Agency through Plainchant: Nuns of Florence, 1550–1650

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Declaration of authorship

I, Lois Breckon, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: Date: 28 September 2022

Abstract

This thesis reassesses nuns' music-making in early modern Florence. Why is this necessary? First, the contribution made by Florentine nuns, compared with women religious in other cities in Northern Italy, seems particularly meagre. The paucity seems illogical because it was a time when marriage dowries in Florence increased the numbers of well-educated nuns, and there was extensive patronage of music by two women rulers, factors which should have led to exceptional music-making. Second, in their search for evidence, musicologists have tended to focus on "exceptional music", and to overlook plainchant. This thesis redresses the balance.

At the turn of the 16th century, there were more nuns in Florence than in any other North Italian city. Nuns' individual stories re-frame earlier scholarship by clarifying in detail the daily hardships that they faced. The ruling Medici's inclination to control convent activities, through regulation and patronage, perhaps suppressed nuns' output to a greater extent than elsewhere. In addition, reference to modern social studies illuminates the negative impacts of the conditions nuns suffered, the ensuing psychological and physical trauma, and the subsequent deterrents to exceptional music practice.

Nonetheless, nuns from the city of Florence could, and did, produce real musical achievements in the face of this repression. In addition, there is evidence of a "middle ground" of musical accomplishment in convent theatre, where nuns' performances are described in stage directions. But, in the music itself, the evidence is in plainchant more than any other form. In support of this proposition is a rare sample of an antiphoner-hymnal, dated 1582, from the Dominican convent of La Crocetta. It is testament to the nuns' education, resilience, and to their individuation of liturgical practice.

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A Note to the Reader

Technically, female religious institutions subject to enclosure (as well as male Benedictine institutions) are called monasteries, and male mendicant institutions as well as Ursuline foundations not subject to enclosure are called convents.[1] Here, however, I use the word "nunnery", interchanging it with the term "convent" which, in common English usage, means a Christian community of nuns living together under monastic vows. I use the word "monastery" to denote only male religious communities. As for the term, "nuns": enclosed Dominican women followed the Augustinian, not the Benedictine, Rule and therefore technically should be referred to as "sisters" not "nuns", but I use the general term "nun" in deference to English usage, only occasionally interchanging it with "sister" where the sense dictates.

Churches, convents and saints are styled with S (for *Santa, Santo, Sant', San),* SS (*Santissimo, Santissima,* and *Santissimi*) and Ss (for *Santi).* Where there have been variations in spelling among documents, I have used just one: for example, I have used 'Domenica dal Paradiso' instead of the occasionally used (as by the 18th-century priest biographer, Benedetto Borghigiani) "Domenica del Paradiso", or "Domenica da Paradiso".

All transcriptions and translations of text, and all musical transcriptions are my own unless otherwise stated. The original Italian in 16th- and 17th-century documents offers idiosyncratic and often non-standard orthography (for example *havere* instead of *avere*) and has been reproduced without the addition of "[sic]" except in those cases where clarity of meaning was obscured. Where I refer to "exceptional music", this means multi-part sacred vocal and instrumental music which required the ability to read notation for its creation and execution. This is distinct from the *falsobordone* polyphony that was improvised around plainchant. "Middle ground" music, by contrast, could be created by ear without the ability to read or write notation.

The following abbreviations are used when describing archive materials:

AAF Archivio Arcivescovile, Firenze

ABESRD Auditore dei Benefici Ecclesiastici poi segreteria del Regio Diritto (at the ASF)

ABF Archivio Buonarotti, Firenze

ACPV Archivio della Curia Patriarcale di Venezia

AGAB Archivio Generale Arcivescovile, Bologna

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[1] Robert L Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 2001), xiv.

AIC Art Institute of Chicago

ASB Archivio di Stato, Bologna

ASCR Archivio Storico Capitolino, Roma

ASDM Archivio Storico Diocesano, Milano

ASF Archivio di Stato di Firenze

ASM Archivio di Stato, Milano

ASS Archivio di Stato, Siena

ASPV Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia

ASV Archivio di Stato, Venezia

ASVB Archivio Arcivescovile, Bologna

BAM Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

BCAB Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginasio, Bologna

BCAP Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Perugia

BCMB Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Brussels

BCS Biblioteca Comunale, Siena

BDF Biblioteca Domenicana, Firenze

BEM Biblioteca Estense, Modena

BL British Library

BNCF Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze

BNMV Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia

BRF Biblioteca Riccardiana, Firenze

CRSGF Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse Dal Governo Francese (at the ASF)

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Introduction: Accounting for the Music of Florentine Nuns, 1550-1650

Florence was one of Northern Italy's most important centres for women religious, in that there were more nuns there in the period 1550-1650 than in any other city in Northern Italy. Yet the music they made has been almost entirely overlooked, despite it being an integral part of the nuns' role as conduits for prayer and thanksgiving and defenders of the city's piety. The reasons for this neglect by musicological historians probably lie in their attitudes towards exceptional music and plainchant. Many scholars have taken a neo-Adlerian history-of-styles approach, which looks for "progress" and "heroes" – an approach that impacted on second-wave feminist musicology. Thus exceptional vocal music, with or without instruments, seems to have been considered worthier of study than plainchant (with or without improvised *falsobordone*). As a result, convent plainsong has been marginalised in early modern studies and its glory is unappreciated. Even those who have studied plainsong itself have tended to present it as evidence for the rich legacy of Catholic worship, focusing on the preservation, dissemination and localised characteristics of plainsong and the sophistication of its progenitors. The form of plainsong transmitted and elaborated by nuns has been much neglected, even though it was the mainstay of their everyday lives. This study aims to redress the balance by employing a range of analytical techniques to understand not only why music happened where it did, but to appreciate fully the significance of the music itself and reassess the contribution of Florentine nuns to musical history.

The extent of exceptional music made by nuns in northern Italy has been well documented by contemporary observers and scholars. In Milan, women from the Sfondrati family came to dominate the S Paolo Converso nunnery, for example, and turned it into a religious house full of well-educated singers, "to attract the public to the church", all the better to show off the virtues of the Sfondrati clan.[2] In 1625, Prince Ladislao of Poland was reported to go several hours early to get a seat to listen to the nuns there.[3] A Humiliate nunnery in Milan (S Caterina in Brera) was home to a composer,

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[2] Milan, ASDM, sez X: Visite pastorale, f 6v, 1578, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Milano; as cited by Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan*, 134. The comment is from a fellow nun, Paola Carità Bottini, who disapproved of the musical performances even though they were only heard and not seen: "Basti alla messa il contrapunto et pare si faccia tanta musica per tira il populo alla chiesa".

[3] Antoni Mączak, 'Polacchi e lituani di passaggio a Milano nel seicento', in *'Millain the Great': Milano Nelle Brume Del Seicento*, ed. Aldo de Maddalena (Milano: Motta, 1989), 311–21.

Claudia Rusca.[4] Unlike much other music from Milan and elsewhere, her motet book printed in 1630 still survives, as does the nunnery chant antiphoner rewritten by Anna Maria Fogliani in the same period (see Chapter 5). There are also reports of many nuns singing at Fogliani's convent, S Caterina in Brera.[5] Antonio Campò wrote about the excellence of Corona Somenza (1530-1609), a nun musician at the Benedictine convent, S Maurizio (also known as Monastero Maggiore).[6] In 1588, the male composer Andrea Rota dedicated the reprint of his first book of motets to the musical nuns of S Vittore in Meda.[7] In 1595, Paolo Morigia, wrote: "Nearly all the nunneries [in Milan] practise music, both playing numerous sorts of musical instruments, and singing. And in some convents there are such rare voices that they seem angelic, and like sirens entice the nobility of Milan to go and hear them", mentioning specifically S Maria Maddalena and Assonto detto del Muro [sic].[8] In 1619, Girolamo Borsieri wrote of the singer and instrumentalist, Claudia Sessa, who "drew such crowds on feast days" to the church of the Augustinian convent, S Maria Annunciata, that "many people were compelled to remain outside".[9]

In Bologna, between 1582 and 1675, some 10 musical collections were dedicated to its nuns.[10] A secular *First Book of Madrigals* was dedicated to the nun singer and instrumentalist, Laura Bovio at S Lorenzo.[11] No fewer than four musical collections were dedicated to nuns at S Cristina della Fondazza, and all within the first quarter of the 17th century.[12] A further testament to S

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[4] Robert L Kendrick, 'Traditions and Priorities in Claudia Rusca's Motet Book', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe an Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (London; New York; Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).

[5] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Trotti 453 (1684); as cited by Kendrick, 'Traditions and Priorities in Claudia Rusca's Motet Book', 121.

[6] Antonio Campò, *Cremona Fedelissima Città, et Nobilissima Colonia de Romani* (Cremona, in casa dell'Auttore: per H Tromba, & H Bartoli, 1585); as cited by Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan*, 34.

[7] Cappella Artemisia, *Weep and Rejoice: Music for the Holy week from the Convents of 17th-century Italy.* (Bologna, Italy: Brilliant Classics, Cat. number 94638, 2014), notes from the recording, 6.

[8] Paolo Morigia, *La Nobiltà di Milano* (Milano: Stamp. del quon. P. Pontio, 1595), 186–87. As cited by Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan*, 73.

[9] Girolamo Borsieri, *Il supplimento della Nobiltà di Milano (di P. Morigia)* (Milano, 1619), 51–54. As cited by Jane Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 126 and 153: Claudia Sessa composed two sacred songs that reached print in 1613 in an anthology, *Conoro pianto di Maria Vergine*.

[10] Cappella Artemisia, 'Music from the Convents of Bologna', .

[11] Craig Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 30. Laura left her convent home in 1584, to sing in Florence for the ruling Medici.

[12] Four independent collections of vocal music, dedicated to S Caterina, were brought together by Adriano Banchieri, Ercole Porta, Giovannni Battista Biondi and Gabriele Fattorini. Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 52.

Cristina's active musical culture are two organ lofts, "one on each side of the high altar",[13] and only accessible from the nuns' inner chapel. These two raised organ rooms faced each other so that during performances the screens could be removed so that the nuns could sing as a co-ordinated double choir.[14] The S Cristina nuns also accompanied their singing "with various instruments, violins, trombones, harps and suchlike".[15] In addition, Emilia Grassi (d 1633) who "received a dedication in Adriano Banchieri's *Messa solenne a otto voci* in 1599",[16] was remembered as someone "who, above all, so excelled in playing all musical instruments that she was second to none".[17] Grassi (amongst others) was also mentioned by her confessor, Mauro Ruggeri, in a necrology, for her talents on the organ, harp and other instruments.[18] There is also evidence that Bolognese convents owned collections of music. Suor Emilia Arali's inventory from the convent of S Margherita (Benedictine), reveals that in 1613 she owned seven books "to sing and play" and the nuns of S Guglielmo (Dominican) were left a trunk full of vocal music by a benefactress in 1617.[19]

In Siena, according to Colleen Reardon, at least nine of the 21 nunneries supported a group of select nun-musicians who sang exceptional music and had musical ensembles,[20] renowned for their instrumentalists.[21] The names of individual performing nuns were documented by Ugurgieri Azzolini.[22] In Ferrara, Lucretia Borgia's daughter, Suor Leonora d'Este, (1515-1575) had a clavichord, harpsichord and an organ in her apartments as well as responsibility for the organ in the inner choir of the convent church; recent research by Laurie Stras suggests that Suor Leonora might well have composed at least some of the pieces in *Musica quinque vocum: motteta materna lingua vocata*, printed in 1543.[23] In 1592, three further convents in Ferrara were noted in particular for their

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[13] Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 55.
[14] Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*, 52.
[15] Bologna, AGAB, 'Camaldoli,' MS 652, fol 11v, Mauro Ruggeri "...con varij istromenti, di violini, tromboni, Arpe, e cosi simili."; as cited by Monson, 52.
[16] Cappella Artemisia, 'Music from the Convents of Bologna', Accessed 27 June 2018. http://cappella-artemisia.com/music-from-the-convents-of-bologna/.
[17] Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, 54.
[18] Bologna, AGAB, Camaldoli MS652, fol 12v, Mauro Ruggeri. As cited by Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, 103–4.
[19] Bologna, ASB Demaniale 51/3918; also Demaniale 80/814; as cited by Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*, 60–61.
[20] Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700* (Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 15.
[21] Ibid., 33.
[22] Isodoro Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le Pompe Sanesi o Vero Relazione Delli Huomini e Donne Illustri Di Siena e Suo Stato*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Pistoia, 1649); as cited by Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 116.
[23] *Musica Quinque Vocum: Motteta Materna Lingua Vocata* (Venetijs: Scotum, 1543); as cited by Stras, 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex', 696.

musical skills: S Antonio, S Silvestro and S Vito.[24] The S Vito nuns' graceful comportment, as well as their musical skills, was commented upon by Hercole Bottrigari in 1594: "to watch them come in…to the place where a long table has been prepared, at one end of which is found a large *clavicembalo* (harpsichord), you would see them enter one by one, quietly bringing their instruments, either stringed or wind".[25] The musical independence of the nuns was highlighted in Bottrigari's report: "Neither Fiorino nor Luzzasco, though both are held in great honour by them, nor any other musician or living man, has had any part either in their work or in advising them".[26] The singers included a bass and two tenors, voices that seem to have been an exception to the usual practice of sopranos and contraltos in a women's choir. S Vito also supported the nun-composer, Suor Raffaella Aleotti (1575-1620).[27]

Venice's singing nuns were well known in the early 16th century, particularly those at the Benedictine convent of S Zaccaria and the Augustinian convent of Le Vergini.[28] By the 1520s, such was their fame that the diarist Marin Sanudo, as pointed out by Laurie Stras, "recommended their convents as tourist attractions, equivalent to the doge's palace and the Piazza San Marco".[29] There followed a patchy landscape of convent music when polyphony was banned by church representatives, yet in 1615 when the Benedictine nuns of S Servolo moved from the lagoon, at their inauguration ceremony in their new home, the Patriarch's vicar began the *Te Deum* "which was then

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[24] Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', 142.

[25] Hercole Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio or Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments*, trans. Carol MacClintock, Musicological Studies and Documents 9 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), 56–60; Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', 125; Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, 235.

[26] Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio or Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments*, 56–60; Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', 125; Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, 235. The musicians quoted are Ippolito Fiorino, the chapel master of Duke Alfonso d'Este, and Luzzasco Luzzaschi, organist, composer and leader of the concerted music at the Estense Court.

[27] Stefano Luigi Astengo, *Musici agostiniani anteriori al secolo XIX*, Monografie storiche agostiniane 14 (Firenze: Libreria ed. fiorentina, 1929). The musical nuns listed from St Vito were: Suor Catabene dei Catabeni, tenor, and music-school director; Suor Raffaella Magnifici, cornet player; Suor Claudia Manfredi, soprano; Suor Bartolomea Soraniati, soprano; Suor Cassandra Pigna, tenore; Suor Alfonsa Trotti, bass; Suor Olimpia Leoni, contralto and viola player; the daughter of Giovanni Battista, Suor Raffaella Aleotti, organist and composer.

[28] Kate J. P. Lowe and A Korhonen, 'Power and Institutional Identity in Renaissance Venice: The Female Convents of S. M. Delle Vergini and S. Zaccaria'. In COLLeGIUM: Studies Across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Volume 2: The Trouble with Ribs: Women, Men and Gender in Early Modern Europe. Tutkijakollegium, 2007.

[29] Marin Sanudo, *Venice, Città Excellentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, 392. As cited by Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 198.

followed and sung by all the said nuns in two choirs in polyphony [*canto figurato*]".[30] (It is possible that such polyphony was not exceptional music as per my definition, but *falsobordone*.)

In Florence, as in Venice, there is even less evidence of nuns' music making. Laurie Stras discovered evidence of music in *veglie* (evening pastimes) written by Suor Annalena Aldobrandini in 1585 at Spirito Santo (S Giorgio sulla Costa, Benedictine), but of the music itself there is no trace.[31] I have pulled together a list of other convent theatre performed by nuns in Florence (see Chapter 5) but, again, tantalisingly, none of the music mentioned has been found. Regarding specifically mentioned musical nuns, Caterina Cibo was renowned for playing the bass viol at the convent of Le Murate (Benedictine) in 1587;[32] and, Margherita Signorini, daughter of Francesca Caccini, is renowned for her beautiful singing voice at S Girolamo e San Francesco sulla Costa (Franciscan) in 1642. Severo Bonini, a composer and organist in Florence, reported: "Crowds raced to hear her sing divine praises by herself, and sometimes in ensemble with other skilled virgins who are her companions, notwithstanding the church's inconvenient location on a steep hill."[33]

Clearly, given these many reports and in some cases the material evidence of the music itself, nuns in northern Italy variously made formal performances of exceptional music – indeed, some nuns were very skilled musically – and also enjoyed more informal musical diversions. But there has been a disproportionate attention paid to these leisure activities. As a result, nuns' music-making in early modern Italy has been only partially represented and, at times, identified almost wholly with exceptional music. In his book *Celestial Sirens*, for example, Robert Kendrick asserts that polyphony – and by which I think he means exceptional polyphony as opposed to *falsobordone* – was central to the lives of nuns in Milanese convents.[34] As Anthony Pryer says: "It would seem likely that most of the music in convents would have comprised simple chanting and a true musical ethnography of the subculture would need to concern itself as much with these average performances as with the apices

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[30] Francesco Sansovino and Giustiniano Martinioni, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIIII libri da Francesco Sansovino: con aggiunta di tutte le cose notabili della stessa città, fatte et occorse dall'anno 1580 fino al presente 1663 da D. Giustiniano Martinioni* (Venetia: Curti, 1663), 276; Translation by Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 213.

[31] Laurie Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini', *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012): 34–59.

[32] Kate J. P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 275–77.

[33] Florence, BRF, Ricc. 2218, fols. 85v-86r, 'Prima Parte de Discorse Regole Sora [*Sic*] Le Musica', Severo Bonini; as cited by Suzanne Cusick in review of Elissa B Weaver, 'The Wise and Foolish Virgins in Tuscan Convent Theatre', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe an Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (review in *Early Music History* 23, 312): "per udirla cantare le divine lodi a voce sola, e talora in concerto con altre virutose verginelle sue compagne, in alcune feste dell'anno concorre gran numero di persone nobili virtuose, benchè il luogo della chiesa sia alquanto scomodo, mediante una ripida salita".

[34] Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan*, 428.

of performing life".[35] In criticising Kendrick, Pryer identifies the will among musicologists to invent an early modern tradition of nuns' exceptional music. Craig Monson's speculation about Bolognese nuns in his book, *Disembodied Voices* exemplifies such a will: according to Monson, nuns' exceptional music, either composed or performed, was a means by which cloistered women subverted the rules imposed upon them.[36] Yet his assertion rests on sources from just one convent and he passes over the fact that, outside this single convent, scholars have apparently yet to find music sources in Bologna, after the Council of Trent to 1650, to back his claim.

The extant corpus of nuns' exceptional music is small – despite half of all printed musical works by women being written by nuns – and has been the subject of meticulous studies.[37] Between 1543 and 1650 we know of only 10 nun composers in Northern Italy. These composers are listed chronologically in Table Intro.1. Rather than replicate the source references in the table, they are all noted in the subsequent text. The table below shows the Order to which each nun composer belonged, and the city in which each resided.

Table Intro.1 Published nun composers in Northern Italy in the first half of the early modern period

Date	Location	Nun composer /nunnery	Order
1543	Ferrara	Suor Leonora d'Este /Corpus Domini	Clarissan
1593	Ferrara	Suor Raffaella Aleotti /S Vito	Augustinian
Between 1609 and 1616	Pavia	Caterina Assandra /S Agata di Lomello	Benedictine
Between 1609 and 1616	Milan	Claudia Sessa/ S Maria Annunciata	Lateran Canons (Augustinian)
1619	Modena	Sulpitia Cesis /S Geminiano	Augustinian
1623	Bologna	Lucrezia Orsina Vizzana/	Camaldolese

[35] Anthony Pryer, "Orders of Effort, Not Merit", review of *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan,* by Robert L. Kendrick, in *Times Literary Supplement*, 28 February 1997, 19

[36] Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Craig Monson, 'Disembodied Voices: Music in the Nunneries of Bologna in the Midst of the Counter-Reformation', in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig Monson (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1992), 191–209; Craig Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 7.

[37] Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', 126. Bowers was referring to the period 1566-1700.

		S Cristina della Fondazza	
1630	Milan (Brera)	Claudia Rusca/ S Caterina	Humiliate
1637	Asti	Cecilia Torniella/ Santissimo Nome di Gesù	Clarissan
1640	Novara	Isabella Leonarda	Ursuline
Between 1640 and 1650	Milan*	Chiara Margharita Cozzolani /S Radegonda	Benedictine

*The list of Milanese nun composers would not be complete without mentioning Rosa Giacinta Badalla but her solo motets were printed in 1684 so her contribution is outside the timeframe of my study.

Of course, more exceptional music composed by nuns may yet be discovered, but what sort of conclusions can be drawn from the evidence we have? Logically, nuns' musical activity, measured against extant polyphonic writing and contemporary reports, should correlate with the number of nuns from urban centres. There survives no record, however, that Florentine nuns contributed. Whether a nun composed polyphony would seem linked with the wealth of a nun's family and its commitment to music instruction. Raffaella Aleotti from Ferrara, for example, benefited from tuition by distinguished musicians such as Alessandro Milleville and Ercole Pasquini before going to S Vito to further her education from the age of 14.[38] Caterina Assandra, a nun at S Agata di Lomello in Pavia, was also taught by private tutors paid for by her father. Here are two clear cases of how being from a musical family benefited a convent, but the musical competence came from outside the nunnery walls and preceded admission. In Ferrara, when the Duchy became a Papal State at the end of the 16th century, noble favour declined and convent music reduced significantly.[39]

The first book attributed to a nun composer was a book of motets, written in *voci pari*, published in Venice by Girolamo Scotto in 1543. It was supposedly written in Ferrara by Eleonora d'Este: the attribution, however, is speculative.[40] The first definite attribution is a 1593 collection of polyphonic sacred songs by Suor Raffaella Aleotti.[41] Caterina Assandra in Pavia, and canoness Claudia Sessa of S Maria Annunciata in Milan are the next known composers for multiple voices,

[38] Ibid., 129.
[39] Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara, 318*.
[40] Anonymous, *Musica Quinque Vocum: Motteta Materna Lingua Vocata* (Venetijs: Scotum, 1543) as discussed by Stras, 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex', 618; Musica Secreta (Musical group) and Celestial Sirens (Musical group), *Lucrezia Borgia's daughter : princess, nun and musician motets from a 16th century convent* (Obsidian, 2017).
[41] Raffaella Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones: quinque, septem, octo & decem vocibus decantandae;* ed. Ann Carruthers-Clement (New York: Broude Trust, 1996); Vittoria Aleotti, *Ghirlanda De Madrigali A Qvatro Voci: Nuouamente posta in luce* (Venedig: Vincenti, 1593).

their sacred pieces with *basso continuo* being copied into an early 17th century manuscript in German organ tablature.[42] The motets by Caterina Assandra were labelled 'Opus 2' implying that there was an earlier work, too. Milan produced two further composer-nuns. In 1630, Claudia Rusca at the Humiliate nunnery, S Caterina, in Brera (on the outskirts of Milan) included in her motet collection two instrumental *canzone*; instrumental compositions were even rarer than vocal works by nuns.[43] And Chiara Margharita Cozzolani, a nun at S Radegonda in Milan, produced four books of sacred music between 1640 and 1650.[44]

In 1619 Sulpitia Cesis of S Geminiano in Modena, brought out a collection of music, as did Lucrezia Orsina Vizzana in 1623, at S Cristina della Fondazza in Bologna.[45] This latter convent is the focus of Craig Monson's research, in *Disembodied Voices.*[46] Its reputation, however, despite dedications of music to its nuns by Adriano Banchieri, Gabriele Fattorini, Giovanni Battista Biondi and Ercole Porta, seems to rely heavily on one nun, Lucrezia Orsina Vizzana. Despite the strict *clausura* of Vizzana and her nun teachers, the modern style obviously managed to infiltrate S Cristina's walls, not just through the grille above the high altar of the external church when outside musicians came to perform, but through print. In Vizzana's case, it has been persuasively argued that the shape of her motets was probably influenced by each of three external "musician friends" who put together collections of works, also in the *stile moderno.*[47] Vizzana also echoed Monteverdi's use of dissonance in his madrigals, implying a strong musical tradition. In Asti, a Clarissan nun, Cecilia Torniella, was cited in 1637 as a composer of music as well as a celebrated organist, but none of her music has been discovered.[48] In Novara, at the Collegio di Sant'Orsola, resided the composer nun,

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[42] Eckart Tscheuschner, 'Die Neresheimer Orgeltabulaturen der Fürstlichen Thurn und Taxisschen Hofbibliothek zu Regensburg' (Erlangen, Hogl, 1966), 55–56, 107.

[43] Kendrick, 'Traditions and Priorities in Claudia Rusca's Motet Book'; Cappella Artemisia, *Weep and Rejoice: Music for the Holy Week from the Convents of 17th-century Italy*, notes from the recording, 9. Rusca's book of motets was entitled *Sacri concerti à 1–5 con salmi e canzoni francesi* (Milan, 1630); no copy has yet been identified, the first distribution in 1630 perhaps falling victim to the plague; the only known extant copy was extinguished in a war-time fire at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in 1943.

[44] Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', 118, 164–65. Chiara Margarita Cozzolani (1602-c1677) from S Radegonda in Milan, authored four editions of sacred works that reached print: *Primavera di fiori musicali* (lost), *Concerti Sacri* (1642), *Scherzi di sacra melodia* (1648), *Salmi, Op. 3* (1650).

[45] Lucrezia Orsina Vizzana, *Componimenti musicali de motetti concertati a una e piu voci* (In Venetia: nella Stamparia del Gardano, appresso Bartholomeo Magni, 1623).

[46] Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*; Monson, 'Disembodied Voices: Music in the Nunneries of Bologna in the Midst of the Counter-Reformation'; Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy*.

[47] Adriano Banchieri's "musician friends" are thought to be Ercole Porta and Ottavio Vernizzi. Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*, 63. *Stile moderno* was coined by Giulio Caccini in 1602 in his book, *Le nuove musiche*, to denote ornamented song accompanied by *basso continuo*.

[48] Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', 120.

Isabella Leonarda. By 1640, at the age of 20, she already had two motets in Gasparo Casati's *Terzo libro de sacri concenti*.[49]

Surviving works of nun composers in Northern Italy are a rarity but of greater frequency are those nuns who are described as performers or those convents which received favourable comment for their music. It is striking how the reports are concentrated on five main centres: Milan, Bologna, Siena, Ferrara and Venice. Florence is much less reported. This paucity is in accordance with the finding by Laurie Stras that although 16th-century exceptional music associated with nuns and convents increased post Trent,[50] there was only one dedication in extant documents to Florentine nuns (Eleonora Cibo and Donna Caterina at Le Murate, dated 1585).[51]

Often scholars tend to skirt the question of who performed the music about which they write, whether from an absence of sources or scholarship, we do not know. At times, male output seems to be contextualised as nuns' musical practices. For example, David Bryant et al, from the Ca' Foscari University in Venice, study music largely made by male musicians for Florentine convents.[52] Colleen Reardon, while evidencing the rich musical life of Sienese convents, tends to downplay its indebtedness to male musicians but, at the same time, dedicates a whole chapter to a male composer, Alessandro della Ciaia.[53] Yet she does acknowledge that nuns regularly turned to "the corps of professional musicians who worked in Siena's various public institutions" and "invited lay choirs to perform" in the convent and for nunneries' civic ceremonies outside their walls.[54] In *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, Laurie Stras brilliantly probes the vibrant musical culture at Ferrara's nunneries of Corpus Domini and S Vito (even after the Council of Trent).[55] Nevertheless, once composition waned in these institutions, the music-making that continued there remains as yet largely unexplored.

Nor do scholars explain why so little of the music itself remains. In *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, Jonathan Glixon is confounded by the dearth of archived music.[56] Many convent archives were dispersed during the Napoleonic suppression in the early 1800s, but this alone cannot account for why so little music has been found. According to

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[49] Gasparo Casati, *Il terzo libro de sacri concenti a 2, 3, e 4 voci ... : opera terza* (In Venetia: Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1644).
[50] Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 196–97.
[51] Ibid., 196
[52] David Bryant, ed., 'La mappa della musica da chiesa a Firenze tra cattedrale, laudesi e committenza minore', *Quaderni Di «Musica e Storia»* 5 (2006): 193–226.
[53] Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700* (Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), ch.3.
[54] Ibid., 36.
[55] Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).
[56] Jonathan Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, New York, (NY: Oxford University Press, 2017) 20-21.

Glixon, "Most Venetian nuns, after about 1510, were not active as musicians," and he conveys his perplexity by adding, "While they certainly still used chant in the choir, it has even been difficult to locate chant books that can be linked with them."[57] In Florence, too, existing scholarship falls short of accounting for nuns' music. Kelley Harness gives but a nod to the city's nuns and her *Echoes of Women's Voices* discusses almost exclusively female leadership in early modern Florentine secular music.[58] Suzanne Cusick, in her monograph on Florence's virtuosa singer, composer and teacher Francesca Caccini, touches only lightly on Caccini's contributions to nuns' music-making.[59] Regarding exceptional music, absence of evidence does not indicate evidence of absence, and we can hope research will yield more findings, but the music that was unequivocably a part of every nun's life was the plainchant prescribed by the Church as celebration of the Divine Office.

It was the duty of all nuns who had taken their final vows to perform the Divine Office, the liturgical practice sanctifying the day and marking the passage of its hours. The services (the Hours) were made up of psalms augmented by prayers, readings from the Bible, and – of greatest importance in this discussion – antiphons and hymns. Because the Hours were routinely performed in the convent without any help from male ecclesiastics or lay professionals, a core of nuns with some degree of musical proficiency was needed.[60] This, however, did not necessarily mean that all nuns sang or read music. The rule for S Chiara in Venice, for example, says: "If there will be any among the youngest or older ones with good ability, the abbess should have them taught, providing a capable *maestra*, who will instruct them both in singing and in saying the Divine Office".[61] It seems there was a spectrum of ability amongst nuns, ranging from the unschooled to the scholarly, from which we can legitimately surmise that some, at least, were musically literate.[62] Some Orders were more vigilant in teaching music than others. Dominican convents, for example, stand out for being guided by well-educated and committed leaders, who focused on educating nuns in Choir duties.[63] For them, even nuns who did

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[57] email correspondence with Jonathan Glixon, 31 August 2017.

[58] Kelley Ann Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[59] Suzanne G. Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 115.

[60] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 126.

[61] Venice, ASV, S Chiara, 'Regola Delle Monache Di S Chiara', 12–13, "Se alcuna ve ne sarà, fra le più Giovani, o maggiori, di buona habilità, l'abbadessa gl'haverà da fare insegnare, dandole una discreta Maestra, che l'ammaestri così nel Canto, come nel dire l'Officio Divino..."; as cited by Jonathan E. Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 235.

[62] Virginia Blanton, ed., *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Kansas City Dialogue (Papers Revised from a Conference Held at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, June 5-8, 2012)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

[63] Jeffrey F Hamburger et al., *Liturgical life and Latin learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300-1425: inscription and illumination in the choir books of a North German Dominican convent*, vol. 1 (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2016), 71 and 72.

not learn easily were taught to sing and read, all the better to guarantee proficient performance of their liturgical duties.[64] At the very least, in many convents there was a cultivation of rote learning and recitation from memory.[65]

By analysing the constraints under which nuns laboured, and building on Marianne Gillion's research into early modern plainchant,[66] I counterbalance 20th-century scholars emphases on exceptional nuns' music with what we know to be the music most familiar to nuns – plainchant. I also consider their music-making within the constraints they laboured under, taking up Leo Treitler's call for a history writing that, instead of constructing a chronology of repertory or styles, roots itself in evidence of lived experience.[67] To quote Treitler: "Musical works are like blotters that have soaked up the conditions of that time".[68] As he advocates, rather than passing over evidence contradicting a *post hoc* 'evolution' of music, I aim to illuminate the significance of what survives in music, rites and testimony. To explain the complex ways plainsong was cultivated in Florence's nunneries, and the contradictory aims that underpinned its cultivation, I contextualise nuns' musical practice in a number of ways. In particular, I have drawn on research in psychology, sociology, and the evolution of plainchant at the turn of the 16th century.[69] I focus on the daily experience of being a nun and how this experience, together with restrictions that the Church and state imposed on nuns, shaped their musical output. Such a collation allows us to appreciate that Florentine nuns fulfilled a crucial function: they were considered to be protectors for the city and conduits between the residents and heaven itself. This function relied on nuns' extraordinary numbers, their submission, and the plainsong their submission could be heard to celebrate.

Chapter 1 sets the scene for music-making by nuns in Florence. Of particular note is that Florence contained more women religious than any other in Northern Italy and its nunneries could

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[64] Ibid., 1:68.

[65] Simone Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen um 1500: Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Dominikanerinnenklosters St. Katharina St. Gallen*, Scrinium Friburgense 28 (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 71.

[66] Gillion focuses on printed sources with particular reference to the new editions of Graduals at the turn of the 16th century. Marianne C.E. Gillion, 'Retrofitting Plainchant: The Incorporation and Adaptation of "Tridentine" Liturgical Changes in Italian Printed Graduals, 1572-1653', *Journal of Musicology* 36, no.3 (1 July 2019): 331-69; Marianne C.E.Gillion, 'Editorial Endeavours: Plainchant Revision in Early Modern Italian Printed Graduals' *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 29, no.1 (2020): 51-80.

[67] Leo Treitler, *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1990), 167.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Leo Treitler, 'The Historiography of Music', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 270 and 361; James Borders, 'Gender, Performativity, and Allusion in Medieval Services for the Consecration of Virgins', in *Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane Fulcher (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 17–38; Peter Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). Borders advocates forging "new interdisciplinary connections to developing fields of human-centred knowledge" if the cultural study of plainchant that Treitler inaugurated is to advance, and focuses on the role of ritual. Jeffery crosses over into ethnomusicography.

draw on the richest of families. The cost of secular dowries enticed some families to place daughters in convents and pay a lower, convent dowry than would normally be paid with a marriage dowry. Paradoxically, however, it was not an inexpensive option to place daughters in the most prestigious institutions; in fact, doing so, signalled the family's economic clout. At the same time, daughters in wealthy convents might strengthen networks among families with daughters in the same convent, providing a potential means for families to embed themselves socially or politically. In addition, familial reach could be extended spatially by housing daughters in convents located in different parts of the city. I focus on those convents that, from 1550-1650 were linked to the Medici, considering evidence for their means of influence, both through patronage, topography and Cosimo I's creation of a *deputatione* to survey nuns' activities.

Addressing Treitler's call to account for "conditions of that time", Chapter 2 transmits what nuns said about their deprivations and about constraints placed on their music-making. In doing so, I seek to counter narratives about nuns by early modern men who tended either to misrepresent nuns' lives or to cast them as lascivious creatures. Due to the scantiness of nuns' direct testimony I have necessarily drawn on sources outside Florence as well as paying close attention to the letters of Galileo's daughter, Suor Maria Celeste, a Choir nun for the Florentine convent of S Matteo in Arcetri, located outside the city's walls.[70] Although limited, the evidence speaks consistently of loneliness and ill-health, effects compounded by imposed fasting, sleep deprivation and punishment.

In Chapter 3 I detail a nun's standard musical experience outside contextual contingencies of her location in early modern Northern Italy. Considering plainsong from several viewpoints – collective worship, an act of collaboration and of individuation – I consider plainsong's draw and disciplinary force. Significantly, singing engendered not just a sense of empowerment, but overwhelming guilt at sensing its pleasures, leading some nuns to punish themselves. Further, because only the Choir nuns possessed knowledge or freedom from convent chores to make music, their singing highlighted social inequality behind the grille. The Divine Office strictly regulated the Choir nun's daily experience, physically and mentally. Convents only occasionally indulged in (monophonic) *sacre rappresentazioni,* and polyphony – except perhaps *falsobordone* – was rarely allowed.

Chapter 4 analyses the specifically Tridentine restrictions and censure of nuns' music-making. Although edicts from the Council of Trent did not rule against nuns making music, the control that devolved to local Bishops resulted in music-making being forbidden in particular city

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[70] Virginia Galilei and Dava Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633* (London: Fourth Estate, 2001).

states.[71] I also explore the type of regulation specific to each Order in relation to nuns' music-making: the practice of silence among Benedictines, the greater laxity of Augustinians and Franciscans, and the centrality of music for Dominican worship. Because liturgical books had to be updated for Observance (vernacular books had to be destroyed) I consider, too, the growing authority of nuns educated in Latin, while weighing this authority against the Church's impoverishment of education at nunneries.

In Chapter 5 I acknowledge the contributions nuns made to exceptional music, despite their constraints, underlining the richness of their musical legacy. I find evidence of shared traditions in musical training in plainsong among North Italian nunneries and, bearing this education in mind, I identify the specific conditions which not only seem to have brought exceptional music-making to the fore but which would have underpinned any degree of musical proficiency. Such conditions – for example, whereby the nuns come from musical families – are exemplified in Florence at Le Murate (with Caterina Cibo on the violone), S Verdiana (with Suor Maria Vittoria Frescobaldi) and S Girolamo e S Francesco sulla Costa (with Francesca Caccini's daughter). More prevalent is evidence of a musical "middle ground" whereby some musical proficiency was needed orally and aurally, Nuns' plays in Florence often describe the making of music as integral to the body of the play, or as interludes between Acts, but we do not know what music was followed or what sound was made. Indeed, there is a veritable dearth of nun's musical material witness – both in exceptional music and in "middle ground" music – and nuns' musical legacy is necessarily described through the lens of the ritual they performed day in and day out: specifically, the plainchant as prescribed by their Order.

In Chapter 6 I analyse the music I have discovered from the Dominican convent, *La Crocetta*. It is an antiphoner-hymnal dated 1582 (hereafter referred to as CR028). By examining concordances in melody and text with other antiphoners, the sequence of chants in the feast of *De Trinitate*, and the choice of saints, I am able to demonstrate with some certainty its Dominican provenance. That it was copied specifically for nuns is made clear by the chants for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, which give specific directions for where the nuns should stand and who should sing. The scribe copying the majority of the book is also a nun, Catherine, at La Crocetta: she is named in the colophon and I have tracked her identity through the Bishop's vestition records. Not only does CR028 demonstrate Catherine's reasonable literacy in music and in Latin, but it shows how Catherine used the book as a vehicle for individuation. As the only demonstration of music that I have found practised by Florentine nuns after the Council of Trent, CR028 attests to the power of the Church and

[71] Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1–37.

the Medici. As such, this plainchant should be viewed as a beacon of intellectual, musical and religious resolve amongst Florentine nuns, and a worthy contender for further scholarly study.

1. Florentine Nunneries

This chapter explores the topography and demographic data of the convents of Florence where, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, more nuns resided than in any other city in Northern Italy. The nuns' primary function was to pray, an action which was thought not only to sanctify the city but to ensure its divine protection. On close analysis, the convents were quite varied. Many were rich and served to educate and protect daughters of the Florentine elite. Some convents were less well-off but still fulfilled their prayerful duties. Some, in addition, had civic pastoral functions looking after the poor, the wayward and the unfortunate. Yet others were making the best of their situation, enclosure being forced upon their nuns even though they were third-order convents and their nuns had originally elected not to take final vows. And a handful of convents wore their poverty as a badge of honour. Thus, Florentine convents, and their propensity for music-making, were diverse, linked only through the liturgy and observance of the church calendar. Beyond mapping Florentine nunneries, this chapter has two more aims: to identify the reach during 1550-1650 of Florence's ruling Medici among convents of Florence, and to identify those convents most likely to practise music.

For the mapping, I list all the convents in Florence from the middle of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th century, and have marked their location in the city, to demonstrate the geographical spread of Medici influence. From 1550 to 1650 Florence had 54 nunneries. This total excludes S Maria dei Pazzi, a convent into which nuns from S Maria degli Angeli moved in 1632. My estimate is in contrast with calculations by other scholars. R. Burr Litchfield claims there were 47 nunneries from 1530 to 1560; Tim Carter and Richard A. Goldthwaite assert there were 63 nunneries in 1574.[1] Changing definitions for what constitutes a convent may account to some extent for these discrepancies. Here, I define a convent as an institution housing women in order that they perform the Divine Office. In line with this definition, I count as convents those attached to a church, relying on findings by Walter Paatz and Elisabeth Valentiner Paatz to verify exact locations of Florence's nunnery complexes.[2] I cross-referenced church locations with the street names given by Osanna Fantozzi Micali and Piero Roselli, who identified male and religious institutions prior to their suppression by the French in the early 19th century.[3]

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[1] R. Burr Litchfield, 'Florence Ducal Capital, 1530-1630', 2008; Tim Carter and Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace: Jacopo Peri and the Economy of Late Renaissance Florence*, 2013, 71.

[2] Walter Paatz and Elisabeth Valentiner Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz, ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch* (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 1952).

[3] Osanna Fantozzi Micali and Piero Roselli, *Le soppressioni dei conventi a Firenze: riuso e trasformazioni dal sec. XVIII in poi* ([Firenze]: L.F.F., 1980).

Having mapped the nunneries of Florence from 1550 to 1650, I looked for any reference to musical activity under these convents' records in the Archivio di Stato in Florence. The paucity of records about music-making only demonstrates evidence of absence, not absence of evidence. The documents at Archivio di Stato are, after all, largely financial ledgers showing incomings and outgoings of the convent coffers, and not those transactions that may have been paid for direct by patrons or by the nuns (or nuns' families) themselves. There are indications, nevertheless, that – particularly as Florentine were avid bookkeepers – music was taught, instruments were played, and that plays were performed that had music in them, as I discuss in later chapters. And when nuns in a particular convent gained a reputation for their singing, their performances drew significant numbers of listeners.

1.1 Florence, a Centre for Sisters

From 1550 to 1650 the city of Florence was contained within its walls (3 square miles), making it possible to walk from Santa Croce in the east, via the Duomo in the centre, to Santa Maria Novella in the west in less than 45 minutes. The density of convents within this confined area was remarkable. Not only that, but the number of nuns in Florence exceeded that of Milan, Bologna, Siena, Ferrara and Venice, both in absolute numbers and as a rough percentage of population as based on previous scholars' findings. See Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Number of nuns (as % of population) in key cities in Northern Italy

Date	Milan	Bologna	Siena	Ferrara	Venice	Florence
1552						3419 (5%)
1575			926 (5%)			
1581					2508 (2%)	
1595		2480 (4%)				
1601				454 (1%)		
1620	3000 (3%)					
1622						4200 (6%)
1633		2126 (4%)				
1642					2905 (2%)	
1650			1057 (6%)			

The population figures, and numbers of nuns within the population, are taken from city censuses conducted in the years indicated (citations are given below). Sometimes the number of nuns were noted by apostolic visitors (as in Siena). In some cases, secondary sources have suggested much higher figures, but I have erred on the side of caution and noted only those in keeping with the

original census. In Florence in 1551 there were already 48 convents with 2,923 nuns,[4] but in 1552 there were 3,419 nuns, and in 1622 the number of nuns reached its zenith[5] at 4,203 nuns out of a total population of 76,000.[6] To put these statistics into perspective, not only were there twice as many convents as monasteries, there were four times as many nuns as monks or friars.[7] Assuming 50 per cent of the population were men, and 20 per cent were children, this means that 14%, almost one in seven women in the city, were nuns at that time.[8] For Florentine patrician families, no fewer than 44% had a daughter in a religious institution.[9]

Milan, in contrast, housed less than 75 per cent this number of nuns in a population that was 130 per cent the size: in 1620 it had 3,000 nuns in a population of 100,000.[10] Bologna followed Milan in terms of nuns' numbers: in 1595, 2,480 were nuns out of a population of 59,000,[11] and in 1633 there were 2,128 nuns (1636 choir nuns, 492 *converse*, and 264 *educande*).[12] In Siena in 1575, the apostolic visitor from Perugia, Francesco Bossi, found 926 nuns, novices and *educande* in Siena's nunneries out of a population of 18,000 citizens,[13] and in 1650 there were 1,057 nuns.[14] In Ferrara in 1601 there were 454 nuns out of a population of 32,860.[15] (Laurie Stras thinks the Ferrara numbers

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[4] Osanna Fantozzi Micali and Piero Roselli, *Le soppressioni dei conventi a Firenze: riuso e trasformazioni dal sec. XVIII in poi* [Firenze]: L.F.F., 1980.; Firenze, ASF, Francesco Settimanni, 'Memorie Fiorentine, vol 8', Manoscritti 133, fol 100.

[5] R. Burr Litchfield, 'Florence Ducal Capital, 1530-1630', 2008, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.90034, para. 34.

[6] Christopher F Black, *Church, Religion, and Society in Early Modern Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), chap. 8.

[7] In Florence there were 22 houses with 656 male religious in 1551 compared with 28 houses with 966 male religious in 1632. Litchfield, 'Florence Ducal Capital, 1530-1630', para. 119.

[8] Ibid., para. 122; N. J. Hays, *Epidemics and Pandemics Their Impacts on Human History* (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 103; Sharon T. Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 13; Christopher F Black, *Church, Religion, and Society in Early Modern Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), chap. 8. In Florence alone, Strocchia quotes 3,419 nuns in 1552, out of a population of between 60,000-70,000. In 1622, according to Black, the numbers had risen to 4,200 nuns in 56 nunneries out of a population of 76,000 inhabitants.

[9] Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace: Jacopo Peri and the Economy of Late Renaissance Florence*, 71.

[10] Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 95; Kendrick, 'The Traditions of Milanese Convent Music and the Sacred Dialogues of Chiara Margarita Cozzolani)', 212; P. Renee Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan*, 5. Kendrick cites an unsigned note in 1663 from the archdiocesan curia that says the population of nuns in Milan had risen to 6,000. I interpret this as meaning "a lot" and that the actual figure is erroneous. Baernstein cites the number of nunneries in Milan as being '40-odd'.

[11] Bologna, BCAB, MS B3567, 30 September 1595; as cited by Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, 6 and 226.

[12] Black, *Church, Religion, and Society in Early Modern Italy*, 150; Zarri, 'Monasteri femminili e città (secoli XV-XVIII)'. Zarri suggests that, in 1631,13.8 per cent of the female population lived behind convent walls. This seems a very high estimate.

[13] Giuliano Catoni, 'Interni di conventi senesi del cinquecento', *Ricerche storiche.*, no. 1 (1980): 177; as cited by Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 18.

[14] Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 19.

[15] Paul F Grendler and Renaissance Society of America, *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, 6 vols (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999), vol. 2.

could have been double this, with 1,056 permitted nuns in 1590,[16] but this amendment in my calculations would only bring the percentage of nuns in the population up to three per cent). In Venice in 1581 the number of nuns is said to have been 2,508 out of a population of 134,877.[17] In the early 1600s the Venetian population had risen to almost 190,000,[18] but in 1642, the number of Venetian nuns had increased to just 2,905 (1,991 Choir nuns, 599 *converse*, and 315 *educande*) out of a population of 120,000 (the population having fallen as a result of the 1629-33 plagues)[19].

Why did Florence, above all city-states in northern Italy, become home to so many nunneries, and so many nuns? Main grounds were likely either a father's urge to preserve patrimony; and/or, a young woman's enflamed religious fervour; and/or, Florence's civic duty to look after the less fortunate. The cost of secular dowries in Florence, however, was almost certainly the dominant reason for rising numbers of nuns. It was much cheaper for a daughter to be married to God than to a man: the convent demanded a much smaller dowry than the families with an eligible bachelor.[20] Sending a daughter to a convent, and having the opportunity to pay a dowry in cash rather than as property rights, also tended to keep family wealth safe. It certainly kept it safe from a husband's appropriation: any property or money that a daughter owned (or came into possession after her father's death) was, if she were married, automatically the property of her husband.[21]

Placing daughters in a prestigious nunnery also sprang from the opposite condition – being wealthy. The increasing rate of patrician monachisations grew from an extravagant gift-giving system: fathers gave their daughters to the Church as a display of affluence, a patrician rite that took charge of, and laid waste to, a woman's reproductive capacities.[22] This interpretation of claustration seems especially apt for early modern Florentine nuns from wealthy backgrounds whose families did not wish to compromise their riches by marrying either 'up' or 'down' the social scale. In particular, the patrician class, which financed trade in the city's wool and silk industries and through bills of exchange, would have been eager to show off its prosperity.[23] The Medici empire represented the

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[16] Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, 2018, 16.
[17] Black, *Church, Religion, and Society in Early Modern Italy*, 150.
[18] 'Venetian Society', accessed 6 June 2018, https://www.encyclopedia.com/places/spain-portugal-italy-greece-and-balkans/italian-political-geography/venice.
[19] Black, *Church, Religion, and Society in Early Modern Italy*, 150
[20] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 3; Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace: Jacopo Peri and the Economy of Late Renaissance Florence*, 70.
[21] Silvia Evangelisti, 'Wives, Widows, and Brides of Christ: Marriage and the Convent in the Historiography of Early Modern Italy', *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 1 (2000): 237.
[22] Jutta Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 60. Sperling likens the convent dowry tradition to a North American Indian potlatch system where expensive gifts are given to save face.
[23] Richard A Goldthwaite, *Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 217-30 and 336-340.

pinnacle of this activity: a recent popular study puts the Medici empire as the 17th richest-ever in the world, earning an equivalent of US$129 billion.[24] Ritual donation of daughters to the Church belonged to a culture of spectacle in which, marrying a daughter to the Church in a convent such as La Concezione, publicly ranked a family among the ruling elite. Such positioning reaped rewards beyond mere recognition of wealth: strategically placed nuns became, as we shall see, vehicles for patronage through which familial and business contacts were strengthened.[25] Choosing a particular nunnery to best display one's wealth is nowhere better shown than at S Verdiana in Florence. This Florentine convent instigated a fraudulent dowry system after the 1580s whereby, by declaring it had reached capacity (what had been deemed allowable by church and civic authorities), it could keep on accepting young girls as 'supernumeraries' on payment of a much higher dowry (as much as three times the usual rate).[26] S Verdiana never did reach its capacity of 72 sisters but families continued to pay supernumerary rates until the 1630s, an act which signalled significant wealth on the part of the patrons.

Women religious were not always pawns in the bid to preserve patriarchy: some actively chose to be nuns, or were cloistered, because of a strong spiritual conviction. In the 15th century, the city had seen a surge in religious fervour, due to the Observant movement and, particularly, in the fierce advocacy of Savonarola, the militant Dominican friar whose prophecies and puritanical zeal inflamed the city. His demands for clerical reform, and his denouncement of ecclesiastical corruption and of the exploitation of the poor, found many adherents. His influence in the city continued even after his burning at the stake in 1498 and the restoration of the Medici aristocracy in 1512. After 1500, still reflecting Savonarola's influence, new Dominican convents in particular were founded: for example, S Caterina da Siena was set up in 1500, S Maria degli Angiolini in 1509, and La Crocetta in 1511. Savonarola's devotees, the *piagnoni*, were influential not just in these institutions but at those previously founded (S Jacopo di Ripoli, and S Vincenzo d'Annalena), and even in Benedictine institutions such as Le Murate and S Verdiana. This influence lasted right through the 16th century. Calamities such as the devastating siege in Florence of 1529-30 only renewed the upsurge in devotion, because so many of Savonarola's prophecies seemed to have been realised. Even as late as 1585, renewed persecution by church and state officials served to further feed the movement.[27] In another expression of devotion, from the mid-16th century onwards, specialised custodial institutions,

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[24] David S Chang, 'The Richest People of All Time', accessed 19 March 2019, https://artofthinkingsmart.com/the-richest-people-of-all-time/. Bill Gates was placed at 15th.

[25] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 3.

[26] Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Rethinking the Musical Nun in Early Modern Florence' (Donald Wort Lectures 2019, Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge, 2019), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGrHNR1n0U4.

[27] Sharon T Strocchia, 'Savonarolan Witnesses: The Nuns of San Jacopo and the Piagnone Movement in Sixteenth-Century Florence', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 38, no. 2 (2007), 414.

both for reformed prostitutes and for orphaned or unwanted girls, sprang up.[28] These new convents were effectively urban welfare institutions.

Because they were isolated from each other through post-Tridentine claustration from 1563, the nuns of Florence lacked a collective voice. This was despite glittering musical achievements of women at court (most famously by Francesca Caccini). Part of Florentine culture was, in fact, to hide its women, as observed by Kelly Harness, who shows the strictness with which noble families enclosed their daughters.[29] Visitors to Florence were struck by this. The French writer, Michel de Montaigne wrote on 24 June, 1581: "Saturday, San Giovanni day, which is the principal holiday of Florence, and the one they celebrate the most; so that at this feast even the young girls are seen in public".[30] As cited by Judith Brown and Harness, in 1610 Balthazar Grangier de Liverdes observed that "in Florence women are more enclosed than in any other part of Italy; they see the world only from the small openings in their windows".[31] The frequent claustration of Florentine daughters was co-extensive with the city's social practice.

1.2 The relative authority of "the Medici"

Although my focus is Florence, it is worth pausing for a moment to compare the governance, patronage and ecclesiastical control in key cities in North Italy, to see how they differed, and changed considerably, through time, thereby highlighting how the situation in Florence was unique. Milan, for example, was a city-state dominated by the reforming zeal of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo.[32] He oversaw only half the nunneries, however, so the ruling elite could display individual influences, through patronage of music, in the other half.[33] When Federigo Borromeo became Archbishop in his

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[28] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 3; Nicholas Terpstra, 'Making a Living, Making a Life: Work in the Orphanages of Florence and Bologna', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 4 (2000): 1063–79.

[29] Kelley Ann Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 11. It was the women of richer families who lived behind closed doors. Women from poorer families roamed freer.

[30] Michel de Montaigne, *The complete works: essays, travel journal, letters*, trans. Donald Murdoch Frame (New York: A.A. Knopf, 2003), 1227. As cited by Natalie Tomas, *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger J Crum and John T Paoletti (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011), 314. San Giovanni is Florence's patron saint.

[31] Cited in Judith C Brown, 'A Woman's Place Was in the Home: Women's Work in Renaissance Tuscany', in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Margaret W Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J Vickers (Chicago, Ill.; London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1998), 215; and in Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices*, 11. No primary source given.

[32] Carlo Borromeo, *Ordinationi Pertinenti Alle Monache Della Città e Diocesi Di Milano e Di Tutta La Provincia, Fatte Nel Concilio Provinciale Di Milano, Sott l'Ill. e Rev Sig Carlo Borromeo, Arcivescovo Di Milano* (Milan: Giovanni Battista Ponte, 1566).

[33] Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan*, chap. 4.

turn, he continued his cousin's reforms. By all accounts, he was a much more sympathetic character, who encouraged music-making by nuns and wholly approved of the musical literacy of novices in particular, although he did continue the ban on male music teachers in convents.[34] Bologna, in contrast, was a Papal State where a ruling class indulged easy lifestyles while paying lip service to the rules and regulations of a stream of unsympathetic Archbishops. Gabriele Paleotti complained, for example, of his frustrations in trying to put basic Tridentine reforms into practice, including those on religious music. He struggled with "inadequate staff and [an] unconcerned clergy, as well as [opposition from] the Papal governors of Bologna".[35] In particular, Church guidelines were consistently flouted between 1580 and 1620 as "Bolognese prelates issued decree after decree forbidding nuns to study with outside teachers or to hire secular musicians for performances in their churches".[36] As in Milan, music-making by Bolognese nuns was able to thrive.

Nominally ruled from Florence,[37] Siena's archbishops were bound by kinship relations within the city, promoting a local Sienese identity. Music in the nunneries helped to reinforce this identity, while enhancing the cloistered life of ruling families' women. As Colleen Reardon says, "Musical performances by Siena's holy women thus might have been understood as a demonstration of communal identity in one of the few areas in which the Sienese had autonomy."[38] With such robust support, musical performances by Siena's women religious could and did become a forum in which the Sienese could therefore assert a collective unity.[39] In Ferrara, however, as the rule of the d'Este yielded to governance from Rome, a once-flourishing musical culture in its nunneries withered.[40] No-one, male or female, was allowed to enter a convent to teach music or instruct in the playing of musical instruments such as the organ, without special license.[41] Ferrara demonstrates how, once the Duchy rule passed to the Pope, severe restrictions imposed by the Bishop gained traction, as power among patrician families fragmented and music-making in the nunneries similarly reduced. In Venice, nuns served a governing elite whose pride and isolationism effectively disenfranchised even

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[34] Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan*, 81.

[35] Charles George Herbermann, ed., 'Gabriele Paleotti' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church* (New York: Encylcopedia Press, Robert Appleton Company, 1913); Paolo Prodi, *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597)*, 2 vols (Roma: Ed. Di storia e letteratura, 1959 and 1967); as cited by George T. Dennis, 'Reviewed Work: Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597). Volume II by Paolo Prodi', *The Catholic Historical Review* 57, no.1 (1971), 84-85.

[36] Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 24.

[37] Gene A Brucker, *Florence : The Golden Age, 1138-1737* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 186–89.

[38] Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 29.

[39] Judith Hook, *Siena: una città e la sua storia* (Siena: Nuova immagine, 1989), 155. As cited by Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 17.

[40] Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', 142.

[41] Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, 318.

the Pope. Nuns, however, acted as a security for the city against damnation, so there were curbs on their capacity for enriched music-making. In 1575, for example, the Patriarch issued a ruling that was reaffirmed in different forms several times afterwards: "you may not [sing], and must not learn to sing polyphony, or to play any sort of instrument, nor sing such songs in your churches or monasteries. Where it is the custom to sing plainchant, your nuns may be taught by nun teachers of your monasteries, and not by others, and where it is the custom to chant the words ["*salmizar in parole",* as opposed to sung in *falsobordone*], we wish that this custom be entirely observed".[42]

Florence stands out amongst North Italian cities for its domination by the Medici for more than 300 years ruling from the 14th to the 17th century: first when the city-state was a quasi-republic (1115-1532) after which the Medici ruled as Dukes and Grand Dukes of Tuscany. The Medici bank, founded in 1397 by Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (c.1360-1429), made the family immensely rich, and Giovanni's son, Cosimo the Elder (1389-1464) consolidated and enhanced their political power, with Medici money sponsoring the flowering of the Renaissance. Cosimo the Elder's son, Piero de' Medici (1416-1469), was far less successful but Piero's son, Lorenzo de' Medici (the Magnificent) (1449-1492), restored their political fortunes as well as widespread patronage of the arts. Lorenzo's son, another Piero de' Medici, lacked his father's skills and, following the French invasion of Italy, the Medici were sent into exile in 1494 and the Republic was revived.

In 1530, however, the holy Roman Emperor Charles V reinstated the Medici and Alessandro de' Medici (1510-1537) subsequently became the first Duke of Tuscany (1532). Following Alessandro's assassination and attempts to restore the Republic, the family's supporters managed to install the 17-year-old Cosimo de' Medici**,** from a side-branch of the family, as the head of the city-state. He proved one of the most competent Medici of them all and was made Grand Duke of Tuscany (Cosimo I) by the Pope in 1569. Figure 1.1 shows the ruling Medici line from the time of Cosimo I through to Gian Gastone, (the last of the ruling line), but our interest lies mainly with the Grand Duchy from mid-16th century to mid-17th century.

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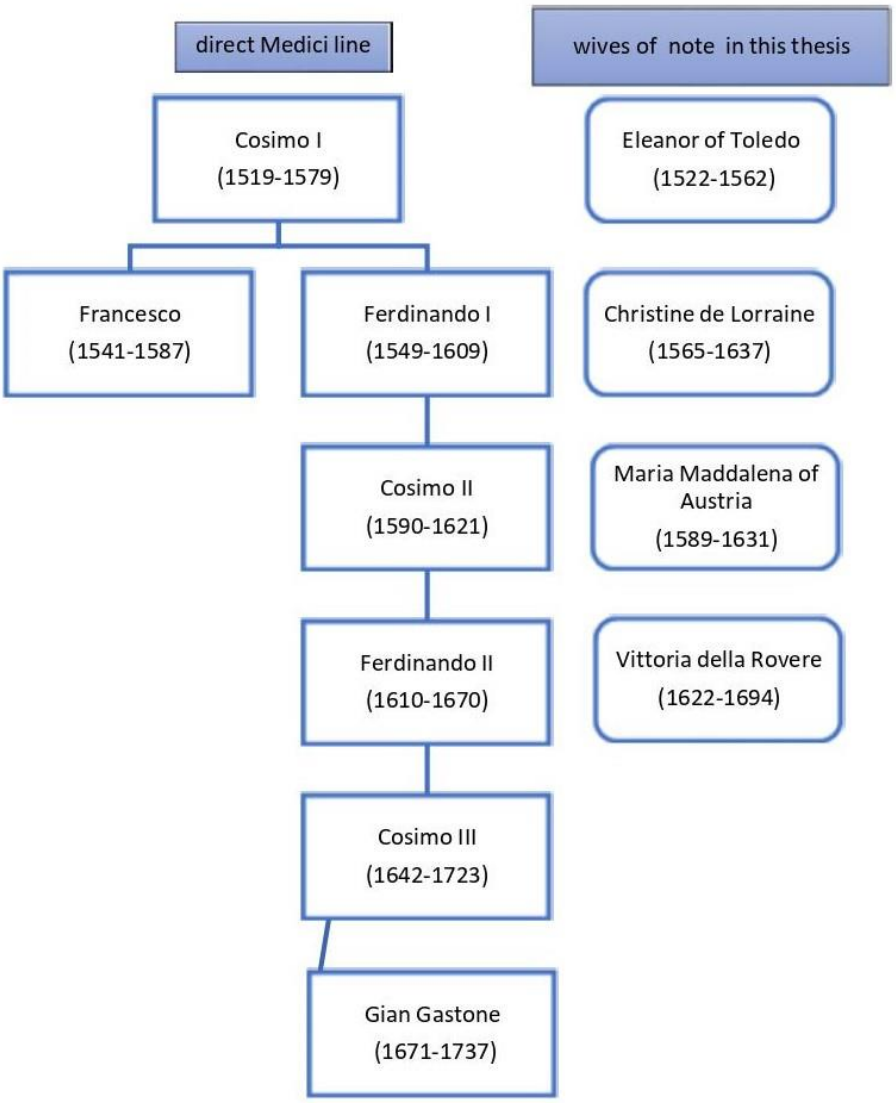
[42] Venice, ASPV, Curia Patriarcale, Archivio segreto, Visite pastorali a monasteri femminili, 2, 1570-89, fols 47v-48v, 'Mandatum Generalis' (2 September 1575): "non possiate, ne dobbiate imparar a cantar canto figurato, ne a sonar alcuna sorte d'instrumento, ne cantar tali canti nelle vostre chiese, over Monasterii, ma dove è costume di cantar canto fermo possiate imparar a cantar detto canto dalle vostre monache maestre del monasterio et non da altrii, et dove è costume di salmizar in parole volemo sia osservato detto costume per ogni modo". As cited by Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 212. Glixon translated "*salmizar in parole"* as *"*speak the psalms*".*

Figure 1.1 The Medici Grand Dukes and their Wives (as noted in this thesis) in the Period 1550-1650



In the mid-16th century, with continuing opposition from other patrician families, as well as outside interference from the Holy Roman Emperor, other foreign countries and other Italian nation states seeking ascendancy over the city, the Medici would have had to use all the levers of power at their disposal, including widespread social networks, patronage of individuals and institutions, and denigration of their rivals at every opportunity. Part of the strategy was to invoke religion and insist they ruled by divine right. As John Murry says: "Cosimo [I] quite consciously set out to make his power not just legitimate but sacrosanct; to make his personage not just regal but divine; and to make

himself into not just a prince but a god."[43] The religious mores of the time would have fed this Medicean assumption of power and the quasi deification it implied. Murry further comments: "Scholars of mid-16th century Florentine governance, especially Italian historians, have often refused to acknowledge religion as an independent ingredient of political culture, choosing to treat it merely as an instrument of power wielded by cynical autocrats".[44] Cosimo I and his wife Eleonora of Toledo were noted for their religiosity (as exemplified by attending Church and Mass every day, where possible) and so it may be construed that their piety was genuine and their reverence influenced others to lead a devout life.

The Medici established close ties with the Church although, as explained below, these ties co-existed alongside tensions and clashes. Alessandro (1510-1537), the first Duke of Florence, is for example widely thought to be the illegitimate son of Pope Clement VII (1478-1538).[45] When the line passed to Cosimo I, his godfather (and mother's uncle, as well as son of Lorenzo the Magnificent from the earlier incarnation of republican Medici rule) was Pope Leo X (1475-1521). Cosimo I managed to ensure two of his sons, Giovanni and Garzia,[46] were given cardinal hats. Furthermore, the friendship he cultivated with Pope Pius V culminated in Cosimo's ascension to Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1569. Yet another of Cosimo's sons, who became Ferdinando I, was also a Cardinal. Perhaps the Medici's political presence in the Vatican,[47] led to Florence becoming a veritable centre for religion compared with other North-Italian cities, hence the number and diversity of convents and of women religious.

Once established as members of the European 'royal' elite, the Medici also made connections with other European ruling families. Alessandro married Margaret of Austria, an illegitimate daughter of Charles V, while Cosimo I's wife, Eleanora of Toledo, was the Emperor's third cousin. Francesco I, Cosimo I's son, married Joanne of Austria, youngest daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I. Two Medici women also became queens of France: Alessandro's sister Caterina de' Medici married Henry II in 1533; and, Cosimo I's granddaughter, Maria, married Henry IV in 1600.

Within Florence itself, the Medici family had an extraordinary hold. According to Holler and Rupp, "success was not built on superior arming, maliciousness, or the support of superheroes, as it is the case for most noble families, but on networking and the control of institutions" and, ultimately, by

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[43] Gregory Murry, *The Medicean Succession: Monarchy and Sacral Politics in Duke Cosimo dei Medici's Florence* (Harvard University Press, 2014), 7.
[44] Ibid., 14.
[45] Ferdinand Schevill, *The Medici* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), 215.
[46] Paul Strathern, *The Medici: Power, Money, and Ambition in the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2016), 337.
[47] J. R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control* (London: Phoenix, 2001), 165.

promising monetary rewards: "The Medici family became rich but so did the families which colluded with them".[48] As a result, as noted by John Hale, "Florentine society was thus becoming Mediceanised and, in the main, willingly: its leisure diverted by Medicean festivities, its ambitious men absorbed by the Medicean bureaucracy, its intellectuals glad to come together under Medicean sponsorship, its upper class aristocratised on Medicean lines, its eyes caught by new Medicean buildings, statues, fountains and paintings."[49] Medici influence was not restricted to the upper echeleons of society. Analysis by John Padgett and Christopher Ansell shows that the breadth of loyalty across different social strata was achieved by a "centralized, and simple, "star" or "spoke" network system, with very few relations among Medici followers" whereby business and marriage networks were only related to each other by the Medici hub.[50] In essence, the Medici seem to have retained their position by separating their followers from each other, decreasing the likelihood that any one faction would rise up against them. As Murry comments, "Cosimo I cast his propaganda to attract a wide array of adherents, from longtime Medicean clients to that cadre of urban aristocrats long jealous of Medici power, from the rabidly Savonarolan artisan class to the mass or urban and rural poor."[51]

An example of Medicean control, of particular relevance to this thesis, is the instigation of the *deputatione sopra i monasteri*.[52] In 1545, Cosimo I put convents under the control of the state rather than the bishop. Murry comments: "This move neatly tied up Counter-Reformation desires for greater supervision over female religiosity, his own administration's desires for order, and the nuns' families' desire for control of institutions over which they felt some proprietary rights".[53] Cosimo gave control to four *operai* discrete to each convent, men whose female relations were enclosed within and needed protection from lecherous male religious.[54] These *operai* then ostensibly reported to a council of three deputies on Cosimo's payroll, "however, the paucity of business conducted by the deputies suggests that the bonds to the centre were weak; the deputies were only called on for problematic cases," observes Murry.[55] Records by the *deputatione* in the fondo *Auditore dei Benifici Ecclesiastici poi Segretaria del Regio Diritto* bear this out: although a perennial issue with archival material, it does

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[48] Manfred J Holler and Florian Rupp, 'Power in Networks: The Medici', *Homo Oeconomicus* 38, no. 1–4 (2021): 59–75.
[49] Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control*, 57.
[50] John F Padgett and Christopher K Ansell, *Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993), 1278.
[51] Murry, *The Medicean Succession: Monarchy and Sacral Politics in Duke Cosimo dei Medici's Florence*, 6.
[52] Elissa Weaver, Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22.
[53] Murry, *The Medicean Succession: Monarchy and Sacral Politics in Duke Cosimo dei Medici's Florence*, 184.
[54] Ibid., 185.
[55] Ibid.

seem that records in this fondo are not regular and often they are not complete. By strengthening the power of the individual *operai* while simultaneously allowing a weaker link to his deputies, Cosimo appeared to exercise "soft" power according to the Medici "way". By "soft power" I mean a subtle, persuasive approach to attract followers and influence – often indirectly – how they led their lives.[56]

What exactly was the Medici "way"? And how did the Medici "way" impact on Florentine nunneries? The true power of the Medici lay in their predilection for ruling not just by networking and committees, but through patronage by bestowing favour and, more importantly, by giving money. The Medici Grand Dukes were very rich, particularly Francesco I (Grand Duke 1574-1587) and, Ferdinando I (Grand Duke 1587-1609), who were wealthier than any of their predecessors, including Cosimo the Elder.[57] Throughout the Florentine social hierarchy, there was great interest in how this wealth was distributed: the Florentines, emulating their leaders, had become avid bookkeepers whose records allows us to see how vocal works were the result of direct payment. Richard A. Goldthwaite's biography of the Florentine composer, Jacopo Peri (1561-1633), illuminates the manner in which money was carefully reckoned by all: "his [Jacopo's] earliest ledger had become by the later 14th century second nature for virtually all Florentines, from international merchant bankers down to simple craftsmen".[58] Nor was bookkeeping a secular pastime: even small convents kept financial records, as shown by the abundance of their detailed accounts at the Archivio di Stato. Money truly turned the cogs of Florentine society.

With their wealth, Cosimo I and his wife, Eleanora, were strong patrons of both the Church and the arts. Eleanora, in particular, persuaded the newly formed Jesuit Order to settle in Florence. She founded many new churches as well as the nunnery, La Concezione, an offshoot of her other favourite Florentine nunnery, Le Murate. In the latter convent, nuns' exceptional music was at least practised in the late 15th century, as chronicled by Suor Giustina Niccolini.[59] The Medici were also patrons of S Verdiana which enabled the convent to make exceptional music from 1585 until the infamous Frescobaldi/Ottieri scandal in 1620,[60] when Suor Maria Vittoria [Frescobaldi] and her music mentor and admirer, Ottieri, were punished for having a relationship. Another great supporter of Florentine nunneries in this period was Christine de Lorraine who married the Grand Duke

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[56] Joseph S Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New Delhi: Knowledge World, 2012).
[57] Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control*, 160.
[58] Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace: Jacopo Peri and the Economy of Late Renaissance Florence*, 124.
[59] Florence, BNCF, II II 509 24v–25r 'Le Murate', Suor Giustina Niccolini; as cited by Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 272.
[60] Cusick, 'Rethinking the Musical Nun in Early Modern Florence'.

Ferdinando in 1589. In particular, Christine was a generous patron of La Crocetta.[61] In the 1590s she helped to pay for some masses and Offices and was given a special licence by Pope Clement VII to enter Florentine convents during the day (but the music was performed by professional male musicians, who did not penetrate the inner sanctum of the convent but played in the public section of the church).

Despite the founding of convents and their financial support, Medici musical patronage (unlike the d'Este in Ferrara, for example) was almost exclusively for secular works, however. This was particularly true of patronage by Ferdinando I. For the celebration of his marriage to Christine de Lorraine in 1589, for example, there were splendid parades in Florence, tournaments, pageants and plays, and an extraordinary musical extravaganza at the Pitti Palace, with fire-eating dragons, exploding volcanoes and a mock naval battle in the flooded courtyard. Perhaps the greatest spectacle of all was for the marriage of Ferdinando's niece Maria de' Medici to Henry of Navarre (Henri IV of France) in 1600. As well as the horse races and tournaments, processions and pageants, firework displays and water fêtes, there were marvellously inventive performances of Giulio Caccini's *Il rapimento di Cefalo* and of *L'Euridice* by Jacopo Peri.[62] (Peri's earlier, lost, opera, *Dafne*, was also performed under Ferdinando I's auspices, in 1598.)

One of the most striking musical legacies of Medici rule was their patronage of the composer-singer, Francesca Caccini (1587-1640). Daughter of composer Giulio Caccini, she rose to be the highest paid musician in the Medici court, a tribute to her musical skills and determination in a male-orientated world.[63] In 1618 her *Il primo libro delle musiche* attested to her artistic and pedagogical talents. In 1625 she composed, led and had printed "a *commedia* and one of the few full-length works of early modern music theatre by a single composer to survive", as observed by Suzanne Cusick. [64] Francesca Caccini's *La liberazione di Ruggiero dell'isola d'Alcina* was commissioned by the female co-Regents, Christine de Lorraine (wife of Ferdinando I) and Maria Maddalena d'Austria (wife of Cosimo II, Ferdinando's son) at the time of Ferdinando II's minority, and performed at the Pitti Palace to celebrate the state visit of a Polish prince. The co-Regents, who were unpopular figures amid the political classes, applauded the opera's persuasive representation of women as beneficent rulers who combined authority and feminine graces. Even before *La liberazione di Ruggiero dell'isola d'Alcina*, Christine de Lorraine had commissioned Francesca Caccini to write music for

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[61] Anne J Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino, 'Early Modern Habsburg Women Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities' (London: Routledge, 2016), 44; Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence*, chaps 7 and 8.

[62] Christopher Hibbert, *The Rise and Fall of the House of Medici* (London: Penguin, 1979), 281.

[63] Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power, 22*.

[64] Ibid., 192. Cusick says that *La liberazione di Ruggiero dell'isola d'Alcina* is often inaccurately described as the first known opera written by a woman.

numerous plays "intended and received as eliciting a respect for women that reflected on the women that she served".[65]

One might assume that such leadership in musical life by women would foster nuns' music-making. Yet the absence of any record of Medici-sponsored music at Florentine nunneries, alongside the presence of meticulous records for the sacred music they sponsored, suggests the co-Regents' constraint. Perhaps this strategy aided the co-Regents who were implicated in the power of the Medici.[66] The wisdom of their female rule might be celebrated in secular representations, yet highly conservative music-making among nuns attested to unswerving fidelity to Church edicts and reflected a tendency that "genuine religious experience was confined to the cloisters".[67]

Having said that, and despite members of the Medici family serving the Church in Rome, there was not necessarily a close relationship between the Medici and ecclesiastics. Indeed, tension and distance between the Medici and the Church was traditional – for instance, Cosimo I threw the monks from S Marco because of their "public professions of dissent".[68] Also, although some ecclesiastics shared the Medici name, they were not part of the ducal line. For example, Pope Leo X (1475-1521) was originally Giovanni de' Medici, second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Pope Clement VII (1478 to 1534), originally Giulio de'Medici, was an illegitimate son of Giuliano de' Medici, and was Leo X's cousin and Lorenzo the Magnificent's nephew. Alessandro Ottaviano de' Medici (1535-1605), who became bishop of Florence and then Pope Leo XI, was from an even more distant branch of the Medici family: his mother, Francesca Salviati, was a granddaughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

Not only were archbishops at a remove from the ducal line, they were often absent from Florence and so unable to give on-the-spot guidance regarding what music was and was not allowed. For example, Antonio Altoviti, the Metropolitan Archbishop of Florence remained in Rome for the majority of his tenure (1548-1573): his father, a powerful papal banker had been one of those who had supported dissidents, consequently he and his family had been exiled from Florence. Only after the death of Paul III, a life-long enemy of the Medici,[69] did Cosimo I become reconciled with the papacy and not until 1567 was the Altoviti family pardoned and allowed to return to the city. Altoviti's successor was similarly absent: Alessandro Ottaviano de' Medici (bishop from 1574-1605), found that his "political duties kept him, much to his regret, out of his diocese as often as in it".[70]

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[65] Ibid., 71.
[66] Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control*, 177–78.
[67] Eric W. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1973), 135.
[68] Christopher Hibbert, *The House of Medici, Its Rise and Fall* (New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2003), 265..
[69] James Loughlin, 'Pope Paul III', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 11 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11579a.htm, accessed 19 October 2017.
[70] Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, 132.

Seemingly, as a result, confusion arose about what convent music was permissible. For example, in March 1576 Alessandro wrote to the abbess at Le Murate to discuss the convent confessor who, in Alessandro's absence, had been dismissed because he had been discovered teaching music.[71] In August 1576, he wrote again to say that polyphony was "a good, useful and holy thing" but only by the correct means.[72] Although he might have been referring to *falsobordone*, in August 1582 he went as far as giving the nuns at Le Murate a book of polyphonic music for masses and vespers. Chiara Bertoglio also observes for Le Murate: "In 1584, the Archbishop of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici, explicitly stated that the musical necessities of the convent were the only admissible reason for accepting a girl as a prospective nun without a dowry".[73] Clearly, Alessandro was an advocate for nurturing exceptional music in convents but his advocacy came from afar.

In summary, the Medici portrayed themselves as rulers of Florence and its Duchy by divine right. As well as links by marriage to other ruling houses in Europe, they had close, familial ties with Rome, through which they could influence the policies of the Church. Their immense wealth and their sophisticated system of patronage enabled them to advance their interests, and Florentine nunneries were part of this network. Perhaps helped by the Medici political presence in the Vatican,[74] Florence became a true centre for religion compared with other North-Italian cities, hence the number and diversity of convents and of women religious.

1.3 Diversity and Reach of Convents

Florence's swelling nun population drove several changes: a growing diversity of Orders and convent missions; a greater financial divide between convents; and, a demand to build more convents. The diversity of Florentine nuns' Orders from c1550 to c1630 is summarized in Table 1.2. Although the nuns' backgrounds in any individual convent might range from noble to servant class, some establishments were richer than others. Convents hosting the *piagnoni* tended to be well off, as were institutions linked to a parish church.[75] The wealth of roughly a quarter of the institutions stemmed

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[71] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 274.

[72] ASF, CRSGF 81, 100, 149r: "l'ho per cosa buona, utile et santa ma co' i debiti mezzi", as cited by Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 274.

[73] Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 664.

[74] Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control*, 165.

[75] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 66; Litchfield, 'Florence Ducal Capital, 1530-1630', para. 118. Parish churches in Florence that were attached to convents were: S Ambrogio (Benedictine), S Felicità (Benedictine), S Pier Maggiore (Benedictine), and S Felice in Piazza (Dominican). Where Strocchia lists S Felicità, Litchfield lists S Felice in Piazza.

from attracting nuns from the higher social class. Favoured by the Medici or by other prominent families, these convents effectively became microcosms of Florence's financial and social sphere outside convent walls. For example, La Concezione (founded in 1563), which followed Benedictine rule, was actually under the Order of *Cavalieri di Santo Stefano Papa, e Martire*, Grand Duke Cosimo I's personal knighthood, thereby making it an integral part of the Medici sphere of influence.[76] Possibly as a reaction to the Medici, other families began to divide their daughters – and their funding – across institutions, effectively spreading their influence across the city.[77] Both these strategies by the patrician class (keeping daughters close on one hand, or spreading the net on the other) exacerbated the polarisation between rich and poor institutions: wealth attracted wealth. The effect was intensified after the Council of Trent when nuns were forbidden to work for outside agencies like the woollen or silk trade, and convents could only survive on the donations of families.

By contrast, other convents hosted the 'genteel poor', surviving decorously, but with difficulty, some specialising in taking in girl boarders. Boarders would often comprise a handful of young girl girls *in serbanza* (that is, in guardianship) staying for just one or two years but sometimes longer, to 'learn the virtues' while protecting their honour and marriage prospects.[78] Still other nunneries were known for their charitable work, looking after abandoned girls, prostitutes, or other maltreated women, or provided nursing support. But because Tridentine edicts forbade nuns from contact with those outside convent walls, pre-Tridentine third-order nuns – those who took no religious vows but participated in the good works of their religious Order – and charitable sisters were constrained from fulfilling their former missions. By 1550, third-order institutions and charitable nunneries made up at least one third of Florence's total number of convents. One last, small group (who "wore their poverty as a badge of honour") comprised those nuns who were very poor because they particularly believed in hardship and poverty, some scourging themselves and others going shoeless to prove their devotion.

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[76] Katherine Lynn Turner, 'The Musical Culture of La Concezione Devotion, Politics and Elitism in Post-Tridentine Florence', PhD diss. (University of Texas at Austin, 2008).

[77] Sharon Strocchia and Julia Rombough, 'Women behind Walls: Tracking Nuns and Socio-Spatial Networks in Sixteenth-Century Florence', in *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the Early Modern City*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose (London; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2016), 89. By correlating two substantial data sets (Cosimo I's convent census of 1548 and the DECIMA (Digitally Encoded Census Information and Mapping Archive) which pools together the convent censuses of 1551, 1561 and 1632) it can be seen that by the mid-16th century the majority of nuns from elite families no longer lived close to home, and were dispersed.

[78] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 149; Virginia Galilei and Dava Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633* (London: Fourth Estate, 2001), xi. Jonathan E. Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 11. In Venice, *serbanze* were referred to as *educande.*

Table 1.2 Nunneries (with broad groupings)[79], within the walls of Florence, 1550-1650

Name of nunnery (as well as familiar name) and location	**Order (and order), affiliations (family, Savoranola or parish church) and identifying characteristics (such as good works)**
Rich	
La Crocetta Via Laura	Dominican Named after the red cross the nuns wore on the front of their habits. Savonarolan sympathisers.[80] Favoured by the Medici: Maria Magdalena's daughter, was a nun there from 1619.
Le Murate (SS Annunziata delle Murate) Via Ghibellina	Benedictine Patronised by the Benci family, then the Medici.[81] Savonarolan sympathisers.[82]
La Concezione (Monastero Nuovo) Via della Scala	Followed Benedictine rule, but under the Order of Cavalieri di Santo Stefano Papa, e Martire. Founded by Eleonora di Toledo in 1563 (first wife of Cosimo I), in the Western part of the Santa Maria Novella complex. The 'elite' convent of Florence.
S Clemente Via S Gallo	Augustinian Enjoyed Medici favour.[83] Medici funded enlargement of the buildings in 1562. Porzia, daughter of Alessandro de' Medici, was abbess in the mid-16th century.
S Caterina da Siena Piazza S Marco	Dominican In 1500, founded by Ridolfo Rucellai and his wife Camilla Bartolini Davanzati, and then funded by donations from the Rucellai family.[84] Savonarolan sympathisers.[85]
S Felicità Piazza di Santa Felicità	Benedictine (Vallambrosan) Adjoined the parish church. Dating from the 11th century, enjoyed numerous privileges and donations from Popes and Bishops.[86] Took girls from the most illustrious families.
S Giorgio sulla Costa	Benedictine

[79] I have created five broad groupings: "Rich", "Survived decorously but with difficulty", "Charitable", "Third-order convents", "Wore their poverty as a badge of honour". My allocations are based on a value judgement that took into consideration the comparative wealth of the convent as revealed by their stated mission as well as their financial records in the Archivio di Stato, Florence.

[80] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 33.

[81] 'Le Murate'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23460

[82] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 33.

[83] 'S Clemente'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23607

[84] 'S Caterina Da Siena'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23717

[85] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 34.

[86] 'S Felicità'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23674

(Spirito Santo) Costa S Giorgio	(Vallombrosan) Adjoined the parish church. Rebuilt in 1520 at the behest of Lucretia de' Medici, daughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, dedicated to the Holy Spirit and granted to Vallombrosan nuns who transferred from S Verdiana.[87]
S Verdiana Via dell'Agnolo	Benedictine (Vallombrosan) Cosimo I restored the convent in 1460.[88] Savonarolan sympathisers.[89]
S Giovannino delle Cavalieresse[90] Via S Gallo	'Dames of Malta' Named after the patron saint of the Knights of Malta. Convent of Cavalieresse Gerosolimitane, the female order of the powerful Order of the Knights of Malta. Place of choice for nobility: Maria Cristina (illegitimate daughter of Don Antonio de' Medici (1576-1621), and Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi (1566-1607) both took the veil here.[91]
S Apollonia Via S Gallo	Benedictine Enjoyed large donations from nearby churches (and families) in the 15th century.[92] Girls' conservatory.
Annunziatina (Nunziatina, or SS Annunziata) Via della Chiesa	Carmelite Enjoyed the protection of influential families: the Falconieri, then the Guadagni, and finally the Medici[93]
S Jacopo di Ripoli Via della Scala	Dominican Enjoyed large donations from Florentine noble families. Savonarolan sympathisers.[94]
Ss Jacopo e Lorenzo Via Ghibellina	Franciscan Poor Clares Linked with family names including Casini, Zaballi, Dizzalelli, Riccomanni, Medici, Pitti.[95]

[87] 'S Giorgio Sulla Costa'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23616

[88] 'S Verdiana'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23513

[89] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 33.

[90] Church named as 'S Giovanni Battista Decollato' in Paatz and Paatz.

[91] 'S Giovannino Delle Cavalieresse'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://www.san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23714

[92] 'S Apollonia'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/avanzata-scheda-complesso-documentario?step=dettaglio&SAN_ID=san.cat.complArch.26269&id=26269&codiSanCompl=san.cat.complArch.26269

[93] 'SS Annunziata'. Accessed 29 January 2022. https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/siusa/pagina.pl?ChiaveAlbero=283736&ApriNodo=0&TipoPag=comparc&Chiave=326101&ChiaveRadice=138791&RicVM=indice&RicDimF=2&RicTipoScheda=ca&RicSez=fondi

[94] 'S Jacopo Di Ripoli'. Accessed 29 January 2022. https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/siusa/pagina.pl?TipoPag=prodente&Chiave=60157

[95] 'Ss Jacopo e Lorenzo'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23675

S Ambrogio[96] Piazza S Ambrogio	Benedictine Adjoined the parish church.
S Felice in Piazza (S Pier Martire) Piazza S Felice	Dominican Adjoined the parish church. Moved here from S Pier Martire in 1557 when their own convent was demolished to make way for a new city wall.[97]
S Maria a Monticelli Via de' Malcontenti	Franciscan Linked with family names including Bonsi, Salviati, D'Avanzi and Fati.[98]
S Maria degli Angeli (S Maria degli Angiolini) Via della Colonna	Dominican In the 16th century, expanded dwellings.[99] Linked with family names including the Galgani and Benci.[100]
Survived decorously but with difficulty	
S Niccolò di Caffaggio Via del Cocomero	Benedictine In 15th century, given money to build by banker Lemmo Baducci.[101]
S Agata[102] Via San Gallo	Benedictine (Camaldolese) Girls' conservatory.
S Luca Via S Gallo	Augustinian Never a formal *conservatorio*, but known for taking in young girl boarders.[103]
S Barnaba Via Guelfa	Carmelite
S Frediano (S Friano) Piazza del Carmine	Augustinian
S Lucia a Camporeggi Via S Gallo	Dominican Church and convent restructured and enlarged in 16th century.[104]
S Maria e Giuseppe sul Prato Via il Prato	Augustinian

[96] 'S Ambrogio'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23729

[97] 'S Felice in Piazza'. Accessed 29 January 2022. https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?TipoPag=prodente&Chiave=60185

[98] 'S Maria a Monticelli'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23707

[99] 'S Maria Degli Angioli'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23497

[100] Ibid.

[101] 'S Niccolò Di Caffaggio'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23713

[102] 'S Agata'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23712

[103] 'S Luca'. Accessed 29 January 2022. https://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/inventari/m/sanluca/intro/introduzione.html

[104] 'S Lucia'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23721

	New church constructed in 1595.[105]
S Monaca Via dei Serragli	Augustinian Once under the wing of the monks of Santo Spirito, but in 1601, government was transferred to the Archbishop of Florence.[106]
S Maria di Candeli Via dei Pilastri	Augustinian Building enlarged in 1624.[107]
S Pier Maggiore Borgo Albizi	Benedictine
S Silvestro Borgo Pinti	Benedictine
Charitable	
S Jacopo in Campo Corbolini Via Faenza	'Dames of Malta' Convent of Cavalieresse Gerosolimitane, the female order of the powerful Order of the Knights of Malta. Hospital attached. The convent and church were renovated and transformed, 1612-1622.
S Caterina al Mugnone (or 'degli abbandonati') Via S Caterina d'Alessandria	Followed Benedictine rule. Sisters of Charity, 'Figlie della Carità di S Vincenzo de' Paoli' From 1592 a lodging for abandoned girls, which was then fashioned as a convent for them in 1615. Became Sisters of Charity in 1633.
SS Concezione dei Barelloni (Fanciulle delle Carità)[108] Via della Scala	Under Augustinian rule, but Congregation of the Sisters of Charity (members took simple vows and enclosure was optional). Once a hospital but re-established as a school for poor girls in 1589. Also known as '*Fanciulle Abbandonate'*, 'the abandoned girls'.
S Caterina dei Talani Casa delle Convertite Via S Gallo	Augustinian (but only really in name) A women's hospice run by lay sisters, funded by the Talani family.
S Miniato al Ceppo Via S Gallo	Benedictine Funded by the Ricasoli family. Established as a home for 'abandoned girls' by Eleonora di Toledo, wife of Cosimo I
S Francesco al Tempio de' Macci Via de' Macci	Franciscan (Poor Clares) Founded by the Macci family in the 14th century. Annexed to a safe home for women abandoned/maltreated by their husbands, and for poor widows.
S Elisabetta delle Convertite Via dei Serragli	Augustinian Building improvements funded by Maria Magdalena of Austria in 1624.[109] delle Convertite = of the converted. A

[105] 'S Maria e Giuseppe Sul Prato'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23526

[106] 'S Monaca'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23485

[107] 'S Maria Di Candeli'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23680

[108] 'SS Concezione Dei Barelloni'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23496

[109] 'S Elisabetta Delle Convertite'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23694

	convent for repentant prostitutes. One of the largest but poorest communities of nuns in the city.
Third-order convents, therefore most affected by enforced enclosure	
S Chiara (S Giovanni B Decollato) Via dei Serragli	Franciscan Third order Associated/enjoyed inheritances from families Buontalenti, Mochi, Vanni, Baldini, Ambra.[110]
S Giuliano (S Orsola) Via Faenza	Dominican Third order Family names associated with the convent were: Acciaiuoli, Bonsi, Pitti, Marchi, Grillandini, Pellicini.[111]
S Orsola Via S Orsola	Franciscan Third order Linked with family names Medina, Capponi and Minacci.[112] Also, Guardi, Mazzinghi and Ridolfi families.[113]
S Vincenzo d'Annalena (S Vincenzo Ferreri) Via S Maria	Dominican Third order Enforced clausura in 1571.[114] Savonarolan sympathisers.[115]
Oblate Via S Egidio	Franciscan Third order Convent of the Suore *Oblate Ospitaliere*, nursing sisters of the Santa Maria Nuova hospital. Only convent in Florence not to be linked to a church.
S Paolo dei Convalescenti Piazza S Maria Novella	Franciscan Third order Serving the hospital of S Paolo, first used as shelter for the ill, the poor and mendicants but, from 1592 on an edict from Ferdinando I Medici, used only for convalescents from Florentine hospitals.
La pietà Via Giusti	Dominican Third order An asylum for orphaned children. Linked with family names Albizzi, Biscioni, Monti, Materassi, Rigacci, Scardigli, Naldini, Landini, Salviati.[116]
Ammantellate	Augustinian

[110] 'S Chiara'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23538

[111] 'S Giuliano'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/avanzata-scheda-complesso-documentario?step=dettaglio&SAN_ID=san.cat.complArch.26286&id=26286&codiSanCompl=san.cat.complArch.26286

[112] 'S Orsola'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23576

[113] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 32.

[114] 'S Vincenzo d'Annalena'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23687

[115] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 33.

[116] 'La Pietà'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23534

(Mantellate, or S Maria dei Sette Dolori) Via San Gallo	Third order Ammantellate (so-called because the nuns wore short sleeves to facilitate their acts of mercy).
Il Chiarito (S Maria Regina Coeli, Ammantellate) Via S Gallo[117]	Augustinian Third order
S Domenico del Maglio (Ammantellate) Via Venezia	Dominican Third order Enclosed in 1567. Because the sisters could not agree about whether to be subject to the Dominicans at S Marco or at S Maria Novella, the pontiff decreed they were subject to the Archbishop of Florence.[118]
S Onofrio di Fuligno Via Faenza	Franciscan Third order In the 15th century, Lorenzo de' Medici funded a dormitory.[119]
S Elisabetta di Capitolo (Suore della Penitenza) Via S Giuseppe	Franciscan Third order They cared for/cleaned the Basilica of Santa Croce.
S Girolamo e S Francesco sulla costa (S Giorgio) Costa S Giorgio	Franciscan Third order Founded by a *pinzochero*, a Franciscan religious who practised a vow of poverty but refused obedience to the church.[120] Convent of choice for professional and artisan households[121] (for example Francesca Caccini's daughter).
Arcangelo Raffaello Borgo S Frediano	Franciscan Third order
Wore their poverty as a badge of honour	
S Anna sul Prato[122] (S Anna in Verzaia) Via del Prato	Benedictine Resisted all forms of paid labour.[123]
Ss Agostino e Cristina sulla Costa Costa Scarpuccia	Augustinian

[117] 'Chiarito'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23741; Fantozzi Micali and Roselli, *Le soppressioni dei conventi a Firenze: riuso e trasformazioni dal sec. XVIII in poi*, 107. Fantozzi states Chiarito was in S Gallo.

[118] 'S Domenico Del Maglio'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/dettaglio-soggetto-produttore?id=23550

[119] 'S Onofrio Di Foligno'. Accessed 29 January 2022. https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?TipoPag=cons&Chiave=4212

[120] 'S Girolamo Sulla Costa'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23697

[121] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 32.

[122] 'S Anna Sul Prato'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://san.beniculturali.it/web/san/avanzata-scheda-complesso-documentario?step=dettaglio&SAN_ID=san.cat.complArch.26245&id=26245&codiSanCompl=san.cat.complArch.26245

[123] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 77.

	Scalzi Riformati: Discalced (shoeless) Augustinians, land donated by Christine de Lorraine in 1634.[124]
S Girolamo delle poverine ingesuate (Le Poverine) Via Tripoli	Ordine Femminile delle Gesuate The Gesuati monks were so-called because of their frequent repetition of the name of Jesus. They were a lay fraternity inspired by the spirituality of St Jerome. The women's branch was of contemplative nuns.
S Maria delle Neve (S Maria degli Scalzi) Via S Gallo	Augustinian Known for scourging themselves.
S Teresa Borgo La Croce	Carmelite Discalced (shoeless) Founded 1629 in Florence.

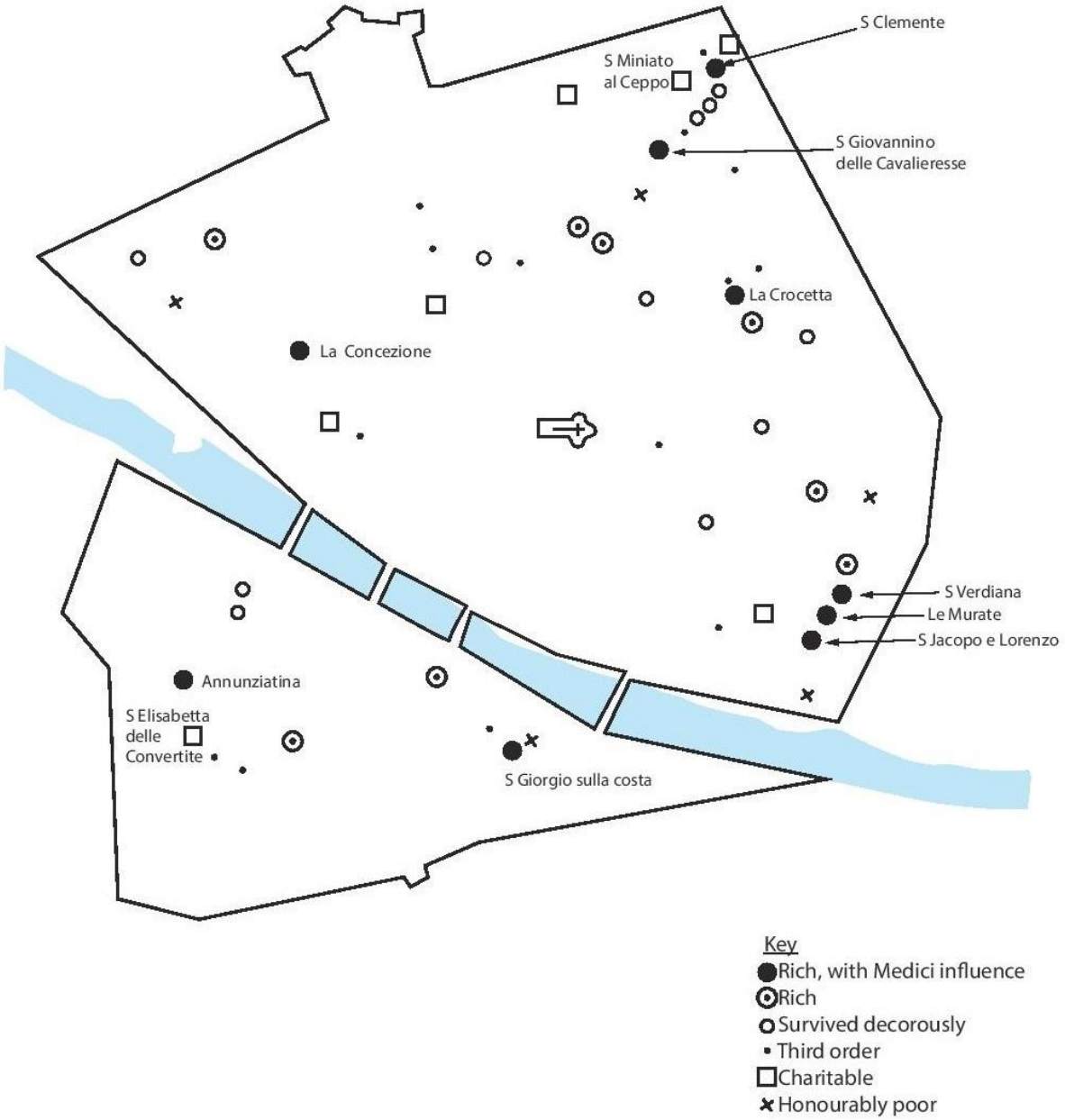
The 54 convents listed above were spread around the city (see Figure 1.2). Significantly, whereas monasteries dominated the environs of S Maria del Fiore (the *duomo*), the nunneries tended to be located more in the periphery of the city.[125] In this way, they fortified the city through prayer, protecting it from evil forces. As a line of defence, for example, there was a cluster of convents in Via S Gallo, the main artery into Florence from the North (and where the ruling Medici had their palace). Also, being further out from the centre, land was less at a premium, and the nunneries were able to include gardens within their precincts. The city walls shown in Figure 1.2 are traced from Stefano Buonsignori's map of 1584 and superimposed on Micali and Roselli's map, and the combination shows convent locations relative to the city's boundaries.[126] Notably, the convents enjoying Medici favour were located around the city's periphery, suggesting perhaps a strategy of optimizing topographical reach.

[124] 'S Agostino e Cristina Sulla Costa'. Accessed 29 January 2022. http://dati.san.beniculturali.it/SAN/produttore_SIASFI_san.cat.sogP.23699

[125] Fantozzi Micali and Roselli, *Le soppressioni dei conventi a Firenze: riuso e trasformazioni dal sec. XVIII in poi*.

[126] Giuseppe Boffito and Attilio Mori, *Piante e Vedute Di Firenze: Studio Storico Topografico Cartografico* (Firenze: Tipografia Giuntina, 1926).

Figure 1.2 Locations of the 54 nunneries in early modern Florence



The Medici ducal family also spread its influence across religious Orders and the cityscape. Table 1.3 shows how its representation (variously in terms of patronage, and/or daughters who were nuns) penetrated every Order represented in Florence and was especially strong in nunneries belonging to the Benedictines. This Order's decentralised organisation accommodated, as discussed below, variation in governance and influence from local stakeholders. Medici-favoured nunneries are in bold.

Table 1.3 Summary of the Orders to which Florentine nunneries belonged

Benedictine (12)	Augustinian (12)	Dominican (10)	Franciscan (11)
S Agata (Camaldolese)	Amantellate	S Caterina da Siena	S Chiara
S Ambrogio	SS Agostino e Cristina sulla Costa	**La Crocetta**	S Elisabetta di Capitolo
S Anna sul Prato	S Caterina dei Talani	S Domenico del Maglio	S Francesco al Tempio de' Macci
Le Murate	Il Chiarito	S Felice in Piazza (or S Pier Martire)	**SS Jacopo e Lorenzo**
S Apollonia	**S Clemente**	S Giuliano	S Girolamo e S Francesco sulla costa
S Miniato al Ceppo	**S Elisabetta delle Convertite**	S Jacopo di Ripoli	S Maria a Monticelli Oblate
S Felicità (Vallombrosan)	S Frediano	S Lucia a Camporeggi	S Onofrio di Fuligno
S Giorgio sulla Costa	S Luca	La pietà	S Orsola
S Niccolò di Caffaggio	S Maria di Candeli	S Maria degli Angeli	S Paolo dei Convalescenti
S Pier Maggiore	S Maria della Neve	S Vincenzo d'Annalena	Arcangelo Raffaello
S Silvestro	S Maria e Giuseppe sul Prato		
S Verdiana	S Monaca		

And in addition:

Carmelite (3)
Annunziatina
S Barnaba
S Teresa

Dames of Malta (2)
S Giovannino delle Cavallieresse
S Jacopo in Campo Corbolini

Other (4)
S Caterina al Mugnone (Figlie della Carità di S Vincenzo de' Paoli)
SS Concezione dei Barelloni (Congregazione delle Suore della Carità)
S Girolamo delle poverine ingesuate (Ordine Femminile delle Gesuate)
La Concezione (Cavalieri di Santo Stefano Papa, e Martire)

As mentioned earlier, Cosimo I also authorised a *deputatione sopra i monasteri* in 1545, with a census of the Florentine nunneries in 1548, perhaps to assess its reach.[127] The *deputatione* was a reinvigoration of the *Ufficiale di notte e conservatori dell'onestà dei monasteri* (Officials of the curfew and the convent), initiated in 1421.[128] But it seems the *deputatione*, which survived to the end of the Medici line in 1737, fulfilled a useful role that went beyond protecting the nuns against

[127] Lorenzo Cantini, *Legislazione Toscana* (Firenze: Nella stamperia Già Albizziniana, 1800), 260–64; Silvia Evangelisti, 'Art and the Advent of Clausura: The Convent of Saint Catherine of Siena in Tridentine Florence', in *Suor Plautilla Nelli (1523-1588): The First Woman Painter of Florence: Proceedings of the Symposium, Florence-Fiesole, May 27, 1998*, ed. Jonathan Nelson, Georgetown University at Villa Le Balze (Fiesole, and Syracuse University (Cadmo, 2000) Italy), 67–82.

[128] Elissa Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22.

lecherous male religious.[129] I have examined the extant records between the Medici and the *deputatione,* and with the *operai* at the convent level, from 1544 to 1649, as held at the Archivio di Stato in Florence, in the fondo *Auditore dei Benifici Ecclesiastici poi Segretaria del Regio Diritto,* and found that although the records are certainly not complete – not all convents are listed, nor is there a year-on-year record for those that are – the entries give a broad indication of the areas in which the *deputatione* became involved in convents across Tuscany. In the 12 bound books of documents (numbered 4888 to 4900) the subjects covered are eclectic: notification to La Crocetta in Florence that it must build its walls higher so that neighbours cannot look in;[130] licences to individual laypeople and to nuns for visiting, and even for bathing as the doctor ordered, "*Licenzia data da suor Camilla monaca del munistero di S Maria di Castel' Fiorentino di possedire alque bagni che per il suo medico si sono stati ordinati*" (10 May 1551);[131] and calling out the nuns of S Chiara in Florence for being badly managed and for keeping poor accounts, "*Havendo noi presentito il male stato, in che si retrova cotesto Monasterio e Monache di S Chiara et che tutto derivi dal Mal governo, e cattiva amministratione delle Loro entrate*" (21 August 1639).[132] There are also drawings of convents where there were concerns of privacy (like at La Crocetta, but it is the nuns this time that raise the concern), for example at the convent of Arcangelo Raffaello in Florence where civilians in a vegetable garden can see into the nuns' cells.[133] See Figure 1.3.

[129] Murry, *The Medicean Succession: Monarchy and Sacral Politics in Duke Cosimo dei Medici's Florence*, 185.

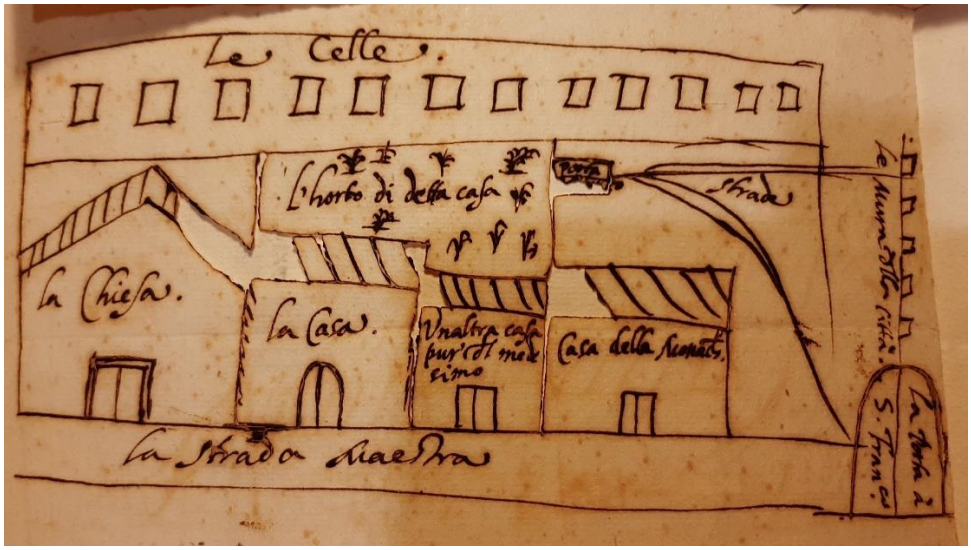
[130] ASF, ABESRD 4892, 'Filza Intitolata Negozi Della Deputatione Sopra i Monasteri (1548-1552)', 5–9. Page numbers are written in pencil by an archivist. "Li deputati sopra li monasterii visto che le Monache della Crocetta supplicavono si ponessi regola all'altezza delle case che nuovamente si murano dietro al loro orto per non essere offese con la vista delle finestre et setti di dette case…."

[131] Ibid., 417–21.

[132] ASF, ABESRD 4891, 'Detto Di Lettere e Partiti Dei Definitati Sopra i Monasteri, 1630-1662', 21 August 1639, 55: "*tutto derivi dal Mal governo, e cattiva amministratione*"

[133] ASF, ABESRD 4896, 'Filza 1° Intitolata Negozi dei Monasteri, 1552-1581', 203 and 284 (11 December 1571).

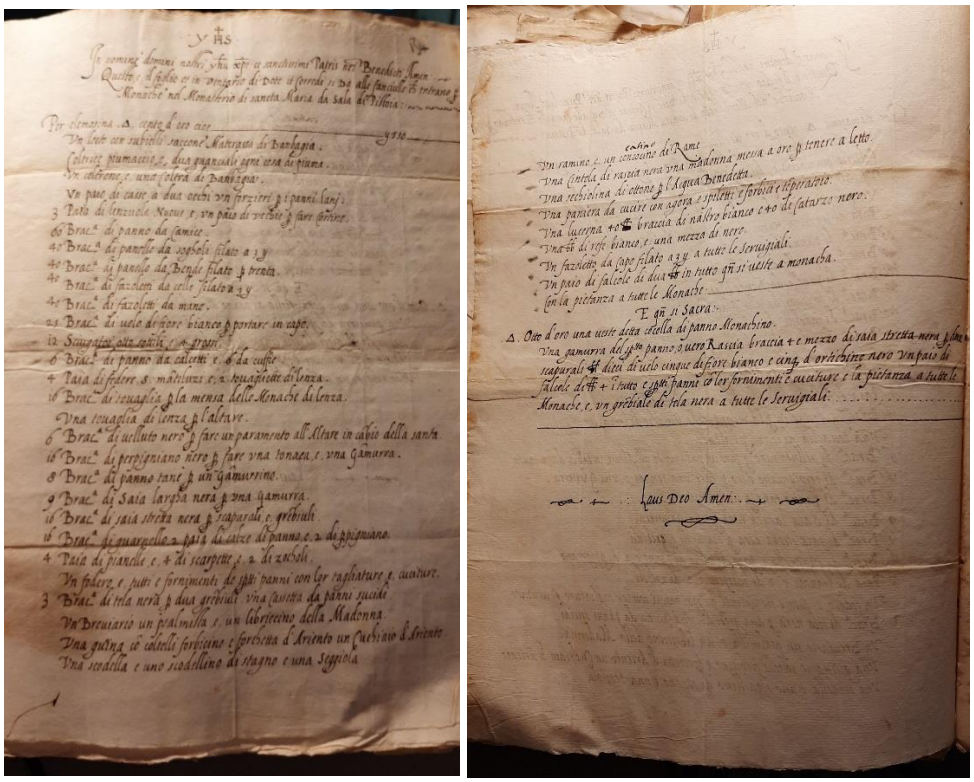
Figure 1.3 Plan of Arcangelo Raffaello



There are also censuses indicating not only the nuns' religious names but also their fathers' names;[134] and inventories of goods held by the convents (see Figure 1.4) listing mattresses, pillows, sheets, different textiles (measured in *braccia* or 'arm lengths') for making altar cloths, aprons and veils, tablecloths, pillowcases.[135]

[134] ASF, ABESRD 4892, 'Filza Intitolata Negozi della Deputatione Sopra i Monasteri, 1548-1552', 12-49
[135] ASF, ABESRD 4894, Filza Intitolata Negozi della Deputatione Sopra i Monasteri, 1561-1647', 1569, 341r and 314v.

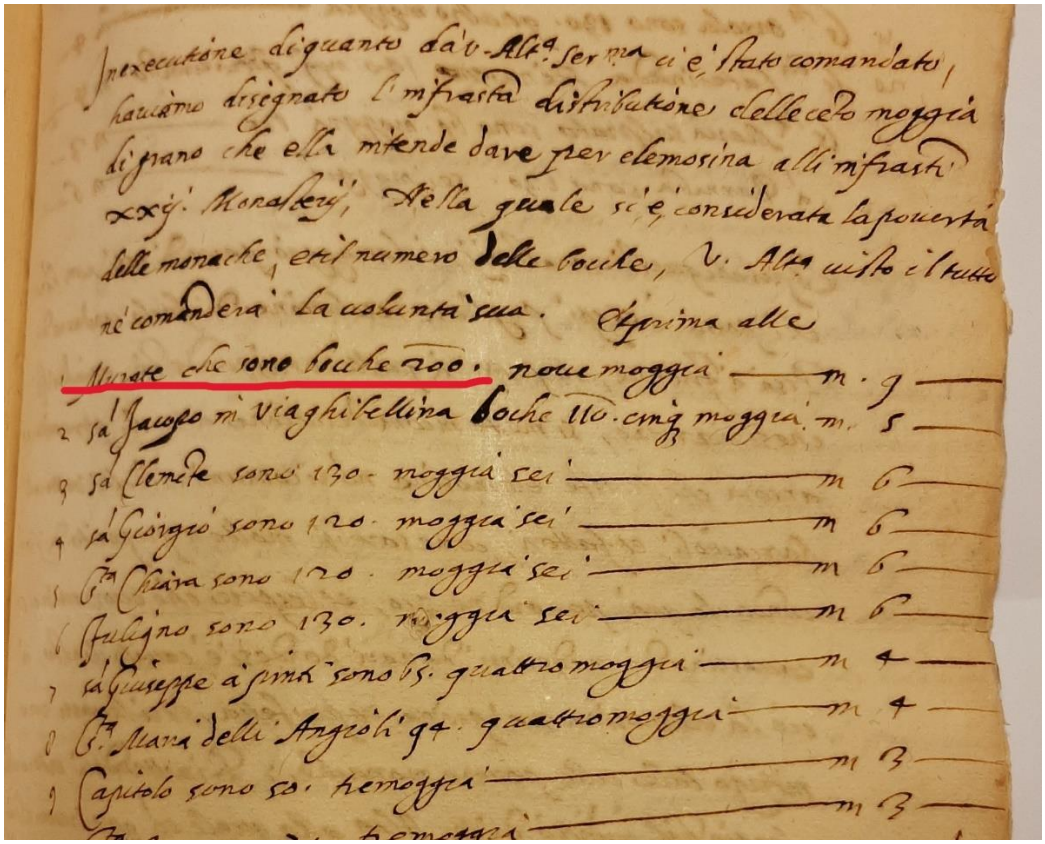
Figure 1.4 Inventory of goods from the convent of S Maria da Sala in Pistoia



Clearly, part of the role of the *deputatione* was variously to inspect the nunneries, grant permissions, and to oversee budgets and building projects: in short, to be the arbiters of convent activities. It seems, however, that the information gleaned was not for sitting in judgement over the convents but was often used to better target charitable deeds. For example, the Duke gave grain to Le Murate in Florence (and to other Florentine/Tuscan convents) because of its relative poverty at the time and according to the 200 mouths it had to feed (see Figure 1.5).[136]

[136] ASF, ABESRD 4896, 'Filza Ia Intitolata Negozi Dei Monasteri, 1552-1581', 137. My underlining in red.

Figure 1.5 Distribution of grain to Florentine convents



The overwhelming majority of the *filze* (sheets) in the archives, however, are not to do with the "what" and "who" in the convents but, instead, to do with the "who" of the *deputatione*. There is a persistent focus on the appointments of new, replacement *operai* (the four male, lay, convent managers who monitored each convent for the *deputatione*). There is some sense that these happened as a result of an enquiry by the *deputatione*, to which the convents then responded. For example, in 1567 the *deputatione* submitted to the *Gran Duca* a list of 34 convents in Florence with a further 25 in the rest of Tuscany who were missing one of more *operai*.[137] This list then reduces to nine in Florence and 13 in the rest of Tuscany by 1568.[138] New recruitments were made on a rolling basis and in the period 1601-1622, with a sheaf of filze twice as thick as the previous bound collections, the selection of new *operai* dominates the documents, with annotations on ages, marital status, and the votes 'for' and 'against'.[139] It is unclear whether nuns were allowed to be a part of the voting system although it appears not, such as with the *Monache di Colle* where the nuns' preferred choice did not

[137] Ibid., 8 March 1567, 160-8.
[138] Ibid., 23 January 1568, 185-8.
[139] ASF, ABESRD 4899, 'Filza III Intitolata Negozi Dei Monasteri, 1601-1622'.

correspond to the most popular according to the votes received.[140] Moreover, requests for recruiting new *operai* often come not just from the *deputatione* to the *Gran Duca*, but also from the convents themselves and from the bishops.[141] It seems that although the *deputatione* may have been seen as an opportunity for the Medici to manage the minutiae of convent life, the system was on many occasions condoned by those it oversaw.

1.4 Archival Findings: Transmission of Florentine Nuns' Music

Convent music-making in Florence, which required money above basic upkeep of the nuns, was a symbol of patronage as well as piety. But does the music survive? Here, I mean more complex music other than multi-part exceptional music: *laude*, *falsbordone*, musical interludes between acts in convent theatre as well as in the plays themselves, instrumental music and accompaniments. And what militates against finding music sources? Given that many of the nunneries in the city were poor, particularly after the Council of Trent, we could logically expect that only the residents of richer convents would have the means to cultivate and transmit music. After all, music-making required education, instruments, leisure time thanks to servants, access to tutors; the presence of a scriptorium – something not typically found in a nunnery – strengthened musical life further. Rationally, a systematic search for nuns' music begins in these richer convents, particularly those favoured by the Medici. The research for this dissertation therefore concentrates on records from the Archivio di Stato for the Medici-favoured convents of La Crocetta, Le Murate, S Clemente, S Giorgio sulla Costa, S Giovannino delle Cavalieresse, Annunziatina, and Ss Jacopo e Lorenzo. A second tier of well-off convents were those with Savonarolan sympathy: in his reforms, Savonarola had promoted the singing of sacred *laude* comprising non-liturgical hymns of devotion, usually in the vernacular, praising the Virgin Mary, Christ or the Saints. Besides La Crocetta, and Le Murate, the rich institutions of Savonarolan sympathisers were S Caterina da Siena, S Verdiana and S Jacopo di Ripoli. My choices for study are corroborated by the list of nunneries known for producing plays, which included music (see Chapter 5): La Crocetta, S Caterina da Siena, and S Giorgio sulla Costa, with the addition of S Ambrogio and S Girolamo e S Francesco.

Unfortunately, despite years of research I found no records of Florentine nuns' music. When Grand Duke Leopold I of Habsburg-Lorraine suppressed the convents between 1784 and 1808 all financial records (largely accounts books and legal documents regarding inheritance) were sent to,

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[140] Ibid., 12 January 1609, 201r.
[141] ASF, ABESRD 4894, 'Filza Intitolata Negozi Della Deputatione Sopra i Monasteri, 1561-1647', 570 and 573.

and catalogued by, the Archivio di Stato in Florence. Everything else was taken by the nuns' Order, or by nuns' families, or otherwise dispensed with. In some cases – such as for the Annunziatina – the financial records were lost in the 1966 floods. In other cases, transactions involving music just did not register in the convent's accounts because the expenses were met by the nuns themselves. For example, as we know from Suor Maria Celeste (Galileo's daughter, and a nun just South of Florence), in taking the Office of the Provider (the convent quartermaster: "it is incumbent upon every nun, as the various responsibilities devolve upon her, to find the requisite sum of money to meet the particular need in each case", funding convent supplies from her own purse.[142] In the same way, nuns procuring music at other convents may have had to pay from their own family's purse.

From my own research in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, however, the only clear testimony about music-making and ownership of instruments at Florentine nunneries after 1563 comes from records of clerics or musicians commissioned for celebrating Mass or special events, and these are limited to La Crocetta. Here, payments were made for polyphonic and instrumental music between 1591 and 1623 on the occasion of its titular feast days, although the music was not made by the nuns themselves.[143] In the first half of the 17th century, many payments were made to Marco di Gagliano, when he was *maestro di cappella* at La Crocetta's "*festa di Santa Croce*"[144] as shown in Figure 1.6 (see red underline). Payment was made to him for supplying two choirs, and to 15 priests and seven clerics who supplied the "*canto firmo*".[145]

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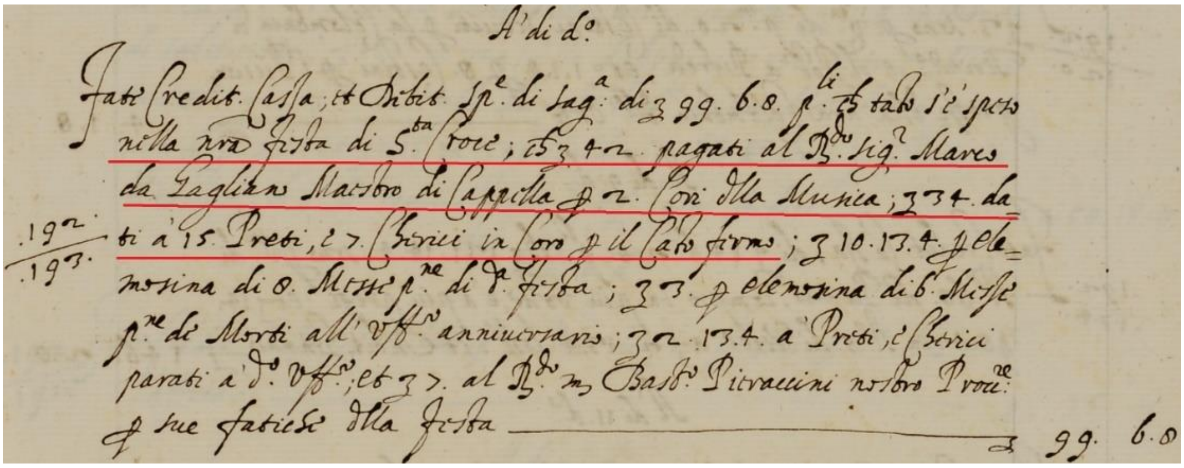
[142] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 209.

[143] Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence*, 250–56. Harness refers to the *Entrata e Uscita* for La Crocetta, from 1591 to 1623, held at ASF (see note below).

[144] Florence, ASF, CRSGF, Santa Croce detta La Crocetta, 'Libro Entrata e Uscita e Giornale, 1623-1628', 107, 27, fol 56r.

[145] My transcription and underlining: "A dì detto [8 di maggio 1625] Fate credit. Cassa; et Dibit spese di sag[a] [sagra?]: di L 99.66.8 parte li che tanto s'è speso nella nostra festa di Sant Croce; che L 42 pagati al Reverendo Signore Marco da Gagliano Maestro di Cappella per 2 cori alla Musica; L34 dati a 15 Preti, e 7 cherici in coro per il canto firmo; L 10.13.4 per elemosina di 8 messe p[ne] di detta festa; L 3 per elemosina di 6 messe p[ne] de morti all'ufficio anniversario; L 2.13.4 a Preti w Cherici parati a detto ufficio; et L 7 al Reverendo Messer [?] Bastiano Pieraccini nostro Procc[re] per sue fatiche alla festa."

Figure 1.6 Snapshot of La Crocetta's financial journal, of 8 May 1625



Just as financial records from 1550-1650 at nunneries' archives are scattered – and, as I have discovered, incomplete – so, too, are music sources. For the convents where sacred plays were mounted, there is little evidence of the music itself. For example, the *veglie* of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini at Spirito Santo (S Giorgio sulla Costa), as discovered by Laurie Stras from a dedicatory letter dated 1585,[146] prescribe music for its verses but of the music itself there is no trace. Yet early modern nuns in Florence do seem to have made music after the Council of Trent. This is evidenced by the research of David Bryant and Elena Quaranta,[147] and by Kate Lowe specifically at Le Murate (for example, the nun musician Caterina Cibo in 1587),[148] and – as mentioned above – by Laurie Stras at S Giorgio sulla Costa with the *veglie* of Annalena Aldobrandini which imply communal music-making.[149]

The limitation of the sources is highlighted by Giacomo Baroffio in his catalogue of Italian liturgical codices, and the geographical spread of the archives containing them.[150] According to Baroffio, the plainchant manuscripts once owned by 11 Florentine nunneries are now housed in such

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[146] Laurie Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini', *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012): 34–59.

[147] David Bryant and Elena Quaranta. 'Traditions and Practices in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony: The Use of Solo Voices with Instrumental Accompaniment'. In *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*, edited by Berta Joncus and Melania Bucciarelli, 105–18. Woodbridge; Venice: The Boydell Press; Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2007.

[148] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 275–77.

[149] Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini'.

[150] Giacomo Baroffio, 'Nomina Codicum: Origine/Committenza/Nome Convenzionale Dei Libri Liturgici Italiani', Iter Litergicum Italicum, accessed 26 March 2019, http://www.hymnos.sardegna.it/iter/iterliturgicum.htm. Thank you to Jonathan Glixon for alerting me to this source.

far-flung places as the USA, France, Germany and the UK. This explains why Laurie Stras found exceptional Florentine convent music (dated 1560) in a Brussels archive.[151] Baroffio teasingly lists five codices of antiphonaries, graduals and hymnaries, from S Elisabetta delle Convertite in Capitolo [sic],[152] as held at the Museo S Marco but when I went to this institution I was told the materials were "not available": it seems relatively common practice in Florence that materials are out of bounds if another scholar is actively researching them. Even the codices which have since come to light at the museum of S Marco – Codex 565 (dated 1558) and Codex 568 which include illuminations by Suor Plautilla Nelli at S Caterina da Siena – were unavailable,[153] in this case perhaps because they were being researched by other scholars.[154] Most of the Florentine convents on Baroffio's list are Dominican, guiding me to the *Biblioteca Domenicana* as the likeliest repository for nunneries' music: there, I found the plainsong, dated 1582, originating from La Crocetta, which I analyse in this dissertation's final chapter.

Three conclusions emerge from this survey of early modern Florentine convents, and these explain the need for the next chapters. First, after the close of the Council of Trent in 1563 no exceptional music by nuns from the city of Florence has yet been found. Surviving music manuscripts in the archives I have searched (such as at La Biblioteca Domenicana), that can be traced to early modern Florence, are either plainchant, or liturgical song composed for nuns by others for special occasions (such as the processional found by Jason Stoessel – see Chapter 6) and we cannot be sure when or if *falsobordone* was practised. Second, in the absence of nuns' music manuscripts we must rely on contextualisation to assess the presence and significance of Florentine nuns' music. Third, nunneries under Dominican jurisdiction – regardless of Medici patronage and financial resources – seem to have nurtured musical practice more than nunneries under other Orders. To discover more about why music happened where it did, and why so little remains, I will now turn to the nuns' personal reflections on their lives and living conditions.

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[151] Laurie Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', *Early Music* 45, no. 2 (31 October 2017): 195–215.

[152] The name, S Elisabetta delle Convertite in Capitolo, is confusing, being a mix of the names of two different convents: S Elisabetta delle Convertite (Augustinian) and S Elisabetta di Capitolo (Franciscan).

[153] Fausta Navarro, ed., *Plautilla Nelli, Art and Devotion in Savonarola's Footsteps* (Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 2017), 71–73.

[154] Sheila Barker, 'Foreword: Women Artists in the Cloister', in *Artiste Nel Chiostro: Produzione Artistica nei Monasteri Femminili in Età Moderna* (Firenze: Nerbini, 2016), 15–18.

2. The Nun's Perspective

This chapter listens to nuns: not their music, but their reports of deprivations and hence what constraints they laboured under. Earlier scholars of music in Northern Italian nunneries have championed the very few works of exceptional music that have been found and, in doing so, passed over conditions in which these compositions were created.[1] Underpinning the focus on output of exceptional music is a second-wave feminist assumption: that nunneries were repositories of undocumented expertise, hiding a formative, lost, female musical culture. By contrast, Florentine nunneries, through the dearth of their archived music, attest to the devastating impact of post-Tridentine enforced claustration. With incarceration came prison-like conditions. Although one must be alert to the pitfalls of anachronistic readings, psychologists and social scientists have found that the physical and mental consequences from the deprivation of freedom lie beyond cultural contingences. Matching nuns' reports with findings from modern research in social sciences and psychology, this chapter provides compelling new evidence as to how post-Tridentine conditions may have inhibited musical life at nunneries.

Nuns' testimonies in the early modern period are few and far between, not only in Florence but throughout the peninsula. In part this seems to be due to heavy censorship by the nuns themselves. According to Jutta Sperling this is because there were many who had made their professions unwillingly: in Venice, the monachisation rate of noblewomen was 54 percent and "monachisation rates of more than 50 per cent are the result of coercion".[2] For nuns to protest against their vows would have been tantamount to admitting perjury before God. Also, a nun's actions against her institution were rarely recorded for posterity. When nuns did object, the Church typically blamed a woman's nature, glossed over issues, or shunted responsibility from the Diocese to the Order (or in the reverse direction, from the Brothers to the clergy). Technically, unrest could be documented in visitation reports, which were made when the bishop came to check on the nunnery.

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[1] Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) for Bologna; Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford [England]; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1996) for Milan; Jonathan E. Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017) for Venice. Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700* (Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) for Siena. Modern musicological scholarship on nun's music also argues that polyphony was practised extensively as indicated by the large number of sacred polyphonic works in circulation during the early modern period. Much of this music was not only dedicated by male composers to nuns from aristocratic families in order to elevate the worthiness of the music and to curry favour with wealthy patrons, but was also performed by outside musicians.

[2] Jutta Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 18 and 25.

But visitation reports did not necessarily reflect the true state of affairs: the nuns themselves often did not give open and honest replies to the Bishop, or the unrest was simply ignored and visitors either rewrote history or simply expunged it from the record. Nuns' letter-writing was almost the only means for nuns reporting such incidents.[3]

According to Meredith Ray, however, "letter-writing, like in-person visits, was strictly regulated."[4] It required express permission and was limited to communication with the immediate family. "In Venice, in 1636, the penalty for violating the regulation was at least six months of confinement to one's cell, in addition to the suspension of *parlatorio* privileges, the revocation of a voice in convent affairs, and the suspension of eligibility for any kind of office within the convent."[5] An exception is the case of Arcangela Tarabotti (1604-1652) who, almost certainly thanks to her social standing, managed to make public her attack on the patriarchy (see below). Little testimony of any kind survives concerning the daily life of Florentine nuns, however, the chief record being the vetted letters (1623-1633) of Suor Maria Celeste to her father, Galileo Galilei.[6] Rather than protest, Maria Celeste expresses resignation to the harshness of her daily life.

The rare accounts by nuns crystallise into common themes of emotional isolation, oppression by superiors, deprivation of food and sleep, and systematic physical and mental abuse. Given that so few personal communications remain (and this was particularly the case in Florence), my net is spread wider to disclosures from beyond Florence.[7] Analysed according to modern findings on physical and mental well-being, the conditions reported by nuns reveal the constraints that kept them from expressing their musicianship. This turn to retrospective diagnosis could be construed as anachronistic, but there is no intention here to diagnose, merely to draw parallels with contemporary effects and thereby underline the trauma. Mental illness, in particular, is filtered through "norms" that change according to its society but,[8] in the same way that war causes PTSD today but "shell

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[3] Craig Harline says of his research in old Spanish Netherlands (roughly modern Belgium): "Most of the time I found only beautifully decorated volumes containing the house rules, or towering stacks of tedious legal documents, or fat registers that recounted the wondrous deeds of a potential saint. Rarely was there a personal, human letter." From the convent of Bethlehem in Leuven, however, Craig Harline found "page after page written by the sisters themselves….in breathtaking detail and passion." Craig Harline, *Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (Cumberland: Yale University Press, 2008), vii–viii.

[4] Meredith Kennedy Ray, 'Letters from the Cloister: Defending the Literary Self in Arcangela Tarabotti's "Lettere Familiari e Di Complimento"', *Italica* 81, no. 1 (2004), 28.

[5] Venice, ACPV, Sezione Antica, Monalium 7, Order of Cardinal Cornelius Patriarch. As cited by Meredith Ray, Ibid.

[6] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*.

[7] Elisabetta Graziosi, 'Scrivere in convento', in *Donna, disciplina, creanza cristiana dal XV al XVII secolo : studi e testi a stampa*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1996). Graziosi's essay on convent poetry gives further insight into nuns' state of mind.

[8] Mathias Schmidt, Saskia Wilhelmy, and Dominik Gross, 'Retrospective Diagnosis of Mental Illness: Past and Present', *The Lancet Psychiatry* 7, no. 1 (1 January 2020): 14-16

shock" in WW1, modern day deprivations linked with incarceration, food and sleep, relate to the physical hardships suffered by nuns 400 years ago. That is, labels may change: while the impact is different the consequence can be similar. I then consider how male authorship has allowed male views to eclipse those of the nun, even if her protest managed to reach a public.

2.1 How Holy Sentiments Begat Unholy Prisons

Catholic tenets justified the forced incarceration of huge numbers of women, claustration being particularly stringent after the Council of Trent closed in 1563. Enclosure meant that nuns were not to "step foot outside the cloister, and no unlicensed outsiders were allowed inside".[9] After 1563, according to Silvia Evangelisti, "new walls were built and existing ones were raised so as to close off any outside view of the community within. All existing windows, gates, grilles, or holes facing the public street were walled up, including the doors connecting the convent to the church".[10] What remained were three key thresholds between the nuns and the outside world: the gate, the parlour and the church. "Each convent was allowed up to two gates only, one for carriages and goods deliveries, the other for visitors" into the parlour.[11] Goods included the coming and going of written correspondence, which all had to be read first by the mother superior. The male superior (usually a monk or friar from the nunnery's ruling Order) "was responsible for locking both gates from the outside".[12] The parlour was where visitors were received and, according to Church dictum, contact should be restricted by means of a double grille (the grilles being a handwidth apart).[13] Further constraints came from the fact that all conversations were monitored by an eavesdropping nun. A curtain on the nuns' side obscured their faces when talking to laymen, except when this was a father,

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[9] P Renee Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan* (New York, N.Y.; London: Routledge, 2002), chap.3; Gabriella Zarri, 'Monasteri femminili e città (secoli XV-XVIII)' ed. Giorgio Chittolini and Giovanni Miccoli, *Chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea* Storia d'Italia. Annali 9 (1986): 119; Silvia Evangelisti, '"We Do Not Have It, and We Do Not Want It"': Women, Power, and Convent Reform in Florence', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34, no.3 (2003): 680.

[10] Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450-1700* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 48.

[11] Ibid., 49.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, 'Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage: Spanish Religious Women in a Tridentine Microclimate', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 4 (1999): 1015. For Benedictine nuns at Valladolid, for example, "neither a hand nor an arm could pass through the grate".

uncle or a close relation.[14] Figure 2.1 shows a late 15th-century convent parlour in Ferrara where the nuns close the shutters on a visitor.[15]

Figure 2.1 A late 15th-century parlatorio in Ferrara

The third threshold, into the church, was also tightly patrolled. A wall divided the church into two sections, each with its own altar (sometimes there was simply a nuns' gallery, as in S Giuliano in Via Faenza, Florence).[16] The side connected to the nunnery functioned as part of the nuns' private cloister. The other side, the public church, was accessible to outsiders. Nuns were able to hear the Mass in the public church through one wide window, equipped with grilles, and could observe the consecration of the Host and take part in the singing. Conversely, the public were able to hear the nuns in their Choir. The organ, in some cases, had to be relocated to the public side of the church but not so far away that the nuns could not see the organist. Some nunneries were slow to apply the rules. For instance, SS Concezione dei Barelloni, a Congregation of the Sisters of Charity in Florence, did not become enclosed until 1627: obviously some concessions were made for nuns carrying out charitable acts and it is clear that changes after the Council of Trent were neither immediate nor synchronous.

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[14] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 188. Strocchia details the reform measures that were in the 1517 Florentine synodal constitution.

[15] As cited by Craig Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 13. Photograph courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago (INC 5765) and taken from rules for monastic women, included in an Italian translation of Saint Jerome's letters (Ferrara: Lorenzo Rossi, 1497).

[16] 'S Giuliano', 'http://www.churchesofflorence.Com/West.htm', accessed 19 August 2020.

Such systematic incarceration benefited the patriarchy and male religious alike. For the patriarchy, as identified in the previous chapter, the primary advantage was to save on dowry payments. But having kinfolk ensconced in an institution to pray for your soul had further benefits. These included: securing your place in Heaven; providing a channel for demonstrating your beneficence and patronage; and, not least, safeguarding your women from ruin by predatory men. Similarly, for male religious – the episcopate and religious Orders – keeping nuns controlled behind bars elevated the role of the presiding bishop and secured extra money from Rome (Orders were recompensed by the Church *per capita* of nuns under their aegis).

With such strong incentives to place young girls in the nunneries the Church could deploy the community's belief systems to influence, and patrol, the minds and bodies of women across social ranks. It was aided by cultural norms which isolated female children from their families. Girls were often separated from their mother when their father died: the widow's family could reclaim the widow (and her dowry) for another marriage, abandoning the children who, if girls, would be deposited in nunneries.[17] Also, many women died in childbirth leading motherless female infants to be entrusted to convents.[18] Otherwise, young girls were routinely separated from their mothers when they were admitted as boarders to a nunnery, to receive an education. This could happen to girls as young as three and, while there were generally older female relatives in the nunnery to care for these children, in many cases separation from their natural mothers or primary carers must have been traumatic.

The relative youth of the nuns would almost certainly have mitigated the adverse impacts of incarceration, according to modern research into imprisonment by Jason Schnittker.[19] Nuns were admitted before they had formed the ability (or developed the expectation) to control their own life choices. The nunnery's norms would quickly become their own norms – an early institutionalisation – making the rhythms of nunnery life more bearable. That said, unwilling nuns might have experienced a quiet desperation and, according to analyses of inmates today, fallen into a depression caused by not being allowed to initiate their own behaviour.[20] Drawing further on the parallels with present-day

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[17] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 125. Richard Trexler cites the example of one such orphan, Giovanni Morelli, accusing his mother of being 'cruel' to him and his brothers (although girls were also left behind) because she 'abandoned' him when his father died and she left the family home to marry someone else. Richard C Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Cornell Paperbacks, 1996), chap. 5.

[18] Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, *Women in Italy, 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities; a Sourcebook* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2005), 180.

[19] Jason Schnittker, 'The Psychological Dimensions and the Social Consequences of Incarceration', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651 (2014): 122–38.

[20] Margaret Shaw, 'Issues of Power and Control: Women in Prison and Their Defenders', *The British Journal of Criminology* 32, no. 4 (1992): 438–52.

incarceration, nuns would have adopted survival techniques and coping strategies involving social invisibility and lethargy.[21] The silent nature of their response would have helped keep nuns' dissension under wraps.

Nuns' isolation served to strengthen the role they played. In their capacity as servants of God, nuns were to embody all that was pure, and be an irreproachable vehicle for channelling God's will. For this, virginity was paramount: it set them apart from the real world and gave them authority to pray for the dead, and to sanctify the day and its human activity through the Divine Office. As such, nuns were interstitial beings with an aura: in anthropological terms, they would have been looked upon as powerful, even dangerous.[22] Like Rome's Vestal Virgins, the nuns developed a privileged, cult status.[23] According to Catholic faith, a nun was a manifestation of the Virgin Mary representing two opposite facets of womanhood: she was a virgin (Bride of Christ) and a matron whose wedding ring, which she put on when taking vows, gave her the title of 'sister' and 'mother'. Being likened to the Virgin Mary was in the post-Tridentine period, however, hardly empowering: in the early modern period Mary, too, had fallen victim to the contemporary distrust of the female body and of active involvement of women in public life as the earlier Marian cult shifted in its focus.[24] Passion sermons register this change: from being a key participant at Calvary, for example, Mary came to be depicted as a mute presence. Even the verbal acknowledgement of Mary's presence and suffering decreased, largely in response to Protestant charges of the Catholic Church's failure to adhere strictly to Scripture. As part of Tridentine reforms, according to which all sermons were to concentrate on Jesus himself, Mary was relegated from being the focus of worship in Marian feasts to a silent, tearful witness of her son's suffering.[25] Her stillness and downcast eyes – a posture forged during post-Tridentine rule – would in the 20th century become recognised as signalling female oppression.[26] Nuns were cast in the same mould.

Moreover, as a woman a nun was held to be inherently prone to sins such as vanity, gossiping and wanton lust, and in need of protection against her 'nature'. A regular feature of sermons for early modern Florentines was the belief that, according to Silvia Evangelisti, the "female nature was weak,

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[21] Schnittker, 'The Psychological Dimensions and the Social Consequences of Incarceration'.
[22] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 95-114.
[23] Mary Beard, 'The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980): 12–27.
[24] Donna Spivey Ellington, 'Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon: The Virgin's Role in Late Medieval and Early Modern Passion Sermons', *Renaissance Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (1995): 227–61.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 336-37.

frail, and naturally inclined towards sin, and that women were incapable of governing themselves".[27] Silent submission was, according to Scripture, necessary to a woman's salvation.[28] St Paul advocated this explicitly: "Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the law says," and, "I do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man; she must be quiet".[29] Together, the Church and secular patriarchies invoked vested power to impose these views, denying women their rights.

Nuns bore sporadic witness to their disempowerment through poetry, prose and plays. For example, Suor Beatrice del Sera, a Dominican nun in Prato, wrote *Amor di Virtù* in 1548 or 1549.[30] In this play, the nun protagonist confesses how she can only find, according to Evangelisti "consolation for her soul through dreams and the life of the mind":

> I feed and live on thoughts alone.
> And all that I enjoy is in my dreams.
> I believe the gods gave dreams
> to our souls for consolation,
> just as sleep comforts the body;
> and I am happy for a while, but often
> even as I sleep I recognise my plight.[31]

Beatrice was taken to San Niccolò in Prato when she was just two years old and by 1529, at the age of 14; she had taken her vows. If her play is a reflection of her own state of mind then she considers that enclosure is an unnatural and unhappy condition. Another such glimpse is found in a Florentine nuns' play, *Recreatione fatte nel dì di Sant'Agnese* (Recreation for Sant Agnes' Day), probably from the late 16th century. In its action two young nuns complain about all the work of staging their infrequent plays, a recreational diversion which should have given them so much excitement and pleasure:

> Oh how we slave and sweat in vain
> for recreation once or twice a year,
> Fortune is so stingy with her gifts
> The effort defeats the enjoyment.[32]

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[27] Evangelisti, '"We Do Not Have It, and We Do Not Want It": Women, Power, and Convent Reform in Florence': 680.

[28] Yuval N Harari, *Sapiens: a brief history of humankind*, trans. John Purcell and Haim Watzman (London: Penguin Random House, 2015), 163–78.

[29] *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Zondervan Publishing House (Grand Rapids, 2017). Quotes taken respectively from 1 Corinthians 14:34; and 1 Timothy 2:9-15.

[30] Beatrice del Sera, *Amor di virtù: commedia in cinque atti, 1548*, ed. Elissa Barbara Weaver (Ravenna: A. Longo, 1990).

[31] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450-1700*, 109; Elissa Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[32] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 2931, fols. 175v-182v. "O quanto indarno s'affaticha et suda/per recrearsi una volta o dua l'anno;/tanto è Fortuna de' suo' beni ignuda/la festa è superata da l'affanno." Translated by

The second nun recommends patience but her impetuous friend airs another complaint, about the convent food: it is overcooked, or rotten and not fit for a dog. She describes at length how the unpleasant odour of the cabbage fills even the furthest reaches of the house.[33]

Depression and low self-esteem can be mitigated by the establishment of confiding relationships, but for nuns this was hard: the Church disapproved of close bonds with anyone except God. At S Marta in Venice in 1594, for example, Sperling observes that it was said that "significant love affairs" existed between nuns and boarding girls.[34] In 1595, at S Croce della Giudecca, it was recorded that "sensual practices take place among some nuns".[35] In 1626, Suor Fiorenza at S Ioseppo, also in Venice, was cause for concern: "Fiorenza was found in the parlour with Suor Elena and Suor Chiara, and they had their skirts lifted and their hands in their undergarments".[36] Again, modern research has demonstrated that same-sex relationships are prevalent in female prisons, often between inmates who, when free, identify as heterosexual: the urge is for compassionate commune, not sex itself.[37] Such drives may well have motivated early modern nuns' heterosexual transgressions with men, such as at S Zaccaria in Venice in 1614 when a nun smashed her way through the wall with an iron railing torn from her cell window, in order to meet her lover.[38] Punishments for this sort of behaviour were extreme. Nuns were often confined to their cells for years. Male lovers were exiled, accomplices flogged (see Chapter 4 for a further example at S Verdiana in Florence).

Physical and mental abuse in the name of the Lord was routine. Punishments were meted out for the smallest transgressions, and for the worst crimes there was even a prison within the nunnery. At La Crocetta in Florence, for example, in the seventh rule of the constitution, Choir nuns who forgot their parts were forced to repeat them on naked, bended knee.[39] At Le Murate in Florence, miscreants

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Elissa Weaver, 'The Convent Wall in Tuscan Convent Drama', in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig Monson (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1995), 82.

[33] Weaver, 'The Convent Wall in Tuscan Convent Drama', 83.

[34] Venice, ACPV, Visite Priuli, 16 May 1594 (Visitation of S Marta), c. 184v; as cited by Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice*, 161.

[35] Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows abd Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 192-3.

[36] Ibid.; Venice, ACPV, S Ioseppo, 1620-27, Tiepolo, 'Visite Pastorali a Monasteri Femminili' (1626), as cited by Laven.

[37] Craig J Forsyth, Rhonda D Evans, and D. Burk Foster, 'An Analysis of Inmate Explanations for Lesbian Relationships in Prison', *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 30, no. 1/2 (2002): 67–77; David A Ward and Gene G Kassebaum, 'Homosexuality: A Mode of Adaptation in a Prison for Women', *Social Problems* 12, no. 2 (1964): 159–77. Ward estimates that at least 50 per cent of inmates in a female prison are sexually involved at least once during their prison terms.

[38] Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent*, chap. 11.

[39] Florence, BDF, La Crocetta (uncatalogued), 'Constitutioni et ordinationi fatte dalla Beata Madre Suor Domenica dal Paradiso, Alle Monache del suo Monastero della Croce di Firenze', Suor Domenica dal

were publicly punished in front of their peers, either with the "discipline", a whip of knotted cords, sometimes containing steel tips, with which the nuns were beaten on their bare backs and shoulders.[40] Other punishments included eating only bread and water, or eating off the floor without bench or table.

Without the chance to leave, nuns' days were governed by strict rules and regulations. While this might cause an imprisoned woman to withdraw socially, she may also express rage, hysteria and frustration.[41] Regarding this, Kate Lowe notes that: "The ecclesiastical authorities did not want to acknowledge the problem [of possession, whether influenced by an evil spirit or passion, or simply crazed] because it was so pervasive….In reality, many of them [the nuns] must have been afflicted with mental illnesses of one sort or another, exacerbated by enforced enclosure."[42] Despite the censorship of the ecclesiastical authorities and the cover-up of complaints, stories nonetheless came out. For instance, in 1636 at S Chiara in the northern Italian city of Carpi, two of its nuns began to suffer from extraordinary ills, and 12 others endured similar afflictions of throwing themselves on the floor, screaming for no apparent reason, experiencing abrupt "drastic changes in body temperature and falling suddenly into a deep sleep from which they could not be awakened", according to Jeffrey Watt.[43] Three supposedly died of their maladies. Anthropologists have found women suffering similarly in virtually all cultures and have suggested that the possessed are removing themselves mentally to give reign "to anger, bitterness, and other feelings ordinarily considered unacceptable"[44] and their "altered state of consciousness" is a way of dealing with this internal emotional conflict.[45] In the context of the early modern nun, the relentlessly imposed discipline of the Church would have conflicted with individual female will and desire. Possession might be considered an indirect rebellion which, incidentally, did not provoke disciplinary reprisals.

Apart from emotional isolation, incarceration also brought the danger of bullying. The situation was aggravated by the fact that nuns duplicated the social divisions outside its walls.

Paradiso (1525), folio 3r (unpaginated): "e chi manche parte di questo per sua negligentia lo dichino una volta aginochia nude".

[40] Kate J. P. Lowe *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 136.

[41] Eric John Ramos David and Annie O Derthick, *The Psychology of Oppression* (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2018), 100.

[42] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 169.

[43] Jeffrey R Watt, *The Scourge of Demons: Possession, Lust, and Witchcraft in a Seventeenth-Century Italian Convent* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2016), 3

[44] Ibid, 206–7; James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 202–3, 206. Sharpe says that possession allowed nuns to express "forbidden impulses".

[45] Brian P. Levack, 'Demonic Possession and Illness', in *The Devil Within, Possession and Exorcism in the Christian West* (Yale University Press, 2013), 113–38.

Although said to be equal in God's eyes, there were two tiers of nuns: Choir nuns and lay nuns. The Choir nuns, so called because they celebrated the Divine Office and the liturgy, often came from the city's female elite. They were able to hold an office in their institution, vote on convent affairs and, because they were relatively well educated (and had families with money), were expected to help run the convent.[46] The lay nuns, or *converse* as they were known in Florence, were given tasks related to serving the Choir nuns[47] – cleaning, helping in the kitchen – to give Choir nuns more time for private prayer. C*onverse* were not given the opportunity to read and write. The ratio of Choir nuns to *converse* ranged from about 10:1 in very poor institutions, but was generally closer to 3:1 in very rich institutions, and sometimes this reduced to 1:1, or fewer, so that the *converse* even outnumbered Choir nuns.[48] The social divide was deepened by different living quarters, timetables, and clothes. Choir nuns had cells, while the *converse* often shared a dormitory. At mealtimes, *converse* usually ate after the Choir nuns. If Choir nuns wore a black veil (like the Dominicans), *converse* wore white.[49] Choir nuns alone had the opportunity for learning and for music-making. *Converse*, by contrast, were not only barred from making music but hardly had an opportunity to hear it.

Bullying behaviour was exacerbated by this social division. Helen Hills has shown that nuns from elite families tended to reserve the best of everything for themselves and ignored the needs of their religious sisters.[50] Given that there are so few extant candid accounts by nuns, I base my observation on records from outside Italy where convent conditions were similar. In rare candour, visitation letters of 19-20 June 1628, from nuns at Bethlehem in Leuven to the Archbishop of Mechelen, report on bullying by the Mother Superior.[51] The complainant, Sister Margaret Smulders, recounts bitterly the unholy conduct of the Mater (Mother Superior) and her acolytes. Margaret writes: "Why it happened between Easter and Pentecost that three or four days a week we had nothing for our portion at noon except potage and an egg, and at night some milk…..In choir to read

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[46] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450-1700*, 30.

[47] Ibid., 31.

[48] C Buccianti, 'Monasteri femminili a Siena nel seicento: note di demografia storica', in *Bolletino Di Demografia Storica SIDES*, vol. 22, 1995, 23–42; Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice*, 244–45; Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 173.

[49] Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450-1700*, 32; Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 125. Strocchia says that class distinctions widened still further through commercial industry: at Le Murate, for example, in 1450, Choir nuns moved into a different workshop for silk production, leaving the *converse* alone with their linen production.

[50] Helen Hills, 'Cities and Virgins: Female Aristocratic Convents in Early Modern Naples and Palermo', *Oxford Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (1999): 31–54.

[51] 'Sister Margaret Smulders and the Convent of Bethlehem: Documents from the Visitations of 1628 and 1633', accessed 25 January 2020, http://craigharline.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/162833ENWordWebsite.pdf.

the Office, five or six people must share one candle, and they can barely see to read them right…..If you're not of Mater's brood, then she is the most impolite and spiteful person alive."

Contrarily, the *converse* who, although came from a lower social rank and were relied upon for errands and interactions outside the convents walls – including begging for alms for the nunnery – could occasionally gain the upper hand over their superior sisters.[52] They might, for instance, withhold their services, this being their only leverage within a system otherwise denying their rights. For example, again at Bethlehem in Leuven in the Spanish Netherlands, servant nuns held the Choir nuns to ransom, by refusing to pick up supplies, and by favouring some nuns over others.[53] The Church visitors, while recognising the bullying, seemed both indifferent and supine.[54] They even considered passing jurisdiction over to Bethlehem's Order, the Franciscans.[55] Their view was that, "difficult nunneries did not need new statutes, more visits, and mountains of decrees, for an abundance of laws was disadvantageous when dealing with women, who by their nature, were not easy to reason with, and more rules only aggravated their inherent stubbornness".[56] In any case it would have been impossible for visits to happen often enough to ensure rulings were being implemented. The Church had neither the time, nor the inclination, nor the bureaucratic means to do so. Subsequent visitation reports from Bethlehem ignored the controversies completely and noted blithely: "the abundant praise of great unity here", "[a community] full of sweetness", "in good order, both spiritually and temporally", although the situation had most certainly not changed.[57]

We have a record of how the abused themselves became the abusers. According to the Venetian nun, Arcangela Tarabotti, elderly aunts who had themselves been victims of forced vocations avenged their mistreatment by tricking their young relatives: they would, as Tarabotti says, "adorn the trees in the convent courtyards with sugared almonds and fruits in order to deceive young girls into believing that the gardens of nunneries yielded sweet things".[58] By these means, the girls were bamboozled into wishing to join the Order. Although care must be taken in the interpolation of modern phenomena into historical events, the famous Stanford prison experiment in the 1970s shows

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[52] Harline, *Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent,* 120; Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent*, 8. Harline's depiction of unbiddable lay sisters contrasts with Laven's observation that, in Venice, lay nuns were just drudges to the Choir nuns.

[53] Harline, *Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent,* 120.

[54] The bishop made pastoral visits to the nunneries in his diocese, to check for infractions such as enclosure violations, lapses in liturgical observance, and the quality of financial administration. Visits could be once a year but were often much less frequent.

[55] Ibid., 81.

[56] Harline, *Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent,* 206.

[57] Ibid., 221.

[58] Francesca Medioli and Arcangela Tarabotti, *L'"Inferno monacale" di Arcangela Tarabotti* (Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1989), 31–32.

how easily the oppressed can become the oppressors.[59] In this experiment people were randomly allocated roles as either guards or prisoners but, despite this randomisation, the cruelty of the guards and the intense psychological pain of the prisoners was such that the experiment had to be stopped.

"Oppression has profound and long-lasting effects on the body's stress-handling systems", according to Elizabeth McGibbon and Charmaine McPherson.[60] There are physical effects, which can precipitate cardiovascular disease, asthma and diabetes, for example, but perhaps more important in this context, there are psychological consequences, including depression and low self-esteem.[61] Parallels with these outcomes are found in the case of Sister Margaret at Leuven where her nun superior turned gaoler, and Sister Margaret became ill as a result.[62] Suor Maria Celeste (1600-1634), Galileo Galilei's daughter, is also deeply despondent. Her letters show that she regards her nunnery, S Matteo in Arcetri (on the outskirts of Florence), to be like a jail. Her missives are unsurprisingly tame, given that they were all censored by her prioress, but some of her discontent escaped the censor's eye. Writing to her father after he was sentenced to "recite the penitential Psalms once a week for three years", she says: "…had I been able to substitute myself in the rest of your punishment, most willingly would I elect a prison even straiter than this one in which I dwell".[63] Despite her apparent equanimity Suor Maria Celeste's choice of word, "prison" (she uses "*carcere"*), shows she feels herself a victim of circumstance.

Malnutrition aggravated oppression within convent walls. The lack of food, or its poor quality, could not help but spawn lassitude and passivity. Suor Maria Celeste is clear on how living conditions undermined her physically: "being already toothless at my age I will be very pleased if you can send me some fatty mutton, for surely I can manage to eat that".[64] Letters are not always reliable witnesses and perhaps her comments are hyperbolic,[65] but she also says: "By now I am so accustomed to poor health that I hardly think about it, seeing how it pleases the Lord to keep testing me with some little pain or another." She was only 27 at the time. Of convent food generally she

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[59] Philip Zimbardo, *The Stanford Prison Experiment* (Stanford University), accessed 14 May 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=760lwYmpXbc.

[60] Elizabeth McGibbon and Charmaine McPherson, 'Stress, Oppression & Women's Mental Health: A Discussion of the Health Consequences of Injustice', *Women's Health and Urban Life* 12, no. 2 (December 2013): 162.

[61] McGibbon and McPherson, 'Stress, Oppression & Women's Mental Health: A Discussion of the Health Consequences of Injustice'; David and Derthick, *The Psychology of Oppression*, chap. 6.

[62] Harline, *Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent,* 57 and 93.

[63] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 307.

[64] Ibid., 53.

[65] Schmidt et al, 'Retrospective Diagnosis of Mental Illness: Past and Present': 14-16. Comments on how letters are not always reliable witnesses.

reports: "I will say only that the provisions currently given to us in the convent consist of mouldy bread, ox meat, and wine that has turned sour."[66]

Not eating enough could be a choice. Fasting, a regular and fundamental part of religious practice, was believed to purify the soul and heighten religious experience.[67] But imposed fasting could be a form of abuse by observants (nuns who adhered strictly to the rule) on conventuals (nuns who followed more relaxed practices). In Venice, for example, at the convent of S Chiara, observant nuns who had been imported from a neighbouring Franciscan nunnery to impose their stricter rule, were accused of trying to take control by giving the other nuns nothing to eat. So serious was the situation in 1521 that the ancient abbess, Anzola Boldù, led a delegation of noblewomen to the *doge*, protesting that her nuns were starving to death.[68] Nuns, however, could use the effects of extreme fasting, as with demonic possession, as a safe way of rebelling. Their rejection of food was often identified as a way of emulating the suffering of Christ on the cross.[69] The nuns who claimed they were only sustained by the Eucharist were also signalling their preference to depend on Christ's sacrificed flesh, rather than surrender to food supplied by their oppressors. [70]

Besides food, nuns were denied sleep. The Divine Office being split into eight parts, if followed as intended, guaranteed sleep deprivation: Compline around 9pm, Matins about 2am and Lauds at daybreak. According to this routine, a Choir nun's longest uninterrupted sleep would be four hours, and her total sleep – the periods before Matins and before Lauds – would be about six hours, assuming she were allowed to go back to bed between Matins and Lauds. Most individuals cannot cope on six hours sleep, and no-one can survive on five hours sleep or less.[71] In addition, the timing of services varied depending on the time of year, adding an additional layer of disruption to nuns' body clocks.[72] Scientists have established that interrupted sleep and sleep deprivation impairs concentration and over time results in anxiety, depression and bipolar disorder.[73] Standard physical

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[66] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 45.

[67] Kathleen M Dugan, 'Fasting for Life: The Place of Fasting in the Christian Tradition', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 63, no. 3 (1995): 539–48; Joseph B. Tamney, 'Fasting and Dieting: A Research Note', *Review of Religious Research* 27, no. 3 (1986): 255–62.

[68] Marin Sanudo, *Venice, Città Excellentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, ed. Patricia H Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 389.

[69] Rebecca J Lester, 'Embodied Voices: Women's Food Asceticism and the Negotiation of Identity', *Ethos* 23, no. 2 (1995): 187–222.

[70] Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Fast, Feast, and Flesh: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women', *Representations*, no. 11 (1985): 1–25.

[71] Matthew P Walker, *Why We Sleep: The New Science of Sleep and Dreams* (New York: Scribner, an imprint of Simon & Schuster, 2018), 145.

[72] Michael Talbot, 'Ore Italiane: The Reckoning of the Time of Day in Pre-Napoleonic Italy', *Italian Studies* 40, no. 1 (2013): 51–62; Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 173.

[73] Walker, *Why We Sleep: The New Science of Sleep and Dreams*, 134.

sufferings include: chronic pain, deficiencies in the immune system and diabetes.[74] The acknowledged impacts of sleep deprivation drove some convents to delay Matins and combine it with Lauds at daybreak. An example was the Benedictines of S Mauro di Burano in Venice who in the 1540s acknowledged lack of sleep to be detrimental to their health: "we declare that in every time and for every nature, seven hours of sleep are required".[75] In 1638, the Benedictine nuns of S Zaccaria in Venice also requested, and were granted from the patriarch, the permission for flexibility in scheduling Matins.[76] Research suggests that the social practice of sleep was quite different in the early modern era, notably in the practice of a first and second sleep separated by a couple of hours in the middle of the night.[77] Even if this were to be the case, the fact remains that nuns would have had difficulty sleeping the requisite eight hours a day for leading a healthful life.

2.2 Nuns Demure, Nuns Naughty: Male Fancy and Nuns' Counternarrative

Nuns' official chronicles were usually reworked by men. Eclipsing the rare conflicting story that leaked out, reworked chronicles impressed upon readers the nuns' submissiveness to Church doctrine and the harmoniousness, contentment and united purpose of a nun's community. This was particularly the case in obituaries by the Dominican friars for the Savonarolan nunneries in Florence: S Lucia, S Caterina da Siena, the Annalena, and S Jacopo di Ripoli.[78] Not only did these necrologies suppress many of the nuns' practical achievements or individual choices but, by focusing on whether or not nuns made a "good death" (that is, with confession, communion and extreme unction),[79] the friars encouraged a cult of illness and dying.

At the same time, according to holdings at the Vatican Secret Archives, the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars meticulously chronicled miscreant nuns.[80] Reports tell of nuns who, according to the blurb on Craig Monson's book, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, conjured up the devil to

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[74] John Arthur Glaze, 'Psychological Effects of Fasting', *The American Journal of Psychology* 40, no. 2 (1928): 236–53.

[75] Francesco di Alessandro Bindoni and Mapheo Pasini, *Regula Del Sanctissimo Benedetto Patre Nostra Tradutta in Quella Parte Che Convengono a Noi Monache* (Venice, 1547), fol. 15; as cited by Jonathan E. Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 174.

[76] Venice, ASPV, Curia Patriarcale, Sezione Antica, Monialium, Dicreti e licenze 5, fol.16, 18 April 38. As cited by Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 175.

[77] A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: Norton, 2006), chap. 12.

[78] Sharon T. Strocchia, 'Savonarolan Witnesses: The Nuns of San Jacopo and the Piagnone Movement in Sixteenth-Century Florence', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 38, no. 2 (2007): 393–418.

[79] Ibid., 393.

[80] Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy*, 7.

improve their romantic skills, slipped out in disguise for nights at the opera, and burned down their convent so they could go home".[81] Monson not only accepts such reports as true, but repackages them for even greater titillation with his choice of book title. Although he addresses a general audience, rather than academic peers, Monson's selection of archival material, and his eschewal of its critical analyses, speaks to a prurient curiosity about nuns from the early modern period onward. His uncritical transmission aligns itself with apposite tales in medieval, renaissance and early modern fiction such as the 12th-century story of Eloisa and Abelard, two nuns' tales in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1350-1353), and Aretino's bawdy *The Secret Life of Nuns* in his *Dialogues* (first published 1534),[82] and likely concord with Natalie Zemon Davies' *Fiction in the Archives* which sheds light on how such stories come to be accepted as reflection of the past although they may in no way represent the truth.[83] In light of the literary topos, fact and fiction might well have blended in reports that persistently cast nuns as lascivious creatures, all the better to explain God's wrath in delivering calamities such as the plague.[84] In any case, such titillating tales misrepresent the norm among nuns.

Nuns had no protection against either such defamation or the sexual abuse it invited. Suor Maria Celeste, in a letter to her father Galileo, wrote how she felt powerless to stop confessors – typically underpaid Ordinaries from the Church – who considered the right to flirt, or defame those who were resistant to their advances, as payment for their services. In her words: "since our convent finds itself in poverty, it cannot give them their salary before they go: I happen to know that three of those who were here we owed quite a large sum of money, and they use this debt as occasion to come here often to dine with us, and to fraternise with several of the nuns; and, what is worse, they then carry us in their mouths, spreading rumours and gossiping about us wherever they go, to the point where our convent is considered the concubine of the whole Casentino region, whence come these confessors of ours, more suited to hunting rabbits than guiding souls."[85]

A musicological example of libellous representation is the history of Caterina de' Ricci, a nun who joined the convent of S Vincenzo d'Annalena in Florence in 1536, as observed by Donna

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[81] Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy*, blurb.

[82] Alexander Pope and Henry W Boynton, *Eloisa to Abelard* (Penguin Classics, 2013); Giovanni Boccaccio and George Henry McWilliam, *The Decameron* (UK: Penguin Classics, 2003); Pietro Aretino and Raymond Rosenthal, *Dialogues: Pietro Aretino*, trans. Margaret F Rosenthal (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

[83] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000).

[84] Florence, ASF, Giudice degli Appelli, 79, part 2, fols 68r-69r (1435), from 'Deliberations of the Officials of the Curfew and Convents', as cited by Gene A Brucker, *The Society of Renaissance Florence: a Documentary Study* (Toronto [etc]: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 206-7.

[85] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 33.

DiGiuseppe: "A diarist's account tells of her deathbed visions of Savonarola in 1540 that lifted her to recovery and inspired her composition".[86] Di Giuseppe continues: "Her lyrics were entirely devotional and consistent with other *laude* written by [or in honour of] Savonarola. A collection of *laude* texts [then dedicated to her and published in Venice] included a letter from the printer stating that nuns' singing of *laude* in convents had devolved into shocking, innuendo-filled songs."[87] I have found no evidence that this was the norm. Venice at that time was noted for its libertine sexual acceptance, but only one convent – as reported more than 200 years after the event – gained infamy for being linked with prosecutions for illicit sex.[88] The printer's comment – surely a description that could help sales – more likely invented or conflated rumoured charges found in literature or in reports void of corroboration.[89] Neither was there any foundation for transposing what might have been a Venetian phenomenon to other cities, with only the odd exception proving the rule. In Bologna, Craig Monson reports an amended text in a keyboard manuscript from S Agnese, dated 1559, with erotic allusion to "a little thing" beneath a cassock.[90] In Florence, Laurie Stras observes the worldliness of nuns at S Giorgio sulla Costa as evidenced by the equivocal nature of what they read aloud from their slips of paper (*polizze*) during their plays.[91] To modern eyes the references appear to have double-entendre but they do not appear clear or necessarily bawdy. For example, was this reference sexual or culinary:

Sobriety sends you a cucumber
and did not wish to give me more than just one of them;

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[86] Donna DiGiuseppe, 'Sexual Innuendo and Female Autonomy in Early Modern Convents', *Ex Post Facto, Journal of the History Students at San Francisco State University*, 2007, 81.

[87] Serafino Razzi, *Libro Primo Delle Laudi Spirituali Da Diuersi Eccell. e Diuoti Autori, Antichi e Moderni Composte. ... Con La Propria Musica e Modo Di Cantare Ciascuna Laude, Come Si è Vsato Da Gli Antichi, & Si vsa in Firenze.* (Venezia: Giunti di Firenze, 1563); as cited by Patrick Macey, 'Infiamma Il Mio Cor: Savonarolan Laude by and for Dominican Nuns in Tuscany', in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig Monson (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1995), 161–90. As cited by Donna DiGiuseppe, Ibid.

[88] Flaminio Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis: nunc etiam primum editis illustratae ac in decades distributae*, vol. 1 (Venetiis: Pasqualus, 1749), 5–7; as cited by Guido De Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), 82–85. As cited by Donna DiGiuseppe, 'Sexual Innuendo and Female Autonomy in Early Modern Convents', Ex Post Facto, *Journal of the History Students at San Francisco State University*, 2007, 72: S Angelo di Contora, in an 80-year time span, allegedly witnessed "more than 50 prosecutions by secular authorities for illicit sex, vastly more than arose with any other convent in Venice".

[89] Christian Knudsen, 'Promiscuous Monks and Naughty Nuns: Poverty, Sex and Apostasy in Later Medieval England', in *Poverty and Prosperity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 75–91. Knudsen says that far fewer nuns than monks were accused of sexual misconduct and reports of transgressions were usually brought to bear by fellow religious expressing a grudge.

[90] Craig Monson, 'Elena Malvezzi's Keyboard Manuscript: A New Sixteenth-Century Source', *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 104–6.

[91] Laurie Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini', *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012): 34–59.

but I'd like to tell you this secret, too,
that it seems to me that it has been in vinegar.[92]

A few male critics recognised nuns' oppression.[93] Indeed there is a long history of songs written by men, beginning in the 15th century, where the girl pleads to be married rather than become a nun.[94] Also, a set of anonymous 16th-century Venetian verses acknowledges the mechanics and impact of claustration. The poem is an imagined dialogue between a mother and daughter: the mother wants the daughter to become a nun but the girl accuses the mother of two sets of rules.[95]

Mother, you married
And when your husband died
You took another,
Then a third, and a fourth.
So don't complain
If now I take a husband;
your advice was good,
but you didn't follow it yourself.[96]

According to these anonymous verses – probably written by a man because it reached print – the mother errs in seeing claustration preferable to marriage; in this tale the mother hypocritically denies her daughter the chance of having even one husband despite having had four of her own.

One nun's biography (written first by her confessor, Francesco degli Onesti da Castiglione, and then at least a century later by the priest Benedetto Maria Borghigiani) stands apart because it emphasises her agency.[97] (This is in contrast to women writing about women such as Illuminata Bembo's *vita* (1469) of Caterina Vigri in Bologna (1413 to 1463),[98] or Caterina Cybo's (1501-1557) letters in Florence,[99] both of which are full of women's agency.) The nun in question is Domenica dal

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[92] Ibid., 41

[93] David and Derthick, *The Psychology of Oppression*, 4. By definition, 'oppression' is an unequal power-share that aids a few while harming the majority.

[94] John Wendland, '"Madre non mi far monaca"': The Biography of a Renaissance Folksong', *Acta Musicologica* 48, no.2 (1976): 185-204.

[95] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MA it IX-173: 6282, ff 36v-37r; as cited by Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent*, 34 and 210.

[96] Translated by Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent*, 35.

[97] Francesco degli Onesti da Castiglione, 'Annalium Vitae B. M. S. Dominicae de Paradiso' (after 1515), uncatalogued, Archivio del Convento Domenicane della Crocetta (now at BDF), as cited by Lorenzo Polizzotto and Meghan Callahan; Megan Callahan, 'Suor Domenica Da Paradiso as Alter Christus: Portraits of a Renaissance Mystic', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, no. 2 (2012): 323–50; Benedetto Maria Borghigiani, *Intera narrazione della vita, costumi, e intelligenze spirituali della venerabile sposa di Gesù Suor Domenica del Paradiso, fondatrice del Monastero della Croce di Firenze*, 2 vols, vol 1 (Firenze: Stamperia di M. Nestenus, 1719).

[98] Illuminata Bembo, *Specchio di illuminazione, Vita di S. Caterina a Bologna, 1469*, ed. Silvia Mostaccio, Caterina Vigri: la santa e la città, 3 (Firenze: SISMEL - Ed. del Galluzzo, 2001).

[99] Diana Robin et al., *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 77.

Paradiso (1473-1553) who founded La Crocetta in Florence and is of particular interest here because the archives of the nunnery she founded retain, almost uniquely, examples of music (see Chapter 6). Published in 1719, the account has no equal in the description of nuns in the period immediately following the forced enclosure imposed by the Council of Trent. But even this biography appears to be an invention of its time, with post-Tridentine prurience now replaced with enlightened idealism. According to Borghigiani, Domenica is single-minded and acts according to her inner principles, rather than buckling to authority. Lorenzo Polizzotto observes that, born a peasant, she "reacted against the drudgery and toil of peasant life by taking refuge in mystical raptures" (reinforcing the point that raptures were a form of evasion and escapism).[100] Domenica also rebelled "against parental and familial" control by "repeatedly running away from home" and defied "social conventions by rejecting more pressing commands to marry and thus cease to be a burden on the family". She served God alone: for example, Borghigiani reports that when she was establishing the statutes for La Crocetta she chose the Dominican friars of S Marco as her confessors. This is contrary to Domenica's public statement that, according to Polizzotto "she was responsible to no earthly authority for the habit she wore", that she had no ties with the Dominicans, and that their jurisdiction did not extend to her or her followers.[101] We know, however, that Domenica had to yield to claustration. Also, the archbishop forced her to accept well-off postulants, which would have destroyed her "community's earlier social homogeneity and diluted its reforming zeal".[102] By buckling to these demands, her actions rather contradict Borghigiani's account, suggesting that necrologies or biographies by male religious of nuns must be viewed not as accurate records, but as writings intended to advance the authors' premises.

The same is true when sisters of proven fidelity to the Church ostensibly chronicled their lives but, instead, reported on the Church's power.[103] Lowe examines three records dating from the late

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[100] Borghigiani, *Intera narrazione della vita, costumi, e intelligenze spirituali della venerabile sposa di Gesù Suor Domenica del Paradiso, fondatrice del Monastero della Croce di Firenze.*, vol 1: 127, 139–40; as cited by Lorenzo Polizzotto, 'When Saints Fall Out: Women and the Savonarolan Reform in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence', *Renaissance Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1993), 492.

[101] Francesco degli Onesti da Castiglione, 'Persecutione Exagitate Contra Venerabilem Sponsam Jesu Christi S Dominicam, de Paradiso, et Ultiones Divine Contra Persecutores' (after 1515), 10v–11v, uncatalogued, Archivio del Convento Domenicane della Crocetta, as cited by Lorenzo Polizzotto, now at BDF; Borghigiani, *Intera narrazione della vita, costumi, e intelligenze spirituali della venerabile sposa si Gesù Suor Domenica del Paradiso, fondatrice del Monastero della Croce di Firenze.*, vol 1: 304; Lorenzo Polizzotto, 'When Saints Fall Out: Women and the Savonarolan Reform in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence', *Renaissance Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1993): 486–525.

[102] Polizzotto, 'When Saints Fall Out: Women and the Savonarolan Reform in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence', 1993, 522. After 1516 the names of the nuns in the new intake began to change, as seen in La Crocetta's *Libretto delle Monache* of that period (Archivio del Convento Domenicane della Crocetta, no location number, now BDF).

[103] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 9 and 27.

Renaissance to the early modern period (one being the Benedictine Le Murate in Florence, written in 1598) and observes that: "the authors …… entered their convents not as adults with a vocation, but as children obeying the commands of their elders".[104] The nuns' personal inclinations cannot be known, but Lowe points out that for those who were enclosed, their "only way forward was to accept the restraints of their life with a good grace, and to make the most of the situation in which they found themselves."[105]

Arcangela Tarabotti, in contrast, is unusual in her raw protest and her whistle-blowing. At age 11 she was boarded at the Benedictine convent of S Anna, Venice, and at the age of 19 took her final vows.[106] Although the Church forbade her to communicate outside the cloister she managed, through her high connections, to disseminate her rebellious views. She also corresponded with family associates who were leaders in science, literature and politics.[107] In print and letters, she protested against forced monachisation and enclosure, and the injustices of patriarchy. She held that being confined to only two life choices – marriage or the nunnery – was grotesque. [108] In her work, *L'Inferno Monacale*, she likens two sisters, one destined for the convent and the other for marriage, as being in competition for scarce economic resources, "like two starving dogs fighting for food".[109] In her eyes, being forced into marriage, either to God or to a man of her male guardian's choosing, was equally unfair. She held animals to be humane, while men she thought bestial: "bears, tigers, vipers, basilisks and every crude, poisonous and untamed beast, feed and tenderly love their offspring, making no distinction between male and female".[110] In *Tirannia paterna*, she said that it would be less of a crime to kill superfluous male children than to commit the girls to a nunnery: "And because in making harems for women and in other barbarous customs you imitate the abuses of the Thracians,

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[104] Ibid., 9. Suor Orsola Formicini of S Cosimato in Rome entered her nunnery by age eight and was elected abbess three times; Suor Giustina Niccolini of Le Murate in Florence entered her nunnery by age nine and was the *scrivana*, or official scribe in her nunnery; the author of the chronicle of S M delle Verini in Venice remains anonymous.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Elissa B. Weaver, '"With Truthful Tongue and Faithful Pen": Arcangela Tarabotti Against Paternal Tyranny', *Annali d'Italianistica* 34 (2016): 282–83.

[107] Meredith Kennedy Ray, 'Letters from the Cloister: Defending the Literary Self in Arcangela Tarabotti's "Lettere Familiari e Di Complimento"', *Italica* 81, no. 1 (2004): 24–43. Tarabotti had to obtain special *licenze* to publish her works, probably made possible by the powerful allies she had among the Venetian literary elite. In particular, she dedicated her *epistolario* (collection of letters) to Giovan Francesco Loredano, a founder of the prestigious Venetian Accademia degli Incogniti.

[108] Tarabotti never actually left her nunnery despite her distaste for it: she was physically disabled (she had a limp) and so, if she were to have had a choice, on balance she probably thought she would be far better inside the nunnery than out.

[109] Medioli and Tarabotti, *L'"Inferno monacale" di Arcangela Tarabotti*, *49*; as cited by Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 60–61.

[110] As quoted by Emilio Zanette, *Suor Arcangela, monaca del Seicento veneziano* (Venezia; Roma: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1961), 93.

you should also imitate them by killing male children immediately after birth, preserving only one per family. And this would be a much smaller sin than burying alive your own flesh."[111] In addition, Tarabotti bears witness to the damages of claustration: "those who remain shut up in convents against their will, benign, silent and dear things that they are by nature, are angered and offended by the wrong which has been inflicted upon them, and become unworthy and embittered and lose their natural and proper qualities, having been denied the opportunity to act according to their general inclination."[112]

To sum up, post-Tridentine claustration – at least in some cases – was a form of incarceration, imposing the miseries of emotional isolation, malnutrition and sleep deprivation on Church sisters. From testimonies that, against odds, have survived, the early modern nuns' reactions resonate with those of women prisoners. Letters by nuns tell of loneliness, bullying, anger at not being heard, and sorrow for lives not lived. Except for those nuns who left the cloister at the request of their families and then went on to marry, it was almost impossible for nuns to return home: if they renounced their vows, they committed perjury before God and they would bring shame to their kin. There were also practical considerations. To leave her cloister, a nun needed permission from Rome which, for some northern Italian cities at least, was almost impossible to obtain. By 1600 Florence's secular government (like that of Venice) restricted or completely outlawed appeals to Rome by nuns and those acting on their behalf.[113] Even if the ex-nun managed to return to her family, such was the opprobrium that she risked being murdered by her kin: for example, the Paduan noble, Francesco Ciera, threatened to poison his daughter if she refused to stay in her convent.[114] For the Venetian nun, Suor Arcangela Tarabotti, her contention that domesticity was just as bad an option as claustration is given credence by the fact that in 1586 four Florentine nuns of S Vincenzo d'Annalena (third order, Dominican) were sent home as punishment because, according to Silvia Evangelisti, "they refused to

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[111] Galerana Baratotti, *La Semplicità Ingannata* (Venice: Leida, 1654), 49. The pseudonym of the author is a play on her name, Arcangela Tarabotti. The translation is Wendy Heller's.

[112] Medioli and Tarabotti, *L'"Inferno monacale" di Arcangela Tarabotti*, 39.

[113] Anne Jacobson Schutte, 'Between Venice and Rome: The Dilemma of Involuntary Nuns', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 41, no. 2 (2010): 415–39. There is no hard evidence, only conjecture based on the numbers of nuns that petitioned for release: in the 17th century only three nuns in the grand duchy of Tuscany (and none of them from the archdiocese of Florence) and three from the archdiocese of Milan managed to apply to the pope for release, suggesting that there was a barrier to application – their own city governments. These small numbers of nuns' requests contrast with far larger numbers from the Papal States, the kingdom of Naples (for example 19 from the archdiocese of Palermo), Spain and Portugal (for example, 11 from the patriarchate of Lisbon).

[114] Ibid., 421.

be put under lock and key" during a visit by Alessandro [Ottaviano] de' Medici.[115] Given these constraints, it is hardly surprising that the vast majority of nuns resigned themselves to a life of incarcerated sacred service. This service required a rigorous daily (and nightly) routine which, together with the role of music in liturgical observance, is documented in the next chapter.

[115] Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese Fiorentine, divise ne' suoi quartieri: opera Di Giuseppe Richa della compagnia di Gesu ... Firenze, P.G. Viviani, 1754-62.* (Roma: Soc. Multigrapica Editrice, 1972). As cited by Evangelisti, '"We Do Not Have It, and We Do Not Want It": Women, Power, and Convent Reform in Florence', 677.

3. Florentine Convent Culture: Prayer, Music and Discord

Quite simply, women religious gave their lives wholly to the ritual service of God despite their compromised psychological state. In Florence, which had more nuns than any other city state in Northern Italy, the sound of nuns joined in prayer at specific hours would have signalled deep piety and powerful protection. This chapter summarises what we know about music practice in Florentine nuns' daily worship, dominated as it was by the Divine Office, Mass and Saints' days. The packed programme gave little time or opportunity to cultivate exceptional music, even if it were encouraged. The daily focus was on singing in unison, occasionally with an organ accompaniment. When more complicated music was practised, it often led to the undesirable side effects of music and learning – commonly acrimony and division – which are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

3.1 Daily Worship

While the number of convents in Florence remained relatively static in the late 16th century, individual institutions saw an increasing number of younger nuns, many of them sent there by their families. This, as we have seen, was a strategy almost certainly in part to help preserve patrimony. To hasten the integration of the new recruits, convents developed strategies to sever novices' ties with the secular world and to strengthen the convent body. For example, nuns were encouraged to switch from using their family name to a religious name, and to re-use the names of nuns who had died. In particular, the ritual of the Divine Office was integral to the process of assimilation. It acted as a social equalizer: during its celebration every participant was considered the same.[1] Further, as Kieran Flanagan has shown, the daily repetition of the Divine Office would have induced among the nuns a sense of purpose and stability.[2] And for those new nuns incarcerated against their will, the ritual of Divine Office at least provided some solace for the depressed and downhearted.[3]

The practice of the Divine Office continues to this day and was described thus by a modern-day nun: "[It] is the public prayer of the Church to praise God and sanctify the day. The Liturgy of the Hours is made up of specific prayers said at various times ('hours') during the day and night. The chanting of psalms makes up a major portion of each of the hours of prayer. …[during] the Liturgy of

[1] Edward L Schieffelin, 'Problematizing Performance', in *Ritual and Religious Belief: A Reader*, ed. edited by Russell T. McCutcheon and Graham Harvey (London: Routledge, 2017), ch. 9.
[2] Kieran Flanagan, *Sociology and Liturgy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1991), 32-56
[3] David Greenberg and Eliezer Witztum, *Sanity and Sanctity* (London: Yale University Press, 2001), ch. 24, 'The Healing Power of Ritual', 270-289.

the Hours (as with the Eucharist) …. the whole Church is praying [using] the same basic form, so it has this deeply universal character to it. Plus, there is a wonderful rhythm of repetition which helps one to deepen one's encounter with God and God's Word."[4] That "wonderful rhythm of repetition" may have brought joy to the 16th and 17th century nuns, but it accentuated their secondary role in the Church. Only male clergy could lead the most significant of the observances, the Eucharist (or Mass), and typically only male clergy learned Latin, the language of worship, as a matter of course.

Nuns' music was performed communally, in Choir, female monastics singing the same as male monastics, adapting the pitch to their own vocal range.[5] In the more austere religious Orders the services were merely spoken, even those elements identified as being for *schola cantorum*.[6] For example, in the Convertite in Venice, a nunnery for reformed prostitutes, according to the constitution the nuns were categorically forbidden to sing.[7] But generally the services were sung in plainchant, or 'intoned', with "small, punctuating musical gestures to mark the beginning and ends of phrases".[8] Often cantors (the individual leading the Choir) could, and did, make *bene emendati* (amendments) to the melodies as they thought they should be sung.[9] Hymns added further variety, as an adjunct to the Divine Office and Mass.

The Divine Office refers to the text, chants and song for the services from first Vespers on important feast days (traditionally at sunset) through Matins (traditionally at night-time but the actual time depended on the nunnery) and Lauds to second Vespers (only known as such for duplex feasts and higher) at sunset on the following day.[10] Compline (at bedtime, after Vespers) and the in-between "little hour" services after Lauds (Prime, Terce, Sext and None) rarely had their own texts and chants but often repeated portions of Lauds.[11] Supplementing the Divine Office and Mass were liturgical observances such as the daily Office of the Dead (during Matins, Lauds and Vespers) and the daily Little Office of the Virgin (a liturgical cycle devoted to the Virgin Mary).[12]

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[4] https://anunslife.org/blogs/nun-talk/praying-the-liturgy-of-the-hours, blog by Sister Julie, accessed 2 November 2018

[5] Richard L Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 25.

[6] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 193.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Andrew Hughes, *LMLO Late Medieval Liturgical Offices* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1994), para.304.

[9] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 608.

[10] John Henry Newman, *On the Roman Breviary as Embodying the Substance of the Devotional Services of the Catholic Church*, Tracts for the Times (University of Oxford) 75 (London: Printed for J.G. & F. Rivington, 1839), 19. Exceptions were forms of the Liturgy of the Hours that could be demonstrated to have been in continuous use for at least 200 years.

[11] Hughes, *LMLO Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, para. 301.

[12] The Office of the Dead is a prayer cycle for the repose of the soul of the deceased, with a Proper on All Souls' Day (2 November) for all souls in purgatory. The Little Office of the Virgin is a cycle of psalms, hymns, scripture and other readings at Matins.

According to David Hiley, "Matins and Lauds were the most substantial services musically, distinguished from the other services by the lessons and associated great responsories".[13] They were often combined and together they would have taken up about an hour-and-a-half of the liturgical day.[14] Next in size was Vespers which took about three-quarters of an hour if sung. Compline took just over quarter of an hour, and the little hours were similarly simple and brief, each also lasting about quarter of an hour. In all, nuns spent at least three-and-a-half hours every day devoted to the Divine Office. Nuns also took part in the celebration of Mass, adding another hour and a half or so to their liturgical day, bringing the total to some five hours. See Table 3.1 for a summary of the length of time spent on each service.[15] The actual length, however, differed from Order to Order, and from nunnery to nunnery, and also depended on the solemnity of the feast. Indeed, on some feast days, the Divine Office itself took up most the day. As John Harper says: "What began in the monastic churches of Benedict's time as four or five hours each day in church proliferated after the 10th century to perhaps as many as 10 or 12 hours in church, certainly on great feast days".[16] Moreover, adding to the burden of following the Divine Office, the start time of Lauds and of Prime was calculated from sunrise, and the Vespers from sunset, and so the schedule for these offices at the very beginning and end of the day varied considerably over the course of a year.[17]

Table 3.1 The order and length of services for the Divine Office and Mass

Name of service	when	Length of service
Matins	Between midnight and 2am	1hr 30 minutes (if combined with Lauds)
Lauds, or Dawn Prayer	Daybreak (could be as early as 4am in Northern Italy)	1hr 30 minutes (if combined with Matins)
Prime, or Early Morning Prayer	1 hour after daybreak	15 minutes
Terce, or Mid-Morning Prayer	about 9am	15 minutes
(Mass)	(anytime, but only Sundays and feast days for the Choir Nuns)	(1hr to 1hr 30 minutes)
Sext, or Midday Prayer	about 12 noon	15 minutes

[13] Hiley, *Western Plainchant: Handbook*, 21.
[14] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 176. Glixon describes the durations of offices at S Teresa, Venice, in the 18th century.
[15] The idea for tabulating the order and length of services throughout the day is explored in a much abbreviated form for S Teresa in Venice by Glixon Ibid.
[16] John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1991), 74.
[17] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 175.

None, or Mid-Afternoon Prayer	about 3pm	15 minutes
Vespers	Sunset	45 minutes
Compline, or Night Prayer	Bedtime, usually 9pm	15 minutes

The music-making involved in the Divine Office becomes clearer when it is broken down into its constituent parts. In the Divine Office, the entire Psalter (the Book of Psalms), was recited every week, generally during the evening and night hours.[18] Psalms were chanted in association with antiphons, the short sentences sung or recited before or after a psalm or canticle (a hymn or chant). Responsories were said or sung after a lesson by a soloist or smaller Choir consisting of a few of the more skilful nuns.[19] These were musically more complex than the antiphons, with a greater range and more melismas. The most commonly sung sections of the Divine Office, because they were sung daily, were the canticles of the Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, and Benedictus, generally performed towards the end of Vespers, Compline and Lauds, respectively.[20]

The text of the Divine Office would depend on whether it was time for a Proper or an Ordinary. The Proper are those items of the Office whose texts and melodies vary with the occasion, as distinct from the Ordinary whose texts remain the same throughout the liturgical year. According to David Hiley: "Music, however, could also contribute to the 'properness' of a piece: while the text may remain the same for a certain period of the year, or even for the whole of it, the musical setting could vary from occasion to occasion".[21] In this way, the order of service for the Divine Office each day could be very complex: it had to include not only the Ordinary, but often a Proper for feast days, in addition to the various ceremonies, rituals and processions that occurred.

The precise arrangement of the services within the Divine Office, and of the series of other services, commemorations and celebrations throughout the liturgical year, followed a particular cursus. The Dominicans, for example, adhered to the Roman, otherwise known as the secular, cursus. Other Orders pursued the monastic cursus as set out in the Rule of St Benedict, or the lesser known Ambrosian Rite as used in Milan. As a general rule, in Florence, nuns were following either the

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[18] Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant*, 78.

[19] Don Michael Randel, ed., 'Office, Divine' in The Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 582.

[20] The Magnificat, beginning, "My soul doth magnify the Lord" is the song of the Virgin Mary on the occasion of her visitation to her cousin Elizabeth who is pregnant with John the Baptist (Luke 1: 46-55). The Nunc Dimittis, "Now dismiss they servant, oh Lord", is the prayer recited by Simeon at the presentation of Jesus at the Temple (Luke 2: 29-31). The Benedictus, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel", is the song of thanksgiving by Zechariah on the occasion of the circumcision of his son, John the Baptist (Luke 1: 68-79).

[21] Hiley, *Western Plainchant: Handbook*, 8.

secular cursus or the monastic cursus, which had broadly similar timetables (this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, with reference to the music itself).[22]

As well as the arduous daily rhythms of the Divine Office, Choir nuns were required to give responses (the said or sung antiphon and responsories) at Mass or Communion, the ritual eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of His blood, in imitation of the Last Supper. The celebration of the Mass was always led by male priests, and nuns could only share the consecrated bread and wine on Sundays and specific feast days.[23] As in the Divine Office, Mass was divided into the Proper and the Ordinary and plainsong pre-dominated. As noted by Glixon in Venice, "The prayers were usually recited by a priest with only a deacon or subdeacon to chant the response, except where a nunnery's church was also a parish church in which case additional clergy were on hand to serve as the Choir in the public part of the church".[24] In Florence, these parish churches were S Ambrogio, S Felicità, S Pier Maggiore, and S Felice in Piazza. The Proper of the Mass (based on psalms and scriptural antiphons) consisted of the Introit, Gradual, Alleluia, Offertory and Communion. Each section conferred a special meaning on the celebration of the Eucharist, depending on the day of the year. Rather than learn a new tune for each Proper text (which may only be repeated once annually), religious could make a contrafactum whereby different texts were sung to one familiar melody.[25] To complicate matters, the converse was also true – a particular text could have a different melody depending on the day of the year.

The Ordinary, non-psalmodic, sections of the mass consisted of five parts, in preparation and sacrifice of the Eucharist: the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. Because they were sung so regularly, these sections became the nexus for polyphonic settings in churches. Sections which involved "processing time" of the congregation attending Mass were, in the 17th century, likewise given special musical treatment: the Offertory psalm verses (see 9a in Table 3.2) were usually sung melismatically, and the Agnus Dei extended the time for the Breaking of the Bread and the Commingling (when Christ's body and blood are united).[26] There was also the Gloria in Excelsis Deo, which was sung after the Kyrie.[27]

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[22] 'Cursus' signifies the sequence of offices. Randel, 'Office, Divine', 581–82; Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 172–73.

[23] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 176.

[24] Ibid.

[25] David Hiley, Gregorian Chant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 132.

[26] The Offertory psalm is sung when the Bread and Wine for use in the service are ceremoniously placed on the altar. The Agnus Dei is sung during the Breaking of the Bread and the Commingling (when the Body of Christ (the Bread) is put into the Blood of Christ (the Wine).

[27] Gloria in Excelsis Deo was sung on Sunday outside Lent, and on feast days. It begins with the words the angels said when the birth of Christ was announced to the shepherds (Luke 2:13-14).

The Proper and the Ordinary in the Mass were divided into two halves: the Preparation of the Eucharist and the Sacrifice (or Eucharist) which contains three actions: Take (the Offertory, etc), Bless (Benedictus etc), and Eat (Communion etc). Table 3.2, extrapolated from a tabulation by Jos Smits van Waesberghe, shows the usual running order, and the points where the ceremony would have been supplemented with song by the Choir nuns on those feast days and Sundays where it was their duty to be involved (the Choir is indicated here as the *schola cantorum*).[28] Table 3.3 summarises the sung and spoken elements. The actual length of Mass would depend on how much of the service was sung as opposed to spoken.

Table 3.2 The running order of the Mass

THE PREPARATION, or the liturgy of the Word and its elaborations
Exhortation to Trust with Confession of Guilt

1. Entrance of the priest (Introit) - PROPER
   Song/chant of the *schola cantorum*
2. Prayer for mercy (*Kyrie*) - ORDINARY
   Song/chant of the people and/or *schola cantorum*
3. Praise and Thanksgiving (*Gloria*) - ORDINARY
   Song/chant of the people and/or *schola cantorum*
4. Request for favours (Collect) - PROPER
   Song/chant of the celebrant
5. Reading (Epistle) - PROPER
   Song/chant of the assisting clergy
6. Intermediate chants: Gradual, Alleluia or Tract, sometimes Sequence - PROPER
   Song/chant of the *schola cantorum*
7. Gospel reading (Sermon) - PROPER
   Song/chant of the assisting clergy
8. Confession of the Faith (*Credo*) - ORDINARY
   Song/chant of the people and/or *schola cantorum*

THE SACRIFICE, or the Eucharist
Offering of the Bread and Wine
Offertory

9. Offertory chant - PROPER
   Song/chant of the *schola cantorum*
10. Song/chant of Homage (prefaced with *Sanctus*) - ORDINARY
    Song/chant of the celebrant, people/*schola cantorum*

Change of the bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ
Consecration

11. Song/chant of Welcome (*Benedictus*) - ORDINARY
    Song/chant of the people/*schola cantorum*
12. Lord's Prayer (*Pater Noster*) - ORDINARY

[28] J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Gregorian Chant: And Its Place in the Catholic Liturgy* (Stockholm: Continental Book Company, 1960), 14. Pope Gregory I (followed the Benedictine Rule, died 604 AD) created the *schola cantorum*, school of singers.

Song/chant of the celebrant

13. Prayer for Mercy (*Agnus Dei*) - ORDINARY
    Song/chant of the people/*schola cantorum*

Receiving of the sacred offering

Communion

14. Thanksgiving (Communion) - PROPER
    Song/chant of the *schola cantorum*
15. Closing prayers - PROPER
    Song/chant of the celebrant
16. Dismissal (Ite, Missa est! Deo gratias) - ORDINARY
    Song/chant of the assisting clergy/people/*schola cantorum*

Blessing

17. Last Gospel (John 1: 1-14)
    Song/chant of the assisting clergy/*schola cantorum*

Table 3.3 Summary of the sung and spoken elements of the Mass

Sung		Spoken or recited	
Proper	Ordinary	Proper	Ordinary
1. Introit			
	2. Kyrie		
	3. Gloria		
		4. Collect	
		5. Epistle	
6. Gradual and Alleluia or Tract			
			7. Gospel
	8. Credo		
9a. Offertory			
		9b. Offertory prayers	
		9c. Secret	
		9d. Preface	
	10. Sanctus		
	11a. Benedictus		11b. Canon
			12. Pater noster
	13. Agnus Dei		
14. Communion			
		15. Post communion	
	16. *Ite missa est* or *Benedicamus domino*[29]		
	17. Last Gospel		

The standard aide-memoire for Choir nuns was the Breviary. This little book spelled out the service for each day and every Choir nun, even the very poorest, was expected to have a copy.[30]

[29] The *Benedicamus domino* was used in the closing salutation of the Latin Mass, instead of the *Ite missa est*, in Masses which lacked the Gloria (that is, in Masses during Advent, Septuagesima, Lent and Passiontide)

[30] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 81. Suor Maria Celeste requests a new breviary for herself and her sister as "the ones we have since the time we became

Converse, and members of the choir who could not read, however, recited standard prayers, as observed by Glixon at S Chiara in Venice.[31] Some nuns also had their own psalters (Book of Psalms), as Glixon says, "both to bring to choir for communal services, and for private use in her cell".[32] The nuns' Choir, in the nuns' chapel, had a large antiphoner which laid out the chants for the Divine Office, such as at Sister Margaret's convent in Leuven: "In choir to read the Office five or six people must share one candle, and they can barely see to read them right." [33] For the priests in the external church, the nuns provided missals (words for the Mass liturgy) and graduals (music for the Mass) and, where nuns sang chants at Mass, they had a gradual in their own Choir as well.

Very few of these books relating to nunneries remain from early modern Florence, and none that spell out the role of a cantrix, the female cantor.[34] All we know is that, to follow to the letter the Divine Office and Mass – its structure, Latin language, and strict timetable – would have claimed the Choir nun's attention as well as her time and, even though much of it may have been committed to memory, it would have been essential for at least some of the Choir to be able to read Latin and music.

3.2 The Religious Calendar, Feasts and Rites

The religious calendar comprised two overlapping cycles of seasons – the temporal (partly variable) and the sanctoral (feast days with fixed dates) – both of which introduced the Proper element into the Divine Office. Figure 3.1 shows the interaction of the cycles. In the temporal, about half the year (from Advent to Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to Corpus Christi) is seasonal, meaning that the forms of the Divine Office were generally Proper rather than Ordinary, while the other half (from Epiphany to Septuagesima, and from Corpus Christi to Advent) were generally Ordinary. Each Order, each institution within that Order, and each church, added further feast and saints' days to the sanctoral.

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nuns [12 years previously] are all torn, these being the instruments we use every day…..we do not care that they are gilded, just that they contain all the newly added Saints".

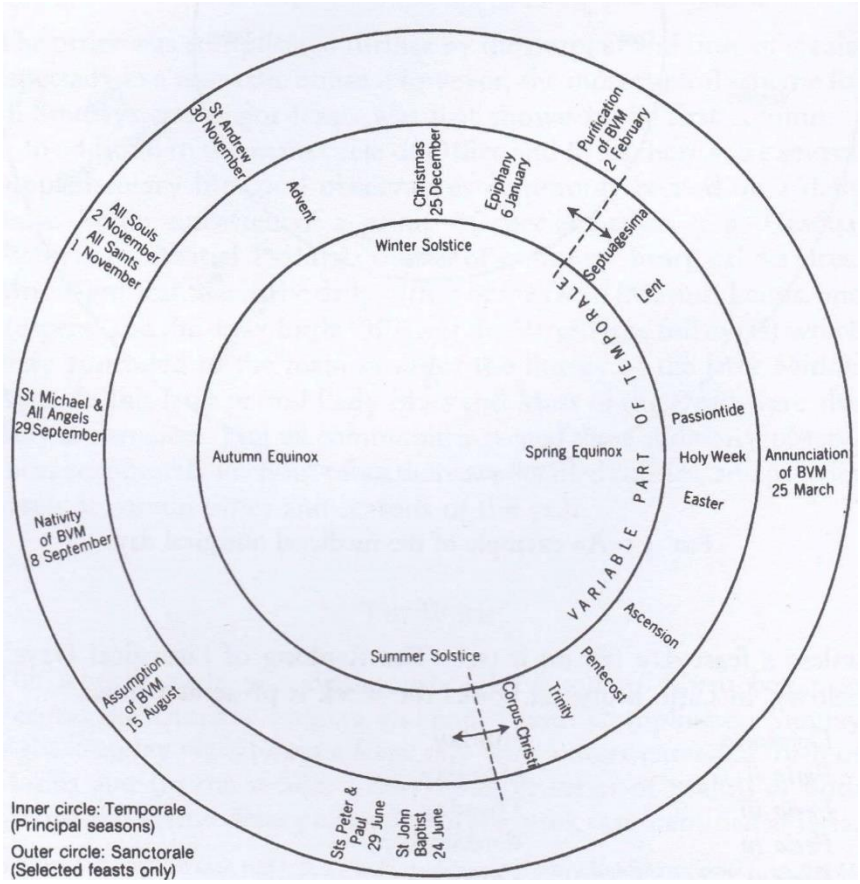
[31] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 185.

[32] Ibid., 190.

[33] Craig Harline, 'Sister Margaret Smulders and the Convent of Bethlehem: Documents from the Visitation of 1628 and 1633', http://craigharline.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/162833ENWordWebsite.pdf. Visitation letters from June 19-20, from Margaret Smulders.

[34] Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 53-69.

Figure 3.1 The interaction of the cycles of temporal and sanctoral[35]



BVM = Blessed Virgin Mary

Liturgical days can be either Feast or Feria. In an ordinary week Sunday is ranked as festal and the remaining days are ferial. Important feasts, however, are celebrated as an Octave; that, is for a full week (or sometimes just on the eighth day, depending on the feast or the religious Order), from Vespers preceding the feast day and at Mass. The increased number of festal days meant there were fewer than 100 ferial days in the year.[36] For nuns, this meant that Mass was included as part of their daily cycle of prayer for as many as 265 days of the year, thereby increasing the number of ritual services, and the amount of time spent in prayer and its associated music.

Besides the daily, weekly and annual cycles of liturgical observances, the usual offices and Mass were often supplemented with a procession or other special ceremony for an important feast.

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[35] Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*, 48. Reproduced here by kind permission of John Harper and Oxford University Press.

[36] John Harper, 'The Western Liturgy', *Early Music* 21, no. 2 (1 May 1993): 53.

According to Hiley, "the main purpose of a procession was to visit some holy place within the main church (such as an altar) and chants would be sung on the way there", possibly at the site itself, and on the way back.[37] For enclosed nuns, a route might be taken around the cloister, for instance for the placing of ashes on the head on Ash Wednesday, during holy week.

The annual Feast of a patron saint of a nunnery was also the occasion for a major public celebration, the "public" being in the outside church, and the nuns on their own side of the grille. A number of nunneries also celebrated secondary Feasts of their patrons. Such celebrations were not limited to the public Mass and Vespers but continued throughout the day within the nunnery at the other hours of the Divine Office. Glixon observes for Venice: "In addition, a nunnery might possess the relics of an obscure saint or, for some other reason, venerate someone for whom there was no Proper Office".[38] A nunnery in need of an Office for its obscure patron saint would commission a liturgical expert to create an Office from appropriate holy texts, selecting, adapting and where necessary creating all the elements of a complete liturgy.[39] Florentine nuns observed their patron saints in similar ways.

As well as special ceremonies for Feasts, nuns marked the major transitions of their life with rituals which included texts mostly sung in plainchant.[40] There were three major transitions: the progress from laywoman to consecrated nun (*consecratio virginum)*; the assumption of an office (particularly the abbess or prioress), and a nun's funeral and burial. As observed by Colleen Reardon in Siena, the first transition, to be a consecrated nun, was quite protracted.[41] Girls *in serbanza,* if they wished to take their vows, would apply to the nuns for acceptance. They would then progress from laywoman to consecrated nun in three stages. Public ceremonies marked the first two stages: entering the community, which disengaged girls from society; and, taking the monastic habit in a vestition ceremony (v*estizione*), which gave them their transitional status as unprofessed nuns. These were non-standard rites and so varied greatly from Order to Order and even from one nunnery to another within a given Order.[42] To a certain extent this was because they were 'hijacked' by family and patrons who, after Trent, were excluded from the profession ceremony and wanted the preceding ceremonies to be as showy as possible. For *vestizione*, the ceremony typically began in the public part of the convent church, but the removal of the postulant's secular clothes, putting on the habit, and the cutting of her hair, would take place on the other side of the grille. After an interrogation by the

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[37] Hiley, *Western Plainchant: Handbook*, 31.
[38] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 177.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 104.
[41] Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700,* chap. 3.
[42] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 105.

celebrant through the grille there would be singing of psalms, antiphons and hymns performed either by a choir of priests or by the nuns themselves.[43] When formally entering the community, a prospective nun would first take communion in the exterior church, and then proceed with her parents and the confessor to the cloister door where she would request permission to enter. Once inside, again music could accompany the remainder of the ceremony.

The third stage of the first transition was the profession and solemn vows, which rendered the new nuns legally "dead to the world".[44] (At some point after a nun's 25th birthday she could have her virginity consecrated in the same ceremony as the profession and solemn vows made by fellow nuns.[45]) It was only this final stage, the *consecratio virginum*, that was an official, standardised rite of the Roman church and, after Trent, became an intimate, private event within the cloister. Music, in the form of plainchant, played an important role in these ceremonies.[46] Benedetto Buonmattei (1581-1645), a Florentine theologian and confessor to the nuns at S Maria del Fiore in Fiesole, outlined – in Italian, for all to understand – the Latin ritual of the nun's profession, with its texts and song.[47] Music is stipulated in the ceremony, which is given in the *Pontificale Romanum* (the liturgy for ceremonies conducted by Bishops and other high-ranking officials), incorporating the Offices for the feast of S Agatha, S Agnes or the Common of Virgins.[48]

Of particular importance in the profession and consecration ceremonies was Solomon's Song of Songs, from which derived motets beginning *Veni, veni soror nostra* (Come, come our sister).[49] Christianity reads the Song of Songs as a metaphor for the relationship between Christ and his "bride", with images from the bridal chamber, including lovers kissing and embracing, being incorporated into the ritual itself.

One section translates, for example:

> Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth—
> for your love is more delightful than wine.

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[43] A study by Jonathan Glixon of the clothing ritual and the profession, in Venetian nunneries, is in progress.
[44] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 16.
[45] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 105.
[46] Ibid., 106.
[47] Benedetto Buonmattei and Antonio Pinelli, *Modo di consecrar le vergini: secondo l'uso del Pontifical Romano con la dichiarazione de' misteri delle cerimonie, che in quell'azion si fanno* (Venezia, 1622).
[48] Pius, *Pio V. Pont. Max. Pontificale romanvm ad omnes pontificias caeremonias quibus nunc vtitvr sacrosanctae Romana Ecclesia accommodatum : nonnullis insuper, quae in antea impressis non habentur accuratissime auctum ac in tres partes distinctum ...* (Venetiis: Juntas, 1572); Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 115; Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 159-168.
[49] Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 62 and 173; Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*, 89–90.

Pleasing is the fragrance of your perfumes;
your name is like perfume poured out.
No wonder the young women love you![50]

In Venice at least, such was the fear of the worldly images that would be invoked in nuns' pure minds, that in 1633 the Patriarch, Federico Corner, entirely prohibited the Song of Songs in the consecration ceremony.[51]

The ceremony for the second of the transitions, the consecration of a new abbess or prioress, also had its own liturgy and there was dedicated music in the Vespers following the consecration.[52] For a nun's final transition, her funeral, to be united in Heaven with her Lord and bridegroom, music was performed both in the form of the funeral antiphon, *In paradisum,* by fellow nuns and male singers (performing in the outside church). This was supplemented, and elaborated, by nuns' homage prior to the burial, following the catafalque with the singing of psalms, such as *Miserere* and *De profundis*. After the funeral, the Office of the Dead in Vespers, Matins and Lauds was recited in remembrance.[53] "Complicated music" was never prescribed.

3.3 Informal Diversions

Nuns' formal duties to glorify God in the liturgy, to take part in services celebrating the special days in the Church's year, to celebrate the name days of their patron saints and to mark the important transitions of their sisters, left little time for informal music-making. There were, however, some opportunities. Nineteenth-century records state that nuns performed *sacre rappresentazioni* (plays akin to the mystery plays of France and England), which were probably sung throughout in the style of psalmody.[54] They also performed other plays, sometimes with a sacred influence, but often during the secular, permissive atmosphere of Carnival. These plays were usually written by male playwrights and included many of the contemporary lyric forms: sonnets, *canzoni* (Italian songs), *sirventesi* (moral or religious songs that satirise social sentiments), ballads and madrigals. The songs were part of the action or musical *intermezzi* between scenes.[55] Other records state that some plays

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[50] *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Zondervan Publishing House (Grand Rapids, 2017), Solomon, Song of Songs 1:2-4.
[51] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 41.
[52] Ibid., 165.
[53] Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 104.
[54] deput; Alessandro D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Turin: Loescher, 1891). According to Weaver, D'Ancona finds evidence in two convent plays contained in cod. Ricc. 2931, BRF, that "the nuns who performed were doing something unusual when they abandoned the psalmody".
[55] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 74.

were written by the nuns themselves, for example the *Rappresentazione di Santa Caterina di Colonia,*[56] or Suor Annalena Aldobrandini's *veglie* ("evening pastimes"), as cited by Laurie Stras.[57] Even in Aldobrandini's *veglie* which include detailed instructions for the music, of the music itself for these informal diversions there is no trace. I discuss this music further in Chapter 5 and how it constitutes a "middle ground" of musical endeavour.

There is even some evidence that secular music was circulated in print between convents and families. The Florentine nun, Suor Maria Celeste, for example in a letter to her father, 3 December 1633, says: "Mother Achillea herewith returns the motet. What she would really like in exchange are a few symphonies or ricercar compositions for the organ".[58] And there is evidence that the music was in manuscript form, such as the keyboard music of the Bolognese nun Elena Malvezzi, dated 1559, as discovered by Craig Monson.[59]

3.4 Music, the Double-Edged Sword

From the nun's perspective, there was an inherent tension in music-making. On the one hand, the teaching and learning of its techniques meant that nuns could share a commonality of experience and enjoy purposeful relationships formed during music rehearsals and collaborations.[60] It also provided a way for nuns to express their emotions and was a means of psychological escape from nunnery life. Beverly Schnoover observes that "prisoners have no control over their lives, though... lost in the complications of how to phrase a line of music or get an image down on paper, they are not in prison."[61] A similar observation is made by Suanne Cusick, when referring to the music at S Verdiana in Florence in the late 16th century: that in a world of sensory deprivation, nuns became acute listeners and music helped them to bear the effects of mass incarceration and, indeed, to resist enclosure.[62] As well as giving the nuns a sense of agency, music at the same time assuaged the guilt of their families. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than, again, at S Verdiana in Florence when, in 1585, two orphaned sisters brought enormous wealth and instruments. According to Suzanne Cusick: through their performances they fuelled the reputation of S Verdiana as a convent that, despite having

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[56] Florence, BRF, 'Rappresentazione Di Santa Caterina Di Colonia' (16th century), Cod. Ricc. 2931, fols. 80r-193v; as cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 113.
[57] Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini'.
[58] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 349.
[59] Monson, 'Elena Malvezzi's Keyboard Manuscript: A New Sixteenth-Century Source'.
[60] As, indeed, in other forms of entertainment such as poetry and plays. See Appendix 1 for a summary of convent theatre in Florence in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.
[61] Beverly Schoonover, 'The Captive Audience', *Art Education* 39, no. 3 (1986): 33–35.
[62] Cusick, 'Rethinking the Musical Nun in Early Modern Florence'.

to hide its nuns from view, did not hide them acoustically, thus giving the nuns a sense of purpose and satisfying families who wanted to believe their daughters were not dead to the world outside the convent walls.[63] I have not found records elsewhere, such as in the lists of expenditure by nunnery at the Archivio di Stato, of any such instruments at Florentine nunneries.

Music also generated wealth. For example attendees to the external church, on hearing nuns sing, would be more likely to donate to the church coffers.[64] Such attendance encouraged patrons to make donations for special sung masses made in remembrance of their dead relatives.[65] Nunneries that encouraged music found a further income stream by attracting boarders from rich families seeking a music education for daughters. For example, in 1604, aged five, Suor Maria Vittoria Frescobaldi entered the nunnery of S Verdiana in Florence and later owned a harpsichord and spinet and her musical abilities were known throughout the city.[66] She must have had music lessons in between entering the convent and owning the instruments. Exceptionally, some nunneries made money through music by copying plainchant manuscripts. Le Murate, for example, had a scriptorium even at the end of the sixteenth century.[67] Copying and illuminating demanded communication with the outside world, however, and so were at odds with enforced enclosure after the Council of Trent.

At the same time, music could damage community, the very characteristic that the Divine Office was thought to promote. For example, it disturbed the silence preferred for private prayer.[68] It also damaged community by dividing the nuns by rank. After the Council of Trent, the vernacular in monastic life was completely squashed and the ability to read Latin became a formal entry requirement for Choir nuns.[69] Like musical skills, however, a nun's command of Latin will have been variable. Suor Maria Celeste, being Galileo Galilei's daughter, received more Latin education than

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Kimberlyn Montford, 'Holy Restraint: Religious Reform and Nuns' Music in Early Modern Rome', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 37, no. 4 (2006): 1019.

[65] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 276.

[66] Manuela Belardini, 'Musica dietro le grate. Vita e processo di Maria Vittoria Frescobaldi, «monaca cantatrice» del deicento fiorentino', in *I monasteri femminili come centri di cultura fra rinascimento e barocco* (atti del Convegno storico internazionale 2000, 45–72). Edited by G. Pomata e G. Zarri. Bologna: Edizioni di storia e letteratura 2005).

[67] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 288–90.

[68] Colleen Baade, 'Music and Misgiving: Attitudes towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe an Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (London; New York; Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), chap. 4.

[69] Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan*, 95; Sharon T Strocchia, 'Learning the Virtues: Convent Schools and Female Education in Renaissance Florence', in *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe : A History, 1500 to 1800*, ed. Barbara Whitehead (New York: Garland, 1999), chap. 1. Strocchia's observations do not specify the learning of Latin *per se* for those girls sent to a convent to further their education, but it is assumed Latin was needed by nuns for reading the Divine Office.

most, to the extent that she was conscripted to tutor others, but she says: "I have now been assigned to teach Gregorian chant to four young girls, and by Madonna's orders I am responsible for the day-to-day conducting of the choir: this creates considerable labour for me, with my poor grasp of the Latin language".[70]

Many of those in a position to teach behind the walls were not liked by the Church. They were often older married women and widows, or corrodians (*commesse*), to whom some nunneries opened their doors even after Trent. Church authorities greatly disliked *commesse*: they were a prohibited secular presence who insisted on their freedom of movement and threatened to disrupt the cloistered life.[71] *Commesse*, however, were usually wealthy and well educated, providing financial support as well as teaching. Otherwise, outside tutors could instruct through the grille. Sharon Strocchia reports how one novice at Le Murate in Florence learned to read Italian at the grille, "repeating letters called out and signalled by the convent chaplain from an unnamed book".[72]

Music also compromised a nun's concept of self-effacement and humility. Nowhere is this shown more clearly than at the Convento de la Madre de Dios at Valladolid in Spain (and there is no reason to suppose that the same did not happen in Italy), where the Dominican nun, Madre Micaela de Aguirre, applied an iron to her chest in an attempt to destroy her beautiful voice, thereby avoiding "wasted time spent on foolish entertainment" and escaping the "vanity that those with good voices tend to have when they sing". The confessor of María Vela (1561-1617) – "nun singer, organist and mystic", also in Spain – reported that she often whipped her hands and fingers with a cord so as not to be distracted by their beauty when she played the organ.[73]

This chapter has been necessarily descriptive, elucidating all the ways in which the liturgy presented every opportunity for nuns to engage with music-making on different levels. The formulaic nature of the liturgy, however, with its complexity and length, imposed a strongly regulative force, not

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[70] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 122–23. "..s'aggiunge l'insegnare di canto fermo a 4 giovanette, per ordine di Madonna ordinare l'offizio del coro giorno per giorno; il che non mi è di poca fatica, per non haver cognizione alcuna della lingua latina."

[71] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 179–83.

[72] Strocchia, 'Learning the Virtues: Convent Schools and Female Education in Renaissance Florence', 27; Robert Allan Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe Culture and Education 1500-1800* (Routledge, 2016), chap. 1; Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, *Motivi storici della educazione femminile (1500-1650)*, 2 vols (Bari: Editoriale Bari, 1980). After Trent, a number of female Orders (in particular, the Ursulines) took up the charge of educating girls but little is known about how they taught Latin.

[73] Colleen Baade, 'Music and Misgiving: Attitudes towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain' in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe an Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (London; New York; Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016); Miguel González Vaquero, *La Mujer fuerte, por otro titulo La vida de D. Maria Vela, monja de S. Bernardo en el convent de Santa Ana de Avila* (Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, 1640), fol. 9r (as cited by Baade, Ibid.)

just during the course of a single day but throughout the year. When Latin became a prerequisite in the Divine Office after the Council of Trent, nuns' duties became even more exacting. Furthermore music, which should have engendered a sense of community, could also be divisive. Some women religious also saw music as disruptive to a contemplative life and disliked it for the way it encouraged pride and vanity. Music was, however, intrinsic to nuns' faithful performance of their liturgical duties and so it is surprising the extent that ecclesiastical governance, from official edicts to innate fear of the female voice, introduced even further constraints. These are explored in the next chapter.

4. Ecclesiastical Governance of Nuns

Nuns of early modern Italy were effectively prisoners in their convents, where their whole lives were regulated by the diurnal cycle of services for the Divine Office and the Mass, and the frequent ceremonies marking saints' days and celebrations. Although musical culture occasionally flourished, nuns' composition, or music-making, beyond plainsong, appears to be the exception rather than the rule. In Florence, this appears to have been the case, and stands in stark contrast to the city's leadership in secular music, particularly from the turn of the 16th century. Sealed off from Florentine secular culture by enforced enclosure, did daily life within Florentine nunneries, and the severity of its regime, differ from nuns' lives in other city states? In many ways, no. Moreover, in forcing all women religious to be continually confined to convents, nuns' communities were effectively isolated from each other, and local religious authorities were able to more freely impose their own interpretation of Church edicts.

Church bureaucracy was complex. Bishops and Archbishops imposed their interpretation of decrees made at the Council of Trent in 1563, while male Regulars of the founding Orders of the convents imposed their own Order's rules. Variation, and competition, between the two lines of command led to diverse interpretation of Tridentine wishes and differing levels of tolerance (and intolerance) for nuns' music. A touchstone for regulation remained, as ever, St Paul's advocacy for female silence: "Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent".[1] This re-states the view of, for example, S Bernardino da Siena in the 14th-century ("your tongue is, after all, protected by two barriers: teeth and lips"), and of the secular critic, Stefano Guazzo, in 1574 ("where there's no heart, there's a big tongue").[2] Within the Church, and within Benedictine Orders especially, silence was requisite to piety. Punishments for not observing the guidelines were tyrannical.

Focusing on Florentine nunneries from 1550 to 1650, this chapter considers the purpose of Council of Trent and how it, and two other vehicles for imposing Church discipline, the Inquisition and the Index, impacted nuns' lives in terms of claustration and the music they made. Within this

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[1] 1Timothy 2:11-12, as cited by Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence*, 11.

[2] Bernardino da Siena and Luciano Banchi, *Le prediche volgari di san Bernardino da Siena : dette nella piazza del Campo l'anno MCCCCXXVII* (Siena: S. Bernardino (tip.), 1880), 191, 215 "la lingua....e protetta dalle doppie mura delle labbra e dei denti come una città fortificata"; as cited by Giorgio Patrizi, 'Pedagogie del silenzio. Tacere e ascoltare come fondamenti dell'apprendere', in *Educare il corpo, educare la parola: nella trattatistica del Rinascimento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1998), 420. Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, ed. Amedeo Qondam, vol. 1 (Modena: Panini, 1993), 171. "Io so anco che si dice che dove è manco il cuore, quivi è più lingua. E perciò è sommamente lodato nella donna quel silenzio che tanto l'adorna e che tanto accresce l'opinione della sua prudenza."

discussion, I explore the balance of power between the Church hierarchy and the religious Orders, and the effects of being controlled by two lines of authority. I also look at the relative power of the Orders, with respect to the wealth of their convents. Finally, I discuss the particular pressures in Florence which would seem to help explain why there is so little evidence of exceptional music-making by its nuns.

4.1 The Council of Trent and Church Discipline

The Council of Trent (1545–63) was convened to re-impose and strengthen Church discipline. As early as 1532, Gian Pietro Carafa (who became Pope Paul IV) declared that Italian lands were being visited by a "plague" of heresy, reflecting an increasing alarm about Lutheranism.[3] To excise the infection the Pope, through his Bull, *Licet ab initio,* of July 1542, initiated the Inquisition, charging six cardinals with eradicating "heretical depravity".[4] The "Inquisitors came mostly from the Religious Orders, predominantly the Dominicans".[5] Indeed, it was the Order, rather than the inquisitorial Cardinals who often chose the Inquisitor for any particular city.

It was not just ordinary citizens who needed disciplining. Churchmen (and churchwomen) needed to be directed and controlled by Rome, notably in the correct dissemination of the Bible's messages and in the proper procedures in the liturgy. The Council of Trent sought to fulfil these aims, augmenting the continuing work of the Inquisition and the Forbidden Books Index. For example, Tridentine edicts ruled that all liturgical books had to be updated for Observance and outlawed vernacular versions of the Bible.[6]

The Council of Trent's deliberations lasted almost exactly 18 years, with 25 sessions. It was one of its last edicts, in 1563, which decreed the strict enclosure of female religious, even those who had not taken full vows. The clarity of the edict, however, left much to be desired, as did resolution of the question on how strictly enclosure should be enforced. It took 20 or so years of interpretation, through the pontificates of Pius V (1566–72) and Gregory XIII (1572–85), for the Catholic hierarchy to agree on the purpose of strict enclosure and how it should be enforced.[7] Ultimately, strict enclosure

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[3] John Jeffries Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 39.

[4] *L'Inquisizione romana in Italia nell'età moderna: archivi, problemi di metodo e nuove ricerche: atti del seminario internazionale, Trieste, 18-20 maggio* (Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1991).

[5] Black, *Church, Religion, and Society in Early Modern Italy*, 53.

[6] Gigliola Fragnito, 'La Bibbia al rogo', in *Church, censorship and culture in early modern Italy*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[7] Raymond Creytens, 'La Riforma Dei Monasteri Femminili Dopo i Decreti Tridentini', in *Il Concilio Di Trento El La Riforma Tridentina* (Rome: Herder, 1965), 45–84.

was sanctioned with a view to safeguarding the honour of the nuns and preventing them from becoming a source of social disorder.

Enforced enclosure for nuns was not new: more than 250 years before the Council of Trent, in 1298, Boniface VIII had issued the directive, *Periculoso* (1298), changing reclusion from a choice into an institutional imperative. From this point onwards all nuns were to be cloistered. (Tertiary communities, that is those who lived according to the ideals and spirit of a Rule but who had not taken religious vows, were excluded from this ruling.) Boniface's rulings, however, were frequently adapted or ignored, according to the preferences of individual convents and/or their Orders. It is only in the Tridentine era that enclosure came to be strictly enforced universally.[8]

Boniface's strictures had led to the restriction of nuns' activities, even among women of the mendicant Orders. For example, Augustinian Regulars enforced enclosure on their women religious, although they did not go so far as having a grille.[9] For them, claustration was adopted to defend the chastity of nuns and to prevent them begging at private houses. Nuns could leave the convent for confession and for convent business, as long as they were accompanied by someone from the same Order, and the Divine Office was recited in church in the presence of other people. To leave the city they needed written permission. Outside the convent they were not allowed to eat meat without express permission of the prioress. Sometimes they were allowed to bring family and friends into the choir and into the cloister, to eat with the nuns, and to spend the night if they could not find lodgings elsewhere in the city, but a third person generally had to be present. With the Council of Trent, however, even these freedoms disappeared. For example, even the Ursulines, who dedicated themselves to the education of girls, were to observe enclosure (although they were allowed to continue to teach catechism to young women).[10] In 1572 in Milan, at the insistence of St. Charles Borromeo, the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, the Ursulines agreed to become an enclosed religious order. Pope Gregory XIII approved this step, putting them under the Rule of St. Augustine, in place of rule of their founder, Angela Merici. Within convent walls greater discipline was expected by the Abbess/Prioress (no matter her own inclinations) and each Order – although this responsibility was officially devolved to the Bishop – governed its sisters more strictly.[11]

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[8] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 188.

[9] Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, 10 vols ([Roma]: Edizioni paoline, 1974), vol 1.

[10] Danielle Culpepper, '"Our Particular Cloister": Ursulines and Female Education in Seventeenth-Century Parma and Picenza', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no.4 (2005): 1017-37.

[11] 'General Council of Trent: Twenty-Fifth Session', Papal Encyclicals Online, Chap. V, https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/trent/twenty-fifth-session.htm, accessed 21 August 2020. The Bishop of the Superior can give permission for secular people to enter. Bishops alone could also give nuns permission to leave the convent.

Forced enclosure had a devastating effect on convents' finances and exacerbated a polarisation of wealth between institutions. Tridentine strictures effectively prevented nuns from working for outside agencies because clients and suppliers were no longer freely able to enter the convent nor were nuns freely able to leave, even to further their trade. For example, S Orsola (Franciscan), S Monaca (Augustinian), S Jacopo di Ripoli (Dominican) and S Maria a Monticelli (Franciscan) were all involved in lacework but, by the 1580s, textile income had declined to just 10 per cent of pre-Tridentine levels.[12] Florentine convents became increasingly dependent on donations, so that while nunneries housing the daughters of the social elite could maintain their income, the remainder simply became poorer.

If the edicts of the Council of Trent on enforced enclosure required decades of interpretation and enforcement, its pronouncements on music-making in convents were even more open to debate and dissent. Like edicts on claustration, Council decrees on church music emerged only as the Council drew to a close. The many misunderstandings among musicologists regarding Tridentine rules are resolved in Craig Monson's definitive paper comparing what key Church figures proposed with what was actually decided.[13] According to the surviving minutes of the 22nd session in September 1562, music was hardly discussed at all, although it had been debated in detail in papers submitted to the Council.[14] In fact, it was dealt with in two lines: "Let them keep away from the churches compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or voice".[15] Implicitly, the Church permitted polyphony and the organ, while explicitly prohibiting secular elements. The final decree made no mention whatsoever of the intelligibility of words although this issue had come up time and again in early submissions. For example, a general summary of submissions (that were not included in the final edict) states: "Let not only profane songs be removed from the church or sanctuaries, but likewise singing that conceals the text, such as there is in polyphony".[16]

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[12] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 143-4.

[13] Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1–37.

[14] Several papers discussing its part in the liturgy were submitted in advance. Concile de Trente, *Concilium Tridentinum, diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatuum nova collectio ed. Societas Goerresiana*, ed. Sebastien Merkle, (Freiburg: B. Herder, 1901), vol. 8: 928-32. The oft-quoted Canon 8 which arose from Council deliberations in the 22nd session was never accepted.

[15] "Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivu aut impururm aliquid miscetur" Concile de Trente, vol. 8: 963.

[16] Bartholomaeus and Malachie d'Inguimbert, *Bartholomaei a Martyribus Opera omnia: in unum collecta*, vol. 2 (Rome: Typis Hieronymi Mainard, 1735), 408. This volume represents a general summary of various submissions and states: "Tollantur de Ecclesia, seu templis non solum cantus prophani, sed etiam cantus occultans literam, qualis est in figurata modulation". As cited by Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 7.

These views on polyphony, which never made the final edict did, however, become a portal for intervention. Council deliberations about music had involved legates from many Roman Catholic persuasions, all with different viewpoints, who justified a range of practices. For example, Cristoforus of Padua, father general of the Augustinians, was supportive of music generally and merely expressed his belief: "song and sound incite devotion in church".[17] Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, however, not only took an opposite stance but hijacked the Council's pronouncements. He interpolated into them his own views, which he then presented as Tridentine recommendations: "I would like to speak with the chapel master there and tell him to reform the singing so that the words may be as intelligible as possible, *as you know is ordered by the Council*" (emphasis added).[18] Borromeo even went so far as to disseminate copies of the preliminary, rejected proposals on monastic reform from Trent. By the 1570s he was intervening even on nuns' music, revoking nuns' privilege to employ outside music teachers and excising exceptional music from the external churches of nunneries governed by Regulars.

Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1598), Bishop of Bologna (1567- 1589), also advocated strict control of Church music. A key figure in drafting proposals from the Council of Trent, he rewrote Council edicts (like Carlo Borromeo) to reflect his own views and tried hard to persuade his churchly colleagues to clamp down on nuns' music. In his view: "The Divine Office should be continued by them [the nuns] with voices raised and not by professionals hired for that purpose, and they should answer in the Sacrifice of the Mass whatever the Choir is accustomed to answer; but they will leave to the Deacon and Subdeacon the office of chanting the Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels. They will abstain from singing either in Choir or elsewhere the so-called 'figured' [non-monophonic] chant."[19] One of Paleotti's first Episcopal decrees (1569), on his elevation to the bishopric of Bologna, resurrected a draft proposal rejected by the Council forbidding nuns all vocal music but plainchant. Singing to the organ was also banned. Such positions were entirely within Church rulings: in the 24th session, the Council decreed that details regarding music practice should be implemented at the local level, by the Bishop.[20]

Combined with the edict of enforced enclosure, however, such severe stances on nuns' music left some important issues unaddressed. If it were the duty of nuns to sing the Divine Office, which

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[17] "Excitant populum ad devotionem signa exteriora, sicut cantus et sonus ad devotionem in ecclesia faciunt." Concile de Trente, vol. 13:714. As cited by Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 10.

[18] Lewis Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* ([Vienna]; [Londra]; [Milano]: Universal Edition, 1970), 92; as cited by Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 4.

[19] Taken from Paleotti's "Acta Concilii tridentini". Their history and their eventual publication is discussed by Paolo Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597)* (Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1967), vol 2:389-424. As cited by Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 22.

[20] Concile de Trente, vol. 9: 983-84.

required some instruction in music and Latin, who now would teach them? And, if musical instruments were needed to support their plainchant, who now would play them? I go some way to answering these questions in the next chapter. As important, if nuns were not allowed to practise music, how else could they lessen the psychological effects of enforced claustration? As Craig Monson argues, music was used not only to lessen the impact of physical segregation from the secular world, by providing a reason to communicate direct with teachers and patrons, but it also helped the nuns to defy the wholly subordinate role they were expected to play by being skilled musicians in their own right.[21]

Yet the severity prevailed. Among critics, both sacred and secular music were typically associated with promiscuity, infighting, and excessive squandering of time and economic resources to the detriment of the nunnery as a whole. For example, classical medical writers thought that music encouraged depravity: they likened a woman's throat to her uterus and her uvula to her clitoris and so the heat-filled throat of a female singer might have been linked with sexual self-pleasuring.[22] As for music promoting disharmony, a Bolognese priest who was the confessor to several nuns' convents wrote in 1593: "I know for certain that there is so much contention and such warfare among them because of their musical rivalries that sometimes they would claw each other's flesh if they could".[23] Even nuns themselves saw their musical sisters as uncompromising and unsympathetic, and a divisive force in the convent community.[24]

Another reason that severity prevailed was that there was no single body that could arbitrate on these issues of monastic singing and the use of musical instruments: neither the Pope-appointed Bishops (or Archbishops), nor the Regulars as individuals, nor the Sacred Congregation of the Council which was created to co-ordinate the enforcement of Post-Tridentine reform, nor the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars which dealt with discipline after the Council of Trent. There was no single voice of reason that overwhelmed the others: instead, all had their say on nuns' making music, and the tendency was towards suppression. Each Order even delineated its own strict lifestyle, which was at least as rigid as anything imposed by the Bishops.

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[21] Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*, 11.
[22] Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 10–46.
[23] Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, 1. Monson cites Don Ercole Tinelli: ASVB, VR, posiz. 1593, B-C
[24] Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 34.

4.2 Control through the Orders

Ostensibly, the Regulars only answered to the Pope and to superiors within their own Order.[25] Within an Order, monasteries and convents elected their own Abbot or Abbess or, for humbler houses, a Prior or Prioress. Monasteries typically controlled the nuns of their own Order; for example, in Florence the Dominican monastery of S Maria Novella was the protector of the nuns at La Crocetta. Sometimes a monastery would oversee several convents, constituting a Congregation run by an elected superior Abbot whose direct line to the Pope circumvented the local Bishop.[26] Rules within the convent could be very severe and penances and punishments were meted out as prescribed in an institution's rule book.[27] For example, correspondence was strictly monitored, and behaviour was checked by the constant threat of discipline.[28] As mentioned in Chapter 2, at La Crocetta in Florence, for example, the founder Suor Domenica dal Paradiso wrote as her seventh rule in her rule book of 1525 for those taking part in the Divine Office: "…and whoever forgets their part will for their negligence, on naked bended knee, recite their piece".[29] Also, following directives from the Council of Trent, most convents had their own prison to deal with nun offenders.[30]

The four largest religious Orders were the contemplative Benedictines, the mendicant Augustinians and Franciscans, and the Dominicans (who were labelled mendicants but only because of their initial adoption of Augustinian rule).[31] Each had strong views on women religious and the importance of music in their worship, and exerted further layers of control for silence and fasting which went above and beyond requirements for mere recitation of the Divine Office.[32] Benedictines, for example, were convinced that a woman's innate absence of spiritual commitment made fear of

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[25] Pelliccia and Rocca, *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, 1198.

[26] Charles Warren Currier, *History of Religious Orders: A Compendious and Popular Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Principle Monastic, Canonical, Military, Mendicant and Clerical Orders and Congregations of the Eastern and Western Churches, Together with a Brief History of the Catholic Church in Relation to Religious Orders* ([Whitefish, Mont.]: [Kessinger Publishing], 2003), 294.

[27] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 189.

[28] London, BL, Add MS 22777, S Caterina da Siena, fols 39v-41r; Adriano Prosperi, 'Spiritual Letters', in *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 113–28.

[29] Florence, BDF, La Crocetta (uncatalogued), 'Constitutioni et Ordinationi Fatte Dalla Beata Madre Suor Domenica Dal Paradiso, Alle Monache Del Suo Monastero Della Croce Di Firenze', Suor Domenica dal Paradiso (1525): "di questo per sua negligentia lo dichino una volta aginochia nude."

[30] Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, 200.

[31] William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945* (New York: J.F. Wagner, 1945), 9.

[32] Currier, *History of Religious Orders: A Compendious and Popular Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Principle Monastic, Canonical, Military, Mendicant and Clerical Orders and Congregations of the Eastern and Western Churches, Together with a Brief History of the Catholic Church in Relation to Religious Orders*, 6.

punishment necessary to maintain discipline within a nunnery. For example, the constitution for the Florentine nunnery, La Concezione (the Order of Cavalieri di Santo Stefano Papa, e Martire), near the end of the 16th century states: "[St Benedict said that] …..the fear of punishment is necessary to the individual; this is all the more appropriate for those of us who take to the Religious life girls under a certain age, and consequently, of little understanding about the life of a religious woman, of the fragile sex, and mostly without spiritual sense and fervour; we thus order the punishments for transgressions of the Rule, and Constitution, so that fear may prevail, where love has no strength and power".[33]

Turning first to the Benedictines, Table 4.1 below shows a list of the Benedictine convents in Florence, summarised from the comprehensive list I compile in Chapter 1. Half their number could be described as 'rich', so those following Benedictine rule represented a powerful sector of Florentine convents.

Table 4.1 The Benedictine convents in Florence

Name of nunnery	**Economic status[34]**
Le Murate	Rich
La Concezione (followed Benedictine rule, but under the Order of Cavalieri di Santo Stefano Papa, e Martire)	Rich
S Felicità (Vallombrosan)	Rich
S Giorgio sulla Costa (Vallombrosan)	Rich
S Verdiana (Vallombrosan)	Rich
S Apollonia	Rich
S Ambrogio	Rich
S Niccolò di Caffaggio	Survived Decorously
S Agata (Camaldolese)	Survived Decorously
S Pier Maggiore	Survived Decorously
S Silvestro	Survived Decorously
S Caterina al Mugnone (followed Benedictine rule)	Charitable
S Miniato al Ceppo	Charitable
S Anna sul Prato	Poor

[33] Florence, BNCF, Mazzatinti Inventari II II 152, 'Constituzioni e Ordini Del Ven[Erabile]. Monastero Della Concettione Della S Vergine Maria, Chiamato Il Monastero Nuovo, in via Della Scala Di Firenze: Con Approvazione Del 3 Ottobre 1655 e Con Modificazioni Del 1750. Capitolo Quarantesimo Quarto: Delle Punizioni de Difetti Grani, e Leggieri', 137; as cited and translated by Katherine Lynn Turner, 'The Musical Culture of La Concezione Devotion, Politics and Elitism in Post-Tridentine Florence', PhD diss. (University of Texas at Austin, 2008), 265.

[34] See p39, Fn79.

While the Benedictine Order practiced silence in general, music-making was a communal act, dedicated to enhancing worship.[35] As such, plainchant channelled the Benedictine contemplative tradition. The Benedictine belief was that sacred text delivered in small, very compact segments, eased the passage from literal to symbolic meaning. Where longer texts offered explanation and pleasure to the intellect, these short pieces allowed the singer time to more closely examine and inwardly digest the words, and to construct their own interpretation.[36] Furthermore, Benedictines believed that sung words were better remembered than those just spoken out loud.[37]

Benedictine life in general was particularly strictly regimented.[38] From All Saints (1st November) until Easter, Benedictine nuns rose at 0200hrs, making the sign of the cross. As they passed in front of the altar in the church they bowed before taking their place. They said their office to the Virgin, followed by Matins. Between the end of Matins and before Prime (0330hrs to 0500 hrs) nuns were expected to read or meditate. Between Easter to All Saints, Benedictine nuns worked after Prime (0600hrs); from All Saints until Easter from Terce (0900hrs) until sunset (after None at 1500hrs), stopping only for meals and rites (such as Sext at 1200hrs). All the Hours had to be sung, following the Divine Office on weekdays as well as feast days. Silence (which began with Compline on the previous day) was only broken after Prime. From the Resurrection (Easter Sunday) to the Exaltation of the Cross (14th September), on the days not given to fasting, silence was observed from after lunch: that is, from 1330 hours until None at 1500. It should be noted here that "fasting" is a technical term in the Roman Catholic church meaning one full meal during the day plus two small meals which, added together, are not as big as the full meal. Also, meat was not allowed during fasting (this did not include fish and cold-blooded animals) nor any solid food between meals. After Compline, Benedictine nuns could talk until the bell, but only to pray or read. When the sacristy bell sounded for silence, they were confined to their cells.

In contrast to Benedictines, Augustinian nunneries did not set so much store on education and were less strict in their regulation of its sisters. The nunneries in Florence were, on average, far poorer than those following Benedictine rule. See Table 4.2.

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[35] Katharine W Le Mée, *The Benedictine Gift to Music* (New York: Paulist Press, 2003) [Kindle Edition], retrieved from https://amazon.it., para. 143.
[36] Ibid., para. 2757.
[37] Ibid., para. 160.
[38] Pelliccia and Rocca, *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, vol. 1.

Table 4.2 The Augustinian convents of Florence

Name of nunnery	**Economic status**
S Clemente	Rich
S Frediano	Survived Decorously
S Maria e Giuseppe sul Prato	Survived Decorously
S Monaca	Survived Decorously
S Luca	Survived Decorously
S Maria di Candeli	Survived Decorously
SS Concezione dei Barelloni (under Augustinian rule)	Charitable
S Caterina dei Talani (Augustinian but really only in name)	Charitable
S Elisabetta delle Convertite	Charitable
Ammantellate	Third order
Il Chiarito	Third order
Ss Agostino e Cristina sulla Costa	Poor
S Maria delle Neve	Poor

The Augustinian nuns fasted from the feast of All Saints to Christmas, unless they were ill in which case they ate as in Lent (which meant no eggs, no dairy, no meat).[39] From Christmas to Quinquagesima (50 days before Easter) the abbess or prioress could let the nunnery dispense with fasting. From the feast of the Resurrection to All Saints they did not have to fast, except on solemn fasting days, Fridays, the vigil of the Ascension, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and the feast day of St Augustine (28th August) – and often fasting was reduced to be in line with the rest of the Church. As an example of the relative leniency of the Augustinian rule compared with the Benedictine, Augustinian sisters often had the punishment of their misdemeanours commuted through the issuing of Indulgences (against which Martin Luther railed in 1525). In keeping with these looser rulings, Augustinian nuns devoted less time to singing the Divine Office than their Benedictine sisters.

Dominicans, by and large, followed the Augustinian Rule, but with a greater devotion to study, relying, like the Benedictines, on *conversi* or *converse* (servant brothers or sisters, respectively) to give Choir monks or nuns more time for contemplative pursuits, not least the Divine Office.[40] Figure 4.3 lists the Dominican convents of Florence. There were not as many rich Dominican convents as there were Benedictine, but none of them fell into the 'poor' category. Together with the Benedictines they formed the most powerful nun cohort in Florence.

[39] Ibid.
[40] Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945*, 15.

Table 4.3 The Dominican convents of Florence

Name of nunnery	**Economic status**
La Crocetta	Rich
S Jacopo di Ripoli	Rich
S Felice in Piazza	Rich
S Maria degli Angeli	Rich
S Caterina da Siena	Rich
S Lucia a Camporeggi	Survived Decorously
S Giuliano	Third order
S Vincenzo d'Annalena	Third order
La pietà	Third order
S Domenico del Maglio	Third order

Dominican rules forbidding private property or rental income were officially relaxed for Choir nuns, to compensate for their loss of income, which their strict enclosure precluded.[41] Dominicans observed perpetual abstinence from meat and fasted from the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross until Easter.[42] Known for building splendid churches to rival cathedrals (the seats of the Bishops),[43] male Dominicans made the arts, including music, integral to their mission to instruct and to impress. For women, the demand was for unconditional and voluntary obedience, whereby secrets from the Order or daily chapter (*secreta ordinis*) were never to be revealed outside the convent.[44] This is one of the main reasons we know so little about Dominican nuns' internal lives.

By contrast, the Franciscans were very austere and forbade the owning of property: their buildings were held by 'protectors' or 'guardians'.[45] Like the Dominicans, however, male Franciscans built enormous churches and commissioned magnificent art to educate and to inspire. See Table 4.4 for a list of Franciscan convents in Florence. They were not as rich as the Benedictine and Dominican convents, but they were not as poor as the Augustinian convents.

[41] Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*, 89.
[42] Pelliccia and Rocca, *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, vol. 3.
[43] Trinita Kennedy, *Sanctity Pictured: The Art of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Renaissance Italy* (London: Philip Wilson Publ., 2014).
[44] Jeffrey F Hamburger et al., *Liturgical life and Latin learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300-1425: inscription and illumination in the choir books of a North German Dominican convent*, vol. 1 (Aschendorff Verlag, 2016), 23.
[45] James Hitchcock, *History of the Catholic Church: From the Apostolic Age to the Third Millennium* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2012), 155.

Table 4.4 The Franciscan convents in Florence

Name of nunnery	**Economic status**
Ss Jacopo e Lorenzo	Rich
S Maria a Monticelli	Rich
S Francesco al Tempio de' Macci	Charitable
S Chiara	Third order
S Orsola	Third order
Oblate	Third order
S Paolo dei Convalescenti	Third order
S Onofrio di Fuligno	Third order
S Elisabetta di Capitolo	Third order
S Girolamo e S Francesco sulla costa	Third order
Arcangelo Raffaello	Third order

Nuns belonging to the female branch of the Franciscan Order, the Poor Clares, had the greatest autonomy among professed nuns. Uniquely, they were not an adjunct to the males of their Order, but created an Order in its own right, with its own Minister General.[46] They tended to be extremely impoverished, particularly after the Council of Trent when they were no longer allowed to leave the convent to beg (although such poverty did not exist for the Franciscan nuns within the walls of Florence, because of donations from wealthy families). Franciscans observed some sort of fasting all the year round, most abstaining from meat on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, and fasting from the feast of St Martin (11 November) until Christmas and from Quinquagesima Sunday (50 days before Easer) to Easter.[47]

Delineating here these rules for fasting by each of the Orders may seem pedantic but they serve as a reflection of the precision and strictness of convent life. It was this attention to the detail of routine which dominated nuns' days, particularly so for those of the mendicant Orders who could no longer pursue fully the defining tenets of their Orders, such as the care of souls (Augustinians) or teaching (Dominicans). Superimposed on this control was the interaction between the Regulars and the Bishops.

The contemplative Benedictines were largely decentralised, with each Monastery having little connection with any other in the area. Sometimes this meant that Papal wishes and instructions were passed on via the local Bishop. In the main, however, there were Congregations of Benedictine monasteries, with the Superior Abbots enjoying direct communication with the Holy See. Institutions in mendicant Orders, by contrast, were usually in a state of flux, with Friars often moving from one

[46] 'Franciscan Order', *Catholic Encyclopedia*, accessed 27 January 2020, http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=4838.
[47] Pelliccia and Rocca, *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, vol. 4.

monastery to another. Because of this, mendicant monasteries tended to unite within a geographical Province, each agglomeration ruled over by an elected Prior.[48] Dominican organisation was particularly hierarchical and centralised: the provincial Priors were given authority over their Province and answerable to the Order's Master General, elected for life and resident in Rome.[49] This meant that nuns in the Dominican Order were theoretically untouched by the local governance of a Bishop. But, because the Congregations of the Contemplative Orders and the territories of the Mendicants differed widely from the boundaries of ecclesiastical provinces and therefore were granted autonomy, the Council of Trent sought to redress the balance by giving Bishops jurisdiction as Papal legates.[50] In this way, Bishops held some sway over the female religious in their dioceses, no matter what their Order. It was the Bishops, for example, who oversaw the administration of the sacraments (the Eucharist, penance, anointing of the sick, and professional vows). [51] They were also given the authority to vet postulants before they became novices and to forbid formal profession (the solemn admission into a religious Order by means of public vows) before the age of 16. But the historic practices of the Order, interpreted by the Regulars, overruled the strictures of the Bishop, and the Orders continued to be awarded exemption from episcopal authority. The result was a general disharmony between the two lines of command. Power shifted continually between the two centres of authority, as did regulations around what was allowed and what was not. On the one hand, this gave nuns some room for manoeuvre – an agency – in that they could play the Bishops off the Regulars, and vice versa. On the other hand, being the recipients of two lines of authority was stifling.

4.3 The Effect on Nuns in Florence

In many ways, Florentine nuns were no different than nuns in other city states. They all faced strict enclosure, the harsh regimen of convent life, and the dual line of control from the Archbishop and their religious Order. Differences developed because of the relative wealth of the Orders, however. For example, in Milan in 1550 Robert Kendrick observes that the rich (and liturgically ornate) Benedictine, and Franciscan houses boasted class superiority over the more

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[48] Hans-Joachim Schmidt, 'Establishing an Alternative Territorial Pattern', in *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context: Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars' Lives and Ministry in the Middle Ages*, ed. Michael J P Robson and Jens Röhrkasten (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), 1–18.

[49] 'Dominicans', accessed 27 January 2020, http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=3958.

[50] Pope Gregory I, who had followed the rules of St Benedict, as early as 590 - shortly after his papal inauguration - wrote the *Regula Pastoralis* on the duties of a bishop.

[51] A sacrament is a ceremony, or rite, regarded as imparting spiritual grace. The seven rites include baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, anointing of the sick, ordination and matrimony. Of these, obviously administration of the Eucharist was the most common in an Order. For nuns, the rites administered by the bishop would also include penance and anointing when sick.

humble Dominican convents.[52] In Florence, in contrast, the wealth of the Dominican convents rivalled those of the Benedictine convents. As we shall see, this affected where music could happen. In Florence, too, there were additional pressures. As discussed in Chapter 1, rich Florentines in general kept their women hidden from view and so Florentine nuns were, as it were, doubly removed from the male gaze: first, because of their gender and, second, because of their role as prayerful virgins. In addition, in Florence in the 1620s, there seems to have been a fear of emasculation of the Medici during the joint regency of Christine de Lorraine and Maria Maddalena of Austria. Suzanne Cusick argues that this is evidenced by the disproportionately harsh treatment of Suor Maria Vittoria Frescobaldi's music teacher in 1620, not because there was a sexual encounter but because there was not.[53] Another trend was that the nuns played a decreasing role in the overall life of the Church. In Florence, for example, the ritual of the mystical marriage of the abbess of S Pier Maggiore with the incoming Bishop of Florence was abandoned in 1583.[54] By removing nuns from the scene, the Church became even more masculinised, forcing nuns' strict submission to its doctrine.

Florentine nuns suffered further isolation by being geographically separated from their family and neighbourhoods. Convents in Florence were generally rich, but instead of the wealth shielding nuns from the harsh reality of their enclosure, it could make it worse. Sharon Strocchia and Julia Rombough have demonstrated how common it was in Florence in the early modern period for daughters to be sent to comparatively far-flung locations. They correlate two substantial data sets: Cosimo I's convent census of 1548 and the DECIMA (Digitally Encoded Census Information and Mapping Archive). In so doing, they pool together the convent censuses of 1551, 1561 and 1632 to show that by the mid-16th century the majority of nuns from elite families no longer lived close to home, and were dispersed.[55] An example is the convent choice of Jacopo Peri: he sent one of his eldest daughters to S Vincenzo in Prato and another to S Onofrio in Florence, and his two youngest daughters (aged 11 and 13) to S Maria della Neve, on the road to Galluzo, south of Florence.[56] Peri

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[52] Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan*, 36.

[53] Suzanne G. Cusick, 'He Said, She Said? Men Hearing Women in Medicean Florence', in *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarshi*p, ed. Jeffrey Kallberg, Melanie Lowe, and Olivia Bloechl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 53-76.

[54] Maureen C Miller, 'Why the Bishop of Florence Had to Get Married', *Speculum (Cambridge, Mass.)* 81 (2006): 1055–91; Sharon T Strocchia, 'When the Bishop Married the Abbess: Masculinity and Power in Florentine Episcopal Entry Rites, 1300-1600', *Gender & History* 19 (2007): 346–68. The ritual began in 1286 and this allegorical union between Christ and his church was the centrepiece of the bishop's installation rites. The bishop-groom claimed his see by taking fictive possession of his abbess-bride, who embodied the Florentine diocese.

[55] Strocchia and Rombough, 'Women behind Walls: Tracking Nuns and Socio-Spatial Networks in Sixteenth-Century Florence', 89.

[56] Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace: Jacopo Peri and the Economy of Late Renaissance Florence*, 70–71.

also demonstrates the pressures to find convents that offered an affordable dowry: he spent far less on his two youngest.[57] The effect on Florentine nuns was that, according to extant records, few had the comfort of living within a family clique. They may have been allowed to be with a sibling, but the days when daughters were placed in convents with aunts and cousins were gone. Although Strocchia and Rombough outline the shortcomings of their methodology in terms of revealing non-patronymic female relationships (aunts, female cousins, sisters-in-law, mothers, it became clear in their studies that "geographical dispersion of interests across the city had become the norm by 1550" and it is likely that the usual family groups of nuns were more scattered.[58] Essentially, girls even younger than 13 were placed where no-one knew them. Such isolation would tend to silence the isolated nun, deflecting retribution for any wrongdoing, real or imagined, particularly in an environment where punishment followed scandal. For instance, as mentioned above, Suor Maria Vittoria Frescobaldi from S Verdiana was walled up in her cell (meaning she was locked up in her apartment for life) for the claim that she was having a relationship with her male music teacher.[59]

The biggest challenge for all nuns after the Council of Trent was enforced enclosure, even for the unprofessed. Although mother superiors enforced the convent's constitution, nuns' lives were controlled at a higher level by the Bishops and the Regulars. Some bishops went as far as clamping down on nuns' music, claiming that they were merely instigating Church regulations. Control by the Regulars ranged from how to divide up the religious day outside the Divine Office, to advising when nuns could speak and what they could say, and what they should eat. Combined, the Bishops and Regulars imposed a dual line of control which, although providing a means for nuns to negotiate their lives, was also doubly oppressive. Straying from the rules brought down serious punishment. Florentine nuns suffered more than most because of the city's inherent culture to hide its women from view, and the new trend to separate nuns from family even behind the convent wall. Florentine nuns were effectively removed from any social contact outside the nunnery walls and were increasingly isolated from their families.

The next chapter explores how, despite the restrictions, in early modern Italy nuns still made music. It might not have been "exceptional music" found in some nunneries, but close observation of

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[57] Ibid., 69

[58] Strocchia and Rombough, 'Women behind Walls: Tracking Nuns and Socio-Spatial Networks in Sixteenth-Century Florence', 96.

[59] Graciela S Daichman, *Wayward Nuns in Medieval Literature* (Syracuse: N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 11. Belardini, 'Musica Dietro Le Grate. Vita e Processo Di Maria Vittoria Frescobaldi, «monaca Cantatrice» Del Seicento Fiorentino'.

the musical education that was available to nuns suggests that there was a rich tradition of "middle ground" music including singing and the playing of instruments.

5. Music Made by Florentine Nuns

The previous chapters have provided the context for normative musical activity by nuns, showing the centrality of plainchant and the celebration of the Divine Office and of the Mass. But "celebration" equated also with regulation within what was, for many nuns, forced confinement: the Council of Trent enforced claustration where the daily experience paralleled that of modern prison inmates. Early modern nuns' accounts, read through the prism of current scientific findings about prison life, show that malnutrition and sleep deprivation, which engendered depression, apathy and lethargy, would have rendered nuns incapable of anything much beyond the fulfilment of their basic duties. The deliberations of the Council of Trent, and the varying degrees of control exercised by local bishops and leaders of the religious Orders, would have further constrained and discouraged them from practising anything other than plainsong.

As we have seen, there are many reasons why it is not improbable that Florentine nuns had the opportunity to master composing and executing sophisticated polyphony – despite implications among musicologists of such exceptional music being a 'lost' norm in North Italian nunneries. For instance, Robert Kendrick observes that: "The sheer number of records on music inside Italian cloisters is remarkable, offering significant testimony to the cultivation of polyphony after 1550 in female houses of all the major (and some minor) urban centres: Turin, Monferrato, Asti, Vercelli, Novara, Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice, Genoa, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio Emilia, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, Florence, Siena, Lucca, Rome, Macerata, Naples and Foggia".[1] Craig Monson says: "In post-Tridentine Italy during the heyday of convent music, Bologna's musical nuns and their singing were not atypical or unusual".[2] Laurie Stras also speculated that much more music was written specifically for nuns than previously acknowledged.[3] In addition, Stras argues that dedications to nuns in printed collections implies that nuns owned and performed this music.[4] Yet she does not cite evidence of either printed collections' purchase by nunneries or their financial support for prints in response to dedications. Other grounds may have prompted dedications to nuns, such as the aim to signal piety. Although there may be many reasons for the dearth of the modern holdings of the music itself, the near-absence of music scores in regional archives or collections at nunneries, as is

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[1] Robert L Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 2001), 9.

[2] Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 2.

[3] Laurie Stras, 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70, no. 3 (1 December 2017): 617–96.

[4] Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 195-7.

the case in Florence and Venice, would seem to merit at least acknowledgement among scholars postulating about nuns' exceptional music.

The fact is that, after years of research, I have found practically no material evidence that nunneries in Florence, where innovations in secular music flourished, contributed significantly to producing nuns' exceptional music. I make this observation after scouring the Florentine records of Medici-favoured convents (La Crocetta, Le Murate, S Clemente, S Giorgio sulla Costa, S Giovannino delle Cavalieresse, Annunziatina, and Ss Jacopo e Lorenzo) as well as those with Savonarolan sympathies (S Caterina da Siena, S Verdiana and S Jacopo di Ripoli), some of which – for example, Le Murate and S Verdiana – were noted for their musical nuns. Undiscovered works might yet be unearthed but, even so, my findings parallel those of Glixon's in Venice – that is, the rarity of nuns' exceptional music in otherwise flourishing centres of secular music. Florence's variety of Orders; the flexibility of Church rule; the immense size of its nun population; the wealth on which Choir nuns might draw; the city's reputation for the excellence of its secular music performed by women: all should have conspired to make Florence the centre of exceptional music-making by its nuns.

Instead of exceptional music, Florentine nuns may, however, have had the means to engage in a "middle ground" of musical activity: not exceptional music-making but not plainchant either. Evidence suggests that nuns' musical education equipped them with oral and aural musicianship. With this training nuns would have been able to sing in unison, to create simple harmonies, and to play a range of instruments – indeed, all the skills that would have enabled them to provide musical entertainment for their enclosed community. The metre and rhyming pattern in convent plays, and the explicit stage directions for music, corroborate this "middle ground" theory.

5.1 Music Education and Literacy

In an era of strict enclosure, musical instruction must have been difficult to provide, although male clerics, either the nunnery confessor or another priest, might attempt to do so. Occasionally lay teachers were recruited for this difficult task. Examples in Florence are Giulio Caccini at S Maria di Monticelli in 1597, and Francesca Caccini at S Verdiana in 1614.[5] In both these cases, however, both Caccini father and daughter were asked to abandon their teaching because the singing by trainees was attracting too much unwanted attention. Giulio was asked to stop by the vicar of Florence because the archbishop objected to the crowds that were being attracted by the solo singing in the nunnery.

[5] Florence, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 882/457, Antonio Benivieni, 1 December 1597; Rome, ASCR Francesca Caccini, Carteggio Orsini 126/II/300, Francesca Caccini, 16 December 1614. Both letters cited by Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici: With a Reconstruction of the Artistic Establishment* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1993), 133 and 314.

Francesca was asked to stop teaching Suor Maria Vittoria at S Verdiana because her voice was attracting the unwanted attention of so many noble amateurs. Lay tutors, such as the Caccini father and daughter, instructed selected nuns in the parlour or in a smaller, adjoining room; these nuns would then be expected to pass on what they had learned to their sisters.[6] In the main, however, post-Trent teaching depended on the few young women who had been musically educated before entering the convent.[7] Stras observes that, in Ferrara in the 1580s, young women such as Vittoria (later known as Suor Raffaella) Aleotti in Ferrara and Caterina Cibo in Florence were invited to join convents in the expectation that not only would they enhance the reputation of these institutions but they would pass on what they had learned to their sisters.[8] An example of how some convents struggled with their music is seen at S Matteo just outside Florence, as reported by Suor Maria Celeste.[9] Despite her scant knowledge, in her role as cantrix she was asked by her prioress to teach music and Latin to young Choir members (see Chapter 3). Wealthy parents of potential Choir nuns were typically the facilitators of this education, providing music instruction to daughters even before beginning their period *in serbanza*, particularly if the intention was to withdraw the daughter later for an earthly marriage.[10] Otherwise, the nuns came from musical families with the odd exception such as Caterina Cibo who came to play the double bass viol at Le Murate in Florence.[11] An example of a nun from a musical family in Florence was the daughter of Francesca Caccini, Margherita Signorini, who professed at S Girolamo e San Francesco sulla Costa (Franciscan) in Florence in 1642, aged 20, and became renowned for her excellent voice: Severo Bonini, a composer and organist in Florence, reported that "Crowds raced to hear her sing divine praises by herself, and sometimes in ensemble with other skilled virgins who are her companions, notwithstanding the church's inconvenient

[6] Laurie Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', *Early Music* 45, no. 2 (31 October 2017): 199, https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cax023.

[7] Jane Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 130.

[8] Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, 2018, chap. 6.

[9] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 123.

[10] Howard Mayer Brown, 'Women Singers and Women's Songs in Fifteenth-Century Italy', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 65.

[11] Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, 226.

location on a steep hill."[12] Musical instruction concentrated on singing and playing, however.[13] In contrast with men, instruction in composition was rare. In Italy the exceptions stand out in the secular arena and were generally a product of a daughter being taught by her father: for example, Adriana Basile,[14] Lavinia Guasco,[15] and Francesca Caccini. If the teacher was a man, but not the father, the student-teacher relationship carried unwelcome sexual connotations.[16]

As well as being taught by personal tutors and by each other, nuns also learned through music handbooks. In Milan, and tellingly pre-Tridentine, many nuns may have relied on Franchinus Gaffurius' condensed version of *Practica musicae* and *Musica theorica*, the *Angelicum ac divinum opus musicae…materna lingua scriptum,* brought out in vernacular translation in 1508.[17] Stras says, "Its opening paragraph states that the translation would specifically benefit nuns who were not able to read Latin."[18] Other surviving evidence of musical education in Milan is from a nunnery chant antiphoner, "*tutto sotto una chiave*" (all in one clef), re-written by the nun, Anna Maria Fogliani (1583-1663).[19] It is thought that Fogliani used the antiphoner to help her nuns read the music for the chant items, and to help them find the correct relative pitches. This strengthens the argument that although music education could occur within the nunnery, Fogliani's wards – in contrast with nuns who produced exceptional music elsewhere in Milan – indicated compromises in the skills for non-professionals.

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[12] Florence, BRF, Ricc. 2218, fols. 85v-86r, 'Prima Parte de Discorse Regole Sora [*Sic*] Le Musica', Severo Bonini; as cited by Suzanne Cusick in review of Elissa B Weaver, 'The Wise and Foolish Virgins in Tuscan Convent Theatre', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe an Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (review in *Early Music History* 23, 312): "per udirla cantare le divine lodi a voce sola, e talora in concerto con altre virutose verginelle sue compagne, in alcune feste dell'anno concorre gran numero di persone nobili virtuose, benchè il luogo della chiesa sia alquanto scomodo, mediante una ripida salita".

[13] Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace: Jacopo Peri and the Economy of Late Renaissance Florence*, 278-9 and 405. In 1608 Jacopo Peri wrote to the Duchess of Mantua about a girl being trained as singer for the court; her training included reading in all the keys, singing from notation, and singing with and playing on a keyboard instrument. Boys, on the other hand had to study theory, improvise counterpoint on a *cantus firmus*, and practise composition.

[14] Alessandro Ademollo and Adriana Basile, *La Bell' Adriana ed altre virtuose del suo tempo alla corte di Mantova* (Città di Castello, 1888), 82; as cited by Jane Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 152.

[15] Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 36–37.

[16] Ibid., 37.

[17] Franchino Gafori and Gottardo Da Ponte, *Angelicum ac divinum opus musicae Franchini Gafurii* ... (Milan: Mediolani, 1508). As cited by Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 200.

[18] Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 200.

[19] Robert L Kendrick, 'Traditions and Priorities in Claudia Rusca's Motet Book', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe an Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (London; New York; Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), chap. 5.

In Siena the constitutions (dating from the mid-16th century) of the nunneries of S Monaca and the nearby S Maria Maddalena consider the subject of chant at some length.[20] They give a detailed outline of the cantrix's duties to which, in the S Maria Maddalena copy, is appended a treatise, "Rules of Singing" (confirming that cantors were expected to teach music as well as lead the Choir).[21] The treatise tackles the practical matters of how to recognise consonance and dissonance, how to identify the authentic and plagal church modes, and how to learn and use solfège. Interestingly, the treatise on singing is written in Latin, rather than the vernacular used in the constitution document, underlining the fact that cantrixes were well educated women with some command of this language. Unlike their cloistered sisters in other urban centres, Sienese nuns "enjoyed a significant degree of freedom to pursue musical activities".[22] It seems, however, that even they regularly sought musical support for the more challenging pieces they adopted, turning for help to "the corps of professional musicians who worked in Siena's various public institutions" and "invited lay choirs to perform".[23]

The evidence for music instruction in Florentine nunneries is slim but a particularly pertinent parallel example with Florence is Venice: Jonathan Glixon, in *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters,* notes that "Most Venetian nuns, after about 1510, were not active as musicians," and he adds, "While they certainly still used chant in the choir, it has even been difficult to locate chant books that can be linked with them."[24] Again as in Florence – as evidenced by the payment to Marco di Gagliano at La Crocetta (see Chapter 1.3) – the oft-reported sacred ceremonial music played on public feast days in Venetian convents was usually produced by professional male musicians, brought in specially for the occasion.[25] Nevertheless, supporting the primacy of plainsong in Venetian nunneries, Glixon has found musical primers inserted into two liturgical books printed for the nunnery, San Lorenzo, in the 1540s.[26] Each primer included a detailed exposition of the Guidonian hand together with explanations of clefs, note names, the hexachord system and the various

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[20] Siena, ASS, Con. sopp. 2841; as cited by Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 32, and 231. S Maria Maddalena's constitution (17th century) was copied from S Monaca's (16th century).

[21] Siena, BCS, MS I.VIII.29, fols. 152r-56r; as cited by Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 32 and 232

[22] Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, blurb.

[23] Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 36.

[24] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, and email correspondence with Jonathan Glixon, 31 August 2017.

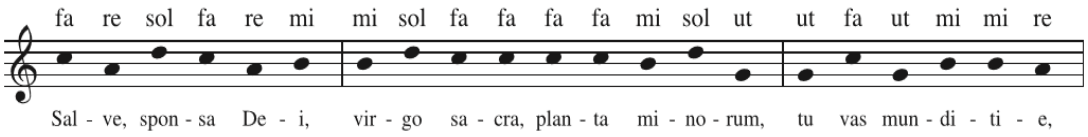
[25] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, chap. 2.

[26] Ibid., 235.

intervals.[27] The longevity of this mnemonic device, for learning solfège (ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la), is noteworthy.

Special musical formulations were used to rehearse and reinforce the solmisation technique linked to the Guidonian hand. An example is a *Salve sponsa dei* setting (from RISM 1543[2]) that Laurie Stras thinks was used at the Clarissan convent of Corpus Domini in Ferrara.[28] The *cantus firmus* is derived from matching vowels of the text to solmisation syllables (such as for the notes 'fa' and 're', sing '*sal-ve*'), extending throughout the entire antiphon melody.[29] See Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 How vowels of the text match solmisation syllables



Nuns well versed in solmisation could move on to transposition using the hexachord system. As observed by Stras, in 1558 the Franciscan monk, Gioseffo Zarlino, published musical treatises for general use called *Le istitutione harmoniche*.[30] As well as having chapters on transposition at the keyboard – an important skill when adapting music at the organ for a choir of female voices – this book also explains hexachordal transposition while singing. Although an unaccompanied group of plainchant singers would not necessarily start on the pitch as indicated in the written music (they could adopt a pitch suitable for their range), they would need to have fixed in their heads the interval between successive notes. In the hexachordal system this was always two tones followed by a semitone, followed by another two tones: T-T-S-T-T: that is, the intervals between ut, re, mi, fa, sol and la. Although the clef reminded singers where one of the semitones occurred – just below the C clef, a step down from 'ut'; and just below the F clef, a step down from 'fa'– it was important the

[27] Russell E. Murray Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus, eds., *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).; Jehoash Hirshberg, 'Hexachord', in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2019), accessed 17 November 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16740.

[28] Girolamo Scotto, *Musica quinque vocum: motteta materna lingua vocata ab optiis & varijs authoribus elaborata, paribus vocibus decantanda: nunquàm antea excussa. Nunc vero sub hoc signo anchorae in lucem prodit, maximo labore & diligentia emendata, ut patebit experientibus*, ed. Scotto (Firm) (Venetijs: Scotum, 1543; as cited by Stras, 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex', 617-96; Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Ms. 27766, c1560; email correspondence with Laurie Stras, 4 December 2017. Stras delivered her hypothesis at MedRen in Prague, and at AMS in Rochester, 2017.

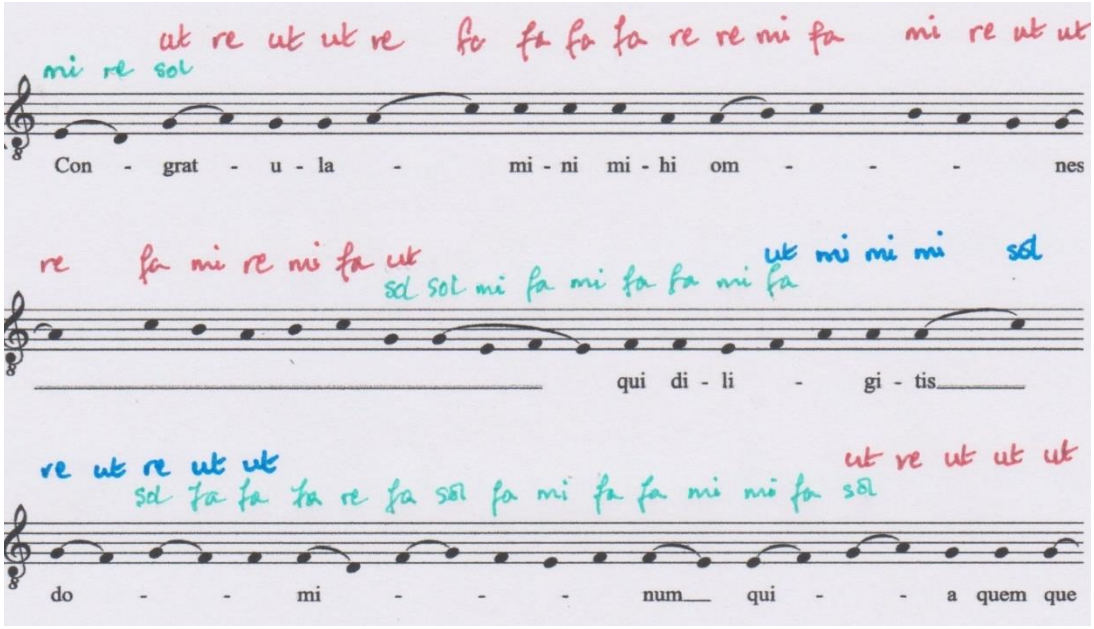
[29] Stras, 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex', 633.

[30] Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le Istitutione harmoniche ... nelle quali, oltra le materie appartenenti alla musica, si trouano dichiarati molti luoghi di Poeti, d'Historici, & di Filosofi, etc*. (Venetia, 1558); as cited by Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 200.

singers all retained the correct intervals when moving beyond 'la', or descending below 'ut'. This was achieved by expanding the range by using interlocking hexachords: when a singer moved beyond the limit of one hexachord she transposed to the next. As David Hiley says: "The singer has to hear the set of notes in her mind, or test them by singing, and mark the position of the semitone".[31] The hexachord on C was the point of reference and was named *hexachordum naturale*. A hexachord beginning on G had the same intervallic relationships as the hexachord on C but was known as *hexachordum durum*. The hexachord beginning on F, *hexachordum molle*, only maintained the same intervals as the hexachords beginning on C and G by adding a B♭. Taking a chant from La Crocetta as an example (the music to be discussed in Chapter 6), Florentine nuns would have learned to sustain their relative pitch in ensemble by transposing the hexachords appropriately during singing practice. See Figure 5.2. The music is part of a Responsory at Matins on the feast of Easter Monday.

Figure 5.2 How mutations of the hexachord would have helped nuns maintain relative pitch

Key:
Green = *hexachordum naturale* (beginning on C)
Red = *hexachordum durum* (beginning on G)
Blue = *hexachordum molle* (beginning on F)



[31] David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 171.

Recognition of the intervals with the Guidonian hand, and how to transpose a hexachord, meshed with the long-held system of church modes.[32] Equally, Choir nuns could have memorised each of the eight church modes and applied the appropriate one to the plainchant they were reading, thereby ensuring euphony. In Figure 5.2, for example, the range is from D to d, and the final is a D (see Figure 7.8, system 6), suggesting Mode 1 (Protus Authentic).[33] In Mode 1, the intervallic relationships are defined by the inherent range of the chant, re-mi-fa-sol/ut-re-mi-fa-sol: that is, T-S-T-T-T-S-T. As long as the intervallic relationships of the Mode were maintained, the chant could be transposed by ear to any workable pitch. Only an accompanist would need to know which *musica ficta* were required for the transposition.

Monody with an accompaniment was one means to enhance the praise of God with music, without compromising the intelligibility of the words (although not an edict from the Council of Trent, preserving intelligibility was an ambition of many churchmen, including Carlo Borromeo in Milan, as seen in Chapter 4). In its simplest form such music was merely the provision of a simple bass line, and harmonisation could even be in four parts using root position triads (in Italy, this was known as *falsobordone*),[34] which would have been within the capabilities of a moderately musically educated nun.[35] When external professional musicians composed church music, however, they tended to create more intricate polyphony, with many parts for voices. Some examples are found in the extensive repertory of Brussels Ms.27766 and the *materna lingua* complex,[36] as identified by Stras, but such exceptional music compositions would have been beyond the skills of many nuns after forced enclosure. Of course, some nuns were exceptionally skilled in music-making, aided as they were by teachers such as Francesca Caccini in Florence. Suzanne Cusick observes that Francesca's *Il primo libro delle musiche* printed in 1618,[37] would have been used as a teaching tool with not just a

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[32] Gareth Loy, *Musimathics: The Mathematical Foundations of Music*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2006), 286.

[33] Mary Berry, *Plainchant for Everyone: An Introduction to Plainsong* (Croydon: Royal School of Church Music, 1996), 20.

[34] Murray C. Bradshaw, 'Falsobordone'. In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed 4 December 2019. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09273.

[35] David Bryant and Elena Quaranta, 'Traditions and Practices in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony: The Use of Solo Voices with Instrumental Accompaniment', in *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*, ed. Berta Joncus and Melania Bucciarelli (Woodbridge; Venice: The Boydell Press ; Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2007), 105–18.

[36] Brussels, BCMB, Ms. 27766, c 1560; as cited by Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents'; Stras, 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex'.

[37] Francesca Caccini, *Il Primo Libro Delle Musiche a Una e Due Voci* (Firenze: Zanobi Pignoni, 1618); as cited by Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power*, 189.

secular audience but also with nuns,[38] instructing them in "throat and breath control".[39] As noted earlier, Francesca was asked to desist from offering her expertise (at S Verdiana).

Although plainsong dominated worship in the nunneries, polyphonic motets, madrigals and instrumental music could, despite the absence of extant sources, have had their place in Florentine nunneries. As outlined in Chapter 3.1 the most likely positions in the Divine office were the preparation and sacrifice of the Mass, the Offertory psalm verses, the Agnus Dei, and the Gloria in Excelsis Deo which was sung after the Kyrie. The question is: who might have created and performed them, and in which nunneries? Beyond Florence, we know that Chiara Margarita Cozzolani from S Radegonda in Milan wrote a book of motets, dated 1642; and another motet book by Claudia Rusca, from S Caterina in Brera (Milan), was printed in 1630. With respect to Florence, however, the references are fewer: Suor Maria Celeste in S Matteo, in Arcetri just outside Florence, reported in 1633 that the nun organist at her convent, had borrowed some motets.[40] Madrigals, being in the vernacular, were vehicles for spiritual entertainment rather than for supporting the liturgy, and would only have been sung in the inner sanctum of the cloister, if at all.[41] This is discussed below with respect to nuns' plays. On other occasions they were given a degree of religious respectability. For example, in Bologna in 1582, a secular *First Book of Madrigals* was dedicated to the nun singer and instrumentalist, Laura Bovio at S Lorenzo, by the Bolognese composer, Camillo Cortellini.[42] Dedication to nuns, however, did not necessarily mean convent performance, but dedication to nuns (even those mentioning that the women themselves were singers) was often a way of currying favour with the secular audience in that the association lended a degree of gravitas and respectability. With respect to polyphony in instrumental playing, this took place on a limited range of instruments – organ, harpsichord, spinet, viol and lute (the cornet and trombone at S Vito in Ferrara was a rare exception, as was the violin and violone at S Caterina in Brera,[43] and the violone played by Caterina Cibo at Le Murate in Florence) – but, apart from the organ, these instruments were generally not

[38] Suzanne G. Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 115.
[39] Ibid., 95.
[40] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 349.
[41] Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 23. Motets and madrigals were very close stylistically and compositionally, the former generally being in Latin and the latter in vernacular although even this distinction did not always hold true.
[42] Craig Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 30. Laura left her convent home in 1584, to sing in Florence for the ruling Medici.
[43] Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan*, 196; Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, 226-7 and 236.

considered suitable liturgical practice for nuns (as in Venice, in particular).[44] Professional musicians were occasionally commissioned to play other instruments, even the trumpet, for processions and feast days. Again, there were exceptions. I have found evidence that, extraordinarily, La Crocetta in Florence had its own trumpets: on 24th July 1640 there is an entry in the convent's accounts for trumpet tuition, and for a workman to construct something in which to store the trumpets (or perhaps on which players should stand).[45]

Stras also reads the regular appearance of high-clef works (G2-C2-C3-F3) in *voci pari* music in 16th century as evidence that it was written for convents.[46] To quote Stras: "High-clef works have posed a practical problem within the traditional narrative of polyphony given that many, if attempted at notated pitch, are not optimal – or indeed are even unsingable – for male-voice ensembles".[47] Until recently it was thought that, according to Stras, all "these high-clef works would [simply] have been transposed downwards" for male voices,[48] but she points out that it is possible they were written specifically for convent choirs. Regarding the *voci pari* works possibly performed at Florentine nunneries she identifies Ms.27766, dedicated to Suor Agnoleta and Suor Clementia. Ms.27766 is copied by hand which suggests that the collection was truly meant for the nuns themselves: its date of 1560, however, places it before enforced claustration and Tridentine sensitivities to nuns making music. Another collection that Stras links to Tuscany is "Pompeo Signorucci's 1603 *Salmi falsibordoni et motetti a tre voci*, which was dedicated to his ex-pupil, Suor Uritia Serguiliani of the convent of Santa Margherita in Borgo San Sepolcro, Arezzo".[49] Signorucci's collection "contains

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[44] Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*, 206.

[45] Florence, ASF, CRSGF, Santa Croce detta La Crocetta, 'Libro Entrata e Uscita e Giornale, 1636-1641', 107, 29, 74r (24 July 1640). "pagati di conto a Maestro Zanobi corsi trombaio [...] di muratore per accomodare le trombe"

[46] Andrew Johnstone, '"High" Clefs in Composition and Performance'. *Early Music* 34, no. 1 (2006): 29–53; as cited by Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 201. Johnstone discussed the use of high clefs in printed works and Laurie Stras made the point that high clefs were for women.

[47] Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 201.

[48] Andrew Parrott, 'High Clefs and Down-to-Earth Transposition: A Brief Defence of Monteverdi', *Early Music* 40, no. 1 (2012): 81–85; Roger Bowers, '"The High and Lowe Keyes Come Both to One Pitch": Reconciling Inconsistent Clef-Systems in Monteverdi's Vocal Music for Mantua', *Early Music* 39, no. 4 (2011): 531–45; Jeffrey G. Kurtzman, 'Tones, Modes, Clefs and Pitch in Roman Cyclic Magnificats of the 16th Century', *Early Music* 22, no. 4 (1994): 641–64; R Rasch, 'Théorie et Analyses Musicales: 1450-1650', in *Actes Du Collogue International Louvain-La-Neuve, 23-25 Septembre 1999*, ed. Anne-Emmanuelle. Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn, Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 100 (Leuven: Louvain-La.-Neuve: Départment d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie, Collège Erasme, 2001), 403–32. All sources cited by Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 204.

[49] Pompeo Signorucci, *Salmi, falsibordoni, e motetti: a tre voci commodissimi per cantare, e concertare nell'organo, con ogni sorte di strumento: con due Magnificat, uno intiero l'altro a versi spezzati ... e con il basso continuato ... : opera sesta* (Venetia: G. Vincenti, 1603). As cited by Laurie Stras, Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 202.

psalm settings in three voices" which, for the "two upper voices, sit comfortably for female voices" at written pitch.[50] According to Stras, high-clef *voci pari* polyphony may be particularly "suitable for nunnery performance due to a significant number of these works compressing the range between the highest and lowest voices", bringing all the voices comfortably into the range of a mature female ensemble.[51] An example is the *Sacri Cantus* by Tiburzio Massaino in 1580, which he dedicated to Eugenia de Navi at Santa Trinità in Como.[52] Another composer, Domenico Massenzio in Rome, even declared that his 1631 collection was "to be sung by both ordinary voices and by nuns". [53] That said, if *chiavi alti* polyphony were written for women, it begs the question whether music written in *chiavi naturali* (C1-C3-C4-F4), originally thought just for men, was also for women: after all, transposition could just as easily be applied in either direction. *Voci pari* polyphony, for example – eminently suitable for nuns because it did not require a bass voice – was often published "with the highest voice in C3 or C4 clef," as Stras acknowledges.[54] She also recognises that the materials she draws on date from before the Council of Trent and that such *voci pari* music "sits outside the bell curve for what is considered "normal" for 16th-century polyphony".[55]

Given that, as shown above, transposition skills were fundamental to a musical education in the early modern era, many Choir nuns were schooled in this practice. As Stras points out, Orazio Vecchi (1550-1605), a Benedictine monk from Modena, explicitly approved of the nuns' transposing as a means to achieve the right balance of voices: "Now we turn to a manner of transposition that is made an octave higher with B♭, which is very apt for *canzonette, napolitane*, songs, and for compositions for [or by] nuns, or for children's ensembles. Because the harmony [is] restricted and united in the high register, it is very convivial; moreover, on occasions when there is a lack of basses, such compositions are very handy."[56] The proposition that nuns practised transposition, and often selective transposition of discrete voices, is given extra weight by late 16th-century sources (according to Stras) which insist that "sound preparation and rehearsal" was essential for successful nunnery performances.[57]

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[50] Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 202.
[51] Ibid., 203
[52] Cappella Artemisia, *Weep and Rejoice: Music for the Holy week from the Convents of 17th-century Italy.* (Bologna, Italy: Brilliant Classics, Cat. number 94638, 2014), notes from the recording, 6.
[53] Ibid., 7.
[54] Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 204.
[55] Stras, 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex', 619.
[56] Orazio Vecchi, *Mostra delli tuoni della musica* (Modena: Aedes muratoriana, 1987), 6. Translated by Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 203.
[57] Ercole Bottrigari, *Il desiderio, ouero, de concerti di uarij strumenti musicali. Dialogo di Alemanno Benelli, ecc* (Ricciardo Amadino: Venetia, 1594), 58. As cited by Laurie Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 203.

Supporting the idea that *voci pari* works, even in *chiavi naturali*, were as often destined for women's voices as for men's is the fact that, as Stras notes, "around 1540 Venetian publishers began to issue specialised collections of *voci pari* works to cater for the market provided by religious establishments".[58] Included in these collections are a "small number of compressed-clef works" (where the difference in the lowest and highest clef is limited to a ninth).[59] The compressed clef provides an in-between vocal world of *voci pari* and *voci piene* which would have been particularly appropriate for women wanting to tackle polyphony in examples of exceptional music: it spreads the voices a little wider, but not so wide as to be unreachable in the bass part even after transposition of the whole piece. The argument that *voci pari* works were intended for women as well as male religious is strengthened by Stras with her discussion of the *materna lingua* complex, a cluster of seven Venetian publications dating from between 1542 and 1549.[60] As she explains, the use of *materna lingua* in several titles subtly alludes to the nuns' world (nuns were often known as "mothers"), Such titling speaks to Melanie Marshall's work on coded text in other forms of music publishing,[61] and that the subject matter of the pieces are particularly pertinent to the music known to have taken place in nunneries at that time. While these findings are significant, I have not found corroborative evidence of *voci pari* and *voci piene* performances in Florence, for instance in reports or financial records.

One particular dedication explains how nuns may simplify printed music to suit their level of competence. The Genovese organist and priest Giovanni Battista Strata (1579-1651), dedicated his *Arie di musica* based on *Laudi Spirituali* to Giovanna Battista Fiesca, a nun at S Leonardo in Genova and her sister, a Genovese noblewoman. He commented: "Those who would like to sing in the said

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[58] For example: Vincenzo Ruffo, Cristóbal de Morales, and Jacquet de Mantova, *Missae cum quatuor vocibus paribus decantandae*, ed. Scotto (firm) (Venetijs: Scotum, 1542); Antonio Gardane, *Musica quinque vocum que materna lingua moteta vocantur*, ed. Gardane (Firm) (Venetiis: Gardane, 1549); Girolamo Scotto, ed., *Moralis hispani, et multorum eximiae artis virorum musica cum vocibus quatuor, vulgo motecta cognominata: cuius magna pars paribus vocibus cantanda est: reliqua verò plena voce apta est decantari, hactenus non typijs excussa, nunc autem in lucem prodit* (Venezia: G. Scotto, 1543); Girolamo Scotto, *Musica quinque vocum: motteta materna lingua vocata ab optimis & varijs authoribus elaborata, paribus vocibus decantanda: nunquàm antea excussa. Nunc vero sub hoc signo anchorae in lucem prodit, maximo labore & diligentia emendata, ut patebit experientibus*, ed. Scotto (Firm) (Venetijs: Scotum, 1543); Antonio Gardane, *Musica quatuor vocum que materna lingua moteta vocantur*, ed. Gardane (Firm) (Venetiis: Gardane, 1549). As cited by Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 204 and 214.

[59] Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents', 204.

[60] Stras, 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex'. Music pertinent to nunneries were for feasts for founders of Religious Orders, such as *Salve sponsa dei* for St Clare.

[61] Melanie Marshall, 'Cultural Codes and Hierarchies in the Mid-Cinquecento Villotta', PhD diss. (University of Southampton, 2004), vol. 1:17, as cited by Stras 'Voci Pari Motets and Convent Polyphony in the 1540s: The Materna Lingua Complex', 630.

Arias in Music in the Christian Doctrine, where one ordinarily does not know music, should always be taught the Aria of the first Soprano, and all should sing that line in unison".[62] Evidence for nuns' musical training from 1600 centred on plainchant, as even the advanced training support of Siena shows. For feasts and processions, a Sienese convent might commission external performance for added musical strength, with nuns singing on one side of the grille in the inner chapel, the external musicians on the others. Elsewhere, for celebrations where nuns displayed their prowess in musical accomplishment, and this despite the Church often frowning upon such *virtuose*, we have reports of from Milan, Paolo Morigia (1595)[63] and Girolamo Borsieri (1619);[64] from Bologna, Adriano Banchieri (1599); [65] and from Siena, Ugurgieri Azzolini (1649).[66] Such accolades were not universal, however, but it seems that musical training made possible a "middle ground" of musical achievement, and this training may have facilitated performances – records of which are now lost – at Florentine nunneries of polyphonic music in printed collections identified by Stras, and of other sacred vocal music conceived for male voices.

5.2 "Middle Ground" Music and Convent Plays

In addition to transposed, and possibly simplified, music from printed collections, "middle ground" music of Florentine nunneries included instrumental playing and (almost certainly) enriched monophony in convent plays. Instruments may have been played either monophonically or possibly with improvised parallel harmony, with ear-training allowing nuns to bypass the need for written music. Evidence of instrument playing is at S Verdiana in 1585 when two orphaned sisters brought enormous wealth and instruments.[67] In 1587 Caterina Cibo played the violone at Le Murate.[68] In 1620 Suor Maria Vittoria Frescobaldi at S Verdiana owned a harpsichord and spinet and her musical

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[62] Cappella Artemisia, *Weep and Rejoice: Music for the Holy Week from the Convents of 17th-century Italy*, notes from the recording, 7.

[63] Paolo Morigia, *La Nobiltà di Milano* (Milano: Stamp. del quon. P. Pontio, 1595), 186–87. As cited by Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan*, 73.

[64] Girolamo Borsieri, *Il supplimento della Nobiltà di Milano (di P. Morigia)* (Milano, 1619), 51–54. As cited by Bowers, 'The Emergence of Women Composers in Italy, 1566-1700', 126 and 153: Claudia Sessa composed two sacred songs that reached print in 1613 in an anthology, *Conoro pianto di Maria Vergine*.

[65] Craig Monson, ed., *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 54.

[66] Isodoro Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le Pompe Sanesi o Vero Relazione Delli Huomini e Donne Illustri Di Siena e Suo Stato*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Pistoia, 1649); as cited by Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700*, 116.

[67] Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Rethinking the Musical Nun in Early Modern Florence' (Donald Wort Lectures 2019, Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge, 2019), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGrHNR1n0U4.

[68] Kate J. P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 275–77.

abilities were well known in Florence.[69] In 1640, at La Crocetta, the convent paid for trumpet tuition and for a trumpet stand (either for storage or to elevate the performers).[70] The existence of trumpets is congruent with Jason Stoessel's finding of a processional completed by the nuns of S Donato in Polverosa (just outside Florence) in 1632:[71] trumpets would have been the ideal instrument to accompany a processional. Instrumental performance would seem to represent resistance by the nuns to discouragement of their music-making after the Council of Trent.

Other compelling examples of resistance are the plays performed in convents, including those of Florence. In these, music is known only from the stage directions. Even so, it is clearly intrinsic to the representation and its action; music is asked for between acts (*intermezzi* or *intermedii*), as entertainment for its own sake. Elissa Weaver documented convent theatre in early modern Italy, drawing on a rich seam of archival material at the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence (BRF).[72] From the same archive, Kelley Harness documented plays by Jacopo Cicognini performed at La Crocetta in the early 17th century.[73] Laurie Stras analysed Suor Annalena Aldobrandini's *veglie* ("evening pastimes"), dated 1586, of S Giorgio sulla Costa, which she found in a library in Modena.[74] These *veglie* are not plays as such but a "an evening's worth of entertainment ('*vegliare*' = 'to stay awake') in which audience participation is solicited or even fundamental".[75]

Music in North Italian convent theatre merits further study: we still need to map exactly where convent theatre flourished, and to analyse each play for its stage directions and poetic form so that we can better understand where the opportunities for music arose. This is not always possible: evidence tells us that works are missing, such as the play (and there may have been plays) Galileo Galilei wrote for his nun daughter.[76] I have gone some way towards this map by listing the plays written specifically for Florentine convents, whether by nuns or by male authors, and the Orders of

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[69] Manuela Belardini, 'Musica dietro le grate. Vita e processo di Maria Vittoria Frescobaldi, «monaca cantatrice» del deicento fiorentino', in *I monasteri femminili come centri di cultura fra rinascimento e barocco* (atti del Convegno storico internazionale 2000, 45–72). Edited by G. Pomata e G. Zarri. Bologna: Edizioni di storia e letteratura 2005).

[70] Florence, ASF, CRSGF, Santa Croce detta La Crocetta, 'Libro Entrata e Uscita e Giornale, 1636-1641', 107, 29, 74r (24 July 1640). "pagati di conto a Maestro Zanobi corsi trombaio [...] di muratore per accomodare le trombe"

[71] Jason Stoessel, 'A Florentine Nuns Processional: New Light on the Musical Life of San Donato in Polverosa' (MedRen 2018, Maynooth, Ireland, 2018); unpublished conference notes. Thank you to Laurie Stras for alerting me to this finding.

[72] Elissa Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[73] Kelley Harness, 'Regine Dell'Arno: Court Life in a Seventeenth-Century Florentine Convent', in *American Musicological Society*, 1997.

[74] Laurie Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini', *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012): 34–59. Aldobrandini's *veglie* were found in Biblioteca Estense in Modena.

[75] Ibid., 35.

[76] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 70.

those convents (see Table 5.1). Nuns of each of the four main Orders are represented, with Dominican and Benedictine convents appearing most frequently. The listed titles of Florentine nuns' theatre are drawn from work by Elissa Weaver and Laurie Stras, the sources and locations being given in Table 5.1 and I discuss evidence of music from the works in **bold**.

Table 5.1 Summary of Convent Theatre in Florence in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries

Date of authorship/production	Author/Title of play	At nunnery/Order
?	Anonymous nun ***Rappresentazione di Santa Caterina di Colonia***[77]	Dominican
After 1523 when Sernigi was abbess. Published 1557 and 1578	Raffaella de' Sernigi ***La rappresentazione di Moisè quando Idio gli dette le leggie sul Monte Synai***[78]	S Maria della disciplina (also known as Monastero del Portico)/Augustinian
1561	Beltramo Poggi/*Invenzione della croce di Gesù Cristo*[79]	La Crocetta /Dominican
1568	*Commedia della persecutione di David*[80]	S Maria degli Angeli/Dominican
1578	Salvadore Gagliardelli/*Commedia dell'ultimo fine dell'uomo*[81]	S Anna sul Prato /Benedictine
Mid 16th century to 1613	Suor Plautilla di messer Ruggieri della Casa various elegant comedies[82]	S Jacopo di Ripoli/Dominican
Mid-16th century	Giovanni Rucellai *Oreste*[83]	S Pier Martire/Dominican
Late 16th century	*?* ***Rappresentazione del figliol prodigo***	S Maria degli Angeli/Camaldolese (Benedictine)

[77] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 2931, fols. 80r-193v, 'Rappresentazione Di Santa Caterina Di Colonia', 16th century.

[78] Raffaella de' Sernigi, *La Rappresentazione Di Moisè Quando Idio Gli Dette Le Leggie Sul Monte Synai* (Florence: 1578). As cited by Elissa Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 123, n.66.

[79] Florence, BRF, Cod, Ricc, 2978, vol 3, Beltramo Poggi, 'Invenzione Della Croce Di Gesù Cristo', 1561. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* , 132.

[80] Florence, BRF, Cod, Ricc, 2977, vol 3, 'Commedia della Persecutione di David', 1568. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 64, n42.

[81] Florence, BRF, Cod, Ricc, 2975, vol 7, 'Commedia Dell'Ultimo Fine Dell'uomo', 1578. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 67, 133, 152.

[82] Suor Plautilla's authorship is verified in her biography: Florence, ASF, San Jacopo di Ripoli 23, fols 150v-151r. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 66.

[83] Florence, BRF, Cod, Ricc, 2978, vol 4, 'Oreste'. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 64-65, n.42.

		S Giovannino delle Cavalieresse di Malta/Dames of Malta
Late 16th century 1559, performed in 1575 by nuns 1580 1581 1582	Giovanni Maria Cecchi /various, but including *La morte del re Acab*[84] *Il Tobia*[85] *L'Eduina o la conversione della Scozia*[86] *Santa Agnese*[87]	For his friends and relatives at: S Giorgio sulla Costa /Benedictine S Giorgio sulla Costa /Benedictine S Giorgio sulla Costa /Benedictine S Caterina da Siena/Dominican
Before 1585	Suor Annalena Aldobrandini[88] *veglie*	S Giorgio sulla Costa/Benedictine
1594	Anonymous ***Commedia di Teodosio imperatore quando che fu ripreso da Sant'Ambrosio***[89]	S Caterina da Siena/Dominican
?	*Lotta spirituale dell'angelo con il demonio*[90]	La Crocetta /Dominican
1620s and 1630s	Jacopo Cicognini[91] /various sacred comedies[92]	La Crocetta /Dominican
Between 1614 and 1623	Michelangelo Buonarotti /sacred dramas	S Agata/Camaldolese (Benedictine), for his nieces
1633	Galileo Galilei /a *commedia*[93]	S Matteo in Arcetri/Franciscan, for his daughter Suor Maria Celeste
1636	Suor Maria Costanza Ubaldini[94]	S Agata/Camaldolese (Benedictine)

[84] Ibid., 69
[85] Ibid., 68.
[86] Ibid., 69.
[87] Florence, BRF, Cod, Ricc. 2828, 'Santa Agnese', 1582. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 68. The copy at the BRF belongs to a suor Lisabetta of the convent of Le Murate in Florence.
[88] Modena, BEM, ms Ital. 241 (a.U.6.25). As cited by Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini'.
[89] Modena, BEM, Camp. App. 495, 'Commedia Di Teodosio Imperatore Quando Che Fu Ripreso Da Sant'Ambrosio', 1594. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 73, n70.
[90] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 2974, vol.7, 'Lotta Spirituale Dell'Angelo Con Il Demonio'. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 76-78.
[91] Harness, 'Regine Dell'Arno: Court Life in a Seventeenth-Century Florentine Convent'.
[92] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 47, n101.
[93] Galilei and Sobel, *To Father: The Letters of Sister Maria Celeste to Galileo, 1623-1633*, 329.
[94] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 192.

	La rappresentazione dell'evangelica parabola delle dieci vergini tolta da S Matteo al XXV[95]	
1637 1657/58	Suor Maria Clemente Ruoti[96] /various including *Giacob Patriarca*[97] ***Il Natal di Cristo***[98]	S Girolamo e S Francesco /Franciscan

The plays that have been found, from both in and outside Florence, were written variously by nuns that are named (Weaver notes 12 nun authors between 1450 and 1650),[99] anonymous nun authors, and male authors. Weaver says that Italian nuns "must have been attracted to liturgical drama, to the *laude drammatiche,* and *sacre rappresentazioni* from the beginning of those traditions in Italy."[100] But the plays progressed from these often one-act plays of "biblical, hagiographical or allegorical"[101] to plots that increasingly included fiction and humour to appeal to a wider audience. Following the trend for the classical imitation in secular plays following the Latin tradition of five acts, early 16th-century plays evolved into sacred or spiritual comedies with more than one act, with comic elements becoming subplots and involving "the antics of servants, country folk, gypsies and other plebeian characters".[102] As the appetite for this type of theatre waned in secular society, however, its popularity in religious communities – particularly in nunneries – only grew.[103] This was despite the fact that, in 1534, the governor of the convent of S Giovannino delle Cavalieresse di Malta in Florence prohibited the nuns from putting on comedies.[104] The genre became so favoured that in 1578 Giunta press filled its third and final volume of religious plays with spiritual comedies.[105]

It seems that, generally, many of the North Italian convent plays were not necessarily obtained as printed versions. They were often copied and the original was passed on. For example, in the copy of *La rappresentazione del miracolo del Crocifisso* at the Bibilioteca Nazionale in Florence, there is a note at the beginning of the manuscript which reads in Italian: "For the use of Sister Plautilla

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[95] Florence, ABF, 94, Suor Maria Costanza Ubaldini, 'La Rappresentazione Dell'evangelica Parabola Delle Dieci Vergini Tolta Da S Matteo al XXV', 16 November 1636. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 266.

[96] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 179-92

[97] Florence, BNCF, shelfmark 2609.16. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 82.

[98] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 2783, vol.7, Maria Clemente Ruoti, 'Il Natal Di Cristo', 1657/58.

[99] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 67.

[100] Ibid., 51.

[101] Ibid., 53.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid., 55.

[104] Ibid., 52.

[105] *Raccolta Giuntina* (Florence: Giunti, 1555, 1560, 1578). As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 54.

in S Ambrogio. When you have finished with it, please send it back."[106] *Rappresentazione del figliol prodigo* was lent by a nun, Carità Rucellai, at S Giovannino delle Cavalieresse to a nun, Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi at S Maria degli Angeli (who had been educated at S Giovannino delle Cavalieresse): a covering letter of 1 September 1592 from Maria Maddalena thanks her friend for lending it.[107] It is not clear whether it was copied or not. A tie of some sort between nuns or convents likely initiated the movement of copies. For example, *Commedia di Teodosio imperatore quando che fu ripreso da Sant'Ambrosio* was commissioned by the Dominican convent of S Caterina da Siena in Florence but the copy in the archives is the property of Suor Orsola Bonsi at the Dominican convent of S Vincenzo in Prato.[108] Similar evidence that manuscripts for convent entertainment were copied is noted by Laurie Stras: she found two copies of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini's *veglie* in the Modena archives, both identically bound, and one of which was not complete.[109]

Convent plays were often put on at Carnival time (February and March) but this could extend to the entire period extending from Christmas through to Lent. There were indeed many theatrical occasions in Tuscan convents. Weaver notes a "Dominican miscellany contains plays to be performed on the feasts of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), Christmas, the Presentation of the Christ in the Temple (40 days after Christmas), and the Purification of the Virgin Mary (the same day, also known as Candlemas).[110] Several of the plays in the Tuscan corpus were written to be performed at the clothing ceremony: those based on the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, which end as the bridegroom receives the worthy brides, were particularly appropriate for the clothing or profession of the nuns."[111] Besides being performed to celebrate these key occasions, it is thought that plays were also instigated as a reward for the charity of those who supported the convent, not just by providing entertainment, but to elevate the standing of the convent in the secular world: *"*Per dare similmente a tutta la città di noi optimo e buono odore,*"*[112] as written in the prologue of *La rappresentazione del*

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[106] Florence, BNCF, Fondo Nazionale II.III.426, n.4, fol IV, 'La Rappresentazione Del Miracolo Del Crocifisso (S Ambrogio, Property of Suor Plautilla)', c1557. At the beginning of the manuscript is written "A uso di S Plautilla in S.to Ambrogio. Quando V.S se ne sarà servita per grazia la rimandi." Cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 72, n.68.

[107] Florence, ASF, CRSGF, 133, vol.60, 208. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 72.

[108] Modena, BEM, Camp. App. 495. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 73.

[109] Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini', 35–39.

[110] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 1413, fols. 160r-172r, 172r-183r, 213v-230r and 183r-193r respectively. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 60.

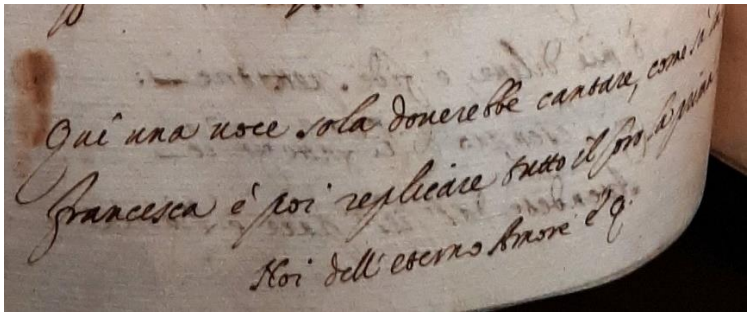
[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid., 66.

miracolo del Crocifisso of c.1557, associated with S Ambrogio in Florence.[113] The plays were also seen as a way of educating, as well as entertaining, the nuns. With Suor Annalena Aldobrandini's *veglie*, Stras observes that "the texts have a common moral and didactic purpose that would have served to instruct the novices, inasmuch as they each deal with one or more aspects of convent life, learning, religious and physical discipline".[114]

Regarding the players, Weaver notes: "The actresses were primarily the novices. In the convents that took in *educande* they, too, seem to have been involved".[115] But otherwise "theatre was an activity in which most of the residents of the convent participated, as playwright, copyists, director, actresses; those involved in making costumes, props, sets; and audience members as well as critics."[116] Sometimes there may have been external players, although the indications for this seem to be much rarer. An example is Jacopo Cicognini's *Il Martirio di S Caterina* in 1625, for La Crocetta,[117] where it is suggested that Francesca Caccini is one of the soloists.[118] See Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3 Stage directions suggest Francesca Caccini as the soloist



It seems the complexity of the staging of the plays depended very much on "the play, the occasion, and the convent's means"[119] and elaborate stage machinery was usually well beyond a convent's means.[120] With respect to location it seems that, contrary to all the rules, plays were put on in convent

[113] Florence, BNCF, Fondo Nazionale, II.III.426, n.4, fol IV, 'La Rappresentazione Del Miracolo Del Crocifisso (S Ambrogio, Property of Suor Plautilla)', c1557. Cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 65.
[114] Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini', 40.
[115] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 61.
[116] Ibid., 93.
[117] Harness, 'Regine Dell'Arno: Court Life in a Seventeenth-Century Florentine Convent'.
[118] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 3470, fol. 347v
[119] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 76.
[120] Ibid., 80.

parlours or an area of courtyard that could be seen through the grille or an open gate,[121] despite many "prohibitions and admonitions" from Church authorities.[122]

Many of the new comedies included overt allusions to music, either to be performed between acts (*intermezzi*), or were implied by stage directions or through poetic forms, moving beyond solely the psalmody method of delivery found in the earliest *rappresentazioni*. The *dramatis personae* of this comedy genre varied greatly depending on the main subject matter but a common theme in the *intermezzi* was a poor man or woman coming to the convent to ask for food in exchange for some service such as singing a song or dancing. For example, in *Rappresentazione di Santa Caterina di Colonia,*[123] written by an anonymous Dominican nun in the 16th century,[124] a young girl offers a pauper a piece of bread in return for a *lauda* (with stage directions in italics):[125]

Original
"*La fanciulla gli mostra el pane e dice*:
Questo fie tuo se prima in mie presenzia
questa sua lauda mi vorrai cantar
che dilla sú e non far resistenzia.
El povero:
Or sta a udir ch'i' ti vo contentare.
El povero piglia uno istrumento da sonare e cantavi su queste stanze:
Ave de l'alto mare regina e stella…"[126]

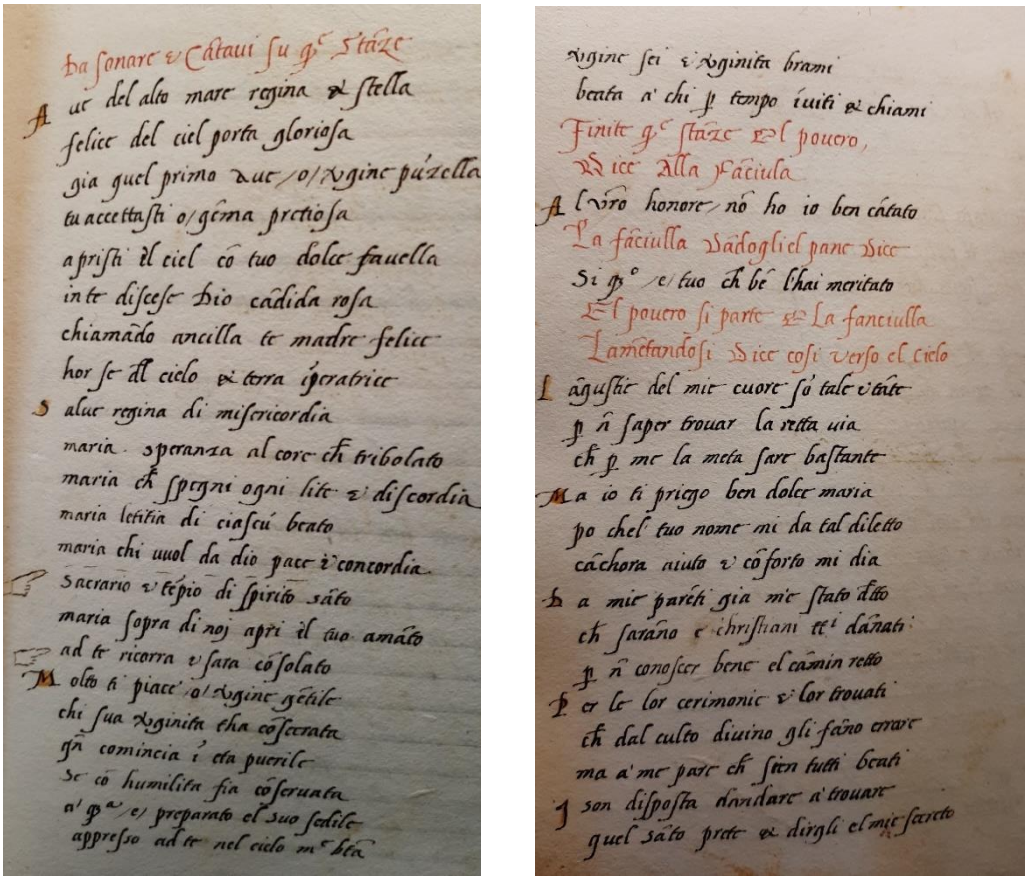
My translation
"*The girl shows him the bread and says:*
This is yours if you attend to me first
You will want to sing to me this Lauda
Recite it and don't resist.
The pauper:
Listen, I want to please you.
The pauper took up an instrument to play and sang these verses:
Hail, queen and star of the high seas..."

The form beginning "Hail, queen and star of the high seas" is in three octaves (three verses of eight lines), as shown in Figure 5.4, and transcribed below it. In keeping with the lauda-ballata

[121] Ibid., 79–80.
[122] Ibid., 88.
[123] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 2931, fols. 80r-193v, 'Rappresentazione Di Santa Caterina Di Colonia', 16th century.
[124] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 67, n.50.
[125] 'Rappresentazione Di Santa Caterina Di Colonia', fols. 87r-88v.
[126] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 73, n.72.

form,[127] each line has 11 syllables, although this is more difficult to see without swallowing some of the word endings (for example, "Ave del alto mare regina e stella" could be annunciated as "A-ve del al-to ma-re reg-in' e stell'"). In verse 1, the rhyme pattern is aaaaaabb; in verse 2 it is acacaccc; in verse 3 it is bababadd: so the whole corresponds to the usual ballad form of three stanzas and a rhyme scheme incorporating a, b, c and d. At the end of the *lauda*, the pauper says: "non ho io ben cantato" meaning "I did not sing well" which confirms again (if indeed there were any doubt) that the stanzas were delivered as song. That this was a *lauda* is in keeping with the fact that *Rappresentazione di Santa Caterina di Colonia* was written by a Dominican nun and her text is likely to have reflected the Savonarolan tradition of *laude* singing.

Figure 5.4 Three octaves of *lauda* in *Rappresentazione di Santa Caterina di Colonia*



[127] Blake Wilson, 'Lauda'. In *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43313; Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca D'Agostino, 'Ballata'. In *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01891.

Transcription of the three octaves:

Ave del alto mare regina e stella
Felice del ciel porta gloriosa
Già quel primo ave o virgine punzella
Tu accettasti o gemma pretiosa
Apristi il ciel con tuo dolce favella
In te discese Dio candida rosa
Chiamando ancilla te madre felice
Hor se del cielo e terra imperatrice

Salve regina di misericordia
Maria speranza al core che tribolato
Maria chi spegni ogni lite e discordia
Maria letitia di ciascun beato
Maria chi vuol da dio pace in concordia
Sacrario e tempio di Spirito Santo
Maria sopra di noi apri il tuo amanto
Ad te ricorra e sara confolato

Molto ti piace o virgine gentile
Chi sui virginita ha consecrata
Gia comincia in eta puerile
Se con humilita sia conservata
A questa e preparato el suo sedile
Appresso ad te nel cielo Maria beata
Virgine sei e virginita brami
Beata a chi per tempo inviti e chiami

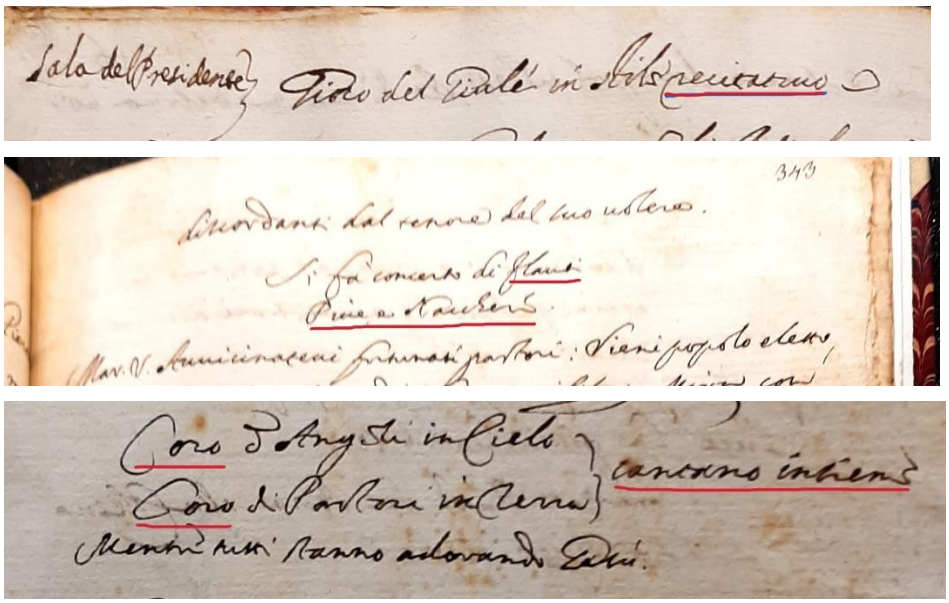
Other forms are seen in Raffaella de' Sernigi's *La rappresentazione di Moisè quando Idio gli dette le leggie sul Monte Synai*,[128] published in 1557 and 1578. Sernigi was the abbess at the Augustinian S Maria della Discplina otherwise known as Monastero del Portico, just outside Florence. Her play is based on the account of Moses' meeting with God, the adoration of the golden calf, and the breaking of the tablets on Mount Sinai. At the end of the play there is a *lauda* rhymed xyyx and ababbx.[129] In an anonymous version of *Commedia di dieci vergine*, 1582, the play finishes with a *lauda* (in ballad form).[130] Suor Annalena Aldobrandini makes use of largely *canzone* (songs of varying metre and rhyming scheme) over ballads in her *veglie*. It is clearer in this collection how there is no need for the music to be written out in full. For example, Aldobrandini specifies that her first *canzona* in *Veglia di Calendimaggio* should be sung to the tune of the *Trionfo di Bacco e Arianna* (a

[128] Raffaella de' Sernigi, *La Rappresentazione Di Moisè Quando Idio Gli Dette Le Leggie Sul Monte Synai* (Florence: n.p., 1578). As cited by Elissa Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 123, n.66.
[129] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 124.
[130] Florence, BRF, Cod, Ricc. 1510, fols 36v-106v, 'Commedia di dieci vergine', 1582. As cited by Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 122.

well known Florentine tune of the era, made famous by Lorenzo the Magnificent).[131] Otherwise, there is very little direction as to how the songs should be performed. Only once, observes Stras, in the case of *Ogn'un venga a cantar Maggio*, does "Suor Annalena indicate that she wishes the verses to be sung in harmony ('a tre voci'), but all other performance decisions relating to the *canzone*, particularly those concerning accompaniment, are left to the performers' discretion:"[132] presumably at their own level of competence.

Often the singing in plays was directed to be in choir and the rehearsal that this would have involved was put to good use by repeating a song throughout the play. Beatrice del Sera was a Dominican nun at S Niccolò in Prato and in her *Amor di virtú* of 1555, Act IV, scene 11, there are marginal notations specifying that shepherds sing the same pastoral song in different scenes.[133] Some plays became musical extravaganzas: for example, S Girolamo e S Francesco's Maria Clemente Ruoti suggests singing throughout her *Il Natal di Cristo* in 1657/8.[134] Act III scene 5 is a game of cards sung in recitative[135] (directions on 337v) with instrument pieces for, according to Weaver, "flutes, shawms and nachers"[136] in Act III scene 7 (343r) – I think a better translation but be "flutes: long and thin, and stubby". The finale is a double chorus of angels and shepherds (345r). See Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5 *Il Natal di Cristo* with recitative, instrumental music and double chorus



[131] Stras, 'The Ricreationi per Monache of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini', 45.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 2932, Beatrice del Sera, *Amor di virtù: commedia in cinque atti, 1548*, ed. Elissa Barbara Weaver (Ravenna: A. Longo, 1990), 49-55.
[134] Florence, BRF, Cod. Ricc. 2783, vol.7, Maria Clemente Ruoti, 'Il Natal Di Cristo', 1657/58.
[135] Ibid., 337v
[136] Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, 180–81, 188-189.

Where there are no stage directions to music, it cannot be assumed that music was intended. It is clear, however, that authors overtly directed players to enliven their works with song and instrumental music. Of the music itself, it could be that written or printed notation were never produced. Instead, authors might have relied on convent players either improvising or adopting remembered *lauda* and *canzona* tunes, and drawing on their aural music training to sing as a soloist or in choir, or to play an instrument.

But rather than focus on "middle ground" nuns' music for which no notation has survived, or is yet to be found, how much better to concentrate on the artefacts that bear witness to the music that the nuns did perform and was their standard practice. This music could be musically very rich, and it also tells us much about the education of the nuns involved and the way in which the Rules of an Order might be channelled to provide relatively simple but elegant musical accompaniment to the holy words. An antiphoner-hymnal from the Florentine convent of La Crocetta, which I discovered in the course of my investigations, illustrates and illuminates these points. It is analysed in detail in the next chapter.

6. The Music Itself

By the middle of the 16th century, the Medici had established themselves as the absolute rulers of Florence. Their power and influence even extended as far as determining what sort of musical activity was appropriate for the nuns in the city's many nunneries. The grand ducal family exhibited a dichotomy when it came to women making music: on the one hand there was prolific patronage of secular music written by, and performed by, women; on the other, the Medici were strong supporters of a very conservative approach to women's music-making in the convents, emphasising the ritual function of nuns' music. As we have seen, music was a highly contentious issue, and the Medici, by endorsing "plainchant only" for women religious (as seen at La Concezione), were not only promoting a "pure" form of religious observance, eliciting divine protection for the city, but were also effectively shielding the nuns themselves from the shame of self-aggrandisement and pride.

Much has been written about the secular music of Francesca Caccini but, until recently, we have known very little about the music itself in the Florentine convents, or how it was embodied. Suzanne Cusick reports that, particularly at S Verdiana, virtuosic nuns in the early 17th century were famous for their performances to city notables on feast days – to which many people from the outside flocked – but none of the music itself remains.[1] Laurie Stras discovered a collection of manuscripts of polyphony, apparently from Florence and dating from 1560 (that is, pre-Tridentine).[2] Of the less exceptional music, more of the "middle ground", the publisher Giunti assembled *laudi* by the Florentine Dominican friar, Serafino Razzi, in 1563, "for nuns and other devoted people to sing" ("*à contemplatione delle Monache e altre divote persone*").[3] Regarding plainchant for Florentine women religious, Jason Stoessel found a processional (a book small enough to carry in a procession) attributed to nuns at the Cistercian convent, San Donato, in Polverosa just North of Florence. The processional (Additional MS 412), held in the archives of the Fisher Library, University of Sydney, was initiated for the nuns by monks during a sojourn at a monastery in the city, but completed by the nuns themselves by 1632.[4] Jason says that many of the processions would have been chanted,

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[1] Cusick, 'Rethinking the Musical Nun in Early Modern Florence'. Also an email correspondence with Suzanne Cusick, 29 July 2019, but where she says a citation was not possible.

[2] Stras, 'The Performance of Polyphony in Early 16th-Century Italian Convents'.

[3] Razzi, *Libro Primo Delle Laudi Spirituali Da Diuersi Eccell. e Diuoti Autori, Antichi e Moderni Composte. ... Con La Propria Musica e Modo Di Cantare Ciascuna Laude, Come Si è Vsato Da Gli Antichi, & Si vsa in Firenze.*

[4] Jason Stoessel, 'A Florentine Nuns Processional: New Light on the Musical Life of San Donato in Polverosa' (MedRen 2018, Maynooth, Ireland, 2018); unpublished conference notes. Thank you to Laurie Stras for alerting me to this finding. Stoessel thinks that the book was begun by the Cistercian monks of Santa Maria Maddalena in Borgo Pinti in Florence but when, on the siege of Florence in 1529, the nuns of S

although "an interesting version of the *Credo cardinilis* was in mensural notation and was possibly intended for improvised polyphony". At the end of Sydney 412 is a four-part setting of the prayer *Sancta Maria ora pro illis*,[5] but it has a bass-voice range of G-b″ which begs the question whether nuns ever sang it themselves or whether it was only ever performed by male voices for the nuns' benefit.

The main corpus of plainchant belonging to Florentine nuns is a handful of antiphoners, graduals and hymnals listed by Giacomo Baroffio, although these have been difficult to trace.[6] First, Baroffio's names are confusing in that, for example, he cites some antiphoner-hymnals of S Elisabetta delle Convertite in Capitolo [sic]: this is a mix of the names of two separate institutions, S Elisabetta delle Convertite (Augustinian) and S Elisabetta del Capitolo (Franciscan). Secondly, these works are apparently located in the Museo San Marco but, as noted in Chapter 1, I was denied access.[7] Baroffio's list of works (for men as well as women), however, shows a preponderance of Dominican institutions, suggesting that the archives of the most value to examine would be those from the Dominican Order. I therefore directed my research towards the Dominican archives in Florence, and it was in the Biblioteca Domenicana in Florence that I discovered an antiphoner-hymnal from the nunnery, La Crocetta. Dated 1582, it is the subject of in-depth analysis in this chapter. La Crocetta was the Dominican convent most favoured by the Medici in Florence. The other Dominican convents were S Caterina da Siena, S Domenico del Maglio, S Felice in Piazza (or S Pier Martire), S Giuliano, S Jacopo di Ripoli, S Lucia a Camporeggi, La Pietà, S Maria degli Angeli, and S Vincenzo d'Annalena. Until now, no liturgical books from the 16th century have been found from any of these institutions.

Donato were given refuge by the monastery, it seems the book transferred to their ownership and new items were added. In the final gathering the rubric switches to directions for the abbess and the sisters, rather than for the abbot and the brothers, and the last item – completed by 1632 before the nuns moved back to their convent outside the walls – is a Latin prayer set for four voices.

[5] Jason Stoessel, 'Uncovering the Musical Life of San Donato in Polverosa', in *Uncovering Music of Early European Women (1250-1750)*, ed. Claire Fontijn (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group,2020), 45-62.

[6] Baroffio, 'Nomina Codicum: Origine/Committenza/Nome Convenzionale Dei Libri Liturgici Italiani', 1993. Listed are: Dominican S Caterina [da Siena?], Gradual, L Verna, Biblioteca Santuario, A, B, C, D; Augustininan S Elisabetta delle Convertite in Capitolo [sic], see next footnote, Antiphonary, Gradual and Hymnals; Benedictine S Felicità, Gradual, S Felicità A, C, New Haven (Conn.), Yale Univ. Beinecke Libr.42; Benedictine S Pier Maggiore, Antiphonary and Gradual, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.153. Thank you to Jonathan Glixon for pointing me in the direction of this resource.

[7] Only closer study would allow me to establish the true provenance: either the Augustinian S Elisabetta delle Convertite or the Franciscan S Elisabetta di Capitolo. In the Museo San Marco, shelfmarks are listed by Baroffio as 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 606, 625 and 631. Laurie Stras before me was also denied access.

Except for work by Jennifer Bain et al. on the 13th-century Dominican antiphoner, US-Cai 1911.142b,[8] Dominican plainchant by nuns has been little explored in northern Italy, and certainly not in the early modern period or with the same depth of inquiry as, for instance, in the chant collection (14th century) at *Paradies Bei Soest* a Dominican convent in North Germany.[9] In Florence, Giovanni Zanovello developed a 15th-century soundscape for the Florentine church of SS Annunziata[10] and has work-in-progress on musical mapping for Florentine religious institutions in the 16th century. But the benchmark for plainchant studies in Florence is the work of Marica Tacconi on the service books at the cathedral of S Maria del Fiore in late medieval and renaissance Florence which, of course, were for male religious.[11] It would be wrong to infer from the paucity of evidence (take, for example, Jonathan Glixon's comment on not being able to find nuns' chant books in Venice) that nuns rarely made music, even in the liturgy. Their music has just not been the kind to interest the majority of musicologists.

This chapter is the first close analysis of Florentine nuns' plainchant. It considers in more detail the nature of the hold that the Medici had over La Crocetta in particular, and its likely effect on the freedom of nuns there. My findings also illuminate the level of nuns' education and the standards they set themselves. To ascertain provenance of the antiphoner-hymnal from the archives of La Crocetta, my analysis draws on comparisons with other manuscripts, both Dominican and, for contrast, Benedictine. In particular, I draw attention to features of the book which firmly establish that it was written for nuns, specifically for nuns at La Crocetta, by one of its own sisters. This manuscript is significant because it includes amendments recently stipulated by the Order, and the copying shows extensive individuation by the scribe. As important, this antiphoner-hymnal reminds us – through its extent and through the labour invested in it – of the music that was the mainstay of the nuns' lives.

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[8] Debra Lacoste et al., 'Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources', accessed 22 July 2019, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/; Chicago, AIC, Mrs William E Kelley collection, Jacobus of Salerno US-Cai-1911.142b. Late13th century.

[9] Hamburger et al., *Liturgical life and Latin learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300-1425: inscription and illumination in the choir books of a North German Dominican convent*. This is a thorough study of the production chant books by five Dominican nuns, including their sequences, which seeks to show that nuns actively engaged and intellectually understood the chants/liturgy they were performing. Barbara Eichner has also made an independent of study of Dominican nuns' music in Germany; paper yet to be published.

[10] Giovanni Zanovello, '"In the Church and in the Chapel": Music and Devotional Spaces in the Florentine Church of Santissima Annunziata', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no.2 (1 August 2014): 379-428.

[11] Marica Susan Tacconi, 'Liturgy and Chant at the Cathedral of Florence: A Survey of the Pre-Tridentine Sources (Tenth-Sixteenth Centuries)'. PhD diss. (Yale, 1999); Marica Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service Books of Santa Maria Del Fiore* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

6.1 The Medici Influence

As noted in Chapter 1, the Medici ducal family stretched its influence across Florence, and no less through the city's convents. It is significant that the new plainchant findings are from La Crocetta: it was one of the few nunneries to which Medici princesses withdrew, either as practising nuns or as part of a secular entourage. Its location meant that Medici influence was strategically spread between the Medici palazzo on Via S Gallo, in the North, and the previous convent of Medici choice, Le Murate, in the Eastern part of Florence.[12]

The Medici had been patrons of La Crocetta since its founder, Domenica dal Paradiso, died in in 1553. They had singled out La Crocetta to bestow honours and privilege in return for the nuns' prayers after the death of the Grand Duke Cosimo 1 in 1574. Not only was La Crocetta well placed topographically, the Medici had identified a nunnery that had a fractured allegiance with its Order, and therefore was perhaps easier to manipulate: Suor Domenica dal Paradiso had fallen out with her controlling religious brothers at San Marco and she and her followers were thereafter subject to the rule of the Archbishop of Florence rather than to the Dominicans.[13] The rift gave the Medici an opportunity to control the activities of the convent, and therefore allow the convent to practise music should the family desire it. Medici patronage was not short-lived. In 1619 Christine de Lorraine switched allegiances from Le Murate to La Crocetta, choosing to house there her disabled daughter, Maria Maddalena. It soon became the urban home of all the unmarried princesses, waited on hand and foot not just by the convent's *converse*, but by Medici servants who came and went at will from the adjoining *palazzo* in Via Laura.

Medici patronage was on such that, by the early 1590s, La Crocetta was able to supplement its own singing of the liturgy on special feast days (such as its titular feast day, and the consecration of the convent church) with contributions by outside musicians, and at a level that rivalled the city's larger, male religious establishments.[14] With their relative affluence, the nuns' families would

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[12] Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power*, 56. The other two nunneries in Florence besides La Crocetta were Le Murate (Benedictine) and S Giovannino (Dames of Malta).

[13] Polizzotto, 'When Saints Fall Out: Women and the Savonarolan Reform in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence', 519.

[14] Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence*, 224–36. After three quarters of a century of celebrating the Mass and Office with plainchant, in May 1593 the nuns of La Crocetta highlighted their titular feast with polyphony: of the roughly 67¾ lire spent on the occasion, nearly two-thirds went on outside musicians: a maestro, singers and organist. Only after September 1617 did the payments begin to decrease. After May 1647 the special music stopped altogether.

certainly have had the money to buy ink and paper for nuns to copy their own books, which means that there were sufficient resources to create the manuscript I am about to analyse.

6.2 The Antiphoner-Hymnal, CR028: a Description

The music is an antiphoner-hymnal, copied in 1582, and hereafter known as CR028 by virtue of its shelfmark at the Biblioteca Domenicana in Florence, in the section relating to the archives of La Crocetta.[15] CR028 is a laid-paper document, no watermark, comprising 193 folios measuring 440mm x 319 mm (or 440mm x 638mm when the bifolium is opened out); full details are in the Appendix. The date of its production seems significant: it is the same year that the Venetian printer Lichtenstein produced a Roman Catholic Gradual and Antiphoner whose texts conformed to the reformed Missal and Breviary after the Council of Trent.[16] Giovanni Guidetti, a publisher in Rome, made similar revisions.[17] Between 1582 and 1588 he issued a series of Roman Catholic chant books which would supply the everyday needs of those who sang the Divine Office, but it was in 1582 that he published privately the *Directorium chori* of the Vatican basilica, "marking a violent rupture with the past and the beginning of a new age"[18] in that it used new speech-like chants "using a large rhythmic palette to convey the subtle rhythms of speech, and invoking ancient authorities as exemplars".[19] Guidetti's edition modified the appearance of the neumes and reformed certain passages, so was no longer in complete accordance with the reformed Tridentine books, but its wide availability and functional format made it very popular.[20] CR028 may signal a similar period of change in La Crocetta's liturgical practices, although somewhat lagging the introduction of a new Dominican breviary in 1552.[21] More likely, it was an ongoing exercise to keep up with amendments: for example, there was a corrected edition of the Dominican breviary, a "reformed edition" in 1595, then in 1603.[22] In addition, I found wrapping the ledger and index of 1618-1628 income and outgoings (*libro entrata e*

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[15] Firenze, Biblioteca Domenicana, CR028, dating from 1582.
[16] Amédée Gastoué, *Le Graduel et l'antiphonaire romains: histoire et description* (Lyon: Janin Frères, 1913), 159.
[17] Giovanni Guidetti, *Directorium Chori: Ad Usum Sacrosanctae Basilice Vaticanae, et Aliarum Cathedralium, et Collegiatarum Ecclesiarum* (Romae: Robertum Granion Parisien, 1582).
[18] Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1979), 44.
[19] Barbara Dianne Swanson, 'Speaking in Tones: Plainchant, Monody, and the Evocation of Antiquity in Early Modern Italy', PhD diss. (Case Western Reserve University, 2013), 2. Swanson's thesis is that plainchant participated in the tradition of recitation-like singing, a model evoked by Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini in early Florentine opera.
[20] Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.*, 44.
[21] Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945*, 287.
[22] Bonniwell, 309, 324.

uscita) of La Crocetta,[23] fragments of a 14th-century antiphoner with music from three offices: Vigil of Pentecost, Holy Trinity, and the Invention (Finding) of the Blessed Cross [*Inventio Crucis*].[24] It is possible that CR028 superseded these fragments which were then relegated to protecting the accounts, but further analysis is needed before drawing any firm conclusions.

The Antiphoner-Hymnal CR028 is identified, on f.1r, the second page of the manuscript, as the third volume, "INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS" ("Here the third book begins"), the first two volumes being currently missing. The description continues, "*antiphonarum ac responsoriom que non invenientur in primo ac secondo Dominicalis nec non Antiphonarii libro*": that is, "the antiphons and responsories which are not to be found in the first or second book of Sundays, nor of antiphoners"; the translation is a little cumbersome because the Latin is not perfect. The first 114 folios comprise the Antiphoner section of the Antiphoner-Hymnal, split into temporal and sanctoral, and focus largely on antiphons, responsories and invitatories for Sundays and key feast days. The next 50 folios, where the foliation restarts from "1", comprise the hymnal (and hereafter denoted as 1', etc), followed by 20 further folios of: versicles (relevant to the feasts supplied in this third book) with responsories; various versions of the closing blessing, *Benedicamus domino*; and an unfoliated collection of Magnificat antiphons mainly for the Visitation of Mary. There follows the index for the antiphoner, hymnal and versicles, itemising the contents of ff.107v-114v of the antiphoner, and ff.1'r-63'r of the hymnal/versicles. A colophon (f.76'r, unfoliated) – an expanded text including the scribe's name, the date and place in which the book was copied, and a personal statement by the scribe – follows the index.[25] It says: "This book was written by my own hand, Catherine, nun at the monastery of the Holy Cross [the formal name for La Crocetta, meaning "little cross", which alludes to the small red cross on the nuns' habits] in Florence, and was finished on the 8th day of September in the year of the Lord 1582. Praise be to God".[26] See Figure 6.1. The date is written as MLXXXII (1082) and has been altered with the addition of a black D to read MDLXXXII (1582).

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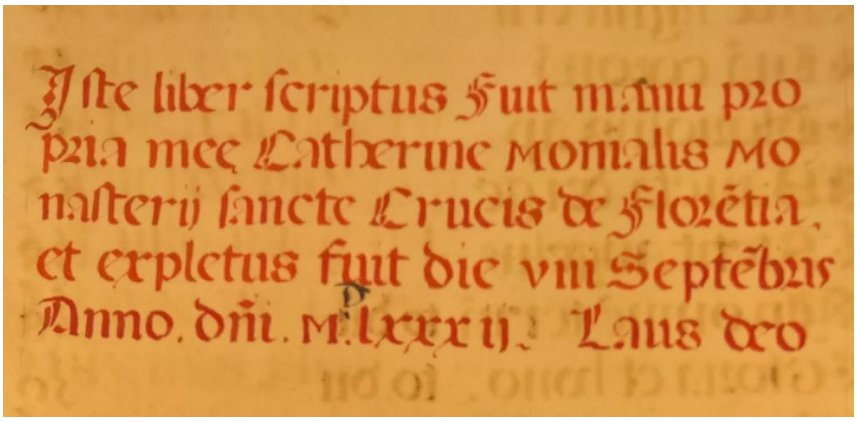
[23] Florence, ASF, CRSGF, Santa Croce detta La Crocetta, 107, 40. 'Libro Entrata e Uscita, 1618-1628'

[24] Francesco Zimei, email on 'Dating of Plainchant Fragments', 26 June 2017: "this manuscript can be dated back to the first half of the 15th century. The notation is squared; the repertory is Gregorian".

[25] James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music : History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 223.

[26] The colophon transcribes as: "Iste liber scriptus fuit manu propria mee Catherine Monialis Monasterii sancte Crucis de Florentia et expletus fuit die viii septembris Anno Domini M[D]LXXXii. Laus deo."

Figure 6.1 Colophon by Catherine



The colophon is important on two counts. First, is the fact that Catherine put her name to copying CR028. The phenomenon echoes the signing of the manuscripts at the Dominican *Paradies bei Soest* in Germany, dated from the turn of the 14th century, where the scribes were similarly identified by names or initials.[27] Colophons, however, where the nun gives her full name, location and date, are much rarer. Cynthia Cyrus, on her study of nun scribes in Germany, estimates that only 20 per cent of convent manuscripts have colophons.[28] Where they occur, nun scribes were effectively using their own good name to validate the integrity of the copy. This scribal relationship with the music, with its pledge of faithfulness to strictly prescribed regulations, is quite different from a nun-performer's relationship with music where shame was often the over-riding emotion (see Chapter 3). The second reason the colophon in CR028 important is that it demonstrates Catherine's grasp of Latin was reasonably good. For example, "*monasterii*" is in the genitive form, meaning "of the convent", and "*expletus*", is a passive past participle used correctly as an adjective. This supports the thesis that nuns from leading families could be well educated (see Chapter 5).

The "Appendix: Dexcription of Source, CR028" below gives not just a description of CR028, but also a catalogue of the feasts and canonical hours covered by the chants. The attention to detail reflects Victor Léroquais' (1875-1946) and Walter Howard Frere's (1863-198) benchmarks for cataloguing liturgy.[29] I have also incorporated the Latin feast names as used by the Cantus Database

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[27] Hamburger et al., *Liturgical life and Latin learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300-1425: inscription and illumination in the choir books of a North German Dominican convent*, 1:97.

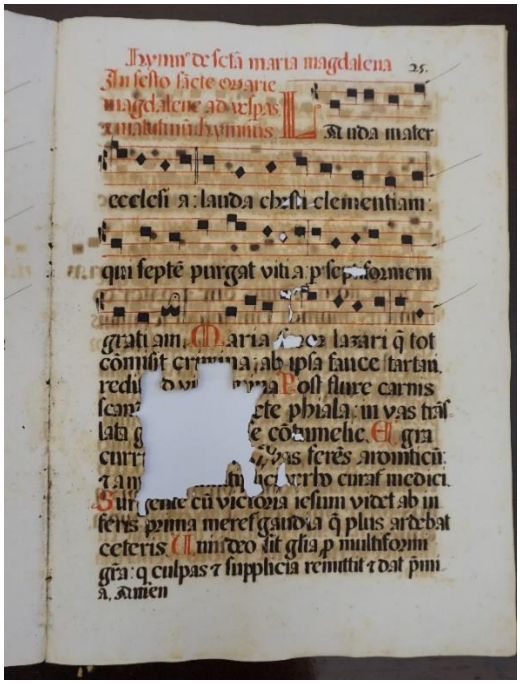
[28] Cynthia J. Cyrus, *The Scribes for Women's Convents in Late Medieval Germany* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 42.

[29] Victor Leroquais, *Les breviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1934); Walter Howard Frere, *Bibliotecha musico-liturgica: a descriptive handlist of the musical and Latin-liturgical mss. of the Middle Ages, preserved in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Burnham, Bucks, 1901).

which, although it has its limitations in that it is only as good as the scholars who input their data and it is not comprehensive, it is a useful tool for identifying and comparing the chants in CR028.[30]

CR028 is in good condition generally, showing very few signs of wear, specifically in that there is no rubbing at the corners. The pages in the middle of the book, however, have degenerated particularly in ff.24'-26' (in the hymns for the saints) where the increased density of the text on both sides of the folio has perhaps intensified the corrosive effect of the iron gall ink.[31] See figure 6.2. Given that the missing parts do not occur always where the text is dense, nor do they follow the shapes of individual letters, the damage was possibly caused by an ink spillage on f.25' which created a blot with some spattering.

Figure 6.2 Damaged page



Each folio with plainchant contains seven red four-line staves in red ink, with black square notation. The lines on the staves have been ruled one by one, as indicated by the absence of strict parallelism between them. The distances between the lines also varies between staves, and these

[30] Lacoste et al., 'Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources'.

[31] Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2007) 97-98 and 101; K Messner et al., 'Comparison of Possible Chemical and Microbial Factors Influencing Paper Decay by Iron Gall Inks', in *Biodeterioration 7*, ed. D. R. Houghton (London: Elsevier, 1988), 449–54. Oxidation of iron (ii) sulphate in iron gall ink is a common cause of degradation of manuscripts.

measurements also differ between folios. See Table 6.1 for the measurements between stave lines in the antiphoner section of CR028, ff.1r and 1v. The nature of these inconsistencies – the lack of parallelism, the irregular spacing of the lines, and absence of repetition – suggests that the scribe drew lines one by one rather than by using a rastrum.

Table 6.1 Measurements in millimetres between stave lines

Distance (mm)	Between top and 2nd stave line		Between 2nd and 3rd stave line		Between 3rd and bottom stave line	
Folio	1r	1v	1r	1v	1r	1v
Stave 1	Incipit text	8	Incipit text	9	Incipit text	8.5
Stave 2	9	9	9.5	8.5	10	8.5
Stave 3	9	8.5	9	8	9	8.5
Stave 4	9	8	9	8.5	8	8
Stave 5	8	9	9	9	9	8
Stave 6	8	8	8.5	7	8	9
Stave 7	8.5	8.5	8.5	7	8	8

The varying distance between the lines on the stave give the book an unsophisticated quality and may have been an economic choice because it would have been less labour-intensive to use a rastrum. Perhaps the scribe had less money than time. More telling with regards to economy is the lack of watermark on the paper which suggests that the paper was substandard and so was not branded by the supplier.[32]

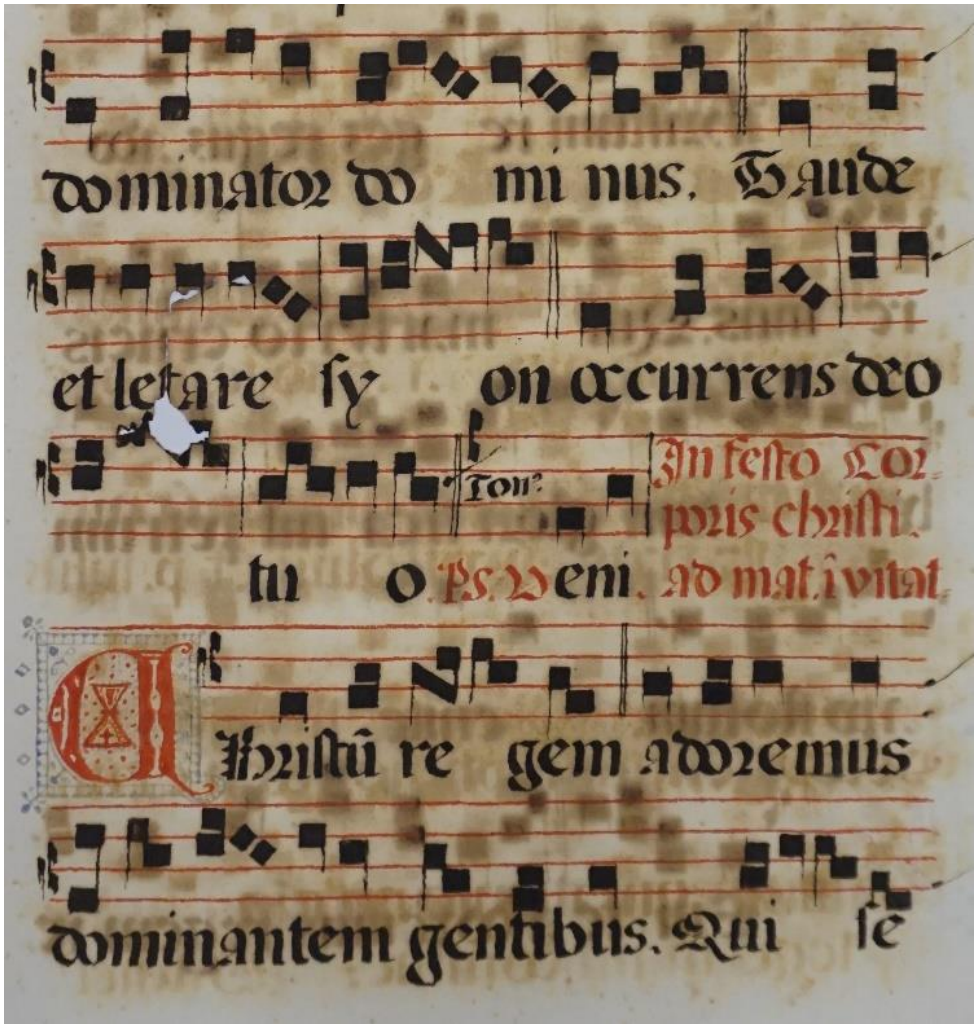
Besides the varying distance between stave lines, another indication of the "home-made" quality of the copying is that, although the scribe used a plummet to make vertical rulings as a guideline for the ends of the staves (see Figure 6.3 showing f.86v), it seems these guidelines were not always used.[33] This means that, on some pages, the staves splay at odd angles, such as in f. 87r. See Figure 6.4. A further explanation for the misalignment might be that the scribe was tired when copying, and/or the staves were drawn at the end of the day when the light was poor. Where the scribe is a nun and the task of copying is in addition to her daily duty of the Divine Office, she may have worked on the manuscript by candlelight at night, omitting plummet lines through fatigue, or to save time.

[32] In contrast, the paper used in the La Crocetta's accounting ledgers has a watermark. Florence, ASF, CRSGF, 107, 59, La Crocetta, 'Libro Debitori e Creditori 1579-1585'.

[33] Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 133. Plummet was an oblong ingot of metallic lead.

Figure 6.3 Vertical plummet rulings mark both ends of the staves

Figure 6.4 Splaying of the staves

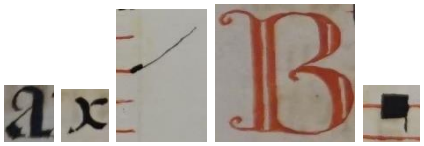


These unpolished features of the book are compounded by the trimming of the folios. In ff.87-97, for example, the width of the page is 4mm less in the middle than at the top and bottom, the fore edge becoming concave. This irregular shape again demonstrates an amateurism in the production of CR028.

A different hand copied the Magnificat antiphons, ff. (65'r)-(68'v). The change of hand is shown in: the different forms of the "a" and the "x"; the different angle and length of the custos at the end of each stave; the embellishment of the *litterae notabiliores*; and, in hairline extensions on the corners of the square notation.[34] Figure 6.5 compares the two hands.

Figure 6.5 Comparison of the two scribal hands in CR028

First scribal hand



Second scribal hand

The letter "x" is particularly pertinent in showing the change of hand: clearly it was formed in a very different way, as shown in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6 Comparison of scribal hands in forming the letter 'x' (blue lines added for clarity)

First scribal hand

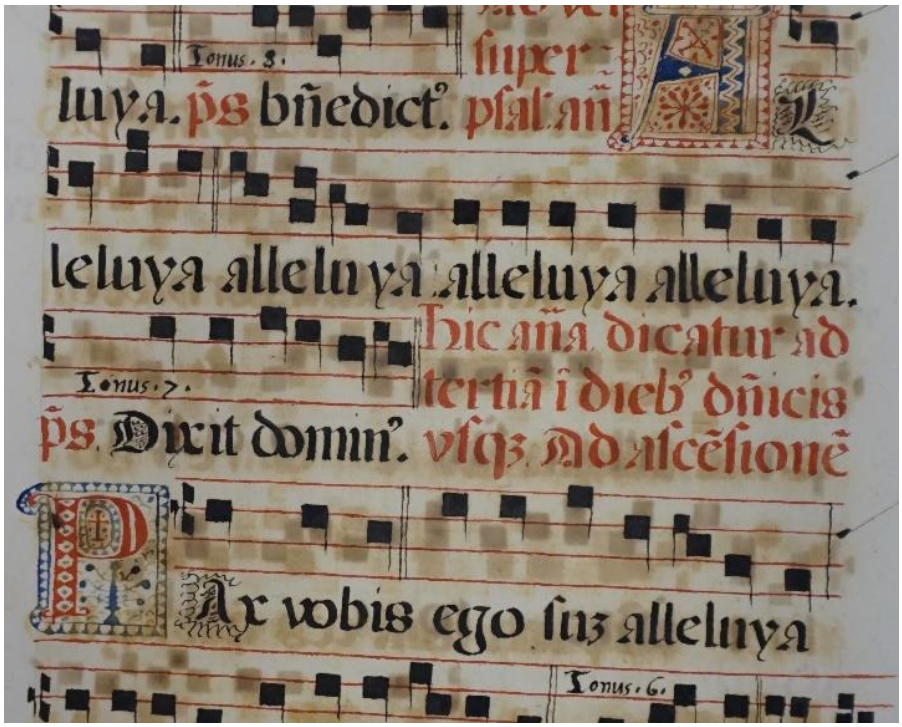
Second scribal hand

Reminders for the different tones to be used (see, for example, the Sunday before Pentecost, f.27v, Figure 6.7), are in a cursive script, and are in a black ink and width of pen similar to the addition of the "D" to the date in the colophon (see above). The specification of the tones and the

[34] Eleanor Giraud, 'The Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris' (University of Cambridge, 2013).

amendment to the date provide insufficient material evidence, however, to confirm whether they are the same as, or different from, each other or the two scribes already identified.

Figure 6.7 Reminders of tones for psalms



Regarding tone prompts for psalm incipits in CR028: there are 82 psalm incipits, yet prompts (added in another hand) are made only on 48 occasions. Possibly this indicates that when the plainchant was copied in 1582, all the Choir nuns knew the psalm tones without being reminded. Later users of the manuscript, however, needed to be prompted more than half of the time. CR028 bears witness to the possibility that, at La Crocetta, there was a move from an oral/aural to a written culture.

6.3 Identifying the Provenance of CR028

That I found CR028 in the Biblioteca Domenicana in Florence, and that the colophon names a nun at La Crocetta as the scribe, are not sufficient evidence in themselves that the antiphoner-hymnal is Dominican. Nor is it sufficient evidence that it was copied for nuns (and specifically for nuns at La Crocetta): Dominican nuns copied books for other institutions and so a book copied by a nun at La

Crocetta may have been destined for another church.[35] Here, I demonstrate that CR028 is very likely to have been copied for La Crocetta by one of its own Dominican nuns.

First, the issue of Dominican provenance: are the contents of CR028 in keeping with Dominican liturgy? The Dominicans, helped by their centralised organisation, set great store on the uniformity of their liturgy.[36] New copies of their liturgical books were supposed to be assiduously checked and, as a result, the Dominican liturgy has changed little since the 13th century.[37] Therefore, if CR028 is indeed Dominican then its chants will closely correspond to those in a Dominican exemplar, a compendium of Dominican manuscripts created to disseminate the liturgy. The concordance should be in both melody and text, and within a chant and for the sequence of chants within a feast, and for the number of responsories within a liturgical hour. Also, an examination of the saints mentioned in CR028 should reveal a Dominican heritage.

For the comparison, I use as my baseline the antiphoner-hymnal of Humbert of Romans (1200-1277), a French Dominican friar who served as the fifth Master General of the Order of Preachers (1254-1263) and who compiled what became the exemplar for all Dominican liturgy.[38] There are three copies of his exemplar but here I am using the codex in the British Library, Additional Manuscript 23935 (hereafter known as BL23935), thought to be the Master General's own book. Against the baseline of BL23935 I have checked the concordance of melodies and texts with CR028. To further my argument I have also checked the concordance of another source with BL23935, namely a Dominican chant book from an Italian convent (hereafter known as Cai-1911), a late 13th-century antiphoner.[39] Given that the provenance of Cai-1911 seems not to have been fully ratified, I made a second comparison with another Italian antiphoner, dated from the beginning of the 14th century, of indubitable Dominican provenance: a monastery, San Domenico, in Perugia (hereafter

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[35] Hamburger et al., *Liturgical life and Latin learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300-1425: inscription and illumination in the choir books of a North German Dominican convent*, 1:96–97. The examples listed, where the nuns are named in the colophon, are for codices destined for use outside the nun's own convent.

[36] Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945*, 25.

[37] Eleanor Giraud, 'Totum Officium Bene Correctum Habeatur in Domo: Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy', in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, ed. Cornelia Linde, 2018; Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945*, 210.

[38] London, BL, Add Ms 23935; Leonard E Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy, 'Aux Origines de La Liturgie Dominicaine: Le Manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1: [Actes Du Colloque International, Rome, 2-4 Mars 1995]' (Paris; Roma; [Paris]: CNRS éd. ; École française de Rome ; [Diff. de Boccard], 2004).

[39] Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, Jacobus of Salerno, Gradual Manuscript (late13th century), Mrs William E Kelley Collection, US-Cai 1911.142b, accessed 27 January 2020, http://aic.onlineculture.co.uk/ttp/ttp.html?o=1&id=64179fb0-182a-4319-a81c-9c1dd56acb61&type=book. Indexed by Jennifer Bain et al., accessed 7 March 2020, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/669030

known as Ms2787).[40] The two Dominican comparisons establish the degree of expected concordance which would point to a Dominican provenance of CR028. To complete the analysis, I have included a non-Dominican antiphoner in my comparison: the 13th-century Benedictine antiphoner from Worcester Cathedral (hereafter known as WF160).[41]

The chants I compare in the four sources (BL23935, CR028, Cai-1911, WF160) are a Responsory and Verse for Matins on Easter Monday and Pentecost Tuesday. The chant texts are as follows: Easter Monday (*Feria 2 p. pascha)* [R] *Congratulamini michi omnes qui diligitis dominum quia quem quaerebam apparuit mihi et dum flerem ad monumentum vidi dominum meum alleluia*[42]; [V] *Recedentibus discipulis non recedebam et amoris eius igne succensa ardebam desiderio | Et dum*[43]*;* Pentecost Tuesday (*Feria 3 Pent.)* [R] *Spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum et hoc quod continet omnia scientiam habet vocis alleluia alleluia*[44] [V] *Omnium est enim artifex omnem habens virtutem omnia prospiciens | Et hoc*.[45] These chants were selected because they are common to all four manuscripts, except that Ms2787 contains just the Responsory and Responsory Verse for Pentecost Tuesday. Table 6.2 indicates the page references for each source.

Table 6.2 Page references of the selected Easter and Pentecost chants in the five primary sources.

Feast	Feria 2 p. pascha (Easter Monday)		Feria 3 pent. (Pentecost Tuesday)	
Source	**R: congratulamini**	**V: recedentibus**	**R: spiritus**	**V: omnium**
BL23935	f. 292r col ii	f. 292v col i	f. 299v col i	f. 299v col i
CR028	f. 24r	f. 24v	f. 32r	f. 32v
Cai-1911	f. 10v	f. 11r	f. 69v	f. 69v
WF160	f. 65v (274 online, 132 in facsimile)	f. 66r (274 online, 132 in facsimile)	f. 77v (286 online, 155 in facsimile)	f. 77v (286 online, 155 in facsimile)
Ms2787	n/a	n/a	f. 21v	f. 22r

[40] Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Inventario: 206611; Segnatura: ms 2787, accessed 27 January 2020, http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it%2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3APGM0000009&mode=all&teca=MagTeca+-+ICCU.

[41] Worcester, Cathedral - Music Library, F.160 (1247). Also, *Le codex F.160 de la Bibliothéque de la Cathédrale de Worcester: Antiphonaire monastique (XIIIe siècle)*, accessed 27 January 2020, https://archive.org/details/palographiemus1922gaja.

[42] Lacoste et al., 'Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources'. Cantus ID006323

[43] Ibid., 006323b.

[44] Lacoste et al., 'Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources'. Cantus ID 007690

[45] Ibid. Cantus ID 007690a

I calculated concordance with BL23935 by dividing the number of notes that matched by the total number of notes in the comparison. Liquescent notes were counted as full notes. Table 6.3 shows the percentage concordance with BL23935 of CR028, Cai-1911, WF160, and Ms2787.

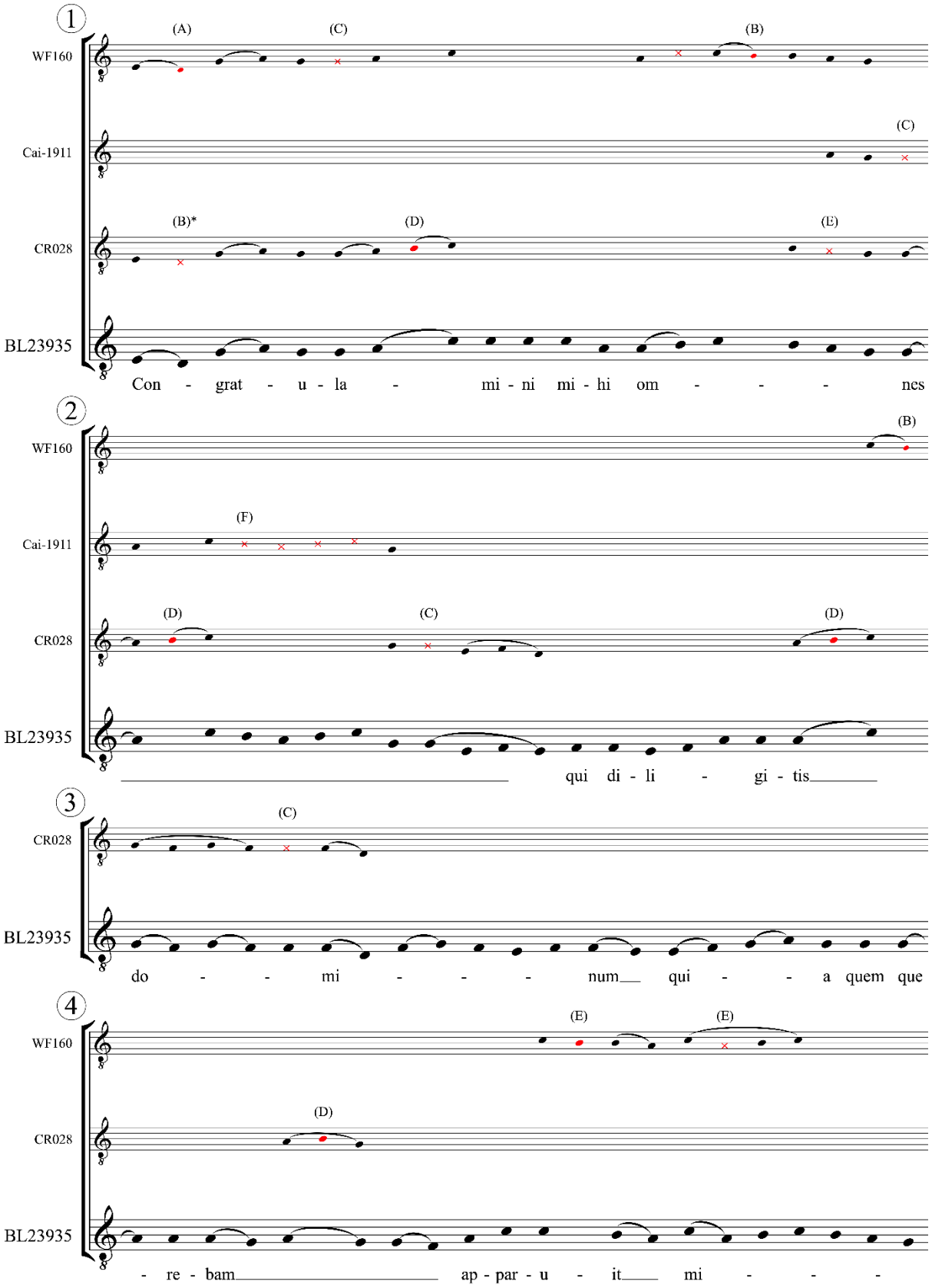
Table 6.3 Percentage concordance of chants with BL23935

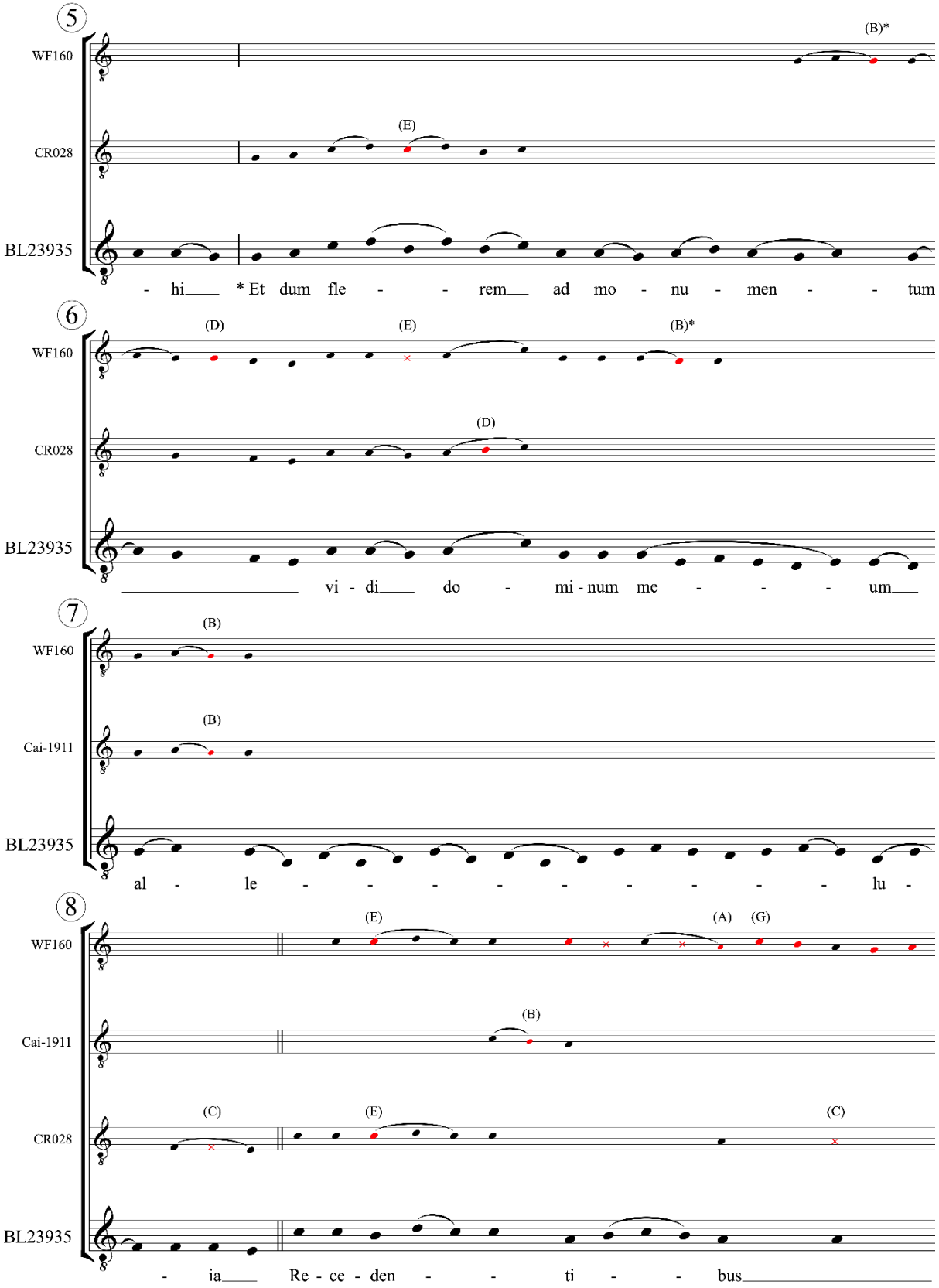
	Comparing BL23953 with:											
	CR028			Cai-1911			WF160			Ms2787		
Groups of staves	no of notes	concordant notes	% concordance	no of notes	concordant notes	% concordance	no of notes	concordant notes	% concordance	no of notes	concordant notes	% concordance
Feria 2 p. Pascha	420	400	95%	424	416	98%	434	394	91%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Feria 3 Pent.	373	354	95%	377	374	99%	373	344	92%	373	364	98%
totals	793	754	95%	798	790	99%	797	714	90%	373	364	98%

The lowest percentage concordance was between the Dominican BL23935 and the Benedictine WF160. The highest percentage concordance was between the three securely Dominican sources BL23935, Cai-1911 and Ms2787. CR028, at 95% concordance, showed more concordance than the Benedictine WF160, but it does not have as high a concordance as Cai-1911 and Ms2787. Does this mean that CR028 is more similar to Benedictine WF160 than to the Dominican BL23935? Figures 6.8 and 6.9 are transcriptions of the two chants in BL23935, indicating where the lack of concordance lies with CR028, Cai-1911 and WF160. Variant spellings of the same word have not been included (such as “michi” for “mihi” and “alleluia” for “alleluia”).

Key for the transcriptions (Figures 6.8 and 6.9):
x indicates where a note is missing
Red notes are those different from BL23935
black notes are concordant, but have been added only to give context to the notes and text in the phrase. Otherwise, a blank stave for CR028, Cai-1911 or WF160 means their notes are concordant with BL23935.
Capital letters (A) to (G) above the stave, are points for specific reference (see Table 6.4).

Figure 6.8 *Feria 2 p. Pascha* (BL23935), compared with CR028, Cai-1911 and WF160




5
WF160
CR028
BL23935
(B)*
(E)
- hi * Et dum fle - rem ad mo - nu - men - tum
6
WF160
CR028
BL23935
(D)
(E)
(B)*
(D)
vi - di do - mi - num me - um
7
WF160
Cai-1911
BL23935
(B)
(B)
al - le - lu -
8
WF160
Cai-1911
CR028
BL23935
(E)
(A)
(G)
(B)
(C)
(E)
(C)
- ia Re - ce - den - ti - bus

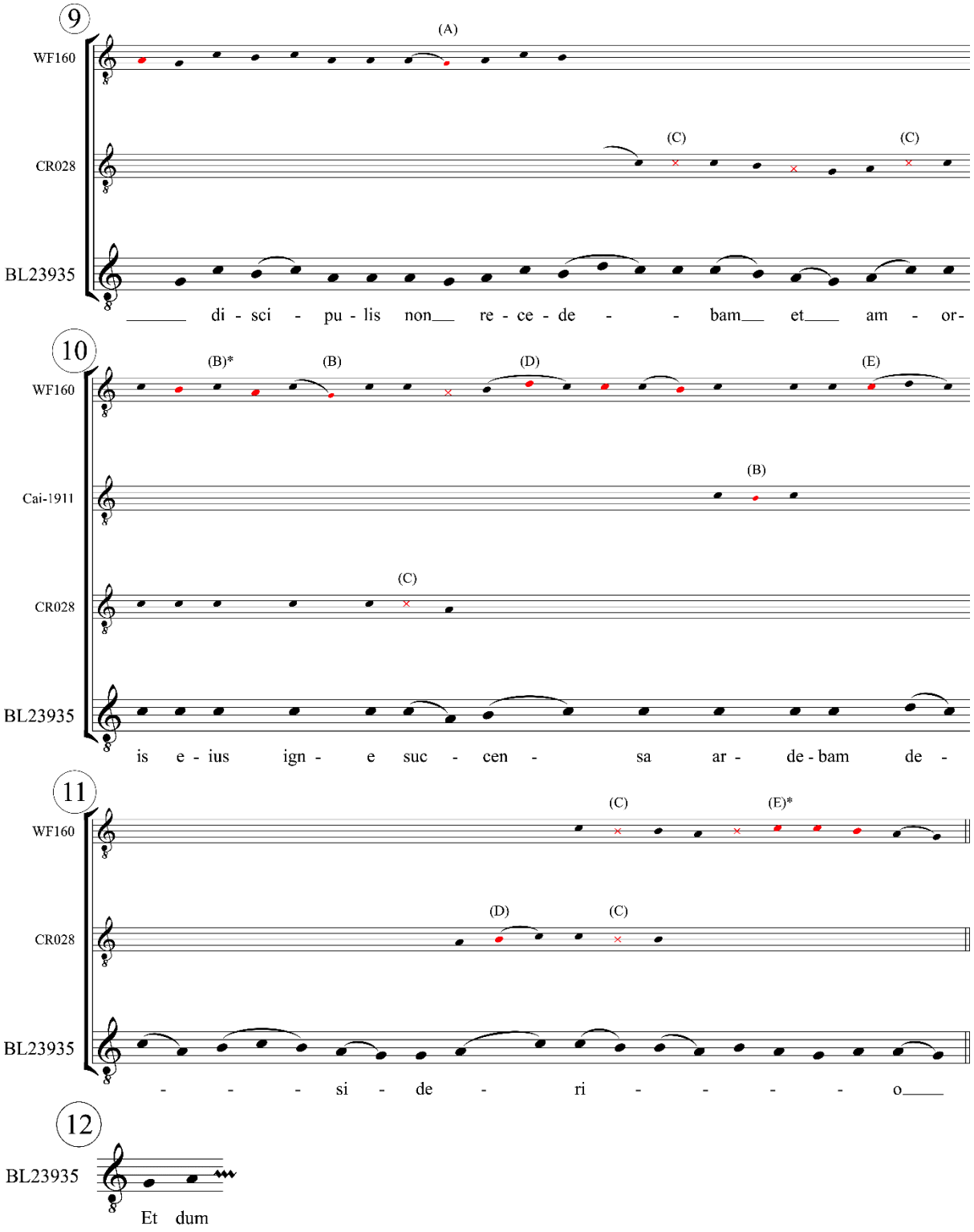
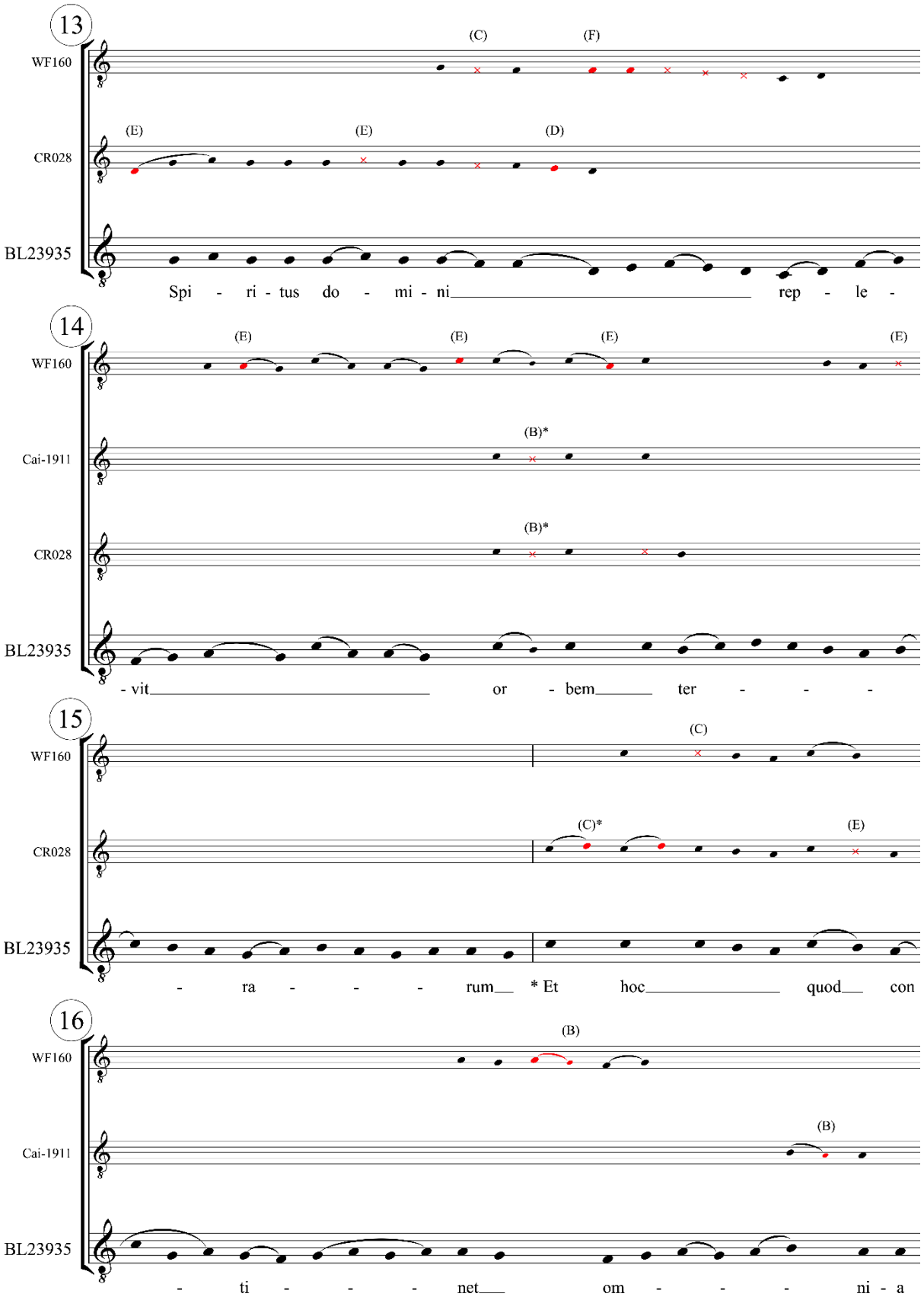
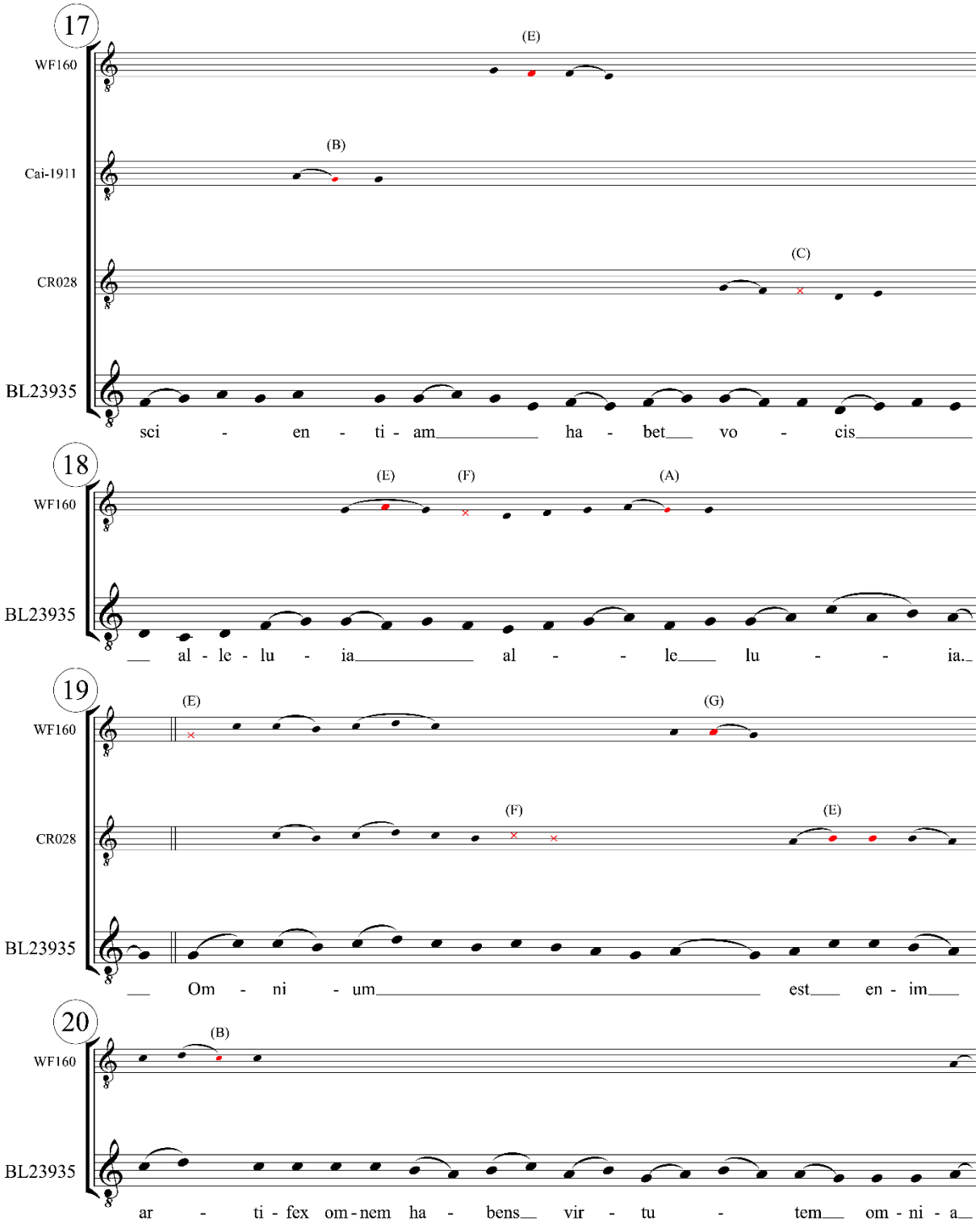
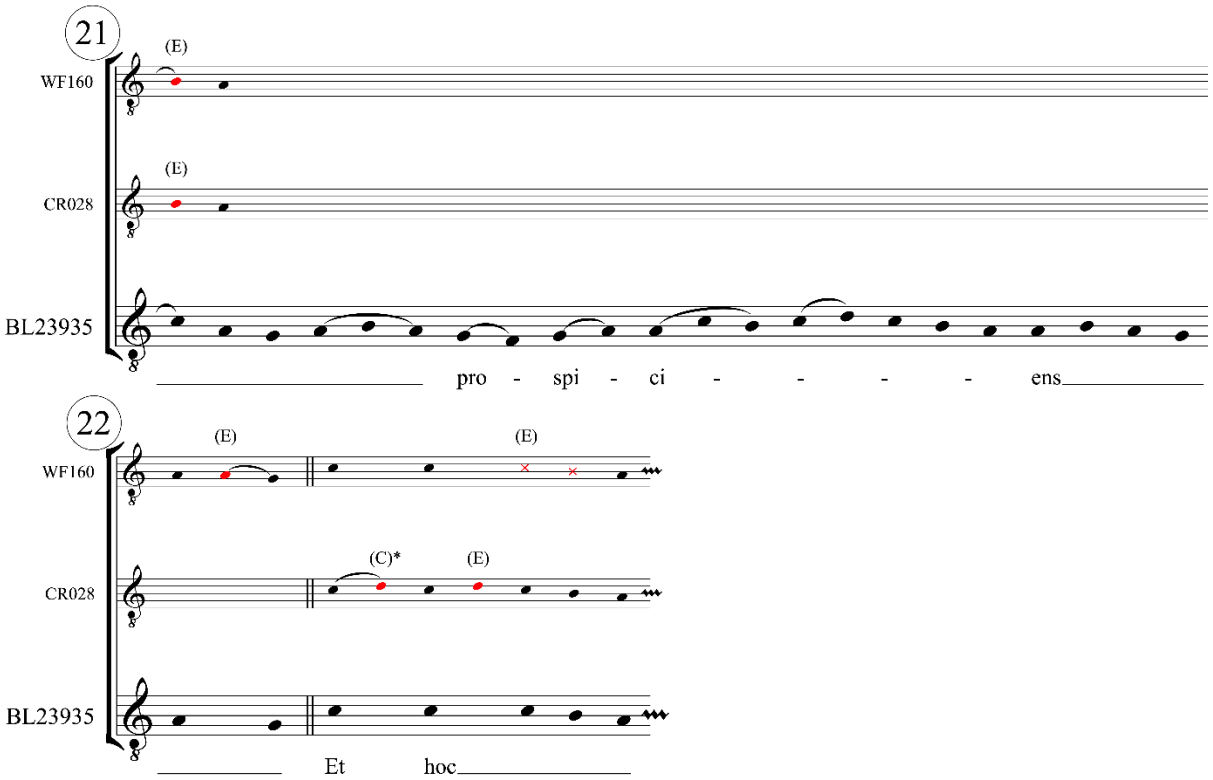

9
WF160
CR028
BL23935
(A)
(C)
(C)
_____ di - sci - pu - lis non___ re - ce - de - - bam___ et____ am - or-
10
WF160
Cai-1911
CR028
BL23935
(B)*
(B)
(D)
(E)
(B)
(C)
is e - ius ign - e suc - cen - sa ar - de - bam de -
11
WF160
CR028
BL23935
(C)
(E)*
(D)
(C)
- - - si - de - ri - - - - o____
12
BL23935
Et dum

Figure 6.9 *Feria 3 Pent.* (BL23935), compared with CR028, Cai-1911 and WF160




17
WF160
(E)
Cai-1911
(B)
CR028
(C)
BL23935
sci - en - ti - am ha - bet vo - cis
18
WF160
(E)
(F)
(A)
BL23935
al - le - lu - ia al - le lu - ia.
19
WF160
(E)
(G)
CR028
(F)
(E)
BL23935
Om - ni - um est en - im
20
WF160
(B)
BL23935
ar - ti - fex om - nem ha - bens vir - tu - tem om - ni - a



Some of the points for specific reference occur more frequently than others across the two chants and for particular transcriptions (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 How the sources CR028, Cai-1911 and WF160 deviate from BL23935

Points for specific reference	**CR028**	**Cai-1911**	**WF160**	**Total**
(A) a liquescence instead of a full note	0	0	3	3
(B) a liquescence in addition to the baseline BL23935	0	5	7	12
(B)* a full note instead of a liquescence (in addition to the baseline BL23935), or liquescence dropped	2	1	3	6
(C) repeated note dropped	9	1	4	14
(C)* note added up a step, to avoid repetition	2	0	0	2
(D) note added to make a third, or an inversion of a third	6	0	2	8
(E) small deviation from BL23935	9	0	15	24
(E)* significant deviation from BL23935	0	0	1	1
(F) simplification (such as a decrease in the length of a melisma)	1	1	2	4
(G) increase in length of melisma	0	0	2	2

Regarding liquescences, as identified by plicas, there is a lack of consistency in where they occur.[46] On three occasions, WF160 gives a liquescence (A) when a full note appears in BL23935. At other times, liquescences happen in addition (B) to the full notes given in BL23935. These liquescences occur simultaneously only once, in Cai-1911 and WF160 (system 7). Sometimes where there should be a liquescence (as indicated by the text, for example as in monumentum (system 5) and meum (system 6)), an additional full note is indicated instead. Only one liquescence is indicated in BL23935 (system 14, 'orbem'); this is copied in WF160 but is ignored (B)* by CR028 and Cai-1911. That WF160 was the only source to share the liquescence in BL23935, and that half of the variations in Cai-1911 were due to liquescences (the source which otherwise shows strongest concordance with BL23935), suggests that the occurrence of a plica is not particularly significant in establishing provenance.

Another common variation was to drop a repeated note (C). The relative frequency of this variation in CR028 suggests that the scribe was making a conscious decision not to support the repetition, rather than it being an error in copying. Similar conscious decisions – that is, where the variation does not seem random – were to add a note to make a third (D) (eg CR028, systems 2 and 4), or to drop notes to reduce a melisma (F) (eg WF160, system 13), or to add notes to lengthen a melisma (G) (WF160, system 8). There is no concordance between sources for these variations and they were relatively rare.

Small deviations (E) occurred more frequently and appeared in CR028 but were most common in WF160. These deviations were either missing notes (eg CR028, system 1) or the stepwise addition of notes (CR028, system 5). That the majority of these small deviations occur in WF160 suggests they were attributable to a different liturgical practice: in this case, Benedictine, following the monastic cursus. Unlike with Dominican chant, however, there was no Benedictine exemplar to set the standard, so the differences exhibited by WF160 are as much to do with lack of uniformity as any difference that may have occurred in the liturgy between Orders. Having said that, if CR028 were copied from a Benedictine source, it would tend to echo the small deviations of WF160 (see systems 8, 11 and 13 for the only examples of concordance between the two) but, instead, CR028 shows its own set of discrepancies with BL23935. And, indeed, deviations can be put down to errors in copying rather than following another rite, as exemplified in the lack of concordance *in repetenda* in CR028 and WF160 (compare *Et hoc* in systems 15 and 22). If CR028 is Dominican, however, it

[46] David Hiley, 'Plica', in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2019), accessed 27 January 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16740; Eleanor Giraud, 'The Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris', 160–61.

should be least prone to scribal error because of the Order's system of rigorous checking, and this is borne out by the fact that Cai-1911 is relatively error-free.

Given the lack of conclusive evidence that CR028 is of Dominican heritage, I then compared the text, and the sequence of text, for Matins and Lauds on the feast of *De Trinitate* across BL23953, CR028 and WF160. See Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Comparison of *De Trinitate* chant texts, between BL23953, CR028 and WF160

Key
red = same text, and in sequence;
blue = same text in same canonical hour, but out of sequence with BL23935;
green = same text, but in different canonical hour from BL23935;
purple = same text in CR028 and WF160, but different positions within Lauds;
black (not bold) = unique to that manuscript in this comparison;
grey shading = no corresponding chant.

Abbreviations:
[A] Antiphon;
[AV] Antiphon Verse;
[Cap] Chapter;
[H] Hymn;
[I] Invitatory;
[PS] Psalm;
[R] Responsory;
[V] Responsory Verse;
[W] Versicle;
(small Roman numeral) indicates the sequence of the Responsories;
(no no.) means that there is no way of identifying the psalm – identical opening words are common to two or more psalms[47]

BL23935	**CR028**	**WF160**
Matins		
Nocturn 1		
[I] Deum verum unum in trinitate	[I] Deum verum unum in trinitate	[I] Deum verum unum in trinitate
[PS] Venite exsultemus	[PS] Venite exsultemus	[H] Nocte surgentes
[A] Adesto deus unus omnipotens	[A] Adesto deus unus omnipotens	[A] Adesto deus unus omnipotens
[PS] Domine dominus noster	[PS] Domine dominus noster	[PS] Venite exsultemus
[A] Te unum in substantia	[A] Te unum in substantia	[A] Te unum in substantia
[PS] Caeli enarrant	[PS] Caeli enarrant	[PS] Caeli enarrant
[A] Te semper idem esse vivere	[A] Te semper idem esse vivere	[A] Te semper idem esse vivere
[PS] Domini est terra	[PS] Domini est terra	[PS] Domini est terra
[W] Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu [R] Laudemus et super exaltemus	[W] Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu [R] Laudemus et super exaltemus	[A] Te invocamus te adoramus

[47] Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*, sec. Appendix 2.2.

[Ri] Benedicat nos	[Ri] Benedicat nos	[PS] Benedicam dominum
[V] Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat	[V] Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat	[A] Spes nostra salus nostra
[Rii] Benedictus dominus	[Rii] Benedictus dominus	[PS] Deus noster refugium
[V] Replebitur maiestate ejus	[V] Replebitur maiestate ejus	[A] Libera nos iustifica nos o beata
[Riii] Quis deus magnus sicut	[Riii] Quis deus magnus sicut	[PS] Omnes gentes plaudite
[V] Notam fecisti in populis	[V] Notam fecisti in populis	[V] Benedictus dominus Israel
Gloria patri et filio | Qui	Gloria patri et filio | Qui	[Ri] Benedicat nos deus deus noster
Nocturn 2		[V] Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat
[A] Te invocamus te adoramus	[A] Te invocamus te adoramus	Gloria patri et filio et
[PS] Omnes gentes plaudite	[PS] Omnes gentes plaudite	[PS] Exsultate justi
[A] Spes nostra salus nostra	[A] Spes nostra salus nostra	[PS] Domine regnavit (no no.)
[PS] Magnus dominus	[PS] Magnus dominus	[Rii] Benedictus dominus
[A] Libera nos iustifica nos o beata	[A] Libera nos iustifica nos o beata	[V] Replebitur maiestate ejus
[PS] Deus judicium	[PS] Deus judicium	Gloria patri et filio et
[W] Benedictus es domine in firmamento caeli [R] Et laudabilis et gloriosus in secula	[W] Benedictus es domine in firmamento caeli [R] Et laudabilis et gloriosus in secula	[Riii] Quis deus magnus sicut
[Riv] Magnus dominus et magna virtus	[Riv] Magnus dominus et magna virtus	[V] Notam fecisti in gentibus
[V] Magnus dominus et laudabilis	[V] Magnus dominus et laudabilis	Gloria patri et filio et
[Rv] Gloria patri genitae que proli	[Rv] Gloria patri genitae que proli	[R] Magnus dominus et magna virtus
[V] Da gaudiorum praemia da	[V] Da gaudiorum praemia da	[V] Magnus dominus et laudabilis
[Rvi] Honor virtus et potestas	[Rvi] Honor virtus et potestas	Gloria patri et filio et
[V] Trinitati lux perennis	[V] Trinitati lux perennis	[A] Caritas pater et gratia Christus
Gloria patri et filio | Imper	Gloria patri et filio | Imper	[PS] Magnus dominus
Nocturn 3		[A] Verax est pater veritas
[A] Caritas pater et gratia Christus	[A] Caritas pater et gratia Christus	[PS] Deus judicium
[PS] cantate domine (i)	[PS] cantate domine (i)	[A] Una igitur pater logos
[A] Verax est pater veritas	[A] Verax est pater veritas	[PS] Cantate domine (i)
[PS] Domins regnavit (i)	[PS] Domins regnavit (i)	[A] In patre manet aeternitas
[A] Una igitur pater logos	[A] Una igitur pater logos	[PS] Domine est terra
[PS] Cantate domine (ii)	[PS] Cantate domine (ii)	[A] Ex quo omnia per quem
[W] Verbo domini celi firmati sunt [R] Et spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum	[W] Verbo domini celi firmati sunt [R] Et spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum	[PS] Cantate domine (ii)
[Rvii] Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi	[Rvii] Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi	[A] Sanctus sanctus dominus
[V] Et benedictum nomen gloriae	[V] Et benedictum nomen gloriae	[PS] Dominus regnavit (no no.)
[Rviii] Benedicamus patrem et filium	[Rviii] Benedicamus patrem et filium	[R] Gloria patri genitae que proli
[V] Benedictus es domine in	[V] Benedictus es domine in	[V] Da Gaudiorum praemia da
[Rix] Summe trinitati simplici	[Rix] Summe trinitati simplici	Gloria patri et filio et
[V] Prestet nobis gratiam	[V] Prestet nobis gratiam	[R] Benedictio et claritas et sapientia
Gloria patri et filio | Qui	Gloria patri et filio | Qui	[V] Benedictus es domine in firmamento
		[R] Honor, virtus et potestas et

		[V] Trinitati lux perennis
		Gloria patri et filio et
		[R] Benedicamus patrem et filium
		[V] Benedictus es domine in firmamento
		Gloria patri et filio et
		[A] Gloria et honor deo
		[W] Verbo domini caeli firmati
		[R] Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi
		[V] Et benedictum nomen gloriae
		Gloria patri et filio et
		[R] Unus est dominus una fides
		[V] Ex quo omnia per quem
		[R] Te deum patrem ingenitum
		[V] Quoniam magnus es tu et
		Gloria patri et filio et
		[R] Summe trinitati simplici
		[V] Prestet nobis gratiam
		Gloria patri et filio et
Lauds	**Lauds**	**Lauds**
[A] Gloria tibi trinitas equalis	[A] Gloria tibi trinitas equalis	[A] O beata et benedicta et
[PS] Dominus regnavit (no no.)	[PS] Dominus regnavit (no no.)	[PS] Dominus regnavit (no no.)
[A] Laus et perennis	[A] Laus et perennis	[AV] Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi
	[PS] Jubilate (no no.)	[A] O beata benedicta gloriosa
[A] Gloria laudes resonet	[A] Gloria laudes resonet	[PS] Jubilate (no no.)
	[PS] Deus deus (no no.)	[AV] Miserere miserere miserere
[A] Laus deo patri parlique	[A] Laus deo patri parlique	[A] O vera summa sempiterna trinitas
	[PS] Benedic anima (no no.)	[PS] Deus deus (no no.)
[A] Ex quo omnia per quem	[A] Ex quo omnia per quem	[AV] Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi
	[PS] Laudate (no no.)	[A] O vera summa sempiterna unitas
	[Cap] O altitudo diviti	[PS] Benedic anima (no no.)
	[H] O Trinitas laudes	[AV] Miserere miserere miserere
[V] Sit nomen domini benedictum	[V] Sit nomen domini benedictum	[A] Te jure laudant te adorant
[R] Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum	[R] Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum	[PS] Laudate (no no.)
	[A] Benedictus	[AV] Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi
[A] Benedicta sit creatrix	[A] Benedicta sit creatrix	[H] Ecce jam
[A] Benedictus	[PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)	[W] Benedicat nos deus
	[Cap] (as above) O altitudo diviti	[A] Benedicta sit creatrix
[R] Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu	[R] Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu	[A] Te deum
[V] Laudemus et super exaltemus	[V] Laudemus et super exaltemus	**(CONTINUES WITH PRIME)**
(CONTINUES WITH TERCE)	Gloria patri et filio | Bene	
	(ENDS)	

Unlike the degree of concordance in the melody, there is a strong match in the text between BL23953 and CR028. The text in WF160, by contrast, corresponds only somewhat: the chants are

only in sequence up until the second psalm of Matins and thereafter they are either out of sequence or are unique to WF160 in this comparison. As noted earlier, because there was no Benedictine heritage of faithfully copying exemplars, this lack of concordance is to be expected.

The conformity of CR028 to the Dominican liturgy is reinforced by the fact that CR028 follows the secular cursus, in that it only ever supplies nine responsories at Matins. (WF160, which follows the monastic cursus, supplies 12). Table 6.6 lists the feasts in CR028 with nine responsories at Matins, demonstrating a clear pattern.

Table 6.6 The feasts in CR028 with nine responsories at Matins

Feast	**Folios**
John the Evangelist	Antiphoner, 12v-17v
Trinity Sunday (see Table 5)	Antiphoner, 33r-43r
Corpus Christi	Antiphoner, 43r-47r
Purification of Virgin Mary	Antiphoner, 66v-70v
Assumption of Mary	Antiphoner, 71v-73r
Birth of Virgin Mary	Antiphoner, 74r-75v
Michael the Archangel	Antiphoner, 76v-77v

Another Dominican trait observed in CR028 is that the antiphons for the Benedictus, ff. 58r-66r, are labelled after the Octave of Trinity.[48] The norm for other Orders is to number the feasts after Pentecost, as indicated by the Cantus Database nomenclature (for example, *Dom 1 p. Pent*).[49]

Further conformity to the Dominican calendar is indicated by the feast days included in CR028. See Table 6.7. Saints particularly revered by the Dominicans and which have been assigned proper chants for their feast days, as opposed to using generic chants from the common of saints, were: Dominic, Peter the Martyr, Thomas Aquinas, Catherine of Siena, Vincent Ferrer, and Antoninus of Florence. Dominic (1170-1221) was the founder of the Dominican Order. Peter the Martyr (1206 to 1252) was a Dominican friar, priest, and celebrated preacher. Thomas Aquinas (1225 to 1274), a Dominican friar and one of the Catholic Church's greatest theologians and philosophers, was revered by Dominicans not only for his doctrine but the honour he bestowed on the Dominican Order because of his reputation. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380) was a Dominican tertiary who had strong influence with the papacy and was a celebrated author of Catholic treatises. Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) was a Dominican friar who gained acclaim as a missionary and a logician. Antoninus of Florence (1389-1459) was a Dominican friar and Archbishop in Florence from 1446.

[48] Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945*, 175 and 284.
[49] http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/feast/1584

Other feasts given particular merit in the Dominican calendar are those of Mary Magdalene; the Birth, Visitation, Purification and Assumption of Mary (as opposed to the Conception); and the Commemoration of Crown of Thorns. These feasts, too, are found in CR028. Mary Magdalene was looked upon as the Protectress of the Order, and Dominican friars were official guardians of what was apparently the tomb of Mary Magdalene at Saint-Maxim in France.[50] The Birth, Visitation, Purification and Assumption of Mary were revered by the Dominicans but never the Conception of Mary (notably, not found in CR028), because they preferred to honour her under "the name of true innocence and sanctification" rather than on the concept of immaculate conception.[51] Regarding the Commemoration of the Crown of Thorns, the Dominicans had taken an active part in the institution of the feast, returning from Constantinople in the 13th century with the relic of the Crown and placing it in Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.[52]

Another feast with special significance for the Dominicans was the Transfiguration. It was adopted in 1456 and a Dominican, Jacques Gil, wrote the office. This was used even outside the Order until a revision by Pope Pius V (1566-1572) when the old hymns were dropped.

To highlight the importance of these feast days to Dominicans, I cross-referenced all these feasts with the saints that Marica Tacconi listed from the liturgical books held at the Florentine cathedral of S Maria del Fiore, dating from the 10th to the 16th centuries.[53] The Conception of Mary was celebrated at S Maria del Fiore, but the following were missing, indicating they were not deemed important enough to be part of the established Florence cathedral calendar: Octave of Thomas Aquinas, Octave of Vincent Ferrer, Catherine of Siena (and her Octave), Octave of Dominic, Translation of Dominic, Commemoration of the Crown of Thorns, and Antoninus of Florence (although this is not surprising because Antoninus was not canonised until 1523). It may seem strange that Dominic was included at all in the Florence cathedral calendar, but it seems that he was a late addition to the general Catholic church calendar, resulting from "direct influence and mediation of members of the Dominican Order".[54]

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[50] Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945*, 220.
[51] Ibid., 227.
[52] Ibid., 114.
[53] Tacconi, 'Liturgy and Chant at the Cathedral of Florence: A Survey of the Pre-Tridentine Sources (Tenth-Sixteenth Centuries)'.
[54] Ibid., 57.

Table 6.7 Feast days with particular relevance for Dominicans, and found in CR028

Feast	Date	Folio reference antiphoner	Folio reference hymnal	In calendar of S Maria del Fiore?
Dominic	5th August	88r-90v	25'v, 46'r-v, 53'v-54'r	yes
Dominic, Octave	12th August	111v-112r		no
Translation of Dominic	24th May	102v		no
Peter the Martyr	29th April	83v-84r	20'v-21'r, 42'r-v	yes
Thomas Aquinas	7th March	83r	19'r, 32'v-33'r, 40'v	yes
Thomas Aquinas, Octave	14th March	111r		no
Catherine of Siena	29th April	84v	22'v-23'r, 43'v-44'r	no
Catherine of Siena, Octave	6th May	111v		no
Vincent Ferrer	5th April	83v, 111r	19'v-20'r	yes
Vincent Ferrer, Octave	12th April	111r		no
Antoninus of Florence	2nd May	84r-84v	21'r-v, 43'r-v	no
Mary Magdalene	22nd July	102r	25'r, 45'v-46'r	yes
Birth of Mary	8th September	74r-76r, 90v, 114r-114v		yes
Visitation of Mary	2nd July		(65'r-67'v)	yes
Purification of Mary	2nd February	66v-70v, 87r		yes
Assumption of Mary	15th August	72r-73v, 87v-88r	57'v-58'r, (68'r)	yes
Assumption of Mary, Octave	22nd August	114r		yes
Commemoration of crown of thorns	11th August	84v-85r	23'r-24'v, 44'v, 57'r	no
Transfiguration of Jesus	6th August		26'r, 46'v-47'r, 57'v, 64'r	yes

Compline is also frequently catered for in CR028, a canonical hour that is kept very short in other Orders, but the Dominicans extended it so that it conformed more to the order of 1st vespers.[55] In CR028 there are many references to Compline. See Table 6.8, extracted from the Appendix.

[55] Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945*, 156.

Table 6.8 References to Compline in CR028

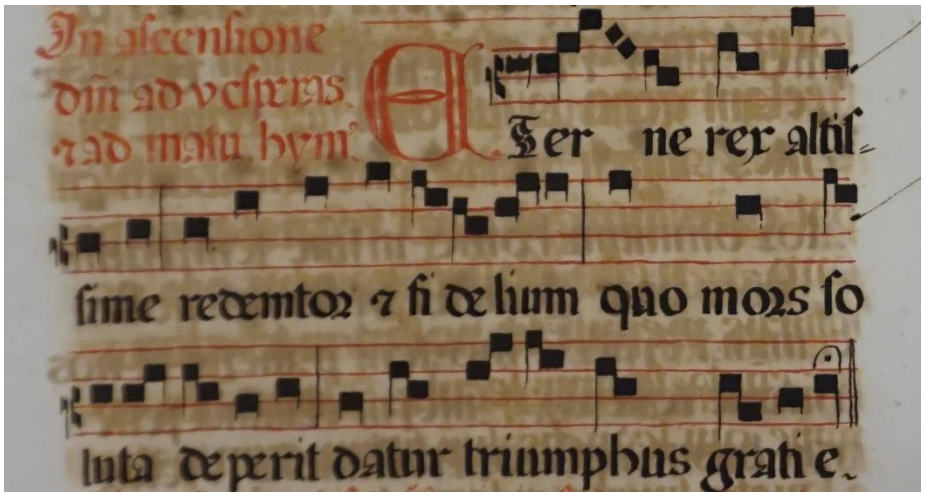
Feast	Canonical hour
Antiphoner (temporal)	
Christmas Eve (*Vigilia Nat. Domini*)	Compline
2nd Sunday after Epiphany (*Dom. 2 p. Epiph.*)	Compline
Sundays, ferial office (*Dom. Per Annum*)	Compline
Hymnal (temporal)	
Saturdays (when Sunday hymns are already prescribed)	Compline
Sundays after the Octave of Epiphany to Sunday after Holy Trinity	Compline
Sundays in Lent	Compline
5th Sunday in Lent (Passion Sunday) (*Dom. De Passione*)	Compline
Saturday following Easter, up to Trinity Sunday	Compline
Pentecost	Compline
Christmas Day	Compline
Hymnal (sanctoral): Commons, and miscellaneous	
Sundays of Advent	Compline
Miscellaneous antiphons	
Virgin Mary	After Compline
Dominic	After compline
Versicles	
Common of one virgin (double feast)	Compline

Also in keeping with Dominican liturgical practice, CR028 shows the Dominican love of strategic pauses in their manuscripts, indicated by vertical lines – *virgula pausarum* – across the stave.[56] These were either short pauses (*pausa brevis)* or long pauses (*pausa maior)* in the middle of psalms, canticles and hymns, designed not just to draw breath but to pause for thought. Fermata were also used. The use of pauses *per se* is not particularly unusual, in that they were used by other Orders and in other places, but what is unusual is that the Dominicans took the initiative to write them down, in an attempt for uniformity, mandating them in the rules at the openings of Dominican exemplars.[57] See Figure 6.10 for the strategic pauses in CR028 (antiphoner, f.9v).

[56] Innocent Smith, 'Dominican Chant and Dominican Identity', *Religions* 5, no. 4 (2014): 966.

[57] Michel Huglo, 'Règlements du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés', in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 125; Michel Huglo, 'Dominican and Franciscan Books: Similarities and Differences between Their Notations', in *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, ed. John Haines (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 198; Giraud, 'The Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris', chap. 5.

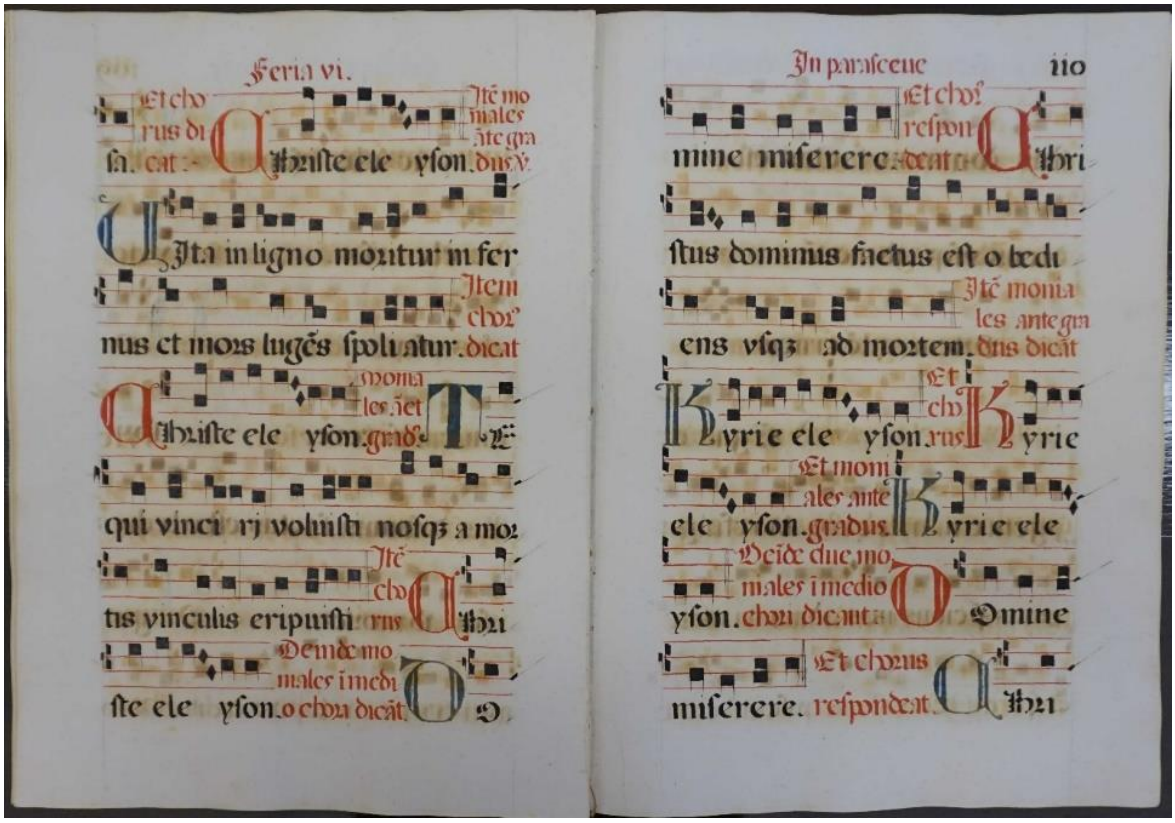
Figure 6.10 The Dominican love of strategic pauses



Yet another indicator that CR028 follows Dominican practice are the directions to specific groups within the Choir on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. This may seem an unusual departure in an Order where the repertory is performed by the whole monastic community instead of a chosen few but, as ratified in BL23935, the rules change for these special feast days.[58] In addition, the directions for groups in CR028 confirm that the book was copied for nuns, in that the different groups are referred to as "*moniales*" (nuns) (ff.107r-110v). In ff.109v-110r, the script specifies: "*et moniales ante gradus*" and "*deinde due moniales in medio chori dicant*" which translate as "and nuns before the steps [of the altar]…." and "after [which] two nuns in the middle of the choir [space] say….". See Figure 6.11.

[58] Smith, 'Dominican Chant and Dominican Identity', 964.

Figure 6.11 Directions specifically for nuns in CR028



But where were these nuns? The inclusion of Antoninus of Florence's feast day suggests that the target nuns were in Florence. But what ties CR028 to La Crocetta? Persuasive evidence would be the inclusion of extensive proper material for the feasts of the Invention of the Cross and the Exaltation of the Cross. Kelly Harness links these two feasts to La Crocetta, in particular.[59] The Invention of the Cross, which was the titular feast for La Crocetta, features four times (Antiphoner ff. 96v-99r, and Hymnal ff. 22'r, 42'v-43'r, 56'v). The Exaltation of the Cross features less often, but it does appear three times (Antiphoner ff. 76v-77r, and Hymnal ff. 22'r, 27'r-27'v), and was the same day as La Crocetta's principal feast for commemorating the consecration of its church. In the Hymnal f.22'r, the rubric does not mention the Invention of the Cross or the Exaltation of the Cross specifically, only that the hymn is for both feasts of *Sancte Crucis*, the 'Holy Cross', the formal name for La Crocetta (as seen in the colophon). Unfortunately, there is no proper material for these feasts in CR028 that does not appear in BL23935.

[59] Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence*, 224.

Idiosyncratic details, however, situate CR028 firmly in the La Crocetta community. The nuns there identified themselves with a small red cross sewn onto the chest section of their habit, even after enforced claustration (after the Council of Trent) when they would only have seen each other and did not need to be identified by outsiders.[60] It was a symbol presented in 1509 by the Archbishop Cosimo de' Pazzi to Domenica dal Paradiso, the founder, to set her apart from the usual rules of the Dominican Order. See Figure 6.12 for a 1719 engraving of Suor Domenica wearing her red cross.[61]

Figure 6.12 Engraving of Domenica dal Paradiso wearing the red cross

Many decorative embellishments in CR028 include this red cross, identifying it as a book from La Crocetta: there is a large red cross filling the verso of the first endleaf, and small red crosses are used to decorate notes on the stave, the rubrics, and the *litterae notabiliores*. See Figure 6.13 which shows all the examples of the red crosses within *litterae notibiliores* (there are 42 *litterae notibiliores* in the first gathering alone, so the examples with the red cross were infrequent). For

[60] Callahan, 'Suor Domenica Da Paradiso as Alter Christus: Portraits of a Renaissance Mystic'.
[61] Borghigiani, *Intera narrazione della vita, costumi, e intelligenze spirituali della venerabile sposa di Gesù Suor Domenica del Paradiso, fondatrice del Monastero della Croce di Firenze*, frontispiece.

decorating notes on the stave there are only two occurrences (ff. 104'v and 114'v), and in the rubric there are 19 occurrences between ff. 58v-71r. The red cross motif is distinctive and is sufficiently abundant to strongly suggest the influence of La Crocetta's emblem in the copying of CR028.

Figure 6.13 Representations of the red cross, an identifier for nuns at La Crocetta


Flyleaf verso, full page;


notes in the stave, f.110v; in the rubric, ff.64v 65r;

…..and within the litterae notabiliores

Antiphoner


f.17v f.22v f.27v f.70v f.82v f.102r

Hymnal


f.14'v f.20'r f.29'r f.32'r f.32'v f.42'v

The final piece of the jigsaw regarding the provenance of CR028 was to establish the identity of the primary scribe. According to the colophon, her name was Catherine, a nun at La Crocetta, and she finished copying the book in 1582, so I looked to see if I could identify any nuns called "Catherine" at la Crocetta near that date. I scoured the convent's visitation records at the Archivio Arcivescovile in Florence, and the records for the profession of nuns. In the latter files, a letter to the

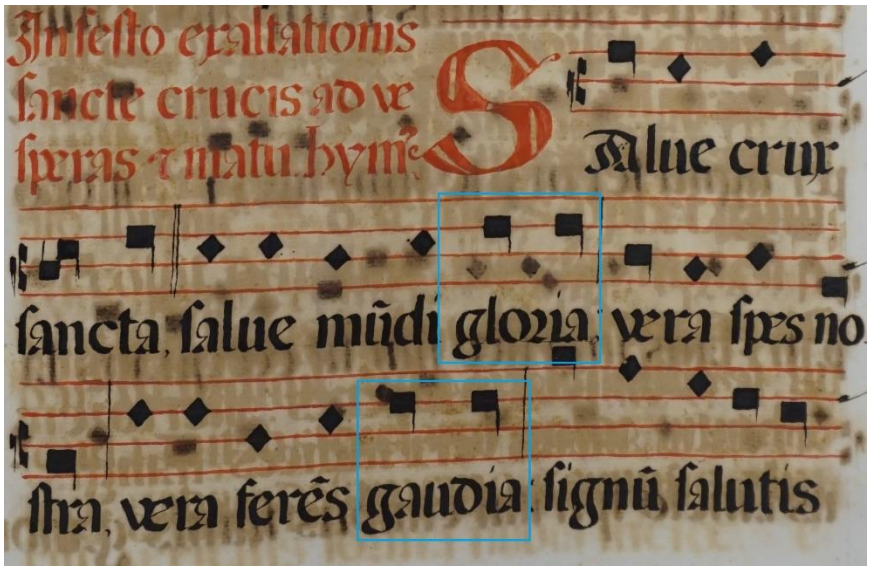
archbishop from La Crocetta, dated 18th of January 1575, states that the convent had two girls to present for vestition, one of whom was Catherine, daughter of Domenico Federighi, one of a long line of a distinguished Florentine family.[62] (An ancestor was Benozzo Federighi, a bishop of Fiesole in the 15th century.)[63] Catherine is recorded as being 13 years old on 18th January 1575 and so would have been in her early 20s at the time the colophon was written. The two girls are described as '*ben creati*' which means 'well created' or 'well brought up' and implies that they had been educated in the virtues of the time (likely Latin and music). Unfortunately, records of Catherine's profession are missing. There are no other mentions of a 'Catherine' in any of the visitation or profession records for 20 years either before or after 1582, making it plausible that Catherine Federighi was the scribe for the majority of CR028. Of course, the extant records are incomplete, as demonstrated by the lack of details about Catherine's profession, and thus the possibility that another Catherine existed at La Crocetta in 1582 cannot be ruled out. But Catherine Federighi would seem the most likely candidate from the information available.

6.4 La Crocetta Nuns Make the Book their Own

There are a number of ways that CR028 is individuated for La Crocetta: the red crosses described above, plus further features in the text layout and the ornamentation of the notes. Regarding the text layout, sometimes Latin words that are usually three syllables, such as Gloria and Gaudia, are set to only two notes. This can be seen in the second and third stave in the hymn of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Hymnal, f.27r). See Figure 6.14. This reduction is not repeated elsewhere (for example, the three syllables are enunciated separately throughout the plainchant for Trinity Sunday (antiphoner, ff. 33r-43r)) but the reduction – given that it appears twice in the same chant – could be a reflection of local pronunciation. More likely, given that they do not appear elsewhere, these elisions were used to better fit the poetic metre of the hymn.

[62] Florence, AAF, 'Professioni Di Monache', Sezione 12 religiosi e religiose, 2.
[63] Hannelore Glasser and Gino Corti, 'The Litigation Concerning Luca Della Robbia's Federighi Tomb', *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14, no. 1 (1969): 1–32.

Figure 6.14 The setting of Gloria and Gaudia to two notes



Regarding the notes themselves, there are frequent elongations, redolent of a quilisma, of the square notes at the end of a phrase. These take three forms: a single central, upward crest in the note (Figure 6.15, f.15'v), crested like a moustache; or diamond-shapes (a concertina) either initiating a square note, or separating two elongated square notes (Figure 6.15, f.67r and f.76v); or conjoined (Figure 6.15, f.3v). On the one hand, the quilisma-like notation may have a specific melodic significance: Rebecca Bain, of the medieval and Renaissance performance group, *Ensemble Scholastica*, suggests the concertina, in particular, denotes a slow vibrato to create a strong ending and thereby emphasise a special moment.[64] The "moustache" form, for its part, occurs only in the Hymnal, in the strophic pieces, suggesting it may indicate rhythms in a metric performance of the hymn (cantus fractus/canto fratto), a plainchant phenomenon explored by Marco Gozzi, Robert Gianotti, et al.[65] The "moustache" often occurs on the last note of the hymn so it could be a symbol for increased length, for example. In a personal communication, Alison Altstatt has suggested the "moustaches" could symbolise metric performance.

[64] Rebecca Bain, telephone conversation, 8 July 2019.

[65] Marco Gozzi, 'Il canto fratto nei libri liturgici de Quattrocento e del primo Cinquecento: L'area Trentina', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 38 (2004): 3-40. Roberto Gianotti et al., 'Il canto fratto: l'altro gregoriano: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma-Arezzo, 3-6 dicembre 2003', vol. 7, Miscellanea musicologica (Progetto RAPHAEL, Rhythmic And Proportional Hidden or Actual Elements in plainchant (1350-1650): computerized census and integral restoration of a neglected repertoire, Roma: Torre d'Orfeo, 2006).

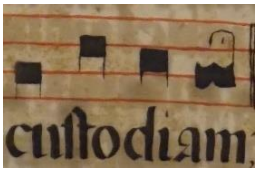
Figure 6.15 Examples of the idiosyncratic embellishment of plainchant at La Crocetta

Antiphoner
f.3v

f.67r

f.76v

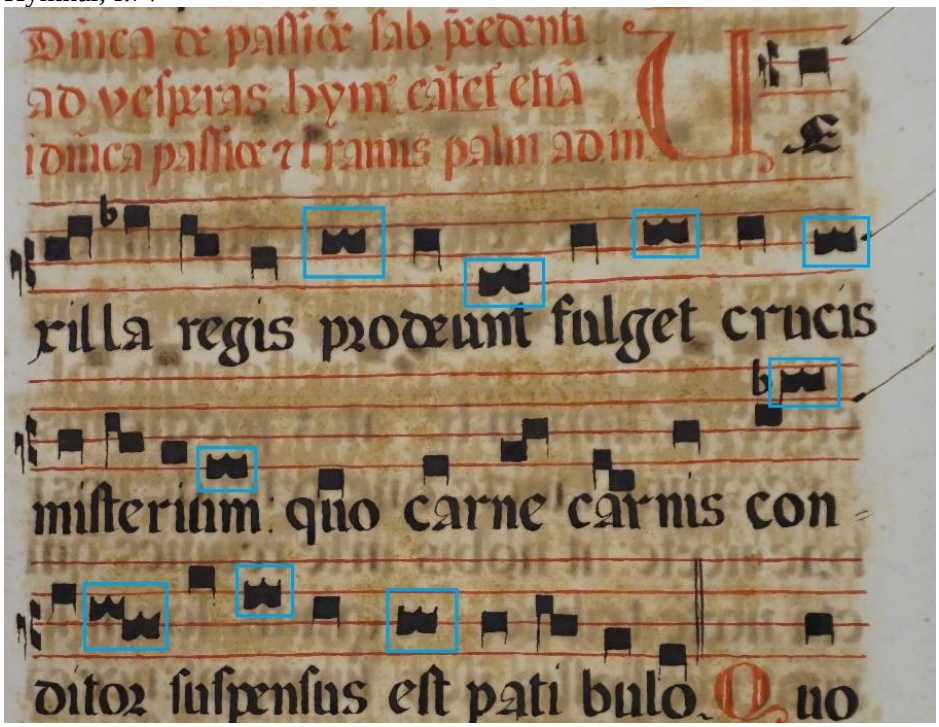
Hymnal
f.15'v



The "moustache" crest is not confined to the end of a phrase but even occurs in the middle of a phrase. Nor is it used sparingly, on one occasion appearing many times within the same chant. See Figure 6.16.

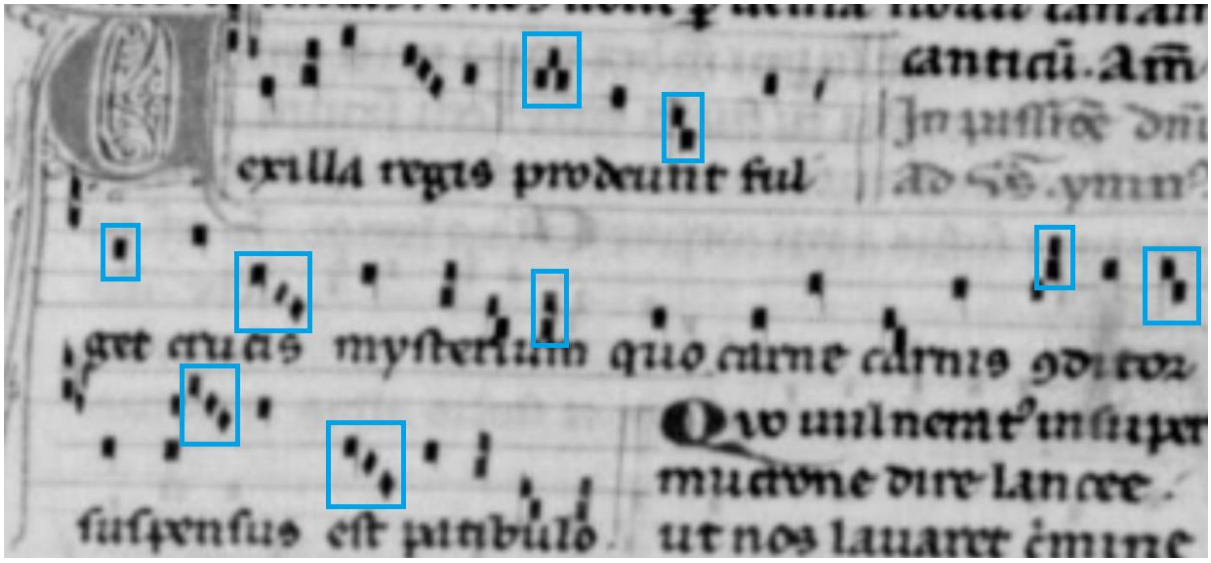
Figure 6.16 The 'moustache' crest was repeated many times in a single chant

Hymnal, f.7v



The "moustache" crest creates a visually appealing effect, but did it serve any other purpose? Did it reflect the original notation, for example two identical pitches drawn as distinct notes over a single syllable? To investigate, I compared the hymn *Vexilla regis* in CR028 (Figure 6.16) with the same in BL23935. See Figure 6.17.

Figure 6.17 Note forms of *Vexilla regis* in BL23935 that correspond to moustaches in CR028



Clearly, the "moustache" crest was used indiscriminately for pes, clivis, torculus, and climacus alike.[66] It is not used systematically to depict any of these note groupings, there being occasions, particularly for pes (see Figure 6.17 above), when no moustache is used. Therefore, it seems likely that the moustache did not indicate long duration in a metric (canto-fratto style) performance. Its only possible merit would be to personalise the copying and, as such, may be thought of as an extension of Catherine's scribal hand and a further sign of individuation by the nuns.

6.5 The Significance of CR028

One of the principal duties of Florentine nuns was to protect the city through prayer. They were carefully monitored in their obligations by Church and State. The nuns, now effectively incarcerated following the edicts of the Council of Trent, were further monitored by the watchful eye of the ruling Medici regime. Although La Crocetta, where CR028 was copied, was wealthier than most convents and enjoyed Medici patronage, its paramount aim was to lead a pious life, set apart from secular society. To this end, the rules of enclosure were closely observed: there was no opportunity to move outside the convent walls, and visitors were not allowed beyond the parlour grille. This had two important consequences. First, there was no more opportunity for the nuns to work commercially, to make any money beyond what was given by families and patrons. Second, as

[66] Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 182.

incumbent Choir nuns passed away, to preserve its musical proficiency, the convent had to rely more heavily on recruiting girls who were already educated in Latin and music if it were to fulfil its obligations in reciting the Divine Office. The discovery of CR028 provides a rare opportunity to examine in detail the musical prowess of nuns in an early modern convent.

This antiphoner-hymnal demonstrates the living, breathing piety of the nuns and their enthusiasm to spend time and money to worship God through music in the Divine Office. Even with Medici patronage, money was by no means plentiful, but they were willing to spend it on procuring paper and ink to copy and enhance their books of liturgical plainchant, and to bring them in line with reforms from Rome. Not only is CR028 just one of three antiphoners at La Crocetta, but the convent granted the young nun Catherine Federighi the time to copy more than 150 pages of words and music. Indeed, such was the convent's sense of duty that CR028 largely adhered to Dominican rites while, at the same time, incorporated hymns newly suggested by the Church in Rome. But the rules and regulations of Church, Order and community seem to have been not so much a straitjacket but rather a framework in which individuality, although constrained, could flourish. Thus, CR028 was a vehicle for demonstrating nuns' agency. It adheres to the text and sequence of Dominican chants, but the music also demonstrates a degree of individuality because it departs partly from Dominican guidelines, compared with music copied for other Dominican houses. Furthermore, Catherine included red crosses in her decorations, and embellished the music with strange moustaches and concertinas – features that could only have come from the La Crocetta community because they do not exist in any known exemplar.

CR028 is also testament to the level of education amongst nuns at La Crocetta. Catherine herself was well enough versed in music to copy the notes reasonably faithfully, and to write in Latin, not only in the liturgical texts but also in her own descriptions of sections of the book and in her colophon. Many of her fellow Choir nuns were probably similarly well educated, as suggested by the fact that half of the psalms have written cues for their tones. Undoubtedly, Catherine's fellow nuns were probably well enough rehearsed to have committed much of the music and words to memory, but CR028 was obviously a useful prompt. The fact that the cues seem to have been added later also suggests that after 1582 there was a move from an aural to a written culture, with a reduced dependence on learning by rote.

But despite the musical competence of the nuns, and that La Crocetta was perceived as a "lenient" or "progressive" institution, there is no record that its nuns sang the liturgy in any way that provoked remarks by commentators of the time. If they wanted to satisfy a public audience they employed outside musicians. Instead, the nuns' own musical practice seems to have echoed that of La Concezione, the pinnacle of Florentine convent piety, despite reports of musical virtuosity from S Verdiana and from S Girolamo e S Francesco. It is possible, however, that nuns at La Crocetta (and, indeed at La Concezione) followed a "middle ground" of music practice in their private spaces.

My investigations into CR028 lead the way for further enquiry into the role of plainchant in Florentine nunnery repertoire. Detailed analysis of the convent's liturgical book reveals much about nuns' concordance with the rules and regulations of Church and Order but it also demonstrates that, within the confines of La Crocetta, there was a degree of autonomy. Despite the comparative silence of Florentine nunneries, at La Crocetta more than one nun demonstrated an ability to influence not just how the plainchant was written, but how it was transmitted. Such proprietorship of the music, however, far from being proof of nuns being in control, is merely an affirmation of their role as purveyors of piety within a system where Medici patronage was at least as strong as ecclesiastical authority.

Conclusion

This thesis addresses why early modern Florentine nuns, in comparison with nuns from other North Italian cities, seem to have contributed so little exceptional music. I argue that there were many factors acting to subdue them, the most significant being the vicissitudes of convent life brought on by malnutrition, sleep deprivation and oppression. In Florence, the effects were exacerbated by the ruling Medici who, while promoting women musicians in the secular field, perhaps played their part in restricting the musical output of nuns in their city to liturgical plainchant: the Medici had specific control over La Concezione for example where, according to extant sources,[1] plainchant only was encouraged. My discovery and examination of a 16th-century antiphoner-hymnal from a Florentine convent illuminates not only Florentine nuns' musical literacy but the degree of creative engagement with the music it was otherwise simply their duty to perform.

At first glance it seems illogical that the large numbers of educated Florentine women, in convents financially well-endowed, produced little or no exceptional music. After all, the city was in general a hotbed of secular musical innovation, particularly during the rule of two female regents in the 1620s, who wished to extend their influence through musical patronage, and who encouraged female musicians and composers such as Francesca Caccini. The writing of music history is much to blame for our perception that Florentine nuns' repertory was limited: music historians have tended to focus on musical progress and have relegated plainchant to being merely an element of Catholic worship. In so doing, the significance of nuns' plainsong in early modern musical history has been marginalised and, in so doing, they have ignored a major part of nuns' musical output. But by marginalising, or even ignoring, the plainsong that these talented women religious produced, they have overlooked a flourishing musical culture. This bias in the writing of musical history has not gone unnoticed, not just with respect to Florence, but also in the analysis of convent music-making in other cities of northern Italy. Anthony Pryer, for example, in a review of a book about nuns' music in Milan by Robert Kendrick, rues the lack of in-depth examination of plainchant in Milanese nunneries, which he considers to be just as important as exceptional music in analysing and describing the nuns' musical life.[2]

But even within musicological analysis of convent music in this period, a number of surprising facts have not been properly considered. For example, in prestigious centres of nuns' music

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[1] Katherine Lynn Turner, 'The Musical Culture of La Concezione Devotion, Politics and Elitism in Post-Tridentine Florence', PhD diss. (University of Texas at Austin, 2008).

[2] Anthony Pryer, "Orders of Effort, Not Merit", review of *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan,* by Robert L. Kendrick, in *Times Literary Supplement*, 28 February 1997, 19

such as Bologna and Ferrara, nuns' exceptional music-making was confined to a few specific convents. Why was that? And why in Florence, as well as in other cities such as Siena, did nuns rely on men for their performances of exceptional music? And, overall, the question still remains: why has so little nunnery music endured, both exceptional, "middle ground" and plainchant?

While these questions are discussed *en passant,* the main thrust of this thesis has been an examination of music-making in Florentine nunneries. I began by demonstrating why Florentine nuns were well placed for practising music. Of the 54 convents within the city walls between 1550 and 1650, two-thirds were rich and were ideal repositories for families wishing to signal their social standing and to spread their political influence around the periphery of the city. It can be safely inferred that the musical proficiency of many Florentine nuns was well developed, since musicianship was a symbol of wealth (and of womanly virtue among the patrician families). Yet this proficiency did not manifest itself in exceptional convent music. The reason, I propose, was political rather than aesthetic. The Medici, as exemplified in its possible control of music at La Concezione, preferred to promote the piety of the city's nunneries, not wanting convent music to extend beyond plainchant nor to break out from the confines of the Divine Office. Even a very rich convent, such as La Crocetta, seems to have adhered to this convention.

Given the large number of musically proficient nuns in Florentine convents, why did they not protest at such constraints? The main reason – besides the culture of silence in some convents, for instance those that followed the Benedictine Rule – was nuns' lack of a collective voice, particularly after enforced claustration, which strictly limited contact with anyone outside the convent and effectively turned nunneries into secure prisons. Modern psychological and social studies can give us insights into the debilitating consequences of such imprisonment, not least in depression and despair. The effects of the nuns' incarceration were exacerbated by the demands of religious practice, notably in sleep deprivation caused by performing the Divine Office, with services throughout the day and much of the night. Also, although their daily food was likely to be enough for their nutritional needs, malnutrition was prevalent through frequent fasting. Add to that severe punishment for even the most minor infractions of convent rules, plus bullying by their superiors or their peers, and it would be surprising if, generally, nuns had any energy for exceptional music-making. We will never really know: even if written protests at their treatment did manage to emerge in the public domain, they were routinely filtered by a male interpretation. The masculine conceit was that the male hierarchy was not acting as women's jailers, but mainly protecting their honour and ensuring the integrity of the convent as a conduit of prayer and worship. For the nuns' part, even in the face of defamation and abuse, they had little choice but to submit, if they were to fulfil their role as channels to God through the Divine Office.

The Divine Office, together with Mass, and reverence to Saints and the Dead, regulated nuns' lives, giving them a sense of purpose and stability in their communion with God. To follow the

prayers faithfully took up much of the day – sometimes as many as 12 hours on feast days – and continued unabated throughout the year. The participation in shared ritual, together with the need for rehearsal to ensure that services were performed as they should be and that the musical responses were accurate and melodious, ought to have brought the convent community together. Yet all too often, the Divine Office could be disruptive. It separated Choir nuns, who participated in the services, from the *converse*, who merely listened (or were busy with their chores). At the same time, daily prayers divided musical nuns from those who preferred quieter devotions.[3]

Church authorities' edicts contradicted each other and, on the whole, for a host of reasons, denied women religious the wherewithal to make exceptional music. For many Churchmen, making any music was considered distracting, and a source of emotions at odds with the aims of prayer. Evidence shows that music-making fed nuns' vanity, and engendered feelings of shame and jealousy. True supplication through music was compromised further by families who supported music in the nunnery not so much to revere God but to assuage their guilt at sending reluctant daughters to 'prison'. As if these were not sufficient reasons for nuns to be careful about the music they practised, the politics of ecclesiastical governance, engendered by the balance of power between the Church hierarchy and the religious Orders, brought a further slew of constraints. After the Council of Trent, the Bishops were ostensibly given the prerogative to interpret the rather brief and vague Council edict on nuns' music. In Milan and Bologna they advocated strict control in a bid to stem musical rivalries between the nuns, and the squandering of time and money on music projects. For example, after 1562, the convent organ was often physically relocated to the public side of the grille, making it impossible for nun organists to use. In theory, convents could bypass the Bishop through their own Order, playing one off against the other, but in reality one line of authority was as harsh as the other and there was often a dual line of control, creating a double oppression. Yet still exceptional music emerged.

Logically, as I have said, Florentine nuns should have been in the vanguard of this exceptional music-making. For a start, there were many more of them than in other cities like Milan, Bologna, Siena, Ferrara and Venice, both in sheer numbers and as a proportion of the overall population. Furthermore, the increasing trend for rich Florentine families to put more of their daughters in nunneries, spurred in part by escalation of secular dowries as well as the desire to demonstrate the family's piety, meant that a fair proportion of the city's nuns had received at least some education in music and Latin prior to their admission. Also, there was a great variety of

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[3] Colleen Baade, 'Music and Misgiving: Attitudes towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe an Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (London; New York; Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), chap. 4

governance among the Florentine convents (which were run by different Orders) and so there was a fair degree of 'wriggle room' to circumvent the ordinances and regulations of Church and State. It would be reasonable to assume that all this would lead to the production of exceptional music. This does not seem to have been the case. The evidence I have examined strongly suggests that musical practice in Florentine nunneries in the late 16th and early 17th centuries was concentrated on plainchant. Musical education seems to have been focused on solmisation and on the techniques for the transposition of hexachords to maintain relative pitch which, although pertinent to improving polyphony, are both basic skills required to improve the singing of plainsong. It is true that a tiny corpus of exceptional music has been uncovered, but this tends to emanate from the few nunneries under Benedictine or Dominican Rule, where music was traditionally a central part of the ethos.

Instead of examining plainchant, however, scholars have tended to concentrate on these few examples of exceptional convent music and have suggested that dedications to nuns in collections of exceptional music indicate the specific link to convent music-making. An alternative interpretation is that dedications were made merely to enhance the 'piety' of the collection, elevating its status with a view to increasing sales. In addition, evidence suggests that the small corpus of exceptional music emanating from Florentine convents was often performed by professional male musicians. Also, a key example from Florence, Brussels Ms. 27766, was compiled *before* the restrictions on nuns' music practice took effect following debates at the Council of Trent.

Convent music in Florence was not generally held in high esteem, unlike that in other city states such as Milan, Bologna, Ferrara, and Siena. This was partly due to the lack of dominant musical families, such as the Sfondrati in Milan, the Vizzani in Bologna, and the Aleotti in Ferrara. Further potent indicators of where exceptional music could flourish were a city's degree of political autonomy, the style of secular government (and hence the breadth of patronage that could emerge), and the nature of the relationship between State and the Church. In Milan and Bologna, for example, despite a stream of unsympathetic bishops, the ruling classes held sufficient sway to promote exceptional music-making in the nunneries. The same was true in Ferrara, until power among patrician families fragmented at the end of the 16th century. In Siena, ruled from Florence, the secular elite had no autonomy, but they had strong kinship relations with their Bishops. There, music-making in the nunneries thrived as a statement of the city's former independence. In cosmopolitan Venice, on the other hand, even though churchly command and civic rule were intertwined as in Siena, the convents and nuns were seen as having a particular role in safeguarding the piety of the city (both in bolstering citizens' piety, and using piety to ensure the city's safety), and – as in Florence – the mores of music-making were severely curbed.

Despite their enforced dedication to plainchant, Florentine nuns were nonetheless able to practise and improve their musicianship. This is evidenced in the stage directions of their convent theatre, which call for choruses and the playing of instruments: a "middle ground" of music practice,

somewhere between exceptional music and plainchant. And in plainchant itself, nuns could also exercise some individuation and agency. This is well demonstrated in my analysis of the late 16th-century antiphoner-hymnal, which I have designated CR028 (after its call number at the Biblioteca Domenicana). I discovered this manuscript in the Dominican library at Santa Maria Novella at the West end of the city. Evidence suggests it was copied by a nun in the convent of La Crocetta in 1582. While it shows strongly Dominican traits (in terms of its feast days, the sequencing of chant texts in Matins and Lauds for *De Trinitate*, the frequent inclusion of text for Compline, and the recurrent use of strategic pauses), the book contains many visual features which make it unique to La Crocetta. It not only strays from the practice prescribed in the Dominican exemplar BL23935, dating from the 13th century, but also contains additional material: for example, it includes new hymns, and directions for groups of Choir nuns (with specific directions for 'nuns' rather than the more generic "Choir"). Within the manuscript itself there are frequent representations of a red cross, a symbol La Crocetta nuns used to identify themselves, and there are idiosyncratic adornments to the notation in the form of "concertinas" and "moustaches". Further amendments and embellishments to the text also shed light on the post-Tridentine transmission of plainchant. After the production of CR028, and during its use in the convent, a later scribal hand added psalm tones, suggesting a shift to reading chant directly from the book, rather than relying just on memory and ear.

CR028 is a remarkable find in that it was copied *after* the Council of Trent in a city where education in Latin and music was restricted in the convents, and where nuns' agency was severely curtailed. It attests to the fact that at least one nun at La Crocetta was sufficiently musically literate and well enough versed in Latin to complete more than 180 beautifully crafted folios. The principal scribe, Catherine, was in her early 20s when she finished her monumental work. The fact that she felt able to sign the book off with a colophon, speaks to us of this young woman's character, her confidence in adapting rubrics to address groups of Choir nuns directly, and her satisfaction in completing the work. CR028 also strongly suggests that other nuns at La Crocetta were able to read musical notation and Latin. It does not suggest, however, that these nuns had any ambitions other than to be God's servants in a pious regime where exceptional religious music was frowned upon. Further insights regarding agency and transmission, particularly in the post-Tridentine period, will only be possible by comparing CR028 with other chant books at La Crocetta (if, indeed, they are found), or with chant books from other convents in Florence (if access is ever given).

In conclusion, it would be wrong to count as a defeat the failure of early modern Florentine nuns to produce much exceptional music. Within the confines of enforced claustration and the constraints imposed by Church and State, the continuing evolution and individuation of plainchant in the convents of Florence can be considered a triumph. At La Crocetta, the music itself was a celebration of how the female voice was able to mediate the proscriptions of (male) Church-imposed practices and was a testament to women's perseverance and resilience in a male-dominated society.

The nuns of early modern Florence may have been confined and constrained, but they were not crushed.

Appendix: Description of Source, CR028

Archive: Biblioteca Domenicana, Firenze

Shelfmark: CR028

Cataloguers' front sheet: 'Liber tertius antiphonarium et responsoriom', which repeats the introduction text in CR028 (see **Description of Contents**, overleaf)

Surface: paper. Laid lines run horizontally 1mm apart, chain lines run vertically 38mm apart

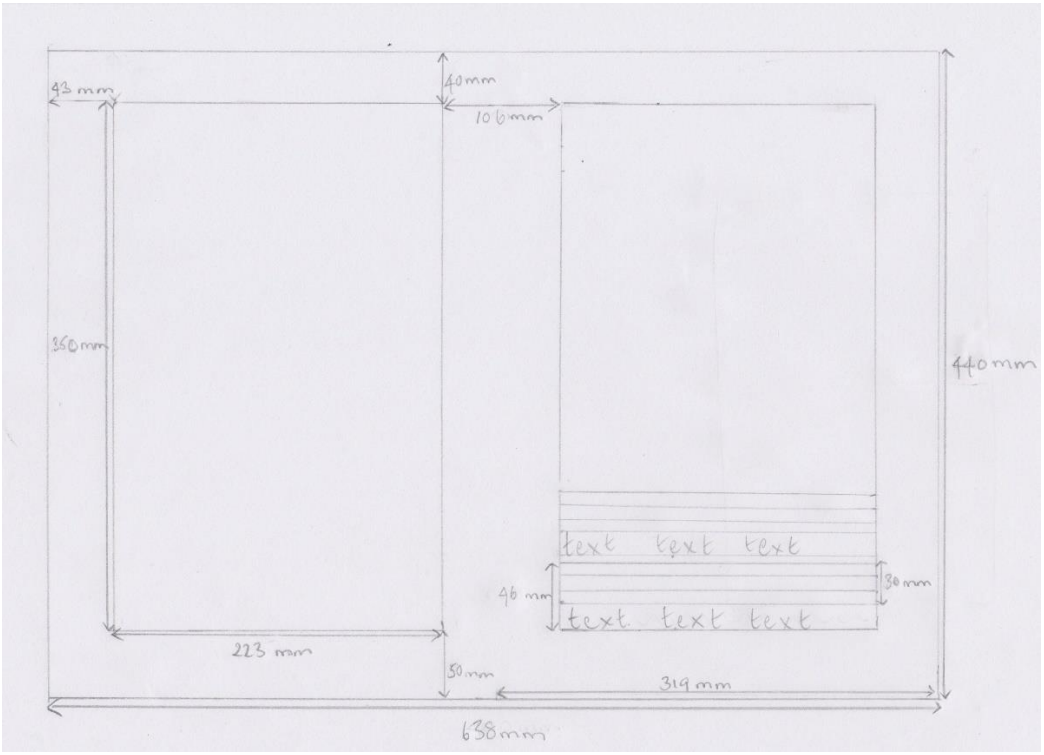
Watermark: none

Foliation: in black ink, recto only, on the same line as the running heading. The two sections, antiphoner and hymnal, have separate foliation. In the antiphoner section there is one un-numbered endleaf, followed by 114 numbered folios. In the hymnal section the foliation returns to 1 (hereafter identified with an apostrophe to distinguish it from the numbering in the antiphoner): numbered folios = 64, followed by 14 un-numbered folios (hereafter numbered, but indicated in parentheses). Total folios = 1+114+64+14=193.

Format: portrait

Measurements: 440mm x 319mm (or 440mm x 638mm when the bifolium is opened out), but trimmed so that top and bottom are wider than narrowest section at 310mm from top of page (inaccurate trimming is most obvious in Gathering 16 where width is just 315mm).

<u>Dimensions of CR028</u>



Relationships: found in the Dominican archives for the monastery of The Holy Cross known as La Crocetta. According to the colophon, copied largely by Catherine Federighi, one of the nuns at La Crocetta.

Provenance: Florence, Italy.

General description: The endleaf is blank on the recto but has a big red cross on the verso. For gatherings 1 to 13 (the antiphoner, ff.1r-114v), and for gatherings 19 and 20 (antiphons and versicles, ff.51'v-69'v), folios have seven red four-line staves, black square notation, and gothic script in black ink. For gatherings 14-18 and the first recto of gathering 20 (the hymnal, ff.1'r- 51'r) pages are a mix of red four-line staves and blocks of text (as would be expected in a hymnal). In gathering 20, f.69' has seven blank red four-line staves. The final folio in gathering 20, f.70', is completely blank. In gathering 21, there are no staves, only text: ff.71'-72' are the index for the antiphoner; ff.73'-75' are the index for the hymnal; f.76'r is the colophon. The remaining folios are blank. Red ink is used for running headings, for special instructions in the plainchant (ie rubrics), for the litterae notibiliores of hymns, and for the colophon. Blue and red inks are used for the litterae notibiliores in the antiphoner.

Binding: none, but evidence of stitching in gatherings, and of glue holding gatherings together.

Collation: 1^{1+12}, 2-8^{10}, 9^{4}, 10^{1+8+1}, 11^{10} ,12-13^{4}, 14-19^{10}, $20^{1+4+4+1}$ (a bifolium encloses two 'sub-gatherings', each of two bifolia (4 folios)), 21^{6}, 22^{2}.
Gathering 1: the singleton attached as a flyleaf is blank on recto, but with large red cross on verso.
Gathering 10: the two outer singletons (ff.87 and 96) sewn in with an extra width of 12mm to allow for the stitching).
Gathering 11 and 12: Glue still binds these gatherings together.
Gatherings 14 to 17. Glue still binds these gatherings together.
Gathering 22 (bifolium): blank, possibly endleaves.

Stitching: 7 double stitch holes
1st stitch hole begins 15 mm from top. Length 5 mm.
2nd stitch hole begins 60 mm from top. Length 10mm.
3rd stitch hole begins 140mm from top. Length 7mm.
4th stitch hole begins 215mm from top. Length 9mm.
5th stitch hold begins 295mm from top. Length 5mm.
6th stitch hole begins 365mm from top. Length 9mm.
7th stitch hole begins 410mm from top (17mm from bottom). Length 4mm.

Scribal hand: First scribal hand up to and including 64'v on hymnary section, and for the index and colophon. Second scribal hand in hymnal from 65'r to 68'v. A third scribal hand possibly added tones, and either this hand or yet another added the omission in the colophon.

Colophon: The date, MLLXXXII, has been altered to MDLXXXII. The 'D' has been added in black, in superscript.

Decoration: Litterae notibiliores of Antiphons and Hymns, occasionally decorated in red and blue together, sometimes in red only.

Description of contents: The book begins with the introduction: "Incipit liber tertius antiphonarum ac responsoriom que non inveniuntur in primo ac secundo dominicalis nec non antiphonarii libro".[1] The hymnal begins with the introduction: "Incipit hymnarius diebus dominicis et de sanctis per totum annum"[2], with three subsections: "Hymni in aliquibus festis et solemnibus diebus de cantandi hue translati sunt quia ad usum Rom' ecclesie sunt redacti" (beginning f.14'r)[3], "Incipiunt hymni proprii in communi sanctorum"[4] (beginning f. 29'v); and "Incipit hymni de sanctis et tempore totum per annum currentes secundum ordinem nuper ab a[e]cclesia dispositum"[5] (beginning f. 34'v). At the end of the hymnal are closing benedictions (52'r-64'v). Then follows an unfoliated section of Magnificat antiphons, and the index. The table overleaf shows the foliation, feast and canonical hours for Catherine's book: the feast is given in English (and in Latin, in parentheses, for the first instance), using the standard feast names supplied in the Cantus Database for easy reference.[6] I have added the date of feasts in the sanctoral calendar, for the first instance. 'Octave' means 'in the week of' or 'the week following' but Dominicans make a distinction, using 'in octava sancti' (on the 8th day of X), and 'per octavas sancti' /'infra octavas sancti' (throughout the eight days of X/(Sunday) in between the Octave). The Cantus Database makes the distinction, using 'Octava' for the 8th day and '8' for 'week of'. The feast and canonical hour are either clearly indicated in CR028, or were deduced by cross-referral of the incipit of the feast to the Cantus Database; such items are indicated between two asterisks (*like this*). Where there was no corresponding incipit in the Cantus database, individual references (indicated in the footnotes) identify the feast.

[1] Translation: The third book of antiphons and responsories which are not found in the first and second book of Sundays, nor of antiphoners.
[2] Translation: Here begins the hymnal for Sundays and Saints' days for the whole year.
[3] Translation: Hymns to be sung on certain feasts and solemn days that have been copied out here, because they have been selected for use by the Church of Rome.
[4] Translation: Hymns for the Commons of Saints.
[5] Translation: Sanctoral and temporal hymns for the whole year, according to an order recently made by the Church.
[6] Lacoste et al., 'Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources', http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/.

Detailed contents of CR028

Foliation	Feast	Canonical hours	Incipit
Antiphoner (Temporal)			
1r-3v	Great 'O' antiphons (*Antiphonae Majores*), 17 to 24 December	Vespers	[Ai] O Sapientia [PS] Magnificat [Aii] O Adonay [PS] Magnificat [Aiii] O Radix Jesse [PS] Magnificat [Aiiii] O Clavis David [PS] Magnificat [Av] O Oriens [PS] Magnificat [Avi] O Rex Gentium [PS] Magnificat [Avii] O Emmanuel [PS] Magnificat
3v-21r	Fourth Sunday in advent (or Thomas, Apostle (21st December)) (*Thomae Apost.*)	Lauds	[A] Ave maria a gratia plena [PS] Benedictus (Nolite timere enim die veniet ad nos dominus)
	Christmas Eve (*Vigilia Nat. Domini*)	Matins, Vespers, Compline	[Aiii] Crastina die erit vobis salus [Riii] Hodie scietis quia veniet dominus [V] Et mane videbitis gloriam eius Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto | *Hodie [A] Completi sunt dies marie ut pareret filium [A] Ecce completa sunt [C] Nunc dimmitis
	Christmas Day (*Nativitas Domini*)	Matins, Terce, Vespers	[Riiii] Quem vidistis pastores [V] Dicite quidnam vidistis [Rv] O magnum misterium [V] Domine audivi auditum tuum et timui [Rvi] Sancta et immaculata virginitas

	Stephen the First Martyr (26th December) (*Stephani*) John the Evangelist (27th December) (*Joannis Evang.*)	Matins	[V] Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tu | Quia Gloria patri et filio | *Quia [A] Genuit puerpera regem [PS] Legem pone [Riii] Verbum caro factum est [V] Habitavit in nobis [V] Gloria patri et filio | *Verbum [V] Notum fecit dominis [R] Salutare suum [A] Mecum principium in die virtutis [PS] Dixit dominus [A] Redemptionem misit dominus [PS] Confitebor [A] Exortum est in tenebris lumen rectis [PS] Beatus vir [A] Apud dominum misericordia [PS] De profundis [A] De fructu ventris tui ponam [PS] Memento domine David **In Nocturne iii**: [I] Christum natum qui beatum hodie [PS] Venite exsultemus [H] Deus tuorum [A] In domino deo suo confisus [PS] In domino confido [A] Sine macula beatus Stephanus [PS] Domine quis habitabit [A] Domine virtus et Laetitia [PS] Domine in virtute tua [Rvii] Impii super iustum iacturam fecerunt [V] Continuerant aures suas et [Rviii] Patefactae sunt ianue celi [V] Mortem enim quam salvator

		Matins	[Rix] Sancte dei pretiose [V] Ut tuo propiciatus interventu Gloria patri et filio | *Pro devoto [I] Adoremus regem apostolorum [PS] Venite exsultemus **In Nocturne iii**: [A] Apparuit caro suo Joanni [PS] Confitebimur tibi [A] Expandens manus suas ad deum [PS] Dominus regnavit exsultet terra [A] Domine suscipe me et cum [PS] Dominus regnavit irascantur populi [Rvii] In illa die suscipiam te [V] Esto fidelis usque ad mortem [Rviii] Cibavit illum dominus pane
	Holy Innocents (28th December) (*Nat. Innocentium*)		[V] In medio ecclesiae aperuit os
	Octave of Christmas (*Nat. Domini,8*)	Matins	[Rix] In medio ecclesiae aperuit os
	(Circumcisio Domini)	Matins	[V] Iucunditatem et exsultationem Gloria patri et filio | *Et implevit [A] Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus **In Nocturne i (circumcisionis)**: [Ri] O regem celi
	Epiphany (6th January) (*Epiphania*)		[V] Qui caelum terramque regit in
		Matins	[Rviii] Congratulimini mihi omnes qui
	1st Sunday after Epiphany (*Dom. 1 p. Epiph.*)		[V] Beatam me dicent ommnes
		Matins	[Rviiii] Dum medium silentium tenerent **In Nocturne ii:** [Riiii] Illuminare illuminare [V] Et ambulabunt gentes [Rv] Omnes de Saba [V]Reges Tharsis et insulae [Rix] Magi veniunt ab oriente
	2nd Sunday after Epiphany (*Dom. 2 p. Epiph.*)		[V] Vidimus stellam ejus in oriente
	Octave of Epiphany (13th January) (*Epiphania,8*)	Lauds	Gloria patri et filio | *Et venimus adorare dominum

		Lauds, Compline	[A] Descendit spiritus sanctus [PS] Benedictus [A] Fili quid fecisti nobis sic [A] Precursor Iohannes exsultat cum iordane [PS] Benedictus
21v-30v	Sundays, ferial office (*Dom. Per Annum*)	Compline	[A] Miserere mihi domine [PS] Cum invocarem [A] In manus tuas domine commendo Gloria patri et filio | *In manus [A] Salva nos domine vigilantes [PS] Nunc dimitis
	Easter Monday (*Fer. 2 p. Pascha*)	Matins	[A] Surrexit Christus et illuxit [R] Maria Magdalena et altera [V] Cito euntes dicite disciuplis [Rii] Surgens Jesus dominus noster [V] Una ergo sabatorum cum fores [Riii] Congratulamini mihi omnes [V] Recenditibus discipulis non Gloria patri et filio | *Alle
	Easter Tuesday (*Fer. 3 p. Pascha*)	Matins	[Ri] Surrexit dominus de sepulcro [V] Letentur caeli et esxultet terra [Rii] Tulerunt dominum meum et [V] Dum ergo fleret inclinavit se [Riii] Expurgate vetus fermentum [V] Non in fermento malitiae et Gloria patri et filio | *Alle
	Octave of Easter (*Paschae,8*) Sundays up to Ascension, and Ascension (*Ascensio Domini)* Sunday in the week after Ascension (*Dom. p. Ascensionem*) Whitsunday (*Dom. Pentecostes*)	Lauds, Vespers Terce *1st Vespers Lauds* Lauds	[A] Post dies octo januis clausis [R] Repleti sunt omnes spiritu [V] Acceperunt loqui Gloria patri et filio | *Alle
	Pentecost Monday (*Fer. 2 Pent.*)	Matins	[I] Iam non dicam vos servos sed amicos [V] Quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis [Rii] Disciplinam et sapientiam

	Pentecost Tuesday (*Fer. 3 Pent.)*	Matins	[V] Repentino namque sonitu [Riii] Ultimo festivitatis die dicebat Jesus qui [V] Hoc autem dicebat di spiritu quem Gloria patri et filio | *Alle Gloria patri et filio | *Alle [Ri] Loquebantur variis linguis apostoli [V] Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto [Rii] Apparuerunt apostolis dispertitae [V] Spiritus domini replevit totam [Riii] Spiritus domini replevit orbem [V] Omnium est enim Artifex omnem Gloria patri et filio | *Alle
33r-43r	Trinity Sunday (*De Trinitate*)	Vespers1, Matins	[I] Deum verum unum in trinitate [PS] Venite exsultemus **In Nocturne i** [A] Adesto deus unus omnipotens [PS] Domine dominus noster [A] Te unum in substantia [PS] Caeli enarrant [A] Te semper idem esse vivere [PS] Domini est terra [W] Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu [R] Laudemus et super exaltemus [Ri] Benedicat nos [V] Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat [Rii] Benedictus dominus [V] Replebitur maiestate ejus [Riii] Quis deus magnus sicut [V] Notam fecisti in populis Gloria patri et filio | Qui **In Nocturne ii** [A] Te invocamus te adoramus [PS] Omnes gentes plaudite [A] Spes nostra salus nostra

		Lauds, Terce	[PS] Magnus dominus [A] Libera nos iustifica nos o beata [PS] Deus judicium [W] Benedictus es domine in firmamento caeli [R] Et laudabilis et gloriosus in secula [Riv] Magnus dominus et magna virtus [V] Magnus dominus et laudabilis [Rv] Gloria patri genitae que proli [V] Da gaudiorum praemia da [Rvi] Honor virtus et potestas [V] Trinitati lux perennis Gloria patri et filio | Imper **In Nocturne iii:** [A] Caritas pater et gratia Christus [PS] cantate domine (i) [A] Verax est pater veritas [PS] Domins regnavit (i) [A] Una igitur pater logos [PS] Cantate domine (ii) [W] Verbo domini celi firmati sunt [R] Et spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum [Rvii] Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi [V] Et benedictum nomen gloriae [Rviii] Benedicamus patrem et filium [V] Benedictus es domine in [Rix] Summe trinitati simplici [V] Prestet nobis gratiam Gloria patri et filio | Qui [A] Gloria tibi trinitas equalis [PS] Dominus regnavit (no no.) [A] Laus et perennis [PS] Jubilate (no no.) [A] Gloria laudes resonet [PS] Deus deus (no no.)

			[A] Laus deo patri parlique [PS] Benedic anima (no no.) [A] Ex quo omnia per quem [PS] Laudate (no no.) [Cap] O altitudo diviti [H] O Trinitas laudes [V] Sit nomen domini benedictum [R] Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum [A] Benedictus [A] Benedicta sit creatrix [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.) [Cap] (as above) O altitudo diviti [R] Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu [V] Laudemus et super exaltemus Gloria patri et filio | Bene [V] Benedictus es infirmamento [R] Et laudabilis et gloriosus in saecula
43r-47r	Corpus Christi (*Corporis Christi*)	Matins, Lauds	**In Nocturne ii and iii:** [Riiii] Panis que ego dabo [V] Locutus est populus contra [Rv] Cenantibus illis accepit [V] Dixerunt viri tabernaculi [Rvi] Accepit Jesus calicem [V] Memoria memor ero et tabescet Gloria patri et filio | Hoc [Rvii] Qui manducat meam carnem [V] Non est alia natio ta grandis [Rviii] Misit me pater vivens [V] Cibavit eum dominus [Rix] Unus panis et unum corpus [V] Parasti in dulcedine tua pauperi Gloria patri et filio | Par [R] Panem caeli dedit alleluya alleluya [V] Panem angelorum manducavit

			Gloria patri et filio | Panem [V] Cibavit eos exadipe frumenti [R] Et da petra melle saturavit eos
47r-58r	2nd to 10th Sundays after the Octave of Trinity: Summer Histories from Kings (*De Regum*)	1st Vespers	[Ai] Loquere domina quia audit [Aii] Cognoverunt omnes a Dan usque Bursabee [Aiii] Praevaluit David in Philistaeo [Aiiii] Nonne iste est David [Av] Iratus rex Saul dixit [Avi] Quis enim in ominibus sicut David [Avii] Doleo super te frater mi Jonathas [Aviii] Dixitque David ad dominum [Aix] Montes Gelboe nec ros [Ax] Rex autem David cooperto capite incedens
	1st to 5th Sundays in August: Summer Histories from Wisdom (*De Sapientia*)	1st Vespers	[Ai] Omnis sapientia a domino deo [Aii] Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum [Aiii] Sapientia clamitat in plateis [Aiiii] Dominus possedit me ab initio [Av] Ego in altissimis habito et thronus
	1st to 5th Sundays in September, October and November: Summer Histories from Job, Tobias, Judith, Machabees, the Prophets (*De Job, De Tobias, De Judith, De Macabeis, De Prophetis*)	1st Vespers	[Ai] Cum audisset Job nuntiorum [Aii] In ominibus his non peccavit Job [Ai] Ingressus est Raphael angelus [Aii] Ne reminiscaris domine delicta mea vel [Aiii] Adonay domine deus magne et [Ai] Adaperiat dominus cor vestrum in lege [Aii] Da pacem domine in diebus nostris [Aiii] Tua est potentia tuum regnum [Aiv] Accingimini filii potentes et [Av] Exaudiat dominus orationes [Ai] Vidi dominum sedentem super [Aii] Muro tuo in expugnabili [Aiii] Qui caeolorum continens [Aiiii] Sustinuimus pacem et no venit [Av] Aspice domine quia facta est

58r-66r	Antiphons for the Benedictus, 1st to 14th, 15th, and 20th to 24th Sundays after the Octave of Trinity (*Dom. 2 p. Pent.* to *Dom. 15 p. Pent.*, *Dom. 16 p. Pent.*, and *Dom. 21 p. Pent.* to *Dom. 25 p. Pent.*)	Lauds	[Ai (1st Sunday)] Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam [Aii (2nd Sunday) etc..] Quis ex vobis homo qui [Aiii] Estote ergo misericordes sicut [Aiiii] Ascendit Jesus in navem et sedens [Av] Audistis quia dictum est antiquis [Avi] Misereor super turbam quia ecce [Avii] Attendite a falsis prophetis [Aviii] Dixit dominus villico quid hoc [Aix] Cum appropinquaret dominus Jerusalem [Ax] Duo homines ascenderunt in templum [Axi] Exiens Jesus de finibus [Axii] Homo quidam ascendebat ab Jerusalem [Axiii] Dum transiret Jesus quoddam [Axiiii] Nolite solliciti esse dicentes [Axv (15th Sunday)] Ibat Jesus in civitatem quae [Axx (20th Sunday etc)] Erat quidam regulus cuius [Axxi] Dixit autem dominus servo redde [Axxii] Magister scimus quia verax [Axxiii] Loquente Jesu ad turbas ecce [Axxiiii] Cum vederitis abbominationen desolationis
<u>Antiphoner (sanctoral)</u>			
66v-82v	Purification of Mary (Candelmas) (2nd February) (*Purificatio Mariae*)	Matins	[Riiii] Symeon iustus et timoratus [V] Responsum accepit Symeon [Rv] Responsum accepit Symeon [V] Cum inducerent puerum Jesum [Rvi] Cum inducerent puerum Jesum [V] Suscipiens Symeon puerum Gloria patri et filio | Nunc [Rvii] Suscipiens Jesum in ulnas suas Symeon [V] Symeon in minibus in santem [Rviii] Senex puerum portabat [V] Responsum accepit Symeon [R] Gaude Maria
	Agatha, Virgin Martyr (5th February) (*Agathae*)	Lauds	[A] Paganorum multitudo fugiens ad sepulchrum

			[PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Laurence, Martyr (10th August) (*Laurentii*)	Lauds	[A] Incranticula te deum non negavi [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Assumption of Mary (15th August) (*Assumptio Mariae*)	Matins	[Rvii] Hodie maria virgo coelos ascendit [V] Regina mundi hodie de saeculo [Rviii] Beatam me dicent omnes generationes [V] Magnificat anima mea dominum [Rix] Felix namque es sacra virgo [V?] Ora po populo interveni pro Gloria patri et filio | Christus
	Beheading of John the Baptist (29th August) (*Decoll. Jo. Bapt*)	Lauds	[A] Misso Herodes spiculatore precepit
	Birth of Mary (8th September) (*Nativitas Mariae*)	Matins	[Rvii] Regali ex progenie Maria [V] Corde et animo Christo canamus [Rviii] Corde et animo Christo canamus [V] Cum iucunditate nativitatem sancte [Rix] Solem justitiae regem paritura supremum [V] Cernere divinum lumen Gaudete Gloria patri et filio | Hodie
	Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th September) (*Exaltatio Crucis*)	Lauds	[A] Super omnia ligna cedrorum [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Michael the Archangel (Michaelmas) (29th September) (*Michaelis*)	Matins	[Rvii] In conspectus gentium nolite [V] Cantate ei canticum novum bene [Rviii] In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi [V] Deus meus es tu confitebor tibi [Rix] Te sanctum dominum in excelsis [V] Cherubim quoque et seraphim sanctus Gloria patri et filio | Et ho
	Martin, Bishop of Tours (11th November) (*Martini*)	Lauds	[A] O quantus luctus omnium [PS] Benedixisti domine
	Cecilia, Virgin Martyr (22nd November) (*Caeciliae*)	Lauds	[A] Cum aurora finem daret [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Clement I, Pope and Martyr (23rd November) (*Clementis*)	Lauds	[A] Oremus omnes ad dominum Jesum [PS] Benedixisti domine

	Catherine of Alexandria, Martyr (25th November) (*Catharinae*)	Lauds	[A] Prudens et vigilans virgo qualis [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Agnes, Virgin Martyr (21st January) (*Agnetis*)	Lauds	[A] Stan beata Agnes in medio flammarum [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Andrew, Apostle (30th November) (*Andreae*)	Lauds	[A] Concede nobis hominem iustum [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Nicholas of Bari, Bishop of Myra (6th December) (*Nicolai*)	Lauds	[A] Copiosae caritatis Nicolae pontifex [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Lucia, Virgin Martyr (13th December) (*Luciae*)	Lauds	[A] Columna es immobilis Lucia sponsa Christi [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Thomas, Apostle	Lauds	[A] Quida vidisti me Thoma [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Vincent of Saragossa, Martyr (22nd January) (*Vincentii*)	Lauds	[A] Egregius dei martyr Vincentius [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Conversion of Paul (25th January) (*Conversio Pauli*)	Lauds	[A] Celebremus conversionem sancti Pauli [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
83r-84v	Thomas Aquinas (7th March) (*Thomae de Aquino Confessoris et Ecclesiae Doctoris*)	Lauds	[A] Viror carnis flore munditiae vigor [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Vincent Ferrer, Confessor (5th April) (*Vincent Ferrerii Confessoris*)	Lauds	[A] Cuius [vitae] sincera puritas virginale candore [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Peter the Martyr, Dominican Friar and Priest[1] (29th April) (*Petri, Mart.*)	Lauds	[A] Summa pollens petra mundicia [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Antoninus[2], Archbishop of Florence (2nd May) *(not found in Cantus)*	Lauds	[A] Sanctus Antoninus vere est [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Catherine of Siena (29th April) (*Catharinae Senensis*)	Lauds	[A] Maxima est Catherine virginis [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
84v-86v	Commemoration of crown of thorns (11th August) (*De Corona Spinea*)	Lauds	[A] Ave spina poenae remedium [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)

[1] Donald Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (+1252)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
[2] Domenico Maccarani, *Vita di S. Antonino Arcivescovo di Firenze dell'ordine dei predicatori* (Firenze: Soc. Toscana, 1876).

	Christmas Eve (*Vigilia Nat. Domini*)	Lauds	[A] Cum esset desponsata mater Jesu Maria [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Octave of Ascension (*Ascensio Domini,8*)	Lauds	[A] Rogabo patrem meum et alium [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Octave of John the Baptist (*Joannis Baptistae,8*)	Lauds	[A] Tu puer propheta altissimi vocaberis [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Octave of Paul, Apostle (30th June) (*Pauli,8*)	Lauds	[A] Ego enim iam delibor et tempus [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
	Octave of Peter, Apostle (29th June) (*Petri,8*)	Lauds	[A] Petre amas me pasce oves [A] Petrus apostolus et Paulus doctor gentium [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)
Invitatories			
87r-107r	Purification of Mary	Matins	[I] Ecce venit ad templum sanctum [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Corpus Christi (*Corporis Christi*)	Matins	[I] Christum regem adoremus dominantem [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Peter and Paul, Apostles (29th June) (*Petri, Pauli*)	Matins	[I] Christum regem regum adoremus [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Assumption of Mary	Matins	[I] Venite adoremus regem regum [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Dedication of Church (*In Dedicat. Eccl*.)	Matins	[I] Exsultemus domino regi summo [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Dominic (founder of Dominicans) (5th August)[3] (*Dominici*)	Matins	[PS] Venite exsultemus
	Sundays, Ferial Office (*Dom. Per Annum*)	Matins	[I] Quoniam deus magnus dominus et rex magnus super omnes deo [I] Quoniam ipsius est mare [I] Hodie si vocem ejus [I] Quadraginta annis proximus fui Gloria patri et filio | Amen

[3] Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945*, 291. The Cantus Database cites St Dominic's day as 8th August.

	Birth of Mary	Matins	[I] Nativitatem virginis Mariae [PS] Venite exsultemus
	All Saints' Day (1st November) (*Omnium Sanctorum*)	Matins	[I] Regem regum dominum venite [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Michael the Archangel (29th September) (*Michaelis*)	Matins	[I] Regem regum dominum venite [PS] Venite exsultemus
	John the Baptist (24th June) (*Joannis Baptistae)*	Matins	[I] Regem praecursoris dominum [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Memorial chants for Mary, Christmas (*Suff. Mariae Nat.*)	Matins	[I] Ave Maria gratia plena [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Easter Sunday (*Dom. Resurrectionis*)	Matins	[I] Alleluia alleluia alleluia [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Finding of the Cross (3rd May) (*Inventio Crucis*)	Matins	[I] Alleluia salve sancta crux [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Annunciation of Mary (Lady Day) (25th March) (*Annuntiato Mariae*)	Matins	[PS] Venite exsultemus
	Ascension Thursday (*Ascensio Domini*)	Matins	[I] Alleluia Christum dominum
	Pentecost (*Dom.Pentecostes*)	Matins	[I] Alleluia spiritus domini replevit [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Mary Magdalene (22nd July) (*Mariae Magdalenae*)	Matins	[I] Aeternum trinumque deum laudamus [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Translation of Dominic (24th May) (*Transl. Dominici*)	Matins	[I] Adsunt dominici leta sollemnia [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Common of Apostles (*Comm. Apostolorum*)	Matins	[I] Gaudete et exsultate [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Common of Evangelist (*Comm. Evangelistarum*)	Matins	[I] Regem evangelistarum dominum [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Common of one Martyr (*Comm. Unius Mart*.)	Matins	[I] Regem sempiternum venite [PS] Venite exsultemus

	Common of several Martyrs[4] (*Comm. Plurimorum Martyrum*)	Matins	[I]Venite adorem regem [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Common of one Confessor (*Comm. unius Confessoris*)	Matins	[I] Confessoreum regem adoremus [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Common of Virgin (*Comm. Unius Virginus*)	Matins	[I] Agnum sponsum virginum [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Octave of Epiphany (*Epiphania,8*)	Matins	[I] Christus apparuit nobis [PS] Venite exsultemus
	Octave of Easter (*Paschae, 8*)	Matins	[I] Surrexit dominus vere alleluia [PS] Venite exsultemus
Miscellaneous			
107v-110v	Maundy Thursday (*Fer. 5 in Cena Dom.*) Good Friday (*Fer. 6 in Parasceve*)	After Lauds. (Nuns at steps of the altar.)	Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Mortem autem crucis Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Domine miserere; Christus dominus factus est; Agno miti basia cui lupus dedit; Christe eleison; Vita in ligno moritur; Christe eleison; Te qui vinci ri voluisti; Christe eleison; Domine miserere; Christus dominus factus est; Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Domine miserere; Christus dominus factus est; Mortem autem crucis
110v	Votive Office for Mary (*de BMV*)	Vespers	[A] Regali ex progenie Maria exorta refulget
111r-112r	Octave (*8*) of Thomas Aquinas Octave (*8*) of Vincent Ferrer, Confessor[5]	Lauds Lauds	[A] Collaudetur Christus rex glorie [C] Benedictus [A] Pervigil Christi nuncius vocans [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.)

[4] Juan Tomás de Boxadors, Dominicans, and Catholic Church, *Breviarium juxta ritum sacri ordinis Praedicatorum: auctoritate apostolica approbatum et reverendissimi patris F. Jo. Thomae de Boxadors ejusdem ordinis magistri generalis jussu editum* (Romae: Octavii Puccinelli, 1771), lii.

[5] Gustav Milchsack, *Hymni et sequentiae cum compluribus aliis et latinis et gallicis necnon theotiscis carminibus medio aevo compositis queae ex libris impressis et ex codicibus manusriptis saeculorum a ix usque ad xvi partim post M. Flacii Illurici curas congessit vari ...* (Halis Saxonum, 1886), 44.

	Octave (*8*) of Catherine of Siena[6] Octave (*8*) of Dominic[7] Octave (*8*) of John the Baptist	Lauds Lauds Vespers	[A] Det Catherina frui nos vero lumine Christe [A] Benedictus redemptor omnium [C] Benedictus [A] Et factum est in die octavo [C] Magnificat
112v-114v	Common of one virgin (not martyr) (*Comm.un.Vir. non Mar.*) Octave of the Assumption of Mary (*Assumptio Mariae,8*) Octave of birth of Mary (*Nat. Mariae,8*)	1st Vespers, Lauds, Terce, 2nd Vespers Lauds Lauds	[A] Veni electa mea et ponam [A] Manum suam aperuit inopi et palmas suas [PS] Benedictus dominus (no no.) [A] Sicut sol oriens in mundo [PS] Legem pone [A] Gratia super gratia mulier sancta [A] Accinxit fortitudine lumbos [C] Magnificat [A] Virgo prudentissima quo progrederis [C] Benedictus [A] Maria virgo semper laetare [C] Benedictus
Hymnal (temporal)			
1'r-14'r	First Sunday of Advent Christmas Day Epiphany Saturdays (when Sunday hymns are already prescribed) Sundays after the Octave (*octava*) of Epiphany to Sunday after Holy Trinity Sundays in Lent	Vespers 1st Vespers, Matins 1st Vespers, Matins Vespers, Compline Terce, Vespers, Compline 1st Vespers, Compline, Vespers	Conditor alme siderum Veni redemptor gentium Christe redemptor omnium ex patre Hostis Herodes impie O lux beata trinitas Te lucis ante terminum Nunc sancte nobis spiritus Nunc sancte nobis spiritus Lucis creator optime

[6] Boxadors, Dominicans, and Catholic Church, *Breviarium juxta ritum sacri ordinis Praedicatorum: auctoritate apostolica approbatum et reverendissimi patris F. Jo. Thomae de Boxadors ejusdem ordinis magistri generalis jussu editum*, 416.

[7] Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire, ed., *Manuel Des Frères et Sœurs Du Tiers-Ordre de La Pénitence de Saint Dominique* (Sagnier et Bray: Paris, 1844), 171.

	5th Sunday in Lent (Passion Sunday) (*Dom. De Passione*) Sunday in the Octave (*octava*) of Easter Saturday following Easter, up to Trinity Sunday Ascension Thursday Pentecost Octave (*octavas*) of Pentecost Trinity Sunday Corpus Christi, and its Octave (*8*) Dedication of a church, anniversary and Octave (*in Dedicatione Eccl.8)*	1st vespers, Terce, Compline 1st Vespers 1st Vespers, Compline 1st Vespers, Compline 1st Vespers, Terce 1st Vespers Terce 1st Vespers, Matins 1st Vespers, Matins	Audi benigne conditor Christe qui lux es et dies Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni Ad cenam agni providi Jesu nostra redemptio Jesu nostra redemptio Aeternae rex altissimme Beata nobis gaudia Veni creator spiritus Adesto sancta trinitas Pange lingua gloriosi Sacris solemniis iuncta sint gaudia Urbs beata jerusalem dicta pacis visio
Hymns selected for use by Church of Rome			
14'r-16'r	First Sunday in Advent Christmas Day Lent	Vespers 1st Vespers, Matins, Compline Vespers	Conditor alme siderum Veni redemptor gentium Christe redemptor omnium Te lucis ante terminum Audi benigne conditor
Hymnal (sanctoral)			
16'v-29'v	Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (4th April) (*Ambrosii*) Holy Innocents (28th December) (*Nat.Innocentium*) Conversion of Paul (25th January) (*Conversio Pauli*) For Virgin Mary (and all other virgins) Peter's Chair (22nd February) (*Cathedra Petri*) Thomas Aquinas Vincent Ferrer Peter the Martyr, Dominican friar and priest (29th April) (*Petri, Mart.)* Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence For both feasts of the Holy Cross Catherine of Siena	1st Vespers, Matins 1st Vespers, Matins 1st Vespers, Matins 1st Vespers, Matins, Terce 1st Vespers, Matins Vespers Vespers 1st Vespers, Matins, Terce Vespers 1st Vespers, Matins Vespers	Iste confessor domini sacratus Quae vox quae poterit lingua Doctor egregie Paule Ave maris stella Quem terra pontus aethera Iam bone pastor petre Exsultet mentis jubilo Mente iucunda jubilent fideles Magnae dies letitiae Uc Antonini gloria concinamus Salve crux sancta salve mundi gloria Haec tua virgo monumenta

	Commemoration of the Crown of Thorns	1st Vespers, Matins	Aeterno regi glorie denota laudum
	John the Baptist (24th June) (*Joannis Baptistae*)	Vespers	Ut queant laris resonare fibris
	Peter and Paul, Apostles (29th June) (*Petri, Pauli*)	1st Vespers, Matins	Aurea luce et decore roseo
	Mary Magdalene	1st Vespers, Matins	Lauda mater ecclesia
	Dominic	Vespers	Gaude mater ecclesia
	Transfiguration of Jesus (6th August) (*Transfiguratio Dom.*)	Vespers	Gaude mater pietatis
	Augustine, Bishop and Doctor (28th August) (*Augustini*)	1st Vespers, Matins	Magne pater Augustine
	Exaltation of the Holy Cross (*Exaltatio Crucis*)	1st Vespers, Matins	Salve crux sancta salve mundi gloria
	Michael the Archangel	Vespers	Tibi christe splendor patris
	All Saint's Day	1st Vespers, Matins	Jesu salvator saeculi
	Catherine of Alexandria, Martyr	Vespers	Catherine collaudemus virtutum
Hymnal (sanctoral): Commons, and miscellaneous			
29'v-34'v	Common of Apostles and Evangelists (*Apost. et Evang.)*	1st Vespers, Matins	Exsultet caelum laudibus
	Common of one Martyr	1st Vespers, Matins	Deus tuorum militum
	Common of several Martyrs	1st Vespers, Matins	Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia
	Common of one Confessor	1st Vespers, Matins	Iste confessor domini sacratus
	Common of one Virgin Martyr	1st Vespers, Matins, Lauds	Virginis proles opifexque matris Jesu corona virginum
	Thomas Aquinas	Vespers	Exsultet mentis jubilo
	1st Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany, 2nd and 3rd Sunday after Trinity, and Sunday before Advent	Terce	Nunc sancte nobis
	Apostles and Evangelists	Terce	Nunc sancte nobis
	Sundays of Advent	Compline	Te lucis ante terminum
Hymnal: temporal and sanctoral, lately appointed by the Church			
34'v-39'v	1st Sunday in advent	Matins	Verbum supernum prodiens
	Christmas Day	Lauds	A solis ortus cardine
	Epiphany	Lauds	A patre unigenitus ad nos
	From the octave (*8*) of Easter to Ascension Day	Matins	Aurora lucis rutilat Sermone blando angelus Tu christe nostrum Gaudium
	Whitsunday (Pentecost)	Lauds	Iam christus astra ascenderat
	Trinity Sunday	Matins	Impleta gaudent viscera afflata
	Corpus Christi	Lauds	Verbum supernum prodiens
39'v-51'r	Dedication of Church	Lauds	Angularis fundamentum lapis

	Thomas Aquinas	Lauds	Thomas insignis genere Lauda mater ecclesia Thomae
	Vincent Ferrer	Lauds	Magni Vincenti nova lux
	Peter the Martyr	Lauds	Exsultet claro fidele rifulgens
	Invention of the Cross	Lauds	Originale crimen necans
	Antoninus	Lauds	Cum sol ad cursum
	Catherine of Siena	Lauds	Iam ferox miles
	Commemoration of crown of thorns	Lauds	Lauda fidelis concio spinae tropheum inclitum
	John the Baptist	Lauds	O nimis felix meritique celsi
	Maria Magdalene	Lauds	Aeterne patris unice
	Dominic	Lauds	Hymnum novae laetitiae dulci
	Transfiguration of Jesus	Lauds	Novum sidus exoritur christi
	Augustine	Lauds	Caeli cives applaudite
	Michael the Archangel	Lauds	Christe sanctorum decus angelorum
	All Saints' Day	Lauds	Christe redemptor omnium
	Catherine of Alexandria, Martyr	Lauds	Presens dies expendatur in eius
	Common of Apostles	Lauds	Aeterna christi munera apostolorum
	Common of one Martyr	Lauds	Martyr dei qui unicum patris
	Common of several Martyrs	Lauds	Aeterna christi munera et martyrum
	Common of one Confessor	Lauds	Jesu redemptor omnium corona
	Common of one virgin	Lauds	Virginis proles opifexque matris
Miscellaneous antiphons			
51'v-54'r	Virgin Mary	After Compline	[A] Salve regina misericordiae
	Dominic	After compline	[A] O lumen ecclesiae doctor veritatis [V] Ora pro nobis beate pater dominice [R] Ut digni esticiamur promissionibus
Versicles			
54'r-62'r	1st Sunday of Advent to Christmas Day	Terce	[R] Veni ad liberandum nos domine [V] Ostende faciem tuam et salvi [V]Gloria patri et filio [V] Timebunt gentes nomen tuum [R] Et omnes reges terre gliam
	Epiphany	Terce	[R] Reges Tharsis et insulae [V] Reges arabum et Saba dona

	Sundays in Lent and in Advent	Terce	[V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Reges [V] Omnes de Saba venient [R] Inclina cor meum deus [V] Averte oculos meos ne videant vanitatem [R] In testimo [V] Gloria patri et filio [V] Adiutor meus esto domine [R] Inclina
	Octave of Easter	Terce	[R] Resurrexit dominus [V] Sicut dixit vobis [V] Gloria patri et filio [V] Surrexit dominus vere [R] Resurrexit
	Ascension	Terce	[R] Elevata est magnificenti [V] Super caelos deus [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Elevata [V] Ascendit deus in jubilation
	Dedication of Church	Terce	[R] Domum tuam domine decet [V] In longitudine di erum [R] Alleluya [V] Haec est dominus domini firmiter [R] Domum
	Memorial chants for Mary (*Suff. Mariae*)	Terce	[R] Sancta dei gentrix virgo [V] Intercede pro nobis ad dominum [R]Virgo [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Sancta [V] Post partum virgo inviolata
	Invention of the Cross	Terce	[R] Hoc signum crucis [V] Cum dominus ad iudicandum [R] Alleluya

	Commemoration of crown of thorns	Terce	[V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Hoc signum crucis [V] Adoramus te christe [R] Tuam coronam adoramus [V] Tuum gloriosum recolimus [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Tuam
	Transfiguration of Jesus	Terce	[V] Gloria et honore coronasti eum [R] Et coronasti [R] Gloriosus apparuisti in conspectu [V] Propterea decorem induit [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Gloriosus
	Assumption of Mary	Terce	[V] Gloria et honore coronasti eum [R] Sancta dei genitrix virgo [V] Intercede pro nobis ad dominum [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Sancta
	Michael the Archangel	Terce	[V] Post partum virgo inviolata [R] Sietit angelus juxta aram templi [V] Habens thuribulum aureum in manu sua [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Sietit
	Common of Apostles	Terce	[V] Ascendit fumus aromatum [R] In omnem terram exivit sonus [V] Et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] In omnem [V] Constitues eos principes super

	Common of one Martyr (double feast)	Terce	[R] Gloria et honore coronasti eum [V] Et constituisti eum super [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Gloria patri et filio [V] Posiusti domine super caput eius
	Common of several Martyrs (double feast)	Terce	[R] Letamini in domino [V] Et gloriamini omnes recti corde [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Letamini [V] Exsultent justi in conspectu dei
	Common of one Confessor (double feast)	Terce	[R] Amavit eum dominus [V] Stolam gloriae induit eum [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Amavit [V] Justum deduxit dominus
	Common of one virgin (double feast)	Terce, Compline	[R] Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis [V] Propterea benedixit [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] Diffusa [V] Specie tua et pulchritudine [R] In manus tuas domine [V] Redemisti me domine deus Veritatis [R] Alleluya [V] Gloria patri et filio [V] Custodi nos domine ut pupillam
	Common of Apostles	Terce	[R] In omnem terram exivit sonus [V] Et in fines orbis terrae [R] Ex [V] Gloria patri et filio [R] In omnem

	Common of one Martyr	Terce	[V] Constitues eos principes super omnem terram [R] Gloria et honore coronasti eum domine [V] Et constituisti eum super [R] Coronasti [V] Gloria [R] Gloria et
	Common of several Martyrs	Terce	[V] Posuisti domine super caput eius [R] Letamini in domino [V] Et gloriamini omnes recti [R] Et exsulta te [V] Gloria patri [R] Letamini
	Common of several Confessors (*Comm. Plu. Conf.*)	Terce	[V] Exsultent justi in conspectu dei [R] Amavit eum dominus et ornavit eum [V] Stolam gloriae induit eum [R] Et ornavit [V] Gloria patri [R] Amavit
	Common of several Virgins	Terce	[V] Justum deduxit dominus per vias rectas [R] Diffusa est gratia in labiis [V] Propterea benedixit [R] In [V] Gloria patri [R] Diffusa [V] Specie tua et pulchritudine [R] Intende prospere procede et regna
<u>Closing salutations: benedicamus domino</u>			
62'r-63'r	Sundays Eve of a Solemn feast[8]	(no instruction) (no instruction)	Benedicamus domino Benedicamus domino

[8] A solemn feast is the highest ranking feast day, commemorating an event in the life of Jesus or Mary or celebrating a Saint important to the whole Church or community.

	Solemn feast Solemn feasts of the Virgin Mary Apostles, Martyrs and Confessors Easter Sundays	from 1st Vespers from 1st Vespers (no instruction) (no instruction) Vespers	Benedicamus domino Benedicamus domino Benedicamus domino Benedicamus domino Benedicamus domino
Closing salutations: other (no running heading)			
63'v-64'v	Philip and James, Apostles (*Philipi, Jacobi*) John and Paul, Martyrs (*Joannis, Pauli*) Transfiguration of Jesus Octave of Augustine, Bishop and Doctor (*Augustini,8*)	Lauds Lauds Lauds Lauds	[A] Si manseritis in me et verba [PS] Benedictus (no no.) [A] Isti sunt duae olivaee et duo candelabra [PS] Benedictus (no no.) [A] Et ecce vox de nube dicens [PS] Benedictus (no no.) [A] Hujus mater devotissima [PS] Benedictus (no no.)
Magnificat antiphons – NO RUBRICS			
(65'r- 69'v)	*Visitation of Mary (2nd July) (*Visitatio Mariae*)* *Assumption of Mary*	*1st Vespers, Matins, Lauds, Terce, Sext, None*, 2nd Vespers[9] *Vespers*	[A] Exsurgens maria abiit in montana [PS] Dixit dominus [A] Intravit maria in domum [PS] Laudate pueri [A] Ut audivit salutationem mariae [PS] Laetatus sum [A] Benedicta tu inter mulieres [PS] Nisi dominus [A] Ex quo facta est vox salutationis [PS] Lauda (?) [A] Beata est Maria quae credidisti [A] Cum audisset salutationem [A] Beatam me dicent omnes generationes [A] Beata dei genitrix maria

[9] *Breviarium Romanum Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Restitutum S. Pii V. Pont. Max. Jussu Editum Clementis VIII. et Urbani VIII., Etc.* (Romæ, 1856), 711.

	*Joachim, Father of Mary (20th March) (*Joachimi*)* *Common chants for Mary (*Commune BMV*)*	*Vespers* *Vespers*	[A] Ave regina caelorum ave [A] Laudemus virum gloriosum [A] Manum suam aperuit inonpi [A] Omnes sunt administratorii
End of book and indexes			
(70'r-70'v)	(red lines of staves only)		
(71'r-71'v) (72'r-73'r) (73'v-76'v)	(blank) index for antiphoner (from f. 107v onwards) (blank) index for hymnal (including versicles)		
(77'r)	colophon		
(77'v-79'v)	(blank)		

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