

Bolognese ‘Orations’ Between Song and Silence: The *Laude* of the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Morte

Gioia Filocamo

Summary: *The flagellant confraternity of “Santa Maria della Morte” (Saint Mary of Death) in Bologna, established in 1336, was the first institution to systematically take care of the spiritual needs of those sentenced to death. This charitable activity, highly professionalized, followed a set of prescriptive procedures described in the confraternity’s manual, which has come down to us in several manuscript copies. In twelve of these copies, compiled between the late fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the manual is accompanied by “orations” or lauds (laude), giving us a body of 211 poems traditionally sung on specific occasions as indicated in the confraternity’s ancient statutes, including when accompanying the condemned to the gallows. The lack of documented musical references on the alleged performance of these laude leads us to alternative considerations: perhaps the lauds were also used as “orations” for silent prayer, especially formative and helpful for the very pragmatic comforters who were members of the city’s various trade guilds (Arti), active arbiters of civic welfare—at least until the second half of the sixteenth century, when the social composition of the confraternity became an agent and expression of the city’s oligarchy.*

“Fathers and brothers, I do not need *this constant noise in my ears* that offends me so much. I have little time left. Please be silent so that I might confess, for this singing of yours does not help me.”¹ Such is the curious request of Pietro Paolo Boscoli, executed in Florence on 23 February 1513 for having conspired against three members of the Medici family recently returned from exile and now in power.² He did *not* want to be

¹ “Padri e fratelli, io non ho bisogno di *cotesto romor negli orecchi* che mi offende assai. I’ ho poco tempo. Siate contenti star cheti acciò ch’io mi possa confessare, ché cotesto vostro cantare a me non giova.” Della Robbia, *La condanna a morte di Pietro Paolo Boscoli*, p. 46. Emphasis added.

² The three Medici were Giuliano di Lorenzo (1479–1516), Lorenzo di Piero (1492–1519), and Giulio di Giuliano (1478–1534). The first two were respectively son and grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent while the third was the illegitimate son of his brother, Giuliano, who was assassinated in the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478. Giulio would eventually rise to

distracted by the singing of the “penitential psalms” by the members of the Compagnia dei Neri (the Confraternity of the Blacks) assigned with the task of helping him deal with his immediate death;³ he prefers silence and the private dimension of confession.

But what is the origin of this practice of having laymen in confraternities assist the condemned to put their soul at peace in the last hours before their execution? This charitable activity originated not in Florence, but in Bologna, where the first “comforting confraternity” was founded for the purpose of helping the condemned come to term with their fate and attain spiritual peace: the Confraternita dei Battuti di S. Maria della Morte (the Flagellant Confraternity of St Mary of Death), officially established on 13 July 1336.

Among early modern cities, Bologna is probably the one in which the link between charity, religion, and politics was tightest and where the religious practices of the laity were truly able to establish themselves and carve out a space within clerical culture. Civic charity, organized and carried out typically by lay people in order to address local social problems, was able, here better than elsewhere, to maintain a special degree of autonomy from the central government.⁴ In its efforts to assist prisoners condemned to death, but also other forms of charitable activity, Bologna was at the forefront of other Italian cities.

The assistance the Bolognese offered to prisoners condemned to death was structured in a highly professional manner. It provided a specific course of action for the acquisition of necessary skills, including

become Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–34). Niccolò Machiavelli was also among those arrested, but was released after nearly four weeks in prison (and under torture) in the amnesty proclaimed on the election of Lorenzo’s youngest son, cardinal Giovanni de’ Medici, as Pope Leo X (el. 11 March 1513). Eventually, the only conspirators executed in Florence were Boscoli and the arrogantly defiant Agostino Capponi.

³ His friend Luca Della Robbia, who described how the Neri comforted Boscoli, was allowed to be present during the comforting; he writes: “I diligently noted of all his words and the questions and answers and retained them in my memory. And so that such a great example of fortitude and spiritual strength should not be lost, after the injury made to such a good, noble, and generous citizen, about 32 years young, blonde and handsome and of genteel appearance, but short-sighted, so that, as I say, it should not be forgotten, I wrote down all that was said that night.” The philological reliability of the document is undermined by the fact that the twelve manuscripts that contain it are all from a century after the fact; see Frazier, “Luca della Robbia’s Narrative,” 295 and 324.

⁴ See, for example, Terpstra’s research into orphan care in early modern Bologna and Florence in his *Abandoned Children* and in “Culture di carità e culture di governo cittadino.” Basically, the institutional organizations that looked after care for orphans in the two cities were structured along the lines of confraternities, but were differentiated by the use of a wide and representative “collegial” model (Bologna) and a more restricted and centralized “congregational” model (Florence) that was in line with each city’s government typology.

an internship, and was highly formalized.⁵ A careful reading of the specially prepared comforting manual (*confortatòrio*) allows us to grasp the profound sense of responsibility and firm commitment that motivated the Bolognese comforters.⁶

considera bene che in questo acto tu doventi mercadante del cielo, ciòè che tu guadagni a Dio, mediante sempre la sua gratia, mercadantia nova, ciòè l'anima del tuo fratello, et bene a te se a questo potrai arivare.

(remember that by doing this act you become a merchant of heaven, that is, you gain for God, always by his grace, new merchandise—that is, the soul of your brother. And good for you if you manage this.)⁷

The work reveals a profound sense of responsibility seasoned with the healthy pragmatism of the merchants belonging to the city guilds and listed in the oldest membership roll (*Matricola*) of the Confraternita della Morte.⁸ This is the same pragmatism that motivates the handwritten additions to the *orationi* or lauds in the comforters' manuals.

There is a total of 211 such *laude* extant—some quite old, others specially composed, some in the form of paraphrases of prayers or sacred texts, others clearly “theatrical” as well as infinitely long. In my recent doctoral thesis, I have been able to reconstruct the entire body of Bolognese lauds and raise questions on the meaning of this overwhelming presence.⁹ This body of lauds is to be seen as a veritable document from

⁵ Some of the documents of the Bolognese Scuola dei Confortatori can be found in: section IX of the Archivio Consorziale del clero urbano di Bologna; the fond Scuola dei Confortatori of the Archivio Generale Arcivescovile di Bologna (10 collections from the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries); in the Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Bologna; and in the Fondo Ospedali of the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio. See Fanti, *L'Archivio Consorziale*, 15 and 73 note 15.

⁶ The manual is available in published form in both Italian and in English translation; see Troiano, “Il Manuale quattrocentesco” and Das “The Bologna Comforters' Manual.”

⁷ Troiano, “Il Manuale quattrocentesco,” 367; translation from Das, “The Bologna Comforters' Manual,” 193.

⁸ The 1393 *Matricola* (Bologna, BCAB, Fondo Ospedali, MS 40) was kept up-to-date for about 20 years. A more recent *Matricola* dates from 1555 (Bologna, BCAB, Fondo Ospedali, MS 41). Both are available online (together with other manuscripts from the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Morte and the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita, at <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/books/ospedali/> (accessed 5 September 2016).

⁹ Filocamo, “*Orationi al cepo ovvero a la scala*.” The thesis includes a transcription of all the texts except for 49 lauds contained in Troiano (ed.), *Il Laudario di S. Maria della Morte di*

which to extrapolate the fears, feelings, ethical views, beliefs, and ideals of its users. Fostered by Mendicant devotions and blossoming in the second half of the thirteenth century as an extra-liturgical text either in Latin or in the vernacular, the *lauda* “is the only form of vernacular poetry that, born as a song to be sung, remained so [with inevitable formal variations] until its heyday as the *lauda filippina* in the second half of the sixteenth century.”¹⁰ The earliest *laude* were monophonic, but in the fourteenth century polyphony enters the scene and the two modes continue in parallel. The text, instead, adopts the form of the *ballata* (ballad), mostly in *ottonari* (generally speaking, octosyllabic verses), still very popular throughout the fifteenth century, and then, over time, begins to use other strophic schemes.

No fifteenth-century *musical laudario* has come down to us. The polyphonic *laude* that have survived are all scattered in a few manuscripts that contain musical miscellanies consisting of a variety of works.¹¹ In many textual sources, however, there are quite a lot of *laude* that bear the instruction “cantasi come” (to be sung like) followed by the first verse of another *lauda* or song. This highly “economic” system allowed for the re-use of a musical setting for a previous circulating text. The direction “cantasi come” referred to well known musical pieces, either secular or religious, whose target text displayed either a textual or a formal similarity with the original text.¹² I have elsewhere suggested a possible rationale for the substitution of fifteenth-century secular texts that lend their music to devotional texts, because it seems (to me, at least) that the transfer did

Bologna, which is based on one of the confraternity manuscripts: New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 1069, available online at <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3436143> (accessed 5 September 2016).

¹⁰ Cattin, “Il Quattrocento,” 313. The reference to *lauda filippina* refers to the polyphonic *laude* used in Rome in the context of devotional spirituality fostered by St Philip Neri (1515–1595). The earliest documents containing *laude* date from the first half of the thirteenth century and do not include their music; Cattin, *La monodia nel Medioevo*, 176. The earliest document that has both the text and the music is MS 91 in the Biblioteca del Comune e dell’Accademia Etrusca di Cortona; 46 of its 65 *laude* include the music. The various complete editions of the music are listed in Gozzi, “Sulla necessità di una nuova edizione del *laudario* di Cortona,” 154. The texts are published in Varanini et al. (eds.), *Laudae cortonesi*, vol. 1. A philological examination of the entire tradition of these texts is included in Guarnieri (ed.), *Laudario di Cortona*. See also the facsimile Gozzi and Zimei (eds.), *Il Laudario di Cortona*.

¹¹ The three most important sources for polyphonic *laude* are MS Grey 3.b.12 at the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town, MS Panciaticchi 27 at the BNCF, and MS Rés. Vm.7 676 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.

¹² The system made use even of northern-European *chansons* that were known in fifteenth-century Florentine *laude*; see Wilson, “‘Hora mai sono in età,’” 284.

not take place for purely formal reasons.¹³ In the case of the lauds, it is also possible that the very old practice of musical replacement might have fulfilled not only an economic need in musical material, but also to the desire to incorporate the secular world of the original.¹⁴ The function of the *laude*, therefore, was not to deny this earthly world, but instead to absorb it and leave only a sound resonance of it on its consumers, that is, leave only the music. In this manner, the 'sacrifice' carried out in abandoning the secular world to embrace the sacred could prove to be much more significant.

The fundamental reasons that pushed many early modern lay persons to assist those who were about to die are fascinating in themselves.¹⁵ The entire comforting process was nourished with the appropriate physical and spiritual sustenance:¹⁶ the comforters "took possession of the prisoner"¹⁷ and created for him a "sensory cocoon",¹⁸ a protective and impermeable shell consisting of various sensory stimuli (visual, auditory, olfactory) that were meant to isolate him from his previous social and mental environment and direct him, instead, without any distractions, towards the imminent parallel spiritual world of Paradise and nothing else.¹⁹ Without a doubt, the large body of *laude* connected to Bolognese comforters were part of this "work project", but what is rather surprising to note is the absolute absence of any clear references to the performance of these *laude* or any collateral musical reference that might instruct the brothers on how to sing them.

The *laude* of the Bolognese comforters are spread over twelve manuscripts, all but three in Bologna, as follows:

Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, MSS 157, 401, 528, 702, 858,
3763;

¹³ See Filocamo, "To the Madonna, Jesus, or God?" In various cases it has been established, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that from the middle to the end of the fifteenth century the link between formal similarity of the secular and the devotional texts becomes very loose; see Cattin, "'Contrafacta' internazionali," 414.

¹⁴ See Filocamo, "To the Madonna, Jesus, or God?" 40.

¹⁵ See Filocamo, "Through the 'mala notte'."

¹⁶ Confraternity brothers also looked after the condemned man's last meal and other material needs, including the drafting of a last will.

¹⁷ Terpstra, "Body Politics," 20.

¹⁸ Terpstra, "Body Politics."

¹⁹ Only once does the comforters' manual mentions the *pene purgatorie* (pains of Purgatory) to be expected by the sinful soul; see Troiano, "Il Manuale quattrocentesco," 374; Das, "The Bologna Comforters' Manual," 199. For the person about to be executed, the idea of being a new Dismas (the "Good Thief") whom Jesus was waiting for in heaven was thought to ease the anguish of the death; on this, see Merback, *The Thief*, and Klapisch-Zuber, "Il Buon Ladro."

Archivio Generale Arcivescovile di Bologna, Archivio Consorziale del clero urbano, MS IX.B.1;
 Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Bologna, MSS 4824 and 4880;
 Istituzione Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna, MS 464;
 Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven (CT), MS 1069;
 Morgan Library & Museum (formerly The Pierpont Morgan Library), New York (NY), MS Morgan 188.²⁰

Except for MS 401 of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, which dates from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the other eleven manuscripts are datable to the second half of the fifteenth century / early sixteenth century. Only a faint internal mark in the *laudario* suggests its eventual musical performance: the rubric “Coro” (choir) placed at the head of the only *lauda* in MS 528 of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (“O summo redemptore eterno Idio,” fol. 57^r)—nothing more. This is very surprising when one considers that the two hundred plus *laude* are found in the volumes that contain the confraternity’s manual, so richly detailed even down to the description of the gestures and behaviour the comforters should engage in.²¹

The fact that there are practically no instructions for performance in a repertory of texts especially composed to be sung is perplexing. In truth, there are also no indications at all touching on the specific occasions when these *laude* were to be sung, but here the confraternity’s older statutes come to our assistance, especially those from the late fourteenth century and those from the early sixteenth century.²² They mention, here and there, precise occasions when confraternity members were authorized by the Prior to sing *lode* or *laude*: when accompanying a person to the gallows and on the way back to the confraternity,²³ on major feast days,²⁴ after Mass on the last Sunday of every month in the Church

²⁰ The Morgan manuscript was stolen in the 1880s from the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, where it was numbered MS 703. It lacks the folios containing the more than 70 *laude* listed in the surviving table of contents (they were removed centuries ago); only one *lauda* remains in it, “Iesù, spiandore de la prima luce,” at bk. 1, fols. 36^v–37^r.

²¹ The only exception is BUB, MS 401, which does not have the comforters’ manual in it.

²² The parchment manuscript containing the oldest statutes is in a private collection. It contains two sets of statutes bound together; the first is datable to 1522, the second to ca. 1393. The volume was included in the exhibition *Tra la Vita e la Morte. Due confraternite bolognesi tra Medioevo e Età Moderna*, mounted inside the Lapidario of the Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna (12 December 2015–28 March 2016); this was the first time it was ever seen by the public. Its contents are described in Fanti, “Un nuovo codice.” The statutes of 1562 (MS Fondo Ospedali 42, BCAB) do not have anything on the performance of the *laude*.

²³ Statutes of ca. 1393, fol. 1^v and § 20, fol. 11^v; statutes of 1522, fols. 2^v and 18^v.

²⁴ Statutes of ca. 1393, § 3, fol. 4^r.

of St John the Baptist, on the market field,²⁵ during the brothers' self-flagellation,²⁶ on the feast days of All Saints and of All Souls.²⁷ We do not know, however, *which laude* were performed on these occasions, or *how* they were sung; the references in the statutes do not provide any specific incipits nor do they indicate what sort of *lauda* might be sung on a given occasion. One might perhaps infer from this that there was complete freedom of choice in this regard.

My research on musical indications to be found in the *laude* of the Bolognese comforters has, however, produced some results from other sources and repertoires. What follows is a summary, with no pretensions of completeness, that might indicate the type of results, though meagre, that were obtained (eleven in total).²⁸

- 1) ***Alma che cerchi pace in fra la guerra*** (moralizing sonnet by Feo Belcari).
 "Cantasi come" *Madre che festi*, in BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VII.367 fol. 31^r.
 For the intonation of *Madre che festi* (assuming it is *Madre che festi colui che ti fece*) see below.
- 2) ***Anima benedecta*** (*ballata maggiore in settenari* [septenaries] with invocations to the soul, perhaps attributable to Leonardo Giustinian).²⁹
 "Cantasi come" *O Virgine Maria* and *Donna questi lamenti*. Both incipits are listed in *Laude facte et composte da più persone spirituali*, fols. CXXVIII^r–CXXIX^r.
- 3) ***Anima Christi, sanctifica me*** (traditional non liturgical Latin prayer, author unknown, to be recited after communion; bestowed with indulgences by Pope John XXII in 1330, it was then incorporated in Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* printed in 1548).

²⁵ Statutes of ca. 1393, § 3, fol. 4^v; statutes of 1522, fol. 6^r.

²⁶ Statutes of 1522, fol. 19^r.

²⁷ Statutes of ca. 1393, § 32, fol. 14^r; statutes of 1522, fol. 23^r.

²⁸ The spelling of the incipits that follow adheres to the forms and norms I outlined in my "Orationi al cepo ovvero a la scala."

²⁹ Attributions to Leonardo Giustinian are always very problematic for the well-known tendency to far-too-easily attribute sacred or secular texts to him. Francesco Luisi's attempt to construct a *laudario* of Giustinian's texts (see Luisi (ed.), *Laudario giustiniano*) raised a lot of questions from Jonathan Glixon, who challenged the basic criteria used (see Glixon's review of this work in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*).

The text in the Confraternity's books is influenced by the Italian vernacular, is enriched with adjectives, and contains two verses that are absent in commonly circulating versions of the prayer. There are four musical versions of the prayer extant (two are anonymous, two are attributed): in *Laude libro secondo* (1508), fol. 35^v, in four voices;³⁰ at fol. 42^v in four voices;³¹ at fol. 52^v in four voices (with music by Antonet³²);³³ and then in *Motetti de Passione* (1503), fols. 45^v–46^r (with music by the Flemish composer Gaspar van Weerbeke, ca. 1445—post 1516 or 1517).³⁴

- 4) *Ave regina, Virgo gloriosa* (*capitolo ternario*, that is, in tercets by Enselmino di Montebelluna subdivided into a *Prologo* and ten *capitoli*; the very long poem—a *Pianto*—is a heart-wrenching narrative of the Passion of Christ seen from Mary's perspective, who participates in the entire event and intersperses her narrative with various references to the Gospels on the model of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, chapters LXXIX–LXXX).³⁵

There is an anonymous musical version in four voices of the *Prologo* (*Ave regina, Virgo gloriosa*) in BNCF, MS Panciatichi 27, fol. 13^v, with the instruction “cantasi come” *Sofrire son disposto*,³⁶ and a four-voice version by Filippo de Lurano of *Capitolo* 10 (*Ne le tue bracce, o Vergene Maria*) in *Laude libro secondo*, fol. 51^v.³⁷ The *Prologo* and last *Capitolo* are the only two sections in Enselmino's *Pianto* that are not structured as direct dialogue.

- 5) *Chi serve a Dio cum purità di core* (*ballata minore* in *endecasillabi* [eleven-syllable verses], circulating on its own or inserted into Feo Belcari's sacred play *Rappresentazione di Abramo e Isacco* as a song of praise sung by various characters

³⁰ Edited in Jeppesen (ed.), *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude*, n. 36, pp. 58–59.

³¹ Edited in Jeppesen (ed.), *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude*, n. 43, pp. 71–72.

³² As far as I know, there is no plausible identification of this person.

³³ Edited in Jeppesen (ed.), *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude*, n. 54, pp. 93–95.

³⁴ Edited in Petrucci, *Motetti de Passione*, n. 20, pp. 214–217.

³⁵ On these chapters, see Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditationes vite Christi*, pp. 276–289.

³⁶ Edited in Filocamo (ed.), *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi* 27, n. 13, pp. 204–205.

³⁷ Edited in Jeppesen (ed.), *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude*, n. 53, p. 92.

near the end of the play; it praises the absolute separation of body and soul as well as the perfect joy that comes from the practice of virtue).³⁸

"Cantasi come" *O crocifisso che nel ciel dimori* mentioned in Belcari, *Laude* [ca. 1480], sign. b2^v–b3^r.

There is a polyphonic version in three voices in BNCF, MS Panciatichi 27, fol. 20v.³⁹ The version in Ravenna, Classense, MS 464 suggests the presence of the refrain after every stanza and this most probably points to a musical performance of the text.

- 6) *Cum desiderio vo cercando* (ballata maggiore in ottonari and novenari [eight- and nine-syllable verses] by Bianco da Siena, that praises the love for Christ).

There exist two anonymous polyphonic versions in BNCF, MS Panciatichi 27, one in four voices (fol. 20^r)⁴⁰ and one in three voices (fol. 79^r);⁴¹ this last setting is also present in MS Grey 3.b.12 of the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town, fols. 68^v–69^r, *olim* 67^v–68^r.⁴²

- 7) *Madre che fiesti colui che ti fece* (prayer in the form of a litany in praise of Mary, in *quarta rima* [quatrains] perhaps attributable to Leonardo Giustinian).⁴³

Laude facte et composte da più persone spirituali, fols. CXXV–CXXVI^r has an indication for a setting "a modo proprio", but also two "cantasi come": *Iam pris amore [sic]* and *Mon seul plasir [sic]*). There is a polyphonic setting in four voices in Dammonis, *Laude libro primo*, fol. 28^v. The identification of the composer wavers between two possibilities, both in line with the only information offered by the printer, that is, that he is a friar in the Venetian Congregation of San Salvatore: while Luisi favours Innocentius Gasparis de Insula,⁴⁴ Glixon believes him to be Innocentius Natalis de

³⁸ See Newbigin, "Il testo e il contesto dell'"Abramo e Isac" di Feo Belcari."

³⁹ Edited in Filocamo (ed.), *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi 27*, n. 30, pp. 257–260.

⁴⁰ Edited in Filocamo (ed.), *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi 27*, n. 29, pp. 255–256.

⁴¹ Edited in Filocamo (ed.), *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi 27*, n. 114, p. 598.

⁴² Edited in Cattin (ed.), *Italian Laude and Latin Unica*, p. 24.

⁴³ On the attribution of the text, see note 29.

⁴⁴ See Luisi (ed.), *Laudario giustiniano*, vol. 1, pp. 441–445.

Venetii.⁴⁵ Whoever he might be, is still the first composer to be honoured by a printed monographic collection of his own music.

- 8) ***O peccator, te movera' tu mai*** (*ballata minore* in *endecasillabi* [eleven-syllable verses] perhaps attributable to Leonardo Giustinian,⁴⁶ in which Christ urges the sinner to repentance). There is a polyphonic version in four voices in Dammonis, *Laude libro primo*, fols. 47^v–48^r.⁴⁷

- 9) ***Salve regina, o germinante ramo*** (*capitolo quadernario* [in quatrains], perhaps attributable Leonardo Giustinian,⁴⁸ a paraphrase of the *Salve regina*). There is a polyphonic version in four voices in Dammonis, *Laude libro primo*, fols. 33^v–34^r.⁴⁹

10) ***Spirito Sancto d'amore***

This *lauda* is mentioned in the contents page of MS Morgan 188 of the Morgan Library & Museum of New York but is no longer extant in the volume (see note 20 above). The incipit might refer to the *ballata maggiore Spirito Santo, amore / consolatore interno*, perhaps attributable to Leonardo Giustinian,⁵⁰ that is published in *Laude facte et composte da più persone spirituali*, fols. XVI^v–XVIII^r, with the “cantasi come” *e Vangeli della quaresima*. If it were, indeed, this text, there would then be a musical setting for it by Dammonis.⁵¹

- 11) ***Vergine, alta regina*** (*ballata maggiore* in verses of various lengths; prayer to the Madonna by Cristofano di Miniato *ottonaio*).

“Cantasi come” *Galantina morosina* in *Laude facte et composte da più persone spirituali*, fols. CXII^r–CXIII^r.

⁴⁵ See Glixon, “The Polyphonic Laude of Innocentius Dammonis.”

⁴⁶ On the attribution of the text, see note 29.

⁴⁷ Edited in Luisi (ed.), *Laudario giustiniano*, vol. 2, pp. 96–98 and LXV (critical apparatus).

⁴⁸ On the attribution of the text, see note 29.

⁴⁹ Edited in Jeppesen (ed.), *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude*, n. 80, pp. 138–139.

⁵⁰ On the attribution of the text, see note 29.

⁵¹ The work is printed for four voices in Dammonis, *Laude libro primo*, fols. 4^v–5^r, and edited in Luisi (ed.), *Laudario giustiniano*, vol. 2, pp. 128–130 and LXVIII (critical apparatus).

In the end, the absence of explicit references to musical performance in the corpus of fifteenth-century *laude* used by the Confraternita della Morte in Bologna leads me to propose that their use might not, necessarily, have entailed a performance. In fact, I suspect that this enormous pool of texts in verse was, more than anything else, a reservoir of silent, pedagogical, and formative readings both for the comforters and for those (perhaps few) condemned to die who, like the Florentine Pietro Paolo Boscoli, preferred silence and meditation as they were about to take their leave of this earthly world. The many paraphrases of prayers and the many catechetical 'theatrical' texts to be found in the Bolognese *laudario* were certainly of great use and assistance to the brothers in carrying out the confraternity's publicly avowed purpose in the century before the organization would change its social composition and become, in the final decades of the sixteenth century, an oligarchic institution. The *laude* thus served to re-appropriate "lay" religion for the brothers and to allow them to proudly see themselves as major players in the social balance of the city through their management of civic welfare in Quattrocento and early Cinquecento Bologna.

ISTITUTO SUPERIORE DI STUDI MUSICALI "G. BRICCIALDI" DI TERNI

Translated from the Italian by Konrad Eisenbichler

CITED WORKS

Abbreviations

- BCAB = Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna
 BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
 BUB = Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna

Manuscript Sources

- Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio
 Fondo Ospedali, MS 40 "Matricola della Confraternita di S.
 Maria della Morte" (1393)
 Fondo Ospedali, MS 41 "Matricola della Confraternita di S.
 Maria della Morte" (1555)

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
MSS 401, 528

Cape Town, National Library of South Africa
MS Grey 3.b.12

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
MS Panciatichi 27

New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale
University
MS 1069 [online: [http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/
Record/3436143](http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3436143)]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Département de la Musique, MS Rés. Vm.⁷ 676

Private Collection
Statutes of the Confraternita di S. Maria della Morte (ca.
1393)
Statutes of the Confraternita di S. Maria della Morte (1522)

Printed Sources

Belcari, Feo. *Laude di Feo Belcari* [n.p.: n.p, n.d., but Florence: Bartolomeo de' Libri, ca. 1480]. Copy consulted: BNCF, A.5.31.

Boorman, Stanley. *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Cattin, Giulio. "Contrafacta' internazionali: musiche europee per laude italiane." In Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (eds.), *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, 10. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984, pp. 411–442. Reprinted in Giulio Cattin, *Studi sulla lauda offerta all'autore da F. A. Gallo e F. Luisi*, ed. Patrizia Dalla Vecchia. Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 2003, pp. 401–424.

_____. "Il Quattrocento." In Alberto Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana*. Vol. 6, *Teatro, musica, tradizione dei classici*. Turin: Einaudi, 1986, pp. 265–318.

_____. (ed.). *Italian Laude and Latin Unica in MS Capetown, Grey 3.b.12*. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 76. Neuhausen/Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology / Hänssler, 1977.

- _____. *La monodia nel Medioevo*. 'Storia della musica' a cura della Società italiana di Musicologia, 2. Turin: EDT, 1991.
- Dammonis, Innocentius. *Laude libro primo. Curarum dulce lenimen*. Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 7 July 1508.⁵² Copy consulted: Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 12.1.4.
- Das, Sheila. "The Bologna Comforters' Manual." In Nicholas Terpstra (ed.), *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy*. Early Modern Studies, 1. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008, pp. 193–275.
- Della Robbia, Luca. *La condanna a morte di Pietro Paolo Boscoli*, ed. Marco Pacioni. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2012.
- Fanti, Mario (ed.). *L'Archivio Consorziale del clero urbano di Bologna (secoli XI–XX)*. Archivio Generale Arcivescovile—Bologna. Studi e sussidi, 4. Bologna: Costa, 2009.
- _____. "Un nuovo codice statuario (secoli XIV–XVI) della confraternita bolognese di Santa Maria della Morte." In Massimo Medica and Mark Gregory D'Apuzzo (eds.), *Tra la Vita e la Morte. Due confraternite bolognesi tra Medioevo e Età Moderna*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2015, pp. 35–37.
- Filocamo, Gioia (ed.). *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi 27: Text and Context*. Monumenta Musica Europea, II/1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- _____. "*Orationi al cepo ovvero a la scala*": le laude della Confraternita bolognese di S. Maria della Morte. Doctoral thesis, University of Bologna, 2015.
- _____. "Through the 'mala notte': The Anthropology of Assisting Those Condemned to Die in Italy in the 15th and 16th Centuries." In Anne Eusterschulte and Hannah Wälzholz (eds.), *Anthropological Reformations—Anthropology in the Era of Reformation*. Refo500 Academic Studies (R5AS), 28. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, pp. 383–389.
- _____. "To the Madonna, Jesus, or God? Choosing a Lauda Contrafactum Text." *Recercare* 22 (2010): 35–50.
- Frazier, Alison Knowles. "Luca della Robbia's Narrative on the Execution of Pietro Paolo Boscoli and Agostino Capponi." In Nicholas Terpstra (ed.), *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy*. Early Modern Studies, 1. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008, pp. 293–326.
- Glixon, Jonathan. Review of Francesco Luisi (ed.), *Laudario giustiniano*. 2 vols. Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1983. In *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 170–179.

⁵² But perhaps 1506/8; see Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 630–632.

- _____. "The Polyphonic Laude of Innocentius Dammonis." *The Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990): 19–53.
- Gozzi, Marco. "Sulla necessità di una nuova edizione del laudario di Cortona." *Philomusica on-line* 9/2 (2010): 115–174.
- Gozzi, Marco, Francesco Zimei (eds.). *Il Laudario di Cortona: Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca, ms. 91. Venite a laudare*, 1. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2015.
- Guarnieri, Anna Maria (ed.). *Laudario di Cortona*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991.
- Jeppesen, Knud (ed.). *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel / Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1935; reprint Bologna: A.M.I.S., 1971.
- Johannes de Caulibus. *Meditaciones vite Christi olim S. Bonaventuro attributae*, ed. Mary Stallings-Taney. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 153. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. "Il Buon Ladrone: un santo per l'Aldilà." In Isa Lori Sanfilippo and Antonio Rigon (eds.), *Parole e realtà dell'amicizia medievale. Atti del convegno (Ascoli Piceno, Palazzo dei Capitani, 2–4 dicembre 2010)*. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2012, pp. 243–271.
- Laude facte et composte da più persone spirituali [...] Et tutte le infrascripte laude ha raccolto et insieme ridotto Iacopo di maestro Luigi de' Morsi cittadino fiorentino*. Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi, ad istanza di Iacopo de' Morsi, 1 March 1485 [stile fiorentino; modern dating, 1486]. Copy consulted: BNCF, E.6.4.117.
- Laude libro secondo*. Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 11 January 1507 [more veneto; modern dating, 1508]. Copy consulted: Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 12.1.3.
- Luisi, Francesco (ed.). *Laudario giustiniano*. 2 vols. Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1983.
- Merback, Mitchell B. *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Motetti de Passione, de cruce, de sacramento, de Beata Virgine et huiusmodi*. B. Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 10 May 1503. Copy consulted: Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (ex Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale), Q.56 [imperfect].
- Newbigin, Nerida. "Il testo e il contesto dell'«Abramo e Isac» di Feo Belcari." *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 23 (1981): 13–27.
- Petrucci, Ottaviano. *Motetti de Passione, de Cruce, de Sacramento, de Beata Virgine et huiusmodi B*, Venice, 1503, ed. Warren Drake. Monuments of Renaissance Music, 11. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

- Prosperi, Adriano (ed.). *Misericordie: conversioni sotto il patibolo tra Medioevo ed età moderna*. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007.
- Terpstra, Nicholas. *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance. Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- . "Body Politics: The Criminal Body between Public and Private." *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45.1 (2015): 7–52.
- . "Culture di carità e culture di governo cittadino a Bologna e a Firenze nel Rinascimento." In Marina Gazzini (ed.), *Studi confraternali. Orientamenti, problemi, testimonianze*. Florence: Firenze University Press, 2009, pp. 271–289.
- . "Piety and Punishment: The Lay Conforteria and Civic Justice in Sixteenth-Century Bologna." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991): 679–694.
- (ed.). *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy*. Early Modern Studies, 1. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008.
- . "Theory into Practice: Executions, Comforting, and Comforters in Renaissance Italy". In Nicholas Terpstra (ed.), *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy*. Early Modern Studies, 1. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008, pp. 118–158.
- Troiano, Alfredo (ed.). *Il Laudario di S. Maria della Morte di Bologna. Il ms. 1069 della Yale Beinecke Library*. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010.
- . "Il Manuale quattrocentesco della Conforteria di Bologna. Il ms. Morgan 188 della Pierpont Morgan Library (New York)." In Adriano Prosperi (ed.), *Misericordie: conversioni sotto il patibolo tra Medioevo ed età moderna*. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007, pp. 347–479.
- Varanini, Giorgio, Luigi Banfi, and Anna Ceruti Burgio (eds.). *Laude cortonesi dal secolo XIII al XV*. 3 vols. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1981–85.
- Wilson, Blake. "Hora mai sono in età': Savonarola and Music in Laurentian Florence." In Gian Carlo Garfagnini (ed.), *Una città e il suo profeta: Firenze di fronte al Savonarola*. Florence: SISMELE—Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001, pp. 283–309.

Electronic Sources

Biblioteca digitale dell'Archiginnasio. Manoscritti delle Confraternite di Santa Maria della Vita e di Santa Maria della Morte. <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/books/ospedali/>