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Le Figlie di Coro: Women's Musical Education and Performance
at the Venetian Ospedali Maggiori, 1660-1740

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ABSTRACT***Le Figlie di Coro: Women's Musical Education and Performance
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In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hundreds of Venetian women began musical training in childhood to become professional musicians, known as *figlie di coro* (daughters of the choir), in the four charitable Ospedali Maggiori. These women overcame childhood poverty and abandonment to awe prestigious guests with their skills and even become sought-after music teachers for daughters of noble families. Through the study of institutional records regarding the care of the wards, little-studied personal requests the female musicians wrote, and musical manuscripts containing both pedagogical materials and publicly performed works, this dissertation recounts the educations and careers of specific *figlie di coro* and responds to two main lines of inquiry: first, how Venice's institutional and gendered structures shaped the musical education and careers of women, and second, how the work of professionally trained female musicians contributed to and fit in the society around them. Ultimately, this in-depth study of archival documents about the *figlie di coro* challenges the centrality of male composers and their works in Venetian music history and reinforces the significance and contributions of female performers and educators.

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GLOSSARY

Spelling is standardized in the prose text to accord with modern practice, but original spelling is retained in direct quotation. All transcriptions and translations are by the author unless otherwise noted. In the terms which follow, plural endings are given in parentheses directly after the singular form.

- Congregazione* The governing board over an Ospedale Maggiore, which served similarly to a board of trustees; each *Congregazione* was made up of wealthy and noble Venetian citizens who were periodically elected and who served for civic / religious duty rather than remuneration; each *Congregazione* consisted of three or four presiding *Presidenti* and several dozen other *Governatori*, who oversaw other offices and subcommittees as *Deputati*
- Coro(i)* Music ensemble of an *ospedale*; choir; can also signify the location where the music ensemble performs; in Venice, the term *coro* often exclusively designated the all-female ensembles, while the word *cappella* is found in reference to the male ensembles in churches like San Marco
- Deputato(i)* Members of the *Congregazione* who served as heads of committees for certain areas of an *ospedale*, such as the *Deputati sopra la Chiesa*, the *Deputati sopra l'Infermeria*, the *Deputati al Coro*, the *Deputati sopra le Figlie*, etc.
- Figlia(e)* Generic term for female wards at the Ospedali Maggiori and unmarried women throughout the Venetian community; the term *figlia* (daughter) was used to describe almost any un-titled woman who lived in *ospedali*, regardless of her age, other common terms for an unmarried Venetian girl include *fia*, *putta*, *fanciulla*, *figliuola*, and *zitella*
- Figlia(e) di comun* Female wards who were not associated with music making at the Ospedale della Pietà; the *figlie di comun* most often were designated by their assigned job: *figlia che cuse* (sewing), *bianca* (washing), *mazzette* (lace-making), *filar* (spinning), *cucina* (cooking), or could hold other special positions such as *portinara* (door-keeper), *sagrestana* (sacristan), *infermiera* (nurse)
- Figlia(e) di coro* Female wards who were associated with musical training and performance within the four Ospedali Maggiori; Jane Baldauf-Berdes argues a differences between *figlia di coro* and *figlia del coro*, designating those “*di coro*” as musicians elected to specific posts, such as *maestra*, while “*del coro*” was the more generic term for any female musician. No reliable distinction between the use of “*di*” versus “*del*” seems to exist within the archival documents, so this project only uses *figlie di coro* for consistency.
- Figlia(e) in educazione* Young women of Venetian or foreign families who entered the Ospedali Maggiori to receive an education from the female wards; sometimes referred to as *figlie di spese*, as their families commonly paid fees or gave monetary contributions for the education of their girls; *figlie in educazione* could be boarding or non-boarding students, but were often expected to return to their families after a designated amount of time; also often referred to as *putte in educazione*; somewhat comparable to the *educande* in Venetian convents

<i>Governatore(i)</i>	A generic term for members of the <i>Congregazione</i>
<i>Maestra(e)</i>	Female teachers, mentors, and supervisors at the Ospedali Maggiori; the duties of a <i>maestra di coro</i> included assisting the <i>maestri</i> , accompanying the <i>figlie</i> to lessons and rehearsals, punishing negligent <i>figlie</i> as needed, supervising lessons and rehearsals, distributing money earned from musical performances, copying music, keeping records of personnel, equipment, and music for the <i>coro</i> , and reporting monthly to the <i>Congregazione</i>
<i>Maestro di Coro</i>	Title of the leading hired male musician at the Ospedali Maggiori, primarily responsible for composing for the <i>coro</i> , but also overseeing preparation of the music in a few rehearsals each week; during various periods, many were also responsible for playing the organ and conducting musical performances
<i>Maestro(i)</i>	Generic title for male music teachers hired to work at the Ospedali Maggiori; certain <i>maestri</i> were hired to teach singing or specific instruments, such as the <i>maestro di violino</i> or the <i>maestro di solfeggio</i>
<i>Ospedali Maggiori</i>	The four major charitable institutions in Venice that received the poor, sick, orphaned, and destitute mainly from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, famous for their all-female musical ensembles: the Ospedale della Santa Maria della Pietà, the Ospedale degl’Incurabili, the Ospedale di San Lazzaro e dei Mendicanti, and the Ospedale dei Derelitti (Ospedaletto). In archival documents and contemporaneous sources, references to these institutions may include a variety of terms, including alternate spellings <i>ospital</i> or <i>spedale</i> , as well as related words <i>ospizio</i> (hospice/almshouse), <i>casa di carità</i> (charitable home), <i>albergo</i> (habitation), <i>conservatorio</i> (conservatory), etc. The archaic meaning of <i>conservatorio</i> designates a place for the protection, education, or “conservation” of needy individuals, such as orphans or unmarried women. However, the meaning of the term <i>conservatorio</i> evolved from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and today is often confused with the modern understanding of conservatory as “music school.” Nevertheless, the Ospedali Maggiori’s primary objective – in theory, although not always in practice – was the charitable care of those in need, rather than musical education. Occasionally the Ospedali were referred to as <i>scuole</i> , since education of youth was an important aspect to help disadvantaged individuals become productive citizens of Venice, yet music was not necessarily central to the instruction. The term <i>scuola</i> more often refers to the religious and social fellowships, confraternities, or academies in Venetian contexts. While past scholarship commonly uses the designation <i>Ospedali Grandi</i> , the word <i>maggiori</i> (major) clarifies that these four institutions are set off from the many other minor hospices and service institutions that were also part of Venice at various times.
<i>Priora</i>	Prioress or mother superior (<i>Superiora</i>) at one of the Ospedali Maggiori
<i>Privileggiata(e)</i>	Title for a <i>figlia</i> at the Ospedale della Pietà who were given the privilege of teaching the external students called <i>figlie in educazione</i> ; sometimes also referred to as “ <i>graziata</i> ”

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INTRODUCTION

Background on the Ospedali Maggiori

Even though the four Venetian institutions known as the Ospedali Maggiori are most recognized today as historical workplaces of prestigious composers and the homes of hundreds of young women who were trained to professional levels in music throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their founders had no intentions of developing this musical focus. In an early seventeenth-century description of these Ospedali, for instance, the Venetian patrician and scholar Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni instead concentrated on their charitable works and the care of the poor and sick:

In short, few cities can equal the city of Venice in piety and in supporting the poor with alms, and this is especially found in places dedicated to charitable works [...] Here [in Venice] the children born in secret and abandoned by father and mother have a comfortable place to be raised in the Ospedale della Pietà. The sick with incurable diseases with sores and tumors have the Ospedale degli Incurabili appointed to them. Those other poor, who are not as ill, are assisted in the Ospedale di San Giovanni e Paolo [dei Derelitti].¹

Yet Venetian society changed dramatically between the time of the Ospedali's foundation and early development in the sixteenth century and the height of their musical distinction in the eighteenth. Religious and intellectual movements in Venice after the Reformation promoted increasingly libertine thinking, and Venetian women became more and more visible in public spaces, especially as vocalists in public opera.² This increase in women's visibility, along with the Ospedali Maggiori's use of music to

¹ "E insomma poche città puono egualirsi alla città di Venezia nella pietà e nel mantener con l'elemosine i poverelli e specialmente che si ritrovano ne'luoghi dedicate ad opere pie. [...] Ecco i bambini nati di nascosto e abbandonati da padre, et madre, hanno luogo commodo per allevarsi nell'Hospitale della Pietà. Gli infermi di mali incurabili con piaghe, et tumori han l'Hospitale de gl'Incurabili à ciò deputato. Quegli altri poveri, non con tanto male, sono soccorsi nell'Hospitale di San Giovanni e Paolo." Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni, *Venetia Trionfante, et Sempre Libera* (Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1613), 27-8.

² For discussions on religious, intellectual, and cultural movements after the Reformation, see Edward Muir, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance: Skeptics, Libertines, and Opera* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007). For discussions on Venice's conflicts and losses against the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Frederic Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), 390-427; and Charles Ingrao, Nikola Samardžić, and Jovan Pešalj, eds., *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2011). For arguments in favor of women's education, which were published in seventeenth-century Venice, see Patricia H. Leblame, "Venetian Women on Women," in Patricia H. Lebalme, ed., *Saints, Women and Humanists in Renaissance Venice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 81-109. For cultural

serve the spiritual needs of their wards, while also sharing Venice’s predilection for the separation of the sexes – with men dominating the merchant economy and political realm of the Republic and women handling domestic affairs – caused women to eventually serve as the primary public-facing musical forces for these institutions.³ The Ospedali Maggiori relied on their female wards to sustain their internal musical functions. They increasingly entrusted women to study, teach, and be proficient in musical performance, and to consequently attract patrons who could financially support their underlying charitable goals.⁴ This introduction will outline the origins of each Ospedale Maggiore, before describing the groups of individuals involved in their operations and some historical changes that led to their expansion of musical practices for female musicians. Much of this section provides essential context for the assertions of the following chapters.

Origins

As in Doglioni’s description quoted above, the four Ospedali Maggiori were prominent charitable institutions that each provided for different needs in the city of Venice:⁵ the Ospedale della Santa Maria della Pietà exclusively took in abandoned foundlings; the Ospedale degl’Incurabili served vulnerable women and any citizens suffering “incurable” diseases; the Ospedale dei Derelitti was a nursing center for the destitute and homeless; and the Ospedale di San Lazzaro e dei Mendicanti primarily cared for

changes related to opera production in Venice, see Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women’s Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: the Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

³ For information on education and separation of sexes in Venice, see Eric Dursteler, ed., *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), specifically the essays on “Society and the Sexes” and “Education.”

⁴ The Ospedali Maggiori did not offer musical training in preparation for external careers as composers or music directors, unlike boys in Naples conservatories or in Venice’s musicians guilds, but only for institutional performance, publicity, and women’s personal enrichment. See Robert Gjerdingen, *Child Composers in the Old Conservatories: How Orphans Became Elite Musicians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 11-13.

⁵ While many other English-language scholars, and even myself, have used the designation “Ospedali Grandi” in the past, “Ospedali Maggiori” is the more accurate name in the Italian language. “Ospedali Maggiori” is found much more often in the archival documents at the Archivio di Stato in Venice when the four institutions are financially linked together. Additionally, the word “maggiori” (major/greater) clarifies that these four institutions are set off from the many other minor hospices and service institutions that were also part of Venice at various times.

beggars, such as destitute elderly.⁶ There were other minor charitable institutions in Venice that aided smaller communities and addressed other needs – notably the Casa delle Zitelle in Giudecca that took in young poor women without dowries and the Casa del Soccorso for repentant prostitutes – but the four Ospedali Maggiori had the most prominent institutional structures and together stood in place of a centralized hospital system.⁷ To provide for the physical and spiritual needs of their wards, each Ospedale operated a complex of buildings, including a chapel, an infirmary, dormitories, private rooms, common spaces, sheds and warehouses, and other buildings needed to accommodate hundreds of people.

Although they helped a variety of needy individuals, the Ospedali Maggiori developed with female participation and some focus on caring for destitute women from their foundations. The Ospedale della Pietà, for instance, was established in the fourteenth century by the Franciscan priest Pietro d'Assisi with assistance from the monastery of San Francesco della Vigna and a congregation of Venetian nuns known as the Consorelle di Santa Maria dell'Umiltà at the Church of Celestia. They devoted their care to the pervasive issue of infant abandonment in their city, which stemmed from famine, plague, poverty, as well as social and legal pressures against childbirth out of wedlock, which often compelled Italian women to abandon children.⁸ The nuns of Celestia received and cared for hundreds of foundlings who were left by unmarried or impoverished individuals each year.⁹ By the sixteenth century, Venetian state patricians

⁶ The following historical section is not intended to be a comprehensive history, but a general overview of important points to facilitate my following arguments and discussion of the *figlie di coro*. For a comprehensive and well-written history, please see Pier Giuseppe Gillio, *L'attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento quadro storico e materiali documentari* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2006).

⁷ Monica Chojnacka, "Women, Charity and Community in Early Modern Venice: The Casa delle Zitelle." *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1998): 68-91; Gillio, *L'Attività musicale*, 5.

⁸ In Venetian society, like other Catholic-dominant Italian communities, marriage was seen as the only legitimate path for sex and procreation. Childbirth out of wedlock was a major transgression for women, who would bring dishonor to her family for non-marital intercourse. Venice saw an increase in laws against moral degeneracy around the 1300s. Venetian laws that forbade sexual transgressions often stigmatized and negatively affected social opportunities for the average woman who had a child out of wedlock, while men were not always held responsible. For studies on Italian systems that pressured unwed mothers, see Joanne Marie Ferraro, *Nefarious Crimes, Contested Justice: Illicit Sex and Infanticide in the Republic of Venice, 1557-1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 1-9; and David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

⁹ The Pietà could house between 400 and 500 orphans and adults, while also managing hundreds of other infants living on the *terra ferma* with wetnurses. It is impossible to give exact numbers of abandoned children. We do

took over the administration of this care, and, in 1515, the institution was concentrated into one complex on the Riva degli Schiavoni, close to San Marco and the Doge's palace (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2).



Figure 1.1. Locations of the four Ospedali Maggiori in Venice (original map by Lodovico Ughi, 1729)

know, however, that in fourteenth-century Florence the foundling hospitals Santa Maria da San Gallo and Santa Maria della Scala were accepting about two hundred abandoned children per year. It is likely the city of Venice saw similar numbers. Abandonment in Venice especially increased during the Black Plague epidemics of 1348 and 1566, as well as during the famine of 1570 and the ongoing wars with the Ottoman Empire. For more detailed information about abandonment in Italy, see John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 15-20, 416; and Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor*, 72-3.



Figure 1.2. Chiesa della Santa Maria della Pietà and the Metropole Hotel, original site of the Ospedale della Pietà. The original orphanage is the building on the right, refurbished as the Metropole Hotel today. On the left is the chapel that was built from 1745-1760, which was under restoration repair from 2014 until 2022. (photo by Vanessa Tonelli, 2020)

After the relocation, the male procurators often relied on female patricians, usually widows from their families, who followed in the footsteps of the nuns of Celestia and continued to help supervise the administration of the Pietà and the care of the abandoned children as *governatrici* (governesses). The men needed these *governatrici* to enter the complex's walls on their behalf, supervise the women in the institution, and report back on what should be done for their female wards, as separation of the sexes was a fundamental part of Venetian public life.¹⁰ Additionally, more women than men resided within the institution, since male children could more often find a trade or occupation and were typically more valuable to keep for Venetian families who wanted them to work or to carry on their family's inheritance. Female wards, on the other hand, might remain within the Ospedale for most of their lives to nurse and care for the abandoned children or undertake other domestic tasks.

¹⁰ Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Society and the Sexes in the Venetian Republic," in Eric Dursteler, ed., *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 355.

Women generally remained involved in governing and financing the Ospedale della Pietà as patrons or *governatrici*, or serving other managerial positions, for most of its history. However, they became less prominent after the sixteenth century, especially after the Ospedale della Pietà came under state jurisdiction.¹¹ Women's positions of power became increasingly minimized and regulated at the Ospedale into the early eighteenth century, when budding concepts of public versus domestic domains became influential to gendered roles.¹² Women would hold responsibility for domestic tasks, running the household, caring for children, and acquiring and distributing necessities, but men always supervised and governed the institution with higher authority.

The Ospedale degl'Incurabili also developed under the influence of Venetian women. Legend goes that a couple of prominent Venetian noblewomen, Maria Malipiera Malipiero and Marina Grimani, founded the Ospedale degl'Incurabili in 1522, following practices of Catholic reform movements known as the *Compagnie del divino amore* (Oratory of Divine Love) and the Theatines.¹³ After the Reformation, proponents of the Catholic church and members of these reform movements aimed to purge its practitioners of abuses and immorality, while also emphasizing the importance of evangelistic charity. Women – especially upper class, wealthy and educated women like Malipiero and Grimani – were an essential target of this religious reform, as the Catholic church saw them as producers and educators of

¹¹ IRE, DER G 5.7, as cited in Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 11-2.

¹² For an example of how beliefs about the roles of women and gendered ideas about public vs. private developed in England and the Americas between 1660-1750, see Mary Beth Norton, *Separated by their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011). Also, Morton J. Horwitz, "The History of the Public/Private Distinction," *Penn Law Review* (1982): 1423; and Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby, eds., *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 1-26. For discussion on the concepts of public and private for Italian women, see Rebecca Messbarger, *The Century of Women: Representations of Women in Eighteenth-Century Italian Public Discourse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 3-20, specifically page 11.

¹³ Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane: Raccolte ed Illustrate* (Venice: Presso Giuseppe Orlandelli Editore, 1824), 299-301. Gaetano Thiene and the Oratory of Divine Love are the names that often get cited as this inspiration. Andrea Nordio also discusses these female founders and early patrons, naming Maria Malipiera Malipiero, Marina Grimani, Maria Gradenigo, Elisabetta Vendramin, Ludovica Gabriel, Bianca Giustiniani, and Lucia Centi, in his article "Presenze femminili nell'ospedale degli Incurabili di Venezia," *Regnum Dei* 120 (1994): 11-39; also see Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto* (Venice: F. Visentini, 1879-1903; reprint, Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969-1970), vol. XXXVI, 102-3; vol. XXXVIII, 140-1; vol. XXXIII, 562.

subsequent generations in the roles of mothers, wives, and members of religious orders.¹⁴ So, shortly following a February 1522 proclamation for the isolation of contagious patients who “loiter on the streets,”¹⁵ Malipiero, Grimani and the other founders demonstrated their own renewed spirituality and their feminine humility through charitable work, validating their actions outside of the home through religiosity.¹⁶ They aimed to assist the incurably ill, first starting with care for three women afflicted with syphilis. This aid to sick women who contracted their disease from sexual activity eventually became the task of many “Incurabili” hospitals that sprang up around Italy following the spread of syphilis, the so-called *mal francese*, in the early sixteenth century.¹⁷ Through the financial and active support of these patrician Venetian women, and the men who eventually took over, the Incurabili’s complex, established on the southern Fondamenta Zattere, cared for individuals not only with syphilis, but with a variety of chronic and incurable diseases. It was able to hold three or four hundred patients by the 1600s (see Figure 1.3).

¹⁴ Nordio explains that *letteratura devota* (literature about devotion) in sixteenth century Italy was aimed at a female audience, often encouraging confession, taking of the eucharist, mental prayer, and acts of charity. This literature was influential to the upper class, educated women of Venice who helped found and run the Ospedali. In this literature, charity was considered one of the few legitimate reasons for women to leave the home, and the Ospedale degli Incurabili and other charitable institutions were almost like sanctuaries away from home for widowed patrician Venetian women. Nordio, “Presenza femminili,” 33-5.

¹⁵ “Many of our gentlemen, gentlewomen and others have been moved with pity for many persons wick and afflicted with the French pox and other ills, some of whom in their impotence loiter on the streets and in the passageways of churches and public buildings both at Rialto and at San Marco to beg for their living; and some of whom, being accustomed to such squalor (*gogioffaria*), do not want to take steps to be cured and recover their health, but stay in those places emitting a great stench and infecting their neighbours. Hence it is a very serious cause for complaint, not only to our people but to all who visit this our city, that there is no provision made for such misery, as there is in every other place in Italy.” ASV, Provveditori alla Sanità, Capitolare I (22 February 1522), 31r-31v, as cited and translated in Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 235-6.

¹⁶ Nordio, “Presenze femminili nell’Ospedale degli Incurabili,” 39.

¹⁷ For histories on the Ospedale degli Incurabili, see Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, “Gl’Incurabili,” in *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, Vol. 5 (1842), 297-405; Andrea Nordio, “L’ospedale degli Incurabili nell’assistenza veneziana del ‘500,” *Studi veneziani* 32 (1996): 165-185; and Bernard Aikema and Dulcia Meijers, *Nel regno dei poveri: arte e storia dei grandi ospedali veneziani in età moderna 1474-1797* (Venice: Arsenale, 1989).



Figure 1.3. Accademia di Belle Arti, original site of the Ospedale degl’Incurabili. The site of the Incurabili was refurbished into a military barracks in the nineteenth century, with its church demolished. The Accademia moved to this site in 2004. (photo by Vanessa Tonelli, 2020)

Since syphilis was a sexually transmitted disease, the initial concern at the Ospedale degl’Incurabili for incurable and communicable disease developed concurrently with the interest in prostitution and the sexual morality of the women under their care.¹⁸ Soon after its founding, following the passage of poor laws in the 1520s and intense famine and plague in 1527-29, the Incurabili focused more on taking in female orphans and other vulnerable women such as repentant prostitutes or Venetian girls whose families could not afford their care or education.¹⁹ As early as the 1530s, the Incurabili housed thirty-three male orphans – numbered in memory of the years of Christ – but over twice as many young girls.²⁰ To care for these vulnerable women within the Ospedale degl’Incurabili, a specific division was established for the care of syphilitic and repentant prostitutes, overseen by a group of patrician

¹⁸ Cicogna mentions that “sinful women converted to God” were part of the Incurabili’s wards, *Delle Inscrizioni veneziane*, Vol. 5, 310. Sanudo, vol. LV, (5 November 1531), 112-3; Averoldo di Averoldi, papal nuncio and Bishop of Pola made a bequest of 600 ducats to care for these women at either the Incurabili or another home. They were at the Incurabili before the Conteritite was established in the following decades. See Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 377.

¹⁹ Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, 259; Cicogna, Vol. 5, 370; Jane L. Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice: Musical Foundations, 1525-1855* (corrected edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 55-6.

²⁰ Nordio, “L’ospedale degli Incurabili,” 172; Gillio, 7, 50. The few surviving records from the Incurabili show that they had still twice as many female orphans than male orphans in the eighteenth century.

women. By the mid-sixteenth century, this female-centered division moved into an autonomous institution on Giudecca, known as the Casa delle Convertite, but the Incurabili continued to take in orphaned girls throughout its history.²¹

The Ospedale dei Derelitti – also known as the Ospedaletto – appeared soon after the Incurabili, founded within the Santi Giovanni e Paolo monastery complex in 1528 (see Figure 1.4). During its first two centuries, an assembly of patrician and religious men oversaw the functioning of the institution, joined by a company of female *governatrici* who, like at the Pietà, worked directly with patients and advised the administration of their care.²² The Derelitti primarily served as a nursing center for innumerable derelict and homeless individuals, especially during times of war and famine, who would often only stay for a few nights before being sent on their way. By the seventeenth century, the Derelitti also accommodated hundreds of orphans, most of them female.²³ Unlike the Pietà, this Ospedale only took in children over the age of six, and, as early as 1537, its founders introduced education and vocational training for these orphans to allow them to find occupations, or husbands for the girls, and therefore become productive citizens once adults.²⁴ Men primarily trained for careers in wares and shipping, while women primarily participated in the clothing industry, laundry, sewing, spinning, and lace-making.²⁵ Music was also a conventional part of vocational training for destitute individuals throughout Europe – like in the Neapolitan conservatories, which trained orphaned boys in music to become church choir directors and composers – but due to Venice’s vast merchant economy, which created a high demand in shipping and merchandises, music was relegated largely to the Ospedale’s

²¹ ASV, PSO, Busta 71, “Nota” (1525), cited in Nordio, “Presenza femminili,” 33.

²² The female leadership was disbanded after 1690. See IRE, DER A 4, *Capitoli* (1668), 54.

²³ Pier Giuseppe Gillio demonstrates that they numbered around 120 female orphans and 40 male orphans. Gillio, *L’attività musicale*, 50.

²⁴ Giuseppe Ellero, Jolanda Scarpa, and Cristina Mantese, eds., *Arte e musica all’ospedaletto: schede d’archivio sull’attività musicale degli ospedali dei Derelitti e dei Mendicanti di Venezia (sec. XVI-XVIII)*. (Venice: Stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1978), 98.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 14. There is also a regulation from 1549 which stated that the female wards were to work in laundry, as well as the kitchen. IRE, DER B. 1 (18 October 1549), as transcribed in Ellero, *Arte e musica*, 47.

female divisions, unless a boy aimed to become a priest.²⁶ The Derelitti thus provided a home and moderate education for needy youth, especially the plethora of young women who might have lost their fathers to war, who did not have training in skilled labor, or who did not have the financial prospects to find a husband.²⁷



Figure 1.4. Facade of the church of the Ospedale dei Derelitti, built in 1576.
(photo by Vanessa Tonelli, 2019)

The Ospedale dei Mendicanti was the last of the four Ospedali Maggiori to become fully established, which is why Doglioni did not mention it in the quote above. Originally a leper colony on the island of San Lazzaro, the institution was reorganized into a hospice between the Fondamenta Nova and the Santi Giovanni e Paolo complex around the year 1601 (see Figure 1.5). It moved to this location after

²⁶ For a discussion on musical education in early modern Europe, see 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). Also see Gjerdingen, *Child Composers*, 10-15.

²⁷ Ellero, *Arte e musica*, 9-10.

the original site proved inadequate in fulfilling a decree of March 1594, which charged the Mendicanti with addressing the city's need to "remove the enormity of so many sins, which were committed at night by many of these [*Mendicanti* (beggars)] of every age and sex in the public streets and public places."²⁸ The Mendicanti's wards throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century were primarily beggars, the sick, and destitute elderly, up to 400 or 500 wards total, including around 80 to 100 orphaned and poor young women. Like the other Ospedali, women made up the majority of the wards, which included not only those still in their youth with little future prospects, but also those in old age without financial or family support. At the Mendicanti, women could also receive a minimal education to help them find a job or husband, or they could possibly earn a lifelong position as a worker within its walls.



Figure 1.5. Facade of the church and complex of the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, construction completed in 1675. The complex is today used as part of Venice's civic hospital. It was constructed with the church at the center of two separate wards, one for men and one for women, ensuring the separation of the sexes. (photo by Vanessa Tonelli, 2019)

²⁸ *Capitoli della Veneranda Congregatione Dell'hospitale di Santo Lazaro, e Mendicanti della Città di Venetia Per il governo di esso Hospitale* (Venice: Per Domenico Lovisa, 1706), 4. "... levar l'enormità di tanti peccati, ch'erano da molti di questi tali d'ogni età, & sesso, commessi la notte nelle pubbliche strade, & nelli pubblici luochi..."

Among other operations, the care, education, and protection of women was a primary function of these charitable institutions from their inception, and they all housed at least twice as many women as men throughout their history. Problems specifically felt by lower class and disadvantaged women underlie the reasons many women turned to these institutions and made up the majority of their wards: childbirth out of wedlock and social pressures regarding chastity and female virtue, illness derived from the sex trade, exclusion from education or opportunities to work that were primarily male domains, and loss of husband or father and therefore loss of financial support. These problems stemmed from the religious and patriarchal society in which they lived, where women were considered best as wives, mothers, or chaste daughters, subject to the rule of fathers, husbands, and other men.²⁹ If a woman found herself outside of this European norm, without a male figure to provide for her or enticed by socially frowned-upon sexual activity, she could possibly turn to one of the Ospedali, whose administration took up the patriarchal role and protected women from those physical and moral dangers. Based on the objectives of each institution, she would be provided clothes, food, and shelter, as well as seclusion from the temptations of the street and outside world.

Because the Ospedali Maggiori were ultimately governed by affluent patrician men within a Catholic-dominant society, these charitable institutions often developed practices and regulations that reinforced the same social and moral expectations for their potential female wards as they had for elite and noble women: they should be protected or confined within carefully prescribed spaces, inhabiting

²⁹ Much conduct literature from sixteenth- through eighteenth-century Venice echoed these notions, including Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Libro del cortegiano* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito, 1552 and 1556); Lodovico Domenichi, *La nobiltà delle donne* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito, 1549), Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della institution delle donne* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito, 1545); Onofrio Filarco, *Vera narratione delle operatione delle donne* (Padua, 1586); and Giuseppe Passi, *I donneschi difetti* (published in 37 editions between 1599-1618). Proto-feminist publications in favor of women's rights and education appeared from Venetian women in the seventeenth century: Moderata Fonte, *Il Merito delle Donne* (Venice: Domenico Imberti, 1600); Lucrezia Marinella, *La Nobiltà, et L'Eccellenza delle Donne, Co' Difetti et Mancamenti de gli Huomini* (Venice: G. Battista Ciotti, 1601); and Arcangela Tarabotti, *Lettere familiari* (Venice: Guerigi, 1650) and *Tirannia Paterna* (1654). Still, the notions of women as subject to men and relegated to the duties of mother and wife persisted into the eighteenth century. See Rebecca Messbarger and Paula Findlen, eds., *The Contest for Knowledge: Debates over Women's Learning in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2005). Also see Luciano Guerci, *La discussione sulla donna nell'Italia del Settecento: Aspetti e problemi* (Turin: Tirrenia Stampatori, 1988).

private, domestic, and sacred roles under the subject of men, and serving as a symbol of virtue, faithfulness, and devotion.³⁰ The ordinances and regulations, therefore, included initiatives to protect women from perceived sins and vices, with expectations that their female wards upheld traditional ideals of proper femininity, especially the virtues of virginity and obedience. In fact, the Ospedali Maggiori developed parallel to and inspired the foundation of other smaller institutions that specifically protected women from sexual vice, such as the previously mentioned Casa delle Zitelle for unmarried and poor young women and the Casa del Soccorso for repentant prostitutes.³¹ This framework towards the care and protection of women, and especially the control of women's sexuality, remained important throughout the Ospedali Maggiori's history, especially when the *figlie di coro* became more publicly active in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Administration

The Ospedali Maggiori and the care of their wards were funded largely through donations by patrons and overseen by an assembly of Governors.³² At each Ospedale, the Governors – several dozen Venetian patrician men, and occasionally wealthy professionals and merchants of the *cittadini* class – made up what was referred to as the Congregation, which served similarly to a board of trustees.³³ They framed their authority over the Ospedali like patriarchal figures presiding over their households, hiring employees, deciding upon regulatory changes, approving expenses, managing capital, and supervising the activities of their wards generally at a distance. They rarely took up domestic functions to sustain the institutions, but assumed economic responsibility and official governance from a position of remote authority. In fact, although there might have been dozens of Governors at one time for each institution,

³⁰ For discussion on early modern Venice expectations of elite and noble women, see Dennis Romano, "Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice," *Journal of Social History* Vol. 23, No. 2 (Winter, 1989): 340; and Schutte, "Society and the Sexes," in *A Companion to Venetian History*, 355.

³¹ Chojnacka, "Women, Charity and Community," 68-91.

³² The Ospedali Maggiori only started receiving substantial funding from the state after an economic collapse of 1777.

³³ Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 38.

often less than ten convened in their regularly held meetings, and they were only required to actually enter the Ospedale walls once per month for an inspection, if at all.³⁴

From among their ranks, the Congregation would elect three or four presiding *Presidenti*, as well as several *Deputati*, responsible for directing and periodically inspecting specific functions of the institution, such as the *Deputati sopra l'infermeria*, who oversaw the infirmary, or the *Deputati sopra il coro*, who were directly accountable to the Ospedale's musical activities.³⁵ The four different institutions often had differing titles for the *Deputati* who supervised the female wards. The published ordinances of the Ospedale degl'Incurabili, for instance, stated that the principal duty of the Governors serving as *Deputati sopra le figlie* (Deputies over the female wards) was simply to make "a record of the same [female wards] as well as an inventory of all the belongings and utensils of the house," and to check only once every three months that the women were following all prescribed rules and ordinances.³⁶ The Mendicanti similarly had *Deputati sopra le figlie*, but also assigned separate *Deputati della chiesa* (Deputies of the church), who tracked inventories and supervised the female musicians, "who are kept with rule and union." These *Deputati* were also charged with approving which young women could be raised to the role of *figlie di coro* and ensuring they be "inclined to service in this *coro* and practiced in the Divine Office for the same Church, and in this, they [the *Deputati*] should give them those rules and ordinances that they will consider good and profitable, and then provide an account to the Congregation."³⁷

³⁴ This is apparent from the lists of names in attendance within the Congregations' *Notatorii*. At the Incurabili, regulations stated that the Governors only needed to inspect the Ospedale once every three months. See Caroline Giron-Panel, *Musique et musiciennes à Venise; histoire sociale des ospedali* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015), Appendix 1.

³⁵ *Capitoli [...] Pietà*, 17-22. Also see Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 45 for a full list of duties of the Governors.

³⁶ *Capitoli, et Ordini Da osservarsi dalla Priora; Maestre, e Figlie del Pio Ospitale dell'Incurabili. Rinovati dalla Pia Congregazione Il dì 27. Genaro 1704* (Venezia: Biaggio Maldura Stampator, 1704), 6.

³⁷ *Capitoli della Veneranda Congregatione Dell'hospitale di Santo Lazaro, e Mendicanti della Città di Venetia Per il governo di esso Hospitale* (Venezia: Per Domenico Lovisa, 1706), 18. (Delli Governatori della Chiesa) "Habbino carico di soprintender alle figliuole di Coro che siano tenute con regola, & unione, & che siano allevate di tempo in tempo figliuole atte, & inclinate al servitio di esso Coro, & essercitio delli divini uffitii per detta Chiesa, & in ciò possono darli quelle regole, & ordini, che stimeranno buoni, & profittevoli dandone poi conto alla Congregatione."

For these elite, governing men, music was an essential part of civic and religious ritual in their Venetian lives, as well as a tool to enhance their reputations. They promoted and financed musical performance in Venetian institutions like the Ospedali Maggiori to honor God, themselves, and prestigious guests.³⁸ Their patronage, both of music and the Ospedali Maggiori, was a means of philanthropy, demonstrating their social responsibility as members of Europe's elite.³⁹ They not only expected to hear music during regular religious celebrations, as well as ceremonies for special feast days and public processions, but many also invested their resources into music and musicians to entertain visitors, as well as to display their own power and refinement, similar to the exhibition of fine commodities or artwork. In fact, numerous patrons of Venetian opera theaters overlapped with governors of the Ospedali Maggiori, including members of the wealthy Contarini, Giustiniani, Grimani, and Pisani families.⁴⁰ Thus, because they controlled the finances for musical performance, they were extremely influential in musical taste during the time, and the music at the Ospedali Maggiori not only served the institutionalized wards, but also their demands.

Overall, while serving as the Governors for the Ospedali Maggiori, they set guidelines and ordinances for the institutions, but did not truly supervise all daily activities. They often only intervened in the lives of their wards in extreme cases, larger regulatory changes, socially important events, and especially when the activities of their wards might damage their honor or reputations as patriarchal figures. Consequently, the records they kept – which were housed at the institutions until 1877 and then purchased for the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and compiled into one collection, the Fondo Ospedali e Luoghi Pii – often exclude much detail on specific individuals. However, the Ospedale della Pietà's Congregation's bi-weekly meeting minutes, referred to hereafter as *Notatori*, are a valuable starting place

³⁸ For a related discussion of Venetian men and their music in confraternities, see Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 148.

³⁹ For a longer discussion of patronage at the Ospedali Maggiori, see Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musciennes*, 138-169.

⁴⁰ For patrons of opera, Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 12; and Beth Glixon and Jonathan Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5. For lists of Ospedali Governors, see Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musciennes*, 653-923.

for research on the Ospedali Maggiori.⁴¹ Through their intermittent inspections and their ballots and decision making, these records occasionally reveal actions and agency of the women under their care. Most of all, however, they reveal the minutiae of governing Venetians' attitudes, agreements, and disagreements about women's activities, involvement in public music making, and music education.

Other parts of the Ospedali e Luoghi Pii collection are full of heterogeneous material, such as loose papers, registers, legacies, wills, accounting books, maps, and other files, arranged without any precise order. Occasionally loose addendums to the *Notatori* can be found, containing correspondence to and from the Governors. Additionally, a few records, such as the *Registri Scaffeta* and the *Registri dei Morti* from the Ospedale della Pietà are still held on site at the Archivio della Santa Maria della Pietà. The registers of the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, on the other hand, are partially mixed in the collection at the Archivio di Stato and partially at the archives of the Istituzione di Ricovero e di Educazione, which also holds the majority of records from the Ospedale dei Derelitti.⁴² Unfortunately, the administrative records of the Ospedale degli Incurabili were not preserved well during their time and do not survive intact today, so this project focuses mostly on records of the Ospedale della Pietà, the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, and the Ospedale dei Derelitti. With all this being said, researching the *figlie di coro* among all these scattered records requires quite a bit of patching together of data from dispersed documents, as well as deductions based on the Governors' decision making.

Musical Development

Each Ospedale began incorporating music at religious services, such as mass and funerals, around the late sixteenth century.⁴³ Considering that women made up the majority of the Ospedali's charges,

⁴¹ ASV, OLP Buste 687-694.

⁴² This collection is very difficult to access today, but much information, including transcriptions of documents, can be found in Giuseppe Ellero, *L'archivio IRE: inventari dei fondi antichi degli ospedali e luoghi pii di Venezia* (Venice: Istituzioni di Ricovero e di Educazione, 1987); and Giuseppe Ellero, Jolanda Scarpa, and Cristina Mantese, eds., *Arte e musica all'ospedaletto: schede d'archivio sull'attività musicale degli ospedali dei Derelitti e dei Mendicanti di Venezia (sec. XVI-XVIII)* (Venice: Stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1978).

⁴³ Musical procession was an essential part of funeral services throughout Italy in the early modern era. For a discussion on music in funerals in other Venetian institutions, see Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 85-7. For a

while a wider range of acceptable occupations were available to young men, the female wards, referred to as *figlie / figliuole* (daughters/female wards) or in Venetian as *putte* (unmarried young women), most often made up their church's performing musical ensemble, known as the *coro* (pl. *cori*).⁴⁴ The earliest record of an existing group of female musicians comes from the Ospedale dei Derelitti in 1566, when the Congregation forbade the *figlie* to “give Vespers in full voices in the church as they have done in the past.”⁴⁵ This decree, however, only lasted one month, following a new ruling that clarified the *figlie* could again “sing vespers, but simply and with relaxed voice.”⁴⁶ It became common practice for women to perform music for the Derelitti's religious celebrations by the early 1600s.⁴⁷ The Ospedale della Pietà also featured women performing religious music by at least the end of the sixteenth century. Evidence comes in the form of Ruggiero Giovannelli's dedication to the *figlie* in his 1598 publication of motets.⁴⁸ The Pietà's Congregation, however, only started to keep regular records that mentioned the *coro* in the second half of the seventeenth century. At the Mendicanti, the youngest of the four Ospedali, the Congregation's records show that eight *figlie* were officially chosen for the church's *coro* in 1605. These eight musicians joined four others who performed services of the Divine Office while also teaching younger girls in music, establishing the foundations for a continuous mentor-apprentice system between the most skilled

study of using institutionalized wards for funeral services in Naples, see Gjerdingen, *Child Composers in the Old Conservatories*, 49-53.

⁴⁴ Male wards were usually discharged for work and trade in their teens. Jane Baldauf-Berdes argued that the terms “*figlie di coro*” and “*figlie del coro*” are different, with the first denoting any female musician and the second only used for female musicians elected to specific posts. See, Jane L. Berdes and Joan Whittemore, *A Guide to Ospedali Research* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2012), 821. In original sources, however, it seems as if the terms are largely interchangeable and there is not a clear distinction. I have chosen to use “*figlie di coro*” as it appears more often.

⁴⁵ IRE, DER B 1 (10 August 1566), as transcribed in Ellero, *Arte e musica*, 49. “Fu deliberato per li sottoscritti fradelli, che per tutto el mese de settembrio le fie non possino dir vespero alta voce in giesia come hano fatto per el passato[...].”

⁴⁶ Ibid. (1 September 1666), as transcribed in Ellero, *Arte e Musica*, 50. “le fie possino, a suo beneplacito cantar vespero, ma semplicemente et con voce destesa si come hano fatto ultimamente.”

⁴⁷ See, for instance, the 1604 record of *maestro di coro* Baldassare Donati's replacement, which stated that he taught the *figlie* to sing, and it was desirable to have them continue singing in the future. IRE, DER, B 1 (18 January 1604), as cited in Ellero, *Arte e musica*, 51.

⁴⁸ Ruggiero Giovannelli, *Sacrarum modulationum quas vulgo Motecta appellant, quae Quinis, & Octonis vocibus concinuntur* (1598), as transcribed in Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, CD materiali documenti della Pietà, #1.

female musicians and aspiring young pupils.⁴⁹ Based on how the four institutions regularly followed each other for examples of best practices, it is likely that *figlie* at the Ospedale degli Incurabili began practicing music on a similar timescale to the other three charitable institutions.

Although the Ospedali Maggiori have often been associated and confused with convents, these two types of institutions had a variety of differences. The shelter and confinement of women at the Ospedali Maggiori were never designed to be permanent arrangements, but rather an avenue for helping needy women to find more enduring vocations. The *figlie* of the Ospedali Maggiori, therefore, could often earn money from their skills, perhaps be placed in employment, or transition to married life if they were sought by an appropriate husband.⁵⁰ A few *figlie* also chose to follow religious life and join convents, but most never took vows and were not held to the same requirements of sworn poverty and chastity as nuns. The Ospedali Maggiori also did not have the same level of mandatory enclosure as convents, and the *figlie* at the Ospedali regularly left the institution for various reasons, such as errands, traveling to the countryside for the purpose of health, yearly recreational excursions, and religious celebrations.⁵¹ Although the Ospedali Maggiori followed Catholic paradigms and expected spiritual devotion of their wards, they were not monasteries or convents; completely swearing one's life to God was not the ultimate goal for their residents.

Unlike the Ospedali, almost all professed nuns in Venice, as elsewhere in Europe, came from elite and noble classes due to social and economic pressures to remove younger children from family

⁴⁹ IRE, MEN B 1 (27 February 1604/5), 177. "Parte, che commette la scielta di otto figliuole delle più grandi, et sufficienti, accio aggiunte alle quattro di presente si atrovano, habbino à servir la recita de divini officii, et siano allevate con ogni diligenza, insegnandoli à lavorar però non possino esser date fuori dal luogo per alcuna causa, ma` habbino poi ad ammaestrar le altre."

⁵⁰ The path to marriage for the *figlie di coro* is discussed more in chapter one.

⁵¹ The Venetian Senate passed a law that regulated the boundaries of the convent in 1514, as well as established an oversight committee to police convents, called the *provveditori sopra monasteri*, in 1521. In 1563, the Council of Trent set regulations on the complete seclusion of nuns, not permitting them to leave the walls of their cloister for any reason, although Venice had already been imposing this practice for decades. See Jonathan E. Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 5; Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent*, 1st American ed. (New York: Viking, 2003), xxv; Schutte, "Society and the Sexes," *A Companion to Venetian History*, 359.

inheritances and therefore not disperse the hereditary estates.⁵² Venetian convents were in fact split into two distinct groups of women: the choir nuns, or *monache da coro*, who took full vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and held positions of authority, and the *converse*, domestic servants and non-elite women who served under the full nuns. Thus, most nuns, as *monache da coro*, often had high social status and connection to prestigious and noble families who supported their needs, with networks of influence outside of their monasteries.⁵³ At the Ospedali Maggiori, however, all wards were orphaned, of unknown lineage, or came from lower class or impoverished families. The only noble or patrician women who ever resided at the Ospedali Maggiori were the few young girls whose families desired their education within the institution as fee-paying boarders, similar to the practice of *figlie in educazione* or *educande* in monasteries.⁵⁴

Most important of distinctions between the Ospedali Maggiori and Venetian convents were their musical practices. In the words of musicologist Jonathan Glixon, “the public musical face of Venetian convents was a male, professional one.”⁵⁵ The Patriarch of Venice issued decrees in 1575 and 1617 that prohibited nuns from playing or learning any musical instruments, except occasionally the organ or other keyboard instruments.⁵⁶ Consequently, while many other Italian cities featured convents full of music performed by women, with polyphony and instrumental accompaniment, Venice’s nuns lived under strict regulations against such public music-making by the seventeenth century. Not one nun-composer from Venice is known today, and, unlike the female wards of the Ospedali, very few were performers. For religious ceremonies, Venetian nuns might have sung chants, or “plainsong,” and the occasional *falsobordone* as a choir, but most of their music-making was kept behind closed doors for their daily and

⁵² Both Mary Laven and J.G. Sperling estimate that over 70 percent of Venetian nuns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were of the noble class. See Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, 50-51, note 12; Julie Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 26-9; and Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?*, 8.

⁵³ See, Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, 8, 47.

⁵⁴ *Figlie in educazione* will be discussed more fully below. For more information on *educande* in monasteries, also see, Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?*, 11-12, 210, 245-7.

⁵⁵ Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?*, 21.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 206-7.

weekly celebrations of mass and for private entertainment.⁵⁷ Much of the music for Venetian convents' religious ceremonies were instead performed by hired male musicians, who could bolster the public reputation and prominence of each convent. Venetian nuns – like their elite male counterparts – were therefore primarily patrons, not performers, of music.

Noticeably different from the situation in Venetian convents, each Ospedale originally assigned women, such as specially chosen *figlie*, to teach music to their other female wards. Between the years 1618 and 1634, the Mendicanti, for example, hired external female musicians named as Franceschina dal Basso, Caterina da Udine, and Marietta Giusti to teach singing and playing instruments to their internal *figlie*.⁵⁸ However, as the *cori* became more public-facing and their music became increasingly essential to the Ospedali Maggiori's religious and civic positioning in the seventeenth century, the Congregations also began hiring professional male musicians, called *maestri*, to instruct and ensure quality musical production. This included the *maestro di coro*, the leading individual responsible for composing music, instructing the musicians, and preparing and directing performances. The Congregation regularly reviewed and voted upon the job performances of the *maestri*. They also employed other *maestri*, including , *maestri di strumenti* (instrument teachers), *maestri di solfeggio* (teachers of solfège and other musical basics), or *maestri di maniera* (singing teachers hired after the 1720s to keep the Ospedali's vocalists in step with changing operatic styles/manners), as needed, when the quality of the *coro* and the abilities of the *figlie* did not satisfy their performance or training needs.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ See Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?*, Chapters 6 and 7 for a discussion of music learned and performed in Venetian convents for personal enrichment and entertainment. Also, pages 176, 197.

⁵⁸ It is noticeable that the Mendicanti started hiring female music instructors one year after the Venetian Patriarch's decree against music in convents. I believe it is likely these women transitioned from teaching music in convents to the Ospedale, taking advantage of a situation where music was still permitted. IRE, MEN, C. 2 (22 May 1639), 296; Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 388.

⁵⁹ *Maestri di strumenti* might be assigned to specific instruments, such as oboe, or violin, or violoncello. The *maestri di solfeggio* typically were teachers of production of correct pitch, musical scales, intervals, and melodic exercises. *maestri di maniera* were all singing teachers, but were more advanced specialists, helping instruct in operatic styles of the eighteenth century. See Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 167. Documents that describe the *maestri di maniera* are in IRE, DER G 1.48 n. 19 (1726); IRE, MEN B 6, parte 5092 (1733); and ASV, OLP Busta 652 (16 April 1733), parti sciolti.

The Derelitti, with its early organization, was the first to hire a *maestro di coro*, Baldassare Donato, who provided music for both the Ospedale and the Ducal Chapel San Marco before his death in 1603.⁶⁰ The Derelitti kept a steady employment of *maestri di coro* throughout the rest of the century and even hired their first additional *maestro di violino* in 1662. The other Ospedali Maggiori followed suit, hiring local male musicians of the Cappella Marciana as their first *maestri*, with the Pietà employing San Marco's trombonist Alvise Grani as *maestro di coro* before his death in 1633.⁶¹ Only in 1639 did the Mendicanti's Congregation hire an official *maestro di coro* to replace their female instructors: Giovanni Rovetta, who had worked both at San Marco and as *maestro* at the Derelitti in the years previous.⁶² The earliest known *maestro di coro* at the Incurabili was Giovanni Antonio Rigatti in the 1640s, when he had already been working as *maestro d'organo* at the Mendicanti.⁶³

While these male *maestri* officially presided over the institutions' music production, under the guidance of the *Deputati*, many only entered a few days each week or month. *Maestri* were often granted relative freedom, as it was common for most professional musicians in this era to accept multiple employments, holding appointments simultaneously at other prestigious Venetian institutions, composing and directing for opera companies, teaching other private students, or traveling for extended periods of leave to search for more prestigious jobs.⁶⁴ While many *figlie di coro* generally performed and taught music cloistered within the institutions for most of their lives, most *maestri* – especially the multiple non-Venetian musicians hired in the eighteenth century – used their positions at the Ospedali Maggiori as springboards for prestigious careers elsewhere.⁶⁵ The traditionally male-dominated public and creative realms of professional, paid musicianship belonged to these *maestri*, with their accomplishments still

⁶⁰ IRE, DER B 1 (18 January 1603/4). Also see Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 275-6.

⁶¹ ASV, OLP Busta 892, reg. *Terminazioni*, p. 76.

⁶² IRE, MEN C 2 (3 July 1639), 296, as cited in Ellero, *Arte e musica*, 168.

⁶³ J. Roche, "Giovanni Antonio Rigatti and the Development of Venetian Church Music in the 1640s," *Music & Letters*, 57 (1976): 256–67.

⁶⁴ Antonio Vivaldi is a prime example of this, as he was employed at the Ospedale della Pietà on and off between 1703 and 1718. He left the Ospedale often to pursue his career in opera composition, as well as in royal courts. After 1718, he primarily composed for the Ospedale from afar on commission. See Karl Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi: the Red Priest of Venice* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997).

⁶⁵ To see a list of all the *maestri* see Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musiciennes*, Appendix 4.

echoed in musicological scholarship today.⁶⁶ Even though the *figlie di coro* were renowned musicians that have attracted much attention for their distinct qualities, historical accounts regularly minimized their contributions and labor, relegating them to non-creative, intriguing exhibitions of the composers' works.⁶⁷ From here forward, this project inverts this power relationship, focusing on the individuals who supplied most of the musical labor in the Ospedali Maggiori for decade upon decade, while only occasionally mentioning influential developments caused by the intermittent *maestri*.

The phenomenon of women playing music publicly at the Ospedali grew alongside extensive cultural shifts that began blurring traditional boundaries of social life in seventeenth-century Venice. The Venetian Republic became a center of opposition to papal control after 1606, when Venice was put under a Papal Interdict. The Jesuit Order, which was a primary player in the dissemination and enforcement of Catholic Reformation reforms and teachings, remained expelled from Venetian territories for decades after the interdict, and the satisfactory conclusion for Venice pushed the Republic further away from papal influence. As Edward Muir has established, Venice developed as a locus of cultural leniency in the early seventeenth century through this aversion to papal control. Challenges to the status quo were augmented through a growth in scientific exploration at Venice's official university in Padua and libertine

⁶⁶ The following is a list of much of the scholarship that has discussed the Ospedali Maggiori, but uses composers or genre of composed works as its focus: Marc Pincherle, *Vivaldi: genius of the baroque* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1957); Marc Pincherle, "Vivaldi and the Ospitali of Venice," *Musical Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1938): 300-12; Denis Arnold, "Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatoires," *The Galpin Society Journal* 18 (1965): 72-81; Denis Arnold, "Music at the 'Ospedali'," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113, no. 2 (1988): 156-67; Denis Arnold, "Music at the Mendicanti in the Eighteenth Century," *Music & Letters* 65, no. 4 (1984): 345-56; Sven Hostrup H. Hansell, "Sacred Music at the Incurabili in Venice at the Time of J. A. Hasse," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23, no. 2 (1970): 282-301, and no. 3 (1970): 505-521; Remo Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Torino: ERI, 1973); Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (London: Dent, 1978); Michael Talbot, "Vivaldi's Venice," *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1622 (1978): 314-19; Francesco Degrada, *Vivaldi veneziano europeo* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1980); Giancarlo Rostirolla, "Il periodo veneziano di Francesco Gasparini (con particolare riguardo alla sua attività presso l'Ospedale della Pietà)," in Fabrizio della Seta and Franco Piperno, eds. *Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727): atti del primo Convegno internazionale (Camaione, 29 settembre – 1. Ottobre 1978)* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1981); Faun Tanenbaum, "The Partbook Collection from the Ospedale Della Pietà and the Sacred Music of Giovanni Porta," PhD diss (New York University, 1993).

⁶⁷ For instance, there is Marc Pincherle's influential description of the *figlie*, in which he explains that he only wanted his readers to know the lives led by these young women so that they could understand how difficult it must have been for Antonio Vivaldi to teach them, firmly positioning his project, and that of much subsequent Ospedali scholarship, on the importance of the single "great" male composer. Marc Pincherle, *Vivaldi: genius of the baroque* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1957).

thought within the city's many free-thinking academic confraternities. This was bolstered by Venice's emerging opera scene, which was established after the founding of the first public opera theater in 1637.⁶⁸ As a result of these cultural developments, new ideas – such as religious skepticism and women's rights – flourished within Venice, especially in her active press industry, which published with little religious or government censorship during this time.⁶⁹

Throughout the seventeenth century, Venice therefore generally witnessed a rise in the number of women who received more comprehensive educations and consequently became involved in public and academic spaces, similar to the increasingly public-facing *figlie di coro*. Patricians and wealthy merchants, for instance, became more serious about providing meaningful educations for their daughters. A clear example of these developments is found in Venetian noblewoman Elena Cornaro Piscopia, who graduated from the University of Padua in 1678 as the first woman ever with a Doctor of Philosophy degree through the support of her Venetian patrician father. He hired only the most professional tutors – including a female keyboardist named Maddalena Cappelli, who possibly trained in one of the Ospedali – for his daughter's education.⁷⁰ While the perception of women and women's economic and political standing generally remained conservative in seventeenth-century Venice, the literacy rate for women slowly began to rise, around 8% to 12% for Venetian girls and young women (compared to about 33% for boys).⁷¹ As Venetian women became more educated, they also became more active and visible in public and communal events, especially musical performance. Even as the spheres of public and private became

⁶⁸ Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera* (2006).

⁶⁹ Muir, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance*, 1-11.

⁷⁰ Francesco Ludovico Maschietto, *Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia (1646-1684): the First Woman in the World to Earn a University Degree* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2007), 55-60.

⁷¹ Rinaldina Russell, ed. of *The Feminist Encyclopedia of Italian Literature* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997) estimates the literacy rate for girls to be 6 to 8% in all of Italy around the beginning of the eighteenth century, while Paul F. Grendler, in the *Companion to Venetian History* (p. 682) estimates that Venetian women claimed a literacy rate that was possibly as high as 12% in the seventeenth century. It seems like Venetian literary rate was possibly higher for women than elsewhere in Italy. While the majority of girls received no education at all, those who had the means, rather than attending state- or church-operated schools, learned in the home or in convents. The option to provide education in a convent from older educated women, or in the home from hired professional tutors, remained limited to elite families, with many lower class women preparing to earn income with skills in lacemaking, spinning, domestic service, and other trades within the female domain.

more delineated and structured social realms for men and women, with the public relating to the civic and political and the private consisting of home and family life, women more often became members and participants of various publics, such as the Venetian *accademie* and *scuole* (academic associations and lay confraternities), *salotti* and *casini* (salons and gathering quarters) and coffeehouses and theaters.⁷² The *figlie di coro*'s musical activity and training, increasingly tailored for public audiences by the end of the seventeenth century, paralleled these societal changes.⁷³

Furthermore, after the establishment of the first public opera theater San Cassiano in Venice in 1637, *prime donne* (leading ladies) also became a staple of the Venetian musical environment, presenting powerful female voices and bodies in public spheres. Venetian public theaters provided one of the first means by which women could gain financial independence through musical careers outside of homes or palaces of wealthy individuals, even if women were still generally barred from singing on stage in papal-controlled states, as well as in England.⁷⁴ As Wendy Heller has demonstrated, because traditional feminine virtue was tied to silence and chastity, “the opera heroine with her new found eloquence presented a threat of perhaps incalculable dimensions.”⁷⁵ The *prima donna* and other public operatic representations disrupted traditional gender roles in Venice, with seductive siren-like voices, social lasciviousness, and dominant women presented on public stages.⁷⁶ Seventeenth-century moralists and critics of theater even accused this new class of female performers “of causing more harm to society than

⁷² Elena Brambilla, “Dalle ‘conversazioni’ ai salotti letterari (1680-1720),” in Maria Luisa Betri and Elena Brambilla, eds., *Salotti e ruolo femminile in Italia: tra fine Seicento e primo Novecento* (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), 545-52; Schutte, “Society and the Sexes,” in *A Companion to Venetian History*, 358.

⁷³ For a fuller discussion of the changing concepts of public and private and their associative meanings, see Jane Bethke Elshain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought*, Second edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 1-6.

⁷⁴ Beth Glixon, “Private Live of Public Women; Prima Donnas in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Venice,” *Music & Letters* 76, no. 4 (November 1995): 509.

⁷⁵ Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, 13.

⁷⁶ Patricia Lebalme has argued that these new operatic characterizations of women offered different notions of femininity on which the Venetian public could model themselves. She suggests that the publication of progressive proto-feminist literature by Venetian women stemmed from Venice’s unique environment, which offered untraditional female figures, including wealthy merchant families, foreign tourists, courtesans, and actresses, as well as the female personification of Venice herself, on whom Venetian women could model themselves. Leblame, “Venetian Women on Women,” 81-109.

the prostitute, because of her power to enchant a large public through her acting [and singing] skills and hence to damage the souls of men, rather than just attending to the private needs of their bodies as prostitutes did.”⁷⁷ The reputations of professional female performers in early modern society was typically suspect, with the collective imagination carrying prejudices against these women as courtesans, prostitutes, or other sexual attractions, since they publicly exposed themselves and sold the sight and the sound of their bodies for the pleasure of others.⁷⁸

Counterbalancing the public stigmas of actively performing women, the development of opera particularly demonstrated the success that women could attract through public musical performances in Venice. To appeal to audiences and patrons in a similar way to famous *prime donne*, the Ospedali Maggiori also followed popular musical trends and featured increasingly operatic styles of performance and soloistic singing by the end of the seventeenth century. Consequently, the Ospedali’s female musicians, especially the popular vocal soloists, could not escape correlation to the celebrated female singers of Venetian opera and therefore to the reputations of actresses. Any unmarried woman who turned to public performance and presented herself publicly to admirers, especially if she needed to earn a living from such a vocation, attracted connection to prostitution or courtesan work.⁷⁹ Even in the relatively libertine culture of Venice, singing professionally was a marginal way of life for women; it might bring financial independence, but also often required public display, patronage from numerous admirers, and regular travel away from home, in opposition to the appropriate lifestyle of the ideally humble, virtuous, and obedient daughter, wife, or nun. Thus, visitors to the Ospedali Maggiori sometimes questioned the morality of the *figlie di coro*. Englishman Thomas Coryat, for instance, instigated this perception in the

⁷⁷ Rosalind Kerr, “The Italian Actress and the Foundations of Early Modern European Theatre: Performing Female Sexual Identities on the Commedia dell’Arte Stage,” *Early Theatre* 11, no. 2 (2008): 194, see footnote 44 for a seventeenth-century quote from Jesuit Gian Domenico Ottonelli.

⁷⁸ Vlado Kotnik, “The Idea of Prima Donna: the History of a Very Special Opera’s Institution,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 47, no. 2 (December 2016): 239.

⁷⁹ While this was equally true throughout western Europe, Venetian women especially earned this association because the lagoon city was renowned not only for her *prime donne*, but also for courtesans who also used music to appeal to clientele. See Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon, eds., *The Courtesan’s Arts: Cross Cultural Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 9.

early seventeenth century, when he described the Ospedale della Pietà as the house appointed for “the bringing up of the Cortezans bastards,” from which “many of the females if they bee faire doe *matrizare*, that is imitate their mothers in their gainful facultie, and get their living by prostituting their bodies to their favourites.”⁸⁰

The Ospedali’s Governors regularly fought against this connotation by making firm decrees against the musical wards pursuing careers in theaters, and by calling the *figlie* “virgins” in many published regulations, libretti sold at performances, and periodicals, like *La Pallade Veneta*.⁸¹ Despite their efforts, the stereotypes of female musicians were too strong, and the association of the *figlie di coro* to prostitution continued into the eighteenth century, as expressed by French travel writer Pierre-Jean Grosley de Troyes in 1758: “The tendency of the education [in the Ospedali], however, seems to make Laises and Aspasia [two well-known Grecian courtesans], rather than nuns or mothers of families.”⁸² The Italian-born English literary critic Giuseppe Baretti also commented on the moral dangers of women excelling in music, likely referring to the practice of accepting patrician Venetian girls as *figlie in educazione* at the Ospedali:

The Italian parents would have a greater inconvenience to contend with should they venture to make their girls greatly proficient in music. They are therefore right when they avoid this danger, or when they suffer them to learn a little from musical women; which they condescend to do in several parts of our towns, and especially in Venice, whose musical hospitals furnish them with female teachers, who know so much of playing and singing as to be able to give a girl some little taste of both, but cannot easily lead her to that excellence in music which might prove pernicious to innocence and virtue.⁸³

⁸⁰ Thomas Coryat, *Coryat’s Crudities* (London: William Stansby, 1611), 407.

⁸¹ *La Pallade Veneta* was an Italian periodical targeted towards wealthy, educated audiences outside of Venice. It served as a sort of diplomatic newsletter. Published sporadically between 1687-1750, the periodical discusses politically important people and the cultural activities associated with them. The original can be located at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. Ital. Classe VII; For a full description of *La Pallade Veneta*, see Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society 1650-1750* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1985). The term “virgins” in relation to the Ospedali musicians is found over ten times over its publication dates. Also see, Gasparo Gozzi, *Gazzetta Veneta* No. 30 (Venice, 7 April 1760-1); cited in Berdes and Whittemore, 73-4.

⁸² Pierre Jean Grosley, *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l’Italie et les Italiens*, translated by T. Nugent (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1769), 264.

⁸³ Giuseppe Marc’ Antonio Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy; With Observation of the Mistakes of Some Travellers with Regard to that Country*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London: T. Daniels and L. Davis, 1769), 99-100; cited in Berdes and Whittemore, 80.

Throughout the early modern era, even when women like the *figlie di coro* managed to legitimately and professionally make a career in music, they could immediately acquire the stigma of degeneracy of sexual enticement.

Yet the education of the *figlie di coro* continued to expand and reach professional levels into the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. At the Ospedale della Pietà, for example, in 1675 the governors hired the two Spada brothers, Giacomo and Bonaventura Spada to serve alongside the *maestro di coro* Johann Rosenmüller.⁸⁴ Unlike Rosenmüller and previous *maestri*, who primarily composed for the Ospedale without spending too much time teaching the *figlie*, Giacomo and Bonaventura Spada – appointed *maestro di coro* and *maestro di strumenti* respectively in 1682 after Rosenmüller was officially dismissed – educated the *figlie* to new heights and established new procedures for strengthening the *coro*. They initiated the practice for each potential *figlia di coro* to study musical basics under her more experienced peers for several years before the *maestri* personally tested and trained the most talented to become official, public-performing musicians. Most notably, the *figlie* also began learning counterpoint from these *maestri*, which laid the foundation for the women to be able to improvise freely over standard bass line patterns and even compose in the following century.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the distinctive all-female ensembles and their high-quality music brought acclaim for both their skill and their novelty, attracting numerous loyal patrons who frequented performances, as well as prestigious audiences from around Europe. Compositional style began shifting from orientation towards the church to focus on the individual performer, featuring renowned *figlie di coro* as soloists in operatic and virtuosic styles. They also began performing fashionable musical genres, such as solo concertos, dramatic oratorios, cantatas, and serenatas. The extent of musical activity at the Ospedali Maggiori at the end of the seventeenth century can partly be found in the Venetian periodical *La Pallade Veneta*, which served as a diplomatic newsletter targeted to wealthy

⁸⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. C (28 June 1682), 86-7.

and elite audiences outside of Venice.⁸⁵ During the surviving issues from 1686-7, which were authored by a Tuscan priest named Francesco Coli, almost two year's worth of musical activities at the Ospedali Maggiori were described in vivid detail. In addition to masses, regular Vespers services, and other sacred works for religious festivals, the Ospedali Maggiori also offered several oratorios with dramatic plots, dialogues as introductions to performances of psalms, *sinfoni concertati*, solo motets, and short lute-songs, such those the theorbist Francesca della Pietà performed for the Grand Prince of Tuscany Ferdinando de' Medici in March 1688.⁸⁶ These performances attracted enormous gatherings of people, including nobility, like the Medici, as well as the Elector of Bavaria Maximilian Emanuel. While Coli most often mentioned the "excellent women musicians" as a homogenous group, the publication also emphasized the characteristics of their singing, which included extensive use of operatic ornamentations, improvised passage work, vibrato, and both soloistic and contrapuntal sections. He explained, "These musicians succeed so well with their singing and beautiful articulation of the text that there is no possibility of improvement. They have attained a level of professionalism so high in their presentations that they leave their listeners longing for the day of the next performance."⁸⁷

The periodical also paid particular attention to a few of the top soloists, including a young girl at the Mendicanti named Antonia, known by her soubriquet "La Tonina," and especially the singer Angela Vicentina from the Derelitti. According to the laudatory account:

La Tonina has such a talent for singing mellifluously and with such expressivity. She has the ability to give expression to the emotions, and she can do it so gracefully. The beauty of her *portamento* is such that she is without peers. Her *passaggi* are so uninhibited! Her voice rises, descends, leaps across intervals, alternates between notes, covers the compass of the entire scale with such authority that even the most ethereal of birds are no such masters of the air as this artist as she wanders through the spheres. When she arrived at

⁸⁵ See Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, 3-11.

⁸⁶ See chapter three for further discussion of this event. For this performance for Ferdinando de' Medici, the *figlie di coro* did not remain in the choir lofts behind grated screens. Instead, they came down to the ground floor of the church, performing directly in front of the prince. See Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, Source 75 (March 1688), 211-2.

⁸⁷ Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, Source 45 (August 1687), 183-185, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 37. "Riuscirono così grate nel canto, così articulate nella pronuntia, che non restava da bramar di più. Hanno diffuso un grido così alto della loro virtuosa maniera di rappresentare che si sospira da tutto il popolo il giorno della replica."

those words of the Psalm *Matrem filiorum laetantem*, she revealed the full richness of her musical talent by unleashing the most precious part of her artistry. She displayed with a majestic pomp all that can be shown of the treasured resources of the vocal art.⁸⁸

The language used here is comparable to the diva worship that surrounded *prime donne* during the time period, including compelling descriptions of the musician's virtuosic vocal techniques.⁸⁹ Coli remarked repeatedly on the singers' ability to sway audiences' hearts and minds with their voices. Spectators and visitors in Venice yearned to hear them, and top vocalists like Antonia and Vicentina received quite a bit of attention and fame. The descriptions of Vicentina were no less enthusiastic, though in one regarding a Christmas celebration, she was compared to a siren, one of the dangerous sea-women who could entice men with their song.⁹⁰

Among the soloists, Signora Angela Vicentina took the part of the Virgin and demonstrated her lofty talents to the audience by lifting them out of themselves, as it were, because she has the ability to make her listeners share in that sense of delight that is the prerogative of those in Paradise. She held them spellbound even when she closed her mouth to draw a breath. This celestial Siren sang and dispensed such jubilation in the breasts of those mere mortals that they lost themselves in the delights of her singing. It is as if they had chosen to nourish themselves at the banquet of her aria and had no need to nourish themselves as ordinary mortals do. What a singular style! What sweetly impassioned ornamentation, which returned softly here, forcefully there. What melodic echoes from that angelic voice when it answered back one passage in imitation. And, in sum, what a miracle of artistry!⁹¹

⁸⁸ Ibid., Source 27 (May 1787), 171-2, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 35. "Hebbe in dono dalla natura questa virtuosa signora una voce così disinvolta, melliflua, manierosa ed esprimente gl'affetti, ornata di tanta gratia, e d'un portamento così galante che non ha pari. Ha così franchi I passaggi, scende, sale, gira, sorvola traforetta con tanto dominio per le scale delle note che gli uccelletti stessi più leggeri, librati su le penne, non si rendono così assoluti padroni dell'aria, come ella senza tema passeggia per il musico cielo. Arrivata a quelle parole del salmo *Matrem filiorum laetantem*, aprì I più ricchi tesori della musica, disciolse le più pregiate merci dell'arte e fece maestosa pompa di quanto si può mostrare nella dovittosa galleria del canto."

⁸⁹ See for instance the comments on the *prima donna* Francesca Cuzzoni by Johann Quantz, Giovanni Battista Mancini, and Charles Burney. These music critics not only commented on Cuzzoni's ability to sway the hearts of her audiences and provided details on her vocal techniques, but each also wrote about the *figlie di coro* and the Ospedali Maggiori. Johann Quantz, "The Life of Herr Johann Joachim Quantz, as Sketched by Himself," in Paul Nettl, ed., *Forgotten Musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 312; Giovanni Battista Mancini, *Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato* (Vienna: Stamparia di Ghelen, 1774), 23-4; Charles Burney, *A general history of music, from the earliest ages to the present period*, Vol. 4 (London: Payne and Son at the Mews Gate; Robson and Clark; G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 306-7.

⁹⁰ For discussions of sirens and music, see Linda Phyllis Austern and Inna Naroditskaya, eds., *Music of the Sirens* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

⁹¹ Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, Source 64 (December 1687). 198, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 39. "Fra l'altre cantante faceva la parte di Maria Vergine la Signora Angela Vicentina, mostro fra I cantori di mosica, la quale si adoperò così bene nel far conoscere alla gente concorsa i suoi alti talenti che s'era ciascheduno scordato di sé stesso, e perché potesse il senso dell'udito bearsi fra quelle voci di paradiso, teneva ognuno chiusa la bocca ai

In addition to performances held at the Ospedali Maggiori complexes, there was also evidence of increasing public activity of the *figlie di coro* outside of the institutional walls. Early records from the Ospedale della Pietà, for instance, reveal that the *figlie di coro* traveled to convents and private homes to perform, such as in 1655, when the *Priora* requested to bring some *figlie di coro* to the parlor of the Church of San Zaccaria to play and sing music.⁹² The Congregation denied her permission at that time, although *figlie di coro* did perform at other churches, and even in houses of Venetian nobility, multiple times throughout the end of the seventeenth century, a new development of their growing popularity. In 1684, for instance, the Governors of the Pietà again recorded noticing “the frequency of introducing uncivilized people to visit the *figlie*,” as well as “the *figlie* themselves exiting the house frequently,”⁹³ so the practice surely happened often and for decades.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the cultural interests of the Venetian Republic had shifted again noticeably due to considerable costs of war, growing political obscurity amidst other expanding European empires, and a reliance on conservative Venetian traditions. The repeated conflicts against the Ottoman Empire (Cretan War, 1645-69; Morean War, 1684-99; and Second Morean War (1714-8) forced the Venetian patrician class – diminishing in number due to restrictive marriage customs and great losses of wealth – to not only offer noble titles to whomever could pay a 100,000 ducat fee, but to also turn their investments inward.⁹⁴ Rather than financing risky ventures overseas, Venetians increasingly backed local establishments, land tenure, and agriculture, as well as ventures that supported the growing tourist industry, such as arts and music. So, despite decreasing economic power on the international scene, Venice featured significant social and cultural vitality at home and served as an

respiri. Cantava questa sirena celeste e seminava tanto giubilo in petto ai mortali che il cuore fra le delitie si scordava di ritirare I soliti tributi vitali dall'aria per suo nutrimento. Che maniere singolari! Che passaggi impassati di dolcezza, che repliche hor forte, hor piano, che echi di melodia di quella voce angelica fatti a sé stessa! Et in fine, che miracoli dell'arte!”

⁹² ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. A (17 January 1654/5), 1v.

⁹³ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. C (9 July 1684), 131v. “la frequenza dell'introduzione delle persone sottospecie di visitar le figliole [...] come anco dalle figlie stesse nell'uscire frequentemente dalla casa.”

⁹⁴ Between 1645 and 1716, 127 families joined the patrician ranks. See Joanne M. Ferraro, *Venice: History of the Floating City* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 181-4.

obligatory destination of cultural refinement, especially for international clientele on eighteenth-century grand tours. Venetians increasingly specialized in luxuries, with glass finery, lace, gold ornamentation, refined printing, palace construction, and musical instrument manufacture helping reinforce Venice's already renowned art and music, which were indispensable to attracting business and preserving prestige. Furthermore, while the neighboring Bourbon, Hapsburg, and British empires expanded globally and established a new balance of power between them after the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the Venetian Republic lost political clout and remained relatively complacent.⁹⁵ Venetian leaders clung to nostalgia and conservative ways of thinking; they remained neutral in other states' affairs, made few political and economic reforms, regularly obstructed the diffusion of French enlightenment philosophy, and overall relied on tradition, social ritual, and spectacle to preserve some sense of distinction in Europe.⁹⁶

Thus, the Ospedali Maggiori, as institutions with both expansive property rights and esteemed musical practices, became essential to Venetian economic and political positioning into the eighteenth century. As they hired more *maestri* to teach specialized singing or instrumental playing, created new regulations for the training and recruitment of *figlie di coro*, expanded the numbers of the *coro*, and constructed new elaborate churches and choir rooms for performances, the Ospedali Maggiori became powerful status symbols for the patrician men who governed them, and they eventually overtook San Marco as the center of Venetian instrumental and religious vocal music. At the end of the seventeenth century, for instance, the Ospedale dei Derelitti governors invested thousands of ducats, derived from the testament of Bartolomeo Cagnoni, to improve the complex's artistic edifices and the performance spaces of the *coro*. Between 1660 and 1680, they hired the architects Antonio Sardi and Baldassare Longhena to

⁹⁵ Joanne Ferraro suggests this complacency within the Venetian patrician class, who were content in their refinery and their landed and inherited income, unaware – or avoidant – of decline. “On the ceilings above the ballrooms where they danced, Gian Battista Tiepolo's figures in the clouds have cleared the color out of Venetian painting. There is no longer baroque light and shade – just blinding white, endless sky, and floating people.” *Venice: History of the Floating City*, 198-9.

⁹⁶ Brendan Dooly, “Crisis and Survival in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Venetian Patriciate Strikes Back,” *Journal of Social History* Vol. 20, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 323-334.

complete the elaborate façade of the church (see Figure 1.4 above), design a new courtyard for the female wards, as well as renovate the high altar and choir loft.⁹⁷ This remodel opened and expanded the choir loft, which originally offered only a few small windows through which the *figlie* could sing, to now feature a large balcony above the altar and enough space for the eventual placement of a large and ornate organ in the mid-eighteenth century. The acoustic conditions for musical performance were greatly improved, allowing the *figlie*'s voices to be more clearly heard, descending angelically as the sound reverberated off the flat ceiling.⁹⁸ In 1672, the Ospedale dei Mendicanti quickly followed the Derelitti, building two new balconies in the church, “arranged so that the voices would sound more melodious [...] as has already been done in the other Ospedali.”⁹⁹ The Ospedale della Pietà also expanded, purchasing the neighboring Ca' Gritti and Ca' Cappello palaces for dormitories and a new, acoustically-designed church in 1727.¹⁰⁰ The construction of the grand church, which is still a noticeable landmark on the Riva degli Schiavoni, began in the early 1740s, completed in 1760, and features perfectly calculated acoustics, with two choir lofts for the *coro*'s musical performance. The two choir lofts allowed the ensembles at the Pietà to continue performing antiphonal, or *cori spezzati* (split choirs), church music into the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the many compositions written for two choirs, still held in the collection at the Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello today.

With the benefits of these musically-centered renovations, the *figlie di coro* reached their pinnacle of success and fame around the mid-eighteenth century. The Ospedali Maggiori used their music to attract visitors and continued to sustain a reliance almost entirely on patronage and public charity for decades. However, Venice's economic downturns after the final conflict with the Ottoman Empire, as well as

⁹⁷ Ellero, *Arte e Musica*, 30-31.

⁹⁸ Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 176-9.

⁹⁹ IRE, MEN B 1, fol. 98 (11 January 1671 m.v. / 1672), as cited in Deborah Howard, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*, 191. “il nuovo coro per la voce trovato che riesce più canora [...] come ormai avevano fatto gli altri ospedali.”

¹⁰⁰ This church was designed by the architect Giorgio Massari. See Giuseppe Ellero and Clara Urlando, eds., *The Pietà in Venice: History, Art, Music and the Care of Children* (Venice: Istituto Provinciale per l'Infanzia “Santa Maria della Pietà”, 2011), 28-9, 51-2.

reductions in private contributions, caused the Ospedali to scale back and eventually forego their musical practices. In 1777, the Ospedali all faced an irredeemable economic crisis, which forced them to lose autonomy and become dependent on state funding.¹⁰¹ The Incurabili, Mendicanti, and Derelitti immediately eliminated funding for the *coro*. All *maestri* were officially dismissed, except one *maestro d'organo* at the Derelitti to prepare four *figlie* to eventually take over all duties of teaching music. Musical performances continued only through private donations, especially at the Mendicanti, which still featured many oratorio productions. The Pietà, however, with the assistance of some large bequests, continued musical training for women, with *maestri di strumenti*, until 1782 and even retained a *maestro di coro* into the nineteenth century.¹⁰² In 1807, one decade after the Napoleonic invasion, the new government incorporated the four charitable institutions under a single public *Congregazione di carità*. The Derelitti, Incurabili, and Mendicanti ended all musical activities by that year, but the Pietà, although with greatly reduced numbers, kept a fund assigned to “recreations” of the *figlie* until the 1860s.¹⁰³

Musicological Scholarship on the Ospedali Maggiori

Musicological study of the Ospedali Maggiori extends back to the nineteenth century, notably Francesco Caffi's *Storia della Musica Sacra nella già Cappella Ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797* (1854), which occasionally lists some prominent *maestri* and *figlie* of the four charitable institutions, as well as Taddeo Wiel's *I teatri musicali veneziani del settecento: Catalogo delle opera in musica rappresentate nel secolo XVIII in Venezia, 1701-1800* (1897). In Wiel's catalogue, however, he describes the Ospedali Maggiori as institutions that, instead of using music as an educational tool, often “became houses of scandalous libertinism.”¹⁰⁴ Pulling his sources from eighteenth-century commentaries,

¹⁰¹ This was compounded by the diminishing numbers of Venetian patricians and *cittadini* who were willing to serve on the Ospedali's Congregations. Between 1777 and 1797, each Ospedale turned towards state control. See Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 13-15.

¹⁰² Bonaventura Furlanetto served as *maestro di coro* at the Ospedale della Pietà from 1768 until his death in 1817. Giovanni Agostino Perotti served in this same position from 1817 until his death in 1855.

¹⁰³ IRE, Verbali della Congregazione di Carità, t. 34, n. 7657 (11 December 1865), as cited in Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 518.

¹⁰⁴ Taddeo Wiel, *I Teatri musicali veneziani del settecento: Catalogo delle opera in musica rappresentate nel secolo XVIII in Venezia (1701-1800)* (Venice: Visentini, 1897), p. xviii.

such as De Brosses, Rousseau, Burney, and Goethe, he accuses the female wards of feigning “angelic behavior” and of visitors “desecrating the temple.”¹⁰⁵ Wiel insinuates that no restraint existed within the walls of the Ospedale della Pietà; the girls were allowed to have visitors during the night while the older, female supervisors would pretend not to see. Wiel writes: “Nor was the love of art, or piety, the sentiment that filled the churches of these conservatories. The music and the charity were often pretext with which gentlemen and citizens used to get near the damsels, and draw them in their homes, taken as servants, or accepted as a form of charity.”¹⁰⁶ He characterized the female musicians along the age old virgin-whore dichotomy, with little room for grey area.

These sentiments of lasciviousness have been renewed in some twentieth-century scholarship. For example, Percy Scholes, who published an edition of Charles Burney’s travel diary in 1959, added a footnote to supplement Burney’s praises of the Ospedali. He writes:

The *conservatorios*. None of these now exist, they having been suppressed at various dates on economic grounds. Possibly, also, there were other reasons for suppression. Taddeo Wiel, in his *Il teatro musicale veneziano del settecento* (Venice, 1897) says that they “were too often places of scandalous libertinism: not all those girls with angels’ voice were angelic in their habits,” and it is on record, he says, that at the Pietà visits went on until 1 a.m. on certain days, and young men used to come to meet the girls.¹⁰⁷

Thus, in one of the most studied travelogues of the eighteenth century, the Ospedali are presented as institutions that may have shut down due to immoral behavior of women.

In contrast to the previously mentioned scholarship, the Ospedali Maggiori then gained the attention of a few female scholars in the early twentieth century, who showed interest in bringing women’s musical performance to light. Kathi Meyer-Baer’s musicological doctoral thesis, titled *Der chorische Gesang der Frauen: mit besonderer Bezugnahme seiner Betätigung auf geistlichen Gebiet* (1917), was an early and essential exploration into women’s choral music, including the oratorios of the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. “ne era amor dell’arte, or pietà, il sentimento che riempiva le chiese de conservatori. La musica e la beneficenza erano spesse volte pretesti, con che gentiluomini e cittadini avvicnavano le donzelle, e le attiravano poi nelle loro case, come prese a servizio, o accolte per carità.”

¹⁰⁷ Footnote 1 in Charles Burney, *Dr. Burney’s Musical Tours in Europe*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 112.

Ospedali. Soon after, Maria Antonietta Zorzi also provided seven volumes listing Venetian oratorios in *Saggio di bibliografia sugli oratorii sacri eseguiti a Venezia* (1930-4). These are foundational works on the *figlie di coro*'s choral performances and oratorio production.

Major sources of information on the Ospedali Maggiori that followed came primarily through scholarship on particular Venetian composers or musical genres, beginning with Marc Pincherle's monograph on *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale* (1948), which is discussed more in the "Intermezzo" of this dissertation. A burst of interest in the Ospedali Maggiori also accompanied the "Vivaldi craze" of the 1960s-80s.¹⁰⁸ Denis Arnold published several articles that offered basic background information on the Ospedali Maggiori and their *maestri*, including "Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatoires" (1965) and "Orphans and Ladies: The Venetian Conservatoires (1680-1790)" (1966), as well as several other articles in the subsequent decades. Other notable scholarship of this era included Francesco Degrada's "Un'inedita testimonianza settecentesca sull'Ospedale della Pietà" (1964), Sven Hostrup Hansell's two articles on "Sacred Music at the Incurabili in Venice at the Time of J. A. Hasse" (1970), Remo Giazotto (1973), Michael Talbot (1978), and Francesco Degrada's (1980) individual studies on Vivaldi,¹⁰⁹ Giancarlo Rostirolla's article on Francesco Gasparini, "Il periodo veneziano di Francesco Gasparini (con particolare riguardo alla sua attività presso l'Ospedale della Pietà)" (1981), Wolfgang Hochstein's monograph on *Die Kirchenmusik von Niccolò Jommelli* (1984), Gastone Vio's article "I maestri di coro dei Mendicanti e la cappella marciana" (1985), Denis Arnold and Elsie Arnold's collaborative study of Venetian oratorios in *The Oratorio in Venice* (1986), and Faun Tanenbaum Tiedge's archival work on the Pietà's extant music at the Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello (1987) and the compositions of Giovanni Porta (1993, 1995). While these publications contain valuable and detailed information on certain individuals and their

¹⁰⁸ Harry Haskell is credited with the term "Vivaldi craze," in *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 126.

¹⁰⁹ Remo Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Torino: ERI, 1973); Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (London: Dent, 1978); Talbot, "Vivaldi's Venice," *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1622 (1978): 314-19; Francesco Degrada, *Vivaldi veneziano europeo* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1980).

compositions for the Ospedali Maggiori, they largely privilege professional male composers and their works – especially Antonio Vivaldi and instrumental music – while often only mentioning the *figlie* as a sidenote.

Some of the most informative scholarship from the 1970s-80s centered on cataloging, transcribing, and uncovering previously unstudied archival collections in Venice. Giuseppe Ellero, Jolanda Scarpa, and Cristina Mantese's *Arte e musica all'ospedaletto* (1978), as well as Ellero's *L'archivio IRE: inventari dei fondi antichi degli ospedali e luoghi pii di Venezia* (1987), which detail the archives of the Derelitti and Mendicanti at the Istituzione di Ricovero di Educazione, are still some of the most useful sources to begin studying the Ospedali Maggiori today. Gastone Vio also provided some elaboration on documents about the Ospedale della Pietà in *Precisazioni sui documenti della Pietà in relazione alle "Figlie del coro"* (1980), and Eleanor Selfridge-Field revealed incredible descriptions of musical performance in the Ospedali Maggiori through her study of the Venetian periodical *Pallade Veneta* (1985). Another important source on Ospedali archival materials is Joan Whittimore's *Music of the Venetian Ospedali Composers: A Thematic Catalogue* (1995).¹¹⁰

A closer look at the female musicians themselves only began around the 1990s with the gradual and somewhat tardy acceptance of feminist theory and women's studies in musicology.¹¹¹ Madeleine V. Constable was an early proponent of re-examining contemporary knowledge on the *figlie di coro* with her two short essays "The Figlie Del Coro: Fiction and Fact" (1981) and "The Education of the Venetian Orphans from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century" (1988). The first full monograph on the Ospedali Maggiori and the *figlie di coro*, however, was Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes's *Women Musicians of Venice:*

¹¹⁰ In addition to all this musicological scholarship, several scholars studied the Ospedali Maggiori from non-musical perspectives. Notable are Bernard Aikema and Dulcia Meijers's study on artistic patrimony *Nel regno dei poveri: arte e storia dei grandi ospedali veneziani in età moderna 1474-1797* (1989); Diana Kaley's *The Church of the Pietà* (1980), Franca Semi's *Gli 'Ospizi' di Venezia* (1983), and Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti's *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice* (2010) on architecture and the Ospedali's churches; and Andrea Nordio's articles on the Incurabili and public assistance (1994, 1996).

¹¹¹ While other fields in the humanities engaged with feminist theory in the 1970s and 1980s, during the boom of second-wave feminism, musicology did not really adopt this trend until the early 1990s. See Linda Phyllis Austern, "Women, Gender and Music," in Allyson Poska, Jane Couchman, and Katherine McIver, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 509-532.

Musical Foundations, 1525-1855 (1993, corrected edition 1996). She attempted to survey the Ospedali from their origins to their collapse, and, along with the Jane L. Berdes Papers held in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Duke University, her research is foundational to introducing the *figlie di coro* to a larger public. Unfortunately, due to the expansiveness of her proposed research, she largely had to rely on the Ospedali's institutional framework via the lives of male composers and the procurators, with little discussion of the women musicians promised by the title or their music. Berdes's work should be recognized, nevertheless, as a predecessor to more detailed scholarship about individual *figlie* and their music, including this dissertation. Subsequent *figlie*-focused publications included Berdes's article on "Anna Maria della Pietà: The Woman Musician of Venice Personified" (1994), Berdes's book co-authored with Elsie Arnold on *Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen: Eighteenth-Century Composer, Violinist, and Businesswoman* (2002), Micky White's essays "Biographical notes on the 'Figlie di coro' of the Pietà contemporary with Vivaldi" (2000) and "Scenes from the Life of Anna Maria 'Dal Violin'" (2004), and Berdes and Whittemore's *A Guide to Ospedali Research* (2012).

In Europe, several non-English publications also appeared in the 1990s and early 2000s. Berthold Over, for instance, approached the study of the Ospedali Maggiori through soloistic church music in *Per la gloria di Dio: Solistische Kirchenmusik an den venezianischen Ospedali* (1998). Helen Geyer and Wolfgang Osthoff also published the proceedings of the Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani's 2001 conference on the Ospedali Maggiori in *Musik an den venezianischen Ospedali* (2004).

Finally, two recent European monographs offer some of the most detailed and expansive histories of the Ospedali Maggiori available. In Italian, Pier Giuseppe Gillio's *L'attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento* (2006) came from years of musicological research, providing many transcribed archival materials, as well as a thorough account of the organizational and financial administrations and a reliable overview of musical offerings at each institution. Caroline Giron-Panel's French *Musique et Musiciennes à Venise* (2015), meanwhile, outlines the Ospedali's social history, with some specifics on patronage, daily life, and institutional relationships, as well as on the influence of these institutions for

future musical conservatories. While both of these authors also published several articles on various topics regarding the Ospedali Maggiori, their books attempt expansive comprehensive histories, beginning at the Ospedali's foundations and ending with their fall, while micro-histories and the descriptions of the *figlie di coro* are used mostly as short, intermittent examples within explanations of larger phenomena.

This dissertation is, therefore, first a reaction to the composer- and work-centric musicological scholarship that dominated study of the Ospedali Maggiori for most of the twentieth century. In the following chapters, Venetian archival sources are examined from a new perspective, with focus on accounts that reinforce the experiences and contributions of the female musicians, while revealing a broader musical environment that included community needs, performers' agency, and even pervasive social beliefs about the roles and educations of women. Additionally, this research responds specifically to that of Berdes, Gillio, and Giron-Panel by foregoing larger generic or comprehensive historical descriptions in favor of intimate narratives, as well as attention to early modern notions of femininity and womanhood in relation to musicianship, and a focused consideration of newly-discovered and rarely-considered musical manuscripts the *figlie* performed and used.

CHAPTER ONE

Regulations on Women, Music-Making, and Education

“Restino prodote quelle propositioni che tendino a conservare l’onorevolezza, il buon costume, et l’economia di questo Pio Loco.”

[Those propositions that tend to conserve the honor, the good morals, and the economy of this Charitable Institution should be produced.]

- Excerpt from the Congregation’s deliberations on the practice of teaching music to Venetian girls in the Ospedale della Pietà. ASV, OLP Busta 690 Not. L (28 November 1717), 101v-102.

The gradual increase of musical training and performance by the Ospedali’s female wards between 1660 and 1740 did not come without tension and dispute. In the Ospedali’s archival records, today held primarily in the *Ospedali e Luoghi Pii* collection at the Venetian Archivio di Stato and the collections of the Istituzione di Ricovero e di Educazione, one can find many ordinances from the Congregations on the ways in which they permitted women to teach and perform music. These regulations demonstrate both change and continuity, often oscillating between approval and restriction; despite the public’s growing desire to observe these exceptionally talented musical women, and the Congregation’s social and economic obligations to acquiesce to that public, widespread beliefs about women’s social roles as beneath those of men and generally relegated to domestic domains remained persistent and influential.¹¹² Thus, at times the patrician men who governed the Ospedali developed conditional requirements of permitting women to undertake public and professional music making, often under the pretense of “conserving the honor, the good morals, and the economy” of the institution and their wards.

Ospedali regulations reveal how the decisions regarding women’s musical practices, as they fluctuated throughout the decades, exemplified both larger Venetian anxieties about public-facing musical

¹¹² Dennis Romano, “Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice,” *Journal of Social History* Vol. 23, No. 2 (Winter, 1989): 340; Paula Findlen, “Ideas in the Mind: Gender and Knowledge in the Seventeenth Century,” *Hypatia*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2002): 185-6.

women and the growing fascination with women's abilities at the time. Although never stated outright, the social ideal that women should be confined to domestic domains, with emphasis on their reproductive roles as wives, mothers, or virgins, was consistently reinforced, and the morality and chasteness of women was always prioritized.¹¹³ Public display, notoriety, and active skill, while sometimes acceptable in certain "exceptional" women, needed to be regulated so that they would not transgress their proper social roles in Venetian society.¹¹⁴ In early modern Venice, music was thought to be particularly dangerous to women's moral upkeep, especially if they were to practice in public spaces. Thus, the Ospedali rules regularly underscored that music should only be used as a tool to benefit the institutions, to praise God, and to reinforce morality and righteousness in the souls of their female wards.

Lives of the Figlie di Coro according to the Capitoli et Ordini [Chapters and Ordinances]

The changes in the social status of the *figlie di coro*, as these musicians grew in public visibility and prestige during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in turn generated continued reactions from the Governors to create new forms of order and control over the Ospedali Maggiori and their wards. Strict and extensive regulations were put into place starting in the 1660s, which specified the duties and behaviors of all their dependents. The Ospedale dei Derelitti was the first of the four Ospedali to issue revised and clear ordinances for the institution's government in 1667.¹¹⁵ In 1704, this older version was republished almost word for word as *Capitoli et Ordini Per il buon Governo del Pio Hospitale de Poveri Derelitti apresso SS. Gio. e Paulo*; the Incurabili also published their *Capitoli, et Ordini Da osservarsi dalla Priora, Maestre, e Figlie* in 1704; the Mendicanti published *Capitoli della Veneranda Congregatione Dell'hospitale di Santo Lazaro, e Mendicanti* in 1706; and the Ospedale della

¹¹³ The idea that the reproductive capabilities of women are often central to women's place in society was not a new one. See Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Linda Nicholson, ed., *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 27–62.

¹¹⁴ The *figlie di coro*'s musical activities fell in between those of opera singers on one side and nuns on the other. While the Congregations wanted their women to be perceived more like virtuous and cloistered nuns, public audiences were attracted to them in the same way as public entertainers. The Congregations' regulations carefully navigated and attempted to control these perceptions and the reputations that came along with them.

¹¹⁵ IRE, DER A 3 *Capitulare* (1667), 13-22, as transcribed in Ellero, *Arte e Musica*, 141-153.

Pietà compiled several ordinances from the early eighteenth century to be printed as one document in 1720, titled *Capitoli et Ordini Per il buon Governo del Pio Hospitale della Pietà*.¹¹⁶ These documents reveal the Ospedali Governors' idealized vision of how their female wards should behave and what were the appropriate limits on their expanding social and musical activities.

While the life stages of a *figlia di coro* varied depending on the Ospedale in which she lived and worked, the *Capitoli et Ordini* of the Ospedali dei Derelitti, which appeared first, became a model for the other three institutions' daily functions and management. Along with an introduction and descriptions of the duties and offices of the Governors, the booklet presents a 37-page section, almost one third of the entire 132 pages, which describes the "Orders for the *Deputati sopra li Figliuoli and Figliuole*." These pages, rather than outlining exactly what the *Deputati* needed to undertake for the male and female wards, primarily lists rules the *Deputati* should supervise over the *figlie* themselves, such as women's approved daily activities, chores, social interaction, dress, meals, devotional practices, entertainment, rules of admission, and guidelines for living quarters. The section on the women is twice the length of that on the male wards, mostly because the women undertook most of the institution's domestic tasks, which are all described and regimented in the publication; it also contains quite a few more specific regulations on women's behavior and dress.¹¹⁷

According to these ordinances, a young girl could be accepted as a ward of the Derelitti only between the ages of six and ten, a conventional age-range between infancy and puberty when many female wards began their musical education, that was also practiced at the Mendicanti and the Incurabili, and which occasionally stretched up to the age of twelve. (See Figure 2.1 below.) Each girl who wanted

¹¹⁶ See appendix for transcriptions and translations of these documents. Some of the regulations printed in this booklet were first made in ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (4 March 1708), 3-7; and ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (7 July 1710), 136-7.

¹¹⁷ Based on a revised edition in 1704, these ordinances contain eleven pages of instructions for the male *figlioli* and twenty-six pages of instructions for the female *figliuole*. The extended length for the female wards is partly due to the diversity of duties that they were assigned, including *Priora, Panatiere, Refetoriere, Cuciniere, Infermiere, Assistente al Medico e Barbere, Lavanderiera, Sacristane, and Coriste*. The male wards, on the other hand, only served as *Sacristani* (sacristans) or *Cercanti* (alms searchers). Only forty boys were allowed to live within the institution, but the number of women could be up to triple that figure. *Capitoli [...] Derelitti* (Venice: Antonio Tivani, 1704), 25-61.

to enter the institution, however, had to prove that she was “the most miserable and derelict, absolutely orphaned of father and mother, and without relatives able to give her assistance and shelter [...] and above all without any notable defect.”¹¹⁸ This proof often came in the form of marriage and death certificates of her parents, birth and baptism certificates, as well as written assertions from a local priest. Additionally, after the Governors received the documents, inspected her current place of habitation, and interviewed her neighbors to ensure the accuracy of the gathered information, the young girl would also be personally examined by the Ospedale’s staff for any defect, including moral flaws, perhaps a non-Catholic background or a mother who worked as a prostitute, as well as incurable health conditions. The Congregation then might officially ratify her acceptance into the institution after holding a ballot, as she needed at least eight Governors to vote in her favor. The process of acceptance was arduous, often taking months or even years to complete, and would have made a life at the Ospedale unobtainable for many vagrants, migrants, disabled individuals, non-Christians, or others not considered part of proper Venetian society. Indeed, only women who were relatively privileged and did not stray from the accepted norms of Roman Catholicism and social responsibility could officially follow the path of a *figlia*. Otherwise, despite a regulation against the practice, a needy young girl might sneak in with the help of someone within the institution, perhaps a *governatrice* or a female relative who was already a *figlia*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 58-9. “esser più miserabili, e derelite Orfani assolutamente di Padre, e madre, e senza parenti habili à potergli dare agiuto, e ricovero, che non eccedino l’età d’anni dieci, ne meno di sei, e sopra il tutto senza difetto alcuno notabile.”

¹¹⁹ See chapters 2 and 4 for examples of girls and women within the institution who skirted the Congregation’s strict procedures. The regulation can be found in *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 47. “Che in tempo, e modo alcuno non sij permesso tener nell’Ospitale nostro Figliuole à spese, ò in salvo, ne à dozzina sotto à qual si voglia causa, ò pretesto imaginabile ancorche fossero Parenti della Priora, ò d’alcuno delli Governatori, ò Governatrici nostre, ò d’altri [It is not permitted to keep at any time or in any way *figliuole a spese* or *in salvo* in our *Ospitale*, nor as boarders for any reason or pretense imaginable, even if they were relatives of the Priora or of any of our Governors or *Governatrici* or of others].”

Ospedale della Pietà	Ospedale dei Mendicanti	Ospedale dei Derelitti and Ospedale degli Incurabili
<p><i>Figli da latte e nene</i> (Ages 0 to 3): abandoned children of either sex cared for by wetnurses (<i>nene</i>) and families, often on the <i>terra ferma</i></p> <p><i>Figli da pan</i> (Ages 3 to 10): orphaned children over the age of breastfeeding, kept on the <i>terra ferma</i></p>	<p>Age 0 to 5: officially not accepted, but occasionally young girls entered to receive education from the female wards as <i>figlie in educazione</i></p>	<p>Age 0 to 5: officially not accepted, but occasionally young girls entered to receive education from the female wards as <i>figlie in educazione</i></p>
<p><i>Figli piccoli</i> (Under age 14): children of either sex kept within the institution or returned from the <i>terra ferma</i> before the age of 10</p>	<p><i>Incipienti</i> (Ages 6 to approximately 15): newly accepted young girls who received a general education, including some music</p>	<p><i>Figlie piccole</i> (Ages 6 to approximately 15): newly accepted young girls who received a general education, including some music</p>
<p><i>Figlie mezzane</i> (Ages 14 to 18): girls whose education and specialized training intensified, with some chosen to focus on music; the most musically talented girls may receive exemptions from other chores; boys sent away to work by age 16</p>	<p><i>Profitienti</i> (Ages 16 to 20): girls and women recognized to be skilled enough for musical training to officially join the <i>coro</i>, learning both singing and instrumental playing</p>	<p><i>Figlie grandi / adulte</i> (Over 16): women and girls, considered fully adult, who trained and worked for the institution as either <i>figlie di coro</i> or <i>operaie</i></p>
<p><i>Figlie grandi</i> (Over age 18): women separated into their occupations as <i>figlie di coro</i> or <i>figlie di comun</i>, as well as some assigned as <i>maestre</i> or <i>privileggiate</i></p>	<p><i>Essercitanti</i> (Over 20): full members of the <i>coro</i>, who performed and taught music</p> <p><i>Operaie</i> (workers): non-musical wards who undertake the institution's domestic functions</p>	
<p>“<i>Età avanzata</i>” (At least age 30, but often over 50): Possibility to gain positions of high authority, such as <i>piora</i></p>		
<p><i>Giubilate</i>: retired women reaching the end of their life, often sick or unable to fulfill anymore duties, yet able to retain certain privileges and authority</p>		

Table 2.1. Life stages of the *figlie*¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Age ranges and classes of the *figlie* come mainly from *Capitoli* [...] *Pietà*, 16; and IRE, MEN B 2 (13 May 1676), 174, as cited in Ellero, *Arte e musica*, 181. See also Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 56-7, 76-7.

Unlike the *Derelitti*, *Mendicanti*, and *Incurabili*, most wards at the Ospedale della Pietà were orphaned foundlings, abandoned as infants in the *scafetta*, a small metal turntable at the church where a child could be delivered, occasionally with small notes or emblems by which to identify them, but most often anonymously.¹²¹ Any infant, from any background, could be left at this Ospedale, where he or she would be provided for both spiritually and physically. After being named and baptized, each child was quickly placed with a wetnurse, often on the Venetian mainland. If they did not stay with their wetnurse or foster families, as was hoped, the foundlings returned to the Pietà usually between the ages of three to ten. While up to six-hundred wards might have lived on the institutional premises, thousands of foundlings homed around the *terra ferma* remained under the jurisdiction of the Ospedale della Pietà.

At all four of the Ospedali Maggiori, every woman within the institutions, regardless of age, followed a strict monastic-like routine that included chores, prayer, communal meals, and celebration of the Liturgy of the Hours throughout the day. The *Capitoli et Ordini* of the *Derelitti* chronicled their expected daily activities in exceptional detail.¹²² After rising together in the early hours of the morning, they recited an *Ave Maria* (the Rosary), the psalm *Miserere* for the hour of Lauds, as well as the *De Profundis* and *Salve Regina*, “with intelligible voice,” therefore likely chanted as a communal group. This is the only time of the day when the *figlie* were permitted to raise their voices to be heard. Meanwhile, they all dressed “with silence and speed” at intermittent sounds of a bell, rung by one of the older *figlie* who was assigned to the weekly role of *Settimaniera*.¹²³ They then went to the oratory together to quietly say and hear prayers, before returning to their rooms to make their beds and clean the house for half an hour, “equally with silence and modesty.”¹²⁴ Another bell toll from the *Settimaniera* signaled all the

¹²¹ Books, called *Registri scafetta*, in which the workers of the Ospedale della Pietà kept records of the abandoned infants and all objects left with them are kept today at the Archivio Storico della Santa Maria della Pietà, Venezia (ASMPV).

¹²² See Ellero, *Arte e Musica* for a full transcription of this document.

¹²³ *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 39. “con voce intelligibile, frà tanto tutte con il silenzio, e prestezza.” It is interesting that they recited every morning the psalm *De Profundis*, which is normally a part of Vespers, and the *Salve Regina*, which is normally part of Compline on certain days. The *Settimaniera* was a role that rotated weekly between the oldest and most trusted women of the institution.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* “parimente con silentio, e modestia.”

women to go to work, each being assigned specific duties or chores (described below) while they continued to recite prayers quietly to themselves, including the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary and prayers for the current and deceased Governors and *governatrici* of the Ospedale.

It was during this time, which lasted approximately five hours every morning, that the musical *figlie di coro* were often dismissed from regular chores. They could go to the music rooms or choir lofts, where they kept a list of funeral rites and masses that needed to be fulfilled for deceased wards, Governors, favored *maestri*, or patrons.¹²⁵ The church workers and the *figlie di coro* provided these obligations each morning, sometimes with music. After their chores, the other *figlie* joined the *figlie di coro* in the church for mass proper, processing to the location two-by-two behind a lifted cross, carried by the *Settimaniera*. The *figlie di coro* would sing and play hymns and psalms during the Eucharistic service, particularly on every day of Lent, as well as on the last Thursday, Sunday, and Monday of Carnevale (Shrovetide).¹²⁶ Unlike other Roman Catholic territories, which might forbid the use of music or instrumental playing during Lent, the Venetian Ospedali fostered performances during that holy season, replacing the shuttered opera theaters as a primary site of social ritual and entertainment. On feast days, especially Conception, Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Assumption, Nativity, and Pentecost, the *figlie di coro* also sang and performed other sections of the Divine Office, especially Vespers and Compline, which on normal days were only spoken quietly during work and chores.

Every day after mass, the *figlie* spread out according to class and duty, again “with silence.”¹²⁷ The *figlie di coro* finished their musical activities, while the other women worked at their duties until the time allotted for a late lunch. Approximately seven hours after rising from their beds, they all went to the dining hall and spoke a *Pater noster*, an *Ave Maria*, some psalms or hymns, and a Benediction over their

¹²⁵ A good example of this in in March 1726, when the *figlie di coro* of the Ospedale della Pietà sung a mass for the recently deceased *maestro di coro* Carlo Pietro Grua. See ASV, OLP Busta 691, Not. O (29 March 1726), 7v-8. They also performed a sung Solemn Mass, and the church held thirty other “*messe basse*” or low masses, for the death of the Doge and former Governor Alvise Pisani in July 1741. See ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. R (14 July 1741), 114.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 2-3.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 42. “vi saranno andate per ordine, et con silentio.”

food. While they ate, the *Settimaniera* would read to them, “as long as the others should eat in silence and modesty, and if they need something, without saying anything, they should make a signal with the beat of a knife on the table.”¹²⁸ The meal ended with more prayers and a recitation of the *Te Deum*, before they went again to the oratory for more prayers. The day continued with half an hour of silent free time and approximately six or seven hours of chores and other duties, another period in which the *figlie di coro* might undertake musical activities, all while reciting Vespers, Compline, Lauds, Matins, and other prayers and litanies for both living and dead benefactors of the Ospedale and for the ill. Only at sundown would their hours of work end, followed by a second meal in the dining hall.

The evenings consisted of another half an hour of free time for “prayer or other Christian exercise,” as well as a further recitation of the psalms *Miserere* and *De Profundis* and a final Benediction. The older women were responsible for closing and locking all doors and balconies of the dormitories, where girls under the age of twelve slept two to a bed and lamps remained on throughout the night. Even the older women often slept in shared dormitories, although each with her own bed; only the most privileged and dutiful, such as prominent *figlie di coro*, found themselves with their own rooms.

The Ospedali’s *figlie* followed the above routine every single day, and the Governors outlined that the *figlie* should never miss any of the regulated parts of the day, including spiritual exercises and chores. Only through a legitimate cause, such as illness, and with permission, could they be excused. Otherwise, they would be required to make up chores the next day, or they “should be punished with fasts, penance, mortification, and both public and private discipline, according to the errors, negligence, and defects which they committed.”¹²⁹ The wards were only relieved on feast days, such as religious holidays and saints days, during which they still had to recite prayers and the Liturgy of the Office, but

¹²⁸ *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 41. “sin tanto che l’altre mangino con silentio, e modestia, e bisognando ad alcuna qualche cosa senza dir altro facci segno col batter del coltello sopra la Tavola.”

¹²⁹ *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 43. “Tutte quelle, che senza impedimento, ò legitima causa, ovvero non dispensate dalla Superiora, ò sue Maestre mancassero del suo debito in qualche essercitio Spirituale, ò Corporale siino castigate con Diggiuni, Penitenze, mortificationi, e Discipline cosi pubbliche, come private à misura degl’errori, negligenze, e difetti, che commettersero.”

“each one should practice some fruitful or spiritual exercises, refraining above all from labor, granting them some legitimate and modest recreation.”¹³⁰ Additionally, the *figlie* often received a “*sollievo*,” one day of recreation per year, during which they could take a small excursion to one of the local islands accompanied closely by *governatrici* and supervised from a distance by Governors in their gondolas.

During their hours of work and chores, the youngest girls, known most often as “*figlie piccole*,” received a limited education from the older women, which included “corporal” exercises of washing, sewing, or other tasks that sustained the functioning of the home, as well as spiritual exercises and observance of Christian doctrine. Their learning included basic arithmetic, literacy in the vernacular, and likely some Latin with which they could adhere to Christian doctrine and recite all the prayers needed throughout the day.¹³¹ All *figlie* would also receive some basic musical training, as music was an essential part of standard education and spiritual exercises for charitable institutions throughout Italy at the time.¹³² The young *figlie*’s training intensified and became more specialized, with those showing musical inclination separated for more targeted instruction around the age of fourteen.¹³³

As they matured, each young woman was assigned an official chore, or “*tasca*,” which could include lacemaking, sewing, bread making, spinning, or other domestic labors that provided an economic return and sustained the functioning of the institution or might even prepare a woman for future employment. Each woman had to fulfill their *tasca* daily, working for a specific number of hours or earning prescribed wages for their upkeep. By age eighteen to twenty, they were considered full adults and became designated by their duty. Approximately forty women comprised each Ospedale’s *coro* and

¹³⁰ *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 43. “ogn’una doverà esercitarsi in qualche Opera fruttuosa, ò Spirituale, astenendosi sopra il tutto di lavorare concedendosegli qualche lecita, e modesta recreatione.”

¹³¹ Based on the letters the *figlie* wrote, discussed in chapter two, and their positions as scribes, they obviously learned how to read and write in the vernacular. It is unclear how much Latin they learned, although Agata composed a solo motet with poetic Latin text (see chapter four), and they recited Latin daily for the Liturgy of the Office, so they must have had a working familiarity with the language at least for religious purposes.

¹³² 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).

¹³³ *Capitoli [...] Pietà*, 16. Wards were designated in classes by age: *figlie minori / piccole* (6-13), *figlie mezzane* (14-18), and *figlie grandi* as adults. For a more detailed discussion of these classes, see Gillio, *L’attività musicale*, 75-6.

earned the title of *figlia di coro / corista*, while the dozens, if not hundreds, of other non-musical female wards generally took up other primary functions as *figlie di commun* (common daughters) or *operaie* (workers).¹³⁴ The eldest women could also earn positions of authority, supervising and teaching the rest of the *figlie*, as *Priora* (Prioress), *maestre* (teachers), *portinare* (door keepers), *panatiere* (bakers/pantry maids), *refetoriere* (refectory workers), *cuciniere* (cooks), *infermiere* (nurses), *assistente al medico e barbere* (assistants to the doctor and barber-surgeon), *lavanderiere* (washer women), and *sacristane* (sacristans).

Many women stayed in the Ospedali throughout their lives, fulfilling these positions, but others could use these skills to find a husband or outside occupation. Most women of the Ospedali who married did so between the ages of 16 and 21, although there are records of *figlie* marrying as young as 13 and as old as 40.¹³⁵ A *figlia* might also rarely find a position as a maid or servant in a local family's home, but this was not quite as common.¹³⁶ Most who received permission from the Congregation for marriage or work, however, came from the class of *figlie di commun* or *operarie*, as the *figlie di coro* and the years of musical training they received were quite valuable to the institution. The *figlie di coro*, in fact, were expected to train at least two younger girls to take their place before they could receive a dowry for marriage.¹³⁷ The Congregation promoted the other *figlie* for marriage and tried to attract suitors, so as to decreased the number of wards in their care, by providing a reasonable dowry for each *figlia*.¹³⁸ Interested

¹³⁴ The numbers of the *coro* could fluctuate. The Mendicanti had up to 50 in the late eighteenth century, and the Pietà might have anywhere between 30-80 depending on the era. Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 95-8.

¹³⁵ For instance, Teodora (scaffetta T #2420) a Mazzette (a job related to fabric or wool) was only 13 years old at her marriage, while Maria (scaffetta R #263) del Cuse (sewing) was 38. Both received permission to marry in ASV, OLP Busta 694, Not. V (18 December 1767), 96.

¹³⁶ A regulation on assigning *figlie* to serve in homes both locally and in villas on the *terra ferma* can be found in ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. O (7 May 1728), 151-3. Women who worked outside of the Ospedali and then had to return for various reasons were called *figlie di ritorno*. They were typically separated away from most of the other *figlie* and their living quarters.

¹³⁷ *Capitoli* [...] *Pietà*, Capitolo III, 19-20.

¹³⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. I (3 July 1712), 31v-32v. “è deciderabile ritrovar frequenti incontri di maritar le Figlie che in molto numero esistono con grave dispendio di questo Pio Luoco; cosi deversi promoverli a costo aco di qualche acrescimento di Dotte [it is desirable to find frequent chances to marry the *figlie*, who are very numerous, with serious expense to this Charitable Institution; so it is necessary to promote them at the cost of some increase of dowry].” The dowry usually ranged anywhere between 50 to 250 ducats depending on the woman and the decade.

parties, such as unmarried Venetian men, could approach the members of the Congregation to inquire about possible marriage partners – which especially occurred for the most famous *figlie di coro* – although *figlie* most likely found suitors through chance encounters while running errands, traveling outside the institution for recreation or health reasons, or during gatherings within the church.¹³⁹ Any potential suitor, however, had to prove that they were good Christians, lived morally acceptable lives, and had enough of a stable financial situation to support a family before they received the Congregation’s blessing and the *figlia*’s dowry, which typically came from bequests to the institution and was expected to be returned at death if the couple did not produce offspring.¹⁴⁰

In charge of every single woman in an Ospedale was the *Priora*, or head female supervisor, who typically earned a small salary and was responsible for daily inspecting the activities of all the female wards.¹⁴¹ The *Capitoli* of the Ospedale dei Mendicanti declared that the woman who was elected to be *Priora* must be “of a mature age, with intelligence, suitable to govern, discrete, respectable and without scandal. She should govern and overlook all the things that are needed and must happen for the daily functioning of the women’s quarters, like a good mother to a family, with seriousness, prudence and charity [...] Like a leader, she should be obeyed and acknowledged as a superior from all the poor women of this place.”¹⁴² She also protected the keys to the doors and balconies of the institution, supervised entrances and exits through those doors, managed finances, inventoried supplies, assigned

¹³⁹ Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musciennes*, 441. Also, see chapter two for the story of Apollonia, who received many marriage proposals during her musical career and rejected all of them until she met a man during her visits to the *terra ferma* later in age.

¹⁴⁰ Dozens of records of *figlie* receiving permission to marry, with the added stipulations, can be found in ASV, OLP Buste 687-694.

¹⁴¹ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. B (11 April 1678), 81r. *Priora* Malgarita, who served at the Pietà until September 1680, earned 25 ducats per year for her labor. At the Mendicanti, a *Priora* earned 70 ducats per year, until 1717, when the salary was reduced to 40 ducats per year. Also see Berdes and Whittemore, 717.

¹⁴² *Capitoli della Veneranda Congregazione Dell’hospitale di Santo Lazaro, e Mendicanti della Città di Venetia Per il governo di esso Hospitale* (Venezia: Per Domenico Lovisa, 1706), 36-7. “Doverà esser procurata a questo carico persona civile di maturo seno, & età, intelligente, & atta al governo, discreta, da bene, & senza scandalo, & con miglior partito, che si potrà havere, & parerà alla Congregatione. Questa haverà il governo, & soprintendenza alle cose occorreranno, & si doveranno giornalmente operare dalla parte delle donne, come buona madre di famiglia, con gravità, occulatezza, & carità, verso le povere di ogni stato [...] A questa da tutte le povere di esso luoco, come capo, gli doverà esser prestata ubbidienza, & riconosciuta per superiora.”

responsibilities, and imposed discipline as necessary, including isolation, removal of privileges, or reduced food rations of bread and water.¹⁴³ Each *Priora* had supreme functional authority within the walls of an Ospedale, subject to appointment and regulation of the Congregation and *Deputati*. The *Deputati* made inquiries as to the obedience of the rules, and they were only notified of misbehavior if the *Priora* was absent or if she believed the infraction to be great enough to warrant their interest. She could also write letters to request advice of the Governors and *Deputati*, who would return written instructions and “give her aids and remedies that will be most suitable.”¹⁴⁴ Although the position might have been filled by a hired external woman or a *governatrice* in earlier periods, by the eighteenth century each *Priora* came from the internal ranks. A *figlia* who lived within an Ospedale could rise to this prestigious position, and, rather than non-musical Ospedale wards, the *figlie* who demonstrated decades of exceptional leadership, organization, and teaching in the *coro* most often found their way to this role.¹⁴⁵

The *figlie* who became *maestre* or teachers, managed discipline, supervised chores, and most importantly oversaw education of the younger wards, both in musical and non-musical activities.¹⁴⁶ Like the *Priora*, a *maestra* was tasked with being an essential model of behavior and influence. Some served as mentors in the master-apprentice training system that prepared girls for the *coro*, making assessments of younger *figlie* and deciding who was talented enough to receive training from the male *maestri* and become a full performing *figlia di coro*.¹⁴⁷ A musically-inclined *figlia*, appointed to the prestigious position of *maestra di coro*, would also enjoy direct access to the *maestri*, acting as their personal

¹⁴³ *Capitoli [...] Incurabili*, 6. *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 38-9.

¹⁴⁴ *Capitoli [...] Mendicanti*, 37. “darli quelli aiuti, & remedii, [...] che stimeranno convenienti.”

¹⁴⁵ For example, at the Ospedale della Pietà, between 1680 and 1740, at least six out of the ten known *Priore* were confirmed *figlie di coro*: Cecilia (1680-1691), Francesca Scrivana (c. 1686), Meneghina (1715-18), Domenica (c. 1721), Meneghina dal Violin (1729-30), and Lucietta Organista (1730-1734). The *figlie* who did not serve the *coro*, yet still became *Priore*, often worked in other high positions such as *infermiera* (nurse) or *portinara* (doorkeeper). At the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, all eight *Priore* elected between 1707 and the 1780s started as *figlie di coro*: Vittoria Loredana (1707-19), Felice Sarrati (1719-c.1726), Margarita dalla Balla (1726-39), Fiorina Amorevoli (c.1739), Francesca Alberti (1750-66), Francesca Rossi (1761-73), Antonia Cubli (1774-83), and Margarita Doglioni (c. 1784).

¹⁴⁶ At the Pietà there were not only *maestre di coro*, who supervised the musical activities, but also *maestre di commun* who helped teach other non-musical occupations.

¹⁴⁷ IRE MEN B. 1, *Della Rubrica [...] Mendicanti, tomo secondo* (1677), 146, as cited in Ellero, *Arte e musica*, 163.

assistant, producing copies of their musical scores, and running rehearsals or performances in their absence. The *Capitoli* of the Ospedale della Pietà explained that the assigned *maestre* “should be ready to assist them [the *maestri*], and they should bring the *figliuole* without delay to the designated room at the sound of the bell, and hold them there until the *maestri* are present; the *maestre di coro* should never move away, nor leave for anything without leaving some other *maestra* in her place.”¹⁴⁸ Additionally, the professional male composers might “leave copies of scores, with which the *maestra di coro* can make copies from the original, without any burden to the *maestro*,”¹⁴⁹ and “the *maestra di coro* should write on paper the compositions that are to be sung, and which *figliuole* should sing one or more motets and the Antiphon, presenting this note in the *coro* the day before to notify those [*figlie*] that they will be ordered to work.”¹⁵⁰ Thus, in addition to instructing students, the *maestre* facilitated much of the scheduling and organization for musical practice and performance at the Ospedali. At times, the *maestre* might also receive additional students from outside the Ospedali, daughters and nieces of patrician families as fee-paying students, called *figlie in educazione* or *figlie a spesa*, with whom they could network for patronage and external support.¹⁵¹ While the *maestre* at the Mendicanti and Derelitti were promoted naturally, with most older *figlie di coro* simply expected to take on students, the Pietà’s Congregation selected and voted upon teaching appointments, and only the most exceptional and privileged instructors, known as *privileggiate*, were allowed to teach *figlie in educazione*.

Along with the descriptions of daily activities and duties above, the *Capitoli et Ordini* also outline what general behaviors were and were not appropriate for the women of the Ospedali. For instance, unlike

¹⁴⁸ *Capitoli [...] Pietà*, 18. “le Maestre destinate per assisterle, & al suono della Campanella abbino a portarsi senza ritardo le figliuole nella stanza destinata, senza farsi aspettare, e trattenersi fino che vi dimoreranno essi Maestri, non allontanandosi mai da essi le Maestre di Coro, nè partire per qualunque caso senza lasciarvi qualche altra Maestra in suo luogo.”

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 49. “Doverà lasciar copia delle partidure, quali saranno fatte copiare dalla Maestra di Coro dagli originali, senza alcun aggravio di detto Maestro.”

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 18. “Doverà la Maestra di Coro scriver sopra una carta le composizioni, che si dovessero cantare, quali figliuole doveranno cantare uno, ò più motetti, e l’Antifona, esponendo essa nota il giorno avanti nel Coro à notizia di quelle saranno ordinate di operare.”

¹⁵¹ ASV, OLP Busta 690 Not. L (1 May 1718), 121-123v. Unlike the internal *figlie di comun* or *figlie di coro*, *figlie in educazione* were considered external students, with (typically wealthy merchant or patrician) families who often financed their upkeep and to which they were to return.

in convents, where instrumental playing was largely prohibited and it was preferable for women to speak or chant the liturgy, the *figlie di coro* could regularly play music.¹⁵² Yet the Congregation had two specific rules about music-making within the institution. First, “they cannot sing in the *coro* without permission from this Congregation or at least of the *Deputati sopra le figliuole*, other than the masses, Vespers, and anything else that is ordinary.”¹⁵³ In theory, the Governors generally forbade the playing of secular genres, with few exceptions, although records reveal that the *figlie* did play instrumental music, which accompanied portions of religious services, as well as arias, cantatas, and serenatas to please distinguished or royal guests.¹⁵⁴ This prohibition, however, framed the second rule: “The *Figliuole di Casa* should not be allowed in any way to recite comedies, nor spiritual plays or similar things, without express permission of the Congregation.”¹⁵⁵ While these regulations may suggest the *figlie* rarely performed secular or theatrical works, the Congregation’s rule seemed more intended to curtail *figlie di coro* from preparing for professional roles in those genres. In reality, the *figlie* regularly earned permission to perform secular music under certain conditions. Similar to practices in local convents, it was not uncommon for the *figlie* to use music as personal entertainment, especially during times of festivals and Carnevale. Nevertheless, the *figlie*’s music was of known quality and often attracted interested listeners, as expressed in a record of 1725 from the Ospedale della Pietà:

It has come to the attention of the Congregation by the *Deputati* of the request from the *figlie di coro* to have permission to be able to produce a Work in Music in the workroom during the current Carnevale, as it has been practiced in other times, and is also allowed in other Charitable Institutions; And knowing such a request to be advantageous in providing these *figlie* some recreation, it is given that the *figlie* are granted permission during the present Carnevale to be able to recite the sought work, with express prohibition, however, that during the time of the recitation, no man of any condition can enter, neither alone or accompanied by our Lord Governors, to whom entrance remains

¹⁵² Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 14.

¹⁵³ *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 53. “Non possino cantar in Coro oltre le Messe, Vesperi, & altro che fosse ordinario senza licenza di questa Congregatione, ò almeno delli Deputati sopra le Figliuole.”

¹⁵⁴ See chapter three for a fuller discussion of the music they performed.

¹⁵⁵ *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 51. “Non si debbi permettere in modo alcuno alle Figliuole di Casa di recitare Comedie, ne rappresentationi Spirituali, ò cose simili senza espressa licenza della Congregatione”

permitted, as well as to some women of honest life and honorable conditions, however, in mask when she is not accompanied by men.¹⁵⁶

The Governors always required their permission for such performances, which might include comedies and operatic works.¹⁵⁷ So, the *figlie* surely practiced secular music amongst themselves before they performed for any small audiences of the Governors and patrician Venetian women.

The other prohibitions and limits on the *figlie*'s behaviors and activities can be separated into three categories: first, how the *figlie* presented themselves; second, how the *figlie* related to each other; and third, how the *figlie* related to the outside world. In other words, the Governors tried to regulate every aspect of the *figlie*'s social life, from their own physical appearance to their interactions with all other people. First, the *Capitoli et Ordini* included an extremely detailed paragraph on the women's dress, a section that was completely absent in the publication's section regarding the male wards:

The clothing of the *figliuole* must all be practical and modest, that is, with a simple roan-colored garment and a bust of the same color, without stitching [embroidery] and without any embellishment, not even in the stitches or otherwise. Completely forbidden are silk or half-silk petticoats, ribbons of any kind or color, earrings/pendants, *Manini* [Venetian-style gold chains], gold rings, silk and half-silk stockings, belts, shoes, ribbons, roses, and all other adornments such as cloths, or other laces of any kind; but they must wear their *velo di bombace* [cotton/wool veil], unblemished and of compact knit, not transparent, and their shoes free of ribbons or other adornments. On their head, a white ribbon of string or, at most, the *Cendalina* [a ribbon poor women used to braid the hair], without ribbons or ornaments, without curls or hairdos of any sort. In sum, they should always dress with that modesty that befits poor *figliuole* of this Ospedale.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 691, Not. 12 N2 (12 January 1724 m.v./ 1725), 46v-47. “[Esposta alla Congregazione dai Deputati] l’Istanza delle Figlie di Choro per aver licenza di poter farre un Oppera in Musica nel Laboratorio nel Corr.e Carnevale come è stato altre volte praticato, e viene pure, permesso in altri Luochi Pij, e conoscendosi talle istanza conveniente per rendere in qualche modo sollevate le dette Figlie, Si manda parte che resti alle Figlie su.te permesso nel corso del p.nte Carnevalle di poter recitare l’Oppera ricercata, con espressa proibizione però che non possi nel tempo di Recita entrare alcun Huomo di qualunque conditione ne sollo, ne accompagnatto con S.ri Gov.ri N.ri à qualli solli resti permesso l’ingresso, come pure à qualche Donna di honesta Vita e honorevolle conditione in maschera, quando però non sij accompagniata con Huomini.” Transcribed in Gillio, *L’attività musicale*, CD materiali documentari, Source P#23.

¹⁵⁷ There is no record of the *figlie* wearing costumes or fully staging performances such as these. The *figlie* likely had to remain in uniform, especially if the Governors were in attendance. Although, the *figlie di coro* could have put together their own costumes from their earned income, off the official Ospedali records.

¹⁵⁸ *Capitoli [...] Derelitti*, 47. “Il vestire delle Figliuole doverà esser in tutto positivo, e modesto, cioè con semplice vestura rovana, e busto dell’istesso colore senza punta, e senza guarnitione alcuna, ne pure in nervetti ò altro, prohibite del tutto le Carpete di Seta, e mezza Seta, galani di qualsivoglia modo, e colore, o Recchini, Manini, & Anelli d’oro, Calzete di Seta, e mezza Seta, poste, Scarpe, Fiocchi, e Rosete, & ogn’altro adornamento così di pezzete, Merli di qualsivoglio sorte, come di altro; mà debbino portar il suo velo di bombace schieto, serato non

Women's dress was a notable topic of concern in Venice throughout the seventeenth century, as it was elsewhere in Europe, and the Ospedali's regulations reflect many of the ideas that appear in Venetian literature about women.¹⁵⁹ While the Governors did not dictate a specific type or cut of dress, they focus specifically on forbidding ornamentation, luxurious fabrics, and other indicators of finery. In the words of historian Patricia Lebalme, "women's appetite for luxury, their extravagance and cosmetic vanity were traditional accusations levied from the pulpit and in misogynist literature."¹⁶⁰ Following misogynistic accusations that women were lewd or vain if they dressed certain ways, the men who governed the Ospedali condemned lavish or revealing dress on their wards to avoid association with moral corruption and lasciviousness and to protect their own honor and reputations. Many of the *figlie*, lacking families or other markers of identity, sought out Venice's famed finery, silks, laces, velvets, and jewelry, to define their individuality amongst the group of institutionalized women.¹⁶¹ Yet, since clothing was closely associated with the body and immodesty, the Governors stated that restricting these items at the Ospedali Maggiori was essential to ensuring unity amongst the wards, as well as the bodily purity and virtuous reputations of the *figlie*.¹⁶²

trasparente, le sue scarpe schiete senza fiocchi, ò altro adornamento, in testa una cordella bianca di filo, ò al più Cendalina senza galani, ò buffi senza rizi, ò acconciatura di alcuna sorte. In somma debbino vestir sempre con quella modestia si conviene à Povere figliuole di questo Ospitale."

¹⁵⁹ For example, in opposition to the common negative judgements on women's dress, proto-feminist Venetian writers Moderata Fonte (pseudonym of Modesta da Pozzo), Lucrezia Marinella, and Arcangela Tarabotti all considered the clothing of women in their reasoning for the rights and education of women in the seventeenth century, arguing that women should be able to express their inner merits outwardly. See Moderata Fonte, *Il Merito delle Donne* (Venice: Domenico Imberti, 1600); Lucrezia Marinella, *La Nobiltà, et L'Eccellenza delle Donne, Co' Diffetti et Mancamenti de gli Huomini* (Venice: G. Battista Ciotti, 1601); and Arcangela Tarabotti, *Lettere familiari* (Venice: Guerigi, 1650)

¹⁶⁰ Patricia Lebalme, "Venetian Women on Women," in *Saints, Women and Humanists in Renaissance Venice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 94-6.

¹⁶¹ For a fuller discussion on clothing at the Ospedali, including citations of the collections of fancy clothing and ornaments the *figlie* might own, see Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musiciennes à Venise*, 348-357.

¹⁶² Additionally, the *figlie di coro* wore specific colors when performing for the public. The musicians at the Incurabili wore blue – a symbol of faith and chastity, also the color most often seen on the Virgin Mary – the students at the Mendicanti wore purple (thought to be a mixture of red and black) – a color of mourning and nobility – the Derelitti wards wore white – the color of virginity – and the Pietà musicians usually wore red – the symbol of charity. Charles de Brosses described one example of performance attire for the *figlie*: a white robe with pomegranate flowers over their ears. See Charles de Brosses, *L'Italie il y a cent ans ou Lettres écrites d'Italie à quelques amis en 1739 et 1740*, ed. M. R. Colomb, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Levasseur, 1836), 214. As white was an

The second aspect of the *Capitoli et Ordini* regulations on women focused on how the *figlie* relate to each other. The Governors stipulated that none of the *figlie* have distinction between them, but should all act and be treated with uniformity. The women followed the same schedule, slept in the same rooms, used the same infirmary, and ate the same meals, as “all should be brought uniformly without any partiality, except for the infirm or the indisposed, to whom some difference will be made during their need and not for their advantage.”¹⁶³ The *Priora* especially was ordered to ensure that she did not give special distinction between the woman she oversaw. As will be seen in the following chapters, because the *figlie* were recognized by their duties, as *figlie di coro*, *figlie di commun*, or otherwise, distinctions were inevitable. The Governors simply believed that homogeneity would in turn cause peace and mutual union among the *figlie*. This obviously was not always the case, as the *Capitoli et Ordini* also included the regulation that, “they should respect and love one another sincerely and purely, without ever competing/fighting.”¹⁶⁴ The Governors regularly held concerns about special treatment, which was often granted to esteemed *figlie di coro* as extra allotments of food, additional income, or the privilege to teach external students, and the jealousy or conflict it might cause. So, they regulated that the *figlie* were expected to interact with “love and respect” at all times.

Nevertheless, love had its limits:

It is not permitted for the *Figliuole* to make *Camerate* [chamber societies, close friends], nor to speak amongst each other secretly, nor to be withdrawn from the unity of the others, nor those older to sleep more than one per bed absolutely, as has been said, nor to show signs of carrying immoderate affection.¹⁶⁵

understood symbol of virginity, this attire emphasized their purity. Additionally, the pomegranate commonly symbolized holiness, as seen in paintings of the Virgin Mary and the baby Jesus holding a pomegranate. When they performed for the Grand Duke and Duchess of Württemberg in 1781, women from all four of the institutions came together, wearing black. Black was the traditional color of Venice, especially worn during special events, processions, and feast-days. Black reflected both the city’s power and reverence. It symbolized gravity, piety, and virtue. See John Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 67-8.

¹⁶³ *Capitoli* [...] *Derelitti*, 46-7. “tutte siano tratte uniformemente senza partialità veruna, eccetuate però l’Inferme, o indisposte alle quali doverà esser fatta qualche differenza durante il bisogno, e non d’avantaggio.”

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 44. “Doveranno parimenti portarsi rispetto, & amarsi sinceramente, e puramente l’una l’altra senza mai contendere”

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* “Non sii permesso alle Figliuole il far *Camerate*, ne parlar fra` esse secretamente, ne star ritirate dall’universale dell’altre, ne le piu grandi dormire assolutamente piu d’una per letto, come si è detto, ne dar segni di portarsi immoderato affetto.”

As ordinances are rarely created against behaviors that did not occur, there must have been some real fear over the *figlie* forming intimate or sexual bonds. This rule, connected to the practice of moving girls to their own beds at the age of twelve, reinforced heteronormative relationships. Any romantic or sexual interactions between *figlie* was swiftly and fiercely punished with loss of all titles and privileges, imprisonment, and possibly even eviction from the institution. Thus, according to the Governors' ideal standards, the *figlie* could only interact with each other as a singular community, throughout their uniform daily routine. Personal or intimate connections within the charitable institutions were expressly forbidden, despite the certainty of such relationships as so many women lived and worked together while having so few permitted outside connections.

As for the interactions with individuals outside of the Ospedali Maggiori, the Governors had many specific ordinances, but each one supplemented the ultimate rule: "The *figliuole* are not permitted to speak with any imaginable person, neither man or woman of whatever age and condition they may be, even if they are relatives, without express permission of the four *Deputati sopra le figliuole*."¹⁶⁶ On paper, no one was allowed to enter into the areas where the *figlie* lived and worked for any reason, except the *maestri di musica* for music rehearsals, and the medic and surgeon into the infirmaries, who were all escorted by the *Priora*. Even the *Presidenti*, the *governatrici*, and the *Deputati sopra le figlie* had limits on their visits, as the governing women could not bring servants or any others with them, and the men had to be in groups of two while accompanied by the *Priora*. Visitors who received permission to speak to the *figlie* typically did so in the entryway or parlor of the charitable institution, under the watchful eye of a *maestra*, a *portinara*, or the *Priora*, who were ordered to be close enough to hear every word.¹⁶⁷

Additionally, the *Capitoli et Ordini* stipulated that married women might cause some small disorders amongst the Ospedale's wards, so the *figlie* were especially never allowed to receive visits from married

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 48-9. "No sii permesso alle Figliuole parlar con persona alcuna immaginabile ne huomo, ne dona di che età, e conditione esser si voglia ancorche fossero loro Parenti senza espressa licenza delli 4 Deputati sopra le Figliuole"

¹⁶⁷ This was likely similar to parlors in Italian convents, behind which the women could interact with priests, family members, and other guests.

women, including former *figlie*. It seems that the Governors specifically wanted to avoid conversations and knowledge that a sexually-active woman might bring to their female wards. The Ospedale della Pietà was especially strict, as it solely boarded individuals who were abandoned as infants, including hundreds of young women, and those Governors made a specific restrictions on men as well as married or nursing women intermingling with and bringing disorder or corruption to their “virgin” wards.¹⁶⁸

The *figlie* also lived under many restrictions on their movement outside the Ospedali. Similar to visits with outside individuals, they could only leave the house after receiving permission from either the *Priora* or the Governors, and for legitimate reasons, such as alms work, errands, or religious pursuits at other churches. If they were absent for more than a few hours at a time, the *Priora* was supposed to punish them for not fulfilling their daily duties. Older women, such as the *Priora* and experienced *maestre*, however, had much more freedom to leave the Ospedali, but typically had to travel in pairs, and they definitely could not stay overnight or dine outside. The older women who made resolutions to reside indefinitely in the Ospedale, for example, had permission to regularly visit other churches and to confess their sins on special feast days in groups of two or three. There are even records that reveal older *figlie* who built connections and relationships to individuals in the larger Venetian community, such as becoming godmothers.¹⁶⁹ The youngest girls, under the age of twelve or thirteen, on the other hand, undertook most of the alms work in the streets with the young boys, and they could also accompany their older *maestre* to churches on feast days. This flexibility towards the oldest and the youngest women reveals the Ospedali Governors’ biggest concern: the reproductive capabilities of women. They likely feared that if women of the reproductive age group, between the stages of puberty and menopause, met men outside of the Ospedale, they were more likely to become sexually active or pregnant. Women below or above that age range did not carry the same risk, so had more freedom of movement and interaction with the outside world. However, the *figlie*, especially the *figlie di coro* who performed for other churches

¹⁶⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. A (9 November 1657), 12v-13; and (14 May 1662), 49.

¹⁶⁹ Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musiciennes*, 370-1.

or had patrician students and patrons, desired and needed to exit the institution much more than these regulations allowed. Consequently, the Governors regularly revisited, revised, and made exceptions to these rules over the years to accommodate changing needs, as will be discussed more fully below.

The Flow of People and Music In and Out of the Institution

Demonstrated by how often it appears in their deliberations at the Ospedale della Pietà, the entrances and exits of *figlie* were among the Governors' top concerns throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, especially related to their musically active wards. By the mid-seventeenth century, the *figlie di coro* of the Ospedale della Pietà had gained enough attention to be sought after for performances outside the walls of the institution. As discussed previously, records indicate that the *figlie di coro* did not, in fact, have rules of cloister as strict as those for Venetian convents. The *figlie*, especially the older women, could leave during the hours of daylight for various reasons, including visiting relatives, running errands, or performing music in private homes and other churches. They also increasingly had visits from admirers as they became more renowned. The Pietà's Governors, however, began tamping down on these liberties beginning in the 1680s. The ordinances that appear since that time indicate they were particularly concerned about movements of the musical *figlie di coro*, either because they interacted much more frequently than non-musical *figlie di comun*, or, because they could attract and sway people with their talents, posing a particular social risk with their musical practices. The Governors' enforcement took several decades and multiple reiterations before an acceptable method of permitting *figlie di coro* to leave the institution came into effect in the eighteenth century.

In 1684, almost thirty years after they began keeping written records, the Governors of the Ospedale della Pietà offered their rule on the interactions between *figlie* and society outside the institution:

Seeing the abuse introduced in this Ospedale with the frequency of introducing inferior people to visit the *figliole* of the same [Ospedale], despite the many provisions made previously, [...] as well as by the *figlie* themselves in frequently exiting the home under various pretenses [...] It is noted that the *Signora Priora* and *portinare* are committed and ordered to not introduce people of any sort to discuss with the *figliole* for any reason,

except without express license in print, signed by two Lord Governor *Deputati sopra le Figliole*. [...] Nor can the *figlie* leave the house anymore without the express permission of two Excellent Governor *Deputati sopra le figlie*, which is signed by the Congregation, gathered to at least six, with two-thirds [voting in approval].¹⁷⁰

Only five Governors attended the meeting of the Congregation when this new ruling was passed, so many probably were left unaware. Despite their regulation, the institutional walls remained permeable over the next few years, especially because no clear punishment ensured its enforcement. In fact, a few years later, an entry indicated that the current *Priora* Cecilia did not obey the full, voted-upon and signed permission every time the *figlie* left. In September 1686, the Governors blamed her for an unsanctioned event in which several young *figlie di coro* performed outside of the Ospedale della Pietà:

Due to the past permission from Cecilia *Priora* to have a performance with the *figlie di coro* of this pious Ospedale, making evening music until the third hour past sunset at the monastery of the Celestia, and also hiding this from our Excellent Governors *Presidenti* of the same Charitable Institution, she is to be immediately removed from her office and replaced.¹⁷¹

The *figlie* who sang and played instruments were also punished, being discharged from service in the musical ensembles to instead serve in other capacities for one year. For the offense of leaving the institution without the Governors' permission, this kind of punishment was common, as the largest leverage the Governors held over the *figlie* – besides extreme cases of imprisonment or expulsion from the Ospedale – was dismissal from positions of authority or privilege.

Nevertheless, the Governors reviewed Cecilia and the other *figlie*'s cases after a few months when they gained new facts that changed their minds. The Governor Bernardo Memo had come forward with an attestation that Cecilia and the *figlie di coro* had been under the obedience and custody of

¹⁷⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not C. (9 July 1684), 131v. “Vedendosi l'abuso introdotto in questo Ospitale con la frequenza dell'introduzione delle persone sottospecie di visitar le figliole del med.mo nonostante le molte provisioni fatte sopra [...] come anco dalle figlie stesse nell'uscire frequentemente dalla casa sotto varii pretesti.[...] Si manda parte che sii comesso et ordinato alle Sig. Priora et Portinare di non introdurre persone di sorte alcuna @ discutere con le figliole per qualsisia causa nunca ecetuata senza esprsa licenza in stampa sottosc. dalli due Sig.ri Gov.i Deputati sopra le Figliole. [...] Nè le figlie possino più uscire di casa senza espressa licenza delle due Ecc.mi Gov.i Deputati sopra le Figlie et essi firmati delle Congregatione redutta almeno di sei, con li due terzi.”

¹⁷¹ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. D (30 September 1686), 19-20. “Remotion della Priora” Stante il trascorso permesso dalla Cecilia Priora per haver concorso con le figlie di questo pio Osp. di Choro a far musica noturna sino alle tre hore di notte al monast.o della Celestia, et haver anco ciò occultato alli E.E. N.i Presidenti Gov.i di detto pio loco sia rimossa immediate della carica, e fatto in suo loco.

noblewomen in his family.¹⁷² It seems as if both the *Priora* and the Governor were either unaware of or noncompliant to the previous rule, because Cecilia, being approached by noble Venetian women who were closely connected to one of the ruling Governors, acquiesced to the performance at a women's religious convent. They did not have a license signed by two Governors, but it is likely that the Memo noblewomen had relayed authorization for this performance from Governor Bernardo Memo himself. After this confession, the Governors' reinscribed the prohibition that any *figlia* exiting the walls of the institution must have a voted-upon approval of now at least ten Governors. They wanted to avoid more events where *figlie di coro* might leave the institution to perform music with unconfirmed approval of only one Governor.

Their new prerequisites for the *figlie*'s movement did not seem to immediately change much of the *figlie*'s daily practices. Gathering ten Governors to vote upon a few women's exits out of the institutional walls became too difficult to actually transpire. Even though the Ospedale della Pietà had several dozen noblemen who made up its Congregation, typically only five to eight attended their bi-weekly meetings, and no ballots regarding the *figlie*'s exits were actually recorded over the next four years. In fact, in December 1690, the Governors again remarked upon "continuing abuse formerly introduced from this Charitable Institution's *figlie* exiting the house."¹⁷³ In this decree, the Governors then reiterated the necessity of their rule from 1686 and made specific mention of the musical *figlie di coro*'s observation of it over any other female ward. The Governors again ordered the *Priora* and the *portinare* to enforce their directive to its entirety. All the *figlie* of the Pietà, especially the *figlie di coro*, must receive ten votes of approval before leaving the institution. This time, a punishment was included in the documentation: if the rule was found to be broken, the *Priora* and the *portinare*, like Cecilia before them, faced the threat of dismissal from their positions permanently.

¹⁷² Ibid., (8 December 1686), 23.

¹⁷³ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. D (17 December 1690), 139. "Vedendosi continuare l'abuso gia introdotto nell' uscite dalla Casa li figliole di questo Pio Luoco."

Additionally, in January 1691, the Governors added a supplementary ordinance to help increase the spirituality of the *figlie*, and therefore curb these apparent abuses of exiting the institution. A religious minister was appointed to give sermons twice per month to the *figlie*, through locked doors to keep the male preacher apart from the women, similar to the practice for any man who taught or interacted with women in local convents.¹⁷⁴ The Governors mandated that the sermons should nourish the *figlie*'s souls and provide instructions to "live virtuously with peace among them, obedient to their superiors, and finally observant of divine precepts."¹⁷⁵ The Governors closely associated the women's spiritual education with their obedience; a woman full of "*frutto spirituale* [spiritual fruit]," according to their decisions, would obey their regulations and have less desire to leave the institution, especially for immoral reasons.

One month after this reinforcement and supplementary instruction, in February 1691, the Governors extended their first written decision upon some *figlie* exiting the institution. After gathering in a Congregation of ten, they approved requests from two Venetian noblewomen to allow *figlie* to visit their homes, justifying these outings under the entry of January 1691 and the desire to increase spiritual fruit within the *figlie*. The *figlie di coro* Angelica dal Tenor (age 35) and Paolina dalla Viola (age 36) accordingly received permission to go to the house of Noblewoman Zanetta Vendramin, along with two other *figlie* Rosa and Vendramina to visit Noblewoman Chiara Bragadin.¹⁷⁶ The record of the permission stated that the four *figlie di coro* were all required to stay at the noblewomen's homes until sundown, when they were to return to the Ospedale. Just as had been practiced in previous decades, the *figlie di coro*'s presence was still craved in the spaces of prominent Venetians, and it was highly likely that the

¹⁷⁴ For further discussion of convent parlors, see Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, 92-4; Jonathan Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 234-249.

¹⁷⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. D (7 January 1690m.v./1691), 140-1. "Riceveranno documenti per viver virtuosamente con pace tra esse, ubbidienti a suoi superiori, et finalmente osservanti de divini precetti."

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, (15 February 1690m.v./1691), 143-4. Ages are estimated upon data in Micky White, "Biographical Notes on the *Figlie di Coro* of the Pietà," *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 21 (2000): 82, 92. Angelica was also known as a violinist.

musically trained *figlie* performed for their patrician female hosts. Unlike the decades before, however, the male Governors now completely mediated the interactions between the *figlie* and these noblewomen. Even though the activities likely had not changed much from previously, their outings were now established by a vote of approval and rationalized by means of the virtuousness, peace, obedience, and observation of divine precepts that were now being taught to the women.

Only five months after this license was granted, however, the Governors realized they needed to alter the strictness of their rules. They could not keep up with the *figlie*'s petitions, especially after several *figlie di coro* had requested to participate in mass in another church and to confess their sins during special feast day celebrations. The Governors decided these requests were suitable, so, after June 1691, they gave authority to the *Deputati sopra le figlie* to grant permission for any *figlia di coro* to leave for this purpose without needing the mandatory vote, as long as the women had appropriate accompaniment and did not stay out past dinnertime.¹⁷⁷ Additionally, the Governors decreed, "Because similar licenses remain arduous due to the scarcity of gatherings at the number of ten[...] it must be assumed that in the future, since it is not possible to have a gathering in the number of ten as said in those entries, such licenses can be granted with the gathering of only at least seven, with all the votes agreeing."¹⁷⁸

After this change, written permission for the *figlie* – especially for the *figlie di coro* – to exit the Ospedale became more frequent in the Governors' deliberations. In 1694, four groups, numbered between three to ten *figlie di coro*, received permission to exit the Ospedale della Pietà. Three of those instances were to go to other churches "to fulfill their devotions,"¹⁷⁹ which possibly could have included performing music in a mass, other religious celebrations, or confessing sins. A fourth instance was granted to seven *figlie di coro* to accompany the wife of Trevisan Nobleman Vincenzo Turchetto to his

¹⁷⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. D (1 June 1691), 160-1.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. "Perche restano simili licenze difficultate dalla scarsezza delle ridduttioni al n.o di dieci regolando la parte 30 Sett. 1686, et altre sopra ciò disponenti sii preso che in avvenire non potendosi havere ridduttione in n.o di dieci come in dette parti possino esser concesse dette licenze con la ridduttione di solo sette almeno con tutti li voti assentieno."

¹⁷⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. E (9 May 1694), 165-6. "per adempire alle sue divotioni."

home in Seravalle. This group traveled to the small community – located near present-day Vittorio Veneto – to “satisfy some of their particular devotions in thanksgiving of recovered health.”¹⁸⁰ The “devotions” they undertook are left undefined in all four of these cases, and it remains unclear if they involved music making. However, considering all individuals with permission were members of the *coro*, and the word “*divotioni*” was used not only for the visits to other Venetian churches, but also for this activity occurring for a noble family outside in a countryside estate, musical activity was likely.

Despite these written licenses, verbal permission was still occasionally granted to the *figlie di coro* throughout this time. In August 1698, the Governors addressed the “disorders, which sometimes happen by allowing them to leave the Ospedale by verbal permission.”¹⁸¹ They renewed all the rules they had made during the previous years – including requiring a vote from the Congregation and the penalty of losing their positions in the *coro* for disobedience – with the goal to “maintain in full compliance the good discipline of the *figlie* of this Charitable Institution, particularly those of the *coro*.”¹⁸² Again, they expressed considerable concern over movements of the *figlie di coro*, signaling them out from other female wards in their decree, and they demanded that the *figlie* receive at least seven out of eight votes to be able to leave the Ospedale, as well as a signature from a President or the *Deputati*. Verbal permission from a single Governor or the *Priora* was still not enough. To notify the *figlie* of this requirement, the Congregation ordered that a copy of the decree should be placed in front of the *Priora*’s room, at the *portinara*’s room – which was near the main exit and entrance of the Ospedale – as well as in the room where the *figlie di coro* practiced music, guaranteeing that the *figlie di coro* in particular would be aware of the rule.

¹⁸⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. F (19 June 1695), 30. “Andare a soddisfare alcune sue particolari devotioni in rendimento di gratie di salute riavuta.”

¹⁸¹ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. F (10 August 1698), 173-4. “[...] qualche dissordine, che suole talvolta accadere col permetterli in voce l’uscire dall’ hospitale.”

¹⁸² Ibid. “Per mantenere in tutt’osservanza la buona disciplina delle figliole del Pio luoco particolarmente di quelle di Choro.”

In the following year, June 1699, the Congregation returned to discussion of which requirements were necessary for a *figlia* to leave the Ospedale. They recognized the importance of granting leave to their female wards, “who in good number find themselves oppressed by indispositions regarding the tightness [compact-nature] of this place.”¹⁸³ However, the Governors still found it difficult to gather the Congregation to the required number of eight. So, instead of requiring a vote of approval, the Congregation created specific constraints for the practice: first, the *figlie* were still required to obtain a signature from either a President or a Governor; second, the *figlie* must leave in pairs, accompanied by a *maestra*; third, they can only exit the institution for one day at a time, three times per year; and fourth, most importantly, they cannot bring instruments or written music with them, because “it remains expressly forbidden for them to go to any place, either private or public, sacred or secular, to sing or play instruments.”¹⁸⁴ If a *figlia* were to transgress these rules, she would be prohibited from exiting the Ospedale for three years, including on their day of amusement once per year. This regulation demonstrated decisively that the Governors’ largest concern was their female wards performing music outside their institution. The *figlie* could still come and go for various reasons, only needing a signed permission slip from one Governor, but the freedom the *figlie di coro* had in performing for other churches and in the homes of wealthy patricians during the previous century was ultimately no longer acceptable. After this decree, the *figlie*’s permissions to leave the Ospedale under the pretense of “fulfilling devotions” no longer appear in the *Notatori*, probably because the Governors no longer needed to vote upon this particular license.

Instead, votes recorded in the *Notatori* after 1700 only give permission to leave the Ospedale “to relieve indispositions” often under the pretense of health. This health-related travel entailed leaving the lagoon to get fresh air on the *terra ferma*, typically at the villas of wealthy Venetian families – most

¹⁸³ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (21 June 1699), 9v-10. “[...]che in buon numero s’attrovano oppresse da indispositioni a riguardo della ristrettezza del loco.”

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. “[...] le resti prohibito di andare in qualunque luoco cosi publico come privato cosi sacro, come profano a cantare, o suonare.”

commonly with individuals who had some connection to the Governors. *Figlie di coro* received this dispensation much more often than *figlie di comun*, as their valuable voices and musical training seemingly benefited most from fresh air, and they also were probably more desirable by prominent Venetians.¹⁸⁵ In July 1702, the Governors then clarified that *figlie di coro* and *figlie di comun* could leave the Ospedale for one day at a time, returning by sunset, as long as they stayed in the Venetian lagoon, but, if they wanted to travel to the *terra ferma* for any reason, they still needed a majority of affirmative votes from a group of at least eight members of the Congregation.¹⁸⁶ In December 1707, they again raised the required vote to at least ten out of twelve in approval, but the *figlie di coro* still could leave for one day at a time with only a note of permission signed by one Governor: “The licenses to those of the *coro* to sometimes go outside the house for some hours to any devotion remains reserved to the *Presidenti* and other offices, as is currently practiced with only the usual signed mandates, not being able to enjoy the dispensation for more than one day.”¹⁸⁷

After these clarifications on what was required for women to exit the Ospedale between 1680 and 1710, very few written records of permission were made. While it is likely that the female musicians left the institution for one day at a time, returning before sundown, only eleven instances of permitting *figlie di coro* to travel to the *terra ferma* occurred between 1710 and 1719, seventeen times between 1720 and 1729, and twenty-four times between 1730 and 1740. The increase of permission over the decades could either be a result of increasing privilege and notoriety of certain *figlie di coro*, as many of the top vocalists repeatedly received permission over the years, more so than non-musical wards. Otherwise, the increase may have also been due to general laxing upon the strictness that was created earlier. Even so, each *figlia*

¹⁸⁵ There are records of nine *figlie di coro* receiving permission to each spend weeks at a time in a villa on the *terra ferma* between July 1700 and July 1702, but not a single one for a *figlia di comun*. The *figlie* did not go to sanitariums or visit outside doctors, as the Ospedale employed their own doctors within the institution. It is likely, therefore, that their visits to the villas of prominent Venetians had to do with more than just their health. They probably provided entertainment too.

¹⁸⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 68 8 Not. G (16 July 1702), 77.

¹⁸⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (4 December 1707), 198-9. “Le licenze a quelle del Choro di poter andar alcuna volta fuori di casa ad alcuna devotione per qualche hora prestino risservate alli Pressidenti, et all’altre cariche, come si pratica al presente con la solita sottoscrizione da mandati, ne possino goder l’indulto di più d’un giorno.”

di coro who received permission to go to the *terra ferma* after 1700 provided a letter from the Ospedale's doctor to justify her need to travel. Many of these medical notes still survive today as loose documents in the *Ospedali e Luoghi Pii* collection at the Venetian State Archive, and some are transcribed and discussed more fully in later chapters.

Figlie in educazione

In addition to the *figlie di coro*'s performing and traveling outside of the Ospedale, the practice of bringing in and teaching music to the boarding students called *figlie in educazione* caused much concern for the Governors of the Ospedale della Pietà. These girls came from Venetian and foreign families outside the institution, bringing in knowledge, experiences, and sometimes other people that the Governors believed might disturb the manners and virtue of the orphaned wards. So, while the *figlie di coro* frequently pursued opportunities to teach *figlie in educazione* for the benefits it might entail, the Congregation repeatedly designated strict requirements for a young girl's entry and education. Only the most well-bred and morally virtuous women could receive an education in the Ospedale della Pietà, especially if they wanted to pursue the seductive and powerful art of music.

Even though women had been teaching music at the Ospedali since the sixteenth century, the first clear regulation about local girls studying as *figlie in educazione* appeared in 1684:

It is granted to the *maestre*, who kept and taught the thirteen *figliuole* in the past, to recover the same, and no others without permission and ballotation, as in the entry taken on the past 17 December. It remains forbidden to the same *maestre* to keep them at night for any reason or mishap or to arrive at the doors for the arrival of these *figlie*, but everything must pass through the *portinare* and *Priora* of the Ospedale. It is forbidden for the *figlie* to introduce people of any sort into the Ospedale for the cause of learning. They [the people for learning], however, should stay at the doors or upstairs in the chamber of the *Priora* (if they are female). Moreover they shouldn't present themselves under any pretext or excuse, and men should not pass the first doors. Whenever any *figlia* transgresses the present order and its contents, she is understood to be immediately dismissed, to learn from her transgression, without the ability to be admitted anymore, and the *maestra* who transgresses against what we stated above will remain deprived forever of the freedom to keep such *figliuole*, understood as dismissed [from her position].¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. C (21 January 1684/5), 144-6. “[...] sia concesso alle Maestre, che tenivano le 13 figliole ad imparare in passato ripigliar le med.me, et non altre senza licenza et ballottatione, come alla parte presa

Additionally, the Governors evaluated each girl who wanted to enter the Ospedale for education and her family. In Cattarina Degna's acceptance as a *figlia in educazione*, for instance, she was first confirmed as a "*putta* of moral behavior, with a mother of integrity"¹⁸⁹ through a letter from their local priest who wrote that they had optimal manners (*costumi*) and that they frequently took the sacraments. She was evaluated for this despite the facts that she had already provided written support from a Polish prince and that her family also had paid one hundred ducats per year to the Ospedale for her sustenance. Since Degna's acceptance specifically mentioned her mother's integrity, the Governors must have particularly tried to avoid daughters or other young girls who might tarnish the reputation of their institution. The insistence on morality and ideal feminine behavior of Venetian women as mothers and wives, or daughters and virgins, was consistent for the *figlie in educazione* as well.

The Governors at the Ospedale della Pietà intensified efforts to control the practice of educating local young women in the following decade. In 1687, they noted again that young women were still sneaking in without permission to study under the *figlie di coro*.¹⁹⁰ The Governors attempted to send away any girls beyond the thirteen prescribed earlier, but, in 1693, they again forbade the practice altogether:

The introduction of receiving many *figliuole*, to teach them and to be taught by the women of this place, manages to have a very serious detriment to this pious *Ospitale*, with detriments to the *Figlie di Casa*. While employed for the external *figlie*, they [the women of this place] neglect attending to these [*Figlie di Casa*], as is sought for the need and charity which must be practiced towards these wretched orphans. In addition to that there are also many other great detriments: men of all sorts, who manage these women

sotto 17 December passato; Restando prohibito alle medeme Maestre il tenirle la notte per qualsia causa, o accidente, et capitar alle porte per occasione di esse figlie mà tutto debba passar per le Portinare e Priora del Ospedale: Sii pure prohibito l'introduzione di persone di qualsi sia sorte nel ospedale dalle figliole per cause di esse scolare ma stiino alle porte, o di sopra nella Camera dalla Priora (essendo femene) ne davantaggio s'inoltrino sotto qualsia pretesto, o colore, et li huomini non passino le prime porte, et contra facendo al presente ordine, et suo contenuto s'intendi subito licenziata la figliola, che sarà ad imparare per quale sara causata la contrafazione senza poter più esser admissa et la maestra, che con traverirà a quanto di sopra resti priva per sempre della libertà di tenere simile figliole, intendendosi licenziata quella haverà."

¹⁸⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. D (16 March 1692), 212-3. "[...] Cattarina figlia di D. Michiel Degna putta di morigerati costumi con madre di probità di vita [...]"

¹⁹⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. D (20 July 1687), 38.

come to lead and to remove these *figliuole*, keeping the doors open in the winter even at night for the same reason, against every good rule and caution.¹⁹¹

Among the “detriments” of this practice, the ones that were grave enough to mention were inability of the women to fulfill their duties within the institution and movement of individuals – especially men – in and out of the institution. Because Venetian custom demanded that upper class women not walk through the public streets without the supervision and accompaniment of a man, it was common for the young *figlie in educazione* to be escorted to the Ospedale for their lessons. Presumably, these male escorts, fathers, uncles, brothers, or hired servants, were entering the walls of the institution and mingling with the female wards. The Governors obviously did not approve of exchanges between the *figlie* and these outside individuals. However, the importance of these educational practices, both for the instructors and the pupils, caused the prohibition on *figlie in educazione* to be revoked only one month later. Due to requests from wealthy fathers and uncles, as well as from the women themselves, the Governors readmitted most of the *figlie in educazione* in June 1693.¹⁹²

Through their repeated breaking of the Governors’ regulations, bringing in extra students or serving as a teacher without permission, the *figlie* of the Ospedale della Pietà showed themselves as not always passive recipients of the Governors’ regimentation. Education was of course important for the young local girls and their families, but the *figlie* themselves also gained much from the practice. In fact, the Ospedale’s *figlie* often took matters of educating young girls completely into their own hands. Although most requests of the *figlie* no longer exist today, the Governors’ records show that their female wards regularly connected with potential students on their own, and then sometimes proposed to teach them for the Governors’ approval. In 1693, during the Governors’ prohibition and then reinstatement of

¹⁹¹ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. E (3 May 1693), 86-7. “Riesce di pregiudizio ben grave di questo pio Ospitale l’introduzione di riceversi molte figliuole insegnarli, et essere ammaestrate dalla donne dell’istesso Luoco con pregiudizio delle Figlie di Casa, mentre impiegate per le estere tralasciano d’assistere a queste, come ricerca il bisogno, et la carità che deve praticarsi verso queste misere Orfanelle. In aggiunta di che succedono altri gran pregiudittii, venendo a condurre, e levare esse Figliole huomeni di più sorti, che trattano con queste donne, tenendosi nelli tempi d’Inverno le porte aperte anco di notte per lo stesso effetto contro ogni buona regola e cautella; ne dovendosi lasciar correr più oltre li stessi grassi inconvenienti.”

¹⁹² ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. E (7 June 1693), 95-6.

the *figlie in educazione*, for example, one unnamed *maestra*, who worked as a supervisor and nursemaid over the youngest children, even received permission for her daughter Annetta to continue study at the Ospedale. The Ospedale women did not just train daughters of wealthy families, but also girls for whom they cared. Again, in 1707, after yet another restriction from the Governors, the *maestre* requested to continue keeping their *figlie in educazione*. This record noted that the *figlie* needed this practice “to be able to, with some small payment that they would earn, assist in their needs, especially in remaining those for whom nothing is administered from the Ospedale.”¹⁹³ Knowledge was a commodity that made them noticeable and useful among the hundreds of orphaned wards, and they were aware that they gained privileges and exhibited authority if they served as a teaching *maestra* or *privileggiata*.

Still, even after the *maestre*'s justifiable request, the Governors put extreme restrictions upon continuing to teach *figlie in educazione*.¹⁹⁴ They stated that all *figlie in educazione* must be approved by the Congregation and must be not be “in conditions inferior to the aforementioned [noble or civil] in accordance with other times it happened,” meaning that, according to official rules, only patrician or *cittadini* class daughters could realistically receive an education from the *figlie di coro*.¹⁹⁵ After the year 1707, the Governors began keeping signed files of the names and approvals of each new student. Additionally, the girls were ordered to stay only in very specific parts of the Ospedale, away from the non-musical wards, and the topic of vanity and embellishment of dress came up again: “All those who will enter in it must dress austerely, far from any vanity, without ornaments of the head and without powder or any other decoration that is different from those used by the Ospedale.” Most importantly, the Governors demonstrated their annoyance with addressing disobedience to their rules and girls sneaking in without their permission. They included an extensive explanation about the “punishment to the *figliuole*

¹⁹³ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (5 June 1707), 181-2. “[...] per poter con qualche picciolo emolum[en]to, che ne ricaveressero sovenirsi nei loro bisogni, massime nel restare per il quale niente dall'ospitale le viene somministrato.”

¹⁹⁴ All quotations come from ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (5 June 1707), 181-2. See Appendix for full transcription and translation.

¹⁹⁵ In Venice, *cittadini* were recognized Venetian citizens, a step below the patrician class, and above the common masses.

who would transgress [these regulations] to fall into the list of the disobedient, and to remain devoid of titles, superiority, and benefits that they might enjoy.” They even threatened to take privileges away from any *figlia* they found keeping knowledge of infraction secret from them.

As participation in *coro* became more profitable due to its fame, the Governors imposed increasing regulations to curtail the resultant independence of the *figlie di coro*. In 1707, for example, the Governors noted a particular “licentious liberty” that gave birth to “many disorders” among the *figlie di coro*.¹⁹⁶ The particular disorder of this time was that too many *figlie* were joining the *coro* on their own accord. The Governors clarified that girls should only be added to the *coro* “paying attention to the true servitude of the *coro*” and not to the “advantage of the individual.” They laid out guidelines that only four *figlie*, two for singing and two on musical instruments, should be proposed by the *Deputati* to the Congregation for vote on whether or not they could join the *coro* each year. They also created guidelines for new registers of *figlie in educazione*, which included the names of the *maestre* that were allowed to teach them.

Furthermore, while creating all these new regulations, for the first time the Governors, clarified the purpose for which the *coro* existed:

Because the *Coro* is the place destined to render the due praises to the Lord God and, with the most fervent prayers, implore His holy grace and the blessings from Heaven, it [the *coro*] still serves to attract crowds and the souls of lovers of music to come to this church, many of whom become attached to this charitable institution and, in life or in death, bring back alms and considerable donations, which facilitate the modes of sustaining the same institution and nourishing the great number of individuals which remain in it. This is why the two *Deputati sopra la chiesa et il coro* must apply their care and vigilance, so that the *figlie* are perfected more and more in music and in playing instruments, in order to increase, with their labors, their veneration and respect to the Lord God, to then entice devotion and the spirit of the crowds with their virtue, and therefore increase their donations to the poor institution.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (25 Sett. 1707), 191-2.

¹⁹⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (4 March 1708), 3-7. “Essendo il Coro il luoco destinato per dover rendersi le dovute laudi al Signor’Iddio, e con le più fervorose preci supplicare la sua santa grazia, e le benedizioni dal Cielo, serve ancora attraere il concorso, e l’animo de’ dilettanti della Musica à capitare in questa Chiesa, molti de’ quali s’affezionano à questo Pio Luoco, & in vita, ovvero in morte se ne riportano da essi elemosine, e lassi considerabili, li quali facilitano il modo di sostenere il Luoco medesimo, & alimentare il numero grande di creature, che si mantengono in esso; perilché devono li due Governatori Deputati sopra la Chiesa, et il Coro applicare la loro carità, e vigilanza, perché le figliuole si perfezionino sempre più nella Musica, e nelli suoni, per accrescere con le loro

This statement, which was reiterated in the 1721 publication of *Capitoli et Ordini per il buon Governo del Pio Hospitale della Pietà*, is laden with moral expectations of the *figlie di coro*. As before, with teaching daughters of wealthy Venetian families, the practices of the *figlie di coro* were necessary for the financial upkeep of the institution. Nevertheless, the Governors made it clear that their musical skills were not a means of personal achievement, but an adjunct to religious worship. The true attraction for audiences should be the worship of God, not the music, and the *figlie di coro* should entice those worshipers “*con la loro virtù* [with their virtue].” The Governors regularly use this term, *virtù*, to describe the quality the *figlie di coro* had most to share with listeners, as well as with their students. While *virtù* generally means proficiency in an activity, it also carries a double meaning of honesty, grace, righteousness, as well as virginity or chastity. With this term, the Governors described both the practical and the spiritual; the *figlie di coro*’s musical skill was intertwined with their spiritual earnestness.

The Governors continued to struggle with defining the acceptable duties and regulations on those *figlie di coro* who taught *figlie in educazione*. In 1718, they again revised the practices of teaching *figlie in educazione*. Echoing the regulation in the *Capitoli et Ordini*, they explained that they need these regulations to “conserve the honor, the good morals, and the economy of this Charitable Institution” with the motives “of peace and utility of the *figlie*.”¹⁹⁸ The record restates the desire for “peace” two additional times, and it seems as if discord existed between the *figlie di commun*, who could not keep *figlie in educazione*, and the *figlie di coro* who could. In fact, Governors and Noblemen Alvise Pisani and Pietro Grimani examined the conditions of accepting *figlie in educazione* and proposed that the Congregation start allowing worthy *figlie di commun* to also teach these external students.¹⁹⁹ The Congregation agreed, while also implementing their other proposals on how to admit the *figlie in educazione*. First, each

fatiche la veneratione, & il rispetto dovuto verso il Signor’Iddio, allettare con la loro virtù la divozione, & il genio de concorrenti, & accrescere li benefizj verso il povero Luoco.”

¹⁹⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 690 Not. L (28 November 1717), 101v-102 “[...] a conservare l’onorevolezza, il buon costume, et l’economia di questo Pio Loco, consiliando con questi motivi quelli della pace, et utilità delle Figlie.”

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, L (1 May 1718), 121-123v. See Appendix I, no. 6.

maestra or *figlia privilegiata* – who had already been designated as such by a vote of the Congregation – would propose a student she wanted to teach to the *Deputati* in charge of the *coro*. The *Deputati* would then examine the age and social condition of each proposed *figlia in educazione*, before bringing a list of names to be voted upon to the Congregation. Only daughters of noble families did not need to be voted upon, presumably because their social condition assured virtuous and honorable standings.²⁰⁰ The students could not stay in the Ospedale for longer than six years, and they were all required to live there day and night, without leaving the mandated cloister. This would remove the threat of men coming and going while escorting these young girls. Along with these regulations, the Congregation eventually decided to give the responsibility of keeping track of the *figlie in educazione* to the *Priora* and *portinare*. The *Deputati* were seemingly too busy to keep a list of names and report regularly to the Congregation, as they did not make any proposals of new *figlie in educazione* to the Congregation throughout the following year. Instead, these women in positions of authority were to deliver the notes with the number of *figlie in educazione* each month to the *Deputati*, who then commanded and disciplined as necessary.²⁰¹ The Governors, therefore, wanted to decide and be aware of who and how women were to teach and be taught in their institution, but they were not really involved in the practice beside granting the final stamp of approval.

Most interestingly, in 1723, the Governors also stipulated that only the daughters of noble families could learn music from the *figlie di coro*. *Figlie in educazione* who came from the *cittadini* class were only allowed to learn reading, writing, and domestic tasks. The only reason given for this prohibition is due to “the regards well known to this Congregation [*per li riguardi ben noti a questa Congregatione*].” What were these well known regards? Later in the same record, they wrote that “overall

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ From the records at the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, it seems highly unlikely that they kept up with this demand to monitor the *figlie in educazione* monthly. Notes listing the *privileggiate* and the *figlie in educazione* are rare, and one from 1746 demonstrates conclusively that *figlie* were teaching external students regularly without permission. Busta 665 (23 August 1746), letter from the *Deputati al Coro*. Also see Fortunata’s story in chapter four.

good morals in this Charitable Institution is at the heart of the Congregation.”²⁰² More than anything else, they wanted to assure that everyone in the institution was civilized and well-mannered. They deemed only the most exceptional girls suitable for such a distinguished education. Plus, it is possible that they were afraid that girls trained to perform music would leave the Ospedale and begin performing in theaters or operatic performances, connected to the prohibition of any *figlia di coro* who left the institution from working in theaters on punishment of losing her marriage dowry.²⁰³ The Governors of the Ospedale della Pietà did not want their institution associated with scandalous reputations of actors and theaters, and non-patrician girls were more likely to pursue this type of career to provide income or notoriety for their families.

As further proof of the Governors’ motives, they amended this prohibition nine months later. They clarified, “to always further animate our *figlie* and *maestre* to commit themselves with zeal in their respective duties, it remains declared for the *putte*, that it is permitted to those who benefit [from teaching] to be able to have *figlie in educazione*, to teach them to play instruments only, being newly prohibited (except, as mentioned above, to the patriciate, and others who are daughters of the current Governors) to teach them to sing.”²⁰⁴ This amendment to their first regulation reinforces their aversion towards young girls being taught at the Ospedale and later singing in public. In the eighteenth century, women were still not allowed in musician guilds, so learning only to play instruments would resign their musical performances to private spaces. No women who could only play instruments would be hired to

²⁰² ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N1 (30 April 1723), 169-170. “[...] sopra tutto sta a cuore di questa Congregatione il buon costume in questo Pio Luoco.”

²⁰³ For example, in 1710, Madalena della Pietà married Lodovico Ertman, the *maestro* who taught oboe. Their marriage agreement required them to “take maximum caution, above meticulous attention, that the aforementioned *figlia* never go to Germany, nor be exposed in public theaters, against the decorum of this Charitable Institution.” See ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (24 August 1710), 143v. “Prendersi le dovute cautele massime sopra il geloso riguardo che detta Figlia non pasi mai in Germania ne s’espogna sopra publici Teatri, contra il decoro di quessto Pio Luogo.”

²⁰⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N1 (28 January 1723/4), 220-221. “[...] ad animar sempre più le nostre Figlie, e Maestre ad’impegnarsi gon Zello nelle loro respettine incombenze, resta con la putte dichiarito, che Sii permesso a quelle, che beneficate possano tener Figlie in educatione, di amaestrarle nel Suono solamente, Sii nuovamente proibito (alla riserva come s’e’ sopradetto delle Patricie, et altre, che fossero Figlie de Gov. attualli) di amaestrarle nel Canto.”

work in theaters, but they could still perform for their families, children, and private parties, fittingly for the eighteenth-century ideal of women relegated to domestic and private realms. Professional careers in instrumental playing, on the other hand, were solely men's domain outside of the Ospedali.

These entries say much of how class and gender were considered in relation to musical practices in Venice at the time. The Governors, in fact, echoed beliefs about women's education found in the contemporaneous arguments from the Academy of the Ricovrati's famous debate on "Should Women Be Admitted to the Study of the Sciences and the Liberal Arts?" which was held in Padua during 1723. The noble and elite Venetian men who organized this debate concluded with the statement that "in the same way that there is an elite among men, so too is there an elite among women [...] Let there be admitted to the study of the sciences and the liberal arts only those women who are passionate about the same, whose hidden noble genius leads them to virtue and to glory, *and whose veins flow clear and illustrious blood,* and in whom burns and sparkles a spirit beyond the norm, *surpassing that which is common to the masses* [italics added]."²⁰⁵ In other words, only noble and high-born women should be educated, while educating the common people would cause disruption and chaos to social order. The quality of nobility, in fact, assured that patrician women would remain appropriately mannered, in line with ideal feminine codes, due to their social privilege and demands of their families, and because their voices were already bound by strict conventions of their social positions. Noble women would generally not be able to perform music in public spaces according to the expectations of their rank.

For non-noble women, however, who might have more social freedom or even end up working for their merchant- or working-class family, high quality training in singing could mean finding a career in public theaters or the streets. If they learned to sing and then displayed their voices (akin, perhaps, to selling their bodies) on a public stage for any reason, they might step beyond the traditional roles of women or become immoral – similar to the perceived reputations of many actresses and the Venetian

²⁰⁵ Giovanni Antonio Volpi, ed. *Discorsi accademici di vari autori viventi intorno agli studi delle donne* (Padua, Giovanni Manfrè, 1729), edited and translated by Rebecca Messbarger and Paula Findlen, *The Contest for Knowledge*, 99-100.

courtesans – and therefore tarnish the reputation of their families and the Ospedali. For the Governors of the Ospedali, musical performance in public spaces was a step towards promiscuity and could damage their reputations as patriarchal figures over these women. Thus, music performed by women under their care needed to be relegated to worthy women, in private spaces, justified only for spiritual or domestic enrichment, similar how male figures controlled the sexuality and reproductive acts of women throughout the early modern era.

These regulations regarding *figlie in educazione* remained in place throughout the eighteenth century. The Congregation regularly held votes on who should become *maestre* or *privilegiate*, as well as granting approval for *figlie in educazione*. Many of the Governors' records continued to refer back to the regulation of 1718, as they had created in that document an acceptable standard for the continuation of the practice. They did, however, grant a special dispensation in 1724 to teach professional levels of singing and musical performance, with the stipulation that they never perform in theaters, to two non-noble girls – the sisters Maria Rosa and Anna Negri – for the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony Frederick Augustus I. These two sisters came from Bologna and studied under the *figlie di coro* for six years, until they traveled to Saxony to work as for him as special court musicians.²⁰⁶ Despite all of the Governors' efforts to forbid their trainees from performing in opera, Maria Rosa Negri only stayed in the Saxon court for three years before traveling to London and then back to Dresden, where she performed in several operas by George Frideric Handel and Johann Adolf Hasse between 1733 and 1750.²⁰⁷ In reality, once a girl was out of their jurisdiction, there was not much the Ospedale Governors could do to control her musical career.

²⁰⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N2 (22 September 1724), 38-39; and Busta 658 (17 march 1730), parti sciolti. These two girls were also related to the opera singer Maria Caterina Negri, who was a pupil of the castrato Antonio Pasi and who was already performing publicly in the 1720s, so it seems like the Governors were aware that training these girls might lead to opera performances. The teaching of foreign women occurred again in the 1760s for in Austrian-German courts. See chapter four.

²⁰⁷ See Handel's *Parnasso in festa*, *Aridante*, *Sosarme*, *Il pastor fido*, *Alcina*, and *Giustino* as well as Hasse's *Cajo Fabricio*, *La clemenza di Tito*, *Arminio*, and *La sparta generosa* in Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, vol. 7 (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1991). Maria Rosa married and often appears under her married name of Risack.

The Governors of the Ospedale della Pietà also passed small clarifications on their regulations in 1730, that non-noble *figlie in educazione* needed to be re-voted upon each year, and, in 1757, that those instructors who taught noble *figlie in educazione* must be over the age of forty and have reached the level of *maestra*.²⁰⁸ Otherwise, the practice of teaching the daughters and nieces of princes, noblemen, courtiers, and wealthy merchants continued at the Ospedale until at least the end of the eighteenth century. The *figlie di coro* were sought-out teachers for over a century, with the Governors requiring their stamp of approval on each instructor and student. If women were to be granted the privilege of teaching and of earning money and independence as music instructors, they had to be closely monitored and controlled by men so that no “unfavorable liberty [*libertà contraria*]” spread, especially when it came to public displays of music performance.²⁰⁹

Conclusion

The Ospedali Maggiori Governors’ regulations on female privilege and musical education present their ideal image of the moral, ethical, and social dimensions regarding the women in their care. The Governors regularly followed widespread early modern beliefs about the nature of women, reinforcing the expectation that women should be protected and under the guidance of men, while limited to duties of managing the house or other stereotypically-feminine domestic domains. The morality and chastity of women was always a primary concern, involved in much of the Governors’ decision making, especially regarding the limiting of female movement, interaction with others, and education. The Governors did not want the *figlie* to come into contact with anything that might jeopardize their chastity, and therefore their reputations. These ruling men generally considered it to be a “disorder” when women passed freely in and out of the institution’s walls, took initiative without their permission, or displayed musical skills in public spaces beside the institution’s church. Therefore, the Ospedale’s female musicians could travel, perform

²⁰⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 658 (21 April 1730); Busta 693 Not. T (15 May 1757), 198.

²⁰⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 690 Not. M (4 August 1719), 9-9v.

publicly, and build their own careers as music instructors, but only after the activity was justified under their male authority.

Similarly, according to the Governors' regulations, music-making, especially music that women performed in public, seemed to threaten the institutions' and the female musicians' reputations. The Congregation spent decades limiting who could learn music, who could teach, and how the instruction was to be done. They often justified that music was used as a tool to benefit religious worship and the spirituality of the women and their listeners, and they attempted to restrict musical education to only those exceptional few who deserved it through noble blood or through extraordinary skill. The double standards are hard to miss: these elite Venetian men governed the Ospedali to strictly avoid anything that might allow women to sing in public, granting exception for the *figlie di coro* when it was convenient for the financial gain and notoriety of the institution, as long as they performed within the confines of their institution. In sum, the Governors exhibited their oversight of the Ospedali's women as necessary to ensure that their version of female obedience, morality, and confinement was always preserved. Nevertheless, as shown through the lives of the *figlie di coro* in the next chapter, the Governors' written regulations and ordinances were only their idealized vision and not the reality that many women faced.

CHAPTER TWO

Entrances and Exits: Case Studies of the *Figlie di Coro*

The Ospedale Maggiore's regulations regarding their female wards' daily activities, musical education, and ability to interact with the outside community, which were established in Chapter One, understandably shaped the lives of each individual *figlia di coro*. Some destitute women had to prove themselves worthy, begging for mercy from the patrician governing men to receive support or shelter within the charitable institutions; others were abandoned as infants and had to balance their everyday needs against the Congregation's dense bureaucracy throughout their lives; and a few also fell awry of the rules, facing correction, punishment, and drastic changes of their daily existence. These actions and life paths of the *figlie di coro* can be gleaned from dispersed and scarce records kept by the Ospedali Governors, especially from individual letters written from the *figlie* themselves to the Congregation, which chiefly asked for permission or made other requests. Focusing on these records reveals particular influences on the *figlie*'s lives and how certain women personally experienced the institutional ordinances and regulations. While many of their manuscripts includes formulaic, deferential, and bureaucratic language, they are among the few surviving documentations of non-elite, lay Venetian women's own words regarding their needs, desires, and experiences. Therefore, original transcriptions of these letters are frequently provided below as important documentation of women's experiences while they were receiving musical educations and working at the Ospedali Maggiori. The letters of these women are mostly presented in their entirety so as to finally lift their voices from obscurity.

As of now, there are three prominent publications presenting narratives of certain *figlie di coro*: Jane Baldauf-Berdes's and Micky White's two essays on Anna Maria dal Violin, who trained and worked at the Pietà, and Berdes's and Elsie Arnold's co-authored biography of Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen,

which recounts her musical career from the Mendicanti to London.²¹⁰ The case studies offered in this project add to these two previous accounts. Letters for acceptance into the Ospedale dei Mendicanti from Santina Sanzana, Teresa Turchetta, and Isabetta Capponi demonstrate the means by which some young women initiated their careers as *figlie di coro*, while documentation of three other *figlie di coro* from the Pietà – Andriana della Tiorba, Apollonia Cantora, and Santa Tasca della Pietà, in chronological order – show how they each progressed from abandoned infants to prominent musicians. These three women, however, followed distinct paths, from remaining inside the Ospedale throughout her entire life, to attempting musical careers in a convent or an opera theater. Yet each one confronted some difficulty conforming to the strict regimen of the Congregations’ prescribed regulations and ordinances. This juxtaposition of the narratives of their lives offers a range of perspectives on the *figlie*, endeavoring first to correct past interpretations of them as one homogenous group of institutionalized women, and second, to show how they each navigated the Governors’ formal regulations. The Ospedali Governors’ expectations of the female wards and their bureaucratic measures of control, in fact, were no more than an invented ideal, which did not play out perfectly in any of these three women’s lives. Instead, each case shows that every individual musician’s life was unique, and that the regulations of the Ospedale affected each *figlia*’s outcome differently.

Acceptances Without Abandonment: Figlie at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Venice, young girls who wanted to earn permittance into the Ospedale dei Mendicanti and their families needed to write a petition and provide documentary evidence of their worth. Unlike the Ospedale della Pietà, where the *figlie di coro* were cultivated out of the hundreds of abandoned infants left in the *scafetta*, the Mendicanti only took in girls that were over the

²¹⁰ Jane Berdes, “Anna Maria della Pietà: The Woman Musician of Venice Personified,” in Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, eds. *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 134-51; Micky White, “Scenes from the Life of Anna Maria ‘Dal Violin,’” in Helen Geyer and Wolfgang Osthoff, eds., *Musik an den venezianischen Ospedali: Konservatorien vom 17. bis zum frühen 19. Jahrhundert: Symposion vom 4. bis 7. April 2001, Venedig* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2004), 83-109; Elsie Arnold and Jane L. Berdes, *Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen: Eighteenth-Century Composer, Violinist, and Businesswoman* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

age of six. Their letters below, all from the 1720s, demonstrate some of the reasons they found themselves needing the help of the charitable institution and what kind of justification they used to gain acceptance. Most came from impoverished backgrounds, as non-elite Venetian women who turned to musical practices to improve their lives and to negotiate their own economic and social positionings. Yet they still had to prove to the Congregation that they were worthy for the benefits that becoming a *figlia di coro* could provide. As their letters reveal, they justified their worth through their financial situations, family backgrounds, previous musical training, moral integrity, and religious intents.

Santina Sanzana's letter to the Governors of the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, for instance, was very typical: short, full of deferential language, and containing no specific reasons why she should be accepted into the institution other than her young age and her poverty:

The poor *figlia* Santina Sanzana presents herself kneeling before this very pious Congregation, imploring an act of true charity from them: the approval to be accepted, to make me, with God's help, worthy of serving the *Coro* of this charitable institution. My misery and my tender age are an incentive for such charity. The wishes of this very pious Congregation will fill my miserable person to the brim with such a benefit, that I will never cease to recite prayers to the Almighty for my very Benevolent benefactors. Thank you.²¹¹

At only seven years old – confirmed by an attached copy of her baptismal certificate – Sanzana was the ideal age to begin musical training at the Ospedale and likely had help from a relative or mentor in composing this letter. Otherwise, Sanzana's document contained the usual formalities: it begins in the third person and concludes by offering prayers for the Congregation in exchange for their help. She also incorporated several indications of religious fervor, including serving in the *coro* with God at her side. The Congregation was much more likely to accept a *figlia* like her if they knew she wanted to dedicate her life to religious service through music. Additionally, her supplication came supported by a letter from her parish priest of the Santa Maria Formosa church, who recommended Sanzana to be admitted, since

²¹¹ ASV, OLP Busta 650 (24 February 1722/3), parti sciolti. "Si presenta genuflessa a questa piissima Congregazione la povera figlia Santina Sanzana implorando dalla medesima per atto di vera carità l'assenso d'essere accettata per farmi con l'aggiutto d'Iddio degna del servitio nel Coro di questo pio loco. La mia miseria, e la mia tenera etta siano di stimolo per una tale beneficenza. Li voti di questa piissima Congregatione colmeranno d'un tale beneficio la mia miserabile persona, che mai cesserà di porger preci all'Altissimo per li miei Clementissimi benefatori. Grazie."

she “is a miserable *figlia*, and her father – of tenuous employment – does not know how to give her food and clothing, as with the other children and the wife, but otherwise is of honest life.”²¹² The Governors of the Mendicanti accepted her unanimously, as she was still young, with “innocent manners,” and of a respectable Venetian family.²¹³ She joined the members of the *coro*, leaving her relatives for a life as a musician within the walls of the Ospedale. By the time she was in her late twenties, Sanzana had gained enough skill to perform as a vocal soloist in several oratorios.²¹⁴ Yet she still kept in contact with her immediate family throughout her adulthood, demonstrated by permission to travel to the *terra ferma* with her father Ottavio in 1743.²¹⁵

Other young girls often learned music before they received official acceptance to become members of the Mendicanti’s *coro*, as was the case for Teresa Turchetta. Her letter explained such:

At the feet of Your Excellencies and Illustrious Lords, Teresa Turchetta presents herself, who at the age of seven had the good fortune of being placed in education under the wise direction of Signora Lugrezia Malaspina, *figlia* of this Charitable Institution, without any burden to the same [Ospedale], but all at the expense of a charitable subject. I have arrived at about the age of thirteen, and so far I have learned various manners that are very religious in this sacred enclosure, where I trained for the course of about six years; besides having learned to live in this charitable institution with the frequency of devotions, I have profited in singing and playing various instruments, and particularly the violin, [and I am] so compelled by the spirit and by the love that from an early age was instilled in me towards this Place, and for serving the Lord God in the *Coro*. Now that I am at the age of about thirteen years old, I am at the house of my poor mother, who is extremely afflicted by seeing me at this age with no study or advancement other than in Singing and Playing instruments: virtues that, to a poor and honest daughter, cannot contribute to the relief of her upkeep.²¹⁶

According to this letter, Turchetta had already been permitted to study music at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti as a child, evidently as a *figlia in educazione* supported by an anonymous patron. When she

²¹² Ibid., (13 Feb 1722 m.v. /1723), parti sciolti. “è figlia miserabile, et il Padre di tenue impiego, che per gli altri figlioli, e moglie non sa come darli il vito, e vestito, per altro di vita honestia.”

²¹³ Ibid., (24 February 1722/3), parti sciolti. “di innocenti costumi.”

²¹⁴ She sang the role of Abishai in Baldassare Galuppi’s *Prudens Abigail* (1742), and a figure of an angel in Galuppi’s *Isaac* (1745). Her voice type is unknown. See Caroline Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musiciennes à Venise* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2015), 957-8.

²¹⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 654 (2 June 1743), parti sciolti.

²¹⁶ See Appendix for full transcription. ASV, OLP Busta 648b (20 January 1719 m.v./1720), parti sciolti. “Hora, che son nell’età d’anni tredici in circa son’ in casa della mia povera Madre afflittissima di vedermi in questa età non con altro studio, et avanzamento, che nel Canto, e Suono: virtù, che ad una povera, et honesta figlia non può contribuire soccorso per il suo mantenimento.”

reached the age of thirteen, however, she was sent back to her impoverished mother. Teresa expressed concern that her skills in singing and playing instruments were useless to making a living as a young Venetian girl who also wanted to be recognized as honest.²¹⁷ With no other skills than music, and since women were not allowed to join professional musicians' guilds, where could she turn other than prostitution or, with exceptional luck, the theater? She knew, however, that she had a chance of making a more than respectable career with her musical skills within the unique environment of the Ospedale. She continued her letter, requesting to become one of the institution's publicly performing musicians known as *figlie di coro*, with specific rationalizations:

However, humbled at the feet of Your Excellencies and Illustrious Lords, I implore and beg for my acceptance in this Charitable Institution, where I can apply myself with all my spirit to its service, with those virtues in which I was educated. The mercy of this Congregation in other times has accepted poor *figlie* of a tender age, who were not at all instructed, uncertain of the outcome of their success, and [the Congregation] has made itself admirable in bringing to light in the world many *figlie*, who in a Sacred Retreat [*Sacro Ritiro*], make a harmonious service in their praises to the Lord God; but for many years the Institution had to bear the burden of the cost of instructing them, and pay all expenses for them. All I should hope from their clemency is to accept me; surpassing every opposition to my age, while introduced at the age of seven, I learned over the course of six years the religious customs of this Institution, and did not [financially] burden the same; instructed for service in the *Coro*, I can immediately contribute my service, which I promise will be constant and diligent, with which I will endeavor to make myself worthy of those Acts of extraordinary Charity, with which this Venerable Congregation will presently accept me; for [the Congregation], and for each Worthy Governor, I will always offer prayers to the Lord God for their Preservation. Thank you.

The Congregation was swayed by her rhetoric. Her musical skills took years to master, and she had already proved herself capable and ready without any cost to the institution. Plus, Turchetta included a letter from the *maestro di coro* Antonio Biffi, who wrote that she “has profited much in singing and in playing music on instruments of various genres during this time, and particularly on the violin, being able to play in ensemble and alone, accompanying the parts; and, in a few months, she could free herself to perfection, so I judge her optimal for service to this Ospedale, especially because the *coro* currently has

²¹⁷ See Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon, *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) for more information about the relationships between sexual allure and music.

very real need of violins.”²¹⁸ They could therefore not turn up the opportunity to keep her and her musical skills. Turchetta subsequently became a permanent member of *coro*, staying at the Mendicanti until at least the 1770s, when she was over the age of sixty-five and receiving an annuity of 36 ducats per year.²¹⁹

Some young girls, unsure of their futures, could also enter the Ospedale dei Mendicanti through the help of a family member. In fact, the *figlie di coro*, who earned money from their popularity and weekly performances, often had the means to finance and care for a young girl who wanted to be accepted. A young girl’s future, therefore, might be decided from the determination of a musically-inclined relative who could support her and prepare her for a life in an Ospedale. This was the case for Isabetta Capponi, who entered the institution after her aunt Chiara Capponi wrote a letter to the Congregation:

I, Chiara Capponi of this Charitable Institution, pleadingly petition to implore from this Venerable Congregation an act of their greatest charity. Iseppo Capponi, my brother and humble servant of the Your Excellencies and Your Illustrious Lordships, who finds himself as a *monicioniero* [munitions master] in the city of Corfu, has a daughter aged six to seven, named Isabetta, among his numerous offspring. He would desire this girl to be assigned to me, and under my education, custody, and raised so as not to explore those religious dangers, which she could fall into if he kept her close to himself, since he is in a very dangerous country; And therefore I contact, obsequiously supplicating, Your Excellencies and each one of Your Illustrious Lordships to want to grant me a gracious permission to be able to keep the aforementioned Isabetta Capponi, my niece, near me and under my custody. With that, however, this Pious Ospedale should not be affected by anything except the least burdensome grace, which is in addition to committing myself to always offering prayers to the Lord for their prosperity.²²⁰

²¹⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 648b (20 January 1719/20), letter from Antonio Biffi. “In detto tempo ha molto proffitato nel canto, et nell’strumenti di varii generi di suonar in musica, e particolarmente nel violino, essendo capace di suonare in concerta, e sola accompagnando la parte, et in pochi mesi s’affrancarebbe a tutta perfettione, onde la giudico ottima per il servitio d’esso ospital, massime, nel bisogno, ch’il coro ha di violini.”

²¹⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 462, Notatorio Pro Vitalizii (July 1774). The value of 36 ducats is difficult to define today, but her annuity was a reasonable amount on which she could live comfortably, although she was not rich. For instance, Ignazio Siber, who was a *maestro di flauto* for the Ospedale della Pietà retired on 23 November 1759 with an annual pension of 45 ducats. Berdes and Whittemore, 731. Denis Arnold has also shown that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the base wage for musicians in a Venetian orchestra was 15 ducats, while during the second half of the eighteenth century the salary increased to 25-30 ducats on average. Denis Arnold, “Orchestras in Eighteenth-Century Venice,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 19 (1966): 4-5, 9.

²²⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 650 (25 March 1724), parti sciolti. “Ricoro suplichevole Io Chiara Caponi Figlia di questo Pio Locco ad implorare da questa V. C. un atto della loro somma carita. Iseppo Caponi mio fratello, e servo hum. di V.E. et di V.S.I., che s’atrova in qualita di monicioniero [munition master] nella città di Corfù tiene trà la numerosa sua Prolle una figliola in ettà di anni sei in sette nominata Isabetta. Questa disiderarebbe fosse dà me, e sotto la mia educatione, custodia, et alevata per non esplorla à quei pericoli di religione, che potrebbe incorere tenendola apresso

The Congregation granted her request, although not unanimously. The agreement that the young Isabetta would stay and study with her aunt did not imply that she would also be allowed to stay there indefinitely. Through this permission, Isabetta was only a *figlia in educazione*, funded by her father or her aunt, and the Congregation expected her to leave by the time she hit puberty, as had almost occurred for Turchetta before her.

Subsequently, Chiara Capponi composed a second letter five years later, in 1731, when Isabetta reached the age of twelve. This time, she requested that her niece stay on permanently as a musician of their institution:

By decree of this Venerable Congregation on 25 March 1724, I, Chiara Capponi, the reverent *figlia* of this Charitable Institution and obedient servant of this Venerable Congregation, was graciously allowed to be able to keep close to me *in educazione* Isabetta, daughter of my brother Iseppo Capponi, and to care for my niece, who was around the age of seven, until the time that she resolves her vocation. Now, through my tireless application and the good inclination of the *figliuola* herself, she has advanced a lot in her knowledge, not only playing the violin and organ, but also singing, so that she has made herself capable of serving the *coro* of this Charitable Institution, in which she continuously practices, with such satisfaction of *Signore Maestro* Alibrandi that in the attached [letter] he gives hope that she will be very profitable for the same *coro*. And noting from the *figliuola* herself that she would be called lucky to sacrifice her life in service to the Lord God in the *coro* of this Charitable Institution and to the obedience of this Pious Charitable Congregation. I, the aforementioned Chiara Capponi, humble my most fervent pleas to this Pious Congregation and to each of Your Excellencies and Illustrious Lordships so that they want her to be a *figlia* of this Charitable Institution to be employed in the service of the *Coro*. And with this, give me the contentment of seeing in safety a niece, who is otherwise good natured and of wise manners, who, united with me, will not cease to offer continuous and fervent prayers to the Lord God for the prosperity of this Charitable Institution and the conservation of each of Your Excellencies and Illustrious Lords.²²¹

di se per essere in Paese assai pericoloso; E perciò io contatto l'osequio suplico questa V.E. et cadauno di Ecc.e V.S. I.me volermi permettere gratiosa licenza di poter tenere appresso di me, et nella mia custodia la predeta Isabeta Caponi mia nezza. Con che però questo Pio Ospitale non abbi a risentirne alcun benche minim agravio gratia, che oltre l'impegnarmi a dover sempre porgere Preci al Sig. per le loro prosperita."

²²¹ ASV, OLP Busta 651 (6 August 1731), parti sciolti. "Con decreto di questa Ven. Cong. 25 March 1724 fu gratiosamente permesso a me Chiara Capponi figlia riverente in questo Pio Luoco e serva obbediente di questa V.C. di poter tener appresso di me in educatione Isabetta figlia d' Iseppo Capponi mio fratello, e respectire mia nezza d'eta' all'ora d'anni sette in circa, sino a tanto, che risolverà della sua vocatione. Hora, che mediante alla mia indefessa applicatione, et alla buona Inclinatione della figliola stessa, s'è avanzata non poco nella cognitione, non solo del sonare il Violino, et organo, ma del cantare ancora, cosi che si è resa capace al servitio del coro di questo Pio Luoco, nel quale di continuo si esercita, con tale sodisfattione dell Sig. Maestro Aligrandi che in appresso fa sperare habbi a riuscire assai proficua al Coro medemo. Et havendo rilevato dalla figliola stessa, che si chiamarebbe

Chiara Capponi used similar justifications as in all the previous letters for the acceptance of her niece. First, each young girl was extremely capable in music at a young age, and she therefore established her readiness to contribute to the institution's musical offerings. Just as Turchetta demonstrated success on violin, Isabetta was an especially welcome addition, as she had skills flexible enough to place her as either an instrumentalist or a vocalist. The Ospedali Maggiori valued young women with multiple musical abilities, even requiring many of their *figlie di coro* to train both in singing and instrumental playing, which would permit them to transition between voice and instruments depending on need or changes to their vocal folds as they aged. The Governors even remarked within their documentation of Turchetta's acceptance that she was "well advanced in her talents and quite prone not only in singing, but also on the organ and violin," signaling their reasoning for voting in her favor.²²² The additional confirmation of each girl's breadth of musical skills from the institution's *maestri* were certainly significant in their acceptances.

Second, every single *figlia* who wanted to join the Ospedale's *coro* justified doing so under the form of religious service. As the Ospedali Maggiori were homes for unmarried women and therefore tenuously associated with convents, religious conviction was a recognized framework to which women could dedicate themselves. Santina Sanzana humbled herself with her plea, hoping that work in the *coro* would make her worthy under God; Teresa Turchetta demonstrated in her letter that she knew the *coro* offered "a harmonious service in the praises to the Lord God," and explained that she was instilled with knowledge and ability to perform the Ospedale's devotional practices;²²³ and Chiara Capponi described how Isabetta was aware that "she would be called lucky to sacrifice her life in service to the Lord God in

fortunata a poter sacrificare il suo vivere in serviva il Sr. Iddio nel Coro di questo Pio Luoco, et all'obbedienza di questa Pia Caritatevole Cong. Humilio Io Chiara Capponi sudetta le mie piu fervorose suppliche a questa Pia Cong. et a cad. VVEE et S.S. Illme perche la voglino sicure per figlia di questo Pio Loco da esser impiegata nel servizio del Coro medemo. E con ciò donare al me il contento di vedere in salvo una nipote per altro di buona Indole, e di savii costumi, che unita a me non cesseremo di porgere continue e fervorose preci al Sr. Iddio per la prosperità di questo Pio Loco, e la conservatione di cad. V.E. e di SS. Illm."

²²² Ibid. "e bene avanzata nelle Virtù, e ben desposta, non solamente nel Canto, ma nel'Organo ancora, e Violino"

²²³ See chapter one for a discussion on their daily and seasonal devotional practices.

the *coro*.” Following the Congregation’s conviction that the purpose of the *coro* was first to “render the due praises to the Lord God,” and second “to entice devotion and the spirit of the crowds with their virtue,”²²⁴ each *figlia* used wording that demonstrated her commitment to dedicating her life to religious musical work. They did not describe music as a passion or a career path, but instead the Governors and *figlie* referred to their acceptances into the *coro* in similar ways to nuns promising their lives to religious service in monasteries.

Third, although often poor, the young girls who wanted to train in music at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti were regularly supported by a relative or patron. Since the Mendicanti brought in poor and orphaned girls from the Venetian community rather than abandoned infants, the institution housed women who still had connections to outside relatives and could therefore further their families’ interests.²²⁵ Not only was knowledge and musical skill passed down to the next generation of women, but the older *figlie di coro* could use their income and musical prestige to help, or perhaps persuade, young girls of their family with a musical career. The elder Maria Capponi, for instance, had likely used money and prestige she earned through her work as a *figlia di coro* in the Ospedale to support her niece. While Chiara Capponi was maintained by her aunt’s income, Turchetta’s education under the *figlia di coro* Lugrezia Malaspina was also supported through some anonymous “charitable subject.” Each girl justified her acceptance into the institution on the fact that she was not a financial burden to the powerful men who made up the Congregation and who were often in charge of funding the institution’s needs when other patrons’ contributions were not sufficient. They instead sometimes benefited from a system of inheritance, passing both knowledge and finances among female family members.

Finally, the *figlie* often justified their acceptances in terms of morality. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the sexual honor of each young girl, especially in her years between puberty and menopause, was a primary social concern. Every woman lived under the expectation that a young girl

²²⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (4 March 1708), 3-7. See reference in chapter one.

²²⁵ This is quite similar to women in Italian convents who took in and supported daughters of their relatives. See Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 7-8.

needed to be placed somewhere safe, such as marriage or a convent, to protect her from unsanctioned sexual encounters.²²⁶ Santina Sanzana, for instance, was accepted because she was still in her years of “innocence,” plus the priest confirmed that she would have gained good manners from her honest and moral parents. As virtue and greatness was believed to be inherited in the blood of nobility, so was honor of women. Teresa Turchetta, on the other hand, expressed that having musical skills at the age of thirteen were hardly useful in the livelihood of an “honest daughter.” She justified her participation in the *coro* so that she would not have to follow a socially unsavory path for women in adulthood. Similarly, Chiara Capponi desired to care for her brother’s daughter, partly so that the young girl would “not explore those religious dangers, which she could fall into if he kept her close to himself, since he is in a very dangerous country.” Although her father worked in Corfu – a Venetian bulwark against the Ottoman Empire and an established Catholic haven – a young girl in this city on the edge of the Venetian empire might easily have come into contact with followers of Islam, as well as other knowledge and experiences that might deviate from Venetian and Catholic doctrine. Since her father was a military man, there would also have been regular dealings with soldiers and warfare, not considered respectable for a young girl in Venetian society. So, to make sure Isabetta was accepted, her aunt explained that she would receive relief in “the contentment of seeing safety in a niece who is otherwise good natured and of wise manners.” The spiritual fulfilment, as well as the religious and moral protection of young girls was a key factor in the design of the Ospedali Maggiori, and petitioners used this fact as reasoning within their letters to the Congregation.

The Choice between the Ospedale or a Convent: Andriana della Tiorba

The path to musical recognition – which brought a girl distinction from the hundreds of other children abandoned at the Ospedale della Pietà each year, and therefore favor from the Congregation – was not always straightforward, as Andriana della Tiorba’s career shows. Andriana entered the Ospedale della Pietà around the year 1663 in the most usual way: she was anonymously left in the *scafetta*. Women

²²⁶ Joanne M. Ferraro, *Venice: History of the Floating City* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 166.

inside the Ospedale took the abandoned child, swaddled her, and recorded her name and number in a register. Death was rampant among the abandoned; about three-fourths of the registers' entries show a small cross beside the words "*morse in casa* [died in house]."²²⁷ Andriana, however, beat the odds, becoming a permanent member of the Ospedale della Pietà and being singled out for musical training before the age of fourteen.

She followed the usual mentor-apprentice system, studying basic elements of music such as pitches and rhythms, as well as both singing and instrumental technique, under the older female musicians, before she took more specific lessons under the male *maestri*. Andriana's musical preparation must have benefited from superior training on instruments under the stewardship of Giacomo Spada (*maestro di coro*, 1677-1701) and his brother Bonaventura Spada (*maestro di strumenti*, 1682-1703).²²⁸ Through their newly established training procedures and practicing requirements, Andriana studied intonation, advanced instrumental techniques, and enough music theory to allow improvisation over a bass line.²²⁹ She showed high aptitude on a bass lute-like instrument called the theorbo, eventually becoming a renowned soloist, recognized by the name. Abandoned as orphans, the wards of the Pietà had no surnames, and most were labeled simply as "della Pietà." Yet Andriana, like several other *figlie di coro*, literally made a name for herself through her musical excellence. By the time she was twenty-two, she bore the name of her instrument, *Andriana della Tiorba*.

Despite her exceptional musical skills, Andriana had difficulty adhering to the strict routine required of the Ospedali's wards, and, in August 1687, she found herself in trouble. Typically, the *Priora*

²²⁷ ASMPV, Registri Scafetta. The register with Andriana's entry is lost. According to John Boswell, approximately 15-30% of recorded births were known child abandonments in eighteenth century Europe. The numbers were likely even higher due to unrecorded births and secret abandonments, as well as in city-centers like Venice, which was a refuge for women seeking the anonymity of the city and evading harsh Tridentine reform laws in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Infant mortality for those abandoned in foundling hospitals was also extreme in that period. Boswell gives figures for French foundling hospitals, in which 75-90% of wards died in childhood. See John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: the Abandonment of Children In Western Europe From Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 15-20 and 422 footnote 83.

²²⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. C (31 December 1684), 144-146. For more about the Spadas, see Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society, 1650-1750* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1985); and "Music at the Pietà before Vivaldi," *Early Music* 14, no. 3 (1986): 374.

²²⁹ For a fuller discussion on the musical training of the *figlie di coro* see chapter four.

meted out punishment – including isolation, restricted diet, fines taken from the earnings of the *tasca*, or other revoked privileges – as needed to quell bad behavior.²³⁰ Andriana’s infractions, however, were extreme or persistent enough to be referred to the Congregation’s judgement:

Having been repeatedly corrected for indecencies, committed by the *figlie di coro* Zanetta and Andriana, which are incorrigible and scandalous, with indecorum and detriment to the good opinion of this Charitable Institution, it is necessary to carry out the punishment that is due against them, which should serve no less for the correction of them, than as an example for others.²³¹

The Congregation consigned Andriana and her peer to six months in the Ospedale’s prison, an additional six months restriction from being in the *coro*, and permanent separation from each other.²³² Punishments such as this were rarely carried out in the Congregation’s pronouncements, reserved typically for when a *figlia* either became violent or tried to run away, and the Governors often wrote that punishments should be equivalent to the gravity of the infraction.²³³ What misconduct would cause them to not only imprison these two approximately twenty-year-old women, but to also separate them for the rest of their lives? If not fighting with each other, they may have been caught in sexual or intimate acts, or, as the Governors called it, showing “immoderate affection” to one another.²³⁴

Nevertheless, the Congregation voted to release the two girls from confinement after only two months, due to a generous appeal of Giusto Vaneich, a wealthy Venetian merchant and long-time patron

²³⁰ *Capitoli* [...] *Pieta*, 11.

²³¹ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. D (10 August 1687), 41. “Essendo più volte state corete per inconvenienti comessi da Zanneta, et Andriana figlie di coro, le quali sono incorigibili, et scandalose con indecoro, e pregiudicio del buon conceto di questo Pio Luoco, è [...] necessario di praticare contro di esse il castigo dovuto, che servir debba non meno per coretione delle medeme, che per esempio alle altre.”

²³² The Ospedale della Pietà, like the other Ospedali, operated a prison, although the extent of this prison is unclear. It seems the Governors were very interested in local prisoners, not just their own wards. There are dozens of instances where the Congregation of the Pietà voted on releasing local prisoners. The Pietà’s vicinity to the doge’s palace, with its governing board of aristocrats who also served in the Venetian government, may have made the institution’s complex of buildings an ideal place to temporarily house prisoners of the state. For some examples of the Congregation’s deliberations about prisoners, see ASV, OLP Busta 689 (9 April 1713), 84-84v; (7 May 1713), 90; and (3 June 1714), 137v-138.

²³³ For instance, Santina del Coro was imprisoned after sneaking out to visit a young man. ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (26 March 1734), 61v-62; and Apollonia della Pietà was locked in her room and forbidden to sing in the *coro* or teach music for a month after punching a superior *figlia*. ASV OLP Busta 692 Not. R (14 November 1738), 34-34v.

²³⁴ *Capitoli* [...] *Derehitti*, 44. “Non sii permesso alle Figliuole [...] dar segni di portarsi immoderato affetto.”

of the Ospedale della Pietà and its musicians.²³⁵ Yet, Zanetta and Andriana still had to work as *figlie di comun* for six months, before they returned to playing music with the *coro*. Their musical skills were too valuable to prohibit forever, so the Congregation had no choice but to offer clemency. In fact, *figlie di coro*, like Andriana and Zanetta, regularly received mercy for their transgressions, as their musical skill required years of valuable labor invested into their training, and the institution needed talented young girls to eventually become music instructors and perpetuate the apprentice-mentor system.²³⁶ It remains unclear to what extent the two women were separated from each other, although their imprisonment and temporary demotion likely made some impact on their future relations. No other documents describe the two women together after their imprisonment.²³⁷ Their names remained forever separate, as Zanetta followed the path of a vocalist, while Andriana focused on instrumental playing.

Andriana is completely absent from the Congregation's deliberations for the next seven years, but she must have had the opportunity to teach and perform on the theorbo, because she then earned a special opportunity to teach outside the Ospedale. In August 1694, the Monastery of San Girolamo in Serravalle requested a *figlia di coro* to educate their nuns in music.²³⁸ After considering both the conduct and talent of their current musicians, the Congregation chose Andriana. Despite her previous imprisonment, she was

²³⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 687 Not. D (27 September 1687), 44.

²³⁶ See for example, the case of a girl named Cecilia di Choro, who was punished due to her unidentified "repeated and scandalous past offences." She was imprisoned for four months in a solitary and closed place, and the record of her punishment declared that she would be forever be reduced to a *figlia di comun*, excluded from serving in the *coro*, as well as deprived of her room on the upper floor with the *figlie di coro* and every other privilege that the *figlie di coro* enjoyed. The Governors, however, decided to suspend the removal of titles, writing, "This Pious Congregations believes it appropriate for acts of clemency and mercy to come after the use of justice. Therefore, the aforementioned Cecilia is returned again to the practice and benefit of the *choro* and returns accommodated by that benefit and those compensations that derive from that [practice], trusting that she knows how to recognize the speciality of such grace with an exemplary resignation to live and to obey. [si crede proprio da questa Pia Congregazione de venire doppo l'uso della giustitia a gl'atti della clemenza e della Pietà l'andera parte. Che detta Cecilia sia rimessa ancora all'esercitio e beneficio del Choro e resa capace di quell'utilità et emolumenti che provengono dal medemo confidandosi che sapia riconoscere la specialità di tal gratia con un'esemplar rassegnatione di vivere e d'obedire.]" ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (27 November 1707), 194.

²³⁷ Eva Kuhn goes into their separation more in detail. See "A Delicate Cage: The Life and Times of Andriana della Tiorba," in Claire Fontijn, ed. *Uncovering Music of Early European Women (1250–1750)* (Routledge: New York, 2020), 171-203.

²³⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. E (22 August 1694), 186-7. The monastery of San Girolamo in Serravalle was located Cèneda, today part of Vittorio Veneto in the province of Treviso.

now thirty years old and had demonstrated skillful teaching and performance, both as soloist and in ensembles. Her years of theorbo training must also have been particularly valuable, as the theorbo – a favorite bass instrument at the Ospedale della Pietà – often covered essential figured-bass parts and was needed to accompany vocalists without the cumbersome qualities of larger keyboard instruments.

Andriana taught at the monastery in Serravalle for the next five years, serving only as a music instructor and without taking religious vows at the time. Unlike the nuns, whose families or monastic dowries typically supported them, Andriana did not have to pay for her keep. She received annual remunerations from the monastery and, over several years, assembled a collection of her own clothing and other belongings to live within the convent. She would have been an anomaly as a woman who played music within the religious cloister, but was not of the patrician class; the role of choir nun was often reserved by women from the most wealthy and powerful families.²³⁹ Andriana's musical skills on their own gave her special authority among the female cloistered.

Yet, convent life eventually demanded embracing religious vows, which Andriana chose to take in September 1699.²⁴⁰ At her request, the Congregation of the Pietà gave her 400 ducats for a monastic dowry, plus 120 ducats for other needs. Considering that they only provided 50 to 100 ducats for the marriage dowries of other *figlie* at that time, this was a large sum. Andriana could therefore make initial vows and vestments, beginning her training as a novice of the convent, which required at least a one-year trial period before taking the vows of a full nun.²⁴¹

Six months later, however, in May 1700, the new presiding Bishop of Ceneda, Marco Agazzi, made a public decree, taking away Andriana's musical role:

We command that, in their future festivities, vestments or professions as a nun, and any other occasion or time, the Abbesses, Prioresses, and nuns of any monastery subject to Us, no one exempt, cannot make music, nor sing in figured song or play any instrument

²³⁹ Jonathan Glixon, *Mirrors of Heave or Worldly Theaters?*, 10.

²⁴⁰ ASV, OLP B. 688 Not. G (20 September 1699), 19v.

²⁴¹ The minimum of a one-year trial period was established during the Tridentine reforms. See Jonathan Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 105.

in their monasteries, nor allow that music to be made by others in their external churches in any way, and this is by virtue of holy obedience and under penalty of judgement.²⁴²

Andriana's authority as a musician and instructor, as well as her opportunities to earn money and privilege from her skills at the convent, was obviously under threat. Because she was an orphan of the Pietà, she had no wealth or family connections, like most nuns, on which she could rely. Musical skill was her primary advantage in life.

Andriana quickly took steps to ensure she could continue playing, as her career in music was important to her. Fortuitously, she had not yet completed the mandatory one-year trial at the convent before the finalization of her profession and religious vows. She scrambled to return to the Pietà and wrote a letter, imploring the Congregation for clemency:

The paternal charity of this Venerable Congregation, with the entry taken under the past September 20, assigned to me, the poor Andriana dalla Tiorba, *figliuola* of this charitable institution, 520 ducats to carry out my vocation of taking the vestments in the Monastery of San Gerolemo in Serravalle. That is, 400 ducats [for my dowry] to become a nun and 120 ducats for my expenses and other necessities. Now misfortune has not allowed me to continue the said religious life, given the sudden decree of his Lordship the Most Illustrious Bishop of Ceneda, with which I remain prohibited the practice of music. For this reason, I was accepted by the Mothers of the said Monastery, with the said distribution of 520 ducats. After having been on trial for several months, and having paid thirty [ducats] for the food of the first half year, I have also spent ten [ducats] for the management of my stuff, causing me to be almost completely stripped of my few things to make that money on the hope of being reimbursed for that money from the aforementioned 120 ducats intended for my necessities and needs.

I therefore return to this Pious and Venerable Congregation with the greatest reverence, so that, with the same mercy with which the above mentioned 120 ducats were assigned to me for my necessities, they deign to support me, so that I may be reimbursed for the above-mentioned expenses, that I paid, with the allocation of the original entry, so that I can provide myself with those few necessary furnishings of which I sold and deprived myself to make the aforementioned money. I assure you that I will not fail to pray to His Divine Majesty for the conservation of each of Your Excellencies of this Pious Congregation. Thank you.²⁴³

²⁴² Archivio Diocesano di Vittorio Veneto, Atti di Conventi e Monasteri, Busta 131 (17 January 1700). “[...] comandiamo alle m.to RR. M.ri Abbadesse, Priore, e Monache di qualunque Monast.a Noi soggette, che in avvenite nelle loro solennità, nel vestire, ò professare di Monache, et in qualsivoglia altra occasione, ò tempo, niuno eccettuato, non faccino Musiche, ne cantino in Canto figurato, ò suonino con qualsivoglia Istrum.to ne loro Monasterii, ne permettino in modo alcuno, che da altri siino fatte Musiche nelle loro chiese esteriori, e ciò in virtù di santa obediencia, e sotto pena ad arbitrio.”

²⁴³ ASV, OLP Busta 686 (23 May 1700), parti sciolti. See Appendix for full transcription.

Andriana thus explained that she sold many of her belongings to pay for food and clothing while transitioning to and from Serravalle. She begged the Congregation to reimburse her expenses, and, likely recognizing the value of her musical ability, they permitted her return and reimbursed her unanimously.²⁴⁴ Rather than becoming subject to the strictures of the Catholic church and its regulations against musical performance, she restored her life as a *figlia di coro* and never officially became a fully vested nun.

Andriana's return contributed to financial success and popularity at the Pietà, in particular, because she was a recognized and excellent teacher. Around the time of her return, in the early years of the eighteenth century, increasing numbers of Venetian patricians were noticing the superior musical instruction at the Ospedali and wanted to enroll their daughters and nieces as paying *figlie in educazione*.²⁴⁵ Andriana, with years of experience teaching daughters of wealthy families within the monastery, would have been a perfect tutor for these external students, and she fittingly settled into the role of instructor. She officially earned the title of *privileggiata* in 1707 and received Elena, daughter of the Nobleman Zorzi Bondumier, as her *figlia in educazione*.²⁴⁶ The Congregation then elected Andriana as *maestra* in 1709, with additional powers to run rehearsals, supervise the other *figlie*, direct musical performances, and communicate directly with the *maestri* and *Deputati*.

By successfully arranging her return to the Ospedale, Andriana thus secured opportunities to network with a prestigious Venetian family, continue to earn wages to support herself, achieve new musical responsibilities, and ultimately fortify her position of expertise and authority in a musical career. After enduring threats to forbid her musical activities, as well as experiencing multiple instances in which the Congregation valued her musical contributions enough to offer clemency, Andriana must have realized the significance of her own skills. At the Pietà, she sustained her musical career, which included earning titles, income, and respect for the rest of her life. She worked as a *maestra* into old age, and she

²⁴⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (23 May 1700), 33.

²⁴⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 690 Not. L (1 May 1718), 121-123v.

²⁴⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (2 December 1708), 34-34v; (7 July 1709), 72.

died after many years as a leader at the Ospedale della Pietà in 1734, at the exceptional age of seventy, from “inflammation of the lungs.”²⁴⁷

The Ospedale’s Regulations at Work: Apollonia Cantora della Pietà

The influence of the Governors’ regulations on the *figlie*’s lives at the Ospedale della Pietà is revealed no better than in the life of Apollonia, also known by her nickname Polonia.²⁴⁸ The Governors’ *Notatori* contain more records of her than almost any other *figlia*. From this documentation, a variety of stages in her life are revealed, from her abandonment, to her acceptance into the *coro*, and finally her death. She was a key figure at the Ospedale della Pietà during her life (1692-1751), an admired soloist, an accomplished instructor, and a notable *figlia di coro*. She encountered extremely gradual promotions, occasional setbacks, and a variety of musical opportunities, yet these often deviated from the Congregations’ official ordinances. Her life demonstrates much of how the Governors’ regulations actually functioned throughout the entire lifetime of an accomplished *figlia di coro*.

Apollonia arrived at the Ospedale della Pietà as an abandoned newborn on the morning of 9 February 1692. Likely coming from poor or desperate circumstances, she had nothing except tattered and torn swaddling.²⁴⁹ With no symbols, tokens, or notes given to her upon abandonment, she was not special or singled out in any way from the other abandoned infants. The Ospedale’s workers assigned her a name and the number 1609, in *scafetta* book “M”, before her baptism in the Ospedale’s church. Records show nothing else of her early childhood, inferring that she probably followed the typical life course of a *figlia*

²⁴⁷ Micky White, “Biographical notes on the ‘Figlie di coro’ of the Pietà contemporary with Vivaldi,” *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 21 (2000): 82.

²⁴⁸ The Governors of the Ospedali Maggiori often spelled their wards’ names in many variants within their records, adding or removing double consonants regularly and including diminutives and nicknames on occasion, in addition to other inconsistencies. For this reason, it is occasionally difficult to trace a single *figlia* throughout her life. Records of age and musical ability confirm that alternate spellings of Apollonia, such as Appollonia and even Polonia, refer to the same woman. This project primarily uses the same spelling offered by Micky White, “Biographical Notes,” 83.

²⁴⁹ ASMPV, Registri Scafetta M (9 February 1692), entry 1609. Her record reads, “Apolonia nas.te Con straza de fassa de canevasza strazon de griso bianco e straze.” Life expectancy in Europe during the 1700s was approximately 40 years. The main cause for death during that era was malnutrition, which the residents of the Ospedali Maggiori generally avoided. Therefore, many *figlie* lived longer than average lives. See Robert William Fogel, *The Escape from Hunger and Premature Death, 1700-2100: Europe, America, and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2-9.

and began regular studies as a *figlia piccola* before the age of ten. Because Apollonia eventually became a recognized member of the *coro*, it is assured that she began studying some music in her youth. She must have trained music theory and singing technique under an accomplished older *figlia* or *maestra* throughout her teens.

During Apollonia's childhood, the *coro* was well established, with several dozen full members recognized by their vocal range and instrumental skills. Lists from 1707, when Apollonia would have been about fifteen years old and in the process of intensifying and specializing her training, show that around forty women served the Ospedale della Pietà as musical instructors and performers. The Governors officially registered five sopranos, four contraltos, three tenors, one bass, three organists, one theorbist, five violinists, six violists/cellists, and one violon player of "ability and capacity respectively to sustain and conserve the practice of their parts in the *coro*."²⁵⁰ Among and in addition to these twenty nine *figlie di coro*, who served as the practicing and publicly performing members of the *coro*, there were fourteen *privilegiate*, who could also teach *figlie in educazione*.

Underneath those officially registered women, dozens, including Apollonia, also studied and practiced music while still in the classes of *piccole* or *mezzane*. The Governors did not monitor every new music student and often left it in the hands of the *maestre* to train younger girls in music basics and to decide who had the abilities to move up in the musical ranks. In fact, a record that demonstrates the inconsistency of the Governors' supervision, registration, and approval of *figlie di coro* is where Apollonia's name first appears. Rather than following the strict procedures of training and acceptance into

²⁵⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (4 December 1707), 195v. "figliole al n. di 29 sijno habili e capaci rispettivam.te à sostenere e conservare l'esercitio delle sue parti nel Choro [...] dovendo applicarsi con tutta attenzione e Armonia ad honore del S.r Iddio e per il buon servitio di questo pio luoco." This list of names includes, Annetta dal Sopran, Agostina dal Sopran, Olivia dal Sopran, Pasqueta dal Sopran, Anastasia dal Sopran, Diana dal Contralto, Prudenza dal Contralto, Cecilia dal Contralto, Soprana dal Contralto, Paulina dal Tenor, Vittoria dal Tenor, Antonia dal Tenor, Annetta dal Basso, Lucietta Organista, Rosanna Organista, and Giulia Organista, Stella della Tiorba, Silvia dal Violin, Angelica dal Violin, Clementia dal Violin, Michielina dal Violin, and Susanna dal Violin, Maria dalla Viola, Lorenza dalla Viola, Meneghina dalla Viola, Clementia dalla Viola, another Clementia dalla Viola, and Geltruda dalla Violeta, and Cattarina dal Violone. The *figlie* who held the title of *privilegiate* were Michielina Organista, Zanetta Cantora, Prudenza dal Contralto, Antonia dal Tenor, Andriana dalla Thiorba, Lucietta Organista, Angelichietta Cantora, Pelegrina dall'Aboe, Madalena dalla Thiorba, Candida dalla Viola, Stella dalla Thiorba, Madalena dal Violin, Berbera Soprano, and Maestra Anzoleta dal Violin.

the *coro* that the Governors' demanded in their *Capitoli et Ordini*, Apollonia became proficient enough at singing that she started performing and "supporting her parts" with the rest of the *figlie di coro* while still in the class of *figlie piccole* or *mezzane*, sometime before the age of twenty. The Governors, in fact, overlooked or ignored her contributions and participation for years before she became an official *figlia di coro*.

The records start in July 1712, when the *Deputati al Coro* and the rest of the Governors became aware of "three *figlie* who are currently found in the class of the *piccole* but who, for their study and spirit, are distinguished in the *coro*, supporting their part with sufficient ability."²⁵¹ The Governors strangely still designated Apollonia as a "*figlia piccola*" at the age of twenty, while their ordinances claimed that girls were to be promoted to *mezzane* by the age of fourteen and even to *figlie grandi* by eighteen. The discrepancy is likely attributed to the Governors' lack of attention to their wards; even the names the *figlie* were often spelled in many variations and their musical distinctions were often inconsistent. Apollonia's name, for instance, appears in their records variously as Apollonia, Appolonia, or even Polonia. The Governors' decree continued:

It is entered by our Lord Governor *Deputati* that the aforementioned *figlie*, named Polonia [Apollonia], Isabella, and Dianora, are now assigned the part of food/board that is given to the *figlie* in the class of the *Grandi*, so that – animated by the generosity practiced by the Pious Congregation – they will prove themselves with more fervor and spirit in the exercises of the *Coro* of this Charitable Institution.²⁵²

The Governors therefore sanctioned the continuation of these young women's training and their musical performance within the act of raising them to the class of *figlie grandi*. This record of Apollonia's increased food allowance confirms that the *maestri*, the *maestre*, or the other *figlie di coro* who trained these three skillful young women permitted them to participate in the *coro* well before the Governors'

²⁵¹ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. I (3 July 1712), 33-33v. "trè Figlie che presentemente s'attrovano descritte nella Classe delle piccole mà che per il studio, e spirito d'esse si distinguono nel Choro,"

²⁵² Ibid. "Si manda parte che dalli S.ri Gov.ri N.ri Depu.ti all'Economia resti assignato alle dette Figlie nominate Polonia, Isabella e Dianora la parte di Vito viene contribuito alle Figlie descritte nella Classe delle Grande, accio che annimate dalla generosità li viene praticata dalla Pia Congreg.ne habbino con più fervore, e spirito à confermarsi nelli Esercitij del Choro di q.to Pio Luoco."

recognition. Perhaps many women at the Ospedale were left out from the usual food allowance and privileges that came with aging up, but these three musicians eventually received special attention for their valuable skills at a young age. This record, however, still did not officially affirm them as full-fledged *figlie di coro*. Apollonia and her two peers only became members of the class of the *figlie grandi*, with all the rights, duties, and food allowances of adult women, but they might not have moved to the institution's upper floors where the *figlie di coro* had rooms, and they likely had to continue doing other chores alongside any musical practice.

According to a later entry in the Governors' *Notatori*, Apollonia, Isabella, and Dianora's full recognition as *figlie di coro* only occurred eight years later in August 1720:

Considering omissions that until now have been happening when introducing some *figlie* into the *coro* – comprised in the note now read – and since the virtue and good manners of these same [*figlie*] deserve to be approved by the authority of this Pious Congregation, [...] it is taken that the same *figlie* remain approved as *figlie* of our *coro* and are able to legally enjoy the prerogatives of the *coro* itself.²⁵³

Here, the three women finally became official *figlie di coro*, which would give them privileges such as movement to an upper floor of the institution, perhaps with their own room, as well as dispensation from other chores and extra food at mealtime to assist them in their musical efforts. Yet the record also acknowledged that the Governors' policies often created oversight regarding the promotions and assignments of the *figlie*; they only recognized these three women's labor as musicians after they had already worked and performed in the *coro* for around a decade. Because the women of the Ospedale generally supervised each other and oversaw the daily functioning of the institution on their own, the Governors' pronouncement seems more like a formality than necessity. In reality, it is unclear whether

²⁵³ ASV, OLP Busta 690 Not. M (23 August 1720), 54v-55. "Intendendosi poi l'ommissioni, sin' hora corse con la introduzione nel Choro delle Figlie Compresse nella Nota hora Letta, et meritando la virtù e buoni costumi delle stesse d'esser aprobate dall'autorità di questa Pia Congregatione [...]. Sia preso che le stesse Figlie, restano approbate per Figlie di questo nostro Choro et rese capaci di godere legalmente le Prerogative del Choro stesso." The three women, now in their late twenties, were voted upon and approved alongside five other talented *figlie*, Agostina (b. 1695/6), Lorenza (dalla Viola, b. 1698/9), Anna Maria (dal Violin, b. 1696), Meneghina, and Antonia (Organista, b. 1703). This is another record that demonstrates the Governors' inability to consistently keep track and vote upon *figlie* for promotions, as is discussed in chapter one. The second part of this record restate the duty of the *Deputati* to propose new *figlia* to serve in the *coro* every year.

Apollonia, Dianora, or Isabella's lives even changed much after the Governors' official pronouncement, as their peers may already have been treating them like full members of the *coro* before this written declaration of their rank. Plus, Apollonia had been receiving a few benefits typical of a *figlia di coro* before this date, such as traveling to the *terra ferma* with noble Venetian families for health reasons. She sojourned, for example, in the villa of the current Ospedale Governor and future Doge Alvise Pisani, under the supervision of his wife, the future Dogaressa, Elena Badoero, twice between 1715 and 1720.²⁵⁴ The Governors even considered Apollonia's name in May 1718 for a vote on which *figlia di coro* would become *privileggiata* to teach *figlie in educazione*.²⁵⁵ In the end, Apollonia did not receive enough votes of approval, but the fact that Apollonia was even considered demonstrates her known musical skill and firm position as a *figlia di coro* even before the Governors' official recognition in 1720.

The formal promotion to a *figlia di coro*, however, did bring about several new opportunities for Apollonia in the following years. First and foremost, the *Deputati alle figlie* quickly nominated Apollonia to become a *maestra* in July 1721.²⁵⁶ She thus became permitted to teach music to the younger *figlie* of the Ospedale della Pietà, like her mentors had done for her before. Her students who became *figlie di coro* included a contralto named Alba, as well as the soprano and composer Agata (discussed more in Chapter Four).²⁵⁷ Second, Apollonia gained her own room on an upper floor with the other *figlie di coro*, affirmed through a record of July 1722. She had sent a request to the Governors to construct a fireplace near her private room, which was approved unanimously under the condition that the chimney extended well above the roof of the building so as not to jeopardize the Ospedale or neighborhood with the threat of

²⁵⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 690 Not. L (31 May 1716), 29; Ibid. Not. M (7 June 1720), 45v.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., Not. L (15 May 1718), 130v.

²⁵⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N1 (11 July 1721), 34. She is promoted alongside five other *figlie di coro*: Stella dalla Tiorba, Madalena dall'Contralto, Verginia, Diana, and Dorotea.

²⁵⁷ Apollonia and her students are described in an anonymous sonnet. Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Fondo Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna 1178, Anonymous, "Sonetto Sopra Le Putte Di Coro Della Pietà" (ca. 1730), 207v. It is transcribed in Remo Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Turin: ERI, 1973). A rhymed, verse English-translation of the entire poem can be found in Berdes and Whittemore, *Guide to Ospedali Research*, 67. Also see White, "Biographical Notes," 81.

smoke and fire.²⁵⁸ Her position, contributions, and influence as a member of the *coro* must have made such a costly request permissible, as the Governors originally authorized twenty ducats for its construction, although it required twice that amount to complete.²⁵⁹

After becoming a titular *figlia di coro* and a *maestra*, Apollonia also soon desired the privilege and benefits of teaching music to external *figlie in educazione*. Although the Governors' *Notatori* note that *figlie di coro* commonly approached the Governors and *Deputati* for the consideration of this privilege and even made the suggestions of which young women they wanted to teach as *figlie in educazione*, the letter in which Apollonia made her request is one of the few records in the hand of one of the women themselves that still exists today. Additionally, Apollonia's request occurred in the early 1720s, only a few years after the Governors and *Deputati* had officially set strict regulations on the approval of *privilegiate* and the acceptance of *figlie in educazione* in both 1707 and 1718.²⁶⁰ The limited number of fourteen *figlie di coro* and ten *figlie di comun* who could be appointed *privilegiate* had already been met. Thus, Apollonia's appointment demonstrates how exceptions to the Governors' rules occurred, especially for a talented *figlia di coro* like Apollonia.

The process of being approved to teach *figlie in educazione* was a long one for Apollonia, who made her first supplication in March 1723. Her letter was extremely detailed, despite the generous deferential and bureaucratic language, as it contained both justification for why she should earn the privilege of teaching *figlie in educazione* and specifics on how *figlie* could move up in rank, which the Governors did not include in their own writings:

Encouraged by the total benignancy that resides in the Great Souls of Your Excellencies, I, Polonia, *Figlia di Coro* and their reverent servant, dare to humble myself to you with my obsequious supplications to be worthy of the grace of this Pious Congregation. In addition to the twenty four *Maestre* and *Figlie*, both of *Coro* and *Commun*, who benefit

²⁵⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N1 (24 July 1722), 109.

²⁵⁹ Around that time, the *maestro di coro* of the Ospedale della Pietà earned between 200-250 ducats annual salary. Subordinate musicians, such as the *maestro di concerto* or the *maestro di flauto* earned 100 ducats or less annual salary. 40 ducats for a fireplace would be quite a large sum for an individual, especially a working musician, and a relatively significant to the charitable institution.

²⁶⁰ These regulations are discussed in chapter one.

from the privilege to be able to have *figlie in educatione*, *Figlia di Coro* Geltruda was also conferred such grace as a supernumerary, until the first occasion of the shortage of one of the order “*di Coro*.” The death of *Maestra Zaneta* [sic.] occurred in these last days, which ended the place of the *Figlia* Geltruda and rendered that of the supernumerary vacant.

The duties sustained by me in the *Coro* (although with all my weakness), my age, and my need have stimulated me to resort to the charity of Your Excellencies to beg you to deem me to be worthy of the privilege enjoyed by *Figlia* Geltruda, so that, on the occasion that it is presented to me, I can enjoy that spiritual favor, which many others, if more deserving for their talent/virtue, but equal in duties, have enjoyed. However, all of this will be of that Pious Congregation’s charity, for which I will always address my fervent Prayers to the Majesty of the Lord God for the long preservation of the Lord Excellencies. Thank you.²⁶¹

Simply put, Geltruda – an accomplished *figlia di coro* who could sing and play both the viola and theorbo – had been allowed to serve as substitute for any of the fourteen official *figlie di coro privilegiate*, even though no documentation of this appointment was made or approved anywhere in the Governors’ *Notatori*.²⁶² After Zanetta – the same Zanetta Cantora mentioned above, who had been severely punished with Andriana for misbehavior in 1687 – had recently passed away, Geltruda was supposedly promoted to *privilegiata* in Zanetta’s place, and Apollonia – now approximately thirty years old – wanted to become the new supernumerary. The Governors’ accompanying documentation shows that Apollonia not only had support from the *Deputati alla chiesa e coro* and the *Deputati alle figlie*, which on its own would have proved her worthy for the appointment, but she also had quite a bit of merit for “how much she contributed with all her activity to our *Coro*, no less than for the manners and modesty that accompanies her.”²⁶³

Nevertheless, with eight in favor, four against, and one abstaining, Apollonia did not receive enough votes of approval to gain her desire. The Governors even decided to cast a second ballot, but the

²⁶¹ ASV, OLP Busta 659 (18 December 1731), attached to a supplication for *Maestra Giulia Organista*. See records of Polonia’s requests in ASV, OLP Busta 691 (12 March 1723, and March and May 1724), *parti sciolti*. See transcription of the original in the Appendix.

²⁶² In fact, there are no records of the Governors ever voting upon Geltruda’s appointment or approving *figlie in educatione* for her to teach, although she likely did considering her later appointments as *maestra* and *scrivana*. The Governors did consider Geltruda once in a vote on 15 May 1718, but she was passed over for two other *figlie di coro* who received more votes of approval. See ASV, OLP Busta 690 Not. L (15 May 1718), 130v.

²⁶³ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N1 (12 March 1723), 158. “per quanto con tutta attivita viene da essa contribuito in questo nostro Choro, non meno che per il Costume, e Modestia che l’accompagna. “

results did not change. She was barred from teaching the external *figlie in educazione*, and she had to wait one year to come under consideration again. Apollonia's letter reveals a clue to possible reasons for the Congregation's hesitation: perhaps she was not yet quite as talented in music as some of the other performing *figlie di coro*, since in her letter, Apollonia mentioned both her "weakness" and that the others who enjoyed the privilege for which she was asking may have been "more deserving for their talent/virtue." Her shortcomings might also be supported from the previous knowledge that she did not become an official *figlia di coro* until she was twenty-eight. The most musically talented young women at the Ospedale della Pietà, like her student Agata, typically started performing publicly and earned their titles during their early twenties, the age when Apollonia had only just been promoted to a *figlia grande*. Apollonia, however, mentioned her "duties" twice, so she must have been a hard worker and excellent instructor. Even if she was not the most talented musician at the Pietà, she had diligently done everything that was expected of her.

After a year passed, Apollonia must have brought herself forward for consideration again, although no other letter of hers has come to light. The Governors' documentation of their vote in March 1724 follows almost word for word the record of the previous year, but this time they required a unanimous vote of approval. With eleven in favor and one against, Apollonia was still not permitted to teach *figlie in educazione*. The Governors even held three revotes, due to some kind of counting error, but the final result remained with one dissenting. The Governors were unrelenting on their regulations regarding *figlie in educazione*. They strictly controlled and monitored this privilege even when they let other practices slide. So, Apollonia's desire succumbed to bureaucratic rigidity, despite the majority in her favor.

Only two months passed before the Governors revisited Apollonia's case. Perhaps Apollonia, her potential external student, or the *Deputati* were unrelenting, or the Governors finally agreed upon a set of terms for her to follow; maybe a substitute was desperately needed to fill absences of other *privilegiate*; or Apollonia possibly could have stepped up or done something to prove herself worthy. Regardless of

the reason, through someone's persistence, Apollonia finally received unanimous approval of the Congregation with the follow declaration:

The aforementioned *figlia di coro* Apollonia remains permitted to be able, for now, to have a *putta in educazione*, as supernumerary, to be received, however, with the prescribed formality and established by the entry of 1 May 1718. And this is the case until it happens that one of the fourteen *Coro gratiate* is missing, while in that time she should be understood as a substitute in place of one who is missing, with which the order of not exceeding the number of fourteen *gratie al coro* remains confirmed with the previous entry of 1 May 1718.²⁶⁴

Following this record, Apollonia could teach any of the *figlie in educazione* who had already been approved by the Congregation's vote, depending on the need. If one of the other *figlie privilegiate* were absent, ill, or otherwise unable to teach, Apollonia could fill her place. Additionally, sometime in the following ten years, one of the other *figlie privilegiate* must have passed away, causing Apollonia's promotion, as she earned her first documented *figlia in educazione* in January 1734. First, she taught a seven-year-old daughter of Evangelista Bortolato named Elena Maria. This *figlia in educazione* studied with her for about one year, as did each of her subsequent students: Anna Maria, daughter of Vido Tornicello, in 1735, and Elisabetta Lodovica, daughter of the Nobleman Giovanni Borelli, in 1736.

Apollonia, however, did not remain a *figlia privilegiata* without incident. Around the time that she was able to have her own *figlie in educazione*, in the early 1730s, she started sending supplications to be able to travel to the Venetian *terra ferma* for her health. Her first request was written in partnership with her student Agata:

The continued commitments that we take in service of this *coro*, we, Polonia and Agata, *figlie* of this Charitable Institution and servants of the Venerable Congregation, unfortunately have contracted such ailments in addition to our exhausted temperaments, that in the progress we threaten ourselves in the greatest, as can be seen from the sworn certificate of the doctor of this Charitable Institution that we attached to the present [supplication].

²⁶⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N2 (12 May 1724), 16v-17. "Resti permesso alla detta Figlia Polonia di Choro di poter per hora come soprnumeraria tener una Puta in educatione, da esser ricevuto però con la formalità prescritte, e stabilire dalla parte primo Maggio 1718, et cio sino a tanto succederà il caso della mancanza di alcuna delle quatordeci di choro gratiate, mentre in deto tempo doverà intendersi subintrata in loco di quelle mancaze, con che resti rafferamato l'ord.e di non dover estendersi il numero delle quatordeci gratie al choro con la preavenuta parte primo Magio 1718."

Above this, the same doctor believes that the only remedy would be some breath outside of the hardship of this house and for some time in fresh air [...] The Noblewoman Barbara Querini, who gives compassion towards our unhappy state, is ready to allow us to enjoy her beneficence for about one month in her Villa.²⁶⁵

The doctor, named as Bozzato, offered a letter to confirm her need at that time:

Appolonia [sic.] Corista, after the use of water for a hypochondriacal flatulence [i.e. diarrhea], to which she often is subjected so as to not disturb her stomach with major medication, deserves the grace of bringing herself in air of perfection to better assist her health.²⁶⁶

Apollonia gained approval for this travel with the Querini noblewoman, but her health apparently did not improve completely, or her health may have just been a pretense for these excursions. She received similar notes from the Ospedale's doctors during the autumn of each of the following years 1734 through 1736. She always received permission to travel in the fall, during the musical off-season, between the religious holidays associated with the Assumption of Mary (i.e. *Ferragosto*, 15 August) and the season of Advent.

During September 1736, however, the Governors of the Ospedale della Pietà refused to let Apollonia travel anymore. The institution's *medico*, Signore Bozzato, again wrote Apollonia a letter for her health, with a written affirmation to the Congregation that Apollonia could travel to Padua with Madalena Doro, the wife of the Pietà's other doctor, for a month-long sojourn. The Governors voted three against and thirteen in favor, with one sustaining, leaving Apollonia's request without the required five-sixths. Apollonia tried for this permission to travel with Madalena Doro again eight months later, in May 1737. However, the Congregation completely denied her request, until adjoining the following addendum:

²⁶⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 660 (11 September 1733), parti sciolti. "La continue applicationi che prestiamo in servizio di questo choro noi Polonia, e Agata Figlie di questo Pio Luoco e serve della Vend.a Congregation, oltre li nostri pur troppo abbatutti temperamenti ci [h]anno contrato talli indispositioni, che in progresso ci minaciamo nelli maggiori come puo rilevarsi dalla Fede giu.ta del medico di questo Pio Luogo che uniamo alla pres.e. Sopra questo crede il medico stesse che unico rimedio ci sarebbe un qualche respira fuori del angustie di questa casa e per qualcshe tempo in aria ... La N.D. Barbara Querini che da si compasione del Nostro infelice stato pronta si trova a passer goder le sue beneficenze per mese uno in c.a in Villa." Also see ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (11 September 1733), 37v.

²⁶⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 660 (26 Agosto 1733), parti sciolti. "Appolonia Corista doppo l'uso del aque prese per un flatto Ippocodriaco a quale spesso soggiace per non disturbar con maggior medicature il suo stomacho, merita la gratia di portarsi in aria di perfettione per meglio coadiuare alla sua salute."

It remains recommended to the zeal of our Lord Governors *Deputati alle figlie* to select, with the advice of the *Priora*, one of the *maestre* of this charitable institution, so that this *maestra* may assure the *Figlia* [Apollonia] never departs Padua, nor does she ever move away from there, having to promptly advise the *Priora* with her letter if it ever happened to the contrary, so that her duties are immediately made illuminated, and so the said *Figlia* is restored to the Charitable Institution.²⁶⁷

With this extra ruling, Apollonia received thirteen votes in favor, with none against, allowing her to travel to Padua with the doctor's wife. Typically, just the accompaniment of one Venetian woman was enough for the Governors' approval, as many *figlie di coro* simply traveled with prominent noblewomen, such as the wives of the Ospedale's Governors. Apollonia, on the other hand, had a specially assigned *maestra* to supervise her, despite the fact that she was a *maestra* and *privileggiata* herself.

Clues as to why the Congregation not only dismissed Apollonia and Madalena Doro's request several times, but also set strict supervision over her movements appear in a document from the following year. Apollonia had become one of the most successful *figlie di coro*, amassing quite a bit of money and personal belongings. She had dedicated her life to "serving God in the *coro*," as the Governors put it, and was at the height of her career, singing as one of the lead soloists in many dramatic and religious works. She had played the role of Apollo in Giovanni Porta's *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (1726), a cantata performed for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (see Chapter Three), and she sang as a soloist for Porta's setting of the Vesper psalm "Laetatus sum" in D Major (1736) for a religious feast day.²⁶⁸ She had received many marriage proposals due to her fame, but, had rejected them for her musical career. Now in her forties, Apollonia at long last demonstrated a wish to marry a man named Liberal Batogia. So, the Congregation assigned its members their usual task of reviewing the reasons behind the desire and whether the two individuals involved were worthy of the act:

²⁶⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (17 May 1737), 185v-186. "Restando raccomandato al zelo dei Sig. Gov. i Nostra Deputati alle Figlie scielgiere col consiglio della Priora una delle Maestre di questo Pio Luogo perche habbia essa Maestra ad assicurassi della Figlia non si porta mai di Padova, ne mai si scosti da essa, dovendo se mai succedesse in contrario avissare subito la Priora con sua lettera perche le cariche imediate. te illuminata faccia che detta Figlia si restituisca al Pio Luogo."

²⁶⁸ *Il ritratto dell'eroe* is discussed more in chapter three. See Faun Tanenbaum Tiedge's edition of *Giovanni Porta: Selected Sacred Music from the Ospedale della Pietà* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1995), for the 'Laetatus sum.'

We are called by conscience and by the obligation of our office to put under the prudent reflections of this Venerable Congregation the true cause and the only purpose for which Apollonia di Coro, after having, during her most flourishing age [i.e. during her fertile years], refused the meetings of many decent marriage parties with the idea of serving God, either in the Cloister or in this *Coro*:

Now that she has 25 years of merit [in the *coro*] and is 42 years old, she wants to give up serving God, to serve as a wife of Liberal Batogia, a sexagenarian man, with two married sons [who are] aggravated by [too many] children, so poor in economic conditions and of credit in the profession of surgeon that he was reduced to abandoning both wife and children at Giudecca to find relief in *Galleria* [forced labor, such as rowing on galleys, possible imprisonment or some other place or condition of constraint] to acquire bread [...]

Against this remarkable misfortune, he directs all his actions to frequenting the Church [of the Pietà], with the pretense of music; it was easy to cover himself with plans to be introduced by some doctor to visit a sick woman, gaining respect in this house, where, however, he never cared in those few times to go to see Apollonia, but rather Ambrosina who had offered some small gift of fish.

But, having found out that Apollonia is one of the wealthiest of this house, both with money and property, how determined he was to marry her, if he believed he was getting a *Fachino* [porter, i.e. someone to carry his weight] [...]

He penned a letter as though presenting himself for her husband before having seen each other and met each other, to whom she promptly replied and, giving him the title of 'most beloved dear spouse,' she appropriated in her signature the surname of 'the most affectionate Wife Apollonia Batogia,' but, with such advanced expression, the miserable man, maddened by the consolation in being assured of the idea of having provided for his necessity with this marriage and of having to live without more affliction, abandoned the house at the expense of this *Figlia's* property and virtue.²⁶⁹

After discovering the poverty of Liberal Batogia, reading the correspondence between the two potential lovers, and finally learning that he had used her wealth for his own needs, the Congregation also interviewed Madalena Doro, since she had been in close contact with Apollonia during their travels to Padua. They learn that the suitor Batogia had previously worked as a servant to her farmer in Sacile, a small town north of Venice in the province of Pordenone, although she confirmed that he had already been cast out of her household's service. Perhaps this is where Apollonia had met this man. The Governors must have at least been aware of Apollonia's relationship with Batogia, and, concerned that her connection and travel with Madalena Doro would bring the two in contact, they could not fully

²⁶⁹ IRE, SOC G7 Miscellanea (1738), excerpt transcribed in Berdes and Whittemore, 1; and Gillio, *Attività musicale*, CD materiali documentari, Source P#32.

approve of her journey. If Apollonia were supervised and restricted to Padua, per their above stipulation, there was less chance she would meet him.

The whole affair regarding Apollonia and Liberal Batogia became public, causing rumor of scandal to spread throughout the Venetian streets and shops. The Congregation called Batogia a “diabolical marriage party,” who “made these wicked proceedings so scandalous to the public.”²⁷⁰ They refused the marriage outright, concerned that this man was attempting to take advantage of Apollonia. Additionally, within a few months of this rejection of her marriage, Apollonia lashed out. She came into violent conflict with the *portinara*, who was charged with watching the door of the institution, and Apollonia received penance for misbehavior. The record of the incident is one of the most detailed of all the Governors’ documented punishments:

The souls of this Venerable Congregation are committed by the now understood too forward advances of the *figlia di coro* Apollonia, contrary to the good manners of this Charitable Institution, for her words and very indecent acts towards her superior, and also primarily for the offense made with a fist in the face of the Maestra Mattia Portinara [...] Therefore, it passes that, as the stay of the daughter of the Nobleman Toma Mocenigo Soranzo – who was under the education of the aforementioned Apollonia in this Charitable Institution, although under another privilege – was the reason for the aforementioned inconveniences, our Presidents, combined with the Governor *Deputato alle figlie*, thus make it known to the aforementioned Nobleman that it is fit to remove his Noble daughter from the education of the aforementioned Apollonia, and delaying to do so, she is decently removed from this Charitable Institution and sent to the house of the aforementioned Nobleman, without being able to be received anymore.

Then, proceeding towards Apollonia herself, in regards to those manners required by the decorum of this Charitable Institution, and the good behaviors that must be preserved in the same [place],

It is also taken that every benefit that she currently receives as *figlia di coro* remains suspended to the aforementioned Apollonia, and she remains in the condition of only *figlia di comun*; And also the privilege that this Apollonia enjoys, in being able to have a *putta in educazione* in this Charitable Institution, remains suspended, and, in regards to those that she now holds, Elisabeta Lodovica, daughter of Nobleman Lord Giovanni Borelli of Codroipo – granted to her with the entry of 14 September 1736 – is also understood removed from the instruction of the aforementioned Apollonia, not being able to ever be reintegrated to the aforementioned benefits and privileges except with an entry taken with four-fifths of this Venerable Congregation.

In regards to the manners, it will also be of the authority of the aforementioned Lord *Presidenti* and the *Deputati alle figlie* to find a more proper way of closing the said

²⁷⁰ Ibid. “con queste scelerate procedure si à fatto tanto scandaloso al publico questo diabolic partito di matrimonio.”

Apollonia in her own room, to remain there until a new deliberation of this Venerable Congregation.

And, because it is also the constant will of this Venerable Congregation that the entry of 4 January 1698, with the subsequent ones concerning the good conservation of these doors should be observed and executed,

The zeal of our Lord Presidents and *Deputati alle figlie* is sought to seriously entrust our *Priora* and *portinara* to their inviolable obedience, and on closing the same doors, the *portinara* should cosign the keys to the aforementioned *Priora* so that she can protect them near herself until the morning at the hour to reopen them, under the punishment contained therein.²⁷¹

Since the Governors made a point to redefine the rules for locking the Ospedale's doors, this confrontation between Apollonia and the *portinara* was likely related to an attempt to breach the doorway against the established regulations. It remains unclear exactly what caused the commotion, and how the *figlia in educazione* was involved, but the proximity in time between Apollonia's confrontation and her affair with Batogia is too large a coincidence. There are no other records of punishment for Apollonia beside the one above, except that the Governors' records explained that Apollonia had lost much of her good reputation due to the humiliation that Batogia had caused. It is not too far a stretch to assume that Maestra Mattia further aggravated Apollonia's emotional injury either through words or actions, or Maestra Mattia may have just been fulfilling her duty as *portinara* to not let anyone pass the doors. Apollonia consequently came to blows with the *portinara*, and she lost all her positions of authority, her ability to perform or teach music, and was indefinitely locked in her room by the Congregation.

Nevertheless, as was typical for an accomplished *figlia di coro*, Apollonia remained imprisoned for only one month. The Governors reported that the scandal with Batogia and Apollonia had hurt their authority, and they remained, "offended for the widespread opinion that a too rigorous punishment was put on her for this desperation of wanting to be the spouse of a husband and miserable man, rather than to

²⁷¹ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. R (14 November 1738), 34-34v. See Appendix for transcription of the original.

live vilified and subject to this Congregation.”²⁷² As soon as Apollonia had demonstrated repentance for her actions and reconciliation with Maestra Mattia, they released her:

This Venerable Congregation sees that the *Figlia* Appolonia [sic.] is repentant of her committed errors, both penitent and remorseful with all humility and imploring the most clement pardon – and primarily with the apologies pleaded towards the *Portinara* Maestra Mattia and the reconciliation between them – that makes [the Congregation] believe that the said *Figlia* is worthy of pardon, which, with much submissiveness, she implores for freedom after the punishment suffered for more than a month, and for the remission of the privileges that she enjoyed, and even more so since she is a *figlia*, who, in addition to her obvious repentance, enjoys the prerogatives of a distinct ability in our *coro* and the merit of having instructed others who serve in the same [*coro*]: motives that all promote in this Venerable Congregation the acts of its beneficence, therefore, It is taken that the aforementioned *Figlia* Appolonia is restored to freedom as she enjoyed in the past.²⁷³

In Apollonia’s case, her repentance was just one factor in her relatively quick forgiveness. In addition to the publicity surrounding the events, the Congregation again acknowledged her exceptional musical skill in the *coro*. Thus, the Congregation had no choice but to free the talented singer her from her room, so as not to further harm the institution’s reputation, as well as to not lose a vocalist and instructor whom they had invested so much time into training. Her continued confinement would only lessen the quality of the institution’s future musical offerings.

The Governors did not immediately reinstate her full privileges; Apollonia was still forbidden from again teaching *figlie in educazione*, which would have once again given her connections to families and individuals outside of the Ospedale. They left her to follow the prescribed daily routine and perform music without teaching responsibilities for the following few weeks, before voting unanimously that “because the beneficence of this Venerable Congregation becomes more apparent, and the quiet in this

²⁷² IRE, SOC G7 Miscellanea (1738), excerpt. “resta offeso il suo zelo per l’invalsa opinione, ch’un troppo rigoroso castigo l’abbia messa in questa disperazione di voler esser piuttosto chiava d’un Marito, e miserabili, che viver vilipesa, e suddita di questa Congregazione.”

²⁷³ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. R (17 December 1738), 35v-36. “rileva questa Vend.a Congregatione che ravedutassi la Figlia Appolonia del suo Errore comesso, e che pentita, e dollente con tuta umilta e implore un clementissimo perdono e maggiormente per gl’atti di scusa accati verso la Portinara M.ra Mattia e reconciliatione fra le med.me fa credere detta Figlia fatta degna del perdono che con tanta somissione implora la liberta doppo il castigo che sofre da piu d’un mese, e delle remissione dei privilegi che godeva, e tanto piu che si tratta di una Figlia che oltre il suo palese pentimento gode le prerogative di una distinta abbilita in questo Nostro Choro e il merito d’averne instruite altre che nel med.mo servono: mottivi tutti che promove in questa Vend.a Congregatione gl’atti delle sollite sue beneficenze e però: Sia preso che alla predetta Figlia Appolonia la sia restituita la liberta come godeva in passato.”

Charitable Institution remains continuous, and [because of] the resignation in the same *Figlia*, with good service in our *Coro* to the major glory of our Lord God, [...] the suspended privileges that she enjoyed are restored to the *Figlia* Apollonia.”²⁷⁴ The Governors finally believed the situation was put to rest.

After her relationship with Batogia came to an end and her punishment for striking the *portinara* was concluded, the records of Apollonia’s life become more conventional, similar to the events and development expected by the Congregation. In 1739, one year after her punishment and pardon, Apollonia again came under their consideration. The *Deputati alle figlie* had reported that the duties of the *maestra di coro* were left unfulfilled, and, “reflecting on the virtue and the merit of the *Figlia di Coro* Apollonia, they believe she should be promoted to the rank of *Maestra di Coro*.”²⁷⁵ The Governors and *Deputati* quickly moved past her previous missteps, demonstrating their typical clemency towards a talented *figlia di coro*, and they gave her responsibilities that would leave her more seriously tied to the institution. Apollonia had spent the approximately forty-seven years of her life at the Ospedale della Pietà before this appointment, and she had become an established musician and teacher whom the Governors could rely on for the necessary skills required to instruct, run rehearsals, and copy music as the *maestra di coro*. She even still continued performing as a soloist, including for Antonio Vivaldi’s *Magnificat* RV 611 (1739), in several of Nicola Porpora’s religious works (1742),²⁷⁶ and as a lead soprano in Andrea Bernasconi’s “Laudate Pueri Undecima” (c. 1750).²⁷⁷ She was still an extremely capable musician. Plus, from her previous punishment and demonstration of deference, the Governors likely knew she would

²⁷⁴ Ibid., (24 December 1738), 36v. “E perche maggiormente risulti le beneficenze di questa Vend.a Congregatione, e resti continuata la quiete in questo Pio Luogo, e la rassegnatione nelle Figlie stesse con il buon servigio in questo Nostro Choro a maggior gloria del Sig. Iddio.[...] alla Figlia Appolonia le restino rimessi li privilegi che godeva sospesilli.”

²⁷⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. R (21 August 1739), 60. “riflettendo alla virtu, et al merito della Figlia Appolonia di Choro credono di promoverla al grado di Maestra di Choro.”

²⁷⁶ Porpora’s scores that mention Apoolonia as a soprano soloist include “In te Domine” in C Major (London, The British Library (GB-Lbm), Add. 14129=W592), “Laudate pueri” in A Major (GB-Lbm Add. 14128 = W599), and a *Magnificat*. See Berdes and Whittemore, *Guide to Ospedali Research*, 616.

²⁷⁷ A copy of this score, with her name, can be found at Biblioteca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello (VC), Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 18.8. Her solo covers a range of an octave and a half, with a few long and difficult melismas that span over four to six measures. The other soloists for this piece included Giulietta, Chiaretta, Biancha Maria, Margarita, Louissetta, Marina and Agata.

avoid prohibited behaviors that might create similar penalties. She served as the *maestra di coro* and continued to teach several *figlie in educazione*, including a girl named Bettina Buselli and the daughter of the Noblewoman Maria Barbarigo Barbaro, for at least the following five years. While teaching the young Barbarigo, she even received the usual permission to travel to their family's villa on the *terra ferma*, not only because she was "deserving relief for her abject health," but also because "the Noblewoman Maria Barbarigo Barbaro, who has one of her daughters under the assistance of the current Maestra Apollonia, wishes to take her aforementioned *maestra* for a few day outside of the city with her daughter."²⁷⁸

Then, sometime before 1746, Apollonia was elected to become *Sotto Priora*, the assistant to the *Piora*.²⁷⁹ Apollonia might have eventually become *Piora* too, if she had not become sick.²⁸⁰ Her health had declined readily for years. She had also passed on her final *figlie in educazione*, two sisters named Angela and Cattarina Baglioni, to her student Agata by 1748, even though, according to records, Agata had not yet become a *figlia privilegiata* nor been voted upon by the Congregation. Apollonia also received doctor's notes to travel to the *terra ferma* for health reasons in both 1749 and 1751. The doctor's note for her travel in 1751 described her condition:

The Signora Appolonia Cantora finds herself for many years troubled by remarkable obstructions in the lower abdomen; but for two months, she is surprised by acute fever, cirrhosis of the spleen, colliquative [watery] diarrhea, vigorous convulsions, and considerable expansions of the whole lower abdomen."²⁸¹

The doctor had composed, signed, and dated his letter for Apollonia in May of 1752, but the Governors did not vote upon whether or not she should go outside of the Ospedale della Pietà until the end of September, the usual time of year for the Ospedale's wards to travel. Unfortunately, this was a few weeks after her death on 11 September 1751. The Congregation passed the vote unanimously, unaware that the

²⁷⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 665 (12 August 1746), parti sciolti. "La N.D.a Maria Barbarigo Barbaro, che tiene una sua Figlia sotto la plausibile assistenza della Maestra Apolonia attual sottopiora desidera di condur per alcuni giorni fuori di città con la Figlia la stessa sua Maestra."

²⁷⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 693 Not. S (12 August 1746), 107v-109.

²⁸⁰ Francesca passed away in July 1760 at the age of 93. See White, "Biographical Notes," 87.

²⁸¹ ASV, OLP Busta 668 (24 September 1751), parti sciolti. "la Sig.a Appolonia Cantora ritrovarsi da molti anni incomodata da rimarcabili ostruzioni nel basso ventre; ma due mesi sono, che sorpresa da febbre acuta con ristagno scirroso nella milza, diarrea colliquativa, gagliardi convulsioni, e considerabile estensioni di tutto il basso ventre."

figlia was already gone and the permission was too late. The Ospedale's *Registri dei Morti* (Registers of the Dead) listed Apollonia as "around the age of sixty, sick for six months with fever and cirrhosis in the spleen."²⁸² The months-long bureaucratic processes of the Congregation, which demanded that the *figlie di coro* procure letters from the doctors, gain approval from the *Deputati alle figlie*, only travel during the autumn and spring off-seasons, and finally be voted upon during the Congregation's meetings, meant that Apollonia succumbed to her illness before the process could be completed for her.

The Governors acknowledged Apollonia one last time after her death, in a record from January 1752: "In these last days, the death of the Maestra Apollonia, worthy for the virtues of her duty, in which she enjoyed the privilege of having a *figlia in educazione* in this Charitable Institution as one of the fourteen *Privilegiate di Coro*, leaves open the case for a new election."²⁸³ The Congregation thus moved forward with hardly a pause, electing Apollonia's long-time pupil Agata to take her place, a successful conclusion to their regimented mentor-apprentice system.

Apollonia's participation in the *coro* and her promotions to new positions of duty or privilege occurred gradually over the years of her life. She studied and played in the *coro* for over a decade before she became an officially sanctioned *figlia di coro*, and she did not perform as a featured soloist until she was over thirty years old. Meanwhile, Apollonia faced multiple barriers when the Governors rejected her from teaching *figlie in educazione*, refused to let her travel to the *terra ferma* for various reasons, and punished her severely for fighting with a superior. Apollonia, accordingly, occasionally skirted the official regulations and approvals that were required from the Governors and their Congregation, as seen through her participation in the *coro* before her full acceptance, as well as her repeated pleas to become supernumerary and eventually a *figlia privilegiata*. It is surely through these life experiences, and the

²⁸² ASMPV, *Registri dei Morti* (11 September 1751). "Maestra Appolonia Figlia del Pio Luoco della Pietà d'anni 60 in cir.a inferma di mesi sei in Febre, e Ciro nella smilza."

²⁸³ ASV, OLP Busta 668 (14 January 1751 m.v. / 1752), parti sciolti. "La morte in questi ultimi giorni successa della Maestra Appolonia benemerita per la virtu` del suo carito, che godeva il Privileggio di tener una Figlia in educazione in questo Pio Luogo come una delle quatordecì di Coro Privilegiate, apre il caso ad una nuova elezzione."

inexactness of the Governors' rule, that she felt entitled to challenge authority, as she did towards *portinara* Mattia, and to even bestow the responsibility of teaching her *figlie in educazione* to her student Agata without the Governors' permission when she reached old age.

The Unconventional Path to an Operatic Career: Santa Tasca

One of the most exceptional life paths of a *figlia di coro*, which included months-long imprisonment and an eventual operatic career around the European continent, is found in records regarding the *figlia* known as Giustina Santina, or simply Santa for short. Santa was born in May 1715 and was left in the *scaffeta* of the Ospedale della Pietà, dressed in old, heavily woven swaddling cloths and a linen diaper.²⁸⁴ A small strip of cut paper was placed in her blankets, which stated that she was born only half an hour before she had been abandoned and that she had been named Santina, although the workers at the Ospedale also gave her the second name Giustina. She removed the diminutive by the time she was an adult, when documents simply refer to her as "Santa."

Santa grew up at the Ospedale della Pietà, without mention in any of the Governors' records, until her eighteenth year, in March 1734:

Called by its usual zeal, this Venerable Congregation gives weight to what happened in the person of Santina, *figlia* of our *Coro*, therefore, It is received from Our Governors *Deputati alle figlie* that this *figlia* was sent into one of the prisons of this Charitable Institution where she must be kept well guarded for due punishment, and for the so necessary example in this Charitable Institution, where she will have to stay, until there is another order by this Congregation.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ ASMPV, Registri Scaffetta, Source P #5283 (20 May 1715), a hore 1 e mezza. "Santa. Giustina nas.te con fassa vecchia fustagno vecchio, é paneselo di tela carniza novo. Una stricheta di carta tagliata in cappa che dice Lunedì á hore una di notte in circa metti il nome di Santina poi dall'altra parte della d.ta carte dice á 20 Mag.o 1715 Venetia. Il nome di Santa la creatura; in filza n.o 430. A di 21 d.to fú batte.a nella nostra chiesa del soprad.to con il sud.to nome more solito. [Giustina newborn, with old swaddling cloth, old fustian [heavy woven cloth from cotton], and a new diaper of linen/burlap canvas. A small strip of cut paper in the hood, that says Monday at about one o'clock in the morning, given the name of Santina; then on the other side of the same paper it says 20 May 1715, Venice. The name of Santa the newborn; in the file number 430. On the 21st day she was baptized in our abovementioned church with the abovementioned name in the usual manner.]"

²⁸⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (26 March 1734), 61v-62. "Chiamata dal solito suo zello questa Ven.da Congregatione a dar peso a quanto è accadutoto nella persona di Santina figlia di questo Choro E però Resti preso che dalli Gov.ri Nostri Deputati alle Figlie sia fatta passare questa sera la sud.a Figlia in una delle Prigioni di questo Pio Luogo dove debba ben custodirsi per il dovuto castigo, e per l'esempio tanto necessario in questo Pio Luogo dove doverà continuare sino al altro ordine di questa Congregatione."

The Governors apparently had caught Santina with romantic interest without their approval.²⁸⁶ They imprisoned her immediately. They then spent the following two weeks questioning individuals both inside and outside the Ospedale to uncover all the accompanying circumstances and the accomplices of this infraction, so they could mete out appropriate punishment. They discovered the “seducer” Antonio Tasca, as well as three *figlie di comun*, Elena, Daniela, and Marina, who helped Santa meet with him. The Congregation decided that “in an affair of such grave and supreme importance, and due to the circumstances which accompanies it,”²⁸⁷ they could not leave the decision of resolution and punishments to the *Deputati* or any other individuals. Instead, they all together discussed and voted upon it in a meeting. Unlike usual gatherings, which only attracted six to ten Governors, over one dozen were present for these deliberations, possibly concerned or intrigued by such a scandalous affair.

The Congregation first decided, unanimously, to send an appeal to the Venetian Tribunal regarding Antonio Tasca. The Ospedale Governors requested to determine his punishment, “so that a crime so grave does not go unpunished and so the example removes similar dangers of such scandalous trespass in the future.”²⁸⁸ In the archives of the Consiglio de Dieci (Council of Ten), on 12 April 1734, the record simply states, “The writing presented by the Governors of the Charitable Institution of the Pietà, concerning the scandalous and reckless trespass of a person who has dared to suborn and seduce a *figlia di coro* of the same place is accepted for the effects of Justice.”²⁸⁹ Because Santa was a ward of a state-run institution, the honor and authority of the governing patrician men was at stake. They had to ensure

²⁸⁶ Although it’s not expressly stated in any of the Governors’ records, it is likely that suitors wrote letters requesting to marry *figlie*. Then, in the Pietà’s *Notatori*, the Governors voted upon each woman who was to be married, sometimes with attached baptismal records and other certificates that proved the suitor’s worthiness to care for the woman. The records in which they voted on the betrothal of the *figlie* seem to primarily exist for the purpose of keeping track of dowry payments.

²⁸⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (9 April 1734), 62v-63v. “Figlia Santina di Choro et Altre Figlie per castigo” Copied in ASV, OLP Busta 661 (9 April 1734), parti sciolti. “In affare però di così grave e somma importanza e per le circostanze che l’accompagna.”

²⁸⁸ Ibid. “affine che non resti impunito un delitto sì grave e l’esempio allontani in avvenire pericoli simili de’ trespasosi sì scandalosi.”

²⁸⁹ ASV, Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, Figlza No. 140 (12 April 1734). “Che la scr.a p. n. t. a dai Gov.ri del Pio Luogo della Pietà, concernente lo scandaloso, e temerario trapasso di persona che ha osato di subornare e sedurre una Figlia da Coro del Luogo med.mo, sii accettata per gl’effetti di Giustitia.”

that their jurisdiction over the female wards was not at fault for this offense, and they were given authority to mete out the penalty. Even though women in early modern Venice, more often than men, faced punishment in cases of seduction, the Ospedale governors thus turned the blame on Antonio Tasca to protect the reputation of the Ospedale.²⁹⁰ Additionally, custom in Venice and the laws of the *Esecutori alla Bestemmia*²⁹¹ required that, if a male suitor deflowered a woman outside of marriage, he must repair her family's estate by providing a dowry – something the Ospedale and Santa's musical skills already supplied – or he must marry her.²⁹² Antonio Tasca's only options, therefore, were to marry Santa or to face permanent exile from his hometown.

As for the *figlie*, the three accomplices were all imprisoned for various lengths of time. Elena and Daniela each received two months of imprisonment, but Marina, who “is more to blame for not only contributing to the deed, but also to her advice with the confidence she held with Santina herself,”²⁹³ was committed for six months. Santina, however, remained locked up indefinitely, “with the proper caution,”²⁹⁴ to ensure that she did not again escape, leave, nor have visitors for any reason. The Governors stated that if they ever decided to let her out, they agreed that she could never be reinstated as a *figlia di coro*, nor even live with any of the *figlie – coro* or *commun* – ever again. She was eternally separated from the rest of their female wards, just as any other imaginably sexually-active woman would be.

At the end of these decisions regarding the *figlie*, the Congregation added one final point:

And because it is well known that disorders of this nature are produced from far-removed origins, by easily reaching the doors, by little internal discipline, and by a demeanor that does not correspond to the simplicity of this Charitable Institution, the aforesaid Governors over the *figlie* are charged to instruct themselves on these points and to examine whether the *figlie*'s entry way was the cause of this disorder, if they have regular

²⁹⁰ Ferraro, *Venice: History of the Floating City*, 103. Ferraro explains, “In almost every case, save violent rape, male family members were identified as victims rather than perpetrators of crime. Both seduction and adultery were defined from a patriarchal perspective.”

²⁹¹ The *Esecutori alla Bestemmia* was a Venetian commission established in 1537 to regulate blasphemy, gambling, the seduction of virgins, and other moral criminality.

²⁹² Ferraro, *Venice: History of the Floating City*, 166.

²⁹³ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (9 April 1734), 62v-63v. “Figlia Santina di Choro et Altre Figlie per castigo” Copied in ASV, OLP Busta 661 (9 April 1734), parti sciolti. “Marina vi abbia maggior colpa per haver contribuito non solo l’oppra, ma anco il consiglio con la confidenza teneva con la stessa Santina.”

²⁹⁴ Ibid. “con la dovuta cautella.”

instruction of Christian Doctrine, and if the orders established by this Congregation for the good direction of these *figlie* are followed with much studiousness.²⁹⁵

Here, the Governors specifically listed their ideas about why a meeting between an outside man and one of their *figlie* might have occurred. They first suggested that the disorder was produced due to the ease of improper behaviors, and presumably the individuals who exhibit them, coming inside the cloister of the institution, which in turn caused internal discipline to wane through external influence. They then charge the *Deputati* with investigating other reasons: Was the *figlie*'s entry way the reason for the disorder?²⁹⁶ Have the *figlie* been instructed in Christian doctrine that would dissuade them from such scandalous behaviors? And are the previously established regulations being followed well?

One month later, Antonio Tasca composed a now-lost appeal to the Governors of the Ospedale. As was most appropriate for any European man publicly condemned for having inappropriately seduced a virgin woman, "he asks for pardon of the transgression and implores that the aforementioned Santina be given to him in marriage."²⁹⁷ This was the only proper way for the situation to be resolved at the time.

However, the Governors demanded one condition:

Santina is granted to Tascha [sic.] for a spouse, on the condition, however, that the aforementioned Tascha has preemptively taken such cautions as to ensure that the aforementioned Santina will never make use of her abilities, neither in theaters of the Venetian domain nor in other places. The aforementioned caution should be presented to Our Lord Governors *Deputati alle figlie*, and reported to this Congregation to have their consent, only after which the wedding can be celebrated.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Ibid. "E perche ben si conosce che disordini di tal natura sono prodotti da origini rimosse di facilità di portarsi alle porte, di pocca disciplina interna, e di un contegno non corrispondente alla semplicità di questo Luogo Pio. Siano incaricati li S.i Gov.i sudetti alle Figlie ad internarsi sopra questi punti, et esaminare se l'ostio delle Figlie fosse motivo di qualche disordine; Se abbino regolarmente l'instrutione della Dotrina Christiana. E se siano esequitti gl'ordini con tanto studio stabilliti da questa Congregatione per la buona diretion di esse Figlie." The term "ostio" is defined in the dictionaries Treccani and WordReference as "ostium," which can refer to any bodily orifice, and can often refer to women's vaginal orifice, and, in northern Italy, was a common term to refer to the breaking of the hymen. However, in this instance, I believe they are referring to a small, side door in which the *figlie* entered and exited the institution.

²⁹⁶ Besides the main entrance to the institution, which likely featured a parlor with grates for the *figlie* to converse through, the Ospedale most likely had a small side door through which workers and wards could pass.

²⁹⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. Q (21 May 1734), 68. "demanda perdono del trascorso et implora che la detta Santina gli sia concessa in sposa."

²⁹⁸ It's notable here that the Governors do not use the term "*virtù*" to describe Santa's musical skill, as they do most of the time in reference to the *figlie di coro*, but instead refer to it as her "*abbilità*." Ibid. "Che resti accordata al detto Tascha la detta Santina per Consorte a conditione però che preventivamente il detto Tascha esebbisca cautione

To provide this proof that Santa would never sing in theaters, Tasca brought some sort of documentation, referred to as an “*obligatione negli atti di Gio. Garroni Paulini* [obligation/title in the deeds of Giovanni Garroni Paulini],” which presumably revealed his financial situation and ability to care for Santa.

Therefore, unlike Apollonia’s suitor mentioned above, Tasca had financial support and would not need to rely on Santa’s musical abilities for income. The Congregation gave their approval for the marriage. They believed Santa was now appropriately settled, and that she would never again threaten the reputation of their institution, neither with her sexual activities, nor public singing.

After this ordeal, Santa and Antonio disappeared from the Ospedale’s records. However, hints of her future life appear in surprising places. First, we find clues of Santa in the caricatures of Venetian collector and artist Anton Maria Zanetti (1680-1767). Zanetti was a prominent Venetian, the son of a doctor, and well known during his time for producing woodcut engravings, as well as for his caricatures of famous individuals, especially popular musicians and theater actors. He worked not only as a distinguished Venetian artisan, but also served as a painting agent for royal foreigners and an art dealer to English tourists. He made his way through Venetian intellectual circles, promoting and collecting works of many prominent artists, including Michele Marieschi, Giovanni Antonio Canal – more commonly known as Canaletto – and the celebrated Giambattista Tiepolo. Zanetti likely encountered Santa through his interests in music and the theater, as he dabbled in libretto writing and favored drawing opera musicians, including the famous portraits of illustrious singers such as Carlo Broschi, better known as the castrato Farinelli, and the *prima donna* (first lady) Francesca Cuzzoni.

His small drawing, although relatively large compared to some of his others (280 x 200 mm),²⁹⁹ was labeled “*Santina dalla Pietà, presente moglie del Tasca* [Santina from the Pietà, current wife of

talle che assicuri che la sopradetta Santina mai farà uso della sua abbilita, ne sopra Teatri di questa Dominante ne l’altre Luochi. La detta cautione doverà esebbirla alli S.i Gov.i Nostri Deputati alle Figlie, e la essi riferirla a questa Congregatione per haverne il di sei assenso, doppo del quale solamente potranno esser celebrate le nozze”

²⁹⁹ Many of Zanetti’s caricatures of other vocalists, for example, are all less than 200mm in height

Tasca].” Zanetti must have sketched it soon after Santa’s marriage (See Figure 3.1).³⁰⁰ The caricature is typical of Zanetti’s style. The proportions are exaggerated, seen in Santa’s wide shoulders, inexistent neck, and bulbous arms. Yet, the detail, especially in the clothing, is noticeable. The image presents her in full dress, not an outfit that would be worn for everyday tasks, but rather for high society and esteemed company. Her dress is in the style of a *robe de cour*, a French type that became popular throughout Europe during the reign of Louis XIV and into the early eighteenth century, which consisted of a stiff, boned bodice that laced up the back, a skirt, a separate train most often worn at the waist, and detachable lace sleeves.³⁰¹ Santa’s conical bodice is distinctly part of the dress, not a separate piece like the more informal stay. Her shoulders may have been visible, as per the style of the day, but the bodice is so highly overexaggerated in shape – typical of Zanetti’s caricatures of female fashion – causing the breasts of the singer to seem like they are pushed up to her neck. As the dress was laced up in the back, it would have served as a mark of moral decency and suitability for high society, as Santa would have needed a handmaiden and could not have dressed and undressed by herself. Plus, the inverted-cone shape of the bodice was a social indicator of virtue, unable to be worn if pregnant.

³⁰⁰ Alessandro Bettagno, ed., *Caricature di Anton Maria Zanetti. Catalogo della mostra* (Venice: N. Pozza, 1969), 317-8.

³⁰¹ Avril Hart and Susan North, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Fashion in Detail* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009). Aileen Riberio, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe, 1715-1789* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1984).



Figure 3.1. Anton Maria Zanetti di Girolamo, "Santina dalla Pietà, presente moglie del Tasca."
Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Inv. 36706, page 65.

Additionally, Santa's outfit was coated with fancy embellishments. Her entire upper arms were covered, with frills draping at her elbows. The bodice and dress were ornamented with decorations such as lace, embroidery, and stones, all items that were forbidden in the dress codes of the Ospedali Maggiori.³⁰² Her skirt was pushed out with hoops or, more likely for the time, panniers, embellished with layers of fabric that displayed the front, asymmetrical decoration of the skirt. Under her skirt, she wore heels, not flats, with pinched toes, a typical popular European style of her day. For jewelry, she only appeared with simple earrings, but her hair was tied back, with ribbons or strands of fabric flowing down her back and a pompon headpiece ornamented with feathers. This feathered pompon, although not highly detailed in the drawing, was very similar to the headpieces depicted in Zanetti's other caricatures of the eminent opera singers Francesca Cuzzoni and Vittoria Tesi. It was an item only worn in very fancy or theatrical dress. Santa's outfit would therefore have been expensive, as it would have required meters of fabric for just the skirt, not to mention the added adornments. It was not common clothing, but such that would appropriately reflect the elegant dress codes of a vocation as a respectable singer who performed in the company of the upper echelons of Venetian society.

Santa's pose and face do not show her performing any particular activity, but rather standing regally, as if presenting herself. Her chin was held high, eyes looking skyward. Her chest was held out. Her right arm dangled with a hand fan – an adornment of fashion and femininity of the time – lightly held between her fingers.³⁰³ Her left arm was bent, with her palm at her waist and fingers curled upward. The position was easily one that a singer would take while performing, as her prominent chest and upward-positioned head would leave room to breathe properly during singing. Her face was also dotted with blemishes. As was common during the early modern era, Santa likely had experienced some case of pox during her life, causing scars to appear, which Zanetti chose to depict. It is not surprising to see these

³⁰² Dress is more fully discussed in chapter one.

³⁰³ By the eighteenth century, only women carried fans, and they were more often fashion symbols than utilitarian items. See Valerie Steele, *The Fan: Fashion and Femininity Unfolded* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002).

markings on Santa, since the disease was rampant across Europe and many wards of a charitable home, living in close proximity for most of their lives, would have faced the threat of this illness.

This caricature reveals Santa, not disappeared into obscurity after her marriage to Antonio Tasca, but seriously shifting from performing within the Ospedale to singing for prominent local Venetians, tiptoeing around adherence to the requirements of her marriage. Because the artist Zanetti was living and working in Venice and not travelling at the time the Santa left the Ospedale, he must have met her in their home city. The fact that her image is included alongside Zanetti's depictions of other famous musicians indicates that Santa must have been performing regularly and was known among prominent Venetians for her singing skills. She may not have sang in public spaces or theaters in Venice, in accordance with Antonio Tasca's marriage agreement, but she could have performed in private chambers and homes where prominent and wealthy Venetians, like Anton Maria Zanetti, could have heard her. Additionally, she and her husband either had enough money to afford finery such as her clothing and jewelry, or they had connections to an individual who could pass down such items.³⁰⁴ Her image shows that she easily could find a place among high-society gatherings. Rather than an orphaned ward of an almshouse, Santa appeared as an appropriately attired professional singer.

Nevertheless, Santa's musical career was unsurprisingly limited in Venice, so additional records of this *figlia di coro* are found abroad. In October 1735, the King's Theatre in London, which had recently been taken over by Handel's rival opera company, the Opera of the Nobility, opened with a revised version of Nicola Porpora's *Polifemo*. The *St. James's Evening Post* offered a review of this opera: "...a fine Singer is arrived here from Venice, in order to perform this Season in the Operas at the Hay-Market.... and Mr Porpora has composed a new Part for her in the celebrated Opera of Polifemo."³⁰⁵ Porpora's *Polifemo* had already been performed during the previous 1734-5 season for the vocalists of the

³⁰⁴ Margaret Rosenthal, "Clothing, Fashion, Dress, and Costume in Venice," in *A Companion to Venetian History*, 892.

³⁰⁵ *St James's Evening Post*, 16-18 October 1735, as transcribed in Darryl Jacqueline Dumigan, "Nicola Porpora's Operas for the 'Opera of the Nobility': The Poetry and the Music," PhD Dissertation, University of Huddersfield (2014), 58.

Opera of the Nobility. The opera singers included the famed castrato Farinelli as *primo uomo* (first man) and the soprano Francesca Cuzzoni as *prima donna* (first lady), supported with their seconds, the castrato Senesino and the soprano Celeste Gismondi Hempson. Hempson, however, passed away in the spring of 1735, which caused the promotion of the contralto Francesca Bertolli from *quarta* (forth) to the role of *seconda donna* (second lady) in *Polifemo*. Rather than simply let Bertolli sing Hempson's part during the new 1735-6 season, Porpora completely rewrote the part of Calipso for a new Venetian soprano to create variety and re-attract audiences to a previously performed opera. While the first version only featured three arias, the revised role now offered four arias with new text – and presumably new music – for the *seconda donna*, as well as an extra duet, “Il Contento,” to be sung in the opening scene next to Cuzzoni. The part was therefore not just rewritten to accommodate a higher voice, but was expanded to feature the new singer as an attraction.³⁰⁶ Even though *Polifemo*'s run was cut short due to the lead castrato singer Farinelli becoming sick, this “fine singer” from Venice continued to perform at the King's Theatre for the rest of the season.

The season's subsequent operas, their published libretti, and a few public reviews indicate that the new Venetian singer was indeed Santa Tasca della Pietà. For instance, Sir Henry Liddell, a minister of the Parliament of England and a future Baron, attended an opera at the King's Theater in on 25 November 1735, and mentioned Santa while describing the evening to his nephew Henry Ellison: “[...]Veracini gave us a new Opera last Tuesday which will not do, & I doubt we are in a bad way for this winter, for Hendel is proud & saucy, & without him nothing can be done for us that is good – They have a new performer from la Pietà at Venice who sings with good judgment & a very tolerable voice for a second.”³⁰⁷ Liddell was discontent with the opera, produced by the Opera of the Nobility company rather than Handel, who

³⁰⁶ ‘Sorte un’umile Capanna’ changed for ‘Vedrai che veglia il Cielo’ (I.iv); ‘Lascia frat anti Mali’ changed for ‘Nel rigor d’avversa stella’ (II.ii); ‘Il gioir qualor s’aspetta’ changed for ‘Ad altri sia più grato’ (III.iii). ‘Trar non suol l’Ape ingegnosa’ added (II.vi). See Dumigan, “Nicola Porpora's Operas for the ‘Opera of the Nobility’: The Poetry and the Music,” 116, 324.

³⁰⁷ Ellison MSS, Accession 3419, Bundle A 31/8, as transcribed in Graydon Beeks, “Some Overlooked References to Handel,” *Newsletter of the American Handel Society* Volume XXI, no. 3 (Winter 2006): 3-4.

had recently transferred to Covent Garden. Yet he was left with a relatively good impression of this new singer from the Ospedale della Pietà. The opera he referred to was composed by the violinist Francesco Maria Veracini (1690-1768), *Adriano in Siria*, set to an altered version of Pietro Metastasio's libretto. The plot of this opera recounts a historical fiction of Hadrian, the governor of Syria, who falls in love with his prisoner, the Parthian princess Emirena, before returning to his betrothed Sabina. A subplot unfolds in which Osroa, the Parthian king and Emirena's father, attempts to kill Hadrian, and Aquilio, Hadrian's confidant, swoons secretly over Sabina, yet the drama ends with a traditional eighteenth-century *lieto fine*, in which Hadrian devotes himself to Sabina, Emirena marries the Parthian prince Farnaspe, and her father Osroa is forgiven. The primary alteration by the librettist Angelo Cori was the removal of the role of confidant Aquilio for a new Parthian princess named Idalma, who is secretly in love with Hadrian. The libretto for this 1735 lists a "La Santina" as the performer for the role of Idalma, so perhaps the alteration of the libretto from a male to a female role was to accommodate her voice. That this "La Santina" was Santa Tasca, a previous *figlia di coro*, is firmly confirmed by Liddell's letter about a singer from the Pietà. Englishmen who travelled on Grand Tours and visited Venice knew of and sought out performances by the *figlie di coro*, so Santa's inclusion with the famed castrati and the *prima donna* Cuzzoni only added to the spectacle.³⁰⁸

While Santa played one of the lesser roles of the opera, with only three arias compared to the lead's six, she sang alongside some of the most internationally renowned Italian vocalists of her day: the castrati Senesino (who played the lead Hadrian) and Farinelli (Farnaspe), the *prima donna* Francesca Cuzzoni (Emirena), Francesca Bertolli (Sabina), and the bass-baritone Antonio Montagnana (Osroa). Her arias are full of extremely quick runs, trills and other ornamentations, as well as a range of an octave and

³⁰⁸ Few singular *figlie di coro*, such as Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen, were able to establish successful careers in England due to the fame of female musicians from the Venetian Ospedali. See Arnold and Berdes, *Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen*.

a half.³⁰⁹ Although, they hardly stand up to those of her colleagues. The castrati assuredly outshone the vocal abilities of the women on stage, being able to sing with much larger ranges and tremendous flexibility.³¹⁰ Santa's lower soprano range, which could be considered a mezzo soprano today, likely seemed subdued compared to the castrati, as well as the soprano Cuzzoni, who regularly sang a third higher than Santa. In fact, Santa's first aria even appeared immediately after Cuzzoni's own first aria, so its gentle triple-meter lilt, ascending and descending sequenced patterns, predictable ornamentations, and short length fundamentally could not overshadow the *prima donna*. The virtuosic melismas written for Santa in this first aria, which extended for an average of four to six measures, were not nearly as long or ornate as any of the other vocalists. The piece, however, did leave some room for soloistic improvisation. Santa could easily have embellished the trill markings, which appeared over ascending held notes across three measures in the A section of her first *da capo* aria. Her second aria, in a very quick duple meter, provided a bit more showiness due to its speed, especially the difficult twelve measure melisma with ornamentation. However, this number was also relatively short and appeared between two incredibly virtuosic arias sung by the pair of castrati, which indeed left Santa clearly as a supporting singer and not the star. The third aria fairs little better, appearing as the second number in the third act and leaving room for Senesino, Farinelli, and Cuzzoni to each conclude the opera with vocal displays of their own, before the final love duet and chorus. Santa's role only played an essential part in the recitatives, often carrying the plotline through delivered messages and her character's machinations to ruin Hadrian's romantic interests in the other women.

In a review of the opera by political critic Lord John Hervey, Santa was described: "There is a new woman, who, if she would blow her nose, would, I dare say, sing much better; but as it is, her voice

³⁰⁹ A manuscript score of the opera can be found at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (D-Mbs), BSB Hss Mus.ms.143.

³¹⁰ For a discussion of castrato singing, see Martha Feldman, *The Castrato: Reflections on Natures and Kinds* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015).

is (begging your pardon) the snottiest, fattest, disagreeablest sound you ever heard.”³¹¹ Because Cuzzoni and Bertolli had already been singing at the King’s Theater for years, he must have been referring to Santa. Yet these remarks should be taken with skepticism, as Hervey’s entire letter was scathing from beginning to end, with critique for all the other top vocalists. His sentiments were colored by changing English musical tastes for lighter ballad operas, plus he generally held a negative opinion of the royal family and matters related to them, and he complimented Handel over the Opera of the Nobility in the rivalry between theater companies. In contrast to Hervey’s judgement, the opera was attended by London’s royal family, who expressed pleasure towards it, and the production ran for the notably high number of twenty performances.³¹² Even *Alcina*, Handel’s most successful opera in London, only ran for eighteen performances. So, Veracini’s *Adriano in Siria* and the singers’ performances were certainly not a complete failure of their time.

Santa continued performing with the Opera of the Nobility company at the King’s Theater for at least one more opera, as her name appeared on the libretto of Nicola Porpora’s *Mitridate* in the role of Ismene.³¹³ This opera, originally composed in Rome in 1730 to a libretto by Filippo Vanstriper, was revised for the King’s Theatre and performed in January 1736. The libretto, adapted by Colley Cibber under the name Gavardo da Gavardo, follows the love triangles between the king Mitridate (originally played by Senesino), who wants to leave his betrothed Ismene for Semandra (Cuzzoni), the lady in love with his son Sifare, all while his other son Farnace (a trouser role for Bertolli) plots to kill his father. Sifare, originally played by Farinelli, received the most bravura arias, and the opera was similar in style to Veracini’s: full of extravagant and virtuosic coloratura to highlight the skills of the famous castrati and *prima donna*.

³¹¹ As quoted in Holger Schmitt-Hallenberg, “One God, One Veracini!,” liner Notes for *Francesco Maria Veracini: Adriano in Siria*, Sonia Prina, Ann Hallenberg, Roberta Invernizzi, Romina Basso, Lucia Cirillo, Ugo Guagliardo, Europa Galante, and Fabio Biondi, fra bernardo 1409491, CD, 2014.

³¹² See Dumigan, “Nicola Porpora’s Operas for the ‘Opera of the Nobility,’” 343-349.

³¹³ Graydon Beeks, “Some Overlooked References to Handel,” *Newsletter of the American Handel Society* Volume XXI, no. 3 (Winter 2006): 3-4.

Just as the previous opera, Santa's role of Ismene received one aria per act: first, in act one, scene five, a lament titled "Lasciami alla mia sorte," during the same scene as Senesino's first extravagant aria; act two, scene three, "Sia pur crudel, sia fiera," a short strophic aria immediately after a love duet between Cuzzoni and Farinelli; and finally in act three, scene six, "E trofeo dell'onor mio," which, just like in Veracini's *Adriano in Siria*, appeared before the conclusion of one aria each for Farinelli, Senesino, and Cuzzoni, before the final duet and chorus. Santa played the role of the scorned wife and mother, a secondary role to the work as a whole, and the hierarchy of singers was maintained. While Cuzzoni, Farinelli, and Senesino had five arias each, Santa, Bertolli, and the bass Montagnana each received three. Furthermore, this opera was not very successful, only running for four performances before immediately being replaced by *Adriano in Siria* once again. The other performances at the King's Theatre that season included, first, a new opera *Onorio* by Francesco Ciampi, which had originally been composed for Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo's 1729 opera season in Venice and only lasted one night in London, and second, two *pasticci*: a new version of *Orfeo* and a revised version of Johann Adolf Hasse's *Artaserse*, which was extremely popular.

There are many links between both the composers' and Santa's employments with the Opera of the Nobility. The virtuoso violinist and composer Veracini had not only worked in Venice several times between in 1711 and 1716, but while he was there he had greatly impressed the Venetian music community with his skills. He had performed in Venice for Prince Friedrich August of Saxony, which later earned him a position in the Dresden court for the following six years, before he returned to Italy.³¹⁴ The Ospedali Maggiori and the royal court in Dresden had a lasting relationship, as Friedrich August and his son both visited the Ospedali to hear their female musicians perform, and they also sent a few girls to the Ospedale della Pietà to be trained for work in their court in the early 1700s. Veracini, like the women of the Ospedali, was a beneficiary of the Saxon court's love of Venetian music. After ten years working in Italy again, he left for London in 1733, only a few years before Santa would have joined him. As a

³¹⁴ Mary Grey White, "The Life of Francesco Maria Veracini," *Music & Letters* LIII, no. 1 (1972): 18–35.

talented violinist of both Venice and Dresden, he must have been aware of Antonio Vivaldi and the female musicians of the Ospedale della Pietà. Concurrently, the composer of the second opera, Nicola Porpora, had previously taught at the Ospedale della Pietà and the Ospedale degli Incurabili starting in 1725. He relocated to London during the same year as Veracini, working there between 1733 and 1738. He had originally written the music for the singers Farinelli, Senesino, and Cuzzoni, so he was an obvious choice for their troupe of the Opera of the Nobility. Additionally, having lived in Venice and worked at the Ospedali, he was extremely familiar with the abilities of the *figlie di coro* and may have impacted Santa's inclusion in the performances. The timing of these two composers' move from Venice to London and Santa's opportunity to perform during the King Theatre's 1735-6 season seem more than coincidences.

A singer named Santa Tasca is also found in two other instances within Claudio Sartori's catalogue of libretti. After performing in London, Santa eventually made her way east and was listed as a performer in both Prague (1748) and Strasbourg (1750). In Prague, Santa Tasca sang the role of Semira in an anonymous setting of Metastasio's *Artaserse*, performed at the newly established Kotzen Theatre under the director of the impresario Giovanni Battista Locatelli.³¹⁵ The role, although originally *en travesti* (sung by a man in women's clothing) at its premiere, was set for the *seconda donna* in Locatelli's version. Then, in Strasbourg, Santa was listed also in libretto of the opera *La pravità castigata*, a pantomime set by the composer and impresario Eustachio Bambini.³¹⁶ Bambini, after a successful turn as impresario for Milan's New Royal Ducal Theater, had taken over Strasbourg's new city theater and was

³¹⁵ A copy of this work's libretto is kept at Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, RACC.DRAM.5796, digitized <http://opac.braidense.it/bid/MUS0319542>. The title page reads, "ARTASERSE. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Nuovo Teatro di Praga nell'autunno dell'anno 1748, dedicato all'inclita nobiltà di questa reggia" (Ignatio Pruscha: Prague, 1748). It was dedicated to Giovanni Battista Locatelli, impresario. The actors listed are Maria Masucci (Artaserse); Rosa Costa, virt. di camera dell'elettore di Colonia (Mandane); Settimio Canini (Artabano); Giovanna Della Stella, virt. di camera dell'elettore di Colonia (Arbace); Santa Tasca (Semira); Angiola Romani (Megabise).

³¹⁶ This libretto, written by Antonio Denzio, is held today at Mannheim, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Museum Zeughaus, digitized <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0034703>. Original publication: *La pravità castigata* (Argentina: Giovanni Francesco Le Roux, 1750).

later entrusted with spreading Italian comic opera in France.³¹⁷ Anna Tonelli, Bambini's future wife and the famed soprano who performed the lead female role in Paris with *Les Bouffons* for G.B. Pergolesi's historically controversial *La Serva Padrona*, took the role of *prima donna* for Bambini's productions in Strasbourg, while Santa took a secondary role. The troupe of Italian singers performed in Strasbourg for three years, not only the reprisal of *La pravità castigata*, but also a few *opere serie* by Venetian composers. Santa probably found herself hired for these operas, as she was a Venetian singer who would have been intimately familiar with and recognized for her past performances of originally Venetian music. The troupe, under Bambini's direction, moved to Paris in 1752 under the name of *Les Bouffons*. It seems unlikely that Santa Tasca went with them, as Bambini only brought seven vocalists; the smaller comedic operas did not require an ensemble of singers or a chorus, and her name is not on libretti from any performances by *Les Bouffons*.³¹⁸

Santa thus successfully sang in operas for over fifteen years, from the age of nineteen when she left the Pietà to her mid-thirties. She followed a path that was extremely typical of a successful opera singer, filling secondary or tertiary roles as a lesser-known and younger vocalist while in London, and then eventually shifting to comic Italian opera and Venetian *opera seria*, touring the central European continent. She had enough training from her time at the Ospedale to sing alongside top vocalists, and she was familiar and skilled in popular Italian operatic styles of her day. There are no confirmed records of Santa between her performances of 1736 and 1748, although a few libretti list a "Santa Santini," who was the *prima donna* in Francesco Peli's *La Costanza nel trionfo ovver l'Irene* in Munich (1737), a *virtuosa di camera* for the Bavarian court around that same time, and then the *prima donna* in for the Leonardo Leo's *Ciro riconosciuto* in Turin (1739). This Santa Santini could have been our Santa della Pietà, but Sergio

³¹⁷ Raul Meloncelli, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, edited by Alberto M. Ghisalberti, Vol. 5 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1963), s.v. "Bambini, Eustachio."

³¹⁸ The singers that are listed in the libretti performed by *Les Bouffons* include Giuseppe Cosimi, Pietro Manelli, and Anna Tonelli, as leads, plus Francesco Guerrieri, Anna and Antonio Lazzari, and Giovanna Rossi, and finally Cattarina Tonelli and Maria Lepri, who both joined in 1753. See Antonio Di Profio, "Projet pour une recherche: le répertoire de la troupe de Bambini," in Andrea Fabiano, ed. *La 'Querelle des Bouffons' dans le vie Culturelle français du xviii siècle* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2005), 91-102, page 100.

Durante in Grove Music Online mentions that these libretti may also refer to Santa Stella, the soprano married to the composer Antonio Lotti. If “Santa Santini” truly does correspond to Santa Stella, she would have been in her fifties and assuredly at the end of her career, as these mentions appeared only a few years before Lotti’s death and decades after her height of popularity in the early 1700s. During the 1730s, therefore, it is highly doubtful that Santa Stella left her husband, who had a salaried post as the *maestro di cappella* of San Marco in Venice from 1736 to his death in 1740.³¹⁹ Santa Tasca, on the other hand, is a much more likely candidate for “Santa Santini,” if it really was either of them. Santa Tasca was in her thirties and still an active performer in her prime. She had previously been named as “La Santina” – not far from “La Santini” – in other libretti and was known for traveling around Europe for her singing career between 1735 and 1750.

Nothing exists of Santa Tasca after 1750. Nevertheless, we are fortunate to know anything about Santa at all, especially after her scandal at the Pietà and her subsequent marriage. Most Venetian women of her class disappeared into obscurity after taking their husband’s name.³²⁰ What happened to Santa Tasca della Pietà after 1750 remains unknown. Although, she assuredly used her singing skills in theaters for much of her life, despite the Ospedale Governors’ mandate to not sing publicly after her marriage.

Conclusion

While the Governors of the Ospedali Maggiori wanted their female wards to live modest and spiritual lives, with all their movements inside and outside of the institution monitored and controlled, that ideal did not fully exist in reality. The women who wanted to join the Ospedali’s *coro*, as seen in their letters to the Mendicanti’s Governors, often used justifications that might appeal to that institutional standard. They explained how they were exceptional women who deserved the opportunity, as they were already musically talented and financially supported, and they pursued musical vocations for the purposes

³¹⁹ Additionally, Santa Stella had an enormous dowry of 18,600 ducats, mentioned in Lotti’s will, which would leave her the comfort to never need to perform or work before or after his death in 1740. See Ben Byram-Wigfield, “Antonio Lotti: Born in Venice to a Family in Hanover?” *Early Music* 45, no. 4 (2017): 595.

³²⁰ This is the case for several *figlie di coro* of the Mendicanti, who were stars during the mid-eighteenth century, including Soffia Sopradaci and Margarita Bonafede.

of religious service and morality. Yet, as Andriana, Apollonia, and Santa's lives demonstrate, music was much more than moral fulfillment and spiritual pursuit for the *figlie di coro*. Music was often their lifetime vocation.

Andriana della Tiorba turned away from religious life when her musical practice was threatened. She purposefully chose a career in music, "the reason" for which she joined the convent, over dedication and service to God. She eventually became an esteemed *maestra* with quite a few students of the noble Venetian class. Apollonia Cantora likewise persisted in her musical career. She overcame multiple instances of bureaucratic obscurity, caused by the Governors' lack of attention and oversight, to become one of the top vocalists and instructors at the Pietà in her thirties. She even dismissed multiple suitors while at the height of her career, waiting to fall for a man whom the Congregation found completely unsuitable at a time when she reached an older age, had established herself financially, and was not performing as often. Apollonia regularly persevered when the institution's bureaucratic practices interrupted her desires and advancement. Even Santa Tasca, who faced one of the strictest chastisements ever recorded in the Ospedali's records for moral infraction, found a way to continue her musical career when the Ospedale Governors demanded it end. She left Venice to perform on stages where their jurisdiction had no sway. Her singing career was in fact bolstered by the scandal that caused her marriage, allowing her the freedom that few other *figlie di coro* had: to travel the continent and be featured as a named performer on stage. Because each of these *figlie di coro* had valuable and admired skills as esteemed musicians of the Ospedale, their lives could encompass exceptions to the institutional ordinances. Whether it was receiving extra clemency or privilege, sustaining musical practice as more significant than a life of religious devotion, bypassing and challenging regulated procedures, or blatantly defying the Governors' decrees, each *figlia* engaged differently with the conditions in which they lived, and each followed exceptional, but always musical, lives.

INTERMEZZO

The Looming Figure of Antonio Vivaldi



Figure 4.1. Poster outside of the Church of Santa Maria della Pietà, which was constructed after Vivaldi's death, between 1740-1760 (Photo taken by Vanessa Tonelli, 2020)

For anyone familiar with the history of the Ospedali Maggiori or the *figlie di coro*, the composer Antonio Vivaldi looms large. Much music scholarship on the Ospedali Maggiori has focused on the importance of this single “great” composer and his music.³²¹ Signs and posters with the image of Vivaldi inundate Venetian streets, attempting to attract music-loving tourists despite historical inaccuracies (see

³²¹ This scholarship began with Marc Pincherle, *Vivaldi: genius of the baroque* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1957). This monograph initiated the twentieth-century interest in the Ospedali Maggiori, but it only addressed the lives led by the *figlie di coro* so that readers could understand how difficult it must have been for Vivaldi to teach them. See also Pincherle, “Vivaldi and the Ospitali of Venice,” *Musical Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1938): 300-12; Denis Arnold, “Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatoires,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 18 (1965): 72-81; “Music at the ‘Ospedali,’” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113, no. 2 (1988): 156-67; “Orphans and Ladies: The Venetian Conservatoires (1680-1790),” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 89 (1962): 31-47; Remo Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Torino: ERI, 1973); Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (London: Dent, 1978); Michael Talbot, “Vivaldi's Venice,” *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1622 (1978): 314-19; Francesco Degrada, *Vivaldi veneziano europeo* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1980); and Robert Kintzel and Charles E. Muntz, “Vivaldi, Gasparini, Mary Magdalene, and the Women of the Pietà,” *Women & Music* 20, no. 1 (2016): 27-56.

Figure 4.1).³²² Concerts of Baroque instrumental music regularly feature his compositions over any other composers'. Even fictional novels inspired by Venice's musical girls center their lives around relationships to Vivaldi.³²³ As many critics of the canon of "great men and their works" know, the supremacy of Antonio Vivaldi in histories of early eighteenth-century Venetian music has obscured a more multifaceted system of institutional structures, performers' contributions, and social beliefs and practices. Yet he is so hard to ignore in the history of the Ospedali Maggiori, so his contributions are partly addressed here.

Beginning with an alternative perspective to Vivaldi's history in relation to the Ospedali Maggiori, this interlude to the main arguments of the dissertation dissects how and why the primacy of Vivaldi originated. Following the example of Marcia Citron in *Gender and the Musical Canon*, the ultimate goal is to examine the "underlying paradigms constitutive of and reflected by" Vivaldi-centric scholarship and attempt to reveal what values and opinions the history of Vivaldi "reflects, instigates, and perpetuates."³²⁴ Through this analysis, the significance of considering the Ospedali, the *figlie di coro*, and the eighteenth-century Venetian musical environment on their own terms, and not based on their relation to one "great man," is emphasized.

Antonio Vivaldi at the Pietà

Antonio Lucio Vivaldi (1678-1741) was employed at the Ospedale della Pietà during part of the institution's heyday, the early eighteenth century. He began working there in August 1703, when Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727), the *maestro di coro* of the Ospedale della Pietà from 1701 to 1713, recognized the need to hire professional instructors if they wanted to continue training the *figlie di coro* on string and wind instruments. Leading Vivaldi scholar Michael Talbot cited Gasparini's petition for new instrumental teachers as a desire to "improve the standard of string playing" and "even inaugurate" a

³²² Vivaldi died in 1741, and the Church of Santa Marai della Pietà, a noticeable landmark today on the Riva degli Schiavoni, was barely under construction. The church was finished and consecrated in 1760, well after his death.

³²³ For recent example of this, see Barbara Quick, *Vivaldi's Virgins: A Novel* (New York: Harper Collins, 2014); and Alyssa Palombo, *The Violinist of Venice: A Story of Vivaldi* (Santa Barbara: Griffin, 2015).

³²⁴ Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 19.

new era of instrumental music at the Ospedale della Pietà.³²⁵ Yet the word “continue” is much more apt; as Eleanor Selfridge-Field has previously argued, practices in instrumental performance were already well established before Vivaldi’s arrival.³²⁶ The previous *maestri*, brothers Giacomo and Bonaventura Spada, had already developed a successful master-apprentice system between the *figlie di coro* and new instrumental students, as demonstrated by records like those from 1690, which list Madalena and Pelegrina as new students of Lucetia dal Violino and Maestra Cattina del Violon, respectively.³²⁷ By the time of Vivaldi’s hire, Madalena and Pelegrina were top instrumentalists, among quite a few other string-playing *figlie di coro*.³²⁸ Furthermore, 1703 was the same year Bonaventura Spada left his position as the *maestro di strumenti* at the Pietà.³²⁹ It seems most likely that Francesco Gasparini – known for his keyboard skills – was unwilling or unable to continue the instruction and composition of string and wind playing after Spada’s departure.

Hired on 1 September 1703 as the *maestro di violino*, Vivaldi served for eight and a half years at the Pietà, teaching both violin and *viola all’inglese* – an instrument equivalent to the ordinary viol³³⁰ – while also serving for a few years as *mansionerio*, the sacristan who led mass celebrations daily.³³¹ In 1704, he received a raise from 60 ducats to 100 ducats to “encourage him in his efforts and therefore allow him to be of greater help to the *figlie*,”³³² which may have been related to extra teaching of the *viola d’amore*, a bowed string instrument that featured sympathetic strings. As one of the *maestri* at the Pietà, Vivaldi would have entered the institution a few days each week, with the constant assistance and supervision from one of the female *maestre* or the *Priora*, to teach lessons and rehearse his compositions.

³²⁵ Talbot, *Vivaldi*, 42.

³²⁶ Eleanor Selfridge-Field, “Music at the Pietà before Vivaldi,” *Early Music* 14, no. 3 (1986): 373-86.

³²⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 687, Not. D (22 January 1690), 112; and (23 April 1690), 120.

³²⁸ There were at least three known, successful violinists around the year 1700. Along with Madalena were also Anzoleta and Clementia. The *figlie* Candida, Paola, and Geltruda also played viola (which may have been closer to a violoncello than the modern day viola).

³²⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (12 August 1703), 102v; Selfridge-Field, “Music at the Pietà before Vivaldi,” 379.

³³⁰ Michael Talbot, “Vivaldi and the English Viol,” *Early Music* 30, no. 3 (2002): 381-394.

³³¹ Vivaldi only serves the duties of his *mansioneria* for a few years, stopping his activities as a priest by 1706.

³³² ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. G (31 August 1704), 128v, as translated in Walter Kolneder, *Antonio Vivaldi: Documents of His Life and Work* (New York: Heinrichshofen Edition, 1982), 223.

Still, he was only composing instrumental music at this time, while Francesco Gasparini supplied the sacred vocal music as the recognized *maestro di coro*.³³³ The division of labor was very clear; Vivaldi's role was primarily that over instrumental playing.

The governors of the Ospedale della Pietà voted annually based on financial and bureaucratic considerations whether or not to reconfirm each *maestro*'s employment. Unlike Gasparini, who was highly favored, Vivaldi never received a unanimous decision to retain his hire.³³⁴ Each year, at least one or two governors would vote against him, although the vote passed with the required two-thirds majority each year until 1709, when Vivaldi was dismissed on a vote of seven opposed versus six in favor. It is possible he was dismissed due to engagements elsewhere, undesirable behaviors, or simply cost saving measures, as his position was redundant with the number of highly-trained *figlie di coro* who were already teaching the next generation of musicians on their own.³³⁵ In fact, the Pietà assuredly had accomplished music teachers at the time of Vivaldi's dismissal, including Madalena, who played both violin and theorbo by 1708, and another *figlia* named Angelica dal Violin; both of these *figlie* held titles of *privileggiata* to instruct external *figlie in educazione*.³³⁶ In 1709, the Ospedale Governors also confirmed that at least sixteen *figlie di coro* were appointed as *maestre*, including Angelica dal Violin, Anzoleta dal Violin, Maria dalla Viola, and Meneghina dalla Viola on string instruments, among others.³³⁷

For the following two years, Vivaldi worked as a freelance musician and composer. It was during this time that Vivaldi both published his famous collection of concertos, *L'estro armonico* (1711), and worked in Brescia with his father.³³⁸ The Ospedale Governors rehired him on 26 September 1711 to teach

³³³ Michael Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1995), 144.

³³⁴ The Governor's *Notatori*, held in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Ospedali e Luoghi Pii collection, indicate the vote each year. In 1706, Vivaldi's vote was 7 in favor and 3 against retaining his hire. In 1707, 6 to 3. In 1708, 5 to 1.

³³⁵ The reasoning behind these votes were never recorded.

³³⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not H (23 May 1708), 14.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, (7 July 1709), 72-72v.

³³⁸ Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 146-8.

violin and compose instrumental music at the Pietà once again. The Governors' *Notatori* describe his reappointment as a "necessity of securing ever better instrumental tuition for the girls studying music in order to increase the reputation of this pious establishment."³³⁹ Vivaldi successfully renewed his appointment over the next few years. Then Gasparini was granted sick leave in April 1713 for six months, traveled to Rome, and never returned, altering the course of Vivaldi's employment at the Pietà.

Following the speculations of previous Vivaldi scholars, Karl Heller asserts that Vivaldi filled in for the duties of *maestro di coro* after Gasparini left, since no other individual was appointed to that title until Carlo Pietra-Grua (c.1665-1726) in 1718.³⁴⁰ Vivaldi did likely lead rehearsals and conduct performances in Gasparini's stead. However, Vivaldi also traveled away from the Ospedale for a month in 1713 for the premiere of his first opera (*Ottone in villa*, Vicenza, May 1713), and the Governors never offered him the title of *maestro di coro*.³⁴¹ Instead, they granted single payments for his extra compositions and work, such as 50 ducats on 2 June 1715.³⁴² During these five years, Vivaldi wrote more sacred vocal music for the Pietà than during any other time of his life, including at least one mass (either the *Gloria* RV 588 or RV 589), a vespers service, over thirty motets (counting *Cur Sagittas* RV 637, *Jubilate, o amoeni cori* RV 639, *Longe Mala, Umbrae, Terrores* RV 640, and *Ostro Picta* RV 642), as well as a *Magnificat* (RV 610a), and the oratorios *Moyses Deus Pharaonis* (1714) and *Juditha triumphans* (1716).³⁴³ Vivaldi also composed at least one, if not three or four, operas almost every year for the rest of his life.³⁴⁴ He undertook his duties at the Ospedale della Pietà concurrently with directing these theatrical performances.

³³⁹ Ibid., (27 September 1711), 182, as translated in Talbot, *Vivaldi*, 49.

³⁴⁰ Karl Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi: the Red Priest of Venice* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 55.

³⁴¹ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. I (30 April 1713), 88v-89.

³⁴² Ibid., (2 June 1715), 172v-173. Also see K. Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi*, 54.

³⁴³ *Juditha triumphans* has become one of Vivaldi's most performed works today. Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 155-157.

³⁴⁴ For more detail on Vivaldi's operas, see Reinhard Strohm, *The Operas of Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2008).

Something must have gone wrong during this second appointment, as the ratio of unfavorable to favorable votes grew over the years. Vivaldi again earned less than the required two-thirds majority in February 1716 on a vote of six opposed against the other seven.³⁴⁵ He was only dismissed for a short time, as they reappointed him in May of the same year as *maestro di concerti*. Vivaldi possibly continued to also undertake the duties typically assigned to the *maestro di coro*, such as composing sacred vocal music, until late 1717, when he left Venice for a position as *maestro di cappella* at the court of Mantua.³⁴⁶ After 1717, the governors only paid him to compose music and supplement the repertoire of the Ospedali Maggiori piecemeal, particularly during the interims between appointments of new *maestri di coro*.³⁴⁷

Vivaldi's arrangement in Mantua initiated a period of wide and varied travels, and his compositions, including the previous instrumental and sacred vocal works for the Pietà, started to diffuse more widely. From 1720 to 1722, little biographical data exists as he was likely traveling and networking around northern Italy. Vivaldi spent this time as a free-lance violinist, composer, and impresario. In 1723, Vivaldi returned to Venice for a brief period, although many of his musical endeavors were still connected to Rome, and there is evidence that he traveled more around 1725.³⁴⁸ As highlighted in the research of Michael Talbot, he composed no confirmed or known sacred vocal works for the Pietà from the year 1718, when he began working in Mantua, until his re-employment at the Pietà in 1735.³⁴⁹ Instead, Vivaldi's major enterprise in Venice was as impresario to the Teatro Sant'Angelo, where he wrote and conducted dozens of operas. Nevertheless, Vivaldi did come to an agreement with the Governors of the Ospedale della Pietà on 2 July 1723, for which he would produce two concertos per month for a stipend

³⁴⁵ In 1713, the vote stood at 12 in favor and 2 against. In 1714, 12 to 1. In 1715, 6 to 2. See ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. 1; and Busta 690 Not. L.

³⁴⁶ Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 158.

³⁴⁷ *Maestri di coro* at the Pietà during Vivaldi's lifetime: Carlo Pietro Grua (26 February 1719 - 29 March 1726); Giovanni Porta (24 May 1726 - 28 September 1737); and Alessandro Gennaro (21 August 1739 - 21 April 1741).

³⁴⁸ K. Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi*, 103.

³⁴⁹ Talbot explains that "during the 1720s and most of the 1730s Vivaldi's dealings with the Pietà probably concerned instrumental music alone." The motet RV 639a might have been for the Pietà around 1719, but he could have composed this right before going to Mantua. Also, the motet *Lauda Jerusalem* RV 609 might have been from this middle period, due to characteristics similar to pieces for Rome, but it contains names of *figlie* from the 1730s. Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 24, 158-171.

of one sequin each and help with rehearsals occasionally when he was in the city.³⁵⁰ With Vivaldi's temporary employment agreement at the Pietà, the Governors made a point "to reissue the appropriate and most resolute regulations to the *maestre di coro*, so they always keep themselves present when the aforementioned Reverend Vivaldi comes to instruct the *figlie*, as is obligatory with all the *maestri*, so that the same *figlie* are maintained in the due discipline and without distraction."³⁵¹ Perhaps some disruption had occurred between the *figlie* and Vivaldi in the past, or there was some long-standing distrust between the Governors and the so-called Red Priest.

Regardless, Vivaldi returned again to the Ospedale della Pietà on 5 August 1735. He convinced the Governors that he would no longer travel, and they permitted him once more to compose and run rehearsals as their salaried *maestro di concerti*. Additionally, in September 1737, the Pietà's *maestro di coro* Giovanni Porta announced that he would be leaving for a new post in Munich, so the Governors commissioned several professional musicians to fill in for composing as needed, including Giovanni Battista Lampugnani, Domenico Paradies, and, of course, Antonio Vivaldi. So, Vivaldi composed at least eleven motets, six psalms, (which include the extant *Inexitu Israel* RV 604, *Magnificat* RV 611, *Beatus vir* RV 795, and *Confitebor tibi Domine* RV 789), and accompanying antiphons, as well as numerous concertos and sonatas for the Pietà around the years 1737-8. By March 1738, however, Vivaldi's favor with the Governors ran out, and he was conclusively dismissed with insufficient votes to keep his position as *maestro*. At the end of his life, Vivaldi moved to Vienna, where he passed away, impoverished, in 1741.³⁵²

In sum, Vivaldi was primarily a supplier of instrumental compositions for one of the four Ospedali Maggiori from about 1703 until 1740. He was also a major teacher of string instruments from

³⁵⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N1 (2 July 1723), 179.

³⁵¹ Ibid. "rilasciar gl'ordini propri, e più risoluti alle Maestre di Choro à ciò sempre habbino à tratenersi presenti quando capiterà il detto Rev.do Vivaldi per instruire le Figlie, come tengono obbligo con tutti li Maestri perche le Figlie stesse si mantengono nella dovuta disciplina, e senza distrazioni."

³⁵² For more extensive histories of Antonio Vivaldi's life, see Karl Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi: The Red Priest of Venice* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997); Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons LTD, 1978); Marc Pincherle, *Vivaldi, Genius of the Baroque*, 1st edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 1957).

1703 until about 1717, with disruptions from 1709 to 1711 and for a few months in 1713. He additionally filled in as the Ospedale's composer of sacred vocal music, including a couple of oratorios, between 1713 to 1717, and he was hired piecemeal for similar compositions in 1737-8. Vivaldi is at the very least significant for his prolificacy, with a contribution of hundreds of instrumental works for the Pietà. Many of his concertos for the Ospedale della Pietà are recognized and favored in both professional and connoisseur music circles today. Yet, during his own time, Vivaldi's instrumental works were only supplements to sacred vocal music, the more favored genres of the Ospedali Maggiori. Instrumental music would have been heard at the Pietà only during gaps in the celebrations of masses, as well as during intermissions between sections of oratorios, serenatas, or motets, but would not have been performed on their own. Vivaldi's compositions of sacred vocal music for the Ospedale della Pietà – except during the lapses between *maestri di coro* from 1713 to 1718 and around 1738 – was not nearly as abundant as his instrumental music. Instead, during Vivaldi's tenure as *maestro di concerti*, one of the other *maestri* usually provided the majority of this music for the Pietà.

As a teacher, Vivaldi can be recognized for instructing some of the most renowned violin soloists who performed in the *coro* in the early eighteenth century. One example is Anna Maria della Pietà, a *figlia del coro* not only skilled on violin, but also more than capable on the cello, lute, theorbo, and mandolin.³⁵³ She became one of the most celebrated musicians ever to play at the Pietà. She was admitted into the *coro* in 1706, began performing solos by 1720, and was notably a recipient of two new violins that Vivaldi purchased for the Pietà (through the institution's budget, not his own) in July 1712 and again in April 1720.³⁵⁴ In 1721, she became a *figlia privilegiata*, which allowed her to act as a tutor to younger women and develop virtuosic violin methods well after Vivaldi left. She also became the *maestra di coro*

³⁵³ Two sources provide great detail on Anna Maria. See Jane L. Berdes, "Anna Maria della Pietà: The Woman Musician of Venice Personified," in Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, eds. *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 134-51; and Micky White, "Scenes from the Life of Anna Maria 'Dal Violin,'" in Helen Geyer and Wolfgang Osthoff, eds., *Musik an den venezianischen Ospedali: Konservatorien vom 17. bis zum frühen 19. Jahrhundert: Symposion vom 4. bis 7. April 2001, Venedig* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2004), 83-109.

³⁵⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 690, Not. M (26 April 1720), 39v.

– a position that entailed rehearsing and supervising the *figlie del coro* at all times, as well as copying for and assisting the *maestro di coro* – in 1737, when she stopped performing.³⁵⁵ She stayed at the Pietà as an instructor and director until her death in 1782. She was considered a leading violinist of Europe by many, including a Saxon court councilor Joachim Christoph Nemeitz, the German flutist, composer and theorist Johann Joachim Quantz, and Karl Ludwig von Pöllnitz, a baron of Prussia. Charles de Brosses even called her “unsurpassed” by any woman or man.³⁵⁶ Scholars have acknowledged an excellence in Vivaldi’s violin instruction due to the many technically demanding concertos he wrote specifically for this talented musician, as well as the many successful instrumental students who she taught in her later years. Vivaldi’s initial instruction could be acknowledged as a foundation in the continued tradition of first-rate violin virtuosity at the Pietà.

At the same time, Vivaldi was never granted the honorarium or title of the chief position of *maestro di coro*. He only possibly filled in for some of the duties of the *maestro di coro* for four or five years, from 1713 to 1717. It should be recognized, however, that June 1713 – only two months after Gasparini left for Rome – was the first time in which the Pietà also hired a *maestro di canto*: Abbate Pietro “dall’Oglio” Scarpari (c. 1683-1763). Scarpari was a well established vocal teacher and performer in Venice, singing in the *cappella* of San Marco from 1714 until his death, while also instructing vocal technique to the *figlie di coro* as a *maestro* at the Pietà (1713-1742), the Derelitti (1716-22; 1727-30) and the Mendicanti (1731-2; 1734-6). Rather than Vivaldi solely acting as the head *maestro*, it is quite possible that the Governors hired Scarpari for this role, especially considering he received a 90-ducat stipend, exactly equivalent to what Vivaldi received while he was fulfilling some of the extra duties of *maestro di coro*.³⁵⁷ Vivaldi scholars have written disparagingly of Scarpari’s musical contributions, as none of his compositions survive in any known and complete forms today. Scholar Gastone Vio, for

³⁵⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (30 August 1737), 196v.

³⁵⁶ For more information on Anna Maria, see Jane L. Berdes, “Anna Maria della Pietà: The Woman Musician of Venice Personified,” in Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, ed. *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 135-6 .

³⁵⁷ ASV, *Procuratia de supra*, Registro 152, page 30.

instance, explained “Vivaldi gave himself to music with greater commitment than Scarpari.”³⁵⁸ Yet Scarpari worked at three different Ospedali Maggiori for decades. It is quite possible that he was fulfilling the rehearsal, instruction, and disciplinary duties normally undertaken by the *maestro di coro*, while Vivaldi was only covering the composition of new music, as would be consistent with the duties of his title of *maestro di concerti*. It is feasible that the Governors of the Pietà were experimenting with having a pair of leading *maestri*: one for rehearsing and vocal instruction and the other for composition and instrumental instruction.

With all this under consideration, it may not be entirely accurate to ascribe to Vivaldi an extremely substantial role in the history of the Ospedali Maggiori. He was more of a travelling, internationally renowned composer than a staple of the Venetian charitable institutions. While he surely initiated some growth in violin virtuosity at one of the Ospedali at the beginning of the eighteenth century, one cannot forget that instrumental music had been well established by the Spada brothers before his arrival. Plus, the continuation of virtuosic string techniques only survived through the efforts of accomplished *figlie* – like Madalena dal Violin and Anna Maria del Violin – who had little choice other than to stay and work at the Ospedale for much of their lives. Vivaldi truly only taught at the Ospedale della Pietà for fourteen years of his early career, with occasional disruptions, before he began traveling and attempting to find his fame elsewhere.

Additionally, while Vivaldi’s instrumental compositions are extremely popular and glorified today, some even excellent teaching tools for aspiring instrumentalists, they were not always the highlights of Ospedali performances in the eighteenth century. Sacred vocal works, primarily the domain of the most esteemed post of *maestro di coro*, were historically more prominent at the Ospedali Maggiori.³⁵⁹ Contemporaneous visitors and Venetian periodicals commented more regularly on liturgical

³⁵⁸ Gastone Vio, “Antonio Vivaldi prete,” in Michael Talbot, ed., *Vivaldi: The Baroque Composers* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 49-50. “Il Vivaldi si è dato alla musica con maggior impegno dello Scarpari.”

³⁵⁹ Michael Talbot reaffirms a heavier emphasis on Vivaldi’s operatic and instrumental music in contemporary scholarship. See Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 1-3.

and para-liturgical works, such as religious feast day celebrations, oratorios, and motets, which were central to the Ospedali's musical output and the institutional function of the *coro*.³⁶⁰ As musicologist Faun Tanenbaum Tiedge has argued, "It was the need for sacred music, after all, which provided the foundation for concert making at the Ospedale. Only by expanding the role of sacred music repertoire was instrumental music (including the many concertos of Vivaldi) then given an opportunity to flourish at institutions like the Pietà."³⁶¹

On one hand, Vivaldi's prolific number of instrumental works surely contributed to the Pietà's reputation for having the top instrumental musicians of all the four Ospedali, and his sacred vocal compositions from between 1713 and 1717 and during 1738 may be considered significant to the history of the Ospedale della Pietà, as they allowed regular musical performances to continue when the charitable institution lacked a qualified individual for its lead music position.³⁶² However, the Ospedale Governors did not treat Vivaldi as a long-term, reliable composer of their institution's essential sacred vocal genres, instead preferring to keep him on lower salaries or as a temporary freelancer when they needed his work. Vivaldi was an inconsistent employee to the Ospedale della Pietà, receiving disciplinary action early on and dismissal on multiple occasions. His constant travels and pursuit of fame in opera and outside of Venice likely contributed to the interest in him in a broader historical sense, but may have been a hindrance to more consistent contributions specifically to the Ospedali Maggiori and the *figlie di coro*.

Fortunate Historical Circumstances

After Antonio Vivaldi's death, his music quickly fell out of favor and was even forgotten. Typical for many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers, their compositions were rapidly tossed aside, since audiences constantly wanted music to be new and in fashion. In that era, music was often publicly and politically relevant to its time and place, not intended to last through the ages. The model of

³⁶⁰ See chapter three for a full discussion of the functions the *coro* served for the Ospedale della Pietà.

³⁶¹ Faun Tanenbaum Tiedge, ed., *Giovanni Porta: Selected sacred music from the Ospedale della Pietà*, Volume 47 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 1995), vii.

³⁶² Plus, these works may have helped boost Vivaldi's repute as they dispersed through German-speaking territories and as he began traveling in the 1720s. Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 165.

performing music from “great masters” of the past only started appearing and solidifying by the nineteenth century, when the growing bourgeois class began to codify its cultural identity and tastes through public concerts and a discernible musical canon of significant works and composers. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century music critics and intellectuals, founders of today’s field of musicology, created and reinforced assessments of musical value based on principles of human progress, genius, individuality, and authority, which influenced whether music survived, flourished, or fell into obscurity.³⁶³ In brief and as demonstrated by many twentieth-century music textbooks, innovative, complex or lengthy, secular, publicly performed, instrumental (without lyrics), notated pieces by one “master” composer triumphed over simpler, private, shorter, old-fashioned, religious, vocal, or collaboratively produced music, especially that of aural or unwritten traditions. These value judgements are readily apparent in Vivaldi’s eventual return to fame.

Vivaldi’s name started gaining renewed interest during the beginning of the 1800s through the work of the prominent music critic and scholar Johann Nickolaus Forkel (1749-1818). Forkel’s study of J.S. Bach (*Über J.S. Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, 1802) not only set the standard for composer-centric biographical music research, but also elaborated on the significance of Vivaldi’s musical contributions in relation to a progress narrative of music developing through history:

J. S. Bach’s first attempts at composition were, like all such attempts, deficient. With no instruction to point a way forward and lead him on gradually, stage by stage, he had to begin like all those who set foot on such a path without guidance, and let things take their own course [...] But Bach did not remain for long on this path. He soon began to feel that all was not right with this ceaseless running and leaping, that order, coherence and inter-relatedness must be brought to the ideas, and that some form of instruction was needed for the attainment of this end. Vivaldi’s violin concertos, which had just appeared, served this purpose for him. So often did he hear them praised as excellent pieces of music, that he hit upon the happy idea of arranging them all for his *clavier*. He studied the treatment of the ideas, their mutual relationship, the pattern of modulation and many other features. The adaption of ideas and figurations intended for the violin but unsuited to the keyboard taught him in addition to think in musical terms, so that when he had finished he no

³⁶³ Examples of these music-focused intellectuals include prominent names, such as François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), Johann Nickolaus Forkel (1749-1818), and their successors, Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904), Guido Adler (1855-1941), and André Pirro (1869-1943), among many others.

longer needed to draw his ideas from his fingers, but instead preconceived them in his imagination.³⁶⁴

Much of Forkel's Enlightenment thinking appears in this excerpt, with the valuation of studied and ordered composition over the undisciplined, as well as the final affirmation of mind over body. Interest in Vivaldi's music was boosted through subsequent Bach scholarship, as it fit perfectly into the narrative of one "great man" contributing to another's progress towards humanity's and music's eventual perfection.

As the variations between Vivaldi's originals and Bach's transcriptions could help prove the theory of the evolution of mankind from the simple to the more complex, from wildness to cultivation, music scholars throughout the nineteenth century searched for the original sources of Vivaldi's music. In 1860, a small music collection of Vivaldi's works was found in Dresden's court church.³⁶⁵ This collection sustained the importance of Vivaldi's instrumental compositions, and several of the concertos appeared in publication before the beginning of the twentieth century. In many discussions of Vivaldi and this music, he was criticized unflatteringly against his German counterparts. In German musicological circles, which dominated the historical study of music in the 1800s and early 1900s, Italian compositional styles and forms were considered rudimentary to that of Germans.³⁶⁶ As Michael Talbot has explained:

Since they [German scholars] were infinitely more familiar with the music of Bach (and Handel) than that of the Italian masters of the late Baroque, they tended to see Vivaldi's music as deviant from the Bachian style (lines more scantily ornamented, inner parts simpler, fewer types of dissonance) [...] Undeniably, too, a general attitude towards Italian music which at best was patronizing and at worst distinctly hostile coloured their judgment.³⁶⁷

Vivaldi's music, as considered in German music scholarship, thus became an earlier step in the progress narrative, a more primitive predecessor to the greats of J.S. Bach, Joseph Haydn, George Frederic Handel, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig van Beethoven.

³⁶⁴ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerk* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802), 23f, transcribed and translated in Talbot, *Vivaldi*, 3-4.

³⁶⁵ This collection is now held in the Sachsische Landesbibliothek.

³⁶⁶ K. Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi*, 12.

³⁶⁷ Talbot, *Vivaldi*, 5.

Nevertheless, the importance of Vivaldi persisted. Arnold Schering's monograph on the concerto *Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts* (1905) eventually cemented Vivaldi's place as a "great master." Schering wrote, "Vivaldi is as exemplary for the shaping of the violin concerto as Corelli was for that of the sonata."³⁶⁸ While this may be true, through Schering's study, Vivaldi officially became a member in the long line of innovative geniuses who contributed to the development of instrumental music in European history. Vivaldi's music has been treated as an exemplar of sublime instrumental form ever since, underlining the values of individual implicitly-male genius and innovation, progress, structure, and discipline. The eventual placing of Vivaldi specifically at the center of concerto development especially perpetuated the idea that a genius man deserves the greatest credit for some sort of "perfection" of a genre.³⁶⁹ This not only ignores eighteenth-century Venetian taste that placed instrumental music secondary or supplementary to vocal genres in the eighteenth century, but it also obscures the contributions both of wider cultural or instrumental practices and of performers, especially in a genre that highlights the virtuosity of a soloist. Vivaldi's instrumental concertos, as the first of his works to be found and studied, consequently often overshadowed the consideration of much other music from early eighteenth-century Venice, including his own operas and sacred vocal music, as well as the music that other composers wrote for the Ospedali Maggiori and other Venetian institutions.

Furthermore, Vivaldi's life story fits neatly into the popular romantic narrative of an implicitly-male genius, struggling over obstacles to eventual death in impoverishment.³⁷⁰ He has shared this narrative with many other canonical figures, such as the composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, the poet Edgar Allan Poe, the painter Vincent van Gogh, and even the inventor Nikola Tesla. Their stories appeal

³⁶⁸ Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts* (Leipzig: Breifkopt & Härtel, 1905), p. 96, translated and transcribed in Talbot, *Vivaldi* 6.

³⁶⁹ Philip Brett, "Musicality, essentialism, and the closet," in Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas, eds., *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, Second Edition (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1304. Brett discusses both the notion of the superiority of instrumental music and the concept of "masterwork."

³⁷⁰ As Christine Battersby has demonstrated, the concept of "genius" has been historically associated with the male gender, while women have been dismissed as unable to withstand the necessary rigors for such divine creativity. Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

to romanticized ideals: divinely ordained genius that makes one transcend social norms, a destiny or passion that needs to be followed regardless of the odds or, more specifically, the struggle of man versus nature/self/society.³⁷¹ While in fictional literature, this kind of conflict narrative might contain a closure for fulfillment, the resolution of the struggle in a biography like Vivaldi's comes from his – and his surviving work's – ability to endure through time, thus reinforcing his apparent genius and historical significance. An emphasis on this narrative often reflects a larger societal respect for individual realization over communal efforts, and for endurance in the face of adversity, while often distorting reality for the sake of sentimentality.

Still, there was one more fortunate historical circumstance that contributed to Vivaldi's incredible boost in popularity today. In 1926, Alberto Gentili, a lecturer at Turin University, discovered a collection of 97 volumes of music in Vivaldi's hand. The collection, which contains several hundred concertos, over a dozen complete operas, and many other sacred and vocal works, had previously been owned by the Venetian collector Jacopo Soranzo, who then sold them to Count Giacomo Durazzo in the late eighteenth century. The Count's descendent owned the collection before it was acquired by the Turin National Library in 1930. This discovery supplied sustenance for a Vivaldi movement, which significantly intersected with the "early music revival" of the mid-twentieth century and focused on the renewed performance and study of works by composers of the early modern era. This movement was influential to Vivaldi's reception today in two marked ways: first, it provided incredible new access to and availability of Vivaldi's compositions, both in notated and audio formats, and second, it arose with perceptible biases, including adoration of individual genius and perhaps unintentional prejudice against women.

The rise of Vivaldi scholarship began with Marc Pincherle, who wrote a monograph dedicated to Vivaldi's life and instrumental works, which was published in 1948 in French (translated to English in 1957) and included a thematic catalogue that became the standard for future work on Vivaldi. His influential descriptions of the *figlie di coro*, however, paint a picture of the women through the

³⁷¹ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 201.

voyeuristic gaze of male visitors who enjoyed their performances, not only incorrectly calling the *figlie* “nuns,” but also promoting the virgin-whore dichotomy by depicting the *figlie* as sometimes pious, modest, obedient, and appropriately “feminine,” and other times “malicious” and “coquettish.”³⁷²

Pincherle concluded his description by explaining that he only wanted his readers to know the lives led by these women so that they could understand how difficult it must have been for Antonio Vivaldi to teach them, firmly positioning his project, and that of much subsequent Ospedali scholarship, on the importance of the single great male composer.

Yet, before Pinchele’s publications, Vivaldi’s revival had already been underway, promoted by the poet-musician Ezra Pound and his companion, the violinist Olga Rudge, who created her own catalogue of the Vivaldi collection in Turin by 1936.³⁷³ Pound, in particular, hailed Vivaldi as “Italian musical autarchy,” a powerful and central figure of “objective” excellence and genius, not to be ruined by interpretations of inadequate performers.³⁷⁴ Pound unceasingly supported Rudge in her musicological work on this eighteenth-century musician. In 1938, Rudge founded the *Centro di Studi Vivaldiani* in Siena, and, with Pound, they helped establish the first major twentieth-century performances of Vivaldi’s music, with week-long festivals dedicated solely to the one composer. Their concerts imprinted the stature of Vivaldi in European musicology and inspired many other ensembles and performances dedicated to Vivaldi’s music in the 1940s and 1950s, including the musical groups *La Scuola Veneziana* (1947), *I Virtuosi di Roma* (1947), *I Musicisti* (1952), and the work of American violinist Louis Kaufman.³⁷⁵ Additionally, encouraged by Rudge’s work, Angelo Aphrikian and Antonio Fanna founded Venice’s *Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi* in 1947, which published the complete edition of Vivaldi’s instrumental

³⁷² Marc Pincherle, *Vivaldi: genius of the baroque*, translated from French by Christopher Hatch (New York: W.W. Norton, 1957), 21-3.

³⁷³ Stephen J. Adams, “Pound, Olga Rudge, and the ‘Risveglio Vivaldiano,’” *Paideuma: Modern and Contemporary Poetry and Poetics* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 111-118.

³⁷⁴ Ezra Pound, *Il Mare* (25 November 1939), translated in R. Murray Schafer, ed., *Ezra Pound and Music: The Complete Criticism* (New York: New Directions, 2008), 323, 450. See also Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 126.

³⁷⁵ Adams, “Pound, Olga Rudge, and the ‘Risveglio Vivaldiano,’” 117; Miles Dayton Fish, “Discovering the Rediscovery of Antonio Vivaldi,” *The Choral Journal* 55, no. 10 (May 2015): 28-9.

works by Gian Francesco Malipiero. A surge of international conferences then occurred at Vivaldi's 1978 tercentenary. A new critical edition of Vivaldi's works were published by Ricordi of Milan starting in 1982, and Peter Ryom released his full catalog in 1987, providing the recognized standard numbering system of Vivaldi's compositions. Few composers from the early eighteenth century can boast of so many of their works surviving in such good condition, which resulted in the plethora of scholarship and musical performances of Vivaldi's music, to which scholars and music lovers have access today.

These publications and performance groups, which helped spread Vivaldi to the masses, made his music even more of a marketable commodity and established him as a recognized model of the male "genius" composer. Since Vivaldi composed for both antiquated instruments, like the viol, and more modern, common practice instruments, like the violin, his music was attractive to both historically informed and mainstream audiences. According to Karl Heller, "An average of forty new Vivaldi recordings have been issued each year for the last thirty years [1960s-1990s]."³⁷⁶ These recordings were an indispensable part of the larger early music revival between the 1950s and 1990s, which was implicit in promoting only a tiny portion early modern music, particularly that of a few "great men" to the detriment of the rich variety that may well be possible.

As Linda Austern has explained, based on nineteenth- and twentieth-century views of gender and its relationship to musical capability, music for and by early modern women was obscured in this early music revival, even when it appeared in the same collections of music by men.³⁷⁷ Modern sensibilities about normative vocal ranges and gendered roles for men and women also swayed performance and editing decisions. For instance, an early edition of Antonio Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans* erroneously transposed the male characters' parts an octave lower so they could be sung by male tenors, baritones, and

³⁷⁶ K. Heller, *Antonio Vivaldi*, 19.

³⁷⁷ See Linda Phyllis Austern, "Women, Gender and Music," in Allyson Poska, Jane Couchman, and Katherine McIver, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 509-532.

basses, even though Vivaldi unquestionably composed these parts for the *figlie di coro*.³⁷⁸ Additionally, ensembles dedicated to the practices of historically informed or “authentic” performance, which arose in the 1970s, did not strive towards music for and by early modern women until the 1990s, paralleling the slow adoption of feminist thought and the study of women in musicological scholarship.³⁷⁹

Of course Vivaldi receives more attention than other Venetian composers of his time period, because it is relatively easy to access his music for both scholars and average audiences. His work has been completely rescued from historical oblivion. Meanwhile, few are willing to undertake the difficult task of studying composers whose music has been dispersed throughout several libraries or been lost, and even fewer are willing to piece together the immensely arduous puzzle of unfamiliar musicians, performers, and the average citizen who left little to no records. Plus, musicological study of women musicians is still relatively new in the field, while modern gender prejudices have only recently begun to be dismantled. As a consequence, modern audiences have come to recognize Vivaldi’s music as a standard of quality, taste, or the inherently male “genius,” based on the support of musicians and scholars, as well as the reviews of critics and intellectuals of the past and present. Agents in music business can fall back onto his compositions with a sense of security; as is apparent in much of popular culture today, and similar to the many sequels and continued repetition of the same action-superhero stories in film, it is easier to commercially succeed through a “sure thing” than to explore something new, obscure, or long forgotten.³⁸⁰ Early modern women or other historically marginalized groups, who had less access than their male counterparts to high levels of education and/or professional opportunities such as publishing, are devalued under the commercialization of music, the penchant towards individual genius narratives, and the preference for written tradition and preservable materials in both Western culture and

³⁷⁸ Vito Frazzi, ed., *Antonio Vivaldi: Juditha triumphans: sacrum militare oratorium, 1716* (Rome: Edizioni de Santis, 1949).

³⁷⁹ Austern, “Women, Gender and Music,” 509-10.

³⁸⁰ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*. 35.

musicological scholarship. Meanwhile, those musicians, like Antonio Vivaldi, who had the privilege to write, physically collect, and sell their thoughts and works have profited historically.

Moving Beyond Vivaldi

If Antonio Vivaldi and his compositions are to be kept as central to the history of the Ospedali Maggiori, and to eighteenth-century Venetian music more broadly, it must be accepted that certain values and ideologies will continue to be perpetuated. No promotion of particular music in favor of others comes without a certain amount of bias. Vivaldi's compositions and their centrality, for instance, promote written works over aural traditions, which might be due to a predilection towards commoditization of music, as well as the greatness of a single, exceptional individual who can be neatly placed into a romanticized progress narrative of great men.

When Vivaldi's contributions are contextualized within the broader consideration of music at the Ospedali Maggiori, however, it becomes readily apparent that other musicians worked and composed for the four charitable institutions for much longer and more reliably. Additionally, Vivaldi was not unique compared to contemporaneous *maestri*. Vivaldi's work likely contributed to a growth in violin virtuosity and an improved reputation for the Ospedale della Pietà having the best instrumental music.³⁸¹ Yet his instrumental compositions are closely related to the important vocal sacred music which it accompanied. By studying the music of Ospedali Maggiori composers besides Vivaldi, a rich tradition of sacred and vocal music, and the relationship of instrumental music to those vocal genres, can be better understood today. Because Vivaldi was born a Venetian, for instance, his compositional styles and the social functions of his music fit into the Venetian music scene, but it is difficult to judge his influence at the Ospedale della Pietà fully without a consideration of his predecessors, the Spada brothers and Gasparini. In considering Bonaventura Spada, he was the first outside musician to be hired as a *maestro di strumenti*. Well before Vivaldi, he taught music lessons to the *figlie di coro* for decades, and records indicate many *figlie* with instrumental expertise during those years, such as Francesca della Tiorba who performed

³⁸¹ The Incurabili and the Mendicanti, however, were still more popular for the vocal performance.

improvised *ricercate* on lute for nobility in 1688 (discussed more in Chapter Three).³⁸² Unfortunately, the Ospedale's Governors rarely recorded his contributions, and neither of the Spadas' music is extant in complete, known manuscripts. Thus, because of the primacy of written documentation in our modern historiography, the Spada brothers receive little to no recognition for the work they did at the Pietà. Just because material documentation might not exist, does not mean that they were not important and significant to the Ospedali and Venetian history.

In comparing Vivaldi's output to his contemporary Giovanni Porta (1675-1755), who was *maestro di coro* at the Pietà for eleven years from 1726 to 1737, it also comes to light that Vivaldi's music corresponded closely to overarching music styles of the Ospedali Maggiori. The interesting instrumental timbre and orchestration that Vivaldi employed were not results of so-called genius, but relied on the availability and quality musical training of the many female musicians in the Ospedale della Pietà. Faun Tanenbaum Tiedge's study of Giovanni Porta's music shows that, like Vivaldi, Porta and many other Ospedali composers used a variety of instrumentation, especially for concertos.³⁸³ Porta also composed sacred vocal pieces with many similar characteristics to idiomatic instrumental music, including "rhythmic vitality, vivid solo writing, a clear tonal framework, and a rather consistent formal structure."³⁸⁴ Additionally, the *ritornello* form, for which Vivaldi is well-known, was favored in all genres by him and other *maestri*, with the *tutti* instrumental orchestra alternating with a featured soloist in a *concertato* style popular at the Ospedali. Vivaldi's double concertos and *ripieno* concertos are hardly

³⁸² Some of these *figlie* include Anzoletta / Angeletta dal Violin (performing and receiving privileges by August 1694, *maestra* by 1697), Lucietta Organista (performing and receiving privileges by October 1694), Paulina Sonadora (instrument not specified, performing by October 1694), Sabbina dalla Tiorba (performing by October 1694), Lucretia Sonadora (instrument not specified, performing and receiving privileges by October 1694), Stella della Tiorba (performing and receiving privileges by October 1694), Marcolina del Violone (performing and receiving privileges by July 1695), Marta della Tiorba (possibly also played viola, performing and receiving privileges by July 1695), Madalena dalla Tiorba (also played lute and violin, entered *coro* by July 1687, receiving privileges by September 1695), Stella dall'Organo (*maestra* by September 1694), Andriana della Tiorba (taught music from 1697 at the S. Gerolimo, Servalle Convent, took vows there in September 1699, but returned to the Pietà in May 1700), Clementia dal Violin (performing and receiving privileges by July 1700), among others. See ASV, OLP Busta 688 Not. E, f. 187, 209; Not. 7, f. 30, 40, 137, and Not. G/7, f. 19v, 33; also Micky White, "Biographical notes on the 'Figlie di coro' of the Pietà," 81-95.

³⁸³ Tiedge, ed., *Giovanni Porta: Selected sacred music from the Ospedale della Pietà*, 23-5.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, viii-ix.

unique in the context of the other music performed at the Pietà, as Porta also composed for antiphonal ensembles that would be placed in separate sections of the chapel, following the old Venetian tradition of polychoral technique. In the context of his contemporaries, perhaps Antonio Vivaldi should not be the crown jewel of eighteenth-century Venetian music, and instead recognized for his broader pan-European success and the fortunate circumstances of his music's survival.

To move away from the value of single composers and their influence on music, however, it is not enough to substitute other "great" individuals in place of Vivaldi. Instead, a larger consideration of social structures and influences needs to take place. If aural or unwritten traditions are taken as focus, for instance, music can be read through the contributions of the female performers, who originally realized the written notes into sound. Their largely self-governing master-apprentice system situates Vivaldi as a temporary influence, a link in a long chain of many top music instructors. The *figlie di coro*, such as Anna Maria dal Violin, sustained the musical instruction at the Ospedali, with Vivaldi and the other male *maestri* modifying the long standing system as they came and went. Plus, how does the understanding and appreciation of Vivaldi's concertos, and other music, change when studied from the perspective of performance? The *figlie di coro*'s performance conventions, including their location in balconies above audiences, as well as their techniques of improvised basso continuo realization, Baroque-style ornamentation, and soloistic cadenzas (discussed more in the following chapters), were just as influential to audience reception as Vivaldi's written notes.

Finally, music is more than just an aesthetic phenomenon or an economic product, but also an implement of cultural values and norms that exposes deeper implications. Music, today as in the eighteenth century, carries social meanings and functions. The remaining chapters of this dissertation therefore focus on musical performance and training, demonstrating music's function at the Ospedali Maggiori as a means of religious enticement, social edification, financial stability, political maneuvering, and community needs. The apparatuses of these functions of music, combined with notions of gender and class, reflected social and political structures of late-Baroque Venice. When studied within a framework

of socially constructed meanings and knowledge about gender and its role in music and society, the Ospedali Maggiori and their musical output also come to light as distinctive opportunities for non-elite women and the creation of women's networks in Venice. The musical practices of the Ospedali Maggiori, as essential to the social standings of female musicians in early modern Venice, are revealed as a means by which Venetian women navigated roles traditionally permissible for them. They assisted themselves and created networks through privileges that came not from wealth or family but from the prestige of high musical ability.

CHAPTER THREE

Musical Performance in Venetian Contexts

On the evening of 21 March 1740, torches and lamps illuminated the Riva degli Schiavoni and the Rio della Pietà in Venice, where hundreds of noble Venetians and foreigners made their way along the walkways and down the canals in gondolas to the Ospedale della Santa Maria della Pietà.³⁸⁵ After entering a room on the ground floor of the Pietà, the visitors laid their eyes upon golden cloth brocades and beautiful fringed Damascus silks, lit by candles in sparkling glass chandeliers, which directed their gazes to the centerpiece: a temporarily-erected stage with a backdrop depicting the choir of the nine Greek muses. Noble and distinguished guests congregated in the room, while others could listen from afar in nearby balconies or their gondolas. In a prominently set chair amid this audience, the eighteen-year-old Frederick Christian, the Prince of Saxony and Heir to Poland, took his place. The evening event, and the object of the gathering, was to honor this prince through a serenata titled *Il coro delle muse*, set by the composer Gennaro d'Alessandro with text written by Carlo Goldoni, as well as instrumental *intermezzi*: Antonio Vivaldi's *Concerto di viola d'amore e leuto* RV 540, *Concerto a tre violini obbligato con ecò* RV 552, and *Concerto con molti istromenti* RV 588.³⁸⁶ As the serenata unfolded, nine *figlie di coro*, including the talented Apollonia Cantora (discussed in Chapter Two), performed one aria each – typical of Ospedali performances to keep uniformity among the *figlie* – as well as a few ensemble numbers. In his description of the musical performance, the royal prince stated, “It was very successful, but what makes this Ospedale famous are the musical instruments, which are really excellent, and even more so that they are all played by girls without any man.”³⁸⁷

³⁸⁵ In 1740, the Ospedale della Pietà was located in the building which is the site of the present day Hotel Metropole.

³⁸⁶ Alessandro's composition is now lost, although Vivaldi's *intermezzi* are understood to be RV 558, RV 552, and RV 540, with manuscript scores saved at Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus.2389-O-4.

³⁸⁷ Dresden, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 00355/04, “Journal du voyage de son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Royal de Pologne,” entry for 21 March 1740, 207r. “Ce qui rend cet Ospital fameux ce sont les instrument de musique qui sont vraiment excellents et d'autant plus raires qu'ils sont tous sonne joués par des filles sans aucun homme.” For more information on this particular performance, see Giovanni

Frederick Christian was, of course, neither the first nor the last to remark on the value that the gender of the Ospedali Maggiori's musicians added to their performances. Thousands of foreigners on grand tours traveled to Venice and sought out concerts given by these women, similar to their attraction to operas, masked balls during Carnevale, or private musical performances in the palaces of the lagoon city.³⁸⁸ They were both shocked and awed by the fact that so many women could be skilled in music to such a degree; professional musicianship was largely men's domain, particularly outside of opera and in the field of instrumental music, which was controlled in Venice by the all-male *Arte de' Sonadori* or Guild of Instrumentalists.³⁸⁹ Thus, the gender and musical skill of the *figlie di coro* could serve as a distinct advantage to the Ospedali and their religious, economic, and political functioning. While the Governors recognized that music on its own could contribute to the institutions' patronage and increase religious devotion, the gender of the musicians also provided an especially unique attraction for potential benefactors and added to the generally acknowledged awe-striking, angelic nature of their performances.

Although the *figlie di coro* most often performed liturgical music for masses, feast days, and other religious ceremonies, the music that attracted the most contemporaneous commentary were paraliturgical pieces, such as solo motets and oratorios, as well as occasional secular works, like the serenata described above. These genres fluctuated in popularity depending on taste and opposition from the Ospedali Governors, who sometimes argued that paraliturgical and secular music were too theatrical and attracted audiences that were unsuitable for religious devotion, drawing the institutions further away from a religious or charitable purpose.³⁹⁰ Yet, during the large increase in musical activity and public

Tribusio, "'Or giunte siamo dove il principe nostro potremo vagheggiar'. Tre serenate di D'Alessandro/Vivaldi, Carcani e Paradies/Galuppi per Federico Cristiano di Sassonia (Venezia, Ospedali Grandi, 1740)," in Galliano Ciliberti, ed., *Music Patronage in Italy* (Tunhout: Brepols, 2021), 191-239.

³⁸⁸ One of the most common souvenirs tourists took from Venice was musical scores. John Rice, "Music and the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century," Hollander Distinguished Lecture in Musicology, Michigan State University, 15 March 2013.

³⁸⁹ Thomas Bauman, "Musicians in the Marketplace: The Venetian Guild of Instrumentalists in the Later 18th Century," *Early Music* 19, no. 3 (1991): 345-347.

³⁹⁰ Pier Giuseppe Gillio, *L'attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento quadro storico e materiali documentari* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2006), 191. Also see Denis Arnold and Elsie Arnold, *The Oratorio in Venice* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1986).

acknowledgement at the Ospedali Maggiori between 1670 and the end of the eighteenth century, these genres were a key component of their public relations, as they could encourage devotion through allegory and drama, impress wealthy foreign guests with soloistic virtuosity or instrumental playing, and sometimes even contain secondary meanings that could demonstrate the city's significance.

Unfortunately, most of the Ospedali's dramatic and paraliturgical music before 1740 has been lost. Even though there may have been hundreds of performances, only a few notable scores survive from this period: three oratorios – Antonio Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans* (1716, Pietà), and Johann Adolf Hasse's *Christus Dominus in serpente* (c. 1730-3, Incurabili) and *S. Petrus et S. Maria Magdalena* (c. 1730-3, Incurabili)³⁹¹ – as well as two serenatas – *Il ritratto dell'eroe*, set by Giovanni Porta on a libretto by Domenico Lalli in 1726 to honor Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni at the Ospedale della Pietà,³⁹² and *Le muse in gara*, set by Pietro Domenico Paradies on a libretto by Giacomo de Belli for the prince Frederick Christian in the Ospedale dei Mendicanti on 4 April 1740.³⁹³ There are also quite a few extant settings of motets by various composers that were sung for feast days and other special liturgical celebrations.³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Two other scores are of interest. First, Carlo Pollarolo's *Samson vindicates* (1706, Incurabili). A possible score of this work is titled as *Sansone*, held in the Manchester Public Library Ms. F530 Ps41. It is, however, scored for SATB, and Michael Talbot affirms that the librettist, Antonio Ottoboni, wrote it for Rome. See Michael Talbot, "Music and the Poetry of Antonio Ottoboni," in Nino Pirrotta, ed., *Handel e gli Scarlatti a Roma: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Roma, 12-14 giugno 1985)* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987), 372. Second, Carlo Pallavicino's *Il trionfo della castità* (c. 1680s, Incurabili) also has an extant score, but because *Il trionfo della castità*'s only surviving libretto is for a 1688 performance in Modena, and the surviving score is held at the Biblioteca Universitaria Estense in Modena (Mus.F.895), it is possible that the score may not be exactly the same music or text that was performed at the Ospedale degli Incurabili. In fact, the librettists of the two versions are not the same, as Giovanni Matteo Gianni wrote the one in Modena. An oratorio on the same plot, titled *Il trionfo dell'innocenza*, is the only surviving libretto from the Incurabili, written by F.M Piccioli. However, because reprisals were very popular during the time, especially in Francesco d'Este's court in Modena, and because this surviving score is solely for sopranos and altos, it is believed part of the score may have been originally intended for the Incurabili. See Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 227, Arnold and Arnold, *The Oratorio in Venice*, 13-5, and Pier Giuseppe Gillio, "Genoveffa in Laguna: Gli Oratorii *Il Trionfo della Castità* di Carlo Pallavicino e *Innocentiae triumphus* di Giovanni Porta," in Alfonso Cipolla, ed. *Genoveffa di Brabante: Dalla trazione popolare a Erik Satie* (Turin: Edizioni SEB27, 2004), 97-109.

³⁹² This score was originally misattributed to Leonardo Vinci. See Nicolò Maccavino and Tonino Battista, "*Il Ritratto dell'Eroe* (Venezia, 1726): Una Serenata di Giovanni Porta dedicata al Cardinale Pietro Ottoboni Falsamente Attribuita a Leonardo Vinci," in Gaetano Pitarresi, ed. *Leonardo Vinci e il suo tempo* (Reggio Calabria: Iriti Ed., 2005), 339-369.

³⁹³ Vanessa Tonelli, ed., *Pietro Domenico Paradies: Le Muse in gara* (Middleton, WI: A.R. Editions, 2021).

³⁹⁴ Denis Arnold, "The Solo Motet in Venice (1625-1775)," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979-80): 56-68.

While the oratorios of Vivaldi and Hasse have been studied by musicologists for many years, the music of the two serenatas have only recently come under consideration.³⁹⁵ This chapter largely concentrates on the functions and performance conventions surrounding these serenatas, along with some mentions of the oratorios and motets, to demonstrate their spiritual, economic, and political benefits, for both the Ospedali and Venetian society at large, that stemmed from the all-female *cori*. These works were meticulously planned, highly publicized, well attended and recorded, and meant for some of the most prestigious foreign visitors to Venice. These conditions offer a sense of how the musical performances and the abilities of the *figlie* were used in what were considered to be highly important public events and demonstrate the greatest extent of the power of women's performative voices in Venice and larger cross-regional European social and political contexts.

Spiritual Edification

From their foundations, the primary purpose of the Ospedali Maggiori was to provide for both the physical and spiritual needs of Venice's poor, sick, and orphaned. Music, as an essential ingredient of religious worship in early modern Venetian society, was a fundamental tool to fulfill those spiritual needs.³⁹⁶ As written in the Ospedale della Pietà's *Capitoli et Ordini*, described in Chapter One, the *figlie di coro*'s primary function was "to entice devotion with their virtues/talents."³⁹⁷ Thus, according to the Governors, one of the most important contributions of musical performance at the Ospedali Maggiori was the moral and spiritual edification of the music's practitioners and listeners. The *figlie di coro* and the music they performed contributed to this purpose in two distinct ways: first, with the primacy of genres that could connect to the Catholic liturgy, and second, through particular performance conventions that contributed to angelic and divine associations of the female musicians.

³⁹⁵ For a discussion of the oratorios, see Sven Hostrup H. Hansell, "Sacred Music at the Incurabili in Venice at the Time of J. A. Hasse." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23, no. 2 (1970): 282-301; no. 3 (1970): 505-521; and Michael Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1995), 409-448.

³⁹⁶ Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

³⁹⁷ *Capitoli et Ordini Per il buon Governo del Pio Hospitale della Pietà* (4 October 1720), Capitolo III, 17-18. "allettare con la loro virtù la divozione."

The two most common genres performed at the Ospedali Maggiori, in addition to liturgical music for masses and religious festivals, were oratorios and motets. In fact, in the regulations of the Ospedale della Pietà, a *maestro di coro* was required to compose only two new masses and two new Vespers services each year, but at least two motets per month.³⁹⁸ Additionally, visitors mentioned these genres in commentaries more often than any other, as audiences who attended musical performances both at theaters and the Ospedali could recognize operatic characteristics within the framework of these paraliturgical genres.³⁹⁹ Like contemporaneous operas, oratorios and motets of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries typically had structures of alternating recitatives and arias, and they allowed for the inclusion of allegorical messages or dramatic narratives, as well as virtuosic solo singing. For the Ospedali's audiences, oratorios were particularly dramatic, in the sense of containing characters and a plot, even though they were not costumed or staged. These genres also both traditionally accompanied liturgical celebrations. The Ospedali Maggiori could therefore attract audiences who would enjoy the music, while also promoting religious and spiritual messages.

Motets performed by the *figlie di coro*, for example, often connected directly to Catholic liturgy and doctrine. This genre typically attached to the celebration of a mass, as an introduction, interlude, or finale. Yet they still tended to follow operatic musical styles, featuring solo star soprano and contralto vocalists in extremely virtuosic manners. While the neighboring San Marco – which had been the center of Venetian music a century earlier, but by the end of the 1600s had remained remarkably conservative – most frequently used four-part choral motets, as well as two- or three-voice motets, the Ospedali favored solo motets.⁴⁰⁰ A single talented *figlia* may have dozens of solo motets, practically sacred versions of the secular cantata, composed by the *maestri* of the Ospedali for her particular voice, which she could have kept in circulation for decades before her retirement from performing. Most of the *figlie*'s solo motets –

³⁹⁸ Ibid., Capitolo XVIII, 49.

³⁹⁹ See Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society, 1650-1750* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1985), 59. The periodical *Pallade Veneta* contained much larger percentage of reports about public operas than anything else.

⁴⁰⁰ Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi*, 91.

with texts written by anonymous librettists who likely came from the ranks of local amateur authors and intellectuals, such as lawyers, doctors, or religiously inclined citizens – followed a particular dramatic narrative: a showy aria for awareness of sin or worldly temptation, a recitative for a moment of calmness, a more melancholy aria of consolation and hope, and a concluding joyful Alleluia representing a turn to divine grace.⁴⁰¹ These sections thus aligned with a religious imperative: the Catholic Sacrament of Reconciliation, with each section representing contrition, confession, penance, and absolution respectively. Motets with this moral implication existed throughout the Ospedali's history, never falling out of popularity.

The production of oratorios, on the other hand, began in Venice later than elsewhere in Italy, only after the Jesuits returned to Venice in 1657 and brought with them the resumption of Catholic Reformation movements, particularly that of the Congregation of San Filippo Neri.⁴⁰² This religious order, which was responsible for the early development of the genre of the oratorio in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century, was granted the ownership of the oratory church of Santa Maria della Consolazione (also known as the Fava) adjacent to the Ospedale dei Mendicanti in 1660. In the 1670s, they hired the esteemed Venetian composer Giovanni Legrenzi, who also later became an important *maestro* for the Ospedali Maggiori. Over the decade, he produced several oratorios for their particular dramatic and musical version of religious worship. The Fava's musical performances attracted throngs of worshipers, and their oratorios acted a perfect device for encouraging Catholic Reformation religiosity and moving the spirituality of the common man due to the genre's dramatic and musical nature.

However, in 1676, the Venetian Doge and Senate passed legislation against non-Venetians working in local religious orders, removing Giuseppe Uliasse, a priest from Romagna, from his roles as music director and member of the governing body of the Fava. By 1677, due to the loss of support from a music director, as well as some congregational decrees that expenditure on musical festivals had been too

⁴⁰¹ Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 244; for a greater discussion of the librettists, see pages 257-8.

⁴⁰² Arnold and Arnold, *The Oratorio in Venice*, 1-4.

great, the Fava dismissed their musicians, except one organist.⁴⁰³ Legrenzi consequently transferred his musical writing activities to the Ospedale dei Mendicani, where he had been appointed *maestro di coro* from 1676 to 1682. The Ospedale degl’Incurabili also hired Carlo Pallavicino between 1674 and 1685, who applied his experience composing operas to new oratorios at that charitable institution. Later, the Incurabili also employed Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, another prolific opera and oratorio composer, between 1696 and 1718. The Venetian periodical *Pallade Veneta* additionally lists several oratorios, and the closely related Christmas pastorals and dialogues, performed at the Pietà and Derelitti to great crowds around 1687.⁴⁰⁴ The primary oratorio composer at the Pietà, which competed against the Incurabili for popularity, was Francesco Gasparini, *maestro di coro* between 1701 and 1713. Gasparini composed at least one oratorio per year throughout his tenure.

Oratorios at the Fava had successfully attracted wealthy patrons, while also promoting religious fervor, and they did the same for the Ospedali Maggiori. This genre contained the same dramatic and musical aspects that sustained the popularity of opera, while avoiding the staging, costuming, and profane characters and plots that might hurt the institutions’ and performers’ reputations. This was especially the case after 1700, when all of the Ospedali Maggiori had switched to producing oratorios in Latin rather than vernacular Italian, increasing the genre’s association with Latin-language Catholic ceremonies.⁴⁰⁵ The use of Latin allowed the oratorio to be an easy extension of the religious service, and the text was often associated with the message of the liturgy.⁴⁰⁶ This is demonstrated particularly in the oratorios by Johann Hasse, described below, which both preceded settings of the *Miserere* during Lent. The Ospedali generally positioned an oratorio performance as an accompaniment to liturgical celebrations for holy periods, as well as on other important feast days. In fact, most oratorios at the Ospedali were offered during Advent and Lent, the periods in which Venetian opera theaters were closed by law, allowing the

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 11-12.

⁴⁰⁴ Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, 63.

⁴⁰⁵ At the Mendicanti, all oratorios were performing in Latin by 1690; at the Pietà, by 1700; and at the Incurabili, by 1703. The Derelitti only produced Latin oratorios, as the earliest surviving libretto from the Derelitti is from 1716.

⁴⁰⁶ Gillio, *L’attività musicale*, 235-55.

Ospedali's chapels to act as substitutes for entertainment during the more pious, religious seasons of the year. As explained by John Manners, an English lord who visited Venice in 1687, "In the carnival time the opera was the greatest place of diversion; but now in roome of them wee are forced to visit their churches, where all the company here goe att the same time, for pleasure and diversion."⁴⁰⁷

Although no definitive oratorio scores for the Ospedali Maggiori before 1700 are extant, one oratorio by Carlo Pallavicino (*maestro di coro*, Incurabili, 1674-88) can be found in the Biblioteca Universitaria Estense in Modena.⁴⁰⁸ This particular oratorio, *Il trionfo della castità* (1688), was surely for a performance in the court of Francesco II d'Este, as it follows a libretto written for Modena. Although, because the vocal parts were solely composed for soprano and alto voices, suitable for the all-female ensembles at the Ospedali, and because the Estense court had a predilection towards bringing in popular works from afar, it is possible that the Modenese version is a reprisal of a work Pallavicino composed while serving as the *maestro di coro* of the Incurabili.⁴⁰⁹ In fact, the subject of *Il trionfo della castità* – the accusation of adultery, the trial, and the redemption of a virtuous woman – imitates that of a known oratorio by Pallavicino titled *Il trionfo dell'innocenza*, performed at the Incurabili in early January 1687.⁴¹⁰ Oratorios such as this one, composed in the first decades of Venetian oratorio production, largely echoed opera of the same era. Like the typical Baroque *dramma per musica* composed before the Aracadian reforms of *opera seria*, *Il trionfo della castità* featured almost a dozen characters, including the allegorical *Castità* and *Innocenza*, as well as a role for the Virgin Mary.⁴¹¹ Hagiographic oratorios, with allegorical characters like these, were typical of this era, promoted by the Jesuit and Catholic Reformation teaching that flourished after their return to Venice.

⁴⁰⁷ John Manners, "Letters to the Countess of Rutland at Belvoir Castel," *The Manuscripts of His Grace, The Duke of Rutland*, Report No. 12, 24th ser., Appendix Part 5, ii (1888-1905), 112, as cited in Jane L. Berdes and Joan Whittemore, *A Guide to Ospedali Research* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2012), 31.

⁴⁰⁸ Modena, Biblioteca Universitaria Estense, Mus.F.895.

⁴⁰⁹ Arnold and Arnold, *The Oratorio in Venice*, 13-4; Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 227.

⁴¹⁰ Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 3 (January 1687), 142-3. This entry reported that the oratorio at the Incurabili followed the plot of Flavia, wife of a Roman Emperor. The libretto in Modena is more hagiographical: narrating the story of Santa Genefa, wife of Sifrido, a prince of the Rhine.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. *Pallade Veneta* reported that there were sixteen *figlie di coro* singing *Il trionfo dell'innocenza*.

As for the music, the arias in *Il trionfo della castità* are generally *da capo*, and they contain dramatic musical affects, such as a descending ostinato bass pattern for lamentation, trumpet fanfares to depict the military, a quick-tempo revenge aria, and even a closing “love” duet. While the trumpet arias clearly relate to the Modenese trumpet school and were likely added after any Ospedale performance, the dramatic aspects of the music were still a staple of Ospedali production. Without staging or costuming, Ospedali composers like Pallavicino used dramatic musical signals, instrumental color, and the skilled performance of the *figlie di coro* to create affect and move their audiences, particularly towards sentiments of devotion. In *Il trionfo della innocenza*, for example, because the principal character was a virtuous woman who overcomes adversity through her chastity, humility, and virtue – not to mention that she was saved through the intercession of the Virgin Mary – the dramatic narrative correlated perfectly to the public representation of the Ospedali as religiously-inclined homes of virtuous women. The function of the music was only to amplify the object lesson of that narrative.⁴¹² Throughout the 1680s and 1690s, in fact, the Ospedali Maggiori offered quite a few oratorios that showcased humble and chaste female characters, such as the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and female saints, who could serve as moral examples to and of their female wards.⁴¹³

Oratorio performance continued regularly at the Ospedali Maggiori between the start of their production in the 1680s until a drastic interruption of the genre with the Venetian economic crisis and military losses of 1717. In the middle of that period, around the last two decades of the seventeenth century, the periodical *Pallade Veneta* reported that oratorios were so popular that the Ospedali’s churches were often packed with listeners, so much that some guests had to stand outside. The *figlie di coro* often repeated their performances to satisfy the desires of those in attendance and to allow everyone

⁴¹² Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 420-1.

⁴¹³ Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 3 (January 1687), 142-3. Francesco Coli, the author of *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 3, related Pallavicino’s oratorio, what he called “virtuous entertainment [viraosi trattenimenti],” to the city of Venice, as it reflected her notoriety as “a school of science, mother of literati, and protector of virtue[suola delle scienze, madre de’ letterati e protettrice della virtù].”

to hear.⁴¹⁴ Oratorios, like operas of the time, typically lasted a season or two, being reprised several times depending on their popularity. The Ospedali Maggiori's oratorios performed in this era primarily portrayed hagiographic stories, as well as some Old and New Testament subjects, including the biblical tales of Abraham, David, Moses, Solomon, Judith, and especially Mary Magdalene. Many, like *Il trionfo della castità*, also included allegorical characters, such as *Innocenza* (Innocence), *Prudenza* (Prudence), or *Cori degl'angeli* (Choirs of angels), typical inclusions for moralistic dramas of the time.

Of this repertoire, Antonio Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans* is the only surviving score from this time period. It presents the biblical story of Judith, a naturally appropriate character for the star female vocalists at the Ospedale della Pietà, and Vivaldi composed the piece with features typical to many other Ospedali vocal compositions: emphasis on representing the messages of the drama, with clear text declamation, varying instrumental colors for different sentiments, pictorial representations, and other easily recognizable dramatic figures that primarily support the affect and meaning of the text. Judith's aria "Quanto magis generosa," in which she pleads to Holofernes for mercy, for example, was composed in the key of E-flat major, a serene tonal center that audiences may also have associated with longing.⁴¹⁵ Additionally, the use of *viola d'amore* in this aria evoked poignant or pathetic sentiments and mercy, while the muted violins gave a strenuous quality and therefore weight to Judith's plea.⁴¹⁶ As Pier Giuseppe Gillio has explained, "The listener of the time, accustomed to the incessant repetition of the same mechanisms of disguised meaning, could decode the message with ease and immediacy."⁴¹⁷ Many numbers in this oratorio employed contextual associations of instruments or key centers to convey meanings, a characteristic that can be found in much music for the *figlie di coro*, even though some of the

⁴¹⁴ See Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 9 (February 1687), 148; source no. 45 (August 1687), 183-5; and source no. 51 (September 1687), 188-9.

⁴¹⁵ Eleanor Selfridge-Field, "Juditha in Historical Perspective. Scarlatti Gasparini, Marcello, and Vivaldi," in Francesco Degrada, ed., *Vivaldi veneziano europeo* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1980): 151. Selfridge-Field argues that the key of B-flat, and presumably E-flat, were suitable for double reed instruments, which, at the time, faced many limitations of their physical construction at the time, therefore evoking the sense of longing to break free of hardship.

⁴¹⁶ Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 424.

⁴¹⁷ Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 246-7.

wind instruments, like oboes, were quite unusual for female performers at the time. Nevertheless, *Juditha triumphans* is not a standard oratorio produced for the Ospedale della Pietà. Because the Ospedale Governors commissioned this particular piece for the visit of the Saxon Elector Friedrich Augustus, and because it undoubtedly contained an allegory of the Venetian Republic's (Judith) military victory in Corfù over Ottoman forces (Holofernes), it aligns more closely to the genre of serenata than to typical oratorios at the Ospedali, as will be further demonstrated below.

After the 1717 economic crisis, oratorio production at the Ospedali Maggiori dramatically decreased. Perhaps old oratorios were still performed without the added cost of printing new libretti; yet, few records of performances between 1717 and 1740 survive today, if they happened at all. Venetian patricians, like those who governed the Ospedali, simply did not have the means to support musical performances as they had during times of prosperity, and their interests shifted elsewhere. Thus, the Ospedali Maggiori also changed direction in their musical practices. First, the Governors dismissed superfluous *maestri*, such as the positions of *maestri di strumenti* at the Pietà and the Mendicanti, held respectively by Antonio Vivaldi and Giorgio Gentili. Additionally, after the 1720s, rather than relying on local talent, they began hiring foreign composers, particularly from Naples, as well as a new type of music instructor: the *maestro di maniera*.⁴¹⁸ While the talented, older *figlie di coro* could teach music basics and tutor younger pupils on general singing and instrumental techniques, they needed new instructors and composers who could update their style of singing to match the manner of *opera seria*, which by this time had spread across the Italian peninsula and become the standard for operatic production. These new *maestri*, including the renowned Neapolitan vocal instructor Nicola Porpora, the Neapolitan-trained German composer and tenor Johann Adolf Hasse, and the Modenese opera singer Antonio Barbieri, promoted vocal styles marked by increased agility, clearly articulated virtuosity, and

⁴¹⁸ The *maestro di maniera* seems to have focused more on professional techniques of operatic singing, dramatic affect and fioritura, while the previous *maestri di solfeggio* and *maestri di canto* taught basics of diction, pitch, and interpretation of written music. Documents that describe the *maestri di maniera* are in IRE, DER G 1.48 n. 19 (1726); IRE, MEN B 6, parte 5092 (1733); and ASV, OLP Busta 652 (16 April 1733), parti sciolti.

expressive codes derived from opera, teaching the *figlie di coro* how to perform elaborate fioritura with increased operatic drama.⁴¹⁹

In addition to these new instructors, the Ospedali also accepted additional young Venetian women over the age of twelve from outside the institution to become *figlie di coro* and contribute to the new style of singing, such as Teresa Turchetta (mentioned in Chapter Two). Turchetta was followed by several other acceptances at the Mendicanti, including Maria Maddalena Gambarà, her sister Anzola Gambarà, Caterina Visentini, and Vittoria Capovilla, who were all over the usual age restriction and had musical training in their youth outside of the Ospedale. The acceptance of these externally trained girls and the renewal of the *coro* continued into the 1730s. At the Incurabili, for instance, during the tenure of Nicola Porpora (*maestro di coro*, 1726-33), the names of soloists that appeared on oratorio libretti changed to feature top *figlie di coro* known as Emilia Cedroni, Cattarina Licini, Maria Teresa Tagliavacca, Elisabetta Mantovani, among others. These *figlie* continued to sing as the soloists for oratorios and motets for decades. The musical instruction and practices at the Ospedali Maggiori were truly ramping up to again attract esteemed guests with modern, virtuosic, and operatic productions of oratorios after the short downturn.

The two extant oratorios of Johann Adolf Hasse (*maestro di coro*, Incurabili, 1735-7, 1738-9) demonstrate the Ospedali Maggiori's musical style of this period. Typical of many oratorios performed at the Ospedali, both of these pieces served as introductions to settings of Psalm 50 *Miserere* during the period of Lent. Rather than ending with the usual choral number or other show-finishing ensemble piece, these oratorios conclude with recitatives that lead directly into the performance of a *Miserere*. They are also fully immersed in the style of *opera seria*, with clear literary forms in the libretto that lend themselves to alternating recitatives and arias, as well as a few duets or trios. From the compositions, it is evident that Hasse was an expert vocalist. Rather than simply writing music that sustained the meanings

⁴¹⁹ Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 167.

of the text, like the oratorios of previous centuries, the vocal parts of Hasse also contained coloratura for its own sake and fine construction of melodies for idiomatic singing.

The first of the two oratorios, *Christus Dominus in serpente aeneo praefiguratus*, while serving as an extended metaphor for Christ's redemption, offers the Old Testament story of Moses and the Jewish people wandering through the desert in a libretto written by the Venetian patrician Bonaventura Bonomo.⁴²⁰ When the characters become disgruntled and ungrateful about their condition, an Angel appears as divine wrath and promises punishment, which comes in the form of snakes. Only after Moses is moved to pray for forgiveness are they offered reconciliation. Like so many other oratorios and motets performed at the Ospedali, the narrative promotes humility and contrition as the means to deliverance, and Hasse's musical setting reinforces this message. The piece contains typical text painting and dramatic coloring: descending intervals for the sighs of "*sospirat*" and spirited coloratura for the agitation of "*agitates*" in the murmuring and irate arias of the Jewish people and Moses, composed in flat keys; sudden, biting interjections from the orchestra when the snakes arrive; as well as a change to sharp keys in a more regal manner of dotted rhythms for the Angel's arias.⁴²¹ Additionally, the dramatic tension builds throughout the oratorio with each aria, only to be released with the calm final prayer, "Dolore pleni humi jacentes," in the pleading, calm key of E flat major, as well as with Moses's celebratory aria, "Ara excelsa ara pretiosa," with much coloratura and the bright key of E major. The concluding *Miserere* would have truly driven home the oratorio's message of the need for redemption through God's mercy a second time.

The second extant oratorio by Hasse and an unknown librettist, *Sanctus Petrus et Sancta Maria Magdalena*, similarly promoted the religious sentiments of Lent, narrating the biblical story of Peter, Joseph, Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Salome at the tomb after Christ's crucifixion. The

⁴²⁰ Scores of *Christus Dominus in serpente aeneo praefiguratus* can be found at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms 1169; Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, D. 5948; and Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 2477/D/6. The libretto, which was written by Bonaventura Bonomo, from the performance at the Incurabili is at Venice, Museo Correr, Cicogna 224.23.

⁴²¹ Lucjan Kamieński, *Die Oratorien von Johann Adolf Hasse* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1912), 45-6.

laments of the first half, in minor keys and full of chromaticisms and dramatic ornamentation of tears, complaint, and suffering, all build the drama. They climax with the aria of Joseph, “O Portenta aeterni amoris,” a crucial shift towards resignation. The characters only find their comfort in introspection, humility, and prayer. In the end, Peter requests that the three Marys and Joseph pray the *Miserere* with him, almost as if preparing or beckoning the audience to join them in the concluding liturgical number.

As this oratorio exhibits the female characters of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary, however, Hasse also included appropriate musical settings to represent the positive examples of these virtuous and holy women. Typical of eighteenth-century compositional styles, the audience could identify the nature of each character through attributes of their melodic construction and accompaniment; while emotions may change, the underlying quality remained consistent. For instance, while Peter’s lament aria, “Mea Tornamenta, Properate!,” is full of unrestrained emotion displayed through large leaps, quick rhythms, extensive coloratura, and ornamentation, Mary Magdalene’s following lament aria, “Amor meus in cruce languet” is much calmer, with restrained and lyrical melody that moves in steps and long held notes. As composer and musicologist Lucjan Kamieński has discussed, she is hardly lamenting, but is rather “tender and passive.”⁴²² Even though women at the Ospedali sung every role, the music for each character demonstrated their nature and served as examples: while Peter was one of the first leaders of the church, virile and active and powerful, Mary Magdalene must exhibit penitence and humility, following her role as prescribed in Catholic Reformation doctrine.

After the 1740s, oratorios returned to the Ospedali Maggiori at full force, with vocal virtuosity at the forefront. The hagiographic stories and allegorical characters that had been popular in the earlier decades completely disappeared, with plots instead focusing primarily on Old Testament characters, written in the common eighteenth-century style of librettist Pietro Metastasio. These oratorios, however, still regularly featured female characters, such as Mary Magdalene, who could serve as an example of feminine virtue to the female wards and their audiences. While the Ospedali’s later oratorio repertoire

⁴²² Kamieński, *Die Oratorien*, 53-4. “zarter und passiver.”

included the Old Testament stories of Abraham, David, Solomon, and other male figures, the most frequent plots centered on women who portrayed unwavering faith, humility, and loyalty: Judith, Deborah, Abigail, Esther, Rachel, and Ruth.⁴²³ These paraliturgical performances continued until the decline of the Ospedali Maggiori at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.

The performance conventions for liturgical and paraliturgical music at the Ospedali Maggiori further contributed to the spiritual nature of these genres. Every Saturday and Sunday, as well as Friday afternoons of Lent and other special holidays, such as Holy Week and Advent, the doors of an Ospedale's church would open to the public. Joachim Christoph Nemeitz, a German councilor and musician, described some details of the proceedings:

The music in the church at the four Ospedali, the Pietà, the Mendicanti, the Ospedaletto, and the Incurabili, is something one does not want to miss hearing. It is made every Saturday, Sunday, and feast day; they sing about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and it lasts until a little after 6 o'clock.⁴²⁴

Following Nemeitz's description, as well as the regulations of the Ospedali's Governors, performances rarely took place after sundown; the doors to the institution were to be locked at night to protect the female wards and the pious reputations of the institutions. German polymath Johann Georg Keyßler confirmed this detail:

Every Saturday and Sunday, very fine pieces of music are performed in the churches of these hospitals, which begin about two hours before sunset; a Person gives two or three pence at such times for a chair or convenient seat.⁴²⁵

⁴²³ Arnold and Arnold, *The Oratorio in Venice*, 83-101.

⁴²⁴ Joaquim Christoph Nemeitz, *Nachlese besonderer Nachrichten von Italien, Als ein Supplement von Mission, Burnet, Addison, und andern, welche ihre in diesem Theil von Europa gethane Reisen der Naachwelt in Schrifften hinterlassen haben* (Leipzig: Joh. Friedrich Gleditsch's seel. Sohn, 1726), 60. "Die Music in den Kirchen bei den 4. Hospitalern, als alla Pietà, all'Mendicanti, all'Ospidaletto, und all'Incurabili, versaeumt man nicht gernezu hoeren. Sie wird alle Samstag, Sonn und Fest-Tage gemacht; saengt an etwan um 4. Uhr Nachmittig, und wahret bis wenig nach 6. Uhren."

⁴²⁵ Johann Georg Keyßler, *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, Italien und Lothringen* (First edition, 1740; reprint Hannover: Förster, 1751) Letter LXXVI, page 1152, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 55-6. "Alle Sonnabend und Sonntage warden in den Kirchen dieser Spitaler schone Musiten aufgefuhret, welche zwo Studen vor der Sonnen Untergang anfangen, und bis zum Ave Maria wahren. Wer dabey fißen will, giebt fu einen Stuhl oder Plaß nach Befallen etliche Sols."

As explained by Keyßler, worshipers and guests – often wealthy and noble foreign tourists or local Venetians who bypassed their own parishes for the excellent music of the Ospedali – entered the ground floor chapels for these weekly and annual religious celebrations. They each quickly found an empty pew, rented small wooden chairs called *scagni*, or filled any other space available.⁴²⁶ They would typically expect to hear *messe breve*, or short masses, just consisting of just the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo, accompanied by psalms, hymns, and antiphons appropriate to the Divine Offices and liturgical calendar. A *Magnificat* would conclude the performance of every Vespers, while psalms for Marian feasts, *Dixit Dominus*, *Laudate pueri*, *Laetatus sum*, *Nisi Dominus*, and *Lauda Jerusalem*, featured prominently in the Ospedali's celebrations.⁴²⁷ Accompanying the masses, the *figlie di coro* also frequently performed motets and oratorios, as described above, which related to the significance of the liturgy, and had been composed for particular star soloists.

Once each religious celebration was set to begin, the *figlie di coro* departed the female quarters of the Ospedale in an orderly fashion, climbed up a narrow flight of stairs at the back of the chapel, and took their places in balconies, above the crowds and behind lattice-iron screens. As explained by Englishman Edward Wright on his grand tour:

Every Sunday and Holiday there is a Performance of Musick in the Chapels of these Hospitals, Vocal and Instrumental, perform'd by the young Women of the Place; who are set in a Gallery above, and (tho' not profess'd) are hid from any distinct View of those below, by a Lattice of Iron-work. The Organ-parts, as well as those of the other Instruments, are all perform'd by the young Women.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ Cesare Vecellio Venetian artist, explained that even in 1590, “many leave the principal churches and go with much haste to their churches to hear them sing. [molti lasciano le chiese principali, e vanna con molta sollecitudine alle lor chiese, per udirle cantare].” Cesare Vecellio, *Degli habiti antice, et moderna di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice; Domian Zenaro, 1590), 148-9.

⁴²⁷ Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 209-12.

⁴²⁸ Edward Wright, *Some Observations Made in Travelling Through France, Italy, etc., in the Years 1720, 1721, and 1722*, vol. 2 (First edition, London: T. Ward and E. Wicksteed, 1730), 79-80.

Audiences, therefore, could hardly view the female musicians, similar to the concealment of nuns in convents.⁴²⁹ This concealment often caused visitors, like the Russian diplomat Peter Andreevič Tolstoy, to erroneously mistake the charitable institutions with convents and the *figlie di coro* with nuns:

In Venice there are convents where the women play the organ and other instruments, and sing so wonderfully that nowhere else in the world could I find such sweet and harmonious song. Therefore people come to Venice from all parts of the west to refresh themselves with these angelic songs, above all those of the Convent of the Incurabili.⁴³⁰

Similarly to this recollection, visitors and locals remarked regularly that the obscurity of the *figlie di coro* made the sounds of their voices and instruments seem heavenly or angelic. As the *figlie di coro* were hidden from view, positioned in balconies high above the audiences, the acoustics of the churches – especially after the remodels of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – caused the higher-pitched female voices and string-dominant instrumental music to sound as if floating down from the heavens.⁴³¹

Francesco Coli, the author of the first series of *Pallade Veneta*, while describing a performance that included a solo motet sung by a *figlia di coro* named Fiorentina, confirmed that this angelic association was the general consensus of “everyone” in Venice in the late seventeenth century:

Here [at the Incurabili] on the eve of the feastday of the Transfiguration, a Vespers and Mass in music are sung on the same day, with so much satisfaction that everyone in the city talks about them and cannot satiate themselves enough in praising of those virgins and commending them as angels in Paradise.⁴³²

Coli, in over a year’s worth of entries in *Pallade Veneta*, repeatedly referred to the *figlie di coro* as angelic. In September 1687, he described a performance in which the crowd that gathered to hear a

⁴²⁹ Jonathan Glixon provides a depiction of the typical physical layout for a Venetian nunnery. In the churches of every nunnery, the nuns would not enter the main body of the church, but would be shielded from the public by a screen. See Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven*, 13.

⁴³⁰ Peter Andreevič Tolstoy, “Commentary” in Walter Kolneder, *Antonio Vivaldi: His life and work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 100, as translated in Berdes and Whitemore, 48. Tolstoy visited the Ospedale in 1698.

⁴³¹ Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and space in Renaissance Venice: architecture, music, acoustics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 181.

⁴³² Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 39 (August 1687), 180. “Quivi si canto un vespro la vigilia della Trasfigurazione et una messa l’istesso di in musica con tanta satisfatione che tuttavia la città ne discorre né può satiarsi di lodar quelle vergini et encomiarle come angeli di paradiso.”

performance at the Pietà was so large that people “jammed together on the stairways and into the upper balconies and even outside peering through the open windows.” He continued, “There are still more who, when they realized they could not get a glimpse of the musicians, were content merely to be within hearing distance of those angel musicians’ voices.”⁴³³ Again, in April of the following year, he referenced the power of the *figlie di coro*’s music to provoke celestial associations, regardless of the sentiment or style of the music: “Even though the women [at the Incurabili] were performing songs of lamentation [for the recent funeral of the late Doge Marc Antonio Giustiniani], they brought Heaven down on Earth through the musicality of their voices.”⁴³⁴

Even after Francesco Coli stopped writing the entries of *Pallade Veneta* in the eighteenth century, other authors continued to use heavenly associations when describing the performances of the *figlie*. In the series of 1701, the unknown author described a performance of an oratorio on Christmas Eve: “Those most advanced young musicians [at the Pietà] sing the above-mentioned Oratorio [*Trumphus Divinae Misericordiae*, set by Francesco Gasparini on a text by Bernardo Sandrinelli] every day, which on account of their melodiousness sounds like the Angels’ lullaby sung at the manger.”⁴³⁵ The author also affirmed that the *figlie* at the Derelitti “seemed as if they caught the echo of the angels’ Nativity hymns” for a performance of a dramatic pastoral in the end of Advent season of the same year.

These types of descriptions continued into the eighteenth century, offered by visitors from England, France, and elsewhere on the European continent. Of all the music he heard in Venice during his visit of 1739, the French writer Charles de Brosses called the music at the Ospedale “transcendent,”

⁴³³ Ibid., source no. 51 (September 1687), 188-9, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 37. “Il concorso fu così numeroso che, non potendo la chiesa capirne tanti, stavano all’intorno piene le strade et I balconi e fenestre circonvicine colme di populo desideroso di consolarsi, se non con altro, con qualche eco almeno di quelle voci di paradiso.”

⁴³⁴ Ibid., source no. 84 (April 1688), 218, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 42. “benché cantassero lamentazioni, imparadisavano con la melodia delle voci.”

⁴³⁵ Ibid., source no. 110 (24 December 1701), 223. “quelle eruditissime figlie viene ogni giorno cantato il già scritto oratorio, che sembra per la loro melodia le nenie degli angeli cantante nel presepio.”

explaining that the *figlie di coro* “sing like angels.”⁴³⁶ Two decades later in June 1757, Marie Anne Fiquet Du Boccage, a salonnière and award-winning writer from Paris, maintained the continuous perception that the metal grates caused the *figlie di coro* to remain modest and their feminine voices to sound heavenly:

We went to visit hospitals famous for their ravishing concerts which are performed by choirs of girls: the voices, the instruments, and everything relating to them, are divine; their harmonious symphonies make the vault resound and charm the ear. A grate, which has a curtain before it, conceals them from curious eyes, and gives their songs a still stronger resemblance to angelic melody.⁴³⁷

The Ospedali Maggiori’s most popular genres, as well as their performance practices, clearly contributed to the acknowledged piety of the institutions and their wards. The *figlie di coro* most often sang in Latin, hidden away from the masses, and, because they were female, they seemed like cloistered nuns in convents. They may have sung genres that had operatic characteristics, but their music was first and foremost connected to liturgical worship and Catholic doctrine. Even the time of day, before sundown, assured that the *figlie di coro* and their music were perceived as pious and moral as they instructed audiences with hagiographic and Biblical stories of the faithful or with allegories of the Sacrament of Reconciliation. More than anything, however, the positioning of the *figlie di coro* in balconies, above the audiences and behind grates to obscure the view of their bodies, protected the musicians from accusations of theatrical or immoral display, and caused their music to sound heavenly or angelic to their listeners. Nevertheless, as discussed below, these performance conventions sometimes slipped if the Ospedali Maggiori needed to fulfill their second most important need: the collection of money.

⁴³⁶ Charles de Brosses, *L’Italie il y a cent ans ou Lettres écrites d’Italie à quelques amis en 1739 et 1740*, ed. M. R. Colomb, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Levasseur, 1836), 214. “Lettre XVIII – Juin 1739 – La musique transcendante ici est celle des hopitaux... Aussi chantant-elles comme des anges, et jouent du violon, de la flute, de l’orgue, du hautbois, du violoncelle, du bassoon. [Here, the transcendent music is that of the Ospedale... Also, they sing like angels, and play the violin, the flute, the organ, the oboe, the violoncello, the bassoon.]”

⁴³⁷ Marie Anne Fiquet Du Boccage, *Letters Concerning England, Holland and Italy*, vol. 1 (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1770), 142-3, cited in Berdes and Whittemore, 73

Attracting Patronage

While the Ospedali Maggiori's Governors wanted to encourage devotion, they also needed to lure "the inclination of contributors, in order to increase the aid towards the charitable institution."⁴³⁸ Money was necessary to provide for physical needs – food, shelter, clothing – of their wards. The second purpose of musical performance at the Ospedali, therefore, was to attract patrons who could contribute to the financial upkeep of the institution. This is why much of the music described above straddled the line between religiosity and dramatic extravagance. The Ospedali Maggiori's financial upkeep necessitated that the music align with the tastes of wealthy and elite Europeans, specifically with the characteristics of *opera seria* as it spread around Italy in the eighteenth century. Additionally, the Ospedali's music – like that of *opera seria* – typically supported the worldviews of the upper echelons of Catholic European society. In hand with the spiritual edification was the idea that virtues, such as goodness and morality, emanated from the divine and those with elite blood, therefore reaffirming their right to rule.

The *figlie di coro*, as music practitioners, were the primary point of contact between the functions of the Ospedali Maggiori and larger society. Their musical performances were the most visible public-facing aspect of the four charitable homes, while other works performed by the institutions' women were largely kept behind doors. Therefore, the musical skills of the *figlie di coro*, as well as the rare and awe-inspiring attribute of their gender, consequently served as one of the few means of sustaining the institutions' economies and public reputations. Rather than earning small sums from material crafts and manual labor like the *figlie di comun* or *operarie*, the *figlie di coro* could attract wealthy, music-loving, and thrill-seeking patrons who offered large donations and legacies that could last generations.⁴³⁹ Thus, performance conventions at the Ospedali Maggiori tended to serve the tastes and needs of these few wealthy or prestigious patrons, rather than the common masses.

⁴³⁸ *Capitoli [...] Pietà*, Capitolo III, 17-18. "allettere [...] il genio de concorrenti, & accrescere li benefizi verso il povero Luoco."

⁴³⁹ For a full discussion of patronage and philanthropy towards the Ospedali Maggiori, see Caroline Giron-Panel, *Musique et musiciennes à Venise: histoire sociale des ospedali* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015), 138-168.

It is no surprise that Francesco Coli, the original author of the Venetian periodical *Pallade Veneta*, focused so much on the music at the Ospedali Maggiori in the 1687 issues, as both his journal and the music at the charitable institutions were catered to the interests of elite Europeans.⁴⁴⁰ From *Pallade Veneta*'s records, it is known that, in the late seventeenth century, the *figlie di coro* were visited by individuals who were intrigued by their musical abilities and donated large sums of money. In February 1687, for instance, the Elector of Bavaria Maximilian II Emanuel, with numerous courtiers, visited the Ospedali Maggiori to hear music. After enjoying Carnevale during the week before Fat Thursday, going to feasts, gambling, and walking around the streets in masks with the Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Viennese Field Marshal Leopold Philip Montecuccoli, and others of such rank, the Elector's entourage visited the Ospedale degl'Incurabili. They entered the church, in which the *figlie di coro* stood in balconies that hung from either side of the oval-shaped nave, and they heard the performance of an oratorio, possibly *Maria Maddalena* or *Il trionfo dell'innocenza* by Carlo Pallavicino.⁴⁴¹ To demonstrate how pleased he was with the performance, the Elector gifted fifty *ungheri*, presumably gold or silver Austrian-Hungarian coins, to the *figlie di coro*, a sum that was considered very great and generous.⁴⁴² From accounts of other visitors, it is likely that some wards or servants also paced around the church during the performance, carrying small donation purses, in which the numerous royal guests could deposit money.⁴⁴³ The Ospedale therefore not only earned a donation from the Elector, but also from his entourage and others who admired the *figlie di coro* and their music.

⁴⁴⁰ *Pallade Veneta* also centered quite a bit on the works of Venetian convents, not surprisingly, as these religious monasteries contained primarily patrician and upper-class women. See Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, 37, in which the author states that the readership was conceived for those who "took some interest in the affairs of persons of high birth or great merit."

⁴⁴¹ Arnold and Arnold, *Oratorio*, 83.

⁴⁴² Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 9 (February 1687), 148-9.

⁴⁴³ Although it is from several decades later, Martin Folkes, a Fellow and later President of the Royal Society, "went... to hear the music of the girls of the Incurabili, here are said to be some of the best performances and voices in Italy, one the call Isabella was most admired when I was there, they sat in a gallery guarded from sight by wires, and all who please come into the church to hear, paying 2 sol[di] to a man who brings a chair, there is also a purse carried about for charity to which any one gives or not as he pleases." Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oxford Rawlinson MSS C. 799 (21 June 1733), f. 162v-63, as transcribed in Arnold, *Oratorios*, 66.

Maximilian Emanuel also visited the Ospedali dei Derelitti and Mendicanti later in the month, during the season of Lent. The fantastic events of Carnevale had ended, and the opera theaters had closed. Thus, the Ospedali Maggiori became important locations of entertainment for the rest of the Elector's visit. *Pallade Veneta* reported that the noble patron further demonstrated his generosity and valor by donating to these two institutions as well. At the Derelitti, he was particularly impressed by the *figlia di coro* named Angela Vicentina, who sang solo motets, and he gifted her money, an act that exhibited the nobility and courtesy of his rank.⁴⁴⁴ At the Mendicanti, another large donation to the musicians also served to demonstrate the rightness of the established social hierarchy. Virtue, honor, and, correspondingly, money issued from those in power to those who served. As stated in *Pallade Veneta*, "Those virtuous maidens earned high praise from His Highness who bestowed his largesse upon them in a manner reflecting his generous spirit as well as his high-born rank."⁴⁴⁵

Another attendance of a special guest occurred on the first Friday of March 1688, when the Grand Prince of Tuscany Ferdinando de' Medici visited the Ospedale della Pietà for Compline. However, after the evening service, he informed the Ospedale's Governors that he wanted to hear more music from the *figlie di coro* in a private concert. Venetian nobleman Giovanni Giustinian, current Governor of the Pietà and brother of the doge Marcantonio Giustinian, immediately ordered that the chapel be prepared for the prince. They rapidly adorned the walls with decorative tapestries, cleared the floor of all the pews, laid out fine carpets, placed ornate chairs in which he could sit, and otherwise made the church appropriate for the private audience of an Italian prince. *Pallade Veneta* reported that "a superb setup was prepared for his most Serene Highness, if not due to great merit, at least for the brief time available [for carrying out

⁴⁴⁴ In the records of Angela Vicentina, her name is occasionally spelled as Visentina. Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 16 (February 1687), 155. "per farsi conoscere un Giove nelle cortesie, diluviò nel seno di questa castissima Danae una pioggia d'oro."

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, source number 21 (February 1687), 161, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 34. "si fecero quelle virtuose fanciulle lodare sommamente da quest'Altezza Sua dalle quale fur[o]no largamente regalate, mostrando uguale la generosità de lo spirito all'alta sua nascita."

these tasks], which could be measured in moments.”⁴⁴⁶ The prince’s entire retinue, as well as several Venetian patricians, accompanied him back into the chapel once it was ready. The doors were closed behind them, so as not to let itinerants wander in, and the *figlie di coro* descended from the choir lofts to the floor of the church, right in front of the guests. They sang *Santa Maria Egiziaca Penitente*, an oratorio, which had been so popular that it was repeated for several months, composed by Giacomo Spada on Bernardo Sandrinelli’s text. Along with an instrumental orchestra, six vocalists stood forward as the soloists for the work: the contralto Lucretia in the titular role of Saint Mary of Egypt, Prudenza and the soprano Barbara as angels, the tenor Paolina as the allegorical character of Penitence, Lucietta fulfilled the part of *testo* or narrator, and, one of the most successful *figlie* of the time, Francesca both sang and played the theorbo and lute. Although no score survives today, Francesco Coli wrote in *Pallade Veneta* that he believed Spada’s music seemed influenced by the famed Venetian opera composer Francesco Cavalli and the virtuoso keyboardist Girolamo Frescobaldi, “particularly in the manner in which he unites vocal and instrumental parts.”⁴⁴⁷ The performance, therefore, must have been quite operatic and virtuosic, with quality counterpoint and harmonies between voices and instruments.

The concert did not simply end with the oratorio performance. The prince was so pleased that he asked for several encores. Some of the *figlie* sang short arias for him, likely from their solo motets or other oratorios, but then Francesca stepped forward with her lute and played *ricercate*, that is, improvised instrumental solos over ground bass patterns. Although only about twenty years old, she had mastered this skill, as she had performed on the lute publicly several times before as *intermezzi* to previous oratorio performances. Their special guest was delighted to be so close to the talented women, especially the young “Franceschina,” as she was called. *Pallade Veneta* recounted, “He was so overcome that he

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., source no. 75 (March 1688), 211. “si preparò superbo apparecchio per quell’Altezza Serenissima se non in ordine al merito grande, almeno in ordine alla strettezza del tempo, che consisteva in momenti.”

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., source no. 45 (August 1687), 183-5, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 36. “né a quanti di più bizzarri hanno unito voci alle corde.”

persuaded her to repeat the same pieces, and he praised her shaping of the music and her execution.”⁴⁴⁸

Before being escorted to his gondola, waiting for him right outside the church, the Medici prince left monetary gifts to each individual *coro* member, including the instrumentalists.

It is not certain whether this money was collected for the Ospedale’s treasury, although it is more likely the *figlie di coro* were able to keep it for themselves, as many *figlie di coro* saved up quite a bit of income from donations such as this.⁴⁴⁹ Either way, the appeal of performances like this helped sustain the functioning of the institution into the future. The *coro* created its own self subsistence, with the musical *figlie* not needing to rely on other charity from the Venetian Governors for their sustenance. In fact, only two months later in May 1688, the Governors were so content with the financial situation, and how successful the performances had been recently, that they made a decree ensuring the *maestro di coro* Giacomo Spada would receive one third of the profit made from selling *scagni* at performances, while the other two thirds would be split between the *figlie di coro* and other female wards who held important offices, like the *Priora*.⁴⁵⁰ This allowed the *figlie* to truly become financially independent. Francesca, for example, saved up enough money from her musical work that, by the year 1690, she deposited three hundred ducats at 4% annuity into the Ospedale’s treasury for safekeeping.⁴⁵¹ She continued to deposit her income over the years, until 1709, when she wrote a letter to the Congregation:

The sum of 3500 ducats were sent to this Pious Congregation by me Francesca dalla Tiorba, *figlia* of this Charitable Institution... I am seeking that the Congregation commands that one hundred ducats be returned to me from the body of this capital.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 75 (March 1688), 211, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, 41. “a segno tale che la necessità a ripetere l’istesse fughe e la lodò con modi e forme particolari.”

⁴⁴⁹ See the discussion of Francesca below. The records of the Ospedale dei Mendicani in ASV OLP also reveal several *figlie di coro* who deposited money into the institution’s treasure for safekeeping.

⁴⁵⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 687, Not. D (9 May 1688), 54-5.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., (10 December 1690), 137-8.

⁴⁵² ASV, OLP Busta 686, Not H (18 August 1709), 79. “Furono... essebiti a livello francabile a questa Pia Congregazione da me Francesca dalla Tiorba figlia di questo Pio Luoco la summa de ducatti tre mille cinque cento... ricerco che da questa Congregazione venghi comandato che mi siino del corpo de capitali medesimi restituiti ducatti cento.”

With three and a half thousand ducats, a sum that exceeded over a decade of salary for most professional male *maestri di coro*, she had truly become quite wealthy for an orphaned ward of a charitable institution.⁴⁵³

More clear evidence of the financial benefits of exhibiting the female musicians appear in the Ospedale della Pietà's records particularly in the 1720s, shortly after Venice and the Ospedali's first large economic downturn. The extremely skilled women were distinctive, and many tourists craved not only to hear, but also to see the mysterious and "angelic" women. So, the Ospedale Governors began approving more and more private visits for influential and powerful guests who yearned to glimpse the musical women. The first record of the Governors creating regulations for approving foreign visitors to both hear and see the *figlie di coro* occurred in April 1723, when they wanted "to introduce foreign and worthy subjects to [the areas of the Ospedale] where the same *figlie* are found, in order to give them some musical diversions and virtuous entertainment."⁴⁵⁴ For the first time, clearly stated, they violated their own previous regulations of 4 January 1698 and 25 August 1709, which stated that no man, except for the Governors themselves and some workers under certain conditions, could enter the sections of the institution where women lived. Like the prince of Tuscany before, the most wealthy and prestigious visitors, whom were often expected to offer financial donations per customs of noble generosity, could therefore bypass the Ospedali's protocols of the *figlie di coro*'s cloister.

Although the music for the permitted occasion in 1723 is unknown, a score from the visit of a special guest exists from three years later, when Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, a native Venetian and vice-chancellor of the Papal court, returned to his fatherland. He had been exiled from Venice starting in 1712 for breaking a law that forbade Venetian aristocrats from assuming public positions on behalf of foreign

⁴⁵³ The *maestri di coro* at the Ospedali Maggiori typically earned between 100 to 400 ducats annually, with salaries increasing over the decades from 1670 to 1770. See Berdes and Whittmore, *A Guide to Ospedali Research*, 715-7. At the time of Francesca's request, the *maestro di coro* of the Pietà was making 200 ducats annually.

⁴⁵⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 691, Not. N1 (30 April 1723), 169-70. See also, Busta 689 Not. H (25 August 1709), 83-84; and Busta 688 Not. F (4 January 1688/9), 185-188.

powers, and he was only able to return after obtaining pardon in 1726.⁴⁵⁵ The Ospedale della Pietà was a fitting setting for Ottoboni's homage, not only because he was a well-known patron of music and the arts, but also because his father had been a Governor of the charitable institution from 1702 to 1710. The Venetian Senate could therefore readily employ the available musical ensembles to honor the return of this prestigious Venetian man; no new musicians needed to be hired, and little preparation was necessary. The *figlie di coro* were prepared to perform at a moment's notice and could do so with professional-level musicianship and flair.

The musical work they performed for Ottoboni was a serenata – a secular genre similar to the baroque chamber cantata, but most often associated with a special occasion, festival, or individual for which it was performed – titled *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (The Portrait of the Hero), with Italian text by Domenico Lalli and music by Giovanni Porta.⁴⁵⁶ This genre was the most suitable for honoring a special guest at the Ospedale, as it featured stationary performers who often read directly from the music, allowing for more showy or complex musical techniques that aligned with the genre's celebratory or eulogistic nature. Additionally, *Il ritratto dell'eroe* featured many characteristics similar to Antonio Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans*: allegories that highlight the glories of the Venetian Republic, melodic figures of rapid scales, arpeggios, and large interval leaps that seem idiomatic to instrumental writing, as well as a variety of instrumental colors and textures that reinforced the dramatic narrative. These musical characteristics were not specific to any one work, but common to much music at the Ospedali Maggiori, and especially at the Pietà, in the first few decades of the eighteenth century.⁴⁵⁷ Without acting or staging accompanying the music, composers could tap into the diverse instrumental training of the *figlie di coro* to enhance the portrayal and meaning of the drama. Thus, it is not surprising that *Il ritratto dell'eroe*, which dramatizes a scene between the Olympian deity Apollo and several conventionally-female

⁴⁵⁵ Maccavino and Battista, “*Il Ritratto dell'Eroe*”, 346, 351.

⁴⁵⁶ The score of this serenata, which was originally misattributed to Leonardo Vinci, is found in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Slg Lansberg 280a.

⁴⁵⁷ Maccavino and Battista, “*Il Ritratto dell'Eroe*”, 369-70.

allegorical Virtues (Science, Prudence, Morality, and Poetry) together attempting to paint an image of an ideally perfect subject, features diverse instrument choices, including mandolins, *viola d'amore*, *viola all'inglese*, lute, and oboe.

Like Vivaldi's extant oratorio, Porta's composition starts with a chorus number, but not simply for one choral ensemble. Instead, *Il ritratto dell'eroe* began with a polychoral piece that featured both a Choir of Virtues, sung by a small group of soloists, and a Choir of Muses, the full ensemble of singing *figlie di coro*. By opening with a polychoral number – an older performance texture that remained popular at the Ospedali throughout the eighteenth century – the sounds of the musicians aimed to impress and awe their audience. Additionally, this choral number prepared the sentiment for the rest of the work with the following text, sung by the Choir of Virtues:

Col bel lume ad uscìr fuora,
Ch'è sì vago, e il Mondo indora,
A che Apollo ei tarda ancor?
[...]
Ancor lieti, e garruletti
Già comincian gli Augelletti,
A cantar solo in suo onor.

To go outside with the beautiful light,
which is so lovely, and gilds the world,
so why is Apollo still late?
[...]
Still happy and chirping,
the little birds are already beginning
to sing only in his honor.

The greatness of Venice and Cardinal Ottoboni are evoked through lyrics that describe the beautiful, gilded world around them (“è sì vago, e il mondo indora”), likely referencing particular known fineries of Venice. Although the chorus's text literally states that the singers are paying homage to Apollo (“*Noi siamo qui per dar l'omaggio del suo volto al chiaro raggio*”), the underlying meaning surely suggests that they were also singing to honor their special guest Cardinal Ottoboni. The little birds, happy and chirping (“*lieti, e garruletti già comincian gli augelletti*”), represented musically by a trilling violin on a high a’, may have been symbolic of the singing *figlie di coro* themselves, while the divine nature of Apollo parallels the characterized persona of Ottoboni. The final line of the first stanza, which asked, “Why is Apollo still late?” (*A che Apollo ei tarda ancor?*), could even easily allude the fact that Ottoboni was away, banished from Venice, for years, and Venetians were excited at his return.

As is typical for the genre of serenatas of the time, only hints emerge of Ottoboni as the ideal subject in this beginning.⁴⁵⁸ At the end of the serenata, however, the final recitative performed by the character of Apollo, clearly indicates Pietro Ottoboni as the great subject central to the musical work, equal to deities like himself. Apollo asks the Virtues and audience to direct their gaze to the “ever-unconquered Empire that rises from the Adriatic (*dove s’inalza dell’adria eccelsa il sempre invitto Impero*).” He explains that the subject was born there, among the Adriatic Gods, and then he became greater for his merits, presumably when he left Venice for Rome and took the robes of a cardinal. The recitative, in fact, poignantly mentions the purple of the cardinals, a color referenced throughout the work’s arias. Apollo ends the recitative by declaring, “He now returns for a few brief moments to the Fatherland, to see the beautiful happy spirit and the innocent liberty of his beloved shores again (*Al Patrio Suolo brevi momenti or riede, a rivedere delli amati suoi lidi, il bel genio felice, la libertà innocente*).”

The central text and music of *Il ritratto dell’eroe* also sustained this celebration of Venice and their elite guest, especially within three arias originally sung by the star soprano *figlia di coro* Apollonia, performing the role of the god Apollo. These three arias are “Presso a quell’onde,” which ends the first part of the serenata; “D’Elicona, o amate Dive,” which begins the second part; and “Per unir le Semianze,” which is the final aria before the concluding recitative and chorus number. (See Appendix III.) These numbers, placed at key moments of the drama and performed by an especially famous *figlia*, may have cause the audience to more likely pay full attention. In fact, in 1726, the same year as the performance of *Il ritratto dell’eroe*, the German councilor Joachim Christoph Nemeitz stated that, at the time, Apollonia was “especially famous because of her singing” among the musicians of the Pietà.⁴⁵⁹ Her three arias outline the important points of the serenata with echoes of the same sentiment that was offered in the opening choral number: celebrating the glory of Venice and recognizing the honor and greatness of Carlo Ottoboni, while reaffirming the music of the *figlie di coro* as the means to do so.

⁴⁵⁸ Michael Talbot, “The Serenata in Eighteenth-Century Venice,” *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1982): 10.

⁴⁵⁹ Nemeitz, 424-5. “Sonderlich sind dermahlen wegen des Singens daselbst beruehmt die Polonia.”

“Presso a quell’onde,” for instance, calls for its listeners to notice the greatness of Venice. After several recitatives and arias in which the desires of the allegorical Virtues and their characterization are introduced, Apollo chooses the river of Helicon as the site for them to paint the divine image. The location selected in the dramatic narrative echoed that of serene city on the water, with lyrics in Apollo’s aria stating:

Presso a quell’Onde	My beloved Goddesses,
Che son feconde,	direct your feet
Di belle Glorie	near those waves
Più assai che d’acqua,	that are more fertile
Mie Dive amate	with beautiful glories
Volgete il piè.	than the waters.

An orchestral introduction evokes this image through the instrumentation, first with leaping octaves that sound like a fanfare call and then with descending scalar runs and ascending arpeggios that conjure waves. With the assurance of Apollonia’s high levels of skill, the violins, unlike in many other arias of this piece, do not parallel the vocal line, but instead they continue to add wave-like arpeggios and runs in counterpoint with the voice throughout the first stanza, depicting the text. The vocal line copies the melodic waves on a reprisal of the first lines of text, and then continues into the second stanza:

Colà godrete	There you will enjoy
Dolce quiete,	sweet quiet,
Mentre l’Immagine.	while you form for me
Mi formerete,	the Image
Di questo Nume	of this God
Che piace a me.	who pleases me.

Here, “this god” is a reference to Ottoboni, who, as it becomes apparent later in the serenata, is greater than any image the Virtues are able to create.

Apollo’s next aria, “D’Elicona o amate,” at the beginning of the second half of the serenata and immediately after a pause, possibly for refreshments or *intermezzi*, then promotes the rightness of the established social hierarchy, with elite-born individuals related to the divine, while they issue honor, generosity, kindness, morality and other noble virtues to those around them. As Eleanor Selfridge-Field has justified, in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, “music was one evidence of the glory of the

existing social order, one star in the diadem of power.”⁴⁶⁰ In this aria, in particular, the instrumental color and the tonal centers are employed to conjure sentiments of nobility and steadfastness. “D’Elicona o amate” first features the *viola d’amore*, the same instrument that Vivaldi used for Judith’s plea for mercy and her characterization as an allegory for the Serene Republic in *Juditha triumphans*. The instrument’s line echoed the voice of Apollonia in the role of Apollo, particularly on the word “*risuonar*,” when the voice and the instrument call and respond with each other. Additionally, this aria is unique among all the other arias as the only one to begin in a minor key, the flat key of D minor, with a B section in both B-flat major and A minor. These flat keys may suggest tender emotions – deep sincerity, rather than sorrow – reflecting the text that describes pleasant shores in which birds resound the names of deity:

D’Elicona, o amate Dive,
 Queste son l’amene rive,
 Dove i Cigni il nome mio,
 Fan d’intorno risuonar.

These are the pleasant shores
 of Helicon, O beloved Deities,
 where the Swans cause
 my name to resound all about.

In this line of text, the swans (*cigni*) could simply evoke Venetians – in symbols of glory, respected old age, and tranquil navigators of waters – or the *figlie di coro* themselves – as the consecrated bird of Apollo and his muses – again singing for the glories of Venice. The major mode only appears in the second stanza:

Quella è poi⁴⁶¹ la verde Fronde,
 Che bagnata ognor dall’Onde,
 S’alza incontro al cupo Oblio,
 E di lui sà trionfar.

That is also the verdant branch,
 which always bathed by the waves,
 rising against the somber oblivion
 and it knows how to triumph over it.

Ending with the word “*trionfar*,” this aria presents a metaphor for Ottoboni as a verdant branch (*la verde Fronde*) of Venetian blood, and therefore “of the waves (*dall’Onde*),” triumphing over his previous banishment. Just as Vivaldi’s Judith sang to the *viola d’amore* for mercy from Holofernes, Apollo’s aria with *viola d’amore* demonstrates the mercy that the Venetian Republic offered to Ottoboni.

⁴⁶⁰ Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, 56.

⁴⁶¹ The text in the printed libretto reads, “Quella è pur.”

Following this opening of the second part, each Virtue sings her own aria about what she personally realizes in the image of their hero. They venerate lofty virtues, particularly clemency, honor, charity, and steadfastness, as aspects that the noble Ottoboni embodies. Then, Apollo, in the aria “Per unir le sembianze,” expresses a final praise of Ottoboni’s greatness:

Per unir le Sembianze sì belle,	Even the Stars, who paint the Appearance of Heaven,
Nol potrebber nemeno le Stelle,	could not unite
Che dipingon del Cielo il Sembiente.	his so beautiful features.
Perchè gli Astri in veder questo Nume,	Because, in seeing this God,
Perderebbero affatto ogni lume,	the Stars would absolutely lose every light,
Come fanno al mio raggio dinante.	as they do before my brilliance.

The praise of Ottoboni is clearly revealed and undoubtedly associated with the divine, confirmed with the timbre of the *viola all’inglese*. This was a perfect instrument to evoke the celestial, similarly to how the *viola all’inglese* accompanied Judith’s final prayer before slaying Holofernes in Vivaldi’s *Juditha triumphans*. The instrument, thought to be equivalent to the viol, was often used in Italian convents, so perhaps carried an association to feminine piety and devotion.⁴⁶² Additionally, while the *viola all’inglese* plays its solo lines in this aria, the viola and bass instrumentation drop out, leaving the upper string instruments to carry the bass line in a higher, more lofty register. As in the oratorios above, the instrumental color and orchestration, for which the Pietà was renowned, were used for bolstering underlying significances of the work. Although, in the serenata, the message praises the glories of Venice and an important political figure rather than religious ideals.⁴⁶³

Within the same decade of the performance of *Il ritratto dell’eroe*, the Governors of the Ospedali Maggiori increasingly permitted guests to have private entertainment from the *figlie di coro*. Perhaps the

⁴⁶² Michael Talbot claims that the “soft reediness” of this instrument “draws attention to the heroine’s fragile femininity.” See Michael Talbot, “Vivaldi and the English Viol,” *Early Music* 30, no. 3 (2002): 385.

⁴⁶³ Even an aria that described man’s “base origins (*base origin*)” utilized an appropriate instrumental color in *Il ritratto dell’eroe*. “Far che l’uom,” sung by the allegorical Virtue Prudenza, was scored with oboe. The sound of the oboe carried quite a bit of significance, usually associated with war as a military instrument, baseness or strangeness as an instrument that came from the Islamic East, or rusticity as it was used in French orchestras. Venice boasted a richness of oboe playing, particularly at the Pietà, where Ignazio Rion, Onofrio Penati, and Ludwig Erdmann taught the instrument. For the Ospedali musicians, the oboe served as a solo instrument, equal and often related to the violin. The oboe in this aria was an excellent choice to emphasize significance of the text “let man see all his defects in his own affections (*far che l’uom nei propii affetti tutti I vegga I suoi difetti*).”

waning financial situation of the Ospedali after 1717 bolstered the need to expand benefactors' access to these female musicians. In December 1723, for instance, Roman Prince Camillo I Borghese, and his recently betrothed wife Agnese Colonna, came to Venice and were allowed to visit the women of the Pietà for "some virtuous entertainment of music," which may have consisted of individual motets or arias, instrumental genres, or a even full oratorio performance.⁴⁶⁴ The Governors who supervised the *figlie* and the *coro* were charged with meeting at the door of the institution to assist the royal guests and their entire consorts, and to ensure "that everything proceeds without any inconvenience."⁴⁶⁵ Then, in 1725, a Sicilian nobleman named as Casani, Prince of Amilino, was allowed to enter the Ospedale under similar conditions.⁴⁶⁶ In 1727 and 1728, the number of visits greatly increased, including private musical performances given to a Venetian Colonel Arach, a noblewoman of the Genovese Grimaldi family, a noblewoman in the family of Marquis Luigi Bentivoglio of Aragon, and a Milanese noblewoman of the illustrious Archinto family.⁴⁶⁷ Even more guests visited in 1729, when the Governors noted that, "In the course of the past Carnevale and in the first days of the next Lent, foreign Ladies and Gentlemen desired to be brought into this Charitable Institution to enjoy the virtues of our *figlie*."⁴⁶⁸ These numerous unnamed guest were welcomed by the Governors unanimously. Then, between 1733 and 1740, eleven instances of allowing guests to enter the women's part of the Ospedale to hear them perform music occurred. Some of these guests included the current Doge Alvise Pisani, an Italian duke, a princess of the noble Milanese Melzi family, and the Venetian noblewoman Pisana Corner Mocenigo.⁴⁶⁹ These visits were all part of the growing popularity of the *figlie di coro* and their musical performances with elite

⁴⁶⁴ "qualche virtuoso trattenimento di musica." ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N1 (3 December 1723), 208-9.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid. "onde il tutto proceda senza alcun inconvenienza."

⁴⁶⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N2 (15 May 1725), 66. The script of many of these documents makes it very difficult to determine the names of these visitors, and the identity cannot be confirmed.

⁴⁶⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. O (15 September 1727), 118v; (3 October 1727), 120-120v; (23 January 1727/8), 132; (14 May 1728), 156.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., (28 January 1728/9), 192v. "Potendo succeder che nel corso del passate carnevale o li primi della quadragesima fosse desiderato da dame, e cavalieri esteri di esser introdotti in questo pio loco per godere delle virtu di queste nostre figlie."

⁴⁶⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (24 January 1734/5), 88v; (13 January 1735/6), 136; (21 January 1736), 171; Busta 692 Not. R (6 March 1739), 45.

Europeans. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Governors increasingly approved events and music that might sway and please foreign patrons. This reached a pinnacle in 1740, when the *figlie* performed for the heir of Saxony Frederick Christian, as described in the following section.

State Operations

Because the Ospedali Maggiori were run by Venetian patricians, who also served in offices of the local government, the music of the *figlie di coro* not only benefited the religious and financial positions of the institutions themselves, but could also further larger political needs of the state. Venice, which was governed by an oligarchy of patrician families, did not have a royal court like those of the Grand Duke of Tuscany or the Hapsburg Empire, so did not employ official court musicians. Instead, ruling Venetians relied on local institutions, such as parish churches, *scuole grandi*, public theaters, or the Ospedali Maggiori, to fulfill the proper musical obligations of an early modern governing class. The church of San Marco, as a chapel for chiefly the Doge's religious services, was not always a suitable location for special stately events, but the Ospedale della Pietà, similarly under the Doge's jurisdiction, in such close vicinity to the Doge's palace, and with Governors that often also served in the Venetian Senate, retained musical ensembles that these men could effortlessly employ as an unofficial entertainment arm of state operations.⁴⁷⁰ Thus, throughout the history of the Ospedali Maggiori, the *figlie di coro* performed for occasions of state importance, such as visits of foreign dignitaries, celebrations of political and military victories, and memorials for deceased Venetian rulers.

Giovanni Porta's *Il ritratto dell'eroe* is a key example of a musical work for an esteemed political figure, and Antonio Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans* is still the best known politically-related event at the Ospedali Maggiori due to its allegorical drama of the Venetian Republic's recent victory in Corfù. Yet another surviving score, newly transcribed in a modern critical edition, demonstrates that the Governors of the Ospedale dei Mendicanti also employed their all-female ensembles for political maneuvering for

⁴⁷⁰ Christine Scippa Bhasin, "Nuns on Stage in Counter-Reformation Venice (1570-1750)." Northwestern University, PhD Dissertation (2012), 103.

decades.⁴⁷¹ Following the performance of *Il coro delle muse* at the Ospedale della Pietà, which was described in the introduction above, over six hundred noble Venetians and foreigners then made their way by foot and boat to the Ospedale di San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti a few weeks later on the evening of 4 April 1740.⁴⁷² These patrician guests anticipated another extravagant spectacle within the charitable institution. Numerous candles magnificently illuminated the room, and expensive crimson velvet with gold lace draped the furnishings. In the center of the room, a baldachin-adorned throne awaited the special guest: the future Prince-Elector of Saxony Frederick Christian, who visited Venice for several months on a coming-of-age tour.⁴⁷³ The evening's entertainment was the premier of *Le muse in gara*, a serenata by Pietro Domenico Paradies on text by Giacomo de Belli, composed to honor the eighteen-year-old Frederick Christian.

Le muse in gara (The Muses in Contest) features properties typical of eighteenth-century serenatas and the music of the Ospedali, including Arcadian devices, alternating recitatives and arias, extremely virtuosic solo lines, and orchestration that supports the drama. Its narrative presents a *gara* or contest between the muses on how to correctly honor a hero. However, its music and text also follow the Ospedali prerequisites of enticing moral virtues and promoting elite tastes, with a notably added political message. Indeed, throughout the eighteenth century, the works performed by the *figlie* often included social and political frameworks that were significant within the culture of Venice. One common design was the reinforcement of the long-standing “Myths of Venice” – the intricately cultivated civic and commercial images of the city and its government as variously free, balanced, just, pure, cultured, and

⁴⁷¹ Tonelli, ed., *Domenico Paradies: Le muse in gara*. The original score is located at Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MU.MS.30.

⁴⁷² Massimo Gemin, “L’Adria Festosa per Federico Cristiano: La lunga visita,” in Giovanni Morelli, ed., *L’invenzione del gusto: Corelli e Vivaldi: Mutazioni culturali, a Roma e Venezia, nel periodo post-barocco* (Milan: Ricordi, 1982), 197.

⁴⁷³ This description is drawn from the published chronicle of Frederick Christian’s sojourn, *L’Adria Festosa: Notizie Storiche... del Soggiorno di sua Altezza Reale ed Elettorale Federico Cristiano... Ove si spiegano tutte le Funzioni Pubbliche, e Private fatte a divertimento di S.A.R. l’Anno 1740, come pure li tre Componimenti in Musica delle Figlie dei tre Pii Luoghi Pietà, Mendicanti e Incurabili* (Venice: Zuanne Occhi, 1740), 62. “Le Figlie del Pio Luogo de’ Mendicanti, quali nel loro Oratorio tutto ornato di Veluto cremese con trine d’oro, e Baldachino simile per il Principe Reale con nobilissima illuminazione di cere, e concorso di moltissimi Nobiltà Veneta, e Forastiera rappresentarono in Musica.”

overall divinely ordained.⁴⁷⁴ This propaganda of Venetian merit manifests itself, for example, in *Le muse in gara*'s first aria, "Questi mari e questi lidi," which associates the Adriatic city with both religious virtue and military power through allegories of two appropriate mythological Roman gods: Astraea, the virgin goddess of justice and innocence, and Mars, the god of war, military power, and the security of peace.⁴⁷⁵ The true political import only becomes clear at the end of the piece, by implicating the relationship between the Venetian Republic and Prince Frederick Christian's royal Saxon and Austrian families.

For the performance of *Le muse in gara*, the composer and librettist were not the main draw for the audience; the stars of the evening – beside the presiding prince – were the performing female musicians. Although at the time there were approximately forty-five women who served in the choir and orchestra, six vocalists were specially chosen to solo in *Le muse in gara*: Maria Marchi (Erato), Margarita Teresa Doglioni (Calliope), Margherita Buonafede (Euterpe), Giovanna Cedroni (Clio), Soffia Antonia Sopradaci (Apollo), and Gerolima Tava (Tersicore).⁴⁷⁶ Five of these women came to the Ospedale dei Mendicanti in their youth when the the Ospedale's Governors recognized a decline in the quality of their choir due to previous strict recruitment measures and the resulting insufficient performing forces. As they searched for new young female musicians for the *coro*, many Venetian girls and their families sought admission, and the applicants faced intense scrutiny. The girls who made it each had to demonstrate enough musical potential to pass auditions, so that, with time, they could become famed soloists and instructors, and therefore establish a lasting master-apprentice system like at the Ospedale della Pietà.

⁴⁷⁴ Ellen Rosand, "Music in the Myth of Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1977): 511. For broader discussions about Venetian self-presentation, also see Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002); and David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁴⁷⁵ In Roman mythology, Mars was also considered to be a father of the Roman people, which would clearly correlate to the myth that Roman descendants founded Venice when they fled into the lagoon from invading pagan hordes. See Arthur Cotterell, *A Dictionary of World Mythology* (Oxford University Press, 1997, published online 2003), s.v. "Mars (Europe)."

⁴⁷⁶ Gerolima Tava's baptismal certificate notes her name as Gerolama Oliva Tava. ASV, OLP Busta 652 (8 November 1733), parti sciolti. *Le muse in gara*'s libretto, however, identifies her as Gerolima Tavani and her first name is sometimes alternately spelled Hieronima.

Margarita Teresa Doglioni was one of the first girls chosen to help renew the Mendicanti's *coro*.

She entered at the age of nine in 1728, after her mother Elisabetta Ruggiera wrote to Congregation:

The unhappy state in which I find myself ... with the burden of three innocent daughters and no means to provide them necessary food, I saw fit to have recourse to the boundless piety of this Venerable Congregation [...]

As long as she [my daughter Margarita] was of a tender age, the effort of supporting her through the hardship of poverty was the biggest burden. But from here on, as she grows older, my feelings of pain and confusion swell, because for a poor mother of honorable estate a daughter becomes, when she is an adult, a subject for worry and lively distress. Her natural inclination and gift for song consoles me in light of the grace, for which I long and hope, from your charitable assent. It would cause me grave and bitter regret if it came out differently.⁴⁷⁷

Before Margarita was accepted into the Mendicanti, however, Ruggiera also needed a letter from her parish priest, who confirmed that she and her three daughters were indeed good Christians and had been abandoned by her husband.⁴⁷⁸ Finally, Margarita auditioned before Antonio Biffi, the *maestro di cappella* at San Marco and the current *maestro di coro*, who confirmed that the young girl had talent as a soprano, as well as “good intonation and a ready spirit.”⁴⁷⁹ He recommended her for training.

The next acceptances came in 1733, when the deputies over the *coro* wrote to the Congregation complaining of a continued shortage of singers to cover all the parts, as well as aging and inflexibility among the current members of the *coro*.⁴⁸⁰ They auditioned dozens of Venetian girls, only choosing four who were in their mid-teens, of honorable family background, and exhibiting exceptional musical

⁴⁷⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 651 (27 December 1728). “Lo stato infelice in cui mi attrovo [...] con il peso di tre Innocenti Figliole, senza il modo, ondo poterle più trarre di suo necessario alimento, mi fu supplichevole ricorrere all'inesausta Pietà di questa Ven. Congregatione [...] Sino a che riguardavo in essa una tenera età, lo stento onde mantenerla tra le angustia della povertà, formava tutta la mia maggiore pena, ma da qui avanti crescendo ella negl'anni, vengono in me ad accrescersi i motivi del dolore, e della confusione, mentre a una povera onorata genitrice diviene la figlia quando è adulta un'oggetta d'inquietudine, e di viva passione. La sua naturale inclinazione, e disposizione al canto se mi consola in vista della grazia, che sospiro, e che spero dalli loro caritatevoli assenti, mi riuscirebbe un motivo di grave, e forte ramarico, quando ciò succedesse diversamente.”

⁴⁷⁸ ASV, OLP Butsa 651 (9 May 1728), parti sciolti.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid. (18 September 1728).

⁴⁸⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 652 (16 April 1733), letter from the Deputati al Coro. “Non può per nostro sentimento ad altro attribuirsi, che alla mancanza delle parti, le quali deono comporlo, e à difetti di quelle, che presentem.te lo formano.”

abilities.⁴⁸¹ The first, Margherita Buonafede, auditioned for the Mendicanti's *maestri* and was unanimously praised for her perfect ear and her rare, powerful soprano voice, capable of singing resonantly and cleanly over a range of two octaves.⁴⁸² Plus, she had previous training with Francesco Brugnoli, the current *maestro di solfeggio* at the Mendicanti. The second, Giovanna Cedroni, age sixteen, had been musically trained by her widowed mother Crestina, a former pupil of the Ospedale della Pietà,⁴⁸³ and her sister Emilia was already a successful musician at the Ospedale degl'Incurabili. Confident of her potential, the Mendicanti assessors praised Giovanna's voice as surpassing her sister's in brightness, clarity, and agility. The other two, Soffia Antonia Sopradaci (contralto) and Gerolima Tava (soprano), were also accepted after Antonio Lotti, as *maestro di coro*, tested their musical abilities.⁴⁸⁴ These four, along with Margarita Doglioni, took private lessons from the *maestri* and, over the next decades, became the stars of the Mendicanti. These recruits truly helped modernize and stabilize the *coro*, providing the virtuosic and operatic singing that was popular in the mid-eighteenth century. After less than a decade at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, they all sang in the serenata *Le muse in gara* for the young prince of Saxony.

In the first half of this serenata, each of the six *figlie di coro* presented their characters, five of the Greek muses and Apollo, with one aria each.⁴⁸⁵ Each muse's aria not only contrasted in musical style against the one who sang before her – sure to provide variety for the prestigious audience – but each also aligned to the nature of each character. Tersicore, the Muse of Dance, performed by the *figlia di coro* Gerolima Tava, has an aria in a style that her own lyrics describe as “solemn sounds (*gravi accenti*)”. The G minor tonal center fits well to her yearning and solemn descriptions of “horrid Hyrcanian beasts

⁴⁸¹ A similar audition occurred a decade later. IRE, MEN A 6 (26 February 1741); Giron-Panel, *Musique et musiciennes*, 267-268; Ellero, *Arte e musica*, 187.

⁴⁸² ASV, OLP Busta 652 (3 May 1733), parti sciolti.

⁴⁸³ Unfortunately, nothing more is known of Crestina della Pietà, although it is likely she was married after being raised at the Ospedale. Ibid. (27 September 1733).

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid. (6 December 1733).

⁴⁸⁵ The music for all of these numbers can be found in Tonelli, ed., *Domenico Paradies: Le muse in gara* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2021).

(*orride belve Iracane*)” which she enchants and softens through her eloquent Cithara playing.

Nevertheless, as would be appropriate for the Muse of Dance, her tune lilts in a quick compound triple meter.

Calliope, the Muse of Epic Poetry, performed by Margarita Teresa Doglioni, aptly and nobly entreats her audiences to “Hear the sublime sounds of my verses and heroic rhymes (*Odi, odi il sublime / Suon de mei carmi, e dell’eroiche rime*).” She sings of the Saxon Prince, and the exalted faith of he who sits in the throne, explaining how his glory lifts her up and shines in every benevolent soul. Calliope’s vocal lines are difficult, with extremely large leaps and ornamental rhythmic runs that change between duple sixteenth notes, to triplet sixteenth notes, to thirty-second notes, and – unlike in her sisters’ arias – none of the accompanying instruments double her part in the first stanza. Calliope’s aria follows a highly trained, principled, and traditional style, including clear text painting on the lyrics “high seat (*l’alta sede*)” where the vocal soloist rises by a fifth in a sequence on ‘*alta*’ and descends a sixth in a trilled, dotted eighths and sixteenth note scalar pattern on the word ‘*sede*.’ Most importantly, Calliope’s first aria is unique in that it features a violin solo that alternates with the voice in duet. This solo violin part, which lingers on notes above the treble staff, suggests a sublime and heavenly aspect that supports and converges with the muse’s noble character and the glory of the elite blood that is described in the text.

Next enters Erato, the Muse of Romantic Poetry, originally performed by Maria Marchi. She, being the romantically inclined muse, sings of the pains of love that chain her and restrict her ability to breathe. In her introductory recitative, even though she speaks about “the happiness and the joy (*il contento e la gioia*),” Erato is stuck in a minor mode, with a G and a B-flat over a C-sharp, which resolves to a D minor triad on those words, hinting at the suffering that comes with any unrequited love. Her following aria, however, “*Questa pura verginella*” is much more modest than Calliope’s. The violins double the vocal part for most of the aria, the phrase structure is extremely regular, the musical lines are often repeated, most notes move in stepwise motion, and the key center rarely strays from F major. Erato’s music reflects a moralistic attitude that considered her unrestrained love and romance to be

immature and undeveloped, or maybe the reserved structure and lack of virtuosity is a way to contain or control this female figure's passion and desires.

Euterpe, the Muse of Music, Song, and Lyric Poetry, performed by Margherita Buonafede, emerges last. She counsels of the risks of not singing about the Hero, as profane arts will take the place of more worthy glory and faith. Her song contains an interesting use of rests that is not found in the others. On the repetition of the first stanza, the orchestra cuts out briefly for Euterpe to proclaim "Yes, my shepherds. Yes, if you do not speak, they will sing the splendors of Bacchus (*Sì, i miei pastori. Sì, se non parli, canteran di Bacco i fasti*)." At the beginning of the second stanza, the orchestra hesitates again for half a measure, while Euterpe enters immediately on the word 'Arderanno' – "They will burn". Her aria echoes long-standing anxieties about the dangers of music – its ability to inspire but also to corrupt, especially for women – and warns of the dangers of not focusing one's art to proper values and worthy subjects.⁴⁸⁶

Fortunately, Apollo – the mythological god of the arts of the Muses, originally sung by Soffia Antonia Sopradaci – appears to assuage their fears and brings their attention to the royal personage attending their current performance. Joseph Anton von Wackerbarth-Salmour, Frederick Christian's mentor, singled out Sopradaci for praise in this role, writing that "There were some fine voices, among which Sofia was distinguished by the tenor voice."⁴⁸⁷ Perhaps she was chosen specifically to play Apollo due to her lower vocal range. After her aria, the muses all realize that they have been in the presence of

⁴⁸⁶ One of the most influential early modern warnings of music as a powerful tool of seduction and therefore needing to be moderated is that of Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, translated by Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (New York: H. Liveright, 1929), 62-4, 86-7. In the eighteenth century, English literary critic Giuseppe Baretti (1719-89) also expressed concern over the dangers of musical training for young women in Italy, as explained in the introduction of this dissertation. For discussion of other instances of Italian authors expressing concern over the dangers of music, see Martha Feldman, "The Courtesan's Voice: Petrarchan Lovers, Pop Philosophy, and Oral Traditions," in Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon, *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross Cultural Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 105; and Anthony Newcomb, "Courtesans, Music, or Musicians?: Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, eds., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 103.

⁴⁸⁷ Dresden, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 00362/05, "Journaux en forme de Relation au Roi," entry for 4 April 1740, 87v–88r. "Il y eut quelques belles voix, parmi les quelles se distingua la Sofia par la voix di Tenore." He also referred to the instrumentalists: "Trois filles jouiant de violon ont aussi leur merite." (Three girls playing violin also have their merit.)

the Hero, His Royal Highness Prince Frederick Christian of Saxony-Poland, the entire time they have been bickering. So, they quickly transition into a section-ending chorus, singing praises to Apollo, whose iconic blonde hair is, not coincidentally, identical to that of the prince.

The second half of the serenata presents the primary lesson of morality. Erato, who continuously yearns for the Hero, describes the flames in her breast and the ache of the golden chain of love. She, as the Muse of Romantic Poetry, believes love to be something passionate and emotional. In true Arcadian fashion, her sister Calliope scolds her, exclaiming that the art of her romantic hymns is guiding her, rather than reason, and she reminds Erato that she is a heavenly virgin who should feel guilty for her desires.⁴⁸⁸ Erato argues that one cannot fully praise a hero unless she feels love towards him, but Calliope remains incredulous towards Erato, standing as a firm example against the dangers of lust and passion. Just like the *figlie di coro*, these muses were expected to remain holy virgins. They reach the pinnacle of their argument at a duet, “Quando vede il mio cor.” Before the conclusion of the serenata, Calliope again firmly states that one needs virtue in order to have glory. Erato finally admits her confusion between a kind of virtuous love and the more dangerous passionate love, but in the end she cannot help from loving the royal Hero. They resolve on the notion that the flame of love should only ignite in those who strive towards nobility and heaven, and not towards the profane.⁴⁸⁹

The serenata then concludes with the most important point: the political message from the Venetian rulers, who governed the Ospedale, to the royal prince and his Hapsburg family. In the early eighteenth century, the Venetian Republic had lost and never recovered major territorial possessions on the Greek peninsula to the Ottoman Empire and was feeling the consequences of decades of ongoing conflict.⁴⁹⁰ The recent Treaty of Belgrade in 1739 had been an especially hard hit to her Serbian and

⁴⁸⁸ Massimo Gemin has argued that the reason for this warning against passionate love is due to a local scandal. See his article, “L’Adria Festosa per Federico Cristiano: La Lunga Visita,” 199.

⁴⁸⁹ Erato’s recitative reads: “Ch’abbia tutte del soglio e del cielo le vie.”

⁴⁹⁰ Charles Ingrao, Nikola Samardžić, and Jovan Pešalj, eds., *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2011), 9–37.

Romanian territories located closer to the Austrian Empire.⁴⁹¹ So, the characters of Apollo and Clio were first assigned arias to both flatter the great crowd of patricians and also emphasize the importance, strength, and divine nature of Frederick Christian's Hapsburg bloodline. They boost the ego of their guests before the muse Tersicore offers the final imperative and capitalizes on the great attendance by presenting an appeal for an alliance between Venice and Frederick Christian and his royal families.

The political plea is found in the singular accompanied recitative, toward the end of the serenata, sung by the muse Tersicore:

<p>Orfeo, mio figlio, ah dove, Dove sei, che la cetra Materna non accordi Della tua cetra al suono? Tu pur colà ne' cupi boschi orrendi Ammansasti le fere; Tu da tenaci nodi Scossi movesti i sassi; E tu fin dal profondo Orrido speco eterno Traesti al varco istupiditi i Spiriti; Opra fu di tua cetra. Ah mira, mira intorno De Sarmati confini Il nemico superbo Passeggiar baldanzoso. Additali d'Augusto L' eletto Germe a minacciarlo pronto. Ah, Signor, tu ne guidi, E accordando le cetre al suon dell'armi, Si spetri il cor di quelle fere, o marmi.</p>	<p>Orpheus, my son, oh where, where are you, that you do not tune you cithara to the sound of your mother's cithara? And yet in the dark dreadful woods you tamed the beasts; from their steadfast nodes you moved the tottering stones; and all the way from the deep, horrid, eternal cave you brought the astonished spirits to the crossing; this work was of your cithara. Oh look, look, the disdainful enemy boldly walks about the Sarmatian borders. Make known to the chosen seed of Augustus what is about to threaten him. Oh, lord, lead us, and tuning the citharas to the sound of weapons, soften the hearts, or stones, of those beasts.</p>
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These invading "beasts" are a clear reference to the Ottoman Empire and the recent loss of territories just south of the Austrian Empire. The subsequent aria then expresses Venice's need for the assistance of an ally:

<p>Sei tu quel, che in duro agone Sfiderai nemica schiera, Tu sei quel, che al mio Leone Porgerai la man guerriera,</p>	<p>You are the one who in difficult battle will brave the hostile ranks, you are the one who will extend your warrior hand to my lion,</p>
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⁴⁹¹ Karl A. Roider, Jr., "The Perils of Eighteenth-Century Peacemaking: Austria and the Treaty of Belgrade, 1739," *Central European History* 5, no. 3 (1972): 195–207.

E la fede pace avrà

and faith shall have peace.

The text invokes the lion as the symbol of the Venetian Republic, who sees a savior in the prince and his family to overcome their mutual enemy. The aria's bright key of A major, which was a popular key for amorous sentiments, reflects Venice's admiration towards the royal Austrian family as described in the text. Its tempo and orchestration further drive home the point. Although in a triple meter, fitting the Muse of Dance, it follows a stately "Larghetto" movement that is hardly dance-like, and the dignified sentiment is echoed in the orchestra's repeated homorhythmic eighth notes in four part harmony. The B section of the aria then switches to A minor as well as an "Allegro" tempo, heightening the passion and fervor under lyrics that describe the success that the Hapsburgs could bring to Venetians and the devotion that would be offered in return:

Tu sei quel, che alla mia cetra
Darai forza, e darai nome,
Per te solo fino all'Etra
Canterò le schiere dome
Del nemico, che cadrà.

You are the one who will give my cithara
strength and honor,
I will sing only for you, up to the firmament,
about the quelled ranks
of the enemy, who will fall.

Le muse in gara thus illustrates the political significance of the Ospedali Maggiori and their famous female musicians. The performative context portrays an instance of these state- and patrician-sponsored institutions functioning at their peak, with text and music in a work that supports the Venetian Republic's political needs. Their all-female musical ensembles sustained acceptable examples, especially for unmarried Venetian women like themselves, while also attracting countless prestigious visitors, along with acclaim and financial contributions. They helped fulfill these elite Europeans' entertainment, ceremonial, and diplomatic needs in Venice. With an audience full of so many prominent members of the nobility, special musical events performed by the *figlie di coro*, like *Le muse in gara*, offered an especially rich opportunity for cultural and political maneuvering as rituals of honor in the hope of encouraging alliances and negotiating treaties. The Venetian Republic's economic and political positions may have declined in the eighteenth century, but the power of the music surely did not.

As for the *figlie di coro* who performed this work, their positions as the top soloists led to public recognition and, for several, marriage. Margherita Buonafede, for instance, sang for nine years and fulfilled her duty to teach at least two younger *figlie di coro* as replacements. When she married in 1742, she left a lasting impression on the guests of the Mendicanti, with the noble French writer Charles de Broesses naming her as one of his favorites.⁴⁹² Gerolima Tava and Giovanna Cedroni also married in 1748 and 1753 respectively. Marriages sometimes brought a marked increase in status. When Soffia Sopradaci wed Angelo Pasinello in 1750, she rose from ward of a charitable institution to the wife of a recognized Venetian printer.⁴⁹³ The efforts that their families had undertaken to train them in music as children and to earn acceptance into the Mendicanti's *coro* had paid off.

Margarita Teresa Doglioni, on the other hand, remained at the Mendicanti for her entire life. In 1748, after twenty years as a musician of the Mendicanti, she had accumulated 400 ducats and received an eight percent annuity. Sharing a dormitory with other musicians, she lived on this income into old age. Doglioni, like other well-established *figlie*, also traveled to villas on the mainland with prominent Venetians, including the patricians Lugrezia Pisani and Marina Cappello.⁴⁹⁴ In 1778, at the age of fifty-nine, she became a retired *giubilata* due to waning health, but she returned to work to serve as *Priora* six years later.⁴⁹⁵

As *Priora*, Doglioni proved both her lasting loyalty to the institution. After sunset one February night, a Venetian nobleman Alvise Bernardo appeared at the gate and confronted her, “thundering menacingly with his hands on his hips,” because he wanted to visit a young *figlia di coro* named Laura Marcolini. Doglioni stopped him. She wrote to the Congregation, explaining, “I believe it is my particular duty to inform Your Excellencies of the true facts... so that you may deign to apply the necessary

⁴⁹² Broesses, *Lettres familiares*, 215-6.

⁴⁹³ Angelo Pasinello's bookstore *La Scienza* flourished from 1702 to c.1770. Mario Infelise, *L'editoria veneziana nel '700*, 3rd Edition (Milan: F. Angelo, 2000), 408.

⁴⁹⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 657 (26 September 1774, 19 September 1777).

⁴⁹⁵ ASV, PSO Busta 80 (12 July 1782). By the date of this record, the previous *Priora* Antonia Cubli had passed away. Also see Berdes and Whittemore, *Guide to Ospedali Research*, 457.

measures to the present case, and much more to future cases, or else all my zeal to serve you and all your orders would remain neglected and useless.”⁴⁹⁶ Her authority and persistence swayed the Congregation, as the following year they published clarified regulations authorizing the *Priora* to monitor all the movements of the *figlie* as she deemed fit.⁴⁹⁷ The *Priora* could grant *figlie* over the age of fifty permission to come and go from the Ospedale as they pleased, while she handed out special permits for younger women to leave or have visits only twice per month. While the Congregation expected to deal only with extreme cases, the *Priora* had the absolute responsibility for daily monitoring and protecting the women within the Ospedale. Doglioni recognized this need and asked for – and received – preservation of her authority to do so.

Conclusion

While only a few works from the repertoire of the *figlie di coro* are presented here, they demonstrate some of the most important intentions behind the cultivation of music at the Ospedali Maggiori. The all-female ensembles and the music they performed, from sacred Latin solo motets to secular occasional serenatas, were means to encourage devotion, attract financial backers, and even serve the image and needs of the Venetian state. The Ospedali achieved these aims, first, through the promotion of specific semi-dramatic and paraliturgical genres, second, by hiring top Italian composers who knew how to cater musical characteristics both for underlying drama and the changing tastes of the day, and, third, with specific performance conventions that were adjusted throughout the decades according to the Ospedali’s popularity and needs. As financial burdens became more demanding during economic downturns, for instance, the necessity of spiritual posturing and the cloister of the musical women waned. The musical offerings of the Ospedali Maggiori seemed to consistently teeter between the demands of religiosity and popularity.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., (5 February 1783m.v./1784). “Credo di mio preciso dovere rassegnare il fatto nella sua verità a VVEE [...] onde [...] si degnino di apporvi quel provvedimento necessario al fatto presente, e molto più ai casi avvenire, senza del quale tutto il mio zelo di servirle, e tutti gli ordini loro resterebbero negletti, ed inutili.”

⁴⁹⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 905 (5 February 1783m.v./1784); ASV, PSO Busta 80 (August 1785).

Most of all, however, the *figlie di coro* themselves, and their notoriety as distinguished and skilled female musicians, were exceptionally valuable to the functioning and the reputation of the charitable institutions. Whether they were hidden from below by latticed screens or brought down from above to titillate privileged individuals, the *figlie di coro* and their quality performances were truly rare attractions of European society. Without all-female ensembles, the Ospedali Maggiori may never have reached the heights of fame that they did. Yet the music at the Ospedali did not merely fulfill larger institutional, societal, and political needs. As is shown in the following chapter, music was also a significant tool within the networks and personal endeavors of individual *figlie di coro* themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR

Practicing, Performing, and Composing

Of the hundreds of Venetian girls and women who found relief at the Ospedali Maggiori from poverty, sickness, or childhood abandonment in the eighteenth century, those who demonstrated musical skill could spend years training to become one of the Ospedali's renowned *figlie di coro*. Yet modern scholarship has revealed little about the actual musical training that the *figlie* experienced. As proven by the fame they earned for their performances, their musical education must have rivaled that of professional musicians throughout Europe. In fact, the *figlie di coro* had some of the most advanced musical training available, equivalent to that found in early musical conservatories and centered on the ability to read, interpret, and even create notated music. Extant pedagogical materials, along with the few written cadenzas and compositions of the *figlie di coro*, further support this claim. This chapter presents three analyses of manuscripts originally used at the Ospedale della Pietà during the eighteenth century to demonstrate the quality and nature of their musical training: first, pedagogical materials that contain techniques for interpreting music and improvising over bass lines, which duplicate the methods used at the Neapolitan music schools; second, written cadenzas in works for the soprano Fortunata Cantora that were comparable to those sung at the ends of eighteenth-century opera arias; and third, a piece of music composed by the *figlia di coro* Agata Cantora.

These analyses, however, are contextualized within a continuing effort to recover the lives and voices of the *figlie di coro*. Biographies of two *figlie* in particular, Fortunata Cantora and Agata Cantora, reveal that the training at the Ospedale della Pietà prepared these women not only for performance, but for productive careers of teaching and musical creation at levels equivalent to their musically literate peers outside the institution. Additionally, their musical accomplishments helped each one raise her social standing or life condition, offering paths through adversity and sickness, as well as connections to crowds of prestigious visitors or positions as sought-after instructors for daughters of noble families. Their lives

show that music was more than an aesthetic phenomenon or a commercial product, but was an asset within social practices of their community, relationships, and individual needs.

Musical Training

The Ospedali Maggiori generally relied on their most skilled *figlie di coro* to become teachers and sustain both the continuous master-apprentice structure and the musical elements of their religious observances. While the male *maestri* only entered the institutions a few days each week and supplemented instruction as necessary, the female *maestre* directed most of the daily musical study within the institution.⁴⁹⁸ The earliest record of this practice comes from the Ospedale dei Mendicanti in 1605:

Eight of the oldest and most sufficient *figlie* are responsible for reciting the Divine Offices and are to be raised with utmost diligence and taught how to execute this assignment; moreover, they are not to be allowed to go outside the institution for any reason, but must eventually teach others.⁴⁹⁹

At the time of this regulation, the *cori* – especially that of the very recently established Mendicanti – were still in early stages, performing for liturgical services, including psalmody and chants of the Divine Office, rather than the elaborate concert-like repertoire of the eighteenth century. Still, the need for older *figlie di coro* to teach the younger continued into the eighteenth century. The *Capitoli et Ordini* of the Ospedale della Pietà, published in 1720, echoed this requirement, with a strict obligation of teaching students if they eventually wanted to leave the Ospedale, which might occur most commonly through marriage or entrance into a convent:

The *figliuole* who are able to teach, when they are declared such by the *Maestro*, should instruct the new *putte* who were assigned to this function[...]
The *Putte di Coro* who aspire to get married should not have the usual dowry that is customarily given to those of the same *Coro* if they each have not instructed at least two *figliuole*, from the numbers of their sisters in this Institution, in singing or in playing

⁴⁹⁸ The instruction did not only include music. As discussed in chapter one, the *figlie* of the Ospedali Maggiori also learned arithmetic, some Italian and Latin literacy, as well as other skills.

⁴⁹⁹ IRE, MEN B 1 (27 Feb. 1605), 177, as cited in Giuseppe Ellero, Jolanda Scarpa, and Cristina Mantese, eds., *Arte e musica all'ospedaletto: schede d'archivio sull'attività musicale degli ospedali dei Derelitti e dei Mendicanti di Venezia (sec. XVI-XVIII)* (Venice: Stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1978), 163. “otto figliuole delle più grandi, et sufficienti [...] habbino à servir la recita de divini officii, et siano alleviate con ogni diligenza, isegnandoli à lavorar però non possino esser date fuori dal luogo per alcuna causa, mà habbino poi ad ammaestrar le altre.”

instruments, so they may continue the necessary [musical] exercises of honoring the Lord God and for the benefit and advantage of the Charitable Institution.⁵⁰⁰

Similar rules were in place at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti in the mid-eighteenth century, when Margherita Buonafede and her peers each needed to teach two younger students to be musically proficient enough to replace them in the *coro* before leaving for their marriages (discussed in Chapter Three). Instruction between accomplished *figlie di coro* and younger women, who could eventually take the place of the older, was essential to the continued functioning of the Ospedali Maggiori throughout their history.

So, what did the female *maestre* teach to the younger musical recruits? The answer to this question can be found in some examples of extant training and pedagogical materials that were used by the *figlie di coro* at the Ospedale della Pietà. (See Table 5.1)

Reference Number	Title or Description	Date
Busta 42 No. 20, pp. 1-6v	“Regole per accompagnare il basso”	Undated
Busta 44 No. 13, pp. 2-11	“Regole Musicali per la Chitarra Francese”	Undated
Busta 50 No. 31, pp. 1-9	“Lezioni per Cembalo supporta la aquizione delle chiavi, delle figure, delle pause, degl’accidenti, e del tempo”	Undated
Busta 51 No. 65, pp. 1-1v	“Scala di soprano nel sistema Francese, in Genere diatonico, in C solfaut 3.za maggiore”	Undated
Busta 56 No. 22, pp. 1-2	“Portamento,” Finger positions on keyboard with various scales and intervallic patterns	Undated
Busta 67 No. 5, pp. 1 -11	“Versetti” and “Esempi di movimenti con le rissoluzioni accorenti sul tasto”	Undated
Busta 67 No. 11, pp. 1-5	“Passaggi da un Tono, e parte dal mezzo T.o all’altro per scale ascend.ti e descendentti”	Undated
Busta 77 No. 5, pp. 1-14	“Principi di Musica” with Themes and Variations	Post-1765
Busta 88 No. 8, pp. 1-24v	“Principii per il Violino,” learned by Eugenia and Regina	1812
Busta 88 No. 8 bis, pp. 1-4	“Circostanze, e Regole della Musica”	1811
Busta 88 No. 8 ter, pp. 1-4v	“Ristretto de’ Principi Musicali”	c. 1811

⁵⁰⁰ *Capitoli et Ordini Per il buon Governo del Pio Hospitale della Pietà* (4 October 1720), Capitolo III, 19-20. “Doveranno le figliuole, che sono abili ad insegnare, quando dal Maestro siano dichiarate tali, instruire le putte novelle, che fossero applicate à tale funzione[...] Non dovendo le Putte di Coro, che aspirano à maritarsi avere la solita dote, che si pratica dare a quelle del Coro medesimo, se non averanno istruite due figliuole nel canto, ò nel suono per ciascheduna del numero delle loro sorelle del Luoco, e perchè si possino continuare gl’esercizi necessari ad onore del Signor’ Iddio, & a beneficio, e vantaggio del Pio Luoco.”

Busta 96 No. 7, pp. 49v-50v	“La scala in Chiave di effaut detto basso” in “Libro del secondo coro del Furlanetto, Sig.ra Santina dal Violoncello”	c. 1760-1790 ⁵⁰¹
Busta 125 No. 56, pp. 1-1v	Short Pieces for Keyboard and Woodwind Fingering Chart with examples of scales and intervals	Undated
Busta 125 No. 99, pp. 1-2v	Basso Continuo scales, intervals, cadences, and other harmonizations with German text	Undated
Busta 126 No. 38, pp. 1-4	“Scale de’ minori” for basso continuo	Undated
Busta 126 No. 39, pp. 1-4v	Keyboard exercises and minuets	Undated
Busta 126 Nos. 40-42, 1 page each	Fingering charts for woodwind instruments and “Accordi che si danno alle Corde della Scale del Tuono Terza Maggiori”	Undated
Busta 127 No. 70, pp. 1-6	“Cognizioni Preliminari per Canto e per Suono,” primarily for improvisation over bass lines	Undated
Busta 127 No. 71, p. 1	“Musica,” “Chiavi,” and “Figure delle note”	Undated
Busta 127 No. 72, p. 1-6v	Principles of Music, labeled “Queste carte sono di me Cecilia Cavazi.” Signora Amalia and Modesta Corista are also named.	c.1790-1820
Busta 127 No. 73, pp. 1-1v	“Baritono, Un Tuono più basso del Soprano” and “Falsetto un tuono più alto del basso” with scales in tenor clef	Undated
Busta 127 No. 74, pp. 1-4v	Scales and intervallic patterns, with examples, in soprano clef	Undated
Busta 127 No. 75, pp. 1-2	“Scale di Accompagnamento” or Rule of the Octave	Undated
Busta 127 No. 76, pp. 1-4	Scales, intervallic patterns, and musical examples in soprano clef	c. 1840
Busta 127 No. 87, p. 1	“Legature,” suspensions over ascending and descending bass lines	Undated
Busta 128 No. 1, pp. 1-86v	Method Book for keyboard realization, with cadenzas, scales, intervallic patterns, and examples in fourteen major and minor keys	Undated
Busta 128 No. 14, pp. 1-1v	“Cadenze Maggiori e Minori; le prime, doppie, e composte, le 2.de di dominante e sotto dominante”	Undated
Busta 128 No. 37, pp. 1-4v	“Regole facili ed infallibili per ben accompagnar il basso continuo second le autorità, ed insegnamenta de’ piu accreditati e valenti Maestri che hanno scritto, e stampato.”	1775
Busta 129 No. 30, pp. 1-11v	“Ripieno a modo di Soggetto, e condotto per i Tuoni relativi metodicamente,” “Passaggi,” and “Cadenze, Passaggi, e Versettini,” and “Scalette in piu Tuoni mag.ri, e min.ri variate.”	Undated

Table 5.1. Extant Pedagogical and Training Materials from the Ospedale della Pietà, held in Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello, Fondo Correr Esposti

⁵⁰¹ This date range is drawn from the period in which the tenures of Bonaventura Furlanetto and Santina dal Violoncello overlapped at the Ospedale della Pietà. Santina lived from 1702-1789 and was a known student of Anna Maria dal Violin.

Evidence that the *figlie di coro* themselves created and used these manuscripts come from a few sources.⁵⁰² First, by the mid-1700s, the Ospedale della Pietà, like the other Ospedali, employed the *figlie di coro* as copyists for its collection of music.⁵⁰³ In 1736, for example, the Congregation recognized two organists, Antonia and Bianca Maria, as “*Copiste delle Partiture e di tutte le Compositioni* (Copyists of the Scores and all the Compositions),” providing them a dispensation from usual chores to do the important work of transcribing the *maestri*’s compositions into partbooks for the performing *figlie*.⁵⁰⁴ Although the Governors occasionally hired an outside copyist to help out when they thought the *figlie*’s work was unsatisfactory, the female wards, assigned to official titles of either *copista* or *scrivana*, performed the majority of the labor to maintain written records and the musical parts at the Ospedale throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰⁵ It is unlikely that a professional scribe was hired for the pedagogical materials, so the documents described here were either written by the *figlie* themselves or by *maestri* for the *figlie*.

Second, the marginalia on these documents contains the names of several *figlie di coro*. For instance, on the title page of a partbook for violoncello (Busta 96 no. 7), which includes parts of compositions by several *maestri*, as well as two pages of scales and sequence exercises for violoncello, the name of *figlia di coro* Santina dal Violoncello is written. Santina, born in approximately 1703, was a

⁵⁰² It is probable that not all of the teaching materials were meant for the *figlie di coro*; some of the *maestri* may have taught their own young male students from rooms and studios inside the Ospedale, although the professional male musicians often took their music with them. See, for example, references in Caffi, *Storia*, p. 44, of Galuppi taking lessons from Lotti at the Incurabili. Based on accounts like this, it is thought that, at least by 1777, Venetians of both genders studied music at the Mendicanti and Derelitti, although this was less likely at the Pietà. Additionally, Giovanni Battista Mancini’s *Pensieri e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1774), 21-22, describes the vocal techniques that were taught to Faustina Bordoni Hasse by Antonio Lotti in one of the Ospedali. See Jane L. Berdes, and Joan Whittemore, *Guide to Ospedali Research* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2012), 797.

⁵⁰³ Caroline Giron-Panel claims that the Mendicanti had the best success with employing the *figlie di coro* as copyists. They have no records of paying outside copyists after 1733. See Caroline Giron-Panel, *Musiciennes à Venise: histoire sociale des ospedali* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015), 361-2.

⁵⁰⁴ ASV, OLP Buta 692 Not. Q (16 March 1736), 140-141v.

⁵⁰⁵ An instance of hiring an outside copyist occurred in 1750. See ASV, OLP Busta 693 Not. T (10 April 1750), 37-37v.

confirmed student of the famous Anna Maria dal Violin.⁵⁰⁶ She lived until May 1789, and this manuscript was probably her own personal book from which to perform and study. Since the scales and sequences for violoncello appear on pages towards the end of her partbook, it is likely she added them later than the rest of the contents.⁵⁰⁷ Additional markings confirm others who owned and worked from these materials, such as Busta 127 no. 72, where the words “These papers belong to me, Cecilia Cavazi”⁵⁰⁸ are written on the bottom of the first page, while on pages 4v and 5, there are also the names Signora Amalia and Modesta Corista, all in separate hands. These three *figlie* likely trained and performed for the Ospedale’s *coro* between 1780 and the early nineteenth century, since Amalia was the named soloist for a *Salve Regina* set by Bonaventura Furlanetto in 1787.⁵⁰⁹ On the inside cover of a bound violin lesson book (Busta 88 no. 8), two more *figlie*’s names appear, Eugenia and Regina, who were beginners assigned to learn the book’s contents in the early nineteenth century.⁵¹⁰

Although most of these materials were copied in the second half of the eighteenth century and are largely undated, they still provide a glimpse of what the *figlie di coro* might have learned from their instructors throughout most of the century. In fact, even if they are from a later decade, these surviving pedagogical materials from the Ospedale della Pietà demonstrate continued, passed-down pedagogical practices of the eighteenth century, since the financial instability in Venice in the second half of the eighteenth century caused the Ospedali Maggiori to cut back on external *maestri* after 1750, and the salaries for most external *maestri* were eliminated completely by 1777.⁵¹¹ The biggest changes in musical style at the Ospedali occurred only around the 1730s, due to new employment of *maestri di maniera*, as

⁵⁰⁶ Data on Santina dal Violoncello is collected in Micky White, “Biographical notes on the “Figlie di coro” of the Pietà contemporary with Vivaldi,” *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 21 (2000), 93-4. Santina wrote her name over several solo violin parts in Anna Maria’s partbook: VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 55 no. 1.

⁵⁰⁷ The violoncello partbook, VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 96 no. 7 contains music by Giovanni Porta, Bonaventura Furlanetto, Giuseppe Sarti, Andrea Bernasconi, and others.

⁵⁰⁸ VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 127 no. 72, p. 1. “queste carte sono di me Cecilia Cavazi”

⁵⁰⁹ The fact that Cecilia has a last name must mean that she was orphaned after Venice’s fall to Napoleonic armies in 1797. For information on the piece sung by Amalia, see VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 75 no. 23.

⁵¹⁰ The marginalia of VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 88 no. 8 reads, “Eugenia Principia imparare di 8 Settembre,” and “Regina Principia imparare P.mo Agosto – 1812.”

⁵¹¹ Jane L. Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice: Musical Foundations, 1525-1855* (Corrected Edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 182, 232.

discussed in Chapter Three. Except for this period when the newly hired *maestri* brought innovative techniques and styles from their previous careers outside the institution, the Ospedali's religious imperatives and the master-apprentice training system often meant that musical practices remained stagnant. Therefore, their musical styles and training did not change dramatically throughout the second half of the century, when these pedagogical materials were created.

Most importantly, the content of these method books and manuals clearly reveals that the musical education of the *figlie di coro* followed a few essential subjects that almost exactly echo those used for training boys at the Naples music conservatories, especially the standard motions of scales and intervals, and harmonic improvisation over bass line patterns constructed from those scales and intervals.⁵¹² Thus, like the male Neapolitan students who became esteemed eighteenth-century composers, at least some *figlie di coro* had access to examples of how to realize figured bass accompaniment and even compose. In fact, while there are a few manuscripts written for specific voice types or instruments, most of the pedagogical materials from the Pietà present a variety of clefs and key centers while focusing on generic basso continuo accompaniment. Specific techniques for playing an instrument or singing appear rarely, as these skills were more likely passed down orally and through modeling, but the knowledge of scales, sequences, cadential progressions, and improvisation over a bass line – particularly for keyboard accompaniment – was preserved well in the Ospedale della Pietà's manuscripts.⁵¹³

The training and pedagogical materials in the Fondo Correr Esposti could be separated into three different focuses, namely the rudiments of music, techniques specific to voice or certain instruments, and rules for accompaniment and realization of basso continuo lines. The nine *buste* that describe rudiments

⁵¹² Robert Gjerdingen, *Child Composers in the Old Conservatories: How Orphans Became Elite Musicians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 85.

⁵¹³ The only manuscripts that provide direction on how to play an instrument are 42 no. 13, for French guitar (*Chitarra Francese*), 56 no. 22, which contains finger positions for keyboard instruments, 88 no. 8, which names the notes on each string for violin, and 125 no. 56, 126 no. 40, and 126 no. 42, which present woodwind instrument fingering charts. Yet these manuscripts also often contain scales and sequence patterns, which would have likely been accompanied by harmonization, so the musicians could internalize how their line fit into the whole piece. In fact, the lessons for violin in 88 no. 8 include a harmonized accompaniment to be played by a second violin, presumably the instructor.

of music are the most basic and could be applicable to beginners on any instrument or voice type.⁵¹⁴ Even though a few were written with a specific instrument in mind – such as Busta 88 no. 8 “*Principii per il Violino*” and Busta 77 no. 5 “*Principi di Musica*,” which presents themes and variations for keyboard – the information contained in these documents would have been required for any performing *figlia di coro*. The first essential knowledge, and the initial topic presented in many of the manuscripts, was basic musical figures, such as clef signs, notes and their durations, rests, key signatures, etc. Since the *figlie di coro* most often played pieces composed by external *maestri*, which had to be copied down into partbooks for each voice and instrument, every single musician needed to recognize these musical symbols and be able to read and play from that notated music.

After presenting the symbols of musical notation, much of this rudimentary material shifts to the topic of scales. Similar to beginners today, one of the first steps of mastery came through the practice of both major and minor scales. Occasionally the documents use the common Latin solfège syllables (*do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si*) to label notes on a staff, but more often the scale degrees were assigned numbers. In what modern musicians would understand as the “scale of C major,” for example, the note C was referred to as “the first,” or “*primo del tono*.” D was second, E was third, and so forth, up to seven. This numbering is comparable to the basso continuo figures over bass lines of Baroque music.

The solfège syllables, on the other hand, were largely used for recognition of tonal centers, based on an older system of hexachords: the first hexachord began on C (*naturalis* or natural hexachord, without a B), the second on F (*mollis* or soft hexachord, due to the use of B-flat), and the third on G (*durus* or hard hexachord, due to the use of B-natural).⁵¹⁵ The note a’, for example, was recognized as *A-lamire*, that is *la* in the *naturalis* hexachord, *mi* in the *mollis* hexachord, and *re* in the *durus* hexachord. Although the Ospedale della Pietà’s materials do not contain an image of the Guidonian hand, from where these designations come, this system mirrors that used at the contemporaneous Neapolitan music schools,

⁵¹⁴ These nine are Busta 51 no. 65, Busta 77 no. 5, Busta 88 no. 8, Busta 88 no. 8 bis, Busta 88 no. 8 ter, Busta 96 no. 7, Busta 127 no. 70, Busta 127 no. 71 and Busta 127 no. 72.

⁵¹⁵ Robert Gjerdingen discusses this in much more detail. See, Gjerdingen, *Child Composers*, 100-103.

where evidence exists of these enduring remnants of ancient musical practices for plainchant. At the Ospedali Maggiori, the old practice of naming notes based on these hexachords was mixed with more modern understanding of major and minor scales and key centers. For instance, each of these hexachords shared a similar pattern of all the notes separated by whole steps, except between the third and the fourth tones which are a semitone apart. In each of the three hexachords, this half step was recognized as an important *mi-fa* movement and was essential to understanding appropriate resolutions in harmonic progression. While the manuscripts describe the usual sequence of whole and half steps in major and minors scales, they also recognize this *mi-fa* movement. In manuscript 42 no. 40, for instance, the movements of both B-natural to C-natural and E-natural to F-natural are both named as “from *mi* to *fa*.” Any stepwise motion of a half step might be recognized as *mi-fa* movement.

An example of the rudiments of music, along with the essential practice of scales, can be found in Buste 127 no. 71 and 127 no. 72. The first is a one page manuscript meant for a complete beginner, which explains that, “Music, like the other sciences, is also presented under certain signs or notes, arranged such as to sometimes soften and to sometimes terrify the soul of the one who hears it, according to the composer’s devising.”⁵¹⁶ It then provides a short explanation, with depictions, of clef signs, note names (Cesolfaut, Delasolre, Elami, Fefaut, Gereut, Alamire, Befabemi), note figures and their durations, rests, repeat signs (*ritornello*), ties (*legature*), trills, and appoggiaturas. Similarly, the author of no. 72, a bound, six-page booklet, also begins by describing the same note names, pairing them with the Latin syllables *do*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*, and *si*. Figures of different types of note lengths follow, as well as other musical signs such as ties, clef signs, meters, triplets, *da capo* and repeats, flats and sharps, appoggiaturas, and trills. These were the essentials of reading musical notation before moving on to the second step: major and minor tonalities and scales. The final two pages of manuscript 127 no. 72 aptly conclude with illustrations of two-octave scales in every major and minor tonal center.

⁵¹⁶ “La Musica siccome l’altre scienze viene anch’essa presentata sotto certi segni, o Note disposte quindi talora per intenerire e talora per atterire l’animo di chi l’ode, second il divisamento del compositore.”

Busta 127 no. 70 “*Cognizioni Preliminari per Canto e per Suono*” also demonstrates principles of notation and scales. It would have been ideal for a beginner, opening with a prose description of musical figures, note and rest lengths, clef signs, note names on the lines and spaces of a staff, and meters. The author then moves to major and minor thirds and the order of whole steps and half steps in both major and minor scales, writing:

There are two harmonizations, one with a major third, and the other with a minor third. However, it should be known that in every musical piece there is always a principal note which ordinarily finishes the piece. The major third harmonization is therefore the one in which the following rule is observed. That is, taking the principal note as arbitrary, it must be ensured that the second immediately higher note increases a whole tone, the third another whole tone (and this is the reason why it is called the major third, because the third note increases by two whole tones, or it is four semitones higher than the principal note, and the third note in harmonizations of the minor third increases only three semitones) then the fourth note increases a semitone, the fifth a whole tone, and so too the sixth, and finally the seventh increases a whole tone and is a semitone from the principal note. When Csolfaut is taken for the principal note, all the other notes themselves are naturally arranged with this order. Then, when you play other notes, it is necessary to place them in this order with a sharp or a flat preceding them. The minor third harmonization is that in which the notes are arranged with the order that the second notes after the principal note increases a whole tone, the third a semitone, the fourth a whole tone, the fifth a whole tone, the sixth a semitone, the seventh finally increases a whole tone, and it should drop another whole tone from the principal [...] There are seven notes of music [Alamire, Befabemi, Cesolfaut, Delasolre, Elami, Fefaut, Gsolreut]. All these [natural] notes increase [from one to the other] by a whole tone, except for Csolfaut and Fefaut, which increase by a semitone.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁷ “Le concertazioni sono due una di terzo maggiore, e l’altra di terza minore. È però da sapersi che in ogni suonata v’è sempre una nota direttrice colla quale finisce ordinariamente la suonata. La concertazione dunque di terza maggiore è quella in cui si osserva la seguente regola. Cioè presa ad arbitria la nota direttrice si dee far sì, che la seconda nota immediatamente più alta cresca un tuono intero, la terza un’altro tuono intero (e questo è il motivo, per cui si dice terza maggiore, perché la terza nota cresce due tuoni intieri, o sia quattro mezzi tuoni più alta della direttrice, e la terza nota in concertazione di terza minore cresce soltanto tre mezzi tuoni) indi la 4 nota cresca mezzo tuono, la quinta un tuono intiero, e così pure la sesta, e finalmente la settima cresca un tuono intiero e ne cali mezzo dalla nota direttrice. Quando si prende il C sol fa ut per nota di direzione tutte le altre note per se stesse sono naturalmente disposte con quest’ordini. Quando poi si suona per altre note fà duopo riporle a quest’ordine col farci precedere un # o il b molle. La concertazione di terza minore è quella in cui le note son disposte con la ordine, che sa seconda nota dopo la nota direttrice cresca un tuono intiero, la terza mezzo tuono, la quarta un tuono, la quinta un tuono, la sesta mezzo tuono, la settima finalmente cresca un tuono intiero, e ne cali un’altro intiero dalla nota di direzione, come si vede qui sotto[...] Le note della musica sono sette cioè. Tutte queste note crescono un tuono intiero eccettuate la Csolfaut, e la Fefaut le quali crescono mezzo tuono.”

A student would have been expected to recognize and execute these differences between the major and minor scales as basic foundations to performing music. Like this manuscript and the others described above, many of the pedagogical materials include notated major and minor scales.

Two of the rudimentary manuscripts also contain short and light pieces for practical performance. Busta 77 no. 5, “*Principi di Musica*,” for example, begins with three pages of basic musical figures, followed by twenty-two pages of keyboard compositions: Variations on an Allegro Theme in C major, Allegretto in C major, Allegro in G major, Allegro in C major, and Variations on an Andante Theme in F major by Joseph Haydn. None of these compositions are exceptionally difficult, nor virtuosic, but instead present straightforward and easy examples of Galant-style compositions, perfect for beginning performers. The first four compositions are written in binary form, starting in a major key, modulating to the dominant of that key by the end of the first section, staying in the dominant in the second section, and modulating back to the tonic before the final cadence, typical for binary forms of the late eighteenth century.

The Variations on an Andante Theme in F major by Joseph Haydn can be traced to Hoboken XVIIIa:1, Haydn’s *Divertimento in F für Klavier zu vier Händen*, most commonly known by its nickname “Il Maestro e lo Scolare.” Thought to have been written around 1765, this piece needed four hands at the keyboard, lending itself readily to teaching situations.⁵¹⁸ The lower part, for the “*maestro*,” played each phrase first, echoed by the “*scholare*” until they cadence together. After the first iteration of the form, seven different variations follow, each becoming progressively more difficult, suitable for an advancing student. As in this particular piece, it is extremely likely that many *figlie di coro* learned while playing alongside their teacher, as accompaniment or duet. The lessons for violin in Busta 88 no. 8, for instance,

⁵¹⁸ It is unclear how this piece ended up in the music collection of the Ospedale della Pietà, although it may be related to the Ospedale’s relationship to Austrian courts and the girls they trained for them. It was composed for a Viennese “short octave” keyboard, just like Haydn’s Capriccio “Acht Sauschneider müssen sein” in G Major, so they are likely from the same period. Joseph Haydn, *Divertimento Hob. XVIIIa:1: Il Maestro E Lo Scolare: für Klavier Zu Vier Händen*, edited by Sonja Gerlach, and Christine Schornsheim. (Munich: G. Henle, 2007), xvii.

contains twelve melodic *lezioni*, that progress in difficulty through various major keys, each including a harmonized accompaniment to be played by a second violin, presumably the instructor.

The second group of manuscripts to consider are those for specific instrument or vocal technique. While every *figlia di coro* needed to understand the rudiments of music, including scales, there were also peculiarities that accompanied vocal and instrumental concentrations. Any musician who passed the basics would have moved to specialized training, although much of the knowledge of instrumental and vocal technique was likely passed down aurally. Thus, these manuscripts cover only a few points: scales, intervallic patterns, and hand/finger positioning. Five *buste*, along with excerpts of the “Principii per il Violino” described above, contain figures and exercises specifically for instruments, including Busta 44 no. 13 with scales and note positions on the six strings of the *chitarra francese* (French guitar), Busta 56 no. 22 that features numbers of finger positions over scales and musical excerpts for keyboard, and three others with woodwind fingering charts.⁵¹⁹ An additional three *buste* were for vocal technique: Busta 127 no. 73 for tenor voice, as well as Busta 127 no. 74 and Busta 127 no. 76 for soprano.

Each one of these (both instrumental and vocal) provides examples of scales, as was fundamental, but also exercises for intervallic leaps, called *salti*, which were a necessary step in vocal and instrumental mastery. Busta 127 no. 74, in particular, demonstrates the type of vocal control and flexibility required for a soprano soloist. Its material progresses through *salti* exercises of ascending and descending thirds, fourths, fifths, and so on, up to leaps of a thirteenth. Each intervallic pattern is then accompanied by a musical excerpt featuring that particular leap. A vocalist who internalized how to sing any of these intervals, both on their own and in melodic examples, could develop quite a bit of flexibility and control, as well as the ability to improvise and ornament her parts, and – as is demonstrated in Fortunata’s vocal solos below – the larger and more difficult intervals could become keys to extravagant vocal display in showy cadenzas.

⁵¹⁹ VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 125 no. 56, Busta 126 no. 40 and Busta 126 no. 42 each contain different fingering charts for woodwind instruments.

The largest and most complex group of pedagogical materials includes those with rules for accompaniment and harmonization over bass lines, a common aspect of eighteenth-century musical training for musicians who read from and created notated music. By and large, these fifteen *buste* were written for keyboardists, although some could apply to other instruments – like the theorbo – that carried out the part of basso continuo.⁵²⁰ These materials were not intended for beginners and were likely only used by a select group of *figlie di coro* who needed to know what harmonies to realize over specific bass lines as accompaniment to solo performance. The rules they contain focus on important basics for improvisation over any bass line and parallel exactly what was taught in the Neapolitan music schools: cadential patterns, the so-called Rule of the Octave, and the standard harmonization over ascending and descending *salti*.⁵²¹ Similar to the musical education for boys in Naples, in fact, some of the most advanced examples in the Ospedale della Pietà manuscripts could lead a musician towards the ability to compose, featuring both guidelines for modulation and samples of how the rules for harmonization could be realized in counterpoint.

In Manuscript 127 no. 70, “*Cognizioni Preliminari per Canto e per Suono*,” for example, the author turns to a breakdown of the so-called Rule of the Octave after the previous explanation of musical rudiments and scales.⁵²² The Rule of the Octave, named as “*Scala di Accompagnamento*” in a few of the *buste*, was a basic formula for harmonization, and, when internalized, a performer or composer knew which chords should be used above every note of a complete ascending and descending octave scale in the bass line and the proper voice leading between them.⁵²³ The principal, fourth, and fifth tones of a scale were harmonized with a third and a fifth, thus forming common practice period triads. These three chords

⁵²⁰ Examples of *buste* that could be used by another instrument are VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 126 no. 38 and Busta 128 no. 14, which are both composed entirely in bass clef, suitable for violone or theorbo.

⁵²¹ Gjerdingen, *Child Composers*, 85, 100-103.

⁵²² Rober Gjerdingen, “An Illustrated Guide to the Rule of the Octave,” *Monuments of Partimenti*, Online series, <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/Partimenti/aboutParti/ruleOfTheOctave.htm>, accessed 11 March 2022.

⁵²³ Gjerdingen, *Child Composers*, 88.

(tonic, subdominant, and dominant) thus served to establish the mode or tonal center of a piece of music, specifically in cadences, and all other harmonizations were constructed in relation to them.

Example 5.1 - Fondo Correr, Busta 127 no. 70

The musical notation for Example 5.1 consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains seven chords, each represented by a vertical line with a circle at the top, indicating a specific harmonic structure. The bass staff contains seven notes, each represented by a vertical line with a circle at the bottom, indicating a specific bass line. The notes in the bass staff are labeled as follows: Prima della scala, Terza, Quarta, Sesta, Quinta, Settima, and Seconda.

When these tones were arranged in scale order, however, different rules applied. The fourth tone, for example, received different harmonization if moving by step to or from the fifth tone, so as to avoid parallel fifths and octaves. For the same reason, the third and sixth tones of the scale needed to each be harmonized with a third and a sixth above. If the scale descended, however, the sixth tone also was harmonized with an additional fourth.

Example 5.2 - Fondo Correr, Busta 127 no. 75, Scala di accompagnamento Maggiore

The musical notation for Example 5.2 consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a series of chords, each represented by a vertical line with a circle at the top, indicating a specific harmonic structure. The bass staff contains a series of notes, each represented by a vertical line with a circle at the bottom, indicating a specific bass line. The notes in the bass staff are labeled with figured bass notation: 3, 6 4 3, 6 3, 6 3, 5 3, 6 3, 6 3, 5 3, 5 3, 6 3, #6 4 3, 5 3, 6 4 2, 6 3, 6 4 3, 5 3.

The second tone was then harmonized with a fourth, a sixth, and sometimes a third to create a dominant-seventh sound in relation to the fifth tone, while the seventh was harmonized with a third, fifth, and sixth to serve the same function for the principal tone. Any musician knowledgeable with these rules for harmonizing a scale could apply them to a variety of bass line patterns – commonly known as *partimenti*

– in basso continuo realization and even composition, with some of the most important patterns being those of cadences. In fact, after explaining the rule for harmonizing a scale, the author of Busta 127 no. 70 immediately notated some examples of basic cadential patterns, with the bass line moving from the first tone, to the fifth, and back, and their appropriate harmonizations.⁵²⁴ It then concludes with rules of harmonization over a bass line sequence that moves up a fourth and down a fifth, a sequence that moves down a third and up a second, and several resolutions of the dissonance of a second to a more consonant third.

These guidelines for harmonization were essential to eighteenth century musical practices, and they appeared in many of the Pietà's pedagogical materials.⁵²⁵ The longest and most complete version of these rules of harmonization is located in Busta 128 no. 1. Just like influential treatises by esteemed Neapolitan composers and instructors, such as Fedele Fenaroli, Francesco Durante, or Giacomo Insanguine, this method book emphasizes cadences, the Rule of the Octave, and harmonization over other bass line patterns as the foundation of musical construction, which could be applied to both improvisation and composition.⁵²⁶ This eighty-six page, bound method book presents didactic exercises for basso continuo realization at keyboard in fourteen major and minor keys. It begins in C-solfaut major and the rules for harmonizing common cadences (see Example 5.3).

⁵²⁴ For a full example of typical cadential patterns taught at the Ospedale della Pietà, see VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 128 no. 14.

⁵²⁵ The Rule of the Octave is also exactly described in manuscripts VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 126 no. 41 and Busta 127 no. 75.

⁵²⁶ Fedele Fenaroli, *Regole musicali per Principianti di Cembalo* (Naples: Per Vincenzo Mazzola-Vocola, 1775). A copy of this in manuscript is held at VC, source Torr.Ms.A.148. Manuscript copies of Francesco Durante, *Regole di Partimenti numerati e diminuiti* (1761, 1769, and 1797) can be found in Naples, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietra a Majella; Giacomo Insanguine's *Regole con moti di passo, martimentei e fught* is located in Milan, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi. Also see, Robert Gjerdingen, ed. *Monuments of Partimenti*. Online Series. <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/index.htm>.

Example 5.3 Fondo Correr Busta 128 No. 1, Cadenzas

The musical score for Example 5.3 is divided into four sections, each labeled with a type of cadenza. The first section, 'Cadenza Semplice', shows a simple harmonic progression. The second, 'Cadenza Risolta', features a more complex progression with a resolution. The third, 'Cadenza Composta', includes a sequence of chords. The fourth, 'Cadenza Doppia Risolta', shows a double resolution. The score is written in C-solfaut major and includes both treble and bass staves.

Here, a student learned the *cadenza semplice* (in modern Roman numeral harmonic analysis, I-V-I); second, *cadenza risolta* (I-I6/4-V-I); third, *cadenza composta* (I-IV-V-I); and finally, *cadenza composta doppia risolta* (I-IV-V-I6/4-V-I). The next exercises in this method book, still in C-solfaut major, then move to the harmonies over scale patterns, including a *scaletta* (an abbreviated version of the Rule of the Octave), a full *scala per accompagnato* (the Rule of the Octave), and *scalette modulate e combinate* (the same pattern as above, but modulating to neighboring keys). After learning these norms for harmony and voice leading over scales, the methods in C-solfaut major turn to the standard harmonizations of *salti*, or leaps, in the bass line: down-a-third, down-a-fifth, etc. Almost every one of these examples of the norms for harmonization includes an illustration of them as realized counterpoint, thus demonstrating how the harmonic progressions worked in improvisation or composition. If a *figlia* knew the appropriate harmonies over a specific bass line pattern, she could translate the harmonic skeleton into lines of counterpoint, as well as recognize these patterns in notated music and therefore learn it quickly. The rest of the book follows the same layout as that of the key of C-solfaut major for all the other keys: first cadences, then scales and the Rule of the Octave with modulations, followed by leaping bass motions. Almost every single tonal center additionally presents a few realized compositions related to those patterns, which would allow the student to practically apply the concepts to short pieces.

Other examples that apply the rules of harmonization to short, practical musical excerpts appear in many of the Ospedale della Pietà's pedagogical materials. Busta 42 no. 20 "*Regole per accompagnare*

il basso” is a prime case, as it provides explanations on how to accompany a variety of bass lines that move either by step or by leap, as well as illustrations of typical cadences and scales with figures in several different keys. Each scale is followed by two short musical excerpts that a student could have played at a keyboard, examples of how the rules for harmonization could be actualized in at least two separate ways for accompaniment over a bass line.

Busta 129 no. 30, particularly in its sections titled “*Passaggi*,” contains more such instances of a harmonized bass line being followed by an application or variation of that harmonization in a contrapuntal realization. This twelve-page method book includes bass lines that modulate, resolutions with suspensions, as well as typical harmonizations of both simple (*semplice*) and compound (*composta*) cadential patterns, progressively more difficult towards the end, each one with a practical contrapuntal application. Additionally, this manuscript particularly displays knowledge that would have been useful in composing, as the rules for harmonizing cadences, scales, intervals, and suspensions are not separated, but combined; the cadences are attached to the end of each example, as would occur in a real composition. This book is more than just teaching someone how to improvise over basso continuo figures. All the harmonies were written out above each example, with samples of how the bass line patterns could be put together and utilized for introductions and conclusions to musical lines, as well as modulations.

Another more complex example can be found in Busta 67 no. 11, “*Passaggi da un Tono, e parte dal mezzo T.o all’altro per scale ascend.ti e descendenti* (Passages from one tone, and part from a semitone to the other, for ascending and descending scales),” which contains skeleton harmonizations over bass lines that move up or down by step from one tonal center to the next, followed by several fully composed, contrapuntal variations of each. After demonstrating modulations by both whole step and half step, the manuscript also provides realized examples for movement in minor thirds, major thirds, fourths, fifths, and other intervals. This would have been quite a useful manuscript for learning how to more quickly perform a new piece of music or even how to compose with modulations from one key to another.

Many of the examples even have more than one contrapuntal example of the harmonized skeleton, demonstrating how the rules could be applied to a number of variations.

A prime example of how all this musical knowledge was presented to promising *figlie di coro* is packaged in a single eight-page collection, Busta 128 No. 37, the earliest dated manuscript, titled “*Regole facili ed infallibili per ben accompagnar il basso continuo second le autorità, ed insegnamenta de’ piu accrediatati e valenti Maestri che hanno scritto, e stampato* (Easy and infallible rules to accompany the basso continuo well, according to the authority and teaching of the most accredited and talented *Maestri* who have written and published).” While it begins with a very low level of difficulty and long, detailed descriptions, the manuscript – which was targeted towards basso continuo realization at the keyboard – becomes quite difficult, with little explanation and extended figured bass examples, by the end. The author begins with the rudiments of pitch notation, as well as remarking on the difference between natural notes versus accidental notes. The explanation quickly turns to intervals, clarifying which ones are considered consonant (unison, thirds, fifths, and sixths) and dissonant (seconds, fourths, sevenths), or perfect (unison, fifths, and octaves) and imperfect (major and minor thirds and sixths). There is even information about whole tones and halftones, and how half tones appear on a keyboard between the notes E and F and the notes B and C, the important *mi-fa* movement of the *naturalis* and *durus* hexachords. The manuscript then becomes more advanced, teaching the reader that the thirds over the notes F, C and G are major, while thirds over A, B, D, and E need to add sharps to make them sound major. The author provides a musical example of figures denoting the sharps and flats needed for major and minor thirds over each note on a bass clef staff.

This explanation of intervals and chords is all preparation for the Rule of the Octave. The author of Busta 128 No. 37 offers two versions. First, the manuscript contains a lengthy description of how to harmonize the major scale, with the fourth tone kept in principal, or root, position, as in Example 5.1. The second option of the Rule of the Octave is then described as “Another mode of accompanying the scale according to the opinion of modern individuals, yet of esteem and valor [*Altro modo di accompagnar la*

scala secondo l'opinione dei moderni, però di stima, e di valore],” which follows the exact same pattern as Example 5.2.

The following pages of Busta 128 no. 37 then shift to discussion of other essential harmonizations: first, unlabeled basic cadential patterns; second, harmonizations over bass line *salti* that either move up a fourth or down a fifth; third, harmonizations using 5-6 suspensions for ascending scales and 7-6 suspensions for descending scales so as to avoid parallel fifths and octaves; and finally, use of 6-4 chords and sevenths for resolution. The author then offers examples of how to apply the harmonizations to various bass lines in different note lengths (quarters, eighths, and thirty-second notes). For instance, if the notes of a bass line move in quarter notes, every note should be harmonized according to the rules above; if it moves by step in eighth notes, only the first note in every grouplet of four needed to be harmonized; or, if it moves in ascending or descending sixteenth notes, the first note in every grouplet of four should also be harmonized. The manuscript ends with dozens of examples of bass line movements, labeled with the appropriate basso continuo figures in every major and minor key, and a practical excerpt. *A figlia di coro* could apply these concepts to learning new music very quickly, to improvising at the keyboard over basso continuo lines, or – if she had the time and materials – to composing her own music.

The basics on how to read musical figures, produce correct scales and intervals, and harmonize cadences and other bass line movements, as presented in these manuscripts, are very typical of the eighteenth-century Galant style. The *figlie di coro*, therefore, trained in standard musical knowledge, similar to any professional musician in the eighteenth century. Scales and *salti* were the foundation of performance mastery, while the internalization of rules for harmonizing scales, sequences, and cadences paved the way for advanced *figlie* to quickly and easily improvise over any bass line in any tonal center, and possibly even compose their own music. Without much free time in the day, nor being provided the necessary materials, however, few *figlie di coro* had the chance for notated composition. Their study of music was largely directed towards performance. Yet there are glimpses of written creativity in a few

sources, specifically cadenza passages at the end of solo pieces, as well as a few religious compositions by the *figlie*, as described below.

A Soloist's Cadenza: Fortunata Cantora

Performing a cadenza, a virtuoso passage inserted near the end of the piece of music, was a basic requirement of eighteenth-century vocal and instrumental soloists. Cadenzas served as an important tool to entertain and awe listeners, who expected to hear the brilliant embellishments from the esteemed *figlie di coro*, just as they heard from top opera singers and virtuosic instrumentalists. The performance of a cadenza required the ability to devise melodies and soloistic lines over specific cadential harmonies, but also permitted a soloist to enhance a composition with her own personal touch, demonstrating her expertise and artistry. Although cadenzas were most often simply improvised over a composition's penultimate note and not written down, the prevalence of this practice, and the fact that the *figlie di coro* most often performed from musical manuscripts rather than acting from memory on a stage, makes it unsurprising to find a few written examples among the music they used. In fact, in the collection at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, written cadenzas can be identified from at least a dozen top *figlie di coro* – both vocal and instrumental soloists – within a variety of pieces.⁵²⁷ The excerpts within the solo vocal compositions for Fortunata Cantora, however, are some of the most complete and clearest extant samples of how a *figlia di coro* performed her unique cadenzas at the Ospedale della Pietà and serve as the focal point of the following analysis. To understand the circumstances of her life that led to the performance and creation of these solos, they are placed in the context of her biography below.

Fortunata was born in May 1710, but remained with her Venetian kinfolk until she reached the age of six months. The workers at the Ospedale della Pietà then found her abandoned at the church, three hours after sunset, on the 13th of November. With nothing but a tattered shirt and other rags, she likely

⁵²⁷ A few examples of vocal cadenzas include VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 18 and Busta 51 no. 21, which contain some for Elena; Buste 51 no. 4 and 71 no. 2 for Gioseffa (Josepha); Busta 51 no. 3 for Giulietta; Busta 83 no. 10 for Ignazia; Busta 104 no. 6 for Marina; Busta 109 no. 1 for Gregoria; and Busta 110 no. 4 for Bettina. There are also a few samples of solo violin cadenzas, such as Busta 60 no. 4, Antonio Martinelli's Concert for two violins, originally performed by Bona and Nuciata.

came from impoverished conditions or a family who was struggling to provide for the growing infant.⁵²⁸

Fortunata's name thus became the 1335th to be recorded in *Scaffeta* Book P. She grew up learning the routines of Ospedale life and began her official work for the *coro* around fourteen years old, the typical age when musical training intensified for promising *figlie*. By her twenties, she was mentioned as a naturally talented, yet not fully matured, soprano in the anonymous sonnet from the 1730s about certain outstanding *figlie di coro*:

V'è tal' un, che a Fortunata
Ch'è soprana; dà gran lode
Ch'in aplauderla si sfiata
E in uderla esulta, e gode.

There is one, Fortunata,
who is a soprano; From the great praise
in applauding her, one loses one's breath
and in hearing her, one rejoices and delights.

Io dirò, che hà naturale,
Mà che il buon non fà che à caso,
Che per uso canta male,
Calla, strilla, e dà nel naso.

I would say that she is a natural,
but the good only happens by chance;
Usually, she sings badly,
she falls, screams, and sings into her nose.⁵²⁹

Fortunata's musical practices, however, were disrupted for half a year when she was punished for infractions against the *Priora* in March 1730. The previous *Priora* Meneghina dal Violin had recently passed away, and her replacement, the organist Lucietta, was much more strict, threatening to perform searches on the *figlie* for banned accessories like hairpieces, jewelry, and silk clothing. Fortunata, then around age twenty, and two of her peers were not pleased and conspired against the new *Priora*. The Ospedale della Pietà's *Deputati alle figlie* described the incident in detail:

The spirit of the undersigned *Deputati sopra le Figlie* is penetrated by the news given to us by the *Priora* [Lucietta], of somewhat insolent and seditious papers, found at the door of her bedroom and scattered around the house[...] Our spirit was then more animated by the serious consideration and the command of the Pious Congregation; the same evening we diligently continued our scrutiny, and after strict and long examinations, repeated also in the following evening, we had all the aforementioned papers collected with vigor, and, giving warnings and threats of punishments, it was able to be revealed that three *figlie*, that is, Marina *d'ago* [who sews], and Fortunata and Christina *di Coro* had jointly prepared to do something unpleasant to the *Priora*, and cultivating in their spirit for a few days the meditated idea, they resolved in Marina's room to compose together some

⁵²⁸ ASMPV, Libro Scaffeta P, #1335 (13 November 1710). "Fortunata de' mesi 6 involta in una camisa strazza et altra strazza."

⁵²⁹ Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Fondo Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna 1178, Anonymous, "Sonetto Sopra Le Putte Di Coro Della Pietà" (ca. 1730), cc. 206r–212v.

insulting verses, which were foolishly dictated by the two of the *coro* and written on five papers by the aforementioned Marina, and scattered around the house by the same.⁵³⁰

The Congregation then decided to immediately bring the three *figlie*, along with the offended *Priora* to their meeting, so the young women could be reproached for their transgression and be forced to perform what they called “acts of humiliation and respect” toward the *Priora*.⁵³¹ Fortunata and Chrestina were also removed from their positions in the *coro*, assigned to the duty of sewing as *figlie di comun*, as well as deprived of the usual food and proceeds given to the *figlie di coro*, which were instead to be distributed to others. Marina, however, already a *figlia di comun*, was demoted to the class of *figlie piccole*, receiving less food than any of the other adult women.

Six months passed with the three *figlie* relegated to their punishments, until they approached the Governors with a plea for forgiveness.⁵³² The three women admitted that they had acted out of weakness, and now, having reflected on their shortcomings and the irreverence that they showed towards the *Priora*, they begged for mercy to no longer be condemned to sewing and restricted measures. The Governors noted that Fortunata and the other *figlia di coro* Christina had acknowledged their wrongdoing, “sustaining their punishment with full resignation and obedience, while continuing in their duties,” so they were worthy of forgiveness and unanimously permitted to return to serving the *coro*.⁵³³ Similar to the

⁵³⁰ ASV ,OLP Busta 658 (15 March 1730), attached letter from the *Deputati alle Figlie*, Gio. Battista Loredan and Pietro Foscarini. “Penetrò sensibilmente l’animo di noi sottoscritti Dep.ti sopra le Figlie l’aviso esortatoci dalla Priora, di alquante insolenti, e sediziose carte, trovate alla porta della di lei cammera, e sparse per la casa; [...] Animato poi maggiormente il nostro spirito dalle serie conderazioni, e comando della Pia Congreg.ne la sera stessa abbiamo proseguite l’incaminate diligenze, e doppo stretti, e lunghi esami, replicati anche nella sera susseguente, fatte raccogliere tutte le sudette carte, col vigore di farsi ammonizioni, e minacce di castigo, ci è riuscito di rilevare, che tre Figlie, cioè Marina, che lavora d’ago, Fortunata, e Christina di Coro già indiziate, avevano unitamente machinato di far cosa spiacevole alla Priora, e coltivando nel loro animo per qualche giorno l’idea meditata, risolsero nella camera di Marina, di comporre insieme, certi versi ingiuriosi, che furono sciocamente dettati dalle due di Coro, e scritte in cinque carte dalla sud.ta Marina, e dalla medesima sparse la sera per casa.”

⁵³¹ Ibid. “obligate a far atti di umilliatione, e stima verso la Priora.”

⁵³² Their letter for mercy survives in its entirety, containing long obsequious statements of repentance and pleas for forgiveness: ASV, OLP Busta 658 (22 September 1730), parti sciolti.

⁵³³ ASV, OLP Busta 658 (13 September 1730), letter from the *Deputati*. “si sono appoggiattate alla pena con piene rassegnazione, et ubbidienze, continuando ne proprii impieghi”

situations faced by other *figlie di coro*, Fortunata and Christina received an early pardon from their sentence, with the Governors even noting that the women were able to “bring full praise to the *coro*.”⁵³⁴

After this incident, Fortunata not only returned to her work of studying and performing music, she excelled and quickly became one of the top vocal soloists. Indeed, she amassed quite a few solo pieces in her personal repertoire. While still in her mid to late twenties, the *maestro di coro* Giovanni Porta composed several works that featured her, including an oratorio titled *Innocentiae Triumphans* (1735), his tenth setting of Psalm 121 *Laetatus sum* for two choirs (1736), in which Fortunata sang second soprano in the second choir, his eighth setting of Psalm 126 *Nisi dominus* for two choirs, and two motets, “*Aura scintilla*” and “*Veni queso*.”⁵³⁵ Antonio Vivaldi also listed her as one of the four soprano soloists in his setting of *Lauda Jerusalem* RV 609 for two choirs.⁵³⁶ Even outside composers, who were paid piecemeal to compose a few extra pieces for the Ospedale della Pietà, wrote specifically for Fortunata’s soprano voice. In 1738, both Pier Domenico Paradies and Giovanni Battista Lampugnani composed solo motets for her, one of which was scored with accompaniment of *viola d’amore*.⁵³⁷ Fortunata also performed as one of the leads in the serenata *Il coro delle muse* for the Saxon prince Frederick Christian in 1740 (see Chapter Three).⁵³⁸ As one of the nine soloists, who received one aria each in this serenata, she played the part of Urania, the Greek muse of astronomy. Unfortunately, many of these pieces only survive in parts and libretti, lacking the solo soprano lines that she sung, and many more works for her may have been lost to history. Based on the surviving material and how many solos she received during this time, however, she must have been one of the Ospedale’s top performers before she reached the age of thirty.

⁵³⁴ Ibid. “portano nel choro una piena lode.”

⁵³⁵ For the *Laetatus sum*, see Faun Tanenbaum Tiedge, ed., *Giovanni Porta: Selected sacred music from the Ospedale della Pietà* (Madison, Wis: A-R Editions, 1995). The two motets only survive as violoncello lines in VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 88 no. 509, pp. 11, 13v. A libretto of *Innocentiae Triumphans*, with Fortunata’s name handwritten on it, is found in Venice, Biblioteca di Casa Goldoni, source 59 F2/10.

⁵³⁶ Likely composed sometime in the 1730s, Fortunata’s name is written in Vivaldi’s score, held in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Foà 40, 131v.

⁵³⁷ VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 77 no. 2.

⁵³⁸ A libretto of *Il coro delle muse*, with her name on page 4, was printed in Venice, by Presso Giuseppe Bettinelli, in 1740. A copy can be located at Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Corniani Algarotti, Racc. Dramm 5962.

She continued to perform as a lead vocalist in the following decade. First, while Nicola Porpora was the *maestro di coro* at the Ospedale della Pietà in 1742, Fortunata's name appears as a soloist in a copy of his setting of Psalm 147 *Lauda Jerusalem*.⁵³⁹ Then, when Andrea Bernasconi became the *maestro di coro* in 1744, he composed for her several times, including solo parts in three of his oratorios: *Davidis lapsus et poenitentia* (1744), *Adonias* (1746), and *Jonathas* (1747).⁵⁴⁰ Although each soloist received an equal number of arias, as was tradition for oratorio performance at the Ospedali Maggiori, Fortunata played the title roles of Adonias and Jonathas in two of these works. Bernasconi also composed two solo motets for Fortunata, "Cessate ire furores" and "Perfida sors ingrata."⁵⁴¹

Fortunata's written cadenzas come from this period of her life, when she was in her late thirties. She must have sung quite a few cadenzas based on how many solo parts she took, and the examples described here demonstrate that her vocal skill was at parity with professional performance practices in the mid-eighteenth century. She not only had a two-octave range, but was able to create lengthy cadenzas that demonstrated both high levels of virtuosity and artistic sensitivity towards the piece as a whole. The cadenzas appear within the two motets composed by Andrea Bernasconi, as well as in one anonymous "*Salve Regina per Signora Fortunata*."⁵⁴² As was common for the Ospedale's vocal partbooks, Fortunata's soprano parts are transcribed for her with only the basso continuo line underneath, even though full string orchestra surely accompanied her in performances. Those instrumental lines have mostly been lost in separate partbooks, except Bernasconi's two motets, which have some extant parts for violin and violoncello.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ The manuscript of this *Lauda* is located in London, British Library, Add. 14129.

⁵⁴⁰ Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musciennes à Venise*, 990.

⁵⁴¹ VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 6 and Busta 51 no. 2.

⁵⁴² VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 88 no. 6. It is possible that this was by Andrea Bernasconi, considering he was the *maestro di coro* in 1748, when it was composed. Plus, Bernasconi composed at least sixteen known settings of *Salve Regina* for other *figlie di coro*, also held in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello (VC), Fondo Correr Esposti.

⁵⁴³ VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Buste 93 no. 2, 94 no. 6, and Buste 46 no. 2, and 60 no. 1.

Andrea Bernasconi composed very demanding solo motets for Fortunata. In “Cessate ire furores,” for instance, the voice enters on the following, anonymous text with a melody that contains almost no stepwise motion.

I. ARIA

Cessate ire furores
vindictae arma cessate,
eja venite amores
venite affectus mille
cor inflammate in me.
Iras fugando atroces
descendite veloces
in pace ó sacri ardores
unde tranquille amando
letetur cor in se.

Cease, angry furies;
Stop, weapons of vengeance;
Come now, come, love;
Come, a thousand affections;
Kindle in my heart.
While dispersing the terrible wraths,
descend quickly
into peace, O sacred passions,
So the heart will rejoice in itself
from loving tranquility.

II. RECITATIVO

Te jam amo ó mi Deus te jam adoro;
Et in serena pace tam ardeo nunc in te
celesti amore
quam insano flagravi in me furore,
ne tardes eja veni anime amanti faciem
ostende tuam
Ah’ tandem veni ó care
namque pena in me fit amplius tardare.

I already love you, o my God, I already adore you;
and, in serene peace, I am now burning with so
much of your heavenly love,
as much as mad fury had burned in me.
Don’t delay, oh come, show your face to the
beloved soul;
Ah, finally, come, O beloved,
So that the pain in me may lessen.

III. ARIA

Turtur a fido nido
gementi cantu exclamat
cari, cari dilecti aspectum
longe videndo a se.
Sic longe a te cor clamat,
O Deus urgendo affectum
tuo visu amantem leni
Ah’ tandem veni ad me.

The turtledove cries out
a lament from its nest
on seeing its dear beloved
from afar.
Likewise, the heart cries when it's far from you,
O God, so placate your beloved
by being near with your loving presence;
Ah, just come to me.

IV. Alleluia.

Alleluia.

The motet contains arpeggiated leaps, regular jumps of an octave or a fifth, and dramatic changes of register. Additionally, a sixteenth-note run over the range of an octave appears only five measures after the vocal entrance on the word “cessate.” The first aria of the motet also contains four separate vocal melismas that each span at least six measures in length, and there is considerable use of grace notes and trills.

“Perfida sors ingrata” similarly contains quite a few leaps in vocal range, including few stepwise motions, except in cadential figures and very long melismatic runs, on this anonymous text:

I. ARIA

Perfida sors ingrata
quid tentas contra me
fide celesti armata
cede rigoris tui
sperno furorem.
Fastum depone in sanum
Iram refrena in te
Me cum pugnare in vanum
cernam tue fraudisium
ac reum li vorem.

You treacherous ungrateful lot,
who would test me,
armed with celestial faith,
stop your severity;
I detest fury.
Sensibly put aside your pride;
Control your anger;
If you vainly fight with me,
I would see your deceit
and would destroy the guilty.

II. RECITATIVO

Ceco plenum horrore aspicio celum,
terra commota tremit,
sibilant venti, et mare longe fremit;
Ah’ quid erit de me
Quid ultra tentas o sors tiranna
sed cur sic deliro que nam sors
Ah’ sors mea extat in manu dei;
Anima rea sic delirat nec caret a culpe
horrore in quo misera iacet
Dum pena sempre merite subiacet.

I look at the sky full of gloomy dread;
The earth angrily trembles;
The wind hisses, and the sea roars in the distance;
Ah, what will become of me?
Why do you still tempt, o tyrant,
but also why am I as mad as you?
Ah, my fate exists in the hand of God;
The guilty soul, thus, is angry and has sin;
The wretched lies in dread,
While always justly subject to punishment.

III. ARIA

Care Iesu erroris mei
ope tua sordes lavabo
sic contenta respirabo
et sic vivam leta in te.
Pereant sic timoris rei
Umbre in fauste ce ci horrores
Ac tue, gratie almi splendor
Nunc fulgescant super me.

Dear Jesus, the error is mine;
With your help, I will wash the uncleanness;
Thus satisfied, I will breath
and likewise live in your death.
So, let the fear of the guilty perish,
favorably disperse the dreadful shadows,
and you, the nurturing rays of grace
Now shine on me.

IV. Alleluia.

Alleluia.

To perform this motet, Fortunata must have had complete mastery over *salti*, like those in the previously described pedagogical materials. Additionally, in this motet’s first *da capo* aria, the basso continuo drops from several sections, leaving empty space for the vocal runs to shine on their own. These motets, while following the Ospedali’s typical four-part structure of aria, recitative, aria, and alleluia, feature *da capo* arias for a showy display of voice, similar to what was heard by *prime donne* in opera theaters.

Fortunata's written cadenzas take the required range and agility of these motets to more extreme levels. In "Cessate ire furores," only its first *da capo* has an accompanying cadenza, which appears on the final page of the manuscript. It seems to have been composed for two performers in duet, the lead soprano soloist with a violinist. The cadenza begins with the vocalist holding the principal tone of d'' in a half note, followed by a pattern of sixteenth notes. This pattern is echoed by the violin and then sequenced down by thirds twice, mimicked in the violin again each time. After this imitation between the two voices, the vocal soloist extends into her upper range on half notes, while the violinist offers some showy arpeggiated sixteenth notes. They end together, with the violin harmonized one third lower, in a plunging scale, before ascending once again, oscillating up and down by step until reaching the highest note of the entire aria. While the composed range of this aria is an octave and a half, from d' to a'', the cadenza goes further to b''. The cadenza concludes with a trill in both voices before they land together on tonic.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a solo cadenza with violin. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has two staves: the top one for the vocal line and the bottom one for the violin. The second system also has two staves: the top one for the vocal line and the bottom one for the violin. The notation is dense and includes various rhythmic values, including sixteenth notes and trills. There are some markings like 'te in me' and 'u2:' in the lower system. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper.

Example 5.4. VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 6, solo cadenza with violin

Despite the inclusion of a violin accompaniment, which must have been a special presentation that stemmed from the Ospedale della Pietà's exceptional instrumental training, this cadenza follows the typical format of an eighteenth-century professional cadenza. There were many eighteenth-century theories and rules about how cadenzas should be performed, yet the most common basic structure of a cadenza was described well by the esteemed Italian violinist and instructor Giuseppe Tartini.⁵⁴⁴ Like the cadenza of "Cessate ire furores," an ideal cadenza began with a held note that swelled in volume, known commonly as the *messa di voce*, or "placing of the voice." This was followed by runs or short themes (*passaggi*), which demonstrated some agility and technique of the performer. In Fortunata's cadenza, this is the imitative sequencing down by thirds, which also mirrored typical patterns of sequenced *salti* like those in the Ospedale's more rudimentary and vocal-specific pedagogical materials. Next in a standard cadenza came notes of smaller value, often metrically free, which extended to a high note. For the top eighteenth-century vocalists, this high note, similar to the cadenza above, was often the highest note of the piece, a show of brilliance just before the end. The cadenza then often concluded with a turn (*gruppetto*) and/or trill before arriving on the tonic pitch for the cadential tonic chord. Many theorists and singing masters, like Johann Quantz and Pier Francesco Tosi, believed that a cadenza should fit within the span of one single breath and not break the meter.⁵⁴⁵ This rule, however, was regularly ignored by soloists, including Fortunata. Eighteenth-century singers often executed elaborate, highlight embellished, and extremely lengthy cadenzas, perhaps trying to outshine their peers, while also preferring virtuosity

⁵⁴⁴ Tartini worked mostly in Padua, Italy, and he had known connections to the Ospedali Maggiori, serving as a teacher to the *figlia* Madalenna Lombardini Sirmen. For his treatise on ornamentation and cadenzas, see Giuseppe Tartini, *Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonar il Violino, col vero fondamento di saper sicuramente tutto quello, che si fa, buono ancora a tutti quelli ch'esercitano la Musica*, copied by Giovanni Francesco Nicolai (c. 1771), original manuscript held in Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello, #18624; modern edition, Erwin R. Jacobi, ed., *Traité des agréments de la musique: réédition complète, commentée et accompagnée d'un appendice, de plusieurs reproductions photographiques et d'une annexe contenant un fac-similé du texte italien original* (New York: Moeck, 1961).

⁵⁴⁵ Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1723). Johann Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752).

over conformity with themes or styles of the preceding composition.⁵⁴⁶ Fortunata's cadenza, for instance, spans twelve measures and only repeats a melodic pattern of the original aria once at the ascending run before the high note.

The cadenzas in Bernasconi's other motet, "Perfida sors ingrata," follow a similar format, but each also demonstrates slightly different vocal techniques. While the first cadenza exhibited the vocalist's extended range and awareness of voice leading rules in some flashy runs, the second shows a sensitivity to the themes of the aria and vocal agility through ornamentation. Both cadenzas appear at the end of the first section of the two *da capo* arias, added in different ink in the empty rests over the final instrumental ritornello. They each begin with a held *messo di voce*, before leaping into scalar runs and arpeggios, at least one instance of the highest note of the aria, and a concluding trill before the cadence. That of the first *da capo* aria presents a run, beginning on a'' and falling by thirds to b' through sequenced grouplets of sixteenth notes. Even though the piece was composed in F major, each grouplet of four sixteenth notes includes accidentals to ensure proper voice leading, with the only *mi-fa* movement in each appearing between the final note of the grouplet and the first note of the next one.

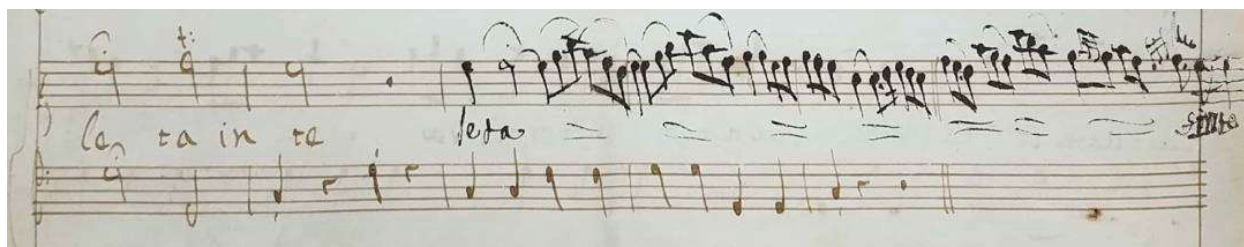


Example 5.5. VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 2, first cadenza

In the second aria, however, the vocalists sticks to diatonic notes in the cadenza, while echoing the triplet pattern of its aria. Knowledge of rules for harmonization over a dominant chord are also fully apparent, as the arpeggios and sequencing triplets do not outline the dominant G major chord, as might be expected in the tonal center of C. Instead, in the construction of this cadenza, Fortunata uses arpeggios based on the second and seventh scale degrees of C, knowing (like in Example 5.1 above) that the

⁵⁴⁶ Howard Mayer Brown, "Embellishing Eighteenth-Century Arias: On Cadenzas," in Michael Collins and Elise K. Kirk, eds., *Opera and Vivaldi* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 258-276.

harmonies over the second scale degree, the fifth scale degree, and the seventh scale degree are practically interchangeable, all used for their resolution towards the principal tone. This cadenza additionally adds some extra vocal embellishments, concluding not only with the mandatory trill, but also with some ornamental acciaccaturas.



Example 5.6. VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 2, second cadenza

Fortunata's cadenzas in the anonymous setting of *Salve Regina* form one of the clearest examples of written cadenzas in all the *figlie di coro*'s extant partbooks. The text is liturgical and is broken into five sections, each with its own individual cadenza passage:

Section:	Latin Text:	Tonal Center and Meter:	Other Aspects:
1	Salve Regina, mater misericordiae: Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.	G major, cut time	Andantino affettuoso, alternate cadenza included
2	Ad te clamamus, exsules, filii Hevae. Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.	C major, common time	Allegro, "con soprano obligato," alternate cadenza included
3	Eia ergo, Advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.	G major, common time	Allegro assai
4	Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis, post hoc exsilium ostende.	D major, cut time	Andante affettuoso, cadenza accompanied by two violins
5	O clemens: O pia: O dulcis Virgo Maria.	G major, 3/4	No tempo given

Table 5.2. Sections of *Salve Regina* for Fortunata Cantora

Despite the piece's liturgical function, it was composed in the manner of a *bravura* aria, practically concert music by concept. After an instrumental introduction, Fortunata's voice enters with the text "Salve," held for three beats on a high d', a typical showy *messa di voce*, which is followed by a long

melisma that steps down in sequence. The range extends two octaves throughout this first section, and many of the high notes are approached by large leaps, usually a fifth or an octave. Additionally, there are several melismas that expand between four to eight measures long, showing off the vocalist's stamina and agility.

Fortunata composed her first cadenza by disregarding the figures of the main theme itself, deciding to instead show extravagant virtuosity. It required much vocal control and agility, extending quickly over the range of an octave and a half. A quarter note and a dotted-eighth, sixteenth-note rhythm, which served as a short *messa di voce* on the principal tone of g', is followed by quick runs in sixteenth and thirty-second notes, practically a glissando up to the highest note of the piece, as well as sixteenth-note triplets next to duple-feel sixteenth notes, and a final mandatory trill ornamentation. Like the cadenzas above, she used a triplet sequence descending by step, before the ascending run in small-value notes, which was likely sung unmetered. This is a point of departure from the rest of the number, a very standard, yet flashy cadenza in which the singer performed as she preferred.



Example 5.7. VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 88 no. 6, first cadenza

Section 2 of the *Salve Regina* did not provide a break for the soloist. Not only is it in a quicker tempo, but tends to linger in the soprano's upper range throughout. The cadenza for this section, unlike the first, follows much of the rhythmic motives from the original theme, such as syncopation, while also adding new flourishes and ornamentations. Because of its similarity to the original theme, it is likely that this cadenza was "*obbligato*," that is, an obligatory line that the original composer wrote himself, especially because the words "*Soprano obbligato*" appear at the beginning of the section. Nevertheless, the final two measures of the cadenza were crossed out, with higher and more difficult measures added in a second hand. Rather than a short run from e'' to b' before ascending to the highest note, the new

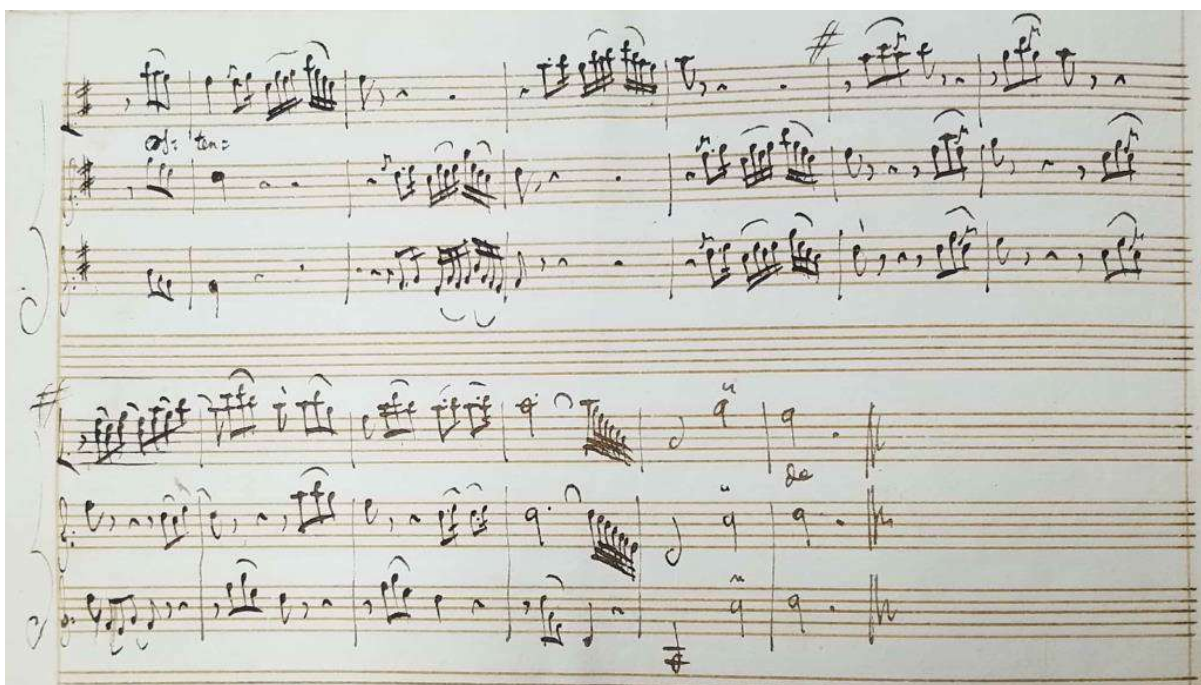
cadenza contains two descending scales, first from e'' to e', before leaping up a tenth to g'' and descending an octave by step once again. Then, in the new cadenza, the vocal line leaps a ninth up to an a'' and adds a small ornament before holding that high a'' on repeated staccato notes. These extreme leaps in vocal register, ascending ninths and tens, and later a descending sixth, must have stemmed from Fortunata's study and proficiency of *salti*. It concludes with a quick run down to the tonic of c'' before the obligatory eighteenth-century cadential trill. Interestingly, the replacement cadenza also included another alteration, inserted after the cadence, which shows even further editing of the rhythms. Extended range and extreme agility were truly demonstrated in this cadenza.



Example 5.8. VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 88 no. 6, second cadenza

While the cadenzas in the third and final sections of the *Salve Regina* feature comparable structures, each with a *messa di voce*, the highest note of the piece, extended range, ascending and descending runs, and the final trill, the cadenza of the fourth section is quite different from what might be heard in contemporaneous opera theaters, perhaps even unique. This part of the *Salve Regina* includes an extra inserted page for the vocalist accompanied by two violins, which seems to be in the hand of a third copyist. Like the cadenza in Bernasconi's "Cessate ire furores," the cadenza in section four of the *Salve Regina* features a call and response beginning with the voice and echoed by the violins. Although the range still extends up to the highest note of the section, and it contains a quick run and the mandatory trill at the end, the cadenza is fairly melodic compared to some of the other written cadenzas of the *Salve*

Regina. The voice and strings demonstrate their skills of unity and color rather than just pure virtuosic technique. This insert, however, also highlights that a cadenza for both the vocal soloist and violin accompaniment was not a one-off at the Ospedale della Pietà, but rather a special enticement that the *figlie di coro* could produce regularly. By training both esteemed vocal soloists and instrumentalists who could practice together often, the Ospedale could coordinate for performance of cadenza passages that featured them together.



Example 5.9. VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 88 no. 6, fourth cadenza with violins

These cadenzas reveal an obvious ability to sing with extreme vocal control and virtuosity, rivaling that of professional opera singers, while also presenting a cooperation between vocalists and the distinctive violin playing of the Ospedale della Pietà. Fortunata was an accomplished and skilled soprano in her prime. Yet her performance career slowed as she aged.⁵⁴⁷ New solo pieces composed for her disappear from the archival collections after the 1750s, while new, younger *figlie di coro* – including Imperia, Elena, and Leonila – took her place as leading soloists.

⁵⁴⁷ There is one more instance of her name as a soloist for the Ospedale della Pietà. When Gaetano Latilla was the *maestro di coro* from 1753-1762, he composed the principal soprano part for Fortunata in his *Laudate pueri* no. 1 in two choirs. See VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 86 no. 4, p. 45v. This is proof that she kept singing in her forties.

Fortunata, like many other older *figlie di coro*, began applying her skills in music towards teaching. The first instance of Fortunata's teaching career appeared in 1746, when the Governors of the Pietà conducted a review of which *figlie di coro* were teaching *figlie in educazione*. The *Priora* wrote a list of everyone who was currently teaching external students, and the *Deputati al Coro* noted:

It was then revealed from the aforementioned note that for about two years the *Figlia* Fortunata Corista, who is not privileged in the number of the current fourteen, has illegally held Gerolema Fossati, and even though [this has been] opposed by the *Priora* many times, she has never left; We do not know the age of this [*figlia in educazione*] nor the character of her parents, and therefore we duly expose this disorder.⁵⁴⁸

Fortunata's *figlia in educazione* was immediately removed from the Ospedale, and Fortunata was not allowed to teach for many following years.

Nevertheless, Fortunata continued to strive towards teaching positions throughout her forties. In 1750, she applied to become a *maestra*, with a note that stated she had already taught two younger *figlie di coro*.⁵⁴⁹ However, she was competing for this promotion against the famous Anna Maria dal Violin; the famous violinist, who was described as "able to undertake and execute any duty that was assigned to her," was favored for this position.⁵⁵⁰ Fortunata competed a second time in 1752, although she lost the position once again, this time to Agata Cantora (described below). Two years later, in 1754, the third time was the charm, as Fortunata successfully became a *maestra*, but barely. In a letter recommending her for the position, the *Deputati* described Fortunata at now age forty four and of "wise and modest conduct."⁵⁵¹ Besides teaching a few younger *figlie*, she must have also still been performing, as the letter explained she "tirelessly fulfilled all the functions of the *coro*, which she continues to do still in the present."⁵⁵² The

⁵⁴⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 665 (23 August 1746), letter from the *Deputati al Coro*. "Si rilleva poi da detta nota che da due anni in circa la Figlia Fortunata Corista che non è graziata nel numero dell'acennate quatordecì tiene abusivamente Gerolema Fossati, e quantunque più volte avversita dalla Priora mai si è partita; Di questa non si comprende ne l'età ne il carattere de suoi Genitori, e però di tal disordine ne facciamo la dovuta esposizione."

⁵⁴⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 668 (3 December 1750), parti sciolti. "Per titolo di maestra figlia Fortunata Corista età d'anni 41 servisci il coro anni 24 et ebbi due scolare."

⁵⁵⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 668 (1 December 1751), letter from the *Deputati alle Figlie*. "si trova capace d'intraprendere ed esebitar qualunque carica le fosse appoggiata."

⁵⁵¹ ASV, OLP Busta 686 (20 August 1754), letter from the *Deputati*. "Figlia di savia, e modesta condotta."

⁵⁵² Ibid. "hà sempre sostenuto l'esercizio del Canto, adempito avendo indefessamente a tutte le funzioni del coro ciocche continua a fare ancora in presente."

Governors voted on both Fortunata Cantora and Bernardina dal Violin for the position of *maestra*, which resulted in a tie. Fortunata was only elected on a revote.⁵⁵³ At the Ospedale della Pietà, it was not always a straightforward path to positions of authority, especially for a *figlia* like Fortunata, who had been in trouble multiple times in her past.

Fortunata, however, had her biggest moments in teaching music in the early 1760s, when she received foreign students and prepared them for successful careers as court musicians. It began in May 1761, when Fortunata was brought forward to the Congregation for consideration as *privileggiata*:

With the purpose of benefiting the meritorious *figlie* of this place and to animate them to do good, the Congregation agreed to allow twenty four of the same [*figlie*] the ability to have *figlie in educazione* [...] To be made worthy of the same [benefit of having a *figlia in educazione*], the Maestra Fortunata of the class of *Coro* is presented; in this [*coro*], she has practiced worthily for the course of forty years in singing, not only Requiems, Antiphons, and Verses, but also in motets, currently at the age of 51, distinguished since the year 1754 with the title of *maestra*, and having trained other *figlie* in the *coro*; therefore, consider it our duty that she be made worthy of this grace.⁵⁵⁴

Fortunata was approved for the privilege unanimously.⁵⁵⁵ In the following month, the Ospedale della Pietà then received a letter from Francesco Lattanzio di Firmian, the Director of Music for the court of the Archbishop-Prince Sigismund von Schrattenbach of Salzburg. He wanted to send two teenage girls, Maria Magdalena Lipp and Anna Maria Braunhofer, to learn how to sing under the Archbishop's expense.⁵⁵⁶ The Ospedale's Governors approved this request, and Fortunata received the recommendation to serve as the singing teacher for these two girls. Fortunata instructed them for three years.

Due to their study with Fortunata, Lipp and Braunhofer earned posts as court musicians when they returned to Salzburg and pursued subsequent successful musical careers. Lipp, the daughter of court organist and composer Franz Ignaz Lipp, stayed as a musician of the Salzburg court for decades,

⁵⁵³ ASV, OLP Busta 693 Not. T (23 August 1754), 140.

⁵⁵⁴ ASV, OLP Butsa 673 (4 May 1761), letter from the *Deputati*. "Coll'oggetto di beneficiare le Figlie meritevoli di questo luogo, et animarle al ben fare condiscese la Cong.ne ad accordare a 24 delle medeme la facoltà di tener figiole in educazione[...] Per esser fatta degna del medemo presentasi la M.a Fortunata della Classe di Coro in cui s'escicò meritamente per il corso d'anni 40 nel Canto non solo ne Requiemi, Antifone e Versetti, ma anche ne motteti esistente essa negl'anni 51 dell'età sua, e distinta sin dall'anno 1754 del titolo di maestra avendo anelle ammaestrate altre Figlie nel Coro; considera perciò il dover nostro che possa esser fatta degna della grazia."

⁵⁵⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 693 Not. T (8 May 1761), 266.

⁵⁵⁶ ASV, OLP Busta 673 (8 June 1761), letter from Francesco Lattanzio di Firmian.

eventually marrying Michael Haydn, the brother of the more famous Joseph Haydn. Lipp and Braunhofer also caught the attention of Leopold Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's father. While the Mozart family was touring Europe in the 1760s, Leopold composed a letter to the Salzburg court, inquiring about Lipp and Braunhofer's musical training and court singing, as he was possibly interested in his daughter Maria Anna "Nannerl" being able to follow a similar career path in music.⁵⁵⁷ Both Lipp and Braunhofer also sang in at least one of the younger Mozart's operas, *La Finta semplice*, performed for the Salzburg court in May 1769.⁵⁵⁸

Fortunata's knowledge of modern singing techniques, as well as her ability to convey her skills as an instructor are clearly revealed in her students' success. Additionally, other Austro-German courts noticed these girls being sent to the Ospedale for training and wanted their own young girls to receive the same. In May 1762, for example, the Prince-Bishop of Passau Joseph Maria von Thun und Hohenstein sent his own letter requesting that Fortunata train a girl for him:

I took the charge of aiding a *figlia* here aged over 14 years old, well educated, of excellent disposition, well disposed, and full for music; I would therefore like to send her there as soon as possible, before the excessive heat of summer arrives, to be placed in the Conservatory of the Pietà under the laudable direction and instruction of Signora Fortunata Cantora.⁵⁵⁹

The prince not only wanted a girl under his care to be trained in music for his court, but specifically asked for Fortunata to be the instructor.

After teaching these Austro-German girls, Fortunata lived another decade in the Ospedale della Pietà. She began struggling with health issues by her late fifties, receiving permission several times to travel to the *terra ferma* between 1764 and 1770.⁵⁶⁰ She died on 19 November 1774, at the age sixty four,

⁵⁵⁷ Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 105.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁵⁵⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 673 (19 May 1762), Lettera da Giuseppe Vescovo e Principe di Passavia. "Ho preso l'assunto di giovare ad una Figlia di qui in età di 14 anni finiti, ben educata, di ottima indole; ben disposta, e tutta portata per la musica; vorrei perciò mandarla costà più presto fia possibile pria che sopraggiunga l'eccessivo calore dell'estate per essere collocata nel Conservatorio della Pietà sotto la lodevole direzione ed istruzione della Sig.a Fortunata Cantora."

⁵⁶⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 694 Not. V (5 October 1764), 43-43v; (11 September 1767), 94v; and (3 June 1768), 106v; Busta 675 (7 June 1765) and (27 September 1765), parti sciolti; and Busta 678 (1 June 1770), parti sciolti.

from “fever and gangrene.”⁵⁶¹ Still, Fortunata Cantora can be remembered as a renowned vocalist during her life, a leading soprano soloist and an exceptional music instructor. The musical education she received and provided at the Ospedale della Pietà rivaled the best musical educations available for women anywhere in Europe. As she became older, she transitioned her musical knowledge from performance to instruction, but her skills were more than equal to what was expected for any professional eighteenth-century vocalist as revealed by her solo cadenza work and her students’ careers.

The Composer: Agata Cantora

As esteemed musicians, the *figlie di coro* had special opportunities to seek help through the Ospedale’s Governors, as well as from certain noble and bourgeois patrons who favored them for their musical skill. They could find themselves promoted to positions of authority, and even receive the space and materials needed for creative production. Agata Cantora exemplifies the advantages that musical accomplishment could bring, not only in receiving favor from the Ospedale’s Governors and patrons, but also in overcoming physical difficulties both as an infant and later in life. She eventually found the time to compose her own music for her peers, which includes one of the most complete extant examples of a *figlia di coro*’s written work today.

At her birth on 24 March 1712, the baby girl only had one finger on her left hand, while her two feet together had only four toes. The future for such a child must have seemed bleak, with little hope for success in marriage or in the labor markets. Her parents, likely dismayed by the disfigured infant, sent their newborn daughter – swaddled in red cloth with fancy trimmings that might have signaled family wealth – for anonymous deposit in the *scaffeta* of the Pietà. She arrived with a note: “I beg you to safeguard this child and keep her until such time, in short, that she will be re-acknowledged.”⁵⁶² The women of the Ospedale who received the baby assigned her a number and a name in *Scafetta* Book P:

⁵⁶¹ ASMPV, Registri di morti (19 November 1774), p. 15. “Fortunata figlia dal sudetto Pio Loco d’anni 63 c.ca inferma di mese uno da febre, e cancrena universale in questa mattina alle 13 passa a miglior vita.”

⁵⁶² ASMPV, Registri Scafetta P #2229 (24 March 1712). “Son á suplicarle á custodire questa creatura et tenerla appresso di sé sino á tanto che in breve sará riconosciuta.”

#2229, Agata. Her family, however, never came back for her, and Agata grew up within the Ospedale della Pietà. Although Agata may have struggled with fine manual skills, like sewing, spinning, or playing many musical instruments, she excelled in singing.

In 1723, at the age of eleven, Agata officially started training for the *coro*. She took special voice lessons from the proficient Apollonia (discussed in Chapter Two), who was about thirty years old at the time. Through this tutelage, Agata became a well-known soprano soloist by the age of eighteen, a *cantora* considered second only to her teacher.⁵⁶³ The anonymous sonnet from the 1730s labeled her as such, including melodramatic descriptions of her vocal abilities and physical condition:

Dietra a questa Agata viene
Sua discepola, et alieva,
Ed à cui ciascun conviene,
Che il secondo dar si deva

Behind this one [Apollonia] comes Agata,
her disciple and student,
and to whom everyone agrees
second place must be given.

Ei soprana, a poca voce
Bel trilletto, e s'assicura
Passeggiar netto e veloce,
E far salti di Bravura

She is a soprano, with a small voice,
a beautiful little trill, and she makes sure
to ornament clearly and quickly,
and to make leaps of skill.

Senza dita hà la man manca
E il piè manca, et è bruttetta
È più verde assai, che bianca
Zoppa piccola, e sechetta

With her left hand without fingers
and a missing foot, she is a little ugly one;
She is rather more green, than white;
A crippled and withered little girl.

Because the Ospedali Maggiori often struggled with cramped living conditions and a surplus of the ill and needy, those living in the Ospedali regularly faced physical ailments and sickness. Despite her success as a vocalist with a lithe soprano voice, Agata struggled too, like many other wards, with preserving her health. Complications first arose in the spring of 1731 when she was nineteen years old. The physician of the Ospedale explained:

Agata Corista suffers almost constant heaviness of the head, with frequent and abundant vicious salivation [humors drawn to the mouth], so that often when drinking the jugular

⁵⁶³ Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Fondo Emanuele Cicogna, source 1178, \ “Sonetto Sopra Le Putte Di Coro Della Pietà,” 207v. A poem describing Agata is transcribed in Remo Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Turin: ERI, 1973). A rhymed, verse English-translation of the entire poem can be found in Berdes and Whittemore, *Guide to Ospedali Research*, 67.

veins produce either heating or abscesses, and particularly during the intense practice of her vocation, with danger of losing her voice.⁵⁶⁴

For relief, the doctor suggested that she receive extra chicken in her meals, as was common for most wards in the infirmary. She continued to feel sick, however, for many months and did temporarily lose her voice. Agata herself wrote to the Congregation in August:

Encouraged by the very many benefits given by the venerable authority of this Venerable Congregation to one who enjoys the honor of their fatherhood in this Charitable Institution, I, Agata Cantora, dare, with all respect, to petition you for my most humble person.

The great and heavy indispositions felt in my person, although in some part reduced, continue...

Universally it is believed, and the physician affirms in the attached certificate, that my only remedy would be a change of air. Also in this, God wants to console me, given that the Lady Loredana Querini, with very great kindness, having sympathy for my situation, agrees to take me with her to her villa for about a month.⁵⁶⁵

Her letter first acknowledges that the Congregation served as her father in the absence of biological parents. This paternal relationship between the *figlie* and the men who oversaw them, appears in many of the women's written requests. The Congregation indeed encouraged this framing of its familial authority over these disadvantaged Venetian women.

Furthermore, in the pursuit of better health, Agata benefited not only from her patriarchal relationship with the Congregation – who approved her travel almost unanimously – but also from the patronage of the women of the Querini family.⁵⁶⁶ The noble Querini, one of the richest and most influential families of Venice, owned large properties on the Venetian mainland, where they hosted Agata several times. In 1731, Signora Loredana Querini escorted Agata to one of her family's villas. Barbara

⁵⁶⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 659 (2 March 1731). “Agata Corista isogetta ad un peso quasi continuo di testa con frequente, et abbondante salivattione vitiosa che speso inbevendo li vasi iugulari li produce o riscaldatione, o aposteme, e particolarmente nel applicatione forte del suo ministero con pericolo a tempo di perdere la voce.”

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., (17 August 1731). “Incoraggita l’umilissimo rispetto di me Agata di Choro dalle tante beneficenze impartite dalla Venerata autorita di questa Veneranda Congreagtion e a chi gode l’onore dalla sua paternita in questo Pio Loco ardisco con tutto rispetto d’implorarle anco per l’umilissima mia persona.

Le grandi, e pesanti indispositioni provate nel mio individuo e tuttavia quantunque minorate in parte mi continuano, [...] Universalmente viene creduto, e la afferma il medico nell’acenata sua Fede che l’unico mio giovamento possi essermi la variatione del Aria. Anco in questo vuole Dio consolarmi atteso che la N.D. Loredana Querini de E. Ger.mo con summa benignita compatendo il mio caso concorre a condurmi secco in villa per mese uno in circa.”

⁵⁶⁶ The Congregation granted this kind of permission to the *figlie di coro* much more often than to the *figlie di commun*, as the many years of musical training made the musicians irreplaceable.

Contarini Querini then accompanied the singer in September 1733, and again twice a decade later in September 1743 and September 1746.⁵⁶⁷ Each time she left, Agata enjoyed a month-long retreat at a Querini home, before returning to the Pietà to resume her duties to the *coro*. While away, Agata had some space and special attention to benefit her health, but she also likely performed music for the pleasure of her hosts, with prospects of meeting many of their patrician guests.⁵⁶⁸

By the 1740s, when Agata was in her thirties, she had earned fame as a well-regarded musical performer and an exceptional music teacher. After training several promising orphaned *figlie di coro*, known as Cattarina, Louisa, Maria Antonia, and Teresa, she also had a chance to teach external students.⁵⁶⁹ In particular, though Agata had not yet been elected *privileggiata*, she inherited from her mentor Apollonia, now aged almost sixty, the tutorship of two young *figlie in educazione*, the noblewomen Catterina and Angela Baglioni. Agata's work with these two young sisters brought her support for her health difficulties from a second noble Venetian family. In July 1748, after gaining approval from the girls' mother, Agata wrote to the Congregation seeking permission to visit the Baglioni on the Venetian mainland:

I, the humble Agata Cantora, daughter of the Charitable Institution of the Pietà, beg from the charity of the Venerable and Pious Congregation permission to spend several days in the countryside, in order to restore my health with the benefit of the air. This beneficial opportunity, your Most Illustrious Lordship, comes to me in the generous offer of the Most Excellent Lady Camilla Barbarigo Baglioni, who wishes to send her two little girls to her country home, and who has deigned for some time to leave them under my poor instruction, and so is willing to keep in their company the inconvenience of my poor person.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 660 (11 September 1733); and Busta 692 Not. R (13 September 1743), 175-175v.

⁵⁶⁸ Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 74.

⁵⁶⁹ Agata's students were also successful *figlie di coro* who became solo vocalists for the Ospedale. Maria Antonia, for instance, is listed as the soloist in Gaetano Latilla's *Laudate Pueri* no. 1 (VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 67 no. 1), Andrea Bernasconi's *Nisi Dominus* (VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 33 no. 2), and several solo motets. Agata also composed a solo motet for her student Louisa (spelled alternately as Luisa). See VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 49 no. 4. Teresa is listed as a soloist in at least one of Bonaventura Furlanetto's oratorios. See Giron-Panel, *Musique et Musiciennes*, 997.

⁵⁷⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 666 (7 July 1748). "Umilio io Agata Cantora figlia del Pio Luoco della Pietà, imploro dalla carità della Vend.a e Pia Congregatione la permissione di poter passar qualche giorno in campagna, onde con il beneficio dell'aria procurare il mio ripristinamento in salute. Me ne presenta anche Ill. Signore beneficio l'opportunità nelle esebizioni generose dell'Ecc.ma Sig. Camilla Barbarigo Baglioni, che volendo condurre alla

Accordingly, Agata accompanied the Baglioni family to their villa in Massenzago, a small commune north of Padua. Her exceptional vocal abilities and contributions to teaching must have attracted the notice of the nobility and led to these invitations.

Agata's accomplishments also led to repeated promotions. In 1751, when her mentor and companion Apollonia died, Agata petitioned the Congregation to fill her vacant positions of *privileggiata* and *maestra di coro*. In a small note, she explained that, since the age of eleven, she had served the *coro*, singing both solo and with an ensemble. Most notably, she mentioned that she had practiced the art of counterpoint for at least ten years and was noteworthy for tirelessly maintaining the musicians' parts, distributing and copying notated music as needed. From her training in counterpoint and her experience copying music, she eventually composed for the *coro* itself, including at least one psalm, a *Salve Regina*, one motet, and maybe other religious works for the Pietà's services.⁵⁷¹ The Congregation must have been impressed, as Agata secured both positions.

In July 1763, Agata also became *scrivana* (scribe), a post in which she kept many records for the Ospedale, including inventories of music.⁵⁷² For this duty she received extra oil and wood, which came from the mainland and provided heat and light after sundown.⁵⁷³ She thus had the materials to be able to read and write during the quiet evenings, having "a room of one's own" outside of the usual working day in which to be creative and productive. Few women in the Ospedali had such privilege. In fact, among the *figlie did coro* known to have composed, many of them were also scribes or copyists with the benefits of having extra wood or oil for light in the evenings and access to paper, ink, and musical scores. For

propria villigiatura due delle sue Puttine, quali da qualche tempo degna lasciare sotto la povera mia educazione è pronta a soffrire in loro compagnia l'incomodo della povera persona mia."

⁵⁷¹ ASV, OLP Busta 668 (14 January 1751 m.v./1752). She competed for these positions against two other *figlie di coro*. Her surviving compositions are an *Ecce nunc* (Psalm 133) and a *Salve Regina*. See VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 64.1, p. 96; Busta 83.7, p. 3; Busta 94.2, pp. 44v-46v; Busta 111.1, pp. 75-79; and Busta 57.5, pp. 49v-52; Busta 94.5, pp. 67v-70; Busta 101.4, pp. 74v-78v.

⁵⁷² ASV, OLP Busta 694 Not. V (31 March 1769), 121. The Ospedale Governors defined this position of *scrivana* as "responsible for the registry of all these beings and the custody and distribution of things that serve the purpose [of this institution] even to those at the earliest ages (incombe il registro di tutte queste creature, e la custodia, e distribuzione de generi inservienti alle prime età)."

⁵⁷³ ASV, OLP Busta 694 Not. V (16 September 1763), 24.

instance, a *figlia di coro* named Michiela – or sometimes as Michielina with the diminutive – was also appointed to the position of *scrivana* at least from 1738 to 1750 and regularly received extra oil and wood for her work.⁵⁷⁴ Like Agata, Michielina had the tools to compose her own music, which included a *Pange lingua*, an *Ecce nunc*, and the hymn *Vexilla Regis*.⁵⁷⁵

Of Agata's surviving compositions, parts of the psalm *Ecce nunc*, two Marian antiphons *Regina Caeli* and *Salve Regina* in the style of solo motets, as well as another solo motet on original Latin text "Novo aprili," survive in the collection of music held at the Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello in Venice.⁵⁷⁶ Although parts are missing for each of the works, together they reveal that Agata was quite sophisticated in her compositional practices. She knew standard conventions of musical structure, like the rules for harmonizations that are found in the Ospedale's pedagogical materials. Yet she also was able to alter those conventions for interest and variety. Although Agata's music might not be called very innovative, it surely was not outdated nor incompetent.

To illustrate Agata's skills in composition, consider her *Ecce nunc*, the most complete surviving work, with extant lines for alto and bass voices, first violin, and violoncello or violone (see Appendix

⁵⁷⁴ ASV, OLP Busta 692, Not. R (15 October 1738), 33.

⁵⁷⁵ There were at least two or three other known *figlie di coro* who composed. Caroline Giron-Panel lists Geltruda, also a *Scrivana*, as a composer, while Jane L. Berdes named Santina. *Scrivana* Michiela's settings are *Pange lingua*, which can be found in VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 54 no. 3, Busta 86 no. 5, and Busta 88 no. 7; an *Ecce nunc*, located in Busta 62 no. 1 and Busta 83 no. 2; the hymn *Vexilla Regis*, in Busta 64 no. 2 and Busta 127 no. 58; and a litanie, in Busta 83 no. 6. Comparing her music to Agata's, Michaela was not as fluent in modulation, sticking solely to the tonal centers of G Major and C major for her compositions. She did not compose her pieces with clearly indicated contrasting sections, relying on one through-composed piece. Also, the *Ecce Nunc* was a *cappella*, solely for voices, lacking the instrumental orchestration in which Agata thrived. However, Michaela's one surviving bass line does demonstrate some typical patterns, such as a reliance on scalar motion and sequences of leaps that move up or down by step. Michaela's music only survives in a few incomplete parts.

⁵⁷⁶ Agata's *Ecce nunc* is located in separate partbooks: VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 64 no. 1, pp. 96-96v; Busta 83 no. 7, pp. 3-3v; Busta 94 no. 2, pp. 44v-46v; and Busta 111 no. 1, pp. 75-79v. The *Regina Caeli*, which was composed for Gregoria, is located as a viola part in Busta 58 no. 1, pp. 59v-61. The *Salve Regina*, for the *figlia* Leonila, exists in three parts in Busta 57 no. 5, pp. 49v-52; Busta 94 no. 5, pp. 67v-70; and Busta 101 no. 4, pp. 74v-78v. The solo motet, titled "Novo aprili" and composed for Louisa, only exists in a part for violin in Busta 49 no. 4, pp. 12-15v.

IV).⁵⁷⁷ She originally composed the piece for at least one vocal soloist, accompanied by a full string orchestra and a chorus.

Section	Original Latin Text	English Translation	Orchestration	Key and Time Signatures
1	Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum, omnes servi Domini:	Behold now, bless the Lord, all you servants of the Lord	Soloist, full choir, and orchestra	Common time, F major
2	Qui statis in domo Domini, in atriis domus Dei nostri.	who stand in the house of the Lord, in the courts of the house of our God.	Soloist and orchestra	Common time, D minor, Adagio
3	In noctibus extollite manus vestras in sancta, et benedicite Dominum.	In the nights, lift up your hands in sanctity, and bless the Lord.	Soloist and orchestra	3/4, B-flat major
4	Benedicat te Dominus ex Sion, qui fecit caelum et terram.	May the Lord, who made heaven and earth, bless you from Zion.	Full choir and orchestra, without soloists	3/8, E-flat major
5	Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto,	Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit	Soloist and orchestra	2/4, G minor
6	Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.	As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.	Soloist, full choir, and orchestra	Common time, F major

Table 5.3. Sections of Agata Cantora's *Ecce Nunc*

Ecce nunc was a psalm commonly performed at the Ospedali, essential to the Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent, during the office of Compline. Many *maestri* at the Ospedali who worked during the same era as Agata also composed settings of this psalm, including Baldassare Galuppi (Mendicanti, 1740-1752), Ferdinando Bertoni (Mendicanti, 1751-1777), Nicola Porpora (Derelitti, 1744-6), and Giuseppe Sarti (Pietà, 1766-7).⁵⁷⁸ Each of their compositions split the text in four, or occasionally in six, sections and range from older, more severe counterpoint to the melodic, balanced idiom of Galant style. Of all these

⁵⁷⁷ It was quite common for music at the Ospedale della Pietà to contain parts for bass voice. Evidence suggests that women did actually sing these parts, or, when the female voices were not enough, these parts were doubled by bass instruments. For a discussion on the performance practice of sacred music at the Ospedali, see Michael Talbot, "Tenors and Basses at the Venetian 'Ospedali,'" *Acta Musicologica* 66, Fasc. 2 (Jul. – Dec., 1994): 123-38.

⁵⁷⁸ For a discussion of Galuppi's and Bertoni's setting, see Denis Arnold, "Music at the Mendicanti in the Eighteenth Century," *Music & Letters* 65 no. 4 (Oct. 1984), 349, 351. Porpora's version is discussed in William Michael Hienz, "The Choral Psalms of Nicola Porpora," Thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1980), 160. Sarti's version can be found at VC, Fondo Correr Esposti, Buste 59 no. 3; 60 no. 2 and no. 3; 78 no. 2; 78 no. 5; 83 no. 3; 83 no. 12; 106 no. 2; and 113 no. 1.

settings, however, Agata's *Ecce nunc* is one of the more elaborate. Even though four sections are most common for *Ecce nunc*, she set the text in six sections, alternating between different textures of counterpoint, homorhythm, soloists with orchestra, or full choir. Although none of the solo parts survive today, Agata's work still demonstrates skilled composition. The use of two separate sections for the first line of liturgical text allowed her to offer two contrasting sentiments: first, a lively, joyful call to praise in F major, and second, a solemn minor key, marked by solo virtuosity. Part two, in fact, has an especially virtuosic solo violin line with an extended range, complex rhythms, and chromatic sequences that must have echoed the techniques needed for the solo vocalist. The inclusion of several fermatas throughout the second section would have also allowed flexibility of expression in the solo line, as well as time for vocal improvisation.

Perhaps Agata was keen on displaying the religious qualities of her work, as she structured the first section of the psalm setting, referred to as Section 1 from here forward, with phrases grouped in threes, possibly referencing the number three as a sacred number related to the Holy Trinity, which was commonly used in sacred music of the early modern era. The instrumental introduction – marked as [A] in Appendix IV – for example, is composed of three 3-bar phrases in the tonal center of F major. When the voice enters in measure 10, labeled as [B], the three 3-measure phrase structure repeats, but instead of staying in F, it modulates into the dominant tonal center of C major. The central part of Section 1, marked [C], remains in C major, switching to three phrases at a length of 5 measures each. At [D], Section 1 ends by transitioning back to the original F major within the space of three 4-bar phrases, before an extra tacked-on cadence [E] that is exactly three measures long. Even if this structure was not her original intention, the grouping of three equal-length phrases for each tonal area is quite apparent, especially due to the inclusion of three extra measures for an additional cadence attached to the end.

Other aspects of Section 1 further demonstrate that Agata's composition was firmly located within the larger eighteenth-century Galant style. She commonly used musical features and structures typical of many composers in the second half of the eighteenth century, specifically stock patterns of bass

lines and their appropriate harmonizations. Consider, for example, measures 10-18, labeled as [B] in the transcription in the appendix. Here Agata begins in F major and modulates to the dominant tonal center of C major. These nine measures begin by setting up the listener to anticipate a repeat of the instrumental introduction, as the bass line pattern of measures 10-12 and its harmonizations match exactly that of measures 1-3. It is likely the vocal soloist, which would have entered in measure 10, even echoed the melody that was presented by the violins in measure 1. Then, instead of continuing with previously established patterns that the listener might expect, like those that prolong the original tonal center in measures 4-9, she utilizes the principal tone of F in the bass line as scale degree 4 in the new tonal center of C.⁵⁷⁹ In other words, the same bass line movement from F to E that was heard only six measures earlier becomes now a 4-3 (*fa-mi*) movement in the tonal center of C. This is a very typical transition that stems from the Rule of the Octave, and it supports Agata's transition to a cadence in the dominant. Thus, the listener's expectations are disrupted, while the piece naturally settles into a new tonal center for the next three phrases.

Furthermore, during the central part of Section 1, labeled as [C], Agata employs several common eighteenth-century patterns that allowed her to embellish, yet elongate the new tonal center of C major. Measures 19-21 contain a typical Galant-style structure, recognized commonly today by music theorists as the schema *Monte*.⁵⁸⁰ This schema, or stock musical phrase, is usually comprised of two or more parts, the first presenting a melodic and harmonic model that is then sequenced one step higher in the subsequent parts. Agata, for instance, composed three parts to her *Monte*. Measure 19 begins with 1-4 movement of the bass in C, followed by the same pattern sequencing up by whole steps in in measures 20 and 21. The 5-bar phrase then seamlessly concludes with a typical cadential pattern, known as the *cadenza doppia*, in measures 22 and 23, in C major. In eighteenth-century compositions, the *Monte* commonly functioned as a means for continuation, often found immediately after an ending of a section,

⁵⁷⁹ Gratitude is extended towards Cella Westray and her expertise in Galant schemata and eighteenth-century compositional practices for this analysis.

⁵⁸⁰ Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 458.

such as a double bar in binary or ternary forms. It was therefore quite suitable for maintaining the dominant tonal center in the middle part of Section 1 of Agata's composition. The *Monte* schema is additionally found again in measures 24-26, although this time Agata features an alternate version of the bass line. She starts with the 1-4 bass movement from C to F, but instead of continuing the bass line movement of 1-4 one step higher, she replaced the D with its third, F-sharp. This was not uncommon in eighteenth-century compositions, but is a sophisticated way to repeat a standard pattern while keeping it fresh on the audience's ears.

Agata ended Section 1 with another typical structure that allowed her to modulate back to the original tonal center of F major, labeled as [D] in the transcription. In measures 34-37, there appears a bass line of *salti* that was also featured in many of the Ospedale della Pietà's pedagogical material: a sequence of leaps that move down-a-fifth and up-a-fourth. Agata begins the sequence in F major, which the listener might still hear as the fourth tone in the tonal center of C, since the middle section just ended with a cadence on C. Yet the B-flat in measure 34 is a signal of a schema today known as the *Prinner*, as the bass follows a stepwise descent over four measure from the fourth tone of the original key to the principal tone, finally cadencing in measure 37 with a definitive return to F major. Agata embellished this conventional sequence with decorative sevenths in the violin line, providing the tension of dominant-seventh harmony before the release at the cadence.

With F major fully established as the tonal center once again, Section 1 concludes with several stock patterns for elongation and resolution. Measures 38-39 contain a pedal tone of C in the bass voice, typical of the schema known as *Ponte*, which prolongates dominant sonority. Measures 40-41 then feature a long cadence (*cadenza lunga*) with an added extension. In the final four measures of [D], the full choir enters in homophony, like an exclamation point at the end of sentence. For the full chorus, Agata composed another *Monte* schema to prolong the tonal center before a clear cadence in F major in measure 45. Here, the piece could have ended, but Agata added three more measures of cadential phrase, adhering to her groupings of three and making the final segment in F major more equal in length to the introduction

before the modulation. Section 1, therefore, does not end abruptly, but includes quite a bit of cadential preparation and elongation.

Agata also followed conventional practices of alternating between major and minor keys and styles between sections, so as to keep the music novel and interesting for audiences. She utilized a variety of textures throughout the composition, from solo voice with accompaniment to four-part counterpoint, as well as homophonic chorales. Sections 2, 3 and 5 of Agata's *Ecce nunc*, for example, must have featured a solo singer, as no chorus parts were composed. Section 4 was set in a homophonic four-part texture for full chorus, likely without soloists. In the final part, Section 6, the main theme of Section 1 returns, although slightly truncated, with both soloists and choir. Agata therefore also united the whole composition by book ending the liturgical work with one main theme and the key of F major.

Regardless of the missing parts, this one composition demonstrates that Agata was reasonably sophisticated in how she applied typical eighteenth-century musical structures. She was aware of conventional patterns for either changing or prolonging tonal centers, definitively separating the F major section from the C major section through her phrase structure. She also regularly adjusted conventional bass line patterns and their harmonizations to subtly disrupt and please a listener's expectations. Agata's composition confirms that she was trained as a professional, not an amateur, and it is a shame that more of her music did not survive through time.

Unfortunately, Agata's other extant works survive with even fewer parts (see Table 5.4). She composed a *Salve Regina* for another *figlia* named Leonilda, although today there are only parts for violin and violoncello. No vocal parts survive. She also composed a motet, titled "Novo aprili," for the *figlia* Louisa that only exists today as a single violin line, and a *Regina Celi* for another *figlia* named Gregoria, which survives solely as a viola part. These three works clearly reveal that Agata composed for her peers, naming a specific *figlia* for each solo part, just as many *maestri* did for Fortunata and other *figlie di coro*.

Louisa was even one of Agata's own students, so Agata must have been very familiar with how to compose for her voice.⁵⁸¹

Text of Work	Key and Time Signatures	Function	Named Soloist
<i>Regina caeli, laetare, alleluia;</i> <i>Quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia;</i> <i>Resurrexit, sicut dixit, alleluia;</i> <i>Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia.</i>	3/8, C Major; 2/4, F Major; Common time, C major, ending in half cadence; 3/8, C major	Marian antiphon, typically used in Compline during Eastertide	Gregoria
<i>Salve, Regina, Mater misericordiae, vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.</i> <i>Ad te clamamus exsules filii Hevæ, Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.</i> <i>Eia, ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte; Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.</i> <i>O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria.</i>	Common time, G major 2/4, C major Cut time, D major 3/8, G major	Marian antiphon, typically used in Compline between Easter and Advent	Leonilda
<i>Novo aprili...</i> <i>Flore...</i> <i>In tam...</i> <i>Celi...</i> <i>Et iam...</i> <i>Alleluia...</i>	3/8, F Major, <i>Da capo</i> aria (A section) G minor (B section) Common time, accompanied recitative Common time, C major, <i>Da capo</i> aria (A section) E minor (B section) Common time, F major	Latin Solo Motet	Louisa

Table 5.4. Agata's Other Extant Compositions

⁵⁸¹ Agata wrote a note explaining that she taught a *figlia* named Luisa. Despite the spelling difference, which happens often in the Ospedale's documents, these are likely the same individual. The Ospedale Governors always spelled her name as "Louisa."

Additionally, like many eighteenth-century composers, she generally used keys with less than two accidentals, but was able to modulate fluently between them, with contrasts between each section. Her motet, for instance, uses the usual eighteenth-century style *da capo* arias, with major A sections and minor B sections. Agata also included an accompanied recitative to modulate from F Major to C Major between each *da capo* aria. The final joyous Alleluia concludes the typical structure of motets that was standard at the Ospedali Maggiori.⁵⁸² Her music would easily have been comparable to the professional male composers that worked for the Ospedali.

Later in Agata's life, in February 1769, she was promoted as *Priora*. Her contributions to the musical practices and functioning of the Ospedale della Pietà brought her to the rank of leading woman of the Ospedale. The Governors had high expectations of her, as she kept her positions as *privileggiata* and *scrivana* in concurrence with her new role. They quickly realized, however, that her duties were overbearing:

The *Scrivane* of this Institution [...] tend to be the best, who, due to the many things that belong to this duty, are incessantly occupied. Based on what appears in registers and is recording by memory, the *Priore* are always elected from these *Scrivane*, and we find that it was always permitted that the *Priore* remain in their duty of *Scrivana*. Due to this, it is quite reasonable that they have always been inclined, while as such, to have retained the benefits of both duties. However, all considering that this custom has always been tolerated in the past, we regard it with regret, seeing as how a *Scrivana* is sufficiently occupied in her employment, much more so is a *Priora*, who, being obligated to supervise so many observations and to keep vigilance over the conduct of such a multitude, should not be distracted with other occupations.

The newly elected *Priora* [Agata], manifesting resignation and docility to our insinuations, will be willing to renounce the duty of *Scrivana* to be able to be fully applied to the duties of her new office.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸² This is discussed more fully in chapter three.

⁵⁸³ ASV, OLP Busta 694 Not. V (31 March 1769), 121. "Le Scrivane di questa Casa[...] sogliono esser le migliori le quali per le molte cose che a tall'incombenza appartengono sono incessantemente occupate. Da queste Scrivane per quello che appar da registri et è ricordato dalla memoria sogliono sempre eleggersi le Priore e troviamo, che fù sempre permesso che le Priore rimangano a suo nell'impiego di Scrivana. A questo è ben ragionevole che esse saranno state sempre inclinate, mentre così hanno ritenute le utilità d'ambidue gl'impieghi. Con tutto che però questa consuetudine sia stata sempre in passato tollerata noi la riguardiamo con rincrescimento, poichè s'è quanto basta occupata nel suo impiego una Scrivana molto più lo è una Priora la quale obligata essendo a soprintendere a tante osservazioni, et invigilare sopra la condotta di così essa moltitudine non avrebbe ad esser per altre occupazioni distratta. La nova Priora eletta manifestando rassegnatione e docilità alle insinuationi nostre sarà disposta a rinunciare all'impiego di scrivana per poter tutta esser applicata all'incombenze del nuovo officio."

Agata was immediately relieved from fulfilling her previous tasks as *scrivana*, as the *maestre* Lousia and Leonilda – for whom Agata had composed – were promoted respectively to take over as *scrivana* and *vice scrivana* in place of Agata. Perhaps, with her influence as *Priora* and her familiarity with these two younger women, Agata had recommended these *figlie* for the positions. Agata continued to serve the duties of *Priora* until her death five months later, on 7 October 1769, of “fever and violent convulsions” brought on by “apoplectic attack,” at the age of 56.⁵⁸⁴ Agata had lived the model life for a *figlia di coro*. Her talent as a singer brought her admiration inside and outside the Ospedale. Her dedication and skill provided not only a life of self-sufficiency, with frequent support from noble Venetian families, but also a rise to recognition as both composer and *Priora*.

Conclusion

When the musical manuscripts that the *figlie di coro* used are pieced together and analyzed, they demonstrate aspects of professional musical educations and superior skill, equivalent to that of other literate musicians throughout eighteenth-century Europe. An evaluation of their practice materials against the operations of the Ospedali Maggiori and their master-apprentice system reveals that the musical initiates likely learned musical rudiments from the older *figlie di coro*, studying with them for several years. Under the *maestre*, they would first work on mastery of major and minor scales and intervals on either voice or instruments – or perhaps both – which they could practice within light genres, such as themes and variations, duets, *passaggi*, *lezioni*, liturgical chants, and eventually sonatas or cantatas. Throughout this study, the older women might additionally convey their own knowledge of techniques for vocal production and instrumental playing to prepare the next generation for professional-level performance.

In the course of her work with the *maestre*, a *figlia* would have to demonstrate that she had sufficient capability so as to receive her instructor’s endorsement to then perform in the *coro* or possibly

⁵⁸⁴ ASMPV, Registri dei Morti (7 October 1769). “[...]febre e violenti convolizioni fini di vivere per colpo apopletico.”

study further advanced methods with a specific instrumental or vocal *maestro*, such as during times the Ospedali Maggiori hired special *maestri di strumenti* or *maestri di maniera* to boost the quality and modernity of the *coro*. The most advanced *figlie di coro*, after exhibiting ability to execute notated music at high levels, might then transition to study of the rules for harmonization with either the *maestri* or advanced *maestre*. It was absolutely necessary for any *figlia di coro* who played keyboard or other basso continuo instruments to be able to understand and apply these rules for the purpose of accompaniment and improvisation over a bass line, while those who performed as top soloists could also use that knowledge to construct impressive cadenzas or even compose their own pieces.

While every musician needed to know the rudiments, not all girls who studied music at the Ospedali Maggiori would make it to the more advanced rules of harmonization, improvisation, and composition; each Ospedale only had around forty *figlie di coro* at one time, and most served as auxiliary voices in the choir or orchestra, not as soloists. Just a small handful of the top *figlie* at each Ospedale played improvised instrumental lines, had the materials to write music, or performed the solo parts. Still, the works of the most talented, like Fortunata and Agata, clearly demonstrate that some *figlie di coro* gained knowledge of music beyond simply sounding the notes on a page. They could exhibit musical insight of their own performativity and creativity. While written works like Fortunata and Agata's are rare, they corresponded to standard levels of solo improvisation and composition of their time. These women had awareness of advanced techniques and professional knowledge that could not only sustain musical careers within the Ospedale, but also equaled that of their outside contemporaries.

CODA

Other Considerations about the *Figlie di Coro*

The fewer than a dozen case studies selected for the body of this dissertation do not finish research into the *figlie di coro* and how concepts of gender influenced these women's lives and musical practices at the Ospedali Maggiori. Extant documents may reveal other remarkable or commonplace histories that demonstrate the individuality and historical contributions of each woman's life. In this conclusion, I wish to introduce a few more of the *figlie* who, together with hundreds of other non-elite women, did not find their stories told at length in this dissertation, yet deserve mention as complementary and supplementary examples of life paths that intersected with the Ospedali.

For example, many other letters from the *figlie di coro* to the Congregation are still extant, such as that of Prudenza Liera (b. 1688) of the Mendicanti. She requested to go to the monastery in Giudecca after ten years of studying and performing music, explaining that her obligations in the *coro* had caused her to want to dedicate her life and work to religious worship: "I see the ever more constant will to take this path to the most observant servitude of God."⁵⁸⁵ It took over a year for the paperwork to be sorted out and to receive the approval of the Governors, but she eventually gained her desire and moved to a monastery. There was also Lugrezia Vitalba (b. 1701), who clandestinely studied music under her aunt Vienna Cortesti at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti for years before receiving permission to stay around the age of nine. In the end, however, she was persuaded by her father to transition to convent life at the age of twenty-one when she lost her voice and could no longer serve in the *coro*.⁵⁸⁶ Some followed their aspirations, while others had no choice but to find another suitable situation as a young and unmarried woman.

⁵⁸⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 647 (31 December 1712), parti sciolti. "vedo continuarmi la volontà sempre più costante d'incaminarmi per questa strada al più osservante servizio dell'Iddio."

⁵⁸⁶ Lugrezia Vitalba is discussed more in a forthcoming essay. Vanessa Tonelli, "'Noi Povere Figlie': Professional and Social Strategies of the Musicians at the Venetian Ospedali Maggiori," in Elizabeth Cohen and Marlee Couling, eds., *Non-Elite Women's Networks across the Early Modern World* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming).

One could also consider Prudenza Cantora (b. 1681) of the Ospedale della Pietà, who desired to become a nun of a local convent, until she discovered that she was the natural daughter of Marco Dandolo, and thus a member of the noble Venetian Dandolo family.⁵⁸⁷ She ultimately married Giovanni Battista Morotti, one of the Pietà's Governors.⁵⁸⁸ Another *figlia* at the Ospedale della Pietà, known as Madalena Rossa (b. 1674), was on her way to becoming a leading instrumentalist. She knew how to play the theorbo, lute, and violin, and in 1706 she even earned her own violin bow from Antonio Vivaldi.⁵⁸⁹ She came under the favor of the Pietà's former *maestro di oboe* Ludwig Erdmann, however, and married him at the Church of Santa Maria della Salute in 1710.⁵⁹⁰ She followed him to the Medici court in Florence, where she likely continued in musical service next to her husband for the rest of her life.

Still, many other opportunities, beyond just convent life or marriage, existed for the Ospedali's musical women. There are cases of long, successful careers in music, like that of Felice Sarati, Vittoria Loredana, Fiorina Amorevoli, or the sisters Elisabetta and Angela Teresa Savio at the Mendicanti, who each earned hundreds of ducats that supported them into old age. Sarati, Loredana, and Amorevoli, in fact, were all *Priore* of the Mendicanti, and several letters survive in their hands. Successful women at the Mendicanti, like Elisabetta Savio and Margarita Doglioni (in Chapter Four), even left wills at their death.⁵⁹¹ Plus, there were many other top instrumentalists and vocal soloists, such as Antonia dal Tenor or Anna dal Basso, who provided important lower vocal ranges at the Pietà for decades, as well as the instrumentalists Chiara dal Violin and Pelegrina dal Violon, whose names appear in several extant partbooks at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello. Dozens of other little-studied, yet accomplished *figlie di coro* could also be named.

Some, however, were not always so successful. There is, for example, the case of a twenty-year-old *figlia di coro* named Chrestina who attempted to flee the Ospedale della Pietà after receiving

⁵⁸⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (15 September 1709), 89v-90.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., (1 December 1709), 94v-95.

⁵⁸⁹ White, "Biographical Notes," 88.

⁵⁹⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (24 August 1710), 143.

⁵⁹¹ ASV, OLP Busta 462, parti sciolti.

permission to travel to the *terra ferma*.⁵⁹² Plus, data exists about other non-elite Venetian women, such as the *figlia di comun* Antonia, who married around 1741, but found herself still in poverty.⁵⁹³ Her letter to the Ospedale della Pietà's Congregation pleaded for their continued charity, "which the Charitable Institution has distributed to so many of my other sisters and companions."⁵⁹⁴ The relationships and networks among non-elite Venetian women could further come to light through a study of their lives.

To provide one more opportunity for these women's voices to be heard, this dissertation concludes with a final case study of two *figlie di coro* named Maddalena and Soprana, both *maestre* and contralto vocalists at the Ospedale della Pietà. Soprana was the older of the two, born and abandoned to the Pietà in 1672.⁵⁹⁵ She was singing in the *coro* by the time she was thirty years old, named in *Pallade Veneta* as a soloist for a Vespers service in June 1704: "The pleasure she gave to her listeners, with the support of other contralto voices, gave reason to hope for still more advancement in the musical arts by that soloist."⁵⁹⁶ At the age of thirty-eight, Soprana then considered joining a convent. The Governors of the Pietà granted her request in April 1710, providing her the usual dowry to take her vows at the monastery of San Giovanni in Civitanova.⁵⁹⁷ By May, she travelled to this coastal city in the region of Marche, accompanied by another *figlia*, to take her initiating vows. Yet, like Andriana della Tiorba (described in Chapter Two), Soprana did not last a whole year as a novice nun. According to the Governors' records, in August of the same year, she composed several letters, none of which are known to have survived today, wishing to come back to the Ospedale della Pietà.⁵⁹⁸ The Governors accepted her request unanimously, and before her trial year had passed at the convent, she returned to her role as a *figlia di coro* of Venice. She subsequently became a *maestra* in August 1735 and then a *privileggiata* in

⁵⁹² ASV, OLP Busta 668 (20 February 1749 m.v./1750), parti sciolti.

⁵⁹³ ASV, OLP Busta 662 (6 January 1742), parti sciolti.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid. "quella carita, che il pio Logo distribuisse a tante altre mie sorelle e compagne."

⁵⁹⁵ White, 94.

⁵⁹⁶ Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, source no. 172 (14-21 June 1704), 252, as translated in Berdes and Whittemore, *Ospedali Research*, 59. "Nel vesparo musicale poi di detto giorno [15 June] cantato dalle figlie del coro della Pietà, una d'esse per nome Soprana, sciolse non più sentita le sue musicali gorghe, sostenute da voci di contralto con il piacimento che diede, accopiò la speranza di più virtuosi avanzamenti."

⁵⁹⁷ ASV, OLP Busta 689 Not. H (27 April 1710), 119; (4 May 1710), 120.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., (24 August 1710), 143v.

January 1737.⁵⁹⁹ Soprana's younger peer Maddalena Contralto came to the Ospedale della Pietà as an infant around the year 1698. She was a practicing member of the *coro* by the age of twenty, even considered for a position as *privileggiata* at that time.⁶⁰⁰ She became a *maestra* only a few years later, in July 1721.⁶⁰¹ These two *figlie* worked alongside each other, singing the same vocal range, and therefore likely the same contralto parts, as well as teaching at the Ospedale della Pietà between 1720 and 1740.

At the same time, the Governors also began expanding the institution's complex on the Riva degli Schiavoni, in order to support the numerous wards under their care, as well as for space for textile mills in which the *figlie* worked. In September 1727, the institution officially acquired the land to the west of the original site of the orphanage, the entire area from the bridge that is today known as Santo Sepolcro to the Rio della Pietà, with the help of an extraordinary dispensation from the Doge himself.⁶⁰² The expansion process took years due to the necessity of raising enough funds, as well as opposition from the displaced individuals and businesses in the area. To this end, in 1733, Venice's Council of Ten approved the Ospedale della Pietà as a recipient of lotteries, while the Ospedale's priests appealed from the pulpit for charitable donations whenever the *figlie di coro* performed.⁶⁰³ These resources furthered the construction of a monumental new church – today recognized as the Santa Maria della Visitazione della Pietà – that would be flanked by two separate wings of living spaces for the institution's wards, originally designed and overseen by the architect Giorgio Massari. For the completion of this extravagant project, which in the end only included the new church and part of the western wing, the Governors and other Venetian authorities had to supplant several local workshops, including a sausage maker, a haberdashery and hat shop, an apothecary, and a wine seller, which all existed in the space that the great church now stands.⁶⁰⁴

⁵⁹⁹ ASV, OLP Busta 692 Not. Q (19 August 1735), 118; (11 January 1737), 170v.

⁶⁰⁰ ASV, OLP Busta 609 Not. L (15 May 1718), 130v.

⁶⁰¹ ASV, OLP Busta 691 Not. N1 (11 July 1721), 34.

⁶⁰² ASV, OLP Busta 630 (20 September 1727), as cited in Gillio, *L'attività musicale*, 34.

⁶⁰³ Giuseppe Ellero and Clara Urlando, eds., *The Pietà in Venice: History, Art, Music and the Care of Children* (Venice: Istituto Provinciale per l'Infanzia "Santa Maria della Pietà", 2011), 28-9.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

The *figlie* of the Ospedale della Pietà were obviously aware of these happenings. It would have been difficult to miss the fact that local businesses were being pushed out by the most powerful men of the city, and that smaller buildings were razed to build a dramatically large church, grander than anything else in the vicinity besides the Doge's palace. Plus, some of their bedrooms had been destroyed to make room for such a building. Desperate for more space and better living conditions – including, perhaps, their own bedrooms – rather than a new church, Soprana and Maddalena risked sending a letter to the Venetian *Magistrato alla Sanità* (Magistracy of Health) in September 1744, only a few months before the first stone of the church's foundation was laid:

We, the poor *Figlie* of the charitable Ospedale della Pietà, humbly resort to the innate kindness of Your Excellencies, finding ourselves in tearful anguish, and only the worthy patronage of Your Excellencies can offer the remedy as the most zealous Procurators of Health in this city. The Excellent Procurators [i.e. the Ospedali Governors] have determined to build a physical church, but with detriment to the mystical church, wanting to build few dwellings in a very narrow courtyard, where one cannot pass by, and in proximity to the infirmary, where there are serious indispositions and bad contagions, namely, consumptive *Figlie*, with disease of the lung, with scurvy, with internal and external sores, and these are in great number; even excluding those who are separate, we all have some indisposition. Now with our Excellent Procurators intending to restrict us in a narrower place, we are all in danger of being infected, and an intolerable stench continually reigns over us for our great number. If the Excellent Procurators intend to build rooms, they may well build them, but on the *fondamenta* [walkway next to the canal], or the *Riva degli Schiavoni*, making space for the shoe-maker, the apothecary, the dye-house, and others, all being commercial places of our Charitable Institution of the Pietà: but, in order not to disturb those who can find comfortable accommodation elsewhere, they are satisfied to put the health and lives of many poor individuals in danger. So, we implore the charity of the Venerable Excellencies... with their powerful patronage, to entertain that such a building, besides being superfluous, will also be much hindrance on our health. Years ago, at the determination of our Excellent Procurators to build the Church and to restrict us more than we are, we made recourse to this Excellent and Zealous Magistrate, and those wise informed Gentlemen decided to build rooms for the health of the poor *figliuole*, and not a Church, and now that our number has increased, and the indisposed are in more quantities, as those who will come to inquire will be able see well, we are sure, that they will determine the same, namely first rooms on the river, and then the Church. We live safely by the exceptional Patronage of Your Excellencies, and they are guaranteed that Blessed God will disperse the present and eternal blessings on the head of Your Excellencies and of all their homes.

Very humble and very reverent servants,
*Le Figlie del Pio Luogo della Pietà*⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁵ ASV, OLP Busta 662 (28 September 1742), parti sciolti. See Appendix II for transcription.

As two older women of the institution, Soprana being around seventy and Maddalena in her mid-forties, and both holding positions of authority in the *coro*, they held a certain amount of privilege that may have emboldened this letter. They first argued from a religious standpoint, that the material or worldly construction of the new church assailed more spiritual pursuits. They then turned to reasoning that would be of primary concern to the *Magistrato alla Sanità*, specifically small and crowded living quarters, as well as their vicinity to the sick and horrible odors. They offer a suggestion of how to fix this: stop building the big chapel, since the Ospedale already had a functioning church, and instead construct new rooms for the *figlie* near the water, where they presumably could have more fresh air. Ultimately, their letter and demands demonstrate these women's knowledge of the neighborhood around them, their own rights of health and safety, as well as the class and power struggles the construction manifested.

The *figlie*'s letter, of course, came under the knowledge of the Ospedale's Governors, which is how it survived today. According to their investigation, the two *maestre* had been petitioning the Governors to rectify their living conditions for quite some time, with Soprana even appearing to them in person. The *figlie*'s demands had fallen on deaf ears, so they reached out to a Venetian *Ministro dell'Avogaria* named Andrea Prandini.⁶⁰⁶ Apparently, Maddalena was godmother to one of Prandini's daughters, and he could not deny her request to deliver the letter.⁶⁰⁷ He therefore brought it to one of his friends, who – rather than presenting it to the desired recipients – revealed it to the Ospedale's Governors. In response to the women's letter and attempt to go to the *Magistrato alla Sanità* behind their backs, the Governors stripped both women of their titles and privileges, especially forbidden to leave the premises of the Ospedale, for the following year. They claimed the women's accusations to be “false suppositions” and an “exaggeration,” that they had no plans to construct a residential building close to an infirmary.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ A *Ministro dell'Avogaria* was a leading member of the Venetian *Avogadori de Comun*, namely an institution of public prosecutors.

⁶⁰⁷ This is very interesting that the *figlie* could have these kinds of connections to individuals outside of the institution. It is unclear how common these types of relationships, which crossed class lines, were at the Ospedale Maggiori. Caroline Giron-Panel discusses this a bit more in *Musique et Musiciennes*, 371.

⁶⁰⁸ ASV, OLP Busta 662 (28 September 1742), parti sciolti. “falsi supposti” and “esagerazione.”

Plus, they knew that Soprana and Maddalena, along with a few other *figlie*, had had their bedrooms demolished for the construction of the new church, so were probably just upset by these changes that would eventually be “for their greater comfort.”⁶⁰⁹

The first stones of the new Santa Maria della Visitazione della Pietà were laid on 18 May 1745; it required fifteen years for completion. Local artisans were dislodged, and the *figlie* endured living at a construction site for over a decade. The dedication in 1760 lasted for three days, with solemn masses, a Vespers ceremony, as well as a concert of symphonies, violin concertos performed by the esteemed violinist Chiara, solo cantatas sung by the *figlie* Elena and Giuseppa, and a setting of a *Magnificat*.⁶¹⁰ Today, the prominent church remains. It is a symbol of the power and piety of those elite Venetian men, with some of their names engraved into the entryway’s walls. Imagery within the church echoes that in the Doge’s palace, with allegorical figures that promote the virtues of Venice, such as Giambattista Tiepolo’s frescos of the “Triumph of Faith” in the Pietà’s chancel and his lost “Fortitude and Peace,” while the image in the main fresco of the Virgin Mary, crowned by God, carries a deep-rooted association to Venice, with her allegorical femininity and heavenly favor.⁶¹¹ Outside the church, Antonio Vivaldi’s image is the one that hangs today to attract tourists, although he died well before the first stone was even set in place. These men, with the most power and influence, and their values clearly made a conspicuous mark through time.

And what of the *figlie di coro*? Soprana and Maddalena never lived to see the final church.

Perhaps their concerns were justified, as both became sick and passed away in the years 1748 and 1749.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid. “a loro mag.e commodo.”

⁶¹⁰ Chiara was the student and predecessor of Anna Maria dal Violin and had several concertos composed specifically for her by the *maestri*. For more details on the ceremony, see Gillio, *L’attività musicale*, 487.

⁶¹¹ Deborah Howard, “Giambattista Tiepolo’s Frescoes for the Church of the Pietà in Venice,” *Oxford Art Journal* 9, no. 1 (1986): 20. (11–28).

⁶¹² There are records of several other *figlie* named Madalena and Soprana. The only records of a Maddalena Contralto, however, appear before her death in 1748, so her description above is quite certain. See White, “Biographical Notes,” 89 for Madalena IV. Any other Madalenas all passed away or married before the incident with the church construction. However, Soprana’s history is not clear. The Soprana who traveled to the convent in 1710 surely passed away in 1749, due to her age. This may not be, however, the same Soprana who became a *privileggiata* in 1737, as there are records of a Soprana continuing to serve as *privileggiata* in 1750–2, after the death

Yet it was their and their peers' voices and skill that drew the crowds and helped raise funds for the construction of that church. If one looks closely, the ceiling of the grand Santa Maria della Visitazione della Pietà features a fresco, "Coronation of the Virgin" (1754-5) by the reputed Giambattista Tiepolo (See Figure 6.1 below). Surrounding the figures of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary, it depicts angelic musicians, with pomegranate flowers in their hair or at their neck, singing, playing lutes, violoncellos, trumpets, an organ, and even a kettle drum. Here are the *figlie di coro*.⁶¹³ They may be more difficult to see, but their placement is still quite prominent. Their importance to the history of the Ospedali stands apparent and memorialized.⁶¹⁴ Just as the image of the Virgin Mary would not be as powerful without the encircling angels extolling her with music, Venice would have been wanting without her musical women and the art, education, and opportunities they supported.

record. This is also not the same "Soprana II" who Micky White claims to have been born around 1718, because she would have been much too young to become *maestra* and *privileggiata* in the 1730s. The differentiation between these women is still not clear. It is possible that Soprana, who wrote the letter and confronted the Governors, was a third Soprana who would have been younger than described above.

⁶¹³ Giuseppe Ellero and Clara Urlando have suggested that Tiepolo, in fact, used the *figlie di coro* as models for the depiction of these musical angels. See their *The Pietà in Venice: History, Art, Music and the Care of Children*, 71.

⁶¹⁴ There are also depictions of the *figlie di coro* in the music room of the Ospedaletto complex, which was constructed around 1776 and painted by Jacopo Guarana, a student of Tiepolo.



Figure 6.1. "Coronation of the Virgin," by Giambattista Tiepolo (1754-5), photo by Vanessa Tonelli (2020)

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APPENDIX I

Capitoli et Ordini and Notatori, Transcriptions and Translations

1. Excerpts from *Capitoli et Ordini Per il buon Governo del Pio Hospitale de Poveri derelitti appresso SS. Gio. e Paulo Consacrati alla Gloriosa Vergine Protettrice di detto Hospitale* (Venice: Antonio Tivani, 1704), 37-62. Ordinance regarding the *Deputati sopra le figlie* and the *figlie*.

<p>37. Primieramente gli sii una Superiora con titolo di Priora, & una Coadiutrice bisognando da essere elette sempre da questa Congregatione che abbino vigilantissima cura che tutte le cose passino con buona rettitudine conforme à gl'Ordini che appresso saranno registrati.</p>	<p>First of all, let there be a Mother Superior with the title of <i>Priora</i> and an assistant, who always needs to be elected by the Congregation, who will take great care that all things pass with good righteousness in accordance with the Ordinances that will be registered below.</p>
<p>37. Vi doveranno esser 4 discrete delle più abili con carico d'osservare tutti li bisogni della Casa, & andamenti delle figliuole per riferire giornalmente il tutto alla Priora, e doveranno anco impiegarsi in altro che le sarà dalla medesima ordinato, et particolarmente nelle fontioni che appresso si diranno con tutta vigilanza maggiore, acciò per loro invertenza, ò per altra causa non nasca qualche disordine, confusione, ò scandalo.</p>	<p>There should be four <i>discrete</i> [chosen women], some of the most skilled, with the duty of observing all the needs of the house and the behaviors of the <i>figliuole</i>, in order to report everything to the <i>Priora</i> daily, and they should also employ themselves in other things that will be ordered by the same [<i>Priora</i>], and, particularly in the functions that follow, they should give all major vigilance, so that no disorder, confusion, or scandal arises from their lack of attention or for any other cause.</p>
<p>37. Doveranno parimenti esservi tante Maestre con le sue Coadiutrici che bastino per ben governare, & ammaestrare le figliuole, così grande, come piccole tanto nelli lavorieri, quanto in ogni altro esercizio Spirituale, & corporale dovendoli tener in buonissima regola, & osservanza insegnandoli à leggere, & principalmente la Dottrina Cristiana.</p>	<p>Likewise, there should be many <i>maestre</i> with their assistants, who are sufficient to govern well and to teach the <i>figliuole</i>, both <i>grande</i> and <i>piccole</i>, in labors as much as in every other spiritual and corporal exercise, having to maintain them in very good rule and observance by teaching them to read, mainly Christian doctrine.</p>
<p>37-8. In oltre doveranno ogn'anno nel primo giorno di Genaro essere distribuite dalla Priora l'infrascritte Cariche con l'assistenza, e parere delle Signore Governatrici, ò alcune di esse delle più affettuose, & informate che à quest'effetto doveranno esser inviate. Restando incaricate d'invigilare con tutta Carità à far scielta di quelle Maestre, e Cappi, le Cariche con le agiutanti che alla loro Prudenza pareranno sufficienti per le Cariche medesime se non con licenza di questa Congregatione previa l'informatione de Deputati sopra le cause, & motivi che fossero da medesimi rappresentati per la confirmatione da esser presa con li 2 terzi della Congregatione al numero di 12.</p>	<p>In addition, each year on the first of January, the <i>Priora</i> should distribute the below-written offices, with the assistance and opinion of the Lady Governesses, some of the most affectionate and informed, who should be sent to this effect. [While] remaining in charge of supervising with all care, [they should] select the offices, with the assistants, from those <i>maestre</i> and leaders, who, in their prudence, seem sufficient for those offices, but also with permission of this Congregation, subject to the <i>Deputati's</i> information over the causes and motives that were presented from the same [<i>Deputati</i>] for confirmation, to be taken with the two-thirds of the Congregation at the number of twelve.</p>
<p>38. Portinare due cioè una delle più vecchie, l'altra</p>	<p>Two <i>portinare</i> (door keepers), that is, one older and</p>

<p>d'età matura. Panatiere due una Maestra, & un, agiutante. Refetoriere tre une Maestra, e due Putte. Cuciniere quattro una che sii il Capo, e tre agiutanti. Sopra le figliuole grandi tre una Maestra vecchia, e 2 più giovani. Sopra le figliuole piccole quattro, una Maestra, e 3 Compagne. Infermiere una Maestra, e un'agiutante. Un'assistente vecchia overo due al Medico, Barbiere, & altri che doveranno entrar in casa. Una Maestra vecchia sopra la Lavandaria. Due, ò 3 delle Vecchie per accompagnar le Putte che vano à corpo. Sacristane 3 due Maestra, & una Putta. Una Settimaniera perche facci con tutta diligenza, e vigilanza la sua fontione per esser mutata ogni Settimana per ordine d'età, e sufficienza trà le maggiori secondo la Prudenza della Priora.</p>	<p>the other of mature age. Two <i>Panatiere</i> (pantry maids), one <i>maestra</i> and one assistant Three <i>refetorie</i> (cafeteria workers), one <i>maestra</i> and two <i>putte</i>. Four <i>cuciniere</i> (cooks), one who is the boss and three assistants. Three [who preside] over the <i>figliuole grandi</i>, one old <i>maestra</i>, and two younger. Four [who preside] over the <i>figliuole piccole</i>, one <i>maestra</i> and three companions. <i>Infermiere</i> (nurses), one <i>maestra</i> and one assistant. An old assistant or two to the <i>Medico, Barbiere</i>, and others who should enter the house. An old <i>Maestra</i> over the laundry room. Two or three old women to accompany the <i>putte</i> that go to the crypt. Three <i>sacristane</i> (sacristans), two <i>maestre</i> and one <i>putta</i>. One <i>settimaniera</i> (weekly worker, who likely helped recite sections of mass) so that, with all diligence and vigilance, her function is changed ever week in order of age and sufficiency among the older women, according to the prudence of the <i>Priora</i>.</p>
<p>38. Doveranno le destinate alle Cariche sopra il tutto aver mire, e zelo al servizio del Signor' Iddio, & al possibile vantaggio della Casa, esercitandosi tutte con amore, diligenza, e carità, dovendo cadauna di esse osservare, & eseguire puntualmente gl'ordini, che le saranno dati così da questa Congregatione, come dalla sua Superiora, la quale non doverà mostrarsi parziale con alcuna, mà nel governo suo esser sempre universale tanto nell'esercizio d'affetto, e Carità Cristiana, quanto nel correggere, e punire indifferrentemente li difetti secondo che vedrà il bisogno.</p>	<p>Above all, those destined to the Offices should have intent and zeal for servitude to the Lord God and for the possible advantage of the house, all exercising with love, diligence, and charity, each one having to punctually observe and execute the ordinances that will be given to them by this Congregation, as from their <i>Superiora</i>, who should not show herself to be partial to anyone, but to be always universal in her government, both in the exercise of affection and Christian charity, as in correcting and punishing equally the defects according to the need she sees.</p>
<p>38-9. Si doverà fare di subito (mentre non vi sii) un'Inventario diligentissimo, e distintissimo della mobilia di tutta la Casa, & ad ogni Carica attinente, & estrata ogni parte in un Libretto separato, doverà esser respettivamente consignata, & incontrata d'anno in anno à quelle, e da quelle che succederanno alle Cariche. Dovendo restar l'intiero Inventario predetto appresso la Priora in un Libro ben custodito à perpetua memoria: invigilando essa perche stii sempre regolato, & in caso di qualche disordine ò mancamento sii tenuta darne parte alli 4 Deputati sopra le figliuole perche possino</p>	<p>A very diligent and distinguished inventory of the furniture of the whole house should be made immediately (meanwhile, it is not there); both for each relevant office, and for each part extracted in a small separate book, it should respectively be delivered and joined from year to year, to and from those who will succeed to the offices. The <i>Priora</i> should keep the entire aforementioned inventory prepared in a well-kept book for perpetual memory: supervising it so that it is always regulated, and in case of any disorder or failure, parts of it should be given to the four <i>Deputati sopra le figliuole</i> so they</p>

<p>applicagli aggiustato rimedio, & trattandosi di cosa importante di far qualche spesa notabile debbino essi prender l'assenso dalla Congregatione, il che sii eseguito rispettivamente con tutta puntualità, e diligenza.</p>	<p>can apply an adjusted remedy to them, and, if treating something important by making some notable expense, they should have the assent of the Congregation, which must be respectively followed with all punctuality and diligence.</p>
<p>39. Tuttle le figliuole di Casa tanto maggiori, come minori doveranno liberarsi dalle loro fontioni, & esercitii opportunamente, accioche possano unitamente andar à letto all'ore proprie per dimorarvi in esso li sei mesi d'Primavera, & Estate ore sette, & gl'altre sei mesi d'Autunno, et Verno ore otto, dovendo sempre alla Campana dell'Ave Maria della mattina in ogni stagione tutte levarsi con l'ordine infrascritto.</p>	<p>All the <i>figliuole</i> of the house, both older and younger, should relieve themselves from their duties and exercises in good time so they can go to bed together at the appropriate hour to stay there until seven o'clock during the six months of spring and summer, and until eight o'clock during the other six months of autumn and winter, with all of them always rising to the <i>Ave Maria</i> in the morning of every season, with the order written above.</p>
<p>39-40. Fatto il segno con la Campanella dalla Settimaniera, questa darà principio al Salmo Miserere, poi seguirà il De profundis, & la Salve Regina con voce intelligibile, frà tanto tutte con il silenzio, e prestezza si vestiranno, e fatto di nuovo segno con la Campanella tutte unite vadino al suo Oratorio, & ivi per qualche spatio di tempo, facino le loro Orationi, & in fine la Settimaniera dichi un'Oratione à voce alta secondo la sua devotione, e batuto il segno con le mani tutte vadino à far li suoi letti, & nettare la Casa, e così ogn'una per li proprii servigi per spatio di mezz'ora il tutto parimente con silenzio, e modestia, poi fatto nuovo segno con la Campanella tutte vadino al luogo del suo lavoriero, ovvero a quegl'Ufficii secondo che saranno state destinate per il bisogno della Casa, & ivi dimoreranno insin ora di Messa, e frà tanto che lavorano dichino per beneficio universale di tutta la Casa, e di chi v'assiste, e sovra intende al governo l'Offitio della Beatissima Vergine, aggiogendovi la Domenica l'Officio dello Spirito Santo per li Governatori, e Governatrici viventi con l'Orationi. <i>Deus cui omne cor patet, & omnis voluntas, & Deus, qui Caritatis dona per gratiam Spiritus Sancti.</i></p>	<p>The signal made with the bell by the <i>Settimaniera</i> will begin the Psalm Miserere, then the De Profundis and the Salve Regina will follow, with intelligible voice, between which, with silence and speed, all will dress themselves, and, having again made the signal of the bell, they will all go to their Oratory, and they will make their prayers there for some space of time, and finally the <i>Settimaniera</i> will say a prayer/oration aloud according to her devotion, and making the signal with her hands, all will go to make their beds and to clean the house, and in this manner each one in her own services for half an hour, all equally with silence and modesty; after a new signal is given with the bell, all will go to the place of her work or to those Offices according to which they are designated for the need of the home, and they will reside there at the time of Mass; amongst so much work, they will say the Office of the Most Blessed Virgin for the benefit of the whole house and of those who assist and oversee its government, on Sunday adding the Office of the Holy Spirit for the living Governors and <i>Governatrici</i> with the prayers: "<i>Deus cui omen cor patet, et omnis voluntas,</i>" and "<i>Deus, qui Caritatis dona per gratiam Spiritus Sancti.</i>"</p>
<p>40. Il Lunedì, e Martedì il Vespero de Morti per li Governatori, e Governatrici Defoni, e così gl'altri giorni per li Padri, Superiora, Fie di Casa, & altri che assisterono al servizio, e governo dell'Ospitale con quel di più che fosse solito così per loro devotione, e consuetudine, come in sodisfatione dell'obligationi che fossero state ordinate per Testamenti, ò per altro, delle quali doveranno tenerne note distinta sopra una Tavoletta in Coro, ò altro loco conspicuo, perche restino</p>	<p>On Monday and Tuesday, the Vespers of the Dead, for the deceased Governors and <i>Governatrici</i>, and in the same manner on the other days for the Fathers, <i>Superiora, Figlie di casa</i>, and others who assist in the service and government of the <i>Ospitale</i>, with more devotion and custom than is usual for them, as well as in satisfaction of the obligations that have been ordered by wills and testaments, and for others, of which they keep clear note on a writing tablet in the <i>Coro</i> or in other</p>

<p>sempre adempite, supplendo anco pontualmente à tutto ciò che giornalmente le venisse commesso dalla Superiora in sodisfatione d'Ordini, et Elemosine che fossero mandate al luoco per tal affetto.</p>	<p>conspicuous places so that they always remain fulfilled, also punctually fulfilling everything that was assigned to them daily by the <i>Superiora</i> in satisfaction of the ordinances and the alms that were sent to this place for such effect.</p>
<p>40-41. Poi tutte per ordine dietro la Croce qual sarà levata dalla Settimaniera à due à due vadino alla Santa Messa cantando il giorno di festa qualche Inno, ò Salmo secondo il tempo, e loro devotione ad arbitrio della Settimaniera, et l'istesso facino finita che sarà la Messa. Li giorni feriali poi si partiranno dalla Messa conforme vi saranno andate per ordine, et con silentio poi si distribuiranno chi à far pane, et chi ad altro secondo le sue Cariche, et quelle che non haveranno altra incombenza, ò doppo terminato vadino al suo lavoriero, come s'è detto nel qual continuar debbino insino l'ora di desinare, qual sarà l'Estate à ore 14 et il Verno à ore 20 in circa, e così nell'altre stagioni à ora proportionata con l'ordine che segue.</p>	<p>Then they all will go to the Holy Mass by class, two by two, behind the Cross, which will be raised by the <i>Settimaniera</i>, singing on the feast day some hymns or a Psalm according to the time and their devotions at the pronouncement of the <i>Settimaniera</i>, and they do the same once the Mass is over. On the weekdays, they will then depart from the Mass; compliantly, they will go in order, and with silence; those who make bread and those others according to their roles will spread out, and those who do not have another task, or after finishing, will go to their job, as said above, in which they must continue until dinner time, which will be at the fourteenth hour in summer and around the twentieth hour in winter, and in the same manner in the other seasons, at the hour proportional to the following order.</p>
<p>41. Fatto il segno con la Campanella dalla Settimaniera doveranno tutte levarsi dal suo luoco eccetuate quelle che servono, ò hanno qualche legitimo impediment, et unitamente inginocchiate dinanzi la Santissima Croce diranno un Pater noster, et un'Ave maria, poi levata la medema Croce per la Settimaniera s'incammineranno à due à due al luoco della mensa, cantando qualche Salmo, ò Inno proportionato alla stagione, ò giornate che correranno, et il Venerdì diranno particolarmente <i>Domine Iesu Criste filii Deivini</i>, poi lavatesi le mani faranno la Beneditione, e sederanno tutte per ordine alli suoi luochi, & immediate la Settimaniera, ò altra che fosse destinata vadi à leggere sin tanto che l'altre mangino con silentio, e modestia, e bisognando ad alcuna qualche cosa senza dir altro facci segno col batter del coltello sopra la Tavola, finita la refettione quella à cui tocca il benedire si levi, e dichi. <i>Tu autem Domine Miserere nostri</i>, e così tutte l'altre si leveranno à render gratie, & inginocchiate diranno <i>il Te Deum Laudamus</i> sino à quelle parole, <i>praetioso Sanguine redemisti</i>.</p>	<p>When the signal is made with the bell by the <i>Settimaniera</i>, all should raise themselves from their place, except those who serve or have some legitimate impediment, and kneeling together in front of the Most Holy Cross they will say a Pater noster and an Ave maria; then the same Cross raised by the <i>Settimaniera</i>; they will set out two by two to the dining hall, singing some Psalm or Hymn according to the season or days that are passing, and on Friday they will particularly say <i>Domine Iesu Criste filii Deivini</i>; then they will wash their hands, make the Benediction, and they will all sit in order in their places and immediately the <i>Settimaniera</i> or another who is designated will go to read, as long as the others eat in silence and modesty, and if they need something, without saying anything, they will make a signal with the beat of a knife on the table; once the meal is finished, she whose turn it is to give the blessing will rise and say "<i>Tu autem Domine Miserere nostri</i>" and in the same manner all the other will rise and give thanks, and kneeling they will say the <i>Te Deum laudamus</i> until those words, <i>praetioso Sanguine redemisti</i>.</p>
<p>41-42. Poi si leveranno, & dietro la Santa Croce seguitando il resto s'incammineranno al suo Oratorio, ove deposta la Croce la Settimaniera farà il segno</p>	<p>Then they will rise, and following the rest behind the Cross, they will proceed to their Oratory, where, having put down the Cross, the <i>Settimaniera</i></p>

<p>con la Campanella, e tutte si leveranno, e ritireranno alli suoi luochi stando con silenzio, e quiete per mezz'ora in circa particolarmente nella stagion d'Estate, la qual mezz'ora fornita fatto di nuovo segno con la Campanella anderanno al luoco del suo lavoriero, & alle fontioni che saranno destinate, & all'ora propria diranno il Vespero, & Compieta della Beata Vergine così lavorando, & in fine replicheranno le Litanie con l'ora pro eis, cioè per tutti li Benefattori, e Benefatrici vivi, & Defonti, similmente lavorando diranno di quando in quando potendo qualche Laude, ò altra cosa Spirituale à maggior gloria del Signor' Iddio, & à beneficio di loro medeme con anco qualche Deprofundis per l'Anime di quelle, et quelli che sono morti nell'Infermarie de Poveri di questo Ospitale alle ore 22 nella stagion d'Estate, et il Verno in ora che sarà opportuna, si farà il segno del Matutino, e tutti insieme lo diranno lavorando, e se in qualche giornata frà la Settimana in luoco delle Litanie diranno per la medesima causa di Sette Salmi Penitentiali sarà bene, mà la Quadragesima doveranno li medesimi esser recitati ogni giorno infallibilmente in qual ora dalla Priora sarà stimata propria, terminati li suoi esercitii col cader del Sole nella stagion dell' Estate, & il Vernal all'ora che sarà solita, e propria doveranno cenare con l'ordine stesso che s'è detto del desinare, mà prima tutte unite anderanno al suo Oratorio, e faranno qualche Oratione con voce bassa, la qual fornita s'incammineranno subito al Reffettorio, dovendosi in esso sempre osservare il silenzio, & ogn'altra regola già accennata.</p>	<p>will make the signal with the bell, and all will rise and will withdraw to their places, staying there with silence and quiet for around half an hour, particularly in the season of summer; when this half hour is ended, having made a new signal with the bell, they will go to the place of their work and the duties that they will be assigned, and at the appropriate hour they will say the Vespers and the Compline of the Blessed Virgin while working and finally they will repeat the Litanies with the <i>ora pro eis</i>, that is, for all the living and deceased benefactors [both men and women]; likewise, while working, they will be able to say from time to time some Laudes or other spiritual things to the major glory of the Lord God and to their owen benefit, as well as with some De Profundis for the souls of those men and women who are dead in the Infirmary of the Poor of this <i>Ospitale</i> at the twenty-second hour during summer and at the time that will be suitable in the winter; the signal of Matins will be made and all together they will say it, while working, and if, on some days of the week, in place of the Litany, they will say the Seven Penitential Psalms for the same purpose, it will be good, but during Lent these should be recited every day infallibly, at whatever time will seem appropriate by the <i>Priora</i>, ending their exercises with the falling of the sun during the season of summer and at the usual and appropriate hour in the winter; they should dine with the same order that has been expressed of dining, but first they will all together go to their Oratory and make some prayers/orations in a low voice, and once finished they will immediately proceed to the refectory, having to always observe silence and every other rule already mentioned.</p>
<p>42. Fornita la cena si tratteniranno per un quarto d'ora in Oratione, ò altro esercizio Cristiano, poi fatto dalla Settimaniera segno con la Campanella tutte ad un tempo s'incammineranno al suo Dormitorio, & ivi arrivata la Settimaniera dirà con voce intelligibile il Miserere, & Deprofundis, nel qual mentre doverà andar spargendo sopra li letti l'Acqua benedetta, e così quella à cui spetterà il carico doverà nello stesso tempo serrare con diligenza tutte le porte, e balconi delli Dormitorii, tenendo le chiavi appresso di se in buonissima custodia, forniti li detti Salmi doveranno tutte ritrovarsi à letto per dimorarvi in esso con la</p>	<p>Finishing dinner, they will remain for a quarter of an hour in prayer or other Christian exercise, then when the signal is made with the bell by the <i>Settimaniera</i>, they will all at one time proceed to their dormitory, and there the <i>Settimaniera</i>, having arrived, will say with an intelligible voice the Miserere and the De Profundis, while she should sprinkle the blessed water over the beds, and, at the same time, the woman who is responsible for the job should close all the doors and balconies of the dormitories with diligence, keeping the keys near herself in very good custody; when the Psalms are finished, they should all end up in bed to stay there</p>

Beneditione del Signore quanto precedentemente s'è detto.	with the Blessing of the Lord, as previously said.
42-43. Dovendo le figliuole d'anni 12 in sù dormire una sola per letto, e le minori à due à due tutte con l'assistenza continuata, e diligente dell loro Maestre, e Discrete dovendosi nelli Dormitorii tenir sempre le lampade accese cioè una per Dormitorio.	The <i>figliuole</i> aged 12 and up should sleep only one per bed, and the younger two by two, all with the continued and diligent assistance of their <i>Maestre</i> and <i>Discrete</i> , having to always keep the lamps on in the dormitories, that is, one per dormitory.
43. Nelle Festività di tutto l'anno doveranno in Coro con voce alta recitare l'Officio, & altre Orationi d'obbligo che nelli giorni feriali gli viene permesso dire lavorando, doppo di che vi aggrongeranno qualche altra Oratione vocale, ò mentale secondo la Divotione di cadauna, essendo di dovere che delli giorni festivi se ne impieghi la maggior parte in serviggio del Signor Dio, raccordandosi anco della divotione del Santissimo Rosario, e di pregare giornalmente per l'Anime del Purgatorio, il rimanente de quali giorni ogn'una doverà esercitarsi in qualche Opera fruttuosa, ò Spirituale, astenendosi sopra il tutto di lavorare concedendosegli qualche lecita, e modesta recreatione.	On feast days of the whole year, they should recite, in the <i>Coro</i> with a loud voice, the Office and other obligatory prayers/orations that on weekdays they are allowed to say while working, after which they will add some other vocal or mental prayers/orations according to each one's devotion, since the major part of feast days should be spent in service of the Lord God, along with devotions of the Most Holy Rosary and daily prayers for the Souls of Purgatory; each one [of the <i>figlie</i>] should practice some fruitful or spiritual work during the remainder of these days, refraining above all from work, granting them some legit and modest recreation.
43. Tutte quelle, che senza impedimento, ò legitima causa, ovvero non dispensate dalla Superiora, ò sue Maestre mancassero del suo debito in qualche essercitio Spirituale, ò Corporale siino castigate con Digiuni, Penitenze, mortificationi, e Discipline cosi pubbliche, come private à misura degl'errori, negligenze, e difetti, che commettessero.	All those women who, without having an impediment or legitimate cause, nor being excused by the <i>Superiora</i> or her <i>maestre</i> , fall short of their obligations in some spiritual or corporal exercise should be punished with fasts, penance, mortification, and both public and private discipline, according to the errors, negligence, and defects which they committed.
43. Quelle poi che fossero cosi temerarie, che senza rispetto; e timore del Signor'Iddio, e de' suoi maggiori commetessero qualche inobedienza, ò altro mancamento più grave siino severamente castigate dalla Superiora, e quando ricercasse il bisogno con l'assistenza, e parere d'alcuna delle Signore Governatrici, & in casi gravi anco delli Deputati sopra esse Figliuole. Che possino, e debino venire anco in opinione di farne porre nelle prigioni dell'Ospitale facendole mangiare solamente pane, & acqua, & in somma punire conforme parerà alla prudenza loro le delinquenti à misura del bisogno.	Those who were so reckless that they committed some disobedience or other more serious fault, without respect and fear of the Lord God or of her superiors, should be severely punished by the <i>Superiora</i> , and she should search for what is needed with the assistance and opinion of any of the <i>Governatrici</i> , as well as of the <i>Deputati sopra Figliuole</i> in serious cases. They can and they must also come to the opinion of having them placed in the prisons of the Ospedale, having them only eat bread and water, and, in sum, punish the delinquents according to the need and conforming to the prudence [of the <i>Governatrici</i> and <i>Deputati</i>].
44. Doveranno parimenti portarsi rispetto, & amarsi sinceramente, e puramente l'una l'altra senza mai contendere, e in caso di qualche trasgressione, cosi di fatti, come di parole doppo haverle fatte	Likewise, they should respect and love one another sincerely and purely, without ever competing/fighting, and in case of some transgression, after having both the facts and the

<p>umilmente anco in presenza di tutte l'altre (se così meriterà il caso) siino rigorsamente castigate, essendo sopra tutte le cose incaricata la Superiora di procurare, che nella Casa vi sii sempre la Pace, et unione scambievole, da che ne deriverà ogni bene, e senza di che potrà succedere ogni disordine.</p>	<p>words presented humbly, even in the presence of all the others (if the case merits it), they should be rigorously punished, with the <i>Superiora</i> being charged above all with ensuring that there is always peace and mutual union in the house, from which every good thing will derive, and without any disorder being able to occur.</p>
<p>44. Non sii permesso alle Figliuole il far Camerate, ne parlar fra' esse secretamente, ne star ritirate dall'universale dell'altre, ne le piu grandi dormire assolutamente piu d'una per letto, come si è detto, ne dar segni di portarsi immoderato affetto, et scoprendosi in ciò qualche disordine, o' trasgressione siino corrette, et castigate con tutta severità, ne meno possino partir dal suo luoco senza dire ove vano, ne senza licenza della Superiora, Maestra, o' discreta che vi fosse assistente.</p>	<p>It is not permitted for the <i>Figliuole</i> to make <i>Camerate</i> (chamber societies / close friends), nor to speak amongst each other secretly, nor to be withdrawn from the unity of the others, nor those older to sleep more than one per bed absolutely, as has been said, nor to show signs of carrying immoderate affection, and discovering any disorders or transgression in this, they will be corrected and disciplined with complete severity, nor can they leave from their place without saying where they go without license from the <i>Superiora</i>, <i>Maestra</i>, or <i>Discreta</i> who was an assistant.</p>
<p>44-45. A caduna delle Figliole così grandi come picciole doverà dalla Superiora (no essendo legittimamente impedita) ovvero dalle Maestre destinate esserle assignata giornalmente la misura, o' sia Tasca di quello, e quanto doveranno lavorare, et in caso di mancamento senza giusta causa doveranno resarcire un giorno per l'altro senza che li sii fatta remissione alcuna, anzi à quelle che meritassero li sii data quella penitenza, e castigo che se gli convenirà, restando obligata la Superiora di tener distino, e diligente conto di tutte esse Tasche, e del danaro che per esse gl'intrerà per doverne fare l'esborso al Fattore nostro ogni quattro mesi, il quale sii tenuto far di subito intrare nella Cassa grande. Dichiarandosi che la limitatione, o prezzo delle Tasche medeme debbi essere cioè per li sei mesi d'Estate principiando d'Aprile per quelle, che lavorano di punto in Aria soldi sei, e li altri sei mesi quattro soldi al giorno giusto alle parti 12 Febbraro 1690 e 29 Maggio 1702.</p>	<p>Each of the <i>figliuole</i>, both <i>grandi</i> and <i>piccole</i>, should (if not legitimately impeded) be assigned to her daily measure – or <i>tasca</i> [chore] – by the <i>Superiora</i> or by the <i>maestre</i> to be appointed to them, of what and how much they will have to work, and in case of failure without just cause, they will have to compensate for one day on another, without any penalty being made, otherwise, the penance and punishment that will be appropriate will be given to those who deserve it, with the <i>Superiora</i> remaining obligated to keep a careful and diligent account of all these <i>tasche</i> and of the money that enters from them, in order to make the payments to our <i>Fattore</i> [warden / steward] every four months, which should be immediately kept in the large treasury. It is declared that the limitation or price of the same <i>tasche</i> must be six soldi [per day] for the six months of summer starting in April for those who women who work “<i>punto in aria</i>” [“air stich,” lace making], and four soldi per day during the other six months, following the entries of 12 February 1690 and 29 May 1702.</p>
<p>45. Non dovendosi sopra il prezzo d'esse Tasche far novità alcuna senza darne parte alla Congregatione per riceverne gl'Ordini che saranno opportuni, & in caso di nuova regulatione farne sempre il solito registro nel Libro delle Tasche con sottoscrizione di tutti, o' della maggior parte di quelli che v'interveniranno, che doveranno esser li</p>	<p>Making some change to the price of these <i>tasche</i> should not be done without the Congregation assigning them, to obtain the ordinances that will be appropriate, and in case of new regulation, the usual registration in the Book of <i>Tasche</i> should always be done with signatures of all or of a major part of those who are participating, who should be</p>

<p>4 Deputati stessi, & altrettanto Governatrici con la Superiora. Per esser anco approvate esse Regulationi da questa Congregatione ridduta almeno al numero di 12 con 5 sestis delli Voti. Non dovendosi intender esenti, ne dispensate in tutto ò in parte dalle Tasche medeme toltone l'inferme & 4 maestre di Musica giusto la parte 29 Maggio 1702 e 25 Febraro 1703 M.V. durante l'impiego, ò per altro impotenti, & l'affaticanti durante l'impedimento, & impotenza loro, se non quelle che saranno di tempo in tempo, ed ad una per una descritte nel Libro stesso delle Tasche con sottoscrizione di tutti 4 li Deputati, e della Superiora, che come affare importantissimo doverà esserle molto ben raccomandato. Restando assolutamente raccomandato & vietato alle figliuole niuna eccettuata di trattare, & concluder li prezzi, o Mercati delli Lavorieri, ma questi siano maneggiati dalla Superiora, ò discrete loro unitamente facendone fare (in quanto fosse solito, e necessario) nota distinta in un Libro per mano del Maestro, ò Mercante che farà lavorare così à cautione delle figliuole come à divertimento di qualche contesa.</p>	<p>the four <i>Deputati</i> themselves, as well as the <i>Governatrici</i> with the <i>Superiora</i>. In order for these Regulations to be approved by this Congregation, it should gather in at least the number of twelve, with five-sixths of the votes. They are not intended to be exempt or excused in all or in part from the aforementioned <i>tasche</i>, except the sick and the four <i>maestre di musica</i> during their duty, following the entries of 29 May 1702 and 25 February 1703 <i>more Veneto</i>, as well as other impotent and fatigued individuals during their impediment and impotence, including those women who, from time to time, and one by one, will be written in the same Book of <i>Tasche</i> with signatures of all four <i>Deputati</i> and of the <i>Superiora</i>, who, as in very important affairs, should record them very well. It remains absolutely registered and forbidden to the <i>figliuole</i>, no one excepted, to negotiate and decide the prices or markets of the workers, but these are managed by the <i>Superiora</i> or their <i>discrete</i> together, making (as is usual and necessary) separate note in a book for the hand of the <i>maestro</i> or merchant who will make work both for security and for removing some contentions of the <i>figliuole</i>.</p>
<p>45-46. In ogni caso d'Infermità, ò altra indispositione niuna eccettuata per le quali dovessero esser introdotti in Casa il Medico, Barbiere, ò altra persona simile siino le figliuole condotte prima nell'Infermaria à questo destinata, nella qual doveranno trattenersi insino che continuerà il bisogno, & in quella esser poste tanto le figliuole grandi come picciole, Maestre, e discrete senza distintione imaginabile, procurando che l'Infermiere à ciò destinate faccino il suo debito con tutta la Carità, assistenza, e vigilanza maggiore possibile, non potendosi credere, che opera così Pia, e Christiana possi essere in parte alcuna trascurata, non solo per il debito, che tutti habbiamo al nostro prossimo, come per il merito, che s'acquista appresso Nostro Signore, restando espressamente prohibito à chi se sii delle Figliuole di Casa, & ad ogn'altra con distintione di persone l'entrare nell'Infermaria predetta ne sotto pretesto di visita, ne d'altra occorrenza senza espressa licenza della Superiora se sarà Figliuola di Casa, e se fosse altra persona (supposto causa legitima) di tutti quattro di Deputati sopra le Figliuole in scritto di esser custodito dalla Piora sempre con l'assistenza della medema concedendosi libero</p>	<p>In any case of infirmity or any other indisposition for which the doctor, barber, or another similar person should be brought into the house, the <i>figliuole</i>, no one excepted, should first be brought in the Infirmary designated for this, in which they will have to stay as long as the need continues; both the <i>figliuole grandi</i> and <i>piccole</i>, the <i>maestre</i> and <i>discrete</i> will be placed in there without any imaginable distinction, ensuring that the <i>Infermiere</i> [nurses] who are assigned to this do their duty with all the greatest possible care, assistance, and vigilance, not being able to believe that work so pious and Christian could be partly neglected, not only for the debt that we all owe to our neighbor, but also for the merit that is acquired from our Lord; it remains expressly prohibited to any who are <i>figliuole di casa</i>, and to any other, with distinction of persons, to enter the aforementioned Infirmary, neither under the pretext of a visit, nor on any other occasion, without the express permission of the <i>Superiora</i> – if she is a <i>figliuola di casa</i> – and with all four of the <i>Deputati sopra le Figliuole</i> in writing – if it were another person – to be always supervised by the <i>Piora</i> with assistance of the same [Piora], granting freedom of entrance</p>

<p>l'ingresso durante il bisogno (quando però saranno ricercati) al Padre Confessore, Medico, Barbiere, & altro che occorresse con la continua assistenza delle Deputate à quest'effetto, e non altrimenti.</p>	<p>during the need (when, however, they will be sought) of the Father Confessor, the doctor, the barber, and others that would be needed with the continued assistance of the <i>Deputate</i> to this effect, and not otherwise.</p>
<p>46. Che la portione del Pane, Vino, & altro delle Figliuole amalate (durante l'infermità loro) & così di quelle, che per naturalezza, ò altra indisposizione non bevessero Vino debbi restar il tutto al Commune dell'altre, come doverà restar anco la portione delle due infermiere che servono di presente nell'infermaria delle Povere per havere queste la loro dispensa à parte, con che la quantità del vino per il commune medemo, che per altro pare alquanto ristretta verrà à supplire commodamente per tutto il mese. Commettendo alla Superiora, e spetialmente alla Canevara, e Reffetoriere, ò siano Dispensiere la pontual essecutione del presente Ordine.</p>	<p>The portion of bread, wine and other things of the sick <i>figliuole</i> (during their sickness), and likewise of those women who, out of nature or other indisposition, do not drink wine, must all remain in the common with the others, as well as the portion of the two <i>infermiere</i>, who presently serve in the infirmary of the poor, to have their pantry separately, with the quantity of wine for the same community, which for others seems rather small, will be supplied comfortably for the whole month. The punctual execution of this ordinance is committed to the Superiora, and especially to the <i>Canevara</i> (cellar worker) and the <i>Reffetoriere</i> (refectory workers), as well as the <i>Dispensiere</i> (pantry maid).</p>
<p>46-47. Alcuno non ardisca entrar in Cucina per farsi Cucinare, ricercare, ovvero ordinare cosa alcuna senza permissione della Priora, mà tutte siano tratte uniformamente senza partialità veruna, eccetuate però l'Inferme, o indisposte alle quali doverà esser fatta qualche differenza durante il bisogno, e non d'avantaggio, cioè di onze quattro di Vitello al giorno giusto la parte 20 Aprile 1682. Doverà parimenti esser fatta qualche differenza alle faticanti, cioè Cucciniere, Lavandiere, e simili come si è sempre praticato.</p>	<p>No one should dare to enter the kitchen to cook, search for, or order anything without permission of the <i>Priora</i>, but all should be brought uniformly without any partiality, except for the infirm or the indisposed, to whom some difference will be made during their need and not for their advantage; that is, four ounces of veal per day, as in the entry of 20 April 1682. Some difference will also have to be made to the laborers, that is the <i>Cucciniere</i> (cooks), <i>Lavandiere</i> (laundry workers), and the like, as has always been practiced.</p>
<p>47. Che in tempo, e modo alcuno non sii permesso tener nell'Ospitale nostro Figliuole à spese, ò in salvo, ne à dozzina sotto à qual si voglia causa, ò pretesto imaginabile ancorche fossero Parenti della Priora, ò d'alcuno delli Governatori, ò Governatrici nostre, ò d'altri.</p>	<p>It is not permitted to keep at any time or in any way <i>figliuole a spese</i> or <i>in salvo</i> in our <i>Ospitale</i>, not as boarders for any reason or pretense imaginable, even if they were relatives of the <i>Priora</i> or of any of our <i>Governatori</i> or <i>Governatrici</i> or of others.</p>
<p>47. Il vestire delle Figliuole doverà esser in tutto positivo, e modesto, cioè con semplice vestura rovana, e busto dell'istesso colore senza punta, e senza guarnitione alcuna, ne pure in nervetti ò altro, prohibite del tutto le Carpete di Seta, e mezza Seta, galani di qualsivoglia modo, e colore, o Recchini, Manini, & Anelli d'oro, Calzete di Seta, e mezza Seta, poste, Scarpe, Fiochi, e Rosete, & ogn'altro adornamento così di pezzete, Merli di qualsivoglio sorte, come di altro; mà debbino portar il suo velo di bombace schieto, serato non trasparente, le sue</p>	<p>The clothing of the <i>figliuole</i> must all be practical and modest, that is, with a simple roan-colored garment and a bust of the same color, without stitching [embroidery] and without any embellishment, not even in the stitches or otherwise. Completely forbidden are silk or half-silk petticoats, ribbons of any kind or color, earrings/pendants, <i>Manini</i> [Venetian-style gold chains], gold rings, silk and half-silk stockings, belts, shoes, ribbons, roses, and all other adornments such as cloths, or other laces of any</p>

<p>scarpe schiete senza fiocchi, ò altro adornamento, in testa una cordella bianca di filo, ò al più Cendalina senza galani, ò buffi senza rizi, ò acconciatura di alcuna sorte. In somma debbino vestir sempre con quella modestia si conviene à Povere figliuole di questo Ospitale.</p>	<p>kind; but they must wear their <i>velo di bombace</i> [cotton/wool veil], unblemished and of compact knit, not transparent, and their shoes free of ribbons or other adornments. On their head, a white ribbon of string or, at most, the <i>Cendalina</i> [a ribbon poor women used to braid the hair], without ribbons or ornaments, without curls or hairdos of any sort. In sum, they should always dress with that modesty that befits poor <i>figliuole</i> of this Ospedale.</p>
<p>47-48. Incombenza particolare doverà esser della Priora, e delle Governatrici (quando le parerà opportuno) far aprire all'improvviso le Casse di tutte le Figliuole, ò almeno di quelle sopra le quali cadesse qualche sospetto, & veder se in esse vi fossero vestiti, ò in altra cosa proibita, & indecente, e ritrovandone debbino castigar quella, ò quelle che meritassero nella forma che le parerà più propria à misura del difetto, levando immediate la cosa, o cose che fossero contro li boni ordini, facendone anco abbruggiare alla presenza dell'altre Figliuole, & nelli casi gravi doveranno esser avisati anco li Governatori sopra esse Figliuole acciò con maturatezza sii remediato ad ogni disordine à giusta correzione di chi averà errato, & ad esempio universale di tutte le altre.</p>	<p>The particular responsibility to suddenly open the chests of all the <i>figliuole</i> should be the <i>Priora</i>'s and the Governors' (when they see fit), or at least [the chests] of those over whom some suspicion falls, to see if there were clothes or other prohibited and indecent thing in them, and finding any of them, they should punish her or them that deserve it, in the way that seems most appropriate according to the defect, immediately taking away the thing or things that were against the good orders, even burning them in the presence of the other <i>figliuole</i>, and in serious cases the Governors should also be advised over these <i>figliuole</i> so that every disorder is quickly remedied to the just correction of those who err and for universal example for all the others.</p>
<p>48-49. No sii permesso alle Figliuole parlar con persona alcuna immaginabile ne huomo, ne dona di che età, e conditione esser si voglia ancorche fossero loro Parenti senza espressa licenza delli 4 Deputati sopra le Figliuole, la qual licenza habbi da esser novamente sottoscritta di sei mesi in sei mesi, dalli quali non gli possi esser concessa (fuorche in caso di cognita necessità) se non nelli giorni soli di Domenica, & all'ore solite, cioè nella Stagion d'Autunno, e Verno da terza sino l'ore 23 & da Primavera, & Estate da Vespero sin l'ora medema sempre con l'assistenza delle Maestre, o Discrete accio deputate in tanta vicinanza che possino sentire ogni bassa parola. Restringendosi anco tal permissione nelli Parenti più congionti, cioè Fratelli, e Sorelle, Zii, e Zie, Cugini, e Cugine Paterne e Materne. Prohibendole anco il parlare con li suoi Parenti, quando si scorgesse qualche occasione di Scandalo, o divertimento dal Bene che perciò la Superiora, e le Maestre tutte doveranno stare molto oculate perche d'ogni picciol disordine in questo proposito ne puo derivare gran danno, e mal esempio. Restando espressamente vietato per più degni rispetti il ricevere visite in tempo, e modo</p>	<p>The <i>figliuole</i> are not permitted to speak with any imaginable person, neither man nor woman of whatever age and condition they may be, even if they are relatives, without express permission of the four <i>Deputati sopra le Figliuole</i>; this permission has to be newly signed every six months, from which it cannot be granted (except in case of known necessity) except only on the days of Sunday and at the usual hour, that is, in the season of autumn and winter from the third to the twenty-third hour, and in spring and summer from Vespers until the same hour, always with the assistance of the <i>maestre</i> or the <i>discrete</i> who are appointed, in such vicinity that they can hear every low word. Such permission is also constricted for the most familiar relatives, such as brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal cousins [male and female]. Speaking with their relatives is also prohibited when some occasion of scandal or some diverting from the good work is witnessed; for this reason the <i>Priora</i> and the <i>maestre</i> all must be very cautious, because any small disorder in this matter could result in great damage and bad example. It also remains expressly</p>

<p>alcuno dalle figliuole maritate, o partite dall'Ospitale in qual si voglia modo, le quali siino, & s'intendino sempre escluse come è stato ordinato, e praticato giustamente anco in passato.</p>	<p>forbidden, for more worthy respects, to receive visits in any time or way from <i>figliuole</i> who are married or who have departed from the Ospedale in whatever way, as they are and will always be understood as excluded, as is ordered and rightly practiced even in the past.</p>
<p>49. Ne meno sii permesso in modo alcuno alle figliole uscir di Casa senza previa licenza della Congregatione con li quattro quinti delli Governatori ridotti almeno al numero di otto giusta la parte 25 Febraro 1691 ne gli possi esser concessa che per poche hore in causa legittima, e per una sol volta con l'assistenza continuata d'una per il meno delle Discrete, in caso di qualche urgentissima necessità, e non altrimenti in pena alla Priora che lasciasse uscir dalla Casa alcuna figliuola senza tal requisito della privatione del Carico, da non esser rimessa se non con li 3 quarti di Congregati, & alle figliuole che fossero uscite quel che parerà alla Congregatione, & la Priora in niuna maniera possi in occasione che avesse di portarsi fuori di Casa condur seco alcuna delle figliuole ne grande ne picciole, mà debbi solamente valersi di una delle Maestre più vecchie, procurando ritornarsene al luoco quanto più celeramente le riuscirà possibile. Restandoli espressamente proibito di trattarsi alla note, ovvero à desinare fuori di Casa senza licenza della Congregatione. Però le Maestre più vecchie solite andar à Corpo, & in cerca con le figliuole, o per qualche altra urgenza della Casa possino uscire, & trattarsi per quel solo tempo che ricercherà il bisogno, mà sempre con licenza della Superiora, e non altrimenti.</p>	<p>Neither are the <i>figliuole</i> permitted in any way to leave the house without prior permission from the Congregation with four-fifths of the Governors, gathered at least to the number of eight, following the entry of 25 February 1691; this may be granted to them in legitimate reasons only for a few hours and one at a time, with continued assistance of at least one of the <i>discrete</i>, in case of some very urgent need, and not otherwise, with the <i>Priora</i> who would allow any <i>figliuola</i> to leave the house without this requirement punished through the privation of her duty, and she is not to be remitted except with three-fourths of the Congregation, and the <i>figliuole</i> who had exited according to what the Congregation deems appropriate will also be punished; the <i>Priora</i>, on the occasion that she has to go outside the house, in no way can take any of the <i>figliuole</i> with her, neither <i>grande</i> nor <i>picciole</i>, but she should only make use of one of the older <i>maestre</i>, trying to return to this place as quickly as possible. It remains expressly forbidden to stay overnight or to dine outside the house without permission from the Congregation. However, the older <i>maestre</i>, who usually go to the Crypt and on [alms] searches with the <i>figliuole</i>, or for some other need of the house, may go out and stay for only that time that is needed, but always with the permission of the <i>Superiora</i> and not otherwise.</p>
<p>49-50. Nello stesso libro, e con l'ordine medemo doveranno esser parimenti di volta in volta notate le licenze di quelle, alle quali nominatamente gli sarà per li medemi Governatori Deputati concesso conforme il solito di poter andar alli Perdoni che doveranno esser solamente le piu vecchie che abbino fatto fermo proponimento di restar al governo dell'Ospitale, dovendo esse portarsi in hora propria, e per la via più breve à quella Chiesa che gli sarà permesso accompagnate sempre à due à due, ò tre per il meno, e non altrimenti con obligatione di doversene subito (fatte le loro divotioni) ritornare alla Casa senza alcun altro imaginabile divertimento, & quelle che trasgredissero siano prontamente depenate dal</p>	<p>In the same book and with the same ordinance, there should likewise be noted from time to time the names of those women to whom the aforementioned Governors <i>Deputati</i> granted permission, conforming to the usual way of being able to go to Absolution [i.e. confess their sins], who must only be the oldest that have made a firm resolution to remain in the government of the <i>Ospitale</i>, having to bring themselves in the appropriate hour and by the shortest way to that church that will be permitted, accompanied, always two or at least three, and not otherwise, with the obligation of having to immediately return to the house (having finished their devotions), without any other imaginable diversion; those who</p>

<p>Libro, e non rimesse se non con li 3 quarti della Congregatione riddotti almeno al numero di 12. quali Indulgenze, ò perdoni per queste tali doveranno esser solamente la solennità del Santissimo Rosario di SS. Gio. e Paulo, li 2 d'Agosto in S. Francesco, & li 3 & 4 di Aprile alla Chiesa della Carità. Poi nelle Festività del Redentor nostro Signore, della Beata Vergine della Salute, e di San Rocco doveranno andarvi conforme il solito processionalmente tutte le figliuole picciole che non eccedino l'età d'anni 12 e 13 in circa sempre con modestia, e divotione esemplare accompagnate dalle solite loro Maestre, & altre delle più vecchie soprannominate, e non in altra forma unitamente con li figliuoli di Casa, che doveranno precedere alle medeme pure processionalmente escluse affatto (oltre le predette) tutte l'altre Indulgenze, Perdoni, visite, et devotioni, & altro che dir si possi in tal proposito anco per voto, il quale vien proibito giusto alla parte 16 Aprile 1696 che asserissero aver fatto le figliuole, ò alcuna di esse nelli quali casi non gli possi esser concessa licenza alcuna imaginabile se non con li 4 quinti della Congregatione, & con le forme, che si è detto nel precedente Capitolo. Scoprendosi in ciò qualche trasgression, ò difetto che per venirne in cognitione doveranno li 4 Deputati star molto avvertiti, e farne anco le proprie inquisitione siino per esse castigate con ogni rigore, & deperate dal Libro come si è detto di sopra, ne altri che la Piora possi ricercare ad essi Deputati le licenze medeme.</p>	<p>transgress are promptly removed from the book and not remitted without three-fourths of the Congregation, gathered at least to the number of twelve. Such Indulgences or absolutions for these [women] should be only be done on the feast day of the Most Holy Rosary of Santi Giovanni e Paulo, the 2nd of August in San Francesco, and the 3rd and 4th of April at the Church of [Santa Maria] della Carità. Then on the Feast Days of our Lord Redeemer [third Sunday of July], of the Beata Vergine della Salute [November 21], and of San Rocco [August 16], all the <i>figliuole picciole</i>, who do not exceed the age of about twelve or thirteen, should go, conforming to the usual procession, always with modesty and exemplar devotion, accompanied by their usual <i>maestre</i> and others of the older abovenamed [women], and not in any other form, together with the <i>figliuoli</i> [male wards] of the house who should also proceed in procession to the aforementioned, absolutely excluding (beyond the aforementioned) all the other Indulgences, Absolutions, visits, and devotions; other than to say, it is also possible in such matters that have been prohibited by vote, according to the entry of 16 April 1696, [in cases] that the <i>figliuole</i> claim to have had, or in any cases of these [women] which were not able to be granted any imaginable permission, except with four-fifths of the Congregation, and with the formalities that were said in the previous Chapter. If some transgression or defect in this is uncovered, it should be made known, the four <i>Deputati</i> should be highly warned, and also the appropriate inquisitions should be made for those punished women, with every rigor; as mentioned above, the same licenses are removed from the book, as in others that the <i>Piora</i> can find for these <i>Deputati</i>.</p>
<p>50-51. Che niuno eccettuato così huomo come donna sii di che grado, e conditione esser si voglia, etiam Governatori, ne sotto qual si sii imaginabile pretesto possi esser introdoto nella Casa delle Figliuole, ne quelle vedere, ò seco parlare eccettuato anco il Maestro di Musica, e di suonare, che doveranno tutti esser introdoti però nel modo, e forma, & con l'assistenza continuata come si è detto del Padre Confessore, & altri, e così doverà osservarsi con tutta la vigilanza. Da queste s'intendano sempre eccetuate le Governatrici, ma non le serve, ò altre che fossero con le medeme, tre</p>	<p>No one exempt, either man or woman, no matter what rank or condition they be, even the Governors, under any imaginable pretext, can be introduced into the house of the <i>figliuole</i>, to see them or speak with them, except the <i>Maestro di Musica</i> and <i>di suonare</i>, who should all, however, be introduced in the way and form as was said for the Father Confessor and others, and with continued assistance, so that he will be observed with all vigilance. Among these, the <i>Governatrici</i> are always understood exempt, but not their servants or others who are with them, [and] the</p>

<p>Presidenti, e 4 Deputati attuali sopra le Figliuole, & questi almeno al numero di due giusto alla parte 25 Febraro 1691. In occorrenza di Fornari, Muratore, Marangone, & altri Operarii in occasione parimenti di bisogno, & non altrimenti sii permesso l'ingresso nella Casa di sopra con l'istessa forma alli soli quattro Deputati sopra le Figliuole (esclusi sempre tutti li altri Governatori) per il tempo solamente, che dimoreranno nella Carica, non dovendo quelli in casi simili, ne in qual si voglia fontione esser meno in due, et in mancamento d'uno, ò più di essi per qualche legittimo impedimento doveranno subintrare li Pressidenti più vecchi nello stesso numero.</p>	<p>three Presidents and the four current <i>Deputati sopra le Figliuole</i>; these at least at the number of two, as in the entry of 25 February 1691. Likewise, in the event of needing bakers, masons, carpenters, or other workers, and not otherwise, entrance in the house, as above with the same formality, may be permitted to only the four <i>Deputati sopra le Figliuole</i> (always excluding all other Governors) for the time only that they remain in their Office, since there must be no less than two in similar cases and in any kind of functions, and if one or more of these is missing for any legitimate impediment, the older Presidents should be replaced in the same number.</p>
<p>51. Non si debbi permettere in modo alcuno alle Figliuole di Casa di recitare Comedie, ne rappresentationi Spirituali, ò cose simili senza espressa licenza della Congregatione riddotta almeno al n. di 8 con tutti li voti, et in ogni caso non doverà esser introdota persona alcuna imaginabile, ne anco li Governatori medemi, ma le sole Governatrici, escluse sempre le loro serve, e Cameriere come si è detto precedentemente.</p>	<p>The <i>Figliuole di Casa</i> should not be allowed in any way to recite comedies nor spiritual plays or similar things, without express permission of the Congregation, gathered at least to the number of eight with all the votes, and in every case no imaginable person, not even the aforementioned Governors, should be introduced, except only the <i>Governatrici</i>, always excluding their servants and chamber maids, as was previously said.</p>
<p>51-52. Non possino venir in Camera della riduzione delli Governatori per dimandare conforme il solito la buona mano che solamente sei Figliuole di Camera che non eccedino l'età d'anni 12 con una ò due Maestre accompagnate vestite con li suoi abiti ordinarii, ò al più in figura d'Angeli cantando brevemente qualche Laude, ò altra cosa Spirituale, dovendo in tal fontione esse Figliuole per ogni buon rispetto esser assistite dalli 4 Governatori Deputati così nell'uscire come nel ritornare alla Casa.</p>	<p>They may not come to the Chamber where the Governors meet to make a request, in compliance with what's usual, except only six <i>figliuole di camera</i>, who do not exceed the age of twelve, with one or two <i>maestre</i> accompanying, dressed with their ordinary clothes, or at most in the figure of Angels, briefly singing some Laudes or other spiritual things, having these <i>figliuole</i> in this function, for every good respect, be assisted by the four Governor <i>Deputati</i> both in exiting and returning to the house.</p>
<p>52. Non possino le Figliuole esser mutate da luoco à luoco cioè da un Dormitorio all'altro se non averanno l'età ordinaria, e siino in stato di non uscire piu di Casa per accompagnar li Cadaveri alla Sepultura conforme l'ordinario senza precedente licenza della Superiora, essendo anco stato, e doverà esser costume ordinario che le Figliuole picciole siano divise dalle grandi eccetto che nel Refettorio, & altre solite fontioni, nelle quali devono tutte necessariamente intervenirvi.</p>	<p>The <i>figliuole</i> may not be changed from place to place, that is from one dormitory to another, if they are not the usual age, and they may not be able to leave the house to accompany the dead to the sepulcher, as is usual, without previous permission from the <i>Superiora</i>, as has been, and it should be the usual custom that the <i>figliuole picciole</i> are divided from the <i>grandi</i> except in the refectory, and other usual functions in which they should all necessarily participate.</p>
<p>52. Che alla presenza di tutti 4 li Deputati sopra le Figliuole con l'assistenza principalmente della Superiora conforme il solito sii fatta per il meno una volta all'anno la rassegna di tutte le Figliuole</p>	<p>In the presence of all four of the <i>Deputati sopra le figliuole</i>, with the assistance primarily of the <i>Superiora</i>, in accordance with the custom, at least one time per year, the inspection is made of all the</p>

<p>di Casa, niuna ecetuata, facendone la solita diligente nota sopra il Rollo ad una per una, nella qual fontione possino correger, & inquerire quelle che alla Prudenza loro pareranno meritare, & all'incontro possino le Figliuole medeme dire con modestia qualche loro bisogno, o giusto desiderio che avessero, & particolarmente le Maestre, quali doveranno esser ascoltate senza la presenza della Superiora.</p>	<p><i>figliuole di casa</i>, no one exempt, making the usual diligent note over the roll-call [record of names], one by one, in which function they can improve, and to inquire, according to their prudence, which ones seem meritorious; at the meeting, the aforementioned <i>figliuole</i> can say, with modesty, some of their needs or just desires that they have had: particularly the <i>maestre</i>, whom should be listened to without the presence of the <i>Superiora</i>.</p>
<p>52-53. Tutte conforme al solito si doveranno confessare, & comunicare à tempi debiti, & consueti, non dovendosi permettere che non vivano da buone Cristiane, e con la dovuta riverenza al Signor' Iddio, & alla Santa Chiesa, & in caso vi fosse alcuna che non lo facesse sia rimesso alla Carità delli 4 Deputati il prendere qualche ripiego, che alla loro Prudenza parerà, dovendo essere incombenza delli medemi procurare che gli sii dato per il meno una volta all'anno un Confessore straordinario anco di altra Religione che Somasco quando così ricercasse il bisogno, come altre volte è stato praticato.</p>	<p>In accordance with what's customary, all should confess and commune at appropriate and usual times, being forbidden to not live as good Christians and with due reverence to the Lord God and the Holy Church; in case there is anyone who does not do this, it remains to the care of the four <i>Deputati</i> to make some recourse according to their prudence, since it must be the responsibility of these [<i>Deputati</i>] to ensure that an extra Confessor is also given to them at least once per year of another religion than Somascan, when the need is sought, as has been practiced at other times.</p>
<p>53. In Confessionario doverà star aperto per quel sol tempo che ricercherà il bisogno, & esser poi immediatamente chiuso con le chiavi, come parimenti subito fornite le Messe doveranno esser serrate le due Finestrelle che guardano sopra l'Altar Maggior, & il Coro, ne piu aperti sino la mattina susseguente fuori che li giorni festivi, che si canta il Vespero in Coro, & la Quadregesima le Compiete, et portar le Chiavi alla Superiora, l'incombenza di che doverà esser della Sagrestana più vecchia, ò d'altra che fosse destinata dalla Superiora medesima; Non possino cantar in Coro oltre le Messe, Vesperti, & altro che fosse ordinario senza licenza di questa Congregatione, ò almeno delli Deputati sopra le Figliuole.</p>	<p>The Confessionary should be open only for that time that it will be needed, and to be then immediately closed with the keys; likewise, immediately when the masses are ended, the two small windows that look over the Major Altar and the <i>Coro</i> should be closed, not to be opened until the following morning, except on holidays, when the Vespers, Complines, and Lent is sung in the <i>Coro</i>, and the task to bring the keys to the <i>Superiora</i> should be the oldest <i>Sagrestana</i> [Sacristan]'s, or another who is designated by the <i>Superiora</i> herself; They cannot sing in the <i>Coro</i> without permission from this Congregation or at least of the <i>Deputati sopra le Figliuole</i>, other than the masses, Vespers, and anything else that is ordinary.</p>
<p>53. Che le robbe, denari, & altro che lascieranno alle Figliuole così vecchie, come gioveni che moriranno in Casa immediate sii il tutto inventariato dalle quattro Discrete con la presenza della Superiora, la quale abbi obbligo di subito conferirlo alli 4 Deputati perche unitamente possino far scielta di quella, e quanta robba gli parerà à proposito per una ò più di quelle figliuole che si levano dal numero delle piccole, e si pongono nelle grandi, nel qual caso ordinariamente si mutano di abiti; Fatte poi seppellire conforme</p>	<p>The belongings, money, and other things that they leave to the <i>figliuole</i>, both the old and the young, when they die in the house, will immediately be inventoried by the four <i>Discrete</i> with the presence of the <i>Superiora</i>, who is obliged to immediately confer it to the four <i>Deputati</i>, so that together they can choose what and how much clothing seems to be useful for one or more of those <i>figliuole</i> who will be raised from the number of the <i>piccole</i> and placed in the <i>grandi</i>, in which case they ordinarily change their clothes; After having been buried</p>

<p>l'uso dell'Ospitale gli sii fatto dire dal Commune dell'altre Figliuole quel bene, che sarà solito, e convenevole, e Messe nu. 12 per cadauna, & essendovi sopravanzo sii questo in Denaro con altro che le fosse stato ritrovato consignato al Fattor nostro che doverà di subito farlo intrar nella Cassa grande, girandone le necessarie partite per esser disposte nelle solite occorenze di quella, intendendosi il tutto dover ceder à beneficio e suffraggio delle stesse defonte.</p>	<p>according to the custom of the Ospedale, that good work – which is usual and necessary – will be done by the Community of the other <i>figliuole</i>, and twelve masses for each one; if there is surplus, be this in money, or anything else that had been found, it should be delivered to our <i>Fattor</i> [warden], who should immediately put it in the large Treasury, to turn the necessary portions, to be arranged in the usual necessities of that one [woman], being understood as having to yield to the benefit and suffrage of the deceased themselves.</p>
<p>54. Per proveder alli molti bisogni che tengono giornalmente le Figliuole picciole, che sono per ordinario al numero di 40 l'anno 1664, 6 Dicembre gli è stato assegnato il tratto delle semole, il medemo si doverà praticare anco in avvenire, restando incaricata la Panatiere, & il debito, che per la Carica, & in coscienza se gl'aspeta di non permettere, che sii dispensata malamente, ne con pregiudicio del tratto, che in contanti doverà fare di tutta la medema per consegnarlo prontamente ogni 2 mesi alla Superiora, dovendone l'una, e l'altra tenere distinto, e diligente conto separato in un Libro per cadauna per che li Deputati sopra le Figliuole possino sempre vedere come sarà stato maneggiato, & impiegato quel denaro, il qual Conto debbi esser sottoscritto, & approvato ogni mesi tre da due per il meno delli Deputati medemi, & girato il tratto nella Cassa grande, come si pratica di quei delli lavorieri, & referto dalli Signori sopra le Figliuole alla Congregatione.</p>	<p>To provide for the many daily needs of the <i>figliuole picciole</i>, who are usually numbered 40, the portion of semolina/bran was allocated 6 December 1664, the same should be practiced in the future, remaining appointed to the <i>Panatiere</i> [pantry maids]; through her Office and in all conscience, she should not permit that the portions be dispensed badly, nor with prejudice of the portioning, which should be made to all the same in count, to deliver it promptly to the <i>Superiora</i> every two months, having to keep a separate and diligent account in the book for each one and so that the <i>Deputati sopra le Figliuole</i> can always see how that money will be managed and used, and the account must be signed and approved every three months by at least two of the aforementioned <i>Deputati</i>, and the portion turned into the great Treasury, as is practiced by those workers, and reported to the Congregation by the Lords over the <i>figliuole</i>.</p>
<p>54. Tutto il denaro, che dalle Figliuole picciole, che vanno in cerca in qual si voglia tempo, & occasione sarà ritrovato per Elemosina fuori delle Casselle sii raccolto, e custodito conforme il solito dalla Maestra, ò discreta loro più vecchia, la quale habbia obligo di spenderlo nelli bisogni piu urgenti di tutto il Commune di esse Figliuole picciole, che per ordinario sono in numero di quaranta, dovendone tenere diligente, e fedel registro in un Libro à questo destinato cosi del ricavato come del speso per renderne conto alli 4 Deputati almeno una volta all'anno conforme viene praticato nella Cassa delli figliuoli.</p>	<p>All the money, which will be found from the <i>figliuole picciole</i> who go in search at some times and occasions for Alms outside the small houses, should be collected and kept, in accordance with the custom, by the <i>maestra</i> or their oldest <i>discrete</i>, who is obliged to spend it in the most urgent needs of all the community of these <i>figliuole picciole</i>, who are usually forty in number, having to keep them diligently and faithfully registered in a book designated for this, both of the proceeds and of the expenses, to make them accounted to the four <i>Deputati</i> at least once per year, as is practiced in the treasury of the <i>figliuoli</i> [male wards].</p>
<p>54-55. La Lavandaria, Panataria, Terrazze, et altri luochi fuori del tempo del bisogno doveranno star sempre serrati particolarmente la note, et le chiavi in mano della Superiora, durante il qual bisogno doveranno continuamente, e con tutta vigilanza</p>	<p>The Washroom, Pantry, Terraces, and other places should always be locked up outside of the time of need, particularly at night, and the keys should be in the hand of the <i>Superiora</i>; during the [time of] need, the <i>Maestre</i>, who will be assigned to the</p>

<p>assistervi repettivamente le Maestre che alle Cariche medeme saranno destinate.</p>	<p>same offices, should assist continually and with all vigilance.</p>
<p>55. Che la Portoniera sii obligata poner nella Cassella a questo Deputata tutte l'elemosine che in Danari da Devoti saranno mandate à questo Pio Luoco per averne Suffraggii d'Orationi, o altri esercitii Spirituali, facendone la medema portinara nota sopra il Libro à quste' effetto destinato, dichiarando in quello il nome della persona che manderà, et ciò che desidera, dovendo subito darne parte alla Superiora, perche da lei sii ordinata senza dilatione l'esecutione delle divotioni ricercate.</p>	<p>The <i>Portoniera</i> is obligated to put all the monetary alms, which are sent by devotees to this Charitable Institution in order to have support of prayers or other spiritual exercises, in the box appointed to this, and the same <i>Portinara</i> noted above should make the Book intended for this effect, declaring within it the names of the person who sent [the alms] and what they desire, having to immediately give entry of it to the <i>Superiora</i>, so that the execution of the requested devotions will be order by her without delay.</p>
<p>55. Sii obligata la Portinara tener sempre l'antiporta della Casa serrata con il suo catenaccio, così che ogn'uno delli permessi che volesse entrare debbi prima suonar la Campanella à questo destinata, intendendosi esclusi dall'ingresso medemo fuori del bisogno anco li figliuoli di Casa, Tegnosi, & altri sotto pena d'essere la portinara stessa rigorosamente castigata, e privata della Carica.</p>	<p>The <i>Portinara</i> is always obligated to keep the front door of the house locked with its bolt, so that each one of those permitted, who want to enter the house, must first ring the bell intended for this, which is intended to keep those who do not have the need from entering, even the <i>figliuoli</i> of the house, those with ringworm, and others, under the penalty of the <i>portinara</i> herself being rigorously punished and deprived of her office.</p>
<p>55. Doverà parimenti la portinara al suono dell'Ave Maria della sera senza dilatione alcuna serrare benissimo le sue porte, & consegnare subitamente le Chiavi alla Superiora, la quale non doverà riconsignargliele se non la mattina doppo levato il Sole.</p>	<p>Likewise, the <i>portinara</i> should very securely lock her doors at the sound of the evening's Ave Maria without any delay, and immediately deliver the keys to the <i>Superiora</i>, who should not give them back until the morning after the sun has risen.</p>
<p>55-56. Tutte l'Elemosine di robba mangiativa, e d'altra natura ecceuatone vino, e farina che venissero mandate al luoco per le cause sopradette siino le mangiative distribuite proportionatamente in commune, & se fossero in tal abbondanza che potessero servire per uno, ò piu giorni, & anco à sollievo in parte, ò in tutto della dispensa che si dà giornalmente doverà esser incombenza della Superiora d'ordinare tal distributione, & d'avisare il Dispensiere perche sappi come contenersi in casi simili, ma se fosse cosa di non molta rilevanza sii dispensata in commune oltre l'ordinario. Similmente doverà esser dispensato subito tutto quello venisse mandato per Carità al commune, ò ad alcuna parte d'esse Figliuole, con conditione che le dovesse esser dato in avantaggio di che se gli dà per la dispensa ordinaria, eseguendo in ciò l'intentione di chi facesse la Carità. Al Dispensier poi doverà esser consignato il Vino, e Farina che venisse mandato come sopra, per doverne tenir</p>	<p>All the alms of food stuffs and of other nature, except wine and flour, that were sent to the place for the aforementioned cause should be distributed proportionately in common; if they were in such abundance that they could serve for one or more days, even relieving in part or in all of the pantry that is given daily, it should be the duty of the <i>Superiora</i> to order such distribution and to advise the <i>Dispensiere</i> so that she knows how to contain it in similar cases, but, if it were a matter of not much relevance, it should be dispensed in common beyond the ordinary. Similarly, everything must be dispensed immediately if it was sent out of charity to the community or to any part of these <i>figliuole</i>, with the condition that it should be given in advance of that which is given them for the ordinary dispensation, accomplishing the intention of he who made the charity. The <i>Dispensier</i> should then be given the wine and flour that was sent as above, in order to keep note of it and to give an</p>

<p>nota, e darne conto al Cassier Grande, & riferirlo in Congregatione; la distributione poi d'altra qualità di robba che fosse parimenti mandata per Elemosina sii fatta di quel modo che parerà alla Superiora col parere, & assistenza di due per il meno delli Governatori Deputati, avuto riguardo come sopra; Dovendo del tutto esser tenuta nota distinta sopra il Libro accenato nel precedente Capitolo.</p>	<p>account to the Large Treasury [<i>Cassier Grande</i>] and to refer it to the Congregation; then the distribution of the stuff of other quality that was also sent by alms should be done in whatever way that seems appropriate to the <i>Superiora</i> with the opinion and assistance of at least two of the Governors <i>Deputati</i>, having been regarded as above; It is entirely necessary to keep a separate note in the Book mentioned in the preceding chapter.</p>
<p>56. Prohibendo espressamente alla Priora, & à chi si sii il riceverne in qual si voglia modo, ò pretesto presenti, ò Donativi che fossero portati al Luoco per dare à qualche Figliuola particolare da chi non le fosse Parente, congiunto, ò Benefattore cognito, e sincero, nel particolare di che doverà la Portinara medema star molto oculata per non ricever cosa alcuna se non nel modo permesso con participatione, & assenso anco della Superiora, e con il Registro nel Libro solito, acciò per causa sua non succeda qualche disordine, nel qual caso sii immediatamente levata dalla Carica, e punita à misura del dovere.</p>	<p>The <i>Priora</i>, and whomever else, are expressly prohibited in any way or pretext to receive gifts or donations that were brought to this place to give to some particular <i>figliuola</i> from those who are not relatives, kin, or a known and sincere benefactor; in particular, the <i>Portinara</i> must be very careful not to receive anything except in the manner permitted with participation and also consent of the <i>Superiora</i> and with the registration in the usual Book, so that some disorder does not occur because of her, in which case she will be immediately removed from office and punished to the required extent.</p>
<p>56-57. Siino le Figliuole Maggiori d'Età, e principalmente quelle di Coro con l'assistenza continuata della Superiora, e se fosse possibile di qualche Governatrice condote à ricreatione conforme il solito per una sol volta l'anno, dovendo partire la mattina, e ritornare la sera stessa al luoco tutte unite in un Burchiello chiuso al possibile sempre con modestia, & ritiratezza, recitando il suo Officio, et altre Orationi. Assistite per viaggio così nell'andare come nel ritornare dalli 4 Deputati con le sue Gondole. Il suo desinare doverà esser positivo, & ordinario senz'alcuna confetione, acciò la Spesa che ordinariamente vien fatta dalla Carità delli 4 Deputati medemi non rieschi esorbitante, mà stii nel limite solito. Doverà esserle preparato in una dell'Isole più vicine in luoco più comodo ritirato, & onorevole che sii possibile, esclusi affatto li luochi di terra ferma, & altri che fossero troppo conspicui, e lontani con ogn'altra novità, & introductione perniciososa. Esclusa parimenti da tal conversatione ogni sorte di persone così huomo come Donna non potendovisi alcuno ne sotto pretesto di Parentella, d'Amicitia, di servire, ò d'altro, ne anco li stessi Governatori Deputati, fuorche nelle fontioni sopradette. Alle Governatrici però solamente sii concesso di trattenersi quanto le</p>	<p>The <i>figliuole</i> of greater age, and principally those of the <i>coro</i>, with continued assistance of the <i>Superiora</i>, and if possible of some <i>Governatrice</i>, should be accompanied to recreation, in compliance with what's customary, only once per year, having to leave in the morning and to return in the same evening to this place, all united in a river boat [<i>burchiello</i>], always as closed as possible with modesty and seclusion, reciting their Office and other orations. [They are to be] assisted in traveling and returning by four <i>Deputati</i> with their <i>gondole</i>. Their dinner must be practical and ordinary without any confection/sweets, so that the expenditure, which is ordinarily made by the charity of the four same <i>Deputati</i>, may not be exorbitant, but stays within the usual limit. It should be prepared for them in one of the closest islands, in the most convenient, solitary, and honorable place as possible, absolutely excluding the places of the <i>terra ferma</i> and other places that are too conspicuous and far away with any other novelty or pernicious introduction. Likewise excluded from this conversation are every sort of people, both man and woman, none being able to be there, under any pretext of relation, friendship, service, or otherwise, nor even the same Governors</p>

<p>parerà, mà senz'alcun'altra con esse come s'è detto in altri Casi.</p>	<p><i>Deputati</i>, except in the aforementioned functions. However, the <i>Governatrici</i> only are permitted to stay as long as they see fit, but without any others with them, as was said in other cases.</p>
<p>57. Che tutti gl'Ordini, e Regole attinenti al governo della Casa, e Figliuole siano estratti in un Libretto, & consignati in bona raccomandatione alla Superiora perche sii tenuta invigilare sempre per la loro pontual essecutione, & ordinare che siino letti per il meno una volta al mese in Refettorio con voce intelligibile alla presenza di tutte, acciò cadauna sii avvertita del suo dovere, & incombenza.</p>	<p>All the Ordinances and Rules pertaining to the governance of the House and the <i>Figliuole</i> are to be extracted in a small book and consigned in good entrustment of the <i>Superiora</i> so that she can always keep vigilance for their punctual execution and to order that they are read as least once per month in the Refectory with an intelligible voice in the presence of all women, so that each is advised of her obligation and duty.</p>
<p>57. Gli stessi Ordini doveranno parimenti esser estrati in altri quattro Libretti, & consignati una per cadauno alli quattro Deputati, perche debbino anch'essi invigilare come sono tenuti per la pontuale osservanza delli medemi, e fornita che averanno la Carica doveranno consegnarli immediatamente alli loro Successori.</p>	<p>The same Ordinances should likewise be extracted in four other small books and consigned one to each of the four <i>Deputati</i>, so that they also can supervise, as they are required, for the punctual observance of the same, and, equipped with the Office that they have, they should deliver them immediately to their successors.</p>
<p>58. Che le Figliuole di Casa non debbino mai eccedere il numero di cento vinti comprese tutte le Maestre, & infermiere delle povere conforme è stato anco in passato per tanti decreti con giustissima, e prudentissima resolutione stabilito, non potendo da chi si sii esser proposta parte in contrario, ne per via di dispense, di gratia, di aspettativa, ò d'altro qual si voglia escogitato modo, ne in qualunque caso, ne anco per via di sospensione del presente Decreto se non riddoto la Congregatione al numero di sedeci con tutti li voti, ma solo in occasione di vacanza del numero predetto si possi di mano in mano accetarne con riguardo sempre alli casi piu bisognosi, e dereliti, come ricerca il dovere, & la Pietà Christiana, avvertendo con tutta applicatione, che habbino li soliti requisiti, che saranno riferiti nel seguente Capitolo.</p>	<p>The <i>figliuole di casa</i> should never exceed the number of 120, comprising all the <i>Maestre</i> and <i>infermiere</i> of the poor, conforming as has also been established in the past, with the most just and prudent resolution, not being able to be proposed to the contrary by anyone, neither by way of dispensation, grace, expectation, nor any other way that is devised, nor in any case, not even by way of suspension of this Decree, unless the Congregation is gathered at the number of sixteen with all the votes, but it is only possible on the occasion of vacancy of the aforementioned number to accept them case by case always with regards to the most needy and derelict cases, as sought by obligation and Christian piety, acknowledging with all diligence those who have the usual requisites, which will be referred to in the following Chapter.</p>
<p>58-59. In occasione dunque d'accettare Figliuole per adempimento del numero delle cento vinti si doverà far scielta di quella ò quelle, che sembreranno à questa Congregatione esser più miserabili, e derelite Orfani assolutamente di Padre, e madre, e senza parenti habili à potergli dare agiuto, e ricovero, che non eccedino l'età d'anni dieci, ne meno di sei, e sopra il tutto senza difetto alcuno notabile. Doveranno haver le fedì della morte di Padre, e madre, del loro Battesimo, &</p>	<p>Therefore, on occasion of accepting <i>figliuole</i> for the fulfillment of the number of 120, it will be necessary to select one or many of those who seem, according to this Congregation, to be the most miserable and derelict, absolutely orphaned of father and mother, and without relatives able to give them assistance and shelter, who do not exceed the age of twelve years, and not less than six, and above all without any notable defect. They should have the certificates of the death of father</p>

<p>povertà con anco quella del Sposalitio di loro Genitori tutti in autentica forma, nel qual caso ò casi potranno li Signori Pressidenti commettere l'informatione per ciaschedun caso all carità di due delli Governatori, che vi si troveranno presenti, li quali con tutta diligenza doveranno conferirsi al luoco dell'habitatione delle Povere per ricavarne dal vicinato la verità, & altro, che alla loro prudenza parerà, doveranno anco incontrare tutte le Fedi con li Libri delli Parochi, che l'haveranno fatte per levare ogni errore, e pregiudicio, che in ciò potessero esser fatti per riferire poi sinceramente il tutto à prima altra riddutione. Et essendo ritrovato il caso, ò casi quali saranno stati rappresentati possino li Pressidenti mandar parte per l'accettazione ad uno per uno, e non altrimenti, & non s'intendi presa se non con tutti li voti, riddota la Congregatione almeno al numero di otto come è stato sempre praticato. Segiuta che sarà l'accettazione delle Figliuole se ne doverà fare di subito il solito diligente registro con tutte le dichiarazioni maggiori, e dell'età in particolare, facendo consignare le medesime Figliuole con sue Fedi, e Bollettino dell'accettazione alla Superiora, la quale sii parimenti tenuta fare le sue note, & conservare le Fedi medeme in una Filza per restituirle alle Figliuole quando partiranno dal luoco, & accioche con maggior facilità si possi assicurare, che le Figliuole siino senza difetti si doveranno far vedere, & esaminare anco la Superiora, & alle quattro discrete di Casa, perche mancando esse d'intiera salute, o d'alcuno delli detti requisiti s'intendino esser incapaci della gratia, ne possino esser ballottate con quel di più vien prescritto nella parte 6 Febraro 1701.</p>	<p>and mother, of their baptism and poverty, also with that of the marriage of their parents, all in authentic form, in which case, or cases, the Lord Presidents should be able to commit the information for each case to the care of two of the Governors, who will presently be there, with all diligence, to confer themselves to the place of habitation of the poor woman/girl to obtain the truth from the neighborhood and others who seem appropriate to their prudence; they will also have to match all the certificates with the Parish Books, which will be done to remove every error or prejudice that could be made in this, to then refer everything sincerely within the next meeting. And discovering the case, or those cases that are presented, the Presidents can produce entries for the acceptance one by one, and not otherwise; it is not intended to be granted if not with all the votes, with the Congregation gathered at least to the number of eight as was always practiced. Following the acceptance of the <i>figliuole</i>, the usual diligent registration with all the major declarations, and age in particular, must be made immediately, having the same <i>figliuole</i> delivered with their certificates and ballots of acceptance to the <i>Superiora</i>, who will likewise be obliged to make her notes and to conserve the same certificates in a file to return them to the <i>figliuole</i> when they leave the place; so that, with major ease, it is possible to ensure that the <i>figliuole</i> are without defect, they should be seen and examined also by the <i>Superiora</i> and the four <i>discrete</i> of the house, so that, any of them lacking complete health or any of the said requisites, they are understood to be incapable of the grace, and they may not be voted upon with what has been prescribed in the entry of 6 February 1701.</p>
<p>59. Caso che fosse ballottata qualche Figliuole per essere accettata nel numero delle cento, e vinti, & non avesse conforme si ricerca tutti li voti delli Congregati, non possi esser ribalottata che per altre due Congregationi continuate à due volte per Congregatione, & non essendo accettata non possi esser più proposta, ne balottata per mesi sei.</p>	<p>In the event that some <i>figliuole</i> are voted upon to be accepted in the number of the 120, and not having complied with all the votes of the Congregation, she is not able to be revoted except at two other [meetings of the] Congregation, continuing two times per [meeting of the] Congregation, and not being accepted, she cannot be proposed nor voted upon for six months.</p>
<p>59-60. Comparendo in avvenire à questa Congregatione Figliuole d'extraordinaria povertà che avessero per quanto si potrà comprendere tutti li requisiti necessari benche non vi fossero luochi vacui nel numero predetto delle cento, e vinti</p>	<p>If, in the future, <i>figliuole</i> of extraordinary poverty, who have, as far as it is possible to comprehend, all the requisite necessities, appear to the Congregation, although there were no vacant places in the aforementioned number of 120, they should</p>

<p>debbino esser tolte in nota sopra un Libro à questo destinato con tutta distinctione perche in caso di qualche vacanza debbino esser avisate col mezzo di quelli Governatori, che habitassero più vicini alle medeme acciò siino ricondotte à questa Congregatione, e con tutto il zelo maggiore di carità sii fatto scielta di quella, ò quelle che pareranno più miserabili, per poi commetter le solite informazioni, & osservare ponutalmente quanto viene in tal proposito ordinato, con conditione che non si possi commettere informazione alcuna se non di tante Figliuole quanti saranno li luochi vacui.</p>	<p>be taken in note in a Book designated to this with all distinction, so that in case of some vacancy they should be advised by those Governors, who live closest to the same [<i>figliuole</i>], so that they can be brought back to this Congregation, and with all the greatest zeal of charity be selected from those who seem most miserable and then to commit the usual information and to observe punctually what is ordered in such a proposition, with condition that any information not be committed except for as many <i>figliuole</i> as there are vacant places.</p>
<p>60. Se per caso le Figliuole, che venissero accettate havessero robba, ò danari, ovvero ne ereditassero, ò gli fosse in altro modo lasciata, ò donata sii subitamente il superfluo, & quello che con il tempo può andar à male, ò fosse d'impedimento alla Casa, il restante gli sii conservato con duplicato inventario, uno de quali doverà restare appresso la Superiora, l'altro alle Figliuole, ò sue Maestre consegnando tutto il denaro al Cassier nostro con l'assistenza del Fattor, che doverà di subito formare partita nel Libro Maestro à credito della Figliuola, ò Figliuole beneficiate per essergli il tutto restituito pontualmente al suo maritare, ò Monacare, ovvero in occorenza di qualche loro bisogno in tutto, ò in parte secondo parerà alla prudenza di tutti quattro li Deputati sopra esse Figliuole senz' aggravio alcuno dell'Ospitale, & il presente ordine doverà esser registrato nel Libro della Priora.</p>	<p>If by chance the <i>Figliuole</i> who were accepted have property or money, or if they inherit it, or it is left or given to them in another way, it is immediately superfluous and that which with time can go bad or be an impediment to the house; the remainder must be kept with a duplicated inventory, one of which should remain with the <i>Superiora</i>, the other with the <i>figliuole</i> or her <i>maestre</i>, delivering all the money to our Treasurer, with the assistance of the <i>Fattor</i> [warden], who will have to immediately form an entry in the Master Book to the credit of the benefited <i>Figliuola</i> or <i>Figliuole</i> so that all can be restored to them punctually at their marriage or vows as a nun, or in occasion of some of their need, in all or in part according to what seems prudent to all four of the <i>Deputati</i> over these <i>Figliuole</i>, without any burden of the Ospedale, and the present order should be registered in the Book of the <i>Priora</i>.</p>
<p>60-61. Doveranno li quattro Deputati sopra le Figliuole, che saranno pro tempore procurare con tutta Carità, & applicatione di maritar, ò monacar in buona congiuntura quelle Figliuole, che saranno in età, & in grado d'esser logate, mentre tale fosse la loro intentione con riguardo sempre come è di dovere alle prime venute nel luoco, e che haveranno fatto con pontualità la parte loro.</p>	<p>The four who are <i>Deputati sopra le Figliuole</i> for the time being should procure with all care and application to marry or to put in a convent in good circumstance those <i>figliuole</i>, who will be of age and level to be settled, while their intentions were always with regard, as is due, to the first [<i>figliuole</i>] who came in this place and who will have done their part with punctuality.</p>
<p>61. Concedendosi facultà alli medesimi Deputati d'esborsare à quelle, che si mariteranno della Cassa, & denaro à questo destinato la solita Dote di Ducati cento cinquanta correnti al più in contanti per cadauna oltre tutto il mobile, che haveranno, fatto però che sarà il matrimonio, & non prima, facendogli fare nell'atto dell'esborso l'ordinario instrumento per mano di Publico Nodaro con la clausula solita, & in caso, che morissero senza</p>	<p>The same <i>Deputati</i> are granted the authority to pay those who will marry from the treasury; the money destined for this is the usual dowry of 150 ducats at most, in cash for each, plus all the furniture which they have; however the marriage should be finished, and not before, making them do the ordinary procedure at the hands of the Public Notary with the usual provision in the act of disbursement, and in case that they die without</p>

Figliuoli.	children.
<p>61. A quelle poi che vestissero l'habito Monacale fatto che haveranno la professione, e prova conforme l'uso del Monasterio ò luoco ch'entrassero ducati due cento simili per cadauna pure in contanti, quando non fosse possibile logarle per meno, facendosi in casi simili fare le solite quietanze, & queste Doti s'intendino rispettivamente oltre il legato di ducati cento per cadauna lasciato dalla felice memoria del Signor Bortolo Cargnoni, qual legato sono tenuti pagare li Commissarii di quella Commissaria.</p>	<p>Then, to those who will wear the monastic habit, who have done the profession and trial, conforming to what's usual at the Monastery or place that they will enter, similarly two hundred ducats also for each one, in cash, when it is not possible to lodge them for less, and in similar cases making the usual payments in full; these dowries are understood respectively in addition to the legacies of one hundred ducats for each, left by the happy memory of Lord Bortolo Cargnoni, which the Commissaries of this Commission are obliged to pay.</p>
<p>61-62. Quelle poiche desiderassero uscire dal Luoco per trattenersi con qualche loro stesso congiunto, ò fossero anzi da esse instantemente, e replicatamente ricercate à questa Congregatione, purchè non siino quelle di Coro, doveranno li 4 Deputati sopra le figliuole fargli primieramente le solite ammonitioni, avvertendole, che in casi simili perdono la Dotte, & libertà di più ritornare nel luoco, oltre li tanti pericoli à che s'espongono, informandosi diligentemente delli costumi, e professione dalli Parenti stessi, e quando fatta tutta la possibile, Paterna, Christiana diligenza anco col divenire bisognando à qualche penitenza continuassero in tal risoluzione si possi mandar parte in questa Congregatione della consegna predetta, che non s'intendi presa se non con li cinque sestì delli Voti ridoti li Governatori almeno al numero di dodeci, & non altrimenti con le medeme forme si doveranno consegnare quelle, che fossero ricercate da soggetti di bona vita, e costumi cioè à qualche Gentildona ritirata, overo d'altra conditione bene stante d'età matura, che promettessero sopra l'anima loro havergliene particolar custodia, e di collocarle occorrendo in Matrimonio, ò in luoco sicuro che possino vivere Christianamente conforme il stato loro caso che non potessero continuare al loro serviggio anzi procurare con instrumento Publico di pareggiare con tutto il maggior vantaggio possibile della Figliuola, ò Figliuole medeme come è stato praticato in casi simili, nelli quali doverà servire all'incirca la stessa norma.</p>	<p>Seeing as how those [<i>figliuole</i>] desire to leave from this place to stay with some of their own relatives or were indeed instantaneously and repeatedly sought by these [relatives] from this Congregation, provided that they are not those of the <i>Coro</i>, the four <i>Deputati sopra le figliuole</i> should primarily make them the usual admonitions, warning them that in similar cases they will lose their dowry and freedom to return again in this place, in addition to the many dangers that could arise, informing them diligently of the behaviors and profession of their same relatives; when all possible Paternal, Christian diligence is done, with even the growing need of some penance, and they continue in such a resolution, it is possible to give direction in this Congregation of the aforementioned delivery, which should not be granted if not with five sixths of the votes of the Governors at least at the number of twelve, and not otherwise, with the same forms that should be delivered to those who are sought after by subjects of good life and behaviors, that is to some cloistered Gentlewoman, or [women] of other good condition, being of mature age, who would promise over their souls to have them in particular custody and to place them in marriage if necessary or in a secure place that they can live Christianly, in accordance with their state if they could not continue their service, rather to procure with public instruments to settle off the same <i>figliuola</i> or <i>figliuole</i>, with all the major advantage possible, as was practiced in similar cases in which the same norm will have to serve.</p>

2. Excerpts from *Capitoli della Veneranda Congregatione Dell'hospitale di Santo Lazaro, e Mendicanti della Città di Venetia Per il governo di esso Hospitale* (Venezia: Per Domenico Lovisa, 1706), 36-7. Ordinances regarding the duties of the *Priora*.

<p>36-7. Doverà esser procurata a questo carico persona civile di maturo seno, & età, intelligente, & atta al governo, discreta, da bene, & senza scandalo, & con miglior partito, che si potrà havere, & parerà alla Congregatione. Questa haverà il governo, & soprintendenza alle cose occorreranno, & si doveranno giornalmente operare dalla parte delle donne, come buona madre di famiglia, con gravità, occulatezza, & carità, verso le povere di ogni stato; operando però sempre con il consiglio, & aiuto di Sig. Governatori, ò del settimaniero, ò de Signori Presidenti, ò del Cassiere, si come le occorrerà, & conferirà anco con detti Sig. Governatori li negotii, che alla giornata accaderanno, perche possino con le informazioni, che riceveranno da essa esser pronti a procurar, & darli quelli aiuti, & remedii, co'l mezo della Congregatione, che stimeranno convenienti. A questa da tutte le povere di esso luoco, come capo, gli doverà esser prestata ubbidienza, & riconosciuta per superiora.</p>	<p>A civil person should be elected for this office [of <i>Priora</i>], of a mature age, with intelligence, suitable to govern, discrete, respectable and without scandal, and with the Congregation's best consideration. She should govern and overlook all the things that are needed and must happen for the daily functioning of the women's quarters, like a good mother to a family, with seriousness, prudence and charity. However, she should always have the advice and help of the Governors, or the <i>Settimaniero</i>, or the Lord Presidents, or the <i>Cassiere</i> [Treasurer], as she needs; she should also confer negotiations, which happen daily, with these Lord Governors, so they can, with the information they receive from her, be ready to procure and give those helps and remedies, by way of the Congregation, which will be most suitable. Like a leader, she should be obeyed and acknowledged as a superior from all the poor women of this place.</p>
<p>37. Destinerà, & applicherà à gl'infrascritti carichi, per la buona regola, & servitio di esso luoco donne delle più atte, & sufficienti, che à lei parerà, cioè alle porte la portinara; all'infermarie due per infermaria, una prima, & l'altra secondo infermiera. Alla cucina una cuoca, una dispensiera, una ruera, una sopra li peroli, & cordele, che lavoreranno le figliuole, e una sopra le filadure, lavandaria, & drappamenti, e ogn'altro carico, e ubbidienza, producendo con ogni studio che cadauna attendi, e eserciti li offitii sudetti con diligenza, fedeltà, & carità sopr'intendendo detta Priora à tutte le opere sopradette. Di anno in anno farà le mutationi dell'ubbidienze nelli offitii sopradetti, perche vicendevolmente ogn'una si eserciti nell'operare, potendo anco confermar nelli detti carichi quelle, o alcune di esse secondo che li paresse esser bene. Procurando che con questi scambievoli exercitii si vadino facendo atte di particolare delle figliuole si picciole, come grandi si industrino, & si esercitino nel lavorare cordele, peroli, ò altro lavoriero buono, & giovevole; imparino, & recitino la Dottrina Christiana, & dicano quotidianamente le</p>	<p>She will allocate and apply the underwritten offices, for the good rule and service of this institution, to women who seem most suitable and sufficient to her; that is: over the doors, the <i>portinara</i>; for the infirmary, two <i>infermarie</i>, one first and the other second nurse; for the kitchen, one cook, a <i>dispensiera</i> [pantry maid], and a <i>ruera</i> [garbage worker]; one over the <i>peroli</i> [metal hoops] and <i>cordela</i> [string, yarn, lace], that the <i>figlie</i> work, and one over the sewing, laundry, and clothes; and every other office and obedience, procuring, with every survey, that each woman attends to and practices the said office with diligence, faithfulness, and care, with the <i>Priora</i> supervising all the abovementioned works. Every year, she will make changes to the above-mentioned offices, so that each woman may mutually exercise the work, being able to also confirm in the offices those women, or someone else, according to what they think is good. Ensuring that, with these changing exercises, the <i>figliuole's</i> particular acts continue, both <i>piccole</i> and <i>grandi</i>, working and practicing in the <i>cordela</i>, <i>peroli</i>, or other beneficial work; Let them learn</p>

<p>orationi, letanie, e altro secondo l'uso di questo pio luoco, & in somma, che siano allevate, e incaminate in buoni santi, e utili esercitii, & con timor di Dio, & buoni costumi, procurando ancor che a quelle, che haveranno attitudine sia da quelle giovani, che sapranno insegnato à legger, e ogn'altra virtù, a che fossero atte, & potesse in etto luoco da altre esserle somministrata.</p>	<p>and recite the Christian doctrine and say daily prayers, litanies, and other things according to the use of this charitable institution; in sum, they should be raised and established in good, holy, and useful exercises, with fear of God, and good manners, providing even to those who will have aptitude from a young age, who will be taught to read and any other virtue for which they will be suitable and could be administered by others.</p>
<p>37. Similmente anco delle donne procurerà che attendino al filare, e altre opera, a che fossero destinate, & frequentino gl'esercitii spitali, di orationi quotidiane secondo l'uso di Messe, e altri divini offitii, & sopra il tutto haverà l'occhio, che vivino con quietezza, & in carita in pace, in amore, senza tumulti, rancori, & malevolenze, usando in ciò ogni possibile diligenza, ricorrendo sempre in ogni occasione per li opportuni remedii, che occorressero all'aiuto, & consiglio de Sig. Governatori, frequenterà le visite dell'infermarie, lavandaria, cucina, dormitorii, lavorieri, le figliuole di Coro, e ogn'altra cosa intervenendo quanto più potrà in tutto comandando, & facendo eseguire con ordine, & buona ubbidienza quanto occorrerà per servizio di tal governo, perche sopra il tutto le povere ammalate, e inferme siano con carità governate & somministratoli rettamente quell'aiuto, & governo, che è intentione della Congregation per la possibilità di esso povero luoco, & le figliuole restino bene, & timorosamente educate, le donne fruttuosamente impiegate in esercitii, & quanto più sia possibile aliene dall'otio.</p>	<p>Similarly, she will also ensure that the women attend to the sewing, and other works to which they are assigned, and that they undertake the spiritual exercises of daily prayers according to the requirement of the Masses and other Divine Offices; above all she will have to observe that they live with quiet and in charity, in peace, in love, without tumult, resentment, and malevolence, using every possible diligence in this, and always applying the appropriate remedies that would be required to help and advise the Lord Governors in every occasion; she will frequently visit the infirmary, washroom, kitchen, dormitories, workers, the <i>figlie di coro</i> and every other thing, intervening as much as she can in everything, commanding and carrying out everything, with as much order and good obedience, that is needed for the service of the governance, so that, over all, the poor sick women and infirmed are managed with care and rightfully administered the help and governance that is intended by the Congregation, for the possibility that this charitable institution and the <i>figliuole</i> are well and fearfully educated, the women fruitfully employed in their tasks, and to be as far as possible from idleness.</p>
<p>37-8. Constituirà, e assegnerà gl'ordini particolari à cadauna, che sarà applicata alli carichi sodetti, e in particolar alla Portinara, che non vadi fuori, ò entri persona alcuna nel detto Hospitale senza consenso, & saputa d'essa Piora, non lasciando però essa uscir alcuna del detto Hospitale, per qualsivoglia causa, eccetto le putte, che ordinariamente vanno per le cerche, & morti, & donne, che ordinariamente le accompagnano, senza licenza di quelli Signori Governatori, a chi aspettasse, nè meno lasserà entrare, ò praticare nel detto Hospitale persone di fuori via, eccetto li RR. Cappellano, & Sagrestano per occasione di somministrar le confessioni, & Sacramenti alle</p>	<p>She will establish and assign the particular ordinances to each one, who will be diligent in their abovementioned duties and, in particular, to the <i>Portinara</i>, who will not let any person go outside or enter this Ospedale without consent and knowledge of the <i>Piora</i>, not letting any one of the women of this Ospedale leave for any reason, except the <i>putte</i> who ordinarily go to search [for alms], and the dead, and the women who ordinarily accompany them, without permission of these Lord Governors, to whomever is waiting [for them], nor will any outside individual be allowed to enter or practice in this Ospedale, except the Reverends Chaplain and Sacristan for</p>

<p>inferme, e il Fattor generale, & custode, ò spenditore per quelli servitii, che occorressero ordinariamente, havendo però sempre particolar riguardo, che il tutto passi rettamente, con quietezza, & buon'esempio.</p>	<p>the purpose of administering the confessions and sacraments to the infirm, as well as the General <i>Fattor</i> [Warden] or caretaker, or the Steward for those service that ordinarily occur, always having, however, particular regard that all pass righteously, with quiet and good example.</p>
<p>38. Procuri, con ogni possibile accuratezza, che prontamente, & con carità alla povere ammalate siano amministrati li Santissimi Sacramenti di Confessioni, Communioni, estreme Untioni, & raccomandationi dell'anima, & sopra il tutto che anco nelli mali ordinarii alcuna ammalata non passi il terzo giorno dall'haversi posta à letto col male, che almeno non si confessi, & che anco gli siano porti con carità, & prontezza, & da Medico, & da Ceroico li aiuti, & medicamenti corporali. Non lasserà andare, nè praticare dalle putte, nè donne d'esso Hospitale, nè persone di fuori di quello, ma farà che stiano retirate alli suoi luochi, & custodite dalle maestre, le quali procurarà che siano di buone qualità, & di buon esempio, e documento a dette figliuole, e quando saranno da persone di fuori, ò da chi si sia ricercate figliuole del detto Hospitale, per pigliarle a servire farà venir, e li mostrerà quella, ò quelle, che a lei pareranno atte secondo la sua prudentia, e giudizio, non potendo però lei darne via alcuna senza la commissione de Signori Governatori, che haveranno tal carico.</p>	<p>She will ensure, with every possibly accuracy, that the Holy Sacraments of Confession, Communion, extreme last rites, and intercessions of the soul are administered quickly and with care to the poor sick women, and also, above all, that, in the usual sicknesses, each sick woman does not pass the third day of having a place in bed with the sick without confession, and that also these are offered to them with care and speed, as well as the bodily help and medication by the Doctor and Surgeon. She will not let women of this Ospedale, nor people outside of it, go or practice with the <i>putte</i>, but she will ensure that they are confined to their places and supervised by the <i>maestre</i>, who should ensure that they are of good quality and of good example and instruction to these <i>figliuole</i>, and when there are outside individuals or those who are searching for the <i>figliuole</i> of this Ospedale to take into service, she will present and show them the one or those ones that she deems appropriate according to her prudence and judgement, not being able, however, to give any away without the order of the Lord Governors, who have such duty.</p>
<p>38. Non possi essa Priora partirsi dell'Hospitale per alcuna occasione senza espressa licenza del Settimaniero, non potendo però stare di notte senza licenza della Congregatione con li due terzi delle balotte. Haverà obbligo di render conto diligentemente, & reale di tempo in tempo alli Signori Proveditori sopra il vestir delli peroli, cordele, filadure, & ogn'altro lavoro si facesse nel detto luoco, e di ogn'altra cosa, che li fosse passata per mano di elemosine, & altro. Alli tempi debiti delli Santissimi Natale, e Pasqua, anderà con delle nostre governatrici che potrà haver alle cerche delle figliuole per la Città giust'al solito. Debba raccordar à Governatori di tal carico la visita de figliuole con altri, & in somma reggerà questo Santo governo con quella maggior Carità, e prudenza, che sia possibile per servizio di Sua Divina Maestà, e del detto Hospitale.</p>	<p>This <i>Priora</i> is not able to leave the Ospedale for any reason without express permission of the <i>Settimaniero</i>, not being able to, however, stay the night [outside of the Ospedale] without permission of the Congregation with at least two thirds of the ballots. She will be obligated to give an account from time to time to the Lord Superintendents of the clothing of pendants, strings, yarn, and other works that are made in this institution, and of every other thing that passed by the hand of almsgivers or others. At the due times of the Most Holy Christmas and Easter, she will have some <i>figliuole</i> go, with our <i>governatrici</i> who are able, to search [for alms] through the City as usual. She should tell the Governors in charge about any visit of the <i>figliuole</i> with others, and in general she will rule this Holy governance with the most care and prudence that is possible for the service of His Divine Majesty and this Ospedale.</p>

3. Excerpts from *Capitoli, et Ordini Da osservarsi dalla Priora; Maestre, e Figlie del Pio Ospitale dell'Incurabili. Rinovati dalla Pia Congregazione Il dì 27. Genaro 1704* (Venezia: Biaggio Maldura Stampator, 1704), 2-7. Ordinance regarding the *Priora*, the *maestre*, and the *figlie*.

<p>2. Sia in primo Capo ordinato, e stabilito, che la Priora, Maestre, e Figlie tutte debbino sempre trà loro viver col santo timor del Signor Dio, e vera pace, osservando nel levarsi, nell'orare, operare, ed in tutte le attoni, che faranno, le buone regole, che ad esse restano prescritte.</p> <p>E perchè la frequenza de Santissimi Sacramenti, è il vero, e sicuro mezzo di tener l'Anime in gratia di Dio, dovran, la Priora, le Mestre, e le Figlie, Confessarsi, e Comunicarsi, almeno una volta al Mese, oltre le Feste delle principali Sollenità, e mancando siano corrette e penitente, & perseverando, possino essere licentiate.</p> <p>Le sia dato un Confessore straordinario tre volte all'Anno, da Pasqua, per l'Assunta, & Natale. Il Confessore, non possa trattenersi à Confessarle, doppo sonata l'Ave Maria. La Priora, Maestre, e Figlie, non possino mangiar in luogo separato, mà vadino tutte, mattina, e sera, in Reffettorio, dovendo la dispensa della Carne, e delle Minestre farsi doppo il tutto sia cucinato, & all' hora porti seco la Priora le Chiavi della Porta.</p>	<p>Let it first be ordered and steadfast, that the <i>Priora</i>, <i>Maestre</i>, and all <i>Figlie</i> should always live with the holy fear of the Lord God and true peace among them, observing the good rules - which remain prescribed to them - in their rising, in their prayers, in work, and in all the actions that they will do.</p> <p>And because the frequency of the Blessed Sacraments is the true and sure means of keeping the Soul in gratitude of God, the <i>Priora</i>, the <i>Maestre</i>, and the <i>Figlie</i> must Confess, and Commune, at least once per month, besides the Feasts of the principle Festivals, and failing to do so are to correct themselves and be penitent, and if they persevere [in missing confession and communion], they can be dismissed.</p> <p>A special Confessor is given to them three times per Year, at Easter, for the Assumption, and Christmas. The Confessor cannot remain to hear their Confessions after the Ave Maria is played. The <i>Priora</i>, <i>Maestre</i>, and <i>Figlie</i> should not eat in separate places, but all come, morning and evening, to the Dining Hall, dispensing the Meat and Soup after everything is cooked, and, at that hour, the <i>Priora</i> brings with her the Keys to the Door.</p>
<p>3. Sia proibito alla Priora, tener nella propria Camera, qual si sia delle Figlie, e occorrendole servirsi d'alcuna delle medesime, debba mutarla, di mese, in mese.</p> <p>Non possi la detta Priora, uscir di Casa senza licenza in scritto, di due Governatori deputati alle Figlie.</p> <p>Così non debba parimenti lasciar che vadi fuori alcuna delle Figlie, senza il solito Mandato in stampa, sottoscritto almeno da trè dei Governatori sudetti, che prò tempore fossero deputati, e questi Mandati retroscritti dalla Priora, con la notatione dell' hora prefissa, che sarà ritornata la Figlia assieme col Nome della Maestra l'haverà</p>	<p>The <i>Priora</i> is prohibited to have any <i>Figlie</i> in her own Chamber, and having to make use of some of them for herself, she must replace them from month to month.</p> <p>The <i>Priora</i> should not leave the House without written permission from two Governors <i>deputati alle Figlie</i>.</p> <p>In this way, she should likewise not allow any of the <i>Figlie</i> to go outside, without the customary printed Mandate, signed by at least three of the above-mentioned Governors, who for the time being were <i>deputati</i>, and these Mandates undersigned by the <i>Priora</i>, with the note of the prearranged hour that the <i>Figlie</i> will return, and</p>

<p>accompagnata, e debbano ogni mese esser letti alla Pia Congregatione.</p> <p>Venendo scritta alcuna Lettera, ò Polizza alle Figlie, sia data alla Priora, e da essa senza aprirla, consegnarla ad alcuno de Governatori deputati, non dovendo esser pubblicata alle Fie, ne parlar con alcuna di esse.</p> <p>La Portinara non possa andar di sopra dalle Figlie, ne ingerirsi nelle altre incombenze della Casa.</p> <p>Sia proibito alla Priora, l'introdurre, ne permettere, che siano introdotte, di sopra dalle Figlie, Donne, o Putte, sotto pretesto di qual si sia sorte, massime di mangiare, e dormire, & educarli in lavori, Musica, & altro.</p>	<p>with the Name of the <i>Maestra</i> that will accompany her, and every month they should be read to the Pious Congregation.</p> <p>Any Letters or Note being written to the <i>Figlie</i> are given to the <i>Priora</i>, and, from her, without opening them, brought to any of the Governors <i>deputati</i>, not letting them be disseminated to the <i>Figlie</i>, nor to speak of them with anyone.</p> <p>The <i>Portinara</i> should not go upstairs to the <i>Figlie</i>, nor ingest in the other duties of the House.</p> <p>It is prohibited to the <i>Priora</i> to introduce, or to permit be introduced, Women, or Girls to the <i>Figlie</i> under pretense of any sort, particularly to eat and sleep and to be educated in work, music or otherwise.</p>
<p>4. Come poi vien permesso, alle Gentildonne, & altre Dame Forastieri, intervenire ai Divini Uffitij nel Coro sopra la Porta grande della Chiesa; così nel tempo che le Figlie s'impiegano à recitarli, doverà la Priora far che resti chiusa la Porta, che dà l'ingresso al luogo di sopra, tenendo appresso di sè le Chiavi, onde non vi siano all'hora nella Casa, ne meno nel Choro, altre ch'esse, e i loro Maestri.</p> <p>Sia proibito recitar dimostrazioni, se non con licenza della Congregatione ridotta al numero di vinti, con li cinque sestis, e che siano di Santo, ò Santa.</p> <p>Non possino far lavori per particolari persone, mà tutti per il luogo, e secondo le Tasche à quali sono obligate adempire, dovendo la Maestra de lavori di tempo in tempo, detratte le spese sole, che per causa de medemi occorrebbero, contare il ricavato, in mano del Cassier delle Fie, col conto distinto del scosso, e speso, lo stesso doverà pure osservare, la Priora per l'Elemosine, che dal'Orfanelle, si raccogliessero.</p>	<p>Then, Gentlewomen and other Foreign Women are permitted to participate in the Divine Offices in the <i>Coro</i>, above the great door of the Church; so, during the time that the <i>figlie</i> are employing themselves in reciting them, the <i>Priora</i> should ensure that the door, which allows entrance into the place above, remains closed, keeping the keys close to her, so that at that time there are no others in the house or in the <i>coro</i> other than them and their <i>maestri</i>.</p> <p>It is forbidden to recite performances without permission of the Congregation, gathered at the number of twenty, with five-sixths, and [these performances] should be sacred or holy.</p> <p>They may not do work for particular people, but everyone [works] for the institution, and according to which chores they are obliged to fulfill; the <i>Maestra</i> should, from time to time, deduct the expenses that occur from the works, to count the profits in the hand of the <i>Cassier</i> [Treasurer] <i>delle Figlie</i>, with exact count of the income and expenses; the same should be observed by the <i>Priora</i> for the Alms that the orphans collect.</p>
<p>4-5. Supplitosi poi dal Governator Cassier sopra le Fie, al bisogno delle spese ordinarie della Casa, e del Choro, dovrà esso tanto di questa sorte di Danaro, che dell'altro dell'Elemosine, renderne conto distinto, e tutto consignare al Cassier della</p>	<p>Then the Governor <i>Cassier sopra le Figlie</i> supplies the ordinary expenses for the needs of the house and of the <i>coro</i>; he should make a separate account of this sort of money, and another of the alms, and consign everything to the <i>cassier</i> of the</p>

<p>Cassa grande dell’Ospital per esser poi di sei, in sei mesi, letto il ristretto alla Pia Congregatione.</p>	<p>large treasury of the Ospedale to be then, every six months, read to the Pious Congregation.</p>
<p>5. Ogn’una sij tenuta, compire nella Settimana, il lavoro della sua tasca, & rimanendo difettive tutto il mese, ne sij dato Polizza alli Governatori sopra le Fie.</p> <p>Non possi parlar alcuno, con le Figlie, che non sia loro Congiunto, e questo una sol volta alla settimana, escluse le Feste, con la presenza d’una delle Maestre, e dalla Priora dovran esser ripartitamente assegnate a dette Figlie, le sue particolari giornate.</p> <p>Li Confessori, Medici, e Chirurghi, non debbano passar per il Dormitorio delle Figlie, mà per il Corridor, che introduce nell’Infermarie, e siano sempre accompagnati dall’Infermiera, ò da altra delle Maestre.</p> <p>Sia vietato il darsi, titolo di Signora, tanto alle Maestre, che alle Figlie, mà solo alla Priora quello di Madona.</p> <p>Non possino Dormir accompagnate, se non le piccole, dalli Anni dieci in giù, e le altre tutte sole.</p> <p>La Priora non possi, senza licenza del Cassier far alcuna spesa per le Figlie.</p>	<p>Each [<i>figlia</i>] is held to carry out the work of her chores weekly and, remaining defective for a whole month, authority is given to the Governors over the <i>figlie</i>.</p> <p>No one may speak with the <i>figlie</i> if they are not a relative to them, and even then only once per week, excluding holidays; with the presence of one of the <i>maestre</i> and of the <i>Priora</i>, the aforementioned <i>figlie</i> should be allocated their particular days.</p> <p>The Confessors, Doctors, and Surgeons, should not pass through the dormitories of the <i>figlie</i>, but through the corridor, which goes to the infirmary, and they are always accompanied by a nurse or by one of the <i>maestre</i>.</p> <p>It is forbidden to give the title of “Signora” both to the <i>maestre</i> and to the <i>figlie</i>, but only that of “Madona” to the <i>Priora</i>.</p> <p>They cannot sleep together, except for the <i>piccole</i> before the age of ten, and all the others alone.</p> <p>The <i>Priora</i> cannot without the <i>Cassier</i> [Treasurer]’s permission, make any payment for the <i>figlie</i>.</p>
<p>6. Non debba permettersi dalla Priora, che alcuna persona, entri nella prima Porta, à pie della Scala, ne meno Serventi del luogo, ma occorrendo per lavori, ò per altro parlar, con alcuna, sonata la Campanella, venghi à basso la Portinara, intenda il bisogno, e lo riferisca alla Priora, perchè questa ordini con la sua prudenza quello fosse necessario.</p> <p>Per le occorrenze poi giornaliere, di somministrarle il Pane, il Vino, & altro per loro Vitto, non possano, li Serventi, portarlo, se non nella Stanza della Portinara, da dove partiti, sarà incombenza della Priora, far condurre ogni cosa, da chi spettasse delle Figlie al proprio luogo.</p> <p>Nelle Cerche da Pasqua, e Natale, debba andare</p>	<p>The <i>Priora</i> should not allow any person to enter the first door at the foot of the staircase, neither servants of the institution, except necessary for work, nor for other reasons, to talk with someone; once the bell has been rung, the <i>portinara</i> comes down to understand the need and report it to the <i>Priora</i>, so that she orders with her prudence what was necessary.</p> <p>For the daily occurrences of the administration of bread, wine, and other food for them, the servants cannot take it except in the room of the <i>portinara</i>, where they started; it will be the <i>Priora</i>’s duty to conduct everything pertaining to the <i>figlie</i> from them to the appropriate place.</p> <p>During the alms searches of Easter and Christmas</p>

<p>con le Figlie picciole, una delle Maestre.</p> <p>Li Governatori deputati sopra le Figlie, nel principio del loro Carico, incontrino il Rollo delle medesime, e così gl'Inventarij di tutte le robbe, ed'utensilij della Casa.</p> <p>Le Maestre, siano tenute palesare, se vi fossero delinquenze, alla Priora, acciò le corregga, e mancando ella, lo manifestino alli Governatori deputati, quali ogni tre mesi, debbano far Inquisitione sopra l'osservanza degl'Ordini, e regole, e trovando mancamenti, e trasgressioni, lo faccino sapere alla Congregazione.</p>	<p>one of the <i>maestre</i> should go with the <i>figlie piccole</i>.</p> <p>The Governors <i>Deputati sopra le Figlie</i>, in their principle duty, should bring together a record of the same [<i>figlie</i>] as well as an inventory of all the belongings and utensils of the house.</p> <p>If there are any delinquencies, the <i>Maestre</i> are required to disclose them to the <i>Priora</i>, so that she corrects them, and, in her absence, they should notify the Governors <i>Deputati</i>, who every three months, should inquire about the observance of the ordinances and rules, and, finding any deficiencies or transgression, let the Congregation know.</p>
<p>7. E perchè il buon esempio è il vincolo, che assicura l'osservanza delle Leggi, sij per sempre vietato, anco alli Governatori nostri l'andar nel loco delle Figlie, eccettuato li Pressidenti, Cassier, Governatore, Deputati alla Chiesa, & Governatori delle Figlie, che saranno pro tempore, à quali con Christiano Zelo resta raccomandato l'andar uniti con li loro Colleghi per li soli affari, attinenti alle proprie Cariche. Resti sotto il più rigoroso divietto, proibito alle Figlie, Priora, Maestre, di passare sotto qual si sij pretesto, nelli quarti delli Figlioli Orfani, & degl'Huomini, & così resti impedito ogn'ingresso al loco delle Figlie, fuor di quello della Porta da basso, sotto il Portico, & le Chiavi della secreta, che comunica con il loco dell'Archivio, sij appresso li Signori Pressidenti.</p>	<p>And because good example is the bond that ensures the observance of the laws, it is always forbidden, even to our Governors to go into the place of the <i>figlie</i>, except the Presidents, the Treasurer, the Governors, the <i>Deputati alla Chiesa</i>, and the <i>Governatori delle Figlie</i>, who are currently assigned [pro tempore], who, with Christian zeal, remain recommended to go united with their colleagues only for business pertaining to their own offices. It remains under the most rigorous prohibition, prohibited to the <i>figlie</i>, <i>Priora</i>, and <i>maestre</i>, to pass, under any pretext, into the quarters of the orphaned <i>figlioli</i> [male wards] and of the men; thus, any entry to the place of the <i>figlie</i>, except through the door downstairs, under the portico, is prevented; the keys of the secret place [archival/record-keeping room], which communicates with the Archives, are [kept] near the Lord Presidents.</p>

4. Excerpts from *Capitoli et Ordini Per il buon Governo del Pio Hospitale della Pietà* (4 October 1720), Capitolo III, 17-20, and Capitolo XVIII, 49-50.

CAP. III. Incombenze per li Governatori sopra la Chiesa, e Coro [Duties for the Governors over the Church and the *Coro*]

<p>17-18. Essendo il Coro il luoco destinato per dover rendersi le dovute laudi al Signor' Iddio, e con le più fervorose preci supplicare la sua santa grazia, e le benedizioni dal Cielo, serve ancora ad attrarre il concorso, e l'animo de' dilettranti della Musica à capitare in questa Chiesa, molti de' quali s'affezionano à questo Pio Luoco, & in vita, ovvero in morte se ne riportano da essi elemosine, e lassi considerabili, li quali facilitano il modo di sostenere il Luoco medesimo, & alimentare il numero grande di creature, che si mantengono in esso; perlichè devono li due Governatori deputati sopra la Chiesa, & il Coro applicare la loro carità, e vigilanza, perchè le figliuole si perfezionino sempre più nella Musica, e nelli suoni, per accrescere con le loro fatiche la venerazione, & il rispetto dovuto verso il Signor' Iddio, allettare con la loro virtù la divozione, & il genio de concorrenti, & accrescere li benefizi verso il povero Luoco. Doveranno perciò li medesimi Governatori invigilare, che li Religiosi, che s'applicano al servizio della Chiesa, & all'ufficiatura delle Mansonarie, e Messe, siano di buona vita, e di costumi esemplari, che le Messe siano celebrate con buona regola, & ordine, che siano ripartite in forma, che ve ne siano tutta la mattina sino mezo giorno, che non naschino altercazioni trà di essi, e prestino tutto il rispetto dovuto verso il Capellano, quale deve esiggere tutta l'obbedienza; il che essi Governatori doveranno procurare, che segua con ogni puntualità.</p>	<p>Because the <i>Coro</i> is the place destined to render the due praises to the Lord God and, with the most fervent prayers, implore His holy grace and the blessings from Heaven, it [the <i>coro</i>] still serves to attract crowds and the souls of lovers of music to come to this church, many of whom become attached to this charitable institution and, in life or in death, bring back alms and considerable donations, which facilitate the modes of sustaining the same institution and nourishing the great number of individuals which remain in it. This is why the two <i>Deputati sopra la chiesa et il coro</i> must apply their care and vigilance, so that the <i>figlie</i> are perfected more and more in music and in playing instruments, in order to increase, with their labors, their veneration and respect to the Lord God, to then entice devotion and the spirit of the crowds with their virtue, and therefore increase their donations to the poor institution. Therefore, the same Governors should become vigilant that the Religious, who employ themselves in the service of the Church and in the officiating of the Sacristies and Masses, are of good lifestyle and of exemplary manners, that the Masses are celebrated with good rule and order, that they are distributed in a way that they are there all morning until the middle of the day, that there are not altercations between them, and that they pay all due respect to the Chaplain, who must demand all obedience; the Governors should ensure that this happens with all punctuality.</p>
<p>18. Dovranno pure li Governatori medesimi invigilare, che li Maestri delle figliuole applichino con diligenza ad instruirle frequentando le lezioni, e gl'esercizi, e ogni volta che capiteranno, debbano esser pronte le Maestre destinate per assisterle, & al suono della Campanella abbino a portarsi senza ritardo le figliuole nella stanza destinata, senza farsi aspettare, e trattenersi fino che vi dimoreranno essi Maestri, non allontanandosi mai da essi le Maestre di Coro, nè partire per qualunque caso senza lasciarvi qualche</p>	<p>The same Governors [<i>Deputati sopra la chiesa e il coro</i>] should also oversee that the <i>Maestri</i> of the <i>figliuole</i> apply diligence and educate them by completing lessons and exercises, and every time that these [lessons] should happen, the intended <i>Maestre</i> should be ready to assist them, and at the sound of the Bell they should bring the <i>figliuole</i> without delay to the designated room, without waiting, and hold them there until the <i>Maestri</i> are present, the <i>Maestre di Coro</i> never moving away, nor leaving for anything without leaving some</p>

<p>altra Maestra in suo luogo, e le figliuole, che fossero renitenti, e neglimenti ad andare alla stanza predetta, possino esser corrette dalle Maestre predette, e molto più dalli Governatori deputati. Debbono le cantore tutte le volte, che si canterà in Coro concorrere prontamente per ritrovarsi nel principio delli Vesperi, ò Compiete, con potendo partire senza licenza del Maestro si vi s'attrovasse, ovvero della Maestra di Coro, la quale abbia sempre da assistervi; e doveranno stare preparati li Salmi, Moteti & Antifone, che si dovessero contare, dandone anteriormente la notizia à quelle che fossero desitate à farlo, acciò le abbino alle mani, e possino avere qualche spazio di tempo per rivederle.</p>	<p>other <i>Maestra</i> in her place; the <i>figliuole</i>, who were unwilling or negligent in going to the aforementioned room can be corrected by the aforementioned <i>Maestre</i>, and much more by the Governors <i>deputati</i>. The singers must every time sing in the <i>Coro</i>, so they find themselves ready to contribute in the beginning of the Vespers and Compline, not able to leave without license from the <i>Maestro</i> if he desires, or from the <i>Maestra di Coro</i>, who always has to assist them; and the Psalms, Motets, and Antiphons will have to be prepared [by the <i>Maestri</i>], so that they could be considered, giving the information earlier to those who were destined to perform them, so that they match them with their hands, and may have some time to review them again.</p>
<p>18. Doverà la Maestra di Coro scriver sopra una carta le composizioni, che si dovessero cantare, quali figliuole doveranno cantare uno, ò più motetti, e l'Antifona, esponendo essa nota il giorno avanti nel Coro à notizia di quelle saranno ordinate di operare; nè possano altre, che le scritte cantare quello le sarà comandato: ma in occasione di legittimo impedimento, che doverà esser fatto conoscere alla Maestra di Coro, averà essa sola l'autorità di sostituire altra figliuola in luoco della prima.</p>	<p>The <i>Maestra di Coro</i> should write on a paper the compositions that should be sung, and which <i>figliuole</i> should sing one or more motets and the Antiphon, presenting this note in the <i>Coro</i> the day before to notify those that they will be ordered to work; others, according to the writing, cannot sing what will be commanded to them, except in occasion of legitimate impediment, which must be made known to the <i>Maestra di Coro</i>, who will have the sole authority to substitute another <i>figliuola</i> in place of the first.</p>
<p>18. Non sia permesso ad alcuna persona nel tempo che si canta, di andare à trattenersi nel Coro, acciò le figliuole non si divertiscano dalle loro incombenze, e stiano pronte tutte ad intraprendere le parti, che le toccassero, e non naschino disturbi, e disordini.</p>	<p>No person should be allowed, in the time that it's singing, to go to stay in the <i>Coro</i>, so that the <i>figliuole</i> are not diverted from their duties and are all ready to undertake the parts that are their responsibility, and disruptions and disorders do not rise.</p>
<p>18-19. Se succedesse il caso, che non è da credersi, che alcuna fingesse qualche indisposizione per non cantare quello, e quando da essa Maestra sarà comandato, debba essa Maestra sospenderli per la prima volta tanta porzione di danaro nel comparto, che si fà in capo all'anno, che non sia meno di soldi trenta, nè passi le lire tre senza facoltà ad essa maestra di rimmetterli di detta pena del ricavato de scagni, e venendo un secondo caso di tal funzione, ò disobbedienza, debba riferirlo alli Governatori deputati, perchè da essi si devenirà à quel castigo, che sarà conosciuto aggiustato al fallo commesso.</p>	<p>If the case occurs, which is not believable, that any [<i>figlia</i>] fakes some indisposition to not sing what and when will be commanded from the <i>Maestra</i>, the <i>Maestra</i> should, for the first time, suspend the portions of money in the division that are made in the beginning of the year, that is, not less than thirty <i>soldi</i>, nor more than three lire, unless the <i>maestra</i> is obligated restore them of the said punishments of the earnings of <i>scagni</i> [wooden chairs sold at performances]; seeing a second case of such function and disobedience, it should be reported to the Governor <i>deputati</i>, so that a punishment will arrive from them, which should be adjusted to the fault committed.</p>
<p>19. Siano le figliuole tutte tanto di canto, che di</p>	<p>Let all the <i>figliuole</i>, both of singing and of playing</p>

<p>suono coll'assistenza, e direzione del Maestro da essi Governatori distribuite in classi secondo il tuono delle loro voci, e così secondo il genere degl'Instrumenti, eleggendo per ogni tuono di voce, e per ogni genere d'Instrumenti le prime, le seconde, le terze, e più se ne saranno, acciò impedita una delle prime succeda l'altra, se fossero due prime, & alla prima le seconde, e così à queste le terze, restando proibito in rissoluta maniera di admettere ad operar le figliuole con altro ordine, levato irremissibilmente l'arbitrio à chi si sia di sostiuir nelle loro parti le proprie scolare in vece in quelle saranno destinate dalla disposizione, che verrà fatta da essi Governatori sopra il Coro con l'opinione del Maestro, quale sopra un cartone, ò sopra una tollella doverà esser registrata, & esposta à notizia di cadauna, sopra la quale non potrà farsi nessuna benchè minima alterazione, che in caso di mancanza di alcuna di quelle descritte, e questa sostituzione doverà seguire con un ordine sottoscritto di essi Governatori, e lasciato in mano della Maestra per fondamento di tale esecuzione.</p>	<p>instruments, with the assistance and direction of the <i>Maestro</i>, be distributed in classes by the Governors according to the tone of their voices and the kind of their instrument, choosing for each tone of voice and for each kind of Instrument who will be the first, the second, the third, and more, so that one of the first is prevented from succeeding the other, if there were two firsts; the seconds [succeed] to the first, and to these the thirds, remaining resolutely prohibited to admit the <i>figliuole</i> to operate with a different order, removed irremediably is the arbitrariness of whoever substitutes their own students in their parts, instead of those that will be destined by the provision, which will be made by the <i>Governatori sopra il Coro</i> with the opinion of the <i>Maestro</i>, which must be recorded and exhibited to notify each on a large paper or on a wooden board, over which no other can be made, even of minimal alteration, that in the case of absence of one of those written [on the board], this substitution will be followed with the order underwritten by those Governors and left in the hand of the <i>Maestra</i> as a basis for its execution.</p>
<p>19. Non possino esser cantate in Coro composizioni di altri Maestri, che delli propri del luoco, nè pure d'alcun dilettante senza permissione del Maestro, quale doverà sottoscrivere col proprio nome la carta di essa composizione, senza il qual requisito non possa la Maestra permetterli il canto, nè il suono d'alcuna Antifona, Salmo, Motetto, ò Sonata, è contro chi ardisse cantare ò suonare composizioni d'altri non licenziate da' Maestri, doveranno li Governatori deputati devenire à gl'aggiustati castighi.</p>	<p>Compositions by other <i>Maestri</i>, who are of this place, cannot be sung in the <i>Coro</i>, nor of any amateur without the permission of the <i>Maestro</i>, who should sign the paper of the composition with their own name; without such requirement, the <i>Maestra</i> cannot allow any Antiphon, Psalm, Motet, or Sonata to be sung nor played; the Governor <i>Deputati</i> should make the appropriate punishment against those who dared to sing or play compositions other than those permitted by the <i>Maestri</i>.</p>
<p>19. S'alcuna ardisse resistere à questo innalterabile ordine, sia dalla Maestra, e dal Maestro, e da ogn'una figliuola di Coro partecipata la disobbediente alli due Governatori, acciò li diano una grave correzzione, essendo gl'errori di disobbedienza degni di un pesante castigo. Doveranno le figliuole, che sono abili ad insegnare, quando dal Maestro siano dichiarate tali, instruire le putte novelle, che fossero applicate à tale funzione.</p>	<p>If any dare to resist this inalterable order, both by the <i>Maestra</i> and by the <i>Maestro</i> and by each one of the <i>figliuola di Coro</i>, the disobedient [should be] disclosed to the two Governors, so that they give them a serious correction, the errors of disobedience being worthy of a heavy punishment. The <i>figliuole</i>, who are able to teach, when they are declared such by the <i>Maestro</i>, should instruct the new <i>putte</i> who were assigned to this function.</p>
<p>19-20. Non possano uscire dal Coro in tempo de divini uffizi, e partendo s'intendano incorse nella pena, che crederà propria la Maestra d'imponerli,</p>	<p>They cannot leave from the <i>Coro</i> in the time of the divine offices, and by leaving they are understood to have incurred punishment that the</p>

<p>quale sarà almeno di soldi vinti per volta; e quelle pene, che venissero levate per qual si sia causa, debbano esser distribuite egualmente trà le figliuole piccole applicate al Coro, e non ancora descritte, nè rese capaci di parte alcuna ne' comparti che si fanno, trà le figliuole di Coro. Deva la Maestra render conto di mese in mese alli Pressidenti e Governatori sopra il Coro, che tali ordini siano eseguiti, e mancando essa di riferire, ò di far osservare li stessi, sia da' Governatori corretta con quel castigo parerà giusto alla loro prudenza.</p>	<p><i>Maestra</i> believes right to impose on them, which will be at least of twenty <i>soldi</i> per time; and these punishments, which would be raised for any reason, should be distributed equally among the young <i>figliuole</i> employed in the <i>Coro</i>, and not yet underwritten among the <i>figliuole di Coro</i>, nor rendered capable of any part in the section that they have.</p> <p>The <i>Maestra</i> should convey from month to month to the Presidents and Governors over the <i>Coro</i> that such orders are being followed, and missing this report or observing the same, both the Governors should correct them with that punishment that will seem fair, according to their prudence.</p>
<p>20. Non possino in avvenire avere parte intiera se non quelle che fossero approbate per Maestre, ò che avessero effettivamente una scolara Putta del Luoco, da esserle assegnata, e scielta da Governatori col parere del Maestro, che doverà dire candidamente li suoi sentimenti, e spiegarli in scritto; Non dovendo le Putte di Coro, che aspirano à maritarsi avere la solita dote, che si pratica dare a quelle del Coro medesimo, se non averanno istruite due figliuole nel canto, ò nel suono per ciascheduna del numero delle loro sorelle del Luoco, e perchè si possino continuare gl'ercizi necesssari ad onore del Signor' Iddio, & a beneficio, e vantaggio del Pio Luoco.</p>	<p>If they have not been approved for <i>Maestre</i> or to actually have a student <i>Putta</i> of the Place, to be assigned to her and chosen by the Governors with the opinion of the <i>Maestro</i> – who must candidly say his thoughts and explain them in writing – they cannot have an entire part in the future; the <i>Putte di Coro</i> who aspire to get married should not have the usual dowry that is customarily given to those of the same <i>Coro</i> if they each have not instructed at least two <i>figliuole</i>, from the numbers of their sisters in this Institution, in singing or in playing instruments, so they may continue the necessary [musical] exercises of honoring the Lord God and for the benefit and advantage of the Charitable Institution.</p>
<p>20. Le figliuole che saranno dichiarite per Maestre, & abili ad insegnare, & istruire le Putte novelle, doveranno essere esentate dall'obbligo delle tasche, ò in tutto, ò in parte. Averanno avvertenza li Maestri, di levare tutte le occasioni di preminenza, e discordia fra le figliuole, procurando che passino trà di loro con ogni corrispondenza, & amore, dimostrandosele come padre comune, e nelle occasioni di sconcerti che potessero nascere, doveranno li Maestri darne notizia alli Governatori deputati sopra il Coro, ovvero alla Congregazione per li propri compensi. Resti proibito d'introdurvi figliuole nel Coro così per il canto, come per il suono, se non verranno rappresentate come abili dal Maestro con sua fede giurata, e non saranno admesse dalla Pia Congregazione con ballottazione.</p>	<p>The <i>figliuole</i> who will be declared as <i>Maestre</i> and be able to teach and instruct the new <i>Putte</i>, will have to be exempted from the obligation of chores, either in all or in part. The <i>Maestri</i> will be warned to take every opportunity of pre-eminence and discord among the daughters, making sure that they pass between them every correspondence of love, acting to them as a common father [<i>padre comune</i>], and on occasions of bewilderment that could arise, the <i>Maestri</i> should give notice to the Governors <i>deputati sopra il Coro</i>, or to the Congregation for their own compensation. It is forbidden to introduce <i>figliuole</i> in the <i>Coro</i> for singing or for playing instruments if they are not portrayed as skilled by the <i>Maestro</i> with his sworn faith, and they will not be admitted by the Pious Congregation without ballot.</p>

CAP. XVIII. Ordini per il Maestro di Coro [Ordinances for the *Maestro di Coro*]

<p>49-50. I. Il Maestro di Coro, il quale doverà esser eletto da questa Pia Congregazione, previe le informazioni delli Signori Governatori nostri deputati sopra la Chiesa, tanto per la sua abilità, & esperienza, quanto per il suo buon costume. Sarà tenuto d'instruire con tutta l'attenzione le figliuole di Coro, devendo à tal fine almeno tre giorni alla settimana tanto la mattina, quanto il doppio pranso portarsi personalmente dentro il Pio Luoco, coll'assistenza della solita Maestra à ciò destinata, per esercitarle nella Musica, e concerti musicali, senza distinzione alcuna, cossichè tutte ricevano un'intiera instruzione.</p>	<p>I. The <i>Maestro di Coro</i>, who must be elected by this Pious Congregation, subject to the information from our Lord Governors <i>deputati sopra la Chiesa</i>, as much for his ability and experience, as for his good manners. He will be required to instruct the <i>figliuole di Coro</i> with all attention, at least three days per week in the morning, while after lunch to take himself personally inside this Charitable Institution, with the assistance of the usual <i>Maestra</i> for this purpose, to train them in Music, and musical concerts [<i>concerti musicali</i>], without distinction of any kind, so that they all receive a whole instruction.</p>
<p>II. Doverà annualmente almeno per la Feste di Pasqua; e per la solennità della Visitazione della Beatissima Bergine, à cui è dedicata questa nostra Chiesa, fare due Messe, e due Vesperi nuovi, far almeno due motetti al mese, e qualche altra composizione che li venisse ordinata, in caso di Funerali, degl'Uffizi della settimana santa, ò in qualche altro caso dalli detti Signori Governatori nostri deputati sopra la Chiesa, delle quali composizioni, doverà tenersi un registro in un Libro dalla Maestra di Coro, per esser lette alla Veneranda Congregazione, di mesi sei in mesi sei.</p>	<p>II. He must at least annually make two Masses and two new Vespers – for Easter and for the celebration of the Visitation of the Holy Virgin – and at least two motets per month, and some other compositions that would be necessary, in case of Funerals, Holy Week, or in any other case called for by our Lord Governors <i>deputati sopra la Chiesa</i>; of these compositions, he should keep a register in a Book of the <i>Maestra di Coro</i>, to be read to the Venerable Congregation twice annually.</p>
<p>III. Doverà assistere personalmente in Coro, tutte le feste principali, especialmente di Pasqua, di Natale, Annunciazione, Visitazione, & Assunzione della Beata Vergine, la settimana santa agl'Uffizi, nelli casi de Funerali col sonar l'Organo, e soprintendere agl'Istrumenti, e Concerti musicali per instruzione di dette Figliuole, & in ogni altro caso, secondo gl'ordini di detti Signori Governatori nostri.</p>	<p>III. He must personally assist the <i>Coro</i>, all the principal festivals, especially of Easter, Christmas, Annunciation, Visitation, and Assumption of the Holy Virgin, Holy Week, in the case of Funerals, with playing the Organ, and with supervising the Instruments, and musical concerts [<i>Concerti musicali</i>] by instructing the <i>Figliuole</i>, and in every other case, according to the orders of our Lord Governors.</p>
<p>IV. Doverà lasciar copia delle partidure, quali saranno fatte copiare dalla Maestra di Coro dagl'originali, senza alcun aggravio di detto Maestro.</p>	<p>IV. He must leave copies of scores, which the <i>Maestra di Coro</i> can make copies of the original, without any burden to the <i>Maestro</i>.</p>
<p>V. Doverà in caso che dovesse absentarsi da questa Città, fino à giorni quindici, prender licenza dalli Signori Governatori nostri deputati sopra la Chiesa, e per più tempo doverà esserli balottata da questa Pia Congregazione, con la metà de Voti; quando però non uscisse dallo stato, nel qual caso doverà la detta licenza balottarsi, con li 2/3 delli Voti della</p>	<p>V. He must be given license from our Lord Governors <i>deputati sopra la Chiesa</i> if he would be absent from this City for up to fifteen days, and, if for more time, this Pious Congregation must have a ballot, with half of the Votes to pass; however, when he returns from his absence, he will have to pass another ballot, with two-thirds of the votes of</p>

<p>Pia Congregazione, ridotta almeno al numero di dodici, e trasgredendo, s'intendi ipso facto suspeso dalla Carica, nella quale non possi esser restituito, se non con li $\frac{3}{4}$ della Pia Congregazione ridotta al numero come sopra.</p>	<p>the Pious Congregation, made up of at least the number twelve, and if it doesn't pass, suspension from the office is understood <i>ipso facto</i>, in which he cannot return, except with three-fourths of the Pious Congregation, made up of the same number as above.</p>
<p>VI. Doverà li detti Signori Governatori nostri deputati sopra la Chiesa, produrre una fede da loro sottoscritta nel giorno che si balotteranno li salariati, d'aver il detto Maestro adempito intieramente gl'ordini sudetti, senza la quale non possa esser balottato.</p>	<p>VI. Our Lord Governors <i>deputati sopra la Chiesa</i> must produce a certificate on the day that they voted on their hires, of having the <i>Maestro</i> complying entirely with the above-mentioned orders, without which there cannot be a ballot.</p>
<p>VII. Doveranno le presenti incombenze esser stampate, & esposte in una Tavolella in Coro, per notizia della Maestra, e delle Figliuole.</p>	<p>VII. The present duties must be printed and posted on the <i>Coro's</i> public board, to notify the <i>Maestra</i> and the <i>Figliuole</i>.</p>
<p>Doverà la presente Carica, aver per suo onorario ogni anno Ducati ducento correnti, dovendo però il Maestro attuale solamente corrisponderli li Ducati duecento effettivi, stabiliti con la Parte 21. Marzo 1706. come si è fin'ora praticato. Le presenti incombenze, & ordini, non possino esser alterati, ò regolati, se non con li $\frac{6}{5}$ della Pia Congregazione, ridotta al numero di dodici.</p>	<p>The present Appointment should have two hundred Ducats for his honorarium each year, yet having the current <i>Maestro</i> to correspond to the two hundred Ducats, established 21 March 1706, as has been practiced so far. The present duties and orders cannot be altered or adjusted without $\frac{6}{5}$ of the Pious Congregation, made up of at least the number twelve.</p>

5. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedale e Luoghi Pii, Busta 688 Notatorio G (5 June 1707), 181-2. Ordinance regarding *figlie in educazione*.

<p>Ragionevoli et accompagnate da molta convenienza si conoscono le istanze di molti putte di Choro, massime delle più meritevoli d'esser gratiate di poter tenere in educatione qualche picciola figliola di conditioni nobile e civile per poter con qualche picciolo emolum[en]to, che ne ricaverebbero sovenirsi nei loro bisogni, massime nel restare per il quale niente dall'ospitale le viene somministrato. Concorrendo però questa pia Congregatione a renderle in qualche parte consolate dentro li limiti della convenienza e senza pregiudizio alcuno delle figliole di Commun, ne qualunque danno dell'ospitale.</p> <p>Pendò l'andera parte che dalli SS Gov. di questa Pia Congregatione siano nominate et elette dodici delle figliole di Choro delle più meritevoli alle quali nostri impartita facoltà di poter tenere in educatione una figliola per ciascheduna di conditione nobile o civile dovendo però esser admesse et approbate dalla Congregatione, e quelle, che saranno ricevute non possino occupare alcun luoco o posto nel quale dimorassero, o potessero stani putte di Commun, e siano solo ricoverate nelli detti e posti nelli quali s'attrovassero in attuale possesso quelle che le tenessero. E potendo cadere dubbio che col progresso del tempo la nomina et elettione delle putte estere s'estendi a numero maggiore et in conditione di persone inferiori alle sopradette conforme altre volte è successo, cosa, che in modo alcuno non deve admettersi ne tolerarsi:</p> <p>Resti perciò espressamente prohibito a qualunque altra figliola di Choro, oltre le dodice che saranno nominare et habilitate a tenerne di riceverne alcuna ne anco con la permissione di uno o più Gov. i ne meno con ballotationi della Congregatione quando la parte non fosse presa con li cinque sestis di essa ridotti al numero di dodici con pena alle figliole chi trasgredissero d'incorrere nella nota di disobedienti, e di restare prive delli titoli, preminenze, et utilitadi che godessero e d'essere date a servire fuori di luoco nelle p.mi incontri che si rappresentassero, e siano nominate altre in luoco loro, le quale habbino a godere l'habilita della</p>	<p>Reasonable requests, accompanied by much decency, are known from many <i>Putte di Choro</i>, particularly of those most worthy to be privileged, to be able to take "<i>in educazione</i>" some small <i>figliola</i> of noble and civil conditions, in order to be able to, with some small payment that they would earn, assist in their needs, especially in remaining those for whom nothing is administered from the Ospedale. This pious Congregation, however, wanting to make them somewhat consoled within the limits of decency and without any hinderance to the <i>figliole di Commun</i>, nor any damage to the ospedale,</p> <p>Thus, it passes that, from the Lord Governors of this Pious Congregation, twelve of the most worthy of the <i>figliole di Choro</i>, to whom we have each given the authority to be able to have in education one <i>figliola</i> of noble or civil condition, are nominated and elected; however, they have to be admitted and approved by the Congregation, and those who will be received cannot occupy any location or place in which those <i>putte di Commun</i> lived, or may have been, and are only admitted in those [locations] and places in which those who would keep them would be found in current possession. And it may be doubtful that over time the appointment and election of the foreign <i>putte</i> extends to a greater number and to persons in conditions inferior to the aforementioned in accordance with other times it happened, which, in some way must not be admitted or tolerated:</p> <p>Therefore, it remains expressly forbidden to any other <i>figlie di Choro</i>, other than the twelve who will be appointed and authorized, to keep any of them, even with the permission of one or more Governors, except with the vote of the Congregation when it is passed with five-sixths of them assembled to the number of twelve, with punishment to the <i>figliole</i> who would transgress to fall into the list of the disobedient, and to remain devoid of titles, superiority, and benefits that they would enjoy, and to be given to serve outside the position in the first encounters that would be present, and others, who enjoy the advantage of</p>
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nomina delle putte, quando però la trasgressione non fosse stata palesata e scoperta da qualche d'una altra del luoco la quale in caso tale doverà esser preferita ad ogn'una.

E succedendo, che alcuna incorresse nella trasgressione, e che dalle altre venisse tenuta coperta, et occulta, debbano in tale caso tutte le altre che godessero il privilegio della nomina decadere da esso et esserne totalmente prive. Le putte estere, che fossero nominate et approbate per riceversi non possino haver l'ingressa nell'ospitale se non saranno approvate e vedute dalli Presidenti e Gov.i sopra le figliole e Choro con mandato da essere sott.to da tutti loro e conservato nelle filze o registri dell'ospitale. E tutte quelle che haveranno l'ingresso in esso debbano vestire sodam.te lontane da ogni vanità senza concieri di testa e senza polvere o qualunque altro adornamento, che fosse diverso dall'uso dell'ospitale; E ritrovandosene alcuna disobediante resti immediati licentiata la figlia e la Maestra perda il privilegio di nominarne altra. In caso di morte di alcuna delle gratiate alla nomina sia eletta altra delle più meritevoli da farsene la scielta da questa Congregatione.

E la presente non possi esser alterata, sospesa, ne interpretata, se non da questa Pia Congregatione ridotta al numero almeno di dodici e con le cinque sestis di essa. E doverà della presente esserne fatta copia per tenersi in una bolletta affissa nella stanza della Priora, la quale sia obligata di farla eseguire, et in caso di trasgressione di darne parte alli Presidenti per le proprii compensi.

E perché Barbera Cantora si hora con merito di virtù, modestia, et obediencia si conosce conveniente in premio delle sue applicationi renderla capace di ritenere in educatione, quella figliola, che ultimamente si ritrovava havere e s'intendi questa oltre il numero delle dodici, che saranno nominate.

Resti riballotata la parte per error del numero specificato, dovendo esser quattordeci compreso il nome di Barbera.

the appointment of the *putte*, are nominated in their place; when, however, the transgression had not been revealed and discovered by some of the others of the place, which in this case must be preferred to each one.

And following that anyone incurring the transgression, and that it was kept covered and hidden from the others, in this case all the other who enjoy the privilege of appointment lose it and are devoid of it. The foreign *putte*, who will be appointed and allowed to be received cannot have entrance in the Ospedale if they are not approved and seen by the Presidents and Governors over the *figliole* and *Choro* with a mandate to be signed by all of them and kept in the *filze* or Ospedale records. And all those who will enter in it must dress solidly, far from any vanity, without ornaments of the head and without powder or any other decoration, which is different from those used by the Ospedale; and finding any of them disobedient, the *figlia* and the *Maestra* remain immediately dismissed, losing the privilege of appointing another. In case of death of any of the privileged to the appointment, another of the most worthy is elected, to be chosen by this Congregation.

And the present cannot be altered, suspended, nor interpreted, except by this Pious Congregation assembled to at least twelve and with the five-sixths of it. And a copy must be made of this letter to be kept in a docket posted in the room of the Prioress, who is obliged to have it carried out, and in case of transgression to tell part to the Presidents for their appropriate compensation.

And because Barbera Cantora is now known expedient with merit of virtue, modesty and obedience, as a reward for her diligence, she is rendered able to keep in education that *figliola*, who she recently was found to have, and is understood to be beyond the number of the twelve, who will be nominated.

The part remains re-voted for error of the specified number, which should be fourteen, including the name of Barbara.

<p>Seguono le figliole nominati et eletti.</p> <p>Michielina Organista Zanetta Cantora Prudenza dal Contralto Antonia dal Tenor Andriana dalla Thiorba Lucieta Organista Angelicheta Cantora Pelegrina dall'Aboè Madalena dalla Thiorba Candida dalla Viola Stella dalla Thiorba Madalena dal Violin Barbera Soprano Maestra Anzoleta dal Violin</p>	<p>The names of the nominated and elected <i>figliole</i> follow:</p> <p>Michielina Organista Zanetta Cantora Prudenza dal Contralto Antonia dal Tenor Andriana dalla Tiorba Lucieta Organista Angelicheta Cantora Pelegrina dall'Aboè Madalena dalla Tiorba Candida dalla Viola Stella dalla Thiorba Madalena dal Violin Barbera Sopran Maestra Anzoleta dal Violin</p>
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6. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedale e Luoghi Pii, Busta 690 Notatorio L (1 May 1718), 121-123v. Ordinance regarding *figlie in educazione*.

<p>Intrapresa con rassegnata ubbidienza dalli N.H. Alvise Pisani Proc. et e Pietra Grimani Gov. benemeriti di questo Pio Luoco, la tanto necessaria quanto difficile regolazione delle Parti 5 Lugno 1707 e 24 Feb 1708 al loro zelo demandata con la parte 28 Feb 1717 in proposito de riceversi e tenersi Figlie in Educatione in questa Hospitale con la facultà di proporre quelle Parti fossero considerate più proprie, sopra l'intiero, o sopra cappi separati della Regolazione stessa e alla loro carità sortito di stabilire l'ordinationi infrascritte credute più addatate, e salutari per conservare l'onorevolezza, il buon costume ed l'economia di questo Hospitale.</p> <p>Rimarcato dunque quanto viene prescritto dalle molte parti in tal materia disponenti, con l'oggetto lodevole di conciliare con la pace la consolatione delle figlie, e ridurre a più universale utilità le beneficenze di questa pia Congregatione sia preso Primo, Che riputandosi conveniente di mantenere le quatordecì Gratie al Choro già stabilite con la parte 1707: 5 Lugno, con essendo passato in matrimonio Tre delle Figlie gratiate all'hora a poter tenere Figlie in Educatione,</p> <p>Resti dalla carità delli Ill. Gov.i Dep.i alla Chiesa, e Choro nominate tre del numero delle Maestre, e Putte di Choro, le più meritevoli, per suplirsi alle quatordecì come sopra dovendo le nominate esser approbate dalla Pia Congregatione con la meta de votti.</p> <p>2do, Et ad oggieto di rendere piu conformi che sia possibile le beneficenze di questa Pia Congregatione et a remotione di quella differenza che difficilmente si tollera da chi si crede non disuguale nel merito, come nelle conditione, trovasi conveniente di accordale il med.mo Privelegio anco a X.ci tra Maestre e Figlie di Commun, al qual effeto da Ill.i Gov.i Dep.i alle Figlie saranno nominate, quelle crederanno più</p>	<p>Taken with resigned obedience by the Nobleman Alvise Pisani <i>Procuratore</i> and His Excellency Pietro Grimani well-deserving Governors of this Charitable Institution, the much necessary and difficult regulation of the entries of 5 June 1707 and 24 February 1708, entrusted to their zeal, with the part of 28 February 1717 in regard to receiving and keeping <i>Figlie in Educatione</i> in this Ospedale, with the authority to propose those parts that were considered more proper, over the whole or over separate chapters of the Regulation itself, and to their charity, issued to establish the below-written ordinations believed most fitting and advantageous to conserving the honor, the good morals, and the economy of this Ospedale.</p> <p>Therefore what is prescribed by the many entries disposed to their matter is marked again, with the praiseworthy goal to reconcile the solace of the <i>figlie</i> with peace, and return the good-doings of this pious Congregation to more universal unity. First, considering it appropriate to allow the fourteen <i>Gratie al Choro</i> already agreed upon with the entry of 5 June 1707 to keep <i>Figlie in Educatione</i>, with three of the privileged <i>Figlie</i> been married at this time,</p> <p>It remains, through the charity of the Illustrious Governors <i>Deputati alla Chiesa e Choro</i>, three of the number of the <i>Maestre</i> and <i>Putte di Choro</i>, the most deserving, be appointed to make up the fourteen, as above, having the appointed be approved by the Pious Congregation with half the votes.</p> <p>Second, and with the goal of making the charities of this Pious Congregation most accommodating as possible, and for the removal of that difference which is difficult to tolerate by those who believe they are unequal in merit, as well as in their conditions, it is found appropriate to grant the same privileges also to Ten among the <i>Maestre</i> and <i>Figlie di Commun</i>, to which effect those believed most deserving, most capable, and of most praiseworthy manners will be appointed by</p>
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meritevoli, più capaci, e di più lodevoli costumi, da esser anco queste approbate da questa Pia Congregatione, con la metà de Voti, così che l'educande siano ridotte ad solo inalterabile numero di Vintiquatro.

3zo, Quanto sia poi al metodo de riceversi, e tenersi le Figlie in Educatione, resti fermamente ordinato:

Che sopra l'istanze veniranno fatte dalle Figlie di Choro gratiate a ricevere Putte in educatione, prima di divenirsi alla propositione, sarà parte delli Ill. Gov. Dep. alla Chiesa e Choro l'esaminare la Conditione, e l'età delle dette Putte aspirassero esser introdotte nel Pio Luoco, e con loro scrittura notificare il testo alla Pia Congregatione perche restino approbate con li due terzi de Voti ridota la congregatione stessa al no. di X.ci dovendo essere praticata la stessa formalità delli Ill. Gov. Dep. alle Figlie sopra la istanze veniranno fatto dalle Maestre, e Figlie di Commun saranno gratiate a poter tenere Putte in educatione.

4to, Sucedendo il caso che venissero proposte Figlie Nobili Patritie per esser admesse all'educatione, tanto soto, Maestre, e Figlie di choro, quanto soto Maestre, e Figlie di commun. Sempre però del numero delle Vinti quattro beneficiate, debba esser portata dalle Cariche respetine all'choro e Figlie la sola notitia alla Pia Congregatione senza altra necessita di balotatione.

5to, Ricercandosi anco le proprie deliberationi sopra l'eta sino alla quale possino trattenersi le figlie in Educatione;
Sia dichiarato che non possano oltre li sedeci anni fermarsi in questo Luogho, dovendo cio esser riconosciuto di tempo in tempo delli Gov. sopra le Figlie e Choro respetivamente per la dovuta esecutione.

6°, Provisto con preste regole circa il numero e qualità delle Figlie da riceversi in Educatione;
Sia dichiarato che non possino esser ricevute Figlie a semplice scholla, ma debbano permanere

the Illustrious Governors *Deputati alle Figlie*, to be also approved by this Pious Congregation with half the votes, so that the educated are brought back to only the inalterable number of twenty-four.

Third, much then remains firmly ordered to the method of receiving and keeping the *Figlie in Educatione*:

Regarding the requests being made from the privileged *Figlie di Choro* to receive *Putte in educatione*, before coming to the proposition, it will be the task of the Illustrious Governors *Deputati alla Chiesta e Choro* to examine the condition and the age of the said *Putte* who strive to be introduced in the Pious Place, and with their writing to make known the text to the Pious Congregation so that they can be approved with two-thirds of the votes by the same Congregation assembled to the number of ten, having the same formality of the Illustrious Governors *Deputati alle Figlie* to be practiced over the requests being made by the *Maestre* and *Figlie di Commun* who will be privileged to have *Putte in educatione*.

Fourth, Following the case that Noble Patrician Daughters were proposed to be admitted in education, both under *Maestre* and *Figlie di Choro*, as well as under *Maestre* and *Figlie di Commun*. Always, however, in the number of twenty-four sanctioned, the only notice should be brought to the Pious *Congregation* by the Officers with respected to the *Choro* and *Figlie*, without further need for ballotation.

Fifth, seeking also the particular deliberations over the age up to which the *Figlie in Educatione* can stay;

Let it be declared that they cannot stay in this Place for over six years, having to be recognized from time to time by the Governors over the *Figlie* and *Choro* respetively for proper implementation.

Sixth, Provided with earlier rules about the number and quality of the *Figlie* to be received in *Educatione*;

Let it be declared that *Figlie* at "semplice scholla" cannot be received, but must always remain in this

<p>sempre nel luoco, onde siano divertiti tutti li disordini prevedutti dalla Pia Congregatione et espressi nella parte 3 Maggio 1693.</p> <p>7mo, Per stabilire nel suo intiero la materia, e ritrovandossi di queste vintisei figlie in educatione, come dalla Nota essebita dalla Priora Doverà questa esser esaminata dalla carità delli Il. Gov. sopra il Choro e Figlie, per quelle che respetivamente fossero soggiete alla loro caricha, e fatane la scielta siino proposte alla Pia Congregatione, con la maniera espressa nel capitolo t3.o della questa; E quelle che fossero scielte dalla Maestre, e Putte privilegiate, et approbate, doveranno permanere, licenziando le altre che restassero riggetate ne possino le ricevute occupare alcuna luoco o posto nel qualle dimorassero o potessero starvi Putte di commun, Ma siano solo ricoverate nelli letti, e posti nelli qualli s'attrovassero in attuale possesso quello le tenessero giusto il decretato nella parte 5 Lugno 1707</p> <p>8°, Ma perche nel sopradetto numero di vintisei che presentemente esistono nel Pio Luoco, ne sono x.ci Figlie Nobili Patricie, queste potranno continuare la loro educatione nel Med.mo con le conditioni però sopra esibite, circa il tratenersi la Notte e raccomandare a quelle sole Maestre Figlie che fossero incluse nel Privelleggio, onde habbia ad esser anco in questo inalterabile la volontà della Pia Congregatione.</p> <p>9°, Mancando alcuna del numero delle Vintiquattro come sopra beneficate, doverà di tempo in tempo esser tenuta la praticha soprarifferita, tanto nel sostituire a quelle di choro che a quelle di commun, e lo stesso doverà pratichare nelli Cambbiamenti che succedessero delle Putte educante.</p> <p>Xmo, E perche non possi giamai esser facilitate l'alteratione della presente Parte. Non potrà esser proposta parte di Regulatione, Interpretatione, o sospensione della Med.me se non con tutti li votti della Pia Congregatione ridotta almeno al numero di Dodeci.</p>	<p>place, so that all the disturbances foreseen by the Pious Congregation and expressed in the entry of 3 May 1693 are diverted.</p> <p>Seventh, to establish the matter its entirety, once these twenty-six <i>figlie in educatione</i> are found for those [<i>figlie privilegiate</i>] who were respectively subject to their offices, as in the note shown by the <i>Priora</i>, it will have to be examined by the offices of the Illustrious Governors over the <i>Coro</i> and <i>Figlie</i>, and once they are chosen, they are proposed to the Pious Congregation, with the manner expressed in the third rule above; And those who were chosen by the privileged and approved <i>Maestre</i> and <i>Putte</i>, should remain, dismissing the others who are rejected; those who are received can not occupy any location or place in which <i>Putte di commun</i> could live or stay, but they are only admitted in the beds and places in which they find themselves in current possession, just as the decree in the part of 5 June 1707.</p> <p>Eighth, But because, in the aforementioned number of twenty-six who currently exist in the Pious Place, there are ten Noble Patrician Daughters, these will be able to continue their education in the same way, with the conditions, however, shown above, regarding staying the night and to recommend to only those <i>Maestre Figlie</i> who were included in the Privilege, so that the will of the Pious Congregation may also remain unchanged in this.</p> <p>Ninth, Lacking any of the number of twenty-four sanctioned as above, the above-mentioned practice will have to be kept from time to time, both to replace those of the <i>Choro</i> and those of the <i>Commun</i>, and the same will be practiced in the changes of the <i>Putte educante</i> that followed.</p> <p>Tenth, And because the alteration of the present entry of ours can never be easy. No part of the Regulation, Interpretation, or Suspension of the same [<i>privilegiate</i>] can be proposed except with all the votes of the Pious Congregation assembled to at least the number of twelve.</p>
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<p>Xmo Primo, Sarà in fine a caricho della Priora, e Portinare protempore il dar Nota da loro sottoscrita con sicuramento di Mese in Mese alli Ill. Gov. Dep. alle Figlie, del numero di quelle Putte s'atroverranno in educatione nel Pio Luoco, soto qualli delle Maestre, e Putte; come pure la loro età, e conditione soto pena d'esser prive delle loro cariche, del Vitello di Maestre, et di quelle Maggiori fossero prescritte dalle Parti di questa Pia Congregatione quando fosse conosciuta più avanzate la loro trasgressione.</p>	<p>Eleventh, It will eventually be charged to the current [pro tempore] <i>Priora</i> and the <i>Portinare</i> to give notice, securely signed by them, from month to month to the Illustrious Governors <i>Deputati alle Figlie</i>, of the number of those <i>Putte</i> who find themselves in education in this Pious Place under some of the <i>Maestre</i> and <i>Putte</i>; as well as their age and condition under the penalty of being deprived of their offices, of the rations of the <i>Maestre</i>, and of those Major entries prescribed by this Pious Congregation when their transgression was known more advanced.</p>
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APPENDIX II

Documents about and by the *Figlie*, Transcriptions

1. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedale e Luoghi Pii, Busta 648b (20 January 1719 m.v./1720), letter by Teresa Turchetta.

Veneranda Congregazione – Ill.mi, et Ecc.mi S.Sig.ri Presidenti, e Colleghe –

A piedi di V.V.E.E., e di S.S. Ill.me si presenta Teresa Turchetta, ch'in età d'anni sette hebbe la buona sorte d'essere stata posta in educazione sotto la savia direzione della Sig.a Lugrezia Malaspina figlia di questo Pio Luoco, senza verun aggravio del medemo, ma il tutto à spese di soggetto caritatevole. Son' arrivata in età d'anni tredici in circa, ne fin'ora ho appreso altri costumi, che li religiosissimi di questo sacro recinto, ove formatami per il corso d'anni sei in circa oltre l'haver appreso il Pio istituto del vivere con la frequenza delle devozioni, mi sono approfittata nel Canto, e nel suono di varii Instrumenti, e particolarmente del Violino, cosi forzata dal Genio, e dall'Amore, che sin dalla tenera età mi s'instillava verso questo Luoco, e per servire al Signor'Iddio nel Coro.

Hora, che son nell'età d'anni tredici in circa son'in casa della mia povera Madre afflitissima di vedermi in questa età non con altro studio, et avanzamento, che nel Canto, e suono: Virtù, che ad una povera, et honesta figlia non può contribuire soccorso per il suo mantenimento. Humiliata però a Piedi di V.V.E.E., e di S.S. Ill.me Imploro, e supplico la mia accettazione in questo Pio Luoco, ove possa con tutto lo spirito applicarmi al suo servizio in quelle Virtù, nelle quali son stata educata. La Pietà di questa Congregazione in altri tempi ha accetate figlie povere in tenera età, che di niente erano instrutte, incerto l'esito della loro riuscita, e si è resa amirabile nel far venir alla luce nel Mondo tante figlie, che in un Sacro Ritirro rendono un armonicoso servizio nelle lodi del Sig. Iddio, ma però per molti anni hà dovuto il Luoco risentir l'aggravio della spesa per farle instruire, et per spesarle. Tanto più Io dovrò sperare dalla loro Clemenza d'accettarmi sorpassando ogn'opposizione della mia età, mentre introdotta d'anni sette, ho appreso per il corso d'anni sei li Religiosi costumi del Luoco, e non dando aggravio al medemo Instrutta per il servizio del Coro posso imediatemente contribuire il mio servizio che lo prometto incessante, et applicato, con che procurerò di rendermi degna di quei Atti di straordinaria Carità, con quali presentemente sarò accetata da questa Veneranda Congregatione, per la quale, e per cadaun Benemerito Governatore porgerò sempre Voti al Sig. Iddio per la loro Conservazione. Grazie.

2. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedale e Luoghi Pii, Busta 650 (25 March 1724), first letter by Chiara Capponi.

Vener.da Cong.e

Ricoro suplichevole Io Chiara Caponi Figlia di questo Pio Locco Ad Implorare da questa V. C. un atto della loro somma carita. Iseppo Caponi mio Fratello, e servo hum. di V.E. et di V.S.I., che s'atrova in qualita di monicioniero nella città di Corfù Tiene trà la numerosa sua Prolle una Figliola in ettà di anni sei in sette nominata Isabetta. Questa Desiderarebbe Fosse dà me, e sotto la mia Educatione, e Custodia, et Alevata Per non esplora à quei Pericoli di Religione, che Potrebbe incorere tenendola apresso di se per essere in Paese assai pericoloso; E perciò Io Contatto l'osequio suplico questa V.C. et cadauno di Ecc.e V.S. Ill.me Volermi permettere Gratiiosa Licenza di poter tenere apresso di me, et nella mia Custodia La predeta Isabeta Caponi mia nezza. Con che però questo Pio Ospitale non abbi à risentirne alcun benche minim agravio gratia, che oltre l'impegnarmi a dover sempre porgere Preci al Sig.e per le Loro Prosperita. Ver Ricompensata dal Altiss.mo con Le Sue Santiss.me bene.i sopra Cadauno di V.C. et di V.S. Ill.me. Graz.

3. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedale e Luoghi Pii, Busta 651 (6 August 1731), second letter by Chiara Capponi.

Ill.mi et Ecc. Sig. Presid.ti, Ven.da Cong.ne

Con Decreto di questa Ven. Cong. 25 March 1724 fu Gratosamente permesso a me Chiara Capponi figlia riverente in questo Pio Luoco e serva obbediente di questa V.C., di poter tener appresso di me in educatione Isabetta figlia d'Iseppo Capponi mio fratello, e respectire mia Nezza d'età all' hora d'anni sette in circa, sino a tanto, che risolverà della sua vocatione. Hora, che mediante alla mia indefessa applicatione, et alla buona Inclinatione della figliola stessa, s'è avanzata non poco nella Cognitione, non solo del sonare il Violino, et Organo, ma del Cantare ancora, cosi che si è resa capace al servizio del coro di questo Pio Luoco, nel quale di continuo si esercita, con tale sodisfattione del Sig. Maestro Aligrandi, che in appresso fa sperare habbi a riuscire assai proficua al Coro medemo. Et havendo rilevato dalla figliola stessa, che si chiamarebbe fortunata a poter sacrificare il suo vivere in serviva il S. Iddio nel Coro di questo Pio Luoco, et all'obbedienza di questa Pia Caritatevole Cong.ne Humilio Io Chiara Capponi sudetta le mie piu fervorose suppliche a questa Pia Cong.ne et a cad. V.V.E.E. e li S.S. Illme Perche la vogliino sicure per figlia di questo Pio Loco da esser impiegata nel servizio del Coro medemo. E con ciò donare al me il contento di vedere in salvo una nipote per altro di buona Indole, e di Savii Costumi, che unita a me non cesseremo di porgere continue e fervorose preci al S. Iddio per la prosperità di questo Pio Loco, e la conservatione di cad. V.E. e di SS. Illm.

4. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedale e Luoghi Pii, Busta 686 (23 May 1700), letter by Andriana della Tiorba.

Ill.mi et Ecc.mi S.S.i Pia et Ven.da Congregat.ne:

La paterna carità di questa Ven.da Congregatione con parte presa sotto li 20 Sett.e passato assegnò à me povera Andriana dalla Thiorba figliola di questo pio loco cinquecento vinti per effettuare la mia vocazione di prender l'habito nel Mon.rio di S. Ger.mo in Serravalle. Cioè 400 d. per il mio monacato e 120 d. per le spese et altre mie occorrenze. Hora che la mia mala sorte non m'ha permesso di continuare la detta vita religiosa stante l'improvviso decreto di Mons. Ill.mo Vescovo di Ceneda con cui restò proibito l'essercitio della musica, per il di cui motivo fui ricevuta dalle Madri di detto Mon.rio con la detta assegnat.ne de 520 d. doppo esser stata diversi mesi in prova, et haver pagato trenta per gl'alimenti del primo semestre e spesi sopra dieci per la condotta della mia robba coll'essermi quasi del tutto spogliata della mia poca robba per far il detto denaro sopra la speranza di dovermi rimborsare di detto soldo delli detti 120 d. destinatimi per le mie occorrenze e bisogni.

Ricorro però con tutta la magg. riverenza à questa Pia e Ven.da Congregatione acciò con la stessa pietà con cui mi furono assegnati li sudetti 120 d. per le mie occorrenze si degni di suffragarmi acciò resti imborsata di dette spese da me fatte col fondamento della detta parte, acciò possi provedermi di quei pochi neccessarii mobili, de quali ne ho fatto vendita e mi sono spogliata per far il sud.to denaro, assicurandole che Io per me non mancherò di pregare sua divina maestà per la conservatione di ogn'uno di V.V.E.E. e di questa Pia Congregatione. Graz.

5. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedale e Luoghi Pii, Busta 659 (18 December 1731), letter by Apollonia Cantora.

Pia e Ven.da Cong.ne

Incorraggita dalla somma benignita che risiede nella Anime Grandi di V.V.E.E. Io Polonia Figlia di quello Coro e loro Serva riverente, Ardisco di humiliarle le mie osequiose suppliche per esser fatta degna delle Gracie di questa Pia Cong.ne. Oltre le vintiquattro, tra Maestra e Figlie di Coro, e Comun che furono benefiante del Privileggio di poter tener Figlie in educatione fu una tal gracia conferita anco alla Figlia Geltruda di Choro come Sopranumeraria, e sino alla prima occasione della mancanza d'una delle ord.e di Choro. La morte della Maestra Zaneta seguita in questi ultimi giorni à cesso il loco alla Figlia Geltruda, e reso vacuo quello di sopranumeria.

Gli impieghi se bene con tutta debboleza da me sostenuti nel Choro, la mia età, e il mio bisogno mi sono farti stimolli per ricorrere alla carita dell'E.E.V.V. per supplicandolle a volermi far degna di quel privileggio che erra goduto dalla Figlia Geltruda, perche possa mi lo nelle occasioni che se mi presentassero goder qual suffratti, che godono tant'altre se bene più meritevoli per la virtù eguali nel impieghi. Tuto però sarà essero della carita di qual Pia Cong.ne à prò della quale indirerò sempre li mei fervorosi Voti alla Maesta del Sig.e Iddio per la lungha Conservatione dell'E.E.V.V. G.e.

6. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedale e Luoghi Pii, Busta 692 Not. R (14 November 1738), 34-34v, punishment of Apollonia.

Figlia Appolonia per Castigo

Commessi gl'animi di questa Ven.da Congreg.ne dalli hora intesi troppo avanzati trasporti della Figlia Appolonia di Choro contrarii al buon costume di questo Pio Luogo per le parole, e atti molto indecenti verso la sua superiora, e maggiormente poi per l'offesa fatta con pugno nella faccia alla Maestra Mattia Portinara, e in quelle circostanze anco alli comandi delle cariche delli Sig. Gov. Nostri et alle savie e tanto necessarie deliberationi di questa Ven.da Congreg.ne.

Essendo pero costante volonta di questa Ven.da Congreg.ne che prevaglia il decoro, e la buona disciplina della Figlie à qualunque altre riguardo e convenienza.

Sia però preso che come la permanenza in questo Pio Luogo della Figlia del N.H. Toma Mocenigo Soranzo sotto l'educatione della pred.a Appolonia, quantunque sotto altro Privilegio, fu il motivo dell'accennate inconvenienze, cosi sia dalli Sig. Presid.i Nostri di Concerto con il Gov. Deputato alle Figlie fatto sapere al N.H Soranzo pred.o, che si confaccia levare la N.D. sua Figlia dall'educatione della Sud.a Appolonia e diferendo farlo, sia levata decentemente da questo Pio Luogo, e fatta avere alla Casa del N.H. Sud.o, senza poter esser più ricevuta in questo Pio Luogo.

Dovendosi poi proceder verso la stessa Appolonia con quelle maniere ch'esige il decoro di questo Pio Luogo, et il buon costume, deve conservarsi nel Med.mo,

Sia pur preso, che alla pred.a Appolonia resti sospesa ogni utilità, che in presente riceve come Figlia di Choro e resti alla Conditione di sola Figlia di comun; Et cosi le resti suspeso il privilegio ch'essa Appolonia gode di poter tenere una Putta in educatione in questo Pio Luogo e con quelle ora tiene Elisabeta Lodovica Figlia del N.H. Sig. Gio Baselli di Codroipo, concessale con la parte 14 Sett. 1736 che pure s'intendi licentiata dall'educatione di detta Appolonia; non pottendo mai esser reintegrata delle sudette utilità e privilegio che con parte presa con li quatro quinti di questa Vend.a Congregatione. Sara pure dell'autorita delli predetti sig. presidenti e deputati alle Figlie con le maniere troveranno più proprie di far chiuder la detta Appolonia nella propria camera da restarni sino a nuova deliberatione di questa Ven.da Congregatione.

Et perche, e pure costante volonta di questa Vend.a Congregatione che la parte 4 Gen.o 1698 con le suseguenti in proposito della buona custodia di queste Porte restino pontualmente osservate et eseguite.

Sia ricercato il zelo delli Sig. Presiden.ti Nostri e Deputati alle Figlie d'incaricare seriamente la Piora nostra e Portinare alla loro inviolabile ubbedienza et chiuse che siano le porte stesse doveranno le portinare consigniar le chiave alla Piora sud.a perche della conservarle appresso di essa sino alla mattina all'houra di riaprirlle, sotto la penne in esse parti contenute.

Non sin. – 0

No – 0

Si – 7

Presa

7. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedali e Luoghi Pii, Busta 651 (27 December 1728), letter from Elisabetta Ruggiera regarding her daughter Margarita Doglioni.

Lo stato infelice in cui mi attrovo Io povera Elisabetta Ruggiera con il peso di tre Innocenti Figliole, senza il modo, ondo poterle più trarre di suo necessario alimento, mi fa supplichevole ricorrere all'inesausta Pietà di questa Ven. Congregatione, perche seguendo il suo Pio Istituto, e mossa da un vero oggetto di compassione, degni di dare ricovero a Margherita Teresa mia figlia costituita in età d'anni nove in dieci, togliendola cosi alle lacrime della Madre per renderla fortunata figlia di questo Pio Ospitale. Sino a che riguardavo in essa una tenera età, lo stento onde mantenerla tra le angustia della povertà, formava tutta la mia maggiore pena, ma da qui avanti crescendo ella negl'anni, vengono in me ad accrescersi i motivi del dolore, e della confusione, mentre a una povera onorata genitrice diviene la figlia quando è adulta un'oggetto d'inquietudine, e di viva passione.

La sua naturale inclinatione, e dispositione al canto se mi consola in vista della grazia, che sospiro, e che spero dalli loro caritatevoli assensi, mi riuscirebbe un motivo di grave, e forte rammarico, quando ciò succedesse diversamente.

L'attestatione, che qui unita rassegnò, del Piovano di mia Contrada sarà un ben vero, e irrefragabile testimonio della miserabile costituzione, a cui sono ridotta. Iddio Signore, che già mai abbandona chi lo prega di vero cuore, e per onesti motivi, vorà ispirare nell'animo di cadauna di V.V.E.E, e di loro S.S.i sensi di carità, e di compassione a solievo di una povera abbandonata Madre, e in soccorso d'una innocente giovine Figlia. Grazie.

8. Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fondo Ospedali e Luoghi Pii, Busta 662 (28 September 1742), letter from the *figlie di coro* regarding the new construction of a church.

Eccellenze,

Umilmente ricorriamo all'innata Bontà di V.V. Eccellenze, Noi povere Figlie del Pio Ospitale della Pietà, ritrovandosi in una lagrimevole angustia, e solo il valido Patrocinio di V.V.E.E può porvi il rimedio come Provveditori zelantissimi della salute in questa Dominante. Li Eccellessimi Provveditori anno determinato di fabbricare la Chiesa materiale, ma con pregiudizio della Chiesa mistica, volendo fabbricare piccole abitazioni in una angustissima Corte, per ove non può passare avia, ed in vicinanza all'infermarie, dove vi sono indisposizioni gravi, e mali comunicativi; cioè Figlie tistiche, con mali di petto, con scorbuti, con piaghe interne, ed esterne, e queste sono in gran numero, anzi presindendo da quelle che sono separate, tutte abbiamo qualche indisposizione. Ora avendo intenzione li nostri Eccellessimi Proved.ri di restringerci in luogo più angusto, andiamo a pericolo d'infettarci tutte, regnandoci, per la quantità in cui siamo, continuamente un intollerabile fettore. Se li Ecc.mi Proved.i anno intenzione di fabbricare stanze, le fabbrichino pure, ma su la fundamenta, o riva de Schiavoni, facendo dar luogo alli marzari, speciale, tentoria, ed altri, essendo tutti que' luoghi di ragione del nostro Pio Luogo della Pietà: ma per non incomodare quelli che si possono ritrovare altrove comoda abitazione, si contentando di mettere a pericolo la salute, e la vita di tante povere creature: onde imploriamo la carità di V.V. Ecc.e... col possente suo patrocinio faccia divertire tal fabbrica che oltre l'esser superflua, e per esser anco di tanto pregiudizio alla nostra salute. Anni sono, alla determinazione de nostri Ecc.mi Provveditori di fabbricar le Chiesa e restringerci più di quello, che siamo, abbiamo fatto ricorso a questo Ecc.mo e Zelantissimo Magistrato, e informati que' savi Cavallieri, anno determinato di fabbricar stanze per la salute delle povere Figliole, e non Chiesa, ed ora, che il numero è maggiore, e le indisposte in più quantità, come potranno ben vederlo quelli, che veranno ad informarsi, siamo sicure, che termineranno lo stesso, cioè prima stanze su la riva, e poi la Chiesa. Viviamo sicure del validissimo Patrocinio di V.V. E.E., e si assicurino, che Iddio Benedetto, per questo gran carità che si degeranno di farci, spargerà il capo di V.V. E.E., e di tutte li Eccl.me loro case le presenti, ed eterne benedizioni.

Umilissime, et riverentissime serve

li Figlie del Pio Luogo della Pieta

APPENDIX III

Compositions Performed by the *Figlie di Coro*

Editorial Methods:

In these transcriptions, score order follows the manuscript scores or, if the original is in parts, arranged so the soloist vocal line always appears above the bass continuo. The headings for the pieces (Aria, Recitativo, Section, etc.) and rehearsal letters are editorial. Voice and instrumental parts have been named editorially when unlabeled. When parts share a staff in the source, each part is given its own staff. C1 and C3 clefs for the vocal parts have been transposed into treble clef. Solo cadenzas, which appear in the rests above the ritornello in the sources, are transcribed separately and not included in the measure numbering. The measure in which to perform each cadenza is indicated with an asterisk.

The use of double barlines to mark sections has been standardized according to modern practices. The terms “Da capo,” “Dal segno,” and “Fine,” as well as the segno indications themselves, have been tacitly added in cases where they are missing from the da capo arias.

Key signatures are retained as they appear in the sources. Following modern convention, accidentals apply throughout each measure, so redundant source accidentals have been tacitly removed. Source cautionary accidentals have been retained when they serve to clarify a passage, put in parentheses. All editorial accidentals appear in brackets, as do other added elements unless noted otherwise.

Stem directions, beaming patterns, rhythmic groupings of notes and rests, as well as syllabic groupings in the vocal parts have been modified to follow modern conventions. Grace notes appear as they do in the source, with stem directions standardized. Where fermatas are present in some parts but missing in others, those missing have been added.

Trills marked with a “t.” in the sources are set using the modern *tr* sign in the editions. Trills marked as a wavy line in the sources are marked as such in the transcriptions and are interchangeable with the modern trill symbol. When appearing in the middle of a phrase, rather than on the penultimate note, the wavy line trill may be shorter in length, like a mordent. Plus signs also appear in the source and are retained, indicating a short trill, perhaps with an added embellishment of the performer’s choice.

Articulation patterns have been tacitly expanded to appear the same over identical figures where the continuation of that articulation is implied and between like parts in the same and parallel passages. The composers tended to only provide articulations on the first instance of a musical figure, and these transcriptions follow suit. Therefore, performers should remain consistent to the style and articulations established at the beginning of each phrase. Strokes and dots have been differentiated as best as possible. Dots placed within slurs indicate portato bowings. Slurs are extended to enclose ties, except where a tie stands between two consecutive slurs. Slurs used to only clarify triplet groupings or syllable placement in the vocal part have generally been removed, but such slurs are retained in passages featuring other slurs. Triplets are tacitly marked with numerical indication (and bracket as necessary).

Letter dynamics from the sources are retained in the standard bold-italic type. Editorial letter dynamics are given in bold-roman type. Dynamics placed between the two violin staves are tacitly applied to both parts, and dynamics placed above the staff are tacitly applied to all parts, as seems to have been the intention per the sources. In the sources, repetitive dynamics markings tend to indicate emphasized melodic lines, increased effect of a dynamic level, or accents, and all such markings are therefore retained, even when they seem redundant per modern convention.

Shorthand directives in the string parts, such as “unisoni” in the second violin part, or a bass clef symbol in the viola part, which all indicate that the instrument is to double the line in question, have been realized without comment. When the violin or viola parts are written in bass clef, “col basso,” they have been transposed to the usual treble or C3 clefs. When vocal parts are missing, the entrance of the vocal text, as marked in the original manuscript, is included in parentheses above the basso continuo line.

Critical Notes:

1. Aria: “Presso a quell’onde” from *Il ritratto dell’eroe* (1726) by Giovanni Porta, transcription of Dresden Staatsbibliothek, source Slg Landsberg 280s, pp. 74-84
M. 51, Vn. 1, note 2, accidental changed from \flat to \natural . M. 82, Vns., note 1 was originally c' , transcription follows the melodic pattern in previous *ritornelli*.
2. Aria: “D’Elicon a o amate” from *Il ritratto dell’eroe* (1726) by Giovanni Porta, transcription of Dresden Staatsbibliothek, source Slg Landsberg 280s, pp. 90-100.
M. 14, Apollo, note 8, dot removed. M. 48, Apollo, note 14, \flat changed to \sharp .
3. Aria: “Per unir le sembianze” from *Il ritratto dell’eroe* (1726) by Giovanni Porta, transcription of Dresden Staatsbibliothek, source Slg Landsberg 280s, pp. 167-180.
M. 125, Va., note 1, \flat changed to \natural . Although this number may be “Da capo,” there are no markings in the source to indicate where to add performance directives; transcription leaves them absent.
4. Recitativo Accompagnato: “Orfeo” from *Le muse in gara* (1740) by Pietro Domenico Paradies, transcription of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, source MU.MS.30, pp. 59-61.
M. 19, Va., note 1, \sharp moved from note 2. M. 20, Tersicore, note 1, \sharp moved from note 4.
M. 28, Vn. 2, note 2 was originally g' with slur to $g\sharp'$ in m. 29, corrected in pencil to b' in source; transcription follows this altered reading.
5. Aria: “Sei tu quel, che in duro agone” from *Le muse in gara* (1740) by Pietro Domenico Paradies, transcription of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, source MU.MS.30, 61r-64r.
6. Solo Motet: “Cessate ire furores” for Fortunata by Andrea Bernasconi (c. 1744-53), transcription of Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 6 (soprano), pp. 1-8; Busta 93 no. 2 (violin), pp. 24r-37r; and Busta 94 no. 6 (violoncello), pp. 51-51r.
M. 62, Vn., t . under note 1, changed to mordent to keep consistent with measure 3. M. 134, Fortunata, extra eighth rest before note 1, removed for consistency with meter. M. 148, Fortunata, rhythm is only three beats, rest added on beat 3. M. 150, Vn., beat 4 is missing, rest added; Mm. 254-5, Vn. and B.C. both have full-measure rests, cue notes added to copy mm. 170-1.
7. Solo Motet: “Perfida sors ingrata” for Fortunata by Andrea Bernasconi (c. 1744-53), transcription of Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 2, pp. 1-8r and Busta 60 no.1, pp. 61-62r.
M. 41, four measures that follow M. 41 are crossed out in source; not included in transcription. M. 75, four measures that follow M. 75 are crossed out in source; not included in transcription. M. 106, Fortunata, note 1 is unclear, appears to be e' , altered to d' to correspond to bass line. M. 111, Fortunata, text is “cecum” in Busta 60 no. 1. M. 121, the “Presto” marking comes from Busta 60 no. 1. M. 129, B.C., rests unclear, altered to follow rhythmic pattern of Busta 60 no. 1. M. 137, B.C., rest 1 appears to be an eighth rest. M. 203, Fortunata, second hand wrote “ \sharp ” symbol between notes 4 and 5, possible location for ornamentation. M. 205, Fortunata, second hand wrote “ \sharp ” symbol between

notes 4 and 5, possible location for ornamentation. M. 210, Fortunata, second hand wrote “#” symbol before note 1, possible location for ornamentation. M. 213, Fortunata, second hand wrote “#” symbol before note 1, possible location for ornamentation. M. 311, Fortunata, second hand wrote “#” symbol before note 1, possible location for ornamentation. M. 315, Fortunata, second hand wrote “#” symbol before note 1, possible location for ornamentation.

8. *Salve Regina* by anonymous (1748), with cadenzas for Fortunata, transcription of Venice, Conservatorio Benedetto marcello, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 88 no. 6, pp. 1-10r.
 - M. 199, Fortunata, lyrics “rum va-“ are crossed out. Cadenza 2, M. 7, notes 1-6, alternate version of this rhythmic figure is written after the cadenza, not included in transcription.
 - Cadenza 3, note 1 and articulations are taken from copied version of cadenza on page 10r of source. Mm. 268-275, B.C., source only shows half notes without indication of “*chrome*,” which appeared in previous instances of this pattern, expanded to eighth notes for consistency with previous cases. Cadenza 5, M. 8, notes 1-3 are scratched out, not included in transcription.

1. Aria: "Presso a quell'onde" from *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (1726) by Giovanni Porta,
transcription of Dresden, Staatsbibliothek, Slg Landsberg 280s, pp. 74-84

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Apollo

Basso Continuo

This system of the musical score is for the first three measures of the aria. It features five staves: Violin I and Violin II in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature; Viola in alto clef with the same key signature and time signature; Apollo in treble clef, which is mostly empty; and Basso Continuo in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The Violin I and II parts play a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes, while the Viola and Basso Continuo parts play a similar pattern of quarter notes. The Apollo part is silent.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

This system of the musical score is for the next three measures of the aria. It features five staves: Violin I and Violin II in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature; Viola in alto clef with the same key signature and time signature; Apollo in treble clef, which is mostly empty; and Basso Continuo in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The Violin I and II parts play a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes, while the Viola and Basso Continuo parts play a similar pattern of quarter notes. The Apollo part is silent.

8

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

p *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

11

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

p *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

14

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

p

p

p

Pres - so_a__ quel - l'on - de

18

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

che__ son fe - con - de di bel - le glo - ri - e

p

22

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

più as - sai che d'ac - que mie di - ve a -

25

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

ma - te vol - ge - te il piè,

28

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

mie di - ve_a - ma

32

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

te vol - ge - te il

36

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

piè, vol - ge - te il piè,

f

41

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

43

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

p

p

p

pres - so_a quel - l'on - - - de

47

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

che son fe - con - de di bel - le

51

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

glo - ri - e più, as - sai che

53

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

d'ac - que mie di - ve_a - ma -

56

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

te,

60

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

mie di-ve_a - ma - te vol - ge - te il piè, mie di - ve_a -

65

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

ma - - - -

69

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

tr.

73

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

- - - te, mie di - ve a - ma - te vol - ge - te il

78

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

f

f

f

piè.

f

81

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

85

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

p *f*

p *f*

p *f*

88

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

92

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

Co - là go - dre - te dol - ce la quie - te

Fine

97

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

men - tre__ l'i - ma - gi-ne mi__ for - me - re - te

101

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

di que-sto nu - me che pia - ce a me, che pia - ce a

106

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

me, che

108

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

pia

111

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

ce, di que - sto

115

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

nu - me che pia - ce a me.

D.C. al Fine

2. Aria: "D'Elicono o amate" from *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (1726) by Giovanni Porta,
transcription of Dresden, Staatsbibliothek, Slg Landsberg 280s, pp. 90-100

Adagio

Viola d'Amore

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Apollo

Basso Continuo

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

5

V.d'A.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Ap.
B.C.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 5 and 6. The V.d'A. part features a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes, including triplets. The Vln. I and Vln. II parts play a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The Vla., Ap., and B.C. parts are silent, indicated by rests.

7

V.d'A.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Ap.
B.C.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 7 and 8. The V.d'A. part continues with its rhythmic pattern. The Vln. I and Vln. II parts have a melodic line with some chromaticism. The Vla. part has a melodic line starting in measure 8. The Ap. and B.C. parts are silent.

9

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

D'E - li - co - na, o_a - ma - te

11

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

Di - ve, que - ste son l'a - me - ne ri - ve, que - ste son l'a - me - ne

13

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

ri - ve, do-ve_i ci - gni_il no - me mi - o _____ fan d'in - tor - no ri - suo -

15

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

nar, _____ do ve_i ci - gni_il no-me

17

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

f

f

f

f

mi - o fan d'in - tor - no — ri - suo - nar.

19

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

p

p

21

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

D'E - li - co - na, a - ma - te — Di - ve, que - ste son l'a - me - ne

23

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

ri - ve do - ve, i ci - gni il no - me — mi - o fan — d'in - tor - no ri - suo -

25

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

nar,

27

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

ri - suo - nar,

29 357

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

30

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

32 358

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

— fan d'in - tor - no ri - suo - nar.

35

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

37

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

Quel-la_è

Fine

39

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

poi la ver - de fron - de che ba - gna - ta_o - gnor dal - l'on - de, S'al-ta_in -

41 360

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

con-tro_al cu-po_ob-li - o e di lui sà tri-on-far, e di lui sà tri - on-far,

44

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

che ba-gna - ta_o - gnor dal - l'on - de s'al-ta_in-con - tro_al cu - po_ob -

46

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

li - o e di lui sà tri - on - far,

48

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

50

V.d'A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

e di lui sa_ tri - on - far. D'E-li

D.S. al Fine

3. Aria: "Per unir le sembianze" from *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (1726) by Giovanni Porta,
transcription of Dresden, Staatsbibliothek, Slg Landsberg 280s, pp. 167-180

Viola all'Inglese

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Apollo

Basso Continuo

The first system of the musical score is in G major and common time. It features six staves. The top staff, labeled 'Viola all'Inglese', contains a whole rest. The Violin I and Violin II staves play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola staff plays a melodic line with eighth notes. The Apollo staff contains a whole rest. The Basso Continuo staff provides a bass line with eighth notes.

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

The second system of the musical score begins with a measure number '4' above the first staff. It features six staves. The V.Ing. staff continues the melodic line from the first system. The Vln. I and Vln. II staves play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Vla. staff contains a whole rest. The Ap. staff contains a whole rest. The B.C. staff provides a bass line with eighth notes.

8

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

12

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

15

V.Ing.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Ap.
B.C.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 15 through 18. The Violin I and II parts play a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes, starting with a rest in measure 15. The Violin I part has a melodic line in measure 18. The Violoncello part has a melodic line in measure 18. The other instruments (Ving., Vla., Ap.) are silent.

19

V.Ing.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Ap.
B.C.

Per — u - nir le sem - bian - ze — si

Detailed description: This system contains measures 19 through 22. The Violin I and II parts play a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes. The Violoncello part has a melodic line. The Viola part is silent. The Piano part has a melodic line. The Violoncello part has a melodic line. The other instruments (Ving., Vla., Ap.) are silent.

23

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

bel - le, nol po - treb - ber ne - me - no le

27

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

stel - le, che di - pin - gon del cie - lo il sem - bian -

32

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

Detailed description: This system of musical notation covers measures 32 through 36. The Vln. I part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Vln. II part plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The Vla. part provides a similar eighth-note accompaniment. The Ap. part has a more complex rhythmic pattern with sixteenth-note runs. The V.Ing. and B.C. parts are silent, indicated by rests.

37

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

Detailed description: This system of musical notation covers measures 37 through 41. The Vln. I part has a melodic line that includes a half-note rest in measure 40. The Vln. II part continues with eighth-note accompaniment. The Vla. part also continues with eighth-note accompaniment. The Ap. part features a melodic line with sixteenth-note runs and slurs. The V.Ing. and B.C. parts are silent, indicated by rests.

42

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

te,

Musical score for measures 42-45. The score includes parts for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bassoon. The Violin I and II parts feature a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The Viola part has a whole note chord in the first measure, followed by rests. The Bassoon part has a whole note chord in the first measure, followed by rests. The strings are marked with 'te,' in the first measure.

46

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

f

f

Musical score for measures 46-48. The score includes parts for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bassoon. The Violin I and II parts feature a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The Viola part has a whole note chord in the first measure, followed by rests. The Bassoon part has a whole note chord in the first measure, followed by rests. The strings are marked with 'te,' in the first measure.

49

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

per — u - nir le sem - bian - ze sì bel - le, nol po -

54

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

treb - ber ne - me - no le — stel - le, che di - pin - gon — del

59

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

cie - lo il sem - bian -

64

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

69

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

te, del cie - lo, il sem - bian - te,

p

p

74

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

che di - pin - ga del cie - lo sem -

79

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

bian

83

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

te, del cie - lo, il sem - bian - te.

88

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

91

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

94

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

97

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

Per - ché

101

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

gli_a - stri_in ve - der _____ que - sto Nu - me, per - de -

105

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

reb - be - ro af - fat-to_o - gni lu - me, co - me fan - no_al mio

110

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

rag - gio di - nan - - - -

114

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

118

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

te, al mio rag

123

V.Ing.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ap.

B.C.

gio di - nan - te.

4. Recitativo Accompagnato: "Orfeo" from *Le muse in gara* (1740) by Pietro Domenico Paradies, transcription of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MU.MS.30, pp. 59-61

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Tercicore, and Basso Continuo. The second system includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Ter. (Tercicore), and B.C. (Basso Continuo).

Violin I: Treble clef, common time (C), *f*. Part 1: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Violin II: Treble clef, common time (C), *f*. Part 1: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Viola: Alto clef, common time (C), *f*. Part 1: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Tercicore: Treble clef, common time (C). Part 1: quarter rest, quarter rest, quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: quarter rest, quarter rest, quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Basso Continuo: Bass clef, common time (C), *f*. Part 1: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Lyrics (Tercicore/B.C.): Or - fe - o, Or - feo, mio

Violin I: Treble clef, common time (C), *f*. Part 1: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 3: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Violin II: Treble clef, common time (C), *f*. Part 1: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 3: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Viola: Alto clef, common time (C), *f*. Part 1: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 3: quarter rest, quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Ter.: Treble clef, common time (C). Part 1: quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 3: quarter note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

Lyrics (Ter.): fi - glio, ah do - ve, do - ve se - i, che la ce - tra ma -

B.C.: Bass clef, common time (C), *f*. Part 1: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 2: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest. Part 3: $\frac{1}{2}$ note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter rest.

6

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

ter - na non ac - cor - di del - la tua ce - tra al suo - no?

8

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

Tu pur co - là ne'

10

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

p

p

p

p

cu - pi bos-chi_or-ren - di am-man-sa - sti le fe - re; Tu da te-na ci

13

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

no - di scos - si mo - ve-sti_i sas - si; E tu fin dal pro-

15

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

fon - do_or - ri - do spe-co e - ter - no trae-sti al var - co i -

$\frac{6}{4}$ $\frac{7}{4}$

Adagio

17

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

stu - pi - di - ti i spir - ti; O - pra fu di tua ce - tra.

f *f* *f*

$\frac{6}{4}$
#4
3

19

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

p

p

p

p

Ah mi-ra, mi-ra in - tor-no de Sar-ma-ti con - fi-ni il ne-mi-co su-

6

Presto

22

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

f

f

f

f

per - bo pas - seg - giar bal-dan - zo - so.

24

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

Ad - di - ta - li d'Au -

25

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

go - sto l'e - let - to ger - me a mi - nac - ciar - lo pron - to.

6
#4
[2]

7

#

27

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

p

p

p

p

Ah, Si-gnor, tu ne gui-di, e ac-cor-dan-do le

30

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

f

f

f

f

ce - tre al suon del-l'ar - mi, si spe-tri il cor

32

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

di quel - le fe - re, o mar - mi.

5. Aria: "Sei tu quel, che in duro agone" from *Le muse in gara* (1740) by Pietro Domenico Paradies, transcription of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MU.MS.30, pp. 61r-64r

Larghetto

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Tersicore

Basso Continuo

3

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

6

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

9

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

Sei tu quel, che in du - ro a -

p

13

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

go - ne ⁺ sfi - de - rai ⁺ ne - mi - ca schie - ra, ne - mi - ca schie -

17

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

f *p*

f *p*

f *p*

ra, tu sei quel, ch'al mio Li - o - ne por - ge - *tr*

f *p*

21

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

rai la man guer - rie - ra, e la fe - de pa - ce a -

Detailed description: This system covers measures 21 to 23. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#). Vln. I and II play eighth-note patterns with trills (tr) on the final notes of measures 22 and 23. Vla. plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Ter. sings the lyrics 'rai la man guer - rie - ra, e la fe - de pa - ce a -'. B.C. plays a bass line with a fermata on the final note of measure 23.

24

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

- vrà,

Detailed description: This system covers measures 24 to 25. Vln. I and II continue with eighth-note patterns. Vla. continues with eighth notes. Ter. sings '- vrà,' with triplets (3) and a fermata. B.C. plays a bass line with a fermata on the final note of measure 25.

26

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

29

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

f

f

f

f

f

pa - ce_a - vrà.

32

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

35

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

p

p

p

Sei tu quel, che in du ro, a - go - ne sfi-de-

39

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

f *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

rai ne-mi-ca schie-ra, tu sei quel, ch'al mio Li -

43

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

tr

o - ne — por - ge - rai — la — man guer - rie - ra, por - ge -

46

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

rai ————— la — man guer - rie - ra, la man guer-rie -

6

tr

49

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

ra, e la fe - de — pa - ce, a -

2

tr

51

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

- vrà,

2

53

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

6

6

56

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

f

f

f

tr

pa - ce a - vrà,

f

59

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

tr

tr

tr

tr

la fe de pa - ce a - vrà.

62

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

Trills (tr) are marked above the first notes of the violin parts. The Viola and Bassoon parts feature a consistent eighth-note accompaniment. The Terceira part is silent throughout this section.

65

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

Trills (tr) and triplets (3) are marked above the violin parts. The Viola and Bassoon parts continue with their eighth-note accompaniment. The Terceira part remains silent.

Fine

Allegro

69

Vln. I *p* *tr*

Vln. II *p* *tr*

Vla. *p*

Ter. *tr*
Tu sei — quel, ch'al - la mia ce - tra da - rai — for - za, e da - rai

B.C. *p*

71

Vln. I *f* *p*

Vln. II *f* *p*

Vla. *f* *p*

Ter. *f* *p*
no - me, per te so - lo fi - no al - l'E - tra can - te -

B.C. *f* *p*

73

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

rò le schie - re do - me del ne - mi - co, che ca drà,

75

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

can - te -

77

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

f *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

rò le schie-re do-me del ne - mi-co, che ca - drà, del ne - mi - co,

80

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

che ca - drà, che ca - drà.

83 [Larghetto]

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

This system contains measures 83 and 84. The tempo is marked [Larghetto]. The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4. The Violin I and II parts feature a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and trills. The Viola part has a simple bass line. The Cello part has a bass line with eighth notes. The Trombone part is silent.

85

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

This system contains measures 85, 86, and 87. The tempo remains [Larghetto]. The Violin I and II parts continue with their melodic lines, including trills. The Viola part continues with its bass line. The Cello part continues with its eighth-note bass line. The Trombone part remains silent.

88

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Ter.

B.C.

D.S. al Fine

6. "Motetto per Signora Fortunata: Cessate ire furores" by Andrea Bernasconi (c. 1744-53), with cadenzas attributed to Fortunata, transcription of Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 6, pp. 1r-8r; Busta 93 no. 2, pp. 24v-27v; and Busta 94 no. 6, pp. 51r-51v.

I. ARIA

Allegro

Violin

Fortunata

Basso Continuo

Vln.

F.

B.C.

5

Vln.

F.

B.C.

Passai

p

8

Vln.

F.

B.C.

11

Vln.

F.

B.C.

14

Vln. *f*

F.

B.C. *f*

17

Vln. *p*

F.

B.C. *p*

20

Vln. *f* *p*

F.

B.C. *f*

23

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f

f

25

Vln.

F.

B.C.

27

Vln.

F.

B.C.

Ces - sa - te i - re fu -

p

p

30

Vln.

F.

B.C.

ro - res vin - dic - te ar - ma ces -

32

Vln.

F.

B.C.

sa - - - - te, e - ja ve -

f *p*

35

Vln.

F.

B.C.

ni - te a - mo - res ve - ni - te af -

38

Vln.

F.

B.C.

fec - tus, af - fec - tus - mil - le,

41

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f *p* *f*

cor in - flam - ma - te in me,

43

Vln.

F.

B.C.

p

cor in - flam - ma - - -

46

Vln.

F.

B.C.

49

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f *p* *tr*

te, cor in-flam - ma

f *p*

52

Vln.

F.

B.C.

tr

55

Vln.

F.

B.C.

tr

te_in

57

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f

me, cor in - flam - ma - - -

59

Vln.

F.

B.C.

p

f

tr

te_in me,

61

Vln.

F.

B.C.

63

Vln.

F.

B.C.

ces -

65

Vln.

F.

B.C.

p

sa - te i - re fu -

p

67

Vln.

F.

B.C.

ro - res vin - dic - te ar - ma ces -

69

Vln.

F.

B.C.

- sa - - - te, e - ja ve-

f *p*

72

Vln.

F.

B.C.

ni - te a - mo - res, ve - ni - te af -

75

Vln.

F.

B.C.

fec - tus, af - fec - tus mil - le,

78

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f *p* *f* *p*

cor in - flam - ma - te in me, cor in - flam -

81

Vln.

F.

B.C.

ma - - - -

84

Vln.

F.

B.C.

87

Vln.

F.

B.C.

te, cor in - flam - ma

f *p* *tr* *f* *p*

90

Vln.

F.

B.C.

p

93

Vln.

F.

B.C.

te_in

Detailed description: This system covers measures 93 and 94. The Violin (Vln.) part has a whole rest in both measures. The Flute (F.) part plays a melodic line starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, and a whole note G3 with a trill (tr) in measure 94. The Bassoon (B.C.) part has a whole rest in measure 93 and a quarter note G2 in measure 94. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#).

95

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f *p* *tr*

me, cor in - flam - ma - - te_in

f

Detailed description: This system covers measures 95 and 96. The Violin (Vln.) part plays a continuous sixteenth-note pattern. The Flute (F.) part plays a melodic line starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, and a whole note G3 with a trill (tr) in measure 96. The Bassoon (B.C.) part has a whole rest in measure 95 and a quarter note G2 in measure 96. The Flute part has a forte (*f*) dynamic in measure 95 and a piano (*p*) dynamic in measure 96. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#).

98

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f *

me, cor in - flam - ma - te_in

f *p*

Detailed description: This system covers measures 98 and 99. The Violin (Vln.) part plays a melodic line starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, and a whole note G3. The Flute (F.) part has a whole rest in measure 98 and a melodic line starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, and a whole note G3 with a trill (tr) in measure 99. The Bassoon (B.C.) part has a whole rest in measure 98 and a quarter note G2 in measure 99. The Flute part has a forte (*f*) dynamic in measure 98 and a piano (*p*) dynamic in measure 99. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#).

101

Vln. *f*

F. me.

B.C.

Fine

104

Vln. *p*

F. I - ras fu - gan - do_a - tro - ces, de - scen - di - te ve -

B.C. *p*

107

Vln. *f*

F. lo - ces in pa - ce ó sa - cri_ar - do - res,

B.C. *f*

110

Vln. *p*

F.

B.C. *p*

un - de tran-qui - le a - man - do le -

113

Vln.

F. *tr* *tr*

B.C.

te - - - tur - cor -

115

Vln. *f*

F.

B.C. *f*

117

Vln. *p* *f*

F. *tr*

— in se, le - te - tur

B.C. *p* *f*

120

Vln.

F. *tr*

cor _____ in se.

B.C.

123

Vln.

F.

B.C.

126

Vln.

F.

B.C.

129

Vln.

F.

B.C.

D.S. al Fine

* Cadenza

Vln. 


F. 

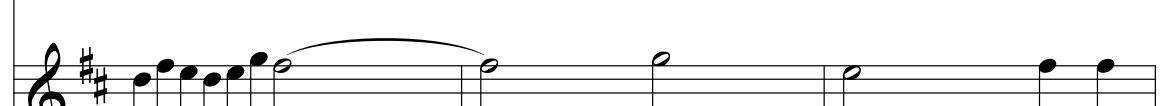
ma - - - - -

Vln. 

F. 

- - - - -

Vln. 

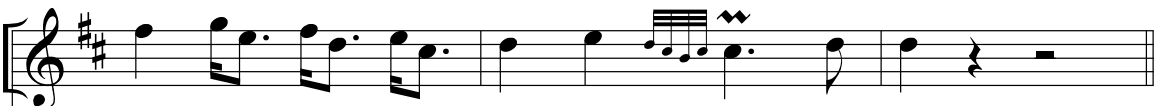
F. 


- - - - -

Vln. 

F. 

- - - - -

Vln. 

F. 

- - - - - te in me.

II. RECITATIVO

Andante

132

Vln. *f p f p f p f*

F.

B.C. *f*

133

Vln. *p p*

F.

B.C.

Te jam a - mo ó mi

135

Vln. *f p f p f p f*

F.

B.C.

De - us, te jam a - do - ro;

Detailed description: This is a musical score for three instruments: Violin (Vln.), Flute (F.), and Bassoon (B.C.). The score is divided into three systems, each starting with a measure number (132, 133, and 135). The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The first system (measures 132-133) features the Violin with dynamic markings of forte (f) and piano (p) alternating. The Flute and Bassoon parts are mostly rests, with the Bassoon playing a simple rhythmic pattern. The second system (measures 133-134) shows the Violin playing a melodic line with piano (p) dynamics. The Flute and Bassoon provide harmonic support. The third system (measures 135-136) continues the Violin's melodic line with alternating f and p dynamics. The Flute and Bassoon parts are also present, with the Bassoon playing a rhythmic accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the Flute and Bassoon staves.

137

Vln.

F.

B.C.

Et in se-re-na pa-ce tam ar-deo nunc in te ce-le-sti a-

140

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f p f p f f

mo - re, quam in - sa - no fla - gra - vi

142

Vln.

F.

B.C.

Allegro

in me fu-ro-re,

Adagio

145

Vln.

F.

B.C.

ne tar - des e - ja ve - ni a - ni - me_a - man - ti

p

148

Vln.

F.

B.C.

fa - ciem o - sten - de tu - am, Ah, tan - dem, Ah,

Allegro

151

Vln.

F.

B.C.

tan - dem ve - ni ó ca - re, nam - que

f

153

Vln.

F.

B.C.

pe - na in me fit am - plius tar - da - re.

III. ARIA

Andantino affettuoso

155

Vln.

F.

B.C.

p assai

159

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f

162

Vln.

F.

B.C.

p *assai*

p

Detailed description: This system covers measures 162 to 165. The Violin (Vln.) part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measures 162 and 163 each contain a triplet of eighth notes. From measure 164 onwards, the violin plays quarter notes. The Flute (F.) part consists of whole rests in all four measures. The Bassoon (B.C.) part, in bass clef, plays quarter notes throughout. The dynamic marking *p* is placed below the bassoon staff, and *p assai* is placed below the violin staff.

166

Vln.

F.

B.C.

Detailed description: This system covers measures 166 to 169. The Violin (Vln.) part continues with quarter notes in measure 166, eighth notes in measure 167, and a quarter note in measure 168. The Flute (F.) part has whole rests. The Bassoon (B.C.) part has quarter notes, with a triplet of eighth notes in measure 167. Dynamics are not explicitly marked in this system.

170

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f

Detailed description: This system covers measures 170 to 173. The Violin (Vln.) part starts with dotted quarter notes in measures 170 and 171, followed by eighth notes and quarter notes in measures 172 and 173. The Flute (F.) part has whole rests. The Bassoon (B.C.) part has quarter notes. A forte dynamic marking *f* is placed below the violin staff.

185

Vln.

F.

B.C.

men - ti can - tu ex - cla -

188

Vln.

F.

B.C.

192

Vln.

F.

B.C.

mat, lon - ge, lon - ge vi -

195

Vln.

F.

B.C.

- den - do a se,

198

Vln.

F.

B.C.

vi - den - do_a se,

p *f*

p *f*

201

Vln.

F.

B.C.

204

Vln. *p*

F.

B.C. *p*

tur - tur a fi - do ni - do ge - men - ti can - tu ex -

208

Vln.

F.

B.C.

cla - mat, ca - ri, ca - ri di - lec - ti a -

211

Vln.

F.

B.C.

spec - tum, lon - ge vi - den - do a se, ge -

214

Vln.

F.

B.C.

men - ti can - tu ex - cla - - - -

218

Vln.

F.

B.C.

- - - - -

221

Vln.

F.

B.C.

- mat, lon - ge, lon - ge vi -

224

Vln.

F.

B.C.

- den - do a se,

227

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f *p* *f*

vi - den - do_a se, lon - ge vi - den - do_a

231

Vln.

F.

B.C.

p

se. Sic lon - ge a

Fine *p*

Allegretto

235

Vln. *f*

F. *f*

B.C. *f*

te — cor cla — mat, o De — us ur — gen — do — af — fec — tum

241

Vln. *p*

F. *p*

B.C. *p*

tuo vi — su_a — man — — — — —

247

Vln. *f* *p*

F. *f* *p*

B.C. *f* *p*

— tem le — ni, Ah, — — — — — tan — dem ve — ni ad me,

254

Vln. *f*

F.

ah, _____ tan - dem ven - ni_ad me, tan - dem ve -

B.C. *f*

260

[Andantino affettuoso]

Vln.

F. *tr*

- ni_ad me.

B.C. 3

265

Vln. 3 3 3 3

F.

B.C.

D.S. al Fine

IV. ALLELUIA

Allegro

269

Vln. *f p* *f p*

F. Al-le-lu - ia, al - le - lu -

B.C.

276

Vln. *f p* *f p*

F. - ia, al-le-lu - ia, al - - - - le - lu -

B.C.

284

Vln. *f* *f*

F. ia, al - - - -

B.C.

290

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f *p*

298

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f *p*

le - lu - ia, al -

303

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f

le - lu - ia,

310

Vln. *p*

F.

B.C.

al - le - lu - ia, —

317

Vln. *f p*

F.

B.C.

al - le - lu - ia,

323

Vln.

F.

B.C.

al - - - -

329

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f

336

Vln.

F.

B.C.

p

le - lu -

344

Vln.

F.

B.C.

f

- ia, al - le - lu - ia.

7. "Motetto per Signora Fortunata: Perfida sors ingrata" by Andrea Bernasconi (c. 1744-53), with cadenzas attributed to Fortunata or other *figlie di coro*, transcription of Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 51 no. 2, pp. 1r-8v and Busta 60 no. 1, pp. 61r-62v.

I. ARIA**Allegro**

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with two staves. The top staff of each system is for Fortunata (F.) and the bottom staff is for Basso Continuo (B.C.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the B.C. staff starting with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The second system starts at measure 4, and the third system starts at measure 8. In all systems, the Fortunata staff contains whole rests, while the B.C. staff provides the harmonic accompaniment.

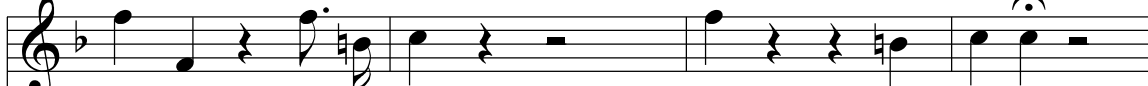
16 

F. 

Per - fi - da sors in - gra - ta quid

B.C. 

19

F. 

ten - tas con-tra me, quid, quid ten - tas,

B.C. 

23

F. 

fi - de ce - le - sti ar - ma - ta, ar - ma - ta,

B.C. 

26

F. 

ce - de ri - go - ris tu - i, sper -

B.C. 

f

29

F. 

- - no fu - ro - rem, sper - no fu -

B.C. 

f *p*

32

F. *ro* - - - - -

B.C.

34

F.

B.C.

36

F.

B.C.

38

F.

B.C.

f *f*

rem, per - fi-da,

41


F.


B.C.

p

sper - no, sper - no fu - ro

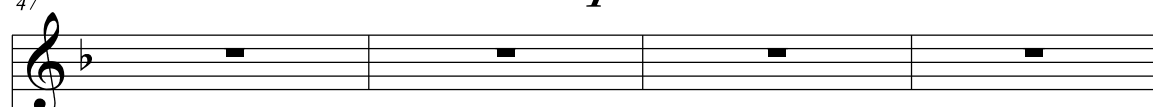
44


F. 

B.C. 

rem,

47

F. 

B.C. 

51

F. 

per - fi - da sors in - gra - ta quid ten - tas con - tra

B.C. 

p


54

F. 


me, quid, quid ten - tas, fi - de ce - le - sti ar -

B.C. 

58

F. 

ma - ta, ce - de ri - go - ris tu - i, ri - go - ris

B.C. 

f *p*

61

F. tu - i, sper - no fu -

B.C. *f* *p*

64

F. ro - rem, sper - no fu - ro -

B.C. *f* *p*

67

F. - - - - -

B.C. - - - - -

69

F. - - - - -

B.C. - - - - -

71

F. - - - - -

B.C. - - - - -

73

F. *rem, per-fi-da, sper-no, sper-no fu-*

B.C. *f f f f p*

77

F. *ro - - - - -*

B.C. *f p*

80

F. *rem, sper-no fu-ro - rem.*

B.C. *f*

84

F.

B.C.

Fine

*CADENZA 1

F. *sper - - - - -*

F. *no fu-ro - rem.*

89

F. *tr*

Fa - stum de-po - ne_in sa - num, i - ram re-fre - na_in

B.C.

92

F.

te, me cum pu-gna - re_in va - num,

B.C.

95

F.

me cum pu-gna - re_in va - num, cer - nam tue frau -

B.C.

98

F.

di - suim ac reum li vo - -

B.C.

101

F. *tr*

- - 3 - - rem, ac reum li vo - - rem.

B.C.

105

F.

B.C.

Detailed description: This system covers measures 105 to 108. The Flute (F.) part consists of four measures of whole rests. The Bassoon/Clarinet (B.C.) part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents in measures 105 and 106, followed by a melodic line in measures 107 and 108.

109

F.

B.C.

D.S. al Fine

Detailed description: This system covers measures 109 and 110. The Flute (F.) part has two measures of whole rests. The Bassoon/Clarinet (B.C.) part continues the melodic line from the previous system, ending with a fermata in measure 110. The instruction "D.S. al Fine" is placed at the end of the system.

II. RECITATIVO

Andante

111

F.

B.C.

f

Detailed description: This system covers measures 111 to 113. The Flute (F.) part has three measures of whole rests. The Bassoon/Clarinet (B.C.) part begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents in measures 111 and 112, followed by a melodic line in measure 113.

114


F.

Ce - co ple - num hor - ro - re a - spi - ci - o ce - lum,


B.C.

Detailed description: This system covers measures 114 and 115. The Flute (F.) part has a melodic line in measure 114 and a whole rest in measure 115. The Bassoon/Clarinet (B.C.) part has whole rests in measures 114 and 115, followed by a melodic line in measure 115. The lyrics "Ce - co ple - num hor - ro - re a - spi - ci - o ce - lum," are written below the Flute staff.

129


F. 

sors; Ah, sors me - a ex - tat in ma - nu de - i;

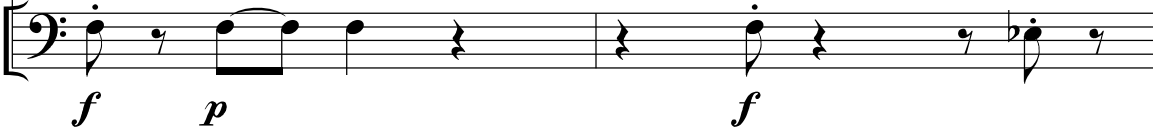
B.C. 

f p

132

F. 

A - ni - ma re - a sic de - li - rat nec

B.C. 

f p f


134

F. 


car - et a cul - pe hor - ro - re in quo mi - se - ra ia - cet dum pe - na sem - per

B.C. 

137

F. 

me - ri - te su - bia - cet.

B.C. 

Segue subito

III. ARIA

Andantino Affetuoso

139

F.

B.C.

p *f* *p*

143

F.

B.C.

f *p* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

148

F.

B.C.

p

153

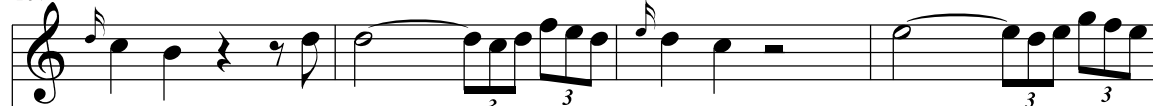
F.


B.C.

Ca - 3 re 3

§

157

F.  le - su er - ro - ris me - i, o - pe


B.C. 


161

F.  tu - a sor - des, sor - des la - va - bo sic con -


B.C. 


165

F.  ten - ta re - spi - ra - bo et sic vi - vam le - ta in te, con -


B.C. 

169

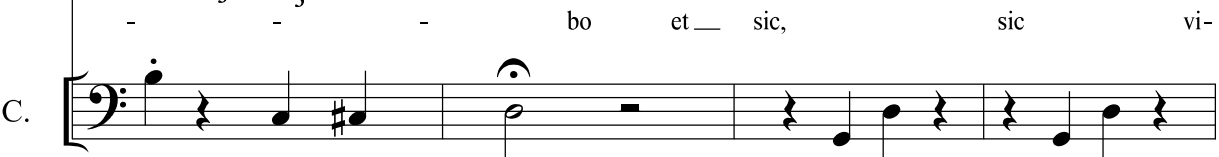
F.  ten - ta re - spi - ra

B.C. 

173

F. 

bo et sic, sic vi-

B.C. 

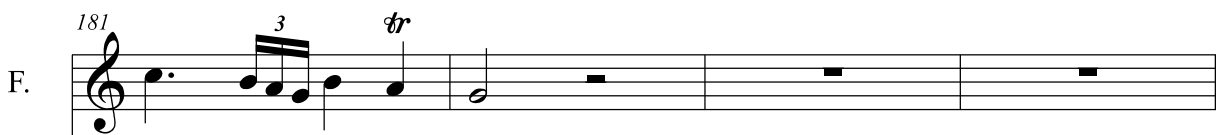
177

F. 

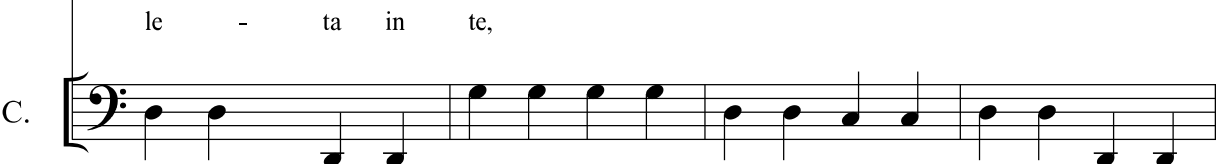
vam le - ta in se, sic vi - vam

B.C. 

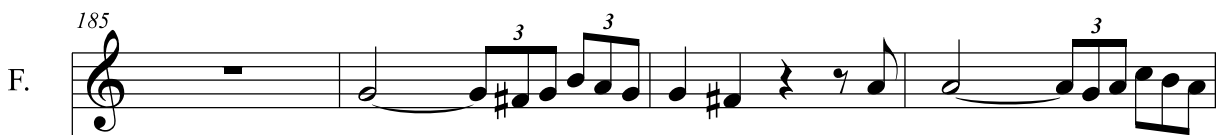
181

F. 

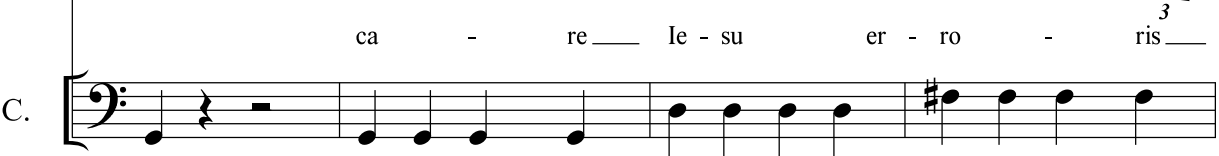
le - ta in te,

B.C. 

185

F. 

ca - re le - su er - ro - ris

B.C. 

189

F. me - i, o - pe - tu - a sor - des - la -

B.C.

193

F. va - bo sic con - ten - ta re - spi - ra - bo, re - spi - ra - bo sic con -

B.C.

197

F. ten - ta et sic vi - vam le - ta in te, con - ten - ta re - spi -

B.C.

201

F. ra -

B.C.

204

F. - - - - -

B.C.

Allegro

222

F.

B.C.

230

F.

B.C.

236

F.

B.C.

242

F.

B.C.

249

F.

B.C.

D.S. al Fine

IV. ALLELUIA

Allegro

255

F.

B.C.

261

F.

B.C.

p

268

F.

B.C.

274

F.

B.C.

f

283

F.

B.C.

289

F.  Al - le - lu - ia,

B.C.  *f*

296

F.  *p*

B.C. 

303

F.  Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia,

B.C. 

309

F.  Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, Al -

B.C.  *f*

315

F.  le - lu - ia.

B.C. 

8. *Salve Regina* by anonymous (1748), with cadenzas attributed to Fortunata or other *figlie di coro*, transcription of Venice, Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 88 no. 6, pp. 1-10r

SECTION I:

Andantino affettuoso

Fortunata

Basso Continuo

5

F.

B.C.

10

F.

B.C.


16


p

f


Detailed description of the musical score: The score is written in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It consists of three systems of staves. Each system has a vocal line for Fortunata (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The second system starts at measure 5. The third system starts at measure 10 and includes dynamic markings 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte). The tempo is 'Andantino affettuoso'.


20

F.  Sal - ₃ - ₃


B.C.  p


24

F.  ₃ ve Re - gi - na, ma - ₃ ter ₃


B.C. 


28

F.  mi ₃ - se - ri - cor - di - e: vi ₃ - ta, dul - ce - do,


B.C. 


32

F.  et spes no - stra, spes no - stra, sal -

B.C. 

36

F.  ₃ ₃ ₃ ₃ ve,

B.C. 

59

F. 

ve, sal - - - - -

B.C. 

63

F. 

ve.

B.C. 

67

F. 

Sal - - - - -

B.C. 


71

F. 


- ve Re - gi - na, ma - ter - - - - -

B.C. 

75

F. 

mi - se - ri - cor-di-e: vi - ta, dul - ce - do,

B.C. 

79

F. et spes — no - stra, spes no - stra, sal - ve,

B.C.

83

F. sal - - - - -

B.C.

86

F. - ve, sal - ve, dul - ce - do, sal - ve, spes

B.C.

90

F. no - stra, spes no - stra, sal - - - - -

B.C.

94

F. - - - - -

B.C.

98

F. *3* *3* *3* *3* - ve, vi - ta, dol - ce - do,

B.C.

102

F. ma - ter, spes no - stra, sal *3* *3* *3* *3*

B.C.

106

F. *tr* - - ve, sal *3* *3* *3* *3*

B.C.

110

F. *tr* - - ve, **** spes no - stra, *** sal *tr*

B.C.

114

F. ve.

B.C.

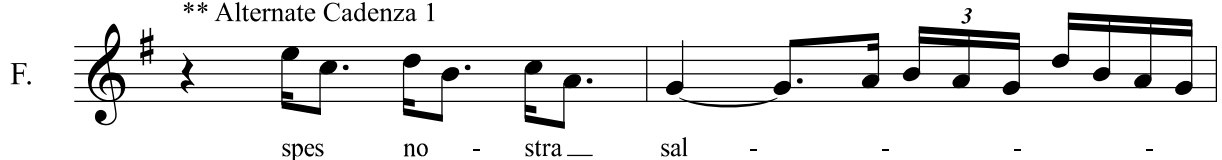
* Cadenza 1

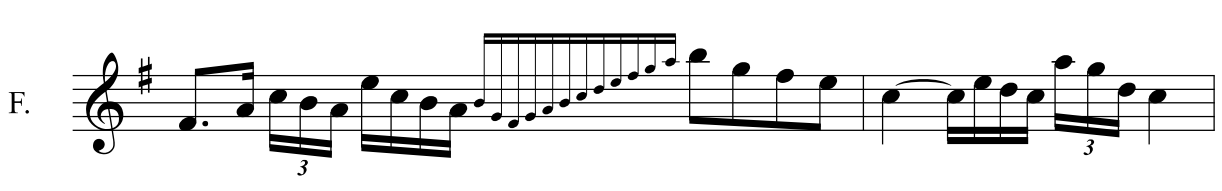
F. 
sal - - - - - 3 - - - - -

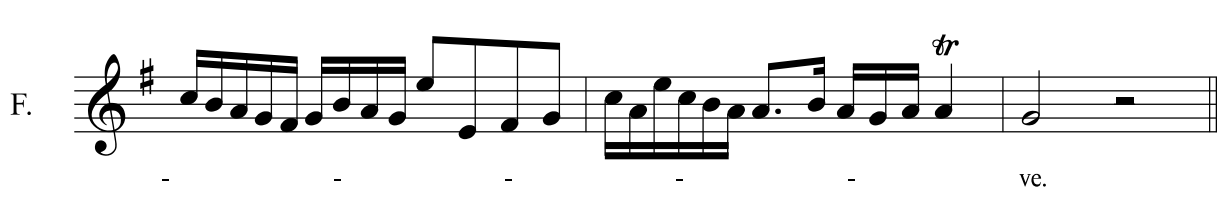
F. 
- - - - - 3 3 3 - - - - -

F. 
- - - - - 3 - - - - - ve.

** Alternate Cadenza 1

F. 
spes no - stra sal - - - - -

F. 
- - - - - 3 - - - - - 3 - - - - -

F. 
- - - - - tr - - - - - ve.

SECTION II:

Allegro

Con Soprano Obligato

117

F.

B.C.

121

F.

B.C.

126

F.

Ad te cla - ma - - -

B.C.

f *p*

130

F.

- - - - - mus, ex - su - les,

B.C.


133

F.


ex - su - les, fi - lii He - vae, ad te — su - spi-

B.C.


137

F. 

ra - - - mus, ge - men - te et

B.C. 

140

F. 

flen - tes in hac _____ la - cri - ma - - - rum

B.C. 

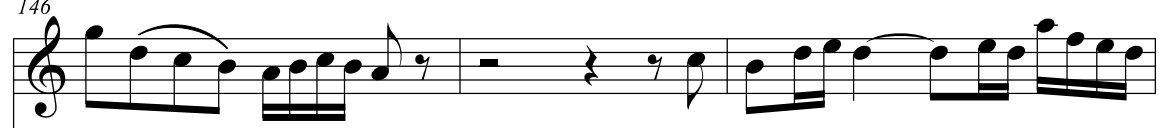
143

F. 

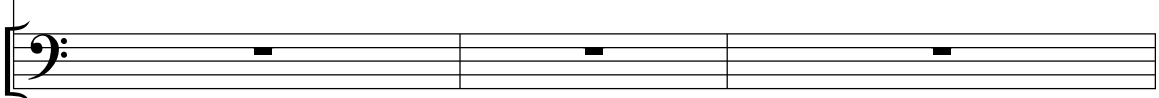
val - le, in hac _____ la - cri - ma - - -

B.C. 

146

F. 

- - - - -

B.C. 

149

F. 

- - - - -

B.C. 

152

F. *tr*

- rum val - le, la - cri - ma -

B.C.

155

F. *tr*

- rum - val - le.

B.C.

159

F.

Ad te cla - ma - - -

B.C.

162

F.

- - - - - mus, ex - su - les,

B.C.

165

F.

ex - su - les, fi - lii - He - vae, ad te - su - spi -

B.C.

169

F.

B.C.

172

F.

B.C.

175

F.

B.C.

179

F.

B.C.

182

F.

B.C.

185

F. *tr*
- rum ___ val - le, la - cri - ma - - -

B.C.

188

F. *tr* * *tr*
- rum ___ va - le, la - cri - ma - rum val -

B.C.

192

F. le.

B.C.

* Cadenza 2

F. *tr*
la - cri - ma - rum val - - -

F. *tr*

F. *tr*

F. *tr*
le.

SECTION III:
Allegro assai

194

F.

B.C.

198

F.

B.C.

201

F.

B.C.

p

205

F.

B.C.

f *p*

Ei - a

209

F. er - go, Ad - vo - ca - ta - no - stra, Ad - vo -

B.C.

212

F. ca - ta - no - sta, il - los

B.C.

215

F. tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des - o - cu - los ad -

B.C.

218

F. nos, ad nos con - ver - te, con - ver -

B.C.

221

F.

B.C.

223

F.

B.C.

225

F.

te, ad nos, ad__

B.C.

228

F.

tr

nos con - ver - - - te, con -

B.C.

231

F.

tr

- ver - te, ad__ nos con - ver -

B.C.

234

F.

tr

- - - - te.

B.C.

f *p* *f*

238

F.

B.C.

242

F.

Ei - a er - go, Ad - vo - ca - ta__

B.C.

p

245

F.

no - stra, Ad - vo - ca - ta__ no - stra,

B.C.

248

F.

il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des

B.C.

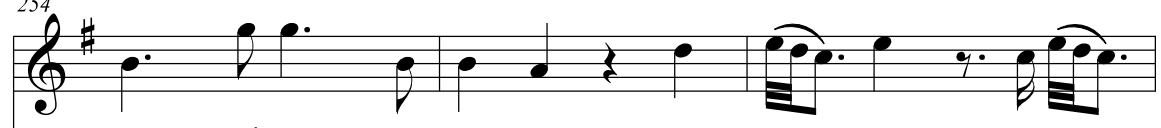
251


F.

o - cu - los, mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad__


B.C.


254

F. 
nos, ad nos con - ver - te, con - ver -

B.C. 

257

F. 
-

B.C. 

259

F. 
-


B.C. 

261

F. 
te, ad

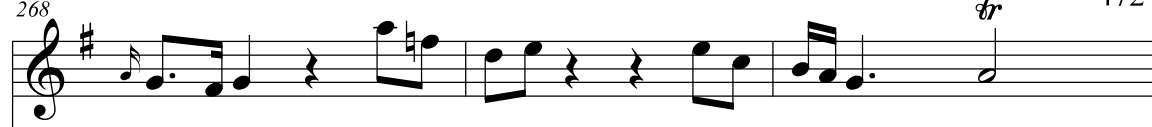
B.C. 

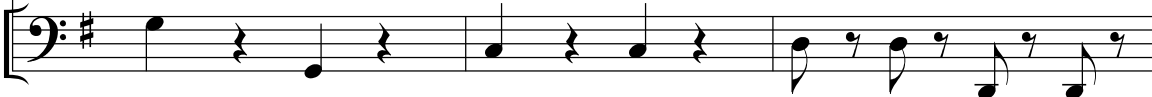
264

F. 
nos, ad nos con - ver - te, con -


B.C. 


268

F.  *tr*


B.C. 

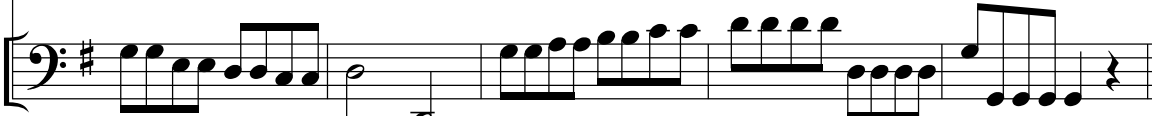
271

F.  *tr*


B.C. 

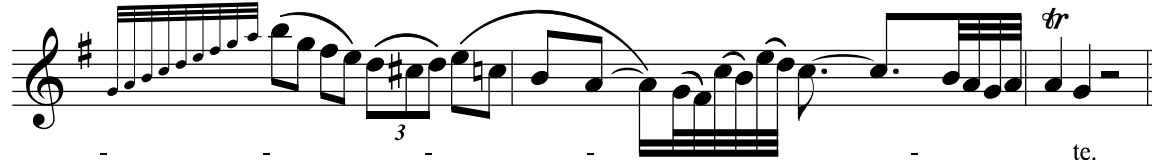
274

F.  *tr*

B.C. 

* Cadenza 3

F. 

F.  *tr*

SECTION IV:
Andantino affettuoso

F.

B.C.

284

F.

B.C.

291

F.

B.C.

Et Je - sum, be - ne -

295

F.

B.C.

- dic - tum, be - ne - dic - tum fruc-tum ven -

298

F.

B.C.


- tris tu - i, no - bis, post — hoc ex -

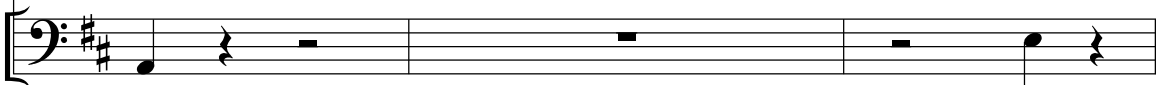
301

F. 
si - lium o - sten

B.C. 

305

F. 
de, o -

B.C. 

f

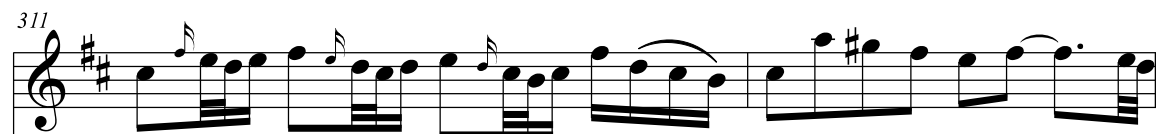
308

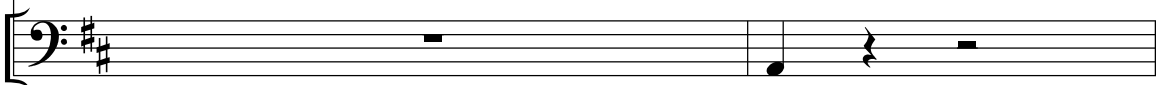
F. 
sten

B.C. 


p

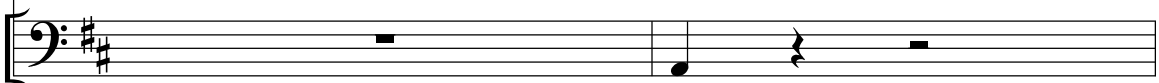
311

F. 

B.C. 

313

F. 
de, o - sten

B.C. 

315

F. *tr*

de. Et

B.C. *f*

318

F.

Je - sum, be - ne - dic - tum, be - ne - dic - tum fruc-tum

B.C. *p*

321

F.

ven - - - tris tu - i, no - bis,

B.C.

324

F.

post — hoc ex - si - lium o - sten -

B.C.

327

F.

B.C.


330

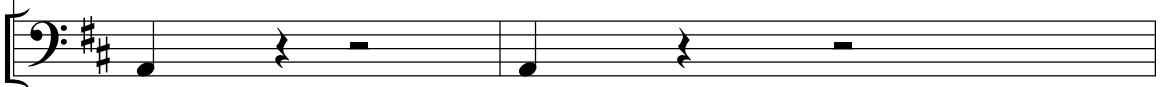
F. 

B.C. 


de, o - sten

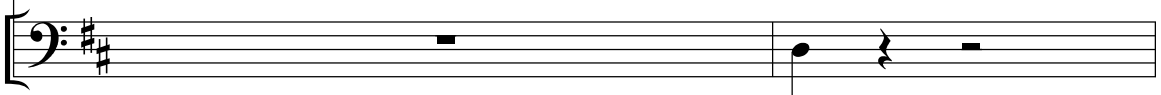
333

F. 

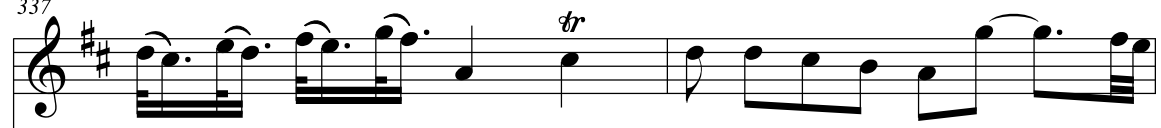
B.C. 

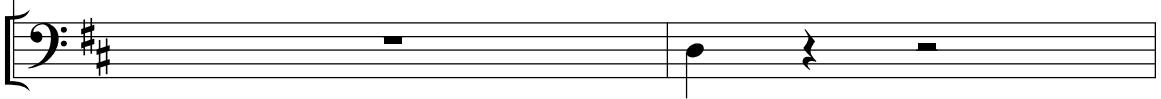
335

F. 

B.C. 


337


F. 

B.C. 

de, o - sten

339

F. 

B.C. 

de, o - sten - de.

* Cadenza 4

The musical score is divided into three systems, each with three staves: a vocal line (F.), Violin I (Vln. I), and Violin II (Vln. II). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). The vocal line includes the lyrics "o - sten" and "de." The score features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and various articulations such as slurs and accents.

F. o - sten

F. de.

SECTION V:

F.

B.C.

349

F.

B.C.

357

F.

B.C.

365

F.

O cle - mens, cle - mens, o pi - a, o

B.C.


372

F.

dul - cis Vir - go, Vir - go Ma - ri - a,

B.C.


378

F. 

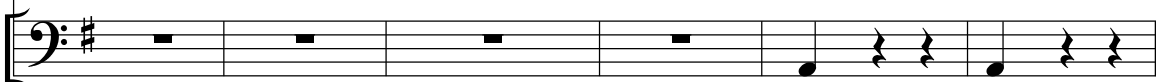
Vir - go, dul - cis, Vir - go, cle - mens, sal -

B.C. 

383

F. 

- - - - - ve, Sal -

B.C. 


389

F. 


- ve - ma - ter, sal - - - - ve,

B.C. 

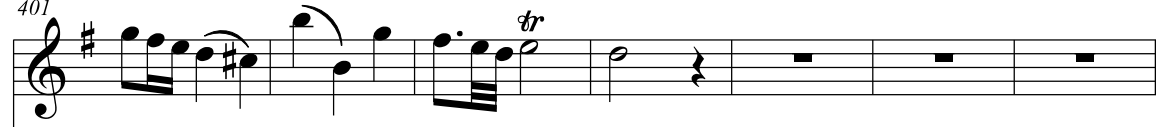
394

F. 


Vir - go, sal - - - - ve,

B.C. 


401


F. 

sal - - - - ve,

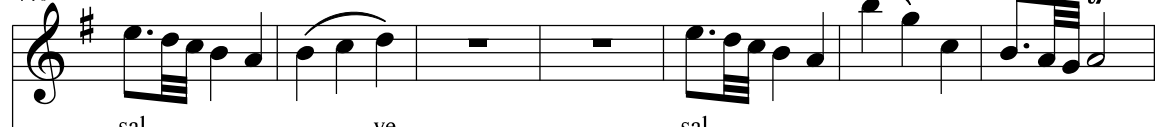
B.C. 

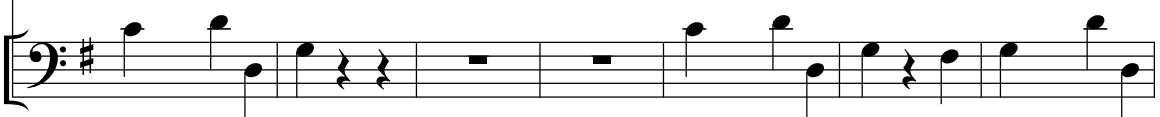
434

F. 
sal - ve Vir - go,


B.C. 


440

F. 
sal - ve, sal -

B.C. 

447

F. 
ve, sal - ve.

B.C. 

* Cadenza 5

F. 
sal

F. 

F. 
ve.

APPENDIX IV

Ecce Nunc (Psalm 133) by Agata Cantora della Pietà, transcription of Venice, Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Fondo Correr Esposti, Busta 64 no. 1, pp. 96-96r; Busta 83 no. 7, pp. 3-3r; Busta 94 no. 2, pp.44r-46r; and Busta 111 no. 1, pp. 75-79.

Critical Notes:

M. 4, Vn., note 1, dot removed from sixteenth note. M. 17, Vn., note 9, sixteenth note changed to eighth to fit meter and match previous rhythm. M. 28, Vn., note 3, unclear in manuscript, either f' or g". Mm. 29-30, Vn., possible error in the parts, but original notes of manuscript maintained. M. 50, Vn., notes 12-17, thirty-second notes in dotted rhythms changed to 64ths to fit the meter. M. 51, Vn., notes 1-6 and 15-20, thirty-second notes in dotted rhythms changed to 64ths to fit the meter. Mm. 77-8, Vn., thirty-second notes in dotted rhythms changed to 64ths as in mm. 50-1. M. 308, Vc., notes 2-3, eighth notes changed to sixteenths to imitate bass voice.

SECTION 1:

A

Alto

Bass

Violin

Violoncello

3

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

p

5

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

p

7

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

f

p

B

9

A

B

Vln. *f* *tr* (Ec - ce nunc)

Vc.

11

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

14

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

16

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

Musical score for measures 16-17. The score is in G minor (one flat). The vocal parts (A and B) are silent. The violin part features a melodic line with triplets. The viola part provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

18

C

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

om - nes ser - vi, om - nes

om - nes ser - - - -

Musical score for measures 18-20. The score is in G minor (one flat). A section marker 'C' is present. The vocal parts (A and B) sing the lyrics "om - nes ser - vi, om - nes" and "om - nes ser - - - -". The violin part features a melodic line with slurs. The viola part provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

21

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

ser - vi, ser - vi Do - mi - ni,
- - - - - vi Do - mi - ni,

24

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

26

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

28

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

Ec - ce nunc be - ne - di - ci - te Do - mi - num, om - nes

31

A

ser - vi Do - mi - ni,

B

om - nes ser - vi,

Vln.

Vc.

D

A

om - nes ser - - - - -

B

om - nes ser - vi, om - nes ser - vi, om - nes ser - vi,

Vln.

Vc.

37

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

ser - vi___ Do - mi - ni,

40

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

vi___ Do - mi-ni, om - nes ser - vi,

om - nes ser - vi,

43

A

om - nes ser - vi, om - nes ser - vi Do - mi - ni,

B

om - nes ser - vi, om - nes ser - vi Do - mi - ni,

Vln.

Vc.

E

A

om - nes ser - vi, ser - vi Do - mi - ni.

B


om - nes ser - vi Do - mi - ni.


Vln.


Vc.

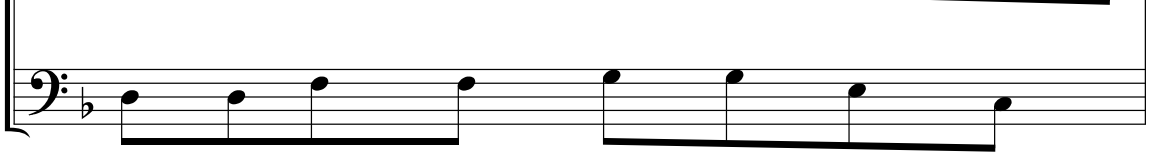
SECTION 2:
CORO TACET

Adagio

Vln. 

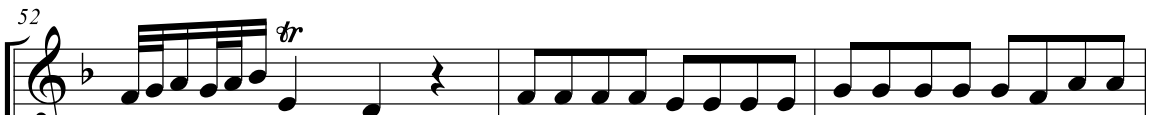
Vc. 

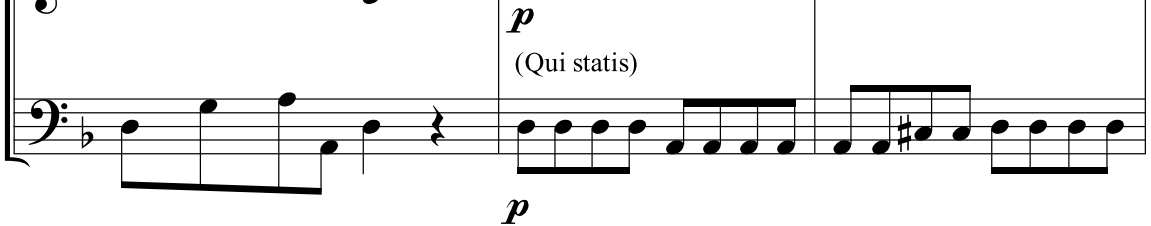
50 Vln. 

Vc. 

51 Vln. 

Vc. 

52 Vln. 
tr

Vc. 

p
(Qui stasis)

p

55

Vln.

Vc.

f

3

Detailed description: This system covers measures 55 and 56. The Violin (Vln.) part is in the treble clef with a key signature of one flat. It features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns, a slur over measures 55-56, and a fermata over the final note. The Violoncello (Vc.) part is in the bass clef, playing a steady eighth-note accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) is placed between the staves at the end of measure 56. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a '3' in measure 56.

57

Vln.

Vc.

p

3

3

Detailed description: This system covers measures 57 and 58. The Violin (Vln.) part continues the melodic line with eighth-note patterns and includes two triplet markings (marked with '3') in measure 57. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is placed below the staff in measure 57. The Violoncello (Vc.) part continues with its eighth-note accompaniment.

59

Vln.

Vc.

Detailed description: This system covers measures 59, 60, and 61. The Violin (Vln.) part has a more active melodic line in measure 59, followed by a rest in measure 60 and a half note in measure 61. The Violoncello (Vc.) part continues with its eighth-note accompaniment throughout all three measures.

62

Vln.

Vc.

f

Detailed description: This system covers measures 62 and 63. The Violin (Vln.) part has a melodic line with eighth notes and a fermata over the final note in measure 62. The Violoncello (Vc.) part continues with its eighth-note accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) is placed below the staff at the beginning of measure 63.

64

Vln.

Vc.

65

Vln.

Vc.

p

67

Vln.



Vc.

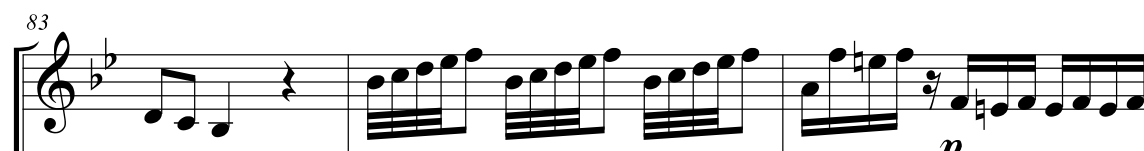
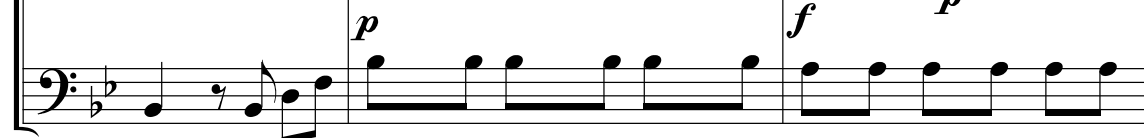
70



Vln.


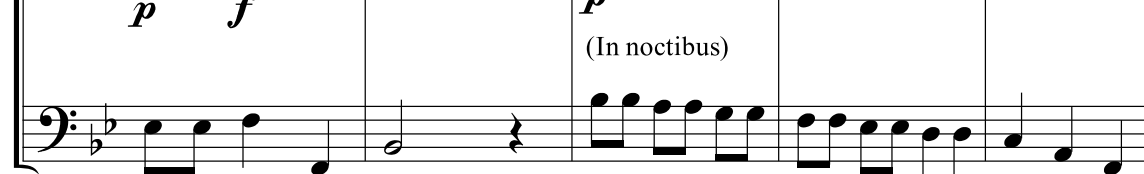
Vc.

SECTION 3:
CORO TACET

Vln. 
Vc. 

83
Vln. 
Vc. 

86
Vln. 
Vc. 

90
Vln. 
Vc. 

95

Vln.

Vc.

Violin part (Vln.): Measure 95 starts with a quarter rest, followed by eighth notes. Measure 96 has eighth notes with a sharp sign. Measure 97 has eighth notes with a sharp sign. Measure 98 has eighth notes with a sharp sign.

Viola part (Vc.): Steady eighth-note accompaniment throughout measures 95-98.

99

Vln.

Vc.

Violin part (Vln.): Measure 99 has quarter notes. Measure 100 has quarter notes. Measure 101 has quarter notes. Measure 102 has quarter notes.

Viola part (Vc.): Steady eighth-note accompaniment throughout measures 99-102.

103

Vln.

Vc.

Violin part (Vln.): Measure 103 has quarter notes. Measure 104 has quarter notes. Measure 105 has quarter notes. Measure 106 has quarter notes. Measure 107 has eighth notes.

Viola part (Vc.): Steady eighth-note accompaniment throughout measures 103-107.

108

Vln.

Vc.

Violin part (Vln.): Measure 108 has eighth notes. Measure 109 has eighth notes. Measure 110 has eighth notes. Measure 111 has eighth notes. Measure 112 has quarter notes.

Viola part (Vc.): Steady eighth-note accompaniment throughout measures 108-112.

113

Vln.

Vc.

Violin part (Vln.): Measure 113 has eighth notes. Measure 114 has eighth notes. Measure 115 has eighth notes. Measure 116 has quarter notes.

Viola part (Vc.): Steady eighth-note accompaniment throughout measures 113-116.

118

Vln.

Vc.

f

122

Vln.

Vc.

f

126

Vln.

Vc.

p

p

130

Vln.

Vc.

135

Vln.

Vc.

140

Vln.

Vc.

145

Vln.

Vc.

150

Vln.

Vc.

f

p

155

Vln.

Vc.

160

Vln.

Vc.

f

163

Vln. *tr tr tr*

Vc.

166

Vln.

Vc.

SECTION 4:

169

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

Be - ne - di - cat te Do - mi - nus ex Si - on, qui fe - cit

Be - ne - di - cat te Do - mi - nus ex Si - on, qui fe - cit

176

A
cae-lum, qui fe - cit cae-lum et ter - ram, be-ne - di-cat te

B
cae-lum, qui fe - cit cae-lum et ter - ram, be-ne - di-cat te

Vln.

Vc.

183

A
Do-mi - nus ex Si - on, qui fe - cit cae - lum, cae-lum et

B
Do-mi - nus ex Si - on, qui fe - cit cae-lum, cae-lum et

Vln.

Vc.

190

A

ter - ram, qui fe - cit cae - lum et ter - ram, et ter - ram.

B

ter - ram, qui fe - cit cae - lum et ter - ram, et ter - ram.

Vln.

Vc.

SECTION 5:

CORO TACET

196

Vln.

Vc.

200

Vln.

Vc.

205

Vln.

Vc.

p
(Gloria)

p

211

Vln.

Vc.

217

Vln.

Vc.

223

Vln.

Vc.

229

Vln.

Vc.

236

Vln. *f* *f* *f* *p* *f*

Vc. *f* *p* *f*

240

Vln. *p*

Vc. *p*

245

Vln.

Vc.

251

Vln.

Vc.

257

Vln.

Vc.

263

Vln.

Vc.

f

267

Vln.

Vc.

f

271

Vln.

Vc.

SECTION 6:

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

p

277

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

279

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

f

3

3

3

3

281

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

p

(Sicut erat)

p

284

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

287

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

289

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

Et in sae-cu-la sae-cu - lor - rum, a - men, sae-cu -

Et in sae-cu-la sae - cu - lo - rum, sae-cu -

tr

292

A

lo - rum, a - men, a - men, sae - cu - lo - rum, a - men,

B

lo - rum, a - men, a - men, sae - cu - lo - rum, a - men.

Vln.

Vc.

294

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

296

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

298

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

et nunc, et —

301

A

sem - per, et in sae - cu - la sae - cu - lo - rum, a -

B

Vln.

Vc.

304

A

- - - - - men. Si - cut e - rat

B

Si - cut e - rat

Vln.

Vc.

307

A

in prin-ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem - per, et in sae -

B

in — prin-ci - pi - o, et — nunc, et sem - per, et — in — sae - cu - la

Vln.

Vc.

310

A

cu - la sae - cu - lo - rum, a - men, sae-cu-lo - rum,

B

sae - cu - lo - rum, a - men, a - men,

Vln.

Vc.

314

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

a - - - - - men, sae-cu - lo - rum,
sae-cu - lo - rum,

317

A

B

Vln.

Vc.

a - men, a - - - - - men, a - men.
a - men, a - men.