Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara

The musica secreta or concerto delle dame of Duke Alfonso II d’Este, an ensemble of virtuoso female musicians that performed behind closed doors at the castello in Ferrara, is well-known to music history. Their story is often told by focusing on the Duke’s obsessive patronage and the exclusivity of their music. This book examines the music-making of four generations of princesses, noblewomen, and nuns in Ferrara, as performers, creators, and patrons from a new perspective. It rethinks the relationships between polyphony and song, sacred and secular, performer and composer, patron and musician, court and convent. With new archival evidence and analysis of music, people, and events over the course of the century, from the role of the princess nun musician, Leonora d’Este, to the fate of the musica secreta’s jealously guarded repertoire, this radical approach will appeal to musicians and scholars alike.

Laurie Stras is Research Professor of Music at the University of Huddersfield, where she teaches and researches sixteenth-century music, popular music, and music and disability. She is co-director of the ensemble Musica Secreta, with whom she has made four acclaimed recordings, including Lucrezia Borgia’s Daughter, winner of the 2016 Noah Greenberg Award from the American Musicological Society.
New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism

General editors

Jeffrey Kallberg, Anthony Newcomb, and Ruth Solie

This series explores the conceptual frameworks that shape or have shaped the ways in which we understand music and its history, and aims to elaborate structures of explanation, interpretation, commentary, and criticism which make music intelligible and which provide a basis for argument about judgements of value. The intellectual scope of the series is broad. Some investigations will treat, for example, historiographical topics, others will apply cross-disciplinary methods to the criticism of music, and there will also be studies which consider music in its relation to society, culture, and politics. Overall, the series hopes to create a greater presence for music in the ongoing discourse among the human sciences.

Published titles

Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (eds.), *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*

Downing A. Thomas, *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment*

Thomas S. Grey, *Wagner’s Musical Prose*

Daniel K. L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*

Adam Krims, *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity*

Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*

Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven*

Christopher Morris, *Reading Opera Between the Lines: Orchestral Interludes and Cultural Meaning from Wagner to Berg*


David Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint*

David Metzer, *Quotation and Cultural Meaning in the Twentieth Century*
Alexander Rehding, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought*

Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*

Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy*

Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact*

Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*

Olivia A. Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music*

Giuseppe Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia in Renaissance Italy*

Roger Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani*

Gundula Kreuzer, *Verdi and the Germans: From Unification to the Third Reich*

Holly Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E. T. A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg*

Davinia Caddy, *The Ballets Russes and Beyond: Music and Dance in Belle-Époque Paris*

Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*

Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven*

Julie Brown, *Schoenberg and Redemption*

Phyllis Weliver, *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon: Music, Literature, Liberalism*

Francesca Brittan, *Music and Fantasy in the Age of Berlioz*

Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*
Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara

Laurie Stras

University of Huddersfield
for Deborah
## Contents

List of Figures  x  
List of Music Examples xi  
List of Tables xvi  
Acknowledgments xvii  
Note on Music Prints and Translations xix  
List of Abbreviations xxi  

Introduction: *Musica secreta*  1  
1 Ferrarese Convents and the Este in the First Half  
of the Sixteenth Century  13  
2 Courtly Women and Secular Music in Ferrara in the First Half  
of the Sixteenth Century  55  
3 Princesses and Politics: The Este Women and Music in the 1550s  89  
4 Actresses and Ariosto: Spectacle and Song in the 1560s  139  
5 “Un modo di cantare molto diverso”: Ferrara and the New Singing  
of the 1570s  168  
6 Margherita’s Arrival and the Convents in the First Half of the 1580s  217  
7 Musical Practices of the 1580s *Concerto*  241  
8 Ferrara’s Final Chapter: Court and Convents in the 1590s  289  
9 Afterlife in Mantua  321  

Bibliography  341  
General Index  373  
Index of Compositions  388  

Appendices containing the original language source material and  
genealogies can be found in the book’s Resources section on the  
Cambridge University Press website at www.cambridge.org/9781107154070.
Figures

1.1 Map of Ferrara, showing the locations of the major convents and palaces: © Joe Paget. Underlying map data © OpenStreetMap.org contributors; made available under the Open Database License: opendatacommons.org


3.1 Title page, Tuttovale Menon, Madrigali d’amore (1548); by permission of the International Museum and Library of Music of Bologna

3.2 Final page, Tuttovale Menon, Madrigali d’amore (1548); by permission of the International Museum and Library of Music of Bologna

3.3 Aere da cantar stantie, penultimate page, Tuttovale Menon, Madrigali d’amore (1548); by permission of the International Museum and Library of Music of Bologna
Music Examples

1.1 “Salve sponsa Dei,” anon., RISM 1543\textsuperscript{2}, hexachordal antiphon 38
1.2a Hymn, *Concinat plebs fidelium*, Office of Saint Clare 39
1.2b “O salutaris hostia,” anon. RISM 1543\textsuperscript{2}, mm. 1–14 39
1.3a “Virgo Maria speciosissima,” anon. RISM 1543\textsuperscript{2}, mm. 91–102 41
1.3b “Mater, patris, et filia,” Antoine Brumel, RISM 1501, mm. 1–5 41
1.4a “Tribulationes civitatum audivimus,” anon., RISM 1543\textsuperscript{2}, mm. 1–6 42
1.4b “Vidi speciosam columbam,” anon., RISM 1549\textsuperscript{2}, mm. 7–12 43
1.4c “Infelix ego,” Adriano Willaert, RISM 1556\textsuperscript{8}, mm. 7–12 43
1.5 “Suscie verbum, virgo Maria,” anon., RISM 1543\textsuperscript{2}, mm. 1–17 45
1.6 “Hodie Simon Petrus,” anon., RISM 1543\textsuperscript{2}, mm. 33–40 48
1.7 “Felix namque es sacra,” anon., RISM 1543\textsuperscript{2}, mm. 1–10 50
1.8 “Vidi speciosam columbam,” anon., RISM 1549\textsuperscript{9}, mm. 15–23 51
1.9 “Miserere nostri Deus omnium,” Cipriano de Rore, RISM 1563\textsuperscript{4}, mm. 1–13 52

2.1 “Stella che fra le stelle,” Alfonso Dalla Viola, *Primo libro di madrigali* (1539), mm. 16–20 77
2.2 “Alma beat’ e bella,” Alfonso Dalla Viola, *Primo libro di madrigali* (1539), mm. 1–9 78
2.3 “Dolci e fresche onde chiare,” Bertoldo di Bertoldi, *Il primo libro di madregali ... a quatro voci* (1544), mm. 1–11 82
2.4 “Mia benigna fortuna e il viver lieto,” Bertoldo di Bertoldi, *Il primo libro di madregali ... a quatro voci* (1544), mm. 14–28 84
2.5 “I non poria giamai,” Bertoldo di Bertoldi, *Il primo libro di madregali ... a quatro voci* (1544), mm. 1–12 85
2.6 “Io dico e dissi e dirò fin ch’io viva,” Bertoldo di Bertoldi, *Il primo libro di madregali ... a quatro voci* (1544), Canto 88
3.1a “Io dico e dissi e dirò fin ch’io viva,” Cipriano de Rore, RISM 1549\textsuperscript{14}, mm. 2–13, Canto 94
Music Examples

3.1b “Io dico e dissi e dirò fin ch’io viva,” Cipriano de Rore, RISM 1549\(^4\), mm. 23–29 94

3.2 “Ah y speranza fallace,” Tuttovale Menon, Madrigali d’amore (1548), mm. 10–21 98

3.3 Missa sopra la fede non debbe esser corotta, Jachet of Mantua, RISM 1555\(^1\), beginning of Kyrie and Osanna, Cantus; “Hayme che quella fede,” Tuttovale Menon, Madrigali d’amore (1548), Canto, mm. 1–14; 34–39 106

3.4a “Aspro core e selvaggio et cruda voglia,” Adriano Willaert, Musica nova (1559), mm. 109–115 114

3.4b “Vivo sol di speranza, rimembrando,” Francesco Dalla Viola, RISM 1548\(^7\), mm. 24–31 115

3.5 “Vivo sol di speranza, rimembrando,” Francesco Dalla Viola, Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci (1550), mm. 23–30 116

3.6 “Felice chi dispensa,” Francesco Dalla Viola, RISM 1548\(^7\) and Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci (1550), mm. 25–28 117

3.7 “Datemi pace! o duri miei pensieri!” Cipriano de Rore, Il secondo libro de madrigali a quattro voci (1557), mm. 1–23 122

3.8 “L’ineffabil bontà del Redentore,” Cipriano de Rore, Il quarto libro d’i madregali a cinque voci (1557), mm. 1–7 124

3.9 “Il dolce sonno mi promise pace,” Giaches de Wert, Il primo libro de’ madrigali a quattro voci (1561), mm. 1–13 130

3.10 “Dolce e felice sogno,” Giaches de Wert, Il primo libro de’ madrigali a quattro voci (1561), mm. 24–35 132

3.11 “Dolci spoglie, felic’ e care tanto,” Giaches de Wert, Il primo libro de’ madrigali a quattro voci (1561), mm. 62–80 133

3.12 “Chi mi fura il ben mio?” Giaches de Wert, Il primo libro de’ madrigali a quattro voci (1561), mm. 30–42 135

3.13 “Chi mi fura il ben mio?” Giaches de Wert, Il primo libro de’ madrigali a quattro voci (1561), mm. 10–22 137

3.14 “Cara la vita mia, egl’ è pur vero,” Giaches de Wert, Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1558), mm. 1–4, Canto with reduction of lower parts 137

4.1 “Vane speranze mie, date omai pace,” Giulio Fiesco, Madrigali ... libro secondo (1567), mm. 92–96 158

4.2 “S’armi pur d’ira, disdegnoso ed empio,” Giulio Fiesco, Musica nova (1569), mm. 1–18 161
Music Examples

4.3 “Lingua gelata e per tacer bugiarda,” Giulio Fiesco, *Musica nova* (1569), mm. 1–10  

4.4 “Quando leva costei gl’occhi dolenti,” Giulio Fiesco, *Musica nova* (1569), mm. 113–119  

5.1 “Aura soave di segreti accenti,” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (1601), mm. 6–9  

5.2 “Stral pungente d’Amore,” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (1601), mm. 1–9  

5.3 Missa *Libera me Domine*, Sanctus, Paolo Isnardi, *Missae quatuor vocum* (1573), mm. 10–14  

5.4 Missa *Libera me Domine*, Sanctus, Paolo Isnardi, *Missae quatuor vocum* (1573), mm. 39–44  

5.5 “Fuggi, spene mia, fuggi,” Alessandro Striggio, from the lute transcription in Vincenzo Galilei’s *Fronimo* (Venice: Scotto, 1584); reduced to melody and rhythmically simplified bass line  

5.6 “In profondo silentio era sepolta,” Alessandro Milleville, *Libro primo de madrigali a cinque voci* (1575), mm. 1–4  

5.7 “Già mi vivea felice e tutto lieto,” Alessandro Milleville, *Libro primo de madrigali a cinque voci* (1575), mm. 16–26. Canto with reduction of lower parts  

5.8 “Già mi vivea felice e tutto lieto,” Alessandro Milleville, *Libro primo de madrigali a cinque voci* (1575), mm. 36–45. Canto with reduction of lower parts  

5.9 “Donna felice e bella,” Lodovico Agostini, *Libro secondo de madrigali a quattro voci* (1572)  

5.10 “La bella Pargoletta,” Paolo Isnardi, *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1577), mm. 24–37  

5.11a “Al dolce vostro canto,” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1576), mm. 57–61  

5.11b “Al dolce vostro canto,” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1576), mm. 57–61. Canto and Alto ornamented, reduction of all parts  

5.12 “Ch’io non t’ami, cor mio?” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (1601), mm. 18–30  

5.13 “Ch’io non t’ami, cor mio?” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (1601), mm. 1–7  

7.1 “Udite, amanti, udite,” Alberto Dall’Occa, I-MOe Mus. F.1358, mm. 1–15
Music Examples

7.2 “Non miri il mio bel sole,” Girolamo Belli, I-MOe Mus. F.1358 246
7.3 “Con gli occhi molli e con le chiome sparse,” Paolo Virchi, I-MOe Mus. F.1358, mm. 1–11 248
7.4 “Come la notte ogni fiammella è viva,” Lodovico Agostini, Il nuovo Echo (1583), mm. 1–5 257
7.5 “Gratie ch'al poch'il ciel largo destina,” Giaches de Wert, Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1581), mm. 1–4 265
7.6 “Vener ch'un giorno avea,” Giaches de Wert, L'ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1586), mm. 42–47 266
7.7 “Usciva omai dal molle e fresco grembo,” Giaches de Wert, L'ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1586), mm. 1–2 267
7.8 “Si come ai freschi matutini rai,” Giaches de Wert, L'ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1586), mm. 27–39 269
7.9 “Se voi sete il cor mio,” Lodovico Agostini, Il nuovo Echo (1583), mm. 1–5 (note values halved), voice and bass line reduction 271
7.10 “Aura soave de segreti accenti,” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, Madrigali (1601), mm. 1–5, voice and bass line reduction 271
7.11 “Occhi del pianto mio,” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, Madrigali (1601), mm. 39–45 273
7.12 “Dido, chi giace entro questa urna?” Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, RISM 1586a, mm. 6–10 274
7.13 “Dido, chi giace entro questa urna?” Lodovico Agostini, Il nuovo Echo (1583), mm. 5–11 275
7.14a “Odi, Ninfa de gl'antri, hor come io godo,” Lodovico Agostini, Il nuovo Echo (1583), mm. 1–8 276
7.14b “Odi, Ninfa de gl'antri, hor come io godo,” Lodovico Agostini, Il nuovo Echo (1583), mm. 1–8, ornamented with basso seguente 277
7.15 “Odi, Ninfa de gl'antri, hor come io godo,” Lodovico Agostini, Il nuovo Echo (1583), mm. 11–23, ornamented with basso seguente 278
7.16 “Amor se così dolce e il mio dolore,” Cipriano de Rore, Il quarto libro d' i madrigali a cinque voci (1557), mm. 73–104 280
7.17 “Tirsi morir volea,” Giaches de Wert, Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1581), mm. 35–38 283
7.18 “Tirsi morir volea,” Giaches de Wert, Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1581), mm. 35–41, reduced with simplified basso continuo 284
Music Examples

7.19a “Tirsi morir volea,” Giaches de Wert, *Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1581), mm. 1–4 285

7.19b “Tirsi morir volea,” Giaches de Wert, *Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1581), mm. 1–4, reduced with simplified *basso continuo* 285

7.20 “Qual musico gentil, prima che chiara,” Giaches de Wert, *L’ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1586), mm. 49–72; Canto with *basso seguente*, and simplified *basso continuo* 287

7.21 “Qual musico gentil, prima che chiara,” Giaches de Wert, *L’ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1586), mm. 94–97; Canto with *basso continuo* 288

8.1 “Vidi speciosam colombam,” Raffaella Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones* (1593), mm. 30–41 306

8.2 “Miserere mei, Deus,” Raffaella Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones* (1593), mm. 1–6 307

8.3 “Cor mio, benchè lontana,” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Sesto libro de’ madrigali a cinque voci* (1596), mm. 8–14 309

8.4 “Cor mio, benchè lontana,” Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Sesto libro de’ madrigali a cinque voci* (1596), mm. 21–23 310

9.1 “Ave Regina caelorum,” Alessandro Grandi, *Motetti a cinque voci* (1614), mm. 1–36 327

9.2 “Anima mea liquefacta est,” Alessandro Grandi, *Motetti a cinque voci* (1614), mm. 34–38 330

9.3 “Con voi giocando Amor a voi simile,” Giaches de Wert, *L’ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1586), mm. 35–36 330

9.4 “Deus misereatur nostri,” Alessandro Grandi, *Motetti a cinque voci* (1614), mm. 13–17 331

9.5 *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, Alessandro Grandi, *Motetti a cinque voci* (1614), mm. 1–13 332

Except where indicated in the text, all music examples are transcribed by the author from primary sources. Repeated text, indicated in the source by the abbreviation “ij,” is written out and italicized. Ligatures are indicated by closed brackets, coloration by open brackets.
Tables

1.1 The convents of Ferrara in the sixteenth century  16
7.1 Commemorative music volumes relevant to the Ferrarese concerto of the 1580s  242
Acknowledgments

Throughout this book’s long gestation, many people have been generous with their time, skills, and knowledge, helping me in myriad ways. I cannot thank them all individually here, although where appropriate I have indicated their names in the footnotes, and I am certain to be good for a beverage of their choice on our next meeting.

However, there are a handful of scholars without whose support I would never have crossed the finish line, and it is only right that I acknowledge them here. I thank Tim Carter, Suzanne Cusick, David Gallagher, Melanie Marshall, Craig Monson, Paul Schleuse, and Candace Smith for their compassionate, intelligent conversations and comments; Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Giulio Ongaro, and Andrew Dell’Antonio for their lightning-quick and deeply insightful responses to requests for translation assistance; Bonnie Blackburn for reading zero drafts of many chapters, some of which no longer exist, and for diligently proofreading the appendix; and Paula Higgins for reading the entire manuscript and giving me the confidence to let go. This work is all the better and richer for their input.

Victoria Cooper, then Kate Brett at Cambridge University Press have been models of confidence and forbearance, and I’m grateful to Sophie Taylor, Eilidh Burrett, Lisa Sinclair, Gail Welsh, and Lorraine Slipper for their genial assistance. Jessie Ann Owens was as generous a reader as I could have desired. Anthony Newcomb has been a source of encouragement and inspiration since even before we met in 1996, for without his trail-blazing work on the madrigal at Ferrara, I would have had no book to write.

There are also two groups of musicians who have stuck with the Ferrara project through freezing recording sessions in bat-infested churches, in wellie-shod processions through muddy festival fields, through times of great joy and great sorrow. Our ensemble Musica Secreta and our choir Celestial Sirens provide me with constant food for thought and revive my enthusiasm every time I feel it is flagging. In 2007 Sarah Dunant joined her expertise and flair to our happy band, giving us new ways to introduce the Ferrarese ladies to new audiences and spurring me to think about their world outside traditional scholarly parameters. The commitment and friendship they offer humbles me, and they have made my journey with this music spectacular.
xviii

Acknowledgments

Over the years I have had grants – from the British Academy, the Arts Council of England, the Arts and Humanities Research Board (now Council), the Ambache Charitable Trust, and the University of Southampton – which funded study leave, research trips, rehearsals, reproductions, recordings, and concerts. Financial support from Little, Brown & Co. cheerfully administered by Zoe Hood, brought Sacred Hearts to life for audiences across the British Isles.

Bringing up two children, holding down a full-time lectureship, and co-directing two ensembles have ensured my visits to Italy have been many, short, and sweet. The staff of libraries and archives the length of the Po valley have been unfailingly courteous and helpful, and I am always surprised when they greet me warmly, even when I have not seen them for years. I thank Don Enrico Peverada, the former director of the Archivio Storico Diocesano, Ferrara, for his generosity, and Madre Maria Flavia Cavazzana, for allowing me precious access to the archive of the Monastero del Corpus Domini, Ferrara. I also thank the directors and staff at the British Library; the Archivio di Stato and Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Ferrara; the Biblioteca della Musica, Bologna; the Archivio di Stato, Florence; the Archivio di Stato and Biblioteca Teresiana, Mantua; the Archivio di Stato and Biblioteca Estense, Modena; the Archivio di Stato and Biblioteca Nazionale Palatina, Parma; and the Biblioteca dell’Accademia Filarmonica, Verona.

Space to write has not always been easy to find, and I am grateful to Sister Clare Ruva and Sister Susanna, guesthouse mistresses, and Sister Leo, Abbess, of the Convent of Poor Clares at Crossbush for their hospitality, allowing me to work undisturbed in one of their parlors, absorbing the peace and gentle rhythm of their community life.

This book is dedicated to Deborah Roberts, co-director of Musica Secreta, who has been my cherished colleague and friend for over twenty years. It is a testament to our friendship, and to her innate understanding of the music and her sublime ability to bring it to life.

Finally, without the loving understanding of a family who put up with so much (mental and physical) absence for so long, I might still have written this book, but life wouldn’t have been as much fun and really wouldn’t have meant much at all. Eternal love and gratitude to my mother Judith, stepfather John, sister Cindy, and, above all, Pete, Joe, and Jim. You can have me back now.
Note on Music Prints and Translations

Unless there are reasons for a complete title to be included, primary source music prints are referred to by short title in the text and captions; multi-author prints are referred to in captions using the sigla by which they are identified in Répertoire international des sources musicales (RISM), series B/I. Publication details (place: publisher, date) are included unless this is clear in the surrounding text.

Source texts and titles have been transcribed according to the following principles: The letters “u” and “v” have been interchanged to reflect modern spellings, and abbreviations and ampersands have been expanded, both without comment; spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have not been systematically modernized. While I have translated place names, where possible I have adhered to the conventions for the capitalization of names appropriate to their linguistic origin, so Francesco Dalla Viola, De Wert for Giaches de Wert, Pons for Anne de Pons. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of source material are by the author.
Abbreviations

### Libraries and Archives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-Baa</td>
<td>Archivio arcivescovile, Bologna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-Bc</td>
<td>Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, Bologna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-Fas</td>
<td>Archivio di Stato, Florence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Archivio Mediceo del Principato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRSGF</td>
<td>Corporazioni religiose sopresse dal governo francese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-FEamcd</td>
<td>Archivio del monastero di Corpus Domini, Ferrara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-FEas</td>
<td>Archivio di Stato, Ferrara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-FEasd</td>
<td>Archivio Storico Diocesano, Ferrara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-FEc</td>
<td>Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Ferrara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-Fn</td>
<td>Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-MAas</td>
<td>Archivio di Stato, Mantua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGCE</td>
<td>Archivio Gonzaga, Corrispondenza esterna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGCI</td>
<td>Archivio Gonzaga, Corrispondenza interna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-MAas</td>
<td>Archivio di Stato, Modena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAI</td>
<td>Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio ambasciatori, Italia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDL</td>
<td>Camera Ducale Estense, Libri camerali diversi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDP</td>
<td>Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggi e documenti di particolari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPE</td>
<td>Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio con principi esteri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Casa e Stato, Carteggi tra principi estensi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>Cancelleria Ducale, Magistrato poi Giunta Suprema di Giurisdizione Sovrana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-MOas</td>
<td>Archivio di Stato, Parma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-PAs</td>
<td>Biblioteca Nazionale Palatina, Parma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-Rasv</td>
<td>Archivio segreto, Vatican City, Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-VFaf</td>
<td>Biblioteca dell'Accademia Filarmonica, Verona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

Frequently Cited Sources

Primary


GuarComp Guarini, Marcantonio. *Compendio historico dell’origine, accrescimento e prerogative delle chiese e luoghi pij della città e diocesi di Ferrara, etc.* Ferrara: Heirs of Vittorio Baldini, 1621.


## Abbreviations

### Secondary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SolertiFer</td>
<td>Solerti, Angelo</td>
<td><em>Ferrara e la corte estense nella seconda metà del secolo XVI.</em> Città di Castello: Lapi, 1900.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>