MUSICAL BORROWING IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE: CARNIVAL SONGS AND CONTRAFACTURE

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

The Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

(Music)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

June 2014

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Carnival songs form a genre of music that flowered during the Renaissance era in Florence. Stimulated by elite patronage, these popular tunes served to enhance festivities and street celebrations during the Carnival season. Due to the popular contexts within which these songs were performed, they were accessible by all class levels, and thereby served to communicate changing social and political values through the vernacular Italian poetic texts. Perhaps the most prominent feature of this secular genre is that the melodies of the carnival songs were borrowed by poets in the employ of the religious institutions in Florence, both churches and confraternities, as a method of memorizing hymns. Throughout the sixteenth century, the application of this method, defined as contrafacture, grew to become a tool to communicate spiritual and political beliefs, where connections can be drawn between the moral teachings of both the carnival and lauda poems. It is the purpose of this thesis to detail the process by which contrafacture is applied to Carnival songs from the late fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth century. Different approaches to musical borrowing are discussed to demonstrate how Carnival songs were recycled through the process of contrafacture to reflect a variety of popular mindsets and values held by the citizens of Renaissance Florence.
This thesis is the independent intellectual production of the author, E. Haug.
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I would like to thank my academic advisor Dr. Alexander Fisher for his advice and guidance throughout all of the stages of research undertaken for this thesis, and for suggesting countless improvements. I would also like to thank Dr. David Metzer for his insights and assistance in the final stages of editing this work. I thank the staff of the School of Music at the University of British Columbia for creating such a stimulating learning environment during my years of residence, especially Dr. Vera Micznik, Dr. William Benjamin, as well as the Director of the Faculty of Music, Dr. Richard Kurth. I would also like to thank Dr. Blake Wilson for answering requests for information. I should like to thank as well my fellow graduate colleagues at the University of British Columbia School of Music for providing inspiration and thoughtful advice. This thesis would not have been possible without the assistance and service of the staffs at the libraries at the University of British Columbia (especially the Koerner Library and the Music Library), and the University of Calgary. Finally, special thanks are owed to my family, and to my friends at the Kenilworth Apartments, all of whom have offered unconditional encouragement and support throughout the long period of research and writing.
~ dedicated to my grandparents, Max and Rose Schreiner
Introduction

Florentine Carnival Songs

In Renaissance Florence, a significant genre of popular song is documented in both secular and sacred manuscript sources compiled between ca. 1460 and 1570.¹ There are a total of ninety-four canti carnascialeschi, or Carnival songs, which are familiar popular tunes that were traditionally performed for the Florentine Carnival festivities during the period preceding Lent. These festivities were celebrated with parades, tournaments, sports games, and horse races. Carnival songs enhanced the festive atmosphere, and were sung by costumed men representing various trades and guilds of the city who paraded through the city on foot, on horses, wagons, or elaborately decorated floats. The musical styles and poetic forms of Carnival songs suggest the intention of communicating to a wide range of social classes with varying levels of musical ability. Two types of Carnival songs are identified in these sources, the carro or trionfo, and the mascherata. The mascherate were accompanied by mimicry, where performers would act out the poetic texts of the songs, mocking the popular speech and behaviors of distinct groups of Renaissance Florentine society. Common topics include canti di donne (songs of women), canti de arti mesterisi (songs of the arts and crafts), as well as canti dei lanzi (songs that mocked brigades of soldiers, the actors pretending to be returning from pilgrimage or from military

defeats, begging for the hospitality of the people of Florence).2 The second type of song is the trionfo or carro, distinguished by their performance upon floats or wagons elaborately decorated for the parades by leading Florentine artists. The poetic texts chosen for this Carnival song type typically allegorize the magnificence of Florence with themes from Ancient Greek mythology or the natural arts and sciences. The poetic texts of both types are written in the Italian vernacular and notated in clear phrases demarcated by rests; each verse is divided by the repeat of a refrain. The use of popular texts, which adopt a freer poetic diction due to their vernacular meter, requires that the music be strophic in order to accommodate the variety of line lengths in each verse, as well as rhyme schemes.3 The poetic texts of Carnival songs call for various ballata forms including the ballata minore with a two-line refrain (with the rhyme scheme of xx or xy), the ballata mezzana with a three-line refrain (with a rhyme scheme of either xyx, xyy, xxy, or xyz), and the ballata grande, with a four-line refrain (adopting the rhyme scheme of xyyx, xyxy, or xyyz).

The sources containing the Carnival songs offer a glimpse of what Nino Pirrotta called an “unwritten tradition” of polyphonic songs for three to four voices, normally transmitted through oral tradition. Nine manuscripts transmit the music for Carnival songs, compiled from the late fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century at the request of elite and institutional patrons in Florence, many years after their original composition (see Table 1 below).4 The typical layout of the music of Carnival songs consists of notation for between two to four voices, the majority preserved in separate bass, alto, tenor and soprano partbooks, or written for three to four voices.

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4 The texts of the Carnival songs are preserved in the following manuscript sources: BAV3219 (2 texts), BNN D2 (2 texts), BNF P1 (1 text), 1485-1515/1750 (9 texts), M735 (3 texts), 1559 (17 texts), 1512 (1 text), BRF2731 (13 texts), Mk27 (5 texts), and BNF P67 (1 text). See Bibliography for a listing and explanation of these sigla.
together in music books in choirbook format, both copied for the elite. In general, the first verse of each poem underlays the music notated for the top voice alone, while in some cases the music in all parts are underlaid with the first verse and refrain of the text.

The most significant manuscripts preserving Carnival songs are of Florentine provenance and are held today at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (hereafter: I-Fn). The most important manuscript of both music and poetry for Carnival songs is Banco Rari 230 (I-Fn) (hereafter BR230), contributing a total of seventy-three melodies; in each case, the first stanza of text is underlaid, while the remaining verses, in most cases, are copied underneath the music.\(^5\) Magl. XIX.164–67 (I-Fn) (hereafter M164–67) is a manuscript partbook collection compiled and owned by the Medici family in the early sixteenth century. One Carnival song is notated of a total forty-nine secular melodies, again with the first verse underlaid and the remaining verses presented underneath.\(^6\) The scribe responsible for the compilation of this source evidently copied several of the melodies into another manuscript, MS Basevi 2440, held at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, in Florence (hereafter B2440). B2440 contains musical notation and poetic texts for fifty two secular songs, of which one is a carnival song. Ms Basevi 2441, also housed at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini (hereafter B2441) in Florence transmits musical notation and poetic text for forty four secular works, two of which are carnival songs. B2441 and B2440 are associated with the Milanese court. Magl. XIX.121 (I-Fn) (hereafter M121), once owned by a prominent Florentine general's daughter, Marietta Pugi, transmits musical notation for ten Carnival songs, with the texts


presented as in the aforementioned manuscripts. Both this manuscript and M164-167 bear the same decoration of gold leaf on the cover, alluding to the elite circumstances within which these sources were compiled. Magl. XIX.117 (hereafter M117) is an anthology of secular music, with the first stanza of each poem underlying the music and the remaining stanzas appended. This manuscript is comprised chiefly of French chansons; the last ten paper folios include four Italian secular songs, two of which can be identified as Carnival songs, both commissioned by Lorenzo da Fillippo Strozzi. Four of these Italian songs are texted. Banco Rari 337 (hereafter BR337) is another example of a manuscript source for group singing, a bass partbook that preserves twenty-four melodies for Carnival songs. It is untexted, supplying the music alone. The manuscript Banco Rari 62 (I-Fn) (hereafter BR62) is comprised of two flyleaves of music for three Italian works, one of which is a carnival song. Only the superius voice is notated, underlaid with poetic text. MS Panciatichi 27, held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (hereafter Panc27) is a manuscript anthology of both secular and sacred pieces, fifty-eight of which are supplied with texts, compiled by one scribe in northern Italy, possibly for the Court at Mantua. Only one carnival song can be found in this source. The final source to contribute to the Carnival song genre is G20/Perug.431(I-Fn) (hereafter MS G20). This manuscript is a collection of both sacred and secular music collected by Raffeale Sozi, a prominent member in the political, musical and mercantile social groups in the late sixteenth century in Florence. Among his own compositions, Sozi includes the music for four Carnival songs.

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Table 1. Manuscripts of Music Containing Carnival Songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th># of Carnival Songs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BR230</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BR337</td>
<td>1500-1510</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M121</td>
<td>1500-1512</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS G20</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M117</td>
<td>1505-1520</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2441</td>
<td>1503</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2440</td>
<td>1515-1520</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BR62</td>
<td>1500-1520</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M164–67</td>
<td>1515-1522</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panc27</td>
<td>1500-1510</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Poetic texts of Carnival songs without musical notation can be found in five printed sources issued from the late fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century. The earliest print is an edition of poetry titled *Canzone per andare in maschera o carnasciale facte da piu persone* (Florence: Bartolomeo de’ Libri, ca. 1485) and reprinted with the same title in Florence by Lorenzo Morgiani and Giovanni Petri around 1486. Patrick Macey dates both prints of this edition to 1515, as he was unable to consult the rare editions that Charles Singleton mentions in his dissertation in 1936. Printed editions of the sixteenth century follow, consisting of a poetic anthology compiled in 1559 by Anton Francesco Grazzini (il Lasca), titled *Tutti I trionfi, carri, mascherate, (sic) o canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze, dai tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo vecchi de Medici [...]*, as well as the print *Canzoni, o vero Mascherate, Carnascialesche, di M. GioBattista dell’Ottonaio [...]* edited by Lorenzo Torrentino. In the eighteenth century another edition was printed of *Tutti I trionfi, carri, mascherate o canti carnascialeschi [...]*. In addition

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9 *Canzone per andare in maschera per carnasciale facte da piu persone* (Florence: Bartolomeo de’ Libri, ca. 1485) and *Canzone per andare in maschera per carnasciale facte da piu persone* (Florence: Lorenzo Morgiani and Giovanni Petri, ca. 1486) (in Singleton, given an alternate date of 1515 in Macey, Savonarolan Laude).


13 *Tutti I Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate o Canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze, dal tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo vecchio de Medici: quando gli ebbero prima cominciamento, per infino a questo anno presente, ed.*
we find several manuscripts containing poetry by Lorenzo de’ Medici and dell’Ottonaio, compiled in Florence in the sixteenth century.10

**Contrafacture of Florentine Carnival Songs**

Beginning in the late fifteenth century, Carnival songs were adopted as models, and furnished with new poetic texts of a religious nature, resulting in a new repertory of *laude spirituali*. This general practice of borrowing music has become known as contrafacture, the provision of an existing song with a new text. This process can involve the imitation of a melody, poetic rhyme scheme, meter, as well as the overall meaning of the poetry—thus the process of contrafacture applies to both the music and the poetic text.11 The earliest documented instances of contrafacta were applied to popular monophonic tunes in the twelfth century, where the melodies and rhymes of songs formed the basis of new songs composed by travelling troubadours and minstrels.12 In these instances of early contrafacture, it is apparent that the fundamental melody of the song was adapted to each text. During the Renaissance, contrafacture was applied to polyphonic songs, increasing the imitative possibilities for composers and poets. This imitative process spanned across many genres of secular songs, those composed to honor the Medieval concept of courtly love, as well as politically motivated songs that honored the Florentine Republic. In poetry, contrafacture in the Renaissance involved the “reworking of an

10 Biblioteca Nazionale, XII.D.2. (Naples, sixteenth century); Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Riccardiana 2731 (sixteenth century); Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 3219 (sixteenth century).


earlier text through its words, its melody, or both to effect a change in the underlying cultural values, the most common type [being] the adaptation of love poetry to sacred purposes." With respect to Carnival songs, composers of contrafacta sought to adapt the meaning of the original Carnival song text into sacred terms.

Of the ninety-four extant Carnival songs that have both music and text preserved, references to the titles of thirty-six can be found in sacred songbooks and anthologies (laudarii) from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: the Carnival song music is either adjusted to the new sacred text, or the sacred text is given alone, with the indication cantasi come, meaning: “to be sung to the music of.” The contrafacture of Carnival songs in the laudarii preserve some of the music for the earliest canti carnascialesci, as the music only exists in borrowed form as accompaniment to newly composed laude, sacred songs composed for lay devotional rituals. The laudarii containing contrafacture are significant in that they indicate, at the time they were copied, that the Carnival song models were popular enough to be referenced by title or incipit alone.

A striking example of the process of contrafacture can be seen in the “Trionfo della Dea Minerva,” where the original love poem devoted to the city of Florence was re-interpreted by the new lauda text as love for the Virgin Mary. The first stanza for the carnival song and that of the lauda based upon it can be found below.

Example 1. D’all alta piu stella, Lorenzo de’ Medici, and D’all alta piu stella, Giovanni da Bibbiena.14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From the highest star descending</th>
<th>From the highest star descending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the highest star descending to grace your celebrations, O glorious Florence,</td>
<td>From the highest star descending on earth a divine splendor, O glorious queen,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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13 Ibid, 303.
14 English translation of Carnival poem and of the lauda in Patrick Macey, Bonfire Songs, 56–57.
From the highest star descending...
comes Minerva, the goddess of wisdom,
bringing every branch of knowledge
with her, that by its presence
it may honor and embellish you.

From the highest star descending...
Virgin and wife, mother of our Lord,
o morning light, happy
the one who bows
to the Saint Mother, honest and pious.

The Carnival song is dated to 1492, when it was performed to celebrate Giovanni de’ Medici’s election as a Cardinal, followed by his grand entrance into Florence from Fiesole in March 1492. The lauda based upon this poem alternatively celebrates the Virgin Mary as queen of Florence, who represented the values of chastity and virginity. Living a life in imitation of the Virgin, or in praise of the Virgin, had been a common theme in Franciscan and Dominican devotion from the thirteenth century onward. In fact, the majority of early laudesi companies in Florence were solely devoted to singing the praises of Mary. Confraternities in Florence adopted her as a theme in their poetry and artwork in order to protect the Florentine youth from negative influences from other members of society. The confraternities introduced statutes that would limit the possibility that older members would corrupt the younger ones, as well as to avoid any homosexual activities. Feasts for the Virgin Mary were held in high regard by Florentines and were an important part of the devotional activities of Florentine confraternities from the late thirteenth century onward. Furthermore, the Virgin was honored during times of

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18 Within the confraternal statutes it is mandatory for processions, including singers and musicians, to take place on these days to each church in the city. See Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 48.
upheaval or plague, where the confraternities would hold processions in order to request the
Virgin’s intercession.¹⁹

Over the course of the Renaissance era in Florence, changes took pace in the social
approach to festival celebrations, which were conditioned by religious devotion and politics. The
Carnival songs and their contrafacta reflect these changes, and are “an artistic reflection of the
most important developments in politics,” the verses “invoking certain opinions” of those
sponsoring the creation of the works.²⁰ The tradition of remodeling carnival songs into laude
gives evidence not only of the profound influence that religion played in the lives of the
Renaissance Florentines, but also of the various connections between the moral teachings of both
the Carnival and lauda poems. The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate how Carnival songs
were appropriated through the practice of contrafacture to communicate religious values in
festive contexts. By outlining the process by which poets modeled their laude on Carnival songs,
it will become evident how the recycling of the Carnival musical material reflected the popular
mindset and values of Renaissance Florence, from the republican rule of Lorenzo de’ Medici
(1460–92) and the reformatory religious leadership of Girolamo Savonarola (1494–1498)
through the reinstatement of the Medici Family as a ducal monarchy (1512–1600s). The
following chapters examine three phases of Carnival song contrafacture, distinguished by
different contexts within which musical borrowing took place.²¹ Each chapter will place into
context the terms of production and maintenance of Carnival songs through contrafacture, and

¹⁹ David M. D’Andrea, Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy (New York: University of Rochester Press,
2007), 27.
²⁰ Anthony J. Cummings, The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals, 1512-1537 (Princeton, NJ:
²¹ These periods are defined by Blake Wilson in Singing Poetry in the Renaissance: The Cantasi Come
the prominent poets, composers, and patrons, concluding with examples of several characteristic modes of borrowing.
Chapter 1: Carnival Songs and Contrafacture in the Late Fifteenth Century

Carnival Songs

Originating in Ancient Rome, the Carnival festival was celebrated to honor the god Saturn by feasting, the giving of gifts, and the reversal of social roles. Gradually coming under the rule of the medieval aristocratic lords, the Carnival became associated with noble families as a tool of demonstrating their wealth and power in preservation of their chivalric traditions. Noble youths, also called giovani, collected themselves together in brigades and paraded through the streets, mocking the social customs of their elders and female bystanders, as well as pledging allegiances between families. These elite brotherhoods communicated their specific interests and opinions regarding family alliances through Carnival song lyrics, “translating the professional vocabulary of the guilds into sexual metaphors.” These brotherhoods formed a part of the feudal fabric of Florence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a society where legitimacy in rule through familial lineage dominated the honor system; this was reflected in the social hierarchy of medieval Florence, which relied upon the distinction between lords and vassals, with lords promising protection and prestige to vassals in exchange for their labor. As Florence grew into an independent commune in the late fourteenth century, the merchant-artisan class in Florence rose to power through commerce and trade, requiring the elite families and nobility to relinquish their control and level of involvement in civic affairs.

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23 For example, in 1464 the Benchi and Strozzi families of Florence sponsored an armeggeria for Carnival in an effort to foster hope and potential in the face of shifting alliances when Cosimo fell ill. See ibid., 231.
25 Miles J. Unger, Magnifico: The Brilliant Life and Violent Times of Lorenzo de’ Medici (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008), 257. In 1293 it was regulated in Florence that in order to participate in governing the city, one must be a practicing member of a guild. See DeLamar Jenson, Renaissance Europe: Age of Recovery and Reconciliation, 2d ed. (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1992), 61.
The transfer of power from the nobility to the wealthy merchants was mediated by the Medici family, when Sylvestro de’ Medici participated in leading the ciompi rebellion in 1345, as frustrated members of Florence’s working poor sought to gain guild status and thus representation in civic affairs. In 1397, Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici (1360–1429), prior and gonfaloniere for Florence, registered a banking company with the Exchangers guild, ensuring the family’s power and participation in civic affairs. Although the Medici family was an outgrowth of the lesser merchant classes of the fifteenth century, subsequent generations, from Cosimo (1389–1464) to Lorenzo (1434–1492), raised the family’s status among the wealthier social circles while continuing to favor the interests of the lesser merchant citizens.26 The foundations of patronage laid down by Cosimo assisted in this process, as he fostered the scholarship of contemporary humanists, sponsoring the acquisition and translation into the vernacular of ancient manuscripts from Greece and Rome (such as those of Cicero and Plato, authors whose works in particular praised the independent success and spiritual expression of the individual). The power they held over the city relied upon a balance of support between the social classes, one that was buttressed by Carnival festival rituals. Commencing in 1469, under Lorenzo’s leadership, Florence witnessed a period of internal peace in comparison to the previous centuries. Lorenzo’s diplomatic prowess and sponsorship of public events fostered a positive opinion of Florence and his leadership to citizens and foreigners. The Carnival festivals offered opportunities to diffuse conspiracies and to portray noble values in a civic context.27

Lorenzo de’ Medici encouraged marginal groups of society to collaborate with one another so that they would develop a sense of pride and identity, helping to keep the republic

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27 Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence, 232 and 240.
united and giving due honor to the nobility. The Carnival festivities were now also sponsored by artisan guilds, as well as by the noble youth brigades and lords, loosening the associations between the aristocracy and Carnival celebrations. The Carnival festivals now embraced the rich and the poor in a “symbolic reconciliation of the whole Florentine community.” It is at this time that the Carnival songs witness their first documented rise in popularity, a time when music and poetry native to the Florence were favored over international styles.

Lorenzo’s interest in sponsoring the arts and culture of Florence, contributing to the rise in popularity of Carnival songs in the late fifteenth century, stemmed from his upbringing. While growing up in Florence, Lorenzo received a liberal arts education, including the study of classics, philosophy, and history. From 1473 to 1490, Lorenzo composed poetry while participating in intellectual discussions with leading humanists like Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499). Lorenzo contributed a total of six Carnival song models to the genre, all composed by 1491: Berricuocoli, donne, e confortini (1473–78), Siam galanti di Valenzia (1488), Lasse in questo carnasciale (1488), Le cose al contrario vanno (1489), Quant’e bella giovanezza (1490), and Donne siam, come vedete (by 1491). The texts of Lorenzo’s Carnival songs, as well as those by fellow fifteenth-century poets such as Angelo Poliziano (1464–1494) and Bernardo Giambullari (1450–1569), can be found in several anthologies as listed in Appendix A. The poetic texts of the fifteenth-century Carnival songs mock current events as well as courtly rituals, placing emphasis upon the humanist values of personal skill and ability in a humorous context along with courtly ideals of love and the justification of legitimate familial rule. An example is Lorenzo’s carnival poem Lasse in questo carnasciale (also known as the Canzona de’ forese), when he adopts a

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28 Unger, Magnifico, 421.
29 Blake Wilson, Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence: The ‘cantasi come’ Tradition (1375–1550), Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 9 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2009), 120.
rhetoric that is couched with double entendres in an effort to encapture the popular and profane mindsets of the late fifteenth century.

Example 2. *Lasse in questo carnasciale*, Lorenzo de’ Medici.\(^{30}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Lasse, in questo carnasciale</strong></th>
<th><strong>Alas, it’s in this Carnival</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lasse, in questo carnasciale</td>
<td>Alas, it’s in this Carnival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noi abbiam, donne, smarriti</td>
<td>that we have lost, oh ladies dear,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutt’a sei nostri mariti;</td>
<td>our husbands, and without them we’re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e sanz’essi stiam pur male.</td>
<td>not doing well, not well at all.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Di Narcetri noi siam tutte,   The six of us are from Narcetri
nostr’arte e l’esser forese; our work is cultivating fields,
noi cogliemo certe frutte  we gather certain lovely fruits
belle come da il paese;    the countryside around us yields.
se c’è alcuna si cortese,  If one of you is so courteous
c’insegni i mariti nostri:  to tell us where our husbands are,
questi frutti saran vostri, you’ll have these fruits as gifts from us.
che son dolci e non fan male. They’re sweet and they will do no harm at all.

Cetriuoli abbiamo e grossi,  Cucumbers, large ones, we have brought
di fuor pur ronchiosi e strani; all rough outside and strange to view
paion quasi pien di cossi, it seems they’re full of warts, but then,
poi sono apritivi e sani;    they’re laxative and wholesome too
e’ si pigliam con duo mani: First take the fruit in hand. Expose
di fuor lieva un po’ di buccia, The core by pulling back the skin.
apri ben la bocca e succia;  Open your mouth and suck. For those
chi c’avezza e’ non fan male. who know the way, it does not hurt at all.

Mellon c’è cogli altri insieme Among these fruits there is a melon
quanto e una zucca grossa; as big as any gourd you know
noi serbiam questi per seme, we save it for its seeds so that
perche assai nascer ne possa. from it a multitude can grow.
Fassi lor la lingua rossa, The seeds will make the tongue turn red
l’alie e’ pie: e’ pare un drago from stem to tip, It’s like a dragon
a vederlo e fiero e vago;    handsome and inspiring dread,
fa paura, non fa male. a terror that will do no harm at all.

Noi abbiam con noi baccelli  We also have some beanpods, long
lunghe e teneri da ghiotti; and tender, morsels for a pig.
ed abbiamo ancor di quelli We have still others of this kind
duri e grossi, e son buon cotti but they’re well cooked, quite firm and big.
e da far de’ sermargotti and each will make a foolish clown

---

Lasse, in questo carnasciale...

se la coda in man tu tieni;
su e giu quel guscio meni;
e’ minaccia e non fa male.

Queste frutte oggi e usanza che si mangin drieto a cena
a noi pare un’ignoranza;
a smaltarle e poi la pena:
quanto la natura e piena,
de’ bastar: pur fate voi
dell’usarle innanzi o poi;
ma dinanzi non fan male.

Queste frutte, come sono,
se i mariti c’insegnate
noi ve ne faremo un dono:
noi siam pur di verde etate;
se lor fien persone ingrate,
troverrem qualche altro modo,
che’ l poder non resti sodo:
noi vogliam far carnasciale.

Alas, it’s in this Carnival...

if you first take the tail in hand
then rub it gently up and down
he threatens, but will do no harm at all.

Such fruits are eaten after dinner
a way now held in high regard
this seems to us all wrong, disgusting
them then is really very hard
once nature’s full, one shouldn’t start
again, but do it as you will
before or in the after part
Before, however, doesn’t hurt at all.

And we’ll bestow on you these fruits
such as they are and that’s the truth
just tell us where our husbands lurk
for we’re still in the bloom of youth
but if you’re ingrates of too proud
we’ll find some other means so that
our land does not remain unplowed
We long to join in Carnival!

One of the most important literary sources of Carnival songs is Anton Francesco Grazzini’s printed collection of *canti carnascialeschi* of 1559. Grazzini worked as a dramatist and writer in the early sixteenth century in Florence, and his anthology claims in the title to include poetry from the time of Lorenzo de’ Medici. Grazzini dedicated this print to Francesco de’ Medici, the future Grand Duke of Tuscany. The preface to Grazzini’s print of Carnival poetry states that Lorenzo “thought of varying the manner of singing as well as the subject matter of the text and the manner of writing the words, contriving songs with various other meters.”

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32 Grazzini, introduction to *Tutti i trionfi, carri, mascherate o canti carnascialeschi*. Current scholarship has demonstrated that Grazzini was incorrect in crediting changes in poetic meter to Lorenzo. Experimentation with new poetic meters in fact occurs later in the Florentine Carnival song repertory of the 16th century, which is at once apparent upon comparison of the poetic forms used prior to and after 1500. See Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 121.
What is true about Grazzini’s statement is that the Carnival song genre began as an oral tradition, and that the emergence of the polyphonic setting of Carnival songs—implying a written tradition—originated in the 1470s, when Lorenzo composed his first carnival songs, which indeed contain more sophisticated poetic content than was common previously. An example is Lorenzo’s poem *Donne, siam, come vedete*, also known as *Canzona delle cicale*, or “Song of the cicadas”. The poetic form is common to the Italian Carnival songs of this time: there is a two-line refrain followed by verses that are organized into six-eight line strophes. In each strophe, two rhyming couplets alternate, called the *piedi*. The text describes flowers as chatterboxes who gossip and are jealous of the damsels’ success in love. The subject matter touches upon the theme of nature with flowers as the main characters. Lorenzo instructs his listeners to live by virtue while giving an intimate portrayal of love as the main reason for the cicada’s envy.


```
Donne, siam, come vedete,                  Women are we, as you can see,
Giovanette vaghe e liete.                 Young, delectable and gay.

Noi ci andiam dando diletto.              We are going forth to pleasure all,
come s’usa il carnasciale:                as is the law of Carnival:
l’altrui bene hanno in dispetto           cicadas and the envious
gl’indiviosi e le cicale:                 are vexed at other’s happiness:
poi si sfogon col dir male [...]33      they find release in calumny [...]34
```

The closing section, or the *volta* follows. These final phrases detail a lesson in virtue extolled by the damsels to the cicadas about the consequences of jealousy when they say:

```
Viva amore e gentilezza!                   Long live love and gentle manners!
Muova invidia e a chi ben duole!         Death to envy and to slanderers!
Dica pur chi mal dir vuole,               Talk, then you, who love heresy:
Noi faremo e voi direte.35               While you prattle, we will play!36
```

34 Translation by Theim in *Lorenzo de Medici: Selected Poems and Prose*, 160–1.
36 Ibid., 164.
In contrast with the large number of poets represented in this genre, only three composers have been identified thus far as composing music for Carnival songs, two of which are identified in late fifteenth-century sources. The first is Heinrich Isaac (c.1450–1517), who worked as an organist at major Florentine church institutions, including the baptistery and Cathedral of San Giovanni between 1485 and 1494, and enjoyed the patronage of Lorenzo de’ Medici. Isaac is known to have written two carnival songs, the *Canzona di’ confortini* composed between 1474 and 1478, and the *Trionfo delle Dee* composed in the 1490s. The second composer is Bartholomeo degli Organi (1474–1539), a native of Florence and the scion of a prominent family. Degli Organi gained childhood experience as a singer of *laude* and in the coming years would hold several appointments as organist for prominent cathedrals and churches in Florence. The third composer to contribute to the Carnival song repertory is Alessandro Coppini (1460s–1527). A native of Florence, Coppini held several roles as monk, composer, and organist both for the Medici church and the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. Coppini is credited with the composition of thirteen carnival songs.

The music of Carnival songs composed in the fifteenth century feature *ballata* forms, cast for singing in three or four parts. A woodcut from the title page of *Canzone per andare in maschera* (Florence, ca. 1485), another major print of Carnival song poems, depicts five masked singers, two boys and three men.\(^{37}\) This suggests that in four-part songs, the top line was doubled by the boys, while the lower lines accommodated one voice to a part.\(^{38}\) Clear cadential closes signify the end of each musical phrase, while the stepwise melodies and root position chords

further suggest the oral transmission of this genre.\textsuperscript{39} A characteristic example of a Carnival song composed in the fifteenth century is \textit{Siam galanti di Valenzia} by Lorenzo de’ Medici, describing perfume vendors from Spain who appeal to the women of Florence to buy their wares.\textsuperscript{40} The refrain is as follows:

Example 4. \textit{Sian galanti di Valenzia}, Lorenzo de’ Medici.\textsuperscript{41}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Siam galanti di Valenza, & We are dandies from Valence, \\
qui per passo capitati & just passing through here, \\
d’amor gia presi e legati & but already we have fallen in love \\
delle donne di Fiorenza. & with the ladies of Florence.
\end{tabular}

The poem, also known as the \textit{Canzona de’ profumi}, is set to music that consists of phrases that are marked off by rests, with a contrasting section in triple meter. The cantus and tenor sing together in parallel thirds. One can clearly perceive the musical phrases through its rhythmic gestures, including rests and duration of note values. The activity of each vocal part is equal, with some melismatic decoration at the end of phrases and sections.


\textsuperscript{40} The Italian text is edited in Bruscagli, ed., \textit{Trionfi e canti carnascialeschi toscani del rinascimento}, 1:5, and in Paolo Orvieto, ed., \textit{Lorenzo de’ Medici: Canti carnascialeschi} (Rome: Salerno editrice, 1991), 62–64.

\textsuperscript{41} English translation in Macey, \textit{Savonarolan Laude}, xxvi.
Example 5. *Canzona de’ profumi*, Anon.\(^{42}\)

---

gha-ti del-le don-ne di Fiore-n-za.
2. Non mol
3. Vol vin

- lo gen-ti-le bel-
- le don-ne nel-la
ce-le' d'as-sil quel-
le co-me'l vi-so
terra nostra, di fuor mostra. 

leza vostra con amore, con pagnate, se non
Contrafacture in Carnival Song Repertory of the Fifteenth Century

As Carnival rituals adjusted to accommodate the newly-formed mercantile republic, so did ritual practices of devotion in Florence, with music being produced for more leisurely sacred contexts such as confraternal devotions for adults and youths. The stability that Cosimo’s leadership provided saw the rise in laudesi and fianciulli (or youth) confraternities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Adapting the ritual practices of the Carnival for spiritual use, the lay confraternities modeled their organizational structure upon those of the guilds, consisting
of men from the lay population. These *laudesi* confraternities reflect the increased visibility and involvement in society of the middle classes. By honoring the values of charity, fraternity, sponsorship, and devotional brotherhood, confraternities allowed for a fluid exchange of ideas across a wide range of social classes, as they were inclusive of all members of society.\(^{43}\) These confraternities assisted the Medici family in establishing their legitimacy to rule the Florentine Republic; both Cosimo and Lorenzo are documented as providing funding and support to confraternal associations in exchange for the confraternities’ help in fostering public support from the populace. In 1442 Cosimo de’ Medici sponsored the creation of a new confraternal group called The Good Men of San Martino to help the working poor.\(^{44}\) Cosimo also contributed to the youth confraternal societies in Florence by providing financial support for the confraternity of the *fianciulli*, moving them into the rebuilt convent of San Marco and supplying them with the classical pedagogy of the ancient classics to be used as teaching tools for proper diction and behavior for the Florentine youth.\(^{45}\)

Originating in the thirteenth century, *laude* were sung in Florentine clerical institutions such as monasteries and cloisters, such as Santissima Annunziata, Santa Maria del Fiore, and Orsanmichele by groups of *laudesi*, trained singers of sacred poetry.\(^{46}\) Beginning in the 1470s, these companies also began to hire singers as well as clergy to administer private devotions, offering social programs with highly specific educational, devotional, or social purposes.\(^{47}\) *Laude* were also sung in processions, a feature that became part of Florentine confraternal devotions

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\(^{45}\) In particular, those texts that praised the independent success and spiritual expression of the individual by Quintilian, Cicero, and Plato were favored by Cosimo. Paola Ventrone, “Lorenzo’s *Política festiva,*” in Michael Mallett and Nicholas Mann, eds., *Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1996), 105–116, here 113.

\(^{46}\) Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 146.

\(^{47}\) Poliziotto, *Children of the Promise*, 7.
that were meant to aid in the popular religious devotion of the community.\textsuperscript{48} By stimulating the
tradition of tailoring sacred lauda texts to familiar popular melodies, the Church more effectively
emphasized and communicated its messages of faith. Confraternities also sponsored public plays
during Carnival, where laude would be sung afterwards in a combined effort to instruct the
audience as well as create an environment of penitence. Lorenzo is known to have been a
member of the Confraternity of Santo Spirito in 1467, a further indication of increasing political
involvement in the sacred brotherhoods during the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{49} Despite Medici
patronage, confraternal membership crossed all political and social borders, as members included
all social classes, trades, Medici supporters, and supporters of Savonarola into the early sixteenth
century.\textsuperscript{50}

As Wilson correctly points out, melodies that gain associations to certain texts lend
themselves to new poetry that share the same form, rhetoric, rhyme scheme, and meaning.\textsuperscript{51}
From 1460 to 1500, musical borrowing helped clerics and lay congregations to memorize a large
number of sacred texts for personal devotion, at times drawing associations between the original
Carnival text and the newly written lauda text. Borrowing popular tunes to set lauda texts not
only aided the members of clerical institutions in Florence to communicate with the lay
population; they also helped them to memorize a large body of hymns adapted from the Bible, as
well as other liturgical texts. Both monophonic and polyphonic lauda singing was valued by the
religious brotherhoods and institutions in Florence as the genre placed emphasis upon the text,

\textsuperscript{48} David D’Andrea, \textit{Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy} (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2007),
27.
\textsuperscript{49} The topics of these plays included the nature of obedience and acceptance of duty, as well as biblical themes
referencing the virgin Mary and Jesus Christ. See Nerrida Newbigin, “Politics in the Sacre rappresentazioni of
Lorenzo’s Florence,” in Michael Mallett and Nicholas Mann, eds., \textit{Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics}
\textsuperscript{50} Poliziotto, \textit{Children of the Promise}, 153–4.
\textsuperscript{51} Wilson, \textit{Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence}, 9.
thus providing a means of communicating with a variety of members from Florentine society.

Carnival song models were chosen based upon the familiarity of the musical material, as well as upon the poetic form of the text of the models.\(^{52}\) Between 1460 and 1490, we know of ten *laude* that were composed using Carnival songs as models. The majority of these contrafacta are by Feo Belcari (1410-1485) and Lorenzo de’ Medici, the first *lauda* poets documented in the sources of the fifteenth century to make contrafacture of Carnival songs.\(^{53}\) Only one Carnival song is used as a model that is attributed to Bartholomeo dei Organi: the *Canzona delle Cicale*, composed by 1489 with poetry by Lorenzo.\(^{54}\) These *laude* are laid out in simple poetic forms and in short musical phrases, best suited to the outdoor performance context for processions and patron saint celebrations. The prose of fifteenth-century *lauda* contrafacta focus on prominent Christian themes: indeed the *laude* project similar subject matter to religious sermons, and it is believed that *laude* often accompanied these sermons.\(^{55}\) The main subjects of this poetic repertory concern the roles of the Saints and the Virgin Mary as patrons and subjects of praise, the concepts of repentance and conversion, and the Lenten ritual of fasting.

Contrafacture of the late fifteenth century can be found in a group of printed sources edited and reprinted by Gustavo C. Galletti in 1863.\(^{56}\) The importance of these editions are paramount to any study of contrafacture as applied to Carnival songs, as they supply a wealth of *lauda* poetry with *cantasi-come* indications (“to be sung to the tune of […]”) to Carnival songs. The

\(^{52}\) Eyorf Ostrem and Nil Holger-Peterson, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: The Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in the Late-Renaissance Italy* (Belgium: Brepols, 2008), 134–5.

\(^{53}\) Of these, Francesco Marzochino and Bartolommeo della Boccia each contribute one instance of contrafacture of a Carnival song.

\(^{54}\) See Appendix A.


\(^{56}\) Gustavo C. Galletti, ed., *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* (Florence: Molini e Cecchi, 1863). See Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 63, for a comparison between the Galletti reprints and the original exemplars of each of the four sources.
first of the original prints, the *Laude facte e composte da più persone spirituali* (Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsii), also known as Gall2, was originally printed in 1485 or 1486 in Florence; it was recycled and enlarged in 1490 (Gall1), in 1495 (Gall3), and again in 1502–7 (Gall4). The original editions of these prints that Galletti copied from do not survive, and scholars have pointed out that only one of the four reprints resemble any known exemplar. With regard to the remaining three reprints, the exemplars from which Galletti copied these from remain to be located.

The 1485/6 print of Gall2 was originally printed prior to the 1490 Gall1 print, but was copied second by Galletti, who discovered this print after his first edition was published. Of the 216 laude seen in Galletti that comprise this volume of 138 folios, there are 287 contrafacta indications, as in some cases there are several different musical models suggested for a single lauda poem. There are four laude that use Carnival song models, all by Feo Belcari (see Appendix B). The other genres that are referenced as models for the laude in this source are the polyphonic stambotto, ballata minore, and ballata grande forms of the unwritten musical tradition. Gall2 is important as it gives evidence that the production of Carnival songs continued consistently from 1470 to the 1490s, with new Carnival song titles entered as cantasi-come, a phrase stated at the end of the final stanza of each poem. Gall2 contains four laude that borrow from three Carnival song models, where there is one instance where the same Carnival song melody is used for two lauda poems. One is by Bernardo Giambullari, the other two attributed to an anonymous composer. The poetic texts by Feo Belcari were written and modeled upon their Carnival songs sometime between 1478 and 1484, when Belcari oversaw the devotional activity

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58 Gall1 (1486) was the first source consulted by Galletti, but was not the earliest extant source, as shown by Wilson. The original has 94 laude, while Galletti’s reprint transmits only 91. Because this Gall2 print contains the contents of Gall1 (folios 1–92), Galletti edited out those entries that are present in both sources. The contents of this print are detailed in Wilson, *Singing Poetry*, 62–3.
for the Confraternity of the Purification in Florence. One of the poet’s major patrons was Lorenzo, who increasingly became involved with the devotional activities of Florence’s citizens by patronizing confraternal plays where laude contrafacta were sung.

**Gall3**, bearing the title *Laude facte e composte a più persone spirituali* (Florence: Bartolomeo de’ Libri, ca. 1495), is a print of 181 folios containing 313 laude with 330 contrafacta indications: as above, there are instances where a single lauda can be sung to several different melodies.\(^{59}\) In total, eighteen lauda texts are sung to seventeen Carnival song melodies, while the remaining contrafacta are modeled upon, as above, *strambotto* and *ballata* forms of the unwritten tradition. Gall3 contains texts that were already printed in Gall1 and 2, as well as newer additions of poetry. The source transmits older laude by Belcari and his fellow lauda poet Francesco d’Albizzo, while of the newer additions, five texts are attributed to Lorenzo de’ Medici, and two to Bartholomeo di Boccia (folios 113 to 208.) Thus a total of eighteen laude are contrafacta of seventeen Carnival song models in Gall3; in seven instances both music and text survive.\(^{60}\)

Table 2. Carnival Contrafacture in Sources from the Late Fifteenth Century\(^{61}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Incipit/Poet of Lauda</th>
<th>Incipit/Poet of Carnival Song</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gall2</td>
<td><em>O anima accecata</em>, F. Belcari</td>
<td><em>Siamo stati in Fiorenza</em>, B. Giambullari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Chi vuol pace nel suo core</em>, F. Belcari</td>
<td><em>Ferrivecchi e ramivecchi</em>, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>L’orazione e sempre buona</em>, F. Belcari</td>
<td><em>Ferrivecchi e ramiveccchi</em>, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>L’orazione e sempre buona</em>, F. Belcari</td>
<td><em>L’erba buona e sempre buona</em>, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jesu, Jesu, Jesu</em>, F. Belcari</td>
<td><em>Visin, visin, visin</em>, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O San Bartoloemo</em>, F. d’Albizzo</td>
<td><em>Noi siam tre pellegrini</em>, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O gloriosi in cielo</em>, F. d’Albizzo</td>
<td><em>Noi siam tre pellegrini</em>, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ogn’un con divizione e puro</em>, F. d’Albizzo</td>
<td><em>Noi siam tre pellegrini</em>, Anon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{59}\) The contents of this reprint is detailed in Wilson, *Singing Poetry*, 62–3.

\(^{60}\) The sources that document the text only for the spiritual contrafacture of Carnival songs are also personal lay anthologies of sacred poetry, and these indicate no contrafacture, transmitting the poetic text both with the music of the model, and without.

\(^{61}\) The entries in bold indicate those where both the music and the texts survive in sources.
An example of a lauda contrafactum is the poem *Visin, visin, visin*, originally set to music and known as the *Canzona degli spazzacamini* by an anonymous poet and composer, in the form of the *ballata minore* with a two-line *ripresa*. The music for this Carnival song can be found in BR62 and in Panc27, and was composed sometime between 1478 and 1484. The text of the lauda is by Feo Belcari, suggesting that this Carnival song must have been popular by 1485, if already used as a model in Gall2.\(^{62}\)


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source...</th>
<th>Incipit/Poet of Lauda...</th>
<th>Incipit/Poet of Carnival Song...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>Giovanetti con fervore deh fug, F. d’Albizo</td>
<td>Faccia bene a’ pellegrini, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Giovanetti con fervore deh fug, F. d’Albizo</td>
<td>Giovanetti con fervore non vogl., Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Chi salute vuol trovare, Belcari/d’Albizo?</em></td>
<td><em>Donne chi vuole far filare lino, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I’ non vo’ piu teco stare, F. d’Albizo</em></td>
<td>Deh porgete un po’ gli orecchi, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Poi che ’l cor mi stringe, F. Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Alle chiave, alle chiavone, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gall3</td>
<td><em>Quant’e grande la bellezza, L. Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Lasse in questo carniscale, L. Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O peccator, io sono Dio eterno, L. Medici</em></td>
<td><em>O donne, noi siamo giovani, L. Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Peccator, su tutti quanti, L. Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Le cose al contrario vanno, L. Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O maligno e dure core, L. Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Siam galanti di valenza, L. Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Chi non ha ’l amor di Dio, B. di Boccia</em></td>
<td><em>Giovani mandati siano, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Visin, visin, visin* \(^{63}\)

Visin, visin, visin,  
ch’io vuol spazzar camin?  
Alli camin, signora!  
ch’io vuole spazzare,  
spazzar dentro e di fora  
ch’io gli vuol ben nettare:  
ch’io non ci puo pagare,  

*Song of the Chimney Sweeps* \(^{64}\)

Neighbors, neighbors, neighbors,\(^{65}\)  
if you want your chimneys swept,  
To the chimneys, lady!  
come, come if you want them swept,  
swept inside and out  
if you want them cleaned well,  
and if you cannot pay

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\(^{62}\) Herbert Kellman, ed., *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550* (Neuhausen, Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1979), 3:219. Thus, the Carnival song found in BR62 is from the Florentine tradition between 1460 and 1492, and the further concordance with Panc 27 gives evidence of its revival of the more popular and profane musical traditions that took place after the Medici reinstatement in 1512.


\(^{65}\) I use the translation of ‘visin, visin, visin,’ to ‘neighbors’, as Patrick Macey has done so in his translation of the first stanza of this poem in Savonarolan Laude, xxvi. I believe the translation into neighbors, as opposed to the ‘come, come, come’ provided in Mary Pardoe’s Vecchie Letrose, is more representative and in fashion with the context of the original performance.
**Visin, visin, visin...**

**Song of the Chimney Sweeps...**

ci doni pane o vin.  
we’ll accept bread and wine.

Se madonna comanda,  
If my lady commands,  
che si spazzi per tutto,  
we’ll sweep everywhere  
al fin da ogni banda,  
in every nook and cranny  
pel molle e per l’asciutto  
in the damp and in the dry  
tanto e soave frutto,  
for chimney sweeping  
nostro spazzar camin.  
is such a sweet pleasure.

Camin che non si spazza  
If we don’t sweep the chimney  
presto s’appizza il foco  
the fire will soon go out  
non e cosa despiazzare  
and that’s a nuisance  
quando e in cucina, al cuoco  
for the cook when he’s in the kitchen  
e necessaria gioco  
that’s why our chimney sweeping  
nostro spazzar camin  
is a neccessary game.

Madonna se bisogna  
Madam, if you need it,  
no vel vogliam spazzare  
we’ll sweep your chimneys for you,  
e gli uomin che han rogna  
and men who’ve got the itch  
non fan se grattare;  
won’t be scratched;  
coglianci accomandare  
please entrust  
alli nostri camin  
your chimneys to us!

**Giesu, Giesu, Giesu**

**Jesus, Jesus, Jesus**

Giesu, Giesu, Giesu,  
Jesus, Jesus, Jesus  
Ogn’un chiami Giesu,  
let everyone cry out Jesus

Chiamate questo nome,  
call this name  
col core, e con la mente,  
with heart and mind  
e sentirete come,  
and you’ll experience how  
egli e dolce, e clemente,  
it is sweet and merciful  
chi'l chiama fedelmente,  
whoever calls it faithfully  
sente nel cor Giesu  
feels Jesus in his heart

E gli e quel nome santo,  
his is that holy name  
che da salute al mondo,  
that brings salvation to the world  
converte il nostro pianto,  
and turns our weeping  
nel suo gaudio giocondo,  
to His joyous gladness  
se volete il cor mondo,  
if you want a pure heart,  
Ricorrete a Giesu.  
then appeal to Jesus.

---


**Giesu, Giesu, Giesu...**

Se tu ti senti in pene,  
chiama Giesu col core,  
e lui per grazia viene,  
a levari il dolore,  
se sia il tuo migliore,  
pero chiama Giesu.

Giesu sempre chiamiamo,  
che per noi mori in croce,  
Giesu semore lodiamo,  
col core, e con la voce,  
ciaschedun sia veloce,  
a ringraziar Giesu.

Giesu pien di dolcezza  
Giesu e il mio desio,  
Giesu soma bellezza,  
Giesu ver huomo, e Dio,  
Giesu e l’amor mio,  
che mi fa dir Giesu [...]

**Jesus, Jesus, Jesus...**

If you feel sorrow  
call Jesus with your heart  
and He will come through grace  
to relieve you from suffering  
if you wish to be better  
Just call on Jesus.

let us always cry Jesus  
who died for us on the cross  
let us always praise Jesus  
with heart and voice  
let everyone be quick  
to offer thanks to Jesus.

Jesus full of sweetness,  
Jesus is my desire  
Jesus most beautiful  
Jesus true to man and God  
Jesus is my love  
who makes me say Jesus.

---

Example 7. *Canzona degli spazzacamini*, Anon.⁶⁸

---

⁶⁸ Transcription adapted from Macey, *Savonarolan Laude*, 14.
Spazzer in cammin -
chiarii Je-su -
Alli in cammin signora Spazziamo dentro
Chiamate questo nome Col

e di forra -
Cor e Col-la mente, E sentite come, E gl'è dolce cle-
The Carnival song text addresses women, those who may want their chimneys swept clean, and advertises the abilities of the sweepers; the lauda, by contrast, instructs the faithful to call Jesus to their hearts and minds and they will experience just rewards. Despite the differences in subject matter, the grammatical syntax is maintained, as can be seen in the retention of the repetition of the word Visin and Giesu in the first line. Another instance takes place in line seven of both poems, with the use of the word “whoever” [chi]. In fact, both poems use grammar that
addresses a group of people, women in the case of the Carnival song, and the faithful in regards to the *lauđa* poem. The meaning of the poem is subverted by the *lauđa* from the relationship between neighbors or between chimney sweepers and their clientele, into the relationship between Jesus and his Christian followers. The first stanzas of both texts advertise to the listener the main point of the poems. The second stanza of both poems state ultimatums: the Carnival song text warns of what will happen if the women do not care for their “chimney” properly, while the *lauđa* text details why one should want to call Jesus into their heart. The third stanza of both poems offer advice, confident that the listener is convinced of what the poems are selling. The Carnival song text asks that you entrust the chimney sweepers with your chimney, while the *lauđa* asks that if you ask Jesus into your heart, you will be relieved from suffering. Thus the general outline of the plot is of the Carnival song is appropriated by the *lauđa*. Besides this, there is little to connect the two texts, demonstrating the amateur nature of borrowing that is taking place. The *lauđa* poet seems to care little about relating the images and keywords of the Carnival poem to his newly composed text, and more about how to relate his text to the musical content.

Both poems share the same poetic form, and thus fit identically with the musical phrases. This reveals the intention of Belcari and other poets who borrowed music for their sacred texts; to serve in memorizing the text. It is not the possibilities of subverting the meaning that caused Belcari to model his *lauđa* upon the Carnival song. Rather, the familiarity of the popular song spurred his intentions, as by using this song, the listeners of his *lauđa* could memorize the new text more easily.

The rhetorical content of the Carnival songs easily transferred from service to the Florentine commune or the family, to service to God, with rhetoric praising the Virgin, Christ, and the Saints. Another telling example is a sacred poem by Lorenzo de’ Medici found in Gall3.
His lauda *Quant’e grande la bellezza* borrows music from his own Carnival song *Quant’e bella giovanezza*, also known as the “Canzona of Bacchus”:

Example 8. *Quant’e bella giovanezza*, Anon., and *Quante grande le ballezza*, Lorenzo de’ Medici. 69

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Quant’e bella giovanezza</em></th>
<th><em>How lovely youth can be</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quant’e bella giovanezza</td>
<td>How lovely is youth in its allure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi si fugge tuttavia!</td>
<td>which ever swiftly flies away!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi vuol esser lieto, sia:</td>
<td>Let all who want to, now be gay:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di doman non c’e certezza.</td>
<td>about tomorrow no one’s sure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Quest’ e Bacco e Arianna, belli, e l’un dell’altro ardent: | Here are Bacchus, Ariadne, for one another all afire: |
| perche’l tempo fugge, e’nganna, sempre insieme sian contenti. | because time flies and plays us false, they always yield to their desire. |
| Queste Ninfe, ed altre genti sono allegre tuttavia. | These nymphs of theirs and other folk are merry every single day. |
| Chi vuol’ esser lieto sia di doman non c’e certezza. | Let all who want to, now be gay: about tomorrow no one’s sure. |

| Questi lieti satiretti delle Ninfe innamorati per caverne e per boschetti han lor posto cento agguati or da Bacco riscaldati ballon, salton tuttavia. | Those who love these pretty nymphs are little satyrs, free of cares, who in the grottoes and the glades have laid for them a hundred snares by Bacchus warmed and now aroused they skip and dance the time away. |
| Chi vuol esser lieto, sia di doman non c’e certezza. | Let all who want to, now be gay, about tomorrow no one’s sure. |

| Queste Ninfe anche hanno caro da lor essere ingannate non puo fare a Amor riparo se non gente rozze e ingrate ora insieme mescolate suonon, canton tuttavia. | These nymphs fall gladly for the ruses that the satyrs execute: who can avoid the lure of Love except some rude unfeeling brute? so now among themselves they mingle, playing and singing all the day. |
| Chi vuol esser lieto, sia di doman non c’e certezza. | Let all who want to, now be gay: about tomorrow no one’s sure. |

| Questa soma, che vien droito sopra l’asino, e Sileno cosi vecchio e ebbro e lieto gia di carne e d’anni pieno, | Behind the rest, that heavy sack astride a jackass is Silenus, old and drunk and ever jocund, long on years but not on leanness. |

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69 The Italian text of the carnival song can be found in Lorenzo de’ Medici: Laude, ed. Bernard Toscani, Instituto Nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, Studi e testi 21 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1990), 84–7, while the Italian text of the lauda can be found in Grazzini, ed., Tutti i trionfi, carri, o canti carnascialeschi, 1–3.

**Quant'e bella giovanezza...**

se non puo star ritto, almeno ride e gode tuttavia.
Chi vuol’ esser lieto, sia:
di doman non c’è certezza.

Mida vien dritto a costoro
cio che tocca, oro diventa
E che giova aver tesorò
a’ sltri poi non si contenta?
che dolcezza vuoi che senta
chi ha sete tuttavia?
Chi vuol esser lieto, sia:
di doman non c’è certezza.

Ciascun apra ben gli orecchi
di doman nessun si paschi
oggi sian, giovani e vecchi
lieti ognun, femmine e maschi
ogni tristo pensier caschi
facciam festa tuttavia.
Chi vuol’ esser lieto sia:
di doman non c’è certezza.

Donne e giovanetti amanti
viva Bacco e viva Amore!
ciascun suoni, balli e canti
arda di dolcezza il core
non fatica, non dolore,
cio c’ha a esser, convien sia.
Chi vuol’ esser lieto sia:
di doman non c’è certezza.

---

**How lovely youth can be...**

Although he cannot sit up straight,
he’s full of cheer and laughs away.
Let all who want to, now be gay:
about tomorrow no one’s sure.

And last of all appears King Midas,
all that he touches turns to gold.
but if it does not make him happy,
what is the use of wealth untold?
what sweetness will he ever taste
who has a thirst he can’t allay?
Let all who want to, now be gay:
about tomorrow no one’s sure.

Now listen well to what I say
that none may count on what’s to come
let men and women, young and old,
today be glad and have some fun.
Let’s cast aside all gloomy thoughts
and have perpetual holiday.
Let all who want to, now be gay:
about tomorrow no one’s sure.

Among you lasses and young lovers
Long live Bacchus and Desire!
Now let us pipe and dance and sing
our hearts consumed with sweetest fire
away with suffering and sorrow!
Let what is fated have its way.
Let all who want to, now be gay:
about tomorrow no one’s sure.

---

**Quante grande le bellezza**

Quante grande la bellezza
di te, Vergine pia
ciascun laudi te, Maria
ciascun canti in gran dolcezza.

Con la tua bellezza tanta,
la bellezza innamorasti
O bellezza eterna, e santa
di Maria bella infiammasti!
tu d’amor, l’amor lefasti
Vergin santa, dolce e pia

---

**How great your beauty is, Virgin**

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

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

---

71 Translation adapted from Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 38–40.
Quante grande le bellezza...

How great your beauty is, Virgin...

ciasmun laudi te, Maria.
ciasmun canti in gran dolcezza.

Let everyone praise you, Mary
Let everyone sing in great sweetness.

Quell’amor che incende il tutto,
là bellezza alta infinita,
del tuo ventre e fatto frutto,
mortal ventre, e ‘l frutto e vita.
La bontà perfetta unita
e tuo bene, o Vergin pia.
Ciasmun laudi te, Maria;
ciasmun canti in gran dolcezza.

That Love, that fires up everything,
the Beauty, high and infinite,
has made fruit of your mortal womb
and the fruit is the fruit of Life.
Goodness and perfection are united
as is your Goodness, o sweet Virgin.
let everyone praise you, Mary
Let everyone sing in great sweetness.

La Potenza, che produce
tutto, in te la sua forz’hebbe,
frutto ha’ l sole esser tua luce,
luce, ascosa in te, piu crebbe;
Quello a cui e’l frutto debbe,
debbe a te, o Madre pia!
Ciasmun laudi te, Maria;
ciasmun canti in gran dolcezza.

The Power that produces everything,
in you had its own strength,
within you made the light of the sun
this light, hiding in you, grew brighter,
and that of which owed everything,
owed to you, o Pious mother!
let everyone praise you, Mary
Let everyone sing in great sweetness.

Prima, che nel petto santo
tanto ben fussi raccolto,
saria morto in doglia e in pianto
chi di Dio vedessi il volto:
quanta morte in vita ha volto,
il tuo parto, O Vergin pia
ciasmun laudi te, Maria
ciasmun canti in gran dolcezza.

Before in your sacred bosom,
whomever was held
they would have died in pains in cries,
those who saw the face of God.
This death, to life has turned,
your birth has turned; O virgin pious.
let everyone praise you, Mary
Let everyone sing in great sweetness.

Hanno poi e mortal’ occhi
visto questo eterno Bene:
volse ch’alt’ senta e tochi,
onde vita al mondo viene.
O felici, mortal pene
 cui vendetta e tanto pia!
Ciasmun laudi te, Maria;
ciasmun canti in gran dolcezza.

And then these mortal eyes,
have seen this eternal Goodness;
that others felt and touched it,
through which life comes to Earth.
O happy mortal pain,
to which revenge is so pious
let everyone praise you, Mary
Let everyone sing in great sweetness.

O felice la terribile
colta antica e il primo errore
poi che Dio fatt’hai visible
et hai tanto redentore
Questo ha mostrato quanto amore
porta no la bonta pia.
Ciasmun laudi te, Maria;
ciasmun canti in gran dolcezza [...]

O happy the terrible,
while the ancient fault and original sin
because it rendered God visible,
and he such a redeemer!
This has shown us how much love,
the Goodness, pious brings to us
let everyone praise you, Mary
Let everyone sing in great sweetness [...]

36
Example 9. *Canzona de Bacchus*, Anon.\(^{72}\)

sia: di do-man non ce ber tez-za:
ri-a, cia-scun can-tin gran dol-cez-
za:

Que-ste Bac-eae que-sta Ariri-na be-lí e' lun dei-altre-par-den-
con la tua be-lí-a-zza tan-ta, La be-le-zza a-mora.
ti: perch'è tempo fugge ingana sem prein si-me-
asti, O bellezza è terne s'anta, Di Maria bel-
sta o contenti. Queste fia fed'al-the genti-
i fiamasti. Tu dà mor l'a mortega-sti. Ver-gin
The first appearance of this Carnival song can be found in fragmentary form on folio 151r in BR 230. The complete version of the song, with the missing part, is provided in Serafino Razzi’s anthology of 1563, without the contrafacture indication, as the music is printed with the title of the lauda alone. The lauda was mistakenly identified as being a contrafacta of another Carnival song, titled the Canzona delle Forese; however, as Rubsamen has demonstrated, the poetic forms do not match, and the reason for this mistaken contrafacta resulted from a desire to hide this source of the lauda from the Savonarolan sentiments that were ingrained in Florence at the time Lorenzo composed this poem. Characteristic of the stylistic tendencies of Lorenzo’s republic in Florence, the musical phrases are repeated for each statement of the mutazioni, while the volta is through-composed. What is unique about this Carnival song is that it contains no rests, nor any sections with an alternate meter. The Carnival song is instead demarcated into

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59 Razzi, ed., Libro primo delle laudi spirituali da diversi eccell. e diversi autori, antiche e moderni composte (Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1563), f. 7.

sections by the tonal quality they each produce and the quality of the vocal texture, as there is a stark contrast between the ripresa and the stanzas. It is evident that the first line of both poems share the same syntax, and even the same words, as seen in the first line of the refrain for each poem. Furthermore, the end rhyme of the ripresa matches exactly between the two (-ezza, -ia, -ia, -ezza). These similarities were not incidental, as Lorenzo actually went out of his way to base each of his laude upon a specific model, “intending that the sacred poem be sung to pre-existent music which would have fit only its original pattern of verses.”

Lorenzo’s Carnival song gives off a nostalgic aura; a longing for youth is portrayed with stanzas that detail how love and festivities belong only to the youth, that the youth should make every effort to indulge in these pastimes before they “flee” into old age. The first stanza begins with referencing the mythological story about how Bacchus, the god of wine, falls in love with Ariadne, whom he finds abandoned on an island by Theseus. The myth teaches the lesson that one should live without worries and to avoid predicting the outcome of events.

Midas appears in the third stanza of the Carnival song, teaching the lesson that one will never feel satisfied with only money, for in Midas’ case, everything he touched turned to gold, even his food, causing him to starve to death. The same stanza in the lauda also teaches a lesson, that no man can look upon the face of God, unless through his servant Mary, as this will kill them. Thus Mary is a vessel between death and life. The fifth stanza of the Carnival poem addresses the youth, calling them to celebrate Bacchus and love, and be free of concern for tomorrow, for it will soon be here. In the sixth stanza of the lauda, Lorenzo seems to attempt to reconcile the values he expressed in the Carnival poem, explaining how the behaviours of the ancients “rendered God visible” as redeemer. Overall, the lauda subverts the beauty of youth

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74 Ibid.
from the Carnival poem into the beauty of Mary, the word itself repeated several times throughout the *lauda* stanzas. Another instance of contrafacture exists undertaken in the fifteenth century to the anonymous poem “Siam galanti di Valencia”, which is linked to Lorenzo de’ Medici’s “O maligno e dure core”. This example will be discussed in the next chapter, as another *lauda* of the later sixteenth century is also closely related to this Carnival song.

**Carnival and Contrafacture under Savonarola**

At the time of Lorenzo’s death, the family’s wealth had greatly diminished as a result of warfare and the failure of the clients of the Medici bank to repay their debts. The citizens of Florence exiled Lorenzo’s son Piero after he breached diplomatic protocol by negotiating directly with the French, in an attempt to prevent the invasion of Florence. After Piero fled the city upon the threat of a French invasion under Charles V in 1494, the city rebelled against the ruling Medici family. The invasion led to the rise of the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola (1449–1498) as leader of the republic due to his diplomatic success in warding off French invasion. This earned him trust, honor, and legitimacy in the eyes of the Florentine citizenry. Savonarola supported the lower class, and was aware of the power of religious discipline in fostering group identity. While growing up in Ferrara, Savonarola’s family was associated with the Ferrarese court through his father, who was a court physician. After studying philosophy, Girolamo became a Dominican friar, a position that would lead him in 1482 to preach to the congregation of San Marco in Florence. In 1490, Lorenzo invited the preacher to return. In his sermons to the people of Florence, Savonarola preached against the profanity of the city festivals, including Carnival and the ritual violence they encouraged, and

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also attacked the recovery of Greek and Roman poetry, since these works idealized pagan values.\textsuperscript{77} Traditionally Carnival celebrated the abandonment of inhibitions and the expression of popular frustrations. These gatherings could incite mob violence and rebellion, and for this reason religious leaders sought to redirect the excess and overindulgence of these rituals towards the praise of Christian values.\textsuperscript{78} In his transformation of Carnival festivities Savonarola diverted the \textit{fianciulli} of Florence from their violent traditions—such as the throwing of stones at one another in the streets—towards more charitable acts and the singing of \textit{laude} in procession during the Carnival season.\textsuperscript{79} Secular aspects of Carnival were abolished by the Savonarolan fervor in Florence, and \textit{lauda} singing in processions by the \textit{fianciulli} replaced traditional ritual practices. Savonarola wished to absorb the pagan roots of the annual Carnival festival, which originally celebrated indulgence prior to the winter season, associating winter with the Christian value of fasting during Lent, the season immediately after the Carnival festival. Savonarola subverted the Carnival traditions in this way, replacing the masquerades with religious processions and the Carnival songs with hymns.\textsuperscript{80}

Although the singing of polyphony was eliminated by Savonarola at secular events, monophonic \textit{laude} continued to be sung between 1494 and 1498 in the context of street processions by \textit{fianciulli}, members of youth confraternities.\textsuperscript{81} Savonarola extolled the same values of community and pride in Florence as the Medici family had, though with the intention of re-fashioning Carnival as a religious celebration. The \textit{laude} were intended to heighten the intensity of his spiritual message, as well as advertise the spiritual independence of the individual

\textsuperscript{78} Jenson, \textit{Renaissance Europe}, 234.
\textsuperscript{79} Macey, \textit{Savonarolan Laude}, x.
\textsuperscript{80} Plaisance, \textit{Florence in the Time of the Medici}, 27.
\textsuperscript{81} Ostrem and Holger-Peterson, \textit{Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music}, 38.
from the collective practice of spirituality in the Roman Catholic Church. The simplicity of the melodies that Belcari chose for his laude inspired the Dominican friar, and Savonarola continued to teach lauda singing, albeit monophonically, to the youth confraternity at San Marco. Despite the lack of definitive indications of contrafacture in primary sources, Patrick Macey has identified three Carnival song melodies sung to new laude, suggesting that these were sung at reformed Carnival celebrations by the fianciulli between 1496 and 1498 (see Table 2). The first source that documents these laude is Magl.XXXV.119 (M119), housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, a manuscript containing 46 contrafacta, one of which is modeled upon a Carnival song (the remainder are modelled upon other unwritten traditions such as the strambotto and variations of the ballata minore or grande). Bruno di Nicolai di Matteo Lachi in 1481 copied 280 lauda in M119 without contrafacture associations; the remaining 46 laude added between 1482 and 1495 do have cantasi come indications, and many of these were sung in the processions of fianciulli when the youth group was under the leadership of Savonarola.

The second source that transmits Carnival contrafacture from this period Rs424, held by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, San Marco 424, a manuscript owned by a Pandolfo Rucellai (d. 1497), a Dominican friar at San Marco in 1496. The first portion of this manuscript contains 200 laude with no contrafacta. Of the remaining folios compiled between 1491 and 1497, there are thirty-nine instances of contrafacture by what modern scholars consider to be the first generation of Savonarolan poets, including Savonarola himself, Castellano Castellani (active during the late fifteenth century), and Girolamo Benivieni (1453–1542). Benivieni’s poetry

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83 Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 133.
84 Macey, ed., *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems*, table of contents.
draws associations to Savonarolan fervor, as his poetic texts were sung at Savonarolan bonfires between 1496 and 1498.\(^{86}\)

The *lauda* texts preserving the Carnival song melodies from this period are aggressive in their rhetorical tone and aim to indoctrinate and edify spectators, instead of mock them.\(^{87}\) An example is the use of the melody of the Carnival song of the Wild Man (*Canzona degli huomini salvitichi*), by an anonymous poet and composer.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Viva, viva la ragione</em>(^{88})</th>
<th><em>Live long in reason</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Viva, viva la ragione</td>
<td>Long live, long live in reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciascun ch’è suo campione</td>
<td>and anyone who is his champion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noi siam tutti huomini giusti</td>
<td>We are all upright men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che habbian il torto a sdegno</td>
<td>who hold the wrong disdain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con questi mazzafrusti</td>
<td>and with these blunt clubs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partiano dal suo regno</td>
<td>we departed from this realm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci la dove per segno</td>
<td>and we have sought through many regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecol pose le colenne</td>
<td>beyond where Hercules placed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trovar queste madonne</td>
<td>his columns as a sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecco habbian piu regiune[...]</td>
<td>so as to find these ladies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Viva, viva in oratione</em>(^{89})</th>
<th><em>Live long in prayer</em>(^{90})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Viva, viva in oratione</td>
<td>Long live, long live in prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciaschedun con divotione</td>
<td>everyone with devotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi pensasse al Paradiso</td>
<td>those who would think of paradise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e alla gloria de’ beati</td>
<td>and the glory of the blessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal mondo saria diviso</td>
<td>let them remove themselves from the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e da vitti, e da peccati</td>
<td>and from vices and from sins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contemplando che i dannati</td>
<td>pondering that the damned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Viva, viva in oratione... Live long in prayer...

hanno a star in sempiterno have to remain for eternity
nel caliginoso inferno in the darkness of hell
coi demoni a dannazione [...] in damnation with demons […]

Viva, viva in nostro core91 Long live, long live in our hearts.
Cristo re duce, e signore Christ the King, leader and Lord.
ciascun purghi l’intellecto Let everyone purge his mind
memoria e volontate memory and will
terrestre e vano effetto of earthly and vain affections
I tutto in caritate let him burn completely in charity
cemplando la bontate contemplating the goodness
Giesu re di Fiorenza of Jesus, King of Florence
digiuni e penitenza through fasting and penitence
formi dentro e fore.

Chi volete Giesu regni let him reform himself inside and out.
tuo grazia in vostro core If you want Jesus to reign
e gli odii e pravi sdegni through His grace in your heart
emutate in dolze amore change all your hatreds and
pacciendo ogni rancore wicked angers into sweet love
scun prenda in se la pace chasing away every ill feeling
tuo e quell ch’a Giesu piace let everyone accept peace in himself
el cielo e qui nel core. that is what is pleasing to Jesus
up in heaven and here in your heart.

O Giesu quante beata O Jesus, how blessed is he
chi dispreza il cieco mondo who scorns the blind world
questo e quel felice stato that is that happy state
che tien sempre il cor iocondo. that always keeps the heart joyous
E pero io mi confondo and thus I am confused
che per paglia, fumo e spine. that because of straw, smoke, and thorns
Noi perdiamo il dolze fine we lose our sweet goal
Ch’è Giesu, nostro Signore. which is Jesus, our Lord.

Surgi, dunque Agnel benigno Rise up, then kind-hearted lamh
Contro al fiero Farone against proud pharaoh
deh riforma il corvo in cigno ah! Refashion the crow into a swan
supplantando il gran Dracone supplant the great dragon
sveglia omai il tuo Leone wake up now your lion
della tuo tribu di Iuda from your tribe of Juda
ch’a sguardare e cosa cruda for it is a cruel thing to see

91 Italian text in Macey, Savonarolan Laude, xxviii–xxix.
Viva, viva in nostre core... Live long in our hearts...
dove han posto il tuo licore. where they have placed Your lifeblood.

Benedetto sie ‘l Pastore Blessed be the shepherd
della soma hierarchia of the supreme hierarchy
Giesu Cristo, nostro amore Jesus Christ, our love
e la Madre santa e pia and his Mother, holy and devout
ch’a sedenti in tenebria who has sent a great light
han mandato una gran luce to those in darkness
e pero con viva voce and thus with loud voices
chiaman Cristo nel lor core they call Christ in their heart.

Example 11. Canzona degli huomini salvitichi, Anon.93

Transcription adapted from Macey, Savonarolan Laude, 23–31.
48

scun che suo campio-
Ciascun con di-vo-ti-o-
Cor-e du-ce-e sig-

2. Nei Siam
3. E con
2. Chi pen-
3. Dal mon-
2. Ciascun
3. Ter-rest

2. Tut-tuo mini giu-
questi mazza-fru-
Sas-si al-pa-ra-di-so, E-

do sa-ri-a di-vi-so, E-

purghì l'intell.-ec-t-o, Mem-or-in e
re è va-no eff.-et-o, I tu-to in
This “Song of the Wild Man” praises a life led by reason. The first stanza praises those who live with reason as “upright men” and champions. These men are in search of a group of ladies and as they depart from their home; the poet uses the pillars of Hercules to emphasize the
distance that these reasonable men will travel to find these ladies. In Greek mythology, these pillars represent the outermost limits that Hercules travelled. The value of travelling far through many regions is idealized in this poem. Although the primary sources of lauda contrafacta do not explicitly indicate this Carnival song as a model, more recent scholars have deduced that these laude must be contrafacta, due to their identical poetic form and similarity of syntax of the first line of the refrain of each poem. The lauda poem titled “Live long in prayer” by an anonymous poet turns from addressing the reasonable men from the Carnival song, toward addressing the faithful population of Florence; to those who live in devotion to God, as opposed to reason. The first stanza of the lauda describes how if one desires to get to heaven, he or she must live without vice or sin, reminding themselves that those who sin will be damned to hell.

Another lauda borrows the melody of this Carnival song, and was sung by the fianciulli during the Carnival season between the years 1496 and 1498, a time when Savonarola held the most influence over the citizens of Florence. The first stanza of this lauda focuses upon Christ as King of Florence and instructs the faithful to “purge” their minds through “fasting and penitence,” calling attention to the Lenten season that would follow the Carnival celebration. The second stanza goes on to instruct those that want Jesus in their hearts that they should find peace within themselves, and change their anger into love with the goal of reforming one’s self “inside and out.”

The third stanza details how blind the world is, and that the events in the world cause distractions from keeping one’s heart joyous. The first two lines of the fourth stanza asks the faithful to “rise up – against proud Pharaoh,” asking the Florentines to, as the Jewish people did in Egypt, to “supplant the dragon,” the dragon symbolizing sovereign reign and evil, and to

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94 See Macey, Savonarolan Laude; and Wilson, Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence.
“wake up – the lion,” as King David was awakened to help the Jewish people gain their freedom.\textsuperscript{95} The last line of this stanza discusses the “cruel” placement of the lifeblood of Jesus, which alludes to how when the Jewish people left Egypt, each household had to paint a cross in the blood of their first born son, whom they sacrificed, to please the Pharaoh after this uprising.\textsuperscript{96} The followers of Savonarola would understand that this fourth stanza was asking them to rise up against the godless way of life adopted in the Florentine Republic during Carnival. The final translated stanza of this \textit{lauda} presents Jesus as a shepherd of the faithful people, who sent a “great light to those in darkness,” perhaps alluding to Savonarola, whom these \textit{fianciulli} followed. The fact that these boys are singing to people through the streets of Florence during Carnival is in concert with the last two lines of this final verse. They must refer to themselves, who are “with loud voices, [calling] Christ in their heart.”

The similarities between these three texts involve the grammar and accentuation of the Italian text. The repetition of the words “viva, viva,” in each refrain, as well as identical end rhyme patterns (albeit with different vowels) display the fact that the \textit{lauda} poets must have modeled their verses upon the Carnival song. The difference between these texts reflects changes in the values of the Florentines, as the Carnival song tackles popular secular topics of the late fifteenth century, appealing to the ladies in the streets watching the Carnival parade, courtly love and references to Ancient Greek Mythology. The \textit{lauda} “Long live in prayer,” on the other hand, preaches to the faithful by inciting fear of being damned to hell. The final \textit{lauda} contrafactum encourages Florentines to call Jesus to Florence as their King, and to maintain freedom from Medici rule during that family’s expulsion between 1496 and 1498, asking them to elect a different way of life. The poet redirects the themes of Carnival toward those of Lent by telling

\textsuperscript{95} 2 Samuel 5:3.
\textsuperscript{96} Exodus 12:7.
the listeners to fast and repent during the celebration of Carnival instead of to indulge. In contrast to the celebration of the rational minds of men, who value travelling to the farthest outreaches to find ladies of the Carnival song, sung to mock the ladies in the streets and to appeal to the indulgence of men, the lauda poems both instruct and incite fear into the people, in advertisement of the Christian faith, or as part of religious reform under Savonarola.

The reason why Savonarola was able to influence the ritual practices of Carnival and Lent is that he had the support of the Signoria (the Florentine government) in 1497, but as the opposition to his preaching and rules grew, Florence became once again divided, and in 1498 a new Signoria was elected that reflected this. Not long afterwards, he would be executed by the Florentine citizenry. Savonarola died a martyr’s death, burnt at the stake in the center of Florence in 1498, and this would prompt the creation of several lauda texts in his honor that would circulate for decades in the region, particularly among the Dominican friars. The performance of these laude, and by extension the music of Carnival, helped to sustain the Savonarolan spirit of reform after his death up until the late sixteenth century.

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97 Plaisance, Florence in the Time of the Medici, 72.
98 Ibid., 88.
Chapter 2: Contrafacture and Carnival Songs in the Sixteenth Century

Carnival Songs in the Early to Mid-Sixteenth Century

Upon Savonarola’s execution, Florence fell into the hands of Piero Soderini, whose family held several past connections to the Medici regime, and had served as Gonfaloniere under Lorenzo four times. The relationship between the Florentine Republic and the Medici family, not to mention other wealthy Florentine families, fell into decline after the inadequate leadership of Piero de’ Medici. From 1502 to 1512, Soderini again served as Gonfaloniere a vita, and in 1503, Soderini commissioned a Carnival song in order to forge alliances, the Canzona della ninfa.¹⁰⁰ Two political camps formed in Florence at this time, those who supported the policies of Soderini, and those who desired a return of the Medici family.¹⁰¹ Soderini chose to back the French in their war against the Spanish in 1512, leading to his demise when he fled the French arrival in the city. In the first half of the sixteenth century, other wars continued to take place between Italy and neighboring countries, such as the Italian Wars, where the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian (1459–1519) attempted to protect Milan from French rule by joining against them in the Holy League. This led to the omnipresence of German mercenary troops in Florence and other parts of Italy, who were hired as warlords to protect the interests of Italians and Germans. Once again, due to the external threats from France and the inability of the Florentine republic to address these issues, the Medici family re-established their leadership in 1512 thanks to the efforts of Cardinal Giovanni de’ Medici, cousin of Lorenzo, who regained control over the city with the support of Spanish troops; the family remained in power until

The absence of the Medici from 1498 to 1512 did not prevent other wealthy families from sponsoring the creation and performance of Carnival songs.

Elite companies arose in Florence led by the patronage of wealthy families, such as the Strozzi and the Rucellai family. The artistic communities they cultivated were positioned to recreate a vital tradition in Florence of private artistic patronage. Originally these groups were connected to the values of the prominent and wealthy Florentine citizens with aristocratic objectives, before they became associated with republican or popular sensibilities. One of the elite companies of Florence was the Rucellai group, which consisted of leading Florentine aristocrats who gathered at the gardens of Cosimo di Bernardo Rucellai (1495–1520), the patriarch of the Rucellai family.103 Antonio Alamanni (1464–1528) and Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527), a Florentine politician who served as a diplomatic agent for the city from 1498 to 1512, were members of this group as well.104 Their interest with regard to the Carnival songs lay in the reclamation of trecento literary values in order to recapture the refinements of the Italian language introduced by Dante, Boccacio, and Petrarch; they also supported practices of popular as opposed to elite society, sponsoring works that adopt “popularizing” undertones in their poetic texts from the secular and profane literature of Lorenzo’s republic.105 The Rucellai group was responsible for organizing mascherate that included the singing of canti carnascialeschi in 1507. The Strozzi family also patronized the production of Carnival songs in the early sixteenth century: Lorenzo Strozzi (1504–1571), a member of the Rucellai group, is said to have “invented

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105 Ibid., 35.
and led – the *Carro della morte* in 1506; however, alternate dates are also given from other primary sources.\(^\text{106}\) In any case, the Strozzi brothers Lorenzo and Filippo sponsored the creation of new Carnival songs.\(^\text{107}\) These include the *Canzona di Pastori di bacchitori* (1503), the *Carro della Morte* (1502–7), the *Canzona delle zingane* (1512), and possibly the *Canzona de’ Tedeschi* (1507).

There also existed more popular organizations that privately sponsored the creation of artistic works in Florence. These include the companies of the Broncone, Cazzuola and Diamante, who met at more informal locales like the workshops of artists.\(^\text{108}\) These companies were more public and political than academic in nature, sponsoring works of a more popular nature. Formed specifically by Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici upon their return to lead Florence in 1512, the Diamante (diamond) and the Broncone (vine or branch) each sponsored the creation of several *trionfi* to accompany floats in the 1513 Carnival parade, with the intention of creating the image that the city was flourishing under their leadership, and that a return to the “Golden Age” of Lorenzo’s republic was imminent.\(^\text{109}\) The Broncone production was directed by the well-known Florentine historian Jacopo da Nardi (1476–1563), while the Diamante production was directed by Andrea Dazzi (1473–1548), another famous humanist.\(^\text{110}\) Dazzi chose to enlist three floats, one for each stage of mankind, and over 500 torchbearers.

Giovambattista dell’Ottonaio is also representative of this period with his contribution of thirteen poems, two of which were set to music by Alessandro Coppini, and one by Giovanni Serragli. Giuggliemo Giuggiola wrote ten of the extant *canti dei Lanzi*, emulating the earlier

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\(^{106}\) Prizer, “Reading Carnival,” 194.

\(^{107}\) These are described in great detail in ibid., 240.


profane and popular tradition of the late fifteenth century. Giovan Francesco dal Bianco supplied three poems, while Machiavelli, Jacopo da’ Nardi, and Angelo Poliziano contributed one each. It is during this period that experimentation with a wider range of poetic forms can be documented in the Carnival songs, evident in the variation of line lengths of the texts of these works. These songs demonstrate a “softening” of form to accommodate a greater variety of poetic formal types.\textsuperscript{111} The Carnival songs composed in the sixteenth century typically favored a four-voice texture instead of three. The through-composed nature of the vernacular Italian texts, furthermore, required less musical repetition as well as longer musical phrases to accommodate the irregular syllables.

Savonarolan sentiments remained in play in the early sixteenth-century Carnival song texts, as can be seen in the \textit{Carro della morte}, performed in 1507. The singers were dressed to resemble the dead and encouraged the Florentines to do penance, expressing the idea that despite the riches and glory a person received, only those with a pure heart will be rewarded in death.\textsuperscript{112} The song text highlights anti-carnivalesque elements, where the celebrants of Carnival are warned about death and its consequences.\textsuperscript{113}

Example 12. \textit{Dolor pianto e penitenza}, Castellano Castellani (1493)\textsuperscript{114}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Dolor, pianto e penitentia} & \textbf{Anguish, tears and penance} \\
Dolor, pianto e penitentia & Anguish, tears and penance \\
ci tormenta tucta via & Torment us constantly \\
questa morta compagnia & This is our company of dead \\
va gridando ‘penitentia’ & Processes, crying ‘penance!’ \\
Fumo gia come voi sete & We were once as you are now, \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}


\textsuperscript{114} Italian and English translations of this poem can be found in Prizer, “Reading Carnival,” 185–7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dolor, pianto e penitentia...</th>
<th>Anguish, tears and penance...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voi sarete come noi</td>
<td>You will be as we;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morti sian, come vedete</td>
<td>We are dead as you can see,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cosi morti vedrem voi</td>
<td>Thus dead will we see you,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e di la non giova poi</td>
<td>And, once dead, it will do no good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doppo il mal, far penitentia</td>
<td>To do penance for your sins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor noi per carnovale</td>
<td>We too during Carnival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostri amor’ gimo cantando;</td>
<td>Roamed the streets singing of our loves;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et cosi di male in male</td>
<td>And so from sin to sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>venevan moltiplicando</td>
<td>We became worse and worse;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hor pel mondo andian gridando</td>
<td>Now we wander the world crging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pententia, penitentia’</td>
<td>“Penance, penance!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciechi, stolti, et insensati,</td>
<td>Blind, stupid, foolish people,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogni cosa ie tempo fura,</td>
<td>Everything does time destroy;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pompe, gloria, honori e stati</td>
<td>Splendour and glory, honours and states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passon tucti, et nulla dura</td>
<td>Pass away and nothing remains,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et nel fin la sepoltura</td>
<td>And in the end the grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ci fa far la penitentia</td>
<td>Makes us all do penance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gran tormento et gran dolore</td>
<td>Horrible torment, horrible pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha di la colui ch’e ingrato</td>
<td>Await the unrepentant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma chi a pietoso il core</td>
<td>but those with pious hearts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E fra noi molt’ honorato</td>
<td>are much honored among us dead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuolsi amar quando altri e amato</td>
<td>Love others as you love yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per non far poi penitentia.</td>
<td>To avoid doing penance in the hereafter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questa falce che portiamo</td>
<td>This scythe that we are carrying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’universo alfin contrista</td>
<td>Finally makes everyone contrite;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma di vita a vita andiamo</td>
<td>We all pass from this life to the next,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma la vita, o buona o trista</td>
<td>But life, be it virtuous or sinful,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogné ben del ciel s’acquista</td>
<td>obtains every blessing from heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi di qua fa penitentia.</td>
<td>if you do penance on earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se vivendo, ciascun muore,</td>
<td>If we live, then we must die,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se morendo ogni’alma ha vita,</td>
<td>And in dying each soul find life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el Signor d’ogni signore</td>
<td>The Lord of Lords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>questa legge ha stabilita:</td>
<td>Has laid down this law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tucti havete a far partita</td>
<td>Everyone must depart this life:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘penitentia, penitentia’</td>
<td>Penance, penance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tante chaccie, feste o canti,</td>
<td>Horrible torment, horrible pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tucti un di vi fien tormenti,</td>
<td>Await the unrepentant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e digiuni, affanni et pianti</td>
<td>But those with pious hearts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi faranno star contenti:</td>
<td>Are much honoured among us dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del malfar ciascun si penti,</td>
<td>Love others as you love yourself,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et tornate a penitentia.</td>
<td>To avoid doing penance in the hereafter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 13. *Carro da morte*, Bartholomeo degli Organi.\(^{115}\)

penitenza Ci tormenta tutta vita,
a, Questa morta compagnia va grid
dando penitenza,

2. Fummo già come voi sete, Voi sa-

3. Monti sìam come se de-te, Co-si.
rete come noi
4. Edi la non gio-va.
morti ve drem Voi,

posi, Do-peil mal far pe-ni-ten-za.
The amount of musical repetition is limited, with a tendency toward through-composition. This distinguishes this text as representative of musical stylistic tendencies of the sixteenth century. What is unusual about this work is the absence of melismatic passagework in the melody at the ending of the verses; yet there exist possible instances of text painting, where certain words that highlight the repentant nature of the moral lesson are submitted in the text.116

The poetic texts of early sixteenth-century Carnival songs not only retain remnants of Savonarolan sentiments, but also sustain the classicizing rhetoric introduced in the Medici era, topics concerning the conditions of living in cloisters and nunneries, as well as themes on religious beliefs and plays on the link between Carnival and Lent, all from the perspective of the merchant-class citizen; reflections of the popular beliefs of Florentines, both religious and profane.117 A conventional theme of Carnival song texts from the early sixteenth century is the fleeting nature of life and the necessity to repent and convert.118 An example of this is the Trionfo de’ diavoli (Triumph of the damned), in which Giuggiola Giugielmo warns of the consequences in the afterlife of those who disobey their princely ruler. The poem is structured as a ballata grande, with a four-line ripresa and seven-line stanzas. The moral of the poem in the last stanza remarks that one should seek to acquire merit through obedience and honor, regardless of the inequities of the earthly prince, for these will be dealt with in the afterlife, in heaven, by a higher prince.

117 Prizer, “Reading Carnival,” 203.
118 Ibid., 209.
Example 14. *Dal’ infelice grotte*, Giuglielmo detto il Giuggiola

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dal’infelice grotte</th>
<th>Ballad of the Damned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dal’infelice grotte</td>
<td>From gloomy caverns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dove giorno non cape o luce pura,</td>
<td>where the pure light of day never enters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma sempiterna notte,</td>
<td>but only eternal night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folta di nebbia tenebrosa et scura,</td>
<td>thickened by dark fogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donne, fuggiti siano;</td>
<td>we, sweet ladies, have fled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et nostra sorte dura,</td>
<td>and are come to warn you of our fate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per vostro bene, a mostrarvi vegniano.</td>
<td>for your own good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Noi eravan di quegli 
spiriti beati del superno coro, 
gia tanto lieti et begli 
quant’or sian brutti et pien d’ogni martoro: 
nostra perversa voglia 
del cielo el ver tesoro 
ctolse et tien sommersi in pena c’n doglia. 

We once were blessed spirits 
in the heavenly choir 
as lovely and as joyful 
as we are now ugly and tormented 
our disobedience caused us 
to lose the true boon of heaven 
and submerged us in grief and woe.

Non lievi alchun la vista 
contro al principe suo, che cotal merto 
cotal premio s’aquista 
da quel principe al quale nulla coperto; 
le nostre acerbe pene 
vi sieno exemplo certo: 
temer e amare chi ‘l sommo sceptro tiene. 

Let no one bid defiance 
to the prince, for he shall receive 
his just deserts from that prince 
from whom nothing is hidden. 
our bitter pains 
are sure proof of this 
fear and follow, the almighty ruler.

Donne, mentre che in vita 
di meritar el cielo gratia vi dona, 
fate che alla partita 
non vegniate al dolor che si ci sprona 
dalla eternale ambascia, 
dove insieme s’aduna 
qualunche troppo prende o troppo lascia. 

Ladies, since heaven grants you 
grace to acquire merit in this life 
act in such a way that when you depart 
you suffer not that which goads us so 
the eternal suffering 
in which all those are gathered 
who commit or omit too much.

The music for this carnival song was composed by the first of two principal composers of sixteenth-century Carnival songs, Alessandro Coppini. Coppini contributed a total of seven Carnival songs: some, such as the *Canzone de zingane*, were sponsored by Lorenzo di Filippo.

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119 Text and translation by Avril Bardoni can be found in the insert to the recording *Trionfi!,* New London Consort, Philip Pickett, compact disc, L’Oiseau-Lyre 436 718-2.
Strozzi.\textsuperscript{120} The second principal composer of sixteenth-century carnival songs is Bartholomeo degli Organi, who contributed two Carnival songs; like Coppini’s, some of these songs were also composed at the behest of Lorenzo da Fillipo Strozzi. An example of a sixteenth-century carnival song is the \textit{Canzona del secol’ d’oro}, composed for the Pope Leo X’s election to the Papacy in 1513. The company of the Broncone sponsored the creation of this Carnival song, whose political function is easily determined upon glancing at the text. The textual references, particularly in the second stanza (see example 15 below), to rebirth and renewal of the previous happier age indicate the political program of the Broncone to represent the return of the Medici as harbingers of a new Golden Age in Florence. Jacopo da’ Nardi organized a procession of 400 torchbearers, as well as seven floats for his Carnival festivities, where each float or \textit{trionfo} was accompanied by a song.

Example 15. \textit{Colui che da le leggi alla natura}, Jacopo da Nardi\textsuperscript{121}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{p{0.5\textwidth}p{0.5\textwidth}}
\textbf{Colui che da le leggi alla natura} & \textbf{He who gives nature her laws} \\
Colui che da le leggie alla natura & He who gives nature her laws \\
in vari stati e secoli sipone & decrees the different character of each age; \\
ma del bene e cagione, & but he is the source of goodness; \\
e’l mal, e’ permette, al mondo dura & evil exists in the world by his consent; \\
onde in questa figura & whence, in contemplating \\
contemplando si vede & this plan, one sees \\
come con lento piede & how one age \\
l’un secol doppo l’altro al mondo viene & slowly follows another to the world, \\
et muta el bene in male, e ‘l male in bene. & changing good to bad, and bad to good. \\
\hline
Dell’oro el primo stato e piu giocondo, & The first, the Golden Age, was best, \\
nelle seconde eta men ben si mostra; & those that followed showed decline; \\
e poi nell’ eta vostra & until, by your own time, the world had \\
al ferro alla ruggin viene ‘l mondo: & degenerated into iron and rust: \\
ma hora, essendo in fondo & but now, having reached the nadir, \\
torna il secol felice & a happy age returns.
\end{tabular}
\end{table}


\textsuperscript{121} Text and translation by Avril Bardoni from \textit{Trionfi} (op. cit.).
Colui che da le leggie alla natura...

He who gives nature her laws...

et come la Fenice
rinasce dal bronchon del verde etade
cosi nasce del ferro un secol d’oro.

and like a phoenix rising from the fire,
green laurel sprouts from the dead vine-stock: thus from iron a Golden Age is born.

Perche natura el ciel oggi rinnuova
e’l secol vecchio in peurile etade
et quel del ferro cade
che rugginoso, inutil si ritruova
a queste virtu giova
a noi et a costoro
tornando quel, tornare a star con voi
per farvi diventare simile a noi.

Since nature is by heaven renewed this day,
and a withered age regains the bloom of
youth, and the age of iron is defeated,
revealed as rusty and useless,
seeing that these virtues
benefit both us and those
who lived in the Golden Age,
it is fit that they should, like it, return,
that you may come to resemble us.

Dopo la pioggia torna il ciel sereno
godi, Fiorenza: et fatti lieta ormai,
pero che tu vedrai
fiorir queste virtu drento al tuo seno
che dal sito terreno
havien fatto partita
la verita smarrita
la pace, la iustitia, or quella or questa
t’inviton liete insieme e ti fan fetsa.

After rain, the skies are clear again:
rejoice, O Florence, and be ever happy,
for you shall see the virtues
flourish within your breast
that had disappeared
from the earth:
truth that had been lost,
peace, justice, and more besides,
beckon you joyously and pay you homage.

Triompha poche ‘l ciel tanto ti honora
sotto ‘l favor di piu benignia stella.
Ciita felice e bella
piu che tu, fusi mai nel mondo anchora
echo che vien quell’ hora
che ti fara beata
e ’n fra l’altre onorata
si che alla gloria tua per excellenza
bastera ‘l nome solo, alma Fiorenza.

Rejoice, for heaven holds you in high
regard, blest by the most kindly star
City of greater happiness and beauty
than has yet been seen upon this earth;
behold, the hour has come
when you shall be blessed
and honored among your sisters,
until, to extol your excellence, your name
alone will suffice, noble Florence.

Carnival Songs in the Late Sixteenth Century

The Medici family were again expelled between 1527 and 1530, and after the short rule
of Duke Alessandro de’ Medici (1531–1537), Cosimo de’ Medici (1537–1574) became Duke,
regaining possession over fortresses in Tuscany in 1543 and liberating the city from Emperor
Charles V’s military. With control over the territory of Florence, Duke Cosimo I followed in the
footsteps of his ancestors, fostering healthy perceptions of his rule with other regions in Italy
through patronage of public works, sponsoring the re-opening of the University of Pisa, and creating the Florentine Academy in 1541.\textsuperscript{122} The poetic texts of the Carnival songs composed in the sixteenth century reveal the aristocratic nature of Grand Duke Cosimo I’s leadership, celebrating the virtues of courtly life in the “old” republic of the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{123} No longer a forum for a mosaic of social expressions, the Carnival celebrations lost their previous associations with Florence’s mercantile and Christian values, and now were reserved for elite celebrations such as family weddings and baptisms. We see in the later Renaissance a Florentine intellectual life that tended to withdraw into contemplation of its own past, a “classical” past that was idealized in ritual festivals. This occurred as a result of the revival of ancient Greek and Roman cultural products that highlighted the independence and self-preservation of the individual.\textsuperscript{124} This trend was expressed in the late sixteenth-century Carnival song texts that idealize popular culture as a revival of the classical values of Ancient Greece and Rome. Youth and the pastoral life are idealized in poetic texts that were now composed to provide a “context for popular citations in conscious imitation of the popular manner, placing the courtly character – of the Grand Duchy – outside its natural framework.”\textsuperscript{125}

The \textit{canti dei lanzi}, a subgroup of the \textit{canti carnasicaleschi} that mocked the German mercenary troops occupying Florence under Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519), serve as an example of this: the stylistic tendencies of the music betray composition after 1500, while the song texts address subject matter and betray formal tendencies that imply a much earlier date. These popular songs employ more instances of triple meter and much more musical repetition than other carnival songs, yet textually they are representative of more traditional refrain-stanza

\textsuperscript{122} Plaisance, \textit{Florence in the Time of the Medici}, 102.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 110.
\textsuperscript{124} Cummings, \textit{The Politicized Muse}, 170.
forms, with eight-syllable verses.\textsuperscript{126} Over the course of the sixteenth century, music for the \textit{canti} and \textit{trionfi} became more complex, gaining resemblance to contemporary madrigals. More instances of through-composed strophes displace musical repetition, and the musical phrases that accompany the poetic texts are less repetitive and are longer to account for the irregular syllables of each line. An example is the \textit{Canto di lanzi pellegrini}, composed to accompany a text known as \textit{Caritate, amore Dei!} written by the poet Giuglielmo Giuggiola that references German troops returning from their pilgrimage to Rome, invoking aid from the Florentine citizens. The first stanza and refrain are as follows:

Example 16. \textit{Caritate, amore Dei}, Giuglelmo Giuggiola.\textsuperscript{127}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Caritate, amore Dei!} & \textbf{Charity, for the love of God!} \\
Caritate, amore Dei! & Charity, for the love of God! \\
Pofer Lanzi, sventurate & We are poor, miserable lanzi \\
che da Roma star tornate & just returned from Rome \\
dale santé Giubbilei. & from the Holy Jubilee. \\

Queste pofer compagnone & We poor companions \\
son venute pellegrine & have come as pilgrims, \\
per foler santé Stazzone & to see the Holy Stations of the Cross \\
Fatte lunghe, e gran cammine: & we have made a long hard journey, so \\
Pero date Florentine & give a little something, people of Florence, \\
Caritate, amore Dei! & show charity, for the love of God!
\end{tabular}


Example 17. *Canto di lanzi pellegrini*, Anon.\(^{128}\)

The music for the *Canto de’ lanzi* Pellegrini is strophic, composed for four voices. There is a middle section in a contrasting meter, yet the text is set to the music with stylistic traits that recall earlier pre-1500 stylistic tendencies, as the poem is in a refrain-and-stanza format and set in triple meter.

**Contrafacture of Carnival Songs in the Early to Mid-Sixteenth Century**

The singing of *laude* in public in the early sixteenth century virtually ceased, as this practice had been introduced by Savonarola, and it called attention to that tumultuous period. Despite the fact that borrowing profane melodies to outfit *lauda* texts became frowned upon, the practice of contrafacture still persisted, as traditional *laude* by Belcari referencing Carnival song models continued to be recycled and printed in sources. Therefore these sources represent the final phase of the city-wide tradition of singing *laude*, which formerly had been sung in public processions; now, confraternities continued to patronize the creation of *laude*, and sang them in
procession for major feast days, and no longer during Carnival. From the early years of the
sixteenth century, confraternities began to include members that were against the Medici, and
their numbers increased as the Medici family became less popular. From 1505, more members
are documented as being from the upper classes, while at the same time, the amount of lower
class participants declined.129

The sources of laude cultivated by such groups between 1500 and 1530 contain a total of
eight contrafacta of Carnival songs composed prior to 1500, and twenty-five contrafacta of
Carnival songs composed after 1500. Traditional lyrics by Lorenzo de’ Medici and Giovan dal
Bianco are recycled, along with work by newer poets of the early sixteenth century, mainly
Castellano Castellani, Berardo Giambullari, and Simon Palliao (see Appendix D). The first of the
sources that recycle old repertory and combine it with the new is the print titled Laude vecchie e
nuove (Florence: a petizione di Ser Piero Pacini da Pescia, ca. 1502–7).130 This source, also
known as Gall4 after Galletti’s edition, transmits 494 poetic texts, and no less than 471 instances
of contrafacture; in fact it is largely a reprint of Gall1 through Gall3.131 In total, Gall4 contains
twenty laude that are contrafacta of Carnival song models, nine new Carnival songs, and two
contrafacta that are also indicated in the earlier sources Gall2 and Gall3. This means that some
Carnival song melodies are used for more than one sacred poem. The second source that consists
of both recycled contrafacta as well as newer contrafacta is a print entitled Laudi spirituali di

129 Lorenzo Poliziotto, Children of the Promise: The Confraternity of the Purification and the Socialization of
130 This source was reprinted as Opera nova di laude facte e composte da più persone spirituali (Venice:
Giorgio di Rusconi a instantia de Niccolo detto Zoppino, 1512).
131 The Gall4 source was reprinted and re-titled as Pal120, and R1961. Pal120 contains one new indication of
contrafacture of a Carnival song that is not present in Gall4: this is the lauda O peccatore, io sono Dio, by
Bartolomeo di Boccia, using the melody of the Canzona delle forese, also known by the incipit of the poetic text as
Lasse in questo carnasciale, with poetry written by Lorenzo de’ Medici. The print begins with several laude by
Lorenzo de’ Medici, combined with the addition of newer contrafacta by poets such as Castellano Castellani, Simon
Pallaio and Bernardo Giambullari. See Gustavo C. Galletti, ed. Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari, di Lorenzo
de’Medici, di Fransesco d’Albizzo, Castellani, e altri comprise nelle quattro più antiche raccolte (Florence: Molini e
Cecchi, 1863), 211–84. Please see bibliography for details on these sources.
diversi, printed sometime after 1514; the extant exemplar in the Florentine Biblioteca Riccardiana (Ed. rari 196) is designated as R196. It contains three portions, an exact reprint of Gall4; a section of *laude* by Castellano Castellani (borrowing from Carnival songs by Bartholomeo degli Organi and Alessandro Coppini) and a group of 86 others from the time of Belcari; and finally, a compilation of devotional tracts printed in Florence in 1512. The three sections of this source can together be understood to represent a continuation of a practice whereby new repertory is mixed with “old favorites” from the period 1498–1512. The middle layer of this print, R196 II, contains 141 *laude* with 169 contrafacta indications; fifty-five of these contrafacta are by Castellani. There are a total of fifteen Carnival song models referenced in this source, with eight new *lauda* contrafacta by Castellani and one by Giambullari, while six are by anonymous poets.

In sixteenth-century contrafacta of Carnival songs, the *lauda* texts continue to borrow the identical rhyme of the words of their models, at times even paraphrasing the entire incipit, a device which would have aided memorization of the new text. Other instances do occur, however, where the rhetorical grammar and meaning of the model is subverted by the *lauda*. An example of this is the *lauda* presented in the Introduction of this thesis, Lorenzo de’ Medici’s *Dall’ alta stella*, written to the music for *Dalla alta piu stella* by Angelo Divizio, and also known as the *Trionfo della dea Minerva*.

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132 Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 146.
Example 18. *Dalla alta piu stella*, Angelo divizio da Bibbiena, and *Dall’alta piu stella*, Lorenzo de’ Medici.

**Dalla alta piu stella**

Dalla piu alta stella
discende a celebrare la tuo letitia,
gloriosa Fiorenza,
la dea Minerva, cogl’ ingegni propitia:
collie ogni scienza
vien, ch’e di suo presenza,
per honorarti accioche sia piu bella.

Pocha ventura giova
a chi mancha el favor di queste donne,
e tu, Fiorenza, el sai,
che queste son le tuo ferme colonne;
la gratia che tu ai,
d’altronde non la trai
che dall’ ingegnio, di che ognior fai pruova.

La stele sono stiave
del senno, et lui governa le fortune;
or ai, Fiorenza, quello
che disiavi tanto e’n tante lune:
l’onorato chappello.
Verra tempo novello,
ch’arai le tre corone et la duo chiave.

**From the highest star descending**

From the highest star descending
to grace your celebrations,
O glorious Florence,
comes Minerva the goddess of wisdom,
bringing every branch of knowledge
with her, that by its presence
it may honor and embellish you.

Little fortune do they enjoy
who lack these ladies’ favor,
but as you, O Florence, are well aware
they are your pillars of strength;
the reputation that you enjoy
rests upon nothing else
but intellect, of which you give daily proof.

The stars are the slaves
of wisdom, and wisdom governs fortune;
you, Florence, now possess the prize
you have longed for these many moons:
the cap of honor.
a new age dawns, in which you will have
the triple crown and crossed keys.

**Dall’ alta stella**

Dalla piu alta stella
disces’e n terra un divino spedor
Gloriosa regina
Vergina, e sposa madre del signore
o luce matutina
Felice chi s’inchina
A quella santa madre bonesta e pia.

O cordial dolcezza
O sommo gaudio, e singolar conforto
Vergine santa, e pia
scala de’ peccator, trionfo, e porto
Vaso del bel Messia.
Giesu, dolce Maria

**From the highest star descending**

From the highest star descending
on earth a divine splendor
glorious queen,
virgin, and wife, mother of Lord
o morning light, happy
the one who bows
to the saint mother, honest and pious.

O amicable tenderness
o highest joy, o unique comfort
saint virgin, and pious
Ladder of the sinner, triumph, and harbor,
chalice of the messiah
Jesus, sweet Mary, lead us to that

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Dall’ alta stella...

Guidaci a qule tesor, che’il modo sprezza
treasure that the world doesn’t value.

Tu sei madre si degna
You are mother so deserving,
che’il ciel. La terra il Sol le stele e l’mare
that the sky the earth, the sun the stars and the ocean
dite san festa, e Gloria
celebrate in your honor and glory,
o luci pellegrini ardentì, e chiare
O pilgrims, ardent lights,
o eternal memoria
and luminous, O eternal memory
porta, trionfo, e Gloria
honor, triumph and glory
Di quell tesor ch’in ciel felice regna.
of that treasure that in the heaven, rules.

Example 19. Trionfo della dea Minerva, Angelo divizio da Bibbiena (1492)

Discendea celebra
Discendea in terram un
re la tua letizia, Gloriae a
divino splendor, Gloriae a Re-
-ren - za, La de - a Min - va,
-gi - na, Ver - gi - neé sposa - e,

Co - gl'in glinge - gni pro pi - ùa Col - lei o - gni xi - en - 
Ma - dre del Signo - re. O lu - ce ma - tu -
...za. Vien, che di sua presenza...
ha. Felicitas in...chi...

...za, Vuo-le no-novar-ti ac-cio che si-
ha, Questa Sare-ta ma-dre ho-ne-sta, e
The music calls for four voices, and is composed to accompany a poetic text that alternates between seven- and eleven-syllable lines with the rhyme aBcBccA. Originally preserved in Banco Rari 230 (BR 230) of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, the music can also be found in Razzi’s anthology, the *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (Venice: Rampazetto, 1563), preserving music for all four voices. Both the textual structure of the two texts, as well as the musical style, indicate that this music was composed after 1500. This Carnival song, or *trionfo*, was most likely composed and performed for Giovanni de’ Medici’s election to the Papacy in 1513, as indicated in the final stanza (see example 19). The first stanza of the Carnival poem opens in the music with a leap in the soprano voice and melodic motion downwards in the top voice, as if to indicate the heights from which the stars are descending (example 19, mm. 1–3), with a melodic line that re-ascends at “star” (mm. 4–6). The top voice moves stepwise down, as Minerva descends to Florence to “grace the celebrations” of Florence.

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(mm. 7–10). In m. 15, the meter changes from duple to triple, and the musical texture changes from contrapuntal polyphony to four-voice homophony. The text that accompanies these four measures, “O glorious Florence”, is placed carefully, where the music can be seen to embellish the words of the text by being set off in this alternate meter (mm. 15–18). For the following line of the first stanza, the duple meter resumes with a musical phrase characterized by an equally active texture in the top three voices; the absence of the bass and the treble texture allude to the heavenly qualities of Minerva (mm. 19–22). The four voices unite again in m. 23, calling back and forth to each other (m. 24), perhaps to emphasize the different branches of knowledge, until m. 33, where the top voice falls out of the texture as the three lower voices remain. This music suits the theme of the presence of knowledge on earth, brought down from heaven. In measure 38 the meter changes once again from duple to triple, and the four voices unite in a homophonic texture. These measures wrap up the first stanza to conclude the theme of honor, and of how the knowledge gained from Minerva has embellished Florence. The second stanza then expands on the importance of attracting the attention of the goddess and her “branches of knowledge”, describing these as the foundations (“pillars of strength”) upon which the reputation of the city relies upon: the proof of intellect. The final stanza concludes this theme of ancient knowledge descending from the heavens by describing features of the night sky, where stars are “slaves of wisdom” who govern fortune which the Florentine city now possesses. The honor of wisdom from the first stanza is alluded to as the ultimate goal of the city, which is received through the “triple crown” and “crossed keys” of the Roman Catholic Church, the keys of which are given to the city of Florence through the Cardinalship of Giovanni de’ Medici.

This music for this Carnival song is indicated as a contrafactum to a lauda attributed to Lorenzo de’ Medici in Gall4, where we find that the lauda Dalla alta piu stella should be sung to
the music composed for *Dall alta piu stella discende*, also known as the *Trionfo della dea Minerva*. This attribution cannot be correct, as the Carnival song was composed after Lorenzo’s death. Furthermore, it is not provided in modern editions of Lorenzo’s *laude*. The question remains of the authorship of this *lauda*, but the rhetorical content and focus upon the Virgin Mary indicate that it must have been used as a contrafactum in the early sixteenth century. It is at once obvious that this *lauda* is a contrafactum of the Carnival song upon first glance at the incipit, which is identical. Furthermore, the same poetic form is employed for both texts, making both equally suitable for the four-voice texture of the carnival song music. Both the Carnival song text and the *lauda* text rely upon the themes of honor and both adopt textual imagery that evokes the height and glory of the heavens. Despite this, it is understood that these themes are meant to invoke the honest and saintly qualities of the Virgin Mary as opposed to the city of Florence.

The musical texture suits this *lauda* as well as it did the Carnival song. In the first stanza, for example, the absence of the bass voice highlights the text “Glorious Queen, virgin, and wife”, all feminine qualities of Mary. The union between her and the Lord sees all voices resume together (m. 19). Praises of the Virgin Mary were common among *lauda* singers who gathered in the evenings. Praising her is said to bring the morning light, the act of bowing highlighted in the music by the omission of the top voice, with the lower voices sing together (mm. 33–37 in Example 19 above. The same honor that embellishes the city of Florence is redirected in the *lauda* toward the honesty and piety of Mary, where the music returns to homophony. The second stanza of this *lauda* continues to describe the tender and comforting benefits of praising Mary, asking her to lead them to a “treasure the world does not value”, that is, faith in Jesus Christ. This stands in stark contrast to the second stanza of the Carnival song, which seems to reflect
that the world valued a different treasure, that of knowledge and reputation. The final lauda stanza adopts the subject matter of the Carnival song—the stars—but instead pairs them with the sun and the ocean instead of the moons referenced in the Carnival song. The Carnival song grants the stars the ability to govern the fortunes of men, yet the lauda subverts the role of the stars and other heavenly bodies to celebrate the “honor and glory” of the Virgin Mary. Instead of the moon, the sun is referenced, connected to the next line of the poem which describes the “luminous” qualities of those inspired by Mary, and her honor and glory, in direct opposition to the honor of Florence in the Carnival song in the same stanza.

**Contrafacture of Carnival Songs in the Late Sixteenth Century**

Both the lauda and Carnival song traditions drew heavily upon the public life of the merchant republic, and as the political landscape changed into an aristocracy in the sixteenth century, these traditions became more privatized. Just as the elite companies of sixteenth-century Florence appropriated Carnival festivals for their own pluralist intentions, the practice of singing laude was also appropriated by private clerical institutions. After 1530 and the return of the Medici family to Florence, the singing of laude continued only in Dominican convents in Tuscany, where their singing recalled to the nuns the memory of Savonarola (see Table 4). Among other contexts, these convents performed laude for the ceremonies that took place when inducting new members into their fold, at times hiring professional singers. While public interest in older and newer sacred contrafacta of the Carnival songs subsisted in the early sixteenth century, the middle of the century saw the production of laude by a younger generation of Dominicans who supported Savonarola by composing poems that honored him and asked for

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137 Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 145.
138 Ibid., 173.
139 Ibid.
his assistance.\textsuperscript{140} Between 1530 and 1563, a total of seventeen contrafacture links exist to prior Carnival songs, five to songs composed prior to 1500, and twelve to songs composed after 1500. The sources that contain contrafacture of Carnival songs in the late sixteenth century, then, preserve poetry of two generations of Savonarolan poets.\textsuperscript{141}

The principal sources for sacred contrafacta of Carnival songs in this period are Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Magl.VII.365 [hereafter M365] and Serafino Razzi’s 1563 anthology, the \textit{Libro primo delle laudi spirituali}. M365 is a manuscript source of 211 lauda texts with 160 contrafacture indications (see Appendix C). The manuscript was copied between 1552 and 1563 for the Dominican convent of San Vincenzo just north of Florence in Prato. This convent in particular held associations to Savonarola, as they devoted themselves to perpetuating his memory. M365 contains a total of nineteen poems that are contrafacture of Carnival songs, eleven of them indicated in sources for the first time. We find here existing contrafacta made by Castellani and Benivieni, as well as instances of newer contrafacture by poets such as Agnolo Bettini (d. 1562).\textsuperscript{142} The purpose of this music was not for memorization and required some musical training, which the nuns would have received at the convent. As Wilson points out, the majority of the nuns at this convent were members of Florentine patrician families and likely would have enjoyed some degree of education in music.\textsuperscript{143}

Also significant as a source for contrafacta is Serafino Razzi’s anthology, the \textit{Libro primo delle laudi spirituali da diversi eccell. e divoti autori, antiche e moderni composte}, issued at Venice in 1563. Razzi, who composed contrafacta himself, was a priest in Florence who

\textsuperscript{140} These sources are Gall4 of 1502/7 and R196 of 1514, Ferr84, Pal169, RC395, and the Razzi print of 1563 (see bibliography for details of these sigla). All of these sources are from convents of Dominican nuns. See Wilson, \textit{Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence}, 148–9.
\textsuperscript{141} Wilson, \textit{Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence}, 149.
\textsuperscript{142} Macey, \textit{Bonfire Songs}, 132–6.
\textsuperscript{143} Wilson, \textit{Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence}, 172.
travelled among various convents to instruct and provide devotional services for the nuns. The introduction states that the work is comprised of laude “for singing in Florence in churches after Vespers and Compline – for the consolation and edification of devout servants of God.”

The eighteen laude from this print that are contrafacta of Carnival songs are reduced by Razzi to two voices from their original three or four. It is implied in the introduction to Razzi’s print that a decline in the practice of singing laude in social settings took place, as opposed to only in the protection of convents:

If indeed you are somewhat fewer than all those, nearly all of them not being [members of] religious [orders], who not many years ago gave up those spiritual songs called Laude, which in years past were sung not only in monasteries and convents by persons dedicated to the service of our Lord God, but devoutly at gatherings as well, and in private houses [...]  

The significance of Razzi’s anthology is that it preserves melodies uniquely for no less than eleven Carnival songs (nos. 5, 12, 13, 27, 42, and 83 in the print), that otherwise would exist only as poetry (see Appendix E). The Libro primo contains 114 contrafacta with music for 91 songs, presented in choirbook format for two, three, and four voices; indeed this is the only source of any kind that contains musical notation of Carnival contrafacta. We find many older texts from the Laurentian era (37 by Belcari, d’Albizzo, and Lorenzo himself), as well as additions of texts by Razzi and other Dominicans associated with Savonarola’s church of San Marco in Florence (62 by Razzi, 13 by Fabroni, and 31 others by Dominicans at San Marco).

According to Blake Wilson, those that belong to the pre-1494 tradition are nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 16–20, represented by poetry by Lorenzo de’ Medici and Belcari, while those that belong to the post-1500 tradition are nos. 2, 5, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, and 24, with contributions by Razzi and

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144 As translated in Macey, Bonfire Songs, 49–58.
Fabroni. Another complexity in play in Razzi’s print is the various types of borrowing he applied to the Carnival song models. There are ten that remain faithful to the original, while three retain the cantus and tenor, and three retain only the cantus with a newly composed tenor line.\textsuperscript{146} Razzi transmits eighteen contrafacta of Carnival song models of which both music and text survive; six are indicated in this source for the first time, while the remainder are recycled from other sources (these include two by anonymous poets, and one each by Castellani, Medici, and Belcari).

Razzi’s \textit{Libro primo} represents an array of \textit{lauda} composers, those whose links are recycled from previous sources, as well as new contrafacta indicated these older \textit{lauda} to Carnival song models. The addition of new poets of contrafacture in Razzi’s anthology include: Bonfiazio Landini (d. 1527), Nicoli Fabroni (d. 1578), and Serafino Razzi (1531-1611) (see Appendix E).

The final source to transmit later sixteenth-century poetic texts that are indicated as contrafacta of Carnival songs is a Dominican convent \textit{laudario}, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ferrajoli 84 (hereafter Ferr84). This manuscript transmits thirty-seven contrafacta, fourteen of which are unique to the source. Many of the musical models that are borrowed by these poetic texts are madrigals by composers active in Florence between 1520 and 1530, including Philippe Verdelot and Jacob Arcadelt.\textsuperscript{147} Of these, there are eight instances of musical borrowing of Carnival songs that appear, although they do not bear \textit{cantasi-come} indications. For two of the contrafacta, the musical notation is supplied.\textsuperscript{148}

An excellent example of a sixteenth-century contrafactum of a Carnival song, the fifteenth-century contrafactum of the \textit{Canzona de’ profumi} (“Siam galanti di Valencia”) by

\textsuperscript{146} This is discussed in more detail in Wilson, \textit{Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence}, 185. It will suffice to state here which are of the first type (nos. 5, 7, 12, 30, 39, 40, 57, 82, 83?, and 90), the second type (nos. 13, 34, 53), and the third type (nos. 27, 38, and 42.)

\textsuperscript{147} Wilson, \textit{Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence}, 149.

\textsuperscript{148} The \textit{lauda} that are contrafacture of carnival songs found in this source can be found listed in Appendix C. The contents of Ferr84 are detailed in: Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, eds., “Laude musicali del XVI secolo: il manoscritto Ferrajoli 84 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,” \textit{Cultura neolatina} 33 (1973): 273–327.
Lorenzo as “O maligno e duro core” (first extant in the fifteenth-century print Gall3), can be found in Razzi’s anthology. That this fifteenth-century example is found in Razzi’s anthology is indicative of how he hoped to preserve the Florentine *lauda* tradition of borrowing tunes from unwritten musical genres. The reason for discussing this fifteenth-century contrafactum alongside the sixteenth-century contrafactum of the same Carnival song is to demonstrate the changes that took place in the approach to contrafacture over a greater period of time. The latest text, “O profeti, O martir’ forti,” written by an anonymous Dominican nun in the mid- to late sixteenth century in honor of Savonarola and his companions, can also be related to this Carnival song. This text can be found in a *laudario* compiled in the late sixteenth century for the convent of Santa Caterina da Siena with the shelfmark Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino 169 (hereafter Pal169). This manuscript contains a total of 29 poems that have *cantasi-come* indications, none of which are of Carnival songs. Recent scholarship, however, has suggested that “O profeti” would have been sung to this Carnival song melody, due to similarities in the poetic form and incipit.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Siam galanti di Valenza</em>149</th>
<th><strong>We are dandies from Valence</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siam galanti di Valenza,</td>
<td>We are dandies from Valence,</td>
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<tr>
<td>qui per passo capitati</td>
<td>just passing through here,</td>
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<tr>
<td>d’amor gia presi e legati delle donne di Fiorenza.</td>
<td>but already we have fallen in love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molto son gentili e belle donne nella terra nostra;</td>
<td>with the ladies of Florence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voi vincete d’assai quelle,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>come il viso di fuor mostra</td>
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<tr>
<td>questa gran bellezza vostra</td>
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<tr>
<td>con amore accompagnate</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Very sweet and lovely are</td>
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<td></td>
<td>the ladies in our own land,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>but you outdo them by a long shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as your faces clearly show,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This great beauty of yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you accompany with love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

149 Italian text from Rodolfo Bruscagli, 5-7. Translation from Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 41.
Siam galanti di Valenza...

se non siete innamorate
e’ saria meglio esser senza.

We are dandies from Valence...

if you are not in love
it would be better to forgo beauty.

Donne, cio che abbiamo e vostro
se d’amor voi state accese
metterem l’olio di nostro
ungeremo a nostre spese
abbiam olio del paese
gelsi, aranci e mongui
se vi piace, proviam qui
fate questa esperienza.

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

O maligno et duo core150

O maligno e duro core
fonte d’ogni mal concetto
che non soppit a me
che non t’apri di dolore.

O hard and evil heart

O hard and evil heart,
source of every evil notion,
why do you not burst in that breast,
why do you not open yourself with sorrow

Non pigliare alcun conforto
o cor mio di pietra cura
poi che Giesu dolce e morto,
Trema il mondo, il sole oscura
Escon della sepoltura
morti: e il tempio straccia il velo
piange ohime, la terra, il cielo,
tu non senti, o duro core.

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

Liquefatti come cera
o cor mio tristo, e maligno,
poi che muor la vita vera
giesu mio Signor benigno,
fa cor mio sul duro legno
con Giesu ti crocifiga
quella lancia ti trafiga
che passo di Giesu il core.

Melt like wax,
O my bad and wicked heart
because true life has died,
my Jesus, kind Lord.
Have yourself crucified, my heart,
on the hard wood with Jesus,
let that lance pierce you,
which pierced Jesus’ heart.

O cuor mio così piagato
fa di lagrime un torrente
come dal santo contatto

O my heart, thus wounded,
let the tears flow in a torrent,
just as from that holy breast,

---

O maligno et duo core...

versa sangue largamente
gran dolcezza cor mio sente
chi accompagna Giesu santo,
se la pena e dolce tanto
piu dolce e chi con lui muore.

Vengon fuori con dolci acque
della fonte tanto amara
poi che morte, o Dio ti piacque
fatta e morte dolce, e chiara,
o cor mio da Giesu impara
la tua croce ancor tu prendi
e sopr’essa ti sospendi
Non muor mai chi con lui muore.

O hard and evil heart...

the blood freely pours out.
Great sweetness, my heart, is felt
by whoever follows holy Jesus.
If the pain is so sweet, sweeter still
is it for those who die with Him.

Sweet waters come forth
from the fountain so bitter,
because death, O God, pleased you so
that death became sweet and dear.
O my heart, learn from Jesus,
take up your cross still
and suspend yourself upon it;
they who die with Him will never die
again.

O profeti, O martir’ forti

O profeti, o martir’ forti
de venite in questa stanza
perche abbiamo ferma speranza
di trovar per voi conforti

Te Ferrara ha generato
te Geronimo fervente,
Te Fiorenza ha nutricato,
Te Silvestro dolcemente,
E te Pescia fu parente
A Domenico perfetto,
Gererateci al diletto
In quest’anni brevi, e corti.

You have hooked us
with bait that pleases us,
and that is all we desire now,
for it delights our heart very much;
straighten our soul
through this food shown to us,
now that happy in this cloister
we honor you as living, not dead.

You have hooked us
with bait that pleases us,
and that is all we desire now,
for it delights our heart very much;
straighten our soul
through this food shown to us,
now that happy in this cloister
we honor you as living, not dead.

Lauda of the Three Martyrs of Jesus

O profeti, o martir’ forti
ah, enter into this chamber,
for we have the firm hope
of finding consolation through you.

Ferrara has generated you,
you, Fervent Jerome,
Florence has nourished you,
you, Sylvester, sweetly,
and for you, Dominic, Pescia
was a perfect parent;
guide us to happiness
in these years so brief and short.

Te Ferrara ha generato
you, Ferrvent Jerome,
Te Fiorenza ha nutricato,
you, Sylvester, sweetly,
Te Silvestro dolcemente,
and for you, Dominic, Pescia
E te Pescia fu parente
was a perfect parent;
A Domenico perfetto,

You have hooked us
with bait that pleases us,
and that is all we desire now,
for it delights our heart very much;
straighten our soul
through this food shown to us,
now that happy in this cloister
we honor you as living, not dead.

Voi ci havete posto l’amo
Con un’esca, che n’alleita,
E sol quello ora bramiamo
Perche il cor molto diletta;
Fate l’alma nostra retta
Con quel cibo a noi dimostro
Or ch’allegri in questo chiostr:o
V’honoriam vivi, e non morti.

Enflame our breasts
with that fire of love
by which your affection burned
right in the middle of the flames,

\[151\text{ Italian text and translation in Partick Macey, *Savonarolan Laude*, xxiii–xxvi.}\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O profeti, O martir' forti...</th>
<th>Lauda of the Three Martyrs of Jesus...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quando morto con dolore</td>
<td>when you died with the pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sostenesti nel gran fuoco,</td>
<td>that you endured in that great fire,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per trovarvi al dolce gioco</td>
<td>in order to find yourself in the sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de celesti e secur' porti.</td>
<td>play of heavenly and secure harbors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cose grandi vi vo’ fare</td>
<td>A lively and solid faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>una viva, et ferma fede,</td>
<td>will make you do great things,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come l’opera ne appare</td>
<td>as is evident to each of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ciaschun che retto vede</td>
<td>who sees straight;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se la figlia al padre chiede</td>
<td>like the daughter who asks the father-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e noi siam’ vostri figliuole</td>
<td>and we are your little daughters-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’alta fede in nostre scuole</td>
<td>maintain our halls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantenete padri accorti.</td>
<td>that high faith, O wise fathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quella verde e viva speme</td>
<td>That verdant and living hope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che vi fe’ portar’ gl’affanni</td>
<td>that allowed you to bear the pains,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>descend’ hora al vostro seme</td>
<td>let it descend now to your children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che si veste I vostri panni,</td>
<td>who put on your habit,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perche salga a gl’alto scanni</td>
<td>so that they may rise to the highest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con il verde e buon costume,</td>
<td>rankes with verdant and moral behaviour,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che speriam’ col vostro lume</td>
<td>since we hope with your light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pervenire a gl’alti porti.</td>
<td>to attain the high heavens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se voi fusti di giustizia</td>
<td>Since you were such</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amatotanto ardenti,</td>
<td>ardent lovers of Justice,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accrescete la letizia</td>
<td>increase the happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a cuor nostri penitenti,</td>
<td>of our penitent hearts,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fate giuste nostre menti</td>
<td>render our minds upright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hor’ che siamo in questa valle,</td>
<td>now that we are in this vale,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e drizzate al dritto colle</td>
<td>toward the straight path direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostri affetti infermi e storti</td>
<td>our weak and twisted affections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male, e bene che nel futuro</td>
<td>Evil and good, which the eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidde l’acchio di prudenca,</td>
<td>of prudence sees in the future,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vol il dicesti gia venturo</td>
<td>you have already forecast it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per trar l’huomo a pentienza,</td>
<td>in order to draw man to penitence;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se noi siamo vostra semenza</td>
<td>if we are your seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alle figlie gl’ochie aprite,</td>
<td>open the eyes of your daughters,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la prudenza a noi unite</td>
<td>five us the prudence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da veder’ le varie sorti.</td>
<td>to perceive the varied fates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fate forte la nostra alma</td>
<td>Make our spirit strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come fu la vostra in terra,</td>
<td>as yours was on earth,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quand’ al ciel con la gran’ palma ritornasti dalla guerra,</td>
<td>when up to heaven with the great palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you returned after the war,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
O profeti, O martir' forti...  

and the enemy that now defeats us,
throw him back to the center below,
imprisoning him down there
in the anguish of the dead.

Voi ch’havesti al ciel la mira
You who had set your sight on heaven,
temperati fusti in vita,
you were temperate in life;
com’al ferro calamita,
like iron to a magnet
deh porgete dunque aita
ah, deliver thence assistance
temperando in nostro seno,
by tempering in our breast
quei piacer’ che son’ veleno
those pleasures that are poison
alli cuori in quelli assorti.
to hearts engrossed in them.

Una bianca puritad
gia vi fece un’ bel mantello
already provided you a fine mantle,
ricamato d’honestade
embroidered with integrity
per piacere a Giesu bello,
to please beautiful Jesus;
e f e sposa dell’Agnelo
so make us spouses of the Lamb,
d a voi padri sol vestiti,
vested only by you, fathers,
e de gigli rifioriti
and with lilies reflowering
Quei producono I vostri horti.
such as your gardens produce.

Non ci fia molesto, o grave
It will not be heavy or bothersome
il seguirvi con fatica,
for us
to follow you with exertion,
se purgate l’ opre prave
if we are purged of the evil works
della nostra vita antica,
of our previous life,
se la grazia vostra amica
and if you will bestow on us,
padri nostri ci porgete,
our fathers, that grace which is your
a Giesu in ciel vedrete
friend, you will see our thoughts
nostre menti essere rapporti.
transported to Jesus in heaven.

Quella pace ch’univa
That peace that united
nel collegio vostro I cuori
your hearts in your cloister
oggi in noi Padri si scriva
today let it be inscribed in us fathers,
e rinfiammi I vostri ardori
and re-ignite your fervor
onde tutte con fureore
whence all of us in a frenzy
possiam’ dir’ ecce quam bonum,
can say: “Behold how good it is,
possidente summum bonum
possessing the highest good
dello spirto, e de conforti.
of the spirit, and of consolation.”
Example 21. *Canzona de’ profumi*, Anon.\(^{152}\)

il viso di fuor nostra con amore accompagnate, se non siete il
del-la sepol-tu-ra, morte il tempio straccia ve-lo. Pian-gh chi-ne, la
Pes-cia fu par-en-te, a Dom-in-ico per-fet-to. Gent-er-ate al

na-mar-a-te e sa-ria me-glie-er sen-
ter-ra il cie-lo, tu non sen-ti-o du-ro co-

...
The original Carnival song, “Siam galanti”, is a song of the arts and crafts, where perfume vendors attempt to entice the ladies of Florence into buying their wares. The themes of love and beauty pervade the three stanzas that are translated above, while the perfumers describe the oils they bring from far away lands. A dandy from Valence (a French city) was known in Renaissance society to refer to a French man of influence and taste, one that places importance upon appearance. These men are passing through Florence and, in doing so, have fallen in love with the beauty of the ladies of Florence. The beauty of the ladies of Florence is celebrated with the theme of love, the text complementing them and favoring them over the ladies of France. The final stanza calls to the ladies of Florence, as the French perfumers offer free samples of the oils of their land. The profane nature of the Carnival text betrays composition in the fifteenth century, between 1474 and 1478, and the reference to the French perfumers suggests the economic interactions between Italy and France, resulting from the cultural interactions between Italy, France and Spain during the Italian wars between 1494 and 1559. The first lauda text that borrows this Carnival song melody, “O maligno e dure core,” was written by Lorenzo de’ Medici
in the late 1490s and is in direct contrast with the carefree and humorous song of the perfumers. This Lenten text focuses upon the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and was sung in the period preceding the Carnival festivities. The subject of the refrain is the “hardened heart” as the root of all evil and the source of pain through which all grief is felt. The act of falling in love from the Carnival song is translated to falling out of love in Lorenzo’s lauda. The common theme of love pervades both texts, in fact, demonstrating the connection between the poems. The third lauda text by an anonymous poet, “O profeti”, opens with a refrain that calls prophets and martyrs to seek consolation in the wake of Savonarola’s death, and furthers the theme of the heart is now “enflamed”, as Savonarola’s was, and then “penitent”. The nuns seek guidance and seek the ability to prophesize from their “father” Savonarola.

The first stanza of Lorenzo’s lauda goes on to describe how nothing comforts the broken heart of the Christian believer in contemplating the death of Jesus. The entire world falls apart as the dead rise from the ground, a stark and horrifying tale that would instill fear in listeners. In “O profeti”, the first stanza immediately draws the connection to Savonarola by referencing his origins in Ferrara, and acknowledging his “brief” time in Florence. The theme of the poem is given in the first line: “O prophets, O strong martyrs” of the Christian faith. In the first stanza, three saints are referenced by the poet, all of whom zealously pursued the preaching of the Christian faith. The first name mentioned is Jerome (331-420), a Latin Christian Priest and theologian who is known to be the most learned of the ancient fathers of the Western Church. He was known to have scorned the Roman clergy for their excesses, and was responsible for the creation of the Vulgate, the standard Latin translation of the Bible. St. Dominic (1170–1221), founder of the order to which Savonarola belonged, made the Christian faith accessible to
members of all classes by preaching in the vernacular.\textsuperscript{153} St. Sylvester (314–335) is also identified as a prophet and martyr, accredited with converting the Emperor Constantine to Christianity in Rome, thus changing the course of the Roman Catholic Church. There is a common theme to the legacy left by all three of these saints, the first being the common interest in making the liturgical texts of the Bible accessible to laymen as well as to the clergy, by either printing copies of texts in vernacular languages, or preaching in the vernacular. The second common theme in the lives of these three saints has to do with the nature with which they undertook their programs, with fiery and ferocious intent. Both of themes of scriptural accessibility and spiritual zealotry are applied to Savonarola. Instead of terrifying the listeners, the words of this lauda call for assistance from the prophet Savonarola and his fellow martyrs held dear by Florentine nuns. The second stanza asks the heart to melt away like wax. The heart is crucified as Jesus’ side was pierced, putting one’s own heart on the cross. The second stanza of “O profeti” features “heart” imagery, as the nuns express their delight in honoring Savonarola as living, as part of their vesting ceremonies. The third stanza describes in vivid imagery the gushing blood and pain this incites, and of how the only cure for the heartache of the Christian believer is the pain of death. The sweetness of pain and death are recurrent themes, and calls to attention the values of the flagellants, who were commonly seen in the streets of Renaissance Florence. This stanza asks that Savonarola enflame their hearts with the fire of love; using the same vivid imagery, the text describes how Savonarola was burned alive, as well as alluding to the zealous approach undertaken in his reformation. The final stanza of Lorenzo’s “O maligno e duro core” once again calls attention to the cure for the hardened heart: death. In the final four lines, Lorenzo asks the heart to learn from Jesus that each person must be responsible for

\textsuperscript{153} Patrick Macey, \textit{Bonfire Songs}, 5, 24.
themselves, each to carry their own cross, and instructs them to crucify themselves upon it. The fact that both the Carnival song text and the lauda text discuss cures and ointments relates them, demonstrating that Lorenzo had the Carnival song in mind when writing the poetry of the lauda text. “O profeti” contains several more stanzas than either the Carnival song or the lauda by Lorenzo. These stanzas (4 through 13) go on to instruct the nuns as to the behavior they are adopting by entering the cloister (stanzas 4–5) as well as seek guidance from Savonarola, delivering them from evil (stanza 6) and helping them to avoid temptation (stanza 7). Savonarola is deemed the means by which the nuns of this convent shall communicate with heaven in stanza 11, achieved through living a life that is full of grace and “goodness of spirit and consolation”.

The texts of both of the laude keep the focus on the heart. The heart’s melting “like wax”, its crucifixion, and its piercing by a spear all feature in Lorenzo’s lauda, while in the Dominican lauda the heart is “delight[ed]” and “hooked” like bait to honor the memory of Savonarola. In Lorenzo’s third stanza, the heart is wounded and tears “gush forth” from it, while in “O profeti” the heart is “enflamed” by the “fire of love”, burning with affection. The heart is compared to Savonarola, who endures in his missionary work and is finally rewarded with martyrdom for his efforts. The final stanza adopts the theme of liquids: oils to anoint the women of Florence to enhance their beauty in the Carnival song, and, in the case of the lauda, water, the “source of bitterness”. The Carnival song poetry is more frivolous, as the theme of the heart falling in love has now been displaced by the oils that anoint and incite love. The lauda, on the other hand, retains more depth not only by tackling more intense subject matter, but also by insisting how the heart must learn and die for and with the Lord. The final stanza of the “O profeti” does not relate as well to the Carnival song as Lorenzo’s lauda, as the focus is directed to the immediate context of the vesting ceremony for nuns.
The music of the Carnival song is sectioned into phrases that are demarcated by rests. The refrain consists of eighteen measures of music alternating between homophony and polyphony. Each phrase begins with all three voices moving together (mm. 1–9, and 10–18), while the ends of each phrase are differentiated with more activity in each voice (mm. 6–9 and 13–18). We find a shift duple to triple meter in m. 31, a section that features homophony and stepwise motion. The *volta* returns to the duple meter once again, and ends with light contrapuntal writing (mm. 45–48). The sophistication with which this music was composed has lead some scholars to suggest that Heinrich Isaac may be the composer of this song.\(^{154}\) Although both poems were composed in the late fifteenth century, Razzi clearly felt compelled to include Lorenzo’s contrafactum in his anthology, over sixty years later.

\(^{154}\) Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 41–2.
Conclusion

Both sacred and secular ritual expressions during the Renaissance helped to sustain the mercantile and civic values of the Florentine Republic. The popular and courtly poetry of the Carnival songs were “an integral element to the expression of elite rituals.” A gradual decline in the composition of Carnival songs is documented starting with the late fifteenth-century reforms made under Savonarola between 1494 and 1498, and culminating in the late sixteenth-century reforms of the Council of Trent, when the papacy decided to widen their censorship to include not only the practice of individual spirituality, but also to censor literature containing profane and sacrilegious content unrelated to the values of the Counter-Reformation Church. This censorship perhaps also accounts for the preservation of these songs as sacred contrafacta in late-sixteenth century sources, where a cantasi come indication of the original melody might go unnoticed by a critical eye. Both genres of literary and musical style, the Carnival song and the sacred lauda, found their way freely into public expression in the fifteenth century, with few boundary lines drawn between them. Cultivated by both secular and sacred institutions during the Renaissance in Florence, the contrafacture of Carnival songs indicates the original lack of distinction between secular and sacred aspects of social behavior in Renaissance Florence. This practice was used as a tool for memorizing hymns, for communicating spiritual and political messages, as well as to honor the memory of past regimes and leaders. Performed in street celebrations, religious processions, at weddings, and for funerals, the music for Carnival persisted, thanks to the familiarity of the tunes.

156 Plaisance, Florence in the Time of Medici, 156.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Sources of Music for Carnival Songs

BR62 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, MS Banco Rari 62.
BR337 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence. MS Banco Rari 337.
M117 Biblioteca Nazionale Florence. MS Magliabechi XIX.117.
M121 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence. MS Magliabechi XIX.121.
Panc27 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence. MS Panciatichichi 27.
Ferr84 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ferrajoli 84.
Pal173 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, MS Palat. 173.
Rs424II Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, San Marco 424.
R2896 Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ms. 2896.

Printed Sources of Carnival Song Music


Manuscript Sources of Carnival Song Poetry

BAV3219 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 3219.
BNF P67 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, MS Panciatichiano 25.
Printed Sources of Carnival Song Poetry

1513  
*Canzoni sonetti strambotti et frottole libro tertio.* Rome: Andrea Antico, 1513.

1515:I  
*Canzone per andare in maschera per carnesciale facte da più persone* [Florence: Bartolomeo de’ Libri [?], ca. 1494].

1515:II  
*Canzone per andare in maschera per carnesciale facte da più persone* [Florence: Lorenzo Morgiani and Giovanni Petri [?], ca. 1494].

1559  
*Tutti i trionfi, carri, mascheate [sic] ò canti carnascialeschi andati per Firenze, dal tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo vecchio de Medici: quando gli hebbero prima cominciamento, per infino a questo anno presente.* Edited by Antonfrancesco Grazzini (il Lasca). Florence: [Lorenzo Torrentino], 1559.

1560  

1750  
*Tutti i trionfi, carri, mascherate ò canti carnascialeschi [...] Edited and enlarged by Rinaldo Maria Bracci (a.k.a. Neri del Boccia or Decio Laberio). 2 vols. [Lucca: Filippo Maria Benedini], 1750.

Manuscript Sources of Lauda Poetry

A161  
Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Conventi Soppressi 161.

BAV3711  
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MS Barberini lat. 3711.

CS1545  

CS1547  
Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Conventi Soppressi G.7.1547.

CS1548  

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157 This print is by Ottonaio’s brother Paolo, who argued that Grazzini’s print of 1559 contained his brother’s works with several errors. Thus, Paolo had those entries eliminated from Grazzini’s edition, and printed them himself in this source. See Charles S. Singleton, *The Literature of Pageantry in Florence during the Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1937), 321.
Printed Sources of Lauda Poetry

1519  
*Opere di Heironymo Benvieni.* Florence: Giunti, 1519.

Galletti  

Gall1  
*Laude di Feo Belcari.* [Florence: Bartolomeo de’Libri, ca. 1490].

Gall2  
*Laude facte e composte a più persone spirituali […]* Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, 1485 [1486 in stile comune].

Gall3  
*Laude facte e composte a più persone spirituali […]* [Florence: Bartolomeo de’ Libri, ca. 1495].

Gall4  
*Laude vecchie e nuove.* Florence: a petizione di Ser Piero Pacini da Pescia, [ca. 1502–1508].

Pal120  
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino E.6.4.120 (Gall4)

R196  
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ed. Rari 196 (parts I & II)(part I = Gall4)

Secondary Literature


———. *Nuovi canti carnascialeschi del Rinascimento*, Modena: Società tipografica modenese, 1940.


**Recordings**


Appendix A. Sources of Music of Carnival Song Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Carnival Song/Composer/Voice #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BR 62</td>
<td>Late 15th c.</td>
<td>Canzona degli spazzacamini, Anon., Cantus only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BR230</td>
<td>1500-15</td>
<td>Canzona delle forese, Anon., Canzona de’ visi addietro, Anon., frag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canzona de’ profumi, Anon., 3vv.</td>
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<td>Canzona di Bacco, Anon., 2vv.</td>
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<td>Trionfo della dea Minerva, Anon., 4vv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Trionfo delle dee, Isaac, 4vv.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Canzona de’ pescatori che pigliono ranocchi, Anon., 4vv.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canzona de’ diavoli, Anon., 4vv.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canzona di cacciatori, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canzona di pastori bacchiatori, Organi, 4vv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canto di lanzi pellegrini, Anon.</td>
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<td>Canzona de’ grantaiuli, Anon., 2vv.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Canzona del Vaglio, Anon., 4vv.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canzona de’ secol d’oro, Anon., 4vv.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canzona de’ naviganti, Coppini, 4vv.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Trionfo de’ diavoli, Coppini</td>
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<td>Canzona di donne che vendono agresto, Anon.</td>
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<td>Canzona delle zingane, Coppini</td>
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<td>Canzona della manna sorianna, Anon., 2vv.</td>
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<td>Canzona de’ giostranti, Anon.</td>
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<td>Trionfo delle tre parche, Anon.</td>
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<td>Canzona degli uomini d’arme, Anon., 4vv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panc27</td>
<td>1500-10</td>
<td>Canzona degli spazzacamini, Anon., 4vv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BR 337</td>
<td>Early 16th c.</td>
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<td>Trionfo delle dee, Isaac</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Tambur, tambur, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Carro della morte, Coppini</td>
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<td>Canzona di pastori bacchiatori, Organi, 4vv.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canzona di fiancullie in casa, Anon.</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Tambur, tambur, Anon., 4vv.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Canto di lanzi pellegrini, Anon., 4vv.</td>
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<td>Canzona delle anime d’anatte, Anon., 3vv.</td>
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<td>M164-7</td>
<td>ca. 1520</td>
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<td>Razzi</td>
<td>1563</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Visin, visin, visin, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source...</td>
<td>Date...</td>
<td>Carnival Song/Composer/Voice #...</td>
</tr>
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<td>Quant’e bella giovanezza, Medici.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dalla alta piu stella discende, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Giovanni mandati siano, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pescatori a lenza siamo, da Prato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pace Guerra, Guerra e pace, del Bianco</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amor che’ n terra ogni timore, Ottonaio</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dolor, pianto e penitenza, Castellani</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Temporal fuor di natura, Anon.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Berricuoli, donne, e confortini, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Franza, Franza, viva Franza, Anon.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quant’e bella giovanezza, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ne piu bella di questa, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Viva, viva la ragione, Anon.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Donne per elezione e per natura, Bientina</td>
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## Appendix B. Sources of Poetic Texts of Carnival Song Models

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<td>1485</td>
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<td><em>Berricuocoli, donne, e confortini</em>, L. de’ Medici, BaMn</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ferrivecchi e ramivecchi</em>, Anon., BaMn</td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>Siamo stati in Fiorenza</em>, B. Giambullari, BaMn</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Visin, visin, visin’, Anon.</em>, BaMn</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Quant’e bella giovanezza</em>, L. de’ Medici, BaG</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia</em>, L. de’ Medici, BaG</td>
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<td><em>Giovanni mandati siano</em>, Anon., BaG</td>
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<td><em>Viva, viva la ragione</em>, Anon., BaMn</td>
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<td>M735</td>
<td>Late 15th c.</td>
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<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia</em>, L. de’ Medici, BaG</td>
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<td><em>Dalla alta piu stella discende</em>, A. da Bibbiena, Irregular.</td>
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<td>Mk27</td>
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<td><em>Ne piu bella di queste</em>, Anon., Cz</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Donne per elezione e per natura</em>, J. da Bientina, BaG</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Amor che ’m terra ogni timore</em>, G. dell’Ottonao, BaG</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Caritate amore dei</em>, G. Giuggiola, BaG</td>
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<td>BAV3219</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
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<td>BNN D2</td>
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<td>BNF P1</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
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<td>BRF 2731</td>
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<td><em>Franza, Franza, viva Franza</em>, Anon., BaMn</td>
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<td><em>Quant’e bella giovanezza</em>, L. de’ Medici, BaG</td>
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<td><em>Siam galanti di Valenza</em>, L. de’ Medici, BaG</td>
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<td><em>Dalla alta piu stella discende</em>, A. da Bibbiena</td>
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<td><em>Pescatori a lenza siamo</em>, M. da Prato, BaG</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Viva, viva la ragione</em>, Anon., BaMn</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dolor, pianto e penitenza ci tormenta</em>, C. Castellani, BaG</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Donne per elezione e per natura</em>, J. da Bientina, BaG</td>
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<td><em>Amor che ’n terra ogni timore</em>, G. dell’Ottonao, BaG</td>
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<td><em>Caritate amore dei</em>, G. Giuggiola, BaG</td>
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<td>1559</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td><em>Donne, sian, come vedete</em>, L. de’ Medici, BaMn</td>
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<td><em>Pescatori a lenza siamo</em>, M. da Prato, BaG</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pace guerra, guerra e pace</em>, G. dal Bianco, BaG</td>
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<td>Date...</td>
<td>Incipit/ Poet/Form...</td>
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<td>Gia fummo or non sian piu, N. Macchiavelli</td>
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<td>Donne gentil di gran siam mercanti, G. dal Biano, BaMz</td>
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<td>Contras i venti, il mar, G. dal Bianco, BaG</td>
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### Appendix C. Sources of *Lauda* Contrafacture of Carnival Songs\(^{158}\)

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<td>Ch266</td>
<td><em>Or che fa tu peccatore, Anon.</em></td>
<td><em>Peschatori se voi volete, Anon.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pecator se voi volete, Anon.</em></td>
<td><em>Peschatori se voi volete, Anon.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gall2</td>
<td><em>Chi vuol pace nel suo core, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Ferrivecci e ramivecci, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>L’orazione e sempre buona, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Ferrivecci e ramivecci, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O anima accecata, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Siamo stati in Fiorenza, Giambullari</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jesu, Jesu, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Visin, visin, visin, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Io son quell misero ingrato, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Donne siamo come vedete, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Quant’e grande le bellezza, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Lasse in questo carnasciale, Medici</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pecator, se tutti quanti, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Le cose al contrario vanno, Medici</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O maligno e duro core, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Viva le congregazione, Marzochino</em></td>
<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>Chi non ha l’amor di Dio, Boccia</em></td>
<td><em>Giovanni mandati siano, Anon.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Se vogliam grazia impetrare, Marzochino</em></td>
<td><em>(Canzona dell’alloro), Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Deh merce Jesu amore, Boccia</em></td>
<td><em>Deh merce crudele amore, Anon.</em></td>
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<td><em>Peccatori ad una voce, Tornabuoni</em></td>
<td><em>(Canzona di Bardaccio), Anon.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gall3</td>
<td><em>l’orazione e sempre buona, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Ferrivecci, e ramivecci, Anon.</em></td>
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<td><em>O anima accecata, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Siamo stati in Fiorenza, Giambullari</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jesu, Jesu, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Visin, visin, visin, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Io son quell misero ingrato, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Donne siamo come vedete, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Quant’e grande le bellezza, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Lasse in questo carnasciale, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pecator, se tutti quanti, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Le cose al contrario vanno, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O maligno e duro core, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</em></td>
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<td><em>Viva le congregazione, Marzochino</em></td>
<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><em>Chi non ha l’amor di Dio, Boccia</em></td>
<td><em>Giovanni mandati siano, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Se vogliam grazia impetrare, Marzochino</em></td>
<td><em>(Canzona dell’alloro), Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Deh merce Jesu amore, Boccia</em></td>
<td><em>Deh merce crudele amore, Anon.</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>Peccatori ad una voce, Tornabuoni</em></td>
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<td><em>Siamo stati in Fiorenza, Giambullari</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gall4</td>
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<td><em>Ferrivecci, e ramivecci, Anon.</em></td>
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<td><em>O anima accecata, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Siamo stati in Fiorenza, Giambullari</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jesu, Jesu, Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>Visin, visin, visin, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Io son quell misero ingrato, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Donne siamo come vedete, Medici</em></td>
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<td><em>Peccator, se tutti quanti, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Le cose al contrario vanno, Medici</em></td>
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<td><em>O maligno e duro core, Medici</em></td>
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<td><em>Viva le congregazione, Marzochino</em></td>
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<td><em>Chi non ha l’amor di Dio, Boccia</em></td>
<td><em>Giovanni mandati siano, Anon.</em></td>
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<td><em>Quan’t e bella giovananza, Medici</em></td>
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<td><em>Berricuoli donne e confortini, Medici</em></td>
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<td><em>Non fu ma più dolce amore, Castellani</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ricorriamo a te Maria, Anon.</em></td>
<td><em>Le cose al contrario vanno, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ave Maria stella mutatina, Anon.</em></td>
<td><em>Le cose al contrario vanno, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O Maria Magdalenae dolce, Anon.</em></td>
<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Siam con somma riverenza, Giambullari</em></td>
<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dall’alta stella disces’ in terra, Medici</em></td>
<td><em>Dalla alta stella discende, Medici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Molto piu Guerra che pace, Pallaio</em></td>
<td><em>Pace Guerra, Guerra e pace, del Bianco</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{158}\) Entries listed in bold represent contrafacture that are indicated for the first time, entries with a star next to them are contrafacture where the music or text does not survive. Entries listed in normal font are those that are repetitions from earlier sources.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source...</th>
<th>Lauda Incipit/Poet...</th>
<th>Carnival Song Incipit/Poet...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>Gia fummo eletti ed or siamo piu, Anon.</td>
<td>Gia fummo or non siamo piu, Macchiavelli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deh torna omai pecorella, Castellani</td>
<td>Donne gentil di gran siamo, del Bianco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiuta, aiuta quegli, Giambullari</td>
<td>Al gufo, al gufo uccelli, Giambullari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualunque el mondo spreza, Anon.</td>
<td>Al gufo, al gufo uccelli, Giambullari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su, su cari fratelli, Anon.</td>
<td>Al gufo, al gufo uccelli, Giambullari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alla morte orrenda e scura, Castellani</td>
<td>Temporal fuor di natura, Anon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peccatori Maria noi siamo, Pandolfini</td>
<td>Temporal fuor di natura, Anon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temeraria creatura, Giambullari</td>
<td>Temporal fuor di natura, Anon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viva, viva in contrizione, Giambullari</td>
<td>Viva, viva la ragione, Anon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deh volgete ogn’un l’affetto, Anon.*</td>
<td>Deh porgete un po’ gli occhi, Anon.*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gia fummo or non siamo piu, Anon.*</td>
<td>Le nocciole, Anon.*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noi siamo tutti peccatori, Anon.*</td>
<td>Quanti martir vergin egli, Anon.*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questa e quella croce grande, Anon.*</td>
<td>Queste donne un arbor grande, Anon.*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noi siamo tutti peccatori, Anon.*</td>
<td>Agli uccelli, donne, agli uelli, Anon*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Che si sentissi offesa, Giambullari*</td>
<td>(Canzone della gelosia), Anon*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peccatori ad una voce, Tornabuoni*</td>
<td>(Canzone dell’insalata), Tornabuoni*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pal120</td>
<td>O peccatore, io sono Dio eterno, Medici</td>
<td>Lasse in questo carniaciale, Medici.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l’orazione e sempre buona, Belcari*</td>
<td>Canzona de’ panollini, Anon.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Con desiderio io vo cercano, Anon.*</td>
<td>Ma si debba desesperare, Anon.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs424H</td>
<td>Da poi che nato e il sol, Castellani*</td>
<td>Come d’un sol color, Ottonaio*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dal sommo cielo el verbo eterno, Castellani</td>
<td>Sybille sian di pudicitia ornate, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dall’alta stella discè in terra, Medici</td>
<td>Dalla alta piu stella discende, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, Belcari</td>
<td>Visin, visin, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O maligno e duro core, Medici</td>
<td>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alla morte orrenda e scura, Castellani</td>
<td>Temporal fuor di natura, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R196H</td>
<td>Guerra e pace, pace e Guerra, Castellani</td>
<td>Face Guerra, Guerra e pace, del Bianco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peregrin tutti in questo mondo, Castellani</td>
<td>Anime siano ch’a l’inferno tapine, Boccia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ah bel fonte sacro, Castellani</td>
<td>Noi siamo donne, cacciatore, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolor pianto e penitenza grida, Castellani</td>
<td>Dolor pianto e penitenza, Castellani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duolli e pianiag tua fallenza, Anon.</td>
<td>Dolor pianto e penitenza, Castellani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madre del redemptor vergine, Castellani</td>
<td>Donne per elezione e per natura, Bientina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al vaglio, al vaglio, Castellani</td>
<td>Al vaglio, al vaglio, al valgio, Fr. Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madre del redemptor vergine, Castellani</td>
<td>Colui che da legge alla natura, Nardi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Venite peccatori cercando andiamo, Anon.</td>
<td>Contrar’i venti, il mar, del Bianco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anime sante e gloriose siano, Castellani</td>
<td>Donne, galanti sempre state, Giuggiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Venite peccatori cercando andiamo, Anon.</td>
<td>Contrar’i venti, il mar, del Bianco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L’anima e quell ache e grata, Anon.</td>
<td>L’abito, donne l’effigie, Bientina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chi non si struggie nel divino amore, Anon.</td>
<td>Del qualche carita, Giuggiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L’anima e quell ache e grata, Anon.</td>
<td>L’abito donne, l’effigie, Bientina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L’anima e quell ache e grata, Anon.</td>
<td>Poiche visto ’l tempo abbian, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quel primo excels ben somma, Anon.</td>
<td>Quel primo eterno amore, Ottonaio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vergine gloriosa in ciel beata, Anon.*</td>
<td>La gran memoria dell’ eta passata, Nardi*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per non trovare il piu sciuro, Anon.*</td>
<td>Per non trovar la piu sciura fede, Ottonaio*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quel creator delle cose... luce, Anon.*</td>
<td>Quel creator delle cose...vite, Alamanni*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gloriosa madonna, alta regina, Anon.*</td>
<td>Se la grazia del ciel sopra voi, Anon.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source...</td>
<td>Lauda Incipit/Poet...</td>
<td>Carnival Song Incipit/Poet...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferr84</td>
<td>Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, Belcari</td>
<td>Visin, visin, visin, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dalla piu alta stella, L. Medici/Anon?</em></td>
<td><em>no link</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Peccatori Maria noi siamo, C. Pandolfini</em></td>
<td><em>no link</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>L’oratione e sempre buona, F. Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>no link</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Quanto e grande la bellezza, L. Medici</em></td>
<td><em>no link</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>S i pensassi a piacer del paradiso, F. Belcari</em></td>
<td><em>no link/with music</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Amor che in terra il tuo amor mandasti, A. Bettini</em></td>
<td><em>no link</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ogni giorno tu mi di, Castellani</td>
<td><em>no link/with music</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M365</td>
<td>Chi non ama te Maria, Beniveni</td>
<td>Giovanni mandati siano, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Peccatori Maria noi siamo, Pandolfini</em></td>
<td>Pescatori a lenza siamo, da Prato??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ome, ome quanto misero, Landini</em></td>
<td>Tambur, tambur, Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anime afflitte e tribolate, Castellani</td>
<td>Anime siano ch’a l’inferno tapine, Boccia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dia laude ogni mortale, Anon.</em></td>
<td>Donne per elezione e per natura, Bientina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S’i pensassi Jesu al dolce amore, Anon.</td>
<td>Donne per elezione e per natura, Bientina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amor che ’n terra il tuo amor, Bettini</td>
<td>Amor che’ n terra ogni timore, Ottonao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L’amor divin, ch’ognaltro amor, Anon.</td>
<td>Amor che’ n terra ogni timore, Ottonao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Poverta, fatiche stenti santo, Poggibonzi</em></td>
<td>Caritate amore dei, Giuggiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ricchi sian, lieti, e contenti, Anon.</em></td>
<td>Caritate amore dei, Giuggiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Spiriti sian sempre gaudenti, Razzi</em></td>
<td>Caritate amore dei, Giuggiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Giu nelle infernal grotte, Anon</td>
<td>D'all infelice grotte, Giuggiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Come d’un sol color son nostri, Fabroni</em></td>
<td><em>Come d’un sol color, Ottonao</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Vedete oggi Maria che va, Anon.</em></td>
<td><em>Come d’un sol color, Ottonao</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Serve sian del buon Jesu, Anon.</em></td>
<td><em>Lanzi maestri di trombone, Ottonao</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razzi</td>
<td>O anima acceccata, Belcari</td>
<td>Siamo stati in Fiorenza, Giambullari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, Belcari</td>
<td>Visin, visin, visin, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Quant’ e grande la bellezza, Medici</em></td>
<td>‘Quant’e bella giovanezza,’ Medici.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O maligno e duro core, Medici</em></td>
<td>Siam galanti di Valencia, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dall’alta stella disces’in terra, Medici</em></td>
<td>Dalla alta piu stella discende, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chi non ama te Maria, Beniveni</td>
<td>Giovanni mandati siano, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Peccatori Maria noi siamo, Pandolfini</em></td>
<td>Pescatori a lenza siamo, da Prato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Guerra e pace, pace e Guerra, Castellani</em></td>
<td><em>Pace Guerra, Guerra e pace, del Bianco</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dolor pianto e penitenza, Castellani</em></td>
<td><em>no link, sacred Carnival song?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amor che ’n terra il tuo amor, Bettini</td>
<td>Amor che’ n terra ogni timore, Ottonao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Spiriti sian sempre gaudenti, Razzi</em></td>
<td><em>Sacred Carnival Song</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alla morte orrenda e scura, Castellani</td>
<td>Temporal fuor di natura, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madre de peccatori, Anon.</td>
<td>Berricuoli, donne, e confortini, Medici</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ogni giorno tu mi di, Castellani</em></td>
<td><em>Franza, Franza, viva Franza, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Quant’e grande le ballezza, Medici</em></td>
<td>Quant’e bella giovanezza, Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vergine santa, gloriosa e degna, Poliziano</td>
<td><em>Ne piu bella di questa, Anon.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viva, viva in orazione, Anon.</td>
<td>Viva, viva la ragione, Anon.,??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>S’i pensassi a piacer del paradiso, Belcari</em></td>
<td>Donne per elezione e per natura, Bientina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D. Carnival Contrafacture in Sources of Contrafacture Compiled between 1500 and 1530

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carnival Song/Poet/Voice #</th>
<th>Incipit of Lauda</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Al gufo, al gufo uccegli</em>, Giambullari, 4vv.</td>
<td><em>Aiuta, aiuta quegli</em>, Giambullari</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualunche el mondo spreza, Anon.</td>
<td>Su, su cari fratelli, Anon.</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Anime siano ch’al inferno tapeine</em>, Boccia, 3vv.</td>
<td><em>Peregrin tutti in questo mondo</em>, Castellani</td>
<td>R196H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Berriucocoli, donne, e confortini</em>, L. de’ Medici, 4vv.</td>
<td><em>Chi vuol Jesu fruir con tutto</em></td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dolor pianto e penitenza</em>, Castellani, 4vv.</td>
<td><em>Dolor pianto e penitenza grida</em>, Castellani</td>
<td>R196H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Donne per eletione e per natura</em>, Bientina, 4vv.</td>
<td><em>Duoli e piangi tua fallenza</em>, Anon.</td>
<td>R196H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Deh qualche carita a noi meschine</em>, Giuggiola, 4vv.</td>
<td><em>Chi non si struggie nel divino amore</em>, Anon.</td>
<td>R196H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Donne gentil di gran siam mercantati</em>, dal Bianco, 2vv.</td>
<td><em>Deh torna omai pecorella</em>, Castellani</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Franza, Franza, viva Franza</em>, Anon., 3vv.</td>
<td><em>Non fu mai piu dolce amore</em>, Castellani</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gia fummo or non siano piu</em>, Macchiavelli, 4vv.</td>
<td><em>Gia fummo eletti ed or siam piu</em>, Anon.</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Le cose al contrario vanno</em>, Medici, frag.</td>
<td>Riccoriamo a te, Maria, Anon.</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pace Guerra, Guerra e Pace</em>, dal Bianco, 4vv.</td>
<td><em>Molto piu Guerra che pace</em>, Pallaio</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Siam galanti di Valencia</em>, L. de’ Medici, 3vv.</td>
<td><em>O Maria, Maddalena dolce</em>, Anon.160</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

159 The earliest source that contains the contrafacture indication to the carnival song.
160 This poem is written in a different poetic form, the Quatrain.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carnival Song/Poet/Voice #...</th>
<th>Incipit of Lauda...</th>
<th>Source...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siam con somma riverenza, B. Giambullari</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal fuor fì natura, Anon., 4vv.</td>
<td>Alla morte orrenda e scura, Castellani</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peccatori Maria noi siamo, Pandolfini</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperaria creatura, Giambullari</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viva, viva la ragione, Anon., 3vv.</td>
<td>Viva, viva in contrizione, Giambullari</td>
<td>Gall4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix E. Carnival Contrafacture in Razzi’s 1563 Libro primo [...]  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Incipit/Poet</th>
<th>Model/Poet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>O anima accecata, F. Belcari, 2vv.</td>
<td>Siamo stati in Fiorenza, B. Giambullari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46v</td>
<td>O anima accecata, Anon, 2vv.</td>
<td>O anima accecata, F. Belcari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, F. Belcari, 2vv.</td>
<td>Visin, visin, visin, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Spiriti sian sempre, F. Belcari, 3vv.</td>
<td>*not contrafacture, only indicated as such in M365.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Ogni giorno tu mi di, C. Castellani, 2vv.</td>
<td>Franza, Franza, viva Franza, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Quant’e grande la bellezza, L. de’ Medici, 3vv.</td>
<td>Lasse in questo carnasciale, L. de’ Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>O maligno et duo core, L. de’ Medici, 3vv.</td>
<td>Siam galanti di Valencia, L. de’ Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Dall alta stella disces’ in terra, L. de’ Medici, 4vv.</td>
<td>Dalla alta piu stella discende, A. da Bibbiena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Chi non ama te, Maria, G. Benvieni, 2vv.</td>
<td>Giovanni mandati siano, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Vergine santa, gloriosa e degna, A. Poliziano, 4vv.</td>
<td>Ne piu bella di queste, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Peccatori Maria noi siamo, C. Pandolfini, 3vv.</td>
<td>Pescatori a lenza siamo, M. da Prato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Molto piu Guerra che pace, S. Pallaio, 4vv.</td>
<td>Pace Guerra, Geurra e pace, G. dal Bianco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Viva, viva in oratione, Anon., 3vv.</td>
<td>Viva, viva la ragione, Anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Dolor pianto e pentienza grida, C. Castellani</td>
<td>Not indicated as contrafacture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>S’i pensassi a’ piacer del paradiso, F. Belcari, 4vv.</td>
<td>Donne per eletione, J. da Bientina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Amor che ’n terra il tuo amore, A. Bettini, 4vv.</td>
<td>Amore che ’n terra ogni timore, G. dell’Ottonaio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Poverta fatiche stenti santo, B. da Poggibonzi, 2vv.</td>
<td>Caritate amore dei, G. Giuggiola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Peccatori Maria noi siamo, C. Pandolfini, 3vv.</td>
<td>Temporal fuor di natura, Anon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>