

Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita
(ed.)

Women and music networks in Europe

GRANADA, 2024

COLECCIÓN MUSICOLOGÍA

— ESTUDIOS —

DIRECTORA: Gemma Pérez Zalduondo

COMITÉ CIENTÍFICO:

Miguel Ángel Berlanga (Universidad de Granada)
Consuelo Carredano (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)
Walter Aaron Clark (University of California – Riverside)
Christopher Collins (University of Aberdeen)
David Cranmer (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, CESEM)
Reynaldo Fernández Manzano (Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía)
Germán Gan Quesada (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
María Gembero Ustárroz (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Institución Milá y Fontanals)
Francisco Giménez Rodríguez (Universidad de Granada)
Rubén López-Cano (Escuela Superior de Música de Catalunya)
Silvina Luz Mansilla (Universidad de Buenos Aires)
Javier Marín López (Universidad de Jaén)
Ascensión Mazuela Anguita (Universidad de Granada)
Beatriz Martínez del Fresno (Universidad de Oviedo)
Susana Moreno Fernández (Universidad de Valladolid)
Elena Torres Clemente (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

This book is part of the results of two projects: 1) “Mujeres y redes musicales en Granada: diálogos entre pasado y presente”, directed by Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita and funded by the programme “Proyectos de Investigación del MediaLab en Cultura y Sociedad Digital, Plan Propio de Investigación y Transferencia” of the Universidad de Granada; and 2) “Prácticas polifónicas hispánicas (siglos XVI-XIX) en perspectiva digital: fuentes musicales, pervivencias, mujeres” (PID2021-123990NB-I00), directed by María Gembero-Ustárroz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas and funded by the Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades de España / Agencia Estatal de Investigación 10.13039/501100011033, and by “ERDF A way of making Europe”.



© LOS AUTORES

© UNIVERSIDAD DE GRANADA

Edita: Editorial Universidad de Granada
Campus Universitario de Cartuja
Colegio Máximo, s.n. 18071 Granada
Telfs.: 958 24 39 30 - 958 24 62 20 • www.editorial.ugr.es

ISBN: 978-84-338-7417-7

Depósito Legal: Gr./1543-2024

Maquetación: CMD. Granada

Diseño de cubierta: Tarma, estudio gráfico

Imprime: Printheaus. Bilbao

Printed in Spain / Impreso en España

Cualquier forma de reproducción, distribución, comunicación pública o transformación de esta obra solo puede ser realizada con la autorización de sus titulares, salvo excepción prevista por la ley.

Contents

INTRODUCTION	
<i>Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita</i>	9
<hr/>	
I. NETWORKS OF MUSICAL PATRONAGE	
1. Nuns, networks, and music patronage at Toledo's Convento de Santa Clara la Real, c. 1660-1725	
<i>Colleen Baade</i>	15
2. "Writing me a line or two": Recommendations, networks, and agency of the Davies sisters, musicians in the Enlightenment Europe	
<i>Mélanie Traversier</i>	31
3. The public and the private in the management of concerts in the Madrid of the 1920s: Female aristocrats, associationism, and music	
<i>María Palacios Nieto</i>	53
<hr/>	
II. NETWORKS OF MUSICAL DISCOURSE	
4. Music, community, family, and friendship at the Clarissan convent of San Matteo in Arcetri (1540-1630)	
<i>Laurie Stras</i>	77
5. Like mother like daughter. Female education as social advancement in an Italian court	
<i>Laura S. Ventura Nieto</i>	97
6. Women and frame-drum songs: Ethnography, eroticism, and politics	
<i>José Manuel Pedrosa Bartolomé</i>	117

III. Networks for the transmission of oral and written musics	
7. The figure of Isabel I of Castile in the development of the printing of liturgical music in Granada in the post-incunabula period <i>Alicia López Carral</i>	157
8. Female networks within and beyond the convent: The case of Luisa de Carvajal <i>Anne J. Cruz</i>	175
9. From the festivity to the printing press: Discalced Carmelite nuns's musical and poetic practices <i>M. Mercè Gras Casanovas and Verònica Zaragoza Gómez</i>	191
WORKS CITED	219
INDEX.....	237
LIST OF FIGURES.....	249
LIST OF TABLES.....	253

Introduction

ASCENSIÓN MAZUELA-ANGUITA

MOST musicological studies have focused on important institutions –such as the royal court, noble houses, and cathedrals– as well as on composers, musical genres, and written music. However, the application of categories such as «composer» and «musical work» to the study of music before the nineteenth century would inevitably lead to the phenomenon of women’s voices in music history being lost; but, as Robert Darnton has suggested: «we constantly need to be shaken out of a false sense of familiarity with the past, to be administered doses of culture shock»¹. In the past, the teaching of music was generally based on oral and memorised practices, and the boundaries between performance and composition were far from clear. Given both the problem of women’s professional status in a period when women were usually classified according to their condition in relation to men as girls, maidens, wives, widows or nuns, and the moral restrictions imposed on women, sources and methodologies other than those employed in a creation-focused musicology are required to analyse women’s experience of music. However, «women in positions of power pushed the boundaries of what was acceptable through the patronage of music and musicians and the organization of, as well as participation in, musical events»². Therefore, women’s participation in the musical process might be more clearly discerned through the perspective of everyday life³ and the exploration of networks for the dissemination of music, musical artefacts, and musical culture⁴.

Cultural historians have addressed the importance of interchange in the European Science Foundation Project *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Eu-*

1 Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre* (New York: Vintage, 1985), p. 4.

2 Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, «Pushing Boundaries: Women, Sounding Spaces, and Moral Discourse in Early Modern Spain Through the Experience of Ana de Mendoza, Princess of Eboli (1540-92)», *Early Modern Women* 13, no. 1 (2018): pp. 5-29, p. 6.

3 Mariló Vigil, *La vida de las mujeres en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 1994), p. 6.

4 Jan Fuhse, «The Meaning Structure of Social Networks», *Sociological Theory* 27 (2009): pp. 51-73.

rope (initiated in 1997 and published as four volumes in 2006-7)⁵, and cultural theorists across all humanities disciplines have recognised the role of networks of interchange and borrowing in the formation of cultures. However, until recently, music was excluded from these studies of cultural networks. Music, because of its sonic nature, played a unique role in the processes of cultural exchange: music travels readily across the barriers between different languages, and it allows contending religious and cultural identities to be realised in performance. The role played by women in the configuration of transnational music networks over the centuries was preliminary explored in the workshop «Women and Music Networks in Early Modern Europe: Dialogues between Past and Present», which was celebrated in Granada between 16 and 17 September 2021⁶. This event brought together scholars from all over Europe and the United States to present recent research into different aspects of the role of women in the configuration of music networks from the early modern period onwards. The focus was on discussion of women's music networks in the context of an interdisciplinary approach, to identify which areas and themes have been and remain to be explored.

This book, which is a result of that workshop, contains nine chapters by authors from the fields of musicology, but also philology, modern languages, book history, and literature. Its aim is to show that a broad cross-section of women played a relevant role both in the processes of dissemination of music and musical discourse, and in the promotion of the interaction between musicians, taking into consideration issues of social status to nuance gender categories. This book is to offer a different approach to the study of western musical culture, by using a combination of sources and methodologies other than those usually employed in traditional creation-centred musicology. This combination is required to challenge women's invisibility in music history by studying, from a cross-disciplinary perspective, the participation of women in the configuration of transnational music networks, from the early modern period onwards. The chronological context under consideration allows us, following Braudel's idea of *longue durée*, analysis of changing processes and continuities across the period, and to discern dynamics of power without the restrictions of periodisation.

The volume is structured into three parts corresponding to networks of musical patronage, networks of musical discourse, and networks for the transmission of oral and written musics, in order to shed light on questions such as how women contributed to the dissemination of music through diplomatic

5 Robert Muchembled, ed., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006-2007), 4 vols.

6 This workshop was organised by the project 'Women and music networks in Granada: Dialogues between past and present' (MediaLab-UGR - Culture and Digital Society Research Projects 2021), coordinated by Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, with the collaboration of the «Escuela de Doctorado de Humanidades, Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas» and the University of Granada Music Department.

encounters, how the moral discourse on women's musical practices influenced the participation of women in music networks and their experience of music, and how women promoted the diffusion of oral and written traditions of music.

Colleen Baade examines various types of interconnections between nuns, nun musicians, nuns' families, professional musicians, and other figures associated with the convent of Santa Clara la Real in Toledo. The chapter focuses on the case of Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca (1643-1700) and her musical patronage at that convent, providing information about nun musicians at other Toledo convents as well. The next chapter is dedicated to the English sisters Mary Ann (c. 1744-c. 1824) and Cecilia Davies (c. 1756-1836), who succeeded as an instrumentalist (flutist and harpsichordist) and a soprano, respectively, among the elites of Enlightenment Europe. Through the analysis of a collection of letters, Mélanie Traversier identifies the music networks that these musicians used in order to develop their careers. The following essay deepens our understanding of the configuration of women's networks of musical patronage in the context of three particular events that took place in Madrid in the 1920s: the third visit of Igor Stravinsky in Madrid, Poldowski's concert series, and the origin of the Club Femenino Lyceum. Different types of female patronage overlapped in this period: traditional forms of music patronage by aristocratic women and new forms of concert management resulting from new types of feminine associationism. The cases studied by María Palacios Nieto makes evident that the limits between the public and the private in the management of concerts are far from being clear.

In the second part, Laurie Stras focuses on the importance of family connections at the Clarissan convent of San Matteo in Arcetri, which was the home of Maria Celeste Galilei (1600-1634), Galileo Galilei's daughter. The rich musical life of this convent is reflected both in the Biffoli-Sostegni manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal, MS 27766), which contains polyphony for the entire liturgical year, and in the only surviving sixteenth-century archival ledger which records this convent's expenses, as well as in Suor Maria Celeste's letters. Also in the context of sixteenth-century Italy, Laura S. Ventura Nieto offers insight into further types of networks of musical discourse beyond the cloister. Through an analysis of the manual on court behaviour *Ragionamento a Donna Lavinia sua figlioula* (Turin, 1586) that Annibal Guasco addressed at Guasco's daughter Lavinia, this chapter assesses how musical education was a powerful tool for aristocratic women such as Lavinia and her daughter Margherita, to enter the service of a ruler, to make advantageous marriages, to advance socially, and to create bonds between women. From the perspective of musical discourse, José Manuel Pedrosa, a philologist, focuses on frame drum songs from the Hispanic folklore. Through an in-depth analysis of the lyrics of variety of these songs, he shows the erotic symbolism associated with drums in the Hispanic world over the centuries and demonstrates the connections of drums to female bodies which are played by male hands and fingers.

The third part of the book includes three essays which shed light on the transmission of written and oral musics. Alicia López Carral analyses the important role that Isabel I of Castile (1451-1504) played in the development of the liturgical music printing in Granada, as a tool for religious propaganda in this newly conquered city. Anne J. Cruz presents an essay on the «paper networks» that illustrate the cultural and musical life of female convents, with a focus on the case of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza (1566-1614), an aristocrat who went to the Protestant England as Catholic missionary. The analysis of her letters reflects the networks that she established with other nuns in Spain. Also in the convent context, Mercè Gras and Verònica Zaragoza analyses Discalced Carmelite nuns's musical and poetic practices in the modern period, through the case study of Joaquina de Fivaller y Taverner (1795-1874), a member of the Catalan nobility who entered the Discalced Carmelite convent in Barcelona. The ceremonies of taking the habit and profession of this woman, which included the singing of *villancicos*, reflect the celebratory dimension of music and poetry in the convents of this religious order as well as the circulation of the printed lyrics of the *villancicos* and the relationship between the convent and the poets, composers, and musicians who were involved in the production of these pieces.

Therefore, this book makes women's musical practices more audible and changes the perspective from the traditionally assumed role of women in the configuration of musical-cultural networks in an international context, by bringing together different elements of a complex mosaic of interrelated female musical activities.

I. NETWORKS OF MUSICAL PATRONAGE

1. Nuns, networks, and music patronage at Toledo's Convento de Santa Clara la Real, c. 1660-1725

COLLEEN BAADE

THE year 1700 witnessed two key events at Toledo's Convento de Santa Clara la Real: the death on 20 November of former abbess Francisca Calderón de la Barca and, just a few months prior on 10 August, the entrance into the novitiate of an eleven-year-old girl named María de Miranda, whose post as convent organist at Santa Clara was made possible in part by Sor Francisca's patronage. The present work explores the compelling case of Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca, who for the first two decades of her life as a nun at Santa Clara fought with her family for control of an inheritance she claimed was rightfully hers and which she sought to employ for the benefit of her religious community. Along the way I will also examine various professional and familial networks associated with the Santa Clara convent and with the conventual environment of the Spanish city of Toledo around the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

A CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA FAMILIAL NETWORK?

The precise nature of a possible kinship between Francisca Calderón de la Barca and the famed seventeenth-century playwright whose surname she shares is unclear. Connections between Santa Clara la Real and the Calderón de la Barca family date back at least as far as the late sixteenth century, when María Calderón de la Barca and Isabel Calderón de la Barca –paternal aunts of Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-82)— entered the Toledo convent¹. In 1611 –the

1 Isabel and María were sisters of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's father Diego Calderón de la Barca (1567?-1615). María Calderón de la Barca was born in 1565 and entered the novitiate in 1580; see Mariano Arellano García, «Pedro Calderón de la Barca capellán de la real capilla de Reyes Nuevos», *Toletum* 42 (2013): pp. 163-85, p. 178. Receipt of Isabel Calderón de la Barca's dowry is recorded in Santa Clara's accounts in 1588, though she appears not have made her final profession until 1607(?); see M^a Luisa Pérez de Tudela y Bueso, *El monasterio de Santa Clara la Real de Toledo: estudio sobre una encomienda regia monástica, 1376-1779* (PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1993/2002), pp. 529, 584, <https://eprints.ucm.es/id/eprint/2388/>.

year after the death of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's mother Ana María de Henao y Riaño— Pedro's older sister Dorotea entered the novitiate at Santa Clara at age 13². The playwright's six-year-old sister Antonia appears also to have been placed in the convent the next year, following their father Diego Calderón de la Barca's marriage to his second wife Juana Freile Caldera³. María Luisa Pérez de Tudela's doctoral thesis on the history of the Santa Clara convent maintains that Pedro Calderón de la Barca and Francisca Calderón de la Barca were both descendants of the same branch of the Calderón de la Barca family that traces its lineage to the ancestral Calderón de la Barca home near the town of Sotillo (Reinosa) in southern Cantabria⁴. While the playwright's genealogy is certainly well-established, Pérez de Tudela offers no documentation in support of the assertion that Francisca shared a common ancestry with the playwright; likewise, the claim that Francisca was a niece of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's aunt Isabel Calderón de la Barca cannot be substantiated⁵.

Francisca Calderón de la Barca was the daughter of Toledo natives Juan Calderón de la Barca and Juana Jiménez de Páramo. Juan Calderón de la Barca—identified in archival documents first as *jurado* and later as *regidor perpetuo*—was a prominent and exceptionally wealthy member of Toledo's seventeenth-century urban oligarchy⁶. Though not a well-known historical figure today, Juan Calderón de la Barca does appear sporadically in scholarly works on society and economics in early modern Spain, including in the research of historian Francisco José Aranda Pérez, who affirms that Juan Calderón de la Barca's fortune was valued at almost 97 million *maravedíes* (an amount equal to five-and-a-half times the average value of other estates in seventeenth-century Toledo and twice the amount of the second-largest estate on Aranda Pérez's table of estate values)⁷. Art historian Paula Revenga Domínguez documents the collection of paintings inventoried in Juan Calderón de la Barca's estate, and historian and art restorer Mario Ávila Vivar discusses Juan Calderón de la Barca's role as donor of the silver throne crafted in 1668 by silversmith Virgilio

2 Ana María de Henao y Riaño died on 22 October 1610. See Don W. Cruickshank, *Don Pedro Calderón* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009/2012), pp. 34-37; and Jaime Colomina Torner, «Calderón de la Barca y Toledo», *Toletum* 42 (2013): pp. 141-62, p. 142.

3 María Antonia appears to have died not long after entering Santa Clara; see Colomina Torner, «Calderón de la Barca», p. 479.

4 Pérez de Tudela, *El monasterio de Santa Clara*, p. 529. The house in Sotillo was the birthplace of the playwright's great great grandfather, also named Pedro Calderón de la Barca.

5 Pérez de Tudela also states erroneously that María and Isabel were Pedro Calderón de la Barca's sisters (*El monasterio de Santa Clara*, pp. 529, 536).

6 Francisco José Aranda Pérez, *Poder y poderes en la ciudad de Toledo: gobierno, sociedad y oligarquías urbanas en la Edad Moderna* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1999), p. 266.

7 Francisco José Aranda Pérez, *Poder municipal y cabildo de jurados en Toledo en la Edad Moderna* (Toledo: Concejalía del Área de Cultura, D.L., 1992), p. 122.

Fanelli, upon which the much-venerated image of the Virgen de la Esperanza at the Toledo church of San Cipriano is seated⁸.

According to his last will and testament, Juan Calderón de la Barca was the son of Diego Calderón de la Barca, a Toledo native (this Diego is decidedly not Diego Calderón de la Barca Ruiz, father of the playwright, who was born in Madrid) and his wife Eugenia de Balderas, born in Mora (Toledo province)⁹. The will also identifies Juan's paternal great-grandparents: Juan's great-grandfather—also named Diego Calderón de la Barca—and his great-grandmother Ana Ruiz Güémez were both natives of Galizano, a coastal town just a few kilometres east of Santander¹⁰. The discrepancy between the respective birthplaces of the ancestors of Francisca Calderón de la Barca versus those of Pedro Calderón de la Barca suggests that any kinship between Francisca and the playwright would have been distant, and one would have to trace both families back many more generations to find a common ancestor. However, the absence of close family ties between Francisca and the other Calderón de la Barca women who lived as nuns at Santa Clara does not necessarily disallow the possibility that Francisca was influenced by the legacy of the sisters in religion whose surname she shared. Indeed, Pedro Calderón de la Barca's sister Dorotea, who died in 1682 at the age of 84, was still living when Francisca entered Santa Clara in 1663.

THE CASE OF SOR FRANCISCA CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA'S INHERITANCE

On 25 October 1669, 16-year-old Francisca Calderón de la Barca appeared before the *escribano público* Eugenio de Valladolid to execute a legal act recorded in a document that bears the heading *renuncia y protesta*¹¹. In early modern Spain it was the usual practice for a novice about to take her final vows to perform what was called a *renuncia de legítimas*, that is, a formal renunciation of her right to the share of the inheritance from her father's and mother's estates to which she was legally entitled. Indeed, as was customary, an agreement to this effect had already been made with Francisca's father when Francisca first entered Santa Clara in February of 1663, at which time Francisca was just nine years

8 Paula Revenga Domínguez, *Aproximación a la pintura toledana de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII* (Toledo: Caja de Toledo, Obra Cultural, 1988); Mario Ávila Vivar, «Virgilio Fanelli, artífice del trono de la Virgen de la Esperanza de la Iglesia de San Cipriano de Toledo», *Anales Toledanos* 45 (2012): pp. 141-52.

9 Toledo, Archivo Histórico Provincial (AHPT), Protocolo 17092, fol. 964v.

10 AHPT, Protocolo 17092, fol. 970v. The location of the birthplace of Juan Calderón de la Barca's paternal great grandparents indicates that Juan descended from the Galizano branch of the Calderón de la Barcas; see Felipe de la Gándara, *Descripción, armas, origen, y descendencia de la muy noble, y antigua casa de Calderon de la Barca, y sus sucesiones continuadas* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga, 1753), pp. 144-48.

11 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fols. 933r-935r.

old¹². Not unlike her distant relative Dorotea Calderón de la Barca, Francisca was placed in the convent soon after the death of her mother in 1662 and her father's subsequent marriage to his second wife, Petronila Martínez Tenorio¹³. Already at this tender age, Francisca is described as possessing a calling to life as a nun at Santa Clara (*tenía inclinación a entrarse Religiosa en el dicho Convento de Santa Clara*), though it should be noted that this kind of language is not unusual in documents ratifying entrance into religious life¹⁴.

Regardless of Francisca's early vocation or lack thereof, the language of the *renuncia y protesta* indicates that during the years since her entry into Santa Clara, Francisca had grown into a young woman who knew exactly what she wanted. The document confirms Francisca's determination to take her final vows, and voices her firm conviction that religious life «is the estate for which God moved her, prepared and called [her] from such a young age» (*creyendo ser este el estado para que Dios movióla, previno y llamó desde tan corta edad*)¹⁵. We learn that Francisca's only brother Juan had died recently, leaving only Francisca's sister Juana to inherit their father's substantial wealth and to ensure his succession. Francisca relates that her father had been pressuring her to leave the convent and to marry, a demand Francisca had resisted, provoking her father's displeasure¹⁶. Francisca's tenacity appears to have won out in the end, however, as she reports that her father ultimately consented to allowing her to take her final vows, having agreed to pay her dowry and offering to provide her with a modest stipend on the condition that she renounce her rights to her inheritance in his favour¹⁷.

Although the *renuncia de legítimas* was both customary and expected, Francisca persists in defying both custom and expectation, boldly protesting against being forced to comply with her father's demand that she renounce her

- 12 The 1663 agreement is referenced in Manuel Francisco Oliverio Ribadeneyra [plaintiff], *Por Don Manuel Francisco Oliverio Ribadeneyra [...] como marido y conjunta persona de Doña Juana Calderon de la Barca [...] y Doña Thomasa Maria Oliverio y Rivadeneyra [...] como madre [...] de Doña Manuela Calderon de la Barca su hija. En el pleyto con la Abadesa, monjas y Convento de Santa Clara, Orden de San Francisco [...] Sobre las legítimas paterna y materna, que el dicho Convento pretende por la persona de Doña Francisca Calderon de la Barca [...] y legítimas de los demás hermanos de dicha Doña Francisca, y nulidad de mayorazgo. fundado [...] por el dicho Don Juan Calderon de la Barca.* [Spain, 1683], fols. 2r-3v, <https://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/46815>.
- 13 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 933r. Juan Calderón de la Barca's second wife is named in Juan's last will and testament, AHPT, Protocolo 17092, fol. 973v.
- 14 Oliverio Ribadeneyra [plaintiff], *Por Don Manuel Francisco Oliverio Ribadeneyra*, fol. 2r-v.
- 15 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 933r.
- 16 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 933r: «la ha hecho y hace muchas instancias para que dejando su santo hábito salga al siglo y admita el estado de casa a que se ha resistido y está resistiendo continuando su mejor y más seguro propósito de que ha resultado el haberse disgustado algunas veces con ella el dicho su padre».
- 17 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 933r-v: «Y no obstante viendo su perseverancia se [ha] allanado a dejarla profesar insinuando que la dejará una corta renta para sus necesidades particulares y que con eso y la paga de su dote y gastos ha de hacer renunciación en él de sus legítimas paterna y materna».

inheritance in his favour. She objects to the idea that her father's considerable estate should be left in its entirety to only one of his children (that is, Francisca's sister, Juana). She mentions her own delicate health and the expectation that later in life she will incur greater expenses because of her condition, reasoning that access to her portion of the inheritance will make it easier for her to continue to fulfil her spiritual obligations in the convent¹⁸.

Finally, Francisca reasons that since if she were to leave the convent, she would be free to spend her inheritance on worldly things, she should therefore not be prevented from claiming her inheritance when, as a nun who has chosen the «more perfect estate», she would be spending it on spiritual things¹⁹. Francisca acknowledges that the statements she has made in her *renuncia y protesta* are likely to provoke even greater wrath from her father, whom she describes as «rough» or «surly» (*de condición áspera*), and she expresses concern that her father may still try to prevent her from taking her final vows by refusing to pay her dowry and attempting to remove her from the convent²⁰.

In view of her trepidation and the precarity of her situation, Francisca acquiesces to renouncing her inheritance, not in favour of her father, but audaciously, in favour of the Santa Clara convent, agreeing to do so only on the condition that while she is alive the value of her inheritance be employed to provide income (*renta*) for her²¹. Francisca warns that in the event she be required to renounce her inheritance in her father's favour or that of any other person, the *renuncia* will have been made only because she will have been forced to do so against her will (*declara y protesta que la hará obligada y violentada del dicho miedo reverential y temores y contra su voluntad*)²².

We may wonder whether Francisca's determination to remain in the convent and her insistence on preserving access to her share of her inheritance are entirely representative of her own volition. Francisca's sisters in religion

18 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 933v: «y de esto resulta que tan considerablemente hacienda quede únicamente a una hija sola y la otorgó sin la renta competente para sus socorros y necesidades tan precisa en ella cuando como es notorio se halla con muchos achaques que en años mayores han de ser de mayor gasto y penalidad y que teniendo lo necesario para su cura y socorro temporal, podrá mejor acudir a sus ejercicios espirituales y observancia de su religión».

19 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 933v: «si volviere al siglo y no profesara se le había de dejar necesariamente esta libertad y usar y disponer de ella en cosas temporales, quiere tenerla y usar y disponer de su hacienda en cosas espirituales; pues lo que no se le prohibiera siendo seglar no se le debe prohibir eligiendo el más perfecto estado de religiosas».

20 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 933v: «Y si esto lo declarara al dicho su padre siendo como es contra lo que tiene insinuado y siendo el dicho su padre de condición áspera se expone a grandes riesgos del enojo de su padre y que con él la procure impedir su profesión sin satisfacer la dote y gastos de ella y por los demás medios y rigores que se le ofrezcan, procurando sacarla al siglo».

21 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fols. 934r-v: «Otorga que renuncia sus legítimas paterna y materna en que sucedió por la muerte de la dicha su madre y en que ha de suceder después de los largos días y vida del dicho su padre en el dicho convento de Santa Clara con los cargos y obligaciones siguientes: que todo lo que montare las dichas sus dos legítimas se haya de emplear y emplee en renta [...] y la dicha renta la ha de gozar la otorgante durante sus días y vida y distribuirla en sus necesidades».

22 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 935r.

certainly would have been aware of the benefits that having the daughter of the extraordinarily wealthy Juan Calderón de la Barca join their community would bring. Doubtless the nuns of Santa Clara encouraged Francisca to do everything she could to preserve her rights to an estate that ultimately would profit the entire convent. Still, we should take care not to diminish the young Francisca's agency, who at age sixteen appears already to have been a force to be reckoned with.

On 18 November 1669, Francisca completed the *examinación*, a series of questions all candidates for final profession were required to answer prior to making the official *renuncia* and taking final vows²³. Two days later on 20 November, Francisca once again appeared before the *escribano* Eugenio de Valladolid and witnesses to restate the provisions laid forth in her prior *renuncia y protesta* of 25 October²⁴. On 22 November, the date of Francisca's final profession, the *escribano* Dionisio Ruano (who also happened to be Juan Calderón de la Barca's nephew) recorded Juan's reiteration of the original agreement made with Santa Clara when Francisca first entered the convent in 1663, and the Santa Clara convent issued a receipt (*carta de pago*) to Juan Calderón de la Barca for the payment of Francisca's dowry and other expenses; Francisca is purported to have acquiesced to her father's demands that she renounce her *legítimas* in his favour²⁵. On 23 November, Francisca appeared yet again before Eugenio de Valladolid to revoke the previous day's *renuncia*, protesting that it was made only to mollify her father and performed solely out of «just concerns and fears against which she has protested» (*por los justos temores y miedos que tiene protestados*)²⁶. This would not be the end of the dispute over inheritance in the Calderón de la Barca family.

23 AHPT, Protocolo 32202, fol. 197r-v.

24 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 936r-v.

25 AHPT, Protocolo 32202, fols. 206r-208r. Dionisio Ruano is identified as Juan Calderón de la Barca's nephew in Juan's last will and testament, in which Juan leaves bequests of 1,000 *ducados* each to Ruano's two daughters as well as a house to Ruano's widow; see AHPT, Protocolo 17092, fols. 968v-969r. A printed document pertaining to a subsequent lawsuit filed by the Santa Clara convent and on Francisca's behalf notes that while Francisca is alleged to have renounced her inheritance in her father's favor, there is no document ratifying Francisca's consent (*Y en ella no ay juramento que conste haber hecho la dicha Doña Francisca Calderón*). Furthermore, the document argues, while the Santa Clara convent was party to the agreement, Francisca herself was not, since she had not yet taken her final vows and therefore was not officially a member of the community (*Doña Francisca no juró la escritura de renunciación de 22 de Noviembre [...] porque quien la juró fue la Abadesa, y Monjas por el Abito bendito de su Religión, cuyo juramento no comprendió a Doña Francisca porque a la saçon no era professa, ni tenia Abito bendito*). See Convento de Santa Clara (Toledo) [plaintiff], *Por la abadesa, monjas y convento el real de Santa Clara de la ciudad de Toledo y por la persona de doña Francisca Calderon de la Barca, monja professa en el con don Manuel Francisco Oliverio Rivadeneyra, mariscal de Castilla y doña Juana Calderon de la Barca su muger y con doña Tomasa Maria Oliverio Rivadeneira* [Spain, 1683], fols. 5v, 19v.

26 AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 937r-v. The series of *escrituras* made in 1669 is also referenced in Oliverio Ribadeneyra [plaintiff], *Por Don Manuel Francisco Oliverio Ribadeneyra*, fols. 3v-6r.

In the years following Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca's final profession at Santa Clara, Francisca's father Juan would marry Thomasa María Oliverio Rivadeneira Bazán y Gante (his third marriage), with whom he eventually fathered two more daughters (one of whom would be born after Juan's death), and Francisca's sister Juana would marry her stepmother's brother, Manuel Francisco Oliverio y Rivadeneira Bazán y Gante, Mariscal of Castile. In 1678, Juan Calderón de la Barca (who by this time had been elevated from *jurado* to *regidor perpetuo*) set up a trust (*mayorazgo*) bequeathing the portion of his estate that would have belonged to Francisca to his young daughter Josepha Dionisia (Francisca's half-sister, child of Juan's recent marriage to Thomasa); sometime later, a second *mayorazgo* established preference of inheritance in favor of his adult daughter Juana²⁷. Juan Calderón de la Barca would continue to insist that Francisca had renounced her right to inherit from his estate. Indeed, his last will and testament states unequivocally that he has not included Francisca as heir precisely because of the *renuncia* she made when she took her final vows at Santa Clara²⁸.

Litigation over Juan Calderón de la Barca's estate began soon after his death on 9 December 1682. On 5 February 1683 the Santa Clara convent filed suit against the Mariscal of Castile, his wife Juana Calderón de la Barca, Juan's widow Thomasa María Oliverio and Juan's minor daughter Manuela María Calderón de la Barca, demanding recognition of Sor Francisca's right to her inheritance²⁹. A countersuit against the Santa Clara convent was filed soon after³⁰. Suits and countersuits would continue to be presented at the court of the Real Chancillería at Valladolid for several more years before the parties finally arrived at a settlement in 1687³¹. By this time, both parties had grown weary of the expenses occasioned by protracted litigation and were leery of the final outcome of the dispute between them; both agreed that between siblings, there should be peace and unity³².

On 28 April 1687, after more than four years of litigation, the nuns of Santa Clara gathered at the convent's *puerta seglar* to ratify a final agreement under which the heirs to the estate of Juan Calderón de la Barca would pay out a lump sum, and Sor Francisca and the Santa Clara would relinquish their

27 The two *mayorazgos* are described in Oliverio Ribadeneyra [plaintiff], *Por Don Manuel Francisco Oliverio Ribadeneyra*, fols. 6r-7v.

28 AHPT, Protocolo 17092, fol. 998r-v: «Y no instituyo por heredera a la dicha Doña Francisca Calderón monja en Santa Clara por haber renunciado en mí como queda dicho sus legítimas paterna y maternal».

29 Convento de Santa Clara (Toledo) [plaintiff], *Por la abadesa, monjas y convento*.

30 Oliverio Ribadeneyra [plaintiff], *Por Don Manuel Francisco Oliverio Ribadeneyra*.

31 AHPT, Protocolo 32400, fols. 133r-150v. A copy of the document also is preserved in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Sección Clero, Libro 15779.

32 AHPT, Protocolo 32400, fol. 140r: «se hizo consideración por ambas partes de los gastos tan excesivos que les ha ocasionado el seguimiento del dicho pleito y los muchos que habían de experimentar en mantenerle en la corte hasta su determinación por lo dilatado de él y dudoso de sus fines y atendiendo a esto y a que no es justo que entre hermanos deje de haber paz y unión».

claim to Francisca's *legítimas*. Although the agreed-upon amount of 10,000 *ducados*—4,000 *ducados* in cash and the remaining 6,000 *ducados* in the form of a *censo* to be paid out every year to Sor Francisca for the rest of her life—was considerably less than the 347,401 *reales* (31,582 *ducados*) calculated to have been Sor Francisca's share of the estate, the community of Santa Clara must have been pleased and relieved to finally have secured a much-needed source of revenue³³.

MUSIC AND SOR FRANCISCA CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA'S MUSIC PATRONAGE AT SANTA CLARA

Convents in and of themselves are rightly considered patrons of music along with cathedrals, royal chapels, and a host of other institutions; however, the role of individual nuns as music patrons is less well known³⁴. Neither Francisca Calderón de la Barca's *renuncia y protesta* of 1669 nor any of the other documents related to the subsequent litigation and settlement contains reference to any plans for money from Francisca's inheritance to be spent on the enhancement of music at Santa Clara. Indeed, the legal documents repeatedly reference Francisca's desire to fund the purchase of silver lamps for the convent church, oil to keep the lamps lit perpetually, and money for a chaplaincy to offer Masses and suffrages on behalf of Francisca and members of her family after her death, but make no mention of music of any kind³⁵. Nevertheless, it does not seem unreasonable to assert that Francisca Calderón de la Barca's role as financial patron of Santa Clara included support of the convent's well-established musical activity. And as we shall see, towards the end of her life, Sor Francisca would indeed take more overt action to fund the musical activity of her community.

Evidence for music-making at Santa Clara is recorded in convent accounts as early as the late sixteenth century in the form of payments to an *organero* who tuned and repaired the convents' organ, money to hire *ministriles* (instrumentalists) for the annual celebration of the feast of Saint Clare, and regular

33 AHPT, Protocolo 32400, fol. 141r-v. The amount of Sor Juana's share of the inheritance is given in AHN, unnumbered folio [16r]: «se ajustó y resolvió últimamente en que dichos herederos habían de dar a el convento y a la dicha Doña Francisca Calderón por todas sus pretensiones y derechos deducidos o no deducidos diez mil ducados de vellón los cuatro mil en contado y los seis mil restantes habían de quedar cargados a censo redimible desde el día de la otorgación de la escritura de concordia que se había de hacer sobre todos los bienes [...] gozándolos por sus días la dicha Doña Francisca Calderón».

34 On the variety of institutions involved in music patronage, see Clara Bejarano Pellicer, «El mecenazgo musical barroco: la música como instrumento del poder», *Atalanta: Revista de las Letras Barrocas* 7, no. 1 (2019): pp. 9-38.

35 The funding of lamps, oil and chaplaincy is first stipulated in AHPT, Protocolo 32085, fol. 934r, and referenced repeatedly in all subsequent related documents.

expenditures for *cumplimientos de las cantoras*³⁶. Convent account books confirm that these same practices were still in force during the years Francisca was a novice and in the decades after she made her final profession: in addition to organ maintenance and tuning of the organ, accounts record repairs made to the convent's *bajón* (a predecessor of the modern bassoon), strings and repairs for the convent's harp, purchase of chant books, and money for refreshments (*refresco*) provided for the *señoras cantoras* and the visiting clergy from San Juan de los Reyes for the feast of Saint Clare, a celebration that by this time included fireworks (*luminarias y pólvora*) as well as *ministriles*³⁷.

One tangible piece of evidence that at this time the community of Santa Clara sang not only plainchant but also polyphony is found inside a copy of a printed chant book housed at the convent library³⁸. Tucked inside the chant book is a loose folio folded in half, upon which are written the words «Alto 1º choro» and the music of the first alto part of what can be presumed to be a polychoral setting of the Magnificat by an unidentified composer. On the part is also written the name of the nun who presumably sang it: «La S[eñor]a D[oña] Teresa Castaño». Sor Teresa Castaño de Vargas took the novice's habit at Santa Clara in 1660 and made her final profession in 1665 after payment of the usual dowry amount of 1,200 *ducados*. During the six decades Sor Teresa lived as a professed nun in Santa Clara (she would have about 75 years old when she died in 1725), she was elected to multiple turns as abbess, and also occupied various other convent offices³⁹. Sometime in early August 1700, then Abbess Teresa Castaño de Vargas signed an undated petition to the Papal Nuncio requesting permission to grant entrance into Santa Clara to an eleven-year-old girl named María de Miranda, who had been recruited to fill the post of convent organist⁴⁰.

Documents relating to the entrance of María de Miranda's into the novitiate offer a concrete example of Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca's role as music patron at Santa Clara. In addition to the various «perks» and provisions the convent offered to the aspiring young organist—waiver of all expenses relating to her entrance and final profession, food allowance during the novitiate, and a complete exemption from payment of dowry in exchange for agreeing to play the organ, sing in the choir, and teach other nuns to play the organ—it was Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca herself who made a commitment to provide María de Miranda with financial support, offering to foot the bill for «whatever

36 AHN, Sección Clero, Libro 15785, *passim*.

37 AHN, Sección Clero, Libro 15803, *passim*.

38 *Passionarium ad vsum Sancte Romae Ecclesie...* (Alcalá de Henares: Andrés de Angulo, 1563).

39 AHN, Sección Clero, Libros 15784, 15801, 15791, and 15793.

40 AHPT, Protocolo 32320, fol. 163r-v. See also Colleen R. Baade, «Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students in Early Modern Spain», in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Susan Forscher Weiss, Russell J. Murray, and Cynthia E. Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 262-83.

additional things she may need»⁴¹. In addition, Sor Francisca agreed to fund a regular stipend (in account books, this is often referred to as a *legata*) of 20 *ducados* a year to be paid directly to María de Miranda after her own death⁴². Following the death of Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca on 20 November 1700, the *legata* that she had subsidised for Sor María de Miranda would be paid without fail for the next twenty-seven years.

NETWORKS AND INTERCONNECTIONS: STUDENTS, TEACHERS, FAMILY, GODPARENTS, AND MORE

The financial support provided by Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca was not the only factor that assisted in Sor María de Miranda's placement as nun organist at Santa Clara. Among the witnesses named in Sor María de Miranda's *escritura de recepción* at Santa Clara was José Solana, principal organist at the Toledo cathedral from 1678 until his death in 1712 and presumably María de Miranda's music teacher⁴³. It has long been common practice for professional musicians to supplement their income by offering private music instruction; surely it was not nearly so common for music teachers to include their students in their last will and testament. Louis Jambou's article on the life and career of José Solana informs us that Solana bequeathed music and musical instruments to several Toledo nun musicians who in all likelihood had been his students, though, as we shall see, in some cases Solana's relationship with these young women went beyond that of teacher and student⁴⁴. In addition to María de Miranda, to whom Solana left fifty *villancicos*, Solana also made a bequest of *villancicos*, organ music, and a *monacordio* (clavichord) to his niece María Paciencia Sánchez Solana, whose tenure as organist at Toledo's Santa Úrsula began in 1692⁴⁵. Musical bequests were also made to another of Solana's nieces, Josepha Sánchez Solana (sister of María Paciencia), a nun at the Concepción Agustina («Gaitanas»), and to Juana de Soria, a nun at the Encarnación Jerónima («la Vida Pobre»). Documentation has not been found to show that either Josepha or Juana entered religious life expressly to fill the post of convent musician, though likely they did employ their musical talents

41 AHPT, Protocolo 32320, fol. 168r: «se obliga a que todos los días de su vida, dará y socorrerá a la dicha D.^a María de Miranda con todos los maravedís y demás cosas que necesitare para sus necesidades monásticas sin que le falte cosa alguna».

42 AHPT, Protocolo 32320, fol. 168r: «después de los día y vida de dicha Francisca Calderón y no antes, darán y pagarán a dicha D.^a María de Miranda de la renta y limosnas de dicha D.^a Francisca Calderón veinte ducados vellón de renta en cada un año para sus necesidades monásticas, pagados por los tercios del año empezando a correr desde el día en que falleciere dicha D.^a Francisca».

43 AHPT, Protocolo 32320, fol. 168v.

44 Louis Jambou, «José Solana (1643-1712). Trayectoria de un organista compositor», *Revista de Musicología* 4, no. 1 (1981): pp. 61-112.

45 AHPT, Protocolo 449, fols. 72r-74r.

at their respective convents⁴⁶. One of the three versions of Solana's will includes a bequest to Francisca de la Oliva, a nun who was admitted to the novitiate at Toledo's Santo Domingo El Real in October of 1700, the same year that María de Miranda entered Santa Clara⁴⁷. Although initially Francisca de la Oliva had entered Santo Domingo El Real with a dowry waiver in exchange for occupying the post of organist, by February of 1701 it had been determined that she was unable to continue in that capacity. The fact that Francisca de la Oliva's father was deceased and her mother was living in Madrid perhaps explains why it was Francisca's former music teacher José Solana who witnessed the new agreement with the Santo Domingo El Real convent, under which Francisca was relieved of the post of convent organist in exchange for payment of a dowry of 11,000 *reales* (1,000 *ducados*) and a yearly food allowance during the novitiate, «to be paid by José Solana»⁴⁸.

The reason for Francisca de la Oliva's inability to serve as convent organist at Sant Domingo el Real is unclear, and the documents offer no explanation for why Solana agreed to pay Francisca's dowry and *alimentos*. As it was, a dowry of 1,000 *ducados* constituted a significant reduction in the usual dowry price at Santo Domingo El Real, and consequently, although Sor Francisca was no longer expected to play the organ (though she could still voluntarily agree to do so), she would not be entirely exempted from musical duties as she was still expected to sing in the *capilla*⁴⁹. Here, the use of the word *capilla* (rather than *coro*) surely refers to Santo Domingo El Real's chapel of nun musicians who sang polyphony on special occasions such as feast days or nuns' professions, versus the *coro de monjas* whose obligation it was to perform the daily offices, whether spoken or chanted⁵⁰.

At a time when the public performance of polyphony was becoming an increasingly important aspect of what today we would call public outreach for

46 Jambou, «José Solana», pp. 89, 98, 109-10.

47 Louis Jambou, *Toledo: una fiesta sonora y musical en el siglo XVII (1620-1680)* (Madrid: Dairea Ediciones-ICCMU, 2019), p. 36, n. 121.

48 AHPT, Protocolo 31770, fols. 23r-24v: «fue recibida por organista de este dicho convento sin que por dicha entrada ni por la profesión ni por alimentos hubiese de pagar cosa alguna. Y respecto de que en el tiempo que ha que está en este dicho convento dicha Doña Francisca de la Oliva se ha reconocido que la susodicha no puede proseguir en ser tal organista ni efectuarse lo que estaba tratado al tiempo que entró en dicho convento [...] el dicho racionero [=José Solana] se ofreció darle once mil reales de vellón por el dote a la susodicha y asimismo cincuenta ducados de alimentos en cada un año de los que estuviere sin profesar».

49 AHPT, Protocolo 31770, fol. 24r: «es pacto y condición que dicha novicia no ha de ser obligada a tocar el órgano si no es que quiera hacerlo de su voluntad. Y mediante habersele hecho como se le hace cuatrocientos ducados de gracia en el dote ha de ser obligada asistir a la capilla a cantar con las demás señoras de ella en todas las festividades del año».

50 On nuns' music and nun musicians at Santo Domingo El Real, see Pablo Peñas Serrano, Carlos Martínez Gil, and María Jesús Galán Vera, «La música en los conventos dominicanos de Toledo (siglos XVI-XVIII)», *Anales Toledanos* 41 (2005): pp. 255-316. The article does not reference Francisca de la Oliva, probably because in the end, she did not enter Santo Domingo El Real to fill a musician's post.

all kinds of institutions, it became more necessary than ever to have a reliable convent organist, whose job included accompanying singers and teaching them music, and who, in many cases, also functioned as the convents' *maestra de capilla*. One wonders whether there might have been competition between Santo Domingo El Real and Santa Clara over the two students of José Solana who entered the respective convents in 1700, and whether the *legata* of 20 *ducados* funded by Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca had any effect in determining which girl would be placed where. As it turned out, Santa Clara received the better of the two candidates.

Sor Francisca de la Oliva made her final vows in at Santo Domingo El Real in December of 1702, though her participation in the convent's *capilla* may have been relatively short-lived⁵¹. Solana's bequest of *papeles de cantar* to Sor Francisca de la Oliva appears in the second version of his last will and testament, executed in 1710, but not in the third and final version of 1712, in which Solana instead leaves 200 *reales* to Francisca's mother, Doña Angela de Lodena, «viuda de Alonso de la Oliva, vecina de la villa de Madrid»⁵². Solana's last will and testament makes no mention of Sor Francisca de la Oliva, who perhaps by this time was deceased.

Family networks and musical networks were often intertwined. The Solana student and teacher network in Toledo also included José Solana's nephew Mathías Miguel Solana, appointed second assistant organist at the Toledo cathedral beginning in 1688, who provided a letter of recommendation (*aval*) for Manuela Martín de Eugenio when she was admitted as organist at Toledo's Concepción Francisca in July of 1701⁵³. One or the other of the Solana organists was likely the teacher of Juana de Miranda, sister of María de Miranda, who would also become a nun organist at Santa Clara. What's more, the relationship between José Solana and the Miranda family appears to have predated María and Juana's music studies, as José Solana was godfather at the respective baptisms of both girls⁵⁴. Juana was born in 1690, just a year after her

51 AHPT, Protocolo 31770, fols. 787r-788v.

52 Jambou, «José Solana», pp. 98, 110. Although Solana's last will and testament does not identify Sor Francisca de la Oliva as a relative of José Solana, perhaps the connection between Solana and Sor Francisca de la Oliva's family went beyond that of teacher and student. As of this writing I have not had the opportunity to consult the *Libro de Defunciones* housed the archive of Santo Domingo El Real to confirm the date of Sor Francisca de la Oliva's death.

53 Discussed in Colleen R. Baade, «Two Centuries of Nun Musicians in Spain's Imperial City», *Revista Transcultural de Música/Transcultural Music Review* 15 (2011), <https://www.sibetrans.com/trans/articulo/349/two-centuries-of-nun-musicians-in-spain-s-imperial-city>.

54 AHPT, Protocolo 32320, fol. 162v, and Protocolo 31838, fol. 230r. The Mirandas do not appear to have been relatives of the José Solana, and it's intriguing to consider what kind of relationship between the two parties would have occasioned Solana's serving as godfather to the two girls. Still more intriguing is the fact that Solana's will of 1712 asks María de Miranda to forgive him (for what?): «Mando a D^a Maria de Miranda religiosa en el combennto de Santta Clara de esta Ciudad por lo que la estimo cinquentta Villanzicos de los que yo dejare, y la pido me perdone y encomiende a Dios» (emphasis are the author's). Transcribed in Jambou, «José Solana», p. 112.

sister María, but she did not enter religious life until 1712 at age twenty-two. One imagines that both María and Juana began to study organ early in life, though we do not know why Juana entered the convent so many years after her sister. It is also uncertain whether the fact that Juana was offered a waiver of just half her dowry price (when her María had been granted a complete exemption from her dowry) indicates that she was not musically as proficient as her sister. Whatever the case, after Sor María de Miranda's death in 1727, Sor María's yearly stipend of twenty *ducados* was reallocated to her sister, who would receive it until her own death in 1749, thus ensuring that Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca's bequest would continue to fund music-making at Santa Clara long beyond her passing.

Although there surely were nuns who played organ at Santa Clara before 1700, the Miranda sisters were among the first to have been admitted for the expressed purpose of occupying the post of convent organist. Prior to María de Miranda, the only nun to have been granted a dowry waiver at Santa Clara in exchange for serving as convent organist was María Catalina Gastelu, who made her final profession in 1686, paying a half dowry of 400 *ducados*⁵⁵. Unlike the Miranda sisters, Sor María Catalina Gastelu did not receive any kind of regular stipend for her work as organist, and monastery accounts only record occasional payments of the 15 *reales* she was given for the purchase of harp strings⁵⁶. At the time the nuns of Santa Clara petitioned the Papal Nuncio to grant a dowry waiver to María de Miranda, Sor María Catalina de Gastelu had fallen ill and was unable to fulfill her musical duties⁵⁷.

Francisca Calderón de la Barca, who signed the above-mentioned petition as «la Madre Sor Fran[cis]ca Calderón de la Barca», must have shared the distress felt by her sisters in religion over the state of musical affairs at Santa Clara, and as we have seen, she did her part to ensure that María de Miranda would accept the organist's post at Santa Clara by helping to subsidise it. Curiously, accounts for Santa Clara show that coinciding with the entry of Sor María de Miranda in 1700 and up until Sor María Catalina Gastelu's death in 1715, Sor María Catalina Gastelu was allocated an additional daily ration of bread (*una libra de pan cada día además de lo que le toca de su ración por el trabajo de tocar el órgano y asistir al coro*), perhaps in an attempt to mitigate hard feelings that may have resulted from a perceived inequity in compensation⁵⁸.

The Miranda sisters were born and raised in Toledo, as were their parents; María Catalina Gastelu, however, was a native of Pamplona. She was one of

55 AHN, Sección Clero, Libro 15791, fol. 93v.

56 AHN, Sección Clero, Libro 15811.

57 AHPT, Protocolo 32320, fol. 163r: «Sor María Catalina Gastelu ha mucho tiempo está enferma e impedida de una mano con muchos achaques por cuya razón ha mucho tiempo no se celebran los divinos oficios con la asistencia y solemnidad que se acostumbra».

58 AHN, Sección Clero, Libro 15793, fol. 184v.

at least four young women who travelled from the Navarrese city to occupy a post as nun organist at a Toledo convent around this time. The first of these, Magdalena de Ugarte, was admitted to Toledo's San Clemente in 1675, just one year after Pedro de Ardanaz left his post as *maestro de capilla* at the Pamplona cathedral to become chapelmaster at Toledo. It is likely that Ardanaz, who occupied the Toledo post until his death in 1706, had a hand in recruiting both Magdalena de Ugarte and María Catalina Gastelu and also in the appointment of Juana de Zubirre to the post of convent organist at Concepción Francisca in 1694. (The arrival in 1716 of María Josepha Condorena y Arrais as organist at Santo Domingo El Real occurred a decade after Ardanaz's death.) It is interesting to note that throughout the entire seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century, nearly all of Toledo's nun organists were Toledo natives or otherwise came from Madrid and other nearby towns within a distance of less than 75 kilometres. With the exception of the nun organists from Pamplona and one other nun organist at Santo Domingo El Real who came from Salamanca, it was not until 1726 that Toledo convents began regularly to receive nun organists from outside its diocese. Young female musicians from places as far away as Pontevedra, Oviedo, and Bilbao were attracted to organists' posts at Toledo convents by the offering of a dowry waiver and other forms of financial compensation that more often than not, included a *legata* or yearly stipend⁵⁹. Indeed, for the remainder of the eighteenth century, the majority of nun organists at Santa Clara would receive a stipend of this type, a practice that allowed Santa Clara to compete favourably with other Toledo convents, thereby ensuring that Santa Clara would always have someone to occupy the position of convent organist.

I'm currently not aware of any other instances in which one nun subsidised the *legata* or yearly stipend of a nun musician in her convent, though additional examples may come to light. A much more common form of musical patronage employed by individual nuns was the designation of funds for memorial observances that required the yearly celebration of Masses and other liturgical offices offered to assist the souls of the deceased⁶⁰. Records of these *memorias* appear frequently in convent account books, *libros de aniversarios* and the like. Before her death, Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca established two such observances at Santa Clara, both of which called for the inclusion of music: one required Mass and Vigils (=Matins) «to be sung by the community» during the Octave of the Feast of All Saints⁶¹; the other called for the annual perfor-

59 See Baade, «Two Centuries of Nun Musicians».

60 See Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, «La vida musical en el monasterio de Santa Maria de Jonqueres en los siglos XVI y XVII: Agraïda y Eugènia Grimau», *Revista Catalana de Musicologia* 8 (2015): pp. 37-79.

61 AHN, Sección Clero, Libro 15811, fol. 202: «un extraordinario en la octava de todos santos por el trabajo de una misa y vigilia que ha de cantar dicha comunidad por el alma de dicha Doña Francisca Calderón» [emphasis are the author's].

mance of four sung Nocturns (that is, during Matins) and four sung Masses of Our Lady⁶². Account books do not offer further specifics about Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca's intentions regarding the music of these liturgical acts. Doubtless the *coro de monjas* at Santa Clara would have sung plainchant, and likely the convent's *señoras cantoras* also sang polyphonic works; perhaps these included the *villancicos* bequeathed to Sor María de Miranda by her teacher and godfather, José de Solana⁶³. Indeed, it is easy to imagine that the nuns at Santa Clara, accompanied by their convent organist, during decades to come would sing with gratitude for the eternal rest of their sister in religion and one who has been described as the convent's «last great benefactor»: la Madre Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca⁶⁴.

62 AHN, Sección Clero, Libro 15811, fol. 204: «Tiene obligación este convento de decir en cada un año cuatro nocturnos cantados de Nuestra Señora con cuatro misas cantadas [...] por el ánima de dicha Doña Francisca Calderón».

63 For a detailed discussion of the function of *villancicos* in Matins, Mass, and other liturgical services, see Álvaro Torrente, «Function and Liturgical Context of the *Villancico* in Salamanca Cathedral», in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800*, edited by Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 99-147.

64 Pérez de Tudela's doctoral thesis on Santa Clara offers the following valoration of Sor Francisca Calderón de la Barca: «Esta mujer, desde su noviciado y a lo largo de su vida religiosa, desarrolla una intensa labor de ayuda al Monasterio, con una dedicación que recuerda la de la su fundadora, Doña María Melendez. Durante los dos períodos que ostenta el cargo de Abadesa (1677 y 1695), revitaliza el Convento y, con su patrimonio, presta ayuda suficiente para sacarlo de la precaria situación endeudada, que arrastraba la institución durante la primera mitad del siglo XVII. Tanto en lo espiritual, como en lo económico, será la última gran benefactora del Monasterio [...]». See Pérez de Tudela, *El monasterio de Santa Clara*, p. 531.