LITURGY, MUSIC, AND PATRONAGE AT THE CAPPILLA DI MEDICI IN THE CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO IN FLORENCE, 1550-1609

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the University of North Texas in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Hae-Jeong Kim, B.M., M.M.

Denton, Texas

August, 1995
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Kim, Hae-Jeong, Liturgy, Music and Patronage at the Cappella di Medici in the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, 1550-1609. Doctor of Philosophy (Musicology), August 1995, 285 pp., 18 examples, 7 figures, 14 tables, appendices, bibliography, titles.

This dissertation describes the musical and religious support of the Medici family to the Medici Chapel in Florence and the historical role of the church of San Lorenzo in the liturgical development of the period. During the later Middle Ages polyphony was allowed in the Office services only at Matins and Lauds during the Tenebrae service, the last three days of Holy Week, and at Vespers anytime. This practice continued until the end of the sixteenth century when more polyphonic motets based on the Antiphon and Responsory began to be included in the various Office hours during feast days. This practice is documented by the increased number of pieces that appear in the manuscripts. Two of the transcriptions from the church of San Lorenzo included in the appendix are selected from this later repertoire.

The choir at San Lorenzo was unique in that each of the priests, in addition to his parochial duties, fulfilled a role as a choir
member. This provided great stability to the choir in that many of
the singers served the church for more than twenty years. The
religious services devoted to the patrons of San Lorenzo, especially
the Medici family, are introduced here in detail along with some of
the works related to the feast days. As such, these pieces are not
significant musical works, but they do give an idea of the direction
and style of service music in the late sixteenth century.

Some of the music produced by the composers sponsored by
the Medici family includes works in styles new at the beginning of
the Baroque period. These include intermedios, vocal concertos, and
operas.

The musical activities at the church of San Lorenzo perfectly
mirror the general trends in music during the Italian Renaissance in
that the power of the Medici family, the major sponsor of the church
in Florence, was felt over all of the Florentine state as well as in its
dealings with the Roman Papacy. Further, the division and expansion
of the religious feast days into three groups with references to the
Medici’s patron Saints reflects the importance of religious patronage
at San Lorenzo during this era.
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1995
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend special thanks to Dr. Cecil Adkins without whose help and understanding this dissertation would not have been possible. He was of great assistance to me, a foreign student who uses English as a second language, in the refinement of many English expressions as well as many technical problems. Likewise, Professor Anthony Damico and Signora Grifolini Graziella kindly helped me in the translations of some of the Latin liturgical texts.

I also appreciate the assistance of Signora Antonietta Morandi who kindly allowed me to research the old documents in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenzia in Florence. Finally, I am most grateful to my father who has supported me in this endeavor for a long time, thereby making it possible to dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my mother.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.</th>
<th>iv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF EXAMPLES.</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES.</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES.</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter

FOREWORD. ................................................................. 1

I. THE MEDICI FAMILY. ................................................... 6
   Three Florentine Dukes as Patrons of Music. .......... 22
   The Medici Chapel at San Lorenzo. ....................... 27
   Artistic Contributions to the Sacristy. ............... 37
   Musical Activities before 1550. ......................... 39
   Sources. .......................................................... 43

II. COMPOSERS AS CANONS AT SAN LORENZO

   Francesco Corteccia (27 July 1502-
                      16 June 1571). ........................................ 50
   Cristofano Malvezzi (1547-
                      22 January 1599). ................................ 58
   Luca Bati (c.1550-1608). ................................... 64
   Marco da Gagliano (1582-1643). .......................... 66

III. THE CHOIR BETWEEN 1550-1609
   Patrons and Prebends. ...................................... 76
# LIST OF EXAMPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. M. C., <em>Dies Irae</em>, ASL II. 15,</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff. 182v-184r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Luca Bati, <em>Sanctificavit Moyses Altare</em>,</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASL II. 5 (=E), ff. 46-47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASL II. 11 (=O), ff. 129-132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The plainsong <em>Sacerdos et Pontifex, The Liber Usualis</em>,</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 1173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Marco da Gagliano, <em>Sancti Cosmas et Damianus</em>,</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASL II. 5 (=E), ff. 38-39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. M. C., <em>Cosmam et Damianum</em>,</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASL II. 9 (=L), ff. 66-81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASL II. 5 (=E), f. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Musiche a Una, Due, e Tre Voci</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Marco da Gagliano, <em>O Meraviglie Belle</em>,</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Musiche a Una, Due, e Tre Voci</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASL II. 5 (=E), ff. 49-50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
    ASL II. 11 (=O), ff. 79-82 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 208

    ASL 12. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 217


15. Marco da Gagliano, *Descendit Angelus*,
    ASL II. 5 (=E), ff. 41-42 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 224

16. Francesco Corteccia, *Bonum erat ei*,
    ASL II. 3 (=C), ff. 20. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 230


18. M. C., *Magnificat*, ASL II. 6 (=F), ff. 111-117 . . . . 241
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

1. The Title page of the *Liber Quindecim Missarum*. . . . . 11

2. The Architectural Plan of San Lorenzo. . . . . . . . . . . 31

3. Facsimile page from the Office of the Dead,
   ASL II. 15, f. 15v . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 48

4. An excerpt from a letter to the duke, Cosimo I de Medici,
   from the prior and canons of San Lorenzo,
   Archivio di San Lorenzo, ms. 1673, f. 12r . . . . . . . . . 84

5. A letter from Ferdinand I, the Gand Duke of Tuscanny
   Archivio di San Lorenzo, ms. 1673, f. 52r . . . . . . . . . 90

6. Part arrangement of Gagliano’s *Descendit Angelus* . . . 120

7. Francesco Corteccia, *Bonum erat et*, ASL II. 3 (=C), f. 20. 126
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Manuscripts and Composers Related to the Medici before Cosimo I.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Operas and Intermedios Related to the Medici Family.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chapel and Chaplain Sponsors at San Lorenzo</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 1550 and 1607</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The List of Anniversary Services for the Medici Family.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Choirmasters at San Lorenzo, 1584-1610.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Salary Schedule for Major and Minor Feast Days</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at San Lorenzo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A List of Minor Feast Days (1566).</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. A List of the Third Class Feast days at San Lorenzo.</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. A Comparison of Salary Schedule for the Third Class Feast and</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferial Days at San Lorenzo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. A List of Special Feasts in the Florentine Cathedral (1335-1526).</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Major Performances for Medici Weddings.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. A List of Works in the ASL ms II. 5(=E).</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. A List of Polyphonic Music for the Major Feast Days at San</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. A List of Motets in the ASL mss II. 4, 9, and III. ... 264
In the modern Roman Catholic Divine Office, religious feasts are classified as first, second, or third class. This practice originated from the division of the Offices into greater and lesser feasts from the eighth century onward. Feasts of the first class begin with first Vespers on the preceding day, while those of the second and third class begin with Matins and end with Compline on the day itself. After the church is consecrated, the anniversary of the dedication day and the titular feast also become major feasts. Further, the feast of a founder who was canonized belongs to the first class, while feasts of secondary patrons belong to the second class. Other major feasts are those of Christmas and Easter.

Feast days also may be celebrated for persons interred in each church or listed in the inscribed martyrology. Using these basic principles, each Italian Catholic church celebrates its own specific feasts beyond those celebrated commonly among all of the churches. The result is that each church has its own feast days and relegates these feasts to different ranks according to their patrons. This same
practice is well reflected in the various divisions of feasts in the Medici chapel at San Lorenzo.

Among scholarly works on similar subjects, Frank d'Accone's article, "The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," in the *Journal of American Musicological Society* XXIV (1971) serves as an important source for comparing the religious feast days of the Florentine Cathedral and San Lorenzo. Both churches often shared the same musicians because of the influence of the Medici family who were important patrons in both institutions. As might be expected, the Medici chapel in San Lorenzo celebrated numerous annual liturgical ceremonies for the benefit of the duke's family.

Unlike the choir at the Florentine Cathedral, where *i cantori di San Giovanni* performed in two other churches in turn—Santa Annunziata and San Giovanni—the choir at San Lorenzo was unique in that each of the priests took a role as a choir member. This


2. See page 40 below.
system led to the selection of the choirmaster from among the clerics, some of whom had excellent musical backgrounds and had already gained fame as musicians. This circumstance brought about the production of many sacred works related to the feast days of the church of San Lorenzo. Since most of the works of this era preserved in the Archivio di San Lorenzo are not listed in RISM, transcriptions of selected pieces are reproduced in the appendix to exemplify the musical and liturgical practice.

The span of this study 1550-1609 encompasses the reigns of the first Grand Duke of Toscanny, Cosimo I de Medici (r.1537-1574) and his two surviving sons, Francesco de Medici (r.1574-1587) and Ferdinando de Medici (r.1587-1609). The closing date coincides with the death of the latter. Although Cosimo I became duke in 1569 by order of Pope Pius V, this dissertation begins in 1550 in order to bridge the gap between D’Accone’s study of the Cathedral immediately preceding and in order to cover the years of Cosimo’s inauguration.

Among other dissertations related to contemporary Italian musical patronage are Anthony Newcomb’s dissertation *Music at the Court of Ferrara, 1550-1600*, Iain Fenlon’s *Patterns of Style and Patronage: Music at the Mantuan Court, c. 1565-1600*, Frank d’Accone’s *A Documentary History of Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry in the Fifteenth Century*, and Christine Getz’s *Music and Patronage in Milan 1535-1550* and Vincenzo Ruffo’s *First Motet Book*. Meanwhile, Alfred Einstein’s *The Italian Madrigal* and Allan Atlas’ *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* also are related to Italian musical patronage. As their titles indicate, most of these books deal with madrigals, and secular entertainments as well as sacred music and artistic patronage.

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Concerning works on Italian liturgical practice during the Renaissance only Alan Preston's dissertation *Sacred Polyphony in Renaissance Verona: A Liturgical and Stylistic Study* and David Bryant's *Liturgy, Ceremonial and Sacred Music in Venice at the Time of the Counter-Reformation* have been completed. Several other dissertations announced as being related to Italian musical and liturgical practices have yet to be completed. This dissertation thus complements other studies by providing information basic to the understanding of the liturgical practices of the late sixteenth century, especially those of the Medici chapel at San Lorenzo in Florence, the major city of the Italian Renaissance.

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CHAPTER I

THE MEDICI FAMILY

Although their beginnings were obscure, the Medici family originated from Tuscan peasants in the village of Caffagiolo. The earliest surviving official record of the Medici family dates from 1201, when Chiarissimo, the eldest son of Giambuono de Medici, was made a member of Florentine city council. The next politically important Medici were Ardingo and Averado II, who were elected as gonfaloniere, the highest administrative office in the state, in 1296 and 1314. Following them, Salvestro (1331-1388), the nephew of Averado II was selected as a deputy for the treaty with Venice in 1336 and later became gonfaloniere in 1378, though he was exiled in 1382. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the Medici family

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1. The gonfaloniere di Giustizia, whose age should be over forty-five, was the head of the council of government in Tuscany. Beneath the gonfaloniere, there were eight executive officers, the priori, six of whom were from the greater guilds, or popolo grasso, literally 'fat people,' referring to the privileged classes, and two were from the lesser guilds, popolo minuto, common people. These eight officers and the gonfaloniere were called the signoria.
had established their position as bankers and landowners. Besides holding commercial banks in a number of European cities, the Medici business interests included extensive farms, various houses, and towers in the Florentine MercatoVecchio.

Even though great successes were made by family members in the fourteenth century in both economic and political affairs, most historians regard Giovanni de Medici (1360-1428), called Giovanni di Bicci, the son of Averado, whose nickname was Bicci, as the major founder of the family. In 1417, when Florence suffered from the plague, Giovanni, who was a wealthy banker, distinguished himself by endowing the construction of a hospital in Florence, and as a result was elected as gonfaloniere. Such frequent elections as gonfaloniere suggested that the Medici fame was already established in the Florentine aristocratic circles and among the public. Through his financing of the papacy, Giovanni in turn obtained the monopoly of the Tolfa alum mines from Pius II in 1462, in a sense filling his coffers with alum, a compound absolutely necessary for the

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development of the Florentine textile industry. Such activities helped to extend his commercial banks and estates, and when he died Giovanni left an estate of 180,000 florins.

The history of the Medici (1400-1748) covers the time when the political power in Europe gradually shifted from the divided states of Italy to the countries north of Alps. During this period, the Medici exerted powerful influence in the both political and cultural development of Florence. Although information about the Medici artistic support of Michelangelo, Brunelleschi, and other great artists who partook in the artistic and humanistic flowering of the Italian Renaissance abounds, it is regrettable that some of their musical activities have not been similarly detailed. It will be useful in the remainder of this chapter to make both a brief biographical study and a survey of their musical activities as they are reflected in the


4. The gold florin, which was used from 1300 until 1530 in Florence, was equivalent to a ducat. It was worth seven lire and the lira could be divided into twenty soldi and the soldo into twelve denari. The Tuscan lira in 1915 was equal to 80 French centimes, while the florin was equal to twelve francs. Thus, 180,000 florins had the same value of 3,160,000 French francs. At the beginning of twentieth-century this would amount to 923,077 sterling. The average musician, for example, a church singer, was paid a salary of 50 to 70 ducats per year in the sixteenth century.
manuscripts related to them. Such information helps to differentiate between the family members, when they are referred to in the document of 1561 that lists the annual Masses for the soul of each major member, performed by the choir of San Lorenzo.

The first of the family members prominent as a patron of the arts was Cosimo de Medici (1389-1464), who helped to bring about Renaissance culture through the introduction of ancient Greek literary works long before they were taken up by the Florentine camerata. His grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-92), is well known to us for the encouragement of the composition of polyphonic carnival songs. The first nine years of his reign consisted of constant festivities, masquerades, and music. These led to the stylistic development of the intermedio in the following century. For example, the use of allegorical masquerades in the carnival season served as models for the appearance of many of the symbolic figures

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5. The carnival songs consist of part songs, especially mascheratas, carri, and trionfi. They were usually performed during the pre-Lenten season, Calendinaggio, the first day of Spring-May 1, and for the feast of St. John Baptist, June 24. The texts of the carnival songs are contained in J-Fn B.R. 230 (olim Magl. XIX, 141) Magl XIX 117 and 121 in the Bib. Naz. Cent. In 1559 Anton Francesco Grazziin edited the collection of the texts of tutti i trionfi, carri, mascherate e canti carnarcialeschi dal tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo Vecchio de Medici in Il Lasca.
in the Baroque Intermedio. Similarly, many musical activities of the fifteenth-century Florentine story-singers contributed to the birth of the nacent opera. There was also an academy under the direction of Antonio Squarcialupi, the Cathedral organist, where quartets of strings could be heard.6

When Giovanni, the second son of Lorenzo, became Pope Leo X (1513-1521),7 he was known for his benevolence to the musicians of his chapel and other centers of patronage as well. Leo's predilection for music also afforded increasing opportunities for the performance of newly composed polyphonic choral music.8 For example, Andrea Antico dedicated a collection of fifteen Masses, *Liber Quindecim Missarum* (see Figure 1) in 1516 to Leo X. This

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6. William Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1883). This probably indicates the combination of the *lira* or the *lira da braccio*, which appeared at the end of the fifteenth century, since the earliest appearance of *viole* dates from the sixteenth century.

7. During these days, from the Medici garden in the Piazza San Marco to the Via Larga, the songs of celebration for the new pontiff were heard; The triumphal carts and wreaths of flowers were burnt every night. Though the Medici closed their palace during this time, they flung over 10,000 ducats from their windows, each of which was wrapped in silver cloth, though sometimes only the wrapped cloth was distributed. For three days, food and wine were distributed to people. Jean Lucas-Dubreton, *Daily Life in Florence: In the Time of the Medici* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1960), 180.

Figure 1. The Title Page of the *Liber Quindecim Missarum*
anthology includes masses by Josquin, Brumel, Févin, Pierre de la Rue, Mouton, and other contemporary composers. Andrea Antico’s publications also include four volumes of motets, of which twenty-one pieces were published in the Medici Codex, given as a gift for the marriage of Leo’s nephew Lorenzo II to Madeleine de la Tour d’Auvergne, the daughter of John, Comte de Boulogne and d’Auvergne at Valois on May 2 of 1518. Some other manuscripts, which show association with the Medici, of Roman origin, are the Cappella Sistina Sources 26, 45, and 46. Bib. Nat. Cent., ms II. I. 232 and Florl 666. Furthermore, some portions of C.S. 16 and 55 were written by the same hand that copied C.S. 26 and 46.

Leo X further authorized Zaccaria Ferreri (d. ca. 1525), the humanist, to revise the Roman Breviary according to the standards of humanistic rhetoric. The completion of this book, although it was never published, dates from 1525 during the reign of Clement VII.

9. Martin Picker, The Motet Books of Andrea Antico (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), xii. The marriage reinforced a number of cultural exchanges in both countries, especially the appearance of Franco-Netherlandish music in Italian manuscripts, which had prevailed at that time.

Leo’s inspiration further resulted in the publication of a hymn collection, entitled *Hymni Novi Ecclesiastici*, which had its references to such ancient gods as Bacchus and Venus. This was issued by Ferreri in the same year. Set to traditional Latin rhymes, these reformed hymns were used in the offices for Sundays and other feast-days.\(^1\) Table 1 lists manuscripts and composers related to the Medici before Cosimo I, who established the first dukedom (see Table 1).

Cosimo I’s mother Maria was a daughter of Giacomo Salviati, who was married to Leo X’s sister Lucrezia. When Cosimo I was born on 11 June 1519, in the Palazzo Salviati, his name was chosen by Leo X at baptism to revive the memory of his great-grandfather, Cosimo Pater Patriae (1428-1464). Cosimo’s marriage at the age of twenty to Eleonora, who was the daughter of the extremely wealthy Spanish Viceroy at Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, resulted in the withdrawal of the Spanish forces from the city.\(^2\)


Table 1. Manuscripts and Composers Related to the Medici before Cosimo I

Cosimo I

Piero I= (wife) Lucrezia Tornabouni
(1416-69, r.1464)
Dufay, Squarcialupi
Squarcialupi Codex (Fl. Med. Pal. 87)

Lorenzo Giuliano Bianca Nanna Maria
(1462-92) Cor. B. Com. 95-6
Isaac, Alexander Agricola, Coppini, Bartolomeo

Giulio (Clement VII: 1523-34)
Bembo, Verdelot, Ferarie, Festa
Hymni Novi Ecclesiaeestici

Piero II Giovanni Guiliano Maddalena Lucrezia Contessina Luisa
(1471-94) (Leo X, 1513-21)
Bernard Pisano, Costanzo Festa, Antonio Cavazzoni
Flori 666, C. S. 26, 45, 46.
Ms, II, I, 232, Bib. Naz. Central, Firenze
Liber Quindecim Missarum (1516)

Lorenzo II =Madeleine Clarice=Filippo Strozzi
Medici Codex (1518)

Catherine (1519-89) Alesandro=Margaret of Austria
Queen of France (r.1530-37)
La Calendria (1548) Magliabechi XIX 122-125
In 1539, shortly after his marriage, Cosimo moved his establishment from the Via Larga to the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence where for several years intermedios were performed at the ‘Hall of the Five Hundred’, which was decorated by Simone del Polaiolo. Such festivities continued even after his family moved to the Palazzo Pitti four years after Eleonora had purchased it from the Pitti family in 1549. These performances ceased upon the completion of the Uffizi theater in 1586. The Hall of the Five Hundred continued to be used mostly for both political conventions and family events such as the marriage festivities of Cosimo’s son, Francesco I, and Joanna in 1565, where Francesco d’Ambra’s comedy, La cofanaria was performed by the members of the religious confraternities of St. Bernard and St. Catherine. Later, it was used for the coronation of Francesco I’s second wife Bianca Cappello, on 12 October 1579, and also offered its space for the banquet for the wedding festival of Maria de Medici and Henry IV in 1600.
In spite of such festivities Cosimo I was deeply troubled by the early loss of five of his eight children. A surviving record shows that Giovanni, who became a cardinal at seventeen, died at nineteen in Leghorn on 20 November 1562. His body was solemnly transferred to the church of San Lorenzo by the clerics, but his death was not publicly announced because, as gossips held, there was, as everyone knew, a hidden reason for his death. Cosimo had two daughters, Maria and Lucrezia. The latter, who was married in 1560 to Alfonso II d'Este, an important madrigal patron, also died young.

13. From 1540 to 1544, Cosimo I's child was born each year. These were Maria (1540), Francesco I (1541), Isabella (1542), Giovanni (1543), Lucrezia (1544), while the others were born at later intervals: Garzia in 1547, Ferdinand I in 1549, and Pietro in 1554. Among them, Francesco, Ferdinand, and Pietro were alive.

14. It is said that on this November day, in the year of the death of Lucrezia, Garzia killed his elder brother Giovanni in a fight. After three weeks, on 12 December, Cosimo I, obsessed with vengeance, committed Garzia to death by his own hand. More frequently, however, the reason for their deaths was described as a malarial fever, which also caused the death of Cosimo's wife six days later, on December 18, 1562, in Pisa.


16. The eldest daughter, Maria, died at the age of sixteen. An oft repeated story relates that she was killed by the duke, who gave her slow poison because she refused an arranged marriage with the Pope's nephew, Tabriano,
The last surviving daughter, Isabella, was strangled on the night of 16 July, 1576 by her husband, Paolo Giordano Orsini, prince of the Bracciano in Rome, who had fallen in love with Vittoria, the wife of Francesco Acoramboni.

To be murdered by her husband was not a fate reserved only for Isabella. The wife of Cosimo I's youngest son Pietro was also murdered. Pietro had little affection for his wife Eleonora di Grazia da Toledo, who was the niece of the Duchess Eleonora, and had treated her badly for a long time. Frustrated with such a life, she became enamored of another man, Bernardino Antinori. The discovery of a love letter, however, proved their undoing. With the approval of his eldest brother, Francesco I, Pietro slew both his wife and Bernardino in a furious rage. In fact, Giulio Caccini, who served as an intermediary, informed the duke, Francesco I, of the secret love affair.17 Eleonora, whose death occurred five days before Isabella’s

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death, was buried in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo. Like that of her brother-in-law Giovanni, her death was not announced to the public.

These two events were, however, of no concern to Cosimo I, for he had died on 21 April 1574, two years before Isabella's death. Three days after Cosimo's death, Francesco I (1541-19 Oct. 1587) was elected Duke by the forty-eight representatives of the city\(^\text{18}\) in the Salone dei Cinquecento.\(^\text{19}\) Francesco later founded the famous Uffizi gallery.

Francesco's son Gian Filippo was born on 20 May 1577.

Perhaps with the intent of extinguishing the tragic memories of the preceding year, the city made bonfires at his baptism on the feast of San Giovanni in the next month.

\(^{18}\) The system of the forty-eight deputies was substituted for the old political system in 1458 by Lorenzo the Magnificent. Ten *accoppiatori*, whose appointments were made by Lorenzo himself, chose them. Therefore, this built the political system as a complete tyranny.

\(^{19}\) Eve Borsook, "Art and Politics at the Medici Court I: The Funeral of Cosimo I de' Medici," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, Zwölften Band-Heft 1-11* (1965), 31. This was executed in the presence of the papal nuncio and emissaries from other states.
In June, the sovereign, in addition to sponsoring all of the feast for the baptism at San Giovanni, threw money from the windows of the Royal Palace to people, provided wine for the people, assisted the registration of young men in the various Florentine religious confraternities for the processions of the new splendid Trionfi, which would be used for the vigil of San Giovanni; [sic] of these things, an accurate reporter, Francesco Dini da Colle, left us a complete description, . . .

About a year after this birth, Gian Filippo’s mother, Joanna, who was the sister of Emperor Maximilian, died on 11 April 1578.

His father, Francesco I, like his youngest brother Pietro, had long cared little for his wife. He had rejected her because of his mistress, Bianca Capello, the daughter of a Venetian noble and wife of a Florentine clerk. Francesco I built the Villa Pratolino for Bianca and then married her barely two months after the death of his first wife on the 5th of June. The consequences of this relationship stimulated

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much gossip. Bianca was credited with the poisoning of Joanna, and as a result, the duke’s second marriage at San Lorenzo was scarcely accepted by the people.

During Francesco’s reign, Florentine trade also dwindled. For instance, the documents show that the number of ships arriving in Florence between 1578-1579 was fifty-six, whereas one year before his father’s death, the number of ships was three hundred fifty-seven.21

The occurrence of so many inconceivable deaths of the Medici family concluded with the sudden deaths of Francesco I and his second wife in the villa of Poggio at Cajano in 1587. Among a number of conflicting stories about their deaths, the following is one of the more interesting. Hostile toward her brother-in-law Cardinal Ferdinand (30 July 1549-7 February 1609), Bianca invited him for a meal. In a pie she had made, she put poison and served it to Ferdinand. Ferdinand, however, dropped his ring into the food by accident and saved his life through his recognition of the change of

21. Samuel Berner, “Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” Studies in the Renaissance XVIII (New York: The Renaissance Society of America, 1971), 213. The number of ships began to increase during the reign of Ferdinand I. For example in 1607, the number was 1437.
the color of his ring. Suspicious of the presence of poison, he refused
to eat. The grand duke Francesco, who knew nothing of the plot,
however, ate of the pie first and then recommended it to Bianca who
could not refuse.

The result was immediate. Suffering from horrible convulsions, the granduke Francesco I died on the
19th of the month [October 1587], and was followed
to the tomb [the next day] by his wife Bianca.

G.E. Saltini, the accurate historian of Bianca Cappello counters the legend as fact, and concludes
that the two rulers died in consequence of having lived too extravagantly. . .22

Before Francesco I’s death, his brother Ferdinand I, had
returned from Rome. Ferdinand succeeded to the throne because
only two of Francesco’s six children, both girls, were still alive. One
was Maria de Medici, who later became a grandmother of Louis XIV
in France, while the other, Eleonora, was married with Vincenzo
Gonzaga, the duke of Mantua, during whose reign Guarini’s Il pastor
fido and Monteverdi’s Orfeo were performed (1598 and 1607).

mese, fra spasimi atroci, moriva il granduca Francesco I e il di appresso la
Bianca lo seguiva nella tomba. . . . G.E. Saltini, l’accurato storico di Bianca
Cappello, smentisce fatto e leggenda, e conclude che i due regnanti morirono
in seguito ai tanti stravizi fatti, . . .”
Three Florentine Dukes as Patrons of Music

In the history of music, Cosimo I, Francesco, and Ferdinand Medici were prominent in many aspects. For instance, Cosimo I's engagement of Francesco Corteccia (1504-1571) as the first maestro di cappella in 1539 both at San Giovanni and the Cathedral church led to many important musical activities. During the reigns of Cosimo's two sons, Luca Bati (c 1550-1608) and Marco da Gagliano (1582-1643) assumed the post of chapelmaster. These three composers' roles were also extended as canons at the church of San Lorenzo.

In the Florentine court, Alessandro Striggio (c 1540-1592) was responsible for producing music for state events. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1576), who was engaged at the court in 1555, and Baldassare Lanci, the court architect from 1560, were important for the stage-design of intermedios at the theater. For example, Vasari was credited with the invention of a machine in 1565 which was used for opening the scenic sky. Around this time, Cosimo also lured Giulio Caccini (c 1545-1618), the finest singer at that time in Rome.

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to his court. Further, Cavalieri’s acquaintance with Ferdinand I in Rome resulted in his engagement as the first stage-director at the Medici court in September 1588: this post later succeeded to Caccini.

These composers’ fame was firmly established by the production of early Baroque intermedios and opera. Beginning with Landi’s play Il comodo for the wedding of Cosimo I (1519-74) and Eleonora in 1539, almost all of their major works were composed for the celebration of family events of the Medici. Also, because of Cosimo’s unification of Siena, the only independent town in Tuscany, and other Tuscan territories, he was made a grand duke by Pope Pius V. In honor of this event, Giovanbattista Cini’s intermedio La vedova was performed in 1569 with musical settings by Alessandro Striggio. For this, Vasari used a stage design of the Florentine city as the background of the first intermedio.24

After Cosimo I founded the Accademia Fiorentina in 1541, some of the canons of the church of San Lorenzo became members and helped with the musical productions. Cosimo also made them responsible for the organization of spectacles for the carnival season,

and they were also obliged to supply the texts for musical productions for state events as did Francesco Ambra for La cofanaria in 1565, Leonardo Salviati for Il granchio in 1566, and Lotto del Mazza for I fabii in 1567. As the Medici strengthened their monarchical position, they revealed their wealth through these productions. At the same time, such weddings and other festival occasions provided opportunities for making them renowned all over Europe. A list of the intermedios and two operas related to the Medici family is presented in Table 2.

Some manuscripts associated with Cosimo I are the Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale Mss II. III. 437-440 (Olim. Magl. XIX 130), which contain sixteenth-century four-part madrigals. The privately held Barbera Ms was sponsored by his son the Grand Duke Ferdinand (1588-1609), and consists of madrigals, canzonette, arie spirituali, stanzas of a Ballet of 1590, and some fragmentary music for a masquerade of 1611 by Peri, Caccini, and Giulio Romano. A


Table 2. Operas and Intermedios Related to the Medici Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Giovanni di Bicci</th>
<th>(1360-1429)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosimo Pater Patriae</td>
<td>Lorenzo (1395-1440)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1389-1464)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Piero II Gottoso (1416-69)</td>
<td>Pier Francesco the Elder</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lorenzo il Magnifico</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1449-1492)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leo X Piero II Lucrezia</td>
<td>Lorenzo il Poplano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1470-1550)</td>
<td>(1467-1509)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorezo II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Salviati= Giovanni delle Bande Nere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1499-1543)</td>
<td>(1498-1526)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosimo I = Eleonora da Toledo (1519-1562)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1519-1574)</td>
<td>=Camilla Martelli (1545-1596)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il comodo (1539), La vedova (1569)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucrezia Francesco I</td>
<td>Ferdinando I = Christine Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1545-61) (1541-87)</td>
<td>(1549-1609) (1568-1615)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=Alfonso II = Joanna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’Este La cofanaria</td>
<td>La pellegrina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1565)</td>
<td>(1589)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Bianca Capello</td>
<td>=Cesare d’Este L’amico fido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1586)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleonora =Vicenzo Gonzaga Orfeo (1607)</td>
<td>Ferdinando II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria=Henry IV Euridice (1600)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosimo II (1590-1620)</td>
<td>Catherin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=Maria Magdalena =Ferdinado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il giudizio di paride La liberazione</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La veglia dei sogni di Tirrento</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1608)</td>
<td>(1617)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margherita de Medici=Ranuccio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La flora (1628)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
similar compilation of works sponsored by Ferdinand I was published by Warren Kirkendale as the *Aria di Fiorenza*. This compilation contains works in the Archivo di Stato, Firenze, mainly by Cavalieri, Banchieri, and Lodovico Viadana. Still other works dedicated to these dukes are not mentioned here as it was popular for contemporary musicians seeking patronage to offer dedications to them.

Archival references from the fifteenth century show that the Medici regularly sponsored musicians, often such as Heinrich Isaac and Antonio Squarcialupi, mainly at the Cathedral and the Baptistry of San Giovanni. Several surviving letters of the Medici also indicate that some of the Cathedral singers were hired by them. As a rule, the singers who were engaged in the chapel of the Florentine Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore also served in the

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baptistry of San Giovanni and later in the church of Santissima
Annunziata.  

In spite of Medici subsidies for musicians of the Cathedral, the family’s official participation in the Mass was limited to two times a year. It is assumed that they made their everyday prayers at the palace chapel, but more major consecrations were regularly done at San Lorenzo. It is this last aspect of the Medici family relationship to the church that is lacking in contemporary scholarship and as a result this will be the main focus of this study.

The Medici Chapel at San Lorenzo

The earliest surviving information about the construction of the church of San Lorenzo is a beautiful legend. Juliana, the Jewish wife of a wealthy Florentine merchant, prayed for the granting of a son, and she vowed that if her wish were achieved, she would build a church to the glory of God. When she was given a son, in addition to three daughters, she built a church after the death of

her husband. The church was named after her son Lorenzo. Lorenzo’s namesake was probably the twenty-eight-year-old martyr of the same name who was killed on 10 August in 258 under the persecution of the Emperor Valerian. The completion of the church dates from 393. It was consecrated by the famous Ambrose (339-397), the Milanese bishop, for whom the Ambrosian chant was named. He carried the newly discovered relics of the martyr Agricola as a gift to the church.\(^{30}\) In the eleventh century, when the church was rebuilt, the current Florentine bishop, Nicholas II, reconsecrated it on 20 January 1060.\(^{31}\)

Almost three centuries later, on the 22nd of December 1418, the capitular decided to enlarge the church according to the plan presented by Prior Matteo Dolfini.\(^{32}\) The rich Florentine aristocratic families of Pazzi, Rucellai, Ginori, Rondinelli, Martelli, Neroni, and

\(^{30}\) In the same year, the Bolognese bishop Eusebius discovered two bodies of martyrs in the Jewish cemetery in Rome, of which one was identified as a martyr by Ambrose. Meanwhile, the relics of Lorenzo were kept in the church, which was built above his tomb in Rome. In the seventh century, Lorenzo’s relics were sent to King Oswiu of Northumbria by Pope Vitalian.


Capponi sponsored one minor chapel each. Giovanni di Bicci, the son of Avedrado de Medici, was also charged for the construction of one chapel and the sacristy. Even though each of the families wanted to make the church its own, it was Giovanni (1360-1428) who actually acquired possession because of his sponsorship of the main chapel. Giovanni gave a commission shortly before St. Lorenzo's day in 1421 to Brunelleschi (1377-1446), the greatest architect of his age, to reconstruct the whole edifice.

The death of Giovanni and Brunelleschi's directorship of the Florentine Cathedral delayed the plan, and it was not until 1442 when Giovanni's son, Cosimo the Pater Patriae, promoted the plan by donating 40,000 florins toward its completion. Some other families, particularly those of Inghirami, Aldobrandini, and Cambini were again solicited for further aid. During this time, Antonio Manetti and his son carried out the construction of the main body of the church according to the architectural plan of Brunelleschi. Although the design was composed of the simplest geometric elements, it took almost fifteen years to construct and the high altar was finally consecrated in 1461.
Figure 2 presents the complete symmetrical plan of the chapels of the church together with a list of the patrons. Each of the chapels exhibits one or more paintings by contemporary artists related to the subject of its dedication. Pietro Benvenuti decorated the ceilings of the Medici chapel with a fresco of the ‘Original Sin.’ Of interest is the tablet presented in the Ginori chapel which commemorates the three famous composers, Francesco Corteccia, Luca Bati, and Marco da Gagliano, associated with the church. Their contribution will be discussed in chapter 2. Under the floor Francesco Landini is buried.33

In many ways the historical background of San Lorenzo mirrors the history of Italy, especially the three aspects of San Lorenzo’s history that reflect Florentine social conditions. These were the religious confraternity, the clerics school, and the distribution of indulgences. Of these, the first two eventually relate to the musical activities of the Medici chapel, while the third, important for its effect on the religious reformation, shows the extent of Medici influence. At the same time, all three reveal that religion

Figure 2. The Architectural plan of San Lorenzo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapel/ Sponsoring family</th>
<th>dedicated to.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Medici</td>
<td>the Visitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ginori</td>
<td>the Marriage of the Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Inghirami</td>
<td>St Lorenzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Martelli</td>
<td>St Sigismund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Ginori</td>
<td>St Jerome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Medici</td>
<td>St Christopher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Corsi</td>
<td>St Julian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Neroni</td>
<td>St Lorenzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Ridolfi</td>
<td>St Bernard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Lotteringhi della Stufa</td>
<td>St Andrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Medici</td>
<td>Chapel of the High Altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Rondinelli</td>
<td>St Concordia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Ginori</td>
<td>St Nicholas of Tolentino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Medici</td>
<td>SS Cosimo and Damian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Martelli, Aldobrandini, Taddei</td>
<td>the Conception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Aldobrandi</td>
<td>St Sebastian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Taddei</td>
<td>St Anthony of Padua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Cambini</td>
<td>St Anthony of Abbot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Altoviti(the Neroni)</td>
<td>St Leonard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Medici</td>
<td>named after the 10,000 martyrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Ubaldivi</td>
<td>St Matthew^34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Old Sacristy             The Resurrection
The New Sacristy             St John the Evangelist

^34. Aldo Fortuna, *op.cit.*, 7-10.
could be easily affected by political power, especially that of the Medici family.

Historically, the idea of the lay religious organization, the confraternity, arose among the laity. In the Renaissance, the Neo-Platonic Academy, which was instituted by Cosimo de Medici, encouraged this religious tradition through its leader, Marsilio Ficino. Further religious confraternities were founded by amateur singers. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, there were many religious confraternities with the name of compagnie. Some of these were Christian flagellant confraternities, whose members were mainly penitents. These people regarded the occurrence of the black death as a punishment from God, and for acts of penitence sang devotional songs (laudi), while beating themselves as they wandered from village to village. In consequence of this, they became known as the confraternity of “laudesi”. In 1454, there were thirty-seven flagellant confraternities but only seven nonflagellant confraternities through which young men received religious instruction in Florence.

San Lorenzo also had a confraternity of laudesi. When it
originated is not certain, but it is known to have been in existence in
1338. On 3 August of this year, protected by the Vicar of the
Florentine Bishop, an indulgence of forty days was allowed to the
important members of the confraternity of San Lorenzo. For this,
these people assembled in the church for the celebration of the Mass
and other divine Offices, listened to sermons, sang laudi in the
evening, and discussed current social affairs, but when many of the
priests violated their vows by secret marriages and the like, and
ignored the celebration of the saints’ days, the confraternity
degenerated. Instead of singing and praying, they secretly discussed
secular affairs pertaining to trade and political matters.

After 1432, when the power of old Cosimo decreased through
the deaths of his partisans and his exile, the confraternity was
reconstituted without difficulty. At that time, the state had much
need for more communal prayers and charitable activities to assuage
the neglect of the people caused by the current political instability,
and to criticize the current political power. The confraternity of
laudesi was reestablished with the name of St. Maria della
Concezione e del SS. Sacramento by some priests of San Lorenzo
who, together with the remainder of the chapter, provided dowries for the poor, helped to take care of the ill, especially consoling those in the last hours of life, and burying the dead.\textsuperscript{36} These acts helped Cosimo's successful return a year after his banishment from the state in 1433.

The second aspect of San Lorenzo's history began about 1458 when Cosimo instituted a cleric's school in the church with endowment for twelve young clerks who were called 'novices'. In the school these teenage boys learned ecclesiastical discipline, plainsong, and grammar. Other activities included parts in the sacred dramas such as Plautus' \textit{Menaechmi}, which was performed in 1488 at San Lorenzo. The teacher, who was a full time priest, was elected by the chapter, and taught voice lessons and gave grammatical instruction.\textsuperscript{37}

The studio provided a regular curriculum of ten years duration to young boys as a means of training new priests, although most boys did not want to join the clergy. If the boy quit the school

\textsuperscript{36} G.O. Corazzini, \textit{op. cit.}, 9-15.

in the middle of the course, he had to refund all of the money he had received which was a total of nine florins a year.\textsuperscript{38} Though the purpose of this was a supply of new priests, Cosimo’s intent was to use it to influence the upper and middle class families.\textsuperscript{39}

When Giovanni, the grandson of Cosimo, became pope Leo X, the social position of San Lorenzo improved, and the church received some privileges. An obvious case involved the indulgences granted by Leo in 1514. A document (doc. 338) issued on 2 August 1514, records that six or more chosen priests had the authority to pardon all sins to anyone who visited the church of San Lorenzo on the feast days of San Lorenzo and SS. Cosimo and Damian. An indulgence of one hundred years was also given to the people who visited the church, or who regularly attended at least once a year on the Wednesdays when the market was open in front of the church.\textsuperscript{40}

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\textsuperscript{40} ASL, Doc. 338.
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Pope Leo's bull of 6 October 1520 gave a further benefit through which the church obtained permission to carry the cross in any religious procession. Similarly, the church singers could be used outside the church (doc. 261). Such special papal concerns for this church were maintained when Leo's cousin, Giulio (1478-1534), became Clement VII in 1523.

Two interesting religious schisms in the Roman Catholic faith occurred during the pontificates of these two Medici popes. The first was the occurrence of the Lutheran Reformation instigated by the Renaissance enlightenment encouraged by the Medici, and the second was the institution by England's Henry VIII of his own church during the pontificate of Clement VII (r. 1522-1534). It seems more than coincidental that these schisms resulted in the admittance of the Compania del Sacramento to the church on 23 June 1541, where the confraternity was provided with a room in the cloister. After this time, no records for this confraternity survive until the middle of the seventeenth century.

Damiano: l'indulgenza di cento anni a chi visitera la chiesa e vi dira un numero stabilito di preghiere una volta all'anno, nel mercoledi della settimana durante la quale si svolge il mercato di fronte alla chiesa; si da la facolta al priore e al capitolo di eleggere 6 o piu sacerdoti con la facolta di assolvere da tutti i peccati, . . ."
Artistic Contributions to the Sacristy

The Old Sacristy of the church, which was constructed by Brunelleschi, preserves the Medici coats of arms under which Giovanni Bicci de Medici (1360-1428) and his wife, Piccarda Bueri (died 1433) were buried. This chapel was dedicated to Giovanni’s patron saint St. John the Evangelist, but was called the Sacristy of San Lorenzo instead of the Medici chapel to allay envy of the Medici family. Their tombs were located underneath the middle of the chapel as martyrs were buried below the altars where Mass could be celebrated upon them forever. Andrea Verrocchio (1435-1488) made the Monument to Giovanni and Piero de Medici in 1472.

Donatello (1386-1466), who made the bronze doors, also decorated the bronze pulpits with the Crucifixion and the Deposition from the Cross in 1461. The chapel also exhibits Verrocchio’s work “Diamond,” which was Cosimo’s emblem and which symbolized Dio amont (loving God).

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Among special artistic devotions associated with the church, Michelangelo’s the *Sagristia Nova* (New Sacristy) is noteworthy. It was commissioned by the cardinal Giulio de Medici in 1520, the future Pope Clement VII, as a mausoleum for his uncle Lorenzo the Magnificent; his father, Giuliano de Medici; his two cousins Leo X and Giuliano (1479-1516) the duke of Neours; as well as his nephew Lorenzo II (1492-1519) the duke of Urbino. Due, however, to the expensive costs of the marble, Michelangelo (1474-1564), working in 1524, only completed those of the last two dukes. To distinguish them, Michelangelo made the impressive statues of Night and Day for the tomb of Giuliano de Medici, while outstanding figures of Evening and Dawn were sculpted for that of Lorenzo II. He also distinguished them by portraying Giuliano as a soldier, symbolizing the active life, and Lorenzo in a pensive mood symbolizing the contemplative life.

During the next two years Michelangelo also designed the hall and staircase of the Laurenziana Library in the cloister of San Lorenzo. The staircase of the library was later completed with some modifications by Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574). Although

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Michelangelo was buried as he wished in the church of Santa Croce—where Giacomo Rossini was also buried—his great funeral Masses were celebrated at San Lorenzo.

Musical Activities before 1550

Numerous Florentine composers began their careers in the church, and this has given rise to the idea that the church was an important means of a musical patronage. Francesco Landini (c.1330-1397), the leading musical figure of the Italian trecento, was a blind organist who worked at San Lorenzo from 1365 until his death. His great musical contributions led to the erection of a statue at the church, and he was also buried in the chapel.

Although D’Accone remarks that there were no regular singers in the chapel and that musicians were hired for special occasions from other places, clerics and canons regularly participated in the Masses and Offices as choir members. In the thirteenth century, the chaplains were instituted with an obligation

to serve in the choral chapel where they had to join the choir.\textsuperscript{44}

Even though the church possessed large domains which provided funds for its administrative matters, from 1428 onwards the salary of each priest was donated by a specific patron. Some of the chaplains were musicians and they were elected by the chapters as were the other priests. The first choral chaplain, elected in 1383, was Michele de Frosino de Panzano. He later became a canon in 1400.\textsuperscript{45}

As an example of their activity, when Cosimo died at Careggi on August 1, 1464, the funeral Mass was done by these priests. The contemporary record reads as follows;

\begin{quote}
On the morning of August 2, which was Thursday, the funeral took place in the church of S. Lorenzo.

\ldots To the chapter and priests of S. Lorenzo for an office lasting eight consecutive days, beginng on August third; with 30 masses for each office, which make 8 offices, with 240 masses for the octave, we paid 16 lire for 6 torches of 33 lbs and 10 lbs of candles.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44}. G.O. Corassini, \textit{op. cit.}, 8.

\textsuperscript{45}. Pier Nolasco Cianfogni, \textit{Memorie istoriche dell' Ambrosiana R. basilica di S. Lorenzo} (Firenze: Presso Domenice Ciardetti, 1804), 179.
To the chapter and priests of S. Lorenzo for an office beginning on August 11th, and continuing for thirty consecutive days, finishing on the 11th September, we paid 60 lire per torch of wax of 170 lbs.

Besides the many offices celebrated in Florence for the soul of Cosimo, the various Companies of Rome, Venice, Milan, Bruges, Geneva, London, and Avignon celebrated a great many; and liberal alms were given, and many prisoners were pardoned and set free from divers prisons. . . .

The privilege which the church singers attained through Leo's bull of 6 October 1520 led to the employment of many fifteenth-century musicians in the various churches, especially those of the Florentine Cathedral, San Giovanni, and in San Lorenzo. Among the Ferrarese musicians who were appointed by Cosimo at the Florentine Cathedral, was Ser Matteo di Paolo, who was also employed as a chaplain at San Lorenzo around 1483. Another Ferrarese singer, Ser Antonio da Montighi, who was also active in the Cathedral, worked as an organist at San Lorenzo between 1479 and 1485. Among the Florentine musicians who were similarly engaged at both the chapel

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and the Cathedral were Alessandro Coppini (1465-1527) and Philippe Verdelot (1470-1547).\textsuperscript{47} Coppini was an organist at San Lorenzo between 1500-1503, and Verdelot composed a number of Masses and motets in his late years at San Lorenzo.

As mentioned before, during the reigns of the first duke of Tuscany, Cosimo I de Medici (r.1569-1574), and two of his sons, Francesco I (r.1574-1587) and Ferdinand I (r.1587-1609), the chapel employed as canons Francesco Corteccia (1502-1571), Cristofano Malvezzi (1547-1599), Luca Bati (1550-1608), and Marco da Gagliano (1582-1643).

In many cases, family members of the above mentioned composers also worked in the church either as canons, singers, or rector. At the same time for there was no rule to prohibit their employment outside their regular posts, all four of these composers were engaged as chapelmasters at the baptistry church of San Giovanni. Except for Cristofano Malvezzi, their job was also extended as chapelmaster at the Florentine Cathedral church.

\textsuperscript{47} Verdelot served as the \textit{maestro di cappella} in S. Giovanni from April 22, 1524, and moved to the Cathedral from June 26, 1527, appointed by Cardinal Giulio de Medici. When Giulio became the pope Clement VII, he also shortly stayed in Rome at the Sistine chapel in 1523. Donald Lee Hersh, \textit{Verdelot and the Early Madrigal} (Ph.D. diss: University of California, Berkeley, 1963).
Sources

Music used at San Lorenzo during the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century is preserved in nine manuscripts. Of the composers who worked at San Lorenzo during this period Corteccia was the oldest. His works are mostly gathered with the works of composers of the previous generation such as Pisano and Verdelot. For example, the manuscript II. 10 (=N) of the Archivio Parocchiale di San Lorenzo consists of 168 folios, and contains Corteccia's canticles along with Pisano’s Responsories for Holy Week and some sacred works of Verdelot from the first half of the sixteenth-century.

A second manuscript II. 3 (=C) containing 83 folios is dated slightly later, and preserves Corteccia’s Responsories along with Gagliano’s “Ecce quam bonum,” which was composed in 1614, possibly on a laude text by Savonarola. The manuscript was written by two hands, of which the first has been identified as that of Michele Federighi. This portion is decorated with illuminated capitals. The second hand begins on folio 54 with the text “Passio domine nostri Jesu”. A third manuscript containing some of Corteccia’s works is the Codex Medices-Palatino 7 which includes his
thirty-two hymns for Vespers for the entire liturgical year.\textsuperscript{48}

Gagliano’s works are also scattered in various sources such as the ms II. 5 (=E), measuring 40 x 50 cm, which consists of thirty-seven pieces. Twenty-three pieces of these are by Gagliano, two by Luca Bati, three by Vittoria, one by Palestrina, and the other by Ruggiero Giovannelliae. Most of Gagliano’s pieces are motets for six voices, of which seven close with an Alleluia. Here, the scribe attributes some of Gagliano’s works to M.M, for Magister Marco. Those of Gagliano’s works and Bati’s two motets preserved in this manuscript are listed in appendix D.

The manuscript ASL II. 4 (=D), measuring 37 x 54 cm, consists of 131 folios. It includes thirteen hymns of Palestrina and two of his Magnificats as well as one each by Vittoria and Luca Bati. It also contains five motets, one each by Cavalier, Marco da Gagliano, dell’Asda, Palestrina (1525-1594), and Vittoria.

\textsuperscript{48} The titles of these works are listed in Ann Mckinley’s dissertation, \textit{Francesco Corteccia’s Music to Latin Texts} (Ph.D. diss: University of Michigan, 1962).
Since the calligraphic style of this manuscript is directly linked with the second hand of the manuscript ASL II. 11(=0) in both notational style and decoration of letters, both can be dated from the second half of the seventeenth century (ca. 1650). This same scribe also copied three more manuscripts containing Gagliano’s music, though anonymous; for the sake of convenience, let us call him as Lorenzo I.

Another manuscript, preserving Gagliano’s music is the ms II. 11(=0), measuring 28 x 41cm, which contains 155 folios. This manuscript contains two different hands; the first copied anonymous polyphonic music for the major feast days (ff. 1-120) of the entire liturgical year, while, the second, that of Lorenzo I, copied motets by Bonaventura Cerri, Gagliano, and Vittoria. Table 13 in appendix D lists the selected music specified as to liturgical season in the three manuscripts discussed above.

Two other manuscripts copied by Lorenzo I are the ms II. 9 (=L), measuring 27 x 43cm, and the ms II. 6 (=F), which is 40 x 55cm. The manuscript II. 6 (=F) consists of seven Magnificats, five of them by Palestrina, one by Malvezzi and the other anonymous. Here, the initial letters of each piece are decorated in red. The other
manuscript \textit{II. 9} (=L), 89 folios in length, preserves three anonymous Masses for the ordinary, one for Ascension, as well as 7 motets by various composers. The motets found in the manuscript \textit{II. 9} (=L) together with those from the previous mentioned manuscripts (nos. 4 and \textit{II}) are listed as table 14 in alphabetical order by composer in appendix D.

Finally, ms \textit{II. 15}, measuring 20 x 30cm, is decorated with red and blue initials and also contains some of Gagliano’s music. This manuscript preserves both monophonic and polyphonic chants on many of its 275 folios. The monophonic music, which uses the square notation on a four-line staff consists of Mass Propers,\textsuperscript{49} and takes up the major portion of the manuscript. Almost half of the liturgy contained in this manuscript does not appear in later sources. Further, the feast days of a number of items, particularly Alleluias, were changed. Also, Graduals are not included for most of the feasts, anticipating the Medician edition of the chants in 1614.

\textsuperscript{49} These are one Introit, thirty-five Alleluias, six Graduals, eight Tracts, twenty-two Offertories, twenty-one Communions, twenty-three Antiphons for Terze, three Antiphons for Vespers, thirteen Antiphons used at Magnificat, seven different Mass Ordinaries, and at the end a list of these is included beginning from ff. 261r to 263v.
The order of the Offices for the Dead\textsuperscript{50} in this manuscript is also somewhat different from that of later sources such as the \textit{Liber Usualis}. For example, what are now the second and third psalm verses in the \textit{Liber} were originally the first and second psalms, and there was no melodic indication of the third psalm after the third antiphon. Probably, for the purpose of convenience, the beginning of each Nocturn provides the melodic incipit of the first antiphon and the closing formula \textit{Euovae} (see Figure 3). Similarly, the first two antiphons end with a quotation of the incipit of the next antiphon. Further changes of texts and melodic figures are occasionally made in the \textit{Liber Usualis}, for instance, the change of the text at the end of the first antiphon in the third Nocturn. Psalm and Responsory texts are often recorded without any music.

The polyphonic music inserted in this manuscript consists of three anonymous Requiem Masses; some anonymous Responsories for the service of dead; five \textit{Dies Irae}, two of which were by Malvezzi and Gagliano; and some miscellaneous chants (ff. 243r-260r). In general, most of the works are short and are for four or

\textsuperscript{50} Before the Council of Trent, the Office for the Dead was recited every day in the Roman churches. After that, it was celebrated each monday during Advent and Lent, and on the first holiday of each month
Di rigoecouae.


Quoniam ad te orabo domine: manc exaudies usce meam. Mane astanto tibi et videbo: quo:

ni a non deus uolens iniquitatem tuam.

Neque habitabit uixta te malit. gnis: neque permanebunt in

justitate uobis Deus

Odit iniquum et pe

qui lacunam poenitet nec.
five voices in a musical style that is very simple. They can be dated
from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The anonymous
Responsories for the Office of the Dead and the Requiem eternam
which occupy folios 213v to 242r are copied in choir-book form. The
remainder utilize a score book format. A list of the monophonic Mass
Propers for the entire liturgical year given in this manuscript is
reproduced in appendix C.
CHAPTER II

COMPOSERS AS CANONS AT SAN LORENZO

Francesco Corteccia (27 July 1502-16 June 1571)

Francesco di Bernardo Corteccia, the second son of Bernardo de Corteccia (1470-9 April 1522), was born in Florence on 27 July 1502. He trained as a choirboy at the baptistry of S. Giovanni after his entrance of 22 August 1515 under Bernardo Pisano, the chapell-master between 1512 and 1520, and soon became a cherico del coro. The stylistic connection between some of the finest Renaissance composers and Corteccia was made there, as was indicated by his earlier compositional study with Pisano (1490-1548).¹

Heinrich Isaac (1450-1517) may also be considered as a possible teacher of Pisano, since Isaac was an honorary director of the choir.² Corteccia took further composition lessons with the next

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² Pisano also served at the church of Santissima Annunziata from 1507, where Alessandro Coppini (c1465-1527) and Bartolomeo degli Organi—Bartolomeo Fiorentino were active. Pisano’s connection with the Medici family, especially with the Medici Pope, Leo X, is well researched in Frank
chaplain, Mattio Rampollini, and Francesco de Layolle (1492-
1540). Bartolomeo degli Organi (1474-1539), who was the baptistry
organist from 1509 to 1539 as the successor of Antonio and
Francesco Squarcialupi, is considered to have been Corteccia's organ
instructor.

On 22 October 1527, Corteccia became a chaplain at the
baptistry. Four years later, on 5 March 1531, he was also engaged as
organist and chaplain at San Lorenzo with the title of D. Bernardo
Abbati (XXIII chaplain), but relinquished the post of organist on 12
January 1532 to Bastiano Tinucci, another chaplain. On 8 January
1550, Tinucci's post was given to Niccolò Malvezzi da Lucca, the
father of Cristofano Malvezzi, through a new election. Thus was the
relationship of the father of Cristofano Malvezzi with Francesco
Corteccia made at San Lorenzo.

in the Musica Disciplina XVII (1963). Pisano was engaged in the Sistine
chapel under Leo X, and his frequent journeys to Florence gave rise to
suspicions of spying.

and Musicians 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), IV, 807-
808.

Corteccia worked as organist with a monthly salary of two scudi at the church of S. Giovanni where Cosimo I reorganized the chapel in 1537. On 17 March 1540 his job was extended to that of the chapelmast at the church of S. Giovanni and at the Cathedral church. Several of his madrigals printed in 1544 indicate that Corteccia called himself “maestro di cappella dello Illustirissimo et Eccellentissimo Duca Cosimo de Medici”.

On Saturday, 25 January 1549, Cosimo’s order to appoint him as the Canonico soprannumerario (supernumerary canon) in San Lorenzo was fulfilled through the chancellery of Giovanni Ventucci with an election made by the chapter. From 1563 to 7 June 1571, Corteccia worked as a regular canon at San Lorenzo with the title of Marco Papa. During this period Corteccia was elected to a yearlong post in May 1565 as the person who kept the signout book (Libro di Partiti) and from 12 May 1568 worked as guardian and bursar for a two year period.

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6. ASL 2299, 32v.

7. ASL 2325, 30v, 41v.
The conflicting dates of his death are given in the archival documents themselves. Although the document Archivio di San Lorenzo 49 simply indicates Corteccia died in 1570, he actually died on 7 June 1571 from a malarial infection at the monastery.8 The Archivio di San Lorenzo 2325 shows that he made a final will in front of the prior and other six canons in a clear state of mind two days before his death.9

Corteccia's major works have been gathered into three collections. The Libro primo de madrigali a cinque et sei voci, which was dedicated to Cosimo I, was published in Venice in 1547 by Antonio Gardane.10 For Antonio Landi's comedy Il comodo, which was written for the wedding festivities of Cosimo I and Eleonora of Toledo in 1539, Corteccia set nine pieces of music for the nine muses.


9. ASL 2325, ff. 163r-165r.

10. A recent edition of this was made by Anthony D'Accone as one of the series of Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae XXXII: Francesco Corteccia, Madrigals, ed. Frank D'Accone (Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1981), 3 vols.
He also composed an eight-part motet "sung over the arch of the great door at the Prato Gate by twenty-four voices on one side, and on the other by four trombones and four cornetti, on the entrance of the most illustrious Duchess" on 29 June.

He further collaborated with Alessandro Striggio in the setting of the intermedio, *La cofanaria*, which was performed on Christmas night of 1565 as a part of the wedding festivities of Francesco de Medici and Joanna of Austria who were married on the preceding 18 December. Corteccia composed the music for the third, fourth, and sixth intermedios. The story of this work was derived from the Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius' *Asinus Aureus*.

Two years later, Corteccia's music for the birth of their first daughter, Leonora, was sung by ten singers on the evening of 2

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February to the accompaniment of two trombones, two crumhorns, and two cornetts.

His sacred music consists of a number of antiphons, a cycle of thirty-two Vesper hymns, two books of *Cantica*\(^{14}\) in 1571, and the *Responsoria omnia quintae, ac sextae feriae sabbathique*,\(^{15}\) which was dedicated to Cosimo I. The final collection contains twenty-seven responsories for the Tenebrae service used at Matins on the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week.\(^{16}\) The Florentine Archivio Musicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, Ms II also preserves some of his music, of which three have Marian texts.\(^{17}\) Measuring 535 x 405 mm, this manuscript also includes works of famous Renaissance composers such as Francesco de Layolle, Jean Mouton, Philippe Verdelot, Josquin des Prez, Andereas de Silva,

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\(^{14}\) Florence, Archivio Parocchiale di San Lorenzo II. 10=N.

\(^{15}\) ASL II. 3=C.

\(^{16}\) The name tenebrae, which means darkness, was derived from the recitation of the verse, “in tenebris” when all candles are extinguished after the Benedicamus Domino. The recitation of each nocturn consists of three psalms and antiphons, three lessons, and three Responsorial chants.

\(^{17}\) These are “Sancti tui Domine,” in ff. 6v-9r, “O regem celi,” ff. 22v-27r, and “Regali ex Progenie Marie,” ff. 150-152.
Jacob Arcadelt, Jean Richafort, and Nicholas Gombert. Another manuscript containing one of Corteccia's motets, "Benedicam Dominum" is the Ms Vallicelliana S. Borr. E. II. 55-60, a collection of ninety motets for five to six voices.18

Besides Corteccia's father, two of his nephews were active in the church of San Lorenzo. One was Bernardino, the son of his sister, Cleopha Cortita, who was a wife of Cosimo's administrator, Jacobus Palenttus, while the other nephew, Pietro Corteccia Gallaccini (29 August 1526-16 May 1574), was the son of his brother, Antonio. Bernardino was recorded as rector at the church when his sister died on 28 August 1582 and Pietro directly succeeded to his uncle's position at San Lorenzo.

Like his uncle, Pietro trained as a boy soprano at the Baptistry church of San Giovanni in 1540. Two years later, in August of 1542, he is recorded as a tenor.19 In September 1545, he was engaged as a chapelmaster at St. Stefano Protomartire, which was established by


Cosimo. On 19 February 1546, Pietro’s first involvement in San Lorenzo was recorded, and three days later, his name can be found among the chaplains as a choir member. When Francesco Corteccia died, Pietro replaced his uncle as a canon.20

Corteccia’s family produced many other musicians. One of his younger brothers, Tommaso Cortecci (30 Oct 1506-27 April 1569) and two more nephews, Giovanni Batista (23 April 1521-21 May 1555) and Stefano (30 March 1528-1 May 1589), the sons of the his older brother Romola, also spent their career as singers in S. Giovanni. The youngest son of Romola, Michele del Cortecci Gallaccini (12 February 1532-c. 1566), worked as an organist and priest at the Cathedral.21

20. Doc. 1222/1571 Giugno 16, ASL.
"Guido Servidio, Vicario generale dell’Arcivescovo fiorentino, conferisce a Pietro dal fu Antonio de Gallaccinis, prete fiorentino gia eletto dal priore e dal capitolo della chiesa di S. Lorenzo, il canonicato nella chiesa medesima, bacante per la morte di Francesco Corteccia."

Cristofano Malvezzi (1547-22 January 1599)

Although later a pupil of Corteccia, Cristofano Malvezzi's earlier education was supplied by his father, Niccolo Malvezzi da Lucca, an organist at San Lorenzo, and Alessandro Striggio. On 20 May 1561 Cristofano Malvezzi came under the patronage of Isabella de Medici. This led to his election as a *canonico supernumerario* at San Lorenzo on 23 June 1562. On 20 May 1565 he began a five-year tenure as an organist in Santa Trinita. On 21 April 1572, his canonry was converted into that of *canonico effettivo* with the title St. Amato Abbot at San Lorenzo. According to the book recording the distribution of choir salaries, his emoluments were lower than those of the choirmaster, Bartolomeo dal'Ancisa, although both were chaplains at that time. In 1575, for example, he received 224 scudi, while Bartolomeo's salary was 306 scudi.

On 26 March 1574, his career was enhanced by his appointment as *maestro di cappella* at S. Giovanni. On 15 February

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23. ASL 3592.
1581, Cristofano Malvezzi was elected to prepare the music for Holy Week at San Lorenzo with an extra payment of gold seven lire. Malvezzi’s name does not appear in the canonic contractions between 1586 and 1588. It may be assumed that he was busy composing music for the marriages of Virginia de Medici to Cesare d’Este in 1586 and later, Ferdinand I to Christine in 1589. This resulted in his appointment as the major composer of court intermedi in 1589 succeeding Allessandro Striggio.25

He also assumed his father’s job as organist at San Lorenzo on 26 October 1574 with one scudi per month. This is reflected in his emolument as a chorister for his salary declined during these years to less than fifty scudi. He was paid thirty-seven scudi in 1584, forty-seven in 1586, twenty-three in 1587, and eleven scudi in 1589. Unlike the other three composers discussed here, his musical activities at San Lorenzo were limited. When Pier Nolasco Cianfogni summarized the achievements of every canon who worked at San

24. ASL 2330.


26. ASL 3592.
Lorenzo up to the eighteenth century, he did not even mention that Malvezzi was a musician.27

For his routine duties, Malvezzi was elected as the keeper of the sign out book (the Libro di Partiti) on 14 May 1586, and again on 13 May 1598. He served as guardian beginning on 9 May 1590 and Archivist from 8 May 1591, and 14 May 1597.28 As a rule, these elected posts lasted only one year. At his death on 22 January 1599, a special service was conducted by two canons, Batista Serjacopo and Agnolo Bizzelli.29

At the court Malvezzi's contributions to the stage productions begin with Bardi's play L'amico fido for the wedding of Virginia de Medici and Cesare d'Este in 1583. He composed the music for the third and fourth intermedios, while Striggio and Bardi did the others. Giovanni Fedini's comedy, Le due Persilie, was also performed for

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28. ASL 2636, ff. 19r, 25r, 32r, 43v, 52v.

29. ASL 2636, f. 37r.
this wedding and for this Malvezzi set the fifth intermedio.\textsuperscript{30}

In 1588, Malvezzi was appointed as a teacher of the princess. In the next year, he collaborated with Marenzio in the setting of Girolamo Bargagli’s intermedio, \textit{La pellegrina}, for the marriage of Grand duke Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine. The finale was composed by Cavalierei. Two other composers, Caccini and Peri, who was a pupil of Malvezzi, also set one piece each. Malvezzi’s compositional output also includes three volumes of madrigals which, along with some ricercares were published in 1583, 1584, and in 1590. Bernhard Schmid’s \textit{Tabulatur Buch} also includes Malvezzi’s four-voice fugue (no. 66). When he was forty-seven years old, in September 1594, the Cathedral awarded him the honorary post of third organist.\textsuperscript{31}

Although D’Accone has not listed any of Malvezzi’s sacred music,\textsuperscript{32} some of the manuscripts at the Archivio Parocchiale di San


\textsuperscript{31} Frank D’Accone, “Malvezzi, Cristofano” \textit{The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians}, XI, 590-591. Kirkendale, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 184, relates that from this post he received four scudi per month.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Ibid.}
Lorenzo contain music whose composer is indicated by the initials M.C. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were only a few musicians whose name began with "C" whose music is preserved at San Lorenzo. These were Corteccia, Bonaventura Cerri, Cristofano Malvezzi, and Cavalieri; though there is only one piece of music by Cavalieri in the archive at San Lorenzo. Corteccia's music is mostly collected with the works of some earlier composers such as his teacher Pisano or contained in one large manuscript. The music of "M.C.," on the other hand, is found with the works of the late sixteenth-century composers in San Lorenzo. This may narrow somewhat the focus as to the identity behind the initials. Of the two remaining possibilities—Cerri or Cristofano Malvezzi, it should be pointed out that a piece marked "M.C." is included in Archivio Parocchiale de San Lorenzo II.9 right before two identified as Cerri's. This obvious change of designation would detract from the notion that "M.C." was Cerri. Further, the "M" might also be regarded as magistero as was common at that time, hence Magistero Cristofano. These initials are also on a Magnificat that is preserved along with

33. These are the Codex Medices-Palatino 7, which contains Corteccia's thirty-two hymns and the Archivio Parocchiale di San Lorenzo II. 10=N.
those of such well-known composers as Palestrina and Luca Bati, indicating that M.C. was a valued composer and perhaps better known than Cerri who did not serve at San Lorenzo. Example 1 is M.C.'s “Dies Irae,” a polyphonic setting of the sequence. This music was sung after the Gradual and Tract in the Requiem Mass for All Saints day (2 November) or for specific devotions for the dead.

Like Corteccia's family, that of Malvezzi produced two other musicians. His father, Niccolo da Lucca, served at San Lorenzo as an organist from 13 August 1551 to 21 October 1556 and again from 29 June 1558 to 26 January 1569. During his absence at San Lorenzo, he was engaged in the Cathedral, and Giovanni Antonio de Bardi replaced him in the post.34 On 25 February 1572 [1573], Niccolo retook the job at San Lorenzo and held it until his death.35

Cristofano's younger brother Alberigo (1550–1615) was active as organist at San Lorenzo after 1570. Like his brother, he prepared music for Holy Week through his engagement at the church.

34. ASL 2299, f. 96r.

35. ASL 2325, f. 72r.
on 12 March 1584. His works were gathered into his *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* in 1591, where he included two of his father's pieces.

Luca Bati (C. 1550-1608)

As a pupil of Francesco Corteccia, Bati was briefly engaged as the chapelmaster at Pisa Cathedral from 6 March to 16 November 1596. Three years later, when Malvezzi died, Bati was appointed as the chapelmaster at S. Giovanni and at the Cathedral. On 6 May 1600, Bati's name appears as a canon at San Lorenzo with the title SS Vitale and Agricola. He took up his duties on 27 May 1600, working until 18 September 1608, when his name is recorded with the word, "mori."

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36. ASL 2300, f. 16r.

37. These madrigals are 'Caro sdegno gentil' and 'Signor, quando mirate.'


On 8 May 1602 Bati was elected to the post of sa unre Mag g iore, the canon who was in charge of sacristy preparation for each service. A document of Wednesday, 4 December 1602, indicates that the prior appointed Bati to supervise all of the musical expenses of the church for Holy Week and other liturgical days. For this, he received an extra two scudi each month until his death.

In 1589, Bati composed the music for Giovan Maria Cecchi’s L’esaltazione della croce, a sacra rappresentazione, which was performed by the boys’ confraternity—Compagnia di S. Giovanni Evangelista—for the marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine on 13 May of the same year. He also composed music for Gino Ginori’s Le fiamme d’amore, a mascherata.

40. ASL 2636, f. 63v.

41. ASL 2636, f. 68r.

“Mercoledì adì 4 dixbre . . . S[e] Signore Prior proposto, . . . si dette ordine in mg Luca Bati nni [nostri] clerici et che sia obligato a tutte spese a far la musica in nro [nostro] chiese la settimana santi et tutti giorni p [per] la anno, . . . .”

42. Raffael Gualterotti, Descrizione del Regale Apparato per le nozze della serenissima Madama Cristiana di Loreno, moglie del serenissimo don Ferdinando Medici, granduca di Toscana (Firenze: Appresso Antonio Padovani, 1589).
presented on 26 February 1595 on a boat during the carnival season. For the wedding of Maria de Medici and Henri IV of France on 9 October 1600, he collaborated on the music for Caccini’s *Il rapimento di Cefalo* on the text of Gabriello Chiabrera. None of these, however, are extant. His surviving sacred works in the Archivio Parocchiale di San Lorenzo consist of a Magnificat and two motets. One of his motets from Archivio Parocchiale di San Lorenzo, *II. 5 (=E)* is shown as Example 2 in appendix B.

A translation of the text, which is based on the life of Moses follows in the next page:

Sanctificavit Moyses altare Domino
offerens super illud holocausta et immolas victimas
fecit sacrificium vespertinum in odorem suavitatis
Domino Deo in conspectu filiorum Israel.

Moses Sanctified an altar to the Lord,
making upon it burnt offering and immolating victims.
He made it in the evening sacrifice in the smell of sweetness
to the Lord our God in the sight of the sons of Israel.

Marco da Gagliano (1582-1643)

Marco da Gagliano was born on 1 May 1582 and at the age of

43. Edmond Strainchamps, *op. cit.*
six entered into the Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello, the lay religious confraternity. This, the oldest and the most important of the boys’ confraternities, was organized by a goldsmith in 1406. Unlike the flagellant confraternities, this confraternity usually gave religious instruction to boys from the middle or upper classes who did not intend to become the clerics when they grew up.

The boys regularly met on the first and third Sundays and religious feast days in a small chapel or a big room with an altar. During Advent and Lent, the boys met on all Sundays to sing laudes or hymns, recite psalms, and to listen to sermons. Their activities, patterned on those of the cleric’s schools, included parts in the sacred dramas and the religious processions in the feast of S. Giovanni, the patron saint of Florence. In fact, the Compagnia dell’Arcangelo

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46. *Ibid.*, 212-217. The plentiful information about the activities of these boys and their teachers are in the *Compagnia Religiose Sopresse da Pietro Leopoldo 162* in the Archivio di Stato in Florence.
Raffaello belonged to the Florentine Cathedral, as is indicated in some of the documents in the Archivio di Stato in Florence where some of the members of the confraternity participants are listed as in the nuptial occasion of the Medici in the Cathedral.

In the late sixteenth century, Giulio Caccini became the chapelmaster of the confraternity for a year. (The chapelmaster was newly elected every year.) Some notable figures of the Florentine Camerata, among them advocates of the monodic style, were members of the confraternity. Among them were Vincenzo Galilei, Girolamo Mei, Jacopo Corsi, and Filippo, the eldest son of Giovanni Bardi. Gagliano's early association with these important Florentine composers undoutedly influenced his musical future. Many musicians of the Medici court, among them Giovanni Battista Signorini, a husband of Caccini's first daughter Francesca Caccini, Orazio, and Giuliano del Franciosino, singers in the ducal chapel from 1603, were also members.47

Gagliano studied music with Luca Bati. In 1602, he became a voice instructor for young clerics at San Lorenzo, a post which he

held until 1609. The job was then given to another chaplain, Alfonso Benvenuti, who was a chapelmaster in 1603 and 1610, for two years, and then to Dominico Belli, who was the court musician and member of the Compagnia dell'Arcengelo Raffaello in 1607, for one year. In 1613, his younger brother Giovanni Battista Gagliano (1594-1651) assumed the position. At San Lorenzo, Gagliano's musical talent was quickly noticed. The many occurrences of his name indicate his popularity as does the many surviving copies of his music. From his task as a voice instructor for young clerics, Gagliano's role at San Lorenzo was further extended to the direction of the music for Holy Week on 9 March 1604. Receiving two scudi per month, Gagliano held this post until 20 February 1608 [1609], the year which he became a canon with the title of SS. Cosimo e Damian.

48. ASL 2636.

49. ASL 2636, f. 107r.
March 9, 1604
"...per partito con tutte fave nere che Marco da Gagliano musico facci la musica nella nostra chiesa in questa settimana santa futura, ..."
The date of this appointment is said to be a year later in the New Grove.

50. Edmond Strainchamps, op. cit. Edmond Strainchamps suggests that the new year in Florence commenced on 25 March, the feast of Annunciation. Thus, in his opinion, this year would be 1605. The Britannica Encyclopedia and the year book around this time explain the new year began on Feb 23. According to the papal bull in February 1582, the date (March 21) was the
After the establishment of the Florentine Camerata in 1567, there was a continuous tendency toward affiliation between the musicians and the literarati. Gagliano's earlier association with the musicians of Florence led to the establishment of Accademia degli Elevati in June 1607. One of his pupils was Giovanni del Turco who became a secretary of the Academy. Gagliano's connection with the musical patron Ferdinando Gonzaga, the son of Vincenzo Gonzaga and Eleonora de Medici (1566-1611), a nephew of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando I de Medici, at Mantua certainly gave him a promise for a better musical career. Edmond Strainchamps even points out that one of the reasons for his foundation of the Academy was Gagliano's purpose for seeking a better job, as his emoluments received from the part-time jobs at San Lorenzo were not enough to live on. Surviving letters in the Archivio di Gonzaga in Mantua clearly indicate the relationship between these members and the vernal equinox. “Calendar,” The New Encyclopedia Britannica, ed. Philip W. Goetz, 15th ed., 29 vols., (London: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1985), XV, 466.

51 Kirdendale op. cit., p. 159 indicates that in 1584 Eleonora de Medici sent a letter to Cristofano Malvezzi and Jacopo Peri, who had also collaborated with Gagliano, to invite them to her court. Peri's letter of 28 July 1607 further reveals that he himself had also participated in musical activities of the Accademia degli Elevati.
prince, Ferdinando Gonzaga (1581-1626), grandnephew of Ferdinand Medici.52

During this time Gagliano and the other members sent many pieces to the Prince. Among them was Gagliano’s opera Dafne, on Octtavio Rinuccini’s libretto, which was performed for the celebration of Ferdinando Gonzaga’s appointment to the college of Cardinals on 24 December 1608. Many other pieces were composed for the Academy, since the members in turn prepared performances of new music for appreciation and discussion at the weekly meetings on Thursday evenings.53 The publication of music in the name of the Academy was probably sponsored by the Cardinal, although no surviving madrigals composed by members are extant. The academy did not last long. When Luca Bati died in 1608 and Gagliano was called to his teacher’s posts as the chapelmaster both at the Florentine cathedral and S. Giovanni, and canon at San Lorenzo, the

52. These are well illustrated in the surviving letters in the Archivio di Stato in Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Some of them are translated by Edmond Strainchamps, “New Light on the Accademia degli Elevati of Florence,” The Musical Quarterly LXII (1976), 507-535.

53. Edmond Strainchamps, op. cit., 82.
academy almost failed.\textsuperscript{54}

Of his sacred music, the tenor and bass part book of the 
*Officium defunctorum* (1608), a collection of twelve Latin
responsories for the dead and four spiritual madrigals, remain in the Biblioteca Riccardiana. Similarly only a bass part book remains of the *Sacrarum cantionum* of 1622. In the same year, Gagliano also composed *Requiem Mass* for the deceased bishop Usimbardo Usimbardi. His *Responsoria maioris hebdomanae*, which was dedicated to the Florentine archbishop Alessandro Medici uses the same texts as Corteccia’s collection of the same name. Published in Venice in 1631, these responsories were performed during the last three days of the Holy Week. At San Lorenzo it was part of the popular repertory until the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{55} Copies of other sacred music preserved in the Archivio di San Lorenzo are scattered in the various manuscripts. The more important works are the

‘Sacerdos et Pontifex,’ ASL II. 11 (=0); ‘Ecce quam bonus,’ II. 9 (=L);
‘O domine Iesu Xpe [Christe],’ II. 4 (=D); ‘Dies Irae’ in II. 1; II. 3 (=C).


\textsuperscript{55} Edmond Strainchamps, *op. cit.*, 85.
and II. 5 (=E). More detailed information may be found in the appendix D.

Gagliano's 'Sacerdos et Pontifex' (see Example 3) may possibly have been dedicated to Alessandro de Medici (1535-1605), who became Pope Leo XI in 1605. The text and cantus firmus were selected from the antiphon for the Magnificat used at first Vespers on the commemoration day of the Common of the Saints, particularly for a common of a bishop confessor.

Sacerdos et Pontifex et virtutum opifex
pastor bone in populo; ora pro nobis Dominum.

Priest and Bishop and worker of miracles,
good shepherd among the people;
pray for us to the Lord.

Among his secular works, *La flora* was composed for the marriage of Margherita de Medici, sister of Ferdinand II, and Odoardo Farnese, Duke of Parma in 1628. The work is based on the ancient myth related in Ovid's *Fasti*, and included Peri's contributions for the role of Clori. Gagliano's other works include musical settings of Salvadori's *La librazione di Tirreno e d'Arnea*, for the wedding of Ferdinando Gonzaga and Catherina di Medici in 1617 and sacred music, *La regina Sant'Orsola*, for the wedding of Princess Claudia Medici and Federico di Urbino, though both are not extant. Also surviving are madrigal books, four of which were written in Mantua before 1608. Among them, *Sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voce* in 1623 was attacked by Mutio Effrem, the court musician, for the use of new musical idioms that resulted in the breakdown of the modes and incorrect use of cadences.56

Although Gagliano composed a number of secular works in the Medici court for various entertainments and special ceremonial occasions, numerous works like ballets, operas, madrigals are not extant. This is also the same in the case of other court composers such as Caccini and Peri. Gagliano's brilliant musical career brought

56. See Kirdendale, *op. cit.*, 362-364.
about his appointment by the emperor at the court of Innsbruck in 1621 and later in Warsaw. None of these kept him permanently away from Florence.\textsuperscript{57}

When he died on 25 February 1643, his younger brother succeeded to all of his positions as the chapelmaster of the court, the Cathedral, and the boys’ confraternity, and later, as a canon at San Lorenzo on 13 June 1649. Almost four years before his death, a record of 15 February 1639 shows that Gagliano deposited to the vice-bursar thirty lire to pray for his soul after his death. To be performed were four offices at San Lorenzo, each of twenty Masses on four successive days, thus, a total of eighty Masses.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{57} Edmond Strainchamps, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{58} Dominico Moreni, \textit{Memoria Istoriche dell’Ambrosiano R. Basilica di San Lorenzo} (Firenze: Francesco daddi, 1804), 165.
CHAPTER III

THE CHOIR BETWEEN 1550-1609

Patrons and Prebends

In the fourteenth century, there were nine canons at San Lorenzo. When the new chapel was rebuilt in 1415, the Medici family as well as the other sponsoring families wanted to make closer ties with the priests by dedicating benefices in the names of their families and friends. Among the Medici, both Cosimo and Lorenzo gave nine hundred florins to the church to endow ceremonies in memory of their father, Giovanni de Bicci. They also sponsored two canonical prebends dedicated to St. Giovanni Evangelista and SS. Cosimo and Damiano. The new canons were engaged and Masses were celebrated for Giovanni and his family and friends.¹

In the next decades Lotteringhi della Stufa paid for services commemorating the conception of the Virgin and St. Joseph, and in

1462, Neroni created a canonical prebend with the title of St. Zenobi, as well as sponsoring two chaplains. Soon, steadily increasing numbers of liturgical ceremonies were dedicated to various patrons and guilds, who wished to have services read on their behalf. In turn this expanded the numbers of priests needed to celebrate the added Masses.

For the most part those who sponsored the construction of one or two of the minor chapels dedicated to specific saints (see p. 30) had liturgies read on these saints days. In accordance with this, these patrons also sponsored specific priests who read the specified liturgies for them. For example, the Aldobrandini family, who built the chapel dedicated to St. Sebastian and also cooperated in the construction of the chapel for the conception of the Virgin Mary, had the chapel reserved for them on the octave of the conception, and the feast days of St. Sebastian, and St. Concordia.

In the sixteenth century, consequently, the church extended the number of priests to thirteen canonical prebends which included the Prior, and thirty-two chaplains. The following list includes the patrons who provided substantial support for specific priests and

2. Ibid.
chapels, as well as those who only gave subventions for the chaplains.

Table 3. Chapel and Chaplain Sponsors at San Lorenzo Between 1550-1607

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POST</th>
<th>SPONSOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two canons and the chaplain</td>
<td>Three family members of the Medici, for the visitation of the Virgin Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Bernard</td>
<td>Family member of Bernardetti de Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One canon and two chapalins</td>
<td>Three members of the Neroni, of SS. Lorenzo and Leonard builders of the chapel of San Lorenzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canon for the title of St. Andrea</td>
<td>Family member of Nicolai Stupha, the builder of the chapel of St. Andrea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Jerome</td>
<td>Family member of Bernard de Ginory, the builder of the chapel of St. Jerome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Nicholas Baptist</td>
<td>Family member of Thomas Giovanni Baptist de Ginory, the builder of the chapel of St. Nicholas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chaplain of St. Joseph
Member of the Caroly de Ginory family

Chaplain of St. Lorenzo in Alto
Member of the Inghirantorium family, builders of the chapel of San Lorenzo

Chaplain of St. Anthony
Family member of Francesco de Taddeis, the builder of the chapel of St. Anthony of Padua

One canon and the chaplain for the Conception of the Virgin Mary
Two members of the Aldobrandino family, builders of the chapel of St. Sebastian and co-operator of the chapel of the Conception

Chaplains of St. Concordia and St. Jerome
Two members of the Rodinelli families, builders of the chapel of St. Concordia

Chaplain of St. Matheo
Member of the Margnolli family

Chaplain of D. Bernardo Abbati
Member of the family of Bernard de Ciays

Chaplain of Conception of Virgin
Member of Ugolini de Martellis, co-operator of the chapel of Conception in alternation with a member of Petri Johannis de Ricasolis family

Chaplain of St. Donato
Member of Horenz Artis Camby

Chaplains Cathedral St. Peter and Conceptions of Virgin
St. Maria Novella hospital
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Family/Connection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Jerome at Altar Cross</td>
<td>Member of the Honofry de Cambinis family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Anthony to the name of Cross</td>
<td>Member of the Ugorum family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of SS Peter and Paul</td>
<td>Member of the Johannis de family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Mathew</td>
<td>Member of the Margnollis family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Christopher</td>
<td>Member of the Caroli de Bonaiutis family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Julian</td>
<td>Member of the Francesco Marco Luce family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. of SS. Philip and Jacob</td>
<td>Member of the Francesco Lorenzo d’Accone family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Joseph</td>
<td>Member of the family of D. Lorenzo de Boccardinis, who was once a canon at San Lorenzo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the patron families, the name of Ginory was cited as having a permanent service in the obligation book. A special record of 31 August 1588 notes that the chapter received one hundred scudi from Madam Constanza for the celebration of thirty Masses for the soul of Eldoardo di Ginory, the son of Tommaso Ginory. These services were sung by the canons in September after the religious procession. For this, she paid fifteen lire for the choir, while six lire were donated for the Mass.

Other sources provide specific information concerning the liturgies for the Medici family. In 1550, the church decided to establish a permanent office in memory of Cosimo's parents on the first Wednesday after the feast of St. Luca (8 Oct.).

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3. The Archivio di San Lorenzo 2173. The Constitutiones insignes, et Collegiatae Ecclesiae Sancti Laurentii of 1617 no longer lists these relationships.

4. ASL 2300, f.60r.
"Adi 31 Agosto 1588
...fu accettato scudi cento dall Sigra [signora] Constanza... con obligo in perpetuo di celebrare ogn'Anno nel mese di settembre un Ufficio con trenta messe, cantando la messa il canonico, e dopo la processione p[er] l'anima di mg [magister] Edoardo di Gio[Ginory]: di Tommaso Ginori, con fare distribuire al choro, a sera y [lire] 15; a messa 30= y 6..."

recorded its decision to devote perpetual ceremonies to the Duchess and her two sons who died two years earlier (for details see p. 15).

Wednesday 26 July, 1564

The meeting of canons gathered together in the usual location, the participants were eight in number,. . . the Reverend Signor Prior proposed, as he saw fit, henceforth annually, that two Masses for the soul of the deceased woman [Eleonora de Toledo] previously mentioned should be celebrated in our church; one on the 24th of July on which the said offering was received [from the Duke], and the other on the 17th of December on which day that blessed soul passed on to the better life. It was ordered that during the celebration of the two said Masses, the Mass should be sung and five soldi should be distributed to each celebrant and fourteen lire piccioli to the choir.

Again on the same day in the same location, the meeting of the canons established that henceforth every year in the month of November [20 November] an Office should be celebrated for the soul of the Most Reverend Cardinal Giovanni and Signor Don Garzia [his brother] and for all other illustrious deceased children. This office must be celebrated in the same way that the annual office is celebrated in memory of the holy and content [soul] of the Magnificent
Cosimo the Elder.6

The following letter (Figure 4) also relates the scheduling of an annual ceremony for the Medici cardinal:

. . .in addition to sincerely volunteer our service to your Excellency, praying for the salvation of the felicitous soul and the Most Illustrious Monsignor Cardinal and for the Monsignor’s other deceased sons, and for the longevity and happiness of your excellency, we have established in this meeting of the canons [chapter] that every year three solemn offices will be celebrated; one on the same day it [the soul] went to heaven, and the other on the day we received the very honorable notification, and the third every year in the month of November. Every day

6. ASL 2325, f.16.
Mercoledi adi 26 di Luglio 1564

Figure 4. An excerpt from a letter to the duke, Cosimo I de Medici, from the prior and canons of San Lorenzo, ASL 1673, f. 12r.
at least one Mass will be celebrated in the
sacristy, where [they] are buried . .

29th of July, 1564

Of Your Illustrious Excellency
the Most Humble Servants,
The Prior and Canons of San Lorenzo

Following is a list of anniversary services read for the Medici family:

Table 4. The List of Anniversary Services for the Medici Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>NAME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third Wednesday September</td>
<td>Dominus Gineura Lorenzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Giovanni Medici</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. ASL 1673, f.12r.

"...sincera volunta nra[nstra] di servire all’ Exma [Excellenza] vvr[vostra],
Monsign[ore] Illmo[llustrissimo] Cardinale et degli altri Mon[ti] figli
defunti, et p[per] la conservazione et felicita di vra exza [vostra excellenza],
Habbiamo stabilito in questo Capt[to] [Capitolo] che in perpetuo ogn’anno si
celebrino tre solenni officij, uno nel giorno med[mo]medesimo che ella sali al
cielo, et l’altro nel di che ricevemmo si honorata memoria, et il terzo
ogn’anno del mese dj Novembre: et che giornalmente una messa almeno si
celebrj in sagrestia, dove sono depositj. . .

alli xxix di luglio MDLXIII]
D.V. Exza, Illma.
Humillmi, Sor[Servitori] el Priore et canonici
di S Lzo"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The first day of August</td>
<td>Magnus Cosimo Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday before the Feast of SS. Cosimo and Damini</td>
<td>Clement VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Wednesday of November</td>
<td>Giovanni, the son of Cosimo de Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Wednesday of December</td>
<td>Piero, the son of Cosimo de Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday before Christmas</td>
<td>Piero, the son of Lorenzo de Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 7</td>
<td>Alfonsina Orsini de Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Wednesday of February</td>
<td>Giovanni Averado Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Wednesday in April</td>
<td>Lorenzo, the son of Piero de Cosimo Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday after the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist</td>
<td>Giuliano, the son of Piero de Cosimo Medici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday in April between the <em>quadragesima</em> and <em>quintum decimum</em></td>
<td>Nanni di Averardo Medici</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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8. ASL 2136.
In the record of 1617, the list of names was expanded to include newly deceased members of the Medici family:

April 21  Cosimo I, the first Duke of Toscany and his first wife Eleonora
Oct 21   Serenissimo Francesco, the Great Duke of Toscany
Feb 7    Serenissimo Ferdinand, the Great Duke of Toscany
2nd Wednesday in December  Eleonore Toledore, the wife of Cosimo I
Nov 20   Cardinal Giovanni, the son of Cosimo I de Medici
April 12 Joanna from Austria, the first wife of Francesco I

General services: First Wednesday after Octave San Lorenzo.9

Table 4 shows that most of the commemorative services dedicated to the Medici family were done on Wednesdays. In fact, the ASL 2051, Filza relativa agli obblighi della chiesa di S. Lorenzo, in 1592 indicates that the clerics celebrated thirty Masses on each specific day for the soul of the Medici family and that the Florentine merchant guild paid amounts ranging from twelve to forty lire for

9. ASL 2137.
the choir. Also, in the same year, the chapter dedicated a special office on each Monday for the soul of Giovanni de Medici, that is, Giovanni d’Averado, and all who had lived in his house, and all of those who were buried in the cemetery or the church. The texts of the three orations were Inclina Domine (Psalm 85), Deus venie largitor, and Fidelium Deus\(^1\) (Psalm 144 III).

Constitution of the Choir

Aside from these basic liturgies offered for their patrons, the canons and chaplains had to participate in all of the daily canonical Offices and in the Masses as choir members. As a rule, a new election was made after the death of each canon, although there were some exceptions. Some of the priests with good musical or educational backgrounds gave voice and grammatical instruction to

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\(^{10}\) ASL 2051.

\(^{11}\) ASL 2051, f. 170v.

"Nota, che ogni lunedi di ciascuna settimana s'ha a fare un ufficio per l'anime di Giovanni de Medici, cioe Giovanni d'Averado, et per tutti i passati di questa vita della casa di detto Giovanni, et per tutti quelli che sono sepelliti nel nostro Cimitero et chiesa con tre Orationi, il primo Inclina Domine, il 2\(^{do}\) Deus veniet largitor, et 3 Fidelium Deus, . . . ."
the young clerics. Others served as singers, composers, music
theorists, or choristers.

Newly elected clerics often expressed their gratitude to the
duke in a letter, and these exuberant epistles have become an
important source for proving relationships to the duke. Many of the
surviving letters, such as that reproduced as figure 5, also report
new registrations and deaths, and make recommendations for new
clergy to the duke. For example, the death record for Michele
Federighi, a music theorist who became a prior in 1573 is known
through a letter that duke Ferdinand I sent to the priests:

. . . having heard from two canons, Master
Franco Petreli and Master Filippo Fontani,
who were sent by you to notify us of the
aforementioned death of Prior Federighi;
and having also received at their hands
the statutes of your church and the notes
that you have sent us; and commending
all the things you have done and your
diligence, I will do all I can in order that
you will have a new statute [chapter] and
a new Prior as soon as possible, in good
order, and with benefits for this church
that I love very much. This is my highest
goal, and immediately returning there, I
will send in good form everything
necessary to reach this goal. God bless
you and me with His holy grace.
Figure 5. A letter from Ferdinand I, the Grand duke of Tuscanny, Archivio di San Lorenzo, ms. 1673, f. 52r.
from Siena 31 May 1602

Duchess Christina, wife of Ferdinand, even sent a letter of recommendation for Michele Manellini, who became a choirmaster at the church from 21 May 1608 to 24 September.

A copy of letter from the Granduchessa to the Prior and canons in recommendation of the priest Michele Manellini, our chaplain:

Our dearest Reverend, During the time that the priest Michele Manellini has served in this house, we have come to know him as a good man and a good priest, and therefore we have the will and desire to help him. I have learned that you must elect your sacristan for your church and believing that the said priest Michele is able for such a task, we recommend him. You will find his service useful, being recognized by you as able, diligent, and meticulous, because every time the church is served and you are satisfied, I will be pleased. May God keep us [healthy] and happy.

From Pisa 27 March 1606

da Siena il xxxi, di Maggio 1602”
This was presented to the meeting of canons on 14th of June 1606.

Although the church regularly used two to eight singers on feast days, records of the names of these singers are actually rare.

One such document dated Friday, 28 November 1603, also reports that Luca Bati was charged with training some of the singers.

... because Ser Giovanni Politori, the chaplain of our church, passed on to a better life, the following five were proposed as substitutions for the said chapel: the confessor Ser Marco Viti, the singer Ser Donato Donatini, the singer Ser Zanobi Ballocci, the communicant Ser Piero Camoiani, the singer Ser Bastiano Pinelli. They were put into service for a trial.

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13. ASL 1673, f.56v.


da Pisa 27 Marzo 1606
Christina Duchessa

fu presentata al capitolo addi 14 di Giugno 1606"
period and were also presented to the Most Serene Highness. The following three won their place legitimately: Ser Marco Viti, who has served as a confessor ten years and nine months, the singer Ser Donato Donati who has served for five years and three months, and the singer Zanobi Ballocci who has served for two years and five months and has been a cleric for ten years on the day of this writing.\textsuperscript{14}

The records also show that the singers who served in the choir for more than twenty years were either canons or chaplains. Among them, two are worthy to be mentioned. These are Honupfrius Gualfreducci and Giovanni Seiacopi, who have the title of SS. Vitale and Agricola. Among these, Giovanni Seriacopi (Ser-Iacopi), possibly known as the court musician Giovanbattista di Ser Jacopo Rampollini at the court of Cosimo I from 1567, was a canon in 1571. The other Gualfreducci, who became a canon on 23 November 1591 at San Lorenzo with the same title, appeared as a singer at the court of

\textsuperscript{14}. ASL 2636, f.78v.

Francesco I de Medici. From 1 February 1575 until 15 July 1577, four days before this appointment at the Cappella Sistina, he served as a singer at the Cappella Giulia. At the court, he is mentioned as the singer of the first and third intermedii of Girolamo Bargagli’s *La pellegrina* as well as singer of Caccini’s “Godi turba mortale” in the sixth intermedi.\(^\text{15}\) In the appendix included at the end of the dissertation, the names of all of the choir members between 1550 and 1609 are listed.

After this time the increasing number of musicians at the court, the duke in that he had to spend 4,250 scudi to support them. According to an anonymous letter a procedure was adopted that sent the court singers who were too old or who had not an excellent talent to the chapel as either chaplains or canons. This relieved the expenditures of the court. In the mid-seventeenth century, the church was regularly allowed to engage five singers--two sopranos, a contralto, a tenor, and a bass--as replacements from the singers at the court. When the chapel required more singers, for instance, for the major feast days, they were supplied from the Cathedral

church. In that the Catholic liturgy does not require the use of large musical forces in the church services, the roles of these additional choir members might not have been too significant.

Originally, the prior was charged for direction of all canons in the choir, for example, prior Girolamo Bozzolini (f.1498-1555) at the beginning of the sixteenth century. When he assumed the post of prior in 1546, Girolamo Bozzolini bore the responsibility for the direction of all of the canons in the choir, as had his predecessors. When he died in May of 1553, he was succeeded in this function by Pier Francesco Giambullai who was elected as the first choirmaster of the canons. The next year, the church again changed its policy, and a newly elected choir-leader trained both the canons and chaplains. Bartolomeo dall’Ancisa served as the first choirmaster for all of the canons and choral chaplains. He continued this post until 1581 during which time the strict discipline of the choir did not allow any absences without the permission of the choirmaster.

On 9 May 1581, Dominico Passerini assumed the post through

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17. ASL 2299.
a regular election,\textsuperscript{18} but after this the church annually elected the
choirmaster on the second Wednesday of May. Only three clerics
were selected a second time. Occasionally the newly elected
choirmaster was not acceptable to the chapter, in which case the
incumbent continued in office until another election was scheduled.
Table 5 is a chronological list of the choir-leaders from 1584 until 1610.

Table 5. Choirmasters at San Lorenzo, 1584-1610

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batista Barbierino (1528-1582)</td>
<td>9 May 1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luigi Monti</td>
<td>4 June 1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camarlo</td>
<td>11 May 1588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matteo Vestri</td>
<td>12 May 1589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominico Passerini (1556-91)</td>
<td>9 May 1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camarlo</td>
<td>8 May 1591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Batista Leoncini</td>
<td>1594-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Petrelli (1593-1602)</td>
<td>23 October 1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolo Ducci da Zolla (1581-1611)</td>
<td>27 August 1597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Baptista Leoncini</td>
<td>8 May 1602</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{18}. ASL 2636.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alfonso Benvenuti (1591-1628)</td>
<td>14 May 1603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominico Orsi</td>
<td>20 Nov 1603 (Thursday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Ferrari</td>
<td>12 May 1604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michele Mannelli</td>
<td>21 May 1608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvadore Quintini (1600-1618)</td>
<td>14 May 1608 (not acceptable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giulio Ottavani</td>
<td>24 September 1608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfonso Benvenuti, tenor</td>
<td>1610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matteo Vestri</td>
<td>29 October 1610</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although most of the choir members were ordained, they, like their leaders, were not always musicians. Some, however, like Giovanni Ferrari were well-known. Ferrari, for example, was a composer and later became a *maestro di cappella* at the court of Tuscanny and at Livorno cathedral. Of the others, it is interesting to note that the name of Vestris is recorded as a “French family of dancers and musicians of Italian origin” who settled in Paris about

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20. His publications include *Il primo libro de Motetti* published in 1627, and *Il primo libro de madrigali* for two to four voices with clavicembalo in 1628.
Indeed, the earlier members of the Vestris family were Florentine in origin, and it is possible that Matteo Vestris might have been one of the family members. As far as the record is concerned, seven of these choir-masters were selected from the ranks of the choral chaplains. The others probably came from other churches or were otherwise unknown singers or musicians.

Music for Holy Week

As Easter was one of the most important holy days, the prior annually selected a person to prepare the music for Holy Week. This appointment was apparently made during Epiphany or before22 and the special emphasis provided opportunity for the composition of many sacred works. It has not been possible to establish a chronological list of these appointees, as some of the annual records omit any name. In such cases, it is, of course, possible that the


22. These appointees were also required to provide music for the pre-Lenten Sundays. See comments regarding the work of Arrigli infra.
person who had the obligation in the previous year sustained the role.

During the period of 1550 and 1562, for instance, the documents yield only three names. The first known person to be responsible for the preparation of the music for Holy Week was Piero da Voltera. He was commissioned on Monday, 26 February 1552 [1553] with a fee of eight soldi. Ten years later, on 11 February 1561 [1562], the post was assumed by two persons: Nicolo Rucelli and Prior Petrus Trucioli. They were followed by Francesco Corteccia on 24 February 1562 [1563], and in the next year by Pier Giovanni, a chaplain, who was provisionally charged with the music for Holy Week. After Corteccia's death, Prior Michele Federighi, a music theorist and

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23. ASL 2299, *Libro di Partiti C.*

24. ASL 2325.
copyist of some of Corteccia's music, may have taken it over, since as a prior, he had to select a person who took this job.

After 1577 the documents more consistently provide the name of the musician who was charged with the music for Holy Week. These were Salvadore on 20 February 1576 [1577], Cristofano Malvezzi on 28 February 1581, and his brother Alberigo Malvezzi on 12 March 1585. On 16 March 1588, Constantino Arrigli, who came from the church of San Bartolomeo was commisioned to prepare music for quadragesima and he served until 16 February 1599 [1600] when Lorezno Bendini was chosen. Bendini was replaced by Luca Bati in 1602, and then, Marco da Gagliano assumed the post in 1603 [1604].

These records show that the running of the church was systematically organized and that it prepared carefully for Holy Week and other special feast days such as the feasts of the Virgin by selecting different priests or musicians to be responsible for the

25. ASL 2325.

26. ASL 2300, ff. 16r, 28r.

27. ASL 2636.
service. At the same time, these appointments provided opportunities for the composition of abundant sacred music.

Annual Distributions.

Many of the manuscripts reserved at the Archivio di San Lorenzo contain records of annual salaries of the choir. The documents themselves are divided into two groups, one for the canons and the other for the chaplains. On the records for monthly payments, the clerk checked the attendance of the priests in the daily Offices and Mass, and calculated a monthly total at the end. For the annual salaries, the clerk listed every monthly payment given to each priest for journeys, preaching, choral activities, and disbursements of money from the sacristy. Then, the bursar usually deducted one’s travel expenses from the total amount of his salary. In most cases, the canons scarcely did any preaching, while most of the chaplains earned their emoluments from their orations. The canons received an amount of money double that of the chaplain in their choral activities. Among the priests, the prior received the highest emoluments.
As a rule, every time the chapter was invited to a funeral, all clerics had to attend it whether they were paid or not. When they were paid, the money for charity was distributed among the clerics who participated in the funeral procession. The chaplain should have just one portion, the canon two, and the prior four. If the funeral ceremony was celebrated in the church, they also paid the janitor ten soldi. If all of the priests were not invited to a funeral which was to be done outside the church, only such numbers of priests as requested by servants of the dead went to the funeral. In such cases, canons and clerics of the school were not required to go.\(^\text{26}\)

Robert Gaston mentions that the annual salary for each canon at San Lorenzo was 150 scudi.\(^\text{27}\) Actual records of the distribution to the choir were, however, different, since the salary of each canon was not the same in each month or even for each day; the amount depended on their participation. The salaries received by the canons usually ranged from 120 to 170 scudi, while each of the choral chaplains was given less than that. According to the records of 1556,

\(^{26}\) ASL 2136.

\(^{27}\) Robert Gatson, \textit{op. cit.}
for example, the choir members were assigned higher salaries during the months of December, August, and April, since these months provided the most important church seasons such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of San Lorenzo.

These documents also reveal the fact that the church employed five to seven new choir members annually. Most of these replacements were made to fill vacancies. Some of them would be either visiting priests or singers invited for special occasions. In such cases, their names were not usually recorded in the succeeding year or even in the next month. If their names recurred, they were either persons who were regular substitutes or who had become new choir members.

A list of the monthly salary of each priest is presented in the appendix E at approximately five year intervals beginning from 1558 until 1590. After the year 1590, only daily records are available. Some of the years in which there were more choir members than others, as in 1560, are also included.
CHAPTER IV

LITURGICAL PRACTICE

The Religious Feast Days

Aside from the specific commemorative services for the patrons, regular Offices and Masses, religious feast days, and devotions for the dead became routine tasks for the priests. Consequently, this chapter will focus more on various kinds of religious feast days, especially those for saints, the historical background of the arrangement of these religious saints days, and the related music.

Historically, the first division of the Office of Saints days into greater and lesser appeared around the eighth century. The earliest surviving record for the greater saints' days which had special solemn music were the feast days of SS. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Lorenzo, the Assumption, and St. John the Baptist. These five days were celebrated with a double office, one in the early evening and the other at midnight. It disappeared in this form, however, in the thirteenth century and only the liturgical name the officum
duplex remained.¹

In earlier Roman liturgies, Offices of the major feast days were modeled after those of Christmas, Epiphany, and Ascension, while Offices of the minor feast days were simplified. Services comprised of nine psalms, nine antiphonal and responsorial chants, and nine lessons, whose material was derived from the Acts of Saints, were reserved for the major feast days.² The division of feast days into major and minor were not permanently fixed and many changes were made over the centuries especially during the time of Council of Trent.

Similar to such divisions in the Roman church, the church of San Lorenzo in Florence divided the feast days into three groups of which the first two were designated major and minor. The choir was paid differently for services at each level. As in the ancient Roman church, the division of these feast days was not fixed, and the rank of the feasts frequently changed. For instance, the death of St. Ambrogio, designated as the second-rank feast day in 1375 at San


Lorenzo, was raised in rank to a major feast day in 1393. At the beginning of the sixteenth-century when its popularity waned this feast dropped in place to a third-ranked feast. The constitution of the church in 1375 listed the major celebrations at San Lorenzo as the feasts of St. Concordi, St. Lorenzo, the nativity of Christ, Resurrection, Pentecost, All Saints' day, Epiphany, the first Sunday of Lent, and Corpus Domini.

By the 1540s the day of St. Concordia as well as those of Epiphany, the first Sunday of Lent, and Corpus Domini were listed as minor feast days. In the second half of the sixteenth-century, the day of SS. Cosimo and Damiano was included as a major feast day. During this time only six days were listed as major feast days. These were Pentecost (May 30), the anniversaries of St. Lorenzo (August 10) and SS. Cosimo and Damiano (Sep 26), All Saints (Nov 1), Christmas (Dec 25), and Easter Sunday.

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3. ASL 2132.

4. ASL 2130.
The major reason for changing the day of SS. Cosimo and Damian to the status of a major feast was the Medici’s aim to elevate the name of Cosimo de Medici to the level of a Saint. This helped to create a better image of the sovereign among the Florentine people. In this regard the Medici encouraged the construction of chapels in honour of SS. Cosimo and Damian in two other Florentine churches. These were the churches of Santa Croce and San Marco where a Mass for St. Cosimo was commemorated each week. In 1429, Cosimo also initiated the feast of St. Thomas to celebrate his return from exile.5

Both Gagliano and Malvezzi composed music on the theme of Sancti Cosmas et Damianus for this feast day (see Examples 5 and 6), but their texts are different. Following is a translation of Gagliano’s text:

Sancti Cosmas et Damianus
dire vinculis constricti in mare demersi
in ignemque coniecti et afluxibus
et aflammis incolumes servati sunt.

Saints Cosmas and Damian,
dreadfully bound with chains, plunged
into the sea, and cast into fire, were
preserved safe both from the waves and the flames.

A translation of Malvezzi’s text follows:

Sancti Cosmas et Damini

Cosmam et Damianum neque mare neque rogus
potuit separare a charitate Dei
Tanquam aurum in fornace probavit electos Dominus
Inventi sunt illesi [ illaesi] in aquis validis

Neither the sea nor the pyre was able to separate Cosmas and Damian from the love of God. Then like gold in the forge God tested his chosen ones. They were found uninjured in the strong waters.

Among the other major feast days with which the Medici concerned themselves was the feast of San Lorenzo, which had been established in honor of the patron saint of the church of San Lorenzo. In 1418, the chapel introduced a specific Office for the vigil of the day of San Lorenzo. Later, new lessons at Matins for the second Nocturne of the day of San Lorenzo were instituted during the time of the Council of Trent. The distribution of indulgences especially on the day of San Lorenzo, as described earlier, was also linked with honoring Lorenzo de Medici. Like that for San Lorenzo, related to Lorenzo de Medici, the feast day of St. Giovanni, that is, for Giovanni de Medici, had been already established as the patron saint of the Florenine city. Other feasts related to the Medici were the day of St.
Thomas to celebrate Cosimo's return from his exile in 1434, and the Octave of St. Stephen, which occurred around the birthday of Lorenzo the Magnificent. This shift to secular emphasis caused Trexler to observe that “the Mediceanization of Florentine sacred time soon led to the sacramization of Medici time.”

The text of Gagliano’s “Levita Laurentius” (see Example 7) was derived from the antiphon to the Magnificat which was used at first Vespers (Example 8) on the feast of San Lorenzo.

Example 8. Levita Laurentius, The Liber Usualis, p. 1593

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The text of the antiphon reads:

Levita Laurentius bonum opus operatus est,
qui per signum crucis caecos illuminavit,
et thesauros Ecclesiae dedit pauperibus.

The Levite Lawrence performed a good work,
by giving sight to the blind through the sign of the Cross,
And the treasures of the church he gave to the poor.

In the traditional Roman Office broad distinctions were made in the structures of the feast and ferial days (or weekdays). From the Carolingian period, twelve psalms and three lessons were used on the ferial Office, while the Sunday Office required eighteen psalms and nine lessons. Further, the medieval Paschal Vespers varied widely from the other canonical Offices. Although three psalms7 were reserved for Vespers, two more psalms—'Laudate pueri,' and 'In exitu Israel'—were required for the procession. Further, whether at Vespers or during the procession of clergy, each psalm was accompanied by an Alleluia. Another difference in the paschal Office was the inclusion of three Magnificats: one for Vespers, and two for the procession. Each Magnificat is also followed by an antiphon and a

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7. These were ‘Dixit Dominus,’ ‘Confitebor,’ and ‘Beatus Vir.’
   Pierre Batiffol, op. cit., 133.
The Easter Mass at midnight had no Introit, Credo or Agnus Dei, and ended with the Easter Alleluia.\(^8\)

In Rome, the celebration of Christmas as a festival dates from 336 in the Philocalian calendar. The Office used on this day was comprised of three nocturns, of which each consisted of three psalms with antiphons.\(^9\) Gagliano’s two spiritual madrigals “Pastor levate Su,” and “O Meraviglie belle,”, which were composed for Christmas, were published in Venice in 1615 as pieces in a collection called *Musiche a una, due, e tre voci*\(^{11}\) (see Examples 9 and 10). The text of the first portion follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pastor levate Su} & \quad \text{Shepherd, wake up.} \\
\text{Chi vi ritarda il pie} & \quad \text{Who is holding you back?} \\
\text{Oggi e Nato Giesu} & \quad \text{Today Jesus was born.} \\
\text{Giesu il Sommo Re} & \quad \text{Jesus the King of Kings}
\end{align*}
\]


\(^{10}\) Batiffol, *op. cit.*, 119.

Nella campanna humil  In your humble hay
Soffre l’horrodo giel Suffering frightful cold
Pargo letto gentil  Gentlest little Baby
Quel che fabrico’l Ciel He who sky has made

Nudo sul l’asprofien Naked on the roughest hay
fra due giumen ti sta Between two asses lies
Deh chi mirar sostien Oh, who can bear to gaze
L’eterna sua belta On beauty such as this?

Non piu tardarsu su No longer wait, arise
Lietimo ve te il pie Happily hasten there
Ad adorar Giesu Our Jesus to adore,
Giesu il Somme Re Jesus the King of Kings.

The manuscript ASL II, 5 (=E) preserves Gagliano’s motet
for six voices, “Hodie Xpus natus est” (see Example 11). His text is
derived from the antiphon for the Magnificat used at Christmas.

Hodie Xpus natus est.
Hodie salvator apparuit.
Hodie in terra canunt Angeli,
laetantur Archangeli.
Hodie exsultant justi, dicentes.
Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Today Christ is born.
Today a saviour appears.
Today angels sing.
The archangels rejoice on earth
Today we exult and say.
Glory to God in the highest.
A final example of music for a major feast day is the anonymous *Beata quoque agmini* which is for All Saint’s day (see Example 12). The text follows:

> Beata quoque agnima celestium spirituum
> preterita presentia futura mala pellite:
> Martirer Dei incliti confessore que lucidi
> verstrir orationibus nos ferte in celestibus.
> Gente auferite perfidami credentium definibus
> ut Christo lauder debitar perolua mus alacriter.

Blessed bands of celestial spirits also
drive away past, present and future ills.
Renowned martyrs of God and brilliant confessors,
bring us among the celestial by your prayers.
Remove the faithless people from the territory of believers so that we may pay due praises to Christ with alacrity.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the list of Major feast days had not been changed. It was not until 1617 that the church directed that more major feast days be included in the calendar. The additions were Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension, four major feasts of the Virgin, feasts of SS Peter and Paul, St John the Baptist, and Holy Week.¹²

¹². ASL 2137.
Eight singers were allowed for the major feast days with the addition of three canons at the Mass, two at Vespers, and as many as possible for Matins. On minor feast days, the Mass was done by the hebdomadarius canon, that is, the choir official serving for that week, along with three assistant chaplains, and four singers. Vespers and Matins required only the hebdomadarius canon, one minster and four singers. All Sundays, however, used only the hebdomadarius canon, three ministers, and two singers for the Mass. The amounts of money received from the celebration of the major and minor feast days are listed in Table 6.

For the preparation of the plain Mass by choir members, the Constitutiones Insignis Et Collegiatae Ecclesiae San Lorenzo in 1566 indicates:

Lest any confusion arise among those about to celebrate, we have determined that the one who has entered the sacristy first be prepared first and go out to celebrate first if he wishes. Yet, let it always be permitted to the canon to go out before the chaplains, even those who prepared before him, . . . . We also prohibit more than one prepared canon to remain in the terminus of the choir [end of the choir], and more than two prepared chaplains to remain in the sacristy.

13. ASL 2136, ff. 86-87.
But any who shall have remained will not be admitted to the distribution of the choir (payment), but are to be considered absent.\textsuperscript{14}

Table 6. Salary Schedule for Major and Minor Feast Days at San Lorenzo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hour</th>
<th>Major feast days</th>
<th>Minor feast days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prior</td>
<td>Canon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matins</td>
<td>5 soldi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 (denaro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{14} Translated from the ASL 2136, f. 91.

"Ne Qua inter celebraturos oriatur confusio, statuimus, ut qui prius sacrarium ingressus fuerit, prius paretur, & prius si voluerit exeat ad celebrandum Canonico tamen semper liceat ante cappellanos egredi. . . . Prohibemus etiam in terminis punctorum chori ultra canonicum unum paratum, plures in sacrario paratos Cappellanos praeter duos manere. Quod si qui manserint ad chori distributionem non sunt admittendi, sed pro absentibus habentur."
The list of minor feast days between 1550 and 1617 follows:

Table 7. A List of Minor Feast Days (1566)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feast of the Circumcision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second and third days of the Easter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fifth and sixth days of Holy Week</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sabbath day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Maria della Neve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second and the third of the Pentecost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Sunday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Concordius, Jan 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of the Purification, Feb 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Benedict, Mar 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mark Evangelist, Apr 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Barnabas, June 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitation of the Virgin Mary, July 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Jacobis, July 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Bartolomew, Aug 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The nativity of the Virgin, Sep 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Matthew, Sep 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS. Simon &amp; Juda, Oct 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Presentation of the Virgin, Nov 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrea Apostle, Nov 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conception of the Virgin, Dec 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Translation of the Christ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Stephen, Dec 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mark, Pope, Oct 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Crispin, Oct 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epifany, Jan 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Peter Apostle, Feb 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Sixtus, Apr 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Philippe &amp; Jacop, May 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John Baptist, June 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John the Evangelist, Dec 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. ASL, 2136, 72-73.
The celebration of the minor feast day began with Matins and ended with Compline on the day itself. For the feasts of the Virgin there was a special Mass for the Virgin in addition to regular liturgy. According to the history of Roman Breviary, the feasts of the Virgin were of Byzantine origin, and not of recognized importance before the eighth century. Even as late as 1245, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin was the only celebration during the octave at the papal court.

The following example, Gagliano’s “Lumen ad revelationem gentium” for five voices (see example 13), is a work characteristic of the music composed for these feasts. The opening is based on the antiphon used with the Nunc dimittis at Terce on the Purification of BMV( 2 February). The text is the prayer recited by Simeon when he saw Jesus in the Temple (Luke 2:29-32). Gagliano used the opening five notes of the original antiphon melody in the superius (Example 14).


During the distribution of the long candles on this day, the chant was sung as a benediction. Perhaps as a means of extending the piece to match the lengthy distribution, the opening antiphon is repeated between each of the verses of the canticle (see music).

The priest prays that God will make the candles holy and useful and will listen to the prayer of those who burn them; that the light of the Holy Spirit will end the darkness of sin and enable us to know and love it.\footnote{The Book of Catholic Worship (Washington D.C: The Liturgical Conference, 1966), 187.}

Lumen ad revelationem gentium:
et gloriæ plebis tuæ Israel.
Nunc dimittis servum tuum,
Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace.
Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum
Quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in saecula saeculorum amen

A light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to your people Israel.
Sovereign, O Lord, as you have promised, Now you dismiss your servant in peace. For my eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the sight of all people, Glory be to the father and to the son and to the Holy Spirit; as it was in the beginning and now and will be forever, world without end, Amen.

Unlike some feast days, which used legends and legendary literature, the Office of St. John the Baptist was based on the traditional Office of the Season.19 Gagliano composed several motets for the feast of St. John the Baptist. One such example is the *Descendit Angelus*, a motet for six voices. It is based on the Responsory text of the second Nocturn at Matins for the feast of John the Baptist (see Example 15).

Descendit Angelus Domini ad Zachariam
dicens: Accipe puerum in senectute tua:
et habebit nomen Ioannes Baptistae
Iste puer magnus coram Domino:
Nam et manus eius cum ipso est.

---

The Angel of the Lord came down to Zachary, saying, "Receive a child in your old age; He shall have the name John the Baptist. This child shall be great before the Lord, for the Lord's hand is with him.

Although the voice parts are arranged in an unusual way, their recurring order in the original manuscript is regular. The layout for the six voices places the sopranos at the bottoms of the facing folios, while the bass is written in the upper right side. The middle parts and the upper left side are usually assigned to the altos and tenors. For example, here, the verso side of the folio contains music for the second alto, tenor, and, at the bottom, the first soprano, while facing folio contains the bass, in the baritone clef, at the top, followed by the first alto and second soprano. Figure 6 diagrams this arrangement.

Figure 6. Part Arrangement of Gagliano's *Descendit Angelus*
The third class of the religious feasts is divided into two groups, depending on the amount of canonic activity because the canons were not always obliged to participate at Compline. Following are two lists which designate the days of required attendance or nonattendance at Compline.20

Table 8. A List of the Third Class Feast Days at San Lorenzo

Required Days:

All the sundays of the year
The Octave of the Corpus Domini
St. Podii
St. Sebastian, Jan 20
St. Gregory, Mar 12
St. Francesco, April 2
St. Eugene, June 2
Visititation of Mary, July 2
St. Jerome, Sep 30
St. Catherine, Nov 25
St. Andrew, Nov 30

St. Zenobi, the Florentine archbishop
The Feast iii ciner
St. Anthony Abbot, Jan 17
St. Joseph, Mar 19
St. Innocent, Apr 17
SS. Crescentia & John Gualberti, June 15
St. Mary Maddalen, July 22
St. Lucian, Oct 26
St. Silvestro, Nov 26

Non-Required Days:

The Octave and the vigil of Epifany
The Octave of Innocent
The Octave of Easter
The Octave of the Ascension
The Octave of St. John the Baptist
The Octave of the Assumption of the Virgin
The Octave of St. Lorenzo
The Transfiguration of St. Bartholomeo
The Octave of the Nativity of the Virgin

20. ASL 2136, 75.
The Octave of Piero Apostle
The Octave of All Saints' day
The Octave of the Conception of the Virgin
The Octave of the Nativity of the Christ
The Octave of St. Stefani
The Octave of St. John the Evangelist
The Octave of Santus Spiritus
The Dedication of the Apostle
The Corpis privii
The Translation of St. Jerom
The Feast of ten thousand cruxifix
St. Julian, Jan 9
St. Anthony, Jan 17
St. Agatha, Feb 5
The Dedication of S. Salvator, Mar 18
St. Michael, May 8
St. Paul, July 25
St. Peter, June 29
The Commemoration of St Paul, June 30
St. Donatus, Aug 7
SS.Tibertiis & Valeriano Aug 11
St. Gregory, Sep 3
St. Ciprian, Sep 16
St. Clement, Nov 23
The Translation of St. Stephan
The Translation of St. Zenobi
St. Agnes, Jan 21
St. John, Mar 8
St. Justus, April 14
St. John, June 26
St. Christopher
St. Mupiola
St. Anna, July 26
St. Romanus, Aug 9
St. Augustine, Aug 28
The Exaltation of S. Croce, Sep 14
The Feast of St Cecilia, Nov 22
St. Nicholas, Dec 6

In Table 9 the salary schedules for the third class feasts and ferial days at San Lorenzo are compared (see Table 9).

Among special times, that of Easter was treated even more specially in the liturgy. The first three days of Holy Week, which celebrated the regular ferial liturgy, were opposed to the exceptional services of the last three days. The Thursday Office began at Midnight with three Nocturns. The lessons used at the nocturns in the last three nights were derived from the Lamentations of
Jeremiah, St. Augustine, and the Epistles of St. Paul. During this time the Gloria Patri was omitted at the end of psalms and of responsories and the antiphons were doubled instead.

Table 9. A Comparison of Salary Schedule for the Third Class Feast and Ferial Days at San Lorenzo\textsuperscript{21}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canons</th>
<th>Prior</th>
<th>Chaplain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matins</td>
<td>2 soldi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compline</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 denaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices (Prima, Terza, Sesta, Nono)</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{cf) Liturgical Ferial day}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canons</th>
<th>Prior</th>
<th>Chaplain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matins</td>
<td>1 soldi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 denaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compline</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{21} ASL 2136, 76.
The Maundy Thursday practice, established in the eleventh century, of extinguishing one of the fifteen candles placed in front of the altar at the end of each psalm in both Matins and Lauds was apparently done during this time. On Good Friday, the priests and other clergy prepared for the procession, during which the hymn 'Vexilla Regis' was sung. After the procession, except for the Antiphon for the Magnificat, the same Vespers used on Maundy Thursday was recited as was common in our century.\(^2\) In the original Roman liturgy, the public could not attend either of these Vespers. On Holy Saturday, because of the Easter vigil, there was no Vespers service.\(^3\)

The ASL ms \(II 3(=C)\), which was copied by two hands, one of whom was Michele Federighi, contains music by Corteccia (ff. 1-58r) for Holy Week. As mentioned before, Corteccia's music consists of twenty-seven Responsories for four to six voice, divided into three groups, one for each night—Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Saturday. The following example is one of his Responsories. It is

\(^2\) The contemporary forms of these services may be found in the *The Liber Usualis*.

\(^3\) Pierre Batiffol, *op. cit.*, 124-130.
scored for four voices and only the tenor and bass clefs are used in the original score (see Example 16). The text was derived from a portion of the Responsory used at the second Nocturn on Maundy Thursday night. In the manuscript, a decorative letter initiates each vocal part (see Figure 7).

R) In felix pretermisit pretium\textsuperscript{24} sanguinis et in fine laqueo se suspendit.
V) Bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset homo ille.

R) The unhappy man threw away the money that was paid for blood, and finally hanged himself with a halter.
V) It were better for that man if he had not been born.

According D'Accone, the Florentine cathedral listed thirty-nine official holidays during the first half of the Sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{25}

Table 10 reproduces his list.

\textsuperscript{24} The spelling of the text is changed as precium in the manuscript.

Figure 7. Francesco Corteccia, *Bonum erat ei*, ASL II. 3 (=C), f. 20.
Table 10. A List of Special Feasts in the Florentine Cathedral (1335-1526).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Feast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1</td>
<td>Circumcision of Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 6</td>
<td>Epiphany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 2</td>
<td>Purification of Our Lady S. Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 24</td>
<td>St. Mattias Apostle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 7</td>
<td>St. Thomas Aquinas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 25</td>
<td>Annunciation of St. Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Easter Sunday through the Octave of Easter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25</td>
<td>St. Mark, Evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29</td>
<td>St. Peter Martyr of the Dominican Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1</td>
<td>Ss. James and Philip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 3</td>
<td>finding of the Holy Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8</td>
<td>St. Michael, Archangel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 25</td>
<td>St. Zenobius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pentecost and two following days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ascension of Our Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 11</td>
<td>St. Barnabas, Apostle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 23-24</td>
<td>St. John the Baptist and its Vigil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 29</td>
<td>Ss. Peter and Paul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 22</td>
<td>St. Mary Magdalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1</td>
<td>St. Peter's chains and S. Felicity and her sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 5</td>
<td>St. Dominic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 10</td>
<td>St. Lawrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 15</td>
<td>Assumption of St. Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 24</td>
<td>St. Bartholomew, apostle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 28</td>
<td>St. Augustine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 29</td>
<td>Beheading of St. John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 8</td>
<td>the Nativity of St. Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 14</td>
<td>the Exaltation of the Holy Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 21</td>
<td>St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 29</td>
<td>St. Michael, Archangel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 4</td>
<td>St. Faucis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 8</td>
<td>St. Reparata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 18</td>
<td>St. Luke, evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 25</td>
<td>St. Miniatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 29</td>
<td>Ss. Simona and Jude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1-2</td>
<td>All Saints' day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 9</td>
<td>(the deci. of the Arch-Basilica of our)Saviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 11</td>
<td>St. Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 22</td>
<td>St. Cecilia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 25</td>
<td>St. Catharine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 6</td>
<td>St. Nicholas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dec 13       St. Lucy
Dec 21       St. Thomas, Apostle
Dec 25 *    Christmas and the Octave day of Christmas

Such feast days were not, however, always celebrated in the other churches. For example, after the 1577 reform the obligation book for San Lorenzo for the year 1592 shows that from the above list only those marked with an asterisk were celebrated at the church of San Lorenzo. In addition the following feasts were included at the church of San Lorenzo:

Jan 26       Translation of St. Zenobi
March 21     St. Benedict
April 24     St. Giorgio
May 9        Translation of St. Girolamo
Aug 3        St. Felicity
Aug 20       St. Bernard
Sept 27      SS. Cosimo and Damian
Sep 30       St. Girolamo
Nov 21       The Presentation of Virgin
Dec 8-12     The Conception

26. Ibid.
Dec 26  St. Stefano
Dec 27  St. Giovanni Evangelist

Most of the dates of the above list were not the exact dates of the feasts, since the canons usually made their records a day later. At the same time the comparison of these two lists reveals that each church based their feast days on their patrons and patron saints.

A typical feature of Florentine society during this time was the religious procession that took place on Corpus Domini, the feast days of Saints Cosmo and Damiano, San Lorenzo, and others. Even now on Corpus Domini, 13 June, when the hymn *Pange, lingua gloriosi Lauream certaminis* (Sing, my tongue, the saviour's glory) is sung, a procession takes place in Florence. The modern liturgy which was adapted from the traditional form still shows the old method of procession used by their ancestors. The procession commences after the Communion of the Mass, which was sung in the evening. It is led by the young clerics who hold the long white candle. Although the course of their procession is short, that is, from the Florentine Cathedral to the church of San Lorenzo, it took almost an hour because of the long line of devout. Worshipers who arrived earlier at San Lorenzo recited prayers while they waited for the arrival of the
archbishop outside the church in the piazza. When the trumpeters, who wore red hats with their special costumes, arrived at the piazza with the archbishop, they played a short fanfare. At this time the people processed into the church of San Lorenzo, where *Te Deum* was being sung. There, the bishop made a final oration and the ceremony ended with the *Benedicamus Domino*.

For the procession of Corpus Domini and in those of St. John the Baptist, and the revered Virgin, the prior was given twenty-eight soldi, each canon received fourteen soldi, each chaplain seven soldi, and each singer two soldi. Meanwhile, for the vigil of the feast day of San Lorenzo, the prior received four soldi, canons and chaplains who sang the Nocturn received two and one soldi, respectively.\(^27\) Also, for Easter week, after Vespers chaplains, chaplain who sang Lauds gained four denaro. The same amount of money was also given to them for seven psalms and for a Gradual. It was customary that canons received the double amount of the money given the chaplains and the prior twice of that of the canon.

\(^{27}\) According to the *Libro di Entrata e Uscita di Sagresta*, the church spent the most money on candle purchases for the feast days of San Lorenzo (up to twenty-five lire) and SS Cosimo and Damian.
Along with the priests, the school master and twelve young clergy attended at every Vespers. In addition to Vespers, they regularly attended Mass and Compline of all observed feast days. They also celebrated Mass for the Virgin Mary every morning. When Cosimo donated a large silver cross for the new altar at the beginning of the fifteenth century, he suggested that the twelve young novices should celebrate the votive Mass for the Virgin Mary every morning at dawn in perpetuity. Such a request was eventually related to the placement of his tomb under the chapel, thus, Mass and Lauds could be sung forever for the salvation of his soul.

The sixteenth-century documents at San Lorenzo further indicate regular tasks for the priests on feast days. Aside from the specific liturgy, they usually commemorated a Mass for the souls of the dead, living priests or devotees on their name days, unless they had a special liturgy on the specific day. For instance, on 6 June

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29. Janis Bell, *The Tomb of Cosimo de Medici in San Lorenzo* (Thesis: Brown University 1977), 30. Historically, the Office of our Lady was obligatory every day in the Roman church. After the Council of Trent, however, it was only recited on Saturdays except for the period of Lent and Ember Saturdays.
1592, they still commemorated the soul of Francesco Corteccia, who had died in 1571, with thirty Masses—twenty-nine low Masses and one sung Mass—and the same was done on 5 December of the same year for the souls of Corteccia and his family.

Clergy were forbidden to say more than one Mass a day except on Christmas, and it was difficult to ask even twenty Masses for the small church which did not have many clergy. As a result, shortly before 1620 the maximum number of Masses to be allowed in a day was limited to six.30

The final examples of music associated with the religious feasts are the Magnificats of Luca Bati and Malvezzi (see Examples 17 and 18). Historically the Magnificat was one of the earliest texts sung in the church. In the early period, it was sung to plainsong or Gregorian chant and soon became the most important part of the first Vespers.31 The text appears in St. Luke’s account of Mary’s meeting with Elizabeth in the house of Zacharias (1: 46-55).32


32. *Ibid.* This text begins with “My soul doth magnify the Lord.”
These Magnificats are set to the different verses. Malvezzi set six odd-numbered verses, while Bati used the six even ones. Such settings, especially those of the even numbered verses were popular during the sixteenth century when the Magnificat was performed alternately with an organ.33 Historically the practice of alternatim was already used in both sequences and antiphons through the performance of two alternating choruses.34


CHAPTER V

MUSICAL ACTIVITIES RELATED TO MARRIAGES AND FUNERALS

The first important Florentine obsequies for the Medici family during the period 1550 -1609 occurred with the death of Cosimo I on 21 April 1574. His body was moved to San Lorenzo for embalmment, but it was not until 17 May that his funeral, modeled after that of Emperor Charles V, was celebrated at the church of San Lorenzo. During the interim, invitations were sent to the other noblemen and to the Medici relatives. Girolamo Guicciardini, Angolo di Don Vincenzo Borghini, the artist, Tommaso di Jacopo de Medici, and Giulio d’Antonio de Nobile decorated the church and the city in black. 1 Official records from this time also show that the church had a large expenditure for extra candles. 2


2. ASL 1943.
On the day of his funeral, the procession consisted of priests from more than twenty churches carrying the splendid catafalque, and about seven thousand people who were wearing black. The official participants included:

The monks of Santa Croce
The monks of San Francesco
The monks of San Jacopo, along with those of Santo Stefano and Santo Sprito
The monks of Santa Maria and the Carmelites
The monks from the church of the Annunciation
The monks of San Cosimo from Fiesole, as well as those of San Marco and Santa Maria Novella
The monks of Santo Rigida
The monks of Santa Lucia on the meadow
Monks from the Monastery of Monte Olivete
Monks from the celebrated monastery of San Michel Visdomini
Monks from the Monastery of Castello, the Abbey of Ripola, San Panerarco and Santa Trinita
Monks from the Monastery of Florentine Abbey
Clerics and the canons of St. Agnese
Priests of the Reformation church
Priests of Orsan Michele
Priests of Santo Ambrogio
Priests of Santa Felicita
Priests of San Friano
Priests of Piero Maggiore
Priests of San Giovanni
and finally, the priests of San Lorenzo

After Giovanni Batista Adriani, the court historian, finished his oration in Latin, the mourners moved to the church of San Lorenzo. The procession was led by six mounted trumpeters who were dressed in scarlet with black hats. Their instruments were also
covered in black. Those behind carried one hundred wax torches together with a great cross that was borne in the center of the people. Then came the Bishop of Caesarea, who conducted the Mass, and the thirteen principal cabinets of the city, preceded by thirteen banners. Then, Francesco de Medici came with two bishops, Don Pietro de Medici, his older brother, and his brother-in-law Paolo Giordano Orsini, and at the end were members of the court and emissaries from the other states.  

In the ensuing decades the deaths of Medici family members often occurred in close proximity. There were four such occasions: first, the deaths of Cosimo’s two sons on 20 November and 12 December 1562, followed by the death of his wife, Eleonora, on 18 December in the same year; second, the deaths of Eleonora di Toledo, the wife of Pietro de Medici, on 9 July 1576, and Isabella de Medici, the daughter of Cosimo I, on 16 July 1576; third, the deaths of Francesco I and his second wife Bianca di Cappella in 1587; finally, the deaths of Catherine de Medici, a daughter of Lorenzo de Medici and wife of Henry II, who was assassinated on 6 January 1589, and

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her son, Henry III, who died fifteen days later at the chateau of Blois in France.

Not all of the funerals were celebrated with the splendor attending that of Cosimo I, but two were given special attention. In 1587 duke Francesco I died on 19 October followed by his second wife Bianca di Cappella the next day at Poggio in Cajano (see chapter I). The corpse of Bianca was carried into the church of San Lorenzo for the customary prayers, but no funeral celebration was created for her. Public memories of her existence disappeared, and were replaced by those of Giovanna d’Austria, the duke’s first wife, as was wished by the new duke, Ferdinand I. Meanwhile, Francesco I’s funeral was carefully prepared by his brother, Ferdinand I, for 15 December at a cost of 12,000 scudi.

Lapini related that this funeral was designed by the architect Bernardo,5 who was assisted in the decoration by Giovanni Batista Strozzi and Giovanni Vittorio Soderini. According to the Miscellania Medicea 477 in the Archivo di Stato in Florence, four deputies, under the direction of Giovanni del Maesto, were appointed to oversee the

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preparations for his funeral. These were Ser Francesco Lenzony, Ser Bernardo Veccietty, Ser Braccio de Parony Ricardi, and Ser Giulio de Nobili.

Another document further indicates that nine instrumentalists, six trumpeters and three trombonists, participated in this funeral. Although Pietro Angelo delivered a short eulogy at the Palazzo Vecchio before the funeral procession, it was not until six days later (21 December 1587) that Monsignor Lorenzo Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini made a formal oration by the order of Florentine Academy at San Lorenzo.

The funeral records of Ferdinand I unlike those of his predecessors are preserved in the Archivio di San Lorenzo. This may be because he was probably the only one mourned by the Florentine people. Ferdinand I died on Saturday, 7 February 1608 [1609], around ten p.m. at the Pitti palace. When he died, the amount that would have been required for his funeral, forty thousand scudi, was set aside as funds for the poor. For his funeral on 11 February twelve candles and other offertories were donated by his peers with

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special gifts being made by the bishops of Fiesole and Arezzo.\(^7\)

Annually thereafter in both Siena and Florence, sixty-five dowries were given for fatherless girls in the amount of twenty scudi for each girl. On the anniversary day each year these girls gathered at the church of Santissima Annunziata where they attended Mass and made Communion for Ferdinand’s soul. Afterwards there was a procession to the hospital of St. Convalescenti, where they ate lunch and returned to their homes.\(^8\)

The priests at San Lorenzo celebrated Mass for Ferdinand every morning at daybreak in the New Sacristy where he was buried. This was done even on Sundays and special feast days. A similar procedure was followed daily after Vespers. The record further indicates that this should be pursued in perpetuity until the

\(^7\) ASL 2219, f. 13R.

\(^8\) “. . ., di tutta quella spesa se ne facesse un fondo, ed ogni anno in tal giorno si dessero 65 doti a povere fanciulle senza padre, e dandole scudi 20. . . che ogn’anno ci detta mattina tutte si portassero alla chiesa della Santissima Annunziata, ed ivi sentita la Messa, e fatta la comunione per l’anima sua, si portassero processionalmente fino allo spedale di San Paolo dei Convalescenti, ed ivi trattate di un pranzo, ciascheduna poi se ne andasse alla sua abitazione. . .” Diario Istorico Fiorentino d’Autore anonimo dal 1600 al 1640, ed. Modesto Rastrell, 129-130.
end of the world.9

On a happier note, beginning about 1565 until 1609, seven Medici nuptials were celebrated. For the most part, these wedding ceremonies were celebrated for at least ten days. One of the longest festivals, the festivities for the marriage of Francesco de Medici and Johanna, during which the most lavish intermedio *La pellegrina* was performed, took more than three months; beginning 16 December, the day of her entrance into the city, and ending 26 February 1565 when Orsini held a great party in Piazza di San Lorenzo in the first week of Lent.10

As most of the weddings were city celebrations, the wedding ceremonies for the Medici family usually took place in the more

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9. ASL 2636, f. 151R.

"...e cominciato di celebrare per la V. S. la Messa de Defunti ogni mattina non impedita da Domenica o festa comandata, la mattina a buonora cie all'Aurora nella Sagrestia Nuova dove si trova il cadavere di detta S.A.S, e quando sara finita la cappella nuova. ... si celebri nella detta cappella dove sara trasportato il detto cadavero, e dopo il vespro si dichino li sette salmi penitentiali nella detta cappella nello stesso giorno non Domenica ne festa comandata; a questo si segua in perpetuo fino che durera il mondo. ..."

10. Among the previous generation, there were two great nuptial ceremonies for the Medici held in the church of San Lorenzo. These were the weddings of Lorenzo de Medici to Clarice and that of Cosimo I de Medici. A detailed description of the former event is preserved in Codex 574, Class XXV of the Strozzi Mss, in the Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.
public Florentine Cathedral church which was well located in the center of the city. Other secular and religious celebrations also occurred during the wedding seasons. For example, during the wedding festivities of Ferdinand III de Medici and Christine of Loraine, the granddaughters of Catherine de Medici, who was the wife of King Henry II of France, provided a Sunday Mass on 7 May at San Lorenzo, which was followed by a banquet with thirty-two programs. Then, on the following Tuesday a religious procession presenting the transportation of the relics of St. Anthony, the first Florentine bishop, was made in the chapel of San Marco.

Among these ceremonies, only two of the weddings were celebrated at the church of San Lorenzo. The first was the wedding of Francesco I to Bianca Cappello on 4 October 1579. No intermedio was performed for this event. Instead, the "Chariot of Night," said to

11. The actual wedding ceremony for Ferdinand III de Medici and Christine of Loraine was made on 20 February 1588 in the presence of the King of France, their Marriage festivities were repeated in greater magnitude at Florence beginning from 30 April when the bride entered the city to 15 May 1588.

be an entertainment of madrigals, was performed to the accompaniment of Caccini's viol on the float.

The wedding ceremony for Cosimo II and Maria Maddalena occurred at San Lorenzo on 19 October, 1608 and the festivities included more entertainment. In fact, a document of the Archivo di Stato in Florence indicates that when preparations were made for the festivities, which were held until 8 November, the officials compared all of the previous programs used for the other weddings and attempted to vary the fare somewhat. For example, after the procession, the subsequent activities included a *caccia* (a hunt), a *palio* (a horse race), and a *giuco* (gambling).13

Many musicians and dancers came from France, Rome, and other places several months before the celebration.14 As a part of the musical entertainments, the day after the wedding saw the performance of Michelangelo Buonarroti's play, *Il giudizio di paride*

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13. Archivio Mediceo del Principat, filza. 6356. Unlike this, the wedding of Virginia de Medici, daughter of Cosimo I and his second wife, Camilla Martelli, and Cesare d'Este did not provide such a long list of programs. Only Bardi's comedy *L'Amico Fido* was performed.

14. *Descrittione della Feste Fatte nelle Nozze de' Sers Principi di Toscana, Cosimo de Medici e Maria Maddalena Arciducessa d'Austria* (Firenze: Giunti), 1608.
(The Judgment of Paris) in the Uffizi theater. The music was composed by Gagliano, Peri, Caccini, and Santi Orlando (final ballo), and only two pieces remain: Galiano’s “Ovunque irato Marte” at the end of the fifth intermedio and Peri’s final strophic choral music in Act III, “Poich la notte”. It was performed by the court musicians, Cardinal Montalto’s singers, especially Signora Hippolita, and members of the Academy degli Elevati.\(^{15}\)

As a common event, a calcio, that is, a football game, was held on each of these occasions except for the marriages of Maria and Henry IV and those of Francesco I. Most of these ceremonies have been already discussed in the various contemporary sources, and are avoided here in detail except for the marriage of Maria de Medici which provides both musical and historical importance. She later became a grandmother of Louis XVI.

The contract of the wedding of Maria de Medici was signed on 25 April 1600 in the Pitti Palace by the French ambassador, Marquis de Sillery in the presence of the archbishop of Pisa and the duke of

Bracciano, Carlo-Antonio Pute.\textsuperscript{16} Since this provided a national union between the two countries, the papal legate, cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, delivered a golden rose from the Pope for the bride on the vigil of their wedding, 5 October 1600. Besides the entertainers other clergy, monks, officials, cavaliers, and extensive French dignitaries arrived in the Florence for that day. When the bride entered into the cathedral to receive a benediction, she was escorted by forty handsome Florentine men, some of whom were members of the company of the Arcangello Raffaello (\textit{MM, ASF}), and were wearing white satin, embroidered with golden decorations. During their entrance, cannons and bells echoed throughout the city. At the church, twelve choristers and the best instrumentalists of the city performed a "Te Deum". In the evening, a ball and a banquet were held in a Room large enough for five hundred.\textsuperscript{17}

On the day of the wedding, three hundred-carriages each with six pairs of horses transported all of the noblemen, more than one


\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Diario istorico Fiorentino di autore anonimo dal 1600 al 1640}, ed. Modesto Rastrelli (Firenze: Giunti, 1781).
thousand attendants—including 800 Florentine maidens and three hundred gentlemen—from the court to the cathedral. The legate, who directed the wedding Mass, intoned the chant for the choir during the ceremony and trumpeters and drummers decorated the finale. When the Mass was over, all the guests went to a private dinning room in the Pitti palace for the banquet.18

For the musical entertainment Emilio de Cavalieri composed interludes for Rinuccini’s La contessa fra giunone e minerva. Peri’s Euridice, the first surviving opera, was performed on Thursday 6 October at the apartment of Don Antonio de Medici in the Pitti palace. Don Antonio accompanied Maria de Medici when she moved to France after the wedding.

Three days later, Caccini’s opera Il rapimento di cefalo with the text by Gabriello Chiabrera was also played in the presence of the Queen, the cardinal legate, and three thousand gentlemen and eight hundred noblewomen.19 It was followed by another pastoral tragic

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18. Ibid.

19. For this, more than a hundred musicians were involved with more than a thousand other people. The scenery, much of it intricately controlled by machinery, was built by Bernardo Bountalenti. For this production, the duke spent sixty thousands scudi. Kirkendale, op.cit., 137.

All of the major musical performances for the weddings are listed in Table 14:

Table 14. Major Performances for Medici Weddings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>GENRE</th>
<th>COMPOSERS</th>
<th>PERFORMERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1565. Wedding of Francesco de Medici and Johanna of Austria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La cofanaria</em> intermedio</td>
<td>Cini, Striggio, Corteccia.</td>
<td>Companies of St. Benard and St. Catherine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco d'Ambra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>L'esaltazione della croce</em> sacred drama</td>
<td>Luca Bati</td>
<td>La Compagni de San Bastiano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovan Maria Cecchi</td>
<td></td>
<td>de Fanciulli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1579. Francesco de Medici and Bianca Capello, the second wife (madrigals).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Carro della notte</em> mascherata (Caccini)</td>
<td>Caccini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietro Strozzi (madrigals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fuor de l'umido nido</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>In suo stellante regno</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Quel miracolo amore</em></td>
<td>Vincenzo Galilei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ite guerrier felice</em></td>
<td>Striggio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vede nettuno</em></td>
<td>Claudio Merulo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. In addition to the wedding performances, intermedios were also performed for: the baptism of the first child of Leonora de Medici, of Francesco de Medici and Joanna (1567, Lotto del Mazzo’s comedy, *I fabii*), for the reception of the Duchess of Alba (1558, Alessandro Piccolomini’s *Alessandro*, in the honor of Barbara of Austria, Duchess of Ferrara (1568, Gabriele Bombasi’s tragedy, *Alidoro*), for the visit of Archduke Karl von Oesterreich, brother-in-law of Francesco de Medici (1569, Giovanni Battista Cini’s *La vedova*).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>GENRE</th>
<th>COMPOSERS</th>
<th>PERFORMERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1586. Virgina de Medici, Cosimo I's daughter, and Cesare d'Este, duke of Ferrara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>L'amico fido</em></td>
<td>comedy</td>
<td>Malvezzi, Bardi</td>
<td>Striggio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Bardi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Le due Persilie</em></td>
<td>comedy</td>
<td>same as above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Fedini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1589. Ferdinando I (1549-1609) and Christine of Lorraine</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>La pellegrina</em></td>
<td>intermedio</td>
<td>Malvezzi, Marenzio, The Sienese</td>
<td>Intornati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girolamo Bargagli</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Cavalieri, Bardi, Accademia degli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peri, Caccini)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La pazza</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cavalieri</td>
<td>Comici Gelosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La zingara</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1600. Maria de Medici, a daughter of Francesco (1541-87) and the French King, Henry IV</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Euridice</em></td>
<td>opera</td>
<td>Peri</td>
<td>The Court Musicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>L'amicizia costante</em></td>
<td>tragic comedy</td>
<td>Vincenzo Panciatichi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Il rapimento di cefalo</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Caccini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriello Chiabrera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1607. Eleonora de Medici, the daughter of Francesco I, and Vincenzo Gonzaga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Orfeo</em></td>
<td>opera</td>
<td>Monteverdi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1608. Prince Cosimo II, the eldest son of Ferdinand, and Maria Magdalena.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Il giudizio di paride pastorale</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peri</td>
<td>Cardinal Montalto's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelangelo Buonarroti</td>
<td></td>
<td>Caccini</td>
<td>Cardinale's singers and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gagliano</td>
<td>Accademia degli Elevati</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Santi Orlando</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONCLUSION

Among Italian musical patrons, the Medici family tends to stand out in its contributions to both Renaissance and Baroque music. Beginning with Lorenzo de Medici (1449-1492), the Medici family used its power and wealth to support many productions of music and other artistic entertainments. Its musical support culminated in the performances of many splendid intermedios which were performed for Medici nuptial occasions from the sixteenth century onwards, especially during the reign of Ferdinando de Medici (1549-1609). Their support also made it easier to organize the important Florentine Camerata and religious confraternities through the various connections of the composers both at the court and in the churches.

Further, the Medici, especially through the efforts of two Medici Popes, constantly provided benefits to clerics in the Medici chapel, spurring the sacralization of the Medici name. All of these contributions helped to improve the family image among the Florentine citizens.
In the Renaissance period, there were five major aristocratic families in Florence. Their unification was a main concern for the Medici family, and it appears that the organization of choir members by the clerics at San Lorenzo, who were sponsored by these various patrons, was probably a Medici attempt to integrate these families, as was the establishment of the cleric’s school. In order to assure better services at San Lorenzo, the church required better musicians, hence four of the chapelmasters at the baptistry of San Giovanni were canons at the Medici chapel in San Lorenzo during that time. These four composers also participated in various musical activities at the court. Also, the enrollment of new clerics at the church of San Lorenzo was a primary concern of the grand dukes.

Whether intended or not, the Medici support of the chapel resulted in the development of much sacred music in the sixteenth century. This is well illustrated in the preservation of the many music manuscripts at San Lorenzo, most of which were written and directed by the clerics. The texts used by these composers were mainly based on liturgical sources, although some of them were newly written.
In the second half of the sixteenth century, the church of San Lorenzo listed only six major feast days: Christmas, Easter Sunday, Pentecost, the feast day of San Lorenzo, SS. Cosimo and Damian, and all Saints day. The ecclesiastical record of 1617, however, listed twelve more feast days; mostly devoted to the life of Christ, and to the Virgin Mary. The same tendency is also shown in the modern Roman Catholic Divine Office where the number of major feasts days have been again increased. There are also substitutions of new Saints days for the previous ones, and most of these Saints days are worshipped as third class feast days in the modern liturgy unless a titular Saint or the major patron Saints. This in turn points to an emphasis on devotions dedicated to the life of the Christ instead of celebrating individual Saints.

Even though the Medici did not leave any actual compositions, many of the works of musicians supported by them formed the basis of such popular entertainments as contemporary operas, religious and secular music, and instrumental works at the beginning of the Baroque period. These effects illuminate the Medici family’s important role in the history of music.
APPENDIX A

CLERICS WHO PARTICIPATED AS CHOIR MEMBERS AT

SAN LORENZO
Priors

Girolamo Bozzolini, the son of Cristofani da Fiesole: 1546-55

Piero Trucioli da Volterra, who was also the chapelmaster of the Florentine cathedral from 1532 to 1539, became a Prior in 1555 to 1571.

Michele Federighi di Bartolommeo: 1573-1603, music theorist

Ventura Venturi who came from Borgo S. Sepolcro: 18 September 1602-1617

Canons

St. Ambrogio

Costantino Antinori del Senatore Alessandro di Niccolo: 1541-1578

Jacopo Luchini di Giovanni da Borgo: July 1578-Jan 1609

Beata Giuliana

Stefano Bozzolini: a nephew of the prior Girolamo Bozzolini, 1546-84.

Marco Giani: Nov 1583-1602.

Ventura Venturi del Borgo S. Sepolcro: School master on 12 May 1574, canon: July 1602-Sept 1602, Prior.

1. Arranged chronologically by title.
Anotonio Romano Ciocchetti: 6 June 1603-1616

SS. Vitale and Agricola

Antonio Petrei de Pietro: School master on 21 Jan. 1521. joined as a choral chaplain from 5 Sept 1529. On 8 July 1545, he became a canon, working until his death on 16 January 1570.

Giovanni Seriacopi di Francesco da Foiano: 1 Feb 1570-1571 His name appears as one of the musicians appointed by Cosimo I at the court from 157 as Giovanbattista di Ser Jacopo Rampollini.

Francesco Seriacopi: 6 April 1571-1591

Honuphrius Gualfreduccis d'Antonio: 23 Nov 1591-1600 A singer. elected sagrestano maggiore on 19 May 1593.

Luca Bati: from 6 May 1600-1608. chapelmaster in S. Giovanni and the Florentine cathedral, composer.

Albizzo Vecchius: 1608-1617

SS. Engenio & Crescentio


Nicolaus Brunetti: 30 June 1589-1619

St. Mark the Pope

Nicolaus Oricellarius: 1548-1563
Francesco Cortecci di Bernardo: the son of Bernard Corteccio, canon. Elected as a Canonico Soprannumerario on 25 Jun 1549. Canon, 1563-7 June 1571. Also a chapelmaster at the baptistry and the Florentine Cathedral.


Nicolaus Spina: 20 May 1574-1580

Benedictus Ciceroni, the son of Niccolo da Volterra: First school master in 1558 and chaplain. 14 Jan 1580-1587, canon

Giovanni Baptist Serjacobi di Francesco: 24 Sept 1587-1619

St. Anato Abbot

Petrus Francesco Giambullari di Bernardo Gentiluomo Fiorentino: 1526-1555, the first elected chorister.

Donatus Valdambruni: 25 August 1555-1571

Cristofano Malvezzi, the son of Niccolo da Luca: organist, the chapelmaster at the baptistry. 21 April 1571-1599, composer

Francesco Petrellius, the son of Piero Antonio: 13 May 1599-1625
St. Concordia Martyr

Paulus dell’Ottonaio di Cristofano: 1517-12 Feb 1572
Tommaso Sacchettini di Simone: 13 Feb 1572-1616

St. Sisto, Pope

Petrus de Fettis: 1542-1556
Dominico Bencivenni di Francesco: 4 Aug 1556-1571
Michele Federighi di Bartolommeo: 31 May 1571-1573
Music theorist, later, prior.
Alessandro del Machia: 29 March 1573-1592.
*canonico sopranumerario* from 3 Agosto 1561
Ceasar Pheus: 1592-1601/Filippus Fontana: 8 Aug 1601-1639

St. Sebastian

Nicolas Jocundus: 1524-1551
Nicolaus Serguidi: First schoolmaster from 1531.
16 Jan 1551-1581, canon
Cesar Leonidi: 20 Dec 1581-1610

SS. Cosimo and Damiano

Petrus Truciolus: 1541-1553 (prior)
Laurenti Paulius: 1553-1588/Angelius Bizzellus: 1588-1609
Marco da Gagliano: 1609-1643

**St. John the Apostle** (1428)

Dominicus Blasy de Baglionib: 1534-1551

Giovanni Baptist Bencivenni: 1551-1576

Christophor de Comitibus: 1576-1604

Giovanni Francesco Borri: 1607-1609

Alexander Carpanthus: 1609-1634

**Andrea Apostle** (1460)

Stephanus de Landinis: 1527-1566

Cosmas della Stupha: 1566-1569

John Francesco Ripa: May 25, 1569-1603. Also a rector at the Florentine cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore and S. Giovannni

Petrus Fanfanius: 1603-1621²

**St. Zenobi** (1462)

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² Cianfogni P. *Memorie Istoriahe dell' Ambrosiana R. Basilica di San Lorenzo* (Firenze: Presso Domenico Ciardetti in Borgo Ognissanti con Licenze de' Superiori, 1804), 232-281. ASL 49.
Cappellani

D. Archangelo Michaeli, founded in MCCCXX (1320)

Paulus Navesi (1530-1558)

Benedict Ciceroni (1558-d. 1580)

Sebastiano Cappelli (1580-1601)

Sylvester Migliorim (1601-1615)

D. Bartolomeo Apostle (1393)

1549 Ango. Reatini

1551 Aloysicy Montu

1554 Philippo Bacceli

1558 Benedicto Ciceroni

1559 Donatus Fescut

1560 Hercules Brixiani

1564 Nicolaus Bessi

1569-1571 Octavus Ciceroni

1574 Ventura Venturius

1575 Marco Gianius

1576 Angelus Bizzelli

1586 Dominire

1594 Marcus des Petro

1595 Jacobus de Campi

1591 Vinc Gentili

1600 Leonius; Totti

1602 Giovanni Bongianny

1604 Razze Rassis

1608-1613 Domiano Tos.

Deipara Virginis Vistation (1480)

1549 Sebastian Buonmatei

1587 Valerius Gicchinesi

1597 Giovanni Baptista Ricci

16. Nicolaus Sozzi

16. Simon Montelatici

SS. Petro et Paulo (1482)

1536-1576 Giovanni Battista Compagni
1576-1621 Sebastianus de Bigatiis

D. Mattheo Apolo et Evangelistae (1326)

SS Francesci et Juliani (1510)

1528-1551 Bernardus de Vicorato

1549 Zenobius de Biliottis,

1557 Donatus Valdambu

1560 Cesar Parentinus

1556 Dominico Passerini, choirmaster

1587-1611 Lucas de Brunni

1591 Laurent Berni

Diva Catharina (1348)

1601 Lucas Cianchini

1556-1619 Giovanni Battista Serjacopi

1603-1621 Albertus Gianius

D. Thomas Nery (1350)

Jesu Christ redivivo Clemens VII (1532)

1541-d. 1556 Clemeni Coppini

1533 Nicolaus de Bettinis

1556-1619 Giovanni Battista Serjacopi

1559 Antonio de Franchettis

1571-d.1572 Thomas Sacchettini

1572-1625 Dominicus Sacchettini

1572 Johannis Mari de Franchettis

SS. Bernadi et Anthony (1369)

1576 Petrus del Pelle

1527-1555 Jultanus Sfonda

1577 Aloysius de Montibus

1555 Philipp Bacelli

1587-1612 Giovanni Battista de Valentis

1571 Hiacynth Michelangelo
1591 Joannes Poltu
1603 Marcus Viti
1607-1616 Nicolaus Brinivy

SS. Christi Martyubus
Jubuitio, Valeriano, et
Maximo Nicolaus Sennucij de
Benuccis. . . (1371)

1529-59 Pet. Bernardus de Ripa
1559 Angelus Gucci
1562 Laurentius Fracassinus
1592-1628 Alphons Benvenuti,
a choirmaster and tenor

D. Laurentio (1380)
1543-99 Fabij Luschiny
1599-1622 Michael Mannelii,
choirmaster

Apostle Iohannis Baptista
(1383)
1547-d.1574 Braccius
Balleonius
1574-d.1588 Angelus Bizzellius

1588-d. 1600 Antonio
Francesco Renzi
1600-1634 Thomas Perini

Divinissimo Corpori Seratoris
nostri Jesu C. Zenobius . .
(1387)
1510-d.1561 Leonardus Donati
1561 Bartholomeo Maselli
1592 Antonius Cicchus
1608-9 Sanctes Massini

D Hieronymo (1389)
1544 Michael Ang: Biscio
1607-27 Jacobus Agnoloti

Christophoro Martyri (1429)
1550 Honuphrio Canaccius
1577-1620 Mattheis Vestrius,
choirmaster
Petro Bartholemeo (1451)
: Ius Patronatus Hospitalary
Santa Maria Novella

1530 Simon Fiacisci de Campio

1574 Barthol. Masini

1586 Philipp Fontana

1601-1630 Philipps Nellius

Genitricy Conception,
dedicated by Aldobrandinis (1454)

1529 Jacobus Philiromoli

1574 Jocobus de Campio

1596-1626 Joannes Bongianni

Valentinia (1458)

1527 Albertus Giani

1570 Marcus Giani

1601-1613 Simon Sylverstri

D. Concordia (1460), sponsored by Rondinellis

1529 Bernarde Rondinelli

1579 Raynaldus Rondinelli

1595-1631 Vincentius Rondinelli

Antonius de Thaddeis (1469)

1550 Francisce Thaddei

1562 Petrus Averonis

1582 Giovanni Battist Bertonii

1592-1623 Donimincus Ursus

SS. Apostolis Jacobo et Philippo (1490)

1537 Benedictus de Casali

1555 Petrus Magiolini

1566- d. 1566 Raphael Massicy

1566 Octavianus Ciceronicy

1579 Thomas Cafaggi

1582-1618 Alexandro Pantaleono
D. Bernardo Abot (1400s)
1531 Francisce Corteccia
1570 Jacobus Luchini
1593 Francisce Petrelli, choirmaster
1602-1614 Betavius Pertnelli

D. Leonardo Martyri (1515)
1515 Christoph de Monte Varchio
1567 Antonius de Monte Varchio
1597-1615 Julius Octavianus

S. Hieronymi (1509)
1554 Benedict Babby
1571-1620 Paulus Dellius

D. Laurenti Martyri, instituted by Alexander Nerony et Leonis X (1534)
1534 Francisce Boninius
1561 Dominic Spinecti de Filectole
1564 Dominico Cionius
1572 Hieronyme Masi
1591-1617 Johannes Ferrarius

D. Leonardo Martyri (1515)
1515 Christoph de Monte Varchio
1567 Antonius de Monte Varchio
1597-1615 Julius Octavianus

Divo Donato (1520)
1528 Bartholomeo de Ancisa, choirmaster
1582-1613 Constantinus Porphyzius

Deipara Virginis Sponso
Carolus Leonardi de Ginoris (1522)
1533 Johannes Peti Massacconi
1572 Michael Mazing
1587-1610 Dominie Nicchinis

Vivificae redemptoris nostri Jesu Cristi Resurrection Clemens VII Pont. dedicated in 1532.

1534 Franc. Saltius
1559 Angelus Marci
1592 Jacobus Guidonius
1594 Cesar Massiny
1594-1621 Iforatius Codaccius

Christo Jesu mortis triumphatori cappam erexit., ac vovit Clemens VII (1532)

1533 Nicholaus Giudi

1559 Angustinus Rossi
1584 Paulus Rossi
1591 Dominic Biagiotti
1593 Marcus Antonius del Moro
1600-1618 Salvador Quintini, choirmaster

Christo Resurgenti Clemens VII Pont (1533)

1535 Blasiny Albonetti
1559 Andreas Giorgeschi 1564
APPENDIX B

SELECTED EXAMPLES OF LITURGICAL MUSIC

FROM THE CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO
Example 1. M.C., Dies Irae, ASL II. 15, ff. 182v-184r.

1. Manuscript reads B.
Tu-ba mi-rum spargens so-num per se-pul-cra re-gi-o-num, Co-get
om-nes an-te thro-num.
Example 2. Luca Bati, *Sanctificavit moyses altare*,
ASL II. 5 (=E), ff. 46-47.
ta - re

sanc - ti - fìcavit Mo - y - ses al - ta - re Do - mi -

ti fi - ca - vit Mo - y - ses al - ta - re, al - ta -
sanc - ti fi - ca - vit Mo - y - ses al - ta - re

Do - mi -

Do - mi no fe - rens su - per - il - lud ho - le - cau - sta

Do mi no of - fe - rens su - per - il - lud ho - le - cau - sta su -

re Do mi no of - fe - rens su - per - il - lud ho - le - cau - sta

Do mi no of - fe - rens su - per - il - lud ho - le - cau - sta, ho -

no of fe - rens su -
fecit sacrificium vespertinum

vesperum

in odo rem su a vita tis
in odo rem sua vita tis Do- 

mi - no De - o in con - spec - tu fi - li - o

mi - no Do - mi - no De - o in con - spec - tu fi - li - e - rum

mi - no De - o
Example 5. Marco da Gagliano, *Sancti Cosmas et Damianus*

ASL II. 5 (=E), ff. 38-39.

1. B-natural is notated as B-sharp in ms.
lis dire vin-culis con-stric-ti

in ignem-que con-nec-ti

in ignem-que con-nec-ti

in ignem-que con-nec-ti

in ignem-que con-nec-ti
si in ignem que co-niec-ti

si in ignem que co-niec-ti co-niec-ti

si in ignem que co-niec-ti et a-flue-ti

in ma-re de mer si et a-flue-ti

si in ignem que co-niec-ti et a-flue-ti

in ignem que co-niec-ti et a-flue-

et a-flam-mis in-co-lumnes in-co-lumnes ser-vat-ti

et a-flam-mis in-co-lumnes in-co-lumnes ser-vat-ti

bus, et a-flam-mis in-co-lumnes ser-vat-ti

bus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumnes ser-vat-ti

bus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumnes in-co-lumnes

bus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumnes in-co-lumnes ser-vat-ti
sunt et a-fluctibus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumes
sunt et a-fluctibus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumes
sunt et a-fluctibus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumes
sunt et a-fluctibus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumes
sunt et a-fluctibus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumes
sunt et a-fluctibus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumes
sunt et a-fluctibus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumes
sunt et a-fluctibus et a-flam-mis in-co-lumes
Example 6. M. C., Cosmam et Damianum

ASL II. 9 (=L), ff. 66-81.
Tanquam aurum

Tanquam aurum in for

Tanquam aurum

Tanquam aurum in for

Tanquam aurum

Tanquam aurum in for
nace probavit in fornasce probavit

electos Dominus electos Dominus electos Dominus
Invenit sunt iliae

Invenit sunt iliae
si in aquis validis inventi sunt ilae

si invenit sunt ilae

lae - si invenit sunt ilae - si in aquis

in aquis validis in aquis validis in aquis validis
Example 7. Marco da Gagliano, Levita Lauréntius

ASL II. 5 (=E), f. 10.
opus bonum opus bonum opus

Laurentius bonum opus opera

opus bonum opus opera

opus bonum opus opera

opus bonum opus opera

opus bonum opus opera

opus bonum opus opera

opus bonum opus opera
*Musiche a Una, Due, e Tre Voci*

\[\text{Pas} \, \text{tor} \, \text{le} \, \text{v} \, \text{a} \, \text{te} \, \text{su}\]

\[\text{Chi vi} \, \text{tar} \, \text{da} \, \text{il} \, \text{pe} \, \text{og} \, \text{gi} \, \text{ue} \, \text{u} \, \text{to} \, \text{Gis}\]

\[\text{su} \, \text{Gis} \, \text{su} \, \text{il} \, \text{so} \, \text{m} \, \text{mo} \, \text{Re}\]

\[\text{Nel} \, \text{la} \, \text{cam} \, \text{pan} \, \text{na} \, \text{bu}\]
*Musiche a Una, Due, e Tre Voci*
Si c'è cara lie, te udir dolci novell
le Ma vie più alte
re e bel le Me re vig lie ce le st
Replica

Sol che tra pag - li - ae fie - no
da grem - bo Vir - gi - nal spun - to se - re - no

grem - bo Vir - gi - nal spun - to se - re - no

B natural is written as B-sharp in ms.
Hodie exultant justi exultant justi dicentes
The notes under this sign are written in black.
*ASL II. 11 (=0), ff. 79-82.*
...
Martirer Dei pro mei:
ti - um de - fi - ni - bus
cre - den - ti - um de - fi - ni - bus cre - den - ti - um de - fi - ni - bus
cre - den - ti - um de - fi - ni - bus cre - den - ti - um de - fi - ni - bus
cre - den - ti - um de - fi - ni - bus cre - den - ti - um de - fi - ni - bus
ut Chri - sto lau - der de - bi -
um de - fi - ni - bus ut Chri - sto lau - der de - bi - tar ut Chri - sto lau - der
fi - ni - bus ut Chri - sto lau - der de - bi - tar ut Chri - sto lau - der de - bi - tar
cre - den - ti - um de - fi - ni - bus ut Chri - sto lau - der de - bi - tar

ASL 12.
Nunc dimittis servum tuum Dominum.
Qui a vide runt oculi mei

 Qui a vide runt oculi

 Qui a vide runt oculi mei

 Qui a vide runt oculi mei

 Qui a vide runt oculi mei

 Qui a vide runt oculi mei

 DC: Lumen

 sa saluta re DC: Lumen

 me i saluta re DC: Lumen

 me i saluta re DC: Lumen

 me i saluta re DC: Lumen

 me i saluta re DC: Lumen
From measure 30, the basso sequente is edited.
Si cut erat in principio et

nunc et semper et in saecula saeculo
1. Minim rest omitted.
Ac - ci - pe pu - e - rum in se - nec - tu -

Ac - ci - pe pu - e - rum in se - nec - tu -

Ac - ci - pe pu - e - rum in se - nec - tu -

Ac - ci - pe pu - e - rum in se - nec - tu -

Ac - ci - pe pu - e - rum in se - nec - tu -

Ac - ci - pe pu - e - rum in se - nec - tu -

Ac - ci - pe

The notes under the bracket signs are copied as black notes.
et manus eius cum ipso
et manus eius cum ipso
et manus eius cum ipso
et manus eius cum ipso
et manus eius cum ipso
et manus eius cum ipso
et manus eius cum ipso

et magnus eius cum ipso
et magnus eius cum ipso
et magnus eius cum ipso
et magnus eius cum ipso
et magnus eius cum ipso
et magnus eius cum ipso
et magnus eius cum ipso

*ASL II. 3 (=C), f. 20.*

Bonum erat ei, erat ei si natus non fus.
In felix pretermissit precium sanguinis et in

fine laqueo se suspendit se suspendit
Example 17. Luca Bati, *Magnificat*,
ASL II. 4 (=D), ff. 106-111.

I.

II.
est et sanctum nomen eius
est et sanctum nomen eius et sanctum
est et sanctum nomen eius et sanctum
est et sanctum nomen eius et sanctum
est et sanctum nomen eius
est et sanctum nomen eius
et sanctum nomen eius
et sanctum nomen eius
Fecit potentiam in bracchio suo.

Disperit superbos mente cor dis sui.

Mente cor dis sui.
Si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad pa - tres nos - tros A - bra - ham
ad pa - tres nos - tros A - bra - ham et se - mi - ni - e ius in
A - bra - ham et se - mini - e ius se - cu - la
se - cu - la A - bra - ham et se - mini - e ius in se - cu - la
Si - cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o et

Si - cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o

Si - cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o nunc, et sem - per, et inse - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum

Si - cut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o
et in secula seculorum a

rum a

men

rum a

men

rum a

men

rum a

men

rum a

men

rum a

men

rum a

men
Example 18. M. C., *Magnificat*, ASL II. 6 (=F), ff. 111-117.
III.

Qui a respe - xit hu - mi - li - ta - tem an - cil - le su - e
eeceentim ex hoc be-atamme di-cent omnes.

eeceentim ex hoc be-atamme di-cet omnes omnes.

eeceentim ex hoc be-atamme di-cet omnes generationes.

eeceentim ex hoc be-atamme di-cent omnes.

eeceentim ex hoc be-atamme di-cent omnes.

eeceentim ex hoc be-atamme di-cent omnes.

eeceentim ex hoc be-atamme di-cent omnes.

eeceentim ex hoc be-atamme di-cent omnes.
V.

Et misericordia et ius a progenie

Et misericordia et ius misericordia et ius

Et misericordia et ius misericordia et ius

Et misericordia et ius

E in progenies timensibus et ius

A progenie in progenies timensibus et ius a progenie in progenies timensibus et ius a progenie in progenies timensibus et ius
VII.

De pot est de se

De pot est de se

De pot est de se
exaltavit et exaltavit et exaltavit et

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit

et exaltavit humiles et exaltavit et exaltavit
IX.

Suscepit Israel servum sum servum

Suscepit Israel servum sum servum

Suscepit Israel servum sum servum

Sum recordatus recordatus misericordia

Sum recordatus recordatus misericordia

Sum recordatus recordatus misericordia
XI.

59 Glo• r• i• a pa• tri et fi• li• o et spi•

63 ri• tu• i sanc• to et spi• ri• tu• i sanc•
APPENDIX C

LIST OF MASS PROPERS USED AT SAN LORENZO
January
3. Octave of St John the Evangelist
6. Epiphany
14. St Hilarius Episcopus
Tert: Atp: Non est inventus
I: In medio Ecclesiae
A: Amavit eum
O: Justus ut palma
C: Fidelis servus
17. St Antonius Abbass
Tert: Atp: Euge serve bone
I: Os justi
G: Domine praevenisti
A: Justus ut palma
O: Desiderium
C: Fidelis servus
21. Sancta Agnes
Tert: Atp: Mecum
I: Me expectaverunt
A: Quinque prudentes
T: Veni sponsa
O: Afferentur Regi virgines I: Justus ut palma
T: Beatus vir
G: Domine praevenisti
A 1: Amavit eum
A 2: Jusius germinabii
O: Veritas mea
C: Joseph fili David

February
1. St Ignatius
Tert: Atp: Qui Sequitur
I: Mihi autem
A: Christo confixus sum
T: Desiderium animae
5. Sancta Agatha Virgo et Martyr
March
12. St Gregorius Papa
Tert: Atp: Non est inventus
I: Sacerdotes Dei
T: Beatus vir cujus
O: Veritas mea
C: Fidelis servus
19. St Joseph

25. Conversio Sancti Pauli
Tert: Atp: Libenter gloriabor
I: Scio cui credidi
T: Tu es vas electionis
A: Magnus Sanctus
O: Mihi autem
C: Amen dico

---

1. ASL II.15, ff.261r-263v. The abbreviations are: A=Alleluia, I=Introit, O=Offertory, G=Gradual, T=Tract, C=Communion, Atp=Antiphon.
March

21. St Benedictus
   Tert: Atp: Euge serve bone
   I: Os justi
   T: Beatus vir
   A1: Justus ut palma
   A2: Justus germinabit
   O: Desiderium
   C: Fidelis servus

25. Annuntiatio Beatae Mariae Virginis
   Tert: Atp: Ave Maria gratia
   I: Vultum tuum
   T: Audi filia
   A1: Ave Maria, f.85
   A2: Virgo Jesu
   O: Ave Maria
   C: Ecce virgo, f.87

April

2. St Franciscus a Paula
   Tert: Atp: Euge serve bone
   I: Justus ut palma
   T: Beatus vir
   A: Justus germinabit
   O: In virtute tua
   C: Amen dico vobis

May

2. St Anthonius Archiepiscopus
   Tert: Atp: Non est inventus
   I: Statuit ei Dominus
   G: Ecce sacerdos
   A1: Tu es Sacerdos
   A2: Hic est Sacerdos
   O: Inveni David

June

2. St Franciscus a Paula (Same as 2 April)

13. St Antonius a Padua
   Tert: Atp: Euge serve bone
   I: Os justi meditabitur
   A: Amavit eum
   O: Veritas mea
   C: Beatus servus

14. St Basilius
   Tert: Atp: Innuebant parti
   Tot Missa de eodem.

June 14. St Basilius

24. St Johnnes Baptista
   Tert: Atp: Non est inventus
   I: In medio Ecclesiae
   A: Inveni David
   O: Inveni David
   C: Beatus servus

May

6. St Johnnes in Laterano
   Tert: Atp: In caelestibus regnis
   I: Protexisti me
   A1: Justus ut palma
   A2: Justus germinabit
   O: Confitebuntur caeli mirabilia
   C: Laetabitur justus

8. St Michael
   Tert: Atp: Dum praeditaretur
   Tot missa de eodem.
June

30. Commemoratio Sancti Pauli

Tert: Atp: Libenter gloriabor
I: Scio cui credidi
A: Sancte Paul
O: Mihi autem
C: Amen dico

July

2. Visitatio Beata Mariae Virginis

Tert: Atp: Intravit Maria
I: Salve sancta
A: Felix es sacra
O: Beata es virgo
C: Beata viscera

15. St Quiricus

I: Sapientiam Vedi

22. Sancta Maria Magdalena

Tert: Atp: In odorem
I: Me expectaverunt
A: Diffusa est
O: Filiae regum
C: Feci judicium

24. St Liborius episcopus

Tert: Atp: Non est
I: Statuit ei Dominus
A: Tu es sacerdos
O: Inveni David
C: Fidelis

16. Sancta Anna

Tert: Atp: In odorem unguentorum

August

I. Sancti Petri Catenae

Tert: Atp: Petrus quidem
I: Nunc scio vere
G: Constitues eos
A: Salve jubente
O: Constitues eos
C: Tu es Petrus

4. St Dominicus

Tert: Atp: Euge serve bone
I: Os justi meditabitur
A: Justus germinabit
O: Veritas mea

5. Sancta Maria Nivis

Tert: Atp: Laeva ejus
I: Salve Sancta
G: Benedicta es tu
A: Post partum
O: Ave Maria (f.87)
C: Beata Viscera

10. St Laurentius

Tert: Atp: Laurentius bonum
I: Confessio, et pulchritudo

Octave:

Tert: Atp: ut supra
I: Probasti, Domine
A: Laurentius bonum
O: In virtute tua
C: Qui vult venire

Aug 15. Assumptio Beata Mariae Virginis

( Same as 8 september, the nativity of Virgin)

20. St Bernardus

Tert: Atp: Euge serve bone
I: Os justi meditabitur
A: Justus ut palma
O: Desiderium animae
C: Diffusa est gratia

July 29. St Augustius Episcopus

Tert: Atp: Non est inventus
I: In medio Ecclesiae
A: Inveni David
O: Justus ut palma
C: Fidelis servus

September

30. St Hieronymus

Magnificat: O Doctor
Atp: pro Sabino adp.
Pro Dominica refulsit
Pro C: Sanctis Michaelis Archangelis
Pinceps gloriosissime Michael Archangele esto...

Tert: Atp: Euge serve bone
I: In medio Ecclesiae aperuit ejus
A: Amavit cum Dominus
O: Justus ut palma
C: Fidelis servus
Vespers: Ut supra
Pro C: Angelos Custodes: Omnes sunt administratori

October

4. St Franciscus Confessor

Magnificat: Similabo cum viro sapienti
2 Vespers: Hic vir despiciens mundum

Tert: Atp: Euge serve bone
I: Mihi autem absit gloriari
A: Franciscus pauper
O: Veritas mea
C: Fidelis servus et prudens quem constituit
November

6. St Leonards

Mass same as the feast of S. Antony of Padua, 13 June

21. Presentatio BMV

Tert: Atp: Laeva ejus sub capite
I: Salve Sancta
G: Benedicta et venerabilis
A: Post partum
O: Ave Maria (f. 87)
C: Beata Viscera

Votive Mass for St Mary

Advent to Nativity

Tert: Atp: Laeva ejus III
A: Ave Maria (f. 87)
O: Ave Maria (f. 87)
C: Ecce Virgo

Nativity to Purification

Tert: Atp: Quando natus
I: Vultum tuum
A: Post partum
O: Felix namque
C: Beata Viscera

25. Sancta Catherina

Tert: Atp: Haec est virgo
I: Loquebar de testimonii tuis
A: Adducemtur regi virgines
O: Afferuntur regi virgines
C: Confundantur superbi

Purification to Paschal

Tert: Atp: Laeva ejus
I: Salve Sancta
G: Benedicta et venerabilis
A: Virgo Jesu
T: Gaude Maria
O: Felix namque
C: Beata Viscera

December

6. St Nicholaus

Tert: atp: Non est inventus
I: Statuit ei Dominus
A: Justus ut palma
O: Veritas mea
C: Semel incino

Paschal to Pentecost

Tert: Atp: Laeva ejus
I: Salve Sancta
A1: Virgo Jesu
A2: Ave Maria (f. 85)
O: Beata es Virgo
C: Beata Viscera

8. Conceptio BMV

Tert: Atp: Conceptio
G: Benedicta es tu
A: Felix es sacra
O: Beata es
C: Beata Viscera

Pentecost to Advent

Tert: Atp: Laeva ejus
I: Salve Sancta
G: Benedicta et venerabilis
A: Post partum
O: Ave Maria
C: Beata Viscera

31. St Sylvester Papa

Tert: Atp: Non est inventus
I: Sacerdotes tui
A: Inveni David
APPENDIX D

LIST OF SACRED MUSICAL WORKS IN FOUR MANUSCRIPTS AT SAN LORENZO
Table 12. A List of Works in the ASL ms II. 5(=E).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>ff</th>
<th>voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luca Bati</td>
<td>Emendemus in melius</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8. Ash Wend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bati</td>
<td>Sanctificavit Moyses altare</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6, Ex. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gagliano</td>
<td>Jubilate Deo</td>
<td>5-7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Levius Laurentius</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6, Ex. 10,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beatus Andreas</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attendite popule mi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quos omnes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adoramus te Xpe</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pueri hebraeorum</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Populus meus quid</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6, canon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lumen ad revelationem</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanto tempore vobisum sum</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6, communion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Servus Fidelis interomnes</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veni Sancti gloriosum</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sancti Cosmas et Damianus</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>Ex. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puer qui natus est</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>John the Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Descendit Angelus</td>
<td>41-42</td>
<td>Ex. 15, St John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elisabeth Zachariae</td>
<td>43-44</td>
<td>St John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regina caeli</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Repleatus os meum laude tua</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hodie Xpus natus est</td>
<td>49-50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Netimeas Maria invenisti</td>
<td>51-52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desiderium animae eius</td>
<td>53-54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quid vidisti Thomasus</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iste est, qui ante Deum</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13. A List of Polyphonic Music for the Major Feast Days at San Lorenzo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feast</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Palestrina (hymn)</th>
<th>Anonymous</th>
<th>Gagliano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td></td>
<td>ms</td>
<td>II. 4(D)</td>
<td>II. 11(=D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advent</td>
<td></td>
<td>ms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>“Iesus Redemptor omnium”</td>
<td>“Tu lumen splendor patri”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Stephanus</td>
<td>“Deus tuorum militum”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphany</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Cruelis Herodes”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Cuius corpus sanctuarius”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Salutis humanae”</td>
<td>“Salutis humanae”</td>
<td>-ASL II.9(=L)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Veni creator spiritus”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td></td>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>“Pange lingua”</td>
<td>“Nobis datur nobis natur”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day/ms</td>
<td>Palestrina (hymn)</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Gagliano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II. 4(=D)</td>
<td>II. 11(=0)</td>
<td>II. 5(=E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Saint**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint</th>
<th>Palestrina</th>
<th>Anonymous</th>
<th>Gagliano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St John the bapt. (June 24)</td>
<td>&quot;Ut queant&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Ut queant laxa resonare&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Descendit Angelus&quot; (Ex.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Exultet orbis&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Peter and Paul (6/29)</td>
<td>&quot;Decora lux&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Mary Magdalene (July 22)</td>
<td>&quot;Ave Maria&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Lorenzo (Aug 10)</td>
<td>&quot;Deus tuorum militum&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Levita Laurentius&quot; (Ex. 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Cosimo and Damian (Sep 26)</td>
<td>&quot;Sanctorum meritis&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Sancti Cosma et Damianus&quot; (Ex. 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Saints (Nov 1)</td>
<td>&quot;Placere Xpe&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Beata quoque anima&quot; (Ex. 12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Communion of Saints**

| Communion of Apostles         | "Vos sedisti judicare" |
| Communion of One Martyr       | "Deus nemque mundi"    |
| Communion of a confessor      | "Qui pius prudens humilis" |
| Communion of two or more martyrs | "Ni sunt qui"          |
Table 14. A List of Motets in the ASL mss II. 4, 9, and II. 11.

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<th>Composer</th>
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<td>O doctor optime</td>
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<td>Patrem omnipotentem</td>
<td>II.9, ff. 30-43</td>
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<td>dell’Asda</td>
<td>Haec dies</td>
<td>II.4</td>
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<td>Cavalier</td>
<td>O dulcis Amor Jesu</td>
<td>II.4</td>
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<td>Bonaventura Cerri</td>
<td>Maria mater purissima</td>
<td>II.9, ff. 82-85</td>
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<td>Cerri</td>
<td>Regina Caeli</td>
<td>II.9, ff. 86-88</td>
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<td>Cerri</td>
<td>Sede a dextris meis</td>
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<td>M.C.(Ex. 6)</td>
<td>St Cosmam et Damianum</td>
<td>II.9, ff. 66-81</td>
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<td>Gagliano</td>
<td>Ecce quam bonus</td>
<td>II.9, ff. 13-14</td>
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<td>Gagliano</td>
<td>Sacerdos et Pontifex</td>
<td>(Ex.3) II.11, ff. 121-133</td>
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<td>Populus meus quid</td>
<td>II.9, ff. 9-12</td>
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<td>Ego sum panis vivus</td>
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<td>Quem vidistis pastores</td>
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<td>Vere languores nostros</td>
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APPENDIX E

ANNUAL SALARY AMOUNTS (SCUDI) OF THE CHOIR MEMBERS
## Canon

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1. Salary amounts are shown as payments for singing (choir) and disbursements from the sacristy (sagr.). Each annual record begins in June. This table compares the monthly salaries in 1572 and 1575. The year of 1572 lists the monies received only from the choral activities, while the year of 1575 lists the total amount of salary (choir salary, disbursement, preaching etc) recorded in the book. Also, beginning in 1580, the amounts listed show the choir salary and the total amount received.

2. beginning November.

3. up to November.
Chaplain (Continued)  

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4. September to May.
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5. ASL 3531.
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ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

ARCHIVIO CAPITOLARE DI SAN LORENZO

Alberi dei canonicati e delle cappellanie, 49.

Bastardello dei Partiti. 2328 (1595-1598), 15 (1608-1611).

Continuzione delle Memorie Istoriche dell' Ambrosiano Imperial basilica di San Lorenzo di Firenze, 3896.

Constitutiones Insignis et Collegiatae ecclesiae San Lorenzo 2136, (1566).

Contratti, 2380 (1555-1603), 2338 (1604-1624).

Exemplaria Constitutionum Antiquarum 2173 (1564-1617).

Filza di Memoriali, 34 (1560-1629), 3863 (15-17th century), 3906 (1374-1657).

Filza relativa agli obblighi della chiesa di S. Lorenzo 2051. (sec. XV-XVII)

Filza di Testamenti e Contratti 3867 (XIV-XVI).

Filza di Toscana. 3868 (1523-1604), 3883 (1326-1615), 3904 (1521-1631), 3881 (1513-1642), 3870 (1515-1659), 3905 (1428-1678), 3910 (1532-1699), 3914 (1370-1714), 3913 (1577-1707).

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