenti" (Gall², f.222, where "L'amor" is attributed to Bianco da Siena); cantasi come source for "Dolce madre Maria" (Gall², f.100; F. Belcari), "Dir pur così vorrei" (Gall², f.230; A. di M. Muzi), "Maria piena d'amore" (Gall⁴, f.485; anon.).

eliminates some of the parallel progressions and intervals by fleshing out the melodic lines with passing notes. In Pav, the text underlay is altered, and the melodic design of the cadences restructured, so that musical and textual rhymes correspond (esp. for "venendo" and "languendo"). The essential identity between the two polyphonic settings suggests the possibility that the piece circulated orally in this manner, and that the cantasi come reference in Ch 266 was to a polyphonic setting and not just to a melody.¹³⁰

The inaugural lauda in most of the Venetian Giustiniani collections is "O Iesù dolce", which appears in 33 literary sources, and in musical settings in Grey (2²), Wc (tenor only), Panc.27 (3¹), Petrucci I (4¹), and Razzi (1563; 2²). This lauda was strongly associated with its own musical setting. Only once does it appear with a cantasi come direction for it to be sung to another melody,¹³¹ but it served throughout the 15th century as a cantasi come source for 21 other laude.¹³² The two-part settings in Grey and Razzi, and the three-part setting in Panc.27 (with

¹³⁰Cattin expressed his doubt about the polyphonic performance of 15th-century cantasi come laude in "'Contrafacta' internazionali," pp.436-7, but in late 15th-century Florence the widespread cantasi come repertory and (3- and 4-part) polyphonic laudesi chapels would seem to suggest otherwise.

¹³¹In an early 16thc. print (Florence, 1512), Ricc.Ed.rari 196, f.18v: "O crudel donna poi che lassato m'hai".

¹³²It was a cantasi come model for 5 laude in Ch 266, and for 17 in the Galletti prints (with two in common to both sources), with attributions to F. D'Albizzo (9), F. Belcari (3), M. Lucrezia de' Medici (1), B. Malatesti (1), S. Palladio (1), and L. Giustinian (1).

added contratenor) are all versions of the same piece, and once again probably represent a musical setting with which the text was commonly linked in the cantasi come tradition (see ex.12a). The version in Grey appears to be the oldest. The moments of awkward text underlay in all three versions indicate that the music was originally composed for another text, but some of these problems in Grey (e.g., at "inestimabil") have been smoothed out in the other versions. The cadential embellishments in Grey, as in other early lauda settings, tend to disappear in later settings (though probably not from performance). The Grey and Panc.27 version show some affinities, especially in light of the unique interpolation in the Razzi setting (ex.12a, p.2), but Panc.27 is clearly a later attempt to update the piece by the addition of a third, lower voice. Nevertheless, all three settings exemplify a style of two-part polyphony that must have prevailed throughout the present period: frequent unisons and octaves (especially at the beginning and end of phrases), declamatory repeated notes at the beginning of phrases, frequent parallel thirds, and a prevalently syllabic and homorhythmic style of text setting in which the verbal phrases are marked by clear musical cadences.

"Con desiderio vo cercando" is preserved in 24 literary sources, and five musical settings in Bu (2²), Mgl.II.XI.18 (1¹), Panc.27 (3³ and 4⁴), and Grey (4⁴). According to Gall² (f.217), both this lauda and the frottola "Voca la galiera" (music in MC, 4¹) served as cantasi come models for the lauda "Tu che puoi quel che tu vuoi" (ex.13e). None of the musical settings resemble one

another. The Bu setting differs somewhat from the other two-part settings of the time in the overlapping of phrases (textual and musical), the greater independence of the voices, the alternation between duple and triple rhythmic groupings, florid character of the cantus, and the under-third cadences (see ex.13a). The style seems to be a fusion of trecento polyphony with certain aspects the newer style: the commencement of phrases with declamatory repeated notes, and a predilection for imperfect consonances. The "note corone", which serve to highlight the name of Christ (mm.16-20), appear also in another two-part lauda of similar (though simpler) overall style in Bu, "Mercé te chiamo".¹³³ [ex.15]. The single melody in Magl.II.XI.18 appears to be the tenor of a two-part setting in which the text has been awkwardly applied to a borrowed melody. The three and four-part settings belong stylistically to the next period.

There are 25 extant literary sources for "Madre che festi", and two musical settings, in Ven I (2²) and Petrucci I (4⁴). Of all four Giustinian laude discussed here, the text and music of "Madre" became the most popular in the Florentine tradition. It served as a cantasi come source for 23 other laude, including 20

¹³³A contratenor is added to the same piece in MC, ff.348-9. Partial transcriptions of both pieces are in F. Ghisi, "Strambotti e laude," 58-9. The text is attributed to Giustinian. Another two-part setting of a Giustinian lauda, "Benedeto ne sia lo zorno" (Grey, ff.61v-62r; Luisi, II, pp.21-2) contains numerous "note coronate" for the words "Ahmè" and "Jesù". See also "Dilectoza cortezia" (BL, f.206.9v-10r) with "corone" on "San-cto Jhe-su". On the "coronatus" as an indication for improvised embellishment, see C. Warren, "Punctus Organi and Cantus Coronatus in the Music of Dufay," Dufay Quincentenary Conference (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1976), pp.128-143.

in Ch 266, and 7 by Belcari in Gall¹ (Florence, 1490).¹³⁴ In Gall² (Florence, 1486; f.234r), "Madre" was assigned three cantasi come directions: it could be sung to the music of either of two popular French chansons, "J'ay pris amours" and "Mon seul plaisir" (exs.14d,e), or to its own well-known tune ("Questa lauda ha modo proprio").¹³⁵ The two-part setting in Ven I exemplifies the "new frottola style" described above, and the musical setting is so well suited to the text that it appears to have been composed as the original modo proprio for this lauda (see ex.14a).

The prominence of these relatively simple two-part settings during this period do not preclude, however, the possibility that improvised embellishment was added in performance. In fact, a number of lauda-related compositions from this period contain passages which suggest that the tradition of florid singing so evident in Florentine trecento music (both lauda and secular) continued into the 15th century. Moreover, the 15th-century florid style appears to be strongly associated with the poetry of

¹³⁴5 of the Belcari laude also appear in Ch 266. In Ms. Ross.424, f.200r, "Madre" is attributed to the Florentine improvisatory singer, Maestro Antonio di Guido.

¹³⁵On the chansons contrafacta, see Cattin, "'Contrafacta' internazionali," p.419; Luisi has reconstructed 6 musical settings in Laudario giustiniano, II, pp.165-79: 1 setting of "Mon seul plaisir" (Dufay/Bedingham, 3¹, Pavia Aldini 362, ff.24v-25r), and 5 settings of "J'ay pris amours" (Isaac, 3¹, Florence B.R.229, n.8; J. Japart, 4¹, Ibid., n.152; J. Martini, 4¹, Ibid., n.179; Idem., 3¹, Panc.27, f.41v; Isaac, 4¹, Magl.XIX.178, ff.2v-4r.

Giustiniani.¹³⁶ Rubsamen identified the four unusually florid works in Petrucci's Frottole Libro Sexto (Venice, 1505) as the "Iustiniane" referred to in the index of the collection, and based on an unornamented version of one of the four found in Escorial Ms.IV.a.24 (ca.1460-70), he identified a mid 15th-century style of Justiniane:

...a three-voice composition for solo voice and instrumental accompaniment, in which long colorature alternate with shorter declamatory phrases in the elaborately melismatic discantus. The metrical scheme is generally irregular, alternating freely between duple and triple, although triple meter may prevail throughout. Because of the melismas and the nature of the poetry, the irregular phrases are much longer than those in the frottola. Holds or rests demarcate the ends of phrases, presumably in order that the lower, instrumental parts may recognize the close of a florid passage in the voice part. Since the upper voice plays the leading melodic role, there is little or no imitation between the parts, and all voices generally start and finish a phrase simultaneously. The tenor also has melodic character, whereas the contratenor or bass furnishes harmonic support.¹³⁷

Rubsamen also observed in these pieces a recourse to an older

¹³⁶W. Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century," Acta musicologica 29 (1957), 172-84. Rubsamen documents the existence during and after the poet's lifetime of a Venetian melodic style ("l'aere venetiano") associated with Giustiniani's poetry. Pietro Bembo wrote in the early 16thc. that the Venetian poet "was held in greater esteem for the manner of song with which he sent forth his poems than for his mode of writing." A 1460 document indicates that arie veneziane required special skill in performance; *Ibid.*, p.174. Rubsamen edits both the ornamented and unornamented version of one of the Justiniane ("Aymè sospiri", pp.180-2) discussed below. Both versions are also ed. by Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, pp.268-70. For a different interpretation of the significance of Petrucci's ornamented version (an instrumental intabulation), see J. Haar, Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350-1600 (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), pp.42-3.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 177.

style of cadential formula, and the tendency of the upper two parts to proceed in parallel thirds and sixths. If one were to consider only the cantus and tenor of these pieces (the reverse of the process already evident in the Panc.27 version of "O Jesù dolce", where a third lower part was added to an original two-part setting), with the text (quite easily) applied to the tenor as well, the resulting pieces would closely resemble ornamented versions of such two-part laude as "O Jesù dolce" (ex.12a), and "Mercé ti chiamo" (ex.15).¹³⁸ Three of the four Justiniane (all canzonette) served as cantasi come models for Florentine laude, and are especially well-represented in mid 15th-century cantasi come sources.¹³⁹ In particular, "Io vedo ben che'l bon servire è vano" (for which Petrucci's incipit is "Moro de doglia", the first strophe) was a cantasi come model for 10 laude (8 in Ch 266, 3 in Gall¹). Among these, a lauda by Belcari, "Ave del Verbo eterno genitrice", was linked to the music of Giustiniani's canzonetta sometime before 1453 (see ex.16).¹⁴⁰ Another canzo-

¹³⁸Rubsamen considered this very piece as a Justiniane that might be ornamented in the manner of the Petrucci pieces.

¹³⁹"Aimè sospiri" is listed in Gall² as a cantasi come source for a lauda by Belcari, "Omè, Signor, donami pace" (reconstructed by Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, pp.268-9). "Io vedo ben ch'amore è traditore" (the initial strophe, "Aimè, ch'a torto", of which is set in the Petrucci version), is listed in Ch 266, Ross.424, and Gall¹ as a cantasi come source for another Belcari lauda, "I' sento il buon Gesù dentro nel core" (reconstr. in Luisi, II, pp.230-33). "Chui dicesse e non l'amare" does not appear in the cantasi come sources.

¹⁴⁰Ms. Magl.II.VII.4, f.11-11v. "Io vedo ben" was also a cantasi come source for another lauda in this manuscript, "Ciaschun fedel cristiano"; ff.13-13v). The manuscript belonged to a notary living in Castel San Giovanni, and is dated by him

netta by Giustiniani is referred to in Gall³ as "Donna esto mio lamento, Vinitiana", and served as a cantasi come source for four different laude, among them "L'amor a me venendo" (Gall², f.222r).

Rubsamen also observed that the florid style of the Justiniane he examined was rooted in a trecento melismatic tradition that had been carried over into the early 14th century to be cultivated on a more harmonic basis.¹⁴¹ In fact, the continuity of this style is evident in a comparison of melodic stereotypes from the Justiniane repertory with those of the trecento polyphonic and laude repertories (see ex.6).

The preceding discussion has outlined two 15th-century lauda traditions¹⁴²-- the Venetian (strongly associated with the poetry of Giustiniani, and a written tradition of modo proprio musical settings), and the Florentine (much influenced by the Venetian, but dedicated to an unwritten musical tradition of cantasi come references). However, the problem remains as to what extent this lauda repertory was cultivated in the Florentine laudesi companies. Extant lauda collections of this period provide few clues;

Dec. 3, 1453. Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, p.132-3. "Ave verbo" is listed in Gall¹ with the same cantasi come source.

¹⁴¹"The Justiniane," 178. The florid style, which according to Rubsamen is evident in Italian sources until ca.1475, is also apparent in several pieces in Ven: "O Francisce, pater pie" (Ven I, ff.36v-37r), and "O dolce amor Yhesu" (attr. to Giustiniani; Ven II, ff.129r-130v; more neumatic in style, but appears to be an originally melismatic melody, in the style of the Justiniane, underlaid with text).

¹⁴²These two traditions are contrasted in an essay by Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, pp.525ff.

the musical sources emanate primarily from ecclesiastical institutions outside Florence, and the Florentine cantasi come sources appear to have been private collections. And in the more abundant 15th-century documents of the companies there are only scant references to lauda collections, compared to the numerous references among the more scant 14th-century documents. In the late 15th century, the companies may have purchased printed editions that were not specified in their records, and earlier in the century members may have prepared and donated private collections. A 1463 inventory of the Company of Santo Spirito listed "one book of laude...with the signature of Piacito di Luco Piaciti."¹⁴³ In 1466, the Company of Sant'Agnesse owned four laudarios, one of them an illuminated book containing "molte laude antiche," and another containing "molte laude solfate e figurate basso."¹⁴⁴ "Laude antiche" most likely refers to a 14th-century repertory, and implies that the other three laudarios (and certainly the

¹⁴³SSP, vol.78, f.44v [May 3, 1463]: "1 libro del[le] laude...chon sengno piacito di luco piaciti."

¹⁴⁴SA, vol.115, ff.164-7; ed. in G. Bacchi, "La compagnia," 3 (1931-2), 18-19:
 uno libro grande coperto di assi coperte di cuoio con passi d'ottone e bullette grosse riccamente fatto e suvvi iscritte molte laude con molti begli inni istoriato di carta pecora
 uno libro istoriato d'assi e di cuoio di carta pecora suvvi molte laude antiche, dipintovi suso un crocifisso e più altri inni, adoprasi per ogni di
 uno libro di laude coperto di assi con bullette de carta pecora iscrittovi suso molte laude solfate e fugurate basso
 uno libro di carta pecora coperto di assi, bullettato iscrittovi suso laude

apparently polyphonic collection mentioned above) are more current, 15th-century collections.

The strongest evidence linking the repertory of this period to the companies is circumstantial. Four of the Florentine cantasi come lauda poets were associated with the Company of San Zanobi, three of them as laudesi.¹⁴⁵ The most prolific lauda poet of the period was Feo Belcari, a pious layman who was associated with the Medici and served as a city prior in 1454. His father, a wool merchant also named Feo, served the Company in the early 15th century, and Feo di Feo Belchari is first mentioned as a captain in 1436, and thereafter in the Company borsa until 1444.¹⁴⁶ Belcari was evidently quite familiar with Giustiniani's poetry and the music associated with it, and through his numerous cantasi come references to Giustiniani poetry and music must have

¹⁴⁵See Ch.IV, p.171. Cristofano di Miniato, who sang for the Company in 1456, wrote "Vergine alta Regina" (attrib. in Ms. Pal.99), cantasi come "Galantina morosini" (Gall², f.213; Mgl.C.VII.30, ff.65v-66). Ser Firenze sang for the Company in 1483, as well as for San Piero Martire during 1471-80, and appeared in the documents of the church of Santissima Annunziata as a maestro "che insegna le laude" in 1480-81 (Ch.IV, 91); he is credited with "Ben ch'adirato si mostri 'l Signore," cantasi come "Questo mostrarsi adirato di fore" (Poliziano, Gall⁴; with music "intonata da Bartolomeo Organista", see Ghisi, "Strambotti," 76); "E' servi tuoi, Maria, vengono a te" (Gall⁴, Ms. Ross. 424, f.120v.); and the music (modo proprio) for "Conosco ben che pel peccato mio" (F. degli Albizzi, Gall² and Gall⁴; music in Razzi, 1563, see Ghisi, Ibid., 70), and for "Iesù splendor del cielo et vivo lume" (Savonarola, Ross.424, ff.202r-v). Berto delle Feste sang for the Company in 1494-5, and wrote "La vita non mi piace" (Gall⁴).

¹⁴⁶Feo di Jachopo Belchari, lanaiuolo, is recorded as a sindacho and procuratore for the Company in 1405 and 1406; SZ, vol.2183, fasc.39, f.1r, and vol.2171, fasc.6A, f.25v. Feo di Feo di Jachopo Belchari: SZ, vol.2186, fasc.48, ff.152r, 153r; vol.2177, fasc.16, ff.30v, 52v.

been a key figure in popularizing the Venetian repertory in Florence, and certainly among the Florentine laudesi.

Finally, without evidence to the contrary, it might be assumed that the cantasi come laude and their musical settings passed into the laudesi company services since the performing forces of the companies matched the requirements of two- and three-part polyphony, and simply because the cantasi come practice was so dominant in Florence. It is impossible to imagine that company members and the wide-ranging laudesi would not have been attentive to the latest styles of poetry and music, particularly in light of the influx of wealthier Florentines into the lay companies during this period.

4. c.1470-16th century

During the late 1460s the Florentine companies began to hire larger numbers of singers, and after ca.1470 a stable practice emerged within each company of hiring small polyphonic choirs ranging in size from five (Sant'Agnese), seven to eight (San Piero Martire), nine to eleven (San Zanobi, Santo Spirito), to eleven to twelve (Orsanmichele). The choirs were divided into two groups, designated as sovrani (or laudesi, and occasionally fanciulli) and tenore. The latter included tenors, altos, and, less often at first, basses. Boys and adult falsettists both sang alto and soprano, and certain adult singers were capable of

singing either alto or bass.¹⁴⁷ The balance, typical of such choirs which were multiplying throughout Italian cathedrals and courts, favored the highest voices: one or two each of the lower parts supported from three to six sovrani.¹⁴⁸

This same period witnessed increasing numbers of clerics and fanciulli (probably clerically-trained) in the laudesi chapels. In 1488 the Company of Santo Spirito hired four "fraticini" as sopranos, and two "frate" as tenors, and for the next fifteen years recorded payments only to "fraticini" and "tinore". In 1506 the company of Sant'Agnesese paid Ranato Alberto and his "company of fanciulli" to sing laude. During 1482-1484 San Piero Martire paid seven fanciulli "who sing the laude," and San Zanobi and Orsanmichele both hired Cathedral singers. This certainly

¹⁴⁷In 1468, the singer Jachetto di Marvilla approached Lorenzo de'Medici about the re-establishment of the Cathedral chapel, offering "...to bring you a good tenor who has a large voice, high and low, sweet and sufficient; and three very high treble singers with good, full, and suave voices; and myself for contra[tenor]. And meanwhile, when we wish to sing a quattro voce, Bartholomeo could be the bass. And when we have arrived in Florence, we shall send to France for a contra[tenor] who is a good bass as well." D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni...", 324. Apparently, 3-part singing was still the norm at this time. The number and nature of the Cathedral singers is relevant to laudesi practices, for San Zanobi hired Cathedral singers prior to this time, and again beginning in the 1490s; Ch.IV, pp.180f.

¹⁴⁸The ratios of tenore to sovrani in the various companies are as follows: Sant'Agnesese, 2:2 (1479), 3:2 (1489, 1494), 3:3 (1492, 1519); Santo Spirito, 4:6 (1486), 5:6 (1487), 4:2 (1488), 4:3 (1503, 1509); San Zanobi (see Ch.IV, p.27); Orsanmichele, 6:5 (1508), 7:5 (1520). These numbers do not appear to have changed appreciably during the 16thc., except for an increase in the number of sopranos: San Zanobi, 5:6-9, and a maestro di cappella and organist (1569-93); San Piero Martire, ca.3:3 (1557-80); and Orsanmichele, 5:6 (1569, 1572), 5:9 (1574), 5:8 (1589-92), and a maestro di cappella and organist at all times.

reflects the establishment in the company services of three- and four-part singing, and with that, the encroachment of a written musical tradition. The wane of an unwritten lauda tradition in Florence inevitably reduced the role of the traditional lay singer, whose greatest asset had been a prodigious memory and experience of the repertory, rather than formal musical training. However, lay singers adapted, as before, to the latest musico-poetic styles, and they continued to dominate the company payrolls. Laudesi services provided the early professional musical experience to a nascent school of native composers, such as Bernardo Pisano and Francesco de Layolle, and the companies were frequently served by independent laudesi choirs with lay capomaestri like *Agniolo del Favilla, the weaver *Piero da San Giorgio, and the tailor *Bastiano di Tommaso Arditi.

Like the artisan singers, the unwritten musical tradition of cantasi come laude continued during this period. Belcari lived until 1484, and was the dominant poet in the four printed editions (Gall¹⁻⁴) issued between 1486 and ca.1508. In the early 16th century cantasi come sources there emerged a new generation of post-Savonarola poets who had been strongly influenced by the Dominican friar's vision of a morally rejuvenated Florentine society.¹⁴⁹ Chief among these was Castellano Castellani (1461-

¹⁴⁹Among these sources are Gall⁴ (Florence, ca.1502-1508), the first section of Ricc. Ed.r.196 (Florence, 1512), devoted entirely to the laude of Castellano Castellani; the second section of Ms.Ross.424 (after ca.1490), with laude by Castellani, Savonarola, "il Tholosano", and fra Roberto da Gagliano di San Marco (where Savonarola was prior). Other Savonarolan poets are Bernardo Giambullari and Girolamo Benivieni; Becherini, "Musica

1519/20), a Dominican theologian and follower of Savonarola.¹⁵⁰ Cattin has recovered a number of the cantasi come models of Castellani's laude, and observed in the travestimento process more rigorous criteria for the identity in versification and rhyme, possibly the result of a deteriorating tradition of memorization and the difficulty of relying upon a widespread familiarity with secular models.¹⁵¹ Italian secular music itself was attaining a stable and written form at this time, and among Castellani's works "it is difficult to find a lauda composed independently of a carnascialesco text or a frottolistic composition".¹⁵²

It is in this large secular repertory of the frottola that

italiana," 114-15.

¹⁵⁰G. Cattin, "Musiche per le laude de Castellano Castellano," Rivista italiana di musicologia 12 (1977), 183-230; Idem., "I cantasi come in una stampa di laude della Biblioteca Riccardiana (Ed.r.196)," Quadrivium 19 (1978), 5-52. Castellani wrote laude, sonnets, and sacre rappresentazioni, among other works.

¹⁵¹"Musiche per le laude," 185-6. Nevertheless, the lauda contrafacta (or "travestimento spirituale") tradition continued well into the 17thc., when melodies of secular "arie" provided the lauda with music. This habitual recourse to popular secular tunes at all phases in the history of the lauda doubtless assured the sacred texts a broader circulation, as well as a ready source of music. A later practitioner of the art, the Dominican Serafino Razzi, briefly described the process in his 1609 Santuario di Laudi (bibliography below, n.156): "chiunque...è ricerca di comporre parole spirituale sopra qualche canzone mondana, deve studiarsi di farle quanto più può convenevoli al Canto. Che se, per esempio, la musica è allegra, le parole, adattatevi sopra, siano elleno ancora non flebili, ma festose et allegre."

¹⁵²Ibid., 186. Castellani's tendency in his laude to parody in a religious tone the carnival songs that were associated with the extravagant Laurentian period was undoubtedly promoted by Savonarola.

Pirrota sees the surfacing, in the late 15th century, "in written tradition of forms and modes which until then had been employed in oral tradition."¹⁵³ The appearance of Florentine sources preserving musical settings of laude, as well as the secular music to which the laude were linked by cantasi come indications, was due in part to the development of conditions favorable to the cultivation of artistic polyphony. Franco-Flemish polyphony (and performers) were now familiar to Florentines, the Cathedral school commenced instruction in polyphony in 1478, and a new school of Florentine composers appeared shortly after this time.¹⁵⁴ But the musical style of the three- and four-part frottole and laude of the period was a consolidation of native stylistic tendencies evident in the earlier two-part works considered above, but with an expanded harmonic framework and greater formal symmetry.

The Florentine sources of lauda settings during this period

¹⁵³"The Oral and Written Traditions of Music," in Music and Culture, pp.75-6. I use the term frottola here in one of the two senses in which it was used in the early 16thc., to refer generally to the secular forms in vogue at that time: the barzeletta (the frottola in the strict sense; the successor to the refrain form of the ballata), and the non-refrain forms of strambotto, sonnet, ode, and capitolo. On the forms, see W. Prizer, "Performance Practices in the Frottola," Early Music 3 (1975), 228.

¹⁵⁴D'Accone, "Alcune note," 113-14. D'Accone notes elsewhere that polyphony in Florence was not under exclusive court patronage as in other principal Italian cities, and "thus reflecting the democratic aspirations of the city, polyphony in Florence lost its restrictive associations and eventually came to form a part of even the ordinary citizen's cultural interests." "The Singers of San Giovanni," 350.

are Panc.27 (early 16th century),¹⁵⁵ and the retrospective collection of one to four-voice settings gathered by the Dominican friar Serafino Razzi in his Libro Primo delle Laude Spirituali (Florence/Venice, 1563).¹⁵⁶ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticano, Ms. Ferrajoli 84 (ca.1541-59) is a Tuscan source, probably from a Dominican convent, and contains only the melodies for laude by

¹⁵⁵B. Becherini, Catalogo die Manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (Kassel, 1959), p.94. Becherini speculates that the repertory of lauda settings in this manuscript, not found in other Florentine sources, is related to the memory of Savonarola; "Musica italiana," 116. The closest source in shape and number of concordances (22) is Grey; Cattin, Italian Laude and Latin Unica, p.X. Like Grey, Panc.27 is a retrospective collection of lauda settings compiled around the turn of the 16thc.

¹⁵⁶Libro Primo delle Laudi Spirituali da diversi eccell. e divoti autori, antichi e moderni composte. Le quali si usano cantare in Firenze nelle chiese dopo vespro o la compieta 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. Con Privilegij della Illustriss. Signoria di Venetia, et del Duca di Firenze, et di Siena. In Venetia, ad instantia de'Giunti di Firenze. M.D.LXIII (reprint Bologna, 1969). 92 laude (ca.70 anonymous), with music for 1-4 voices. Many of these works appear in a later collection, Santuario di Laudi, o vero rime spirituali per le feste di ciaschedun santo...con eziando delle feste mobili ...composte dal Padre F.S. Razzi del Sacro Ordine dei Predicatori... Firenze, Bartolomeo Sermartelli e Fratelli, 1609. Many cantasi come indications directed to a music supplement at the back of the collection containing 31 1 and 2 part settings. Florence, B.N. Palatino 173 is Razzi's autograph of both texts and music in four books dated between 1586 and 1596. Razzi's taste as editor was eclectic: some of the 2-part settings are over a century old (ex.12a), while the 4-part settings are related to the more recent style of composers like Verdelot; see M. Fabbri, "Laudi spirituali di travestimento nella Firenze della rinascenza," in Arte e religione nella Firenze de' Medici (Florence, 1980), 154. Many of the texts in the above collections not authored by Razzi himself are by his contemporaries at San Marco, an important center of lauda poets since the priorate of Savonarola. As a theologian, Razzi also made a considerable contribution to Counter-Reformation theological literature.

Castellani and others.¹⁵⁷ The major non-Florentine sources of lauda settings are Grey; MC; Paris, B.N., Ms. Rés. Vm⁷ 676 (1502);¹⁵⁸ Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 431 (G 20; c.1490);¹⁵⁹ Udine, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms.165, fondo Joppi (c.1500),¹⁶⁰ and, above all, the two Petrucci books (Venice, 1508) [Petrucci Laude I,II].¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷A. Ziino, F. Carboni, "Laudi musicali del XVI secolo: il manoscritto Ferrajoli 84 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," Cultura Neolatina 33 (1973), 273-329. Monodic versions preserved here and in later sources of "laude filippine" (a Counter-Reformation lauda tradition established in Rome by Filippo Neri at the Congregazione dell'Oratorio), such as Matteo Coferati's Corona di sacre laudi (Florence, 1675,1689,1710) were probably intended for soloistic performance with organ accompaniment. Laude were performed "in sul organo" for the clerical services at Santissima Annunziata in the early 16thc., and at Santa Maria Novella in the late 16thc.; Ch.IV, pp.165 (n.99), 219 (n.256). This type of performance was an option at the Companies of San Zanobi and Orsanmichele, which retained an organist during this period, but the organist was more likely used for the execution of Latin liturgical items, while laude were certainly performed by the companies' polyphonic vocal ensembles.

¹⁵⁸A performance manuscript from the Mantua/Ferrara region. N. Bridgman, "Un Manuscrit italien du début du XVI^e siècle à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Département de la musique, Rés. Vm⁷ 676)," Annales Musicologiques I (1953), 177-267 (corrections and additions in Annales Musicologiques IV (1956), 259-60).

¹⁵⁹A. Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance of the Manuscript Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 432 (G 20), Musica disciplina XXXI (1977), 45-105.

¹⁶⁰Containing 2,3, and 4-part laude by Pietro Capretto (Petrus Hedus), intended for performance by a Paduan disciplinati company. Cattin, "La lauda in ambiente veneto e le composizioni di Pietro Edo," delivered at Convegno internazionale di studi per il V centenario della nascita di Giorgione (Castelfranco Veneto-Asolo, 1978); and Luisi, Laudario giustiniano I, section II,1.2. The music is ed. by Luisi, *Ibid.*, II, pp.306-315.

¹⁶¹Petrucci Laude I: Laude Libro Primo. In. Dammonis Curarum dulce lenimen. Impressum Venetiis per Octavianum Petrutium Forosemproniensem. M.D.VIII...; this volume is dedicated entirely

The music of both the modo proprio settings in the above sources and the traceable cantasi come sources of laude is homophonic, faithful to the phrasing and declamation of the text, extremely economical with respect to the music provided for the poetic form, and primarily in three and four parts. Cattin has located the music for about 30 of Castellani's 54 attributable laude with cantasi come indications, much of which can be found in Razzi 1563 and a major source of secular polyphony by Florentine composers, Florence, B.N., Banco Rari 230 (ca.1500).¹⁶² The latter contains an anonymous three-part setting of "I'son più mal maritata", the well-suited cantasi come source of Castellani's lauda "Pecorelle pien d'errore, ritorna" (see ex.17).¹⁶³

The advent of the newer three- and four-part frottola style is evident in the later settings of the four Giustiniani laude

to the compositions (his only known music) of Frate Innocentius Dammonis, an Augustinian of the Congregazione di San Salvatore in Venice; Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, section II,1.3, p.528; the previously unedited works of Dammonis (including some rather elaborate polyphonic laude in 4 and 6 parts) are edited in Luisi, Ibid., II, pp.316-365). Petrucci Laude II: Laude Libro Secondo, Impressum Venetiis per Octavianum Petrutium Forosemproniensem. M.D.VII [1508, common time]. Most of the above repertory is edited, with a long introductory essay, by K. Jeppesen, Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500 (Leipzig, 1935; repr. Bologna, 1971).

¹⁶²Olim Magl.XIX.141; B. Becherini, Catologo dei Manoscritti, pp.60ff. According the numbering in Cattin, "Musiche per le laude di Castellano Castellani," BR 230 contains 3- and 4-part music for 9 Castellani laude (nos.2,7,14,25,27,33,46,47,51). Razzi contains music for 11 Castellani laude (nos.6,8,10,15-17,28,29,39,44,46), as well as 4 modo proprio settings (nos.28,29,32,49); and Petrucci Laude I contains 1 cantasi come source (no.8) and 2 modo proprio settings (nos.9,44).

¹⁶³Cattin, "Musiche," no.2; this and several other settings are edited in Ibid., pp.219-29.

discussed above. In each case, the music of the older two-part settings has been displaced by entirely different settings for three and four voices contained in the above musical sources. The settings of "L'amor a me venendo" in Petrucci Laude I (4⁴; by Dammonis) and in Razzi 1563 (3³) are models of musical economy. (see exs.11b,11c). Dammonis provides twelve measures of music, of which measures 9-12 is derived from measures 5-8. Only the first two lines of the refrain are set, but the music is intended to serve the four-line refrain and the eight-line strophes (of which there are eight). Razzi, on the other hand, provides fifteen measures of music for the entire refrain, which is then repeated for the strophe (mm.1-9 for the first six lines, mm.10-15 for the final two). Among the later settings of "O Jesù dolce", the two-part setting in Razzi 1563 is derived, with significant variants, from a much older 15th-century version, and the Panc.27 version provides an updated version of similar music by the addition of a third lower voice which provides harmonic support (see ex.12a). Dammonis provided a new and relatively spacious setting in Petrucci Laude I, with music for the entire refrain, and repeat indications for the strophe (mm.1-20 for the first four lines, the two mutazioni; mm.29-33 for the next two lines, the first volta; and mm.34-46 for the second volta) (ex.12b). Panc.27 provides two new settings of "Con desiderio vo cercando"; a three-part setting (also in Grey) and a four-part setting, each of the entire strophe and, like other laude in this manuscript, with the text provided only for the cantus (see exs.13b, 13c). Yet another

setting in Grey, for four voices, provides music for the first three lines of the strophe (ex.13d). Finally, a four-part setting of "Madre che festi" by Dammonis provides new music for the entire strophe (ex.14b). Two settings of a text by Feo Belcari, "Da che tu m'hai Dio il cor ferito," provide a cantasi come source of music for "Madre che festi": a four-part setting by Dammonis (ex.14c), and a two-part setting by Razzi.¹⁶⁴

It seems fairly certain in this period that the polyphonic ensembles of the laudesi companies, in which many trained singers participated, were capable of performing "a libro" the repertory discussed above. The Companies of San Zanobi and Orsanmichele hired a maestro di cappella whose obligations included teaching laude.¹⁶⁵ As in the previous period, the performing forces of the Florentine companies match the requirements of contemporary repertory. A slightly more polyphonically complex repertory of three- and four-voice settings by Petrus Hedus (above, n.160) were performed by a lay company in Padua. There is also some evidence that the companies may have used (or continued to use) cantasi come lauda collections during this period. In 1569, Orsanmichele recorded a payment to Ser Jacobo Raphaelis de Campio for:

¹⁶⁴Jeppesen, Die mehrstimmige italienische lauda, pp.100-101 (no.57). The Razzi setting of "Madre" is edited by B. Becherini, "Musica italiana," 117. A musical setting of Belcari's "Da che tu" (probably the Razzi version) was also the cantasi come source for a Castellani lauda, "Da che tu m'hai, Gesù, mostro la via"; Cattin, "Musiche," n.8.

¹⁶⁵Ch.IV, pp.152, 182.

...230 laude copied by him in [the] new book of the
said oratorio at the rate of s.13 d.4 for each lauda
...L.153 s.6 d.8.¹⁶⁶

Music and text were usually not copied by the same person, and in any case it is unlikely that such a large collection of texts afforded space for musical notation as well.

Except at Orsanmichele, Florentine lauda singing at the turn of the 17th century was entirely in the hands of clerics. The Counter-Reformation gave yet another impetus to this ancient practice, but the numerous printed collections that continued to appear throughout Italy in the 17th century were a faint echo of the lay practice that had thrived in another age.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶OSM, vol.31bis, f.58v [1569]: "...a Ser Jaco[bo] raphaelis de campo...pro laudibus n^o 230 per eum scriptis in libro novo dicti oratorii ad rationem s.13 d.4 pro quolibet lauda...L.153 s.6 d.8."

¹⁶⁷A complete list of these sources is provided in Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, II, pp.XXIII-XXVIII, passim., and some of them are briefly surveyed by W. Prizer, "Lauda Spirituale," 2, The New Grove Dictionary (London, 1980). See also M. Fabbri, "Laude spirituali di travestimento," 149-58.

CHAPTER VI: RITUAL SPACE AND IMAGINATION

A. LAUDA SINGING AND DEVOTION

Lauda singing was premised on a belief that was characteristic of popular religion in early modern Europe, a belief in the ability of the sacred to materialize itself.¹ This concrete and familiar quality of the sacred infused laudesi devotion with a strong orientation to the particular and the local. Divine power, or *virtù*,² was manifested in certain objects or places, and therefore a laudesi company was affiliated with a particular church, and conducted its lauda singing devotions at specified altars, before certain images, and in relation to individual saints with whom the company cultivated essentially personal relationships.³ Only through such a specific, carefully maintained ritual locus could sacred *virtù* and human devotion (lauda singing) be effectively exchanged in the kind of contractual relationship that was familiar to Florentine merchants:

¹R.W. Scribner, "Interpreting Religion in Early Modern Europe," European Studies Review 13 (1983), 94.

²*virtù* is used here in the same (and now obsolete) sense given as the first definition of the English "virtue" in the Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, 1971): "the power or operative influence inherent in a supernatural or divine being." For a later, Renaissance usage denoting both moral worth (*honestas*) and inner, personal strength, see J. Seigel, "Virtù in and since the Renaissance," in Dictionary of the History of Ideas, ed. P. Wiener (New York, 1973), IV, pp.476-86.

³These "particular" aspects of laudesi devotion are documented, with respect to the individual companies, in the second part of this chapter, pp.331f.

The average Christian...based his hopes on a personal relationship to a proven source of power in a world of localized virtù.⁴

The great Florentine churches were the most obvious manifestations of localized virtù, for their walls contained the sacred images, consecrated altars, relics of the holy dead, and the prayers and sacraments administered by the holy living. Proximity to these, both in life and death, was highly desirable, and the laudesi companies were typically affiliated with the greatest Florentine centers of sacred power.

The companies usually owned several sepulchers beneath the vaults of the church, and often one in the church as near as possible to the main altar. Business meetings and the scuole were usually conducted beneath the vaults in the refectory or another room equipped with an altar. The monthly processions and the lauda services, which papal and episcopal indulgences stipulated must take place in church, occurred at an altar patronized by the company, or less often at another altar determined by a bequest or a special liturgical occasion.

Every Florentine laudesi company was the patron of an altar, sometimes two, within its host church. The location of the altar varied among companies, and might be found in the nave, transept, or apse. The companies' ongoing expenses for construction, repair, and decoration on the one hand, and on the other for liturgical accessories, clergy to recite Masses and Offices, and for

⁴R. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," Studies in the Renaissance XIX (1972), 29.

their own lauda vigils, reveal a breadth of activity that embraced the responsibilities of both patron and chaplain.

The laudesi companies' relationship to their images was among the most intense expressions of localized virtù in this society. A company's painting of the Virgin or another saint was its most important possession, and great care was given to the commission and maintenance of the painting, and above all to the lauda-singing devotion that contributed directly to the efficacy of the image. Trexler has stressed this reciprocal role, noting that Florentines were conscious of their role as supplicants in a relationship whereby devotion to an image tapped, as it were, the divine power with which such holy objects were believed to be laden.⁵ Such a perception was, furthermore, particularly mercantile:

A belief that succor was to be found by manipulation of the physical image, by gifts in exchange for favors, and a belief that a change in emotional states was due to the same image were natural to a practical merchant society based on ragione.⁶

Images were firmly placed before the eyes of lay worshippers when the Synod of Trier declared in 1310 that an image or picture of some kind should be installed on or behind every altar.⁷ The

⁵Ibid., 23.

⁶Ibid., 33.

⁷Cited by Otto von Simson, "Über die Bedeutung von Masaccios Trinität-fresko in S. Maria Novella," Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen VII (1966), 122, n.9: "Ut imagines Ecclesiae fiunt supra Altare. Praecipimus, ut in unaquaque Ecclesia ante vel post, vel super Altare sit imago, vel sculptura, vel scriptura, vel pictura expresse designans, et cuilibet intuenti manifestans, in cuius Sancti meritum et honorem sit ipsum Altare constructum."

theological stance of the late medieval church regarding images was framed by St. Thomas Aquinas:

There is a twofold movement of the mind toward an image: one toward the image as a thing in itself, another toward the image insofar as it is a representation of something else...and it is in its latter capacity as a sign that reverence should be shown to an image.⁸

But in practice, especially lay practice, this "twofold distinction" was not easily made. Theologians acknowledged that worship shown to an image reached and terminated in the person represented, so that there was no practical distinction between the types of worship shown to an image and a person; "he who worships an image worships the reality of him who is painted in it" had been the position of the church since Nicea II (787).⁹ Thomas himself maintained that in order for devotion to achieve its purpose, it must have a sensible human appeal, as well as sound dogmatic content; the need to concretize the spiritual in the sensible was a consequence of the fundamental unity of body and soul.¹⁰

From this perception of sacred image it was a short step to the widespread belief, not only of the laity, that the divine power of a saint could reside in the image itself, which might work miracles or possess sensory attributes.¹¹ Furthermore,

⁸Trans. by A.D. Lee, "Images, Veneration of," The New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1967), vol.VII, p.372.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰P.F. Mulhern, "Devotions, religious," New Catholic Encyclopedia, IV, p.834 (St. Thomas, Summa, 1a 2ae, 101.3 ad3).

¹¹Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience," 18-19.

devotion expressed through such acts as lauda singing contributed directly to the virtù of the image. This interdependence between devotion and image is evident in Giovanni Villani's description of the miracles attributed to the Madonna of Orsanmichele:

...out of custom and devotion, a number of laity sang laude before this figure, and the fame of these miracles, for the merits of Our Lady, so increased that people came from all over Tuscany in pilgrimage, just as they come now for all the feast of Our Lady, bringing various wax images, for great miracles accomplished....¹²

That a Florentine citizen might thus influence, and even initiate manifestations of divine power testifies to the personal and participatory nature of their worship, and to the strong contractual basis underlying all relationships in this society. St. Thomas alluded to the proximity of sacred and secular relationships when he distinguished between two kinds of worship: latria, the adoration due to God alone, and dulia, the honor or homage due to distinguished persons, including Mary and the saints.¹³ It is this contractual exchange of human devotion for divine power, of clientage for patronage, that was implicit in the laudesi activity of singing (or playing) before a devotional image. The act itself is made explicit in several Orsanmichele documents. The Company's 1297 statute concerned with "the feasts for which one ought to conduct vigils beneath the loggia of San Michele in Orto" begins as follows:

¹²See Ch.III, p.74.

¹³Lee, "Image," p.372.

We ordain that the captains...are obligated to conduct the solemn vigils of lauda singing before the figure (figura) of the Virgin...¹⁴ [doc.6]

A 1333 statute concerned with preaching beneath the loggia indicates that lauda singing (which followed the preaching) was not the only activity directed to their famous Madonna:

...And [the captains] establish that the laudesi are to be confessed every evening before the image of Our Lady upon the pilaster, [in the same way] as the laude are sung.¹⁵

The close relationship between music and devotion upon which laudesi devotion was premised, is particularly apparent in the new musical service instituted by the Company in 1388. As part of their duties, the municipal instrumentalists came on the major feast days and Sundays

...to play devoutly and solemnly render mactinatam [morning salutation] while the sustaining image of the Mother of God is unveiled.¹⁶

The devotional habits of the Florentines with regard to images show that sacred relationships were prey to the same instability that plagued secular ones. Writing in the 1380s, Franco Sacchetti was a member of Orsanmichele and therefore well-placed to comment upon the Florentines' fickle devotions to images of

¹⁴By 1333 the evening lauda vigil for a feast was called a luminaria: "XXIX. Come si debbia fare luminaria alle laude. Ordinato è che si debbia fare luminaria la sera alle laude con candelotti accesi in mano dinanzi all'ymagine de la Vergine Maria..."

¹⁵La Sorsa, La compagnia, p.199 [1333 statutes]: "XXII...E ordino [sic] come si cantino le laude, e facciasì la confessione ogni sera a'laudesi dinanzi all'ymagine de la nostra Donna al pilasto."

¹⁶See Ch.IV, pp.140-41.

the Virgin:

How many changes there have been in the figure of Our Lady! There was a time when everyone ran to Santa Maria Cingoli. Then one went to Santa Maria della Selva. Then the fame of Santa Maria Impruneta grew. Then at Fiesole to Santa Maria di Primerana, and then to Our Lady of Or San Michele. Then all were deserted.¹⁷

The popular pressure to acknowledge these images was considerable, and the mendicant orders drew the hostility of Florentines when they rejected the efficacy of the Orsanmichele Madonna.¹⁸

The secure place of images within the church, the widespread belief in their power, and the honor that came from owning an efficacious image help explain the widespread patronage of religious art in the society of republican Florence. The religious companies were important patrons, and Meiss was referring to the laudesi activity of singing before painted images of the Virgin when he claimed that "no phenomenon of town life was more expressive of its democratic and lay tendencies, and none impinged more directly upon the art of painting."¹⁹ The Florentine companies usually owned more than one painting, and the images of various saints mentioned in company inventories were presumably used on special feast days and may well have been commissioned through bequests. The Company of San Zanobi owned at least six paintings ("[i]magine") during the 14th century: an image of the Virgin and child (1335); a St. Andrew and a St. Christopher (1358); and

¹⁷Trans. in Trexler, Public Life, p.70.

¹⁸Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience," 22; see also Ch.III, p.74, Ch.IV, p.133.

¹⁹M. Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena, p.60.

three more Virgins (1394), one with Sts. Magdalene and Margaret, one with Sts. Nicholas and Francis, and one with Sts. John the Baptist and Phillip.²⁰

Two of the greatest extant works of late medieval Florentine art were commissioned by laudesi companies. In 1285, the Sienese artist Duccio di Boninsegna painted a Madonna for the Company of San Piero Martire (about 3 by 4.5 meters), which is currently in the Uffizi gallery under the title of the Rucellai Madonna (plate 17). The splendor and importance of this painting, both now and in its own day, testifies to the prestige of the lay company that commissioned it.²¹ The Madonna currently framed by Orcagna's luxurious marble tabernacle in Orsanmichele was painted for the Company in 1347 by another major artist, Bernardo Daddi (plate 15). Both, however, were created to function as devotional paintings, and only incidentally are works of great artistic merit. Above all they served a ritual function as focal points of lauda-singing devotion, and their expense, craft, and beauty were intended to enhance the painting's potential as a channel of virtù.

Such devotional Madonnas (of which every laudesi company certainly owned at least one) were characteristic expressions of

²⁰Orioli, Le confraternite, p.33 (1335 statute); SZ, vol. 2170, fasc.4, ff.20r-23r (1358 and 1394 inventories). The St. Andrew is attributed in the inventory to Giovanni Cristiani, and the St. Christopher to Andrea di Donato.

²¹This painting is described in some detail in two books by Bruce Cole, Giotto and Florentine Painting: 1280-1375 (New York, 1976), pp.3-6, 32-34; Italian Art, 1250-1550: The Relation of Renaissance Art to Life and Society (New York, 1987), pp.97-8.

the mendicant spirituality upon which laudesi devotion was based. Mary is the major figure in the painting, and she is depicted in her dual role as the very human, familiar Mater Dei, and, because of this special relationship to Christ, as the more exalted Maria mediatrix, the compassionate intercessor on behalf of humanity. As Meiss has noted, these devotional images appeared first in Tuscany during the late 13th and early 14th centuries, concurrent with the founding of the laudesi companies, and they

...embody in the most distinctive and novel way those tendencies apparent in all the art of this period to establish a direct, sympathetic, and intimate emotional relationship between the spectator and the sacred figures. They usually show only a few figures, who are outwardly quiet and inactive but involved in a very emotional--usually pathetic--relationship...²²

These images also shed light on the interior, mental practice of devotion. The "mental habit" of imagery has already been alluded to with respect to the preaching techniques of the friars,²³ and one would expect to discover a reciprocal influence between iconic paintings and devotion. The 14th-century Franciscan mystic and lauda poet Ugo Panziera da Prato described devotional imagination in the following manner:

When the mind is, for a long period of time, concentrated on Christ, bringing Christ into the imagination, Christ does not permit himself to be divested of the corporeal virtue [being] called forth by the mind. The first time the mind begins to think of Christ, in these circumstances, Christ appears in the mind and the imagination as if written. The second [time] He seems to be outlined. In the third, He seems to be outlined and shaded. In the fourth, He seems painted and indi-

²²Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena, p.145.

²³Ch.II, pp.41f.

viduated. In the fifth, He seems individuated and modeled.²⁴

In his Reception Theory study of 15th-century Italian painting, Baxandall has described this relationship between the painter, "a professional visualizer of the holy stories," and his pious public, who were "practiced in spiritual exercises that demanded a high level of visualization."²⁵ The particular practice common to mendicant preaching, devotional painting, and imaginative devotion was the selection and isolation of an image, often drawn from an historical scene (as the Madonna and child were drawn from the Nativity), which was to be dwelt upon in the imagination for the pious effect of the image upon on the mental spectator.²⁶ A handbook called the Garden of Prayer (Zardino de Oration), written in 1454 and later published in Venice, explains the process of internal visualization that is necessary in prayer:

The better to impress the story of the Passion on your mind, and to memorize each action of it more easily, it is helpful and necessary to fix the places and people in your mind: a city, for example, which will be the city of Jerusalem--taking for this purpose a city that is well known to you. In this city find the principal places in which all the episodes of the Passion would have taken place--for instance, a palace with the supper-room where Christ had the Last Supper with the Disciples, and the house of Anne, and that of Caiaphas... [etc.]...

²⁴Trans. in R. Assunto, "Images and Iconoclasm," Encyclopedia of World Art (New York, 1963), VII, p.819. For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between image and devotion see Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena, Ch.V, "Texts and Images," pp.105-156.

²⁵R. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in 15th-Century Italy, p.45.

²⁶Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena, p.147.

And then too you must shape in your mind some people, people well known to you, to represent for you the people involved in the Passion--the person of Jesus Himself, of the Virgin, Saint Peter, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Mary Magdalen, Anne, Caiaphas, Pilate, Judas and the others, every one of whom you will fashion in your mind.

When you have done all this, putting all your imagination into it, then go into your chamber. Alone and solitary, excluding every external thought from your mind, start thinking of the beginning of the Passion, starting with how Jesus entered Jerusalem on the ass. Moving slowly from episode to episode, meditate on each one, dwelling on each single stage and step of the story. And if at any point you feel a sensation of piety, stop: do not pass on as long as that sweet and devout sentiment lasts...²⁷

The devotional paintings of the time, which frequently included smaller frames narrating the important events in the life of the Virgin or the saints, depicted the most dramatic and pathos-laden of these pious moments in Christian history.

The laude that were addressed to and devoutly sung before these images constituted a lyrical act of "dwelling" upon the internal sacred image. The Marian laude, in particular, are often brimming with allusions to the concrete and sensuous:

Laude novella sia cantata
al alta donna encoronata.

Let a new lauda be sung
to the exalted, crowned lady.

Fresca vergene donzella
primo fior, rosa novello,
tutto'l mondo a te s'apella;
nella bonor fosti nata.

Fresh virgin maid,
first flower, new rose,
all the world appeals to you;
in a blessed hour you were born.

Fonte se' d'acqua surgente
madre de Dio vivente;
tu se' luce de la gente,
sovra li angeli exaltata.

You are a spring of water,
mother of the living God;
You are the light of the people
exalted above the angels.

Tu se' verga, tu se' fiore

You are the branch, you are the
flower,

²⁷Trans. in Baxandall, Painting and Experience, p.46

tu se' luna de splendore;	you are the moon of splendor;
...	
tu se' rosa, tu se' gillio,	You are the rose, you are the
	lily
tu portasti el dolce fillio;	you bore the sweet son; ²⁸

The lauda to St. Catherine of Alexandria, "Vergine donzella", draws on the Leggenda aurea in the narration of a scene from her life (her famous martyrdom), such as might appear in the predella of an altar painting:

Stando nel palazzo gratiosa,	dwelling graciously in a palace
tutta fosti de Dio amorosa;	you were all beloved to God;
...	
Un crudel tiranno pien d'errore	A cruel despot full of error,
per la terra mandò el banditore	sent a crier through the land
ke ciascun venisse a falli	that all should come to honor
honore,	him,
...	
ke venissar a dà llo tributo,	that they should come to give
	tribute,
al suo Dio k'era sordo e muto;	to his god who was deaf and
...	dumb;
E lo 'mperadore sacrificando,	and as the emperor sacrificed,
tutta l'altra gente sequitando,	[and] the other people followed,
la Katerina udìo metter lo	Catherine listened to the
bando,	proclamation,
e 'mantenente fo maravelliata.	and was immediately
	astonished. ²⁹

Another lauda honoring all saints, "Facciamo laude a tutt'i santi", portrays the "celestial court" much as it might have been

²⁸Cort, II, lines 1-12, 15-16 (Liuzzi, La lauda, vol.I, pp.261-2). The English translations in this and the following examples are taken, with a few changes, from C. Barr, "The Laude Francescane and the Disciplinati of Thirteenth Century Umbria and Tuscany: A Critical Study of the Cortona Codex 91," (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1965). The music and text of this lauda are also edited in R. Hoppin, Anthology of Medieval Music (New York, 1978), pp.103-4.

²⁹Text and melody in Cort, XVI, lines 11-12, 19-30 (Liuzzi, I) and Mgl¹, LXXXIV (Liuzzi, II); text alone in Mgl², Aret, Ars.

depicted in a 14th-century painting of the Virgin's Assumption:

Facciamo laude a tutt'i santi
colla vergine maggiore,
de buon core, cum dolze canti,
per amore del creatore.

Let us praise all the saints,
and the supreme Virgin,
with a good heart and sweet
songs,
out of love for the creator.

Ferventissimo segnore
ke li sancti ài rimflammati
et de gloria et d'onore,
tu li ài 'n ciel encoronati,
constituisti redemptore
nei perpetui imperiati,
vivendo deificati
con teco, alto 'mperadore.

Most fervent Lord
who inflamed the saints
with glory and honor, you
have crowned them in heaven.
you created a redeemer
in the everlasting empire
to live deified
with you, exalted emperor.

...
Tutta gente dicàn ave
a la vergen madre dei sancti,

Let all mankind say "hail"
to the virgin, mother of the
saints

k' ell' à ingegnosa kiave
ke li serra tutti quanti;
ell'è porto lor suave,
ell'è stella de l'irranti;
tutta la celestial corte
la resguard'a tutte l'ore.

for she is the ingenious key
that encloses them;
she is their sweet harbor
she is the star of travelers;
all the celestial court
gazes upon her continually.

Innanzi al throno imperiale
stanno i quatro vangeliata,
per la luce supernale
tutta la corte [n'a] vista
che laudan perpetuale
lo segnore col Batista;
alleluya, alleluia,
agnus Dei et pastore.

Before the imperial throne
stand the four evangelists,
in the divine radiance
beheld by the entire court
which eternally praises
the Lord with the Baptist;
"alleluia, alleluia,
Lamb of God and shepherd."³⁰

B. ALTARS AND IMAGES

1. The Company of Orsanmichele

The Bernardo Daddi Madonna set in Orcagna's marble tabernacle is the only Florentine laudesi image that may still be viewed in its original setting, essentially unchanged since the

³⁰Text and music in Cort, XLI, lines 1-4, 13-20, 29-36, and Mgl¹, LXXXVII [plate 5] (the final stanza above, which does not appear in Cort, is taken from Mgl¹, lines 21-28).

14th century (plates 15 and 16). This locus was the most important and enduring center of Florentine lay devotion, and that it was the focus of lauda singing testifies to the significance of this particular devotion within the larger framework of Florentine ritual life.

The Company's 1294 statutes describe the care with which its two original images, on pilasters beneath the open loggia of the grain market, were to be veiled and unveiled. The miraculous "figura" of the Virgin, whose "devotion always increases and multiplies and advances," was to be unveiled only after two candles had been lit, and to remain unveiled for only brief periods.³¹ The "tavola" of Saint Michael, apparently a painting, had suffered damage in the exposed location:

We also decide and establish...that because the painting of messer St. Michael suffers dust and damage caused by the grain market and other things in the said piazza beneath the loggia, the captains are obliged to keep it covered to conserve its beauty and [so that] it does not decay. Except that on Saturday after Nones, the market having dispersed, they should uncover it and leave it uncovered all day Sunday, and do the same for the solemn feast days when the market is not held there. [doc.53]

According to a 1333 statute,

The image of Our Lady ought to be covered with a fine and elegant veil or veils of silk; and after the preaching beneath the loggia, it ought to be uncovered and shown on the Sundays and feast days deemed appropriate by the rectors and captains, with two lit candles. And when visitors come who wish to see it, it should be uncovered with the permission of the [Com-

³¹A. Castellani, Nuovi testi, pp.660-661, statute XIII: "Anche ordiniamo e fermiamo a la reverenza de la detta nostra Domna Vergine Madonna Santa Maria, perchè sempre la sua devotione crescha e multiplichi e vada inamzi [sic]..."

pany] priest or a captain, and shown for a short time and then recovered.³² [doc.54]

2. The Company of San Piero Martire

The original ritual sites of the Florentine laudesi companies were probably temporary ones either within or without the great mendicant churches, which were under construction during the earliest period of these companies. The laudesi at Santa Maria Novella had commissioned their great altar painting from Duccio in 1285, by which time they were probably located at the eastern-most chapel of the north wall (fig.1). The chapel of St. Gregory, as it was called at this time, is first mentioned in the Company's records in 1316, when the Company furnished the chapel with a bench, floor-matting, and a metal grille.³³ Another entry of that year indicates that the laudesi performed directly beneath the arch at the entrance to the chapel.³⁴

In 1335, the Company was dislodged from the chapel when the estate of Messer Riccardo di Ricco Bardi purchased the rights to

³²For a 1416 list of feast days (and vigils) on which the (newer Daddi) image was to be unveiled, see Ch.IV, n.23.

³³SMN, vol.292, f.8v: "per una pancha e per una a<s>edabete che si puose nela chappella di san ghirighoro per sedervi suso e per ferri stagniati che si misero aluscio della detta chapella.. L.1 s.11; Demo per una stuoia che si mise nela chapella di san grighoro... s.4 d.10." See also J. Wood Brown, The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence (Edinburgh, 1902), p.127.

³⁴SMN, vol.292, f.8r [1316]: "Anche avemo ispeso in due che so<n[o]al>muro sula volta per istavvi a chantare le laude cho'l p<iom>bo...s.<...>"

the chapel from the friars for 200 florins.³⁵ Thereafter the Company's location within the church is uncertain. Vasari reported in the 16th century that the Duccio Madonna (which he attributed to Cimabue) hung on the wall between the Rucellai and Bardi chapels (fig.2, between nos.9 and 10).³⁶ This led Brown to assume that, although there was no altar in this spot, this became the new location for the Company's ritual activities after 1335.³⁷ In fact it was common for a laudesi company to conceal its painting, when not in use, in a tabernacle on a wall or pilaster not necessarily near the altar patronized by the company. This was most likely the case with the Company of San Piero Martire, which after 1335 probably had to share access to the highly desirable chapels and altars in Santa Maria Novella with another patron.

By 1473, the Company was conducting its services at the altar of San Pier Martire.³⁸ Several sources have identified this chapel with the Strozzi chapel (fig.1, no.11), which was opposite a miraculous image of San Pier Martire located on the outer, western wall of the choir.³⁹ However, the altar dedicated

³⁵Wood Brown, The Dominican Church, p.127.

³⁶G. Vasari, Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori, ed. K. Frey (Munich, 1911), I, p.254; Wood Brown, The Dominican Church, p.127.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸SMN, vol.299, f.64.

³⁹M. Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Duke Cosimo and Vasari in S.M. Novella and Santa Croce, 1565-1575 (Oxford, 1979), p.108, notes that the proximity of the image on the choir

to the Dominican martyr appears to have been one of eight situated in the rood screen (fig.1, no.6).⁴⁰ The destruction of the rood screen (or "ponte") during Vasari's renovation of the church (1565f.) undoubtedly led to the later confusion about the location of the altar, and Duke Cosimo's autocratic and preferential re-shuffling of patronage rights at this time probably dislodged the Company from its devotional locus for the second, and last, time.

Wood Brown speculates that the Duccio Madonna was moved to the Rucellai chapel ca.1570, whence it received the title of "Rucellai Madonna", and was located until 1948 (fig.2, no.9).⁴¹ But the great painting probably changed both location and owner-

wall (destroyed in 1565) to the Strozzi chapel has led to the mistaken attribution of the latter as the altar originally dedicated to San Pier Martire. This attribution was made in Niccolò Sermartelli's 1617 Sepolcuario (ASF, Manoscritti, vol. 621, f.29r), and repeated by Wood Brown, p.120, and W. and E. Paatz, Die Kirchen, III, p.716.

⁴⁰S. Orlandi, Necrologio di Santa Maria Novella (Firenze, 1955), II, pp.402-3, where Orlandi edits V. Borghigiani, Cronaca Analistica, t.III, pp.330-40, a 1556 description of the church interior prior to the Vasari renovation. Borghigiani relates that there were eight altars in the ponte, four on the upper level and four on ground level. On each level, two of the altars were situated against the inside wall of the nave, while the other two were directly opposite one another on the inside of the two large columns supporting the ponte (Hall's diagram, fig.1, mistakenly shows these altars on the south side of these columns). The altar of S. Pier Martire, belonging to the Castiglione family, was on the lower level, "on the pilaster towards the organ" (i.e., to the west). With the exception of the main altar, all the altars in the church were enclosed with walls on the sides and fronted with a locking wooden gate, and included within a built-in wardrobe.

⁴¹Wood Brown, The Dominican Church, p.127.

ship in 1580, when the Company of San Pier Martire disappeared.

3. The Company of San Zanobi

From its foundation in 1281, the Company was situated in the old Romanesque church of Santa Reparata until no later than 1375, when the old church was destroyed after the new Cathedral had completely enclosed it. It is not known which altar in the old church was patronized by the Company, but a 1335 statute mentions that their Madonna image was to be kept in a new tabernacle "in the pilaster of St. Bartholomew...in the middle of the nave," from where it was taken to the "usual place" for services. The general location of the latter is indicated in an inventory compiled while the Company was situated in the old Cathedral, which lists "one lectern which is placed in the middle of the church where the laude are sung" (fig.3).⁴² The statute mentioned above offers a strong statement of the deference shown to this image by the Company:

...we rectors establish...that on the pilaster of St. Bartholomew in the said church of Santa Reparata in the middle of the nave, where Our Lady Stands, there is to be made a wooden tabernacle as honorably beautiful as possible...The said rectors and chamberlains are obliged to protect and preserve and augment and improve the said tabernacle, [along] with the said figure of Our Lady, which they ought to augment and improve. And [it is decided] that no one of the said company may touch or carry forth from the said tabernacle the said figure of Our Lady without the permission of the said

⁴²SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.21r [ca.1354-75]: "Uno legio chessi pone in mezo della chiesa la dove si canta le laude." Although imprecise, the "middle of the church" suggests an area near the main altar, or at least nearer this altar than the pillar upon which tabernacle and image were hung.

rectors...And the said Lady may not be carried forth from the said tabernacle without procession, candles, and song...And so that [Our Lady] is carried to the altar in the usual place with more devotion and more people, it is to be carried on Saturday evening after laude are sung, or, if they [the officers] wish, on Sunday morning, with [all] the love and reverence that can be summoned.⁴³ [doc.52]

The figure, in this instance, was a carved image of the Madonna and Christ child.⁴⁴

The Company's meeting room and scuola were situated in a chapter room beneath the vaults of the old church, and in the south sacristy (the canonry) of the new Cathedral (fig.4, no.1).⁴⁵ Both places were equipped with an altar, and the sacristy in the new church included a white altar cloth, upon it a painting of the of the Virgin with Saints Magdalen and Margaret, a lectern "where the laude are sung during the scuola", and chairs in which the captains sat during the scuola.⁴⁶

The Company's 1428 statutes clearly indicate the location of

⁴³The Company owned two images of the Virgin kept in tabernacles--the gonfalone, which was painted with an Annunciation on one side and a Christ in Majesty on the other (and accompanied by two wooden poles, which were covered with gold crosses on a black background, the Company insignia, and used for carrying the gonfalone in procession), and a carved image of the Madonna and child. The gonfalone was given the most deferential treatment, and both the 1326 and 1427 statutes prescribe the occasions when the tabernacle may be opened and the gonfalone carried forth in procession. A third tabernacle held a carved image of San Zanobi. (SZ, vol.2170, ff.20r, 22r).

⁴⁴Such carved images appear to have been stored in tabernacles equipped with lock and key, which this one was, for they were probably more subject to theft than the large paintings.

⁴⁵Orioli, Le confraternite, p.35 (statute 35, 1353); Paatz, Die Kirchen, III, pp.423-4.

⁴⁶SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.22v [1394 inventory].

the Company altar in the new church of Santa Maria del Fiore. The hired laudesi were to come every evening and set up for the lauda service "before the altar of Our Lady at the end of the church beside the great door" [doc.37]. The original Cathedral plans called for no altars outside of the three large tribunes, but others arose under the pressure of spontaneous popular devotions. In 1397, a committee of Cathedral operai, including Franco Sachetti, recorded a decision to move a fresco of the Madonna and child, "gratiarum plenissima", from the wall west of the altar of San Vittorio (the first altar in the south tribune) to a space of wall between the great door and the door nearest the campanile.⁴⁷ The original location of the image was no longer convenient because of the crowds that had grown along with the new devotion. An altar was constructed and given a temporary wooden enclosure at this time, and became known as the altar of Our Lady "gratiarum plenissima". By 1427 it was under the patronage of the

⁴⁷G. Poggi, Il Duomo di Firenze (Berlin, 1909), CVI-CVII, and doc.1004-1006 (Dec.14, 1397). Doc.1004 [Dec.14, 1397]: "Consiglio renduto a...operai della decta opera di sancta Reparata, pegl'infrascripti cittadini, cioè Francho Sachetti [et al.]... sopra il provvedimento e modo dell'adornare la figura di nostra Donna ch'è in santa Reparata apresso della porta verso il cimitero e de l'altare di sancto Victorio, e in che luogo si pongho più onorevole e acto. Consigliarono e dissono i detti cittadini di comune concordia a'detti operai che alloro para che la decta figura s'onorasse per la devotione che vi cresce, e perchè il luogo ov'è non è acto, si levasse di quello luogo e ponessesi nella faccia della chiesa dallato dentro tra le due porti della chiesa, cioè tra la porta maggiore e la porta dalla parte del campanile sopra ove sono al presente le due arche di marmo, cioè degli Adimari e de'Medici; e dove sono l'arche si faccia uno altare circondato di bastoni al presente, tolte via prima le arche; e la detta figura s'adorni con cielo d'assi di sopra e intorno, come parrà agli operai."

lay brothers of the Company of San Zanobi, the fitting overseers of a popular lay devotion to the Virgin (fig.4, no.2).⁴⁸

During the feasts of the Purification (associated with the new Cathedral), San Zanobi, and Santa Reparata (the patroness of the old Cathedral), the lauda services took place at the altar of San Zanobi, the central altar of the central tribune (fig.4, no.3).⁴⁹ Proximity to the relics of the city's first bishop, whose sepulchre was directly below this altar, was especially desirable on these occasions, during which the Company's gonfalone was hung above the altar and a special lectern, book, embroidered dossals, and decorated candles were arrayed before it.⁵⁰

In the new church, the carved image of the Madonna and its tabernacle were relocated on a column next to the altar of San Bastiano, the fourth chapel in the south tribune (fig.4, no.4), and the carved image of San Zanobi and its tabernacle were located on a column beside the altar dedicated to this saint

⁴⁸The operai's decoration of the chapel is described and documented in Poggi, Il Duomo, pp.CVI-CIX. By the 18th century the chapel had been rededicated to the Immaculate Conception, and was subsequently destroyed in an 1841 restoration.

⁴⁹Doc.8.

⁵⁰The saint's relics were transferred from San Lorenzo to Santa Reparata in the 9th century, and were forgotten until their rediscovery in 1331 during the construction of the new Cathedral; G. Poggi, Il Duomo, p.XCIV. If the Company conducted its festive services at the San Zanobi altar in the old church, this altar was located in the lower level of the split-level chancel (fig.3).

(fig.4, no.3).⁵¹

Several other images were acquired by the Company in the late 15th century. Between 1487 and 1491, the Cathedral gave to the Company a large, 14th-century painting in Byzantine style, which shows San Zanobi flanked by the Saints Eugenius and Crescentius, and four small panels depicting events from the life of the saint.⁵² The painting hung above the altar of San Zanobi from at least 1475 to 1559, and probably until 1588 when the altar was re-dedicated to the Sacrament. In May, 1486, the Company commissioned Ser Piero di Lorenzo Ubaldini, a Cathedral chaplain and Company member, to "make a beautiful altar piece with an Annunciation and San Giovanni Battista and San Zanobi,"⁵³ and in 1495 Andrea della Robbia executed a terracotta image of San Zanobi for the Company.⁵⁴

⁵¹SZ, vol.2170, fasc.4, f.22r [1394 inventory]: "Una figura intagliata di nostra donna chol figliuo inchollo in uno tabernacholo di legniamie dipinto insu una cholonna dietro all'altare di sancto bastiano...Una figura di sancto zenobio intagliato in uno tabernacholo alla cholonna ch'è allato a sancto zenobio cioe all'altare di sancto zenobio."

⁵²G. Poggi, "La tavola di San Zanobi nella chiesa di Santa Reparata," Rivista d'arte (1907), 111-117. This extant painting is in the R. Galleria di Parma (room XXII, no.54). According to Paatz, Die Kirchen, III, pp.403-4, 415, this painting was located in the crypt at an original San Zanobi altar (ca.1330-1439), and then at a new crypt altar below the tribune altar dedicated to this saint (1439-ca.1487).

⁵³SZ, vol.2177, fasc.18, f.159r [May, 1486]: "...a Ser piero di Lorenzo Ubaldini chapellano di duomo chegli facessi fare una bella tavola d'altare chon una nonziata [sic] e san giovanni batista e san zanobi..."

⁵⁴SZ, vol.2176, fasc.14, f.35v. The image was for the "portam societatis". G. Richa, Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine (Florence, 1757), VI, p.107 indicated that the terra-

4. The Company of Santo Spirito

The Company's records fail to mention the name or location of its altar in the Augustinian church. A 1598 memoriale, the friars' altar-by-altar record of their liturgical obligations, provides the only clue to the location of the Company altar. Among the duties associated with the "Altar of the Holy Sacrament of Matteo Corbinelli", located in the left nave (fig.5), was the following:

The Company of the Dove must sing laude in musica on every feast day [of Lent], and afterwards a Father is to give confession and recommend to God the soul of the said Matteo, for which they [the Company] are to be given a gold florin. These laude are sung on the Sundays and feast days during Lent. [doc.55]

There can be no certainty that this was the Company's primary altar during the previous three centuries of its existence, but it may well have been since the mid-15th century, given the Company's exclusive attention to lenten lauda singing after that time.⁵⁵

A detailed inventory of 1444 lists no devotional images. The only reference to such was in 1465, when the friars of Santo Spirito traded a painting from the Company altar, an Annunciation, to Santa Croce, and received in return a Madonna and child, surrounded by Saints Giovanni, Girolamo, Alesso, and Jachopo.⁵⁶

cotta image was located on the outside of the canonry door.

⁵⁵See Ch.IV, pp.194f.

⁵⁶SSP, vol.78, f.47v [April 17, 1465].

The latter was placed "in sul nostro altare".

5. The Company of Sant'Agnese

The Sant'Agnese laudesi retained a strong claim to their Carmine altars throughout their five-hundred year existence, which makes their location a relatively easy task to determine. Probably from the foundation of the church, the Company managed all aspects of decoration, repair, and liturgical devotions at the altar dedicated to Sant'Agnese (fig.6, no.26).⁵⁷ In 1377, the Company acquired the patronage rights to a second chapel through the bequest of the chapel's previous owner, the cloth merchant Chiaro d'Ardinghelli.⁵⁸ The chapel of the Annunciation, "detta la Seggiolina", was located at the rear of the church just to the left of the main door (fig.6, no.22).⁵⁹ The Company's sacristy,

⁵⁷The layout of the Carmine altars prior to a disastrous fire in 1771 was reconstructed by U. Procacci, "L'incendio della chiesa del Carmine del 1771," Rivista d'arte 14 (1932), 141-232. The floor plan, which I have used, is on p.151, and a description of the Company's altars, based on three memoriale that pre-date the fire, is on pp.166-7. For a more recent study of the old church, with floor plans and nave chapels, see Ch.IV, n.199.

⁵⁸G. Bacchi, "La Compagnia di Santa Maria delle laude...", III (1931-32), pp.103-4. The chapel was not officially ceded to the Company until 1433. From 1377 to 1433 it remained in the possession of the Ardinghelli, although the Company maintained it at their expense; Ibid., p.107. Concerning this bequest, see Ch.III, p.94.

⁵⁹Ibid., p.166. The altar was renovated in 1590, but its paintings and frescoes, like most in the other chapels (except the Brancacci) were destroyed by the 1771 fire. In 1444, the Company recorded a payment for altarcloths to be washed for "nostri altari, cioè Santa Angnesa, Sa[n] Nicholo, ell'anu[n]-ziata"; SA, vol.24, fasc.11, f.5v. The bequest of Chiaro d'Ardinghelli did provide for the establishment of a chapel dedicated to Saints Nicholas, Martin, Margaret, and Katherine, but the above

scuola, and meeting room (fig.6, no.25a) was not destroyed by the 1771 fire, and the remains of late 14th and early 15th-century monochrome frescoes indicate that the room was in use at least by that time.

The two chapels and sacristy in such proximity must have constituted one of the strongest and most coherent centers of lay devotion in Florence.

The Company's 15th-century records show continual and significant expenses on altar renovation and decoration. Extensive work on the Sant'Agnese chapel in 1437-38 included a "nuova porta di santa agnesa del cimitero", indicating that the Company had private access to a cemetery on the east side of the nave.⁶⁰

In 1467, a carpenter was paid over L.78 to build a seat assembly and a carved lintel inside one of the two chapels (unspecified), "in the place where the laude are sung".⁶¹ This is a rare clue to exactly where laude were sung, that is, within a private chapel enclosed, usually, on three sides and fronted with a grille. As-

record is the only indication that a third altar was under the Company's patronage; Bacchi, "La compagnia," 3 (1931-32), 103. The Nicholas altar (fig.6, no.20) was re-dedicated to St. Albert in the 16th century, and was under the patronage of the Marzighi family; Procacci, "L'incendio," 165.

⁶⁰SA, vol.98, ff.137v-140r.

⁶¹SA, vol.115, f.52r [ca.1467]: "Zanobi di domenicho legnaiuolo a san tomaso in merchato vechio de[ve] avere per una ciscranna a noi fatta cioe alla nostra compagnia (capella?) nella chiesa di santa maria del charmino chonuna ispalliero e sedere e uno ischaglione dapre [sic] chonuna chassa in detta ciscranna la quale è in detta chiesa allato alla nostra compagnia a luogho dove si dichono le laude chon segni della nostra compagnia, e di sopra architrane frego chornicone di bracc[i]a sedici in circha ...L.78 s.10."

suming the lintel was to extend around the solid side walls and back wall, its specified length of about sixteen yards indicates the approximate size of the enclosed area.

Paatz reported that the Company owned a devotional image of the Madonna and Child, the "Madonna del Carmine" (or "Madonna del Popolo"), painted ca.1280 "in Byzantine style".⁶² This was perhaps the image referred to in a 1289 statute concerning the evening lauda services. An officer who had missed a previous gathering

...must hold a lit candle in hand before the painting of Our Lady, while the laude are sung...⁶³

After 1390, however, the image appears no longer to have been used by the Company, for it was located in the Braccacci chapel. Although the Company's devotional images have not survived, we still know that several important artists were associated with the Company. In 1399-1400, Lorenzo Monaco painted an Annunciation for the Company's chapel of that name.⁶⁴ An annual dues payment by Fra Filippo Lippi was recorded in 1431, and Neri di Bicci

⁶²Paatz, Die Kirchen, vol.III, p.209, and n.109.

⁶³ed. A. Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, p.62 [1289]: "...debia tenere una candella accesa in mano dinanzi a la tavola di nostra Donna, tanto che le Laude si cantino [sic]..."; In May, 1285, the captains noted the commission of another painting (or perhaps fresco): "...che fosse fatta una ymagine di nostra Donna sopra l'avello dela Compangnia; e la ymagine stea in cotale modo, che abbia appiede figure le quali steano ginocchioni co le mane chiuse." Ibid., p.59.

⁶⁴Procacci, "L'incendio," 28; Bacchi, "La Compagnia di S. Maria," III (1931-32), 104-5, maintains, however, that Lorenzo's painting was executed for the new St. Nicholas chapel established by Chiaro d'Ardinghelli's bequest.

(1419-1491) was a devoted member of the Company for many years.⁶⁵

6. The Company of San Frediano

Since the church of San Frediano was permanently suppressed in 1783, relatively little is known about its interior. According to Paatz, the Company's primary altar, dedicated to San Frediano, was the third one on the right (south) wall of the nave, apparently the last nave altar before the main altar in this small church.⁶⁶ The Company was bequeathed the patronage rights to two other chapels in the 15th century, the chapel of San Michele (1436), and the chapel of the Annunciation (1479), but the location of these two chapels within the church is unknown.⁶⁷

In 1368, the Company owned "due 'magini di san friano",⁶⁸ and thereafter the frequent altar work and acquisition of a number of images reflects its shift to the imaginative devotion of a laudesi company. By 1400, the Company owned a Pietà, "which is placed upon the altarcloth of the laude," and for which a tabernacle was constructed that year.⁶⁹ In 1442, a fresco of the

⁶⁵Bacchi, "La Compagnia," II (1931-32), 13, 17, 36.

⁶⁶Die Kirchen, II, p.140.

⁶⁷See Ch.IV, n.238.

⁶⁸SF, vol.30, f.98r [1368 inventory]; On Dec.31st of that year, the Company recorded a payment of L.2 s.10 for a "mezina d'olio per fornire la lampana che sta dinanzi alla tavola di Mess[er] Sancto fridiano", SF, vol.88, f.84v.

⁶⁹SF, vol.31, ff.13r-v, 35v: "A [lacuna] dipintore per dipingnere e per luaglesco [sic] per fare la piata che si pone a la tovaglia delle lalde...L.3"

Virgin with Saints Antonio and Lionardo was commissioned from the painter Stefano d'Antonio.⁷⁰ During the 1470s, the Company completely renovated the San Frediano chapel, then between ca.1480-1520 commissioned several works from Florentine artists for the decoration of the new chapel. During 1484-1486 payments were made to Jacopo del Sellaio for a Pietà with Saints Jerome and Frediano,⁷¹ and between 1495 and 1520 several terracotta figures were provided by the della Robbia workshop.⁷²

⁷⁰SF, vol.4, f.35v; vol.31, f.63r. This was the fulfillment of a bequest, and seems to have been executed primarily by Stefano (1405-1483), a former assistant to Bicci di Lorenzo. D.E. Colnaghi, Dictionary of Florentine Painters (London, 1928), p.257.

⁷¹SF, vol.110, ff.53v-63r; 53v: "A Jachopo d'archangiolo dipintore a di 8 di Marzo [1484] fiorini due larghi dise per dare a Zanobi di domenico lengnaiuolo per parte del quadro della tavola della alltare di sancto friano nuovamente fatto...L.12 s.2." Paatz, Die Kirchen, II, p.140, where he dates the commission of the painting in 1483, and provides bibliographic details (p.143, n.26). The painting is now in the Berlin Gallery (no.1009) bearing an attribution to Filippino Lippi. Sellaio (1442-1493), a pupil of Filippo Lippi, also furnished a painting of the Crucifixion for the main altar. Several members of the Sellaio family belonged to the Company, and Jacopo was buried in San Frediano. Colnaghi, Dictionary, p.245.

⁷²On April 24, 1495, L.33 was paid to Luca della Robbia "per un sengnio [of the Company] per detta capella...", SF, vol.112, f.87r; between March and Sept., 1502, L.44 was paid to Andrea di Luca for "cherubini di tira chotti...per la chapella nostra di san friano...per mettere nel architrave...", Idem., ff.112r-v; and payments were made in Sept., 1518, April, 1519, and the last on Sept.1, 1520 to Andrea "...per una resuessione di terra cotta fatta rotto largho di detta chapella per adornamento fatto fare...L.59 s.10 d.4", Idem., ff.112r, 200v-201r. Cf. Paatz, Die Kirchen, II, p.141. The latter decorations (ca.1518-20) were probably part of a second renovation of the chapel in 1520, when Sellaio's son repainted his father's altar panel; Ibid., p.140.

7. The Company of Santa Croce

Throughout the history of its presence in the great Franciscan church, the Santa Croce laudesi were situated in the north-eastern-most chapel in the church. According to Moisè, the Company was first located at the Bardi di Vernio chapel (fig.7, no.6), then more permanently at what is now called the Niccolini chapel (fig.7, no.7).⁷³ Beginning in 1439, a series of church memoriale describe this later location as "the chapel in the corner (opposite the door of the sacristy), entitled in [honor of] the Virgin Mary, belonging to the Company of the Laude of the Virgin Mary."⁷⁴ In 1470, the Archbishop of Florence renewed the Company's forty-day indulgence for devotions conducted at the "altare virginis marie".⁷⁵

The Company had abandoned lauda singing by 1538, which must have weakened its traditional connection to this chapel. Beginning in 1565, Duke Cosimo and his architect/artist Vasari began a vast renovation project in Santa Croce paralleling their work in Santa Maria Novella.⁷⁶ In both cases, the renovation affected primarily the nave altars, and though the Santa Croce laudesi

⁷³F. Moisè, S. Croce di Firenze: Illustrazione storico-artistica (Florence, 1845), p.416. See also Paatz, Die Kirchen, I, pp.503, 594, 604; and M. Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation, p.157, no.7, where documents are presented supporting the Company's patronage of this chapel.

⁷⁴M. Hall, Renovation, p.157: "La chappella nel chanto (rimpetto alla porta della Sagrestia)...e intitolata nella Vergine Maria è della Compagnia delle Laude della Vergine Maria".

⁷⁵ASF, Capitoli, vol.53, cap.XII.

⁷⁶M. Hall, Renovation, passim.

chapel was not among these, the same princely reshuffling of ancient patronage rights that had deprived the Santa Maria Novella laudesi of an altar was carried out in Santa Croce. Between 1579 and 1582 the Company was deprived of its traditional altar by the next Grand Duke, Francesco Maria de' Medici,

...whom it pleased that the ancient site of our Company might accommodate the illustrious Signore Giovanni of the most illustrious and most reverend cardinal Niccolini, so that a chapel might be made there.⁷⁷
[doc.56]

Allotted a new location by the Grand Duke, the Company was forced to build a new residence just outside the church wall, "in the place between the chapel of the Illustrious Salviati and the Illustrious Bardi and Gualterotti (fig.7, no.22)."⁷⁸ The Company was certainly deprived of an altar in its new location, but was allowed to continue celebrating its ufficio generale (on the feast of Santa Lucia) in the church until, sometime after 1582, the Company could no longer afford to meet the terms of the bequest that provided for the ufficio.⁷⁹

⁷⁷The date of the expulsion given in this document is 1579, but another source gives the date 1582 (ASF, Compagnie Religiose Sopresse, vol.1373, fasc.4F, no.6).

⁷⁸Doc.56. The Risaliti chapel (fig.7, no.22) was constructed in 1575, while the Bardi/Gualterotti chapel was a traditional site; M. Hall, Renovation, pp.134-5, 157, no.8.

⁷⁹The Company petitioned the friars to relax the terms of the bequest, and the friars refused; ASF, CmRS 1373, no.1, fasc.F., filza 6.

8. The Company of San Bastiano

The Company's sacristy was a small room located on the east side of the tribune (fig.8, no.10).⁸⁰ Although the exact location of its chapel is not known, two possible locations (by virtue of the chapel's dedication) are the St. Sebastian chapel (fig.8, no.2), and the fourth chapel on the right side of the nave, dedicated to San Gerardo and the Pietà.⁸¹

9. The Company of San Lorenzo

According to Richa, the San Lorenzo laudesi were located at the chapel of the Sacrament (probably the 16th-century title of this altar), but the location of this chapel in the church is not known.⁸²

* * *

The devotional framework of lauda singing is as crucial to an understanding of this activity as the social context described in chapter II. The interior, imaginative process of devotion was implicit in the lay spirituality of republican Florence, and lauda singing was one of the most creative and popular expressions of that spirituality. Moreover, laudesi devotion reveals both in its inner mental "habits" and its outer manifestations a strong orientation to the concrete, the particular, and the

⁸⁰O. Micali, Le soppressioni, p.74.

⁸¹Paatz, Die Kirchen, I, pp.79, 100.

⁸²Richa, Notizie istoriche (1757), V, p.91; Paatz, Die Kirchen, II, p.517.

familiar. Whether this orientation is attributable to the urban merchant's practical turn of mind, or more broadly to the secular Everyman of late medieval society, it is nevertheless readily apparent in the centuries during which the companies maintained, decorated, and met at their particular altars, and conversed with their sacred advocates who stood before them in the vivid panels of Tuscan artists.

CHAPTER VII: DECLINE AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE 16TH CENTURY

During the tumultuous half century between the fall of the Medici republic in 1494 and the stabilization of the Medici principate in the 1540s, traditional confraternal life in Florence collapsed under the pressure of constant political turmoil, long periods of suppression, and recurrent bouts of war and plague. The laudesi devotion of the lay companies had been sustained into the early 16th century on the strength of bequests, and for the first time in over two centuries the companies found themselves unable to meet the terms of those bequests. Prolonged cessations of cultic activity and the destruction and confiscation of income properties and meeting places weakened the ancient devotion that, like the republic to which its fate was linked, had survived in its later years more in form than substance. When the lay companies began to revive after mid century, it was under the twin aegis of the Counter-Reformation Church and the Medici principate, which generated new ideals of piety and community that were hospitable to neither the form nor substance of traditional laudesi devotion.

The Florentine laudesi companies thrived during the 14th and 15th centuries, maintaining an active ceremonial life and large membership, but the practice and devotion of confraternal lauda singing per se began to show early signs of decline in the late 14th century. The congregations had become distanced from the devotion by the widespread activity of professional singers who

were generally not members, the production of laudarios began to taper off, new laudesi companies had ceased to appear, and existing companies became increasingly preoccupied with the liturgical pomp that Savonarola was to decry a century later. The decline was fully apparent in the 15th century with the abandonment of ferial singing in the 1440s, and the drying up altogether of bequests for lauda vigils after mid century. But why this decline? The companies continued to thrive, as did the musico-poetic genre of the lauda.¹

Another noticeable feature of late 14th-century laudesi practice is the weakening of the traditional identity between the lay companies and the lauda repertory. In fact, from this time on the repertory (both Florentine and Venetian) becomes increasingly difficult to link directly to the Florentine companies.² While this condition may be partly attributable to the broader and shifting currents of poetic taste, it is more directly related to changes in the nature of Florentine politics and society which in

¹For the period covered in this chapter, the important works on the Florentine political system are G.A. Brucker, The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1977); D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426-1434 (London, 1978); N. Rubinstein, The Government of Florence under the Medici (Oxford, 1966); H.C. Butters, Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence (Oxford, 1985); J.N. Stephens, The Fall of the Florentine Republic, 1512-1530 (Oxford, 1983); F. Diaz, Il Granducato di Toscana (Turin, 1976). On 15th-century Florentine society: L. Martines, The Social World of the Florentine Humanists (Princeton, 1963); F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1977), and D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbors and Neighborhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the 15th Century (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1982).

²See Ch.V, pp.280f.

turn forced a shift in the priorities of the lay companies.

The Florentine *laudesi* companies were a characteristic manifestation of early guild republicanism. They were city-wide and socially heterogeneous, they enjoyed a certain degree of corporate autonomy for being mid-way between the authority of the church and the commune, and they were predicated upon an easy confluence of widely accepted sacred and secular values. The erosion of corporate pluralism, in particular, appears to have begun under the financial burden of increasingly expensive military campaigns waged against neighboring cities (especially during the Oligarchy, c.1382-1427), and the commune's desire to regulate traditional corporate groups, like the guilds and the lay companies, for the purpose of more effective taxation. What began in the late 14th century as a whittling away of rights, privileges, and immunities, became in the 15th century, especially after the return of the Medici in 1433, the willful usurpation and centralization of political power.³ The protracted wars against Milan, and later Lucca, intensified traditional conflicts centering on taxation and eligibility to office, and required exorbitant taxes that led to the redistribution of wealth into the hands of relatively few citizens. This contributed to the consolidation of a politically dominant patrician class, a long process which had begun with the rise of the Oligarchy after the

³M. Becker, "Aspects of Lay Piety...", 180-81; the period of the Oligarchy is examined in detail in G. Brucker, The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1977); review article by Alison Brown, Journal of Modern History 52 (1980), 335-9.

revolt of the Florentine wool workers in 1378 (the Ciampi revolution), and reached full bloom in the 16th-century principate.

A concomitant development was the general shift from corporate to private spheres of activity, which was evident, for example, in the shift of artistic patronage from public subsidy to the private patron after ca.1425,⁴ and the great increase of private devotional books (for layman and cleric) containing laude. The pattern of giving through bequests changed, as well, and Florentines appeared less interested in purchasing the ritual of clerical and confraternal institutions, and more inclined to subvent philanthropic causes that benefitted the needy individuals of Florentine society.⁵ Accordingly, the nature of public ritual changed, as traditional public expressions of lay devotion (like the laudesi ferial services and spontaneous mass processions) yielded to fewer and grander forms of festive display. By the mid 15th century, the companies of Sant'Agnese, Santo Spirito, and San Bastiano were expending huge sums of money on annual religious spectacles that were subsidized and monitored by the Medici.⁶

Florentine leaders had always distrusted any large and wealthy organization with the potential for developing into an independent estate and influencing the conduct of the city's

⁴Brucker, Renaissance Florence, p.227; Trexler, "Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation in the Renaissance," The Pursuit of Holiness, ed. Trinkaus and Oberman, pp.263-4.

⁵Ibid., pp.209-210.

⁶See Ch.IV, n.175, n.202.

affairs. In 1348-9, Orsanmichele, the wealthiest lay company in the city, was forced to sell most of its goods to the city, which then assumed the right to elect its captains. But only during the last quarter of the century did the commune begin to fear consistently the conspiratorial potential of the lay companies during times of crisis. During the War of the Eight Saints, when Florence incurred papal interdict in 1375-8, the city considered suppressing the disciplinati companies, which were increasing their activity in the organization of peace processions.⁷ However, with the cessation of priestly cult the religious activities of the lay companies assumed a special significance, and their cathartic value under the pressure of interdict was appreciated by the city leaders. Contemporary chroniclers provide a vivid picture:

It appeared that a compunction had seized all the citizens, so that in almost every church they sang laudi every evening. An infinite number of men and women attended, and the costs that were run up in candles and books and necessary articles were amazing. Every day there was a procession with relics and hymns followed by the whole population. Every company beat themselves, including children down to ten years of age. There were certainly more than 5,000 flagellants at processions, and more than 20,000 people followed the procession.⁸

⁷R. Trexler, The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence under Interdict (Leiden, 1974), p.129; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.165. The disciplinati companies in particular attracted suspicion, because their membership tended to be the wealthier and more influential Florentines, their meetings were extremely secretive, and their hooded garbs allowed them to march anonymously in public.

⁸Stefani, Cronaca fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo..., rub.757; trans. in Trexler, The Spiritual Power, pp.130-31; ed. by N. Rodolico, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (new ed.), XXX,1

Today, on the 19th of April of the year 1377, in the morning, every single company of flagellants paraded through Florence with many banners of tavole of Our Lady, of S. Gilio, and many crucifixes and tavole and standards of the companies. They went completely through the city of Florence with many beautiful and large processions of flagellants and youths, singing many beautiful laudi and songs...⁹

Finally, after the spring of 1377, the government's fear of sedition and disorder surpassed their tolerance, and all public manifestations of religion were banned.

During the early 15th century, as the ruling Oligarchy enacted legislation that led to the political disenfranchisement of first the guilds (1414), then the lay companies, the fears of the ruling elite that these groups mixed religion and politics naturally increased.¹⁰ Such fears were likely to be justified as the merchant class, traditionally at the center of Florentine politics, were subjected increasingly to the twin pressures of

(Città di Castello, 1903).

⁹Diario d'Anonimo fiorentino; trans. in Trexler, *Ibid.*, p.132; ed. A. Gherardi, Cronache dei Secoli XIII e XIV, Documenti di Storia Italiana, 6 vols. VI (Florence, 1867), p.331.

¹⁰In 1414, the statutes of the guilds were altered so as to limit their scope for independent political action and to prevent them from serving as channels for corporate aims and grievances, which were beginning to be viewed by the ruling Oligarchy (and upper classes in general) as a threat to their hegemony. In 1415, Florentine guild members (esp. Wool guild members) were prohibited from attending the meetings of any confraternity without permission from the consuls of their guild. That is, guildsmen were forbidden to use the lay companies as an alternative means to formulate dissent. L. Polizzotto, "Confraternities, Conventicles, and Political Dissent: The Case of the Savonarolan 'Capi Rossi'," Memorie domenicane n.s. 16 (1985), 237-8. Polizzotto and Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, Chs.IV and V, provide the most detailed account of the Florentine lay companies' political problems during the 15th and 16th centuries.

increased taxation and reduced political recourse. Actual episodes of political activism among the lay companies called down the unprecedented legislation of 1419, which is worth quoting at length since it served as the basis for subsequent legislation against the companies:

...The lord priors...desire to eliminate the cause and occasion of scandals and to remove all suspicion from the minds of the authorities so that everyone can live peaceably. They have learned that as a result of the meeting of certain confraternities, the spirits of the citizenry have been perturbed, divisions have arisen, and many other inconveniences have occurred. Desiring to provide the proper remedy, they...have decreed... that every confraternity, whether penitential or dedicated to singing laude...which is accustomed to assemble in the ecclesiastical foundations of the city of Florence...is henceforth to be dissolved and banned, and its meetings categorically prohibited. Whoever has ...the custody of any of the books or documents containing the names of the confraternity's members, or their constitutions, observances, and regulations must bring them to the chancellor of the Commune of Florence during the month of October...

Item, the lord priors...are authorized, between now and the end of November, to dispose of all property, both real and personal, belonging to these confraternities...for the benefit of the souls, and for the remission of sins, of those who have given that property to those confraternities...

Item, all of the furnishings in the buildings of these confraternities are to be totally destroyed...and the places of assembly...are to be used for other purposes or for habitation, or they are to be closed...so that no congregation or meeting can be held in them.

Item, none of the confraternities may assemble or congregate in any other location, whether ecclesiastical or secular, within or outside the city of Florence

Item, no person, lay or clerical, of whatever dignity, status, quality, or eminence may allow any company to assemble in his house...

Item, no confraternity may be newly created or established in the city of Florence or within a three-mile radius...This provision does not apply...to any confraternity which is newly established with the license and consent of the lord priors...[Within each] confraternity which is accepted, confirmed, and approved by the above-mentioned license...the members thereof

...are prohibited from...interfering by word or deed in matters pertaining to the Commune of Florence, to the Merchant's Court, to any guild...in the city of Florence, or to the administration of any of them...¹¹

These provisions were immediately qualified by significant concessions, and no immediate action against the companies is known to have been taken, but they served as a stiff warning designed to inhibit the companys' less acceptable activities, as well as a precedent for more aggressive actions in the future.¹² Such action was not far off, and new regulations in 1426 were enacted, like those of 1419, in the midst of grave political and financial crises, conflict within the Oligarchy, and fear of civic discord. Debates among government leaders in 1426 revealed remarkable hostility towards the companies, and for the first time specific charges were made, the most frequent being the accusation that members of lay companies used their position for the political advancement of themselves and friends, and in order to obtain preferential treatment in tax allocations. The new regulations prohibited politically qualified citizens (veduti), as well as brothers, sons, or grandsons of veduti since 1381, from any form of participation in the lay companies.

Under increasing pressure to avoid political scandal, the companies revised their statutes a number of times during the

¹¹Transcribed and translated by G. Brucker in The Society of Renaissance Florence (New York, 1971), pp.83-4.

¹²The 1419 legislation was implemented to the extent that a special commission was established which investigated the companies between Oct.19 and Oct.31, during which time the companies were probably suspended. Polizzotto, "Confraternities, Conventicles....," 239-40.

15th and 16th centuries. In particular, those statutes concerned with election procedures of officers began to dwarf the rest of the document, as the companies went to great lengths to convince the commune officials who scrutinized these statutes that such procedures were immune from factional manipulation.¹³ In 1438, the Company of San Frediano appended to its 14th-century statutes a long and elaborate regulation concerning elections, with the following preface:

...in that time [of the original 1323 statutes] there were other customs and modes of living that today do not exist, and because the times have changed, it is necessary to change other regulations and statutes, above all [those concerning] the means of electing the officials of the said company.¹⁴ [doc.57]

When the laudesi company at Santa Croce drafted new statutes in 1470, a long statute was devoted to election procedures

...so as to prevent the scandals which often intrude in the formation of the officers in similar places...¹⁵

The Company of San Lorenzo, abolished in 1432 at the Medici family church shortly before the Medici returned to Florence, was undoubtedly the victim of a political indiscretion during this

¹³From the 1420s onwards, the archepiscopal curia also began to thoroughly review both existing and new company statutes, and thereafter insisted upon approving them. The cooperation of secular and ecclesiastical powers in overseeing the statutes of the companies contributed significantly to the erosion of lay companies' independence. Similar developments towards ecclesiastical centralization were occurring elsewhere in Italy. Polizzotto, "Confraternities, Conventicles...", 244-5.

¹⁴This was the first statute revision or addition since 1368, and others followed in 1440, 1441, 1444, 1467, and 1468.

¹⁵ASF, Capitoli 53 [May 11, 1470], Cap.II: "...Acciò che si obvii agli scandali che spesso intervengono nelle creationi degli Ufficiali di simili luoghi..."

tense period.

Changes in the membership of laudesi companies during this period suggest that that lay companies had indeed become attractive to politically-minded Florentines, and not only guildsmen, who were increasingly excluded from traditional channels of political participation. Company membership lists, especially in the Oltrarno companies, show a marked increase in the Florentine family names. The Company of Santo Spirito was transformed by the influx of prominent families of the quarter during c.1440-1470.¹⁶

Provisions similar to those of 1419 and 1426 were enacted again in 1443, 1455, 1458, and 1471. The 1458 prohibition was enacted, once again, in the midst of political crisis and reports of secret meetings, and this time resulted in a prolonged suppression for six years.¹⁷ As with previous anti-confraternal legislation, however, the action of the law was more selective and compromising than its letter, for it was understood by the commune that the companies were also bound by law, both secular and ecclesiastical, to fulfill the terms of their bequests. The companies of San Zanobi, San Piero Martire, and Sant'Agnese continued to hire singers and conduct services throughout this period, while there is a hiatus during this period in the

¹⁶For ex., the Corsini, Ridolfi, Capponi, Pitti, Corbinelli, Frescobaldi, Torrigioni, Biliotti, and Lanfredini. The influx may have begun sooner, but the extant membership lists were compiled after 1451, and date back to 1444. SA, vol.79, Debitori e Creditori, 1451-1522, passim. Cosimo's favorite architect, Michelozzo Michelozzi, entered the company on August 3, 1446; Ibid., f.21v.

¹⁷Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.168, and n.17; Polizzotto, "Confraternities, Conventicles," 245.

documents of the other two Oltrarno companies, Santo Spirito and San Frediano. No singers are named in the records of San Frediano after 1458, where the decline of lauda singing appears to have resulted from the combined impact upon this small company of a prolonged suppression and the difficulty of maintaining the larger, polyphonic choirs that came into fashion in the 1460s.

On May 10, 1467, the Company of Santo Spirito recorded the new membership of a leading Florentine citizen. He soon appeared also in the membership lists of Sant'Agnese (1469), and San Zanobi (1474).¹⁸ Even before his accession to power as the leading citizen of Florence in 1469, Lorenzo de' Medici had already initiated his novel policy with regard to the lay companies. He recognized their potential as sources of political support for Medici rule, and he exploited the opportunity by sharing with them various forms of patronage (endowments, tax exemptions, and donations of properties), and by joining the companies (he was a nominal member of at least eight lay companies), or seeing to it that family and loyal friends and supporters were elected to the major lay offices.¹⁹

¹⁸SSP, vol.79, f.21v: "Lorenzo di piero di chosimo de' medici entro nella nostra chonpagnia a di 10 di magio, 1467." Medici involvement in the Company of Sant'Agnese is examined by Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.170-72, with an additional document in the present study, Ch.IV, n.222. On San Zanobi, see Ch.IV, n.121.

¹⁹Polizzotto, "Confraternities, Conventicles," 146-7; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.169-73; A. Brown, Bartolomeo Scala--1430-1497--Chancellor of Florence (Princeton, 1979), pp.112-13; R. Trexler, Public Life; R. Hatfield, "The Compagnia de' Magi," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 33 (1970), 107-61, a fascinating examination of the activities of

Medici involvement in the affairs of the Company of Sant'Agnese is particularly well documented. Lorenzo was elected to the office of syndic in 1483, counselor in 1487, captain in 1489, treasurer in 1491, and captain again in 1491-2. Lorenzo's son Piero was too young to hold office, but the Company waived the regulations "because the Medici House has always been the benefactor of our Company", and Piero was elected captain in 1488, and again in 1489-90. Giuliano and (later cardinal) Giulio de' Medici enjoyed similar privileges, for in 1485 Lorenzo and all his male heirs were elected to receive all the benefits with none of the obligations of membership. Bartolomeo Scala, Chancellor of Florence and loyal Medici follower, entered the Company in 1487 with the same privileges as the Medici House, and served as captain in 1491. From 1469 Lorenzo, and after him Piero, provided the grain for bread that was distributed annually at Christmas, and helped secure subvention for the Company's annual Ascension feast. Lorenzo died on April 8, 1492, and nine days later the Company celebrated a rinovale at their traditional altar, "per la buona memoria" of their long-time patron.

The lay companies proved to be an effective and compliant

one lay company, whose public pageant, the feast of the Magi, ritualized Medici patronage itself. There is some evidence that Cosimo may have used similar tactics; the eminent Florentine musician Antonio Squarcialupi, a Medici partisan who in 1445 appeared in Medici correspondence reporting on the secret electoral procedures of one lay company, was an officer of the Company of San Zanobi during the 1430s and 1440s, and on several occasions was in trouble with the company. In 1436, he was declared "libera della corezione gli fu fatto per disubidente"; SZ, vol.2186, fasc.48, f.147r.

tool in the dissemination of Medici patronage and control. During the relative political stability of this period, the laudesi companies experienced few disruptions, and succeeded in establishing polyphonic chapels which suited the ritual splendor of Laurentian Florence.

With the expulsion of the Medici in 1494, blessing turned to curse. In the several decades during which companies like Sant'Agnese had been drawn into the web of Medici politics, they were unwittingly elevated to the rank of those parties suspected by a new regime for having been too closely aligned with a deposed one. Hereafter, the lay companies were subjected to increasingly frequent bans, and their suppression became the reflex of leaders during crisis.

Crisis ensued in 1494 and the companies were immediately suppressed.²⁰ For the next four years during which Savonarola effectively ruled Florence, it is clear that his plans for the religious revival of Florence did not include the lay companies, which he regarded with suspicion.²¹ Music, however, and particularly laude and plainchant, was a matter of vital concern to the Dominican friar. His vehement preaching against polyphony in religious services contained a distinct echo of St. Augustine's

²⁰Polizzotto, op. cit., 247-8; N. Rubinstein, "Politics and Constitution in Florence at the End of the Fifteenth Century," Italian Renaissance Studies, ed. E.F. Jacob (London, 1960), pp.148-83, esp. p.168; Weissman, op. cit., pp.173-4.

²¹Polizzotto, "Confraternities, Conventicles," 248-9. The numerous youth confraternities in Florence, however, became the target of Savonarolan organization; see R. Trexler, "Ritual in Florence," pp.200-64.

ancient suspicion:

...figural music is sooner injurious in church than useful, because there one must contemplate and pray to God with the mind and the intellect, and figural music does nothing but charm the ear and the senses.²²

But the lauda, now in simple polyphonic settings that did not obscure the text, remained a useful symbol of popular devotion. By his own example he encouraged the composition of lauda texts set to music,²³ and Savonarola's lasting impression upon the city was kept alive in part by the number of lauda poets who had been influenced by his teachings.²⁴ His attitude was made explicit in

²²Excerpt from a sermon of March 23, 1495, translated in D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 347. Harsher denunciations than this led to the abolition of polyphonic chapels at the city's leading churches: "God says: Take away all your beautiful figural music; these gentlemen have chapels of singers which seem like a rabble...because there stands a singer with a large voice like a calf's, and the others howl around him like dogs, and no one understands what they are saying. Let figural music go, and sing the plainchant ordered by the Church! You also want the organs played. You go to church to hear the organs. God says: I don't hear your organs, but yet you refuse to understand..." (March 6, 1496); *Ibid.*, 348.

²³G. Cattin, "Le poesie del Savonarola nelle fonti musicali," *Quadrivium* 12 (1971), 259-80; D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 347; L. Parigi, *Laurentiana* (Florence, 1954), p.91; M. Ferrara, *Savonarola* (Florence, 1952); Savonarola's laude are printed in *Girolamo Savonarola: Poesie*, ed. M. Martelli (Rome, 1968).

²⁴See Ch.V, p.310. In addition to Castellani, an outstanding figure at this time was Girolamo Benivieni, the chief publicist of the Savonarolan movement, who at one time was a leading poet of Lorenzo's literary *brigata*, and pupil of Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola; D. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence* (Princeton, 1970), pp.205-7, 216-20. The strong influence of Savonarola upon the Laurentian *litterati* helps explain the continued strength of the lauda *contrafacta* tradition, for he "appealed to many of the Florentine Platonists, some of whom served and fought for him with the best weapons they had, with frottola, canzone, political tract, and philosophical dialogue"; *Ibid.*, p.205.

a sermon delivered from the pulpit of the Cathedral:

And now children, let us talk to you a bit. Listen to me: you sing laude here every morning and that's fine; but once in a while I'd also like to hear you sing the canti of the church such as the Ave maris stella or the Veni creator Spiritus; and it wouldn't hurt if the people were to sing the responses; and if I were to come to the pulpit and find that you were singing that Ave maris stella, I'd probably sing also...²⁵

It is unclear just who was singing these laude, for the Cathedral laudesi company, San Zanobi, was not holding services during this time.²⁶ Nor were most of the other laudesi companies. The hiatus in the records of the Company of Sant'Agnes reflects the cost of Medici patronage, for it corresponds exactly to the span of Savonarola's rule (October, 1494 to April, 1498). Only in the Company of Santo Spirito did lauda singing continue, undoubtedly because it was by this time entirely in the hands of the Santo Spirito friars. The situation reveals the disassociation between lauda and laudesi company that had begun a century before. The lauda remained a vital form and expression of lay devotion, attaining new vigor during and after the Savonarolan period, but the laudesi companies were clearly no longer its chief guardian and sponsor.

Florence entered the 16th century in a state of endemic crisis which was not to subside until Cosimo de' Medici's entrenchment in power in the years 1537-1540. During the last two

²⁵Translated in D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 349, n.202.

²⁶Their records of payments to singers show a hiatus between March, 1495 and January, 1498; D'Accone, "Note sulle compagnie," 101.

periods of the Republic (1498-1512, 1527-1530), the Florentine oligarchy was deeply divided and beset by the political upheaval of the Italian peninsula caused by the military intervention of foreign monarchs. The fitful beginnings of despotic government were accompanied by the intrusion of those larger forces that would reshape Florentine society. The first Medici restoration in 1512 was accomplished by the combined forces of papal interdict and the Spanish Army (representing the Holy League established by Pope Julius II).²⁷ The last Republic fell in 1530 to Imperial forces, and two centuries of despotic Medici rule commenced with the unstable regime of Duke Alessandro de' Medici. During the ten month siege prior to the fall, tens of thousands of Florentines died of fighting, starvation, and plague, defending the last republican commune in Italy.

The consequences for the lay companies were predictable:

Any internal or external threat to the government, whether real or imagined, any change of regime, any seemingly unfavorable development or set of circumstances, occasioned the immediate, pre-emptive banning of adult confraternities.²⁸

The situation was further aggravated by the fact that followers of Savonarola had turned to them shortly after the friar's death to keep alive his memory and ideals.²⁹ Thus the bans became an index of political instability: four in 1503, four in 1504, and

²⁷R. Trexler, The Spiritual Power, pp.178-86; J. Stephens, The Fall of the Florentine Republic, Ch. 3.

²⁸Polizzotto, "Confraternities, Conventicles," 251.

²⁹Ibid., 250.

three in 1505. The Medici restoration began likewise, with one in 1513, three in 1514, two in 1515, three in 1516, and three in 1517.³⁰

The companies attempted to deal with the problems of frequent suppression by appointing long-term officials to oversee the fiscal affairs of the company while it was closed. The Company of San Frediano had been suppressed in 1495, showed no signs of activity until 1502,³¹ and by 1520 was in total disarray:

How great is the disorder in which this company finds itself and its properties, not being able to make good on its accounts, nor to collect from its debtors, and the proper observance of the statutes has been neglected, and all this occurred because our meetings have no order. The captains and other officials, when requested to come to the company to take care of business, do not come to exercise the duties that they ought to perform. The company, on account of this, remains abandoned and there is no one who looks after its affairs.³²

Amidst the government's widespread confiscations of ecclesiastical and confraternity property during the siege, the Company lost its meeting place, which was regained in 1531 through the intercession of a papal emissary.³³

The Company of Sant'Agnese recorded a few, sparse payments to singers during 1506-1511, the first since its suppression in

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Payments to laudesi were made in 1502 and 1503 in fulfillment of the terms of a bequest.

³²The document is translated by Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.174-5

³³Ibid., pp.192-3; during the same period the Company of San Zanobi lost a house, and the Company of San Piero Martire lost a house, a farm, three parcels of land, and five shops.

1494. Already in 1508, the suppressions had severely disrupted the Company's liturgical activity, resulting in

...the ruin and great disruption of our company, since we could not perform the necessary business at the appropriate times...the business being...the satisfaction of the obligations and bequests of those who have willed movable and fixed property to the company in order to celebrate divine Offices, or [to distribute] charity, or to recite laude for their souls, and they await the above intercessions and help.³⁴

Statutes drafted at the end of the 16th century allude to the instability of these years:

...up to the year 1496 [the Company] continued to be governed by secular and lay persons without particular statutes, according to deliberations that were made day to day. But in that year the said company was brought under new regulations and statutes which they drew up, and proceeded thus until 1515...at which time all previous statutes were discarded, and new statutes were compiled...But because the changing and passing of time always brings new circumstances, [it was] necessary to make some corrections, limitations, and additions to these statutes in 1550...[doc.58]

The Company of San Bastiano fared no better for having become a disciplinati company prior to 1520. In 1525 the Company had not met for three years "on account of the plague and the evil times".³⁵ In spite of repeated attempts to draw and sustain members by cancelling debts and lowering dues, the Company languished for the next half century, until it began to revive in the 1570s.

The Company of San Zanobi recorded sporadic payments to singers in 1498-1503, 1505, and 1512, but statutes drafted in

³⁴Text edited and partly translated in Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.187.

³⁵Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.180.

1508 prescribed business as usual. Laudesi were to be hired according to their merits and paid no more than L.120 per year, the Sunday morning procession was to be lead by six trumpeters, laude in honor of God, the Virgin, and San Zanobi were to be sung every evening of obligatory feasts, after Compline, at the usual company altar; and the feast of San Zanobi was to be celebrated

..without the display and needless pomp of the world. Thus...the usual laude are to be sung in the middle of the Cathedral after Compline of the vigil and the day of such ceremony, before the lectern and at the head of the above bishop and confessor [S. Zanobi], which activity is to be prepared for with candles and with the angels hung from the star in the usual way, and with organ and trumpets according to ancient practice.

[doc.59]

But the Company was closed during most of the period between 1526 and 1546, during which time the strategy of appointing an interim committee worked no better for San Zanobi than it had for San Frediano. In 1546, the Company's disorderly state was the pretext under which the grand duke assumed control of the Company:

Having appreciated the aforementioned pious works [accomplished by the confraternity], His Excellency wishes to participate in the spiritual benefits of the Company and to be counted among our members...However, the aforementioned Duke, illuminated by God, and by His sweetest mother, Madonna Saint Mary, Ever Virginal, and by our Pator and Advocate, San Zenobio, orders the aforementioned captains and counselors to add eight men as Reformers, who must, given the things that have happened in the past which have damaged the Company not a little because of the bad custody and negligence of its ministers, reform and correct all errors and conserve and maintain the accounts and property of this holy house and protect the affairs of the Company from decline and usurpation. And these men created and elected by His Excellency must remain in this office for life...and their authority must be as great as the whole body of the confraternity...and at least four of the Reformers must be present with the captains and counselors at all deliberations and decision-making

sessions regarding the affairs of the Company. And in the event that some doubt or hesitation should arise between the captains, counselors and ministers in the correction of delinquents...the chaplain, chancellor, or provisioner must expose such cases to the Reformers.³⁶

By the middle of the 16th century, no lay company was untouched by the ravages of that period--radical loss of members, indifference to office-holding, loss of dues, accumulation and cancellation of members' debts, company mergers, loss of property and meeting places, and neglect of ritual and liturgical duties.³⁷ The laudesi companies fared better than most, but during years of cultic disruption and unfulfilled bequests, the liturgical mooring of their lauda singing had loosened. It had become a difficult and outmoded practice to maintain, and the Companies petitioned to substitute other charitable or liturgical activities. In 1538, the Company of Santa Croce complained of the

...very great difficulty that [now] occurs because there is no longer the abundance of singers that we once had, and in observance of this difficulty we wish to conduct in place of the singing of laude a charity of L.25 per year to be given to the daughter [of one] of our brothers who is in need at the time of her marriage.³⁸ [doc.60]

The Company also abandoned its traditional Assumption feast, when the "lit star" was hung in the church and laude sung on the

³⁶ASF, Capitoli 155 [1555], 28v-29v; translated in Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.200-201.

³⁷Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.173, and ch.IV, passim.

³⁸The text is badly damaged, and I have taken some liberties with the translation since the intent of the document seems clear.

vigil, followed by a gathering the next morning at the Company altar of all the Company men holding lit candles. But

...those times were more prosperous, and people were more devout, which at present they are not...[and] we no longer wish to be bound or obligated by the ancient regulation...[doc.60]

Most telling, certain details of the ceremony appear to have faded from all memory. When the Company drafted its Libro di dote (Book of Dowries) in 1565, lauda singing had become no more than a memory preserved in the ancient books of statutes:

Our ancient Fathers and predecessors having considered ...the prayers and laude for which other Christians have paid us, it was thus resolved that our Company should be called the Company of the LAUDE [for] they wished that the name correspond to the activity, and therefore they ordained that besides the divine offices, laude should be sung every feast day by capable men and sufficient [numbers of] singers. [But] such devotion has declined for a long time now because there have not been enough men inclined to that office. Therefore...our paternal captains together with the men of our Company carried out a new reform with the consent of our father Corrector and the Vicar of the Archbishop of Florence, and in order not to fall short in pious and Christian works, and being no longer able to sing laude because of the impossibility of the [lack of] men and the wickedness of the times, we wish instead to give each year 25 lire as a dowry to a young girl who must be the natural and legitimate daughter of one of our brothers...[doc 61]

The Company of Sant'Agnese drafted new statutes in 1584, by which time it had long since abandoned the devotion by means of an arrangement with the Carmine friars:

...it is said that at the time when this Company sang laude, there were various testators who bequeathed to this [Company] more fixed properties with the obligation, among others, to recite to the friars of the Carmine, after the laude, a vigil or Nocturne of the Dead, and...[with] as much wax in candles as required by the bequest. It happened afterwards that, the Singers of Laude not being content with the small wages and the

salary that was given to them, it was necessary to dismiss the singing of the said laude as a thing that was not obligatory. Wherefore it was agreed with the friars that they would recite the same vigil, and Nocturne of the Dead, in addition to a certain number of Masses for the Dead, and certain feasts arranged by the testators, and [the friars] would have the same payment as that provided by the testator to be spent, and they [the friars] should contribute the wax...
[doc 62]

The low ebb of this Company's once fervent devotion is measured in its willingness to pay the friars for activities that were formerly the Company's raison d'être. The Company's activities were now centered on the local parish--the distribution of alms, the management of the hospice for women, and, with increasing attention, the management of dowries for the daughters of needy Company members.³⁹

When the Company of San Zanobi redrafted statutes in 1555, lauda singing survived only as an optional devotion on the feast of San Zanobi. The 1508 statute on lauda singing per se had been stricken, and to the 1508 passage quoted above (p.369) describing the San Zanobi feast, was appended the following:

...Or instead of the said laude, there [may be] sung in our oratorio on the vigil and the day itself [of the feast] two Vespers with 13 priests, in addition to our Chaplain, [to be sung] after those [Vespers] of the Cathedral, with those regulations, customs, and alms for the priests that have been customary in the past; and this, whether to sing laude or Vespers, is to be decided by the current Lord Captains...[doc 63]

The Company continued to maintain a polyphonic choir, maestro di cappella, and organist between 1569 and 1593, but the choir was

³⁹ASF, Acquisti e Doni 44 [Capitoli, 1584-1643], ff.33f.; additions made in 1607 and 1643 reflect the growing preoccupation with the management of dowries.

comprised primarily of clerics after ca.1585, and the laude continued, at best, to constitute a negligible and optional Company activity. An undated document in a later, perhaps 17th-century hand listed annual expenses which indicate that San Zanobi, like the Companies of Santa Croce and Sant'Agnese, had shifted its focus to the management of bequests for dowries.⁴⁰

By 1565, lauda singing had come full circle in the 240-year history of the Company of San Frediano. The devotion having moved to the center of Company activities in the late 14th century, it had now returned to exactly the role it had been assigned in the Company's 1324 statutes, when laude were sung only on the feast of San Frediano.⁴¹ But the late 16th-century character of the Company could not be further removed from its origins. Once a modest Company with strong roots in the local, working-class parish, officers were now required to hold the rank of "Dottore", "Cavaliere" (nobility), or a high-placed city official, and members had to be

...persons of good quality and reputation, and must not be or have been grave-diggers, or messengers or employees of the commune, or of any magistrate of the city of Florence. [doc.64]

In 1580, the Company of San Piero Martire relinquished its 300 hundred-year-old devotion to the sacristy of Santa Maria Nov-

⁴⁰SZ, vol.2170, fasc.5E [loose folio]: "Dote L.2871; Speciale L.490; Monache dello Sprito Santo L.150; Opera L.140; Medico L.84; Prestanze L.40; [Total] L.3725."

⁴¹ASF, Acquisti e Doni 42 [Capitoli, 1565], f.34v: "[in fulfillment of the bequest of Mona Caterina]...si possa spendere in detta festa cio[è] [in] Cera, Laldieri, bruciate, et collatione, et vino...L.21."

ella, and the only lay company to actively maintain the devotion thereafter was Orsanmichele. But even this great company experienced difficulty fulfilling bequests, and here too the choir consisted primarily of clerics by ca.1585.⁴²

* * *

Decline gave way to transformation as the lay companies, weakened and disoriented by the vicissitudes of the early 16th century, slowly rebuilt in the vastly changed society of grand ducal Florence. The older confraternal traditions, like lauda singing, receded into the background of company activity or disappeared altogether, and new generations of Florentines, lacking contact with or commitment to the older traditions, reorganized the lay companies according to new perceptions of piety and community based on principles of hierarchy, class distinction, and obedience. The older, city-wide companies, like the *laudesi* and *disciplinati*, tended to become elite, neighborhood groups under the control of the duke. The *laudesi* companies of San Zanobi, Sant'Agnese, and Santa Croce, for example, limited themselves to neighborhood activity by the late 16th century, and particularly to the rather innocuous activity of managing dowries. On the other hand, the majority of the new companies

⁴²OSM, vol.31bis [*Partiti*, 1568-69], f.26r-v [May 20, 1569]: [the Company was petitioning the Grand Duke to reduce the number of chaplains, specified in bequests, from 14 to 12, because it was difficult to find 14 chaplains who] "...vogliono venire a servire per L.12 el mese, dicendo che se l'altre chiese e munisteri di firenze danno a loro Cappellani di salario di XIII et chi XV lire el mese, [e] non vogliono venire a servire h'or san michele per XII..."

founded in the 16th century reflected the stratification of Florentine society. Parish and craft companies, in growing numbers, revealed strong neighborhood ties, and their working class membership was determined by the exclusivity of the older companies.⁴³

The lay companies' loss of their city-wide character, and their subsequent re-orientation to the parish, signaled one of the most profound changes in 16th-century Florentine society. The success of the duke in subjugating the lay companies was greatly aided by the Counter-Reformation, a gradual process the beginning of which is discernible in the 1530s, and through which new attitudes towards piety and church community arose and were eventually codified during the Council of Trent.⁴⁴ Confronted by the Protestant challenge, the Counter-Reformation church promoted the authority of the church hierarchy and the clergy (and the corresponding virtues of obedience and orthodoxy), which also had the effect of strengthening the Prince's position in his state. In particular, the decrees of Trent strengthened the authority of the diocesan clergy with respect to the lay companies by requiring episcopal visitation and approval of all pious places.⁴⁵ The Florentine provincial synod of 1573 took further steps which brought all the lay companies under the increasing

⁴³Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, pp.198-235.

⁴⁴M.B. Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation, pp.1-15.

⁴⁵22nd session of the Council of Trent (1562), rubrics 8 and 9, ed. and trans. by H.J. Schroeder, Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent (St. Louis, 1960), pp.156-7.

control of the parish clergy--lay companies of every sort were now forbidden to celebrate Mass on Sundays or feast days without the prior permission of the local parish priest.⁴⁶ The church actively promoted Eucharistic devotion, which effectively affirmed the authority of local clergy and strengthened the cause of orthodoxy.⁴⁷ The cult of the eucharistic host had moved to the center of confraternal devotion by the late 16th century; in 1588 the altar of the Company of San Zanobi, called the altar of "Our Lady" after the ancient patroness of the laudesi companies, was re-dedicated to the Holy Sacrament.⁴⁸

The chief sponsors of traditional confraternal life, the friars, receded in the face of the advancing forces of despotic government and diocesan clergy. The torch of religious renewal, having reached its most distant bearer in the hands of the lay companies, now returned to the upper levels of the church hierarchy. An elite corps of priests, the Jesuits, administered a Counter-Reformation version of the affective devotion that had originated long before among friars and laymen.

The conditions that had fostered traditional laudesi devotion no longer existed in late 16th-century Florence, and there is no more poignant image of this fact than the fate of the laudesi companies at the two great mendicant churches of Florence.

⁴⁶Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, p.223.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp.222-3.

⁴⁸W. and E. Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz, vol.III, p.379. This was also the dedication of the chapel at which the Santo Spirito laudesi performed in the late 16th century; Ch.VI, p.19.

Dominican Santa Maria Novella and Franciscan Santa Croce, once the semi-autonomous centers of civic devotion, were the targets of major architectural renovations begun in 1565, two years after the close of the Council of Trent. The renovations were initiated by the "super patron" of Florence, the duke himself, and were intended as a demonstration of piety and devotion to the spirit of the Council, but with the aim of securing from the pope the title of Grand Duke.⁴⁹ Similarly, all aspects of the artistic design were presided over by a single man, Giorgio Vasari, whose overall scheme for each church dictated the architectural, sculptural, and pictorial elements, the coordination of which was aimed at the creation of a harmonious and self-consistent effect. The results, which closely reflect the Tridentine attitude towards architecture set forth in S. Carlo Borromeo's Instructio-nes fabricae et supellectilis ecclesisticae (1577), were the elimination of the rood screen, the removal of the choir behind the high altar, and a renewed emphasis upon the design and pictorial scheme of the nave altars. Ostensibly, these changes were intended to benefit the laity, whose sense of participation in the Mass was enhanced, and whose devotion might be excited by more accessible nave altars. But the results in the Florentine churches bear closer examination.

The medieval interiors of the mendicant churches had evolved, like republican culture, through the interaction of a "loose, complex bundle of immunities, privileges, and liber-

⁴⁹M. Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation, pp.6-7.

ties".⁵⁰ The friars, the guilds (acting as operai), the commune, and a host of secular patrons (including the lay companies), all contributed to the gradual process of accretion whereby the churches filled with countless independently conceived and executed decorations. Acting either as a private patron or the member of a lay company, a Florentine layman could hope to leave his (or her) mark, quite literally, on the interior of a church.

The powers that had previously mattered most now mattered least in the Cosimo/Vasari renovations. Cosimo pre-empted the authority of the friars and the guilds, and patronage rights, redistributed to those families with proper wealth and connection to the duke, no longer included the right to determine the altar design, expense, or at Santa Croce, the subject of the altar piece.⁵¹ The renovations swept aside, in a few short years, the centuries of devotional insignias left by Florentine citizens, and in the process the laudesi companies in both churches lost their traditional ritual sites. Within fifteen years after the renovation had begun in Santa Maria Novella, one of the oldest and largest lay companies in Florence, the Company of San Piero Martire, had disappeared. Sometime between 1579 and 1582, the site patronized by the Company of Santa Croce for three centuries was reassigned by the grand duke to Giovanni Niccolini, the son of a cardinal, and the Company was allotted a location that amounted to spiritual exile--just outside the church wall.

⁵⁰Becker, Florence in Transition, II, p.16.

⁵¹Ibid., p.87.

The Counter-Reformation church, with its architectural renovations, appears to be offering the laity an unprecedented opportunity to participate in religious devotion. But the medieval rood screens in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce had not prevented the laity from passing through and practicing their own vernacular liturgies at the chancel altars. Ironically, their destruction coincided with a time when lay initiative in devotion had been pre-empted. The rood screens were gone for their function had now been spiritualized in the Counter-Reformation church. The laity watched and listened with unprecedented ease, for the lauda, for centuries the symbol of lay religious activism, was now a clerical song.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASF	Archivio di Stato, Florence
BNF	Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence
BR	BNF, Banco Rari
CmRS	ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse
CrRS	ASF, Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse
CS	ASF, Compagnie Soppresse
Mgl	BNF, Fondo Magliabechiano
OSM	ASF, Archivio dei Capitani di Orsanmichele
Panc.	BNF, Fondo Panciatichiano
Ricc.	Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence
SA	ASF, Compagnie Soppresse, Archive 1, Compagnia di S. Maria delle Laude detta di S. Agnese
SF	ASF, Compagnie Soppresse, Archive 5, Compagnia di S. Frediano detta la Bruciata
SMN	ASF, Corporazione Religiose Soppresse N.102 (which contains the volumes pertaining to the Company of San Piero Martire)
SSP	ASF, Compagnie Soppresse, Archive 2, Compagnia di S. Maria delle Laude e Spirito Sancto detta del Piccione
SZ	ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse, Z.I, San Zanobi di Firenze

Manuscripts and Early Prints

Ars	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8521
BL	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 15
BU	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216
Ch 266	Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266
Cort	Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale, 91
Fior	Florence, Archivio della Curia Arcivescovile (without shelf number; "Cecconi Codex")
G 20	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, 431
Gall ¹⁻⁴	Galletti (see bibliography)
Grey	Capetown, South African Public Library, Grey 3.b.12
Luc ¹	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 93
MC	Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, 871
Mgl ¹	BNF, Banco Rari 18 (olim Mgl.II.I.122)
Mgl ²	BNF, Banco Rari 19 (olim Mgl.II.I.212)
Panc.27	BNF, Panciatichi 27
Pav	Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Aldini 361
Petrucchi	<u>Laude Libro Primo. In. Dammonis. Curarum dulce lenimen.</u> Venice [Octavianum Petrutium Forosemproniensum], 1508. <u>Laude Libro Secondo.</u> Venice, 1507/1508.
Razzi	<u>Libro Primo delle Laudi Spirituali da diversi eccell. e divoti autori, antichi e moderni composte...</u> Venice [ad instantia de' Giunti di Firenze], 1563.
Ven	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms.It.Cl.IX.145 (olim 7554)
Wc	Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, ML171 J6

LAUDESII COMPANY DOCUMENTS
Consulted in this Study

1. Company of Orsanmichele

Account Books (OSM)

- vol. 58, Partiti, 1359-1361
- vol. 1bis, Partiti, 1361
- vols.2-16, Partiti, 1364-1388
- vol. 56, Ricordi, 1366-1369
- vol. 206-207, Debitori e Creditori, 1370
- vol. 208, Debitori e Creditori, 1372-1373
- vol. 464 (CRIA 9566), Partiti, 1378-1379
- vol. 209, Debitori e Creditori, 1387-1388
- vol. 17, Partiti, 1402-1403
- vol. 17bis, Stanziamenti, 1408-1409
- vols.210-214bis, Debitori e Creditori, 1403-1411
- vols.60-61, Ricordi, 1409-1413
- vols.20-25, Partiti, 1412-1419
- vol. 215, Debitori e Creditori, 1419-1420
- vol. 62, Ricordi, 1428-1433
- vol. 26, Partiti, 1435-1437
- vol. 17bis, Debitori e Creditori, 1450
- vol. 262, Entrata e Uscita, 1453-1454
- vol. 27, Partiti, 1508-1509
- vols.28-29, Partiti, 1515-1518
- vol. 30, Partiti, 1520-1521
- vol. 31, Partiti, 1527-1528
- vols.31-42, Partiti, 1568-1593

Statutes

- 1294 A. Castellani, ed., Nuovi testi fiorentine, pp.650-662 (OSM, vol.476, Capitoli, 1291-1297; destroyed in 1966 flood).
- 1297 Ibid., pp.662-673.
- 1329 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 391 (fragment)
- 1333 S. LaSorsa, La compagnia d'Or San Michele, pp.191-205 (OSM, vol.474, Capitoli, 1333; destroyed)
- ca.1329-1333 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Antinori 29/66; ed. Guido Biagi, "I capitoli della Compagnia della Madonna d'Or San Michele," Bulletino dell'associazione per la difesa di Firenze antica (ca.1909), 57-85.

Other

- 1329 ASF, Provvisione (March 30, 1329) ed.S. La Sorsa, La compagnia, pp.208-9.
- 1427 ASF, Catasto vol.291, ff.72r-74r
- 1438 ASF, Catasto vol.602, no.18

2. Company of San Piero Martire

Account Books (SMN)

- vol. 291, Entrata, 1312-1340
 vol. 292, Uscita, 1312-1340
 vol. 311, Debitori e Antichi [1329ff.]
 vols.294-296, Entrata e Uscita, 1389-1419
 vol. 317, Ricordi, 1419
 vol. 322, Stanziamenti, 1420-1424
 vol. 326, Testamenti, 1421-1423
 vol. 290, Giornale, 1428-1436
 vol. 306, Debitori e Creditori, 1445-1454
 vol. 298, Entrata e Uscita, 1455-1463
 vol. 297, Entrata e Uscita, 1463-1470
 vol. 318, Ricordi, 1463-1473
 vols.299-301 Entrata e Uscita, 1471-1485
 vol. 302, Entrata e Uscita, 1496-1503

Statutes

- 1446 SMN, vol.324 (mostra 49), Capitoli

Letters of Indulgence

- 1288 ASF, Diplomatico S. Maria Novella, February 20, 1288 (Andrea, bishop of Florence); ed. Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, pp.1042-3.
 1304 ASF, Diplomatico S. Maria Novella, April 9, 1304 (cardinal Nicola da Prato); ed. Ibid., pp.1047-8.

Other

- 1285 ASF, Diplomatico S. Maria Novella, April 15, 1285 (Contract with Duccio di Boninsegna for the Rucellai Madonna); ed. Ibid., p.1041.
 1427 ASF, Catasto vol.291, ff.74v-75r
 1556 V. Borghigiani, Cronaca Annalistica, III, pp.330-40; ed. in S. Orlandi, Necrologio di Santa Maria Novella, pp.402-403.
 1617 ASF, Manoscritti 621 (Sepultuario, pr. Niccolò Sermartelli)

3. Company of San Zanobi

Account Books (SZ)

- vol.2170, fasc.4, Libri di Testamenti [1354ff.]
 vol.2182, fasc.36, Entrata e Uscita, 1333-1377
 fasc.38, Entrata [Uscita, Ricordi], 1358-1377
 vol.2176, fasc.12, Ricordi e Partiti, 1378-1383
 vol.2171 fasc.6C, Frammenti di Libri di Uscita, 1369-1493,
 [sub] fasc.5, Uscita e Tratte, 1393-1403

- vol.2171, fasc.6B, Frammenti di Libri d'Entrata, 1353-1491,
[sub] fasc.2, Uscita, 1383-1383, and [sub]
fasc.3, Uscita, 1393
- vol.2182, fasc.37, Entrata e Uscita, 1404-1405
- vol.2183, fasc.39, Entrata e Uscita, 1404-1406
- vol.2178, fasc.23, Obblighi, 1407-1416
- vol.2171 fasc.6A, Frammenti di Libri maestri, [sub] fasc.2,
Libro maestro, 1421
- vol.2181, fasc.32, Spoglio di Debitori e Creditori, 1425-1427
- fasc.33, Spoglio di Debitori e Creditori, 1427-1438
- vol.2186, fasc.48, Tratte di Doti/Partiti, 1427-1438
- vol.2170, fasc.5K, Frammenti di antichi libri di Tratte e
Ricordi, 1419-1508 [sub fasc.] Tratte e
Ricordi, 1438-1440
- vol.2171, fasc.6A, [sub] fasc.3, [Uscita], 1438-1464
- vol.2177, fasc.16, Partiti, 1440-1447
- vol.2170, fasc.5K, [sub fasc.] Tratte e Ricordi, 1447-1448
- vol.2177, fasc.18, Partiti, Deliberazioni, 1450-1495
- fasc.17, Deliberazioni, 1456-1470
- vol.2171, fasc.6C, [sub] fasc.7, Uscita, 1456-1469
- vol.2195, fasc.70, Entrata e Uscita, 1470-1480
- vol.2179, fasc.27, Debitori e Creditori, 1470-1481
- vol.2170, fasc.5K, [sub fasc.] Tratte, 1475-1476
- vol.2176, fasc.13, Ricordi e partiti, 1477-1483
- vol.2179, fasc.28, Debitori e Creditori, 1481-1501
- vol.2171, fasc.6A, [sub] fasc.6, Entrata, 1491[-1492]
- vol.2176, fasc.13, Ricordi e partiti, 1491-1503
- vol.2171, fasc.6A, [sub] fasc.5, Uscita, 1492-1494
- vol.2177, fasc.19, [Uscita], 1493-1494
- vol.2170, fasc.5K, [sub fasc.] Tratte, 1504-1509
- vol.2177, fasc.18, Partiti, 1510, 1512

Statutes

- 1326 SZ, vol.2170, fasc.1, Statuti, 1326-1490; ed. L. Orioli, Le
confraternite medievali, pp.21-43.
- 1428 SZ, vol.2170, fasc.2
- 1508 ASF, CmRS, Statuti 154
- 1555 ASF, CmRS, Statuti 155

Other

- 1427 ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.67r
- 1427 BNF, Mgl.XXXVII, 298 (catasto)

4. Company of Santo Spirito

Account Books (SSP)

- vol. 1, Memoriale, ricordanze, 1419-1427
- vol.57, Entrata e Uscita, 1427-1512
- vol.58, Entrata e Uscita, 1432-1438

- vol.59, Debitori e Creditori, Entrata e Uscita, 1441-1460
 vol.78, Ricordi contiene i nomi, 1444-1521
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 vol.60, Entrata e Uscita, 1455-1458
 vol.61, Entrata e Uscita, 1461-1467
 vol.62, Entrata e Uscita, 1481-1521
 vol. 2, Partite, 1481-1573

Laudario

BNF, Banco Rari 18 (olim Mgl.II.I.122) [Mgl¹]; ed. F. Liuzzi, La lauda, vol.II; J.H.Grossi, "The 14th-Century Florentine Laudario...",

Other

- 1322 ASF, Provvisione, XXVI, July 30, 1322, f.9
 1329 ASF, Spoglio Stroziano, XXXVII, 300, May 12, 1329, f.99.
 1333 ASF, Provvisione, XXVI, September 24, 1333, f.40
 1427 ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.71v
 1598 ASF, Conventi Soppressi 122 (Santo Spirito), vol.36, Memoriale, 1598

5. Company of Sant'Agnese

Account Books (SA)

- vol. 98, Entrata e Uscita, 1424-1441
 vol. 24, Entrata e Uscita, 1440-1447
 vol.114, Debitori e Creditori, 1447-1465
 vol.115, Lasciti e legati, 1377-1510 [1466-1510]
 vol. 99, Entrata e Uscita, 1447-1473
 vol.100, Entrata e Uscita, 1466-1479
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 vol. 4, Partiti, 1483-1509
 vol. 29, Beni, 1488 [1460f.]
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- 1280 BNF, Mgl.VIII, 1500, fasc.9; ed. G. Piccini, Libro degli ordinamenti; and A. Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, pp.55-72.
 1584-1643 ASF, Acquisti e Doni 44, Capitoli, 1584-1643

Other

- 1427 ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.69r

6. Company of San Frediano

Account Books (SF)

vol. 88, Entrata e Uscita, Lasciti, 1333-1441
 vol. 29, Entrata e Uscita, 1333-1361
 vol. 39, Tasse, inventari, 1344-1372
 vol. 30, Entrata e Uscita, 1361-1394
 vol. 31, Tratta, 1394-1442
 vol. 32, Tratta, 1393-1442
 Entrata e Uscita, 1420-1446
 vol. 4, Partiti, 1436-1469
 vol.110, Uscita di fabbrica, 1443-1499
 vol. 5, Partiti, Entrata e Uscita, 1468-1510
 vol.112, Debitori e Creditori, 1467-1522
 1488 ASF, Acquisti e Doni 41, Memoriale, 1488

Statutes

1324 BNF, Palatino 154 [additions 1368-1467]
 1565 ASF, Acquisti e Doni 42, Capitoli, 1565

7. Company of Santa Croce

Account Books

ASF, CmRS 1373, no.1, fasc.F, Testi, scritti, 1403-1778
 filza 2, Inventario, 1521
 filza 3, [Inventario], 1523
 [sub] fasc.3, Libro delle dote, 1565-1729
 filza 6 [Letter], 1582

Statutes

1470 ASF, CmRS, Capitoli 53
 1485-1538 Ibid., Capitoli 874
 1589-1634 Ibid., Capitoli 74

Letters of Indulgence

1290 ASF, Diplomatico Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, May 25, 1290
 1296 Ibid., February 7, 1296

8. Company of San Gilio

Statutes

1284 BNF, Banco Rari 336 (olim Palatino 1172); ed. G. Monti, Le confraternite medievali, II, pp.144-158 (incomplete); A. Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, pp.34-54.

Laudario

BNF, Banco Rari 19 (olim Mgl.II.I.212) [Mgl²]

Other

1427 ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.72r

9. Company of San Bastiano

Statutes

1263 [pre-laudesi statutes] ed. Morini and Soulier, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Servorum, I, pp.107-108 (on p.10, the manuscript citation given is BNF, Mgl.1697.E.7).

1441 ASF, CmRS, Capitoli 6
1520-1534 Ibid., Capitoli 364

10. Company of San Lorenzo

Letter of Indulgence

1338 ed. P. Cianfogni, Memorie istoriche, pp.220-221 (doc.XX; source not cited).

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1427 ASF, Catasto vol.291, f.67v
1427 BNF, Mgl.XXXVII, 298 (catasto fragment); ed. in D. Moreni, Continuazione, II, pp.380-81 (doc.XI).

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APPENDIX 1

Doc. 1

1267 statutes of the Company of the Virgin and St. Dominic, church of Camporegio in Siena. Ed. G.G. Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis II, p.1029.

Frater Thomas, divina miseratione humilis Senensis episcopus, universis Christi fidelibus, tam clericis quam laicis, per Senensem civitatem et diocesim constitutis, ad quos littere iste pervenerint, eternam cum benedictione salutem..

Igitur cum in domo fratrum predicatorum de Senis apud Campumregium sit quedam fraternitas instituta ad honorem beate Marie semper virginis et beati Dominici patris nostri de voluntate et consensu nostro pro devotione animarum et utilitate et bonis plurimis, que inde credimus annuente domino provenire, fraternitatem huiusmodi quam Beate Marie et Beati Dominici volumus nominari, favore benivolo prosequentes, auctoritate nostra duximus confirmandam et statuta quevis pariter confirmantes, sigilli nostri munimine roboramus...

Doc. 2

Ibid., p.1032

Cap.IV. Statuimus quod singulis diebus de sero, in hora scilicet completorii vel parum ante pro tempore, ad laudes dicendas et audiendas in loco fratrum predicatorum de Camporegio congregation fiat, et tunc, si priori dicti loci videbitur, et hoc maxime in quadragesima, poterit breviter predicari...

Item statuimus quod secunda dominica mensis, mane tempestive, persone dicte fraternitatis ad laudes, missam, predicationem audiendas in Camporegio debeant convenire. Et die lune immediate sequente simili de causa et hora in dicto loco convenient dicte persone, et pro animabus personarum defunctorum dicte fraternitatis, et etiam pro animabus parentum ipsarum missa de mortuis tunc cantetur...

Doc. 3

Letter of indulgence from the bishop of Siena, 1273, to the Company of the Virgin and St. Dominic. Ibid, p.1039.

Cum igitur, dilecti filii, beate Marie matris Christi ac perpetue virginis et beati Dominici, a quibus vestra fraterna congregatio precipue nomen habet, ac totius celestis curie laudibus cotidie insistatis, volentes tantarum laudem et beneficiorum...et nos esse participes, ad ampliandum devotionem fidelium

matrem Dei laudantium...ac postmodum singulis diebus, quibus ex institutione a vobis sueta ad laudes Deo reddendas concorditer convenitis, centum dies de iniuncta penitentia misericorditer in Domino relaxamus.

Doc. 4

From the vita of beato Ambrogio Sansedoni (d.1268) by Fra Recupero d'Arezzo. Ibid., p.955.

Huiusmodi tamen egregii praedicatoris fructum possumus evidentibus signis advertere. Nam in civitate sua Senensi, qua degebat ut plurimum, evenerunt singulares Spiritus Dei commotiones et bonorum virorum congregationes etiam laicorum, quarum quaedam ordinantur ad laudes divinas quae quotidie in locis religiosorum, praecipua quidem et primo in loco suorum fratrum praedicatorum etiam a puerulis concinnuntur, qui ad laudes huiusmodi nutriuntur, mira devotione, quod inde ad quasdam alias civitates delatum est...

APPENDIX 2
Festive Services

Doc. 5

Company of San Zanobi. 1326 statutes. Ed. L. Orioli, Le confraternite medievali, p.24.

VIII. Come in tucte queste feste debiano essere ordinati a coro con candele in mano. Anche ordiniamo et fermiamo che nelle ffeste di in tucte queste solenpnitadi e feste si debbiano cantare le laude con vigilie, cioe che debbiano tucti tenere in mano candele accese ordinati a choro. Et in quelle sere debbiano in prima cantare ave maria. [There follows a list of the feasts]

Doc. 6

Company of Orsanmichele. 1297 statutes. Ed. A. Castellani, Nuovi testi fiorentine, p.669.

IX. Per quali feste si debbia fare vigilia sotto la loggia di San Michele in Orto. Ordiniamo che' chapitani che saranno per temporali siano tenuti e debbiano di far fare solenni vigilie di canto di laude dinanzi a la figura de la Vergine, e con candelocti accesi in mano di coloro de la compagnia che saranno presenti, tanto quanto durerà il canto de le laude, ciaschuna sera de le vigilie di queste feste. [There follows a list of feasts]

Doc. 7

Company of Santa Croce. 1485 statutes. ASF, Capitoli 874 [1485-1538], f.5v.

<...> che debino e sieno ubrighati sotto caricho di loro conscienza a fare cantare le lalde ogni di di festa comandata a lalde e honore di dio e di nostra donna nella chiesa di sancta croce di firenze. Et piu vogliamo che lla vigilia della ascensione di nostra donna si pongha la stella accesa nel mezo della chiesa e chantisi [sic] le lalde in decta sera chom'era di buona usanza antica. Et piu vogliamo che e sopradetti capitani e consiglieri possino spendere quello e quanta parra loro affare cantare dette lalde.

Doc. 8

Company of San Zanobi. 1428 statutes. SZ, vol.2170, fasc.2, Statuti, 1428, ff.47v-48r.

XVIII. Del fare le vigilie per chi lasciasse o volesse si facessero. Ancora ordiniamo e provendiamo che se alcuno lasciasse de nostri confratri di decta compagnia veramente o per lascio o per testamento o quanto fusse di piacere de suoi o parenti o rede o d'executori, quanto alloro piacesse o parra come per continuata et honesta et laudabile usanza in decta compagnia fare assai volte vigilie, que tali che avessono a fare o volessono diliberare [sic] sieno col nostro camarlingo et dieno quel numero di candele convenevole et honesto secondo rimarrano dacordo col nostro camarlingo delle candele che vogliono per la decta vigilia, che il nostro camarlingo la sera ordinata et diputata et facto a sapere a nostri capitani et consiglieri et quelli che possono sieno della nostra compagnia invitati et pagati sieno per l'amore di dio.

Il nostro camarlingo faccia sonare la nostra campana di campanile ferrantina chiamata, a quell'ora che parra a capitani per lo nostro messo o per altri, et suoni solo una volta quanto fusse di dire xxv pater nostri et ave marie. Et ristata si dieno dodici tocchi et non piu. Al quale sonare si ragunino i decti capitani et consiglieri et altri di di nostra compagnia, et similmente i parenti di decto morto, colloro quelli che alloro parra per loro honoranza. Et posto a sedere il nostro cappellano, capitani, parenti, et altri a decta vigilia venuti, il decto nostro camarlingo o proveditore avute le candele e apicchate al leggio grande, il quale si ponga ina[n]zi al altare della vergine maria come et dove si dicono le laude.

Et di poi si dieno le candele di quello nuo[vo?] parra a decto camarlingo a tutti i capitani et parenti per ciascuno due, el cappellano tre, et per tutti gli altri una per uno, et accese si tenghino quanto si pena a dire la decta vigilia et laude. Et per li nostri laudesi decte quelle laude che sono facte per decta devotione, et finite come è l'usanza. Allora in nostro cappellano con tre sacerdoti i quali lui a[v]rà acciò invitati ad aiutare cantare la sequentia de morti, cio[è] e Dies ire et cetera. Et a detti tre sacerdoti il decto camarlingo dia per ciascuno due candele. Et finita detta sequentia il nostro prete, o altri che piacesse a decti capitani, faccia et notificchi per cui li fa la decta vigilia, et racomandigia con De profundis, et cetera, et l'oratione. Fatte tutte queste cose si faccia la confessione generale et annunti il perdono che si concede a chi si truova di decta compagnia a decte cose fare et devotioni, et poi suonosi l'ave maria, et ciascuno sia licentiato data la beneditione il sacerdote.

Doc. 9

Bequest of Orlandino Lapi (d.1387). SSP, vol.78, Ricordi, 1444-1521 (glued to inside front cover).

Testamentum Orlandini Lapi. Fit fides, qualiter de anno 1387, et Die 13 Januarii Orlandinus filius olim Lapi Orlandini setaiuolus Populi sancti Fidriani de Florentia suum ultimum condidit Testamentum, in quo plura disposuit, et inter cetera re<liquit> <societa>ti maioroum sanctae Mariae del Bigallo de Florentia unam Dom<um> sitam in Populo sancti Fidriani in via clara del Florentia cum pluri[bu]s oneribus. et inter coetera cum onere solvendi libras quinque societa[s] laudarum del Carmino. Item reliquit Fratribus del Carmino de Florentia libras duodecim, et libras quinque fratribus Sanctae Mariae Novellae, et libras quinque societati Laudarum Sancti Spiritus cum onere annuatim imperpetuum teneantur facere dic<ere> unam vigiliam pro anima dicti testatoris et suorum mortuorum...

Doc. 10

Company of San Frediano. Bequest of frate Giovanni Lozzi di San Pagolo (1415). ASF, Acquisti e Doni 41 [Memoriale, 1488], ff. 2v-3r.

Sono obligati e capitani di san friano che pel tempo saranno ogn'anno imperpetuo la prima domenica dopo el di di san friano far cantare le laude nella chiesa di san friano con una vigilia per l'anima di decto fra giovanni. Essi di poi aggiunto per consuetudine in decto de dare le bruciate, et fare la sera nella compagnia nostra una collatione a preti et a laudieri et a gl'uo-
mini della compagnia, spendesi comunemente intucto L.octo in circa.

Doc. 11

Company of Sant'Agnese. Bequest of Chiaro d'Ardinghello (1377). SA, vol.29, Bene della compagnia, 1488, f.3 (left and right).

Incaricho del chiaro d'ardinghello. In prima che ogni anno in perpetuo per la festa della anuntiata, cioè a di xxv di Marzo, anno avere e frati del charmino lire dodici per una piatanza annove a ire due de[i] chapitani a desinare in luogo di testimoni, e uno sindacho.....L.xii

E a di sei di dicembre ogni anno in perpetuo anno avere i detti frati lire dieci chontanti assene a fare quello che'l detto chiaro lascio in segreto al priore di detti frati.....L.x

E a di otto di dicembre ogn'anno in perpetuo anno avere i sopra-detti frati lire dodici per una piatanza annovi andare a desinare in luogo di testimoni due Capitani.....L.xii

E a di xxv di dicembre il di di pasqua di natale sa a dare a pov-

eri del nostro ghonfalone del dragho lire dodici di pane
chotto.....L.xii

E più sa a fare del mese d'aghosto ogn'anno in perpetuo una vigi-
lia e laude a modo usato di lire sei.....L.vi

E più si fa ogn'anno in perpetuo del mese d'agosto, cioè assi a
dare alla chompagnia di san friano di firenze lire quattro
per fare una vigilia alle laude.....L.iiii
[total lire] 56

Chiaro d'ardinghello del popolo di santo friano di firenze
lascio alla nostra chompagnia uno podere posto nel popolo di san
piero a monticelli, luogho detto via di mezo chon chasa da lavo-
ratore, e chon incharicho che qui a rischontro si vede assene
l'anno di fitto lire cinquantacinque, e una cеста di baccelli
l'anno quando facciamo la festa della scensione, chome appare a
libro bianco chiamato specchio.2.....L.lv

Doc. 12

Company of Santo Spirito. Uficio generale on Nov.11, 1424.
SSP, vol.1, Memoriale/Ricordanze, 1419-1427, f.11v.

A di xi di novembre 1424 fu fatto detto rinovale e solene
messa e ufic[i]o la mattina presente iiii de capitani e molti
della conpagnia invitati e sopra le sepulture della compagnia
denanzi al chiostro e tornati per la porta grande e demmo a frate
bernardo giambollari sagrestano L. cinque...e la sera dinanzi
ffacemo solenne vigilia a le lalde con 6 frate e huomini con can-
dele in mano e libre iii di candele nuove...L.1 s.7.

Doc. 13

Company of San Frediano. 1324 statutes. BNF, Palatino 154,
f.1r.

VII. Come sonori la festa de santo fridiano. Siano tenuti i
capitani d'onorare la festa di Messer santo fridiano et la sua
vigilia in ogne moda che potranno chantando laude et con luminare
et con altre cose che a festa si recheggiono.

Doc. 14

Company of Santa Croce. 1470 statutes. ASF, Capitoli 53
[f.1].

I. [incomplete]...et per le feste comandate si dichino et o vero cantino in nella chiesa di sancta croce le Laude ad honore di decta nostra advocata come antichamente se usato...Considerato che per quelle grande devotione si generi et acquistisine [sic] grande util[i]tà spirituale et temporale alle quali [sic] laude intervenghino il più che se può de capitani et de fratelli di nostra compagnia...Et che in decte laude si possa spendere quello o quanto parra a decti Capitani et a loro consiglieri.

Doc. 15

Company of San Bastiano. 1451 statutes. ASF, Capitoli 6, f.6r.

Cap.II [The Captains]...debbino e sieno tenuti d'andare e stare alle laude ogni volta se dicessino e stare a sedere e mettere in mezzo il corectore della co[m]pagnia diputato e provvedere a manchamenti di dette laude...

Doc. 16

Company of San Bastiano. 1451 statutes. Ibid., f.8r, 11v.

Cap.IV...Item per candelle, falcole, salari d'uomini e fanciulli e sonatori e per fare cantare le laude quello sarà di bissongno...; Cap.IX...In fiori a loro mortina, ispago, bullette, acchattatura di fiaschi, trombetti, e per fare la colectione [collazione] a fratelli in trebiano, pane, e meleranze, e per calatura di cera...

APPENDIX 3
Monthly processions

Doc. 17

Company of Sant'Agnese. 1291 statute. Ed. A. Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, p.64.

Anche stanziaro, questo medesimo die [2nd Sunday of June, 1291], acciò che l'oficio di coloro che sono insengnatori dele laude sia bene fatto, sie ordinato che quelli che son insengnatori dele laude abbiano autoritade, la sera ale laude e anche la mattina ale processioni, di mandare dinanzi queglii cantori chu' [sic] egli vorranno, e di fare dire quella lauda che a lloro piace.

Doc. 18

Company of the Virgin, Perugia. 1312 statutes. Ed. Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.1063.

Cap.I. De modo tenendi in processione nostra. In primis quidem dicimus et ordinamus quod omnes de fraternitate nostra, tam mares quam femine, teneantur et debeant semper omni prima dominica mensis venire et congregari ad ecclesiam beati Domini confessoris, pulsantibus campanis, accipientes, omnes candelas suas a camerariis et aliis ofitialibus tunc astantibus, qui pro audire debeant predicationem integram, quam finita, processionem faciant omnes cum candelis accensis in manibus suis, per ecclesiam, per claustrum vel per burgum, devote cantando laudem, que tunc incipietur per cantores precedentiibus.

Deinde volumus quod mulieres cum ipsis candelis accensis in ecclesia devote et quiete debeant remanere.

Doc. 19

Company of San Zanobi. 1326 statutes. Ed. Orioli, Le confraternite medievali, pp.22-3.

III. Come si debbiano raunare ogni prima domenica del mese la mactina. Anche ordiniamo et fermiamo, a llaude della nostra donna gloriosa madonna santa maria vergine, che tucti quelli della preducta compagnia nella prima domenica di ciascuno mese da mactina in quella ora che ssi dicono le messe, si debbiano raunare nella preducta chiesa di santa Reparata. E lli regitori debbiano si procurare colli signori della preducta chiesa che in honore della beata vergine madonna santa maria in quella mattina se debbia celebrare messa solennemente. Alla quale messa le camarlinghi facciano ardere due ceri e quali siano di peso di due

libbre l'uno di nuovi. Et dopo lo guagnelio che ssi cantera a quella messa le regitori facciano raunare nel chiostro o dove loro piacera quelli della compagnia predecta i quali in quella mactina vi saranno venuti. Et raunati loro nel decto chiostro o dove loro piacera le camarlinghi debbiano dare a ciaschuno di loro una candela. Et facto questo li regitori li facciano ordinare a due a due et in anci a tucti di mectano due giovani della compagnia predecta i quali portino due grandi ceri accesi. Et apresso di coloro che porteranno i decti ceri mectano alquanti che comincino a cantare alcuna lauda. Et di po[i] tucti siano cosi ordinati a due a due, li consiglieri et camarlinghi et reggitori, i quali poi che saranno tucti cosi ordinati, vadano colle decte candele in mano accese a processione cantando e rispondendo quella lauda che lli cantori dinanci cominceranno. Et vadano per la predecta chiesa procedendo infino di sopra in coro et ivi offerino le decte candele all'altare. Et facta la decta offerta dobbiamo tucti stare et dimorare ivi divotamente infino a tanto che quella messa sia conpiuta di celebrare od [sic] almeno infino a tanto chel corpo del nostro signore gieso cristo sia levato nell'altare.

APPENDIX 4
Compline

Doc. 20a

Siena, 1267. Company of the Virgin, statutes. Ed. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitas, II, p.1032.

IV...Statuimus quod singulis diebus de sero, in hora scilicet completorii vel parum ante pro tempore, ad laudes dicendas et audiendas in loco fratrum predicatorum de Camporegio congregatio fiat...

(We establish that in the evening of each day, at the hour of Compline or a little before the time, the congregation is to be in the place of the Preaching friars of Camporegio for the singing and hearing of laude...)

Doc. 20b

Pisa, 1312. Company of the Laude of the Virgin, statutes. Ibid., p.1056.

Cap.IV. Item che ogra sera dipo' compieta ciascuno che giustamente puote, vegna a cantare le laude a sancta Katarina, e chi non può venire, dica V Pater nostri e V Ave Maria e abbia lo merito e lo perdono come s'elli venisse.

(Moreover, every evening following Compline, each one who is reasonably able is to come to sing laude to St. Catherine, and those who cannot come [must] say 5 Our Fathers and 5 Hail Marys, and they shall have the [same] merits and pardons as those who came.)

Doc. 20c

Florence, 1326. Company of San Zanobi, statutes. Ed. Orioli, Le confraternite medievali, p.24.

VII. Come i camarlinghi vegnano ogni sera anzi delli altri alle laude. Anchora fermiamo et ordiniamo che lli camarlinghi debbiano ogni sera venire alla predefta chiesa a tale stagione che conpiuto l'officio della conpieta elli abbiano accesi tre ceri e quali cieri debbiano tanto stare accesi che lle laude conpiutamente siano decte...[Translation, Ch.IV, p.19]

Doc. 20d

Imola, 1335. Companies of the Virgin, collective letter of indulgence. Ed. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitas, II, pp.1067-8.

[Omnis]...in singulis diebus tocius anni ad domum fratrum predicatorum de Ymola post completorium accesserint, hora videlicet qua congregantur ibidem seculares ad cantandum laudes ad honorem gloriose virginis Marie...

(On every day of the entire year, all [Company members] are to come to the house of the Preaching friars of Imola after Compline, that is, the hour during which the same laity are gathered for the singing of laude in honor of the glorious virgin Mary...)

APPENDIX 5
Ferial Services

Doc. 21

Company of San Zanobi. 1326 statutes. Ed. Orioli, Le confraternite medievali, pp.23-4.

VI. Come si raunino ogni sera in Santa Reparata. Anche ordiniamo et fermiamo che tucti quelli di questa compagnia si debbiano ogni sera raunare nella chiesa preducta di madonna santa Reparata a cantare alchune laude cum ave maria ad honore di dio et della nostra donna. Ma quello che non venisse la sera ala chiesa preducta a cantare le laude come decto è di sopra debbia dire in honore di dio et della nostra donna tre pater nostri cum Ave maria.

Doc. 22

Company of San Gilio. 1284 statutes. Ed. Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, p.37.

Che' camarlinghi facciano ardere due candele ogni sera. Anche questi camralinghi facciano ardere due candelotti ogni sera, quando si cantano le laude; et una lampana facciano ardere continuament dinanzi ala tavola dela Donna.

Doc. 23

Company of San Gilio. 1284 statutes. Ibid., p.44.

Dell'oficio di camarlinghi. I camarlinghi di questa Compagnia siano solliciti di venire ogni sera ala chiesa di San Gilio e apparecchiare lo leggio e lo libro delle laude e l'altre cose ch'è stato usato per cantare le laude, pognendo due candele accese sopra due candellieri dinanzi agli altari e una chon uno candelliere dinanzi al gonfalone, quando fosse spiegato i di feriale, mentre che si cantano le laude. Et debbiano, il die di Natale e di Befanie e di kalen di gennaio e di Resurrexio e del' Asensione e di Pentecoste e d'Ogni Santi et per tutte e quattro le Sancte Marie e il die di San Gilio et le loro vigilie per le quali facciano solamente al ferro et ad mano. Le festivitadi et le vigilie per le quali facciano solamente al ferro sono queste: l'octava di Sancta Maria de febraio, per madonna Sancta Agnesa, per Sancto Giovanni Baptista e per le festivitadi di tutti e xij gli Apostoli, per Sancto Zenobio, per Sancta Maria Magdalena, per Sancto Lorenzo, per Sancto Martino, per Sancto Stefano e per Sancto Silvestro, e anche la sezzaia domenicha di maggio, imperciò che in cotal die si cominciò la nostra Compagnia. Et queste

cotali sere che si fa al ferro e ad mano, e quando si fa solamente al ferro, ponghano quattro candellieri cum quattro cerotti o torchietti accesi dinanzi agli altari et due dinanzi al gonfalone, se fosse spiegato, infin a tanto che se cantano le laude.

Doc. 24

Company of Sant'Agnese. 1291 statute. Ibid., pp.63-4.

...si sia eletto uno, il quale sia ufficiale a aparecchiare le laude la sera, e questo ufficiale sia appellato sagrestano; il quale sagrestano debbia tenere una dele chiavi del leggio, e l'altra chiave stea appo i chamarlinghi, e 'l detto sagrestano si sia chamarlingho dele inscrite cose, cioè: di due cerotti cho le forme e del libro minore e dela tovaglia e del ferro e dela lanterna e d'uno calamaio e d'una penna e d'una tavoluzza ingessata per iscriverevi suso i novizii; e' chamarlinghi siano tenuti di fornire il detto sagrestano di candele e di cerotti a voluntade del dicto sagrestano. Anche debbia trovare le laude per ordine la sera. E questo fue ordinato per meno brigha de' camarlinghi e acciò che si faccia meglio l'oficio di cantare le laude la sera.

Doc. 25

Company of San Bastiano. 1451 statutes. ASF, Capitoli 6, f.12r.

Cap.X. [Il corectore]...debba venire e stare alle laude ogni volta si dicessono e fare la confessione dopo le laude e bisognando per alcuna volta alle dette laude cantare alcuno ymno come Ave Maris stella, Salve Regina, Te matrem laudamus, Te deum laudamus, o altri ymni gli debba chominciare.

Doc. 26

Company of San Zanobi. 1326 statutes. Ed. Orioli, Le confraternite medievali, p.24.

VII. Come i camarlinghi vegnano ogni sera anzi delli altri alle laude. Anchora fermiamo et ordiniamo che lli camarlinghi debbiano ogni sera venire alla preducta chiesa a tale stagione che conpiuto l'officio della conpieta elli abbiano accesi tre ceri i quali cieri debbiano tanto stare accesi che lle laude conpiutamente siano decte. Et che abbiano apparecchiato lo leggio, el libro e lla tovaglia ordinata et l'altre cose che bisognasse d'apparecchiare. Et quelli della compagnia preducta i quali la sera si rauneranno come decto è di sopra nella chiesa preducta a cantare le laude, debbiano quando alcuno della preducta compagnia o morto infermo o che fosse in viaggio, il quale

per le regitore fosse allora facto raccomandare, fare una invenia et dicere una fiata Ave maria. Et similgliantamente facciano per la pace et non si debbia alcuno di loro levare overo partire infine a tanto chel sacerdote che facesse la confessione non avesse data la benedizione, et facta la benedictione ciascuna della compagna dica amen.

Doc. 27

Company of Sant'Agnese. 1298 statute. Ed. Schiaffini, Testi fiorentini, p.72.

...tutti coloro li quali vengono a dire, over udire, le laude la sera al predicto luogho di Sancta Maria del Charmino, si chom'è usato, debbiano stare ginochioni, tanto quanto le laude si dichano...

Doc. 28

Company of San Gilio. 1284 statutes. Ibid., p.37.

Che' laudesi venghano ale laude. Tutti quanti quelli che sono dela Compagnia debbiano la sera venire a Santo Gilio a cantare le laudi, se possono; e chi non puote, dica, per la sera che non vi viene, tre pater nostri con avemaria [sic].

Doc. 29

Company of San Gilio. 1284 statutes. Ibid., p.39.

Che' cantatori obediscano li capitani. Tutti quelli che cantano le laude, cantando debbiano ubidire i capitani, si come si convene.

Doc. 30

Company of San Gilio. 1284 statutes. Ibid., p.39.

Che ciascuno entri in sancto la sera quando sono accese le candele. Anche ordinaiamo che ciascuno dela Compagnia, quando vede, la sera, acciese le candele nela chiesa di San Gilio a cantare le laude, debbia intrare nela detta chiesa, e, in cantando e rispondendo, debbia ubbidire i suo' capitani...

APPENDIX 6
The Scuole

Doc. 31

Company of San Zanobi. 1326 statutes. Ed. Orioli, Le confraternite medievali, p.29.

XX. Come di festivi siano alla chiesa preducta infra di per cantare le laude. Anche ordiniamo e fermiamo che lli reggitori abbiano et debbiano avere studio che ne di dominicali facciano insegnare cantare le laude a quelli della compagnia i quali non le sapessero. Et pero abbiano piena podestade di comandare a cui loro piacie et a quanti della compagnia che la domenica si debbiano raunare nella preducta chiesa a cantare quelli che sanno per insegnare et quelli che non sanno per apparare.

Doc. 32

Company of Orsanmichele. 1333 statutes. Ed. S. La Sorsa, La compagnia d'Or San Michele, p.196.

XIV. De l'ufficio de' governatori de le laude. L'ufficio de' governatori de le laude sia d'assetare e d'ordinare come si cantino ogni sera le laude dinanzi all ymagine della nostra Donna al pilastro sotto la loggia, e in fare la scuola per le domeniche per imparare e perchè imparino a cantare le laude. E cantinsi nella casa della Compagnia dinanzi alla ymagine della nostra Donna. E possano chiamare ufficiali quanti e quali vorranno; a' quali governatori siano tenuti d'ubidire i laudesi secondo i capitoli, che saranno loro conceduti per gli rectori e capitani di questa Compagnia.

Doc. 33

Company of San Zanobi. 1428 statutes. SZ, vol.2170, fasc.2, Statuti, 1428, f.45r.

Cap.XV. Della apparare le laude per conservare la divotione dicio. Vogliamo che considerata la prima divotione et reverenzia facta per li nostri antichi et principiatori di questa sancta congregatione, fraternità, et compagnia fu della devotione del cantare le laude a honore di dio et della vergine sempre maria et del glorioso Messer sancto zenobio pastore fiorentino. Et però i capitani che sono o saranno di decta fraternità debbiano avere buona diligentia et studio intorno acciò provvedere che tutti i di dominicali faccino insegnare le laude a quelli tali fussono acciò atti di nostra compagnia o di fuori... Et questo facciano sempre i detti di dopo nona a dopo mangiare nella nostra sacrestia et residenza.

APPENDIX 7
The laudesi: conditions of service

Doc. 34

Company of San Piero Martire. Laudese contract, June 13, 1406. SMN, vol.321, Provisione, deliberatione, e partiti, 1401-1414, f.58v.

Item che lorenzo d'andrea del popolo di san pagholo di firenze et piero di nicholo del popolo di sancto friano di firenze siano cantatori...per tempo d'una anno [beginning August 1, 1406 at L.2 per month]...con questi parti e conditioni cheglino siano tenuti p'aparechiare ogni sera alle laude e ogni di di festa solepne aparechiare il descho della compagnia bene e sollecitamente e cantare le laude come si ci chiede e fare ogni altra cosa bene e sollecitamente...si ci chiede e secondo che consuete.

Doc. 35

Company of San Piero Martire. 1446 statutes. SMN, vol.324, Capitoli (mostra 49), f.3v.

Cap.8 Delle laude. Anchora fu proveduto che le laude usitate di cantarsi in detta chiesa di sancta Maria Novella si debbono cantare inel'luogho [sic] acciò usato et deputato ogni sera in nella forma et moda consuete divotamente, per buoni cantori overo laudesi, conducti et electi per detti chapitani. E quali laudesi debbono essere per lo meno quatro, et che uno o laudese o altri secondo parra a detti chapitani sia deputato il quale abbia aparechiare et sparechiare ogni sera el legio, appichare le candelie, et trovare et ordinare le panche et tucte l'altre chose fare che è usato pel passato. Et possino e decti laudesi il più avere lire due el mese secondo la volontà de detti capitani. Et debbono e decti laudesi due volte l'anno esser rafermi per detti capitani cioè del mese di lulglio et di gennaio, et chi non vincesse el partito per quatro fave nere se intenda esser casso et rimosso. Et che ogni sera finite le laude, si facci le confessione colla absoluteione usato per uno frate del convento di sancta Maria Novella, a cui sarà commesso per priore di decta chiesa. Et ogni volta che si trovasse detti laudesi manchare delloro uficio, possino et debbano esser corretti o condannati indetenerere delloro salario secondo parra alla discretione di detto capitani.

Doc. 36

Company of San Zanobi. Laudese contract, Nov. 1, 1351. SZ, vol.2182, fasc.36, Entrata e Uscita, 1333-1338, f.171 (loose).

andrea di piero bacchi
andrea di giusto a staio
andrea di donato baciutti

ufficiali chiamati sopra a detti chantatori e sopra a le feste a fare chantare le laude della detta chonpagnia [a]l nome di dio in primo inscriveremo a di [1] novembre.

Celino dela viuola chantatore dela detta cho[m]pagnia chon salaro e prezo d'uno fiorino d'oro. E detto celino de[ve] venire a tutte le feste che chamarlichì [sic] della detta chonpagnia gli asengerano e scriverano i[n]su uno foglio. a di xxv di marzo ani mccccli.

Anche si scriveremo pe[r] sopra detti ufficiali che aviate [sic] sopra a detti chantatori talento ducchi orafo chon salaro e prezo d'uno fiorino e mezo d'oro [c]ominiciando al nome di dio il detto di di sopra. E'l deto talento sia tenuto e deba venire a chantare e da fare chantare laude ala detta chonpagnia si chome ne[i] patti si chontenghono a se chontra cio facesi non sieno tenuti i chapitani di farli dare alchuna chosa del detto salaro.

Doc. 37

Company of San Zanobi. 1428 statutes. SZ, vol.2170, fasc.2, Statuti, 1428, ff.45r-v.

Cap.XVI Del cantare le laude et de eleggere laudesi di confermare o cassare...Ordiniamo et vogliamo che per niuno modo mancare non debba di cantare le laude ogni sera di festa comandata come è per antica consuetudine che per quest[i] nostri capitoli et ordini sia conservata la detta devotione ad honore di dio et della vergine maria. I capitani et consiglieri che sono o saranno per li tempi che proveggino dicenti, laudesi, et sonatori [stricken] a cantare le dette laude, canti [sic] et quanti reggino sia di bisogno con quello salario parra et piacere loro, riguardando il bisogno della nostra compagnia, la quale è ora as[s]ai in bisogno. Con questa conditione et modo vogliamo che in ogni entrata di capitani sieno aprovati o confermati o cassi o d'electi altri di chi fusse casso. Et questo abino a fare i capitani et consigliere o la maggiore parte di loro et di ciò si ne faccino partito come parra alloro. Et di ciò parla ancora nel capitolo VI de capitani di detta confirmatione. Et questi tali laudese vogliamo ogni sera di festa comandata venghino all ora debita in detta chiesa maggiore che veghino [sic] sia più abile et honesta, apparechiando il legio e l'altre cose <...> si richiegono intorno acciò fare, innanzi a l'altare di nostra donna infine di detta chiesa allato alla porta maggior, et così per continuo si faccia, overamente in altro luogo dove paresse a capitani più devotione.

Doc. 38

Company of San Zanobi. Laudese contract, Feb. 22, 1433. SZ, vol.2186, fasc.48, Tratte e Stanziamenti, 1427-1438, f.83v.

Stanziorono a ghuasparre d'ugholino e al figliuolo lire tre el mese el quale era istato e achato a s.50 el mese fecono per partito che gli tenesse el figliuolo alle lalde e tornasese [sic] nel pregio suo di prima, cioè, L. tre el mese, vinsesi per fave cinque nere.

Doc. 39

Company of San Zanobi. Captains' election of singers, Nov. 30, 1470. Ed. F. D'Accone, "Alcune note sulle compagnie fiorentine," 99.

E detti capitani...sequendo lo statuto di detta chasa et volente [sic] che il luogho sia debitamente proveduto, fatto intorno a cciò ogni diligentia et fatto venire nel chorpo della chompagnia moltissimi cantori et pe' migliori et più ydonei elessono et deputorono li infrascritti fanciulli per sobbrani et tenori, per tempo et termino d'uno anno proximo futuro che in-chomincerà a di primo del mese di dicembre, chom salario [et] emolumenti usati et chome senpre fu chonsueto, cioè: Tommaso di Manovello, Bastiano di Giovanni de' Rossi chericho, Angniolo di Francesco tesse pannilini, Neri di ser Baldo Tucci, Thommaso di Francesco d'Astore, Iachopantonio di [lacuna]; tinori: Sani di Francesco lanternaio, Vanni di Piero Bandella, Sandro di Giovanni purghatore...

Doc. 40

Company of Santo Spirito. Laudese contract, March 17, 1421. SSP, vol.1, Memoriale, ricordanze, 1419-1427, f.35v.

Ricordanza e memoria a ciascheduna della chompagnia dello spirito santo di spirito santo [sic] sia che ad 17 di marzo 1420 [1421] tolsono e chapitani e ladesi Antonio di Petro ladesse per chantare le laude ogni sera nella chiesa di santo agostino, cioè per la chompagnia dello spirito santo, e deba avere L.due i[1] mese per suo salario dachordo cho[n] lui e questo di detto di sopra chomi[n]cio il nome di dio.

Doc. 41

Company of Santo Spirito. Laudese contract, June 22, 1424. Ibid., f.37r.

E nel nome di dio deto di xxii di giugno 1424. Ragunato el corpo della compagnia...elessono e chiamato e feciono spedalingo nuovo in detto spedale Antonio di petro laldese, che canta le lalde con quelli patti e conditioni usati, e deba entrare a posta e volontà de detti capitani e fare bene e con amore el suo ufficio lui e la sua donna...con patto che da questo di inanzi non deba ne possa domandare salare ne provisione alchuna del chantare le lalde la sera in santo spirito, dov'era usato avere s[oldi] 40 el mese per sua faticha e ubidenza, e così lui presente s'obriga e promete seguire di bene in megl[i]o di cantare le lalde la sera in santo spirito com'era usato, e per beneficio fatto a lui di deto spedale s'obriga a noi di non doma[n]dare salare e cantare le lalde e seguire da qua ina[nzi] com'è usato per lo passato e di bene in megl[i]o e co[n] fede e amore.

Doc. 42

Company of Santo Spirito. Laudese contract, December 1, 1445. SSP, vol.78, Ricordi, 1444-1521, f. 20v.

Richordanza chom'ogi questo di primo di dicembre, 1445 i chapitani in deti tenpi anno tolto a salare nocho e ulivante a chantare le laude per dua [sic] anni prossimi. Debanò venire chominciati sopradeto di e debano avere per loro salare L.trenta sei l'anno, delle quali se debano chontare il fito d'un pezo di tera posta a ghanghalandi che sena l'ano L.28, e più L.cinque s'ano avere da la chonpagnia del bighalo ogniano a di V di novembre, 1446, e ano avere i[l] resto di chontati ogniano che sono L.tre, e debano chantare ogni domenica, e ogni indi [sic] di festa chomandata, e la sera di sancto aghostino e di sancto nicholo, e manchando i[n] [o]gn<i> volta no[n] fusino a chantare dete a chantare dete [sic] laude, ano a es[s]ere apuntati in s.10 per ogni volta manchasino ano venire, e debano eserci a ore 23 la sera...L.72.

Doc. 43

Company of Sant'Agnese. Laudese funeral, September 25, 1445. SA, vol.24, fasc.XII, ff.8r, 10r.

...Antonio di Benedetto di Butino del popolo di Santa Maria di Verzaia...fu ghrande parziale [deleted], zelante, e benefattore, e laldese chontinuo più d'anni 50 fermamente, e a tutte le chose della chonpagnia sollecito, e molto vi fu onorato e bene amato tutta la chonpagnia presente...; [f.10r]: Alla vigilia alle laude per l'anima d'antonio di benedetto di butino...ch'era nostro benefattore sollicito alle laude per tempo d'anni 50 o più ogni sera senza alchuno premio..., cholonne vera di questa chonpagnia e in ogni suo ai[u]to fu chostumato...molto onorato in questa chonpagnia, el perchè e chapitani deliberono si gli facesi

honore, e pero gli faciano oggi questo di una vigilia alle laude ghrande e orevole, di tutte cose nuove e oltre a quale ch'era nella chonpagnia anche <...>m libre 6, on[cie] 4 di chandele nuove...L.3 s.8.

Doc. 44

Company of Sant'Agnese. Laudese contract, November 1, 1466. SA, vol.115, Lasciti e Legati, 1466-1510, ff.34r-35r.

Ghuelfo di Bartolomeo barbiere, famiglio della nostra chonpagnia e chantatore delle lalde, de[ve] avere per prezzo... quando ora sodisfatto allo infrascritto obrigho L.venti in uno anno. El quale anno inchoincio insino di primo di novembre, 1466, e de[ve] finire a detto di 1467. El quale obrigho fia questo, cioè: Che'l detto ghuelfo in detto anno deba chon sollecitudine ogni di di festa chomandata venire a dire le laude nella chiesa del charmino di fire[n]ze, tralle 23 e 24 ore, e aparechiare el legio, e chosi isparechiare, e quando manchase deba es[s]er gli ischontato del suo salare s.5 per ogni volta manchase [marginalia], e oltre al dire le laude, deba ogni di e ora fu si richiesto o dal primo posto de nostri chapitani o da sindachi che dovesi andare e raunare e chapitani o altri ufici[ali] o uomini della nostra chompagnia chon sollecitudine andare e fare quanto di sopra è detto, e in chaso nolle facesse o manchase per suo difetto o nigrigenza per ogni di se gli tene[re] s.5 del suo salare, chosa del dire le laude chome de raunare e chapitani. E di questo n'abia a fare alla choscienza de sindachi che pe[r] gli tenpi saranno. El detto salaro deba el detto ghuelfo paghare el sindacho di detta chonpagnia, overo chamarlingho, ogni dua mesi cheulla rata gli tocherà, c[i]oè, che s'intenda el salaro e sarà rechonpensato in questo <modo> L.dodici per raunare e chapitani e altri ufici[ali], chom'è detto, e L.8 s<..>to per dire le laude, chom'è detto, per tutto L.20...

Antonio della Pucca nostro laudese de[ve] avere L.sei a dire le lalde insieme chon ghuelfo nostro laudese, e chon Bernardino di francesco, uno anno [as above]...ogni di di festa chomandata..

Bernadino di francescho nostro laldese de[ve] avere L.sei per suo salaro a dire le laude insieme chon...

Doc. 45

Company of San Frediano. Laudese contract, January 6 and 25, 1411. SF, vol.88, Entrata e Uscita; Ricordi di Lasciti e Obblighi, 1333-1441, f.105r [Jan. 6]; vol.31, Tratta degli Ufficiali, 1394-1442, f.26r [Jan. 25].

...Lorenzo di Matteo detto possereello, il quale fa il servizio delle lalde, abia per dio e per remunarazione del servizio e

fatica dura a la panchio [sic] delle dette laude che si dichono ongni sera nella chesa di san friano per <il> tempo passato per i[n] fino a di primo di gennaio, anni detti 1410 [1411], L. quattro, e per la venire facendo il detto servigio e fatica delle dette lalde...el detto Lorenzo ab[b]ia ongnianno per la sopradetta chagione L.sei l'anno, chominciando...a di primo di gennaio 1410 [1411]; [Jan.25]: A Lorenzo di Matteo che chanta le lalde in san friano a di 25 di giennaio lire quattro...per lla sua fatica cioè della [a]parechiare alle dette lalde...L.4.

Doc. 46

Company of San Frediano. Captains' election of laudesi for Lent, March 26, 1441. SF, vol.4, Partiti, 1468-1510, f.23r.

Item decto di et hora in mantanente i detti capitani avendo electi et ordinata due a cantare laude nella decta chiesa ogni sera, tutta la quaresima, per devotione de popoli, avendo veduto e udito per coloro in parte essi bene satisfatto, stantiorono loro lire otto, che alloro sieno date [sic], cioè, Antonio d'Alesso e Antonio d'Adamo [deleted]...con conditione che forniscano di cantare tutta la decta quaresima.

Doc. 47

Company of Sant'Agnese. Captains' decision to raise the salary of a laudese, September 23, 1492. SA, vol.4, Partiti, 1483-1509, f.52v.

Item e prefati capitani atteso che giovanni di francescho [lacuna] tessitore di pannilini in sulla piazza di santo spirito, ha servito per laudiere decta compagnia più tempo ad ragione di s.dieci el mese, et essendo migl[i]orato gli labore assai, et cantare meglio, per haver cagione di fermallo a cantare, per loro solenne partito vinto tralloro per tucte fave nere...gl'acerebbono per l'avenire s[oldi] quattro per tucto el tempo s<...>i conducto a cantare in nostra compagnia...sono per tucto ad ragione di s[oldi] quattordici.

Doc. 48

Company of Sant'Agnese. Captains' election of a laudese, [no day or month], 1493. Ibid., f.56v.

Item e prefati capitani decto di atteso che domenicho di lionardo tavolaccino ha cantat[o] per laudiere già sono sei mesi passati con speranza d'essere conducto, et intendendo e capitani preducti che gl'è bene di condurlo perchè è buon laudiere, per loro solenne partito e per sei fave nere unisono e condussono

decto domenicho per laudiere oggi questo di detto ad ragione di s[oldi] dieci el mese, et colle apuntature consuete, et stantiarono L.tre picciole per decti sei mesi che lui ha cantato senza essere stato conducto.

Doc. 49

Company of Orsanmichele. Dismissal of a tenorista, February 26, 1518. Ed. F. D'Accone, "Alcune note," 106.

Item considerato in detto oratorio in quanto a' laudesi essere troppo uno tenorista secondo el canto de' fanciulli, et che non diminuendo uno di decti tenoristi bisognierebbe secondo tale numero di tenoristi...accrescere maggior numero di fanciulli laudesi. Et desiderando e prefati ufficiali più tosto sciemare spesa che crescere...privorono dal suo ufficio Giovanni di Bernardo vocato l'Abbate, al presente tenorista in detto loro oratorio.

Doc. 50

Company of Orsanmichele. Dismissal of laudesi, November 21, 1379. Ed. F. D'Accone, "Le compagnie dei laudesi," 272.

...videntes quod illi qui canunt quolibet sero in oratorio ...habent nimis magnum salarium et quod pro tam parvo labore tantum salarium non merentur...deliberaverunt quod camerarius dicte sotietatis non possit quoquo modo dare seu pagare dictis laudensibus et quolibet eorum nisi libras tres pro quolibet eorum pro mense, incipiendo die primo decembris proxime futuro.

Doc. 51

Company of Orsanmichele. Pension for a retiring laudese, February 26, 1518. Ed. F. D'Accone, "Alcune note," 105-106.

E prefati Signori ufficiali...ragunati nella loro solita audientia...Considerato Sano tenorista e cantore molto vechio et havere cantato in detto loro oratorio anni 50 o più, et essere dalla età consumato et mai in detto oratorio essere manchato a tale suo obligo...ordinorono che detto Sano di Giovanni, tenorista al presente in detto loro oratorio, per questo poco di vita li resta...li sia dato e pagato, come vulgarmente si dicie, meza paga ogni mese, cioè...havere deba per l'avenire lire dua qualunque mese...et che per questa subventionem et aiuto detto Sano per lo advenire non sia tenuto...a cantare o non cantare se non tanto quanto a llui parrà...

APPENDIX 8
Altars, Chapels, and Images

Doc. 52

Company of San Zanobi. 1326 statutes. Ed. Orioli, Le confraternite medievali, p.33.

XXXIII. Come la donna nostra non si traggha fuori del tabernaculo dove elle è senza processione...fermammo noi rettori con lloro in[sieme], ke nel pilastro de sancto bartolommeo nella detta chiesa di sancta reparata nella nave di mezzo, ke csi [sic] faccia uno tabernacolo di lengname honorevolmente bello quanto fare si puote la dove istea la nostra donna. Et il detto tabernacolo fatto et ordinato per la detta compagnia che i detti rettori et camarlinghi...sieno tenuti et debbiano guardare et salvare et crescere et migliorare il detto tabernacolo con la detta figura della nostra donna, la quale debbiano crescere et migliorare. Et che neuno della detta compagnia debbia o possa tocchare o trarre la detta donna del detto tabernacolo se non n'è voluntade de detti rettori...Et se la detta donna del detto tabernacolo se ne traesse non se ne debbia trarre se non con procexione et con lume et con canto, et se questo non si facexe altrimenti non se ne debbia trarre del detto tabernacolo. Et ad ciò che con pi' divotione et per più gente se porti a l'altare nello usato luogo, portivisi lo sabato sera dette le laude o vogliano la domenicha mactina con quello amore et reverencia ke xi convine.

Doc. 53

Company of Orsanmichele. 1294 statutes. Ed. A. Castellani, Nuovi testi fiorentini, p.661.

XIV. Di fare stare coperta la tavola di meser Santo Michele. Anche ordiniamo et fermiamo che cu[m] ciò sia cosa che per cagione del mercato del grano e per altre cose che si fanno ne la detta piazza sotto la loggia, la tavola de meser Santo Michele s'inpolveri e si guasti, li capitani siano tenuti di farla stare coperta a ciò che se conservi ne la sua bellezza e non si guasti.

Salvo che'l sabato dipo nona, disfacto il mercato, la debbiano fare dischoprire e stare discoperta per tutto il die de la domenica, e così si faccia per le feste solenne che mercato non vi si faccia.

Doc. 54

Company of Orsanmichele. 1333 statutes. Ed. S. La Sorsa, La compagnia d'Or San Michele, p.202.

XXX. Come si debia tenere coperta la ymagine de la nostra donna. La ymagine de la nostra Donna si debbia tenere coperta com velo o vero com veli sottili e gentili di seta; e fatta la predica sotto la loggia, si debbia scoprire e mostrare le domeniche e le feste, le quali piacerà a' rectori e Capitani com due torchi accesi. E quando venissono forestieri, che la volessono vedere, debbasi scoprire a sparare di licenza del proposto o d'alchuno de' Capitani, e poco tenerla scoperta per volta e poi ricoprire.

Doc. 55

Company of Santo Spirito. 16th-century altar site. ASF, Conventi soppressi, no.122 [Santo Spirito], vol.36 [Memoriale, 1598], f.28r.

[No.]27. Altare Del Santissimo Sacramento Di Mattio Corbinielli...la Compagnia del Pippione deve ogni festa far cantare le laudi in Musica, et doppo farsi da un Padre la confession con raccomandar al Signore Dio l'anima di detto Mattio, li si deve dare un fiorino d'oro. Quelle laudi si cantano la quaresima le Domeniche e le feste.

Doc. 56

Company of Santa Croce. 1589 statutes. ASF, Capitoli 74 [1589-1634], f.1v.

[Grand Duke Francesco Maria de' Medici]...gli piacque che il nostro sito antico della compagnia ne fusse accomodato allo Illustre signore giovanni dell'Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo cardinale niccolini per farvi una capella [August 8, 1579]...Et havendo gli huomini di detta compagnia murato il nuovo sito fuori della chiesa di santa croce, posto fra la capella delli Illustri Salviati e li Illustri Bardi et Gualterotti, è stato necessario riformare et di nuovo ricorregere detti capitoli...

APPENDIX 9
Documents for Ch.VII

Doc. 57

Company of San Frediano. 1438 statute. BNF, Palatino 154 [1323 statutes, with later additions], f.13r.

...nel qual tempo erano altri constumi et modi di vivere che oggi non sono, et perchè i tempi sono mutati è necessario mutare altri ordini et capitoli, maximamente del modo della electione degli ufficiali della decta compagnia.

Doc. 58

Company of Sant'Agnese. Statutes, 1584-1643. ASF, Acquisti e Doni, 44 [Capitoli, 1584-1643], ff.5v-6r.

...et per quanto si truova durarno insino a l'anno 1496 a reggersi e governarsi da persone secolari e laiche senza capitoli particolari, secondo le deliberatione che alla giornata si facevano. Ma nel detto anno su la detta compagnia restretta sotto alcuni ordini et capitoli da loro fatti, et così andò camminando in sino all'anno 1515...Nel qual tempo levato via tutti i vecchi capitoli, fur[o]no fatti et compilati nuovi capitoli et ordini... Ma perchè la varietà e scorrimento de' tempi arredo sempre nuove occasione, bisogno l'anno 1550 fare a detti capitoli alcune correctione et limitationi et additioni.

Doc. 59

Company of San Zanobi. 1508 statutes. ASF, Capitoli 154 [1508], f.29v.

XVIII. [Principal feasts]. [The San Zanobi festaiuoli must] ornare el nostro oratorio et co[m]pagnia in quello modo...senza fasto o pompa superflua di mondo. Et così dare opera che nel mezo della chiesa cathedrale si cantino le laude consuete dopo la Compieta della vigilia et del di di tale solenità, dinanzi al leggio et alla testa del preducto vescovo et confessore, ad tale acto preparata con lumi et con li Angeli pendenti dalla Stella, secondo el modo consueto et con li organi et trombetti, come è di anticho costume.

Doc. 60

Company of Santa Croce. 1538 statute. ASF, Capitoli 874 [1485-1538], ff.40r-v, 39r.

...Da un temp<o> q<...> son<..>tate con grandissima difficoltà advenga che no[n] ha più quella copia di cantori che per il passato havevamo <...> vedut<..> la difficoltà, vogliamo in iscam<bio> di cantare le laude, si faccia un limosina di lire venticinque ogn<ianno>, la quale si hab<bia> a dar<e a una figluo>la ch<...>no de[i] nostri fratelli che sia bisognosa quando si maritata; [f.39r]: Ma perchè a que[i] tempi erano più prosper<i>, e le persone più devote che al presente non sono. Et maximamente che habbiamo inteso da e<.....> che non ricordono mai tal <.....>nia o ordine essersi <.....> la difficoltà et imposs<ibili>tà <.....>, non vogliamo ancor noi esser tenuti et obligati all antico ordine.

Doc. 61

Company of Santa Croce. Book of Dowries, 1565. ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse, 1373, no.1, fasc.F [Testi, scritte, etc., 1403-1778], pt.3, Libro delle dote della Compagnia delle Laude, 1565-1729, f.1.

Havendo gli antichi Padri e antecessor[i] nostri considerato ...le preci, l'orationi, et le laude che per noi altri cristiani se li paghono, però si risolvettero principalmente che la nostra Compagnia si chiamase la Compagnia delle LAUDE, e volsero che al nome con rispondessero l'opere, et però in chiesa ordinarono che si cantassero oltre gl'uffizi divini ogni giorno di festa Le Laude da huomini Idonei et cantori sufficienti. La onde senilo da un tempo in qua mancata tal devotione per[chè] non haver più copia d'huomini atti a tal offitio. Però...i nostri Padri capitani con li huomini di nostra Compagnia hanno fatto nuova riforma col consenso del nostro padre Correttore, et del vicario del Arcivescovo di Firenze, et per non mancare in opere pie et cristiane, [e] non potendo più come è detto fare per l'impossibilità degli huomini et malvagità de[i] tempi cantare le laude, vogliono in quello scambio ogni anno dare a una fanciulla lire venticinque per dota, la quale debba essere figluola legittima e naturale d'uno de[i] nostri fratelli...

Doc. 62

Company of Sant'Agnesse. 1584 statutes. ASF, Acquisti e Doni 44, Capitoli, 1584-1643, f.33r.

XIIII. Delli oblihi della Compagnia e osservanza de legati. ...Trattando adunque del primo, si dice che al tempo che questa Compagnia cantava o faceva cantare le Laude, fur[o]no diversi Testatori che lasciorno a questa più beni immobili con obliho fra l'altre cose di fare dire doppo le laude alli frati del Carmine una vigilia, overo Notturmo de[i] Morti, et che si d'esse loro tanta cera in Candele, quanta per detti Testamenti è espresso.

Occorse doppo, che non si contentando di Cantori delle Laude, delli piccoli prezzi, et salarii che si davon[o] loro, fu di necessità dismettere il cantare [del]le laude dette come cosa che non era d'obligo. Onde che si convenne con li frati che essi dicessino la medesima vigilia, et Notturmo de[i] Morti, et certe feste ordinate da detti testatori, et havessino el prezzo medesimo che dal Testatore era ordinato, si spendesse et essi mettesino la cera di loro...

Doc. 63

Company of San Zanobi. 1555 statutes. ASF, Capitoli 155 [1555], ff.29-30.

XX. Della nostra festa principali. [Identical to doc.59, but with the following addition]: ...Overo in iscambio di dette laude, si cantino nel nostro oratorio la vigilia, et el di proprio, due vespri con tredici preti fuor del numero del nostro Cappellano, dopo quelli della chiesa Cathedrale, con quelli ordine, modi, et elemosine a detti preti s'è usato per el passato; e questo sia in arbitrio, deliberare, o di far cantare le laude o e Vespri de signori capitani, che per e tempi saranno sieno...

Doc. 64

Company of San Frediano. 1565 statutes. ASF, Acquisti e Doni 42, Capitoli, 1565, f.4r, 23r-v.

...non possa sedere alcuno altro offitiale della nostra Compagnia quantumque havessi grado di Dottore o Cavaliere o havessi nella Città offitio di qual si voglia grado...; [f.23r-v]: [novices] sieno persone di buona qualità et fama, et che non sieno o sieno stati beccamorti o messi o famigli del Comune o di alcuno magistrato della Città di Firenze.

Doc. 65

Company of Sant'Agnese. 1584 statutes. ASF, Acquisti e Doni 44, Capitoli, 1584-1643, ff.5r-v.

La veneranda e Religiosa Compagnia di di [sic] stendardo, Intitolato in Madonna Santa Maria delle Laude et Santa Agnesa di Firenze...ebbe il suo principio circa gl'anni del Signore 1245, et si chiamo da Stendardo per che gl'huomini e donne che di quella erano [sic] andando segnati con una Croce bianca et rossa in su'la spalla destra, seguivano ogni volta che occorreva il bisogno lo Stendardo della Sacro Santa Inquisitione in aiuto dello Sacro Santa Chiesa ad istirpatione di gl'heretici et here- sie che allhora erano et pulullavano in questa Città di Firenze.

Et oltre aciò perchè si ragunavono in detta chiesa del Carmine alcuni de essi per loro devotione a cantare laude spirituale, prese il titolo delle Laude, e perchè gl'erono fatte limosine e lasciate bene fu ordinato che gli Capitani et offitiali di quella si ragunassero certi giorni de terminati a fare opere di Pietà, et distribuire e lemosine...

APPENDIX 10
Letters of Indulgence

Doc. 66

Company of San Piero Martire. Letter of indulgence from Cardinal Nicola da Prato, 1304. Ed. Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, II, p.1047-8.

...Sane, sicut accepimus, nonnulli cives civitatis Florencie ad ordinem fratrum predicatorum civitatis eiusdem sincere devocionis gerentes affectum, quandam societatem in honorem beate Marie virginis per beatum Petrum martirem, fratrem dicti ordinis institutam, observant, et ad cantandas laudes ad honorem Dei et gloriose virginis Marie eius aliorumque sanctorum in ecclesia dictorum fratrum secunda dominica singulorum mensium devote conveniunt, in qua omnes de societate predicta processionaliter cum candelis accensis procedunt et devotas laudes reddunt omnium conditori, ac nihilominus certis diebus in prefata ecclesia solemnem processionem faciunt, quandoque de mane et quandoque de sero, que cum de sero fit, vigilia appellatur, nec propterea ab aliis divinis exercitiis desistentes singulis diebus ad cantandas dictas laudes de sero sine intermissione conveniunt in ecclesia supradicta.

Cupientes itaque, ut ecclesia premissa congruis honoribus frequentetur dictique cives ad premissa eo forcius animentur, quo magis ex hoc animarum comodum speraverint adipisci, omnibus et singulis de societate predicta tam presentibus quam futuris vere penitentibus et confessis, qui, ut premittitur, secunda dominica singulorum mensium in supradicta ecclesia devote convenient, necnon et cum premissam solemnem processionem facient sive di mane sive de sero, centum dies; quando vero in predictis singulis diebus de sero ad cantandas laudes, ut predicatur, convenient, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, quadraginta dies de iniuncta sibi penitencia, auctoritate qua fungimur, misericorditer relaxamus...

Doc. 67

Company of Santa Croce. Letter of indulgence from the bishop of Florence. ASF, Diplomatico Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, February 7, 1296 [1297].

Franciscus, dei et apostolice sedis gratia Episcopus Florentinus, dilectus in Christo filiis. Rectoribus societatis sancte Crucis di Florentia ceterisque omnibus et singulis di societate predicta in predicta ecclesia convenientibus, salutem in domino sempiternam. Licet cunctos in dei servitio constitutis ubicumque fuerint sinceris affectibus diligamus. Illos tamen magis amplectimur in visceribus caritatis qui devotionem suam domino vigint exhibentes de ipsorum actibus reddimur certiores. Exhibita

quidem nobis verum supplicatio annuebat ut illis qui sotietati vestre fecerint se adscribi in ipso ingressu, nec non et vobis omnibus de sotietate predicta cum indicta ecclesia sancte Crucis ad processionem seu ad reddendum vel reddi faciendum Laudes deo nec non ad tractandum de ipsius sotietatis utilitatibus seu necessitatibus secundum consuetudinem quam habuistis actento convenitis specialem indulgentiam facere dignarem acque illis qui vobis ammonitionis verbum disseminaverint faciendi vobis certam indulgentiam licentiam preberemus. Nos igitur <vestris> supplicationibus inclinati universis et singulis qui vestre sotietati fecerint se adscribi in ipso ingressu et etiam vobis de sotietate predicta quotienscumque ad reddendum seu reddi faciendum Laudes deo et due matri virgini gloriose vel pro utilitatibus ipsius sotietatis seu necessitatibus in dicta ecclesia convenitis de omnipotentis die misericordia et beatorum Johannis Baptiste ac Zenobii confessoris patronorum nostrorum ac Beate Raparate Virginis confisi quadraginta dies di iniuncta vobis penitentia misericorditer in domino relaxamus. Predicatoribus quoqi seu vestris ammonitoribus predictae ecclesie fatribus qui vobis predicaverint vel ammonitionis documenta tradiderint predictam vobis eisdem diebus indulgentiam annuntiandi liberam concedimus facultatem. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras nostri sigilli fecimus appensime muniri. Datum Florentie anno domini Millesimo Ducentesimo nonagesimo sexto, indictione nona, mense Februarii, die septima.

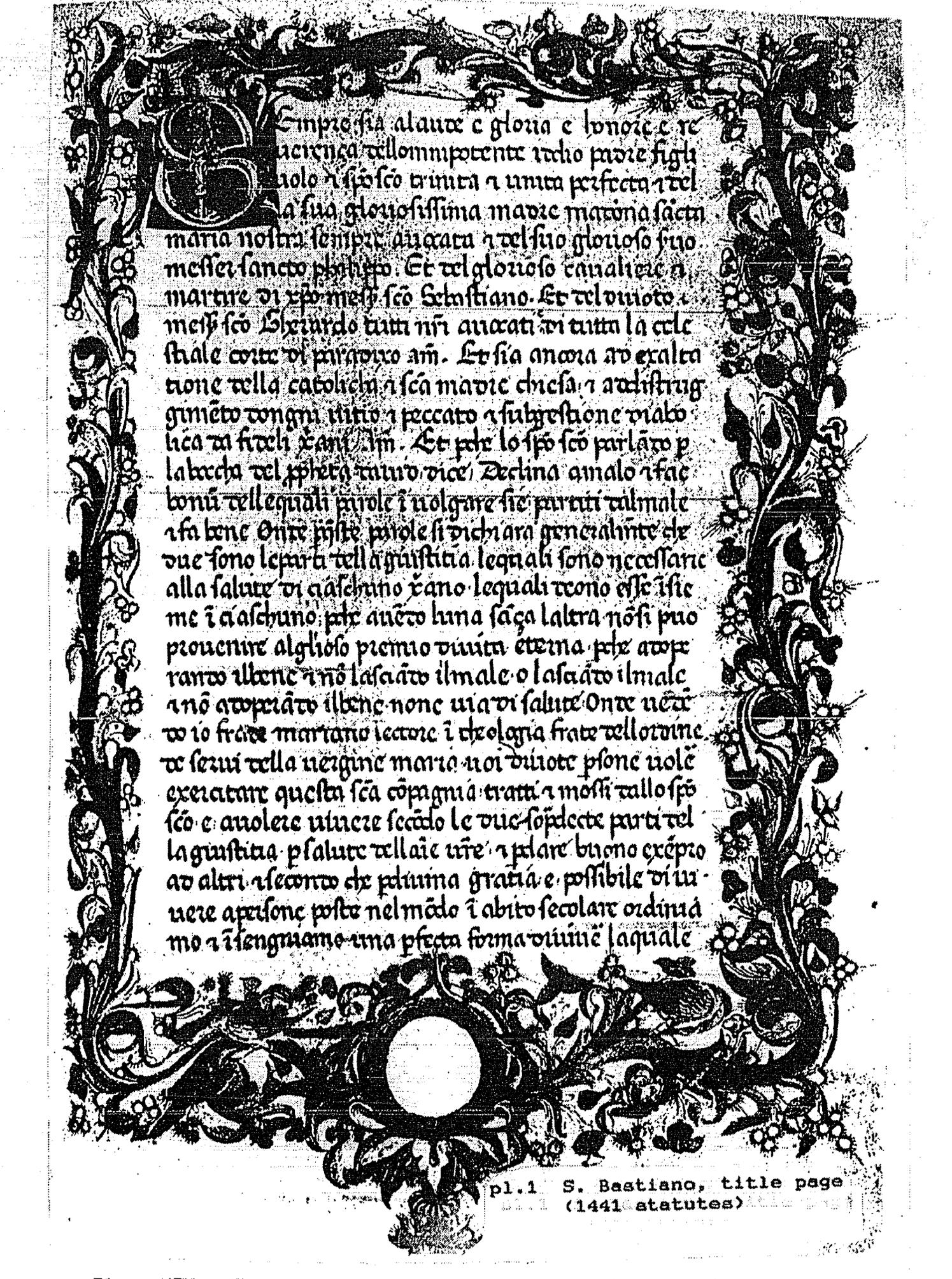
Doc. 68

Company of San Lorenzo. Letter of indulgence from the bishop of Florence, April 1, 1338. Ed. Can. Pier Cianfogni, Memorie storiche dell'Ambrosiana R. Basilica di S. Lorenzo di Firenze (Florence, 1804), pp.220-221 (doc.XX).

...Capitaneis Societatis, et iis de Societate B. Laurentii Florentini tam maribus, quam feminis, tam presentibus, quam futuris salutem in Domino sempiternam. Si quasi per premia corda fidelium, ut suam Altissimo devotionem exhibeant excitamus statui providemus salubriter ipsorum, quod dignum est apud Dominum, et meritorum reputandum, porrectis itaque nobis pro parte vestra devotis supplicationibus inclinati, tenore presentium omnibus, et singulis, qui vestre Societati predictae fecerint se adscribi, in ipso eorum ingressu, si postmodum perseveraverint in eadem, nec non vobis omnibus de Societatis predicta vere penitentibus, et confessis, dum in dicta Ecclesia L. Laurentii conveneritis Mis-sarum Solempnia, vel alia Divina Offitia, seu predicationes verbi Domini audituri, et de ipsius Societatis negotiis tractaturi, ac laudes de sero in dicta Ecclesia cantaturi, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et B. Marie Virginis Matris eius, Beatorum quoque Johannis Baptiste, Zenobii, Reparate, ac Vencentii Patronorum Ecclesie Florentine meritis confidentes, auctoritate, qua fungimur, quadraginta di iniuncta vobis, et eis penitentia, misericorditer relaxamus.

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Sempre sia alauze e gloria e honore e reuerencia dell'onnipotente uelco padre figliuolo e spō scō trinita e unita perfecta e della sua gloriosissima madre matona sācta maria nostra sempre auocata e del suo glorioso suo messer sancto philippo. Et del glorioso canalic e martire di xpo messer scō Sebastiano. Et del uiuoto messer scō Sberardo tutti nri auocati di tutta la celestiale corte di paradiso am̄. Et sia ancora ad exaltatione della catholica e scā madre chiesa e ad distruggimēto dogni uitio e peccato e subgessione diabolica di fidei xani am̄. Et pte lo spō scō parlato p la bocca del ppheta taurō dice Declina amalo e fac bonū telleguali parole i uolgare sic partiti tal male e fa bene. Onde iuste parole si dichiara generalite che due sono le parti della giustizia lequali sono necessarie alla salute di ciascuno xano lequali reono esse insieme i ciascuno pte auēto luma sāca l'altra nō si puo prouenire al glioso premio di uita eterna pte atoperranto il bene e nō lasciāto il male o lasciāto il male e nō atoperrāto il bene none uia di salute. Onde uēto io frate martiano lettore i theologia frate dell'ordine de serui della uergine maria noi diuote psonē uolē exercitare questa scā cōpagnia tratta e mossi tallo spō scō e auolere uiuere secādo le due sopdetate parti della giustizia p salute della aie nre e plare buono exēplo ad altri e secōdo che p luma gratia e possibile di uiuere apersonē poste nel mōdo i abito secolare ordināmo e insegnāmo una pfecta forma di uita laquale

Vigilia f...
p...
1477

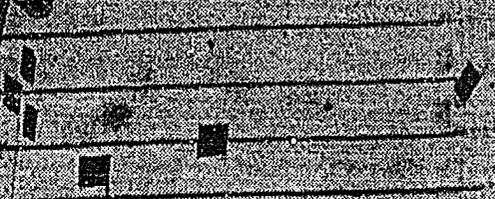
Capitulum...
...
...

Vigilia f...
...
1477

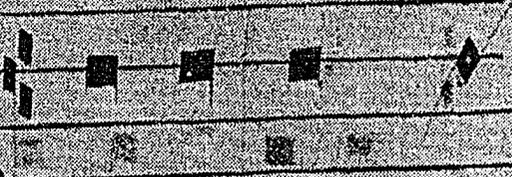
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pl.4 S. Agnese, bequests for
lauda vigila (15thc.)

III



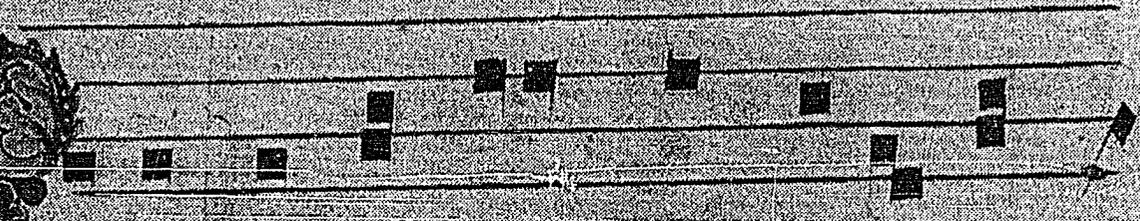
dicam



laure ac



tutti sancti colla uerGINE ma



glore di bon core con dolei am



MCCCXXXVIII

In nome et reverencia del nostro signore idio et della sua
madonna santa maria sempre uergine et di messer ser gioanni
santo canobi et di madonna santa lipara uergine
martira et di tutta la santa corte del paradiso adi viii d'agosto 1338

Gioanni cristiani
Bartolo baldoni
Bonachorso benauenni
Chiavo pucci anaiuolo
Petro beningni horacchio
Piero pacini chaldernio

Capitani

Casella guiducci
Bonachorso uanni
Lapo di bene
Giuoanni chambi
Baldo cecchini
Lapo dese

Consiglieri

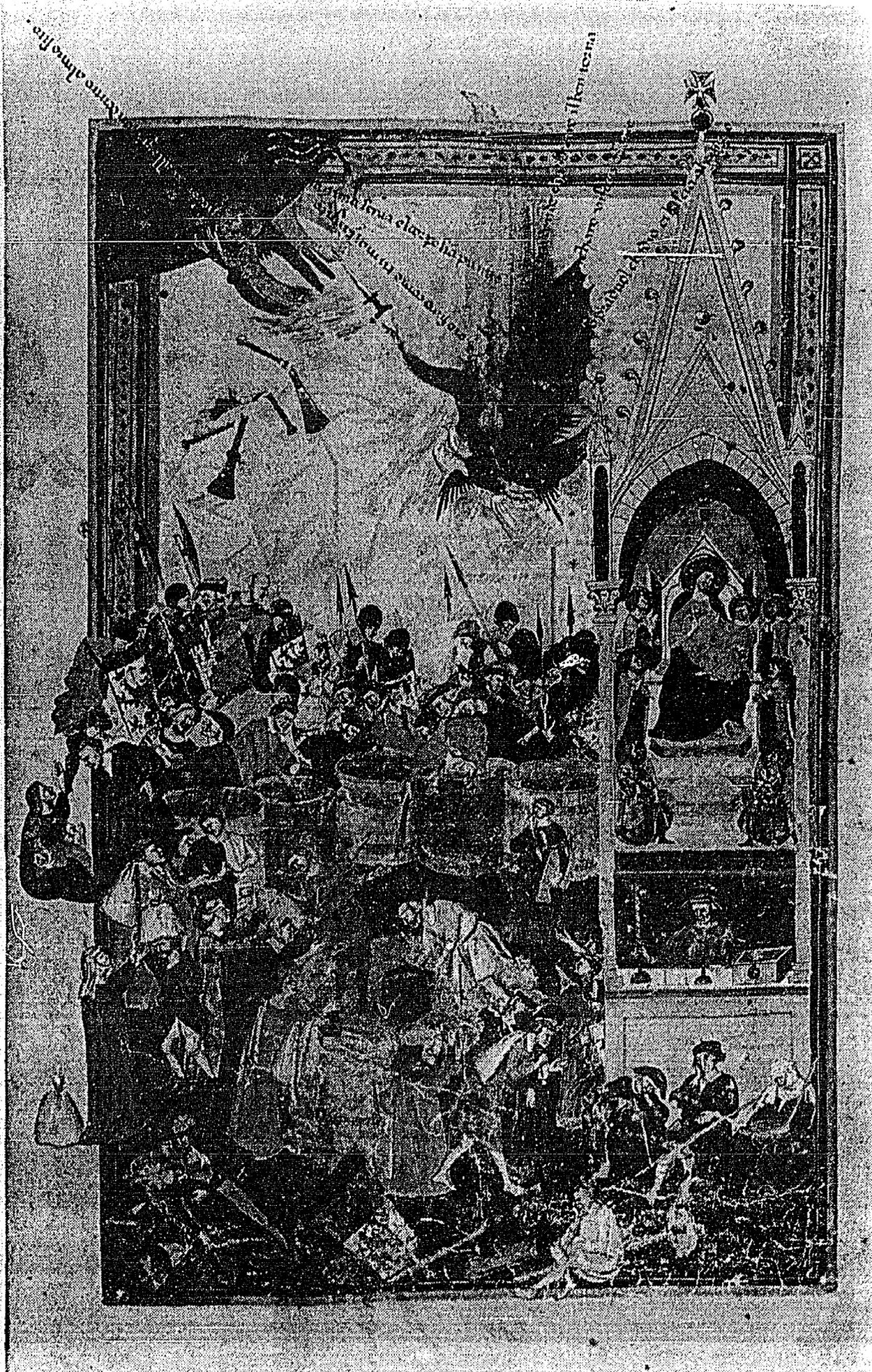
Jacopo diuanni Jacopo dichote Andrea di piero — — — — —

Al tempo di questi ufficiali scritti di sopra furono donati sotto leual
vno uolte opiu fatta la proposta per gli detti capitani se piace loro di
fare uno libro che bisogna di fare grande da cantare laude iscritto di let
ere grosse et notato estoriato fu venduto per consiglio e fatto per ueruno
fu uinto da tutti quegli della compagnia che ueruno che il libro fosse fatto
per un barto che fare spolla esse rimesso ne detti capitani che gli eleggese
no tre huomini migliori che sapessero della compagnia per ufficiali
affare idetto libro et detti capitani per ueruno delloro ufficio e per
balia sopra detta esse lero gli scrissero tre huomini ufficiali affare
idetto libro et diedero et commisero il loro piena et generale balia
et potestade di fare fare et di chonpare idetto libro essere ongni sp
esa che bisogna di danari della compagnia et de gli altri equali
uoranno fare alchuno aiuto affare idetto libro tenomora de qu
agli ufficiali sono queste

Tendi guida barbiere
Bonachorso uanni pettinangniolo
Canobi del m archese ritagliatore

Delloro ufficio dee durare infino che sia chonpiuto idetto libro
Edem ufficiali od alchuno di loro possa ricuere danari dal huomo
della compagnia o che fossero lasciati prestamento o alchuna
modo della compagnia douesse ueruno conuertire spende
idetto libro

pl.7 S. Zanobi, decision to acquire laudario (1339)



THE BIADAIOLO ILLUMINATOR

pl. 8

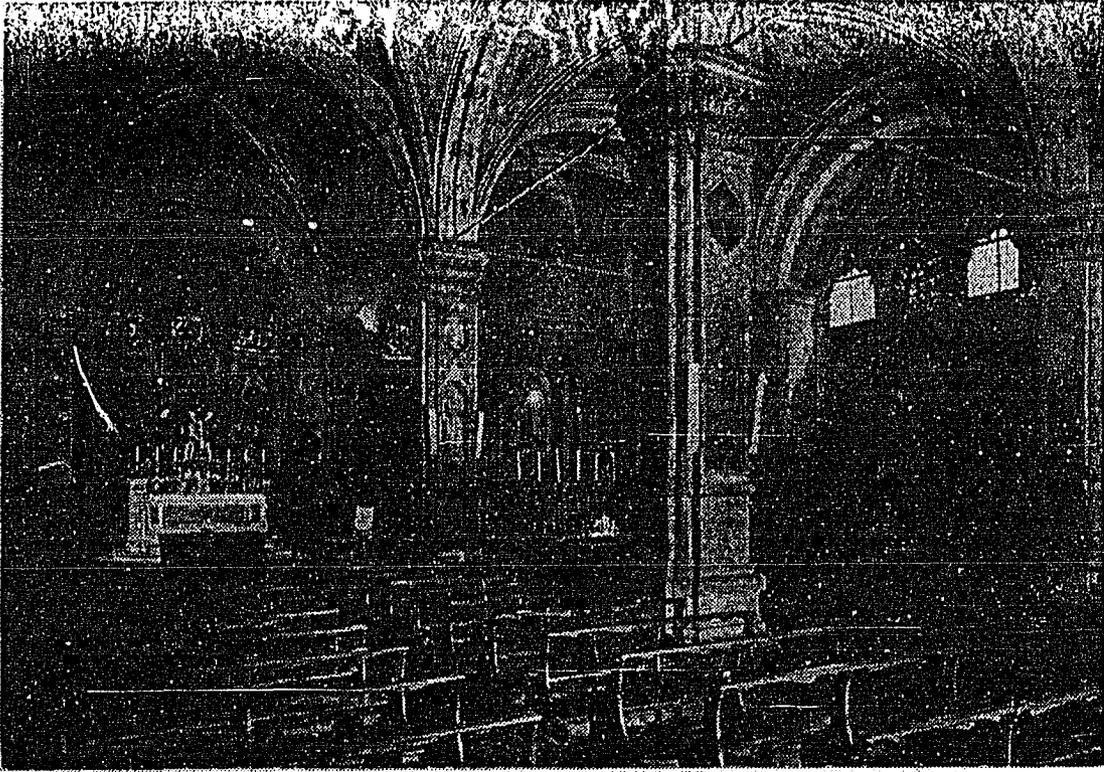
A lche ordinamo e fermamo che tutti quelli di questa compagnia si debbiano ogni
 sera munare nella chiesa predetta di madonna santa Verginita a cantare alchun
 ue laude cu aue maria ad honore di dio e della nostra donna. Et a quello de no
 uenisse la sera alla chiesa predetta a cantare le laude come detto e di sopra debbia
 due in honore di dio e della nostra donna tre parer nostri cum aue
 maria. Come i camarlunghi uegnano ogni sera anzi dellialtri alle laude.
A dora fermamo e ordinamo chelli camarlunghi debbiano ogni sera venire alla pie
 detta chiesa a tale stagione che compiuto l'officio della compieta. Et abbiano accesi
 due cen equali cieri debbiano tanto stare accesi delle laude compiutamente
 siano dette. Et che abbiano apparecchiato lo leggio el libro ellatoualglia ordinata
 e altre cose che bisognasse apparecchiare. Et quelli della compagnia predetta in
 la sera si riuniranno come detto e di sopra nella chiesa predetta a cantare le laude
 debbiano quando alcuno della predetta compagnia o mozzo o infermo o che fosse in
 uaggio il quale per li regiore fosse allora facto mandare fare una iue
 nia o dire una fiata aue maria. Et similgliantemente facciano per la pace e
 non si debbia alcuno di loro leuare ouero partire infino a tanto che el sacerdote che
 facesse la confessione non auesse data la benedizone e facta la dextione ciascuno
 della compagnia dica amen. Come i uice queste feste debbiano essere ordinati a uice candele
A lche ordinamo e fermamo che nelle feste di uice queste solennitadi e feste
 debbiano cantare le laude con viglie. eoe che debbiano tutti tenere i ma
 no candele accese ordinati a dora. Et in quelle sero debbiano in prima can
 tare aue maria. Queste sono quelle feste e solennitadi nelle quali si dee



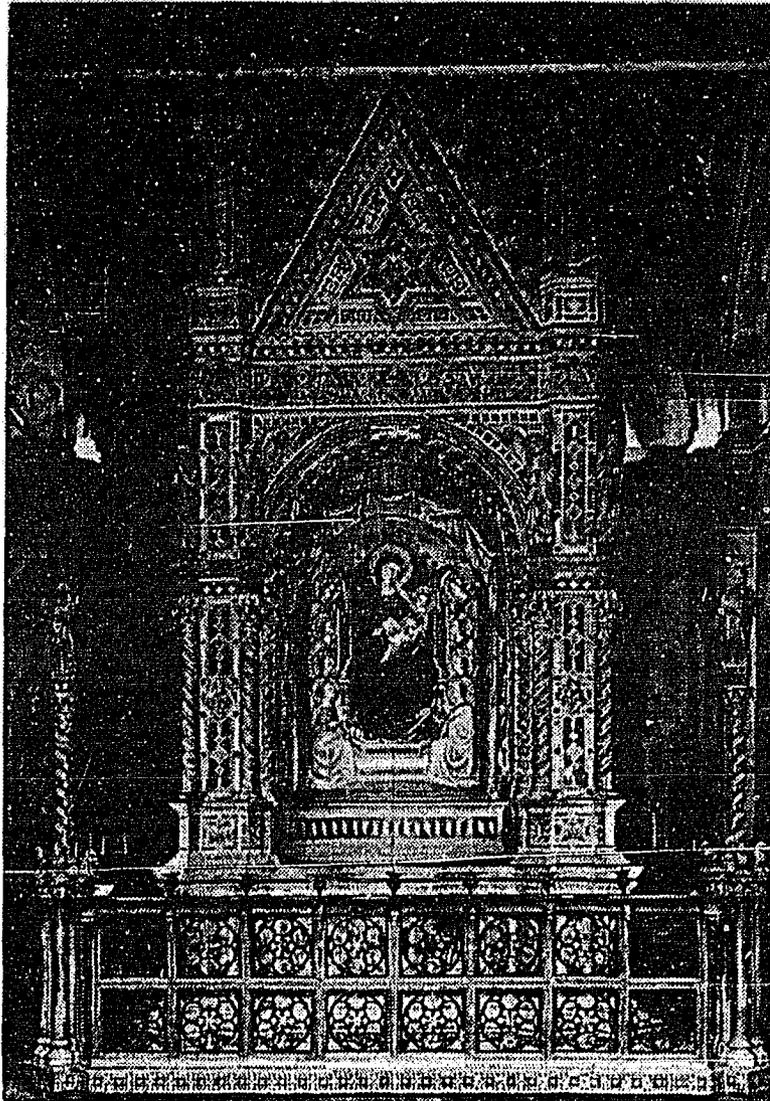
London, The British Library, Ms Add. 18196: laude *Sanctae Agnesae da Dio amata*.

pl.11 S. Agnese, lauda to
S. Agnese (14thc.)

Francofons dei et aplice sedis romanae Episcopus Florentin. dilectis in xpo filiis Evarubus sanctas sancte Cruce
Florentina. ecclesiisq; omnibus a singulis de societate predicta procedenti ecclesia convenientibus salutem in domino semper
ternam. Licet cunctis in dei seruire conficiatis ubiam q; fuerint sincere affectu id diligamus. Illis tamen magis
ampliationi misericordie caritatis q; deuotionem suam dno iugiter exhibentes de ipoy actis reddim certiores. Existim quidem nos
um suscitatis amuebit ut illis qui societate nre fecerint se ad seruis in xpo ingressi. nec ne quos unib; de societate p
cum in dnam ecclesia sancte Cruce ad processionem seu ad reddendum ut reddi faciendum Laudes deo nec uen ad an cordu
de ipius societatis utilitate seu necessitate sedm considerationem quam fabulatae atq; conueniens specialiter indial
gentium facere dignorim. ac q; illis qui uob; ammonitionis libum diffeminauerint faciendo uob; certum indulgentiam li
centiam p;berimus. Nos igitur ad supplicationibus inclinari. Synthesis a singulis qui nre societate fecerint se ad
in xpo ingressu a etiam uobis de salute predicta quocumq; ad reddendum seu reddi faciendum Laudes deo et sic
mam uirginis gloriose ut p; ualiam q; ipsa societatis seu necessitate indiana ecclesia conueniens de conuentionis de in
seruordia et beatorum Johne Baptiste ac Genobis confiteri patronorum nre ac beate uirgine uirginis confisi
quadragesima dies de munita uobis penitencia misericordie in domino resiamus. Predicantibus quoq; seu uobis
ammonitionibus predicte ecclesie fructibus qui uobis predicauerint uel ammonitione docuerint tandem audierint p
uobis eodem diebus indulgentiam ammonitioni librum concedimus facultatem. In casu testimonium p
sistam nri sigilli fecimus apensione muniti. Dat. Florentie. Anno domini millesimo duce
simo nonagesimo sexto Inditione nona id est Februarii die septima



pl.15 Orsanmichele,
interior



pl.16
Orsanmichele,
Tabernacle &
Madonna



pl.17 S. Piero Martire, Rucellai Madonna

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- Fig. 4 Santa Maria del Fiore. F. Hartt, History of Italian Renaissance Art (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969), p.106.
- Fig. 5 Santo Spirito. Ibid., p.122.
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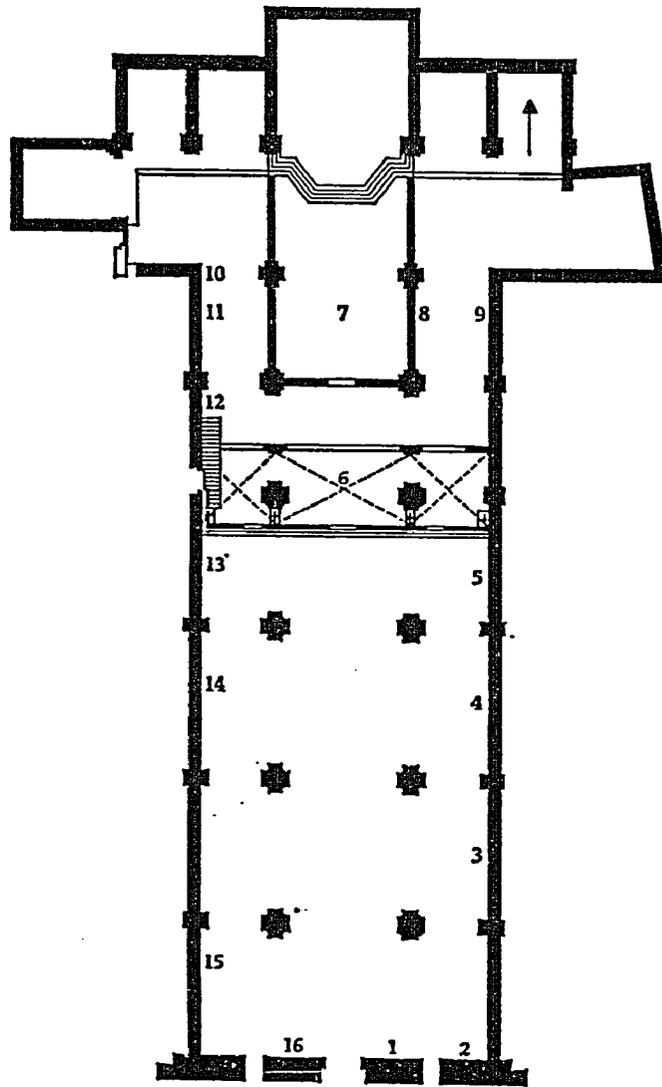
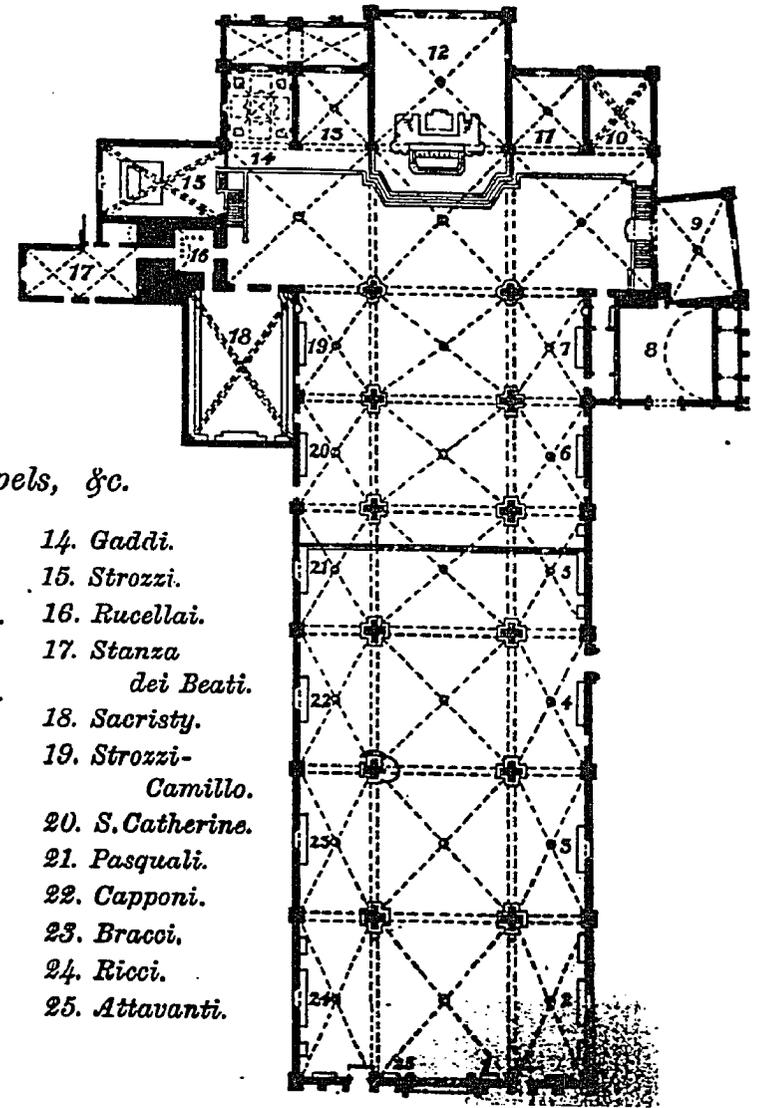


fig.1 Santa Maria Novella before Vasari's renovation



Chapels, &c.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Vecchietti. | 14. Gaddi. |
| 2. Giuochi. | 15. Strozzi. |
| 3. Mazzinghi. | 16. Rucellai. |
| 4. Sommaia. | 17. Stanza
dei Beati. |
| 5. Minerbetti. | 18. Sacristy. |
| 6. Pellegrino. | 19. Strozzi-
Camillo. |
| 7. Ricasoli. | 20. S. Catherine. |
| 8. Pura. | 21. Pasquali. |
| 9. Rucellai. | 22. Capponi. |
| 10. Bardi. | 23. Bracci. |
| 11. Strozzi. | 24. Ricci. |
| 12. Choir. | 25. Attavanti. |
| 13. Gondi. | |

fig.2 Santa Maria Novella after Vasari's renovation

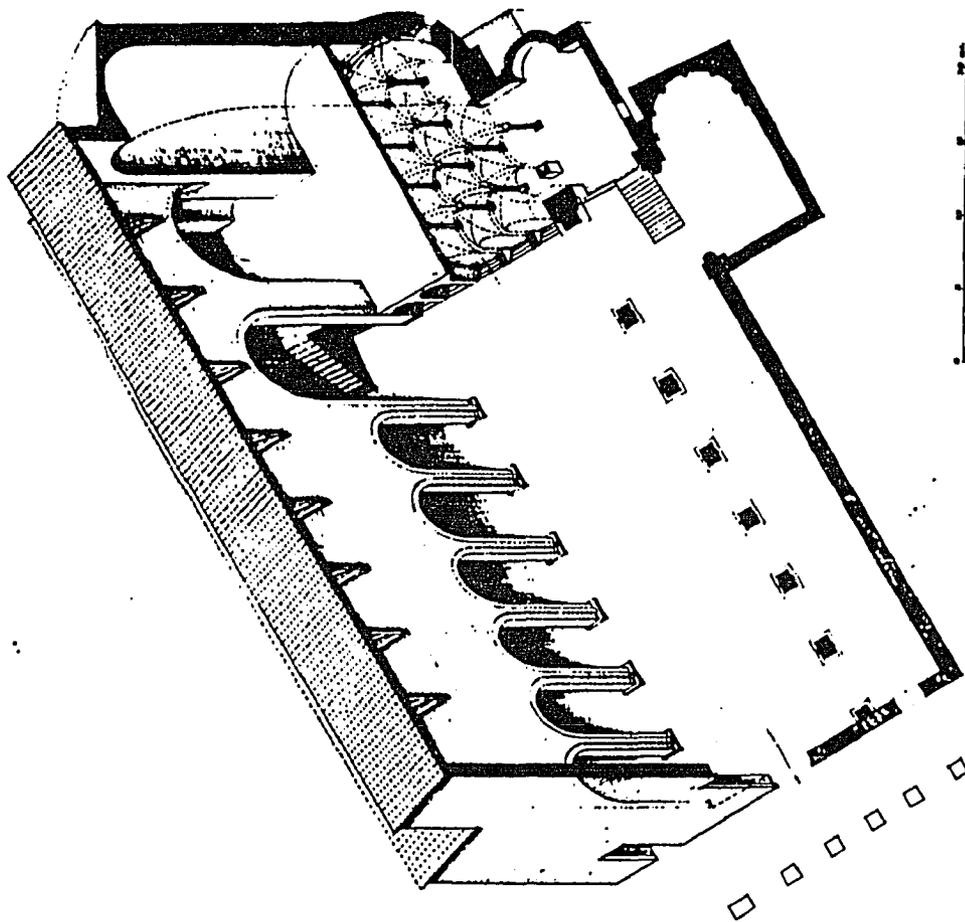


fig.3 Santa Reparata

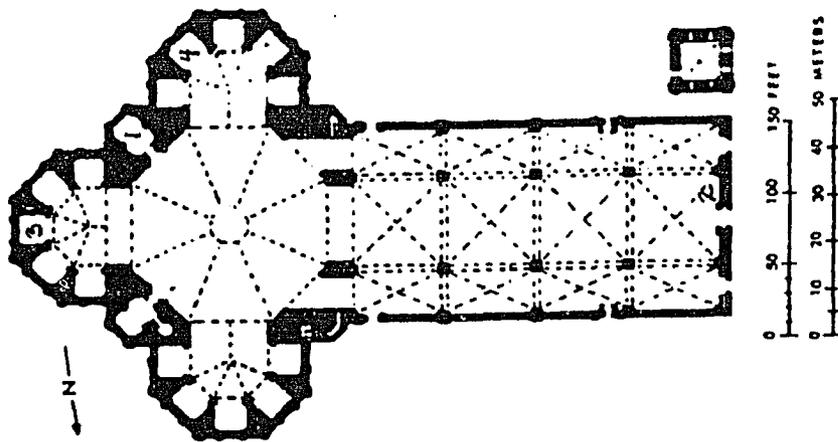


fig.4 Santa Maria del Fiore

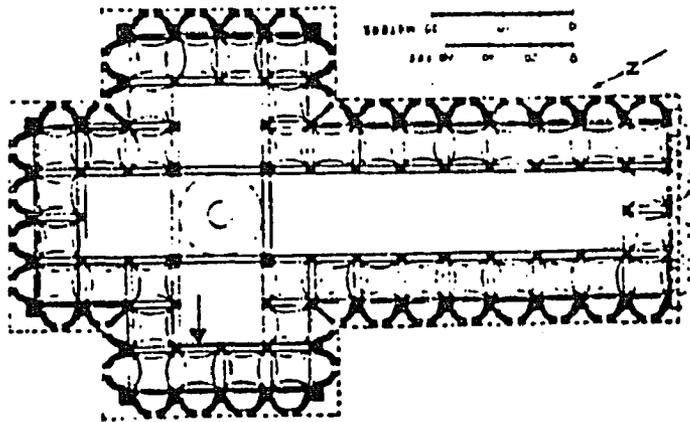


fig.5 Santo Spirito

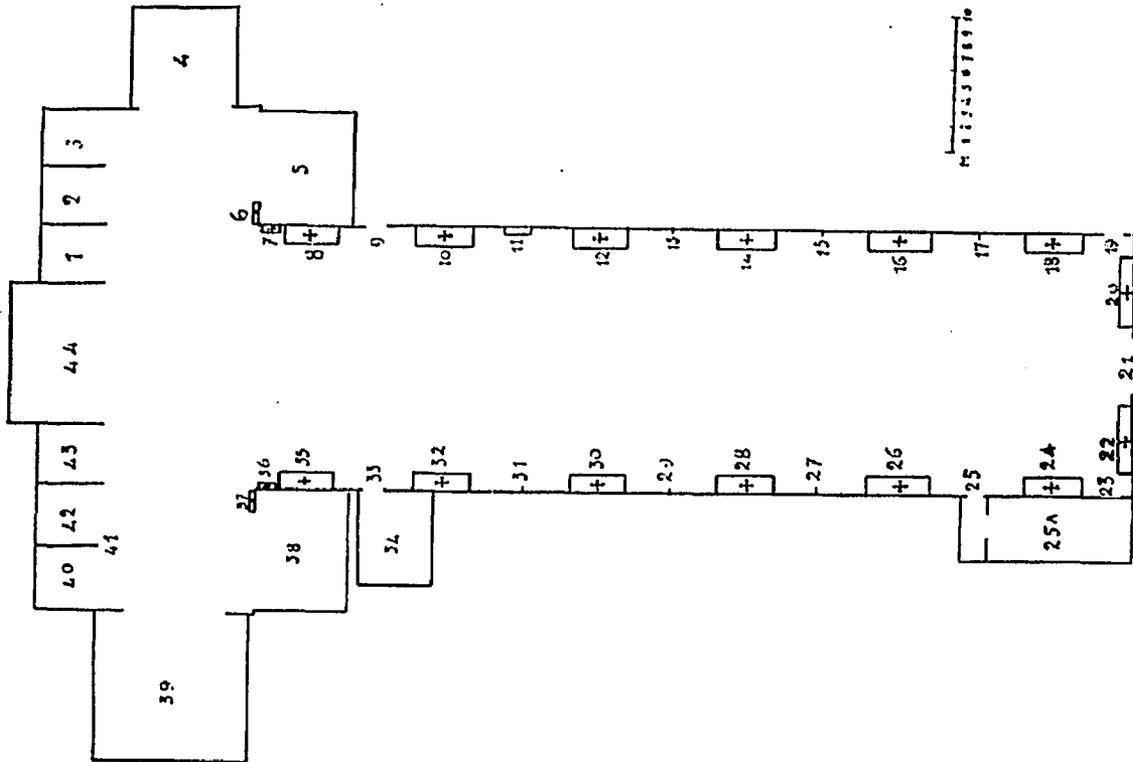


fig.6 Santa Maria del Carmine

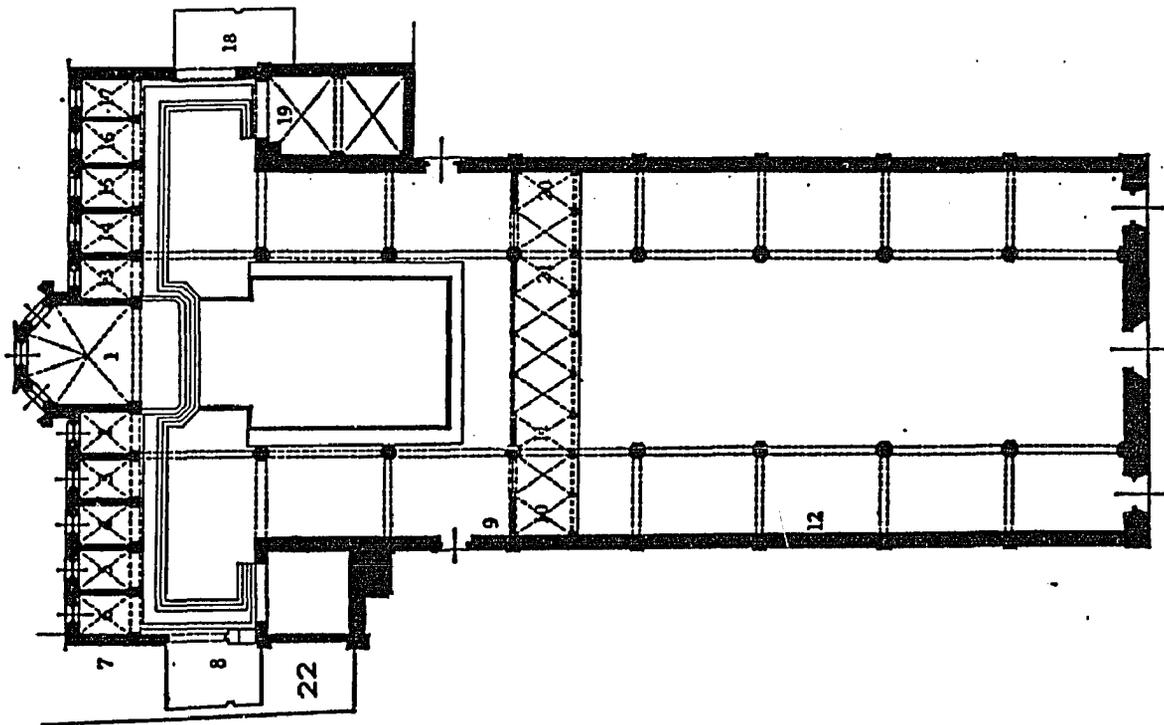


fig.7 Santa Croce

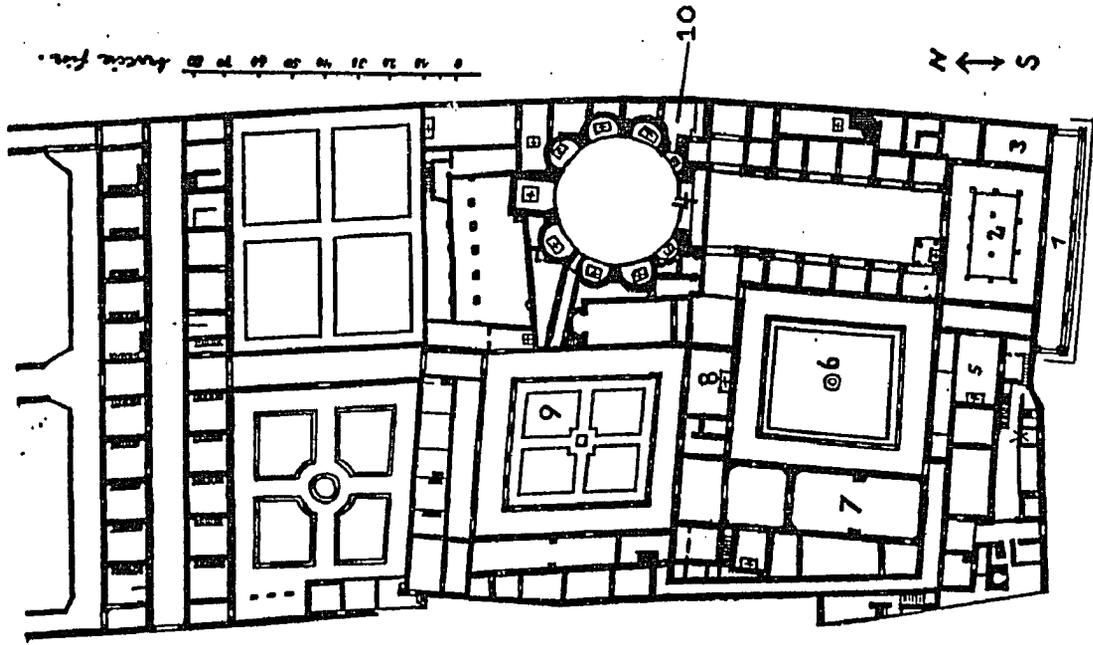


fig.8 Santissima Annunziata

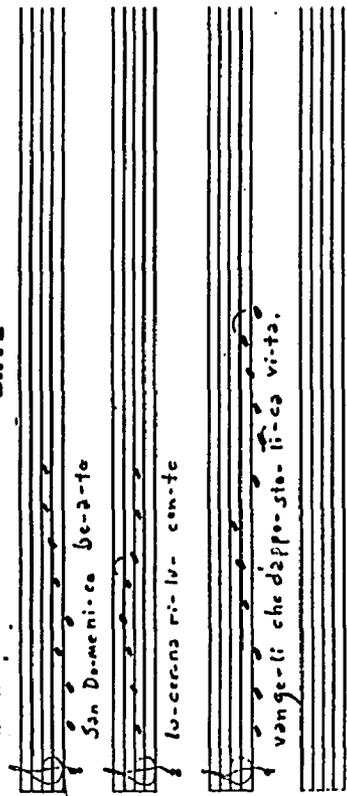
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- Ex. 6 Melodic stereotypes drawn from other examples.
- Ex. 7 Alta trinità beata (Trinity). Cort version in Liuzzi, I, no.XXXI. Mgl¹ version (ff.5v-6r) in Liuzzi, II, no. III, and Grossi, p.49. Third version transcribed by C. Burney, General History of Music, ed. in Ziino, "Laudi e miniature," 83. Text in Mgl², Fior.
- Ex. 8 Per allegrezza (ballata set by Francesco Landini). Ed. L. Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol.IV (Monaco, 1959), p.17. Lauda contrafactum: Ms. Ch 266, f.175v; underlay by Diederichs, Die Anfänge, pp.291-2.
- Ex. 9 Ecco la primavera (ballata set by Landini). Ed. Ibid., p.58. Lauda c.f.: Ch 266, f.74v; Diederichs, p.294.
- Ex. 10 De sospirar sovente (ballata set by Landini). Ed. Ibid., p.80. Lauda c.f.: Ch 266, f.203v.; Diederichs,

pp.288-9.

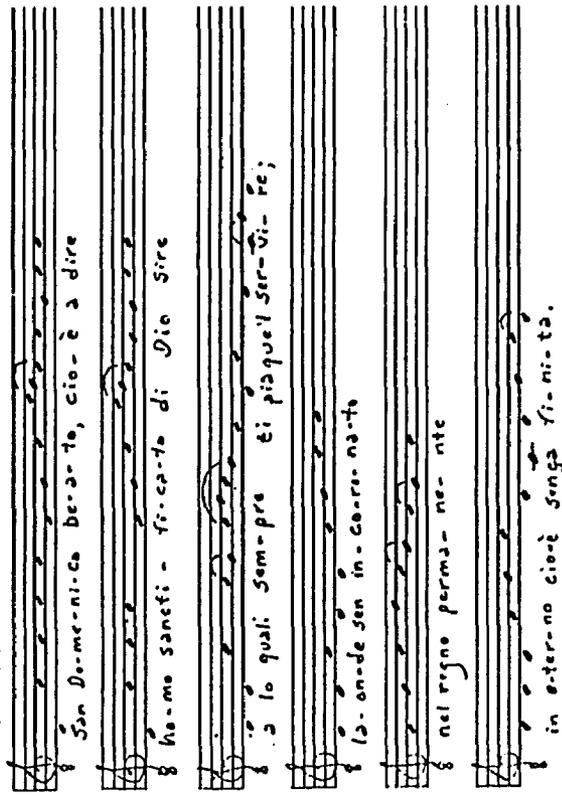
- Ex. 11 L'amor ad me venendo (lauda by L. Giustiniani). Text ed. F. Luisi, Laudario giustiniano, I, p.291. Music: 11a) Ven, f.144r and Pav, f.2v. Both versions edited in Luisi, II, pp.54-5. 11b) Petrucci I, f.57r, ed. Luisi, II, p.56. 11c) Razzi, f.42v, ed. Luisi, II, p.57.
- Ex. 12 O Jesú dolce (Giustiniani; text ed. Luisi, I, p.255). Music: 12a) Grey, ff.67v-68r, ed. Cattin, Italian laude, no.21; Razzi, ff.61v-62r; Panc.27, f.50v; all edited in Luisi, II, pp.88-94. 12b) Petrucci, ff.59v-60r, ed. Luisi, *ibid.*
- Ex. 13 Con desiderio io vo cercando (Giustiniani; text ed. Luisi, I, pp.292-3). Music: 13a) Bu, f.45r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.28-9. 13b) Panc.27, f.20r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.30-31. 13c) Panc.27, f.79r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.32-3. 13d) Grey, ff.31v-32r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.34-5. 13e) MC, f.267, ed. Luisi, II, p.157 (cantasi come source: Mgl.C.VII.30; Mgl.C.VII.27).
- Ex. 14 Madre che festi (Giustiniani; text ed. Luisi, I, p.260). Music: 14a) Ven, f.30v; ed. Luisi, II, p.60. 14b) Petrucci, f.28r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.61-2. 14c) Petrucci, ff.6v-7r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.180-1; cantasi come source: Gall¹, f.1 14d) Panc.27, f.41v, ed. Luisi, II, pp.175-6; cantasi come source: Gall², f.234. 14e) Pav 362, ff.24v-25r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.165-6; cantasi come source: Gall², f.234.
- Ex. 15 Mercé ti chiamo. Bu, ff.27v-28r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.236-237 (Mercé ti chiamo, Virgine Maria, lauda text by Belcari). Cantasi come source: Ch 266, f.103.
- Ex. 16 Moro de doglia. Petrucci, Frottole Libro Sexto (Venice, 1506), ff.3v-4r, ed. Luisi, II, pp.240-1 (Ave del verbo eterno genitrice, lauda text by F. Belcari). Cantasi come source: Gall¹, f.6.
- Ex. 17 I'son più mal maritata. Florence, Banco Rari 230, f.145v, ed. Cattin, "Laude di Castellano Castellani," 219-220 (Pecorelle pien d'errore, ritornate, lauda text by C. Castellani). Cantasi come source: D'Ancona, La poesie popolare, p.484.

REFRAIN ex.1



San Dome-ni-ca be-a-to
lu-cerna ri-lu-can-te
van-geli che d'ap-po-sto-li-ca vi-ta.

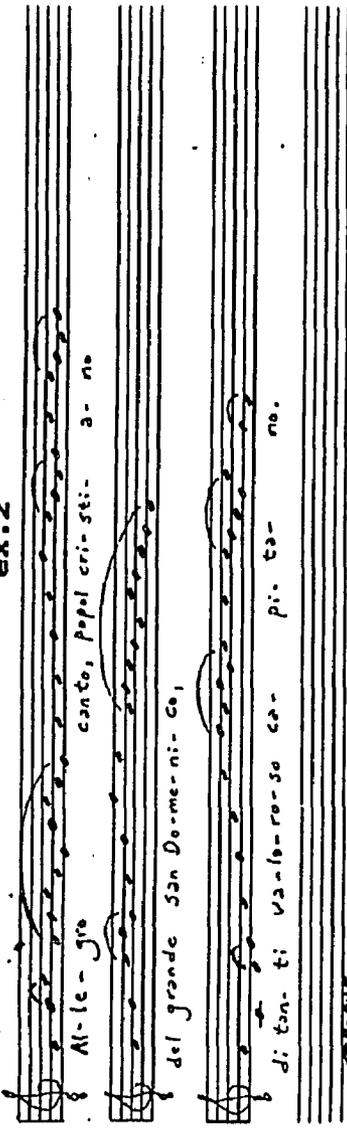
STROPHE



San Dome-ni-ca be-a-to, cio-è a dire
8 ho-mo sancti-fi-ca-to di Dio sire
8 5 lo quali sem-pre ti pi-quei ser-vi-fe;
8 la-an-de sen in-con-ru-nate
8 nel re-gno per-manen-te
8 in eter-no cio-è sunga fi-ni-ta.

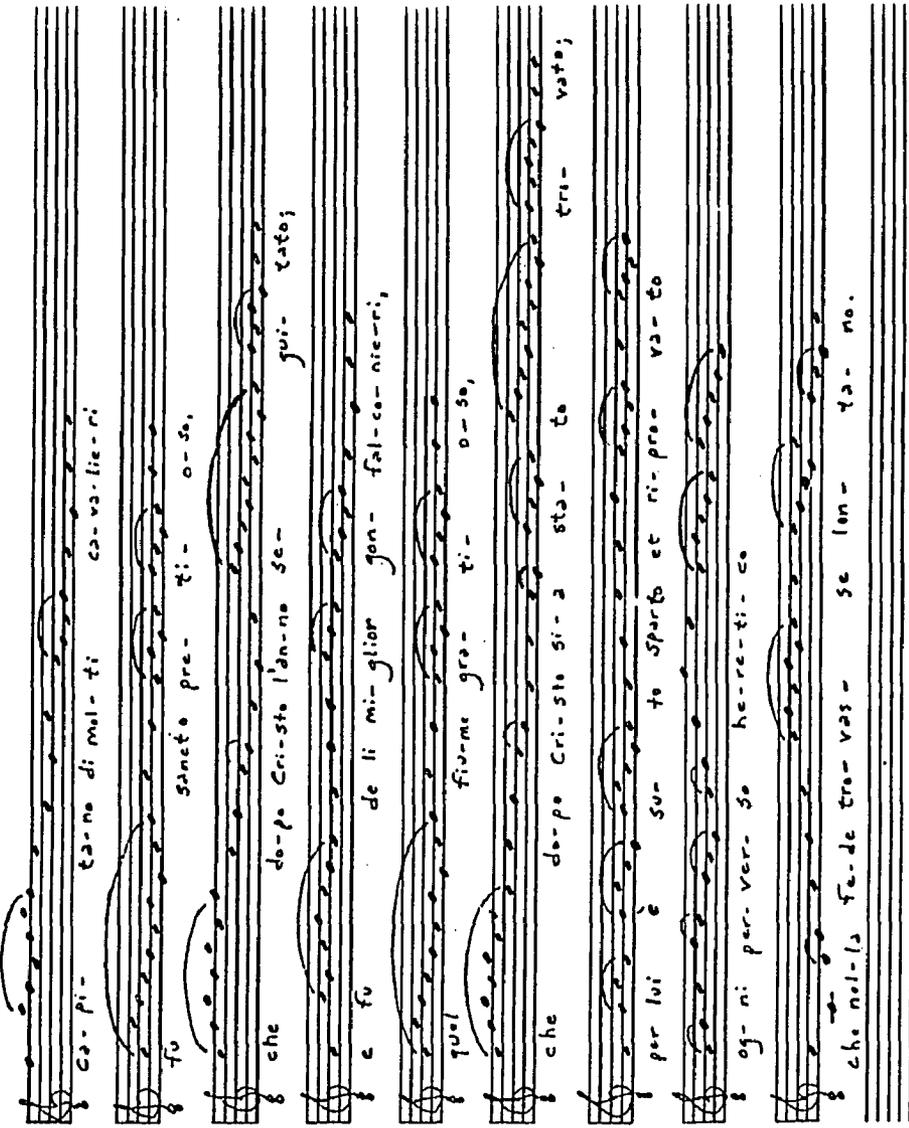
REFRAIN

ex.2



Al-le-gro can-to, popu-cri-sti-a-no
del grande San Dome-ni-co,
di con-ti va-lo-ro-so ca-pi-ta-no.

STROPHE



ca-pi-ta-no di mol-ti ca-va-lie-ri
fu sancto pre-ti-o-so,
che do-po Cri-sto l'an-no se-qui-tatoj
e fu de li mi-glior jon-fal-ca-nie-ri,
quel fi-ome gra-ti-o-so,
che do-po Cri-sto si-a sta-to tra-va-toj
per lui è sun-to spar-to et ri-pre-va-to
og-ni per-ver-so he-re-ti-co
che mol-to fa-de-tro-vas-se lun-ta-no.

REFRAIN

Cort. ① A-ve don-na san-ctis-si-ma.

Mgl. ① A-ve, don-na san-ctis-si-ma.

Cort. ② re-gi-na po-ten-tis-si-ma.

Mgl. ② re-gi-na po-ten-tis-si-ma.

STROPHE

Cort. ③ La ver-tu ce-le-sti-a-le

Mgl. ③ la vir-tu ce-le-sti-a-le

Cort. ④ cae-la gra-ti-a su-per-na-le.

Mgl. ④ cae-la gra-ti-a su-per-na-le.

Cort. ⑤ in-te vir-go vir-gi-na-le

Mgl. ⑤ in-te, vir-go vir-gi-na-le.

Cort. ⑥ di-see-se be-ni-gnis-si-ma.

Mgl. ⑥ di-see-se be-ni-gnis-si-ma.

Scrophe

4)

Cort
Mgl'
Luc'
Mgl'
Mgl'

al-to san-cto An-to-nio o be-a-to, Ciascun lau-da-re et a-ma-re
al-to sancto An-to-ni-o o be-a-to, ciascu-no lau-da-re ed a-ma-re
a-posto-lo An-drea-glo-ri-fi-cato Djo se-gui-to-sci et a-ma-sci
pion di sa-pi-en-ti-a si' lau-dato Lu-mi-na-to-re et do-cto-re
I be-a-to Augustin san-mo do-cto-re o al-to et pro-fun-da sa-pi-en-ti-a

7)

Cort
Mgl'
Luc'
Mgl'
Mgl'

re so-for-ga-re vol-se pic-co-lo-ge-ta-gio.
re in-stur-eg-a-ri-je Vols'en pic-cial e-ta-gio.
a-sci et an-da-sci a lui per gran-de-a-me-re
re guar-da-to-re col-la san-cta doc-tri-na
se' doc-tor par excel-len-ti-a dan-ne lu-me-ra che sian cano-scen-ti

10) 11) 12)

Cort
Mgl'
Luc'
Mgl'
Mgl'

gio po-tes-se di-li-ber-a-na si par-le se con-su-ma la le-genda la un-de fo-na-to.
gio po-tes-se di-li-ber-a-na si par-ti-o si con-su-ma la le-genda la an-de fo-na-to.
non te vol-le par-ti-re dallo su-ser-vi-re per-cio-ne fusti si-ben [ma-ri-ta-to]
a tut-ti di si gran san-cto no-vel or fac-ciam can-to che nne sie do-gne et a lo-ban ma-ri-ta-to.
ad-te, pa-dre por-ten-te al cui ser-vo-ris sis-mo ra-gu-na-ti.

ex.5

REFRAIN

Cort
On-ne ho-mo ad al-ta vo-ce | lau-di la ve-ra-ce croce.

Mgl'
On-ge ho-mo ad al-ta bo-ce | lau-di la ve-ra-ce croce.

Br
Ogn'u-mo ad al-ta bo-ce | lau-di la ve-ra-ce croce.

STROPHE

Cort
Quanto è di-gna da lau-da-re

Mgl'
Quant'è de-gno di lau-da-re

Br
Quant'è de-gna da lau-da-re

Cort
co-re no-lo po pen-sa-re

Mgl'
co-re no-lo può pen-sa-re

Br
co-re no-lo può pen-sa-re,

Cort
è lin-gua no-lo po con-ta-re

Mgl'
lin-gua no-lo può con-ta-re

Br
lin-gua no-lo può

Cort
la ve-ra-ce san-cta croce

Mgl'
la ve-ra-ce san-cta croce

Br

ex.6 Melodic stereotypes (14th-15thc.)

exs. 1-7 14thc. monophonic
 exs. 8-10 14thc. polyphonic
 exs. 11-17 15thc. polyphonic

1. *Ex. 2* *Ex. 2* *ex. 7, m. 9* *ex. 3*
 Al-le- gro gra-ti-a-o-so cor-fa-ralle-grare (Ver) gi-na-le

2. *Ex. 2* *Ex. 2* *Ex. 3* *Ex. 4*
 Ca-pi(tans) Se-gui-tato vir-(ginale) cono-scen-(ti)

Ex. 8, m. 3 *Ex. 9, m. 2* *Ex. 16, m. 20* *Ex. 16, m. 27*
 (dà) mo-re pri-ma-versa lor- (fati) cho

3. *Ex. 3* *Ex. 4* *Ex. 8, m. 9* *Ex. 9, m. 4* *Ex. 10, m. 3*
 la Vir-tù ce Al-to et pro-fon (va)-ra cor-fa-ralle-(so) ven-te

Ex. 12 *Ex. 15, m. 12*
 fi-ni-to-a- mo(re) a spar-an-za

4. *Ex. 2* *Ex. 3* *Ex. 9, m. 6* *Ex. 10, m. 19* *Ex. 16, m. 29*
 tra-vas-se -sci-a-le. Ten-pi ques-to'in

5. *Ex. 4* *Ex. 8, m. 11* *Ex. 10, m. 25* *Ex. 11a* *Ex. 16, m. 20* *Ex. 16, m. 27*
 cono-scen le-ti-zia son-'spi-ci (gran) fer-ve-re lor- (fati) cho-

6. *Ex. 4* *Ex. 5* *Ex. 8, m. 9* *Ex. 10, m. 19*
 Can-ti al-to vo-ce (dà) va-(ra)

7. *Ex. 2* *Ex. 3* *Ex. 8, m. 3* *Ex. 8, m. 6* *Ex. 10, m. 25*
 (cri) sti a(n) su-per-nale (dà) ma-re re-lu-cen-te so-spi-ri

ex.7

Cort
7or

Al- ta tri- ni- tà be- a- ta da noi sem- pre si- a do- ra- ta.

Mgl'
Sulor

Al- ta tri- ni- tà be- a- ta da noi si- a sem- pre a- do- ra- ta.

Burney

Al- ta tri- ni- tà be- a- ta da noi sem- pre a- do- ra- ta.

Cort

Tri- ni- tà de glo- ri- o- sa

Mgl'

Tri- ni- tà glo- ri- o- sa

Burney

Tri- ni- tà glo- ri- o- sa

Cort

u- ni- tà ma- ra- vil- li- o- sa -

Mgl'

u- ni- tà ma- ra- vil- li- o- sa

Burney

u- ni- tà ma- ra- vil- li- o- sa

Cort

tu se' man- na sa- vo- ro- sa

Mgl'

tu se' man- na sa- vo- ro- sa

Burney

tu sei man- na sa- po- ro- sa

Cort

a tutt' or de- si- de- ra- ta

Mgl'

a tutt' or de- si- de- ra- ta

Burney

e tutt' or de- si- de- ra- ta

ex.8 Per allegrezza

1.5. Per al-le-gre-zza del par-lar d'a-mo-re S'ac-
 4. Si che cias-cu-na nel par-lar sia pre-sta S'a

Per l'allegrezza del nostro si-gno-re; il

-ce-se fiamma ri-lu-cen-t'e chia-ra, Che non si sen-t'a-
 que-sto ser-voè sta-to tol-to'l co-re, Die-gli-si con gran-

qual-e e na-to di ver-gi-ne ma-dre, lau-diam l'et-ter-no

-va-fe -ra A dar le-ti-zia nel suo grand'ar-
 fe-sta Quel di co-lei ch'e-glia-ma-a tant'o-

pa-dre di tan-ta gra-zia e di si grandè ho-

-do-re. 2. Que-st'al-le-gre-zza, se Sa-tur-no
 -no-re. 3. Fa-ch'al pre-sen-te nel-la sa-cra-

no-re. Que-sto fi-gliuo-lo a pre-so no-stra

tur-ba, A te, Cu-pi-do, la vendet-ta re-sta.
 tur-ba La dol-ce fe-de ti sia ma-ni-fe-sta,

for-ma sem-pre ten-gnien-do na-tura di-vi-na.

ex.9 Ecco la primavera

♩ = ♩

1. 5. E - cho la pri - ma - ve - ra, Che'l cor fa ral - le -
 4. L'er - he con gran fres - che - ça E fior' co - pro - noi

Pre-ghiam Gie-su con lieta ce-ra, che ci de' per-do-

5

- gra - re, Ten - pè d'an - na - mo - ra - re E star
 pra - ti, E gli al - bo - ri a - dor - na - ti So - no in

na-re che pos-sia-mo a-bi-ta-re, nella glo-

10

con lie - ta ce - ra. 2. No' ve - giam l'a - ria e'l
 si - mil ma - ne - ra. 3. In que - sto va - go

ria sua ve-ra-ce. No-stro a-vo-cha-
 che di-nan-zi a Chri-

15

ten - po Che pur chiam' al - le - gre - ça.
 tem - po O - gni co - sa à va - ghe - ça.

to si- a mes-ser San-to Gio-van-ni.
 sto sti- a per cha-var-ci d'af-fan-ni.

ex.10

De sospirar sovente

1. 5. De so-spi - rar so - ven - te *Con strett.to* son, ve -
 4. Et as-sai mi rag - gi - ri Che ne' pen - sier' mi

Ba-tis-ta da Dio a- ma- to, pien di vir- tu e

- gien-do per sen - bian - te El cor che ti con - sen - te
 pa-ia a-ver fal - la - to. Ma pur s'i' so-no er - ra - to,

deg-no d'o-gni o- no- re, Gie-su no-stro si- gno-re

Vol - ger gli o - chi tuo' va - ghi ad al - tr' - man -
 Piac - cia - ti far - ne chia - ra la mie men -

pe' le tuo' man vol es-ser bat-te- za-

- te. 2. Ri - ce-ver que - sto in - gan - no La
 - te. 3. Non tro-van-do all' af - fan - no Ri -

to. Ba-ti-sta glo- ri- o- so, pri-
 Gie-so Chri- sto a- mo- ro- so, tu

men - te - mie con - vien c'o - gnor so - spi - ri,
 - me-dio al-cun, tan - ti so - no i mar - ti - ri,

ma che tu na- scies- si in que- sto mon- do
 ad- o- ra- sti con sen- no pro- fon- do

ex.11a

text: L. Giustinian

L'Amor ad me venendo

Venice IX. 145, f. 144^r
Pav. Aldini 361, f. 2^v

Ven. II

Pav.

L' - mor a mi ve - nen - do, si -
si che cum gran fer - vo - re, stru -

L' - mor ad me ve - nen - do, si m'è

L' - mor ad me ve - nen - do, si m'è

Ven

si ma fe - ri - toel co - re,
stru - zo - me vo lan - guen - do.

Pav

fe - ri - toel co - re, si che cum gran fer - vo - re,
fe - ri - toel co - re, si che cum gran fer - vo - re,

Ven

[instrumental?]

Pav

stru - zo e vo lan - guen - do.
stru - zo e vo lan - guen - do.

ex.11b

L'amor a me venendo

Petrucchi Laude 1, a. 87 r

Innocentius Dammoais

C
A
T
B

5
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to

10
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to

ex.11c

L'amor a me venendo

Razzi Laudi 1, 483, c. 42 r

Serafino Razzi

C
A
B

5
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to

10
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to
si m'ha fe - ri - to

ex. 12a

Tutti: Leonardo Giustiniani

Ms. Capoforn, Grey 3.1.12
Razzi: Libro Duomo (Firenze, 1512)
Florence, B.N. Panciatichi 37

O Gesù dolce

Soprano: O Gesù dolce, o in-fi-ni-ta-ma-bil don., in-es-pa-si-bi-lis, in-es-ti-ma-bil don.

Alto: O Gesù dolce, o in-fi-ni-ta-ma-bil don., in-es-pa-si-bi-lis, in-es-ti-ma-bil don.

Tenore: O Gesù dolce, o in-fi-ni-ta-ma-bil don., in-es-pa-si-bi-lis, in-es-ti-ma-bil don.

Basso: O Gesù dolce, o in-fi-ni-ta-ma-bil don., in-es-pa-si-bi-lis, in-es-ti-ma-bil don.

P. 27

1. Ms.: univ. cat. (?)

Soprano: mi-se-re mi o mi-che se-no, [Soprano] no]

Alto: me, mi-se-ra me chi se-no chio se-no me

Tenore: mi-se-ra me

Basso: Cho fuggandio mi seguis tolle lhu-ra, che fuggen-dio, fuggen-dio

P. 27

1. Ms.: s.b.

ex. 12

O Iesú dolce o infinito amór,
 inestimabel dono,
 misero mi ch'io sono
 ché da ti fugo e tu me segui ognor.

5 Per qual mio merito, o Signor mio benigno,
 o per qual mia bontà
 si largamente nel mio cor maligno
 spandi la toa pietà?
 L'anima mia che sempre offeso l'À,
 10 si dolcemente chiami,
 che par bem che l'ami
 come bom padre e non come Signor.

Çamai non resti a mille dolce modi
 chiamar l'anima a te;
 15 or dime, Signor mio, de che te godi,
 che à tu veduto in me?
 Non pensi qual lo sia e qual tu se',
 tu sumo bem perfetto
 et lo piem di difeto,
 20 piem de peccati e pien d'ogni soçor?

Com piú te offendo e piú tu se'
 cortexe a perdonar,
 tanti sum infiniti et eror mei
 non te fa' coroçar,
 25 anzi me vien dolce a lusengar
 che par che m'abi offexo,
 o amor non inteso,
 de che vil cosa sei fato amator!

Non basta che una volta tu portasti
 30 sì vil morte per mi,
 or non te par che 'l sangue sparso basti
 a trar l'anima a ti?
 Ché mille volte me mandì ogni dì
 tanti doni e sì spessi,
 35 che 'l minimo d'essi
 arder faria ogni agiçato cor?

Se non te cognosse in altre cose
 sì largo e liberal,
 io crederia che 'sti to' doni fosse'
 40 solo per piú mio mal;
 e quanto che sei piú real
 tanto te son piú obligato,
 et essendo mi ingrato
 la to largeça acrese el mio cor.

Ma so bem, Signor mio, perché tu 'l fai:
 sol per piú mio bem,
 l'ardente charità che d'amor mal
 celar non se convien,
 O cor mio duro, o cor che te tien,
 50 ché non ardi d'amor,
 vedendo el to amator
 esser innamorato del to amor?

E tu, anima mia, fata da Dio
 tanto bella e çentil,
 55 alça da terra un puocho el tuo desio,
 non te far soça e vil
 che Iesú à preparato el tuo sedil
 in li ançelichi regni;
 or non par che te degni
 60 d'esser consorte e sposa al to fator.

Iesú, per questo çamai non te stancar
 de porçerme la man,
 ch'io sum somerso e non me so levar
 de 'sto fango mondan.
 65 Chiamami spesso, non me star lutan,
 ché forsi, qualche volta,
 la peçorela stolta
 fuçirà el lupo e seguirà el pastor.

ex. 11

L'amor a mi venendo
 sì m'À ferito el core,
 sì che cum gran fervore
 struzomi e vo languendo.

5 Languisco per dilecto
 che tu me fai sentire;
 O Iesú benedicto,
 fame d'amor morire.
 E non posso soffrire,
 10 amor, cotal ferita,
 Iesú tóme la vita
 ch'io me vo struçendo.

Strugome pur pensando
 el tuo infinito amore,
 15 ché andandote scampando
 tu m'À ferito el core.
 Non potete' piú allora
 a ti far resistentia,
 perché la tua clementia
 20 me fece andare cantando.

Cantando io vo un canto
 ché li ançoli fan festa,
 ché tornato m'è in pianto
 ogni mondana tresca.
 25 Amor, con che balestra
 cieti te tue sagite?
 Sento le tue ferite
 e vadome consumando.

Consumame el cuore,
 30 non so como è venuto
 che mi gran peccatore
 l'amore m'abia vestito.
 E vogla cavar fructo
 dela mia feditade,
 35 questa è la karitade
 che pur me va carcando

Carcato m'À amor
 senza el mio volere,
 essendo pien de errori
 40 a mi volesti venire.
 Or chi poria fare
 ch'io non cridasse: Amori,
 sì che li crepi el cuor
 a chi te va fugendo.

Io t'ò fuzito, amor,
 per la mia cecitade
 e in le cosse de fuori
 fue mia felicitade.
 E pieno de vanitade
 50 a morte coreva
 e non me n'avedeva
 chomo andava saltando.

Saltando io andava
 ala eterna morte
 55 e mai non mi pensava
 le vie ch'eran torte.
 Ma miso tu À sorte
 che in mare sia zitato
 e tuto el mio peccato
 60 sì se lavi piangando.

Pianzendo per amore
 tu sì me vòl purgare;
 or chi sum io Signor
 che tu me vòl amare?
 65 Pregote, non indusiare,
 fa' ch'io sia soterato
 in lo aperto costato
 e dentro li stia [dormendo].

Con desiderio e' vo cercando
de trovar quel amoroso
lesù Cristo delectoso,
per cui amor vo suspirando.

5 Sospirando per amore,
vo cercando el mio dilecto,
poza non trova el mio [coro],
tanto è per amor constructo;
con desiderio pur aspecto
10 de trovar da lui mercede.
Dato li ò el cor e la fede
sempre a lui mi raccomandando.

Recomandoli el cor mio
poi che d'amor l'À infiamato,
15 priego lui che 'l mio desio
non li sia dimentigato,
Quanto l'ò desiderato
non lo dico in questo canto,
ma più volte cos gras piato
20 per amor el vo chiamando.

Chiamo la speranza mia
senza el qual non trovo poza,
25 sospirando nocte e dia
d'amor sempre sto penoso.
Non trovo null'altra cosa
che conforti la mia mente,
se l'amor non me consente
d'aver quel ch'lo adomando.

Adomando de veder
30 la sua splendente faccia
e de poderla tener
sol un pocho nele braccia,
tuta perchè me defacia
per desiderio amoroso.
35 Non posso tener nascoso
quel ch'lo sento desiderando.

Quel che l'anima e 'l cuor sente
non lo posso più celar,
però lo dico a tuta gente
40 perch'lo non posso altro far.
L'amor me fa lamentar
de innamorato lamento,
per coya [e pena] ch'lo sento
[canto e] piango [suspirando].

45 Sospirando el cor s'accende
a più ardente desio,
l'anima e lo affecto ascende
all'amante del cor mio,
tanto amor me struge ch'lo
50 più non so [quel] che [me] dir,
se non ch'lo penso de morir
s'io non ho quel che domando.

E non n'ò quel che l'amor
m'À promèso per certanza;
55 altro non vorria el mio cor,
se non morir in disdianza,
tanto me son viso a speranza;
altro non el sa che l'amor
per lo quale a tute l'ore
60 ma fa star in freda dança.

Pur cantando per amor,
chiamo che venga la Morte,
giorno e nocte a tute l'ore
65 priego che m'apri le porte,
poi ch'io sum giunto a tal sorte
ch'lo non posso trovar loco:
ardeme d'amor el fuoco
e serà pagato el bando.

ex. 13b Cum desiderio vo cercando

Venezia Piana, 27, n. 207

ex. 13d

Cum desiderio vo cerchando

Capitulum Giry & b. 154. 21 e-21 r

Musical score for voices C, A, T, and B, measures 1-4. The lyrics are: C: de - si - de - ri - o cer - chando; A: de - si - de - ri - o cer - chando; T: de - si - de - ri - o cer - chando; B: de - si - de - ri - o cer - chando.

Musical score for voices C, A, T, and B, measures 5-8. The lyrics are: C: cer - chando; A: cer - chando; T: cer - chando; B: cer - chando.

Musical score for voices C, A, T, and B, measures 9-12. The lyrics are: C: cer - chando; A: cer - chando; T: cer - chando; B: cer - chando.

Musical score for voices C, A, T, and B, measures 13-16. The lyrics are: C: que - re - re; A: que - re - re; T: que - re - re; B: que - re - re.

Musical score for voices C, A, T, and B, measures 17-20. The lyrics are: C: que - re - re; A: que - re - re; T: que - re - re; B: que - re - re.

Musical score for voices C, A, T, and B, measures 21-24. The lyrics are: C: que - re - re; A: que - re - re; T: que - re - re; B: que - re - re.

ex. 14b

Madre che festi collui che te fece
(Ad beatam virginem)

Petrus Lando 14, 18 r

Innocentius Damiano

Musical score for Soprano (C), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) parts, measures 1-4. The lyrics are: "Ma - dre che fe - sti col - lui che te fe - sti".

Musical score for Soprano (C), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) parts, measures 5-8. The lyrics are: "Ma - dre che fe - sti col - lui che te fe - sti".

Musical score for Soprano (C), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) parts, measures 9-12. The lyrics are: "Ma - dre che fe - sti col - lui che te fe - sti".

Musical score for Soprano (C), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) parts, measures 13-16. The lyrics are: "Ma - dre che fe - sti col - lui che te fe - sti".

Musical score for Soprano (C), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) parts, measures 17-20. The lyrics are: "Ma - dre che fe - sti col - lui che te fe - sti".

Musical score for Soprano (C), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) parts, measures 21-24. The lyrics are: "Ma - dre che fe - sti col - lui che te fe - sti".

ex. 14d

Madre che festi colui che te fece
c.c. Johal pris amor [Canti zotisi]

FIRENZE PAUC. 87, n. 41 v

Musical score for Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contralto (CT) parts, measures 6-10. The lyrics are: S: Johal pris amor; T: Ma che fe sti; CT: Ma che fe sti. The score includes vocal lines with lyrics and a basso continuo line.

Musical score for Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contralto (CT) parts, measures 10-15. The lyrics are: S: co - lui che te fe - ce; T: ve - lo co - po - ce de san - to spi - ri - to; CT: ve - lo co - po - ce de san - to spi - ri - to. The score includes vocal lines with lyrics and a basso continuo line.

Musical score for Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contralto (CT) parts, measures 15-20. The lyrics are: S: guar - dia - ti - eri - da l'ua - gi - o; T: re, guar - dia - ti - eri - da l'ua - gi - o; CT: re, guar - dia - ti - eri - da l'ua - gi - o. The score includes vocal lines with lyrics and a basso continuo line.

Musical score for Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contralto (CT) parts, measures 20-25. The lyrics are: S: il - lo co - no - sci - va; T: il - lo co - no - sci - va; CT: il - lo co - no - sci - va. The score includes vocal lines with lyrics and a basso continuo line.

Musical score for Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contralto (CT) parts, measures 30-35. The lyrics are: S: is - ma - gi - na - go - ro - tri - ce; T: is - ma - gi - na - go - ro - tri - ce; CT: is - ma - gi - na - go - ro - tri - ce. The score includes vocal lines with lyrics and a basso continuo line.

Musical score for Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contralto (CT) parts, measures 40-45. The lyrics are: S: gi - us - ti - ti - a - re - de - i - us - ti - ti - a - re - de - i; T: gi - us - ti - ti - a - re - de - i - us - ti - ti - a - re - de - i; CT: gi - us - ti - ti - a - re - de - i - us - ti - ti - a - re - de - i. The score includes vocal lines with lyrics and a basso continuo line.

Musical score for Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contralto (CT) parts, measures 45-50. The lyrics are: S: ma - dre be - ni - gna, con - san - do - rum; T: ma - dre be - ni - gna, con - san - do - rum; CT: ma - dre be - ni - gna, con - san - do - rum. The score includes vocal lines with lyrics and a basso continuo line.

Musical score for Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contralto (CT) parts, measures 50-55. The lyrics are: S: ma - dre be - ni - gna, con - san - do - rum; T: ma - dre be - ni - gna, con - san - do - rum; CT: ma - dre be - ni - gna, con - san - do - rum. The score includes vocal lines with lyrics and a basso continuo line.

ex. 15

Merzé te chiamò, o dolce anima mia
(acc. per: *Merzé ti chiamò, Virgine Maria di Fco Baccini*)

Bologna Univ. 12164. 270-287

Musical score for voice and piano. The score is in 3/4 time and consists of six systems of music. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature. The second system begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The third system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature. The fourth system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature. The fifth system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature. The sixth system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature.

Mer - cé te chiamò, o dolce anima mia
Mer - cé ti chiamò, Virgine Maria di Fco Baccini

30 35 40 45 50 55

Musical score for voice and piano. The score is in 3/4 time and consists of six systems of music. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature. The second system begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The third system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature. The fourth system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature. The fifth system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature. The sixth system includes a piano introduction with a treble clef and a common time signature.

na - cho - lo per - te per - te
na - cho - lo per - te per - te
na - cho - lo per - te per - te
na - cho - lo per - te per - te
na - cho - lo per - te per - te
na - cho - lo per - te per - te

30 35 40 45 50 55

ex. 17

Ton più mal maritato

[Lauda] *rit.* *co - ni - la più de - ro -*
son più mal mar - ta -

10

10 *ri - tor - se - tal - pa - nor vo -*
che mar fan - si do - mal - chu -

20

15 *ero, che la via del via no - ero, 20 co - me*
ma - sa - ta - ta mi - e fac - ta - sa; che si

15 *re - do - no - re, 25* *2. fac*
mal ar - te - comp - gna - ta, 21 *di an - pa - ra -*
re - do - no - re, 25 *2. fac* *di an - pa - ra -*
mal ar - te - comp - gna - ta, 21 *di an - pa - ra -*

30 *vi - vo son - te 30* *per - te -* *su -* *ma - de - le -* *me*
nel - le fa - so - *per - te -* *su -* *ma - de - le -* *me*
so - *per - te -* *su -* *ma - de - le -* *me*

35 *per - te -* *su -* *ma - de - le -* *me* *co - me* *ve - re -* *40* *buen*
qua - do - ni - si - ni - re - *de -* *re -* *40* *buen*
de - *re -* *40* *buen*

45 *pa - sto -* *re -* *45* *re -*

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EDUCATION

Indiana University, ph.d., musicology, with emphasis on early music
performance practice
minor I: choral conducting
minor II: medieval studies
Indiana University, M.M., musicology, 1982.
cognate: choral conducting
University of California, Berkeley, B.A., music, 1978
Amherst College, undergraduate study in English literature, 1971-1973

DISSERTATION

Title: *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence, ca.1270-1494*

Advisor: Professor George Buelow
Outside advisor: Prof. Frank D'Accone (UCLA)
Date of completion: November 9, 1987

Based on archival research in Florentine archives, this dissertation is a documentary study of the twelve lay religious companies (confraternities) in Florence that featured the devotional activity of lauda singing. Through numerous bequests for "lauda vigils", the companies developed a complex vernacular liturgy with festive, ferial, and processional services, hired specialized singers (the laudesi) and instrumentalists, maintained lauda schools and instructors, and assembled special service books (laudarios). This study documents the history of these musical practices in the period during which the companies flourished, with attention to the changing role of instruments, written and unwritten musical traditions, and the shift from monophonic to polyphonic practice (with music examples and analysis). In separate chapters, the author accounts for the social conditions under which the companies arose (through the interaction between the forces of mendicant spirituality and guild society), and the devotional function and context of lauda singing (altars, devotional paintings, and the role of image and imagination.)

HONORS AND GRANTS

Walter Kaufmann Award (for advanced study and professional initiative in musicology), 1987
I.U. Doctoral Student Grant-in Aid (for dissertation research), 1987
Fulbright Fellowship for dissertation research in Florence, Italy, 1985-1986
Dissertation Year Fellowship, Indiana University, 1984-1985
I.U. School of Music fellowship, 1982-1985
Award for best paper presented by a student at American Musicological Society midwest chapter meeting, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1984
Indiana University M.M. in music with High Distinction, 1982
Chamber Choir Fellowship, Aspen Music Festival, 1981
Phi Beta Kappa, U.C. Berkeley, 1978

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Indiana University Associate Instructor, 1980-1987

In addition to normal assistantship responsibilities, taught sections for history of music prior to 1750 (for majors).

Responsible for lecture content, exams, and supervision of research papers.

Course-wide lectures in undergraduate, and graduate courses.

Series of lectures on the History of Italian Music at the American Institute for Foreign Study; Florence, Italy; March, 1986. (recommendation available)

SUBJECTS PREPARED TO TEACH

Music history and literature (seminars in early music)

Historical performance practice

History of opera

Interdisciplinary courses linking music with other cultural and social activity

Collegium ensemble direction

Choral ensembles

Choral conducting techniques

Voice (early vocal techniques)

History of theory (medieval renaissance baroque)

Introduction to notation, transcription, paleography

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

"*The Two Musics in Machaut's 'Rose, lis'*," analysis and performance suggestions (with taped performance), paper read at 1985 meeting of the International Conference of Medieval Studies, session sponsored by the International Machaut Society.

"*The Italian Religious Confraternity and the Rise of the Monophonic Lauda*", paper read at April, 1984 meeting of the Midwest Chapter of the American Musicological Society, Cincinnati, Ohio.

"*Music and Drama in the 'Fleury Playbook': A Study of the Filius Getronis from Ms. Orleans 201*", paper read to faculty and students at a joint meeting of the Indiana University Musicology Department and Medieval Studies Institute, 1984.

"*The Laudesi Confraternities in Florence, ca. 1270-1494*," paper delivered at the national AMS meeting in New Orleans, October, 1987.

CONDUCTING EXPERIENCE

Music Director, First Presbyterian Church, Bloomington, IN, 1985

Advanced conducting class under Fiora Contino, Aspen Music Festival, 1981

Music Director, Bloomington Community Chorus, 1980-1981

Music Director, Early Music Ensemble *Capella Festa*, Berkeley, California, 1978-1979

SOLO VOCAL PERFORMANCE (tenor)

Indiana University Pro Arte Singers, directed by Thomas Binkley, 17 concerts (1981-1983).

Precentor in historical performances of medieval, renaissance and baroque masses in their liturgical setting; role in *Carmina Burana* Passion Play.

Jesus, Indiana University production of Ascension Play for performance of the Chester Cycle of Mystery Plays, sponsored by the University of Toronto, 1983.

Early Music Workshops, Amherst, Massachusetts. Lead roles in musical theatre workshop projects directed by Andrea von Ramm and Paul Echols, 1982 and 1983.

RECORDINGS

(Indiana University Early Music Institute, Focus Records)

Orlando di Lasso, *Prophetiae Sibyllarum*; *Penitential Psalms*, 1985

Carmina Burana Passion Play, 1984

(complete resume of conducting and solo vocal experience available if desired)