

## SAGGIO

## Harmonising the Soul: Singing *Laude* for the Devotional Ascent

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This essay discusses the work of Dominican Fra Serafino Razzi (1531–1611) as an advocate for singing for the devotions. While historians recognize Razzi's critical contribution to the *lauda* (devotional songs in Italian) in the publication of his *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* of 1563, less known are Razzi's ideas on the integration of singing within the devotional ascent, in particular, the intention of *laude* singing as preparation for the mystic *visio dei*. Razzi was among the 'most illustrious Dominicans' in sixteenth-century Italy: a learned theologian with a humanist education, a confessor and preacher with a pastoral approach, and a prolific published author, including sermons and devotional manuals. Music occupied him throughout his long, industrious life: Razzi wrote about music, collected *laude*, and created new *laude* via the contrafact process, compiling six books of *laude*. His ideas echo Augustine, Boethius, Aquinas, and mystic Johannes Tauler. Sources for the paper include Razzi's devotional works, sermons, and annotations to various *laude* within his *lauda* collections.

**Keywords:** *lauda* (*laude*), Serafino Razzi, devotional music, devotional manuals, sermons

Fra Serafino Razzi (1531–1611), one of the most illustrious Dominicans of the Cinquecento (Ferretti, 1903, p. vi), served the order as a preacher, theologian, prior, and confessor, the latter mostly to convents of nuns around central Italy.<sup>1</sup> He took the habit in 1549 in Girolamo Savonarola’s church of San Marco in Florence and was ordained in 1556.<sup>2</sup> He studied philosophy and theology for several years at Santa Maria Novella in Florence. An exhaustive researcher with a prodigious memory for detail and knowledge of Latin and Greek, Razzi was a prolific writer, producing more than one hundred books on a broad range of topics, including history, biography, hagiography, poetry, sermons, devotions, metaphysics, commentaries on Pythagoras, Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, and even healthy eating and travel (wherein he documented his own peripatetic life) (Ferretti, 1903, p. viii; Agresti, 1965, p. xci).<sup>3</sup> His devotional works mirror his practical and passionate spirituality, informed by his studies in philosophy and theology, his translating the writings of German Dominican mystic Johannes Tauler (c.1300–1361), and his relationship with the mystic Caterina de’ Ricci (1522–1590), his ‘spiritual mother’ (Razzi, 1594, p. 27)<sup>4</sup>. His *oeuvre* also includes three collections of *laude* devotional songs in Italian. Razzi collected *laude*, created new *laude*, and disseminated them throughout his life. His three collections are: *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali da diversi excell. e divoti autori, antichi e moderni composite*, Giunti, Venice, 1563 (begun when he was a novice), *Santuario di Saudi overo rime spirituali*, Sermartelli, Florence, 1609, plus another collection developed in the 1580s and 1590s left in manuscript, now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in

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<sup>1</sup> The most thorough biographical information on Razzi is in G. M. di Agresti, ‘Profilo biografico’, in G. M. di Agresti (ed.) (1965), *S. Razzi, Vita di Santa Caterina de’ Ricci*, Florence: Olschki, pp. xvii–xxxiv and lxxxix–civ; G. Rotondi (1924), ‘Fra Serafino Razzi e il suo viaggio in Lombardia nel 1572,’ *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 51, pp. 186–189; and Ferretti L. (1903). ‘Appunti Biografici’, pp. vi–lii. This brief biography is drawn from those three publications. P. Macey (1998). *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola’s Musical Legacy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 135–137, presents a biography in English.

<sup>2</sup> Without explanation, Agresti has the year 1558.

<sup>3</sup> Agresti (1903, pp. cv–cxxxiv) provides a bibliography of Razzi’s published and manuscript writings.

<sup>4</sup> Serafino Razzi describes witnessing one of Ricci’s mystical ecstasies while he was a novice.

Florence. In total, his three collections contain about four hundred unique songs, for which Razzi himself is the text author most represented.

As a genre, the non-liturgical *lauda* was established within the religious renewal of the fourteenth century, associated with the mendicant orders; eventually, *laude* were sung for, and by the religious and laity in both monophonic and polyphonic versions, establishing traditions in Venetian confraternities, in the courts of Mantua and Ferrara, and among the laity and religious in Florence.<sup>5</sup> Many *laude* by Razzi and others were created by replacing the text of an existing song, secular or sacred, with new words, thus creating a contrafact; these new texts were often disseminated with the phrase *cantasi come*, or ‘sing like,’ plus the title of an existing song.<sup>6</sup> Razzi’s *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali*, the first printed *lauda* book in decades, transmits earlier works that had existed only in manuscript, among them *laude* by Savonarola, and provides the music for *laude* otherwise known only by their texts. Razzi’s collections transmit annotations and subtitles for the *laude* transmitted within, increasing understanding of their use in processions, *sacre rappresentazioni*, and other devotional activities, including for ‘contemplation.’ Individual *laude* are identified specifically for contemplation. ‘Benigno il mio Giesù,’ for example, was composed for the sisters at Santa Caterina da Siena for contemplation, according to its annotation.<sup>7</sup> ‘Chi saper desidera,’<sup>8</sup> ‘Vo gire

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<sup>5</sup> Literature on the *lauda* includes J. Glixon (1990). ‘The Polyphonic Laude of Innocentius Dammonis,’ *The Journal of Musicology*, 8, pp. 19–53; Macey, *op. cit.*; E. Østrem and N. Holger Petersen (2008). *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: The Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy*, Turnhout: Brepols; W. F. Prizer (1993). ‘*Laude di popolo, laude di corte*: Some Thoughts on the Style and Function of the Renaissance Lauda,’ in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, Florence: Olschki, pp. 167–194; and B. Wilson (2009). *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence: The Cantasi Come Tradition (1375–1550)*, Florence: Olschki.

<sup>6</sup> In fact, Razzi’s *laude* are contrafacts, as he did not compose music. Writing about himself in third person, he stated ‘Il P. F. Serafino per non essere nella musica molto introdotto, non compose giammai canto alcuno da per se alle laudi, dico da per se, percioche tal’hora alcune bell’arie, con aiuto d’altri, ridusse alla musica’ (Razzi, 1609, p. 61).

<sup>7</sup> ‘La soprascritta laude fu composta dall’Autore à contemplazione delle Venerabili suore del Monastero di Santa Caterina da Siena in Firenze’ (Razzi, fol. 12r).

<sup>8</sup> ‘La precedente lauda fu da noi composta à contemplazione di una divota religiosa, chiamata suor Marcella ...’; (Razzi, 1609, p. 103).

all’Ermo,<sup>9</sup> ‘Santa Prisca lodiamo,’<sup>10</sup> and ‘La divina clemenza oggi lodare’<sup>11</sup> also have annotations specifying use for contemplation. The title page of his *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* states that Razzi compiled the book for the contemplation of nuns and other devout persons.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Razzi notes that ‘quasi tutte’ his *laude* were for ‘contemplazione.’<sup>13</sup> Razzi’s published sermons and devotional books provide description of contemplation, of the devotional ascent leading to contemplation, and of music’s role; this essay will draw from these writings to examine his instruction for singing the *lauda* in that context.

Today, in Western society, ‘to contemplate’ might be used for ‘to study’ or ‘to ponder.’ Among ancient philosophers, to contemplate, *contemplatio* (Latin) and *theoria* (Greek), belongs to speculative thinking: to seek to understand, to seek wisdom. Contemplation received a Christian definition in the late ancient period, particularly with Augustine: to seek to see God.<sup>14</sup>

By the twelfth century, contemplation was the fourth step of the *lectio divina* in the *vita contemplativa* within monastic circles. During the period of late medieval

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<sup>9</sup> ‘... e molto atto alla contemplazione, stando sopra di un’alta montagna, in amara solitudine, e silenzio, fra canti armoniosi di angelli: e con fabriche monacali, commode, e belle’; (ibid., pp. 12–13).

<sup>10</sup> ‘A contemplazione di alcune divote persone di questa Santina ...’; (ibid., pp. 13–14).

<sup>11</sup> ‘A contemplazione loro adunque fu composta la precedente laude ...’; (ibid., p. 20; Razzi, fol. 103r).

<sup>12</sup> ‘Raccolte ... à contemplatione delle Monache, & altre divote persone’; (Razzi, 1563).

<sup>13</sup> ‘Solamente si avvertirà il pio lettore, che dall’ultima stanza si può conoscere come la prefata laude fu composta dall’autore, come quasi tutte l’altre, à contemplazione, e richiesta d’un venerabile collegio di monache, le quali perciò si raccomandano a detto santo’; (Razzi, fol. 112r).

<sup>14</sup> Studies in the history of spirituality and religion on contemplation, mysticism, and *visio dei* include Kenney J. P. (2005). *The Mysticism of Saint Augustine: Rereading the Confessions*, New York: Routledge; Id. (2013). *Contemplation and Classical Christianity: A Study in Augustine*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.; McGinn, B. (1994). *The Growth of Mysticism*. Vol. 2 of *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, New York: Crossroad; Id. (1998). *The Flowering of Mysticism*, vol. 3 of *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, New York: Crossroad; Raitt J. (ed.). (1987). *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, New York: Crossroad and Speer A. (2018). ‘Contemplation and Philosophy: A Historical and Systematic Approach.’, in R. H. Pich and A. Speer (eds.), *Contemplation and Philosophy: Scholastic and Mystical Modes of Medieval Philosophical Thought: A Tribute to Kent Emery, Jr.* Leiden: Brill, pp. 79–107. A sixteenth-century devotional manual guiding the devotional ascent to contemplation was written by Dominican Benedetto Onesti of Florence Grossi I. P. (1980). ‘Breve e util modo del viver christiano di fra Benedetto Onesti: un trattatello di vita spirituale scritto in S. Maria Novella nel 1568’, *Memorie Domenicane*, 11, pp. 505–573.

mysticism, contemplation developed among a broader audience. Razzi's statements on contemplation echo theologians before him, including Augustine, Gregory the Great, Bonaventure, the Victorines, and Meister Eckhart. Razzi's usage of the verb, *contemplare*, a worshipper's activity, and the noun, *contemplazione*, a worshipper's experience, is fluid. Contemplation, the summit of the devotional ascent, is a perception of the divine essence, the transient and mystical *visio dei*, the 'desirable treasure' of devotions, and the conclusion of 'an ascension of the mind to the divine essence, to God.'<sup>15</sup> While a worshipper may contemplate, reaching the state of contemplation is a gift from God, and an essential distinction between 'to contemplate' and the state of 'contemplation' may be God's intervention.<sup>16</sup> The perception of the divine essence is an illumination of the intellect.<sup>17</sup> Razzi refers to Augustine's classes of perception—corporeal, spiritual or imaginative, and intellectual—with *visio dei* at the apex, the intellectual perception in which the worshipper perceives the divine immaterial.<sup>18</sup> As a mystical state, Razzi's contemplation has a psychological or emotive aspect, for example, the 'prolonged

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<sup>15</sup> '... ha trovato il tesoro desiderabile, per viene alla sua vita della contemplazione'; Razzi, 1597, fol. 4v; and, '... la contemplazione è una certa elevazione della mente in Dio sospesa gaudii dell'eterna dolcezza gustante'; *ivi.*, fol. 2v. Razzi S. (1596), *Vita del glorioso San Iacinto confessoro*, Florence: Sermartelli, p. 11, states, '... una certa vergine chiamata Branislava ... ritrovandosi all'orazioni & elevata nella contemplazione delle cose celesti. ...'. Powers K. (2013). 'Dominican *Contemplazione* and the Musical Lauda: Fra Serafino Razzi', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 39, pp. 45–52, contains additional citations in Razzi's work as well as references to contemplation within Savonarola's work.

<sup>16</sup> 'Così lo splendore della divina grazia, leva per mezzo della contemplazione, & innalza alcuni divoti spiriti, e gli infiamma nel divino amore ...' (Razzi, 1590b, p. 326).

<sup>17</sup> '... ma oltre acciò ne vengono accennati gli effetti salutevoli, che da quelle ne i divoti contemplanti procedono, cioè la illuminazione dell'intelletto, e la infiammazione dello affetto' (Razzi, 1590a, p. 92). 'A questa nobile impresa di cercar Christo invito hoggi voi contemplativi, che nella contemplazione ricevete le divini illuminazioni'; Razzi, 1590b, p. 65). '... mandate i due vostri discepoli a CHRISTO, cioè lo intelletto, e lo affetto: cioè la cognizione, e l'amore: non perche la cognizione si dea per se all'amore ordinare: ma perche amendue alla chiara visione di DIO' (*ibid.*, p. 10).

<sup>18</sup> Razzi incorporates Augustine's three classes of perception—corporeal, imaginative or spiritual, and intellectual—in several places, including in a sermon instructing his audience on the usefulness of images for devotional ascent and contemplation (Razzi, 1575, pp. 283–285). In writing about Augustine's own contemplation, Kenney gives contemplation to intellectual vision (Kenney, 2005 p. 131).

joy of eternal sweetness,<sup>19</sup> ‘amorosa,’<sup>20</sup> and the inflammation of the *affetto* with divine love (Razzi, 1590a, p. 92). Razzi links contemplation to rapture and ecstasy, mystical states increasingly noted in the late medieval period.<sup>21</sup> He illustrates examples of worshippers who, in contemplation, experienced ecstasy, including beata Giovanna da Orvieto who, in contemplation, suddenly was enraptured in spirit.<sup>22</sup> Fra Luisi Bertrando was absorbed and elevated in high contemplation, with his mind intent on heaven. Thomas Aquinas, toward the end of his life, went into ‘rapture and abstraction of the mind’ when he ‘gave himself to contemplation.’<sup>23</sup> When describing contemplation, Razzi and others use terms related to the five bodily senses, in particular ‘light’ and ‘illumination.’<sup>24</sup> Auditory imagery also occurs: Razzi relates a moment while Augustine was ‘elevated’ in ‘loving contemplation,’ when the saint heard the ‘voice of God.’<sup>25</sup> In other instances, contemplation produced harmonious sounds from heaven.<sup>26</sup> The sense of taste

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<sup>19</sup> ‘... la contemplazione è una certa elevazione della mente in Dio sospesa gaudii dell’eterna dolcezza gustante’; Razzi, 1597, fol. 2v.

<sup>20</sup> ‘... essendo elevato in amorosa contemplazione verso il suo Dio ...’ (Razzi, 1590b, 1:58).

<sup>21</sup> Bonaventura, for example, called the final step in the devotional ascent to contemplation *raptus* or *extasis mentis*. Razzi’s translation of the writings of theologian Johannes Tauler (c.1300–1361) presents further mystical qualities of contemplation, calling it, for example, a ‘luminous intelligence,’ ‘an excess of mind,’ and ‘union with God’ (Razzi, 1568, p.204, p. 396).

<sup>22</sup> ‘Imperocche perseverando un giorno in sante meditazioni, subito fu rapita ad ascoltare i canti, & gustare le delizie del paradiso ... così familiare s’era fatto il contemplare le cose divine, che tutta via che le si ragionava dell’amore, ò vero passione di Christo, ò di alcuno altro santo, subitamente era rapita in spirito’ (Razzi, 1577, 2:16). Another example is sister Maria da Pisa: ‘Nella festa di tutti i Santi dell’anno stesso, orando, e contemplando la gloria de’ Santi, fu rapita in estasi ...’ (Razzi, 1587a, p. 26).

<sup>23</sup> ‘Onde comprese il Reverendo sacerdote, come egli all’hora doveva essere assorto, & elevato in qualche alta contemplazione, e con la mente intenta al cielo ...’ (Razzi, 1587b, p. 53). ‘... quando si dava alla contemplazione andare in somiglianti ratti, & astrazioni di mente’ (Razzi, 1577, 1:124).

<sup>24</sup> ‘... che dobbiamo dire della Luce intelligibile, & increata, che è Iddio ottimo, & perfettissimo, à cui, & molto più eminentemente convengono tutte le proprietà della luce creata?’ (Razzi, 1575, p. 56); ‘... la illuminazione dell’intelletto ...’ (Razzi, 1590, p. 92); ‘... he nella contemplazione ricevete le divini illuminazioni’ (Razzi, 1590b, 1:65).

<sup>25</sup> ‘Orando un giorno, come narra Sant’Agostino, et essendo elevato in amorosa contemplazione verso il suo Dio, sentì una voce che lo chiamò per nome, Agostino, Agostino’ (Razzi, 1590b, 1:58).

<sup>26</sup> ‘... lo soave, & dolce cantare de gli Angeli di luce, ogni anno in cotal giorno, si come à un devoto, & contemplativo huomo più volte udire la meravigliosa harmonia fu conceduto’ (Razzi, 1575, p. 150). Razzi tells of a mystical experience when several Dominicans in devotions at compline suddenly heard heavenly music: ‘Quando in un subito sentirono nel cielo, nell’aria, & sopra la terra, quasi infinite voci di soavissimi, & non più uditi canti, & harmoniosi suoni d’organi, di timpani, salteri, & altri instrumenti musicali: dei quali pareva loro che il cielo, la terra, e tutte le cose in letizia & gioia, d’ogni intorno risonassino’ (ibid., p. 163). Augustine and Gregory the Great are among

provided imagery: contemplation was a ‘sweetness’ that ‘restores a person and brings joy’ and an otherworldly nourishment, very sweet in taste.<sup>27</sup> Yet, contemplation itself was said to be ‘above the bodily senses.’<sup>28</sup> Razzi recounts the experience of a sister Francesca who was ‘alienated from her senses in rapture, in contemplation.’<sup>29</sup> Sister Maria da Pisa was ‘abstracted from her senses’ from contemplating the passion of Christ.<sup>30</sup>

The devotional ascent to contemplation, seeking to see God, occurs with contrition, humility, an ardent heart, fiery desire, and *affetti* of love, guided by reason, Razzi explains.<sup>31</sup> To motivate his audience, he recounts instances wherein charity, love, and prayer elevated a worshipper to contemplation.<sup>32</sup> His devotional writings present integrated exterior and interior devotional activities as the means for developing these psychological states. The bodily senses are well engaged in such exterior activities, including fasting, confessing with the tongue, reciting the Credo, and kneeling in prayer, to extract spiritual sentiments from corporeal

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those who describe auditory experiences in contemplation (Miles, 1983, p. 129; McGinn, 1994, pp. 67-68).

<sup>27</sup> ‘... la contemplazione è la stessa dolcezza la quale rende l’uomo giocondo, e lo ristoro.’ Razzi, *op. cit.*, ‘La scala di paradiso,’ fol. 2v. ‘Ogni giorno, nelle contemplazione delle cose celesti, s’un certo cibo sopramondano di dolcissimo sapore era pasciuta, il quale l’anima tutta, et il corpo eziandio fino alle labra esteriori ingombrando, di così buona, et angelica apparenza divenire la faceva’ (Razzi, 1577, 2:18-19).

<sup>28</sup> ‘La contemplazione, è sopra ogni senso’ Razzi, 1597, fol. 5r.

<sup>29</sup> ‘... tutto il Matutino in ratto, & alienata da sensi, nella contemplazione di quei gran misterii’ (Razzi, 1594, p. 24).

<sup>30</sup> ‘... orando questa beata davanti al crocifisso, e contemplando la sua passione, fu astratta da’ sentimenti ...’; Razzi, *op. cit.*, *Aggiunta d’alcune vite di beate e religiose donne*, p. 24. Abbot Nicolao was enraptured in ecstasy and alienated from his senses: ‘... ecco che l’Abate Nicolao fu rapito in estasi, & alienato dai sensi ...’; (Razzi, 1592, p. 642).

<sup>31</sup> ‘Si dee cercare il nostro amantissimo Giesù, per venire all’ultimo del nostro ragionamento, con ardentissimo cuore, con fede viva, con disiderij infocati, e con affetti d’amore, mentre che egli è vicino, & si può trovare’ (Razzi, 1575, p. 40). Razzi, 1597, fol. 2r, introduces the devotional ascent to contemplation as a search to heaven: ‘La cui infirma parte alla terra è appoggiata: ma la sopra penetra le nubi, et i secreti di cieli un ricercando.’ Razzi’s conditions are similar to those of Gregory I and Bonaventure, among others.

<sup>32</sup> For example, Razzi (1587a, p. 75) describes ‘Dalla santa carità, & amore divino, procedeva in questa verginella una grande elevazione di mente.’ See also Razzi (1596, p. 11): ‘... una certa vergine chiamata Branislava...ritrovandosi all’orazioni & elevata nella contemplazione delle cose celesti.’



sensations.<sup>33</sup> Razzi describes five inner, spiritual steps in seeking God: the first is introspection and self-knowledge, the second is consideration of God’s love, the third involves intention to relieve oneself of sin, and the fourth is tearful confession to God with humility.<sup>34</sup> The devotional ascent to contemplation is further guided by a programme of integrated steps—reading, meditation and prayer, much like the *lectio divina*—performed in the heart, increasing the desire for seeing God.<sup>35</sup> Use reason, Razzi says, in meditating on scriptural readings and humbling yourself, then follow such with ardent prayer, cleansing the heart and demonstrating devotional intent and desire for contemplation.<sup>36</sup>

The devotional ascent to contemplation is offered to all worshippers, yet, in that it requires focused mental energy and extensive practice, attaining contemplation would have been more often accomplished by the religious.<sup>37</sup> Critical to the ascent, Razzi explains, is the appropriate engagement of the higher intellectual soul’s three powers: intellect, will, and memory.<sup>38</sup> The intellect is where

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<sup>33</sup> ‘L’adorerai ancora di adorazione esterna, confessandolo con la lingua, genuflettendo, inchinando, & in ogni altra maniera esteriore decante, e convenevole’ (Razzi, 1590a, p. 116). ‘... impariamo à cavare dalle cose corporali, e sensibili, i sentimenti spirituali, e divini’ (Razzi, 1590b, 1:98). Exterior should represent manifestations of inner belief: ‘Uno esteriore, il quale importa un manifestazione steriore di quanto crediamo col cuore ...’ (Razzi, 1590a, p. 4).

<sup>34</sup> ‘Per ritornare à Dio bisogna far cinque passi spirituali. Il primo si è la cognizione di se stesso.... Il secondo è la considerazione della paterna charità.... Il terzo si è il proposito di rilevarsi dal peccato.... Il quarto si è l’humile, e lagrimosa confessione’ (Razzi, 1590b, 2:112).

<sup>35</sup> ‘Più tempo ho meditato nel cor mio, e nella meditazione mia si è acceso il fuoco, et il desiderio si è augumentato di meglio conoscenti’; Razzi, 1597, fol. 4r. The devotional steps to contemplation are described in Razzi S. (1590a). *Cento brevi sermoni della fede, speranza, carità, & altre virtù christiane, e materie teologali, e predicabili*, Florence: Sermartelli, pp. 78–79, and Razzi, 1597, fols. 1v–8r.

<sup>36</sup> ‘La meditazione è una studiosa azzione della mente, ricercante con la guida della propria ragione et ingegno. La occulta notizia della verità. La orazione è una divota intenzione del cuore a Dio, per rimuovere da noi i mali, e per conseguare i beni.... la orazione nella postulazione del desiderio’; *ivi*, 2r–2v.

<sup>37</sup> Those few who quickly ascended to contemplation or ecstasy are likely well practiced in the devotional exercise. Razzi’s writings cite specific cases of religious who achieved mystical states with little preparation. The significance of effort and practice in the devotional ascent of Augustine is explored in Miles M. (1983). ‘Vision: The Eye of the Body and the Eye of the Mind in Saint Augustine’s ‘De trinitate’ and ‘Confessions.’’, *The Journal of Religion*, v. 63, pp. 125–142, reports that Gregory the Great saw contemplation as open to all Christians.

<sup>38</sup> ‘... così l’anima intelletiva, che è la principale parte dell’uomo, ...è una in sustanza, & trini in potenze, Intelletto, Memoria, & Volontà’ (Razzi, 1575, p. 103). ‘sono le tre potenze dell’anima intelletiva, Intelletto, cioè Memoria & Volontà’; (*ibid.*, p. 95). Razzi draws much from Thomas Aquinas on parts of the soul and their interactions (Dixon, 2003, pp. 1–61).



the perception of the divine occurs; reason is an act of the Intellect.<sup>39</sup> Memory supports both the intellect and the will in retrieving stored perceptions of divine benefits.<sup>40</sup> Engaging the will is the focus of Razzi's guidance: the act of devotion depends on the will, given that the will may command and move the intellect.<sup>41</sup> The will's movement is the *affetto*, a voluntary action by the worshipper, an active intention which may contain an emotive element.<sup>42</sup> Razzi's writings provide examples of his usage: his sermons and devotional writings frequently encourage exercising the *affetto* in devotions, including, 'pray with much *affetto*,'<sup>43</sup> 'render to God as much *affetto* as you can,'<sup>44</sup> use the 'most intimate *affetto* of your heart' in your prayers and good actions,<sup>45</sup> 'use every *affetto* of devotion,'<sup>46</sup> and 'seek Christ ... with *affetti* of love.'<sup>47</sup> Razzi exhorts to 'pray to kindle *affetto* and illustrate the intellect.'<sup>48</sup> The *affetto* is vital in the devotional ascent, moving the soul toward God: the more the soul turns to God, the more it is illuminated, Razzi states.<sup>49</sup> His

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<sup>39</sup> Razzi's statements on reason as an act of the intellect include Razzi S. (1590b). *Sermoni predicabili dalla prima domenica dell'Avvento, fino all'ottava di Pasqua di resurrezione*, 2 vols, Florence: Sermartelli, 2:328, which states 'Percioche si come lo intelletto, benchè sia una potenza sola, si dice non dimeno intelletto, e ragione. Intelletto quando intende i primi principij, e ragione quando da una cosa conosciuta procede....'

<sup>40</sup> '... della memoria una perfetta ricordanza de i divini benefici' (Razzi, 1575, p. 64).

<sup>41</sup> 'Divozione adunque è un'atto, che secondo la sostanza sua dipende dalla volontà' (Razzi, 1575, p. 134). 'Quanto adunque à gli atti, due n'assegnano alla fede.... L'altro interiore, che è quando con lo intelletto, mosso dal comandamento della volontà ...' (Razzi, 1590a, p. 4).

<sup>42</sup> I use *affetto* and *affetti* here, given that a translation of the word per Razzi's usage to 'affection,' for example, is problematic. Casagrande (2020, pp.271-284), focusing on Jean Gerson, describes the significance of close link between the *affetti* in prayer and the intellectual soul, a viewpoint similar to Razzi's. On *affectus* and its emotive qualities in Thomas Aquinas, see Dixon (2003, pp. 41–48).

<sup>43</sup> 'Conobbe nel terzo luogo i crocifissori suoi, per loro pregando con tanto affetto all'eterno padre' (Razzi, 1590a, p. 55).

<sup>44</sup> '... e rendergli in quanto può con l'affetto...' (Razzi, 1575, p. 135).

<sup>45</sup> '... ma col più intimo affetto del cuore' (Razzi, 1575, p. 16).

<sup>46</sup> '... con ogni affetto di divozione' (Razzi, 1592, p. 204).

<sup>47</sup> 'Si dee cercare il nostro amatissimo Giesù, per venire all'ultimo del nostro ragionamento, con ardentissimo cuore, con fede viva, con disiderij infocati, e con affetti d'amore, mentre che egli è vicino, & si può trovare' (Razzi, 1575, p. 40).

<sup>48</sup> 'O santo Paraclito: ò dolce consolatore, ò beato spirto, vieni, vieni ti prego, & empi i nostri cuori del tuo celeste splendore: Illustra lo intelletto, & accendi lo affetto....' (Razzi, 1575, p. 254).

<sup>49</sup> '... parimente l'Anima nostra, secondo, che con lo affetto più, ò meno si rivolge a Dio, così più, ò manco è illuminata' (Razzi, 1575, p. 57).

*Giardino dei esempi*, a collection of biographical extracts from saints' lives, is intended to feed the *affetto*, he says, as well as move the mind and remain in the memory.<sup>50</sup>

Singing is an external activity involving the interior and has a vital role in the ascent, activating the will and its intention, the *affetto*, and encouraging devotions. Razzi notes the benefit of music in liturgical services in elevating the worshipper.<sup>51</sup> Razzi highlights the power of singing; for example, after a story about Augustine in contemplation, Razzi advises the worshipper, 'if you want to see God's love for us, go [in your mind] to the holy the manger and you will sing fervently.'<sup>52</sup> In another example, Razzi advises those who are weak in spirit, in their will, to sing 'Diligam te domine fortitudo mea' (I will love you, Lord, my strength).<sup>53</sup> *Affettuosa*, *bella*, *pure*, *pia* (pious), and *divota* (devout) for their *affetti*<sup>54</sup> are descriptions Razzi uses for *laude* in order to foster emotive, devotional responses. Moreover, Razzi provides advice on singing to the worshipper, including stimulating the *affetti*

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<sup>50</sup> 'Imperoche gli esempi più efficacemente muovono la mente: più fermamente restando nella memoria: più agevolmente rilucono allo intelletto: diletano l'udito: pascono l'affetto: rimuovono il tedio: informano la vita: insegnano i costumi' (Razzi, 1592). Razzi sometimes used *affetti* in reference to *passioni*, the psychological states of the lower soul, a trend in the latter *cinquecento*. He warns of *affetto disordinato*, toward worldly gain or earthly riches. '... non seppellire lo affetto loro in queste cose del mondo, vane, & fugaci ...' (Razzi, 1575, p. 167). Pray to have the heart relieved of *affetto disordinato* (Razzi, 1590b, 2:62). On the early modern usage of *affetto* for *passione*, see Palisca (2000, pp. 290-292).

<sup>51</sup> '... che nel cantare la messa vi fussero gli organi; accioche che gli animi mediante quel suono harmonioso in Dio si elevassero' (Razzi, 1577, 1:195-196). To be sure, there are cases wherein music seemed to trigger contemplation or ecstasy in a worshipper, albeit often a religious who was well experienced in the ascent itself. Rozenski (2008, pp. 35-72) notes that music was a trigger for his divine rapture and contemplation. Reardon (2002, p. 106) draws from documentary evidence in stating that 'when [Caterina Vannini] played the lute, she went into ecstasy.' Razzi did not promote music or singing, in of itself, to be a prompt directly to contemplation; he rather saw it as a useful means for elevation.

<sup>52</sup> 'E se voi volete vedere l'amore di Dio verso di noi vivo, et espresso, andate a quel santo presepio, e farete forzati a cantare con fervore' (Razzi, 1590b, 1:59). The worshipper's intention is critical for effective devotions while adoring images, Razzi explains in *Sermoni de' santi* (1575, pp. 283-285). I explore Razzi's thoughts on the integration of visual images and singing in a forthcoming study.

<sup>53</sup> 'Ex toto corde, cioè con tutta la volontà. Ex tota anima, cioè con tutto l'appetito sensitivo: Ex omnibus viribus, cioè con tutta la virtù esecutiva, Et ex omni mente tua, cioè con tutto lo intelletto tuo, nel modo à lui conveniente. Se tu sei debole, e fiacco nello spirito, ama, e canta, Diligam te domine fortitudo mea' (Razzi, 1590a, p. 26).

<sup>54</sup> Examples here occur in Razzi S. (1609). *Santuario di laudi overo rime spirituali*, Florence: Sermartelli, p. 215; *idem*, *op. cit.*, 'Libri quattro di laudi,' 65v; *ibid.*, fol. 3r; and *ibid.*, fol. 129r. '... è molto vaga e bella: così di parole e di affetti, e molto divota e pia'; Razzi, *op. cit.*, 'Libri quattro di laudi,' fol. 160v.

guided by reason while singing. This advice occurs both in his *Sermoni predicabili dalla prima domenica dell'Avvento, fino all'ottava di Pasqua di resurrezzione* and in his preface to book 3 of 'Libri quattro di laudi.' In one of his Lenten sermons, he states that 'everything in the universe, in a certain way, is composed of music and harmony' and that 'the music of the heavens [is] caused by their differentiated movements,' drawing from Pythagoras, Plato, and Boethius.<sup>55</sup> 'In Man,' he continues, there is 'a music of four voices: intellect and will, irascible and concupiscible,' naming the parts of the higher and lower soul.<sup>56</sup> These parts of the soul are significant to spiritual harmony, Razzi explains. Mortals have an inner *cetra*<sup>57</sup> that was well tuned before Adam sinned in that the lower, irrational soul perfectly obeyed the higher soul's reason, the intellect understood and judged well, and the will followed. In sinning, Adam damaged this music and lost the harmony, creating a weak harmony or disharmonious music within.<sup>58</sup> Out of tune and disharmonious—Razzi tends to use the two concepts together—the lower soul no longer perfectly obeyed reason.<sup>59</sup> Christ's death tuned the inner *cetra*, providing a 'key' to allow for mortal's inner *cetra* to remain tuned and harmonious.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> '... questo universe, agevolmente potrà conoscere, come tutto, in un certo modo, di musica, e d'armonia è composto' and 'Che diremo della musica de cieli cagionata dai i loro differenziati movimenti' (Razzi, 1590b, 2:125).

<sup>56</sup> 'Nell'huomo parimente si scorge una musica di quattro voci: intelletto, & volontà, irascibile, e concupiscibile' (Razzi, 1590b, 2:125).

<sup>57</sup> The *cetra* (*cethra*, *cithara*) was a plucked string instrument in ancient Greece, an instrument of Apollo, Orpheus, and David. Most of Razzi's usage of *cetra* are descriptions of David's music-making.

<sup>58</sup> 'Era questa cethera dell'huomo bene accordata prima che Adamo peccasse; imperoche quanto intendeva, e giudicava lo intelletto, la volontà eleggeva, e seguiva: e la parte sensitiva men nobile istava suggetta, & ubbidiva alla ragione perfettamente: ma peccando Adamo si guastò questa musica, e si scordò questa armonia, merce di Satana, maestro di discordie, e di dissonanze' (Razzi, 1590b, 2:125). Cicero used the imagery of a string instrument in suggesting that the body is a string instrument plucked by the soul (Burnett, 1991, p. 50). McKinnon (1987, p. 19) notes that the imagery of *cithara* for Christian harmony (here, a congregation's obedience to a bishop's intentions) was introduced in the first century CE.

<sup>59</sup> The tuning of the soul is explored by, for example, Plato, Aristotle, and Marsilio Ficino; however, Razzi's Christian interpretation has the soul's out-of-tune state caused by sin. Razzi's *cetra*, representing the two parts of the soul, coincides *musica humana* (the inaudible harmony of the body and soul defined by Boethius). On Boethius and *musica humana*, see Boethius A. M. S. (1989), *Fundamentals of Music*, New Haven: Yale University Press, esp. pp. 9–10 and Bowman W. (1998), *Philosophical Perspectives on Music*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 63.

<sup>60</sup> 'Venne Christo per riaccordarla con sua morte, & accostando in croce l'orecchie al legno, e tenendo in mano le penne dei chiodi, riaccordo questa cetera dell'huomo, riconciliandolo al padre

In his ‘Libri quattro di laudi’ preface, Razzi advises singers on stimulating the *affetti* guided by reason. His guidance occurs after several often-quoted examples of music’s effect on the listener, including the ‘divine Plato’s’ direction for music’s use in educating youth, music’s soothing the physical pains of Theophrastus and Aulus Gellius, and the effect of David’s singing in healing the ‘maligned spirit’ of King Saul.<sup>61</sup> Razzi then explains that the constitution of ‘Man’ (‘dell’Huomo’) is ‘harmonious’ and has a vital relationship with ‘well-tuned, well-performed music.’<sup>62</sup> This ‘harmonious constitution’ thus provides for music’s influence on behaviour, physical health, mental state, and spirituality in Razzi’s examples. He then advises the worshipper on singing, stating first that the ‘words of the song’ should be ‘honest and not dissonant with good morals.’<sup>63</sup> Significantly, however, is his instruction to ‘pay attention to the spiritual harmony’ while singing and ‘use reason to tune within oneself the *affetti* and the inclinations of the soul and the senses.’<sup>64</sup> Pay ‘attention to the spiritual harmony,’ that is, to the ‘harmonious constitution’ and the ‘inner *cetra*,’ and while doing so, use ‘reason to tune the inclinations of your soul and senses’ with your *affetti*. ‘Reason,’ the action of the intellect, is the ‘rudder’ or ‘brake’ of the *affetto*;<sup>65</sup> given that the bodily senses do not filter good from evil, the higher soul may be inclined to follow the lower soul,<sup>66</sup> in that the soul may might favour the temptation to sensual pleasures and corporeal

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suo: e poscia dovendo partire da noi cilasciò per mezzo del suo Vangelo una regola, una quasi chiavetta, et un modo da ridurla in consonanza con Dio ...’ (Razzi, 1590b, 2:125).

<sup>61</sup> Razzi, *op. cit.*, ‘Libri quattro di laudi,’ fol. 95r.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Cotanto grande è l’amicizia dell’Armoniosa composizione dell’huomo con la musica bene accordata, e ben cantata’; *ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> ‘Ma bisogna avertire che le parole, le quali si cantano siano honeste, e non discordanti dai buon costumi’; *ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> ‘E principalmente si dee attendere all’harmonia spirituale, et ad accordare in noi stessi, gli affetti, e le inclinazioni dell’animo, e dei sensi, con la ragione’; *ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> ‘... peroche altramente le loro affezzioni si palesano, & appresso sarebbe troppo più pericolosa di quello che è la favella, s’ella si trovasse senza il freno, e quasi timone dell’intelletto e ragione,...’ (Razzi, 1590a, p. 120).

<sup>66</sup> ‘Io intelletto, il quale fino a qui non è stato il tuo marito, ma fornicario, non essendo tu vivuta, secondo la ragione, ma sensualmente....’ (Razzi, 1590b, 2:145).

senses.<sup>67</sup> Augustine's admission regarding his concerns in listening to music may be Razzi's source:

I am often overpowered through the pleasure of the senses. The intellect should not be given over to them as they want to lull its consciousness. For the senses are not satisfied to follow the intellect ... but they try to lead and rule.<sup>68</sup>

Razzi's tuning the lower soul (senses) with the higher soul (reason and *affetto*) will produce harmoniousness.

The 'Libri di quattro laudi' preface continues, turning to quality of musical performance, wherein he promotes *lauda* singing to incite devotional *affetti*. Following mention of well-tuned, well-performed music by David and others, Razzi continues, 'well-sung music, and with due measure which is its life, and by a musician alone over some well-tuned and well-played musical instrument, is very exciting for the soul.'<sup>69</sup> Razzi had already recalled David's performance and its effect on King Saul. In this passage, Razzi highlights other model musical performances that moved the listener to 'tears.' Odysseus wept upon hearing Demodocus sing; and, upon hearing a lament 'well-sung to a well-tuned lute' at the ducal court of Ferrara, the noble audience wept.<sup>70</sup> It is the effect that music had on

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<sup>67</sup> 'La carne (inimico piu familiare, e che sempre con noi dimora) ripugna continuamente allo spirito, e cerca d'inclinare l'animo alle volutta, & piaceri sensuali' (Razzi, 1575, p. 228). 'Ma percioche à chi camina, secondo la natura corrotta, & secondo il senso, non può venire mai fatto di lasciare i vizij, & abbracciar le virtù ...' (ibid., p. 16). Razzi leans Platonian and Augustinian rather than Aristotelian in many of his views.

<sup>68</sup> Translation from Meyer-Baer K. (1953). 'Psychologic and Ontologic Ideas in Augustine's de Musica', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 11, pp. 224–225. A salient discussion of the history of music's effect through the Renaissance is in Wuidar L. (2011). 'Control and the Science of Affect: Music and Power in the Medieval and Renaissance Periods', in T. Cochrane, B. Fantini, and K. R. Scherer (eds.), *The Emotional Power of Music: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Musical Arousal, Expression, and Social Control*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 271–281.

<sup>69</sup> 'Deesi anco notare, come la musica ben cantata e colla debita misura, che è la vita sua, e da un musico solo, sopra qualche bene accordato, e ben tocco instrumento musicale, molto è degli animi eccitativa'' Razzi, *op. cit.*, 'Libri quattro di laudi,' fol. 95r. Regarding Razzi's 'in due measure which is music's life,' Hentschel (2011, p.9), in referring to Augustine's *De musica*, explains Augustine's 'right measure' refers to music that is appropriate to the situation.

<sup>70</sup> 'Onde Ulisse; come narrano le antiche carte, udendo cantare Demodoco Musico, si commosse à gran pianto e compassione. E quando nell'età dei nostri padri, in Ferrara, nella corte Ducale, davanti a una nobilissima udienda di signori, e di gentildonne, fu da un musico, sopra di un bene accordato liuto, cantato il lamento di Zerbino, e di Isabella suo consorte, non anco istampato'; Razzi, *op. cit.*, 'Libri quattro di laudi,' fol. 95v. Razzi's highlighting well-performed music has some commonalities in Platonian and Ficinian thought on effective musical performance.

the listeners, through the conduit of the inner ‘harmonious constitution,’ and the listeners’ subsequent emotive response, that Razzi highlights. In this context, he then cites the *lauda* and its purpose: ‘therefore, to excite our minds to the love of God and heavenly things,’ a ‘manner of singing *laude*’ was found in Florence.<sup>71</sup>

Singing *laude*, while tuning the *affetti* and the inclinations of the senses with reason, elevate the worshipper in the devotional ascent. The *lauda* texts that the singers enunciate provide models of ardent, fiery desire, contrition, and humility, with the intention of *affetto*. For example, sing with fervour, with *affetto*, ‘sing with humble notes,<sup>72</sup> and ‘we take each our own heart up to fervour ... come celebrate and sing filled with love.’<sup>73</sup> *Lauda* ‘Deh venite Verginelle’ describes ‘our hearts coming with *affetto*’ and purging them before singing praises.<sup>74</sup> The *lauda* ‘In questo sacro giorno’ opens with a call to sing with fervour, with a heart that is clean from sin.<sup>75</sup> ‘Riposo alcun non trova’ closes with a prayer asking Jesus to inflame hearts with love and great fervour.<sup>76</sup> ‘Ecco il diletto,’ a *lauda* to San Giovanni Evangelista, says ‘Who wants to obtain grace ... go with pure *affetto*,’ and asks the ‘apostle, prophet, and great preacher’ to ‘inflame my cold heart.’<sup>77</sup> ‘Tommaso inclito, e santo,’ a *lauda* to Thomas Aquinas, has the singers ‘praise with a pure mind and with *affetto*’<sup>78</sup> and later pray to ‘inflame our heart with his ardent and holy

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<sup>71</sup> ‘Per eccitare adunque le menti nostre allo amore di Dio, e delle cose celesti, fu anticamente trovato in Firenze il modo di cantare le laudi spirituali’; *ibid*.

<sup>72</sup> ‘Ecco la terra nostra, à te divota, Oggi t’inchina, e canta in humil nota.’ (Razzi, 1609, p. 133).

<sup>73</sup> ‘..prendiamo, Ciascun il suo di core, Su su al fervore.... Venite in festa, e canti, E ripieni d’amore, Su su al fervore’ (Razzi, 1609, pp. 209-210).

<sup>74</sup> ‘Un’altare sacro e divino, ...Ove andiam col cor purgato, A cantar tue laudi belle.’ And later, ‘Nostro cor con gran fidanza, A te viene, e con affetto’ (Razzi, 1609, pp. 210-211).

<sup>75</sup> ‘In questo sacro giorno, A gli Angeli dicato, Cantiam care sorelle, con fervore. Ciascun’ il cor adorno, E mondo dal peccatore’ (Razzi, 1609, p. 64).

<sup>76</sup> ‘Giesù vero diletto, Deh torna al nostro cuore, Infiammalo d’amore, Acciò con gran fervore, Noi ti serviamo in tutti i Giorni nostri’ (Razzi, 1609, p. 5).

<sup>77</sup> ‘Chi vuole ottener gratie ... Vadi con puro affetto.’ ‘E infiamma il freddo core’; (Razzi, 1609, p. 169).

<sup>78</sup> ‘Lodiam con pura mente, e con affetto’ (Razzi, 1563, fol. 48v; Razzi, 1609, p. 41; Razzi, *op. cit.*, ‘Libri quattro di laudi,’ fol. 120r).



charity.<sup>79</sup> A *lauda* prayer to the Virgin Mary asks her to ‘see our *affetto*.’<sup>80</sup> A *lauda* prayer to Saint Agata has the worshippers sing of having ‘*affetto* and desire to praise you.’<sup>81</sup> In *Santuario di laudi*, for example, the words  *fervore*, *infiamma* and *ardente* appear more than 125 times, *affetto/i* more than fifty times, and a version of *contemplare* more than thirty times.

Many *laude* in praise of a saint narrate that saint’s devotions as models. Saint John Chrysostom’s ‘*affetti*’ were ‘*pronti*’ before his devotions.<sup>82</sup> A *beata* heard the words of God attentively, with pious *affetto* and fervent spirit.<sup>83</sup> Another *beata* had her heart open and her mind lifted while on her knees in prayer.<sup>84</sup> A *lauda* in praise of Mary Magdalene, ‘Maddalena gentil che siedì,’ describes her devotions of loving *affetti* kindled in her heart by Christ, and her resulting ecstasy in contemplation.<sup>85</sup> Many of Razzi’s *laude* directly encourage the singer to contemplation, for example, the *lauda* ‘Leviamo i nostri cuori,’ whose opening line continues, ‘A contemplar la gloria, De Santi, onde memoria, Oggi facciamo’ (Razzi, 1563, fol. 55v-56r; Id., 1609, pp. 140-141; Id, *op. cit.*, ‘Libri quattro di laudi,’ fols. 124v–125r). Several *laude* lead the singer through the devotional ascent. In the long ‘Esulti oggi,’ singers reiterate devotional *esulti* (rejoice), *diletto* (delight), *beltà* (beauty), *soavemente* (sweetly), with guidance to *affetto*, including ‘our souls fall in love with you and you enrapture our hearts,’ ‘my heart is humbled by you,’ ‘I pray, in my heart ... for that immense love,’ and ‘come to contemplate,’ concluding with the phrase, ‘through love in ecstasy.’<sup>86</sup> *Lauda* ‘Benigno il mio Giesù’ describes the singers

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<sup>79</sup> ‘Prega Giesù che infiammi il nostro core, Della sua ardente, e santa caritade’ (Razzi, 1609, p. 41).

<sup>80</sup> ‘Come hor vedi il nostro affetto’ (Razzi, 1563, fol. 24v).

<sup>81</sup> ‘Cioè l’affetto, e il desio di lodarti’ (Razzi, 1609, p. 32).

<sup>82</sup> ‘E con affetti pronti’ (Razzi, 1609, p. 24).

<sup>83</sup> ‘La parola di Dio, Udiva attentamente: E con affetto pio, E spirito fervente’ (Razzi, 1609, p. 226).

<sup>84</sup> ‘Il cor suo spesso apriva, A Dio nell’orazioni, E stando ginocchioni, La mente alzava’; (Razzi, 1609, p. 223).

<sup>85</sup> ‘Maddalena gentil che siedì, e posi, A i piedi di Giesù precettor santo, Quanti affetti amorosi, Nel cor tuo spira, di lui acceso tanto, Dir l’io già non mi vanto, Ma ben puoi dirlo tu, che gli gustavi, E in estasi n’andavi, Contemplando dapresso, Il gran figliuol di Dio posto in eccesso’; (Razzi, 1609, p. 103).

<sup>86</sup> ‘Venite con fidanza, E con accesso affetto.’ ‘Mio core a te si humilia.’ ‘Ti prego, nel mio cuore: ... Per quello immense amore.’ ‘Nostre anima innamorì, Rapisci l’alme a te.’ ‘E venga à contemplare.’ ‘Cor mio, che per amore, In estasi ...’ The entire *lauda* is in Razzi, *op. cit.*, ‘Libri



themselves, contemplating: ‘His serene face / Contemplate closely / And with the mind, go to high ecstasy.’<sup>87</sup> *Lauda* ‘Lodiamo nostro signore’ models the process of contemplating in describing the singers’ own contemplation. Razzi’s annotation mentions the steps, ‘a ladder ... a guide,’ to ‘lead us to the contemplation.’<sup>88</sup> Emotive words throughout the *lauda* inspire devotional states: *giubilanti*, *pia*, *amoroso*, *felici*, and *humiltade*. In stanza 8, the singers speak directly to God about seeing Christ: ‘Because my eyes, By your grace have seen, Your sweet son, who came down here.’<sup>89</sup>

*Laude* thus serve the worshipper in the devotional ascent to contemplation by stimulating intentions via the *affetto* and its emotive states of fiery desire, fervour, love of God, humility, and contrition. The intention of the worshipper is critical for devotions to be effective, engaging their *affetto* but following reason as guide to tune the higher and lower soul to prepare for the summit of devotional ascent, contemplation. Music assists in the elevation, but it is the worshipper’s intention in singing that is significant in the devotional ascent: drawing on the *affetto* for a fiery desire, humility, and devotional purpose, but using reason to subjugate the lower, bodily senses to the higher, intellectual soul. The resulting song, in Razzi’s guidance, will be harmonious and contribute in the devotional ascent toward contemplation that would be, ultimately, God’s gift.<sup>90</sup>

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quattro di laudi,’ fols. 8v–10r; and Razzi S. (1609). *Santuario di laudi overo rime spirituali*, Florence: Sermartelli, pp. 203–204.

<sup>87</sup> ‘La sua serena faccia, Contemplate dappresso, E con la mente andate in alto eccesso’; Razzi, *op. cit.*, ‘Libri quattro di laudi,’ fol. 11v.

<sup>88</sup> ‘... esserci scala, mezzo, e guida in condurci alla contemplazione delle invisibili, et immortali che sono sopra i cieli, nel mondo superiore’; *ibid.*, fol. 62v.

<sup>89</sup> ‘Peroche gli occhi miei, Per tua grazia han veduto, Il dolce figlio tuo, qua giù venuto, Per dar salute, e cavarci d’ommei.’ The entire *lauda* is transmitted in Razzi S. (1609). *Santuario di laudi overo rime spirituali*, Florence: Sermartelli, pp. 206–207 and Razzi, *op. cit.*, ‘Libri quattro di laudi,’ fols. 62r–63r.

<sup>90</sup> The musical style of the *laude* in Razzi’s collections is significant to the devotional ascent and will be examined in a forthcoming essay.

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